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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Monday, May 27, 1968*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

His Eminence Archbishop Hrant Khatchadourian, the prelate of the Armenian Apostolic Church of the United States and Canada, offered the following prayer:

O Lord and Father of us all, know Thee our great gratitude for the good Thou hast bestowed on this beloved Nation. We ask Thy blessing on Thy children who labor here in the august House of Representatives in the cause of liberty.

We pray for the strength and wisdom to use our God-given freedoms properly. We pray that our young people reflect the divine qualities of judgment and understanding. We pray to know more of Thee, that we may implement Thy sacred purpose of freedom and justice for all men, the ideal cherished by the Founding Fathers of this great United States.

Today marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Armenian Republic, a day sacred to Armenian-Americans, and to those in the Diaspora, separated through tyranny from their ancient homeland. On this day, which commemorates a short-lived dream of freedom and brings both joy and sorrow, we rededicate ourselves to the cause of peace, to uplift the poor, to bring healing agency to the sick, to lift through zeal and consecration the suffering masses in this world.

And we solemnly pray for support and guidance, the purity which was also in Christ Jesus, to steer the course that is set before us in the light of Thy wisdom. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, May 23, 1968, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 5037. An act to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 5404. An act to amend the National Science Foundation Act of 1950 to make changes and improvements in the organization and operation of the Foundation, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 1052. An act for the relief of Nicholas S. Cretan, U.S. Air Force (retired).

HIGHER QUALITY STANDARDS FOR RAISINS ADOPTED

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, for some 35 years, Federal marketing agreement and orders have been helping American farmers to enhance their position in the marketplace. These programs, designed and operated by farmers and handlers, with counsel and guidance from the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Consumer and Marketing Service, help to stabilize marketing conditions. They may provide for commodity grade and volume regulations; they may regulate the flow of the commodity to market or allocate it among various outlets. These programs help to assure adequate supplies of fruits, vegetables, specialty crops, and milk at reasonably stable prices.

Most Federal marketing orders for fruits, vegetables, and specialty crops provide for quality control on the shipment of the various commodities they regulate. An example is the Federal marketing order for California raisins.

The raisin industry has just recently adopted a new, higher grade regulation which will apply to the State's production of Thompson seedless raisins, beginning September 1.

The new regulation will raise the quality requirements for raisins that packers may ship to market, and will provide the assurance of higher quality raisins not only to food shoppers but also to bakers and other users of the product. Minimum quality requirements for producer deliveries to raisin handlers and packers have also been raised. This higher quality regulation will limit shipments to the plumper, sweeter raisins that are dried from riper grapes.

The tightening of the quality requirements was recommended by the Raisin Administrative Committee, the group of producers and handlers administering the Federal raisin marketing order.

POOR PEOPLE VISITORS TOLD WASHINGTON UNSAFE

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I noticed with great concern, a report in this morning's Washington Post, that members of the Poor People's Campaign have been advised by their leaders not to walk the streets of the Nation's Capital alone at night, following the discovery of the body of a woman on the banks of the Potomac River, 15 minutes from their encampment.

My concern, Mr. Speaker, is for the safety of all Americans walking the streets of their Capital City, and I might add that as my constituents query me on the advisability of visiting this city during the upcoming months, I am advising against it unless it is necessary.

Some interests are trying to play down the violence of crime in Washington, D.C. President Johnson publicly stated that he will not accept "the diagnosis of fatal sickness in our society." Well, I do not say the disease is fatal, but society certainly is sick.

For example, at this moment, just a few blocks from the White House, there is an encampment of several thousands of protestors who apparently are fearful of their own safety on Washington's streets at night. To me, Mr. Speaker, it is a sickness when busdrivers here do not dare drive at night, when merchants are shot to death in their stores defending their property, when crime is up 24.5 percent in the last 12-month period, or when, despite a 20-percent increase in police patrols, lawlessness continues to rampage in the Nation's Capital.

The sickness exists, Mr. Speaker, and only strong and effective law enforcement, backed by determined and just courts with meaningful and realistic legislation from the Congress, and firm leadership by the President is going to curb this sickness and restore the law and order guaranteed all Americans under the Constitution.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, MR. VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am advised that this is the birthday of one of the greatest living Americans, our distinguished and beloved Vice President of the United States. I am sure I express the sentiments of all Members of the House when I wish Vice President HUMPHREY many happy returns of the day. We all appreciate him as an outstanding public servant and as a wise and wonderful man.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR TO SIT TODAY

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor and myself, I ask unanimous consent that the committee be permitted to sit for the purpose of holding hearings on the nutrition bill during the sessions of the House while the House is in session this week and next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would ask the gentleman to amend that to include 1 day at a time.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, I will if the gentleman insists. We are trying to call witnesses and will certainly avoid this as much as we can.

Mr. HALL. I do insist. We have already by unanimous consent agreed to come in early on Wednesday next. We are probably going to adjourn early today. Out of the last 3 weeks we have adjourned early on Mondays, before 2 o'clock each of two times. I see no reason for a bulk request made in advance.

Mr. GOODELL. I will make the request for today, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

CLARIFICATION OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR THIS WEEK

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I have taken this time in order to ask the distinguished majority leader if he would kindly inform the Members of the House of any possible change in the legislative program for this week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished minority whip yield?

Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. It is our hope and plan to finish the program for the week. And, when we do finish it on Wednesday, we expect to go over until the following Monday.

We have not as yet decided whether we will go over by resolution or have a pro forma meeting on Friday. However, many Members have made this inquiry, wanting to make arrangements in order to get away at a reasonable hour on Wednesday.

HOUR OF MEETING ON WEDNESDAY

Mr. Speaker, in view of the foregoing statement, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on Tuesday next it adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock a.m. on Wednesday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, would this be under the assumption that we would take up the tax bill on Wednesday first?

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. ARENDS. I thank the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the District of Columbia bills considered today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUSINESS

The SPEAKER. This is District of Columbia day. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOWDY].

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] for the purpose of presenting certain of the District bills from his subcommittee.

PROHIBITING EXTORTION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 17417) to prohibit extortion, or the transmission of threats to persons or property, by means of telephone, telegraph, radio, oral or written communications, or otherwise, in the District of Columbia.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 17417

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whoever (1) transmits within the District of Columbia any communication containing any demand or request for a ransom or reward for the release of any kidnaped person, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both; (2) with intent to extort from any person, firm, association, or corporation, any money or other thing of value, transmits within the District of Columbia any communication containing any threat to kidnap any person or any threat to injure the person of another, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both; (3) transmits within the District of Columbia any communication containing any threat to kidnap any person or any threat to injure the person of another or physically damage his property, in whole or in part, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both; or (4) with intent to extort from any person, firm, association, or corporation, any money or other thing of value, transmits within the District of Columbia any communication containing any threat to injure the property or reputation of the addressee or of another or the reputation of a deceased person or any threat to accuse the addressee or any other person of a crime, shall be fined not more than $500 or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

Mr. WHITENER (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the bill be dispensed with, that it be printed in the RECORD at this point, and open to amendment at any point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 17417 is to prohibit extortion by means of telephone, telegraph, radio, oral or written message, or otherwise, in the District of Columbia.

The legislation is a duplication of title 18, section 875 of the United States Code which covers interstate communications, and makes it a felony to transmit in the District of Columbia a communication intended to intimidate any person into giving up anything of value, as in the case of kidnaping, extortion, or threat to kidnap or injure another or his property or reputation.

In addition, the legislation makes it a felony to threaten to physically damage the property of another, in whole or in part.

URGENT NEED FOR LEGISLATION

This antiextortion legislation is urgently requested by the Commissioner of the District of Columbia because the problem of threats against business properties in Washington since the April civil disturbances is assuming serious proportions.

In view of the terrific property and business losses suffered by owners and merchants in the District of Columbia during and since the April civil disturbances, and in view of the efforts being made by the District of Columbia government, first, to encourage the reestablishment and rebuilding of business properties in the riot-torn areas and, second, to enlist capital therefor, it would be derelict for the Congress not to help provide, by way of legislation of this kind, such additional security and assurances as the law can offer to these businesses and investors alike.

When so many businessmen, property owners, widows, and other investors have lost their life savings, and been deprived of income which is the wherewithal of their existence, they should be spared further deprivations, or threats thereof, from the unruly criminal element of the community.

Since this bill is among others under consideration which are designed to offer some additional security and protection and assurance to those who may be persuaded to build again in the troubled areas of Washington, its early enactment is therefore recommended by our committee.

BACKGROUND

The Chief of the Metropolitan Police Department reported to the Commissioner of the District of Columbia that during the past year there have been several attempts to intimidate owners of business establishments into leaving money at specified locations, to be picked up by the intimidator. In these cases, the owners were told that unless they followed instructions, their families, supposedly being held as hostages, would be injured.

Similarly, merchants were recently threatened that if they did not close their businesses last Monday—birthday of the late Malcolm X—they would be burned out.

The very lifeblood of the Nation's Capital is being jeopardized due to the threats and abuse of hoodlums, extortionists, and thieves. There has been a marked increase in their activities since the April civil disturbances when the higher-ups in the District decided on a policy of restraint to meet the criminal looters and arsonists.

Every day, it is reported to our committee, thugs walk into stores and just take merchandise off the shelves, or demand money of the merchants, and if the owner tries to stop them, or refuses their demands, they threaten to burn his store.

And recently it was brought to the attention of members of the House District Committee that some Washington businessmen, whose business properties were damaged or destroyed in the course of the recent civil disorders, complained that they have received threats to the effect that if they should replace or repair their properties and continue their businesses, the properties will again be damaged or destroyed.

These complaints were referred by the committee to the Commissioner of the District of Columbia who had them investigated, and he advised our committee that a considerable number of merchants and other persons had received such threats.

Accordingly, the Commissioner included in his recommended legislation a provision specifically making it a felony, punishable by fine of not more than $1,000, or imprisonment for not more than 5 years, to threaten to physically damage the property of another.

ESTIMATES OF LOSSES FROM THE APRIL 1968 CIVIL DISTURBANCES IN WASHINGTON

Some of the staggering losses of property, business, and tax revenue in the District of Columbia during the recent civil disturbances are shown in the following tabulation.

These are only part of the picture, and they do not reflect the loss of wages to those unemployed as a result of the burning down of their places of employment. Nor do they reflect the loss of profit to the hundreds of merchants, nor the loss of income to the hundreds of property owners and investors whose livelihood was derived from the businesses, dwellings, and apartments which were destroyed.

Estimated real property damage

Number of buildings damaged or destroyed	645
Number of housing units damaged or destroyed	283
Number of commercial establishments damaged or destroyed	909
Number of public and institutional establishments damaged or destroyed	8

These are estimates of losses in the concentrated areas of destruction; scattered damages outside thereof would run 15% of those figures, according to District of Columbia estimates.

Estimated real property damage—Continued

Estimated cost of insured property losses or damages, including inventories as revised by insured underwriters (making Washington's losses, under these preliminary estimates, higher than those in any other U.S. city) (million)	$24
Job losses in riot-torn areas	(?)

(This is an imponderable figure. There was testimony before the committee that on 7th Street alone—one of the several areas of widespread destruction—1,034 people were put out of work.)

Cost of Federalizing the National Guard and bringing in Army Troops (million)	$5.3

ESTIMATES OF COSTS TO THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT OF THE RECENT DISTURBANCES

Additional costs

Functions	Estimated costs, Apr. 4 to 9	Estimated additional costs, Apr. 10 to June 30	Total
General operating expenses	$10,400	$2,000	$12,400
Public safety	1,154,900	888,800	2,043,700
Education	101,000		101,000
Parks and recreation	52,600		52,600
Health and welfare	220,000	791,000	1,011,000
Highways and traffic	36,400	57,500	93,900
Sanitary engineering	66,200	75,000	141,200
Grand total	1,641,500	1,814,300	3,455,800
Average per day	328,300		

Estimated losses of revenue

Sources	Fiscal year 1968	Fiscal year 1969	Total
Sales and excise tax	−$1,300,000	−$500,000	−$1,800,000
Income taxes	−200,000	−250,000	−450,000
Property taxes	−100,000	−350,000	−450,000
Fines and forfeitures	+50,000	+50,000	+100,000
Gasoline tax	−100,000		−100,000
Parking meters	−50,000		−50,000
Total	−1,700,000	−1,050,000	−2,750,000
Average per day	340,000		

Source: District of Columbia government executive office, Apr. 30, 1968.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT

The letters of April 17 and May 16, 1968, of the Commissioner of the District of Columbia recommending the reported legislation, and setting forth the inadequacies of present law to deal with the extortions referred to and made subject to the penalty provisions of H.R. 17417, are set forth herein:

GOVERNMENT OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Washington, D.C., April 17, 1968.

The Honorable the SPEAKER,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The Government of the District of Columbia has the honor to submit herewith a draft bill "To prohibit extortion by means of telephone, telegraph, radio, oral or written message, or otherwise, in the District of Columbia."

The bill in effect provides that it shall be a felony to transmit in the District of Columbia a communication intended to intimidate any person into giving up anything of value. The Chief of Police reports that during the past year there have been several attempts to intimidate owners of business establishments into leaving money at specified locations, to be picked up by the intimidator. In these cases, the owners were told that unless they followed instructions, their families, supposedly being held as hostages, would be injured.

A review of existing law in the District of Columbia indicates that in this type of offense, if the money is actually obtained by the person who made the threat, prosecution may be had for the offense of grand larceny. However, if no money is actually obtained, the offense would be that of threats to do bodily harm, in violation of section 22-507 of the D.C. Code, or attempted larceny in violation of section 22-103 of such Code, both of which are misdemeanors. If the communication to the store owner is transmitted interstate, however, the offense would be a felony under the provisions of 18 U.S.C. 875. But section 875 of title 18 covers only those situations where the communication originates in one State, territory, or the District of Columbia, and is transmitted to another State, territory, or the District of Columbia.

The draft bill, virtually identical to section 875 of title 18, United States Code, is expected to provide for the effective prevention and prosecution of extortion in the District of Columbia. An additional benefit to be derived from using language substantially similar to that of such section 875 is that the body of law interpreting the section can be utilized by the United States Attorney's office in prosecuting persons charged with a violation of this legislation.

Therefore, the Government of the District of Columbia urges the enactment of the attached draft bill.

The Government of the District of Columbia has been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this proposed legislation to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS W. FLETCHER,
Assistant to the Commissioner
(For Walter E. Washington, Commissioner).

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF
COLUMBIA, EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Washington, May 16, 1968.

The Honorable JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MCMILLAN: The Government of the District of Columbia on April 17, 1968 transmitted to the Congress a draft bill to prohibit extortion, by means of telephone, telegraph, radio, oral or written message, or otherwise, in the District of Columbia. This proposed legislation has been referred to your Committee.

Since the bill, which deals with the problem of the transmission of threats by means of various communications media, was forwarded to the Congress, it has come to the attention of the District Government that a considerable number of persons whose business properties were damaged or destroyed in the course of the recent civil disorders have received threats to the effect that if they should replace or repair their properties and continue their businesses, the properties will again be damaged or destroyed.

Accordingly, in order to provide that it shall be an offense for any person to transmit within the District of Columbia any communication containing any threat to physically damage the property of another, either in whole or in part, the Government of the District of Columbia desires to substitute for the draft legislation forwarded to the Congress on April 17 the attached revised version of that legislation, expanded to include such an offense.

Further, since the problem of threats against business properties is assuming serious proportions, the District Government desires to stress the need for action by the Congress to enact legislation substantially similar to the attached draft bill, which it asks be substituted for the bill transmitted to the Congress on April 17.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS W. FLETCHER,
Assistant to the Commissioner
(For Walter E. Washington, Commissioner).

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RIOT DAMAGE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 16948) to direct the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to remove at the expense of the District of Columbia buildings destroyed or damaged in riots or other civil disorders, and ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill, and that it be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 16948

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) in the case of any building in the District of Columbia which the Commissioner of the District of Columbia determines was destroyed or damaged on or after April 4, 1968, as the result of any riot or other civil disorder, the Commissioner of the District of Columbia shall (1) remove any such damaged building (or part thereof) which he determines under the Act of March 1, 1899 (D.C. Code, sec. 5–501—5–508), to be unsafe or (2) remove any other building (or part thereof) so damaged if the owner requests to have it removed and (3) remove any materials or other debris from any buildings so destroyed.

(b) The entire cost of any removal of any building (or part thereof) so damaged and debris from any building so destroyed—

(1) carried out by the District of Columbia under the Act of March 1, 1899, on or after April 4, 1968,

(2) carried out by the District of Columbia under this Act, or

(3) carried out by the owner on or after April 4, 1968, and before the date of the enactment of this Act, shall be borne by the District of Columbia.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"That (a) in the case of any building in the District of Columbia which the Commissioner of the District of Columbia determines was damaged or destroyed as the result of any riot or other civil disorder during the period beginning April 4, 1968, and ending April 17, 1968, the Commissioner of the District of Columbia may (1) remove any such damaged building which, under the Act of March 1, 1899 (D.C. Code, sec. 5–501—5–508), he determines to be unsafe, and (2) remove any materials or other debris remaining from any building so destroyed.

"(b) The entire cost of removal of any building damaged or destroyed as described in subsection (a), and of debris remaining from any building so destroyed, may be borne by the District of Columbia if such removal was carried out by the District of Columbia under this Act or the Act of March 1, 1899, or by the owner of the building so damaged or destroyed."

AMENDMENT TO COMMITTEE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. WHITENER

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to the committee amendment offered by Mr. WHITENER: On page 2, line 16, strike out "in".

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER] is recognized.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill, as amended by the committee, is to authorize the government of the District of Columbia to bear the expense of removing unsafe buildings damaged or destroyed during the recent riots in the District of Columbia and of removing debris remaining from riot-destroyed buildings. The authority given the Commissioner applies only with respect to buildings damaged or destroyed from April 4 through 17, 1968.

BACKGROUND FOR LEGISLATION

The District of Columbia Unsafe Structures Act, approved March 1, 1899 (D.C. Code, sec. 5–501 et seq.), provides in part that if a building in the District is determined to be unsafe, the Commissioner must direct the owner of such property to take corrective action; or, if public safety requires immediate correction of the unsafe condition, the Commissioner may take such immediate action. In the event the owner of the property fails to comply with the Commissioner's order, then the Commissioner is authorized to correct the unsafe condition, and the cost of such work is charged to the owner of the property as a tax lien. Corrective action taken by the property owner is at his own expense.

Under another section of this act, miscellaneous materials or debris of any kind on a lot, which may affect the public health, comfort, safety, or welfare, may be declared to be a nuisance and must be removed by the owner. Should he fail to do so, the Commissioner then is authorized to have such removal done at the owner's expense.

This Unsafe Structures Act apparently has functioned satisfactorily and in the public interest over the period of nearly 70 years since its enactment. However, a serious problem in this regard has arisen in connection with the recent riots in the District of Columbia, which this proposed legislation is designed to correct.

Under the bill, in the case of any building determined to be unsafe, the Commissioner may bear the cost of removing such building if he determines it was damaged or destroyed as the result of a civil disorder occurring in the period April 4 through 17, 1968. The owner of an unsafe building may be reimbursed for his costs of removal.

Also, under the provisions of the bill, the Commissioner may bear the expense of removing rubble and debris remaining from riot-destroyed buildings.

NEED FOR LEGISLATION

Beginning on the evening of April 4 of this year, the District of Columbia experienced a widespread outbreak of rioting, looting, arson, and destruction of property. When the last Federal troops were withdrawn from the city on April 16, many blocks of the city were burned-out shambles, with a total of 645 buildings and 283 housing units badly damaged or destroyed. Also, some 909 commercial establishments and their contents were destroyed or damaged.

The commercial areas of 14th Street and Seventh Street NW., and of H Street, NE., were particularly hard hit by this wave of vandalism and arson. As a result, many small business establishments in these sections were badly damaged or totally destroyed by fire. Many of the men and women who owned these businesses have lost not only their property, but their sole means of earning a living and their entire life savings as well. While some have recouped a portion of their loss through insurance, few if any of these people will ever be completely reimbursed.

To add to this already calamitous situation, the District of Columbia Unsafe Structures Act referred to above made it incumbent upon the District of Columbia Department of Licenses and Inspections to send notices to the owners of these buildings, requiring them to remove the unsafe structural remains and the rubble and debris left from their burned out and looted businesses, at their own expense.

Many of these devastated businessmen have found it impossible to comply with these orders, for several reasons. First, the majority of these owners are in no financial position to pay the high costs of such demolition, either now or in the future. Second, it was found that demolition contractors are not readily available. For example, one such job on 14th Street which should have taken 3 days to complete was reported to be running into its third week because of spectators throwing rocks and bricks at the work crews.

The plight of these businessmen could hardly be more grim. Stripped of their livelihood as well as their property, whatever insurance they may have certainly cannot cover the costs with which they are faced—clearing the rubble and debris from their ruined properties, erecting new buildings, and living in the meantime with no income.

It is the opinion of our committee that it is unreasonable and unfair in these circumstances to add to the already heavy burdens of these businessmen whose assets have been wiped out and whose property has been totally destroyed by wanton arsonists, by imposing upon them the expense of removing the rubble. They certainly were in no way responsible for the riots and fires which destroyed their property. Since the government of the District of Columbia is responsible for maintaining law and order and for preventing riots, looting, and burning in the Nation's Capital it is the opinion of this committee that the District government should bear at least the cost of removing the debris left by this holocaust. The Commissioner of the District of Columbia and the District of Columbia Corporation Counsel concur with this viewpoint.

Our committee is informed that there is ample legal precedent for this legislation, as many States presently have statutes which impose liability on a municipality for property damage or personal injury caused by riots and mob violence. Further, we are told that the constitutionality of such statutes has been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

The committee adopted a new text for the bill. The new text makes two substantive changes in the introduced bill. First, the Commissioner is authorized, rather than required, to bear the cost of removing the riot-damaged buildings and debris remaining from riot-destroyed buildings. Second, the Commissioner is not required nor authorized to pay for the removal of a riot-damaged building which he does not determine to be unsafe.

With respect to the first change, it is expected that the Commissioner will exercise the authority given him by the bill to the fullest extent. However, it was considered desirable to allow the Commissioner to refuse to bear the cost of removing a building or debris if he thought the public interest required such refusal.

The second change, which was requested by the Commissioner, generally limits the Commissioner's authority to pay for building and debris removal to those cases in which he is authorized to require such removal under the existing law relating to unsafe buildings.

Additional changes in the text are technical and conforming in nature.

The committee amended the title to reflect the changes made to the text of the bill.

HEARINGS

Public hearings on this proposed legislation were held on May 13 and 17 of this year. At this time, the Commissioner of the District of Columbia expressed strong endorsement of the bill as amended and reported. Support for the measure was presented also by several Members of Congress and by numerous citizens and civic groups. No opposition was expressed to the enactment of the bill.

SCOPE AND COST OF PROJECT

Under the provisions of H.R. 16948, the government of the District of Columbia will undertake at the city's expense to remove those buildings, which were either totally destroyed in the recent riots or damaged beyond repair. A survey by the District of Columbia Department of Licenses and Inspections indicates that there are approximately 229 such buildings.

Your committee is advised that if this proposed legislation is enacted into law, the Department of Licenses and Inspections plans to have all the contracts for this work let by June 30, and believes that the project can be completed by September 1.

The plan is to remove all rubble and debris, and to excavate all basement areas. Then the basement cement is to be broken up to provide drainage of water, and the basements filled and covered with a graded layer of gravel.

This type of removal operation will sometimes cause damage to adjoining structures, thus increasing both the difficulty and the cost of the job. Your committee is informed, however, that in this instance the District government's survey indicates that not more than two or three of these buildings will present any problem in this respect.

While it is obviously difficult to predict the cost of this project, the committee is informed that an item of $100,000 has been found in the appropriation to the Redevelopment Land Agency for the present fiscal year, which was to have been used by that Agency in connection with certain relocation costs. However, the RLA did not find it necessary to use these funds this year, and hence they will lapse unless they are authorized to be used for other purposes. The District of Columbia government has requested that this $100,000 be reallocated and authorized for the use of the Department of Licenses and Inspections in connection with the cleanup project which is the subject of H.R. 16948. If this request is granted, then the District will be able to acquire an additional $200,000 grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and it is believed that the entire project can be completed with this total fund of $300,000.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. Does this mean that Federal funds contributed to the District of Columbia will be used to clean up the rubble in the District?

Mr. WHITENER. This would authorize the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to remove, at the expense of the District government, the rubble and debris in certain areas of the city, which resulted from riots or other civil disorder during the period beginning April 4, 1968, and ending on April 17, 1968.

This bill requires that there must be a finding by the Commissioner consistent with the act of 1899 with reference to the necessity of removal of unsafe buildings.

Mr. GROSS. I am afraid the gentleman has not answered the question of whether funds that are made available by the Federal Government to the District of Columbia could and would be used as part of the financing for the removal of unsafe buildings or rubble.

Mr. WHITENER. The Committee on Appropriations I suppose would determine the answer to the gentleman's question. The contemplation of the committee is that these funds would come from funds available to the District of Columbia government. We are told that $100,000 of the money needed may be available at this time for transfer from the redevelopment land agency funds, urban renewal funds—which have been used in the past to clean up the city.

Mr. GROSS. Then the taxpayers of the entire country would be called upon under these circumstances to clean up the rubble that the arsonists and the anarchists produced here earlier this month; is that about the story?

Mr. WHITENER. I suppose the gentleman is correct in that. He would be correct in saying perhaps that citizens all over the Nation participate in the paving of highways in the District of Columbia and for other necessary functions of the Government.

But the issue here is whether these innocent people who have already sustained tremendous economic and personal losses are going to have to respond to an order issued by the license and inspection division of the District of Columbia government to remove the debris from their property.

Mr. GROSS. What about the innocent taxpayers across this land from one end to the other whose money would be used and commingled with the money raised by taxation in the District of Columbia?

Mr. WHITENER. Of course, the gentleman I know is concerned about the taxpayers. So are we. We are concerned about the taxpayers here who have had great losses, because some of them feel the Government did not adequately protect their property. It is only equity that he should not be required to bear this additional cost.

Mr. GROSS. I do not think it is at all fair to unload this burden on the taxpayers of the whole country. What about the 6,000 persons who were arrested during the April riots in Washington? Were there no able bodied among those people who could be used to clean up the rubble?

Mr. WHITENER. I am sure the gentleman is aware that last week the press reported that the grand jury returned a number of indictments. I am advised that they are continuing to conduct hearings related to the disorder.

We are hopeful, and I know the gentleman joins me in the hope, that the courts will take the necessary steps to impose suitable punishment and try to deter those who are inclined to destroy the property of innocent citizens.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITENER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HALEY. I wonder if the District of Columbia authorities have given any consideration to the levying of a special tax on the inhabitants of the District of Columbia to pick up this cost?

I agree with the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. WHITENER. I might say to the gentleman that there is now pending in the District of Columbia Committee of the House of Representatives a tax proposal which will greatly increase the amount of tax the local citizens will be paying, if that bill is enacted into law.

Mr. HALEY. What I am saying, if the gentleman will yield further, is that I think the people of the District of Columbia, if a special tax were levied here, would have some idea of the cost of this rampage that they allowed the citizens of the District of Columbia to go on, to burn and destroy property. I think there should be some movement or some tax levied so that the people would know that these things cost money, and maybe some of the citizens would show a little more restraint than they have in the past.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I am impressed by the statements of my friends, but they have not had the opportunity some of us have had to sit through the hearings related to this matter. I could give you several examples.

One example is the case of the three elderly widows who had as their only properties certain buildings up on 14th Street which have been totally destroyed. Two of these elderly ladies have heretofore experienced severe heart attacks, and their sole means of livelihood has been totally destroyed. They do not know how they can rebuild their property. Their income is cut off.

They have received a letter from the District government, under the law of 1899, ordering and directing that within 24 hours they, at their expense, remove the debris and walls because they are unsafe.

I have no patience with these criminals. I am sure the gentlemen who have spoken have no patience with them. I am concerned about the taxpayers. I think that in this country in which we live most of us have some concern for these innocent victims who were not adequately protected in their property, in my judgment, and I believe this bill is one which should be enacted into law.

The limitations which we have placed in it have obviated the probability of any abuse of it. We are not talking about any back-breaking amount of money for the District government or the taxpayers of the Nation. It is estimated that only about $300,000 would be involved, and I believe the taxpayers in every area of the country have an abiding sympathy for the innocent victims of hoodlumism and will not object to this bill being passed.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. KYL. I would like to direct a couple of questions to the distinguished gentleman who brings this bill to the floor.

First, I would like to investigate the possibility of setting a precedent with this legislation. Are we to get ourselves in a situation where the Federal Government will be involved in paying to remove the rubble from any city in the United States which has a riot? Does the gentleman think that in those cases outside the District of Columbia either the State or the city would be responsible?

Mr. WHITENER. If the gentleman will yield to me, there is nothing in this legislation that would put any burden on the Federal Government per se. The District of Columbia government, occupying the same position that a State or municipal government would in another State, has no authority to legislatively or otherwise do the things which this bill would authorize. We, as the legislature of the District of Columbia, are seeking to authorize the District of Columbia government—not the Federal Government—to do this. We have not only been aware of the probability of someone claiming that a precedent is set, but we have taken the precaution of fixing the time period to accomplish that the period of time from the outbreak of the trouble until the troops were removed.

We have also taken the precaution of not making it mandatory upon the District government, as the original bill provided, because of some suggestion in news stories that there may have been some burnings down by property owners for the purpose of collecting insurance and getting themselves out of a bad economic condition.

We have tried to do everything within reason to make this a sound bill.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, if a piece of property were destroyed in the District of Columbia after the termination of the so-called riots and the situation involved widows and orphans and the loss of income, and the cause of the fire or destruction was arson, would this bill cover that destruction?

Mr. WHITENER. It would not. This is an unfortunate condition that we face, but we must do that in order to accomplish what I interpret the gentleman is suggesting should be accomplished, that is avoiding an open end piece of legislation.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, may I direct the attention of the gentleman from North Carolina to another area of inquiry. Does this bill in any way, take into consideration the fact that a property owner may or may not have had insurance, or that he may have had inadequate insurance or adequate insurance?

Mr. WHITENER. No. It does not relate to the amount of insurance that any property owner has. I think the gentleman, in fact, knows that there will be no property owner who will make money from insurance in a case like this.

Let me say to the gentleman there is another restriction. This bill restricts the use of District of Columbia funds to those cases which fall within the purview of the act of 1899. It does not mean that if there are five bricks knocked off the building, the District of Columbia bears the expense, or if a building is salvageable that the District bears the expense. It is only where there has been a positive finding that the presence of the building and the rubble constitute a hazard to the safety of the public.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, let us suppose it does constitute a hazard and suppose the property owner had an insurance policy which was adequate: Does the bill make any distinction between this individual and one who had no insurance at all on his property?

Mr. WHITENER. Obviously, we could not write legislation which would cover every imaginable factual situation.

Mr. KYL. But just as obviously, I say to the gentleman, he brings this bill under an emotionalism which covers, for instance, the case of widows who owned a building and who do not have any livelihood now. He does this in a case which he says obviates consideration of insurance.

Mr. WHITENER. I hope the gentleman will not think we are getting emotional. We tried to avoid that. I am trying to be reasonable, and I hope the gentleman will also try to be reasonable and try to substitute himself for some of these victims and see how he would feel if one morning he received a letter from the government ordering that within 24 hours he must remove this rubble and knock down the walls of the building which was burned by hoodlums, or else he will be subjected to penalties.

Mr. KYL. I would agree with the gentleman, I would much rather have had an order from the city government telling all those who were going to riot and loot that they were going to be held responsible under the law.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the necessary number of words.

Mr. Speaker, if I may have the attention of the gentleman from North Carolina, I noted in the paper the other day that the District of Columbia government is asking for approximately $2,600,000 from the Federal Government for a rat extermination program because the rats have moved into the piles of rubble. I do not know why these people did not reason that an increase in the rat population would be a byproduct of what they were doing when they were burning down buildings, creating rubble, debris, and other havens for them.

Be that as it may, the expenditure was broken down something along this line, as I remember it; $16,000 for two dump-trucks; $37,000 for poison and a poison bait mixing machine, plus one or two other items. Believe it or not, they want $12,500 for office equipment and furniture to equip a rat extermination headquarters in the District.

But a large bite of the expenditure, as the gentleman from North Carolina might well surmise, is for the hire of "educators." I do not know just what their function is as related to rats, but as I recall it this is a $157,000 item. Then there is $400,000 or more for "specialists." I do not know whether they are for the purpose of killing rats or to hire other expensive specialists and educators.

But here we are today confronted with a bill which would saddle upon all the taxpayers of the country the costs of cleaning up the rubble in the District of Columbia that was created by arsonists and rioters. They can have a pile of rubble on every street corner. They can burn down a building on every street intersection in Washington, if they want to do it that way. I would not like to see it, and it would be a tragedy. But do not go to the taxpayers in Iowa, the taxpayers in North Carolina, or in the rest of the country to get the money to clean up the rubble. Do not impose upon the taxpayers of Iowa by asking for money to clean up rubble that was deliberately produced by those who refuse to live within the law and who, in all too many instances in days gone by in the District of Columbia, have been more or less encouraged to do exactly what they did do.

I am opposed to the bill as it is presently written. If you will prohibit the use of funds obtained from all the taxpayers of the country, and assure me that the taxpayers of the District of Columbia are going to clean up the rubble that they themselves made, then I will support the bill, but not until then.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WHITENER. Of course, there is nothing in this bill that relates to the problem of rodents.

Mr. GROSS. If the rubble is cleaned up you will get rid of some of the breeding grounds for them.

Mr. WHITENER. This is not a bill just to remove rubble. If the gentleman will read the committee amendment, it says "remove any such damaged building which, under the act of March 1, 1899, he determines to be unsafe."

The mere presence of a pile of rubble does not warrant a finding of an unsafe condition. We are talking about when buildings constitute a threat to the safety of the public, and the Commissioner is to be given authority to make this determination.

Mr. GROSS. Let the levy of taxes be made upon the people of the District of Columbia to take care of this situation. That is all I ask. I have every sympathy for those whose property was destroyed but it does not become the responsibility of the taxpayers of the entire country to take care of it.

Mr. WHITENER. If the gentleman will yield further, I will tell him I believe we will have a revenue bill from the District of Columbia Committee in the near future, to satisfy the gentleman's desire for more taxes.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. FRIEDEL. This bill is permissive.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, I, too, oppose this bill, because I do not think the people of the United States want to be called upon to remedy what is a very bad situation in the District of Columbia. I think that some effort should be made in the District of Columbia to maintain some law and order. If the District of Columbia wants to tax themselves to take care of these various situations—and I have a great deal of sympathy for the people who have been innocently destroyed, you might say, economically—then let them do it. I would also suggest to the District of Columbia that they bear this expense themselves. Inasmuch as we have a great bunch of birds who have come to roost in town here on the mall, apparently able-bodied men, I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, that they employ some of those people because they say that they want jobs. Now, calling your attention to the Washington Post of yesterday, I find in looking over that paper there are 17 pages of help wanted ads listed yesterday. I think if these people down there on the mall want to find jobs, there are plenty of them available. I do not think they want to work.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this bill because I think it is an open ended authorization on the taxpayers and general treasury, and I think perhaps it has not been gone into—and worked upon—for a sufficient period of time. That is to say, we need more cooling off time.

I believe one of the recent speakers put his finger on the nub of the problem here; namely, differentiating between a manmade disaster, an act of war, or a natural disaster. I am well aware—having studied the report and the bill as well as the hearings—that we have a factor of safety involved here in the Federal City. Further, I am well aware, as was brought out previously, that Federal taxpayers' funds to which this would grant an open ended authorization would go into this program in the Federal City because of the impact of government offices upon the community and business which is being performed in the District of Columbia.

I would even carry it further than the safety problem, that of structural defects, and the inherent danger of the toppling of walls of buildings which incorporate physical danger, and include the danger of improper sanitation and hygiene.

However, I thoroughly believe that our courts—if indeed the District government, which is largely an appointed municipal government under the new system—cannot and will not act properly, I believe the courts should back up the constabulary insofar as the 6,000 arrests which have been made, and that in view of the fact that there is honor and dignity in labor, that those who are convicted be assigned the duty of hard labor, and clean this area up properly without passing the buck. I see no reason in the world why those who are complaining now, should not be brought back in and assigned, in answer to these 14 pages of want ads in yesterday's Sunday paper, to do this duty at District expense, even though it involves increasing the alcoholic beverage tax, and increasing the property tax in the District of Columbia, or making a lien on future construction to arise where and when the rubble of rioting is cleared away.

I am well aware, Mr. Speaker, that the second idea involved in this bill is for the relief of the property owners. Certainly in a time of insurrection, riot and arson, and indeed uncontrolled anarchy such as we lived through on those "10 bad days in April," that the individual owner does assume and does accept a calculated risk in doing business in those areas.

For all these reasons, and considering the pros and cons, on balance—I would hope this bill would be defeated, not only because of the question that those owners who are relieved—or become equalized—by virtue of the prudence of having insurance beforehand, is not ruled out—and I am not speaking of friendly fires—but because if for no other reason that we might adopt the idea of the German people who left half of a partially destroyed cathedral standing as a monument to what had happened as a result of their own perfidy, and to indicate as well the injustices committed, and to the hope of the dignity of man in the world. Perhaps it would not be too bad or too much to ask if some of these ruins would remain here; because I have seen many, many people who have come to Washington since those "10 bad days in April," and who have made a trip down into the area and driven up 14th Street and down Seventh Street, when of course it was safe for them so to do in the daytime, as well as those who have flown over the area in the daytime during periods of good visibility, and who have been astonished and dismayed as to what was permitted to go on in our Federal City, and that certainly the General Treasury and the taxpayers across the Nation at large, should not be called upon to support this type of legislation. I believe that the bill should be defeated.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I introduced the bill under consideration, H.R. 16948, after much thought and careful consideration of the information at hand.

I ask the Members if they can imagine anyone who has had their life's savings—

everything they had—their buildings and property destroyed, being forced to remove the debris at their own expense. Some had tried to get insurance on the building and, because of it being in a certain area could not get the insurance, or if they could they would have to pay a terrifically high risk rate on the insurance. These people are left with nothing, and then the city comes along and says "You have got a wall there that is in danger of crumbling or tumbling, and it might possibly kill somebody. You must take that wall down in 24 hours and clean up the debris. If you do not do so we are going to do it, and charge you for it."

This, at a time when these people do not even know where their next meal is coming from. They have no business, no property, and no jobs.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Maryland for yielding.

I would say to the gentleman that I do not believe the issue is one of whether or not some honest Commissioner has issued a wrong order or not. The issue before us is whether this is a Federal tax indulgence.

Mr. FRIEDEL. I would say to the gentleman from Missouri that this is an old, antiquated law originating back in 1899. Because of that law, a person whose property is destroyed is required to clean up the debris. I do not see how my bill can be considered a Federal tax indulgence. The District of Columbia government has already stated to the House District Committee that they have $100,000 appropriated for the Redevelopment Land Agency for the present fiscal year which was to be used for certain relocation costs but which has not been spent or committed. This money can be used to clean up the debris within the meaning of the law because many businesses and living quarters will have to be "relocated". But we have to pass this bill to permit the District to bear this expense under any program.

I would also like to mention that my bill was amended by the House District Committee to make it more restrictive and it was reported unanimously.

I would further ask the Members if any one of them can question the integrity of the chairman from the subcommittee? They know how he and the members of the committee watch out for the taxpayers of our country, and attempt to hold down the costs. They are economy-minded, as is everybody else.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. You had some arson and burning and destruction of buildings in Baltimore. Are you asking the Federal Government to tear those buildings down because they are unsafe or to clean up the rubble?

Mr. FRIEDEL. In this bill that we are now considering, we are not asking the Federal Government to do it. This is permissive legislation, and we are authorizing the District government to do it since they did not control the rioters.

Mr. GROSS. Why are you doing this in the case of the District of Columbia?

Mr. FRIEDEL. In Baltimore and other cities the local government does it. This bill leaves it to the District Commissioners. You will see on page 3 of the report, it says:

> However, it was considered desirable to allow the Commissioner to refuse to bear the cost of removing a building or debris if he thought the public interest required such refusal.

In other words, this is only permissive legislation. He has to be convinced that it is protecting life and limb or the health of the citizens before he will clear away this rubble.

It is only fair to do this. The city of Baltimore and other cities do have legislation to take care of such costs. Why should the city of Washington not do it like all the other cities?

Mr. GROSS. Of course, if the gentleman did not think they were going into the public till to get the money to do the job, he would not have this legislation here; would he? There would be no necessity for the legislation.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Look, if you want to punish the arsonists, punish them but do not punish the innocent people.

Mr. GROSS. What about the innocent people in Baltimore? They are not saying to you to ask the Federal Government to do for them what you want to do here in the District of Columbia. If not, why not?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I will tell you that right now there are many times we have legislation here to help disaster areas. Well the District of Columbia has suffered a disaster. This is not picking out the citizens of the District for special help. We do it for all cities and States. But all we are doing here is what we do for all the taxpayers—it works one way as well as the other. I can understand the situation in Baltimore City and we are working on that. Our city council is taking care of Baltimore and the District of Columbia Council should take care of the District in this situation.

Mr. GROSS. I will say that it does work one way or another. Of course, it works one way and another way. The other way is nick all the taxpayers in the country for a job that ought to be done within the District of Columbia and by the people affected in the District of Columbia.

Mr. FRIEDEL. I think we are protecting the taxpayers of the country in the way the bill is worded.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SISK. Is it not a fact that what the Congress today is attempting to do on behalf of the District of Columbia is exactly what the City Council of the City of Baltimore can do for its people?

Mr. FRIEDEL. And they are doing it.

Mr. SISK. We are not legislating on a Federal program.

I know my friend, the gentleman from Iowa, is concerned about the taxpayers in this situation. But here we are delegating to the District of Columbia the authority to take care of the problem which the city council can do for the city of Baltimore or as they could do in some other city.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I do not understand that we are making a contribution to a Federal program for the city of Baltimore on a direct basis.

Mr. SISK. We are not making a contribution in this legislation to the city of Washington. But we do state that the City Council for Washington may do this, as the gentleman very well knows, the city of Washington under the Constitution and under the procedures we have would have to authorize the city of Washington to do many things that other cities in the country do not have to come to the Congress to do because their city council does it for them.

Mr. GROSS. That is exactly the story.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask the Members to vote for this bill. It is a good bill. This bill was passed by the unanimous vote of the committee. We have some of the most dedicated men on that committee who are always watching out for the taxpayers' money.

Mr. Speaker, we are all familiar with the tragic events of last month—the civil disorders which caused so much hardship and damage here in the District of Columbia.

Many businesses, some of which have been established in Washington for decades, were completely destroyed in the course of the riots. Although a few businesses have recovered a portion of their losses through insurance, few, if any, will recover their entire loss.

The present law in the District of Columbia requires these businessmen to remove the rubble and debris remaining from their burned out and looted businesses at the owner's personal expense.

I think my colleagues will agree that this is an unreasonable and unfair statute. To require these taxpaying citizens of the District of Columbia to bear the burden of removing the charred ruins of their property appears to me to be completely illogical.

Since the District of Columbia city government is responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the prevention and suppression of riots, looting, and burning, it seems only fair that the District's government bear the cost of the removal of the debris wherever necessary.

Unlike all other city councils, including my own city of Baltimore, the District of Columbia receives all its power and authority from the Congress of the United States. That is why you must support H.R. 16948 if there is to be any justice whatsoever for these businessmen and residents who were innocent victims of the recent disorders—disorders we all denounced and deplored.

In other areas where there were civil disorders, a combination of action from local city councils and State governments made the kind of action called for in H.R. 16948 possible. However, due to the unique case of the District of Columbia, the City Council here is powerless to do anything without your authorization.

I particularly call my colleagues' attention to the fact that Mayor-Commissioner Walter Washington and District of Columbia Corporation Council Charles T. Duncan testified in favor of this measure before the House District Committee and agreed that there was great need for adoption of this bill. Evidently the committee agreed for they unanimously adopted the measure after extensive hearings.

I know of no city in the Nation where the local government does not accept the responsibility for removing debris resulting from civil disorders. My bill, H.R. 16948, before you today, would make this possible for Washington, D.C. By authorizing the Mayor-Commissioner to determine if a building's ruins should be removed, we will be protecting the best interests of the general public from unsafe buildings, falling debris, and other unprotected structures.

Unfortunately, some businessmen will never be able to reopen in the District of Columbia again. Others will not be able to reopen in their former locations.

I ask you to support H.R. 16948 today so that we can get on with the necessary steps of ridding Washington of the debris from the riots as soon as possible, extend a hand to those unfortunate victims in the business community, and, above all, instigate measures to insure the physical safety of the general public.

Mr. **ROGERS** of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to speak out of the regular order.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. **ROGERS** of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this time to give notice to the House that tomorrow, and I presume that it will happen tomorrow, when the request will be made to go to conference with the other body on the crime bill, I plan to offer a motion to instruct the conferees on the part of the House to agree to the Senate amendment in title II of the bill, H.R. 5037.

These amendments were to change the Supreme Court decisions as to the admissibility of confessions voluntarily made and of eyewitnesses. I was shocked to read in the newspaper that the chairman of the House committee said that he would never agree to those amendments. He would rather have no bill and do nothing about crime. So I think the House ought to be given an opportunity before they go to conference to instruct the conferees to agree to those amendments regarding the Supreme Court decisions on the admissibility in evidence of voluntary confessions and the other items in title II. I think this House will overwhelmingly instruct those conferees that we want those decisions changed, that we want the hands of the police unshackled, and that we want something done for the American people instead of for the criminals in this Nation.

Mr. **WILLIS**. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **ROGERS** of Florida. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. **WILLIS**. I might tell the gentleman that the House, not once, twice, but three times, in the past, at my instance, passed a bill to overrule the Mallory or confession decision.

Mr. **ROGERS** of Florida. I appreciate that, and I am sure the House will take that position again. I would urge support by all Members of the House tomorrow of the motion I shall offer to instruct the conferees to agree to the Senate amendment to title II, as amended by the Senate, of H.R. 5037.

Mr. **DOWDY**. Justification for H.R. 16948 is set forth in the letter from the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, expressing his endorsement of this proposed legislation as amended by your committee:

GOVERNMENT OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Washington, D.C., May 10, 1968.

The Honorable JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia, U.S. House of Rpresentatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MCMILLAN: The Government of the District of Columbia has for report H.R. 16948, 90th Congress, a bill "To direct the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to remove at the expense of the District of Columbia buildings destroyed or damaged in riots or other civil disorders."

The bill requires the District, in the case of any building which it determines destroyed or damaged on or after April 4, 1968, as the result of any riot or other civil disorder, to remove the building or part thereof determined to be unsafe pursuant to the Unsafe Structures Act of March 1, 1899 (D.C. Code, sec. 5–501—5–508). The bill also requires the District to remove any other damaged building or part thereof if the owner asks that it be removed, and, finally, the bill requires the District to reimburse those owners who, at their own expense, removed their damaged buildings in compliance with orders issued by the District pursuant to the Unsafe Structures Act.

The District believes it desirable, for reasons of health and safety of the public, that it be required at its expense to remove damaged buildings or parts of buildings which are unsafe within the meaning of the Unsafe Structures Act, and that the owners of real property damaged in the course of the disorders which began on April 4 should not be required to bear the cost of correcting a condition that was not the result of their own acts of omission or commission. However, with respect to properties which, although damaged, are not unsafe within the meaning of the Unsafe Structures Act, the District is of the view that the owners of any such properties should themselves be required to bear the cost of removing such buildings or parts of buildings if that be the course of action they desire to take.

Accordingly, in the belief that the action which the bill requires be taken by the District will eliminate conditions endangering the health and safety of the public, the District recommends the enactment of H.R. 16948, with the exception of so much thereof as would require the District, at the request of its owner, to tear down and remove a building or part of a building which, while damaged, is not in such condition as to be unsafe. In this connection, the District has reason to believe that a number of buildings which might fall within this category could be restored. The District therefore questions so much of the bill as would require it, upon receiving such a request from a property owner, to tear down and remove a building which could be repaired and restored to productive use.

The District accordingly recommends that the bill be amended by striking clause (2) in both subsection (a) and subsection (b); by striking "any buildings so destroyed" in line 3 on page 2 and inserting in lieu thereof "such unsafe buildings"; and by inserting between lines 12 and 13 on page 2, the following:

"pursuant to a notice received under the Act of March 1, 1899 (D.C. Code, secs. 5–501 to 5–508),".

These amendments would have the effect of eliminating from the bill the mandatory requirement that the District, upon receiving from an owner of damaged property a request that it be torn down, must take such action, and must remove the debris from all razed buildings, regardless of whether they were unsafe.

The District estimates that the cost of demolishing and removing unsafe damaged buildings or parts thereof will be approximately $300,000, of which $100,000 is presently available from funds of the District and the balance of which would be covered by a demolition grant presently being processed through the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

If the bill be amended in the manner suggested in this report, so as to limit its effect to the removal, for reasons of health and safety, of buildings or parts of buildings so damaged as to be unsafe, without at the same time requiring the District also to remove damaged buildings or parts of buildings which are not unsafe, then the District would strongly favor the enactment of the bill.

The Government of the District of Columbia has been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this report to the Congress.

Sincerely yours,
THOMAS W. FLETCHER,
Assistant to the Commissioner
(For Walter E. Washington).

Mr. **WHITENER**. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill and all amendments thereto.

The previous question was ordered.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the amendment to the committee amendment offered by the gentleman from North Carolina.

The amendment to the committee amendment was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the committee amendment, as amended.

The committee amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The **SPEAKER**. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 142, nays 185, not voting 106, as follows:

[Roll No. 152]

YEAS—142

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Annunzio
Ayres
Barrett
Boland
Broomfield
Brown, Mich.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Cleveland
Cohelan
Conte
Daniels
Delaney
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Dowdy
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Calif.
Erlenborn
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Feighan
Flood
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Goodell
Gray
Griffiths
Gubser
Gude
Hamilton
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Harsha
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kyros
Leggett
Long, Md.
McDade
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mailliard
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
Meeds
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Morgan
Morse, Mass.
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Nedzi
Nelsen
O'Hara, Mich.
Ottinger
Patten
Philbin
Price, Ill.
Pucinski
Quie
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Schweiker
Shipley
Sisk
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Stafford
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, N.J.
Tiernan
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Walker
Whalen
White
Whitener
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zwach

NAYS—185

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Aspinall
Baring
Bates
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Brotzman
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Bush
Cabell
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Cramer
Cunningham
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Dorn
Downing
Duncan
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Esch
Eshleman
Fascell
Findley
Fisher
Foley
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gathings
Goodling
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Hammerschmidt
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Hébert
Henderson
Hosmer
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, N.C.
Keith
King, N.Y.
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
McCarthy
McCloskey
McClure
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Mahon
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minshall
Mize
Montgomery
Morris, N. Mex.
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Natcher
Nichols
O'Konski
O'Neal, Ga.
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poff
Pool
Price, Tex.
Quillen
Railsback
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Roberts
Robison
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schwengel
Scott
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Udall
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Waldie
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Wydler
Wyman
Zion

NOT VOTING—106

Andrews, Ala.
Ashley
Ashmore
Battin
Berry
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolling
Bolton
Bow
Brademas
Brasco
Brown, Calif.
Broyhill, Va.
Burton, Utah
Carey
Carter
Casey
Celler
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cowger
Culver
Curtis
Daddario
Dawson
Dent
Diggs
Dulski
Eilberg
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fino
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Gardner
Gettys
Giaimo
Gilbert
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Halleck
Halpern
Hanley
Harrison
Harvey
Hawkins
Herlong
Holland
Howard
Johnson, Pa.
Jones, Mo.
Kee
Kelly
Kleppe
Kupferman
Landrum
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McCulloch
McMillan
May
Mayne
Miller, Calif.
Moore
Moorhead
Murphy, N.Y.
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Patman
Poage
Podell
Pollock
Pryor
Purcell
Randall
Rees
Resnick
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
Ruppe
Scheuer
Selden
Staggers
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Tunney
Utt
Watts
Whalley
Wylie

So the bill was not passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote

Mr. Celler for, with Mr. Randall against.

Mr. Podell for, with Mr. Berry against.

Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts for, with Mrs. May against.

Mrs. Kelly for, with Mr. Thompson of Georgia against.

Mr. Blatnik for, with Mr. Utt against.

Mrs. Sullivan for, with Mr. Battin against.

Mr. Carey for, with Mr. Burton of Utah against.

Mr. Bingham for, with Mr. Del Clawson against.

Mr. Murphy of New York for, with Mr. Gardner against.

Mr. Eilberg for, with Mr. Whalley against.

Mr. Scheuer for, with Mr. Johnson of Pennsylvania against.

Mr. Brasco for, with Mr. Harrison against.

Mr. Rooney of New York for, with Mr. Mayne against.

Mr. Gilbert for, with Mr. Bow against.

Mr. Roybal for, with Mr. Stuckey against.

Mr. Dawson for, with Mr. Long of Louisiana against.

Mr. Nix for, with Mr. Herlong against.

Mr. Conyers for, with Mr. Gettys against.

Mr. Diggs for, with Mr. Stubblefield against.

Mr. Hawkins for, with Mr. Pryor against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Boggs with Mr. Gerald R. Ford.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Broyhill of Virginia.

Mr. Dent with Mr. Corbett.

Mr. Landrum with Mr. Curtis.

Mr. Dulski with Mrs. Bolton.

Mr. Clark with Mr. Fino.

Mr. Staggers of West Virginia with Mr. Halleck.

Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Pollock.

Mr. Farbstein with Mr. Halpern.

Mr. Kee with Mr. Ruppe.

Mr. Hanley with Mr. Kleppe.

Mrs. Green of Oregon with Mr. Harvey.

Mr. Poage with Mr. Lukens.

Mr. Patman with Mr. Kupferman.

Mr. Green of Pennsylvania with Mr. McClory.

Mr. Olsen with Mr. Moore.

Mr. McMillan with Mr. McCulloch.

Mr. Flynt with Mr. Cowger.

Mr. Purcell with Mr. Don H. Clausen.

Mr. Howard with Mr. Carter.

Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Casey.

Mr. Ashley with Mr. Moorhead.

Mr. Corman with Mr. Daddario.

Mr. Everett with Mr. Culver.

Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Ronan.

Mr. Rees with Mr. Selden.

Mr. Tunney with Mr. Resnick.

Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Watts.

Mr. Brademas with Mr. Tenzer.

Mr. COLLIER changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. BROWN of Michigan changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. SMITH of New York changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. WRIGHT changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House Committee on Public Works may be permitted to sit this afternoon during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AIR POLLUTION CONTROL ACT

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOWDY].

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK].

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 17414), to provide for the prevention and control of air pollution in the District of Columbia, and ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 17414

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "District of Columbia Air Pollution Control Act".

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this Act to enable the District of Columbia Council and the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to take such action (including the adoption of air pollution control regulations of the type proposed in the model air pollution control ordinance adopted by the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments) as may be necessary to protect and enhance the quality of the District of Columbia's air resources so as to promote the public health and welfare and the productive capacity of its population; to foster their comfort and convenience; and to increase the enjoyment of all of the attractions of the Nation's Capital.

EMISSION AND AIR QUALITY STANDARDS ESTABLISHED BY THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COUNCIL

SEC. 3. (a)(1) The District of Columbia Council (hereafter referred to in this Act as the "Council") shall prescribe (A) within six months after the date of the enactment of this Act regulations to control emissions in the District of Columbia of sbstances into the atmosphere, and (B) such other regulations to protect and improve air quality in the District of Columbia as it determines are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(2) In carrying out clause (A) of paragraph (1) of this subsection, the Council shall prescribe regulations for the control of the following air pollution problems in the District of Columbia:

(A) combustion of fuels at stationary sources,

(B) solid waste disposal and salvage operations,

(C) visible emissions,

(D) process emissions, and

(E) emissions from motor vehicles (including diesel driven vehicles).

The provisions of such regulations shall be at least as stringent as the provisions of the recommendations made by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for the control of such problems and contained in his recommendations for abatement of air pollution in the National Capital metropolitan area presented to the interstate air pollution and abatement conference called under section 105(d)(1)(C) of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 1857d).

(3) The Council may review and make such revisions of regulations prescribed under this Act as it determines are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act, except that any regulation prescribed under clause (A) of paragraph (1) of subsection (a) shall be so reviewed at least once every two years.

(4) The regulations prescribed by the Council under this Act shall not apply to any building, installation, or other property which is in the District of Columbia and which is under the jurisdiction of any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States Government.

(5) The Council may impose in any regulation prescribed under this Act a fine (not to exceed $300) or imprisonment (not to exceed ninety days), or both, for a violation of such regulation; and may provide that if such violation is a continuing one, each day of such violation shall constitute a separate offense.

(b) In the formulation of any regulations under this Act, the Council shall afford interested persons an opportunity to participate in the formulation of such regulations through submission of written data, views, or arguments with opportunity to present oral testimony and argument. The Council shall make its regulations under this Act on the basis of the record established in proceedings held pursuant to this subsection.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL PROGRAM FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SEC. 4. (a) The Commissioner of the District of Columbia (hereinafter referred to in this Act as the "Commissioner") shall take such action as may be necessary to prepare a comprehensive program for the control and prevention of air pollution in the District of Columbia. Such program shall provide for the administration and enforcement by the Commission of the regulations prescribed by the Council under section 3 of this Act. As part of such program, the Commissioner—

(1) shall conduct research, investigations, experiments, training demonstrations, surveys, and studies, relating to the causes, effects, extent, prevention, and control of air pollution in the District of Columbia;

(2) shall collect and make available, through publications, educational and training programs, and other appropriate means, the results of, and other information pertaining to, the activities carried out under paragraph (1);

(3) establish, in accordance with such regulations as the Council may prescribe, such procedures as may be necessary to enable him (acting by himself or with air pollution control agencies of surrounding jurisdictions) to effectively deal with an air pollution emergency; and

(4) may advise, consult, cooperate, and enter into agreements with the governments and agencies of any State or political subdivision thereof adjacent to the District of Columbia and any interstate or other regional agency representing any such State or political subdivision to (A) establish cooperative effort and mutual assistance for the prevention and control of air pollution and the enforcement of their respective laws relating thereto, and (B) establish such agencies as may be necessary to carry out such agreements.

(b) For the purpose of carrying out his duties under this Act, the Commissioner may—

(1) delegate the performance of such duties to an agency of the government of the District of Columbia, designated or established by him;

(2) issue such orders as may be necessary to enforce the regulations prescribed by the Council under this Act and enforce such orders by all appropriate administrative and judicial proceedings, including injunctive relief;

(3) hold hearings relating to the administration of this Act;

(4) secure necessary scientific, technical, administrative, and operational services, including laboratory facilities, by contract, or otherwise;

(5) receive and administer grants or gifts made for the purpose of carrying out the purposes of this Act; and

(6) take any other action which may be necessary to carry out his duties under this Act.

JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 5. Section 11-742(a) of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

(1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (9),

(2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (10) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and", and

(3) by adding after paragraph (19) the following:

"(11) Any agency action taken by the Commissioner of the District of Columbia or the District of Columbia Council under the District of Columbia Air Pollution Control Act.

For purposes of paragraph (11) of this subsection, the term 'agency action' shall have the same meaning that is given that term in section 551(13) of title 5 of the United States Code."

REPEAL OF ACT OF AUGUST 15, 1935

SEC. 6. Effective on the one hundred and eightieth day following the date of the enactment of this Act, the Act approved August 15, 1935 (D.C. Code, secs. 6-801—6-803), is repealed.

Mr. SISK (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the committee amendments.

On page 3, line 9, strike out "presented to the interstate air pollution and" and insert in lieu thereof "presented in January 1968 to the interstate air pollution".

On page 3, strike out lines 19 through 23 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(4) The regulations prescribed by the Council under this Act shall apply to any building, installation, or other property, which is located in the District of Columbia and which is under the jurisdiction of any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States Government, only to the extent provided in Executive Order 11282 of May 26, 1966, and other Executive order of the President, and any Federal regulations, issued to carry out section 111 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 1857f)."

On page 5, line 4, strike out "Commission" and insert in lieu thereof "Commissioner".

On page 7, line 22 strike out "6-803" and insert thereof "6-804".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, this bill requires no additional funding, or at least it is not so stipulated in the bill. Is that correct?

Mr. SISK. That is basically correct. Actually what this is, of course, is an authorization for the District of Columbia to promulgate certain provisions with respect to air pollution and to make sure that those regulations which are promulgated measure up to those set forth by the Secretary as national regulations and to carry out, of course, enforcement of these regulations within the District of Columbia.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, now that city buses are practically off the streets when it becomes dark in the evening because of the danger to drivers, there will not be quite so much pollution of the air. Does the gentleman agree with this?

Mr. SISK. I would assume, of course, if we all walk instead of ride in our cars or in buses, there will be less air pollution.

Mr. GROSS. That apparently is the situation that is developing in the District of Columbia.

Mr. SISK. It looks as though we might be moving in that direction.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have a question as to whether this will act to clean up the habit and practice of burning garbage and refuse and rubbish out in the open or within a short distance of the Capitol. During the past year I have come in an evening, and when I have looked up, I have seen the Capitol dome through a purple-pink-blue haze, so that I could hardly see the top of it. If I was close, the soot and cinders were falling down on my clothes. As a matter of fact, several times it looked like a good dense fog—except that the smell is terrible.

It is difficult to believe that in the Nation's Capital we would have this smell of burning garbage in the nose and a burning in the eyes, as we have in some other cities. Will this legislation help to clean up that practice?

Mr. SISK. Let me say to my good friend from Pennsylvania, certainly the answer would be in the affirmative.

I might say with reference to that type burning, the District of Columbia already has authority to control that. This bill would make it even more permissible—if I can use that term—and would set up specific standards. It further requires the standards to measure up to the Federal standards. I think the bill will be helpful in eradicating the kind of nuisance the gentleman has mentioned.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I would like to give notice that it is the legislative intent of this House that the practice be stopped of burning rubbish and garbage out in the open and polluting the air. I believe the municipality and surrounding municipalities are the worst contributors to the nuisance. It is bad enough with all the politicians, but when we add to that this burning, it is going a little too far.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I agree with my friend from Pennsylvania. I hope we can clean up some of this. I am sure the bill will be helpful.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is to authorize and direct the Commissioner of the District of Columbia and the District of Columbia Council to make and promulgate reasonable classifications and regulations in order to preserve, protect, and improve the air resources of the community so as to promote the health, safety, and welfare of the people of the District of Columbia and the metropolitan region; to prevent injury to human health and plant and animal life; to prevent harm to property; to foster the comfort and convenience of its citizens; and, to the greatest degree practicable, to facilitate the enjoyment by the citizens of the Nation of the attractions of the Nation's Capital.

NEED FOR LEGISLATION

In public hearings conducted in August of 1967, your committee was advised that dangerous levels of pollution exist in the atmosphere of the District of Columbia and its suburban environs.

The largest single source of air pollution in the District of Columbia, your committee is advised, is automobile exhaust. The effects of carbon monoxide can range anywhere from drowsiness to death. Scientific tests indicate that at 1,000 parts of carbon monoxide per million parts of air, the gas kills quickly; and at 100 parts it produces severe headaches and dizziness. In 1966, the maximum 1-hour concentration of carbon monoxide for the District was 38 parts per million, while the maximum 5-minute concentration for the District was 47 parts per million. While a concentration of 50 parts per million was once considered a minimum danger point, later research indicates that this figure may be too high. For example, California researchers found that 30 parts per million for 8 hours seriously affects people who already have poor blood circulation. These facts make it obvious that dangerous levels of carbon monoxide exist in the Washington metropolitan area.

Another major source of air pollution in the metropolitan area are the power plants of the Federal Government. The Chief of Enforcement for the National Center for Air Pollution Control estimates that the Federal plants in the area contribute about one-third of the sulfur dioxide in the air.

To be safe, according to the National Center for Air Pollution Control, a city's air should not contain more than 0.015 part per million of sulfur dioxide on an annual average. Washington's air, over the past few years, has averaged about 0.04 part per million of sulfur dioxide. While there are many days when the concentration falls well below this annual average, there have been some days, such as in 1965, when the maximum measured was 0.2 part per million and the average monthly high reading was 0.08. Quantities as low as 0.25 may damage some varieties of vegetation over long periods of exposure, and will cause severe nose and throat irritation in amounts ranging in the area of 10 to 15 parts per million. In fact, studies have shown a statistical relationship between the incidence of respiratory disease and sulfur dioxide levels.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

In addition to the committee amendments to correct typographical errors, the committee amended paragraph (4) of section 3 of the bill to place Federal buildings in the District of Columbia in the same position with respect to local air pollution controls as are Federal buildings in other jurisdictions in the United States. Thus, any Presidential executive orders or Federal regulations which require Federal buildings to be operated in conformity with local air pollution control regulations would continue to apply to Federal buildings in the District.

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

Section 1 of the bill sets out the short title: "District of Columbia Air Pollution Control Act."

Section 2 is the declaration of purpose of the bill, which is to enable the District of Columbia government to take action in the matter of air quality control.

Section 3 relates to regulations to protect and improve air quality. The District of Columbia Council is authorized to prescribe regulations and penalties. The Council is required, within 6 months after enactment of the bill into law, to make regulations to control emissions into the atmosphere, with minimum standards to be no less than those recommended by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and which shall be subject to review by the Council at least every 2 years. The maximum penalties which may be established by the Council for violation of such regulations are a fine of no more than $300 or imprisonment of no more than 90 days, or both, for each day of violation.

This section of the bill also establishes the right of interested persons to present views to the Council prior to its prescribing regulations under the authority granted in the bill.

In addition, section 3—as amended by the committee—provides that any building, installation, or other property of the U.S. Government in the District of Columbia shall comply with the District's air pollution controls if compliance is required by an Executive order of the President or a Federal regulation.

Section 4 relates to administrative duties and authority as to air pollution control. The Commissioner of the District of Columbia has the duty to prepare a comprehensive program providing for administration and enforcement of the regulations prescribed by the Council, with certain enumerated required duties as to studies and reporting, and is given authority to deal with officials in areas adjacent to the District of Columbia in furtherance of the purposes of the bill. The Commissioner is granted administrative authority necessary to carry out his duties under the bill.

Section 5 provides for judicial review of actions taken by the Commissioner and the District of Columbia Council pursuant to the bill.

Section 6 repeals existing law—District of Columbia Code, sections 6–801 through 6–804—relating to emission of smoke and other foreign substances, effective on the 180th day after enactment. The present law is more limited in scope and applicability than are the provisions of this bill, and provides maximum penalty of a fine of $500 for each offense.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members, I submit a section-by-section explanation of the bill H.R. 17414:

SHORT TITLE

Section 1 of the bill provides the following short title: "District of Columbia Air Pollution Control Act".

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

Section 2 states that the purpose of the bill is to enable the District of Columbia government to take such action as may be necessary to protect and improve air quality in the District of Columbia. The Metropolitan Washington Council of Government's model air pollution control ordinance is referred to as an example of the type of action that may be taken under the bill.

It was initially proposed that such ordinance be prescribed as a minimum standard for emission standards to be prescribed by the District of Columbia Council. It was found after examination that the recommendations of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for abatement of air pollution in the Washington area (which he made in January 1968 to the conference on abatement of interstate air pollution, and which were also proposed as such a minimum standard for the Council) were as stringent as the provisions of the model ordinance and also included a time schedule for compliance with the recommendations. The model ordinance did not contain such a time schedule since the inclusion of time schedules were left to the jurisdictions adopting the model ordinance.

Thus, to make the minimum standard for the Council as clear as possible and also to carry out the Committee's intent that the Secretary's recommendation be complied with, the model ordinance is included in the bill only as an example of the type of regulation which is authorized to be adopted under the bill.

EMISSION AND AIR QUALITY STANDARDS ESTABLISHED BY THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COUNCIL

Paragraph (1) of the new subsection (a) of section 3 requires the Council to set emission standards within six months after the date of enactment of the bill and requires, without time limit, that the Council make such other regulations as may be necessary to protect and improve air quality in the District of Columbia. Under its authority to prescribe such regulations the Council will have the authority to prescribe provisions for the administration and enforcement of the regulations. Such provisions could include, subject to the limitation of paragraph (2) of section 3(a), a permit or licensing system, inspection procedures, exemptions, and effective dates for compliance.

The purpose of paragraph (2) of subsection (a) of section 3 is to establish the Secretary's recommendations for abatement of air pollution in the Washington area as the minimum standard for regulations prescribed by the Council under paragraph (1) of such subsection (a). The items mentioned in subparagraphs (A) through (E) are the items specifically mentioned in the Secretary's recommendations. Thus, it is made clear that first, the Council must propose regulations dealing with those air pollution problems dealt with in the Secretary's recommendations and, second, that such regulations of the Council must be at least as stringent as the Secretary's recommendations.

Paragraph (3) of such subsection (a) requires that the Council review its regulations and make such revisions as it determines are necessary to carry out the purposes of the bill, and specifically provides that the regulations controlling emissions must be reviewed at least once every two years.

Paragraph (4) of subsection (a), as amended by the Committee, provides that Federal buildings in the District must comply with the Council's regulations to the extent required by Presidential executive orders and any Federal regulations relating to compliance by Federal agencies with local air pollution controls.

In section 111 of the Clean Air Act it was declared to be the intent of Congress that all Federal agencies should cooperate with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and local air pollution control agencies to prevent and control air pollution. In furtherance of the declared intent of Congress, the President in Executive Order 11282 directed departments, agencies, and establishments of the Executive Branch to provide leadership in the nationwide effort to improve air quality. Further, regulations have been issued (42 C.F.R. pt. 76) to control emissions from Federal facilities.

Paragraph (5) of subsection (a) of section 3 sets a limits on penalties which may be prescribed by the Council for violations of its regulations. A fine not to exceed $300 or imprisonment for not more than 90 days, or both, may be set by the Council. In addition, the Council may provide that if a person's violation of a Council regulation continues for more than one day, such person will be charged with a separate offense for each day the violation continues.

Subsection (b) of section 3 provides that the Council must provide on opportunity for the full participation of interested persons in the making of its regulations. Public hearings must be held if requested. Further, the Council is directed to make its regulations on the basis of the record established in proceedings held under subsection (b).

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL PROGRAM FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Subsection (a) of section 4 of the bill sets out the duties of the Commissioner of the District of Columbia with respect to the control of air pollution in the District of Columbia. The Commissioner is to prepare a comprehensive program for the control and prevention of air pollution. The program should identify the air pollution problems in the District of Columbia and the means for their abatement. As a part of such program, the Commissioner will administer and enforce the regulations prescribed by the Council. In addition, the Commissioner is to carry out research and education programs relating to the control of air pollution. Further, the Commissioner is given the authority to take whatever action may be necessary to effectively deal with an air pollution emergency in the District of Columbia. Such action is to be taken in accordance with such regulations as the Council may prescribe. Also, authority is given to the Commissioner to enter into agreements with surrounding jurisdictions to provide a joint effort to prevent and control air pollution in the Metropolitan Washington Area and to enforce the respective air pollution controls of the surrounding jurisdictions.

Subsection (b) of section 4 of the bill permits the Commissioner to delegate his functions to an existing agency of the government of the District of Columbia or to establish a new agency of the government of the District of Columbia to carry out his functions. Such subsection also contains provisions authorizing the Commissioner to hold hearings, issue and enforce orders, and generally take such other action as may be necessary to carry out his functions under the bill.

JUDICIAL REVIEW

Section 5 of the bill provides judicial review in the District of Columbia Court of Appeals of actions taken by the Commissioner and the District of Columbia Council under the bill. Specifically, agency action taken by the Commissioner or Council are subject to judicial review. The term "agency action" is given the same meaning as is prescribed for that term in chapter 5 of title 5 of the United States Code (relating to administrative procedure). In such title the term is defined to include an agency (in this case, the Commissioner or Council) rule, order, license sanction, or relief. These are the kind of actions which the Committee expects will be subject to judicial review.

REPEAL OF THE ACT OF AUGUST 15, 1935

Section 6 of the bill provides that the existing smoke prevention law in the District of Columbia will be repealed on the 180th day following the date of the enactment of the bill. Thus, the Council will have six months to prescribe regulations to supersede such law.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of a similar Senate bill, S. 1941, to prevent, abate, and control air pollution in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 1941

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "District of Columbia Air Pollution Control Act of 1967".

STATEMENT OF POLICY

SEC. 2. It is declared to be the policy of Congress to maintain that degree of purity of the air resources of the District of Columbia which will protect public health, general welfare, and property.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. For purposes of this Act:

(1) The term "air pollution" shall mean the presence in the outdoor atmosphere of substances in quantities, having characteristics and being of a duration which, from any single source or in combination with other sources, are, or may be predicted with reasonable certainty, to be injurious to human, plant, or animal life or property, or which unreasonably interfere with the proper enjoyment of the property of others by reason of the emission of odors, solids, vapors, liquids, or gases:

(2) The term "Commissioner" shall mean the Commissioner of the District of Columbia appointed pursuant to Part III of Reorganization Plan Numbered 3 of 1967;

(3) The term "Board" shall mean the Air Pollution Control Board of the District of Columbia;

(4) The term "Advisory Council" shall mean the Air Pollution Control Advisory Council of the District of Columbia;

(5) The term "person" shall mean any individual, group of individuals, firm, partnership, voluntary association or private, public, or municipal corporation, responsible for the use of property; and

(6) The term "emergency" shall mean a sudden condition of such public gravity and exigency as to require immediate action, or a condition which is predicted with reasonable certainty to require immediate action, to carry out the purposes of this Act.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL BOARD

SEC. 4. There is hereby created an Air Pollution Control Board of the District of Columbia. The Board shall consist of three persons, appointed by the Commissioner of the District of Columbia. Of the three persons, first appointed as members of the Board, one shall be appointed for two years, one for three years, and one for four years, and thereafter all appointments shall be for the term of four years. Two of the members in office shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the Board. Vacancies caused by death, resignation, or otherwise shall be filled by the Commissioner only for the unexpired terms. Members shall be eligible for reappointment. The Commissioner shall designate one of the members of the Board to be Chairman thereof. The positions of members of the Board shall be classified and the compensation fixed in accordance with the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates. The Board is authorized to appoint such personnel as, in its judgment, shall be required to carry out its functions. Such appointments shall be in accordance with the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates. The Board shall be the official air pollution control agency for the District of Columbia for purposes of the Clean Air Act.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 5. (a) There is hereby created an Air Pollution Control Advisory Council of the District of Columbia. The Advisory Council shall consist of seven members, who shall be appointed by the Commissioner of the District of Columbia for a term of four years, except that with respect to the first appointments made after this Act becomes effective, two members shall be appointed for two-year terms, two members shall be appointed for three-year terms, and three members shall be appointed for four-year terms. Four of the members in office shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the Advisory Council. Vacancies caused by death, resignation, or otherwise shall be filled by the Commissioner only for the unexpired terms. Members shall be eligible for reappointment. The Commissioner shall designate one of the members of the Advisory Council to be Chairman thereof. Members shall be chosen to reflect a range of experience in matters of air pollution control, including such fields as engineering, health, and manufacturing and commercial activities.

(b) Members of the Advisory Council, including those who may be officers or employees of the Federal or District of Columbia governments, shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties.

(c) The Advisory Council shall consider rules, regulations, standards, and emission control requirements as provided in section 13 of this Act, and any other matters related to the purposes of this Act. The Advisory Council may make recommendations on its own initiative to the Board concerning the administration of this Act.

POWERS OF THE AIR POLLUTION CONTROL BOARD

SEC. 6. The Air Pollution Control Board shall have power to:

(1) Establish and enforce ambient air quality standards for the District of Columbia, and emission control requirements such as, in its judgment, may be necessary to prevent, abate, or control air pollution.

(2) Issue such orders as may be necessary to effectuate the purposes of this Act.

(3) Adopt, amend, and rescind rules and regulations implementing this Act.

(4) Hold hearings relating to any aspect of or matter in the administration of this Act, and in connection therewith, compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of evidence.

(5) Require access to records relating to emissions which may cause or contribute to air contamination.

(6) Encourage and conduct studies, investigations, and research relating to air contamination and air pollution and their causes, effects, prevention, abatement, and control.

(7) Secure necessary scientific, technical, administrative, and operational services, including laboratory facilities, by contract or otherwise.

(8) Consult, upon request, with any person proposing to construct, install, or otherwise acquire an air contaminant source or device or system for the control thereof, concerning the efficacy of such device or system, or the air pollution problem which may be related to the source, device, or system. Nothing in any such consultation shall be construed to relieve any person from compliance with this Act, or any other provision of law.

(9) Advise, consult, contract, and cooperate with other agencies of the District government, other local governmental units, States, industries, interstate, or interlocal agencies, the Federal Government, and with interested persons or groups.

(10) Accept, receive, and administer grants or other funds or gifts from public or private agencies, including the Federal Government, for the purposes of carrying out this Act.

CLASSIFICATION AND REPORTING

SEC. 7. (a) The Air Pollution Control Board, by rule or regulation, may classify air contaminant sources, which in its judgment may cause or contribute to air pollution, according to levels and types of emissions and other characteristics which relate to air pollution, and may require reporting for any such class or classes. Classifications shall be made with special reference to effects on health, economic, and social factors, and physical effects on property.

(b) Any person operating or responsible for the operation of air contaminant sources of any class for which the rules and regulations of the Board require reporting shall make reports containing information as may be required by the Board concerning location, size, and height of contaminant outlets, processes, employed, fuels used, and the nature and time periods or duration of emissions, and such other information as is relevant to air pollution and available or reasonably capable of being assembled.

ADDITIONAL CONTAMINANT CONTROL MEASURES

SEC. 8. (a) The Air Pollution Control Board may require that notice be given to it prior to the undertaking of the construction, installation, or establishment of particular types or classes of new air contaminant sources specified in its rules and regulations. Within fifteen days of its receipt of such notice, the Board may require, as a condition precedent to the construction, installation, or establishment of the air contaminant source or sources covered thereby, the submission of plans, specifications, and such other information as it deems necessary in order to determine whether the proposed construction, installation, or establishment will be in accord with applicable rules and regulations in force pursuant to this Act. If within thirty days of the receipt of plans, specifications, or other information required pursuant to this section the Board determines that the proposed construction, installation, or establishment will not be in accord with the requirements of this Act or applicable rules and regulations, it shall issue an order prohibiting the construction, installation, or establishment of the air contaminant source or sources. Failure of such an order to issue within the time prescribed herein shall be deemed a determination that the construction, installation, or establishment may proceed: *Provided*, That it is in accordance with the plans, specifications, or other information, if any, required to be submitted.

(b) In addition to any other remedies available on account of the issuance of an order prohibiting construction, installation, or establishment, and prior to invoking any such remedies, the person or persons aggrieved thereby shall, upon request in accordance with rules of the Board, be entitled to a hearing on the order. Following such hearing, the order may be affirmed, modified, or withdrawn.

(c) For the purposes of this Act, addition to or enlargement or replacement of an air contaminant source, or any major alteration therein, shall be construed as construction, installation, or establishment of a new air contaminant source.

(d) Any features, machines, and devices constituting parts of or called for by plans, specifications, or other information submitted pursuant to subsection (a) hereof shall be maintained in good working order.

(e) Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize the Board to require the use of machinery, devices, or equipment from a particular supplier or produced by a particular manufacturer, if the required performance standards may be met by machinery, devices, or equipment otherwise available.

(f) The absence or failure to issue a rule, regulation, or order pursuant to this section shall not relieve any person from compliance with any emission control requirements or with any other provision of law.

(g) The Board by rule or regulation may prescribe and provide for the payment and collection of reasonable fees for the review of plans and specifications required to be submitted pursuant to this section. All fees shall be paid into the general revenue fund of the District of Columbia.

VARIANCES

SEC. 9. (a) Any person who owns or is in control of any plant, building, structure, process, or equipment may apply to the Board for a variance from rules, regulations, standards, or emission control requirements. The Board may grant such variance if it finds that—

(1) the emissions occurring or proposed to occur do not endanger or tend to endanger human health or safety; and

(2) compliance with the rules, regulations, standards, or emission control requirements from which variance is sought would produce serious hardship without equal or greater benefits to the public.

(b) No variance shall be granted pursuant to this section except after public hearing on due notice and until the Board has considered the relative interests of the applicant, other owners of property likely to be affected by the discharges, and the general public.

(c) Any variance or renewal thereof shall be granted within the requirements of subsection (a) and for time periods and under conditions consistent with the reasons therefor, and within the following limitations:

(1) If the variance is granted on the ground that there is no practicable means known or available for the adequate prevention, abatement, or control of the air pollution involved, it shall be only until the necessary means for prevention, abatement, or control become known and available, and subject to the taking of any substitute or alternate measures that the Board may prescribe.

(2) If the variance is granted on the ground that compliance with the particular requirement or requirements from which variance is sought will necessitate the taking of measures which, because of their extent or cost, must be spread over a considerable period of time, it shall be for a period not to exceed such reasonable time as, in the view of the Board, is requisite for the taking of the necessary measures. A variance granted on the ground specified herein shall contain a timetable for the taking of action in an expeditious manner and shall be conditioned on adherence to such timetable.

(3) If the variance is granted on the ground that it is justified to relieve or prevent hardship of a kind other than that provided for in items 1 and 2 of this subparagraph, it shall be for not more than one year.

(d) Any variance granted pursuant to this section may be renewed on terms and conditions and for periods which would be appropriate on initial granting of a variance. If complaint is made to the Board on account of the variance, no renewal thereof shall be granted, unless following public hearing on the complaint on due notice, the Board finds that renewal is justified. No renewal shall be granted except on application therefor. Any such application shall be made at least sixty days prior to the expiration of the variance. Immediately upon receipt of an application for renewal the Board shall give public notice of such application in accordance with rules and regulations of the Board.

(e) Any person adversely affected by a variance or renewal granted by the Board may obtain judicial review thereof by a proceeding in the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, as provided for by subsection (c) of section 12 of this Act.

(f) Nothing in this section and no variance or renewal granted pursuant hereto shall be construed to prevent or limit the application of the emergency provisions and procedures of section 12 of this Act to any person or his property.

INSPECTIONS

Sec. 10. If any duly authorized employee of the government of the District of Columbia shall have cause to suspect that an air contaminant source is located or is being constructed, installed, or established in or on any property, premise, or place, he may make application, under oath, to any judge of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, and shall thereupon be entitled to a warrant to enter such property, premise, or place at such time as the judge seems reasonable under the circumstances for the purpose of ascertaining the state of compliance with this Act and rules and regulations in force pursuant thereto. If requested, the owner or operator of the premises shall receive a report setting forth all facts found which relate to compliance status.

ENFORCEMENT

Sec. 11. (a) Whenever the Air Pollution Control Board has reason to believe that a violation of any provision of this Act or rule or regulation pursuant thereto has occurred, it may cause written notice to be served upon the alleged violator or violators. The notice shall specify the provision of this Act or rule or regulation alleged to be violated, and the facts alleged to constitute a violation thereof, and may include an order that necessary corrective action be taken within a reasonable time. Any such order shall become final unless, no later than ten days after the date the notice and order are served, the person or persons named therein request in writing a hearing before the Board. Upon such request, the order complained of shall be stayed pending the Air Pollution Board's final determination thereon, and the Board shall grant the request for a hearing and set a time and place therefor. In lieu of an order, the Board may require that the alleged violator or violators appear before the Board for a hearing at a time and place specified in the notice and answer the charges complained of.

(b) If, after a hearing held pursuant to subsection (a) of this section, the Board finds that a violation or violations have occurred, it shall affirm or modify its order previously issued, or issue an appropriate order or orders for the prevention, abatement, or control of the emissions involved or for the taking of such other corrective action as may be appropriate. If, after hearing on an order contained in a notice, the Board finds that no violation has occurred or is occurring, it shall rescind the order. Any order issued as part of a notice or after hearing may prescribe the date or dates by which the violation or violations shall cease and may prescribe timetables for necessary action in preventing, abating, or controlling the emissions.

(c) Nothing in this Act shall prevent the Board from making efforts to obtain voluntary compliance through warning, conference, or any other appropriate means.

(d) In connection with any hearing held pursuant to this section, the Board shall have power and upon application by any party it shall have the duty to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of evidence on behalf of all parties.

EMERGENCY PROCEDURE

Sec. 12. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, if the Air Pollution Control Board finds that a generalized condition of air pollution eixsts and that it creates an emergency requiring immediate action to protect human health or safety, the Board with the concurrence of the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, may order persons causing or contributing to the air pollution to reduce or discontinue immediately the emission of air contaminants.

(b) In the absence of a generalized condition of air pollution of the type referred to in subsection (a), but if the Board finds that emissions from the operation of one or more air contaminant sources is causing imminent danger to human health or safety, it may order the person or persons responsible for the operation or operations in question to reduce or discontinue emissions immediately, without regard to the provisions of section 11 of this Act.

(c) If such person or persons, notwithstanding an order issued pursuant to subsection (a) or (b) of this section, continue the discharge of such contaminants into the atmosphere, the Board is authorized to apply through the Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia or any of his assistants to the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for a temporary restraining order, preliminary injunction, or permanent injunction. Such action in the district court shall be given precedence over all other matters pending in the court. The institution of such proceedings by the Board shall confer upon such court exclusive jurisdiction to determine finally the subject matter of the proceeding.

(d) Whenever any person or persons are adversely affected by an order issued pursuant to subsection (a) or (b) of this section, such person or persons may apply to the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for a temporary restraining order, preliminary injunction, or permanent injunction. Such action in the district court shall be given precedence over all other matters pending in the court. The institution of such proceedings shall confer upon the court exclusive jurisdiction to determine finally the subject matter of the proceeding.

HEARINGS AND JUDICIAL REVIEW

Sec. 18. (a) No rule, regulation, standard or emission control requirement and no amendment or rescinding thereof shall take effect except after public hearing on due notice, and the Advisory Council has been afforded not less than thirty days, prior to publication of the proposed text, to comment thereon.

(b) Nothing in this section shall be constructed to require a hearing prior to the issuance of an emergency order pursuant to section 12 of this Act.

(c) Section 11–742(a) of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

(1) by striking out the word "and" immediately following the semicolon in clause (9);

(2) by striking from the end of clause (10) the period and inserting in lieu thereof "; and"; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new clause;

"(11) orders of the Air Pollution Control Board under the provisions of the District of Columbia Air Pollution Control Act of 1967.".

(d) All testimony taken at hearings before the Air Pollution Control Board, whether for the purpose of establishing rules and regulations or setting standards or emission control requirements, determining violations of this Act, or for any other purpose, shall be under oath or affirmation. A full and complete record of all proceedings and testimony presented at any such hearing shall be taken and filed. The Board shall furnish, upon payment of any fees prescribed by the Board, a certified transcript of the whole or any part of the record to any party in such hearings requesting such transcript.

CONFIDENTIALITY OF RECORDS

Sec. 14. Any records or other information furnished to or obtained by the Air Pollution Control Board concerning one or more air contaminant sources, which records or information, as certified by the owner or operator, relate to production or sales figures or to processes or production unique to the owner or operator or which would tend to affect adversely the competitive position of such owner or operator, shall be only for the confidential use of the Board in the administration of this Act, unless such owner or operator shall expressly agree to their publication or availability to the general public. Nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the use of such records or information by the Board in compiling or publishing analyses or summaries relating to the general condition of the outdoor atmosphere; except that such analyses or summaries do not identify any owner or operator or reveal any information otherwise confidential under this section.

MOTOR VEHICLE POLLUTION

Sec. 15. (a) As the state of knowledge and technology relating to the control of emissions from motor vehicles may permit or make appropriate, and in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, the Air Pollution Control Board may provide by rules and regulations for the control of emissions from motor vehicles. Such rules and regulations may prescribe requirements for the installation and use of equipment designed to reduce or eliminate emissions and for the proper maintenance of such equipment and of vehicles: *Provided*, That any rules or regulations pursuant to this section shall be applicable to emissions from new motor vehicles or new motor vehicle engines, as such terms are defined in title II of the Clean Air Act, only insofar as such application is not prohibited by Federal law: *And provided further*, That if such application is not prohibited, such rules and regulations shall be identical to rules and regulations applicable to emissions from new motor vehicles and new motor vehicle engines promulgated pursuant to any law of the United States not applicable exclusively to the District of Columbia.

(b) No person shall fail to maintain in good working order or remove, dismantle, or otherwise cause to be inoperative any equipment or feature constituting an operational element of the air pollution control system or mechanism of a motor vehicle and required by rules or regulations of the Board or required under title II of the Clean Air Act to be maintained in or on the vehicle. Any such failure to maintain in good working order or removal, dismantling, or causing of inoperability shall subject the owner or operator to suspension or cancellation of the registration for the vehicle by the District of Columbia Department of Motor Vehicles. The vehicle shall not thereafter be eligible for registration until all parts and equipment constituting operational elements of the motor vehicle have been restored, replaced, or repaired and are in good working order.

(c) The Board shall consult with the District of Columbia Department of Motor Vehicles and furnish it with technical information, including testing techniques, standards, and instructions for emission control features and equipment.

(d) When the Board has issued rules and regulations requiring the maintenance of features or equipment in or on motor vehicles for the purpose of controlling emissions therefrom, no motor vehicle shall be issued an inspection sticker as required pursuant to the Act of February 18, 1938 (52 Stat. 78), as amended (D.C. Code, secs. 40–201–207), unless all such required features or equipment have been inspected in accordance with the standards, testing techniques, and instructions furnished by the Board pursuant to subsection (b) hereof and has been found to meet those standards.

(e) The remedies and penalties provided in this section shall apply to violations hereof, and no provision of section 16 of this Act shall apply thereto.

(f) As used in this section "motor vehicle" shall have the same meaning as in section 1(a) of the Act of August 17, 1937 (50 Stat. 679; D.C. Code, sec. 40–101(a)).

PENALTIES

SEC. 16. (a) Any person who violates any provision of this Act, or any rule or regulation in force pursuant thereto, other than sections 14 and 15, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than $1,000 per day for each day he fails to comply with any such provision, rule, or regulation.

(b) Any person who willfully violates section 14 of this Act shall be guilty of an offense and subject on account thereof to a fine of not to exceed $1,000.

(c) Action pursuant to subsection (a) or (b) of this section shall not be a bar to enforcement of this Act, rules and regulations in force pursuant thereto, and orders made pursuant to this Act by injunction or other appropriate remedy. Upon request of the Board the Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia or any of his assistants shall institute and maintain in the name of the District of Columbia any and all such enforcement proceedings. An appeal of any final order or determination of the Board shall not prohibit the Board through the Corporation Counsel from seeking a temporary restraining order, preliminary injunction, or a permanent injunction during the pendency of any such appeal.

(d) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to abridge, limit, impair, create, enlarge, or otherwise affect substantively or procedurally the right of any person to damages or other relief on account of injury to persons or property and to maintain any action or other appropriate proceeding therefor.

REPORTS

SEC. 17. On or before January 31 of each year, the Air Pollution Control Board and the Air Pollution Control Advisory Council shall each file a written report with the Congress on the effectiveness of the provisions of this Act in carrying out the legislative intent as declared in section 2 of this Act. Such reports shall include any recommendations which such Board or Council may have with respect to additional legislation that may be necessary or desirable with respect to the prevention, abatement, or control of air pollution in the District of Columbia.

REPEALER

SEC. 18. The Act of August 15, 1935 (49 Stat. 653), as amended (D.C. Code, secs. 6–801—804), is hereby repealed as of the effective date of this Act.

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 19. This Act shall become effective ninety days after the date of its enactment.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. SISK

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SISK moves to strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 1941 and to insert in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 17414, as passed, as follows:

"SHORT TITLE

"SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the 'District of Columbia Air Polluton Control Act'.

"DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

"SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this Act to enable the District of Columbia Council and the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to take such action (including the adoption of air pollution control regulations of the type proposed in the model air pollution control ordinance adopted by the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments) as may be necessary to protect and enhance the quality of the District of Columbia's air resources so as to promote the public health and welfare and the productive capacity of its population; to foster their comfort and convenience; and to increase the enjoyment of all of the attractions of the Nation's Capital.

"EMISSION AND AIR QUALITY STANDARDS ESTABLISHED BY THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COUNCIL

"SEC. 3. (a)(1) The District of Columbia Council (hereafter referred to in this Act as the 'Council') shall prescribe (A) within six months after the date of enactment of this Act regulations to control emissions in the District of Columbia of substances into the atmosphere, and (B) such other regulations to protect and improve air quality in the District of Columbia as it determines are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

"(2) In carrying out clause (A) of paragraph (1) of this subsection, the Council shall prescribe regulations for the control of the following air pollution problems in the District of Columbia:

"(A) combustion fuels at stationary sources,

"(B) solid waste disposal and salvage operations,

"(C) visible emissions,

"(D) process emissions, and

"(E) emissions from motor vehicles (including diesel driven vehicles).

The provisions of such regulations shall be at least as stringent as the provisions of the recommendations made by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for the control of such problems and contained in his recommendations for abatement of air pollution in the National Capital metropolitan area presented in January 1968 to the interstate air pollution abatement conference called under section 105(d)(1)(C) of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 1857d).

"(3) The Council may review and make such revisions of regulations prescribed under this Act as it determines are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act, except that any regulation prescribed under clause (A) of paragraph (1) of subsection (a) shall be so reviewed at least once every two years.

"(4) The regulations prescribed by the Council under this Act shall apply to any building, installation, or other property, which is located in the District of Columbia and which is under the jurisdiction of any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States Government, only to the extent provided in Executive Order 11282 of May 26, 1966, any other Executive order of the President, and any Federal regulations, issued to carry out section 111 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 1857f).

"(5) The Council may impose in any regulation prescribed under this Act a fine (not to exceed $300) or imprisonment (not to exceed ninety days), or both, for a violation of such regulation; and may provide that if such violation is a continuing one, each day of such violation shall constitute a separate offense.

"(b) In the formulation of any regulations under this Act, the Council shall afford interested persons an opportunity to participate in the formulation of such regulations through submission of written data, views, or arguments with opportunity to present oral testimony and argument. The Council shall make its regulations under this Act on the basis of the record established in proceedings held pursuant to this subsection.

"AIR POLLUTION CONTROL PROGRAM FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

"SEC. 4. (a) The Commissioner of the District of Columbia (hereafter referred to in this Act as the 'Commissioner') shall take such action as may be necessary to prepare a comprehensive program for the control and prevention of air pollution in the District of Columbia. Such program shall provide for the administration and enforcement by the Commissioner of the regulations prescribed by the Council under section 3 of this Act. As part of such program, the Commissioner—

"(1) shall conduct research, investigations, experiments, training demonstrations surveys, and studies, relating to the causes, effects, extent, prevention, and control of air pollution in the District of Columbia;

"(2) shall collect and make available, through publications, educational and training programs, and other appropriate means, the results of, and other information pertaining to, the activities carried out under paragraph (1);

"(3) shall establish, in acocrdance with such regulations as the Council may prescribe, such procedures as may be necessary to enable him (acting by himself or with air pollution control agencies of surrounding jurisdictions) to effectively deal with an air pollution emergency; and

"(4) may advise, consult, cooperate, and enter into agreements with the governments and agencies of any State or political subdivision thereof adjacent to the District of Columbia and any interstate or other regional agency representing any such State or political subdivision to (A) establish cooperative effort and mutual assistance for the prevention and control of air pollution and the enforcement of their respective laws relating thereto, and (B) establish such agencies as may be necessary to carry out such agreements.

"(b) For the purpose of carrying out his duties under this Act, the Commissioner may—

"(1) delegate the performance of such duties to an agency of the government of the District of Columbia, designated or established by him;

"(2) issue such orders as may be necessary to enforce the regulations prescribed by the Council under this Act and enforce such orders by all appropriate administrative and judicial proceedings, including injunctive relief;

"(3) hold hearings relating to the administration of this Act;

"(4) secure necessary scientific, technical, administrative, and operational services, including laboratory facilities, by contract, or otherwise;

"(5) receive and administer grants or gifts made for the purpose of carrying out the purposes of this Act; and

"(6) take any other action which may be necessary to carry out his duties under this Act.

"JUDICIAL REVIEW

"SEC. 5. Section 11–742(a) of the District of Columbia Code is amended—

"(1) by striking out 'and' at the end of paragraph (9),

"(2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (10) and inserting in lieu thereof '; and', and

"(3) by adding after paragraph (10) the following:

"'(11) Any agency action taken by the Commissioner of the District of Columbia or the District of Columbia Council under the District of Columbia Air Pollution Control Act.

For purposes of paragraph (11) of this subsection, the term "agency action" shall have the same meaning that is given that term in section 551(13) of title 5 of the United States Code.'

"REPEAL OF ACT OF AUGUST 15, 1935

"SEC. 6. Effective on the one hundred and eightieth day following the date of the enactment of this Act, the Act approved August 15, 1935 (D.C. Code, secs. 6–801 6–804), is repealed."

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 17414) was laid on the table.

QUALIFYING THE FEDERAL CITY COLLEGE AS A LAND-GRANT COLLEGE

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I call up the bill (H.R. 15280) to amend the District of Columbia Public Education Act, and ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of the bill and that it be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 15280

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the District of Columbia Public Education Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new title:

TITLE IV MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Sec. 401. In the administration of the Act entitled "An Act to apply a portion of the proceeds of the public lands to the more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts established under the provisions of an Act of Congress approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two", approved August 30, 1890 (26 Stat. 417; 7 U.S.C. 321–326, 328); the tenth paragraph under the heading "Emergency Appropriations" of the Act entitled "An Act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and eight", approved March 4, 1907 (34 Stat. 1256, 1281; 7 U.S.C. 322); the Act of May 8, 1914 (38 Stat. 372; 7 U.S.C. 341–346, 347a, 348, 349); section 22 of the Act of June 29, 1935 (49 Stat. 436; 7 U.S.C. 329); the Act of March 4, 1940 (54 Stat. 39; 7 U.S.C. 331); and the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 1087; 7 U.S.C. 1621–1629), the Federal City College authorized by this Act shall be considered to be a college established for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts in accordance with the provisions of the Act of July 2, 1862 (12 Stat. 503; 7 U.S.C. 301–305, 307, 308), and the term "State" as used in the aforementioned laws or provisions of laws shall include the District of Columbia.

Sec. 402. (a) Section 22 of the Act of June 29, 1935 (49 Stat. 436; 7 U.S.C. 329), as amended, is amended by striking out "$7,650,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$7,800,000", and by striking out "$4,300,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$4,320,000".

(b) In lieu of extending to the District of Columbia those provisions of the Act of July 2, 1862 (12 Stat. 503; 7 U.S.C. 301–305, 307, 308); relating to donations of public lands or land scrip for the endowment and maintenance of colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts, there is authorized to be appropriated to the District of Columbia the sum of $7,241,706. Amounts appropriated under this subsection shall be held and considered to have been granted to the District of Columbia subject to those provisions of that Act applicable to the proceeds from the sale of land or land scrip.

Sec. 403. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to extend the provisions of the Act of May 8, 1914 (38 Stat. 372; 7 U.S.C. 341–346, 347a, 348, 349), to the District of Columbia. Sums so appropriated shall be in addition to and not in substitution for, sums otherwise appropriated under such Act, or otherwise appropriated for agricultural extension work. Four per centum of the sums so appropriated for each fiscal year shall be allotted to the Federal Extension Service, Department of Agriculture, for administrative, technical, and other services of the Department in carrying out the purposes of this section. The District of Columbia shall not be required to offset allotments authorized under this section.

Sec. 404. The enactment of this title, shall, as respects the District of Columbia, be deemed to satisfy any requirement of State consent contained in any of the laws or provisions of law referred to in this title.

Sec. 405. Except with respect to the provisions relating to the extension of the Act of May 8, 1914 (38 Stat. 372; 7 U.S.C. 341–346, 347, 348, 349), to the District of Columbia, this title shall be effective with respect to appropriations with respect to fiscal years beginning after June 30, 1968. In the case of the provisions of the Act of May 8, 1914, so extended, such provisions shall take effect upon the date appropriations are made available for the purpose of carrying out such extension.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"Section 1. Title I of the District of Columbia Public Education Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"'Sec. 107. In the administration of—

"'(1) the Act of August 30, 1890 (7 U.S.C. 321–326, 328) (known as the Second Morrill Act),

"'(2) the tenth paragraph under the heading "Emergency Appropriations" in the Act of March 4, 1907 (7 U.S.C. 322) (known as the Nelson Amendment),

"'(3) section 22 of the Act of June 29, 1935 (7 U.S.C. 329) (known as the Bankhead-Jones Act),

"'(4) the Act of March 4, 1940 (7 U.S.C. 331), and

"'(5) the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. 1621–1629),

the Federal City College shall be considered to be a college established for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts in accordance with the provisions of the Act of July 2, 1862 (7 U.S.C. 301–305, 307, 308) (known as the First Morrill Act); and the term "State" as used in the laws and provisions of law listed in the preceding paragraphs of this section shall include the District of Columbia.

"'Sec. 108. (a) Section 22 of the Act of June 29, 1935 (7 U.S.C. 329), is amended (1) by striking out "$7,650,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$7,800,000," and (2) by striking out "$4,300,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$4,320,000."

"'(b) In lieu of extending to the District of Columbia those provisions of the Act of July 2, 1862 (7 U.S.C. 301–305, 307, 308), relating to donations of public lands or land scrip for the endowment and maintenance of colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts, there is authorized to be appropriated to the District of Columbia the sum of $7,241,706. Amounts appropriated under this subsection shall be held and considered to have been granted to the District of Columbia subject to those provisions of that Act applicable to the proceeds from the sale of land or land scrip.

"'Sec. 109. (a) In the administration of the Act of May 8, 1914 (7 U.S.C. 341–346, 347a–349) (known as the Smith-Lever Act)—

"'(1) the Federal City College shall be considered to be a college established for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts in accordance with the provisions of the Act of July 2, 1862 (7 U.S.C. 301–305, 307, 308); and

"'(2) the term "State" as used in such Act of May 8, 1914, shall include the District of Columbia, except that the District of Columbia shall not be eligible to receive any sums appropriated under section 3 of such Act.

"'(b) In lieu of an authorization of appropriations for the District of Columbia under section 3 of such Act of May 8, 1914, there is authorized to be appropriated to the District of Columbia such sums as may be necessary to provide cooperative agricultural extension work in the District of Columbia under such Act. For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, and June 30, 1970, sums appropriated under this subsection may be used to pay the total cost of providing such extension work; and for each fiscal year thereafter such sums may be used to pay no more than one-half of such cost. Any reference in such Act (other than section 3 thereof) to funds appropriated under such Act shall in the case of the District of Columbia be considered a reference to funds appropriated under this subsection.

"'(c) Four per centum of the sums appropriated under subsection (b) for each fiscal year shall be allotted to the Federal Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture for administrative, technical, and other services provided by the Service in carrying out the purposes of this section.

"'Sec. 110. The enactment of sections 107 and 109 of this title shall, as respects the District of Columbia, be deemed to satisfy any requirement of State consent contained in any of the laws or provisions of law referred to in such sections.'

"Sec. 2. Sections 107 and 108 of the District of Columbia Public Education Act (added by section 1 of this Act) shall take effect with respect to appropriations for fiscal years beginning after June 30, 1968."

Mr. SISK (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the committee amendment be dispensed with and that it be printed in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT TO COMMITTEE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DOWDY

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to the committee amendment offered by Mr. Dowdy: On page 7, after line 15, add the following new sections:

"Sec. 3. The first sentence of paragraph (6) of section 103(a) of the District of Columbia Public Education Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31–1603(a)) is amended to read as follows: 'To fix, from time to time, tuition to be paid by students attending the Federal City College (which tuition shall be not less than $100 per quarter for residents and not less than $200 per quarter for nonresidents).'

"Sec. 4. The first sentence of paragraph (6) of section 203(a) of the District of Columbia Public Education Act (D.C. Code, sec. 31–1623(a)) is amended to read as follows: 'To fix, from time to time, tuition to be paid by students attending the Washington Technical Institute (which tuition shall be not less than $50 per quarter for residents and not less than $100 per quarter for nonresidents).'"

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Nelsen] well remembers that when this original bill came from the committee he was on at the time, he and I and other members the committee had a discussion about tuition to be charged at these two colleges when we reported the bill.

In the committee report tuition charges are recommended for residents of the District of Columbia related in amount to the tuition being charged by other existing comparable community colleges in the Washington metropolitan area. There are several of those colleges.

First, I refer to the City College, which confers baccalaureate degrees.

We have here Howard University, which charges $250 per semester. That is $500 per year.

Montgomery County Junior College, for State residents, charges $300 per semester, or $600 per year. For nonresidents it is $450 per semester, or $900 per year.

Prince Georges Community College charges $225 per semester for State residents, or $450 per year. For nonresidents it is $337.50. That makes $675 per year.

I feel that these District of Columbia colleges should charge some amount, not a high tuition but a tuition fee which must be paid. When young men and young women go to college I believe their college education is worth more to them if they have to pay something for it.

I have suggested $100 per quarter for residents. That would be $300 per year, which is less than any of the other community colleges around here charge. And I suggest $200 per quarter for nonresidents, which would be $600. Those are minimums, as provided in the bill. The administrators of the college can set whatever they want, but that would be the minimum.

For the Washington Technical Institute I have provided $50 a quarter for residents and $100 per quarter for nonresidents, which is actually a nominal tuition. Of course, that again would be a minimum that may be charged.

We have information from the officials of the Federal City College that they want to charge $25 per quarter tuition; and $25 per quarter tuition will not even pay for the paperwork of registering the students in the college.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOWDY. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I can scarcely hear the gentleman. Did he state the tuition charge for Howard University and other institutions in the District of Columbia?

Mr. DOWDY. I did. For Howard University it is $250 per semester. That is $500 per year.

For the Federal City College I have suggested a tuition of not less than $100, which would be $300 a year, which is $200 less than Howard, but the officials appointed here for the Federal City College are talking about $75 a year, $25 per quarter, for tuition, which will not even pay for the paperwork down there.

I am not saying that $50 should be charged or $100 or $200, but it should be at least a minimum, and I have offered it as an amendment to the pending bill.

Mr. GROSS. What is the enrollment of this Federal City College?

Mr. DOWDY. It is just starting. At the hearings they indicated it would be between 2,500 and 5,000, but I think it is just a guess.

Mr. GROSS. In the next year?

Mr. DOWDY. I think they are going to start in September or will try to start in September. They are just starting now to register. This is a new school. It is supposed to start in September. They have different estimates anywhere from 2,500 to 5,000 that they anticipate will register.

Mr. GROSS. What is the anticipated cost of operation of this institution?

Mr. DOWDY. When we authorized the college $150 million was the amount that we authorized for both institutions. Of course, my amendment here will apply to both of them.

Mr. GROSS. What do you mean by "both institutions"?

Mr. DOWDY. That is the Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute.

Mr. GROSS. Is this supposed to be supported out of tax revenues raised by the District of Columbia?

Mr. DOWDY. It is.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman anticipate that it will be supported by revenues raised by the District of Columbia?

Mr. DOWDY. The bill pending here makes the Federal City College a land-grant college. That is pending at the present time.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dowdy] may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOWDY. The Federal City College would qualify for a $50,000 annual grant under the Morrill Act of 1890 and qualify for further fund allotments for research and investigation, and so forth, under the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 and receive an annual grant of $170,000 under the Bankhead-Jones Act of 1935 and would receive an equal share of an annual national grant of $7.8 million or $150,000, and on a population basis it will further share in $4.3 million or $20,000 for a total of $170,000 to support instructions for agricultural research, extension work, and so on. Also receive an authorization for a capital grant of $7,241,706 in lieu of public land grants under the Morrill Act and participate in cooperative extension services, including home economics and 4-H programs by extending the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 and the District will match Federal allotments on a 50-50 basis. That comes out of the District of Columbia. Of course, in addition to providing the basic enabling legislation for the college to qualify in land-grant programs indicated, the bill includes for the District of Columbia the acceptance of terms and conditions of such programs. As I said, the original bill authorizes these colleges to provide for $40 million in the principal amount of loans authorized to be advanced for the construction of the college.

There is further authorized to be appropriated from the revenues of the District of Columbia a sum of not to exceed $50 million to carry out the purposes of the act. In other words, the total authorization would be $50 million.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOWDY. Yes.

Mr. HALEY. I note that in your report it states that the District of Columbia is the last remaining area in the Nation that does not have a land-grant college.

I wonder if the gentleman could inform me as to how much of the cost in general the taxpayers pay into Howard University?

I understand that is practically 80 percent supported by Federal money.

Mr. DOWDY. As I understand it, Howard University is totally federally supported. Excuse me just a minute. The Federal Government pays 55 percent of the operation of Howard and all the capital cost.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, with reference to the amendment which has been offered by my colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dowdy], I would simply say that I shall not oppose the amendment. It was my understanding at the time of the original authorization of the Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute last year that there would be a nominal tuition charge.

Mr. Speaker, I come from a State where, frankly, we are not in favor of tuition charges. Personally, if I had my own preference, I would oppose any tuition for a college of this kind. However, I recognize that there are areas in our country that look at these matters a little bit differently.

As I said, I agree with the committee in the way of originally authorizing these facilities and in actually setting up these schools that there would be a nominal tuition charged as a land-grant school. However, I do have some reservations along that line.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SISK. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. FRASER. There is a committee statement that this question did come up in the full committee—the question as to whether there should be an amendment dealing with the question of tuition charges or rates?

Mr. SISK. That is correct; it was brought up. But at the time I do not believe there was any amendment offered as that time. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Dowdy] who was serving at that particular time brought it up the other day just before reporting the bill. I, at that time opposed such an amendment because I felt that it should come as a separate matter. This is a question of the fact as I understand it that we consider the Federal City College as a land-grant college, and I question whether this tuition matter should be brought up at this time.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, if I understand the gentleman's interpretation of the matter at the present time, this bill deals with qualifying these schools for land-grant benefits, becoming eligible under the land-grant provisions of the Federal law to receive these benefits?

Mr. SISK. Actually all it does is this: It makes the Federal City College qualified for land-grant funds under the Land Grant College Act and they in turn have reached agreement with the Washington Technical Institute Board that they will share in these funds in the event they should become available to the Federal City College.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, is it not the case that if this amendment were adopted it would require a 400-percent increase in the tuition rates established by the Board.

Mr. SISK. I would hesitate to answer that question. However, I believe the gentleman is probably right, since I understand there has been a very nominal tuition fee set. I am not actually sure as to just what the amount is.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, I understand the amount of tuition now is $75 a year. This would require it to be increased to a minimum of $300 a year.

Mr. SISK. The gentleman is right in his figures. I believe the gentleman is right. I believe it is $75 as to the annual fee that has been set.

Mr. FRASER. Is it not the case that this college has not been opened and it does not have a campus and is just beginning to get underway?

Mr. SISK. Of course, we just authorized it to be set up—the setting up of these two schools last year. The school has not been set up; it does not have a campus and it does not have a faculty. We do, however, have a Board of Education.

We do have a board of trustees, and we have, of course, presidents in both institutions who have been selected. They are simply in the process now of trying to get set up to open their doors in this coming September.

Mr. FRASER. As I understand the position of the gentleman, and as his preference was expressed in the committee, at least, was that this bill be not encumbered by an amendment which would deal with the problem of tuition rates. I believe that has been the basic position of the gentleman.

Mr. SISK. That was my position at that time, and I might say it is still my position, that we are dealing here with making available to these institutions certain funds from the land-grant college program. In the first place, we have done this for each and every State plus Puerto Rico, I might say. We are simply bringing the District of Columbia into conformity insofar as qualifying themselves for a land-grant college program, and I felt that it would be better to keep to that single purpose in this legislation.

Mr. FRASER. I want to thank the gentleman, and I would simply want to add further that it would seem to me that with students for the first year beginning to apply that suddenly to force a 400-percent increase in the tuition rate which the board had set, as I understand, based on studies of comparable colleges, that this would be rather abrasive action for us to take without further study and hearings on this particular question.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Minnesota for his comments.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, during the hearings on the Federal City College, the original bill provided for no tuition at all when it came over from the Senate, and some of us were of the opinion that a vital part of education was a person's desire to get it, and to work for it. As a result of that opinion the Federal City College board was instructed to proceed on that basis.

I have here a letter from the Federal City College authorities in which they say that the board took into account the language in the law creating the Federal City College. Then they go on to point out that they have established a tuition figure of $75 per school year or $25 per quarter; this figure was related to tuition charged in the Metropolitan Washington area; such as the Northern Virginia Community College, $135 a year; Prince Georges Community College, $200; another at $150, one at $250, and another at $250, and the District of Columbia Teacher's College at $70.

The figure that is included in the amendment was not discussed in the committee. I just talked to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOWDY] on the floor today, whether or not this is the proper figure. I would not want to be fastened tightly to that figure, although it is much more reasonable than we feel we have in our State. But I want to say that in the event we feel this might be a little too high—and if the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOWDY] would yield for a question—since we are apparently going to a conference. There we can get together on it and there could be some differences ironed out between the House and the Senate in the event we find this is higher tuition than it ought to be.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. NELSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DOWDY. Of course, that is correct. I want to say that these figures are below anything in the hearings, much below any other college like that.

Mr. NELSEN. I thank the gentleman for his comments.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN] whether the gentleman from Minnesota has a list of charges by land-grant colleges so I can ask. Do we require any place else in the Nation that a college charge a particular amount of tuition? I did not believe that was done with land-grant colleges as part of the general land-grant program.

Mr. NELSEN. I doubt very much that there is any requirement in the act insofar as tuition is concerned.

Mr. ADAMS. I would also like to inquire as to whether the gentleman from Minnesota has some information as to what other land-grant colleges are charging. I know the gentleman mentioned two or three other institutions, and what I am concerned about, is the principle of writing into the statute language setting tuition fees. I believe this would destroy the flexibility of a particular administration in determining what amount should be charged, whether higher or lower.

Therefore, I was wondering if the gentleman from Minnesota had some comparable figures as to what some other administrations in other land-grant colleges have done?

Mr. NELSEN. I do not have that information at hand.

Mr. ADAMS. I would ask the gentleman if he has any information from, say, the State of Texas, for example?

I will read these:

University of California, $220.

University of Florida, $260 per year.

In Minnesota $375; they charge more in Minnesota because we have a cold climate out there.

North Carolina, $308 per year.

South Carolina, $440.

University of Texas, $144.

Mr. ADAMS. Is that $14 per year?

Mr. NELSEN. Per year, yes.

Mr. ADAMS. You see this was the point, and I thank the gentleman for giving me that information. This shows the danger in trying to establish minimums rather than allowing the land-grant colleges to determine what their tuition should be under the circumstances.

I might say that we will be reviewing this in the Committee on the District of Columbia. When this college comes forth with a budget if funds are inadequate because this tuition is too low then we can pass on a minimum.

I hope the House will not write this amendment into the bill at this time because we discussed it at length in committee and at the time it was suggested that this question be left for a later time. The spread of the figures on other land-grant colleges indicate the difficulties that may be involved now in setting this figure. I hope that we will not put this type of amendment on the land-grant college bill today, but will let the land-grant college begin to operate and then determine whether it should be $144 as it is in the State of Texas or $260 in Florida or $308 in North Carolina. I think we will have a better opportunity then to make a meaningful determination.

So I would hope the amendment would be defeated and that the land-grant college bill will be passed.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Speaker, as I recall when this question of establishing a Federal City College and a Washington Technical Institute was up for discussion in the subcommittee and in the full committee, it was decided at that time that we would permit the College and the Institute to establish their own tuition fees, much in line with the amounts mentioned by the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK]. The idea was that there should be some charge made for education, but that it should be established by the Boards of the College and the Institute.

Now we are here today a year later after the College and the Institute are beginning to get underway and we are trying to establish for the college qualification as a land-grant college, and this has been worked out so that the College and the Institute both could share in this, and others in the area can share in this land-grant qualification.

Now we come in and we have this amendment to put on a requirement that there be a minimum tuition charged. As I understand it, the Federal City College has established a $25 tuition fee a quarter and the Washington Technical Institute has $25 a quarter with a $5 charge for fees.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOWDY] would raise that to approximately $300 a year as a minimum.

It seems to me we ought to permit the College and the Institute to function before we establish any minimums. I would hate to see us establish a minimum at this time.

Second, according to the information I have, the amount that the gentleman from Texas would establish would be substantially higher than that being charged in neighboring colleges such as the Northern Virginia Community College which charges $135 a year, Prince Georges, $200 a year—and that is as compared to the $300 that the gentleman proposes for these two here in Washington. The Teachers College in the District of Columbia is $70 a year, Montgomery Junior College charges $250 and the University of Texas charges $144—$144, that is $36 a quarter—and the gentleman wants to raise the $25 a quarter to $100.

I also have some other figures that were given us at the time the proposals were before Subcommittee No. 4 of the Committee on the District of Columbia back in 1966. East Texas State University, $174 per year. Midwestern University—and these are all in Texas—$100 per year, as compared to $300 that the gentleman from Texas proposes.

North Texas State University, $150 a year; Sam Houston State Teachers, $160 a year; Southwest Texas State College, $170 a year; the Stephen Austin State College, $176 a year; Texas Women's University, $100 a year; West Texas State University, $178 a year.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is very inappropriate for us to consider this proposal at this time, and I certainly hope that the House will vote down the establishment of any minimum tuition at this time, and until the college or the institution has more time to determine whether or not there ought to be any minimum. It seems to me they ought to be given an opportunity to work under the establishment of the college and the institute without having to be handicapped by a minimum requirement laid down by this Congress. So I hope we will vote down this amendment.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Mississippi is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, I attempted to get the gentleman who just preceded us to yield. Of course, he is using out-of-date tuition fees. They are no longer effective. I would hate for the House to rely upon those figures. I gave the correct figures earlier. They are about twice what the gentleman has just read into the RECORD. I do not know what the tuition rates are in Texas. I expect the figures he gave for the Texas institutions were out of date, too. However, the City College and the Washington Technical Institute are not being put down in Texas. The officials of these schools were instructed to set their tuition in accordance with tuition in schools here, not down in Texas, Nebraska, New York, or any other place.

I hate now to call to the attention of the gentleman the false figures he gave, but he would not yield to me, and I just wanted the House to know that the figures I read earlier are accurate and the ones that will become effective in September as tuition for the community colleges in this area. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I would like to ask the gentleman from California who is handling the bill a couple of questions, if I may.

As I understand it, under the bill certain privileges would go to Federal City College when it becomes a land-grant college. One of my specific questions is as follows: If the bill passes and is signed by the President, are plans being made to start an ROTC unit at the City College? As I understand it, by law, wherever there is a land-grant college, you have to have an ROTC 2-year training program. I would like to add that I hope they would start an ROTC unit, but it seems to be frowned upon at Howard University and some of these other colleges.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. SISK. It is my understanding that establishment of an ROTC unit would not be a necessity for qualification. I recognize that most land-grant colleges in the past have had ROTC training and, of course, many of them have a substantial program for ROTC. I happen to be one who supports the ROTC program. I agree with my friend from Mississippi. I hope they would have an active and a substantial ROTC program, because I think it has been beneficial to the students, and I think it has been beneficial to the country. I would encourage them to consider it. But it is not my understanding that they would be so required.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It was my thought and understanding that it was the law that if they became a land-grant college, they would have to have 2 years of ROTC training at the college.

Mr. SISK. If the gentleman will yield further——

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. SISK. Checking with one of our staff people here, it is my understanding that, of course, to the extent the law requires it, of course, they will have to comply with the various acts that deal with land-grant colleges.

For example, if they are going to receive funds from the general fund, they are going to have to comply with requirements under the Bankhead-Jones Act, and, of course, if they qualify for funds under the Morrill Act, they are going to have to qualify under that act, and the same with Smith-Lever. They will, of course, have to comply with the provisions under those acts. The gentleman, perhaps, is better informed about those acts than the gentleman now speaking.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. As the gentleman handling this bill, the gentleman from California, of course, would hope they would move forward and form ROTC units?

Mr. SISK. I do agree with the gentleman completely. I think ROTC should be compulsory in every public university in the country, because I happen to think it is valuable. I think it is good for the student and good for the country, so I join with the gentleman in hoping they do use it.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I appreciate the gentleman's comments.

One further question: Either by regulation or law the FCC grants to all land-grant colleges, under public television or educational television a channel is granted to each land-grant college in the different States. If we make this a land-grant college, will Federal City College be eligible for a VHF public education television channel? These are sought after in the different States, but they have been given only to the land-grant colleges.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

(On request of Mr. SISK, and by unanimous consent, Mr. MONTGOMERY was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further so I may answer the question, there was no testimony I recall on that particular subject. Again, as I understand, if this is considered to be normal procedure, under the Educational Television Act—and again I have been a great supporter of that program—then I assume consideration would be given to setting aside a channel for this school, but we did not have testimony on that subject at the time the hearings were held.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I think this is very important. I appreciate the gentleman answering the one question. I think it is very important that these matters be cleared up in that many privileges do go with being a land-grant college. I have doubts in my own mind whether this new college would be ready to be on the air with a VHF educational television type program.

Mr. SISK. If the gentleman will yield just a little further, I recognize we are confronted with a series of problems in that the school is simply trying to get underway. In this area of land-grant colleges, I think we do have precedents now for moving them into more or less metropolitan areas such as this will be, and that there is more and more emphasis on some of the problems that are inherent in metropolitan and suburban living.

It was felt, based on what has been done in the past, that this is not a precedent, making this school qualify as a land-grant college, although it is in a metropolitan area, because, as I say, in the final analysis the importance that is being stressed in all land-grant colleges today is this business of people-to-people and living with people, and separating it from what it was 100 years ago when we were placing them basically in the agricultural areas.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to address a question to the gentleman from California.

Of course, tuition is only one factor in the cost of attending college, and there are various other fees which figure into the total. We usually have an in-State and an out-of-State tuition fee, and consideration is based on the fact that those people who live within the State make a direct contribution toward that college through tax funds.

The two questions I would like to ask are these: First, has there been any cost analysis to this date as to what the total cost per student might approximate at this land-grant college in the District of Columbia?

Second, has there been any contemplation on how much of that cost will be furnished in taxes paid by residents of the District of Columbia?

Mr. SISK. First, let me say I do not have available any cost figures that I can pin down firmly in line with the gentleman's first question.

I note here a statement by Dr. Wiegman, who is dean of the school. He said:

> The Board of Higher Education fixed the tuition charges for nonresidents—

This has to do with the question still under discussion—

> for nonresidents according to the act which states "approximate to cost of the District of Columbia of the service which such charge is imposed." The incremental cost estimates based on fiscal year 1969 would indicate a student cost ranging between $700 and $800 if 5% to 10% of the students were non-resident students. Therefore, the Board set a tuition of $240 per quarter and $720 per year.

This is a letter signed by Dr. Wiegman. As to whether or not this $700 or $800 is correct, I would not be able to say.

Mr. KYL. Could the gentleman tell me whether that figure is instructional cost, or in the nature of a package cost, which most institutions now advertise in their catalogs, which includes board, room, and incidental fees along with the regular instructional expense?

Mr. SISK. I am assuming, of course, that this deals with what the gentleman refers to as package cost. Whether I am correct or not I am not certain. I would assume these are package costs.

I might say that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN] is the author of this bill and might have some better information on this specific part of the bill than I happen to have.

Mr. KYL. Let us just accept those figures, which I would guess might be extremely conservative, because they would be completely out of line with package costs at other institutions.

Mr. SISK. I must say I agree with the gentleman. Those sound very low for package costs.

Mr. KYL. Assuming that is correct, we will say $750 is the cost per person per year.

How much of that cost would be borne by the student and how much by the taxpayer of the District of Columbia, not including the contribution by the Federal Government?

Mr. SISK. Of course, the major portion would be borne by the taxpayer, because basically this is a public education college. This is a public education system we are setting up. As my friend knows, we have not heretofore had a public education college setup in the District, dealing with higher education. The committee made that decision last year.

Mr. KYL. May I get specifically to this point: Will the tax funds utilized to pay for education in this public institution in the District of Columbia come from the general funds of the Treasury of the United States, or will they be raised by the taxpayers of the District?

Mr. SISK. I would assume that they would be raised by the taxpayers of the District of Columbia, subject, of course, to the Federal contribution, which we make at the present time. In other words, it is not my understanding that the operation would be with Federal money. We are talking about the operation and maintenance of the schools, once set up. In the initial authorizing legislation last year, I believe we authorized some $40 million, and the borrowing of $50 million.

Mr. DOWDY. We authorized $50 million, and borrowing $40 million.

Mr. SISK. We authorized $50 million and the borrowing of $40 million to set up these schools.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

(On request of Mr. DOWDY, and by unanimous consent, Mr. KYL was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KYL. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DOWDY. On this cost of the students, being $700 or $800 per year, that is the incremental cost for each student. In other words, if they have 95 students it will cost so much. If they add another student, the extra student would cost $700 or $800. That does not give us much idea about how much the cost per student would be. I agree with the gentleman it will be much more than that. The word "incremental" is what I wanted to call attention to.

Mr. KYL. While the gentleman is on his feet, is there any stipulation in this legislation which calls on the taxpayer of the District of Columbia to make any set contribution toward the institution in each year of its operation?

Mr. DOWDY. I am rather of the opinion that that would be before the Committee on Appropriations of the Congress each year along with the other requests by the District of Columbia which go before the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. KYL. Is there a stipulation in this bill which calls for action by the Committee on Appropriations to set the District levy for this specific purpose each year?

Mr. DOWDY. I think not.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KYL. Yes. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SISK. This bill does not deal with that subject at all. This bill simply deals with qualifying the Federal City College as a land-grant college.

Mr. KYL. Is there any legislation in the original action in setting up this college which calls for a levy of taxes in the District of Columbia for the maintenance of this institution?

Mr. SISK. Not per se as I would understand it, but it is up to the Committee on Appropriations to determine it.

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK], as well as the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. NELSEN], on the very fine work they have done on this legislation. Mr. NELSEN in particular has been the founder of the Federal City College for the District of Columbia.

The three bills passed by the House today will go a long way toward improving the quality of the District by getting at some of the immediate and long-range problems of the city. H.R. 17417 is designed to protect those who have businesses and homes in the District of Columbia from threats of extortion and violence, by making the transmission of such threats a Federal offense. This will provide much needed security and protection for District businessmen who have suffered so much already. H.R. 15280 will enable the Federal City College to qualify for Federal assistance as a land-grant college. This will bring a college education within the reach of all citizens of the District of Columbia in the same manner as is done in States for their residents. Education is one of the key solutions to many of our Nation's problems and the House has taken a significant step by implementing this legislation for the District. H.R. 17414 is a bill to provide the most economical and administrative government machinery to cope with the dangerous levels of air pollution that exist in the Metropolitan Washington area. This will serve to improve the environment of the Nation's Capital to a significant extent. The District of Columbia is certainly going to be a better place due to these three pieces of legislation.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUDE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, a moment ago there were some figures I gave on the question raised by the gentleman from Texas. At this time I would like to read from a letter from Dr. Eugene W. Wiegman, Dean of Community Education of the Federal City College, dated May 24, 1968, in which he sets forth the technique used by the Board of Higher Education when it undertook the study of tuition and the technique used in order to arrive at the $25 per quarter charge. In this letter he also sets forth the tuition cost of community colleges in the Washington metropolitan area for the school year 1967–68, which are figures that I gave earlier. He says that the Board of Higher Education has taken into account the existing tuition in comparable colleges in the metropolitan area to establish a comparison on which we should charge in the Federal City College. Then he goes on to say that the Board of Higher Education thought it was right and fair also to take into account the median family income of these counties when setting tuition at the Federal City College. He sets these family incomes forth and says:

> Therefore, based on this information of measuring family income for county to tuition charged at their county community colleges the Board of Higher Education arrived at the tuition cost of $75 per year for a full-time student enrolled at the Federal City College. It should be kept in mind that this $75 per year is for the coming academic school year and that each year the Board will look into the matter of tuition charges.

Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that we should not tamper witn this procedure. We should not establish any minimums at this time, especially in view of the work of the Board of Higher Education and the committees of the Federal City College in arriving at the $25 charge.

The letter referred to by Mr. HORTON is as follows:

THE FEDERAL CITY COLLEGE,
Washington, D.C., May 24, 1968.

Mr. JAMES T. CLARK,
Clerk, District of Columbia Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR JIM: You will find attached the Board of Higher Education Resolutions Numbers 2, 5, and 6 dealing with tuition for residents and non-residents of the District of Columbia at the Federal City College for this coming school year.

I would like to explain to you how the Board arrived at the figures of $25 per quarter or $75 per academic year for resident students enrolled at the Federal City College and $240 per quarter or $720 per academic year for non-resident students. The Board of Higher Education was mindful of its responsibility in setting tuition as stipulated in Public Law 89–791 "(6) to fix, from time to time, tuition to be paid by students attending the Federal City College." The Board also took into account the language in the House District Committee Report on H.R. 16958 creating the Federal City College which said:

"Your committee feels strongly that the tuitions charged for residents of the District of Columbia should be related to tuitions being charged by other existing comparable community colleges in the Washington metropolitan area. This comparison should not be based upon tuition charges and fees of State and private colleges and universities in the area."

The Board of Higher Education undertook an extensive study of tuition at "existing comparable community colleges in the Washington metropolitan area", to establish a comparison on which tuition charges at Federal City College should be based.

The tuition costs for community colleges of Washington metropolitan area for school year 1967–68 are:

1. Northern Virginia Community College—$135 per year.
2. Prince Georges Community College—$200 per year.
3. Coppin College of Maryland (which services residents of Montgomery and Prince Georges County)—$150 per year.
4. Montgomery Junior College—$250 per year.
5. Prince Georges Community College—$250 per year.
6. Teachers College of the District of Columbia—$70 per year.

The Board of Higher Education thought it right and fair to also take into account the median family income of these counties when setting tuition at the Federal City College. The median family income for Fairfax County, Virginia for 1966 was $14,280, for Montgomery County, Maryland $13,860, for Arlington County, Virginia, $11,048, for Prince Georges County, $10,181 and for the District of Columbia $7,399.

Therefore, based on this information of measuring family income for county to tuition charged at their county community colleges the Board of Higher Education arrived at the tuition cost of $75 per year for a full-time student enrolled at the Federal City College. It should be kept in mind that this $75 per year is for the coming academic school year and that each year the Board will look into the matter of tuition charges.

At this time the Board of Higher Education has not set tuition regarding course work taken by residents of the District of Columbia in Adult Education and Continuing Education. Since the average cost of the surrounding community colleges is about $5 a credit hour in all likeliness the Board of Higher Education will charge the same fee of $5 per credit hour.

The Board of Higher Education fixed the tuition charges for non-residents according to the Act which states "approximate to cost of the District of Columbia of the service which such charge is imposed." The incremental cost estimates based on fiscal year 1969 would indicate a student cost ranging between $700 and $800 if 5% to 10% of the students were non-resident students. Therefore, the Board set a tuition of $240 per quarter and $720 per year.

Sincerely yours,
EUGENE W. WIEGMAN,
Dean of Community Education.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I hope the House will turn down this amendment based upon three grounds. First, the Committee on the District of Columbia has not looked into this matter with any degree of consideration and there has not been any discussion of it in the committee.

Second, Mr. Speaker, this legislation would impose upon the students who are hoping to go, for the first time, to this college a mandatory increase in tuition of 400 percent. This would set a minimum tuition level which is more than twice the level which is required of a student who attends the University of Texas, for example. This would impose a tuition of twice that paid by students who attend the University of Texas and, of course, that paid by students who attend many of the other colleges throughout the United States.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion it would be a mistake to impose this level of tuition.

So I hope this matter will be left to an appropriate time when we can look at it most carefully, and permit this bill to deal with its original purpose, which is to qualify the Federal City College for land-grant benefits.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on the amendment to the committee amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 159, nays, 177, not voting 97, as follows:

[Roll No. 153]

YEAS—159

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Arends
Ashbrook
Baring
Belcher
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Bush
Cabell
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Cleveland
Colmer
Cramer
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Delaney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Duncan
Edwards, La.
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Fallon
Findley
Fisher
Fountain
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Garmatz
Gathings
Goodling
Griffin
Gross
Gubser
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Hammerschmidt
Hansen, Idaho
Harsha
Hébert
Henderson
Herlong
Hosmer
Hull
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Jonas
Jones, N.C.
Keith
King, N.Y.
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lloyd
McClure
McDonald, Mich.
Mahon
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minshall
Mize
Montgomery
Morris, N. Mex.
Morton
Myers
Natcher
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Konski
O'Neal, Ga.
Patman
Pelly
Pickle
Poage
Poff
Pool
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Quillen
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Rivers
Roberts
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Scherle
Schneebeli
Sikes
Skubitz
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Stephens
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Thompson, Ga.
Tuck
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
White
Whitten
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Zion

NAYS—177

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Aspinall
Ayres
Barrett
Bates
Bell
Boland
Bolling
Brooks
Buchanan
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Button
Byrne, Pa
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Cohelan
Collier
Conable

Conte
Cunningham
Daniels
Dawson
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Esch
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Goodell
Gray
Griffiths
Grover
Gude
Halpern
Hamilton
Hanna
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Howard
Hungate
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
Leggett
Lipscomb
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McCloskey
McDade
McEwen
McFall
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mailliard
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
Meeds
Meskill
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morse, Mass.
Mosher
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Nedzi
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pike
Pirnie
Price, Ill.
Quie
Railsback
Reid, N.Y.
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Schadeberg
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger, Wis.
Stratton
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Whalen
Whitener
Widnall
Wiggins
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zwach

NOT VOTING—97

Andrews, Ala.
Ashley
Ashmore
Battin
Berry
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolton
Bow
Brademas
Brasco
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Carey
Carter
Casey
Celler
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cowger
Culver
Curtis
Daddario
Diggs
Dulski
Eilberg
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fino
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Gardner
Gettys
Giaimo
Gilbert
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Halleck
Hanley
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harrison
Harvey
Hawkins
Holland
Johnson, Pa.
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Kee
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kleppe
Kupferman
Landrum
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McCulloch
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
May
Mayne
Miller, Calif.
Moore
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
Passman
Podell
Pollock
Purcell
Randall
Rees
Resnick
Ronan
Roybal
Scheuer
Selden
Staggers
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Tunney
Utt
Watts
Whalley
Wylie
Zablocki

So the amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Boggs with Mr. Gerald R. Ford.
Mr. Celler with Mrs. Bolton.
Mr. Dulski with Mr. Corbett.
Mrs. Kelly with Mr. Bow.
Mr. Evans of Colorado with Mr. Berry.
Mr. Everett with Mr. Don H. Clausen.
Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Halleck.
Mr. McMillan with Mr. Battin.
Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts with Mr. Harvey.
Mr. Hanley with Mr. Johnson of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Giaimo with Mr. Kleppe.
Mr. Corman with Mr. Del Clawson.
Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Burton of Utah.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Harrison.
Mr. Gilbert with Mr. Kupferman.
Mr. Culver with Mr. McClory.
Mr. Hardy with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Carey with Mr. Fino.
Mr. Brasco with Mr. Carter.
Mr. Ashley with Mr. McCulloch.
Mrs. Hansen of Washington with Mrs. May.
Mr. Casey with Mr. Curtis.
Mr. Ashmore with Mr. Gardner.
Mr. Brademas with Mr. Mayne.
Mr. Bingham with Mr. Pollock.
Mr. Farbstein with Mr. Moore.
Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Whalley.
Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Wylie.
Mr. Resnick with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Flynt with Mr. Stubblefield.
Mr. Hawkins with Mr. Eilberg.
Mr. Stuckey with Mr. Randall.
Mr. Scheuer with Mr. Diggs.
Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Purcell.
Mr. O'Hara of Illinois with Mr. Nix.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Podell.
Mr. Clark with Mrs. Green of Oregon.
Mr. Passman with Mr. Olsen.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Kee.
Mr. King of California with Mr. Karsten.
Mr. Rees with Mr. Selden.
Mr. Roybal with Mr. Staggers.
Mrs. Sullivan with Mr. Ronan.
Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Watts.
Mr. Zablocki with Mr. Tenzer.
Mr. Karsten with Mr. Holland.

Messrs. **KASTENMEIER**, **BURKE** of Massachusetts, **RIEGLE**, and **QUIE** changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

Messrs. **HAMMERSCHMIDT** and **MINSHALL** changed their votes from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. **GOODLING**. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

The **SPEAKER**. The gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. **GOODLING**. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with interest to the debate on this measure. I am amazed that proponents appear to know so little about what they propose. There have been very few direct answers to questions. Homework has not been done.

The Morrill Act of 1862 bestowed upon the States, in proportion to their representation in Congress, some 10,840,000 acres of public land. This land was granted to the States by the Federal Government with the condition that it would be used to maintain one or more colleges devoted primarily—although other subjects could be taught—to instruction in "such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." 12 U.S. Statute at Large, 503.

Because land-grant colleges were largely agriculturally oriented, they were required to maintain an experiment station, devoted particularly to inquiries conducted with respect to the conditions of climate, soil, and markets of the region adjacent to the given station. In addition, various forms of extension work are carried on, with a view to bringing information directly to the farmer and his wife in their home. Today all of the agricultural colleges maintain a distinct division for the conduct of such work in both agriculture and home economics.

It is my considered opinion that any educational institution that is not set up to provide special instruction in either agriculture or the mechanic arts cannot properly be considered a land-grant college.

Washington, D.C., as a locality, does not lend itself to the land-grant type of college, for it has neither the land nor the facilities essential to this type of college.

If the Federal City College were to be classified as a land-grant college, this would be a misnomer, calling it something which, in fact, it was not and, in the process, diminishing the character of the bona fide land-grant colleges throughout the land.

We have a land-grant college at our back door. If this type of service is necessary for the District, would it not be more feasible to use the services of the University of Maryland, where all the "know how" and the facilities are available.

This to me would be far more desirable, more economical, than attempting to set up a new land-grant college in a college that is not in operation, where the "know how" in this field will definitely not exist for some time after the college is operative.

We hear a great deal about curtailing expenditures yet we rarely come into this House when additional spending is not asked. This additional expenditure cannot be justified at this time.

Mr. **NELSEN**. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I listened with a great deal of interest to the statement that was just made by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING].

Mr. Speaker, I have no quarrel with the analysis of the original intent of the land-grant college approach. However, the practice has changed throughout the United States in many respects. We find, for example, the use of land-grant benefits in some of our larger cities today such as Providence, R.I.; Portland, Oreg.; Kansas City, Mo.; Hartford, Manchester, and New Haven, Conn.; Newark, N.J.; Buffalo, N.Y.; and Warren, Ohio, where land-grant college programs are going into municipalities to aid in solving the dire problems of the cities. The cities have enormous problems to which we must bring all our educational weapons to bear. And there is no time to be wasted.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to make a very special plea in this case. I am sure that many of you are disturbed about the situation which we find here in our Federal City. But I think those of us who have been placed on the Committee on the District of Columbia must assume our responsibilities. We are required to look at our Federal City and its problems; which are serious. Yet nationwide and internationally we have all of these multimillion dollar contests about who is going to get to the moon first and yet we have not provided to the District of Columbia the educational facilities that we have in my own hometown of Hutchinson which fills a minimum need.

Mr. Speaker, if we are going to get at

the problem of unemployment and try to solve some of these other problems which plague us, certainly, the first thing you must do is to come in with an opportunity to afford a man to learn a craft, to hold a job, to be employed so he can restore his pride.

We started to look into many of these areas in the Committee on the District of Columbia and I must say that our District of Columbia Committee has worked in harmony on these matters.

We have found many of the acts that we have passed available to the many States, and somehow or other we overlooked some of the approaches that we could have made available for the District of Columbia, our Federal City.

Further, Mr. Speaker, I want to add also that there are those of us who do not believe in total home rule—and I am one of them—but if we have the authority over this city, then we should also assume the responsibility of doing everything we can to make this Federal City the kind of a city that it ought to be.

Now, on the land-grant college issue, this is another approach that I believe should be made available to the District of Columbia. The District of Columbia taxpayer pays into the Federal programs such as the land-grant funds but does not share—as yet—in the land-grant programs.

These Federal programs, in my judgment, should be made available to the District of Columbia so they in turn could provide better educational facilities and, in turn, provide future better job opportunities. This is a great challenge.

While I have no quarrel with my good friend from Pennsylvania, but I also know administratively it has been employed in many major cities, and I feel that the District of Columbia should have available to itself the same things that other areas of our country have.

Therefore I hope that the bill may be passed.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NELSEN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the question has been asked—and I have not heard a response to it as yet—how does the gentleman propose to set up an ROTC in this land-grant college? I believe that that is one of the requirements of a land-grant college.

Mr. NELSEN. In answer to the question asked by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the university management has been selected. We have good men who are in charge of the colleges. I am sure they will deal with the questions on the administration of the colleges.

Now, perhaps it might be well for us to put in their hands the responsibility of proceeding on the matter you raised, but I am not volunteering to get into a debate about anything of this kind. I merely say that I believe the bill is vital, and I believe it should pass.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, the committee amendment strikes out all after the enacting clause and inserts a new text.

Under the provisions of the introduced bill the District of Columbia would have been eligible—under the provisions of section 401—for an appropriation of funds under section 3 of the Smith-Lever Act to carry out extension programs under that act as well as for an additional appropriation under a separate authorization—contained in section 403—to carry out the same programs. It was not intended that the District of Columbia receive any funds under such section 3, and the committee amendment excludes it from funds appropriated under that section.

Further, under the introduced bill the District of Columbia would not have had to match funds appropriated for extension programs carried out under the Smith-Lever Act. Under the committee amendment it will not have to match such funds for the first 2 fiscal years.

Finally, since title I of the District of Columbia Public Education Act deals entirely with the Federal City College, it was felt that it would be more appropriate to amend that title than to add a new title to that act.

MATCHING FUNDS

The bill as introduced provided an exemption for the District of Columbia from the provisions of the Smith-Lever Act requiring a 50–50 matching of funds appropriated. The committee amendment removes the complete exemption of the District from a matching requirement for funds to carry out Smith-Lever Act programs and provides that any funds appropriated under section 109 for fiscal years 1969 and 1970 may be used to pay the total cost of providing extenson work programs. Thereafter, the District would have to match the funds appropriated under such section.

The extent to which the various States, and Puerto Rico, have participated in and matched Federal funds under the Smith-Lever Act, is shown in the following tabulation prepared by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Federal Extension Service, for fiscal year 1968, the latest year for which such distribution of funds is available.

DISTRIBUTION OF SMITH-LEVER EXTENSION FUNDS TO STATES AND PUERTO RICO—FISCAL YEAR 1968

States	Amount of Federal 1968 Smith-Lever allocation	Amount required to be matched	Amount of non-Federal fund in excess of matching requirements	Total
Alabama	$2,602,149	$2,065,949	$1,731,041	$6,399,139
Alaska	217,445	166,637	111,789	495,871
Arizona	534,088	442,975	603,676	1,580,739
Arkansas	2,104,412	1,647,602	1,244,001	4,996,015
California	2,031,071	1,740,233	6,806,135	10,577,439
Colorado	832,161	663,929	1,238,953	2,735,043
Connecticut	463,318	375,667	664,210	1,503,195
Delaware	242,845	176,330	168,502	587,677
Florida	1,003,752	844,100	2,661,400	4,509,252
Georgia	2,683,934	2,116,208	3,296,153	8,096,295
Hawaii	365,321	252,031	743,546	1,360,898
Idaho	657,822	531,603	856,807	2,046,232
Illinois	2,408,878	1,996,488	2,834,132	7,239,498
Indiana	2,049,772	1,706,493	2,419,980	6,176,245
Iowa	2,182,626	1,770,230	2,777,070	6,729,926
Kansas	1,449,847	1,131,586	3,990,352	6,571,785
Kentucky	2,636,765	2,133,761	854,079	5,624,605
Louisiana	1,703,108	1,346,344	3,056,854	6,106,306
Maine	559,992	444,453	445,312	1,449,757
Maryland	798,124	659,889	2,053,150	3,511,163
Massachusetts	639,786	536,903	1,058,529	2,235,218
Michigan	2,219,541	1,856,712	2,971,587	7,047,840
Minnesota	2,108,986	1,730,430	1,213,936	5,053,352
Mississippi	2,721,206	2,167,155	733,358	5,621,719
Missouri	2,374,796	1,918,826	2,925,828	7,219,450
Montana	651,732	506,270	633,370	1,791,372
Nebraska	1,248,766	970,008	1,744,900	3,963,674
Nevada	$277,254	$209,601	$446,424	$933,279
New Hampshire	316,971	240,517	370,712	928,200
New Jersey	619,259	509,714	2,153,038	3,282,011
New Mexico	598,496	484,427	856,883	1,949,806
New York	2,135,693	1,823,292	6,884,691	10,843,676
North Carolina	3,681,614	3,035,479	3,802,322	10,519,415
North Dakota	908,445	701,932	526,422	2,136,799
Ohio	2,728,366	2,287,288	1,846,279	6,861,933
Oklahoma	1,728,572	1,292,995	1,817,167	4,838,734
Oregon	884,500	741,549	2,693,362	4,319,411
Pennsylvania	2,742,368	2,363,744	419,189	5,525,301
Puerto Rico	2,444,597	2,006,597	−22,388	4,428,806
Rhode Island	212,143	155,925	117,868	485,936
South Carolina	1,949,902	1,568,276	190,270	3,708,448
South Dakota	871,937	651,699	923,885	2,447,521
Tennessee	2,686,928	2,178,700	847,729	5,713,357
Texas	4,137,739	3,229,725	3,376,515	10,743,979
Utah	480,453	379,249	541,204	1,400,906
Vermont	410,254	316,531	430,873	1,157,658
Virginia	2,215,396	1,811,034	2,969,933	6,996,363
Washington	996,031	823,748	1,857,684	3,677,463
West Virginia	1,371,325	1,129,994	144,046	2,645,365
Wisconsin	2,078,068	1,709,675	2,257,817	6,045,560
Wyoming	418,941	323,184	420,913	1,163,038
Unallotted	44,505	44,505	−44,505	44,505
Total	76,432,000	61,918,192	85,676,983	224,027,175

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE IN THE CITIES

In the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, Congress established the Extension Service which has been truly a cooperative organization in its mutually beneficial relationship with the States, the land-grant universities, and the public. It would be difficult to overstate the spirit that has been fostered in the rural portions of America by services provided and stimulated by the Department of Agriculture with the voluntary participation of farmers and their families.

Since World War II, the Extension Service, in response to the demands of the people, has been expanding its programs into urban areas. The following quote from the report of the House Appropriations Committee on the fiscal year 1968 Agriculture appropriation bill is illustrative of this trend:

In view of the many agencies of the Department and the entire Federal Government engaged in community development activities, the committee feels that the additional funds can be used most effectively in programs which work directly with the youth of this Nation. The wholesome effect of 4-H Club activities has been so beneficial to rural youth that additional efforts to bring 4-H programs to young people in the congested and deprived urban areas of the United States would make an invaluable contribution to the moral, spiritual, and economic strength of this Nation.

Many cities in America have called, in one way or another, upon the Cooperative Extension Service for its leadership in setting up programs of training in home counseling and in youth development, as well as in other areas of concern. Many mayors of problem-plagued cities have known how effective these programs can be in creating greater family stability, in providing supplementary educational programs, and in salvaging dropouts from school and society from the brink of delinquency and despair.

Many cities have made effective use of the Cooperative Extension Service—especially 4-H youth development and extension home economics programs. Few areas in the Nation can show greater real need for expert, trained leadership in child care, public health, home counseling, and youth development than the District of Columbia. In view of the many calls for increased services in the Federal City, it is only right and just for Congress to make available to District residents opportunities for self-help programs that are available to residents of other cities.

Extension-guided home counseling services and youth development programs have been initiated in recent months to provide leadership in public housing projects in such cities as Providence, R.I.; Portland, Oreg.; Kansas City, Mo.; Hartford, Manchester, and New Haven, Conn.; Newark, N.J.; Buffalo, N.Y.; and Warren, Ohio. Similar self-help, learning-by-doing programs are urgently needed for the thousands of families in the District's public housing developments and in many other low-income neighborhoods. Each public service department of the District—the school system, the Recreation Department, the Public Health Department, or any other—would be substantially augmented by making Extension Service programs available to the District of Columbia.

LOW-INCOME PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON'S CONGESTED AREAS

The family unit is considered to be the most important instrument in the process of developing the individual. Through this primary group, the individual may acquire habits, ideals, attitudes, images, and examples which both stimulate and motivate him toward being a responsible citizen.

However, many families in congested areas of Washington have been unable to provide for their children the kind of home life which fosters good health and good citizensip. Often this is beyond their control and even beyond their understanding. Parents from many low-income groups are not familiar with adequate nutrition, good housekeeping standards, the care and development of children, and the need to foster sound values within the home. They presently lack skills in maintaining their homes, furnishings, and equipment.

The youth employment situation has serious dimensions in the District. For instance, most of the 6,000 young people registered with the District's Youth Offices of the U.S. Employment Service are without salable job qualifications. More than 75 percent of them are high school dropouts. Jobs generally require a high school diploma and frequently require specialized training. Many of the youthful jobseekers have already come into contact with the law.

It has been found that a high proportion of the youth living in the District's crowded sections have poor attitudes, poor work habits, poor education, and deficiences in the special skills needed for getting along in work situations. Many of the solutions of the complex problems of employability need long-run efforts. Most agencies concerned have specialized functions to perform, while the solutions need concerted efforts dealing with health, education, job orientation, and support.

The Cooperative Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture has demonstrated that it can fulfill a unique role of working with families and youth to help them raise their aspirations and make effective use of the services of the many specialized agencies. At the same time, the Extension Service would have collaborative and mutually beneficial relationships with schools, employment services, and other community agencies.

WHAT THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE CAN DO FOR FAMILIES IN THE DISTRICT

Extension has more than 50 years of experience which would be utilized to help families, including their youth, to improve their home situations, and manage their resources; to be productive in employment situations; and to develop values of good citizenship.

Extension is a "family centered" program. One of its objectives is to reach adults and youth who do not take advantage of existing educational opportunities, and to motivate them to learn the skills, attitudes, and knowledge necessary for successful family living.

Extension aims to help disadvantaged families and youth learn to secure and use goods and services in such a way as to achieve the greatest satisfaction for all family members.

Children and adults would participate in learning experiences that would reenforce each other—information on nutrition, sanitation, and personal hygiene, for example. They would learn to use community resources of benefit to the family and would become involved in community organizations.

Homemakers would develop home management skills; good housekeeping practices; buymanship; care and use of foods, clothing, household furnishings, and equipment; as well as better child development and human relationships.

Husbands would become involved in the learning experiences Extension provides to homemakers and youth.

Families would develop a feeling of self-reliance and an appreciation for the benefits gained from using knowledge to improve family well-being. Eventually they would establish immediate and long-term goals which are compatible, practical, and attainable.

I include the following correspondence:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
Washington, March 12, 1968.

HON. HAROLD HOWE II,
Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

DEAR COMMISSIONER HOWE: This Committee is presently considering H.R. 15280 and S. 1999. In connection therewith, it will be helpful to the Committee if you will furnish a tabulation showing the extent of the participation of the D.C. Government in programs administered by your Office of Education for the fiscal year 1966, 1967, and 1968.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN L. MCMILLAN,
Member of Congress, Chairman.

In reply, the following tabulation was received from the Office of Education:

OFFICE OF EDUCATION

OBLIGATIONS INCURRED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

	Fiscal year 1966 obligations	Fiscal year 1967 obligations	Fiscal year 1968 final allotments
I. OFFICE OF EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS			
Elementary and secondary educational activities:			
Assistance for educationally deprived children (ESEA I):			
Basic grants [1]	$5,575,276	$5,642,037	$5,933,620
State administrative expenses [1]	75,000	75,000	150,000
Grants to States for school library materials (ESEA II) [1]	345,817	347,914	336,897
Supplementary educational centers and services (ESEA III) [1]	74,267	1,027,298	857,785
I. OFFICE OF EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS—Con.			
Elementary and secondary educational activities—Con.			
Strengthening State departments of education (ESEA V):			
Grants to States [1]	[2] $130,934	[2] $167,435	$206,022
Grants for special projects			
Acquisition of equipment and minor remodeling (NDEA III):			
Grants to States [1]	175,294	176,432	171,298
Loans to nonprofit private schools [1]			25,097
State administration [1]	[3] 50,000	[3] 50,000	10,000

Footnotes at end of table.

OFFICE OF EDUCATION

OBLIGATIONS INCURRED IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Continued

	Fiscal year 1966 obligations	Fiscal year 1967 obligations	Fiscal year 1968 final allotments
I. OFFICE OF EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS—Con.			
Elementary and secondary educational activities—Con.			
Guidance, counseling, and testing (NDEA V):			
Grants to States [1]	$81,278	$81,690	$83,354
Institutes for counseling personnel			
Institutes for advanced study (NDEA XI)	341,839	110,092	
School assistance in federally affected areas:			
Maintenance and operations (Public Law 81-874) [1]	4,653,238	5,299,235	4,618,402
Construction (Public Law 81-815) [1]			
Teacher Corps	147,921	397,076	
Higher educational activities:			
Program assistance:			
Strengthening developing institutions (HEA III)	14,600	31,900	
Colleges of A. & M. arts:			
Second Morrill Act [1]			
Bankhead-Jones Act [1]			
Undergraduate instructional equipment and other resources (HEA VI):			
Television equipment [1]	123,325	5,171	11,203
Other equipment [1]		80,497	97,092
Construction:			
Undergraduate public community colleges and technical institutes (HEFA I, sec. 103) [1]			115,866
Other undergraduate facilities (HEFA I, sec. 104) [1]	2,598,771	2,180,238	1,203,447
Graduate facilities (HEFA II)	78,166	2,392,096	
State administration (HEFA I, sec. 105) [1]	30,738	78,752	78,272
Teacher education:			
Elementary and secondary teacher programs (HEA V-C):			
Experienced teacher fellowships			
Prospective teacher fellowships	156,800	237,100	
Strengthening graduate schools		116,349	
College teacher fellowships (NDEA IV)	714,575	979,700	
Institutes in the use of equipment and other teaching aids (HEA VI)			
Student aid:			
Educational opportunity grants (HEA IV-A):			
Grants to higher education institutions [1]	520,708	832,650	[4] 427,836
Encouragement of educational talent		55,000	
Direct loans (NDEA II):			
Contributions to loan funds [1]	1,841,197	1,711,032	1,686,226
Loans to educational institutions			
Cancellation of student loans			
Insured loans (HEA IV-B):			
Advances for reserve funds [1]		37,667	49,818
Interest payments on insured loans			
College work-study program (HEA IV-C) [1]	596,138	721,707	652,969
Expansion and improvement of vocational education:			
Vocational Education Act of 1963:			
Grants to States [1]	447,871	546,495	543,244
Work-study programs [1]	75,214	30,964	31,280
George-Barden and supplemental acts [1]	226,183	226,183	228,058
Grants to States under the Appalachian Regional Development Act (sec. 211)			
Vocational student loan assistance:			
Advances for reserve funds [1]			10,000
Interest payments on insured loans			
Smith-Hughes Act [1]			
I. OFFICE OF EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS—Con.			
Libraries and community services:			
Grants for public library services (LSCA I) [1]	$184,001	$224,762	$224,762
Interlibrary cooperation (LSCA III) [1]		7,075	40,571
State institutional library services (LSCA IV-A) [1]		7,075	38,000
Library services to the physically handicapped (LSCA IV-B) [1]		4,735	23,750
Construction of public libraries (LSCA II) [1]	203,970		138,579
College library resources (HEA II-A)	42,000	104,927	
Librarian training (HEA II-B)		97,800	
University community service programs (HEA I) [1]	105,000	119,584	119,584
Adult basic education (Adult Education Act):			
Grants to States [1]	174,214	99,040	196,191
Special projects and teacher training	1,055,000	1,450,239	
Educational improvement for the handicapped:			
Preschool and school programs for the handicapped (ESEA VI) [1]		20,000	100,000
Training programs for teachers of the handicapped	419,208	505,762	
Handicapped research and demonstrations	446,950	854,743	
Captioned films for the deaf and media services	619,123	504,312	
Research and training:			
General education research (ESEA IV)	688,281	1,176,212	
Training of educational researchers (ESEA IV)			
Construction of educational research laboratories (ESEA IV)			
Vocational education research (Vocational Education Act of 1963)	583,235	373,098	
Foreign language education research (NDEA VI)	239,300	189,277	
Educational media research (NDEA VII)	312,396	294,965	
Library improvement research (HEA II-B)	19,800	372,827	
Higher education construction loan fund (HEFA III)	3,605,000	6,469,000	
Civil rights educational activities:			
Institutes for school personnel	85,000		
Grants to school boards			
Arts and humanities educational activities:			
Instructional assistance:			
Grants to States [1]	1,217	976	995
Loans to nonprofit private schools [1]			237
Teacher training institutes		57,212	
International education programs:			
Advanced training in foreign languages (NDEA VI):			
Language and area centers	102,308	140,000	
Fellowships	93,973	90,561	
Foreign language training and area studies (Fulbright-Hays)	42,897	164,180	
II. TRANSFERRED FUNDS FROM OTHER AGENCIES			
Manpower development and training activities	1,194,753	258,546	
Area redevelopment activities			
Educational television facilities	386,939		
Assistance to refugees in the United States: Cuban student loans	90,850	71,845	
Civil defense educational activities	45,895	51,592	
Supplemental Appalachian grants for construction of and equipment for facilities (sec. 214)			
Total	29,815,460	37,348,055	18,410,455

[1] State allocated programs administered by State agencies.
[2] Includes title X of NDEA.
[3] Includes State supervision.
[4] Amount represents initial-year awards only.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 15280, as amended, is to provide the citizens of the District of Columbia the services and benefits derived from a land-grant college. The bill would name the Federal City College as the land-grant college for the District of Columbia. The important provisions of H.R. 15280 that will carry out the objective of the bill are as follows:

The Federal City College would:

First. Qualify for a $50,000 annual grant—under the Morrill Act of 1890—to be used for instruction in agricultural and mechanic arts, home economics, youth and community development, and so forth.

Second. Qualify for fund allotments for research, investigation, and experimentation in marketing, consumer education, food handling, and so forth, under the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946.

Third. Receive a total annual grant of $170,000—under the Bankhead-Jones Act of 1935—for agricultural research, extension work, and increased support for land-grant colleges. The college would receive an equal share of an annual national grant of $7.8 million, or $150,000 and, on a population basis, a share of a further national grant of $4.3 million, or $20,000—for a total of $170,000 to support such instruction. So as not to dilute the present entitlement of the 50 States and Puerto Rico to endowment and support funds, section 108 authorizes additional appropriations of $170,000 to take care of the District.

Fourth. Receive authorization for a capital grant of $7,241,706—in lieu of public land grants of land-scrip provided in the first Morrill Act for the States—to be an endowment to be invested in bonds and the income used for support of the college's mechanic arts and agricultural programs. The principal would be unimpairable, and if diminished would have to be restored by the District. This grant is in lieu of the land grants made to other colleges in earlier years under the First Morrill Act.

Fifth. Participate in cooperative extension services, including home economics and 4–H programs of the Department of Agriculture—by extending the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. The District will have to match the Federal allotments on a 50–50 basis following the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970.

Sixth. In addition to providing basic, enabling legislation for the college to qualify under the land-grant programs indicated, the bill includes for the District of Columbia acceptance of the terms and conditions of such programs.

BACKGROUND

The District of Columbia is the last remaining area in our Nation without the services of a land-grant college. This legislation would provide educational opportunities for citizens of the District of Columbia to study for careers in community services and to receive the benefits from cooperative extension programs.

The population of the District of Columbia is larger than that of 11 States of this Nation. Yet the people of the District of Columbia do not have their own land-grant college as do the 50 States and Puerto Rico. Young people looking toward careers in programs usually associated with land-grant colleges have had to apply for admission to States with land-grant universities. This has not been a satisfactory arrangement due to stringent student enrollment policies in the States and out-of-State tuition at land-grant colleges which are beyond the means of many potential college students in the District of Columbia.

In addition, the citizens of the District of Columbia have been denied cooperative extension programs that are connected with land-grant universities. Over the years, the Cooperative Extension Service has been increasing their services in home living, community improvement, and youth development in urban areas.

It became increasingly clear that the problems of providing educational opportunities for young people in certain disciplines associated with extension service, community services, environmental services, dietetics, home economics, as well as the problem of providing citizens of the District of Columbia with cooperative extension service, called for the establishment of a land-grant college in the District. Since the Federal City College, established by Congress on November 7, 1966—Public Law 89-791—is now developing a curriculum for course offerings in September of 1968, it seemed appropriate to name this college as the land-grant college for the District of Columbia. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Agriculture, and the Bureau of the Budget favor this approach if these services are to be provided to the citizens of the District.

NECESSITY FOR THE LEGISLATION

The purpose of and need for a land-grant college was well defined by Eugene Davenport, dean emeritus, College of Agriculture, University of Illinois—in an address delivered to the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, November 16, 1931:

> First of all, a repository of the world's stock of knowledge so far as it is possible to bring it together in available form and so far as means are at hand, for the purpose.
>
> Second, it is a research institution, provided with specialists and equipment for adding to this stock of knowledge as widely as would be profitable in the development of the State and as fast as resources will permit.
>
> Third, it is a source of information on which any man may draw freely and at will.
>
> Fourth, it is a meeting place where specialists and citizens may discuss difficult problems and lay plans for the further development of the State.
>
> Fifth, it is a teaching institution because such a repository of knowledge and agency for the advancement of civilization is of necessity an ideal place for the education of young men and women who take preparation for life as a serious matter. The teaching service of such an institution will always, therefore, be a prominent part of its work, the student being the best means to the end of an ever-advancing civilization.
>
> Sixth, it maintains in many lives a cooperative extension service for technical assistance outside the campus.

Funds to be made available are limited to instruction and instructional equipment and supplies in agriculture, mechanic arts, English, mathematics, natural and physical sciences, economic sciences, and special preparation of teachers—the funds may not be used for the purchase or preservation of buildings or the purchase of land. Fields of instruction which have particular importance in the evolving needs of the citizens of the District of Columbia would be added to the college curriculum.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill and all amendments thereto to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. GOODLING. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mr. GOODLING moves to recommit the bill H.R. 15280 to the House Committee on the District of Columbia for further study.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 83, nays 254, not voting 96, as follows:

[Roll No. 154]

YEAS—83

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Ashbrook
Baring
Belcher
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Blanton
Bray
Brinkley
Burleson
Cabell
Clancy
Colmer
Davis, Ga.
Dellenback
Denney
Devine
Dickinson
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Edwards, La.
Fisher
Galifianakis
Gathings
Goodling
Griffin
Gross
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Hammerschmidt
Hansen, Idaho
Hébert
Henderson
Hull
Hunt
Jones, N.C.
King, N.Y
Kornegay
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Leggett
Lennon
Lloyd
McClure
Marsh
Martin
Michel
Montgomery
Myers
Nichols
O'Konski
O'Neal, Ga.
Poage
Poff
Pool
Price, Tex.
Rarick
Rivers
Roberts
Roudebush
Satterfield
Saylor
Scherle
Sikes
Skubitz
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Steed
Stephens
Taylor
Tuck
Waggonner
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whitten
Willis

NAYS—254

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Aspinall
Ayres
Barrett
Bates
Bell
Biester
Blackburn
Boland
Bolling
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Cleveland
Cohelan
Collier
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cramer
Cunningham
Daniels
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Derwinski
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dow
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Flood
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Halpern
Hamilton
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harsha
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hungate
Hutchinson
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kastemeier
Kazen
Keith
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kuykendall
Kyros
Latta
Lipscomb
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McCloskey
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Price, Ill.
Pryor
Pucinski
Quie
Railsback
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
Sandman
St Germain
St. Onge
Schadeberg
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stratton
Taft
Talcott
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Whalen
White
Whitener
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING—96

Andrews, Ala.
Ashley
Ashmore
Battin
Berry
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolton
Bow
Brademas
Brasco
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Carey
Casey
Celler
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Conyers
Corman
Cowger
Culver
Curtis
Daddario
Diggs
Dulski
Eilberg
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fino
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Gardner
Gettys
Giaimo
Gilbert
Goodell
Green, Oreg.
Halleck
Hanley
Harrison
Harvey
Hawkins
Holland
Ichord
Johnson, Pa.
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Kee
Kelly
Kleppe
Kupferman
Landrum
Long, La.
Lukens
McClory
McCulloch
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
May
Mayne
Miller, Calif.
Moore
Nix
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
Passman
Patman
Podell

Pollock
Purcell
Quillen
Randall
Rees
Resnick
Ronan
Roybal
Scheuer
Selden
Staggers
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Tunney
Utt
Watts
Whalley
Wilson, Charles H.
Wylie

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Boggs with Mr. Gerald R. Ford.
Mr. Celler with Mr. Halleck.
Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Bow.
Mr. Staggers with Mrs. Bolton.
Mr. Corman with Mr. Holland.
Mr. Ashmore with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Del Clawson.
Mrs. Sullivan with Mrs. May.
Mr. Brademas with Mr. Harrison.
Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Battin.
Mrs. Kelly with Mr. Fino.
Mr. Farbstein with Mr. Goodell.
Mr. Flynt with Mr. Berry.
Mr. Brasco with Mr. Whalley.
Mr. Foley with Mr. McCulloch.
Mr. Everett with Mr. Kleppe.
Mr. Patman with Mr. Johnson of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Bingham with Mr. Harvey.
Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Burton of Utah.
Mr. Purcell with Mr. Pollock.
Mr. Randall with Mr. Quillen.
Mr. Podell with Mr. Moore.
Mr. Dulski with Mr. Don H. Clausen.
Mr. Charles H. Wilson with Mr. Cowger.
Mr. Rees with Mr. McClory.
Mr. Watts with Mr. Lukens.
Mr. Ichord with Mr. Mayne.
Mr. Carey with Mr. Kupferman.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Curtis.
Mr. McMillan with Mr. Wylie.
Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Kee.
Mr. Nix with Mr. Resnick.
Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Hawkins with Mr. O'Hara of Illinois.
Mr. Clark with Mr. Daddario.
Mr. Culver with Mr. Ashley.
Mr. Karsten with Mr. Eilberg.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Daddario.
Mr. Casey with Mr. Giaimo.
Mr. Diggs with Mrs. Green of Oregon.
Mr. Gilbert with Mr. Long of Louisiana.
Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts with Mr. Hanley.
Mr. Olsen with Mr. Ronan.
Mr. Passman with Mr. Roybal.
Mr. Scheuer with Mr. Stubblefield.

Messrs. **SCHADEBERG** and **CHAMBERLAIN** changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. **WHITTEN** changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of a similar Senate bill (S. 1999) to amend the District of Columbia Public Education Act.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 1999

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the District of Columbia Public Education Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new title:

TITLE IV—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 401. In the administration of the Act entitled "An Act to apply a portion of the proceeds of the public lands to the more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts established under the provisions of an Act of Congress approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty two", approved August 30, 1890 (26 Stat. 417; 7 U.S.C. 321–326, 328); the tenth paragraph under the heading "Emergency Appropriations" of the Act entitled "An Act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and eight", approved March 4, 1907 (34 Stat. 1256, 1281; 7 U.S.C. 322); the Act of May 8, 1914 (38 Stat. 372; 7 U.S.C. 341–346, 347a, 348, 349); section 22 of the Act of June 29, 1935 (49 Stat. 436; 7 U.S.C. 329); the Act of March 4, 1940 (54 Stat. 39; 7 U.S.C. 331); and the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 1087; 7 U.S.C. 1621–1629), the Federal City College authorized by this Act shall be considered to be a college established for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts in accordance with the provisions of the Act of July 2, 1862 (12 Stat. 503; 7 U.S.C. 301–305, 307, 308), and the term "State" as used in the aforementioned laws or provisions of laws shall include the District of Columbia.

SEC. 402. (a) Section 22 of the Act of June 29, 1935 (49 Stat. 436; 7 U.S.C. 329), as amended, is amended by striking out "$7,650,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$7,800,000", and by striking out "$4,300,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$4,320,000".

(b) In lieu of extending to the District of Columbia those provisions of the Act of July 2, 1862 (12 Stat. 503; 7 U.S.C. 301–305, 307, 308), relating to donations of public lands or land scrip for the endowment and maintenance of colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts, there is authorized to be appropriated to the District of Columbia the sum of $7,241,706. Amounts appropriated under this subsection shall be held and considered to have been granted to the District of Columbia subject to those provisions of that Act applicable to the proceeds from the sale of land or land scrip.

SEC. 403. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to extend the provisions of the Act of May 8, 1914 (38 Stat. 372; 7 U.S.C. 341–346, 347a, 348, 349), to the District of Columbia. Sums so appropriated shall be in addition to and not in substitution for, sums otherwise appropriated under such Act, or otherwise appropriated for agricultural extension work. Four per centum of the sums so appropriated for each fiscal year shall be allotted to the Federal Extension Service, Department of Agriculture, for administrative, technical, and other services of the Department in carrying out the purposes of this section. The District of Columbia shall not be required to offset allotments authorized under this section.

SEC. 404. The enactment of this title, shall, as respects the District of Columbia, be deemed to satisfy any requirement of State consent contained in any of the laws or provisions of law referred to in this title.

SEC. 405. Except with respect to the provisions relating to the extension of the Act of May 8, 1914 (38 Stat. 372; 7 U.S.C. 341–346, 347a, 348, 349), to the District of Columbia, this title shall be effective with respect to appropriations with respect to fiscal years beginning after June 30, 1968. In the case of the provisions of the Act of May 8, 1914, so extended, such provisions shall take effect upon the date appropriations are made available for the purpose of carrying out such extension.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. SISK

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SISK moves to strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 1999 and insert in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 15280, as passed, as follows:

"SECTION 1. Title I of the District of Columbia Public Education Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"'SEC. 107. In the administration of—

"'(1) the Act of August 30, 1890 (7 U.S.C. 321–326, 328) (known as the Second Morrill Act),

"'(2) the tenth paragraph under the heading "EMERGENCY APPROPRIATIONS" in the Act of March 4, 1907 (7 U.S.C. 322) (known as the Nelson Amendment),

"'(3) section 22 of the Act of June 29, 1935 (7 U.S.C. 329) (known as the Bankhead-Jones Act),

"'(4) the Act of March 4, 1940 (7 U.S.C. 331), and

"'(5) the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. 1621–1629),

the Federal City College shall be considered to be a college established for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts in accordance with the provisions of the Act of July 2, 1862 (7 U.S.C. 301–305, 307, 308) (known as the First Morrill Act); and the term 'State' as used in the laws and provisions of law listed in the preceding paragraphs of this section shall include the District of Columbia.

"'SEC. 108. (a) Section 22 of the Act of June 29, 1935 (7 U.S.C. 329), is amended (1) by striking out "$7,650,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$7,800,000", and (2) by striking out "$4,300,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$4,320,000".

"'(b) In lieu of extending to the District of Columbia those provisions of the Act of July 2, 1862 (7 U.S.C. 301–305, 307, 308), relating to donations of public lands or land scrip for the endowment and maintenance of colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts, there is authorized to be appropriated to the District of Columbia the sum of $7,241,706. Amounts appropriated under this subsection shall be held and considered to have been granted to the District of Columbia subject to those provisions of that Act applicable to the proceeds from the sale of land or land scrip.

"'SEC. 109. (a) In the administration of the Act of May 8, 1914 (7 U.S.C. 341–346, 347a–349) (known as the Smith-Lever Act)—

"'(1) the Federal City College shall be considered to be a college established for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts in accordance with the provisions of the Act of July 2, 1862 (7 U.S.C. 301–305, 307, 308); and

"'(2) the term "State" as used in such Act of May 8, 1914, shall include the District of Columbia, except that the District of Columbia shall not be eligible to receive any sums appropriated under section 3 of such Act.

"'(b) In lieu of an authorization of appropriations for the District of Columbia under section 3 of such Act of May 8, 1914, there is authorized to be appropriated to the District of Columbia such sums as may be necessary to provide cooperative agricultural extension work in the District of Columbia under such Act. For the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, and June 30, 1970, sums appropriated under this subsection may be used to pay the total cost of providing such extension work; and for each fiscal year thereafter such sums may be used to pay no more than one-half of such cost. Any reference in such Act (other than section 3 thereof) to funds appropriated under such Act shall in the case of the District of Columbia be considered a reference to funds appropriated under this subsection.

" '(c) Four per centum of the sums appropriated under subsection (b) for each fiscal year shall be allotted to the Federal Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture for administrative, technical, and other services provided by the Service in carrying out the purposes of this section.

" 'SEC. 110. The enactment of sections 107 and 109 of this title shall, as respects the District of Columbia, be deemed to satisfy any requirement of State consent contained in any of the laws or provisions of law referred to in such sections.'

"SEC. 2. Sections 107 and 108 of the District of Columbia Public Education Act (added by section 1 of this Act) shall take effect with respect to appropriations for fiscal years beginning after June 30, 1968."

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 15280) was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 17324, RENEGOTIATION AMENDMENTS ACT OF 1968

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1181 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1181

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 17324) to extend and amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed two hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). The gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] and pending that I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1181 provides an open rule with 2 hours of general debate for consideration of H.R. 17324 to extend and amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951.

The Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended, authorizes the Government to recapture excessive profits on certain Government contracts and subcontracts. This act will expire as of June 30, 1968. H.R. 17324 extends the act for 3 years—until June 30, 1971.

The bill also amends the exemption for standard commercial articles and services to provide assurance that items qualifying for the exemption are, in fact, of a commercial nature.

In view of existing international conditions, the continuation of the Renegotiation Act is in the national interest. Total military procurement is expected to continue at a high level for the next few years. Modern military procurement, and space procurement as well, is characterized by changing technical requirements and increasing complexity. The nature of this procurement means there is often a lack of established market costs or prices to guide procurement officers. The use of negotiated contracts is therefore necessary for the large majority of the dollar amount of these procurements.

Total military procurement rose 59 percent—from $28 billion in 1965 to $44.6 billion in 1967. The normal timelag between the time a contract is awarded and the time renegotiation filings are made with respect to the contract, the amounts received by contractors from procurement awards during the Vietnam buildup will continue to be reported in Renegotiation Board filings during the next 3 years.

An extension of 3 years will give further time to evaluate the impact of several changes made in recent years in Government procurement techniques on the relationships between costs, profits, and prices in negotiated contracts and their effectiveness in reducing excessive profits on these contracts. A new system of establishing cost-profit-price relationships was initiated by the Defense Department in 1964. In addition, procurement negotiating has been improved through strengthening the Truth in Negotiations Act.

Additionally, the 3-year extension, in place of the permanent extension which was recommended, will give the Congress an opportunity to review the renegotiation process and the effects of recent changes in procurement practices after they have been in use for a while.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1181 in order that H.R. 17324 may be considered.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, as stated by the gentleman from California, House Resolution 1181 does provide for an open rule, with 2 hours of general debate for the consideration of the bill H.R. 17324, the Renegotiation Act Amendments of 1968.

It will permit one motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill is to extend the Renegotiation Act, which expires on June 30, 1968, for an additional period of 3 years. The bill also amends those provisions of the act pertaining to the exemption for standard commercial articles and services to insure that items so classified are actually standard commercial items.

The act provides that the Renegotiation Board is empowered to review all contracts a supplier had with the Government over a period of a year to insure that no excessive profits were realized. Individual contracts of a supplier are not the test, but his total contracts for the year under review.

The committee believes the act must be extended and recommends a period of 3 years, through June 30, 1971. They believe it is necessary to insure that the Government pays no more than fair value for goods and services it purchases. This is particularly true in view of the increasing purchases by the Government, particularly for defense procurement. In 1965 the figure was $28 billion. In 1967 it was $44,600 million. The committee also wants more time to review the renegotiation process and also to study recent procurement practices of the executive departments.

As indicated, the "standard commercial" test is amended to insure that purchased items exempted from the terms of the act truly qualifies as an exemption. To so qualify, a supplier must show that of total sales on the item in question at least 35 percent of his sales were on a commercial basis.

The bill adds several additional qualifications to insure reporting of the sales of such items where by applying the exemption a supplier can remove all his other contracts from the renegotiation process by bringing his total contracts open to review below the $1 million floor set by the act. In such cases, the bill will permit the Renegotiation Board to review contracts for other than standard commercial items. The bill also requires that the price for such articles or services be comparable when sold to either Government or the private market, and increase the 35-percent test to a requirement that 50 percent of the supplier's sales be of a commercial nature. This percentage test must be applied on a yearly basis; the current 2-year period as an alternative test is removed.

Mr. CURTIS has filed individual views. He believes that the only way Congress can require the improvement of our present procurement process is to fail to give such procurement agencies the "crutch" of renegotiation to correct their mistakes and return overpayments to the Treasury. He believes that procurement agencies will never really come to grips with their weakness in procurement policies until faced with the loss of their "crutch."

He also believes that the floor below which the Renegotiation Board does not review should be increased from $1 million to $1,500,000 because of inflation in costs.

Mr. Speaker, I know that we must have renegotiation; however, I have never been quite able to understand why there was this ceiling at this low figure of $1 million so far as small business is concerned, which requires them to keep accountants and requires them to have additional legal services, because they do not always know whether they might be called for renegotiation, and particularly when you have a fixed-price contract which was arrived at by bid.

I am at a loss to see why, in connection with a small business when the amount that they do is a million dollars, that they have to agree to renegotiate and the Government say, "You cannot make this amount of money," when they have sharpened their pencils in really sharp competition with other businesses and they are down to a fixed price; I am never quite able to understand.

Personally, I would much prefer this ceiling to be raised to $2 million, $3 million, or even $4 million in an effort to help small business.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no objection to the rule and I urge its adoption.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 14907, FEDERAL CREDIT UNION ACT AMENDMENTS

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1178 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1178

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 14907) to amend the Federal Credit Union Act. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] and pending that, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1178 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 14907 to amend the Federal Credit Union Act.

H.R. 14907 would extend maturity on secured loans of Federal credit unions from 5 to 10 years. The unsecured loan limit would remain at 5 years.

Federal credit unions would be able to invest in State-chartered central credit unions. At present, Federal credit unions may lend money to State-chartered central credit unions, but cannot become members.

When a credit union liquidates, normally because its sponsoring organization is moving or closing its facility, the credit union must sell its assets, normally its loans to members, in order to complete an orderly liquidation. Under existing law, these loans cannot be sold to another credit union. H.R. 14907 would permit these loans to be sold to other credit unions within strict guidelines.

Most credit unions offer free credit life insurance when a member obtains a loan; however, the same does not hold true for health and accident insurance H.R. 14907 would provide that a Federal credit union could facilitate a member's purchase of health and accident insurance by allowing the payments for such insurance to be deducted from his loan repayment fees.

When a credit union wishes to borrow funds, it is necessary to gain approval from the board of directors. This legislation would allow the executive committee of the board to borrow funds rather than leaving that decision up to the entire board.

Under present law, credit unions can make unsecured loans up to $750, or 10 percent of their unimpaired capital or surplus, whichever is smaller. H.R. 14907 would extend the unsecured loan limit on a stairstep arrangement to $2,500.

In addition to the annual audit conducted by the Federal Government, Federal credit unions are required to have quarterly audits made by or on behalf of the credit union's supervisory committee. H.R. 14907 would replace the quarterly audits with a semiannual audit.

There is a technical amendment in the bill that makes it clear that a member of the supervisory committee can be removed by a vote of the majority of the board of directors of the Federal credit union and such removal does not require a vote of every member of the board of directors.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1178 in order that H.R. 14907 may be considered.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution, House Resolution 1178, provides for an open rule with 1 hour's general debate for the consideration of H.R. 14907, the Federal Credit Union Act amendments.

The purpose of the bill is to amend the Federal Credit Union Act in a number of instances to meet problems which have developed over the years and to liberalize the lending policy of the credit unions.

First, the bill increases the maturity date on several loans from 5 to 10 years. Such loans are those generally made for home improvements, mobile homes, and other large amount needs.

The bill also will permit credit unions to provide credit life insurance and health and accident insurance to insure that a loan would be repaid if the borrower became disabled or sick.

Under present law, credit unions can make unsecured loans up to $750 or 10 percent of their unimpaired capital and surplus whichever is smaller. The bill would broaden this authority to make unsecured loans of up to $2,500 or 2.5 percent of their unimpaired capital and surplus, whichever is smaller.

The bill also amends the act to assist credit unions in their internal operations. The quarterly audit provisions are replaced with a provision calling for a semiannual audit. The bill also permits one credit union to borrow from another with the approval of its executive committee; current law requires agreement by a majority of the full board of directors. It also permits credit unions to purchase the notes of credit unions which are liquidating for any reason; this sometimes occurrs when a military base closes.

There are no reports from interested agencies. There are no minority views.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no objection to the rule and I urge its adoption.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RENEGOTIATION AMENDMENTS ACT OF 1968

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 17324) to extend and amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 17324, with Mr. MADDEN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] will be recognized for 1 hour, and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS].

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, the bill before us, H.R. 17324, would extend the Renegotiation Act for a period of 3 years, or until June 30, 1971. Without legislation this act will expire on June 30 of this year.

The bill also contains a number of amendments which generally have the effect of reducing the size of the exemption for standard commercial articles and services. These amendments all have the same purpose; namely, to provide assurance that articles and services qualifying for this exemption are in fact commercial items.

Mr. Chairman, before examining these amendments and explaining why we adopted them, I thought it might be well if we briefly review the nature of the renegotiation process.

The purpose of renegotiation is to eliminate what we describe as excessive profits from contracts made with the Government and from related subcontracts in the national defense and space programs.

The elimination of these excessive profits may occur in any one of three ways. First, the Renegotiation Board, including the regional boards, makes determinations of excessive profits in renegotiation proceedings. Second, contractors often make voluntary refunds and voluntary price reductions which, to some extent at least, are due to the fact that these contractors face the prospect of renegotiation. Third, the very existence of renegotiation also exerts a restraining influence on the determination of prices in initial contract negotiations.

Now, let me outline how the renegotiation process works. Renegotiation does not operate with respect to individual contracts or subcontracts but rather with respect to a contractor's entire business during the year. After the close of the contractor's year, the contractor reports to the Board all of its receipts or accruals in that year from al' renegotiable contracts and subcontracts. This is the basis for renegotiation. The act prescribes a number of factors which the Board must consider in its determination as to the existence and actual amount of any excessive profits which must be repaid to the Government.

The primary reason why we have renegotiation today can be rather simply put. The technology of modern military and space procurement is both highly sophisticated and also changes rapidly. In many instances adequate cost and production experience is not available for procurements of these types. As a result, the initial contract price often must be a negotiated one determined on the basis of uncertain estimates. It is to return excessive profits to the Government in conditions like these that we have the after-the-fact renegotiation review.

As could be expected because of the Vietnam buildup, there has been a substantial increase in military procurement in recent years. Total military procurement rose from $28.0 billion in 1965 to $44.6 billion in 1967, or by 59 percent. Moreover, amounts received under contracts awarded during the procurement buildup of recent years will continue to be reported in filings with the Renegotiation Board during the next 3 years. As a result, it is clear, based on events which have already occurred, that we will need the renegotiation process for at least the next 3 years.

The amount of military procurement which has been obtained through negotiated contracts, rather than formally advertised contracts, also has been increasing since 1965. This particularly is a sign of the need for an after-the-fact review. In 1965, 82 percent of the value of military procurement was obtained on the basis of negotiated contracts. This rose to 87 percent in 1967.

Mr. Chairman, this is the framework within which we face the renegotiation process today. We need to continue the after-the-fact review provided by renegotiation despite any shortcomings the process may have in order to compensate for the absence of the normal competitive factors in the marketplace in the case of most military and space procurements.

The Members will recall that the last time an extension of the Renegotiation Act was before us, I requested the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to make a study of the renegotiation process. In making this study, the staff was asked to place particular emphasis on the relationship between procurement practices and renegotiation.

The staff study found that significant improvements have been made in recent years in procurement methods and practices. The Defense Department developed a cost-reduction program. One of the important aspects of this program has been the placing of greater cost responsibility on contractors by shifting to the use of fixed-price and incentive-type contracts. Second, a system of postaward audits has been established under the provisions of the Truth in Negotiations Act. In addition, because of that act additional information is available with respect to cost and performance records to aid in this postaward audit.

These changes in procurement procedures are significant improvements. But the staff also found that studies by the General Accounting Office and various congressional committees have revealed significant deficiencies in procurement practices as well.

In other words, although substantial improvements have been made in the procurement area, to deal with the noncompetitive and uncertain nature of military procurement, there still are improvements which need to be made. Probably more important, however, we need further time to evaluate the relatively new procurement practices to determine whether they are effective and how they can be improved.

To summarize this point: because of the relative newness of many of the procurement procedures, there is still a need for the after-the-fact review provided by renegotiation to insure that Government contractors do not receive excessive profits on defense and space work. There also has been a very substantial increase in military procurement in recent years and the amounts received under contracts awarded during this procurement buildup will be reported to the Renegotiation Board over the next 3 years. In view of these factors, it is apparent that the 3-year extension of the Renegotiation Act which is provided by the bill is necessary.

At the same time, however, we must recognize that the renegotiation process by its very nature involves a high degree of subjectivity on the part of the renegotiators. As a result, as I have said in the past, I believe that Congress should have the opportunity to periodically review the Renegotiation Act and how it is administered. The 3-year extension contained in the bill will provide this opportunity.

Mr. Chairman, I would now like to turn to the other provision of the bill. The present act contains an exemption from renegotiation for standard commercial articles and services. These items are exempted from renegotiation because there presumably are market-tested prices for them which should make it unnecessary to renegotiate the profits underlying them. There should be no more profit for the producers in these items than there is in similar items sold in the private marketplace.

Under present law certain requirements must be satisfied for the exemption to be available. One of these is that an article, to qualify as an exempt standard commercial article must either be an item maintained in inventory stock or an item for which there is a regularly maintained price schedule. Another requirement, and probably more important is that at least 35 percent of the sales of the item must be nonrenegotiable sales. The purpose of this latter factor is to assure that there are enough marketplace sales to establish an arms-length price.

In examining this standard commercial articles or services exemption, your committee concluded that the present requirements do not fully insure that items which are exempted under this provision are, in fact, of a commercial nature. To provide this assurance, the bill contains a number of changes in the requirements which must be satisfied for the exemption to apply.

First, contractors who claim the exemption for a standard commercial article at present are not required to obtain the approval of the Renegotiation Board. In addition, contractors whose total renegotiable sales during the year are less than $1 million are not required to file a financial statement with the Board. The combination of these two provisions means that it is possible for a contractor to self-apply the exemption for a standard commercial article, reduce his renegotiable sales below the $1 million level and, as a result, the Board will have no information as to whether the contractor has applied the exemption correctly.

To overcome this defect of present law the bill contains a reporting requirement which is to be applicable in these cases. Under this requirement, persons who self-apply the exemption for standard commercial articles are to furnish information regarding the basis of the application and their total renegotiable sales to the Renegotiation Board, if the effect of claiming the exemption is to reduce the person's total renegotiable sales below the $1 million statutory minimum. This requirement will provide a basis for determining the extent to which the exemption is claimed and also give assurance that contractors are correctly applying the exemption.

Second, the bill provides that the standard commercial articles and services exemption is not to be available unless the price charged the Government for an item does not exceed the commercial price charged for the other sales of it. Recent studies by other congressional committees—namely, the Hardy subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee and the Economy in Government Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee—have revealed cases where the Government was charged substantially more for an item than were commercial purchasers. This type of price differentiation was not contemplated when the exemption was adopted and is removed by the bill.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GUBSER. I thank the gentleman for his usual very clear and very fair explanation of the bill. I should like to engage in a short colloquy in order to clearly establish the legislative history with respect to a point the gentleman just mentioned.

that they do is a million dollars, that they have to agree to renegotiate and the Government say, "You cannot make this amount of money," when they have sharpened their pencils in really sharp competition with other businesses and they are down to a fixed price; I am never quite able to understand.

Personally, I would much prefer this ceiling to be raised to $2 million, $3 million, or even $4 million in an effort to help small business.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no objection to the rule and I urge its adoption.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 14907, FEDERAL CREDIT UNION ACT AMENDMENTS

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1178 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1178

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 14907) to amend the Federal Credit Union Act. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] and pending that, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1178 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 14907 to amend the Federal Credit Union Act.

H.R. 14907 would extend maturity on secured loans of Federal credit unions from 5 to 10 years. The unsecured loan limit would remain at 5 years.

Federal credit unions would be able to invest in State-chartered central credit unions. At present, Federal credit unions may lend money to State-chartered central credit unions, but cannot become members.

When a credit union liquidates, normally because its sponsoring organization is moving or closing its facility, the credit union must sell its assets, normally its loans to members, in order to complete an orderly liquidation. Under existing law, these loans cannot be sold to another credit union. H.R. 14907 would permit these loans to be sold to other credit unions within strict guidelines.

Most credit unions offer free credit life insurance when a member obtains a loan; however, the same does not hold true for health and accident insurance H.R. 14907 would provide that a Federal credit union could facilitate a member's purchase of health and accident insurance by allowing the payments for such insurance to be deducted from his loan repayment fees.

When a credit union wishes to borrow funds, it is necessary to gain approval from the board of directors. This legislation would allow the executive committee of the board to borrow funds rather than leaving that decision up to the entire board.

Under present law, credit unions can make unsecured loans up to $750, or 10 percent of their unimpaired capital or surplus, whichever is smaller. H.R. 14907 would extend the unsecured loan limit on a stairstep arrangement to $2,500.

In addition to the annual audit conducted by the Federal Government, Federal credit unions are required to have quarterly audits made by or on behalf of the credit union's supervisory committee. H.R. 14907 would replace the quarterly audits with a semiannual audit.

There is a technical amendment in the bill that makes it clear that a member of the supervisory committee can be removed by a vote of the majority of the board of directors of the Federal credit union and such removal does not require a vote of every member of the board of directors.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1178 in order that H.R. 14907 may be considered.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution, House Resolution 1178, provides for an open rule with 1 hour's general debate for the consideration of H.R. 14907, the Federal Credit Union Act amendments.

The purpose of the bill is to amend the Federal Credit Union Act in a number of instances to meet problems which have developed over the years and to liberalize the lending policy of the credit unions.

First, the bill increases the maturity date on several loans from 5 to 10 years. Such loans are those generally made for home improvements, mobile homes, and other large amount needs.

The bill also will permit credit unions to provide credit life insurance and health and accident insurance to insure that a loan would be repaid if the borrower became disabled or sick.

Under present law, credit unions can make unsecured loans up to $750 or 10 percent of their unimpaired capital and surplus whichever is smaller. The bill would broaden this authority to make unsecured loans of up to $2,500 or 2.5 percent of their unimpaired capital and surplus, whichever is smaller.

The bill also amends the act to assist credit unions in their internal operations. The quarterly audit provisions are replaced with a provision calling for a semiannual audit. The bill also permits one credit union to borrow from another with the approval of its executive committee; current law requires agreement by a majority of the full board of directors. It also permits credit unions to purchase the notes of credit unions which are liquidating for any reason; this sometimes occurrs when a military base closes.

There are no reports from interested agencies. There are no minority views.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no objection to the rule and I urge its adoption.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RENEGOTIATION AMENDMENTS ACT OF 1968

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 17324) to extend and amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 17324, with Mr. MADDEN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Under the rule, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] will be recognized for 1 hour, and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS].

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, the bill before us, H.R. 17324, would extend the Renegotiation Act for a period of 3 years, or until June 30, 1971. Without legislation this act will expire on June 30 of this year.

The bill also contains a number of amendments which generally have the effect of reducing the size of the exemption for standard commercial articles and services. These amendments all have the same purpose; namely, to provide assurance that articles and services qualifying for this exemption are in fact commercial items.

Mr. Chairman, before examining these amendments and explaining why we adopted them, I thought it might be well if we briefly review the nature of the renegotiation process.

The purpose of renegotiation is to eliminate what we describe as excessive profits from contracts made with the Government and from related subcontracts in the national defense and space programs.

The elimination of these excessive profits may occur in any one of three ways. First, the Renegotiation Board, including the regional boards, makes determinations of excessive profits in renegotiation proceedings. Second, contractors often make voluntary refunds and voluntary price reductions which, to some extent at least, are due to the fact that these contractors face the prospect of renegotiation. Third, the very existence of renegotiation also exerts a restraining influence on the determination of prices in initial contract negotiations.

Now, let me outline how the renegotiation process works. Renegotiation does not operate with respect to individual contracts or subcontracts but rather with respect to a contractor's entire business during the year. After the close of the contractor's year, the contractor reports to the Board all of its receipts or accruals in that year from all renegotiable contracts and subcontracts. This is the basis for renegotiation. The act prescribes a number of factors which the Board must consider in its determination as to the existence and actual amount of any excessive profits which must be repaid to the Government.

The primary reason why we have renegotiation today can be rather simply put. The technology of modern military and space procurement is both highly sophisticated and also changes rapidly. In many instances adequate cost and production experience is not available for procurements of these types. As a result, the initial contract price often must be a negotiated one determined on the basis of uncertain estimates. It is to return excessive profits to the Government in conditions like these that we have the after-the-fact renegotiation review.

As could be expected because of the Vietnam buildup, there has been a substantial increase in military procurement in recent years. Total military procurement rose from $28.0 billion in 1965 to $44.6 billion in 1967, or by 59 percent. Moreover, amounts received under contracts awarded during the procurement buildup of recent years will continue to be reported in filings with the Renegotiation Board during the next 3 years. As a result, it is clear, based on events which have already occurred, that we will need the renegotiation process for at least the next 3 years.

The amount of military procurement which has been obtained through negotiated contracts, rather than formally advertised contracts, also has been increasing since 1965. This particularly is a sign of the need for an after-the-fact review. In 1965, 82 percent of the value of military procurement was obtained on the basis of negotiated contracts. This rose to 87 percent in 1967.

Mr. Chairman, this is the framework within which we face the renegotiation process today. We need to continue the after-the-fact review provided by renegotiation despite any shortcomings the process may have in order to compensate for the absence of the normal competitive factors in the marketplace in the case of most military and space procurements.

The Members will recall that the last time an extension of the Renegotiation Act was before us, I requested the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to make a study of the renegotiation process. In making this study, the staff was asked to place particular emphasis on the relationship between procurement practices and renegotiation.

The staff study found that significant improvements have been made in recent years in procurement methods and practices. The Defense Department developed a cost-reduction program. One of the important aspects of this program has been the placing of greater cost responsibility on contractors by shifting to the use of fixed-price and incentive-type contracts. Second, a system of postaward audits has been established under the provisions of the Truth in Negotiations Act. In addition, because of that act additional information is available with respect to cost and performance records to aid in this postaward audit.

These changes in procurement procedures are significant improvements. But the staff also found that studies by the General Accounting Office and various congressional committees have revealed significant deficiencies in procurement practices as well.

In other words, although substantial improvements have been made in the procurement area, to deal with the noncompetitive and uncertain nature of military procurement, there still are improvements which need to be made. Probably more important, however, we need further time to evaluate the relatively new procurement practices to determine whether they are effective and how they can be improved.

To summarize this point: because of the relative newness of many of the procurement procedures, there is still a need for the after-the-fact review provided by renegotiation to insure that Government contractors do not receive excessive profits on defense and space work. There also has been a very substantial increase in military procurement in recent years and the amounts received under contracts awarded during this procurement buildup will be reported to the Renegotiation Board over the next 3 years. In view of these factors, it is apparent that the 3-year extension of the Renegotiation Act which is provided by the bill is necessary.

At the same time, however, we must recognize that the renegotiation process by its very nature involves a high degree of subjectivity on the part of the renegotiators. As a result, as I have said in the past, I believe that Congress should have the opportunity to periodically review the Renegotiation Act and how it is administered. The 3-year extension contained in the bill will provide this opportunity.

Mr. Chairman, I would now like to turn to the other provision of the bill. The present act contains an exemption from renegotiation for standard commercial articles and services. These items are exempted from renegotiation because there presumably are market-tested prices for them which should make it unnecessary to renegotiate the profits underlying them. There should be no more profit for the producers in these items than there is in similar items sold in the private marketplace.

Under present law certain requirements must be satisfied for the exemption to be available. One of these is that an article, to qualify as an exempt standard commercial article must either be an item maintained in inventory stock or an item for which there is a regularly maintained price schedule. Another requirement, and probably more important is that at least 35 percent of the sales of the item must be nonrenegotiable sales. The purpose of this latter factor is to assure that there are enough marketplace sales to establish an arms-length price.

In examining this standard commercial articles or services exemption, your committee concluded that the present requirements do not fully insure that items which are exempted under this provision are, in fact, of a commercial nature. To provide this assurance, the bill contains a number of changes in the requirements which must be satisfied for the exemption to apply.

First, contractors who claim the exemption for a standard commercial article at present are not required to obtain the approval of the Renegotiation Board. In addition, contractors whose total renegotiable sales during the year are less than $1 million are not required to file a financial statement with the Board. The combination of these two provisions means that it is possible for a contractor to self-apply the exemption for a standard commercial article, reduce his renegotiable sales below the $1 million level and, as a result, the Board will have no information as to whether the contractor has applied the exemption correctly.

To overcome this defect of present law the bill contains a reporting requirement which is to be applicable in these cases. Under this requirement, persons who self-apply the exemption for standard commercial articles are to furnish information regarding the basis of the application and their total renegotiable sales to the Renegotiation Board, if the effect of claiming the exemption is to reduce the person's total renegotiable sales below the $1 million statutory minimum. This requirement will provide a basis for determining the extent to which the exemption is claimed and also give assurance that contractors are correctly applying the exemption.

Second, the bill provides that the standard commercial articles and services exemption is not to be available unless the price charged the Government for an item does not exceed the commercial price charged for the other sales of it. Recent studies by other congressional committees—namely, the Hardy subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee and the Economy in Government Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee—have revealed cases where the Government was charged substantially more for an item than were commercial purchasers. This type of price differentiation was not contemplated when the exemption was adopted and is removed by the bill.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GUBSER. I thank the gentleman for his usual very clear and very fair explanation of the bill. I should like to engage in a short colloquy in order to clearly establish the legislative history with respect to a point the gentleman just mentioned.

I note that the report on page 1 says that the exemption is not to apply for goods or services which are sold to the Government at a higher price. However, the bill states, on page 3, line 20: "at which such article is sold in similar quantity by the contractor."

Mr. MILLS. That is right.

Mr. GUBSER. And then, on page 6, line 13, the words "similar quantity" are applied again.

Am I to deduce from this that the lower price in the commercial sale would be allowable if it were on the basis of a quantity discount, and that the bill and the committee are accepting the practice that quantity discounts are involved in Government sales and purchases?

Mr. MILLS. Yes. We know as a matter of fact they are. We are concerned that the Government get the benefit of quantity discounts in the same way as the civilian purchaser outside of Government.

Mr. GUBSER. However, this would allow commercial sales to be made in quantity?

Mr. MILLS. This will allow Government the same quantity discounts as private purchasers receive.

Mr. GUBSER. At a lower price?

Mr. MILLS. Government purchases to be eligible for quantity discounts must be in quantities comparable to private purchases to receive the same discount.

Mr. GUBSER. While I have the gentleman's attention, may I ask on one point that will come up, I am sure, in just a moment, another question. On point 4 of page 2 of the report, sales to Government must be excluded.

Mr. MILLS. That is right. They are excluded for purposes of the percentage test.

Mr. GUBSER. Would this make it necessary to exclude a sale which was made to a private concern or a private company which in turn does business with the U.S. Government and perhaps might be using the items purchased in the carrying out of the contract with the Government?

Mr. MILLS. So far as the subcontractor is concerned, we would classify as Government sales, and not as commercial sales, for purposes of the percentage test, his sales to prime contractors which in turn were included in articles sold by the prime contractor to the Government—to State governments, to city governments, to foreign governments, as well as the Federal Government. We are not going to permit sales directly or indirectly to any agencies of Government—foreign governments, State governments, city governments—to be counted in determining whether or not a contractor has sold 50 percent of his volume in that year to civilian industrial and commercial users. We are trying to get the concept over very clearly that we want a market-tested price established before an article is classified as a standard commercial article. We are trying to strengthen that concept here. That is why we say, in place of 35 percent, we want at least 50 percent of the contractor's business to be done with civilian purchasers, before he utilizes this standard commercial article exemption.

Mr. GUBSER. I thank the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, third, as I have already indicated, present law provides that there must be a certain relative volume of commercial sales of an item for it to be considered exempt as a standard commercial item. Presently, at least 35 percent of the sales of an item must be nonrenegotiable for the exemption to be available. Your committee concluded that the 35-percent test does not give sufficient assurance that the basic premise underlying the exemption is satisfied; namely, that the required magnitude of commercial sales is sufficient to assure that the price of the item is in fact a market-tested price.

As a result, the bill raises from 35 to 50 percent the required percentage of sales which must be commercial sales for an item or service to be considered an exempt standard commercial item. The committee believes that the basic premise of the exemption—namely, the marketplace testing of prices—will be more adequately assured if at least one-half of the sales are required to be commercial sales.

Fourth, for purposes of applying the percentage test, present law in effect defines all nonrenegotiable sales as commercial sales. This treats many types of governmental sales for this purpose as if they were commercial sales. This includes sales to foreign governments, sales to State and local governments, and sales to the numerous Federal Government departments or agencies—in the nondefense and nonspace area—not subject to renegotiation. Since the purpose of the percentage test is to determine whether a substantial commercial market exists for an item, the committee believed it was inappropriate to characterize these governmental sales as commercial sales. Therefore, the bill redefines commercial sales to mean sales for civilian industrial or commercial uses and to exclude all governmental sales from this commercial sales category. As under present law, sales which are partially exempt from renegotiation under the exemption for new durable productive equipment are not to be considered sales for civilian industrial or commercial use for purposes of the percentage test.

Fifth, at present an article may qualify as a standard commercial article if the percentage test is satisfied, either with respect to the sales of the article in the current year or with respect to the sales in the current and preceding year. This alternate 2-year base period for determining the percentage of commercial sales allows an article to qualify for exemption even though there may be a substantial question whether a market-tested price in fact exists in the current year. This is not consistent with the idea that it is supposed to be the current commercial items which qualify for the exemption. Accordingly, the bill deletes this alternate 2-year base period.

The last amendment to the standard commercial item exemption is a technical one. It removes the existing exemption for an article which is "identical in every material respect" with a standard commercial article. This is removed as unnecessary since any item qualifying for this exemption also presently qualifies under the exemption for a "class of articles."

Mr. Chairman, the high level of military and space procurement, the very substantial increase in recent years in the amount of that procurement, and the recent changes in procurement methods and practices indicate that the need for renegotiation is going to continue for the next 3 years.

I urge my colleagues to accept the committee's recommendations that the renegotiation authority be continued for 3 years, until June 30, 1971, and that the standard commercial article exemption be modified so we can be sure that items qualifying for it are in fact commercial items.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VANIK. On that point, the question I would like to ask is, on sales to foreign governments, if a foreign government were to make an acquisition through a corporation acting as an agent for the foreign government, where the foreign government would make the purchase through that private corporation acting as agent for it, would that be considered as a purchase by the government or a private corporation?

Mr. MILLS. If it is an instrumentality of the government, or its agent, it would be considered as a purchase by the government.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Why was it deemed necessary to extend this Renegotiation Act for a period of 3 years when in the past it has been extended for only 2 years?

Mr. MILLS. Because at this time we can clearly see that we have enough military articles already on order with contractors to cause them to be reporting to the Renegotiation Board for the next 3 years with respect to these contracts. It is just that simple.

Mr. GROSS. I wondered if this had any relationship to the prolonging of the war in Vietnam.

Mr. MILLS. This is on the basis of orders already placed, today.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CONABLE. There has been some concern expressed in the committee, I know, about the failure to apply the Administrative Procedure Act to renegotiation, with the result that in some cases apparently we have had what amounts to a star chamber proceeding without our usual idea of due process of law being extended, despite the fact that a very substantial property right is involved in renegotiation. I wonder if anything has been done relative to a staff study of what can be done to review procedures.

Mr. MILLS. The gentleman from New York, I may say to my colleagues on the floor of the House, went fully into that in the committee. I think the gentleman was at least temporarily satisfied that we should not take action to make the Renegotiation Board subject to the Administrative Procedure Act until a study of this particular point has been made. That study, the gentleman will recall, the committee did direct the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to make for us and report back.

Mr. CONABLE. And there has been such a direction made. Is that right?

Mr. MILLS. That is right. And I would urge the Committee of the Whole to accept the bill that we reported as it was reported from the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MINSHALL].

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Chairman, the bill before us today extends the Renegotiation Act for 3 more years and tightens the so-called commercial exemption.

It does not, however, provide any change in the $1 million floor which exempts contractors whose defense sales total less than that amount per year.

This is a disappointment to those of us who have introduced legislation to give permanent status to the Renegotiation Board as an independent agency to stand watch over the billions of dollars the Pentagon is spending on defense.

And it is a further disappointment to me, since my bill, H.R. 14999, also would have lowered the exemption limit from $1 million to $250,000.

As I pointed out in remarks on this floor on May 8, by thus lowering the limit we would restore the Renegotiation Board all of the bite it had during the Korean conflict. We are today in a completely analogous situation in Vietnam and stands to reason that war profiteering is just as much a camp follower of this conflict as it was during Korea, and has been during every war in history.

I think that we would be fully justified in asking that the limitation be dropped to the $250,000 floor originally granted to the Renegotiation Board in 1951. There is no doubt at all in my mind that many hundreds of millions of dollars of profiteering is going unchallenged because of the $1 million limitation.

We are at war, and despite our prayerful hopes that an honorable peace may be achieved at the negotiating tables in Paris, there is no foreseeable end in sight. And even if the Vietnam conflict is concluded in the near future as we all devoutly hope it will be, our Nation still will be required to spend many billions of dollars to maintain a strong defense system.

The need for the Renegotiation Board is clearcut.

I do not need belabor the urgency of saving as many of those billions as possible. As a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee I am only too familiar with the dollar slippage in Pentagon-negotiated contracts. Since I also serve on the Independent Offices Appropriations Subcommittee, which oversees the Renegotiations Board budget, I know the tremendous job this agency is performing, despite staff limitations and the limitations imposed on it by present statute.

And I certainly do not need to point out how concerned our taxpayers are about the size of this year's budget and the threat of an increase in personal income taxes. They are anxious for any savings which will help keep the cost of government down—and a realistic approach toward defense savings certainly can be made by giving more power to the Renegotiation Board to crack down on profiteering. I gave several examples of substantial sums of money the Board has recovered in my May 8 remarks in the House; in all, since its establishment, the Board has saved more than $1 billion in excessive profits on defense and space contracts. That figure can be vastly increased if the present ceiling is lowered.

This House was most conscientious May 6 when it passed my bill, H.R. 10573, to amend the Truth in Negotiations Act dealing with Pentagon procurement and contracting procedures. This bill now is in the Senate, where I hope it will be rapidly enacted into law.

I would like to point out that this measure before us today compliments the legislation which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] and I have introduced to give permanent status to the Renegotiation Board and to lower the floor to $250,000.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS].

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry to see the Renegotiations Act up for extension again. I hoped that by this time we would have looked forward to correcting procedures in procurement for the Federal Government—not just for the military, but for the entire Government—in an orderly way so that we would not have to even rely on what I believe has become a dangerous crutch, and has resulted in less good procurement practices than otherwise would exist. But, however, we are here.

I simply want to call the attention of my colleagues to the minority views that I have submitted—they are similar to the views that I have submitted in past years—and to emphasize that there is no disagreement between the gentleman from Ohio who just spoke and myself and others about our desire to have the proper procedures in government so that there are no excessive profits, and that there are no windfalls for various groups that might be dealing with our Government.

Quite the contrary, this is the entire issue—how do we develop procurement practices so that this will not come about?

Essentially, I have been trying to point out that any attempt that one makes to measure what are reasonable profits and what are not is doomed to failure. We had the same problem in the excess profits tax which, thank goodness, we got rid of years ago because we found in our endeavors to try to measure what are proper profits we ended up by stopping innovation, that which is new, both in the way of new ways of doing things, as well as the development of small and new businesses. You cannot escape the fact because of the problems involved in determining what are proper profits and what are not, that the task is difficult.

The essential way to proceed to eliminate excess profits in all areas is the way we have been developing in our society, namely, in the marketplace. Wherever the marketplace can be used there you can have competition and through competition we all can get your most reasonable prices.

The Renegotiation Board function was appropriate back in World War II, and certainly even in the Korean war, at which time we had not yet developed methods and procurement practices on an orderly basis. We had to protect against what were bound to be crash procurement practices. And that is why the Renegotiation Board was created. It was purely an emergency measure. It is not a part of an orderly set of, well-planned procurement practices at all.

I would call attention to the fact that the Renegotiations Board, as we know it today, has no auditing function, has no powers or abilities to look into the kind of abuses that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MINSHALL] and others point to that, it is regrettable, still occur in Government procurement.

Because the Board does not have any techniques or machinery to do this, in the 18 years that I have been following Government procurement practices—going back to the first committee on which I served, which was then called expenditures in the executive department, when I was on the Bonner Subcommittee, but going back 18 years and trying to follow out, I might say, the recommendations of both the first and second Hoover Commissions, relating to the development of proper procurement practices, I cannot recall of one instance where the Renegotiations Board has brought to the attention of any congressional committee some of the poor practices that we might move into to correct. Nor has the Board made any recommendations for improvement of our procurement practices.

Now, much has been done in the area of improving procurements practices, and it has come through the work of Congressional Committees, and also vigilant people in the press—and the Cleveland Plain Dealer is one example of where there have been improvements made from their reporters digging into specific contracts and exposing them to the light of day.

But none of these improvements came from work done by the Renegotiation Board. Essentially, improvements come from the General Accounting Office work and it has been the work of the Armed Services Committee. It has been the work to some degree, I think, of the committee on which I serve, the Joint Economic Subcommittee on Procurement Practices. And I would be derelict if I did not point up the work done in the Armed Services themselves to improve and upgrade their practices.

But this is another indication of, I would say, almost the uselessness of the Renegotiation Board.

The Truth in Negotiation Act which was passed recently, if it would be better enforced, is one way of moving forward. Certainly the development of redetermination clauses in our various governmental contracts is another way.

I think by far the best way to proceed, and we are proceeding in this way, is to improve the caliber of the Govern-

ment officials who deal with procurement to develop an esprit de corps among these people. Actually, I think a good deal of the Renegotiation Board process has hampered rather than helped in the developing of these better techniques because in a sense it becomes a crutch for the procurement officer to lean upon. He says, well, I do not have to be quite as careful in being sure that this contract is written as well as it might be because if things go wrong—well, there is always the Renegotiation Board. Even if the Board is not used effectively in that fashion, at least it takes the blame off the back of our procurement officials and thus provides, as I say, a kind of crutch.

The essential reason, and I am closing my remarks on this point, I oppose the Renegotiation Board is because it is based upon an assumption that we can determine with some degree of scientific certainty what is excess profit in our procurement practices.

I again emphasize that this relates to the work that we did in the Committee on Ways and Means many, many years ago in regard to the excess profits tax area. We found upon examination, although our desires and our motives were good, when we got down to try to determine what were excess profits, we found we ended up really taxing innovation—that which is new—and that which is still to be tested. This in the long run actually costs society more and it costs the Government more.

I hope that I will still be around when some day we see the wisdom of eliminating this Board and are able to rely upon orderly procurement practices to see to it that Uncle Sam gets a dollar's worth for the dollar that he spends.

Under permission granted I insert my remarks appearing in the report accompanying the bill:

IV. VIEWS OF CONGRESSMAN THOMAS B. CURTIS

The bill (H.R. 17324) constitutes another perfunctory extension of the Renegotiation Act of 1951, to include the receipts and accruals on account of contracts with the agencies specified in the act until June 30, 1971. Without this extension, the act will expire on June 30, 1968.

RENEGOTIATION UNJUSTIFIABLY EXTENDED

The Renegotiation Act of 1951 was enacted on March 23, 1951, as a result of the outbreak of the Korean war. The act provided for the renegotiation of amounts received or accrued on or after January 1, 1951, for a period of 3 years, or until December 31, 1953. On September 1, 1954, 8 months after the expiration date, the act was amended and extended for an additional period of 1 year, or until December 31, 1954. Since that time by successive acts the Renegotiation Act has been extended for periods ranging from 6 months to 3 years. This bill provides for another extension, this time for 3 years, or until June 30, 1971.

TABLE 1.—RENEGOTIATION ACT OF 1951

Date of enactment or extension	Period	Expiration date
Mar. 23, 1951	3 years	Dec. 31, 1953
Sept. 1, 1954	1 year	Dec. 31, 1954
Aug. 3, 1955	2 years	Dec. 31, 1956
Aug. 1, 1956	do	Dec. 31, 1958
Sept. 6, 1958	6 months	June 30, 1959
July 13, 1959	3 years	June 30, 1962
July 3, 1962	2 years	June 30, 1964
June 30, 1964	do	June 30, 1966
June 30, 1966	do	June 30, 1968
Pending bill	3 years	June 30, 1971

Notwithstanding that time and time again this committee and the Congress have refused to make reneogtiation a permanent law, the committee now proposes another short-term extension. The bill will represent the ninth extension since the enactment of the existing act on March 23, 1951. I see no justification in extending the Renegotiation Act again without requiring the procurement agencies to adopt procedures which will ultimately make renegotiation unnecessary. The continued temporary extensions of the Renegotiation Act in effect makes it a permanent law.

SOUND PROCUREMENT PRACTICES SHOULD BE SUBSTITUTED FOR RENEGOTIATION

With each extension of the Renegotiation Act, there were representations made to the committee that the procurement practices were being improved with a view toward dispensing in the future with the need for renegotiation. In recent years, the area of price competition in military procurement has increased. Procedures have been adopted by the Department of Defense under the Truth in Negotiations Act regarding a regularly scheduled postaward audit system and also regarding the right of the Department to obtain performance cost information from contractors. In addition, the Defense Department has been implementing its cost-reduction program. Yet the day never comes when the procurement agencies are willing to throw away the renegotiation "crutch," and learn to walk again—and we will never see that day so long as the committee continues its willingness to extend the Renegotiation Act without question.

The procurement agencies of the Government have ample powers to protect themselves against "windfall" profits in Government contracts. As a matter of fact, experience in the private sector of the economy amply demonstrates that under a free enterprise system we should be concerned—not with the profits earned by a contractor—but with the prices at which the goods or services are offered to the Government. Renegotiation penalizes the efficient and rewards the inefficient. There is inherent in the renegotiation process the very element of cost-plus-a-percentage-of-cost contracting which is forbidden by law if done directly.

Improved procurement practices are a far better method than renegotiation of protecting the Government against "windfall" profits on Government contracts. The renegotiation process is uncertain and inexact because it relies on the subjective judgment of persons who are applying a vague statutory idea of what constitutes "excessive profits." Moreover, these persons are removed from the procurement process and thus do not have the skill and knowledge possessed by procurement officials. In addition, the persons administering the Renegotiation Act do not proceed from the premise that the goal is to achieve fair and reasonable prices on Government procurements, but rather attempt to find "excessive profits" regardless of the effect this has on the price paid by the Government.

It is a sad commentary on the part of the Department of Defense and other renegotiable agencies that some 14 years after the termination of hostilities in Korea, and eight "temporary" extensions of the Renegotiation Act, the committee is again advised that renegotiation must be extended in order to protect the Government against the realization of excessive profits by its suppliers. I respectfully suggest that the proper committees of the Congress—and particularly the subcommittees having jurisdiction over the appropriations for the agencies enumerated in the Renegotiation Act—review the procurement practices of those agencies to ascertain why, after these many years, the Government cannot be protected against excessive profits in the contracting process—and not after the fact.

With the latitude permitted in the form of Government contracts—including clauses for price redetermination, prenegotiation audit, and the like—there are certainly adequate procedures available to the Government in the case of prime contracts without having to rely upon renegotiation as a "crutch." If these procedures are fully utilized, renegotiation of the resulting contracts should be unnecessary. The major contractors having prime contracts, should also be required to exercise the same degree of business judgment in placing subcontracts with their suppliers, as is exercised in the case of their nonrenegotiable business. The marketplace should be permitted to take over. Renegotiation is no substitute for competition.

SCOPE OF RENEGOTIATION

I believe steps should be taken to bring about the orderly termination of the renegotiation process. One of the methods by which this could be accomplished is to raise the $1 million "floor," or minimum amount subject to renegotiation. This would narrow the scope of renegotiation and accordingly would place greater responsibility on the procurement agencies where it properly belongs.

At the very least, the "floor" should be raised to confine the scope of renegotiation to that which existed in 1956 when the $1 million "floor" was adopted. The increase in the price level in the interim has had the effect of substantially broadening the scope of renegotiation beyond that which existed in 1956. The increase in the price level since 1956, in effect, has reduced the "floor" to $725,000. The "floor" would have to be raised to approximately $1,380,000 merely to return the relationship of renegotiation to the general economy to that which existed in 1956. I offered an amendment in committee for this purpose. My amendment, which would have raised the level of the "floor" to $1.5 million, was rejected. If such a floor were to be in effect for fiscal 1969, the Renegotiation Board has estimated that it would receive 4,200 filings involving renegotiable defense and space related sales of $43.8 billion. This would be a decrease of only 600 filings and $650 million in renegotiable sales. These 4,200 filings represent 87.5 percent of the 4,800 filings estimated for 1969 under the $1 million floor. At the same time, the reduction in renegotiable sales would represent only 1.5 percent of the $44.5 billion estimated under the $1 million floor.

Thus, by standing still, we actually are moving backward. When we should be placing greater responsibility on the procurement agencies, our inaction is doing just the opposite. We are allowing the scope of renegotiation to be broadened, which accordingly lessens the responsibility placed on the procurement agencies.

CONCLUSION

Renegotiation is not a substitute for sound procurement practices. It is a subjective and inefficient way of dealing with the problem, which really is to achieve fair and reasonable prices on Government procurements. In this regard it is important to note that it is prices, not profits, which should be of concern to us. Moreover, the very existence of renegotiation provides a "crutch" for the procurement agencies. The continued extension of the Renegotiation Act without taking steps to remedy the basic defects in our procurement system, which are cited as justification for renegotiation, merely avoids "facing up" to the problem. It should be apparent that if steps are not taken to compel the procurement agencies to exercise good judgment in the first instance, and not rely upon renegotiation to correct all of their mistakes, we will never reach the stage when the Renegotiation Act will be permitted to expire.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK] is recognized.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VANIK. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MILLS. I want to congratulate the gentleman for calling the attention of the committee in executive session to a matter that is included in one of the amendments to the standard commercial article provision. I am referring to the amendment tightening the definition of commercial sales for purposes of the percentage tests to mean only sales for civilian industrial or commercial use, thus excluding sales to governments from the commercial sales category. This amendment was the result of the diligence of the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VANIK. I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. Chairman, first of all, I want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to our distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee for the very extended discussions which took place in the Committee on Ways and Means on the extension of the Renegotiation Act. Under his leadership, our committee had a very thorough and complete discussion of every aspect of this legislation and on most amendments relating to a change in the legislation. In several respects, the act has been strengthened.

Although I regret that the committee did not decide upon making the Renegotiation Board a permanent instrumentality of the U.S. Government, there is some consolation in the fact that this legislation extends the life of the Renegotiation Board for 3 years and into the 92d Congress. There is no question in my mind, however, that the Renegotiation Board should have been made a permanent instrumentality of the U.S. Government. If the Board is to maintain its effectiveness and if the staff and personnel are going to be preserved, and if the Board is to meet its purposes, it must be permanent. There is no present indication that defense procurement will be substantially cut back or curtailed during the next 3, 4, or 5 years. As long as defense procurement continues at the present levels, there is every need and justification for a permanent agency to review all procurement contracts.

As long as our Government, in the interest of our national security, determines it necessary to conscript manpower for the defense of our Nation, it seems to me that the least we can expect from private enterprise producers of essential defense equipment is that they give the taxpayer a full dollar's value in defense services or materiel. While there is justification for a fair and responsible profit in defense production, unfair and unjust profiteering on defense procurement is reprehensible. Certainly our country has the right to expect some degree of patriotism from the defense producer. If young men are called out to serve in distant places and to expose their lives to enemy fire, certainly the industry which they protect is obligated to do its part in defense production on terms that are fair and just to the American people. Excess profits on defense production is blood money which we must not condone.

When this legislation is open for amendment, I expect to offer an amendment, to reduce the floor on contracts which may be subject to renegotiation from $1 million per annum to $500,000 per annum. The Renegotiation Board had an even wider jurisdiction with a $250,000 floor during the Korean conflict and with the present step-up in defense procurement it seems proper to return the floor to at least $500,000.

A small defense contractor is just as capable of bilking the Federal Government as is a large defense producer. Furthermore, it is exceedingly important to relate a company's defense business to its total business. As the percentage of a company's business grows in proportion to a civilian production, the need for renegotiation increases regardless of the total annual defense business of the company. For example, when a company is 80- to 100-percent involved in defense production and its total annual business is less than $1 million, the taxpayer has an infinitely greater interest in the excess profits than would otherwise be the case.

I have been on the Washington scene long enough to know the maneuverings involved in the placement of defense procurement contracts. Some contractors enjoy the privilege of sole source business because they have rooted out their competition through skillful but shocking competitive devices utilizing Government personnel to accomplish their aims. I know the fallacy of the preprocurement conference to which qualified defense contractors are invited to bid under circumstance where contract conclusions have already been made. Frankly, there is just too much affinity between the defense producer and the contract award officer who all too frequently is more interested in his post-retirement job with the contractor than in the taxpayers of the United States. These are human situations which can never be explained and which can never be justified and which can only be encountered by a skillful and careful review by the renegotiation authority, provided for in this law. This job cannot be done with less authority or less personnel or with less concern of this Congress. As one Member of this body, I feel more assured when I study a corporation report and see the notation that a defense producer's profit on defense production is subject to review by this important agency. As long as America finds itself committed to spending the overwhelming portion of the Federal tax dollar on defense procurement, the renegotiation agency is as important to the taxpayers of America as is the Department of Defense itself.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. GUBSER].

Mr. GUBSER. Mr Chairman, ever since the House of Krupps and the unconscionable profiteering of World War II and the early part of the Korean war, there has been a presumption that defense industry is without conscience, without ethics, and without scruples.

Considering that presumption, some of which cropped up in the debate today, it is probably politically unwise to oppose a bill which is advertised as seeking to prevent war profiteering. But as many Members know, this is a longstanding field of interest of mine, and I pride myself on having probed this subject very, very deeply. I think there is another side to this story that I feel obligated to tell here on the floor of this House.

The original purpose of the Renegotiation Act was to prevent excessive profits and profiteering, and during the Korean war it did that job. In fact, in 1955, it resulted in the return to the taxpayers of $165 million in excess profits.

But today this law has outlived its usefulness. It results in an annual net loss to the taxpayers. It contradicts established procurement policy and its stated goals. It contributes to a very dangerous centralization of our defense research and development effort. Lastly, it is unnecessary.

RENEGOTIATION ACT RESULTS IN A NET LOSS TO TAXPAYERS

Mr. Chairman, on March 25, 1964, I presented figures to the Ways and Means Committee which showed that for the year 1963 the Renegotiation Act resulted in a net loss of $9,321,000 to the American taxpayers. On May 10, 1966, I testified again to the effect that for the fiscal years 1962 through 1965 renegotiation resulted in a net loss to the taxpayers of $30.8 million. This figure was based upon an estimate that the cost of preparing and processing renegotiation filings amounts to 0.06 percent of renegotiable sales. The Machinery and Allied Products Institute, a very reputable organization, has estimated the cost of filing renegotiation reports at 0.1 percent of renegotiable sales. Using this factor, the loss to the Government for the years 1962 through 1965 would rise to $64.2 million.

My charges in 1964 and 1966 were given wide circulation, were presented before the Ways and Means Committee, and were reiterated on the floor of the House. Yet to this day not a single representative of the Renegotiation Board has risen to challenge my figures.

I have updated my calculations and now contend that for the years 1963 through 1967, the latest date for which I could secure figures, the total net loss to the taxpayers as a result of renegotiation was $27.7 million, based upon a 0.06 cost factor and $69.3 million, based upon a 0.1 factor.

For these years, renegotiable sales totaled $170.2 billion. The cost of submitting to renegotiation, based upon the 0.06 percent factor, would therefore be $102.1 million.

This cost to industry would be a deductible tax item and by making the assumption that the sales were equally divided over the base years and weighting those years with the declining corporate tax rate, we can say that $50.2 million of this cost was paid for by the Government in the form of reduced income tax.

To this moment, let us add the amount which is charged to the government in the form of increased prices to recover the cost of preparing renegotiation filings. Assuming that the average defense contractor has a 25-percent defense volume, then we have an additional cost of $12.5 million.

By adding the operating expenses of the Renegotiation Board over the base period of $12.4 million, we now have a total cost of renegotiation, before refunds are made, of $75.1 million.

Over the base period, the refund determinations, net of tax, were $47.4 million, thus producing a net loss of $27.7 million to the taxpayers.

Had I not been overly conservative and applied the 0.1-percent factor used by MAPI, the loss would rise to $69.3 million.

In fiscal year 1967, the determination of excess profits after tax, which resulted from renegotiation, was $8,254,257, out of a total in sales subject to renegotiation of $33.12 billion. In rough figures, this amounts to less than one-quarter of 1 percent recovery after taxes of total renegotiable sales. This is a rather ridiculous recovery in terms of the costs incurred by industry and by the government in arriving at this determination.

Representatives of the Renegotiation Board will undoubtedly counter this statement with the old, tired "cop on the beat" argument. This argument completely ignores the great strides which have been taken in recent years toward the improvement of defense contracting, the completely changed policy we have adopted, the principle of redetermination, and laws like the Truth in Negotiations Act which have come into effect in recent years. I will deal with these matters later in my presentation.

Though the Renegotiation Board has not, to my knowledge, claimed credit for voluntary refunds as the direct result of the renegotiation process, it is noteworthy that no qualifying language is included in its report listing such refunds. For example, for fiscal year 1967 the report of the Renegotiation Board lists more than $30 million in voluntary refunds. Unless one carefully analyzes this figure, it is possible to make the mistake of assuming that all of these refunds were due to the renegotiation process. The report should have stated that such refunds are for all purposes, including such things as engineering changes which resulted in cost reductions, refunds due to redetermination, and a variety of other reasons.

In summary of this point, Mr. Chairman, I believe the evidence is overwhelming that since 1955, when excessive profit determinations reached a high of $165 million, the return to the taxpayer from the renegotiation process has been gradually declining until it has now reached the point where it consistently costs the taxpayer more than it saves.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUBSER. I have very limited time available to me, Mr. Chairman, so I shall yield very briefly.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has some very limited figures too. I thought the gentleman should add the Renegotiation Board saved since 1951 a total of $1.3 billion. How does the gentleman figure that to be a net loss?

Mr. GUBSER. This is probably very true during the first few years of the Board's existence. However, since 1961, this Board has been losing money. It reached a high of $165 million in 1955. It has been going down every year. In recent years, it has actually resulted in a consistent net loss to the taxpayers.

Mr. MINSHALL. The reason for that is very simple. The amount of contacts we have been considering has not been anywhere near the volume they used to be. The present contracts arising out of Vietnam are still in the pipeline and they will not be subject to renegotiation until later—nearly a 2-year time lag.

Mr. GUBSER. I cannot spend the time rebutting the gentleman, but he is entirely wrong, because the cost of renegotiable sales goes up as the business volume per company decreases.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot yield further. I have not the time and I want to finish. I shall summarize with the statement that renegotiation is bound to go up as we get into smaller business volumes and the Board's net loss will increase.

The second point I want to make is that renegotiation contradicts established defense procurement policy.

RENEGOTIATION CONTRADICTS ESTABLISHED PROCUREMENT POLICY AND ITS STATED GOALS

Mr. Chairman, early in Secretary McNamara's administration of the Department of Defense it became apparent that defense contracts were gradually becoming less attractive to thousands of small- and medium-sized businesses across the country and, as a result, we were headed toward a concentration of defense procurement into large firms which did nothing but Government contracting. Accordingly, a new Armed Services Procurement Regulation, No. 3–808.1, was added to the ASPR on July 17, 1963. It states:

> It is the policy of the Department of Defense to utilize profit to stimulate efficient contract performance . . . Negotiation of very low profits, the use of historical averages, or the automatic application of a predetermined percentage to the total estimated cost of a product, does not provide the motivation to accomplish such performance. *Furthermore, low average profit rates on defense contracts overall are detrimental to the public interest.* Effective national defense . . . requires that the best industrial capabilities be attracted to defense contracts. These capabilities will be driven away from the defense market if defense contracts are characterized by low profit opportunities.

ASPR 3–808.1 then goes on to spell out guidelines, rules and regulations for the implementation of this policy. In these implementing regulations, the profit objective is stated to be "that part of the estimated contract price—which, in the judgment of the contracting officer, is appropriate for the procurement being considered." This will be a part of the record of negotiation and will be subject to redetermination. Why, then, should it be renegotiated?

Mr. Chairman, the record clearly shows that despite the contrary intent of ASPR 3–808.1, defense profits have been going steadily downward.

The Logistics Management Institute recently completed a study entitled "Defense Industry Profit Review," which was made under contract with the Department of Defense. The revelations of this report are startling. Based upon statistically valid procedures, Logistics Management Institute found and so informed the Defense Department that the average profit as a percent of capital investment of high and medium volume companies has been lower for the past 5 years on their defense business than on their commercial business. The trend of profits on defense business has been downward since 1958 while commercial profits have steadily trended upward.

The LMI report showed that net profit on total capital investment was 6.9 percent on defense business in 1966. The corresponding ratio for defense contractors' commercial business was 10.8 percent and for companies in an FTC–SEC sample 12.4 percent.

From a high in 1958 of 10.2 percent profit on total capital investment, defense profit sunk to 6.9 percent in 1966.

At the same time profit as a percentage of total capital investment on the commercial business of defense contractors ranged from a low of 4.7 percent in 1961 to a high of 11.6 percent in 1965 and stood at 10.8 percent in 1966.

Over the same period the defense business ratio of profit to sales declined from 2.7 percent in 1958 to 2.4 percent in 1966. In contrast, the commercial business of both defense firms and the FTC–SEC companies showed increases in profit on sales. The first group showed increases from 3.4 percent in 1958 to 5.0 percent in 1966 and the second group increased from 3.6 percent in 1958 to 5.5 percent in 1966.

The LMI report states further:

> Discussions with defense contractors reveal that most of them plan to increase their commercial business as a percent of their total business. They intend to change their commercial/defense business mix primarily by concentrating growth efforts on nondefense business.

Defense contractors explain their reasons as follows:

> Because commercial business is generally less competitive, there is a greater profit potential in that type of business.

Thus from a reliable group conducting a statistically valid study for the Department of Defense, it is obvious that defense profits are continuing to go down and there is less and less reason for the renegotiation process.

The Congress, the administration, and the general public have constantly urged greater use of competitive fixed price contracts. This emphasis upon firm fixed price contracts involves a significant shift of financial risk from the Government to the contractor. When a contractor assumes the risk of quoting a fixed price, he accepts uncertainty. In some cases he may, due to an unanticipated and an improved production technique, make a larger profit than expected. On the other hand, he might just as easily lose. In fact during the 5-year period, 1963–67, there was a total of $1.5 billion of losses reported by defense contractors in filings with the Renegotiation Board. To require a contractor to assume this new risk and comply with the policy demanded by Congress and the administration, and then deny him the right to profit which stems from an improved and unanticipated productive technique, is contradictory to the previously mentioned armed services procurement regulation and present procurement policy. This is one reason contractors are concentrating on commercial rather than defense business.

Furthermore, let us not forget that, contrary to the statement by Mr. Hartwig, Chairman of the Renegotiation Board, in his letter to Speaker McCormack of Feburary 23, all large contracts for the procurement of new and complex systems are subject to redetermination and profits are reviewed in the light of actual cost experiences rather than estimated and uncertain cost estimates.

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I conclude that the principle of renegotiation contradicts established procurement policy and its clearly stated goals.

My time is growing short, and I want to reach what I believe is the most significant point involved here. This act contributes to a dangerous centralization of defense efforts in the hands of a few companies.

THE ACT CONTRIBUTES TO A DANGEROUS CENTRALIZATION OF DEFENSE EFFORT INTO THE HANDS OF A FEW COMPANIES

Mr. Chairman, we have already seen from the Logistics Management Institute report that defense contractors are emphasizing growth in non-Government, nondefense business because of declining profits.

In addition, industry is concerned over the activities of the General Accounting Office and the requirements of the Truth in Negotiations Act. The whole question of which costs are allowable and which are pertinent in pricing is causing contractors to think twice before soliciting Government business as opposed to concentrating on commercial markets.

Also, Mr. Chairman, private industry has become reluctant to concentrate research and development efforts on the development of a product which might be useful in the national defense. Oftentimes a developer is not allowed to recover his costs on the first procurement. On the second round he may be forced to bid against competitors who have a competitive advantage because they have no research and development costs.

All of these factors tend to compress the number of firms who honestly vie for Government business. The very small firm, the "loft operator," the marginal and unqualified bidder is always around to bid from somebody else's blueprints. And then there are the industrial giants, the General Electrics, the Lockheeds, the General Dynamics, who deal with Government on a large scale and are geared for such business. But the medium-sized companies, with their great wealth of talent and the tremendous contributions which they can offer to the national defense, are being frozen out of the defense effort. This compresses and concentrates productive capacity, know-how, and ability. Mr. Chairman, this is serious and adversely affects the national defense because it narrows the base of ingenuity available to the national defense.

Renegotiation is one cause of this. It is one more harassment from Government, one more unnecessary step which adds unreasonably to overhead and makes Government business less attractive than commercial.

Years and years ago the Soviet Union adopted its policy of military research and development. It was clearly established that they intended to dominate the world in the field of military research and development.

And if we look back more than a generation we see that the upward curve has never deviated. It has never fluctuated. It did not dip down at the death of Stalin. It did not change because of a national election. It did not change because suddenly they needed more money for some new social program. It did not change because there was a presidential election. It went steadily upward, which means but one thing, that the Soviet Union has never deviated from its course of dominating the world in the field of military research and development. That continues to this day.

What do we do? We react when a sputnik goes up and we suddenly increase our expenditures for research and development. Then along comes an election or a new program, and down it goes.

Today military research and development is down by 60 percent, while the Soviet Union continues its steady and constant effort.

I am not saying that renegotiation is entirely responsible for this situation, but I do say that this is one unnecessary harassment of business, one unnecessary procedure, one more bit of redtape which is causing defense industries by the dozens to concentrate on commercial business for future growth and to downgrade their activity in the field of national defense.

This, gentlemen and ladies, is serious when we consider that whether we like it or not we are still in a technological race with the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 2 additional minutes.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, I merely wish to make one more point. Since the Renegotiation Board was instituted a great deal has changed in the field of defense procurement and the law is no longer necessary.

Mr. Chairman, Government negotiators are securing better prices and there is more competition in every type of defense activity than ever before. The LMI report showing that defense profits are going down even while gross business is increasing is ample proof of this statement.

In addition, we have a law, Public Law 87-653, commonly referred to as the Truth-in-Negotiations Act. Recently the House passed the Minshall bill which will extend the Truth-in-Negotiations Act to include "postaward activities to provide greater protection against defective pricing stemming from the use of inaccurate, incomplete, or noncurrent data supplied by prime and subcontractors."

The Truth-in-Negotiations Act is a relatively new tool which renders the renegotiation process even more obsolete. Furthermore, as recommended by our committee, the Department of Defense is continuing to sharpen the effectiveness of this tool.

The present emphasis upon firm fixed price competitive contracting with redetermination and incentive clauses allows redeterminations to be made based upon actual proven costs rather than estimations. Here is another tool which is available to the Department of Defense and which accomplishes anything which the Renegotiation Board can possibly claim as a reason for its existence.

Under today's circumstances, the act is unnecessary, obsolete, and wasteful.

Mr. Chairman, I recognize reality. I know I will bow to it, but I am bound in service of my own conscience to say to you that this law costs the taxpayers more than they get back. Second, it is unnecessary. Third, the base of technical expertise which is available for the national defense is shrunken by this law. Last, you have all of the tools you need in the Truth-in-Negotiation Act and the redetermination clauses to prevent profiteering. This law is obsolete, useless, and expensive. It ought to die.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Burke] 5 minutes.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I made efforts, and supported the efforts of others, to strengthen the powers of the Renegotiation Board, to give it more power to deal with war profiteering. As a result of my efforts and those of others with similar views, the bill which has been reported by the Ways and Means Committee strengthens the Renegotiation Board's powers to deal with excessive profits. This strengthening occurred in three areas.

First, the bill continues the life of the Board for longer than has been the case in prior extensions. In the past, Congress usually has continued the life of the Board for 2 years or even less. I supported making the Board a permanent agency because it is needed, and is going to continue to be needed, to police those firms—a few, not a majority—who receive excessive profits on Government defense work. This bill, although it does not make the Renegotiation Board permanent, does extend the life of the Board for longer than has been the rule in the past. The Committee on Ways and Means agreed that the Renegotiation Board should be continued until the end of fiscal year 1971.

Second, this bill cuts down the area of application of a major exemption from renegotiation. Since the Board was established in 1951, the powers of the Board have been successively weakened over the years. One of the most important exemptions from the Renegotiation Act is the standard commercial articles exemption. Under this exemption billions of dollars of Government sales escape renegotiation each year. This bill reverses the trend of prior years and tightens up this provision. The bill amends this exemption in a number of ways to insure that only truly commercial articles qualify for it. For instance, in determining whether an item is of a commercial nature, existing law allows sales to foreign governments, to State governments, and to many Federal Government agencies to be counted as commercial sales. This bill corrects the erroneous idea that these types of sales are commercial sales.

Presently, an item can qualify for the standard commercial articles exemption even though only 35 percent of the sales of the item are made commercially. The bill tightens this provision by raising the required percentage of commercial sales to 50 percent.

This bill also requires that for the standard commercial articles exemption to be available, the price at which an item is sold to the Government must be the same or less than the commercial price of the item. This will prevent items on which the Government is being overcharged from escaping the renegotiation process by means of the exemption.

These amendments represent a substantial step toward returning to the Renegotiation Board the powers it needs to prevent Government contractors from reaping excessive profits on defense business at the expense of the American taxpayers.

The third area in which there has been as least a start in tightening involves the $1 million floor. Under the present law, a contractor who has less than $1 million of sales covered by the Renegotiation Act in a year is exempt from renegotiation. This exemption constitutes an avenue for profiteering particularly because of the Government policy in recent years of providing a preference to small contractors. I believe that the amount of the exemption should have been lowered so that the many small contractors now participating in defense business would not escape from renegotiation. In committee, I supported an effort to lower the amount of this exemption to at least $500,000. I also attempted to achieve a compromise on lowering the exemption to $750,000. The majority of the members of the committee did not accept my, or the other, motion to lower the exemption. I reluctantly agreed to maintain the exemption at $1 million. The committee did adopt a reporting requirement, however, which will enable the Renegotiation Board to check up on contractors whose renegotiable sales are less than $1 million because of the exemption for standard commercial articles. These contractors, who do not have to file statements with the Renegotiation Board at present, will be required to report to the Board if their sales in the absence of the standard commercial articles exemption would exceed $1 million.

Although this bill does not strengthen the powers of the Renegotiation Board as much as I wanted, it is a step in the right direction. The legislation in past years has almost always weakened the ability of the Renegotiation Board to eliminate excessive profits. I supported efforts to reverse this trend. I fought in committee to change this pattern—to add to the Renegotiation Board's powers, not to take away from them. This bill is the turning point. It does reverse the trend. It adds to the powers of the Renegotiation Board rather than weakening those powers.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would like to commend the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] and also associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vanik], and to commend the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Minshall] on the other side of the aisle for the outstanding work which they have done to bring to the attention of the Congress the weaknesses that have existed in the past in the Renegotiation Act.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez].

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Mills], chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, for yielding to me at this time.

Mr. Chairman, it is not my intention to utilize the full 5 minutes at this time, because we will have amendments which will be offered during the amendatory stage of the consideration of this bill and I would like to reserve the majority of whatever remarks I do have to make for that time when we have the amendments under consideration.

However, Mr. Chairman, I do feel it is essential to go on record at this time in view of what some of the previous speakers have said about the board and in view of what some have said with reference to the procurement practices in general. In fact, I do not have an opportunity to ask a question which I so badly wished to ask of the gentleman from California [Mr. Gubser], because the thrust of his remarks were to the effect that if the Congress were to extend the life of this board, it would be a pro-Communist action.

In other words, you are helping the Communist countries if you have a Renegotiation Board. That seems to be the thrust of his argument.

Now, Congress has pretty much dismantled this Board since 1956, Korea had leveled off, the safeguards that the country had during Korea, and that it had during World War II, it could be argued, in 1955 and 1956 and 1958, were no longer necessary. But there is nothing more disruptive of morale and patriotism than to allow cynical profiteering to go on while men are fighting, dying, and giving their best for you and me. We draft men, but we do not draft property.

If you are subject to the military draft, you do not argue, you do not bargain, you go. But if you sell property or services to the Government for defense you have many resources, you have many protections and safeguards, and all of this in stateside comfort. It simply is not true to say that this Board has been either unfair or intemperate, in fact, its record is one of exemplary handling of contracts and companies. Less than 3 percent of their findings are disputed, and of those that eventually have gotten into the courts, the Board has warned everyone of the time, and they have given prompt notice to the contractors as the law provides, and I believe they have been very sensitive to the rights and prerogatives of private enterprise.

Mr. Chairman, we drifted into a war, but we have not set up the same safeguards that we had during our last conflict in Korea. I believe the record clearly shows the need for this, and during the time that we will be discussing amendments that we hope to have the chance to offer during the amending period, we will bring out some of the salient facts.

I believe the chairman, and this very distinguished committee, have been doing a tremendous job. For 2 years it has been difficult to foster interest in the renegotiation activities of our Government, but this committee has not only called for public hearings, which it held for 2 days, and gave everybody a chance who had anything to say on this matter to come before it and say it, and it has adopted a bill that has gone a long way, I believe, toward recognizing the actual needs. However, some of us feel that we can add to the bill, and we hope to do so during the amending period, and that the House will carefully consider the amendments.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Feighan].

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, I am glad to join with my colleagues in supporting the extension of the Renegotiation Act of 1951. While I am disappointed that the provision in my bill, H.R. 14697, which would make the Renegotiation Board a permanent agency was not approved by the committee, it is gratifying to know that this important agency will be permitted to function for another 3 years without the need for the yearly justification of its operations.

Also, in my bill I proposed that the statutory minimum for review of contracts be placed at $250,000 rather than the $1 million presently in the law.

I personally feel that this amount is too high and I intend to support any amendment which may be offered to lower that amount to at least $500,000.

Let me point out that the history of the Board is significant. Since its inception, it has made determinations of approximately $952 million in excess profits. There is good reason to believe that with the increased expenses of the conflict in Vietnam, the Renegotiation Board would be able to save the taxpayer many additional millions of dollars while preventing flagrant war profiteering.

This agency, unlike many others, pays for itself. Last year, for instance, the Board caused over $45 million to be returned to the Treasury of the United States. The budget for the year was $2.5 million.

I strongly urge passage of H.R. 17324, if possible with the amendment to lower the contract review minimum, the "floor" as it is referred to, to $500,000.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I support the bill as reported by the committee. But it must be admitted, probably by all of us, that there are still serious deficiencies remaining in our procurement and in our renegotiation process.

The shotgun approach toward control of profits on Government contracts and subcontracts is, unfortunately, at best a crude and imperfect tool.

The point has been made in the past and I think it should be made again as we conclude this debate that the primary responsibility for procurement, and in this case we are talking basically about defense procurement, rests with the department itself. That is where the real impetus must be for assuring that the Government gets a dollar of value for a dollar spent. The Department should be prepared to discharge that responsibility without having to have the renegotiation process as a backstop.

This process takes place, we must understand, after the fact—and frequently after the lapse of several years. The Renegotiation Board must look not to the conditions which prevailed at the time the contract price was negotiated, but to the costs incurred in its performance. I find it difficult, Mr. Chairman, to believe that any agency has the qualifications to evaluate a contractor's performance in this manner and in effect to set a price which is fair not only to the Government and to the particular contractor being renegotiated, but to other contractors doing similar work. Let us remember that is an important part in the procurement process. It is not just a matter of fairness between the Government and the contractor that the Government is dealing with but to others who might have been potential suppliers of the goods and services.

In many cases the efficiencies under this system may be penalized because efficiency creates the profit which is renegotiated. But you penalize the efficient and the inefficient may be left untouched.

When faced with large expenditures by the Department of Defense for the prosecution of the war in Vietnam—and should these hostilities terminate—to rebuild the material reserve which we should have in the interest of our national defense, I fully realize we need some form of restraint to avoid profiteering.

The renegotiation process while it may be lacking in many respects is the only procedure fundamentally that we have at the present time. Until something better is worked out, I certainly am going to support it.

But I do think, Mr. Chairman, that I should say at this time that I would hope before this extension expires that the executive departments and the Congress seriously focus their attention on the improvement of the machinery for Government procurement. The Government, after all, is one of the largest buyers of goods and services in the land—and around the world for that matter. I would hope that we would focus attention on improved procedures to the end that we can have more assurance that the procedures will produce a dollar's value for a dollar spent and at the same time produce equity between the Government and those supplying goods and services to the Government.

I think this is a matter that we really should give more attention to so that we do not have these horrible examples of faulty procedures that we see from time to time in the newspapers—and after all most of those deficiencies are not cured by the renegotiation process. The responsibility rests in the first instance with the agency and their procurement because even on a contract where a contractor makes an inordinate profit for an individual item, it does not mean that the contractor's overall business with the Government will show an unusual profit. It may be an exorbitant price, but because he is an inefficient producer, there are no excessive profits, and if that is the case, renegotiation does not get to it. I point out that we need to focus attention on this problem.

Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman, as an author of similar legislation, to extend and strengthen the existence and authority of the Renegotiation Board, I most earnestly hope that the House will grant the fullest consideration to amendments to improve this bill before us, H.R. 17324, and overwhelmingly adopt it.

The basic purpose of this Board and this legislation is to keep the profits of industries manufacturing military hardware under control and within reason.

There is no intention of any kind here to keep these particular industries and manufacturers from realizing a legitimate profit on their production and investment or to subject them to any extraordinary harassment.

On the contrary the truth is that the fundamental purpose of the Renegotiation Board is to insure that justice prevails. If a manufacturer can show that his cost, during the performance of Government work, rose because of unforeseen circumstances or, for some other legitimate reason, he did not make a reasonable and legitimate profit on a Government contract, the Renegotiation Board will review and rewrite the contract in the manufacturer's favor. Certainly this is no time, when a war is costing the American taxpayer some $26 billion a year, to attempt to dissolve or weaken the Renegotiation Board and it is equally obvious that Defense Department officials are too busy and too involved to try to police their own contracts. Unfortunately, we have had revealed here this afternoon abundant authoritative evidence indicating current profiteering on defense contracts. There is an essential need to legitimately discourage this practice and it is our high duty to do so.

Let us remember that the records show that in its operations the Renegotiation Board has recovered, for the American taxpayer, over $950 million in excess profits.

There can be no question that this legislation is essential, that it is timely and that it is in the best national interest particularly at a very challenging period of our economic history. Therefore, I urge and hope that this measure will be resoundingly approved without undue delay.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I want to register my support for H.R. 17324, the Renegotiation Amendments Act of 1968, but with reservation concerning certain provisions of the bill as it is now written.

The Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended over the years by Congress, will expire next June 30. This act authorizes the Government to recapture excessive profits on certain Government contracts and subcontracts. This bill will extend the act for 3 years, till June 30, 1971. I am pleased that the Renegotiation Board will be strengthened by the extension of its life for 3 years, rather than 1 or 2 years, as Congress has done in the past.

This bill will also increase the Renegotiation Board's authority to review contracts by narrowing the standard commercial articles exemption to insure that only truly commercial articles qualify under this provision.

For example, in determining whether an item is of a commercial nature, existing law allows sales to foreign governments, to State governments, and to many Federal agencies, to be counted as commercial sales. Sales to governments are excluded in this bill by redefinition of commercial sales to mean sales for civilian industrial or commercial use.

Also, this bill tightens the exemption by raising from 35 to 50 the percentage of sales of an item which must be made commercially in order to qualify for the standard commercial articles exemption. And, the exemption will not apply if the article or service is sold to the Government at a higher price than a civilian commercial purchaser would be charged.

Mr. Chairman, these strengthening provisions are desirable and will return to the Renegotiation Board the powers it needs to effectively review Government contracts and recapture excessive profits.

I am disappointed, however, that the Committee on Ways and Means rejected amendments offered in the committee, first by the gentleman from Ohio, Congressman VANIK, to lower the exemption from $1 million of sales to $500,000, and then by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Congressman BURKE, to $750,000 of sales. As a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee which reviews the budget of the Renegotiation Board, I have long felt that the $1 million of sales exemption should be reduced.

It is my understanding that an amendment will be offered on the floor today to lower the $1 million exemption, and I will vote for it.

The committee did adopt a reporting requirement, however, which will enable the Renegotiation Board to check up on contractors whose negotiable sales are less than $1 million because of the exemption for standard commercial articles. These contractors, who do not have to file statements with the Renegotiation Board at present, will be required to report to the Board if their sales, in the absence of the standard commercial articles exemption, would exceed $1 million.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that the continuation of the Renegotiation Act is in the Nation's interest. The renegotiation process allows an after-the-fact review of the profits on renegotiable contracts and subcontracts relating to the national defense and space efforts. This provides a further check on the reasonableness of the profits and prices that the Government has to pay in order to maintain its defense commitments.

Modern military and space procurement is characterized by changing technical requirements and increasing complexity. The nature of this procurement means there often is a lack of established market costs or prices to guide procurement officers, and accordingly the use of negotiated contracts is necessary for the large majority of the dollar amount of these procurements. This includes contracts negotiated with sole-source suppliers as well as contracts negotiated with some degree of price competition.

Negotiated Department of Defense military contracts increased from 82 percent of the value of procurement in 1965 to 87 percent in 1967, reversing a downward trend from a high of 88 percent in 1961. In addition, negotiated NASA contracts increased from 91 percent of the value of procurement in 1961 to 97 percent in 1967.

Mr. Chairman, a second factor which indicates the need to extend the Renegotiation Act is the substantial increase in defense and space related procurement during 1965–67, primarily related to the Southeast Asia military buildup. Total military procurement rose from $28 billion in 1965 to $44.6 billion in 1967, or 59 percent. The level of total military procurement is expected to continue at a high level for at least the next few years.

Moreover, in view of the normal timelag between the time a contract is awarded and the time renegotiation filings are made with respect to the contract, the amounts received by contractors from procurement awards during the Vietnam military buildup will continue to be reported in Renegotiation Board filings during the next 3 years.

It also will take further time to properly evaluate the impact of the several changes made in recent years in Government procurement techniques on the relationships between cost, profits, and prices in negotiated contracts and their effectiveness in reducing excessive profits on these contracts. Recent trends in procurement have indicated an increased shift in cost responsibility to the contractor via fixed-price and incentive contracts. Fixed-price contracts have increased from 58 percent of the value of military contracts in 1961 to 79 percent in 1967.

A new system of establishing cost-profit-price relationships was initiated by the Defense Department in 1964. This is the weighted guidelines method of calculating allowable profits based upon the amount of contractor risk involved and the various cost inputs. In addition, procurement negotiating has been improved through strengthening the Truth in Negotiations Act, which I voted to support. The improvements are through revised procurement regulations tightening the cost reporting requirements on the contractor and obtaining postaward audit access to contractor and subcontractor performance records, including price adjustment clauses for defective cost or price data.

Although these changes in procurement procedures are significant steps, several investigations by the General Accounting Office and congressional committees of defense and space related contract awards and administration of these contracts in recent years have found that further improvements are necessary in order to increase the efficiency of Government contract negotiating and administration.

Therefore, I urge the House to pass this bill extending and strengthening the Renegotiation Act.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the bill H.R. 17324, to extend and strengthen the Renegotiation Act of 1951.

We are today in a period of greatly increased defense procurement as a result of the armed conflict in which our U.S. forces are engaged in Southeast Asia. It is not a time when we should relax our efforts to eliminate war profiteering.

The large volume and broad scope of defense and space expenditures at this time, together with the necessity for rapid procurement during a period of active military operations, is such that some excessive profits on Government contracts are bound to occur.

It is incumbent on the Congress to provide some means of discouraging and eliminating such excessive profits, and the renegotiation process has implemented well our Government's policy in this regard.

I supported this extension of the act in the Committee on Ways and Means, and I am pleased to lend my voice in support of this bill here on the floor of the House. I believe a 3-year extension is appropriate. Some would have desired a longer extension, some favored making the act permanent, and others would have wished a shorter extension, but the 3-year period provided in H.R. 17324 is in line with a recommendation of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, which has recently completed an extensive study of the renegotiation process.

I believe the 3-year extension will afford the Board an adequate period of time within which to oversee the continuing procurement buildup associated with the Vietnam conflict. At the end of this extension, the Committee on Ways and Means and the Congress will be afforded a further opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of the present renegotiation procedures and to develop such further amendments as may be necessary to continue the prevention and elimination of excessive profits on defense and space procurement.

I urge the House to pass this legislation.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Chairman, I am very happy to support this bill. Earlier in the session, I myself introduced legislation to extend the term of the Renegotiation Board.

At present, the United States is facing a fiscal crisis and in addition, the necessity for meeting our military commitments has required that thousands of our young men be exposed to the dangers of the battlefield. In these circumstances, it is obvious that the Nation can ill afford to dispense with an agency that has returned to the Treasury $18 for every dollar spent on its operation, and whose very existence serves to discourage attempts by defense suppliers unjustly to enrich themselves as a result of the same conflict in which other Americans are giving up their lives.

The committee has fully considered all relevant aspects of this legislation from the length of the extension to changes in the scope of the Board's authority, and it has reported a bill which deserves support.

We all know something of the pressures under which the Ways and Means Committee, particularly this year, has labored, and I want to take this opportunity to commend the committee and its distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS], for having given attention to this measure. Our thanks too, are due those Members who have worked to make the House aware of the importance of this legislation.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, the Renegotiation Board is probably one of the least known of the agencies in the Federal Government.

Yet it has played a constantly important watchdog role over Federal spending since its creation some 17 years ago in 1951.

Today we are to consider legislation which will extend the life of the Board for 3 additional years.

It is my intention to support this legislation though I would have much preferred a bill which would have made the Board a permanent agency of the Federal Government and recommendations by my colleague, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK] that the requirement that contractors must do at least $1 million a year in negotiable business with the Government before being subject to review by the Board be amended to the lesser amount of $750,000 or $500 thousand.

The Renegotiation Board was established in 1951, during the Korean war, at a time when defense procurement was moving at an accelerated pace. It was felt the Board was needed to curb excess profits and assure that the Government and the taxpayers were getting their money's worth.

Since that time the Board is credited with having saved the Government and taxpayers some $2 billion. Yet, during that time, the cost of maintaining the Board and its operations has been only $50 million.

When the Board was originally established in 1951 the review exemption stood at $250,000. In 1954, when procurement for defense eased from the Korean war high, the exemption was raised to $500,000. As procurement further declined, in 1956 the exemption was raised to $1 million where it has remained there.

It would seem to me with defense spending running in the neighborhood of $80 billion, with some $30 billion annually going into Vietnam, that the exemption should be lowered. Also, since defense and related spending seem to continually increase even in relatively peaceful times the Board, which has demonstrated its need and justified its existence over the last 17 years, should be made permanent.

It is my understanding that amendments may be offered today to limit the exemption and make permanent the Board and it would be my hope that the House could consider them favorably.

However, whether they are offered and accepted or not, the extension of the Renegotiation Act is absolutely essential at this time and the committee bill should be passed.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Renegotiation Amendments Act of 1968".

EXTENSION OF TERMINATION DATE

SEC. 2. Section 102(c)(1) of the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended (50 U.S.C. App., sec. 1212(c)(1)), is amended by striking out "June 30, 1968" and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1971".

INFORMATION FURNISHED TO BOARD WITH RESPECT TO STANDARD COMMERCIAL ARTICLES

SEC. 3. Section 105(e)(1) of the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended (50 U.S.C. App., sec. 1215(e)(1)), is amended by inserting after the second sentence the following new sentence: "Any person who, but for the provisions of section 106(e)(1)(A), would not be relieved for a fiscal year from the filing requirements of the first sentence of this paragraph by reason of the preceding sentence shall furnish for such fiscal year such information with respect to the application of such provisions (and with respect to the aggregate specified in the preceding sentence) as the Board may by regulations prescribe as necessary to carry out this title."

MANDATORY EXEMPTION FOR STANDARD COMMERCIAL ARTICLES AND SERVICES

SEC. 4. (a)(1) Paragraph (1) of section 106(e) of the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended (50 U.S.C. App., sec. 1216(e)), is amended—

(A) by striking out subparagraph (B).

(B) by inserting "or" at the end of subparagraph (A), and

(C) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (B).

(2) Paragraph (3) of such section is amended by striking out "or (C)" each place it appears.

(b) Paragraph (4) of section 106(e) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(4) DEFINITIONS.—For the purposes of this subsection—

"(A) the term 'article' includes any material, part, component, assembly, machinery, equipment, or other personal property;

"(B) the term 'standard commercial article' means, with respect to any fiscal year, an article—

"(i) which either is customarily maintained in stock by the contractor or subcontractor or is offered for sale in accordance with a price schedule regularly maintained by the contractor or subcontractor,

"(ii) the price of which under any contract or subcontract subject to this title is not in excess of the lowest price at which such article is sold in similar quantity by the contractor or subcontractor for civilian industrial or commercial use, except for any excess attributable to the cost of accelerated delivery or other unusual circumstances, and

"(iii) from the sales of which by the contractor or subcontractor at least 50 per centum of the receipts or accruals in such fiscal year are from sales for civilian industrial or commercial use;

"(C) the term 'service' means any processing or other operation performed by chemical, electrical, physical, or mechanical methods directly on materials owned by another person;

"(D) the term 'standard commercial service' means, with respect to any fiscal year, a service—

"(i) the price of which under any contract or subcontract subject to this title is not in excess of the lowest price at which such service is performed under similar circumstances by the contractor or subcontractor for civilian industrial or commercial purposes, and

"(ii) from the performance of which by the contractor or subcontractor at least 50 per centum of the receipts or accruals in such fiscal year are from performance for civilian industrial or commercial purposes;

"(E) a service is, with respect to any fiscal year, 'reasonably comparable with a standard commercial service' only if—

"(i) such service is of the same or a similar kind, performed with the same or similar materials, and has the same or a similar result, without necessarily involving identical operations, as a standard commercial service from the performance of which the contractor or subcontractor has receipts or accruals in such fiscal year,

"(ii) the price of such service under any contract or subcontract subject to this title is not in excess of the lowest price at which such service is performed under similar circumstances by the contractor or subcontractor for civilian industrial or commercial purposes, and

"(iii) at least 50 per centum of the aggregate receipts or accruals in such fiscal year by the contractor or subcontractor from the performance of such service and such standard commercial service are from the performance for civilian industrial or commercial purposes; and

"(F) the term 'standard commercial class of articles' means, with respect to any fiscal year, two or more articles with respect to which the following conditions are met:

"(i) at least one of such articles either is customarily maintained in stock by the contractor or subcontractor or is offered for sale in accordance with a price schedule regularly maintained by the contractor or subcontractor,

"(ii) all of such articles are of the same kind and manufactured of the same or substitute materials (without necessarily being of identical specifications),

"(iii) the price of each of such articles under any contract or subcontract subject to this title is not in excess of the lowest price at which such article is sold in similar quantity by the contractor or subcontractor for civilian industrial of commercial use, except for any excess attributable to the cost of accelerated delivery or other unusual circumstances,

"(iv) all of such articles are sold at reasonably comparable prices, and

"(v) at least 50 per centum of the aggregate receipts or accruals in the fiscal year by the contractor or subcontractor from sales of all such articles are from sales for civilian industrial or commercial use."

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 5. The amendments made by this Act shall apply with respect to amounts received or accrued in fiscal years of contractors and subcontractors ending after June 30, 1968.

Mr. MILLS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. VANIK

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. VANIK: On page 2, after line 14, insert the following:

"MINIMUM AMOUNT SUBJECT TO RENEGOTIATION

"SEC. 4. (a) Paragraph (1) of section 105 (f) of the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended (50 U.S.C. App., sec. 1215(f)), is amended to read as follows:

" '(1) IN GENERAL.—If the aggregate of the amounts received or accrued during a fiscal year (and on or after the applicable effective date specified in section 102(a)) by a contractor or subcontractor, and all persons under control of or controlling or under common control with the contractor or subcontractor, under contracts with the Departments and subcontracts described in section 103(g)(1) and (2), is not more than $500,000, the receipts or accruals from such contracts and subcontracts shall not, for such fiscal year, be renegotiated under this title. If the aggregate of such amounts received or accrued during the fiscal year under such contracts and subcontracts is more than $500,000, no determination of excessive profits to be eliminated for such year with respect to such contracts and subcontracts shall be in an amount greater than the amount by which such aggregate exceeds $500,000.'

"(b) Paragraph (3) of section 105(f) of such Act is amended—

"(1) by striking out 'the $250,000 amount, the $500,000 amount, the $1,000,000 amount,' in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof 'the $500,000 amount', and

"(2) by striking out '$1,000,000' each place it appears in the last sentence and inserting in lieu thereof '$500,000'."

On page 2, line 17, renumber section 4 as section 5, and on page 7, line 2, renumber section 5 as section 6.

Mr. MILLS (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman agree with me that he will take time to explain his amendment?

Mr. VANIK. Yes.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD. It would simply reduce the floor to $500,000 instead of the present $1 million floor.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, presently, under the act only companies with more than a million dollars in negotiable Government contracts shall be subject to reviews by the Board. My amendment would lower the "floor" or size of contracts which may be examined by the Board to half a million.

The Board has had a history of lower "floors," particularly during times of conflict such as we are now in. During the Second World War, the predecessor of the Board, the War Contracts Price Adjustments Board, originally covered all contracts of $100,000 and over. Unfortunately, this level was raised to $500,000 in 1943. It is interesting to note that the Senate committee which recommended the increase reported in 1948:

> The committee now feels in view of our war-time experience that this recommendation (to increase the Board's floor) was a mistake . . . excessive profits on $100,000 of business were very possible.

When the present Renegotiation Board was created in 1951, the level of contracts which it could examine was set at $250,000. This was raised to $500,000 in 1954 and to a full $1 million in 1956. This increase in the floor resulted in a drastic reduction in the number of contracts examined. In 1952, for example, 13,104 companies reported renegotiable defense contracts in excess of the floor of $250,000. Yet despite a buildup in Vietnam procurement, only 3,337 companies were required to file during fiscal 1966 under the $1 million floor provision. This is a reduction of about 75 percent. It is also interesting to note that the Truth in Negotiating Act, administered by the Defense Department, covers contracts over $100,000—one-tenth the size of contracts covered by the Board.

The amendment I am offering would increase the number of filings before the Board from 4,800 in fiscal 1969 to 7,800 in fiscal 1969. It would increase the renegotiable sales which would be reported from $44,500 to $46,700—an increase of

$2.2 billion. Since it is figured that due to price increases a floor of $250,000 during the Korean conflict is equal to a floor of $400,000 or more today, the amendment to lower the floor to $500,000 is in line with the original intent of the Renegotiation Act.

Now that we are in another conflict situation and military procurement is currently running at about $44.6 billion—higher than any time since the Korean war, it is time to return the Board's floor to half a million dollars. This is particularly true because of the Government's emphasis on giving small contracts—and big ones—to small businesses. As the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation pointed out:

> In the past 7 years, small businesses' share of military prime contract awards increased from 16 percent of total awards to over 20 percent. The amount of military subcontracts awarded to small business also increased . . . from 37 percent of total subcontracting to over 43 percent. Thus, the total share . . . of small business in military procurement has increased from 31 percent in 1961 to 37 percent in 1967.

It is no more right for the small contractor to make a "killing" at the expense of the public than it is for the large contractor.

Some will argue that the paperwork involved in filing with the Board is too onerous for the smaller contractor. But the information required by the Board has been geared to coincide with that required by the IRS. As an example of the Board's efficiency, 87 percent of the contractors received clearance within 48 days of filing, strictly on the basis of the initial information they supplied.

An objection to my amendment might be that lowering the floor will increase the additional expenses of the Board by more than the amount of excess profits it will bring in. The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation has issued a report on the Board that indicates this might happen, if you do not allow for voluntary refunds and price reductions. But of course, expanded jurisdiction of the Board will result in price reductions and prevent the attempt to obtain excess profits, just as extension of police coverage prevents crime.

I would like to say one final word about two arguments used against amendments to strengthen the Board. The first argument is that defense contracts are not profitable. Yet as just one of countless pieces of evidence to the contrary I would like to point to Vice Admiral Hyman Rickover's testimony before the House Banking and Currency Committee on April 11 when he said that over the past several years profits of defense contractors have risen by 25 percent. Secondly, opponents of the Board say that much of its work can now be handled through the Truth in Negotiating Act administered by the Department of Defense. I need only point to two GAO reports, two Joint Economic Committee reports, and one House Armed Service Subcommittee report within the last 16 months, all of which pointed out the lack of compliance with the truth in negotiating law by the Defense Department.

I hope that this Chamber will support this amendment to lower the Board's floor by half a million. At a time when so many Americans are giving their lives for their country, it is the duty of this Chamber to strengthen the Renegotiation Board so that a few do not make "war profit killings" at the expense of the whole Nation.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment of the gentlemen from Ohio to lower to $500,000 the yearly amount of business above which a contractor must file for renegotiation. I estimate that lowering this floor from $1 million to $500,000 will give the Board purview over an additional $2.5 billion in defense contracts, and include 3,000 more contractors under renegotiation.

The floor should be lowered as a wartime measure. Military procurement for Vietnam has risen to about $45 billion annually, higher than World War II when the floor was once one-tenth what it is now, and higher than Korea, when the floor was one-fourth what it is now.

Past experience has shown that increases in defense or space procurement lead to more subcontracts and to more small businesses supplying component parts for Government contracts. The history of the Renegotiation Board shows that these periods, whether following the missile crisis, the space program or the Vietnam buildup, result in significantly more determinations of excessive profits but for smaller average amounts, indicating a preponderance of determinations against smaller firms.

Because more firms, and generally smaller firms, have Government contracts because of Vietnam spending, it is incumbent upon us to prevent the opportunity of profiteering in this expanded area. Like the policeman on the beat, an important aspect of the Renegotiation Board is the deterrent value of its very presence. We must impress upon new, smaller contractors that the windfall profits on war contracts will not be tolerated.

Certainly I believe in supporting small business. The Defense Department has shown considerable results in recent years in encouraging small business to bid on defense contracts, and I applaud their efforts. Such effort rightly belongs with DOD and SBA, not with renegotiation. We should encourage small business, not small business profiteering.

It has been argued that the cost of complying with renegotiation is a detriment to small business participation in defense contracts. But certainly a company which does $500,000 in Government business that is renegotiable already has a qualified accounting staff. Actually, with the exemptions to renegotiation, a floor of $500,000 a year in "renegotiable" business undoubtedly misses a number of firms which are considered big business by any standards.

Every company keeps records for income tax purposes. Renegotiations is designed to utilize this same information, as a convenience to the contractor. Further, the cost of filing with the Board is a deductible business expense, and is probably passed on to the Government, in part at least.

As a matter of fact, the renegotiation process, with its six-part criteria for determining whether profits are excessive, inherently encourages small businessmen. In fulfilling the same contract, a small businessman would normally employ a larger proportion of his capital and assume a greater risk than a large businessman. The other four factors being equal, therefore, the Board is compelled to allow the small contractor to retain a larger profit than it could allow the large contractor.

With the proliferation of small subcontractors and new contractors with defense business as a result of the Vietnam buildup, we owe it to the sacrifices of our fighting men and their families to prevent obvious opportunities for war profiteering. I urge adoption of the $500,000 floor on renegotiation.

It is instructive to review the history of the renegotiation floor. The original floor was $100,000. But upon the recommendation of the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, established for the duration of World War II, the floor was raised to $500,000 in 1944. However, on the basis of the wartime experience, the same committee changed its mind in 1948, and recommended returning the floor to $100,000.

The floor during Korea started at $250,000, then was increased to $500,000. Not until after the war, in 1956, was the floor raised again to $1 million.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment and I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I commend the gentleman from Ohio for offering his amendment today. It will save much in dollars for the American taxpayers. I associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman and urge support of his amendment.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I would like to address some questions to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANIK]. I certainly rise in support of the amendment of the gentleman, but I wonder why he keeps the amount down to $500,000 and does not return to the figure we had during the Korean war of $250,000. I would be more in support of the amendment if he did that.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, during my discussion I pointed out that with the rising cost of goods, what was a $250,000 floor would be equivalent to $400,000 today, with relation to the loss in buying power of the procurement dollar. That was in the first part of the statement I made in support of my amendment.

I might also point out to the gentleman that in discussion before the Ways and Means Committee, in an effort to get to the lower floor, we found there was very little support, so an effort was made in committee to report out a $500,000 floor, which was not successful. Subsequently the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BURKE] submitted a recommendation that there be a $750,000 floor. This also failed to be reported out of the committee.

My feeling is the $500,000 figure, which is the basis of my amendment, is more closely related to the situation at the time of the Korean conflict, when the floor was $250,000.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman.

I should also like to point out for the record that at the time my friend from California [Mr. Gubser] was speaking, he made a very emphatic statement about how much this Board lost during the last 2 years. I should like to point out that during the testimony of Mr. Hartwig, when he appeared before the subcommittee, in answer to a question by me, Mr. Hartwig said:

> All I can say is that past history indicates this Board has always paid its way. It has always recouped for the Treasury more than it has spent.

As I pointed out in my colloquy with my good friend, the gentleman from California, since 1961 this Board has recouped over $1.3 billion, and nearly $400 million of that has been in voluntary refunds.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MINSHALL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VANIK. I thank the gentleman from Ohio, my distinguished colleague, for bringing this to the attention of the Committee.

I might point out there is a definite relationship between the reduction of productivity of the Board and its loss of personnel, because it seems there has been a constant pressure to reduce personnel of the Board, which has had a result of severely affecting the kind of work we could expect from it.

Mr. MINSHALL. I should like to point out that the Subcommittee on Independent Offices Appropriations has never cut the Renegotiation Board so far as a request for personnel is concerned, whereas we have in the past cut other branches of the Government very drastically.

Mr. GROSS. Mr Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MINSHALL. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. It is interesting to hear support for this amendment on the basis that $500,000 means $250,000 apparently because of this wonderful Great Society inflation. Is this what the gentleman is saying in support of the amendment?

Mr. VANIK. Not at all. I believe the gentleman fails to recognize the realities of our times.

The inflationary impacts since the Korean war has gone on steadily through several administrations, including one which the gentleman used to complain about far less during some years before 1960. I believe the record will show that the inflationary impact which preceded 1960 was substantially greater than the impact since 1960 in spite of the problems since Korea.

Mr. GROSS. I do not agree that is so at all, and the gentleman knows better than that.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Let me analyze, if I may, for the benefit of the Members, just what lowering this floor actually means.

Let me point out first that my own initial reaction was to favor this year a reduction in the floor because of the fact that we are involved in this war in Vietnam. But I went into the matter in executive session of the committee very carefully with the Chairman of the Renegotiation Board and his staff people, as did other members of the committee. During the course of this study in the committee I changed my mind. Let me explain why.

Under present law, contractors whose total renegotiable sales during the year are $1 million or less are exempt from renegotiation. Let us be clear that when we are talking about this floor, we are talking about a contractor's total sales under all contracts and subcontracts covered by renegotiation. The floor does not apply on a contract-by-contract basis. In other words, when you are thinking about the size of the floor you should recognize it relates to all of a company's renegotiable business and not to each contract individually.

In the past we have had lower floors. At one time we had a floor of $250,000. Then in 1953 it was raised to $500,000. In 1956, we raised the floor again from $500,000 to its present level of $1 million.

Let us examine the reasons why we increased the floor to $1 million in 1956. First, the floor was raised because of the desire of Congress to lessen the compliance costs and burdens of renegotiation, especially in the case of small businesses. Second, the floor was raised in order to ease the administrative burdens of the Renegotiation Board—to enable it to concentrate on the larger cases where it was believed there were more likely to be substantial amounts of excessive profits.

In 1956 we estimated that raising the floor would reduce the number of contractors who had to file with the Renegotiation Board by 37 percent. On the other hand, it was estimated that raising the floor would reduce the amount of excessive profits found by the Board by only 9 percent. In other words, the 1956 estimate was that contractors with sales between $500,000 and $1 million would account for over 37 percent of the number of filings with the Renegotiation Board—and each one of these has to be processed and evaluated by the Board—but that only 9 percent of the excessive profits would be attributable to these contractors. Stated quite simply, this means there were a large number of small contractors in this range who in total had very small renegotiable sales.

The basic fact is true today, but even more so. The Renegotiation Board has estimated that lowering the floor to $500,000 would increase the number of contractor filings with the Board in 1969 by over 60 percent. It is estimated, however, that the amount of renegotiable sales involved in these filings would increase the total sales reported to the Board by only 5 percent. In other words, lowering the floor would have a very small effect on the total sales reported to the Board—and probably also on the amount of excessive profits—but a very substantial effect on the Board's workload.

To handle this very large increase in its workload—3,000 more cases in 1969—the Board has indicated that it would have to increase its staff by 100 persons, or by over 50 percent. It also would need $1 to $1.5 million additional funds, or about a 50-percent increase in its appropriations. If excessive profits, after credit for Federal taxes, are increased for the estimated renegotiable sales attributable to lowering the floor to $500,000 in the same ratio as the excessive profits on other sales—and I see no reason why it would be higher here—the increase would be about $600,000. In other words, the additional cost of lowering the floor will probably exceed the net additional excessive profits by 1½ to 2 times. This does not take into account voluntary refunds and price reductions but, on the other hand, it also does not take into account contractor compliance costs.

The 60-percent increase in the number of contractors subject to renegotiation means that these 3,000 additional contractors would incur additional costs in complying with the act. To some extent at least, these costs will be passed on to the Government in the form of higher prices and through the income tax deduction for business expenses.

Mr. Chairman, there is still another aspect of this problem which should be considered. As we all know, there has been a substantial amount of inflation since 1956. The effect of these price increases has been to lower the floor in terms of 1956 prices to a level of approximately $725,000. In other words, a $1 million floor now has about the same impact as a floor of $725,000 would have had in 1956. To put the matter differently, a floor of approximately $1.4 million would be needed today to equal the $1 million floor provided in 1956 if the relationship between renegotiation and the general economy were to be the relationship which existed in 1956.

Still another factor which should be considered is that the administration did not request the floor to be lowered. Evidently, they went through the same type of analysis as I have just gone through with you and came to the same conclusion that I did; namely, that it is neither desirable nor appropriate to reduce the level of the floor at this time.

In summary, the facts convinced me that it would be wrong to lower the floor to $500,000. First, the net pickup in excessive profits would be smaller than the additional costs to the Board. Second, the number of contractors brought under coverage of the act would be large while their renegotiable sales would be small. Third, the administration must have recognized these factors since it did not request the floor to be lowered to $500,000. The Committee on Ways and Means defeated two motions by a substantial majority to lower the floor, one to $500,000 and the other to $750,000. I believe you should defeat this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vanik].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GONZALEZ

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Gonzalez: Strike out Section 2 in its entirety and insert in lieu thereof:

"ELIMINATION OF TERMINATION DATE

"SEC. 2. Section 102(c) of the Renegotiation Act of 1951, as amended (50 U.S.C. App., 1212(c)), is amended by striking out the heading thereof and paragraph (1) in its entirety; by redesignating paragraph 2 as subsection (c); and by striking out 'paragraph' in the last sentence and inserting in lieu thereof 'subsection'."

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would establish the Board as a permanent agency.

The 16-year-record of the Board has been exemplary. In cold war or hot, in times of high defense spending or low, regardless of changes in procurement regulations, the Renegotiation Board has recovered millions of dollars in unjustified defense or space profits each year.

Last year the Board saved more than $30 million in excessive profits for the American taxpayer through its direct and indirect activities. This $30 million was saved, incredibly, with only relatively few employees. I have in several instances demonstrated how the Board since its inception has saved about $18 in excessive profits for every $1 spent to maintain it.

The six statutory factors on which the Board must make its determinations of excessive profits were established in 1943, and have stood the test of time. They reward a company's efficiency. They acknowledge a company's contribution to the defense effort. And they make allowance for the capital a company employs, and the financial risks it assumes.

The ability of the Board to administer the Renegotiation Act with fairness has also been conclusively demonstrated. Four-fifths of the contractors who file for the renegotiation get prompt letters of clearance. In those instances where the Board determines profits to be excessive, the contractors themselves have agreed 90 percent of the time, and only 3 percent were not settled through bilateral agreement ultimately.

The Renegotiation Board will continue to be an essential element in preventing excessive defense profits until such time as our traditional process of defense procurement is changed radically. The renegotiation and the procurement processes in a very real sense complement each other.

Procurement personnel must usually confine themselves to the contractor's estimated or projected costs, while renegotiators deal exclusively with actual or realized costs. In the preponderant majority of defense contracts, the procurement process must end once the contract is awarded. Thereafter, only renegotiation has a chance to establish what costs a contractor actually experiences, and what portion of a contract award turns out to be profit. This is true whether the contract was "competitive" or negotiated. Procurement personnel retain an interest in costs beyond the negotiation stage only on incentive and cost-plus contracts.

But at no time in the procurement process can a contractor's judgment be questioned, whether the contract be incentive, cost-plus, firm fixed price or competitive. The ASPR implementing the Truth in Negotiations Act makes it clear that the contractor's judgment about the various contingencies included in his cost estimates cannot be questioned. Only the factual pricing data upon which the contractor to some extent bases his estimates or projections of cost has to be certified.

The fact that the Renegotiation Board continues to make determinations of $5 million in excessive profits against individual companies indicates that the skill of industry negotiators in covering every cost contingency does on occasion produce enormous and unjustified profits which only the Renegotiation Board is in a position to recover.

Thus, renegotiation complements procurement. I am sure that my colleagues are aware of the recent congressional reports, all of which detail deficiencies in our present procurement system and make recommendations for improvement. Procurement must be tightened. But no amount of refinement in the procurement process can eclipse the need for renegotiation.

The Board is in a unique and strategic position to prevent war profiteering. It is independent and autonomous. It reviews all defense or space work completed during the year by larger contractors. It considers the costs a contractor actually incurs, not his estimated or projected costs. Unless the Congress itself is willing to administer to prevent profiteering of the public expenditures for national defense, the Renegotiation Board must serve as the taxpayers' watchdog.

The need for renegotiation to backstop procurement practices is clear. Eighty-seven percent of DOD contracts and 97 percent of NASA contracts are negotiated. As Chairman MILLS said in 1966 in support of renegotiation, "negotiated prices are often influenced by an imbalance in negotiating skill, in favor of the industry negotiators." The natural and overriding duty of industry negotiators is to gain coverage of as much as possible of the contingencies which could conceivably lower his company's profits.

Once most contracts are negotiated, the procuring agency has no legal resource if unplanned and excessive profits result because the agreed-upon, preaward cost contingencies prove unfounded. Only the Renegotiation Board is in a position to recover such unjustifiable profits.

The Renegotiation Board will always have a job to do. Whether we like it or not, we are a leader among nations. What we do not do is sometimes as important as those actions we do take. We will have defense and space commitments into the unforeseeable future. We will continue to develop new and complex weapons systems and space vehicles for which prior pricing experience does not exist. It is obvious that defense and space spending will always be a large proportion of the national budget, running into the tens of billions of dollars each year. Thus we should recognize the fact that there is a continuing place for this watchdog agency which has so well protected the taxpayers' defense dollar in the past.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Permit me to inquire of the gentleman from Texas if this is the gentleman's amendment making the Renegotiation Act permanent? Am I right about that?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Yes, it is.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I regret to find myself in disagreement with amendments being offered by Members who are certainly motivated by the very highest purpose, and I know my friend, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ], is so motivated. But, in my opinion, to make the Renegotiation Board permanent is undesirable.

Mr. Chairman, I can understand the argument that if an agency is permanent then everyone has the greatest degree of security in his job.

One of the things about renegotiation that I thought we wanted to do was to remove that element of complete security in their tenure of office, and see to it that they report to the Congress periodically, and we can evaluate and judge whether or not they are doing the job as they should do it. And when they come before the Committee on Ways and Means, as my friends on the Committee on Ways and Means know, we talk pretty strongly to them in executive session about what we believe they should do. If we do not believe they are getting at excessive profits to the point that we believe that they should, we so tell them. If we believe that they have made a mistake somewhere on the other side, we also tell them.

Mr. Chairman, I would believe the Congress would feel more secure as to this type of operation which involves so much judgment, if it were extended periodically. Then the agency would have to come back and report as to its stewardship. Do not believe for 1 minute that this business of determining what are appropriate profits, has reached the point of being an exact science. It is still a question of the judgment of people. I would feel far more secure if this amendment were defeated, and that at the end of 3 years the Board would come back and justify a further continuation.

Mr. Chairman, I repeat what I said in general debate, that there is no question in my own mind about what the Congress will do at the end of this 3-year period if there is a justification at that time, as there has been in the past, for the continuation of this Board.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLS. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman suppose that 3 years will give somebody time enough to recover something on that outlandish TVX conflict that went down to Texas?

Mr. MILLS. It could possibly come in for renegotiation during this 3-year period.

Mr. GROSS. I sincerely hope it does.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I would hope that the amendment would be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GONZALEZ

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GONZALEZ: On page 2, in lines 1 and 2, strike out "with respect to standard commercial articles".

On page 2, line 3, after "SEC. 3." insert: (a)

On page 2, after line 14, insert:

"(b) Section 105(e) of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

" '(3) UNIFORM ACCOUNTING STANDARDS.—The Comptroller General shall develop uniform accounting standards to be applied for purposes of this title to all contracts with the Departments and related subcontracts. These uniform accounting standards shall include standards from which an accurate showing of production costs and profits by individual order can be determined. The Comptroller General shall consult with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget in the development of such uniform accounting standards, and shall promulgate rules and regulations in implementation thereof not later than one year after the date of enactment of this section.' "

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS] reserves a point of order on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ].

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I rise to offer an amendment which would develop and institute uniform accounting standards to be applied to all renegotiable contracts. Its purpose is to obtain an accurate showing of production costs and profits.

The Banking and Currency Committee which I have the honor of serving on recently held hearings on the Defense Production Act. We heard testimony from Adm. Hyman Rickover, an expert on naval and nuclear procurement. He demonstrated how the complex variety of accounting practices followed by defense contractors thwarted the public interest by rendering it almost impossible to determine actual costs and profits on defense procurement. I propose, therefore, that the Comptroller General, in consultation with the Bureau of the Budget, develop uniform accounting standards for renegotiation, and promulgate rules and regulations for their implementation.

I began speaking in behalf of the Renegotiation Board 2 years ago. I presented extensive testimony before the Ways and Means Committee this year in support of my bill to strengthen the Board. I have continued my interest with studies of the Defense Production Act, and defense procurement in general.

As a result of my studies, I have become acutely aware that the Government does not pretend to know what the majority of defense work actually costs, or what profits are made on its contracts. Only on incentive and "cost-plus" contracts do procurement personnel retain beyond the preaward stage any legal authority over a contractor's estimates of his contract costs. This remains true even under the Truth in Negotiations Act, for the contractor's judgment about the various contingencies included in his cost estimates cannot be questioned. Only the factual pricing data upon which the contractor to some extent bases his cost estimates or projections has to be certified.

The Renegotiation Act purports to determine what costs a contractor actually incurs on defense business, and therefore, what proportion of a contract is realized as profit. But if a contractor finds he is one of those firms which had over $1 million a year in defense business that was not exempt from renegotiation, he soon learns that any "generally accepted accounting practice" satisfies the Board's legal requirements. A defense contractor can pick the accounting device which best "tells" his costs and hides his true profits, dependent almost solely upon his desire to retain any windfall profits on a completed contract.

By the time that Adm. Hyman Rickover testified before my committee on April 12 relative to renewing the Defense Production Act, I was completely in agreement with his conclusion that "the lack of a uniform standard of accounting is the most serious deficiency in Government procurement today."

Let me quote further fragments from Admiral Rickover's testimony:

> Profit is only a part of the real income to a company—large additional profits on defense work can be hidden as costs just by the way overhead is charged, how component parts are priced, or how intracompany profits are handled. Thus, profit statistics are meaningless unless measured in accordance with a uniform standard.
>
> The Renegotiation Act and the Truth in Negotiations Act are based on the presumption that the Government can readily determine suppliers costs. The Government can't—the Government encounters such a wide variety of complex accounting systems that it is virtually impossible to know how much profit a supplier makes in producing it—without spending months reconstructing a supplier's books.

As a result of my studies of current congressional, GAO, and DOD reports and hearings on defense contracts, I have come to suspect that profiteering in the Vietnam war is rampant. Before Congress can expect to prevent unjustified and excessive profitmaking, it must know the shape and dimensions of the problem. At present, no one in the Congress and no one in the executive branch has realistic information about the level of profits being realized on defense contracts. Only the individual contractor knows, and he has no need to tell. Thus the development of uniform accounting standards for renegotiable contracts is an immensely important step.

I urge that my amendment to apply uniform accounting standards to renegotiation be adopted.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GONZALEZ. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MILLS. I reserved a point of order very frankly because I wanted to know from the gentleman what it is that these accounting standards apply to. Are they for initial pricing purposes?

Mr. GONZALEZ. For cost establishment purposes.

Mr. MILLS. That is initial price and cost determination?

Mr. GONZALEZ. Essentially.

Mr. MILLS. I thought so. If that is the case, the gentleman's amendment does not properly fall within this bill. I have all the sympathy in the world with the gentleman's amendment because I know what the gentleman is trying to do. But if you are dealing with the establishment of accounting standards for initial pricing, it is not within the purview of this bill and it could not apply for purposes of renegotiation. There could be no such thing as the development of accounting standards with respect to contracts, unless you mean the initial pricing of that contract—and not for renegotiation since renegotiation considers profits during a year on all contracts taken together.

Mr. GONZALEZ. The language used in the amendment reads, "production costs and profits by individual order." That is susceptible of determining by individual order the production costs.

Mr. MILLS. I think the world of my good friend, the gentleman from Texas, and his reason for offering this amendment. But this requirement that the accounting standards include standards from which an accurate showing of production costs and profits by individual order can be determined has nothing to do with renegotiation. It is the initial price that you are trying to get at I think, and if it is I applaud the gentleman, but the question is—what statute should this be added to?

Mr. GONZALEZ. If I may be permitted, I would disagree again respectfully.

Mr. MILLS. That is the reason I asked the question as to just what the gentleman was trying to do.

Mr. GONZALEZ. I believe the amendment is proper and germane because in the general process of renegotiation checks that the Board carries out, it has to resort to standards of evaluation, cost accounting and so forth. The thrust of this amendment would be to provide for a uniform system to be used so that there would be a method of accurately making a comparison without which the Board could not, nor could the General Accounting Office, in overseeing the Board itself.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GONZALEZ. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Regardless of the question of germaneness, if you move into the question of going into an individual order, you are getting entirely away from the whole current framework of renegotiation and you are going to have to have more than just this amendment because currently you look at the overall business that the particular contractor is doing with the Government and not at each individual item in terms of what profit it produces.

So you would have to reframe or restructure, it seems to me, the underlying concept of the current renegotiation act.

Mr. MILLS. That is why I raised the question. I recognize the gentleman wants good accounting standards for pricing, and this I applaud. It would be helpful I think to the Department in trying to get a fair and equitable price with respect to a contract. But this is foreign to the way the renegotiation board looks over the profits of contractors. They are looking at the total business, as the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] points out, and I do not see how the accounting standards for contracts could be meshed into renegotiation.

I think it could be meshed into programs dealing with initial procurement. That is I think what the gentleman is striving to do and I applaud him, if that is what he wants to do.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GONZALEZ. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS. The points that are being made here are very well taken.

I would like to add another point. The Renegotiation Board has no auditing section at all. True, what the gentleman is driving at would not necessarily require an auditing section. But they do not get into the detail of these contracts at all, I mean, even in a general manner in which they look over a corporation's business with the Government. They have no way of checking the auditing details. I thought I would bring that point out.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me further?

Mr. GONZALEZ. I yield to the distinguished chairman of our committee.

Mr. MILLS. We do have a uniform system, but it is the uniform taxing system that we use, not some GAO accounting system, as the gentleman from Missouri has pointed out.

I will withdraw the point of order, but I would hope my friend would withdraw his amendment and put it on a bill that has to do with initial procurement, because that is where it belongs, not on a renegotiation bill. It just will not fit or work here.

Mr. GONZALEZ. If my distinguished chairman will permit me, perhaps I have not made myself clear, and it may be that you will still point out a very practical reason why the amendment is not proper at this point. The thrust of the amendment that I have in mind was to fix upon not the Board itself—as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] has pointed out you do not audit—but it would place on the contractor the responsibility as well as, I think, in his own right, the desirability of having a uniform method that he would use in filling out his questionnaire on the Board's inspection in his ascertainment of production costs and profits. That was the idea I had in mind.

Mr. MILLS. He uses the tax accounting system now, and this is a system the contractor is acquainted with. I do not know how both of those could work together. That is why I would ask my friend to withdraw his amendment and let us consider it at some time in the future.

Mr. GONZALEZ. I will defer to the illustrious chairman because I certainly respect his expertise and experience. I should like to advise the Members that I am also offering the same type of amendment to the Defense Production Act.

Mr. MILLS. That is where it belongs.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlewoman from Michigan is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a few things about the Renegotiation Board and what I think has happened here this afternoon. During World War II we were spending about $10 billion more per year than is being spent today out of the Defense Department—only $10 billion more—and we had a full Renegotiation Department and it had the right to look into all of these contracts.

Today we have arrived at a point where there are only 172 people who are supposed to be doing this renegotiation. What you are saying here is that those 172 people must act in insecurity. They cannot be insured, if they do a good job, that they will be rewarded or that they will continue to hold their jobs or that there will continue to be a Renegotiation Board. We are saying to them, "You must act in such a way that the next time this comes up, the whole thing will be reabolished," and if you have any question about the fact that it could be reabolished, we have abolished one function after another. We have curtailed their powers, in spite of the money that is being spent, in spite of the fact that there is no guarantee whatsoever that it is being spent wisely and well.

In case you did not read it, I read it, that only recently the Defense Department placed a contract in my State for M-16 rifles for $20 million above the lowest bidders, and did not even bother to ask the bidder what the unit price of the item would be. This is the kind of thing that you need renegotiated. Personally, I think all of these contracts should be renegotiated. Nor do I believe that they should be renegotiated company by company. They should be renegotiated contract by contract. In World War II it might have made some sense to say company by company, because whatever a contractor was doing then, he was only a defense contractor. All of the commercial business was out of the plant. But that is not true today. Today he can take some losses on a contract and bid out his commercial competitors on others, and we do not have the kind of renegotiation that can reach that practice.

This Board has been beaten down year after year. It is not true that all its positions have been filled. They have not. They are not now filled. This Board should be strengthened and made into a better Board, and it should be made a permanent Board so these people have at least as much right as any other Civil Service employee.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is time we looked over this whole thing and did it properly, and I think practically everybody in the whole room knows that is true.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Chairman, if there are no further amendments, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MADDEN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 17324) to extend and amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951, pursuant to House Resolution 1181, he reported the bill back to the House.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. CURTIS. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mr. CURTIS moves that the bill H.R. 17324 be recommitted to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Members desiring to do so be permitted to extend their own remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

FEDERAL CREDIT UNION ACT AMENDMENTS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill (H.R. 14907), to amend the Federal Credit Union Act, be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 14907

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. The Federal Credit Union Act is amended as follows:

(1) Section 8(5) (12 U.S.C. 1757(5)) is amended by changing "five" to read "ten".

(2) Section 8(8) (12 U.S.C. 1757(8)) is amended by striking "or" immediately before "(F)", and by adding at the end thereof: "(G) in an aggregate amount not exceeding 25 per centum of its regular reserve established under section 17 of this Act in one or more incorporated or unincorporated organizations which are controlled by credit unions or credit union associations and which use funds so invested for purposes of establishing and maintaining liquidity or solvency or security of credit unions; or (H) in shares or deposits of any central credit union in which such investments are specifically authorized by the board of directors of the Federal credit union making the investment;"

(3) Section (8) (12 U.S.C. 1757) is amended by redesignating paragraph (14) as paragraph (15), and by inserting immediately after paragraph (13):

"(14) to purchase from any liquidating credit union notes of any individual members of the liquidating credit union at such prices as may be agreed upon by the board of directors of the liquidating credit union and the board of directors of the purchasing credit unions;" (4) Section 17 (12 U.S.C. 1762) is amended to read:

"RESERVES

"SEC. 17. (a) Each Federal credit union shall maintain a regular reserve against losses on defaulted loans and such other losses as may be specified in the bylaws in accordance with regulations prescribed under this Act. All entrance fees and charges shall after payment of organization expenses, be added to the regular reserve.

"(b) If, at the close of any dividend period, the regular reserve is less than 7 per centum of the outstanding loans to members, there shall be transferred to the regular reserve an amount equal to—

"(1) 20 per centum of the net earnings, before the declaration of any dividends, for that dividend period, or

"(2) the difference between 7 per centum of the outstanding loans to members and the amount of the regular reserve,

whichever is less.

"(c) In addition to the regular reserve, special reserves to protect the interest of members shall be established when required (1) by regulation, or (2) in any special case, when found by the Director to be necessary for that purpose."

COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the committee amendment.

The CLERK. Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. The Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C., chapter 14) is amended as follows:

(1) Section 8(5) is amended by changing "loans with maturities not exceeding five years" to read "unsecured loans with maturities not exceeding five years, and secured loans with maturities not exceeding ten years,".

(2) Section 8(8) is amended by striking "or" immediately before "(F)" and by adding at the end thereof: "(G) in shares or deposits of any central credit union in which such investments are specifically authorized by the board of directors of the Federal credit union making the investment;".

(3) Section 8 is amended by redesignating paragraph (14) as paragraph (16), by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (13), and by inserting immediately after paragraph (13):

"(14) in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the Director, to purchase from any liquidating credit union notes made by individual members of the liquidating credit union at such prices as may be agreed upon by the board of directors of the liquidating credit union and the board of directors of the purchasing credit union, but no purchase may be made under authority of this paragraph if, upon the making of that purchase, the aggregate of the unpaid balances of notes purchased under authority of this paragraph would exceed 5 per centum of the unimpaired capital and surplus of the credit union;

"(15) to facilitate members' voluntary purchases of insurance providing for the payment of their obligations to the credit union in the event of the disruption of their employment due to personal disability, and to include the cost of such insurance in the borrowers' loan repayment schedules, but no fee or other compensation may be paid to the credit union or any officer, director, or employee thereof for making such insurance available; and".

(4) The fourth sentence of section 14 is amended by changing "the purchase and sale of securities or the making of loans to other credit unions, or both" to read "the purchase and sale of securities, the borrowing of funds, and the making of loans to other credit unions".

(5) Section 15 is amended by striking the next to last sentence and inserting the following new sentences: "No loan which is not adequately secured may be made to any member, if, upon the making of that loan, the member would be indebted to the Federal credit union upon loans made to him in an aggregate amount which, in the case of a credit union whose unimpaired capital and surplus is less than $8,000, would exceed $200, or which, in the case of any other credit union, would exceed $2,500 or 2½ per centum of its unimpaired capital and surplus, whichever is less. No loan may be made to any member if, upon the making of that loan, the member would be indebted to the Federal credit union upon loans made to him in an aggregate amount which would exceed $200 or 10 per centum of the credit union's unimpaired capital and surplus, whichever is greater."

(6) The first sentence of section 16 is amended to read as follows: "The supervisory committee shall make or cause to be made a semiannual audit and shall submit a report of that audit to the board of directors and a summary of the report to the members at the next annual meeting of the credit union; shall make or cause to be made such supplementary audits as it deems necessary or as may be ordered by the Director, and submit reports of the supplementary audits to the board of directors; may by a unanimous vote suspend any officer of the credit union or any member of the credit committee or of the board of directors, until the next members' meeting, which shall be held not less than seven nor more than fourteen days after any such suspension, at which meeting any such suspension shall be acted upon by the members; and may call by a majority vote a special meeting of the members to consider any violation of this Act, the charter, or the bylaws, or any practice of the credit union deemed by the supervisory committee to be unsafe or unauthorized."

(7) The second sentence of section 16 is amended by inserting "a majority vote of" immediately before "the board of directors".

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Texas seek recognition?

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I believe there is no objection to the amendment. It was adopted unanimously.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

This is confined exclusively to the operation of domestic credit unions?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. GROSS. There is no involvement here with respect to the operations of overseas credit unions?

Mr. PATMAN. That is correct.

Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the legislation before the House today, the Federal Credit Union Act Amendments of 1968, deals with one of the most important branches of the financial community.

At the present time, there are more than 23,000 credit unions in the United States, of which 12,000 are federally chartered and would be covered by the legislation being discussed today. The Federal credit unions have approximately $5.5 billion in savings, $4.75 billion in loans outstanding, and more than 10 million members. Thus, there are more federally chartered credit unions than any other federally chartered financial institutions. These figures are extremely impressive when it is realized that at the end of the first year that the Federal credit union program was established, 1934, there were only 39 credit unions with loans outstanding of only about $15,000. Even more impressive is the Federal credit union loss ratio.

Federal credit unions have made a total of $44,077,687,000 in loans since 1934. Just $100,115,000 have been charged off producing a loss ratio of only 0.23 percent. Thus, credit unions have clearly mastered the consumer loan business and have established an unequaled record for safety and liquidity.

Three credit unions bills were the subject of hearings before the Banking and Currency Committee and when the committee had completed its hearings, it took, what it felt, were the best parts from each bill and molded the bill that is here before you today. This legislation was reported unanimously by the committee.

I do not want to take a great deal of time in discussing the bill because I feel the report quite clearly outlines what each provision of the bill accomplishes. But, I would quickly like to touch on each of the provisions of the legislation.

There are eight points covered in H.R. 14907. The bill would:

First. Extend maturity on secured loans of Federal credit unions from 5 to 10 years. The unsecured loan limit would remain at 5 years. This will enable credit unions to better serve their members who require a long amortization on items such as some improvement loans.

Second. Federal credit unions would be able to invest in State-chartered central credit unions. At present, Federal credit unions may lend money to the State-chartered credit union but cannot become members. These central credit unions serve as clearinghouses for loans between credit unions and for certain loans to officers of credit unions.

Third. When a credit union liquidates, normally because its sponsoring organization is moving or closing its facility, the credit union must sell its assets, normally its loans to members, in order to complete an orderly liquidation. Under existing law, these loans cannot be sold to another credit union. H.R. 14907 would permit these loans to be sold to other credit unions within strict guidelines.

Fourth. Almost every credit union offers free credit life insurance when a member obtains a loan. However, the same does not hold true for health and accident insurance. H.R. 14907 would provide that a Federal credit union could facilitate a member's purchase of health and accident insurance by allowing the payments for such insurance to be deducted from his loan repayment fees. The credit union cannot sell this insurance nor can it receive any fee for taking part in the transaction. This provision would merely put Federal credit unions on a par with many other State credit unions.

Fifth. When a credit union wishes to borrow funds, it is necessary to gain approval from the board of directors. This has proven to be extremely cumbersome in some cases, since it is not always convenient for the full board to meet at any given time. H.R. 14907 would allow the executive committee of the board to borrow funds rather than leaving that decision up to the entire board. Of course, such borrowing decisions would be fully reviewed by the full board of directors.

Sixth. Under present law, credit unions can make unsecured loans up to $750 or 10 percent of their unimpaired capital or surplus, whichever is smaller. These figures have proved unrealistic as our economy has expanded. The committee originally considered extending the unsecured loan limit across the board to $2,500 but instead agreed upon a substitute that would extend the unsecured loan limit on a stairstep arrangement to $2,500, making certain that only the credit unions that were financially able to handle such a loan would be allowed the full amount. The details of this proposal are clearly illustrated in a chart on page 4 of your committee's report. I might also point out that this sliding scale arrangement was proposed by the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions and approved by the Bureau of the Budget.

Under the sliding scale arrangement, only credit unions with assets of $100,000 or more would be able to make a full $2,500 unsecured loan limit. A credit union with, for instance, $40,000 in total assets would be able to make an unsecured loan limit of $1,000. Every credit union regardless of its size would automatically be able to make an unsecured loan limit of $200 so that we have not overlooked the very small or new credit unions in the legislation.

The increase to $2,500 is clearly justified. At present, there are 15 States whose unsecured loan limits for State-chartered credit unions are set not by legislation but by the board of directors of the credit union. Thus, a credit union in any of these States could lend far more than $2,500 on an unsecured loan basis. In addition, there are a number of States whose unsecured loan limit is above that presently allowed for Federal credit unions.

	Number of State-chartered CU's	Assets of State-chartered CU's (1966)
Arizona	49	$22,120,918
Arkansas	75	13,955,534
Colorado	160	109,389,551
Florida	314	136,882,414
Georgia	153	88,170,740
Idaho	119	11,664,285
Michigan	815	650,104,156
Minnesota	424	259,529,395
Montana	26	5,374,859
New Mexico	60	18,007,717
Oklahoma	51	65,436,911
Pennsylvania	138	61,780,352
Rhode Island	111	125,793,222
South Carolina	51	22,204,022
New Hampshire	31	15,803,733
Total	2,577	1,606,217,809

ANALYSIS OF UNSECURED LOAN LIMITATIONS UNDER H.R. 14907

Total assets	Present unsecured loan limit	Proposed $200 or 2½ percent unimpaired capital
$1,000	$200	$200
$2,500	250	200
$5,000	500	200
$7,500	750	200
$8,000	750	200
$10,000	750	250
$15,000	750	375
$20,000	750	500
$25,000	750	625
$30,000	750	750
$40,000	750	1,000
$50,000	750	1,250
$60,000	750	1,500
$70,000	750	1,750
$80,000	750	2,000
$90,000	750	2,250
$100,000	750	2,500

The increase in the unsecured loan limit is designed merely to bring that limit into line with the changing needs of credit union members in today's economy. The original Federal Credit Union Act had a limit of $50 on unsecured loans. Since then, Congress has revised the limit upward several times. In 1940, it was raised to $100. It was raised to $300 in 1946, to $400 in 1949, and finally, to $750 in 1959.

Based on the outstanding safety record that credit unions have established over the years and the fact that credit union losses have been only 0.23 percent, your committee feels that such an increase is not only justified in light of expanding economic conditions, but by the safety exercised by credit unions.

It should also be pointed out that the increase in the unsecured loan limit is permissive rather than mandatory and merely sets a ceiling for these loans. Individual boards of directors of every credit union will have to set their unsecured loan limits within the framework of this law. This will enable each credit union to determine what it can prudently lend on an unsecured basis.

Seventh. Federal credit unions, in addition to the annual audit conducted by the Federal Government, are also required to have quarterly audits made by or on behalf of the credit union's supervisory committee. Thus, every Federal credit union has at least five examinations a year. This has proved not only to be expensive but time consuming. In view of the outstanding safety record that Federal credit unions have established and the fact that credit unions have a low loss ratio of only 0.23 of 1 percent of all loans, your committee felt that the audit provision was overly restrictive.

As originally introduced by the administration, the quarterly audits would have been replaced with annual audits. However, your committee felt that rather than reducing the quarterly audit to an annual audit in one step, it would be better to replace the quarterly audits with a semi-annual audit. At a later date, the committee can review this procedure and if it is satisfactory the committee will give consideration to limiting the audits to only an annual basis. I want to emphasize that these audits are independent of the Government's audit and in no case will the annual Government audit be discontinued.

Eight. H.R. 14907 also contains a technical amendment that makes it clear that a member of the supervisory committee can be removed by a vote of the majority of the board of directors of the Federal credit union and such removal does not require a vote of every member of the board of directors.

Mr. Speaker, the members of your committee are satisfied that the legislation before the House today will in no way impair the safety or the liquidity of the outstanding record that credit unions have achieved. We have written safeguards into the legislation to make certain that all necessary precautions are taken to protect the interests of every member of every credit union.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, let me remind Members that Federal credit unions do not cost the Government nor the taxpayers 1 cent. The entire operation of the credit union movement and its Government agency, the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions, is supported entirely by fees paid by the Federal credit unions. Thus, I do not feel it is asking too much for the Congress to reward the credit unions with this forward-looking legislation.

NUMBER OF ACTIVE CREDIT UNIONS AND MEMBERS BY STATE, DEC. 31, 1967

State	Number of active credit unions	Number of members
Alabama	355	278,000
Alaska	37	43,000
Arizona	164	165,000
Arkansas	155	70,000
California	1,829	2,380,000
Colorado	321	280,000
Connecticut	512	385,000
Delaware	73	52,000
District of Columbia	172	415,000
Florida	642	575,000
Georgia	391	315,000
Hawaii	169	170,000
Idaho	183	72,000
Illinois	1,746	1,150,000
Indiana	602	460,000
Iowa	419	230,000
Kansas	304	212,000
Kentucky	260	151,000
Louisiana	473	249,000
Maine	193	135,000
Maryland	218	244,000
Massachusetts	769	715,000
Michigan	1,191	1,552,000
Minnesota	459	370,000
Mississippi	186	96,000
Missouri	564	413,000
Montana	131	64,000
Nebraska	156	115,000
Nevada	66	52,000
New Hampshire	63	56,000
New Jersey	565	375,000
New Mexico	140	100,000
New York	1,168	920,000
North Carolina	282	218,000
North Dakota	134	57,000
Ohio	1,394	1,050,000

NUMBER OF ACTIVE CREDIT UNIONS AND MEMBERS BY STATE, DEC. 31, 1967—Continued

State	Number of active credit unions	Number of members
Oklahoma	191	192,000
Oregon	245	208,000
Pennsylvania	1,358	845,000
Puerto Rico	373	126,000
Rhode Island	149	176,000
South Carolina	164	132,000
South Dakota	107	44,000
Tennessee	512	351,000
Texas	1,380	1,165,000
Utah	331	202,000
Vermont	75	33,000
Virginia	328	294,000
Washington	379	452,000
West Virginia	193	79,000
Wisconsin	801	549,000
Wyoming	60	28,000
Total	23,132	19,060,000

Total State chartered credit unions, March 1968

Alabama	139
Alaska	------
Arizona	54
Arkansas	73
California	617
Colorado	165
Connecticut	195
Delaware	------
District of Columbia	1
Florida	326
Georgia	148
Hawaii	------
Idaho	120
Illinois	1,383
Indiana	125
Iowa	406
Kansas	233
Kentucky	153
Louisiana	91
Maine	30
Maryland	36
Massachusetts	430
Michigan	800
Minnesota	400
Mississippi	52
Missouri	508
Montana	26
Nebraska	68
Nevada	------
New Hampshire	29
New Jersey	63
New Mexico	68
New York	123
North Carolina	212
North Dakota	99
Ohio	717
Oklahoma	53
Oregon	39
Pennsylvania	135
Rhode Island	112
South Carolina	51
South Dakota	------
Tennessee	321
Texas	483
Utah	226
Vermont	73
Virginia	110
Washington	189
West Virginia	37
Wisconsin	795
Wyoming	------
Puerto Rico	333
Total	10,847

Total Federal charters, March 1968

Alabama	221
Alaska	37
Arizona	114
Arkansas	85
California	1,226
Colorado	161
Connecticut	332
Delaware	73
District of Columbia	184
Florida	311
Georgia	241
Hawaii	170
Idaho	65
Illinois	404
Indiana	471
Iowa	12
Kansas	79
Kentucky	107
Louisiana	368
Maine	168
Maryland	186
Massachusetts	349
Michigan	398
Minnesota	57
Mississippi	135
Missouri	44
Montana	104
Nebraska	87
Nevada	66
New Hampshire	36
New Jersey	502
New Mexico	73
New York	1,057
North Carolina	75
North Dakota	35
Ohio	675
Oklahoma	138
Oregon	212
Pennsylvania	1,222
Rhode Island	37
South Carolina	115
South Dakota	110
Tennessee	194
Texas	903
Utah	101
Vermont	2
Virginia	217
Washington	187
West Virginia	158
Wisconsin	5
Wyoming	60
Puerto Rico	40
Total	12,399

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Speaker, the bill came out of the committee approved by all of the members. There is no question about it. We approve the intent of the bill.

The amendments that will take effect will probably be beneficial and helpful to the future operation of credit unions. It is supported by the minority side, and we urge its adoption.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, credit unions have been with us in America now for 60 years. During those years, the services of credit unions have become available to 19 million people through 23,000 credit unions, about 12,000 of which are federally chartered.

The bill before us, H.R. 14907, is designed to modify a number of provisions in the Federal Credit Union Act of 1934.

Included in the bill are an increase in the unsecured loan limit, an increase in the loan maturity limit, authorization for investment by Federal credit unions in State-chartered credit unions, changes in auditing, borrowing, and purchase of notes of liquidating credit unions.

All of these revisions are intended to produce a piece of legislation which brings the 1934 act into the modern era. For 4 years, the act has been a workable piece of legislation. Now, we are proposing modifications, all designed to give the Federal credit union a greater ability to fulfill its original purpose—service to its members.

You realize, I am sure, that a credit union is unlike other financial institutions. First, it is a member-owned, democratically run organization. Elected officials administer the credit union. Their aim is service, not profit. In the low-income areas of our economy, Federal- and State-chartered credit unions have contributed markedly toward the economic progress of disadvantaged segments of our economy.

But the modifications proposed in H.R. 14907 will do more than aid credit unions in low-income areas. They are designed to permit all Federal credit unions to operate more efficiently and this will benefit all members of all Federal credit unions.

For example, take the modification of the unsecured loan limit provision. In the past, this limit has applied equally to all Federal credit unions, regardless of size, assets, membership or any other factor.

As proposed by the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions, the new loan limit would be at a minimum of $200 for the smallest Federal credit unions and a maximum of $2,500 for the larger Federal credit unions. In addition, there would be a sliding scale based on 2½ percent of the credit union's unimpaired capital and surplus for those credit unions whose unimpaired capital is in the range of $8,000 to $100,000. This means that Federal credit unions with unimpaired capital and surplus of $8,000 or less would have an unsecured lending ceiling of $200 while Federal credit unions with unimpaired capital and surplus of $100,000 or more would have the maximum limit of $2,500.

Using the sliding scale, credit unions with unimpaired capital and surplus of $8,000 to $100,000 would have their unsecured loan ceiling established at 2½ percent of the amount. For example, at $40,000, the limit would be $1,000.

The administration has stated that this plan would permit the managers of small Federal credit unions to adjust to the concept of unsecured lending gradually, as they and their credit unions grow in size and experience. Eventually, when a credit union became large in size, as more and more seem to be doing, its management would have become trained to handle this and other aspects of the expanded operation, through experience. And experience, as we all know, is a fairly trustworthy teacher.

The other modifications in the bill also have their place in this expanding credit union picture—extended maturity limits, delegated authority to executive committees, semiannual audits instead of quarterly ones.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, this bill, H.R. 14907, carries a provision in which I am particularly interested because it is of particular value and concern to credit unions serving Defense installations. This provision is the one which provides that Federal credit unions may purchase individual notes of members of liquidating credit unions.

As most of the Members of the House know, a frequent cause of liquidation of a credit union is the removal of the common bond. In Defense credit unions, this may be a decision to close a particular base or post and to move the personnel to other installations. When this happens, the members of the Defense credit union serving the particular base or post need their money promptly because of the expenses which they will incur in their transfer to another installation.

If the credit union in question has many loans in effect, the prompt payment of shareholders' deposits may be delayed until funds can be collected from borrowers. The pressure for prompt payment of shareholders' deposits often becomes very great and we have had instances in the past where individual notes of credit union members have been sold at ridiculous discounts to finance companies and other agencies outside of the credit-union movement. Such sales under forced conditions have deprived the liquidating credit union of income from borrowers. This income might have been greatly increased had the credit union had more time or other sources for the sale of its notes. When this happens, shareholders are deprived of interest payments or interest refunds which they might otherwise have had.

The amendment to the Federal Credit Union Act in this bill which permits Federal credit unions to buy notes of liquidating credit unions will materially assist in eliminating pressures on liquidating credit unions and will provide for a more rapid liquidation of the credit union without excessive loss due to the discounting of notes. It will permit credit unions to help one another. It will prevent the exploitation of the assets of a liquidating credit union by unscrupulous money lenders. It will facilitate the orderly liquidation.

But, above all, it will protect the shareholder or credit union member from a loss due to the liquidation. It will protect the member-borrower from undue financial pressure from unscrupulous purchasers of notes of liquidating credit unions by making it possible for his note to be purchased or transferred to another credit union until such note is liquidated under the terms originally established when the loan was made.

I strongly urge my colleague to support this bill and especially the provision which I have cited in detail. It is a sound, worthwhile amendment to the Federal Credit Union Act which will greatly assist credit unions in the maintenance of their financial integrity.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the passage of this bill, H.R. 14907, which would clarify and modernize several provisions of the Federal Credit Union Act. In the first session of this Congress, we passed legislation amending this act which permitted the delegation of authority to loan officers, thus putting credit unions in a more favorable position for the expeditious processing of loan applications. But, actually, this provision was a material help to the extension of credit union services to our Armed Forces overseas.

Since this law was passed, the Department of Defense, in cooperation with the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions, has authorized the establishment of overseas suboffices by six Defense credit unions. This service has met with phenomenal success as you well know from the periodic reports which the chairman of our Banking and Currency Committee makes to this body. The first of these suboffices was established overseas about the first of this year. Since that time, these six suboffices of Federal credit unions in the United States have loaned over $4 million to servicemen stationed in the Federal Republic of West Germany. This rapid growth of credit union service overseas is due in no small measure to the liberalization of the Federal Credit Union Act's provisions on loan authority.

The bill before us today, H.R. 14907, has several provisions which modernize the Federal Credit Union Act and bring it more completely into line with current fiscal procedures and practices.

I particularly want to emphasize the portion of the bill which permits a Federal credit union to purchase notes of a member of a liquidating credit union. This procedure is particularly important and valuable for defense credit unions which often have to liquidate on very short notice because of decisions made to close a base or post or to move bodies of troops to a new permanent station. In the past when this has happened, we have had instances of excessive discounting of members' notes and some unfortunate experiences when such notes were sold to unscrupulous financial concerns. The provision contained in this bill before us today would permit one credit union to assist another credit union in this liquidating process by the purchase of members' notes. I believe this is a sound workable solution, and I also believe it is essential, especially for the several hundred Federal credit unions we have which serve defense installations in this country and abroad.

I urge your adoption of this bill with its numerous modifications of the Federal Credit Union Act in accordance with current financial thinking and procedures.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak in favor of the credit union bill, H.R. 14907, which has already had the unanimous approval of the Banking and Currency Committee. Committee Chairman PATMAN has explained that it would help equalize the services and procedures of Federal credit unions. Credit unions have an outstanding record, but they need to keep up with the changing times. H.R. 14907 will do just that.

I am particularly impressed with provisions in H.R. 14907 for changes in procedures—as outdated procedures can hamper the service that a credit union gives to its members. Presently, Federal credit unions must be audited by a committee of volunteers four times a year, a procedure unchanged since the Federal Credit Union Act was enacted more than 30 years ago. This bill reduces these audits to semiannually, but since Federal credit unions are also regularly examined, and very thoroughly, by the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions so there is no lack of safeguards.

Another procedural change calls for allowing Federal credit unions to invest in central credit unions. These credit unions are a kind of central banker within a State for credit unions, to help place unused funds wherever they are needed at the moment. The central credit union would in turn lend these funds to credit unions, and many of them would be Federal credit unions, so the money would stay in the family, so to speak. The safety record of all credit unions is excellent, and in most cases the best of any financial institutions. I believe we ought to let them enjoy this investing benefit.

There is also another procedural change which would allow Federal credit unions to purchase notes of liquidating credit unions—in modest amounts of up to 5 percent of the purchasing credit union's assets. Credit unions do liquidate without any embarrassment. Because they are limited in membership to specific groups, like employees of a company, they have to go out of business if the company goes out of business or moves. But it takes time to get the money from members paying on their loans, and yet the members' shareholdings ought to be paid back as soon as possible. If other credit unions are permitted to help by purchasing notes with their surplus funds, the liquidation process is considerably speeded up.

I am impressed also by the other provisions of H.R. 14907, and am assuming that there will be no objections to these extensions of service. These include increasing the loan maturity limit on such secured loans as home improvement and trailer homes from the present 5 years to 10 years; increasing the unsecured loan limit from the present maximum of $750 to $2,500, based on a scaled graduated to the size of the credit union, and with really no added risk because of the graduated feature. There is also a provision allowing the executive committee of a credit union—meaning the officers—to authorize borrowing of funds rather than waiting for the full board of directors to assemble. This would speed up operations considerably during peak borrowing periods.

None of these provisions seem unreasonable to me, and I urge unanimous approval of H.R. 14907.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

VALDESE, N.C., CELEBRATES 75TH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of the town of Valdese, N.C., are this week taking note of their great heritage by observing the 75th anniversary of their hometown. I salute the town officials and all of the citizens in this outstanding western North Carolina community as they experience a week of colorful activities.

It was my privilege on yesterday to attend the Religious Heritage Day program which was held in the beautiful First Baptist Church at Valdese. U.S. Senator SAM J. ERVIN, JR., a native of Burke County, delivered a brilliant address pointing out the goodly heritage which all Americans enjoy. The service, presided over by Rev. W. A. Hunneycutt, pastor, First Baptist Church, was most impressive. The participation by Mayor Gerald Baker and the ministers of the churches of the area, together with a 100-voice choir, added luster to the occasion.

During the remainder of this week, each day has been set aside for special activities and recognition including Pioneer and Homecoming Day, Parade and Dignity Day, Ladies Day, Industrial Day, Youth Day, with the final day being devoted to hospitality and recreational activities. On each evening during the current week, a thrilling pageant entitled "The Land Is Good," with a 300-member cast, will be presented for the enjoyment and education of the public.

Mr. Speaker, I feel a close kinship with the people of the Valdese area because of the opportunity that I had as a boy to be a student at Rutherford College. The warmth of the reception which was extended to me and my fellow students by so many families at that time constitutes one of my fondest memories of a lifetime. This hospitable attitude is still observed by all who visit there. Last night, as I enjoyed the Religious Heritage Day ceremony and the subsequent opportunity to visit with friends, I understood more fully the greatness of the community and her people.

The town of Valdese is a young town by the calendar. Notwithstanding its comparative youth, the town has a tremendous record of accomplishment in every worthwhile facet of American life. In 1893 when six Waldensian families came to the area to establish their new homes in America, they found rolling and rocky hills. Today they have a thriving town of more than 3,000 inhabitants. It is significant, however, that more persons are employed in the industries and businesses of Valdese than there are permanent residents of the community.

This is an indication of the phenomenal accomplishments in the development of job opportunities by those who founded the community.

The founding Waldensian families were descendants of the famous religious sect which was persecuted for centuries because of their religious beliefs as they inhabited a mountain tract on the Italian side of the Cottian Alps. Because of this persecution and the difficult economic conditions in their homeland, the Waldenses left their native land, crossed the Atlantic westward, and arrived at their new home on May 29, 1893. In November of that year, approximately 50 other families followed the initial group to Burke County, N.C.

After purchasing an expanse of land, these early Waldenses were issued a charter by the State of North Carolina, and immediately set about building a new community. These hardy mountaineers from the Italian Alps set to work clearing, digging, plowing, cutting timber, and operating a sawmill. As time went on, other families followed from Italy from time to time and joined in the project of developing a great community.

Within a short time these industrious new Americans commenced to establish industry to afford employment to their own people and others in the area. By 1901, the Waldensian Hosiery Mill had become a successful operation, and by the end of World War I, Valdese had earned the recognition of "the fastest growing town in North Carolina.

In 1920, the citizens of the community decided that they should become an incorporated municipality to establish a permanent form of government for her people. This was done and the town continued to expand along cultural and civic lines as well as in industrial affairs. Today it is one of the most balanced communities in America.

The magnificent performance of the Waldenses is a valuable lesson in self-improvement and community building. Their attitude of cooperation with the people of Scotch-Irish, English, and German stock has been exemplary. These relatively new American families together with the descendants of the early settlers of western North Carolina are performing good works daily which will be of everlasting benefit to all of us.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the example of the people of Valdese, N.C., to my colleagues and to all Americans. The story of their accomplishments under adverse circumstances is one which should inspire all of us to more fully appreciate the great heritage which is ours.

RULES COMMITTEE REJECTS EXTENSION OF 1965 FARM WELFARE LEGISLATION

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on last Tuesday, the chairman and the minority member of the Agriculture Committee appeared before the Rules Committee and asked for a rule on H.R. 17126.

This bill requested the Congress to give a 1-year extension on the Agriculture Act of 1965. This rural welfare bill is a 4-year program and still has 1½ years for the Government to write relief checks to farmers who make application for a subsidy on vacant land. In 1966 and 1967 over $7 billion of the taxpayers' money was spent on this relief program. Approximately 80 percent of the recipients are wealthy landowners and large corporation farmers—some controlled by nonresident owners.

The American Farm Bureau and many other rural organizations are opposed to continuing this gigantic "boondoggle" on the American taxpayers.

At the meeting of the Rules Committee last week, I read from a 1,200-page volume of last April's Senate hearings which gives names and addresses, counties and States of every farm recipient who was paid from $5,000 up to as high as $1 million annually on this relief program. To the astonishment of the members of the Rules Committee, upon learning facts about the operation of this gigantic giveaway, they refused to report a rule on this bill. Some mysterious rural lobbies are now busy trying to secure reconsideration of this legislation with the hope that the program can be extended and include the year 1970. No doubt, the supporters are fearful that the next Congress in January might relegate this giveaway to the wastebasket.

Our Nation faces a fiscal crisis. We must control inflation. We must act responsibly on fiscal matters. But at the same time, we must find a means of providing services to many groups including the disadvantaged people of our urban areas. My purpose is simply to bring to the attention of the House a matter of which, it appears to me, many Members have not been aware. This legislation was presented to the Congress with assurances that it would increase farm income, stabilize food prices, and increase our exports.

Time does not permit me to outline all of the details of the failure of this legislation. I am not an expert on agriculture. At the same time, all Members who represent urban and suburban districts must know that food prices are rising while farmers are discontented and the situation in agriculture has a definite bearing on the issue before us today. The House Committee on Agriculture has recommended that the 1965 act be extended through 1970. Mind you, this act runs through December 31, 1969; but for reasons unknown to me at this time of serious financial crisis, the Committee on Agriculture has recommended that we commit the Treasury of the United States to future expenditures of between $3 and $3½ billion per year through the calendar year of 1970.

The Agriculture Act of 1965 has not helped the majority of farm families of America because the principal recipients of payments under its terms are the large and more prosperous farmers, ranchers, and plantation owners.

I hold in my hand a Senate document just off the press—made available to the Members of the Congress only last Friday—that lists by States and by counties the landowners who received more than $5,000 in direct payments from the Federal Treasury during the past year. Time does not permit me to review the details revealed in this document. But, in summary, here are the facts.

There are five operators listed in this official Senate document who were paid over $1 million each. One individual operation was paid $4,091,818—J. G. Boswell Co., Box 128, Litchfield Park, Ariz. The farm is in Kings County, Calif.

Fifteen operators were paid between $500,000 and $1 million each. Three hundred and eighty-eight operations were paid between $100,000 and $500,000 each. One thousand two hundred and ninety were each paid between $50,000 and $100,000.

There were 4,881 operators which were paid between $25,000 and $50,000 each. Yes, in 1967 there were 6,579 farming operations, each of which was paid in excess of $25,000.

This list that I hold in my hand contains almost 200,000 names of those receiving $5,000 or more under this program. I urge the Members of this House to inspect this document.

These facts demonstrate that the "fat cats" of American agriculture are those who have benefited from the Agriculture Act of 1965. It is significant to me that many of the advocates of the extension of this law are those who have opposed the efforts of this Congress to relieve the plight of poor people in our urban area. I have here a copy of a report on the Agriculture Act of 1965 issued last week by the Republican minority policy committee. The first three paragraphs of this report are devoted to a denunciation of the act and a documentation of its failure. But in the last paragraph, the Republican minority policy committee endorses a 1-year extension of this legislation. Who is kidding whom? Who is for the "fat cat," and who is for the family farmer?

Mr. Speaker, I have referred to the need for funds to assist the poor people of this country, whether they live in rural or urban areas. We have an even more urgent need for the limited funds available to us for appropriation. This body has received a request from the President of the United States for a supplemental appropriation of some $3½ billion to help our boys in Vietnam in the patriotic efforts to win the terrible war in which we have become involved. I know that many Members of this body are concerned about the continued vast expenditures for this effort, but I doubt if there is a Member of this body who will refuse to vote this needed supplemental appropriation.

If this body must raise an additional $3½ billion, it is more important that we devote these funds to our national defense.

We cannot afford to commit our Government through 1970 to a $3 to $3½ billion farm program which is making the large farmer larger and the rich farmer richer, while driving the family farmer off his land and curtailing employment of hundreds of thousands of poor people who work on the land as hired laborers.

Mr. Speaker, I am serving notice now that many Members will oppose the continuation of this multibillion-dollar "boondoggle" at a time when we must deal with difficult fiscal and monetary problems, discontent, riots, and untold poverty in urban areas where 71 percent of our population reside.

If we are really sincere in our attempts to reduce nonessential expenditures, here is one area in which we can save billions of dollars without any detriment to commercial agriculture. There are many programs of the Department of Agriculture which, I am certain, are of great benefit to farmers and consumers; but these worthwhile programs—school lunch, school milk, food stamp program, the Soil Conservation Service, farm research, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Forest Service, and others—will soon begin to suffer if we waste our resources on a program which pays $3½ billion annually to those who need it least.

H.R. 17126 is now pending before the Rules Committee, and I hope it will not be reported to this body. But if it is, I challenge every Member of this House to examine the results of this program, examine the expenditures that have been made under it, and examine this official Senate document which I hold in my hand. And I say to you that you will come to the same conclusion that I have—namely, that if we want to be fiscally responsible, we shall reject this legislation.

EXTENSION OF AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like the Record to show, immediately following the remarks of the gentleman from Indiana, that I was one member of the Committee on Agriculture who voted against an extension of the farm bill.

THE FARM PROGRAM AND ITS DELAY

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Madden], who just addressed the House a few minutes ago pointed out the results of a bunch of bills that he has been voting for during the 18 years I have been in Congress.

Mr. Speaker, the reason that the ranking Republican member and the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture asked to extend this present program for 1 year, the reason that I joined with the chairman and asked to extend the program for 1 year is simply because I was afraid that the liberals, the group he represents, would extend it for 5 or 6 years, and I thought it woud be better to extend it for 1 year.

However, I have appeared before him and before the Committee on Rules many, many times opposing bills that are now on the books, but he invariably voted to report those bills out. I am glad he is now making a confession not only to the Members of the House, but to the entire Nation as to the amount of money that he has voted out of the Federal Treasury.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BELCHER. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MADDEN. I thought that the American Farm Bureau had a keen knowledge of what is going on, but the American Farm Bureau is opposing this extension to 1970.

Further, Mr. Speaker, I might say this to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Belcher] that at the time that I voted for some of these bills I did not know they were going to develop into a financial boondoggle for the benefit of millionaire farmers and multimillionaire farm corporations.

I would say to the gentleman that I admit I might have made a mistake. However, I would say further to the gentleman that the American Farm Bureau reports at times on legislation that they think is good for rural America and the bureau is against this program. In 1965 I did not know that the wealthy farmers and nonresident rural corporations were going to take the entire program over and receive annual checks in six figures, and five of these needy farm operators have received Government checks in sums over $1,000,000.

Mr. BELCHER. This thing has been existing for many, many years, and it might be a good idea for the gentleman from Indiana to do a little research as to just what is going on with respect to this program.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, we passed the Grain Act in 1965 and it provided that this farm subsidy would terminate in 4 years. The sponsors of this legislation now want to extend its another year—through 1970. If this legislation is passed to include 1970 it will cost the American taxpayers an additional 3 billion to 3½ billion dollars.

Mr. BELCHER. That is a pretty good excuse for you to use but, nevertheless, I appreciate the gentleman's confession.

SALUTING 28 YOUNG MINNESOTANS

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, we all too often hear a great deal about what is wrong with our young people. This is dismaying to those of us who believe our young people are the best educated and best trained in history, and will prove themselves as credits to their families and this Nation. It is heartening to occasionally run across a story that confirms this faith in young America. I am grateful to Mr. Robert P. Van Tries, assistant commissioner, division of vocational-technical education, in the Minnesota Department of Education, for calling one such story to my attention.

As Mr. Van Tries puts it:

> In these times when the news media is full of reports of campus strikes, student revolt, and picketing of defense industries, a story such as this should be a welcome interlude

and one that would be of interest to all Congressmen.

I fully agree.

The story concerns 28 young Minnesota men who last Friday were sworn into the U.S. Navy Seabee program at the Alexandria, Minn., Area Vocational-Technical School. Twenty-seven of the men are current graduates of that school, and one was chosen due to his experience. Each of the graduates has had over 2,000 hours of special technical training at the Alexandria, Minn., school. Because of this training, these men were given the opportunity to enlist in a grade specialty at an advanced rating. In this manner, the students are able to meet their military obligation, pursue their chosen occupations for which they have been trained, and perform a much needed service for the Armed Forces.

Last Friday's mass induction into the Seabees not only reflects favorably on the high caliber of young men from the area who willingly and voluntarily decided to discharge their military obligations, but also reflects on the excellent training they have received from the Alexandria Area Vocational-Technical School. I am confident that the 28 young men will serve with distinction, and they are to be commended for their desire to use their talents and training in the service of our Nation.

The ceremony was conducted by Capt. Julian F. Gray, district director of recruiting. A number of other ranking naval personnel were present, plus the mayor of Alexandria, Minn., other dignitaries, and friends. It gives me great pleasure to join in honoring and commending the following young men from Minnesota:

Ronald L. Golombiecki of rural Morris, John L. Olson of rural Evansville, Jerald C. Linden of rural Atwater, Richard C. Staples of rural Morris, Howard M. Hennen of Morris, Glen T. Dilley of Grove City, David G. Barkeim of Clarkfield, George M. Sletta, Jr., of Osakis, Bradford A. Elg of Comfrey, Ralph I. Coleman of rural Evansville, Donald E. Pederson of Donnelly, Charles G. Reiner, III, of Hutchinson, Greg G. Weiler of rural Morris, Anthony P. Hillemeir, Jr., of Olivia, Richard A. Meyer of Alexandria, David J. Stueve of Henning, James H. Strom of Brandnon, Charles Leon Coudron of rural Marshall, Richard O. Kesteloot of rural Marshall, Ronald C. Diedrich of rural Parkers Prairie, Charles P. Doom of Marshall, Michael D. Berg of Clarkfield, Roger A. Springer of Alexandria, Alan H. Martinek of rural Glenwood, Patrick C. Reed of rural Osakis, Michael D. Westberg of Kensington, Daniel E. Rieland of rural Westport, and Everett S. Jenks of Lowry.

My best wishes go with these young men as they enter service with the Seabees.

Special recognition must also go to the Alexandria, Minn., Area Vocational Technical School and its staff under the able direction of Mr. Vern Maack.

THE DOUBLE DEALING OF HAROLD HOWE

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, since the day he took office, every act of the Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe, has had one aim, the destruction of the educational system that exists in this country and the restructure of it in a Federal mold with Federal direction and control. The complete lack of commonsense he exhibits in this direction is the same complete lack of commonsense he exhibits when he protests, as he did the other day, the action of the House in denying grants and loans to students who promote and participate in campus insurrections.

After all, he is the one who has advocated Federal control. Now he screams like a stuck pig when we exercise the same control. Perhaps the time has come for Howe to admit that what he really advocates is turning the educational system upside down so he can be on top. Inconsistency, thy name is Howe.

The Washington Post, ever the weeper of crocodile tears, came to the defense of Howe in an editorial this morning. And, with the two-way mouth Howe is cursed with, he needs help. The Post bird recognizes its own kind of feathers:

DOUBLE DEALING

Some of the excesses and absurdities of student demonstrators have produced among legislators (who ought to know better) reactions which seem no less excessive and absurd. The House of Representatives gave its approval the other day to a proposal which would cut off Federal grants and loans to college students found guilty of participation in campus disturbances. It strikes us as an instance of Congressmen rushing in where wise academic administrators have learned to tread most warily.

Campus disturbances vary very greatly in degree and kind. Some are healthy, some dangerous and damaging. Where they involve violations of law, the law in its ordinary course ought to be left to deal with the violators. To add extra legal penalties in the form of denial of grants and loans to students is at once unfair and provocative. It is much more likely to cause trouble than to cure it.

Harold Howe, the United States Commissioner of Education, talked about this sensibly and illuminatingly last Thursday on NBC's *Today* show. "The fact is," he said, "colleges have the authority they need to deal with their students and where situations arise in which law enforcement is necessary, they have local authorities and local laws to take care of matters of property damage and trespass and things like that.

"And it seems to me quite unreasonable for the Federal Government to reach its long arm into the internal affairs of colleges and universities. It seems to me even more unreasonable to set up a system of double penalties. If these youngsters have done something wrong they'll be punished under laws which exist, and here the Congress is saying that it will create an additional special punishment which operates only on those who happen to hold fellowships or student aid loans of some sort or other, thereby creating a special punishment for poor students, if you will."

We commend the good sense of that statement to the Senate in the hope that it will undo the intemperance of the House.

PERMIT RIGHT OF COUNSEL TO SELECTIVE SERVICE REGISTRANTS

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that on Thursday, May 23, five of my Judiciary Committee colleagues, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland, and Mr. TENZER, joined with me in cosponsoring legislation to permit the right of counsel to young men when they appear before their local selective service boards.

The present selective service regulations specifically deny the registrant the right to be represented before the local board by anyone acting as his attorney or legal counsel. This denial is a violation of the spirit if not the letter of our constitutionally guaranteed rights.

There is perhaps no greater time when a young man might need the advice and assistance of a lawyer than when he has been called or wants to appear before his local draft board. At this initial meeting with his local draft board, the presence of counsel would assure the registrant of receiving full and fair consideration of his case based on the merits of his situation. Furthermore, a documented record of the factors considered in issuing the selective service classification for the young man would be established. When many are available for the draft and few are selected, the selection process must assure that the rights of the individual registrant are fully protected.

Although the draft regulations now provide that a Government appeal agent be attached to each local board, this agent, according to selective service regulations, must be "equally diligent in protecting the interests of the Government and the rights of the registrant in all matters." Under these conditions, however, the appeal agent cannot function as in the normal client-attorney relationship. Furthermore, according to General Hershey's staff, in many communities these agents appear to do little work at all.

Mr. Speaker, while the appearance of counsel at the local board proceedings will not remove all the inequities in the present Selective Service System, it will go far toward giving many young men an opportunity to have their cases fairly and thoroughly heard and judged.

EXCESSIVE STEEL IMPORTS MUST BE CURBED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SAYLOR] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, for 20 years this country has been suffering from a silly international trade policy based on the theory that we can buy friends by purchasing their products but masqueraded as a good business deal for the United States. It is a policy of failure either way you look at it, and Congress had better do something about it right now.

From the time I first came to the House, I have insisted that American industry and labor deserve first consideration in our foreign trade program, that to sacrifice jobs at home for diplomatic reasons is to betray our own working people. But the international set running the State Department is obviously not concerned about the welfare of the taxpayers who pay their salaries and foot the bills for their meanderings around the globe, so this country has been subjected to a flood of imports that has blocked expansion of job opportunities, hindered industrial development to such an extent that it could imperil our defense program, and taken so much gold out of the country that frantic steps have been necessary to save the integrity of the dollar.

Congress cannot escape primary responsibility for the fix we are in. By turning over too much authority to the State Department, the House and Senate have surrendered a power—to regulate commerce with foreign nations—invested solely in the legislature by the Constitution. True, Congress has been subjected to severe administration pressure to swallow the State Department's ridiculous program which through the years has prevailed no matter which party was in the White House or which party controlled the House and Senate. Those of us who have worked to protect our own people have been rebuffed.

Several years ago I succeeded in having Congress adopt my "buy American" amendment to provide for purchase of U.S. products and materials for use in this country's public works projects. I submitted supporting evidence to prove that no other industrial nation on earth would allow purchase of American equipment and supplies in their own public works projects.

My amendment became law, but only for a time. The following year the administration— through the President, the State Department, and congressional leadership—removed that provision. As late as last November, when it became obvious that restrictions on imports were absolutely necessary to protect a number of our industries, the President shocked all of us when he made this statement about my bills and others introduced in the Congress:

> I think those protectionists' bills just must not become law. And they are not going to become law as long as I am President and can help it.

Well, Mr. Speaker, I hope that the President has had some contrary thoughts on the matter in recent weeks. The steel situation alone should be enough to change his mind. If he is still stubborn about going along with State Department views, however, then it is up to Congress to get hold of the reins given to us by the Founding Fathers and pass legislation that is essential for a healthy economy and firm security.

There are any number of industries that we must shore up by giving relief from excessive import competition. We should begin by enacting the bills—H.R. 13856 and H.R. 16332—which I have introduced to restrict ores, pig iron, and steel products that adversely affect U.S. employment and balance of payments. Steel provides a lot of jobs in my district and my State. The Pennsylvania Industrial Census published in November 1966 shows that the primary metal industries, 77 percent of which is iron and steel, employed 238,678 persons and paid 20.5 percent of the total earnings in wages and salaries. For the information of my colleagues from affected States, I offer these data so that you may estimate the relative value of the steel industry to your own State:

Pennsylvania produced 29,882,000 tons of steel in 1967, Ohio 20,378,000, Indiana 17,614,000, Illinois 10,577,000, and Michigan 9,248,000.

You do not have to represent a steel-producing State to appreciate the industry's importance to the national economy. There are about 750,000 persons employed in the steel industry of this country. They buy your farm products, your automobiles, your shoes, washing machines, electric appliances, lumber, and television sets. They pay taxes that are used for defense, welfare programs, and every other activity of the Federal Government. They also have sons in the uniform of this country, and perhaps we had better talk about those boys for a moment.

How do you suppose a serviceman in Vietnam feels about imports that hurt U.S. industries and are produced in countries where not one iota of help is coming for our war effort. What is worse, many of those countries are actually producing materials that are shipped to our enemy in North Vietnam and/or to the Communist bastion that is Cuba. If this realization is not sufficiently alarming, let me submit for your consideration a single paragraph from testimony presented to a House subcommittee in September 1966:

> During the last 18 months, pig iron imports from three Iron Curtain countries, but primarily from the Soviet Union, have expanded at an annual rate almost seven times greater than that of 1964. In 1965, pig iron imports from Iron Curtain countries more than doubled; and in the first half of 1966, they were two-thirds greater than in all of last year.

Mr. Speaker, if anyone can explain how a policy permitting trade with a nation that walks with and gives aid to a military force in battle with our own servicemen is short of treasonous, he is under obligation to state his case.

What about those men in uniform who will be coming back home to take up their lives where they left off when they heard the sound of arms? Will they be told that there is no work for them because if imports are cut back there may be unemployment in Europe or in Japan? Or in Russia?

We had better give some thought to those fellows who have put their lives on the line, just as their fathers in the mills fought in other wars. If, please God, negotiations in Paris bring a close to that ghastly war in Vietnam, American industry must be ready to absorb every veteran who is ready to step back into a civilian job. I can tell you very frankly that the steel companies in my district cannot be expected to have the necessary openings to handle returning servicemen if this Congress does not act to curb the steel that is moving into the United States from abroad.

The showdown may come even before our boys get back home. The growing steel inventories could become stockpiles of unemployment if imports are not reduced. If—as we all hope—a strike is avoided and mills continue in operation beyond the July 31 deadline, continued shipments from overseas when added to the supplies now being placed in reserve by steel's customers could cause an immediate and severe cutback in domestic demand.

Mr. Speaker, in the years that I have been engaged in this battle against too much import competition, I have compiled enough documentation to fill a normal issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Today I shall insert but one item, as certainly every Member of Congress must by now understand the severe impact that foreign products are creating in our employment, balance of payments, and security areas.

The insert is an editorial from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of June 8, 1966. It refers to the effect of 10.3 million tons of steel that moved onto our shores in 1965. To visualize the increase in devastation since that time, you need only substitute the 1967 figure of 11.9 million tons and the expected 1968 total of 16 to 17 million tons.

The prospect is most discouraging, Mr. Speaker. Congress must act now and speedily. The prevailing policy is unfair to the American people. It threatens our ability to mobilize, for regardless of how soon hostilities cease in Vietnam we cannot afford to permit our military might to be weakened in this critical period. The domestic steel industry must be encouraged to go forward if we are to have all the necessary materials available to meet emergency conditions in the event of a world outbreak.

Our industry must be protected against the products of nations where steelworkers make as little as one-fourth the wages paid in this country. Our only salvation is to provide the protection that every responsible citizen recognizes is necessary regardless of the bleatings and wailings of the State Department.

The editorial referred to, follows:

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, June 8, 1966]

SENATE SHOULD STUDY STEEL IMPORT PROBLEM

The U.S. Senate should conduct promptly and exhaustively a study of the impact of foreign steel imports upon the American economy. The American Iron and Steel Institute has requested such an inquiry and is ready to co-operate with it.

Imports of foreign steel have reached disturbing proportions. In 1955–57, they averaged only 1.2 million tons annually, or about 1.5 per cent of the market. Last year those figures had swollen to more than 10.3 million tons and more than 10 per cent of the market.

Orders for domestic steel continue strong and the immediate outlook for the industry is good. But there has been a weakening of demand in the automotive sector and the time could come soon when the competition from foreign steel, while a source of worry now, might create widespread economic hardship.

Already the effects have been felt, as in the shutting down of marginal specialty operations in Donora and Aliquippa. The Iron and Steel Institute has warned the Senate Finance Committee that continued erosion of home markets by imports would weaken the capability of domestic producers to meet normal demand, discourage further major capital projects, cause loss of employment and deepen the nation's balance of payments deficit.

There is much for the Senate to look into. For example, the issue of dumping, or the practice of selling foreign steel in American markets at prices lower than those charged in domestic markets. Then there is the problem of special inducements and considerations some countries give their steel producers to encourage exports. This gets into the areas of tariff barriers, special tax assistance through rebates, loans or loan guarantees, and national preference laws and practices.

The Senate might well get to the truth of the extent to which foreign imports have curtailed domestic operations. Were the closings in Aliquippa and Donora forced by economic circumstances, as the producers said, or did foreign imports give them a handy excuse to shift their emphasis to more profitable operations, as importers have charged?

A full and careful study should indicate the need for the development of effective international laws of fair competition in world trade. It should give Congress the basis for any action required to protect the American steel industry from unfair competition. We would like to see a study begun and concluded promptly.

CHICAGO SUN TIMES REPORTS 228 CHICAGO SCHOOLS LACK LUNCHROOMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Education and Labor is currently holding hearings on hunger in America. There can be no question, on the basis of evidence submitted so far, that this is a critical problem in the United States.

Whatever question there is on this subject relates to the extent of the problem of hunger in this country and also the methods being used to measure its impact. I am confident that by the time our hearings are concluded, we will have an imposing transcript of the extent of this problem and will be able to present to the Congress suggestions on how to deal with this problem.

At this time, I should like to address myself to the most immediate and pressing problem, which is the fact that some 4 million disadvantaged children in this country are not participating in the daily hot lunch program. Only 2 million are participating.

We know from testimony before the committee the adverse effect on the child and his learning habits as well as his behavior in school when he is underfed or malnourished.

It is for this reason that I am pressing the Department of Agriculture to forthwith come up with meaningful answers to provide food to these 4 million needy children.

The Chicago Sun Times, in its Sunday edition, carried an excellent article on the lunchroom lag in Chicago and the impact it has on youngsters.

I am pleased to include this article in the RECORD today in order to impress upon my colleagues the urgent need for action.

Miss Lillian Calhoun, one of the top writers for the Chicago Sun Times, has performed a notable public service in assembling this information which fortifies my determination to try to bring some meaningful help to these needy youngsters.

I am hopeful that Secretary Freeman will reverse his position that he cannot use some $220 million which he collects under section 32 of the Agriculture Act from import duties to provide these lunches for needy youngsters.

But in the event that the Secretary insists he cannot do this, it is my intention to offer legislation which will make possible the use of these funds which are now available to the Secretary.

I said a moment ago that there is no debate on the fact that there are 4 million youngsters whose entire educational experience could be vastly improved if they were to benefit from decent lunches during the schoolday.

This we intend to do.

Mr. Speaker, Miss Calhoun's excellent article follows and the Sun Times can be rightfully proud of its contribution in this very worthy cause:

LUNCHROOM LAG: 228 SCHOOLS LACK ONE

(By Lillian Calhoun)

Baked meat loaf and gravy were on the menu for Chicago public school lunches last Thursday but at the West Side Sumner School, 715 S. Kildare, children ate what looked like hamburger stew.

The grayish gruel of crumbled meat was served over a biscuit. Whipped potatoes, a hot roll and butter and a peanut butter cookie were on the menu but a slice of buttered bread and a small serving of applesauce were served instead. There was also tossed spring salad but it was limp at Sumner. The menu said "crisp".

The luncheon fare of Chicago school children came in for scrutiny after a week of congressional hearings on school lunch programs.

Agriculture Sec. Orville Freeman testified Wednesday that Illinois has "a bad record" in ministering to hungry poor children.

Of Chicago's 515 schools, including 56 high schools, 228 do not have lunchrooms. Yet 52 of the 228 are in officially designated areas which receive funds under the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Milk is served in 130 of the schools that have no lunchrooms, according to Edward F. Gaidzik, director of the Board of Education's Bureau of Lunchrooms.

"Chicago is recognized for having the best nutrition" in its lunchroom program, he said. "The Chicago school lunch program, has fully met the needs of the community," he added. "If a neighborhood doesn't want a school lunch program, it doesn't have it. Wherever we are asked for a lunchroom, an effort is made to give it."

There are about 165 predominantly white schools in Chicago and some 60 mostly Negro schools without lunchrooms.

As Gaidzik sees it, the major problem in extending lunchroom service to more city schools is the cost of equipment which he estimated at about $20,000 per school. Many old, overcrowded inner city schools also have limited space where students can eat, he said.

Ten years ago, Gaidzik declared, there were only 169 school lunchrooms. Today there are 325.

Chicago's total appropriation for school lunchrooms is $1,132,000, covering all food employes, equipment and a fine model kitchen. It is the highest budget for any major U.S. city except New York, Gaidzik said.

The growing need for more school lunches for poor children is one facet of the money problem faced by many big city systems which also must spend more to educate.

In addition, school lunchrooms daily feed 27,000 teachers and other personnel, who pay 85 cents for a more elaborate lunch.

Elementary pupils pay 32 cents and high school students 40 cents for the Type A lunch like the one at Sumner. It must consist of 2 ounces of protein, servings of two or more vegetables or fruits, one slice of bread, biscuit or roll, two teaspoons of butter and one-half pint of milk, to meet Department of Agriculture subsidy standards.

Freeman said last week that his department pays Illinois 4½ cents for every Type A lunch served.

However, Gaidzik and Ray Suddarth, director of the state's lunch program, said the subsidy actually works out to 4 cents.

Each state gets a lump sum annually from the government. Suddarth said his office cut the subsidy to four cents this year because the state's money was running out every spring, using the higher figure.

Although 305,000 Chicago school children attend approximately 250 schools receiving federal ESEA Title I poverty aid, only 9,100 free lunches were served in Chicago daily in February, according to Gaidzik. Nearly 50,000 free half-pints of milk were served in "nonfeeding schools", he said.

The school board here, as in every school district in Illinois, pays for every free lunch, except the 4-cent federal subsidy and $450,000 worth of surplus commodities contributed by the Department of Agriculture this year. Chicago's price tag for free milk and free meals in 1967 was $343,626.

No state funds are used. Suddarth acknowledged. He said that more than half the states make no contribution to local school lunch programs.

If a school has a lunchroom, the principal designates how many children may receive free lunch. Two physicians and several social workers who deal with poor children told The Sun-Times that many children on welfare did not get free lunches.

Both the Cook County Department of Public Aid and Gaidzik's office denied the charge.

An aide in the welfare department conceded privately, however, that case workers are supposed to take the initative in getting welfare children on free lunch rolls. In practice, she said, "some children may fall between the cracks in the system."

Even if a school does not have facilities for preparing food, lunches could be vacuum-packed or boxed and brought in, he said.

The Bureau of Lunchrooms' assistant director, Robert E. Ohlzen, is experimenting with a refrigerated package of 36 meals for summer Head Start pupils. The meal would include a gelatin salad, frozen fruit, and a packaged cold meat sandwich. Plates and eating utensils would be disposable, Ohlzen explained.

Twenty-eight school receive "mobile hot food service" from central kitchens, usually in high schools, near them.

Gaidzik, however, says there is not more food served in schools because the cost of hot service equipment is prohibitive.

A mother in the Oakland School area, Mrs. Jewell Jordan, of 447 E. 40th, said community groups had tried for four years to get a lunchroom and milk service at Oakland. They were finally granted in March after a VISTA volunteer lawyer drew up a petition which residents signed.

A new lunchroom has been promised at the school in the fall, at an estimated cost of $20,000 to $25,000, she said.

Some lunchrooms serve a nutritious, free, or at most 10-cent breakfast to needy children.

A 10-year-old Sumner fourth grader said he had a breakfast of grits and bacon and eggs at home. "Then all I get for lunch is a nickel," he said.

POVERTY SCHOOLS LISTED

The poverty area schools (receiving Title 1 ESEA aid) which have no lunchroom, by district, are: District 2—Le Moyne and Morris. District 6—Burr and Schley. District 7—Byrd. District 9—Birney, Brainard, Garfield, Allen Branch of Gladstone, Jefferson and Sousa Branch of Skinner. District 11—Haines Oakland, and Pershing. District 13—Burke and Parkman. District 14—Fiske, and Sixty-First and University Unit Classrooms. District 15—Altgeld, Copernicus and Earle. District 16—Hookway, Oglesby and Oglesby Unit Classrooms.

Also, District 18—Aldridge, Bates, Newton and Shoop. District 19—Chalmers, Hammond, Pickard and Shepard. District 20—Bass, Harvard and Parker Elementary. District 21—Carter, Goethals Educational and Vocational Guidance Center and A. O. Sexton. District 22—O'Keeffe Parkside and Sullivan. District 23—Doniat, Oakenwald North Primary Grades. District 24—McCutcheon. District 25—Ryerson, District 26—Dewey and Sherwood. District 27—Madison, Park Manor and Revere.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEED PROTECTION FROM SOME DECISIONS OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. GATHINGS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the American people need protection from some of the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court which have turned confessed criminals loose on an unsuspecting public. These most objectionable decisions in the interest of protecting "civil liberties" of the individual have been mounting in recent years. Here are some of the cases that involve a most pertinent miscarriage of justice:

First. The Supreme Court of the United States held that it was unconstitutional for New York State to "prescribe by law" a nondenominational simple prayer for school children.

Second. On May 24, 1965, the Court gave unrestricted access to our mails for Communist political propaganda.

Third. A short time later on June 7, 1965, the Supreme Court denied Congress the power to prevent Communist Party members from holding office in a union.

Fourth. In November, 1965, the Supreme Court held that Communists need not register with the Government.

Fifth. On January 23, 1967, the Court declared unconstitutional laws whose purpose was to keep subversives off the faculties of public schools.

No wonder there is so much rioting and unrest, not only in the colleges but on America's streets. After all these years with one decision after another by the High Court which have given free rein to the criminal element, Communists, and Communist sympathizers, the Senate adopted some amendments which would have the effect of changing some of these far reaching and unconscionable rulings. This is the first move of any significance by the elected members of the legislative branch of the Government to protect the citizens of America from the High Court decisions.

The membership of the House should have a vote on the changes that the other body made in the crime bill, regardless of how such a vote may be presented—either by resolution or motion to take from the Speaker's table the bill and agree to the Senate amendments, or by motion to instruct the conferees to accept the amendments having to do with the Supreme Court decisions.

The Members of the other body did yeoman service in adopting new rules which would have the effect of reversing Supreme Court decisions that have freed convicted criminals without even bringing them to trial. One of the meritorious amendments adopted by the Senate struck a blow at the June 13, 1966, Miranda decision. The Court held in that case that convicted criminals would go free if they were not informed of their rights under the Constitution before making a confession. Law-enforcement officers have been frustrated and hamstrung in the performance of their duty. The Senate amendments will aid law officers in enforcing the laws on the statute books.

I commend Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN and those Members who fought with him in obtaining approval of significant and badly needed amendments to the crime bill in the interest of law enforcement and protection of the citizen and his property.

I do not believe that a criminal who by his own admission is guilty of a felony—a serious or major one—should escape punishment because of some technicality. He is cast back into society where he is free to commit the same offense again. If something is not done by this Congress to curb the Supreme Court we can expect a continuation and an acceleration of the crime wave in this country. It could lead to widespread insurrection and anarchy.

The rights of all of the people is the paramount consideration. The individual should conform to rules or laws which have been enacted for the benefit of society as a whole. For this Government's perpetuation it is most essential that the Supreme Court be put back to the place set out for it in the Constitution as equal and coordinate only to the Congress and the people which Congress represents and serves.

ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DERWINSKI], is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, May 28, is the 50th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of Armenia. This independence, although short lived, was achieved in the face of overwhelming odds since the Armenians were forced to struggle against both Soviet and Turkish military forces. Another unfortunate obstacle which prevented the Armenians from maintaining their independence, was the indifference of the World War I allied powers and the statesmen of that period who unfortunately ignored the justice of the Armenian cause.

This afternoon the invocation in the House was delivered by His Grace, Archbishop Hrant Khatchadourian, Prelate of the Armenians Apostolic Church of North America. This occasion is also being commemorated by Members of the Senate in the same spirit as we are demonstrating in the House. In April 1965, Mr. Speaker, a commemoration such as this was held in the House on the 50th anniversary of the Turkish genocide of 1915 against the people of Armenia.

Mr. Speaker, Armenian Americans have made tremendous contributions to our national economic, educational, artistic, and political life. As loyal Americans, they have maintained a very proper and steadfast interest in the restoration of freedom to the brave Armenian people still held in bondage. On this anniversary of Armenian independence, let us rededicate ourselves to the cause of Armenia and all other peoples who are still deprived of the right of self-determination. I am pleased to have so many Members join me in saluting the brave Armenian people on this anniversary of their independence and in encouraging them to maintain their faith and hope in the restoration of legitimate independence and freedom to America.

Mr. Speaker, a rising and irrepressible spirit of nationalism is emerging in various parts of the Communist world. The Armenian people suffered centuries of persecution but have steadfastly maintained their unique religious, cultural, artistic, and linguistic identity. Certainly their perseverance and the great national character which it expresses, will be rewarded by restoration of freedom to the brave people of Armenia and to the historic land that is their birthright. The nationalism of the people of Armenia has not been crushed by Soviet tyranny and Armenian Americans properly reflect spirit which is perpetuated by their fellow Armenians wherever they may reside.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks and include extraneous matter on Armenian Independence Day.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my distinguished colleagues in commemorating the 50th anniversary of Armenian independence.

For over 2,500 years Armenians have struggled to maintain their national identity. They have undergone hardships which would have crushed a lesser people. From 1514 when they came under the domination of the Ottomans until 1918 when the free Republic of Armenia was established, their history was marked or rather scarred by oppression and, yes, even massacres too horrible to relate.

Unfortunately, the heel of the Soviet oppressor now rests upon the neck of the Armenian people and the Republic of Armenia now exists only in the minds of those who fled to find a new life. Fortunately, America received many of these refugees. They have contributed much to our society; for more than their mere numbers indicate.

I hope someday that the land of Armenia will be free again, free to enjoy that brief glimpse of freedom which once lightened the landscape.

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate the 50th anniversary of the independence of Armenia at a significant point in history.

As the United States muster is military and economic power in an effort to put down aggression we salute the people of Armenia for their struggle to be free.

Freedom and peace are humanity's dream. The world is too small to hide tyranny.

In recognizing the symbol of liberty's history that was etched in the free world's conscience a half century ago by the brave people of Armenia, we salute people everywhere who seek freedom from oppression.

It is most important that we recognize this great holiday of the Armenian people.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, there are several success stories among the newly emerging nations of the world, of their progress and their growth, and the world is proud of the way these new states have built and worked to create stable and viable nations for their people. But too often we forget about the other nations that were once new and independent and the visions they had of assuming a place among the nations of the world. One such nation is Armenia. Born from the ashes of World War I, created by the blood and the sweat of the Armenian people, this nation lived only a short time before other countries swept aside the freedom for which the Armenian people had so diligently struggled.

In these times, we encourage and protect the new nations as they strive for the status of nationhood, but in 1920, the precarious balance of power was too unsettled to keep the Republic of Armenia from being devoured by the Turks and the Russians in the aftermath of the First World War. Even the American offers in the postwar years of a protectorate over Armenia were not pursued because the pressures and the entanglement of our foreign policy turned our attentions elsewhere. Though the courageous Armenians tried, they were no match for their adversaries and the state that was born on May 28, 1918, died on December 2, 1920.

There is an Armenia today, but it is a state within the Soviet Union, denied the freedom and the liberty that the Armenians demand. Almost since the dawn of civilized man, there has been an Armenian nation and the Armenian people have never bowed under the heel of their oppressors. The Armenian state that was created under the Russians is not the free nation for Armenians who will accept no master. The Armenian people await the time when they will be able to return to their homeland and finish the work they began 50 years ago and recreate the Republic of Armenia.

To the many Armenians living in exile throughout the world, to the Armenians living in bondage behind the Iron Curtain and to the many friends of Armenia everywhere, we offer our promise of renewed dedication to the principle of self-determination for the Armenian nation.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on May 28, 1968, Americans of Armenian descent and their compatriots around the world will be celebrating the 50th anniversary of Armenian independence.

The independence of the Armenian Republic lasted less than 2 years after World War I before it was partitioned by Russia and Turkey. The Armenians continue their struggle to keep alive the hope for a free and independent Armenia. In a speech 2 years ago, His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, Honorary President of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia recognized the Armenian claims as the oldest unresolved grievance on the agenda of world business.

Ever since Russians took over, life in Armenia has followed the pattern of other captive nations enslaved by communism. But that love of nationalism among the Armenians remains as strong as ever. Armenian Americans, along with the patriotic Armenians of the world, regard the Communist ideology as a foreign importation which was imposed upon Armenia against their will. They regard Russia as a tyranny and chief obstacle to their liberation and true state sovereignty.

The Armenians are the worthy descendants of an ancient and noble civilization. It is my earnest hope that people of goodwill join to bring a justice long delayed to the Armenian people. The culture and progress of the United States has been greatly enriched by the industrious and gifted Armenian Americans to whom we are all indebted.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, in joining with my colleagues in this observance of the independence of Armenia, I take an especial pleasure in committing my thoughts to the RECORD because, as you may know, that near-legendary country is the homeland of a very large number of my constituents.

The migrations from the old to the new world that marked the last part of the 19th century, brought a great many Armenians to the San Joaquin Valley. They were lured, so the story goes, by reports of "mammouth eggplants, grapes the size of eggs, and watermelons the size of boats." I decline to comment on the accuracy of that report; but I would have the RECORD show that they stayed and that their progeny, even to the third and fourth generations, are now an integral and important part of the fabric of our life in California.

Their contributions to the agriculture preeminence of my district, alone, reads like an agriculture history of the area. Nor can their influence be overlooked in other aspects of our life there; our culture, our cuisine, for example.

But one thing is of special note. It is the very particular sound of Armenian names. They have a unique beauty that is not always apparent when one runs across them in print, but which never fails to enchant the listener when they are spoken to. I know that I am home again when I hear the music of Arakelian and Bagdasarian, of Yasijian and Zakarian; and I am grateful to live among the wonderful bearers of these names.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, Armenia is an ancient land and the Armenians created a culture and a civilization that rivaled those of their contemporaries, the Hittites, the Babylonians, and the Assyrians, nearly 40 centuries ago. For long periods in those days when men were first learning of the ideas of government and the organization of nations, the Armenians existed as an enclave of peace and stability amid the turbulence of the states around them. But the mighty empires of the Persians, the Greeks, the Seleucids, and the Romans subjugated the Armenians and marched across their land to do battle with the other would-be conquerors of Asia Minor and the Caucasus.

But in the waxing and waning of the fortunes of empires in the Near East, the Armenians built a monarchy that was to last as an independent and free state for almost five centuries. The most amazing aspect of that Armenian nation was that it could continue to retain its sovereignty while caught between the Persians and the Romans, and later the successors to the Romans, the Byzantines. There were valuable lessons to be drawn from that experience of the first Armenian kingdom, first, that the Armenian people had established themselves on their land as a nation, and, second, that they were to suffer from a conflict between two other nations, a conflict which the Armenians did not precipitate. The nation died in 428 A.D., but the Armenians did not die with it.

In the years of the First World War, the Armenian people were again caught between two other empires which were at war and which cared not so much for the Armenian people as for the land on which they lived. Those two empires had made a mistake that is often made by the powerful and the arrogant, they believed that the Armenian spirit was dead and that the basis for the Armenian nation no longer existed. But the nation of Armenia lived on in the hearts and the souls of the people who had for centuries been denied their own country with their own government. The Russians and the Turks did not know that Armenia will exist as long as there is an Armenian alive on this earth.

Through the intrigues of war, despite the inhumanity of the deportations and the massacre, in defiance of the broken promises and the military campaigns, and in a courageous challenge to the strength of the great warring nations of the day, the Armenians again proclaimed the state of Armenia on May 28, 1918. Many people around the world asked how this nation could exist; it had no money, no army, there were no boundaries, the people were scattered, there was not even a capital city and there was no government. And the answer was that it would live because it was Armenia and the people were the Armenians who would never die.

But the world was not yet ready, it would seem, for the idea of self determination and freedom of all people to govern themselves. The European powers returned to the old way of keeping the balance of power through secret diplomacy and by not recognizing the rights of all people. The modern Armenian nation fell before the old threats and aggressions of power. On December 2, 1920, the independent Republic of Armenia ceased to exist, at least on the maps and in the history books.

It has been 50 years since the state was proclaimed and 48 years since it died at the hands of the Russians and the Turks. It has been 4,000 years since the Armenian civilization began to flourish in Anatolia and it shall never die, nor shall the Armenian people. And as long as the Armenians shall live, be it here today, or in Batum, Kars, Erivan or Bitlis, or in Lebanon, Syria, or across the world, there will always be an Armenian nation, if only in the hearts of the people. From 428 A.D. until 1918, the Armenians waited and suffered for their state and they shall continue to wait for the day when the Armenia that is rightfully theirs shall again be a sovereign nation, free, independent, Christian, and Armenian.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I feel it a distinct mark of good fortune that many citizens of Armenian origin have chosen to establish new roots in the 12th Congressional District of Illinois, particularly in the area of Waukegan and the surrounding region.

Included among the distinguished citizens of Armenian origin are many who are prominent in the professions—doctors, lawyers, dentists, leading businessmen in the community, and public officials, including the mayor of Waukegan, the Honorable Robert Sabonjian.

The contributions which these Americans of Armenian descent have made demonstrate the outstanding qualities which lie within these brave and industrious people. Their accomplishments are an example of success which can be achieved by those liberated from the restraint and suppression of dictatorship It is my prayerful hope, in which I am confident many of my colleagues join, that the Armenian people will see the restoration of their homeland as a shrine of Armenian culture, literature, social, and spiritual life.

As the first nation to make Christianity its state religion, this ancient nation has suffered many attacks at the hands of oppressors. Still the desire for national survival persists and there is worldwide expectation that the Armenian nation may someday be reestablished.

The Armenian people underwent one of the worst trials in its history between 1894 and 1915 when a systematic plan for its extermination was put into action. The free people of Armenia struggled gallantly to mold and preserve a republican form of government in the face of a reign of terror and tyranny. However, this small nation of brave people came under the heel of Soviet dictatorship and have remained subject to the Kremlin during these past 50 years.

Many Armenians sought safety in flight, emigrating to other lands, many thousands to the United States, where they have found freedom of expression and movement and where they have contributed a full measure of their spirit and their good works to the benefit of this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join in this expression in behalf of the 50th anniversary of Armenian Independence Day and in saluting the Armenian people everywhere.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate the 50th anniversary of an event which looms large in the pages of history to all who cherish the right of man to determine his own destiny.

On May 28, 1918, the valiant people of Armenia united together, proclaimed their independence, and threw off the yoke of oppression which had bound them for more than 400 years. As we honor this historic occasion, we might well reflect on the significance of this event for all people. Men of many nations have risen against oppression, but the pages of history show many more instances of failure than of success in these endeavors. For tragic though it is, in a world ruled by men rather than by laws, justice too often has prevailed more through accident of geography and politics than through any desire of those in predominant power to see justice prevail.

Thus it was that after only 2 short years of independence, Armenia once again fell prey to the forces of injustice, clothed in the mantle of Soviet communism. But the fire of liberty ignited on that day 50 years ago, a fire which flared brightly for so short a time, burns yet today in the hearts of all who seek a world society based on justice and liberty, and reinforces our resolve that the brave people of Armenia and all who share their plight will again one day breathe the sweet air of freedom.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on tomorrow, May 28, 1968, Americans of Armenian descent throughout the United States and their compatriots all over the world will pause to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Armenian independence.

The distinguished gentleman from Illinois, who represents the Fourth Congressional District, Hon. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, has taken a special order permitting House Members to participate in this commemoration. I am happy to join my good friend, Mr. DERWINSKI, as well as my other colleagues, in marking this important milestone in Armenian history.

Today the invocation in the House of Representatives was delivered by His Grace, Archbishop Hrant Khatchatourian, Prelate of the Armenian Apostolic Church of North America. In behalf of my constituents from the Seventh Congressional District of Illinois, many of whom are of Armenian descent, it gives me great pleasure to welcome His Grace, who honors us with his presence here today.

The Armenian Church has been instrumental in holding the Armenian people together and in preserving their national identity despite centuries of invasion by more powerful neighboring countries.

After 600 years of foreign domination, the courageous Armenians, although small in number and limited in resources, threw off the yoke of their oppressors and declared their independence on May 28, 1918, but this precious freedom was destined to be short lived, for the newborn Armenian Republic was brutally partitioned less than 2 years later by Russia and Turkey.

Today, historic Armenian lands are in the hands of Turkey and Communist Russia, and the independence of Armenia remains an unresolved question.

The gallant Armenians have struggled unceasingly and died willingly to preserve their nation and their Christianity, and to keep alive the hope for a free and independent Armenia. Their struggle shall continue unabated until the territorial integrity of Armenia is restored and Armenia achieves its ultimate destiny as a free nation in the consortium of independent world governments.

Mr. Speaker, again I want to thank Archbishop Khatchatourian for being with us and for delivering the invocation today. I also wish to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article entitled "Ancient Armenia: A Modern View" which appeared in the May 19 edition of the Washington Post. The article follows:

ANCIENT ARMENIA: A MODERN VIEW

(By Anatole Shub)

YEREVAN.—The oldest nation in the Soviet Union, with the longest, richest continuous history and culture, is Armenia. Its first kingdom was established in 880 B.C., its soil was crossed by Alexander the Great and Pompey, it adopted Christianity in 301 A.D. and its own unique alphabet in 396—centuries before the first Russian state appeared at Kiev. Yerevan, the present capital, will be 2,750 years old this fall.

Nearby Echmiadzin, seat of the Armenian Orthodox Patriarch, dates from the Third Century and boasts unique Seventh Century chapels and cathedrals as well as other medieval works. A rich collection of illustrated manuscripts in Yerevan shows that, between the Ninth and Fourteenth Centuries, Armenian art and culture were as developed as those of Byzantium and Mediterranean Europe.

Invaded by Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, Sassanid Persians, Seljuk Turks and Ottomans, Armenia survived; and in Soviet Armenia today officials declare openly that "it was our language and our religion" that held the nation together, and continue to do so.

For, like the Greeks, the Jews and the Chinese, the Armenians have become a great international people. Scattered by history's vicissitudes over the four corners of the earth, they have retained a sense of national community that transcends political systems. There are still some 200,000 Armenians in historic "Western Armenia" or northeast Turkey—despite the dreadful 1915 Turkish massacre of more than a million Armenians which, perhaps more than any other factor, led the inhabitants of "Eastern Armenia" to accept Soviet rule. There are also large Armenian communities throughout the Middle East, Western Europe and the United States; and their generosity toward the Soviet Armenians—in endowing churches, financing archeological explorations, donating rare books and paintings—recalls the similar services performed by Diaspora Jews for the State of Israel.

Pride in the historic culture, and continuous contact with the outside world, may well explain why so many visitors find Armenia far more liberal, open minded and pleasant than most other parts of the Soviet Union. While in neighboring Georgia the Stalin cult is still supreme, Armenians remain proud of the role their favorite son, Anastas Mikoyan, played in destalinization. While in Moscow liberal writers are under strong pressures, Armenians do not hesitate to express their admiration for Yevgeni Yevtushenko, Andrei Voznesensky, Bulat Okudzhava and other embattled young poets.

One can talk for more than an hour with the alert, dynamic 40-year-old Mayor of Yerevan, Grigor Hasratyan, without hearing a single Marxist-Leninist cliche. Instead, the Mayor talks about "uniting art with housing construction," making the city itself "a kind of Esperanto for different peoples," finding modern ways to express national art, reviving Armenia's ancient culture "so that the person doesn't become a mechanical robot."

The mayor talks about "creating conditions for the inner life" of the young generation, about providing places for the youth to go "for esthetic pleasure." He is proud that, during his six years as Mayor, two and a half times more places of recreation were built and opened than in 40 previous years. He expresses his determination to provide Yerevan with night life—"We must not let the city go to sleep early, we must extend its life." He talks of art galleries, movie theaters, monuments and monasteries, new clubs for painters, singers and other artists.

With delight he describes his own role in identifying the age of a famous Armenian monastery which had been disputed. Only ruins remained when it was excavated early in the century. Several scholars believe the monastery dated from the end of the Sixth Century; others could not believe that Armenians could have constructed a round church on columns so early. Then, in 1961, Hasratyan (then manager of Yerevan project institute) visited the early gothic church of Saint Chapelle in Paris—and among its darkened wall decorations found depicted, alongside each other, Noah's ark (which settled on Armenia's Mount Ararat) and the round church on columns, almost exactly as local scholars had imagined it.

It comes as no surprise when the Mayor, asked which city's urban planning has impressed him most, answers: "Coventry, England." As an Armenian, confident of his own civilization, he feels free to respect others.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, today we celebrate the golden anniversary of the independence of the Nation of Armenia. The late President Woodrow Wilson demanded the recognition of Armenia's right to autonomy in his famed "Fourteen Points." This recognition was obtained at the close of the war, and on May 26, 1918, Armenia joined the ranks of the world's free and independent states.

Two years later, the ray of hope which had come with independence was cruelly darkened. Foreign aggression ended the brief period of independence enjoyed by the people of Armenia. Foreign aggression made a mockery of the solemn covenants signed at the end of World War I.

But foreign aggression could not end or mock the memory of Armenia's short-lived triumph. Free men everywhere will never forget the victory of independence in that small nation of Southwest Asia. For the more than 200,000 Armenians in the United States, May 26, 1918 stands as a symbol of what was once accomplished and what will one day be accomplished again.

Mr. Speaker, Armenian Americans have made a host of lasting contributions to this Nation. They have risen to leadership positions in American cultural and political life; they have served with distinction in the Armed Forces of the United States. Their loyalty and devotion to this country is unquestioned; their loyalty and devotion to the cause of freedom is also beyond challenge.

Today we celebrate an anniversary of freedom; in the tomorrows to come, we will celebrate a rebirth of freedom in Armenia. Armenian Americans and all other citizens look forward to the day when Erevan will once again reign as the capital of an independent Armenia.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I am proud and happy to be able to express my best wishes to the Armenian people throughout the world upon the 50th anniversary of the independence of the Armenian State.

To be sure the independence of the Armenian nation was short and only for a very brief period did the flame of independence flicker before it was extinguished by the Soviet Union. Yet, there is a national spirit and a love of independence in the soul of the Armenian people which no tyrant and no tyranny can crush.

Mr. Speaker, there is a sizeable and significant Armenian descended community in New Jersey and I would like to report to this House that these people are model citizens indeed. Today I join with them in expressing my best wishes on this 50th anniversary and my fond hope that this ancient and proud people may again know the blessings of liberty.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, since the 15th century, B.C., the Armenian race has existed, instilled with a heritage of nationalism and pride that is almost unparalleled. Unfortunately, history has not allowed these people the opportunity of developing this patriotism. For centuries, the Armenian people have been subjugated and repressed, first by one country and then another.

Since World War I, the Soviet Union has dominated the fate of the Armenians. With Turkish aggressors on one side and Communist revolutionaries causing civil disorders from within, Armenia was forced to sign a treaty with Russia on December 2, 1920, establishing their little country as an "Independent" Soviet Socialist government. Despite the fact that the loss of independence was received with deep misgivings by the Armenian people, the elimination of the immediate and real threat of total annihilation from military invasion from all sides brought hope for peace to the Armenians.

This hope was short lived, however, for the Russians soon disregarded the proposals of the treaty and set about brutally sapping the strength of Armenian nationalism. Excluding a valiant, but unsuccessful civil uprising, this is the oppressed condition under which the Armenian people today live. In a tireless struggle to preserve their traditions, culture, history and freedom, the Armenians are thwarted from every side by their Soviet masters. I join with my colleagues in the House of Representatives today in a salute to the undying courage of the Armenian people and in a prayer that their enslavement will soon be replaced with peace and freedom in a democratic country of their own, free from foreign persecution and domination.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join with my colleagues here today in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the independence of Armenia.

Unfortunately the independence of Armenia was, indeed, short lived before this gallant nation was subjugated by the Soviet Union but our dedication to the regainment of freedom for Armenia must be a lasting resolve to final accomplishment.

Armenia has experienced a long and excruciating visitation, throughout many years, a persecution, injustice, and extreme suffering. These valiant people nevertheless have consistently retained their faith, their courage, their beliefs, and their hopes, and I am confident that they will regain their freedom and everlastingly continue as a Christian country.

It is unhappily true that their national existence is now dark and discouraging, under the domination of brutal atheistic communism but, by our recognition here this afternoon, we express our determination and our conviction that neither we nor they will ever despair about their future liberation.

Those of us who have lived among American-Armenians as friends and neighbors know full well why the native people of Armenia will never give up their fight for freedom. The American-Armenians have been second to no other nationality in accepting their share of the burden and contributing their full measure of sacrifice to the development and progress of this country.

In private life the American-Armenian is an honest, industrious, cooperative citizen in his community.

When our Nation has been attacked by armed aggression, the Americans of Armenian origin have distinguished themselves in all ranks of our Armed Forces, and may be justly proud of their military record here.

In the fields of business and professional life in America, the Armenian descendant has exhibited the highest qualities of character and accomplishment.

Having lived and worked among Armenian-Americans practically all my life, I can personally state my own conviction that the spirit of the homeland, as evidenced by the descendants, will never be defeated by any type of barbaric persecution.

As a fellow American, I take heart and courage from their example and the example of the valiant people in their native land.

The struggle of Armenia today is essentially the same struggle in which the United States and all other Christian nations are now fiercely engaged against the most ruthless enemy the civilized world has ever known.

Mr. Speaker, as we, then, today salute the martyrdom, the faith, the courage, and the dedication of the Armenian people let us here renew our pledge to persevere in our common flight against the Communist enemy until the free cause of Armenia and all other peace-loving nations is achieved and may the Almighty speed that happy day.

CONGRESSMAN HORTON PRAISES THE FREE SPIRIT OF ARMENIAN-AMERICANS

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join with my Armenian friends and the Armenian people around the world in commemorating tomorrow the 50th anniversary of Armenian independence. On May 28, 1918, a nation was born that was dedicated to freedom and the democratic way of life. It was the day that the Armenian people joined hands and proclaimed their national independence, and in so doing threw off the yoke of 500 years of Turkish rule.

The story of Armenian independence is a brief one. The Armenian Republic lasted only 2 years before the Armenian people were crushed by a Soviet-led invasion in December 1920. However, that brief span of national independence was enough to kindle anew the hope of freedom in the breast of every Armenian, despite the subsequent division of their homeland. Practically all those Armenians who enjoyed that brief span of national independence were forced to flee their homeland, seeking freedom and safety abroad. Those that remained did not survive the wrath of their captors. I am happy to note that thousands of Armenians today are holding their heads up high as free fellow Americans.

Mr. Speaker, the 50th anniversary of Armenian Independence Day is testimony to the fact that man's hope for freedom cannot be blurred or erased by oppression. On May 28 Armenians around the globe will join hands with all lovers of freedom and celebrate that great day in 1918 when the flicker of hope which burned throughout 500 years of oppression flamed into national independence and the birth of a republic.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this last weekend I had the privilege of joining my friends of the Merrimack Valley Tri-Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Massachusetts, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the independence of Armenia. In my speech, I traced the long and hard struggle of the Armenian people throughout the centuries to maintain their national and cultural individuality and to gain their freedom and their sovereignty. Their spirit and determination is inspiring. The existence today of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, and their celebration of this anniversary is a sign of the hope and the spirit that will continue.

In 1965 the House of Representatives commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Turkish genocide against the Armenians in 1915. Today we are commemorating the feat of those who escaped deportation, retreated to the Caucauses to join their kinsmen, and formed the core of what later became the Independent Republic of Armenia.

When, in the midst of World War I peace negotiations, Turkey broke the peace and pressed into the Caucauses, these survivors knew they had to win or face the same fate meted out to the Armenians of Turkey. It was a last-ditch fight, and despite the decimation of almost one-half the nation by those same brutal forces 3 years before, the Armenian people fought alone and won. On May 28, 1918, the Armenian National Council declared Armenia an independent Republic. These people had reforged Armenia's independence for the first time in 500 years.

The independence of greater Armenia, comprising both the sections that had been under Russian and Turkish rule, was provided for by the Treaty of Sevres in 1920. It was the climatic act of a long and bloody struggle for Armenian emancipation, and on April 23, 1920, the United States joined in recognizing Armenian independence.

Although only a few months later, vastly superior invading Soviet forces proclaimed Armenia a Soviet Republic, plunging the people back under a foreign ideology and foreign domination, May 28 clearly stands in the history of the Armenians as a date of unsurpassable importance and as a decisive landmark.

The following verse, which was printed on the program of the anniversary celebration in Massachusetts, expresses the spirit which has allowed the Armenian people to exist, and endure the hardships throughout the centuries, and which will allow them to continue to hope:

ARMENIA

The blood that will not wash away
The heart that will not go astray
To many souls both brave and true
That land of bright red, orange and blue
Stands for broken faith and broken words;
But to me these thoughts do seem absurd
For, pray, how can a land be betrayed
When so many still in their hearts convey
Thoughts which bring crowned glory, not
shame
Glory that sings and rings of past fame;
Name of my Mother's land—sweet sorrow
Armenia, not lost, for there's yet tomorrow.
—*Anne Atanosian.*

The history around that day in 1918, and the significance of May 28, 1968, 50 years later—for all Armenians and for all suppressed nations throughout the world—has been eloquently and expertly presented in an editorial by the Armenian Review printed in the Hairenik Weekly. I consider it an honor to be able to call the attention of my colleagues to this chronicle of courage and determination and hope:

ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF ARMENIA

The present year is of special significance to Armenians worldwide in that it constitutes the fiftieth anniversary of the most contemporary revival of the Armenian people as a sovereign Nation—the rebirth of Armenian Statehood after 543 incredibly torturous years of foreign servitude to which Armenia was subjected following the destruction of the last Armenian civil and political authority, the Rubenian Kingdom of Cilicia (Lesser Armenia), in 1375 at the hands of the Egyptian Mamelukes.

From the fall of the last of the Armenian dynasts, Levon VI, to May 28, 1918 the historical entity known as Armenia was subjected, through the course of events without the power of the nation to influence or to stay, in major part to the rule of the Osmanli Turk and Russia.

Bereft thus of the protective shield of self-sovereignty, misruled, suppressed and exploited by armenophobic foreign powers which, despite their own history of common hostility were united in the practice of a policy leading to "an Armenia without Armenians", the captive Armenian nation turned to the grim task of retaining its national identity, its language, culture and heritage—the institutions of nationhood—until a new day of freedom might dawn and the nation might recoalesce into a unitarian, manumitted and sovereign political body.

A remarkable aspect of that period of the eclipse of Armenian self-government, which the English statesman Bryce termed "the dark ages of Armenia", is that the Armenians defied what had been an immutable law of history. Unlike other nations which had vanished under the hammerblows of conquest, the Armenians were able to hold their heads over the turgid waters, although the experience of mankind gave them every command and right to succumb and become extinct. Surviving through their passive defiance the massive foreign efforts to extirpate them or else to legislate them out of existence as an identifiable nation, the Armenians predicted the tactics of Cuvorov as he faced the Napoleonic invasion. They were content under the nature of things to lose battle after battle in order to win their war.

In the late 1880's, the sun once again began its ascent over Armenia. The libertarian spirit of an aroused Europe entered Armenia through the agency of students who, having been subjected to the teachings of the great liberal university pedagogues at Dorpat, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Geneva and Paris, returned to their homeland to reawaken their people. Survival alone, despite its heroic contributions to the maintenance of national identity in the sea of Islam and Russianism which had inundated Armenia, was succeeded by the renaissance of the political and nationalistic pride of the nation. The "Dark Ages" had come to an end and the "Age of Revolution" had been born.

The exciting alarum, the call to oppose and overthrow tyranny and injustice, swept through the communities of Turkey and Russia alike. No longer content to suffer the violence and insolence of their foreign masters, assured once again that as an ancient and cultured people Armenia had as much right to be independent as its enemies and the other nations of the world, through the agency of patriotic organizations, the nation struck back directly at its oppressors, at the same time hoping that the escalating Armenian unrest would become a matter of international concern and constrain the Powers abroad to demand reforms in the government of the Armenians and to act in direct support of the aroused nation.

Not even the disappointments of the checkered diplomacy of Europe in terms of the Armenians, nor the terrible Turkish Genocide of 1915–1918, was able to stay the momentum of the Armenian reawakening. In May of 1918, a brief three years after the delivery of the Turkish "knock-out punch" which took the lives of a majority of the Turkish Armenians, the Armenians rallied their slender forces, with the defection of the Russian armies in the Caucasus, actually alone defeated their Turkish oppressors in a series of three great battles. On May 28, 1918 the nation declared its independence. The Age of Revolution had given forth its fruit.

Of those events immediately leading to the extraordinary resurrection of Armenian sovereignty, no better succinct statement exists than that which appeared in a 1955 publication of the House of Representatives Select Committee on Communist Aggression (vid. "Communist Takeover and Occupation of Armenia: Special Report No. 5).

We quote from that publication:

"At the outbreak of the war Count Vorontzov-Dashkov, Viceroy of Caucasus, made a dramatic appeal to the Armenians. If the Armenians would support the Russian armies against the common enemy, Russia would reward their loyalty by creating for them an autonomous state from the Turkish Armenian provinces. The Tzar gave similar assurances to the Armenian katholikos, Gevorg V, during his official visit to Tiflis in November 1914. Similar promises, as later developed, were given to the Armenians by the Allied Powers. On the strength of these promises, the Armenians, unaware of the secret treaty of London in 1916, threw themselves wholeheartedly on the side of the Allied cause. The secret Treaty of London provided, in case of victory, for the partition of Turkey among the signatories, without mentioning the Armenians.

"After the downfall of the Tzarist regime on April 27, 1917, the provisional government under Alexander Kerensky nullified the former edict and proclaimed the Armenian provinces an autonomous state until the final settlement at the Peace Conference. This period was used by the Armenians in rebuilding and rehabilitating the ruined country.

"Armenian affairs took another bad turn with the advent of the Bolsheviks. The October revolution overthrew the provisional government, and on November 7 the two Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, took over. Two months later Russia was proclaimed a Republic of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants' Soviets. Under the slogan of 'bread and land,' Lenin now recalled the Russian armies from all fronts.

"Upon the retirement of the Russian armies, the task of defending the front was left now to the local peoples—the Armenians, Georgians, and the Azeris—all of whom refused to recognize the Soviet and created a separate administration of their own called the Confederation of Transcaucasia. The Transcaucasian Diet, consisting of representatives of these three peoples, was the Executive Council of the Confederation.

"The Transcaucasian Diet found it difficult to continue the war. After the retirement of the Russians, the hastily organized national divisions were hardly enough for the defense of the front. The collapse of the state machinery following the Russian withdrawal, the lack of money and supplies, and the handicaps of communication and transportation had paralyzed the war machine.

"On December 5, 1917, the Transcaucasian government succeeded in concluding an armistice with the Turks, but soon, having brought fresh reinforcements from the western front, the Turks broke the armistice and resumed the war.

"The new peace conference opened on May 11 in Batum.

"In the midst of peace negotiations, the Turks resumed the offensive and, having occupied Alexandropol, started to push to the north and the southeast. This was the most crucial period of the war for the Armenians. Deserted by the Russians, with not a solitary combat contingent from the Allies to help them, the Armenians now had to fight for their very lives. If the Turks won, it would mean their certain end the same fate which they had meted out to the Armenians of Turkey. It was a last-ditch fight and the Armenians made their stand.

"Fighting with a ferocity born of desperation, the Armenians halted the Turkish advance in three decisive battles. These engagements took place between May 23 and 28 at Karakilissh, Bash Abaram, and Sardarapat. General Nazarbekian, the commander in chief, directed the first battle; the second was commanded by General Dro, and the third was led by General Silikian. The Battle of Sardarapat, in particular, was the most stubborn and bloody, very costly to the Turks. Its victory elated the Armenians and raised their militant spirit. General Silikian now gave the order to march on Alexandropol when news arrived from Batum that peace had been signed and the war was over.

"Simultaneous with these engagements, the Turks were desperately trying to enforce their harsh terms before the outcome of the battle, if possible.

"On May 26 the Turkish delegation presented its ultimatum. The same day in Tiflis, at a session of the Diet, the Georgian representative proposed a resolution whereby the Diet would be dissolved, thus putting an end to the Transcaucasian Confederation. At the same time the Georgian National Council declared the independence of Georgia. Azerbaijan followed suit the next day. Under the circumstances, on May 28, the Armenian National Council declared Armenia an independent republic.

"The Peace Treaty of Batum between Turkey and Armenia was signed on June 4, 1918—the first international act which Armenia signed as an independent state. Turkey was the first power to recognize Armenia's independence."

Because of the events of 1918, Armenians worldwide today no longer have to refer to antiquity for the inspiration and the sinews of their aspiration to be free; for just fifty years ago, out of an atmosphere of chaos and suffusing danger, the nation proved itself capable of rendering itself free of foreign bondage.

May 28, 1918, the Founding of the Independent Republic of Armenia, remains the immediate stimulus of patriotic Armenians as the nation continues to search for, and strive for, its ultimate destiny as a free nation under God as a member of the consortium of the free nations of the world.

The present separation of historical Armenia under Turkish and Soviet Russian rule—as artificial as have been the many political separations of the Armenian entity in the past—does not daunt the Armenians. A nation which was able to create a May 28, 1918 after having experienced awesome events seldom visited upon a people cannot die; its historical patrimony cannot remain the ill-begotten possession of aggressors and colonialists; and such a nation cannot allow itself permanently to be absorbed into the political and cultural structure of he conquerors.

Armenians know today that another May 28 lies ahead. What is most immediately needed is that Armenians worldwide continue to practice the glories of their heritage; for May 28, 1968, fifty years after independence, constitutes still another call on Armenians for still another struggle ahead.

It is this call which is resounding among the Armenian communities as the nation struggles to bring to an end a second "dark ages" in its history.

Over the newest of its adversities the Armenian people—the eternal Armenian—will persevere until the advent of its permanent independence.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the independence of Armenia and with all Armenian Americans who are looking anxiously forward to the day when freedom and peace are attained in their homeland.

Historic Armenia, going back to the middle ages, was overrun by Asiatic conquerors. The most oppressive of these overlords were the Ottoman Turks, who ruthlessly subjugated the Armenians for more than four centuries. In 1915, the little courageous nation was practically decimated by deportations and massacres. Turkish Armenia was on the verge of being wiped out and those Armenians living in the Caucasus were fearful of the same fate. It is estimated that during World War I more than one million Armenians lost their lives in Turkish massacres. Fortunately, many thousands managed to survive and these joined hands with their compatriots in the Caucasus and were able to proclaim their independence on May 28, 1918.

After a precarious and agonizing existence of independence for 2 years, the little republic was overwhelmed by a more powerful Turkish Army in 1920. The land and its people were divided up among the Soviets and the Turks. What is now known as the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic has endured many oppressive measures meted out by the Soviets.

Although Armenian independence was short-lived, the courage and heroism of the people will never be forgotten. We hope and pray that these freedom-loving people will someday remove the yoke that binds them and will again enjoy independence and freedom as a nation.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting and proper that the House commemorate the 50th anniversary of the independence of Armenia. Though short-lived, this independence was proclaimed in 1918, at a time when many people saw their prospects for self-government made possible in the turmoil that followed World War I, and the overthrow of tyrannical regimes.

Americans of Armenian descent can trace the history of their people back more than 2,000 years. This House deplores the subjugation to which this proud people was compelled to yield when the Soviet Union incorporated their nation in 1921, but it celebrates and commemorates the ideals to which they aspired in their Independence Day and to which they will surely gain access again.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Armenian Republic was proclaimed over the ashes of 1,000,000 Armenians who had lost their lives during the early years of World War I. On May 28, 1918, when Armenian leaders took the destiny of the Armenian people into their hands, they proclaimed to the world the culmination of their centuries-old attempts to free themselves from foreign tyranny. Armenians and their friends abroad joyfully welcomed the dawn of a new era in a small corner of historic Armenia, within sight of their Biblical Mount Ararat, hoping and praying that the small and weak new state would live and grow. Unfortunately neither their hopes nor expectations were justified. The Armenian Republic was surrounded by ruthless and powerful foes, and the friends of the Armenian people were too far away to be of any effective aid. After struggling against heavy odds, helplessly and desperately, for a little more than 2 years, the Republic was overrun by the Turks and the Soviets, and at the end of 1920, it ceased to exist.

Since then, most of Armenia has become part of Turkey, and a small portion is part of the Soviet Union. But the Armenians have not given up their ideals of freedom, and on this 50th anniversary of their independence they remind the world that they still cling to them.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, this year Americans of Armenian descent are commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Independent Republic of Armenia. All freedom-loving people support the historical aspirations of this brave Christian nation.

The Armenians have existed as a nation of people for over 2,500 years. They have been subjected to the ravages of barbaric hordes down through the centuries, but their rich culture, language, and democratic traditions have survived these calamities of history. This is the severe test of a nation and is a cause which cannot be denied the inevitable destiny which has held the Armenians together as a nation.

Following World War I Armenia proclaimed and secured her independence after more than a century of alien domination by an imperialist power. In this period of restored independence, the brave Armenian people were faced with starvation, and the predatory encroachments of unfriendly powers on her borders. That young nation, together with the then independent states of Georgia and Azerbaijan, formed the first free federation of nations. The Caucasus Federation sought to bring together the combined strength of the free people of these three young nations in order to withstand the combined military strength of the Bolsheviks and the young Turks. Theirs was a common fight for human freedom and the independence of their respective nations.

History records that their valiant efforts did not succeed, and that finally the Bolsheviks were able to overcome and destroy the independence of these young nations. It was in these circumstances that Armenian independence was destroyed.

The whole world knows the terrible tragedy that has been visited upon the Armenian people since the Bolsheviks seized power and established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Armenian people have never been permitted to govern their own affairs. They were ruled by an alien and predatory power which has its world headquarters in Moscow. The masters of Moscow are fearful of the Armenian people and their historic aspirations for freedom and independence which has caused them to keep the power of state in the hands of Russian Communists. These facts are known to all freedom-loving Americans who are continuing the struggle in the free world as well as in the homeland of Armenia for the restoration of independence.

A permanent peace, worthy of the name will be attained only when all nations, large and small, have the power to choose their own form of government, select their own officials, and determine their own destiny. Let us hope and pray that the time will come soon when all nations may live together under those conditions, and take their rightful places in the world family of nations.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, first let me commend the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DERWINSKI] for his special order today so that Members of the House can participate in these impressive exercises to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Independence of Armenia. It is most appropriate that the House should pause to note this significant date and I am pleased and privileged to join my colleagues in paying this well deserved tribute to the gallant Armenian people on this day of commemoration which holds great interests for all Americans of Armenian descent.

It is particularly fitting, Mr. Speaker, that the opening prayer in the House this morning should have been offered by the distinguished prelate of the Armenian Apostolic Church of North America, His Grace, Archbishop Hrant Khatchatourian. We all recall his moving prayer of a few years ago when the House in special ceremonies marked the 50th anniversary of the terrible Armenian massacre.

Again today all of us have been inspired by Archbishop Khatchatourian's lofty, spiritual message and I want to join my colleagues in complimenting and thanking him for his eloquent and moving prayer which has been most fitting for this great Armenian anniversary.

Many people of Armenian blood reside in the United States and many of them live in my district. They are among our foremost citizens, loyal Americans, who have sustained and upheld the ideals, principles and security of this great Nation in times of war and peace.

The Armenian people are second to none in their love of God, of family, love of humanity, love of this country, and devotion to the highest concepts and practices of ordered liberty and freedom.

Many citizens of Armenian blood residing in my district are good friends and neighbors of mine and I cherish, respect, and admire them for their fine qualities as human beings, and am grateful to them for their warm friendship. I commend them for their unsurpassed citizenship and for their loyalty to the loftiest truths and principles of this great Government and this great free way of life so precious and dear to all Americans.

Citizens of Armenian descent, Mr. Speaker, have given to America the fullness and the richness of their ancient culture. They have won here in our midst the respect and admiration that is reserved for those who live, work, and serve with honor, vitality, loyalty, and fortitude.

They have won affections and as we mark this 50th anniversary of Armenian independence, let us ask the Good Lord to bring them inspiration and spiritual encouragement for the day when Armenia can truly be free. As we sorrow for Armenia's short-lived independence, let us join our friends of Armenian blood in a pledge of dedication to the cause of an Armenian free from subjugation by the Soviets. Let us join with them in this cause of freedom and humanity with the hope that the Soviet will accord Armenia its rights as a free nation.

It is 50 years ago, Mr. Speaker, that the independent State of Armenia was created after the small but tough Armenian forces defeated the massive Turkish armies at Sardarapat, Bash Abaran, and Kara-Kilisseh, thus blunting the offensive of the Central Powers in the Near East and contributing greatly to the ultimate Allied victory in World War I.

After six centuries of captivity, the independent Republic of Armenia was proclaimed on May 28, 1918, and this is the day that we commemorate today, a day of freedom and independence for the long-suffering Armenian people.

True, this independence was all too short with the Soviet taking control over the affairs of the Armenian people. What the Communist could not accomplish, however, was to extinguish the spirit of Armenia, the cultural achievements of Armenia, the love of freedom and self-determination which is the God-given right of all Armenia. These continue to exist in the hearts and minds of the Armenian people everywhere in the world.

As we in this House today mark this day of freedom of an independent Armenia, let us reaffirm our support for the Armenian cause and the aims of self-determination, freedom, and justice for the Armenian people held by the shackles of oppression and slavery imposed upon them by communism.

I am proud to affirm once again my faith in the cause of a free Armenia and the spirit and purpose of liberty-loving Americans to render Armenia every counsel, every support, and every loyalty in achieving a free government so that Armenia can take its place among the nations of the free world.

Long live Armenia. Long live the spirit of free Armenia.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, after centuries of oppression and foreign rule, the independent Republic of Armenia was created on May 28, 1918. Taking note of this 50th anniversary of Armenian independence, we pause to pay our respects to the valient tradition of Armenian nationalism which has refused to be extinguished even today under the heavy hand of foreign rule.

The history of the Armenian people is a tragic story of outside oppression. As early as the 15th century B.C. the Armenian people were part of the civilized world. Yet, from the Persians, to the Romans, to the Ottomans, to the Russians, this brave people have been subjected to foreign rule. Throughout history, Armenian nationalism and Armenian tradition has survived the perils of subjugation.

An example of this spirit which could not die are the efforts of the revolutionary struggle for Armenian freedom from the Ottoman Turks during the 1890's. When the Turks tried to exterminate the Armenian people through massive deportations in 1915, a hardy core of survivors retreated into the Caucasus and formed with their Georgian allies the Transcaucasian Confederation.

As the culmination of World War I offered the Armenians the opportunity to wrest their freedom from the Turks, the Armenian National Council declared the independence of the Armenian Republic on May 28, 1918 after gallant combat against their oppressors.

For 2 short years this valiant nation stood as a shining example of the enduring nationalism of a brave people.

On June 4, 1918, the new republic conducted its first international action with the signing of the Peace Treaty of Batum.

In this treaty, Turkey became the first nation to recognize Armenia as it declared its observance of Armenian independence.

The strength of Armenians everywhere came to the aid of this new nation as it attempted to reconstruct Armenia after the devastation of war. International contributions provided the funds for the establishment of a treasury and Armenians from throughout the world flocked back to their homeland to offer their talents and energies to rebuild.

Armenia, however, was soon robbed of her independence. Only 1 month after the signing of the Sevres Treaty in which she recognized the independence of Armenia and agreed to American arbitration of boundary disputes, Kemalist Turkey with Soviet Russian aid attacked the new Republic of Armenia. On December 2, 1920, the Republic was finally crushed by the Turkish and Russian armies.

Today, the proud Armenian people and their land are divided between Turkey and Russia. Yet, even such pressure has not been able to extinguish the spirit of Armenian nationalism. It is to this enduring tradition that we pay tribute today as we join with the Armenians in their prayers that one day they will once again enjoy their rightful peace in the community of nations.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the words of His Grace Archbishop Khatchatourian, prelate of the Armenian Apostolic Church of North America, in his invocations today were most inspiring. And it is indeed fitting and proper to have this distinguished religious leader deliver the invocation on the occasion commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Independence of Armenia.

It should be noted, however, that Armenia today is not free and is not independent, but is completely subjugated by the Russian Soviet Union. Armenians all over the world celebrate this day as a memorial to the once-free Armenia, and we here mark this day to reassert our belief in freedom for all people and to reaffirm our conviction that tyranny and despotism cannot long prevail where men so believe.

Armenia is an ancient country in northeastern Asia Minor and Transcaucasia. Geological, archaeological, and historic data prove that the territory of Armenia was one of the first in the development of human civilization and is, therefore, of considerable interest to everyone. It also is a fact that Armenia is the oldest Christian state.

History records that in 550 B.C., King Cyrus the Great of Persia became king of all the lands of Media, including Armenia. He is, perhaps, best remembered for his qualities of humanity, tolerance, and genuine greatness; he gave the ancient Hebrews, who were captives, permission to return to their homes, permission to rebuild Jerusalem and take with them the captured gold and silver utensils of King Solomon's Temple.

Turning to more modern times, we find that the Transcaucasian Federation formed by Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, and Georgia after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was dissolved on May 26, 1918, and each of those states declared an independent republic. It is that day we now note. Their independence, unfortunately lasted only a short time and Armenia was forcibly made part of the Soviet Union in 1923.

In government the Armenian SSR has virtually no independence. All phases of its politics, economy, and culture are under tightly centralized control from Moscow. Although the Armenians are completely subjugated, their longing for freedom and independence still lives to such an extent that their Russian conquerors strictly forbid the singing or playing of the Armenian national anthem.

As a Member of the Congress of the United States, I send my most cordial greetings to the Armenian people everywhere with the sincere wish that in due time, they will be able to again sing their national anthem of an Armenia, a truly free and independent nation.

To each Armenian I say, keep up the good fight for the independence of your ancestral home with the knowledge that you have good friends who are sympathetic with Armenia's legitimate aspirations for nationhood.

A BILL TO EXTEND RURAL MAIL DELIVERY SERVICE

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, no rural family in America should be left without mail delivery service. With that in mind, I am today introducing a bill to extend such delivery service in rural areas. This bill would extend such service without regard to the number of families per mile, in the most convenient method possible, to the entire rural population of the United States.

Last August the Post Office Department liberalized the regulations by reducing the number of families required per mile of service from two families to one and a half families. This was a step in the right direction, but my heavy mail from rural areas indicates that the entire regulation is unfair and discriminatory.

A wide gap still remains between adequate service and no service at all in rural America. These people, living in the sparsely populated areas of the Nation, have too often seen needed transportation and communication services denied them as emphasis shifted to the urban centers. The passage of this bill to fully implement the traditional principles of rural free delivery of mail would be of great benefit to these areas that are needlessly caught in the grips of outmoded and unworkable Federal rules and regulations.

This bill would direct the Postmaster General to maintain rural delivery service for all rural families who live on or near a road in good condition which is maintained and which is unobstructed by gates or by unbridged streams which are not fordable at all seasons of the year.

It is hoped that the Post Office and Civil Service Committee will act favorably on this legislation to restore a needed service to rural America and that this Congress will concur.

BRITAIN ACTS TO CURTAIL SPENDING

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, for a number of years Britain's cradle-to-the-grave welfare state has been guided by the socialistic principle that government is all things to all men. To a lesser extent the U.S. Government has put an undue emphasis on the governmental role to solve the Nation's problems to the detriment of individual initiative and responsibility. We might well profit from the financial mess in which the British Government now finds itself by at least considering the financial sobering up process which the British are now employing to return to fiscal solvency. The latest move by Great Britain to cut spending differs from the proposed policy which has been advanced here in the United States by responsible people; namely, spending cuts by the Federal Government.

In this UPI dispatch which appeared in the Chicago Tribune of May 25 under the heading, "Britain Acts To Curtail Spending," the little man, as usual, is the loser. The big spenders in this country should profit from Britain's experience and tighten the financial reins of administrative spending.

I place the above-mentioned article in the Record at this point:

Britain Acts To Curtail Spending

London, May 24.—Prime Minister Harold Wilson's Labor government today clamped new restrictions on bank loans to try to curtail spending and hold down the country's dangerously high level of imports.

The Bank of England issued a surprise directive to commercial banks, ordering them to hold down loans to 104 per cent of the level reached last November when the pound sterling was devalued.

The order was issued because consumer spending has not declined, despite the toughest peace time budget in history and the weak position of the pound on foreign currency markets.

What Britain is trying to do is shift money from the home market to exports. Under the new loan ceiling, exporting industries will get priority. It means big cutbacks to personal borrowers, importers of manufactured goods, and other non-priority borrowers.

It will hit hard at British families, already pinched between a tight deflationary budget and costs rising because the pound is worth less than before.

Bank loans to help people over financial pinches—called "overdrafts" in Britain—will be abolished and balances of credits on such loans received before the new restrictions and unused will be cut back sharply.

"This is a bombshell," said a spokesman for one of Britain's leading banks. "We have been squeezing the little men up to the hilt. I think banks will ask, 'How the hell are we going to do it?' "

ALL THE NEWS FIT TO TINT—NO. 1

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, some time ago, I started putting excerpts from the New York Times into the Congressional Record under the heading "All the News Fit To Tint." It is high time to start this service once more for the discerning public. I am always amazed how many liberal professors tell their students that the New York Times is objective and put it on the required reading agenda. It is a great newspaper, has wide breadth of coverage and is influential. It is all of these things but it certainly is not and has not been objective. It is liberal, internationalist, and a constant advocate of big government socialism.

In their Saturday, May 25 issue, they show some of their tinting at its best. In their editorial column, under the heading of "Congressional Primaries," they engage in the usual liberal jibes at those Members of Congress they dislike and choose not to support. They use the following to categorize the incumbents they do not like "with a long record of mediocrity behind him," "retirement to private life is overdue," "the reactionary Republican," "used his power over State Department appropriations so imperiously," and "the rather stodgy inbumbent."

You would think that any newspaper which could use this type of English to describe Congressmen could do a little better job on page 37M in referring to Bayard Rustin and Rev. Ralph Abernathy. You would have thought they could have put Mr. Rustin's record in proper perspective by slipping in a phrase here and there like "Mr. Rustin, who has served time in Federal prisons for violation of the Selective Service Act" or "Mr. Rustin, whose convictions for sex offenses include a jail sentence for sodomy." But then it is not surprising either.

Mr. Speaker, I never did say the New York Times was either objective or fair. All of the news fit to tint, as I have always said.

THE PATHETIC PLIGHT OF WASHINGTON BUSINESSMEN

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing I can add to the poignant letter to the editor of the Washington Star printed last Saturday. The writers have said everything in a heartbreaking capsule of the disgraceful condition in the Nation's Capital. I wish I could offer some encouragement to these good people, but as long as the administration sternly refuses to take any step to curb the criminal element for fear of political reprisals, I can hold out no hope. I can only express my shame over what is being done to the responsible, productive segment of our society out of fear of the irresponsible and unproductive. The letter follows:

AFTER 44 YEARS IN BUSINESS

SIR: We are owners of a hardware store in Northeast Washington. We write in behalf of the many who share our problems. We have obeyed the laws, paid our taxes, and insured ourselves, though it was expensive. We are more than equal-opportunity employers, as the majority of our help is Negro, and has been for years. We have been father-confessor, banker, and adviser to our customers, with whom we have dealt honestly and fairly. We are charter members of the Business and Professional Association of Far Northeast, and have worked diligently for local improvements and closer cooperation between consumers and merchants. We are for civil rights for all men.

Prior to April, 1968, we had lost money on bad checks, burglary, shoplifting, and vandalism, all repaired or replaced at our expense. We have taken needed hours from our business to sit in court at the request of the police, only to see the judges postpone the cases or dismiss the defendant. We are constantly in need of more reliable help. We have had trouble for years.

Since April 5, 1968, we have been the victims of repeated looting, and vandalism. Our store was closed for two weeks in order to repair the major damage done to us on that date. Since we reopened for business, we have been broken into twice and have had numerous broken windows and doors.

Insurance may or may not cover a portion of these expenses. The bills for repairs to our property, and merchandise and equipment that was damaged or stolen are arriving daily. We have lost our expected busy spring season. We are frustrated with the past and pessimistic about the future.

Now, we receive word that the insurance on our building is to be canceled. Since conditions in the District are so bad, this could be the end of our business. We can obtain jobs in the suburbs and lower our standard of living. We can do without the responsibilities of owning a business and all that entails. We can manage. We will not need welfare.

But the taxes the District collects will be lost. All of our years of endeavor will be wasted. Our employees will probably need some financial assistance. Our customers will lose the convenience and service they depend on.

To our way of thinking, this benefits no one and hurts many. Is this what is to become of us after forty-four years in business? Is this what is to become of our employees who have been responsible supporters of their families? Is the city to be left an empty shell of families living on relief?

Citizens must be protected. Criminals must be jailed. The police must have the men and the methods to do this. Businessmen must be able to obtain insurance. We are willing to pay for it. Of all the groups now clamoring for help, how many are offering to help themselves as we have done and hopefully will continue to do?

We and all the others in our predicament are watching our life's work go down the drain, along with our children's education and our security.

ABRAHAM and IDA WOLF.
HARVEY and FREEDA WOLF.

THE FOSTER GRANDPARENTS PROGRAM

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I think that insufficient attention has been given to the foster grandparent program. Under this program Federal funds are provided to employ senior citizens to care for retarded children.

Such a program is presently in effect in the North Jersey Training School, which is located within the congressional district which I present, and where 15 foster grandparents are enriching their own lives as well as the lives of the youngsters for whom they care. The project is directed by Marion J. Coyte, foster grandparents field supervisor, and the superintendent of the school, Dr. Dennis J. Buttimore.

The foster grandparents program is limited to people over 60 years of age who are living on incomes of $1,600 or less annually for an individual, or $2,100 or less annually for a husband and wife. In addition to providing some extra income, the program affords older people with the stimulation and interest that their families provided for them in the past. The elderly participants and the mentally retarded children are both served, for the senior citizens are given an opportunity to put their talents to use and the unfortunate children are provided with needed care and attention.

As the program operates in the State of New Jersey, older Americans are hired by the division of mental retardation to work with children in state schools for the retarded, providing these youngsters with warmth, affection, companionship—the attention that a child in more fortunate circumstances would normally receive from a close family relationship, and which is impossible to fully supply in a busy institution, even by the most conscientious staff.

This program provides dual benefits. The "grandparents," besides supplementary income, gain a new lease on life through a renewed sense of purpose and usefulness, the satisfaction of being once more needed. The children receive benefits that only a one-to-one continuing relationship with an adult can provide. They open up psychologically, and develop more rapidly with this encouraging motivation.

Each "grandparent" spends 2 hours per day with each of two children assigned to him, so that child can identify with his "grandma" or "grandpa" on a continuing basis. After the first 5-day week, they do identify. By that time, each child has learned to recognize his own "grandma" or "grandpa."

For this exchange of mutual dependence and love, the "grandparents" are paid $1.60 per hour. Transportation costs of $1 per day are reimbursed to the "grandparents" for their daily journey to and from the school. Monday through Friday.

I have been informed by Supervisor Coyt and Dr. Buttimore in a letter that the children assigned to the care of foster grandparents have demonstrated unbelievable progress since they have been receiving the daily one-to-one care and attention this intimate adult-child relationship provides. I should like to commend them both for their direction and participation in this imaginative and important new program.

SOME PROGRESS UNDER THE ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a letter which I have received from Louis H. Katz, project administrator of the New Jersey work experience and training program which is being conducted under title V of the Economic Opportunity Act in the congressional district which I represent.

I am very gratified by the letter. The failures of the antipoverty program are only too well trumpeted, but its accomplishments often go unheralded. The fact is that with the determination and dedication we can give people dignity and self-respect, and can turn tax-users into taxpayers. The letter follows:

NEW JERSEY WORK EXPERIENCE
AND TRAINING PROGRAM,
Paterson, N.J., May 22, 1968.
Hon. CHARLES S. JOELSON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN JOELSON: I wish to report on the following program of our Title V E.O.A. project from 7/1/67 to 4/31/68 in the light of the changes as per the 1967 Social Security Amendments.

During this period 259 potential trainees appeared at our office in response to referral by Passaic County Welfare Board caseworkers and by our own recruiting. Of the 259 potential enrollees, 215 were actually enrolled in some form of work experience and training.

During the same time period 123 entered full time employment resulting in an aggregate monthly reduction in public assistance cost of $25,100.

Practically all of our trainees entered adult basic education for a period of time. Twenty-six trainees graduated from Adult Basic Education to General Education Development Classes. Seven trainees passed the GED Examination in January and thirty are scheduled to take the exam in June. Four trainees entered licensed practical nurse training courses. Of these, two continue to be in training and two are presently working in local hospitals.

Two trainees are enrolled in beauty culture courses at which they will complete training in June, 1968 and two other trainees are enrolled in a surgical technician course.

Twenty trainees are enrolled in clerical skills training. Training for half of these will end in July, 1968, the remainder will complete training in September and October.

I attribute the success which these welfare recipients have achieved partly to their earnest desire to improve their lives and partly to the extensive social services extended these trainees. My staff of Employment Specialists, Mr. Rocco Brindisi, Mr. Michael D'Amico and Mr. Frederick Marcus worked along with our Senior Employment Specialist, Mr. Robert Santo as a team in working with the trainees helping her/him reach optimum possible potential. Note these men use a casework approach in developing their trainees towards employment.

Another plus this year was the interlocking of the educational pre-employment phases of our program with the Passaic County Board of Vocational Education. A joint program of melding the goals of both agencies in order to meet the explicit requisites of the trainees, and yet following established teaching methods and standards have brought success closer to reality for our trainees.

It is hoped that once the work incentive program becomes operational in Passaic County, the same cooperation and coordination can be developed between the Department of Employment Securities and those agencies it selects to work with in order to be successful.

Very truly yours,
LOUIS H. KATZ,
Project Administrator, WEP.

THE COUP DE GRACE FOR NATO?

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, there are many puzzling and disturbing aspects about the proposed $6 billion budget reduction which has been agreed upon by the conference committee on the tax bill.

Perhaps some of these will be clarified and made comprehensible by the publication of the committee report and careful study thereof. On the other hand, the implementation of these recommendations will lie to a great degree in the discretion of the President and the executive branch and their scope may not be limited by legislation or by express policy statements.

One of the most important of these questions is the potential resulting reduction of the troop commitment of the United States to NATO and the possible discontinuation of our military presence in Europe. Already De Gaulle's radical change of course in Europe has cracked the unity of the Western community and dissolved the consensus which created NATO and maintained it over the years. To this bold and unwarranted trusting French departure has been added a general sense of euphoria about the character and extent of the supposed détente with the U.S.S.R.

Although a large number of members of the other body have subscribed to a resolution to remove our troops from Europe and this policy could probably now gain a majority in that Chamber, nevertheless, I feel deeply that such a step would be foolhardy at the present time.

To begin with, the adverse effect of the maintenance of our troops in Europe has been overemphasized. While it is estimated that the cost of this support approximates $1.5 billion annually, nevertheless, a setoff in the amount of $1 billion has been developed through the purchase by European countries of military hardware in the United States. Regardless of this point, however, the maintenance of our forces should not be decided as a fiscal problem but as a question of the security of the United States.

At this point I shall not expand upon the fact that we withdrew 16,000 troops from Europe when the French evicted us from their country and that a further removal of 34,000 was announced last year and began on January 1 of this year. Nor will I dwell now upon the urgent and fervent plea of our greatest military figure on active service, General Lemnitzer, that no alteration be made in our European commitment based on a supposed but undemonstrable change of mind in the Kremlin which is obviously not accompanied by any alteration in the power of disposition of Soviet military forces in the bloc countries. And I shall only advert in passing to the recent Russian troop movements in Poland and the intrusion of a substantial Russian naval force into the Mediterranean.

The points I wish to stress have to do rather with the potential effect of a policy of reduction upon our European associates and upon those countries behind the Iron Curtain whom we wish to help toward independence.

The British Minister of Defense, Dennis Healey, on May 10 told members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels that Britain would assign two new forces to NATO's European command. One would be a mobile task force of 20,000 men complete with its own air transport. The other would be an amphibious force consisting of two commando carriers and two assault ships together with a helicopter support ship. Although some of these forces will remain in Britain, the amphibious force will be stationed in European waters and two frigates which were due for withdrawal from the Mediterranean will be maintained there while the squadron of Canberra aircraft now in Malta will stay there until 1970.

These are helpful and welcome developments, ut the question we must put to ourselves is: are we, hard on the heels of this announcement, to say to the British, as we have in the past warned them, that we will pull out of NATO because they have not hitherto carried their proportionate burden or on the other hand now tell them that we are pulling out because they have demonstrated that they are able to make this contribution on their own? This is "heads I win, tails you lose" with a vengeance.

Are we to withdraw our strong support when the German leaders are looking anxiously for firm allied support and give credence to those of their people who advocate a closer relationship with the Soviets and would follow De Gaulle's siren call to nationalism?

Finally, when there is ferment in Poland, change in Rumania, and semirevolution in Czechoslovakia, is this the time to lessen the NATO presence which has materially contributed to these changes and to force the liberalizers and innovators back into the hopeless mold of Communist conformity?

SECRETARY BOYD'S FIGHTING ADDRESS AT MARSHALL UNIVERSITY

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Transportation, the Honorable Alan S. Boyd, delivered a brilliant address at the commencement exercises at Marshall University in Huntington, W. Va., on May 26. The graduating class, parents, and friends of Marshall University were treated to a speech markedly different from the ordinary run of soporifics which too often characterize commencement addresses.

Secretary Boyd defined with unusual clarity some of the basic problems which beset American society, and what we must do to cope with these problems. It was a bold and stirring address which deserves thoughtful consideration by all Americans. Marshall University also awarded Secretary Boyd the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

It was an honor for me to introduce Secretary Boyd at Marshall University, and under unanimous consent I include excerpts from my introductory remarks and the text of Secretary Boyd's address:

INTRODUCTION BY REPRESENTATIVE KEN HECHLER

With events in the nation and the world moving at supersonic speed, it is appropriate that our Commencement speaker, the Honorable Alan S. Boyd, be a man who has dominion over matters supersonic in nature.

The first and most obvious item about Alan Boyd is this vital statistic: he is 6 feet, 3½ inches in height. This naturally impelled the Ellis Johnson of his day to seek him out for the basketball squad in Alan Boyd's native Florida.

Our speaker was raised on a small tobacco and cotton farm near a Florida town about the size of Barboursville, after having been born in the metropolis of Jacksonville. He returned from overseas air combat service in World War II to study law under the G.I. Bill of Rights in that neighboring state to our South out of which West Virginia was formed in the year 1863. He was called back into combat during the Korean conflict.

One remarkable thing about Alan Boyd is that his talents are recognized by both Republican and Democratic Presidents—he was appointed by President Eisenhower a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board in 1959, and then in 1961 President Kennedy came along and appointed him Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

The Department of Transportation is the twelfth and newest of the cabinet-level departments of government. For the past year and a half, Alan S. Boyd has been the first and in fact the only Secretary of Transportation in our nation.

Now I'm sure that Secretary Boyd cannot comment on this publicly. But I would be remiss if I did not point out the inspiration which Secretary Boyd and his office have given us in the single most important West Virginia project which will deal a blow against the provincialism which has plagued West Virginia—a project which will unite West Virginia on behalf of progress—and I refer of course to the construction of the Midway Airport.

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once wrote: "The true test of a liberal mind is its passion for the facts." Secretary Alan Boyd not only has that passion for the facts, but in the pressure cooker which is official Washington he has on countless occasions displayed rare courage in sticking to his guns in the face of massive and relentless pressure.

In his search for the facts, in his refusal to yield or bend to pressure, and in his steadfast determination to fight for the public interest, I feel that Secretary Boyd has fulfilled to the highest degree the definition of a fully educated man.

It is therefore with great personal pride that I present to the graduating class, and parents and friends of Marshall University the Secretary of Transportation, the Honorable Alan S. Boyd.

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION ALAN S. BOYD, AT COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES AT MARSHALL UNIVERSITY, HUNTINGTON, W. VA., MAY 26, 1968

Cardinal Newman once said "A university . . . is a place which wins the admiration of the young by its celebrity, kindles the affection of the middle aged by its beauty, and rivets the fidelity of the old by its associations."

But that, as the poet said, was in another time and in another country—long ago, and far away from Berkeley, or Columbia, or Berlin, or the Sorbonne.

And nowhere, I suppose, do the sentiments of that eminent nineteenth century English churchman and thinker seem so long ago and far away than at that most ancient and abiding of rituals—the college commencement.

I must confess that the whole idea of commencements—and particularly commencement speeches—has, since at least the day of my own graduation, seemed to me as good an example as there is of the ultimate indignity. The condemned man must walk one last mile; the "commencing" man must sit through one last lecture.

Yet, here I am—no more successful in resisting the occasion than you have been.

For what I cannot really resist is the temptation to speak to young people—to a generation of young people that seems less inclined than any in memory to accept, without scorching scrutiny, the words and the world of an older generation.

Yet I did not come prepared to admit that I am old enough to be part of any generation gap or that you are young enough to insist that one exists.

Life changes so fast these days that the young must alawys be older than their years and the old always younger just to remain relevant to the world around us.

No sooner do we learn to deal with one environment, one situation, one set of circumstances, than we have to start learning all over again.

We are all inescapably caught up in events and experiences whose pace and scale seem—in contrast to earlier eras—so much larger than life.

It is no longer possible for any of us to pursue our dreams alone and apart from the world around us—if it ever was.

The automobile, the airplane, the telephone, the television set have all but abolished space and time—and have involved us all in an incredibly complex network of interaction and interdependence.

The experts say we are moving toward a "loss of insulating space."

We can see and sense that trend in every aspect of our lives.

There is the phenomenal growth in the nearness and number of people—more and more people crowding closer and closer together. There is the fact that anything that happens anywhere in the world is only an instant electronic impulse away—and in living color at that. Everything and everyone is here and now. In a very literal sense, we are all neighbors.

One of the most crucial consequences of this loss of insulating space—of this living in increasingly close quarters—is that those choices we make in common will assume increasingly greater importance in our lives.

Each of us can, for example, buy his own suit of clothes or his own car—but none of us can buy his own share of clean air, or his own stretch of clear highway.

There is a whole host of such choices which, in the past, we have left simply to the mechanism of the market place, or to the experts, or to chance—and which we now have to make together, deliberately, as matters of conscious political decision.

We are beginning to face up to the fact that the choices available to each of us individually depend on how willing we are to make choices in common. Our ability to make any genuine individual choices at all will depend on how sensibly we act in developing our educational and health and recreational facilities; upon our transportation system; upon the quality of the air we breathe and the water we drink; and upon the extent to which all our citizens have ample incentives and opportunities for a decent education, a decent home and a decent job.

I have no doubt we will find these choices difficult to make, for we are used to making most of our choices individually—and only with extreme reluctance do we make choices in common.

We are equally reluctant to recognize that a great many of our private decisions have enormous public consequences—consequences we can no longer avoid or ignore.

No family, for example, considers a move to a suburban home with a two-car garage as having any consequences beyond the benefits it brings them. Yet the effect of a hundred thousand such decisions may be the relative decline of a downtown business district; a radical relocation of industrial and retail firms; the isolation of the poor and the disadvantaged within the central city; the removal of valuable land from city tax rolls as more and more freeways are built; and much more.

This same pattern prevails in the spread of air and water pollution—and, most importantly, in the isolation and exclusion of the Negro American from even the most ordinary opportunities available to almost every other American with a white skin.

In a world where everybody rubs elbows with everybody else, where you can't put your foot down without stepping on somebody's toe, we can no longer refuse responsibility for the public costs and consequences of private decisions.

Old approaches simply will not work in a new and entirely different environment. What worked in a world of economic scarcity, where change was slow, space ample and distance long, will not work in a world of economic abundance, of change so rapid it seems more and more to outrun our capacity to respond, of scarce space and instant access to all parts of the globe.

In a relatively short space of time, we have succeeded in America in creating an economic abundance, a standard of living, a technological wizardry and a managerial genius that have earned us the envy and admiration of every other nation in the world.

Yet, in the words of one of our most acute social observers: "The teeming, disorganized life of impoverished slums has all but disappeared among the North Atlantic democracies—save only the United States. . . . it can be said with fair assurance that mass poverty and squalor, of the kind that may be encountered in almost any large American city, simply cannot be found in comparable cities in Europe, or Canada, or Japan."

In the generation that has passed since the Great Depression we have reached levels of affluence high enough so that we can afford, many times over, to offer to every American ample opportunity for a decent home, a decent school, and a decent job.

But we have yet to measure up to the standard that Franklin Roosevelt set for us over thirty years ago: "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much, it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

The current issue of Fortune magazine reports on the aims and attitudes of the affluent American. An income of $25,000, says Fortune, represents the threshold to genuine affluence—before it is reached, wants tend to outrun income, but after it is reached income tends to outrun. Currently, the magazine estimates, one taxpayer in 50 has crossed that threshold—by the end of the century, one out of four Americans will have done so.

After a probing exploration and analysis of the goals of these Americans, of what it is that has motivated them to earn this income, of what it is they wanted it for, the magazine selected as the most succinct summary of the aims of these Americans the remark of an upper-income Illinois housewife: "We're very blessed . . . I have all the major appliances that anyone would want and my husband has a workshop that is out of this world."

There are those who wonder and worry about whether we are, indeed, in danger of being anesthetized by affluence.

There are those who fear we are approaching the point where our growing mastery of means—of technology, of production—is matched by an increasing emptiness of ends.

There are those who are disturbed by what they sense as an increasing equation among too many Americans of the good life with the mere accumulation of goods.

There are those who find our passion for law and order a little less than persuasive when so rarely it is accompanied by a passion for justice.

There are those who are far less impressed with the prosperity so many Americans enjoy than with the poverty so many Americans endure.

There are those who cannot rest easy with the contradiction of a nation prosperous beyond parallel in the memory of man, but which—in the words of one commentator—"offers millions of its youths a kind of experience new in history: the peculiarly ironic and unsettling one of living out an impoverished life in the midst of a country actually perplexed about what to do with its agricultural and industrial capacities. Under these circumstances poverty is not an unavoidable fact of the world, a shared struggle for an entire nation, but a matter of willful carelessness or dishonorable apathy for the majority of us who are comfortable. For those living the threadbare life of migrant farmers or sharecroppers, or attempting survival in the rat-infested ghettos of our cities, it is almost a matter of being singled out for condemnation."

For as long as we have been a nation—and longer—one group of Americans has enjoyed infinitely less than its share in the building and the blessings of American society, and infinitely more than its share of poverty and privation, of humiliation and hatred.

I speak of the American Negro.

It is not only the Negro who suffers in our society from poverty and privation. But, as one observer has pointedly put it: "No one is poor in America because he is white. Many people are poor because they are black."

The nine year old white boy in the north Georgia foothills knew the difference when he said: "I'm sure glad I wasn't born colored, but to be rich I think I should have been born some other place."

I have said that in today's world we can isolate neither problems nor people from each other—neither private nor public decisions.

If we could see no other way, we could see by the flames that lit the skies over many American cities in recent months and years that we cannot separate the future of white America from the fate of black America.

Leveling stores and homes in the ghettos with a torch is not the answer. Nor is leveling the blame. And the one sure way to fail to find the answer is to hang out signs saying, "Business as usual."

Let us all condemn riots; let us never condone violence.

But, above all, let us understand—and let us act.

Let us understand that, for at least a century, white America has insisted that if everyone would just sit still—if "outsiders" and "agitators" would stop interfering and stirring things up—time alone would eventually remove the race problem from our midst.

But the Negro knows—and we ought not to forget—that time hardens, not heals.

Let us understand how the deep frustration of men long denied can find expression in the incendiary rage of men who will no longer be denied.

Let us understand how those who have suffered sustained and systematic exclusion from American society do not always feel bound by its constraints.

Let us understand that it is not the Negro alone who is warped and wounded by our indifference and our animosity—for those who would deny the dignity of another must thereby degrade their own.

Let us understand that we cannot expect those in our ghettos to equal the achievements of other Americans when they do not enjoy the opportunities the rest of us take for granted. We cannot ask from them—as we often do—the kind of utterly heroic effort few of us who are far more fortunate manage to achieve.

Let us understand—and let us act. Act to change our attitudes and our institutions. Act in our schools and in our hiring halls—in our jobs and on our sidewalks—in our neighborhoods and throughout our nation—in our society and, above all, in ourselves.

We have passed the point of no return on the racial problem in America. We have reached the point where the ability of each of us to live a full and free life rests, in fact, upon our ability to insure the same opportunities to all Americans.

"Mankind," T. S. Eliot once said, "cannot bear very much reality."

We have a way, indeed, of always wanting to see and savor our world sunnyside up. But things are changing. A new generation of Americans is emerging that—far more than the old—seems to insist on seeing and saying it like it really is.

It seems a generation that questions the assumptions of the old as severely and stringently as it questions its aspirations.

It seems a generation that takes with a new seriousness the old admonition of Socrates that "the unexamined life is not worth living."

It seems a generation less frightened by the prospect of the manipulation of man by machine than by the practice of the manipulation of man by man.

It seems a generation unwilling to respond to new situations by wrapping itself in the security blanket of old stereotypes.

It seems a generation increasingly committed to the creation of a genuinely personal world—in which all conversations and contact can be conducted person-to-person and man-to-man.

It seems a generation far better able than mine to fashion an environment in which man can live and thrive.

That's the way it seems to me. How it seems to you will have a profound impact on the course of this country in the decades ahead.

STATEMENT ON THE URGENCY OF MAINTAINING THE MERCHANT MARINE PROGRAMS AT FULL STRENGTH

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, today I bring to the attention of my fellow Congressmen a matter of grave and urgent concern. With respect to the maritime legislation presently pending before this Congress, I have been both shocked and dismayed by several recent developments and, because of this, I feel compelled to alert my colleagues to the ominous implications of such developments.

As a member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I am deeply disturbed at the casual way in which certain Cabinet members have virtually disregarded this committee. As a strong advocate of a new and expanded maritime program, I am frankly dumbfounded by the recent unexplained actions of the administration in regard to legislation which is directly contrary to the original agreements reached in good faith only 6 months ago. And, as one of the sponsors of H.R. 159, to establish the Maritime Administration as an independent Federal agency, I realize with even greater urgency the need for immediate action on this bill.

First of all, Mr. Speaker, as you know, hearings are now being held in both the House and the Senate on H.R. 13940 and S. 2650, companion bills which provide a comprehensive program to modernize and expand our declining merchant fleet. This legislation was laboriously composed section by section by Senators MAGNUSON and BARTLETT and Congressmen GARMATZ and DOWNING in an attempt to satisfy as fully as possible the best interests of all maritime concerns. The Secretary of Transportation, Mr. Alan S. Boyd, representing the President, was also in attendance at all of these meetings of negotiation; furthermore, the greater part of the technical work on these bills was drafted by members of Mr. Boyd's staff.

During the course of these proceedings, Senator MAGNUSON and the other distinguished coauthors of this legislation consulted President Johnson himself about his views on the bill, and, after a lengthy discussion with him, were satisfied with his assurances that he was in agreement with it. In fact, on the very day that Senator MAGNUSON introduced S. 2650, the Senator stated on the floor, and I quote from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, November 9, 1967:

> I am happy to say that there is a general agreement between all involved in this effort.

Mr. Speaker, in spite of these indications of accord and endorsement from the administration 6 months ago, Secretary of Transportation Boyd appeared before the Senate Subcommittee on Merchant Marine on May 20, 1968, and revealed the administration's plan for the merchant marine—a plan at variance in almost every respect with the provisions as set forth in S. 2650 and H.R. 13940. Coincidentally, the plan Secretary Boyd outlined to the committee is almost identical to the one issued by the Interagency Maritime Task Force in October of 1965, and chaired by Mr. Boyd. The task force report was later discredited in its entirety and, according to Mr. Boyd himself, was supposedly dispensed with due to its unacceptability to maritime interests and the general controversy and opposition it generated.

To my way of thinking, an extremely irritating fact is that the administration's plan was presented to the Senate subcommittee by a Cabinet officer who legally has no authority in maritime matters. In approving the creation of the

Department of Transportation, this Congress specifically excluded the Maritime Administration from organization within the new Department. As is being well proven by the maritime proposals set forth by Secretary Boyd last week, the Congress made a wise decision in keeping Maritime out of the Department of Transportation.

As part of the mammoth Department of Transportation, it is evident that maritime affairs would have received short shrift from higher officials whose ears appear to be deaf to the conflicting interests and myriad facets of the maritime problem. While the Department readily approves tremendous expenditures of Federal funds for more glamorous projects such as the supersonic transport and space probes, what would it approve for maritime? Reduction of merchant marine construction subsidies and thereby the elimination of any hope of bringing the fleet up to standards essential to our national security, economic well-being, and world prestige. Halting of the subsidized construction of many current projects now underway and thus causing the waste of thousands of dollars. Elimination of the nuclear-powered ship program and reduction of funds for further maritime research and development so that the United States can regress farther behind other nations in maritime technology. Permission to purchase and register ships abroad giving them all the cargo preferences of an American-flag ship and, thus, aggravate our worsening balance-of-payments position and cause widespread U.S. unemployment in maritime labor. This is the program the Secretary of Transportation would propose.

Accordingly, we have been told that this plan is a result of the administration's approach to budget cutting—axe the merchant marine. Since World War II, due to insufficient support and attention, the merchant marine has gradually been deteriorating. Whenever it was budget-cutting time, the Maritime Administration has always happened to be one of the first on the list. Through the years, the U.S. merchant marine has been relegated to a less and less significant role while our most formidable rivals—the U.S.S.R., to name one—are striving to make their merchant marine one of the most significant factors in their national prosperity.

Of course, Mr. Boyd's indication that this program is due to the need for Federal budget cutting is not a new one to Members of Congress. In the past year, the Members of Congress who support the maritime interests of the Nation have been repeatedly threatened by the specter of budget cuts as a rebuttal to their refusal to transfer the Maritime Administration into the Department of Transportation. At last, in full realization of the intents of the Administration and the Secretary of Transportation with respect to maritime matters, I can only remind the Members of the Congress of the importance of immediate action by the Senate on the House-passed bill, H.R. 159, to establish an independent Maritime Administration. Now more than ever before it is clear that maritime interests do not stand a chance without having their own organization within the Federal Government to foster a vigorous merchant marine.

Frankly, the entire treatment that the maritime issue has been accorded by the administration astonishes me in its duplicity, secrecy, and total unreliability. The administration and its spokesman, Mr. Boyd, have essentially betrayed previously understood agreements made between themselves and certain Members of Congress concerning proposed maritime legislation. The administration has doublecrossed labor with the announcement of its new plan and will cause a great loss in investments on projects now underway if these must be scrapped to accommodate the budget. How many more years must the maritime industry tolerate such abuse and mistreatment? As responsible Members of Congress, we should be alarmed by these developments and move to swift action to undo some long-overdue wrongs.

One such action which I am calling for is the resignation of Mr. Alan S. Boyd. In my opinion, his handling of the maritime question has been inept and underhanded and gives rise to a great many questions in my mind as to his honest intentions and the purpose of his unwarranted assumption of responsibility with regard to maritime matters or else it demonstrates that he is a puppet—dancing as his string is pulled. Lately, this Congress has received some very rude shocks from the Secretaries of Commerce and Transportation. After requesting the appearance of the Secretary of Commerce at the House maritime hearings, Congressman GARMATZ received a refusal from that office stating that maritime functions had been delegated by the administration to those of the Department of Transportation. As a Member of the Congress which passed a law specifically excluding maritime functions from the Department of Transportation, I am astounded at the audacity of such a statement.

Furthermore, with specific regard to the Secretary of Transportation himself, who, by law, has no actual authority in maritime matters, I must emphasize that he has often assumed a position of a great deal more authority than his stated function as merely a representative of the administration would require.

Further, we have found that the truth of many of Mr. Boyd's statements may be called into question as my fellow colleague, Congressman MAILLIARD, pointed out in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last May 22. After assuring Congress in January 1967 that the controversial Maritime Task Force report had been tossed in the ash can, Mr. Boyd then comes before the Senate Subcommittee on Merchant Marine a year and a half later and proposes the administration's plan which is almost identical to the task force report with the exception of a slight rearrangement of words.

What is worse, recent developments spurred by the administration regarding the maritime legislation have apparently been kept secret from the very Members of Congress who are holding hearings on the legislation. Although Mr. Boyd appears to assume a great deal of unofficial responsibility for maritime matters, he appears conveniently to forget that responsibility when it comes to informing Members of Congress directly of various undesirable or controversial administration edicts unless specifically questioned about them. Early in May 1968, it was brought to the attention of Congressman GARMATZ through the source of a well-documented newspaper article that the administration planned to scrap the current merchant marine construction subsidy program for fiscal year 1969 if Congress required the administration to cut the Federal budget by $6 billion. This information was revealed to the newspaper through an unnamed official of the Department of Transportation and appeared in the newspaper before any of the Members on either merchant marine committee learned of it. Furthermore, no one on either committee was asked or consulted about this development. Had Congressman GARMATZ not written personally to Secretary Boyd for confirmation of this article, no doubt the newspaper would have remained his only source of information on this matter which directly affects the future of the legislation we are attempting to enact in H.R. 13940 and S. 2650.

In my opinion, the entire relationship between the administration and the Congress on the maritime issue has become untenable, inexcusable, and intolerable. As the elected lawmakers of this Nation, I feel we can no longer ignore the complete disregard and presumptuous treatment we are enduring at the hands of the administration and its spokesman, Mr. Boyd. The present setup, whereby Secretary Boyd unjustifiably speaks for the administration on maritime interests, is a complete disavowal of the expressed will of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, how much farther is the Congress and the Maritime Administration going to allow themselves to be pushed? In my mind, the situation has gone quite far enough. I ask my fellow Congressmen to think seriously on my requests—the resignation of Mr. Alan S. Boyd as Secretary of Transportation and the swift enactment of H.R. 159 so that the maritime industry through its own Federal Maritime Administration can speak loudly and officially for itself.

THE NEED FOR ADEQUATE FUNDING OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, on July 2, 1968, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, pursuant to title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, assumes jurisdiction for the first time over some 6,000,000 employees working in the establishments of 195,000 employers not now covered under the act. This occurs as, on July 2 coverage of the act, which bans job discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin extends to employers of 25 or more employees from the current minimum of 50; in total the act will then cover about 55 percent of the labor force in the United States.

The Congress intended that these employees receive the same protection against job discrimination as the 38,000,000 employees presently covered, and that the process by which this protection is extended by the EEOC—investigation or job discrimination charges, determination on whether the facts indicate discrimination has indeed occurred and conciliation to effect a remedy where it has—be completed in 60 days.

Speedy resolution of job discrimination charges by the agency established under title VII to resolve them is clearly in the best interest of the economy and the Nation.

Victims of job discrimination must see a means under the law to secure timely redress or doubt that the processes of law and order are of value to them. Employers, unions, and employment agencies charged with job discrimination deserve speedy dismissal of charges found to be groundless, and quick investigation and conciliation of those found to be valid in order that equity prevail and interruption of the daily running of their business be minimized.

Unless the Congress appropriates to EEOC the budget requested for it, it is impossible for the intent of Congress under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to be executed.

The Commission opened its doors on July 2, 1965, and was almost immediately inundated with a flood of charges far beyond anticipation as the Nation's minorities and women sought to use this new channel for redress of job discrimination. Staffed and funded in its first year to handle an estimated 2,000 charges, the Commission received almost 9,000. The resulting backlog in investigations and conciliations has thus far been impervious to the gains in productivity the Commission began to achieve in its second year of operation and which have culminated over recent months in almost monthly record levels of investigation and conciliation. For not only have the annual increases in employer and employee coverage under the act led to a growing volume of incoming charges—a volume over which the Commission has no control—but the very fact of increases in successful conciliations has made more victims of discrimination aware of the Commission and its work. This too has meant a resulting increase in the number of complaints which must be investigated and, where a violation of title VII is found to exist, conciliated.

Thus in the first 4 months of calendar 1968 the Commission completed successful conciliation of a record 136 cases with employers, unions, and employment agencies surpassing the entire fiscal 1967 total of 88 such agreements, and completed 1,186 investigations, representing a 72-percent increase over the monthly completion rate in the previous fiscal year. In April 1968 alone 358 investigations were completed—twice the fiscal 1967 monthly average. Yet despite such gains the Commission will face a larger backlog at the end of fiscal 1968 than at the beginning, as indicated by the fact that the first 2 weeks in May saw a record number of new incoming charges.

Thus despite the intent of Congress that the entire EEOC process for resolution of incoming charges take 60 days, and the efforts of the Commission to make this intent a reality the fact is that a complainant today can expect to wait about 11 months to have his or her case investigated and decided and an additional 5 months for processing through conciliation. The increased coverage which next fiscal year will bring, along with the greater volume of charges flowing from employees already covered will mean that at the appropriation level recommended by the Appropriations Committee—$6.9 million versus the requested $13.1 million—an individual seeking redress under the law in the coming fiscal year will have to wait even longer—almost 2 years—for disposition of his charge. The respondent employer, union, or employment agency or joint labor-management apprenticeship program will be involved for a correspondingly longer time in dealings with the Commission for resolution of the charge against it.

The Commission estimates that receipt of its full appropriation request would enable it, by the end of the fiscal year beginning July 1, to become current in the investigation and conciliation process—to eliminate the existing backlog and allow prompt and timely disposition of incoming charges, consistent with congressional intent under title VII, by the citizens presently covered as well as by those covered for the first time beginning July 2.

Six million dollars represents the difference between continued, increasing backlog in processing job discrimination complaints and achievement of currency in the Commission's operation. It is a small price to pay to produce timely redress of legitimate grievances, prompt dismissal of complaints found to be without merit, and enhanced credibility in the processes of law on the part of the thousands of our citizens who annually allege, and millions who annually undergo, the job discrimination that costs the Nation more than $30 billion in wasted productivity.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. KEE (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. FLYNT (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

Mrs. MAY (at the request of Mr. ARENDS), for today and the balance of the week, on account of official business.

Mr. KUPFERMAN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), from May 27 through June 6, on account of official business at the U.N. Trusteeship Council hearings of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands at the United Nations headquarters, New York City.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. SAYLOR, for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.

Mr. PUCINSKI, today, for 30 minutes; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. GATHINGS, for 5 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BIESTER) to revise and extend their remarks, and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. DERWINSKI, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. PIRNIE, for 60 minutes, June 10.

Mr. PATMAN, for 15 minutes on May 28, and for 15 minutes on May 29, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. ROSENTHAL (at the request of Mr. MACHEN), for 30 minutes, on May 28.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. MADDEN and to include an article from the New York Journal of Commerce on H.R. 17126.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. CURTIS to include extraneous matter with remarks made during debate on the renegotiation bill.

Mr. GATHINGS and to include two articles.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BIESTER) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. QUILLEN in four instances.
Mr. UTT.
Mr. WYATT.
Mr. REINECKE.
Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota.
Mrs. MAY.
Mr. LLOYD.
Mr. POFF.
Mr. VANDER JAGT.
Mr. SCHERLE.
Mr. FINDLEY in two instances.
Mr. DERWINSKI.
Mr. ASHBROOK in two instances.
Mr. BOB WILSON.
Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts.
Mr. KEITH.
Mr. COLLIER in five instances.
Mr. MICHEL.
Mr. GURNEY in two instances.
Mr. CAHILL.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MACHEN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. FRASER in three instances.
Mr. VANIK.
Mr. LONG of Maryland in three instances.
Mr. CORMAN.
Mr. HOWARD in three instances.
Mr. KASTENMEIER.
Mr. BOLAND in three instances.
Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.
Mr. PEPPER.
Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts in three instances.
Mr. WAGGONNER.
Mr. ROYBAL in six instances.

Mr. Resnick.
Mr. Rarick in six instances.
Mr. Edmondson in three instances.
Mr. Hanna in four instances.
Mr. Pucinski in 10 instances.
Mr. Ryan in three instances.
Mr. Wolff in two instances.
Mr. Dingell.
Mr. Jones of Alabama.
Mr. Marsh in two instances.
Mr. Cohelan in three instances.
Mr. Bevill in three instances.
Mr. de la Garza in two instances.
Mr. Patten.
Mr. Vigorito.
Mr. Dorn in two instances.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill and joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1052. An act for the relief of Nicholas S. Cvetan, U.S. Air Force (retired); and

S.J. Res. 168. Joint resolution to authorize the temporary funding of the emergency credit revolving fund.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 6 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, May 28, 1968, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1881. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report on the Narrows unit, Missouri River Basin project, Colorado, pursuant to section 9(a) of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 (53 Stat. 1187) (H. Doc. No. 320); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

1882. A letter from the Under Secretary of the Army, transmitting reports of the number of officers on duty with Headquarters, Department of the Army, and the Army General Staff on March 31, 1968, pursuant to section 3031(c) of title 10, United States Code; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1883. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a proposed revision of law governing financing of salary costs of retired civil service annuitants reemployed by Federal agencies; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1884. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on opportunities for reducing the cost of providing Federal agencies with certain supplies, General Services Administration; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1885. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need to improve requirements computations for expensive missile repair parts, Department of the Army; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1886. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need for Government-wide standardization of allowances under Federal fellowship and traineeship grant programs; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1887. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on action taken to put inactive industrial plant equipment in army arsenals to use, Department of Defense to the Committee on Government Operations.

1888. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of public laws enacted by the Ninth Guam Legislature in 1968 pursuant to section 19 of the Organic Act of Guam to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1889. A letter from the Acting Director, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a proposed contract for research in excess of $25,000 pursuant to subsections (a) and (d) of Public Law 89-672; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1890. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, transmitting a report showing grants for basic scientific research made by the Department of Defense to nonprofit institutions during calendar year 1967 pursuant to Public Law 85-934; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

1891. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States transmitting a report on cost reductions available to civil agencies by purchasing rather than leasing two-way radio equipment; to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, pursuant to the order of the House of May 22, 1968, the following bill was reported on May 24, 1968:

Mr. ROONEY of New York: Committee on Appropriations. H.R. 17522. A bill making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1468). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, pursuant to the order of the House of May 23, 1968, the following bills were reported on May 24, 1968:

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 17417. A bill to prohibit extortion, or the transmission of threats to persons or property, by means of telephone, telegraph, radio, oral, or written communications, or otherwise, in the District of Columbia (Rept. No. 1464). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 15280. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Public Education Act; with amendment (Rept. No. 1465). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 16948. A bill to direct the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to remove at the expense of the District of Columbia buildings destroyed or damaged in riots or other civil disorders; with amendment (Rept No. 1466). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McMILLAN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H.R. 17414. A bill to provide for the prevention and control of air pollution in the District of Columbia; with amendment (Rept. No. 1467). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

[*Submitted May 27, 1968*]

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. PATMAN: Committee on Banking and Currency. H.R. 16162. A bill to enable the Export-Import Bank of the United States to approve extension of certain loans, guarantees, and insurance in connection with exports from the United States in order to improve the balance of payments and foster the long-term commercial interests of the United States; with amendment (Rept. No. 1476). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey: Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers. House Report No. 1477. Report on the disposition of certain papers of sundry executive departments. Ordered to be printed.

Mr. HALEY: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 10911. A bill to provide for preparation of a roll of persons of California Indian descent who are eligible to share in the distribution of certain judgment funds and for a referendum on the compromise settlement in consolidated dockets Nos. 31, 37, 80, 80-D, and 347, Indian Claims Commission; with amendment (Rept. No. 1478). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture. H.R. 16065. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States conditions in deeds conveying certain lands to the State of Iowa, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1479). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PHILBIN: Committee on Armed Services. S. 2634. An act to amend section 867(a) of title 10, United States Code, in order to establish the Court of Military Appeals as the U.S. Court of Military Appeals under article I of the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1480). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PHILBIN: Committee on Armed Services. H.R. 15971. A bill to increase the participation of law officers and counsel on courts-martial, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1481). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. CAHILL: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 11787. A bill for the relief of Dr. Conrado Gonzales-Nunez; with amendment (Rept. No. 1469). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Committee on the Judiciary, H.R. 11901. A bill for the relief of Dr. Hugo Alfonso Ferrara Collazo; with amendment (Rept. No. 1470). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FEIGHAN: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 12116. A bill for the relief of Dr. Roberto de la Caridad Miquel; with amendment (Rept. No. 1471). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 12419. A bill for the relief of Dr. Rodrigo Victor de Valle; with amendment (Rept. No. 1472). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DONOHUE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 9022. A bill for the relief of Dr. Maria del Carmen Ortiz y Gomez; with amendment (Rept. No. 1473). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DOWDY: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 13154. A bill for the relief of Dr. Santiago Jose Manuel Ramon Bienvenido Roig y Garcia; with amendment (Rept. No. 1474). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CAHILL: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 13353. A bill for the relief of Dr. Isaac Cohen with amendment (Rept. No. 1475). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MacGREGOR: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 13469. A bill for the relief of Dr. Antonio Matias Rubio; with amendment (Rept. No. 1482). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FEIGHAN: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 13577. A bill for the relief of Dr. Luis Narciso Gonzalez y Fleites; with amendment (Rept. No. 1483). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DONOHUE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 13650. A bill for the relief of Aydee Cordero; with amendment (Rept. No. 1484). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 14017. A bill for the relief of Dr. Rogelio Giraldo Vidal-Lopez; with amendment (Rept. No. 1485). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DOWDY: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 14238. A bill for the relief of Dr. Francisco E. Laurrauri-Laurrauri (Rept. No. 1486). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 14324. A bill for the relief of Dr. Pedro Baudilio Napoles (Fernandez) (Rept. No. 1487). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FEIGHAN: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 14751. A bill for the relief Dr. Tomas Ricardo Armstrong-Martinez; with amendment (Rept. No. 1488). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DONOHUE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 15840. A bill for the relief of Dr. Miguel Angel Ponce De Leon; with amendment (Rept. No. 1489). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, pursuant to the order of the House of May 22, 1968, the following bill was introduced on May 24, 1968:

By Mr. ROONEY of New York:

H.R. 17522. A bill making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

[*Submitted May 27, 1968*]

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BROOMFIELD:

H.R. 17523. A bill to provide for the issuance of a commemorative stamp honoring the Independent Order of Odd Fellows; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H.R. 17524. A bill to amend section 502 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, relating to construction-differential subsidies; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. LANGEN:

H.R. 17525. A bill to extend rural mail delivery service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MOORHEAD:

H.R. 17526. A bill to provide for the appointment of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation as receiver, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 17527. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 so as to increase the amount of the annuities payable thereunder to widows and widowers; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. VANDER JAGT:

H.R. 17528. A bill to amend section 2412(a) of title 28, United States Code, to make the United States liable for court costs and attorney's fees to persons who prevail over the United States in actions arising out of administrative actions of agencies of the executive branch; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17529. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to authorize grants to improve existing waste treatment plants; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WHITE:

H.R. 17530. A bill to extend for 1 year the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to make indemnity payments to dairy farmers who are directed to remove their milk from commercial markets because it contains residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal Government; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FALLON (for himself and Mr. GRAY) (by request):

H.R. 17531. A bill to apply prevailing wage protection in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act to the construction or reconstruction of buildings to be leased for public purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. PATTEN:

H.R. 17532. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit the payment of benefits to a married couple on their combined earnings record where that method of computation produces a higher combined benefit; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TEAGUE of California (by request):

H.R. 17533. A bill to provide that daylight saving time shall be observed on a year-round basis; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.J. Res. 1284. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide for direct popular election of the President and the Vice President of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H. Con. Res. 781. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing as a House document the publication "The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement," and providing for the printing of additional copies; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H. Res. 1186. Resolution proposing the sale of U.S. planes for defense of Israel; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H. Res. 1187. Resolution authorizing the Speaker to appoint delegates and alternates to attend the International Labor Organization Conference in Geneva; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. TIERNAN:

H. Res. 1188. Resolution to express the sense of the House that the President should take all necessary steps to enter into diplomatic negotiations to the end that there shall be concluded, with as widespread acceptance as possible, a treaty on the peaceful exploration and exploitation of ocean space and its resources; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H. Res. 1189. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of the publication entitled, "Conduct of Espionage Within the United States by Agents of Foreign Communist Governments"; to the Committee on House Administration.

H. Res. 1190. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of House Report 1351, 90th Congress, second session; to the Committee on House Administration.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

346. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to the definition of physical therapists under the medicare program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

347. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Guam, relative to loan assistance in typhoon rehabilitation; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 17534. A bill for the relief of Galal Hassanein Zanati; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLEVELAND:

H.R. 17535. A bill for the relief of Marie-Louise (Mary Louise) Pierce; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 17536. A bill for the relief of Carmen Duart-Chaques (Mother Gema Duart de. S. J.); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of Illinois:

H.R. 17537. A bill for the relief of Carlos Manuel Baro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17538. A bill for the relief of Francisco Rafael Bru; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 17539. A bill for the relief of Manuel Correia de Mendonca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PATTEN:

H.R. 17540. A bill for the relief of Michele Lombardi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17541. A bill for the relief of Philip Morina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 17542. A bill for the relief of Miss Dina Pieri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REES:

H.R. 17543. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. James Ian Mahar and their two minor children, Sean and Lisa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 17544. A bill for the relief of Chul Hwa Chung; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 17545. A bill for the relief of Terttu Tellervo Rastas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SISK:

H.R. 17546. A bill for the relief of Jose Bettencourt de Simas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

326. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Mr. Jerry Robert Leon, Vacaville, Calif., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on Armed Services.

327. Also, petition of the City Council of Chicago, Ill., relative to insurance for all property owners; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

328. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, Erie, Pa., relative to life tenure for U.S. judges; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

329. Also, petition of Board of Supervisors, county of Butte, Calif., relative to Federal participation in welfare payments to nonresidents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE—*Monday, May 27, 1968*

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Rev. Moushegh Der Kaloustian, pastor, Armenian Apostolic Holy Trinity Church, Worcester, Mass., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in whose power and guidance the destinies of all nations unfold, we thank Thee for Thy blessings richly bestowed on our beloved country, the United States of America—for the priceless gift of freedom, for the abundance of fruits of the earth.

May You confirm in wisdom all those who share the burden of leadership throughout the world. May Thy gifts of counsel and fortitude enhance this great land, which, since its unique establishment as one nation under God, indivisible, has served as a beacon of courage and of hope for the subject masses of the world. Know Ye, O Lord, that those who govern this great country bear ever greater burdens in these troubled times, and grant them the beneficence of Thy presence.

On this day which is so meaningful for Armenian-Americans, we commemorate the independence of Armenia which was to last but a brief moment in history. Grant, O Lord, to the Armenian nation, that ancient citadel of faith and courage, the strength to await the sacred day when mankind will erase the memories of tyranny and will restore to every state of the captive world the God-given right of liberty. We who have crossed the oceans to freedom proudly observe this historic 50th anniversary of the founding of the Armenian Republic in a spirit of pride, thanksgiving, and prayer.

And, O Lord, we humbly beseech You to guide and protect the United States of America and bestow upon its people the gift of Your enlightenment. May Thy word be heard in this hallowed Chamber of democracy, and may the message of freedom exemplified by its deliberations resound throughout the earth. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, May 24, 1968, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on May 24, 1968, the President had approved and signed the following acts:

S. 528. An act to place in trust status certain lands on the Wind River Indian Reservation in Wyoming;

S. 2531. An act to designate the San Gabriel Wilderness. Angeles National Forest, in the State of California; and

S. 3033. An act to increase the authorization for appropriation for continuing work in the Missouri River Basin by the Secretary of the Interior.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, and withdrawing the nomination of Noah C. Adkins to be postmaster at Jackson, Ky., which nominating messages were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

WAIVER OF CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the legislative calendar, under rule VIII, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE REVEREND KALOUSTIAN

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, it is a great honor for me to welcome to the Senate today the Reverend Father Moushegh Der Kaloustian. Father Kaloustian had an outstanding career as a religious leader and scholar in his native Palestine before coming to this country in 1959. After serving for several years in Racine, Wis., Father Kaloustian has now chosen to settle in Worcester, Mass., where his contribution to his church and to the community at large has been commendable.

Father Kaloustian speaks to us today as a representative of the Armenian people. For over 2,000 years, the freedom-loving people of Armenia have struggled against oppression. First came the conquests of ancient empires, then of neighboring belligerents; now, their land is under Soviet rule.

The crowning achievement of the Armenian people was the establishment of the independent Republic of Armenia on May 28, 1918.

Their Republic was unfortunately short lived. Forced to accept incorporation into the Soviet Union, the courageous Armenian people have nevertheless striven to preserve their national culture against the onslaughts of uniform Communist control. In this continuing struggle, the achievement of national unification and independence a half century ago is both a symbol of Armenian love for freedom and self-determination, and a promise and hope for the future that the Armenian people will eventually join the free and peaceful countries of the world as a fully independent nation.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there further morning business?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HART in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THAT OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS BILL AS PASSED IN THE SENATE SHOULD BE DRASTICALLY CHANGED IN CONFERENCE OR VETOED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, in my judgment, when the so-called Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act returns to the Senate after the conferees for the House of Representatives have worked it over, its own mother will not recognize it, and I hope I am right in that conclusion.

Because of a previous commitment, I was unable to be in the Senate Chamber last Thursday evening for the final vote on this legislative proposal. Immediately prior to that vote, I was recorded as opposed to the bill, and had I been present I would have joined four of my colleagues in casting my vote against it.

The bill does contain some meritorious features in that it provides a watered-down gun-control proposal which places some restrictions on mail-order traffic in firearms other than rifles and shotguns, and some features of the safe streets measure recommended by the President. I favored and do favor enactment of a more stringent gun-control law and so voted when amendments were offered. More important is the fact that it is also one of the most serious attacks in our Nation's history against individual privacy and the concept of due process of law. Under the guise of providing law enforcement assistance, the bill, as passed by the Senate, would overturn recent Supreme Court decisions protecting civil liberties of individual citizens and permit more widespread wiretapping and greater use of electronic eavesdropping devices by law enforcement officials.

Mr. President, I am hopeful that those provisions in titles II and III in the bill passed by the Senate will be eliminated in conference. I hope and believe when the conferees of the House of Representatives are finished with their consideration of this unconstitutional bill that a large majority of Senators supported, these fathers will not know their offspring when consideration is resumed in this Chamber. If not, I shall strongly urge the President to veto this measure which would restrict and gravely endanger the civil liberties and civil rights of all Americans. Those sections of the bill that actually pertain to law enforcement and to gun control could then be enacted into law through a separate legislative proposal.

Mr. President, I made a rather lengthy speech expressing my opposition to sections of this bill on May 13, and at that time stated that if those provisions seeking to override Supreme Court decisions and also provisions permitting wiretapping were not eliminated I could not in good conscience vote for the bill. I was greatly reassured of the soundness of my position when last Thurday I received a letter from a distinguished judge of a U.S. circuit court of appeals, an outstanding jurist and legal scholar for whom I have the greatest respect and hold in high admiration. This jurist wrote me as follows:

> I have read with the greatest possible interest your speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 13 which your office forwarded to me.
>
> I am strongly in accord with the views you expressed. It has become the fashion for lazy cops and other enforcement officials to spend more time heaping coals on the Supreme Court than in attempting to perform their duties in a constitutional manner, as more and more honest officials are admitting. Incidentally, I particularly liked your statement that certain punishment must follow commission of a crime "like a shadow."

For obvious reasons I am withholding the name of this Federal judge, but any of my colleagues who wish to do so are free to read his letter.

Mr. President, the bill as passed by the Senate presents a grave threat to the basic principles on which our Nation was founded—to our basic concept of separation of powers, to Federal supremacy, to judicial independence—in short, to our most cherished ideas of justice and the rule of law. A great blow would be struck against individal freedom and liberty were this bill to be enacted into law in the form as passed in the Senate last Thursday.

EFFORTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO DEFEAT THE TAX BILL

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, in recent days I have been discussing the backstage lobbying by the Johnson administration to defeat the tax bill calling for the $6 billion expenditure reduction.

In the May 20, 1968, issue of Barron's there appears an article calling attention to the manner in which the White House was mobilizing its liberal followers in Congress to defeat a tax bill calling for $6 billion of cutbacks in fiscal 1969, in lieu of the $4 billion which the Chief Executive considered acceptable and possibly capable of circumvention.

This article points out how heretofore the Johnson administration has been trying to blame the Congress for its delay but that now as a result of "such shabby politicking" Lyndon B. Johnson has destroyed the image of fiscal integrity his underlings had tried to present abroad.

I ask unanimous consent that this article in its entirety be printed in the RECORD, and at the same time I urge the administration to stop its backstage lobbying to defeat this bill and publicly announce its position.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Barron's, May 20, 1968]

U.S. credibility also suffered last week from the conflict between the White House and Congressional leaders regarding economy in federal spending. Treasury and Federal Reserve spokesmen used to pretend to foreign creditors that the executive branch, unlike the legislators, stood for fiscal restraint. Last week, however, the White House mobilized its "liberal" followers in Congress to defeat a tax bill calling for $6 billion of cutbacks in fiscal 1969, in lieu of the $4 billion which the Chief Executive considers acceptable and possibly capable of circumvention. The President's maneuvering thus succeeded in jeopardizing a Congressional majority for the tax increase which he ostensibly advocates. Hence the tax bill will come to a vote only next month, if ever. By such shabby politicking Lyndon B. Johnson has destroyed the image of fiscal integrity his underlings had tried to present abroad, thereby augmenting the distrust with which foreigners eye the U.S. dollar.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Tax Increase, Spending Cut Plan Feared Catastrophic to U.S. Jobs," written by Joseph Young, and published in the Washington Sunday Star of May 19, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Sunday Star, May 19, 1968]

TAX INCREASE, SPENDING CUT PLAN FEARED CATASTROPHIC TO U.S. JOBS

(By Joseph Young)

The tax increase-spending cut bill in its present form would have a "catastrophic" effect on government employment, Civil Service Commission and other government personnel and management officials declare.

An employment cut of more than 500,000 jobs would be a distinct possibility if the present budget-cutting provisions prevail, the officials say.

They also contend that the government would be forced to hire additional contractor-furnished personnel and replace many civilians with military men if the civilian employment ceilings in the bill remain.

The House-Senate conferees report would impose a 2.3 million federal employment ceiling instead of the present 2.6 million ceiling. It provides for agencies to reduce the number of jobs by only filling three out of four vacancies that occur from normal job turnover. Not even the Defense Department or the Post Office Department is exempted.

This is supposed to be a "painless" way of reducing the number of jobs without any adverse effect on present employes.

However, agency officials say that in order to carry out the various programs that they are required to perform under law, they would have to get around the personnel ceilings by hiring contractor-furnished personnel.

Also, in the Defense Department, officials say that in order to carry out the support activities of the Vietnam War, soldiers would have to be assigned to civilian jobs that otherwise would be vacant.

All this would be bad enough. But officials point out that the $6 billion expenditures reduction ordered in the conference report would mean the elimination of at least several hundred thousand additional civilian jobs.

And much of this reduction would have to come from firing present employes, they say.

Administration officials contend that the $6 billion cut can only be made from "controllable" activities which cost about $39 billion.

Based on past "meat ax" budget cuts that government agencies have had to absorb through the years, personnel is the most vulnerable of all activities when it comes to absorbing such cuts.

Services to the public would be curtailed only as a last resort.

Therefore, jobs are eliminated, promotions postponed, travel expenses drastically reduced. Also, work production standards are increased.

Federal officials are worried that some of their brightest young people, many of them college graduates, would be caught in reductions-in-force. This is because they have the least seniority and many of them do not have veterans preference.

This also would play havoc with the government's recruitment program among college students and graduates.

One federal recruiter said, "It's difficult enough as it is for the government to compete with industry in getting the best talent among college graduates. But now it's going to be even tougher, because the college graduates are going to hesitate even more about going into something which offers shaky job security at best."

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I wish to read two paragraphs from the article to which I have just referred:

> The tax increase-spending cut bill in its present form would have a "catastrophic"

effect on government employment, Civil Service Commission and other government personnel and management officials declare.

An employment cut of more than 500,000 jobs would be a distinct possibility if the present budget-cutting provisions prevail, the officials say.

Mr. President, the bill does not provide an employment cut of a half million jobs. They know that. If that were true, then on an $8,000 minimum cost per job there would be a savings of $4 billion on jobs alone out of the $6 billion.

Then the article goes on to state that "much of this reduction would have to come from firing of present employees." That is just not true. No employee would have to be fired. The reduction would be achieved by hiring only one out of each four vacancies.

I suggest that the administration not only stop such backstage lobbying but also read the recent bill entitled "Truth in Lending." I suggest that it is time the administration give us some truth in government.

Mr. President, I next ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article "Ease Cutbacks, Agencies Ask," written by Jerry Kluttz, published in the Washington Post, of May 19, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 18, 1968]

Ease Cutbacks, Agencies Ask

(By Jerry Kluttz)

The Congressional job-cut rider threatens an estimated 325,000 Federal jobs and goes much deeper than officials had originally suspected.

Officials are imploring members of Congress to soften the provision in the Senate-House conference report to boost Federal taxes and reduce Government spending. They contend vital public services would be crippled and civilian employe support of the Vietnam war would be hampered if the rider becomes fully effective.

They also argue that agencies would have no choice but to use military personnel to do civilian jobs and to contract out work to private concerns to accomplish missions required of them by law. They say the rider, when fully effective, would threaten these major job cuts:

More than 150,000 jobs in the Defense Department. This is the approximate number of new regular employes hired since July, 1966, by Army, Navy and the Air Force to support the war in Vietnam. More than half of the new civilians replaced military personnel who had civilian-type positions and the military were reassigned to Vietnam and other such strictly military slots.

About 55,000 jobs in the Post Office Department were added since July, 1966, to handle the growing volume of mail.

More than 12,000 jobs in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare which were added since July, 1966, to man Medicare and the broadened Social Security, health, education and welfare programs.

The provision in the conference report would allow Federal agencies to fill only 75 per cent of their regular full-time jobs that are vacated until the overall employment level of June, 1966, is reached.

Budget Director Charles Zwick would be given the unwanted task of allocating vacant jobs among Federal agencies to allow some of them to fill more than 75 percent of their vacant positions and smaller percentages by others.

Officials estimate there are about 245,000 more regular jobs now than there were in June, 1966, when they numbered 2,365,000. The job-cut provision would gradually eliminate a like number of positions.

But a study shows that the number now 2,610,000, is "deflated" by about 30,000, and under agency job ceilings as of June 30 by the same number.

Nearly all of these jobs, officials explain, are accounted for by agency commitments to hire graduates from this year's graduating classes in colleges, universities and high schools.

If agencies carry through on their promises and hire the graduates for full-time jobs, as many of them now plan to do, they will be faced with making offsetting job cuts under the conference report.

Finally, the provision would have the effect of canceling the President's recommendation in his budget for funds to hire an additional 45,000 regular employes. Even if Congress approved funds for all of these jobs—which it won't—offsetting job cuts would would have to be made under the rider. So the gross number of jobs threatened by the conference report is about 325,000.

Only two major agencies, the Justice Department and the National Aeronautics and Space Agency have fewer full-time employes today than they had in June, 1966. They are prepared to argue that the Congressional provision isn't aimed at them and that they should not be forced to make new job cutbacks under it.

There are no agency exemptions to the requirement in the report that one of every four jobs vacated must be abolished. Agencies are seeking to persuade Congress to exempt from the provision jobs vacated by transfer, retirement and the like.

For the Record: A Federal employe by the name of "Robert Bates" signed the Vietnam peace petition, and it has brought "personal embarrassment to Robert B. Bates, an employe of the Civil Service Commission who did not sign.

CSC's Bates wrote his Congressman, Rep. Harvey G. Machen (D-Md.), that had he signed the petition "I would consider myself to be a disgrace to myself, to CSC, and to my country." Machen placed Bates' letter in The Congressional Record.

Bates further said, "It appears to me that the intended effect of this petition is to assist the Communists in taking over South Vietnam. This is an act to which I most certainly would not wish to be a party."

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the article to which I have just referred is along the same line. Kluttz points out that the agencies are lobbying and stating that cutbacks in their agencies would be disastrous.

Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article entitled "Showdown on Tax Bill Postponed," published in the Journal of Commerce on May 21, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Journal of Commerce,
May 21, 1968]

Showdown on Tax Bill Postponed—Floor Vote in House Now Not Anticipated Until After June 18

(By Stanley Wilson)

Washington, May 20.—The floor showdown in the House of Representatives on the fiscal restraint bill has been postponed again, reliable informants said today—this time from early June until some point shortly after June 18.

It may be that the House Democratic leadership had the latter date in mind all along when they announced last week that the floor vote on the bill would not take place "before" Memorial Day. However, the press has been interpreting the announcement as meaning the bill would come up for a floor vote "early" in June.

AFTER PRIMARIES END

The reason why the leaders have decided to wait until after June 18 is that, as one source puts it, "to all intents and purposes" the season of primary elections ends on that date with a statewide New York primary. Members of Congress don't want to face those primary contests against aspiring would-be congressmen just after voting for an increase in taxes.

The Senate, where the fiscal package stands a better chance of being ratified than in the House, will postpone a floor vote on it until after the House has made its decision. If the House should reject the bill, it might go back to conference for further changes and perhaps disappear into limbo there. The senators don't want to make the political sacrifice of voting for a tax increase if later House rejection makes it of no avail.

Although only two or three weeks difference would appear to be involved, this small time span is important for several reasons, both to the financial markets and to the international monetary system.

So far as the monetary system is concerned, the extension of uncertainty about the ultimate fate of the tax bill could severely tax the patience of foreign central banks. They are not experts in weighing the intentions of Congress. The current renewal of gold market activity and the uncertainty already engendered about the tax increase has caused dollars to flood into the German and other central banks, straining international monetary cooperation.

However, so long as the French students and workers agitation keeps the franc soft, some pressure is off the dollar. Also, capitol hill sources see the bill extending U.S. ratification of the "paper gold" agreement getting out of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee before Memorial Day. Despite gold producing state senators powerful opposition, they expect that early June will bring final congressional approval of this measure. Such approval will to some extent offset the uncertainty about the fiscal bill.

Largely out of fear of a gold stampede, Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) is believed to have made the decision last week to postpone floor action on the tax increase until after the primaries. Informed sources say he now lacks 56 votes of the 218 needed to pass the tax increase. In a public appearance in Edmundson, Okla., over the weekend he said he was not going to bring the bill to the floor until he was sure he had the votes to pass it.

If he is waiting for certainty on the tally that could conceivably imply a delay well beyond June 18, and therefore the delay itself might eventually bring on the very gold rush he is trying to avoid by postponing the vote.

In any event, the effect of the delay merely until the end of the third week in June will pinch financial markets considerably. For they were already expecting severe demands for money at that particular point in time even assuming passage of the tax increase early next month.

On June 15, money market banks will have to roll over large-denomination certificates of deposit in an amount estimated to be at least $3 billion.

On June 19, the Export-Import Bank here had been planning to borrow $500 million in cash. The Treasury Department was expected by the market to come in for $2 billion in new cash late in June. Finally, as June 15 is a corporate tax date and normally banks would supply corporations with around $2 billion in cash at that time to replace cash used in tax payments.

A federal debt management official, informed that the tax increase vote probably would be postponed until June 18, said "Oh, no!"

However, he rallied and pointed out that the Treasury Department's cash position was such that it could stay out of the market. It also would be able to feed some $3 billion in cash into the market in late June, via Treasury tax anticipation bills maturing June 24 and cashed in by the investors holding them.

Despite this easing of the strain upon the banking system and the money markets, there is still some risk of demand for money pressing so hard upon interest yields in the open market that large amounts of money will be drawn out of banks and thrift institutions. This "disintermediation" would threaten their ability to function.

However, the Federal Reserve Board could compensate for the lack of fiscal action by supplying banks with funds through the discount windows and by buying Treasury bills in the open market.

In about three days the small print of the House and Senate agreement of two weeks ago to cut spending $6 billion and raise taxes by $10 billion will be published in the conference report. Capitol Hill sources notes suspiciously that the report has been curiously slow in emerging. However, when the details are out they are as likely to lose votes for the fiscal package as gain them.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I call attention to one paragraph of the article which states:

AFTER PRIMARIES END

The reason why the leaders have decided to wait until after June 18 is that, as one source puts it, "to all intents and purposes" the season of primary elections ends on that date with a statewide New York primary. Members of Congress don't want to face those primary contests against aspiring would-be congressmen just after voting for an increase in taxes.

Mr. President, I most respectfully suggest that any Member of Congress who is worthy of reelection, from either political party, should be man enough to stand up and answer a rollcall on this bill before the primaries as well as after his nomination, and if anyone is too cowardly to face this responsibility he does not deserve nomination or election. That statement goes for candidates in both parties.

It is time for the administration and the Congress to recognize that our country is faced with a serious financial crisis. It is time for Members of both Houses of Congress to stand up and be counted. I appeal again to the administration and to the leaders in the House of Representatives to bring this bill to a showdown vote. Let us get action on it before it is too late. This delay has had a direct effect on increasing interest rates.

Mr. President, to show how desperate the situation is getting I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Fannie Mae Gets 6.96 Percent Yield at 'Auction' Indicating Lenders Expect Higher Returns," published in the Wall Street Journal of May 21, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 21, 1968]

FANNIE MAE GETS 6.96 PERCENT YIELD AT "AUCTION," INDICATING LENDERS EXPECT HIGHER RETURNS—YIELDS SPURTED ON TREASURY BILLS AT LATEST AUCTION—AVERAGE RETURN CLIMBED TO RECORD 5.847 PERCENT ON 13-WEEK ISSUE, 5.995 PERCENT ON 26 WEEKS—TIGHT CREDIT SEEN AS CAUSE

WASHINGTON.—Mortgage lenders expect higher interest returns just ahead than they did a week ago, results of the Federal National Mortgage Association's latest weekly "auction" indicate.

The agency agreed to pay an average price of $94.76 per $100 of outstanding balance on mortgages submitted during a 90-day commitment period, down from 95.59 the week before. The price applies to 6¾% interest-rate-ceiling loans that are insured by the Federal Housing Administration or backed by the Veterans Administration, and provides a net yield to Fannie Mae of 6.96%.

The extent to which prices are below face values determines the actual interest yield to the investor in mortgages on the secondary, or resale, market; roughly, Fannie Mae figures its interest return is raised by one-eighth percentage point by each 1 per $100 price discount.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the article to which I have just referred points out that the Federal Government paid 5.99 percent on 26-week bills, while the yield to FNMA is as high as 6.96 percent.

Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Indianapolis P. & L. Accepts Cost of 7.067 Percent, Record Rate for Comparable Utility Issues," published in the Wall Street Journal of May 21, 1968.

This is the highest interest rates for a comparable bond in 100 years.

The year 1968 will go down in history as the year of Johnson's high interest rates.

What a record for a man who was a leading critic of the interest rates under the Eisenhower administration when top rates were around 4 percent.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 21, 1968]

INDIANAPOLIS P. & L. ACCEPTS COST OF 7.067 PERCENT RECORD RATE FOR COMPARABLE UTILITY ISSUE

NEW YORK.—Interest rates have soared to the highest levels in history for public utility companies borrowing on bonds to help finance their construction programs.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, this article refers to a record rate for comparable utilities.

The interest rates now paid by the Federal Government are over 6 percent. The time is long overdue for action on this bill by Congress. To avoid another crisis I appeal for action by Congress before this session adjourns for the Memorial Day holiday.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I call to the attention of the Senator a front-page article published in the Los Angeles Times of Friday, May 24, 1968.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Delaware has expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Delaware may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The article is entitled, "Treasury Pays Highest Interest Since Civil War."

The article reads as follows:

The Treasury Department Thursday set the highest rate since the Civil War to borrow money for its operations.

A sale of Treasury securities produced rates above 6% for only the second time in modern history. The previous high in this century came during the tight money period of 1966.

In a reflection of the current period of tightening credit, the Treasury said it was forced to pay an average yield of 6.086% to sell $500 million in bills maturing in nine months. This was up from 5.665% at the April sale.

The fact that the Treasury had to pay such a high rate on tax-free bonds means that businesses and individuals will have to pay even higher interest charges on their borrowing.

The previous high in this century was 6.039% on a Sept. 19, 1966, sale of securities maturing in six months.

Officials said the department paid 7.3% on some of the securities it sold in 1864 and 1865.

Thus, Mr. President, this is another indication of the straits this great country has reached in an economic sense and emphasizes the need for action on the tax bill which has been reported from conference and which, I understand, the House will take up on Wednesday but with a $4 billion limitation on expense cuts. I would hope that if that does not succeed, the conference report, which calls for a $6 billion limitation in expenditures, would be acted on after the Memorial Day layover.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I thank the Senator. I join him in emphasizing the importance of prompt action. We have already dillydallied too long.

REPLENISHING IDA

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, an editorial published in the Washington Evening Star of May 25, 1968, commented quite favorably in support of S. 3378, which provides for participation by the United States in the second replenishment of the International Development Association—IDA.

The developing nations eligible to receive IDA credits contain more than a billion of the population of the free world. The standard of living in these nations is deplorably low. Help where it is most needed can be rendered through IDA to these nations during the next 3 years, if the fund is properly replenished. While these are long term, non-interest-bearing "soft" loans, it is appropriate to remember that all IDA projects receive the same able financial treatment from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—the World Bank—as to other or regular loans administered by the Bank.

IDA projects are designed to give a higher standard of living in education, agriculture, transportation and in other ways. No recipient of IDA funds has attempted to divert these funds to other purposes.

IDA loans involve self-help. While they are guaranteed by the borrowing nations, they do not exclude the involvement of private enterprise.

For every dollar furnished by the United States for IDA, the cooperating nations furnish three. The self-help involved in these loans generates local capital. By arrangements with the cooperating nations, the replenishment of

IDA will have no effect on the balance of payments for the next 3 years.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 25, 1968]

REPLENISHING IDA

Since becoming President of the World Bank last month, former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara has found that one of the institution's chief immediate needs is to replenish the resources of the International Development Association.

The IDA is a vital subsidiary of the 107-nation bank. Its membership is made up of the United States and 18 other economically advanced countries. Since its formation in 1960—on the basis of an idea originating in our Congress—it has been doing an excellent job in promoting the development of very poor nations that cannot afford the bank's conventional "hard" loans in terms of interest rates and periods for repayment.

Some 38 such countries have borrowed about $1.7 billion from IDA since the beginning of its lending operations in 1961. The loans are "soft." The only interest charge on them is a service fee of less than 1 percent a year, and they extend for periods of over half a century. All the projects involved, however, are subject to the same admirably strict standards of appraisal and supervision that mark the bank's "hard" lending.

IDA's problem at the moment is simply this: All its funds are committed to projects already in motion. More money is now needed to get additional programs started in the backward lands. The group has voted that the replenishment should amount to $400 million annually over the next three years, with the American contribution adding up to 40 percent of this total.

Several of IDA's members have already taken action to get fast legislative approval for their continuing contribution to the enterprise. The big question—one that is said to be worrying Mr. McNamara very much—is whether Congress will authorize appropriations to support the annual American share of $160 million, which is indispensable.

Both the House and the Senate, it must be hoped, will act affirmatively. The balance-of-payments problem is not involved. All parties concerned are agreed that none of the American contribution will be used except for purchases in the United States during the three years ending June 30, 1971.

There is this further point: IDA is an instrument essential to the future of the have-not lands now so desperately in need of progress in agriculture, education and transportation. Congress will be performing an enlightened act in voting to grant the funds requested.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDNG OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The PRESIDING OFFICER announced that on today, May 27, 1968, the President pro tempore signed the enrolled bill (S. 5) to safeguard the economy in connection with the utilization of credit by requiring full disclosure of the terms and conditions of finance charges in credit transactions or in offers to extend credit; by restricting the garnishment of wages; and by creating the National Commission on Consumer Finance to study and make recommendations on the need for further regulations of the consumer finance industry; and for other purposes, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PETITION

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Camden, N.J., remonstrating against adoption of H.R. 14474, liberalizing truck size and weight limits on interstate highways, which was referred to the Committee on Public Works.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. GRUENING, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with an amendment:

S. 224. A bill to provide for the rehabilitation of the Eklutna project, Alaska, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1147).

By Mr. MOSS, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments:

S. 444. A bill to establish the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area in the States of Utah and Wyoming, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1150).

By Mr. BURDICK, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments:

S. 3073. A bill to promote the economic development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Rept. No. 1149); and

S. 3207. A bill to amend section 2 of the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Rept. No. 1151).

By Mr. FULBRIGHT, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, with amendments:

S. 1578. A bill to authorize the appropriation for the contribution by the United States for the support of the International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs (Rept. No. 1148).

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

The following favorable report of a nomination was submitted:

By Mr. RANDOLPH, from the Committee on Public Works:

Roy T. Sessums, of Louisiana, to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HART:

S. 3546. A bill to authorize a program of demonstration projects in preschool education; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 3547. A bill to amend the Hazardous Substance Act to provide safe packaging of toxic household substances in order to protect children; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. MUNDT:

S. 3548. A bill for the relief of Mohan Doulatram Asnani and his wife Bina Mohan Asnani; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONDALE:

S. 3549. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Ariss, Charlotte (daughter) and Crispin (son); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TALMADGE:

S. 3550. A bill for the relief of Nicholas G. Berryman of Atlanta, Ga.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BYRD of West Virginia:

S. 3551. A bill to amend section 3146 of title 18, United States Code, in order to provide greater discretion to judicial officers in connection with the release of certain individuals charged with noncapital offenses when their release would pose a danger to other persons or to a community; and

S. 3552. A bill to amend section 3148(1) of title 18, United States Code, in order to authorize the denial of bail to certain individuals who are charged with crimes of violence and who have previously been convicted of similar crimes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. METCALF (for himself and Mr. MANSFIELD):

S. 3553. A bill to amend the act of March 29, 1956 (70 Stat. 62), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BYRD of West Virginia (for Mr. MONTOYA):

S.J. Res. 174. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to residence requirements for voting in presidential and vice presidential elections and for the selection of delegates to conventions to consider proposed constitutional amendments; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. BYRD of West Virginia when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

S. 3547—INTRODUCTION OF BILL—SAFE PACKAGING ACT

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, the Safe Packaging Act. This bill will amend the Hazardous Substances Act to enable us to control one of our most pressing medical problems—the accidental poisoning of our children—by prevention through childproof packaging.

Somewhere in the United States at this very moment, a young child is innocently exploring his environment—the universe of sounds, sights, and tastes found right in his own home. In a few minutes he is going to poke into the medicine cabinet, reach into his mother's purse or crawl under the kitchen sink, find and swallow a substance which will poison him—a handful of potent encapsulated drugs, a highly toxic cleanser or furniture polish, or an insecticide.

Unfortunately, this is no freak occurrence. A child swallows a potential poison every 60 seconds, 1,400 times a day, 500,000 times a year. Four hundred children under the age of 5 die each year as a result of their curiosity, agility, and innocence; and for every child who dies, it is estimated that 10 to 20 are made seriously ill.

Beyond the immeasurable human toll, the pain and suffering exacted by accidental poisoning, is the more tangible economic burden. Recently a young boy who swallowed some lye was hospitalized for 328 days before he died. Total hospital bills were $6,149.85. His medical bills were $698. His funeral probably cost $125. The grand total for one accidental poisoning was $6,972.85. Although this is the exceptional case, 27 percent of all poisoning cases require extended medical care beyond the date of the accident. Many times a child is kept in the hospital overnight for observation. And it is this first day of hospital care that is often the most costly. In addition to this monetary drain, poison victims are occupying scarce hospital space—space which would be freed if these poisonings were prevented instead of treated.

The health and safety of our children is clearly a very pressing business on America's agenda. In his 1966 consumer message, President Johnson condemned the accidental poisoning rate as a "senseless and needless tragedy," and called for steps to bring a halt to this national menace. We responded to his pleas by enacting the amendments to the Hazardous Substances Labeling Act to ban the sale of toys and other children's items containing hazardous substances; to authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to ban the sale of other substances which are so hazardous in nature that they cannot be made suitable for use in or around the household by cautionary labeling; and to extend the coverage of the act to unpackaged hazardous substances intended for household use.

It is time now to review the adequacy of our response to the problem. I am confident that lives have been saved since passage of these amendments. We have been able to keep lethal toys off the market—and out of the hands and mouths of inquisitive children. Our lives are no longer jeopardized by deadly products such as X-33, the highly explosive waterproofing chemical. And yet, the National Safety Council reports that home poisoning deaths from liquid and solid substances increased 6 percent last year—from 1,700 in 1966 to 1,800 in 1967. About one-fourth of these poisoning victims were children under 5.

We have banished the most obviously lethal poisons from American homes. What is it, then, that still threatens the safety and well-being of our children? According to the National Clearinghouse for Poison Control Centers, the five classes of products most frequently involved in accidental poisonings are: aspirin; soaps, detergents and cleaners; vitamins and iron; bleaches; and insecticides. Clearly these are not bizarre or unusual items, but products found in every American home—products of our rapidly advancing technology which promote health and banish housewife drudgery—but products which also create a high risk environment for our youngsters. Products which are indispensable when put to their proper use by knowledgeable adults—but products which can be deadly when they find their way into the hands or the mouth of a child.

It has been estimated that there are 250,000 potentially hazardous household products available today, and that in the average home 45 of these are found. Mr. President, as long as children dwell with adults in an adult environment, we owe them at least minimal protection against those adult products which can be such a menace to their young lives.

Under existing Federal statutes, there are but two avenues of protection open to us:

First: Labeling. Under the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, the Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act; and the Hazardous Substances Act, we can require that potentially hazardous products bear cautionary labeling and adequate directions for use. However, one class of potentially hazardous substances escapes even this limited labeling authority. Cosmetic labels need not contain warning statements or instructions for first aid in case of accidental ingestion, even though certain cosmetics have some ingredients identical with those found in other household products whose labels must bear this information. Cosmetics do not now have to carry even a statement of hazardous ingredients.

Second. Banning. Under the amended Hazardous Substances Act, we can prohibit the sale in interstate commerce of dangerous children's items and other substances so hazardous that labeling cannot make them safe for household use.

Neither of these two approaches provides a satisfactory solution for the problem of accidental poisoning by common household products. Labeling, where required, serves to instruct as to proper use, to warn against possible misuse, and to give antidotes for treatment in case of misuse. A label can alert adults to potential dangers lurking within harmless looking packages—but even the most vigilant parent cannot keep a 24-hour watch over his offspring. And to a child who has momentarily eluded the watchful eye, a label is meaningless as a danger signal, especially if the package itself is attractive, brightly colored and easy to open.

As it has become increasingly clear that label warnings are not always adequate to provide the necessary protection, especially of our young children, we have come to rely for our safety upon totally prohibiting certain extremely hazardous products. But in dealing with common household substances, this approach is clearly unacceptable.

The bill which I am introducing is based on the firm conviction that accidental poisonings of children can be prevented without harsh and repressive marketing controls. Our packaging technology is so advanced and sophisticated that we can, at minimal cost, build in poison-control through child-resistant packaging, specially engineered and designed to prevent the accidental poisoning of our youngsters. Such safety packages have been developed and are on the market today, economically mass produced for commercial use. This legislation would simply require that the manufacturers and vendors of poisons take advantage of available safe-packaging technology.

The effectiveness of this approach has recently been demonstrated. One type of child-resistant device has been tested in Canada over a one and a half year period with startling results: accidental poisonings from substances dispensed in the container were drastically reduced from 2,000 a year to three. The same startling results were achieved at Madigan General Hospital in Washington State, where accidental childhood poisonings have been slashed from 30 a month to two. One chain of drugstores recently announced that it is now using this particular safety container for dispensing all prescription drugs—at no extra cost to their customers.

How many unnecessary poisonings—unnecessary childhood deaths—could be prevented merely by applying our present knowledge of safety packaging? Instead, a visit to any supermarket will reveal row after row of attractively packaged, elaborate bottles whose bright colors lure the curious toddler. Flimsy screw type caps, snap-on, pop-off, convenient easy-open closures are the only barrier to ingestion—and these offer little resistance to a determined explorer. It makes no more sense to allow these unsafe containers in the home than to leave a loaded gun lying within reach of a child. By today's safety standards, these closures and packages are obsolete; and the time to remedy this defect is now.

The Safe Packaging Act would amend the Hazardous Substances Act to require the safe packaging of toxic household substances to protect the health and safety of children. It would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to identify those substances consumed or used by individuals for purposes of personal care or in the performance of functions ordinarily carried out in the household which are potentially hazardous to children, whether or not such products are intended for use by children. The Secretary is further authorized to establish, after full opportunity for hearing, minimum standards for the packaging of these toxic household substances, designed to eliminate or substantially reduce the threat of accidental poisoning to children.

In identifying the categories of toxics and in determining the packaging standards, the Secretary is directed to consult with appropriate private and public groups and to draw upon the services, research and testing facilities of competent public and private agencies to the maximum extent possible in order to avoid duplication of effort. Invaluable work in accidental child poisonings and their prevention has been performed by various governmental groups, such as the National Clearinghouse for Poison Control Centers of the Public Health Service, the FDA Subcommittee on Safety Closures; by professional groups such as the Proprietary Association, the American Pharmaceutical Association, and the American Medical Association; by private industry groups, especially chemical and pharmaceutical corporations; by universities and by private research and

safety organizations, such as the National Safety Council and the Council on Family Health. It is expected that the Secretary will cooperate with these groups, which are the repository for the vast amount of knowledge presently available and which offer great potential for future developments in this area.

Many dollars and much time and effort have been expended for educational programs designed to alert parents to the hidden dangers of apparently innocuous but sometimes deadly poisonous household substances. This bill would not eliminate the very real need for education—of pharmacists, of manufacturers, but especially of parents, for no safety packaging of any type or design can eliminate the need for parental vigilance. Nor will this weaken the case for increased support to the poison control centers throughout the country. For the element of human error can never be legislated out of existence. And so long as it exists, children will be poisoned and these centers will serve a vital function in the prevention and treatment of serious injury following accidental ingestion. But safety packaging can let us open a second front in the war against the most common medical emergency among children—a second front not available so long as toxic substances are dispensed in obsolete, unsafe, easily opened containers or packages.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the bill be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks, along with excerpts from several letters from authorities in the safety packaging field, responding to my request for information about developments in this area.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and letters will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3547) to amend the Hazardous Substances Act to provide safe packaging of toxic household substances in order to protect children, introduced by Mr. MAGNUSON, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3547

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Hazardous Substances Act (15 U.S.C. 1261–1273) is amended by inserting—

"TITLE I—MISBRANDED AND BANNED HAZARDOUS SUBSTANCES"

immediately above the heading of section 1, by striking out "this Act" wherever it appears in such Act (other than in section 1) and inserting in lieu thereof "this title", by renumbering sections 1 through 18 and references thereto as sections 101 through 118, respectively, and by adding at the end thereof the following new title:

"TITLE II—PACKAGING OF TOXIC HOUSEHOLD SUBSTANCES

"SEC. 201. This title may be cited as the 'Safe Packaging Act.'

"PROHIBITION

"SEC. 202. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person engaged in the packaging of any toxic household substance (as defined in this title) for distribution in commerce, or for any person (other than a common carrier for hire, a contract carrier for hire, or a freight forwarder for hire) engaged in the distribution in commerce of any packaged toxic household substance, to distribute or to cause to be distributed in commerce any such substance if such substance is contained in a package which does not conform to the standards established pursuant to this title.

"(b) The prohibition contained in this subsection shall not apply to persons engaged in business as wholesale or retail distributors of toxic household substances except to the extent that such persons (1) are engaged in the packaging or labeling of such substances, or (2) determine by any means the nature, form, or content of packages in which such substances are contained.

"REGULATIONS

"SEC. 203. (a) It shall be the duty of the Secretary, by regulation, to set forth the identity of each substance or mixture of substances distributed in commerce which is a toxic household substance.

"(b) As soon as practicable after the effective date of this title, the Secretary shall promulgate regulations establishing standards for the packaging of any toxic household substance, or any class or kind of such substances, designed to prevent or substantially reduce the hazard of serious personal injury or illness to children reasonably likely to handle, use or ingest any such substance.

"(c) The provisions of sections 551 through 559, 701 through 706, 3105, 3344, 5362, and 7521 of title 5 of the United States Code shall apply to all regulations promulgated under this title.

"(d) Regulations promulgated under this title shall specify an effective date for the packaging of each class or kind of toxic household substance which shall not be sooner than 180 days or later than one year from the date such order is issued, unless the Secretary finds, for good cause shown, that an earlier or later effective date is in the public interest, and publishes his reasons for such finding.

"(e) The Secretary may promulgate regulations amending or revoking any standard for the packaging of toxic household substances established under this title upon his own initiative or upon application made by any person affected by that regulation, whenever the Secretary determines that such modification is necessary to conform to the requirements of this title or to any change occurring in the method of packaging of any toxic household substance.

"(f) In promulgating regulations under this section, the Secretary shall—

"(1) consult with Federal Trade Commission with respect to the packaging of any toxic household substance that is not a food, drug, device, or cosmetic as each such term is defined by section 201 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, and, upon request, with the Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs with respect to the packaging of any such substance;

"(2) publish in the Federal Register reasonable advance notice of his intention (A) to declare a substance a toxic household substance or (B) to establish any such proposed standards;

"(3) accord to persons who could be affected thereby reasonable opportunity to be heard with respect to any such declaration or proposed standard; and

"(4) consult with such other business concerns, consumer organizations and public agencies as he deems appropriate.

"FURNISHING SAMPLE PACKAGES

"SEC. 204. Upon written request made, by the officer or employee designated by the Secretary for the purposes of this title to establish packaging standards as to any toxic household substance of any class or kind, to any producer or distributor thereof, such producer or distributor shall transmit promptly to that officer or agency a true and correct sample of each package used or to be used by that producer or distributor for or in connection with the distribution in commerce of any particularly described toxic household substance of that class or kind. Any person who, with intent to evade compliance with the requirement of this section fails to transmit any such sample to such authority promptly upon receipt of such request shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

"ENFORCEMENT

"SEC. 205. (a) The distribution in commerce or the causing to be distributed in commerce of any toxic household substance in violation of any of the provisions of this title or the regulations promulgated pursuant to this title, shall constitute a violation of section 301 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and shall be subject to enforcement under the provisions of sections 302, 303, 305, 306, and 307 of such Act.

"(b) In the case of any imports into the United States of any toxic household substance covered by this title, the provisions of section 203 of this title shall be enforced by the Secretary of the Treasury pursuant to section 801 (a) and (b) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

"ADMINISTRATION

"SEC. 206. (a) The Secretary, in exercising the authority under this title, shall utilize the services, research, and testing facilities of public and competent private agencies to the maximum extent practicable in order to avoid duplication in such facilities and services.

"(b) A copy of each regulation promulgated under this title shall be transmitted promptly to the Director of the National Bureau of Standards, who shall (1) transmit copies thereof to all appropriate State officers and agencies, and (2) furnish to such State officers and agencies information and assistance to promote to the greatest practicable extent uniformity in State and Federal standards for the packaging of toxic household substances. Nothing contained in this subsection shall be construed to impair or otherwise interfere with any program carried into effect by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under other provisions of law in cooperation with State governments or agencies, instrumentalities, or political subdivisions thereof.

"REPORTS TO THE CONGRESS

"SEC. 207. The Secretary shall transmit to the Congress in January of each year a report containing a full and complete report on the administration and enforcement of this title during the preceding fiscal year.

"DEFINITIONS

"SEC. 208. As used in this title—

"(1) The term 'toxic household substance' means any substance or mixture of substances which (A) is toxic and (B) is customarily produced or distributed for sale through retail sales agencies or instrumentalities for consumption or use by individuals for purposes of personal care or in the performance of services ordinarily rendered within the household if such substance or mixture of substances may reasonably cause serious personal injury or serious illness to children. Such term includes any substance which the Secretary by regulation finds, pursuant to the provisions of such section 203, meets the requirements of this paragraph, and such term includes any substance whether or not regulated as to packaging or labeling by other provisions of Federal law. Such term does not include any source material, special nuclear material, or byproduct material as defined in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 and regulations issued pursuant thereto by the Atomic Energy Commission.

"(2) The term 'toxic' means, with respect to household substances, any such substance which has the capacity to produce personal injury or illness to a child through ingestation, inhalation, or absorption through any body surface.

"(3) The term 'package' means any container or wrapping in which any toxic household substance is enclosed for consumption or use by individuals for purposes of personal care or the performance of services ordinarily rendered within the household, but does not include—

"(A) shipping containers or wrappings used solely for the transportation of any consumer commodity in full or in quantity to manufacturers, packers, or processors, or to wholesale or retail distributors thereof, or

"(B) shipping containers or outer wrappings used by retailers to ship or deliver any commodity to retail customers.

"(4) The term 'commerce' means (1) commerce between any State, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or any territory or possession of the United States, and any place outside thereof, and (2) commerce within the District of Columbia or within any territory or possession of the United States not organized with a legislative body, but shall not include exports to foreign countries.

"(5) The term 'person' includes any firm, corporation, or association.

"(6) The term 'Secretary' means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare."

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 2. The amendment made by this Act shall take effect on the first day of the sixth month beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

The letters presented by Mr. MAGNUSON are as follows:

THE ONTARIO ASSOCIATION FOR THE CONTROL OF ACCIDENTAL POISONING,
Windsor, Ontario, May 3, 1968.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Committee on Commerce,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

SIR: In reply to your letter of April 8th, I am enclosing data and correspondence pertinent to our work with safety closures in Essex County, in Ontario, and in Canada.

We are more than gratified with the phenomenal success achieved in the prevention of drug poisonings from solid medications. These have been completely wiped out in our area. The only remaining poisonings are due to liquid medications (20%), old prescriptions, drugs from outside Essex County, and prepackaged items such as oral contraceptives sold in unsafe containers; otherwise the problem is almost licked. . . .

Our chief concern at the present time are aspirin tablets and household products. These are responsible for 29% and 50% respectively of our childhood accidents. To date we have had little success persuading the manufacturers to make their containers child-proof. For instance, fatalities or severe poisonings from lemon oil furniture polish or from lye are not uncommon, yet despite constant prodding of the manufacturers these people have done nothing to make their products safe for the home.

Further, I have even been taken to task by a large bottle manufacturer in Toronto for advocating safety closures and safety features in their containers: "all this is unnecessary" I have been told.

As you know the Canadian Government Specifications Board has set up a Committee on safety closures. We met in Ottawa last November 1967; perhaps before long we will have specific recommendations on safety closures for all products. This will no doubt be acted upon by the Department of National Health and Welfare as you can read in the enclosed copy of the House of Commons debates for October 31, 1967.

In my opinion, it will take Government Legislation to bring about safety packaging for all drugs, chemicals or any potentially hazardous product in or about the home. As long as children dwell with adults in an adult environment, we owe them protection against adult products which can be such a menace to these young lives. Since the manufacturers have failed to do this, I would heartily endorse Government intervention to bring this about.

Yours sincerely,

HENRI J. BREAULT, M.D.,
President and Medical Director, Ontario Association for the Control of Accidental Poisoning, Medical Director, Windsor Poison Control Center.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
MADIGAN GENERAL HOSPITAL,
Tacoma, Wash., April 16, 1968.

Re: Childhood poisonings.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: We are completing a one year's experience using safety containers. . . .

In summary, we have dispensed about 270,000 prescription tablets and capsules in these containers in the Fort Lewis-McChord area. To date, only two children have purposely opened the containers, taken medication, and required care. Case 1. A 4 year old girl was unconsciously trained by watching her mother open the container over a two week period. Case 2. A 7 year old boy, a confirmed aspirin eater, read the directions, opened the container, ate a few children's aspirin, and to divert blame, he then fed most of the contents to his two year old brother. There have been three additional non-fatal ingestions from medications dispensed in the "safety" containers.

1. Mother dumped a few tablets into her purse for convenience and a year old child ate one.
2. A two year old child used a container of pills as a rattle. By random motion, the container opened. Ingestion was suspected but not verified.
3. A two year old climbed to a top shelf in the kitchen and took ? tablets from a container. The mother had left the top off.

In other words, there has been a marked decrease in ingestions and subsequently morbidity and hospitalization since we have been using safety containers.

On the other hand, aspirin ingestions continue to be a problem. To combat this, we have been able to convince the Post Exchange outlets in the Puget Sound Area, that they have a responsibility to help control childhood poisonings. In a survey covering the period 1 January 1967–31 December 1967, we determined that for each 191 children's 1¼ grain aspirin bottles sold in the local PX system, we could expect one poisoning (a total of 68 in 1967). Since February 6, 1968 (the day the PX started selling child resistant containers scotch taped to each bottle of children's aspirin), we have not had a single poisoning from children's aspirin sold from the PX where the parent had transferred the aspirin to the attached safety container from the original unsafe one. This project will continue indefinitely. However, it may take about 10 more months to develop a truly meaningful experience.

Certainly drugs are not the only toxic agents that are sold in unsafe containers. In the annual report from the Mountain View General Hospital Poison Control Center in Pierce County, household products, petroleum products, insecticides, rodenticides, and cosmetics accounted for 1,124 calls of a total of 3,254. Medicines of all kinds accounted for 1,145 calls.

This is a common experience. Most calls for childhood ingestions involve products sold or dispensed in containers easily opened by inquisitive children.

In my opinion, all consumer drugs, household products, petroleum products, insecticides, rodenticides, and other substances that might reasonably be expected to come in the proximity of a small child, should be dispensed in a *safe* container. That is, if the total amount of the product in question sold or dispensed in a container might be toxic to a child, then that container should satisfy at least the following criteria.

BASIC REQUIREMENTS FOR A CHILD RESISTANT CONTAINER

1. Must resist attempts to open by infants and children through age 4 years.
2. Must resist the teeth of children up to 5 years.
3. Must be opened and closed quickly and easily by adults, including most elderly patients.
4. Must come in varying sizes to approximate containers in current use.
5. Must cost about the same as standard containers.
6. Must be durable for the life of the product sold or dispensed.
7. Must be moisture proof (for non-liquids).
8. Must be water proof (for liquids).

I believe that the medical and pharmaceutical associations, through action encouraged by appeals to reinforce the goals of their professions (the treating and prevention of disease) can, in a relatively short period of time, develop widespread use of child resistant containers to dispense prescription items. However, prescription items account for only about ⅓ of ingestions due to medications that came to Madigan for care in 1966–67. Most medications that cause trouble, are sold over the counter. I suppose the pharmacist could refuse to sell them. However, the lethargy for safe packaging seems to be at the manufacturers level. I doubt that the pharmacists would ever refuse to sell products in safe containers that are competitive in price and quality with what he now sells, if the safe containers are in turn acceptable to his customers. Whether or not the manufacturers in general would voluntarily respond to suggestions to develop and *use* safe containers, I don't know. Perhaps legislation is the best way to approach this group.

I do know that we will continue to have many thousands of children poisoned in the U.S. yearly until safe containers are widely used to dispense toxic products to the consumer.

Please let me know if I can be of further help. I will send a summary of our year's experience at Madigan to you in early May 1968.

Sincerely,

Lt.-Col. ROBERT G. SCHERZ,
Chief, Pediatric Service.

THE CHILDREN'S ORTHOPEDIC HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL CENTER,
Seattle, Wash., April 25, 1968.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Committee on Commerce, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MAGNUSON: In response to your letter of April 8th, regarding death and injuries from accidental poisoning, I first of all want to express my gratitude and admiration for your continuing efforts on behalf of consumer safety, particularly that of young children. This constitutes a significant contribution to the health of the American people.

You are quite right in saying that many of our preventive measures in the field of accidental poisoning have been somewhat less than effective. That is an understatement. This is why modification of drug containers seems so attractive to us. Since August 1, 1967, the pharmacy at Children's Orthopedic Hospital and Medical Center has dispensed all prescriptions, capsules and tablets in a "child-resistant container". The pharmacy at University Hospital in Seattle has done likewise. We selected this particular container upon reviewing the spectacular experience of Lieut. Col. Robert Scherz at Madigan General Hospital in Tacoma. We have since dispensed thousands of prescriptions in these containers and are exceedingly pleased with the program. We are not aware of any child accidentally poisoning himself from drugs dispensed in these containers. Another reason that the container was selected was its availability and price. It is competitive in price with other containers that we were using. Bulk supplies in our pharmacy can readily be transferred to these containers. . . .

You are quite right in assuming that poisoning from common household substances might be even more severe a problem than from prescription drugs. Lye, furniture polish and electric dishwater powders are particular culprits. Is there any reason why these products cannot be packaged in child resistant containers? It is disappointing that industry apparently shows so little regard for this problem. . . .

Again, my thanks for your interest and efforts in this field. Please let me know if I can be of any assistance.

Sincerely,

Abraham B. Bergman, M.D.,
Director of Outpatient Services, Associate Professor of Pediatrics and Preventive Medicine, University of Washington.

University of Washington,
Seattle, Wash., April 22, 1968.

Hon. Warren G. Magnuson,
Committee on Commerce,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Magnuson: Regarding your letter of 8 April, 1968, concerning accidental poisonings, ingestions of household products, and the potential for child-resistant containers in this field, I would offer the following comments.

As you had indicated in your letter, Colonel Robert Scherz and his colleagues at Madigan General Hospital in Tacoma initiated, completed, and published a study on the potential of a child-resistant container to dissuade a child from "accidentally" poisoning himself. The results were phenomenally successful. Colonel Scherz and his colleagues continue today to assess this particular device. Because of the unique opportunity to "count noses" via the station pharmacies, they have been able to trace down the outcome of, I believe, more than 200,000 prescription dispensions using this particular container. To date, as far as I know, only one instance of an accidental ingestion has occurred regarding the contents of any of these prescriptions. . . .

In the neighborhood of 35 to 50 per cent of accidental poisonings result from the ingestion of common household products. Deterrents such as child-resistant containers theoretically should curtail drastically such accidents. In the instance of drugs, per se, the aforementioned container—as well as strip packaging—not simply made to dissuade the child, but more emphatically to remind the parent of the risks inherent in the drug situation, causing him (or her) to adopt a positive educational approach rather than simply a negative restrictive approach. I would certainly encourage industry—for example furniture polish manufacturers in particular—to consider the wisdom of their ways. One specific product comes in a tall, particularly attractive red tinted bottle. The ability of the young child to distinguish a non-food item from a food item probably is very limited. In this instance, perhaps, an opaque plastic container might serve as an adequate deterrent to inquisitive fingers. Therefore, I encourage you and your Committee to urge still more action on behalf of industry in accepting a "public responsibility" in their endeavors. . . .

Finally, I would urge that you and your Committee might review the functions of poison control information centers across the country. The one here in Seattle at the Children's Orthopedic Hospital and Medical Center for instance, answers more than 1,000 telephone inquiries every month concerning "accidental ingestions." The trouble is that on-going support of such endeavors is limited at best. I am of the strong opinion that a more effective and efficient support mechanism—not robbing Peter to pay Paul—could be developed to the benefit of all concerned.

I hope the above comments serve the purpose for which you intend them. If you desire any further information, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

William O. Robertson, M.D.,
Associate Dean.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 174—INTRODUCTION OF JOINT RESOLUTION, A PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT RELATING TO RESIDENCE REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTING IN PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND FOR PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted, in behalf of the distinguished junior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], to introduce today, for the consideration of the Congress, a proposed constitutional amendment. Senator Montoya proposes an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to residence requirements for voting in presidential and vice-presidential elections and for the selection of delegates at conventions to consider constitutional amendments.

I also ask unanimous consent that I may present a statement to appear in the Record, on behalf of Senator Montoya, together with a copy of the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and without objection, the statement and joint resolution will be printed in the Record.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 174) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to residence requirements for voting in presidential and vice-presidential elections and for the selection of delegates to conventions to consider proposed constitutional amendments, introduced by Mr. Byrd of West Virginia, for Mr. Montoya, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S.J. Res. 174

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

"Article —

"Section 1. Except as otherwise provided by this article, the right of any citizen of the United States to vote in any election for electors for President or Vice President or for the election of delegates to a convention within any State to consider any amendment to this Constitution proposed by the Congress shall not be denied or abridged by any State by reason of the failure of such citizen to meet any residence requirement of such State if such citizen is otherwise qualified to vote in such election in such State.

"Sec. 2. The right to register as qualified voters for the elections defined in Section 1 shall not be denied or abridged by any State, except that no State shall be required to accept applications for registration within 30 days of an election defined in section 1.

"Sec. 3. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"Sec. 4. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress. If so ratified within that period, this article shall take effect on the date of such ratification, or January 1, 1969, whichever date is later."

The statement presented by Mr. Byrd of West Virginia, for Mr. Montoya, is as follows:

Statement by Senator Montoya

Mr. Montoya. Mr. President, I introduce today, for the consideration of this Congress, a proposed constitutional amendment long overdue and long overlooked.

Mr. President, because of State residency requirements which must be met in order for a Citizen of the United States to be eligible to vote, in the coming presidential election as many as 16 million persons may be disenfranchised. This is incredible! But the statement is supported by data from a recently completed Gallup poll and by a report from the Bureau of the Census.

As many as 35 States require the individual voter registrant to have maintained residence within the State for up to one year in order to be considered as an eligible voter.

My Resolution provides that the Citizens of this Country be given the opportunity to amend the Federal Constitution so that every otherwise qualified voter will be able to cast his ballot in National elections for the Office of the President and that of the Vice President. It will also permit these persons to vote in future determinations to consider Federal Constitutional Amendments. The favorable consideration of the Constitutional Amendment I am introducing today will correct the gross injustice which now exists. The proposed amendment will have no effect on the right to vote for any other candidate for any other office, local, State, or National, nor on any other proposition other than Federal Constitutional Amendments.

The individual states have every right—and should continue to maintain that right—to set reasonable residency requirements for voter eligibility in elections on all matters of primarily state and/or local significance. However, anything that might be said about the rights and duties of states to establish voter eligibility requirements with reference to elections affecting strictly State and local matters, does not apply when we speak of elections for President, Vice President, Constitutional Amendments, or any other matters which are inherent to American Citizenship. No citizen, otherwise qualified to vote, should be deprived of his vote for the two High Offices of this Nation, or on matters pertaining to the Federal Constitution, simply because of residency within a State. True, we are each Citizen of a State, but we are first each a citizen of the United States.

I ask your support and favorable consideration of my Resolution to start on its way this Constitutional Amendment. Let us initiate corrective action to overcome this unjust cause of disenfranchisement.

Mr. President, I would welcome and invite all of our colleagues to join me as sponsors of this legislation.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing the name of the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. SPONG] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 2116) to establish a commission to study the organization and management of the executive branch of the Government.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 3394) to amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 in order to provide for a more equitable system of selecting persons for induction into the Armed Forces under such act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] be added as a cosponsor of the resolution (S. Res. 263) expressing the sense of the Senate that all necessary steps be taken to conclude an international agreement on peaceful exploration and exploitation of ocean space.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN] I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] be added as a cosponsor of the resolution (S. Res. 293) requesting the President to take all necessary measures to bring before the United Nations a resolution providing for the convening of an international conference to achieve a nonproliferation treaty on conventional armaments for the Middle East.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 831

Mr. PEARSON submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, May 27, 1968, he presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 5) to safeguard the economy in connection with the utilization of credit by requiring full disclosure of the terms and conditions of finance charges in credit transactions or in offers to extend credit; by restricting the garnishment of wages; and by creating the National Commission on Consumer Finance to study and make recommendations on the need for further regulations of the consumer finance industry; and for other purposes.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON THE JUDICIAL REFORM ACT (S. 3055, S. 3060, S. 3061, AND S. 3062)

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery, I wish to announce that hearings before that subcommittee on S. 3055, S. 3060, S. 3061, and S. 3062, the Judicial Reform Act and other measures to improve the administration of the courts of the United States, will continue at 10 a.m. Thursday, June 6, 1968, in the District of Columbia Committee hearing room, 6226 New Senate Office Building.

RESCHEDULING OF HEARING ON NOMINATION OF EDWIN M. ZIMMERMAN, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

Mr. HART. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, I desire to give notice that the public hearing originally scheduled for Wednesday, May 22, 1968, on the nomination of Edwin M. Zimmerman, of California, to be an assistant attorney general, vice Donald Frank Turner, has been rescheduled for Wednesday, May 29, 1968, at 10:30 a.m., in room 2228 New Senate Office Building.

At the indicated time and place persons interested in the hearing may make such representations as may be pertinent.

NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the following nominations:

William H. Crook, of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Australia.

Robert F. Wagner, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Spain, vice Frank E. McKinney.

In accordance with the committee rule, these pending nominations may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of their receipt in the Senate.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON—AN ENDURING LIBERAL

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, last Saturday, President Johnson went to Atlantic City to address the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. In his speech, the President reviewed the long and continuing struggle for social justice in which he and the ILGWU have worked arm-in-arm, so effectively.

Reaching back more than 30 years into the past, the President pointed to the first minimum wage law as one of the earliest legislative victories for progressive liberalism. In more recent times, he recalled the historic civil rights legislation, humane immigration laws, consumer protection legislation, giant strides forward in education, a new era in conservation, and the enactment of medicare—these, plus the defense of freedom around the globe.

Proving that he is not content merely to rest upon his laurels, the President ended with this statement:

> If I could have one hope today, it would be this: That whoever may be President, wherever he may reside, whatever party he may belong to, he will look at the social record of the last five years and say, "We have just begun."

The President richly deserved the hour-long ovation which he received.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

Thank you very much.

Governor Hughes, President Stulberg, Dave Dubinsky, Louigi Antonini, Ladies and Gentlemen: Mr. Stulberg, I had to come here today because through all of my trials and tribulations—and the problems and burdens—that go with the office I hold, you and your Union have stood by my side in day and night, in sunshine and in sorrow.

If you could stay with me during what we have gone through the last few months, you can stay with these folks all through the years until we win what we are after.

I told Dave Dubinsky, I said, I am glad to be here today with all of my friends of the Old Left.

Some of us can remember the good old days when we were the New Left back there more than 30 years ago when I was first captured by some of your leaders and enlisted in a great cause. I was an up and coming Young Liberal from the South.

Three from my State followed the recommendations of the leadership of this Union. They were such radical recommendations that two of those three were defeated. I survived.

Some of your leadership got Mr. Roosevelt, who was then President, to send a message to the Congress on May 24, 1937. That message arrived at the House of Representatives just about the time I arrived as a young Member.

Among the things the President said in that message are as follows:

"Mr. Justice Brandeis, Mr. Justice Clark, and Mr. Justice McKenna agreed with Mr. Justice Holmes. A majority of the Supreme Court, however, decided five to four against Mr. Justice Holmes and laid down a rule of Constitutional law which has ever since driven into impractical distinctions and subterfuges all attempts to assert the fundamental power of a national government over interstate commerce. But although Mr. Justice Holmes spoke for a minority of the Supreme Court, he spoke for a majority of the American people."

Upon that message, the Congress enacted into law—I will just read a part of Section VI—that radical provision of other years:

"Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce wages at the following rates:

"One, during the first year from the effective date of this Section not less than 25 cents an hour;

"Two, during the next six years from such date not less than 30 cents an hour;

"And, three, after the expiration of seven—should I say long—years from such date, not less than 40 cents an hour, or the rate not less than 30 cents an hour prescribed in the applicable order of the administrator issued under Section VIII, whichever is lower. This section shall take effect upon the expiration of 120 days from the enactment of this Act.

"No employer shall, except as otherwise provided, employ any of his employees in commerce or the production of goods for commerce for a work week longer than 44 hours" and so on and so forth.

You did not require that law to protect your people. Your thinking had been more advanced. But you required that law to protect all the working people of the United States. That is what has been so wonderful about your Union. You haven't just tried to look after yourself—you have tried to look after all of us.

But times have changed. Today, we hear something about new politics and "participatory democracy."

So I have come here to participate with you—the very model in my judgment of the Old and the New Democracy.

Whenever I hear talk about new alignments and the New Liberalism, I think of my old friend, the ILGWU. You have always had your slogans, too. You were the prophets of liberalism. You preached and you practiced your faith.

Politics—politics, Thank goodness—has long been a religion with you—but never on Saturday.

And I came here today, Mr. Stulberg, to tell you and the members of this great Union that the old-time religion is good enough for me. And the old-time liberalism is good enough for me.

Being here in this great hall in Atlantic City, Governor Hughes, brings back many fond memories for me. I guess you all know why this city means so much to me. I don't think there is a man, woman or child in all of this country who doesn't get a lump in his throat watching the Miss America contest each September.

There is one difference between today and the night I was here in August of 1964 at the Democratic Convention. It is a difference that some of you former cutters, pressers, operators and finishers may be especially interested in knowing about. You have a chance to look at the only man in the long history of the needles trade who used a speech rather than the scissors to cut off his own coattails.

I must admit that your reception puts me in somewhat of a sentimental mood today. There is something about this Union—something about this convention—something about Louis Stulberg—something about David Dubinsky—something about Evelyn Dubow that makes me feel right at home. It is something about all of these three and all of you out there that makes me feel right at home.

It is not just that you are my friends and that you have demonstrated your loyalty time and time and time again at the ballot box and in your influence on good legislation. It is much more than that.

Somehow, the ILGWU seems to me to be a model in miniature of the great America that we all seek and we all dream of.

As I look out there from this podium today, I see delegates, I see Americans of every race of every color, and of every creed. You work together in harmony because you share a common ideal which is more important than anything else—you are building. You are running one of the great democratic trade unions in all of the world.

This, of course, is because you have always asked the right question when admitting people to your membership. You don't ask:

"Is he white?" or

"Is he Jewish?", or

"Is he Catholic?"

You simply say, "Is he—or much more often she—a garment worker?"

I have been involved in national politics now since 1931—almost 38 years—and as I am about ready to go back home—I think I would like to leave one message with my dear friends here. I would like to leave this message behind me. I would like to carve it in rock:

"Ask the right question."

And I would add that in both your experience and mine, the right question is usually how?, not what?

Back in the first decade of this Century, every social reformer knew what was necessary to eliminate the terrible sweatshops, the triangle fire-traps in which the garment workers were literally held in wage-slavery—

There were economic treatises,

There were politicians out with sonorous speeches,

There were catastrophe-mongers who wanted to destroy the whole system to eliminate its abuses.

There were alleged intellectuals who were talking about us.

But what do the intellectuals know about us?

There were innumerable answers to the question, "What should be done?"

The system we knew had to be changed.

But when it came to "How?" there was only one group that had an answer that made sense. They didn't say, "We will meet in the Union Square daily and we will carry signs and we will make speeches and we will give our treatises and our lectures and our seminars until there is a change in the system."

If so, they would still be there.

They said, "We will build a union."

Of course, all the professional cynics—they had them then, too—said it was impossible—you couldn't beat the system—the men and women, mostly immigrants, didn't have the staying power.

Then, in 1909, when I was one year old, out came the waist-makers in a strike that "couldn't last."

But it did—and those girls—there may be a few here today—no longer girls, but still committed unionists—put the world to shame and brought a wave of support from decent Americans throughout this land everywhere.

So, a great union was born. And it grew because a few dedicated Americans—often with strange accents—took the ideals of our society at face value and said, "How can we put them into practice?"

It has not been an easy half century. You had your extremists with a vested interest in catastrophe who argued that destruction was the road to construction.

But your leaders—men like David Dubinsky and Louis Stulberg—and to those of us that were on down the line—they knew that you cannot build a utopia on ashes. And, after a terrible struggle which almost broke your union, these false prophets were defeated.

Since then, we have had wages and hours from 25 cents an hour to $1.60 applied to all the working people in this land.

In this last half century, we have passed four comprehensive far-reaching civil rights bills from the Right to Vote to a Right to Equal Housing—and on all four of those measures you and I have led the way.

We have junked and discarded our archaic immigration laws. And we stood with pen in hand in front of the Statue of Liberty in this Administration and wrote a new immigration law that permits families to again be reunited and puts another humane statute on our books.

We have passed Meat Inspection, Auto Safety, Truth in Lending, and we have just begun with a long list of more than a dozen other consumer measures that will be written into the law of this land because of your help.

For almost 200 years, we shunned our responsibility of national leadership in educating our children. But in the last four years we have declared it our national policy that every boy and girl born in this country has a right to all the education that he or she can take.

And we are—I am here to tell you—practicing what we preach.

While others have written their learned treatises and flourished their rhetoric from coast to coast, we have put them from Head Start at 4 to Adult Education at 74. And the ILGWU has had among its most cardinal principles performance instead of promises.

And as we meet here today, those Head Start kids at 4 and those Adult Education grandmas at 74 are learning to read and write in the classrooms of this country.

We have inaugurated the greatest conservation programs since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And this year we are putting more land for recreation back in the public domain for the first year in decades than we have taken out with highways and freeways.

We are putting that land not out in Montana or Wyoming where you cannot get to it unless you have got a jet. But we are putting it near the centers of population where you can get to it in an hour and a half.

We talked about Medicare from the time Harry S. Truman—that great President—proposed it. We talked about it and thought about it and dreamed about it for more than 20 years.

But we wrote it into law. And you got your Medicare payments. Twenty million of you have your Medicare cards. You don't have to go and consult your son-in-law before you go to the hospital when you need it.

And I am telling you something else. This may not have been done with charisma or style. But it has been done.

I will tell you something else. What this great union has done with Medicare I am charging you with the responsibility of doing with Kiddycare.

The blush of shame ought to come to the cheeks of every proud American who talks about the most powerful and richest nation in the world when it realizes that in infant mortality the United States ranks not one—but 15 down the list.

Just as we have tried to cope with the problem of our age, we have got to cope with the problem of our babies. We have got to get to them before it is too late. We have got to correct the deficiencies of their eyes, or their teeth, or their ears, or their bodies due to lack of proper treatment to their mothers.

You have got to have her examinations at critical periods. They have got to have treatments of doctors when they need it.

We can no longer go on in the days ahead as we have gone in the days past—and our next goal is on to Kiddycare now that we have got Medicare.

I wish I could talk all day. But I can't. I have other things to do and so do you. But I just want to summarize by saying to those of you who have fought colonialism and those of you who have fought and bled and died to reject totalitarianism that neither colonialism nor totalitarianism have made any advances in these five years. They retreated instead.

And aggression—wherever it has reared its ugly head—has stopped in its tracks.

And freedom has not retreated an inch or foot of soil that freedom held in 1963. Freedom holds in 1968.

But I did not come here to give you a history of your union or of the last five years. I just wanted to point out a few of the high spots.

There have been more than 200 major basic measures enacted to better humanity than will compare favorably with all the measures enacted in the previous years in the social field.

But I think you know this story maybe far better than I do since you helped build this organization and since this organization gave the leadership and answered "aye" on every roll call that advanced these measures.

I have drawn upon your history this morning because I find when I study it and I look upon it that it is both valuable and comforting to me in a time of stress and anguish. To the officers of this great union, Louis Stulberg and your retiring President, David Dubinsky—men that will give loyalty to principles and give loyalty to me as they have during every day of this five years—will give loyalty to you.

There is a great deal of rhetoric in the air these days. As is natural in an election year, there is a speaker on every stump—and some places where they can't find stumps.

As I conclude—and as one who will shortly be a private citizen—I want to give you some advice. When you listen to the speakers, draw on your own experience—draw upon the collective wisdom that you have accumulated in the years that you have been building this great union.

When men—or women, or boys, or girls—come to you and give you their prescription for America, listen to what they think is the matter with America.

But before it is all over, you demand from them an answer to the crucial question, "How, how are they going to do anything about it?" It is not "What?" It is "How?" It is not the promise. It is the performance.

For the essence of politics, like trade unionism, is the ability to put a cutting edge on abstractions, to find an administrative remedy for a rhetorical dilemma.

And power—power as my old friend, Eric Hoffer, puts it—just does not "come in cans." You cannot go down to the corner drugstore or the supermarket and pick some of it up in a basket.

Power for the ideals that we cherish has to be created by little, by the small and the seemingly insignificant decisions of dedicated, courageous men and women—most of whom are invisible, most of whom never make speeches, most of whom never issue manifestos and most of whom never get on television or get their pictures in the papers.

It is these people—people of this caliber—who have made the ILGWU a model—a model—of democratic trade unionism in the world.

It is your kind of people who make it possible for anyone to be President of the United States.

I want to conclude with this little note. I want to thank every member of this union here and those that can't be here.

I particularly want to thank Louis Stulberg for his fidelity and his dedication, his loyalty and his leadership.

Sitting there on the banks of the Perdenales, I am going to see how—how—he does in the years ahead because I know that he and you and I are going to do it.

I also need not tell you how much I owe to you or how long I have admired your union and your great leader and crusader, David Dubinsky.

In these days more than ever I can envy him. He has made me wish many, many times in the last few days that our founding fathers had established another union—the AURP—The American Union for Retired Presidents.

If that had happened, then I could look forward to a retirement plan like David Dubinsky's.

How would you like the sound of "Honorary President, Lyndon Johnson"?

Talk about liberal, how about these fringe benefits:

"A weekend in Atlantic City or Chicago;"

"Invitations to a dinner at the White House;"

"A warm place in the hearts of all of your people;"

And "a sure place in the spotlight of every convention?"

But a greater satisfaction and more fringe benefits than all of those can come to an honorary President has come to your Honorary President because the man who picked up the leadership where he left off is carrying forward, onward to new and greater and far-reaching heights and benefits that will better humanity.

If I could have one hope today, it would be this: That whoever may be President, wherever he may reside, whatever party he may belong to, he will look at the social record of the last five years and say, "We have just begun."

As your union is dedicated to carrying forward on the slogan, "We have just begun," I hope our next President will have just begun and will continue as you have to build, to heal and to unite the greatest nation in all the world.

Destructive people, mischievous people, ambitious people, and folks who look to what we have and want to take, what we have got and envy the liberty and freedom that is ours can destroy this nation. But they will not.

The reason they will not is out there in front of me in the form of the constructive, dedicated members of this union, who are builders instead of wreckers.

If I don't get an invitation to your next convention, I am going to reach back in that closet of mine where we pack our souvenirs and I am going to pull out an old badge that says, "Honorary President," and I am going to invite myself to come back here.

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL TRIBUTE TO AMBASSADOR JOHN GRONOUSKI

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, as the senior Senator from Wisconsin, I am proud of the record a remarkable constituent of mine has made in the Federal Government.

That man is John Gronouski, who was appointed by the late President Kennedy as his Postmaster General. At the time, Gronouski was the Wisconsin State tax commissioner, a position to which he had been appointed after a distinguished academic career in which he had established himself as an economic expert.

As Postmaster General, Gronouski served both President Kennedy and President Johnson with distinction. He did a superlative job, as members of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service have frequently told me.

President Johnson then appointed him Ambassador to Poland, one of the crucial spots in American diplomacy. This post is critical not only because of the delicate nature of our relations with Poland, but also because it is the American Ambassador to Poland who is the principal bridge between this country and the biggest nation on earth—Red China. In this position, too, Ambassador Gronouski served his Nation and his President brilliantly.

Many persons were surprised when Ambassador Gronouski resigned this vital post a few days ago. In a sense, I was too. But knowing John Gronouski as I do, his reasons must be quite clear.

John Gronouski loves to be where the action is. It is just not natural, or maybe I should say, not even possible, for John Gronouski to sit out a presidential campaign, especially like the one this year, in which he has such very deep feelings.

Recently the Milwaukee Journal published a fine editorial about John Gronouski, in which it implied that he has quite a future as well as an illustrious past in his contributions to his Nation. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

Gronouski on the Go

Few Americans have packed as much excitement into the last five years as John Gronouski, former Wisconsin commissioner of taxation. President Kennedy brought him into his cabinet as postmaster general in 1963. Two years later President Johnson made him ambassador to Poland.

The glib explanation of this sudden rise on the national scene has often been that the two presidents wanted someone with a Polish background to serve as an attraction for Polish votes.

The fact is that Gronouski was highly suited for the jobs he has had. He had a distinguished career in the academic world and state government as an economist, finance specialist and student of government. He brought to his job as ambassador warmth, toughness, adaptability and a passion for cutting through red tape. He may have broken formal diplomatic rules but he made friends and got the job done.

Gronouski was the kind of ambassador who walked several miles to work in Warsaw—at least until he was given a new home farther from the embassy late last fall. He traveled Poland tirelessly, talking with farmers, villagers and everyone he met about their problems and ours.

Gronouski, now resigned, is going to take up the cause of Vice President Humphrey in the presidential race. Whatever he does, John Gronouski will enjoy it, work hard and, continue to spill pipe ashes down his suit coat front—a suit coat that his diplomatic experience has changed from nondescript and baggy to conservative and well tailored. Wisconsin, and the country, have not heard the last of him.

NATIONAL PROSPERITY AND THE FARMERS

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, the financial condition of the farmers of the country, those who produce the most important things of life—food and fiber—is growing steadily worse.

The prices farmers receive for their commodities today are lower than they were 10 years ago, and even 20 years ago. The prices of all industrial goods, especially those which farmers have to buy, have risen steadily year after year. The same is true of wage rates, taxes, and all other operating costs. Those economists who have taken time to study the financial condition of farmers—still the biggest and most important industry in our economy—have come up with a very accurate analysis of the true farm situation.

Unfortunately, stories which paint an untrue and distorted picture of agriculture are more prevalent, more widely accepted and read than those which carry an accurate account. With but rare exceptions, the general farm organizations and commodity groups are all agreed that legislation is necessary to correct this dangerous imbalance in our economy.

Unfortunately, too, there are some who believe that the present farm programs are responsible for the deteriorating farm situation and they use this as an argument to abolish all farm programs.

It is true that the present farm programs leave much to be desired but, if they are abolished completely, we would have a major farm depression. We are close to that now.

Mr. President, on May 24, 1968, North Dakota's largest newspaper, The Forum, published at Fargo, contained an excellent editorial on this subject entitled, "Farmer Deserves a Share in Our National Prosperity." It is encouraging to know that a great newspaper like this advocates the extension and improvement of our present price support programs.

The Forum is a responsible and progressive newspaper, and its editors are in the best position to understand what is really going on in our rural areas. Mr. President, the fact that farm indebtedness has more than doubled in the last 8 years and is now at the staggering level of $50 billion is an indication that farmers are in trouble all over this Nation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the body of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Farmer Deserves a Share in Our National Prosperity

At the most, the American farmer will only get a one-year extension of the existing general farm act, now scheduled to expire Dec. 31, 1969.

The House Agricultural Committee has approved the bill by a 28–5 vote. Tuesday the House Rules Committee postponed action as to when the bill would come up for discussion but later that day the House Republicans agreed to the one-year extension. The Senate Agricultural Committee is expected to act on the same proposal in the near future.

All this means is that the present Congress sees no hope of making changes, and the farm leaders hope that the one-year extension will give the new Congress elected next November one full year to map whatever major changes should be made in the farm program.

With a new Congress taking office next January, the feeling in Washington was that the 1969 session would have a difficult time to get action on legislation before late in 1969 if at all. Thus the one-year extension gives the new Congress a full year to work out a general policy, and to enact a new bill either in late 1969 or early 1970, if the current one-year extension is passed.

If there were no extension, then the 1969 session would be up against the gun and it could let the farm program die simply because of a parliamentary snag. This is what the farm leaders and the current Congress want to avoid.

Most of the representatives and senators from the midwest would like a four-year extension or a permanent extension of the 1965 general farm act, but apparently there is no chance for such action. It seems to be unfortunate that there is going to be probably no improvement of the federal farm act, in as much as North Dakota and Minnesota farmers generally feel that their economic situation is growing steadily worse rather than better.

The prime reason for the extension however, is that the economic situation on the farm would be even worse if the farm act were allowed to expire or if the farmers had to go till 1969 not knowing whether or not there would be a federal farm program in effect at the end of that year.

Sen. Milton R. Young, R-N.D., agrees that the present program leaves much to be desired, but contends it is better than nothing at all.

He believes that the Vietnam War, the financial crisis and growing inflation, the uncontrolled crime in the streets and the demands of the war on poverty all combine to temper any enthusiasm in Congress for any meaningful action to improve farm prices this year.

Sen. Young makes this point:

"To add to the farmers' dilemma is the fact that they are plagued by damaging publicity on almost every front. Too many people are victimized by publications with huge circulation, which still have the notion that farmers are highly subsidized, and that rising food prices are the fault of the farmer. Nothing could be further from the truth."

He said that deception and distortion appears in an article, "Hunger—U.S.A.," recently published by the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States. He said this publication lists several North Dakota counties as having serious hunger problems.

Sen. Young declared, "This is an example of lack of understanding and misrepresentation. Shortage of food is not the problem in North Dakota, with the possible exception of counties with the large Indian population. Low farm prices and inflation are the major problems in North Dakota. Unfortunately misinformation and even ignorance of present problems facing agriculture are the major reasons why we may not get any action until it is too late."

The situation in Washington is far from optimistic for the farmer. We in the farm country know that the farmer gets the short end of the food dollar, with the larger share going to the processing, transportation, merchandising and labor costs. Still we note that in some places organized labor is protesting recent milk price increases, when in fact most of the increase was a direct result of increased pay to the labor involved in milk processing, rather than increased cost of milk at the farm.

It's unfortunate that the American farmer has to settle for a one-year extension of a general farm act that has proved highly unsatisfactory in this particular area. Somehow there has to be a recognition of the fact that the farmer is entitled to share in the prosperity of America. If he doesn't, the whole nation may fall into a farm-led depression, as Sen. Young cites as a distinct possibility.

HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES ARE REMINDER OF WORLD OPINION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, our American law is already in conformity with the Human Rights Conventions. Therefore, their ratification would not require any change in our domestic legislation.

However, the fact that our Constitution already assures us of these basic rights does not entitle us to stand aloof from documents which project our own heritage on an international scale.

The day-to-day unfolding of events makes it ever clearer that our own welfare is interrelated with the rights and freedoms assured the peoples of other nations.

These conventions deal with human rights which may or may not yet be secure in other countries. They have provided models for the drafters of constitutions and laws in newly independent nations; and they have influenced the policies of governments preparing to accede to them. Thus, they involve current problems in many countries.

They will stand as a sharp reminder of world opinion to all who may seek to violate the human rights they define. They also serve as a continuous commitment to respect these rights. There is no society so advanced that it no longer needs periodic recommitment to human rights.

Our country cannot afford to renounce responsibility for support of the very fundamentals which distinguish our concept of government from all forms of tyranny.

I desire, with the constitutional consent of the Senate, to ratify the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Freedom of Association.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF ARKANSAS LOUISIANA GAS CO.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, on May 14, 1968, the stockholders of Arkansas Louisiana Gas Co.—Arkla—held their annual meeting in Shreveport, La.

In past years, Arkla has served the people of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Texas mainly as a public utility company providing natural gas for its customers at a minimum cost.

In recent years, however, under the dynamic leadership of Mr. W. R. Stephens, president and chairman of the board, Arkla has diversified its operations and expanded into the fields of fertilizer, plywood, chemicals, and cement to name just a few. Mr. Stephens' far-sighted and dedicated guidance has enabled Arkla to provide thousands of jobs for Arkansans, which has aided immeasurably the economic progress of our State. Gross revenue of this growing company is expected to reach $200 million in 1968. Tremendous economic progress and attainment is evident at Arkla, but the people comprising that company do not content themselves only with the attainment of economic goals—that is, developing Arkansas' natural resources to provide more jobs and better services to the citizens—but also continue to look to the future with full cognizance and appreciation of some of the social problems that face us.

In 1968, the company has pledged itself to a program of developing human resources. This program entails training the hard-core unemployed citizens who are willing to learn and work, and preparing them for employment which will help to assimilate them into our society by making them productive and self-sustaining.

I salute Mr. Stephens, the Arkla employees, and the stockholders for their past economic attainments which have resulted in a more prosperous Arkansas; for their future aspirations to continue to grow economically and better serve the people; and for their present concern of one of our Nation's most critical and perplexing problems—that is, hard-core unemployment—and their resolve, dedication, and foresight to do something about it.

Mr. Stephens, in a letter to the stockholders on May 14, 1968, illustrated the tremendous program of Arkla and emphasized the principles to which the company is dedicated for the future.

The program this company has inaugurated to help those who may be poverty stricken, but who want to work, and to relieve unemployment should have the full support of our Government and well deserves to be emulated by many other industries throughout the Nation.

I congratulate Mr. Stephens and his company for this dynamic and progressive approach they have made to the solution of a serious national problem.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Stephens' letter be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Statement by W. R. Stephens, President and Chairman of the Board, Arkansas-Louisiana Gas Co., to Annual Stockholders Meeting, Shreveport, La., May 14, 1968

Stockholders, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Arkansas Louisiana Gas Company has traditionally acknowledged three basic obligatons. . .

First, to its customers, 564,000 of them in the five states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Kansas and Texas. To them we have pledged dependable low-cost natural gas service. In this we have succeeded. In the past ten years we have more than doubled the number of customers served, and we pride ourselves that we "sell more gas at retail cheaper than any other gas distribution company."

Our second responsibility, as with all corporations, is to make money for our stockholders, 35,600 in 50 states and 23 foreign countries. During the past ten years we have purchased three other utilities and we have diversified to where we are in effect a new company today. This has given us the tools to work with to increase our earnings materially in the future.

Our third responsibility is to provide for our 4500 employees, to assure them of a bright and happy future. This we have done by increasing the wages of our hourly paid people more than $500,000 per year for each of the last three years. There are some of our people who may be still a bit behind, but we are mindful of them and will provide them remuneration in keeping with the Company's performance and the economic changes of the times.

During the past ten years we have created more than 1500 new permanent jobs, and more than 2,000 temporary construction jobs. You know, it is the secret of American free enterprise that it can create jobs. Productive jobs are not created by government, and we should not leave everything to "Big Government."

We now acknowledge a fourth obligation—that of helping to advance the abilities and skills of the lesser skilled and unemployed persons of our area. We will offer gainful employment and training opportunities for such people who desire to work and who abide by the laws of our country. We recognize that big business also must abide by the laws of the country.

To this end, we pledge out of our earnings $500,000 annually, to school and prepare these peoples for useful employment and increasing responsibilities in work.

I want to explain to you what I mean by this program. In the past, when we had a vacancy, we took applications and then hired the best qualified person. Under this new program, we will take people who are willing to learn, and we will help them to become qualified. Society is getting more complicated every day, and most of us benefit from the way that society is growing. But some people are hamstrung by society. They're willing, and they're hopeful, but they can't even get up to the "starting line."

As a public utility we serve all people, in every part of town. We are concerned with the welfare, and the strengths and weaknesses, of all parts of the 475 communities which we serve. We are involved with all of them. This program will expand what we're already doing. We have taken part in pre-job training for people coming out of correctional institutions, to help give them a better start and a new life. We have taken part in organized vocational training programs. We do these things as a law-abiding corporation, made up of responsible citizens of our communities, who try to measure up to the obligations of leadership.

At the present time Arkansas Louisiana Gas Company has 307 Negro employees out of 4,500 or 6.8 per cent. These people hold jobs in many fields—from chemist, to data processing, to supervisors, to revenue interpreters, to clerks. They run the gamut from skilled to unskilled. They are doing a good job for us.

Our program is contrary to all normal practices of employment. But if the Negro and the less fortunate persons are to have a chance to develop their skills and enhance their positions in life, someone must lead the way. This is why we are assuming a leadership role in providing employment and opportunities for advancement to this segment of our society. This is a responsibility of leadership.

It has always been our policy to run a "tight ship" with major emphasis on job efficiency. Fulfilling this fourth obligation which we have now assumed, may postpone some of our efficiency but I am confident we can take our new program in stride.

We're off to a good start this year. Consolidated net income for the first quarter of 1968 came to $10,619,000 or $1.05 per share, as compared to net income of $9.965,000 or 99 cents per share last year. For the 12 months ending March 31, 1968, net income was $29,908,500 or $2.97 per share, compared to $27,283,000 or $2.70 per share for the previous 12-month period.

Looking at all of 1968, we expect to reach $200 million in gross revenue for the first time. This will be accomplished by natural gas sales of $140 million, and by the sale of about $60 million of manufactured products.

As one means of increasing natural gas sales, we will complete by June 1 a $10 million pipeline to Jane, Missouri, through which we will move 100 million cubic feet of gas per day to Cities Service Gas Company, under a 20-year contract. In addition, we will complete by the end of the year 29 miles of 30-inch loop line . . . the biggest pipe we've ever put in—for the Arkansas system, and add compressor capacity of 8000 horsepower to bring new large volumes of gas into our main system from fields in the Arkoma Basin.

Our natural gas sales will benefit from the rapidly increasing industrial requirements of our service area, and with the utilization of more gas burning appliances throughout our system, especially gas air conditioning. To support our sales growth our gas reserves continue to grow. During 1967 we increased them by 874 billion cubic feet, to where we now have in excess of 8.1 trillion, of which 910 billion are company owned. This represents a great asset.

Fertilizer sales of products from our Big River Complex at Helena should account for over $15 million this year. The PinePLY plywood plant production will result in $8 million in gross revenue. Other chemical operations contributing will be products extraction, some $9 million; chlorine and caustic, $2.2 million; and petroleum marketing, $3.3 million. Sales of Foreman Cement should top $15 million, with the full effect of our latest expansion.

The introduction of our new 5-ton air-cooled unit and the 100-ton steam-driven unit should improve our sales position in gas air conditioners which we have developed over the years. Together with new models of Gasgrills and Gaslites, our Arkla Industries subsidiary should realize sales in excess of $15 million.

In all, we should have gross revenues in excess of $200 million. Many of our future projects and studies have become unfeasible due to high interest costs, but we have not abandoned them. We are waiting for a better opportunity to move forward.

We have reached that point in our diversification program where weather is not a determining factor. When the weather is hot, we do not have to suffer financially. If gas use goes down, fertilizer and cement and plywood go up and sustain our growth.

What we have dreamed and worked for is now here. The thing we are proudest of is that we have as a Company tied the natural resources of the rugged mountains of Western Arkansas to the Mighty Mississippi, through a 250-mile pipeline system which transports natural gas to sustain and develop our economy. For the first time the Mississippi River is of economic value to all of Arkansas and to Northern Louisiana.

Through this action we have results today—not tomorrow. Because we are on the Mississippi some 865,000 tons of fertilizers will be produced this year from the gas we supply . . . at the Continental plant at Barfield, and by our own complex at Helena. We have "gotten with it." Arkansas gas is used for Arkansas.

Through these and other developments the value of land has increased in some places from as little as $1 per acre to $1,000 per acre. The fertilizer which we help make possible will save the farmers of Arkansas and Louisiana $10 million annually.

And more growth is coming to our service area, with the opening of the Arkansas River to navigation in October and the encouraging progress on development of the Red River.

Thus, under our diversification plans and actions we are converting our raw materials at home to the benefit of the people and the area we serve, and to the profit of our stockholders. During this year, we will work with another resource we have—our people who need help. 1968 should be a good year and I for one look forward eagerly to our progress and results.

I thank you for your help and encouragement.

MUST OUR BOYS CONTINUE TO DIE WHILE THE PEACE TALKS GO ON? WHY NOT SEEK A CEASE-FIRE NOW?

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, On May 7, in a speech on the floor of the Senate, I urged that President Johnson order a cease-fire by the American and South Vietnamese forces, and request our adversaries—Vietcong and North Vietnamese—to do likewise. It seems utter folly that while these negotiations are underway the killing not only goes on, but is intensified.

Three weeks ago our casualties reached the highest point in the entire war—562 dead and 2,225 wounded. That was the week of May 5. The following week, they were almost as high—549 killed and 2,282 wounded. We have yet to learn the number of our casualties since that time, but it is obvious from these tragic figures that we are not winning the war militarily and the needless killing and crip-

pling of thousands of our boys should be stopped if it is humanly possible.

It also happens that the current June issue of the Progressive magazine heads its leading editorial with exactly the same title and plea that I used three weeks earlier: "Stop the Killing Now." As I pointed out, the request, at the very least, should be made by the United States. If the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong do not accede to it, at least our Government will have tried. Certainly the partial suspension of the bombing that was announced when, on March 31, the President declared his determination not to be a candidate for reelection, can hardly be interpreted as a thoroughly meaningful departure from previously existing policy. In other words, we should not only stop all bombing, but all shooting, with the understanding, of course, that the other side will do likewise.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from the Progressive "Stop the Killing Now" be printed at the conclusion of my remarks together with the statement that I made on May 7 to the same effect.

While our boys are dying, the worthless and undemocratic character of the government we are supporting in Saigon becomes increasingly evident. In the Sunday, May 26, New York Times appeared two articles concerning the suppression of the freedom of the press that is taking place there together with the sentencing of a United Press International photographer to 2 years in prison. His offense appears to have been the taking of photographs showing the "water cure" torture by South Vietnamese of their Vietcong prisoners.

I ask unanimous consent that the two articles from the Sunday, May 26, New York Times. "Censors' 'Noes for News' Enrage Saigon's Editors" and "Saigon Sentences U.P.I. Photographer" be added at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Progressive, June 1968]

STOP THE KILLING NOW

The killing goes on.

This is the central fact about what is happening in Vietnam—the fact that must constantly be borne in mind as the search for a negotiated peace continues.

While diplomats on both sides do their dickering and propagandists jockey for a momentary advantage, the slaughter continues. Each week hundreds of men, women, and children—soldiers and civilians, Americans and Vietnamese, Communists and anti-Communists, and the many who know little about ideology and less about strategy but merely want to see the sun after the long night of war—each week hundreds of these die in a tragic and senseless war that has been automated, escalated, mechanized, modernized, and magnified by American wealth and technology. Each week thousands more are injured and maimed, widowed and orphaned, driven from their homes. Each week sees more destruction and despoiling of a land that will take generations to rebuild.

This is why *The Progressive* cannot join in Richard M. Nixon's self-serving call for a moratorium on criticism of the Administration's policies during the negotiations. It was the people's protest and political action that drove President Johnson to make his historic pronouncements that Sunday night of March 31; both forces can be equally creative in maintaining the democratic dialogue on Vietnam policy now. That is why, too, we cannot embrace with equanimity Ambassador George W. Ball's appeal for "patience and a sense of perspective." Patience and perspective we shall surely need in the trying months ahead, but it is vital for us to remember that we are dealing not with a long, drawn-out border dispute or snail's-pace trade negotiations. We are dealing with human lives, and while we practice patience the killing goes on. During the month of exasperating maneuvering over a conference site, more than 2,400 American and South Vietnamese boys were killed in action and a claimed 11,000 North Vietnamese and Vietcong soldiers were slain.

"This is only the very first step," President Johnson warned when he announced the agreement to meet with representatives of North Vietnam in Paris. "There are many, many hazards and difficulties ahead."

Mr. Johnson was right, of course, but he might have added that the role of American diplomacy at this juncture must be to do everything possible to remove those formidable hazards and difficulties for which the United States itself is responsible.

"Until honorable peace is a reality," President Johnson told the country, "We must continue to depend on the qualities of courage and endurance which have seen this country through every crisis."

What are the terms of an "honorable peace"? And how "honorable" a peace must it be to put an end to a dishonorable war? The President has not really said, but in Saigon the generals—South Vietnam's generals and our own—are offering a few disturbing clues.

Truong Dinh Dzu, the peace candidate who ran a surprise second in last year's presidential election and who has been in and out of jail several times since then, has now been imprisoned again—this time for urging the formation of a coalition government as a step toward ending the war. President Nguyen Van Thieu and Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky, the leaders of "free" South Vietnam, that nation whose preservation is our proclaimed prime purpose in the war, have declared that they will "never" negotiate with the Vietcong or their political arm, the National Liberation Front.

Our own generals, who have seen victory just around the corner for nearly four years, are once again bubbling with euphoric assurances that great military "progress" is being made toward "victory." And some, it is reported in Washington press dispatches, have begun to urge the Administration to order wider American bombing of North Vietnam.

If the generals have their way, as they so often have had their way, there would be no reason to negotiate; they are wedded to their occupational distrust of political negotiations and tend to think that a peace conference is the place where the enemy surrenders after having been humiliated on the battlefield. But North Vietnam is clearly not prepared to come to the table to surrender. Only a political settlement that involves a measure of give-and-take on both sides—a settlement that embraces the concepts of neutrality and coalition—would offer may hope of bringing the war to the kind of conclusion that could endure because it would be a settlement that both sides could live with. Conversely, if each side sits at the peace table bent on achieving the "victory" denied it on the battlefield, the negotiations are doomed.

Achieving a give-and-take settlement will almost certainly be a long, arduous process. It will entail tensions and upheavals in South Vietnam and it may create internal problems for Hanoi and external tensions in her relationships with Moscow and Peking. For the United States there are bound to be political embarrassments, especially if the Administration has the character to concede—perhaps not in so many words but rather by its conduct at the table and the content of its negotiating proposals—that it committed a political blunder and a moral outrage in waging war in Vietnam.

The fears generated by the Pentagon and its Allies among the politicians and the press that Hanoi would take advantage of a U.S. bombing pause to pour vast aggregations of men, munitions, and supplies into South Vietnam, proved groundless during the month following the partial U.S. suspension of bombing. Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, in a statement that received far too little attention in the news media, said he was "not aware of any increase in infiltration" since Mr. Johnson proclaimed a modified bombing suspension March 31.

Subsequently, however, the White House fed newsmen bits of intelligence reports that purported to show a vast increase in infiltration by North Vietnamese forces, but, when analyzed, these reports ambiguously dealt more with infiltration since the beginning of the Tet offensive in January and less with increased pressure from Hanoi since the President proclaimed a partial suspension of the bombing March 31. American forces have also been embarked on major new offensives since March 31—witness operation "Complete Victory" in the Saigon area, operation "Pegasus" around Khesanh, and many others. On April 21, *The New York Times* reported:

"It has also become clear that President Johnson's partial bombing pause has not reduced the amount of bombing in North Vietnam. It has simply diverted the bombing from heavily populated areas to the sector between the demilitarized zone and the Nineteenth Parallel.

The melancholy fact is that both sides have been seeking to achieve a few quick military "victories" in the hope of strengthening their respective bargaining positions.

Another fear merits examination: A curious notion seems to have taken hold that the negotiating process in itself poses some sort of threat to the interests of the United States. An elaborate mythology has been developed on this point, based, supposedly, on the experience in Korea in the early 1950s. Columnist Joseph Alsop, dean of the press hawks who view with alarm the prospect of a negotiated settlement in Vietnam, has written that after talks began in Korea "the fighting continued for two more years, with the United States suffering nearly twice as many casualties in this period as in the pre-talks period." That, Alsop warns, "is the kind of thing the U.S. commanders in Vietnam are unanimously determined to avoid. One of the wisest and most highly placed among those who have streamed through Dongha is known to have remarked that 'the best contribution we can make to the progress of negotiations is to go on winning the war.' "

In a similar vein, the liberal *Washington Post* has asserted that "the talks that started on July 10, 1951, did not end until July 27, 1953, at Panmunjom, and neither did the fighting. Casualties were greater than those before the talks."

All this is not only irrelevant but inaccurate. According to official Defense Department figures, U.S. casualties in Korea totaled 20,929 killed and 53,784 wounded from June 25, 1950—the day the war started—until July 13, 1951. From July 13, 1951—three days after the talks started—until July 27, 1953, when the armistice was signed, the official casualty figures reported 12,700 dead and 49,500 wounded.

This is not to suggest that we must casually accept a continuation of the fighting in Vietnam—even at a reduced casualty rate—while the search for a negotiated peace continues. Quite the contrary. Each violent death, each act of destruction in Vietnam is an unconscionable affront to human sensibility.

The maneuvering and bargaining in Paris will doubtless go on for a long time, but there are several preliminary agreements that need to be reached as soon as humanly possible.

The initial order of business in Paris is Hanoi's demand for unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. Prompt American acceptance is clearly the indispensable first step toward fruitful negotiations—the step so long urged on the Johnson Administration by many of the leaders and the peoples of allied, neutral, and Communist countries, not to mention our own.

The next step, it seems to us, must be early agreement on a sharp deescalation of all fighting by both sides. What would be vastly more desirable, of course, would be a general and immediate cease-fire to end the killing *now*—while negotiations go on. There are barriers to such an agreement, not the least of which is the long smoldering conviction of the leaders of North Vietnam that they were betrayed after the cease-fire and settlement they reluctantly accepted at the Geneva Conference of 1954.

Much could be done to assuage this suspicion among the leaders of North Vietnam that they might be burnt again, this time by the United States, if the American emissaries at the Paris talks would make it clear at the outset—privately if that is preferable—that the United States is committed to complete withdrawal from Vietnam, and is prepared, as Senator Eugene J. McCarthy has urged, to "negotiate a new government for South Vietnam"—if, indeed, these are our intentions.

To be sure, it is not good poker to show your hand before you are called; nor is it considered shrewd collective bargaining to reveal what concessions you are prepared to make in searching for a compromise. But, given the background and aftermath of the 1954 Geneva Conference; given the fact that we are not dealing here with poker chips, or with wages, hours, and seniority, but rather with the lives and the land of millions of innocent victims of power politics; given the final fact that the collapse of negotiations in Paris would lead to renewed escalation of the war in Vietnam, which in turn could trigger worldwide nuclear war—given these considerations, the sacred laws of poker-playing, the traditional concepts of bargaining, and even the ancient arts of diplomacy have little relevance to the challenge that confronts us.

The negotiated settlement designed to bring enduring peace to Vietnam, will be hammered out, hopefully, over a period of months—perhaps longer. But for the present, the immmediate and imperative need is to stop the killing.

[From the Congressional Record, May 7, 1968]

Stop the Killing Now—Order for In-place Cease-fire Should Coincide With Beginning of Paris Talks on Vietnam

Mr. Gruening. Mr. President, the agreement for the beginning of talks in Paris with North Vietnam on May 10, 1968 affords the United States an opportunity to take an important, constructive step along the road to peace in Vietnam.

From news accounts it seems quite likely that—unless such a step is taken—during the so-called peace talks in Paris which will take a considerable amount of time, during that period, the killing of military and civilian Americans and Vietnamese will proceed apace with all sides vying for tactical military advantage to aid their bargaining position at the conference table.

This needless slaughter need not take place. The United States can move to prevent it.

It is obvious that unless the United States is prepared to lay waste to all of Vietnam, both North and South, a military victory is out of the question, and probably out of the question in any event, and that settlement of the conflict must come at the conference table.

Therefore, what possible advantage can there be in continuing the carnage there? It is especially frightful for American boys to be killed or wounded day after day for a temporary, dubious military advantage which will in all probability be yielded at the conference table.

These deaths and woundings of both Americans, their allies, and the Vietnamese should cease.

The United States should immediately announce that, as of the time of the commencement of the Paris talks, there will be an in-place cease-fire in all of South Vietnam on the part of the United States, its allies, and the South Vietnamese forces, except for defensive action.

The United States has the power to enforce such an order with respect to the South Vietnamese forces because the United States has absolute control over the wherewithal by which the South Vietnamese forces operate.

As is stated in the recently published book "Vietnam Folly," which I coauthored:

"In the light of this history, the United States is in no position to argue that it cannot use its economic and military might in South Vietnam—now augmented by over 500,000 men of its armed forces—to establish in Saigon a government which is truly representative of all elements of South Vietnam's economic, religious and military life—for the time being other than the Vietcong, having done so leave its future to the Vietnamese people.

"In South Vietnam, the bullets for the rifles, the shells for the mortars, the gasoline for the jeeps, the tanks and the airplanes, and the food for the people—these are all available through and as the United States armed forces decide."

But what of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam? Will they honor such a unilateral in-place cease-fire?

I believe they would have to. But at least they should be offered the opportunity to do so.

Neither the Vietcong nor the North Vietnamese forces can hope to maintain even the minimum support of the people of South Vietnam if they alone are killing Vietnamese.

As Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh has stated in his perceptive work entitled "Lotus in a Sea of Fire":

". . . the Vietnamese people with twenty years of war behind them, will turn with trust and longing to a government that combines the concerns of peace and independence . . . A refusal to participate in an effort that is clearly in the direction of peace combined with independence would brand the Front as the enemy of the people rather than their friends, and its own image would be tarnished and degraded hopelessly."

If this course of action is taken, then negotiations can continue in Paris without the pressures of daily mortality statistics from Vietnam.

I have previously proposed that all—and not merely partial—bombing of North Vietnam should cease so that all killings in all of Vietnam should end so that the pressures on the negotiators in Paris can be minimized.

Pressures in the United States—the divisiveness which is racking the United States—could also be minimized if the administration, at the same time it announced the inplace cease-fire in South Vietnam were to announce that henceforth no draftee would be sent to Southeast Asia without his consent and that all draftees in that area would be given the opportunity of requesting duty somplace else.

I have twice introduced an amendment to the Selective Service Act which provided that no draftee could be sent to southeast Asia without his approval. My reasons for doing so were twofold. In the first instance, I believed the involvement of the United States in a civil war in Vietnam was wrong from beginning to end and that it was wrong for our Government to force young men to fight in a war which is morally and legally unjustifiable and which many of them so consider it. Since then the opposition to the war, especially among our young people, has grown by leaps and bounds, an event which I had clearly foreseen and do not hesitate to predict will encompass an ever-growing proportion of Americans. Second, I made the distinction between enlistees and draftees and pointed out the inequity of garrisoning our troops in Europe and in other noncombat areas, with thousands of men who joined the service on their own, while thousands of draftees were sent to Vietnam, many of whom it is probable would not choose to be there of their own volition.

There is a vast difference between sending enlisted men of the Armed Forces to Vietnam and sending draftees there. When a man voluntarily enlists in one of the branches of the armed services, he does so with his eyes open—he knows that he must obey the orders of the Commander in Chief and go where he is sent—even if it is to fight and perhaps die in Vietnam. His is not "to reason why." He undertook to obey orders when he voluntarily entered military service. No one forced him to enlist.

The draftee, after he is inducted, also agrees to obey orders but his agreeing to do so is not on a voluntary basis. He has no choice. But he does know that he is being sent to fight in a war which the Congress did not declare. And he does know that under the Constitution, which he must swear to uphold and defend when he is inducted, only the Congress can declare war. This is a part of the crux of the reluctance of so many of our young men to serve in Vietnam, in addition to the fact that the United States is there illegally, and having invited itself in—contrary to the official allegations that it was invited in, and in violation of all the pertinent treaties to which it is signatory—the United Nations Charter, the SEATO Treaty and the unilateral commitment made for the United States by Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith that it would respect the Geneva accords.

There can be no doubt but that drafting men to serve in Vietnam is dividing the United States as no other conflict has ever divided this Nation. Thus, there appeared in The New York Times for April 28, 1968, a three-page advertisement signed by more than 500 presidents of student government and editors of campus newspapers stating their belief that they "should not be forced to fight in the Vietnam war because the Vietnam war is unjust and immoral."

I ask unanimous consent to have the advertisement printed in the Record.

[From the New York Times, May 25, 1968]

Censors' "Noes for News" Enrage Saigon's Editors

(By Douglas Robinson)

Saigon, South Vietnam, May 25.—The newspapers of Saigon are increasingly sprinkled with blank spaces these days as a battle between censors and editors rages with neither side willing to concede a column inch.

Judging from appearances, the censors currently have the upper hand, but the editors, who fume and rant about Government control, are determined not to be blue-penciled into submission.

The two English-language newspapers—The Saigon Daily News and The Saigon Post—have recently borne the brunt of the censors' "noes for news," as one editor put it.

"The censors take out anything that appears to criticize the Government," said Tran

Nha, editor of The Saigon Post in a recent interview. "We also have a good deal of trouble because the censors don't really understand English."

MISTAKE OF CENSORS

Mr. Nha said that a recent headline had read, "Pacification Hardly Touched by Second Red Offensive."

"The censors took out 'hardly touched' because they felt the words meant 'hard hit,'" Mr. Nha said mournfully.

The preliminary peace talks in Paris and the resignation of Premier Nguyen Van Loc and his Cabinet have caused headaches for Saigon's harassed editors, since the word "peace" was not allowed in headlines and speculation on Government actions is forbidden.

After tortuous circumlocutions during the initial days of the Paris negotiations, the newspapers were finally permitted to use "peace" in headlines. Speculation on the future Cabinet, however, continued to be excised with the resulting gaping holes on Page 1.

PROHIBITIONS LISTED

The censors, who are part of the Ministry of Information, work in a crowded room on the second floor of the National Press Center in downtown Saigon. The room, which has no air-conditioning, has a blackboard on which are listed the prohibited subjects for the day.

Each day, the editors of Saigon's 36 newspapers must submit their final page proofs to the censors for examination. These proofs are brought in three hours before press time, since the editors have learned that the process may be excruciatingly slow.

In addition to the two English-language daily newspapers, the city has 25 Vietnamese, seven Chinese and two French newspapers.

Before last year's election campaign, there were no censors as such. The Government simply suspended publications when they overstepped the bounds of what officials decided was poor taste or inaccurate reporting.

Then, during the campaign, censorship was abolished to permit candidates to air their views. Pro-Communist or "neutralist" writings were not permitted, but since there were virtually no candidates of either persuasion, there were few problems.

A RAY OF HOPE

During the enemy's Lunar New Year offensive in February, when South Vietnam was placed under martial law, the present form of censorship was established and it has not been relaxed.

A ray of hope for the editors was seen today when it was announced that Ton That Thien had been appointed Information Minister. Mr. Thien was once the chief editorial writer for The Saigon Guardian, a newspaper that was suspended by the Government last year.

Newsmen hope that Mr. Thien's appointment will mean that measures now pending before the legislature that would strengthen the censorship laws will be abandoned or toned down. Of particular concern is a proposal for the death penalty for anyone writing what could be considered Communist or neutralist stories.

Not all editors, however, are up in arms against censorship. Nguyen Lau, publisher of The Saigon Daily News and a columnist of considerable reputation, is relaxed about the whole matter.

"I write what I see and feel and the censors take it out," he said. "But at least I can go home with a clear conscience and not worry about going to jail."

SAIGON SENTENCES U.P.I. PHOTOGRAPHER

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, May 25.—Nguyen Thanh Tai, a once-wounded combat photographer for United Press International, has been convicted by a special South Vietnamese Military court of having produced pictures detrimental to the public interest. He was sentenced to two years in prison.

The court's findings were made Friday and were disclosed yesterday.

Mr. Tai, a citizen of South Vietnam, was convicted of having taken pictures in 1965 that the Government said falsely depicted South Vietnamese soldiers threatening and abusing Vietcong prisoners. Among the photographs was one showing water being forced down the nose and throat of a prisoner.

In New York, United Press International formally protested yesterday to the South Vietnamese Government against the conviction of Mr. Tai. H. Roger Tatarian, U.P.I. editor, sent a cable to President Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon to call his "urgent attention" to the case.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE COMMEMORATION

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, as the city of Washington prepares to welcome on Saturday, June 1, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, there is added import to the headlines that tell us of the stirrings of independence among the unhappy satellites of Moscow.

It is to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Ukraine's independence that brings to our midst our good American neighbors who look back to Ukraine as the land of their ancestry.

The independence of 1918 had been long fought for, but was short lived. For the heavy hand of Moscow dealt a quick death blow to a people's dream.

But Moscow could not—cannot—and never will be able to quench the Ukrainian determination to be free.

Time and again in the Halls of Congress we have drawn upon the example of Ukraine for inspiration—out of its culture—out of its courage—out of the constancy of its struggle for national life and liberty.

The Washington observance begins at the memorial statue to Taras Shevchenko, the national poet of Ukraine. The poet is more than a century dead, but there is a deathless challenge in his words that have been spoken before in the Capitol and I would like to repeat:

> One thing I cannot bear
> To know my land that was beguiled
> Into a death trap with a lie
> Trampled and ruined and defiled—
> Ah, but I care, dear God, I care.

One can understand why the Soviets denounced Shevchenko's writings as "detrimental" and saw that they were removed from bookstores and libraries. And the literary world can be grateful that the Ukrainians in America have seen to it that his works have been published here in their full 14 volumes.

Ukrainian hearts will beat faster and more fondly to the patriotic lyrics of the poet—and hearts of the world will be braver for remembering the courage of Ukraine—steadfast beyond all suffering.

Ukrainians will really be observing two historic dates—that of January 1918 when—with the czar overthrown—the Ukrainians declared their independence and established the Ukrainian National Republic. But all too soon the Red armies crashed in and the Ukraine was finally incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Again in 1941, caught between the raging battle lines of the infamous Hitler and the equally savage Stalin, Ukrainian freedom was reborn, and on June 30, 1941, the Provisional Government of the Ukraine was established. They had defied Nazi terrorism but, once again, the cruel crushing of the Red armies blasted their hopes of freedom.

In all these years the Ukrainians have not accepted serfdom as permanent for themselves, and they have striven to warn the free world of the true meaning of communism—the savage mind and sinister menace of Moscow as they have known them.

These United States with its only 200 years of history can learn much from the thousand-year history of the Ukraine.

In spite of defeats and despair the valiant people of the Ukraine look for history to repeat itself—for still another opportunity for freedom when they can match power with power—for they know and they warn us that communism respects nothing but power—superlative power.

That the Ukrainian hope is no empty dream is supported by the hasty retreat from Prague this past week by Premier Kosygin cutting short his conciliation visit by some 4 days.

This incident is symptomatic of the stirrings throughout the captive nations summarized in an editorial published in the Christian Science Monitor of last Friday, May 24.

It is fraught with omens of the future, of significance not only to liberty loving Ukrainians but to us of America busy "building bridges" of understanding from the free world to these nations of the world that want to be free.

I ask unanimous consent that the Christian Science Monitor editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMUNISM AND POLITICAL FREEDOM

Eastern European communism finds itself increasingly caught in a cleft stick. It sees itself trapped between a need to grant greater political democracy and concern lest such changes undermine strict party control of national life.

This problem is heightened by the fact that this dilemma has been created largely through the degree of economic progress which most of these countries have made. As the national economies have expanded, as they demand a higher level of skill, education and intelligence, the necessity for political concessions has grown.

Clearly, none of these lands is ready to forgo either economic growth or the creation of a more highly educated population. Hence the dilemma: How to meet the rising demand for freedom without actually granting meaningful liberty?

Few Western experts believe that, in the end, the Communist countries have any choice other than to grant wide-ranging concessions to the demand for more political power. Thus France's Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber does not hesitate to state: "There is a close link between economic development and political liberalism. Prague and Warsaw and Moscow are obliged by economic necessity to introduce political liberty."

While perhaps less optimistic over early changes, the late Polish expatriate expert on Eastern Europe, Alexander Bregman, wrote that "once the impossibility of carrying on with an economic and social system which needed total tyranny to keep it going has been recognized, a way must be found for democratizing the political system as well."

It seems obvious that the ruling Communist Party in Czechoslovakia has come to agree with the Servan-Schreiber-Bergman analysis. While Prague has not gone to the point of legalizing opposition parties, it has apparently opened the door to a degree of discussion and disagreement within the party and the nation unique in the latter annals of Marxism.

True, the Soviet Union has set itself against this trend. Within the past few weeks several of the topmost ideological spokesmen in Moscow have spoken out against Western democratic concepts in very threatening tones. So have Polish and East German officials.

Yet it is doubtful if this rising tide can long be stemmed in any Eastern European country (other than in one or two of the least developed). The need to give freer play to the intellect is too great to be able to channel such play towards economics alone while preventing it from reaching politics.

OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS ACT OF 1968

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, last Thursday the Senate passed the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. Support for the Senate action is beginning to come in, in the form of newspaper editorials, columnists' articles, telegrams, and letters.

I ask unanimous consent to have the following material printed in the Record.

A telegram, dated May 24, 1968, that I received from the board of directors of the National District Attorneys Association, meeting in Denver, Colo. The association has a membership of 2,500. The telegram is signed by 34 prosecuting attorneys from 21 States, and the resolution it refers to was unanimously adopted.

An editorial entitled "Crime, Celler and L. B. J.," published in the Washington Daily News of May 25, 1968.

An editorial entitled "The Senate Rebukes the Court," published in the Washington Star of May 23, 1968.

An editorial entitled "A Tough Crime Bill," published in the Washington Star of May 26, 1968.

An editorial entitled "Action on Crime," published in the Christian Science Monitor of May 25, 1968.

An editorial entitled "Senate Whomps Supreme Court," published in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of May 23, 1968.

A syndicated article entitled "Court Tips Constitutional Scales," written by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, published in the Washington Star of May 25, 1968.

An article entitled "The Loaded Omnibus," published in the Washington Daily News of May 24, 1968.

An article entitled "DA's Need To Bargain With Criminals Scored," published in the Buffalo Courier-Express of April 25, 1968.

An article entitled "Senate's Vote on Crime Bill Confirms People Are Fed Up," written by William S. White, and published in the Washington Post of May 27, 1968.

An advertisement entitled "Patrolman Frank Gucciardi Will Not Be On His Beat Today," signed by the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association of the City of New York, and published in the New York Times of May 27, 1968.

An advertisement entitled "We Can't Put Out Fires and Dodge Beer Bottles," signed by the Uniformed Firemen's Association, and published in the New York Times of May 27, 1968.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Denver, Colo.,
May 24, 1968.

Senator John McClellan,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

The board of directors of the National District Attorneys' Association meeting in Denver, Colo., on May 24, 1968, have unanimously passed a resolution urging the Joint Conference Committee of the United States Senate and House of Representatives to accept the amendments proposed by the United States Senate to the "Safe Streets and Crime" bill. This organization, speaking for prosecuting attorneys throughout the country, strongly urges the passage of this bill, realizing that there is an immediate and urgent necessity for such legislation.

We strongly urge the adoption of the Senate version of the "Safe Streets and Crime" bill and urge its immediate passage in this vital fight against crime in this country. It is essential that we provide the necessary tools for local law enforcement to deal with this major domestic issue and that we establish a firm national posture on this issue. The Senate version of this bill not only reflects the consensus of prosecutors, but represents the overwhelming opinion of the majority of American citizens.

Board of directors National District Attorneys' Association, William J. Raggio, President; Evert Burton, Portsmouth, Ohio; Lewis Ambler, Bartlesville, Okla., James D. McDevitt, Denver, Colo.; Garrett Byrne, Boston, Mass.; T. E. Duncan, Gainesville, Fla.; Michael Dillon Buffalo, N.Y.; George Franklin, Las Vegas, Nev.; Elliott Golden, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Carol Vance, Houston, Tex.; John Stomas, Chicago, Ill.; Leo E. Maki, Lansing, Mich.; James Epskamp, Caro, Mich.; William Burns, Chicago, Ill.; John M. Price, Sacramento, Calif.; Patrick F. Healy, Chicago, Ill.; John J. O'Hara, Covington, Ky.; John Thevos Paterson, N.J.; Charles Paruszewski, Wilmington, Del.; Gerald A. Stack, Thermopolis, Wyo.; Harry Brenner, Huntington, N.Y., Charles Moylan, Jr., Baltimore, Md.; Thomas Spellerberg, Tiffin, Ohio; Keith Sanborn, Wichita, Kans.; Bill Boyd, McKinney, Texas; Evelle J. Younger, Los Angeles, Calif.; Henry Kowalczyk, Crown Point, Ind.; Richard E. Gerstein, Miami, Fla.; William Cahn, Mineola, N.Y.; Massel Martin, Mineola, N.Y.; R. James Brennan, Pennington County, S.D.; Francis Watson, Red Wing, Minn.; Paul Douglas, Lincoln, Neb.; George Aucion, Jefferson County Colo.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, May 25, 1968]

Crime, Celler, and L. B. J.

In passing a much stronger anti-crime bill than President Johnson had recommended, the United States Senate most assuredly is reflecting majority public opinion.

The chief features of the bill would make voluntary confessions of crime admissable as evidence, permit wiretapping in a variety of crime investigations, and restrict the sale of pistols.

These are weapons law enforcement agencies need to do a better job of offsetting the rising crime wave.

The new provisions on confessions were made necessary by a series of Supreme Court decisions, which very nearly made any confession unacceptable at a trial. Under the Senate bill, the trial judge would have the power to determine whether a confession was actually voluntary. Who else is better qualified to make this decision?

Wiretapping has been widely used by private snoops but police agencies have been under heavy restrictions. The Senate voted to reverse that upside-down situation by prohibiting private "buggings" entirely and permitting police use of these devices only under court supervision.

The gun control section of the bill may not go as far as the Administration wished, but at least it heads in the right direction.

What the Senate attempted to do was to take away some of the extraordinary "breaks" which have been given convicted criminals and restore some balance in the war between crime and law and order.

If wiretapping is an "invasion of privacy," as its opponents contend, what in the name of creation is murder, rape, kidnaping and burglary?

Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, is saying he would rather "sacrifice" the whole bill than accept the wiretapping and confession sections. There have been hints Mr. Johnson might veto the bill because of these provisions.

If either of these gentlemen succumbs to such a narrow obstinacy he will be bucking a tide of public opinion which is sick of crime and is demanding that society get at least an even draw with the criminal.

The Senate has devised an historic and reasonable bill. Rep. Celler and others of his inclination will undo it at the risk of compounding a crime wave which already has reached fearful proportions.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 23, 1968]

The Senate Rebukes the Court

By no rational stretch of the imagination can the Senate's action Tuesday on Title II of the crime bill be viewed as an "assault" on the Supreme Court. What the Senate votes actually amounted to was an emphatic expression of disapproval and dissent from the line which the court majority has been following in overturning criminal convictions.

This comes through most clearly in the voting on two major sections of Title II.

One was a vote to soften the impact on law enforcement of the court's 5-to-4 ruling two years ago in the Miranda case. This decision holds that a confession is invalid unless the suspect has been given a series of notices prior to questioning and unless he understands that the police will make available to him a lawyer to sit by his side and advise him during any interrogation. This ruling, though its effect is in dispute, has been widely condemned as a barrier to any effective questioning of criminal suspects. It is also a judge-made barrier, since prior to 1966 the Constitution had not been thought to require the Miranda "safeguards."

What the Senate did was to provide, by a vote of 55 to 29, that in Federal cases the trial judge, despite Miranda, may consider all of the circumstances surrounding a confession and admit it in evidence if he decides it was made voluntarily. The hitch here, of course, is that the Supreme Court in due time may declare this provision unconstitutional, even though it may be approved by the House and adopted by the President.

The other significant vote came on a proposal to deprive the Supreme Court of jurisdiction to review a state court conviction based on a confession if the state's highest court had held the confession to be voluntary. The Constitution clearly gives Congress the authority to do this. But it would be a drastic remedy to invoke, and the proposal was voted down, 52 to 32. Michigan's Senator Griffin undoubtedly spoke for many of his colleagues when he said: "As much as I disagree with the Supreme Court's rulings, I really hesitate to tamper with the delicate balance of power between the legislature and the judiciary."

This is about the size of it. Title II as finally approved is essentially a notice to the court that the Senate thinks it should mend its ways, that it should keep the scales in better balance as between the rights of criminals and the right of the public to be protected from crime. If this advice becomes law and if the court ignores it, which it is quite likely to do, Tuesday's struggle in the Senate very probably will turn out to have been only the first round in a continuing battle between the judiciary and the legislature.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 26, 1968]

A TOUGH CRIME BILL

The anti-crime bill which has been adopted by the Senate is equipped with sharp teeth. The anguished outcries and the flagrant misrepresentations by its opponents should remove any doubt on that score.

It is not our contention that this bill is right in all respects or that it cannot be improved upon when it goes to conference. We think it can be improved. But to say, as some do, that it is a spiteful assault on the Supreme Court or that if it becomes law it will no longer be safe for a law-abiding citizen to talk on the telephone or converse with his wife in the privacy of his home is nothing but nonsense.

The attack on the bill moves along two main lines. One thrust stays that the effort to modify the Supreme Court rulings in the Miranda and two other cases is unconstitutional. This is disputed by the sponsors. But there is no reason for panic on this score. If the section in question is unconstitutional, the Supreme Court will have opportunity to say so.

The second line of attack is aimed at the authorization under what seem to us to be adequate safeguards for the use of wiretaps and electronic listening devices by federal authorities. In our view, this authorization was broadened on the Senate floor to cover too many types of crimes. We would prefer to see this cut back to the offenses spelled out in the original bill. Two points, however, are worth noting. One is that the Senate approved this authorization by a vote of 68 to 12. Are the critics seriously suggesting that 68 senators want to set up a police state in this country? The other is that, under the bill, all private bugging for the first time is made a federal crime.

The critics hope, first, that the House conferees will not accept the Senate bill, and, second, that the President will veto it if they do.

What the conferees or the President will do is anyone's guess. The obvious fact is, however, that the bill sponsored by Senator McClellan of Arkansas is a response to a massive public demand for protection against crime and criminals. This bill, perhaps with some modification in conference, should become law. And the self-appointed constitutional experts should leave that issue to the court.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 25, 1968]

ACTION ON CRIME

These columns have repeatedly emphasized, and they will continue to emphasize, the overriding need for immediate and effective action to reduce the horrifying crime rate in the United States. This topic is too urgent to be dropped. There must be continual pressure upon public opinion, upon all public bodies and services until adequate action is taken.

Currently the national Congress is wrestling with a crime bill, several of whose sections are highly controversial. The Senate has overwhelmingly passed the so-called Title II, which would overturn key Supreme Court decisions limiting in court the use of confessions and line-up identifications as evidence. It seems likely, however, that the House of Representatives will hearken to the many voices which have been raised against such action and will reject it.

Thus a deadlock might occur. This, in turn, might threaten the rest of the administration's crime control legislation over which there is less disagreement.

We refuse to accept the thesis that a strong crime bill, strengthening the hand of the nation's law enforcement agencies and the courts, while granting full constitutional protection to the accused, cannot be drafted and passed. It would be a tragedy if national debate became so wrapped up in whether the Senate is right or the House is right that no effective measure came out of this session of Congress.

We call upon both houses of Congress to bid their respective committees sit down together and stay together until they have drafted measures which achieve these ends. If the Supreme Court has gone too far (and no human organization is immune to mistakes), a way can be found to correct this. If the court's decisions are deemed unexceptionable, then, new paths must be found. But, in any event, the American people *demand* that law enforcement become surer and swifter. The sooner this is done, the more easily will it be done.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, May 23, 1968]

SENATE WHOMPS SUPREME COURT

Tuesday was a great day for law-abiding Americans as a determined majority in the United States Senate, led by Sen. John L. McClellan, gave the ultra-liberal Supreme Court majority a long overdue rebuff by overturning court decisions that have put undue restrictions on police, confessions and eyewitness testimony.

The Miranda, Mallory and Wade decisions went into the ash heap. They were washed out when the Senate voted to keep sections of the bill that established voluntariness as the principal test for admissibility of confessions in federal courts.

By a vote of 51 to 31 the Senate also beat back an attempt to strike a section which would overrule a Supreme Court decision that eyewitness testimony can't be admitted if a lawyer was not present at police lineup identifications.

Senate liberals made much of the fact that they succeeded in eliminating sections that would have abolished the court's power to review cases involving confessions, eyewitness testimony and writs of habeas corpus. These sections should have been defeated because the Supreme Court must retain the right to review such cases.

These reversals, however, took nothing from the victory by advocates of stronger law enforcement in striking down the landmark Supreme Court rulings that have handcuffed police and prosecutors.

Senator McClellan deserves high praise for his strong leadership in pushing these provisions to passage.

He pulled no punches in accusing the five liberal Justices who have voted these restrictions of undermining law enforcement in this country.

In overturning the controversial court decisions, the Senate is acting well within its scope as spelled out in the Constitution. This rebuke to the high court liberal majority should put them on notice that not only the Senate but people all over the country are fed up with their decisions that give increasing leverage to criminals in escaping questioning or making confessions.

They have shown a strangely callous disregard for the public's primary right to protection against a record criminal onslaught and to justice that is based on equity and not court-invented technicalities.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, May 25, 1968]

COURT TIPS CONSTITUTIONAL SCALES

When 80-year-old Hugo Lafayette Black unloaded on his fellow Supreme Court justices during his Columbia law school lectures this spring, he said nothing that hadn't been said with more or less profanity by myriads of lawyers and legislators before him.

But here was a man in the twilight of his years, gone well beyond the need of political favor or personal approbation, who, as he put it, was filled with "fear for our constitutional system." And he tagged his brother justices for the peril.

Said Justice Black:

"Power corrupts, and unrestricted power will tempt Supreme Court justices just as history tells us it has tempted other judges. Given absolute or near absolute power, judges may exercise it to bring about changes that are inimical to freedom and good government. . . .

"I strongly believe that the basic purpose and plan of the Constitution is that the federal government should have no powers except those that are expressly or impliedly granted and that no department of government—executive, legislative or judicial—has authority to add to or take away the powers granted or denied by the Constitution. . . .

"I deeply fear for our constitutional system when life-appointed judges can strike down a law passed by Congress or a state legislature with no more justification than that the judges believe the law is 'unreasonable.'"

In recent years, and particularly since the accession of Chief Justice Earl Warren and the appointment of justices more famous for social activism than awe of the law, the court has come to regard itself, not as a protector of rules, but as a creator of them.

The difference is fundamental.

It was 165 years ago when, in the case of Marbury vs. Madison, the court seized the right to strike down federal statutes that appeared to contravene the intent of the Constitution.

It was a reasonable seizure. After all, you wouldn't have much of a constitutional system if Congress could nullify any part of it with a simple vote. Someone had to make subjective judgments of what the Constitution meant, and who better than the highest court?

Until the Warren court came along when justices split, they generally did so over diverse interpretation of the letter of the law. But the Warren court was characterized by its determination to widen the First, Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments by interpretations that hadn't occurred to previous courts.

The court's defenders have argued that in a rapidly changing society the court is simply keeping up with the needs of the times and that the process of amending the Constitution is so slow that the interest of the people would not be served by waiting for it.

But a process for amending the Constitution does exist. And it would be interesting to see how many state legislatures would approve an amendment that would force employers running sensitive defense plants to hire members of known subversive organizations, or an amendment that would force police to release a confessed rapist if so much as a night intervened between his arrest and arraignment.

Yet the Supreme Court accomplished these wonders by simply interpreting the Constitution in novel and hitherto-unthought-of ways.

Dean Roscoe Pound of Harvard put it well a few years ago when he remarked that the trouble with the court was "absolutism." In the court's effort to achieve absolute justice, according to the personal beliefs of its majority, the law vanishes and a system of decrees and edicts takes over.

All sincere dictatorships operate on the same theory. "The law is supposed to be good for the people. I think this is good for the people. Ergo, this is the law."

There seems to be no logical substitute for the Supreme Court as the last word in the interpretation of the Constitution. But the flippant theory that "the law is what the Supreme Court says it is" must have some limitations if a system of law is to survive.

If the Supreme Court persists in its apparent drive to nullify the Congress as it pleases, and to direct the performance of the Executive Branch, then we no longer have a workable separation of powers. America may be driven to ratifying a series of constitutional amendments so clear in wording and so specific in intent that the court would have to deny the meaning of the English language to override them.

Our system of checks and balances is worth preserving.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, May 24, 1968]

CELLER SET TO CURB CRIME BILL: THE LOADED OMNIBUS

(By Dan Thomasson)

What started out to be the President's omnibus anti-crime bill faced tough odds in a House-Senate Conference Committee today after being loaded in the Senate with provisions to legalize police wiretapping and to soften recent Supreme Court rulings.

Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) of the House Judiciary Committee already has said he will fight the provision to undercut High Court rulings on confessions, eyewitness testimony and legal counsel for suspects when they are placed in police lineups.

Rep. Celler said he would rather "sacrifice" the entire measure than accept the provisions on confessions. He will head the House conferees.

The bill, which also imposes new Federal controls on sale and transportation of handguns and authorizes $400 million to strengthen local and state law enforcement agencies the next two years, was passed by the Senate last night after days of debate.

As passed by the House last year, it provided only for the grants to local and state police departments. But Republicans and Southern Democrats used the bill as a vehicle to rebuke the Supreme Court for rulings as those in the Miranda, Mallory and Wade cases and to authorize "new tools," such as wiretaps, to fight crime.

Congressional insiders said today the fight in the Conference Committee, made up of senior members from the two Judiciary Committees would be long and hard. President Johnson not only opposes the anti-Supreme Court provisions of the Senate version but also those authorizing distribution of funds on a block basis to states.

Mr. Johnson has said the Senate version raises "grave Constitutional questions." But he has not threatened a veto.

L.B.J. UPSET

The President also has been upset by the Senate's refusal to give him a gun control bill applying to rifles and shotguns as well as pistols.

Senate passage came after two days of fighting over the wiretapping provision which liberal senators called a "deprivation" of the Constitutionally-guaranteed right of privacy.

But despite warnings the provision would lead to a "police state" the Senate overwhelmingly rejected efforts to kill or weaken it substantially.

Under it, Federal, state or local police could obtain a court order permitting wiretapping or electronic bugging to collect court-admissible evidence in nearly every type of major crime, including murder, kidnaping, robbery, extortion, narcotics violations and labor racketeering.

But, it would prohibit wiretapping by anyone other than a police officer and establish heavy penalties for violations.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Apr. 25, 1968]

DA'S NEED TO BARGAIN WITH CRIMINALS SCORED

Dist. Atty. Michael F. Dillon asserted Wednesday night that he is "abhorred" by the fact that he must "sit and bargain" with criminals and accept reduced pleas from them.

He blamed the situation on administration of criminal justice "that is bogged down in a morass of technicality and confusion," caused in a large part by the Supreme Court's emphasis on individual rights.

Dillon, addressing the Men's Sustaining Society of Mercy Hospital in Club Como, 1779 South Park Ave., declared:

"Upon reading about all the times Dist. Atty. Dillon has recommended reduced pleas, you might possibly think that your district attorney has gone out of his mind.

OBLIGED TO BARGAIN

"But every district attorney in every major city in the United States is obliged to bargain with the criminal element, and this is as abhorrent to your DA as it is to you."

Dillon said district attorneys must "bargain" if they want to obtain any kind of conviction because the courts are so bogged down with criminal cases that many defendants would go free for lack of prosecution.

He said Erie County's four county judges can try only 180 cases a year, yet on the average, 800 persons are indicted annually on felony charges.

"What do we do with the other 620 cases (that can't go to trial)?" Dillon asked. "We're in a position, regretfully, where we are forced to sit with criminals and discuss the best possible plea that we can get—not for the criminal—but for the people of the State of New York."

HIGH COURT ACTION SCORED

Dillon said that when he was first elected DA, "I was imbued with the need to preserve and protect individual rights."

But he added that the extent to which the Supreme Court has gone in this area "has created greater problems than the ones they were supposed to solve."

He maintained the system of administration of criminal justice "must be speeded up."

ENCOURAGING CRIMINAL

"We are naive if we believe that all of the technicalities designed to protect individual rights are not contributing to the increase in crime in this nation," he asserted. "The two great deterrents to crime are fear of exposure and fear of punishment, but under our system we are encouraging criminals to take their chances."

He cited the length of trials in comparatively minor cases, the number of pretrial hearings and other legal maneuvers which he said overlook the basic issue: "Did the defendant commit the crime with which he was charged?"

DILLON OFFERS PROPOSALS

Dillon said the system can be speeded up by eliminating jury trials in misdemeanor cases; by adopting the federal method of jury selection where the judge does most of the questioning, instead of lawyers; by shortening preliminary hearings so that they will determine only whether a crime was committed and whether the defendant was linked with it; by eliminating the "cumbersome" grand jury system, except for special investigations, and making DAs or the attorney general responsible for issuing felony indictments, and by abandoning the unanimous jury verdict in favor of the 10 to 2 system now used in Britain.

City Judge William J. Ostrowski installed the Sustaining Society's officers whose names were published in Wednesday's Courier-Express. John E. O'Byrne is the president.

CHECK FOR HOSPITAL

Martin Lawandus, chairman of Mercy Hospital's Century Club, composed of society members, presented a check for $4,663.90 to the Rev. Francis Krupa, hospital chaplain, for hospital use. Lawandus noted the funds were raised at the club's dinner last month and also announced that a Cadillac prize at the dinner was won by Richard Higgins.

Richard Morris was master of ceremonies, and William T. O'Connell was chairman.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 27, 1968]

SENATE'S VOTE ON CRIME BILL CONFIRMS PEOPLE ARE FED UP

The United States Senate has now confirmed by deeds what had long been visible just below the surface. This is that the people of this country are fed up with crime and disorder; dangerously fed up, if it comes to that.

The so-called "safe streets" bill passed by the enormous margin of 72 to 4 incorporates wise provisions and others, like the open-ended authorization for wire-tapping, that are debatable indeed and must bring grave disquiet to reasonable men.

For the House of Representatives to have adopted so uncharted a measure with so little real debate would have been one thing. That body invariably reflects the wider and wilder swings of public sentiment and in fact sometimes acts without much thought in unspoken awareness that the Senate will always be there to check its excesses. But for the Senate to move as it has now moved is a rare thing, the implications of which could hardly be more somber.

For the plain truth here is that this ordinarily careful and deliberative body has rebuked the Supreme Court of the United States in a way and to a degree that this Nation has never before known. For the Senate's bill in substance reverses key decisions of the Court which a staggering majority of Senators believe to amount to shackling the police and prosecuting officers. It is far more, then, than a vote against "crime." It is a vote of no confidence in the highest judicial institution of this country. President Franklin Roosevelt attempted half a lifetime ago to pack the Court to alter its views on economic matters. Now the Senate actually repudiates the Court for social views now formally found to be intolerable to the country's highest legislative institution.

It is the inevitable end to a gathering tragedy of which some observers had long warned, and warned in vain. For the law of physics that action provokes reaction is also the law of life; and the Court, by persistent rewriting of the Constitution to suit the personal views of most of its members has persistently invited what at last it has got—the positive enmity of the Senate.

The men on the High Bench have long refused to practice that self-restraint, that proper internal check on their own vast powers which it is their very highest duty to practice. So today, no matter how reluctant one may be to say it aloud, a constitutional crisis exists in this Nation.

To attempt any total inquest upon the Senate's motives is of course a difficult and iffy enterprise. Still it may be said to be likely, at the very least, that it has gone so far as it has gone in a general sense of frustration at endless lawless "demonstrations" which mock all notions of order and even perhaps in part because of the current presence in Washington of the Poor Peoples March.

It is not altogether irrelevant that even as the roll was being called in the West Wing of the Capitol, 18 chanting "demonstrators" were being hauled away from a congressional office building.

That this is not the best possible emotional climate in which to legislate grave matters surely goes without saying. It is no less true, however, that the situation in this national capital, a situation in which bus drivers refuse to work at night in imminent fear of bandits and murderers, is a condition and not merely a theory.

This columnist predicted more than two years ago that the great sleeper issue of the 1968 presidential campaign would not be Vietnam but rather crime and disorder. No one can reasonably doubt this anymore. If only the campaign dialogue can proceed in rational calm we shall yet surmount this ugly problem. If not, if politicians who were once too permissive toward disorder now turn to extremist solutions, the road ahead will be gloomy beyond description. Firmness, yes; hysteria, no.

[From the New York Times, May 27, 1968]

Patrolman Frank Gucciardi Will Not Be on His Beat Today

He is but one law enforcement officer victimized by increasing violence. Patrolman Gucciardi is now in St. Luke's Hospital with injuries sustained during the recent Columbia University demonstrations. He may never walk again. There are others.

How many more of New York's finest may not be on duty tomorrow or the day after that? How much longer can lawlessness and disorder be countenanced? How much longer can this or any city accept a paradox that gives a thug the right to purchase guns through the mail, while denying policemen the use of a nightstick to quell dangerous riots?

The police, today, face the most critical challenge in history. Crime and civil disobedience are taking on epidemic proportions. The streets, the colleges, the universities, our homes and personal safety are being threatened daily. Any law with which a demonstrator disagrees, becomes, for him, an invalid law. A city without law is a city in chaos, and no law is meaningful unless it can be enforced.

This advertisement is an effort to make you aware of the problems facing those men and women who have taken an oath to protect all the citizens of this community.

The police officer's job is vital. To operate effectively, he must know that he has the support of the people as well as the backing of the city administration. He must be considered an ally, not a villain in a drama he did not create. He must not be considered a creature outside the periphery of society. Yet, he and his family have become the targets of continued abuse, humiliation and personal threat.

The New York City Police Department must not be used as a tool for any man's self-serving ambitions. Political expediency has replaced total support for law enforcement. In the face of increasing civil disorder and violence, personal national image appears more important than the grace problems that beset this city.

As a result of current emergencies, the policeman has been asked to devote exhausting, hazardous overtime hours. But even after the lengthiest delays, he is arbitrarily given inadequate compensation in disregard of contractual agreements.

He works 12 straight hours under emergency conditions, but often the city does not even grant him time off for meals.

The policeman is continuously ordered to operate in areas other than his own precinct. This is known as "flying." For the police officer, it involves reporting to his own precinct, then traveling to a new assignment and reversing the procedure at the end of his tour. It means extra hours for which he receives absolutely no compensation. More important to the community, it leaves precincts undermanned and underprotected.

The policeman faces the stark realities of headlines that scream "Kill a Cop a Day," "Butchers," "Police Brutality." And yet, each day, he takes his place again as the first line of defense between an orderly society and mob rule.

The policeman is acutely aware of social and economic injustices. He walks among them every day. But *his* responsibility is clear and simple: to enforce the law as it exists and to protect each and every person against those who violate the law. He has exercised tremendous self-restraint in the face of extreme provocation . . . and he will continue to do so. But, when commanded to use restraint in the face of criminal acts, without being given viable alternatives to properly perform his duty, only anarchy can result.

If the police are not permitted to act effectively in the interest of all citizens, then no citizen is safe and the very future of this democratic society is endangered.

Patrolman Frank Gucciardi is involved. How about you?

Patrolmen's Benevolent Association of the City of New York,
John J. Cassese, *President*.

We Can't Put Out Fires and Dodge Beer Bottles

Put yourself in our shoes for a minute. There's a five-alarm fire. Maybe half a city block is in flames. Lives are in danger. Possessions are going up in smoke. Walls are crumbling. Floors are caving in. People are in real trouble. We're used to handling scenes like this because we're firemen. It's part of our job.

If it were your place in flames you'd be plenty anxious for us to do our job. You wouldn't want anything to stand in our way.

But something is standing in our way. Bottles. Rocks. Bricks. Sometimes even bullets.

Why on earth anyone would want to keep us from doing what we're supposed to do is a pretty sick mystery. But it is happening.

When we answer a call in a depressed area, a few misled people start clobbering us. Sometimes they even take pot shots at us. We know neighborhoods like Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brownsville and the South Bronx are no paradise to live in. But taking it out on the firemen is no answer.

Everyone is entitled to fire protection, and why should innocent people be deprived of it because of these senseless acts.

Things have gotten so bad in this city that the firemen need police protection. City Hall is going to have to stop fooling around and really find a way to solve this problem. We need consistent, adequate police protection to do our job. It's in the City's interest to provide it. Because when a fireman is hurt, everybody suffers. It means a man and his family are put through a lot of grief. And there's one less fireman around to protect your life and property.

You can help.

Write Mayor Lindsay and tell City Hall to give us the protection we need to do our job. If they don't come through now, the people who need fire protection most just may not get it.

Uniformed Firemen's Assoc.,
Michael J. Maye, *President*.

BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY OF VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a statement by the distinguished senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee] relative to the birthday anniversary of Vice President Humphrey.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Birthday Anniversary of Vice President Humphrey

(Statement by Senator McGee)

As I look back, I find it somewhat hard to believe that the Hubert H. Humphrey who burst upon the national political scene in 1948 was but 37 years old. He was young indeed. Today, 20 years later, he is still a young man in every way.

Hubert Humphrey has accomplished a great deal, both before and after the events which brought him into public prominence. Always, he has been on top of the times, thinking ahead in order to improve this great country for all its inhabitants. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to name another individual who has proven to be a more dedicated and loyal servant of the public, or, for that matter, a more warm and real person to those fortunate enough to have personal contact with him. I know how we in this Chamber regard our Vice President; and I believe that the people of America on the whole have a similar, if less personal, regard for Hubert Humphrey. He has given them leadership tempered with the qualities of warmth and reality and will, I am confident, continue to do so for some years to come.

My own regard for Vice President Humphrey is immense. We are political allies, yes. He has been a wise counselor to me. But there is more, much more, to it than that. I have found that to know Hubert Humphrey is to like him well, to be excited by his energy and captivated by his mind. So I join Senators in a sincere happy birthday wish for the Vice President, with the hope that we are marking here today the beginning of a truly climatic year in his life—a year that I know would be highly beneficial to our country and its people.

JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., who passed away this past March, was a legend in his own lifetime. He was an honored and beloved man whose influence was felt by all who came into contact with him during his career in public life. He answered to many names—Mr. Speaker, the minority leader, "Mr. Republican," and simply Joe. In all of those roles his guilding purpose was service—to his party, to the House of Representatives, and to his Nation.

His legislative career began in 1912 as a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1924 and served continuously through the 89th Congress. He was the Republican leader of the House from the 76th to the 85th Congresses, and was Speaker in the 80th and 83d Congresses.

He first attended a Republican National Convention as a delegate in 1916. He was permanent chairman of the Republican National Conventions of 1940, 1944, 1948, 1952, and 1956.

I had the great privilege to know him and to learn from him both on the floor of the House and on the convention floor. I was first elected to the House of Representatives during the 1940 campaign of Wendell L. Willkie, which was managed by Joe Martin. As national chairman of my party during the Dewey campaign of 1948, I again had the great good fortune to work closely with Joe Martin.

Joe Martin was a very special person, and he occupies a special place in the memory of everyone who knew him. His long and dedicated service will assure him a special place in the annals of American history.

WHO OWNS THE GAME?

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, this month's issue of Conservation News contains part 1 of an article entitled, "Who Owns the Game?" written by Ernest Swift.

In the article, the author pulls no punches and raises a clear warning to all States that wish to retain their traditional rights to resident fish and game animals.

I urge other Members of the Senate who have not done so to support the two bills now pending on this issue. They would clearly spell out the jurisdictional responsibilities of our 50 States. I invite their attention to S. 2951, introduced by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE] and to S. 3212 introduced by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN]. These bills already enjoy bipartisan support.

S. 3212 is presently cosponsored by the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER], and myself.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Who Owns the Game," published in Conservation News of May 5, 1968, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHO OWNS THE GAME?—PART I

(By Ernest Swift)

Authority of the states to manage and control all resident game and fish within their borders, as well as claim title to the same, is again being challenged by the Federal Government. This time it is by the Secretary of Interior regarding all wildlife species within the borders of Federal lands, and especially under the jurisdiction of the Department of Interior.

To the rising generation of young American sportsmen this may come as a new and startling usurpation of authority, having grown up with the snug theory that all resident game belongs to the state wherein it resides. But this issue has a long history of contention, going back at least fifty years. This challenge was responsible for the Migratory Bird Treaty Act with Great Britain and later with Mexico, thereby bringing to bear the treaty powers of the U.S. Constitution.

This challenge was again made by Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace during the depression years when he was going to set seasons and bag limits on the National Forests, issue permits for hunting, and charge for them under the one-time famous order G.20–A.

This order of Mr. Wallace threatening the rights of the several states to manage their own game, made the International Association of Fish, Game and Conservation Commissioners grow up over night and put on long pants. Under the able leadership of Seth Gordon, then Director of the Pennsylvania Game Commission and President of the International, the states gave Mr. Wallace such a rough time that he beat a hasty and not too dignified retreat.

For years this Federal versus State issue over who has title to wild game has smoldered under a cover of cold looking ashes, but the coals have never been extinguished. It appears as if those forces wishing to see the Federal government take over such jurisdiction have simply been laying back waiting to again fan the flames. To them the time seems ripe with more courts looking with favor on increased Federal controls and with an increasing number of landless people beginning to frown on hunting as a form of outdoor recreation and an age-old tradition of the American way of life.

But the implications are far deeper than appear on the surface. The first step would be to destroy title of the several states to the game residing on Federal lands within the boundaries of the states. This would quickly erode the power to finance state conservation operations through reduced license fees, especially in many of the western states where public land ownership is as high as 80%. In the eastern states this impact would not be so quickly apparent. However, the second step in wildlife ownership would be to pass legislation so that landowners could acquire title to game and fish on their lands or abutting waterways as is now and has been traditional in Europe for centuries.

This drive for landowners to obtain title to game and fish on their own lands has been a declared purpose of some agencies and organizations. If not formally documented, it has been so stated in speeches by their representatives.

So the timetable as contemplated by some of our federally minded politicians, bureaucrats and those who see wrong in hunting and fishing under the present system, is to destroy the state conservation agencies by drying up their source of revenues and next giving title to resident game to the Federal government on Federal lands and to private owners on their respective lands. In many states east of the Mississippi, hunting on private lands constitutes the bulk of that recreation as some states have little land of their own.

This is something for all state conservation officials, game wardens, game and fish biologists and even state foresters to think about, let alone Mr. Average Citizen and Hunter who for generations has been able to hunt on lands leased by his state, on Federal lands or by permission on private lands under the game seasons and license laws of his own state.

If the title of game finally goes to the individual land owners, the hunter may find himself checking on and off each farm and paying the landowner for each grouse, partridge, rabbit or deer that he shoots. He may have to do the same on Federal lands. The trapper may have to pay a percentage of his muskrat, mink and beaver take if his traps are staked on lands or water where private ownership is claimed. Such prophecies are not a silly exercise of unrealities; they could eventually become haunting facts.

The immediate case in issue resulted from the National Park employees killing some 15 deer in the Carlsbad Caverns National Park in New Mexico, and in direct violation of the laws of that state. The deer were shot as part of a research project. They were shot, their stomachs removed and the carcasses left to rot. Offers by the New Mexico officials to assist in the study and to issue collecting permits according to the laws of New Mexico were refused (let us say scorned) by the Park Service.

For at least three decades there has been a trend by some Federal courts and bureaus to diminish the powers of the states in both their social and commercial behavior, as well as advocating and attempting to assume jurisdiction of all resources on public lands, especially wildlife. Sadly enough this has come about in some instances because the states have sometimes failed to live up to their responsibilities, to pass constructive legislation and to make compacts among themselves.

In the case of water pollution many an honest "state-righter" has been forced to seek improvements through application of uniform laws passed by the U.S. Congress; but any failures on the part of the states in eliminating pollution has no bearing on the case in question. There is a growing arrogance that only the people representing the Federal government have the intelligence, integrity and know-how to steer the resource ship. They believe they are among the few of God's anointed that can plan and make no mistakes, that they alone sit on the right hand of Jehovah.

A Federal District Court judge recently ruled in favor of New Mexico, but the decision is expected to be appealed. The National Wildlife Federation has announced that it will intervene as a "friend of the court," if necessary, in this current court case to decide legal ownership of wildlife.

Thomas L. Kimball, Executive Director of the National Wildlife Federation has stated: "If the Federal government's claim to legal jurisdiction over resident game and fish prevails, then private landowners could conceivably claim a similar right—such a doctrine would lead to complete chaos and confusion in the protection, management and restoration of America's fish and wildlife resources."

(Part II will trace some of the common law and legal philosophies of fish and game matters as handed down to us.)

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND WORKING LIBERALISM

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, over the past weekend, President Johnson spoke to the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, in Atlantic City. There were two main points in the President's address.

First, he drew an important distinction between merely talking about the progressive change and actually doing something about progressive change. As he phrased it:

> The essence of politics . . . is to find an administrative remedy for a rhetorical dilemma.

He urged his audience to demand an answer to the question of "How?" when they are asked for support by people who promise to solve the problems of America.

Second, he expressed the hope that the next occupant of his office, whoever he might be, would build on the record of accomplishment of the past. In his own words:

> I hope our next President will have just begun and will continue, as you have, to build, to heal and to unite the greatest nation in all the world.

These two points are extremely important to consider in this election year, and President Johnson, by pointing them out, has demonstrated that, although he has withdrawn from presidential politics, he has not withdrawn from national leadership in these challenging times.

THE URBAN INSTITUTE

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, when President Johnson announced the Board of Trustees for the new Urban Institute, he gave notice that the Nation was mobilizing its best intellectual resources to help find solutions to the grave problems that beset our cities. The uniformly high caliber of the men who will serve on the Board assures that a wide range of talent and competence will be brought to bear on our highest priority social problem.

Last December the President asked seven distinguished citizens to resolve basic issues concerning the role of the Institute to draft and file legal documents, incorporate the Institute as a private, nonprofit corporation, select a prestigious Board of Trustees, and recommend the best qualified man available for president.

The panel has completed its job, and the Institute has begun to work. The Board of Trustees is chaired by Arjay Miller, vice chairman of the Ford Motor Co. William Gorham, former Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, was chosen by the Board to serve as president of the Institute. He formerly served with the Rand Corp., and as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Defense. He has had long experience in problem solving analysis and methods. In addition to Mr. Miller and Mr. Gorham the Board includes:

William Friday, president of the University of North Carolina;

Eugene C. Fubini, vice president, International Business Machines, Inc.;

William H. Hastie, judge, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit;

Edgar F. Kaiser, chairman, Kaiser Industries, Inc.;

Edward F. Levi, president, the University of Chicago;

Baylass A. Manning, dean, Stanford University School of Law;

Stanley Marcus, president, Neiman Marcus;

Robert S. McNamara, president, the World Bank;

J. Irwin Miller, chairman, Cummins Engine Co.;

Charles L. Schultze, senior fellow, the Brookings Institution;

Leon H. Sullivan, chairman, Opportunities Industrialization Center, Philadelphia;

Cyrus R. Vance, partner, law firm of Simpson, Thatcher & Bartlett of New York; and

Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director, National Urban League.

There is common agreement that our large cities face two critical problems. The first grows out of sheer size. The second problem concerns the urban poor.

During the last several decades we have seen the movement of the affluent and middle-income people to the suburbs and their replacement by the poor who have crowded into our dense neighborhoods. Much of the inner city population is poorly educated, ill housed, inadequately served by outmoded health and recreational facilities, jobless or underemployed, alienated and hopeless. The fact that most are Negro or Puerto Rican heightens their bitterness and their deep feeling of isolation from American life.

Last year's civil disorders, and the more recent ones, are the tragic evidence of the alienation of the urban poor.

Faced with immediate crises and the need to act, public agencies are unable to devote time and resources to careful studies of urban problems and their causes and solutions, or to develop effective strategies. Ad hoc committees and special task forces are helpful with specific problems, but are too short lived to carry out intensive studies.

Mr. President, the Urban Institute will be permanent. It will mass high quality talent for thorough and continuing studies of city problems. It will build on existing knowledge and to add to our understanding of urban concerns by supplying useful data and exploring the complex relationships between problems and programs. It will devise coordinated plans for attacking the urban dilemma. The Institute will work with individual cities in establishing cooperative centers where its staff can help city officials in attacking local problems.

We have launched many programs to combat urban blight and human misery. The Urban Institute will undertake continuing, comprehensive and independent evaluation of Federal, local, and private programs to assure that they are being carried out effectively, that they can build on and profit from existing experience, and that they contribute systematically to a growing fund of knowledge on how to improve the quality of urban life.

The Urban Institute is no substitute for more direct efforts. The obvious needs of the cities for better jobs, education, housing, and health require immediate action. What the Institute can do is provide a continuing, independent resource for evaluating action programs to assure that public and private funds go into programs that show results. It can build a better foundation for new action efforts.

Mr. President, I welcome the establishment of the Urban Institute.

CRIME IN WASHINGTON

Mr. **BREWSTER.** Mr. President, 1 week ago today, a group of wives of D.C. Transit Co. busdrivers visited me in my office. They were upset by the fatal shooting of a busdriver a few days before and by the generally deplorable crime situation in the District of Columbia.

The busdrivers and their wives had a genuine and valid grievance. The action taken by the drivers in refusing to carry cash on night runs was a reflection of their concern.

Following my meeting with the wives of the drivers, I wrote to Mayor Washington and to Mr. O. Roy Chalk, president of D.C. Transit Co., urging that they take immediate steps to improve the protection afforded to busdrivers.

I regret that I have not yet received an answer from either the Mayor or Mr. Chalk. Equally regrettable is the fact that the situation is far from resolved in any way. The events of the past week—including the action by the drivers and the response of the company and public officials—have done little to provide assurance that this problem is nearing solution.

Mr. President, on May 24, 1968, the Washington Star published an editorial addressed to this subject. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial and copies of my letters of May 20, 1968, to Mayor Washington and Mr. Chalk be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Evening Star, May 24, 1968]

BREATHING SPELL

Washington's bus drivers acted with commendable restraint and good sense last night in averting, for the time being, a total, disastrous paralysis of transit service in the Nation's Capital.

This responsible decision, however, should not be misread. It was purely a temporary concession, agreed upon by a slim majority of the bus drivers solely for the purpose of giving the D.C. Transit System and city officials an opportunity to respond to their legitimate demands for greater measures of protection against assaults from armed robbers and thugs. The immediate response that is called for, moreover, is perfectly clear.

As a first step, the bus company should accede to the demand that evening and night passengers be required to have the exact change for their fares before boarding buses. This would eliminate the need for drivers to carry cash for change-making purposes during the hours of darkness when danger is most prevalent. The bus drivers have no desire to continue the present curtailment of night service, which is imposing severe hardships upon many people who rely wholly on buses for transportation. The drivers' refusal to set themselves up as targets for robbery during these hours, however, is completely understandable.

As far as the public is concerned, the exact-change proposal is hardly a radical concept. Those thousands of Washingtonians who use pay telephones every day either have exact change on hand before they enter phone booths or they don't make their calls. The same requirement applies, of course, to thousands of motorists every day who drop coins in parking meters.

The bus company apparently is convinced that such a policy, applied to buses, would result in a loss of fares. There is no solid evidence to sustain that fear. No one should be given a free ride on buses. Nothing would be lost, however, by invoking the new procedure on a trial basis. It might well prove both feasible and desirable, once the public is accustomed to the change, on a round-the-clock basis.

This, of course, is not the only available remedy. The idea of enclosing drivers in protective plastic shields, already widely discussed, should be pursued. Various types of alarm systems might be installed on buses. Perhaps change-making machines are another possibility. The police might well assign at least a limited number of additional unidentified, armed plainclothesmen to buses. The drivers' request for insurance protection agains felonious assault deserves consideration.

These are all subjects which the mediator appointed by Mayor Washington should explore with D.C. Transit in seeking positive commitments to resolve the dispute.

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., May 20, 1968.
Hon. WALTER E. WASHINGTON,
Mayor, District of Columbia Government, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MAYOR WASHINGTON: Today, a group of wives of D.C. Transit Company bus drivers visited me in my office. They were quite upset by the deplorable crime situation in the District of Columbia and its effect on their husbands.

The women brought forth many suggestions for improvements in the protection of bus drivers, particularly those whose assignments take them into certain parts of the city at night. I have written to Mr. O. Roy Chalk, president of D.C. Transit in this regard.

The posting of D.C. police officers—probably in plain clothes—on the buses was one of the suggestions brought up at today's meeting. It is my hope that you will give this prompt and careful consideration.

It is obvious that the Police Department in this city needs more personnel if it is to perform its functions effectively. You may be assured that a proposal to increase the size of the force will have my firm backing, and I stand ready to assist you in this area in any way possible.

With kindest regards, I am
Sincerely yours,
DANIEL B. BREWSTER,
U.S. Senator.

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., May 20, 1968.

Mr. O. ROY CHALK,
President, D.C. Transit Co.,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHALK: Today a group of wives of D.C. Transit Company bus drivers visited me in my office. They were quite upset by the deplorable crime situation in the District of Columbia and its effect on their husbands.

The women brought forth many suggestions for improvements in the protection of bus drivers, particularly those whose assignments take them into certain parts of the city at night. Specifically these suggestions seemed to me to be worthy of serious study and prompt action:

1. Posting of private company guards on certain buses that travel through hazardous areas at night.

2. Reorganization of the fare payment system so that passengers pay their fares either by exact change or by means of tickets or tokens purchased in advance at specified locations.

3. Construction of protection shields behind the drivers cubicles so that drivers can not be attacked unexpectedly from the rear.

There obviously are many steps that can and must be taken by the District of Columbia government and its Police Department in the area of protection for bus drivers and other citizens alike. In that connection, I also am writing to Mayor Washington.

It is my hope, however, that the D.C. Transit Company will do all that it possibly can to help resolve this very difficult situation.

With kindest regards, I am
Sincerely yours,
DANIEL B. BREWSTER,
U.S. Senator.

DEVELOPMENT IN ALASKA AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE: MR. JOSEPH FITZGERALD'S NOTABLE COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, a thoughtful address was delivered at the University of Alaska commencement last week by Joseph H. FitzGerald, chairman of the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska. It is entitled "Development and the Quality of Life." Quality is what Mr. FitzGerald chiefly emphasizes. He points out very penetratingly that Alaska's problems and needs differ from those of most of the lower 48 States. Alaska is a vast land, sparsely inhabited, with wonderful scenery and other natural resources and none of the problems of urban congestion which afflict the older parts of the United States. Most importantly, however, Mr. FitzGerald stresses that Alaska's "most urgent problem is people" and he goes on to indicate that the traditional "development" will mean little for Alaska if it is not used to improve the quality of life for Alaska's people and that there must be a direct attack on poverty and Alaska's lack of economic opportunity especially for the native people who are, as he correctly asserts "now largely outside the mainstream of Alaskan development."

This is a most worthwhile and wise appraisal and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEVELOPMENT AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE

It is more than thirty years since I left the campus and sought with high hopes to make a career in the midst of the greatest depression this country has known. I return to the campus today in a world that is darkened in a different way.

As the product of an inherited depression, my generation knew the despair and frustration of unemployment, the hopeless search for jobs that did not exist, the degrading experience of make-work relief projects. We lived in a nearly lifeless economy. The problem, so clear to us, was the need for stable economic growth. This we have in large measure accomplished, and the United States is today a nation living in unprecedented prosperity.

What we did not perceive were the equally pressing problems of minority groups, the structural poverty that holds our poor in bondage, or the need for the preservation of our environment so that it remains fit for human habitation. In retrospect, I can see that we suffered from a monumental blindness and that we leave a heritage that is a paradox—want amidst plenty and the absence of full equality in a democracy.

As graduates you are setting out with high hopes to make a career under inherited conditions of near revolution. Steeped in the atmosphere of our social problems, I am sure you have the understanding and the incentive to solve them. Yet I am equally sure that you will, in your turn, leave some problems untouched that will have to be resolved by the next generation. Predictably—for the generations do have a pattern—they will describe these problems as too long neglected by their parents and requiring solutions before it is too late.

In Alaska we have not escaped from the problems of our times, although I think they may be more tractable. Here the emphasis is economic, the development of the state and its natural resources. This emphasis must remain if we are to achieve a prosperous way of life for all our people. But there is another side to the coin, and we are becoming aware that development creates problems as well as gives the opportunity to solve existing ones.

The danger is that we may again ignore or lack the will to attack these basic problems. The development process poses the danger that we will pollute and desecrate our lands, our forests and streams, and the air we breathe in the same unthinking way as has been done in the older parts of our nation. On the other hand, the development process gives us the only constructive opportunity to solve the economic problems afflicting Alaska Natives and, to a lesser extent, others who are not sharing in our prosperity.

What is required of us is a clear view of the way ahead and a dedication by all of us to the proposition that development must go forward swiftly to provide economic opportunity, but that in the process the *quality* of life must not be lost. As an underdeveloped area where the land and its resources are just being brought into use, we have an unique opportunity to achieve this goal.

Thus, it is the interplay between development and conservation, and between development and how its benefits are shared—among Alaska Natives as well as others—that is so important. If these problems are successfully handled, the future strength and prosperity of the state is assured.

In working toward solutions, we must always bear in mind that these problems are not easy; that, indeed, they will test the full democratic process. These are not problems that are resolved by the contending forces of the market place. Nor are they problems for government alone. These problems will require the broadest public understanding and participation and will test the fundamental attitudes of each man and every group.

Although the driving force in our society is economic, I do not intend to dwell at length on a forecast of all the good things that can happen in the state. It is sufficient to point out that we are well launched on a series of developments that, if wisely managed, will assure Alaska's fiscal soundness and steady growth. This does not mean any lessening of our development efforts. The work of planning, programming and managing projects to keep abreast of the expanding economic system will be even greater; but the focus has shifted. We are no longer worried about the fiscal ability of the state to discharge its responsibilities. Rather, our first responsibility has become the need to assure the *quality* of the development. Thus, development must proceed in a way that solves our high unemployment rate; that lessens the seasonality of a burgeoning frontier economy; that brings Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts into our society on the basis of full economic and cultural equality; and that assures for the future the kind of environment we desire for Alaska.

Turning first to our environment and its management, we find widespread confusion as to what environmental management means and why it should be so important. Too often it is launched under the banner of "conservation" but is taken to mean the narrow-minded meddling of people who oppose all development and who seek to limit land use to the one which they champion. If, on the other hand, we substitute for the word, "conservation," the phrase, "the wise management of land and its use in the long-range interests of the public," people are more likely to understand and more likely to accept the need for action.

As is so often the case in Alaska, our conservation problems are not those of the United States generally. In most of the states, population growth, especially in large urban areas, and heavily concentrated industrial complexes, combined with more than a century of unconcern, have resulted in the pollution of water and air to the point that it is creating a crisis of enormous dimensions. We do not have a large population in Alaska, and we are just beginning to develop a pattern of land use. The task, therefore, is not to reclaim our lands or purify our waters. It is to achieve proper management at the outset as we make initial use of our resources.

In concept, the task is clear enough. The problem arises in marshaling the forces to accomplish it. Effective public policy is easiest to achieve when it coincides with the immediate economic objectives of industry or some organized group. It is difficult when broad public welfare is seemingly opposed to these interests. In land use and resource development the pattern is mixed. In some cases, proper management practices are an essential part of effective development. In this category fall the efforts of government and industry to protect our fisheries from pollution that might otherwise accompany oil development or to protect our salmon beds from silt deposited by hydraulic mining, road development, or logging. The needs of our cities for pure water are also pressing enough to lead to sound conservation practices.

The area of major concern lies in the management of 99 percent of the lands in the public domain under state and federal control, lands which are in most cases virgin lands not yet committed to use. Here there are few economic forces pressing for a comprehensive long-range approach to land and resource management. Yet these lands are the priceless heritage of every American, exhaustible or inexhaustible, depending on what we do now to provide for the future.

Clearly we need a development policy consistent with sound conservation practices and one that is accepted jointly by state and federal agencies with broad public support.

What is such a policy?

Broadly speaking, there are two areas that must be considered. First, there are the uses of land traditionally associated with conservation—parks, wilderness areas, wildlife refuges, and recreation areas of many kinds. These are usually established in response to public demand in areas uniquely suited to such purposes.

In Alaska the magnificence of our mountains and wilderness areas sets them apart from anything else under our flag, and they are a *national* heritage, their development a *national* effort. So viewed, they may well become the cornerstone of a recreational and tourist industry that will provide more jobs than any other industry in Alaska. Here, over the long range, development and conservation have a happy coincidence.

What is needed now is an identification of a statewide system of parks, wilderness areas, wildlife refuges, and recreational areas, a blueprint which all governments can follow as funds become available. The success of these efforts will have a more profound effect on the future of Alaska than any other development effort that we can make.

But the bulk of public lands in Alaska will not be set aside for special uses. What is the answer here?

The undedicated public lands are the land bank upon which future population growth and development will draw. They will be needed for all the many uses that man makes of lands—uses that vary with time and reflect the rapid changes occurring in our civilization. Accepting, then, the premise that many uses will be made of the land and that these uses will vary in ways that we cannot fully foresee, it is clear that land management must be a continuing process, flexible in application, permitting present uses, accommodating to future uses, but always constraining use, so that it does not become destructive.

We are moving in this direction today. Land management, often under the heading of multiple-use management, is the present goal of federal and state agencies. The logical progression is for us to achieve a common system of multiple land-use management applied by all state and federal agencies in an *agreed* pattern. Our hope is that we in Alaska can develop and protect, use and conserve, enjoy in the present, and will to the future the unspoiled lands of Alaska.

I have spoken of lands, but our most urgent problem is people. Development will mean little for Alaska if it is not used to improve the quality of life for our people. Specifically, it must be used in a direct assault on poverty and the lack of economic opportunity, especially for our Native peoples. They are now largely outside the mainstream of Alaskan development. Only a small portion of them have steady jobs, and the majority live a subsistence existence. While much has been done, it has been directed largely to the education, health, and general welfare needs of the people. As indispensable as these services are, they are only a partial answer. No less than full participation in our economy will permit any group of people to live the full life we regard as the right of all men.

As the growth of industry in Alaska will call for more manpower, it is reasonable to meet this need as fully as possible from an indigenous work force. We also believe that the experience of countless employers—private and public—over the years demonstrates the ability of Native peoples to fill a great variety of jobs and to take their place fully in the larger society.

But growth of job opportunities will continue to be largely in the cities such as Anchorage and Fairbanks. Here the problem is to break old patterns built upon the importation of skilled labor from other areas of the country and allow Natives to grow into all of our job opportunities and ultimately to fill their share of professional positions. While government may be helpful, this, I must stress, is for the communities to accomplish. I am sure that you understand that Alaska—like America generally—cannot, over a sustained period, have real prosperity unless it solves the problems of those who are left out.

In the final analysis, the way ahead is to control the *quality* of development so that it solves the problems of our people and of our land. Alaska has the resources to do the job. To harness them properly, we need only to achieve that broad public understanding and support that makes wise public policy possible. This is the problem of leadership for which I think your generation is so well suited. It is with a full sense of confidence that my generation welcomes you into the affairs of state to share the tasks ahead.

CRIME AND THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the following news stories:

A story which appeared in the Evening Star of May 25, 1968, titled "Town Meeting Called as Sun Dries Tent City";

A column by Jenkin Lloyd Jones titled "Court Tips Constitutional Scales," which appeared in the Evening Star of May 25, 1968;

An article by Shirley Elder, which appeared in the Sunday Star of May 26, 1968, titled "Pay Raise, Riot Costs Put District in Squeeze";

An editorial titled "Mass Violence: Its Cause and Its Cure," which appeared in the Sunday Star of May 26, 1968;

An editorial from the Sunday Star of May 26, 1968, titled "A Tough Crime Bill";

An article in the Sunday Star of May 26, 1968, titled "Sunny Day Gives Residents of Resurrection City a Lift"; and

An article by James Welsh which appeared in the Sunday Star of May 26, 1968, titled "Complexities of Feeding Poor."

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 25, 1968]

TOWN MEETING CALLED AS SUN DRIES TENT CITY—EVACUEES RETURN, PANELS ON RUNNING CAMP TO BE NAMED

Resurrection City was drying out today, and the residents who were evacuated during yesterday's rain were returning to the campsite on The Mall.

No demonstrations are planned for today, according to camp leaders. The poor people will spend the day on "inner group development," according to the Rev. James Bevel.

Activities for the weekend include a "town meeting" later today, at which permanent committees are to be appointed for the administration of the camp, Bevel said.

A SEA OF MUD

Estimates varied widely on the number of residents who spent the night away from the tent city—from a low of 25 to a high of 400 Bevel put the figure at 99.

The city was a sea of mud and standing pools of water yesterday, and even after a morning of sunshine the muck was still thick over most of the campground.

Bevel chided newsmen who, he said, "seem to think mud is the major issue here." He added: "If you would go to see where our poor people live you would see that they face it every day."

MORALE REMAINS HIGH

About 800 new arrivals for the Poor People's Campaign were being told to stay put in their temporary shelters in Montgomery County and the District until arrangements can be made for their move into the city, which the Rev. Jesse Jackson, "city manager" of the camp, yesterday said held 2,400 campaigners.

Construction of more prefabricated plywood shelters was expected to resume today, although John Wiebenson, the camp's architect, said it was not certain how many more huts are needed.

Despite the downpour—or possibly because of it—morale remained high among the marchers.

Amidst the mud and confusion, they found time for two demonstrations yesterday—one at the Agriculture Department, and another in front of the Connecticut Avenue apartment house where Rep. Wilbur Mills, D.-Ark., lives.

HOUSING DEBATE OPENS

While the demonstrators were concentrating their lobbying efforts on food and welfare programs, another of their demands—that slum dwellers have a voice in rebuilding their neighborhoods—was being considered in the Senate.

As debate on the Johnson administration's $5.2 billion housing bill opened, Sen. John Sparkman, D, Ala., discussed the poor people's demands.

One amendment to the housing bill, Sparkman pointed out, encourages neighborhood groups to take an active part in renewal planning, while another directs that builders hire local residents for reconstruction "when feasible."

A longstanding Negro complaint has been that many federally financed projects are built by workmen from white suburbia, while unemployment remains high in the black ghettos.

Meanwhile, in New York, plans were progressing for a massive demonstration here on June 19, which it is hoped will draw supporters of the campaign from all over the nation.

Bayard Rustin, organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, has been put in charge of the demonstration.

As the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, explained at a news conference in New York yesterday, the march leaders in Washington have their hands full with the day-to-day "plaguing" of Congress and federal agencies.

Rustin said the one-day demonstration will have the same goals as the Poor People's Campaign proper and said, "It will make specific demands which can, and must, be immediately translated into law by Congress and through executive orders."

Rustin said he would ask religious, labor, student and civil rights groups across the country to participate in the June 19 demonstration.

The date, Rustin explained, is known as "Juneteenth" among Southern Negroes, for it was on that date in 1863 that Texas authorities, spurred by the Emancipation Proclamation five and a half months earlier, told Negro slaves they were free.

Those who moved out of Resurrection City during the down pour were housed in various churches for the night.

The first busload to leave the camp—50 to 55, mostly children—went to Mount Moriah Baptist Church at 1636 East Capitol Street.

The first thing the mud-soaked refugees did was line up for showers. The church has three showers in a small basement room and has been offering showers to Resurrection City residents regularly for the past week. In addition, up to 50 children have been sleeping there each night.

More than 100 demonstrators chanted and prayed in front of the Connecticut Avenue apartment house of Rep. Wilbur Mills for an hour yesterday evening. But Mills was not at home.

The chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee left the apartment house at 2701 Connecticut Ave. at 6:30 p.m., about 15 minutes before the marchers arrived.

Mills, accompanied by his wife, told reporters: "I've got a dinner to go to."

The orderly demonstration was led by Bevel and George Wiley, chairman of the Nationwide Welfare Rights Organization.

The purpose of the demonstration was stated by Wiley: "We want this racist bill repealed." He was referring to proposed cuts in federal welfare programs, which he said would "take food out of the mouths of poor people and force mothers to leave their children."

Many of the marchers were barefoot and splattered with mud from the rainsoaked streets of Resurrection City. As they marched up and down in front of the apartment house they sang freedom songs and sometimes chanted the slogans "black power" and "soul power."

"Wilbur Mills has snuck out of his rat hole and made a run for it," Bevel shouted to the demonstrators. "He's out getting drunk; but he'll be back."

Wiley then led the crowd in a prayer "for the heart and mind of Wilbur Mills," and when the marchers were informed that yesterday was Mills 59th birthday, they cheerfully sang "Happy Birthday."

Wiley and Bevel said the protest was only the first of a series planned to harass the congressman until "that racist bill is repealed."

Wiley said today the campaigners would continue their harassment of Mills with "hit-and-run action" similar to last night's protest. He said future demonstrations may not be announced beforehand, to avoid alerting the police.

"When he talks of cutting spending, he means cutting spending for other people, not for the likes of him," Wiley said. The demonstration broke up quietly at 7:45 p.m. when Asst. Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson showed up with two patrol wagons and informed the marchers they were blocking the sidewalks and would have to move.

The earlier demonstration yesterday took Poor People's Campaigners back to the Agriculture Department for the second day in a row to protest what the marchers feel are inadequacies in the surplus commodity and food stamp programs administered by the department.

About 75 demonstrators marched silently around the department's administration building on Independence Avenue, and were met at the Mall entrance by J. M. Robertson, administrative assistant to Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, and Harold Lewis, director of public information.

REFERENCE TO $227 MILLION CITED

Referring to Freeman's response to the first protest on Thursday, Jackson said, "He (Freeman) used a lot of long words to say short things."

Jackson made repeated references to $227 million that Agriculture will turn back unspent to the Treasury this fiscal year. He said the entire sum should be released to the poor, not just the $60 million promised Thursday by Freeman.

He particularly criticized Freeman's assertion that the federal food programs must be administered through state and local officials.

"That means that people in Sunflower County must get help through Eastland," he said, referring to Sen. James O. Eastland, D-Miss. "They say they can't locate the poor to administer programs to reach the hungry. But the Selective Service boards have no trouble finding our young people."

Jackson drew loud applause from the marchers when he shouted: "We are going to stay in Washington until we get our food."

Then he led cheers for "soul power" and, as the crowd knelt in front of the Agriculture building, Jackson prayed for "racism to be relieved, no more shoeless children, no more jobless men, no more children destroyed in the game of war."

Capping the demonstration, Jackson and other leaders went inside to talk with department officials, while marshals led the marchers around the building singing.

Court Tips Constitutional Scales

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

When 80-year-old Hugo Lafayette Black unloaded on his fellow Supreme Court justices during his Columbia law school lectures this spring, he said nothing that hadn't been said with more or less profanity by myriads of lawyers and legislators before him.

But here was a man in the twilight of his years, gone well beyond the need of political favor or personal approbation, who, as he put it, was filled with "fear for our constitutional system." And he tagged his brother justices for the peril.

Said Justice Black:

"Power corrupts, and unrestricted power will tempt Supreme Court justices just as history tells us it has tempted other judges. Given absolute or near absolute power, judges may exercise it to bring about changes that are inimical to freedom and good government. . . .

"I strongly believe that the basic purpose and plan of the Constitution is that the federal government should have no powers except those that are expressly or impliedly granted and that no department of government—executive, legislative or judicial—has authority to add to or take away the powers granted or denied by the Constitution. . . .

"I deeply fear for our constitutional system when life-appointed judges can strike down a law passed by Congress or a state legislature with no more justification than that the judges believe the law is 'unreasonable.' "

In recent years, and particularly since the accession of Chief Justice Earl Warren and the appointment of justices more famous for social activism than awe of the law, the court has come to regard itself, not as a protector of rules, but as a creator of them.

The difference is fundamental.

It was 165 years ago when in the case of Marbury vs. Madison, the court seized the right to strike down federal statutes that appeared to contravene the intent of the Constitution.

It was a reasonable seizure. After all, you wouldn't have much of a constitutional system if Congress could nullify any part of it with a simple vote. Someone had to make subjective judgments of what the Constitution meant, and who better than the highest court?

Until the Warren court came along, when justices split, they generally did so over diverse interpretations of the letter of the law. But the Warren court was characterized by its determination to widen the First, Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments by interpretations that hadn't occurred to previous courts.

The court's defenders have argued that in a rapidly changing society the court is simply keeping up with the needs of the times and that the process of amending the Constitution is so slow that the interest of the people would not be served by waiting for it.

But a process for amending the Constitution does exist. And it would be interesting to see how many state legislatures would approve an amendment that would force employers running sensitive defense plants to hire members of known subversive organizations, or an amendment that would force police to release a confessed rapist if so much as a night intervened between his arrest and arraignment.

Yet the Supreme Court accomplished these wonders by simply interpreting the Constitution in novel and hitherto-unthought-of ways.

Dean Roscoe Pound of Harvard put it well a few years ago when he remarked that the trouble with the court was "absolutism." In the court's effort to achieve absolute justice, according to the personal beliefs of its majority, the law vanishes and a system of decrees and edicts takes over.

All sincere dictatorships operate on the same theory. "The law is supposed to be good for the people. I think this is good for the people. Ergo, this is the law."

There seems to be no logical substitute for the Supreme Court as the last word in the interpretation of the Constitution. But the flippant theory that "the law is what the Supreme Court says it is" must have some limitations if a system of law is to survive. If the Supreme Court persists in its apparent drive to nullify the Congress as it pleases, and to direct the performance of the Executive Branch, then we no longer have a workable separation of powers. America may be driven to ratifying a series of constitutional amendments so clear in wording and so specific in intent that the court would have to deny the meaning of the English language to override them.

Our system of checks and balances is worth preserving.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, May 26, 1968]

Pay Raise, Riot Costs Put District in Squeeze

(By Shirley Elder)

District officials, caught in a new budget squeeze, are looking for a way to pay their bills.

Two pay raises, one enacted last year and another last week, must be paid out of funds for the current budget year, which ends June 30.

The largest check, $9.4 million, will cover pay boosts retroactive to last Oct. 1 for District police officers, firemen and teachers. The city already has set aside $5.6 million in this year's budget for these increases, but it does not have the other $3.8 million.

FIVE MILLION DOLLARS MORE NEEDED

Another $5 million has been requested from Congress to meet classified and wage board pay raises enacted as part of the federal pay bill.

That $5 million item is included in supplemental budget pleas presented to Congress over the last several months.

Also listed are requests for $2.4 million in funds for summer youth programs; $150,000 for a criminal law review commission; $1.2 million for increased court costs including police overtime; $744,000 for a 450-bed alcoholic rehabilitation center and $873,000 for 23 portable classrooms in the Fort Lincoln urban renewal area.

It adds up to more money than is available. All Congress has to work with is $6 million left over from the $70 million authorized for the federal payment.

In addition, the city faces $3.5 million in bills growing out of the April riots here, and the resulting loss of tax revenues which has been estimated at about $6 million over a year.

Further expense connected with the Poor People's Campaign and additional police overtime ordered by Mayor Walter E. Washington has not been computed.

PROGRAM CUTS STUDIED

City officials are exploring how to get out of this money trap. Since pay checks always come off the top—city employes get their money if any money is available at all—other programs may have to be cut.

Although budget officers, speaking their own language of figures and balance sheets, always can find pockets of unspent cash, it does seem likely that some "non-essential" areas will be cut.

One of the possibilities under study is a freeze on new hiring, but that wouldn't help much for the one month remaining in the current fiscal year.

Where to find the additional funds will be one of the topics Tuesday when city officials appear before the House Appropriations subcommittee for the District.

The meeting was called to hear comments on budget amendments, not additions. By shifting things around, the District can make money available—if Congress approves—for expansion of the Federal City College, creation of a citizens' information service at the District Building and renting additional office space.

[From the Washington Sunday Star,
May 26, 1968]

Mass Violence: Its Cause and Its Cure

Violence is no new experience to humanity, and nothing new on the American scene. Violence is, in the words of Rap Brown, as American as cherry pie. And in a sense this is true. The draft riots of the 1860s, the labor violence of the 1920s and 30s, the race riots of 1919 and 1943, all are a part of the American heritage.

But there is difference between those dark pages of history and the violence that grips this country—and the world—today. Those earlier outbreaks, some of them more bloody than anything we are witnessing now, were fought over specific, limited and conceivably attainable goals. There was an industry to be unionized, a bonus to be won, a job to be protected against a laborer who would work for less.

Today, violence sweeps the campuses of America, Europe, South America and the Orient. Today, the Negro populations of the inner cities from coast to coast indulge in orgies of arson and looting. Today, thousands of the poor converge on Washington in what is intended to be a nonviolent protest—but which carries with it the very clearly expressed threat of violence.

There is one clear thread that binds these seemingly separate, far-flung protests together. None of them involves a clearly defined target or a precise goal. The students at Columbia protest the building of a new gymnasium; the work is halted and the violence spreads. The ghetto inmate rails against "the system" and "the man." The poor marcher demands an end to poverty and condemns "the establishment." Each of them knows in generalized terms what he is against: The status quo. None of them can say what he is for, except for change. And yet, in support of such insubstantial causes, millions the world over are prepared to march, to destroy, to burn, to give up their freedom and, some of them, to kill or to die.

There are, almost certainly, individuals and groups within the major protest movements whose aims are not at all vague and whose motives spring from the doctrinaire teachings of the standard works on worldwide revolution. Some Negro extremist leaders go out of their way to proclaim their kinship to Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh. The Students for a Democratic Society were quite precise in their selection of targets for the disruption of Columbia University.

But the fact that a few self-styled leaders fancy themselves to be the black man's Castro, or that a handful of ideological misfits band together to make life miserable for a university, is quite beside the point. Crackpots are nothing new in any segment of our society. What is new is the fact that the sparks given off by these disciples of dissension have fallen on tinder, and have taken fire. A disruptive demonstration by a handful of SDS members at Columbia spreads to include thousands, most of whom neither know nor care about the issues involved. A student protest in France is taken up by 10 million laborers, and the nation is brought to its knees. The venomous, divisive words of Brown and Carmichael find a growing audience.

There are obvious differences in the protest of the university undergraduate and the school dropout in the ghetto, between the poor people's march and the Paris uprising. But there is one basic and very important similarity: Each is a cry of despair, an expression of alienation from society, a demand for participation. These are cries that should be heeded.

The first obligation of any social order, be it a university, a city, the United States or the Free World, is to protect itself from destruction, to continue to function and to preserve order within itself. The second, and coequal, function of any democratic society is to accept change when it is warranted, and to assure all of its members a participation in the decisions that affect their lives.

If the reaction of society to violent protest is limited to the restoration of order—if the goal becomes nothing more than preservation of the status quo—then that social order has ceased to function properly. The protest against it will inevitably grow in volume and in violence, and eventually order will collapse and chaos will prevail. That, in essence, is what the protesters are saying has happened. It is up to society, by opening functioning lines of communication with the alienated segments, to prove that the protesters are wrong.

This most emphatically does not mean that the president of Columbia should resign and that the direction of the university should be handed over to the undergraduates. It does not mean that the cities should be delivered to the mob. It does not mean that the nation's poor should be assured that citizenship is the only requirement for participation in the abundant life; that industry, incentive, education and ability are completely beside the point. It does not mean that age and experience and the accumulated knowledge of preceding generations should be discounted, and that the world should be entrusted solely to its youth.

It means that a dialogue must begin between the established and the alienated, a dialogue in which the present stewards of society listen to the grievances, explain established practice and discuss the results of alternate proposals. It means a dialogue in which the alienated must be challenged to offer something more than the destruction of the existing order, some detailed social structure that would be substituted for that which now exists.

The result of such a dialogue must be knowledge on the part of those who now rise in protest that they are, in fact, participants in their society, and a realization that they have a considerable stake in its preservation.

The student in today's overgrown university is too often not a contributing, active member of the academic community. He is a number; a series of magnetic impulses in a computer. Many citizens—particularly the uneducated, underemployed and overexploited—feel the same antagonistic remoteness of the governing core that directs their destinies.

The solution must lie in a decentralization of those functions of community government that bear most directly on the lives of its members. For the student this may mean a greater voice in curriculum, and in the disciplinary function of the university. For the alienated adult, it implies a greater effort on the part of local authority to involve all citizens in the future of their communities and to make clear the desirability and the necessity of social order.

Not long ago, a slogan writer came up with a saying that caught on in a big way. Thousands of buttons and countless walls carried the message: "I am a human being. Do not fold, spindle or mutilate."

Today, that wry joke has taken on a deadly seriousness.

[From the Washington Sunday Star, May 26, 1968]

A Tough Crime Bill

The anti-crime bill which has been adopted by the Senate is equipped with sharp teeth. The anguished outcries and the flagrant misrepresentations by its opponents should remove any doubt on that score.

It is not our contention that this bill is right in all respects or that it cannot be improved upon when it goes to conference. We think it can be improved. But to say, as some do, that it is a spiteful assault on the Supreme Court or that if it becomes law it will no longer be safe for a law-abiding citizen to talk on the telephone or converse with his wife in the privacy of his home is nothing but nonsense.

The attack on the bill moves along two main lines. One thrust says that the effort to modify the Supreme Court rulings in the Miranda and two other cases is unconstitutional. This is disputed by the sponsors. But there is no reason for panic on this score. If the section in question is unconstitutional, the Supreme Court will have opportunity to say so.

The second line of attack is aimed at the authorization under what seems to us to be adequate safeguards for the use of wiretaps and electronic listening devices by federal authorities. In our view, this authorization was broadened on the Senate floor to cover too many types of crimes. We would prefer to see this cut back to the offenses spelled out in the original bill. Two points, however, are worth noting. One is that the Senate approved this authorization by a vote of 68 to 12. Are the critics seriously suggesting that 68 senators want to set up a police state in this country? The other is that, under the bill, all private bugging for the first time is made a federal crime.

The critics hope, first, that the House conferees will not accept the Senate bill, and, second, that the President will veto it if they do.

What the conferees or the President will do is anyone's guess. The obvious fact, is however, that the bill sponsored by Senator McClellan of Arkansas is a response to a massive public demand for protection against crime and criminals. This bill, perhaps with some modification in conference, should become law. And the self-appointed constitutional experts should leave that issue to the court.

[From the Washington Sunday Star, May 26, 1968]

Sunny Day Gives Residents of Resurrection City a Lift

Warm sunshine lifted the spirits of the residents of Resurrection City yesterday although thick mud still pulled at the feet of strollers along Martin Luther King Plaza and Abernathy Boulevard.

After a week of nearly continuous rain and cold nights, the demonstrators who have come to Washington for the Poor People's Campaign took advantage of the sunshine for housekeeping chores and recreation.

At the large circus-type tent where the campaigners eat, broom-swinging youths cleared out the mud that had accumulated over the past few days.

Other residents of the West Potomac Park encampment, who previously had rarely ventured outside the snow fence marking the boundaries, went to nearby grassy areas to sit under the trees and listen to transistor radios.

Two members of the U.S. Park Police were kept busy trying to prevent youthful demonstrators from swimming in the Reflecting Pool, which is alongside the northern boundary of the camp.

Inside the camp, the two main streets named for the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and his successor as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, were still thick and oozing, although side streets and lanes seemed to be drying faster.

The small, A-frame plywood huts proved themselves through the rain and wind that buffeted them through the week. With their plastic doorways open to the warm sun, most of the huts seemed dry inside.

The residents seemed to be in a good mood and could be heard joking about the rain and mud.

Sand, gravel and sawdust have been promised for the streets of the camp, but it has not been delivered.

At Xaverian College in nearby Maryland, a construction worker said wooded walks were being built in 16-foot sections for the camp.

Abernathy, leader of the campaign, has been living about three miles from the camp—at the Pitts Motor Hotel. He showed up at the site yesterday afternoon wearing the blue denim uniform of the campaign and highly polished shoes.

He waited outside the fence until an aide brought overshoes, and then walked down the muddy street to meet with other members of his staff in the camp's city hall.

Later, he held a press conference and said he felt the first week of demonstrations had been successful.

"So far we have taken limited action, but in spite of limited action," he said, "we have already won an agreement from (Agriculture) Secretary (Orville) Freeman."

He said some $227 million which would have been returned to the U.S. Treasury had been released by the Agriculture Department to furnish food from surplus for needy persons in the nation's 266 poorest counties.

"We consider this a victory," he added, "but we are far from satisfied. And we will continue to press that department until adequate food is provided for everyone."

In a reference to arrests on Capitol Hill on Thursday when a group of demonstrators went to see Rep. Wilbur Mills, D-Ark., chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Abernathy said:

"This arrest was unfortunate in that I was not the first to be arrested. These activities around Congressman Mills' office will be intensified because we are concerned about the welfare mothers of this nation."

Abernathy then promised that in the future "there will be no demonstrations that I do not lead . . . that is, until I am jailed."

Abernathy told residents of the camp here they are eating better "than you have ever eaten in your life. You may have a drier shelter than you ever had before. You certainly have the finest in dental and medical attention."

Abernathy had just returned from New York City, where he had met with Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. Rustin, organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, will also organize the Poor People's mass demonstration here scheduled for June 19.

Abernathy said that Sterling Tucker, Washington Urban League director, will be the Washington march coordinator and the go-between for the campaigners and the federal and local governments.

After his press conference, Abernathy walked over to the Lincoln Memorial, where he spoke with about 200 members of the Council of Black Clergy of Philadelphia.

The Park Police asked if the group had a permit to meet on the steps of the memorial. The reply was "no," and the police said the meeting would be permitted as long as it didn't block the steps.

PLANS MORE SHANTIES

"This permit business, we're getting tired of it," Abernathy grumbled. "We are gonna build more shanties out here, and if we don't have enough room we are gonna go out and take some more."

He turned and gestured to the green, open land on the north side of the Reflecting Pool and added, "We might take some over there." The group applauded.

Abernathy said the campaigners did not come to Washington to get bogged down in the problem of running Resurrection City.

"There are a lot of people who would like to see us get bogged down in the mechanics of running a city. If we can live in mud in Mississippi and with rats and roaches in New York and Philadelphia, we can stay in mud here."

The 15-acre site has now reached its capacity of 600 housing units and the present population is estimated at 2,300. The capacity population under the Park Service permit is 3,000.

Abernathy said that only about 100 of the city's residents had signed up to leave the camp Friday during the rain in response to invitations to stay in homes and churches. He called this a demonstration of "the kind of strength the people of the city have shown."

There was no word on when some 800 other campaigners who came into the city Friday would be moving into the camp. This group, made up of Mexican Americans and American Indians, has been staying in churches and schools in Maryland and the District.

Another group of 35 marchers from California, not part of one of the official caravans, arrived yesterday. They were housed in a Washington church.

SYMPATHY MARCH

As residents of Resurrection City enjoyed their day in the sun, more than 1,000 of their sympathizers in Mobile, Ala., marched several miles through rain-slickened residential streets yesterday, singing and chanting their support of the Poor People's campaign. There were no incidents.

A little closer to Washington, in Charleston, W. Va., about 500 persons who had been attending an all-day Appalachian poverty conference paraded seven abreast down Kanawha Boulevard to the State Capitol, and announced that four busloads of them would leave Thursday to join the Washington demonstrators.

The enthusiastic and orderly crowd at the Charleston conference heard the Rev. Andrew Young, assistant director of the SCLC, tell them not to be afraid of Washington's jails. "You eat better there than you do at home," he said according to the Associated Press account.

Abernathy was asked what he planned to do between the June 16 expiration date of the Park Service permit for the camp and the June 19 demonstration date. "We will try to get an extension to the permit," he answered.

Abernathy is to preach a sermon at 8 p.m. today in New York Avenue Presbyterian Church. That church has given SCLC office space for the campaign.

The Park Service has issued a permit for use of the Lincoln Memorial for a Memorial Day Concert by the National Symphony Orchestra in honor of King.

King's widow is to narrate a performance of the "Lincoln Portrait," by Aaron Copland, and choristers from Morehouse College in Atlanta and Howard University will sing.

[From the Washington Sunday Star, May 26, 1968]

Complexities of Feeding the Poor

(By James Welsh)

The job of feeding thousands of participants in the Poor People's Campaign has settled down to a fairly smooth, if complex, operation.

About 3,000 poor persons already have come to Washington for breakfast, lunch and dinner for an indeterminate period.

Their hosts, at mealtimes, are a conglomerate of Washington area chain stores, food manufacturers, churches, educational institutions, public and private agencies and dozens of volunteer workers.

The feeding of Resurrection City's residents, marked by considerable confusion at first, is becoming more like a routine procedure.

For the short term, at least, enough financing and food is assured. About $1 per person a day is going toward food for the campaign's participants.

More uncertain is what will happen should the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and its followers decide to stay around much longer than June 16, or should their demonstrations get out of hand. These possibilities would pose hard decisions for some of the people running the food operation.

Joseph Danzansky, head of Giant Food, is in charge. In his words, he "kind of fell into this" as the result of heading up the Washington Urban Coalition's ad hoc committee on emergency food following last month's civil disorders.

Once the scope of the task became clear, Danzansky sent out an appeal to other food chains active in the Washington area. Six of them—Giant, Safeway, Grand Union, A & P, Food Fair and American Stores—pledged $1,000 a week for four weeks. Jumbo Stores and Consumer Co-ops signed on for smaller amounts. The Washington Hotel Association donated $5,000.

Washington's baking industry is donating 850 loaves of bread a day and the milk industry 1,500 half-pints of milk a day. In addition, through surplus Department of Agriculture supplies, the District Public Welfare Department has available an unlimited supply of a limited variety of basic foods.

"Now," said Danzansky, "the ball seems to be rolling for national participation."

Heinz Products has donated about $10,000 worth of soup and beans. National Biscuit Co. has come forward with other products.

"They came to us on their own," said Danzansky, "but it gave us the idea to send the word out to other national manufacturers."

Danzansky estimated that $40,000 in money and produce is available, with the cash funneled through the Health and Welfare Council. Church organizations have raised more money for food—most of it so far has gone to feed people as they stopped in the Washington area before going into the encampment.

Planning the meals, ordering and obtaining the food, preparing it, delivering it to the site and serving it is no idle operation. Nearly 200 persons are engaged in it.

SCLC's man on the scene is Kenneth Brown, a management consultant from New York who is volunteering his time. He and his staff oversee the logistics of getting the food to the site and distributing it. About 50 persons at the tent city help serve meals.

Danzansky has four of his Giant Food staff working full-time on such jobs as ordering and purchasing food. They are augmented by others on loan from Safeway, Grand Union and Hot Shoppes.

Three dietitians are at work on the campaign, one from the welfare department, the other two at Howard University. Residents of Resurrection City usually get cold cereal, fruit juice, rolls and a beverage for breakfast, a sandwich, fruit, cookies and a beverage for lunch, and a hot meal in the evening.

The meat-and-potatoes portion of the hot meal comes from the Howard kitchens. The vegetables are prepared by volunteers at St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church. About 50 volunteers daily prepare sandwiches at St. John's Academy on Military Road. From all these points, trucks rented by SCLC take the food to the camp.

Some of the early arrivals complained that the food was too bland. Steps have been taken to correct this. Said SCLC's Brown:

"Over at St. Stephen's now, they're preparing the soul food—soul beans, soul peas."

What's soul food, Mr. Brown?

"Oh, you know, heavy on the seasoning, a little more pepper, red pepper, hot peppers, some ham or bacon."

Brown expressed belief that "we're doing pretty well," adding that much of the success is due to "a lot of local cooperation."

Danzansky and his group agreed to take on the feeding operation until June 16, when the site permit expires. Their other conditions were that the feeding be limited to the site, the campaign continue in a nonviolent fashion and that it remain "within the law."

Said Danzansky: "We have an out." He added quickly that he doesn't know at this point if or under what conditions he would exercise the "out." He said he is trying to stay away from politics of the movement, sticking to the "meeting of a human need."

Asked about the same thing, Brown said: "People have to eat, regardless of contractual agreements." He expressed belief that those involved in the feeding operation are "in deep enough they're going to be making this thing go" whatever the circumstances.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, is there further morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The BILL CLERK. A bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What is the will of the Senate?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION TODAY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Commerce, the Committee on Public Works, and the Committee on Foreign Relations be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair, with the provision that the recess not extend beyond 1:15 p.m. today.

The motion was agreed to; and thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 42 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate reassembled at 1:08 p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. BYRD of Virginia in the chair).

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of 2 hours on the pending amendment, an hour to each side, the time to be equally divided and to be controlled by the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] and the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I do not intend to object—it is my understanding that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE] is on his way to the Chamber and would like a little time. Could we give him 15 minutes and then start the controlled-time situation on the amendment when Senator BROOKE has concluded?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I would be happy to give Senator BROOKE 15 minutes from our side.

Mr. TOWER. That is satisfactory.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may suggest the absence of a quorum, with the time not to be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWER. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be reinstituted with the understanding that the time shall not be charged against either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bill and joint resolution:

S. 1052. An act for the relief of Nicholas S. Cvetan, U.S. Air Force (retired); and

S.J. Res. 168. Joint resolution to authorize the temporary funding of the emergency credit revolving fund.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I am happy to yield 15 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. BROOKE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, in 1949, the Congress established as a national goal, "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." Last March, the Civil Disorders Commission reported flatly:

> After more than three decades of fragmented and grossly underfunded housing programs, nearly six million substandard units remain occupied in the United States.

The Banking and Currency Committee has reported to the Senate a bill which is designed to mobilize both public and private resources to achieve in the next decade that goal set 20 years ago. As a member of both the Civil Disorders Commission and the Committee on Banking and Currency, I wish to express my full and complete support of S. 3497.

S. 3497 can only be described as landmark legislation. It is recognition of the urgent need for decent housing and the comprehensive effort required to meet this need. It is also the product of nearly 2 years' effort on the part of the members of the Housing Subcommittee, Mr. President. I am not a member of the subcommittee, but I am fully aware of the long hours spent last summer and fall working out the provisions of S. 2700 most of which are incorporated in S. 3497. Recognizing both the seriousness of the present situation and the failure to meet previous goals, the subcommittee reviewed all existing housing legislation and adopted a large number of modifications and revisions. Building on the experience of existing housing programs, the committee authorized new programs and new approaches. As finally reported, S. 3497 represents a comprehensive review and revision of Federal housing programs as well as a series of carefully prepared new programs.

Mr. President, both in subcommittee and in the full committee, there was long and healthy debate about the details of this bill, but there was no debate about the need for the bill. Since the commencement of hearings last July, events have served to underscore the necessity for legislation. A public opinion survey taken shortly after the disorders of last summer found that in the minds of the ghetto residents themselves, lack of decent housing was the single most important reason for frustration and despair. The Civil Disorders Commission Report, issued this past March, provided the statistics to support this reaction: Nationwide, it said, the number of nonwhites living in substandard housing actually increased between 1950 and 1960. Despite the fact that 4 million of the 6 million substandard units were occupied by whites, 16 percent of the urban nonwhite population occupied substandard housing. Negro housing units are more likely to be overcrowded; they are generally older than whites', and Negroes usually pay more for the same housing.

But what is perhaps the most dramatic plea for housing comes not from a group to which housing is ordinarily a primary concern but from the National Education Association. In a letter to the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, NEA said:

> The best education program, the most highly trained and motivated teachers, and the shiniest new equipment will do little for the child of poverty if he must return to a rat-infested hovel, a one-room apartment illuminated by a single, naked, glaring overhead light; a home in which noise, clutter, and overcrowding rob him of rest, comfort, and any chance for growth as an individual personality.

Mr. President, this is the critical trend which forces us to review old programs and to devise new ones which will truly change these conditions. S. 3497 contains numerous modifications of existing programs, and I will only take time here to review a few. Section 106 authorizes the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to provide technical and financial assistance to nonprofit sponsors seeking to provide low- and moderate-income housing. Nonprofit sponsors—unions, church congregations, civic groups—are rich in good will but poor in both technical knowledge of housing construction and in capital.

As the Senate is well aware, I have been critical of FHA administration of programs involving nonprofit sponsors. I have found that FHA has sometimes alienated the nonprofit sponsor by entangling him in a web of redtape and requiring him to provide capital which, in a nonprofit situation, he cannot be expected to have. Section 604 authorizes the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to provide special assistance to nonprofit sponsors. This includes technical assistance and information as well as interest-free loans, financed from a revolving fund, to cover such costs as architectural and engineering fees, land options, and so forth. With the assistance provided by section 604, programs involving nonprofit sponsors should operate more smoothly, providing more housing in less time.

I have also been critical of FHA's unwillingness to insure and finance projects in our Nation's center cities, the very areas where the housing need is most critical. Section 103 of the pending bill specifically authorized FHA to insure properties in declining urban areas if, in view of the need for adequate housing, these areas are found to be reasonably viable. To finance this higher risk effort as well as some of the bill's new program's, a special risk insurance fund is established by section 104. These two provisions constitute a clear recognition of the urgent need for center city housing, and a directive to HUD to build that housing.

Among other modifications of existing programs is the section 102 credit assistance and counseling program for those families presently unable to qualify for participation in FHA programs. The process of urban renewal will be changed to stress the concept of neighborhood development which allows urban renewal to be conducted on an incremental basis. This will prevent the razing of entire center city areas, which has turned some cities into oversized parking lots. In another important innovation, the committee took a long, hard look at income limitations established for existing programs.

It is apparent that those who benefit most from low and moderate income housing programs, such as 221(d)(3), are those whose income is closet to the maximum allowable. Accordingly, in order to make sure that the new homeownership and rental programs benefit those for whom they are intended, the committee decided to focus the program on lower-income families by placing an income limit of 70 percent of the 221(d)(3) level on 80 percent of the units. In Boston, for example, this means that a family of four or less with an income of $5,700 would be eligible for assistance in renting or buying a home. A smaller number of four-member families with incomes as high as $8,200 would also be eligible for some subsidies, since 20 percent of the funds would be allocated according to the higher income standards of the old 221(d)(3) program.

S. 3497 contains a number of new programs, but the two which I feel deserve special mention are amendments to the National Housing Act, the section 235 homeownership program and the section 236 rental program. The concept of homeownership for those of low- and moderate income was first brought into prominence before the Senate by our dedicated colleague, the junior Senator from Illinois. Since then it has been endorsed by the Civil Disorders Commission, the President's Committee on Urban Housing, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The proposed homeownership program incorporates features of established programs but emphasizes a new principle. That principle is the concept that homeownership can be of far greater benefit to the poor than a mere roof and four walls. Homeownership can be a source of pride and stability, influences that will extend to the homeowner's job and family life. In addition, the homeownership program is the first to incorporate features which allow the active involvement of the individual in a Federal Housing program, through the use of "sweat equity" and through personal responsibility for maintenance and repair.

The bill's homeownership program and rental program are established on a similar basis. Experience has shown that under the 221(d)(3) program the Government is able to finance only a limited number of mortgages at the below-market interest rate. Accordingly, the new programs involve market interest rates, for which private financing is available, and Government assistance takes the form of direct assistance and interest-reduction payments. These programs incorporate the feature of the rent supplements program which requires an individual to pay a percentage of his income. This feature has the advantage that the individual's payments increase as his income does, but a raise in income does not require his eviction from his home.

Under section 235, the homeowner would pay 20 percent of his monthly income for principal, interest, taxes, and insurance on the mortgage. The difference between 20 percent of the homeowner's income and the amount actually required to meet the mortgage would constitute the amount of the Government assistance payment, except that the assistance payment could not exceed the difference between the amount required and the amount which would be required if the mortgage bore interest at 1 percent. Under the section 236 rental program, interest-reduction payments would be made on behalf of the sponsor to make up the difference between the monthly amount actually required at the market interest rate and the amount which would be required at a 1-percent-interest rate. Rental in this housing would be established as a basic charge; tenants would pay either the basic charge or 25 percent of their income, whichever was greater. Any excess over the basic charge paid would be deposited in a revolving fund. The 236 program offers flexibility in both financing and rental charges which should contribute to the production of housing at a much higher rate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have 3 additional minutes.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes of my time to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, the return to private market-rate financing is but one of numerous examples in which S. 3497 recognizes the necessity for and the benefits of participation by the private sector. Title IX authorizes the creation of a National Housing Corporation, a private, profitmaking corporation, the purpose of which is to build low-income housing. The Corporation is authorized to establish limited partnerships for the purpose of engaging in low- and moderate-income housing undertakings. Title IX offers the advantage of stimulating participation by private business with its skill, organization, and funds, which have not yet been tapped in full measure for housing programs.

Mr. President, S. 3497 contains many other new programs and revisions of existing programs, and there are others more expert in these details than I. I would only wish to state once again that this bill represents the collective effort of the committee to establish the best possible housing programs for the Nation as a whole. It is the product of earnest and thoughtful study. It represents a major step forward in a vital field.

Mr. President, the report of the Civil Disorders Commission called for action in four areas—jobs, housing, welfare, and education. All four are essential; one cannot be effective without the other three. But inadequate housing is the visible, tangible symbol of the cycle of poverty and deprivation. Its deleterious effects are felt in the daily life of every single one of our Nation's poor. S. 3497 provides the tools which, backed by the will of the Nation, can begin to erase the blight of substandard housing.

Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Texas for yielding to me.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. President, section 101, title I, of S. 3497 would authorize a new program of assistance to enable lower income families to own their own homes. This would be done through a new mechanism that would allow the Federal Government to subsidize part of the monthly cost of a market rate home mortgage loan.

Such payments would be made monthly by the Government directly to the mortgagee on behalf of the mortgagor.

A family would be required to apply 20 percent of its monthly income to the cost of its monthly mortgage payment, such payment including principal, interest, taxes, and a mortgage insurance premium. The Government's subsidy payment would be in an amount equal to the difference between the family's 20-percent payment and the required monthly payment under the mortgage.

However, in no event could the Government's payment exceed the difference between the required monthly mortgage payment and the payment that would be required if such mortgage bore an interest rate of 1 percent. In other words, it would be possible for a family to receive the benefits of a 1 percent interest mortgage as a result of the Government's subsidy.

Mr. President, my amendment pertains to the determination of eligibility for the homeownership programs' subsidy benefits. It would define as being eligible those families whose incomes do not exceed 70 percent of the income limits presently established for the section 221(d)(3) below-market interest rate rental and cooperative housing program. The bill as now written would allow 20 percent of the assistance payments contracted for to exceed the 70 percent of 221(d)(3) limitation.

For reasons which I shall hereinafter state, I firmly believe that this program should not be allowed to extend government subsidy benefits to families with incomes at those levels now permissible under the 221(d)(3) BMIR program.

I applaud and support our committee's efforts to bring about a way whereby our Nation's lower-income can participate in the great American tradition of homeownership. The committee's chairman and its members have worked long and hard to formulate an appropriate mechanism that would serve to close the gap between the incomes that typify those of our citizens that have limited financial means and the market cost of a reasonably necessary home mortgage loan.

It is our collective opinion that a direct month-by-month subsidy payment is the most practical way to implement this assistance. But, I expressed my exception in our committee meetings to the far-reaching scope of the program's subsidy benefits, and I urge that every Senator weigh this matter closely in his own mind.

There must be a strong and compelling need to support the giving of a Government subsidy, especially at this time when our Government finds itself in very serious fiscal and monetary difficuties. In the area of housing, such subsidies should not be given to families who are capable of housing themselves on the private market through their own efforts.

If Government assistance is to be freely available without a determination of true need, not only will we be subsidizing the undermining of individual initiative and responsibility, but we will allow such money as is available for this purpose to be directed away from those in deserving circumstances.

Eligibility for the homeownership program's benefits is based on the amount of a family's income, its size, and the city that it lives in. As I have already noted, this criteria is set out in the eligibility tables for the section 221(d)(3) BMIR program.

This FNMA-backed, low interest rate, program was enacted in 1961. It was to be strictly limited to those individuals and families whose incomes exclude them from standard housing in the private market. The program was to benefit families with incomes too high for public housing, mainly those with incomes of $6,000 or less. This Government-aided housing was not to compete with housing where such aid did not exist.

Program experience has shown this not to be the case. Unjustifiably liberal income limits have allowed projects constructed under the program to cater to middle income families, not those at the lower income levels.

Thus, the Government has in fact been supporting housing for those that should be expected to handle their own housing needs.

This is all relevant because the new homeownership program in this bill will utilize the 221(d)(3) eligibility tables, and I invite every Senator's attention to these tables for insight into this question of who should be subsidized by the Government.

At page 183 of the committee report will be found a table with some examples of eligible family incomes listed by city and family size. The table also shows the comparable eligible income in each instance for benefits under the rent supplement program. These limits can be readily interpreted as "low income" as they are based on public housing admission levels.

When we talk of "lower income," as in this bill, I think we should hold this to represent those families whose incomes are to high for public housing but too low to allow them to purchase decent and sufficient housing on the private market with their own financial resources.

Rather than allowing the Government to subsidize families in the middle income area, which is certainly the case in 221(d)(3), we should concentrate the benefits of this program on those lower-income families that can demonstrate their capability to handle the responsibilities of homeownership if given a helping hand. By so doing, I anticipate that qualified families with annual incomes generally $5,000 and less would be the recipients of program benefits.

The 70 percent of 221(d)(3) income limitation that I propose in my amendment would be more than reasonable in this regard. While I personally feel that it would prove to be high in many instances if not implemented prudently, it would not, in my opinion be so inflexible as to hamper the program's operation in the higher cost areas of the country.

It is stated that the bill's eligibility formula is expected to generally cover families with annual incomes from $3,000 to $7,000. The 70 percent limitation would be well in line with this estimate. The predecessor to this bill, S. 2700, wherein the lower-income homeownership was originated, contained the 70 percent of 221(d)(3) income eligibility requirement. This reflected the committee's feeling that the full 221(d)(3) limits were too high to serve the needs of lower-income families.

Experience with the 221(d)(3) BMIR program has clearly shown that benefits tend to concentrate at the higher end of any given eligibility limits. If this were allowed to happen in the homeownership program, deserving lower-income families would be bypassed due to the economic attractiveness of building homes to serve the higher income levels.

Projects constructed under this government-supported 221(d)(3) program in my Texas City of Dallas give ample evidence of its misdirection. For example:

A couple with one or two children can make $7,550.

A couple with three or four children can make $8,700.

A couple with five or more children can make $9,800.

Even if the 70 percent of 221(d)(3) eligibility were applied,

The couple with one or two children could make $5,285.

The couple with three or four children could make $6,090.

The couple with five or more children could make $6,860.

I digress at this point to make a personal reference. The last year that I was assistant professor of political science at Midwestern University, my salary was $5,000 a year. I was raising three children and paying for my own home at regular market interest rates. So I cannot have much sympathy with the idea of subsidizing homeownership for people of moderate incomes.

Let us help the ones with low incomes, and let us make sure this program does precisely that. Even 20 percent, in my estimation, is too much to devote to the aid of moderate income families, when it is the destitute, the impoverished, the poor whom we are trying to benefit here.

In either of these instances, 70-percent limitation or not, Government assistance is, and would be, available to income groups fully capable of providing for themselves without having to rely on their government.

According to 1966 census figures, the median annual income of American families was $7,400. This figure ranges from approximately $5,600 in the South to $7,300 in the north-central region. The average factory worker in the Dallas area makes about $5,300 a year.

Notwithstanding these typical incomes of families who pay their own way in life, the 221(d)(3) program, in essence, says that they should be subsidized. This is insupportable, in my opinion, and this new program should not be allowed to compound this gross misuse of the taxpayer's money.

The higher income levels represented by the full 221(d)(3) income limits are typical of the country's great middle class. It would be grossly unjust to allow the Government to subsidize families with such incomes. It would be equally unjust to enact a program to remedy the housing needs of thousands of our Nation's lower-income families, and at the same time make it susceptible to benefiting families capable of providing for themselves.

By any measurement, the vast majority of American families are capable of supporting their housing needs. Those families that are least able to procure decent housing are concentrated in the deteriorated neighborhoods of our cities. Some 75 percent of all substandard dwellings are occupied by families with annual incomes of $4,000 or less.

If this program is to make a contribution to the replacement of this rundown housing, there is all the more reason to use restraint in the setting of eligibility limits. Some 28 percent of our country's families have incomes of $5,000 and under. If the program is concentrated on this 28 percent, we will certainly be reaching out for those in true need of assistance.

Should the program instead reach out for those families with incomes up to $7,000, there would be covered some 46 percent, or almost half, of all our families. In my opinion, it is insupportable to conclude that nearly one-half of all this country's families should rely on their Government for their housing needs.

This is to say nothing of subsidizing those with incomes up to $10,000, which would be possible without the 70-percent limitation that I propose. Approximately 70 percent of this country's families are in this income category.

It should be pointed out that whatever income limits we decide upon, there will still be a large degree of flexibility in favor of the benefited family. These income limits are for initial eligibility purposes only. Once occupancy has commenced, a family's income could increase beyond these limits, and income would be recertified every 2 years to adjust the subsidy downward.

In addition, $300 could be deducted from a family's income for each family minor for eligibility purposes. And, the eligibility level is increased according to the number of persons in the family.

Thus, the setting of the initial eligible incomes should be approached with more caution than is evident in the bill. There is far more to support moving the limits down than there is to set them at the higher levels asked for.

The "Declaration of Policy" which prefaces the bill calls for Government assistance for families with incomes so low that they could not otherwise decently house themselves. If the setting of the program's income limits is not approached with prudent restraint, we will both miss the target of our concern, our Nation's poorer families, and encourage more and more of our citizens to look to their Government as their only means of being housed, contrary to everything our system stands for.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. TOWER. I yield such time as necessary to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I heard the Senator state that a family with a $10,000 income, under certain circumstances, would be eligible for the aid.

Mr. TOWER. That is true, under the provisions of 221(d)(3).

Mr. LAUSCHE. Will the Senator illustrate that, please, if he can?

Mr. TOWER. For example, a family of three or four persons, under the maximum limit under 221(d)(3), would be eligible for the program if it made an income of $6,750 a year, at Austin, Tex. The amount varies according to the city.

Let us look at one a little closer to Cleveland. Let us take Milwaukee, which is very close to the State of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. There a family of three or four persons having an income of $8,000 could be eligible within full limits. But they would be eligible at $5,600 if the formula were applied at 70 percent of the existing section 22(d)(3) limitations.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Approximately what percentage of the families of the Nation do the $5,600 income families constitute?

Mr. TOWER. Does the Senator mean in that salary range?

Mr. LAUSCHE. Yes.

Mr. TOWER. About 28 percent of the families are in the $5,000-or-under bracket. Those in the $3,000 bracket constitute 14 percent; $3,000 to $5,000, 14 percent; a total of 28 percent.

I am trying to make certain that all the money earmarked in the bill will go to the lower income families and that none of it will be allowed to gravitate up to the moderate income families.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Where would be the dividing line?

Mr. TOWER. The dividing line would vary from city to city. For a family of two persons, it would vary anywhere from an income of $4,000 in Austin, Tex., to about $5,215 in New York City.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TOWER. I yield.

Mr. MILLER. I should like to ask either the Senator from Texas or the Senator from Wisconsin what constitutes income. Is it income for Federal income tax purposes as shown in an income tax return? Or would it include an inheritance that a member of the family might receive? Suppose a family has an income of $5,000 as shown on the Federal income tax return, but that a relative of one of the family passes away, and the family receives an inheritance of $25,000.

Also, would the income include gifts? Let us say that in the disposition of an estate, a low-income family receives a gift from a parent or other relative in the amount of $2,000 or $3,000.

I should like to be satisfied on this point. I raised this point 2 years ago in the debate on the rent-supplement bill. In fact, I offered an amendment on this point. The distinguished former senior Senator from Illinois, Mr. Douglas, declined to accept the amendment. Although he rejected it, I am happy to say that the Department of Housing and Urban Development, apparently as a result of a reading of the debate, issued regulations which made it clear that inheritances and gifts of substantial amounts would be taken into account in possibly disqualifying a person from eligibility.

As a matter of legislative history, we ought to make this point clear. Certainly the taxpayers should not be called upon to have their tax money used to pay subsidies to people who can afford to pay for their homes themselves. As I understand, the entire thrust of the bill is to make certain that families in low-income areas, who cannot afford to make such payments, will receive some assistance from the taxpayers to enable them to attain decent housing for themselves.

If, however, outside sources of economic income, such as inheritance or gifts, are not taken into account, I think then that we would frustrate the purposes of the legislation.

Could either of my colleagues satisfy me on that point?

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I believe that the income referred to as gross income would include income from all sources.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the staff is busily working on an answer to the question of the Senator from Iowa. The definition that we have available from HUD on definition of income indicates the following:

> For an employee receiving a straight salary or wages and whose rate of income is subject to change due to promotions, etc., a determination based upon the previous 12 months' earnings might well be erroneous. For such persons, the annual income must be proven on the basis of the current rate of pay at the time of certification.

I think that the Senator from Iowa makes a good point, and I understand that the Senator from Texas is probably correct. However, I would like to check further to see if it includes not only pay, but also gifts and inheritance and any other source of money that would be available.

There is the difficulty that a man or a woman might receive a small inheritance of perhaps $1,000 or $2,000 in 1 year. Obviously, it would not be fair to disqualify that person if that is a one-time situation.

It certainly ought to include any regular income from pension or from interest in property, or anything of that kind. There is no question about that. However, whether it should include a small inheritance, I am not sure, and I am checking now to find out.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I would appreciate it if the Senator could furnish that information. In addition, if there is a feeling that the income shown on the Federal income tax return—and adjusted gross income is what almost everybody refers to in their income tax returns—should be the test, then of course we would be faced with the possibility of someone who might receive a substantial amount of money in the form of interest. So I think it is very well for us to try to close any loopholes here.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. MILLER. I agree with my colleagues.

Mr. PROXMIRE. However, in connection with the point made by the distinguished Senator from Texas, he was correct. I have in my hand a document on the stationery of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Federal Housing Administration that specifies that—

> Tenant income means all of the gross income before taxes and all deductions received by all members of the family except a dependent child or children.

The only exception provided here is for a dependent child such as one working in a car wash or some such establishment 1 day a week. That income is excluded, but any other income is included in the definition.

Mr. MILLER. It is good from the standpoint of the legislative history, which we are making, to make sure that we are talking about all gross income for Federal income tax purposes. It has long ago been decided that Federal income does not include inheritance or gifts. However, the thrust of the pending legislation is something else. It goes into the economic status of the people.

It would seem that gross income for the purpose of subsidizing these low-income areas for decent housing ought to reflect the economic type of income which, to the average person would not include inheritance and gifts.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I am now informed by the staff that they have been in touch with the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Department says that they would take into account all income, including that from gifts, inheritance, and any other element in determining whether a prospective tenant or buyer would qualify.

Mr. TOWER. That would include income from tax-free bonds.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator is correct. However, most of the people with the kind of income the Senator from Texas is talking about would not have any investment income. However, the point raised is a good one.

Mr. MILLER. What we are trying to do is to meet the needs of those who need assistance. And if we can make sure of what we are talking about by way of legislative history, as we have already done, I think it would be helpful to the taxpayers in general and also to those who have to administer the law.

Mr. TOWER. The whole thrust of my argument is to make sure that we dedicate all of the money to helping those people in the lower socioeconomic scale. We are trying to avoid having that program gravitate upward toward the more moderate-income family.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, did I correctly understand the Senator, in response to the question of the Senator from Ohio, to say that the area to which he is trying to confine this average represents about 28 percent of the population?

Mr. TOWER. The Senator is correct. That is, 28 percent of the families.

Mr. MILLER. Can the Senator tell us what additional percentage would be covered over and above the 28 percent under the bill as it now stands without the pending amendment?

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, 80 percent of the money would be confined to that 28 percent. However, there is a provision that 20 percent of the money can go to the full 221(d)(3) limit. And if it is applied over the whole bill, 46 percent of the families in the country would be eligible.

Mr. MILLER. The point of the Senator is that we should confine the impact of the bill to the area embracing 28 percent of the families. I assume that we have enough problems with that 28 percent without going above that to get into the area of 46 percent average.

Mr. TOWER. The Senator is correct. And 46 percent is the minimal figure. Forty-six percent of the families have incomes up to $10,000. And when we take the full coverage under 221(d)(3), it could easily hit 50 percent or more of the families in the country.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask a question which might affect industry decentralization. If industry moves to less populated areas where there is no housing and if they pay their employees anywhere from $5,000 to $10,000 a year, would those employees be eligible for assistance under the bill or under the pending amendment? Of course, I have specific instances in mind in which potential employees cannot rent or purchase a house.

Mr. TOWER. Again, the income would be the determining factor, and that determination would be made by the Secretary.

Mr. AIKEN. Let us suppose that the pay amounts to anywhere from $5,000 to $10,000 a year.

Mr. TOWER. There are programs that they can benefit from, other than this program.

The Senator is assuming that they want to build houses and own homes?

Mr. AIKEN. They want a roof over their heads.

Mr. TOWER. But do they want homeownership?

Mr. AIKEN. I think so.

Mr. TOWER. Other channels for homeownership are available to them.

Mr. AIKEN. They cannot rent houses. There are none there for them to rent. They have to build if they want a house in which to live.

Mr. TOWER. I believe that if an industry located a sizable plant in an area where there was inadequate housing, that industry would devise some means to make sure its workers were housed. Otherwise, it could not attract the workers it needed.

Mr. AIKEN. I wish that were true.

Mr. TOWER. It seems to me that that responsibility would fall on industry.

Mr. AIKEN. It takes time to solve those problems. It cannot be done overnight.

Mr. TOWER. If this does occur in Vermont, I am sure that a little Yankee ingenuity would take care of it, anyway.

Mr. AIKEN. Yankee ingenuity is working at it. But when the banks have loaned all their available money and houses are not available to rent, it creates a problem.

At the same time, I know the Senator from Texas also undoubtedly advocates the decentralization of industry, to get away from the merciless crowding into the cities, for which we are paying a price.

Mr. TOWER. The eligibility requirement for a family of three or four persons in Burlington, Vt., would be an income of $7,350.

Mr. AIKEN. Under the Senator's amendment or under the bill?

Mr. TOWER. Under the formula I propose, approximately one-third, or 30 percent, would be taken from that amount. It would be in the area of an income of $5,000 or $5,200 for eligibility.

Mr. AIKEN. Let us say that that would be a bare minimum anyway.

Mr. TOWER. This is graduated upward, according to the number in the family.

Mr. AIKEN. That takes time, too.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. President, the amendment of the distinguished Senator from Texas expresses the same sentiment that I strongly feel. As a matter of fact, I introduced an amendment to the bill as it came from the administration to reduce the incomes of those people who would be assisted to buy their own homes so that it would be at a level of only 70 percent of the present so-called 221(d)(3)—that is, the low- and moderate-income program. However, when I introduced that amendment I was persuaded that in order for the program to work—especially for this program to work in the ghetto areas, which concerns every Member of the Senate so much—it was necessary to provide some flexibility. So I provided in my amendment that whereas 70 percent of BMIR income should be the limit for 80 percent of the applicants, for 4 out of 5; for the overwhelming majority of the applicants, 20 percent, 1 out of 5, would be free to have HUD permit a higher level than the 70 percent of 221 (d)(3).

I agree very strongly with the Senator from Texas that Congress should not subsidize rental or homeownership for any family which can help itself. I believe that is a good principle. It is a principle we should apply, and it should be applied to the greatest extent possible. But to have a workable program that will do something about the ghetto areas, especially in the areas where sites are important—incidentally, the sites are just unavailable in the ghetto areas—it is necessary to provide this degree of flexibility.

I wish to stress at this time that every family under this program will be required to pay at least 20 percent of its income in buying the home. Of course, in addition to that 20 percent, as all of us who are homeowners know, many other costs accrue, to the homeowner in addition to the basic costs of paying for the mortgage, amortization, and essential costs of buying a home.

Mr. President, this definition under section 221(d)(3)—that is, the below-market interest rate income ceiling for that level of income needed by the family to afford decent housing in that area.

I know this has been a subject for criticism by some persons who point to New York City where a large family, in order to have a home, has to have an income of perhaps $10,000. This $10,000 has been applied generally throughout the country as the limitation. However, if we were to apply it rigidly according to the Tower amendment, without exception, it would exclude some families in high-cost areas, where the family lives in slum housing, and cannot get into a decent home without at least a little help from the Federal Government. In those instances the income is not high enough to afford ownership without some financial help.

I shall refer to some examples, which might be the best way to understand the program. New York City has been the most flagrant example. In New York City, applying the 70-percent figure, in the case of the man who makes $75 a week, the wife of the man in that situation works and she makes $70 a week, because people with low incomes usually have to have the wives working. We know how many millions of American families there are in this situation. They have four children. Under this program they would not qualify in New York City. With that income, with the wife working, and with four children, it would be virtually impossible for them to be able to buy housing in New York City.

I would refer to the city of San Antonio in the State of my good friend from Texas. In that city, if a man is making $50 a week, which is below the present Federal minimum wage, and if his wife is making $50 a week, and they have four children, they would be out of luck. They could not qualify under the Tower amendment to secure any degree of help from the Federal Government. The Senator from Texas is far better informed with respect to housing there. However, when there are four children and the income totals $100 a week or $5,000 a year, whereas 30 or 40 years ago that was not bad, these days one cannot buy housing according to the experts who have gone in and studied this problem.

I wish to give another example for San Antonio. In the case of the family of six persons, two adults and four children, the man makes $60 a week as a short-order cook—that is the kind of job where they would have that pay—and the wife earns $50 a week as a maid, again they would not qualify to get an opportunity to buy their own home.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I shall yield in a moment.

The bill in its present form provides that 80 percent, or 4 out of 5, of the families who are going to be eligible must have incomes below the 70-percent limit to come into the program, but there is a little flexibility. There is a 20-percent flexibility for HUD to do something about the ghetto areas, and where the location is such that without the flexibility they could not buy a home.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. I might point out that I do not have the figures for San Antonio. However, the figures for Dallas are roughly comparable, but perhaps more expensive. Seventy percent under 221 (d)(3) would allow families of five and six persons to qualify with an income of $6,000. That income is arrived at after deducting $300 for each dependent child.

I would like to raise this question for the Senator from Wisconsin in connection with helping the ghettos. According to the President's Commission on Civil Disorders, the survey they made showed that in 20 cities experiencing rioting in 1967 the median family income in disturbance areas was for whites, $3,300 and for nonwhites, $4,218.

It occurs to me that the lower we get the more we are going to help the nonwhite families.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I have two answers. First, 80 percent of the program would go exclusively and entirely to very low-income families. Second, it must be recognized there are some people, and the figure runs into the millions, who will not be able to afford to buy homes even if the interest rate to be effective were down to 1 percent. There are some who will have to rely on rent supplements and rental housing. All Americans cannot have adequate income to buy their own homes. However, it seems to me we would be ruling out many hard-working people with low incomes who should be enabled to qualify.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so I may ask a question?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Do I understand that 80 percent of the money will be earmarked to help what is referred to as low-income families?

Mr. PROXMIRE. All of the income will be used to help people with low income, but 80 percent will be to help those whose income is so low it is only 70 percent of the level necessary on the basis of the best scientific advice we have of what it takes to buy a home in the free market.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The other 20 percent will be allowable to families which are above this most humble classification. Is that correct?

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. How is it to be decided to which of those 20 percent this money is going to be given? What will be the situation if the 20 percent of the money is not adequate to take care of all of the applicants?

Mr. PROXMIRE. There is no question that all of the applicants will not be taken care of on the basis of the 80 percent or the 20 percent.

Mr. LAUSCHE. On what basis would it be?

Mr. PROXMIRE. It would be on the basis of those areas most in need of housing, where unavailability of sites is such a serious problem.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Would it not follow that if 20 percent will not be adequate to take care of all the applicants, next year you will have to provide more money so that all who apply will be taken care of?

Mr. PROXMIRE. We have not had any housing program in the past to take care of all of those who need assistance. As the Senator knows we have over 8 million substandard homes. We cannot expect to take care of all of these with any one program.

We are trying primarily to help those with low incomes that would not otherwise have any chance to buy a home. We want to help those whose incomes are very low and who cannot buy a home, but they are higher than the limits and they live in areas, ghetto areas, in which assistance is needed, such as in Cleveland, Milwaukee, and New York City.

Mr. LAUSCHE. To summarize, then, a family under certain circumstances, because of the large numbers in some areas in the country could qualify for this subsidy even though the family was earning as high as $10,000.

Mr. PROXMIRE. That would be extraordinarily rare and I frankly would be very, very surprised if that should be the case in view of the very limited amount

that would be available to those families. The $10,000 would be reduced to $7,000, according to what is now in the bill, the 80 percent.

If HUD is going to make an exception to provide for someone with $10,000 a year to buy a home I would be very shocked. They might go a little over $7,000, however.

Mr. LAUSCHE. How many families in the country would be covered if there were a maximum of $7,000?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Well, it is hard to say. The estimate of 38 percent is the number of families that would qualify under the so-called low market interest rate program, although that disagrees with what the Senator from Texas estimates. He says 47 percent. I say 38 percent. He says $7,000 limitation so as to bring it down to 28 percent. The $7,000 is deceptive. We knock out the $7,000 limitation in New York and in Pineland, Tex., it is $3,300. It depends on the cost of construction in those particular areas.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield me 2 minutes?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Alabama.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE] has prepared a statement in opposition to this amendment. Unfortunately, he cannot be here, and I therefore ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD his statement, together with the insertions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statement of Mr. MONDALE is as follows:

AMENDMENT No. 822

On Friday, the distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. Tower) offered an amendment, No. 822, to the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. This amendment would limit eligibility for the home ownership program to families whose income is 70% or less of the prescribed limits for the 221(d)(3) low and moderate income housing program.

One of the most complicated issues faced by the Banking and Currency Committee during the consideration of Title I and Title II, the home ownership and rental assistance programs, was the establishment of equitable income limitations. The approach approved by the Committee represents a recognition that these programs must concentrate on the lower income family while at the same time serve a large enough range of incomes to attract private developers to build units. Any attempt to change it would endanger the whole housing program.

Because of the importance of the whole issue of income limits in both these programs, I would like to give some background on the Committee's actions and deliberations.

The formula established by the Committee is the same for both the homeownership and rental assistance programs. It has three segments:

1. All but 20% of the subsidy payments authorized must be used for families whose income is 70% or below the prescribed 221(d)(3) limits for the locality.

2. The other 20% can go to families whose income is above 70% of the 221(d)(3) limits but does not exceed these limits.

3. In determining income, $300 will be deducted from gross income for each minor child living in the home.

The only difference between the two programs relates to the subsidy mechanism. In the rental assistance program, a family is required to pay 25% of its adjusted income (gross annual income minus $300 per child living at home) toward the rent. However, in the homeownership program, the family pays 20% of its adjusted income toward the mortgage payment. The reason for this differential is that a family buying a home has the additional required expenses of maintenance, repair, insurance and utilities.

This income limitation formula was based on five conclusions of the Committee.

1. *The major thrust of these new programs should be toward the lower income family.* In the past, too often, the federal rental program, 221(d)(3), has assisted the family whose income is over $8,000 a year and not the lower income family. Yet, the vast majority of more than 6 million substandard housing units in this country are occupied by families whose income is below $5,500. Therefore to insure that these two new programs will benefit the lower income family, the Committee required that 80% of the funds authorized under these programs go to families whose incomes are under 70% of the present 221(d)(3) limits.

This is a dramatic shift from our previous programs. For example, under the 221(d)(3) program a family of 4 in Minneapolis would be eligible for a rental unit if their income did not exceed $8,050. However, under the formula worked out by the Committee, primary emphasis (80% of the funds) would now be given to families whose income is $5,650 or below. A chart giving other examples of this new emphasis shows as follows:

City	Present 221(d)(3) limits for a family of 4	70 percent of these limits
Montgomery, Ala	$5,900	$4,100
Long View, Tex	6,050	4,200
Tampa, Fla	5,950	4,200
Macon, Ga	5,750	4,000
Raleigh, N.C	5,950	4,200
Bangor, Maine	6,800	4,800
Duluth, Minn	6,700	4,700
Springfield, Mo	6,800	4,800
Atlantic City, N.J	6,700	4,700
Austin, Tex	6,750	4,700
Milwaukee, Wis	8,000	5,600
Detroit, Mich	8,200	5,700
Boston, Mass	8,200	5,700
Washington, D.C	8,400	5,900
Springfield, Ill	8,250	5,800

2. *At the same time the Committee recognized the need to continue to assist some moderate income families who are unable to find suitable living conditions at market rates.* These families—the postal workers, civil servants, teachers, cab drivers, and those displaced by public action—have difficulty, especially in urban areas, finding adequate housing. Although their incomes may be above $6,000, they still have a difficult time in obtaining safe and decent housing with their means.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has computed a typical city worker's budget for a family of four. This budget shows that a family, in the fall of 1966 must have had an income of $9,191 a year to have a "moderate standard of living." Housing costs averaged 24.1% of this budget or $2,214 a year.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has supplied me with some further statistics on the gross minimum monthly rental needed to secure standard housing in various cities. These figures would also approximate the monthly mortgage payment required to purchase a standard home. For a two-bedroom unit the minimum rents are as high as $137 in Las Vegas, $123 in Duluth, Minnesota, $132 in Chicago, $141 in Boston, and $117 in Buffalo, New York.

Thus, the average city worker is required to spend a substantial amount of his resources in providing housing. For some families—whom we might consider moderate income—this is still a tremendous strain on their budget. There is no reason why our housing programs should not assist these families as well as the lower income families as long as there is some provision for a sliding scale of assistance so that those more in need receive more assistance.

Therefore, the Committee concluded that 20% of the funds appropriated for these new programs could be used to help the moderate income family whose own resources were insufficient to meet rental or mortgage payments.

However, the Committee also provided a sliding scale subsidy based on income. A family will pay a certain percentage of its income for this housing—20% for home ownership; 25% for the rental program—granting the lower income family with more benefits than the moderate income family.

For example, under the home ownership program, the required monthly mortgage payment for a $14,000 home, financed at 6¾% for 35 years, would be $116.52. A lower income family earning $4,200 a year would pay 20% of its income—$70 a month—toward the mortgage and the government would assist by paying $46.52. On the other hand, a moderate income family, one earning $6,600 purchasing the same house, would be required to pay 20% of its income, $110 a month. Although still eligible for assistance, the family would receive only $6.52 a month in subsidy.

This is in marked contrast to the 221(d)(3) program where the subsidy goes to the unit and the same rent is established for low income and middle income families. The provisions in S. 3497 are a much more equitable approach to assisting those who are in need.

3. *A large enough range of eligible incomes must be established in each community to attract private builders to produce this housing.* There must be a sufficient market for units or they will not be built. If these units are limited to an income range of only $1,000, for example, then there is only slight hope that the necessary volume of housing will be built.

During the housing hearings this year, Lloyd Clarke, President of the National Association of Homebuilders testified on this point:

"I want to stress also that this program (home ownership) is meant to serve moderate income as well as low income families. Volume results cannot be achieved if it should be restricted so as to make it impossible to provide good housing opportunities for families not now being sheltered by either the private market at market rates or the subsidized Government programs.

"To assure the kind of massive building and marketing program envisioned by this section 235 program, the income limits for assistance under this proposal should be as in the bill (S. 3029) a function of the maximum permissible mortgage amounts and the formula for assistance."

Mr. Clarke's warning is appropriate since the program's income range would be severely limited if only families whose income is 70% of 221(d)(3) were eligible.

The bill's provision that the mortgage subsidy can never exceed the difference between a market rate mortgage and a one percentage mortgage creates a floor beneath which families cannot afford to purchase a home even with the subsidy.

For example, the maximum subsidy on a $12,000 home is $45.72. This means only families whose income exceeds $3,200 can afford this home. Making only families whose income is 70% of the 221(d)(3) eligible, restricts the market. Assuming that an average 2 bedroom unit is a low construction cost area has a value of $12,000, the range would be:

Montgomery, Ala., $3,200—$4,100.
Longview, Texas, $3,200—$4,200.
Tampa, Florida, $3,200—$4,200.
Macon, Georgia, $3,200—$4,000.

This is contrasted with a range of $3,200–$5,400 (the point at which a family's income is sufficient to pay the monthly mortgage) in all these cities if there was no limitation on income. Thus, the provision permitting 20% of the funds to be used for families above the 70% limit would expand the potential market for any builder and provide a market to fill vacancies not filled by those of the lower 70% of (d)(3) limits.

4. *There should be a diversity of incomes living in units produced with these two programs.* The Committee felt that if all the efforts were concentrated on housing only the poor, we would merely be creating new islands of poverty and confinement, isolated from the rest of the community. Our early experience with the public housing program has demonstrated that a safe, new dwelling is not in itself the way to eliminate a slum. Too often, new, highrise slums were created in a public project because there was no economic cross section in the community.

William L. Taylor, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights wrote a letter to the distinguished Chairman of the Committee (Mr. Sparkman) expressing his concern over income limitations in the new programs. His conclusion is that an economic mix with a neighborhood will give it more viability and "enable disadvantaged families to participate more fully in community life." This point was one more reason for the committee to permit the use of 20% of the funds for the moderate income families.

5. *Special Assistance should be granted to the large family.*

The large family is often neglected in our special programs as recent studies in public housing demonstrate. Most public housing projects do not have enough bedrooms per unit to assist these families and they are forced to live in substandard units. In addition, there is a higher concentration of poverty among the large family. In fact, the incident of poverty among large families is two and one half times as great as among other families.

Coupled with the unique housing needs of the large family is the problem that these families are not able to pay as high as a percentage of their income for housing needs. A recent study in New York City on the amount of income needed to maintain a "modest, minimum" budget shows that the family costs increase by $700 a year for each additional child.

As the family size increases, the proportion of income going for housing decreases. This New York study shows how this affects the large family. The childless couple pays 24.3% of its income for housing while the family of 10 can only pay 16% of its income for housing.

Number of people:	*Percentage of income for housing*
1	29.0
2	24.3
3	23.3
4	20.6
5	20.0
6	18.3
7	17.6
8	17.5
9	17.6
10	16.0
11	15.4

To meet this situation, the bill provides that income eligibility determination and subsidy determination will be based on "adjusted income". There will be a reduction of $300 from annual income for every minor child living in the home. Thus, if 70 percent of the (d)(3) limits was $5,500, a family of $7,200 with 6 children would fall within this category since its adjusted income is only $5,400. In addition the family would only pay 20% of this $5,400 income toward the mortgage payment or 25% of it toward monthly rent.

Thus, these were the reasons the Committee decided on the income limit formula contained in the bill. In my opinion, this formula is an equitable one. It assists those truly in need and emphasizes the lower income family. It provides a sliding scale subsidy so that those with higher income will receive less government assistance. It encourages neighborhoods where there will be an economic mix. It gives special help to the large families and their special problems.

Amendments such as the one offered by the distinguished ranking minority member of the Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee (Mr. Tower) will negate this formula, and endanger the success of the program.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I appreciate the allusion to Pineland, Tex., just made by the Senator from Wisconsin. Let me say that the sawmills in Pineland throw away enough lumber to build a house down there. It is very cheap to build down in Pineland, Tex.

Mr. President, let me cite some testimony given before the committee by the junior Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] in his testimony on this and other matters pending before the Housing Committee. In that exchange between the Senator from New York and myself, the following took place:

Senator TOWER. The surveys by the President's Commission on Civil Disorders found that the number of persons assisted by Federal programs in almost all cases constituted only a fraction of those in need.

Now, the median income of families according to this report in the disturbance areas was $4,200 for nonwhites and $5,300 for whites.

I notice that a recent article in the New York Times states that the median family income in New York City's Brownsville slum area is $3,500 a year, and I understand that even that is higher than in Bedford-Stuyvesant——

Senator KENNEDY. That is correct.

Senator TOWER (continuing). The area the Senator has manifested so much interest in.

Too, a prior witness before this committee, the Mortgage Bankers, testified that 75 percent of all substandard homes in 1960 were occupied by families with incomes of $4,000 or less.

Now, in view of this, don't these income figures give evidence that would support efforts on the part of this committee and on the part of the Congress to aim these programs at the lower income levels?

And I would say further don't these incomes represent a logical target for priority?

In other words, less emphasis on the so-called moderate incomes and more emphasis on the low-income families?

Senator KENNEDY. The absolute fact is that, except for the public housing programs, there have not been any housing programs that have helped the low-income people in this country.

The 221(d)(3) program is really for middle-income people. We have not had any housing programs that have helped the lowest income people in the United States. And this legislation that is being considered by this committee is not really going to help them either.

It is going to do better than 221(d)(3), but it is not going to get to the group that you just described.

Senator TOWER. Without trying to get a specific endorsement of any particular provision, I would note that the eligibility requirements in S. 3029 are the same as they are for 221(d)(3), whereas in S. 2700 we pegged the eligibility requirements at 70 percent of 221(d)(3), which would keep it down more toward the median income range.

Do you favor some sort of legislative device, not necessarily this one, to keep this thing from surfacing and gravitating toward more moderate income?

Senator KENNEDY. I do.

Thus, Mr. President, I submit that when the Senator from New York and I can arrive at an agreement on something, it must be very worthwhile and represent a real consensus. I would suggest in light not only of Senator KENNEDY's testimony but also because the same question was asked of many witnesses repeatedly, and the response was to keep it down to the lowest income families because they are the ones not being helped today.

When we consider that in Bedford-Stuyvesant and Brownsville, N.Y., the families there are in the $3,000 to the $3,200 bracket, those are the people we need to help. Those making $7,000, $8,000, or $9,000, perhaps it is a hardship on some of the large families in the income range of $6,000, $7,000, $8,000, or even $10,000, to build a house or buy a house or even rent a house the burden falls not nearly so heavily on them as it does, on those making below $5,000. That is where the most critical problem is. Those are the people to whom the program should be targeted.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, there is no argument between the Senator from Texas and me about the fact that the bill, and this measure in the bill, should be directed primarily at those with the lowest incomes. It is. It is, at the present time. In the bill, however, both the Housing and Urban Affairs Department and the homebuilders—and the homebuilders are very emphatic about this—as well as the Cooperative League and two significant other groups; namely, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and organized labor, they all feel very strongly that we should not knock out any flexibility on the part of the Director of HUD.

I think the argument that makes sense is that we do not want to create a situation where we have economic ghettos. We should provide an opportunity for people whose incomes are above this also to be able to buy their own homes. What will happen is that people with low incomes will be able to buy their own homes under the program, but there will be a serious gap, a gap in which we will have the kind of experience observed before, where there will be indignity because of being associated with that kind of subsidy, because these are people with low incomes and they will be identified as being placed in a group where their houses are subsidized.

What I want to emphasize—and emphasize strongly—is that because 20 percent of incomes are required to go to pay for houses, that subsidy diminishes as the income increases. We talk about people with incomes of $4,000 or $3,500, but in buying their own home, we recognize that the assistance they get is going to be a great deal less than the assistance of those with an income of $3,000 or $2,500. Most are under this provision. Even for that small minority who have an income above the 70-percent limit, they will pay for virtually the entire cost of the rental themselves and not have the benefit of the Government subsidy.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as is necessary.

I am aware that is seems like nit-picking to object to a mere 20 percent of the funds earmarked or being made available under the program for families that reach full eligibility limits on 221(d)(3) but, again, it is the case of the camel with his head under the tent. We have striven for years to devise programs that would help the very poor, and in every instance the programs have always gravitated upwards toward the lower-risk income groups. So I think now we need to have a program in which we say 100 percent of all that we earmark for the program is going to help those who are lowest of the socioeconomic scale, because they are the people most in need, they are the people suffering the most and the people least able to take care of themselves.

I think we should put every dime we can earmark into a program to help these people. If there are five people in a given area making application, at an income level below $5,000 a year, only four of them are going to get the assistance, because the fifth one will have to give away to someone much higher on the socioeconomic scale and much more capable of taking care of himself. So I urge the adoption of my amendment.

I am prepared to yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. TOWER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Senator from Texas. All remaining time on the amendments has been yielded back. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Inouye], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartke], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Mondale], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Mondale], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark]. If present and voting, the Senator from Mississippi would vote "yea" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin] is paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy]. If present and voting, the Senator from North Carolina would vote "yea," and the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse]. If present and voting, the Senator from Florida would vote "yea," and the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay."

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senators from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper and Mr. Morton], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Jordan], and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Griffin] are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Jordan], and the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel], is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits]. If present and voting, the Senator from California would vote "yea," and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 25, nays 36, as follows:

[No. 161 Leg.]

YEAS—25

Allott
Baker
Brooke
Byrd, Va.
Cotton
Dodd
Hansen
Hickenlooper
Holland
Hruska
Jordan, N.C.
Lausche
McClellan
Miller
Mundt
Pearson
Percy
Prouty
Russell
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—36

Aiken
Anderson
Bartlett
Bayh
Boggs
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Ellender
Fulbright
Gore
Gruening
Hart
Hill
Jackson
Magnuson
Mansfield
McIntyre
Metcalf
Monroney
Moss
Muskie
Pastore
Pell
Proxmire
Randolph
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Symington
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—39

Bennett
Bible
Carlson
Church
Clark
Cooper
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Harris
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hollings
Inouye
Javits
Jordan, Idaho
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Nelson
Ribicoff
Smathers
Tydings

So Mr. Tower's amendments (No. 822) were rejected.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 829

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 829, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 83, beginning with line 4, strike out all through line 2 on page 96.

Renumber succeeding sections and titles accordingly.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TOWER. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of 1 hour on the pending amendment, the time to be equally divided, 30 minutes each to the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] and the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. Sparkman].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. Who yields time?

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may need.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the effect of my pending amendment would be to delete from the bill the new communities provision. I cannot concur with the inclusion in the pending bill of a program of Government guarantees for the development of entirely new communities.

This is the program which would authorize the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to guarantee bonds and other obligations issued by developers to finance the cost of acquiring and developing land, after which there would be developed on the land that was acquired homes, schools, and the other usual institutions associated with a self-sustaining city or community.

The economic feasibility of such ambitious undertakings is somewhat at doubt, and past experience in this area has revealed a myriad of pitfalls awaiting the unwary. The speculative nature of these large community development programs is of itself reason to doubt the prudence of allowing the Federal Government to pledge its full faith and credit, to the possible cumulative extent of $500 million, to such undertakings. It is altogether possible that the only solvency inherent in such undertakings will ultimately be that of the Government's financial exposure. I do not feel that there is anything to support allowing the Government's financial resources to be placed in such a position.

This doubtful proposal is being advanced at a time when the housing problems of America's existing cities and communities have not been resolved, and when the Government's financial resources are being stretched in every way possible to extend assistance for the upgrading of our country's deteriorated neighborhoods and the replacement of substandard housing within the cities.

It would be inappropriate in my opinion, to enlarge the Government's contingent liability in this area when the demands of existing programs are so hard to meet. The homebuilding industry has at its disposal a comprehensive selection of Government housing programs, to which would be added the new lower income programs created by this bill, with which it can undertake the orderly development of quantities of housing ranging from individual structures to entire subdivisions and neighborhoods. The industry possesses the financial resources, when economic feasibility is present, to absorb the necessary costs of land development to implement these programs.

I feel that it is both sufficient and desirable that such development be undertaken within or contiguous to our country's existing cities and communities where existing governmental services and established amenities will be available to the occupants of the housing produced, and likewise, where such housing will enhance and supplement the needs of these cities and communities and their governments. This will certainly result in development activities that are more responsive to local needs than would be the case where entire cities and communities are created that would tend to reflect instead the whims of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

This is no time for us to guarantee $500 million to speculative schemes involving the new communities, new cities, new towns, or whatever one wants to call them. There have been a number of these that have sprung up all over the country, and I do not know of any that have been a great financial success. At a time when we should be addressing ourselves to the problems of existing urban areas, why should we go chasing off after a scheme to build new communities?

This is a speculative type of operation. The home building and financial communities have the resources to engage in this type of speculative development, if they choose to do so. I see no reason why, at a time when we are facing a fiscal and monetary crisis, we should back them up with the resources of the Government of the United States.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, my comments with respect to this amendment shall be brief.

As I understand the amendment, it would strike out the provisions in the bill relating to the guarantee of bonds enacted by sponsors of new communities.

Mr. TOWER. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, the question of new communities was discussed in our committee for 3 years before it was finally put into the law, as a provision for providing mortgage insurance for larger subdivisions, in 1965. The subdivision insurance provision was later amended and broadened in 1966 to include new communities.

In the beginning, I was opposed to the proposal for establishing an FHA insurance program for new communities. I have stated on the floor of the Senate that I was opposed to such a program. Nevertheless, such a program has been written into the law because it was felt that by developing large tracts of land for new communities it would be more economically feasible to build great amounts of housing. The insurance program has been on the statute books for only 2 years now and, I am advised that no applications have thus far been approved for this type of development.

The existing program, as I have indicated is based on the financing of new communities through mortgages. HUD has asked for a new method of financing this type of development; namely, that of permitting HUD to guarantee the bonds of developers who undertake a new community development.

The only point I wish to make in this connection is that the program has not had a true test since not one application has been approved under the existing program.

Originally, I opposed the program, but I accepted it when the program was written into the law; and I believe that now, since it is in the law, we should allow this alternative financing method in order to see if the program can prove itself.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. I note that under the heading of "Labor" on page 90 of the bill, it is provided that all laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors in the land development program shall be paid such sums as set by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act. The Davis-Bacon Act, of course, applies to payments of wages and salaries when persons are employed on the building of public buildings.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes, that is true. As a matter of fact, that provision is applicable already in existing law to all rental housing constructed under FHA programs. Single family home construction is not covered by the Davis-Bacon Act. That is the uniform application and it has been for a long time.

Mr. HOLLAND. That covers, of course, the cost of artisans in the building of homes. But this project covers a good deal more, does it not, than the building of homes?

I read from page 93:

> (a) The term "land development" means the process of grading land, making, installing, or constructing water lines and water supply installations, sewer lines and sewage disposal installations, steam, gas, and electric lines and installations, roads, streets, curbs, gutters, sidewalks, storm drainage facilities, and other installations or work, whether on or off the site, which the Secretary deems necessary or desirable to prepare land for residential, commercial, industrial, or other uses, or to provide facilities for public or common use.

It seems to me that making the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act apply to all of the great scope of work—of course there are many types of work—is different from the provision of which the Senator spoke, and which is now in the law.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe it is exactly the same as would apply to the building of an apartment house where the land had to be prepared, and so forth. I believe this is the same rule. Certainly, we did not try to incorporate a new rule.

Mr. HOLLAND. Having had some experience with the development of new communities, I know that much more is involved than would be involved in the ordinary building of an apartment house or a condominium or a structure which would involve some little work in leveling the ground and in connecting with the electric system, the gas system, the water system, and so forth. This seems to cover all work done in what is termed "land development," and I have read what is defined as land development.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, the housing cannot be built until the land is developed. That is part of this program, to make it possible to develop the land on a large scale, to make it available for the erection of different types of housing, perhaps several different apartment houses, row houses, and houses of every type. The rule that is laid down here is the same as that which applies in all other housing. I am confident of that. I said "all other housing." I mean, of course, all rental housing and housing constructed under the FHA 213 cooperative housing program.

Mr. HOLLAND. My observation of new developments of this type is such that I know they customarily cover areas of from 40 to 80 or 160 acres, and sometimes as much as a square mile in my State—sometimes several square miles. The application of the Davis-Bacon Act to a new facility of that type seems to me to be a much broader application than anything we have heard of heretofore in this field.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not believe that the type of development the Senator is talking about would be under the Davis-Bacon Act, because he is speaking only of preparing the site, without the buildings to be a part of it. This relates to new communities, and this is in the existing law with respect to new communities.

Mr. HOLLAND. The new community building, as projected under this bill, goes very far, it seems to me. In my State, new communities go all the way from several square miles down to comparatively large acreage.

The next point is this: I note that subparagraph (b) of section 412, on page 91, contains these words:

> (b) In no case shall any grant under this section exceed 20 per centum of the cost of the new community assistance project for which the grant is made; and in no case shall the total Federal contributions to the cost of such project be more than 80 per centum.

Do I correctly understand that this applies to fire stations, police stations, school buildings, and matters of that type which are to be needed in the new community?

Mr. SPARKMAN. No. This is primarily for water and sewer systems, which the local body supplies. This is to aid the local city or community, wherever the area is, to provide water and sewer systems.

Mr. HOLLAND. I note here that the limit of Federal assistance shall not exceed 80 percent of the cost. In this section we are not talking about guarantees; we are talking about Federal contributions.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Contributions; yes. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HOLLAND. Then, we have in mind new communities in which the Federal Government will be expected to pay anywhere from 20 to 80 percent of the cost of schools, the police station, the fire station, the water facilities, and others that are public facilities; are we not?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, there is a Federal program to assist public bodies and communities in supplying water and sewer systems.

Mr. HOLLAND. Does the Senator mean new, planned communities, just starting out? I do not know of any such program.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is familiar with one program we enacted into law just 2 or 3 years ago to provide assistance even though it were out in a rural area.

Mr. HOLLAND. That is the Farmers Home Administration program. Now, we are talking about building new, highly developed communities; are we not?

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is a part of the housing. In this event the community might make a grant of as much as 50 percent. This provides 20 percent in addition to that, but in no event is the cost of such project to be more than 80 percent.

Mr. HOLLAND. This permits the Secretary himself to make supplementary grants?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HOLLAND. The conditions are that the grant shall not exceed 20 percent and that his grant, when taken in conjunction with the other Federal grants, shall not exceed 80 percent of the cost?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HOLLAND. It seems to me that this is practically underwriting the construction of the needed public facilities in planned, new communities. It seems to me that such a course would be very unfair to communities recently established and which are being developed by the dozens, in my own State.

How can we possibly justify such generous help as this to a new community now being planned and whose plans are approved by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The basic grant under the existing law is found in section 702 of the National Housing Law and is 50 percent. This is a supplementary grant. That is the title of the section. It permits additional grants not to exceed 20 percent in connection with any one project.

Mr. HOLLAND. We have a great many private enterprises in my State, and I know this happens to be true in the State represented by the Senator from Texas. It is true to a lesser extent in all States, but is particularly true in States growing rapidly where many, many new communities are being built by private enterprise.

It looks to me as if this kind of program, if allowed to be enacted into law, supported by a one-half-billion-dollar program, is decidedly unfair and unjust when contrasted with completely privately developed communities.

I wonder if the Senator has a comment on that point?

Mr. SPARKMAN. This is not something brand new that we are seeking to enact into law. It is merely providing an alternative financing method for something that has been in the law since 1966. These so-called planned communities have had a very hard time. I am not sure it can be satisfactorily shown that private undertakings have been successful. I know several such undertakings that have not been successful. I know Senators have read in the newspapers just recently about the difficulties incurred by one community near Washington about which we initially heard glowing reports. I refer to the new town of Reston, Va. The committee studied this new financing method on the recommendation of the Housing Department and the committee decided we should help these undertakings in the manner set forth in the bill.

Mr. HOLLAND. I have just two comments to make on this point. First, it is evident that the law that is on the books now has not been very successful and this is an effort to provide much larger Federal participation. In the second place, I wish to make clear that in addition to the one new community which the Senator refers to, one cannot go out from Washington in any direction, in Virginia or Maryland, that he does not run into several of these new communities which have been developed by private enterprise and which are continuing their development. Many of them have not been built on anything more than a proportion of the lots which they set out to develop.

Of course, their investments for water facilities, and the like, have been put in with a view to supplying the entire community when it is completed.

It seems to me we could not go into a matter as large and as generous as this without seriously affecting for the worst many, many such communities. Certainly, that would be the case in my State.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think the Senator must be speaking about large subdivisions rather than what is usually known as new towns or new communities. There are in fact very few of them. Very few, if any, have been successfully completed. There is one out here in Maryland by the name of Columbia. Then there is one in Virginia called Reston. These are the only new towns I know of around Washington.

(At this point, the Acting President pro tempore assumed the chair.)

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. Sometimes subdivisions take on a corporate identification. They may be contiguous to an existing urban area, but still they take on a corporate identification.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is correct. I believe the Senator is talking about subdivisions rather than new communities.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I shall name a half dozen communities off the top of my hat. In my State alone, there are such communities as Sun City, Fla.; Cape Coral, Fla.; Lehigh Acres, Fla.; Port Saint Lucie, Fla., and others that can be thought of in a few minutes. They are new communities. Port Charlotte is the largest town in its county, which is Charlotte County. Just a few years ago it was nothing but a strip of completely undeveloped territory. It was planned as a city, developed as a city, and it is a city. My recollection is that the other day in talking to the lawyer for the county commission he told me there were more than 8,000 people in that town.

I think I have named five or six. Another instance would be the new community on Marco Island.

It seems to me that we cannot go into this type of business without being exceedingly unfair to the developers of those new communities. None of them that I have mentioned are completely developed, yet all of them are successful and they are all organized as separate communities, served by separate facilities, and counting on additional sales of lots and the building of additional thousands of homes.

It seems to me that to pass this kind of law would invite competitors financed largely by Federal funds. So unless I am shown something different from the way this proposal looks to me now, I would have to say that I would not possibly support this title. As I see it, it is exceedingly unfair to private enterprise developers of new communities, of which there are many. One of the them, Bel Air, is located in Prince Georges County, Md., not far from here. I have not been in it, but I have been in the one built by the same people, the Levitts, close to Trenton, N.J. It is quite a city, and it was developed by private enterprise.

We simply cannot get into this kind of operation on this scale—$500 million for the first shot—without seriously jeopardizing investments, which are very large, indeed.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. COTTON. I wanted to try to make certain that I understood—it has been talked about enough so that we ought to know—the definition of "new community." I have in mind a small city in my own State that has had an expansion of industry and is seeking to construct a new housing development to take care of the new workers. The city has had some difficulty, because unless rent supplements are combined with help for housing, the new housing development cannot be constructed to take care of the new workers without getting the rent up so high that it would not be within the reach of the new workers.

I am trying to find out whether the phrase "new community" would include a situation in which a new development was taking place, on the outskirts of a city, or whether the development would have to be a new city or a new town having a form of government separate from the original community.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, many times, the definition is rather vague as between what could constitute a new town and what could not; but my understanding of a new town or a new community is that it is within itself a completely new unit. Ordinarily, expansion on the edge of a city is what we would call a subdivision. Some of those subdivisions become enormous.

Subdivisions like Belair in Maryland are not new communities or new towns within the meaning of the term. I should think under the description the Senator from New Hampshire gives, that a subdivision would take care of the situation.

Mr. COTTON. Does the Senator mean that this money, if it were authorized and appropriated, might be available in that case, or it would not be available? It is not a new town.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Grants for water and sewer systems support are available in any case.

Mr. COTTON. Under the bill?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Under the law.

Mr. COTTON. Under the law.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Under the law.

Mr. COTTON. In this particular case.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This says that the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development may, when he finds it necessary to enable the community to develop as a community, increase the grant by 20 percent.

Mr. COTTON. It refers, then, only to water, sewage, and other——

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is right.

Mr. COTTON. Not to construction.

Mr. SPARKMAN. No, not to construction.

Mr. COTTON. That answers my question. I thank the Senator.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I note that it is pretty difficult to distinguish new communities from subdivisions, as something contiguous to, or part of a city, or outside city limits. Actually, the new communities are located in the proximity of major urban areas and take on the character of suburbs or subdivisions. Because we move them 5 miles into the country does not mean that they are not part of a metropolitan complex, which they become a part of.

I believe that we should not be in the business of subsidizing or underwriting speculative projects, particularly in light of what the distinguished Senator from Florida says, that it competes with those who are trying to make it on their own, so to speak. So far, we do not have any rule that we should get into that.

Mr. HOLLAND. Levittown, Pa., to which I have referred, is a rather full town. It is not all residential. It has plenty of other facilities.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is right. But it is built as a subdivision.

Mr. HOLLAND. It is as much of a new town as Reston, except that it is successful and Reston, as the Senator has said, is not in full success as yet.

The Senator referred to Columbia. I have seen it referred to as a new community. We have them in my State which, as the Senator knows, is growing rapidly. There are numerous instances of that kind. The stock of the companies that do the developing is sold on the New York Stock Exchange. They have high standing. The idea of coming in here with a fund by way of a grant and coupling it on to other grants that might go as high as 80 percent to build certain utilities and conveniences within it, and then the guaranteed bond being up to $500 million, it seems to me, gives improper advantage to communities that would be picked out by the Secretary of House and Urban Development for this kind of help as compared with those still making a go of it through the exercise of private enterprise. And they are doing it. I am told—I have not been on the outskirts of great cities in California recently—that there are numerous examples of new communities in the San Francisco Bay area, in the general areas around Los Angeles and Los Angeles County, in the general areas around San Diego, and, I am sure, elsewhere in that far western State.

I just do not like to see the Government getting into this kind of thing which will disturb so greatly those who are presently operating successfully, are adding to this country's wealth and development, and are adding to the housing prospects and possibilities of our people. To have the Government come in in such a way as this, to my mind, would be distressing. It is for that reason I take the position I do.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield for a question?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. LAUSCHE. For the purpose of getting a clearer understanding of what is involved, do I understand correctly that under existing law a new community or subdivision would be entitled to aid for the installation of sewerage and water supply facilities in an amount equal to 50 percent of the cost?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct. That is basic law.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Now, under the subject which has been discussed, a community as distinguished from a subdivision would be entitled to additional aid——

Mr. SPARKMAN. It might be——

Mr. LAUSCHE (continuing). At the discretion of HUD?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. For what purpose would this additional aid be used? For what? Water and sewer?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Primarily water and sewer.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Primarily; but would the Secretary have the authority to make additional grants for other installations?

Mr. SPARKMAN. No; 20 percent for water and sewer.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Does the bill define a "community" such as the Senator has been discussing here?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not find a definition of the word as such, but there are conditions that the Secretary must find to exist.

Section 1004 of the National Housing Act reads:

> New communities consisting of developments, satisfying all other requirements under this Title, may be approved under this section by the Secretary for mortgage insurance if they meet the requirements of subsection (b) of this section.

Mr. LAUSCHE. What is the difference between a "subdivision" and a "community"?

Mr. SPARKMAN. "Community" refers to a complete community with provision made for streets, churches, fire departments, and everything necessary for the operation of a city. A subdivision is usually a collection of homes. Subdivisions sometimes have other facilities, true, but, generally, they are nothing more than a collection of homes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. A community pretty nearly establishes a new governmental unit?

Mr. SPARKMAN. A new community would.

Mr. LAUSCHE. A new community would?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes; and it is entitled to funds and grants for water and sewer, just as is an established city.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Forgetting for the moment the added 20 percent that the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development may allow in his discretion, what other type of aid would the development of such a community be entitled to?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The land could be insured, as would the buildings be, under FHA, but that is a regular FHA insurance program.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Would the aid provided for the low income family be applicable to a new community?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes; it is applicable anywhere.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Would supplemental rents also be applicable?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator means would the rent supplement program be authorized if such buildings were constructed there?

Mr. LAUSCHE. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It would be.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Does not this operate as an inducement for people to move out of the big cities and move into new communities?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. What do the big city people who are trying to keep what has been called the exodus from continuing say when Congress creates conditions inducing the exodus?

Mr. SPARKMAN. As a matter of fact, the mayors of the big cities who have appeared before our committee usually have approved the idea. Usually there is bound to be a spilling out into the suburbs, where traffic congestion is a problem, and the alternative is to have a community by itself.

Mr. LAUSCHE. But the fact is that the big cities are crying because people are moving out. They are begging the Government to create inducements to have the people remain. The Federal Government is giving them help to induce people to stay there. But here the Federal Government is giving help to induce people to move out. The two do not go hand in hand, it seems to me. There seems to be some conflict. Perhaps they are both desirable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield such time out of my time as the Senator from Alabama needs.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not need any time.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back my time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for one moment?

Mr. TOWER. I yield such time as he may need to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I would like to call to the attention of the Senator from Ohio the purpose of title IV, entitled "Guarantees for Financing New Community Land Development," as set forth on page 83 of the bill. I shall read two of those purposes, indicating how broad this program is. The first defines a new community as that which:

> (1) contributes to the general betterment of living conditions through the improved quality of community development made possible by a consistent design for the provision of homes, commercial and industrial facilities, public and community facilities, and open spaces.

All those things are to be guaranteed contributions for these new communities. That is the first.

No. 5 reads:

> Enlarge housing and employment opportunities by increasing the range of housing choice and providing new investment opportunities for industry and commerce.

So we see how far reaching this program is. The guarantee program, and the grant program that goes along with it, reach very far into almost every type of development, extending to open-spaced development for new communities.

I thank the Senator from Texas for yielding to me.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TOWER. I yield back the balance of my time, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Senator from Texas. All time has been yielded back. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE[, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If present and voting, the Senator from Mississippi would vote "yea" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF]. If present and voting, the Senator from North Carolina would vote "yea" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE]. If present and voting the Senator from Florida would vote "yea" and the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay."

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senators from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER and Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and the Senators from California [Mr. KUCHEL and Mr. MURPHY] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], and the Senators from California [Mr. KUCHEL and Mr. MURPHY] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD]. If present and voting, the Senator from Utah would vote "yea" and the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois would vote "yea" and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 27, nays 38, as follows:

[No. 162 Leg.]

YEAS—27

Allott
Baker
Bartlett
Boggs
Byrd, Va.
Cotton
Dodd
Dominick
Ellender
Hansen
Hickenlooper
Holland
Hruska
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
McClellan
Miller
Monroney
Mundt
Russell
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—38

Aiken
Anderson
Bayh
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hart
Hayden
Hill
Jackson
Magnuson
Mansfield
McIntyre
Metcalf
Moss
Muskie
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Symington
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—35

Bennett
Bible
Carlson
Church
Clark
Cooper
Curtis
Dirksen
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hartke
Hatfield
Hollings
Inouye
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Nelson
Ribicoff
Smathers
Tydings

So Mr. TOWER's amendment (No. 829) was rejected.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 197, beginning with "the" in line 20, strike out all through "year" in line 3, on page 198, and insert the following: "(A) the State, or a government corporation or fund established pursuant to State law, will reimburse the Corporation, in an amount up to 5 per centum of the aggregate property insurance premiums earned in that State during the preceding calendar year on those lines of insurance reinsured by the Corporation in such areas during that year, and (B) each municipality of that State will reimburse the Corporation, in an amount up to 5 per centum of the aggregate property insurance premiums earned in that municipality during the preceding calendar year on those lines of insurance reinsured by the Corporation in that municipality during that year".

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Will the Senator suspend while we have order? Let there be order in the Chamber.

The Senator may proceed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of 1 hour on the pending amendment, the time to be equally divided between the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] and the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN].

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, among the new agencies created in the pending bill is the National Insurance Development Corporation, which is an organization to reinsure the policies of the insurance companies in areas where the insurance costs are particularly high due to rioting and civil disorders.

The purpose of the pending amendment is to make the cities a party to this matter, as well as the States. Under the language in the pending bill, it is stated that the States are compelled to put up a sum equal to 5 percent of the insurance premiums of that type that are paid within the State. There is no obligation on the cities.

Mr. President, under our system, the primary law enforcement duty is on the cities. And it seems to me that they certainly should have a responsibility at least commensurate to the States.

It would be to the advantage of the cities in some cases to say, "Burn, baby, burn," and let the ghetto areas of the city be consumed, because they would have no responsibility whatever in connection with the insurance payments that would ensue as a result of such destruction, but the State would have a responsibility.

The people who live in the States but not within the cities would have to contribute to this fund. They would have to contribute to it in two ways—first, through the State, and second, they would have a potential liability through the power that is given this new corporation to borrow from the Federal Treasury.

It seems to me that since the primary duty to enforce law and order is with the city, the least we could do would be to call on the cities to put up 5 percent of the amount of the premiums on this particular type of insurance, which is not clearly defined in the bill, but which will be subject to negotiation between the new corporation and the insurance companies. They should likewise contribute 5 percent. Only in that way will they feel an equal responsibility for preserving law and order, for preventing the burning of buildings in these high-cost insurance areas.

It could be to their advantage that these buildings burn, because their people would not only collect the insurance, but they would also immediately be in a position to file application for urban renewal, slum clearance, and other Federal assistance available in matters of this kind.

Mr. President, it seems inescapable to me that the cities should be a party to the program. And for that reason I have prepared and offered the pending amendment.

Under the pending bill as reported by the committee, the State must contribute 5 percent of the amount of the premiums of insurance of this type throughout the entire State. That means a contribution on the part of some who could not possibly benefit from the payment of the insurance. Because many areas have little or no likelihood of riots.

It seems to me that the least we could do would be to say that those within the cities who will benefit from the existence of this reinsurance and the payment of the insurance in the event of destruction of property during civil disorders should likewise put up 5 percent.

That is all that the pending amendment proposes to do.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, does the Senator mean to substitute the cities for the States?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, I do not. I leave the States in, but I would add the cities in addition.

We ought to do something to relieve part of the burden that is sought to be placed on the Federal Government. That is a very minor contribution to the obligation that the Federal Government is assuming on this total reinsurance program. To have 5 percent contribution from the State and then 5 percent contribution from within the city itself which would, of course, be much less than the 5 percent contribution that is already required of the State under the pending bill as reported by the committee, seems to me to be imminently reasonable.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President is the pending amendment meant to apply to cities of a certain size or certain population or to any subdivision that exists within a city form of government?

Mr. RUSSELL. In my opinion it would apply to any municipality which held a charter from the State in which the municipality is located.

That is much more definite than some of the other provisions of the title which leave the whole problem of fixing the amount of the payments and the responsibility to future contracts between the corporation, which is within HUD, and the insurance companies.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I thank the Senator.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wonder if the Senator from Georgia would follow his amendment with me and if he would be willing to accept this modification:

> In line 3, strike out "(A)"—

So that it would then read:

> The State or a government corporation or a fund established pursuant to State law—

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair and the clerk cannot hear the Senator. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator may proceed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wonder if the Senator from Georgia would be willing to accept the following modification:

> In line 3, strike out "(A)"—

So that the amendment would then read:

> The State, or a Government corporation or fund established pursuant to State law . . . .

Then, dropping down to near the bottom:

> Strike out "(B)"—

So that it will then read:

> Each municipality of that State will reimburse the Corporation, in an aggregate amount up to 5 per centum of the aggregate property insurance premiums earned in that State during the preceding calendar year on those lines of insurance reinsured by the Corporation in that municipality during that year.

I think that ties in the municipalities in that State.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I know that I am dealing with an expert in this matter—the distinguished manager of the bill. I had an opportunity to read the bill only casually Saturday and yesterday. However, that could have the effect of materially reducing the contribution of the State and of the municipality to this reinsurance liability fund.

I do not think that 5 percent from the State and 5 percent from the municipality—which, of course, will be much less than the 5 percent from the State in total, because there will be a good deal of this insurance in areas that are not incorporated—is too much to expect. It does not seem that that is too much to ask of people who have the primary obligation for preserving law and order and those who will be the beneficiary of 100 percent of whatever payments are made out of the fund.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The percentage is not changed. It is the same.

Mr. RUSSELL. I understand. But the Senator is merging the liability of the State into that of the municipalities.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In the amendment of the Senator it is 5 percent of the aggregate property insurance in the State and in the city. In the proposal I have offered, it is 5 percent of the aggregate property insurance to be raised by the State and the city. The amendment I offered brings in both the State and the cities, but they work together to decide how it should be distributed between the two.

Mr. RUSSELL. It seems to me that that is another vagueness that is inserted into the proposed legislation. It is already replete with vagueness. To have the States and the cities get together and agree on what they are going to contribute, this rather pathetic 5 percent——

Mr. SPARKMAN. The 5 percent is the same as the Senator proposes.

Mr. RUSSELL. But I propose 5 percent from the State and an additional 5 percent from the cities—10 percent in all. There is a good deal of difference in that and in a 5 percent that is overall, that will be divided up in liability as between the State and the municipalities.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I should like to ask a question.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As a matter of fact, the mayors of the big cities who have appeared before our committee usually have approved the idea. Usually there is bound to be a spilling out into the suburbs, where traffic congestion is a problem, and the alternative is to have a community by itself.

Mr. LAUSCHE. But the fact is that the big cities are crying because people are moving out. They are begging the Government to create inducements to have the people remain. The Federal Government is giving them help to induce people to stay there. But here the Federal Government is giving help to induce people to move out. The two do not go hand in hand, it seems to me. There seems to be some conflict. Perhaps they are both desirable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield such time out of my time as the Senator from Alabama needs.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not need any time.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back my time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for one moment?

Mr. TOWER. I yield such time as he may need to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I would like to call to the attention of the Senator from Ohio the purpose of title IV, entitled "Guarantees for Financing New Community Land Development," as set forth on page 83 of the bill. I shall read two of those purposes, indicating how broad this program is. The first defines a new community as that which:

> (1) contributes to the general betterment of living conditions through the improved quality of community development made possible by a consistent design for the provision of homes, commercial and industrial facilities, public and community facilities, and open spaces.

All those things are to be guaranteed contributions for these new communities. That is the first.

No. 5 reads:

> Enlarge housing and employment opportunities by increasing the range of housing choice and providing new investment opportunities for industry and commerce.

So we see how far reaching this program is. The guarantee program, and the grant program that goes along with it, reach very far into almost every type of development, extending to open-spaced development for new communities.

I thank the Senator from Texas for yielding to me.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TOWER. I yield back the balance of my time, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Senator from Texas. All time has been yielded back. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE[, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. If present and voting, the Senator from Mississippi would vote "yea" and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF]. If present and voting, the Senator from North Carolina would vote "yea" and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE]. If present and voting the Senator from Florida would vote "yea" and the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay."

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senators from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER and Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and the Senators from California [Mr. KUCHEL and Mr. MURPHY] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], and the Senators from California [Mr. KUCHEL and Mr. MURPHY] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD]. If present and voting, the Senator from Utah would vote "yea" and the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois would vote "yea" and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 27, nays 38, as follows:

[No. 162 Leg.]

YEAS—27

Allott
Baker
Bartlett
Boggs
Byrd, Va.
Cotton
Dodd
Dominick
Ellender
Hansen
Hickenlooper
Holland
Hruska
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
McClellan
Miller
Monroney
Mundt
Russell
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—38

Aiken
Anderson
Bayh
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hart
Hayden
Hill
Jackson
Magnuson
Mansfield
McIntyre
Metcalf
Moss
Muskie
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Symington
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—35

Bennett
Bible
Carlson
Church
Clark
Cooper
Curtis
Dirksen
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hartke
Hatfield
Hollings
Inouye
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Nelson
Ribicoff
Smathers
Tydings

So Mr. TOWER's amendment (No. 829) was rejected.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 197, beginning with "the" in line 20, strike out all through "year" in line 3, on page 198, and insert the following: "(A) the State, or a government corporation or fund established pursuant to State law, will reimburse the Corporation, in an amount up to 5 per centum of the aggregate property insurance premiums earned in that State during the preceding calendar year on those lines of insurance reinsured by the Corporation in such areas during that year, and (B) each municipality of that State will reimburse the Corporation, in an amount up to 5 per centum of the aggregate property insurance premiums earned in that municipality during the preceding calendar year on those lines of insurance reinsured by the Corporation in that municipality during that year".

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Will the Senator suspend while we have order? Let there be order in the Chamber.

The Senator may proceed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of 1 hour on the pending amendment, the time to be equally divided between the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] and the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN].

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, among the new agencies created in the pending bill is the National Insurance Development Corporation, which is an organization to reinsure the policies of the insurance companies in areas where the insurance costs are particularly high due to rioting and civil disorders.

The purpose of the pending amendment is to make the cities a party to this matter, as well as the States. Under the language in the pending bill, it is stated that the States are compelled to put up a sum equal to 5 percent of the insurance premiums of that type that are paid within the State. There is no obligation on the cities.

Mr. President, under our system, the primary law enforcement duty is on the cities. And it seems to me that they certainly should have a responsibility at least commensurate to the States.

It would be to the advantage of the cities in some cases to say, "Burn, baby, burn," and let the ghetto areas of the city be consumed, because they would have no responsibility whatever in connection with the insurance payments that would ensue as a result of such destruction, but the State would have a responsibility.

The people who live in the States but not within the cities would have to contribute to this fund. They would have to contribute to it in two ways—first, through the State, and second, they would have a potential liability through the power that is given this new corporation to borrow from the Federal Treasury.

It seems to me that since the primary duty to enforce law and order is with the city, the least we could do would be to call on the cities to put up 5 percent of the amount of the premiums on this particular type of insurance, which is not clearly defined in the bill, but which will be subject to negotiation between the new corporation and the insurance companies. They should likewise contribute 5 percent. Only in that way will they feel an equal responsibility for preserving law and order, for preventing the burning of buildings in these high-cost insurance areas.

It could be to their advantage that these buildings burn, because their people would not only collect the insurance, but they would also immediately be in a position to file application for urban renewal, slum clearance, and other Federal assistance available in matters of this kind.

Mr. President, it seems inescapable to me that the cities should be a party to the program. And for that reason I have prepared and offered the pending amendment.

Under the pending bill as reported by the committee, the State must contribute 5 percent of the amount of the premiums of insurance of this type throughout the entire State. That means a contribution on the part of some who could not possibly benefit from the payment of the insurance. Because many areas have little or no likelihood of riots.

It seems to me that the least we could do would be to say that those within the cities who will benefit from the existence of this reinsurance and the payment of the insurance in the event of destruction of property during civil disorders should likewise put up 5 percent.

That is all that the pending amendment proposes to do.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, does the Senator mean to substitute the cities for the States?

Mr. RUSSELL. No, I do not. I leave the States in, but I would add the cities in addition.

We ought to do something to relieve part of the burden that is sought to be placed on the Federal Government. That is a very minor contribution to the obligation that the Federal Government is assuming on this total reinsurance program. To have 5 percent contribution from the State and then 5 percent contribution from within the city itself which would, of course, be much less than the 5 percent contribution that is already required of the State under the pending bill as reported by the committee, seems to me to be imminently reasonable.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President is the pending amendment meant to apply to cities of a certain size or certain population or to any subdivision that exists within a city form of government?

Mr. RUSSELL. In my opinion it would apply to any municipality which held a charter from the State in which the municipality is located.

That is much more definite than some of the other provisions of the title which leave the whole problem of fixing the amount of the payments and the responsibility to future contracts between the corporation, which is within HUD, and the insurance companies.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I thank the Senator.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wonder if the Senator from Georgia would follow his amendment with me and if he would be willing to accept this modification:

> In line 3, strike out "(A)"—

So that it would then read:

> The State or a government corporation or a fund established pursuant to State law—

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair and the clerk cannot hear the Senator. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator may proceed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wonder if the Senator from Georgia would be willing to accept the following modification:

> In line 3, strike out "(A)"—

So that the amendment would then read:

> The State, or a Government corporation or fund established pursuant to State law . . . .

Then, dropping down to near the bottom:

> Strike out "(B)"—

So that it will then read:

> Each municipality of that State will reimburse the Corporation, in an aggregate amount up to 5 per centum of the aggregate property insurance premiums earned in that State during the preceding calendar year on those lines of insurance reinsured by the Corporation in that municipality during that year.

I think that ties in the municipalities in that State.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I know that I am dealing with an expert in this matter—the distinguished manager of the bill. I had an opportunity to read the bill only casually Saturday and yesterday. However, that could have the effect of materially reducing the contribution of the State and of the municipality to this reinsurance liability fund.

I do not think that 5 percent from the State and 5 percent from the municipality—which, of course, will be much less than the 5 percent from the State in total, because there will be a good deal of this insurance in areas that are not incorporated—is too much to expect. It does not seem that that is too much to ask of people who have the primary obligation for preserving law and order and those who will be the beneficiary of 100 percent of whatever payments are made out of the fund.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The percentage is not changed. It is the same.

Mr. RUSSELL. I understand. But the Senator is merging the liability of the State into that of the municipalities.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In the amendment of the Senator it is 5 percent of the aggregate property insurance in the State and in the city. In the proposal I have offered, it is 5 percent of the aggregate property insurance to be raised by the State and the city. The amendment I offered brings in both the State and the cities, but they work together to decide how it should be distributed between the two.

Mr. RUSSELL. It seems to me that that is another vagueness that is inserted into the proposed legislation. It is already replete with vagueness. To have the States and the cities get together and agree on what they are going to contribute, this rather pathetic 5 percent——

Mr. SPARKMAN. The 5 percent is the same as the Senator proposes.

Mr. RUSSELL. But I propose 5 percent from the State and an additional 5 percent from the cities—10 percent in all. There is a good deal of difference in that and in a 5 percent that is overall, that will be divided up in liability as between the State and the municipalities.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I should like to ask a question.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Alabama yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not wish all my time consumed.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Alabama has the floor.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much time does the Senator from Louisiana desire?

Mr. ELLENDER. I should like 1 minute.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. With respect to 5 percent from the State and 5 percent from the cities, does that mean the cities will put up 10 percent and the State 5 percent?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not under my provision.

Mr. ELLENDER. I mean under the amendment of the Senator from Georgia. The cities would have to put up 10 percent and the State 5 percent?

Mr. RUSSELL. No. It would be 10 percent, but 5 percent would come from the State and 5 percent from the municipalities.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder whether this though should be explored: that the people who are going to support the statewide premium are likewise the people who are going to support the citywide premium.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is partially correct. How about the Federal taxpayer? How about the people of these States who are not able to participate in those programs at all because they do not have riots.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator's amendment relates only to distribution within individual States.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That does not affect the Federal contribution at all.

Mr. RUSSELL. It helps to ease the Federal burden, because it increases the contribution of participants other than the Federal Government.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It does not become an additional amount so far as this is concerned.

Mr. RUSSELL. Oh, yes. It would be more under this amendment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. But it would be the same all over the country.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator is in effect going to tax every person, everywhere, to get this fund; and he is saying that within the States that enter into the fund, they shall pay 5 percent of the premiums that were paid on similar type property in the year before—on this so-called riot property.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 2 minutes?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I am very much in sympathy with what the Senator from Georgia is trying to accomplish, but, to be realistic about the problem, many of our cities are in financial trouble. The only place they can go to raise taxes is to the homeowner. And real estate taxes today have reached the point at which it is almost prohibitive to own a house in many cities.

A short time ago—this is where we are becoming quite inconsistent—there was a tremendous movement on the floor of the Senate, during consideration of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, for bloc grants. It was argued at that time that the State should have the authority, because only the State can call out the National Guard and the State can enforce the law. If we want a 10-percent contribution, let us look to the State and let the State work it out, as the Senator from Alabama has suggested. The cities are already troubled, because they do not have sufficient money to pay teachers, firemen, and policemen—so much so that we passed this past week a bill to help them, so that they could raise the salaries of their policemen.

Now we say the cities have to come up with a 5-percent guarantee. I am afraid that is too much a burden for the cities to bear.

If 10 percent should be the minimum that the States and the cities should contribute, then I say we should look to the States and let the States work it out with the cities.

I believe this amendment will be adding insult to injury. Only a short time ago we said, "Let us have bloc grants, because the State is responsible, the State can call out the militia, the State can guarantee protection. So let the State get the money."

When it comes to pay out then we say let us look to the city; when it comes to give grants, look to the State. I believe we are being inconsistent.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. ANDERSON. Has this proposal been submitted to a rating bureau?

Mr. SPARKMAN. This was worked out with the insurance industry and with the various State insurance authorities, represented by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners.

Mr. ANDERSON. It has been approved by the insurance companies?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not mean the amendment I propose, but the provision contained in the bill.

Mr. ANDERSON. I invite the attention of the Senator from Georgia to the fact that 10 percent is a large insurance premium.

Mr. RUSSELL. I do not know what the Senator is referring to, but this is 10 percent of the insurance policies that are paid on the high-risk insurance in areas which are likely to have riots and civil disorders.

The Senator from New Mexico knows so much more about insurance than I do that I hesitate even to mention the word "insurance" in his presence.

But this is not a gigantic sum. In some cities it will hardly amount to anything; in others, it may be a substantial sum.

But the cities have the right to levy taxes on insurance premiums. They have a right to levy taxes on people who acquire insurance. And these people are going to be the beneficiaries of this insurance. It seems to me that they should contribute something.

Mention has been made of people in bad financial condition. Look at the national debt of this country and the billions of dollars that we owe. I think it is about time that we commiserate a little with the Federal Government and the people of the United States. They also have considerable financial problems which are rapidly increasing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I will say this to the Senator from Georgia: If he will accept the proposal I have offered, I will accept his amendment.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am not sure I understand the Senator's proposal. I know it is going to reduce the contributions that are to be made locally to this fund. I am not in favor of putting the Federal Government into the insurance business. I think we have enough corporations and agencies of the Federal Government already. But if this is going to be done, and this bill does, and it puts an obligation on the States, I say that the city and the municipal authorities are primarily responsible for the preservation of law and order; and we ought not dangle before them the prospect of a benefit or a subsidy by not utilizing all their power to enforce law and order in the community. Unless we put some responsibility on the cities, they have no feeling of obligation whatever to assert law and order and to preserve it within the city, insofar as this proposal is concerned.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I say this to the Senator from Georgia: The State has the right, under this proposal, to arrange with the municipalities a share of the financial responsibility to be borne by them. In other words, nothing in the proposal says that the State shall pay so much and the municipalities so much. The arrangement would be worked out between them.

Mr. RUSSELL. As to the 5 percent?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. After all, the State is the supreme power within the State.

I believe this is a direction to the State to see that the municipalities share this financial burden. I see no reason why we cannot trust the States and the municipalities to work this matter out among themselves. Talk about the burden of the debt—I am under the impression that of all the subdivisions of government, the cities in this country are most heavily under debt.

Mr. RUSSELL. If you look at the per capita indebtedness figures, you will find that the Federal Government has a much larger obligation than the cities of this country. I do not think there is any doubt about that. It is a large obligation of the total Federal debt, per capita, of the people of the United States. When you assess against a city, you say that those who will be the beneficiaries should at least accept this very insignificant part.

This 5 percent does not mean 5 percent of what they are going to pay out. It means 5 percent of the premiums paid in on the preceding year. It does mean it will be 5 percent of what will be paid out. It will not amount to anything like that if there is a serious disorder. It says that the city has the obligation to preserve law and order.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What happens in a metropolitan area such as the area of Miami and the great metro that is there?

Mr. RUSSELL. Miami is divided into municipalities and each of them would be a separate organization. Some of them would contribute practically nothing because there would be none of this type of insurance that would have been issued.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And the loss would not have been sustained in that particular area.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right. It only serves those where the payments are made on the insurance, or where this insurance is written.

Most of the cities of the United States would not be responsible for it under my proposition; it is only those likely to have civil disorders that would result in great loss or destruction.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wish to ask the Senator one other question. Take the situation across the river in Arlington, which is not a city, but a county. Would "municipality" cover that?

Mr. RUSSELL. I am not sure as to that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There are other areas. There is Silver Spring, Md., which is not incorporated.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am not so sure about that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Fairfax County has no municipality.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am not sure about Silver Spring, Md., not being incorporated.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. I believe it is the second largest city in Maryland and it is not incorporated.

Mr. RUSSELL. Certainly, that does no more violence to justice than the Senator's original language.

There are a number of States whose constitutions prohibit them from making contributions of any kind to a private fund such as this. They cannot get in on this scheme of things at all, but they will have to pay their part of the 5 percent the Senator assesses of any excess losses incurred by the corporation?

Mr. SPARKMAN. And that would have to be done under the Senator's proposal.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right, so there is no less justice in my proposal and much more justice than in the Senator's original committee language.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. RUSSELL. On my amendment, I ask for the yeas and nays, Mr. President.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Williams of New Jersey in the chair). All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Georgia. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Inouye], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartke], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Mondale], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland] is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark]. If present and voting, the Senator from Mississippi would vote "yea," and the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse]. If present and voting, the Senator from Florida would vote "yea," and the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin] is paired with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff]. If present and voting, the Senator from North Carolina would vote "yea," and the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senators from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper and Mr. Morton], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel]. If present and voting, the Senator from Utah would vote "yea," and the Senator from California would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "yea," and the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay."

On this vote the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy]. If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona would vote "yea," and the Senator from California would vote "nay."

If present and voting, the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 25, nays 35, as follows:

[No. 163 Leg.]

YEAS—25

Bartlett
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Cotton
Gore
Hansen
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Miller
Monroney
Mundt
Russell
Spong
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—35

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Case
Dominick
Ellender
Griffin
Gruening
Hart
Jackson
Magnuson
Mansfield
McIntyre
Metcalf
Moss
Muskie
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Symington
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough

NOT VOTING—40

Bennett
Bible
Carlson
Church
Clark
Cooper
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Fulbright
Harris
Hartke
Hatfield
Hollings
Inouye
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Nelson
Ribicoff
Smathers
Tydings
Young, Ohio

So Mr. Russell's amendment was rejected.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment was rejected be reconsidered.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The Bill Clerk. On page 213, it is proposed, strike out lines 9 through 14 and renumber the sections accordingly.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of 1 hour on this amendment with the time to be equally divided, 30 minutes to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] and 30 minutes to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Proxmire].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I think I sense the attitude of the Senate, but in good conscience I cannot refrain from offering the amendment which I am proposing.

The bill proposes to open up the Federal Disaster Assistance Act—which has stood us in good stead for a long time—

for payments of grants for damage wrought by civil disobedience, by riots, and civil disorders generally.

This natural disaster act has been used in time of flood, in time of hurricane, and has always been applied to disasters caused by natural forces—what might be called acts of God.

Now we propose to open up the Disaster Act to make grants to cities to take care of destruction wrought by civil disorders and civil disobedience. We have opened up a number of other funds for that purpose; namely, the Small Business Administration, and two sections of the Housing Act which have been amended in the same bill, to make payments for damages due to civil disorders and riots.

It seems to me, in good conscience, that we should not open up the Disaster Act, which provides for payments for visitations of natural origin, such as earthquakes in Alaska, hurricanes in New England, and floods in Florida, and say, "Go and have a big time, boys. Burn it down. Here is the Federal Disaster Assistance Act. We have opened it up. We can now make grants to you to make it good."

Mr. President, I want a record vote on this amendment and therefore ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this is a section of the bill which the committee added because it feels very strongly that the Federal Government should regard the riots we have had this year and last year as disasters and because our cities are being placed in an impossible situation unless some kind of significant Federal assistance can be made available to them.

The bill has two sections to help the cities; namely, to help city facilities and also to help homeowners, small businessmen, and others, whose property has been destroyed.

So far as the cities are concerned, the bill provides that, if the President should determine—and the bill permits him to determine—that a disaster has taken place according to his definition, then Federal funds would be used to provide replacement of public facilities, for debris clearance, and for temporary shelters and housing.

Mr. President, the Office of Emergency Planning indicates their experience is that they always require the city or area to contribute a reasonable amount. They do it on a sliding scale, in accordance with what the particular disaster area can afford. Under current regulations, the State must certify that it and local communities within the State have spent a certain amount of their own funds for the current disaster and for all disasters in the preceding 12 months. For States such as New York and California, this figure is set at $5 million. For the smallest States, it is set at $350,000. Federal assistance cannot be provided without such a certification.

I think we have to recognize that a part of the assistance provided by the committee provision that is for private persons would be loans repayable with interest. It would be 3-percent interest, it is true, but the small homeowner or the small businessman would be desperately in need. A riot means misery and loss of life. The Federal Government provides loans, not gifts, repayable in full, as I have said.

It might be argued that with the insurance coverage, loans will not be needed. However, loans would still be necessary, because, in the case of a small business which is put out of business for 3 or 4 months—which is the case when riots take place—it takes that long to rebuild. Drive down Seventh Street or 14th Street in Washington and one can estimate how long these people are going to be out of business. When they have a loss of the business and of their working capital, it is going to take a loan in order to put them back on their feet. It will not be enough simply to have an insurance company replace their inventory or equipment or plant. They will have lost money for the time their business has been closed down. This provision would enable them, if the SBA Administrator declared a disaster, to borrow money and repay it.

The Kerner Commission, which was composed of both Republicans and Democrats, and of people from all sections of the country, unanimously recommended this provision. The committee has informally checked with the various Federal agencies in this provision. No objections to this provision by any Federal agency have been received by the committee.

It seems to me that if we are going to do something, in a modest way, to try to have the Federal Government help in riot circumstances, this provision ought to stay in the bill.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, not only have Senators just voted to levy heavy taxes on people who may not live anywhere near these areas and pay for this insurance, but this bill specifically opens up the Small Business Act, by inserting the words "riot or civil disorder" into it, so that the Small Business Administration will be applicable in the case of riots. Not only that, but you open up section 101 of the Housing and Urban Development Act by striking out the word "natural," and thereby make it applicable for all these riots and disorders.

Section 111 of the Housing Act of 1949 is amended by inserting "riot or civil disorder," before "or other catastrophe."

So you are creating a tremendous field here to take care of these riots and civil disorders already. You impose taxes on people who are not likely to have any riots or civil disorders to pay for all these disorders through these other agencies.

It seems to me we ought to keep our hands off the natural disaster assistance program and not get involved in these kinds of riots and civil disorders.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. As I understand the Senator's amendment, it addresses itself only to the natural disaster program and does not affect these others?

Mr. RUSSELL. These others are written into the law. This amendment does not affect those at all.

Mr. TOWER. So there is plenty available to them.

Mr. RUSSELL. There is plenty available to them through other channels. This provision can only be an inducement for more riots and disorders. If that is what you want, go ahead and open this up. Make grants and low-interest loans available.

I looked through the hearings, and I did not find any testimony taken by the committee at all on this provision. It may be in there, but I was unable to find it in there. I also called the Office of Emergency Planning, and they said their views had not been solicited by the committee. They further said that this act had been used heretofore only to undertake to extend aid in the case of natural disaster.

You have opened up four new fields already to permit the Federal Government to extend financial aid in the case of riots and disorders. We passed the Natural Disaster Act to take care of hurricanes, floods, and so forth. I do not think we should apply it to riots and disorders. The natural disaster program never had a large fund in it, and you exhaust it, pay it out, and have a great natural disaster, and Congress will have to be called back into session or other drastic action will have to be taken to extend any assistance in that event.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. I call to the attention of the distinguished Senator from Georgia a fact which he well knows, and I want to recall it now. It is that the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and the body of the Senate several times have refused to extend to the farming community of this country, under the disaster loans made by the Farmers Home Administration, small interest loans which are the help they would get by including market difficulties with natural disasters. We have declined to step up that natural disaster area in that field, which is certainly as distressed a field to communities of farm people as this is to the people of the cities.

I hope we will follow the same philosophy, because the mercy of this country as established through this type of legislation is not to cover manmade difficulties, but to cover difficulties brought on by nature itself.

I hope the Senator's amendment will prevail.

Mr. RUSSELL. I have little hope that it will. The most important thing seems to be to extend help to people whose businesses or homes are destroyed by riots and disorders that in many cases could have been prevented and should have been prevented. I hope to keep this program reserved to what it was enacted for, when this Nation was a more reverent nation than it is today—disasters caused by acts of providence. Now, of course, the effort is to go ahead and turn it over to those caused by riots and civil disorders.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me some time?

Mr. PROXMIRE. How much time does the Senator wish?

Mr. BAYH. Do we have 5 minutes?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I am reluctant to impose myself into the debate concerning housing legislation, inasmuch as I do not consider myself an expert in this matter; but following the tornado which hit the Midwest in 1965, I, together with others of us who come from Midwestern States, drafted the latest revision of the Natural Disaster Act which is on the books, which was finally passed in 1966, and which, in my judgment, is very inadequate, because the House took out what we passed in the Senate without a dissenting vote.

To try to patch up the act, we introduced S. 438, which is on the Calendar now. That is the only reason why I got involved in this discusison on housing. I personally have given a tremendous amount of thought to what to do to help our citizens in the event they are confronted with such a disaster.

I have taken a very dim view of the relative merits of rushing to the assistance of citizens of foreign countries when they are confronted with disasters, and not doing more than we do now to help our own citizens. I hope the provisions of S. 438 will become part of the law.

I have thought about the problem presented by the distinguished Senator from Georgia. This is a new type of disaster, but the thing that appeals to me about it as a proper subject for disaster relief—we held hearings on the subject in the Committee on Public Works, at which some of these questions were raised, and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] was there, right after the Detroit conflagration—is that the great majority of the people affected by these riots are not implicated in them in any way except presence; they are innocent bystanders, swept along by this fire started by a few.

I would be very much in favor of the Senator from Georgia or any other Senator offering an amendment that nobody who was implicated in a riot could take advantage of the disaster provisions. I think such an amendment would be well taken. I state to the Senator from Wisconsin that, if he or the Senator from Georgia do not wish to do so in the event this one fails, I should like to offer such an amendment.

The thing that appeals to me about the justice in so limiting the disaster provisions is that now someone can start a fire in his own neighborhood, and if it gets out of hand and becomes a national disaster, he can take advantage of that fact. On the other hand, if the amendment of the Senator from Georgia were adopted, we would be saying to innocent citizens, stricken just as devastatingly as if they had been victims of a tornado, "We cannot help you."

The only limitation would be that the disaster would have to be large enough that the President of the United States would trigger those provisions. If it is not, then this coverage is not afforded.

I feel we should leave the provision on the disaster provisions in the bill, because of the innocent people affected; but if one with such limited seniority and experience as I might have the temerity to suggest a change in the wording of the amendment of the Senator from Georgia—for whom I have the greatest respect—I suggest that the emphasis should be designed to get at those who start the riots, and prevent them from benefiting from the consequences of their own acts.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. TOWER. The only trouble with the proposal of the Senator from Indiana—and I certainly agree that people who incite riots should not benefit from any Federal programs aimed at relief of the victims of rioting, arson, and looting—is that some of our cities are also implicated here.

I think that where the police department of a great city like Washington, D.C., is reduced to the function of directing traffic for the looters, standing idly by while they go about their work, because of the law enforcement policy of that city, then that city has implicated itself also. I think we have to say to the cities, "We cannot help you out of this fund unless you insist on adequate law enforcement, and not inordinate restraint, on the part of your police department."

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

I am sure that everyone in this room realizes that no city wants a riot. It is inconceivable that any mayor, any policeman, or any public official in any city, regardless of how exalted or humble his position, would want a riot. None of us wants riots; we all know that. I think it is insulting even to suggest that any official would want such a thing. We all want to prevent them.

There are different views on how riots should be prevented. We could debate that at great length. We do know, however, that when riots take place, they are catastrophic to the city and innocent people are involved. The loss can be enormous and overwhelming.

Mr. President, I wish to stress, in reply to the Senator from Indiana, that section 1107(a) of the bill provides grant aid only to communities, not to any individual. The only individual who could benefit, from being able to borrow money and repay it, is one whose home has been burned down. There are other sections of the law which, as the Senator from Georgia properly pointed out, which are triggered by a Presidential declaration of a disaster under the Federal Disaster Act. One is section III by the Housing Act of 1949 which gives priority to victims of declared disasters to relocate in urban renewal areas.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. In just a moment.

The other is section 203(h) of the National Housing Act which provides 100 percent FHA mortgage insurance to victims of areas declared by the President as disaster areas. In addition Section 101(c)(2)(E) of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 is triggered by an SBA declared disaster. This affords victims eligibility under rent supplements, provided income and other requirements are otherwise met.

These three sections are triggered by declared disasters. It does not open up Government programs in any big, broad, comprehensive way; it simply provides those limited benefits to the victims.

Incidentally, I believe the committee would be happy to accept any kind of amendment which provided that anybody who took a deliberate part in a riot would not be able to obtain any benefit from it. I see no objection to that.

I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. BAYH. The Senator from Wisconsin answered the question I had in mind, which is that the SBA and the FHA do provide loan provisions for individual citizens. Therefore, I think if we are going to permit riot disasters to be covered, anyone apprehended in violation of the law during the riot should be denied the opportunity to take advantage of it.

Mr. PROXMIRE. We will be happy to work with the Senator from Indiana; I am sure the committee will agree to an amendment to that effect, and take that language to conference.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I am happy to yield.

Mr. DOMINICK. I merely wish to find out some facts and figures to help me make my decision.

How much do we have authorized and appropriated in the disaster fund, does any citizen know?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I understand it has been in excess of several hundreds of millions of dollars since 1950, over the life of the program.

Mr. DOMINICK. Over the life of the program, and, therefore, the funds available?

Mr. RUSSELL. There has never been that much available. That is cumulative.

Mr. DOMINICK. As an average, around $35 million per year?

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator is correct.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I understand they have averaged $35 million or $40 million a year.

Mr. DOMINICK. All right. How much damage is done in a riot such as that here in Washington, or Watts?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Just this morning, in hearings before the District of Columbia Appropriations subcommittee of the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], we had testimony on that subject. They have not been able to come up with any definitive figures. They have not arrived at any final figures.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Not as yet. That figure is preliminary.

Mr. DOMINICK. Is my understanding correct that the provisions of this bill would be available only for public facilities?

Mr. PROXMIRE. The provision for grants would be only for public facilities. It would be possible for those whose homes and businesses were destroyed to borrow money and repay it at 3 percent interest, over a 40-year period.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Does the Senator yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. Reference has been made here to hearings on this part of the bill. I walked in just in time to hear that.

As I understood, no hearings had been held. Will the Senator point out to us, in the record of the hearings, on what page we may find the testimony, and the names of the witnesses, on this part of the bill?

Mr. PROXMIRE. The committee did not hold hearings on this particular section of the bill. There were no hearings by the Banking and Currency Committee.

Mr. STENNIS. Does that mean there is no testimony before the Senate ?

Mr. PROXMIRE. There is no testimony on this particular provision.

Mr. STENNIS. What did the members of the committee act on, their personal ideas, newspaper reports, or what?

Mr. PROXMIRE. We acted on the basis of unanimous recommendations by the Kerner Commission, and on the basis of the experience and understanding of members of the committee over the years, in the Senate, on similar legislation covering natural disasters.

Mr. STENNIS. The Kerner Commission had already reported, had it not, before the fires here in Washington?

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. STENNIS. I have noted that there have been reports of two or three fires each night since the large-scale burning, that the police have said they attributed to Molotov cocktails, or to the reasons for the original burning. Would they be included in the measure?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Definitely not. They would only be covered if the President should determine those fires an emergency sufficient to warrant his decision that Federal aid should be granted.

I am sure the Senator is familiar with the situations in various parts of the country in which Presidents have always been reluctant to declare emergencies and have only done so where they were of great consequence and extended far beyond the resources of the community.

Mr. STENNIS. With those fires continuing for the same reason, why should they be cut off? Why would they not come under the same provision as originally?

Mr. PROXMIRE. This would be a matter of judgment and determination.

The Federal Government, in my judgment, could limit the period for which the benefits would be paid. Otherwise, it would be open-ended.

Mr. STENNIS. The bill does not make such limitation?

Mr. PROXMIRE. No. This is the normal practice of the Office of Emergency Planning.

Mr. STENNIS. It depends on the emergency, and the Office of Emergency Planning determines that.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator is correct. That is my understanding.

Mr. STENNIS. That is all I had in mind.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, one observation that should be made is that there is a limited amount of money in the disaster fund, and any time a disaster occurs, the money comes out of that fund. That means that there is less remaining for any future disaster that might occur.

What if we went through a long hot summer and experienced civil disorders in various cities which ate up all of the funds in the disaster fund? If we then had another bad hurricane along the gulf coast or another earthquake in Alaska or a series of tornadoes or cyclones in the Midwest, there would not be any funds to assist those localities.

As the Senator from Georgia pointed out, there are multifarious other programs available for relief in the case of riot.

I can remember when we had Hurricane Beulah in Texas and an earthquake in Alaska. It was touch and go as to whether there would be adequate funds to compensate for the disasters that had occurerd.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. TOWER. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I believe the answer is that in the event of any such situation, it would be necessary to come to Congress for appropriations.

Congress made appropriations for the Louisiana disaster and for the Alaskan earthquake.

The request would go to the Appropriations Committee, and the Appropriations Committee can say yes or no. The Senate and the House would then exercise their judgment. However, this would just not open up the Treasury.

Mr. TOWER. I would prefer to have the money available immediately and without appropriations.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TOWER. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. In the event the amendment offered by the Senator from Georgia is agreed to, would the small businessman in the city still be protected under the bill?

Mr PROXMIRE. The small businessmen in the cities would not be in a position to borrow money to provide for their working capital. They would be covered by reinsurance.

Mr. RUSSELL. Under subsection (b) it specifically opens up the Small Business Act to loans for riots and civil disorders.

The Senator will find that on page 213 of the bill.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, my other question concerns damage done to the city itself. Would damages include damage to property? Would it include loss of business due to a business leaving town and going elsewhere, or would it include the kind of damage done to city government, such as to the city hall that might be rated as a disaster?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the city's own facilities could be badly destroyed. The city might own utilities which might be destroyed or damaged, and city equipment such as fire equipment might be badly damaged.

I think it is clear under the basis of past experience and Presidents' decisions in the past that they will not declare an emergency unless the damage is so great that it is not possible for local resources to take care of it.

Mr. AIKEN. Could damage cover lost taxes or loss of business to the town?

Mr. PROXMIRE. It could not.

Mr. AIKEN. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I point out again for the benefit of any Senator who may doubt it that all he has to do is to open the bill to page 213 to see that there is made available by the bill reported by the committee loans from the Small Business Administration which, in the case of disaster, is 3 percent, the same as it is under the disaster provision.

It provides for rent supplements to those who are affected adversely by riots and civil disorders and who need housing. And it provides for urban renewal areas which would be rebuilt, including the rebuilding of a city hall, to which the Senator from Vermont referred, in the case of riots and disorders which destroy the public buildings.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the staff of the Committee on Banking and Currency advise me to the contrary. The Senator is correct about the first part. There would still be loans available from the Small Business Administration. However, the rent supplements would be triggered by (b), and if we knock that provision out, the rent supplements could no longer be made available to those who had lost their homes. Section (d), which refers to urban renewal, is triggered by (a), and that would be knocked out by the Senator's amendment.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I do not concede that at all. I have the utmost respect for the staff of the committee, but it would leave all except that explicitly deleted in the bill this provision in section 101(c), subparagraph 2, (e):

> The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 is amended by striking out the word "natural".

Mr. PROXMIRE. I understand that.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator says that would have no effect whatever if we try to preserve disaster legislation for a real natural disaster.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The answer is that HUD has no authority to declare a disaster. Only the President or the SBA Administrator has that authority. And if the President's authority to declare a disaster in the event of a riot is taken away, then all opportunity for the victims to apply for assistance is also taken away.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I hesitate to speak in this manner in the presence of the staff of the committee who have no other business than to keep themselves informed. However, the Small Business Act has a provision providing for disaster loans and making such loans at 3 percent rather than 5 percent.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator is correct in his statement about the Small Business Act. However, with respect to urban renewal, this part does not stand independently. Therefore, it would be knocked out by the amendment of the Senator, which would make it impossible for the President to declare a disaster situation if a riot were to take place.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I am sure that the staff of the committee is able to draw a one-line amendment that would say—and if they cannot do so, it is a pathetic situation—that these two provisions can be triggered by a riot or civil disorder. That amendment could be offered. And it would be a very simple matter to do so. By preserving the disaster fund for natural disasters, we do not preclude any amendments to the remainder of the bill.

The Senator from Wisconsin well knows that he can draw a one-line amendment that would permit urban renewal and rent supplements to be triggered by any disaster, whether declared by the Small Business Administration or by the President or by HUD, for that matter, to make these funds available.

I must say that I do not think that is a very fair argument when the Senator knows that a simple amendment would clarify the matter and make these other two provisions viable in the case of riots or disorders.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I understand the Senator's position well. I was saying that the amendment is not drafted in that manner. It seems that it would knock out sections (c) and (d).

Mr. RUSSELL. My purpose is to try to save the disaster fund for natural disasters.

We are doing everything in the pending bill for riots and civil disorder victims. We are taking care of them on the insurance.

We are letting the Federal Government go into the insurance business and reinsure all these areas where they are likely to have destruction. We are revising the Small Business Act, which heretofore had not been generally available in cases of riots and disorders. We are triggering it. A very simple amendment, which I will be glad to help the staff with if they cannot draw it up themselves—I know the Senator from Wisconsin could draw it in 1 minute—would trigger and make available the rent supplement provision of the Housing Act and the urban renewal provisions of the Housing Act. But I do think we ought to have some sense of proportion here and leave this disaster fund where it is. I do not remember just how much is available, but my best recollection is that it is somewhere between $35 and $40 million.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator yield himself additional time?

Mr. RUSSELL. Have I consumed all my time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 14 minutes remaining.

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield myself 4 additional minutes.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. BAYH. I have not been able to follow the entire discussion.

Inasmuch as the Senator is willing to permit the two provisions to which he has referred, is he also willing to permit the Small Business Administration——

Mr. RUSSELL. I am not touching that. Under the act, the Small Business Administration can make 3-percent disaster loans to these riot and civil disorder areas.

Mr. BAYH. The unfortunate thing about the disaster legislation is that now it is scattered all over the statute books. If we are really going to deal with disasters, we have to touch four or five different acts. I believe that is why the Senator from Wisconsin has touched all of these in trying to provide equal treatment in the event that there is a nonnatural disaster.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator from Indiana knows that a one-line amendment can be drawn to subsections (c) and (d) which will have the same purport and effect as the amendment to the Small Business Act, which entitles a man to a 3-percent small business loan in a catastrophe.

I think everything is being gobbled up that has been set aside for an operation of the Government in many areas, in undertaking to alleviate the anguish of people who are stricken by natural disorders, in our great haste and in our determination to see that everything is available to the cities which have riots and civil disorders.

I am not trying to avoid loans of 3 percent by the Small Business Administration. Frankly, I do not favor them, but I know the Senate does. And I am not trying to avoid the rent supplement. I think there is sound ground for that, if you are going to have rent supplement at all, to take care of the innocent people who are burned out by these disorders. And I am not trying to prevent application with respect to urban renewal areas. I do think we ought to leave in the natural disasters and not open it up to manmade disasters.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. In the event the President makes a finding of a disaster with respect to a city, does he find the nature of the damage or simply the cause of it?

Mr. RUSSELL. He finds on the basis of a natural disaster; and if he finds it is a natural disaster of sufficient magnitude, such as an earthquake, a flood, or a hurricane, he opens up the disaster fund.

Mr. AIKEN. But does he have to specify the cause of the disaster?

Mr. RUSSELL. If it is a natural disaster, he does not have to specify it. I do not know. Most of the orders I have seen handed down say, "Whereas such-and-such an area was visited by a hurricane," and so forth. But I do not think there is anything in the law that requires it. I do not know.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. HANSEN. I should like to ask a question. I have listened with great interest to this discussion, and it occurs to me that if the bill were to be drawn as the committee recommends, would it not be the considered opinion of the distinguished Senator from Georgia that there might actually be instances in which people would be encouraged to contribute to the disaster? I am thinking of a riot situation in which fires are erupting throughout a city. If someone should contemplate the designation of a disaster area by the President, might not this actually serve in a few instances, with people less than scrupulous, to contribute to the disaster?

Mr. RUSSELL. I think that is true as to all sections of this title XI, but I am now only undertaking to preserve this fund for natural disasters.

It has been there for years; it has served a useful purpose. It is not a large fund. It does have some $200 million or more of cumulative assets, but most of it is in the form of loans. The actual cash available is some $35 million, as I recall. Certainly, that ought not be required to go with all of these other elements to repair the damages caused by riots and disorders.

Of course, the more money that is made available to them, the more attractive will be the riots and disorders as a kind of system of cheap urban renewal.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], and as I do that, I might say that this provision was authored by him. It was his idea, and the committee put it into the amendment.

Mr. SCOTT. I thank the Senator for his kind comments.

Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment proposed by the distinguished and respected senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL]. That amendment would strike from the bill section 1107(a) which would amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1950 to include specifically riots and civil disorders within the definition of "major disaster." Under that act, communities designated by the President as victims of major disasters can receive Federal emergency assistance, such as the provision of temporary or emergency housing for families rendered homeless by such natural disasters as hurricanes and tornadoes and the use of Federal equipment, supplies, facilities, and personnel.

The provision proposed to be stricken by the pending amendment is virtually identical to section 1 of S. 2209, a bill to clarify the application of certain provisions of law in the case of major disasters resulting from civil disorder, which I introduced in the Senate on August 2 of last year. Indeed, Mr. President, S. 2209 in its entirety is virtually identical to section 1107 of the pending bill. It was incorporated into the bill in committee on the motion of the able and distinguished senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] to whom I now express my deepest thanks.

When introducing S. 2209, I stated that it would "clarify the meaning of disaster so as to leave no doubt or cause for hesitancy concerning the legality of providing assistance to the victims of riots such as those which have shaken our Nation in the past days." I pointed out that its purpose was "not to reward the violent, but to improve the condition of the innocent victims of violence." Mr. President, let me reiterate and reemphasize what I asserted last August 2:

> Violence cannot and must not be tolerated. But laws to repress violence will not cure intolerable inequalities.

I also wish to point out that a similar bill, H.R. 11891, was proposed in the House of Representatives on July 27, 1967, by the very able gentleman from Maryland, Mr. MATHIAS, and a number of his Republican colleagues.

Mr. President, it is my very deep desire that section 1107(a) be kept in the bill. Disaster is disaster, and if it is not caused by the action of the person to be benefited, it is of small difference to him whether it has been caused by a tornado or by a riot, for example. The damage is there, he did not cause it, and the need for relief is great.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed at this point in the RECORD my remarks about S. 2209 delivered on the floor of the Senate, on August 2, 1967. I also ask unanimous consent that S. 2209 and H.R. 11891 be printed thereafter.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIOT RELIEF BILL

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill which clarifies the application of certain provisions of existing law in the case of major disasters resulting from civil disorder. A similar bill has been introduced by 15 Republican Members of the House of Representatives.

My bill redefines "major disaster" in the Disaster Relief Act of 1950 to include riots, and makes assistance applicable to the victims of riots through the Small Business Act, the rent supplements section of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, the urban renewal section of the Housing Act of 1949, and the mortgage insurance section of the National Housing Act.

The determination of a disaster area will still be up to the President, but my bill will clarify the meaning of disaster so as to leave no doubt or cause for hesitancy concerning the legality of providing assistance to the victims of riots such as those which have shaken our Nation in the past days.

The purpose of my bill is not to reward the violent, but to improve the condition of the innocent victims of violence. Violence cannot and must not be tolerated. But laws to repress violence will not cure intolerable inequalities.

My bill is not offered as an all-purpose solution to our problems, but as a beginning in the massive pacification and development programs needed in our urban areas. The United States is spending millions of dollars a day for pacification in Vietnam and seems to be unable to cope with the powder keg on which we perch here at home. We cannot simply pray that things simmer down and hope that they do not flare up again.

The Congress should reexamine its priorities and bring legislation promptly to the floor of both its Houses.

It is good that President Johnson has taken quick action on the recommendation of Senator BROOKE of Massachusetts to investigate the cause of the riots. The question recurs: What will be done while the probers probe?

Last week, nine other Republican Senators and myself urged that Congress provide the necessary funds for recently enacted urban programs, including model cities and rent supplements. I will continue to press hard for these funds.

Next week, the Housing Subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee will complete hearings on the rat extermination bill. I urge a favorable report by the committee and intend to rally as much support as possible to pass effective rat control legislation. I see nothing amusing in the ravages of rodents and still less in the failure of local administrations to do much about it.

Another area where legislation is needed is a program for Federal reinsurance guarantees so that individuals and businesses in cities hit by riot can receive future insurance protection.

These measures, desirable as they are, will not bring an end to the conditions which cause riots. Yet they are a part of the massive commitment which must be made, and sustained, by every level of government, by business, by every American in every walk of life, to see that all parts of our cities are fit for human habitation and that all our fellow citizens share in the promise of a prosperous and civilized nation.

We have a mandate, in this country, to bring about the restoration of domestic tranquillity.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 2209) to clarify the application of certain provisions of law in the case of major disasters resulting from civil disorder, introduced by Mr. SCOTT, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 2209

A bill to clarify the application of certain provisions of law in the case of major disasters resulting from civil disorder

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

DEFINITION OF "MAJOR DISASTER"

SECTION 1. Section 2(a) of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize Federal assistance to States and local governments in major disasters, and for other purposes", approved September 30, 1950, as amended (42 U.S.C. 1855a. (a)), is amended by inserting "civil disorder," before "or other catastrophe".

SMALL BUSINESS LOANS

SEC. 2. Section 7(b)(1) of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 636(b)(1)) is amended by inserting ", civil disorder," before "or other catastrophies".

RENT SUPPLEMENTS

SEC. 3. Section 101(c)(2)(E) of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 (12 U.S.C. 1701s.(c)(E)) is amended by striking out "natural".

URBAN RENEWAL

SEC. 4. Section 111 of the Housing Act of 1949 (42 U.S.C. 1462) is amended by inserting "civil disorder," before "or other catastrophe".

MORTGAGE INSURANCE

SEC. 5. Section 203(h) of the National Housing Act (12 U.S.C. 1709(h)) is amended by inserting "civil disorder," before "or other catastrophe".

H.R. 11891

A bill to extend Federal disaster relief to victims of major riots and civil disorders, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That—

(a) The first paragraph of section 2 of the Act of June 27, 1934 (48 Stat. 1246; 12 U.S.C. 1703(a)), as amended, is amended by striking out "or other catastrophe" and inserting in lieu thereof "riot, civil disorder, or other catastrophe".

(b) Section 203(h) of the Act of June 27, 1934 (48 Stat. 1248; 12 U.S.C. 1709(h)), as amended, is amended by inserting, immediately after "storm,", "riot, civil disorder,".

(c) Section 7(b)(1) of the Act of July 18, 1958 (72 Stat. 387; 15 U.S.C. 636(b)(1)), as amended, is amended by striking out "floods or other catastrophies" and inserting in lieu thereof "earthquake, conflagration, tornado, hurricane, cyclone, flood, riot, civil disorder, or other catastrophe".

(d) Section 111 of the Act of July 15, 1949 (42 U.S.C. 1462), as amended, is amended by inserting, immediately after "storm,", "riot, civil disorder,".

(e) Section 2 of the Act of September 20, 1950 (64 Stat. 1109; 41 U.S.C. 1855 (a)), as amended, is amended by inserting, immediately after "storm,", "riot, civil disorder,".

Mr. PROXMIRE. Does the Senator desire more time?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield.

Mr. COTTON. I should like to ask a question of the distinguished Senator now in charge of the bill. If the answer is not readily obtainable, I wish it could be provided for the RECORD before the end of the consideration of the bill.

It is my understanding that the total authorization in this bill is $5.2 billion, roughly.

Mr. PROXMIRE. That is correct.

Mr. COTTON. I should like to find out what portion of that is renewed authorizations to continue present programs and what part of it is for new programs.

Mr. PROXMIRE. That information, of course, should be in the RECORD as the Senator from New Hampshire says, before we vote on final passage, and it certainly will be.

Mr. COTTON. The actual spending contemplated under this bill in the ensuing year, for new programs, is how much?

Mr. PROXMIRE. For new programs, the actual spending is approximately $14 million. It is relatively very modest. But I am sure the Senator recognizes that this kind of modest beginning does not indicate how much is going to be spent under the authorizations we provide for years in the future.

Mr. COTTON. I understood that very clearly, and I certainly agree with the Senator on that. But does this small amount of spending, actual spending, on new programs for the coming year include the drain of the funds that have just been under discussion in connection with the amendment of the distinguished Senator from Georgia?

Mr. PROXMIRE. No. I see the Senator's point. There is no way this can be estimated. We hope and pray we will have a quiet summer and that there will not be any disaster emergencies that will develop because of riots. However, we have no way to tell.

Mr. COTTON. This is just a fixed expenditure for the coming year?

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. COTTON. If it is possible, before the debate is finished, I wish the Senator would have printed in the RECORD, even if it is only approximation, figures with respect to the continuation of the old program and the amount that is contemplated for the new program.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. PROXMIRE. In answer to the question of the Senator from New Hampshire, approximately $650 million of the funds authorized by this bill would be for new programs. The remaining portion of the $5.2 billion authorization would be for existing programs.

Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from West Virginia. Earlier he and I engaged in a brief colloquy in connection with the cost of riots in Washington. When I referred to losses, it was by city and not by business or by homeowner. However, the Senator from West Virginia can clarify this point better than I.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I was engaged in conversation with the Senator from Rhode Island, and I did not understand the question.

I believe the question to which the Senator was addressing himself was the preliminary estimate of damages to buildings. Is that correct?

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator from Wisconsin is referring to the kinds of losses which might conceivably be covered by this provision of the bill.

The Senator from Georgia made clear the one part of the bill he wants to knock out is for aid to the cities.

Mr. RUSSELL. I hope I did not make that clear. That was not my intent.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator said, as I understood, that he wants the people to have loans available.

Mr. RUSSELL. They get them under the Small Business Administration. I am not in favor of making loans or any other part of title XI. Of course, if we did we would have more requests in the District of Columbia than there is money available in the disaster fund.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I think we agree. I worded the statement badly. I am referring to the fact that in the event of disaster the SBA would be able to loan money to the homeowners at 3 percent. Does the Senator want to retain that? Under the present law, they would be given the opportunity to do so under the rent supplement.

Mr. RUSSELL. They would under this law.

Mr. PROXMIRE. But the Senator is mainly concerned, as I see it, with the loss to the city from the loss of public facilities and from debris clearance and other riot-connected losses.

Mr. RUSSELL. No, that is not necessarily the case. I want to preserve some of this 3-percent loan money for the victims of natural disasters and not have it all consumed by those who are victims of riots. If we had something like the earthquake that occurred in Alaska or Hurricane Hazel, there would not be $5 left in the natural-disaster fund, whereas in the case of riots there would be adequate funds available in other programs. I am trying to protect the natural disaster fund so it will be available for natural disasters. You still have all these other funds, including loans and urban renewal for victims of riots and civil disorders.

My purpose is to protect the natural-disaster funds. I do not think they should be mixed up with the other funds and piled on top of each other to the detriment of those who suffer from natural disasters.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Is it my understanding that all of the loan money would come from SBA; that it would not come from OEP? The OEP would provide grant money to the cities that have losses due to riots, because they have to rehouse people or clean up the debris or replace damaged public facilities.

Mr. RUSSELL. I understand the Natural Disaster Act provided for loans and grants. The Disaster Act itself provides for loans and they have been made in the case of natural disasters time and time again.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia subsequently said: Mr. President, earlier today the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] asked a question during colloquy with reference to the recent riots which occurred in the District of Columbia. At that time, I was engaged in conversation with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], and I did not fully understand the question. I thought the Senator from Wisconsin was inquiring regarding the direct costs to the city of the civil disorder.

As I now understand, the Senator was inquiring about the estimate of damages to buildings in the District of Columbia as a result of the civil disturbances.

The preliminary estimate of damage to buildings was $13.3 million. This was the estimate of damage which occurred from Thursday, April 4, 1968, through noon of April 8, 1968. This estimate pertains only to those buildings which were situated in the areas where damage was most concentrated.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AIKEN. Is the Senator from Georgia making a distinction between disasters which are unpreventable and uncontrollable and those which could be prevented or could be controlled?

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator from Vermont has put his finger squarely on the point and on the only objective of this amendment. That is to say, here are these acts that could have been prevented or controlled or modified in some way. You are making all kinds of provisions for them elsewhere, but, please, let us keep $35 million or $40 million available in the fund in the event some terrible natural disaster strikes in this country.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. BAYH. The Senator from Georgia is correct about the loans versus grants.

Mr. RUSSELL. I know I am.

Mr. BAYH. The distinction is that OEP deals with public facilities whereas the SBA deals with private loans.

We have to ask the question which the Senator from Vermont hit on and that I have torn with in my mind and fought with. These innocent people are hit by a holocaust caused by a couple of score of lunatics, and the majority of the people living in these areas are law-abiding citizens and they suffer as much as they would from a tornado going down Main Street.

After this matter is completed, regardless of the outcome, I would like to introduce an amendment which would deny the benefits to anyone convicted for a violation of the law.

Mr. RUSSELL. I think that is in the law now, but I want to make doubly sure. I am glad the Senator agrees with me as to the loan provision. I think in the case of the State of Alaska they made some loans.

Mr. BAYH. I wish to make one other point, and then I shall sit down.

If one will look at the record, whenever we have had a natural disaster such as Hurricane Betsy, we had to come in and have a Betsy bill. If it is felt that the amendment is going to accomplish a solvency of the fund, I think that is really an error, because every time there is a riot in Detroit or a Hurricane Betsy, Congress has had to act to restore funds because we act on a day-to-day basis, and so we would have to do so now.

Mr. RUSSELL. There have been allocations made before Congress could make appropriations and there should be money there to take care of that purpose.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. BARTLETT. The Senator's concern also concerns me.

We are talking about two different things: natural disasters and manmade disasters. It is true that after the Alaskan hurricane, Congress, in a single day—perhaps for the first time in history—appropriated $15 million for the OEP fund.

When we expected the hurricanes and great floods of last year, the OEP rehabilitated the public facility and the SBA moved in and made these disaster loans which were really instrumental in restoring the business community and the home community.

However, I fear that if we channel a part of that into this new activity, a natural disaster comes along and there may be no money left at all. It is true that the Congress can restore that fund, but it might take awhile.

Mr. RUSSELL. And Congress might not be in session.

Mr. BARTLETT. And Congress might not be in session.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Do I understand that what the Senator from Georgia is endeavoring to do is to make certain there will be in existence year by year what was originally a $35 million fund for natural disasters.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right. I do not think that the fund we have, and are familiar with, provides that natural disaster assistance should be commingled with all the new movements we are making to provide funds for those who are victimized by riots and civil disorders. There will be plenty of money available for them. We are making it available in several different sections here. But this fund does not have a great amount of money in it. We should not open it up for a new relief program that is being provided for in several other sections of the bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. As one who represents a State, at least in part, which has been struck by natural disasters over which it has had no control, I want to assure the Senator from Georgia that his is a good amendment and I support it.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Georgia yield me 4 minutes?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield 4 minutes to the Senator from Florida.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Three minutes remain to the Senator from Georgia. The Senator from Florida is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, there is, of course, a great difference between natural disasters and disasters caused by man. When we try to put them both together in the same bill. I feel that the Senate would be making a grave mistake.

I invite the recollection of Senators to the fact that many Members of the Senate, in the case of the recent riots in Washington, D.C., stood on this floor and criticized very strongly—and, I thought, appropriately—the weak and spineless handling of the situation by the public authorities.

There was hardly a newspaper in my State which did not come out editorializing on the subject and, I suspect in every other State in the Union. I have received many letters on the subject. When I returned to Florida recently and talked to my constituents, there was no part of any conversation with anyone to whom I talked that did not have some comment to make on the riots and the looting in Washington, and commenting on the fact that the soldiers seemed to be guarding the looters and the arsonists. The same thing could be said of the police.

If the Senate wants to be placed in the same situation as that, and have the country criticize us for passing the bill in its present form so that it would put the Federal Government in the position of paying damages occasioned at the time of riots, I fully believe that the Senate could not do anything more hurtful to itself or more hurtful to Senators than to vote for the bill in its present form.

I shall certainly support the amendment of the Senator from Georgia who, rightfully, keeps natural disasters apart from manmade disasters and would keep the Senate from being placed in the same box with the Director of Public Safety in Washington, D.C., and other officials, who have been criticized in this Chamber by dozens of Senators. I hope that the Senate will not place itself in that position.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, before I yield, may I suggest the absence of a quorum——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. One minute is left to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. PROXMIRE (continuing). Without time being charged to either side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum without the time being allocated from any direction.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk——

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, an amendment is already pending.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida will state it.

Mr. HOLLAND. In what degree is this amendment to the amendment?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Second degree.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending amendment is an amendment in the first degree. The offering of an additional amendment would not be in order until all time has been yielded back or has expired, except by unanimous consent. Until the 1 minute is yielded back, the amendment would not be in order except by unanimous consent.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, let me say that I would be in favor of the Russell amendment and then after that has been adopted I shall send to the desk my amendment and have it considered, after the amendment of the Senator from Georgia is adopted; is that agreeable?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is agreeable with me. However, Mr. President, I want to make my position on this whole matter crystal clear. I am opposed to the entire title XI of S. 3497, the reinsurance plan. Nevertheless, I shall vote "aye" on the amendment to be offered by the Senator from Wisconsin after the pending amendment is accepted. As I understand it, the Senator's amendment will simply retain the eligibility of assistance provided for in the bill except for money coming from the Office of Emergency Planning which will be prohibited by my amendment. On that basis, I shall vote "aye" on the amendment to be offered by the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, but I also have another amendment which may be offered later to strike title XI entirely.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I favor the Senator's amendment, and I understand the Senator from Georgia favors mine which I will subsequently offer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, then, on the amendment offered by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL].

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, the yeas and nays have been ordered on that amendment have they not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the yeas and nays be withdrawn.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President——

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I object. We want a vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the amendment of the Senator from Georgia.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote!

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the amendment of the Senator from Georgia, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCARTHY], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGEE], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SPONG], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SPONG], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senators from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER and Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. CURTIS], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the

Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits] and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. Griffin] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield], and the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits]. If present and voting, the Senator from California would vote "yea" and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 57, nays 2, as follows:

[No.164 Leg.]

YEAS—57

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Bayh
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Cotton
Dominick
Ellender
Fulbright
Gore
Gruening
Hansen
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Magnuson
Mansfield
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Monroney
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Russell
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—2

Hart
Williams, N.J.

NOT VOTING—41

Bennett
Bible
Byrd, Va.
Carlson
Church
Clark
Cooper
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Harris
Hartke
Hatfield
Hollings
Inouye
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Nelson
Ribicoff
Smathers
Spong
Tydings

So Mr. Russell's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated, and ask for a rollcall.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, before the Senator does that, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of no more than 5 minutes on the present amendment, the time to be equally divided.

Mr. **STENNIS**. Mr. President, will the majority leader please restate that request? We could not hear.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Yes; 5 minutes equally divided.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The Senate will be in order. The amendment will be stated.

The **Bill Clerk**. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Proxmire] proposes an amendment as follows:

> Sec. 1107(d) is amended to read as follows:
>
> "(d) Section 111 of the Housing Act of 1949 is amended by striking the words 'the Secretary' after 'disaster' and inserting in lieu thereof 'or which the Secretary has determined is in need of such redevelopment or rehabilitation as a result of a riot or civil disorder, he'."

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Who yields time?

Mr. **TOWER**. Mr. President, it is my understanding that this is the last record vote of the evening; so, in behalf of the minority, I should like to avail myself of the privilege of asking the distinguished majority leader what is in store for the Senate over the next few hours.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, it is my understanding, as a result of conversations with interested Senators who have amendments to offer, that the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Byrd] will offer an amendment tonight, which will be accepted by the committee. Then the distinguished Senator from Texas will offer an amendment, which will be laid before the Senate and will become the pending business tomorrow.

At this time, Mr. President, as to each remaining amendment, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of 1 hour, the time to be equally divided between the manager of the bill and the proponent of the amendment, and 4 hours on the bill itself.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Is there objection?

Mr. **MILLER**. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, does the majority leader's request cover amendments not yet filed?

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Yes.

Mr. **TOWER**. Any amendment.

Mr. **MILLER**. I have no objection.

Mr. **STENNIS**. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, this is an awfully large bill. I made a study of it yesterday, and have done what I could here this afternoon. It involves $5 billion, and we do not know yet how much of it is new money and how much is old money.

I am not trying to delay the Senate. I do not know that I have ever objected to a unanimous-consent request to limit time on a major issue. But I think we have some responsibility here, Mr. President. This is a matter on which there have been no hearings. The amendment we considered just a few minutes ago could very well have been a major matter. I ask the majority leader to wait until morning before making such a request.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I withdraw my request.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The request is withdrawn.

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. Mr. President, I shall be very brief. I shall not use all of my 5 minutes.

What this amendment would do, is simply clarify section 1107(d), and clarify what I understand was the intention of the Senator from Georgia.

The amendment would permit victims of riots and disorders to be given priority in relocating in urban renewal areas upon the determination of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development that there was a substantial need. The amendment would thus render these benefits independent of a Presidentially declared disaster.

Mr. **HOLLAND**. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. I yield.

Mr. **HOLLAND**. I understood from the discussion awhile ago that there would also be included another proviso, that the recipient of benefits had taken no part in the riot.

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. Yes; that is the Bayh amendment. The Senator from Indiana intends to offer an amendment to that effect, I understand.

Mr. **BAYH**. That is correct.

Mr. **RUSSELL**. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. I yield.

Mr. **RUSSELL**. I would say that this carries out the purport of my amendment, but the Senator from Wisconsin left the impression that this is what I favor. I am not much in favor of any part of title XI.

Mr. **SYMINGTON**. Mr. President, as a matter of interest, why is the interest rate established at 3 percent?

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. This is a policy that was established some time ago. It represents a subsidy. The reason for the subsidy is that these people have been subjected to a disastrous occurrence over which they had no control, and it represents an opportunity for them to replace their homes or their stores.

Mr. **SYMINGTON**. May I ask the able Senator what the price of money is today?

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. The price of money for this type of loan, I take it, is probably in excess of 7 percent.

Mr. **SYMINGTON**. What is the cost to the Government? What is the base rate?

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. The base rate is between 5 and 6 percent.

Mr. **STENNIS**. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. I yield.

Mr. **STENNIS**. How much is allowed, under this amendment, to be used for these loans? What is the limitation?

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. The limitation is, of course, up to the Appropriations Committee, as it always has been in the past, to decide whether or not they want to fund the loans. There is no appropriation in the bill.

Mr. **STENNIS**. This represents, then, an open end appropriation for this type of loan at 3 percent; is that correct?

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. The Senator is correct.

Mr. **STENNIS**. And who in the executive department will make the decisions under this amendment?

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. The Small Business Administrator.

Mr. **MILLER**. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. I am happy to yield.

Mr. **MILLER**. As I understand it, in disaster relief legislation, there is a distinction between——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. MILLER. Will the Senator from Texas yield me 2 minutes?

Mr. TOWER. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. MILLER. As I understand there is a distinction, in disaster relief, between a major disaster and just a disaster. With reference to authority to issue these low-interest loans, is there any distinction in the amendment with respect to whether it is a major disaster or just a disaster? And if not, would it not be a good idea to change it to conform to this policy?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, it does conform. It requires that the same criteria be met as under existing law. Thus, the SBA Director is under no compulsion, now, in the event of a natural disaster, to provide these loans; he has to determine, as the Senator from Iowa has indicated, that it is a significant disaster. The same would be true as to this amendment.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Inouye], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Byrd], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartke], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Mondale], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Nelson], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Spong], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Byrd], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Spong], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings], would each vote yea.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senators from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper and Mr. Morton], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. Griffin] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Curtis], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Griffin], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Hatfield], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 56, nays 2, as follows:

[No. 165 Leg.]

YEAS—56

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Bayh
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Cotton
Dominick
Ellender
Fulbright
Gore
Gruening
Hansen
Hart
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Magnuson
Mansfield
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Monroney
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Russell
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Symington
Talmadge
Tower
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—2

Stennis
Thurmond

NOT VOTING—42

Bennett
Bible
Byrd, Va.
Carlson
Church
Clark
Cooper
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Harris
Hartke
Hatfield
Hollings
Inouye
Javits
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Nelson
Pastore
Ribicoff
Smathers
Spong
Tydings

So Mr. Proxmire's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HOLLAND. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 830

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 830 and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from West Virginia will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered; and without objection, the amendment will be printed in the Record.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 11, line 3, after "organization" insert "or public body or agency".

On page 11, line 14, after "organization" insert "or public body or agency".

On page 15, line 5, after "organization" insert "or public body or agency".

On page 31, line 14, after "organizations" insert "or public bodies or agencies".

On page 31, line 25, after "organizations" insert "or public bodies or agencies".

On page 32, line 19, strike out "the" and insert "any".

On page 55, line 6, after "221" insert ", or by a public body or agency".

On page 59, line 6, after "entity," insert "a public body or agency,".

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I modify my amendment by striking out all verbiage beginning with and including line 7 on page 1 and extending through and including line 5 on page 2.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is so modified.

Does the Senator ask unanimous consent that his amendments be considered en bloc?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I do.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the amendment I have offered would simply give to local housing authorities the right to purchase, rehabilitate, and sell housing units to low-income families. It is my understanding that local housing authorities do not now have this authority under new section 101 of this bill, nor does the bill propose giving those authorities such authority.

I have discussed this matter with the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, and he believes that my amendment will be very helpful in furthering the prospects of homeownership for low-income families.

Under existing law, when the income of families occupying public housing reaches certain levels, they are no longer eligible as public housing tenants and are required to move out. Oftentimes these families' incomes are not sufficient for them to move into housing carrying an economic rent and, in some instances, they are required to either double up with other families or move into slum areas or dilapidated housing.

Under my amendment, the local housing authorities could be further helpful to these families by offering to sell to them rehabilitated units, thus helping them on the step toward homeownership.

If I understand the bill correctly, these families generally would be families who would be eligible to receive the homeownership interest rate subsidy feature of section 101 of the bill. I should like to ask the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee if this would be true.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. It is my further understanding that the authority that my amendment would give to local housing authorities would be the same authority that nonprofit organizations are given under title I of the bill in respect to sponsoring housing for lower income families. I should also like to ask the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee if this is a true statement.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is correct.

I may say that I have discussed this amendment with the Senator from West Virginia, and we collaborated in the changes that were made in the amendment.

I have discussed it with the distinguished Senator from Texas, and he shares with me, I believe, the feeling that it would be a helpful amendment.

Mr. TOWER. I believe it is a very constructive amendment, and for my side, we are prepared to accept it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We are prepared to accept it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Senator from West Virginia.

The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I offer two technical amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments offered by the Senator from Alabama will be stated.

The bill clerk read the amendments, as follows:

> On page 81, line 22, strike out "PROGRAMS" and insert "FLEXIBLE INTEREST RATES FOR CERTAIN FHA INSURANCE PROGRAMS".
>
> On page 156, strike out line 17 and insert "; and".
>
> On page 303, line 12, strike out "interest" and insert "interests".

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HART in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. What would the amendments do?

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is purely technical; nothing substantive.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments of the Senator from Alabama.

The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I offer another amendment. It is not entirely technical.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama will be stated.

The bill clerk read the amendment, as follows:

> After line 4, page 3, insert the following:
>
> "SEC. 5. The provision of Public Law 89-426 for special studies of the savings and loan industry is amended by striking '1968' and inserting in lieu thereof '1969'."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, this amendment relates to a study that has been authorized by Congress, in which the time set was 1968. This amendment would extend the time for 1 year.

Mr. TOWER. This amendment requires no additional funding?

Mr. SPARKMAN. No.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, may I say that I found it quite difficult to analyze the expression on the face of the Senator from Delaware as he listened to this explanation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama.

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 828

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 828.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The bill clerk read the amendment, as follows:

> On page 156, line 19, strike out "$500,000,000" and insert "$250,000,000".

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time for debate on this amendment tomorrow be limited to 1 hour, 30 minutes to be under the control of the distinguished Senator from Alabama and 30 minutes to be under my control.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that time be limited to 1 hour on all subsequent amendments that I might offer, 30 minutes to be under the control of the Senator from Alabama and 30 minutes to be under my control.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement, subsequently reduced to writing, is as follows:

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

> *Ordered*, That during the further consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development, debate on the pending amendment (No. 828) and all other amendments to be offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] shall be limited to 1 hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN].

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, it has long been recognized that decent housing alone will not resolve the crisis of our cities. But it is a giant step along the way. And it is for that reason that I gladly support the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

President Johnson has called this legislation "a charter of renewed hope for the American city." If we can build and rebuild in 10 years enough good housing to replace substantially all of the substandard homes that scar our cities and stunt the development of our people—if we can move ahead with other programs so important to our national life, then we will be able to say of the patient—in this case the American city—that the crisis has passed.

The new measure before us has as its goal 6 million new and rehabilitated dwelling units for low- and moderate-income families within the next decade. It aspires to 300,000 housing starts within the next fiscal year and 2.35 million within the next 5 years.

Reaching these goals will strain our means—both public and private—for production, but should also result in new and better means for achieving our ends. The legislation we are considering contains new and innovative approaches to greater production—the interest subsidy for both homeownership and rental housing, the turnkey method of developing public housing, and most intriguing—the proposed National Housing Partnerships.

During consideration of this legislation before the Banking and Currency Committee, it became obvious that the housing industry in this Nation—though very large—is fantastically fragmented. No single existing entity accounts for more than one-third of 1 percent of the market, and very few firms carry out homebuilding activities on anything approaching a national scale. As a result, none of the savings or expertise of volume production have been accruing to the homebuilding industry.

The proposed National Housing Partnerships would remedy this. A national organization devoted solely to the production of low- and moderate-income housing could recruit top managerial and technical staff—experts in the field of housing production and management—provide needed capital and operate on a nationwide basis, achieving volume production economies.

Mr. President, the National Housing Partnerships idea is the most interesting result of a year-long study undertaken by the President's Commission on Urban Housing, chaired by Edgar F. Kaiser. The Commission was pledged to find new ways to involve private enterprise in constructing low- and moderate-income housing. Their suggestions warrant our close consideration—and may I state here—the Commission has endorsed virtually all of the provisions of this omnibus bill.

Testifying before the Banking and Currency Committee with regard to the partnerships idea, Chairman Kaiser said:

> In the course of developing this proposal without asking for a pledge of financial participation, we contacted a broad segment of large industry to determine whether this proposal would receive industrial support. Based upon the response of the chief executives of those firms contacted, we are confident that sufficient funds can be generated.

Mr. President, as provided in title IX of this bill the mechanics of the partnerships are simple. It would create a federally chartered corporation which would serve as the general partner and managing agent of the National Partnership. Each of the stockholders, industrial and financial companies, could be limited partners. The corporation, specifically organized to provide essential management skills in housing development, would be the general partner. It would receive a fee for supplying staff and organizational skills in planning specific local projects.

Each large investor would put not more than 5 percent in the corporation's stock, and the balance in the partnership.

As a limited partner he would not be liable for the debts of the partnership beyond his investment.

The partnership would join with local builders, investors and developers to produce housing. The partnership would generally be limited to 25 percent ownership of any project.

Mr. President, this arrangement virtually assures an adequate return to investors and yet it involves no change in existing tax law. Under the present Internal Revenue code partnership losses, for tax purposes, flow to the individual partners. In the case of new housing units, the annual depreciation of the building costs results in substantial book losses during the first 10 years. The member's share of the depreciation losses, plus cash income from project operations, provides an after-tax return on his investment that would compare favorably with the return realized by most industrial firms on their equity capital.

With this incentive, private investors should be attracted by the opportunity to earn a fair return, while at the same time helping to solve a national problem.

The potential of this plan and its interest for developers is magnificently illustrated by the experience of Matthew J. Domber of New York. Mr. Domber, a developer, recently wrote to several members of the committee expressing his support for the National Housing Partnerships and I ask unanimous consent to have his letter printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOMBER & WARD,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
New York, N.Y., May 9, 1968.

Re National Housing Partnerships: Title IX, Proposed Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

I am writing to urge your support of the proposed National Housing Partnerships provision of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

Over the past ten years, I have observed from a variety of vantage points the unfolding of various local and national programs designed to meet the housing needs of low income families.

At various times during this period I have served as special development counsel to such major redevelopers as Tishman Realty and Construction Company, as executive vice-president of a leading New York development corporation specializing in middle-income housing, as First Deputy New York City Rent and Rehabilitation Administrator and, at present, as consultant to such organizations as The Metropolitan Detroit Citizens Development Authority, The Ford Foundation, the Committee on Housing of the New York City Council and as a principal in a number of urban development projects in the Metropolitan New York area.

It has become increasingly clear that the housing industry, as presently constituted, is incapable of meeting the challenge of housing low income families. The scale is wrong, the risks and stresses are much higher than compensible within a framework of low rents, the management and social problems are beyond the experience and capabilities of most builders, etc., etc. These constraints and others have been enumerated again and again by most students of housing problems and are now "old hat."

But what can be done about it? How do we break the mold and make a start towards developing new institutions and new ways of organizing the housing market?

When one realizes that between 1961 and 1966 a total of only 48,000 apartments were insured by FHA under Section 221(d)(3) BMIR, the magnitude of the task of meeting the announced goal of constructing six million low income housing units over the next ten years becomes apparent.

It is in this context that I commend the proposed National Housing Partnerships which, in my opinion, represents a constructive beginning to creating a housing instrumentality with the potential of achieving national scope.

The authorization to create a corporation under national auspices which could serve as the general partner in a series of partnerships with local interests participating as limited partners may one day be looked back upon as a milestone in housing legislation. This limited partnership form offers a vehicle for a national-local community link-up that can combine the advantages of large-scale market organization, expertise and sound financing with sensitivity to local need, utilization of local skills and industry and obtaining the maximum benefit from the knowledge of local conditions and requirements found only within the community.

At the same time, by obviously appealing to the investor interested in tax writeoffs without management involvement or responsibility, it has the potential of tapping substantial sources of investment capital. It should also have further appeal to the large corporate entities, as well as to the small, which can look forward to a national housing market as giving them an outlet for mass-produced building products and materials at low unit prices. Union labor should benefit from the potential construction volume which offers a possible road to rationally approaching industrialized construction through a guaranteed annual wage. Local contractors should benefit from being plugged into a system which simplifies their overhead problems and paper work, reduces their risks and permits them to devote their energies and talents to the construction process for which they are best organized. Most of all the conumer benefits, particularly the low income consumer, for whom a standard dwelling at reasonable cost can be provided.

In short, there is appeal to all, provided that the national partnership functions in a manner that is truly responsive to local community needs and provides maximum participation for local interests of all kinds. Its ability to function in this way will be the true test of its ultimate stability.

In Detroit, as a development consultant to the Metropolitan Detroit Citizens Development Authority (really in microcosm a first cousin to a National Housing Partnership), I have seen at first hand the potential that a local, private non-profit corporation can realize when it harnesses for the common objective of providing housing for low income families the combined might of local government, local business and industrial leaders, local labor leaders, local community leaders and local civic and religious leaders. The incorporators of MDCDO were Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh, Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers, and Walker Cisler, Chairman of the Board of the Detroit Edison Company. It numbers among its officers and directors such national and community leaders as Most Reverend John Dearden, Archbishop of Detroit, Raymond Perring, Chairman of the Board of the Detroit Bank & Trust Company, Henry Ford II, Chairman of the Board of the Ford Motor Company, James Roche, President of General Motors Corp., Roy Chapin, Chairman of the Board of American Motors Corp., Virgil Boyd, President of Chrysler Corp., William Day, President of Michigan Bell Telephone Company, Father Malcolm Carron, President of the University of Detroit, Joseph Hudson, President of The J. L. Hudson Company, James Wadsworth, President of NAACP, Max Fisher, Francis Kornegay, Executive Director of the Detroit Urban League, Mrs. Mattie Myers, Ralph Bunche Community Council, and others of similar stature too numerous to list. In brief its composition is virtually a "Who's—Who" of Detroit, representing all major business, labor, civic, religious, community and ethnic groups.

Since beginning operations in August, 1967, with the hiring of its dynamic, young executive director, Edward Robinson, it has raised more than $650,000 to finance its initial efforts, has replanned with the aid of an internationally assembled team of expert consultants an urban renewal area for upper income residents to one designed for low income families along new and innovative lines, has brought this project in less than six months to the point where construction is now ready to begin on the first 300 apartments one year earlier than the City had thought possible, has begun several housing demonstration projects and is studying others, is extending its expertise and financial resources to aid community groups to plan their own neighborhoods, is developing a metropolitan housing strategy aimed at utilizing public and private funds to construct thousands of dwelling units in the Metropolitan Detroit area during the next five years and is preparing a campaign to raise more than six million dollars from the business community and foundations for carrying out its purposes.

These rapid strides have been made possible in less than ten months by the combination of adequate financing and working capital, ability to call upon national expertise and consultants, the prestige, commitment and political and economic impact of the sponsors, and their ability to obtain the attention of government at all levels, the ability to call upon needed resources, skills and inputs from the business community and the ability to borrow top-level industry personnel for specific missions, to name just a few of the more obvious plus factors.

The fact is, that no other group, public or private, and certainly not a private sponsor or even a non-profit sponsor of lesser magnitude, could have moved as expeditiously or accomplished so much in so short a period of time. It is all the more remarkable when you consider that all of this has been done working cooperatively and in partnership with the local community groups affected by each project.

The accomplishments of MDCDA, as dramatic as they are when compared with what is happening in other cities, are relatively minor when viewed in the light of the national potential that the National Housing Partnership could unleash. Just imagine what it could accomplish with a blanket allocation of 500 million dollars in BMIR 1% funds per year, backed by the working capital and staff to put this financing to work in partnership with MDCDA-type non-profit organizations and with local for-profit consortiums of similar prestige in every metropolitan area.

The lesson for every city concerned with problems similar to those of Detroit is obvious. Persons of the caliber of those sponsoring MDCDA exist in every major urban area of this country. All that is needed is an awareness of how organization and unity of purpose can achieve results and an igniting spark to set things in motion.

In my judgment, the proposed National Housing Partnership, properly administered, can provide that spark and can provide the national expertise and stimulus to enlightened local action. It can provide the catalyst to fuse the organization of each metropolitan area into a national housing market giving needed incentive for the long-required updating of our construction industry.

For the reasons stated, I strongly commend for your support the proposed Article IX.

Sincerely,

MATTHEW J. DOMBER.

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, I believe the words of Mr. Domber and the testimony of Mr. Kaiser are eloquent arguments for this plan. I believe, too, that the challenge before us today to do everything possible—to explore every path—in order to build homes for our people is obvious. The proposed legislation before us is the place to start.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, no further business will be considered tonight in connection with the pending measure.

ORDER FOR RECESS TO 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business this evening, it stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does that mean that when the Senate convenes at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, there will be no period for the transaction of routine morning business and that we will go immediately into debate on the bill?

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is correct.

INTEREST ON LOANS AND MORTGAGES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1102, S. 3017.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 3017) to change the provision with respect to the maximum rate of interest permitted on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce, with amendments, on page 1, after "(5)" at the beginning of line 5 strike out "Shall" and insert "shall"; and on page 2, in line 2, after the word "of" strike out "Commerce." and insert "Commerce;"; so as to make the bill read:

S. 3017

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 1104(a)(5) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(5) shall secure bonds, notes, or other obligations bearing interest (exclusive of premium charges for insurance and service charges (if any) at rates not to exceed such per centum per annum on the principal obligation outstanding as the Secretary of Commerce determines to be reasonable, taking into account the range of interest rates prevailing in the private market for similar loans and the risks assumed by the Department of Commerce;"

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, may we have an explanation of the bill?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the purpose of S. 3017, introduced at the request of the Secretary of Commerce, would remove the 6-percent statutory interest ceiling on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, and give the Secretary of Commerce the authority to approve such interest rates as he determines to be reasonable, taking into account the range of interest rates prevailing in the private market for similar loans and the risks assumed by the Department of Commerce.

That is a brief explanation.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I shall not object to the bill. I realize it is necessary under the circumstances. However, I point out here again that the reason this bill is necessary is to keep pace with the high-interest policies of this administration. It is a policy under which interest rates already have passed 6 percent, and they are moving into the range of 7 to 8 percent. Unless some action is taken by the administration and Congress to exercise some degree of fiscal restraint there is no limit on where they can go.

I hope the administration and Congress together will be able to take appropriate steps to eliminate the necessity for this ever-increasing interest rate.

Mr. President, it is rather significant that during the last several years of the Eisenhower administration we heard almost daily speeches expressing great concern about the high interest rates, which were then approaching 4 percent. Today, as we get to nearly 7 percent those voices have become strangely silent. Why? Have they no concern over the plight of the borrower?

I would hope that some Senators would join us in expressing as much concern over the 7-percent interest rates as they did when the interest rate was nearly one-half of what it is today. Small businessmen, farmers, and homeowners cannot cope with the interest rates under the Johnson administration.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I am in complete accord with what the Senator from Delaware has said. I hope this warning—and the warning flags are becoming more numerous—is taken cognizance of. It has been by the administration but I hope that the Congress will do so as well, so that in tandem we can face up to this joint responsibility.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1119), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

S. 3017, introduced at the request of the Secretary of Commerce would remove the 6-percent statutory interest ceiling on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, and give the Secretary of Commerce the authority to approve such interest rates as he determines to be reasonable, taking into account the range of interest rates prevailing in the private market for similar loans and the risks assumed by the Department of Commerce.

BACKGROUND AND EXPLANATION OF THE BILL

Under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, the Secretary of Commerce is authorized to insure up to $1 billion outstanding of ship mortgages and loans, and such insurance may be for the benefit of holders of bonds and notes (merchant marine bonds) issued under a trust indenture under which the trustee is the mortgagee or lender. The faith of the United States is pledged to the payment of both interest and principal of insured mortgages and loans. In the event of default, the Secretary is required to make cash payments simply upon the assignment to him of the mortgage or loan. These payments are made from the Federal ship mortgage insurance fund, which is a revolving fund consisting of receipts from insurance premiums, other fees, and appropriations made to the fund. If the fund is inadequate to pay claims, the Secretary is authorized to borrow from the Treasury to satisfy claims.

Section 1104(a)(5) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, provides that to be eligible for mortgage insurance a ship mortgage must, among other requirements, secure bonds, notes, or other obligations bearing interest (exclusive of premium charges for insurance) at a rate not to exceed 5 percent per annum on the unpaid principal balance or not to exceed 6 percent per annum on such balance if the Secretary of Commerce finds that in certain areas or under special circumstances the mortgage or lending market demands it.

By reference to section 1104(a)(5), section 1104(b)(6) places the same requirement on loans with respect to the maximum interest rate if they are to be eligible for insurance. This refers to loans which are made to finance construction of the ship and which preceded the mortgage which is placed on the ship after the ship is completed.

The bill would amend section 1104(a)(5) to substitute for the 5- and 6-percent maximums a provision that the interest rate shall not exceed a rate determined by the Secretary of Commerce to be reasonable, taking into account the range of interest rates prevailing in the private market for similar loans and the risks assumed by the Department of Commerce. Under this language, there could be circumstances under which the rate determined by the Secretary to be reasonable would exceed 6 percent.

Since November 1966, the Department has approved interest rates under the terms of the existing law as follows:

Interest rate (percent):	*Date approved*
5.75	Nov. 17, 1966
5.10	Feb. 1, 1967
5.50	Mar. 20, 1967
5.50	Apr. 21, 1967
5.40	May 25, 1967
6.00	June 28, 1967
6.00	Aug. 10, 1967

At the present time there are applications for mortgage and loan insurance totaling $314,075,100 (of which financing of $35,500,000 has already been arranged) for 70 ships and 691 barges which are to be built by private owners with privately generated funds to upgrade and modernize the American merchant marine. Under existing law, since the market requires a rate of interest higher than 6 percent, the Department cannot insure these loans and mortgages and the vessels therefore cannot be built.

CONCLUSION

Enactment of this bill will greatly facilitate the construction of vessels to upgrade the seriously depleted merchant marine. That there is a necessity for revitalizing the fleet seems beyond dispute and enactment of this measure will aid in that effort without additional cost or risk to the Government. The provisions of title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, require the Secretary of Commerce to exercise discretion in insuring loans and mortgages and the Secretary is required to determine the economic feasibility and soundness of the project as a prerequisite to insuring the loan or mortgage.

This history of the Federal ship mortgage insurance program testifies to the soundness and wisdom of this program and the necessity for continuing its active use by enactment of this bill. In the 14 years the program has been in operation the Government has acted prudently and wisely in granting insurance, as is indicated by the fact that approximately $4 million a year, before administrative expenses, accrues to the United States from operation of the fund. The witness from the Maritime Administration testified that the change in law sought by this bill would probably result in increased revenues to the Government rather than any additional expense.

COST OF THE LEGISLATION

Enactment of this bill would result in no additional expense to the Government.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

COAST GUARD AUTHORIZATIONS, 1969

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar 1103, H.R. 15224.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 15224) to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, it is my understanding that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN] wanted to be notified before this bill was taken up.

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct. I have talked with the Senator from Michigan. He told us to go ahead and it is only on that basis that we are taking it up at this time. It does meet with his approval.

Mr. TOWER. I have no objection.

There being no objections, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1120), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to authorize appropriations for the capital requirements of the Coast Guard for ships, planes, shore facilities, aids to navigation, and bridge reconstruction for the fiscal year 1969.

BACKGROUND

The original request contained in the Coast Guard authorization bills (S. 3034 and H.R. 15224) was for $107 million as compared with the request for $107,014,000 of last year. In enacting H.R. 15224 the House of Representatives authorized the appropriation of an additional $29 million for the construction of three high-endurance cutters rather than for just the one such vessel requested. The committee, believing the action of the House of Representatives to be prudent and well founded, concurs in the authorization of funds for three high-endurance cutters and recommends enactment of the measure as passed by the House of Representatives.

The Coast Guard is presently operating 33 high-endurance cutters, and during previous years funds have been made available for the replacement of 10 of these vessels. Of this number, one is in actual operation and two will be available in the near future. Of the remaining 23 vessels, six were built in or about 1936, and five are converted World War II seaplane tenders. All of these vessels are overage. At the present rate of replacement—one per year—the last one will not be replaced for another 20 or so years. In the light of the rigorous service to which these vessels are subjected, maintaining weather stations in the Atlantic and Pacific, and service with the Navy in Vietnam, the rate of replacement appears to be unreasonably slow. Under the circumstances, the committee, while it is conscious of the many demands upon the budget, believes that the addition of two more cutters to the present authorization is fully warranted.

In addition to its other duties, the Coast Guard is required to conform to certain Navy requirements with respect to antisubmarine warfare, ocean station duties, and search and rescue functions in time of emergency. In addition, the high-endurance cutters are required to have certain capabilities with respect to balloon tracking radar and communications equipment to permit coordination with Navy vessels in time of emergency. The fact that these vessels are available for such service permits the Navy to cut down on its own requirements in this field, since these vessels can be deployed on relatively short notice.

The bill provides for construction of an oceanographic cutter to replace an overage buoy tender presently serving in this field. The Coast Guard has been assigned very substantial responsibilities in connection with the oceanographic program of the United States, and it is essential that it have proper equipment to support its activities. The vessel presently in use is not capable of supplying information on certain ice conditions in the far north because its construction is not such as to enable it to approach and remain in the necessary areas of study during certain periods of the year. The new vessel would be ice strengthened and would be specifically designed for the service to which it would be assigned. There can be no question of the fact that the study of oceanoagraphy is rapidly assuming major importance in our Government, and it is essential that those charged with the collection of knowledge have the proper equipment to perform their functions.

The Coast Guard historically has been engaged in the collection of knowledge from the sea and it is peculiarly fitted to assume a major role in this field. However, it cannot perform its functions properly with totally inadequate equipment, and hence, the committee strongly endorses its request for this new vessel.

In this connection, there is also a request for procurement and installation of eight sensor systems and three monitor buoys in the amount of $450,000. The purpose of these systems and buoys is to provide oceanographic and meteorological data in support of the national oceanographic program. Each sensor system will make temperature, salinity, and current observations and record the information. At unmanned stations it is necessary to provide, in addition to the recording devices, a telemetering capability to forward the data to a collecting point. This expenditure can clearly be justified on the ground that it is relatively inexpensive but at the same time a vitally important element in the entire oceanographic program, and the data secured by this means are obtained at substantially less cost than other data-collecting devices such as ships.

A request is made for construction of a coastal buoy tender. This is designed to operate in and about Chesapeake Bay as a replacement for two overage vessels. This vessel, when constructed, will permit the rendering of necessary service to aids to navigation with 35 men as compared with the 56 presently operating on the two vessels in use.

A number of the requests for funds made by Coast Guard are virtually mandatory. In this classification the committee places the construction of a buoy tender, barge depot, and moorings to permit assumption of its statutory responsibility with respect to navigation aids on the lower Mississippi. The area from Baton Rouge, La., to Natchez, Miss., a distance of 118 miles, has been under the control of the Corps of Engineers, which has maintained the navigation aids on a reimbursable basis. This function can no longer be continued by the Corps of Engineers and in consequence it is necessary to provide appropriate facilities for Coast Guard operation.

Some 4 years ago, the Coast Guard acquired Governors Island, N.Y., from the Army and over the years has been maintaining an improvement program at that site to adapt the location for its needs.

The island is located immediately south of Manhattan Island, New York City, and ferry service is required to transport men and materiel from Manhattan. The Army maintained this service with three ferryboats each with about a 30-car capacity. These vessels were taken over by the Coast Guard at the time of its acquisition of the island. The smallest was a steam ferry built in 1929 which is reaching the end of its useful life. It was testified that a surplus ferry can be obtained from the city of New York for $150,000 which would be substantially less than the cost of repairing and rebuilding the existing ferry. In addition, the new vessel will permit the elimination of one crewmember, and the committee recommends approval of this item.

Other work planned for the New York base at Governors Island is the construction of a sewage system to connect with the municipal system. At the present time, sewage is dumped in the New York Harbor and this condition must be corrected. This proposal would result in a system meeting Federal standards and will eliminate the pollution condition by pumping the sewage underwater to the municipal system.

Chiefly by reason of the failure of a vessel replacement program to keep pace with Coast Guard needs, a continuing program of upgrading existing vessels must be maintained. These include modernization of five buoy tenders presently engaged in servicing floating aids to navigation and icebreaking. Because increased duties require increased manning, it is proposed to enlarge berthing areas on two coastal tenders, install high-capacity generators on five tenders, and air-condition living spaces on six tenders.

Along the same lines, similar improvements are scheduled on three of the eight icebreakers operated by the Coast Guard, by way of rearrangement of working areas, improving berthing areas, sanitary facilities, and ventilation. Installation of secure communications on one icebreaker will facilitate communication with the Navy, as required. These vessels are, with one exception, overage now and will be required to operate for some 10 more years under the present program. The ships were designed to accommodate 111 men and over 170 men are now quartered in these same spaces. No major changes have been made in arrangments of working and storage spaces since the vessels were designed in 1940. These vessels are the last of the fleet to receive these improvements, and in view of the necessity for keeping the vessels in operation for a long period of time, there can be no question of the necessity of this expenditure. In the same situation are six high-endurance cutters built in 1936. Accommodations considered adequate in those days are much lower than desirable under present conditions, and the expenditure of a million dollars appears to be completely justified to increase space allowance per man and generally improve living conditions for the crews.

Over the years balloon tracking radar equipment has been installed on a number of these vessels to meet requirements of the Department of Defense and the International Civil Aviation Organization. Installation of this equipment eliminates the only recreation area on this particular group of cutters and necessitates rearrangement of space to find substitute areas.

Request for replacement of aircraft for the coming fiscal year is limited to procurement of nine medium-range recovery aircraft at a total cost of $14,636,000. These nine will replace nine aircraft which are presently overage. As a matter of fact, 41 of the type of aircraft to be replaced will be overage during the coming year. The committee hopes that the necessary request will be forthcoming from the Coast Guard for fiscal 1970 for the replacement of the remaining 32 of these aircraft.

A very considerable number of shore facilities are over 50 years of age and their replacement is imperative both in the interests of safety and efficiency. It is the committee's view that this program has been moving at too slow a pace, but in view of present fiscal consideration, there is little opportunity to speed it up at the moment. The improvements and replacements are to be made at a number of stations around the country and consist of construction of family quarters and operational buildings, as well as improvements to piers and moorings.

The small stations to be funded during the current year include the Siuslaw River Station at Florence, Oreg.; the station at Hobucken, N.C.; Juneau, Alaska; Port Allerton Station at Hull, Mass.; Grays Harbor, Westport, Wash.; Port Aransas, Tex.; Cape San Blas loran station, Gulf County, Fla.; and Bayfield, Wis.; the establishment of a station at Cape Charles City, Va., and construction of a new station at Annapolis, Md. As a part of a major plan a station is to be established in New Haven, Conn., Fort Totten, N.Y., and Eaton's Neck Station is to be modernized to serve the needs of western Long Island Sound.

In addition, the Coast Guard base at San Juan, P.R., requires extensive renewal, and the contemplated work includes replacement of existing bulkhead, dredging, paving, and the construction of a barracks, galley, and messhall basically to serve the needs for the air station personnel.

The same situation with respect to the need for the replacement of dock facilities and piers exists at the Coast Guard base in Honolulu, Hawaii, and requires construction of a new dock and mooring facilities. In many of these cases, the construction of new facilities, in fact, represents a substantial saving by reason of the fact that the existing installations are requiring increasing maintenance merely to prevent their total collapse. Among the larger items required for continued proper functioning of the Coast Guard are the construction of buildings at the Coast Guard air station at Mobile, Ala. This station was commissioned in December 1966 by utilizing a previously decommissioned Air Force facility. Since the closing of the Bermuda station and the training station at Savannah, Ga., the plan is to base and train helicopter crews for icebreakers and other functions at the Mobile site. It has become necessary to construct barracks and various other facilities to accommodate the additional men. It is proposed to increase the personnel from the present total of 188 to 354 as required by the expanded functions to be administered at that base.

It is proposed to construct a new major base at Portsmouth, Va., to replace and consolidate existing facilities. The piers presently in use for mooring large cutters are in very poor condition and will be inadequate for the new and larger cutters presently being placed in operation. In addition, the barracks are substandard and do not justify rehabilitation. While the present bill does not provide for replacement of these barracks, as the various facilities in the area are consolidated, it will be necessary in the near future to construct an industrial base, supply depot station, and family housing area as well. The effect of this development will be to consolidate various scattered facilities in the Portsmouth area.

A similar development is being undertaken at the base at Yerba Buena Island in California. It is proposed to combine units presently located in San Francisco and the surrounding area, and to this end it is proposed to construct piers, barracks, and industrial facilities. This particular development will facilitate the efficient handling of search and rescue cases and will permit the use of larger vessels.

The request for construction of a sewage disposal facility at Galveston, Tex, will eliminate the flow of raw sewage into Galveston Harbor and will meet Federal standards. The total cost of the plant will be $100,000 and in view of the gains to be achieved it is extremely desirable.

A further development of the Portsmouth Harbor Station at New Castle, N.H., will entail dredging the construction of a pier and small buildings. At present, two medium-endurance cutters are based there and construction of a new pier is necessary to permit mooring of the two vessels without the prospect of damage because of inadequate facilities.

The major repair facilities maintained by the Coast Guard is the yard at Curtis Bay, Md. Since 1964, a program has continued to replace and consolidate facilities of that yard to permit greater efficiency. The present program calls for modification of certain buildings and consolidation of metalshop, paintshop, and relocation of machinery. It is expected that additional improvements will be made over the coming years which will serve to provide better service to the fleet and, hopefully, savings to justify the improvements.

In the course of its operations, the Coast Guard maintains more than 45,000 aids to navigation. In order to maintain their high standards of efficiency, maintenance standards must be adequate and from time to time replacements of damaged or obsolete aids must be made. In addition, changed conditions and shipping requirements in certain areas demand relocation of these facilities. At the same time, rivers and harbors improvement projects by the Corps of Engineers demand installation of new facilities. By reason of the fact that these conditions are changing daily it is impossible to pinpoint the actual locations improvements will be made.

At the committee hearing, the Coast Guard listed a number of such projects that are high on its priority list. It may well be that some or all of these will be deferred to future years because of higher priority of items which will develop during the coming fiscal year. In connection with the program, there is a continuity practice of replacement of manned light stations. Where feasible, the Coast Guard proposes to continue its program to convert manned stations to automatic stations and it is anticipated that this program will materially reduce the number of men required at the selected stations. Again, by reason of changing conditions, it is impossible to give assurance that the station named by the Coast Guard will be improved during the coming fiscal year. As part of the program, it is proposed to replace three existing lightships with either large navigational buoys or a combination of floating and shore aids. At present, 18 lightships are operating, of which six are over 40 years old and which should be replaced. It is proposed to replace three of these during the current year. While this program is lagging, it should be pointed out that since 1961 10 lightships have been replaced and the current authorization provides for an additional three.

In the field of personnel training, Coast Guard maintains facilities at its Reserve training center in Yorktown, Va., at the training center in Alameda, Calif., and at Cape May, N.J. Many of the buildings at these locations date to World War II and have reached the end of their useful lives. Continued use of these buildings necessitate a large amount of maintenance and the increasing demand of the service for more men to meet its needs requires expansion of some of the facilities. In general, the programs are continuing ones, with the replacement of the most deteriorated buildings being scheduled for the earliest dates. It is proposed to construct an enlisted men's galley and mess building at the training center in Yorktown, Va., and to construct and outfit an advanced enginemen's school at that point. This latter would provide training for officer candidates and limited advanced specialized training for Coast Guard officers. The increasingly sophisticated equipment with which the Coast Guard is working requires greater training for its personnel, and the establishment of this school will provide the necessary trained men for the newer vessels being placed in service.

The two centers maintained at Cape May, N.J., and at Alameda, Calif., are designed to provide facilities for the indoctrination of recruits. At Cape May, the present gymnasium and swimming pool are in extremely poor condition. This has necessitated permanent evacuation of these units. By fiscal year 1969, there will be a requirement for 1,500 recruits and appropriate facilities must be provided for their training. Since 1962, an administration building, three barracks, and a powerplant have been constructed and this present program will continue the updating of the facility. It is proposed to construct a medical-dental building to replace the present administration-infirmary building. A new administration building has been funded and construction of this medical-dental building appears to be amply justified in the light of the development program being undertaken there.

Virtually the same situation exists at Alameda, Calif., which is the west coast training center. The remaining barracks are World War II buildings of frame construction and their further maintenance is unjustified. It is proposed to replace them with a 500-man building of reinforced concrete which will be not only safer but far more economical than the existing buildings.

As a part of the continued replacement and expansion of Coast Guard facilities, a program of site survey and design must be provided. That proposed for 1969 is slightly over twice the figure for the current year and includes acquisition of sites at Houston, Tex., the Coast Guard Academy at New London, Conn., and other locations. This work is necessary to provide a basis for planning of future construction at those sites, and the increase is justified by reason of the inclusion of site acquisition in the total.

Last year, for the first time, the Coast Guard acquired responsibility from the Corps of Engineers under the Truman-Hobbs Act for alternation of bridges over navigable waters. Under the law, the Secretary of Transportation makes a determination with respect to those bridges that are obstructive to free navigation and these obstacles are removed on a cost-sharing basis by the Government and bridge owner. The present projects include replacement of the Berwick Bay Bridge, Morgan City, La., and the Calumet River bridges at Chicago, Ill. It is estimated that the total cost of these two projects will run in the neighborhood of $28 million, of which $5,800,000 is provided in this bill.

One of the major deficiencies in the Coast Guard is in the area of providing sufficient and suitable public family quarters. The percentage of Coast Guard personnel in Government housing is far below that of the other armed services and has a detrimental effect on reenlistments because of the morale factor. The provision for funds in this bill is in the amount of $8 million for this purpose.

The committee reiterates the fact that the Coast Guard has been far too conservative in its program on replacement of its high-endurance cutters and that the addition of two of these units is more than justified by the physical condition of its fleet and the increasing demands for its service.

The committee is of the view that this bill represents the minimum needs of the Coast Guard and urges its enactment.

COST OF LEGISLATION

The total cost of the legislation is $136 million.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 15224) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1122, and that the remainder of the calendar be considered in sequence.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FLATHEAD RESERVATION, MONT.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2701) to provide for sale or exchange of isolated tracts of tribal lands on the Flathead Reservation, Mont., which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments, on page 1, at the beginning of line 3 strike out:

That the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Montana, may dispose of or acquire tribal lands within the exterior boundaries of the reservation in trust on the conditions hereinafter set forth, which transactions may be accomplished by any combination of cash, terms, or exchange with or without the giving or receipt of boot.

Sec. 2. Said Confederated Tribes may dispose of lands beneficially owned by them and held by the United States in trust only as to the following lands:

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

That upon request of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Montana, acting through their governing body, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to dispose of the following described tribal lands within the exterior boundaries of the reservation by sale at not less than fair market value or by exchange: *Provided*, That the values of any lands so exchanged either shall be approximately equal in fair market value, or if they are not approximately equal the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor or to the Secretary as the circumstances require:

On page 5, after line 13, strike out:

SEC. 3. Said Confederated Tribes may acquire Indian or non-Indian-owned lands in trust to hold for tribal use or for alienation to tribal members in trust. The authority herein contained is in addition to existing authority to acquire tribal lands.

SEC. 4. Any transfer of lands hereunder shall be subject to the prior approval of the Secretary of the Interior or his authorized representative.

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

SEC. 2. Upon request of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire Indian or non-Indian-owned lands within the reservation boundaries for such tribes, and such lands may be held for tribal use or for sale to tribal members. Title to lands acquired pursuant to this authority shall be taken in the name of the United States in trust for the tribes or individual for whom the land is acquired.

So as to make the bill read:

S. 2701

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That upon request of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Montana, acting through their governing body, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to dispose of the following described tribal lands within the exterior boundaries of the reservation by sale at not less than fair market value or by exchange: *Provided,* That the values of any lands so exchanged either shall be approximately equal in fair market value, or if they are not approximately equal the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor or to the Secretary as the circumstances require:

Township 17 north, range 20 west, M.P.M., section 6 lots 2, 3, 4, containing 118.53 acres.

Township 18 north, range 21 west, M.P.M., section 20 north half north half northwest quarter southeast quarter, containing 10.00 acres.

Township 19 north, range 21 west, M.P.M., section 25 south half northeast quarter, containing 80.00 acres.

Township 20 north, range 21 west, M.P.M., section 1 northeast quarter southwest quarter, containing 40.00 acres.

Township 22 north, range 22 west, M.P.M., section 3 north half southeast quarter, containing 80.00 acres.

Township 19 north, range 23 west, M.P.M., section 5 northeast quarter southwest quarter, containing 40.00 acres;

section 35 south half northeast quarter, southeast quarter northwest quarter, northeast quarter southeast quarter, containing 160.00 acres.

Township 20 north, range 23 west, M.P.M., section 15 northeast quarter, southeast quarter northwest quarter, containing 200.00 acres;

section 17 west half southwest quarter, containing 80.00 acres;

section 18 southeast quarter northeast quarter, east half southeast quarter, containing 120.00 acres;

section 29 northwest quarter southwest quarter, containing 40.00 acres;

section 30 northeast quarter southeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres;

section 29 west half southwest quarter southwest quarter southwest quarter, containing 5.00 acres;

section 32 northwest quarter northwest quarter northwest quarter northwest quarter, containing 2.50 acres.

Township 22 north, range 23 west, M.P.M., section 9 southwest quarter northeast quarter, southeast quarter northwest quarter, east half southwest quarter, west half southeast quarter, containing 240.00 acres.

Township 23 north, range 23 west, M.P.M., section 3 southwest quarter northeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres;

section 5 west half southeast quarter northwest quarter, southwest quarter northwest quarter, containing 60.00 acres;

section 17 southeast quarter southeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres;

section 19 lots 2 and 4, southeast quarter northwest quarter, containing 103.21 acres.

Township 24 north, range 23 west, M.P.M., section 19 southwest quarter northeast quarter, northeast quarter southwest quarter, east half southeast quarter, containing 160.00 acres;

section 20 southwest quarter southwest quarter, containing 40.00 acres;

section 30 northeast quarter northeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres.

Township 23 north, range 24 west, M.P.M., section 1 northeast quarter southwest quarter, containing 40.00 acres;

section 3 northwest quarter southeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres;

section 24 northeast quarter southeast quarter northeast quarter, south half southeast quarter northeast quarter, southeast quarter southeast quarter southeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres.

Township 24 north, range 24 west, M.P.M., section 1 lot 2, containing 26.10 acres;

section 35 northwest quarter northeast quarter, containing 40.00 acres.

SEC. 2. Upon request of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire Indian or non-Indian-owned lands within the reservation boundaries for such tribes, and such lands may be held for tribal use or for sale to tribal members. Title to lands acquired pursuant to this authority shall be taken in the name of the United States in trust for the tribes or individual for whom the land is acquired.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1143), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of S. 6701, introduced by Senators Mansfield and Metcalf, is to authorize the disposal of certain isolated tracts of land on the reservation presently owned by the Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, and to authorize the Tribes to acquire Indian- or non-Indian-owned lands to be held in trust for tribal use or conveyance to tribal members in trust. Any transfer of lands under the bill would be subject to the prior approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

NEED

The Flathead Reservation was set aside by the treaty of July 16, 1855 (12 Stat. 975). The entire reservation, comprising 1,243,969 acres, is within the watershed of the Flathead River. Allotments were made in the early 1900's and the reservation lands surplus-to-needs for allotment purposes were opened to homestead entry in 1910. Allotted lands, for the most part, were located on slopes, in the foothills, and in the mountains. Except for these scattered tracts throughout the reservation, practically all of the remaining tribal lands are in high and rough mountains that form the borders of the reservation on all sides except in the northwest corner. None of the isolated tracts amounting to 2,000 acres are within the Flathead irrigation project.

The tribes plan to sell or exchange these specific tracts and reinvest the proceeds in their land-acquisition program. Although the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934, contains ample authority for the Secretary to acquire lands for the use and benefit of the tribes, the authority contained in the bill is necessary if the tribes are to be permitted to sell the scattered tracts presently owned by the tribes, or to resell any of the acquired lands to individual members.

More than 30 years ago the Salish and Kootenai Tribes recognized the need of a land-acquisition program to consolidate Indian landholdings. Over the years the tribes have acquired 149,471 acres of land for tribal use at a cost of approximately $1,759,000, thereby increasing the total tribal acreage to 558,389 acres. In addition, 60,293 acres are held in trust for tribal members.

The general purpose of the land-acquisition program has been to obtain through purchase and exchange grazing and timbered lands on the reservation that are needed by the tribes and its members to facilitate the operation of family-sized range and farm units, to provide better management for range and timbered lands, to reduce the acreage held in multiple ownership, to provide the tribes with ingress and egress to their lands, to provide sources of water for surrounding tribal range lands, and to help improve the economy of tribal members. S. 2701 is simply one more step in the furtherance of this program.

AMENDMENTS

The committee has adopted two amendments suggested by the Department of the Interior. The first amendment would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to dispose of the land upon the request of the tribal governing body at not less than the fair market value. The second amendment deletes present sections 3 and 4 of the bill and adds a new section 2. This new section authorizes the Secretary of the Interior, upon request of the tribes, to acquire Indian- or non-Indian-owned lands, and such lands may be held for tribal use or sold to tribal members. Title to the lands would be taken by the United States in trust for the tribes or individuals for whom the lands are acquired.

COST

The enactment of the bill will involve no Federal cost.

NORTHERN CHEYENNE INDIAN RESERVATION

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H.R. 5704) to grant minerals, including oil, gas, and other natural deposits on certain lands in the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation to certain Indians which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with an amendment, on page 2, after line 8, strike out:

SEC. 2. Any allottee on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, or any heir or devisee of an allottee, or the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, may commence in the United States District Court for the District of Montana an action against the United States to determine whether the provisions of section 3 of the Act of June 3, 1926, as amended, which provided that at the end of fifty years the minerals in allotted land shall become the property of the allottees or their heirs or devisees, gave the allottees a constitutionally protected interest. The court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine the action, and an appeal from its judgment may be taken as provided by law. If the court determines that the allottee has a right that may not be taken without just compensation, the first section of this Act shall cease to have any force or effect, and the provisions of section 3 of the Act of June 3, 1926, as amended by the Acts of July 24, 1947, and September 21, 1961, shall thereupon be carried out as fully as if section 3 had not been amended by this Act.

Any action pursuant to this section shall be commenced within two years from the date of this Act, and no court shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine an action for such purpose commenced thereafter.

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

SEC. 2. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe is authorized to commence in the United States District Court for the District of Montana an action against the allottees who received allotments pursuant to the Act of June 3, 1926, as amended, their heirs or devisees, either individually or as a class, to determine whether under the provisions of the Act of June 3, 1926, as amended, the allottees, their heirs or devisees, have received a vested property right in the minerals which is protected by the fifth amendment. The United States District Court for the District of Montana shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine the action and an appeal from its judgment may be taken as provided by law. If the court determines that the allottees, their heirs or devisees, have a vested interest in the minerals which is protected by the fifth amendment, or if the tribe does not commence an action as here authorized within two years from the date of this Act, the first section of this Act shall cease to have any force or effect, and the provisions of section 3 of the Act of June 3, 1926, as amended by the Acts of July 24, 1947, and September 21, 1961, shall thereupon be carried out as fully as if section 3 had not been amended by this Act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to say for the record that the Northern Cheyennes and the Sioux Indians were responsible for the defeat of General Custer at the Battle of Little Big Horn 92 years ago this month.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1145), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of H.R. 5704, as amended and passed by the House of Representatives, is to provide for a reservation in perpetuity, for the benefit of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Tribe, of the minerals on or underlying the allotted lands on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation. The committee also considered a similar bill (S. 1120) introduced by Senators Metcalf and Mansfield.

NEED

The Northern Cheyenne Allotment Act of June 3, 1926, provided that all minerals in the allotted lands on the reservation were reserved to the tribe for a period of 50 years. The act provided that at the end of the 50 years the minerals will become the property of the allottees or their heirs. The 50-year period will expire on June 3, 1976.

The mineral resources of the reservation have not been extensively developed. The only significant income has been from oil and gas bonuses and rentals ($520,260) and a bonus from the sale of two coal expiration permits ($11,390). There has been no production under any of them.

If the mineral resources are reserved to the tribe in perpetuity, the income can be used for the benefit of all tribal members. If the minerals are allowed to become the property of the individual allottees, some persons will benefit greatly, and others will not benefit at all, depending upon where the minerals happen to be found. The tribe, speaking through its general council, and the Department of the Interior, believe that it would be in the best interest of the Indians to keep the minerals in the ownership of the tribe for the benefit of all members. No opposition to the bill has been expressed.

As amended and passed by the House, H.R. 5704 would reserve the minerals for the benefit of the tribe in perpetuity, rather than for an additional 42 years as provided in the original bill. This provision was recommended by the Department of the Interior because a reservation for the original 50 years plus an additional 42 years, a total of 92 years, at the end of which time the minerals become the property of the heirs of the original allottees, would create an extremely difficult and costly requirement for determining the heirs. Inasmuch as the purpose of the bill is to retain the title in the tribe until the minerals have been substantially extracted, it would be unreasonable to go through the heirship procedure. The provision makes this bill consistent with a similar bill recently passed by the Congress with respect to the Crow Tribe (S. 1119).

Another provision of the House bill (sec. 2) is intended to safeguard the United States against a possible claim for damages. It is not entirely clear from the terms of the 1926 Allotment Act whether the allottees have a present property right in the minerals, effective at the end of 50 years, which may not be taken without the payment of just compensation, or whether they have only an expectancy, which is not a compensable interest.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

The Bureau of the Budget has recommended that in lieu of section 2 of H.R. 5704, as passed by the House, there be inserted in the bill language which would authorize the Northern Cheyenne Tribe to commence an action in the U.S. District Court for the District of Montana against the allottees who received allotments, or their heirs, pursuant to the 1926 act, as amended. If the court determines that the allottees have a vested interest in the minerals which is protected by the fifth amendment, or if the tribe does not commence an action within 2 years from the date of this act, the first section of the act will cease to have any force or effect, and the provisions of section 3 of the 1926 act, as amended, would be carried out as if that section had not been amended by H.R. 5704. The committee believes that there is no need for the United States to be a party to such an action and that the onus should be on the tribe to initiate litigation to resolve possible conflicting claims to the minerals.

COST

The enactment of the bill will involve no Federal cost.

UTE MOUNTAIN TRIBE

The bill (H.R. 14922) to amend Public Law 90–60 with respect to judgment funds of the Ute Mountain Tribe was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1144), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of H.R. 14922 is to permit the Ute Mountain Tribe to use its portion of an Indian Claims Commission judgment in favor of the Confederated Bands of Ute Indians. The Ute Mountain Tribe's portion of the judgment is $1,441,002.24.

NEED

The judgment was divided between the three Ute groups entitled thereto pursuant to the act of August 1, 1960, Public Law 90–60. The other two groups were the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, and the Southern Ute Tribe. These two groups were authorized by that act to use their portions of the judgment on the basis of plans that had been prepared and approved by the Secretary of the Interior, and reviewed by this committee.

Public Law 90–60 did not authorize the Ute Mountain Tribe to use its portion of the judgment because at that time no plan for its use had been prepared.

The Ute Mountain Tribe's plan has since been prepared, and is summarized in the report of the Department of the Interior. Use of the money as proposed should contribute substantially to the continued social and economic improvement of the tribe.

COST

No expenditure of Federal funds is involved.

LOWER BRULE SIOUX RESERVATION AND CROW CREEK SIOUX RESERVATION

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 203) to amend section 13(b) of the acts of October 3, 1962, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with an amendment, on page 2, line 8, after the word "amended" strike out "to permit the institution of suit by individual Indians rejecting payment within one year from the date of this amendment.", and insert "by striking out the words 'within one year after the date of rejection.', and by inserting ', or by the United States to determine just compensation, on or before September 1, 1969.' "; so as to make the bill read:

S. 203

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 13(b) of the Act of October 3, 1962 (76 Stat. 698), entitled "An Act to provide for the acquisition of and the payment for individual Indian and tribal lands of the Lower Brule Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, required by the United States for the Big Bend Dam and Reservoir project on the Missouri River, and for the rehabilitation, social, and economic development of the members of the tribe, and for other purposes", and section 13(b) of the Act of October 3, 1962 (76 Stat. 704), entitled "An Act to provide for the acquisition of and the payment for individual Indian and tribal lands of the Crow Creek Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, required by the United States for the Big Bend Dam and Reservoir project on the Missouri River, and for the rehabilitation, social, and economic development of the members of the tribe, and for other purposes", are hereby amended by striking out the words "within one year after the date of rejection.", and by inserting ", or by the United States to determine just compensation, on or before September 1, 1969."

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1146), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of S. 203, introduced by Senators Mundt and McGovern, is to amend section 3(b) of Public Law 87–734 and Public Law 87–735 to extend the time in which an individual Indian who was not willing to accept the amount offered for his property to obtain a judicial determination of just compensation.

These two acts provided for the legislative taking of certain lands of the Crow Creek and Lower Brule Indian Reservations needed for the Big Bend Dam and Reservoir. Compensation for the land was on the basis of a negotiated payment specified in the bills. The negotiated amount was binding on the tribes, but under the provisions of sections 13(b) of each act individual Indians who were not willing to accept the amounts offered were given the right to obtain a judicial determination of just compensation. Sections 13(b) further stipulated that any such action by individual Indians would have to be commenced within 1 year after the enactment of the bills. It was therefore mandatory that these actions be commenced no later than October 3, 1963.

NEED

At present there are 20 Indian landowners on the Crow Creek Reservation and nine Indian landowners on the Lower Brule Reservation who rejected the proffered payments but who failed to start a judicial action within the time limitation. The amounts tendered and rejected by these individual Indians were placed in individual Indian money accounts. Indians involved were permitted to withdraw up to 90 percent of the payments tendered and the balance of 10 percent was required to be withheld from disbursement pending a final judicial determination. The Committee understands that the Indians have withdrawn the 90 percent allowable in each instance, thus only a small amount remains in the IIM accounts which cannot be disbursed.

The Department has been unable to ascertain all of the specific reasons why judicial proceedings were not commenced by the individual Indians within the time limitation.

It was the responsibility of the individual Indian landowners who rejected the offer to obtain legal counsel to bring a suit within 1 year after the rejection of the offer. However, since some of the amounts were not very large there was an attempt to consolidate the individual claims into a few such actions so one attorney could represent all of the individual landowners and most individuals were under the impression that the matter was being handled by the tribal attorney who was representing the respective tribes at the time of the rejections. Due to the confusion and lack of understanding of the laws, it appears that 1 year was an insufficient period of time to consolidate claims and file a suit.

AMENDMENT

The Department of Justice has recommended an amendment to provide that if individual Indians do not file suit within the time limit provided in the bill, then the Justice Department will do so.

The committee adopted this recommendation and has further amended the bill to include language that makes a specific change in the two acts of the 87th Congress to permit the filing of a suit on the part of the Indians to a date not beyond September 1, 1969.

COST

Enactment of S. 203 will involve no substantial Federal cost.

LOWER BRULE AND CROW CREEK INDIAN RESERVATION

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 157) to supplement Public Law 87–734 and Public Law 87–735 which took title to certain lands in the Lower Brule and Crow Creek Indian Reservation was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S.J. Res. 157

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Interior shall pay to the persons who owned unrestricted interests in the lands taken by the enactment of Public Law 87–734 and Public Law 87–735, or to their heirs, unless they previously have been compensated, from the funds appropriated pursuant to such public laws, the amounts apportioned by the Secretary to their respective interests. Payment shall be made only on the basis of a claim filed with the Secretary within one year from the date of this Act. The Secretary shall take such action as he deems feasible to notify the persons who he believes are entitled to file claims, but the failure to receive such notice shall not affect the provisions of this Act. Any sum not timely claimed and paid shall be credited to the account of the tribe occupying the reservation where the land is located, and no further claim with respect thereto shall be recognized by the United States. Acceptance of a payment pursuant to this Act shall be deemed to be a release of any further claim by such person against the United States based on such taking, unless the person accepting payment notifies the Secretary in writing at the time of payment that he regards the payment as less than just compensation, and that he intends to commence a judicial proceeding under other provisions of law to recover additional compensation. No such judicial proceeding shall be entertained by any court unless it is commenced within three months after tender of payment by the Secretary.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 139), explaining the purposes of the resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of Senate Joint Resolution 157, introduced by Senator McGovern as a result of an executive communication from the Department of the Interior, is to supplement Public Law 87–734 and Public Law 87–735 which took certain Indian land for Big Bend Dam and Reservoir project.

NEED

Section 1(a)(1) of both acts of October 3, 1962 (76 Stat. 698) and (76 Stat. 704), provide that the sums of $825,000 for the taking of the Lower Brule Sioux Reservation lands and $355,000 for taking of lands of the Crow Creek Sioux Reservation be disbursed in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of each act. Section 2(b) of both acts provide the amount paid pursuant to section 1(a)(1) of these acts shall be allocated in accordance with Indian ownership schedules prepared by the Secretary of the Interior, after consultation with the Lower Brule Tribal Council and the Crow Creek Tribal Council, respectively, to correct known errors and to insure fair and equitable allocation. Section 2(b) of each act provides that these schedules shall reflect the amounts agreed upon by the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of the Interior as the basis for negotiation, after appropriate acreage adjustments, increased by a uniform percentage to equal the amounts paid. The schedules prepared in accordance with the provisions of these acts included some nontrust or unrestricted interests owned by non-Indians, Canadian Indians, Indians of terminated tribes and other Indians.

This resolution would supplement both of the aforementioned acts in order to provide a means whereby payment may be made to those individuals who, due to the language contained in the acts, have not been paid for the taking of their lands.

As of January 2, 1968, there was a balance of $8,128.34 in an IIM (individual Indian money) account which is available to cover the payment to those individuals for the taking of fee lands on the Crow Creek Sioux Reservation. There was also a balance of $1,185.32 as of January 2, 1968, in an IIM account which is available to cover the payment to those individuals for the taking of fee lands on the Lower Brule Reservation.

Enactment of the proposed joint resolution will permit the Secretary of the Interior to use these funds to pay the persons, or their heirs, for their unrestricted interests in lands included in the schedules prepared and taken by the enactment of the acts of October 3, 1962, unless they previously have been compensated. The joint resolution also contains provisions regarding filing of claims, credit of balances of moneys not claimed to the tribes occupying the reservation where the land is located, release of further claims, and the entertainment of any judical proceeding pursuant to the provisions of the resolution.

COST

Enactment of this resolution will involve no substantial Federal cost.

GIFTS FOR THE BENEFIT OF INDIANS

The bill (H.R. 14672) to amend the act of February 14, 1931, relating to the acceptance of gifts for the benefit of Indians was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1141), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of H.R. 14672 is to permit the Secretary of the Interior to accept and use donations of property in furtherance of any program authorized by other provisions of law for the benefit of Indians. The bill was transmitted to Congress by executive communication from the Secretary of the Interior.

The committee also considered a companion bill, S. 3275, introduced by Senator Jackson.

NEED

The act of February 14, 1931, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to accept gifts of real or personal property and to use them for the benefit of an Indian school, hospital, or other institution, or for the benefit of individual Indians. This language is unnecessarily restrictive, because it does not permit the donated property to be used for purposes that will advance the welfare of the Indians, within the framework of programs otherwise authorized by law, unless it can be shown that the property will benefit a particular Indian institution or individual. It is doubtful, for example, that a donation for research on educational curriculum to meet the special needs of Indian children would meet this test. A restatement of the present law would remove this problem.

The bill requires that an annual report be made to the Congress showing the donations received and the use made of the donations, including the administrative costs.

The Secretary now has $35,000 of donated funds that could be more effectively used if the present law were amended.

COST

Enactment of the bill is not expected to involve any additional Federal cost.

SPOKANE TRIBE OF INDIANS

The bill (H.R. 15271) to authorize the use of funds arising from a judgment in favor of the Spokane Tribe of Indians was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1140), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of H.R. 15271 is to permit the Spokane Tribe of Indians to use the claims judgment recovered against the United States in Indian Claims Commission dockets Nos. 331 and 331A.

The committee also considered a companion bill, S. 2657, introduced by Senator Jackson.

NEED

The tribe has recovered a judgment in the two dockets referred to above for $6,700,000. After payment of attorney fees and other expenses, the net amount available as of January 15, 1968, was $6,029,831.73.

Language carried in each recent appropriation act for the Department of the Interior prohibits the expenditure of Indian Claims Commission judgment funds, except for the payment of attorney fees, expenses of litigation, and expenses of program planning, until after legislation has been enacted that sets forth the purposes for which the funds will be used.

The enactment of H.R. 15271 will provide the legislative authority for the use of the funds. The bill permits the funds to be used for any purpose that is authorized by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Attached to the Department of the Interior's report on the bill is an explanation of the tribe's plans, and the Secretary has indicated that the plans have his approval.

A part of the tribe's plan would permit some members of the tribe to withdraw from tribal membership upon acceptance of $3,750 for their interest. The committee recommends that this feature be not approved pending congressional enactment of general withdrawal authority which the Interior Department is seeking in S. 1816, the omnibus Indian bill.

COST

The enactment of this bill will involve no Federal cost.

SPOKANE INDIAN RESERVATION

The bill (H.R. 3299) to authorize the purchase, sale and exchange of certain lands on the Spokane Indian Reservation, and for other purposes was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1142), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of H.R. 3299 is to provide general authority to acquire and hold in trust for the Spokane Indian Tribe land within its reservation, to dispose of tribal land, and to enter into long-term leases of tribal or allotted land, all for the purpose of consolidating landownership pattern within the reservation and making the maximum utilization of the reservation land base.

NEED

Under present law, the tribe can acquire land within its reservation, but the title may not be held in trust. Tribal land cannot be sold at all, or mortgaged, without special legislation in each case. Leases of both tribal land and allotted land are limited to relatively short periods. Allotted lands in multiple ownership can be disposed of only with the consent of all of the multiple owners, which frequently is difficult to obtain because the owners are widely dispersed.

The landownership pattern in the reservation is checkerboarded, some lands being tribal, some being held in trust for individual Indians, and some being patented in fee to non-Indians. In order to consolidate the landholdings into larger blocks, broader acquisition, and disposal authority is needed. In order to develop the land on advantageous terms, longer term lease authority is needed.

The tribe has developed a land purchase and consolidation program, but the plan cannot be carried out without this enabling legislation.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Subsection (a) of the bill gives the Secretary general authority to acquire and dispose of tribal land within the Spokane Indian Reservation.

Subsection (b) permits the Secretary to dispose of allotted land held in multiple ownership when authorized in writing by the owners of at least a majority interest in the land. If a general bill, not limited to the Spokane Indian Reservation, should later be enacted providing for a lower percentage, it would supersede this provision.

Subsection (c) permits the title to lands acquired for the tribe or for individual Indians to be held by the United States in trust, subject to the same laws and rules that apply to similar trust lands. A limitation is provided, however, on the amount of land that may be removed from the taxrolls by acquiring land in trust for the tribe. The value of nontrust lands acquired in trust for the tribe during any 12-month period, and thus removed from the local tax base, may not exceed the value of the land in the reservation in Stevens County that passed from nontaxable trust status to a taxable status during the preceding 12-month period. The county tax base is thus protected.

Subsection (d) permits tribal land to be mortgaged. General authority already exists for mortgaging allotted trust land.

Subsection (e) permits tribal lands to be acquired or sold by the Secretary only on request of the tribal council. Proceeds from tribal land sales must be used only in accordance with the approved land purchase and consolidation program. The money may not be used for other tribal purposes.

Legislation similar to this bill has previously been enacted for other tribes. See, for example, Public Law 84–188 (Yakima Tribes), Public Law 84–772 (Colville Tribes), Public Law 85–915 (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe), Public Law 85–916 (Crow Creek Sioux Tribe), Public Law 85–923 (Lower Brule Sioux Tribe).

COST

Enactment of this bill will involve no Federal cost.

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, the so-called Jackson subcommittee, I believe, be permitted to meet during the session of the Senate tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTE TO POETIC ABILITY OF SENATOR MANSFIELD

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, when ordinary man produces beauty, he does so by putting together ordinary, mundane objects in such a way that, out of the assemblage, beauty emerges. This is what happens, be he creator of beauty, an architect working with steel, or brush, or other three-dimensional objects, or be he a painter working with blobs of paint, a composer working with noises, or a poet working with plain, ordinary words.

But it is about a poet that I rise today, because we have in our midst one who has the poet's quality of expressing himself with a straight, true, pure simplicity, perhaps in part because they are the very qualities of his character.

These characteristics, expressed often and finely in our midst, are usually obscured by the rustle and bustle of our Chamber.

However, a young woman of Montana has expressed the hitherto unsaid thought, captured this thought, and reduced it to writing in her article, "The Poetic Image: Mansfield of Montana."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article to which I have just referred be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, Nancy Chapman points out that our respected and beloved majority leader is a poet, which is perhaps one of the very reasons why he is so beloved. It is doubly a coincidence, too, that the young woman who wrote this sensitive essay is herself a student at the University of Montana where the senior Senator from Montana once taught.

EXHIBIT 1

THE POETIC IMAGE: MANSFIELD OF MONTANA

(By Nancy R. Chapman)

(NOTE.—This article is based on a report submitted by Miss Chapman in the course Mass Media in Modern Society during the summer, 1967 term. Miss Chapman, who is studying for a master's degree in journalism at the University of Montana, is a graduate of the University of Mississippi. As an English and journalism instructor at Charles M. Russell High School in Great Falls, Mont., she advises the school newspaper, the Stampede, and the yearbook, the Russellog, both of which have received top ratings from the Montana Interscholastic Editorial Association. Miss Chapman examines in this article Sen. Mike Mansfield's use of the language and suggests that he may be remembered for his eloquence and poetic image as well as for his service in the Congress.)

What is it about Michael J. Mansfield of Montana, Senate majority leader, that has prompted observers to call him a poet? Is it, perhaps his affinity for the national ideal that has created a poetic mist? Is it the grace of his public statements—the thought, form, metaphor and harmony that pervade so many of his speeches? Or is it a poem itself—his eulogy to John F. Kennedy?

It is the purpose of this article to examine those characteristics that have led some to believe the senior senator from Montana does, indeed, possess "a touch of the poet."

Does feeling for, faith in and loyalty to a national ideal make a man a poet? Francis B. Gummere, in Democracy and Poetry, has said: "The duty of every man to make the community efficient, to clear its paths, support it and submit to it, and keep it alive with his own life is a kind of doxology sung wherever the name of the republic is mentioned in assemblies of people."[1] Accepting Gummere's conception of the national ideal as a lyric, one is tempted to conclude that men who best serve that ideal will be considered poets. Mansfield, by serving in three branches of the military, working as a miner, teaching in a university and representing his state in Congress, seems to have approached fulfillment of that "duty of every man." But service alone is not enough. It is the character with which one serves that determines the poetry of his image.

Mansfield has a reputation for being patient, studious and quietly persuasive. He refuses to exercise raw power or to coax, threaten or pressure his colleagues. Sen. Everett Dirksen, Senate minority leader, has said of Mansfield: "He is fair . . . never temperamental . . . no opportunism . . no expediency. . . . He is extremely cooperative and understanding. I couldn't have a better man across the aisle."[2] In 1962, Sen. George Smathers of Florida said of Mansfield: "He has won his sainthood here on earth for his magnificent patience. He has had the fortitude of the Christian martyrs."[3]

It has been observed by one reporter that Mansfield's principal asset is his considerateness.[4] Journalism students at Charles M. Russell High School in Great Falls, Mont., will vouch for that quality. When Mansfield visited the school Oct. 29, 1966, he agreed to be interviewed by student reporters. After the session had been underway for nearly an hour, I suggested to the students that the senator might wish to be excused, for he probably had other commitments. "Absolutely not," Mansfield said. "A politician must always be free to meet with the press."

But what about real poetry—poetry that is spoken or written? Does Mansfield have identity here? If one agrees with the standard conception of poetry as a process in which image, idea and language do their work together, then Mansfield is a poet. He employs in many of his speeches certain literary devices common to poetry. Designed alliteration, marked rhythms, repetitions and figurative language.

The alliteration used in this sentence from a speech during the Suez crisis in 1957 is illustrative: "That seems to me to be a formula for inertia, for drift, dodge, delay, and ultimately for disaster."

Rhythm, repetition and figures of speech make the following passage sound distinctively poetic:

"There is an ebb and flow in human affairs which at rare moments brings the complex of human events into a delicate balance. At those moments, the acts of government may indeed influence, for better or for worse, the course of history. This is such a moment in the life of the nation. This is the moment for the Senate."

And:

"I commend him for forestalling political pyrotechnics on this issue, which, while they provide political capital and bright luster for the few, leave only the ashes of frustrated hopes for the many."

Mansfield was referring to the civil-rights debate in the first example. In the latter quotation, he was speaking about Lyndon B. Johnson, then majority leader.

In December, 1963, when critics had objected to what they termed Mansfield's failure to bring action on the late President Kennedy's legislative programs, the senator countered with these words:

"I am neither a circus ringmaster, the master of ceremonies of a Senate night club, a tamer of Senate lions, nor a wheeler and dealer. . . . I achieved the height of my political ambitions when I was elected Senator from Montana. When the Senate saw fit to designate me as majority leader, it was the Senate's choice, not mine, and what the Senate has bestowed it is always at liberty to revoke. But so long as I have this responsibility, it will be discharged to the best of my ability by me as I am. I shall not don any Mandarin's robes or any skin other than that to which I am accustomed in order that I may look like a majority leader or sound like a majority leader. I am what I am, and no title, political face-lifter, nor image-maker can alter it."

These two excerpts help substantiate further the poetic tenor of Mansfield's speeches:

"I make these remarks today to express what I believe to be a deepening disquiet in the nation. It is as though we were passing through a stretch of stormy seas in a ship which is obviously powerful and luxurious, but a ship, nevertheless, frozen in a dangerous course and with a hull in pressing need of repair. . . .

"I meet with you fresh from an exposure to a cross-section of American sentiment as it exists in Montana, where the frost has long been on the pumpkin and the snows of winter have already begun to gather. I meet with you still strongly seized with what lies closest to the heart of the people of my state. . . . The war is clearly the nexus of the national anxiety. And peace lies at the heart of the nation's hopes; peace—its honorable restoration at the earliest possible moment. . . . We owe that to the unfortunate people of that nation, to ourselves, and to the world."

In the former example, Mansfield was referring to the fears Americans had begun to express regarding so-called inadequacies in national defense and space programs in 1960. In the latter example, he was referring to a fall, 1966, visit to Montana and the opinions he encountered concerning Vietnam.

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[1] Francis B. Gummere, *Democracy and Poetry* (New York; Houghton Mifflin Co. 1911), p. 19.

[2] Frederic W. Collins, "How To Be a Leader Without Leading," *The New York Times Magazine*, July 30, 1961, p. 46, quoting Senator Dirksen.

[3] Missoula (Mont.) *Missoulian*, June 25, 1967, p. 10–A, quoting Smathers.

[4] Collins, *op. cit.* p. 9.

On May 23, 1963, Mansfield spoke at the dedication of the East Coast Memorial in New York City. That speech, reprinted here, serves as one of the most convincing examples of the man's poetic capabilities:

"It was not a long time ago, as time goes. It was scarcely twenty years ago when it all took place.

"In the dawn and in the dusk and through the day, men and women went forth from this nation—to Africa, to Asia, to Europe, to the South Pacific, and to all the far places of the world. Week after week, they went, and month after month, and year after year.

"Before it was done, eight million men and women in battle dress were outside the borders and, within, millions more were ready to go. And behind them, there was a nation with a whole people united in common purpose.

"They came, these men and women in the Armed Forces, from the farms, the mines, the desks and the work benches. They came from slum and suburb, from country and town. They came from Utah and New York, from Puerto Rico and Georgia, from all the States and places in the land. They came from the long-rooted strains of Americans and from those so new that even the English language was still halting on the tongue. They came in all colors, all faiths, all creeds. And they were welcome in all colors, faiths and creeds.

"Some came with fierce anger. Some came with cold hate. And some came with neither hate nor anger. Some knew why they came and some did not. Some came because they were told; and some because they told themselves.

"In the end, it did not matter who they were, what they were, what they did, where they had come from, or why. They became—all of them—the sinew and bone and muscle of a mighty arm of a nation. The nation's purpose was their purpose and it was they who bore the great costs and dangers of that purpose through the long years of the war.

"A common human hope joined these Americans with others, with the English, with Russians, with Chinese, with Frenchmen and many more. And, in the end, this massive force swept, as a great wave, over the ramparts of the tyrants. It tore loose a deadly weight from the minds and backs of hundreds of millions and flung it into the cesspools of history.

"And when this force had spent itself, for a brief moment, men and women throughout the world drank deeply of the meaning of peace and freedom. Many clutched that moment and held it. Many soon forgot or were compelled soon to forget.

"And millions of those who had done so much to forge the moment were not there to live it when it came. Some had fought and died years before and some the day before. They had died in their homes or down the street or on the edge of town, against a wall, in a ditch, a courtyard or an open field. And others had died a long way from home, in an alien land or against a vast sky or in the pitch-dark of the sea's depths.

"Countless Americans were among those who did not see the bright flash of freedom and peace which swept the earth when the conflict ended. They died in all the places and in all the ways of war's death. Today, most of them lie here in the earth of America or in a plot apart in other nations which is of this nation because they are there. But for others, we are not able to provide even a grave with a cross or a star to mark their last traces.

"These are the missing. And it is they who have summoned us.

"How much do we know of these missing men, we who stand here today? We know their names. We know the numbers they bore in the Army and Air Force, the Coast Guard, in the Navy and the Marines. But what do we really know of them? Do we know them as a wife, a mother, a father, a sister, brother or friend might know them? For those close to them, each life lost was as a star in a human universe, a star whose light was bright for awhile and then, in a moment, ceased to burn.

"We cannot know that world, we who stand here, that closed but infinite world of each man's circle. What we can know, what all in this nation can know, and all the world's people should know, is that these deaths are a debt yet to be redeemed. And those whom we could not even bury are of its pledge.

"Let us not delude ourselves. We do not pay the debt with these words today. We do not end it with these steles of granite pointed towards the sky nor with names struck upon stone.

"We seek the words to praise these men and they are wanting. We search to express our thanks to these men and even the genius of the sculptor is not enough.

"The debt remains unpaid. What we do and say here today is not needed by these men whom we honor. It is needed by ourselves. It is needed to remind us that the debt is unpaid. For these men whose names we record, and the countless others throughout the world whose passing was marked or unmarked, did not die for words of praise or memorials of stone. They died that those who lived might have a chance to build this nation strong and wise in justice and in equity for all, in a world free, at last, from the tyrants of fear, hate and oppression.

"It was a long time ago, as time goes, that they died. It was not twenty years but fifty years ago or a century or a millennium. For they died not only on the Normandy Beachhead but at Verdun, at Gettysburg, at Valley Forge and in all the places and in all the times that the human right to be human has been redeemed.

"If we would honor these dead, then—all of them—if we would praise them, if we would repay them, let us ask ourselves what we have done with this chance which they have given us. And let us ask ourselves again and again what we have done until there is, in this nation and in this world, the need to ask it no longer."

It would seem as if Mansfield's poetic image is obvious when one considers the man himself and the literary devices employed so frequently in his speeches. However, the strongest evidence that he is an occasional poet rests in one public declaration—Mansfield's eulogy to John F. Kennedy. It was delivered at the President's bier in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, D.C., Nov. 24, 1963:

"There was a sound of laughter; in a moment, it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

"There was a wit in a man neither young nor old, but a wit full of an old man's wisdom and of a child's wisdom, and then, in a moment it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

"There was a man marked with the scars of his love of country, a body active with the surge of a life far, far from spent and, in a moment, it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

"There was a father with a little boy, a little girl and a joy of each in the other. In a moment it was no more, and so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands.

"There was a husband who asked much and gave much, and out of the giving and the asking wove with a woman what could not be broken in life, and in a moment it was no more. And so she took a ring from her finger and placed it in his hands, and kissed him and closed the lid of a coffin.

"A piece of each of us died at that moment. Yet, in death he gave of himself to us. He gave us of a good heart from which the laughter came. He gave us of a profound wit, from which a great leadership emerged. He gave us of a kindness and a strength fused into a human courage to seek peace without fear.

"He gave us of his love that we, too, in turn, might give. He gave that we might give of ourselves, that we might give to one another until there would be no room, no room at all, for the bigotry, the hatred, prejudice and the arrogance which converged in that moment of horror to strike him down.

"In leaving us—these gifts, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, President of the United States, leaves with us. Will we take them, Mr. President? Will we have now, the sense and the responsibility and the courage to take them?

"I pray to God that we shall and under God we will."

Analysis of the eulogy shows that it follows the classical structure of death poems: (1) It states the fact of death in interjectional outbursts; (2) it contains reminiscences of the deceased; (3) it asks a question of the living; (4) it ends in a statement of appeal.[5]

Gummere has said that the value of any poem is in proportion to the largeness of the mood that it is capable of creating in the properly sensitive recipient.[6] If that is true, then Mansfield's eulogy is permanent poetry, for men always will be sensitive to the mood of death—especially to the death of a President.

It is, of course, the task of future generations to determine the historical legacy of a nation's leaders. Perhaps Senator Mansfield, in some other century, will be remembered not only as a Senate majority leader but also as a poet.

DEATH OF A GREAT MONTANAN—OAKLEY E. COFFEE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the most difficult part of getting older is the loss of an increased number of friends. Last week, Mrs. Mansfield and I were saddened by the death of a long time friend, Oakley Coffee, of Missoula, Mont.

Oakley Coffee's death was most untimely because he had only recently begun a new career as full-time director of the University of Montana Foundation. Early in his life, Oakley established himself as one of western Montana's most successful businessmen. He was involved in civic work and one of the prime influence in developing the city of Missoula and western Montana. He was active in politics and served the State of Montana as an elected official and by appointment of the Governor. At the time of his retirement from the business world, he turned to his truly great interest—the University of Montana.

Oakley Coffee became the first full-time director of the University of Montana Foundation. He put new life into the organization; it began to function.

The Foundation support grew and it became active in a number of areas. Oakley Coffee was the innovator of the Mansfield Endowment and the lecture series at the university. He spearheaded the fund-raising campaign which provide outstanding lecturers on the university campus. I shall be forever grateful to Oakley Coffee for this honor paid to me at my alma mater.

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[5] Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

Again, I say, it is unfortunate that he could not have lived on to realize more of the dreams he had for the university.

Mrs. Mansfield joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Coffee and their two sons and their families. Oakley Coffee was a great Montanan and he will be so remembered.

It is, indeed, a great loss when you lose a friend with whom you have been so close and friendly for so many decades, who has been your strong supporter down through the years, and who has always had faith in you when the going was good as well as when it was bad.

Mr. President, I take this occasion to express my heartfelt loss at the passing of this great Montanan.

Let me repeat Oakley Coffee will be long remembered.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article published in the Missoulian of May 23, 1968, entitled "Long-Time Civic Leader Oakley E. Coffee Dies," and an editorial entitled "Oakley Coffee: Regret and Fondness."

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LONG-TIME CIVIC LEADER OAKLEY E. COFFEE DIES

Oakley E. Coffee, 67, long-time business, education and civic leader of Missoula, died Wednesday morning in a Missoula hospital.

Mr. Coffee was past president of Coffee's Missoula Drug Co.; president of Hammond Building, Inc.; past president of Western Montana Developments; president of Apothecaries of Nevada; a director of the First National Bank of Missoula, and special representative to the Control States, Almaden Vineyards, Los Gatos, Calif.

He was born Feb. 6, 1901, at Wickliffe, Ky., and came to Missoula as a child, attending local grade schools and Missoula County High School. He attended Virginia Military Institute in 1918 and 1919, then the University of Montana from 1919 to 1923, receiving a Ph G. degree in pharmacy and B.A. in business administration. He attended Harvard University Graduate School from 1923 to 1925, receiving a master's degree in business administration.

In college he was a member of Sigma Chi social fraternity; Kappa Psi, pharmacy honorary; Scabbard and Blade, military honorary; Silent Sentinel, men's senior honorary; cadet major in ROTC; student manager of Associated Students; a member of the debate team and baseball manager. In graduate school he was a member of the editorial board of the Harvard Business Review, picked from the top 2 per cent of his class.

Mr. Coffee was a member of the Christian Church, Masonic orders, Shrine Club and the Elks.

He was past president of the Missoula Kiwanis Club, Missoula Chamber of Commerce and the Missoula Community Concerts Association.

Serving in many types of activities, he was cofounder and director of the United Givers of Missoula County; cofounder and member of the Missoula Labor-Management Board; a member of the advisory board of St. Patrick Hospital; vice president of the National Alcoholic Beverage Control Association (composed of commissioners of 17 states having state liquor monopolies); secretary of the University of Montana Endowment Foundation.

Mr. Coffee was a member of the advisory board of the National Youth Administration; past state representative in the Montana House of Representatives from Missoula County; for 10 years was Democratic member of the Montana State Liquor Control Board, and was Missoula County chairman of the U.S. Savings Bond program from 1942 to 1965.

Surviving are his widow, Alice; two sons, William O. Coffee, Missoula, and John C. Coffee, Whitefish, and two grandchildren.

Funeral services will be at 3 p.m. Friday in the First Christian Church with the Rev. Paul Deane Hill officiating. Missoula Lodge 13, AF&AM, will have graveside services at Missoula Cemetery. Squire-Simmons-Carr Mortuary is in charge of arrangements.

Tributes may be in the form of contributions to the University of Montana Foundation.

OAKLEY COFFEE: REGRET AND FONDNESS

Oakley Coffee died Wednesday and there is much to mourn because there is much to praise about his works in life.

He was a Missoulian for almost 67 years. His life was oriented to this community and its future. He didn't just live here, he left his mark here. The stamp of what he did will remain to benefit many people for years to come.

Oakley Coffee was a kind and jovial man who combined those traits with a no-nonsense, vigorous, intelligent approach to problems. His list of service is long.

He was one of the key men in getting the United Givers program revived and flourishing.

He was in the drug business here for many years, but began selling his business interests in 1965. In January this year Mr. Coffee was awarded a glass figurine by University of Montana Pres. Robert Pantzer for his work on behalf of the UM Foundation.

Mr. Coffee was instrumental in establishing the foundation in 1950 and it was his chief center of interest when he died. He was its first full-time director, and did an excellent job. He also was one of the prime movers in establishing the Mansfield endowment fund for lectures on international affairs.

The list goes on—state legislator (as a Democrat), member and chairman of the Montana Liquor Control Board, member of St. Patrick Hospital Advisory Board from the time it was established in 1946, vice-president of the hospital's fund drive, Kiwanis Club member and former president, Shriner, president of the Missoula Chamber of Commerce—the list could go on.

Equally important was his behind-the-scenes work on many worthwhile endeavors. Oakley Coffee was the kind of man whose name always seemed to crop up when reliable, conscientious, hard-working men were being sought on behalf of a project. He did the work and did it well, whether as a worker or a leader.

He was stimulated by ideas and motivated by an ideal to create a better future for Missoula.

Missoula will remember him with fondness and with regret for his passing.

TELEVISION PROGRAM "YOUR SENATOR'S REPORT"

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a transcript of a television broadcast made last Sunday, by the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], in which I participated.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF "YOUR SENATOR'S REPORT," A PROGRAM DONE BY SENATOR HUGH SCOTT, REPUBLICAN OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR BROADCAST ON TELEVISION AND RADIO STATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA

Guest: Senator Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.)

SCOTT. Can Congress get its work done and adjourn on time this year? Let's ask the Senate Majority Leader.

ANNOUNCER. "Your Senator's Report." From the Nation's Capitol we present another report to the people of Pennsylvania. This unique, award winning series of programs is done in the public service and is brought to you by Senator Hugh Scott. Now, here is Senator Scott.

SCOTT. Ladies and gentlemen, our guest today is the very distinguished Majority Leader of the Senate, the Honorable Mike Mansfield of Montana. He's the only man I know of who has served in the Army, in the Navy and the U.S. Marine Corps. After working as a young man in the mines in Butte, Montana he earned his degree at the University of Montana and then taught there for ten years as a professor of Latin American and Far Eastern history. He's now a professor of history on permanent tenure at the University of Montana. He served five terms in the House of Representatives, was first elected to the Senate in 1952, is now in his third term in the Senate. Senator Mansfield is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Appropriations Committee, has served as Majority Leader of the Senate since 1961. Senator Mansfield, it's a great honor for me and our viewers to have the Majority Leader here with us.

MANSFIELD. Well, Hugh, it's always good to be with you. I remember we served in the House together and now I've had the pleasure of serving with you in the Senate.

SCOTT. It's been a very pleasant experience for me and I indicated as we opened that I would ask you what you think of the chances of adjourning in time for the two parties' national conventions in August.

MANSFIELD. Well, Hugh, it just happened that I met with the Policy Committee today, and we discussed this possibility. I asked the Policy Committee if they would do what they could to get the appropriations out of the way by August 2 or 3 prior to the start of the Republican convention on August 7, I believe. They promised that they would do what they could, and I informed the Committee that it was my feeling that if we got the appropriation bills out of the way by that time, then we ought to consider most seriously a *sine die* adjournment until next year.

The reason for it, of course, is that the 10 days between the Democratic and Republican conventions means that nothing much will be done. And if we come back after the two conventions I think there will be too much politics and too little legislation, so if we can make it by the second or third of August, we'll be very happy and we'll do our very best to meet that date. Incidentally, I also talked it over with Senator Dirksen, the Minority Leader, and he is in accord with that possibility.

SCOTT. Not so long ago you executed some new regulations here which mean that the Senate works longer and harder than it has worked for a long time.

MANSFIELD. That's right, and the purpose behind it, Hugh, is to try and meet this August 2 or 3 deadline.

SCOTT. Well, now, on another subject, Mike, and that is the peace talks. You have had some very definite views about the possibilities of peace, and what are your hopes for the peace talks at Paris between our side and their side?

MANSFIELD. Well, I think it ought to be kept in mind that if this meeting now taking place had not occurred, it would not be possible to make arrangements for further meetings seeking to enter into possible negotiations and an honorable settlement. While nothing has been accomplished of any substance as yet, I don't think we should be too disappointed, because you have to expect a certain amount of sparring, a certain amount of propaganda, and the greatest virtue which we can exhibit at this time, in my opinion, is patience. So, while we have nothing to show for the efforts of Harriman and Vance, on the one hand, and Xuan Thuy and the others on the other side, nevertheless the fact that they are meeting is an indication that things might be done. But we had better be prepared for long, drawn-out talks and negotiations, and no quick solution.

Scott. And, while these talks are going along, of course, both sides are fighting, and I suppose there isn't much hope of a real de-escalation for a while either. Is there in your opinion?

Mansfield. I wouldn't think so at the moment, although Harriman and his associates are trying to work out some sort of a mutual agreement with full approval of the President, whereby in return for further deescalation to quit bombing of the North, Hanoi ought to show some reciprocal action, such as reduction in the number of infiltrators, a declaration concerning the demilitarized zone, or other factors which would indicate good faith on their side, as well as ours.

Scott. Now, the Hanoi side have had their people bringing in props, you might say—actually what purports to be pieces of napalm, or various forms of war implements—to put on the Americans the onus of a kind of warfare which they claim we're waging. They also deny that there are any troops of the North Vietnamese armies in the South, and we're saying there are about 85,000 North Vietnamese troops. Do you know whether we have any intention of actually bringing in some physical evidence of the presence of North Vietnamese troops in the South, such as the confessions of witnesses, of soldiers, or some North Vietnamese equipment, or uniforms? Do you know whether we're going to respond by bringing some props in on our side or not?

Mansfield. Well, that I can't say, but I'm quite sure it would be easy to furnish substantiating evidence to the effect that the North Vietnamese troops, in batallion, regimental, and division size, have been in South Vietnam for some time, still are there, and are still coming down across the DMZ and through Laos as well.

Scott. Now, we both know how the communists negotiate with wild threats and extreme charges, but isn't it possible instead of actually making concessions at the negotiating table, that they may choose to engage in some form of modest de-escalation? And then we take a look at it and say, well, you didn't say you would do it here, but you have de-escalated in certain degrees at certain places, and therefore we will also de-escalate in another place. Isn't it possible their actions may at some point be more cooperative than their words, their talk at the table?

Mansfield. Yes, I would agree that is a good possibility, and as you say, actions do speak louder than words. I would think also, Hugh, that much of the publicity attendant upon the Paris meetings has to be taken with a grain of salt, and that if anything tangible is to be accomplished, it may well be done in private, in the quiet of a conference room with no television, no radio, no newspapermen present. That is the way diplomacy should work, so I would hope that the fact that there has been no apparent improvement on the basis of the talks which have been going on now into their second week, that the American people would not be discouraged, would recognize that there are different ways and means by which diplomatic objectives can be accomplished, and would exercise a degree of patience and understanding, and support for the U.S. negotiators in a most difficult assignment.

Scott. In fact, in some of these international meetings a good deal more happens at the receptions where neither side wants to offend some powerful intermediary, or possible intermediary. Everybody goes to the reception, and then Mr. Harriman and somebody from the other side might drop out of sight and do some talking. That's one of the ways it's done in international affairs, isn't it?

Mansfield. Yes, that's true. Then, of course, there's also the possibility that third parties would be available as intermediaries, and hopefully used with some degree of success.

Scott. Well, some people have mentioned the French. There isn't too much peace in Paris nowadays. What do you suppose is going to come out of the student revolts, the worker occupation of plants, the general civil disorders which are now sweeping France, and particularly Paris? Do you think General DeGaulle's government will be able to maintain itself, or would you look for a change of government there?

Mansfield. No, I wouldn't look for a change of government. I would look for General DeGaulle and his government to prevail, but only on the basis of concessions to the students and to the workers. You know I have a great deal of admiration for DeGaulle. I don't agree with some of his policies, such as his interference in the affairs of Quebec, his keeping Britain off the Common Market, and so forth. But I do recognize the fact that after a most difficult period of travail following the end of the Second World War until DeGaulle came, there wasn't much in the way of order and efficiency in France itself. Since he has assumed power, while he's rubbed us the wrong way on a number of occasions, at the same time he has raised France to a prestigious position which the French recognize and appreciate. At the same time, of course, he's raised himself pretty high. But, he does have his hands full. This is the most difficult crisis which has confronted DeGaulle to date. How he will handle it remains to be seen, but I think he's on the defensive. I think he will have to make an accommodation, and I think it indicates that as far as his position is concerned, despite what he has done, that he has been weakened because of the events in recent months and years.

Scott. I've heard it mentioned as a possibility that should his government fall it might be succeeded under a government to be set up by a former Prime Minister whose name was Mendes France. Do you know Mendes France, do you have any experience with him at all?

Mansfield. Yes, I've met Mendes France both in this country and in France, and, of course, I remember the courageous part he played in bringing about an end to the French situation in Indo China, culminating, of course, in the Geneva Accords of 1954. Since that time though, Hugh, he has been sort of in the background. He's coming up a little bit lately. Just what position he will achieve in any event which transpires remains to be seen.

Scott. Yes I believe he was out of Parliament for a long time, then went back to Grenoble and ran from a university town. You're a professor, and I did a little teaching last year at Oxford, and that leads me into another question and that is this whole question of student seizures of universities, and student revolts and general riots. What is your feeling, for example, about the Columbia University situation?

Mansfield. Well, I have a feeling that the gulf between the administration of our universities and the faculties on the one hand, and the students on the other, has been widening of late. I think it's because the universities are getting too big. I think as far as the teaching profession is concerned, it's getting too impersonal. What the faculty members have are teaching assistants, readers and the like, taking care of the huge classes which have come into being. Now, undoubtedly there must have been some reason for this difficulty besides that which I've mentioned. The question of the gymnasium to be built adjoining Columbia University—a gymnasium which I understand would not have been built but the news hadn't gotten around by the time that the student outbreak occurred. And then, of course, I think there is this matter of discipline and responsibility which should be exercised by both the university and the student body and equally by both.

Scott. And the parents.

Mansfield. And the parents as well, because sometimes it's the parents who are responsible for the type of children which they produce and the kind of behavior which they practice. Insofar as punishment is concerned, there are ways and means by which a university could act. There is the question of suspension, there is the question of expulsion, and there is the question also, if things get out of hand, of closing down a university. I don't believe the best idea is to impose a Congressional restraint, as we've done in the House, by taking away funds from students, because I think the question is perhaps both unconstitutional and unworkable. But I do think expulsion, suspension, and other means can and should be used if necessary to bring about a degree of reorientation and accommodation and understanding on the part of both the students and the faculty.

Now, what will happen because of this wave of events in this country and abroad, no one really knows. But it is understandable when a minority of students becomes uneasy, disturbed. But I think that we should not by any means assign to the great majority of the students what this small minority does on a particular occasion.

Scott. And there, of course, cannot be any justification whatever for the unlawful seizure of university property. I don't suppose anybody justifies occupation of another persons property, or kidnapping, or seizure of university faculty.

Mansfield. Not at all, and furthermore, those people who do that are liable to the law, as they are for stealing papers out of the President's office, as I understand was done at Columbia. The law is there to be observed, and if you disagree with it then I think you take your chances in its application.

Scott. Well, I think it's Kenneth Crawford, in this week's *Newsweek*, who points out that when a student comes along like Mark Rudd—he is 20 years old—he wants to take over the curricula, and he proposes that the students establish what shall be the curriculum of the university. And he says about Mark Rudd and the other young people of 20, they just haven't been learning long enough to know enough to do some of the things they want to do. On the other hand, it's spring, and this is in some ways the modern equivalent, I think, of the panty raids, and the water throwing, and the raids on the girl's dormitories. It's just been handled in a much more serious fashion, and there has been too much activism in it. But let me get into another subject where there hasn't been enough activism, and that is the tax bill. What are the chances of our getting a tax bill this year, and will it be accompanied by a severe budget cut of $4 to $6 billion? What do you think?

Mansfield. Well, as you know, Hugh, the Senate did pass a tax bill by an overwhelming vote, approximately two to one. Under this there would be a 10 percent surcharge on income taxes of those earning $5,000 a year or more. There would be a $10 billion reduction in the President's budget and there would be a $6 billion reduction in Government expenditures. That, in brief, is what the conference agreed to. Now whether or not this will be agreed to by the House, I do not know, though at this time it looks highly doubtful. I do feel, though, that this matter should be taken up in the House, that this conference report already agreed to by the Senate should be accepted by the House, and while it may be politically disastrous to vote for a tax bill in an election year, I would point out that it would be more disastrous to pay much more in the way of inflated prices than to face up to the responsibility which is entailed upon all of us at this time.

Scott. Well I happen to agree entirely with you, and my vote showed it, as you know. . . .

Mansfield. That's right.

Scott. I have supported these tax bills. Nobody likes to be for a tax bill. And in my office they took a look at what I have to pay for voting for a tax bill and they said, "Can you afford it?" I said the whole answer is that none of us taxpayers can afford not to do it when you figure what a thief inflation is, and how much it takes out of your pocket when you aren't looking. And we certainly can't afford the assaults on the dollar that we have been putting up with because the Congress hasn't acted, it seems to me.

Mansfield. Well, Hugh, you have to keep in mind, the fact too, that they're paying 8 percent on mortgage money now. I wouldn't be surprised if it went to 10 percent. I think that we ought to recognize that we have the worst inflationary period in a good many years, an annual rate of 4 percent. It could go up, and if it does we will pay a great deal more, I repeat, than we would pay in the form of taxes.

Scott. And gold has gone up from $35 an ounce on the free market to $42.50 and that means further assaults on the dollar.

Mansfield. That's right.

Scott. Well, can we save money by withdrawal of forces from Europe? What does that do to NATO?

Mansfield. Well, at the present time we're spending about $2.7 billion a year to maintain 600,000 U.S. troops and dependents in western Europe. This is exclusive of the Sixth Fleet. I would hope that after almost 25 years, following the end of World War II, that we could do something to bring back at least four of the six divisions with their dependents and quarter them and house them in this country. I am not for withdrawing the troops in Europe, plus their dependents because of the dollar drain, though that is an increasingly important factor, nor am I in favor of it because of the situation in Vietnam. It is a matter of principle I have advocated for more than a decade. I think they have been there too long, and it's about time that the Europeans took over the primary responsibility in their own defense, and the time is long past due when our divisions, at least the large part, should have been withdrawn. It does not mean anything as far as not honoring our obligations to NATO is concerned because they will be honored. Our word has been pledged and that word will be kept and, if need be, we will be ready to come to Europe's assistance again, based on the commitments made under the North Atlantic Treaty.

Scott. And the British have recently indicated, have they not, that they will station more forces in Europe in view of the fact that they've pulled out east of Suez? Isn't there some indication that Great Britain's going to do somewhat more than we first thought they were going to do?

Mansfield. That's true, but they're not going to be on the European mainland. They're going to be in the British Isles and that's what I would like to see, some of the U.S. troops brought back to our own country. Even with the 40 percent increase announced by Britain they will still not live up to their commitment, nor has any other country in the NATO organization, except our own, fully lived up to its promises and pledges as far as troop strength and material, logistical equipment, are concerned. As a matter of fact, most of them, like the Low Countries, Denmark and Britain, have reduced their conscription periods. Britain has done away with it entirely. France has withdrawn her entire groupings from the NATO command. Others have failed to fulfill the numbers, including the Germans, who have 12 divisions on paper, which is their commitment. But those 12 divisions do not even make the equivalent of 8 divisions at the present time. So it's not a case of running out on NATO. It's a case of honoring our pledge by urging these others to meet their commitments and to take over the primary responsibility in their own defense.

Scott. Well, moving over to eastern Europe—developments in Czechoslovakia are leading people to believe that this country is becoming more nationalistic in its Communism, more libertarian. That the new man, Dubcek, it seems, is at least trying to shake some of the ties to monolothic Communism. The same thing seems to be happening in Rumania and it did happen in Yugoslavia. Do you look for more of this? Do you welcome this sort of development? What are your reactions to it?

Mansfield. Oh, I certainly do. I'm in accord with what you said, Hugh. I think it might be interesting to note, too, that Mr. Dubcek's father, I believe, worked for a while—if my memory serves me correctly—in western Pennsylvania around Pittsburgh. Mr. Dubcek's elder brother was born in this country, but they returned to Czechoslovakia sometime in the late teens or early twenties. But I think it's a good move in Czechoslovakia. I think that what has happened in Rumania is awfully good and it proves to me that despite the emphasis placed on Communism that the greatest ideology of all is nationalism. I'm delighted to see these nations emerge on this basis because they are more libertarian. They do give their people more freedom. There is more opportunity and it weakens the hold of what used to be called monolithic Communism.

Scott. Well, I have a friend who is Secretary of Labor and he's of Czech origin, John Tabor. And he has asked me to ask for an investigation of the circumstances surrounding the death of Jan Masaryk. Do you see any objection to our inquiring of the Czech Government as to what is being done with regard to the Masaryk incident, since they themselves have opened it up?

Mansfield. Well, I think it would be well for the Czech Government itself to take the initiative in that respect, because after all Jan Masaryk was the President of the Czechoslovak People's Republic—a Republic created, incidentally, at the conclusion of the first world war by the Treaty of Pittsburgh. But we have to be a little careful involving ourselves in the affairs of other sovereign states. But perhaps inquiries could be made, information could be forthcoming, and perhaps, finally, the truth could be laid out.

Scott. Mike, let me ask you one question.

Mansfield. Just a moment, Hugh, I want to make a correction. I referred to Jan Masaryk as being the President of the Czechoslovak People's Republic. He was the President of the Czechoslovak Republic. The Peoples Republic did not come in until after his assassination and then, of course, it was a Communist Republic.

Scott. Yes, well, we have that corrected. Today—and we tape these programs a few days in advance as you ladies and gentlemen know—today we're voting on the Safe Streets bill. What is your feeling to this bill which the President has requested, although some of the features added by Committee are not part of his request?

Mansfield. Well, it's a pretty complicated bill, as you well know. It has to do with block grants to states and, possibly, municipalities for the upgrading of the police and the improving of police techniques and methods. It has to do with gun control. It has to do with eavesdropping. And it also has to do with decisions which have been handed down on them by the Supreme Court, some of them on a 5-to-4 basis, others on a 6-to-3 basis. The bill is necessary. It may be a little bit too much in its entirety, but certainly the title explains the need for it—a Safe Streets and Omnibus Crime Control bill. Something on this order is necessary if not this particular bill, because of the increasing crime rate throughout the country and the need for monies and men and materials and techniques to face up to these problems.

Scott. Well, I've been concerned about some 5-to-4 Supreme Court decisions, and particularly about the *Miranda* and *Escobedo* cases. But there is a feature of this bill where I think we ought to have an amendment—and I don't know your feelings on it, but I do hope that as we vote this week we will strike out that part of the bill which would prevent appeals to the Supreme Court, over to another part which would limit appeals. I would still like to see the Supreme Court as the final arbiter, but I would also like to see us have somewhat more freedom and discretion in the trial judge in the hearing of confessions and in determining what is voluntary. I wouldn't think the President will veto that bill, would you?

Mansfield. No, I wouldn't think so and I think it's needed, because while the Supreme Court is a separate branch of the Government and supposedly has a final say about all matters which reach within the jurisdiction, nevertheless, we cannot foreclose that the Congress likewise has a final jurisdiction, which it must exercise in good conscience on the basis of events as they occur in the history of the Republic.

Scott. And when there were some decisions which many people didn't like, such as the *Miranda* case, the Supreme Court went so far as to say that Congress, invited Congress to go ahead and consider a better way, at that time, if you remember.

Mansfield. That is correct.

Scott. It's a function of Congress. Now we have in Washington what is known as the Poor People's March. I find that my friends in Pennsylvania think that everybody in Washington is living in some sort of fear. I don't think that's the case. But what do you think about this Poor People's March? Are they going to be successful in any aspect of what they're asking, from this Congress?

Mansfield. Well, all Americans have the right to petition, to seek redress. All I ask, and all my colleagues ask, is that it be done in a constructive manner. As far as the Senate is concerned, we will face up to our responsibilities, and we would have without a Poor People's March. We will each have to do what we think is best in accord with our own consciences, and certainly we will do that because that is what we're back here for. But we'll do it on the basis of exercising our own best judgment and being accountable, of course, for the results when we go home, as to what our people think of the actions which we've taken here.

Scott. Congress has done a great deal to help people, and particularly people who are economically distressed, and will do a great deal more. But as I understand it, Mike, what you're saying is it will not act under threat or fear. It will act only as a legislature should act, and within the framework of our system. Isn't that about it?

Mansfield. Exactly, and that is the way it should act. That is the way it will act and if any other methods are used to try to sway the Congress, the results could well be counterproductive.

Scott. And do you expect any violence in Washington during this period of the march?

Mansfield. I do not anticipate any. I hope there will be none, and I see no indication yet that that is a possibility. But I wouldn't foreclose it because any situation like this could become difficult.

Scott. But even so, the Senate and the House of Representatives will continue to meet and they will meet in decency and in order and with all the lawful protections that surround the operation of our Government. Isn't that right?

Mansfield. Absolutely and without question.

Scott. Good. Well I'm glad to hear you say that. I wish the program were longer, ladies and gentlemen. We are pursued with votes. We'll probably have six or seven votes today on the Safe Streets bill, and therefore we're all under a little pressure. But it has been a great privilege to have with us the most distinguished member of our Senate, the Majority Leader, Mike Mansfield. Mike, thank you so much for coming.

Mansfield. Thank you, Hugh. It's been a pleasure to be with you, to participate in this discussion.

Scott. Thank you.

RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in recess until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 23 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, May 28, 1968, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 27, 1968:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The following-named person for appointment as a Foreign Service officer of class 2, a consular officer, and a secretary in the diplomatic-service of the United States of America:

Alexander Akalovsky, of Maryland.

Now a Foreign Service officer of class 3 and a secretary in the diplomatic service, to be also a consular officer of the United States of America:

John J. Crowley, Jr., of West Virginia.

For appointment as a Foreign Service officer of class 3, a consular officer, and a secretary in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Robert A. Senser, of Illinois.

For promotion from a Foreign Service officer of class 6 to class 5:

Eugene J. Schreiber, of Missouri.

For promotion from Foreign Service officers of class 7 to class 6:

Michael I. Austrian, of Virginia.
Alfred R. Barr, of Virginia.
Roger P. Bradley, of Illinois.
Miss Joan E. Brosius, of Massachusetts.
Wat T. Cluverius IV, of Illinois.
Larry Colbert, of Ohio.
James K. Connell, of Connecticut.
Richard N. Dertadian, of California.
James J. Ehrman, of Wisconsin.
John H. Foley, of Arizona.
Robert F. Gould, of Ohio.
Thomas M. Harrington, of Rhode Island.
George Owens Haskell III, of Georgia.
John H. Hudson, of Georgia.
Donald L. Jameson, of California.
Peter Edward Jones, of Maryland.
Thomas B. Killeen, of Pennsylvania.
David Burton Langhaug, of Michigan.
Richard M. Miles, of South Carolina.
Robert P. Milton, of Georgia.
Paul D. Molineaux, of New York.
Dennis P. Murphy, of Washington.
James A. Nathan, of Illinois.
L. Ivar Nelson, of Missouri.
Thomas E. O'Connor, of Ohio.
Dennis R. Papendick, of California.
Richard J. Rosenberg, of Nebraska.
James L. Russell, of California.
William R. Salisbury, of New York.
Charles S. Spencer, Jr., of Tennessee.
Michael D. Sternberg, of New York.
David H. Swartz, of Illinois.
Miss Arma Jane Szczepanski, of Minnesota.
James E. Thyden, of California.
Peter Tomsen, of Ohio.
George E. Tuttle, Jr., of New Jersey.
Philip C. Wilcox, Jr., of Colorado.
Curtin Winsor, Jr., of the District of Columbia.
Howard S. Witmer II, of Michigan.
Toby T. Zettler, of Ohio.

For promotion from Foreign Service officers of class 8 to class 7:

Paul E. Barbian, of Wisconsin.
Ward Davis Barmon, of New York.
William J. A. Barnes, of Massachusetts.
Martin D. Branning, of Washington.
Kent N. Brown, of California.
Thomas L. Bryant, of California.
Robert K. Carr, of California.
Miss Susan Ann Clyde, of Colorado.
Victor D. Comras, of Florida.
James B. Corey, of Michigan.
James F. Dobbins, Jr., of Pennsylvania.
Stanley T. Escudero, of Florida.
Miss Dorothy M. Feeney, of Massachusetts.
John L. Folts, Jr., of Maryland.
Robert S. Gelbard, of New York.
Ben F. Harding, of Alaska.
William D. Heaney, of California.
Miss Natalie W. Hull, of Georgia.
Douglas R. Keene, of Massachusetts.
Roger A. Long, of Maryland.
Roger A. McGuire, of Ohio.
Anthony vE. Miller, of New Jersey.
Gary R. Nank, of Ohio.
Harold T. Nelson, Jr., of Nebraska.
Warren P. Nixon, of Virginia.
Jerome C. Ogden, of New York.
Miss Shirley E. Otis, of Pennsylvania.
Algirdas J. Rimas, of Virginia.
Miss Ellen L. Robbins, of Illinois.
David A. Ross, of New York.
Stanley S. Shepard, of Colorado.
E. Michael Southwick, of California.
Kenneth A. Stammerman, of Kentucky.
Lawrence M. Thomas, of Tennessee.
Robert A. Tsukayama, of Hawaii.
Robert E. Tynes, of Virginia.
Miss Rose Lee Unger, of Ohio.
Harvey M. Wandler, of New York.
Miss Carol E. Wilder, of Georgia.

Foreign Service Reserve officers to be consular officers of the United States of America:

George Borrowman, of the District of Columbia.
Charles O. Coudert, of Connecticut.
Grant A. Fielden, of Maryland.

Foreign Service Reserve officers to be consular officers and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Emanuel C. Ackerman, of New York.
Edwin Alfred Anderson, of New York.
Richard C. Baker, of Kansas.
Richard C. Bull, of Missouri.
Walter T. Cini, of Maryland.
William S. Dickson, of New Jersey.
Terrence R. Douglas, of New York.
Robert G. Gately, of Texas.
Howard P. Hart, of Virginia.
A. Grima Johnson, of the District of Columbia.
James H. Kelly, Jr., of Maryland.
N. Richard Kinsman, of New York.
George J. Kunz, of Maryland.
John D. McCully, of Texas.
Ralph C. Meima, Jr., of Maryland.
G. Richard Monsen, of Utah.
David E. Murphy, of Virginia.
Patsy C. Patty, of Ohio.
Robert J. Pierce, of the District of Columbia.
Dino J. Pionzio, of Connecticut.
Stanley Rich, of New York.
Eugene Rosenfeld, of Virginia.
Ralph E. Russell, of Maryland.
David A. Scherman, of Illinois.
Keith B. Schofield, of Idaho.
Arthur J. Smith, of the District of Columbia.
Jack Vanderryn, of Maryland.
Quentin H. Watkins, of Indiana.
J. Robert Wills, of North Carolina.

Foreign Service reserve officer to be a secretary in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Francis E. Raterman, of Virginia.

Foreign Service staff officers to be consular officers of the United States of America:

William E. Ball, of New York.
Edward A. Berg, of New Jersey.
Robert W. Biddle, of Ohio.
Maurice L. Brooks, of New Jersey.
Maurice C. Burke, of Massachusetts.
Rufus W. Corlew, of Tennessee.
Miss M. June Dohse, of Ohio.
Richard C. Dunbar, of Washington.
Miss Joyce M. Ferguson, of New Hampshire.
Jack F. Gillespie, of Texas.
Frank W. Hagen, Jr., of California.
James P. Hargrove, of Texas.
John R. Horan, of California.
Lawrence S. Kujubu, of Illinois.
Miss Charlotte S. Landrum, of Tennessee.
James R. Lilley, of the District of Columbia.
Mrs. Dorothy D. Linete, of Colorado.
Robert E. MacDonald, of Virginia.
Miss Mary E. McMullin, of Pennsylvania.
Miss Wilda Mitchell, of Nebraska.
Chandler P. Roland, of California.
Lawrence D. Russell, of Florida.
Miss M. Cordelia Sanborn, of Illinois.
Miss Alice L. Seckel, of California.
Vincent H. Shuey, of New York.
Bobby L. Watson, of California.
Daniel R. Welter, of Massachusetts.

ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Subject to qualifications provided by law, the following for permanent appointment to the grades indicated in the Environmental Science Services Administration:

To be captains

Hubert W. Keith, Jr.
Steven L. Hollis, Jr.
Pentti A. Stark
Merlyn E. Natto
Alfred C. Holmes
Arthur R. Benton, Jr.

To be commanders

Wesley V. Hull
Wayne L. Mobley
Charles A. Burroughs
Richard E. Alderman
Ray M. Sundean
George M. Poor
Charles K. Townsend
Ronald L. Newsom

To be lieutenant commanders

Stephen Z. Bezuk
Ned C. Austin
John W. Carpenter
Ronald K. Brewer
Jeffrey G. Carlen
John D. Boon III

To be lieutenants

John K. Callahan, Jr.
Leslie H. Perry
Melvin N. Maki
Robert H. Johns
Thomas C. Kalil
Kanezo A. Domoto
Richard T. Sheahan
Calvert D. Iles
A. Conrad Weymann III
George R. Knecht
Jack L. Wallace
Roy K. Matsushige
Richard T. LeRoy
Larry K. Nelson
Richard J. Wenstrom

To be lieutenants (junior grade)

Anthony Vecino
Roger G. Svendsen
Gary R. Polvi
Bradford W. Roth
Jerome F. Ewen
Thomas E. Gerish
Melvin S. Asato
Gary L. Boyack
James E. W. Walsh
David M. Wilson
Ernest D. Harden
Michael Engel
Donald P. Henneuse
Dino J. Ferralli
Caroll D. North, Jr.
Gary J. Lillesve
George H. Bragg, Jr.
Roger T. Olack

William W. Spychalla
Terry E. Bryan
Bruce C. Renneke
Jimmy R. Eddlemon

IN THE COAST GUARD

The following-named Reserve officers to be permanent commissioned officers of the Coast Guard in the grade of lieutenant:

Joseph J. O'Connell
Alvin Cattalini
Louis J. Korecki

The following-named officers of the Coast Guard to be permanent commissioned warrant officers in the grade of chief warrant officer, W-4:

Charles A. L. Linder
Edwin M. Smithers
Raymond H. Mathison
Johnnie Cox
Keith R. McClinton
Alvadore C. Grant
Edward L. Wyman
Fred Pilatsky
Claud W. Ashcraft
Frank W. Kattein, Jr.
Horace Stephens
Tugg P. Heimerl
Elmer Lovan
Victor E. Kindrick
Wayne J. Fisher, Jr.
Jack Peterson
Robert E. Bowlby
Edward V. Sapp
Harry P. Earley
Loy J. Russell
Penrose C. Dietz
Basil V. Burrell
Albert H. Tremlett, Jr.
Joseph H. McKenna, Jr.
John H. Suchon
John E. Cherney
Francis C. Soares, Jr.
William R. Benedetto
James J. Burley
Richard E. Simpson
Edward D. Phelps
Raymond E. Aholt
Harlan Kaley
Alfred R. Kolar
Eddie Brophy
Robert H. Neuman
Clifford A. Gustavson
Charles R. Hug
Harold C. Harris
Gordan L. Anderson
William B. Muller
Frank J. Miller, Jr.
Harry S. Huggins
Harold L. Brackett, Jr.
Isaac W. Lange
Patrick J. Mahon
Richard Dickinson
Robert C. Sachs
Donald F. Bradtke
Anthony M. Mazeika
Joseph W. Carawan
John P. Hart, Jr.
John A. Keller
Clarence L. Miller
Maxie M. Berry, Jr.
William M. Rickett
Clinton J. Tatro
Mario J. Camuccio
John M. Howarth
Charles M. Burleson
Marvin C. Fields
Jack B. Meadowcroft
Artis L. Whitford
Donald J. Cleveland
Robert G. Carnilla
Edward L. York
Douglas H. Derr
James E. Smith, Jr.
Ellsworth N. Slater
Richard J. Kilroy
Warren B. Barrett
Mervin J. Portwood, Jr.
Elwood T. Elder
Patrick J. Flynn, Jr.
Dewey E. Sutton
Parker J. Pennington
Charles D. Mills
James K. Beebe
William W. Cloer

The following-named officers of the Coast Guard to be permanent commissioned warrant officers in the grade of chief warrant officer, W-3:

Paul W. Bicking
James M. Johnson
Joseph B. McCarthy
Charles H. Studstill
Robert D. Hedgpeth
Edward F. Magee
Theodore J. Polgar
William L. McVey
Raymond G. Pullen
Glen W. Patterson
Frank R. Adams
Richard L. Luna
Daniel B. Miller
Kenneth H. Kester
Melvin J. Girardin
Max H. Hinkley
David C. Oeschger
Paul K. Wines
Douglas D. Dvorak
Charles B Branch
Paul A. Roberts
Floyd L. Booren, Jr.
Donald B. Erisman
Jack A. Lang
George A. Rylander III
Ralph Sponar, Jr.
Walter L. Adams
James C. Flowers
Melvin F. Gouthro
John K. Jenkins
Edward A. McGahan, Jr.
Gilbert Aguilar
Lionel F. Crossman
Glenn D. Cecil
Fred H. Fletcher
James B. Gillis
Bemon C. Ray
James A. Shepard
William L. Wathen
Benjamin F. Kennedy
Albert K. Fenne, Jr.
Oliver W. Brannan
Boyd J. Davis
Michael J. Urucinitz
Allen R. Gulau
Belton B. Gray
Joseph E. Correa
James E. Jordan
Chester S. McCreary
Joseph F Croghan
Grady S. Hardison
Lenwood M. Quidley
Carl W. Vetzel
Donald R. Boyd
James D. Doherty
John McCracken
Robert A. Shell
Edward Baker, Jr.
James W. Amos
George R. Rump
James B. Boyd, Jr.
Edward G. Mackey
Charles O. Poellinger
William Aliff
William A Cobb
Arnold P. Ziemian
William A. Strickland
Paul H. Cogswell
Jack H. Starr
Donald E. Schwarz
Randolph O. Grady
Wayne L. Terpstra
William R. McVey
Eugene W. Jeter, Jr.
Warren G. Gaugh
Glendon F. Pert
Paul J. Balzer
Joseph E. De Costa
Taft C. Pilcher
George L. Kelly
Richard G. Stonehouse
George W. Fenlin
Wade R. Bickel
Bill A. Miller
Philip W. Wiseman
David L. Dawson
Johnnie L. Hair
Theodore A. Thomas
Perry A. Crosson
Ammon C. McDole
Charles B. McSwain
John G. Ryan
Donald J. Husel
James K. Easter
Charles T. Pettitt
Raymond Boyce
David B. Triggs, Jr.
Glenn F. Peterson
Walter C. Parker
Melvin Long
Robert C. Lewetzon
Jack Lee
James A. Knicky
Gale B. Feick
John C. Merino
Joseph E. Tamalonis
Loomis P. Gibson
David "D" Austin
Robert B Lynn
Randol E. Jennings
Paul F Drumgoole
Richard A. Kirkman
Russell E. Grose
William D. Randall
Donald D. Smith
John R. English
Robert J. Ward, Jr.
Matthew J. McCool
William Race
Philip B. Arnold

The following-named officers of the Coast Guard to be permanent commissioned warrant officers in the grade of chief warrant officer, W-2:

Russell Pouncy
Robert W. Baine
Charles H McLean III
John S. Feagan
George H. Rucker, Jr.
Edmund Katz
Clair H. Upton
Earl E. Smith
Joseph B. Binica
Burl E. Mann
Ernest L. R. Johnson
Ronald W. Syren
John J. Ogurkis
Clarence T. Hayes
Giles "M" Vanderhoof
Dick "L" McPherson
Lyn E. Nicholson
Robert W. Jackson
George M. Miley
Jack W. Gildersleeve
Robert C. Kunst
Horace C. Webb
Casimir Malinovsky
Neil J. Dodge
Clarence L. Warmack
Robert C. Rescola
Frank W. Meligan
Robert C. Collins
Lonnie "K" Johnson
Freddie F. Hooten, Jr.
Rodney L. Harter
Thomas A. Bozeman
Joseph Slotwinski, Jr.
Everette H. Hoins
Richard B. Petersen
Maurice D. Platter
Louis J. Jensen
Victor G. Lane
Clarence M. Pope
Harold T. Cogburn
Frank W. Slaney
William G. Parr
Augusta L. Duncan
Kenneth A. Parking
Frank W. Thompson
Worth H. Hopkins
Edward L. Goodrich
James L. Dorsey
Ralph L. Cote
Thomas E. Stringer, Jr.
Anthony J. Maglione
Walter G. Sears
Dalton M. Sheppard
David R. Cheyne
Robert L. Saunders, Jr.
Clyde R. Hutton
Manual C. Chitwood
Donald T. Nelson
Michael J. O'Donnell
Clarence L. Moulton
Toshio Mitsunaga
Donald E. Darnauer
Paul R. McKenna
Robert G. Sinclair
Lawrence H. Borelis
Artis Copeland
Charles R. Martin
Eugene E. Oleson
Russell V. Gilbert
Nicholas L. Galash
John H. Edwards
John R. Arnold
Alexander J. Kujasky
Edgar B. Mason
Seben Griffin, Jr.
Harland D. Speer
Milford L. Jonas
Jesse A. Moffett
Lynn C. Oliver
Leon R. Cisek
Harvey R. Brown
Malcolm I. Simmons
Lennis L. Getchell
William F. Collier
John R. Manyon
Robert E. Behrens
Amos R. Daniels
Francis A. France
William T. Burnette, Jr.
Raymond A. Hughes, Sr.
Carroll H. Holst, Jr.
Richard T. Lyon
Raymond J. Duplin
Robert B. Jordan
Harold D. Lineweber
Rex F. Wall
Robert J. Jones
Thomas J. Bobrowski
Floyd C. Greenfield
William J. Perkins, Jr.
Kenneth J. Harker
James V. Shilley
Kilby T. Guthrie
Robert O. Backlin
Gary P. Day
Richard T. Shannon
Edward T. Kassick
David M. Donaldson
Lee R. Oliver
David M. Peake
David L. Heinecke
William M. Crumrine
Donald D. Olson
Austin J. Hudson
Thomas C. Calderwood
Dennis E. Coughlin
Samuel L. Clark
Ernest D. McLawhorn
Foy A. Stiewig
Laurence J. Murphy, Jr.
Alvin W. Sumner
William N. Rohrer
Marvin E. Wilmoth
Walter C. Parker
Rohlin D. Anderson
James M. Johnson

DIPLOMATIC SERVICE AND FOREIGN SERVICE

William H. Crook, of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Australia.

Robert F. Wagner, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Spain, vice Frank E. McKinney.

IN THE NAVY

Having designated Vice Adm. Waldemar F. A. Wendt, U.S. Navy, for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, I nominate him for appointment to the grade of admiral while so serving.

WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate May 27, 1968:

POSTMASTER

The nomination sent to the Senate on May 16, 1968, of Noah C. Adkins to be postmaster at Jackson in the State of Kentucky.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

FORD R. MORROW: DEDICATED WEST VIRGINIAN

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, July 1 marks the date of retirement of a man who has done much for West Virginia: Ford R. Morrow, eastern regional public affairs manager for Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp.

Ford Morrow has done wonders for the industrial development of Ravenswood and the mid-Ohio Valley. He was among those chiefly responsible for Kaiser's decision to locate near Ravenswood the company's major Eastern rolling mill which now has 3,400 on the payroll. Ford Morrow was instrumental in persuading other industries to locate near Kaiser's Ravenswood Works.

July 1 is a sad day but also a glad day for those of us fortunate enough to know Ford Morrow. It is a sad day because of his retirement. It is a glad day because he and his lovely wife, Fran, have decided to make Ravenswood their home.

Under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD an article and an editorial from the Ravenswood News on Ford Morrow's retirement. The Ravenswood News is edited by Phil Fourney who has a firsthand knowledge of Ford Morrow's accomplishment.

I only wish West Virginia had a few more Fords in its future.

The article follows:

FORD MORROW RETIRES—TO REMAIN IN RAVENSWOOD

Ford R. Morrow, eastern regional public affairs manager for Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation, will retire effective July 1, according to R. A. Sandberg, Kaiser's Vice President for advertising and public affairs.

Based at Kaiser's Ravenswood Works since his current assignment began in December, 1964, Morrow plans to maintain his residence in Ravenswood after retirement.

Morrow's 18 year association with Kaiser began in 1950, when, as a plant location consultant, he worked on site selection for Kaiser's Chalmette Reduction Plant in New Orleans. Following that assignment, he joined the company as Construction Coordinator for the Chalmette Plant and later became Kaiser's Public Relations Manager for the Southern Region.

In 1954, Morrow was assigned to site selection for Kaiser's major eastern aluminum rolling mill. His work was a major factor in Kaiser's decision to construct the Ravenswood Works—largest fully integrated aluminum plant in the world.

From the time Kaiser announced plans to construct the Ravenswood facility in 1955, to his return to Ravenswood in December of 1964, Morrow has served the Kaiser corporate family in a number of capacities, including public relations, executive sales and international operations.

A native of Wellston, Ohio, Morrow had a varied and extensive industrial background prior to associating with Kaiser. From 1928 to 1946, he served as vice president and general manager of Morrow Manufacturing Company in Wellston. The firm manufactured coal mining equipment.

From 1946, he served as vice president and general manager of a new firm, Buckeye Furnace Mining Company, also in Wellston.

From 1940 to 1950, Morrow also served as a plant location consultant for several Ohio River Valley industries, including American Electric Power Company, Vanadium Corporation, Peabody Coal Company and the Truax Traer Coal Company. He was instrumental in locating the Philip Sporn Plant for AEP and the Vanadium Plant near New Haven.

Morrow is presently Chairman of the Facilities, Staff, and Services Group of the Citizens Advisory Committee on the West Virginia Legislature; he is a member of the Governor's Comprehensive Education Committee and a member of the State Advisory Council of Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Morrow also serves on the Board of Directors of the West Virginia Manufacturing Association and represents industry on the Board of the West Virginia Chamber of Commerce.

Educated in the Wellston public schools, Staunton Military Academy, and Ohio State University, Morrow is married to the former Frances Motz of Jackson, Ohio. Their daughters, Barbara (Mrs. Eugene Garber) and Jeanne (Mrs. William S. Porter), reside in Iowa City, Iowa, and Honolulu, Hawaii.

MORROW'S SERVICE HAS BENEFITED US

It is with deep regret that we announce the retirement of Ford Morrow from Kaiser Aluminum in today's News. His retirement becomes official July 1, but Ford will be traveling during the month of June, so his official duties here will cease within the next week.

We are hopeful he and Fran will continue to make their home in Ravenswood, and that we can continue to draw upon him for his leadership and counsel as we've done in the past.

Ford Morrow is more than an employee retiring after years of faithful service to his company. He, more than any other individual, is responsible for the Ravenswood of today . . . and of tomorrow. He is responsible, in large part, for much of the development of the state. For it was Morrow who pushed Ravenswood as the site of Kaiser's plant here in the 1950's. And because of Kaiser, the town has experienced a new being, a future which would not have been possible without an industry such as the one we have.

Further, Morrow's service on state boards and commissions has resulted in development of the Mountain State in ways he'll never receive credit for.

We truly are sorry to see Ford Morrow retire. We will miss him, and the community will suffer at his loss. Our consolation, however, is that we can induce him to remain active in community affairs.

A DRIVE FOR A COMMON GOAL

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, the creative efforts of one of our young soldiers in Vietnam has been brought to my attention, and I would like to share it with Senators.

Dwight A. Holden, a second lieutenant in the 101st Airborne Division, wrote this poem after being in South Vietnam only a few months. He included it in a letter to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Holden of Milford, Mich.

I ask unanimous consent that Lieutenant Holden's poem be printed in the Extensions of Remarks. To my knowledge, it has no title, so I suggest a line from the poem, "A Drive for a Common Goal."

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DRIVE FOR A COMMON GOAL

In the mountains, jungle and rice paddy plains
Hot, sweaty and sometimes in pain
Long patrols, hunting, searching to destroy the enemy—its goal.
The birth of gentle fear.

Cautious and alert, a cause to fight
A belief in freedom and right
Not knowing all the facts your thoughts wander, ponder
But your job goes on.

Back at home, people cry and wonder why . . .
Say all we do is wrong
Not because they know the reason why.

Just because they're afraid to die
They have no faith in our country and hide their minds in clouds of drugs.
They have lost their ability to judge.

The worst yet are those who know the reason why
And then stand still and let us die
Instead of unity and forward drive,
They stay divided and each tell their lies—
Their only goal themselves . . .

And now to those who know and care
To those who do not know and care
Come together—drive for a common goal
And whether right or wrong, support our country and our destiny.

DWIGHT ARTEMAS HOLDEN,
Second Lieutenant, 101st Airborne Artillery.
VIETNAM, *April 9, 1968.*

REVIEW OF 1967 EDITION OF YEARBOOK OF AGRICULTURE

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, all Members of Congress have had an opportunity to examine the 1967 edition of the annual Yearbook of Agriculture. I believe most would agree that this edition, entitled "Outdoors U.S.A.," is among the most beautiful and informative documents in the series.

Last year I invited the attention of Senators to a review of the 1966 annual prepared by Dr. Francis Joseph Weiss, a distinguished science specialist in the Library of Congress. Dr. Weiss has now reviewed the 1967 annual for the April 1968 edition of BioScience. I ask unanimous consent that the entire review be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSERVATION IN USDA

(By Joseph Weiss, Science Specialist, Library of Congress)

Outdoors USA—The 1967 Yearbook of Agriculture, edited by Jack Hayes, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Information, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 408 p., illus., $2.75.

It is no exaggeration to state that this is the most beautiful Yearbook the Department of Agriculture has ever published, a delight for the layman to look at and to read. It is an inspiration for every biologist as it connects his own field of specialization with the great problems of today, and the æsthetics and philosophy of nature. It reveals the fundamental role which the elucidation of life's secrets play in our endeavors to create healthier and happier environments for all our people and how much more research is needed to preserve them for future generations.

As Secretary Freeman aptly observes in his Foreword, the perplexing problems of today are primarily the result of extremely uneven population distribution. "Every year 3 million Americans squeeze into our already jam-packed cities. Today, 140 million people—or 7 in every 10 Americans—are crowded into just 1% of our land. But rural America has breathing space—room for people to live, to work, to enjoy recreation, to be part of the land." While urban slums, traffic congestions, air and water pollution cause very unhealthy living conditions, through development and conservation of our natural resources rural areas can become ideal sites for communities of tomorrow, where urban blight and social tension are unknown.

While the uninitiated are inclined to identify the activities of the Department of Agriculture with the promotion of farming and forestry and the regulation of our supply of food and fiber, this Yearbook shows how much larger the scope of the Department is. Half of its staff works on some aspect of conservation which encompasses the full sweep of interrelated natural resources and their management. As a conservation document it falls into four natural divisions: The Big Woods (forests and mountains), Water, Beautification, and the Countryside. It tells, for instance, about the fight against soil erosion by planting the sand-stilling European beachgrass (*Ammophila arenaria*). It contains information about securing an adequate supply of pure water by protecting watersheds, elimination of water pollution, and destruction of submerged waterweeds and undesirable microscopic algae that thrive on the nutrients of sewerage and industrial effluents and obstruct the movement of good quality water. However, many aquatic algae perform essential functions in purifying water and providing nutrients for fish. It will require all the ingenuity of the biochemists and plant physiologists to find methods by which the undesirable aquatic flora can be eliminated without destruction of the biotic balance of living waters which is not possible without aquatic plant growth. No less serious are the problems of air pollution which seriously affect not only the agricultural productivity but also the health of the polluted area's residents. Here the fight is carried out on an interdepartmental basis.

An important field of activity for the biologists in the preservation of our natural resources consists in creating healthy conditions for the growth and development of desirable wild and cultivated plants and animals. Intensive pest control carried out by bacteriologists and entomologists is essential in eradicating plant and animal diseases, producing better crop yields, and creating sounder environmental conditions. On the other hand, intensive study of insect behavior has allowed entomologists to recommend the use of certain insects as weed killers and for the destruction of harmful insects.

A review of this remarkable Yearbook would be incomplete without saying a word about the preservation and enhancement of the natural splendor of the American landscape to which many thoughtful contributions are devoted. A countryside of well-kept farms, grass-covered rolling fields, tree-covered hillsides, and majestic mountain forests is indeed a sight to lift up the heart of every nature-loving American. But even the smallest object of nature's creation—a bird, a flower, a unicellular alga—may be considered from the viewpoint of esthetic as well as of morphological perfection. The Editor and the numerous photographers who contributed to the Yearbook should be complimented for their ability to capture this beauty in many photographs of brilliant impression, reproduced in radiant natural colors or in black and white, that bring out characteristic details with extraordinary similitude.

The biologist who sometimes may feel a sense of frustration by following a narrow path that leads him ever deeper into the secrets of life or the biology student who fails to see the wood for the trees should read the book. It will help to overcome one-sidedness. However, it is good reading material for every biologist whatever his speciality.

LT. THOMAS W. FOY

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lt. Thomas Walter Foy, a fine young soldier from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his bravery and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

LT. T. W. FOY, IN VIETNAM ACTION

A 23-year-old Army career officer from Baltimore has been killed in action in South Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

He was 1st Lt. Thomas Walter Foy, son of Mrs. Frederick C. Grueninger and the late Walter Foy.

CITADEL GRADUATE

Lieutenant Foy, a native of Baltimore, attended McDonogh School and was a graduate of The Citadel, in Charleston, S.C.

He went to Fort Benning, Ga., directly from school and trained with the airborne infantry.

He was transferred to Fort Bragg, N.C., and shipped out April 13 with the 173d Airborne Infantry Brigade, arriving in South Vietnam April 15, according to his wife, Mrs. Peggy S. Foy.

Mrs. Foy, who is living with her mother at 6034 Moorehead road, said she was notified that her husband had been killed May 15 at Bong Son. Death was attributed to shrapnel wounds.

Mrs. Foy said she had received a letter three days ago in which he wrote that he was soon to be promoted to captain.

She said that his letters were always cheerful and that he was a dedicated military man. Lieutenant and Mrs. Foy were married in June, 1966, in Charleston, after his graduation.

Besides his wife, Lieutenant Foy is survived by a sister, Miss Susan Gruening, and Mrs. Amelia Cialkowski, his paternal grandmother, both of Baltimore.

ONEONTA, ALA., GIRL HONORED BY MARINES

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, a young Marine from my congressional district, Pfc. Elizabeth M. Hall, who joined the Marine Corps in March, has been named the outstanding graduate in a class of 60 lady marine recruits training at Parris Island, S.C.

Patriotism was Miss Hall's strongest motivation for joining the armed services. Her efforts and achievements are certainly to be commended. I congratulate Miss Hall on her determination to do her part for our Nation, and insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a recent newspaper article from the Birmingham News, which tells the story of Pfc. Hall's service to her country, as follows:

ONEONTA GIRL IS HONORED BY MARINES

ONEONTA.—A 20-year-old Oneonta girl has scored a hit with the Marines.

Pfc. Elizabeth M. Hall, who joined the U.S. Marine Corps in March, has been named the outstanding graduate in a class of 60 lady Marine recruits training at Parris Island, S.C.

For her achievement, Miss Hall received the Leatherneck Award, which carried with it a meritorious promotion from the rank of private to that of private first class.

A graduate of Susan Moore High School in Blount County, Miss Hall attended Auburn University for one year. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. M. E. Hall, are both teachers at Susan Moore High.

Patriotism was her biggest motivation for joining the armed services, said the pretty Marine. "If people expect America to stay free, they're going to have to do more about it than just sit around and complain," she said.

NAVY CROSS AWARDED POSTHUMOUSLY TO TEXAN

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I was the first person to point out both from a factual and statistical standpoint as well as generally, the tremendous and heroic contributions on the part of that group of Americans known as Americans of Mexican descent in the struggle for the freedom and for the defense of our country.

I have pointed out time and time again that in World War II, it was from this group from the State of Texas that came the greatest number of Congressional Medal of Honor winners. The first man to fall in Korea from Texas was from this group. They served in great numbers during Korea, in fact, out of proportion to the relative size and population and though we have heard of prisoners of war languishing in Communist camps and being brainwashed and becoming turncoats, to the credit of this group there has never been recorded a turncoat of Mexican descent.

I was the first to point out during the present Vietnam war that tremendous and heroic contributions have been made by this same group. I pointed out last year the statistics revealing the heroism and the service of our soldiers emanating from this particular part of our society. Today, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress the heroic story of one of these brave men who fell in battle in the most noble and epic tradition of these Americans, HC3c. Armando G. Leal, Jr.

I include a Navy citation and news item, as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Washington.

The President of the United States takes pride in presenting the Navy Cross posthumously to Armando G. Leal, Jr., Hospital Corpsman Third Class, United States Navy, for service as set forth in the following citation:

For extraordinary heroism on 4 September 1967 while serving as a corpsman with the 2nd Platoon, Company "M", 3rd Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division (Rein), FMF, in connection with operations against enemy aggressor forces in the Republic of Vietnam. During Operation SWIFT, the 2nd Platoon was providing security for the Battalion Command Group when the platoon came under heavy enemy fire. Petty Officer (then Hospitalman) Leal ran through the fire-swept area, and began administering first aid to several casualties who were directly exposed to grazing fire. Although constantly exposed to heavy fire, and painfully wounded himself, he rendered aid for two hours to wounded Marines who were located between friendly and enemy lines. He refused to be evacuated in order that he might continue his mission of mercy. While treating his comrades and moving them to protected areas, Petty Officer Leal was severely wounded for a second time and, despite being immobilized, calmly continued to aid his wounded comrades. A Marine tried to drag him to a covered position, but was shot in the hand and, at that time, Petty Officer Leal received a third wound. Petty Officer Leal pushed the Marine and told him to take cover from the assaulting enemy whom they

both could see. Suddenly a North Vietnamese soldier fired a machine gun from close range, mortally wounding Petty Officer Leal. Through his swift actions and professional skill, in aiding and protecting the wounded, he significantly eased the suffering and undoubtedly saved the lives of several of his comrades. His exceptional courage and unfaltering dedication to duty in the face of great personal risk were in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

Paul R. Ignatius,
Secretary of the Navy
(For the President).

Parents Will Get Medal for Hero

The Navy's highest honor will be presented posthumously Tuesday to Hospitalman Armando Leal Jr., 20 of San Antonio, who was killed in Vietnam last September.

The young man's father, Armando Leal, will receive the Navy Cross medal at 1 p.m. in ceremonies at the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps Training Center, 311 E. Arsenal St.

Leal Sr., a Kelly AFB employe, volunteered for an assignment so he could be near his son. He arrived in Vietnam a day after the son had been killed during a heroic performance of duty.

The citation, in the name of the President of the United States, credits Leal with "extraordinary heroism" by exposing himself to heavy enemy fire for two hours while administering first aid to Marine casualties trapped between friendly and enemy lines.

The Navy says he was painfully wounded, but "refused to be evacuated in order that he might continue his mission of mercy."

According to the military, Leal was badly wounded while moving Marines to a protected area. He was wounded a second time and, despite being immobilized, he calmy continued to "aid his wounded comrades."

Leal was wounded a third time, the citation says, but continued his ministrations until he was dropped in his tracks by a burst of machinegun fire.

The citation concludes: "Through his swift actions and professional skill in aiding and protecting the wounded, he significantly eased the suffering and undoubtedly saved the lives of several of his comrades. His exceptional courage and unfaltering dedication to duty in the face of personal risk were in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service."

A Harlandale High School graduate, Leal was serving with the First Marine Division when he was killed during Operation Swift at Loc Quang Tin.

His father, a veteran SAAMA employe at Kelly, had volunteered for assignment to a Rapid Area Supply Support team bound for Da Nang Air Base.

The young man's mother also will be on hand to receive the posthumous award.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. MARK ANDREWS

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, it is my custom to send a monthly report to my constituents in North Dakota. Under unanimous consent I insert the following report in the Record at this time:

Whatever thoughts or opinions you may have with reference to their leaders, their actions or their motives, the thousands of people camped by the Lincoln Memorial in Washington serve as dramatic reminders that there is poverty and hunger in our nation. It isn't just reserved for those who flaunt their deprivation like some kind of badge of honor, nor is it just found in big-city ghettos and the backwoods of the rural South. Underfed, unemployed and ill-housed people exist throughout the United States and theirs is a national problem which must be the concern of us all.

Poverty isn't new to the U.S., of course, nor are government attempts to alleviate it. Since 1960, tax money to aid the poor has tripled (see chart) and many people feel the only way to solve the problem is to spend even more money. Completely overlooked have been two key questions that should be asked of every Federal program: How well have they been planned and administered? How responsive have they been to the needs of individuals?

FEDERAL AID TO THE POOR[1]

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Category	1960 actual	1963 actual	1967 actual	1968 estimate	1969 estimate
Education	$0.1	$0.1	$2.0	$2.3	$2.5
Work and training	(2)	(2)	1.0	1.2	1.6
Health	.6	.9	3.2	4.1	4.7
Cash benefit payments	8.3	10.4	12.8	14.6	15.9
Other social welfare and economic services	.5	1.0	2.0	2.4	2.9
Total	9.5	12.5	21.1	24.6	27.7

[1] Figures represent new obligational authority for Federal funds and expenditures in the case of trust funds.

[2] Less than $50,000,000.

The answers to these questions today is the shanty-town by the Lincoln Memorial as it represents the disillusionment and despair shared by all of America's hungry and poor. It is a massive indictment of the Administration's programs which, though costing far more money than ever before in our nation's history, have failed to come close to the goal.

Recognizing this, a number of my colleagues and I joined in introducing legislation to establish a *Commission on Hunger* whose duty it will be to determine why it is all of the Federal food programs in effect today have failed to effectively erase hunger from our midst. Rep. Carl Perkins (D-Ky), who joined with us in sponsoring this bill, is Chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, and he has already started hearings on it.

I also believe Congress should enact—at the earliest possible date—a system of tax sharing, to return to the states a fixed percentage of taxes collected. Funds from this source could be used to lighten the load of local taxation, an ever increasing burden, and to revitalize programs in education and health as well as welfare at the local level. This is the approach in a bill I introduced early in this Congress to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It provides for returning tax funds from the Federal Government to the State and local governments with control remaining at the local level. My amendment has been widely endorsed by North Dakota school officials, and the approach has the support of the Council of Chief State School Officers and the National PTA.

Our nation does have the assets with which to work. Federal income in fiscal 1960 was about $90 billion. In fiscal 1969, it will be nearly $178 billion. Thus, we have $88 billion more to invest in building a greater and stronger nation responsive to the needs of all our people. Those who say that all of our deficit problems are caused by the war in Vietnam do not recognize that during the last two years, two-thirds of our budget increases have gone for domestic programs and only one-third for military.

Thus, the opportunity does exist to accomplish far more without raising taxes—if only we invest the Federal income more wisely and prudently.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the Republican coordinating committee task force on national security has published this week a most comprehensive and thoughtful review of our Nation's problems in the vital field of defense research and development. As a member of the task force, I am particularly concerned that all interested Senators and other Americans have available for their review a text of this document, entitled "Research and Development: Our Neglected Weapon."

I, and many others, believe the Nation must do better than we are now in this field to insure our safety and strength for the future.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that the task force report, certain supporting tables, footnotes, and appendixes, and a list of the members of the task force on national security be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Members of the Republican Coordinating Committee's Task Force on National Security

Neil H. McElroy, Co-Chairman, Secretary of Defense, 1957–1959.

Thomas S. Gates, Jr., Co-Chairman, Secretary of Defense, 1959–1961.

Wilfred J. McNeil, Vice Chairman, Assistant Secretary of Defense and Comptroller, 1949–1959.

E. Perkins McGuire, Vice Chairman, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Supply and Logistics, 1956–1961.

Dewey F. Bartlett, Governor of the State of Oklahoma.

William H. Bates, Member of Congress from Massachusetts.

Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of U.S. Naval Operations, 1955–1961.

George H. Decker, Chief of Staff, United States Army, 1960–1962.

James H. Douglas, Jr., Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1959–1961.

Harry D. Felt, Commander in Chief in Pacific, 1958–1964.

T. Keith Glennan, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1958–1961.

Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, 1953–1956.

Craig Hosmer, Member of Congress from California.

William E. Minshall, Member of Congress from Ohio.

James B. Pearson, United States Senator from Kansas.

Arthur W. Radford, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1953–1957.

Bernard A. Schriever, Commander, Air Force Systems Command, 1961–1966.

Mansfield D. Sprague, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1957–1958.

Nathan W. Twining, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1957–1960.

John G. Tower, United States Senator from Texas.

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS

Robert C. Hill, United States Ambassador to Mexico, 1957–1961.

Maurice H. Stans, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, 1958–1961.

Anthony J. Jurich, Secretary to the Task Force.

Research and Development: Our Neglected Weapon

> "It is customary in democratic countries to deplore expenditures on armaments as conflicting with the requirements of the social services. There is a tendency to forget that the most important social service that a government can do for its people is to keep them alive and free."
>
> —Air Chief Marshal Sir JOHN SLESSOR.

INTRODUCTION

Peace with freedom is our nation's goal. Strength and determination are the keys but technological superiority is indispensable to our continued strength.

Only through technological superiority can our nation excel in discovering and developing advanced weapon systems. With the will to maintain military superiority, our nation can expect to deter war or defeat an aggressor should deterrence fail.

By 1961 the United States has stayed at peace for eight years through weapon superiority and skillful use of diplomacy and military power. The weapon superiority was achieved through aggressive scientific and technological research and development.

Present defense policies are depriving America of this critical superiority. There is wishful thinking about our present and future security.

Fearful lest new developments might provoke undesirable Soviet reactions, the Administration thus failed to exploit boldly new concepts in science and technology. There has been a euphoric hope that the world's pace of military science and technology can somehow be slowed—that man's inquisitiveness and ingenuity can be diverted or curbed.[1] As a result our country's research and development has not been aggressively pursued and the consequence has been a slowdown in new weapons development. Decisions so premised seriously endanger the nation.

A major technological breakthrough can decisively tilt the balance of power. Lead time—the time required to advance a new weapons system from concept to production and use is now five to 10 to as much as 15 years. Because of this long lead time—because, also, each scientific breakthrough feeds and spurs other discoveries—the nation that falls behind the weapons system cycle will likely have neither the time nor the capability to catch up.

The outcome of a future major war will probably be determined in scientific research laboratories and factories long before hostilities start. Never again can any major nation reasonably expect to prepare and catch up after war has begun. The technological war is being actively waged today and tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. On its outcome will hinge the survival of our nation and the free world.[2]

RECOMMENDED U.S. OBJECTIVES

The United States Government should proclaim America's military scientific and technological objectives firmly and clearly. At the minimum, these objectives should include:

Retention of a dominant deterrent posture.

An aggressive research and development effort to ensure technological superiority.

Technological leadership in weapons systems for both general and limited war.

To achieve these objectives, the United States must pursue preeminence in all scientific disciplines. This nation cannot content itself with stalemate or parity.

PRESENT POLICIES

During the past few years our national security policies and programs have fallen critically short of these objectives. There has been a lack of effort to achieve and maintain technological superiority. There has been a failure to acquire and deploy new systems on a timely basis. We imperatively require new weapons—weapons which will maintain for America in the 1970's the military superiority we have enjoyed in the 1960's as a result of vigorous research, development and procurement in the 1950's. (See appendix I.)

Neither Congress nor the public were consulted about, or informed of, the portentous shift made in recent years of the direction of our research and defense policies. Until the 1960's we sought clear-cut American *superiority*. In contrast current policies appear to accept, if not to seek *parity* with the USSR.

The Administration's approach has been passive—a sterile, inadequate "reaction."[3] New developments have received emphasis only when justified as responses to visible new threats. Yet, new enemy threats can be secretly in development for five or six years before they are detected. (See appendix II.) In any area, therefore, we can fall years behind if our advances in the same area are contingent on the known progress of other nations.

For seven years the Administration has concentrated on reducing the risk and expense in new weapons procurement. It has required the military services to show that all necessary technology is "in hand" as a prerequisite for approving new programs.[4] The goal of budget saving has been laudable, but the net effect produces second-best, obsolescent systems compared to those of countries willing to press technology forward throughout the development cycle. If all technology must be in hand six months to a year before contract, and five or more years must elapse between contract and delivery, subsequent technological advances can be incorporated in the final systems only as retrofits. Systems so developed are likely to be obsolescent before they reach the field. However, even with "technology in hand" there have been proposed new systems that have been denied.

The Administration further demands excessive assurance of a clear-cut military requirement[5] before proceeding with the research and development of a new weapons system.

In years past, intelligence estimates permitted responsible planning three to five years ahead, by identifying new threats, then establishing requirements for countering systems in time to cope with the conditions. Today the operating commanders cannot forecast requirements with assurance because the intelligence visibility cannot project far enough. They are, therefore, unable to establish the concrete requirements demanded by current policy. The policy is directly at odds with the realities of modern science and technology.

Implicit in today's policy and procedural impediments are conceptual barriers to the pursuit of aggressive research and development.

People powerfully situated in this Administration have believed that for the foreseeable future the United States and the Soviet Union will be at a standoff in advanced military technology and little can be done to alter this balance. The political derivative of this concept has been that the standoff, or stalemate, enhances world stability and improves the prospect for peace. The military derivative has been that, under an umbrella of technological standoff, future conflicts will be confined to low orders of intensity.

It is claimed by some that we have reached a technological "plateau."[6] The contention is that further improvements can contribute only marginally to our military strength and are likely to disturb the international equilibrium, increase tensions, and thereby increase the likelihood of war.

There is increasing concern in the scientific, industrial and military communities that these policies and concepts will cause us to fall critically behind.[7]

In February this year the Director of Research and Engineering for the Department of Defense testified that since 1964 the overall research and technological effort has decreased by a "critical" 30 percent. He concluded, "I have become convinced that the net effect of continuing this trend will be a serious weakening of our long term national security position."[8]

The trend has been made even more disturbing by—

Unwise application of cost effectiveness[9] (see appendix III);

Misuse of the "building block" approach to research and development;

Current budgetary practices (see appendix IV);

Administrative impediments flowing from overcentralization and over-regulation in the Department of Defense;[10]

The stifling of creativity;[11]

Faulty application of arms control concepts;[12] and

A lack of leadership and purpose necessary to create a climate of understanding and participation by the academic community.

THE SHIFTING BALANCE

So restrained and inhibited, the United States has been gradually losing its technological and military preeminence. Meanwhile, the Soviets have unrelentingly pursued superiority. (See appendix V.)

The Administration acknowledges that the Soviets are increasing both the quantity and quality of their ICBM and submarine forces. For the first time the Soviets are deploying large naval forces in the Mediterranean. They have already built and deployed an ABM system. They admit to developing and testing an Orbital Bombardment System. They are known to be building at least three new fighter aircraft systems, a supersonic transport, and a VSTOL system (Vertical Short Takeoff and Landing Aircraft). Their tactical forces are being equipped with new IRBM's (SCAMP), and their surface fleet has a new class of surface-to-surface missiles. Their submarine missile forces are being augmented and modernized with new boats and second generation missiles. There is every reason to believe that they are still building and stockpiling very high yield nuclear weapons, 20 to 50 megatons or more, while testing underground new families of small and lower yield tactical and naval nuclear weapons.

In another arena of potential conflict the Soviets are also making great strides. Their nuclear submarine fleet is overtaking ours in quality and quantity. While our own development and construction of advanced nuclear submarines have been impeded by top level vacillation, Russia's newest vessels are running deeper, faster and quieter than previously, according to recent testimony given to the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee by Vice Admiral Hyman Rickover and Rear Admiral Eugene B. Fluckey. In another naval development the Soviets are constructing aircraft carriers for helicopters and short-takeoff aircraft designed to assist their expanding sphere of influence.

In research and development we must assume the Soviets are working on multiple warheads (MIRV). This is a serious threat, since their ICBM boosters can carry much greater payloads than ours, thus out-matching the Administration MIRV programs in quantity or yield or both. They are already recognized leaders in cybernetics, and seek to

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Footnotes at end of article.

surpass the United States in other technologies such as laser, hypersonic propulsion, biological research, and all aspects of space research. Test facilities are a key to progress; the Soviet wind tunnels, accelerator and test chambers at their science city of Novosibirsk far exceed the capabilities of those we have built in recent years.

Against this obvious Soviet reach for technological and military supremacy, what has been the U.S. record these past seven years?

Over-all, it is an appalling record. During all this period there has been not one new start on advanced strategic or nuclear weapon systems. Every ICBM and every strategic bomber in America's arsenal today was a legacy from the Eisenhower Administration of the 1950's.

Even in military space systems the major emphasis has consistently been on passive satellites until the recent approval of the Manned Orbital Laboratory program—a program delayed for years. Advanced programs under development by the Eisenhower Administration—Dynasoar and SPAD—were cancelled.

In the tactical area, the aircraft carrying the burden in Vietnam—the F–4, F–105, and the A–6—were all initiated in the 1950's. The primary missiles used by these aircraft, such as Sidewinder, Bullpup and Shrike, are all Eisenhower Administration developments.

The effort to transform the TFX (F–111) into an all-purpose, all-service aircraft has created serious problems. Against military advice, the F–111 was selected as a superior, yet economical, weapons system based upon a misguided and overstated emphasis on commonality. The aircraft were to cost approximately $2.4 million each. Now they are priced at more than $6 million each. How ironic that an Administration which has advocated primary reliance on conventional limited warfare and extolled "cost effectiveness" has fixed upon the TFX for this role—a plane designed primarily as a nuclear delivery system and cost-effective only as such! In view of the recent decision that the F–111B, the Navy version, is unacceptable and a substitute aircraft has been initiated, the final cost of the program will increase enormously coupled with years of delay.

The program has resulted in the Air Force having a new aircraft that does not meet the original requirements nor even the downgraded performance agreed to when they were forced into the commonality decision. The F–111B Navy version has been found unacceptable and the FB–111 Bomber version does not meet Air Force requirements for an advanced bomber in the 1970 time frame.

Still less comprehensible is the Administration's decision to rely on the F–106 of the early fifties' technological vintage for our air defense forces. For more than five years we have had far superior Mach 3 fighters such as the F–12 flying on test. The F–106 is slower than the French Concorde, a transport. It is at least one generation behind the F–12 engine, materials, and performance figures. The fact that for at least three years we could have built F–12 fighters superior to any aircraft in the Soviet inventory, and to date have deliberately passed the opportunity by, further suggests that the Administration is less than zealous in keeping the United States ahead.

In the development of smaller tactical weapons the Administration has also been content to drift. Forced at last to act by the war in Vietnam, it began a crash program with the high costs, inefficiencies and waste that always attend such programs. Dr. Eugene G. Fubini, Deputy Director of Defense Research and Engineering from 1963–1965, said that because the many weapons requirements for the Vietnam war had not been anticipated, the United States was forced to wage the war not as it ought to be fought, but according to the weapons available. After citing a number of new weapons requirements for fighting the limited type of war, he said, "I hope these requirements are properly documented today, but I am not sure."[13]

Shortly after escalation of the conflict in Vietnam, the Department of Defense submitted to Congress the first of a number of emergency supplemental requests, including $152 million for research and development. These additional funds provided for such items as jungle communications equipment, emergency airfield equipment and jungle boots, all obviously necessary for military action in a tropical environment. Some work in such areas had been in progress, but at a far more leisurely pace than dictated by a realistic appraisal of the threat and need. This dilatory approach typifies the Administration's "crisis-reaction" approach to preparedness.[14]

This capsulated review illustrates that our nation's efforts in military science technology and new weapon procurement have been critically deficient for seven years. In the strategic area alone we should have new advanced systems in being today. If we did, our deterrent posture and hence the cause of world peace would be strengthened.

Improvement of existing weapon systems are often cited by the Administration as proof of its zeal for technological superiority. However, the improvements have often been parts of original systems concepts and carried out in the normal development cycle.

Where are the new developments dictated by objective assessment of the threat and the pace of technology? What will be our security posture five to ten years from now? What is this Administration's legacy to our nation?

SOVIET POLICY

The objectives of the Soviet scientific and technological effort have been openly stated by their leaders and are apparent in their achievements. In 1962, the Soviet Minister of Defense, the late Marshall Rodion Malinovsky, stated that the USSR had to accelerate its efforts to exploit the strategic potentials of modern science and technology. He said, "We do not intend to follow behind in development or be inferior to our public enemies in any way . . . in the competition for quality or armament in the future . . . (our) superiority will evermore increase."

Since the late 1950's Soviet budgetary allocations for research and development have been rising sharply. (See appendix V.) They are expected to continue to rise.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order for the United States to maintain technological superiority to serve both military and economic ends, the following steps are urgently needed:

A firm policy of assuring military superiority for the United States must be adopted and implemented.

Establishment of priorities for weapons systems development must be derived from an objective assessment of the threat, on the one hand, and the pace of technology, on the other, then aggressively pursued with adequate funding.

Redefinition of authority at a lower level, restoring responsibility and initiative to responsible commands of the military departments.

Reintroduction of healthy, but controlled, inter-service competition to include actual weapons development in addition to paper studies.

Revision of organization and procedures to help encourage initiative and foster creativity in research and development.

An adequate technical facility base, both government and private, must be reestablished and maintained.

An increased level of joint research and development effort with our allies should be encouraged.

CONCLUSIONS

This nation's research and development effort has not been progressing at a pace equal to either the accelerating spiral of science and technology or the expanding threat. The Soviets in particular have exhibited an aggressive research and development effort to win the technological race. We must also realize that any other nation may achieve a technological surprise. A new event can happen in any scientific discipline; innovations are not restricted to scientists associated only with the military or with any particular nation.

In our view, technological superiority is demanded by both military requirements and economic necessity. Since the means to achieve superiority will have been determined years before, and we have already forfeited years, decisions must be made with great urgency to reorient our research and development programs. Advances in technology must be exploited in weapons development with imagination, determination and zeal. At stake is the peace and security of the United States and the Free World.

Footnotes at end of article.

APPENDIX I

NEW GUIDED MISSILE "STARTS" AND MISSILE TYPES IN PRODUCTION, POST-KOREAN PERIOD, GOVERNMENT FISCAL YEARS

	1954–57		1958–61		1962–65		1966–68	
	New starts	In production	New starts	In production	New starts	In production	New starts	In production
ICBM	3	0	1	3	0	4	0	2
Air-to-air	0	3	0	3	1	3	0	2
Air-to-surface	3	0	3	3	1	6	2	5
Surface-to-air	1	2	2	7	1	8	1	5
Surface-to-surface	4	7	2	9	3	13	1	4
ASW	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	2
Total	12	12	9	26	6	36	4	20

Note: Does not include canceled programs or research programs, or program definition efforts. Multiple-use weapons are considered program.

NEW AIRCRAFT "STARTS AND AIRCRAFT TYPES IN PRODUCTION, POST-KOREAN PERIOD, GOVERNMENT FISCAL YEARS

Type	1954–57		1958–61		1962–65		1966–68	
	New starts	In production	New starts	In production	New starts	In production	New starts	In production
Bomber	0	5	0	4	0	0	0	1
Attack	2	2	0	4	1	6	0	2
Fighter	2	12	1	13	1	4	0	3
Cargo/transport	3	6	3	7	1	8	0	6
ASW/surveillance	2	4	2	7	0	4	0	3
Trainer	3	5	0	5	0	5	0	5
Utility	5	6	3	12	0	17	2	12
Total	17	40	9	52	3	44	2	32

Note: Does not include canceled or research programs, or program definition efforts. Multiple-use airframes are considered 1 program.

APPENDIX II

INTELLIGENCE VISIBILITY

A fundamental of the decision-making process for research and development is the intelligence input.

The intelligence visibility chart (not reproduced in RECORD), portraying the development cycle of a weapons system over the average span at 10–15 years, reveals that we ordinarily receive fairly good intelligence in the early basic research period. However, once a practical military application or potential is identified, this visibility usually disappears for the next five to six years. The new weapons systems then suddenly appear in a Soviet May Day parade or during testing, having by that point completed the basic development cycle. Thus, our present policies, which require "hard" evidence before we undertake an aggressive development program of our own, tend to keep us six or more years behind.

This delay is induced also by the Administration's inclination to give greater weight to optimistic assessments of Soviet intentions than to hardheaded measurements of capabilities. For example, the Administration persuaded itself that the Soviets would probably not deploy an orbital bombardment vehicle or an anti-ballistic missile system. Part of the problem is "mirror thinking." Our leaders having decided against utilizing these systems, they assumed the Soviets would reason similarly. It was a gross mistake.

In a period when science and technology are making significant strides and the evidence is that the Soviets are aggressively advancing the state of the art, this nation must weigh heavily the Soviet capabilities. An example is the Soviet achievement of "fractional" orbital capability. Knowing also that they have adequate control and thrust, we must assume that they now have or soon will have a complete orbital capability, international treaties notwithstanding. We must not wait until we suddenly discover that such a vehicle is being tested. This precautionary approach must be applied across the whole weapons spectrum.

APPENDIX III

COST-EFFECTIVENESS APPLICATIONS

The use of cost-effectiveness in evaluating military programs is not new. This management tool has been used for many years. In recent years, however, the tool has become, not the servant, but the master of management.

This result may not have been intended but has developed in the Department of Defense as costs analysts have become dominant in the decision-making process. Not infrequently conclusions so reached discard valid military judgment.

Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover (Ret.), a frequent critic of the way "cost-effectiveness" criteria have been applied, asserted that if "cost-effectiveness" had ruled in 1948, the U.S. would not then have built its first atomic submarine. He stated also that in calculating the relative worth of a weapon or type of defense cost-effectiveness studies make no allowance for the value of human life.

In testimony before the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee in 1966. Admiral Rickover revealed a most important flaw in this process, stating that, "In some cases decisions appear to have been made ahead of time and subsequently justified." The Congressional committees concerned with defense have found it extremely difficult and often impossible to obtain the actual cost-effectiveness studies upon which critical decisions have been based.

The currently used cost-effectiveness procedure impairs new weapons developments in two ways. It makes the gaining of Defense Department approval for the development and production of new weapons an extremely involved process, intruding another time-consuming procedure in an already excessively complicated decision-making process.

Second, cost-effectiveness studies demand elaborate costing data. Technology must be in hand in order for precise costing information to be obtained. A research program pushing the state of the art has too many unknowns to be costed precisely. Further, a proposed improvement in a system growing out of a technological advance requires another round of cost-effectiveness analysis on that system.

Cost-effectiveness studies as currently developed give maximum priority to quantifiable data and tend to subordinate subjective factors, even human life.

These studies appear modern, scientific and objective. Applied properly, they can be. But they are misused when their conclusions are permitted to dominate essentially military decisions or justify predetermined views.

Prejudgment validation seems to have occurred when the Department of Defense was attempting to justify its TFX position before the National Security and International Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Government Operations Committee. Alain Enthoven, Assistant Secretary for Systems Analysis, was asked by the Chairman, Senator Jackson, if a cost-effectiveness study had been made on the TFX. He replied no, that at the time the cost-effectiveness technique had not been fully developed. Yet in subsequent discussions he justified the cancellation of the Skybolt program on the basis of cost-effectiveness studies developed in the same period the TFX decision was made.

Thousands of studies costing millions of dollars have been undertaken the past few years. These repeated studies were described by Admiral Rickover as "fog bombs," serving only to conceal the issues under a blanket of fog.

Atomic Energy Commissioner Ramey expressed the problem in these terms: "I would conclude that the abuse of the cost-effectiveness techniques can be just as lethal to a new development project as the unscrupulous use of the requirements system."

The combination of the "requirements" and "cost-effectiveness" criteria have been the major reasons given for not aggressively pursuing such programs as an advanced bomber, the advance manned interceptor, and military applications in space.

APPENDIX IV

BUDGETARY CONSIDERATIONS

Fiscal responsibility is a requisite in the Research, Development, Test and Evaluation (RDT&E) budget, as in any other budget. Fiscal responsibility, however, does not mean instituting excessive controls and red tape. It does mean having an orderly and effective procedure which enables timely and complete informaton to be presented for approval. It means effectve controls, but in R&D where developments cannot be precisely predicted flexibility is required to prevent the stifling of innovation.

The major requirement in research and development is disciplined, imaginative intelligence. Funds must be provided to support the intelligence, but the quantity of dollars is not an absolute index of effective research effort.

Since funds are never unlimited, priorites must be establshed. Once they are established, sufficient funding must be applied to produce the weapons system in the time frame dictated by the pace of technology and the assessment of the threat.

The Administration contends that in their years of managing defense research and development programs they have increased the funding by over 300 percent. In gross numbers by current definitions, perhaps this is correct, but at least two other factors have an important bearing on the validity of this contention. First, in 1963, the accounting system was changed. Many items originally considered production funds are now in R&D. Items such as prototypes that formerly were paid from the production account are not in the RDT&E account.

Second, inflation and higher wages have imposed cost increases of well over five percent each year.

An evaluation of these items, coupled with the ever greater cost of more sophisticated weapons systems, suggests that rather than a 300 percent increase there has been no increase or even a reduction in the total effective R&D total.

Secretary McNamara's Defense Posture Statement for Fiscal Year 1969 admitted that basic research funding has declined: "During FY 1965–68, after adjusting for inflation, research funding declined."

The Statement further described this category as the source for the development of major systems and added, ". . . the effectiveness of the weapons systems we will have a decade hence and our technological strength generally, will depend critically on how well we conduct these two categories of R&D over the next few years."

Viewing this problem in perspective requires an evaluation of the past seven years. There is evidence in this paper of serious, if not critical, difficulties.

Since most research and development programs are not broadly understood or appreciated, their funding in times of fiscal stringency is deferrable without immediate adverse reaction. The complexity of research and development programs makes it difficult for those not intimately familiar with defense R&D requirements to assess their importance. For fiscal and political reasons, therefore, R&D frequently is subjected to fiscal manipulations, the full impact of which is not felt for five or six years.

For example, in the Fiscal Year 1968 budget, the Administration has asked the Department of Defense to cut back in an attempt to prevent the need for a supplemental request during an election year. The cutback figures reported are in excess of 6 billion dollars. Part of this cutback applies to research and development funds. The technique is not to discontinue the whole program, but to reduce the funding level and thereby impose delays.

Whether or not the total Research, Development, Test and Evaluation budget should be increased or decreased is not easily determined. On the one hand, the fiscal juggling, increases in non-productive studies and excessive red tape would suggest that the budget can be cut. On the other hand, necessary programs have been delayed, others have not started, the Soviets continue their aggressive effort and the pace of science and technology is continuing to spiral, all suggesting a budget increase. These and other factors urgently need analysis in depth and an objective answer developed for the sake of our national security.

APPENDIX V

THE SHIFTING BALANCE

United States military superiority today is largely an Eisenhower legacy. In the all-important strategic area, for example, the post-Eisenhower Administrations inherited both the Minuteman and the Polaris systems. Our strategic bombers, the B–52's and the B–58's, were developed prior to the 1960's.

In the strategic aircraft field, there has been no new development of a bomber as a bomber. The modification of the F–111 does not significantly advance the state of the art nor can it adequately perform the mission required of a new strategic bomber in the coming decade.

In the past seven years, this Administration has not developed or produced a prototype of any new Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) system. There has been significant development effort on multiple individually guided warheads (MIRV). This program must be given a high priority so that we will have proven production units as rapidly as possible.

The Air Force WS-120A, the advanced ICBM weapons systems program, repeatedly delayed, was scheduled to go into contract definition phase in fiscal 1968. It will not go into that phase until after Fiscal Year 1969, if at all.

In the tactical area, the aircraft carrying the burden in Vietnam—the F–4, F–105, and the A–6—all were initiated in the 1950's. The primary missiles being used by these aircraft, such as Sidewinder, Bullpup and Shrike, are all Eisenhower developments.

In the attack aircraft category, the Administration has introduced the A–7 (VAL) aircraft which is actually an improved F–8 of 1953 vintage, which in no way materially advances the state of the art.

The most advanced aircraft we have today is the F–12 or SR–71 whose genesis was the secret A–11 started in 1958 under security wraps. Although we have in this aircraft a proven and necessary system, only a few reconnaissance versions have been purchased, notwithstanding repeated Service demands expressing the advantage of an air defense version. This Administration has not even provided funds to keep open a production line so that additional aircraft can be readily procured when required at reasonable costs.

In the cargo-transport area, there has been one addition since 1961—the C–5A. In accordance with existing policy, the C–5A, although a new development, is based upon current technology. It is primarily an increase in size.

The increase in Soviet submarine activity and capability makes our antisubmarine warfare ability increasingly important. The major aircraft role is being handled by the P–3, started in 1958. In the anti-submarine warfare missile category, ASROC and SUBROC were started in 1956 and 1958 respectively.

As of this time, no advanced anti-submarine warfare aircraft has been developed.

There has been one new development start on an air-to-air missile, the Phoenix (Scram); two in the surface-to-air, Sprint and Spartan; and two in the tactical surface-to-surface category, Lance and Tow.

In the crucial area of military use of space, positive direction and aggressive effort are lacking. Our efforts have been largely defensive, rather than a balanced mix of offense and defense. During a Congressional hearing in 1966, Lieutenant General Ferguson, Chief of Air Force research and development, was asked how well we are doing in outpacing Soviet technology in the field of space. He answered, ". . . I am frankly concerned at the outlook. . . ." Various Congressional committees have expressed the same concern. The House Committee on Government Operations in a 1966 report stated: "The Committee believes that in the interest of national security the potential manned military uses of space deserve immediate increased attention." (Report "Government Operations in Space.")

The Army has been struggling for approval of the development of an armed helicopter since the early 1960's and finally was given approval in the Fiscal Year 1966 budget. Even here it should be noted that the program was not in the original FY 1966 budget request, although by that time the war in Vietnam had clearly established the need.

In discussing the effects of current policies on Army R&D projects, General Harold K. Johnson, Army Chief of Staff, told the Senate Armed Services Committee in discussing the Fiscal Year 1969 defense budget: "Repeated stretch-outs of equipment development projects not only lead to increases in total costs, but also invite the risk of fielding new—but already obsolescent—equipment when it finally is accepted as standard issue. This provides only marginal improvement of the replaced equipment, which in the interim has had to be modified—at added cost—in order to maintain its usefulness in coping with an everchanging threat."

"The Soviet government is not limiting itself to those military means which the adversary has. Undoubtedly, this would be insufficient. The creation of new methods of combat which the imperialistic aggressor still does not possess is a task of Soviet science and technology." ("War and Politics," USSR Ministry of Defense, 1962.)

In 1962, during a closed-door Senate hearing on the FY–66 defense budget, the Secretary of Defense was asked, "Is it just a matter of time before the Russians catch up with the U.S. in strategic nuclear forces?" The Secretary responded, "There is no indication that they are catching up or planning to catch up—I am simply saying that there is no indication they are in a race at this time."

As a result of sustained efforts, the Soviet leaders have made tremendous strides in their nation's scientific and technological posture and have translated these gains into the whole spectrum of military hardware. The major emphasis has been to concentrate on what is called the high payoff area: that is, nuclear weapons and advanced delivery systems for those weapons.

A major acceleration by the Soviets has taken place since the extensive 1961–62 nuclear test series.

Since the 58 megaton test in 1961, they have claimed to possess a 100 megaton weapon. The claim has feasibility. In November 1964, a second generation ICBM, THE SS–7 or SASIN, was first displayed in a Moscow parade. In the early 1960's, the second generation ICBM missile SS–8 was deployed. In the 1965 May Day Parade, the Soviets displayed a smaller ICBM—the SAVAGE which appears to be similar to the Minuteman. The Scrag was again shown in November 1965 and the Soviets now claim it is a missile with an orbital bombardment capability. Also, in 1965, the Soviets first paraded a large mobile missile the Scrooge enclosed in a pod on a carrier. Statements and evidence suggest that they are developing mobile missiles and launchers for both their ICBM and IRBM.

Observers at the November 1967 Parade reported a new ICBM, a new generation I/MRBM, and a new Polaris-type missile.

Extensive work is known to be going on in aerospace propulsion and related items. At least three new air-to-air missiles have been seen since 1962, each deployed with a different new fighter. The three new missiles have been code named Alkali, Ash and Awl. The three new fighters bear the western code name Fishpot C (a limited all-weather fighter), Fiddler (a long-range interceptor and reconnaissance aircraft) and Flipper (also known as Mig 23).

During the 1967 Domodedovo Air Show, three other new aircraft were shown, including one with VSTOL capability. During this show, Chief Marshal Vershinin and Marshal Krasovski, emphasized Soviet ability in air launched strategic missiles. They also indicated intense interest in anti-submarine warfare, saying that the Soviet naval aircraft, presumably the Beriev Be 8, had been equipped with "an assortment of means to detect and destroy underwater vessels."

It is almost certain that the Soviet equivalent of the U.S. Supersonic Transport (SST) could readily become a bomber.

In naval developments, the Soviets displayed a new ballistic missile—SARK—in 1962, which was described as both a shipboard and a field weapon. Two years later in the November Anniversary Parade, a second generation solid fueled inertially guided Sub-Launched Ballistic missile (SLBM), the SERB, was displayed.

To develop a Polaris defense the Soviets are diverting part of their bomber fleet with improved sensing devices and offensive capability. They also are developing anti-submarine warfare aircraft carriers and a growing fleet of Polaris-type nuclear missile submarines.

By the early 1960's, the Soviet service fleet was also being equipped with new classes of short-range surface-to-surface missiles.

In the May Day Parade in 1965, the Scamp, a mobile IRBM with solid propellent, was first displayed.

Certainly the most dramatic Soviet development in recent years has been the development and deployment of their ABM system. Although its precise effectivness and extensiveness is a matter of debate in our intelligence community, work is continuing.

The recent tests of the Orbital Bombardment System have been said to be fractional. Nevertheless, the Soviets have exhibited the capability for a complete Orbital Bombardment System.

Also being reported is Soviet effort in multiple warheads, a dramatic and serious new development. It is probable a program in this area would include individually guided warheads.

Development of military transports ranging up to the giant Antonov An–22 are being pursued. Reports also indicate a wide variety of specifically designed air transportable tanks, armored personnel carriers and self-propelled artillery with increasing emphasis on the lower levels of weapons.

The Soviets are known to be doing an enormous amount of work in the area of computers, information process and cybernetics. This capabilit. itself will provide tremendous assistance to all the other phases of military R&D.

Lasers seem to be an area of particular interest to the Soviets.

Clearly the Soviets are placing extensive effort in new weapons developments. There are many other examples. Those cited here show the broad spectrum of activity and the level of effort. The Soviets have not slowed down. They have not pushed their developments merely as a restriction to U.S. developments. They clearly appear to be striving for scientific and technological superiority.

APPENDIX VI

An important measure of science and technology is the level of qualified manpower. Since about 1952, the Soviet Union has been graduating more scientists and engineers per year than the United States.

By 1965, the Soviet Union had developed a scientific and technical labor pool of about 1,700,000 working on research, development test and evaluation. Comparatively, the United States had 1,077,000. Inclusion of NATO would add approximately 670,000.

In 1950, the Soviet Union graduated some 35,000 new engineers. Now, more than 150,000 new engineers are graduated each year. At this rate, the Soviets are graduating about three engineers for every one graduated in the United States.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Although knowledge doubled only once between 1750 and 1900 and again between 1900 and 1950, the scientific community estimates that it has doubled again between 1950 and 1960 and will double again by 1970.

[2] This reality is clearly recognized by the Soviets. In an article in *Communist of The Armed Forces,* Lt. Col. B. Bondarenko wrote in 1966: "In the past it was possible to change the relationship between forces during the course of a war. This was characteristic even of the Second World War. Now, in connection with the revolution which has occurred in military matters, the significance of military technological superiority even in peacetime has increased greatly. Under the influence of nuclear weapons . . . the importance of an early period of a war increased and it has become increasingly more difficult to change the relation between forces during the course of the war."

[3] The clearest public expression of this "reaction" policy was given by Secretary of Defense McNamara on September 18, 1967, in San Francisco when he was discussing the ABM problem. He stated that we were spending additional money on offensive weapons systems programs to offset the Soviet ABM deployment. Then he went on to say: "But we should bear in mind that it is money spent because of the action-reaction phenomenon."

[4] Department of Defense Directive No. 3200.9, pp. 4-5. "It is intended that the technology that is required to meet a system specification not exceed in quantitative performance that which can be demonstrated either in development form or in laboratory form. Projection into Engineering Development of anticipated developmental achievement will be permitted only when sufficient quantitative results have been obtained, in laboratory or experimental devices, to allow such projection with a high confidence. In general, these projections will assume the probability of Engineering Developments matching but not exceeding laboratory results."

[5] As Mr. James T. Ramey, Commissioner of the Atomic Energy Commission, said, the government must get rid of the "requirements merry-go rounds." He pointed out that every new project had to be justified on the basis of "military requirements" and that many promising developments particularly in space could never be pushed or even demonstrated if development had to wait for the establishment of requirements. As Dr. Edward C. Welch, Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, said, "If we had required a clear cut prior mission, we would probably have developed no airplanes, no space craft or, in fact, no wheel."

[6] Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., Chairman of the Corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, recently stated that we cannot "rest on our oars" thinking that the race has been won. "We may be only at the beginning of unexampled scientific and engineering achievement," he said.

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson told a Congressional committee on April 27, 1966: "It is clear that the Russians do not accept the notion that military technology has reached a plateau and that the present military balance is fixed for the future. They are gambling enormous resources on the chance that they may score a decisive advance in weapons systems."

In testimony before Congress on the Fiscal Year 1969 Defense budget, the Director of Research and Engineering for the Department of Defense stated, "There is no technological plateau now nor is one about to be created. We are convinced that research and exploratory development efforts require increased support during the next few years to insure many options—a margin of safety—against technological challenge."

[7] Dr. Harold Agnew, Weapons Division Leader at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory recently stated:

"The apparent drift in national policy on the concept of balance of power and stability is resulting in a stifling of innovation. We find ourselves being authorized to build or to consider only those systems which respond to a clearly defined threat.

"As a result, we are continually reacting on the defensive. The initiative no longer seems to be up to us. The initiative always seems to be in the other fellow's camp.

"Since we react only to those systems or threats which have been proven to exist, and it takes several years to react, we are continually in danger of coming up with answers to threats which have changed, if indeed come up with answers in a time frame which is relevant at all."

[8] The Director of Defense Research & Engineering for the Department of Defense stated to the Senate Armed Services Committee during a discussion of th Fiscal Year 1969 defense budget:

"A lesson reinforced over and over through out history, especially in our era, is that science and engineering continuously make possible completely new military capabilities and threats. National security today is more directly linked than ever before to the practice of first rank science and engineering. We have a strong technical-military position today only because we built a strong research and technology base in the past. We must maintain this position. . . .

"Yet there are some indications that the program is eroding, that we must act forcefully to reverse the recent funding trend Some of this reduction [from Fiscal 1964 to 1968] has produced healthy belt tightening a sorting out of the good from the bad. And we have used these funds—in a sense savings—for other high priority projects. But, as I emphasized earlier, the net effect of continuing this trend will be a serious weakening of our long-term national security position.

"Moreover, these numbers do not tell the whole story. The cost of doing research has steadily increased at a rate of at least 5% a year. If we adjust by this rate, then our research and technology effort in Fiscal 1968 was about 70% that of the Fiscal 1964 level, a critical 30% reduction.

"During the past three years, in terms of dollars not discounted for increased costs, our exploratory development funding to industry has decreased by about 35%; to universities by 19%, and to in-house military laboratories by 8%.

"Last summer, I asked a special panel of the Defense Science Board to consider the adequacy of our research and technology base to meet future needs. Their unequivocal answer was that the recent cuts were so deep that the Defense Dept. may begin to run the risk of not meeting its genuine technological goals."

[9] This Administration, applying its concept of the "building block" approach, claims to be developing the "options" necessary to blunt any technological surprise by an enemy. Such an approach, to be effective, must be adequately funded. Money alone, however, is not enough; with today's increasingly sophisticated systems, there is no high degree of assurance that a system will work until it is all assembled as a working system. As "Kelly" Johnson, Vice President of Lockheed Aircraft, one of the foremost aviation experts in the world today, has said, the "building block" system "optimized the component" and does that "more on paper than in fact" instead of optimizing the entire system.

If a system starts to be pulled together only after a visible threat appears, generally in the prototype or test stage, there is no time to complete development, produce and deploy a system prior to the enemy's deployment.

[10] Progress in research and development has been considerably impeded by overcentralization and over-regulation in the Department of Defense—a subject to be covered thoroughly in another paper.

One of the most serious of these "road blocks" is the number of approval levels a new program must go through. They have increased enormously—some 16 levels can now comment. Nearly all can stop a program, but very few can approve. Those responsible for research and development projects have reported that at times it has taken up to three years to get final approval.

Also, reported by the noted defense writer, Hanson Baldwin, on February 16, 1965, "Before a final contract for a project is signed and actual development starts, an average of at least 50 signatures of approvals is required—sometimes as many as 100 or 200. Some individuals, required by legal or administrative reasons to sign twice, have had to be briefed twice; by the time the second signature was needed, they had forgotten what the contract was about."

[11] Invention cannot be predicted nor can innovation be precisely costed.

The scientist must have challenge, opportunity, and a program which will allow him to prove or disprove his concepts.

Various restrictions imposed by Administration policies—procedural and intellectual—tend to stifle creativity, the evolution of new ideas, and the incentive to explore new horizons. These creative individuals, not being at the top of the pyramid, have been increasingly buried by overcentralization and over-regulation.

Within the minds of these scientists and engineers will evolve many of the new concepts and means to solve not only military problems but economic and social problems as well. These men must not be viewed as purveyors of conflict. They are the means by which free men will remain free. They are a primary source for the relief of the problems and suffering of the world. As an individual has the moral obligation to use his talent to the maximum benefit, so too does a nation.

[12] Although never outwardly stated as policy, it is evident that this Administration is applying arms control considerations early in the R&D cycle. This is reasonable only if there is concrete knowledge that our enemies are also applying the same considerations at the same place.

It is safe to apply such constraints only after a new concept or a new weapons system is proven. Only then can defense leaders counter any sudden technological surprise with the ability to respond in a timely manner. Equally important, our own advances in science and technology will give us greater insights into what is possible to an enemy.

If we are to have the options to respond to threats in the future, we must have the means in hand. Then we can consider political, arms control or any other factors in deciding whether or not to buy for inventory. This is the only safe and sane way to proceed.

[13] Keynote speech at the 1967 Western Electric Show.

[14] As Secretary McNamara told the Senate Armed Services Committee in his "Fiscal Year 1969 Posture Statement":

"As you know, we have been financing and managing the special R&D requirements of the Southeast Asia conflict through the PROVOST Program. But each year we have had to add to the amount requested for that program in the initial budget. In FY 1966, for example, we requested $180 million in the initial budget and had to add later another $190 million; in FY 1967 the initial request was $395 million and $285 million was added later; in FY 1968 the initial request was $566 million and through December 31 of last year $103 million had already been reprogrammed for or added. While we are requesting $522 million for PROVOST in FY 1969, we can be sure that new requirements will arise during the year which will have to be financed from some other source." (Page 157)

This was reiterated and expanded by the Director, Defense and Engineering, in his statement before the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, on the Fiscal Year 1969 budget:

Provost funding

[Rounded in millions]

	Fiscal year 1964	Fiscal year 1965	Fiscal year 1966	Fiscal year 1967	Fiscal year 1968	Fiscal year 1969[1]
Provost in initial budget	$95	$180	$180	$395	$566	[2] $522
Added later[3]	5	20	190	285	[4] 103	[5] 275
Total SEA	100	200	370	680	[4] 669	797

[1] Estimated.
[2] As submitted in fiscal year 1969 budget.
[3] Reprograming (including SRSA), emergency fund approvals, and/or supplemental funding.
[4] Incomplete; totals as of Dec. 1, 1967.
[5] Estimated to be added by reprograming and use of emergency funds.

TAX-FREE TAX RAISERS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, when tax-free foundations are permitted to dump their millions to lobby to raise taxes on the good citizens something must be done to correct the injustices of the tax loopholes.

The American people are asking what part of the current inflation scare has resulted from the dumping of tax-free moneys in circulation—under the guise, of course, of doing good.

Tell the taxpayer threatened with a 10 percent surtax why his taxes should be increased while the foundations go tax free.

I include the release from the Evening Star for May 26, 1968, and related clippings, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, May 26, 1968]

LEGAL FUND A BIG FORCE IN NEGRO RIGHTS DRIVE

NEW YORK.—"One thing the gradualists don't seem to understand—we are not trying to make people love us when we go to court. We are trying to keep them from killing us."

The words were the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's, spoken at the height of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott in defense of an organization that not only provided the legal power in his drive for Negro equality but has been the elevator for the entire civil rights movement.

It is the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. (LDF), a collection of lawyers whose knowledge of constitutional law is built on almost 60 years of court battles for Negro rights.

It started in 1910 as the legal arm of the infant National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and one of its first efforts was a friend of the court brief in the successful Supreme Court fight to overthrow Oklahoma's "grandfather clause" barring Negroes from voting.

NOW INDEPENDENT

Today, the LDF takes more cases to the Supreme Court than any other litigant except the U.S. government. It had 23 cases before the court in the spring term alone. The suits—seeking open housing, faster school desegregation, legal rights for welfare mothers, abolition of the death penalty —show how far the struggle for Negro equality has moved.

The LDF has become an independent organization that serves as the legal arm of the entire civil rights movement, representing groups as well as unaffiliated individuals.

During the years of the all-out attack on the "separate but equal" school segregation laws, its director-counsel was a tall, outspoken attorney named Thurgood Marshall, now a Supreme Court justice.

Since 1961, the LDF has been spearheaded by Jack Greenberg, a young constitutional lawyer who has helped push the fight for Negro rights into Northern slum ghettos.

At the LDF headquarters overlooking Manhattan's Columbus Circle, a staff of 28 attorneys keeps commuter schedules to other cities to plan strategy, defend cases and advise 250 cooperating attorneys scattered across the country. In 1967 the LDF defended 13,000 individuals.

Under a Ford Foundation grant, its activities have expanded into legal rights for the poor, aimed at setting national precedents in such fields as welfare benefits, public housing, landlord-tenant and creditor-debtor laws, consumer protection and special problems in criminal, family and juvenile law.

TRAINING LAWYERS

Two special LDF programs have been set up to train civil rights lawyers.

Weekend institutes offer continuing training in newest legal theories and strategies. An intern program, designed to augment the supply of civil rights attorneys, offers promising young lawyers a year's training in New York.

With the help of a Rockefeller Foundation grant, the LDF also has expanded its community service division providing legal help on the community level in the South to implement recent legislation.

Such a wide range of projects has pushed the LDF budget over the $2 million mark.

Besides foundations, a substantial amount of the operating funds comes from the Negro community, with large contributions from sororities and fraternities, organizations of business and professional men and women, and professional athletes.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 20, 1968]

PRESBYTERIANS VOTE $50,000 FOR SCLC

(By Casper Nannes)

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—The 180th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. today approved an advance of $50,000 to the Southern Leadership Conference for its development fund.

The check for this amount will be presented to leaders of the SCLC on May 30 in Washington as "the first evidence of the desire of the United Presbyterian Church to participate in its development fund."

In addition, the General Assembly also had a motion authorizing either today or tomorrow a special offering to be sent immediately to the Poor People's Campaign.

The special offering in addition to proposals here before the 820 ministerial and elder commissioners (delegates) amounting to $200,000 for the denomination's Fund for Freedom.

Financial and staff support for the Poor People's Campaign already has been given by the United Presbyterian Board of National Missions, which has supplied $6,500 for food and medical expenses.

In an address to the assembly last week, SCLC's head, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, called upon the 3.3-million-member church to establish a $10 million Martin Luther King Poor People's Development Fund.

He later explained the major part of the fund "would be used by the SCLC to foster the development of ghetto-owned businesses, low-cost housing, self-help industries, and cooperatives in economically deprived areas of our nation."

The assembly passed a resolution Friday freeing $12.6 million of the church's investment funds for housing and business ventures in low and middle income areas. The move made the money available through boards, agencies and seminaries.

Among moves taken by other churches, the Episcopal Church General Convention last fall passed a measure earmarking $9 million over a three-year period for urban needs. Last month, U.S. Catholic bishops approved a statement calling for "substantial" contributions to the fight against poverty, and the United Methodist Church General Conference passed a motion urging the denomination to invest $20 million in this cause. Other denominations have set varying sums in the fight against poverty.

Among the other actions to come before the General Assembly before its week-long meeting ends Wednesday is a statement on the church's position on the Vietnam war. The closely guarded report of a special committee on Vietnam was scheduled for presentation today.

The church's newly elected moderator, Dr. John Conventry Smith, yesterday warned the General Assembly that riots in America, apartheid in South Africa and the war in Vietnam are "symptoms of the same world-wide disease."

"You cannot be a foreign missionary and ignore Mississippi and Harlem," Dr. Smith declared. "And you cannot concentrate on Puerto Ricans in the ghetto and Mexican Americans in Texas, and ignore Latin America. For the Christian, it is all of a piece."

A Lutheran theologian, Prof. Edmund A. Steimle of Union Theological Seminary in New York, called for a radical change in Christianity and religious bodies.

"Abolish the residential parish, or shake the dust of it from our feet and experiment with other forms of ministries. Away with the old forms of worship. Down with the bureaucracy of the church. God is no longer to be found in churches, but in streets and ghettos. God's name is . . . change."

The churches, he contended, have played "the waiting game of business as usual. Churchmen reflect massive indifference to the problems of race and poverty, getting drunk on the peace of a Sunday morning in church where the entirely proper comfort of the Gospel becomes cheap grace in our hands."

As a result, Steimle said, young people have turned aside, "disenchanted or in disgust," The present need, he said, is to "grasp the future in your bare hands and bring it into the present tense."

Statements on the church and government relations as well as the church and the ecumenical movement are among those to be presented to the commissioners before the session ends.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 18, 1968]

Justice System Needs Revamping, Study Finds

"Something just has to be done right away"—under the leadership of Mayor Walter E. Washington—to prepare Washington's criminal justice system for the possibility of another riot-caused deluge of mass arrests.

This is the conclusion of a private foundation's consultant who studied what happened to the 7370 people who were arrested during the April rioting here. His report was released yesterday.

Attorney Ronald Goldfarb, serving as consultant to the Stern Family Fund, found that Washington's police courts and lawyers responded to the emergency "in a much better way" than those of other cities studied by the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders.

"I believe the Bail Reform Act was violated" by General Sessions judges during the riot, Goldfarb told reporters yesterday. He said the judges were put on the spot by legitimate concern for protecting the community that left too many defendants in jail rather than free on personal recognizance or low bail.

Curfew violators were kept behind bars overnight, rather than being served summonses and allowed to go home after promising to come to court for trial, Goldfarb said.

"This meant that some curfew violators were treated more severely" than people arrested for serious crimes who were freed on bail, he said. And he guessed that "many innocent people were probably caught up in mass curfew arrests."

Goldfarb recommended that:

Mayor Washington delegate someone in his office to be sure that the courts, bar associations, police and others make specific plans for any future mass-arrest situation.

Changes in the processing of defendants already proposed by the police and General Sessions Chief Judge Harold Greene be put into effect. They include simplifying arrest papers police fill out, attaching photographs to the papers to identify the defendants and processing all court defendants through a "staging area" in the U.S. District Court before they go before a General Sessions judge.

Prosecutors, defense attorneys and D.C. Bail Agency officials be placed in each police precinct "to weed out the bad cases" and free some defendants on summonses at that point.

An "information center" be set up to provide help and information for defendants, their relatives and friends, and the press.

A law be written to authorize judges, after exhaustive hearings, to jail for the duration of the riot people arrested for serious crimes who pose a danger to the community.

The Mayor's power to declare a curfew and set penalties for violating it be spelled out specifically by law and made clear to the public.

The city's bar groups prepare volunteer attorneys for service in General Sessions Court in case of future disorders.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, May 26, 1968]

White Problem Described to Health, Welfare Council

The "white problem" is the most urgent domestic issue facing the United States, a Negro business executive told a welfare conference here.

"White America has painted itself into a corner with its obsession on race and now wants to exit from the room without walking in the paint," said Ramon S. Scruggs, American Telephone & Telegraph Co.'s personnel director for urban affairs.

Scruggs spoke at the annual conference on the Health and Welfare council of the National Capital Area. Some 700 whites and Negroes attended the affair Friday at the Shoreham Hotel.

FALSE ASSUMPTION

One false assumption of white America, Scruggs said, is that only the hard-core ghetto black man is enraged and bitter because of his treatment.

"The truth is that black men and women in America, whether they sit in draped and carpeted offices, or whether they huddle in slum housing, know that this American society has cheated and looted them, and they seethe within," Scruggss declared.

Every black man, woman and child at some time in his life has experienced hurt and rejection because of his race, Scruggs said.

"I hope you will keep this before you as you wonder about what you may consider aggressive conduct on the part of black people today," he said.

White America must "turn itself around," he said. White people must stop treating people who look differently "as things apart—as nothing persons."

Scruggs urged social welfare agencies and businesses to stop spending money to study the Negro and to delve instead "into the pathology of white racism."

He urged his listeners to work among white Americans to achieve an open society. "Make sure that you don't think it is natural and normal to have a conspicuous absence of black Americans in meaningful roles," he said.

Glenn E. Watts, who is chairman of the 1968 United Givers Fund drive, was re-elected president of HWC. Watts will appoint HWC Vice President Dr. C. Frank Jones as acting president during the months he will be devoting to the drive. Watts called himself a "president on leave of absence."

A panel speaker, Wiley A. Branton, executive director of the United Planning Organization, said the first priority of the day is how to organize the latent strength of the poor in a nonviolent way.

Poor people can't win their struggle without the help of everyone else, Branton said. But while other people can give technical assistance to the poor, he said, "You must give up the reins. They want to make the decisions that affect their lives."

The result of the shift in power will be more equitable distribution of resources in the District, he said.

Another panelist, Sherrill J. Luke, director for program development in the District government, said the District is committed to taking services to people in their own neighborhoods in order to respond to the people more effectively.

At a session on health services, an official of the Office of Economic Opportunity indicated he thought the poor should have some sort of control over the medical personnel in neighborhood health centers.

Dr. Gary London, acting chief of health services for OEO, noted that the private patient can change doctors if he doesn't feel his physician is sympathetic or if the doctor has inconvenient office hours.

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION IN GEORGIA

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the people of Georgia are very proud of the fact that our State has one of the largest and one of the most outstanding educational television networks in the entire country.

Recently, a new station, WDCO—channel 15—near Macon, went into operation, providing coverage for the central Georgia area. It is estimated that no other State now has such extensive ETV coverage as Georgia.

The Atlanta Journal of May 7 published an editorial commenting on this new ETV station and the importance of educational television in our modern schools today.

I join the Journal in welcoming WDCO to the Georgia ETV network and in complimenting the education officials of Georgia for their splendid work in taking educational television into the school and into the home. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

All Over ETV

A word of congratulation is due the state's educational television network, on the occasion of the announcement that its tenth station, WDCO (Channel 15) near Macon, will be dedicated May 29.

Channel 15 is already broadcasting, and has been for a month now. And its coverage of the central Georgia area means that Georgia ETV's broadcasting covers the whole state, with the exception of a tiny area containing 1 per cent of the state population. (The network is working on covering that area, too.)

No other state in the Union, according to network officials, is so thoroughly covered—with the possible exception of Rhode Island, which has only one station and may not have room for another one.

Since educational television, through national and local programming, affords some of the best television available—affords, in fact, deeper, livelier and more serious documentary shows, at least, than commercial television—its coverage of Georgia is no mere paper accomplishment. It is an accomplishment, indeed, that should help educate a great many viewers across the state.

Just because Georgians cook better chicken than anybody in the world doesn't mean they can't learn a lot from Julia Child.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON INTERVIEWED BY JIM BISHOP

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most widely read and respected reporters of our time is Jim Bishop. Mr. Bishop recently interviewed President Johnson, following the President's announcement that he would withdraw from consideration for the office of President.

Jim Bishop headlined his column: "L. B. J. Longs for Comfort of Ranchhouse." In the article, he describes the long and arduous commitment that President Johnson has made to public service for 40 years. Summing up, Jim Bishop says:

> On the cold, factual record, Lyndon Johnson emerges as the most productive President of all time.

In my view, this is certainly a valid judgment by an authoritative observer of the national scene. For a very human look at President Lyndon B. Johnson, I recommend the article by Jim Bishop and insert the article in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Salt Lake Tribune, May 18, 1968]

L. B. J. LONGS FOR COMFORT OF RANCH HOUSE

(By Jim Bishop)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—We sat in the Fish Room waiting. It is an intimate room with a big rosewood table and high-backed chairs. Once, the wall held a billfish caught by John F. Kennedy. Everyone called the place the Fish Room. Now the flat white walls are decorated with Chrisman paintings of the Hill Country of Texas; landscapes that are peopled with bluebonnets and that melt into rocky hills ribbed with patches of yellow flowers.

Some old friends came in to chat while we waited for President Johnson. The lower echelon group—policemen and Secret Service men—have "tenure." After Jan. 20, they will still work here. The others, appointive men of substance, are already looking for work. The feelers are out in many directions. President Johnson kept the Kennedy crowd with him, even though their loyalties were to a dead knight. Now they too have left, swinging a free leg up on the Robert Kennedy wagon, hoping to get back in power if he makes the grade. In the back of the White House the Jacqueline Kennedy Rose Garden, as formal and wind-blown as its namesake, will stay.

THIRD FLOOR HAUNT

The little attic room on the third floor is due for a change, depending on the whim of the new man. It has an inclined slope. Franklin D. Roosevelt used to be wheeled up there to read and look off to the masts of sailboats on the Potomac. Truman used it for poker games with cronies. On those evenings, he added a little bourbon and a splash of branch water.

Mrs. Kennedy used it as a classroom for Caroline. Women friends of hers from Georgetown sent their children—by invitation only—to the White House center hall at 8:30 a.m., five days a week. All of them, including Caroline, brought their lunch. The others contributed equally to the cost of a teacher, books, pencils and rulers.

When she left, Luci Baines Johnson used it as a den. She had couches, a soft-drink bar with stools, some school banners and mementos on the wall. A record player crashed out the mood music of the teen-ager. Next January, that room will be altered by a new tenant.

SAT AND CHATTED

The President called us into his office and we sat and chatted about nothing of consequence. Kelly sat at my side and she was moved to say: "Mr. President, I have never seen you look so well."

The big brown eyes were bright. The hair is a little grayer, but the figure is less bulky and he sat between the couches on a rocker, the frames of his glasses between his teeth, and he seemed genuinely glad to see us.

He will not run again, even if the nation stood as one man and asked him to do it. His mind is made up. He has had, as he points out, 40 years of public service and that's enough. Ever since he quit, his popularity has been rising like a fever thermometer, but he is no longer impressed.

OLD RANCH HOUSE

Few people understand how much that old ranch house, built by his aunt long ago, means to him. It isn't palatial. It's full of hardwood frontier furniture and deer antlers as hat racks.

All through the time that Lynda and Luci were growing—and before—he and Mrs. Johnson have been in Washington 80 percent of each year. An additional 10 percent was spent mending political fences or campaigning. He just wants to go home.

"I think when I get there," he said, waving the glasses, "I'm just going to sleep awhile. Just sleep."

I pooh-poohed the notion, because Lyndon Baines Johnson was born running at top speed. No, he insisted, he will sleep and lounge awhile. After that . . . .?

"I don't know," he said. I suggested that, like other Presidents, he will start to write his memoirs. The President put on a broad smile. In the field of writing, he defers to Mrs. Johnson. She has a degree in journalism. He isn't sure what she will do, but he said: "You know, she has kept a strict diary from the first day we got here."

MOST PRODUCTIVE

On the cold, factual record, Lyndon Johnson emerges as the most productive President of all time. More progressive legislation has been enacted in any one year of his tenure of office than other Presidents have achieved in four. If he and Mrs. Johnson write a book—or a series of them—there will be some electrifying disclosures of history behind the scenes.

He doesn't look like a so-called lame-duck President. Obviously, he doesn't feel like one. He is now free to call his shots openly, without fear or favor. He can do as he pleases for the next eight months. And, in spite of his critics, he can step down in a blaze of glory.

When we parted, the President said something unusual. It had an air of finality about it. He shook hands and murmured: "God bless you, Jim." In January, the nation may be saying that to him . . .

EVEN OUR CRITICS DO NOT WANT UNITED STATES TO WEAKEN

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Spartanburg, S.C., Herald, of May 21, 1968, contains an editorial entitled "Even Our Critics Don't Want United States to Weaken."

Hubert Hendrix, the capable editor, reminds us that even our critics abroad who deplore the war in Vietnam are also fearful that we may weaken in our resolve.

An English magazine, well known as a leftist anti-American publication predicted that if the United States weakens in negotiations in Vietnam, gigantic backwash would occur in Europe.

The editor reminds us that a great and responsible nation "cannot have friends or be loved."

Mr. President, in order to remind Senators of the necessity to stand fast on our ultimate goal for peace in South Vietnam, I invite their attention to this editorial and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EVEN OUR CRITICS DON'T WANT UNITED STATES TO WEAKEN

The United States has a fixation concerning what other people in the world think about the United States.

Our nation desires to be respected as a powerful leader with only altruistic motives.

It is a laudatory trait, though more than somewhat irritating when it is abused or misunderstood—as it so often is.

We stand virtually alone against communist expansion in Southeast Asia, except for the token assistance from a few nations in that sector of the world. Even such a staunch ally as Great Britain has abandoned us, not to mention the France that was.

Sen. J. W. Fulbright, that fierce arch-critic of U.S. strength in Asia, declares that our role in Vietnam is a disaster that has undermined our reputation.

"We are losing our influence throughout Europe," he warns.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy says so, too: "To many of our traditional allies and neutral friends, we have behaved as a superpower ignoring our own historical commitment to a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

Is it true, then, that the United States should withdraw from its role of Free World defender—except when its own security is threatened directly?

Do those "traditional allies and neutral friends" really wish for us to become isolationist and leave the rest of the world to its fate?

No. Little of that emerges from the anti-American outbursts.

Fulbright cited the German student demonstrations. Yet, the truth is that few of the protestors demanded that the U.S. withdraw from Berlin or Germany. West Germans know all too well the fate of their countrymen to the east.

One of the leftist students told a newsman: "I admit that we want to eat our cake and have it. Frankly, we are taking advantage of American democracy to voice our dissent."

In England, a leftist anti-American magazine, New Statesman, said that if the U.S. weakens in negotiations on Vietnam, a "gigantic backwash" would occur in Europe.

"America's future resolve to have no more Vietnams will create disagreeable problems for the very nations who have most criticized the United States," it warned.

Charles de Gaulle is fully aware that he can cavort wildly and flirt with the Russians only because American nuclear power affords him the ultimate protection.

It was he who said, "A great and responsible nation cannot have friends or be loved."

Americans would have a better conception of their nation's place in the world if they recognized the truth in that.

HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE WANTS FARM RELIEF BILL EXTENDED THROUGH 1970

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the American Farm Bureau Federation and many farm and economy groups oppose extending the Agricultural Act of 1965 for another year—through 1970.

Farm experts insist this program is degenerating to a relief subsidy for wealthy farmers and rural corporations receiving annual payments ranging in amounts each year from $50,000 and $100,000 up to over $1 million.

All Members should read the 1,500-page volume of the April Senate Agriculture Committee hearings which reveals all recipients who have received payments of $5,000 or over during 1967.

I hereby submit a news article from the New York Journal of Commerce of

May 22, 1968, on last Tuesday's hearing for a rule on H.R. 17126.

House Panel Deadlocked on Farm Bill

(By Leah Young and Tom Connors)

WASHINGTON, May 21.—Basic farm legislation ran into a roadblock in the House Rules Committee today, and how permanent a barrier it is nobody is speculating.

The one year extension of the Basic Farm Act of 1965 failed to receive a rule to go to the floor by a six to six tie vote this morning. At the same time, a vote to defer the legislation temporarily was also defeated. Right now the legislation is "hanging in limbo" with nobody predicting when or if a new move will be made, a House Agriculture spokesman said.

This morning's session in the Rules Committee was fraught with criticism on the expense of the program, with much ado about farmers who receive a million dollars in federal payments.

There is speculation that the farm bill may be used as ransom to force the House Agriculture Committee, which gave the bill bi-partisan support, to report a supplemental appropriation for the food stamp program. This approach is favored by Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan (D-Mo.).

TO BRING IN 300 COUNTIES

An aide to Mrs. Sullivan explains that the present appropriation for $225 million will cover present programs and bring in 300 counties that have been waiting to get into the program. But a supplemental appropriation is necessary, he explained, if all who need food stamps are to receive them. He said that there are 100 more counties that have asked to enroll in the program and predicted that more would follow.

Four years ago farm legislation was held up until the Food Stamp Bill was passed.

There was also speculation this morning that some members of the Rules Committee voted against bringing the farm bill to the floor until the pending tax hike-budget cut legislation is acted upon.

The bill was presented to the Rules Committee this morning by House Agriculture Committee Chairman Bob Poage (D-Tex.) whose testimony brought on a number of critical comments, principally from Rules Committee member Ray J. Madden (D-Ind.)

Rep. Madden said the farm program under the bill is "one of the major reasons" for the large influx of tenant farmers into the cities as, he charged, large corporations take over the land to earn government subsidies.

He read into the record examples of payments of $1 million to $2 million for individual farmers.

REJECTION FEARS

He said the reason for consideration of extension this year rather than next is that these "big farms are anxious to get this over for another year because they are afraid that the next Congress might not pass it" in view of urban crisis problems.

Rep. Poage replied that in most cases it is the larger farmers who are seeking to end the program and the smaller farmers who need it to keep from being squeezed off the land.

Rep. Madden countered by arguing that the bill would authorize more than $3 billion in farm payments and yet rural legislators won't back $600 million for model cities legislation, preferring instead to cut this figure to $300 million.

Rep. John B. Anderson (R.-Ill.) rules maintained that in view of the tax increase and spending reduction package now pending in Congress, it is "very bad time" to add "more uncontrollable expenditures" to the nation's budget picture.

Rep. Page Belcher (R.-Okla.), senior GOP member of House Agriculture, may have hit one reason for the committee's action, or lack of it, on the bill today.

In the course of seconding Rep. Poage's call for a one-year extension, he said the American Farm Bureau Federation is opposing this vigorously—"they don't want to see it extended another minute."

A YOUNG SCHOLAR'S EXCELLENT ANALYSIS OF THE MEGALOPOLITAN TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, recently there came to my attention an excellent study entitled "Moving Megalopolis: How We Can Preserve Mobility in the Northeast Corridor," written by Livingston L. Biddle IV. The study describes in the clearest detail the great congestion already plaguing our conventional automotive and air transport facilities in the great urban region of the Northeast, and it argues persuasively that we should make better and more effective use of our railroad facilities.

This is a theme which I have frequently sounded myself, and I am always pleased and encouraged to hear it stated anew. Mr. Biddle's paper is a special source of satisfaction, however, because he is a member of this year's graduating class at Groton School, Groton, Mass., and plans to go on to Princeton University next fall, where he will major in history. His excellent paper on transportation in megalopolis was prepared as part of his major course program at Groton. It is reassuring indeed to see a new generation coming to the fore which is genuinely concerned with public problems and willing to venture into the difficult and uncertain area of proposing solutions.

I am particularly pleased to note that the solution envisioned by Mr. Biddle incorporates the concepts of Dr. Constantine Doxiadis, the celebrated Greek planner and urban scientist, who tells us that we should plan to use our various modes of transportation to correspond with the various scales of human activity: We should use airplanes for transcontinental and transoceanic movement, high-speed trains for interurban travel, autos for local regional trips, and our own two feet for neighborhood errands. Mr. Biddle suggests that Doxiadis' "rule of scale" offers a sensible and rational way for planning and coordinating our national investment in transportation, and I thoroughly concur in this view.

Finally, I wish to note that Mr. Biddle brought a special family association to his task, inasmuch as his father, Livingston Biddle was a special assistant on my staff and helped in much of the preliminary work which resulted in the High Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the excellent article entitled "Moving Megalopolis," written by Mr. Livingston Biddle IV, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Moving Megalopolis: How We Can Preserve Mobility in the Northeast Corridor

(By Livingston L. Biddle IV)

On Saturday, July 3, 1965, there was a parkway traffic jam in New Jersey that lasted seven hours, stretched forty-five miles, and entangled an estimated one and a half million cars. On January 3, 1965, a clear, crisp day 1,190 planes took off and landed at Kennedy International Airport, some having to circle as much as 78 minutes before landing due to the airport's inability to handle such volume. On both of these days the trains ran with empty seats.

These incidents illustrate dramatically both our heavy reliance on our air and highway facilities and our neglect of our railways; they show us that at peak periods of travel our airways and highways have reached their saturation points; and they force us to answer the question, "How can we preserve our precious freedom of mobility, the freedom to move wherever we please whenever we please in Megalopolis, a region whose already enormous transportation demands are increasing at a tremendous rate?" To solve this problem I think we must adopt Constantinos Doxiadis' plan. We must redress our current tendency to overuse certain modes of transportation while we neglect others. Instead we must fully utilize all modes of transportation, assigning different roles to each mode, and thus arriving at a network of closely coordinated transportation systems, in which each mode fulfills a specialized mission and is fully complementary to the others. Airplanes should be devoted to long distance, inter-Megalopolitan travel; railroads to middle distance, intra-Megalopolitan travel; and automobiles to short distance, intracommunity, personal travel. While such assignments could by no means be regarded as inflexible, I feel that development along these lines would provide the best solution for the growing transportation problems of Megalopolis.

To fully understand our urgent need of a new system of transportation we must first take a close look at Megalopolis. Megalopolis, a term first used by Dr. Jean Gottmann, consists of the corridor of urbanized counties which stretch from Fairfax County in northern Virginia to Rockingham County in southern New Hampshire, and which with its high density of population has the appearance of a very large city, the word's literal meaning. Megalopolis is the most densely populated area of its size in the country. On its 53,575 square miles, 1.4 percent of the nation's land area, live 40 million people, 20 percent of the nation's population. The most characteristic quality of Megalopolis is, as Dr. Gottmann says, its constant movement. "By car, bus, train or plane the traffic along the axial belt of Megalopolis is the heaviest in the world." The Commerce Department estimates that travel in the Megalopolitan Corridor will increase 150 to 200 percent between 1960 and 1980, as population increases 30 percent. Such traffic increases would surely crush our already often saturated transportation system, and thus I feel that it is now of primary importance for us to update our transportation system to meet the demands of the future. By solving the transportation problems of Megalopolis, indeed, we will be doing not only ourselves but also the rest of the country a great service since by 1980 there are expected to be 25 such megalopoli scattered across the country.

Let us first look at our highway facilities and what must be done to prepare them for the increased demands of the future. Today there are about 20 million automobiles in Megalopolis. This number is constantly increasing, necessitating a corresponding increase in highway facilities. Should we continue to expand our highways wildly until the time comes when most of our land is covered by concrete? (Such a time is not as far off as one might think. It has already come to Los Angeles where 30 percent of the downtown land areas is taken up by streets and expressways, 32.8 percent is occupied by parking lots, and only 37.2 percent is left for the business activity which is the life of the city.)

I think a course of broad expansion would be a great mistake since highways and automobiles are expensive, dangerous, unhealthy and wasteful. I feel the answer to our highway problem lies instead in making the best use of the facilities we have by defining automobiles as a means of short distance, personal transportation, and transferring long distance drivers to the railroads.

Modern highways and automobiles are, as I have said, expensive, dangerous, unhealthy and wasteful. The cost of modern highways is astronomical, especially near cities where land is extremely expensive. A 1.5-mile downtown strip of Boston's central artery cost 40 million dollars per mile. (It must be remembered that it costs 3 million dollars to construct either a university library or a 100-bed hospital.) The expansion of highway facilities would just mean an increase in the gigantic death tolls incurred on the highways every year. One Commerce Department official estimates that, with expansion, in the fifteen-year period ending in 1975 traffic accidents would cause more fatalities than were suffered by American troops in all conflicts from the Civil War through Korea. Such expansion would also augment the air pollution created by automobile exhaust and atomized rubber from automobile tires. Finally, automotive systems should not be expanded because cars represent both a waste of space and time. In general automotive travel requires nine times as much space as moving one person by public transportation. An automobile occupies more than 200 square feet of space twenty-four hours a day, and, indeed allowing room for maneuvering, parking an automobile requires up to 350 square feet of space, almost twice the office space required for one worker. Lastly, time spent driving an automobile is basically wasted time.

How can we transfer long distance drivers to railroads, thus avoiding the necessity of expanding our highway facilities and making the best use of the facilities we now have? Two methods should be used. Firstly, highway tolls should be raised during peak periods of travel, making it cheaper at these times to take the train than to drive. In this way I think much long distance highway traffic could be transferred to the railroads.

Also I think that by putting special cars that could carry automobiles on trains, many who were going to need a car at their destination would decide not to drive but to take the faster, easier train.

Our air facilities present much the same problem as our highway facilities, and thus they must be dealt with in a similar manner. Present airport facilities are already saturated at peak periods. Because of safety regulations the maximum capacity of an airport is 35 landings per hour. However, Kennedy International Airport already has a peak hour volume of 54 planes wishing to land per hour and Boston's Logan airport has 40. The result of such demands is congestion above the airports—congestion which is not only costly to airlines and passengers in terms of extra flying time waiting to land, but extremely dangerous, as was illustrated on December 16, 1960, when two planes circling above New York collided killing 132 people. Our already huge air demands promise only an increase in the future. A study by SARC predicts that commercial airliner movements will grow 150 percent by 1980. The result of this growth will be "severe and intolerable congestion" unless something is done.

Is wild expansion the answer to our air problem? No, since expansion would be extremely expensive and very ineffective. If we were to expand our air facilities to meet future needs, we would have to build ten new instrument controlled runways in Megalopolis by 1980. These facilities would cost a prohibitive 1 billion dollars, and they would be ineffective since the increased traffic they would be serving would, for the most part, be made up of short-haul travelers for whom the new terminals, which because of high land values would have to be quite remote from cities and suburbs, would be especially inconvenient, the short distance traveler having to spend as much time getting to the airport as in the air.

I feel that the solution to our air problem is twofold. Firstly, we must define our airplanes as long distance, intermegalopolitan carriers and we must shuffle their short haul passengers to the railroads by simply canceling short distance flights. And secondly, we must find new ways, such as banked runways, to make the best use of our current facilities. By these two steps I feel we can enable our airports to handle future demands without significant expansion.

The key to the problem of future mobility in Megalopolis lies in utilization of our railroad facilities. We must assign all middle distance, intra-megalopolitan traffic to our railroads. I would emphasize that in advancing railway utilization I am thinking of what railway service can and should be and not what it presently is. Railway passenger service in Megalopolis today is "seedy and inadequate, often dirty and often late." However, railway transportation is potentially the most efficient way of moving great numbers of people over distances of four hundred miles or less.

Railroad trains are not susceptible to time-consuming traffic jams and unpredictable delays on entering stations, and thus railroad travelers can count on arriving on time in any weather. Travel by train is much safer than travel by car or airplane. From 1940 through 1960 there were only 1.22 passenger fatalities per billion miles of rail passenger service, while there were 14.01 passenger fatalities per billion miles of air passenger service, and 31.3 passenger fatalities per billion miles of highway driving.

One set of railroad tracks can move twenty-one times as many people per hour as a lane of expressway. An additional Commerce Department estimate is that the hourly passenger capacity of a single set of intercity railroad tracks is about equal to the average capacity of a major airport.

Trains meet much less air resistance than lots of individual cars. Their flanged steel wheels encountered much less friction than rubber tires on concrete, and because of these two facts it takes three times as much power to move the same weight at the same speed on highways as on railroads. Trains also do not need the large amount of power required by airplanes for lift, stability and turning, and thus it takes ten times as much power to move the same weight at the same speed by air as by railroad. Because they need less power trains can do more work than cars or planes for less fuel. When a new high-speed train was tested out between Chicago and Detroit it transported 250 people with a consumption of less fuel than two Cadillacs would have used.

Airports require much more land than railroads. The land area of four airports serving New York, Kennedy International, La Guardia, Newark and Teeterboro is 13.5 square miles, an area just about equal to the entire land area occupied by the 250-mile long 75-foot wide New York Central right-of-way linking New York and Chicago. The railroads already own all the right-of-ways they will need in the future, while each new airport requires about eight thousand acres of prime land—airports usually being built near cities—and likewise each new highway requires much valuable land. Also, railroad tracks are already down, and, as a result, highway construction costs are often sixteen times that of revitalization of roadbeds.

On the railroads and not in automobiles "travel time is useful time" since one does not have to worry about the road. And finally, railroads are much better for the health of megalopolis than cars or planes since they contribute far less, if at all, to air pollution.

Today's railroads are in such bad shape for several reasons. Because of government regulation which forces the railroads to continue certain services, such as commuter service, at a loss (the tremendous amount of rolling stock involved in commuter service lies empty for the rest of the day), because of government subsidization of competing highways and airports, and because of high taxation of their rights-of-way, railroads today do not have the funds with which to experiment and find new facilities which would improve their passenger service. The fastest schedule between New York and Washington, the afternoon Congressional's three hours and thirty-five minutes, has not been improved since 1930. Because of this "technological retardation" passengers have been leaving the railroads in droves.

If we are to utilize our railroads fully, defining them as the means of middle distance, intra-Megalopolitan travel—and I feel we should make full use of them since they are the most efficient middle distance carrier—we must redress their technological retardation and modernize them, making them more attractive to the public than automotive or air travel. To do this we must extend the same treatment in taxation and regulation to railroads as to airlines and highway carriers, give public support for clearly unprofitable but socially desirable railroad services, such as commuter services, and generally both encourage and help our Megalopolitan railroads to operate frequent, comfortable, on time, high-speed trains.

I think that Senator Claiborne Pell's High-Speed Ground-Transportation Act of 1965 provided an excellent first step in this direction. This act authorizes up to ninety million dollars of government money for demonstrations, research, and development in ground transportation. Of this amount eighteen million dollars have been set aside for modernizing existing facilities to test the public's reaction to improved service. This summer several ultramodern 170-mile per hour trains will be placed in service between Washington and Boston, and soon high-speed automobile-carrying trains which will combine the flexibility and mobility of the automobile with the efficiency of mass transportation will be placed in service between Washington and Jacksonville.

Also, by this act sixty-four million dollars have been earmarked for research and development of entirely new techniques of high-speed ground transportation. Here such interesting new concepts as hovercraft and tunnel trains powered by linear induction motors are being experimented with in the hope of discovering for the future a means of ground transportation even more efficient than the railroad.

Thus, in Megalopolis we face an extremely difficult problem: How can we maintain our freedom of mobility, our freedom to go wherever we please whenever we please, when our air and highway facilities are already saturated at peak periods and travel demands are ever increasing. By 1980 we will need one billion dollars worth of new air facilities and vast amounts of new highways. One Commerce Department official recently estimated that the southern approaches to New York City alone will require forty new lanes of highway in the foreseeable future. Is wild expansion of air and highway facilities the answer to our problem? I don't think so. I feel that Constantinos Doxiadis' plan offers a much safer, healthier and more economical solution to our problem, and I think we must hasten to adopt this proposal. Doing this, we must utilize fully all modes of transportation, and we must create a network of closely coordinated transportation systems, in which each mode fulfils a specialized mission—airplanes serving long distance, inter-Megalopolitan travelers, railroads middle distance, intra-Megalopolitan travelers, and automobiles short distance, intra-community travelers—and in which each mode is fully complementary to the others.

SHE SEES WORLD THROUGH A MIRROR

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last year an award-winning Freedom Foundation essay on "The American Way of Life" written by Miss Margaret Jean Jones, of Baileyton, Ala.

Margaret is a unique individual. She is vitally interested in the people and events of the world, and has never missed voting since the day she turned 21.

Margaret Jean Jones' story is one of courage and determination. Courage not to let a handicap keep from her the accomplishments she sought; determination to do her part for her community, her State, and her country.

Her story is one of faith, determination, and patience. It is a story I am proud to share with my colleagues in the Congress.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, an article written by Mrs. Charlotte Miller, of the Birmingham News, which relates Margaret's contributions toward making this world a better place to live:

SHE SEES WORLD THROUGH MIRROR

(By Charlotte Miller)

To see the world through a looking-glass sounds like a story of Alice in Wonderland . . . but Margaret Jean Jones sees the world this way day in and day out.

Margaret is almost completely paralyzed and can only see visitors or the world outside her window by looking directly up through a hand mirror.

"I'm afraid people who don't realize I cannot turn my head think I'm vain," she smiles and says.

She has an extremely rare disease involving the muscles. It progressed until all parts of her body were paralyzed except her right hand. Her legs did not become paralyzed until six months after high school graduation in 1953.

Margaret was double-promoted in elementary school and says that had she not been, she would never have been able to graduate because her legs would have been paralyzed six months before graduation.

The name of the disease which has left her bedridden is myofipsofficanprogressiva—and she says she has to keep it written down to remember it.

It was not diagnosed until 11 years ago when she spent 18 weeks at the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Md.

There more than 100 doctors read her X-rays, but of that number, only one recognized the disease and he had only seen one case.

But despite of this handicap, Margaret radiates cheerfulness and determination, and seemingly the proverbial patience of Job.

She manages to write articles for several national publications, a weekly column called "Through the Looking-Glass" for the local paper, and occasionally does articles for The Birmingham News.

"Since I have only the use of one hand and must lie completely flat, it took me seven years to figure out how to use a typewriter, although I had taken typing in high school. Since I cannot be raised high enough to see the line of type, I had to perfect the touch system, and find a way to return the carriage. Finally, I hit on the idea of bending a piece of clothesline wire and hooking it in the carriage to pull it back. I make surprisingly few errors."

Margaret first began her writing career in high school when she won awards for two essays in a contest sponsored by the VFW.

Her first article published was entitled "Self-Made Handicaps are Hardest to Overcome!" and appeared in American Mercury, in 1961, a magazine for intellectuals now out of print. Since then, she has written for Youth Instructor, a religious publication, Accent on Living, Woodmen of the World, The Birmingham News Sunday Magazine, the Alabama Sunday Magazine, and The Cullman Times.

Margaret is vitally interested in people and events happening in the world outside. Difficult as a trip to the polls is, she has never missed voting since the day she turned 21.

She is the recipient of two Freedom Foundation Awards for essays on "The American Way of Life," one of which was reprinted in the Congressional Record last year.

She also is serving as chairman of the Reunion Committee for the Farview High School Class of 1953 this year and is a member of the Baileyton Methodist Church, for whom she does volunteer clerical work.

Margaret Jean Jones of Baileyton never walks in sunlight, but her voice and manner reflect the sun seen through her "looking-glass."

CAMPUS OR BATTLEGROUND?

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, a most timely and appropriate article concerning the upheaval at Columbia University was published recently as the lead article in Barron's magazine. Written by Robert Hessen, an instructor in Columbia's Graduate School of Business, the article was reprinted in this morning's edition of the Wall Street Journal.

This is an article that ought to be read by every Member of Congress and by every university administrator, faculty member, and student.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Barron's, May 20, 1968]

CAMPUS OR BATTLEGROUND—COLUMBIA IS A WARNING TO ALL AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

(By Robert Hessen)

A larger-than-life portrait of Karl Marx dominated the entrance of a classroom building; a red flag flew from its rooftop. Chains barred the doors of other buildings, and chanting mobs roamed across the campus. The scene might have been the University of Havana or Peking. It was not. It took place just a few express stops from Wall Street, at Columbia University, where, from April 23–30, student leftists seized and occupied five university buildings.

The siege tactics which disrupted Columbia and brought its normal activities to a halt represent the latest assault by a revolutionary movement which aims to seize first the universities and then the industries of America. The rebels are members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a nationwide organization with chapters on over 250 campuses (Barron's, November 15, 1965, and March 11, 1968).

Originally, when SDS began as an outgrowth of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy, it repudiated communism as an authoritarian system and excluded communists from its membership. However, in 1964–65, SDS sought to broaden its power base by forming a united front with communist youth groups. Although SDS continued to describe its objectives in such murky phrases as "participatory democracy," the real tenor of its philosophy can best be seen in its intellectual heroes, Marx and Mao; in its action hero, Che Guevara; and in its slogans scrawled across the embattled Columbia campus—"Lenin won, Castro won, and we will win, too!"

SDS' hard-core membership at Columbia is fewer than 200 out of 17,800 students. But after it seized campus buildings, barred faculty and students from their offices and classrooms, and held a dean as hostage, its ranks were swelled by several hundred sympathizers, including many outsiders. SDS launched its assault on Columbia after failing peacefully to attain two of its political objectives on campus:

(1) The severing of the Columbia's connection with the Institute for Defense Analyses, a government-sponsored consortium which performs research and analysis relating to national defense and domestic riot control. SDS complained that Columbia's affiliation was aiding America's "imperialist aggression" in Vietnam, while at home I.D.A.'s studies in riot control were designed to suppress demonstrations by antiwar groups.

(2) A halt to the construction of a new gymnasium in Morningside Park, which adjoins Harlem, on land leased to Columbia by the City of New York.

SDS claimed that Columbia was guilty of "institutional racism," that the university was poaching upon the territory of the adjacent Negro community, and that the separate entrance for the part of the gym set aside for use by the neighborhood children constituted "Gym Crow."

In fact, the Columbia gymnasium had been warmly endorsed by over 40 Harlem community groups when it was announced eight years ago. It would occupy only two of the 30 acres in Morningside Park. Its presence would create an atmosphere of safety in an area which is now the territory of muggers and addicts. Separate entrances would be necessary because Columbia students would enter from the Heights on which the university is located, while Harlem residents would more conveniently reach the gym through the park which lies some 200 feet below. The issue is not one of bigotry but of geography.

SDS spokesmen claimed, truthfully, that they had sought to arouse the Columbia community into opposing the gym and the I.D.A. links. They admit that their campaign was a failure, which they ascribe to student and faculty apathy, and to the administration's refusal to hear and to heed their policy recommendations.

SDS rebels then resorted to their ultimate political weapon: the initiation of physical force, believing that they had a moral right to do so because they were "acting in a good cause." In the past, they had released many trial balloons to test this technique: they had obstructed N.R.O.T.C. graduation ceremonies; they had staged sit-ins in the offices of university administrators; and they had prevented recruiters for business firms and the C.I.A. from interviewing on campus. In each case, the consequence had been a polite rap on the knuckles, a verbal reprimand devoid of significant penalties such as expulsion or criminal prosecution.

On April 23. after trying to block construction at the gym site, SDS demonstrators and their militant Negro allies, members of the Student Afro-American Society, returned to campus. At the urging of their leaders, they marched on Hamilton Hall, the main classroom building of Columbia College. They were determined to barricade themselves in until the university met their demands. An unexpected fissure occurred within the ranks of the rebels who claimed to be united in their opposition to racism: the Negro militants ordered the whites to get out, and SDS complied. SDS then proceeded to capture a base of operation of its own. The rebels first seized the administrative offices of President Grayson Kirk in Low Library, and later three more classroom buildings.

Most students reacted with bewilderment and outrage. They demanded to know why the campus police had not been called in, and why the rebels were allowed to receive reinforcements of manpower and food. They witnessed caravans of litter-bearers marching across campus with cartons of supplies, as if their destination were a country picnic. Many students also wondered why the administration had not ordered the cutting off of electricity, water and telephones inside the buildings held by the rebels, since it was known that they were making Xerox copies of President Kirk's letter files and formulating strategy with outside allies by phone.

The administration's failure to take prompt action evidently sprang from a number of motives: fear of bad publicity; uncertainty about the morality of using the police to uphold law and order; reluctance to make a decision which might prove unpopular with some of the faculty, students or alumni; anxiety that members of the Harlem community might march on Columbia if police were used to clear the buildings; and the delusion that if they took no punitive action, the rebels would recognize them as men of good will. An SDS leader later admitted that if President Kirk had responded within the first hour, or even the first day, by sending in the university's own security police, the rebels would have "folded like a house of cards." By its inaction, the administration gave the rebels time to organize their resistance, bolster their morale and mobilize sympathizers and supplies from the outside.

Members of the senior faculty attempted to mediate between the administration and the rebels. But their efforts were futile, since they were faced with an impossible assignment: to devise a peace formula ambiguous enough to satisfy both sides—which meant that the terms of settlement had to both promise and refuse amnesty for the rebels. The faculty mediators labored under the belief that the rebels would be willing to negotiate for a peaceful solution to the mounting crisis. What they discovered, however, was that every concession made by the administration only produced escalated rebel demands. SDS' ultimate demand was that they be granted total amnesty as a pre-condition for negotiation.

It grew increasingly obvious that the rebels would not withdraw from the buildings until forced out by the police. They wanted blood to be shed, so that they could raise the cry of "police brutality," acquire the aura of martyrdom, and thereby win the majority of students and faculty to their side. Regrettably, President Kirk played right into their hands, by waiting until the sixth day of siege before calling in the police. The only other alternative open to him at that point would have been total capitulation, a final act of appeasement which would have served as an engraved invitation to renewed rebel demands in the future. The proper time to have acted against the rebels was at the outset of the siege, when a few dozen campus security officers could have achieved what it later took nearly 1,000 city police to do, at a price of over 100 injured rebels, spectators and policemen.

The aftermath of calling in the police was an upsurge of sympathy for the rebels. Their allies on campus called for a general strike by students and faculty to protest the use of police and to demand the ouster of President Kirk for having called them in. One mark of the effectiveness of this strike is that Columbia College, the undergraduate division of the university, voted to end all classes for the rest of the semester, which was scheduled to run another month. The strikers also won support from those who disapproved of both the tactics and objectives of SDS, but who wished to take advantage of the strike to bring about what is cryptically described as "restructuring of the university."

Even those most sympathetic to SDS, however, do not deny that the issues of I.D.A. and the gym were merely pretexts to justify the resort to force. SDS' short-range objective is to achieve "student power," which means total control over the university. They seek student veto power over appointment and tenure of faculty, admission of new students, courses offered by the university, degree requirements and the disposition of university funds. They propose to "radicalize the faculty," which means to purge it of conservatives and of law-and-order liberals who oppose the initiation of force to achieve political ends. As befits socialists, they regard the university as just another natural resource awaiting their expropriation.

But the long-range objective of SDS is even more sinister. As a sympathetic article in The New Republic (May 11, 1968) states: "The point of the game was power. And in the broadest sense, to the most radical members of the SDS Steering Committee, Columbia itself was not the issue. It was revolution. and if it could be shown that a great university could literally be taken over in a matter of days by a well-organized group of students, then no university was secure. Everywhere the purpose was to destroy institutions of the American Establishment, in the hope that out of the chaos a better America would emerge."

The rebels have no patience for any slow process of change. They are tired of "just talk" they want "action now." They will tolerate no opposition. They are indifferent to the fact that their tactics will destroy Columbia University by driving out the best minds, just as Nazi terror tactics drove the Jewish intellectuals out of the universities of Germany. But there is a crucial difference now. While men like Einstein could escape to England or America during the 'Thirties, SDS will try to close all avenues of escape. The use of intimidation and force will spread until there will be no sanctuary for men of reason within the academic world, or, ultimately, within the nation. One need only consider the fate of conservatives and liberals alike in countries which have been overrun by SDS' intellectual mentors: Mao's China and Castor's Cuba.

Since SDS tactics have succeeded in crippling a great university, the next targets can be City Hall, the State Capitol, or even the White House. If this prediction seems alarmist, consider the fact that SDS sympathizers known as "Yippies" already have announced plans to intimidate and disrupt the Democratic National Convention in Chicago this summer, in order to extract concessions on platform and candidates.

Whatever the final outcome of the Columbia strike, one thing is certain: the methods used at Columbia will be embraced by other student leftists on campuses throughout the country. Those who resort to force will justify their tactics by the same arguments advanced by the Columbia rebels and their apologists. If this national menace is to be checked, it is imperative that one know how to answer them.

(1) Some rebels claim that none of their tactics involved the use of force. This was true only in the narrow sense that they did not shed blood. But force was inextricably involved in every act that they perpetrated. They held the Associate Dean as hostage against his will—that was force. They barricaded faculty and students from their offices and classrooms—that was force. They seized property which was not rightfully theirs and refused to release it until their demands were met—that was force. Each of these is punished as an act of force under the civil laws of our society. They are crimes known as false imprisonment, criminal trespass and extortion.

If these acts were perpetrated by a lone individual, their criminal character would be obvious. If a single felon had held the dean hostage, or seized the office of President Kirk, rifled his desk and copied his files, no one would have confused him with an idealistic, "committed" crusader. On an individual basis, if someone demands that you grant him wealth or power that he has not earned and which he can only obtain by threats of violence, one does not doubt for a moment that he is an extortionist. The act of a lone thug does not become legitimatized when he teams up with other hoodlums. As Ayn Rand noted in "Capitalism: the Unknown Ideal," no individual can acquire rights by joining a gang. "Rights are not a matter of numbers—and there can be no such thing, in law or in morality, as actions forbidden to an individual, but permitted to a mob."

(2) Other rebels admit that they used force, but claim that force is justified when peaceful tactics fail. The fundamental political principle that all men must respect is that no individual or group may initiate the use of force for any purpose whatsoever. To accept SDS' alternative amounts to carte blanche for violence, and invites the complete breakdown of the rule of law.

To understand the grotesque irrationality of SDS' argument, consider the following. Imagine that there were a student chapter at Columbia of the Ku Klux Klan, which was protesting the proposed use of the new gym by Negroes. They tried, through campus rallies and petitions, to arouse the students, faculty and administration to support their demands, but their peaceful tactics failed. If this group then proceeded to seize university buildings and hold members of the administration as hostages, would any one have condoned their use of force, or have called for negotiations and compromise? The principle is the same: the initiation of force to achieve one's political objectives is both immoral and illegal, regardless of whether the initials of the aggressors are KKK or SDS.

(3) The rebels claim they were justified in using force because the administration had refused to give them a hearing on their demands for change. A university, like a well-run business, should be interested in knowing whether it is satisfying its customers. If it provides students with incompetent faculty, or poor laboratories or libraries, or supports political policies which they oppose, it is in the university's self-interest to maintain open channels of communication so that grievances can be expressed and remedial actions considered. Students who are dissatisfied with any aspect of a university's policies have a right to peacefully protest and petition, and even, in extreme situations, to boycott classes or organize a student strike. But they have no right to compel anyone to listen to their demands, nor a right to force other people to go on strike with them by prohibiting access to classes or by creating a general climate of terror to intimidate those who would oppose them.

(4) The rebels claim that since force is justified when peaceful tactics fail, they should be granted full amnesty. The single best answer to this argument is provided by Professor Leonard Peikoff in his forthcoming book, "Nazism and Contemporary America: the Ominous Parallels," who says: "The demand for amnesty on principle is the demand for the abdication on principle of legal authority; it is a demand for the formal sanction in advance of all future acts of force and violence, for the promise that such acts may be perpetrated hereafter with impunity. It is a demand to institutionalize the appeasement of brute force as a principle of civil policy in this county."

(5) The rebels claim that police represent violence, and therefore should not be used on a college campus which is a citadel of reason and persuasion. Here the rebels evade the fact that they were the ones who first resorted to violence. They obliterate the distinction between criminals who initiate the use of force and the police whose function it is to retaliate with force to restore peace and to protect the rights of the victims.

(6) The rebels claim that their quarrel with the administration was purely an internal dispute, hence the introduction of police represent meddlesome interference by outsiders. By the same reasoning, one could just as well conclude that if workers seize a factory, customers seize a store, or tenants seize an apartment building, these, too, are internal matters and do not justify calling in the police. In reason there can be no such concept as an "internal dispute" which allows someone to be victimized and prevented from calling the police. Those who violate property rights are scarcely in a position to claim that their conquered territory is "private property" upon which police may not enter.

(7) Rebels should not be criminally prosecuted. After all, they are students, not criminals. One need only remember that it was Nazi students who set fire to university libraries and terrorized professors. Being a student does not grant one an exemption from the laws which prohibit attacks on human life and property. The rebels acted like criminals and should be punished as such.

(8) It is impractical to suspend or expel the student rebels because there are so many of them. This amounts to saying that if a sufficient large mob breaks the law or violates individual right, it will be immune from punishment. If this principle is accepted, then every lawbreaker will be safe from prosecution if he can find enough members for his gang. This will provide the leader with an absolutely irresistible recruitment device, and invite the outbreak of a reign of terror.

(9) Admittedly the rebels violated property rights, but calling in the police could result in injury or loss of life, which is more important than loss of property. This argument amounts to saying that the lives of aggressors are more important than the property of victims. In action, this would mean that the police should not restrain rioting mobs from looting stores, or interfere with the KKK when it uses firebombs on Negro churches. On this principle, any victim of theft or expropriation would be advised to surrender his property—his wallet or warehouse—without resistance, lest the thief be hurt in the struggle. Acceptance of this principle would make every individual the defenseless target for any vandal or socialist.

The Columbia crisis vitally affects the life of every American. No one's life or property can be secure in a society which tolerates the use of force by any group to achieve its goals. And no one will be safe as long as college and civil authorities persist in their policy of answering aggression with appeasement.

Now is the time for intelligent counter-action. One means is to withhold financial support from colleges which condone or compromise with student terror tactics. A second is to write to the president and trustees of colleges urging that they endorse the following position: that their institution offers no sanctuary to any group which advocates the initiation of physical force, and that they will act immediatley and without hesitation to expel and criminally prosecute any student guilty of such tactics.

Men need to live by the guidance of rational principles and to resolve their disagreements peacefully. It is both immoral and impractical to abandon principles in a time of crisis, and then hope to survive on the basis of pragmatic expediency and cowardly compromise. Each time that a violation of individual rights is tolerated, it serves as an invitation for future violations. A free society cannot survive unless men of reason rally to its defense.

RHODESIA: VICTIM OF U.N. CONSPIRACY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, international sanctions aimed at overthrowing Rhodesia's bid for independence from Britain amount to "barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle."

Such comes with authority from none other than Mr. Dean Acheson, former U.S. Secretary of State.

In fact, Mr. Acheson proceeded further in an American Bar Association address to state:

> The U.S. is engaged in an international conspiracy, instigated by Britain and blessed by the United Nations to overthrow the government of a country that has done us no harm and threatens no one.

The interesting rebuttal from the father of the year, Mr. Goldberg, was typical U.N.-State Department factual discussion. "Sheer nonsense." Perhaps Mr. Goldberg means no one not in the inner circles is entitled to tell the people the truth. Or where there is no rebuttal to wrong the party line is to discount the truth as "nonsense."

It is time for the people of the United States to throw off the chains of slavery to international conspiracies and the tyranny of British Socialism.

We did win the War of Independence of 1776, did we not? We just overlook clearing the British trained members out of the State Department.

I include the Evening Star report of May 25, 1968, on Mr. Acheson's speech and Mr. Kilpatrick's column of May 26 on U.N. hypocrisy and related comments:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 25, 1968]

ACHESON RAPS RHODESIA FOES

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson says invocation of international sanctions aimed at Rhodesia's bid for independence from Britain amount to "barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle."

"It will surprise some of our fellow citizens, though hardly anyone here today, to be told that the United States is engaged in an international conspiracy, instigated by Britain, and blessed by the United Nations, to overthrow the government of a country that has done us no harm and threatens no one," Acheson told an international law group here yesterday.

"The charge that Britain brings against Rhodesians is one that George III once brought against Americans and sought unsuccessfully to enforce by arms," he said.

TALKS TO BAR GROUP

Acheson spoke at a luncheon of the international and comparative law section of the American Bar Association.

His criticism was directed at a United Nations call for economic sanctions against Rhodesia after that country's white minority government asserted its independence from Britain in November 1965.

Acheson's comments brought a sharp reply from Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

"As we say in United Nations circles, the former secretary of state is a distinguished gentleman, but what he says is sheer nonsense," Goldberg told a National Press Club luncheon.

DECRIES MEDDLING

Acheson said that Rhodesia's approach to government, in which whites have the controlling voice, may not be "everyone's cup of tea." But, he said, "neither was it anyone's business; nor was it apartheid."

"It was a matter relating solely to the international affairs of Rhodesia—in which the United Nations was forbidden by its charter to meddle."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 26, 1968]

THE SMOG OF HYPOCRISY AT THE UNITED NATIONS

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—It is good to get back to the United Nations. One feels so at home in the smog.

In recent weeks the smog—the smog of hypocrisy, that is—has seemed especially thick. It is worse than the faint haze that always hangs over Congress. It is infinitely more nauseous than the cheerful lies of an Oregon campaign. The Security Council is back on Rhodesia again, contemplating a couple of punitive resolutions, and the most elementary principles of fair play and basic law have floated down the river. They are lost in the fog and may never be seen again.

One of the resolutions, taking the approach of let's you and him fight, comes from the Afro-Asian bloc. It begins by reaffirming the spurious assertion that Rhodesian independence "constitutes a threat to international peace and security." No such threat ever has been proved; it has merely been stated. Rhodesia has threatened no one.

The Afro-Asian resolution goes on to concede that economic sanctions have failed to bring Rhodesia to her knees, partly because of the sympathetic position taken by Portugal and South Africa. Therefore the resolution proposes to censure Portugal and South Africa by name, but more than this is required: The resolution urges Great Britain "to take urgently all necessary measure including the use of force to bring an end to the rebellion."

The second resolution, sponsored by Great Britain, is longer and more legalistic. Its purpose is to give another turn to the sanctions screw. Members of the United Nations would be obligated to prevent the flow of capital into Rhodesia, to ban travelers on Rhodesian passports, to prevent aircraft and ships from transporting Rhodesian freight, and generally to ostracize and isolate Great Britain's rebellious offspring.

The two resolutions have been kicking around for more than a month. The Afro-Asian delegations are trying to pick up support from Latin-America, but the Latins are playing it cool. It is generally agreed that the Security Council will reject an appeal to force, even if Britain has to exercise its veto, but pressures are being generated for hard-line action.

One wonders drearily, why? Why has Rhodesia been singled out for the unprecedented punishment imposed by the council? The familiar answer is that Rhodesia's "illegal white racist regime" has flagrantly denied the principles of self-determination, majority rule, and one man, one vote.

Surely it is true that Rhodesia's government has refused to extend those principles here and now. But one is compelled to ask: When did these principles get to be the law of the United Nations? And if violation of these principles can be construed as a threat to international peace, why is the rule not applied to all alike? Why the double standard?

The questions are unanswerable; or more accurately, as Dean Acheson has said, they can be answered only in terms of the transparent hypocrisy that has emerged with the African bloc. The United Nations is paying a high price for this indulgence. Obviously, the sanctions imposed thus far upon Rhodesia have failed. Not only Portugal and South Africa have ignored them; as a recent article in Reporter magazine made clear, dozens of other nations have winked at them, too. The impotence of the UN becomes steadily more apparent.

Why compound the folly? George Ball, who will replace Arthur Goldberg as U.S. Ambassador next month, has described economic sanctions as a "romantic delusion." In his recent book, "The Discipline of Power," he has bluntly remarked that non-military sanctions are more likely to result in annoyance than hardship.

This further objection arises, that adoption of a hard-line council resolution will make political survival even more difficult for Rhodesia's Ian Smith. He is treading a perilous path. If he stumbles, right-wing extremists will move into power. Once that happens, Great Britain, the United Nations, and Rhodesia's black majority will have lost far more than they could have gained by wiser policies all along.

[From American Opinion, June 1968]

FROM AFRICA

(By George S. Schuyler)

Students of World War III with their attention riveted on Vietnam and the *Pueblo* incident might well be equally concerned with the African sector of the conflict where significant gains have been made by the Communist enemy.

There is first the continuing devastating civil war in Nigeria where the successes of the Federals over the Biafran rebels have been largely made possible by massive aid from Moscow in the forms of arms and aircraft. Of course, since the Lagos government has no pilots capable of flying the Soviet planes, the Kremlin has graciously sent an ample supply of those too. With the death toll already at thirty thousand, or more than the total U.S. deaths in Vietnam, it continues to mount daily as Soviet bombers destroy cities, churches, and hospitals in the absence of any worthwhile military targets. The British military aid to Lagos has also been substantial, but nothing approaching the Russian help which came from the beginning after urgent appeals.

Thanks to this foreign military aid, the Federal forces have demolished Biafra's great trading city of Onitsha—where a $1.4 million market is now a scorched skeleton of twisted girders, the $17 million bridge across the mighty Niger has been destroyed, and the population of 160,000 has been reduced to less than 1,000, without water, electricity or food, except that supplied by the victorious Federal forces of General Yakubu Gowon.

Both the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches have appealed for peace in Nigeria in a joint statement saying they "unite in one voice in most urgent appeal to both contesting parties for an immediate cessation of armed hostilities in this sad conflict and for the establishment of a lasting peace by honorable negotiations in the highest African tradition." Neither of these august bodies, of course, has ever appealed to the Algerian dictatorship for the release of the kidnaped and imprisoned Moise Tshombe; nor to anyone in behalf of the half million Christians and pagans chased out of southern Sudan by the Khartoum politicians beefed up by Soviet arms (nothing can be done about the half million already slaughtered there in the civil war which has been going on since 1956); nor have they appealed on behalf of the thousands of hapless Jehovah's Witnesses who have been raped, robbed, tortured, and killed by the brave forces of Dr. Hastings Banda, dictator of Malawi.

Only the much-maligned Portuguese and the French have helped supply arms to the Biafrans, though the Dutch (with their usual eye to commerce) have run several freighters through the blockade. The United States has aided neither side but has recognized all sorts of virtue in the case of Lagos. In return it has been daily denounced by the Moscow-leaning Nigerians.

President Tubman, of one-Party Liberia, and Emperor Haile Selassie, the daddy of all African dictators—who co-chaired the Nigerian peace mission of the Organization of African Unity—have been distressingly ineffective as the genocide against the talented and progressive Ibo people of Biafra has progressed. But, as a sort of farcical note, it was announced in mid-March that a month hence the big brass of the Negro Leadership Conference on Africa would emplane for Lagos to offer their good offices in bringing about Nigerian peace (something they can't maintain in their "ghettos" at home!). The delegates were to be Roy Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P.; Whitney Young of the Urban League; A. Philip Randolph, President of the Sleeping Car Porters; and, Dr. Martin Luther King, the nonviolent agitator. With King now gathered to his fathers, the trip may be postponed with no loss to anybody except the airplane companies.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is zealously prosecuting its plans for conquering Africa, thereby enriching its sources of mineral wealth and denying same to the capitalist world. The Rhodesian war is being stepped up with increasing attacks across the Zambezian border by guerrillas trained by Chinese Communist military experts and equipped with the latest arms. It is estimated that there are two thousand of these guerrillas in Tanzania and Zambia, although the veracious President Kenneth Kaunda denies they are being trained in his country. This is affirmed by James R.D. Chikerema, Lusakabased Vice President of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, and the Dar es Salaam-based Oliver Tambo, who heads the African National Congress forces in Tanzania. But, only the incredibly naive believe them. Both operate up-to-date headquarters from which they direct the movement of their Communist guerrillas across the Rhodesian and Mozambique borders.

The multi-racial Rhodesian army has repulsed the several murder teams sent across the Zambezi, but its officers admit that the guerrillas are highly trained and well equipped. That figures, since their leaders were instructed in Russia and China, with the rank-and-file being drilled in Tanzania and Zambia—and the whole tribe carrying Russian- and Chinese-made rockets and rocket-launchers. Since each guerrilla gets a $70.50 handout when he starts out on a mission, it is evident that Messrs. Chikerema and Tambo are handling a lot of money from the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (which gets it from the Soviet Union).

Parked over in Kinshasa and also backed by the O.A.U. is Communist Holden Roberto, author of the March 15, 1961 atrocities in Angola, with his forces of the Revolutionary Government of Angola; across the Congo River in Brazzaville, capital of the old French Congo, is quartered the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, headed by the Communist Angolan intellectual, Dr. Neto. Roberto has the nod and cash from the O.A.U., but Neto's funds come directly from the Red bosses.

The other prong of the Red pincers on Southern Africa is directed by Eduardo Mondlane, President of the Mozambique liberationist group called FRELIMO, which is quartered in Dar es Salaam. A Mozambique mulatto, married to an American girl from the Midwest, and formerly Professor at Syracuse University, Dr. Mondlane was originally bankrolled by the Ford Foundation which supported his "school" on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam. His outfit is now financed by the O.A.U.'s Liberation Committee and is credited with having eight thousand guerrillas training inside Mozambique and an equal number in Tanzania. The 65,000-man Portuguese Army is holding its own and the rebels are making no advance.

The strategy is to invade Rhodesia, Angola, Botswana, and Mozambique, and to encircle South Africa, the real goal. With South Africa's wealth in capital and natural resources, and South West Africa's diamond bonanza, the Communists figure they could have it made. The only obstacle to world conquest would then be the United States.

RBC COMMENTARY

(By Mr. P. Hanson)

"A Bad Week's Work". That was how the London Times described the legislation rushed through the House of Commons to stop the rush of Asian immigrants entering Britain from Kenya. So they have no home to go to. Britain won't take them. India has set its face against them, and Kenya is determined to get rid of them.

And not only them, but Europeans as well. A senior official wrote from Nairobi last month, that the world is now hearing about the Asian exodus without realising that a significant outflow of Europeans is now building up. The warning was there, a long time ago. Anyone who had lived in Kenya for ten years prior to "Uhuru" had the constitutional right for two years after independence to assume Kenya citizenship. Not just to ask for it, but to assume it. That gave them, Europeans and Asians alike, until December 1965; yet today, there are over eight-thousand applications for citizenship—all made in due time—which have not yet been approved. Those people and their families now find themselves subject to a spate of legislation designed to restrict employment to Kenya citizens. They are being refused work permits, trading licenses, transport licenses and denied the right to sell their land to anyone who is not a citizen of Kenya, and the right to employ non-citizens.

The Kenya Government must be well aware of the risks it runs. There are a million bags of maize to be moved into bulk storage before the next crop comes in within the next few months. But the Asian lorry-owners have no licenses, and the African transporters will not be able to move one-tenth of the crop. So there can be little doubt that the Kenya Government's policy is deliberate.

Europeans have written from Kenya that they will not visit Rhodesia because they might well be denied re-entry into Kenya. But their message is clear: what is happening in that country today is the certain and logical end of accepting the principle of "one man, one vote." Yet two years ago, Kenya was being acclaimed as a demonstration to Rhodesians of how a viable multi-racial state under a black government could work. For the white man, as well as for the Asians, the time has come, not for any re-appraisals, but for level-headed scouting around for new fields, for fresh lands. The message for ex-patriate communities in Kenya is clear. It is a silent message, but piercing and simple: they are no longer wanted in Kenya.

The article says that most of the expatriates who stayed after independence, did so with the best intentions and contributed largely to the development which has impressed overseas visitors. In return, they expected good-will and a free atmosphere. This is what is now disappearing.

The Asians have tried to use their British passports and get into Britain, only to find the door bolted in their faces. Will the Europeans fare any better, or must they join Mr. Callaghan's queue? They are a minority. The clauses in the constitution negotiated with the British Government have failed to protect them.

The British Government today is powerless to protect them. Just as powerless as it was to protect minorities in Aden. And no principles embedded in a constitution will do it for them.

The message in Kenya is one that Rhodesians should heed. "One man, one vote" sounds fine at the United Nations, but it is only a key opening the Pandora's Box of African rule for Africans only.

The suddenness and abruptness of Mr. Wilson's latest challenge to Rhodesia poses the question as to whether his real intention is to get the Rhodesian Government to solve this particular problem for him and thus leave him free to turn to other and, from a British point of view, more pressing matters. For there are certainly more urgent affairs for Mr. Wilson to consider. Devaluing the pound was drastic, but it did not solve Britain's economic worries, and these are far more vital to the survival of Mr. Wilson's Government than anything that happens in Rhodesia.

Last month, Britain's gold and dollar reserves rose by some £9 million, but this was not enough to settle the qualms felt by the money markets that deal in the pound sterling, which this week slipped to its lowest level since devaluation last November. The basic reasons for this renewed run on the pound is the feeling abroad that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Roy Jenkins, still has to produce a really tough budget if he is to restore the position of Britain's economy. And this time, the United States is not in the same position as in the past—when she was able to bring to bear massive support for the British pound.

Now America has her own problems, and her resources are committed to an all-out effort to avoid an increase in the price of gold, which would be tantamount to devaluing her own dollar. Last week, an even greater rush for gold was triggered off by a demand put before the American Senate that a halt be called to supplies of gold being sent to the London pool. And the rumours that South Africa might switch her gold sales from the London market to Paris brought even more sales of dollars and pounds. While all the time the world waits to see what steps Mr. Jenkins will take this month. Already he has been advised by the most influential pressure groups on economics outside the Treasury that he needs to raise some £500 million in extra taxes. The National Institute of Economics and Social Research warned Mr. Jenkins that industrial output must be reined back and so must the natural rise in weekly earnings that everyone in Britain wants.

The problem that Mr. Wilson's Government faces is one of confidence. They have to persuade the world that it is perfectly safe to keep pound notes locked in a drawer with no risk of them being worth less tomorrow. But the world in general is showing an ever increasing mistrust of paper money, and thus the pound gradually shrinks in value. Unless Mr. Wilson can re-establish this confidence then the British people face a bleak outlook, as the money in the weekly pay packet becomes worth less and less. Already the situation is being taken seriously enough for there to be speculation on the formation of a National government, similar to the one that was formed in 1931, when the Labour Government of Mr. Ramsey MacDonald fell—for very similar reasons.

Whether it be in the form of a coalition or a general election, any such change of government will take time, and during that time the ordinary man in the British street will have to tighten his belt and hang on in the hope that his political masters will be able to come up with some sort of solution that will let him go about his daily business with some sort of assurance that next week's pay packet will buy as much as this week's.

Reports from New York today say that African nations have demanded that the Security Council should meet immediately to consider the Rhodesian issue, but add that this is unlikely to happen for at least a week. The Special Committee on Colonialism has drawn the Security Council's attention to what it calls the grave situation in this country; while the United Nations Commission on Human Rights called on the Security Council to take "immediate and appropriate action" to restore peace and security. Both these bodies repeatedly refer to African murderers as "freedom fighters" and to Rhodesia as a "colony". All this effort to get the Security Council to meet infers that Rhodesia is a threat to world peace, for that is what the Council exists to deal with. Apart from the laughability of such an idea, have these bodies, and the organization of African Unity, which screams for the invasion of Rhodesia, put up any protests about those who have died, and are dying, in Mauritius?

At the same time as the Human Rights Commission and the Special Committee on Colonialism were issuing their tirades in New York, the British Government announced that the visit of Princess Alexandra to Mauritius has been cancelled. Why? Because of the recent violence on the island. A spokesman for the British Commonwealth Office said that it had been hoped that the state of emergency could have been lifted before the Princess was due to arrive. But this has not been possible, and, as the spokesman added, conditions have not yet returned to normal. But Mauritius is a British Colony, and the same Government which is prepared to tell the Security Council that Rhodesia is a threat to world peace, is not in the least concerned that the United Nations should investigate what is going on in Mauritius. British troops had to be rushed there in January, after a week of rioting in which twenty lives were lost, and there were fresh incidents last month. So it would seem that a definition of a "threat to world peace" is subject to double standards.

If the accent is put on the word "world", then it is difficult to see how either Rhodesia or Mauritius can be classed in this category; but if the accent is on "peace", then no person in their sane and sober senses could say that Rhodesia is less peaceful than Mauritius, and the Commonwealth Office itself admits it—by cancelling Princess Alexandra's visit. The spokesman even added that he did not think the Queen would be represented at the celebrations when the island is granted its independence next week.

The idea of granting independence to a colony at a time when it is not safe for the Royal Family to go there, may seem ludicrous, but the wooly thinking that goes with the sacred cow of one man, one vote—presumably can excuse anything, even leaving the Mauritians to kill each other with no one to hold the ring.

It may be ludicrous, but it is also tragic. For the once-great powers at the United Nations will still pay heed to the shrill cries of Afro-Asian countries that have nothing to lose but their free hand-outs.

While in Mauritius, Hindus will go on killing Creoles and Muslims, and vice versa, while the United Nations get ready to welcome them as the newest member; and one day Mauritius may even get elected onto the Security Council.

There are plenty of harsh words being used about Rhodesia in many parts of the world. But the vitriol poured out comes, in the main, from militant and highly vocal minorities who manage to make far more noise than their numbers merit. Their abuse is heard by the majority and is bound to influence ordinary people wherever they live—for those same ordinary people have, in all-too-many cases, hardly heard of Rhodesia. And, setting the record straight is a difficult task, albeit a vital one. The truth, if it comes from Rhodesia, is automatically suspect and liable to be written off as propaganda. From this country, it may seem an almost hopeless task, but Rhodesia has friends abroad—whether in the form of organized societies, or individuals.

A case in point comes from Canada. There, a petition with a thousand signatures has been submitted to the Government's External Affairs Committee, asking for an official party to be sent to Rhodesia to find out the truth for itself. One of the prime-movers in getting this petition submitted to the Government was a former Rhodesian farmer, Mr. Cedric Greenhill. Born in England, and now a Canadian citizen, Mr. Greenhill farmed in Rhodesia for sixteen years, and so his views on the dispute between this country and Britain should carry some weight with Canadians. The paper presented to the External Affairs Committee calls for the dispatch of an all-party Parliamentary group to Rhodesia and asks that Canada, instead of taking sides, should act as a mediator.

This petition, submitted by the Canadian "Friends of Rhodesia" Society, asks the Government to seek a ruling from the International Court in the Hague on the legality of the economic isolation of Rhodesia. On this point, Mr. Greenhill says that the present condemnation of Rhodesia, without a hearing, discredits both the United Nations and Canada. For, not only are sanctions illegal under the Charter, but against Canadian Law, under which the accused have the right to face their accusers and must be presumed innocent unless proved guilty. Yet Canada has imposed sanctions without the matter ever having been debated on the floor of the Canadian House of Commons. Mr. Greenhill drily asked whether Canda has ever before waged war—economic or otherwise—without a parliamentary debate. Whether the Canadian Government will take the slightest notice of the petition, is a moot point, but at least it will leave ordinary Canadians without the excuse that they don't really know what their own Government is up to.

Mr. Greenhill's statement has rubbed in the fact that the Land Apportionment Act is maintained in order to prevent those with most money obtaining most of the land. And just in case that may not convey much to the average Canadian, Mr. Greenhill goes on to point out that if Canada had instituted a similar measure to protect the indigenous Red Indians, it would be like giving them British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Facts like these can only be put across by someone who knows both Rhodesia and Canada. Even if the Canadian Government is not persuaded by the arguments, at least it means that the still, small voice of truth will gradually be heard. And if it is not believed immediately, at least it may make the ordinary public all over the world stop and think. This is what seems to have happened as far as the reaction by the Canadian External Affairs Committee is concerned. One of the organizers of the petition described it by saying that quite a few liberals were taken aback by this brand of truth and responded by asking some honest questions.

And that is all that Rhodesia asks for: honest questions.

Messages of goodwill poured into Mauritius yesterday as it became an independent nation. Messages of goodwill, and messages appealing for restraint by all those involved in the island's racial tension. Amongst the latter was one from Pope Paul who urged Christians to co-operate with Hindus, Moslems and Jews in an effort to build a stable Government for the new state. Pope Paul called Mauritius the melting pot of European, African and Asian civilisations, and his message noted that the island had been "wisely prepared" for independence. It must be presumed that Pope Paul has advisers who have counselled him as to the wise preparations in Mauritius for Independence. And, being faceless, they escape responsibility for the wildness of their advice. For if riots are wise preparation for independence, then the world is truly mad. And does the fact that the largest single political party is violently opposed to independence really indicate the wiseness of these preparations? Perhaps one day the world will learn who these advisers are. But, by then it will be too late. The damage will have been done, and history will have been written in Mauritius . . . perhaps in blood.

It is always the same: when Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met at Yalta—they had advisers. When the map of Europe and much of the world was rolled up, the press cameras were focused on the three leaders—not on the nameless ones in the background. Only later did history relate who they were and what they did. President Roosevelt was a dying man. He took with him to Yalta his Secretary of State, Edward G. Stettinius, who was carried to the Conference on a stretcher. The two main issues of the Conference were the United Nations and Poland. It was then that the idea of the veto was born. The partition of Poland was decided; Germany was split; Yugoslavia was amongst the victims, and the King and Prime Minister were persuaded to get together with Tito. Within a few months, that coalition was ended and Tito was in complete control of the country. The Russians had gained all their points. The fate of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania became a foregone conclusion.

And who advised the dying American President and invalid Secretary of State? Harry S. Hopkins . . . who according to recent publications had no formal status in the American delegation. A man of the left for whom there could be no Anglo-American ganging up on the Russians. The other person present was the subsequently notorious Alger Hiss, at the time attached to the State Department. It took a long time for the F.B.I. to catch up with Alger Hiss and get him convicted of spying, and during that time the damage was done—not by the leaders but by the shadowy figures in the background.

And, today, Mr. Wilson has built up a reputation in Britain of almost incredible folly. Popularity polls show that he rates lower in public esteem than practically any British Prime Minister at any time. But what is more incredible is than any one man in a position such as he has achieved could possibly make so many errors of judgment. His efforts to take Britain into the European Common Market failed. His policies left Aden independent but bloodstained. His Rhodesian policies have united this country against him; and Mauritius looks like being another Aden. The tale is endless.

Perhaps Mr. Wilson has many advisers. It is easy to say that he is the victim of bad advice. But is it? Could it be that it is just as subtle and Machiavellian as that given to President Roosevelt at Yalta?

THE FUNERAL SERVICE OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., IN ATLANTA, GA.

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on Tuesday, April 9, 1968, there was held what was probably the most unusual funeral tribute ever given an American who had never held a public office.

On that day, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was laid to rest in his native soil in a funeral service in which hundreds of thousands participated.

First, at 10:30 in the morning there was the limited audience which was able to crowd into the Ebenezer Baptist Church, of which Dr. King's father, Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., was pastor. A memorial service was held there.

This was followed by the march of the funeral procession from the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Ga., to the campus of Morehouse College in Atlanta—a march of approximately 5 miles, in which hundreds of thousands participated. The final service was held on the campus of Morehouse College in the afternoon. The entire services—march and final services—embraced a period of some 6 hours.

Following the memorial march, the memorial service on the campus of Morehouse College was held in the open, and thereby many thousands of the hundreds of thousands who had made the march were able to be visible participants.

In the final service, the stirring funeral eulogy by Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College, was heard by many tens of millions on television and radio in America, and stirred the people of the Nation.

The entire services and the march and the oration by Dr. Mays were televised all day long that day by the television networks of America, and were viewed by untold tens of millions of people.

Having been in Atlanta, Ga., that day as a personal participant in the services and having been requested to make the order of service available to many people, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed at this point in the Extensions of Remarks the complete order of the funeral services under the title, "Obsequies, Martin Luther King, Jr.," as printed in 14-page booklet form and used at the service April 9, 1968. I also request unanimous consent that there be printed at this point in the Extensions of Remarks the stirring funeral eulogy by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OBSEQUIES: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., APRIL, 9, 1968, 10:30 A.M., EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH—2:00 P.M., THE CAMPUS OF MOREHOUSE COLLEGE, ATLANTA, GA.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., 1929–68

Martin Luther King, Jr., is like the great Yggdrasil tree, "whose roots," a poet said, "are deep in earth but in whose upper branches the stars of heaven are glowing and astir."

His roots went deeply into the inferno of slavery, this black baby born January 15, 1929, to Alberta Williams King and Martin Luther King, Sr. Now the roots have grown to those upper branches, and he is indeed among the stars of heaven, this beautiful man, husband, father, pastor, leader.

He is free and he is home, and the world has come to his home to honor him and hopefully, to repent the sins against him and all humanity.

Martin Luther King came of a deeply religious family tradition. His great grandfather was a slave exhorter. His maternal grandfather, the Rev. Adam Daniel Williams, was the second pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church where for eight years, Dr. King and his father were co-pastors.

This lineage which permeated his life was an enormous influence on him and what he would ultimately become.

His father, born at the turn of the century in Stockbridge, Georgia, came to Atlanta in 1916. In 1925, Martin Luther King Sr. married Alberta Williams. They were blessed with a daughter and two sons. The youngest son is the Reverend Alfred Daniel Williams King of Louisville, Kentucky, who went to Memphis, Tennessee, one infamous day "to help my brother." The daughter is Christine King Farris of Atlanta, who went to a home that night to comfort her brother's wife. The other son was Martin Luther King, Jr.

Reared in a home of love, understanding, and compassion, young Martin was to find 501 Auburn Avenue a buffer against the rampant injustices of the "sick society" for which he would become the physician.

A serious student, Martin Luther King was an early admissions student at Morehouse College in Atlanta, from which he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1948.

His great "wrestling inside with the problem of a vocation" must have been prophetic of the many agonizing hours which would eventually characterize his life.

Having felt the stings of "man's inhumanity to man," Martin Luther King believed law would be his sphere for combating injustices. The ministry as he saw it was not socially relevant; however, at Morehouse, in the brilliant Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, he saw the ideal of what he wanted a minister to be. In his junior year, he gave himself to the ministry.

At Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, Martin Luther King was further stimulated but still his quest for a method to end social evil continued. Through courses at the University of Pennsylvania, deep, serious reading, and provocative lectures, he began to find answers which would crystallize his thinking and give him the philosophy by which he would "redeem the soul of America." Because of the color of his skin, his life was threatened at this institution, but with the aplomb that would be typical of his response to later threats, he disarmed his attacker.

He was the first Negro to be elected president of Crozer's student body, and this began what would become a series of firsts for this son whose roots were in slavery.

With a partially satisfied, but still fermenting mind, he matriculated at Boston University, at the time the center of personalism, the philosophical posture which he had adopted. Studying under two of the greatest exponents of his philosophy. Martin King was to find this theory an enormously sustaining force in the future.

In Boston, he met Coretta Scott, an equally concerned and talented New England Conservatory student from the South. On June 18, 1953, at her Marion, Alabama home she became Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. She was later to realize her highest dreams, not in concertizing, but in singing the songs of freedom and being her husband's disciple from "Montgomery to Montgomery."

This happy marriage brought into life four children; Yolanda Denise, born November 17, 1955; Martin Luther III, born October 23, 1957; Dexter Scott, born January 30, 1961; and Bernice Albertine, born March 28, 1963.

The Ph.D. degree was awarded Martin Luther King in 1955, and again there was a great "wrestling inside." Sensitive to the needs of his native South, he decided to return to the land from whence he had sprung, and preach a "socially relevant and intellectually responsible" gospel. He accepted the "call" to Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Aabama, and began his pastorate September 1, 1954.

The cradle of the Confederacy was a seething cauldron of racial injustice, and this grandson of a founder of the Atlanta Branch NAACP was asked to assume the presidency of the Montgomery Branch NAACP. Again the wrestle.

Finally, he answered negatively, but on December 1, 1955, the refusal of Mrs. Rosa Parks to give up her seat to a white man on a Montgomery bus made the young, erudite minister answer affirmatively when asked to chair the newly formed Montgomery Improvement Association.

Mrs. Parks' arrest for violation of the system of racial segregation set off a new American Revolution. Daring to do what was right, Ralph and Juanita Abernathy stood up with Martin and Coretta King when there were nothing but "valleys of despair," and their loyalty has never known the midnight.

Now, the myriad religious and philosophical forces which had shaped his life would be put to the test and this selfless, compassionate man would "forget himself into immortality."

"Christian love can bring brotherhood on earth. There is an element of God in every man," said he after his home was bombed in Montgomery. This new attack on America's social system gave every day application to the teachings of Jesus, and captured the conscience of the world.

On April 4, 1968, an assassin took the earthly life of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Profound, but unpretentious; gentle, but valiant; Baptist, but ecumenical; loving justice, but hating injustice; the deep roots of this Great Spirit resolved the agonizing wrestling and gave all mankind new hope for a bright tomorrow.

It is, now, for us, the living to dedicate and rededicate our lives to the Cause which Martin Luther King so nobly advanced.

He Had a Dream.

THE LEADERSHIP OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

1955–56: Montgomery Bus Boycott.

1957: Founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

1958: Beginning of massive South-wide voter registration.

1959: Nonviolent education programs; school integration drives.

1960: Founding of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; the sit-in movement.

1961: Freedom Rides; the Albany Movement—Albany, Georgia.

1962: Establishment of SCLC Citizenship Education Program and SCLC Operation Breadbasket.

1963: The Birmingham Movement; The March on Washington.

1964: The Nobel Prize for Peace; the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

1965: The Selma-to-Montgomery March; The Voting Rights Act of 1965.

1966: The Chicago Movement; the March Against Fear in Mississippi.

1967: The war in Vietnam and the call for peace; the Cleveland Movement.

1968: The Poor People's Campaign; Memphis.

MEMORIAL SERVICES: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., 1929–68—ATLANTA, GA., APRIL 9, 1968

I. Ebenezer Baptist Church, Family and Faith.

II. Memorial March, Commitment and Movement.

III. The Morehouse College Campus, Knowledge and Wisdom.

IV. Interment, *"Free at last, free at last! Thank God Almighty, I'm free at last!"*

I. Memorial services, Martin Luther King, Jr., Ebenezer Baptist Church, 10:30 A.M.

The Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, Officiating.

Processional: *"Cortege,"* Dupre.

Hymn: *"When I Survey the Wondrous Cross,"* arr. Lowell Mason.

Prayer: The Reverend Ronald English, Assistant Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Hymn: *"In Christ There Is No East or West,"* Alexander R. Reinagle.

Old Testament Scripture: The Reverend William H. Borders, Pastor, Wheat Street Baptist Church.

Hymn: *"Softly and Tenderly,"* Will L. Thompson.

New Testament Scripture: The Reverend E. H. Dorsey, Pastor, Tabernacle Baptist Church.

Hymn: *"Where He Leads Me,"* J. S. Norris.

Tribute, Dr. L. Harold De Wolfe, Mentor of Dr. King.

Solo: *"My Heavenly Father Watches Over Me,"* Charles H. Gabriel, sung by Mrs. Mary Gurley.

Sermon excerpts.

Spiritual: *"Balm in Gilead,"* Traditional.

Recessional: *"Largo"* from *"New World Symphony,"* Dvorak.

II. Memorial March

Martin Luther King Jr. marched for freedom. We march today in grateful recognition of the freedom he has now achieved.

III. Martin Luther King, Jr., The Campus of Morehouse College, 2:00 P.M.

The Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, Officiating.

Prelude: Improvisations on Negro Spirituals, Improvisations on *"We Shall Overcome."*

Processional: *"Cortege,"* Dupre.

Hymn: *"O God, Our Help In Ages Past,"* Isaac Watts.

Prayer: Dr. Gardner C. Taylor, President, Progressive National Baptist Convention.

Old Testament Scripture: Rabbi Abraham Heschel, Professor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Spiritual: *"Balm in Gilead,"* Traditional, Morehouse College Glee Club.

New Testament Scripture: The Reverend Franklin C. Frye, President, National Council of Churches.

Spiritual: *"Ain't Got Time to Die,"* Traditional, Ebenezer Baptist Church Choir.

Tributes: The Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor, City of Atlanta; Mr. Robert J. Collier, Chairman, Board of Deacons, Ebenezer Baptist Church; Most Reverend John J. Wright, Bishop of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Rosa Parks, "Mother" of Montgomery Movement; The Reverend J. E. Lowery, Chairman, Board of Directors, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; The Reverend Andrew J. Young, Executive Vice President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Solo: *"Precious Lord, Take My Hand,"* Thomas A. Dorsey, sung by Miss Mahalia Jackson.

Eulogy: Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President Emeritus, Morehouse College.

Hymn: *"The Morehouse College Hymn,"* J. O. B. Mozeley. "We Shall Overcome."

Benediction: Bishop W. R. Wilkes, Presiding Bishop, Third Episcopal District, African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Recessional: *"Largo"* from *"New World Symphony,"* Dvorak.

IV. Interment

South View Cemetery.

THE DREAMS AND INSPIRATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

1958: *"History has thrust upon our generation an indescribably important destiny—to complete a process of democratization which our nation has too long developed too slowly. How we deal with this crucial situation will determine our moral health as individuals, our cultural health as a region, our political health as a nation, and our prestige as a leader of the free world."*

Statement to an Alabama judge, 1958: *"Although I cannot pay the fine, I will willingly accept the alternative which you provide, and that I will do without malice."*

1962: *"It may get me crucified. I may even die. But I want it said even if I die in the struggle that 'He died to make men free'."*

Letter from a Birmingham Jail April, 1963: *"The question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremists will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice—or will we be extremists for the cause of justice?*

The March on Washington, August 28, 1963: *"I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but the content of their character."*

1964: *"Some of you have knives, and I ask you to put them up. Some of you have arms, and I ask you to put them up. Get the weapon of nonviolence, the breastplate of righteousness, the armor of truth and just keep marching."*

On taking a position against the war in Vietnam, 1967: *"Cowardice asks the question, 'Is it safe?' Expediency asks the question, 'Is it politics?' Vanity asks the question, 'Is it popular?' But conscience asks the question, 'Is it right?' And there comes a time when one must take a position that is neither safe, nor politic, nor popular, but he must take it because conscience tells him that it is right."*

On the Poor People's Campaign, 1968: *"Poor people's lives are disrupted and dislocated every day. We want to put a stop to this. Poverty, racism and discrimination cause families to be kept apart, men to become desperate, women to live in fear, and children to starve."*

April 3, 1968: *"Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will . . . I've looked over and I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land."*

HONORARY PALLBEARERS

Board of Deacons, Ebenezer Baptist Church, S.C.L.C. Staff, Men of the Clergy.

ACTIVE PALLBEARERS

1. Mr. Milton Cornelius.
2. Mr. Jethro English.
3. Mr. Arthur Henderson.
4. Mr. Howard Dowdy.
5. Reverend C. K. Steele.
6. Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth
7. Reverend Jesse Jackson.
8. Reverend Fred C. Bennette.

I TRIED TO LOVE AND SERVE HUMANITY

Martin Luther King Jr., Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, Sunday, February 4, 1968: "If any of you are around when I have meet my day, I don't want a long funeral. And if you get somebody to deliver the eulogy, tell him not to talk too long . . . Tell them not to mention that I have a Nobel Peace Prize. That isn't important. Tell them not to mention that I have three or four hundred other awards. That's not important. Tell them not to mention where I went to school. I'd like somebody to mention that day, that 'Martin Luther King Jr. tried to give his life serving others.' I'd like for somebody to say that day, that 'Martin Luther King Jr. tried to love somebody.' I want you to say that day that I tried to be right on the war question. I want you to be able to say that day, that I did try to feed the hungry. And I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe those who

were naked. I want you to say on that day, that I did try, in my life, to visit those who were in prison. I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity."

TO OUR FRIENDS

In this hour of sadness, we wish to acknowledge with deepest gratitude the great outpouring of sympathy and warm consolation we have received from our friends throughout the world. You have lifted our hearts, and with your help and the immortal guiding spirit of our son, husband, father, brother, martyred leader—Martin Luther King, Jr.—*We Shall Overcome.*—**The Family of Martin Luther King Jr.**

Funeral under the direction of: Hanley Bell Street Funeral Home, Marcellous Thornton Funeral Home, Atlanta, Ga.

EULOGY OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., ATLANTA, GA., APRIL 9, 1968

(By Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus, Morehouse College)

To be honored by being requested to give the Eulogy at the funeral of Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr., is like asking one to eulogize his deceased son—so close and so dear was he to me. Our friendship goes back to his student days at Morehouse College. It is not an easy task; nevertheless, I accept it, with a heavy heart and with full knowledge of my inadequacy to do justice to this man. It was my *desire* that if I pre-deceased Doctor King, he would pay tribute to me on my final day. It was his *wish* that if he pre-deceased me, I would deliver the homily at his funeral. Fate has decreed that I eulogize him. I wish it might have been otherwise, for, after all, I am three score years and ten and Martin Luther is dead at thirty-nine.

Although there are some who rejoice in his death, there are millions across the length and breadth of this world who are smitten with grief that this friend of mankind—all mankind—has been cut down in the flower of his youth. So, multitudes here and in foreign lands, queens, kings, heads of governments, the clergy of the world, and the common man everywhere, are praying that God will be with the family, the American people, and the President of the United States in this tragic hour. We hope that this universal concern will bring comfort to the family—for grief is like a heavy load: when shared it is easier to bear. We come today to help you carry the load.

We have assembled here from every section of this great nation and from other parts of the world to give thanks to God that He gave to America, at this moment in history, Martin Luther King, Jr. Truly God is no respecter of persons. How strange! God called the grandson of a slave on his father's side, and the grandson of a man born during the Civil War on his mother's side, and said to him: *Martin Luther, speak to America about war and peace; about social justice and racial discrimination; about its obligation to the poor;* and *about non-violence as a way of perfecting social change in a world of brutality and war.*

Here was a man who believed with all of his might that the pursuit of violence at any time is ethically and morally wrong; that God and the moral weight of the universe are against it; that violence is self-defeating; and that only love and forgiveness can break the vicious circle of revenge. He believed that non-violence would prove effective in the abolition of injustice in politics, economics, in education, and in race relations. He was convinced, also, that people could not be moved to abolish voluntarily the inhumanity of man to man by mere persuasion and pleading, but that they could be moved to do so by dramatizing the evil through massive non-violent resistance. He believed that non-violent direct action was necessary to supplement the non-violent victories won in the Federal courts. He believed that the non-violent approach to solving social problems would ultimately prove to be redemptive.

Out of this conviction, history records the marches in Montgomery, Birmingham, Selma, Chicago, and other cities. He gave people an ethical and moral way to engage in activities designed to perfect social change without bloodshed and violence; and when violence did erupt it was that which is potential in any protest which aims to uproot deeply entrenched wrongs. No reasonable person would deny that the activities and the personality of Martin Luther King, Jr., contributed largely to the success of the student sit-in movements; in abolishing segregation in downtown establishments; and that his activities contributed mightily to the passage of the Civil Rights legislation of 1964 and 1965.

Martin Luther King, Jr. believed in a united America; that the walls of separation brought on by legal and de facto segregation, and discrimination based on race and color, could be eradicated. As he said in his Washington Monument address: *"I have a dream!"*.

He had faith in his country. He died striving to desegregate and integrate America to the end that this great nation of ours, born in revolution and blood, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal, will truly become the lighthouse of freedom where none will be denied because his skin is black and none favored because his eyes are blue; where our nation will be militarily strong but perpetually at peace; economically secure but just; learned but wise; where the poorest—the garbage collectors—will have bread enough and to spare; where no one will be poorly housed, each educated up to his capacity; and where the richest will understand the meaning of empathy. *This* was his dream, and the end toward which he strove. As he and his followers so often sang: "We shall overcome someday; black and white together".

Let it be thoroughly understood that our deceased brother did not embrace non-violence out of fear or cowardice. Moral courage was one of his noblest virtues. As Mahatma Gandhi challenged the British Empire without a sword and won, Martin Luther King, Jr., challenged the interracial wrongs of his country without a gun. And he had the faith to believe that he would win the battle for social justice. I make bold to assert that it took more courage for King to practice non-violence than it took his assassin to fire the fatal shot. The assassin is a coward: he committed his foul act and fled. When Martin Luther disobeyed an unjust law, he accepted the consequences of his actions. He never ran away and he never begged for mercy. He returned to the Birmingham jail to serve his time.

Perhaps he was more courageous than soldiers who fight and die on the battlefield. There is an element of compulsion in their dying. But when Martin Luther faced death again and again, and finally embraced it, there was no external pressure. He was acting on an inner compulsion that drove him on. More courageous than those who advocate violence as a way out, for they carry weapons of destruction for defense. But Martin Luther faced the dogs, the police, jail, heavy criticism, and finally death; and he never carried a gun, not even a knife to defend himself. He had only his faith in a just God to rely on: and the belief that "thrice is he armed who has his quarrels just". The faith that Browning writes about when he says: "One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward; Never doubted that clouds would break; Never dreamed that right though worsted wrong would triumph; Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake."

Coupled with moral courage was Martin Luther King, Jr.'s capacity to love people. Though deeply committed to a program of freedom for Negroes, he had love and concern for all kinds of peoples. He drew no distinction between the high and the low; none between the rich and the poor. He believed especially that he was sent to champion the cause of the man farthest down. He would probably say that, *if death had to come, I am sure there was no greater cause to die for than fighting to get a just wage for garbage collectors.* He was supra race, supra nation, supra denomination, supra class, and supra culture. He belonged to the world and to mankind. Now he belongs to posterity.

But there is a dichotomy in all this. This man was loved by some and hated by others. If any man knew the meaning of suffering, King knew. House bombed; living day by day for thirteen years under constant threats of death; maliciously accused of being a Communist; falsely accused of being insincere and seeking the limelight for his own glory; stabbed by a member of his own race; slugged in a hotel lobby; jailed thirty times; occasionally deeply hurt because friends betrayed him—and yet this man had no bitterness in his heart, no rancor in his soul, no revenge in his mind; and he went up and down the length and breadth of his world preaching non-violence and the redemptive power of love. He believed with all of his heart, mind, and soul that the way to peace and brotherhood is through non-violence, love, and suffering. He was severely criticized for his opposition to the war in Vietnam. It must be said, however, that one could hardly expect a prophet of Doctor King's commitments to advocate non-violence at home and violence in Vietnam. Non-violence to King was total commitment not only in solving the problems of race in the United States, but in solving the problems of the world.

Surely this man was called of God to do this work. If Amos and Micah were prophets in the eighth century, B.C., Martin Luther King, Jr., was a prophet in the twentieth century. If Isaiah was called of God to prophesy in his day, Martin Luther was called of God to prophesy in his time. If Hosea was sent to preach love and forgiveness centuries ago, Martin Luther was sent to expound the doctrine of non-violence and forgiveness in the third quarter of the twentieth century. If Jesus was called to preach the Gospel to the poor, Martin Luther was called to give dignity to the common man. If a prophet is one who interprets in clear and intelligible language the will of God, Martin Luther King, Jr., fits that designation. If a prophet is one who does not seek popular causes to espouse, but rather the causes which he thinks are right, Martin Luther qualified on that score.

No! He was not ahead of his time. No man is ahead of his time. Every man is within his star, each in his time. Each man must respond to the call of God in his lifetime and not in somebody else's time. Jesus had to respond to the call of God in the first century, A.D., and not in the twentieth century. He had but one life to live. He couldn't wait, even though he died young. How long do you think Jesus would have had to wait for the constituted authorities to accept him? Twenty-five years? A hundred years? A thousand? He died at thirty-three. He couldn't wait. Paul, Galileo, Copernicus, Martin Luther, the Protestant reformer, Gandhi and Nehru, couldn't wait for another time. They had to act in their lifetimes. No man is ahead of his time. Abraham, leaving his country in obedience to God's call; Moses leading a rebellious people to the Promised Land; Jesus dying on a cross; Galileo on his knees recanting; Lincoln dying of an assassin's bullet; Woodrow Wilson crusading for a League of Nations; Martin Luther King, Jr., dying fighting for justice for garbage collectors—none of these men were ahead of their time. With them the time was always ripe to do that which was right and that which needs to be done.

Too bad Martin Luther King, Jr., died so young. I feel that way, too. But, as I have said many times before, it isn't how long one lives, but how well. It's what one accomplishes for mankind that matters. Jesus died at 33; Joan of Arc at 19; Byron and Burns at 36; Keats and Marlow at 29; Shelley at 30; Dunbar before 35; John Fitzgerald Kennedy at 46; William Rainey Harper at 49; and Martin Luther King, Jr., at 39.

We all pray that the assassin will be apprehended and brought to justice. But, make no mistake, the American people are in part responsible for Martin Luther King, Jr.'s., death. The assassin heard enough condemnation of King and of Negroes to feel that he had public support. He knew millions hated King.

The Memphis officials must bear some of the guilt for Martin Luther's assassination. The strike should have been settled several weeks ago. The lowest paid men in our society should not have to strike for a more just wage. A century after Emancipation, and after the enactment of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, it should not have been necessary for Martin Luther King, Jr., to stage marches in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma, and go to jail thirty times trying to achieve for his people those rights which people of lighter hue get by virtue of their being born white. We, too, are guilty of murder. It is time for the American people to repent and make democracy equally applicable to all Americans. What can we do? We, and not the assassin, not the prejudiced, not the apostle of hate, *we* represent America at its best. We have the power—not the assassins—to make things right.

If we love Martin Luther King, Jr., and respect him, as this crowd surely testifies, let us see to it that he did not die in vain; let us see to it that we do not dishonor his name by trying to solve our problems through rioting in the streets. Violence was foreign to his nature. He warned that continued riots could produce a Fascist state. But let us see to it also that the conditions that cause riots are promptly removed, as the President of the United States is trying to get us to do. Let black and white alike search their hearts; and if there be prejudice in our hearts against any racial or ethnic group, let us exterminate it, and let us pray, as Martin Luther King, Jr., would pray if he could: *Father, forgive them for they know not what they do.* If we do this, Martin Luther King, Jr., will have died a redemptive death from which all mankind will benefit. Morehouse College will never be the same because Martin Luther came by here; and the nation and the world will be indebted to him for centuries to come. It is natural, therefore, that we here at Morehouse, and President Gloster, would want to memorialize him to serve as an inspiration to all students who study in this center.

I close by saying to you what Martin Luther King, Jr., believed: *If physical death was the price he had to pay to rid America of prejudice and injustice, nothing could be more redemptive.* And, to paraphrase the words of the immortal John Fitzgerald Kennedy, permit me to say that Martin Luther King, Jr.'s unfinished work on earth must truly be our own.

MR. HARRY J. KONIARES

HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, recently a very close friend of mine passed away aboard an airplane en route from Hawaii to Los Angeles, Calif. Harry J. Koniares, born in Hellokion, Greece, and former resident of my home city of Malden, Mass., came to this country at the age of 14. His business career, mainly as a restaurateur, spanned more than a half century. A member of the Malden Rotary Club and Malden Chamber of Commerce, he was founder of the Massachusetts Restaurant Association and also served as director and was a past officer of the National Restaurant Association.

Mr. Koniares was one of the most outstanding and most successful businessmen in the congressional district which I am privileged to represent, as well as in the State of Massachusetts. He epitomized the best in the business world. He was constantly supporting good causes, giving of his time and his energies. I for one will never forget his work, his personality and his outstanding character.

I present at this time an excellent editorial written by David Brickman, editor and copublisher of the Malden Evening News, in which he eulogized the late Harry J. Koniares.

Mr. Speaker, I place this editorial in the Record at this point. The editorial follows:

Harry J. Koniares

The sudden passing of Harry J. Koniares while planing home with his wife from a vacation in Hawaii last Saturday removes from the local scene a figure who proved by his own life that America is, indeed, the land of opportunity.

It was shortly after the turn of the century that he came to America, as a youth of but 14, from his native Greece. As with so many immigrants, he came with dreams and aspirations, but little, if any, money. He knew he had to work, and he did, with a zeal and determination so characteristic of those thousands who sought on these shores a new way of life and an opportunity to achieve something meaningful and tangible.

Settled in Malden with diligence and perseverance he established himself, married, had a family, and finally started in the restaurant business. The Kernwood, founded by him more than 40 years ago on Pleasant St., quickly established its reputation as a fine eating place in the suburbs of Boston; and as its reputation grew, so did Mr. Koniares' affluence. He acquired property in Malden Sq. and in every instance was responsible for its improvement on the sound theory that well-cared for and modern business buildings not only attract responsible and imaginative tenants, but as well tend to enhance business in the shopping center as well.

The growth of the Kernwood in Malden is a testimonial to his sagacity and dedication to serving the public well. While in later years he has been less active in the Kernwood, he enjoyed seeing his two sons, John and George, not only follow in his footsteps as outstanding restauranteurs in operating the business, but also expand by developing in Lynnfield another Kernwood restaurant.

Harry Koniares, who for years made his home with his wife and five children in Malden until acquiring a home in Lynnfield, was something more than a restaurateur in Malden, however. His interests were broad and varied; and his concern about the vitality and growth of downtown Malden was continuous and imaginative. No undertaking to improve Malden failed to have support of father Koniares, nor, for that matter, of his children, who have taken to heart the lessons from their father that made him so well-liked and so well-known in the Greater Malden community.

In his passing at 77 it can be well said that Harry Koniares lived a fruitful and productive life, not merely as a husband and father, but as a man who was involved in his community and did much for it. All who knew him—and there are so many who did over the years—sympathize with his lovely family in their hour of grief, but are the better for having encountered him in his walk through life.

PIECEMEAL ATTACKS ON PROPERTY

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Washington Evening Star, of May 23, 1968, contains a significant article entitled "Piecemeal Attacks on Property," written by Mr. David Lawrence.

Mr. Lawrence builds a case on the ruling of the Supreme Court that a parcel pickup area in a suburban shopping center cannot be protected from picketing by minority group demonstrations. He points out that this is another invasion of privacy by a ruling of the Supreme Court, which in effect has reduced the rights of private property owners little by little in a succession of decisions over the past few years.

Mr. Lawrence cites the ruling as one that will have far-reaching effects not only in labor union controversies but also on the rights of demonstrations to intrude on private property.

Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to this thought-provoking article and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, May 23, 1968]

Piecemeal Attacks on Property

(By David Lawrence)

Nobody in official life would venture to exalt communism but, little by little, owners of private property are being deprived of their rights through rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States. The latest decision proclaims that even though a number of stores may combine to have their own private parking lot, this cannot be protected against picketing by labor union advocates or by minority-group "demonstrators."

The case decided this week by the high court overruled a Pennsylvania state court which had enjoined picketing of the parcel-pickup area of a supermarket and the adjacent parking lot in a suburban shopping center. Justice Thurgood Marshall, however, in writing the majority opinion, dealt not merely with the activities of labor union pickets who were trying to keep business away from stores whose employes were non-union, but also broadened picketing rights so as to include "consumers protesting shoddy or overpriced merchandise, and minority groups seeking non-discriminatory hiring policies that a contrary decision here would have."

The net effect of the Supreme Court opinion is that a parking lot owned and operated by private businesses are nevertheless subject to picketing and "demonstrations." No account is taken of the possible losses or damage the retail stores might suffer because of the "demonstrations."

Justice Byron White, who was deputy attorney general during the administration of President Kennedy, wrote in a dissenting opinion:

"In no sense are any parts of the shopping center dedicated to the public for general purposes or the occupants of the plaza exercising official powers. The public is invited to the premises but only in order to do business with those who maintain establishments there. The invitation is to shop for the products which are sold. There is no general invitation to use the parking lot, the pick-up zone, or the sidewalk except as an adjunct to shopping.

"No one is invited to use the parking lot as a place to park his car while he goes elsewhere to work. The driveways and lane for auto traffic are not offered for use as general thoroughfares leading from one public street to another. Those driveways and parking spaces are not public streets and thus available for parades, public meetings, or other activities for which public streets are used."

Justice Hugo Black, in another dissenting opinion, held that the state court's injunction was valid. He said:

"I believe that whether this court likes it or not the Constitution recognizes and supports the concept of private ownership of property. The 5th Amendment provides that 'no person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.'

"This means to me that there is no right to picket on the private premises of another to try to convert the owner or others to the views of the pickets. It also means, I think, that if this court is going to arrogate to itself the power to act as the government's agent to take a part of Weis' property to give to the pickets for their use, the court should also award Weis just compensation for the property taken."

Although the cases on which the decision was rendered this week arose out of picketing by labor unions, the ruling opens up the whole question of whether the premises of a retail establishment are a "public" place to which anybody can have access at any time for "communicative purposes"—such as arguing with customers in a store that they should refrain from buying goods until the owner changes his attitude on a public issue.

Certainly this is a broader interpretation of the "free speech" concept than has ever been rendered before by the Supreme Court. The significance of the ruling may have far-reaching effects not merely on labor-union controversies but on the rights of "demonstrators" and crusaders to intrude on private property."

The real question is who is going to compensate the store owner when his business is directly injured by the license now apparently given by the Supreme Court to "demonstrators" or pickets to damage at will the owner of any business without incurring any responsibility for the loss.

FREEDOM OR DICTATORSHIP?

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I place in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial by Harry J. Lally, general manager and editor of the Reporter, a weekly newspaper in Toms River, N.J. I recommend the reading of this editorial, as it is an effort to arouse the patriotic thinking of all Americans:

Freedom or Dictatorship?

During the past year, I have endeavored to awaken the readers of this newspaper to the incredible conspiracy, dedicated to nothing less than the overthrow of our democratic government with the replacement of a totalitarian communistic dictatorship. Anyone who is shocked or nonplused at this statement is either blind, naive, totally indifferent or completely remiss in doing their "current events" homework.

In a series of articles titled "The Coming Welfare State," I pointed out that the climate is right for "take-over" and that a large segment of apathetic Americans actually wanted (consciously or subconciously) a "Big Brother" type of government. In an article titled, "Phase II," I outlined the Communist "master plan," which is now in high gear, to force the dissipation of our great wealth by keeping us spending and fighting "bush" wars around the globe.

Regarding the Vietnam situation, I warned that Asia was a Communist trap—a bottomless quagmire—that was fully intended to swallow the military might of the U.S. while Russia was steadily building up a naval and missile power that will be far superior to ours.

On youth and education, I have accurately editorialized on just how the Communist conspiracy has confused and corrupted our bright youngsters by the use of "pot" and pornography, and have, indeed, completed a very successful "brainwashing," as evidenced by the series of riots and revolts at our colleges and universities.

Communist influence and agitation have also been very successfully used to precipitate the recent wave of civil disorders across the nation by using the civil rights movement as a tool. In a column titled "We Must Live By The Rules," I asserted that if we are to continue as a democracy and a free society, our laws MUST be obeyed and all violators of this concept MUST be punished to the fullest extent. To settle for anything less is to invite civil strife . . . anarchy . . . and eventual dictatorship! . . .

There is no doubt in my mind that the "take-over conspiracy" reaches even into the elevated plateaus of higher government. The stage is set . . . the players are reciting their well-rehearsed lines and pathetically enough, the audience of "boob-tube" addicts, who are subliminally brainwashed right down to their well-polished cordovan loafers, are lapping it up and wildly applauding for "Big Brother" to make his center aisle entrance and thank them for their loving adoration. You know who's in that cheering audience . . . you see them all about you every day! . . . that large segment of indifferent . . . individually selfish . . . non-thinking . . . unfeeling . . . lazy . . . over-indulged . . . uninformed . . . mass-oriented . . . child neglecting . . . non-contributing . . . incentiveless . . . group of Americans who would gladly exchange the responsibilities of individual freedom and self-government for the all-encompassing "Big Brother" embrace that promises a pre-fabricated, look-alike split level trap, wrapped around the chromium splendor of Detroit's finest home away-from-home!

Happiness—to this group—is a big-screen color TV, a case of premium beer and a mini-skirted, "Miss Clairol" blonde wife who knows she's a "sex-pot" because she obediently buys and uses all of the necessary cosmetics prescribed by those "groovy," "cool-looking" TV announcers! "Who the hell cares who gets into the White House next January," they exclaim! "As long as I get mine, Baby . . . that's all that counts!" . . . And they needn't worry, because the way our nation is headed, they'll get theirs all right!

As the Man on the cross once said: "Forgive them, for they know not what they do." . . . Let's be charitable and forgive them! . . . But I can't be charitable enough to forgive the politicians who do know what's happening and continue to sell their country down the river for votes! During this election period, I have yet to see one single New Jersey politican—of either party—with enough courage and sincerity to make a public statement of exactly what he thinks about the sickness that is gripping our great nation. Oh . . . they'll confide in private—("Don't quote me though, Harry . . . you understand how things are"). You're damned "tootin" I understand how things are, and I get sick to the depths of my stomach with a man who lacks the courage of his convictions and will sell out his very soul for votes!

I personally am for a sensible war against poverty . . . I am 100 per cent for civil rights legislation—in practice—that can guarantee first-class citizenship for all Negro Americans . . . I will uphold the right of students to opinionate, participate and even peacefully demonstrate to be heard . . . I am for progress and intelligent change in governmental policy that may be necessary in tailoring our concepts to fit a modern, free society!

However . . . I cannot stand by and watch the type of willful acts of rioting, violence, looting, arson, rape, murder and general insurrection that is taking place daily and being tolerated with "kid glove" treatment by our leaders across the nation, because they are fearful of losing votes in the forthcoming election. Lawlessness breeds anarchy! Anarchy breeds dictatorship! That is exactly the goal of the present Communist conspiracy, taking place right now, in America!

The forthcoming presidential election will seal the fate of these United States of America. So far, no candidate has taken a firm stand on anything. Why? Because each one is convinced that a fast line of "double-talk" and a Madison Avenue image will please every group and carry him into the White House. For my part . . . I can only tell you that my vote will go to that candidate—Republican or Democrat—who has enough "guts" to stand up and tell Americans the truth—tell it the way it really is!

What will I do if no candidate has that much stature? Would you believe Australia . . . or some other place where they still have men—and truth—and character—and incentive—and law—and justice—and individual freedom? If no candidate makes an honest presentation of the facts—my friends—then, it's a time for a great deal of soul-searching!

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Coincidentally, as I was writing this week's column, a public statement, by a member of the House of Representatives, found its way to my desk. I have never had the pleasure of meeting Congressman James B. Utt (R-California), but I applaud his courage and sincerity. If we had more men like Congressman Utt in Congress, our great nation would not now be suffering from a critical sickness. I was granted permission by the Congressman to reprint his remarks, which appear on this page.)

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR AIR FREIGHT TRANSPORT

HON. EDWARD W. BROOKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, on May 16 the Honorable Robert T. Muruhy, Vice Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, delivered a speech to the New England

Air Cargo Symposium, held at Northeastern University's Burlington, Mass., campus.

I ask unanimous consent that his remarks, which summarize the problems and prospects for air freight transport, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT T. MURPHY, VICE CHAIRMAN, CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, BEFORE THE NEW ENGLAND AIR CARGO SYMPOSIUM, NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY, BURLINGTON, MASS., MAY 16, 1968.

It is a great pleasure for me to be here this evening to participate in the "New England Air Cargo Symposium," jointly sponsored by Northeastern University, the Associated Transportation Organizations of New England and the Civil Aeronautics Board. As you may know, the Board conceived the idea for the first regional air cargo workshops which we jointly sponsored with the National Industrial Traffic League. It was my pleasure to open and close the first series of workshops in Seattle in September and in Los Angeles in November, 1966.

It has been the Board's hope that through these forums we can promote a broader understanding of the air freight business, not only within the Board itself and within the airline industry, but most importantly, among the present and future users of freight services. Marketing air freight is not a simple task. Its benefits are much more complex than those evident in carrying a package between two points at a given price. To quantify the value of air freight service in hard dollars and cents requires a quite sophisticated analysis.

My personal concern with air freight has continued since the time in the late 50's when the Aviation Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, for which I was then serving as Counsel, conducted extensive hearings on the feasibility of a Government guaranteed loan program for air carrier acquisition of modern all-cargo aircraft. We were concerned about the ability of that phase of air transportation to grow and develop, as we knew it should, in the absence of aircraft specially designed and built to carry freight. Also, at that time there was some doubt about the continued viability of the all-cargo carriers as well as the capability of the combination carriers to achieve the great "breakthrough" in air freight so confidently predicted by most of the learned air transportation experts. But it was the firm view of Senator Mike Monroney of Oklahoma, the able Chairman of the Subcommittee, that with the advent of more appropriate aircraft types and the development of improved ground handling systems, the air freight breakthrough was inevitable. The passage of time has proven him so right in this area of air transportation as it has in so many others to which he has devoted his far-sighted leadership and talent.

I scarcely need cite more than a few statistics to this group to clearly demonstrate the soundness of that position. In the last 10 years domestic cargo ton-miles have increased 500 percent. Prudent estimates place the growth in the next five years at 300 percent, not only in terms of cargo ton-miles, but also in terms of absolute tons of goods moved. Modern jet aircraft specifically designed for carriage of freight are in service. Our airline industry and local airport authorities have invested billions in jet freighter aircraft and terminal and loading facilities. The newer stretched jets provide cubic capacity equal to their lift capacity. At major airports throughout the country freight terminal facilities are being expanded and automated. The quick-change jets permit very attractive utilization for the carriers: these craft can carry passengers by day—when they want to move—and cargo by night—when it wants to move. Some of the automated freight handling, sorting and loading facilities at airports are truly revolutionary. Calling upon computer technology and other disciplines, tremendous advances have been made in the rather mundane but important tasks of keeping track of shipments and insuring that they continue to move on an ordered basis.

The most recent cargo activity figures continue to show important growth. Domestic air cargo traffic on all U.S. scheduled airlines—trunks, local service carriers and all-cargo carriers—was up 25.1 percent in the first quarter of 1968 over the same period in 1967. This reflects a 16.4 percent increase in air freight, a 6 percent increase in express and an astounding 62.5 percent increase in mail tonnage. This latter figure is the result of the Postmaster General's decision to dispatch additional first class mail by air. The discontinuance of railroad postal car services because of the cutback in passenger trains plus the emphasis on overnight delivery have greatly improved postal service to the economic benefit of air carriers. The zip code system—to use a descriptive phrase which greatly oversimplifies the Department's exceedingly well developed regional postal distribution system—has been and will continue to be a prime generator of air cargo business.

Despite these generally favorable trends in air cargo growth—trends which would be regarded as outstanding in any other industrial endeavor—a certain concern has been voiced by some of those involved in the development of this important air transportation service. Many feel there was a slowdown in cargo growth last year, perhaps a reflection of the general economy and the requirements of the Viet Nam airlift. We have become accustomed in the most recent years to very high annual percentage cargo growth statistics. As the base increases in size, such rates of annual growth will obviously level off. In my view, however, that time has not yet come. It is apparent, in any event, that continued growth in air cargo traffic requires concentrated study and promotion in the immediate years ahead.

In the past, the airlines have attracted the obvious commodities to air freight, that is, those of high intrinsic value where speed of delivery is of the utmost importance. It is interesting to note that the commodities moving by air have changed relatively little in recent years. Machinery and machine parts of all kinds, motor vehicles and equipment, clothing, chemicals, perishable foods and plants, etc., make up the bulk of air freight. Additional commodities are being attracted to air on the basis of diligent sales efforts which emphasize the savings inherent in air transportation not only in terms of the transportation charge itself but also in terms of reduced warehousing and inventory maintenance costs, reduced exposure to damage and loss, etc. But similar sales techniques must continue to expand the types of commodities carried. The air freight industry cannot depend solely on increased traffic in the commodities I just mentioned. Everyone knows this and I congratulate the carriers on the sophisticated sales programs they are developing to merchandise air cargo. I have seen some of their presentations which are aimed at selling ranking executives on what air freight can do, not just as another transport mode but as a vital factor in industrial merchandising techniques. Good performance at reasonable rates is the product. But perhaps at this point in time in the development of air freight it is accurate to say that "the medium is the message." Hard sales work is still the order of the day.

No item of air freight—inanimate object that it is—decides by itself that it will travel by air and independently delivers itself to and from the airport as is the case with passenger traffic. The decision to move by air in the freight business involves more complexities than in the passenger business. That decision does not necessarily depend solely on the availability of an aircraft or even on the availability of a reasonable charge. It is a decision frequently enmeshed in shipper calculations turning on distribution costs, distribution time deadlines, on inventory control, warehousing practices and other related industrial factors. In my judgment, therefore, selling air freight is a more difficult task than merchandising passenger air transportation. And it is equally evident that the encouragement of the greater use of air freight can only come about through a better understanding and a greater degree of coordination among the shippers, carriers and the regulatory body responsible for its promotion and development.

I do not pretend to know all the solutions and am, for one, quite willing to give the carriers considerable freedom to experiment. The recent history of the Board's regulatory approach would appear to reflect that view. There are many extremely complicated factors in handling cargo, factors which, without careful attention, can add to the transportation cost. Presumably the mechanized handling of freight in more and more terminal areas will ease this situation. Receipt of more containerized freight from consignors will serve the best interests of shipper and carrier alike.

After some faltering initial steps, the air carriers have wholeheartedly recognized the efficiencies in containerized traffic and from the statistics made available to us at the Board, seem to be making significant progress. During the May–October 1967, second six-month period after the air carrier container tariffs were approved, container ton-miles accounted for an estimated 3.97 percent of the combined system ton-miles of American, Flying Tiger, Northwest, TWA and United. That percentage was almost double the experience in the first six-months period. The 3.97 percent figure may not sound impressive but it amounted to over 22 million ton-miles and, in my view, compares quite favorably with the 4.3 percent piggyback contribution to total railroad revenues in 1965 (the latest data available to me). Piggyback operations doubled between 1960 and 1966 and I herald that accomplishment. I cite the comparison only to indicate that the air transport industry is doing quite well in containerization too. However, with the increase in capacity resulting from more and more all-cargo schedules to more cities in larger aircraft and the increased use of the versatile quick-change aircraft, additional sales efforts must be expended if the full potential of air cargo service is to be realized.

Containerization leads one with some logic to the air cargo rate structure—a structure which in some circles is regarded as a rather complex one. It is, of course, not nearly so complex as that the surface modes have built up over a much longer period of years. I think it is fair to say that we at the Board have been and are still amenable to such simplification in the rate structure as the carriers may propose and is generally acceptable to shippers. I am not sure that, strictly speaking, it is our function to propose or oppose rate experimentation. Should not the Board promote and oversee carrier-shipper developments?

One matter does suggest itself, however. I have long thought that greater use of a mixed commodity rate or freight-all kinds rate would be welcome in air transportation. With more and more freight moving in containers and regardless of what commodities might be mixed inside the container, it seems to me that a rate per container based on weight, plus a further rate incentive for greater product-density, would be significant improvements. Also, surface rates per container without regard to weight have been found particularly attractive to certain shippers. The benefits of such a pricing system in air transportation are so obvious that there must be some fatal flaw in my position. However, if there is no such fatal flaw, "Why don't we do it more often"? Such shipments could be so much more easily facilitated.

This leads me to a recent development of considerable interest. The Secretary of Transportation has established a Transportation Facilitation Committee whose responsibility it is to study means of "facilitating" traffic. Facilitation is indeed a $2.00 word selected to encompass an easier flow of traffic through the existing transportation pipelines. This Committee, made up of distinguished representatives from industry, from all transport modes and from the various governmental departments, will study the elements of intermodal transport; the problems inherent in documentation—that is, all the scraps of paper required to move a package or a passenger; problems in cargo and passenger terminal processing and the matter of travel and trade promotion. This is obviously a very major undertaking. However, the emphasis being placed on these vital subjects and the cooperative desire of government and industry to reach sensible solutions forbodes some significant measure of success in the months and years to come. I, for one, am a firm believer that our single common purpose is to accommodate people and packages in our national transportation system rather than to create or continue a structure encrusted with useless, unnecessary rules, regulations and paper work. Much has been done but there are still vast areas for improvement. The line-haul vehicles are available now, or soon will be, to carry the traffic flow. We know about the trucks and the planes. And more and more new rail cars of various kinds are being placed in service. What we must do now is concentrate on improving the procedures and systems and terminal facilities which may otherwise impede realization of the full efficiencies and promise of these new vehicles.

Let me turn now to one of the most widely discussed topics at the Board's first series of air cargo workshops, that is the matter of the air carriers' practices in handling shippers' claims. Under present law, limitations on the old common law responsibilities of a common carrier can be justified only if there are sound public policy reasons to support them. After the 1966 workshops, the Board concluded that this matter should be pursued on an informal basis among the interested parties rather than through a formal Board investigation. Accordingly, the carriers have undertaken to discuss the matter among themselves. However, little if any progress can be reported. I recognize that it is difficult to modify practices of many years standing. However, it is clear that some of the inequities of the present system must be corrected. I urgently hope that the continuing carrier dialogue will produce results. If it does not, reluctant as we may be to enter this complex field, I am sure that the Board will not hesitate to act. I need only remind that as a result of our investigation a few years ago of passenger baggage liability questions, the Board, in my view, cut through the myriad arguments and problems by establishing a maximum liability limitation considerably higher than had been proposed by the carriers. We have provided an opportunity for voluntary action on cargo liability issues in line with what I regard as a sensible regulatory approach but are committed to a resolution of this problem on a timely basis one way or another.

Finally, I wish to treat of a development of local interest; that is, the necessity for those of us here tonight to insure the adequacy of air transport service to meet the increasing needs of New England. After a rather extended period in the economic doldrums as many of our industries moved to the South and the West, we have witnessed a turnaround with New England's economy growing during each of the 60's. In 1967, New England's net income gain, after adjustment for price increases, was 5.5 percent. The gain was 5.8 percent in 1965 and 5.7 percent in 1966. New England's 1967 income performance was significantly ahead of the 4.1 percent real income increase experienced throughout the country. The regional demand for labor, particularly skilled labor, continues strong. Unemployment during 1967 was relatively low at 3.8 percent. The years 1965, 1966, 1967 have all shown healthy increases in total employment. During this same period, the level of capital spending by New England manufacturers compared very favorably with the country as a whole. In summary, all current indicators suggest that 1968 will be the eighth successive year of significant expansion in the New England economy.

What explains this favorable trend? In a sense the answer is simple: more industry is locating in New England and present industry is growing. But there are more subtle forces involved. There has been considerable relocation of manufacturing activity within the six-state region. Employment and capital outlays are being redistributed throughout the area. For example, Massachusetts' share of the increasing total capital expenditures have decreased in recent years while the shares of Maine and Connecticut have significantly increased. Maine's paper industry continues to grow but also activity in food, textiles and shoes has increased noticeably. The aircraft and shipbuilding industries are growing in Connecticut. The non-electrical machinery industry in my own State of Rhode Island is expanding as it is in Vermont. New industries as well as old are relocating in the medium and smaller size cities throughout the area.

Without probing more deeply, it is apparent, as I am sure you gentlemen are more personally aware than I, that new industries are spreading throughout this region with a very beneficial economic impact for its residents. The point of particular interest to us gathered here tonight is that the air transportation services provided in the region must adequately serve this increasing economic activity if present very salubrious growth trends are to continue. New England's ability to attract industry rests in part, of course, upon its competitive transportation position *vis-a-vis* other areas of the country. There must be fully adequate transportation service available from all modes for raw materials or unfinished goods moving into the area and a complementary service to ship our products out of the area to the ultimate distributors and customers. As far as airline service is concerned, this means there must be good service at such cities as Burlington, Augusta and Manchester as well as at Boston and Hartford. Not only must we have adequate air service, but also a fully coordinated air-ground service must be available. Each of you can play an important part in seeing to it that the economic resurgence of the New England region includes the development and availability of a fully adequate transportation service, on the ground as well as in the air.

Finally, I wish to congratulate Northeastern University for co-sponsoring this Symposium during National Transportation Week here on its suburban campus in the historic environs of Lexington and Concord. I have enjoyed the occasion to share with you these thoughts on air cargo which presents so much of a challenge and so much of an opportunity for us all in the years ahead.

OTTO F. OTEPKA'S APPEAL

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the civil service appeals examiner completed his review of Mr. Otepka's case May 20, 1968.

Unfortunately, the examiner sustained the lower action taken by the Department of State.

Mr. Otepka was found guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.

I am inclined to agree with the examiner—putting country first and being a dedicated American is conduct unbecoming the Department of State. I wish that it were otherwise—but the Department of State is unworthy of a man of Otepka's conduct.

Under unanimous consent I include the examiner's findings and decisions as follows:

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., May 22, 1968.

Hon. JOHN R. RARICK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RARICK: This is in response to your telephone request today regarding the case of Mr. Otto F. Otepka.

The Appeals Examiner has completed his review of Mr. Otepka's case. Mr. Otepka was demoted, reassigned and reprimanded on the basis that he violated a Presidential Directive regulating the release of agency documents.

The Appeals Examiner advises that the evidence in the case, in his judgment, requires a decision affirming the action of the Department of State. A copy is attached for your information.

This decision becomes a final administrative decision of the Commission unless Mr. Otepka appeals to the Commission's Board of Appeals and Review within fifteen (15) calendar days of the receipt of the decision as he has been advised.

If Mr. Otepka does appeal to the Board of Appeals and Review, I will be pleased to advise you of the result.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN W. MACY, Jr.,
Chairman.

Enclosure.

APPEAL OF MR. OTTO F. OTEPKA UNDER PART 752, SUBPART B, OF THE CIVIL SERVICE REGULATIONS

Appeal from a reduction in rank and pay, i.e., demotion from GS–15 to GS–14; and reassignment and reprimand. Department of State, effective December 13, 1967.

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Otepka filed an appeal with the Civil Service Commission by letter dated December 20, 1967. Thereafter, he submitted additional support material by letters dated December 27, 1967; January 10 (two communications); January 12, January 29 and February 20, 1968.

The appellate record was received from the Department of State on January 11, 1968. Mr. Otepka and his counsel reviewed the case file on January 12, 1968.

The agency's counsel, Mr. Irving Jaffe, reviewed the case file on February 20, 1968. A hearing was held before the Civil Service Commission on March 7, 1968. The appellant appeared with his counsel, Mr. Roger Robb, and testified.

The agency was represented by Irving Jaffe, Esquire, Justice Department.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS PROCEDURE

We find that Mr. Otepka was entitled to appeal to the Civil Service Commission and that he filed a timely appeal.

The reasons for the action are set forth in the Department of State's letter of proposed adverse action dated September 23, 1963. The agency's letter of September 23 contained specifications to support thirteen (13) charges; five (5) charges—that the appellant had conducted himself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State; four (4) charges—that he had been responsible for declassification of classfied documents without adherence to prescribed procedures; four (4) charges—that he had been responsible for mutilation of classified documents.

We find that the notice of proposed adverse action set forth specifically and in detail the reasons for the proposed adverse action. By the terms of the September 23, 1963 letter, the appellant was allowed ten (10) days to reply both personally and in writing and to furnish affidavits or other evidence in support of his reply. The appellant replied in writing on October 14, 1963. We find the appellant was allowed a reasonable time to reply to the proposed adverse action.

By letter of November 5, 1963, Mr. John Ordway, Chief Personnel Operations Division, Department of State, notified the appellant of his findings that all thirteen (13) charges were sustained and that it was the decision to effect his removal on November 15, 1963.

On November 14, 1963, Mr. Otepka appealed the agency decision to the Department and requested a hearing. In view of this appeal, the removal action was not effected.

A hearing was held in the Department of State beginning June 6, 1967. At the outset of the hearing ten (10) charges and supporting specifications were withdrawn leaving three (3) charges and supporting specifications which are quoted below:

"*(1) You have conducted yourself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.*

Specifically: You furnished a copy of a classified memorandum concerning the processing of appointments of members of the Advisory Committee on International Organizations Staffing to a person outside of the Department without authority and in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (13 Fed. Reg. 1359). This Directive provides:

"'All reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business.'

"You were reminded of the prohibition contained in this Directive on March 22, 1963, when you received and noted a copy of a letter from Mr. Dutton, Assistant Secretary of State, to Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, dated March 20, 1963. A copy of this letter, indicating that you 'noted' it, is enclosed as Exhibit C.

"In your sworn statement, referred to above and enclosed as Exhibit A, you stated on pages 7 and 8 that you gave a copy of a classified memorandum entitled 'Francis O. Wilcox, Arthur Larson, Lawrence Finkelstein, Marshall D. Shulman, Andrew Cordier, Ernest Gross, Harding Bancroft, Sol Linowitz', to Mr. J. G. Sourwine, Chief Counsel, United States Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws, of the Committee on the Judiciary. This memorandum concerns 'the loyalty of employees or prospective employees' of the Department within the meaning of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948.

"This is a breach of the standard of conduct expected of an officer of the Department of State.

"*(2) You have conducted yourself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.*

"Specifically: You furnished a copy of a classified memorandum concerning the processing of appointments of members of the Advisory Committee on International Organizations Staffing to a person outside of the Department without authority and in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (13 Fed. Reg. 1359). This Directive provides:

"'All reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business.'

"You were reminded of the prohibition contained in this Directive on March 22, 1963, when you received and noted a copy of a letter from Mr. Dutton, to Senator Eastland, dated March 20, 1963. A copy of this letter, indicating that you 'noted' it, is enclosed as Exhibit C.

"In your sworn statement, referred to above and enclosed as Exhibit A, you stated on page 9 that you gave a copy of a classified memorandum entitled 'Processing of Appointments of Members of the Advisory Committee on International Organizations Staffing', to Mr. J. G. Sourwine. This memorandum concerns 'the loyalty of employees or prospective employees' of the Department within the meaning of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948.

"This is a breach of the standard of conduct expected of an officer of the Department of State.

"*(3) You have conducted yourself in a manner unbecoming an officer of the Department of State.*

"Specifically: You furnished a copy of an investigative report concerning a prospective employee of the Department to a person outside of the Department without authority and in violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 (13 Fed. Reg. 1359). This Directive provides:

"'All reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business.'

"You were reminded of the prohibition contained in this Directive on March 22, 1963, when you received and noted a copy of a letter from Mr. Dutton, to Senator Eastland, dated March 20, 1963. A copy of this letter, indicating that you 'noted' it, is enclosed as Exhibit C.

"In your sworn statement, referred to above and enclosed as Exhibit A, you stated on page 10 that you gave a copy of an investigative report dated May 27, 1960, to Mr. J. G. Sourwine, concerning 'Joan Mae Fogltanz'. This report concerns 'the loyalty of employees or prospective employees' of the Department within the meaning of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948.

"This is a breach of the standard of conduct expected of an officer of the Department of State."

On December 9, 1967, the Secretary of State issued the Department's findings and decision on Mr. Otepka's appeal. The decision substitutes a lesser penalty for the previous decision to remove. The penalty provision effeected on December 13, 1967 is quoted below:

"(a) That he be severely reprimanded.

"(b) That he be reduced in grade from GS-15 to GS-14, step one.

"(c) That he be transferred to duties in the Department of State which are within his qualifications but which do not involve the administration of personnel security functions."

We find that the Department of State complied with the procedural requirements of law and regulations in effecting the action against Mr. Otepka.

MERIT

In a letter of January 12, 1968, counsel for the appellant wrote the Appeals Examining Office and requested an investigation to discover "the identity of the person or persons who clipped the documents alleged to have been found in Mr. Otepka's burn bag, the identity of the person to whom the recording of Mr. Otepka's telephone conversations were delivered, and the precise facts surrounding the erasure of these recordings, if they were erased." Counsel for the appellant stated that, "It is our belief that these undisclosed individuals were agents of those who schemed to destroy Mr. Otepka, and that disclosure of their identities will lead to the identification of their principals. . . ."

The letter of January 12, 1968 from counsel for the appellant to the Appeals Examining Office made reference to "Charges 4–11 inclusive" in the original letter of charges and counsel noted that the Department of State had advised him that it held Mr. Otepka "responsible" for clipping classified documents but refused to name the person who did the actual clipping. He also noted that he had requested permission to examine Mr. Otepka's burn bag and the contents in order to establish the identity of others who had used the bag, but was again denied.

In addition, the counsel alleged that Mr. Otepka's phone was tapped; that an Elmer Dewey Hill had stated he delivered the records to an unknown person on orders of Mr. Reilly but Reilly has testified he had no recollection of such an order. He also noted that Mr. Otepka demanded the tapes of his conversations be produced but was informed they had been erased.

The charges against the appellant which the Department relied on to justify his demotion allege that he committed certain specifically-described acts. As a result, it was concluded that it was not necessary to the proper adjudication of this appeal for the Appeals Examining Office to investigate alleged actions of other personnel of the Department of State along the lines urged by the appellant's counsel. His counsel was accordingly advised in letter of January 23, 1968, that evidence and testimony would be limited to the allegations on which his demotion was finally based.

On January 29, 1968 counsel for the appellant wrote the Appeals Examining Office and reiterated, "It has been Mr. Otepka's position at every stage of these proceedings that the charges against him were a subterfuge and were not brought in good faith, but were contrived pursuant to a wrongful scheme and design to harass and destroy him. In exploring the issue thus raised, it is important to determine the identity of the person or persons who clipped the documents alleged to have been found in Mr. Otepka's burn bag, the identity of the person to whom the recording of Mr. Otepka's telephone conversations were delivered and the precise facts surrounding the erasure of these recordings, if they were erased. It is our belief that these undisclosed individuals were agents of those who schemed to destroy Mr. Otepka, and that disclosure of their identities will lead to the identification of their principals, whom the Department of State is attempting to protect."

Counsel for the appellant contended his

hypothesis is relevant to the appellant's case and asked for production of the affidavit submitted to the Secretary of State by Clarence Jerome Schneider and affidavits submitted by Elmer Dewey Hill, John Frances Reilly and David I. Belisle. Also requested was a report of wiretapping submitted by Mr. George W. French, Jr., and Ambassador Wilson Flake.

As already indicated above, the charges relied on to support the demotion of the appellant were based on allegations that he committed certain acts. The record reflects he admitted those acts (although not the "wrongness" attributed to them). As a result, it was concluded that the basic issue presented by the appellant's appeal was whether these admitted acts justified his demotion and, accordingly, that the existence of a conspiracy, even if established, was not decisive at this posture of the case. Accordingly, the Appeals Examining Office advised the appellant's counsel that his request for discovery of this evidence was denied.

A hearing was held in the Commission on March 7, 1968 at which time appellant read a prepared statement and was cross-examined by the agency counsel.

Appellant defends against the charges relied upon for the adverse action and states that his delivery of certain documents to the Chief Counsel of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, Committee of the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, is authorized by 5 USC 7102 and any action against him for so exercising his rights under 5 USC 7102 is illegal. This Section reads as follows:

"Sec. 7102. Right to petition Congress; employees

"The right of employees, individually or collectively, to petition Congress or a Member of Congress, or to furnish information to either House of Congress, or to a committee or Member thereof, may not be interfered with or denied."

The appellant offers neither case citation nor analysis of the legislative history of 5 USC 7102 to support a hypothesis that the legislature, when it enacted the Lloyd La-Follette Act of 1912, 5 USC 7102, intended also to protect the unauthorized taking of documents from an agency and delivery of them to the legislature. Research of the legislative history of the Act and judicial cases in the perimeter indicate that 5 USC 7102 does not preclude the State Department from taking action against Mr. Otepka for violation of the Presidential Directive of March 13, 1948 prohibiting the disclosure alleged.

He also contends that delivery of the documents was not a violation of the Presidential Directive. We think it clear that the delivered documents come within the description used in the Directive which covers "all reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of . . . investigative agencies)".

All three documents involved are "records . . . relative to the loyalty of" persons covered by the Directive. Each of the documents referred to in the first and second charges is also a "report . . . relative to the loyalty of . . . prospective employees" therein named. The document involved in the third charge is a report of the investigation into the background of the person named in it and fits the category described parenthetically, but explicitly, in the Directive, i.e. "reports of . . . investigative agencies."

In addition, the documents disclose the kind of data concerning persons which the President decided should be disclosed outside the Executive Branch only after the President, in a particular case, determines that disclosure is in the public interest. Therefore, this contention of the appellant is dismissed.

The appellant also contends that he was required to deliver the documents pursuant to his duty to testify before the Senate Subcommittee. The testimony of the Chief Counsel for the Subcommittee indicates he did not ask the appellant for the file on any particular person. The testimony of the Chief Counsel of the Subcommittee at the State Department hearing indicates the discussion between him and the appellant centered on the credibility of the appellant's testimony, vis a vis, that of his superior. In his testimony, the Chief Counsel of the Subcommittee said he told the appellant to "put up or shut up," with regard to the appellant's statements that his was the accurate testimony given before the Senate Subcommittee.

The appellant could have reasonably interpreted counsel's request as a demand for proof over and above the appellant's oral testimony. However, there was no demand made upon him to take the precipitous step of securing and delivering record files in violation of the Presidential Directive. There was another alternative open to him. For example, he could have told Counsel for the Subcommittee that the proof was there for the Subcommittee to request from the Secretary of State. Therefore, we must dismiss this contention of the appellant.

The appellant contends that if there was an offense, it was insignificant. He said the personnel security report of Joan Mae Fogltanz contained no derogatory information. He said also that the Secretary of State has released personnel investigation files to the Senate Subcommittee.

Any action by the Secretary of State would not alter the fact that a decision to release a report of investigation was not Mr. Otepka's to make. Although he describes the background information in the report of Fogltanz to be favorable, nevertheless, the information was given in confidence to an investigator and contained details about the private life of the person investigated. In addition, the other documents delivered indicate the existence of derogatory information about persons named therein. We cannot agree the offense is insignificant.

The appellant further contends that what he did was done in defense against those who would destroy him. He says he had no adequate channel of protest in the Department of State and hence was required to use this means, i.e., delivery of the documents to defend himself.

The appellant's judgment concerning the inadequacy of remedies in the Department of State can be given little weight. The machinery was there, and until he used it, he has no basis for calling it inadequate.

The appellant also contends that conduct unbecoming an officer of the State Department is not defined by Department of State Regulations. This is a technical plea. The answer is there is no requirement that an agency must list or specify all things that constitute conduct unbecoming an officer of that agency to exclusion of all other possible conduct.

The appellant also contends that his being forced to appear before a hearing officer who was an employee of the Department of State and the long delay in rendering a decision in his case violates concepts of fair play and make the action against him one that is unconscionable.

The channel of appeal chosen by the appellant under which he appeared before an employee of the Department of State is an optional appeal channel established pursuant to Part 771 of the Civil Service Regulations. The appellant need not have appealed to the State Department. He could have chosen to appeal direct to the Civil Service Commission. The appellant contributed to some of the delay in this case but he need not have undergone more than sixty days suspense after he chose to appeal to the Department of State. Here again he could have cancelled his appeal and filed an appeal with the Commission. In short, the appellant chose the forum and also chose to wait out its process. This contention is dismissed.

The record reflects the appellant's position was abolished; access to certain data was taken away from him and he was placed under close surveillance. It also fairly reflects conflict between Mr. Otepka and his immediate superiors beginning in 1960. Although one might not be prepared to accept the extremes of Mr. Otepka's hypothesis, that a group in the State Department had conspired to destroy him, nevertheless, the record is fairly clear that higher management in the State Department did not desire that Mr. Opteka occupy an influential position in its security program. However, administration of the security program is not the property of any particular employee but is the responsibility of top management in the Department of State. There is no obligation by any department to keep a career employee in any particular field so long as his rights as a career employee are observed. This record contains no demonstration of any act in violation of Mr. Opteka's rights in this respect by the Department of State. Its efforts to train him for use in other fields is evident by the War College assignment which the appellant regarded as so suspicious.

The appellant in this conflict has struck one blow through which he accomplished much of what he says his enemies had in store for him. He delivered to the Chief Counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security three documents of a security nature. He had no right to take the files and records of his agency and release information which he knew may be disclosed only by the President. Furthermore, he had no right to invade the privacy of those who were named in the three documents. It is a fair conclusion that having taken this action one time, he might well do it again and it is reasonable for management to discipline him and remove him from the area where he has demonstrated capacity for harm. Therefore we conclude that the action taken by the Department of State was for a cause as will promote the efficiency of the service and that the decision to effect the action was not unreasonable, arbitrary or capricious.

DECISION

It is recommended that no change be made in the personnel action of the Department of State in effecting the demotion and reassignment of Mr. Otto F. Otepka on December 13, 1967.

This recommendation becomes a final decision of the Civil Service Commission unless either the appellant or the employing agency files an appeal with the Board of Appeals and Review, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C. 20415, within fifteen (15) calendar days of receipt of this decision.

Section 772.307 of the Civil Service Regulations provides that such an appeal must be in writing setting forth the basis for the appeal.

Since there is no further right to a hearing, additional representations (if any) should be made in writing and submitted in duplicate with the appeal to the Board.

JAMES T. MASTERSON,
Chief, Appeals Examining Office.

RIOTING IS EXPENSIVE FOR ALL

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Dillon S.C., Herald of April 23, 1968, contains an interesting editorial entitled "Rioting Is Expensive for All."

The editorial makes the point that money spent controlling riots and repairing the damage is generally used for nonconstructive purposes. It calls to our attention that the Government's revenue is reduced because businessmen are no longer able to maintain their business and provide jobs in riot areas.

Money that could be spent to help solve the problems of the Nation's poor is therefore wasted on riot control and everyone is penalized, the poor perhaps most of all.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIOTING IS EXPENSIVE FOR ALL

If the money being spent in the United States to control riots and to repair the damage left by them could be spent instead to develop better education and housing facilities and provide job training, a big beginning would be made today solving some of the problems which plague the nation's poor.

The fires, looting and vandalism not only are costly to businessmen, some of whom are forced out of business, but are costly to the local state and federal governments because the businessman's tax-paying ability is reduced.

The businessman who may have provided jobs becomes unable to do so, and thus more taxes are lost. Consequently the government has less money to spend on needed projects.

Even the threat of riots are costly. Municipal governments are earmarking larger portions of their budgets to train and equip police for riot control.

It all adds up to a lot of money being spent for basically non-constructive purposes when it is very much needed for constructive undertakings.

And everyone is penalized, perhaps the poor most of all.

SELF-HELP IN EDUCATION

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to quote for the RECORD the speech delivered by Mr. Tyler Fulcher, division superintendent, county school board of Amherst County, Va., at the ceremony dedicating the latest addition to the facilities of the Amherst County High School, a gymnasium which serves a second function as an auditorium for the student body:

ACCEPTANCE OF GYMNASIUM

Today is a great day for Amherst County. The people of Amherst County have achieved another victory in the school construction program. May 18, 1968, is a day on which we welcome a new addition to the family of school buildings. In September, 1953, we, the people of Amherst County, took a look at ourselves, in the area of public school education. Many of the things we saw we disliked, and we realized as a result of this look that the hour of decision had come, and reality was ours to face.

On that day, in September, 1953, in retrospect, as to the school buildings, we saw the following:

1. 10 One-room schools.
2. 4 Two-room schools.
3. 2 Three-room schools.
4. 4 Large elementary schools.
5. 5 Combined high and elementary schools.

Only one of these twenty-five buildings then in operation had all of the basic adequacies for a school building, namely to-wit:

1. Seating.
2. Ventilation.
3. Lighting.
4. Space.
5. Sanitation.
6. Heating.
7. Lunchroom facilities.

In the remaining twenty-four buildings, there were two or more inadequacies.

On that date, September, 1953, we found that our curriculum was equally inadequate. The five consolidated high and elementary schools offered an average of eighteen (18) units. At that time, the State required at least thirty (30) units for accreditation. The public schools of Amherst County, therefore, faced academic bankruptcy.

Other pertinent bases for a decision might be given. However, the time and purpose of this meeting will not permit. At this time, it is sufficient to observe that the people of Amherst County did make a decision.

In this moment of deep reflection, the citizens of Amherst County, with the able leadership of the Amherst County School Board and the Amherst County Board of Supervisors, developed a public school philosophy, and a direct statement of it was projected. Thusly, it was stated:

1. We believe that the Amherst County Public School System is concerned with America's greatest resource—her youth.

2. We believe that the professional process, or activity, in the Amherst County Public School System is among the finest—the building of human personalities.

3. We believe that the goal of the Amherst County Public School System is the highest—the worthy American citizen.

With the belief that the youth of Amherst County is our greatest resource; the building of human personalities, our finest activity, and the worthy American citizen our chief goal, the people of Amherst County went forward to achieve and to conquer.

As of this date, Amherst County is in the fourth phase of its long-range building program. With the building of a new Amherst Elementary School, all of our pupils in Amherst County will be housed in A-1 buildings, with all of the basic adequacies, the functional and flexible aspects included. This great goal should be achieved by September, 1969. Yes, by September, 1969, we expect all of our students to experience daily an excellent learning climate. During the great period of school building construction in Amherst County, we have been equally diligent in the development of our educational program. Instead of the eighteen units in 1953, we now offer in our secondary schools more than seventy different courses. We have also made corresponding progress in our elementary schools; and, in all of it, we have not forgotten Health and Physical Education, and we have not forgotten intramural and interscholastic athletic contests.

Some forty years ago, when Health and Physical Education were first introduced, teachers laughed in amusement, and the taxpayer almost rebelled in disgust. At that time, it was contended that pupils got too much exercise anyhow, in their normal course of living; and, that the matter of health was a family, not a public concern.

A great cry went out among the populace: "What will they think about next? After all, what is this world coming to? Now we have Physical Education for those who are already over-exercised, and Health Education for those who never get sick." At that time, one can easily see that, once again, public school education was put on trial. The court had been convened. The judge, the jury, the lawyers and the witnesses all were present.

As of this day, a day in the Space Age, May 18, 1968, times have changed, and, with it, a change in the attitude of the people towards Health and Physical Education. Modern technology has changed us from an age of muscle and brawn to an age of intellect and culture. We have now entered the "Push-Button Age".

The "Push-Button Age" is lessening the need for physical exercise more and more, each year. The urge for physical exercise does not appear to be inherent in man. Man exercises himself in direct proportion to his relationship to the law of natural selection. In the early age of our history, man's survival depended upon his physical strength and agility. Today, the challenges of the wilderness have almost disappeared, and man exercises less and less. One of the reasons for this spacious gymnasium is that it is offered as a substitute for the challenges of the past, and as a hope for the future.

The flabby muscle, and the sluggish intellect, have no place in the history of Amherst County.

In athletic contests, whether they be intramural or interscholastic, lessons may be learned, and objectives accomplished. Any athlete worthy of the name knows that good, clean living from day to day, from hour to hour, and from minute to minute, is the first basic principle of life. Any athlete worthy of representing his school in any intramural or interscholastic contest knows the value of a strong body and a clear mind. The strong body and clear mind are not automatic gifts of nature. They must be earned by good, clean living.

In the Amherst County Public School System, we, the officials, and we, the people, admire the strong body and the clear mind, based upon good, clean living. We advocate this; we sponsor this; and, we erect fine buildings to promote the purpose.

One of the hardest lessons for mankind to learn is the lesson of teamwork and cooperation. Teamwork and cooperation are fine words, and by merely having them spoken, or repeating them ourselves, we feel better. Our spirits are uplifted. In football, basketball or baseball, or in any of the major sports in which a group is involved, the need for working together is quickly learned. Every man on the team is his brother's keeper. If one member of the team commits an error, the net effect is that all commit the error. If one fails, then all fail. It is during the period of practice for the contests, and during the contests themselves, that togetherness has its finest moments; and this is a characteristic we like to see in adults, young, middle-aged, old and senile. Athletes may outgrow the game, or become too busy or too old to pursue it, but the lessons they learned may never be forgotten.

In contests of the nature which will be held there, here in this gymnasium, some of our students will first learn the true worth of the individual, and his own true potential. Teamwork is important. Cooperation is important. Victory is important. But the foundation of it all, the basis of all of it, is the individual, each indivdual player. In each athletic contest, as it is in each contest in life, the quality of the individual and the quality of human character will be tested.

In our age of materialism, an age in which great emphasis and major importance are centered in the material, as contrasted with the morals of life, selfishness usually raises its ugly brow. In our efforts to build, or to help build, human personalities, we are constantly and continuously in an all-out effort to conquer and to repel this negative aspect of human relationships. In athletic contests guided by high ideals of sportsman-ship, the player, each individual player, learns first to forget himself, forget self-ambition, and merge his best, the best he has, for the good and advancement of the group or the team. He learns that in order to succeed, in order to win, the team wins, and not any one individual on the team. Yes, he learns the precious lesson of selflessness. The word selflessness denotes and connotes a multitude of virtues, upon which success rides high, and rides high at any age in life.

Among the first students to learn, and to learn in action, the lessons, of worthy American citizenship is the athlete. It is this knowledge which motivated the construction of this magnificent gymnasium.

From the beginning of her history, nature has been continuously signalling calls to her people. Admidst all counties and all localities of the United States, Amherst County is one of the most beautiful. The beauty of her nature has been the call to man. The call is this: Will the acts of man correspond to the gift of nature? In public school education, the call was heard in 1953. Now, therefore, spotted along the landscapes in Amherst County, one may see large, stately and sophisticated school buildings. Here, in the midst of nature's great contributions, they stand as great edifices of learning.

On Tuesday, August 28, 1956, we first held our dedication exercises here. On September 1, 1956, this school was first opened to our students; and, since September, 1956, many things have happened on this stately site.

In 1960, we lighted our athletic field, it being one of the better fields in the Commonwealth.

In 1961, eight new classrooms were added, with activity rooms and teacher lounges. In 1964, twelve classrooms were added, with enlarged heating plant, cafeteria, kitchen and library facilities.

In 1965, a new music suite was added, it being one of the most modern.

In 1966, a new vocational shop area was added, including space for Auto Mechanics, Electricity, Agriculture, Drafting and Distributive Education.

In 1968, the new gymnasium, along with three Health and Physical Education classrooms are being dedicated.

In reference to the dedication in 1956, this speaker said, in part:

"This evening, the Amherst County High School joins a great heritage and assumes its proportionate responsibilities. We cannot foresee the history of this school, as it takes its place among other schools in Amherst County and in Virginia; it is yet to be written; but this we know . . . . a school in which loyalty, honesty, goodwill, fair play and other such values are standards for action; a school which stands as evidence of a thrifty, intelligent and industrious people, fully aware of its responsibility to the present and its obligations to posterity; a school whose doors are the gateways to learning, whose corridors are the avenues to wisdom, whose classrooms are the source of knowledge, whose stairways are the paths to understanding, and whose walls are the symbols of stability, fortitude and strength, is imbued with hope and promise. This we accept as our school, a school in which the native capacities of youth may be emancipated; the County of Amherst enriched; the State of Virginia benefitted; America strengthened, and in which the high principles of the Divine Creator may be practiced."

This evening, May 18, 1968, we may add the following to the formal words of acceptance:

In the name of an aroused, dynamic, intelligent and sophisticated citizenry, with the good, tried and able leadership as reflected by the Amherst County School Board, and the Amherst County Board of Supervisors, the youth of Amherst County shall have their "Day." Therefore, we accept this addition to the Amherst County High School, for and in the name of the challenging concept: The youth of Amherst County shall have their "Day."

TET IMPACT: MORE SOUND THAN FURY

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I have been impressed with the earnestness with which one prominent citizen of South Vietnam has been trying to get a message across to us here in the United States. The man is Dr. Phan Quang Dan, who has recently been named Minister of State and Open Arms in President Thieu's new Cabinet and the message concerns the Tet offensive. Now Dr. Dan knows both his country—where he has been in political life for over a decade—and this country, where he studied medicine. Dr. Dan's qualifications as a patriot are attested by his prominence as a critic of the regime of former President Ngo Dinh Diem, a role that led him to prison although he had been elected to the National Assembly. Following his release from prison after the fall of Diem, Dr. Dan won the presidency of the Gia Dinh provincial council in 1965. Since then he has been chairman of the National Political Congress and a member of the Constituent Assembly. Last fall he ran for Vice President on the ticket with Phan Khac Suu but lost to President Thieu and Vice President Ky.

This man, who knows his own people and knows us, has been traveling far and wide in this country with a message. Last night he was a guest on the Mutual Broadcasting System's Labor News Conference. There he was asked what had been the outcome of the Tet offensive. He replied that the Tet offensive—which so many of us here have thought established the Communists as the winners in Vietnam "inflicted serious human loss and material damage in South Vietnam. But it also brought out many basic strengths on the South Vietnamese side." He said:

> The Army and police turned out to be basically loyal. They fought bravely and well. After the Offensive—

He said—

> we found the army and the police were more reliable than before. The South Vietnamese people have many facets—strong anti-communist feelings are everywhere . . . the newly established regime was also quite stable . . . South Viet-Nam emerged from the Tet communist offensive as a very viable state.

Perhaps most significantly he said:

> After the Tet offensive, people got very angry—furious—at the communists, and there was a new sense of patriotism, of nationalism. People are joining the armed forces with greater enthusiasm than before . . . We are now in a strong position. There is no reason for us to give in to them. South Viet-Nam, the freedom of South Viet-Nam, has to be saved, regardless.

This is his message. It is an important message, and he wants it to be heard and understood. He sent the same message to the Christian Science Monitor which printed it on April 30. I place that article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TET IMPACT: MORE SOUND THAN FURY

(NOTE.—The writer of this dispatch is a veteran political figure in South Vietnam who ran for the vice-presidency in last year's presidential elections.)

(By Phan Quang Dan)

SAIGON.—Like ripples in a lake, the emotional shock of the Communist Tet offensive may have been wider when it reached the United States than it was in South Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people have had some experience in reverse with this kind of news. It occurred when American war protesters staged street demonstrations from coast to coast culminating last October in a spectacular march on the Pentagon.

Reaction in Vietnam was out of proportion with what took place in the United States. While Vietnamese nationalists grew worried, Communists and fellow travelers were exuberant, convinced that impassioned deprecations in the streets of the cities had got the upper hand over responsible debate in the capital. They were also convinced that the American people had lost their will to resist aggression and that any further war escalation by Hanoi and the National Liberation Front would force the Americans out of Southeast Asia in a matter of months.

LOSSES ASSESSED

Such estimates based on sensational headlines and oversimplified facts were, of course, far wide of the mark.

It is true that the Communist offensive has inflicted severe human and material losses on South Vietnam and that the new republic is afflicted with serious weaknesses. It would, however, be highly erroneous to conclude that the Communists scored a major victory, that they are growing stronger and that the fight for freedom in Vietnam is doomed to failure.

The Viet Cong representative in Moscow had announced by the end of January that a Communist-led coalition government would soon be set up in Saigon.

This speculation was not without a basis. In the recent past, popular uprisings overthrew the dictatorial regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in November, 1963, and later on brought the downfall of three other governments.

The present Saigon regime was bitterly criticized both at home and abroad for inefficiency and corruption. Influential Vietnamese and American politicians persistently voiced pessimism regarding its viability. It all added up to the impression that South Vietnam was a rotten fruit about to fall.

TURMOIL EXPECTED

The Communists, by throwing 60,000 invaders into surprise assaults on the most vital population centers, thought they would create more turmoil than needed to wreck such a shaky regime.

Facts, however, did not bear out Communist forecasts. The South Vietnamese Army and police fought back bravely and well and in many instances they fought alone—without American assistance. There was no case of a unit surrendering or going over to the enemy, even when overwhelmed in number and firepower. Rumors repeatedly echoed in the international press that the South Vietnamese Army and police were badly infiltrated with Communists were thus proved to be grossly exaggerated.

Months before the Communists onslaught there were rumors that the cities might soon be invaded. The Communists had failed to score modest victories by attacking isolated posts such as Dakto in the highlands and were losing ground in the countryside. They showed signs that they were groping for a new strategy. They started to launch commando attacks on minor district capitals in provinces as wide apart as Thua Thien on the Perfume River and Bien Hoa on the Dong Nai River.

CLUES SCATTERED

There were plenty of straws in the wind presaging that some unusual event was in the making.

Yet the South Vietnamese and their allies were not informed on the scope and timing of the Communist plot. No arms caches were discovered, no Communist conspirators arrested, no important documents captured which would have unveiled the foe's designs.

The South Vietnamese and allied intelligence services were well organized and resourceful. There was, however, a conspicuous absence of popular participation in these efforts. Professional agents, no matter how well trained, operating without that important political factor, can be compared to diligent ants which might assiduously circle a coconut in all directions and yet have the most serious difficulties in learning what goes on inside.

STRENGTH UNKNOWN

This absence of mass organization to support the allied troops was the major weakness of an otherwise powerful war machine. The Communists were thus free to plan in great secrecy and attack at the time and place of their choosing.

This absence of popular participation made it also difficult to dislodge Communist guerrillas after they succeeded in infiltrating population centers. The allies did not know the foe's strength and whereabouts with accuracy, and had to resort to heavy shelling and bombing over large areas to wipe out even small units of Communist invaders, causing greater destruction than needed.

In spite of this weakness—the people's lack of involvement—there was no popular uprising, no peasant revolt in the villages, no city-worker revolt in the factories. No Communist flags were raised by the population. The few Red flags flying over Hue were hoisted by the invaders themselves. People either locked themselves indoors or fled from the attackers; there were even instances of their fighting the Communists with knives and sticks.

In the wake of the Communist offensive the political situation in South Vietnam remained surprisingly orderly and stable.

LEGALITY UNCONTESTED

In the past 25 years, under comparably dramatic circumstances, whether after the Japanese coup in March, 1945, the signing of the Geneva Agreements in July, 1954, or the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem in November, 1963, the country has been plunged into chaotic situations with political groups mushrooming by the hundreds and bitterly contending for power. This time the legality of the constitutionally elected government was not contested by anyone.

People are showing resiliency and are resuming their everyday work and rebuilding their houses from rubble. Determination to resist Communist aggression is stronger than before.

For the first time city dwellers themselves realize that this war is theirs. There are fewer draft dodgers.

This opportunity could turn a temporary military success into political victory if it were forcefully seized upon by the South Vietnamese Government to move fast, reorganize the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) and its administration, do much more to subdue corruption, carry out sweeping land reforms, mobilize active popular participation, and achieve national unity.

It is safe to draw from recent events the following conclusions:

1. The National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) has been weakening and this process continues. Since 1966 it has lost every conventional battle waged against the allies whether in the highlands or in the Mekong River Delta. Its daily average of ambushes and acts of sabotage has decreased steadily.

Indiscriminate Viet Cong terrorism and heavy taxation have alienated the peasants who had previously supported the Communists because of hoped-for agrarian reforms.

The Viet Cong gradually lost more of the countryside in South Vietnam. Hard as it tried it did not succeed in preventing the nationwide elections organized by South Vietnam to elect the Constituent Assembly in September and the House of Representatives in October last year.

In the Tet offensive the Viet Cong played but a secondary role.

2. The North Vietnamese Communists have been moving steadily into the center of the stage to replace the Viet Cong. They initiated, planned, and led the attacks on South Vietnam's cities. In the I Corps area, especially in Hue and Quangtri, they did the fighting. Deeper south they also played the leading role.

LESS SUPPORT SEEN

There are no Viet Cong guerrillas around the demilitarized zone and Khe Sanh was encircled only by North Vietnamese troops.

The North Vietnamese soldiers will command even less popular support than the Viet Cong which at least had the advantage of being from South Vietnam and knowing the villages well.

The North Vietnamese are infiltrating Laos and Cambodia and they are invading South Vietnam by whole divisions. By contrast, the South Vietnamese and the Americans continue to respect the boundaries and look upon North Vietnam as a forbidden sanctuary.

3. The rules of the war used to be hit and run on the Communist side, search and destroy on the allied side. These rules have been changed, at least for the time being.

It has been seen that the Communists have massed troops to beseige Con Tien, Dong Ha, Khe Sanh, Quantri, and Hue.

Economic difficulties in North Vietnam and the political slowdown of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam have very likely brought home to Hanoi that its hope of sustaining a protracted war of 5, 10, 15, or 20 more years no longer sounds very realistic.

4. The troops of the allied countries gave a reassuring sign of a working military alliance. The South Vietnamese and American troops, the most important by their size, bore the brunt of the Tet fight. But the other allies—Thais, Filipinos, New Zealanders, Australians, and South Koreans—also played their parts. The South Koreans did prodigious work in the II Corps area. The Australians helped regain control of Baria and Phuoc Tuy with the least damage to the civilian population.

5. South Vietnam with all its weaknesses is emerging as a viable state with a basically loyal Army and police and a population committed to freedom.

6. Now that President Johnson has started down the path of peace talks, the bulk of the South Vietnamese people are watching to see what transpires as if their lives depended on it, which is in fact the case.

Previous hints at peace terms from Hanoi, made casually at parties or dropped by minor diplomats, appeared to politically alert South Vietnamese to be like soap bubbles, as compared with the blows of aggression from Hanoi and the Viet Cong, which were hard as rocks.

The South Vietnamese people have suffered the heaviest losses from this war waged on their land, but they want peace more than any other people involved.

NO SAINTS IN MY FAMILY

HON. ELIGIO de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, these days, it is not often that accomplishments like those of Mr. Alberto Gutierrez are recognized. Mr. Gutierrez epitomizes the value of work and its rewards. He lives in Rio Grande City, Tex.

To misquote an old song, "Livin' Weren't Easy" at Rio Grande City years ago. But, Mr. Gutierrez took the simple matter like things being tough in his stride and has made a name for himself.

He and his wife have four sons. "They aren't saints—and we wouldn't want saints in our family," the couple insists.

Their four sons are, Alberto, Jr. who is a captain in the U.S. Air Force Medical Corps. He is a graduate from the University of Texas and from the medical branch of the University of Texas at Galveston, Tex. Homero, who spent 4 years in the Air Force and 1 year in Alaska after putting in 36 hours of college work at Pan American College. Now, he is operating one of the Gutierrez' service stations. Roberto, is a senior in pharmacy at the University of Texas and Ricardo is a junior arts and sciences student at Texas A. & I. University. He is attending the university on a football scholarship.

Mr. Speaker, so everyone can read how Mr. Gutierrez got ahead I recommend the following from the Humble Energy Marketer, as a mighty impressive story:

NO SAINTS IN MY FAMILY

Alberto Gutierrez of Rio Grande City, Tex., can show you four fine sons. He and they are used to callouses on their hands.

After 34 years of hard-earned success as a Humble distributor in Rio Grande City, Texas—only a few miles from Mexico—Alberto Hector Gutierrez talks freely about the thing he knows best—work.

Without boasting, he says: "Show me a man with callouses on his hands, and I'll show you a man. My boys and I have had plenty of them."

He and his wife, Guadalupe, have four fine sons and a pair of new arrival twin grandsons to prove their point. "They aren't saints—we wouldn't want saints in our family," the couple insists. "But we can't help being proud of sons who have worked as hard as they have to make something of themselves."

A special glow lighted Alberto's face and an admiring tone came into his voice as he began ticking off the details: "Alberto, Jr., is a captain in the U.S. Air Force Medical Corps. He graduated from the University of Texas and from the Medical Branch of the University of Texas at Galveston. Yet, he can get in the saddle right now and ride herd. Homero spent four years in the Air Force and a year in Alaska after putting in 36 hours of college work at Pan American College. Now, he is running one of our service stations. Roberto is a senior in pharmacy at the University of Texas, and Ricardo is a junior Arts and Sciences student at Texas A&I College. He is attending on a football scholarship and plans to go into ranching when he graduates, if I can't get him to come into the business with me."

SUCCESS CAME SLOWLY

While the Gutierrez family has prospered, success came slowly in the early years. The

Rio Grande Valley is even farther south than Miami, Florida, and Rio Grande City was a long way off from everything when Alberto gave up brick making for oil selling in 1934.

Today, the Valley is blessed with rich soil and has a a dependable source of irrigational water from Falcon Dam. Three crops a year are normal. But the lush emerald-green citrus orchards lie well to the east of Rio Grande City. Ranching and oil production held out their hands to the new reseller in those early days, when even gravel roads were only a road builder's dream. Car traffic, naturally, was slim. If you had a flat, you fixed it yourself. There wasn't a single Humble service station when Alberto began serving all of Starr County.

When Humble moved a deep test drilling rig into Zapata in 1934, however, Alberto's hopes of selling more than his normal 3,500 gallons of product a month brightened. Until that time, a 500-gallon delivery had been a big one. Now, filling the rig's 8,000-gallon tank became a challenge and a muscle builder. Alberto would load 10 55-gallon drums on his truck, drive to the rig, and pump them out by hand into the big tank. Sixteen trips were required to fill the tank, and few men could stand up under the punch which Alberto's biceps enabled him to deliver.

But work has also made Alberto Gutierrez a humble man. "It takes so little effort to be nice," he says with a shrug. "I never lie to people, I lend a helping hand wherever possible, help dealers with their problems, we smile together, shake hands, show sympathy, and try to make people feel good. That's what life is all about. It's really not hard to make it pleasant. People like to be treated nice. One of my dealers hadn't seen a company salesman or his supplier in the 27 years he had sold a competitive product. All I had to do to get his business was to treat him like a human being. I have never lost a dealer in the 34 years I have sold Humble products. What's the use in starting now? If we have problems, we talk and work them out. We become friends, and we stay friends. Things work out right that way. And I started this policy right at home—always spending all the time with our boys that was needed. Every one of them has caught at least a hundred-pound fish. Every one has come to me when we needed to talk things out. They haven't always gotten all the money they asked for either. It's foolish to spend money for things you don't need. They know that now. My wife and I have always given our boys our love freely. We encouraged them to make something of themselves. Today they are men!"

GROWTH IS SUSTAINED

Alberto's volume has grown because of such conscientious attention to his family and his customers. Only one customer had a pump when he was delivering those 3,500 gallons of product a month. Others had barrels, and he used to fill them with a five-gallon bucket. But through the years his sales have climbed to as much as 200,000 gallons a month—about one-half the potential in Starr County. Some of the 19 dealers he serves have been with him almost as long as he has been in business.

Ranching—spurred by the lush buffel grass now found in the area—and farming have contributed substantially to his business. Chief crops are watermelons, cantaloupes, lettuce, tomatoes, green peppers, cabbage, carrots, cauliflower, onions, and potatoes. Soil conditions near the Rio Grande River are particularly rich, because the river occasionally overflows, leaving a productive layer of silt.

Crops the past winter, however, were hampered by the intrusion of Beulah, one of the worst hurricanes in the history of South Texas. Annual rainfall in the dryland farming area around Rio Grande City is about 18 inches. Beulah pelted the area with almost that much in one day, with near chaotic results.

As the storm raged inland, with winds as high as 160 miles an hour, the normally tranquil semitropical Valley shuddered under a half-billion dollar crop, home, and business loss. Because of its higher ground, Rio Grande City became a haven for those fleeing the storm. The city's normal population of 6,435 was almost tripled as churches, schools, convents, the court house, Alberto's stations, and homes were opened to victims.

When the United States and Mexico declared a common disaster area along the Rio Grande in a show of mutual concern and helpfulness, help continued to pour in. Special detachments from Fort Hood, Fort Sam Houston, the Red Cross, and the Salvation Army rushed in with a field kitchen, a supply tent, sleeping tents, showers, sanitary facilities, clothes, blankets, and air mattresses.

Serving as a public spirited citizen in such crises as this, and by being a good neighbor day-to-day, Alberto Gutierrez and his family have earned a loyal following among their customers. In addition, their hard work has helped accumulate land, cattle beef, and lumber interests. Check the hands of each: you will find calluses.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FOR ATLANTIC UNION CONVENTION

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, surprises in the political arena abound today, but none is more hopeful than the agreement of all five candidates for President on the desirability of calling a convention of our North Atlantic allies to lay the foundation for a true Atlantic community.

While the smallest difference of viewpoint among the presidential candidates is avidly sought and magnified in the press daily, the unanimous agreement of these same candidates on a far-reaching foreign policy initiative is practically overlooked.

Fortunately this was not overlooked by Mr. Roscoe Drummond whose column appears in 160 newspapers over the Nation. Aware of the potential significance of agreement among the candidates for President on such a fundamental change in the relationship among these nations, Mr. Drummond recently devoted his column to this. I am inserting it in the RECORD at this point, as it appeared in the Washington Post for May 18, 1968. It should be of special interest to the more than 100 Members of this body who have sponsored or support the Atlantic union resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 232, and others, by which is sought a convention of the NATO nations to seek agreement on setting Federal union as their eventual goal.

The setting of such a goal would vastly amplify the significance of the ministerial meetings of NATO, the next of which, in June, will consider the recommendations of the Harmel group concerning the political aspects of the alliance.

The article follows:

CANDIDATES OF BOTH PARTIES URGE FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVE

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The latest political surprise: Humphrey, Kennedy, McCarthy, Nixon, and Rockefeller are in agreement—and not just on motherhood.

When you get every Democratic and Republican presidential candidate to agree on anything, you would think it was either meaningless or trivial. It is neither.

They agree on a major foreign policy initiative—that the United States should take the lead to call a citizens' convention of all the North Atlantic Allies to lay the foundation for a "True Atlantic Community."

The goal would be to expand the military alliance of NATO into some form of political and economic union to strengthen the forces of the Free World.

The very attempt to do this might seem overly ambitious, impractical, and at the very least premature.

But it doesn't seem so to five of the most prestigious political leaders in the Nation, one of whom will be the next President of the United States.

And to others as well, for the convening of an Atlantic conference to which each of the member nations would send a delegation of 18 eminent citizens is endorsed by Gen. Eisenhower, former President Truman, Barry Goldwater, Gov. Romney, former Gov. William Scranton, Dr. Edward Teller, economist Arthur Burns, former NATO commander General Matthew Ridgway, and former Budget Director P. F. Brundage.

The support which the five presidential candidates are giving to this initiative is contained in statements from each of them released by Clarence Streit, editor of Freedom and Union Magazine.

All five urge Congress to pass the resolution which Sen. McCarthy introduced in the Senate and Rep. Paul Findley (R-Ill.) in the House. These resolutions would have Congress name the U.S. delegation to a convention with similar delegations from "such other NATO nations as desire to participate," making the convention possible even if France rejects it.

The groundwork has already been laid for such a meeting. A preliminary Atlantic convention, initiated by the U.S. Congress, met in Paris in 1962 and unanimously urged "that the NATO governments promptly establish a special governmental commission to draw up plans within two years for the creation of a true Atlantic Community to meet the political, military, and economic challenges of this era."

None of the NATO governments acted.

Now the next President of the United States is committed to act. There are, I think, three main reasons why there is growing support for such an initiative in Congress and much wide-approval, in the judgment of pollster Elmo Roper, in the country than many realize:

1—While the danger of war in Europe is declining and thus the military role of NATO is less crucial, the primary need is to strengthen the political and economic bonds of the Atlantic Alliance.

2—The U.S., Britain, West Germany, Italy, and the others don't feel they should be immobilized indefinitely by Gen. de Gaulle.

3—There has been no creative American diplomacy in two decades in the Atlantic. U.S. policy today rests almost totally on the initiatives taken in the late 'forties—the Marshall Plan, Foreign Economic aid, the North Atlantic Treaty, and its military arm—NATO. The conviction is growing that yesterday's answers aren't best adapted to today's problems, that something new needs to be done.

Nixon, Rockefeller, McCarthy, Kennedy, and Humphrey agree. That's quite a consensus.

CONGRESSMAN CLAUDE PEPPER INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO IMPROVE WIDOWS' ANNUITIES UNDER THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, in line with my continuing interest in improving life for our senior citizens, I am today introducing a bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act in order to increase survivor annuities paid to widows of deceased railroaders. I propose that the monthly annuity paid to a widow be the amount that would have been paid to her husband if he were living, had attained age 65, and had otherwise qualified for an employee's annuity. The bill would place a floor under such payments so that in no case would a widow receive less than $103 a month.

I am speaking on behalf of the more than 260,000 widows aged 60 and over and the roughly 9,000 widows who are under age 60 but who have children in their care. Widows account for more than half of all women beneficiaries receiving annuities under the Railroad Retirement Act. It might be of interest to note that more women than men receive benefits under the act despite the fact that relatively few women work in the railroad industry. My bill also would cover eligible widowers but their number is negligible.

It is true that as of March of this year widows, as well as all other railroad retirement beneficiaries, received an increase in their annuity payments. This increase was granted to assist the beneficiaries in meeting rising living costs. It does not, however, improve substantially if at all, the position of the widow relative to that of other categories of beneficiaries.

Let me elaborate. In December 1967 the average monthly payment to a retired worker was about $155. The average payment to a wife was $69. The average annuity to an aged widow was almost $81. Thus, a widow has only about $11 more a month than a wife, who in addition to her own annuity, presumably shares in that of her husband's. My bill, of course, would not bring the average widow annuity up to the level of the average paid to retired workers. This, of course, is due to the fact that payments to new entrants onto retirement rolls are higher, so that the average for living retirees is higher than the average would be of the deceased workers.

To me, the extensive use of the special—social security minimum—guarantee provisions in the Railroad Retirement Act in calculating survivor annuities is additional evidence of the inadequacy of the Railroad Retirement Act on behalf of survivors. This provision guarantees that benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act will be at least 10-percent higher than they would be if railroad work were under social security. In about two-thirds of the cases it is more favorable for widows' annuities to be calculated under the special guarantee provision whereas only a small percentage of the payments of retired workers are calculated under this guarantee. I want to make it clear that I approve of the guarantee, but I also think that its frequent application for one category of beneficiaries points up a failing in the regular railroad retirement formula in computing payments for that category. Aged widow annuities paid under the minimum guarantee averaged $92 a month; those calculated under the railroad formula averaged about $59. As already mentioned, the average for all aged widows was about $80.

The women in the group with which my bill is concerned do not have much opportunity to augment their meager annuity through employment because they are too old or must remain at home to care for their children. Those women who are able to enter the labor market are not only subject to the same earnings test as are social security beneficiaries, but if they work for an employer covered by the Railroad Retirement Act they are paid no annuity at all, regardless of how much or how little they earn.

I hope I have conveyed in this brief statement the urgency for passage of my bill.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON GREECE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, this week I returned from a trip during which I spent 2 days in Athens. Since the takeover of the Greek Government by a military junta in April 1967, I have been interested in the progress made toward restoration of basic freedoms for the Greek people. My purpose for the visit to Athens was to get a firsthand idea of what the junta is doing and what steps are being taken to put Greece back on the democratic track. During my stay in Athens, I talked at length with a dozen people. About half of my contacts were American Embassy officials; the other half were Greek citizens, most of them former members of Parliament or former Government ministers. A majority of them were conservatives.

Among the politically articulate persons with whom I spoke—and this includes all the Greek contacts I made in Athens—opposition to the present regime was unanimous, all the way across the political spectrum. I cannot generalize on the attitudes of the Greek masses, whose views may vary. The people of Greece have only limited access to information because censorship of the press, in effect since the 1967 coup, remains severe. The junta not only controls what is printed; it dictates what is printed.

Generally, I found, the Greeks hold three opinions about the relationship of the United States with their country. First, the United States had quite a bit to do with the coup. Second, the United States finds the junta acceptable. Third, if the United States wanted to change the Government, its influence is sufficient to do so. The second opinion—that the junta is acceptable to the United States—is based in part on visible moves taken by this country, such as the continuation of military aid and the recent friendly gesture of inviting the head of the junta to dinner aboard an American aircraft carrier. The Voice of America broadcasts one-half hour a day in Greek, including American newspaper editorials that are critical of the Papadopoulos regime. But American editorials are often equally critical of the U.S. Government for its too friendly attitude toward the junta, and thus may confirm Greek impressions about our Government's position.

I found great skepticism, Mr. Speaker, about the prospects that the junta intends to yield its power back to civilian rulers. Although the regime promises to submit a draft constitution to the electorate in June and to hold a plebiscite on the constitution in September, no dates have been set for elections. On the other hand, I believe the junta is aware that the United States strongly supports the return of parliamentary democracy to Greece.

Yet Greece, at present, is a long way from parliamentary democracy. It is a full-blown police state. Let me cite a few reasons why.

Torture of political prisoners has occurred in some Greek prisons. It is unclear whether the torture incidents have been isolated or whether they have resulted from a deliberate policy of the Central Government. But in two of my conversations in Athens, specific instances of physical torture were referred to.

The junta has removed, and replaced with appointees of its own, labor, cooperative, and local government officials.

Arrests and imprisonment of persons who speak critically in public continue. Thousands of Greeks have been imprisoned.

The junta has a system of political "commissars" scattered through the Government and some industries—people who act as the eyes and ears of the rulers.

Premier Papadopoulos is working to create a political base for his group. If this effort is productive, the possibility of elections may become stronger. Yet it is felt that junior officers in the regime will be particularly resistant to the restoration of democratic processes.

Among our interests in Greece, Mr. Speaker, are several Voice of America radio transmitters, a major air base on Greek soil, and access to their seaports.

It would be enormously useful if the United States could dispel the feeling of the Greeks toward our Government's relationship with the junta, letting the Greek people know that the United States is committed to the early return of democracy.

In order to bring about this change, I would recommend military aid to the present Greek regime should be ended or sharply reduced.

The solutions to the Greek problems, it is clear to me, will have to come from the Greeks themselves, not from other nations. At the same time our interests are not served by continuing to give support to a repressive police state. Continuation of the military rule, without the return to constitutional government as soon as possible, will lead to increasing restiveness among the Greek people. Under our present course, if the present regime is thrown out, it may well be replaced by a government much more hostile to the United States.

We must, at the same time, face the prospect that the junta will remain in power for a long time. We should, therefore, begin now to plan substitute facilities for those U.S. facilities now in Greece. The United States cannot and should not continue to limit its policy options by dependence upon existing facilities in Greece.

These observations, Mr. Speaker, reflect my initial impressions based on my visit to Greece. At some future time, I hope to be able to expand further on policies which I think the United States should follow toward Greece.

UNWISE RESTRICTIONS ON THE EXTENSION OF FEDERAL AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month the House voted overwhelmingly to adopt amendments to the Higher Education Assistance Act of 1968 to prohibit the extension of financial assistance to individuals who violated university rules in a way which the university determined was serious and lead to disturbance of the institution. I voted against this amendment and made my reasons for doing so clear at the time.

These amendments intrude on academic freedom. They will intimidate the exercise of free thought and study in the university. They lend Federal sanction to rules made without the safeguards of due process. And, they discriminate against the not-so-well-to-do who are dependent on Government financial help to get through college.

Today's Washington Post carries a sensible editorial which condemns this action of the House, and which cites the statement of Education Commissioner Harold Howe that these provisions are an unwarranted intrusion into the university and that they constitute double punishment for the single violation of university rules.

I commend this editorial to your attention by inserting it in the RECORD at this point:

DOUBLE DEALING

Some of the excesses and absurdities of student demonstrators have produced among legislators (who ought to know better) reactions which seem no less excessive and absurd. The House of Representatives gave its approval the other day to a proposal which would cut off Federal grants and loans to college students found guilty of participation in campus disturbances. It strikes us as an instance of Congressmen rushing in where wise academic administrators have learned to tread most warily.

Campus disturbances vary very greatly in degree and kind. Some are healthy, some dangerous and damaging. Where they involve violations of law, the law in its ordinary course ought to be left to deal with the violators. To add extra legal penalties in the form of denial of grants and loans to students is at once unfair and provocative. It is much more likely to cause trouble than to cure it.

Harold Howe, the United States Commissioner of Education, talked about this sensibly and illuminatingly last Thursday on NBC's *Today* show. "The fact is," he said, "colleges have the authority they need to deal with their students and where situations arise in which law enforcement is necessary, they have local authorities and local laws to take care of matters of property damage and trespass and things like that.

"And it seems to me quite unreasonable for the Federal Government to reach its long arm into the internal affairs of colleges and universities. It seems to me even more unreasonable to set up a system of double penalties. If these youngsters have done something wrong they'll be punished under laws which exist, and here the Congress is saying that it will create an additional special punishment which operates only on those who happen to hold fellowships or student aid loans of some sort or other, thereby creating a special punishment for poor students, if you will."

We commend the good sense of that statement to the Senate in the hope that it will undo the intemperance of the House.

TRADING STAMPS AND GAMES

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, some time ago I introduced legislation that has become known as the Truth-in-Trading Stamps Act. This consumer protection legislation is not designed to do away with trading stamps, but rather to give the housewife a fair deal in the marketplace.

Recently the Ed Wimmer newsletter, published by the National Federation of Independent Business, presented a status report on trading stamps. Because of the importance of this issue to American consumers I commend the aforementioned newsletter to my colleagues' attention and wish to include it in the RECORD at this point:

PROGRESS REPORT: TRADING STAMPS AND GAMES

Indications are building up, that the Giveaways, Contests, Games, Trading Stamp Plans and other devices containing an element of 'chance', or where the words 'win' or 'free' are employed to move goods and services, have just about run the course of Congressional tolerance.

For a decade and a half, more and more money is being poured into promotions that have carried the stigma of the 'something for nothing' mania that has swept the nation. Spokesmen of the big chains and oil companies have referred to trading stamp plans, contests and excessive giveaways as "schemes" and "rackets" which have "turned the market place into a national casino" while ruining thousands of small businesses and adding billions to the cost of living.

The gigantic Safeway chain, second largest in the nation, ran full-page advertisements charging coercion by trading stamp company representatives, and told the public that "trading stamps are a racket" and are "costing you 2½% on your food bill". The Kroger Company openly attacked stamps as "a burden on the people"—"a disease"—and Kroger controls the Top Value Stamp Company. The President of A&P referred to stamps as "a drain on civilization," and when the stamp companies invaded Canada, the Dominion Stores Company used double-page spreads to say: "Go home, Yankee Stamp Racketeers, and Take your Canadian Cousins With You."

Leading clergymen have hit the games and stamp offers as "appeals to that something for nothing desire that causes the people to lose all their sense of good judgment". Government investigators, the courts, and leading universities have joined the clamor of demands for reform. Small businessmen representing almost every kind of business have swarmed into state capitals seeking curbs on stamps, games and giveaways, as necessary to the preservation of their enterprises.

When I testified in Wisconsin to uphold the stamp law prohibiting redemption in anything other than cash, I found the State Chamber of Commerce seal on elaborate booklets defending trading stamps as a legitimate device; the impression being that the Chamber was lobbying for the trading stamp companies, and paying for the circulation and mailing of such material. In fact, it was alleged that the stamp companies had actually contributed a large sum to the State Chamber, or to its active or past officials, to compensate them for their expenses and lobbying activities. This was denied at a meeting where I spoke, where Chamber members voted not to support trading stamp pressures on the legislature after hearing and understanding both sides of the story.

To criticize the Chamber may be unfair to some degree, due to the threats of the stamp companies to withdraw their business from Wisconsin firms making paper and manufacturing premiums for the stamp companies—now the biggest customers of many of our largest companies. In fact, top officials of some of these corporations were induced to appear against the best interests of their smaller wholesale and retail customers, on threat of losing stamp company business—Admitting they were coerced, just as thousands of gasoline dealers have testified to being coerced by their suppliers, "to take on trading stamps or lose your lease".

There have been reports from hundreds of legislators re bribes for their votes. Consumer groups all over the nation have been "paid" to appear at legislative hearings to testify in favor of the stamp promotions, and efforts to curb various games and contest abuses have met with the same kind of resistance. The result has been that some members of Congress like the Honorables Lester Wolff, New York, and Henry Reuss, Wisconsin, have introduced bills to dampen the promotion of schemes costly to the consumer, and to protect the ethical enterpriser who refuses to adopt a program aimed at the 'cupidity' of the American homemaker. At one university, a professor said:

"The appearance of gain is so well devised that the ordinary eye cannot detect the fraudulent intent of the purveyor; therefore, there being a compelling reason for interference by the legislature."

Roger F. Dreyer, Executive Vice President, The Ohio Petroleum Marketers Association, may have stated the case against giveaways in its true light when he warned his industry:

"You need to change your ways or the government—local, state and federal—will step in and remove the 'free' from free enterprise insofar as the oil industry is concerned. . . .

"This organization can no longer sit idly by and close its eyes to the plaguing problems and ridiculous practices carried on under the name of free enterprise. Oil marketing not only has a black eye, but it also has bad breath.

"We are accused by responsible people and organizations of running carnivals and sideshows rather than service stations. We are being accused of littering up the landscape with closed, abandoned and unsightly service stations. We are being accused of running a lottery with our various promotion games in violation of the state's constitution. And what has been our pat answer to all this? 'We have a right to do all these things under a free and competitive system. After all, this isn't Russia yet!'

"The problem has become so great that it is overshadowing all the good we do. This problem has become so acute that it will live to haunt us if we do not heed the the warning signs of today!

"The message is loud and clear, Mr. Oilmarketer; change your ways or the government, at the urging of the general public, will change it for you."

Steps now contemplated could remove this burden from our free enterprise system, now costing billions of dollars and bringing chaos to many markets; which has been exposed by reputable newspapers, legislators, association officials, corporations and legislators as "a plague on our society." Certainly the prospect of such action would be welcomed by people in all walks of life.

Frank Weikel (writer for The Cincinnati Enquirer), in a series of articles, delved into various game promotions by oil companies and came up with the following conclusions:

"A guy swimming the English Channel in a storm with an anchor around his neck, has more chance at success than those playing the gas station 'giveaway' games has of winning.

"Someone was a winner, but it wasn't the customer who was given the cards.

"I have now checked three sealed boxes (one was Cash in a Flash; one, Sunny Dollars, and the other, Pay Day), and out of nearly 3500 cards I have found only $27 worth of winners. The three boxes cost the dealers $42.62.

"It looks like the area gasoline dealers will be putting a two-cent a gallon increase on gasoline prices in the near future, and one reason the increase is needed is to pay for these contests."

Articles such as this, and statements from Gulf Oil and other big company officials, attacking the trading stamp-gimmick-giveaway schemes (so ably exposed by Weikel and other newspaper writers and editors across the nation), and the vigorous efforts of consumer groups, government agencies, state legislators and organizations like our own, are certain to reduce or eliminate many harmful marketing practices.

The problem should be solved within the marketing structure, but inasmuch as business has refused, or failed, to act on its own, what else is left but the legislative process? Are the schemes to take $8 or $10 billion by 1970, instead of the presently estimated $4 billion?

Would we have a farm problem if this excess weight on the price structure was going to the embattled farmer, 5,000,000 of whom were driven from the land since 1950? Does it make sense to channel billions of dollars worth of goods through a parasitic addition to the distribution system (the redemption center or the oil company's catalogue), with the cost of stamps, games or gimmicks hidden in "the price"? . . . As one rebellious housewife remarked: "We are being seduced at the checkout counter and gasoline pump, and we are not screaming."

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL 62, POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE, OBSERVES 55TH ANNIVERSARY WITH TESTIMONIAL FOR MRS. ALICE NAHORMEK, OF CHICOPEE, NEWLY ELECTED DISTRICT 1 COMMISSIONER OF PNA

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the members of Polish National Alliance Council of Western Massachusetts, No. 62, celebrated its 55th anniversary on Sunday, May 5, with a banquet and testimonial honoring Mrs. Alice A. Nahormek, of Chicopee, who was recently elected commissioner of District 1, Polish National Alliance.

As an honorary member of Council 62, it was my privilege to address the many members who gathered at the Butterfly Ballroom of the Polish National Home in Chicopee for their joint 55th anniversary celebration and testimonial to one of their outstanding members, Mrs. Nahormek, whose new jurisdiction as commissioner now embraces the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, and has a Polish National Alliance membership of 24,000 Americans of Polish descent.

During my remarks, I said:

The Polish National Alliance came into existence 88 years ago. It has grown to be the largest fraternal organization of Americans of Polish descent in the country. Think of it—spawned by a small group of Polish fighters for freedom, who fled German and Russian Oppression in their native land, the Polish National Alliance now boasts a membership of more than 370,000 and assets of almost $125 million.

Council 62 of Western Massachusetts celebrates its 55th birthday on this occasion. In the fall of 1913, 5 groups, 605 and 702 of Chicopee; 711 of Chicopee Falls; 1053 of Springfield, and 1484 of Indian Orchard were gathered together and officially given the number, "Council 62, Polish National Alliance," by the Polish National Alliance of North America with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois.

This council has actively participated in civic, community, and religious projects. As a fraternal organization it has given aid to its needy and aged members. It has not only contributed much to the people of Polish ancestry, but to the entire community. Its ideals of loyalty to our country and respect for law and order have been engrained in its members.

Being a firm believer that the future lies in youth, the first Council 62 PNA youth group was organized in 1933 by Mrs. Frances Matras. Known as "Harcerstwo," several of these groups are continuing the work started 35 years ago.

Realizing that youth needs an outlet for the summer months, the council in 1947, purchased 80 acres of land on a lakefront in Bondsville, Massachusetts. The Polish Alliance Youth Camp operated as a resident camp and received funds from the Chicopee Community Chest to accommodate some 300 youngsters, for a 6-week period each summer, regardless of their race or religion.

Fifty-five years of active participation in fraternal, youth, and governmental affairs has brought forth a larger membership to Polish National Alliance Council 62, stronger ideals and a greater loyalty to the United States of America.

This is the heritage that you and the pioneer members of Council 62 leave to the younger generation.

More than a year ago, in December, 1966, I had the privilege to join in the dedication of the American Research Hospital for Children in Krakow, Poland. I had the opportunity to witness, in person, the enduring spirit of the Polish people and their great affection for the United States. I saw, too, the deep seated love for their church and their religion. As I knelt in the Magnificent Church of Marjacki (St. Mary) in the center of Krakow, I felt the ardor of their devotion and caught the fervor of their dedication to liberty and freedom.

And, at that moment, I came to know, with greater conviction, that tyranny would never conquer their spirit. I realized more fully then, that the communists may suppress freedom of expression, but they will never extinguish it in Poland. They may fear and attempt to shackle the power of the Church, but they will never diminish the faith and prayer of the Polish people.

And, let me add, that I sensed the inspiration that you have given to your native land and its people. The letters that you send, the assistance you give, the helping hand that you have constantly offered to these brave people in Poland, have given them strength and courage.

This gathering of the Polish National Alliance Council 62 tonight will have meaning for them. For it helps to keep their spirit alive.

I come here tonight to congratulate you on what you are doing here, and to express the gratitude of the United States. I also want to congratulate your honored guest, Mrs. Alice Nahormek, on her election as Commissioner of District 1, Polish National Alliance. No one works harder and produces so much for this organization than Alice Nahormek. She has organized the children into fine groups which stress Polish culture, dance, and music and their entertaining has been tremendously successful, thanks to the zeal and leadership of Alice Nahormek.

As an honorary member of Council 62, Polish National Alliance, I want to take this opportunity to wish you, Alice Nahormek, a most successful tenure in office as Commissioner for District One, Polish National Alliance.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks news stories from the Holyoke Transcript-Telegram, of May 3, and the Springfield Union, of May 6, concerning Mrs. Nahormek and the 55th anniversary banquet; the testimonial and banquet program, including the Council 62 officers and committee members; and the text of the certificate granting me honorary membership in the Polish National Alliance, Council 62, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the council in 1963:

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union, May 6, 1968]

POLISH ALLIANCE COUNCIL FETES MRS. NAHORMEK

CHICOPEE.—Polish National Alliance Council 62 held a combination 55th PNA anniversary celebration and testimonial for Mrs. Alice Nahormek, District 1 commissioner of Chicopee, Sunday at the Polish National Home.

THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY ATTEND

More than 350 persons joined the celebration and feted Mrs. Nahormek, who was recently elected District 1 Commissioner, comprised of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire.

She has been a member of the Chicopee organization since 1933, when the local youth group was established by her mother, Mrs. Patrick Matras. It was the first PNA youth group in New England.

Mrs. Nahormek has served in every post of both Groups 2590 and 62 and is the only woman elected president of Council 62.

She is a charter member of Polish Alliance Youth Camp, Bondsville, where she served as director of the girls camping season from 1948 to 1953.

She became Chicopee's first policewoman on March 26, 1953.

[From the Holyoke (Mass.) Transcript-Telegram, May 3, 1968]

MRS. NAHORMEK WILL BE FETED AT TESTIMONIAL

This Sunday, some 350 persons including relatives, friends, invited guests and dignitaries will gather at the Polish National Home, Chicopee, to honor Mrs. Alice A. Nahormek at a testimonial in recognition of her recent election as District 1 Commissioner of the Polish National Alliance. The district comprised of the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, has a membership of 24,000.

The event beginning at 4 p.m. is being sponsored by the Polish National Alliance of Western Mass., Council 62, in conjunction with the organization's anniversary.

Congressman Edward P. Boland will be guest speaker. Serving as toastmaster will be City Treasurer Atty. Edward J. Ziemba. Also at the head table will be City Collector Alphonse Lacroix and Mrs. Lacroix who will represent Mayor and Mrs. Richard H. Demers; Rev. Raphael Wisniewski, pastor of St. Anthony's Church; Joseph Dancewicz, national director of District 1 and Mrs. Dancewicz; Stanley Soja, president of PNA Council 62, and Mrs. Soja; Mrs. Ziemba, Mrs. Nahormek, her daughter, Patricia, and her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Francis Matras.

Mrs. Nahormek, 43, a native of Chicopee, is no stranger to the organization. She began her career in 1933 at the age of nine when her mother established in Chicopee the first PNA youth group in the New England area.

Actively participating in PNA work for the past 35 years, Mrs. Nahormek has served in every office of PNA Group 2590, Chicopee, as well as PNA Council 62. To date she has been the only woman president elected to serve in Council 62.

She is a charter member of the Polish Alliance Youth Camp, Bondsville, where she served as director of the girls camping season from 1948 to 1953. As an advisor to the PNA Junior League, she instructs the girls in Polish folk dancing and singing who perform for organizations and clubs upon request.

Mrs. Nahormek, Chicopee's first and only policewoman, a post she assumed March 26, 1953, is the daughter of Patrick and Frances Rosiek Matras. She received her elementary education at the Patrick E. Bowe and St. Stanislaus Schools and is a 1941 graduate of Chicopee High School.

A graduate of the Felt and Tarrant Comptometer School, she studied Army administrative methods at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., while employed by the former Springfield Armory. She has also studied child guidance while attending Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Pa. Mrs. Nahormek has also worked in the capacity of payroll supervisor in the former Armory's tabulating department and as a secretary to the finance officer and chief clerk at Westover, AFB.

A member of St. Anthony's Church, Willimansett, Mrs. Nahormek is president of the New England Assn. of Policewomen.

A charter member of the Polish Women's Civic Club, she holds membership in the Chicopee Business and Professional Women's Club, the VFW Auxiliary Post 452.

Mrs. Nahormek, widow of Francis P. Nahormek who died in 1965, lives at 59 Francis St., Chicopee. She has two daughters, Patricia, 20, a junior at Skidmore College, N.Y., and Mrs. Nancy Papodopulos, 19, of Chicopee.

POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE COUNCIL 62 55TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET AND TESTIMONIAL FOR MRS. ADELA ALICE NAHORMEK, COMMISSIONER DISTRICT I POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AT BUTTERFLY BALLROOM, POLISH NATIONAL HOME, CHICOPEE, MASS., SUNDAY, MAY 5, 1968

Address of welcome: Mrs. Stella Sabaj, General Chairman.

Introduction of toastmaster: Atty. Edward J. Ziemba.

American and Polish anthems: Groups 2590 and 2986 PNA.

Invocation: Rev. Raphael Wisniewski, Pastor, St. Anthony's Parish, Chicopee, Massachusetts.

Greetings—City of Chicopee: Alphonse Lacroix, City Collector, representing Mayor Richard H. Demers.

History, Council 62 PNA: Stanley Soja, President Council 62 PNA.

Entertainment: Youth of Group 2590 PNA, Chicopeee, Mass. Directed by Mrs. Sophie Golba.

Remarks: Honorable Edward P. Boland, Mass. Congressman.

Remarks: Rev. Raphael Wisniewski.

Entertainment: Youth of Group 2986 PNA, Ludlow, Mass. Directed by Mrs. Anna Lopata.

Address: Joseph A. Dancewicz, National Director, PNA, New Bedford, Mass.

Presentation: Stanley Soja.

Remarks: Mrs. Adela Alice Nahormek, Commissioner District I PNA.

COUNCIL 62 OF POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE OFFICERS 1968

Stanley Soja, President.
Mrs. Mary Gurski, Vice President.
Henry Wiatrowski, Vice President.
Mrs. Sophie Bardzik, Secretary.
Mrs. Stella Sabaj, Treasurer.
Peter Pazik, Marshall.

TESTIMONIAL COMMITTEE

General Chairman: Mrs. Stella Sabaj.
Honorary Chairman: Stanley Soja.
Mrs. Sophie Bardzik.
Mrs. Regina Cebula.
Mrs. Sophie Golba.
Mrs. Ann Peresada.
Mrs. Rose Corso.
Kazimierz Rybczyk.
Ludwik Swierad.
Mrs. Veronica Galuska.
Johnm Polaczak.
Mrs. Mary Gurski.
Henry Wiatrowski.
Mrs. Angela Chmura.
Mrs. Petronela Chmiel.
Mrs. Mary Tomchik.
Joseph Przybycien.
Izador Szymiczek.
Mrs. Anna Lopata.
Joseph Robak.
Music by Polka Vagabonds.

COUNCIL 62 OF POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE, CHICOPEE, MASS.

(Gmina 62 Zwiayker Narodowego Polskiego)

For his true spirit of brotherhood, and his untiring efforts in the causes of Freedom, Justice, and Equality, Council 62 Polish National Alliance of Chicopee, Massachusetts, representing two thousand eight hundred and nine Americans of Polish descent, has voted United States Representative EDWARD P. BOLAND an honorary member of Council 62 Polish National Alliance on the 10th day of November, 1963, the date of the 50th anniversary of said Council.

ADELA M. NAHORMEK,
President.
ANN PERESODA,
Vice President.
THEODORE F. CEBULA,
Vice President.
SOPHIE C. BARDZIK,
Secretary.
JOHN S. POLACZAK,
Treasurer.

INVERTED PRIORITIES

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, it is alarming that the Appropriations Committee has reduced by almost 50 percent the administration's budget request for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. These funds are urgently required to enable EEOC to enforce title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination in employment. The budget request is necessary both to improve the existing quality of enforcement, which clearly needs to be strengthened, and also because the 1964 act provides that title VII coverage is to be extended to smaller employers as of July 1968. Yet, the budget request has been cut in half.

Title VII protects one of the most basic rights—the right to equal consideration for a job. Some Members of the House continually berate those who will not work, who seek what are termed "handouts." Yet to halve the enforcement budget of EEOC would be to deny good jobs to minority group members who want to work but who suffer illegal discrimination.

And some Members of this House are also fond of calling for more law and order. Yet this reduction halves the number of personnel charged with enforcing a vitally important law.

I am hopeful that my colleagues will act to restore the full request for Equal Employment Opportunity Commission funds when we consider H.R. 17522, the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies appropriation bill, fiscal year 1969, tomorrow. I include an editorial from the New York Times of May 27, 1968, entitled "Wrong Way Congress," which speaks to this lamentable reduction:

WRONG-WAY CONGRESS

The upside down sense of priorities that rules on Capitol Hill has rarely been displayed more revoltingly than in two actions taken on the same day last week by the House Appropriations Committee.

The $13 million budget recommended by the Johnson Administration for enforcement of the equal employment opportunities provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was cut in half, presumably for reasons of Federal economy. But no such frugal husbandry of the public purse was evident when the committee dealt with appropriations for the greedy lobby that keeps the domestic shipbuilding industry afloat despite its recklessly high costs. The committee voted to double the more than $100 million appropriation that the White House had proposed for new construction in the merchant marine, an industry which, as noted above, has been made scandalously uncompetitive in world commerce by the slothful practices of labor and management.

The report of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has reinforced the already abundant evidence that racial bias in jobs and promotions is a major threat to American stability. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission is the chief watchdog against such discrimination. At the start of the new federal fiscal year in July, the jurisdiction of the Commission, under the able chairmanship of

Clifford Alexander, is being extended to many thousands of smaller companies.

This extension not only increases the number of businesses the Commission must police by 250 per cent, but adds even greater complexities of enforcement. Congress has told the Commission that it wants all complaints of racial discrimination processed within 60 days—a not unreasonable requirement if Negroes are to retain faith in the agency's worth.

But the Congressional slash in the streamlined budget requested by the Administration condemns those who seek the Commission's help to wait as long as two years for final action. No one can expect the agency to retain credibility on that basis.

The price will be paid in a further erosion of the trust the disadvantaged place in white society to address itself responsibly to rectification of the abuses that ultimately explode in riots. The right and necessary course for the House is to restore the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission's full appropriation when it votes on the committee's recommendation tomorrow. The place to economize is on the overfat shipbuilding subsidy.

ROCKVILLE MAN DIES IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. John A. Bifareti, Jr., a fine young soldier from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his bravery and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ROCKVILLE MAN DIES IN VIETNAM—SGT. JOHN BIFARETI, JR., WAS INFANTRY SQUAD LEADER

ROCKVILLE, MD. May 22.—An Army sergeant from Rockville who had recently been placed in charge of an infantry squad was killed in action May 17 in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported today.

The soldier was identified as Sgt. John A. Bifareti, Jr., 24, son of Mr. and Mrs. John A Bifareti, Sr., of the 14200 block Arctic avenue.

Sergeant Bifareti, who was sent to South Vietnam last September, had been serving with the 25th Infantry Division in the Cu Chi area northwest of Saigon, his father said.

RECOMMENDED FOR MEDAL

In recent letters to his family the soldier reported that he had been recommended for the Bronze Star Medal and had been made an infantry squad leader, Mr. Bifareti stated.

The sergeant had served as a point—or forwardmost—man in the squad for about six months and had been expecting a "rear echelon" assignment when he was promoted to squad leader, his father said.

The promotion resulted in the sergeant's staying in active combat, Mr. Bifareti said.

GREW UP IN PITTSBURGH

Sergeant Bifareti was born in Butler, Pa., and grew up in Pittsburgh. He studied civil engineering at Notre Dame University for two-and-a-half years until illness forced him to leave school.

The soldier worked for Montgomery county in a surveying team for about two years before enlisting in the Army in September, 1966.

His father said the young man, in order to enter the service, had to appeal the initial findings of a pre-induction physical in which he was rejected.

Mr. Bifareti, an employee with the Veterans Administration, moved his family to Rockville about five years ago.

Besides his parents, Sergeant Bifareti is survived by a sister, Cathy Louise, and three brothers, Donald B., who returned from Vietnam duty with the Army last August; Lawrence V., and Ronald G. Bifareti.

FREE LUNCH FOR SOME

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Education and Labor has been holding extensive hearings on hunger in America.

Among the first witnesses were members of the Committee on Lunch Participation, who called our attention to the fact that there are more than 4 million children of disadvantaged families in America who are not today getting hot lunches in their schools. The New York Times recently ran an editorial on this entire subject which, to a considerable extent, has served as the framework for part of the investigation now being conducted by my committee.

The New York Times is to be commended for calling this deplorable situation to the attention of the American people. The editorial follows:

FREE LUNCH FOR SOME

Millions of children, too poor to pay for their lunch in school, must watch daily as their more affluent classmates eat. Millions of others go hungry "only" a few days a week while they wait for their turn to come again in an absurd and inhumane system of rotation that allows them only two or three free lunches a week. And many of those who are included in the National School Lunch Program are subjected to the humiliation of having to wait at the end of the line until the paying customers have been fed.

The Committee on Lunch Participation, sponsored by leading civic and religious women's organizations, disclosed that many states fail to make more than a token contribution to what is intended to be a matching program. In a callous way of penny-pinching, these states substitute the meager funds contributed by poor children themselves for such tax contributions as the Federal regulations call for.

Ironically, many of the neediest children are ineligible for free lunches because the substandard schools in the urban and rural slums which they attend lack lunch rooms and cafeterias. The committee's disclosure that fewer than two million youngsters, or only about 4 per cent of the public school enrollment, at present are able to get free or reduced-price lunches is a tale of shocking neglect of the poor in an affluent society.

The committee's demand that free lunches be made available to all who cannot afford to pay must be met without delay. At the same time the states must be required to assume their part of the responsibility honestly and equitably, and the Department of Agriculture, as the Federal agent responsible for the program, must be given the authority and the means to police its implementation. It is intolerable to expect children to get any benefit from free education while they go hungry and to subject them to the humiliation of scrounging leftovers in order to be strong enough to learn.

POOR PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY TAKES OVER AMERICAN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, with so many of the poor people population appearing to be 30 years of age and under—it came as no surprise that a spur operation of the Poor People's Campaign would be a student teach-in against taxpayers and anticommunism.

The surprise was that American University—here in Washington, D.C.—would turn over 17 classrooms, office space, phones, and equipment to be used as an indoctrination center for intellectual subversion of the United States.

A genuine moral victory for the extremists of the left in their propaganda bid for an image of progress and respectability. To be able to teach revolution against the United States in our Nation's Capital in classrooms of a university called American.

Quite a setting for brainwashing and propaganda activities by such anti-American instructors as Kenneth Clark, David Dellinger, Harry Belafonte, Joan Baez, Ivanhoe Donaldson, Tom Hayden, Todd Gitlin, Dick Gregory, and Michael Harrington and others.

Right in line with their program to undermine the American people in every word and institution held sacred and revered.

By the time this "wrecking crew" gets done, they'll have made the word "American" a dirty word even to Americans.

I include the Evening Star account of May 23 and the national education program report as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, May 23, 1968]

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, IN SHIFT, GIVING SPACE FOR POOR PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY

American University will provide classroom and office space for the planned Poor People's University despite a statement on behalf of AU and four other universities in the District that no such campus facilities would be provided.

The Consortium of Universities—made up of American, Catholic, Georgetown, George Washington and Howard—announced Tuesday that because of "normal operations" they would "be unable to provide either dormitory or on-campus classroom facilities for out-of-town college students."

At Georgetown University today, a group of about 20 students were holding a sit-in to protest the school's failure to provide space on campus for the Poor People's University.

Joseph Gerson, a Georgetown student, said the protest would be continued until the university's policy is changed.

The demonstrators were gathered outside the office of the Very Rev. Gerald Campbell, Georgetown president, in the Healey building, named in honor of Patrick Healey, the university's only Negro president, who held office before the turn of the century.

According to the consortium statement, the cooperation of the five universities would involve "encouraging members of the faculties and students to participate."

American University's intentions of going further than this, however, were reported by Brady Tyson, AU coordinator for the project.

He said AU will provide 17 classrooms from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. daily from May 29 to June 16 in the 1900 block of F Street NW, and office space, two telephones and office equipment in the 2000 block of G Street NW.

The Poor People's University is planned by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in conjunction with the Poor People's Campaign.

According to previously announced plans, the idea is for at least 5,000 to 6,000 visiting college students and some of their teachers to take part in the Poor People's University. Included would be courses in nonviolent demonstrating tactics, and such subjects as poverty, racism, economics and the effects of the Vietnam war.

[From the National Program Letter]

RADICAL STUDENTS AID REDS

Communists in America are making frightening strides in mobilizing "student power" in the nation's high schools, colleges and universities for a violent revolutionary assault upon the United States and its institutions. The plan is to incite and organize millions of students into a paramilitary force joined to revolutionary Black Power—with which World Communism expects ultimately to overthrow the U.S. and gain dominion over all mankind.

This sounds fantastic, doesn't it?

Jerry Rubin, revolutionary leader, prominently active in Communist causes, who helped to direct the mammoth assault on the Pentagon last October, says: "The goal is a massive white revolutionary youth movement which, working in parallel cooperation with rebellions in Black communities, could seriously disrupt this country." Is this "goal" fantastic? I have before me a news dispatch from Santa Barbara, California. The headline says: "Students Discuss Ways to 'Destroy' Universities." A subhead says: "Revolution Proposed."

"REVOLUTION" SPELLED OUT

The Santa Barbara News-Press had sent reporter, Tom O'Brien to cover a conference of college student leaders from throughout the nation, sponsored and financed by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions which was set up with Ford Foundation money. After reading the News-Press report, I wrote the Center for a full text of the speeches and discussions.

Here is one of the student leaders speaking: "I'm going to say loudly and explicitly what I mean by revolution. What I mean by revolution is over-throwing the American government and American imperialism and installing some sort of decentralized power in this country. I'll tell you the steps that I think will be needed. First of all, starting up fifty Vietnams in Third World countries. (Note: The Communists explain "Third World" as the "oppressed" people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.)

TO AID "BLACK POWER"

"This is going to come about (continued the speaker) by Black rebellions in our cities, joined by some white people. People in universities can do a number of things to help. They have access to money and they can give these people guns, which I think they should do. They can engage in acts of terrorism and sabotage outside the ghetto . . ."

The speaker was Devereaux Kennedy, president of the student body at Washington University, St. Louis.

A fact which should cause shivers to run up the spine of all concerned Americans is that, according to reports given at this national conference of students leaders, approximately 10 per cent of all students in our colleges and universities follow such revolutionary leadership, and such young revolutionaries as Kennedy now hold student body presidencies in about half the colleges and universities!

Stan Wise, one of the conferees, secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), said American institutions must be destroyed. He proudly said SNCC was "absolutely without doubt responsible for the race riots throughout the country" last summer.

The Communist press in America, and its radical, revolutionary "sister" publications, including many "underground" college newspapers, are full of reports on ramifications of the "coming revolution". Always the "student power" revolution is tied in with the revolutionary Black Power forces.

REDS MOBILIZING YOUTH

Communists working skillfully and effectively within our country, now that the U.S. Supreme Court has virtually demolished the legal safeguards against them, have mounted a mammoth revolutionary youth movement with the aim of destroying American capitalism and overthrowing our Republic. The "World Student Strike", with its most significant manifestations in the U.S., is but a part of the agitation and operational plan.

"Political Affairs", the theoretical "journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A.", gives full credit to the Party for (1) mobilizing radical American youth into a force which now has reached frightening proportions, and (2) for welding various facets of the revolutionary youth movement, including a "Black Youth" force, into a "United Front" which will ultimately function as part of the "anti-imperialist" revolution to overthrow the United States.

Working for twin goals

Two months ago at the University of Chicago, a "front" called "Student Mobilization Committee" brought together in conference approximately 1,000 leaders of nation-wide youth organizations, ranging from college YMCA's and "Student Christian" movements, to revolutionary Black Power elements and well-known Communist-front youth groups such as the W. E. DuBois Clubs. The Communists dominated the conference, and in the end won their most important goal, the unification of divergent youth groups into a nation-wide revolutionary force.

The key conference "unity" resolution was written by self-proclaimed Communist, Bettina Aptheker, whom "Political Affairs" described as "spokesman for the Communist Party and a member of the DuBois Clubs." It was an obvious move by the Communist apparatus to draw white youth organizations together with the revolutionary Blacks in the two primary goals which are today paramount in Communist strategy: (1) U.S. pull-out of the Vietnam war, leaving victory for World Communism, and (2) "self-determination" for the "Black people", meaning take-over and control by Negroes in cities and communities where they are in the majority, including Washington, D.C.

The Communist boast

Here are the Communist boasts, as printed in their official journal (for guidance of the revolutionaries throughout the country): "For the first time since the thirties there will be a student strike. Of course, though it has been agreed to in conference, it will take long, hard work and much skill to carry it through on each campus. For the first time in years there will take place a mass student action which will mobilize both black and white students."

The Chicago conference, the Communist publication says, "is another concrete proof of the critical importance in the student youth movement of a Marxist youth organization based on a working-class approach. The fact that only the DuBois Clubs were capable of raising these questions (of white and black coalition of the 'oppressed') shows the importance of such an approach."

MR. HOOVER'S WARNING

"The American college student today is being subjected to a bewildering and dangerous conspiracy perhaps unlike any social challenge ever before encountered by our youth. On many campuses he faces a turbulence built on unrestrained individualism, repulsive dress and speech, out-right obscenity, disdain for moral and spiritual values, and disrespect for law and order. This movement, commonly referred to as the 'New Left', is complex in its deceitful absurdity and characterized by its lack of common sense.

Radicals are busy

"Fortunately, a high percentage of the more than 3 million full-time college students are dedicated, hardworking, and serious-minded young people; however, their good deeds and achievements are greatly overshadowed by those who are doing a tremendous amount of talking but very little thinking.

"Much of this turmoil has been connected with a feigned concern for the vital rights of free speech, dissent, and petition. Hard-core fanatics have used these basic rights of our democratic society to distort the issues and betray the public. However, millions of Americans, who know from experience that freedom and rights also mean duties and responsibilities are becoming alarmed over the anarchistic and seditious ring of these campus disturbances. They know liberty and justice are not possible without law and order.

Reds pleased

"The Communist Party, U.S.A., as well as other subversive groups, is jubilant over these new rebellious activities. The unvarnished truth is that the communist conspiracy is seizing this insurrectionary climate to captivate the thinking of rebellious-minded youth and coax them into the Communist movement itself or at least agitate them into serving the Communist cause. This is being accomplished primarily by a two-pronged offensive—a much-publicized college speaking program and the campus-oriented communist W. E. DuBois Clubs of America. Therefore, the communist influence is cleverly injected into civil disobedience and reprisals against our economic, political, and social system.

"There are those who scoff at the significance of these student flareups, but let us make no mistake; the Communist Party does not consider them insignificant. The participants of the New Left are part of the 100,000 'state of mind' members Gus Hall, the Party's General Secretary, refers to when he talks of party strength. He recently stated the Party is experiencing the greatest upsurge in its history with a 'one to two thousand' increase in membership in the last year.

Need spotlight on Reds

"For the first time since 1959, the Party plans a national convention this spring. We can be sure that high on the agenda will be strategy and plans to win the New Left and other new members. A Communist student, writing in an official Party organ, recently stated, 'There is no question but that the New Left will be won.'

"Thus, the communists' intentions are abundantly clear. We have already seen the effects of some of their stepped-up activities, and I firmly believe a vast majority of the American public is disgusted and sickened by such social orgies. One recourse is to support and encourage the millions of youth who refuse to swallow the communist bait. Another is to let it be known far and wide that we do not intend to stand idly by and let demagogues make a mockery of our laws and demolish the foundation of our Republic."—J. Edgar Hoover, Director FBI

DICK GREGORY AT YALE

In the early 30's it became "fashionable" in crackpot "intellectual" circles throughout America to champion the Communist cause. The term "Pinko" was coined to describe what later was to be called "Fellow Travelers", those who aid the Red conspiracy. Some

Americans woke up in the 50's decade when Communists in strategic positions within the American government were caught in espionage activities which aided the Soviet Union in every step of their development of nuclear power. The Smith Act was passed and we began as a nation to erect some semblance of a safeguard against Red subversion.

The set-back wasn't taken lightly by World Communism. The Reds geared all their propaganda and penetration apparatuses to breaking the safeguards and toward returning Communism to "respectability" inside America. They were successful. Through Supreme Court decisions, the internal security laws were virtually nullified. Colleges began again to have Communist speakers address student assemblies. The louder a Red official would condemn the American system, the more popularity he seemed to achieve at some of America's biggest universities.

Today the "radicals" are having their greatest popularity as university and college speakers.

Dick Gregory, Negro comedian and self-styled "racist", was the featured speaker at the Yale University annual dinner for the graduating class this January. He had reached the pinnacle as a campus lecturer, apparently, when he threatened to close down the Democratic National Convention in Chicago next August with a "Black Power" uprising. Here is an excerpt (completely in context) from his full address to the Yale Seniors and their professors:

Will burn down United States

"Let me tell you something tonight: we will burn your house down to the ground (and we mean that), if you think you are going to keep talking this insane and think you going to keep on insulting us like this we'll burn it down to the ground, man. This is what we trying to say. We are sick and tired of your insults and we not going to take them anymore, whether you like it or not.

"Let me ask you to raise your hands. How many of you read when Henry Ford, 3½ weeks ago hired 6,000 Negroes? Any of you read that in the paper? Did you also read that they didn't have to take the tests when they hired them?

"Henry Ford, one of the largest corporations in the world, hired 6,000 niggers in two days. Why do you think they hired them? Because of nonviolence? You—right know it wasn't that. The fire got too close to the Ford plant, baby. Don't scorch the Mustangs, Baby. You-all, running around talking about how riots hurt, do you realize how long it would have taken us through peaceful channels to get 6,000 black folks hired and through those tests? . . .

American flag "a rag!"

"Let me speak briefly on the insanity of that war in Viet Nam, and the insane country that you coming out into, the laws that we pass, and this flag sitting right here. We just got an insane law to say you can't burn an American flag. I say, What in the - - - - is the American flag but a - - - rag like all the other flags all over the world. I'm not interested in rags . . ."

"America is a cigarette machine to us. We didn't put forty cents in it to get something that was going to make us sick, we put 400 years of our lives in that machine, baby, to get something that was going to make us well, and we didn't get nothing, man . . . So in the form of Detroit, Watts and Chicago we kicked that machine . . . Now we gonna break this machine up in little, bitty pieces; that's what we say!"

No wonder our nation is on the brink of disaster!

SCHOOL TAKEOVER PLANNED

"Black Power" revolutionaries, who have been agitating American Negroes to unite in a revolution and overthrow the United States, confidently expect early success in one of their first revolutionary steps—the take-over by "Black Power" of all schools and colleges predominantly Negro. They expect in schools and colleges which are predominantly White to be able to lead substantial numbers of the White pupils and students into the revolutionary force being mobilized coast to coast.

The National Guardian, listed by Congressional committees as a Communist-front publication, has published an article outlining some of the plans for the predominantly Negro schools after being taken over by the "Black Power" forces, and before the final revolutionary strike. Here is what they say will happen in schools taken over by "Black Power."

Allegiance to black nationalism

"Our Black student enters a building adorned with pictures of great Black fighters such as Marcus Garvey, Malcom X, Muhammad Ali, etc. The walls of the corridors and the classrooms are covered with signs bearing such survival slogans as 'Learn or Burn,' 'Teach or Reach,' 'Instruct or Duck,' 'Unite or Perish,' 'Keep on Pushing,' etc. His school day begins in his home room with a pledge of allegiance to his own red, black and green flag. His pledge is a poem such as LeRoi Jones' 'We are Beautiful People.' (Jones is a Negro revolutionary.)

"After the morning exercises are over he goes to physical training where the first part of the period is devoted to target practice on the school shooting range. Following this he reports to a nearby classroom for instructions in weaponry, gun handling, and gun safety. All instructions in the self-defense and weaponry classes are conducted in Swahili and Yoruba . . . As our black student moves about the building, loud-speakers placed in the ceilings continuously bathe him with the quiet sounds of Malcolm X speaking, LeRoi Jones reading one of his poems. . ."

But the "Malcolm X Society," an organization of middle-aged revolutionaries headquartered in Detroit, scoffs at the gradualism represented in such long-range planning. They propose as a first step in takeover of America the immediate establishment of an all-black "Republic" in five Southern states. The states: Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina. Whites would be evicted.

Using the youth

Richard Henry, who calls himself "Imari," is described in an Esquire Magazine article as a "Black Power advocate who argues that the doctrine of 'one more chance, Honky' is outdated. His revolutionary plans," says the magazine "include a mass black migration to enclaves in the South, where with protection of Red Chinese submarines in the Gulf of Mexico, the fighting could begin in earnest. Doubters should be aware that Imari, a Detroit ghetto leader, admits there was advance planning in the (Detroit) riot." But even such elders in the "Black Power" revolution movement, count on the fiery militancy of youth, both black and white, to aid in achieving their aims.

We saw in the assault on the Pentagon last October the ability of the Communist apparatus to attract tens of thousands of college students into mass demonstration and then incite them into actual attack upon police and military authority.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 126th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

ORVAL W. ADAMS, EXEMPLARY AMERICAN

HON. SHERMAN P. LLOYD

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, Salt Lake City, the State of Utah, and the entire country which he loved have lost a great citizen in the passing last week of Orval W. Adams, retired president of Zions First National Bank and former president of the American Bankers Association. Mr. Adams lived 84 years of usefulness and in the spreading of cheer and encouragement wherever he walked. Salt Lake City newspapers gave eloquent testimony to the good which was contributed by this man's life and it is appropriate that these editorial testimonials be reprinted on these pages because Orval Adams devoted himself to good government and vitally involved himself in the challenges of his country.

The editorials follow:

[From the Deseret News, May 20, 1968]

ORVAL W. ADAMS

In the banking and business world, Orval Adams was known and universally respected for his unceasing crusade for sound money and sound government. Indeed, to his logical banker's mind, the two were inseparable—you can't have one without the other.

His voice was widely heard in this world of finance and business. It was heard across the country when, in 1937, he was president of the American Bankers Association. In the years since, on the many important boards he served and in other forums, it was seldom stilled until his death last week. America is a better place because of that voice of conscience.

But Orval Adams inhabited a broader world than that. His was also the world of civic service. He was an indefatigable worker for his community. No one was more effective in raising funds for worthwhile projects—probably because no one was more personally generous.

But with all this, the world he loved best was that of family and friends. He was the best of neighbors. His words of encouragement and support blessed so many lives. Of all the tributes paid at the time of his passing, perhaps none was more meaningful than the brief tears shed by little children in his neighborhood because in the death of this 84-year-old man they felt they had lost a close friend.

Orval Adams loved this city and its people. He refused to be shut away from them. In recent months, after age and illness had partially incapacitated him, it was touching to see him shuffling along the streets of his beloved downtown Salt Lake City and to be greeted with the warmth and affection that always radiated from the man.

To his gracious widow and six stalwart sons, the Deseret News extends its condolences in his passing and its gratitude for more than a half-century of leadership and friendship.

[From the Salt Lake Tribune, May 20, 1968]

ORVAL W. ADAM'S LIFE A JOURNAL OF BANKING

In his day-to-day business a banker gets to know many kinds of people. But not many people get to know him. Orval W. Adams was a popular exception who became a personal landmark in downtown Salt Lake City.

Even those unacquainted with the bushy-browed former president of the American Bankers' Association spoke to him because he said "hello" first.

Mr. Adams, whose career was a journal

of intermountain banking's growth and reliability, died Saturday at 84. But his legacy is a living one and it reaches into teller's cage and executive suite alike in banks up and down the mountain country and beyond.

Sixty-four years of service to his profession did not preclude like service to the community that shared his success. He was active in athletics in his earlier years and throughout his life took part in civic enterprises. He was also a force in Republican circles and battled over the years what he saw as the opposition party's "economic illiteracy."

At a banquet honoring him upon his retirement as president of Zions First National Bank, Mr. Adams summed up his financial and political creed: "The responsibility of every American," he reminded his well-wishers, "is to maintain fiscal integrity." Then he added: "Let us from the past take courage and stand for principle rather than political expediency; for substance rather than form in our struggle for economic enlightenment."

Mr. Adams lived those words as well as he spoke them.

MARKETING INFORMATION SERVICES

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the marketing of agricultural products is a complicated process. It is a very remarkable process, when you consider that thousands of tons of all kinds of foods and other agricultural products are moved across the country every day from widely scattered producing areas to the cities and towns in every State.

One important part of this remarkable marketing process is the Federal-State Market News Service. Market news—information on the prices, supplies, and market conditions for products in producing areas, and on prices paid and supplies available in wholesale receiving markets—helps producers to make more intelligent marketing decisions, gets agricultural products to where they are needed, and increases efficiency throughout the channels of distribution.

The Federal-State Market News Service has provided nationwide reports on supplies, prices, and market conditions for most agricultural products for over 50 years. But one important agricultural commodity thus far has not been included in this service—cut flowers.

You can find flower shops in every city and practically every small town, but the size and value of the floriculture industry as a whole is surprising. Cut flower production at shipping point has an annual value equal to that of the U.S. rice or orange crops—and it is one-third larger than that of the apple or peanut crops. Sales of floriculture products by the country's 22,000 retail florists are estimated to be $1 billion annually.

The cut flower industry recently expressed concern about the lack of nationwide market information for their products. Last year they asked the Consumer and Marketing Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which operates the Federal-State Market News Service in cooperation with State agencies, to make a feasibility survey of a market news service on cut flowers. Members of the industry paid for the survey.

The survey showed a market news service for cut flowers was feasible, so the industry then requested, and provided funds for, a pilot market news project, operating in one area.

The Fruit and Vegetable Market News Service has been operating this pilot market news project from San Francisco since December, and I think I can say it has been a distinct success. They report daily prices and market conditions of roses, carnations, standard chrysanthemums, and pompons sold by producers and shippers in the central coastal countries of California. This area was selected for the pilot project because it grows four of the five major crops of the industry. The fifth major crop is gladioli. This production area sales information is of particular interest to producers, shippers, wholesalers, and retailers throughout the country. I can give you an indication of that interest by saying that requests for the report, which is published three times a week, have come from every State in the Union except one. The information is available daily through the nationwide leased-wire system which connects all market news offices. A wholesaler or shipper anywhere in the country can telephone the nearest fruit and vegetable market news office and get the day's information as soon as it is available.

The pilot project also reports sales on the San Francisco wholesale market to local and nearby retailers. These reports cover the five major crops, plus all other types of flowers shipped in from Hawaii, Florida, other parts of the country, and from foreign countries. Firms in foreign countries, incidentally, have also shown wide interest in the market news report. The Market News Service has received requests from firms in Finland, Greece, Australia, and 20 or more other countries.

Why is this service so valuable? Prices of perishable commodities, such as cut flowers, are influenced to a great extent by supply and demand. For the first time, a grower can look at an unbiased Government report to see if he is receiving as much for his product as the buyers will pay. Shippers can decide whether the trading activity reported by market news will justify asking for higher prices or if a reduction would stimulate buyer's interest. Wholesalers can decide which commodities will be most profitable to handle and can buy accordingly. Retailers can plan their promotional efforts based on reports of which commodities are plentiful. In the end, consumers will benefit from the greater variety of offerings and better values which result from more efficient marketing. A byproduct of market reports is the statistical data which accumulates and is available for study by researchers who can assist the entire industry in long-range planning. This information is not available from any other source.

The pilot project is scheduled to end in June. It has served its purpose. It has shown that market news is of tremendous value to the floriculture industry. And the Fruit and Vegetable Market News Service is to be congratulated for developing methods of reporting sales and prices of cut flowers which have proven so useful to the industry.

But I hope we do not let it stop there. I hope it will be possible to continue this market news service on cut flowers as a permanent part of the Federal-State Market News Service. The floriculture industry has done a good deal to demonstrate its support and need for this service. Now perhaps it can join with other major agricultural industries in the benefits of this Federal-State program established to help agricultural industries in the marketing of their products.

CAPT. KIMBALL J. SCRIBNER

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I called the attention of my colleagues to a recently published book by Capt. Kimball J. Scribner, a pilot for Pan American World Airways.

Captain Scribner's book, "Your Future as a Pilot," brings to bear his many years of experience with Pan American.

This weekend I came across a review of Captain Scribner's book in the Clipper, an aviation trade publication. Because this review so clearly expresses my high regard for "Your Future as a Pilot," and, principally, in recognition of the growing importance of aviation in this country and the partial answer provided by Captain Scribner, I wish to include in the RECORD a copy of that review:

CAPTAIN'S BOOK TOUTS AVIATION FOR A CAREER

"Good evening ladies and gentlemen, this is Captain Scribner speaking to you from the cockpit," begins a book that many a young man will find valuable if he is looking for a career that combines travel, excitement, good income and a place on the frontiers of technology.

The book is "Your Future as a Pilot," by Pan Am Captain Kimball J. Scribner. It could be the most important birthday or high school graduation present a young man—or girl—ever received.

Written in a conversational style that is as engaging as it is precise, Captain Scribner describes the types of aviation careers open to all, from crop-dusting to air taxis to piloting a jet airliner. Captain Scribner also enumerates the qualifications necessary for the various careers and, equally important, tells what the jobs pay.

He does not restrict himself to "cockpit careers," but also explains what jobs exist on the ground in aviation. Nor are females ignored. If a girl is thinking about becoming a stewardess, here is a good book for her to begin with before asking the airline of her choice more specific questions.

Captain Scribner, who has been flying since he was 16, even provides advice about selling airplanes and operating an airfield. He hasn't missed a facet of the flying business—either personally or in his book.

LIFE TENURE ON SUPREME COURT

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress have been asked by their constituents on many occasions, "What can be done to change the 'life tenure' of members of the U.S. Supreme Court?"

David Lawrence, writing in the U.S. News & World Report, has this to say about " 'Good Behavior' of Judges—Who Defines It?" This fine editorial offers plausible suggestions—that the members of the Court be named for a period of years and that the U.S. Senate maintain "continuing jurisdiction" over the members of the Court. The article follows:

"GOOD BEHAVIOR" OF JUDGES—WHO DEFINES IT?

(By David Lawrence)

Does the constitution of the United States really provide for the life tenure of Justices of the Supreme Court? The words "life tenure" do not appear anywhere in the Constitution.

The prevailing impression, however, is that, once appointed to the bench, a judge can be removed only by impeachment. But the Constitution says that the impeachment power can be invoked solely in the case of "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

Supposing, therefore, that no such crime or misdemeanor is committed and that in all sincerity the Supreme Court Justices render judgments which nevertheless have the effect of nullifying important provisions of the Constitution, what steps then are available to the President or to the Congress to see that the Constitution is not destroyed by decrees of the judiciary?

Where is the protection against arbitrary and capricious action by the judges? Five Justices of the Supreme Court, constituting a majority of the nine, are able to establish themselves as an oligarchy and rule the United States. How does our famous system of "checks and balances," inherent in the Constitution, deal with such a contingency?

The Constitution says:

"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.

"The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."

Since Supreme Court Justices may hold office only "during good behavior" and since obviously the Court itself cannot be the judge of its own "behavior," it follows logically that the President and the Senate, acting together, have the constitutional power to determine just how "good behavior" shall be defined.

The Constitution does not use the word "confirmation" but says that "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," the President "shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law."

Since the Senate can give "consent," it can withdraw "consent," as Alexander Hamilton once argued in *The Federalist*. There is nothing in the Constitution which says that the Senate must acquiesce in the retention of any judge who does not conform to the standards which may be set up to define the term "good behavior."

Congress could require by statute that every Justice come before the Senate periodically—perhaps every six years—for "reconfirmation." There is no hint in the Constitution that confirmation once given is an irrevocable action. Reconfirmation occurs regularly now on the reappointment of various administrative officers of the United States, and in the case of judges of the Court of Tax Appeals and members of quasi-judicial bodies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Communications Commission. In all these instances, the term of office is definitely fixed by Congress.

Where the tenure is not fixed, however, as in the case of "ambassadors and public ministers," the process of reconfirmation becomes merely a method of re-examination looking toward the termination or extension of the period of service.

The phrase "good behavior" in the Constitution indicates a continuing jurisdiction by the President and the Senate over the tenure of the judges.

The Supreme Court, on its part, has recently proclaimed a "continuing jurisdiction" over the States and all their schools and over all citizens who may do or say anything in connection with court orders issued in segregation cases. This "continuing jurisdiction" is accomplished through injunctions issued by the judges which may not be terminated for decades to come.

There is no reason, therefore, why the Senate of the United States on its part may not maintain a "continuing jurisdiction" and a process of observation to determine whether the Supreme Court Justices are confining themselves to those judicial functions specifically granted to them by the Constitution or by Congress.

Congress can clarify the whole problem in a law—indeed, there would appear to be no need for a constitutional amendment—which would provide a suitable method of establishing whether the official conduct of such Justices still complies with the meaning of the words "good behavior." Such a law should provide that a two-thirds vote be required for an adverse judgment—withdrawal of consent by the Senate.

The President, because he is a part of the appointive power, should be given by law the authority to consent or refuse to consent to the Senate's judgment.

This would give both the executive and the legislative branches an opportunity to share in the responsibility for whatever action is taken. The American people would be able to fix responsibility, too. They could deal at the polls every two years with a mistaken Congress and every four years with a mistaken Executive.

The hearings in the Senate in each instance relative to the determination of whether "good behavior" has been achieved or disregarded should be based on the specifications set forth in such laws as Congress may pass concerning "appellate jurisdiction." For the Constitution does give Congress the right to say what cases may be appealed to the high court and to define what authority the Supreme Court shall have in particular cases. This power is derived from the Constitution, which says:

"In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make."

Certainly if a Justice has not lived up to the rules set forth by Congress when it defines by law the "appellate jurisdiction" of the Supreme Court, or if he refuses to appear before the Senate for reconfirmation, he would not be fulfilling the meaning of the term "good behavior" as defined by Congress, and his term could thereupon be ended. If he still disobeyed, he could be impeached and removed for violating a specific law.

It is to be noted that to Congress is given the power of "regulation" of the Supreme Court's jurisdiction.

This is the main safeguard which the American people possess as against what a member of the Supreme Court itself once described as a power "inherently oligarchic." Thomas Jefferson all his life regarded the Supreme Court as "an irresponsible body" and "independent of the nation itself."

It was never intended by the Founding Fathers that the American people should be governed by five men, sitting as a majority of the Supreme Court, who could by judicial order frustrate the FBI, release confessed rapists, and prevent law-enforcement officers in federal, State and city governments from nipping treason in the bud or stopping corruption before plots of this kind can be consummated and grave damage done to the nation.

One of the laws which Congress clearly has the power to make relates to the conduct of its own proceedings, including investigations. Congress has the right to say by statute that the Supreme Court shall not be permitted to pass on cases which involve in any way a change in the rules of the Senate or the House. This must be respected by the Supreme Court because the Constitution explicitly says:

"Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member."

The Supreme Court in a recent decision conceded that a legislative "investigation is part of lawmaking." Plainly, therefore, there is no right bestowed on the Supreme Court to tell Congress what rules it may or may not make for the conduct of its own investigations which are admittedly part of those proceedings.

But the Court nevertheless undertook to tell the Congress that whatever "rules of its proceedings" it might adopt, these are subject to further review by the Supreme Court of the United States. This is a plain violation of the Constitution.

Can it be persuasively argued that the framers of the Constitution ever intended to leave the President and the Congress helpless to carry out their constitutional functions in the face of such deliberate interference by the judiciary? Can it be said that no means of restraint at all was provided in the Constitution against such arbitrariness on the part of members of the Supreme Court who could indefinitely constitute a majority and issue decisions with all the force of law?

The obvious answer is that Congress, as the body which is representative of all the people, was given such power. It is up to Congress, therefore, to exercise it promptly by defining "good behavior" and at the same time limiting the "appellate jurisdiction" of the Supreme Court.

This, to be sure, is the system of "checks and balances" which the American people have written into their Constitution. It is time for the American people, through their elected representatives, to stop judicial usurpation and to prevent the growth of judicial despotism.

It is time to bring well-meaning but misguided justices to a realization that they cannot and must not expect to function in contempt of the Constitution itself and still remain in office.

WASHINGTON SICK FROM RIOT'S AFTERMATH

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the closing paragraph of an interesting editorial over WCYB–TV on May 6, 1968, points out strongly that Washington is sick from the riot's aftermath.

The closing paragraph sums up the situation as follows:

> Our National Capital should be a model of law and order, but Washington, D.C., is sick from an ever-mounting crime situation; sick from the effects of demonstrations and rioting which have made gangs of little Castros thumbing their noses at authority and law enforcement.

The editorial follows:

WASHINGTON SICK FROM RIOT'S AFTERMATH

(WCYB–TV editorial)

> For many, many months before the April rioting began, our National Capital city of Washington had an extremely high crime rate. Street muggings, assaults, rapes, robberies, were common.
>
> In the wake of April's rioting the crime situation has worsened.
>
> Further aggravating the picture is the proposed march of the poor on the Capital city, with its attendant ingredients for explosive disorder.
>
> The Washington Post newspaper Sunday gave a sobering story of the city's condition; it called on the Government to make it absolutely clear that violence will not be tolerated.
>
> The Post says: "The District of Columbia is now being plagued with the aftermath of the recent riot which made a bad crime situation worse. Stories coming out of the shattered areas paint a discouraging picture.
>
> "More than 50 incendiary fires have been reported; windows, many of them just-installed replacements, are being broken every night. Merchants tell of incidents in which their stores have been vandalized by gangs. Others say they have been threatened. Those merchants who say they are not bothered usually go on to explain that this is because everyone knows they are heavily armed and are ready to shoot intruders.
>
> "The city has a serious problem.
>
> "Some of the problem undoubtedly arises as a carryover from the riot. The policy of restraint adopted by the police when they were outnumbered at the outset of last month's rioting was sound.
>
> "But it was also certain to produce bad side effects. One is reflected in the fear of merchants that if their property went unprotected during the early stages of the riot, it will still be unprotected.
>
> "Another and more serious effect seems to be an attitude among some young toughs is that if they got away with looting and burning under riot conditions, they ought to be able to get away with it now.
>
> "Respect for law and for property if once diminished, is sometimes hard to re-establish. But it must be re-established. Disrespect for the law must now be squelched vigorously and promptly.
>
> "The burden of stopping this violence rests on the whole community, not on the police alone, for it was on behalf of the whole community that the police made the choice that life was more valuable than property during the riot.
>
> "Above all, the situation requires that the Government make it absolutely clear that this violence will not to tolerated. If the augmented patrols now being put into operation cannot do the job, other steps will have to be taken to strengthen the forces of law and order." End quotation.
>
> Our National Capital should be a model of law and order, but Washington, D.C., is sick from an ever-mounting crime situation; sick from the effects of demonstrations and rioting which have made gangs of little *Castros* thumbing their noses at authority and law enforcement.

TWELFTH DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the people of the 12th District of Massachusetts have given an enthusiastic response to a poll on the vital issues we are currently facing at home and abroad. We have just completed tabulating the answers to my questionnaire from some 10,000 citizens of the communities I have the privilege to represent.

This response is to me a reminder of the fact that we do indeed have government by the people. While in the final analysis, we all recognize that as elected Representatives of the people we must make the final decisions on how to vote on the various measures brought before us, questionnaires are undoubtedly one of the most valuable channels of direct communication between the Representative and the people.

The opinions of my constituents on all 12 issues are contained in the complete report attached below.

I urge other Members of Congress to adopt this practice in order to better communicate with the people they serve.

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE TO CITIZENS OF THE 12TH DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

				Yes	No	Unknown
1. Do you approve of the President's conduct of the Vietnam War?				29.1	54.5	8.7
	(a)	(b)	(c)			
2. In North Vietnam, do you favor (a) intensified U.S. air attacks; (b) a bombing halt; or (c) maintaining air attacks at the present level?	37.1	35.8	17.1			
3. Should the United States continue to trade with nations that are aiding North Vietnam?				17.3	68.4	6.8
4. Do you believe the American people are receiving sufficient information from the Government on vital foreign and domestic issues to allow them to vote intelligently?				21.1	64.0	7.4
5. Do you support the administration's proposed increase in taxes?				35.6	50.2	6.8
6. Do you believe that Federal spending on domestic programs should be reduced?				48.9	38.6	4.8
7. Should industries which install equipment to reduce air and water pollution be granted tax credits by the Federal Government to offset part of the expense involved?				59.8	26.7	5.7
8. Do you favor returning a percentage of the tax money collected by the Federal Government to State and local governments to be used as they see fit?				49.9	32.5	9.7
9. Do you favor Federal legislation to celebrate Memorial Day, George Washington's Birthday, and Veteran's Day on Monday each year?				50.0	39.6	3.5
10. Do you favor my Marine Sanctuaries Act, which would prohibit drilling or exploring for oil in certain fishing and recreation zones of our seas?				80.3	7.0	5.5
11. Do you approve making Plymouth Rock (and 10 or 15 adjacent acres) into a national memorial park?				64.4	19.4	8.7
12. Do you support the administration's proposal to tax travel overseas?				38.1	50.2	4.5

DISCRIMINATION AT RESURRECTION CITY

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I was today moved by reports from Resurrection City in which Mexican-Americans and Indians from the Southwest, including my own constituents, charged that they had been discriminated against by black power elements dominating Resurrection City.

I have asked the Attorney General of the United States to undertake an immediate investigation to determine whether the civil rights of Mexican-Americans, Indians, and Appalachian whites are being violated by the authorities of Resurrection City and the organizers of the so-called Poor People's March.

I refer, Mr. Speaker, to a statement to press association reporters today by Mr. Reies Tijerina of Los Angeles who is the leader of 350 Indians and Mexican-Americans who came here from the Southwest to participate in the demonstration. He stated that his group will not leave their temporary shelter at a school in Southwest Washington and move into Resurrection City "until we have definite assurances that black people will treat us fairly and will pay as much attention to our grievances as to their own."

The spokesman for the minorities asserted that black people were discriminating against other groups in the demonstration and that Mexican-Americans, Indians, and poor whites were not being given a voice in the campaign strategy.

Mr. Tijerina revealed that poor whites from Appalachia now in Resurrection City are in trouble and have indicated a desire to move out because they are "tired of being abused, pushed around, humiliated, and discriminated against by the black people." He said a group of 100 Indians had similar sentiments.

The spokesman also revealed that Mexican-Americans and Indians had been promised in California by Rev. Ralph Abernathy's organization that they would be "equal partners" in the demonstration.

However, upon arriving in Washington the black militants seemed to have taken over here, and nobody else gets a chance to talk, Tijerina told the press.

It appears, Mr. Speaker, that this has become a shocking travesty on equal rights. Those who are crying loudest for equality are denying equality to others. It appears that our Indian and Mexican-Americans may have to demonstrate separately because of the bigotry to which they have been subjected.

I am fearful for the physical safety of the Appalachian whites, Indians, and Mexican-American minorities who are caught up in this demonstration and have been brought here penniless and totally dependent upon the black leadership that is now charged with discrimi-

nating against others just as badly as the so-called racists they denounce.

I feel that the Department of Justice must act immediately under the provisions of the Civil Rights Act and other laws to assure the safety and rights of the minority groups that have been subjected to this treatment by the hypocritical and arrogant mayor and city manager of Resurrection City.

A LETTER OF INTEREST

HON. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, in recent months a great deal of criticism has been leveled at our Nation's college students. Every day we pick up a newspaper to read of rebellion here and rebellion there.

It is unfortunate that there is very little said about the responsibility of this current college-aged generation. A few weeks ago I had the pleasure of talking with a young lady from my congressional district, now a student at Oberlin College.

An aware young lady, involved in our national problems, she and her fellow students came to Washington to demonstrate their concern over the plight facing many of our citizens. Our talk was a most productive one. I was reinforced in my view that the majority of our young people in college are intelligent, enlightened, and involved citizens, not the destructive type we are often led to believe have taken over our campuses.

I think my colleagues might be interested to hear of this young lady's very well stated views on the urban and rural plights facing the United States. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I enter her short letter into the RECORD:

OBERLIN COLLEGE,
Oberlin, Ohio, May 14, 1968.

Hon. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. VIGORITO: Talking with you last Thursday in your Washington office was a very great privilege for me. I would like to take this opportunity to thank you once again for your interest in me and in the Oberlin expression of support for the Poor People's Campaign.

I am aware of and grateful for your fine voting record in matters of the poor and the underprivileged in our country. I know that you share my concern for the crisis in our cities. I hope that you and your colleagues in Congress will view the Poor People's Campaign with compassion as an exercise of the "right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition their government." This Campaign, I am sure, is a symbol of hope for those minorities who have all but lost their faith in the democratic process for any alleviation of their distress. I fear for my country if this symbol meets dogmatic inaction, or if the requests of those who march nonviolently meet deaf ears.

If you would like more information about our programs of research and action in Oberlin, please let me know.

Thank you again for your time and your interest.

Sincerely yours,

SUSAN REESE.

SOCIAL SECURITY SHOULD PROVIDE WORKING WIVES WITH THEIR PROPORTIONATE BENEFITS

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, with all the concern of equality of benefits for women, I think it is appropriate for the Congress to give serious consideration to an amendment of the social security law which would provide wives that work with the opportunity to receive proportionate benefits for the amounts that they have contributed to the fund.

This bill would amend the present law and thus provide the payment of benefits to a married couple based on their combined earnings record where that method of computation would produce a higher combined benefit.

The inequity in the present law now provides that when a working wife and her husband retire, she may either have approximately half of his social security pension, as his wife, or her own pension as a worker, whichever is greatest. But she always forfeits one to take the other in actual practice.

I am hopeful that the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS], will give due consideration and evaluation of this proposal. In addition, my colleagues of the House should seriously join in this effort to correct this inequity from continuing and endeavor to advocate this body to take action on this legislation.

WYATT POLL DRAWS RESULTS

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1968

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, my office has just completed the tabulation of returns from my 1968 congressional questionnaire. This poll, which I send annually to residents of Oregon's First Congressional District, covers many of the important issues facing this body.

The questionnaire, itself, was distributed in February, and the tabulation includes returns as late as last week. Therefore, the answers given show the feelings of a cross-section of my constituency over this period of time.

I received the fantastic total of 25,165 individual replies to my survey. This is almost a 25-percent increase over the number I received back last year. The critical and immediate importance of some of these issues may have led to the overwhelming number of responses.

Here then, for the inspection of my colleagues, are the results of my 1968 congressional questionnaire.

Percentage figures may not total exactly 100 percent, as they were rounded off to the nearest 10th:

[In percent]

	Yes	No	No opinion
1. The war in Vietnam:			
a. Should the United States withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Vietnam?	26.3	65.7	8.0
b. Should the United States take the military steps necessary to close Haiphong and the other ports of entry in North Vietnam?	55.6	24.6	19.7
c. Should we continue to increase the commitment of American ground troops to Vietnam?	26.8	56.5	16.8
d. Do you favor the taking of whatever military actions are deemed necessary to force North Vietnam to the conference table?	57.1	28.0	15.0
e. Should the United States cease, unconditionally, its bombing attacks on North Vietnam?	23.8	63.6	12.5
2. Foreign aid:			
a. Should we continue to extend military assistance to other countries?	34.2	53.8	12.0
b. Should we continue to extend economic assistance to other countries?	52.8	36.6	10.6
3. Do you favor the current administration policy of promoting trade with the Soviet Union and other Communist-bloc countries in Eastern Europe?	49.5	38.9	11.6
4. The Federal budget:			
a. Do you believe that, except in times of grave crisis, the budget ought to be balanced each year?	83.3	10.4	6.2
b. In light of the increased expenditures made necessary by the war in Vietnam, do you think that the funds for various Great Society programs should be cut back?	70.3	23.0	6.7
5. Tax increase:			
a. Do you favor the President's proposal of a temporary increase (a 10 percent surcharge) in the Federal income tax?	28.3	65.0	6.7
b. Do you think that the President should be required to schedule a general reduction of Federal spending as a precondition to the enactment of a tax increase (surcharge)?	78.2	10.7	11.2
6. Do you favor the adoption of a plan to provide, either in whole or in major part, for the public financing of presidential compaigns?	20.4	69.0	10.6
7. Should taxpayers be allowed an income tax deduction (of, say, up to $100 a year) for political campaign contributions?	34.3	55.4	10.3
8. Do you favor the lowering of the voting age to 18?	32.1	63.2	4.7
9. Should Congress propose a constitutional amendment to grant to the District of Columbia one or more seats in the House of Representatives?	47.5	25.8	26.7
10. Do you favor the requirement (added by Congress at the close of the last session) that all persons receiving assistance under the aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) program, except for children and the infirm, must participate in a work-training program as a condition for receiving such aid?	83.0	9.2	7.8
11. Do you favor the continuation of the Federal highway beautification program (including such matters as billboard and junkyard control and landscaping efforts)?	64.5	26.7	8.9
12. Do you favor the President's proposal to improve the U.S. balance-of-payments position by imposing restrictions on the travel of American tourists outside the Western Hemisphere?	32.3	58.7	9.0
13. Should Congress enact a statute designed to make juries in Southern States more representative of the local population?	51.4	26.5	22.1
14. Should Congress propose a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary prayer in the public schools?	62.4	25.6	12.0

	Good	Fair	Poor	No opinion
15. How do you rate the present administration's performance?	8.3	33.4	54.1	4.3

NEW YORK TIMES STARTS BIG LIE TECHNIQUE IN ROCKEFELLER PUSH

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, many of us have been wondering when the New York Times would be sufficiently scared to start its smear campaign against conservative Republicans. It started, as anticipated, a little early since their candidate, Governor Rockefeller is not faring very well out in public. Just as Rockefeller himself launched a vicious tirade against conservatives in 1963 and 1964, the New York Times started the ball rolling for the hate syndrome in its editorial "The GOP's Missing Men."

From time to time I have pointed out the duplicity of the Times in its characterization of liberals and conservatives. It rarely refers to a "leftist" or a "leftwinger," but throws the "radical right" and "rightwing" tags around like it was promoting a bargain-basement sale at Macy's. In this particular editorial it seemed to lump everyone who is against Rockefeller—and that would be most of the responsible Republicans, Mr. Speaker, into this nebulous "rightwing" camp.

They used the following in describing Mr. Rockefeller's opposition: "the rightwingers," "ferocity of the rightwing opposition," "party's radical right," and "extreme conservatives." That is their "All the News Fit To Tint" at its very worst. Republicans should be forewarned of this hate and smear campaign.

Of course, in the lexicon of New York Timesese, anyone more conservative than Governor Rockefeller is probably a rightwinger and liberals, at worst, are moderates.

If we use their terminology, Governor Rockefeller is honestly the furthest to the left of any Republican presidential candidate so that would certainly make him the candidate of the "leftwingers." Why do they not at least show enough fairness to put this in perspective. If they label conservatives as rightwingers, why not put the designation of leftwingers on their philosophical counterparts? Probably too honest for them to consider.

Conservatives remember that Governor Rockefeller unjustifiably threw these same scare and smear words at conservative Republicans following the Young Republican National Convention in 1963. His creditability has been doubted by many conservatives, including myself, ever since that time.

He used the terminology of "radical right," "subversion from the radical right," "radical, well-financed, and highly disciplined minority," "vociferous and well-drilled extremist elements boring within the party," and so forth.

He falsely charged that the Young Republican convention was dominated, to use his own words, "by extremists groups, carefully organized, well financed and operating through the tactics of ruthless, roughshod intimidation. These are the tactics of totalitarianism."

He went on to irresponsibly say:

> I am now convinced that, unless the vast majority of Republicans who subscribe to these principles, are aroused from present inaction—whether this inaction stems from complacency, from fear or from a fantastically shortsighted opportunism—the Republican Party is in real danger of subversion by a radical, well-financed and highly disciplined minority.

He refused to name one person or cite one example. This is the heart of the big lie technique. You do not worry about facts—you make the charge often enough so gullible people will tend to believe it because they have heard it. He helped give the Democrats their battle cry in the 1964 election by these flagrant misrepresentations. On a Meet the Press program later he was pinned down but in characteristic abandon for the truth, shrugged off the question. Here is the record of the exchange on this subject:

> Mr. SPIVAK. Governor, when you charge that the Republican Party was in "real danger of subversion by a radical, well-financed and highly disciplined minority," can you tell us who was leading and who was financing that disciplined minority?
>
> Governor ROCKEFELLER. No, it is very hard and that is one of the problems.
>
> Mr. SPIVAK. Now Senator GOLDWATER thinks your statement was aimed at him. Was it?
>
> Governor ROCKEFELLER. No, it was not, but Senator GOLDWATER's name is used by anonymous personalities who are putting up large sums of money and by an organization—different organizations who are trying to penetrate the party standing for these principles.

Now, the New York Times is starting down the same road again. We do not expect them to change. We cannot even expect Governor Rockefeller to change. But we should at least be aware of their tactics of discord and smear. Name names and cite groups or stop throwing epithets. The mainstream of Republican thinking can figure out the New York Times' part in the Rockefeller push. They should fool no one.

Mr. Speaker, I include the New York Times article at this point. The Rockefeller statement of 1963 is included herewith as a reminder:

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER, JULY 14, 1963

Over the past months, many leaders of the Republican Party, myself included, have been working to put the party in a position to face the challenge of the 1964 election as a strong and united fighting force.

A minority party must be united for principle to provide the effective opposition and constructive alternatives that our country sorely needs. It must be united for principle and reach beyond its own boundaries to win. It must be united for principle to command broad support.

The paralysis of government that we are witnessing today in Washington stems from the fact that the Democratic Party is not united for principle, but in effect is two parties of opportunism proceeding in opposite directions.

In making this effort toward unity for principle, it was my conviction that the activities of the radical right, while deeply disturbing in many ways, would represent an inconsequential influence on the Republican Party.

It was my conviction that despite differences in emphasis among the party's responsible elements, there was an overwhelming consensus within the party on the fundamental articles of Republican faith.

In broadest terms, these articles of faith are:

1. Unswerving dedication to the preservation of our own freedom and the extension of freedom throughout the world through a firm, resolute, and positive foreign policy.
2. Equality of opportunity for a better life for all Americans regardless of economic status, geographic location, race, creed, color, or national origin.
3. Faith in our Federal system of government as the best assurance of freedom and equal opportunity and as the only hope of keeping democratic government close to the people and responsive to their will.
4. Faith in the private enterprise system as the dynamic, creative base for social progress in a free society and of freedom of individual initiative without which man cannot be really free or equal.
5. Faith in the fundamental importance of fiscal integrity in government as the indispensable political base for economic growth and the vitally needed expansion of job opportunities.
6. Faith in our heritage of freedom of speech and of information and in the right and need of the people to know all the facts on the issues confronting them as essential to the preservation of a free society.

While as a party and as a people, we have been keenly aware of the grave threat to these principles posed by international communism, I have now come to the conclusion that many of us have been taking too lightly the growing danger to these very same principles through subversion from the radical right.

I am now convinced that, unless the vast majority of Republicans who subscribe to these principles, are aroused from present inaction—whether this inaction stems from complacency, from fear or from a fantastically shortsighted opportunism—the Republican Party is in real danger of subversion by a radical, well-financed and highly disciplined minority.

For it has now become crystal clear that the vociferous and well-drilled extremist elements boring within the party utterly reject these fundamental principles of our heritage. They are, in fact, embarked on a determined and ruthless effort to take over the party, its platform and its candidates on their own terms—terms that are wholly alien to the sound and honest conservatism that has firmly based the Republican Party in the best of a century's traditions, wholly alien to the sound and honest Republican liberalism that has kept the party abreast of human needs in a changing world, wholly alien to the broad middle course that accommodates the mainstream of Republican principle.

This cannot be allowed to happen. The continuing commitment of the Republican Party to its historic principles, including its fundamental dedication to equality of opportunity for all men, cannot and must not be betrayed. No temptation of political gain through cynical expediency can be permitted to becloud our commitment to principle and purpose.

No one could fail to be deeply disturbed by the proceedings at the recent Young Republican National Convention in San Francisco. I am completely confident that the overwhelming majority of Young Republicans of this country respond today, as they always have, to the idealism of the party's tradition. I am confident that they want it to continue to be a positive and responsible party serving the best interests of all the people.

But every objective observer at San Francisco has reported that the proceedings there were dominated by extremist groups, carefully organized, well financed and operating through the tactics of ruthless, roughshod intimidation. These are the tactics of totalitarianism.

Unfortunately, this cannot be brushed off as irresponsibility. For youth is responsible.

The leaders of the Birchers and others of the radical right lunatic fringe—every bit as dangerous to American principles and American institutions as the radical left—who successfully engineered this disgraceful subversion of a great and responsible auxiliary of the Republican Party are the same people who are now moving to subvert the Republican Party itself. They claim initial success and predict ultimate victory for their efforts.

These people have no program for the Republican Party or the American people except distrust, disunity and the ultimate destruction of the confidence of the people in themselves. They are purveyors of hate and distrust in a time when, as never before, the need of the world is for love and understanding.

They have no concern with and offer no solution for the problems of chronic unemployment, of education and training, of housing, of racial injustice and strife, of all the other problems which must have answers if our democratic ideals are to be translated into loving reality.

And in the political sphere, they offer something equally sinister.

Completely incredible as it is to me, it is now being seriously proposed to the Republican Party that as a strategy for victory in 1964, that it write off the Negro and other minority groups, it deliberately write off the great industrial States of the North (representing nearly 50 percent of the country's population), that it write off the big cities, and that it direct its appeal primarily to the electoral votes of the South, plus the West and a scattering of other States.

The transparent purpose behind this plan is to erect political power on the outlawed and immoral base of segregation and to transform the Republican Party from a national party of all the people to a sectional party for some of the people.

No such plan ever has, or ever will succeed. It cannot stand the light of day. It will be rejected out of hand by the Republican Party. It will be rejected by the Nation. It will be rejected by the South.

The South has long pointed out that the racial problem is not a sectional problem, but a national problem. I know that there is southern leadership that wants to participate in a national solution.

A program based on racism or sectionalism would in and of itself not only defeat the Republican Party in 1964, but would destroy it altogether.

The Republican Party is the party of Lincoln. It was founded to make men free and equal in opportunity. It is the party of all men, the only truly national party in America. For that party to turn its back on its heritage and its birthright would be an act of political immorality rarely equaled in human history.

No cloak of so-called States' rights can conceal the real purpose behind this strategy. The political rights of States are clear within the Federal system and their realization depends importantly upon the exercise of States' responsibilities within that system. But a century ago, a great war decided for all time that in the area of human dignity, States' rights must forever yield to the rights of the individual. And so in this area, the invocation of States' rights can only be regarded as a pretext.

For the Republican Party, political success cannot be divorced from political morality and the fact is that the party's dedication to the equality of all men is still, and must more than ever before, be its guide to leadership and to victory.

Far from abandoning this dedication, the whole burden of the distinguished 1961 report by Chairman Bliss, of Ohio, was that both the party's greatest challenge and its brightest opportunity lay in its willingness to deal with the great urban problems confronting our Nation, and the people of the cities, especially the minority groups.

The path to victory is not in running away from the people of this country. The path to victory is in seeking out the people in the areas where they live, in accepting the responsibilities of leadership in the solution of their problems and demonstrating to them, as the Republican Party has in many areas, that in it is to be found the will, the sincerity, the competence, and the drive to make this a better land for all its people.

The issue that confronts the Republican Party today is the gravest in its history.

I have no doubt whatever that responsibility, moderation, and sound progress continue to be the spiritual allegiance of the overwhelming majority of the Republicans of this country.

But a complacent majority, or a fearful one, or a majority misled to betrayal of its principles in pursuit of political fantasies will be as surely subverted by militant extremism as such majorities always have been throughout all history.

No Republicans can stand by idly in the face of this threat. No Republican can stand aloof from issue that it presents. One must be either for or against these forces. The time for temporizing is over.

Some in the party have already spoken out against this threat. This is a responsibility for all of us. I for one will do everything in my power, working with others to counter the influence of these forces and to defeat their purposes.

For the future of this great Nation lies not in the unprincipled extremism of the radical right any more than it lies in the unprincipled opportunism that has captured the Democratic Party.

It lies in the fiscally responsible, humanely principled mainstream of American thought and leadership that the party of Abraham Lincoln, of Theodore Roosevelt, of Robert Taft has always represented and will continue to represent.

It is said that in the next presidential election, the voters should be given a choice.

I agree.

There must be an alternative to a faltering administration that has suffered a Communist military base to be established 90 miles off our shores—the most visible symbol, but by no means the only one of a general deterioration in our national security and our posture of leadership before the world.

There must be an alternative to an administration that is floundering in its fiscal management, that has been unable to settle on a program, let alone effect a solution, for our stagnant economy and our millions of unemployed.

There must be an alternative for an administration that by inaction has plunged our country into the most soul-searing racial strife of our history.

There must be an alternative. But, in the sound instincts of the American people, that alternative will never be found in a party of extremism, a party of sectionalism, a party of racism, a party that disclaims responsibility for most of the population before it even starts its campaign for their support.

Such an alternative is not a choice but a mockery.

The choice that must be provided to the American people is to be found only in a party of responsible Republicanism, truly faithful to its Lincolnian heritage, truly national in scope, concerned with the opportunity and well-being of every individual citizen and thus commanding the confidence of the country as a whole. Last but not least, it must be responsibly and constructively concerned with the strengthening of this country's leadership of the free world.

The choice as to whether such a party shall be presented to the electorate is a choice for all Republicans. In the days between now and the Republican Convention, where the final decision will be made, that choice and these issues must be submitted to them. I have no doubt as to the outcome. And I have no doubt that out of this process will come the kind of moral strength, the strength of principle, that is needed to win and that is needed to govern.

The Republican Party stands today at the crossroads of its destiny. Its destiny is to save the Nation by first saving itself.

[From the New York Times, May 26, 1968]

The GOP's Missing Men

As the Oregon primary approaches, political attention concentrates on the possible alliance of Governors Nelson A. Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan. Only the coming together of the Republican party's foremost liberal and foremost conservative, it is argued, can overcome the long lead of the man in between, Richard M. Nixon.

But such an alliance is illogical both in principle and in practice. The right wingers are as deeply reluctant to boost Mr. Rockefeller into the Presidency as the liberals are to see Mr. Reagan one heart beat away from it. In both the Rockefeller and Reagan camps many people would rather take their chances with the fuzzy philosophies of Mr. Nixon than join forces with their most obvious ideological opponents.

In an evident effort to diminish the ferocity of the right-wing opposition to this candidicy, Governor Rockefeller last week carried his one-sided courtship of Mr. Reagan to considerable lengths. He sought him out for an unscheduled conference in New Orleans and afterward told reporters that he could discern no "ideological gulf" between himself and Mr. Reagan, a statement he subsequently—and wisely—modified. There are, of course, serious substantive differences between the two men on foreign affairs, civil liberties, social welfare and the Federal Government's role in race relations.

There is also the grave question of personnel capacity. Mr. Reagan has yet to demonstrate that he is a competent Governor or that he is qualified to be an architect of the nation's foreign policy and commander in chief of its armed forces and nuclear power.

Although Governor Rockfeller's overtures to Mr. Reagan can be faulted on several grounds, it must be recognized that he has to win over or at least disarm the hostility of the party's radical right because he has failed to receive proper support from the party's moderates. The real concern of the Republican party should not be the improbable alliance of its liberals and extreme conservatives but rather the procrastination and fatuity of the moderates.

The Republican Governors of the industrialized urban states are the natural leaders of their party's moderate forces because regardless of their own ideological predilections, they are forced to deal with today's urgent problems of city, race and expanding suburb.

But the Republican Governors are this political season's missing men. They seem determined to re-enact their feckless performance at the governor's conference four years ago on the eve of the Goldwater nomination. Mr. Rockefeller has himself partly to blame since his shilly-shallying about getting into the race disheartened some early supporters; but the future leadership of the nation is too important for a great party worthy of its responsibilities to try to contrive a national ticket out of a fragile collaboration between its most disparate elements.

It is up to the leaders of the solid center of the Republican party to return to duty and act now in behalf of its future.

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on May 25, 1963, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the heads of the African and Malagasy states and governments signed the Charter of the Organization of African Unity—OAU. The organization, presently headed by the President of the Congo—Kinshasa—Joseph Mobutu, has demonstrated to the world its determination to work for peaceful settlement of disputes and keeping the peace in Africa. Its record, in the short period since its inception, is one in which the leaders of Africa can trade great pride.

I extend to the people of Africa and to the African statesmen who gave so much of their energies and efforts to establish this great organization our congratulations and best wishes for continued success.

Following is the text of the communication which President Johnson sent to President Mobutu on this occasion:

MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU), MAY 25, 1968

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As the world celebrates the fifth anniversary of the Organization of African Unity, I want you to know the deep interest with which we in the United States have watched its growth and followed its achievements.

Measured within the span of world history, five years is only a passing moment. But measured against its record, the O.A.U. can take just pride in its major accomplishments:

It has made solid contributions to keeping the peace in Africa and to the settlement of disputes.

It has focused the conscience of the world on the cause of freedom and justice in Southern Africa.

It has enhanced the Continent's economic prospects by encouraging regional organizations.

We share with you the fundamental principles expressed in the Charter of the O.A.U.: "the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny; freedom, equality, justice and dignity . . . for African peoples; the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent; and the responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of Africa for the total advancement of its peoples." We are also proud of our special historical relationship to Africa, which has so enriched our own national culture. Most of all, America and Africa share a common vitality and purpose. The world looks to both of us for the answers to age-old problems.

I am certain that time will not diminish the abiding faith of my countrymen in the realization of Africa's aspirations. Nor will it change our determination to help the OAU to reach its goals.

Today all Americans join me in saluting the African statesmen who had the vision to create this organization and the strength and wisdom to carry forward its purpose. We pledge our support in helping you build the Africa you desire.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ADDRESS TO ILGW CONVENTION

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, in a memorable address to the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in Atlantic City on Saturday, President Johnson summed up his administration's achievements by stating an obvious fact.

There have been more than 200 major basic measures enacted to better humanity that will compare favorably with all the measures enacted in the previous years in the social field the President said.

And Mr. Johnson declared:

If I could have one hope today, it would be this: That whoever may be President, wherever he may reside, whatever party he may belong to, he will look at the social record of the last five years and say, "We have just begun."

I share the President's view. We have just begun. But it has been one of the most promising beginning in American history to meet headon the enormous challenges and opportunities of American life.

This administration has been second to none in meeting these responsibilities. The American people must know that they have a President responsive to their needs and committed to their progress.

I insert into the RECORD the text of the President's address to the ILGWU convention:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

Thank you very much.

Governor Hughes, President Stulberg, Dave Dubinsky, Louigi Antonini, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Mr. Stulberg, I had to come here today because through all of my trials and tribulations—and the problems and burdens—that go with the office I hold, you and your Union have stood by my side in day and night, in sunshine and in sorrow.

If you could stay with me during what we have gone through the last few months, you can stay with these folks all through the years until we win what we are after.

I told Dave Dubinsky, I said, "I am glad to be here today with all of my friends of the Old Left."

Some of us can remember the good old days when we were the New Left back more than 30 years ago when I was first captured by some of your leaders and enlisted in a great cause. I was an up and coming Young Liberal from the South.

Three from my State followed the recommendations of the leadership of this Union. They were such radical recommendations that two of those three were defeated. I survived.

Some of your leadership got Mr. Roosevelt, who was then President, to send a message to the Congress on May 24, 1937. That message arrived at the House of Representatives just about the time I arrived as a young Member.

Among the things the President said in that message are as follows:

"Mr. Justice Brandeis, Mr. Justice Clark, and Mr. Justice McKenna agreed with Mr. Justice Holmes. A majority of the Supreme Court, however, decided five to four against Mr. Justice Holmes and laid down a rule of Constitutional law which has ever since driven into impractical distinctions and subterfuges all attempts to assert the fundamental power of a national government over interstate commerce. But although Mr. Justice Holmes spoke for a minority of the Supreme Court, he spoke for a majority of the American people."

Upon that message, the Congress enacted into law—I will just read a part of Section VI—that radical provision of other years:

"Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce wages at the following rates:

"One, during the first year from the effective date of this Section not less than 25 cents an hour;

"Two, during the next six years from such date not less than 30 cents an hour;

"And, Three, after the expiration of 7—should I say long—years from such date, not less than 40 cents an hour, or the rate not less than 30 cents an hour prescribed in the applicable order of the administrator issued under Section VIII, whichever is lower. This Section shall take effect upon the expiration of 120 days from the enactment of this Act.

"No employer shall, except as otherwise provided, employ any of his employees in commerce or the production of goods for commerce for a work week longer than 44 hours" and so on and so forth.

You did not require that law to protect your people. Your thinking had been more advanced. But you required that law to protect all the working people of the United States. That is what has been so wonderful about your Union. You haven't just tried to look after yourself—you have tried to look after all of us.

But times have changed. Today, we hear something about new politics and "participatory democracy."

So I have come here to participate with you—the very model in my judgment of the Old and the New Democracy.

Whenever I hear talk about new alignments and the New Liberalism, I think of my old friend, the ILGWU. You have always had your slogans, too. You were the prophets of liberalism. You preached and you practiced your faith.

Politics—politics. Thank goodness—has long been a religion with you—but never on Saturday.

And I came here today, Mr. Stulberg, to tell you and the members of this great Union that the old-time religion is good enough for me. And the old-time liberalism is good enough for me.

Being here in this great hall in Atlantic City, Governor Hughes, brings back many fond memories for me. I guess you all know why this city means so much for me. I don't think there is a man, woman or child in all of this country who doesn't get a lump in his throat watching the Miss America contest each September.

There is one difference between today and the night I was here in August of 1964 at the Democratic Convention. It is of a difference that some of you former cutters, pressers, operators and finishers may be especially interest in knowing about it. You have a chance to look at the only man in the long history of the needles trade who used a speech rather than the scissors to cut off his own coattails.

I must admit that your reception puts me in somewhat of a sentimental mood today. There is something about this Union—something about this convention—something about Louis Stulberg—something about David Dubinsky—something about Evelyn Dubow that makes me feel right at home. It is something about all of these three and all of you out there that makes me feel right at home.

It is not just that you are my friends and that you have demonstrated your loyalty time and time and time again at the ballot box and in your influence on good legislation. It is much more than that.

Somehow, the ILGWU seems to me to be a model in miniature of the great America that we all seek and we all dream of.

As I look out there from this podium today, I see delegates, I see Americans of every race of every color, and of every creed. You work together in harmony because you share a comman ideal which is more important than anything else—you are building. You are running one of the great democratic trade unions in all of the world.

This, of course, is because you have always asked the right question when admitting people to your membership. You don't ask:

"Is he white?" or

"Is he Jewish?", or

"Is he Catholic?"

You simply say, "Is he—or much more often she—a garment worker?"

I have been involved in national politics now since 1931—almost 38 years—and as I am about ready to go back home—I think I would like to leave one message with my dear friends here. I would like to leave this message behind me. I would like to carve it in rock:

"Ask the right question."

And I would add that in both your experience and mine, the right question is usually how?, not what?

Back in the first decade of this Century, every social reformer knew what was necessary to eliminate the terrible sweatshops, the triangle fire-traps in which the garment workers were literally held in wage-slavery—

There were economic treatises,

There were politicians out with sonorous speeches,

There were catastrophe-mongers who wanted to destroy the whole system to eliminate its abuses.

There were alleged intellectuals who were talking about us.

But what do the intellectuals know about us?

There were innumerable answers to the question, "What should be done?"

The system we knew had to be changed.

But when it came to "How?", there was only one group that had an answer that made sense. They didn't say, "We will meet in the Union Square daily and we will carry signs and we will make speeches and we will give our treatises and our lectures and our seminars until there is a change in the system."

If so, they would still be there.

They said, "We will build a union."

Of course, all the professional cynics—they had them then, too—said it was impossible—you couldn't beat the system—the men and women, mostly immigrants, didn't have the staying power.

Then, in 1909, when I was one year old, out came the waist-makers in a strike that "couldn't last."

But it did—and those girls—there may be a few here today—no longer girls, but still committed unionists—put the world to shame and brought a wave of support from decent Americans throughout this land everywhere.

So, a great union was born. And it grew because a few dedicated Americans—often with strange accents—took the ideals of our society at face value and said, "How can we put them into practice?"

It has not been an easy half century. You had your extremists with a vested interest in catastrophy who argued that destruction was the road to construction.

But your leaders—men like David Dubinsky and Louis Stulberg—and to those of us that were on down the line—they knew that you cannot build a utopia on ashes. And, after a terrible struggle which almost broke your union, these false prophets were defeated.

Since then, we have had wages and hours from 25 cents an hour to $1.60 applied to all the working people in this land.

In this last half century, we have passed four comprehensive far-reaching civil rights bills from the Right to Vote to a Right to Equal Housing—and on all four of those measures you and I have led the way.

We have junked and discarded our archaic immigration laws. And we stood with pen in hand in front of the Statute of Liberty in this Administration and wrote a new immigration law that permits families to again be reunited and puts another humane statute on our books.

We have passed Meat Inspection, Auto Safety, Truth in Lending, and we have just begun with a long list of more than a dozen other consumer measures that will be written into the law of this land because of your help.

For almost 200 years, we shunned our responsibility of national leadership in educating our children. But in the last four years we have declared it our national policy that every boy and girl born in this country has a right to all the education that he or she can take.

And we are—I am here to tell you—practicing what we preach.

While others have written their learned treatises and flourished their rhetoric from coast to coast, we have put them from Head Start at 4 to Adult Education at 74. And the ILGWU has had among its most cardinal principles performance instead of promises.

And as we meet there today, those Head Start kids at 4 and those Adult Education grandmas at 74 are learning to read and write in the classrooms of this country.

We have inaugurated the greatest conservation programs since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And this year we are putting more land for recreation back in the public domain for the first year in decades than we have taken out with highways and freeways.

We are putting that land not out in Montana or Wyoming where you cannot get to it unless you have got a jet. But we are putting it near the centers of population where you can get to it in an hour and a half.

We talked about Medicare from the time Harry S. Truman—that great President—proposed it. We talked about it and thought about it and dreamed about it for more than 20 years.

But we wrote it into law. And you got your Medicare payments. Twenty million of you have your Medicare cards. You don't have to go and consult your son-in-law before you go to the hospital when you need it.

And I am telling you something else. This may not have been done with charisma or style. But it has been done.

I will tell you something else. What this great union has done with Medicare I am charging you with the responsibility of doing with Kiddycare.

The blush of shame ought to come to the cheeks of every proud American who talks about the most powerful and richest nation in the world when it realizes that in infant mortality the United States ranks not one—but 15 down the list.

Just as we have tried to cope with the problem of our age, we have got to cope with the problem of our babies. We have got to get to them before it is too late. We have got to correct the deficiencies of their eyes, or their teeth, or their ears, or their bodies due to lack of proper treatment to their mothers.

You have got to have her examinations at critical periods. They have got to have treatments of doctors when they need it.

We can no longer go on in the days ahead as we have gone in the days past—and our next goal is on to Kiddycare now that we have got Medicare.

I wish I could talk all day. But I can't. I have other things to do and so do you. But I just want to summarize by saying to those of you who have fought colonialism and those of you who have fought and bled and died to reject totalitarianism that neither colonialism nor totalitarianism have made any advances in these five years. They retreated instead.

And aggression—wherever it has reared its ugly head—has stopped in its tracks.

And freedom has not retreated an inch or a foot of soil that freedom held in 1963. Freedom holds in 1968.

But I did not come here to give you a history of your union or of the last five years. I just wanted to point out a few of the high spots.

There have been more than 200 major basic measures enacted to better humanity that will compare favorably with all the measures enacted in the previous years in the social field.

But I think you know this story maybe far better than I do since you helped build this organization and since this organization gave the leadership and answered "aye" on every roll call that advanced these measures.

I have drawn upon your history this morning because I find when I study it and I look upon it that it is both valuable and comforting to me in a time of stress and anguish. To the officers of this great union, Louis Stulberg and your retiring President, David Dubinsky—men that will give loyalty to principles and give loyalty to me as they have during every day of this five years—will give loyalty to you.

There is a great deal of rhetoric in the air these days. As is natural in an election year, there is a speaker on every stump—and some places where they can't find stumps.

As I conclude—and as one who will shortly be a private citizen—I want to give you some advice. When you listen to the speakers, draw on your own experience—draw upon the collective wisdom that you have accumulated in the years that you have been building this great union.

When men—or women, or boys, or girls—come to you and give you their prescription for America, listen to what they think is the matter with America.

But before it is all over, you demand from them an answer to the crucial question. "How, how are they going to do anything about it?" It is not "What?" It is "How?" It is not the promise. It is the performance.

For the essence of politics, like trade unionism, is the ability to put a cutting edge on abstractions, to find an administrative remedy for a rhetorical dilemma.

And power—power as my old friend, Eric Hoffer, puts it—just does not "come in cans." You cannot go down to the corner drugstore or the supermarket and pick some of it up in a basket.

Power for the ideals that we cherish has to be created by little, by the small and the seemingly insignificant decisions of dedicated, courageous men and women—most of whom are invisible, most of whom never make speeches, most of whom never issue manifestos and most of whom never get on the television or get their pictures in the papers.

It is these people—people of this caliber—who have made the ILGWU a model—a model—of democratic trade unionism in the world.

It is your kind of people who make it possible for anyone to be President of the United States.

I want to conclude with this little note. I want to thank every member of this union here and those that can't be here.

I particularly want to thank Louis Stulberg for his fidelity and his dedication, his loyalty and his leadership.

Sitting there on the banks of the Perdenales, I am going to see how—how—he does in the years ahead because I know that he and you and I are going to do it.

I also need not tell you how much I owe to you or how long I have admired your union and your great leader and crusader, David Dubinsky.

In these days more than ever I can envy him. He has made me wish many, many times in the last few days that our Founding Fathers had established another union—the AURP—The American Union for Retired Presidents.

If that had happened, then I could look forward to a retirement plan like David Dubinsky's.

How would you like the sound of "Honorary President, Lyndon Johnson"?

Talk about liberal, how about these fringe benefits:

"A weekend in Atlantic City or Chicago;"

"Invitations to a dinner at the White House;"

"A warm place in the hearts of all of your people;"

And "a sure place in the spotlight of every convention?"

But a greater satisfaction and more fringe benefits than all of those can come to an Honorary President has come to your Honorary President because the man who picked up the leadership where he left off is carrying forward, onward to new and greater and far-reaching heights and benefits that will better humanity.

If I could have one hope today, it would be this: That whoever may be President, wherever he may reside, whatever party he may belong to, he will look at the social record of the last five years and say, "We have just begun."

As your union is dedicated to carrying forward on the slogan, "We have just begun," I hope our next President will have just begun and will continue as you have to build, to heal and to unite the greatest nation in all the world.

Destructive people, mischieveous people, ambitious people, and folks who look to what we have and want to take, what we have got and envy the liberty and freedom that is ours can destroy this nation. But they will not.

The reason they will not is out there in front of me in the form of the constructive, dedicated members of this union, who are builders instead of wreckers.

If I don't get an invitation to your next convention, I am going to reach back in that closet of mine where we pack our souvenirs and I am going to pull out an old badge that says, "Honorary President," and I am going to invite myself to come back here.

PUBLIC OPINION POLL OF ILLINOIS' 10TH DISTRICT

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including the results of the public opinion poll which I recently conducted in the congressional district which I have the honor of representing. This year's poll was the most successful of all those that I have conducted, as it brought over 25,000 responses.

While I am inserting this tabulation for the benefit of my constituents, I am confident that my colleagues will be interested in how the people who comprise the 10th Congressional District of Illinois feel about the issues of the day, such as the war in Southeast Asia, the fiscal situation, the credibility gap, the war on poverty, and legislation dealing with gun sales by mail.

Students of my poll will note that my constituents are, for the most part, against the administration's proposed income tax surcharge. The opposition to the surtax is considerably less when it is matched by spending cuts.

My constituents, who believe that domestic spending should be reduced, are overwhelmingly opposed to the poverty program as it is now being conducted. Most of them feel that a percentage of the tax money collected by the National Government ought to be returned to the State and local governments to use as they see fit. A majority believes that the Federal Government should give tax credits to industries which install equipment that would reduce air and water pollution.

My poll, which contained several questions pertaining to the war in Vietnam, was conducted before the current peace negotiations were initiated. It has been brought to my attention by several of my constituents that the questionnaire did not provide an alternative to three approaches dealing with the actual military conduct of the war in Vietnam. In other words, we made no provision for those who feel that we should immediately withdraw our troops without reservation from Southeast Asia. While I presume that those who called for a bombing halt would certainly embrace this segment of my constituency, it should be pointed out that the question was directed to the actual military conduct of the war. At the same time, I cannot imagine any individual who is for withdrawal of all troops not responding in the affirmative to the question regarding the halt of U.S. bombing.

I know that the best wishes of the residents of my district go with our representatives in Paris as they prepare for formal peace talks. I am sure that they are joining their prayers with ours that the negotiations will lead to an honorable peace. The poll follows:

PUBLIC OPINION POLL, 1968, HAROLD R. COLLIER

Question	Responses	Percent
1. Do you approve of the President's conduct of the Vietnam war?		
Yes	4,973	20
No	17,982	71
Undecided	2,446	9
Total	25,410	
2. In North Vietnam, do you favor—		
(a) Intensified U.S. air attacks?	17,714	67
(b) A bombing halt?	3,868	18
(c) Maintaining air attacks at present level?	2,357	9
Undecided	1,423	6
Total	25,362	
3. Should the United States continue to trade with nations that are aiding North Vietnam?		
Yes	2,607	11
No	20,801	81
Undecided	2,015	8
4. Do you believe the American people are receiving sufficient information from the Government on vital issues to vote intelligently?		
Yes	3,276	12
No	20,204	80
Undecided	1,944	8
5. Do you support the administration's proposed increase in taxes?		
Yes	4,777	20
No	18,689	72
Undecided	1,945	8
6. Do you believe that Federal spending on domestic programs should be reduced?		
Yes	16,614	63
No	7,051	30
Undecided	1,737	7
7. Should the industries which install equipment to reduce air and water pollution be granted tax credits by the Federal Government to offset part of the expense involved?		
Yes	14,493	58
No	8,996	34
Undecided	1,938	8
8. Do you favor returning a percentage of the tax money collected by the Federal Government to State and local governments to use as they see fit?		
Yes	13,597	54
No	8,769	34
Undecided	3,052	12
9. Do you believe a tax increase is necessary if accompanied by a dollar cut in spending for each dollar raised in taxes to meet the growing Treasury deficit?		
Yes	9,336	39
No	11,665	43
Undecided	4,425	18
10. Do you favor the poverty program in its present form?		
Yes	1,746	8
No	20,720	81
Undecided	2,943	11
11. Should the Federal Government enact legislation to ban all mail-order sales of firearms?		
Yes	19,123	75
No	4,880	19
Undecided	1,406	6

JOSEPH W. MARTIN

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, although he had not sat beside us in this Chamber for nearly a year, we all felt as though the death of Joseph Martin had taken him suddenly from our midst. Most of us had not seen him since his retirement at the close of the 89th Congress, but we had never ceased to feel his presence among us.

It takes more than longevity of service here to make a man such a part of the House of Representatives. It takes a very special man and qualities far above the ordinary. It takes personal magnetism and skilled leadership. It requires firm principles and deep human understanding.

Such a man was Joe Martin. He was the kind of man whose service here is a credit to his own State, and to us all. For he represents the highest qualities we can wish for in our leaders and statesmen.

One of the greatest testimonials to this great man was, I think, given on the final day of his service here with us. The words were glowing, the emotions heartfelt, and the admiration genuine. But the real testimonial was in the very fact that nearly every Member of this House joined in—from both sides of the aisle, from all parts of both parties—new Congressmen who had known him only one term, the men and women who had been his colleagues for most of the many years of his public service. The speeches and personal greetings that day were not perfunctory or ceremonial ones. They came from the hearts of his friends—as many of them as there are Members of this House.

It is no wonder then that the presence of this great legislator was felt among us even after he had left us. It will, I know, be with us for many years to come.

A REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK: THE LARGER NATIONAL INTEREST

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, we will soon be moving into the homestretch of the 90th Congress, and Redwood National Park legislation, a conservation measure fought for by so many concerned citizens, remains an unfinished task.

The House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee recently concluded hearings on the legislation. I hope this will be followed shortly by a committee recommendation to the House for passage of the bill, for daily the virgin redwoods fall to the chainsaws. Unless we act soon, there will be no virgin timber left in sufficient quantity to warrant a park.

I recognize that we in the 90th Congress must realistically face the many demands on U.S. funds, only one of which is the responsibility to provide the money with which to purchase authorized park lands.

The Senate added a provision to its Redwood National Park bill which, in my opinion, realistically faces these responsiblities.

The Senate bill provides the Secretary of the Interior with power to negotiate an exchange of lands within the Northern Redwood Purchase Unit for private lands to be included in the Redwood National Park.

Under Forest Service management, some experimental research programs are conducted in the Northern Redwood Purchase Unit, but mostly the trees in the Unit are cut and sold to private lumber firms. The Unit is kept on a sustained yield basis and is managed well. Nevertheless, the area is logged in a similar way to what the private redwood companies are doing on their own lands.

To authorize an exchange of the lands in the Northern Redwood Purchase Unit would save several million dollars in cash outlay in the purchase of a Redwood National Park, and appropriations could be kept at approximately $60 to $85 million.

In the national interest an exchange of these lands may clear the way for us to go ahead with the authorization and the establishment of a significant Redwood National Park wherein virgin timber would be safe from the threat of the destruction and generations to come could view the magnificent giants.

The Washington Post on May 24 correctly cites the need to look at the larger national interest on this issue and the need to establish a Redwood National Park of significant proportions.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD I wish to insert the editorial and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

REDWOOD COMPROMISE

There will be much sympathy with Secretary of Agriculture Freeman in his last-ditch stand against any exchange of Forest Service land for more scenic acreage to be included in a Redwood National Park. The Secretary fears that the proposed trade would create an unfortunate precedent and "imperil the integrity of the national forest system." When his argument has been fully and effectively made, however, it poses only a departmental view against the larger national interest.

It is clear from the hearings before a House Interior subcommittee that Mr. Freeman did not speak for the Administration. Secretary of the Interior Udall had previously indicated that "the Administration reluctantly would not object" if Congress should find it necessary to trade the 14,500-acre Redwood Purchase Unit for part of the designated park land. This is the more realistic view. In the shaping of national policy it is often necessary to forgo a worthy objective to achieve a greater one.

Even with the proposed exchange in the National Redwood Park bill, as passed by the Senate, the outlook is none too hopeful. Outdoor Recreation Director Edward C. Crafts told the subcommittee that the estimated cost of the 66,000-acre park approved by the Senate has increased from $100 million last year to $117 million this year. With Congress in an economy mood and with many pressing demands upon the budget, the only hope for acquisition of a Redwood National Park in the near future seems to hinge upon the proposed exchange. And if Congress does not act soon many of the majestic redwood groves owned by lumber companies will have been converted into siding and outdoor furniture.

Even Secretary Udall is talking about a two-unit redwood park no larger than the single unit formerly recommended by the Administration in the Mill Creek watershed. This would reduce the park to a pitiful skeleton unworthy of a great Nation conscious of its natural heritage. The Senate bill itself is a compromise between previously conflicting viewpoints. It is difficult to see how the House can do less than the Senate has done without gravely impairing one of the most important ventures in the history of our national park system.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE FOR SURTAX

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Chamber of Commerce of Jacksonville, Ill., went on record earlier this month for the surtax proposal in the following excellent resolution:

Be It Resolved, that the Board of Directors of the Jacksonville Area Chamber of Commerce, in regular meeting, and being cognizant of the threat to the economy of our country through uncontrolled inflation and lack of prudent fiscal policy, hereby go on record as favoring the proposed Income Tax Surcharge, coupled with a maximum reduction in unnecessary Federal spending, both at home and abroad.

Be It Further Resolved, that the effectiveness of this resolution will be multiplied many times if our citizenry can be awakened to the dangers resulting from a continuance by Congress of our present irresponsible fiscal policies, that this resolution be given the fullest possible publicity, with the aim that each and every voter, between this date and election, upon meeting a candidate, incumbent or hopeful, for the House of Representatives or the Senate, ask this question—"What have you done or what will you do to halt inflation and restore the purchasing power of our dollar?"

Further, that a copy of this resolution be mailed to each Chamber of Commerce in the State of Illinois, with the request that they in turn, pass a similar resolution, and that copies likewise be forwarded to the Illinois State Chamber, the United States Chamber and our Representatives and Senators in Congress.

THE PACIFIC COMMUNITY: POST VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the February issue of Nation's Business included a thought-provoking article which deserves the attention of every Member of this House. It deals with the part of business in the future of Vietnam and, more broadly the Pacific Basin.

The article follows:

WHEN THE WAR ENDS: A WORLD OF OPPORTUNITIES

It is almost axiomatic in history that businessmen and traders follow behind the bayonets and bullets. Not to batten on misery, but to foster the civilized pursuits of industry and commerce.

The vast growth of American business in Europe followed World War II and the revival of a peaceful and prosperous continent.

Earlier, British businessmen poured into India, Africa and a hundred other places in the wake of British Tommies and the Royal Navy. Rome conquered most of the known world and Rome-directed commerce immediately sprang up behind the legions.

Certainly creation of trade and commerce has not been the motive of warfare, but the laying down of arms and the rebuilding and reappraisals that come with peace inevitably seed the fields for business opportunities.

Now, another such opportunity is near—a time when business will tap the rich expanses of Southeast Asia.

The best thinkers on the subject in business and government agree that magnificent business opportunities await in Viêt Nam, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. As the military situation in Viet Nam improves, they expect the flow of business to double, triple and quadruple.

There are dark spots and danger areas, of course, but nothing is foreseen that would keep Southeast Asia from becoming an industrial-business outpost of the first water.

Danger areas are Cambodia, Burma and the Philippines where foreign investment—and oftentimes specifically American private enterprise—is either not encouraged or actively discouraged.

Dark spots include the lingering uncertainties of the Viet Nam war, difficulties of doing business in areas that Americans know little about, proximity of Red China and the necessity of dealing with foreign bureaucrats.

The Administration's actions to improve our balance of payments by restricting dollar-investments abroad were not to reduce investments in less developed areas.

The President's plan could even increase investments in Southeast Asia because they are curtailed in other developed areas.

Of great concern, now that investment and business opportunities appear on the rise, is how slowly Americans are moving. They might be beaten to the draw by Japanese and Taiwanese businessmen.

More Japanese and Taiwanese than Americans are looking for business, exploring trade outlets, seeking assembly sites, signing up Asian partners, plunking down money and pouring talent into investment opportunities.

Many well-known American businesses are in Southeast Asia, even in Viet Nam—Bank of America, and Chase Manhattan Bank, Foremost Dairies, Caltex, Esso, American Trading Company, Landis Brothers and Co., Inc., Brownell Lane Engineering Co., American Chemical and Drug Co., U.S. Summit Corp., Raymond International, Morrison-Knudsen, Brown and Root, J. A. Jones Construction Co., Getz Brothers and Co., Layne Wells International, Inc., National Cash Register Co., Pfizer, Sterling Drug International and American International Underwriters, to name a few.

But that's only a handful compared to the number that could be there, Agency for International Development people insist, especially in view of the protection provided for American investments and the concessions offered by Southeast Asian governments to get foreign business.

Herbert Salzman, a former business man who is now Assistant Administrator for Private Resources for AID, says: "Southeast Asia is a challenge to the U.S. government and an opportunity for U.S. private business. AID is making great efforts to use its people and money to help in the adjustment of the traditional societies to the pressures of the modern world. But government efforts can only lay the foundation.

"It's up to private organizations to build on that foundation.

"The U.S. government encourages business by eliminating some of the risks.

"Today we are seeing the development of multinational companies after we have already witnessed the development of the vertically integrated and the diversified companies.

"In Southeast Asia there is a tremendous surge in purchasing power as a direct and indirect effect of the U.S. presence.

"This creates markets and an effective demand for products, many of which could and should come from the United States.

"Yet Japanese investment is sharply increasing. Why shouldn't our business share in the profitable investment opportunities? Although American investors are increasing, many firms which should be sharing in these markets are holding back—afraid to do what they are in business to do, to take risks and earn profits."

The American businessman calling on AID or the Department of Commerce for information on doing business in Southeast Asia meets a snowstorm of facts, figures, reports of feasibility studies, situation reports, estimates and suggestions.

EAGER FOR AMERICAN INVESTMENTS

Forming the backbone of the effort to get U.S. business into the area are investment protections offered by the federal government and inducements to invest offered by most Southeast Asian governments.

Viet Nam, for example, offers these various exemptions:

No taxes on profits or dividends for five years.

No tax on real estate, mines, quarries, land and royalties for three years.

No tax on rural property and loan contracts for two years.

There are no import duties planned on spare parts and equipment and there is a 25 per cent tax exemption on reserves built up from retained earnings if they are used for expansion.

The American businessman moving into the Viet Nam market is protected 100 percent by the federal government against expropriation, inconvertibility of currency and war risk. He is protected up to 75 per cent of his debt capital on extended risk, including commercial risk, and 50 per cent of his equity investment.

Another incentive provided by the federal government allows a company to go into a high risk foreign country like Viet Nam on a management contract with little initial investment. It also provides the opportunity to buy into the foreign company later.

If he decides to make a prior survey of his business chances in Viet Nam and subsequently finds the market not worth the candle, AID pays half of his expenses. This includes costs the businessman incurred in sending representatives abroad, their hotel, food and incidental expenses.

The Rand Corp. has gone into the prospects of getting profits out of Viet Nam and says: Many of the new industrial investment projects launched within the past five years experienced rates of return of the order of 20 to 40 per cent; and capital recovery in two or three years has not been unusual."

HEALTHY BUSINESS CLIMATE

In addition, the federal government is one of the major contributors to two projects which are expected to go a long way toward making Southeast Asia a healthy place for American business. They are the Asian Development Bank and the Mekong River Basin Development.

The Asian Bank is modeled after the World Bank. It makes loans with money supplied by contributing nations for a wide variety of betterment projects. The United States plays a large hand in control of the bank by virtue of being the major contributor, along with Japan, though the bank is run on a day-to-day basis by Asians.

The Mekong Basin plan is under way though the pace is slow.

The project is expected eventually to include 14 dams along the Mekong and its tributaries in Laos, nine in Cambodia and five each in Thailand and South Viet Nam.

Hydroelectric power and flood control would be provided for most of the 150 million people who live within 1,000 miles of Saigon. The new source of power would benefit both agriculture and business.

The war in Viet Nam is changing the country down to the grass roots. What the long range effects will be, no one can say. But it is already evident that there is a growing taste for western goods and facilities. American business methods are showing up in all-Viet companies. They have nearly completely replaced French and traditional Vietnamese methods.

American businesses being established in Viet Nam, through investments, acquisitions, partnerships or subsidiaries, will find an expanding network of communications, highways, waterways, docks and airports, every one of which could be useful to industry or commerce.

In the past few years, six new deepwater ports have been built, eight shallow draft ports, eight jet air bases with 12 new 10,000-foot runways, 80 smaller fields, scores of bridges and hundreds of miles of roads, oil tanks and pipelines, storage and maintenance facilities and housing for 325,000 soldiers, much of it convertible into housing for industrial workers.

Each month thousands of Vietnamese receive industrial and business training, either elementary or advanced, and they go into a manpower pool which can be useful to American private business someday.

Fighting has not stopped a huge construction program of private and community facilities. These projects will be useful to businesses locating in the area when the fighting is finished.

Projects include water systems, road and canal extensions, schools, hospitals, warehouses and civil aviation.

The Rand Corp. goes so far as to say: "Looking at the general conduct of industrial activity in Viet Nam today, we do not get the impression that this activity is in fact directly hampered by the war. Industrial installations appear to operate without interruption and Viet Cong molestations are trivial. The problem of military insecurity appears to be much more psychological than an actual hurdle."

In the past 12 months there has been a big increase in the number of Vietnamese entrepreneurs who have money of their own and want to invest it, often in agricultural cooperatives.

What they want is to form partnerships, with the Americans supplying managerial and technical expertise.

The Governor of the Vietnamese National Bank said recently, "Don't send me your money, send me people who know how to do things."

Viet Nam is beyond doubt one of the prime investment points for American known-how in Southeast Asia. But there are others.

OTHER OPPORTUNITIES

Thailand—This is one of the most promising underdeveloped nations in the world. It should become increasingly so as the Viet Nam war draws toward a close. The government is dictatorial but it is effective and stable and so is the economy. GNP goes up 7.3 per cent yearly. The population of 31 million is leaping ahead.

Thais generally applaud U.S. military actions in Viet Nam—for obvious reasons. They would be the next likely target for communist aggression.

The country has a big windfall from U.S. military spending in both Viet Nam and Thailand. Foreign business is encouraged in a variety of ways by the royal Thai government. Among the best bets for success are businesses involving agriculture, fertilizers, cotton processing, manufacturing, zinc and tin mining, tourism.

On the other hand, insurgents are in the Northeast, Red China is close by and a shaky Laos is just next door.

Laos—This is a small country of three million people with limited market possibilities, but there is a need for nearly everything. The government is neutralist with a western slant. Its hold on the country is tenuous. However, it has survived many upheavals. North Vietnamese and Viet Cong invade Laos on the way to and from South Viet Nam but so far little has been done about it. The Vietnamese war could lap over someday.

The government actively seeks foreign business investment and offers many concessions. One American firm is looking into getting lumber out of Northeast Laos and shipping it to U.S. forces in Thailand.

Indonesia—This can be the great sleeper for U.S. business when the Vietnamese shooting dies down. Indonesia can also become the giant of Southeast Asia.

There are 160 million Indonesians, and after the debacle of the Sukarno years Indonesia, like Laos, needs everything. Banking institutions and creditor nations keep Indonesia afloat with renegotiated loans until wild inflation can be tamed. It is being tamed and this is necessary for business. In 1965, the year Sukarno and his communists were overthrown, inflation reached 2,000 per cent. In 1966 it was 650 per cent. Last year it was 75 per cent.

The military government of General Suharto seems set for a long run. Indonesia has rejoined the UN World Bank and Asian Development Bank. The people want nothing so much as time and peace to develop their fantastically fertile islands and get business started again on a profitable basis, usually privately oriented.

There is a good private investment law and it is to be improved this year. Many an American business expropriated by Sukarno is being restored. A half dozen of the largest U.S. chemical and mining companies are either setting up operations in Indonesia or completing feasibility studies which generally indicate the country is worthwhile as an investment site. Four American banks have recently moved in.

Best bets are in minerals, forest products, oil, tourism, manufacturing, agriculture and agri-business.

Malaysia and Singapore—These are two different countries, but they can be treated together because of their joint British heritage and because they occupy an Asian peninsula which American business is finding attractive.

Britain's victory over Malayan communists 20 years ago set the stage for an improving economy.

As the British pull out of their old possessions east of Suez, the Yanks move in. This includes business influence, especially in Singapore.

Furthermore, if Hong Kong slips in influence because of pressure from Red China, then Malaysia and Singapore will grow still more in importance.

Singapore, with a population of two million, is well governed and strictly western oriented. The people are literate; they have a growing money supply and desire for American products. A New York office has been opened to promote investments. Main objectives are to increase light manufacturing facilities, cut down on imports and reduce unemployment.

Malaysia is an excellent place for private investments. There is a good investment law and Malaysian money is strong. GNP goes up six per cent yearly. A large bond issue was recently floated on the New York market.

Several American companies have moved into a new industrial park near Kuala Lumpur. Three American banks have branches in the country along with American chemical companies, paper manufacturers and agri-business concerns.

Foreign investment protection is offered in several ways.

Taiwan—Business followed the bayonets during and after the Korean war 18 years ago. This was the making of Taiwan, home of the Republic of China, an island nation which American school kids were taught to call Formosa. The big island is getting another economic shot in the arm because of Vietnamese fighting.

Taiwan already is heavily industrialized and getting more so as American businesses move in and as Chinese businesses increase and grow. GNP goes up a fast-paced 9.7 per cent yearly. In 1960, exports were $164 million; in 1966, $536 million. They should hit $1 billion in less than 20 years.

The list of U.S. companies already on Taiwan and those coming to the island reads like a New York telephone book.

Taiwan has such U.S. investment potential that AID ended its programs there—Taiwan can take care of itself.

A WALK ON THAT SAME DIRTY BEACH

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the last two Congresses have made dramatic inroads into the area of water pollution control. However, there is much work still to be done. The stigma of stench, filth, and death has been shown to us repeatedly. Firsthand accounts have always been important.

One continuing difficulty we have encountered is a general lack of public informedness about the extent and severity of the situation. It is therefore encouraging to hear of public recognizance of this critical issue, particularly when it is our youth who see the problem so clearly.

It is said that the measure of concern for a problem is a willingness to work to reach a solution.

I have received a letter from a young constituent, Miss Peggyanne Nash, of Cliffwood Beach, who has seen the woeful condition of the Raritan Bay area. She does not simply give a sigh of resignation, as do many our older citizens. The spirit and energy of youth leads her to search actively for an answer; even to seek to do the work herself.

But the problem is too much for one young lady, or even a hundred young people to handle. The assistance of Federal and State governments is necessary to achieve any real solution.

With your permission, I wish to include her letter in the RECORD, so that my fellow Members and the general public may see, through the eyes of a schoolgirl, the staggering dimensions of the problem and the attitude necessary to overcome it. The letter follows:

CLIFFWOOD BEACH, N.J.,
May 15, 1968.

DEAR MR. HOWARD: Today, May 15, 1968, I took a walk. I was in a weird mood and I had a sudden urge to be on a beach somewhere. All I had to do was walk a half of a block, cross a street, and there I was. There I was alright, the same dirty beach which is here now, is in the same dirty condition it was in eight years ago when I first moved to Cliffwood Beach. The only difference is that the ground is almost level and the sand is half white instead of clay. United States Army Engineers recently rebuilt a sandy beach for us, but what good is it we still can't go swimming. The water is polluted or so says the sign which the Board of Health erects every summer and places on the beach.

Mr. Howard, you may be wondering why I wrote of my experience to you, but I believe you have an interest in the youth of your state. I am inclined to believe this because last year in June of 1967, you sent congratulatory notes to the graduating seniors of Madison Township High School of which my sister was a member. I was very impressed with this because I think it expressed a sincere concern on your part for young people.

When I was down on the beach the idea of having a clean beach took complete possession of me. I wanted to do something to clean up my beach. I knew I couldn't do it alone, and even if I had two hundred other people with the same interest as mine I would still need someone in the government of New Jersey to aid me. So, although I couldn't remember your name, I remembered that you cared, and when I did get home I looked on the bulletin board in my room, which still has pinned to it the note you sent to my sister. I saw your name and that is how it all goes. I need and desperately want your help. Next Easter vacation I will be able to work, if I receive your permission or you can somehow get permission granted to me to clean the beaches of Lawrence Harbor, Cliffwood Beach and Knollcroft, I will gladly invest my first paycheck in an ad in the "Perth Amboy Evening News," for anyone (who are in grades 9 thru 12) who is interested, willing to organize with others, and also willing to sacrifice many Saturdays and Sundays and lots of their free time to the development of the beaches on the Raritan Bay Front and help better the township by it.

I would sincerely appreciate any help or information you or your office could render in this project.

Respectfully yours,
PEGGYANNE NASH.

NEW LONDON SUBMARINE BASE OBSERVES 100TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 3, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 100th anniversary of the U.S. naval submarine base at New London, Conn., which is located in my congressional district. As the largest submarine station in the country, it has rightfully earned the title of "The Nation's Submarine Capital." Besides its submarine operations, the base is the headquarters for the Deputy Commander, Submarine Forces Atlantic Fleet. The Navy's only submarine school is located there, as well as the Medical Research Laboratory, the Naval Underwater Sound Laboratory, the Supervisor of Shipbuilding, and other Navy units.

The history of this important naval installation goes back to the early 1860's when, at the direction of Congress, the Secretary of the Navy appointed a naval board to examine the area of Narragansett Bay and the harbor of New London and report back to the Congress on the location which would best serve the public interest. A resolution appended to this survey stated:

> *Resolved*, That the harbor of New London possesses greater advantages for a navy yard and naval depot than any other location examined by this board.

In 1867, convinced of the advantages of New London as a site for construction of a naval station, Congress passed the following resolution:

> *Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby authorized to receive and accept a deed gift when offered by the State of Connecticut of a tract of land not less than one mile of shore front on the Thames River, near New London, Connecticut to be held by the United States for naval purposes.

In response to this action the State of Connecticut appropriated $15,000 for the purchase of land. In addition, the city of New London was authorized to appropriate funds not to exceed $75,000 for the purchase of real property to be deeded to the Federal Government for use as a naval facility, and joined with the State in the gift. The actual conveyance of 112 acres of land was made on the 11th day of April 1868, and the U.S. Government entered into possession and has used the site as a naval base continuously ever since.

The operation and development of the New London Naval Base may be inferred from the report of the Secretary of the Navy for the year 1899 which set forth the following information:

> The expenses of the bureau at this station during the last fiscal year have been small, chiefly for coal, water, and ash lighters, New London being located near and inside of the outer defenses of the city of New York is a very important strategic point and affords a valuable harbor for torpedo boats and other small ships. It is also an important site for the storage of coal for war purposes. In accordance with the recommendation of the coal board, of which Rear Admiral Charles E. Belknap was president, buildings for the storage of 25,000 tons are now in process of construction.

In 1912, my distinguished predecessor Congressman Edwin W. Higgins, who represented the New London area which was then in the Third Congressional District of Connecticut, gave the following report concerning the naval base to the House of Representatives:

> Only $253,852.47 has been spent on this station, both in the equipment and its repair, during the past 44 years, and this money has been well spent. The buildings are reported by the Secretary of the Navy as being in good condition. A dock over 800 feet long faces a channel over 600 feet wide. The water is of sufficient depth to float the largest ships of the American Navy, and upon the authority of one of our most distinguished admirals, now deceased, I can state to this House that he said that there would not be the slightest difficulty in taking a ship of the type and tonnage of the "Connecticut" up to that station, docking her, and turning her around.

Representative Higgins then outlined the strategic advantages of a naval base located at New London, and specifically noted:

> The eastern defenses of New York lie off New London Harbor. There is no coaling station east until you get to Narragansett. There is no coaling station west until you get to Brooklyn. In the event of war any fleet protecting New York from the east would rendezvous at New London Harbor, which can float the navies of the world. These eastern forts are now supplied from New London. This station lies within sight of the harbor and but two miles from it. It does not require scientific knowledge to appreciate the strategic value of this station.

In view of a history of being somewhat underutilized it was almost accidental when, in October 1915, the monitor *Ozark*, acting as tender, arrived at New London with a division of submarines. However, other submarines and their tenders were also assigned there, and in 1916 the Navy Department formally designated the facility as a submarine base. Following the entry of the United States into World War I, the base was greatly expanded and during the war it qualified over 10,000 officers and men for submarine duty.

Between the two world wars the activity of the center was reduced, although it continued to train submariners and service the fleet's underwater craft. During this period the naval base distinguished itself in areas of research and development related to submarine operation. Two outstanding results of these efforts were the Momsen Lung, used for individual escape from a sunken submarine, and a new type of marker buoy designed to show the location of an incapacitated submarine lying on the ocean bottom. In addition, much pioneering work was done in the creation of rescue chambers for saving a number of seamen at the same time, escape locks, air purifiers, better communication facilities, and other subsidiary features.

The Second World War brought on vastly expanded activities in the recommissioning of old submarines, building new ones, servicing submarines returning from patrol, and training personnel. In the 5-year period from 1940 through 1945 the base grew from 112 acres to 497, and from 80 buildings to 270. This expansion provided additional barracks, bachelor officers' quarters, schools, hospital buildings, mess halls, storage facilities, repair shops, and piers.

With the initiation of the fleet ballistic missile submarine program, an additional $60 million worth of facilities were constructed. These included new brick barracks, off-ship crew training accommodations and officers, a larger enlisted men's club, a major BOQ addition, and over a thousand units of family housing surrounding a large new chapel. A new mess hall and hospital will soon be added.

New London is not only the largest submarine station in the United States, but is also the largest such base in the world. The commanding officer Capt. Walter A. McGuinness is in charge of an operation consisting of over 300 buildings covering more than 547 acres of land. The station is charged with providing full logistic support including berthing, repair, supply, medical, dental and various personnel services for nearly 35,000 active, retired, and dependent personnel.

The senior officer present afloat is Rear Adm. Charles D. Nace, commander Submarine Flotilla 2 and New London area coordinator. The flotilla consists of Submarine Squadrons 2, 8, 10, 14 and Development Group 2, a total of about 60 submarines. The major activities within the New London area naval complex are the submarine school, a Marine barracks, a commissary store, a Navy finance office, the industrial manager and supervisor of building conversion, and repair in Groton, the submarine medical center, submarine safety center, the Navy underwater sound laboratory, and the New London test and evaluation detachment.

When one considers that the submarine construction yards of the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics Corp. are located in neighboring Groton, this area of my congressional district represents a potent factor in the defense establishment of our Nation. It is also an important element in the world balance of power, and a significant force for the establishment of permanent peace and security.

It is with pride and pleasure that I call to the attention of my colleagues the 100th anniversary of the New London Submarine Base, which in peace and in war has so nobly served our Nation in the highest traditions of the naval service. The Submarine Base Centennial Celebration is scheduled to take place during the Memorial Day weekend, May 30 through June 2, 1968. In addition to general visting of the base and submarines and ships in port, plans include a historical skit, an athletic field day, a banquet for local dignitaries, and a concert by the submarine base band. I hope that some of our colleagues in Congress will be able to join in honoring this great naval establishment on its anniversary celebration.

CAMPUS OR BATTLEGROUND

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, 3 weeks ago today I addressed the House relative to the outrageous demonstrations at Columbia and Northwestern Universities and now wish to repeat one particular paragraph from my remarks on that occasion:

> I believe it is time that the parents who are paying tuition, those donors who are paying for other costs, and those in charge of endowments, insist that the officials of our universities make clear that the schools are being run for purposes of education, not as field laboratories for revolution—domestic or imported.

This same point, along with several other thought-provoking observations and recommendations, appears in an excellent article from the May 20 issue of Barron's which was reproduced in the New York Times, May 24 and as a full-page advertisement in the Wall Street Journal of Monday, May 27, 1968. The article was written by Mr. Robert Hessen, a young instructor in Columbia University's Graduate School of Business

and a candidate for a doctorate in the department of history. I place the article at this point in the RECORD:

CAMPUS OR BATTLEGROUND?—COLUMBIA IS A WARNING TO ALL AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

A larger-than-life portrait of Karl Marx dominated the entrance of a classroom building; a red flag flew from its rooftop. Chains barred the doors of other buildings, and chanting mobs roamed across the campus. The scene might have been the University of Havana or Peking. It wasn't. It took place just a few express stops from Wall Street, at Columbia University, where, from April 23–30, student leftists seized and occupied five university buildings.

The siege tactics which disrupted Columbia and brought its normal activities to a halt represent the latest assault by a revolutionary movement which aims to seize first the universities and then the industries of America. The rebels are members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a nationwide organization with chapters on over 250 campuses (Barron's, November 15, 1965, and March 11, 1968).

Originally, when SDS began as an outgrowth of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy, it repudiated communism as an authoritarian system and excluded communists from its membership. However, in 1964–65, SDS sought to broaden its power base by forming a united front with communist youth groups. Although SDS continued to describe its objectives in such murky phrases as "participatory democracy," the real tenor of its philosophy can best be seen in its intellectual heroes, Marx and Mao; in its action hero, Che Guevara; and in its slogans crawled across the embattled Columbia campus—"Lenin won, Castro won, and we will win, too!"

SDS's hard-core membership at Columbia is fewer than 200 out of 17,800 students. But after it seized campus buildings, barred faculty and students from their offices and classrooms, and held a dean as hostage, its ranks were swelled by several hundred sympathizers, including many outsiders. SDS launched its assault on Columbia after failing peacefully to attain two of its political objectives on campus:

(1) The severing of Columbia's connection with the Institute for Defense Analyses, a government-sponsored consortium which performs research and analysis relating to national defense and domestic riot control. SDS complained that Columbia's affiliation was aiding America's "imperialist aggression" in Vietnam, while at home I.D.A.'s studies in riot control were designed to suppress demonstrations by anti-war groups.

(2) A halt to the construction of a new gymnasium in Morningside Park, which adjoins Harlem, on land leased to Columbia by the City of New York.

SDS claimed that Columbia was guilty of "institutional racism," that the university was poaching upon the territory of the adjacent Negro community, and that the separate entrance for the part of the gym set aside for use by the neighborhood children constituted "Gym Crow."

In fact, the Columbia gymnasium had been warmly endorsed by over 40 Harlem community groups when it was announced eight years ago. It would occupy only two of the 30 acres in Morningside Park. Its presence would create an atmosphere of safety in an area which is now the territory of muggers and addicts. Separate entrances would be necessary because Columbia students would enter from the Heights on which the university is located, while Harlem residents would more conveniently reach the gym through the park which lies some 200 feet below. The issue is not one of biggotry but of geography.

SDS spokesmen claimed, truthfully, that they had sought to arouse the Columbia community into opposing the gym and the I.D.A. links. They admit that their campaign was a failure, which they ascribe to student and faculty apathy, and to the administration's refusal to hear and to heed their policy recommendations.

SDS rebels then resorted to their ultimate political weapon: the initation of physical force, believing that they had a moral right to do so because they were "acting in a good cause." In the past, they had released many trial balloons to test this technique: they had obstructed N.R.O.T.C. graduation ceremonies; they had staged sit-ins in the offices of university administrators; and they had prevented recruits for business firms and the C.I.A. from interviewing on campus. In each case, the consequence had been a polite rap on the knuckles, a verbal reprimand devoid of significant penalties such as expulsion or criminal prosecution.

On April 23, after trying to block construction at the gym site, SDS demonstrators and their militant Negro allies, members of the Student Afro-American Society, returned to campus. At the urging of their leaders, they marched on Hamilton Hall, the main classroom building of Columbia College. They were determined to barricade themselves in until the university met their demands. An unexpected fissure occurred within the ranks of the rebels who claimed to be united in their opposition to racism: the Negro militants ordered the whites to get out, and SDS complied. SDS then proceeded to capture a base of operation of its own. The rebels first seized the administrative offices of President Grayson Kirk in Low Library, and later three more classroom buildings.

Most students reacted with bewilderment and outrage. They demanded to know why the campus police had not been called in, and why the rebels were allowed to receive reinforcements of manpower and food. They witnessed caravans of litter-bearers marching across campus with cartons of supplies, as if their destination were a country picnic. Many students also wondered why the administration had not ordered the cutting off of electricity, water and telephones inside the buildings held by the rebels, since it was known that they were making Xerox copies of President Kirk's letter files and formulating strategy with outside allies by phone.

The administration's failure to take prompt action evidently sprang from a number of motives: fear of bad publicity; uncertainty about the morality of using the police to uphold law and order; reluctance to make a decision which might prove unpopular with some of the faculty, students or alumni; anxiety that members of the Harlem community might march on Columbia if police were used to clear the buildings; and the delusion that if they took no punitive action, the rebels would recognize them as men of good will. An SDS leader later admitted that if President Kirk had responded within the first hour, or even the first day, by sending in the university's own security police, the rebels would have "folded like a house of cards." By its inaction, the administration gave the rebels time to organize their resistance, bolster their morale and mobilize sympathizers and supplies from the outside.

Members of the senior faculty attempted to mediate between the administration and the rebels. But their efforts were futile, since they were faced with an impossible assignment: to devise a peace formula ambiguous enough to satisfy both sides—which meant that the terms of settlement had to both promise and refuse amnesty for the rebels. The faculty mediators labored under the belief that the rebels would be willing to negotiate for a peaceful solution to the mounting crisis. What they discovered, however, was that every concession made by the administration only produced escalated rebel demands. SDS' ultimate demand was that they be granted total amnesty as a precondition for negotiation.

It grew increasingly obvious that the rebels would not withdraw from the buildings until forced out by the police. They wanted blood to be shed, so that they could raise the cry of "police brutality," acquire the aura of martyrdom, and thereby win the majority of students and faculty to their side. Regrettably, President Kirk played right into their hands, by waiting until the sixth day of siege before calling in the police. The only other alternative open to him at that point would have been total capitulation, a final act of appeasement which would have served as an engraved invitation to renewed rebel demands in the future. The proper time to have acted against the rebels was at the outset of the siege, when a few dozen campus security officers could have achieved what it later took nearly 1,000 city police to do, at a price of over 100 injured rebels, spectators and policemen.

The aftermath of calling in the police was an upsurge of sympathy for the rebels. Their allies on campus called for a general strike by students and faculty to protest the use of police and to demand the ouster of President Kirk for having called them in. One mark of the effectiveness of this strike is that Columbia College, the undergraduate division of the university, voted to end all classes for the rest of the semester, which was scheduled to run another month. The strikers also won support from those who disapproved of both the tactics and objectives of SDS, but who wished to take advantage of the strike to bring about what is cryptically described as "restructuring of the university."

Even those most sympathetic to SDS, however, do not deny that the issues of I.D.A. and the gym were merely pretexts to justify the resort to force. SDS' short-range objective is to achieve "student power," which means total control over the university. They seek student veto power over appointment and tenure of faculty, admission of new students, courses offered by the university, degree requirements and the disposition of university funds. They propose to "radicalize the faculty," which means to purge it of conservatives and of law-and-order liberals who oppose the initiation of force to achieve political ends. As befits socialists, they regard the university as just another natural resource awaiting their expropriation.

But the long-range objective of SDS is even more sinister. As a sympathetic article in The New Republic (May 11, 1968) states: "The point of the game was power. And in the broadest sense, to the most radical members of the SDS Steering Committee, Columbia itself was not the issue. It was revolution, and if it could be shown that a great university could literally be taken over in a matter of days by a well-organized group of students, then no university was secure. Everywhere the purpose was to destroy institutions of the American Establishment, in the hope that out of the chaos a better America would emerge."

The rebels have no patience for any slow process of change. They are tired of "just talk"—they want "action now." They will tolerate no opposition. They are indifferent to the fact that their tactics will destroy Columbia University by driving out the best minds, just as Nazi terror tactics drove the Jewish intellectuals out of the universities of Germany. But there is a crucial difference now. While men like Einstein could escape to England or America during the 'Thirties, SDS will try to close all avenues of escape. The use of intimidation and force will spread until there will be no sanctuary for men of reason within the academic word, or, ultimately, within the nation. One need only consider the fate of conservatives and liberals alike in countries which have been overrun by SDS' intellectual mentors: Mao's China and Castro's Cuba.

Since SDS tactics have succeeded in crippling a great university, the next targets can be City Hall, the State Capitol, or even the White House. If this prediction seems alarmist, consider the fact that SDS sympathizers known as "Yippies" already have announced plans to intimidate and disrupt the Democratic National Convention in Chicago this summer, in order to extract concessions on platform and candidates.

Whatever the final outcome of the Columbia strike, one thing is certain: the methods used at Columbia will be embraced by other student leftists on campuses throughout the country. Those who resort to force will justify their tactics by the same arguments advanced by the Columbia rebels and their apologists. If this national menace is to be checked, it is imperative that one know how to answer them.

(1) Some rebels claim that none of their tactics involved the use of force. This was true only in the narrow sense that they did not shed blood. But force was inextricably involved in every act that they perpetrated. They held the Associate Dean as hostage against his will—that was force. They barricaded faculty and students from their offices and classrooms—that was force. They seized property which was not rightfully theirs and refused to release it until their demands were met—that was force. Each of these is punished as an act of force under the civil laws of our society. They are the crimes known as false imprisonment, criminal trespass and extortion.

If these acts were perpetrated by a lone individual, their criminal character would be obvious. If a single felon had held the dean hostage, or seized the office of President Kirk, rifled his desk and copied his files, no one would have confused him with an idealistic, "committed" crusader. On an individual basis, if someone demands that you grant him wealth or power that he has not earned and which he can only obtain by threats of violence, one does not doubt for a moment that he is an extortionist. The act of a lone thug does not become legitimatized when he teams up with other hoodlums. As Ayn Rand noted in "Capitalism: the Unknown Ideal," no individual can acquire rights by joining a gang. "Rights are not a matter of numbers—and there can be no such thing, in law or in morality, as actions forbidden to an individual, but permitted to a mob."

(2) Other rebels admit that they used force, but claim that force is justified when peaceful tactics fail. The fundamental political principle that all men must respect is that no individual or group may initiate the use of force for any purpose whatsoever. To accept SDS' alternative amounts to carte blanche for violence, and invites the complete breakdown of the rule of law.

To understand the grotesque irrationality of SDS' argument consider the following. Imagine that there were a student chapter at Columbia of the Ku Klux Klan, which was protesting the proposed use of the new gym by Negroes. They tried, through campus rallies and petitions, to arouse the students, faculty and administration to support their demands, but their peaceful tactics failed. If this group then proceeded to seize university buildings and hold members of the administration as hostages, would anyone have condoned their use of force, or have called for negotiations and compromise? The principle is the same: the initiation of force to achieve one's political objectives is both immoral and illegal, regardless of whether the initials of the agressors are KKK or SDS.

(3) The rebels claim they were justified in using force because the administration had refused to give them a hearing on their demands for change. A university, like a well-run business, should be interested in knowing whether it is satisfying its customers. If it provides students with incompetent faculty, or poor laboratories or libraries, or support political policies which they oppose, it is in the university's self-interest to maintain open channels of communication so that grievances can be expressed and remedial actions considered. Students who are dissatisfied with any aspect of a university's policies have a right to peacefully protest and petition, and even, in extreme situations, to boycott classes or organize a student strike. But they have no right to compel anyone to listen to their demands, nor a right to force other people to go on strike with them by prohibiting access to classes or by creating a general climate of terror to intimidate those who would oppose them.

(4) The rebels claims that since force is justified when peaceful tactics fail, they should be granted full amnesty. The single best answer to this argument is provided by Professor Leonard Peikoff in his forthcoming book, "Nazism and Contemporary America: the Ominous Parallels" who says: "The demand for amnesty on principle is the demand for the abdication on principle of legal authority; it is a demand for the formal sanction in advance of all future acts of force and violence, for the promise that such acts may be perpetrated hereafter with impunity. It is a demand to institutionalize the appeasement of brute force as a principle of civil policy in this county."

(5) The rebels claim that police represent violence, and therefore should not be used on a college campus which is a citadel of reason and persuasion. Here the rebels evade the fact that they were the ones who first resorted to violence. They obliterate the distinction between criminals who initiate the use of force and the police whose function it is to retaliate with force to restore peace and to protect the rights of the victims.

(6) The rebels claim that their quarrel with the administration was purely an internal dispute, hence the introduction of police represents meddlesome interference by outsiders. By the same reasoning, one could just as well conclude that if workers seize a factory, customers seize a store, or tenants seize an apartment building, these, too, are internal matters and do not justify calling in the police. In reason there can be no such concept as an "internal dispute" which allows someone to be victimized and prevented from calling the police. Those who violate property rights are scarcely in a position to claim that their conquered territory is "private property" upon which police may not enter.

(7) Rebels should not be criminally prosecuted. After all, they are students, not criminals. One need only remember that it was Nazi students who set fire to university libraries and terrorized professors. Being a student does not grant one an exemption from the laws which prohibit attacks on human life and property. The rebels acted like criminals and should be punished as such.

(8) It is impractical to suspend or expel the student rebels because there are so many of them. This amounts to saying that if a sufficiently large mob breaks the law or violates individual right, it will be immune from punishment. If this principle is accepted, then every lawbreaker will be safe from prosecution if he can find enough members for his gang. This will provide the leader with an absolutely irresistible recruitment device, and invite the outbreak of a reign of terror.

(9) Admittedly the rebels violated property rights, but calling in the police could result in injury or loss of life, which is more important than loss of property. This argument amounts to saying that the lives of aggressors are more important than the property of victims. In action, this would mean that the police should not restrain rioting mobs from looting stores, or interfere with the KKK when it uses firebombs on Negro churches. On this principle, any victim of theft or expropriation would be advised to surrender his property—his wallet or warehouse—without resistance, lest the thief be hurt in the struggle. Acceptance of this principle would make every individual the defenseless target for any vandal or socialist.

The Columbia crisis vitally affects the life of every American. No one's life or property can be secure in a society which tolerates the use of force by any group to achieve its goals And no one will be safe as long as college and civil authorities persist in their policy of answering aggression with appeasement.

Now is the time for intelligent counteraction. One means is to withhold financial support from colleges which condone or compromise with student terror tactics. A second is to write to the president and trustees of colleges urging that they endorse the following position: that their institution offers no sanctuary to any group which advocates the initiation of physical force, and that they will act immediately and without hesitation to expel and criminally prosecute any student guilty of such tactics.

Men need to live by the guidance of rational principles and to resolve their disagreements peacefully. It is both immoral and impractical to abandon principles in a time of crisis, and then hope to survive on the basis of pragmatic expendiency and cowardly compromise. Each time that a violation of individual rights is tolerated, it serves as an invitation for future violations. A free society cannot survive unless men of reason rally to its defense.

BOOM IN SOUTH KOREA

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, in drawing attention to the article which follows these remarks it is our intention to emphasize in the minds of the Members of the House the importance of the American presence in Southeast Asia. None who know the history of the recent dramatic advance of the Korean economy and the growing strength of the democratic process within the country of Korea can fail to be impressed by the vigorous advances taken by the Koreans themselves by the environment of freedom. It should be equally apparent that none of these would be possible if it were not for the commitment America made to the Korean cause in the early 1950's.

It is the firm belief of many of us that though the scene has shifted the principles and the cause remains the same. The level of stability required for the advancement of free people is sustained now as it was in the early 1950's by the presence and the military commitment of the United States. We feel just as firmly that the future of Vietnam and her neighbors will as strongly attest to the wisdom of our action and of our commitment as has the already demonstrated advancement of the South Koreans. We hope that constructive and satisfying developments of the full flow of the history of the Far East will not be lost in the momentary frustrations of our enduring confrontations with the countervailing

force of the Communists. We think too few people give attention or credit to reports such as that reflected in the article immediately below.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place the editorial from the Washington Evening Star of May 25, 1968, in the Record, as follows:

Boom in South Korea

Japan's Foreign Ministry has just completed a study whose main conclusion is "relatively optimistic" about the effects of a possible Vietnam peace on Asia's economic future. The study has involved the Philippines, Nationalist China, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand and South Korea. All these countries, according to the Japanese experts, should be able to get along quite well without the present "U.S. special procurement orders" connected with the war.

The outlook for South Korea is particularly encouraging. Second only to Japan itself, this determined anti-Communist ally—a country with 50,000 well-trained troops fighting on freedom's side in Vietnam—has been experiencing the fastest and greatest economic growth in Asia. A few statistics point up the story: National production for the first quarter of 1968 was 31 percent greater than in the corresponding 1967 period, exports were up 39 percent; in fact, they are expected to reach a total of $500 million by the end of the year, as contrasted to only about $30 million in 1960.

These figures speak for themselves. South Korea's boom continues to be phenomenal, and it seems to be solidly based on a program of sound internal economic development, and also on an enlightened program of social and educational advancement (the country's literacy rate has risen to 90 percent, one of the world's highest). As the Japanese study indicates, it all adds up to progress not likely to be set back by a Vietnamese peace settlement. When and if such a settlement comes, the free Koreans will still be able to look forward to a continuing growth of their economy.

All this is the more remarkable because Communist North Korea—with an ominous multiplication of murderous infiltration forays across the demilitarized zone—seems intent upon creating emergency conditions to put a blight on Seoul's success story. It is a story that makes Kim Il-Sung and his Red Pyongyang dictatorship look relatively incompetent.

MORE POWER FOR POLICE, LESS FOR CRIMINALS?

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. News & World Report issued today but dated June 3, 1968, carried an article entitled "More Power for Police, Less for Criminals?" This article summarizes the action taken and amendments voted by the U.S. Senate to the House-passed crime bill. I include its full text herewith and recommend it to the Members of the House. It is most timely reading in the further consideration of this legislation. The article follows:

More Power for Police, Less for Criminals?

If the U.S. Senate has its way, police forces across the nation are going to start getting some breaks in their war on crime.

Tough anticrime bill strikes at court rulings that pamper outlaws and give police power to use wiretaps and "bugs."

The U.S. Senate has served notice that it thinks the Supreme Court has gone too far in protecting the legal rights of criminals.

A tough anticrime bill passed by the Senate May 23 would do these things:

Overturn several of the Supreme Court's most controversial rulings.

Authorize wiretapping and electronic "bugging" by police in criminal investigations—under court supervision.

Ban interstate mail-order sales of handguns and limit direct sales of such weapons to adult State residents.

Provide 400 million dollars for federal aid to strengthen local police.

The bill, which passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote of 72 to 4, still is subject to House acceptance.

HELP FOR POLICE

If finally enacted by Congress and accepted by President Johnson, the bill would give police more power—and more time—in their investigations of crimes and in their interrogations of suspects.

Under the sections aimed at reversing Supreme Court decisions, the following rules would apply in federal cases:

A confession—if it were voluntary—could not be barred from evidence simply because police had not followed all the technical rules laid down by the Supreme Court in recent years.

Police would have up to six hours to question a suspect before bringing him before a judge for arraignment.

The suspect's confession could not be barred from his trial on the sole ground that it was given during what a court might call an unreasonable delay between arrest and arraignment.

An eyewitness identification of a suspect in a police lineup could not be kept out of evidence merely because the suspect had no lawyer present at the police lineup.

TEST FOR CONFESSIONS

Effect of the legislation, its supporters say, would be to restore the basic test applied to confessions before the Supreme Court began changing the rules.

That test would be simply this: Was the confession made voluntarily, without coercion? If so, it would be admissible as evidence in federal trials.

Federal rules are recognized as having much effect on procedures followed in State courts.

The action taken in the Senate was not a complete defeat for the Supreme Court, however.

Rejected by the Senate were measures that would strip federal courts of power to review a defendant's claim that his constitutional rights had been violated by a State court.

This leaves the Supreme Court still in a position to rule on the constitutionality of the changes sought by the legislation that the Senate approved.

ROADBLOCKS AHEAD

There were indications that the Senate measures might not be accepted by the House, which has passed a different version of the anticrime bill.

Representative Emanuel Celler (Dem.), of New York, who will head the conference committee to reconcile the differing bills, says he is prepared to sacrifice the entire anticrime measure unless the Court provisions are removed.

President Johnson also is reported to dislike those provisions.

What the Senate did, however, was to show emphatically the lawmakers' concern about rising crime and the effects of Supreme Court rulings.

Time and again, during the debate, Senator John L. McClellan (Dem.), of Arkansas, pointed at big "crime clocks" which showed:

Six serious crimes committed in the U.S. each minute, a murder every 48 minutes, a forcible rape every 21 minutes, an aggravated assault every 2 minutes, a robbery every 3.5 minutes and a burglary every 23 seconds.

Senator McClellan charged that one reason crime is rising is that the Supreme Court is "turning criminals loose on dubious technicalities that have nothing to do with guilt or innocence."

The Senate voted 51 to 31 against an amendment which would have deleted the entire section dealing with courts.

Then, by votes ranging as high as 63 to 21, the Senate approved one provision after another that was aimed directly at Supreme Court rulings.

One main target was the so-called "Miranda ruling" which held that a confession was inadmissible—even though voluntary—unless the suspect had been informed in advance of his rights to remain silent, to have a lawyer present at his questioning, and to be provided a lawyer if he could not afford one.

Another target was the "Wade ruling," barring use of an identification in a police lineup unless the defendant had been permitted a lawyer at the lineup.

Also attacked was the "Mallory rule," interpreted by courts as putting very short limits on time allowed for questioning before a suspect is arraigned.

The wiretapping and "bugging" authorization requires police to obtain advance approval by a court except for temporary surveillance—up to 48 hours—in an emergency or in cases involving national security.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark vainly opposed the "bugging" section. Attempts to weaken it met lopsided defeats.

Backers of the Senate bill charged repeatedly that Court rulings and present law-enforcement policies have been handcuffing police and helping criminals escape punishment.

Now the Senate has made plain that it wants more power for the police—and fewer loopholes for criminals.

THE MARCH BACK HOME

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, much attention has been directed by news stories and comment to current Poor People's Campaign in Washington.

The most intelligent comment on the problems of poor people and on the realistic solution to their problems was included in an editorial of the Huntsville, Ala., Times, May 22.

The editorial suggests that any campaign to help them must begin, not here but back home, by helping the poor take advantage of expanding opportunities within their individual communities.

So that my colleagues may appreciate the thoughts of this editorial, I include it as a part of my remarks at this point and invite their attention to it:

The March Back Home

What America's poor people need, their leaders have suggested, is money. Since poverty means having little or no money, isn't that an obvious truth? Not necessarily.

What hungry people need is food. What weary people need is rest. What thirsty people need is water. In all those cases, when the need is filled, the condition disappears.

But poverty and money are a different matter. Understandably, the poor all too often lack the prudence, the wisdom, to make the best use of the money they do have to relieve their condition.

Given more money, can the uneducated poor person realistically be expected to apply it wisely to help cure his poverty? Will he use the additional cash to buy nutritional food for his family, clothes and books for his children so they can remain in school, better living-quarters, further education for himself? Or is he more likely to spend it, considering his circumstances, foolishly, on a color television set, a shiny new automobile, a fifth of whisky, or gamble it away, remaining poor?

Money alone, in the hands of the poor, will not cure poverty. Accompanying any outpouring of additional cash into the frayed purses of the poverty-stricken must be a concerted program of education, advice, example, exhortation—by social workers, employers, teachers, concerned laymen and by the ministers of the poor.

The Poor People's Campaign in Washington will eventually end, probably in dismal failure. Then its leaders would be wise to turn around and march back home, to the other side of the tracks, into the ghettos, into the slums and shantytowns, and begin a realistic campaign to help the poor take advantage of expanding opportunities for education, for job-training and upgrading, for monetary assistance to those who truly wish to build a better life for themselves and their children.

DYETT AGAINST TURNER: UTAH HIGH COURT TAKES ISSUE WITH SUPREME COURT OF UNITED STATES

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, in its efforts to make certain that accused person are adequately represented by counsel in criminal proceedings, the Supreme Court of the United States in recent times has laid down rules so far-reaching that, when applied in certain cases, they become absurd. A case in point is eloquently explored by Justice A. H. Ellett of the Utah Supreme Court in his opinion in Dyett against Turner which was handed down on March 22 of this year. The opinion says the U.S. Supreme Court has gone too far in its determination that the right to counsel in criminal prosecutions, as guaranteed by the sixth amendment, requires that the accused shall have counsel. I know that many of my colleagues, like myself, have been disturbed by the lack of restraint exercised by the Supreme Court in the past several years in this and related areas of the criminal law. Justice Ellett's opinion gives precise articulation to this dissenting point of view. I recommend it to my colleagues for their serious consideration:

[In the Supreme Court of the State of Utah—No. 11089—filed Mar. 22, 1968]

GERALD J. DYETT, PLAINTIFF, *v.* JOHN W. TURNER, WARDEN, UTAH STATE PRISON, DEFENDANT

Ellett, Justice:

The plaintiff, Mr. Dyett, is confined in the state prison of the State of Utah as a result of a plea of guilty entered to a charge of issuing a check against insufficient funds with intent to defraud. He filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus in the Federal District Court here, which was denied. Thereafter he filed an amended petition in the same court. At the time of denying this amended petition the judge wrote a memorandum decision in which he indicated a disposition to release the petitioner from prison but thought he could do so only after all state remedies had been exhausted. He said:

"Accordingly, the amended petition for a writ of habeas corpus must be and is hereby denied, without prejudice to the filing of a further petition at such time as plaintiff may have exhausted his state remedies upon the specific claim herein discussed. 28 U.S.C. § 2254."

He further said:

"It is clear from the foregoing authorities that plaintiff had a constitutional right to be represented by counsel before the state district court at the time of his plea of guilty and that the facts appearing of record do not establish waiver of that right as a matter of law. Whether an understanding, intelligent and voluntary waiver is shown by a preponderance of the evidence calls for a judgment on the facts on which there now is no record determination by state authority which is controlling upon this court under 28 U.S.C. § 2254 as amended by Pub. L. 89–711, 80 Stat. 1104."

We feel that our decision in this matter should not be subject to reversal by inferior courts of the federal system. However, it is rather obvious that such a proceeding is likely to occur unless we turn the prisoner loose upon society. While we deplore such a situation as is now foisted upon the states by various rulings of the United States Supreme Court and acts of Congress based upon such rulings, yet we want it understood that we do not think the particular Utah federal district judge is in any manner to blame. He acts under the direction of the Supreme Court of the United States and must faithfully carry out the law as he believes that court would have him to do. We personally know him to be one of the finest of men, an excellent lawyer, and a good judge. What we have to say hereafter is not meant as any reflection upon him in any manner whatsoever.

This situation presents an opportunity to review the constitutional provisions in order to determine if any rights of this defendant have been violated.

We first direct our attention to the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which so far as material provides:

"In all criminal prosecutions, *the accused shall enjoy the right* to a speedy and public trial, . . . and *to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defense.*" [Emphasis added.]

It does not say he shall have counsel. It only says he shall have the right to have the assistance of counsel for his defense, and the right to have counsel does not justify a court in forcing a lawyer upon an accused who does not want one. See *State* v. *Penderville*, 2 Utah 2d 281, 272 P. 2d 196; Moore.

To understand this amendment, one must look to the situation which prevailed at the time of the adoption of the first ten amendments. In England a defendant in a misdemeanor case had the right to have counsel with him in court. A felony charge being initiated by the Crown was looked upon as a different matter, and one accused of felony was not permitted to contest with the Crown by means of a lawyer. In fact, it was not until 1836 that a defendant accused of a felony in England was permitted the right to have counsel in court. See 21 Am. Jur. 2d, Criminal Law § 309. It was the fear of the states that the newly created federal entity might attempt to follow the Crown in refusing a defendant the right to have counsel which caused this amendment to be written into the so-called Bill of Rights. This was simply a limitation upon the Federal Government and in nowise was supposed to be applicable to the states. In fact, the Tenth Amendment was adopted to make sure that the federal entity did not take unto itself any powers not specifically granted to it. That amendment reads:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

For over 140 years more than 70 justices of the Supreme Court consistently held that the first ten amendments to the Constitution applied as a limitation to the Federal Government only and not in any manner to the states, and for 70 years following the so-called adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment some 35 justices from every corner of the Nation have held that the Fourteenth Amendment did not make the first ten amendments applicable to the states. Some of those justices had helped to frame the original Constitution and the first ten amendments and had worked to secure the adoption thereof. Others had participated in the war between the states and were acquainted at firsthand with the purposes intended to be accomplished by the Fourteenth Amendment. All of them interpreted the Constitution, including the amendments, with knowledge and wisdom born of intimacy with the problems which had called forth the documents in the first place.

The United States Supreme Court, as at present constituted, has departed from the Constitution as it has been interpreted from its inception and has followed the urgings of social reformers in foisting upon this Nation laws which even Congress could not constitutionally pass. It has amended the Constitution in a manner unknown to the document itself. While it takes three fourths of the states of the Union to change the Constitution legally, yet as few as five men who have never been elected to office can by judicial fiat accomplish a change just as radical as could three fourths of the states of this Nation. As a result of the recent holdings of that Court, the sovereignty of the states is practically abolished, and the erstwhile free and independent states are now in effect and purpose merely closely supervised units in the federal system.

We do not believe that justices of once free and independent states should surrender their constitutional powers without being heard from. We would betray the trust of our people if we sat supinely by and permitted the great bulk of our powers to be taken over by the federal courts without at least stating reasons why it should not be so. By attempting to save the dual relationship which has heretofore existed between state and federal authority and which is clearly set out in the Constitution, we think we act in the best interest of our country.

We feel like galley slaves chained to our oars by a power from which we cannot free ourselves, but like slaves of old we think we must cry out when we can see the boat heading into the maelstrom directly ahead of us; and by doing so, we hope the master of the craft will heed the call and avert the dangers which confront us all. But by raising our voices in protest we, like the galley slaves of old, expect to be lashed for doing so. We are confident that we will not be struck by 90 per cent of the people of this Nation who long for the return to the days when the Constitution was a document plain enough to be understood by all who read it, the meaning of which was set firmly like a jewel in the matrix of common sense and wise judicial decisions. We shall not complain if those who berate us belong to that small group who refuse to take an oath that they will not overthrow this government by force. When we bare our legal backs to receive the verbal lashes, we will try to be brave; and should the great court of these United States decide that in our thinking we have committed error, then we shall indeed feel honored, for we will then be placed on an equal footing with all those great justices who at this late date are also said to have been in error for so many years.

In addition to what we have said about the meaning of the Federal Constitution, we are disturbed in the attitude of the criminal element in our society since the federal courts have arrogated unto themselves the powers and duties which rightfully belong to the state courts. It is a daily occurrence when some known burglar or thief flouts a police officer and threatens to "get his badge," and threatens the trial judge with having him taken before the judge of the federal court.

For many years Utah has been at the very head of our states in the Union in the matter of rehabilitation of prisoners. Our efforts have been directed toward teaching the wayfaring man to cease to do evil and to learn to do good. We have 20 trial judges, and everyone of them utilizes probation personnel in trying to supervise defendants who are placed on probation. In all of our 29 counties, some of which are sparsely inhabited, we have the services of trained men who are instrumental in securing employment for the defendants and of giving them "on-the-job training."

The records of the Adult Probation and Parole Board show that some 63 per cent of all defendants who are either found guilty or who plead guilty are placed on probation, and of that number 75 percent are faithful to their probationary obligations. Those records further show that of those more hardened criminals who are first committed to prison and then placed on parole, over 62 percent keep faith with their trust. Always the welfare of the man is the principal objective in the attempt to make useful citizens out of prisoners. We have an accredited high school within the prison walls from which one may graduate and receive a high school diploma recognized by all colleges as a basis of entrance. Trades are taught inmates, such, for example, as welding, painting, carpentry, upholstery, auto mechanics, boiler making, cooking, printing, etc.

The prime prerequisite toward a good relationship between a prisoner and his rehabilitation is his acknowledgment and acceptance of the fact that he has done wrong and a realization on his part that society is his benefactor trying to improve his lot, so that he can become a useful citizen. It is difficult to supervise a man who is looking for loopholes through which he may escape from the results of his criminal tendencies. Each time he is let out on a technicality, he believes the court is on his side, and so he does not have to conform to any standard except that which he sets for himself. A constant stream of writs of habeas corpus flows from the prison daily, complaining about the lack of beefsteak and pie and other frivolous matters. Suits are filed against judges who, in the performance of their duties, sentence criminals to prison, etc.

The Board of Pardons have been liberal in placing men on parole who give promise of reform, but they do this only because they let it be understood that misbehavior on the prisoner's part will result in termination of the trial parole. Holdings to the effect that parole cannot be revoked without a full hearing with state-appointed counsel will simply cause the board to be more reluctant to release a prisoner in the future. The decisions of the United States courts have in effect invited and caused prisoners to look for technicalities of how to "get out of it" or "to beat the rap."

The time was when a lawyer could counsel his client to plead guilty and receive supervision and training, so that he might be a better citizen when he has paid his debt to society. Such advice came from honest lawyers who thought more of the future of the defendant than they did of getting a guilty man off. No longer can an attorney safely do that, for to do so will likely result in a release of the prisoner on habeas corpus upon the ground that the lawyer was incompetent and had not put the state to as much expense as possible.

It has been intimated that a rich man can hire a loophole lawyer, and it is, therefore, a denial of due process to fail to furnish a poor man a loophole lawyer also. The answer seems to be that courts should make an example of loophole lawyers wherever they may be found—if any there be. If courts would direct attention to seeing that innocent men are not found guilty or allowed to plead guilty rather than trying to find imaginary legal technicalities which allow the guilty to escape punishment, the stature of the courts and of lawyers would rise immensely in the eyes of the public.

In regard to the Fourteenth Amendment, which the present Supreme Court of the United States has by decision chosen as the basis for invading the rights and prerogatives of the sovereign states, it is appropriate to look at the means and methods by which that amendment was foisted upon the Nation in times of emotional stress. We have no desire at this time to have the Fourteenth Amendment declared unconstitutional. In fact, we are not asked to do that. We merely want to show what type of a horse that Court has to ride in order to justify its usurpation of the prerogatives of the states.

It is common knowledge that any assumption of power will always attract a certain following, and if no resistance is offered to this show of strength, then the asserted powers are accepted without question. It is therefore our purpose to try to give a ray of hope to all those who believe that the states are capable of deciding for themselves whether prayer shall be permitted in schools, whether their bicameral legislatures may be composed of members elected pursuant to their own state constitutional standards, yes, and even whether a prisoner who says he does not want counsel shall be turned loose because the court did not tell him that he could have one for free.

The method of amending the Federal Constitution is provided for in Article V of the original document. No other method will accomplish this purpose. That article provides as follows:

"The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of the Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; . . ."

The Civil War had to be fought to determine whether the Union was indissoluble and whether any state could secede or withdraw therefrom. The issue was settled first on the field of battle by force of arms, and second by the pronouncement of the highest court of the land. In the case of Texas v. White, 7 Wall. 700, it was claimed that Texas having seceded from the Union and severed her relationship with a majority of the states of the Union, and having by her ordinance of secession attempted to throw off her allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, had thus disabled herself from prosecuting a suit in the federal courts. In speaking on this point the Court at page 726 held:

"When, therefore, Texas became one of the United States, she entered into an indissoluble relation. All the obligations of perpetual union, and all the guaranties of republican government in the Union, attached at once to the State. The act which consummated her admission into the Union was something more than a compact; it was the incorporation of a new member into the political body. And it was final. The union between Texas and the other States was as complete, as perpetual, and as indissoluble as the union between the original States. There was no place for reconsideration, or revocation, except through revolution, or through consent of the States.

"Considered therefore as transactions under the Constitution, the ordinance of secession, adopted by the convention and ratified by a majority of the citizens of Texas, and all the acts of her legislature intended to give effect to that ordinance, were absolutely null. They were utterly without operation in law. The obligations of the State, as a member of the Union, and of every citizen of the State, as a citizen of the United States, remained perfect and unimpaired. It certainly follows that the State did not cease to be a State, nor her citizens to be citizens, of the Union. If this were otherwise, the State must have become foreign, and her citizens foreigners. The war must have ceased to be a war for the suppression of rebellion, and must have become a war for conquest of subjugation.

"Our conclusion therefore is, that Texas continued to be a State, and a State of the Union, notwithstanding the transactions to which we have referred. And this conclusion, in our judgment, is not in conflict with any act or declaration of any department of the National government, but entirely in accordance with the whole series of such acts and declarations since the first outbreak of the rebellion."

It is necessary to review the historical background to understand how the Fourteenth Amendment came to be a part of our Federal Constitution.

General Lee had surrendered his army on April 9, 1865, and General Johnston surrendered his 17 days later. Within a period of less than six weeks thereafter, not one Confederate soldier was bearing arms. By June 30, 1865, the Confederates states were all restored by presidential proclamation to their proper positions as states in an indissoluble union,[1] and practically all citizens thereof[2] had been granted amnesty. Immediately thereafter each of the seceding states functioned as regular states in the Union with both state and federal courts in full operation.

President Lincoln had declared the freedom of the slaves as a war measure, but when the war ended, the effect of the proclamation was ended, and so it was necessary to propose and to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment in order to insure the freedom of the slaves.

The 11 southern states having taken their rightful and necessary place in the indestructible Union proceeded to determine whether to ratify or reject the proposed Thirteenth Amendment. In order to become a part of the Constitution, it was necessary that the proposed amendment be ratified by 27 of the 36 states. Among those 27 states ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment were 10 from the South, to wit, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas.

When the 39th Congress assembled on December 5, 1865, the senators and representatives from the 25 northern states voted to deny seats in both houses of Congress to anyone elected from the 11 southern states. The full complement of senators from the 36 states of the Union was 72, and the full membership in the House was 240. Since it requires only a majority vote (Article 1, Section 5, Constitution of the United States) to refuse a seat in Congress, only the 50 senators and 182 congressmen from the North were seated. All of the 22 senators and 58 representatives from the southern states were denied seats.

Footnotes at end of article.

Joint Resolution No. 48 proposing the Fourteenth Amendment was a matter of great concern to the Congress and to the people of the Nation. In order to have this proposed amendment submitted to the 36 states for ratification, it was necessary that two thirds of each house concur. A count of noses showed that only 33 senators were favorable to the measure, and 33 was a far cry from two thirds of 72 and lacked one of being two thirds of the 50 seated senators.

While it requires only a majority of votes to refuse a seat to a senator, it requires a two thirds majority to unseat a member once he is seated. (Article 1, Section 5, Constitution of the United States) One John P. Stockton was seated on December 5, 1865, as one of the senators from New Jersey. He was outspoken in his opposition to Joint Resolution No. 48 proposing the Fourteenth Amendment. The leadership in the Senate not having control of two thirds of the seated senators voted to refuse to seat Mr. Stockton upon the ground that he had received only a plurality and not a majority of the votes of the New Jersey legislature. It was the law of New Jersey and several other states that a plurality vote was sufficient for election. Besides, the Senator had already been seated. Nevertheless, his seat was *refused,* and the 33 favorable votes thus became the required two thirds of the 49 members of the Senate.

In the House of Representatives it would require 122 votes to be two thirds of the 182 members seated. Only 120 voted for the proposed amendment, but because there were 30 abstentions it was declared to have been passed by a two thirds vote of the House.

Whether it requires two-thirds of the full membership of both houses to propose an amendment to the Constitution or only two-thirds of those seated or two-thirds of those voting is a question which it would seem could only be determined by the United States Supreme Court. However, it is perhaps not so important for the reason that the amendment is only *proposed* by Congress. It must be *ratified* by three-fourths of the states in the Union before it becomes a part of the Constitution. The method of securing the passage through Congress is set out above, as it throws some light on the means used to obtain ratification by the states thereafter.

Nebraska had been admitted to the Union, and so the Secretary of State in transmitting the proposed amendment announced that ratification by 28 states would be needed before the amendment would become part of the Constitution, since there were at the time 37 states in the Union. A rejection by 10 states would thus defeat the proposal.

By March 17, 1867, the proposed amendment had been ratified 17 states and rejected by 10, with California voting to take no action thereon, which was equivalent to rejection. Thus the proposal was defeated.

One of the ratifying states, Oregon, had ratified by a membership wherein two legislators were subsequently held not to be duly elected, and after the contest the duly elected members of the legislature of Oregon rejected the proposed amendment. However, this rejection came after the amendment was declared passed.

Despite the fact that the southern states had been functioning peacefully for two years and had been counted to secure ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act, which provided for the military occupation of 10 of the 11 southern states. It excluded Tennessee from military occupation, and one must suspect it was because Tennessee had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment on July 7, 1866. The Act further disfranchised practically all white voters and provided that no senator or congressman from the occupied states could be seated in Congress until a new constitution was adopted by each state which would be approved by Congress, and further provided that each of the 10 states must ratify the proposed Fourteenth Amendment, and the Fourteenth Amendment must become a part of the Constitution of the United States before the military occupancy would cease and the states be allowed to have seats in Congress.

By the time the Reconstruction Act had been declared to be the law, three more states had ratified the proposed Fourteenth Amendment, and two—Louisiana and Delaware—had rejected it. Then Maryland withdrew its prior ratification and rejected the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. Ohio followed suit and withdrew its prior ratification, as also did New Jersey. California, which earlier had voted not to pass upon the proposal, now voted to reject the amendment. Thus 16 of the 37 states had rejected the proposed amendment.

By spurious, nonrepresentative governments seven of the southern states which had theretofore rejected this proposed amendment under the duress of military occupation and of being denied representation in Congress did attempt to ratify the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. The Secretary of State on July 20, 1868, issued his proclamation wherein he stated that it was his duty under the law to cause amendments to be published and certified as a part of the Constitution when he received official notice that they had been adopted pursuant to the Constitution. Thereafter his certificate contained the following language:

"And whereas neither the act just quoted from, nor any other law, expressly or by conclusive implication, authorizes the Secretary of State to determine and decide doubtful questions as to the authenticity of the organization of State legislatures, or as to the power of any State legislature to recall a previous act or resolution of ratification of any amendment proposed to the Constitution;

"And whereas it appears from official documents on file in this Department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed as aforesaid, has been ratified by the legislatures of the States [naming 23, including New Jersey, Ohio, and Oregon];

"And whereas it further appears from documents on file in this Department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed as aforesaid, has also been ratified by newly constituted and newly established bodies avowing themselves to be and acting as the legislatures, respectively, of the States of Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Alabama;

"And whereas it further appears from official documents on file in this Department that the legislatures of two of the States first above enumerated, to wit, Ohio and New Jersey, have since passed resolutions respectively withdrawing the consent of each of said States to the aforesaid amendment; and whereas it is deemed a matter of doubt and uncertainty whether such resolutions are not irregular, invalid, and therefore ineffectual for withdrawing the consent of the said two States, or of either of them, to the aforesaid amendment;

"And whereas the whole number of States in the United States is thirty-seven, to wit: [naming them];

"And whereas the twenty-three States first hereinbefore named, whose legislatures have ratified the said proposed amendment, and the six States next thereafter named, as having ratified the said proposed amendment by newly constituted and established legislative bodies, together constitute three fourths of the whole number of States in the United States;

"Now, therefore, be it known that I, William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuant of the second section of the act of Congress, approved the twentieth of April, eighteen hundred and eighteen, hereinbefore cited, do hereby certify that if the resolutions of the legislatures of Ohio and New Jersey ratifying the aforesaid amendment are to be deemed as remaining of full force and effect, notwithstanding the subsequent resolutions of the legislatures of those States, which purport to withdraw the consent of said States from such ratification, then the aforesaid amendment has been ratified in the manner hereinbefore mentioned, and so has become valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United States." [3]

Congress was not satisfied with the proclamation as issued and on the next day passed a concurrent resolution wherein it was resolved "That said fourteenth article is hereby declared to be a part of the Constitution of the United States, and it shall be duly promulgated as such by the Secretary of State." [4] Thereupon, William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, after setting forth the concurrent resolution of both houses of Congress, then certified that the "amendment has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States." [5]

The Constitution of the United States is silent as to who should decide whether a proposed amendment has or has not been passed according to formal provisions of Article V of the Constitution. The Supreme Court of the United States is the ultimate authority on the meaning of the Constitution and has never hesitated in a proper case to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional—except when the act purported to amend the Constitution.[6] The duty of the Secretary of State was ministerial, to wit, to count and determine when three fourths of the states had ratified the proposed amendment. He could not determine that a state once having rejected a proposed amendment could thereafter approve it, nor could he determine that a state once having ratified that proposal could thereafter reject it. The court and not Congress should determine such matters. Consistency would seem to require that a vote once cast would be final or would not be final, whether the first vote was for ratification or rejection.

In order to have 27 states ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, it was necessary to count those states which had first rejected and then under the duress of military occupation had ratified, and then also to count those states which initially ratified but subsequently rejected the proposal.

To leave such dishonest counting to a fractional part of Congress is dangerous in the extreme. What is to prevent any political party having control of both houses of Congress from refusing to seat the opposition and then without more passing a joint resolution to the effect that the Constitution is amended and that it is the duty of the Administrator of the General Services Administration [7] to proclaim the adoption? Would the Supreme Court of the United States still say the problem was political and refuse to determine whether constitutional standards had been met?

How can it be conceived in the minds of anyone that a combination of powerful states can by force of arms deny another state a right to have representation in Congress until it has ratified an amendment which its people oppose? The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted by means almost as bad as that suggested above.[8]

We have spoken in the hope that the Supreme Court of the United States may retreat from some of its recent decisions affecting the rights of a sovereign state to determine for itself what is proper procedure in its own courts as it affects its own citizens. However, we realize that because of that Court's superior power, we must pay homage to it even though we disagree with it; and so we now

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Footnotes at end of article.

discuss the merits of this case just the same as though the sword of Damocles did not hang over our heads.

We have only one question to decide: Did the defendant below (the plaintiff in this petition) knowingly, intelligently, and voluntarily waive counsel? Let us look at the record of what he said at the time he waived counsel.

"The Court. Do you understand that this charge carries with it a penalty of imprisonment in the Utah State Prison?

"Defendant Dyett. Yes, sir.

"The Court. Do you have a prior record?

"Defendant Dyett. No, sir.

"The Court. Do you have an attorney?

"Defendant Dyett. No, sir.

"The Court. Do you desire to be represented by counsel?

"Defendant Dyett. No, sir.

"The Court. Do you understand that you are entitled to be represented by counsel?

"Defendant Dyett. Yes.

"The Court. Is it your desire to waive counsel?

"Defendant Dyett. Yes, sir.

"The Court. Are you free on bail?

"Defendant Dyett. Yes.

"The Court. The record may show that the defendant has waived his right to counsel.

"The Statute allows you additional time before you are required to enter a plea, or you may waive that time and enter a plea at this time. What is your desire?

"Defendant Dyett. I will waive.

"The Court. You waive your time?

"Defendant Dyett. Yes.

"The Court. And enter a plea now?

"Defendant Dyett. Yes.

"The Court. To the charge of issuing a check against insufficient funds, how do you plead, guilty or not guilty?

"Defendant Dyett. I plead guilty, and request a probationary——

"The Court. Have you conferred with an attorney?

"Defendant Dyett. No.

"The Court. Why do you think you are entitled to probation?

"Defendant Dyett. Well, I don't know why. It's just my wishes, probationary."

At the time of arraignment the Court asked the defendant why he wrote the check, and the defendant answered, "Well, just didn't have any money, and I wrote it. That's all there is to it." He also said he had written other checks which had not been paid for. The prosecuting attorney had six of the worthless checks which had been turned over to the sheriff by merchants who had been defrauded.

The defendant was not shown to be illiterate or feeble minded. He was guilty and knew it and also knew that the State could prove it. He did not want either a trial or a lawyer. One would have to stretch his imagination to find that this defendant did want a lawyer. So much notoriety has been given to the right to counsel on the part of defendants charged with criminal acts that it is difficult to believe any grown man who is smart enough to defraud seven merchants into cashing worthless checks would not know about it.

In the case of Johnson v. Zerbst, 304 U.S. 458, 58 S.Ct. 1019, 82 L.Ed. 1461, 146 A.L.R. 357, it was said:

"It must be remembered, however, that a judgment cannot be lightly set aside by collateral attack, even on *habeas corpus*. When collaterally attacked, the judgment of a court carries with it a presumption of regularity. Where a defendant, without counsel, acquiesces in a trial resulting in his conviction and later seeks release by the extraordinary remedy of *habeas corpus*, the burden of proof rests upon him to establish that he did not competently and intelligently waive his constitutional right to assistance of counsel."

In the case of Cost v. Boles, 272 F. Supp. 39, the prisoner had been convicted in a state court and brought habeas corpus in a federal court. He testified that the trial court asked him if he wanted counsel but he did not understand this to mean that if he could not afford an attorney, one would be appointed for him. In dismissing the prisoner's petition the court at page 43 said:

". . . the Court feels that the question of whether a defendant 'wants' counsel 'fairly implies the availability of the assistance of the court in obtaining counsel if he wished it.' Starks v. United States, 264 F. 2d 797, 800 (4 Cir. 1959). And see Post v. Boles, 332 F. 2d 738, 740 (4 Cir. 1964). Thus, the Court feels that the State has borne its initial burden of proving Cost's 'affirmative acquiescence' in proceeding without counsel."

The case of State v. Gilbert (N. Mex.), 432 P. 2d 402 (1967), involved an attempt by a prisoner to get out of prison on a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that he did not understandingly and intelligently waive his right to counsel. The Supreme Court of New Mexico held that proceedings under the post-conviction remedies were civil in nature and, therefore, governed by the Rules of Civil Procedure. The court said:

"Thus the burden of proof at the Rule 93 hearing rested on defendant to establish that he did not competently and intelligently waive his right to counsel, and this burden required him to so convince the court by a preponderance of the evidence. [Citations omitted.] He failed to meet this burden, and we are of the opinion that the evidence substantially supports the findings of the trial court."

The case of Nielsen v. Turner, — Utah 2d —, 435 P. 2d 921, is on all fours with the instant case, and in that case relief was denied to the petitioner.

We can see no reason to start talking about who is going to pay a lawyer until somebody wants one. In fact, it should be remembered that all the court can do is to appoint a lawyer to work for the client. It is not the province of the judge to make him do it for free. That could be taking property without due process of law. The defendant who commits a crime is entitled to have counsel, but he is not entitled to a free ride at the expense of the public upon whom he has just been preying. The widow and the orphan whose breadwinner has been murdered in cold blood should not be taxed to help the guilty defendant escape the consequences of his evil deed. He at least should pay the lawyer for the services rendered if he ever becomes able to do so. The lawyer under his oath will perform just as faithfully on credit as he will for cash. For a court to say that a lawyer will not be faithful to his client who has not paid the fee in advance is but a reflection upon the standard of ethics of that particular court. It would not say that when a doctor operates on a patient who cannot pay, the patient will not receive the best the doctor can give, and it ill becomes a judge—who theoretically is an ex-lawyer—to say that the lawyer is not as loyal to his client as the surgeon is to his patient. We are not acquainted with any lawyer who would not put forth his best efforts in behalf of his client simply because he had not been paid for his services.

This plaintiff (defendant below) is guilty and admits it. He said he did not want a lawyer, and we should respect his wish.

By bringing the instant writ of habeas corpus before this court, the petitioner has elected to rely upon the record, since evidence cannot be presented in testimonial form before this court. It seems clear to us that he knowingly and intelligently waived counsel, and we, therefore, deny his petition.

Callister, J., concurs in the result.

Heriod, J., concurs in the result and reasoning.

Crockett, Chief Justice: (Concurring in the result)

I concur in the order denying the petitioner's release on the ground that in lawful and orderly proceedings he stands convicted and sentenced of the crime for which he is imprisoned; and as is stated near the conclusion of Justice Ellett's opinion this case "is on all fours" with the case of Nielsen v. Turner, — Utah 2d —, 435 P. 2d 921. See also Syddall v. Turner, — Utah 2d—, 437 P.2d 194, and State v. Workman, — Utah 2d, —, 435 P.2d 919, recently decided by this court.

Tuckett, J., concurs in the concurring opinion of Chief Justice Crockett.

FOOTNOTES

[1] 13 Stat. 760, 763, 764, 765, 767, 768, 769, 771 (1865).

[2] 13 Stat. 758 (1865). A few citizens were excepted from the amnesty proclamation, such, for example, as civil or diplomatic officers of the late confederate government and all of the seceding states; United States judges, members of Congress and commissioned officers of the United States Army and Navy who left their posts to aid the rebellion; officers in the Confederate military forces above the rank of colonel in the Army and lieutenant in the Navy; all who resigned commissions in the Army or Navy of the United States to assist the rebellion; and all officers of the military forces of the Confederacy who had been educated at the military or naval academy of the United States, etc., etc.

[3] 15 Stat. 707 (1868).

[4] Resolution set forth in proclamation of Secretary of State, 15 Stat. 709 (1868). See also U.S.C.A., Amend. 1 to 5, Constitution, p. 11.

[5] 15 Stat. 708 (1868).

[6] In the case of Lesser v. Garnett, 258 U.S. 130, 66 L. Ed. 505, the question was before the Supreme Court as to whether or not the Nineteenth Amendment had been ratified pursuant to the Constitution. In the last paragraph of the decision the Supreme Court said: ". . . As the legislatures of Tennessee and of West Virginia had power to adopt the resolutions of ratification, official notice to the Secretary, duly authenticated that they had done so, was conclusive upon him and, being certified to by his proclamation, is conclusive upon the courts. . . ."

[7] 65 Stat. 710, § 106(b) (1951), designates the Administrator of General Services Administration as the one whose duty it is to certify that an amendment has been ratified.

[8] For a more detailed account of how the Fourteenth Amendment was forced upon the Nation, see articles in 11 S.C.L.Q. 484 and 28 Tul. L. Rev. 22.

LT. COMDR. MARCUS A. ARNHEITER

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, during the course of the recent ad hoc hearings into the case involving Lt. Comdr. Marcus A. Arnheiter, USN, some shocking testimony was elicited from a young seaman who served as a member of the crew of the U.S.S. *Vance*.

Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter was removed from command of the *Vance* just 99 days after assuming command of the picket ship. The seaman, John M. Cicerich, of Mission, Tex., described conditions as "a living hell" for him and other crewmen after Arnheiter was removed.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Cicerich's statement speaks for itself, therefore, I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT FOR LEGAL USE—JOHN M. CICERICH, JR.

I, John M. Cicerich, Jr. B704045, Seaman, U.S. Navy, aware of my rights under Article 31, Uniform Code of Military Justice, of my own free will and accord, desire to make the following voluntary statement:

I am presently stationed at Navinshopstracen Mare Island, Vallejo, California. I commenced active naval service on 7 April 1966. I am now training to go back to Vietnam, this time in the River Patrol Force. I volunteered for this duty. My last permanent duty station was USS Vance (DER 387).

I first reported aboard USS Vance in July 1966, and stayed until 18 January 1968. I was very much astonished that the Navy could be run the way as it seemed the USS Vance was run. I could not believe that the rest of the Navy is run the way the Vance was run when I was on board. Let me explain examples:

When I first came out of boot camp I had pride in the Navy. I was proud to serve in the Navy. The pride I had in the Navy soon vanished after I reported to the Vance, about July 10th, 1966. I was assigned to the deck force. It was a living hell on the Vance. There was absolutely no military discipline there. If there was any authority shown, it was by the toughest people in the division. And they weren't petty officers. For instance, "Moose" Waldner, Dykes, Merchant, Constable, H. P. Terry (Bosn' Mate Second Class). From personal experience I found some of the most unbelievable examples of man's inhumanity to man that directly involved the men listed above. Fox Division had a bit of this kind of thing but not as much as First Division. Some of the first experiences I had was when I was trying to do an assigned task that I had never done before. I was called stupid and degraded verbally. There was no instruction given by the petty officers. Leading seamen ran the work gangs and the petty officers drank coffee in the bosons' locker or stayed remote from the places where the work was being done. The leading seamen didn't know enough to run the work gangs.

I saw cases where guys were purposely burned with cigarettes by some of these animalistic people in the division who would purposely apply the lighted ends of their cigarettes to the flesh of the bodies of other sailors of the USS Vance. This would be done while the victims were sleeping, and also while they were awake. "Oh, did you get burned?" they would be asked right after the red-hot cigarette had burned a hole in the flesh. I myself was burned three times in this manner. Once while I was sleeping it happened, and twice while I was awake. Just about everybody either got burned at one time or another by these men, and I am sure the officers of the ship knew it was going on. Ensign McWhirter surely knew. I know I complained to him, for one, but there was never any corrective action. One of the people doing this (the burning) was Moose Waldner. He also got burned himself by a tougher person who burned holes all over Waldner's body. This man's arms were definitely disfigured by cigarette burns. His back also. You wouldn't believe it about his arms even when you could see the dark blotches, old burns, and new ones. Up and down his arms. It was terrifying, but even the word terrifying can't describe the hopelessness about it all, that you just couldn't go to the petty officers and officers and get anything done about it. When the ship was in port, some of these people would come in drunk and demand the guys asleep get up and take showers. This was done up to three times a night. It did no good to resist. Mornings, I personally was awakened by being hit in the stomach with enough force to knock the wind out of me. It hurt physically, but mentally, the experience was weird to say the least.

It was more or less like living in a prison with convicted toughs only prison would be expected to be a punishment of some sort while being in the Navy is considered a respected occupation. At least, I would have imagined, that this would be so.

Dykes, Third Class Bosn's Mate, but then a seaman, would beat people up on board ship while smiling. He enjoyed it. He acted for the apparent purpose of inflicting pain only. I have never seen anyone like that before or since.

I personally reported Dykes' behavior to the leading petty officer of 1st Division, Newman, BM1. "What do you expect me to do about it?" was his reply. "You should try to get along with these people," he said.

The people getting mistreated felt an utter hopelessness about going through the chain of command, because everyone in that chain, including the officers, knew exactly what was happening. Jones, SN, got tired of being beaten up and wrote to his Congressman from the state of Oklahoma. There might be a mistake about where the member of Congress was from, but he wrote. Lt. Meisner the Weapons Officer investigated. Witnesses or potential witnesses were intimidated even as they went in to the interview. The result of this investigation was a lecture to the entire 1st division about how we should have gone to our petty officers and officers to correct the situation instead of it having to come from an outside source, the congressman, thus "putting a black mark" on the entire ship. He was worried about what he called the "image" of the ship. The "image" worried him more than what the ship was really like did.

There was no disciplinary action ever taken against the people who did these things. In the case involving Jones, the men who assaulted him were restricted for only one day.

Everyone used to wonder why the Executive Officer didn't do something about all this. The Exec was an officer called Lt. Ray S. Hardy, Jr., USN.

Ens. McWhirter always had an unkempt appearance. While he might from time to time say someone in his division needed a haircut or shave, he generally needed a shave or haircut himself. It was obvious he did not take any pride in the uniform he wore, or the service he was in.

Ens Black was very much liked by the crew. He and about six enlisted men were drinking beer together at a hole in the wall in Kacshiung near the dock (we were on a working party waiting for the stuff to pick up) when the conversation came around to Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter, former Commanding Officer. Ens Black said the Captain tried to kill him or get rid of him by leaving him in a small boat while the ship went out from a harbor to chase some junks. The crewmen listening to him laughed at what he had to say. The impression Ens Black gave to the enlisted men was that the former skipper must have been a crazy, dangerous man.

I was told with scorn that when Lcdr Arnheiter was C.O., he had rifle racks placed in the compartments where the men lived. After he left and when I was on board, these were removed and the rifles were placed in lockers access to which would have exposed the men to danger in an emergency and would have prevented the men getting small arms quickly in an emergency.

Lt. Generous had a habit of using the 1JV sound-powered telephone circuit when he was OOD, to ask questions on history, music, literature, plays, etc. etc., of all the enlisted men wearing the phones. Naturally, most of the time no one knew the answers, so Generous would then savor the opportunity to "enlighten" them with his great knowledge. Mr. Generous was not widely liked by the crew. He was almost unpopular. Scratch that. He WAS unpopular.

Lt. Generous was very loud about knocking the Navy down. He used to knock the Navy all the time. He would say how much an officer made in a year and then say he couldn't be paid enough to stay in the Navy. He seemed unhappy with the Navy. He used to mention the old Captain's name, calling him only "Marcus," and then purposely mis-pronouncing that name for derogatory effect. The enlisted men on watch most of the time just listened and let him talk.

One of the rumors circulated on the ship was that LCdr Arnheiter had forced the officers to wear full-dress uniforms on the ship, to meals on board.

Chaplain George W. Dando, Lt. USNR, deserves special commentary. During the two years I was on board USS *Vance* I observed him and talked to him. Crew members who had any reason to contact this man wondered what function he was performing. Supposedly, when a man goes to see a chaplain he goes to get some sort of advice or help. Dando never delivered. It appeared his main function was to take a pleasure cruise on the ship and not help in any way the men presumably entrusted to his spiritual care/welfare. This man is supposedly a man of God, but he never got that point across. Probably because all he did was eat, eat, eat and watch movies and go to the next ship for a vacation. Or so it seemed. Until this date, when I read the National Review Magazine article by James Kilpatrick, about the *Vance* and LCDR Arnheiter, I had not known of Chaplain Dando's role in getting the C.O. relieved of his command. One time, I had a personal problem I took to Chaplain Dando. It involved my 78 year old father and my mother who has cancer. I was very upset at that time and sought some kind of help. Dando definitely showed disinterest.

Several crew-members, for instance Alan Obergon, SN, and others, also got fed up with him. He just ate, ate, ate. His appearance certainly attests to the fact that he does like to eat.

From the way stories about Lcdr Arnheiter were circulated on the ship, when I was there, Marcus Aurelius Arnheiter was removed just last week, the impressions of his command were strong. He had made himself felt. The good is often left out by detractors and bad parts magnified, like every rumor ever brought up about him. Some of the senior crewmembers who had served under Lcdr Arnheiter, like Robert L. Howey, SK2, told it like it was, though. Howey and men like him talk favorably about Mr. Arnheiter. The "All Hands" gatherings developed "To-getherness" amongst the crew and esprit de corps in their minds. But nowadays, esprit de corps is lacking. They say esprit de corps got killed when the junior officers got the captain removed.

PERUVIANS ANGRY OVER U.S. AID BAN

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, when Congress adopted the Long-Conte amendments to the fiscal 1968 foreign aid appropriations bill last year, its purpose was to stop the State Department from financing arms races among nations friendly to this country, and to keep American funds from rushing in to fill the gap left when poor nations spend their funds on the purchase of the latest military weapons instead of on improving the lives of their people.

In effect, Congress told underdeveloped nations that they were, of course, free to waste their own money on whatever they chose, but not American money.

The first nation whose economic aid was reduced as a consequence of congressional intent as expressed in the Long-Conte amendments was Peru, which purchased Mirage supersonic jets from France.

Now the New York Times reports that Peru is furious at the United States for tightening its pursestrings, and that some Peruvians are even threatening expropriation of private American foreign investments.

This confirms my own long-held suspicions—and those of many other Congressmen and Senators—that underdeveloped nations believe that they are entitled to receive American foreign aid, regardless of what they do with the money, and regardless of whether they are sincerely and effectively trying to develop their economy and raise the living standards of their people.

> The country's budget deficit is about $70 million.

Reports the Times, yet it is prepared to spend "well above $50 million" to modernize its Armed Forces.

Peru's defense expenditure, I would like to point out, has little to do with countering the subversion of Communist guerrillas. Peru needs the weapons—as Peruvian generals told me when I was in Lima, and as they are quoted asserting again to the Times' reporter—to be prepared to fight Chile, a country that happens to be an ally of the United States and also a recipient of considerable American foreign aid.

> Many observers believe that the possession of a jet air force is important to Peru more for reasons of national pride than military necessity.

Reports the Times. Were it not for the Long-Conte amendments, American money would still be nourishing the self-esteem of Peruvian generals. One is entitled to ask how that would help the millions of hungry Peruvian children and adults, many of them living in the Andes at standards no better than they were when Columbus discovered America. For that matter, how would it help the millions of hungry children and adults in our own country, who should certainly have priority over Peruvian generals in their call on U.S. funds? Yet our own State Department has chafed at the reins imposed on its spending proclivities by the Long-Conte amendments, and wants them eliminated.

I propose that the Long-Conte amendments be strengthened this year, and that Congress exercise an even tighter scrutiny over their enforcement by an obviously reluctant State Department, which is using every possible loophole to avoid applying them to other countries.

India buys submarines, jet fighter-bombers and sophisticated tanks from the Soviets; Italy gets U.S. approval to sell American tanks to Pakistan; Morocco and Ethiopia are scheduled for more U.S. arms soon; Brazil is preparing to buy French Mirage jets—and all the while American aid keeps flowing. The time for those spigots to be shut is long overdue.

I insert in the RECORD for the information of my colleague, the New York Times article about Peruvian reaction to the aid cutback:

PERUVIANS ANGRY OVER U.S. AID BAN—DECISION TO BUY JETS FROM FRANCE WIDELY DEFENDED

(By Malcolm W. Browne)

LIMA, PERU, May 23.—Virtually every political faction in Peru has publicly denounced American policy in the wake of reports last week that the United States had suspended development loans because of Peru's decision to buy supersonic jet fighters from France.

Peruvian conservatives, ultra leftists, military officers and high Government officials have criticized Washington. Rarely in her history have Peru's political groups shown such unity.

The reaction was prompted by an announcement last Wednesday by Representative Clarence D. Long, a Maryland Democrat. He said that loans to Peru had been suspended because American money intended for the economic development was being spent on defense.

American policy is seeking to discourage excessive military expenditures by underdeveloped Latin-American nations, on the ground that such expenditures waste money desperately needed to improve standards of living.

EMBASSY ISSUES STATEMENT

The angry reaction here was not diminished by a United States Embassy statement that said an Agency for International Development loan of $7.5-million was approved April 25 for the Peruvian packaging and processing industry, and that the Inter-American Development Bank in Bogotá, Colombia, approved on April 21 a loan, primarily involving American money, of $15.1-million to Peru. [In Washington it was explained that the $7.5-million loan came from fiscal 1967 funds, and the $15.1-million loan did not involve Agency for International Development funds.]

In the Peruvian Senate, Héctor Cornejo Chavez, president of the leftist Christian Democratic party, offered a motion to expropriate American private investment in Peru if American aid was cut.

He also proposed the cancellation of Peruvian debts to the United States, the propriation of American mining concessions and the nationalization of companies owned by American interests.

The motion was rejected by the Senate as too extreme, but criticism persisted.

PREMIER IS CAUSTIC

Speaking caustically in an interview this week, Raúl Ferrerro Rebagliati, Premier and Foreign Minister in the Cabinet of President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, said the United States would never be able to dictate policy to Peru.

It would be as foolish for the United States to try to do so, he said, as it would be for Peru to suggest to the States that the American expenditures in Vietnam could be better spent improving the lot of the Asian people or of the impoverished people of the United States itself.

Peruvian officials say that Lima has not modernized the armed forces in five years and that money budgeted for the purpose has been accumulating during this time.

Maj. Gen. José Gagliardi Schiaffino, commander of the air force, said that Peruvian fighters had become so old that accidents were becoming frequent and that it was essential to buy modern jets, "even aircraft made behind the Iron Curtain if necessary."

He confirmed that Peru was buying 16 Mirage jet fighters from France at a cost of about $1.2-million each. The first four will arrive before July 23, he said.

Unconfirmed reports from travelers arriving in Lima indicate that some of the jets may already have arrived at a provincial airfield.

Besides the Mirage Jets, Peru is buying about 50 light tanks from France to replace outmoded American-made tanks. The total expenditures for the modernization of Peru's armed forces are expected to be well above $50-million. The country's budget deficit is about $70-million.

Even Peru's fragmented Communist groups, which in the past have called for more emphasis by the Government on raising the rural standard of living, are lauding the purchase of the French jets.

The current issue of the ultraleftist weekly Clarín describes American efforts to discourage the jet sale as "Yankees gangsterism in the pattern of Al Capone."

While Peru has not fought a war in many years, some of her military officers feel that neighboring Chile is a potential threat.

They say privately that the uncertain political conditions in Chile may some day result in a Communist government in Santiago that could begin military adventures against neighboring countries. Chilean officials have angrily denied any such possibility.

Peru has about 50 jet fighters, about 10 more than the Chilean Air Force.

Many observers believe that the possession of a jet air force is important to Peru more for reasons of national pride than military necessity.

Peru first sought to buy Northrup F-5 fighters from the United States, but was told the jet would not be available at least until 1970.

ONE TO REMEMBER

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, next November 11 will mark the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Armistice in France at the end of World War I.

This is an important occasion for a good many of our citizens—indeed, it properly is one of importance to all of our citizens.

We have commemorative postage stamps to mark many important events in our history.

Certainly the anniversary of the Armistice of 1918 should rank at the top level of consideration for a special stamp issue.

I have asked the chariman of the Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee, Mr. David Lidman, to give this suggestion most serious study and attention.

I concur wholeheartedly with the text of an editorial in the May 20 edition of the New York, N.Y., Daily News, which follows:

ONE TO REMEMBER

The Post Office Department is playing ring-around-the-rosy with a proposal to commemorate a great event—the 50th anniversary, come Nov. 11, of the armistice that ended World War I.

For more than a year, the Veterans of

World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., has been pleading that a stamp be issued to honor the occasion. The organization has gotten the brush-off.

It is true, as postal officials argue, that they have many requests for commemorative stamps.

Still, it seems unthinkable that the government would suffer such a milestone in ours and the world's history to pass without official remembrance. Indeed, it is a disgrace that it must be prodded from outside to take such action.

AHEPA URGES UNITED STATES CONTINUE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID AND ASSISTANCE TO GREECE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Andrew Fasseas, President of the Order of AHEPA, American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, today issued on behalf of his organization, a very firm and determined statement that this outstanding organization of Americans urges the United States continue its military and economic assistance to the people of Greece.

Mr. Fasseas, who is a highly respected citizen in Chicago and who serves as the supreme president of the Order of AHEPA, along with the entire board of this inspiring organization, has carefully polled his entire membership and the statement issued by this group reflects the thinking of one of the most highly respected segments of our American community.

Mr. Fasseas met with the supreme lodge, which is the highest institution of AHEPA. He met with past supreme presidents, and with other leaders all over the United States and in their good, sound judgment the decision was unanimous that the United States should continue its military assistance to Greece, not only because it strengthens the NATO community, but because it strengthens the American position in Europe and the Mediterranean.

The statement drafted by AHEPA which I am including in the RECORD today was adopted unanimously by these leading Americans of Greek descent who find expression through the Order of AHEPA. The position I am outlining today was hammered out by AHEPA after 3 days of careful deliberations.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to place this statement in the RECORD because it fortifies my own position. I have little patience with those who cannot see the rising threat of communism in the whole of the Middle East, and today are unable to recognize the fact that a strong Greece is one of our best guarantees against the expansion of Soviet colonialism in the Mediterranean.

The Greek people today stand as a brave bastion against Communist expansion and I believe it is in the interest of the United States to do everything possible to help the Greek people and their present Government to meet the challenge of our times.

I visited Greece and talked to those who are today responsible for the destiny of that country. They are mindful of the harsh measures that they had to impose in order to save the cradle of democracy from the ravages of those who hold no value for freedom or human dignity.

We all know the chaos that existed in Greece prior to April 21, 1967, and we also know the kind of stability and growth that the present Government of Greece has brought to that nation during its first year in office.

I am convinced that the AHEPA position enunciated in the statement which I shall include in the RECORD today properly reflects a wise and determined position for the United States to follow.

There isn't a single son of AHEPA who does not want the Greek people to see their nation restored to constitutional rule just as quickly as possible. I don't know of a single Ahepan who is not doing everything in his power to see to it that the people of Greece will again enjoy parliamentary government and full protection under a constitution.

It is obvious, however, that members of AHEPA realize the immediate threat to Greece from Soviet expansion, and for this reason they insist that the United States continue to help Greece defend herself by providing Greece the arms she needs. At the same time, all of us are working earnestly to see to it that the present regime in Greece will proceed to free elections as quickly as possible.

I have noted before on the floor of this House the timetable which the Government of Greece has announced for a referendum on the new Constitution and for the free election of a government once the Constitution has been ratified by the people.

I hope the administration in Washington will not be deterred in its present course of working with the Government of Greece and continue giving Greece military assistance simply because a handful of people in this country criticize such action. We here in the United States respect the right to dissent, and while we are willing to listen to those who argue against helping the present Government of Greece, I believe the overwhelming majority of sound-thinking Americans realize that Greece today constitutes one of our most reliable allies in the Mediterranean and she must be helped maintain her own strength.

It is for this reason that I am very pleased to call the attention of my colleagues to this excellent statement issued by the Order of AHEPA in October of last year, and now again reaffirmed on May 21.

Mr. Fasseas quite properly states that the policy being enunciated by AHEPA is "in the best interest of the United States and NATO."

The statement issued by Mr. Fasseas follows:

AHEPA URGES THE UNITED STATES CONTINUE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID AND ASSISTANCE TO GREECE

CHICAGO, ILL.—Andrew Fasseas of Chicago, Ill., Supreme President of the Order of Ahepa (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) today issued the following statement:

"The Order of AHEPA is composed, in great part, of Americans of Greek descent. It is non-sectarian in religion and non-partisan in politics.

"Ahepa's members are proud and happy that our country and Greece always have been allies and friends. As an historic fact, there were many Americans, including Samuel Gridley Howe, George Jarvis, and many others who fought in the Greek War of Independence of 1821. The United States, by Presidential action and Congressional Resolution, wholeheartedly supported the people of Greece in that great struggle.

"During World War I, the United States and Greece fought side by side.

"In World War II, Greece was again a valued and fruitful ally of our country. In that war its small but brave little army won the first victories against the Axis powers.

"After World War II, while other peoples and nations were busy rebuilding and recovering from war's devastation, the Greek people were called upon to fight yet another enemy—Communism.

"With American help, under the great Truman Doctrine, the people of Greece were the first nation that stopped the communist aggression. It is noteworthy that not a single American soldier shed his blood or lost his life in that great struggle of the Greek people.

"Since World War II, Greece has been a faithful ally of the United States. She is a valued and loyal member of NATO. Greece supplies the bases in the Middle East for the United States 6th Fleet and other American forces required in that part of the world in order to contain Communism.

"The best interests of our country require that Greece become and remain economically sound, and militarily strong.

"In the recent Israel-Arab war, Turkey, the other leg of the eastern anchor of NATO, declared that she would not allow the United States to use the NATO bases in Turkey. That left Greece as the only base of the United States in the Eastern Mediterranean. That proved once more that Greece is, as she has always been, a loyal and reliable friend and ally of our country.

"The Order of Ahepa therefore urges that the United States continue its military and economic aid and assistance to Greece.

"Many of our officers and members have recently visited Greece. They have found that law and order prevail and that conditions for visitors and tourists are most pleasant.

"If a European came to the United States and told the American people what type of government we should have, or whom to elect as our President, we would rightfully reject it as an unwarranted interference with our internal politics.

"The members of the Order of Ahepa feel that the type of government in Greece is a matter that concerns the Greek people only.

"As Americans, our only concern is that whatever Greek government Greece has should keep Greece as a member of NATO and a faithful ally of the United States."

STEEL AND IRON ORE QUOTAS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech made by a distinguished American and a great leader of the American labor movement, Mr. Walter J. Burke, secretary-treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America.

Walter Burke has served the labor movement well and faithfully and has achieved a record of accomplishment in the tradition of the great Sam Gompers and others who have done much to make the labor movement of this Nation great.

The speech follows:

STATEMENT OF WALTER J. BURKE ON STEEL AND IRON ORE QUOTAS, BEFORE MARYLAND, WEST VIRGINIA, AND MICHIGAN CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION, MAY 7, 1968, WASHINGTON, D.C.

On behalf of the United Steelworkers of America I wish to express our appreciation of your attendance at this joint dinner sponsored by the Union and the industry.

Our main purpose is to acquaint you with an import problem in the steel industry, which we think is reaching a proportion which will have an adverse impact upon the workers in this industry.

My comments must also be taken within the context of our union's support for an expansionary trade policy. Our union has traditionally fought for the concept of wider trade relationships with other countries because of political and economic advantages. The international political aspects of freer trade are readily recognized. We have, on balance, equated our national interest with the advancing of international cooperation.

Our foreign economic policy is also predicated on the basis that a fuller international trade relationship will redound to our own national economic welfare. We are, therefore, convinced that an isolationalist economy policy is outdated in a world of interdependence. It was probably one of the achievements of the New Deal era that the philosophical position of "Fortress America"—at least as far as trade is concerned—was demolished.

I make mention of these comments precisely because the problems of the past and *their solutions* are not necessarily the problems facing international trade today. Unfortunately, there are too many who apply in a doctrinaire manner the public policy decisions of the past and criticize any contemporary evaluation of present day problems as an attempt to return to the day of the Smoot-Hawley Act.

Our past trade policy grew out of an economic atmosphere of scarcity. At that time, artificial trade barriers, which further restricted our limited productive facilities, had condemned the various national economies to dependency upon each country's weaknesses. Within an economy of scarcity, there was little room for improvement.

However, today as the evolution of our domestic public policy is faced with problems arising from an economy of affluence, so also our foreign trade policy must grapple with the same source of international economic concern. Although these complexities arise from an affluent economy, they are no less real or no less critical than those arising from a depression economy.

We are, therefore, appealing to you to view our trade problems within this context. What I am saying is that we must have a *balanced* trade relationship within an expansionary trade policy.

As far as the domestic steel industry is concerned, we are experiencing a rapid and accelerated percentage penetration of the market by foreign producers. Within the last five years steel imports have risen from 3 per cent of domestic demand to almost 15 per cent if current imports for 1968 are projected on an annual basis.

We have been a deficit nation in the value of direct steel trade since 1962. The current deficit amounts to about $900 million. But more than that, we are still a deficit nation even when we take into consideration indirect steel trade, that is, trade in which steel is used in manufactured products. In 1966 our total balance was in a deficit position by almost $500 million. This of course, causes a drain on our balance of payments. But it also refutes the contention that American exported steel in manufactured forms compensate for any deficit in raw (direct) exports.

We are convinced that the pressure behind these foreign imports is basically one of affluence—in other words, it results from excessive overcapacity. The Senate Finance Committee last December released a report indicating that surplus capacity had already reached a level of 50 million tons. Each year, steel capacity grows at a rate of 33 million tons. It is the continued investment in over capacity-facilities which must be moderated in order to bring about a balanced trade relationship.

Our support of the Vanik bill is predicated, therefore, upon a two-fold objective. First, it will determine that, as a matter of public policy, a 10 per cent penetration of our market is a balanced one. Maybe Congress might suggest another figure. But set a level it must, in our judgment.

The second objective will be found in the fact that the bill will serve as a guideline for foreign steel industries to moderate its investment in facilities producing steel well beyond its own domestic consumption and a reasonable share of our market.

It would be disastrous for Japan, for instance, to be led to assume it has an unlimited access to the U.S. steel market. Then, at a later date, with its investments already made and its manpower committed, if Japan is curtailed in its access, severe political and economic consequences could ensue. Now is the time to declare whether there is a limit. And this is a responsibility for the Congress.

This, then, is the sole purpose of our support of a flexible quota bill. We have arrived at this position at a time when our own industry is also accelerating investment in new plant and equipment to modernize obsolete facilities. There has been severe criticism levied at the industry for allowing its facilities to become outdated. There may be some justification to the charge. But the industry is now correcting this problem. If we do not retain a fixed share of increased domestic demand, then there will be a job loss since the new facilities will be able to produce more steel with less workers. Furthermore, if the increased domestic market is lost to our own producers, I am afraid that the necessary continued movement to modernize will be suspended.

Another point I wish to make before I finish concerns the argument about massive foreign retaliation. First of all, the policy of international trade relationship is an accepted one. I doubt very much that our trade partners would engage in an economic trade war which would destroy that policy. Furthermore. there is no attempt by the bill to reverse the current share of our maket which has already been achieved by foreign producers. Rather the foreign producers are welcome to participate in our continued growth at the present percentage share.

It is unrealistic, therefore, to think in terms of retaliation. As a matter of fact, there is a need to provide leadership in this area. The Senate Finance Committee's report urges that "A world conference may eventually restore prosperity to the world steel industry and thereby solve the problems that now concern the domestic industry. The U.S. Government should participate in such a conference with a full understanding of all the implications of the somewhat ominous trends that imperil the U.S. steel industry's future."

The steel and iron ore quota bill is the vehicle for bringing about not only the conference but the resolution of this problem.

Hence, I urge each of you to introduce a bill similar to the Vanik bill and, furthermore, request the Ways and Means Committee to conduct hearings on it.

BUSINESS EXECUTIVES FOR PEACE

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace held an outstanding conference in Washington on May 22 titled "Economic and Social Consequences of the War and our National Goals."

The conference adopted the following resolutions:

I. ON VIETNAM PEACE

The war in Vietnam challenges the conscience and the self-interest of every American.

Millions of innocent people who have no concern with political power have been killed, wounded, made homeless, or their possessions and croplands destroyed, as a mighty power seeks to impose its will upon Vietnam.

More than 20,000 young Americans have been killed, and hundreds of thousands ordered from their homes, schools, trades, and careers to serve in the Armed Forces, because of this war.

The constitutional authority of the Congress to declare war has been subverted.

The American society and its economy have been militarized to an alarming extent.

Our citizens are burdened by debt, taxes and inflation, and the fiscal stability of the United States is sorely menaced.

What must be one of the most shameful consequences of this unhappy war is the neglect of our poor, who each day grow in number and distress. They cry out for understanding and help, and are treated to rhetoric.

In every field in which we pride ourselves—education, housing, justice, medical attention, representation—the poor are treated to a substandard diet. They are promised in words and starved in deeds.

II. ON TAXES

The Administration has called for a tax increase and a reduction of federal and domestic spending. BEM is opposed to this position because the tax increase is to pay for the war which should be ended and the proposed spending reduction will destroy vital social programs particularly those called for by the Kerner Commission report. BEM calls for a reduction of overall military expenditures without cutting vital domestic appropriations and without a tax increase.

III. ON BOMBING

The Administration has thus far refused to cease all bombing of North Vietnam. BEM is opposed to this position and calls for the cessation of all bombing North of the D.M.Z. so that actual peace talks can begin. If the talks fail, we oppose escalation.

IV. ON FOREIGN POLICYMAKING

The Administration has called for a change in the direction of its Vietnam policy, but has not called for a change of those responsible for, and committed to the bankrupt policy of the past. BEM is opposed to this position and calls for the replacement of Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Presidential Assistant Walt Rostow by new men with fresh perspectives.

The Administration's foreign policy, with its obsessive fear of Communism, led to Vietnam and will lead to more Vietnams unless its direction changes.

BEM calls for a complete reorientation in American foreign policy. A recognition that we are not the self-appointed policemen of the world—a recognition that the wave of emerging nationalism is not necessarily evil, and that our country should always be motivated by the desire for social justice.

The conference program follows:

Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace—Conference on Economic and Social Consequences of the War and Our National Goals, Washington, D.C., May 22, 1968

MORNING SESSION

Registration: 9:00 a.m.

Introduction: 9:45 a.m.

Speeches on "The Economic Consequences of the War" Congressman Henry S. Reuss, Democrat, Wisconsin, Member of the Joint Economic Committee and the House Committees on Banking and Currency and on Government Operations; "International Financial Consequences of the War," Frederick Heldring, Senior Vice-President, Philadelphia National Bank, Philadelphia, Pa.

Panel on economic consequences and goals: Moderator, Joseph E. McDowell, President, Servomation Corp., New York, N.Y.; Edward Lamb, Chairman and President, Lamb Enterprises, Inc., Toledo, Ohio; Max Polevsky, President, Scientific Data Systems, Santa Monica, Calif.; Erwin A. Salk, President, Salk, Ward & Salk, Inc., Chicago, Illinois; Lee B. Thomas, Jr., President, Vermont American Corp., Louisville, Ky.

Discussion from the floor.

Luncheon: 12:15 p.m.

"The Domestic Impact of the War," Senator Joseph D. Tydings, Democrat, Maryland.

AFTERNOON SESSION

"Some Human Problems": 1:45 P.M.

L. R. Mobley, Staff Associate in Public Affairs, Executive Development Department, International Business Machines Corporation, Port Washington, N.Y.

Panel on social consequences and goals: 2:00 P.M.

The relationship of the Vietnam War, social progress and the Poor People's Campaign will be discussed among other things: Reverend Marion C. Bascom, Past President, Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, Baltimore, Md., Dr. Timothy W. Costello, Deputy Mayor, City Administrator, New York City; Congressman F. Bradford Morse, Republican, Massachusetts, Member of Foreign Affairs Committee; William R. Rutherford, Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia; Robert D. Stern, Executive Vice-President, U.S. Shoe Corporation, Cincinnati, Ohio.

BEM'S national and chapter activities: 4:00 P.M.

Adjournment: 5:00 P.M.

(Affiliations are given for identification only.)

PURPOSES OF THE CONFERENCE

The purposes of the conference are:

1. To consider what the Vietnamese War is costing economically and socially.
2. To help clarify national priorities.
3. To impress upon Congress and the Administration our business views of the war.
4. To enlighten the public through publicity and publications.
5. To influence uncommitted business executives to think and act in regard to the war.
6. To increase BEM's membership and impact.

SCOPE OF THE CONFERENCE

The Conference will cover a broad range of questions from the point of view of business executives who are realistically concerned (1) that our money be sound, (2) that our taxes should not be increased to support a war which we believe is not in our national or world interest, (3) that the buying power of all our people be adequate (which would make them good customers), and (4) that social stability be promoted to give the best opportunities for consistent and wide-spread economic and social progress.

The speakers and panelists will cover some of the questions given below but there will not be time to cover all of them. The questions are given here because the Conference will be considerably enriched if members who attend will consider them in advance, especially as some of them may relate to the experience of their own companies.

Economic questions and topics

What have been the hidden costs of the war in terms of inflation, high interest rates, tight credit, and wage-price guidelines?

How has the cost of the war been distributed?

Who has borne the burden economically?

The surtax.

How much de-escalation of the costs of the war would equal the expected returns from the surtax?

The monetary crisis, gold, the balance of payments deficit.

Reduced research and development expenditures.

Is the war necessary for sustained economic growth and employment?

Is the tendency toward higher U.S. tariffs likely to shut us out of potentially large world markets?

Have military opportunities and training helped many persons of low economic status? How much of this is offset by the loss of productive years of those killed or maimed, physically or emotionally?

Social questions and topics

The war and its effect on housing, education, and jobs.

What socially desirable programs have been started but perhaps fatally curtailed by the war? What has been possible despite the war?

Social disorders, frustration and lack of hope among many citizens.

Riots and violence.

Tendencies towards law-breaking

Tendencies towards suppression of dissent.

The Credibility Gap—Its extent and consequences in Government and in business relationships.

The effect of social instability on business profits and development.

MENTAL EFFECTS OF MALNUTRITION

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, evidence continues to emerge in the House Education and Labor Committee—which is seeking to establish an American Commission on Hunger—which suggests that early malnutrition can permanently retard the mental abilities of children. It is clear, however, that to date no studies have unequivocally documented these causal factors but do indicate that these conditions do exist. The implications of these factors on our society are staggering when one considers how important mental capacity is to an individual to enable him to take his place as a productive member of society. Further, the cost to America in terms of wasted manpower, educational costs, institutional costs and increased welfare illustrate the dire need to find answers to these problems now.

The following article entitled "Mental Effects of Malnutrition," by Peter Gwynne, published in the Technology Review of May 1967, documents some of the evidence which suggests that malnourished children are being denied the hope of reaching their ultimate human potential:

Mental Effects of Malnutrition

(By Peter Gwynne)

It is a paradoxical fact that the great improvements in medical science and the control of disease during recent years have given rise to two of the most intractable problems that the world faces today—the population explosion and the shortage of food. The birth rate in underdeveloped countries has always been high, but traditionally the equally high death rate has ensured relatively stable numbers among the populations. The impact of modern medicine and public health has greatly increased life expectancy. So far, however, the social and political conditions to impel a similar decrease in the birth rate have not arisen. As a result the number of people in the world is increasing far faster than food supplies, particularly in the underdeveloped areas, and the majority of children born in these regions come into a physical and social environment that is totally unable to feed them adequately.

The physical effects of this early departure from the equality of all men are disturbingly obvious. In general, children in underprivileged populations are smaller than their well-fed counterparts, quite regardless of genetic considerations such as the height of their parents. Nutritional diseases such as kwashiorkor and marasmus take a heavy toll of these children, and even today's medicine must fight hard to hold down the death rate among malnourished young children to between 10 and 30 times that among the well nourished.

Recently, evidence has been accumulating from laboratory studies with animals and from field studies among underprivileged societies to suggest that the effects of early malnutrition extend beyond children's physical development. Increasingly it appears that lack of sufficient calories and protein can permanently retard the mental abilities of children. If this is indeed true, over 300 million children under the age of six have already lost the opportunity of realizing their full human potential.

These implications of malnutrition for those who survive it have only begun to emerge over the last 10 years. Previously, workers in the field had to devote their time and effort to seeking the causes and prevention of the appalling death rate from malnutrition among children. Only now can they begin to turn their attention to those who stay alive.

The picture built up by the few studies already under way is in many ways just as disturbing as the high death rate. In order to review the present evidence for the connection between malnutrition and behavior, and to design new methods of studying the link, experts from over 30 nations gathered recently at M.I.T. for an international conference under the title "Malnutrition, Learning and Behavior."

THE BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

The conference's first two papers, by Dr. Angus Thomson, of the Princess Mary Maternity Hospital, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, and Dr. Moises Béhar, Director of the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (INCAP), pointed out the consistent pattern of life among young children in any underprivileged population.

Children are breast fed well into their second year of life. Weaning begins at about six months with small amounts of food regarded as acceptable and safe for infants, such as thin gruel or rice. By the time a child reaches one year of age he is receiving most of the food the adults and older children eat—but with some notable exceptions. Certain items in the adults' diet, particularly meat and vegetables which are important sources of protein, are denied to the small children because they are regarded as unsuitable for them.

The reasons for withholding these foods from the infants are many and complex; religious and cultural taboos combine with unwillingness to use frequently contamined food and plain ignorance of nutritional factors to deny the children a properly balanced diet from the scanty amounts of food available. The Muslim religion, for example, forbids its followers to eat pork; orthodox Hindus are forbidden beef; and certain Christians must not eat goat. In most impoverished societies, the father traditionally receives the best food, while the rest of the household must be content with the remainder. And certain sources of protein, notably cows' milk, are so germ-ridden that they would represent definite risks to infants who have lost the placental immunity they gained in the womb and have not yet built up their own natural defenses to diseases.

For these reasons, and because of lowered resistance to infection caused by malnutrition, children fall foul of case-books of debilitating diseases as soon as weaning starts. Measles and whooping cough—diseases which urbanized children do not encounter until their school days, when they are far better equipped to combat them—abound among one- and two-year-olds in underdeveloped societies. Even more serious are the diarrheal diseases that the unsanitary environment makes a natural hazard of life.

To add to their troubles, the young children simply receive insufficient quantities of food. The purpose of giving infants adult food is to allow them to develop the taste for it rather than to provide nutritive value. And as the children get older their mother's milk becomes increasingly inadequate in proteins and calories. Thus, at a time when they are going through the traumatic process of weaning, and first coming up against disease, the underprivileged children are made nutritionally backward.

The synergistic effort of malnutrition and disease is reflected in the growth patterns of children in different underprivileged societies with alarming consistency. For the first six months of their lives, when breast milk supplies all their nutritional needs, the children thrive; in fact they gain weight and height as fast as, or even faster than, groups of well-fed urban children. But as soon as they face the twin impact of weaning and disease their growth rate takes a downward turn compared with the well fed. Not until the age of four years does their rate of growth catch up with that of urban children, and they never make up the physical development lost in these early years.

Dr. Behar gave vivid illustration that the pattern of feeding and growth crosses cultural and racial boundaries. Studies among underprivileged groups in Guatemala, South India, Uganda, Mexico, Thailand, New Guinea, and China show the same principles of infant feeding—prolonged breast feeding, supplementary solid preparations introduced late, in small quantities and poorly selected—and the same depressing fall in growth rate at six months.

There is some evidence to suggest that, among malnutrition and disease, the former is the predominant partner in its effect on physical development. Dr. W. R. F. Collis, of the University of Lagos, reported a study among children in two groups of Nigerian villages; one group of children had enough to eat, but the other did not.

The growth curves for both groups remained well below those of a control group of urban children between six months and three years, when the effects of disease were at their worst. But by four and a half years the adequately fed children had begun to catch up with the growth of the controls, and by 10 years they had reached virtually the same average heights. In contrast, the malnourished children fell further behind the growth of the controls as they became older. Thus, it appears that, while disease slows up physical development temporarily, malnutrition slows it down permanently.

MALNUTRITION IN THE LABORATORY

The connection between lack of food in early life and physical retardation is perhaps not surprising. But why should malnutrition in early years also be suspected of having an effect on the brain? One very strong reason for investigating a connection is that by three years of age a child's brain has reached 80 per cent of its full size, though the child has only grown to about 20 per cent of his full height. In animals the proportion between growth rates of the brain and body is similar, but of course they attain this amount of development far faster; rats, for example, achieve 80 per cent of their brain growth by four weeks and pigs by eight to 10 weeks.

Because their brain growth is so rapid, animals have been used in the laboratory to provide much of the evidence that suggests a link between malnutrition and behavior. In addition experimenters in the laboratory can remove, or compensate for, the many environmental factors that inevitably influence field studies on human populations, and can look specifically at extremes of undernourishment. But scientists must exercise great caution in extending the results of animal studies to humans.

In setting out to study animals, the question arises of whether it is possible to measure quantitatively any damage that malnutrition causes to the brain. The effects of malnutrition on animals' behavior has been demonstrated clearly enough, but can we relate the behavioral changes to physical parameters in the developing brain?

The actual weight of the brain is a notoriously poor index of its state of development, but the concentration of various brain constituents—lipids—may give a more helpful indication of the brain's physical state, according to work on undernourished pigs reported by Dr. John Dobbing, of the Institute of Child Health at the University of London. He found strong evidence that the concentrations of certain lipids fall below their normal values under early malnutrition and do not improve even when the pigs are put back onto a normal diet.

Similar studies on rats suggested strongly that undernutrition in the period when the brain is growing at its fastest rate restricts its growth seriously and permanently. Dr. Dobbing's team separated rats into two groups of litters at birth; the privileged litters contained three rats apiece and so each had ample access to the mother's milk; the underprivileged litters of 15 to 20 were inadequately nursed. At weaning, when they were three weeks old, all the rats had access to unlimited food until they were 28 weeks old; then they were killed and examined. The underprivileged rats had a definite deficit of certain brain lipids. Prolonging the malnutrition beyond the weaning period appeared to have no greater effect on the concentrations of these lipids.

These studies are significant because rats' brains grow fastest during their first three weeks of life. The equivalent vulnerable period in human babies comes in the last few weeks in the womb and the first few months after birth. If there is any true analogy, therefore, the so-called dysmature babies—who are born at full term, but have the size and development of premature babies—would appear to have suffered some permanent mental damage at birth.

A slightly different approach to measuring brain damage was highlighted by R. J. C. Stewart, of the National Institute for Medical Research in London. In collaboration with Professor B. S. Platt he has carried out studies on malnutrition in pigs and dogs, examining brain cells, electroencephalograms and the state of the spinal cords for evidence of damage to the central nervous system.

Definite physical damage occurred in pigs fed upon diets low in calories and proteins; further, the extent of damage and behavioral disorders became more severe the earlier the animals were put onto the diet.

The work on dogs was designed to take malnutrition back into intra-uterine life. Puppies from underfed mothers were divided into two groups on weaning, one given a diet of low-protein value and the other a high-protein diet. Two groups of puppies from normal mothers were put onto the same diets, as controls.

The puppies from the malnourished mothers were small at birth and classed as dysmature. At weaning they weighed far less than the normal puppies, walked with stiff-legged gaits, and showed head tremors. The group of these puppies who then received the high-protein diet at weaning gradually lost their nervous characteristics and began to catch up in development with the group well nourished throughout.

Puppies born of normal mothers who first received a deficient diet at weaning gradually developed stiff hind legs and head tremors and tended to become convulsive. After four or five months this behavior was reduced but it never disappeared entirely.

More dramatic changes occurred in the puppies subject to a continuously deficient diet. They became hyperirritable and lacked interest in the outside world. When they could be induced to move they did so with a kangaroo-like hop, as all four legs were stiff. They commonly suffered convulsions, and some of the dogs died in the midst of them. At about 12 weeks the dogs' condition generally improved, but their recovery was never complete. Although the ratio of brain weight to body weight hardly differed from that in normal animals, changes in the chemical composition, appearance and electrical activity of the brain, and in the spinal cord, gave ample evidence of irreversible damage brought about by malnutrition.

STUDIES AMONG DEPRIVED POPULATIONS

Even when one is dealing with animals it is extremely difficult to isolate the effects due directly to malnutrition from those brought about by social factors. When we turn to humans, the problem becomes immensely more difficult. Malnourished people do not exist randomly among better-fed neighbors: they are gathered together in groups which are at the mercy of interwoven social, cultural, political, and economic deprivations, as well as nutritional ones. It is little cause for wonder, therefore, that few studies have yet emerged of the relationship between malnutrition and human learning and behavior.

The difficulties of measuring the mental effects of undernourishment in animals pale into insignificance when compared with the problems of measuring any meaningful effect, physical or mental, in human populations. Even the universally small size of people in malnourished societies might be basically a genetic effect—their adaptation through many generations to the shortage of food. And might not urbanized, privileged babies in fact be overfed?

At some point, obviously, researchers must stop speculating and start measuring something. Apart from I.Q. tests, whose results can be rather equivocal indicators of mental development, a useful index of brain growth and development likely to be influenced by nutritional factors is the circumference of a child's head. (I must stress, however, that this is meaningful only when one is comparing average values for groups of privileged and underprivileged. Experts hasten to deny that the fact that women generally have smaller head circumferences than men means that they are any less intelligent. But the large differences in average head circumference between groups of privileged and unprivileged are very likely associated with differences in intelligence.)

One of the most dramatic pieces of evidence to relate malnutrition with retardation of brain growth has come from a South African study based on measurements of head circumference, among others. Drs. P. M. Smythe and Mavis Stoch, of the Red Cross Hospital in Cape Town, South Africa, have been observing two groups of Cape Colored children since 1955. As the malnourished group they selected the 20 most grossly undernourished children they could find; they also selected a control group matched with these children for sex and age. During the period of observation the average head circumference of the malnourished children has remained consistently one inch smaller than the average for the controls. In addition, the electroencephalograms of the undernourished group have shown more abnormalities which can be related to behavioral disorders; the children in this group have advanced less in school than the controls, and they have performed poorly on intelligence tests.

When Drs. Smythe and Stoch published a preliminary account of their work in 1963, their conclusion that malnutrition was indeed the cause of the mental retardation evoked widespread doubt, because of the complicating social factors involved. Alcoholism, illegitimacy, and broken homes abounded among the undernourished group, while the controls came from reasonably stable homes. However, Dr. Stoch reported that the living conditions of two thirds of the undernourished group have steadily improved over the years without obvious effect on their mental development. Thus she reiterated her belief that early malnutrition was the prime cause of the children's defective intellectual development.

Dr. Joaquin Cravioto, now of the Hospital Infantil de Mexico in Mexico City, who is one of the pioneers in field studies of malnutrition, used psychological tests to measure intellectual abilities in a study among children of school age in a rural Guatemalan village, in a project under the auspices of INCAP. In these tests the children were asked to replace differently shaped wooden blocks in corresponding holes, and to indicate whether a hand moving behind a screen traced out the same shape as the object in front of them, and whether a block they could feel behind a screen was the same as one they could see.

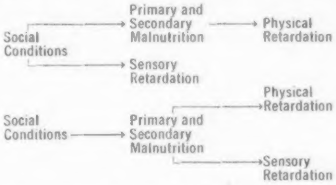
Dr. Cravioto's team selected the children in the village according to their weight or height (for age), and chose to observe the relative performances of the upper and lower quartiles of weight or height. The children's heights appeared to have no relationship with those of their parents, and the team therefore assumed that the smaller children were undernourished. As control groups, the team observed two similar sets of upperclass urban children; the heights of these children did depend on their parents' heights, and presumably reflected genetic factors.

The children in the urban groups performed consistently better on the psychological tests than those in the rural groups at all ages, and the two urban groups showed no difference in performance. However, the taller children in the rural group scored consistently higher than their shorter contemporaries, again suggesting the influence of malnutrition on mental abilities.

THE NEED FOR FIELD STUDIES

Such evidence, convincing as it may appear, in no way proves the primary connection between malnutrition and behavior. The studies completed so far are but small drops in a very large ocean, most of which has yet to be navigated.

Dr. Cravioto, in common with other speakers, was at pains to stress the complicated pattern of cause and effect between cultural and nutritional factors and behavior. Put at its simplest level, the conference was aiming to decide the relative applicability of two models for the cause of retarded learning behavior, which are best expressed in diagrammatic form:



But of course such simplified portrayals bear little relationship with reality, and the evidence is too scanty to provoke decisions on any model of the relative effects of social and nutritional factors. In view of the vital implications of the subject, it is essential now to set up field studies in many underprivileged areas, and the final day of the three-day conference was devoted to discussions of the nature of future field studies.

Dr. Cipriano A. Canosa, of INCAP, set out the basic framework for any field study:

The team must take a longitudinal approach, following a group of children through their early years until they have reached six or seven.

A preliminary phase is vitally important in any study. During this period the team has the opportunity to study its target population and work out their basic methods.

The team must evolve suitable methods of measuring the state of nutrition, mental development, and sociocultural patterns of population groups and individuals.

Studies must involve scientists from a variety of diverse disciplines, to integrate the biological and sociological aspects of the study harmoniously into a single working unit, as well as to add credibility to the results.

One such study, in its third year, is being run by a team under Dr. Cravioto's direction, in a village in northern Mexico. Although the inhabitants form a homogeneous community, there is sufficient variation in socio-economic conditions to give the team confidence that differences in nutritional status will be measurable.

Then years of cross-sectional studies laid the ground for the effort, and the first year of the seven-year study proper formed the peliminary phase. During the second year, which ended last January 31, the team selected 300 children born during the year. For the remaining five years of the study they will keep detailed records of every aspect of the lives of these children and their families—records of disease in the families, of the relationships between mothers and children, of psychological tests, of family diets, and of every factor which shapes the total environment of the children in any way.

AVOIDING THE CLASH OF CULTURES

Away from the scene of the action it is easy to talk analytically of underprivileged, malnourished populations, but the worker in the field must eventually face the problem of scientific detachment versus human involvement. Can one dispassionately compile statistics of human suffering without lending a hand?

In a way the solution is an easy one: the food is not available to give. The study groups can only offer advice on how to eke out the food available more profitably. The attitude of Dr. Cravioto's team is probably typical. They will willingly offer advice to anyone who asks them for it; such advice consists of planning a suitable diet for all the family on the basis of the family's budget. Already they have found that it is only the most forward-looking members of the community—the innovators—who come to them. The remainder appear to be unaware of their need—or perhaps insist on waiting for proof that the advice will produce results.

This observation poses another problem. How far should scientists impose their own scientific ideas, derived from alien cultures, on communities which have adapted to near-starvation and treat it as a basic fact of life? In introducing undernourished populations to such Western foods as dried milk powder we may be putting at risk the whole ecology of their existence. Dr. Thomson referred to a village in West Africa where dried milk is known as "the stuff which causes diarrhea"—it does just this because it is administered in unsanitary, filthy conditions.

However, the general picture is more encouraging than this example suggests. New high-protein foods, based on oilseeds such as soybean, peanuts, and cottonseed are proving readily acceptable among undernourished populations. Fish protein concentrate will soon be available. Genetically improved varieties of corn and rice are now available, and work is in progress to improve surghu and wheat as well. Single-cell protein, produced from petroleum and natural gas as energy sources, is in prospect, and many synthetic nutrients are available.

The problem of world food shortage is, of course, far from solved. But the fact that scientists can now turn their attention to the health of the survivors of early malnutrition rather than spend their time predominantly in merely ensuring survival suggests that progress is being made. The field studies now under way should provide valuable understanding of the effects of malnutrition on learning and behavior. Hopefully, the application of science and technology to the solution of the world's food shortages will in time remove the problem altogether.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, for those who are interested in honest reporting, I would like to call to the attention of the House a very forthright commentary by Mr. Dean Livingston, editor of the Orangeburg, S.C., Times and Democrat, who is a man of the highest integrity.

James Hoagland, a reporter for the Washington Post, had a very distorted story which may be attributed to the fact that he was hit over the head by one of the demonstrators which required a number of stitches, and his article was written prior to his recovery from this most unfortunate accident. At any rate, I assume that this is the case, because it is inconceivable that anyone would give such a biased and completely fictional report on the situation in Orangeburg.

Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks a story which appeared in a number of newspapers concerning a speech by Mr. Livingston, as follows:

METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPERS CHARGED WITH MALICIOUS DISTORTION OF FACTS

LOS ANGELES.—A scorching criticism of some of the nation's larger newspapers was delivered here Friday by a South Carolina newsman who charged his city was "defamed" by news coverage of a race riot that occurred there.

Speaking before the annual convention of the National Newspaper Association, Dean B. Livingston, publisher and editor of the Orangeburg, S.C., Times and Democrat aimed charges of "malicious distortion of facts" at metropolitan newspapers such as the Atlanta Journal, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times.

Livingston spoke on the February racial incident in Orangeburg, a South Carolina city of some 15,000 persons, in which three Negro students were killed in a confrontation with state troopers on the college campus.

"The facts on what happened in Orangeburg were so twisted by much of the nation's press," Livingston declared, that the newsmen who were eyewitnesses to the shooting were embarrassed to be identified in the same ranks with the writers of fiction who came to the city under the guise of reporting.

Livingston was one of the newsmen who eyewitnessed the shooting. He said "apparently the truth no longer counts with the larger newspapers. They're looking for sensationalism with a total disregard for facts."

The South Carolina editor said one of the primary reasons for "the unfactual reporting out of Orangeburg during the crisis" was because many of the newspapers sent inexperienced reporters into the city who were "more interested in seeing the glorification of their bylines than they were in writing about what actually happened."

He accused the Los Angeles Times of "falling back into the throes of 'yellow journalism' which prevailed in New York City near the turn of the century.

"Looking over this great city of Los Angeles," Livingston said, "it's hard for me to believe that the Los Angeles Times is so hard up for money that it has to print intentional lies in order to sell newspapers.

"It seems to me that there should be enough to write truth about here rather than send a reporter some 3,000 miles away to write fiction."

Livingston's criticism of the Atlanta Journal was linked to the Los Angeles Times also.

"The Atlanta paper," he said, "based its editorial comments on what it called 'an exhaustive study of what happened in Orangeburg' by Jack Nelson of Los Angeles."

Nelson's report on Orangeburg, Livingston continued was so "ridiculous and so false that I'm sure even many of the students who were involved in the riot had a ball laughing over it."

Someday, Livingston added, "the FBI will reveal exactly what happened in Orangeburg on the night of the shooting and upon learning the truth the editors in Atlanta and Los Angeles will hold their heads down in shame."

The Washington Post came under fire from the South Carolina newsman for printing what he charged was "two-bit journalism."

The Post, he said, was the victim of "inferior newspapering" on the part of one of its reporters. Livingston said the reporter dispatched to cover the story for the Post "simply had a great imagination."

The reporter, Livingston continued, "didn't have enough knowledge of and experience in reporting to know how to distinguish fact from fiction.

"The young man, a native of South Carolina, evidently found the story too big to handle so rather than bother with the facts he decided to write his own version. He took the easy way out. Fiction is always easier to write than truth."

Livingston appealed to the editors and publishers attending the convention to use their more able and experienced reporters in the coverage of racial incidents. There is a great difference between writing the details of a crisis than that of writing up a Little League baseball game, he added.

FRIENDS OF THE RETARDED CHILDREN, WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS CIVIC-MINDED GROUP, SPONSORS CONSTRUCTION OF "SUNSHINE VILLAGE" IN CHICOPEE, FOR SUMMER RECREATION AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Friends of Retarded Children of Western Massachusetts are making an invaluable contribution to enrich the lives of these exceptional children by sponsoring construction of Sunshine Village in Chicopee, Mass., a $250,000 nursery and camp facility which will provide summer recreation programs for 15,000 retarded children.

As the former chairman of the annual fundraising drive for the Hampden County Association for Retarded Children, and recipient of the association's 1958 merit award for my "efforts in the Congress on behalf of retarded children," I had the privilege of speaking at the groundbreaking ceremony on Saturday, April 27, 1968.

Mr. P. Joseph Casey of Chicopee was chairman of the successful fundraising drive for the Friends of the Retarded Children. The buildings at Sunshine Village will be completed next month and will accommodate retarded children from communities in Hampden County and the towns of South Hadley and Granby during the coming summer months.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks a most interesting story on the groundbreaking ceremony and description of Sunshine Village, written by Miss Carol Smiegel for the Springfield Sunday Republican, of April 28, 1968:

GROUND BROKEN FOR $250,000 CENTER IN CHICOPEE FOR RETARDED CHILDREN

(By Carol Smiegel)

Area dignitaries and officials of the Friends of the Retarded Children of Western Massachusetts Saturday attended ground-breaking ceremonies for a new $250,000 nursery and summer camp for retarded children in Chicopee.

The new center, the first of its kind in the area, is located on a 10-acre site, next to Burnett Road School.

WILL SERVE 15,000

"Sunshine Village" the name which it has been given, is the product of a civic-minded group of individuals, Friends of the Retarded Children, formed to provide a summer recreation residence, nursery and sheltered workshop for the 15,000 retarded children of Hampden County, South Hadley and Granby.

The program, part of which was held indoors at Burnett School, was attended by more than 200 interested residents and many of the business and professional leaders of the Pioneer Valley communities.

The program began with songs by the Chicopee Schools Choral Group and the Westover Theater Guild Chorus.

Next, the invocation was read by the Rev. Dr. Frederick F. Driftmier, pastor of South Congregational Church, Springfield, followed by messages from Dr. George E. Membrino, executive vice-president of F.O.R.C. and superintendent of Chicopee Schools; Dr. Burton Blatt, assistant commissioner for mental retardation; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph C. Fenton, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Chicopee; and the Rev. Edward J. Kroyak, director of Cathedral High School who offered a prayer for the blessing of the land.

BOLAND IS SPEAKER

U.S. Rep. Edward P. Boland, D-Springfield, addressed the group and took part in groundbreaking ceremonies.

Each speaker talked of the association, its attempts to acknowledge the needs of retarded youngsters, and noted some of the center's outstanding facilities.

The buildings, scheduled for completion in June, will include a day nursery, to give preschool assistance to prepare the child for further education in regular school systems; and a training class, in which volunteers will work with youngsters in the classes assisting them in the use of various visual and hearing aids.

FOR RECREATION

Another section will be designed as a recreation room for the entertainment of children who enjoy many of the programs of normal youngsters. Dancing, all types of games, and apparatus to assist them in physical developments will be offered.

Other areas include a kitchen and snack bar, a first aid room, laboratories and directors conference rooms.

While the center will provide much-needed summer recreation facilities, it will also provide a year-round nursery, sheltered workshop activities and recreation and training. It also may be expanded to include a 50-bed dormitory.

At the conclusion of the speeches, participants in the ground-breaking exercises filed out to the site of the center.

Those taking part in traditional ceremonies were Mayor Richard H. Demers, mayor of Chicopee; George O. Fontaine, building supervisor; Mrs. Joseph Cote, secretary of F.O.R.C.; Congressman Boland; Dr. Membrino; John Giokas, president of F.O.R.C. and Jay Mercer, president of the Chicopee Jaycees

Gold-plated shovels in hand, each official broke ground, in turn starting construction on one of the area's most needed facilities.

THE UPRISING OF THE WARSAW GHETTO: THE LEGEND OF YESTERDAY AND THE REALITY OF TODAY

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. Joseph L. Lichten, director of the Department of Intercultural Affairs, Anti-Defamation League, delivered an excellent address to the Association of Polish-American Journalists, in conjunction with the Overseas Press Club.

Dr. Lichten has placed the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto in proper perspective, and I recommend his remarks to the attention of my colleagues.

Dr. Lichten's address follows:

THE UPRISING OF THE WARSAW GHETTO: THE LEGEND OF YESTERDAY AND THE REALITY OF TODAY

(An address by Dr. Joseph L. Lichten,, director, Department of Intercultural Affairs, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, at the Overseas Press Club, New York, April 18, 1968)

We have assembled together to remember and honor the heroic fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of their brave deed. Since that embattled April of 1943, we have met thus every year, to grieve for them; and their epic act has become a legend of courage and a legacy of valor, so much so that it has been incorporated into the Jewish liturgy for the Passover holiday.

Yet, we do not feel as though we are attending an observance of an event which belongs to the past, a segment of history gone from our day-to-day lives. It is too early for that. The Warsaw Ghetto uprising is too close, too deeply engraved in the hearts and minds of the contemporary generations, for us to regard that superhuman struggle dispassionately, or to restrict commemoration of it to stone memorials or metal plaques or even poetic valedictories. Perhaps the famous Polish poet Cyprian Kamil Norwid was right when he said that the past is nothing undefined and unknown, where we have never been before; the past also it is rather the present, only a little farther from us.

But the vividness of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising has another reason, an unusual—indeed, extraordinary—reason that is almost without precedent. It is that the revolt is again being given broad press coverage today, in April of 1968, both overseas and here in the United States. We would be gladdened by this widespread evocation of the uprising were the recounting of the Nazi occupation period not replete with cruel distortions, which are twisting the historic record unbelievably for propaganda purposes. The "big lie," so characteristic among those who readily substitute party line for fact, is now being superimposed on the tragic conditions under which the Jews lived, fought, and died during the Nazi ascendancy.

But let us start from the beginning.

The naked facts of the uprising are well known to you. While research on the revolt has by no means ended, and not all the records are available, much information has been provided by reports of the underground and transcriptions of individual testimony, memoirs and diaries, prose literature and poetry and essays. It is not my intention to unroll before you a description of the ingenious preparations for resistance, the countless heroic actions of the besieged fighters, the brutal and genocidal conclusion. Suffice it to recall here that the Warsaw Ghetto revolt stood alone of all resistance activities in occupied Europe as having no possibility of retreat, no place for the fighters to hide, no chance of survival. The residents knew full well that their numbers and means were too limited for a Pyrrhic victory. They knew, therefore, that their deed could have no other aim than the vindication of human dignity.

It is accepted that the dates of April 19 and May 15, 1943, mark the opening and the end of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Actually, it began on August 20, 1942, when the resistance initially took organized action against the enemy. In January, 1943, the Germans retreated for the first time from the defenders, and this setback was the beginning of the end. Heinrich Himmler ordered the ghetto to be destroyed, "because Warsaw will never quiet down and its criminal deeds will never end as long as the ghetto stands. It is necessary that the dwelling space for 500,000 subhumans . . . should completely disappear." [1]

On April 19, 1943, the Germans entered the ghetto to carry out Himmler's order against the handful of Jews left in the city; ninety percent of their number had been deported. Although the battle was not to end until well into June, on May 15 Major General Jürgen Stroop issued the triumphal and black-letter pronunciamento: "There are no longer any Jewish habitations in Warsaw." [2] This was a flat misrepresentation of the facts and a total misunderstanding of the ghetto fighters' invincible tenacity.

It is impossible to treat the ghetto revolt in separation from the whole period of the catastrophe, from the Nazi occupation of Poland and much of the rest of Europe, and even from the situation in the free world. In this large context, it becomes clear that the Warsaw Ghetto uprising carries portentous historiological implications in world affairs for all of time beyond its occurrence.

At the outset, let me stress here that I have not come before you to accuse, to throw stones, to denounce. Obviously, the major guilt of commission rests and will always remain with the major culprit: the Nazi. Untiring exposure of this monster is obviously necessary. A full and balanced analysis of the catastrophe, however, also requires us to examine the dreadful question: how could it have happened?

Even voicing the question makes one tremble. This is not only because of the dimensions of the tragedy, but because the questioner experiences a strange and very uncomfortable feeling that he is conducting a scrutiny of human souls, and yet that he is simultaneously in the role of being examined. This is what makes the exploration seem like a Greek drama: that at the same time, all of us are questioning and being questioned.

We have said that the direct and inhuman guilt for the enormity of the holocaust is borne by the Nazis. However, we are forced to recognize that there was not only the guilt of commission; there was also a guilt of omission, and this must be attributed to most other men then alive, not only in occupied Europe but also in the free world.

If this seems an exaggeration, let us examine a few points of record. It is a disturbing fact that while the Jews during World War II fought valiantly in the Allied military services, participated in underground actions against the Axis, and died—to the extent that one-third of their world population perished—as front-line victims of the common enemy, the major Allied governments focused so intensely on the "war effort" as to lose sight of the immediate peril to the whole of the Jewish people under the Nazi occupation. Although an impressive number of lives were saved—and in this achievement the United States undeniably holds a first place—nevertheless, current historical research does not exonerate the free world to the degree that we would have wished. We recall that very early in the drama, the League of Nations' first High Commissioner for Refugees, James G. McDonald, resigned on December 27, 1935, after two years of unsuccessful efforts to relieve the growing oppression of the Jews. We know that the Evian Conference on Refugees in July, 1938, produced a week of speeches, but no action. We remember that the next international meeting on the problem, the Bermuda Conference, which opened precisely on the April day when the Germans opened fire on the Warsaw Ghetto, provoked the observation from Congressman Emanuel Celler that it was "a diplomatic mockery of compassionate sentiments and a betrayal of human interests and ideals." [3] We find much official documentation stressing the Allies' resolve to punish war criminals *when the war was won*, to bring the "Nazi leadership" to justice *in the future*—but very little discussion, or even mention, occurred concerning the frantic plight of the Jews actually being exterminated.

Against this multifaceted background, relations between the Poles and the Jews appear in a clearer and more correct light. I have expressed myself on this subject many times. My intention has always been to present the truth, to stand above personal sorrow, to examine the question thoroughly from all aspects. And I have persistently maintained the opinion that it is not enough to ask why so many could be neutral in the face of the unprecedented tragedy of the Jews in Poland, even aside from the criminal elements which actively persecuted the Jews; we must also ask how so many found the courage to extend assistance to them, despite the indescribable subhuman atmosphere that hovered in the air like poison gas.

Yet the fact remains that such noble deeds represented the rare exception rather than the rule; that while thousands may have aided their Jewish neighbors, millions stood aloof. Going through the vast sources for the subject, written by both Gentiles and Jews, one becomes conscious that the physical ghetto walls were mirrored in the spirits of the majority by an estrangement between those on either side of the wall. In so many instances, the Gentiles in Warsaw, for example, seemed to pay little attention to the fact that a few yards away from their daily courses, some half-million fellow citizens were starving; and the Jewish accounts most often refer to the Aryans (what a terrible expression) as though they were a remote and unrelated people living hundreds of miles away. The sense of community solidarity was stronger and more vital in the early days of the occupation. As time wore on, it slowly diminished. And as fear of the death penalty for aiding a Jew drove the separating wedge deeper, it became easier, far easier, for the latent inhumanity which exists in all men to emerge in some.

The issue of Polish-Jewish relations during World War II has become clouded and entangled in recent months owing to the extraordinary developments which have been taking place in Poland. In essence, what seems to be happening is that the Communist totalitarians are clothing themselves in the toga of patriotism, and an ultra-chauvinist brand of patriotism at that, despite their avowed opposition to any such posture.

Polish officialdom, followed by the press, has appointed itself censor of every written work or speech in the free world regarding the Holocaust in Poland. Whatever the genre of the material, however trustworthy and authoritative, it is roundly scored and rejected if it dares to mention a single, isolated example of a lack of sympathy on the part of a Pole toward a Jew during World War II. This frenzied flag-waving might be, if not easier to accept, at least easier to understand if the leaders of Gomulka's and Moczar's party had ever displayed an equal interest in the fate of three and a half million Jews.

While any impartial observer must view these reactions as preposterous, he must likewise reject the extremism and overgeneralization of other writings which paint wartime Poland's treatment of the Jews with a pitch-black brush. Parenthetically, when one is tempted to criticize such works, the troubling thought comes to mind that the expression of an unfavorable opinion may tend to flatter and give support to the Communo-chauvinists.

The controversy over Polish-Jewish cooperation, or the lack of it, is still based on painful emotions and bitter memories. It can never be resolved in the climate being generated by Poland's propaganda machinery today. We are restricted, at least temporarily, to a sober attempt to contribute only some elements and analysis of the past.

Nevertheless, I cannot neglect to mention an important and constructive book by Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, published recently in Poland under the roughly translated title *He Is from My Country*.[4] It is a fascinating document, consisting of a large study accompanied by 185 personal accounts, from Jews and non-Jews in all walks of life, that testifies to the aid extended to Jews by Poles individually and through the Council for Assistance to the Jews. The book is a record which helps us retain faith in the humanness of human beings, and which demonstrates that every generalization is wrong.

Still, a reflection follows on the first im-

Footnotes at end of article.

pression. Yes, indeed, 185 accounts, a description of one organization to aid the Jews outside the ghetto; this is one side of the scale. But on the other are three and a half million who perished.

Then also, as an extenuation of the bleak balance, we know what the Nazi attitude was toward the Poles. They were the earliest and among the most viciously suppressed peoples. The German Governor General of Poland, Hans Frank, declared: "This land will forever be an annex of the German empire."[5] And the German Minister of Justice asserted, "This is our experimental ground for the rule of the world."[6]

But Bartoszewski cautiously states himself: "One cannot, however, deny or remain silent about the harm committed against the Jews during the years of occupation by Poles who found themselves on the margins of their own community, and who collaborated with the occupier against both the Jews and those Christians who were helping them."[7]

This pro-and-con disputation could probably be continued endlessly, without any satisfactory conclusion. I wonder, however, whether perhaps a resolution might not be approached through the old Talmudic saying, "He who saves one life saves the world." These words are engraved on the medal which Yad Washem in Israel presents to the individuals who saved Jewish lives, individuals who, in mankind's darkest hour, rose to new heights of humanity.

On the square in Warsaw's former Jewish quarter stands a monument, devoted to the memory of the ghetto uprising and its heroes. Since this monument was unveiled, Polish-Jewish relations have traveled full circle. Only with great reluctance and sadness do I interfere with the solemn reflections on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the gallant Jewish revolt to present related issues of today. But I know that these matters must be confronted, despite my hesitancy, because it is imperative to evaluate the latest developments in Poland, so widely discussed in the mass media.

It is indeed a difficult and confusing situation to examine. I must admit that the game being played by Poland's Communist Party constitutes a devilishly clever maneuver. The moves are shrewdly calculated in terms of short-range plans, but in the long run they will severely damage the image of the nation these men are attempting to represent.

In sum, we are witnessing a simple revival of tried and practiced Stalinists methods. The tired old epithets of "Zionists," "cosmopolites," "revisionists," "ringleaders of unrest" are circulating once more. One can almost expect revelations about a plot of Jewish doctors against somebody's life. Actually, this might not be a bad turn of events; if it followed its precedent, it would at least signal the beginning of a new era.

What we are dealing with here is not so much the Polish regime's support of the Arab states in the conflict with Israel, as might first seem, although this issue itself has been challenged by one Polish writer with the pertinent question: "If we have to have a dual allegiance, why should one of them be Egypt?" The issue lies rather in how this support has been rationalized to the people.

Israel, goes the argument, is working closely with a fascist Germany and an imperialist United States; it is therefore a Nazi state in the Near East, and Moshe Dayan is a new Hitler who is using Nazi methods of warfare, Nazi methods of exterminating the enemy. Furthermore, Zionism is a crystal-clear ideology of racism. As Hitlerism claimed that the Germans were supermen, so Zionism allegedly claims the Jews are. The accusation is even being raised that Jewish youth is changing the words of the Polish national anthem. You remember the verse:

"We will cross the Vistula, cross the Varta;
We will remain Poles.
We have learned from Bonaparte
How we should be victorious."

The version allegedly created by Jewish young people is:

"We will cross Sinai, cross Gaza;
We will remain Jews.
We have learned from Moshe Dayan
How we should be victorious."

It would be malignant enough if the anti-Jewish fulminations stopped at detractions against modern-day Jews. But that, apparently, is not sufficient. With a weary sense of familiarity, we see the detractors also twist history to fit their current objectives.

In the Communist interpretation, then, it is clear why the Israelis, who are also Jews, behave like Hitlerites: it is because they have a tradition of collaboration with the Nazis. As mentioned, when there is so much as a hint that Poles ignored or even abetted the Jewish tragedy, the reaction is that there might have been a few very rare and very unusual cases. But when it is a matter of the Jews, the Polish spokesmen and press offhandedly accuse all the Judenrats, or Jewish Councils, along with the whole of the Jewish police, of active cooperation with the enemy. Moreover, according to this rewriting of history, all Jews in Poland except for a handful, numbering perhaps one thousand in the Warsaw Ghetto, weakly submitted to the sentence of annihilation.

Under no circumstances can we permit this manipulation of history, which would transform the victims of persecution into criminals or cowards arraigned in a kangaroo court. We cannot stand mute while they are summoned from beyond the grave to defend themselves against the arrogant charges that, in the face of mortal danger, they allegedly did not behave according to the bogus moral standards of those who know the Holocaust only from hearsay or groundless inventions.

The moral responsibility for the Jewish catastrophe rests, not with the victims, but with the victimizers and their accessories. Let every nation and every individual search his own heart to see whether he is blameless. Those who today shout their indignation are not necessarily themselves unimplicated. Shakespeare had a telling word to say about excessive protests of innocence.

There is no way of countering the calumnies raised against the Jews under the occupation except to painfully reiterate the truth. It is a matter of incontrovertible record that the very concept of a Judenrat originated with the Germans; that the Jewish communities had no choice but to follow this dictate of the Nazis; and that the Councils, hoping against hope, attempted every means at their disposal to save Jewish lives, whether through delaying tactics, strategic maneuvering, or even bribery. In many cases, one of these methods did indeed ensure the temporary survival of members of the community. But ultimately, as the Nazis' own documents reveal, Judenrat representatives perished with their communities. One wonders why, if the Councils and the Jewish police collaborated with the enemy as is now being asserted, they too went to their deaths at the hand of the Nazis, to whom they supposedly gave useful service.

Concerning the allegation that the Jews as a whole mounted no defense of their very lives, the answer is that there was massive Jewish resistance, but in a form and according to a tradition which until quite recently was little known and even less appreciated in the West. Their defense was nonviolent. We know full well, of course, that Jews did take up arms against the oppressors all during the war and all over Europe. Jewish partisans fought with the underground in every country under the Nazi heel; there were ghetto uprisings not only in Warsaw—where, incidentally, the number of fighters was forty thousand, not one thousand—but also in Wilno, Bialystok, and elsewhere; and there were revolts in concentration camps like Sobibor, Treblinka, and Auschwitz. However, the traditional resistance among Jews through history has been unarmed and nonmilitary, a moral opposition stemming from the religious belief that injustice will be overcome "not by force but by the strength of the spirit."

To Westerners, this concept is almost totally foreign. Most nations and peoples equate strength with material strength, power with military power, and hence courage with physical might. To them, there is no victory without external conquest, wrought by human hands; this is the meaning behind the saying, "God is with the big battalions"—an epithet that can be found in some form in probably all European languages.

There is a wartime anecdote which illustrates these different orientations. It pictures Winston Churchill consulting a miracle-working Hasidic rabbi about how to defeat the Nazis. "There are two possible ways," the rabbi tells him, "a natural way and a supernatural. The natural way is that a million angels, armed with flaming swords, can fall upon Germany and destroy it. The supernatural way would be for a million British soldiers to descend on Germany and destroy it."

Yet another spiritual force grew among the Jews caught in the machinery of slaughter: a will simply to survive, the same instinct that impels all humans but developed to an exceptional degree of intensity. Again and again in the literature of the Holocaust, we find the assertion that hope dies last—in the face of merciless tortures, in the face of imminent death.

A Polish Gentile internee, looking through the window of a hospital at Auschwitz, summoned a Jewish doctor to come and see what he felt was a strange sight: a Jew being escorted to join that day's selection of human victims for the crematorium was carrying a cardboard box containing personal belongings—a pair of leather boots, a pencil, some fruit. The Pole exclaimed, "He knows perfectly well—an old timer like him—that within an hour or two he will go to the gas chamber, naked, without his shirt, and without his package. What an extraordinary attachment to the last bit of property!" But the Jewish doctor replied, "You think so, yes? . . . I don't know. I don't know what I would do if I were going to the gas chamber. I might also want to take along my package. . . . I think that even if I was being led to the oven, I would still believe that something would surely happen along the way. Holding a package would be a little like holding somebody's hand, you see."[8]

These are but a few facets of the highly complex subject of Polish-Jewish relations which is today being so abused and misrepresented in the Polish press. It is a blessing that much careful investigation and evaluation had been made public previously, for the current polemics corrupt the record supplied heretofore in scholarly journals and books. Indeed, as a deplorable sidenote to the events, well-known students of the subject in Poland—I will not mention their names in order not to render their situation more difficult—have been forced to restate authenticated facts and to reshape their own past analyses to conform with the policy now being dictated. Further exploration and analysis are being taken away from those qualified to pursue such research and are being given over to the authority of purely political organizations.

This morning the press brought additional information about the current anti-Semitic campaign. An unscrupulous attack was this time directed against the Yiddish Theater and Henryk Grynberg, former member of the Jewish troupe who recently defected to the United States. Grynberg is particularly attacked for a book he wrote some years ago which, according to yesterday's Polish press, threw "dirt on Poland and the nation." Before publication in book form, the work had appeared in installments in a literary quarterly. All of this was, unquestionably, done with the permission of the state censor. At the time, the book was highly praised and hailed in the press and compared with the great epics of modern times. Obviously, the censors had approved the reviews also. Today, all of Grynberg's colleagues are assailed for not attacking his writings. Can you find a better illustration of twisting the facts in order to make them suitable for the current irresponsible anti-Semitic assaults.

The obvious purpose of these manipulations is to arouse the mass of the population against the remnants of the once-large Jewish community, within as well as outside of Poland. To cover this motive, the finger is again being pointed at the Jews, in the best czarist fashion. The Jews are guilty of all crimes, and must be punished. And they are being punished, by expulsion from their professional positions, by attacks from official sources, by scapegoating in the press. I am the last one to shed tears over the fate of Communist office-holders, even if they are Jewish. But I, together with many others, must raise my voice when they are made the butt of a brutal and unvarnished anti-Semitic campaign.

The anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising provides a direct contradiction to the slander being thrown at the fighters and the Jewish community at large. The revolt will remain for all time an unparalleled act of heroism by a small group of men and women who gave their lives in the highest cause—integrity and honor, not only for themselves but for the whole Jewish people.

Tomorrow, we understand, the Polish regime will also observe the anniversary of the uprising, probably in ceremonies before the monument in Warsaw. Whose memory will they be honoring, we wonder? And what will they commemorate? The memory of collaborators and passive, sheep-like victims of the Nazis? Acts of criminality and of cowardice? How do they have the gall to hold such an observance in the midst of attacks on Israel, on so-called Zionists—for which we must always read "Jews," of course—whom they simultaneously brand as disloyal citizens of Poland, the country of their birth, as organizers of mass demonstrations against the Communist regime? It will be a farce, but a tragic farce.

This is not the first time in our universal history that the Jewish people have had to live through a period as scapegoats of political machinations. But we know, as the ghetto fighters knew, that we will emerge from tribulation heart-strong and honor-bright. These recurrent conditions of our lives are beautifully expressed in a poem by Pauline Braun, from an anthology of poetry written about the Jews under the Nazis:

> "Tell me, Mother, what the word 'Jew' means.
> Tell me, Mother, why people scoff at him.
> Tell me, are the Jews really people who are not good?
> Tell me, haven't they ever done things that are constructive?
> Tell me, dear Mother, should I be ashamed
> That I am a small Jewish boy?
>
> "A Jew, dear child, means suffering;
> A Jew, dear child, means a difficult fate;
> A Jew, dear child, means harassment.
> A Jew has to endure every blow;
> A Jew has faith in the future, in better days;
> A Jew never in life loses his good spirit;
> He laughs though often the heart in him trembles.
> A Jew—wait, I know what to tell you. . . .
> A Jew is probably the only human being
> Who knows truly bitter tears." [9]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Document NO–2514, Nuremberg trials, and prosecution exhibit 274, Eichmann trial; quoted in Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem*, New York, Harper & Row, 1966, p. 222.

[2] Document 1061–PS, Nuremberg trials, and prosecution exhibit 274, Eichmann trial; quoted in *ibid.*, p. 224.

[3] Emanuel Celler, in *Free World*, July, 1943; quoted in Hausner, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

[4] Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, ——— ——— (He Is from My Country), Krakow, Znak, 1966.

[5] *Diaries of Hans Frank* (in German and Polish), Warsaw, 1957; quoted in Hausner, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[6] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 178.

[7] Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[8] Tadeusz Borowski, *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories*, ed. and tr. from the Polish by Barbara Vedder, New York, Viking Press, 1967, p. 130.

[9] Pauline Braun, "A Jew," in Michal M. Borwicz, ed., *Piesn Ujdzie Calo* (The Song Will Remain Intact), Wawsaw, Central Jewish Historical Commission, 1947, p. 229.

SENATE—*Tuesday, May 28, 1968*

(Legislative day of Monday, May 27, 1968)

The Senate met at 10 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Gracious God, our Father, whose still, small voice invites us to turn aside from the feverish ways of the world, and whose tender love bids us find our strength in Thee: We are conscious as we bow at this altar of Thy grace that if we live a life of prayer Thou art present everywhere.

Amid the duties of these demanding days, by the spiritual resources that are found in Thee alone, may our spirits be refreshed and our souls restored.

With minds burdened for the Nation and for the world, we turn to Thee in this baffling hour knowing that what supremely counts has nothing to do with the appraisals of men or with honors for which men contend, but has to do with what causes use us. Deliver us from political policies which are symptoms of spiritual disease. O make our hearts Thy dwelling place, and worthier Thee.

We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, May 27, 1968, be approved.

The **PRESIDENT** pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The **PRESIDENT** pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. TOWER obtained the floor.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I might yield to the distinguished Senator from Montana, without losing my right to the floor, and with the time not being charged to either side.

The **PRESIDENT** pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Business and Commerce of the Committee on the District of Columbia, the Committee on Commerce, the Subcommittee on Oil and Water Pollution of the Committee on Public Works, and the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Operations of the Committee on Government Operations be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The **PRESIDENT** pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider a nomination on the Executive Calendar.

The **PRESIDENT** pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

The bill clerk read the nomination of Roy T. Sessums, of Louisiana, to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission.

The **PRESIDENT** pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nomination.

The **PRESIDENT** pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, what is the pending amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Amendment No. 828, offered by the Senator from Texas.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, on the same basis as stipulated previously by the distinguished Senator from Texas when he yielded the floor temporarily.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded, and that the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] be allowed to proceed for not to exceed 5 minutes, the time not to be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ONLY 85,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE COULD NOT ACCOMPLISH ALL THE REVERSES WE HAVE SUSTAINED THIS YEAR

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, while negotiations for an armistice and cease-fire continue in Paris, we are fighting and destroying South Vietnamese homes within the city of Saigon because the Vietcong have attacked our forces in Saigon and Cholon, the Chinese tenement district, and elsewhere in South Vietnam. In South Vietnam we continue to destroy the villages and homes of the South Vietnamese and in the process kill many of the occupants—women, children, and old men.

It is the great tragedy of this war that time and again we have destroyed South Vietnamese villages to save them. That American major explaining what happened at Ben Tre put our entire Vietnam involvement in proper perspective. He said, "It became necessary to destroy the city to save it." So, Ben Tre, a city of 35,000 population in the Mekong Delta, following the time that it had been occupied by the VC was destroyed methodically by American bombs, napalm, shells, and rockets. More than 10,000 civilians—women, children, and men—were killed, including some thousands of refugees who had fled to the city for safety. Nobody knows how many thousands, because entire families were permanently buried in the rubble. "It became necessary to destroy the city to save it." This was a shameful episode in the history of the Armed Forces and of our country.

When President Eisenhower left the White House we had only 685 military advisers in all South Vietnam. On the day President Kennedy was assassinated we had approximately 16,000 military advisers; but Americans acted solely as military advisers. They were not engaged in any fighting in the civil war that was raging in South Vietnam. President Johnson changed all this. We now have close to 600,000 combat troops in South Vietnam and Thailand. Under President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk we have chosen sides in a civil war, and the South Vietnamese people definitely do not appreciate our interference, any more than we Americans would if a foreign power became involved in our internal affairs and sent in airplanes or ground forces claiming they had a commitment to restore law and order in the United States and bring justice to an oppressed minority.

Our history throughout President Eisenhower's administration of 8 years and President Kennedy's administration of nearly 3 years refutes the untruthful allegations made that we are in Vietnam because of commitments made by three American Presidents. We are in Vietnam simply because of the stubborn determination of President Johnson. We have made no headway whatever there. We are still defending Saigon and the Vietcong have reoccupied vital territory following periods when American youngsters made costly and bloody offensive sweeps at a cost of casualties in killed and wounded young Americans, of frightful magnitude exceeding a total of 125,000. Then when our forces withdrew, the VC moved in and took over again governing the area.

Historically, there never was a North Vietnam and a South Vietnam. The Geneva accords of 1954, which we agreed to and which brought to an end the French Indo-Chinese colonial empire stated:

> The military demarcation line at the 17th parallel is provisional and should not in any way be considered as constituting a political or territorial boundary.

The Vietnamese defeated their French colonial oppressors. They ended their control of all Vietnam. Now we Americans are just as hated as were the French. That hate against us is even more evident in South Vietnam than in North Vietnam. Throughout Asiatic capitals and in Hanoi and throughout South Vietnam where the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the VC, controls more than two-thirds of the countryside and undoubtedly approximately two-thirds of the entire population, we are looked upon even more bitterly than the French colonial oppressors were regarded up to the time of the surrender of Dienbienphu on May 8, 1954. It was immediately following this capture of 12,000 men of the French Foreign Legion and some Moroccans that the French Government made peace and withdrew their army of 240,000.

We Americans are despised, hated and feared because we are destroying a people and their homes. We have sent our forces 10,000 miles to a small Asiatic country and have been fighting a war that is further away from solution than when we commenced the escalation and expansion of our involvement in 1965. Vietnam is not within our sphere of influence and is of no importance to the defense of the United States.

Just what has been changed in Vietnam in recent months except for our casualty figures which have become more stupendous and more frightening? The undeclared war we Americans are waging is the most unpopular war we have ever waged, exceeding in unpopularity that other unpopular war, the Mexican War of 1846. Unfortunately, but realistically, this terrible, immoral, murderous undeclared war in which the present administration has involved us in Vietnam is even worse than a war. It is genocide of the Vietnamese people. It is the kind of horrible intervention in a civil conflict in another nation that heads of state in some Asiatic capitals are claiming should be dealt with by war crime trials and by terming the United States as the aggressor and the defendant.

All thoughtful Americans should take to heart the statement made by our representatives in the peace talks in Paris which we hope against hope will lead to a cease-fire and armistice. It is quite remarkable and should be borne in mind by every American that the present impasse of the negotiations in Paris between our delegation headed by that great American, Averell Harriman, and representatives of North Vietnam is the refusal of the North Vietnamese delegates to admit they have 85,000 North Vietnamese troops fighting in South Vietnam. They deny that. Ambassador Harriman has produced verified documents tending to prove that 85,000 North Vietnamese soldiers are fighting in Vietnam. Remember that figure, only 85,000. That is the extent of our claim.

Here is incontrovertible evidence and clear and convincing proof that we have intervened in a civil war in Vietnam. We have 600,000 of the finest and best trained and most intelligent fighting men in the world including more than 50 percent of our entire airpower engaged in the Vietnamese civil war. Yet, our records show and our maximum claim is that 85,000 North Vietnamese are fighting against us. Who, then, is our enemy? It stands out crystal clear that the South Vietnamese forces of the National Liberation Front, the VC, numbering some hundreds of thousands are the ones, who in 1956 resumed fighting for national liberation of their homeland following the time Diem, our puppet President of South Vietnam, called off the elections pledged in the Geneva Agreement of 1954 for a nationwide election throughout Vietnam, to be held in 1956. This is the pledged election that President Eisenhower in his memoirs stated that our CIA estimated that Ho Chi Minh would win and be elected President with 80 percent of the vote.

So in recent weeks we have suffered the highest casualties of the war trying to maintain in power the corrupt Saigon military regime. This regime in June 1965 overthrew the civilian government of Saigon. It was a midnight coup of 10 generals ousting civilian authority. Nine of those 10 generals were born in North Vietnam, as was the former Prime Minister, and present Vice President, Air Marshal Ky. Those nine generals and Ky fought on the side of the French colonial oppressors against the forces of the National Liberation Front, then called Vietminh. Let Secretary of State Dean Rusk explain to the American people how it is that 85,000 North Vietnamese soldiers, which we claim is the maximum number engaged in combat in South Vietnam, have fought to a stalemate our hundreds of thousands of combat troops.

Furthermore, when administration defenders such as State Secretary Rusk untruthfully claim we are in South Vietnam to repel aggression from the North, they disregard the only obvious conclusion which is that we are interfering in a civil war in South Vietnam. Just what claim can these administration defenders put forward regarding, for example, Mai Van Bo, who is the delegate general and Ambassador Plenipotentiary of the Hanoi government to France? French governmental officials from President de Gaulle down admire and respect him. Mai Van Bo is articulate and able. He was born and reared in the Mekong Delta, 150 miles south of Saigon. Surprisingly enough, this leading displomat of Hanoi wrote the national anthem of South Vietnam. He is the confidant and close friend of Ho Chi Minh. Bo is the man who in October 1964 put out peace feelers in behalf of North Vietnam. These were rejected at the time by President Johnson. He again raised peace hopes last January when he said, "If the United States stops bombing North Vietnam, talks 'will' come." This, instead of using the word "would."

Mr. President, it is crystal clear that we are involved in a civil war in South Vietnam, a civil war in which we should never have become engaged in the first instance.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation on the pending bill, the time to be one hour on each amendment to be equally divided between the sponsor of the amendment and the manager of the bill, the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], and that there be a time limitation of 4 hours on the bill, under the usual procedures.

Mr. President, in effect, this is the same proposal made yesterday. The objection made at that time has been removed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, for purposes of clarification, is the time under the bill controlled by the Senator from Alabama and me?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is correct. I forgot to mention that. The time is to be under the control of the Senator from Alabama and the Senator from Texas, or by any Senator they may designate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement, subsequently reduced to writing, is as follows:

Ordered, That during the further consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low and moderate income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development, debate on any amendment, motion, or appeal, except a motion to lay on the table, shall be limited to one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the mover of any such amendment or motion and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN]: *Provided*, That in the event the Senator from Alabama is in favor of any such amendment or motion, the time in opposition thereto shall be controlled by the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] or some Senator designated by him: *Provided further*, That no amendment that is not germane to the provisions of the said bill shall be received.

Ordered further, That on the question of the final passage of the said bill debate shall be limited to four hours, to be equally divided and controlled, respectively, by the Senator from Alabama and the Senator from Texas: *Provided*, That the said Senators, or either of them, may, from the time under their control on the passage of the said bill, allot additional time to any Senator during the consideration of any amendment, motion, or appeal.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may suggest the absence of a quorum without the time being charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed without the time being applied to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTE TO PROF. DAVID R. MASON, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA SCHOOL OF LAW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, one of my closest friends and advisers, David R. Mason, Dixon professor of law at the University of Montana, is retiring this spring from active teaching duties.

Some lawyers achieve fame on the basis of their practice; other lawyers achieve fame of a sort by becoming Members of Congress; other lawyers become State court judges, district judges, circuit judges, and a few become Supreme Court justices. They are the ones who achieve the fame and the publicity, whereas those who teach are the ones who all too often are in the background and who all too often are not given the credit which is their due.

One such teacher is David R. Mason, who has been one of the real stalwarts in the University of Montana Law School, a law school which has been called the Harvard of the West, although, if, perhaps I may be parochial, I think on occasion Harvard could well be called the Montana of the East. We have turned out a remarkably good group of graduates from the law school. As a matter of fact, to the best of my knowledge, no Montana Law School graduate has ever failed the California bar examination, which I think is an indication of the excellence of their groundwork in law and explains the excellence of the teaching which was theirs while attending the law school at the University of Montana.

David Mason has earned many honors during his lifetime, but he is a retiring, modest man who does not seek the limelight and whose whole interest is in the law and the teaching of it.

It is with great regret that the State of Montana, and the Northwest in general, note the retirement of this outstanding teacher. To him we wish the best of everything in the years ahead. He has earned this retirement, and to David Mason and his wife, Helen, we extend our best wishes for a job well done and our hopes for a little relaxation and rest in the remainder of their years. It is our hope in Montana that they will come back to the campus often and that when the call for duty arises, as it has so often in the past, David Mason will be there to answer.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD articles from the Montana Law Forum, under date of May 1968, including a brief editorial entitled "Goodbye, Mr. Chips," a statement entitled "Pantzer Voices University Praise for David Mason," written by Robert T. Pantzer, president, University of Montana; an article entitled "Legal Careers," by William S. McGonagle; and an article entitled "David R. Mason, Ave Atque Vale," written by Gardner Cromwell.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Montana Law Forum, May 1968]

GOODBYE, MR. CHIPS

The Montana Law Forum wishes to express its appreciation to a man who has personified legal education in Montana for more than two generations. What may be said about him has, perhaps, been better said by others throughout this issue of the Forum. As a token of esteem and gratitude, the Managing Board and Staff of the Forum dedicate to David R. Mason, Dixon Professor of Law, this Spring Issue of the Montana Law Forum. Let him represent an inspiration to all of us. For want of anything more appropriate . . . Thank you Professor Mason.

[From the Montana Law Forum, May 1968]

PANTZER VOICES UNIVERSITY PRAISE FOR DAVID MASON

(By Robert T. Pantzer, president, University of Montana)

On the occasion of the dedication of the 1968 spring issue of the Montana Law Forum in honor of Professor David R. Mason of the

Montana School of Law, I am privileged to briefly remark upon his contribution to the University and the State of Montana.

This is the year of retirement from academic service to the University by Professor Mason. Having been one of his students in the School of Law prior to World War II and then again after that war, there is a certain nostalgia connected with my thoughts relating to this superb teacher. His former students are no doubt his greatest admirers. Since Professor Mason started his career at the University of Montana in 1927, his teaching of the students, along with his counsel and guidance of them, has obviously made an expressive impact on the legal profession in this state. Except for brief periods of time when he served with the Department of Justice and as a visiting professor of law at New York University, his time in the School of Law at the University of Montana has been continuous for about 40 years.

Along with his dedicated contribution as a teacher of law, David Mason has served the University of Montana and the state in a broad expanse of activity. He has worked diligently on meaningful committees of the American and Montana Bar Associations. He has been a driving force in the updating and reorganization of the statutory law in Montana as evidenced by his significant work on the Uniform Commercial Code in Montana and the Montana Rules of Civil Procedure. He has been a prolific writer on legal matters over the years while serving as a faculty member at the University. He has been of service to the legal profession in America by serving on important committees of the Association of American Law Schools.

Within the University itself, aside from his work in the School of Law, he has served as a member and frequently as chairman of most significant faculty committees. He has been Chairman of the Faculty Senate, of the Academic Standards Committee, and the Faculty Advancement Committee. In addition to this, he has worked meaningfully on a number of special committees at the University relating to its general progress and development.

Simply stated, it seems to me Professor David R. Mason has been one of the minute few to serve on a college faculty with such a high degree of distinction. He is known by his colleagues and his students as a scholar, a remarkable teacher, a man of recognized solid judgment, and a person completely loyal to his profession and to his school. Others may teach "his courses" and counsel students, but the University cannot expect to find another man of his unique quality to serve on its faculty. David Mason will be sorely missed by his colleagues and his school. His contribution can never be forgotten.

[From the Montana Law Forum, May 1968]

LEGAL CAREERS

(By William S. McGonagle)

It was in 1927 that David R. Mason, a young Harvard graduate accepted an offer to come to the University of Montana and teach law. In the forty-years that have followed he has imparted more than his profound knowledge of the fifteen subjects taught. He has left a legacy of excellence to those of us still in school and the nine-hundred fifty four lawyers, who have graduated since his arrival. If the present is at all indicative of the past, I am sure that there has not been one among that number to escape the scrutiny of his classroom queries, nor must have any failed to appreciate his contribution as legal mentor in their personal development as budding attorneys.

Professor Mason, a native of South Dakota, was a graduate of its state university, with A.B. (cum laude) and LL.B. (summa cum laude) degrees. He had received an S.J.D. degree from Harvard immediately prior to his appointment.

During his long tenure, he has compiled an impressive record as a teacher and as a leader in the vanguard of legal reform in Montana. Professor Mason instructed here continually until 1939, during which time he was elevated to a full professor in 1930, and from 1937 to 1939, he served as acting Dean.

For two years, he served as Special Assistant to the Attorney General in the U.S. Department of Justice and was involved in antitrust cases, their investigation, preparation, and settlement. He again returned to work for the Justice Department in this same capacity from 1942 until 1943. For the duration of World War II, he served as Chief Trial Attorney of the War Division, and was involved in the handling of cases for the Alien Property Custodian. Following the war, Professor Mason returned to his position at the University of Montana, and has taught here since, with the exception of 1955–56 term when he was a visiting Professor of Law at the New York University. In 1960, David Mason was named the University's Dixon Professor of Law under an endowment fund established by Mrs. William Wirt Dixon, who died in 1916.

During his career, he has edited case books, and authored numerous feature articles in law reviews on Civil Procedure and the Uniform Commercial Code. Surely, every freshman student in recent years has become familiar with his publications in the field of Civil Procedure wherein we were abruptly apprised of the difference between trespass on the case and trespass quare clausum fregit, mandamus and supervisory control, and other matters which at the time seemed to be at the limit of our comprehension.

In large measure Professor Mason was responsible for the preparation and adoption of the Montana Rules of Civil Procedure modeled after the Federal Rules. He served as a member of the Montana Civil Rules Commission, preparing rules for Montana District Courts that became effective January 1, 1962. Later, he was Chairman of the advisory Committee on Rules of Civil Procedure to the Montana Supreme Court engaged in the preparation of Rules of Apellate Procedure that became effective on January 1, 1966. For his work in this area, David R. Mason was the first recipient of the Montana Bar Association Award in 1965 for "an outstanding contribution to the legal profession carried out or completed during the year."

A further recital of the numerous committees of the American Bar Association of which he is either a member or chairman, of his many chairmanships of University Faculty Committees and those in public service would but serve to belabor the contributions of this outstanding American. However, it would be amiss if his 1966 appointment by President Lyndon Johnson to the twenty-six member National Council on the Humanities were not noted. David R. Mason is one of two law professors on the Council, which is composed of University Presidents and Professors, Foundation Directors, Writers, and Art Critics.

Now as this distinguished career nears its close, we can but hope that retirement will not end our association, for the Masons of this world are in short supply and the lives of so many of us have been enriched because of him.

[From the Montana Law Forum, May 1968]

DAVID R. MASON, AVE ATQUE VALE

(By Gardner Cromwell [*])

The president of another university once wrote that talking about oneself was like walking a tightrope. I think that writing an appreciation of a friend requires the same care, but the footnote provides a safety net. If I don't fall off, I shall have avoided mawkishness on the one hand and sterility on the other.

PROLOG

One of the many articles written about Mr. Justice Frankfurter took as one measure of his life the length of his biographical entry in Who's Who. A very real measure of David Mason's accomplishments is that he has educated 954 graduates of this School of Law, Scattered across this state and elsewhere in the nation and the world are almost 1,000 lawyers honed to some measure of sharpness by Prof. Mason's mind. That this school was once known as "The Little Harvard of the Northwest" is tribute in part to his passion for excellence.

I first came to the School of Law of Montana State University twenty years ago last Fall, after Ivy League undergraduate years and four as a WWII leatherneck. I still remember classes under Prof. Mason—and that is the precise preposition. United States District Judge W. D. Murray said at one Barristers' Ball banquet that either one learned to think like a lawyer in Prof. Mason's classes or there was no alternative. To David Mason, in common with almost 1,000 alumni, I owe awakening to the demands of truly analytical thinking and a deepening awareness of the call of professional and public duty.

If one looks at the Directory of Law Teachers published by the Association of American Law Schools (as does the "Careers" column elsewhere in this issue), one finds listed after the name of David R. Mason such badges of excellence as "Phi Beta Kappa," "A.B. (cum laude)," "LL.B. (summa cum laude)," and "S.J.D., Harvard." These were the marks of quality borne (as matter-of-factly then as now, one can be sure) by the new Associate Professor who came to this school in 1927. The computerized prose in the Directory goes on: "Prof., 1930–57; Acting Dean, 1937–39; Spec. Ass't. to Atty. Gen., U.S. Dept. Justice, 1939–40 and 1942–43; Chief Trial Atty., War. Div., U.S. Dept. Justice, 1944–45; Vis. Prof., N.Y.U., 1955–56; Dixon Prof., since 1957." There follows a list of seventeen subjects taught over the span of forty-one years.

PROFESSION

Someone has suggested that the past is prologue; if so, then the present depends on when is now. Prof. Mason has been present, as a most perceptive analyst and critic, during the greatest period of development of United States constitutional law. The Court which asserted its power under Chief Justice John Marshall has flowered in the second half of the twentieth century. And probably in the fourteen years since "the school segregation cases," it has blossomed most.

I. University

Those who were privileged to learn constitutional law at the hands of David Mason learned it. Scholar, analyst, liberal in the best sense of the word, he did not brainwash. Woe to any student who did not carefully analyze, who did not fit his case into the warp and woof of precedent. Each class was a demonstration of Prof. Mason's great ability to organize the results of careful analysis. I remember an afternoon soon after the recent spate of "obscenity" cases (Ginzburg, et al.) when I was still trying to figure out what the Court had decided. Prof. Mason had analyzed the fourteen opinions in the three decisions, carefully classified them, and had fit them into past pattern. But this, perhaps, merely emphasizes what is obvious to this group of readers.

David Mason's service did not stop at the law school door. It extended to his university, his state, and his nation. During forty-one years on this campus, he served on virtually every University committee of consequence, among them Curriculum, Academic Standards, and Budget and Policy. To each he brought those standards of precision and excellence which he practiced and demanded of others. And one term of service invariably resulted in requests to serve another.

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[*] This article has but one footnote; this is it. My credentials for this task are these: I have been student, colleague, and admirer of David Mason. I call him friend.

The Chairman of the Budget and Policy Committee, the seat of faculty power, is the Chairman of the Faculty Senate. David Mason's tenure there was remarkable for orderly, complete, and timely dispatch of business. No member of the Senate (including the President of the University) had the temerity to commit lese majeste when Prof. Mason was in the chair. Meetings of the Faculty Senate were models of parliamentary order. His tenure as Chairman ended in April, 1966, when he declined to be a candidate for re-election. The opinion of many was expressed in a comment written by a Senate member who has considerable responsibility in University affairs: "Just a note to let you know how much I admired the magnificent job you did as Chairman of the Senate and of B.&P. I regretted your decision not to be re-elected."

The Senate Articles provide in part: "It is the purpose of these Articles to provide the means by which the *faculty may exercise its prerogatives* and further the welfare of the University in *consultation* and cooperation *with the President*." (Emphasis supplied.) In practice, the Budget and Policy Committee, particularly its Chairman, does the consulting with the President. That officer, during Prof. Mason's tenure, was Robert Johns. Those whose memories run back more than two years know that the President of the University and the Chairman of the Faculty Senate were strong personalities. After President Johns had assumed the presidency of another college in another state, he wrote Prof. Mason a personal letter. I have permission to quote therefrom, and I use this sentence: "The distinguished leadership which you gave the faculty and the genuine help which you provided for me are without equal in my experience in this business."

II. State

The fashionable student objection to "multiversity," to being a cog in an academic machine, to identification cards and numbers, has been uttered thus: "I am a human being. Do not fold, spindle, or mutilate." The computers which are partly to blame for this sense of alienation have been assigned, most recently, the task of translation. One story has it that the first English-Russian test went like this. English text: "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." Russian translation: "The vodka is okay, but the meat has spoiled."

Buried near the end of that computerized prose in the law teacher Directory is this legend: "Chairman, Adv. Com. on Rules of Civ. Proc. to Mont. Sup. Ct. Jud. Dept. since 1960." How does that translate? It translates into hard creative work from April, 1959, to date. It translates into new rules of civil procedure for the courts of the state. It translates into new rules of appellate procedure before the Supreme Court of Montana. It translates into hours of seminars across the state to help lawyers to adjust to new rules. (Of course, it translates into service gratis.)

And all of these endeavors translate into professional recognition by fellow professionals. (The law school catalog begins with a quotation from Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes: "The highest reward that can come to a lawyer is the esteem of his professional brethren." In June 1965, his professional brethren, the Montana Bar Association, presented to David R. Mason its Award "for outstanding contribution to the legal profession." The report of the selection committee covered two pages. I quote but one paragraph:

"If the award were to be given for lifetime services this year's recipient would still qualify. For more than thirty years, David R. Mason has devoted his energies and abilities to the development and education of outstanding members of the Montana Bar Association."

On June 23, 1965, the Honorable Mike Mansfield, Majority Leader of the United States Senate, addresed his colleagues. He called the attention of the Senators to the Award, and then said, in part: "David Mason is one of Montana's most respected and patriotic citizens, a man of great integrity and courage. The award is most deserving, and I wish to add my name to the long list of friends who are extending congratulations to David Mason at this time." (111 Cong. Rec. 14025)

In June, 1967, the Montana Bar Association again demonstrated its regard for Prof. Mason, emphasizing this time his academic accomplishments. Gathered at a luncheon in his honor were lawyers and judges from all across the state. Those who participated in the ceremonies following luncheon represented the bar, the bench, and the academy. J. C. Garlington, Esq., senior partner of a Missoula firm, and former faculty member, presided. Speaking in Prof. Mason's honor were The Honorable W. D. Murray, United States District Judge, The Honorable James T. Harrison, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Montana, and Kendrick Smith, Esq., longtime member of a Butte firm, former faculty member and member of the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association. Dean Robert E. Sullivan paid tribute to Prof. Mason's dedication to excellence in legal education.

There is on David Mason's desk at home a pen set presented at that luncheon. It bears this inscription: "Dr. David R. Mason, Dixon Professor of Law, commemorating forty years as a member of the law faculty of the University of Montana, and his incalculable contributions to the legal profession and the State of Montana."

III. Nation

In 1960, President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals reported: "In the eyes of posterity, the success of the United States as a civilized society will be largely judged by the creative activities of its citizens in art, architecture, literature, music, and the sciences."

In 1965, President Johnson transmitted to the Congress a proposal for a National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities with this message: "This Congress will consider many programs which will leave an enduring mark on American life, But it may well be that passage of this legislation, modest as it is, will help secure for this Congress a sure and honored place in the story of the advance of our civilization." H.R. 6050, which embodied the President's proposal, had fifty cosponsors from both sides of the aisle. House Report No. 618 stated that the proposal resulted from long-standing recognition of the serious imbalance which existed between Federal support of the sciences and of "humanistic research and studies."

On Sept. 29, 1965, the proposal became law. It contains Congressional declaration of purpose that, inter alia, "a high civilization . . . must give full value and support to . . . man's scholarly and cultural activity" and "that democracy demands wisdom and vision in its citizens . . ." The National Foundation acts through a Chairman who has the advice of the National Council on the Humanities composed of 26 members appointed by the President. The law requires: "Such members shall be selected on the basis of distinguished service and scholarship or creativity and in a manner which will provide a comprehensive representation of the views of scholars and professional practitioners in the humanities and of the public throughout the United States."

President Johnson appointed David R. Mason to the National Council on the Humanities. He served as one of two lawyers (both teachers) representing the humanistic discipline called "jurisprudence." The Chairman of the National Foundation is Barnaby C. Keeney, former president of Brown University. When, recently, it became necessary for Prof. Mason to resign from the Council, Chairman Keeney responded: "I very much regret your resignation from the National Council on the Humanities, not only because of my great liking for you, but because I think you have been a most valuable member . . . Thank you for your service. . . ."

PROGRESSION

This appreciation began with reference to David Mason's expertise in constitutional law. It will close with another such reference; the most recent effort is just beginning. With a colleague, Prof. Mason has published in the Montana Law Review a complete and practical proposal to modernize Montana's judicial system. Like other of his pioneering efforts, this one has stirred protest. But it has wide and thoughtful support. The merits of the "blueprint" will be argued long, but the public service cannot be denied. Neither can what one editorial aptly called a concern for "the quality of justice."

The very nature of the proposal guarantees that David Mason will be involved in service to his state long past the date of his retirement from this faculty. It calls for a constitutional amendment, for redistricting, for changes in rules of court. In all of these areas, David Mason shines. So the progression must be from day-to-day demands of academia to larger periods of time for thinking and planning.

The Latin title was chosen partly in recognition of Prof. Mason's Harvard training, but he should not be misled by the "farewell" into thinking that our dependence upon his wisdom has ended. I know that he has already declined two offers to continue teaching elsewhere. This demonstrates his determination to really retire from daily demands; it also leaves open the opportunity to make use of his many talents. We will do so.

Afterword

It was once written about another great law teacher, who had also been lawyer and writer, that he guided his life by these words from the Torah: "The day is short and the task is great. It is not incumbent upon thee to complete the whole work, but neither art thou free to neglect it."

David Mason has never neglected "the whole work;" he has completed enough for several men. He has been scholar, exemplar, taskmaster, true professional, public servant, and good friend. I shall miss him.

". . . Thank you for your service."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, with the time not charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Improvement of Judicial Machinery of the Committee of the Judiciary be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as is necessary.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas may proceed.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, under title VIII of the bill, the presently existing Federal National Mortgage Association—FNMA—would be divided into two separate instrumentalities. One of these would continue "secondary market" operations under the name of FNMA, and would be changed from Federal control to private ownership as contemplated by the 1954 FNMA Charter Act. The FNMA's "special assistance" and "management and liquidation" functions would be vested in a new federally owned corporation to be called the Government National Mortgage Association—GNMA—which will probably be known as "Jenniemae."

Section 806 of the bill would provide for an increase of $500 million in "special assistance" authority to become available on July 1, 1969. My amendment would reduce this authority to $250 million.

The new GNMA would use this authority, under the direction of the President, to continue purchases of mortgages underwritten by the Government which require special assistance.

Due to the lack of a market for section 221(d)(3) below-market interest-rate mortgages, this program has had to depend on the presently existing FNMA's purchase, and thus support, of these mortgages under this special assistance authority. It is expected that the new GNMA will use these additional funds for the same purpose.

I expressed my reservations concerning the 221(d)(3) program yesterday. I pointed out that this program's benefits have gravitated toward middle-income families, not the lower-income families most in need of Government housing assistance.

Of course, the "special assistance" funds used to prop up this program come right out of the pockets of the American taxpayer. Thus, we have a situation where our country's great middle-income class is paying for part of the cost of housing certain of their financial equals.

This distorted concept in essence says that a man who is self-reliant and willing to house himself should not only pay his own rent, but he should be expected to pay part of the rent for a neighbor of similar financial means. Such a concept is insupportable in my estimation. Simply by referring to the family incomes eligible for the program's benefits, one can see how far afield the program has drifted.

In this same bill, there would be created a new program of Government assistance for sponsors of rental and cooperative housing for lower-income families. This new program is intended to replace the 221(d)(3) BMIR program. However, it will not be terminated if this new rental program is enacted into law.

We will, therefore, have two overlapping programs in existence at the same time. There always seems to be little inclination to end a program once it is enacted into law. It will remain to be seen whether the 221(d)(3) BMIR program is forced into retirement just because a new and paralleling program is created under this bill. I, for one, will believe it when I see it.

I certainly hope and urge that the new rental program's benefits are confined to families truly in need of assistance for decent housing. Since its income eligibility criteria is generally similar to that of 221(d)(3), this remains to be seen also.

There is authorization in the bill for $300 million in spending authority for the implementation of the new rental subsidy program, over a 3-year period. This is intended to cover the rehabilitation and construction of about 700,000 units during this period of time.

However, the bill's $500 million in additional special assistance authority for the continuation of the 221(d)(3) BMIR program is represented as necessary for a smooth changeover to the new program. I believe this is entirely too much spending authority for a program that is supposed to be on its way out.

Accordingly, my amendment would lower the special assistance figure from $500 million to $250 million. Since we are considering this bill's rental program as a new alternative to 221(d)(3), I feel that this lower spending figure would more accurately reflect that it is in fact intended to be an alternative.

Mr. President, in addition, in regard to sufficient leadtime, if it should be determined that we should restore some of the funds we are cutting, it could be done at a subsequent session of Congress without in any way impeding the operations under the section 221(d)(3) program.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I must admit that the Senator from Texas has correctly stated the situation.

We have a new program in the bill which is supposed to be, more or less, a substitute for the FHA section 221(d)(3) BMIR program. I refer to section 201 of the bill which establishes a new FHA section 236 rental housing program. But, in initiating any new program, there is always required considerable leadtime. We cannot begin a program all at once. We wrote in this $500 million special assistance authorization for fiscal year 1970, in order to be sure that we would keep the section 221(d)(3) BMIR program moving until the section 236 program was properly funded and operating efficiently. That is the purpose of the $500 million special assistance authorization.

Mr. TOWER. Certainly I agree that this must be done. Obviously, we cannot do it too rapidly.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I would be willing to accept the Senator's proposal with this understanding; namely, that we do, of course, want to continue the FHA section 221(d)(3) program and we want that program to have such funds, as may be necessary to continue until the new section 236 has taken over.

Mr. TOWER. I concur with the Senator from Alabama. It occurred to me that the $250 million would be adequate for that purpose. If it appears that the leadtime is such that at next spring's session perhaps additional funds are needed, we could readdress ourselves to that problem.

Mr. SPARKMAN. With that understanding, I am glad to accept the Senator's amendment.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas will state it.

Mr. TOWER. The yeas and nays have not been ordered on this amendment; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. They have not been.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has now been yielded back on the amendment. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Texas.

The amendment (No. 828), was agreed to.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Where is the time coming from?

Mr. TOWER. It is my understanding that there is no pending amendment at the moment——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On the bill.

Mr. TOWER. Oh. We have got time on the bill. I ask unanimous consent that the time be charged to neither side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Texas? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum called be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 827

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment (No. 827) and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 287, after line 18, insert the following:

(d) Section 105 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) The Secretary shall from time to time submit reports to the Congress setting forth detailed information with respect to comprehensive city demonstration programs approved by him. Such information shall include—

"(1) an identification of each city which has submitted an approved program, and the agency charged with the responsibility for developing the plans for such program;

"(2) the amount granted for planning and technical assistance to each such city under sections 104 and 106, the amount actually expended by such city for planning and developing an approved program, and an analysis of the manner in which such expenditures were incurred by such city;

"(3) a description of the objectives which each such city seeks to accomplish under an approved program and of the actions proposed to be taken in carrying out such program: and

"(4) the amount of financial assistance under this section and section 106 which each such city will require to carry out an approved program, and the manner in which such assistance is proposed to be expended. No contract to make a grant shall be entered into with, and no grant shall be made to, any city demonstration agency under this section for the purpose of administering or carrying out an approved comprehensive city demonstration program until the expiration of 30 days after the date on which a report containing the information required by this subsection with respect to such program has been submitted to the Congress."

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the model cities program, authorized by the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, is the Federal Government's newest and most heralded entry in the urban spending sweepstakes.

Never before has so much advance spending authority been concentrated upon such an unknown and untried entity as is the case of model cities.

Our Nation's cities and communities are being asked to embrace this program as the total solution to their every problem. The Federal Government's influence is henceforth to be injected into practically every aspect of local concern by one single mechanism—housing, jobs, welfare, education, disease, crime, recreation, transportation. The program empowers the Federal Government to pass judgment on every local decision as the price for participation.

In addition to the multitude of Federal programs that are available if needed, the model cities program now induces our cities to use Federal assistance to get Federal assistance. Our cities are being enticed by the strong and sweet smell of money without seeming limit, available just for the asking. And the waiting line is understandably growing longer every day.

The planning phase of the program is now underway. Some 75 cities have received planning grants, and it is expected that approximately 70 more cities will be approved for these grants in the near future. From among these cities will be selected those to receive supplementary grants for actual model cities demonstration programs. This bill would authorize $12 million for additional planning grants for fiscal 1969 and $1 million for fiscal 1970 for demonstration grants.

Thus, our attention is focused upon the funding of an unknown entity. It is a bundle of theories and ideas into which our cities are invited to reach to solve their every problem. It is to be presupposed that our localities are incapable of overcoming their significant problem areas at the local level, where the basic responsibility for solutions lies, without Federal assistance.

When he proposed the model cities program, the President said that "the success of each demonstration will depend on the quality of its planning." The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development has said that in deciding between the model cities applicants, "We will be searching for signals from the communities that they have looked long and hard at themselves, that they have discovered solutions that are not the same old stuff, and that they have the capacity for doing what they say they want to do."

I submit that this is about the only specific criteria that has been advanced by the proponents of this program to date, and ask whether it is not incumbent upon the Congress to itself also inquire into the quality of the proposed plans, and ourselves search for signals from the communities that they have looked long and hard at themselves before we are called upon to sign a blank check in urban experimentation.

It certainly is not unreasonable for the Congress to ask that it be shown what is contemplated by these proposed urban experiments. Only then should it fill in its signature on a check to demonstrate these plans within clearly defined guidelines and criteria. This is far more prudent than signing a check to be filled in as to amount later. And after all, this is the situation the Congress is in, for the ultimate costs of this program are unknown at this time.

We should not proceed in such haste that we refuse to recognize that only when full and detailed plans are available for close scrutiny can we make an objective and well thought out decision as to the merit and potential of the program. In my opinion, we would not be unsympathetic to the plight of many of our cities if we refused to buy unknown results on a sight-unseen basis.

How can we otherwise know with any certainty what the ultimate cost of this program will be if we do not require some dollar and cents experience before unleashing the program upon our cities? Only then will we know if there is even the remotest chance that expenditures under this program can ever be afforded by our Government.

I feel that we must scrutinize closely those proposals that would promise an almost magical solution of our urban problems. I do not believe we can legislatively create a magic wand.

I stand ready to give favorable consideration to those proposals which can be shown to be realistic and workable.

But they must be framed within guidelines and criteria compatible with the economic facts of life confronting this country. They must show a recognition that local problems should be dealt with and controlled on a local basis to every degree possible.

I have heretofore said that we should plan now and pay later. We can continue planning while we proceed into a reasonably contained on-the-ground demonstration of some of the proposed model cities plans and utilize these initial projects as a foundation for future program activities after the program has demonstrated to our satisfaction whether it can deliver as promised. A good set of blueprints is the very least we should demand of the program. This would be both prudent and businesslike, and that is how we should approach this program.

Mr. President, I had contemplated introducing amendments considerably more sweeping in scope than the one I have sent to the desk, which simply cuts the funding in half. I believe this program is visionary and unproven, and that we should cut the funds to even less for planning grants. I think what we propose to do is, in effect, buy a pig in a poke with this program.

As I say, I had proposed to offer amendments more sweeping in scope, but I realize the facts of life. They are that, faced with concern over the cities, Members of this body would face with trepidation at this time doing something that might be deleterious to our efforts to resolve the problems of our urban areas. Therefore, I am simply offering to cut the funding in half, until we gain some experience before we allow such substantial funding.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

I rise in opposition to the amendment. The model cities program was enacted into law year before last, in 1966. It has gotten off to a very good start. Proper planning was required before any approval was given. Now it is moving right along. I do not believe we ought to do anything that might threaten the program, and I feel this amendment would do just that.

Therefore, I oppose the amendment, and hope it will be voted down.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back the balance of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Texas.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

MODEL CITIES AUTHORIZATION

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I wish to talk a little about a billion dollars. I have, as a member of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, a great respect for a billion dollars we are going to ask the Government to spend—but I have also a great respect for the ideals of our Government and its duty to promote the dignity and decency of the housing for its citizens.

For the particular billion dollars I have in mind is the authorization for model cities contained in S. 3497 now before this Senate for consideration.

I would like to think about the billion dollars in its proper dimensions—divided into the programs it will activate—and I would like to review how we came to make the decision as to numbers—the number of dollars and the number of cities to benefit from our investment.

In other words, I feel that a little historical background will help us all to understand much better the billion dollar authorization we have in mind—an authorization that I strongly urge.

In 1966 when President Johnson first proposed the model cities program it was projected first, as a 5-year program; second, it was to involve 70 cities; and, third, it was to require $2.3 billion.

Two significant changes in this proposal were made by the Congress: First, it authorized the program for 2 years rather than 5, but Congress approved the projected level of spending by authorizing $400 and $500 million for fiscal years 1968 and 1969 respectively; and, second, upon initiative of the Senate, provision was made for a second group of about 70 cities to participate.

The $1 billion model cities authorization contained in S. 3497 is simply the cost of two groups or rounds of cities—and this for a single year.

A 2-year authorization had been requested by the administration. But the Banking and Currency Committee—just as it did with the original 5-year proposal—cut back the duration of the authorization. However, it did not affect the scope of the program.

This scope is the decision of the Congress and the Senate in particular. It is our decision to double the number of cities permitted to take part in the program. Surely we cannot have in mind to penalize either the first or second round of cities. Certainly, we must authorize the funding of the program at a level to match our sincerity.

The 1-year authorization provided for in this bill represents a cautious approach. By next year we can assess what the program is doing—what it has accomplished. We will have that experience before we authorize additional portions of the 5-year total.

Mr. President, the model cities program is already well underway. I am informed that 75 cities which have been selected for planning grants are now in various stages of planning. They will complete their comprehensive model cities plans this summer, fall, and winter. Upon successful completion of their plans they are immediately eligible for program grants to go into their first action-year. These grants to the 75 first-round cities for their first action-year will come from $200 million already appropriated plus $200 to $300 million from fiscal year 1969 appropriations which have passed the House and are currently the subject of committee hearings in this body.

Now, in addition to this first round of 75 cities there are 164 cities which have made applications for inclusion in the second round. From these 164 applicants another 75 or so will be selected and announced sometime this summer. This second 75 will immediately go into planning and be ready for program grants next spring and summer. The balance of the fiscal year 1969 model cities appropriation will be used to get some of them started on their first action-year.

I have gone into this in much detail, Mr. President, in order to underscore one central point: When fiscal year 1970 arrives—the year to which this authorization applies—there will be 150 cities eligible for model cities program grants. A billion dollars sounds like a lot of money—and is—but divide it 150 ways and suddenly it appears meager beside the kinds of problems our cities are facing.

Keep in mind that the 150 cities in the program will include nearly every major city in the Nation. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has made a study of the first 63 cities selected for the program and has determined that their grant entitlement based on the statutory formula of a grant level of 80 percent of the non-Federal contribution totals over $1 billion. Certainly by the time the base entitlement of 87 more cities is added to this total will be well over $1½ billion. So there is no question but what the $1 billion figure authorized in this bill is well within the statutory limit of the program.

There is no question of the need.

In the model neighborhoods of the 75 cities already selected for planning, there are over 3.5 million persons.

Nearly one-third of all the families have income of less than $3,000 each year.

About 30 percent of model neighborhood families are in substandard housing now, and many more are living in deteriorating structures.

While the national average for unemployment is now about 3.5 percent, over 10 percent of the potential work force in model neighborhoods is unemployed.

And their situation is made more desperate by the fact that over 40 percent of all persons over 25 in these neighborhoods have less than an eighth grade education.

Now I am not contending, Mr. President, that $1 billion distributed among 150 cities is going to cure all these conditions. But I do contend that this is a very important $1 billion toward that end. This is money without which other things will not happen and other funds will not be forthcoming. This money will serve as both cement and catalyst. This is the cement that will bind together the numerous parts of a complex comprehensive attack on urban ills. This is the cement that will fill in the gaps between existing categorical grant programs. This is the catalyst which will stimulate much larger amounts of Federal, State, local, and private funds.

The President has stated that model cities program funds will generate up to 10 times their value in funds to attack physical, social, economic, and educational conditions in the blighted neighborhoods of our towns and cities. Even that grand total is modest when compared with the seriousness of the problems, but it certainly places in proper perspective the absolute crucial need for this authorization.

It is time for us to honor the commitment which we made to the cities when we enacted the model cities legislation. It is time for the Senate to honor its commitment to that second group of 75 cities which will be additional participants in the program due to our insistence. These cities are watching us today. They have every right to expect us to respond in good faith.

Mr. President, I recommend that the Senate strongly resist all attempts to reduce the $1 billion authorization for model cities program grants for fiscal year 1970.

THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET ANALYSIS OF SECTION 204 OF THE DEMONSTRATION CITIES AND METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1966

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, section 204 of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 provides that all applications for Federal assistance for certain physical development projects be accomplished by the comments of an areawide planning agency.

Since its enactment section 204 has been the subject of widespread controversy and criticism which led to the so-called Cramer amendment to the Independent Offices Appropriations Act last year. The Cramer amendment prohibited the Department of Housing and Urban Development from spending any money to implement section 204.

As a result of this amendment the Bureau of the Budget assumed responsibility for implementing section 204. On April 2, 1968, the Bureau issued an analysis of its experience with section 204. This analysis was developed from reports of the agencies administering programs covered by section 204 and reports of areawide agencies.

Mr. President, I commend the Bureau of the Budget for its effective and successful handling of section 204. I am encouraged to learn that this review process is stimulating rational and comprehensive areawide planning throughout the country. It is my hope that the Senate will act to delete the Cramer amendment this year and will insist on this position on conference.

I ask unanimous consent to have the Bureau of the Budget analysis, "Section 204: The First 6 Months" reprinted in the RECORD at this point in the hope that it will counteract the misinformation which has been spread about the program.

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECTION 204—THE FIRST 6 MONTHS

1. BACKGROUND

Section 204 of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 provided that after June 30, 1967 all applications for Federal assistance to certain types of public works activities[1] in metropolitan areas would have to be accompanied by the comments of an areawide planning agency respecting the relationship of a proposed project to the comprehensively planned development of the area. Pursuant to Section 204, Bureau of the Budget Circular No. A–82, providing guidelines for the application of the requirement, was issued April 11, 1967.

The Circular assigned to the Department of Housing and Urban Development responsibility for general administrative oversight of the requirement. This involved identification of the areawide agency in each metropolitan area, making any modification or extensions to Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas for the purposes of Section 204, and evaluating the application of the requirement. A rider on the HUD 1968 appropriations act (the so-called "Cramer amendment") prohibited HUD from spending administrative funds for such purposes. Consequently, the

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[1] Covered are: open space, hospitals, airports, water and sewer, waste disposal, highways, other transportation land and water conservation projects and related planning. Over 30 Federal grant and loan programs are covered in whole or in part.

Bureau of the Budget assumed the oversight function and issued a revised Circular No. A–82 December 18, 1967.

In the revised Circular, agencies were asked to report on the volume of projects handled under 204, their disposition, problems encountered, and general evaluation. In sending out the revised Circular to the areawide agencies, the Bureau requested that they supply parallel information.

2. AGENCY REPORTS

The volume of activity reported was highly variable among the eight agencies having programs covered by Section 204. This appears to have been for several reasons:

a. Appropriations for a great many of the covered programs were not enacted until late 1967. Therefore, there was, in many cases, a heavy run of applications *before* the effective date of Section 204 (July 1) with a slowdown until money again became available.

b. The Cramer amendment to the HUD appropriations bill, introduced in June, prior to the effective date of the requirement, sowed considerable confusion everywhere as to whether the requirement was, in fact, in effect.

c. For programs where review by comprehensive metropolitan planning agencies was already required by statute or administratively, the new requirement posed no problem. Apparently, for agencies without this experience, it has been a problem to get administratively geared up to it, a problem very much exacerbated by the confusion attendant upon the Cramer amendment. Agency field people in particular were under the impression that the effect of the Cramer amendment was to kill the Section 204 requirement.

Nevertheless, reports were received from six agencies covering some 22 programs for 1,342 projects. Partly because of reasons stated above and partly because of internal organizational changes, HEW is unable to supply information respecting its programs which were covered by the requirement. Insofar as it was possible to break down projects by function, it appears that 30% were for water, sewer, or waste treatment facilities projects; 22% were for highway projects; 19% were for open space and recreation projects; 10% were for urban planning projects; 9% were for airport projects; 7% were for public works planning projects (some of which would be for projects of the types listed above) 13% were scattered among mass transit, land and water conservation and development, and public facility loan projects (some of which would include projects of the types listed above).

Broken down by agency—

HUD programs accounted for 47% of the 1342 projects reported;

DOT programs accounted for 31% of the 1342 projects reported;

Interior programs accounted for 17% of the 1342 projects reported;

USDA programs accounted for 4% of the 1342 projects reported.

The remaining one percent were distributed between EDA and DOD each of which has only one covered program.

Of this array of 1342 projects which were submitted to areawide agencies for review, only 47 were transmitted to the Federal agency bearing critical comments. The vast majority of critical comments, as might be expected, were made in connection with water and sewer (17) and highway (15) projects. Of these projects 33 were modified pursuant to the critical comments; only two applications were approved despite the criticism. Action on the remaining 12 was pending at the time reports were submitted.

3. FEDERAL AGENCY EXPERIENCE

The reaction of Federal agencies to the Section 204 requirements was that it presents no particular or major problem and, in many cases, is quite useful. The metropolitan planning agencies established only recently, in response to the requirement, are generally not at a point in developing a planning competence where their comments are more than perfunctory or superficial. At least, however, they have not occasioned delay or disruption of project development. Established areawide agencies that have a developed competence have been, according to Federal agency reports, positively useful and constructive in the quality of their comments. State agencies designated by Governors to perform review functions in areas where there were no areawide agencies appear not to have been able to comment constructively, as a general rule.

Such problems as were reported by Federal agencies centered about uncertainties as to the extent of coverage of the requirement—particularly as to what is a "project" within the meaning of Section 204. For instance, FAA reports that it was necessary to limit applications submitted for review to new airports, new runways or extensions to runways in order that projects having no external impact not be subjected to unnecessary redtape. FAA did not specify what was meant by the latter, but we may surmise that "projects" such as runway resurfacing, terminal rehabilitation, etc. might fall into this category.

The Bureau has noted that the regulations promulgated by agencies for such of their *programs* as are covered by Section 204 have frequently not clearly identified what kinds of *projects* are or are not covered. In the case of some programs, quite clearly whole classes of projects would not be covered. For instance, the HUD public facility loan program may provide assistance for nearly all of the type projects specified under 204: airports, hospitals, water and sewer facilities, etc. However, PFL loans may be made for court houses, fire stations, public markets and similar public works which are not subject to Section 204 review. In other programs, the problem is one of degree, as in the FAA example. It would be useful, then, if agencies would differentiate insofar as possible between activities which do or do not fall within the scope of the 204 requirement.

Several agencies noted that the 204 review process was facilitated and productive to the extent that applicants made contact and consulted with the areawide agency very early in the project planning or application preparation stage. Some areawide agencies have encouraged applicants to develop plans and programs covering series of projects. If the plans and programs are favorably reviewed, projects developed pursuant to them can then be "approved" (i.e., favorably reviewed) with little or no further study.

In sum, agency experience with the Section 204 requirement is mixed. At worst, however, it presents little problem; at best, it can prevent costly mistakes or suggest project improvements. There is still some confusion, but agencies familiar with the review process see substantial actual or potential benefits to program administration.

4. REPORTS OF AREAWIDE AGENCIES

As noted above, areawide agencies were *requested* to supply similar information on their experience with the Section 204 requirement. Of the approximately 200 areawide agencies covering the 231 (now 233) standards metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA's), 73 (covering 98 SMSA's) responded to the Bureau request. They reported receiving 1020 projects for review.

When it is realized that the 73 areawide agencies covered 9 of the 10 largest SMSA's and 18 of the 28 SMSA's with over 1,000,000 people, and included two-thirds of the metropolitan population of the country, it is apparent that implementation of the Section 204 requirement was even less thorough than indicated by the Federal agency reports. Of the 73 agencies: 7 reported that *no* application had been submitted to them for review; 14 reported 1 or 2 applications; 8 reported 3 to 5; 18 reported 6 to 10; 11 reported 11 to 20; 3 reported 21 to 30; 12 reported over 30.

We can only speculate on the experience of the remaining areawide agencies (roughly 125 in number, covering about the same number of SMSA's). However, if the average number of applications submitted for review (of a total of 1020 reported) to those reporting was about 14, and Federal agencies report a total of 1342, this would leave the 100 odd agencies not reporting with an average of barely 2.5 projects submitted for review. Since such large metropolitan areas as Philadelphia, Cleveland, Houston, Cincinnati, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Atlanta, *et al.*, were among those not reporting we can assume a large number of these 125 had nothing to report.

The projects reported break down by function not too consistently with that reported by Federal agencies—of the 920 projects specified by function, 211 or 23% were water, sewer, or waste treatment projects; 241 or 26% were highway projects; 242 or 26% were open space or outdoor recreation projects; 126 or 14% were miscellaneous urban or public works planning facilities projects; 58 or 6% were airport projects.

The remaining 5% was distributed among hospital, mass transit, library, and land and water conservation projects. As reported, an agency breakdown is not possible.

5. AREAWIDE AGENCY EVALUATION

Generally, respondent areawide agencies reported that the Section 204 requirement has stimulated considerable interest in inter-local cooperation and has facilitated coordination of metropolitan planning. Agencies appear to have tried not to be obstructive and have often presented their review function as a *service* to applicants for Federal assistance. Of the 1020 applications reported as being submitted for review, only 38 were returned with critical comments. However, where pre-application consultation occurred, adjustments frequently were made by the prospective applicant, which averted adverse comment by the areawide agency.

That the requirement has stimulated metropolitan planning cannot be gainsaid. When HUD surveyed the field to identify qualified areawide agencies prior to the effective date of the requirement, they could discover no qualified agency in 62 SMSA's.[2] Today there are only 27 SMSA's in which there is no locally established areawide agency and areawide review is conducted by agencies (usually State planning agencies) designated by the Governors. In several other areas, establishment of an areawide agency is expected momentarily. The problem in 7 of the remaining areas is exacerbated because they lie in more than one State, making the creation of an areawide agency more complicated.

There are a number of areawide agencies (25) that do not cover the whole of an SMSA; and about the same number which include adjoining areas which are not part of the SMSA. Fourteen areas include more than one SMSA, the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Tri-State area covering 10 SMSA's, the San Francisco Bay area 4, and the Los Angeles, Southeastern Wisconsin, and Cleveland areas 3 each. In total, 182 areawide agencies cover all or a part of 203 SMSA's.

6. PROBLEMS REPORTED BY AREAWIDE AGENCIES

Problems, actual and potential, cited variously by the areawide agencies fall under the following headings:

(*a*) *Costs of review*

Except for some of the larger areas, this has been more a potential than an actual problem. However, to do a competent review of a complicated project may take several man-days. At present, the HUD 701 program recognizes this as a legitimate cost of comprehensive planning and provides a pro-rata share of that cost. As volume increases, there will be a growing demand on 701 funds. Perhaps other broadly gauged planning assistance programs (BPR comprehensive urban transportation planning, PHS comprehensive areawide health planning) could adopt a policy similar to HUD's, covering their appropriate areas of concern, to relieve some of the drain on 701.

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[2] Excluding Puerto Rico's 3 SMSA's. All planning in Puerto Rico is carried on by a single planning agency.

(*b*) *Awareness of requirement*

While many areawide agencies try hard to publicize the requirement, not all Federal agencies have been active in creating awareness of it among their clienteles or, in fact, in assuring its implementation. An associated shortcoming is lack of clarity in various Federal agency procedures as to what needs to be submitted—i.e., what types of projects and appropriate data and information. This causes delays in review as areawide agencies seek further necessary information.

(*c*) *Timing*

Ideally—and there are few obstacles in the way of achieving this ideal—an applicant should consult with the areawide agency at an early stage in project planning, so that by the time the application is ready for submittal to the Federal agency, areawide agency review is, in effect, a *fait accompli*. However, when the areawide agency is presented with a fully prepared application on a project about which it has no foreknowledge, the applicant—and often the Federal agency—has a deep commitment and will resist suggestions, however well reasoned and constructive, that involve making changes in the project.

(*d*) *Feedback*

The areawide agency, once having made its comments, frequently has no way of knowing what action has been taken by the Federal agency on the project. However, since a project having been noted as having a regional significance will affect the status of regional planning and development, it is important that the areawide agency be promptly apprised of the disposition of the application—particularly when its comments have suggested modifications in the proposed project. Some HUD regional offices have developed procedures for keeping the areawide agencies so informed, but this does not appear to be a general practice.

(*e*) *Planning progress*

A number of areawide agencies ascribed a major problem to their own lack of capability for adequately evaluating proposed projects. This is generally the case where the agency and/or its planning program is relatively new and undeveloped. However, this is a problem that will be corrected over time, given availability of planning assistance funds.

7. OTHER PROBLEMS

A problem that may become increasingly evident—at least in some program areas—has to do with the geographic size of the area covered. In some western areas the SMSA includes vast areas well beyond the reach of foreseeable urbanization around the metropolitan center. Because Section 204 is aimed basically at trying to secure orderly growth and development around the metropolitan center, it has been suggested to areawide agencies that they might want to delimit the area within which they will review projects to that encompassing the projected "foreseeable" (20 year) growth. This would permit them to husband their own review resources and save substantial redtape for Federal and State agencies. The inclination of the areawide agencies has been to reject the suggestion. However, recognizing the problem, some at least have proposed that either proposed systems or annual programs be reviewed rather than individual projects. In this way, an applicant would need only notify the areawide agency that a project which was part of an approved system or program was being undertaken. This appears to provide a partial solution.

Nevertheless, the tendency of many areawide agencies is to increase their geographic scope of coverage. While the Bureau has not permitted Section 204 to be used to blackjack jurisdictions outside of SMSA's to become members of areawide agencies, generally it has agreed to broaden the definition of a metropolitan area to include jurisdictions who are or wish to become members and who are willing to have their projects reviewed under Section 204. This extension, however, presents problems—so far only apparent in connection with highways—where a program involves numerous small projects outside of the urbanizing area.

Finally, with the increasing regionalization of States by Governors for planning and administrative purposes, we may expect to find SMSA's encompassed within larger State regions. At this point Bureau Circular No. A–82 may find itself in an awkward confrontation with Bureau Circular No. A–80 which provides that planning and development areas designated under Federal programs be coterminous, unless there is very good reason otherwise, with State established areas.

In a related problem area, there was some negative reaction from areawide agencies when certain planning assistance programs were dropped from coverage under the revised Circular No. A–82. These were rather broad planning programs, generally not leading—at least directly—to the construction of specific public works projects. It was pointed out that it was applications for planning assistance, not plans, that were being reviewed and, as such, offered little, if anything, of substantive relevance to the purposes of Section 204 upon which comment might be made. Attention of areawide agencies has been directed to Bureau Circular No. A–80 which is directly concerned with coordination of planning processes and activities—as opposed A–82 and Section 204 that are concerned basically with the coordination of specific public works projects with areawide development planning. A–80 represents a useful adjunct to A–82, but the Federal agencies need to be pushed to issue procedures to implement it for a broader range of programs than are now covered in agency program procedures.

8. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Generally speaking, the Section 204 requirement has been implemented with fewer problems that might have been expected, considering (1) the limited time between the passage of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 (11/3/66) and the effective date (7/1/67); (2) the confusion caused by the "Cramer amendment"; (3) the unfamiliarity of the metropolitan review process; (4) the large number of SMSA's with no areawide agency. Some Federal programs are now only getting geared up to implement the requirement, and for some few metropolitan areas, implementation by the areawide agency is nominal at best. Yet the requirement now has become widely known and, by and large, accepted as a fact of life in most metropolitan areas, and 1968 should see its further institutionalization.

The following recommendations will help to speed and regularize this process:

(a) Federal agencies should examine closely those programs covered by Section 204 and identify as closely as possible.

(1) Classes of projects which are and are not covered (e.g., public works under the HUD PFL program or Title II of the EDA basic legislation may or may not fall under the classifications listed under Section 204(a)); and

(2) under *classes* of projects, *types of* projects which should or should not be required to be reviewed. (These might include research and technical studies, training, data-gathering, and other projects which do not involve actual construction. Or, where construction is involved, those component projects of a covered public works project which do not affect the regional impact of the facility—engineering or design details, materials specifications, repair and maintenance projects—should not have to come under review.)

(b) Federal agencies should publicize the Section 204 requirement among their clienteles.

(c) Federal agencies should urge their clienteles whose applications will be reviewed under Section 204 to consult with areawide agencies as early as possible in the project planning and application preparation process.

(d) Federal agencies should develop procedures for informing areawide agencies of actions taken on applications pursuant to areawide agency review—particularly on projects on which the areawide agency has commented adversely or suggested modifications.

(e) Areawide agencies should develop procedures—

(1) for pre-identifying projects which because of distance from or geographic relationship to the urbanizing metropolitan center are likely to have little, if any, impact on orderly urban development, and

(2) for expediting review of projects within the urban area which because of scale, location, or type have little or no regional significance. With respect to projects outside of the urbanizing area significant geographic relationships may be variable. For instance, major waste disposal facilities at considerable distance from the urbanizing area may be critical for the orderly development of that area; rural or small town water supply projects at the same distance may not. Procedures for notification of projects outside of certain perimeters with option to call for review of such projects where potential impact may be suspected might serve to lighten the burden of review on areawide agency and applicants alike.

Status of Areawide Planning Agencies Under Section 204 of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, April 15, 1968

Excluding the three metropolitan areas of Puerto Rico for which planning is done by the Puerto Rico Planning Board which does all planning for the island:

There are 230 SMSA's, 26 of which extend into two States and 4 of which extend into three.

There are 202 metropolitan areas for which reviews are made under Section 204 of which 36 cover less than a SMSA; 152 cover at least one but less than two SMSA's; 9 cover at least two but less than three SMSA's; 3 cover at least three but less than four SMSA's; 1 covers 4 SMSA's (Los Angeles Areas; and 1 covers 10 SMSA's (New York Tri-State Area). 9 of these areas extend into two States and 7 into three States.

There are 206 areawide agencies, 11 of which extend into two States and 5 of which extend into three.

27 SMSA's, lying wholly or in part in 19 States, have no locally established areawide agencies and Section 204 review is performed by agencies designated by the Governor (or Governors) of the States (or States) in which they lie. Of these 5 are two-State areas and 2 are three-State areas.

PORTLAND, MAINE, ADMINISTRATOR VIEWS MODEL CITIES

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, earlier this year Robert F. Hawkins, administrator of the Portland, Maine, model cities program, delivered a fine speech before the Institute on Changing Con-

cepts in Social Welfare at the University of Maine. Entitled: "Model Cities: An Overview and Some Issues," this speech highlights the issues and innovations of the model cities program from the local point of view.

Because Mr. Hawkins presents an unusually comprehensive review of the model cities program, which has relevance beyond Portland, I ask unanimous consent to have his speech reprinted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MODEL CITIES: AN OVERVIEW AND SOME ISSUES

(Address by Robert R. Hawkins, Model Cities Program Administrator, Institute on Changing Concepts in Social Welfare, University of Maine in Portland, Luther Bonney Hall, February 17, 1968, Sponsored by Child and Family Services, United Community Services, University of Maine in Portland, Diocesan Bureau of Human Relations Services, State of Maine, Department of Health and Welfare)

Ladies and Gentlemen: Let me say, first of all, that in looking towards the Model Cities Program and the task we have ahead of us, I am very grateful to the sponsors of this Institute and to its Planning Committee for their agreeing to use Model Cities as a point of discussion in talking about changing concepts of social welfare. This dialogue is very important to our work in Portland, Maine.

Let me say secondly that I can't stand here before you today and tell you what Model Cities is going to do for Portland, Maine, how it's going to succeed or even if it will succeed; but I can share Professor Steinman's remark before lunch, that we have a great deal to hope for in the Model Cities Program. I base my hope on what I see happening in the Model Cities Program; how I see in it a *changed way of doing business*—trying to learn from past mistakes in urban programs.

Now let me take some time to give you a feeling for the Model Cities Program in concept and some of these changes which underlie its approach to the problems in Portland, Maine and in other cities in the United States. I would talk first of all about the *changes in program strategy* or program approach. I think the first and most important one is the fact that in Model Cities we are going to try to achieve a *systematic consideration of all of the conditions* affecting the people of our model neighborhood, we are calling Portland West. We are going to use the systems analysis techniques and type of thinking that have been developed in recent years in private industry. Each of you received with the announcement of this Institute a flow chart that the Arthur D. Little Co. prepared. That flow chart depicted the system which exists in our slum neighborhoods including Portland West. If we're going to do something about changing that system we've got to develop an equally systematic approach.

This approach is significantly in contrast with previous programs which have been federally aided and which have approached individual problems and worked on a project basis with separate administration and separate funding. We found that these did not succeed. You can't isolate a single problem, attack it, and go away thinking that you've done your job. We're finding with such popular programs as Head Start and with such relatively large programs as Public Housing that the individual good which each program might have achieved is quickly overcome and overwhelmed by the other environmental conditions in our problem neighborhoods.

I think the other thing we realize when we look at all of these conditions as a system is that it is a very stable type of problem. A problem which isn't going to go away if we ignore it. I think that is one of the reasons why the Model Cities Program was developed. Now let me take one minute to list for you the problems we have identified in Portland West. They are really quite obvious and the listing is not terribly innovative. These are what we found in our application to the federal government last spring:

First, *insufficient and inadequate housing*. We indicated, for instance, that the housing supply in Portland West has been dwindling for the past twenty years and that even so, today 27% of the occupied housing is substandard.

The second problem identified was *low family and personal income*. We noted, for instance, that 18% of the people in the city of Portland live in poverty by the Office of Economic Opportunity standards and this is caused in many ways by problems of inadequate support, problems of inadequate employment or underemployment.

We identify thirdly, the problem of *insufficient educational opportunities*. We noted that 16.3% of the adults of Portland West have less than an eighth grade education.

We noted that there is a *limited scope of health services* as our fourth major problem. Two of the statistics were that the tuberculosis rate and the infant mortality rate were twice the city average.

And the fifth general problem we identified was the *limited scope of general social services* in our neighborhood resulting in many problems but one in particular was the 1000 juvenile crimes committed in our city each year.

Well those are the broad labels we have put on the problem categories and we could spend an entire day discussing the scope of the problems and the many interrelationships between the failures of different parts of that system. But the important point is that we are looking at all of these at one time in a coordinated, coherent, systematic way and that's very unique about Model Cities.

The second change in our program approach is that to achieve such an ambitious goal as approaching all of these problems at once, we've obviously got to *mobilize all resources* imaginable. This is not just a City of Portland program—though we will be formally in control. It is not just a federally aided program. We are going to require federal monies from all of its departments. We are also going to require state assistance from existing programs and perhaps new state resources. But especially we are going to need the so-called private resources—which agencies such as those represented here today control, both voluntary agencies and private profit agencies such as private industry. And these are going to have to be mobilized and combined in an intelligent way which still respects the autonomy of the individual agency. We are going to have put these resources together not just in one big jug but we're going to have to talk about management, about systems for controlling our output, about developing a team spirit, about developing intercommunication between our different team partners.

Model Cities then has to mean a systematic consideration of all conditions in the neighborhood and secondly a systematic application of all resources we can muster. Now, a resource which we treat separately as a third and final unique part of our program strategy, is significant *involvement of individual citizens* in our neighborhood. While the Portland City Council is going to have the final and formal control of the activities of line departments and the allocation of Model Cities money, meaningful opportunities will be developed for the residents of the neighborhood to influence that program which could significantly affect their daily lives. We are now designing and grappling with new techniques and new ways of achieving that goal and making that a firm reality in our program. Not just because these programs could affect the people, but because the people control significant resources. They have the knowledge of the problem, the perspective and emotional view of the problems and the resources which they control which they can put into themselves, into their own properties, into their own neighborhoods and finally the moral support which they can give to our efforts.

I see, then, three significant ways in which Model Cities represents a change in program approach: Consideration of all of the conditions, mobilization of all of the resources, and the significant involvement of the citizens of the United States.

Now in addition to the program approach, there are some other very important ways in which Model Cities represents a change and one of these is the change in federal-local relationships. We have heard a lot about creative federalism but I think Model Cities is the first concrete example of what that might mean in practice. It means, for instance, first of all that we will have in fact local determination, of the program elements. Mr. Goldman, last night at the UCS dinner, said that the federal government has thrown down a challenge to local government, to innovate, to design, to adapt the resources available to the unique and peculiar problems and values of Portland, Maine. And this is a very significant change in Model Cities—whether we can meet that challenge.

The second change in our federal-local relationships concerns the review process by which we request funds from the federal government. Not only have they agreed to try to cut red tape and speed up the process but more importantly it will not be a question of us in Portland, Maine working with their guidelines—their written instructions—trying to figure out what the devil they meant and trying to put together a thick document which we can mail out to Washington, which will get ignored for several weeks and then we'll get a yes—no—maybe decision on it. Instead, now when we have a problem and or we think there is a federal program which applies to that problem, we call the administering federal agency and they will come here or work with us over the telephone in designing and adapting the federal legislation to the problems of Portland. So when the application is finally submitted we will know what their reaction to it is and will be able to move much more quickly. Now this is not the federal government telling us how to run our program but this is federal technical assistance on a professional level helping us to design a better program, helping us to innovate in our approach to the problems of Portland, Maine.

And finally the changes in the federal-local relationship are in the area of financing, in the amount of money which the federal government is going to provide. Because through Model Cities, the federal government is committed to a recognition of the financial limitations of the cities in this country and towards coming up with some real money to make the program succeed. Model Cities is going to involve a great deal of coordination and team work and systems approach but its got to represent some more money too.

Changes then are part of Model Cities, not only on program approach, not only in our federal-local relationships, but it should mean changes here in Portland, Maine in our Model Neighborhood. If we succeed we are going to see changes physically. We are going to see much more important changes though with the people in the neighborhood: in their skills and their outlook and what they achieve for themselves and the extent to which they attain the personal goals they set for themselves and for their families.

And it should be change on a larger scale and a faster rate than we have seen before. Another important part of Model Cities then is not to repeat the mistakes of previous federally aided programs which have dragged on far too long. Our timetable calls for us to complete our planning, to design our basic approach between now and October 30 of this year. And then from there we'll have five short years to get the job substantially completed, to make a substantial impact.

Now, I think it's fair to say that where that change is going to be rapid or dramatic in our neighborhood (and I think that there is need for rapid and dramatic change) it's going to tear at the neighborhood, it's going to tear at the people in the neighborhood, and it's going to be painful and upsetting. But I think it is also true that where that change is slow, where programs are delayed, where resources are inadequate, that change is going to be *too slow* and it's going to be frustrating. That frustration is going to be a very powerful force. This question was discussed this morning of what happens when expectations exceed the pace of progress. I think we're going to see that happen in Portland too. Because no matter how we change it's going to be too fast for some and it's going to be too slow for others. May I say, we may have a peaceful revolution here in Model Cities; but I certainly don't think it's going to be a painless revolution.

In summary, then, these are the essential things I can see in the concept of Model Cities, the changes in our program approach, the changes in our relationship with the federal government, and the immediate impact these changes are going to mean in our cities. Now, all of these changes in turn are going to require that we acquire or develop new techniques of operating, new vocabularies for discussing, and new concepts for decision making. Especially new concepts in the area of social welfare programs, society's responsibilities to individuals, and individual social duties. This is really the theme of our meeting today. Let me, therefore, outline some of the unresolved areas, some of the specific issues I see ahead of us here in Portland, Maine.

1. I think first of all of the question "Where are we going with Model Cities?" We talk about creating Model Neighborhoods. And when we talk about it we talk about what's wrong with that neighborhood now. But do we really know what is right? Do we really know where we are going? I suggest that essentially we do not. I think the first issue to ask is "Should we proceed without knowing, really, where we are going?" How can we proceed intelligently, or logically without knowing where we are headed? On the other hand, how can we afford to wait? How can we afford to procrastinate, to engage in academic discussion of where we're going when the problem is so urgent? I think that is the first kind of issue we have got to resolve in our mind very quickly in the weeks ahead.

2. But then come back to the question, where do we seem to be headed? What kind of goals are implied when we talk about a model neighborhood? I think that's an issue we've got to keep before us and talk about some more. I noted this morning some thoughts were expressed about the dignity of individuals, about opportunities for personal development for individuals. I thought we talked this morning about guaranteeing some kind of minimums for human existence, minimums in terms of incomes, health and education and housing, etc. I think we talked this morning about something called competency to manage one's own affairs. I think all of these have something to do with that concept of where are we going, what is a model neighborhood. But I think a lot has to be done here to round out this issue.

3. The third issue I see and I did not see it discussed this morning was the question of our growing *interdependence* upon one another. What with instant communications, rapid transportation and massive popular discussion through mass media, the opportunities for getting in each others way are increasing significantly all the time. I think this growing social and economic interdependence of individuals is having powerful impact on our concepts of social welfare and will have powerful impact on how we design our Model Cities Program here in Portland. We need to do a lot of work coming up with new concepts to answer this issue.

We need to talk about how we measure interdependence and the units we use to express our concepts. How do we evaluate it? I can only think of two ways to get at that—one is this concept of urbanization, we use so glibly. I think we should explore what that means, really. Another example is our crime rate and how our present concepts of social deviance lead us to moan about how the crime rate is constantly increasing. But we always express the rate in terms of crimes per hundred thousand persons or something similar. I think we've got to think about what's happening to our crime rate in terms of units of social interaction, if you will, units of increasing interdependence. I don't know the answer, I raise that example as an illustration of how we should bring this interdependence into our thinking. I think also we should question how our tolerance of social deviance is based on the amount of social interaction as we become a more closely packed society.

4. Another, I think separate, issue but related to this question of interdependence, is how our changing society is effecting our individual autonomy as persons and as corporations. When we say this morning that a possible social goal is an ability to manage one's own affairs, how close does that come to the questions of controlling one's own destiny; making personal decisions about what one wants to achieve? How is this related to the increasing interdependence we face?

In the area of private property rights, for example, what does the increasing interdependence mean? What is the impact on these property rights which are being constantly and increasingly infringed upon? What will be the effect on our profit system of motivation and our concepts of the competitive models with this increasing interdependence and on our emerging concepts of social welfare which I think conflict in many ways with that competitive model. How's our increasing interdependence going to affect the so-called private organizations in terms of how they deliver public spirited services? I am thinking here again of the United Fund Agencies represented here and the other voluntary agencies. How is this loss of individual autonomy going to effect the welfare of public service employees—from government employees like garbage collectors, so much in the news, to other public service employees like private medical physicians? What concept of social welfare do we need to develop to express these effects of interdependence and our reaction to them as they relate to Portland, Maine and our Portland Model Cities Program?

5. I think another separate issue which is very much in our thinking is the countervailing emphasis on individual rights and private rights and privacy. And I think that's a laudable increase in emphasis. But what do individual rights mean in terms of opportunities for another person? And how is our system of adjudicating between competing rights going to adjust to the changes in our society and our changing concept of social welfare?

6. And then, I would identify another issue which I think we are going to have to face in Model Cities on a different level: How all of these other issues and other emerging concepts are going to come about. What is the process of debate and discussion and decision-making going to be like? Where has our changing society left the individual person and his individual concepts, his individual opinions, his individual values on social welfare? We in the Model Cities Program are trying to devise mechanisms for just such kind of citizen participation, of citizen involvement in the discussion of what is a model neighborhood, of what are our new concepts of social welfare. And I think this is an issue all by itself, on a separate plane.

We talked this morning about the federal congress and what strange forces resulted in a Social Security Amendment we dislike. We talked today about the absence of the City Council here today and what puts them in that position. I think the decision-making process then is a very important and very separate issue we should face in Model Cities.

7. And then, finally, given that we have some mechanism for involving our present adult citizens in the discussion of these changing concepts, how effectively will our educational system pass on these changes in concepts to our children? We talk in Model Cities about innovating and building a new community school system. How are we going to train the children in this school system—not only to develop concepts to deal with the world around them today, but especially a world in which the only constant appears to be change itself.

That, then, is my overview of the Model Cities Program in terms of the very significant changes in program approach and way of doing things which it presents and the hope it holds out for us because it's going to do things differently. And those are the issues which I see when I think about the Model Cities Program.

Now in most of the sixty-three Model Cities that have been selected by the Federal Government I am certain we are going to see really exciting positive effects of changing concepts of social welfare. I think we in this room face the challenge. Will Portland be one of those successful cities? Will those programs be uniquely adapted to the needs and personal values and concepts of the people of *our* model neighborhood? The answer, I believe, will be Yes only if a meaningful discussion of these issues begins here today in the panel discussions we are about to go into and continues and is carried on throughout our community in the months ahead.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may suggest the absence of a quorum without the time being charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the floor may be yielded to the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], and that the time consumed by his remarks be charged to neither side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator from Virginia yield?

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Will the Senator indicate how much time he wishes to use?

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Ten minutes; but I do not expect to take that long.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, if the Senator from Virginia is agreeable, that his time be limited not to exceed 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, during the colloquy yesterday between the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], I had been called out of the Chamber for a telephone call when that discussion took place. But I note in the RECORD this morning that in replying to a query of the Senator from Florida in regard to new towns and new communities which have grown up in the Washington metropolitan area, the Senator from Alabama noted that he knew of only two such communities in this area, one being Columbia in Maryland the other Reston in Virginia.

Mr. President, those are two fine new communities which are being developed.

I merely wish to correct the RECORD, Mr. President, to this extent: that the largest of such communities in the Washington metropolitan area was not mentioned in the discussion yesterday, and I think it is well to have the RECORD show that Sterling Park, in Loudoun County, is the largest of all of the new communities in the Washington area.

Sterling Park now has 6,100 inhabitants. It is proposed that when all the land is utilized, in a few years, it will be a community of 25,000; but even now, it is the largest of all these new cities or new communities in the area immediately adjacent to Washington.

I visited Sterling Park last Saturday, and participated in the dedication of a new community building there. The residents of that community are very fine people. They have developed a splendid community spirit. They have taken an active part in the affairs of Loudoun County.

Loudoun County, incidentally, is adjacent to Fairfax County, and is a rapidly growing area of our State.

Loudoun County goes to the top of Blue Ridge Mountain, where it joins with Clarke County on the west.

I notice that the Presiding Officer of the Senate today is the distinguished Senator from North Dakota (Mr. BURDICK in the chair). I know that he has property on Blue Ridge Mountain, and we are very proud that he does have a parcel of land in the State of Virginia. His land may be in Loudoun County, although quite possibly it could be in Clarke, because the dividing line is at the top of the mountain.

I merely wanted to say these few words, Mr. President, to make the RECORD clear, that more than two large new self-contained communities have been established, one being Columbia in Maryland, another being Reston, and a third being Sterling Park.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am very glad that the Senator has brought this matter forward for the RECORD. He will note that I stated that I knew of only the two, one at Reston and one at Columbia. I am very glad to know about Sterling Park. I certainly was not intending to neglect it or slight it.

I was trying to argue the point that two communities were now a reality, and that they did need help, in the form of a supplementary grant, as provided in this bill, to aid in developing water and sewer systems.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I know that the Senator from Alabama did not intend to slight Sterling Park. That is why I invited his attention to it, because I know of his keen interest in all such communities and all such projects as this, and I wanted to invite his attention and the attention of the Senate to the fact that Sterling Park, now with 6,100 residents, is the largest of such communities in this area.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and ask unanimous consent that the time not be charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Who yields time? The Senator from Delaware is recognized.

DECREASE IN NUMBER OF VISITORS TO SENATE GALLERIES

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 30 seconds?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I call attention to the fact that there are only 43 visitors in the Visitors Galleries on this day in May at 10:55 in the morning.

I make this observation inasmuch as there is considerable discussion as to whether there is real fear in the city and as to the effect on visitors of the recent disturbances, rising crime, and the presence of demonstrators.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 83, after line 3, insert the following:
>
> "LIMITATION ON PAYMENT OF INSURANCE BENEFITS
>
> "SEC. 318. (a) Title V of the National Housing Act is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section as follows:
>
> " 'LIMITATION ON PAYMENT OF INSURANCE BENEFITS
>
> " 'SEC. 524. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the amount paid by the Secretary on any insurance claim for the principal amount owing on any mortgage which is insured under this Act shall not exceed an amount equal to such principal amount, less any charges or discounts imposed, under a points or related system, upon the seller of the property securing such mortgage, or upon the mortgagor under such mortgage, or both, in connection with the financing of such mortgage.'
>
> "(b) The amendment made by this section shall not apply to any mortgage (1) insured under the National Housing Act prior to the date of enactment of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, or (2) with respect to which a commitment to insure was entered into pursuant to such Act prior to such date."

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the purpose of the pending amendment is very simple. It merely provides that under the insurance program, when an FHA mortgage is in default the mortgage holder can collect under this insurance only the amount which he actually paid for the mortgage. For example, if it is a $10,000 mortgage on a home, and the mortgage was bought by that insurance company or banker for $9,000, when the mortgage defaults the holder can collect only the $9,000. He cannot collect the extra so-called points from the U.S. Government.

I ask unanimous consent that an explanation of the amendment as prepared by Mr. John M. Reynolds, senior counsel of the Office of Legislative Counsel, be printed at this point.

There being no objection, the explanation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> The attached amendment is designed to prohibit the making of F.H.A. mortgage insurance payments to cover any portion of the principal amount of a mortgage attributable to a point or similar system or discount, thus limiting the amount payable to the holder of a defaulted mortgage to the amount he actually invested in acquiring the mortgage. It is intended to cover any discount obtained by the mortgagee whether from the purchaser or seller, or both, and whether it is obtained through the requirement of points or similar charges.
>
> The amendment would apply only to future insurance undertakings and would not affect mortgage insurance already in force.
>
> Respectfully,
>
> JOHN M. REYNOLDS,
> *Senior Counsel, Office of Legislative Counsel.*

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Without this amendment, we have the ridiculous situation in which the mortgage companies actually make more money on the poor credit risks than they make on their good credit risks. For example, suppose a man finances a mortgage on his home for 40 years at a rate of, let us say, 6¾ percent; they discount the mortgage by 10 points, which means that the 10 points is amortized over 40 years. This gives the mortgage company, in effect, an extra ¼ percent when it is so amortized over the period of 40 years.

That is on the basis of a good credit risk.

Now, suppose that man defaults at the end of 20 years. It means that the lender can amortize the 10 points over a period of 20 years. It gives the mortgage company an extra one-half point, or 7¼ percent interest rather than the 6¾ percent.

On the other hand, suppose he is a poorer credit risk, and he defaults at the end of 5 years; it means that the mortgage company can collect the full amount and he only has to amortize the 10 points over 5 years, which gives him a gain of an extra 2 percent per year. If the mortgage company is very "lucky"—and I use that word in quotes—and gets a very poor credit risk, one who will default within a 12-month period, then it collects 16¾-percent interest on the mortgage, because it collects 6¾-percent interest under the present law plus the full 10 points.

Thus, we have a situation today in which a good credit risk has difficulty in placing a mortgage on his home, but a poor credit risk can place his mortgage because there is an excellent chance that he will default. Almost all the companies are glad to get it, because they can see a quick profit.

To me, it is ridiculous that we insure these points. If a home costs, say, $30,000 to build, and you buy it for $20,000, you cannot collect fire insurance on that home in excess of that amount. The insurance company will not pay you any more than it cost when you purchased the home or what it would cost to replace it. That is sound business practice. They will not let you over-insure.

All I am asking is that the Federal Government not underwrite or insure this point system. I believe the point system is one of the most vindictive arrangements that can possibly be in operation so far as the homebuyer is concerned, because by holding the interest rates somewhat lower and discounting the mortgage 8 or 10 points so that he can finance the mortgage you are, in effect, locking that man in at today's high-interest rates for the next 40 years. He is locked in for the next 40 years at the high-interest rates of today, which are at the highest level in the history of our country. He is locked in because if within the 40-year period he wants to refinance his mortgage and take advantage of the low-interest rates which may prevail 5 years from now, he must forfeit all 10 points, or whatever points are discounted.

I believe it is time Congress recognized that this housing bill is supposed to be designed to protect the homebuyers. I respect the homebuilders and the mortgage companies; but let us face it: They are better able to take care of themselves than are the homebuyers. This housing bill is supposed to be designed to help and protect the individual homebuyer who needs that protection and the help. I cannot conceive of anyone objecting to this amendment.

The second section of the amendment merely states that it would be prospective rather than retroactive. I am advised that it could not be retroactive with respect to the mortgages outstanding. My proposal would be prospective, from this day forward. Surely the Senate will approve this amendment.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

This amendment is similar to amendments that have been offered heretofore. I believe the Senator from Delaware knows that I have tried and our committee has tried to do away with the point system. I have said many times on the floor of the Senate that it is a vicious system, and it is.

I tried to remove the ceiling on FHA interest rates. This ceiling was set at 6 percent by law, and I tried to remove the ceilings and let the market control the interest rates on FHA mortgages. I felt that such action would do away with the point system. But this proposal failed in committee on a tie vote. The committee was that closely divided.

We did remove the statutory ceiling, but we gave to the Secretary of HUD the authority to set the FHA interest rate at a level necessary to meet the mortgage market. Of course, the Secretary cannot set an interest rate that meets the mortgage market in all parts of the country at the same time. And sometimes he may not meet the market in any geographical area, because he cannot set the rate on a day-by-day basis. Consequently, the possibility of some points being charged on FHA mortgages remains. I am of the opinion, however, that they have dropped since we gave the Secretary of HUD the authority I have just described.

The Senator has mentioned 10 points. I would be very much surprised to learn that there is a 10-point discount anywhere in the country. In fact, I believe that in most instances we would find that the points—where there are points—are probably 3 or 4. Actually, one point is allowed as a matter of course, which must be paid by the mortgagor. This is usually for closing costs.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. This is the service charge.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. We are discussing the points.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I know what the Senator is driving at. It is unconscionable when points are carried over a long period of time.

Mr. President, this matter was discussed in the committee. The distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] offered an amendment in 1967 I believe, and it was taken up in our committee. The committee at first agreed to it. Then there was a storm of protest. We restudied the matters in the committee, and the amendment, on reconsideration, was stricken from the bill we were then working up.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. May I just say this: I will admit that there was a difference at that time. I said there was a storm of protest. The difference was that we did have big discounts at that time, because we had a statutory interest rate ceiling of 6 percent.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Does the Senator recall any one of those protests coming from a home buyer, the man who is buying the home?

Mr. SPARKMAN. No.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The protest came from the man who is making a barrel of money out of this bucket shop, and that is what it is.

Certainly, the mortgage companies are going to protest. But is this a bill for the benefit of the mortgage companies, or is it a bill to provide assistance to the individual family in getting a home?

Mr. SPARKMAN. In actual practice, the points are not paid by the home buyer. They are paid by the seller or the builder, but not by the buyer.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That is somewhat like the chicken and the egg. After all, a builder takes into consideration the discount in the mortgage. That it is part of the cost of the home. We know that. So these points are paid by the home buyer; if anyone doubts that ask any homeowner.

What I am proposing here is that the Government not insure this discount.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Let me say this to the Senator from Delaware—and the Senator from Texas will agree with me: The conditions now are different from those that existed last year.

I do not know how complicated the proposal of the Senator from Delaware would be, and I do not know how much difficulty such an amendment would create. But if the Senator from Texas will support me in this matter, I am willing to accept the amendment, take it to conference, and in the meantime find out more about it than we know at present.

I should like to make it clear that I would want freedom to find out just what the prevailing situation is and to determine from that whether or not it should be written into the law.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. I believe there is merit in the proposal of the Senator from Delaware, if for no other reason than that it focuses attention on a problem that requires some attention. I would therefore, certainly be willing to follow the suggestion of the Senator from Alabama. I would, almost eagerly, accept the amendment, for my side, and take it to conference and see if we can get into some rational discussion on the matter.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I wish to say, in reply to the Senator from Alabama, that the fact that we have changed the interest rates somewhat here may eliminate the points. That is true. However, to the extent that the points are eliminated this would have no effect; it is only to the extent that the points are there.

On the other hand, under this bill the Secretary could eliminate points tomorrow by fixing the interest rates on the basis where the mortgage will sell at par. That is what should be done. From the standpoint of the home buyer, even though it might sound higher today, he would be far better off because if he has to pay 7¼ or 7½ percent to get a mortgage today and is going to pay part of it under the point system, he is locked in for 40 years at the higher rates. The home buyer would be far better off to pay 7 percent straight on a mortgage sold at par value, for if the interest rate were to drop 2 points 2 years from now he could refinance that mortgage at perhaps 5 or 5½ percent. Why not protect the buyer of the home?

However, if we lock him in under a point system he might be forced to pay 10 percent to 12 percent for this 5-year period if he should refinance his mortgage at the lower interest rates prevailing then.

From the standpoint of the home buyer, any way one looks at it this amendment will protect the home buyer. I grant it will take much of the Government-insured profit out of the mortgage lending business. I have no quarrel with mortgage companies. They are entitled to their normal profits but not to having their profits guaranteed by the Government.

I welcome the opportunity to have the Senate vote on this proposal. The committee will find that this is one of the most important parts of the bill to protect the home buyer.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I assure the Senator from Delaware that we shall be very glad to check into this proposition and get all of the information that we can with respect to what the situation is and determine how workable the proposal is.

We have worked on this matter before. We have written into the law provisions seeking to control the point system on at least two occasions.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They have all proved unworkable.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The Senator is correct. I realize the problem. The reason it would not work was that there we had an artifically low legal ceiling under which a mortgage could not be financed. This bill changes that and now this amendment will work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That has been somewhat relieved.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That situation is relieved under this proposal, and the Secretary could correct the situation in its entirety. Certainly, there should be some relief for the buyer.

Senators are only kidding the home buyers when they tell him he is going to get a 6-percent mortgage at a time when money is bringing up to 7.5 percent. This man should not be locked in for the next 40 years at today's high interest rates. These points are disastrous from the standpoint of the home buyer.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is the Senator willing for us to accept the proposal with the understanding that has been stated?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Yes, but I yield to the Senator from Ohio first.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, do I correctly understand that under the bill as it is now before the Senate, the Secretary does have the power to remove limitations on the rate of interest that has been charged?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That has been passed.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Is there any limitation on the interest rate that may be charged?

Mr. SPARKMAN. No. The Secretary is given the right to set the FHA interest rate. Of course, he is supposed to have in mind the going market rate.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Then, am I correct in this understanding: The interest rate limitation has been removed so that the lender can charge the going market rate, and, in addition, under the law the lender will be allowed to charge a discount or demand a premium for making the loan?

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is not under the law. It is in the dealings between the two parties.

Mr. LAUSCHE. There would be nothing in the law to prohibit?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Here is where the trouble arises. The Secretary is supposed to set an interest rate on a national basis. The rates in Washington, D.C., are not the same as the rates in southern California. Southern California, for some reason, always demands a higher rate of interest than the eastern part of the country, and there are other areas of the country in which that is true.

The current rate set by the Secretary is 6¾ percent.

It might require 7 percent or 7.25 percent to meet the market in the Los Angeles area. The lender cannot charge 7.25 percent under the FHA plan, but they could discount the mortgage a sufficient number of points to make up the difference in the interest rate. That is what the Senator from Delaware is striking at.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I believe it was last year I joined in the discussion with the Senator from Delaware which grew into a colloquy on the part of the Senator from Delaware, the Senator from Alabama, and me on this subject of a lender being permitted to demand a premium in addition to the rate of interest that was charged in making the loan.

My participation was prompted by my experience when I was a judge back in 1932 and up to 1941, primarily in the period of the depression. Second, it was motivated by information given to me by a trustee in bankruptcy of a company that was making loans, especially guaranteed by the Government, or the loans being finally bought by the Government.

My experience on the bench was that the greater the financial distress of the person wanting to borrow, the greater his inclinations was to pay an exorbitant rate of interest. The person who stands financially sound will not be gouged by extraordinary demands for interest payments.

Mr. President, the man who is financially sound can go into the open market and make his borrowing, but it is the poor man who wants to buy a home who is really involved. He does not have the money with which to make a downpayment and he pays usurious interest rates. We know that premiums of 10 percent have been demanded of the borrower in order to get the loan. In that experience as a judge, daily in the depression period I had before me foreclosure actions indicating exorbitant premiums that were paid by the borrower to get the loan.

Now, I mentioned a moment ago a trustee in bankruptcy who called me about 2 years ago and told me of the looseness of the operation of the Federal Government in guaranteeing not only the payment of the actual loan made and the interest, but also in guaranteeing the payment of a 10-percent, and in some instances 15-percent, premium charge to the borrower in order to get the loan.

The trustee in bankruptcy said that he would like to show me his files. I met with him in Cleveland. He brought his files with him and he pointed out case after case where Negroes especially were induced to buy and were practically coerced into paying a premium or a discount of 10 to 15 percent in order to get the loan.

The trustee in bankruptcy said that this particular company, whose business he was winding up, was glad whenever a buyer defaulted. If the buyer defaulted in the second year, the 10-percent premium meant an interest increase of 5 percent a year. If the buyer defaulted in the third year, it meant an increase of 3⅓ percent for each year, in addition to the regular rate of interest. Thus, the loans were made with the charge of the limited rate of interest allowed by the Secretary but, in addition to that, the premium. He outlined to me, I would say, 30 cases he had. His view was that the Government should not guarantee payment of the principal and the interest rate and, in addition, the discount on the premium charge.

I think that he was absolutely right. The mortgage companies contacted me subsequently and made the argument that while there is a limitation on the rate of interest allowed to be charged, mortgagors should be permitted to make the charge of a premium in making the loan.

Now I understand that the interest rate limitation has been removed, subject to the discretion of the Secretary. With that having been achieved, the mortgagors will have two bonanzas—well, one probably should not be labeled that, the rate of interest charged. But the second one, the discount and the points, in my behalf, are deplorable and reprehensible.

Why should the taxpayer and the Government of the United States guarantee to a lender that not only will he be paid the principal amount which he loaned, and the interest which has been accrued, but also the premium of 10 and 15 percent?

The loans I am speaking about contained in the files of the trustee were for $20,000 and $25,000.

A premium of 10 percent on $25,000 means that the lender received a windfall of $2,500 on a $25,000 loan.

situation in which the mortgage companies actually make more money on the poor credit risks than they make on their good credit risks. For example, suppose a man finances a mortgage on his home for 40 years at a rate of, let us say, 6¾ percent; they discount the mortgage by 10 points, which means that the 10 points is amortized over 40 years. This gives the mortgage company, in effect, an extra ¼ percent when it is so amortized over the period of 40 years.

That is on the basis of a good credit risk.

Now, suppose that man defaults at the end of 20 years. It means that the lender can amortize the 10 points over a period of 20 years. It gives the mortgage company an extra one-half point, or 7¼ percent interest rather than the 6¾ percent.

On the other hand, suppose he is a poorer credit risk, and he defaults at the end of 5 years; it means that the mortgage company can collect the full amount and he only has to amortize the 10 points over 5 years, which gives him a gain of an extra 2 percent per year. If the mortgage company is very "lucky"—and I use that word in quotes—and gets a very poor credit risk, one who will default within a 12-month period, then it collects 16¾-percent interest on the mortgage, because it collects 6¾-percent interest under the present law plus the full 10 points.

Thus, we have a situation today in which a good credit risk has difficulty in placing a mortgage on his home, but a poor credit risk can place his mortgage because there is an excellent chance that he will default. Almost all the companies are glad to get it, because they can see a quick profit.

To me, it is ridiculous that we insure these points. If a home costs, say, $30,000 to build, and you buy it for $20,000, you cannot collect fire insurance on that home in excess of that amount. The insurance company will not pay you any more than it cost when you purchased the home or what it would cost to replace it. That is sound business practice. They will not let you over-insure.

All I am asking is that the Federal Government not underwrite or insure this point system. I believe the point system is one of the most vindictive arrangements that can possibly be in operation so far as the homebuyer is concerned, because by holding the interest rates somewhat lower and discounting the mortgage 8 or 10 points so that he can finance the mortgage you are, in effect, locking that man in at today's high-interest rates for the next 40 years. He is locked in for the next 40 years at the high-interest rates of today, which are at the highest level in the history of our country. He is locked in because if within the 40-year period he wants to refinance his mortgage and take advantage of the low-interest rates which may prevail 5 years from now, he must forfeit all 10 points, or whatever points are discounted.

I believe it is time Congress recognized that this housing bill is supposed to be designed to protect the homebuyers. I respect the homebuilders and the mortgage companies; but let us face it: They are better able to take care of themselves than are the homebuyers. This housing bill is supposed to be designed to help and protect the individual homebuyer who needs that protection and the help. I cannot conceive of anyone objecting to this amendment.

The second section of the amendment merely states that it would be prospective rather than retroactive. I am advised that it could not be retroactive with respect to the mortgages outstanding. My proposal would be prospective, from this day forward. Surely the Senate will approve this amendment.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

This amendment is similar to amendments that have been offered heretofore. I believe the Senator from Delaware knows that I have tried and our committee has tried to do away with the point system. I have said many times on the floor of the Senate that it is a vicious system, and it is.

I tried to remove the ceiling on FHA interest rates. This ceiling was set at 6 percent by law, and I tried to remove the ceilings and let the market control the interest rates on FHA mortgages. I felt that such action would do away with the point system. But this proposal failed in committee on a tie vote. The committee was that closely divided.

We did remove the statutory ceiling, but we gave to the Secretary of HUD the authority to set the FHA interest rate at a level necessary to meet the mortgage market. Of course, the Secretary cannot set an interest rate that meets the mortgage market in all parts of the country at the same time. And sometimes he may not meet the market in any geographical area, because he cannot set the rate on a day-by-day basis. Consequently, the possibility of some points being charged on FHA mortgages remains. I am of the opinion, however, that they have dropped since we gave the Secretary of HUD the authority I have just described.

The Senator has mentioned 10 points. I would be very much surprised to learn that there is a 10-point discount anywhere in the country. In fact, I believe that in most instances we would find that the points—where there are points—are probably 3 or 4. Actually, one point is allowed as a matter of course, which must be paid by the mortgagor. This is usually for closing costs.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. This is the service charge.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. We are discussing the points.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I know what the Senator is driving at. It is unconscionable when points are carried over a long period of time.

Mr. President, this matter was discussed in the committee. The distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] offered an amendment in 1967 I believe, and it was taken up in our committee. The committee at first agreed to it. Then there was a storm of protest. We restudied the matters in the committee, and the amendment, on reconsideration, was stricken from the bill we were then working up.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. May I just say this: I will admit that there was a difference at that time. I said there was a storm of protest. The difference was that we did have big discounts at that time, because we had a statutory interest rate ceiling of 6 percent.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Does the Senator recall any one of those protests coming from a home buyer, the man who is buying the home?

Mr. SPARKMAN. No.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The protest came from the man who is making a barrel of money out of this bucket shop, and that is what it is.

Certainly, the mortgage companies are going to protest. But is this a bill for the benefit of the mortgage companies, or is it a bill to provide assistance to the individual family in getting a home?

Mr. SPARKMAN. In actual practice, the points are not paid by the home buyer. They are paid by the seller or the builder, but not by the buyer.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That is somewhat like the chicken and the egg. After all, a builder takes into consideration the discount in the mortgage. That it is part of the cost of the home. We know that. So these points are paid by the home buyer; if anyone doubts that ask any homeowner.

What I am proposing here is that the Government not insure this discount.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Let me say this to the Senator from Delaware—and the Senator from Texas will agree with me: The conditions now are different from those that existed last year.

I do not know how complicated the proposal of the Senator from Delaware would be, and I do not know how much difficulty such an amendment would create. But if the Senator from Texas will support me in this matter, I am willing to accept the amendment, take it to conference, and in the meantime find out more about it than we know at present.

I should like to make it clear that I would want freedom to find out just what the prevailing situation is and to determine from that whether or not it should be written into the law.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. I believe there is merit in the proposal of the Senator from Delaware, if for no other reason than that it focuses attention on a problem that requires some attention. I would therefore, certainly be willing to follow the suggestion of the Senator from Alabama. I would, almost eagerly, accept the amendment, for my side, and take it to conference and see if we can get into some rational discussion on the matter.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I wish to say, in reply to the Senator from Alabama, that the fact that we have changed the interest rates somewhat here may eliminate the points. That is true. However, to the extent that the points are eliminated this would have no effect; it is only to the extent that the points are there.

On the other hand, under this bill the Secretary could eliminate points tomorrow by fixing the interest rates on the basis where the mortgage will sell at par. That is what should be done. From the standpoint of the home buyer, even though it might sound higher today, he would be far better off because if he has to pay 7¼ or 7½ percent to get a mortgage today and is going to pay part of it under the point system, he is locked in for 40 years at the higher rates. The home buyer would be far better off to pay 7 percent straight on a mortgage sold at par value, for if the interest rate were to drop 2 points 2 years from now he could refinance that mortgage at perhaps 5 or 5½ percent. Why not protect the buyer of the home?

However, if we lock him in under a point system he might be forced to pay 10 percent to 12 percent for this 5-year period if he should refinance his mortgage at the lower interest rates prevailing then.

From the standpoint of the home buyer, any way one looks at it this amendment will protect the home buyer. I grant it will take much of the Government-insured profit out of the mortgage lending business. I have no quarrel with mortgage companies. They are entitled to their normal profits but not to having their profits guaranteed by the Government.

I welcome the opportunity to have the Senate vote on this proposal. The committee will find that this is one of the most important parts of the bill to protect the home buyer.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I assure the Senator from Delaware that we shall be very glad to check into this proposition and get all of the information that we can with respect to what the situation is and determine how workable the proposal is.

We have worked on this matter before. We have written into the law provisions seeking to control the point system on at least two occasions.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They have all proved unworkable.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The Senator is correct. I realize the problem. The reason it would not work was that there we had an artifically low legal ceiling under which a mortgage could not be financed. This bill changes that and now this amendment will work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That has been somewhat relieved.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That situation is relieved under this proposal, and the Secretary could correct the situation in its entirety. Certainly, there should be some relief for the buyer.

Senators are only kidding the home buyers when they tell him he is going to get a 6-percent mortgage at a time when money is bringing up to 7.5 percent. This man should not be locked in for the next 40 years at today's high interest rates. These points are disastrous from the standpoint of the home buyer.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is the Senator willing for us to accept the proposal with the understanding that has been stated?

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Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, do I correctly understand that under the bill as it is now before the Senate, the Secretary does have the power to remove limitations on the rate of interest that has been charged?

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A premium of 10 percent on $25,000 means that the lender received a windfall of $2,500 on a $25,000 loan.

I think it is wrong. For that reason, I support the amendment offered by the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I thank the Senator from Ohio. Mr. President, I have no reason to pursue the matter further. I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I am willing to yield back the remainder of my time now and we can proceed to vote.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, the Senator from Delaware has asked for the yeas and nays, which have been granted. I shall vote for the Senator's amendment but I do want to make it clear that I am not sure just how the amendment will operate. I shall act with reference to the conference as I said to the Senator a few minutes ago that I would. I shall do my best to learn, between now and the time the bill goes to conference, just how effective and practical the amendment will be. My conduct in the conference will be governed accordingly, even though I do propose to vote for the amendment now, as I agreed a few minutes ago to accept it on that basis.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I appreciate the support of the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, let me say that I concur with the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I am ready to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, let the RECORD show that I join as a cosponsor of the amendment of the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Yes. I have already asked for that. And I welcome the support of the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. President, let me take one moment to say that I appreciate support of my amendment. I think that its adoption will go far toward giving protection to the individual home buyer. I realize that it does present some problems. The Senator from Alabama is correct on that, but they can be worked out. As I pointed out earlier in this discussion, the only real way to correct this abuse would be for the Secretary to put the interest rate at the actual rate the home buyer will have to pay in order to keep the mortgage at par. When he does that——

Mr. SPARKMAN. If the Senator will yield on that point, let me say that the Secretary cannot do that. That is due to the fact there are different interest rate levels in the regular market in different parts of the country.

As I said a moment ago, I tried to get the FHA ceiling removed completely so that the market would set the interest rates in the different parts of the country. However, I certainly am glad to join the Senator from Delaware in an effort to do away with points. I have tried to do that through the years.

I am now ready to vote.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The ceiling should be removed entirely, and the Secretary will have that authority under this bill. I conclude by giving one specific example of how the present system works adversely to the Government as well as the home buyer.

I was in an area a couple years ago where homes were being sold with $100 down. The homes sold for approximately $10,000 to $12,000. The discount on the mortgages was at least 8 points. Many of these homes defaulted within 15 months to 2 years thereafter, with the result that the Government was having to pay insurance on $10,000 mortgages on homes which in reality had sold for only $9,200 the year before.

The lender was making a quick profit, but the taxpayers were the losers.

Here is an opportunity to correct this unbusinesslike practice and at the same time protect both the taxpayers and the home buyers.

That is utterly ridiculous. No banker in the country, no mortgagor in the country would pay, and the Government should not have to pay off a mortgage that is greater than the value of the home. Certainly no insurance company in America would insure a piece of property in excess of the cash value of that property. That is what we are trying to prevent here.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LAUSCHE in the chair). All time on the amendment has now been yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Delaware.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MCGOVERN], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senators from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER and Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG], and the Senators from California [Mr. KUCHEL and Mr. MURPHY] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN] and the Senators from California [Mr. KUCHEL and Mr. MURPHY] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 69, nays 0, as follows:

[No. 166 Leg.]

YEAS—69

Aiken
Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Bennett
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Clark
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Ellender
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hart
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Mansfield
McClellan
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—31

Bayh
Bible
Carlson
Church
Cooper
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hartke
Hollings
Inouye
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Nelson
Prouty
Smathers

So the amendment of Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware was agreed to.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes on the bill to the Senator from Alaska.

A SEA-LEVEL CANAL CONNECTING THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC OCEANS

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 15190.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its disagreement to the amendment of the

Senate to the bill (H.R. 15190) to amend sections 3 and 4 of the act approved September 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 990), providing for an investigation and study to determine a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. BARTLETT. I move that the Senate insist upon its amendment and agree to the request of the House for a conference, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. BARTLETT, and Mr. COTTON conferees on the part of the Senate.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with, and that the amendment be printed in full in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONRONEY's amendment is as follows:

At the end of the bill add a new section, as follows:

"RELEASE FROM LIABILITY UNDER VETERANS' HOME LOAN PROGRAM

"SEC. 1520. (a) Section 1817 of title 38, United States Code, is amended (1) by striking out 'Whenever' at the beginning of such section and inserting in lieu thereof '(a) Whenever'; and (2) by adding at the end of such section a new subsection as follows:

" '(b) In order that any veteran who disposes of residential property securing a guaranteed, insured, or direct loan obtained by him will be informed of the release provisions of subsection (a) of this section, the Administrator shall require as a condition to guaranteeing or insuring any home loan under this chapter (including any loan guaranteed under section 1811(g) of this title) that the holder of the instrument creating and securing the loan agree to notify, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Administrator, the veteran, on whose behalf the loan was guaranteed, insured, or made, of the provisions of subsection (a) of this section before such holder agrees to permit any third person to assume the obligations of the veteran under the terms of such instrument. Notification to a veteran under this subsection shall include an explanation of his liability in the event of his failure to obtain a release under subsection (a) of this section and of any effect such failure may have on his eligibility for benefits under this chapter. Failure by a holder of any such instrument to give notice to a veteran in accordance with regulations of the Administrator shall release the United States from any obligation on any such loan. A signed statement by the veteran to the effect that he has received the notification provided for in this subsection shall constitute prima facie evidence that such notification was given.'

"(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) of this section shall be applicable in the case of all home loans guaranteed or insured under chapter 37 of title 38, United States Code, on and after the date of enactment of this Act (including loans guaranteed under section 1811(g) of this title). The Administrator shall take such action as he deems necessary and appropriate to provide for the notification prescribed by section 1817(b) of title 38, United States Code, as added by subsection (a) of this section, in the case of veterans who dispose of residential property with respect to which they obtained guaranteed, insured, or direct loans prior to the date of enactment of this Act."

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, one of the most lasting benefits which has been provided for veterans is guaranteed loans for homes, farms, and businesses. Through this program, veterans have been able to secure private financing to purchase and improve property where such financing would otherwise be unavailable because of high interest rates and stringent credit requirements.

With the recent enactment of Public Law 90–301 the loan guarantee program has been greatly expanded by increasing the entitlement on home loans from $7,500 to $12,500 and by providing for an increase in the maximum interest rate on these loans. These improvements in the program will make guaranteed loans competitive in the money market and thereby increase the number of guaranteed loans. However, with this increase in activity there will also be an increase in one of the most unfortunate problems which has accompanied this program.

Veterans who have purchased or improved property with loans guaranteed by the Veterans' Administration can sell their property and permit a nonveteran to assume the balance of the guaranteed loan. However, I have become increasingly concerned about the number of veterans who have been held liable for defaults on guaranteed loans by subsequent purchasers because the veteran failed to obtain a release from liability from the Veterans' Administration.

In fiscal year 1960 the Veterans' Administration paid to lending institutions 10,928 claims resulting from defaults on guaranteed loans. Twenty-four percent of those claims were the result of defaults by subsequent purchasers. In the period from April through September of 1967, the VA paid 9,438 claims of which 36.7 percent were caused by defaults of subsequent purchasers. Twenty-one and seven-tenths percent of the claims paid in 1967 resulted in deficiency judgments against veterans who had sold their property without obtaining a proper release.

I am convinced that the reason most veterans failed to obtain the necessary release was that they were not aware that such a release was available or what the consequences would be if they did not obtain a release. There is no way the Veterans' Administration can advise a veteran of his rights when he sells his property because the transaction is often known only to the lending institution. Consequently, I feel that when property financed by a guaranteed loan is sold, the lending institution should be required to advise the veteran of his right to apply for a release from liability for the loan. To create such a requirement I offer an amendment to the pending Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

This amendment contains three basic provisions. First, it requires the holder of an instrument secured by a loan guarantee from the Veterans' Administration to advise the veteran, when he sells the property concerned and permits a third party to assume the balance of the guaranteed loan, of his right to obtain a release from liability from the loan, of the procedure he should follow to obtain such a release, and of the effect a release will have on his liability and loan entitlement.

Second, the amendment provides that if the lending institution fails to give the veteran appropriate notification, the guarantee on the loan would be canceled and the United States would no longer insure the loan. This would have the effect of canceling the veteran's liability because the Government would not be responsible for a default on the loan by a third party and therefore the veteran would not be liable for a deficiency judgment.

These notification requirements would be applicable only to loans made after the date of the enactment of this provision. However, it would certainly be beneficial if all veterans who sell property financed with guaranteed loans could receive this notification, regardless of when the loan was made. Therefore, the third provision of this amendment is that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall take whatever action he considers to be appropriate to enable all veterans to benefit from the notification procedures.

While this amendment will place an additional burden on the lending institutions, it certainly cannot be considered a harsh one when the resulting benefits to veterans are taken into consideration. With guaranteed loans becoming more desirable obligations to hold as a result of Public Law 90–301, it is not unreasonable to require the lender to assume an additional duty for the protection of the veterans.

Mr. President, I understand that the committee and its staff have surveyed the situation, and that the committee has agreed to accept the amendment.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield first to the distinguished ranking minority member of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the pending amendment requires no additional authorization and no additional funding. I think the intent is very good and that it is a very constructive amendment.

I am prepared, on my part, to accept the amendment.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield first to the distinguished Senator from Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I congratulate the Senator for bringing up the problem. I am sure that all Senators have had letters from people who have been involved in a situation of the kind the Senator is talking about.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator may proceed.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, do I correctly understand that if the seller does get a release, as the Senator has indicated, in effect it is then up to the purchaser to assume the burden of the loan, and the seller, being a veteran, is thereby released from any further liability?

Mr. MONRONEY. The Senator is correct. And the lending institutions must do this. If it does not advise the veteran of the situation, then the veteran is relieved, and this makes the burden fall, as it should, on the subsequent buyer who does not enjoy the veteran's status.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I would be happy to support the Senator. As a matter of fact, if the Senator does not mind, I would like to be listed as a cosponsor of his amendment.

Mr. MONRONEY. I ask unanimous consent that the name of the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick] be added as a cosponsor to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I share the feeling of the distinguished Senator from Texas that the pending amendment is a good amendment. There is one thing that I wish to caution the Senator from Oklahoma about.

The committee in the House which has jurisdiction over VA guaranteed mortgages is the Veterans' Affairs Committee. Of course, we will be in conference with the Banking and Currency Committee. There is the possibility that a point of order will be made that they do not have jurisdiction to deal with the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma. If so, we will run into a snag. We have had that situation occur before.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, because of the virtues connected with relieving these veterans of a liability which they did not know they had until perhaps several years after the sale of the house, I believe that compassion and justice and reasonableness will hold forth in the House, in which body both the Senator from Arkansas and I served for so many years. I believe that we will somehow be able to rise to meet the situation involved in something as deserving as the pending amendment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I assure the Senator that I will argue the characteristics that he has mentioned.

Mr. MONRONEY. Would the Senator like to be listed as a cosponsor?

Mr. SPARKMAN. If the Senator asks unanimous consent, I would be pleased to do so.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I would also like to be listed as a cosponsor.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Sparkman] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] be listed as cosponsors of the amendment. This may bridge the technical House rules which I tried so hard to change in the Reorganization Act, so that justice will prevail.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Oklahoma.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to state the amendment.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered; and the amendment will be printed in the Record.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the Record, is as follows:

On page 154, between lines 18 and 19, insert the following:

"(c) Section 5136 of the Revised Statutes is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

" 'Ninth. To issue and sell securities which are guaranteed pursuant to section 306(g) of the National Housing Act.'

"(d) The first proviso to section 21(a)(1) of the Banking Act of 1933 is amended by inserting ', or issuing securities,' immediately following 'investment securities.'

"(e) Section 5(c) of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933 is amended by adding at the end thereof a new paragraph as follows:

" 'Any such association may issue and sell securities which are guaranteed pursuant to section 306(g) of the National Housing Act'."

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, is there a time limitation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is a time limitation of 1 hour on each amendment, 30 minutes to a side.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I yield myself 6 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah is recognized for 6 minutes.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, in my view, a very important provision of this bill is contained in section 804, which authorizes the Federal National Mortgage Association to issue securities backed by pools of Government-underwritten mortgages. The section would authorize the new Government National Mortgage Association to guarantee these securities, and also to guarantee these types of securities similarly backed if issued by other private institutions approved by GNMA—Ginnie Mae—for that purpose.

For many years the housing industry in this country has had as one of its principal problems the lack of available credit for mortgage financing. It is very hard for mortgages to compete with corporate securities in attracting capital, because of the problems and expense that go along with maintaining a portfolio of mortgages and which are nonexistent in the case of corporate bonds. It is hoped that section 804 will provide a mechanism for the creation of a type of mortgage-backed securities which will be purchased by pension funds and other types of investors that have been largely unwilling to invest in mortgages themselves, thereby making more investment money available for the mortgage market.

The expectation is that FNMA will issue the first of such securities to establish a market for them, and that thereafter mortgage bankers and other mortgage lenders and investors could come in and issue their securities. The bill clearly pledges the full faith and credit of the United States to the payment of any amounts due under this guaranty, and this feature should make it possible for the securities to be sold at a rate of interest that will allow the issuer enough of a margin to make this program economically feasible.

The Government guaranty by GNMA will in a sense be a pass-through of the already existing Government guaranty or insurance of mortgages in the pools to the securities backed by the pools. It will not bring about an increase in the Government's total contingent liability, for the reason that the contingent liability of the Government is incurred at an earlier time when the mortgages are insured or guaranteed. GNMA is authorized to collect a fee for its guaranty, and it is intended that this program will be fully self-supporting and will operate at no cost to the Government.

I certainly hope, Mr. President, that this mortgage-backed security will be the answer for some of the financial ills that have beset the housing and home financing industries for many years.

In order to be certain that banks and savings and loan associations, like other lenders, will be able to issue these securities, I offer an amendment which I am sure will do three things, and which is in keeping with the intent of this section. The first of these is to section 5136 of the Revised Statutes to specifically empower national banks to issue such securities, and the second is to section 21(a)(1) of the Banking Act of 1933 to specifically exempt these obligations from its criminal penalties. The third authorizes savings and loan associations to issue the same type of security. If these things are not done, commercial banks and savings and loan institutions which already have the power to deal in the underlying mortgages, may be prevented from issuing such obligations thereby precluding these segments of the industry from making their maximum contribution to this program.

Mr. President, in discussing this amendment with Federal agency officials, I find that there is some question regarding the authority of the regulatory agencies to define, through rules and regulations, the proper use and activity of financial institutions in issuing these securities. If, in fact, experience indicates that additional regulatory authority is necessary to deal with this authorization to issue securities by financial institutions, I am sure that we in the committee will meet that need.

Mr. President, I hope that the manager of the bill, who understands the amendments, will accept them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, before the Senator yields the floor, may I ask him a question or two.

First: with respect to proper supervision—whether or not the supervisory agencies have the authority to supervise this matter in the way that the Senator would envisage.

Mr. BENNETT. I have checked with these supervisory authorities today. There is some question about the authority. Their position is that the matter is a little indefinite. As I have said, if it is challenged, I am sure we can quickly amend their authorization so that the authority can be nailed down.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield myself 5 minutes, Mr. President.

I wish to invite attention to the matter, because I believe it is something about which we should exercise some caution. I agree with the distinguished Senator from Utah, and I shall be glad to cooperate in seeing that they do get the required authority.

Mr. BENNETT. If it is challenged.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I believe this is a good amendment, and, for my part, I am willing to accept it.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Utah.

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 831

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 831 and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey in the chair). The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

On page 180, between lines 5 and 6, insert the following:

"LOAN LIMIT ON PROJECTS IN RURAL AREAS

"SEC. 1005. Section 515(b) of the Housing Act of 1949 is amended by striking out '$300,000' in subparagraph (1) and inserting '$600,000' in lieu thereof."

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

First, I express my pleasure at the inclusion in this bill of title X, which I believe is the first time that a housing bill has specifically recognized the problems of rural housing.

My amendment would not actually amend any provision of the bill itself, but would amend the Housing Act of 1949, in that it would increase the ceiling that the Farm Home Administration might include in a housing project in a rural area.

With reference to the population limitation of 5,500, I find that this is an unrealistic figure in dealing with some of the small rural and countryside communities throughout the Nation, which represent today one of the areas of problem because of outmigration. I believe it ironic, in a way, that the great crisis in the cities finally and squarely directed our attention to the migration out, so that it is the core of the great cities and the small rural towns that are suffering today.

I have hope that the Rural Job Development Act, which the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS] and I sponsored, and which was cosponsored by many Senators, can do something about revitalizing the rural areas. Jobs, of course, are the first consideration. But other factors must be considered, including housing, education, and health.

I would hope that this amendment, which I believe was offered in the committee by the distinguished Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], would find merit on the part of the managers of the bill.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEARSON. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have discussed this matter with the Senator from Kansas, and I have pointed out to him that this is an increase in the mortgage limits without any additional funding, which means a greater diffusion of housing—cutting down on the number that really could benefit under the farm housing program. We have this problem quite often where there is a feeling that the price or cost of the individual house should be raised.

This matter could involve sizable projects. We have had no testimony on the matter. I believe the Senator knows that I am in thorough sympathy with anything that can be done with respect to rural housing. As a matter of fact, the original title V of the Housing Act, relating to farm housing, was introduced by me and was written into the law in 1949. And there have been a number of amendments since that time.

I certainly am in favor of a good farm housing program. But I am not convinced—and I do not have the evidence before me—of the need for this proposal or its desirability. I hope that the Senator will not insist upon it at this time. But I will say this: Give us an opportunity to study the proposal with the Farmers Home Administration, and let us see what the need may be.

I will make this promise to the Senator—and I believe the Senator from Texas, the ranking minority member on the Housing Subcommittee, will join me. If a need is shown, we will be glad to submit proposed legislation to take care of it, because we want an adequate farm housing program.

Mr. PEARSON. I thank the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEARSON. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. I should like to press for hearings on this matter at the earliest possible moment, because I believe it is something we should look into.

I appreciate the spirit of what the Senator from Kansas is doing. As a matter of fact, we might discover that we should be doing even more than is suggested in the amendment. I believe it is a matter on which we should have hearings at the earliest possible opportunity, and I would cooperate in holding hearings.

I should like to suggest to the Senator from Kansas that this proposal be introduced as an independent bill, and conceivably we could get hearings on it this session.

Mr. PEARSON. I believe that suggestion has merit. As a matter of fact, as I indicated, it is an amendment to the Housing Act of 1949 and not to this particular bill.

But I would say once again, to make the record, that particularly in the field of rural development or rural conditions we have had for a long time classification figures and limitations of 2,500 people, which were totally unrealistic; and I believe it was that particular act that boosted the figure to 5,500, which is still unrealistic.

If we are eager, through legislation or through the natural course of events, to understand the great outmigration, to develop the rural areas of America, through jobs and housing programs, we will have to take a look at a new set of classifications and a new set of facts, and among these certainly will be an increase in the amount of projects that the Farmers Home Administration will be eligible to undertake.

Mr. TOWER. I believe the Senator from Kansas has made a great contribution to the discussion of the problems we face in our cities, which are precipitated in major part by the flight of people from the farms to the cities and which have precipitated our urban problems.

I believe it is wise to suggest that if we are going to solve our urban problems, we had better get at the root causes of them and see what is wrong in the rural areas which has precipitated the flight to the cities. I believe this is a very constructive approach.

Mr. PEARSON. I thank the Senator from Texas.

Mr. President, in light of the colloquy and the very generous comments and understanding of the manager of the bill and the ranking minority member of the committee, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw amendment No. 831.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has the right to withdraw it, without unanimous consent. The amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOMINICK. Are we operating on limited time at present?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. One hour on each amendment, 4 hours on the bill.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 5 minutes on the bill?

Mr. TOWER. I yield 5 minutes on the bill to the distinguished Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I wish to bring up for discussion again the portion of the bill which was voted upon and discussed to some degree by the distinguished Senator from Texas yesterday—namely, title IV.

Mr. President, if I could have the attention of the Senator from Alabama, I wish to ask just a few questions and I hope the Senator can help me.

I am looking at title IV of the bill. Yesterday the amendment of the Senator from Texas to strike this particular title was defeated on the floor of the Senate. I am not sure that many Senators realize the scope of this particular title of the bill.

For example, as I read the bill, on pages 85 and 86, the Secretary is, in effect, required to be a real estate developer in order to be able to issue any guarantees because he has to determine for himself before he can issue a guarantee whether—

> (1) the proposed new community (A) will be economically feasible in terms of economic base or potential for growth, and (B) will contribute to the orderly growth and development of the area of which it is a part;

Then, he is to determine that—

> (2) there is a practicable plan (including appropriate time schedules) for financing the land acquisition and land development costs of the proposed new community and for improving and marketing the land

Then the Secretary must determine the kind of shops, schools, recreation facilities, transportation, and other facilities that are going to be built, as the Secretary deems satisfactory.

Therefore, as I understand this particular title, in effect the Secretary would determine the total makeup of the planned community; and he is required to do this before he could issue any guarantee.

Am I wrong in my estimate of the responsibility we are asking the Secretary to assume under this title?

Mr. SPARKMAN. No. I think the Senator has stated it correctly. Of course, all of this has to be within all governmental approvals required by the State or local government. In other words, the Secretary cannot just move out into an area and determine these things and say, "There shall be a community here." It has to be with approvals from local governments.

Mr. DOMINICK. But in most areas of our country all he would have to do would be to have some land, buy that land, and decide that this is what he is going to put up, and make sure it complies with the zoning and other local laws. As I understand it, we do not have to have a State planning commission or any other body approve of the development.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not understand your point, except to say that the bill provides that the developer "has received all governmental approvals required by State or local law."

It is my understanding the developer must have the approval required by the governmental body in which the proposed project is to be located.

Mr. DOMINICK. By and large would it mean that it meets the requirements of the zoning laws in the area in which it is located?

Mr. SPARKMAN. No. It must have positive approval.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me 5 more minutes on the bill?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. DOMINICK. I do not wish to keep belaboring this point, but I wonder if we are not placing the Secretary in an untenable position under title IV, because the general way that I know in which developers start this type of community is to acquire the land block, make sure their zoning is in proper shape, and that they have adequate financing to put the project together.

However, in this case, he has to go over and beyond that and get the approval of the Secretary for every financial detail in the program because unless the Secretary approves every one of those requirements, he cannot get his bonds guaranteed by the Government.

The point I make is that we are turning the Secretary into a complete land developer which does not seem to me to be his function in our system of Government.

I wonder if any consideration was given to this particular matter by the committee which would give us reason to believe that this is the way we should proceed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The point that the Senator is raising was raised by me in the committee 3 years ago, and changes were made. One of the changes made was the requirement that there be approval of the local governmental authority, whatever they require. In other words, the Secretary cannot just move out and comply with the zoning laws. He must have the required approval from the local governing body. I was not in favor of the new towns program. In fact the Senate never approved the new towns program. The House did so in 1966. The provision then came back here where we accepted it in a conference report. This is simply providing an alternative financing approach to a program that became law in 1966. It is true it does impose a great deal on the Secretary, but we do the same thing on a different scale in every FHA project.

The Secretary has the responsibility to pass every detail. If it is going to be an apartment house he has to be sure the costs are in line. If it is rental property, he has to be sure that the rents that would be required are reasonable and certainly that the rents sustain the costs, and so forth.

On every project, model cities, urban renewal, all of this has to be worked out before there can be any action. The same thing is true in the case of the new community program.

Mr. DOMINICK. I would appreciate if the distinguished Senator would answer a couple more brief questions.

I understand that of the two model cities we have in the Washington area—Columbia and Reston—at least one of them has been in some financial difficulty.

I wish to ask the Senator from Alabama whether or not it is intended that under the terms of this bill those two communities would be within the range of the guarantees of the Government of their financial obligations.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Which two communities did the Senator refer to?

Mr. DOMINICK. Reston and Columbia.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Those were privately financed projects.

Mr. DOMINICK. This bill encompasses private developments.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I know, but they were built without FHA assistance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for an additional 5 minutes?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield an additional 5 minutes to the Senator from Colorado.

Reston was financed by Gulf Oil Corp. I believe. I do not know what financing was involved in connection with Columbia, but neither of those projects was assisted under the FHA program. I cannot say whether they would have fallen in that category or not.

Mr. DOMINICK. I am not asking if they would have. I am asking if they now, under the terms of this language, obtain financing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. No. They initially went their way on a different course of financing and would not be eligible under this bill, as I understand it.

Mr. DOMINICK. Is that because it is not to be retroactive? Is that the reason?

Mr. SPARKMAN. There is no provision in here for retroactivity. Furthermore, it anticipates that HUD or FHA will be in from the very first in the planning and development stages.

Mr. DOMINICK. I frankly do not see anything of that at all in here, because it is the enlistment of private corporations in a new community development.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What we do in this bill is to provide an alternative financing plan for the new communities program.

Mr. DOMINICK. But if the Senator looks at the title the way I do, it is a totally new title and its provisions stand alone without regard to any other law, so far as I can see.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The title guarantees for financing new community land development. As I say, it is an alternative financing plan. However, if the Senator will go back to the 1966 Act he will find the basic law for FHA insurance of new communities. A number of those provisions are repeated in this bill. One of the conditions is that there be a practicable plan for financing the land acquisition and the land development areas. All of these things must be approved by the Secretary before he will approve the project.

Mr. DOMINICK. Does the Senator have any idea as to how we reached the guarantee maximum of half a billion dollars for this?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did the Senator say half a billion dollars?

Mr. DOMINICK. That is correct. $500 million.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is the total outstanding obligation that could be incurred throughout the whole country.

Mr. DOMINICK. That is correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How this was computed, I do not know. There is a limitation on each individual project of $50 million. I suppose $500 million was requested so that an upper limit would be placed on the amount of debentures HUD could guarantee.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator for giving me this time. I must say that I think it is somewhat unusual to find the Federal Government using taxpayers' funds in general for the purpose of guaranteeing a private developer's profit. I personally think this is a miserable title, for that very reason.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In a way we do that with any builder that puts up an apartment house and uses FHA insurance. Anyone that puts up a single-family unit under FHA insurance comes under the same principle.

Mr. DOMINICK. The purpose of that, as I understand it, was to try to get some kind of housing for people unable to pay what they would like to pay for a house of the type that they would like, but here what we are doing is saying to any promoter or builder that wants to come along, "Go ahead. We will guarantee it."

Mr. SPARKMAN. No, no. Not at all. As a matter of fact, I thought what the Senator was doing was complaining that we were too strict about the requirements, and the burden that would be placed on the Secretary.

It is not something that could be described loosely, as the Senator has described it, because it is very strict—very strict, indeed.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield me 1 minute on the bill?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized for 1 minute.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I understand that under the weird customs, procedures, and manners of this body, my legislative assistant is not permitted the privilege of the floor, where I desperately need him, unless he gets the floor under unanimous consent.

I ask unanimous consent that Harry Schwartz, my legislative assistant, who has given me the assistance I need on this bill, which is of great interest to me, may be permitted the privilege of the floor until debate is over on the pending bill.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, it is extraordinary and remarkable to me, and again illustrates the desire of Congress to do justice rather than to exercise resentment in view of the current agitation upon this whole subject, that we are here acting, and I hope we will act completely and favorably before tomorrow night, on a really landmark housing achievement. I think the most important since the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Act of 1949, which I had the great honor of sponsoring as a young Member of the House of Representatives at that time. This is really a landmark for the low- and moderate-income groups, especially for the low-income groups, and I wish to express my appreciation and understanding of the fine job which has been done by our colleagues on the committee.

For many years in this country, we have had a panoply of housing and urban development programs designed to ameliorate conditions in blighted areas and provide housing for disadvantaged and low-income persons. Yet, solid Federal achievement in the field of housing for the disadvantaged has been pitifully inadequate when compared to the need. In the 31 years of subsidized Federal housing, the Kerner Commission reports that only about 800,000 units have been constructed for low- and moderate-income persons, with recent production averaging about 50,000 units per year. This must be compared with the fact that the use of a different technique—FHA insurance guarantees—has made possible the construction of over 10 million middle- and upper-income units within roughly the same period.

But not only has output in terms of low- and moderate-income housing been small, we must now recognize that certain of our Federal programs have actually contributed to a lessening of the housing inventory in this area. The Kerner Commission reported that the number of low- and moderate-income units demolished over the years under programs such as urban renewal has actually exceeded the number of such units constructed or rehabilitated.

The situation we now face in the area of providing housing for low-income persons has reached alarming proportions. The census of housing in 1960 indicated that in urban areas alone 4.3 million units were considered substandard—or 10.5 percent of the entire inventory. In New York City, for example, local estimates are that in 1965 there were still 43,000 old law tenements built prior to 1901, containing approximately 950,000 persons; and the city's housing commissioner the other day stated that 800,000 of its housing units were obsolescent.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders established as a goal the building of 6 million units for low- and moderate-income families over the next 5 years. Edgar F. Kaiser, who chairs the President's Committee on Urban Housing, has stated that if we as a nation dedicate ourselves to meeting the shelter requirements for all citizens over the next 10 years, we would need to build or rehabilitate a total of 26 million housing units, of which 7 to 9 million would require some form of subsidy to provide decent housing for the urban poor.

The bill that we have before us today should do much to alleviate the grinding need for satisfactory housing for low- and moderate-income persons. First, it is targeted in on the persons and the areas which most need assistance, and should obviate some of the difficulties of the past whereby a lack of focusing on priorities led to a program benefiting largely income groups in the middle and upper levels. Second, the bill establishes a realistic goal over 10 years of 6 million new units for low- and moderate-income persons. While I think that this goal might be speeded up, especially in the later years, to make it more compatible with the recommendation of the Kerner Commission for production of 6 million new units over the next 5 years, I do think it is a realistic goal in the light of our budgetary restrictions and considering the fact that we have in the recent past been producing only about 50,000 units per year. I wholly support the administration in its objective, embodied in this bill, of attaining 1.2 million new federally assisted units in the next 3 years.

Third, this bill involves the use of important new techniques which offer the prospect of mobilizing the private sector and achieving results at least cost to the Federal Government. The interest subsidy mechanisms embodied in sections 235 and 236 should provide maximum leverage in drawing private mortgage money into serving the disadvantaged population. The National Home Ownership Foundation, established by this act, provides a compatible vehicle for work with private organizations in terms of providing technical assistance and support activities to housing programs for the disadvantaged.

This measure involves a number of programs not directly related to housing. For example, title VII of this bill increases the authorization for the urban mass transit program and extends the emergency provision of the program. I support this increase, but we should recognize that increasing and extending these provisions, alone, are not enough. We cannot accomplish, in this bill, the task which must be accomplished—that is, a fundamental reordering of Federal transportation priorities and the achievement of that oft-stated objective of Federal policies, the establishment of unified transportation systems in the metropolitan areas of this country. We should have the flexibility to set priorities within and between varying modes of urban transportation and to allocate resources accordingly. This is more than a requirement of good management; improved and inexpensive rapid mass transportation linking slums and suburbs has become a social imperative, for most new jobs are not being created in central cities, near the ghettos. Instead, they are likely to occur in the suburbs and in outlying areas of the city. We must provide such rapid mass transportation and, if necessary, shift resources from other modes in order to pay for it.

Important problems, however, do remain. There is some question in my mind whether the interest subsidy technique alone will be sufficient to draw private money and effort into the low- and moderate-income housing field. The subsidy offers no incentive to the investor to invest in this type of housing and this type of owner or tenant, as opposed to projects aimed at middle- or upper-income groups. Rather, it merely supports a system whereby interest rates on mortgages involving low-, moderate-, and upper-income people would be roughly similar; we may ask whether on this basis an investor will channel his money into low-income projects where he has available to him more trouble-free investment possibilities. It may well be that we will learn that some further "sweetening" will be necessary to attract private money to this area.

Important questions have also been raised about the scope of coverage of the section 235 and 236 programs in terms of the income categories to which they appeal. Roughly speaking, the combination of a 20-percent—in section 235—and 25-percent—in section 236—of income payment requirement by the owner or tenent, when coupled with an income ceiling based on 70 percent of the section 221(d)(3) income ceilings, produces a target group in the income category from $4,500 to $6,500, depending on the costs in the area involved. Typically, the scope of coverage would be only about $1,000 for families with two children. Members of the real estate industry and others have expressed doubts that developers would be willing to undertake a project for which the market is so limited.

Moreover, I regard as unfortunate the decision of the committee to apply a 25 percent-of-income-payment requirement on tenents under section 236. That 25 percent figure seems to be part of the American mythology—everyone should spend one-fourth of his income for housing—and is not supported by data on what people can actually afford and do afford. Figures taken on a nationwide basis, and developed in the 1960 census, show that in the $4,000 to $7,000 income category, the majority of families spend less than 20 percent of gross income on housing. This to me is an indication of what people feel they can in fact afford and it provides a guide to any requirement which the committee should equitably impose in this bill. The 25-percent requirement will force people to cut back on other badly needed items in their budget, or, it will render the program inoperative since people will not be willing to pay this percentage of their incomes for mortgage payments or rent.

I would like also to emphasize that none of this new legislation will do the job without energetic and effective administration by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. That Department must clearly focus its activities on the problems of the disadvantaged and of blighted areas, as has the Senate in this bill. I would hope that high on the list of priorities for a new administration would be submission of a simplified omnibus housing measure which would try to codify and weave together in one document the vast panoply of housing and urban development measures which we have passed over the years. The very great and largely unnecessary complexity of housing programs seriously hinders implementation at the local level and renders effective congressional oversight almost impossible.

I would hope also that a new administration will submit new proposals in the area of rehabilitation, which in my view is not adequately dealt with in this bill. Our previous rehabilitation loan and grant programs have been far too restricted in both concept and funding. As of March 1, 1967, the rehabilitation loan program in its 2½ years of existence had loaned only $3.9 million, while the grant program had reached only 2,310 persons with a little over $3 million. Rehabilitation techniques offer particular attraction in dealing with serious metropolitan housing problems. First, they permit a speedy attack on the problem, unhindered by many of the land acquisition and development costs associated with new construction. Second, rehabilitation cuts costs. New York City calculates that it spends around $22,500 for every new low-income unit in a high-rise building which it erects. But a comparable size unit in a five-story walk-up can be made over for roughly $13,000. Third, rehabilitation is suitable to a broad-scale attack. The Institute of Public Administration indicated that on the 5,000 worst blocks in New York City, there are 52,000 substandard dwellings containing 300,000 units. Of these, some 22,000 of the larger structures, containing 229,000 units or 70 percent of the units, were thought to be suitable for rehabilitation. Fourth, it is possible to avoid many of the difficult relocation problems by using the rehabilitation technique rather than demolition and new construction.

Last year, I offered a set of bills, S. 1198, S. 1199, S. 1200, and S. 1201, providing a variety of tax incentives and other forms of financial assistance to encourage rehabilitation. I regret that the committee did not include these techniques in its bill, and I will continue to put them forward in the months ahead looking toward a fresh effort in this area by a new administration.

I would like at this point to cite the several provisions in this legislation which are the result of my amendments or of measures which I cosponsored, or which were duplicated by the administration after I had introduced legislation. First, I am particularly pleased to see the strong support given in this bill to the concept of homeownership. If we have learned anything in recent years through antipoverty efforts, it is that we must couple assistance programs with elements that provide motivation and dignity if we are to achieve an end to poverty and degradation in this society. I am proud that it was a Republican effort, in which I joined and which was led by Senator Percy in offering last year the National Home Ownership Foundation Act, which produced this emphasis on homeownership in this bill.

Second, I am pleased to see that the committee has accepted, in section 202(d), the provisions of S. 2802 which I introduced on December 15 of last year, allowing projects assisted by State or local financing to be eligible for rent supplements. This measure had previously passed the Senate, as part of the 1966 housing bill, but was dropped in conference. Many States, including Illinois, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, have programs making money available at lower rates of interest than is presently available in the open market to private nonprofit sponsors, dividend corporations or cooperatives. Under the existing rent supplement program, such housing is not eligible to receive rent supplement recipients, although it seems fair to say that this housing has at least as good a qualification for inclusion in that program as housing assisted under the similar Federal program—section 221(d)(3).

This proposal does not extend rent supplement coverage beyond private housing, rather, it provides a technique whereby much State and local assisted private housing can be opened up for low-income persons through the rent supplement technique. For example, under the Mitchel-Lama, some 8,000 units are being constructed annually in New York City which are presently renting to the $7,000 to $9,000 income category and which, through rent supplements, could be made available to lower income persons.

Third, I was pleased to see that the administration proposed and the committee accepted the section 236 program providing interest subsidies for rental housing for low-income persons. That interest subsidy approach was first supported for rental housing by me in S. 2801, introduced on December 15 of last year. Under my proposal the Government would have paid the difference between payments based on a 3-percent mortgage and those at the market rate; the committee and the administration have significantly improved that proposal by allowing a subsidy down to a 1-percent mortgage level.

Fourth, I am pleased to see the committee has once again accepted my proposal for Federal interest subsidies for the bonds of colleges and universities sold to raise funds for dormitory and college-housing construction. I was joined in that proposal last year by Senator Proxmire, without whose strong efforts in the development and work on this program in committee it certainly would not have been possible. I am pleased that the committee has again, as it did in S. 2700 which it reported last year, made $10 million in loan differential payments available—an amount which will support at least $3 to $4 million of college-housing bonds.

Fifth, I am pleased to see the committee has increased the limits relating to rehabilitation grants to individuals and families under section 115 of the Housing Act of 1949 and has also moved to increase the geographic scope of coverage of the rehabilitation loan program under section 312 of the Housing Act of 1964. I had advanced those two proposals last year in S. 1200 and S. 2800, and while the committee did not precisely use my language it has accepted analogous provisions which I regard as very useful.

Sixth, I would like to congratulate the administration and the committee for the advancement of the National Housing Corporation and partnership idea which is embodied in title IX of this bill. I, myself, first offered a proposal to establish a profitmaking Economic Opportunity Corporation to enlist the efforts of private enterprise in antipoverty activities, including housing, as far back as 1965. In the intervening years the administration has consistently opposed this idea, stating that it could not be done and that certainly no profit could successfully be made. It may well be that profit will be minimal or even entirely lacking, but the vehicle is one which merits experimentation, offers the prospect improved liaison with the private sector, and makes possible a variety of tax advantages for private investors, and I am pleased that the administration has at last accepted this type of approach in this bill.

Seventh, I am pleased to see that the committee has accepted the administration's proposal to establish a National Insurance Development Corporation, which is similar in a great many respects to the legislation which I introduced (S. 2407) to deal with the need for insurance for the many businessmen in areas threatened by civil disorders. This measure is critically important, and I would hope that it can be enacted in the very near future—splitting it off from this measure if necessary to avoid further delay.

While this legislation is entirely commendable and greatly necessary in its major outlines, there are still some provisions which I feel should be inserted at this point, and which I will now offer as amendments.

Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The Bill Clerk. On page 3, line 1, beginning with "shall," strike out all through "housing." on line 5 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

shall—

(1) require, in consultation with the Secretary of Labor, that, to the greatest extent feasible, opportunities for training and employment arising in connection with the planning, construction, rehabilitation, and operation of housing assisted under such programs be given to lower income persons residing in the area of such housing; and

(2) require, in consultation with the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, that, to the greatest extent feasible, contracts for work to be performed pursuant to such programs shall be awarded to business concerns, including but not limited to individuals or firms doing business in the fields of design, architecture, building construction, rehabilitation, maintenance, or repair, located in or owned in substantial part by persons residing in the area of such housing.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I should like the attention of the Senator in charge of the bill, and his counterpart on the Republican side. I have discussed three amendments with the Senator in charge of the bill which I think are satisfactory to him. I shall, of course, explain them to the Senate and hope very much that they will be satisfactory to the Senate. But he did want me to mention, when I spoke, exactly everything I had in mind on the housing bill. Thus, as he is such a warm friend and I have such high regard for him, I shall inform the Senate now of everything I have in mind, and then if he can see his way clear to accept the three amendments, it would be very gratifying to me.

Mr. President, the first of the three amendments has to do with helping small business in the ghettos. Another one involves housing assisted under State or local financing programs, such as New York State's Mitchel-Lama housing program, which would be made eligible for an interest subsidy. The third, which the Senator has also seen, relates to subsequent tenants in cooperatives taking over from the preceding tenants.

Another amendment, which is of interest to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy], who is not available at the moment, which would put the Senate on the track of trying to do something about local contractors, especially ghetto small business and minority group entrepreneurs who cannot get bonding, in the hope that some Government plan could be arranged to help them get such bonding capabilities so that they would get a better break in trying to get some of this business. That is the big problem, especially with minority people in the small business field. I shall hold that amendment until I have an opportunity to consult the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy] and will not present it until he has had an opportunity to consider whether he will join me and what he would like to see done about it.

The fifth amendment is one which I have discussed with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Sparkman] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] and it is my hope that the Senator from Texas will give it earnest consideration.

It relates to the composition of the proposed Advisory Commission on Low-Income Housing. I shall not state what it is about at this time. I just identify it that way. I expect to hold that one, too, in the hope that the Senator from Texas may give it favorable consideration, perhaps at a later time today.

Thus, there are five amendments, three of which the Senator from Alabama has seen, and two to which I have just referred and which I shall propose to the bill.

As I say, if, under those circumstances, the Senator would be prepared to give favorable consideration to the three amendments, I am prepared to proceed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I have discussed these amendments with the Senator from New York and told him I would be willing, for my part, to accept these three amendments. They are amendments which make slight changes, but, at the same time, I consider effective changes, and I believe they will improve the program we are trying to carry out.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague very much.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I believe these are constructive amendments, and certainly, for my side, I am prepared to accept them. Perhaps we can vote on them in order.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, have all three amendments been offered?

Mr. JAVITS. Not yet, but I will offer them, and then I expect to make a short statement for the Record.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may call up the two additional amendments referred to and that all three may be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, the amendments will be considered en bloc.

The last two amendments will be stated by the clerk.

The bill clerk read the two amendments, as follows:

On page 4, strike out all of lines 16, 17 and 18 and the words "the family: *Provided*," on line 19, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "which was completed after the effective date of this section: *Provided*, that if the initial cooperative member receiving assistance payments transfers his membership and occupancy rights to another person who satisfies the eligibility requirements prescribed by the Secretary, such new cooperative member may qualify for assistance payments upon the filing of an application with respect to the dwelling unit involved to be occupied by him: *Provided further*."

On page 55, line 6, delete "section 221;" and insert the following: "section 221, or a private nonprofit corporation or other private nonprofit legal entity, a limited dividend corporation, or other limited dividend legal entity, or a cooperative housing corporation, which is the owner of a rental or cooperative housing project financed under a State or local program providing assistance through loans, loan insurance, or tax abatements;".

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes to make a brief explanation of each amendment, which Members may want to hear.

The first amendment relates to the utilization of individuals who live in slums and ghettos as employees, and of ghetto-based business concerns as contractors or subcontractors, within various housing programs including public housing and the new interest subsidy programs contemplated in this bill. That is contained at the top of page 3. The contracting opportunity, which was not in the committee's bill, is made available, wherever feasible, to business enterprises which are located in such areas or are owned in substantial part by area residents.

As there are many of these, especially in the field of housing construction, it is a very desirable expansion of the opportunity which is contained at the top of page 3 in the current bill. It is highly desirable to stimulate such minority ownership and economic development activity in the ghettos, and this procurement preference approach permits that at negligible cost to Government.

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clark] and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Prouty], who is present on the floor, and I have learned about this from our work in the Manpower Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The second amendment picks up an item in the bill which is rather important. In the proposed section 235, the interest subsidy benefits are limited to the initial member and occupant of a dwelling in a cooperative. This limitation will prevent the program from meeting the continuing need for housing low- and moderate-income families in cooperatives because it prevents a vacated dwelling unit from being sold for occupancy by a subsequent eligible family.

The amendment would correct this. A subsequent member who meets the income limits would be eligible to obtain an interest subsidy. The cooperative program differs from individual ownership because the 40-year project mortgage continues upon resales of cooperative memberships, in contrast to sales of single family homes when there is generally a new mortgage and refinancing. Moreover, upon the sale of a cooperative membership, the income limits would be enforced by the cooperative corporation to assure that the purchaser is eligible—subject to FHA supervision. Also, the cooperative has an option to repurchase at a reasonable price which the subsequent eligible purchaser can afford.

The third amendment relates to a situation in the State of New York—and it is true in several other States—in which nonprofit and other private owners of rental or cooperative housing are financed under a scheme, which in New York we call Mitchel-Lama, through direct mortgage loans or pooled mortgaged loans operated under a State or under a local program, with the funds usually raised through State or local bond sales. There is no reason why projects originating from local or State initiative of a private nature should not be eligible for the interest subsidy which is authorized by the bill. The third amendment makes them eligible for that purpose. in the same manner in which the committee accepted my amendment applying rent supplements to such programs.

Those are the three amendments. I hope the Senate will act favorably on those amendments.

I am prepared to yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, before I yield back the balance of my time, let me say that I have talked to Chairman Sparkman. He is happy to take these amendments. They are good amendments. He has no objection to them.

I yield back my time.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the three amendments may be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

All time on the amendments has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the three amendments en bloc.

The amendments were agreed to en bloc.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues very much. I will reserve the other two amendments.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may suggest the absence of a quorum without the time consumed being charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, Senator Percy, Senator Hart, and Senator Brooke, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The Bill Clerk. The Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], for himself and others, proposes an amendment as follows:

On page 35, line 9, insert after "Government" and before the period the following: "and of whom four shall be representative of persons eligible for lower income housing".

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Will the Senator add my name as a cosponsor?

Mr. JAVITS. I shall be happy to.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. Since I am the author of the provision in the bill providing for this Commission, I should like to say that the amendment is entirely acceptable to me. I think it is a constructive approach, and I certainly have no objection to the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. I am very grateful. I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. President, the whole point here is to try to give recognition to those who will be benefited by the low-income housing through suitable representatives upon the one Commission which is established under the bill, which affords an advisory body to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development on this question of low-income housing. It is really the first, and a most desirable, effort to let representatives of those who are directly affected—to wit, those eligible for low-income housing—serve upon this very high level and very important Commission.

I think it will be extremely helpful. I think it represents a question of principle and policy of the highest importance with respect to the new concept toward which we are moving in so many areas of our national life, of giving people an opportunity to sit in on the decisionmaking process, and at least participate, though they do not control it. In this case it would be four members out of twenty-one.

Therefore, I express my deep gratitude to the manager of the bill and to the ranking minority member for their willingness to accept the amendment and for their fine understanding of the reason which dictated our proposal.

One last thing, Mr. President. I am advised that in the amendment which the committee accepted, at page 55, line 6 of the bill, there is a clause to be added at the request of HUD, in order to perfect the legal part of it, and that the clause which is to be added to the amendment reads as follows: "and which, prior to completion of construction or rehabilitation, is approved for receiving the benefits of this section."

I ask unanimous consent that that may be added to the amendment as adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Case] may be added to the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. I am prepared now to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, before I yield back the remainder of my time, I think it is very appropriate that this amendment should be added to the Tower provision in the bill—the so-called Tower provision, though the Senator from Texas is responsible for many features of the pending measure—because he has fought harder than any other member of the committee for making this housing bill help those who need it most—the people with low incomes.

The Javits amendment is right in line with what the Senator from Texas has worked very hard for.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, just one further statement in behalf of myself.

Senator Tower, in a sense, succeeded me on the committee, and I cannot refrain from telling him with what satisfaction I have seen him develop as a leader on the committee. Many think of him as a conservative, but, like the late great Senator Taft of Ohio, he has grasped and acted upon the problem of housing in a really unparalleled way of statesmanship, and I heartily join the Senator from Wisconsin in noting that fact.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I express my deep appreciation to both my colleagues, the Senator from Wisconsin and the Senator from New York, for their generous comments. I will try to merit their praise.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All remaining time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from New York.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. TOWER. I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, each with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 1941. An act to prevent, abate, and control air pollution in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

S. 1999. An act to amend the District of Columbia Public Education Act.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 14907. An act to amend the Federal Credit Union Act;

H.R. 17324. An act to extend and amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951; and

H.R. 17417. An act to prohibit extortion, or the transmission of threats to persons or property, by means of telephone, telegraph, radio, oral, or written communications, or otherwise, in the District of Columbia.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 14907. An act to amend the Federal Credit Union Act; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 17324. An act to extend and amend the Renegotiation Act of 1951; to the Committee on Finance.

H.R. 17417. An act to prohibit extortion, or the transmission of threats to persons or property, by means of telephone, telegraph, radio, oral, or written communications, or otherwise, in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

AMENDMENT NO. 821

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 821, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The bill clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PROXMIRE's amendment is as follows:

On page 49, after line 23, insert a new section as follows:

"NEW TECHNOLOGIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOUSING FOR LOWER INCOME FAMILIES

"SEC. 110. (a) In order to encourage the use of new housing technologies in providing decent, safe, and sanitary housing for lower income families; to encourage large-scale experimentation in the use of such technologies; to provide a basis for comparison of such technologies with existing housing technologies in providing such housing; and to evaluate the effect of local housing codes and zoning regulations on the large-scale use of new housing technologies in the provision of such housing, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (hereinafter referred to as the 'Secretary') shall institute a program under which qualified organizations, public and private, will submit plans for the development of housing for lower income families, using new and advanced technologies, on Federal land which has been made available by the Secretary for the purposes of this section, or on other land where (1) local building regulations permit the construction of experimental housing, or (2) State or local law permits variances from building regulations in the construction of experimental housing for the purpose of testing and developing new building technologies.

"(b) The Secretary shall approve those plans utilizing new housing technologies which are submitted to him pursuant to the program referred to in subsection (a) and which he determines are most promising in furtherance of the purposes of this section. In making such determination the Secretary shall consider—

"(1) the potential of the technology employed for producing housing for lower income families on a large scale at a moderate cost;

"(2) the extent to which the plan envisages environmental quality;

"(3) the possibility of mass production of the technology; and

"(4) the financial soundness of the organization submitting the plan, and the ability of such organization, alone or in combination with other organizations, to produce at least 1,000 dwelling units a year utilizing the technology proposed.

"(c) In approving projects for mortgage insurance under section 233(a)(2) of the National Housing Act, the Secretary shall seek to achieve the construction of at least 1,000 dwelling units a year over a five-year period for each of the various types of technologies proposed in approved plans under subsection (b). The Secretary shall evaluate each project with respect to which assistance is extended pursuant to this section with a view to determining (1) the detailed cost breakdown per dwelling unit, (2) the environmental quality achieved in each such unit, and (3) the effect which local housing codes and zoning regulations have, or would have if applicable, on the cost per dwelling unit.

"(d) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, any land which is excess property within the meaning of such Act and which is determined by the Secretary to be suitable in furtherance of the purposes of this section may be transferred to the Secretary upon his request.

"(e) The Secretary shall, at the earliest practicable date, report his findings with respect to projects assisted pursuant to this section (including evaluations of each such project in accordance with subsection (c)), together with such recommendations for additional legislation as he determines to be necessary or desirable to expand the available supply of decent, safe, and sanitary housing for lower income families through the use of technologies the efficacy of which has been demonstrated under this section.

"(f) Section 233 of the National Housing Act is amended—

"(1) by inserting '(1)' after 'SEC. 233. (a)' and by adding at the end of subsection (a) a new paragraph as follows:

"'(2) The Secretary is further authorized to insure and to make commitments to insure, under this section, mortgages (including advances on mortgages during construction) secure by properties in projects to be carried out in accordance with plans approved by the Secretary under section 110 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.'; and

"(2) by inserting at the end of subsection (c) a new sentence as follows: 'Any authority which the Secretary may exercise in connection with a mortgage, or property covered by a mortgage, insured under any other section of this title (including payments to reduce rentals for, or to facilitate home ownership by, lower income families) may be exercised in connection with a mortgage, or property covered by a mortgage, meeting the requirements of such other section (except as specified in subsection (b)), which is insured under this section to the same extent and in the same manner as if the mortgage insured under this section was insured under such other section.'"

On page 23, line 19, after "223(e)," insert "233(a)(2),".

On page 24, line 6, after "223(e)" insert "or 233(a)(2)".

On page 24, line 16, after "223(e)," insert "233(a)(2),".

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, on page 2, line 16, I modify my amendment to insert, after the word "approve", "not more than 5", and to strike the word "those".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be so modified.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this amendment was inspired by the distinguished former Senator from Illinois, Hon. Paul Douglas, who, as we all know, has been working, as his major occupation—though he has had many responsibilities since he left the Senate—as the head of a Commission on Housing appointed by President Johnson.

One of the important recommendations of the Douglas commission will be that Congress and the housing industry work hard to improve technology in housing, so that decent housing can be brought within the reach of the American people without an enormous burden on them and to reduce as much as possible the tremendous burden on the Federal budget.

Former Senator Douglas has pointed out that, more than any other industry, housing is characterized by rising costs and low productivity increases; also, that local building codes often hamper the development of new technology. Consequently, there are large and efficient industrial firms, with proven know-how, that have not been attracted to housing construction.

This amendment would help in this respect by providing that HUD would have the opportunity—and it is permissive—to engage in large-scale experimentation, with groups of at least a thousand units, so that the economies of scale necessary to achieve the desired result could be realized.

Senator Douglas has stated that his experience is that where experimentation has been made by our housing administrations in the past, they have confined themselves to such a small number of houses that they have not been able to prove out new technology. For example, the existing FHA experimental housing program has only constructed 322 projects which consist of 1,494 units, or an average of five units per project.

The need to establish an effective experimental housing program was made clear in testimony presented to the Housing Subcommittee by former Senator Paul H. Douglas, now Chairman of the President's Commission on Urban Problems. More than any other industry, housing is characterized by rising costs and low productivity increases. Local building codes often hamper the development of new technology. Large and efficient industrial firms with proven know-how have not been attracted to housing construction. The amendment would implement the recommendations of former Senator Douglas by giving the Secretary of HUD additional authority to develop new housing technology.

The amendment permits the Secretary to insure mortgages on housing constructed for the purpose of developing new housing technology. In providing such mortgage insurance, the Secretary would have the same authority he would have if the project met the requirements of another HUD housing program such as rent-supplements; the new home ownership program under section 235 of the Housing Act; the new rental interest subsidy program under section 236; and the existing 221(d)(3) program for low- and moderate-income families. Thus the authority to make payments for rent supplements or for interest subsidy payments or to purchase mortgages through FNMA would be extended to the new experimental housing program. Rather than set up a separate new program with additional financing, the amendment would rely upon the authorities and funding already provided under existing housing programs. The Secretary would have the authority to use these programs for developing new technology as well as for providing housing.

In approving new technology projects, the Secretary would be guided by the following criteria:

First. The project must improve building technology for housing for lower income families;

Second. The project must provide for environmental quality;

Third. The project must lead to the possibility of mass production techniques;

Fourth. The organization submitting the project must have the financial and technical capability to produce at least 1,000 units a year.

The housing insured under this authority would be constructed on Federal land or on land on which local building codes permit the construction of experimental housing. This would demonstrate what kind of cost reductions are possible in the absence of restrictive building codes.

By focusing on large-scale projects, the proposed amendment is expected to lead to substantial breakthroughs in housing technology. Additional testimony presented to the committee by Edgar F. Kaiser and Walter Reuther indicates that substantial cost reductions in housing will not be possible unless large-scale construction techniques are employed. Although HUD already has an experimental housing program, it has operated on a small scale, with the result that substantial cost reductions have not been achieved.

If a larger scale experimental housing program is conducted, some of the larger industrial firms may be expected to enter the housing field. Should substantial economies and technological improvements be realized, the cost of the administration's 10-year housing program can be considerably reduced. Thus, by using existing housing programs for experimental purposes, the potential exists for making more lower income housing available at lower cost.

It should be emphasized that the authority conferred upon the Secretary is permissive and not mandatory. The Secretary is given the authority to insure mortgages for projects which seek to develop new technology, but he is not required to use such authority. It might develop that sponsors would not submit enough promising or financially sound projects. If this were the case, the authority would remain inactive. However, if a potential for developing new building technology does exist, HUD would be given the authority to exploit it. Thus, under the proposed amendment, we have everything to win and nothing to lose.

To summarize, the following points should be emphasized:

First. The amendment does not require additional funds. It utilizes the funds in existing programs.

Second. The amendment offers the possibility of significantly lowering building costs and thus future requirements for Federal aid.

Third. The proposed experimental housing program would be organized on a large scale—for example, at the rate of 1,000 units a year—to foster mass production techniques and attract large industrial investors.

Fourth. The authority conferred on the Secretary is permissive.

Mr. President, I have discussed the amendment with the chairman of the committee and he supports the provision. I have discussed it also with the distinguished ranking minority member of the committee.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I agree with this concept. The only question I have to raise is as to what difficulties we may run into relative to local zoning ordinances and codes.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The answer is that the housing would either be constructed on Federal land or in areas where, in order to have an opportunity to have the housing constructed, the local authorities are willing and able to waive the code restrictions.

Mr. TOWER. I think it should be emphasized that this is not an attempt to get around local zoning or construction codes of any kind.

Mr. PROXMIRE. No, indeed. I think that is an excellent point, because these codes have very constructive uses. However, they have been used at times to prevent technological advance.

This is an attempt to show what can be done in the event we waive the restrictive elements so that the housing can be constructed. The waiving will be done by those who have jurisdiction.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 129, strike out line 19.

On page 129, line 21, insert "(a)" after "Sec. 604."

On page 129, after line 23, insert the following:

"(b) Section 702 of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection as follows:

"'(d) In the administration of this section the Secretary shall require that, to the greatest extent practicable, new job opportunities be provided for unemployed or underemployed persons in connection with projects the financing of which is assisted under this section.'"

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator want the amendments considered en bloc?

Mr. CLARK. There is only one amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It deals with different parts of the bill.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, my amendment will help provide jobs for the unemployed and underemployed people in our economy. My amendment would require the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to the extent practicable to provide new job opportunities for unemployed or underemployed persons in connection with projects for financing water or sewage facilities under section 702.

Sanitation control is one of the few sectors in our economy which requires large proportions of unskilled labor. Indeed, of all the major types of construction activity, sanitation control requires the highest proportions of unskilled labor. Department of Labor studies indicate that common laborers account for 40 percent of the man-hours and 50 percent of the wages for construction of sewage treatment plants and lines. In short, sanitation control can be a formidable tool in job creation for the hard-core unemployed.

My amendment extends the concept that the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has already endorsed in section 3 of the bill. Section 3 provides that in the large housing programs the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall require to the greatest extent feasible, opportunities for employment arising in connection with construction or rehabilitation of housing for lower income persons residing in the area.

Unemployment rates in this country have been dropping significantly in recent years and months. Along with this trend, however, our economy has been eliminating unskilled jobs at a tremendous rate.

The President's manpower report for this year pointed out that despite our recent rapid economic growth, "there were virtually no additional opportunities for unskilled and semiskilled workers."

This declining demand for unskilled workers is taking place in the face of continued high unemployment rates for certain groups. Teenage employment rose from 11.6 percent in the beginning of last year to 14 percent in the last quarter. The rate of Negro joblessness continues to be more than twice the rate for white workers. The unemployment rate for Negro teenagers is 26.5 percent.

But unemployment rates mask the number of workers who are trapped in poverty. There are many people who work full time who earn less than the poverty level income. When combined with the unemployed this concept is called subemployment. The subemployment rates in our cities are shocking. For example, the subemployment rate in Philadelphia is 34 percent, in St. Louis 39 percent, in Harlem 33 percent, and in New Orleans 45 percent. The amendment would include the underemployed who make up the bulk of the workers in the subemployment rate.

My Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty has just completed extensive hearings on employment opportunities for the poor. The concept of special job opportunities for the disadvantaged in the public sector, as proposed by my amendment, has been endorsed by a wide array of organizations such as the Urban Coalition, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, and the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. What I am proposing is not to create make-work, but rather to provide the people who most need jobs the best chance to be employed in this established program.

The Senate has already endorsed this principle by voting in favor of Senator JAVITS' amendment to the Defense procurement and research and development authorization for fiscal year 1969. The intent of the Javits amendment was identical to mine and it was approved by a wide margin.

Mr. President, I have discussed the pending amendment with the manager of the bill who tells me he is happy to accept it. I have given a brief explanation of the amendment to the ranking minority member, to whom I am now happy to yield.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the Senator anticipates the use of indigenous workers and not the importation of workers from other areas?

Mr. CLARK. They will be right from the locality where the sewage treatment plant would be.

Mr. TOWER. They would be indigenous workers?

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is correct.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I agree to accept the amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am grateful to the Senator from Pennsylvania for joining as a cosponsor of my amendment. I would like the privilege of joining with the Senator as a cosponsor of the pending amendment.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] be listed as a cosponsor of my amendment.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** All time having expired, the question is on agreeing en bloc to the amendments of the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendments were agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes on the bill to the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I support the President's omnibus housing bill, as reported by the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The bill's emphasis on homeownership for our less affluent citizens is particularly gratifying. For me this bill represents the culmination of an effort begun nearly a year ago when I introduced S. 2115, a bill to make the benefits of FHA home financing equally available to all potential home buyers.

That bill, with minor modifications has been incorporated into sections 102 and 104 of the pending bill. It bears the endorsements of the Committee on Banking and Currency and the Johnson administration. I hope that it, together with the rest of this admirable legislative package, will promptly be approved by both houses and signed into law by the President.

The new program, entitled, "Special Mortgage Insurance Assistance," which is authorized by section 102, is essentially a modest one. No interest rate subsidy is involved. No new private or semipublic corporation need be created to make it effective. It is not intended as a substitute for public housing, rent supplements, or subsidized interest rate programs.

What it will do, at the present mortgage limit, is to permit 15,000 families who would not have been able to get FHA's help in financing their home purchase, to have that very substantial advantage. And with the counseling services which would be provided as an integral part of this program, I am confident that most, if not all, of these families will be able to meet their payments and to buy and own their own houses, and obtain all the pride and satisfaction that home ownership can provide.

I want to make it crystal clear, however, that this program is not being designed as simply another way for the FHA to make money. We expect the FHA to take risks, and we expect some of those risks to be costly. That is why we are setting up a special risk insurance fund, which is authorized in section 104. The FHA is put on notice here and now that what Congress intends is to provide a chance for homeownership for people who are not normally considered good risks. In short, we are interested in homeownership, not profits for FHA.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I suggest the absence of a quorum and ask unanimous consent that the time not be charged to either side.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **ACTING PRESIDENT** pro tempore (Mr. METCALF). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be read.

The **ACTING PRESIDENT** pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

On page 214, between lines 3 and 4, insert the following new subsection:

"(f) No person who has been convicted of committing a felony during said riot or civil disorder shall be permitted to benefit from disaster relief provisions of the disaster relief laws of the United States."

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, yesterday we were involved in a rather lengthy colloquy concerning whether the disaster provisions of the bill before the Senate should be expanded to provide relief for manmade disasters such as those which, unfortunately, have confronted us in some of our major cities during the past summer or two. Several Senators were of the opinion that the unfortunate and innocent people who comprised the large bulk of the victims should have the advantage of OEO funds as well as Small Business and housing funds.

After the debate was concluded, a compromise was reached, in which, as I recall, the first provision was dropped; in other words, public funds would be denied in the event of riots, but loans through SBA and FHA would be permitted.

It seems to me that during the colloquy there was no dispute about the relative merit of the amendment I have presented, which is to the effect that regardless of what disorder provisions one tried to take advantage or benefit from, he should not be permitted to benefit from the disaster provisions if he had a part in starting or took an active part in carrying on the riot or disaster.

All my amendment would do would be to provide that one may not receive benefits from the disaster provisions in the event that he is convicted and implicated as having taken part in the riot.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BAYH. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. For our side, we are perfectly willing to accept this amendment, Mr. President.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, we have no objection. I believe it is a good amendment. We discussed it yesterday. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. BAYH. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Indiana.

The amendment was agreed to.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may suggest the absence of a quorum, without the time being charged to either side.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield 7 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Virginia.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Virginia is recognized for 7 minutes.

INTEREST ON THE NATIONAL DEBT

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Treasury Department announced today that the interest on the national debt for the current fiscal year will be $1.1 billion more than it was last year. Stated another way, the interest on the national debt for the current fiscal year, which ends next month, will be $14.5 billion. The increase of $1.1 billion for that one item is a significant and important increase.

Mr. President, let us put this matter in perspective. Let us judge the difficulty of raising $1.1 billion.

I wish to cite a few figures.

Let us assume that Congress were to pass legislation confiscating all income of every individual over $50,000—$100,000 on a joint return. If Congress were to confiscate all income of every individual over $50,000—$100,000 on a joint return—and if that money were paid into the Federal Treasury, how much money would that bring in?

The additional revenue gained would be $700 million, or far less than just the increase in the interest on the national debt which the taxpayers of this Nation will pay this fiscal year compared to what they paid last fiscal year.

I think it important that those of us who are in Congress recognize and realize that the bulk of the taxes in our Nation come out of the pockets of the wage earners.

The bulk of the taxes come out of the pockets of those who are in the low- and middle-economic groups.

Seventy-two percent of all the income taxes paid by individuals to the Federal Government are paid by those who earn less than $15,000; 22 percent of the taxes are paid by those who have net taxable income of less than $7,000; and 50 percent of the income taxes are paid by those with incomes between $7,000 and $15,000.

Mr. President, this is a significant announcement that the Treasury Department has made today to the effect that interest on the national debt for the current year which ends next month will be $14.5 billion, up $1.1 billion from the year before.

All of this suggests to me that the Congress and the President jointly must reduce this Federal spending, or the individual citizen of this Nation will be in very bad condition. Not only will taxpayers be hard hit, but all citizens will feel the impact, because if we keep piling up these deficits every citizen will be hit by severe inflation.

According to the ticker tape just a few moments ago the Government announced that the Consumer Price Index for the past month increased three-tenths of 1 percent, which means every consumer, every housewife, every individual in our Nation is paying three-tenths of 1 percent more through inflation than they paid before—and that is just for 1 month.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Ohio.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's 7 minutes have expired.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield 5 additional minutes to the Senator.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Virginia is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the increase in the interest obligation for the fiscal year 1968 has been $1.4 billion more than last year?

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. It has been $1.1 billion more than last year.

Mr. LAUSCHE. That means an increase of approximately 7 percent, or $1.1 billion as to $14 billion.

What would the Senator say with respect to the anticipated increase in the interest obligation for 1970? It will run to $15 billion.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. In the new fiscal year, it will run above $15 billion.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Obviously, the Senator from Virginia is disturbed about the tremendous interest obligation which is rising rather than going down either through the imposition of taxes or the reduction in spending.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. That is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I merely wanted to say to the Senator from Virginia that the astonishing thing to me is that on the floor of the Senate so little is being said about the interest obligation, the debt obligation, and the deficits, yet so much is being said and done toward increasing spending.

My question is, in the face of what the Senator from Virginia has said about the interest obligation, deficits, and the report of the economic council that the cost of living has gone up three-tenths of 1 percent this last month, what are we to anticipate as time goes on unless we change what we are doing?

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. In reply to the Senator, let me say that I think we can anticipate more inflation, more difficulty for the average citizen, more difficulty for the housewife, and more difficulty for the wage earner. Unless the Government is willing to get its financial house in order, we will face a financial crisis. The figures released today amply demonstrate that point.

Mr. LAUSCHE. What will happen to the person receiving an annuity, to the person receiving social security payments, to the person who thriftily put his money aside for the purpose of taking care of him in his old age, for the person who purchased Government bonds patriotically, under the conviction that he would get back every penny he paid for them? What will become of their purchasing power unless we put our husbandry and the management of our fiscal and financial affairs in good order?

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. They will be hurt, and hurt badly.

I am not concerned about the wealthy. They can take care of themselves. But I am concerned about those to whom the Senator referred, the ones who will be hurt the most by this severe inflation—those of moderate means and those in fixed income.

TRADE EXPANSION ACT OF 1968—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 322)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. METCALF). The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President on the Trade Expansion Act of 1968. Without objection, the message will be printed in the RECORD, without being read, and will be appropriately referred.

The message from the President was referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

A nation's trade lines are its life lines. Open trade lines and active commerce lead to economic health and growth. Closed trade lines end in economic stagnation.

Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized these truths more than 30 years ago, when the Nation and the world were in the grip of depression.

On that March day in 1934 when he asked the Congress to pass the historic Reciprocal Trade Act, he pointed to America's declining world trade and what it meant to the Nation: "Idle hands, still machines, ships tied to their docks."

That Act set in motion three and a half decades of descending tariff barriers and rising world trade. Our producers and farmers found new markets abroad, and American exports multiplied twentyfold.

This era of commercial progress was capped by the Kennedy Round Agreements reached at Geneva last year—the greatest success in all the history of international trade negotiations.

When I reported to the Congress last November on the Kennedy Round, I said it would mean new factories, more jobs, lower prices to families, and higher incomes for American workers and for our trading partners throughout the world.

Already, through these Agreements, tariff barriers everywhere are falling, bringing savings to consumers, and opening new overseas markets for competitive producers.

But the problems and the promises of world trade are always changing. We must have the tools not only to adjust to change, but to turn change to our advantage.

To prepare for the era of world trade unfolding before us now, I submit to the Congress today the Trade Expansion Act of 1968. This measure will:

—maintain our negotiating authority to settle—advantageously—trade problems and disputes.

—carry out the special Geneva agreement on chemicals and other products.

—improve the means through which American firms and workers can adjust to new competition from increased imports.

OUR INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will strengthen relations with our trading partners in three ways.

First, it will extend through June 30, 1970 the President's authority to conduct negotiations for tariff reductions. This authority was contained in provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 that have expired.

Most of this authority was used in negotiating the Kennedy Round. The unused portion of that authority will give the President the flexibility to adjust tariff rates as future developments might require.

For example, the United States might find it necessary to increase the duty on a particular article—as the result of an "escape clause" action or a statutory change in tariff classification. In such event, we would be obliged to give other nations compensatory tariff adjustments for their trade losses.

Without this authority, we would invite retaliation and endanger American markets abroad.

I recommend that the President's authority to make these tariff adjustments be extended through June 30, 1970.

Second, the Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will eliminate the American Selling Price system of customs valuation. This action is necessary to carry out the special agreement reached during the Kennedy Round.

The American Selling Price system has outlived its purpose. It should be ended.

The generally accepted method of valuing goods for tariff purposes—which we and all our trading partners employ—is to use the actual price of the item to the importer.

But many years ago, to protect a few of our fledgling industries, we imposed on competing foreign goods—in addition to a substantial tariff—the special requirement that their tariff value be determined by American prices. Today this unusual system often produces tariff protection of more than 100 percent of the import cost of the product.

Such excessive protection is both unfair and unnecessary.

This system is unfair because it:

—Gives to a few industries a special privilege available to no other American business.

—Rests on an arbitrary method of valuation which no other nation uses.

—Diverges from the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

—Imposes an unjustified burden on the U.S. consumer.

This system is unnecessary because the few industries which it covers no longer need special Government protection.

It applies primarily to the chemical industry in the benzenoid field. Yet chemicals, and benzenoids in particular, are among our most efficient and rapidly expanding industries. They have done well at home. They have done well in the international market. They are in a strong position to face normal competition from imports.

A supplementary agreement was negotiated at Geneva which will lower foreign tariffs on American chemicals and reduce certain non-tariff barriers—road taxes and tariff preferences—on American automobiles and tobacco. To receive these important concessions, the United States must eliminate the American Selling Price valuation system and thereby give foreign producers of chemicals and a few other products normal access to our markets. This bargain is clearly in our national interest—good for our industries, good for our workers, and good for our consumers.

I recommend that the Congress eliminate the American Selling Price system to remove inequities in our tariffs and enable us to take advantage of concessions negotiated in the Kennedy Round.

Third, the Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will provide for specific funding of our participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

This is the procedure we follow in meeting our financial responsibilities to all other international organizations.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has become the most important forum for the conduct of international trade relations. The Kennedy Round took place under its auspices. Yet since 1947, we have financed our annual contribution to this Agreement through general contingency funds rather than through a specific authorization.

I recommend that the Congress authorize specific appropriations for the American share of the expenses for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

OUR NEEDS AT HOME

When trade barriers fall, the American people and the American economy benefit. Open trade lines:

—Reduce prices of goods from abroad.

—Increase opportunities for American businesses and farms to export their products. This means expanded production and more job opportunities.

—Help improve the efficiency and competitive strength of our industries. This means a higher rate of economic growth for our nation and higher incomes for our people.

Some firms, however, have difficulty in meeting foreign competition, and need time and help to make the adjustment.

Since international trade strengthens the nation as a whole, it is only fair that the government assist those businessmen and workers who face serious problems as a result of increased imports.

The Congress recognized this need—in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962—by establishing a program of trade adjustment assistance to businessmen and workers adversely affected by imports.

Unfortunately, this program has been ineffective. The test of eligibility has proved to be too rigid, too technical, and too complicated.

As part of a comprehensive trade expansion policy, I propose that we make our adjustment assistance program fair and workable.

I recommend that Congress broaden the eligibility for this assistance. The test should be simple and clear: relief should be available whenever increased imports are a substantial cause of injury.

I intend to pattern the administration of this program on the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965. Determinations of eligibility will be made jointly by the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce, and Treasury.

The adjustment assistance provisions of Automotive Product Trade Act of 1965 have been successful. They have well served American automobile firms and their workers as we have moved to create an integrated U.S.-Canadian auto market.

These provisions will expire on June 30.

I recommend that the Congress extend the adjustment assistance provisions of the Automotive Products Trade Act through June 30, 1971.

TRADE INITIATIVES FOR THE FUTURE

The measures I have recommended today will help us carry forward the great tradition of our reciprocal trade policy.

But even as we consolidate our past gains, we must look to the future.

First and foremost, we must ensure that the progress we have made is not lost through new trade restrictions.

One central fact is clear. A vicious cycle of trade restrictions harms most the nation which trades most. And America is that nation.

At the present time, proposals pending before the Congress would impose quotas or other trade restrictions on the imports of over twenty industries. These measures would cover about $7 billion of our imports—close to half of all imports subject to duty.

In a world of expanding trade, such restrictions would be self-defeating. Under international rules of trade, a nation restricts imports only at the risk of its own exports. Restriction begets restriction.

In reality, "protectionist" measures do not protect any of us:

—They do not protect the American working man. If world markets shrink, there will be fewer jobs.

—They do not protect the American businessman. In the long run, smaller markets will mean smaller profits.

—They do not protect the American consumer. He will pay more for the goods he buys.

The fact is that every American—directly or indirectly—has a stake in the growth and vitality of an open economic system.

Our policy of liberal trade has served this nation well. It will continue to advance our interests in the future.

But these are critical times for the nation's economy. We have launched a series of measures to reduce a serious balance of payments deficit. As part of this program, I have called for a major long-run effort to increase our trade surplus. This requires that we push ahead with actions to keep open the channels of trade.

Many of our trading partners have indicated a willingness to cooperate in this effort by accelerating some of their tariff reductions agreed to in the Kennedy Round, and by permitting the United States to defer a portion of our tariff reductions. Furthermore, a number of Western European countries are now taking more active steps to achieve a higher rate of economic growth. This promises to increase the demand for our exports and improve our trade position.

To take full advantage of the expanded trading opportunities that lie ahead, we must improve the competitive position of American goods. *Passage of the anti-inflation tax is the most critical action we could take now to strengthen our position at home and in world markets.* The tax measure I have recommended will help prevent destructive price increases—which can sap the vitality and strength of our economy. Continued rapid increases in our prices would mean fewer exports and higher imports.

Second, other nations must join with us to put an end to non-tariff barriers.

Trade is a two-way street. A successful trade policy must be built upon reciprocity. Our own trade initiatives will founder unless our trading partners join with us in these efforts.

The Kennedy Round was an outstanding example of international cooperation. But major non-tariff barriers continue to impede the free flow of international commerce. These barriers now block many U.S. products from competing for world markets.

Some non-tariff barriers violate provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. We will step up our efforts to secure the prompt removal of these illegal restrictions.

Other non-tariff barriers may not be illegal, but they clearly hamper and hinder trade. Such barriers are found in all countries; the American Selling Price system is an example of one of our non-tariff barriers.

We have initiated a major international study to assess the effect of non-tariff barriers on world trade.

We have already begun action in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and other international organizations to deal with some of these non-tariff barriers.

Efforts such as these are an important element in our trade policy. All sides must be prepared to dismantle unjustified or unreasonable barriers to trade.

Reciprocity and fair play are the essential standards for international trade. America will insist on these conditions in all our negotiations to lower non-tariff barriers.

Third, we must develop a long-range policy to guide American trade expansion through the 1970's.

I have directed the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations to make an intensive study of our future trade requirements and needs.

I would hope that Members of the Congress and leaders of Labor, Business and Agriculture will work with the Executive Branch in this effort. To help develop the foundations of a far-reaching policy, I will issue an Executive Order that establishes a wide basis for consultation and assistance in this important work.

AN EXPANDING ERA IN WORLD TRADE

The proposals in this message have been shaped to one purpose—to develop the promise of an expanding era in world trade.

We started on this road three and a half decades ago. In the course of that journey, the American farmer, the businessman, the worker and the consumer have benefited.

The road ahead can lead to new levels of prosperity and achievement for the American people. The Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will speed us on the way.

I urge the Congress to give this important measure its prompt and favorable consideration.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 28, 1968.*

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 782) providing for the adjournment of the two Houses from Wednesday, May 29, 1968 to June 3, 1968, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered; and the amendment will be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The amendment offered by Mr. BAYH is as follows:

On page 303, after line 23, insert the following new section 1520:

"SHELTER FOR DISASTER VICTIMS

"SEC. 1520. (a) The President is authorized to provide dwelling accommodations for any individual or family whenever he determines—

"(1) that such individual or family occupied a home (as an owner or tenant) which was destroyed or damaged to such an extent that it is uninhabitable, as the result of a major disaster occurring after January 1, 1968; and

"(2) that such action is necessary to avoid severe hardship on the part of such individual family; and

"(3) that such owner or tenant cannot otherwise provide suitable dwelling accommodations for himself and/or his family.

"(b) Such dwelling accommodations, including mobile homes, as may be necessary to meet the need, shall be provided through acquisition, acquisition and rehabilitation, or lease. Dwelling accommodations in such housing shall be made available to any such individual or family for such period as may be necessary to enable the individual or family to find other decent, safe, and sanitary housing which is within his or its ability to finance. Rentals shall be established for such accommodations, under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe and shall take into consideration the financial ability of the occupant. In cases of financial hardship, rentals may be compromised or adjusted for a period not to exceed twelve months, but in no case shall any such individual or family be required to incur a monthly housing expense (including any fixed expense relating to the amortization of debt owing on a house destroyed or damaged in a disaster) which is in excess of 25 per centum of the individual's or family monthly income.

"(c) In the performance of, and with respect to, the powers and duties conferred upon, him by this section, the President may—

"(1) prescribe such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this section;

"(2) exercise such powers and duties either directly or through such Federal agency or agencies as he may designate;

"(3) sell or exchange at public or private sale, or lease, any real property acquired or constructed under this section;

"(4) obtain insurance against loss in connection with any such real property;

"(5) enter into agreements to pay annual sums in lieu of taxes to any State or local taxing authority with respect to any such real property; and

"(6) include in any contract or instrument made pursuant to this section, such conditions and provisions as he deems necessary to assure that the purposes of this section will be achieved.

"(d) Such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section are authorized to be appropriated."

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I join the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER], who has been working with us, as well as the Senator in charge of the bill, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], who has been a cosponsor of this measure from its inception. When a series of major disasters, tornadoes, and floods descended on this country in 1965, a group of Senators decided that the time had come to do something about disaster relief by way of the various codes affecting disaster relief already on the statute books. A bill was introduced and enacted by the Senate in July 1965 without a dissenting vote. More than a year later, the House, in acting on this measure, struck about half of it from the bill. There was not enough time left toward the end of the session to seek a conference on the bill so we had to take half a loaf rather than none at all.

Senate bill 438 was introduced this year, reported favorably by the Public Works Committee, and is on the calendar. One section of that bill is the amendment now at the desk.

Let me read the first section of it, because I think it explains its scope better than I could extemporaneously:

> The President is authorized to provide dwelling accommodations for any individual or family whenever he determines—
>
> (1) that such individual or family occupied a house (as an owner or tenant) which was destroyed, or damaged to such an extent that it is uninhabitable, as the result of a major disaster occurring after January 1, 1968; and
>
> (2) that such action is necessary to avoid severe hardship on the part of such individual family; and
>
> (3) that such owner or tenant cannot otherwise provide suitable dwelling accommodations for himself and/or his family.

This would permit the President or his authorized agent to provide temporary housing as a result of disasters and also would allow flexibility in the payment of rentals for a period not to exceed 1 year. This amendment is in accord with other provisions which characterize the low-rent housing privileges. Particular attention will be given to the incomes of the families involved whose homes have been lost. It seems to me, as I stated yesterday, that in view of the attention we are giving to disaster victims in other nations to which I do not object, we should pay more attention to those who are, at this very moment, in many States of this Union, as a result of tremendous floods and other disasters, the victims of severe hardships. This amendment would be one small step in that direction.

Mr. President, the amendment I am offering to provide additional shelter for disaster victims would increase the present authority of the President of the United States to meet basic needs of the innocent victims of major disasters.

My amendment would permit the President to provide dwelling accommodations for any individual or family whenever he determines that such individual or family occupied a house either as an owner or tenant, which was destroyed or damaged to such an extent that it is uninhabitable as the result of a major disaster, that such owner or tenant cannot otherwise provide suitable dwelling accommodations for himself or his family, and that such action is necessary to avoid severe hardship.

The President could provide any dwelling accommodations necessary to meet the need, either through acquisition or lease. Such dwellings could include trailer homes or any other type of housing. Dwelling accommodations in such housing would be made available to any such individual or family for such period as may be necessary to enable the individual or family to find other safe, decent, and sanitary housing which is within his or its ability to finance.

Rentals for such accommodations shall be established under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe and shall take into consideration the financial ability of the occupant. In cases of financial hardship, rentals may be compromised or adjusted for a period of not to exceed 12 months, but in no case shall any such individual or family be required to incur a monthly housing expense—including any fixed expense related to the amortization of debt owed on a house destroyed or damaged in a disaster—which is in excess of 25 percent of the individual's or family's monthly income.

The amendment would also authorize the President to prescribe such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to carry out its purposes and to exercise these powers either directly or through such Federal agency or agencies as he may designate. He would also be empowered to sell or exchange any real property acquired or constructed by virtue of this amendment, to obtain insurance against any loss on the property, and to enter into agreements to pay annual sums in lieu of taxes to any State or local government with respect to such property. Such sums as may be necessary to carry out its provisions would be authorized to be appropriated.

Mr. President, although under present law the Office of Emergency Planning does have some power to provide emergency shelter for disaster victims, my investigation of what has happened in past disasters and the testimony which was provided a Public Works Subcommittee by various witnesses have convinced me that the authority should be broadened.

There have been instances in which victims of disasters have experienced considerable delay in finding suitable housing which could have been avoided if this amendment were in effect. When a tornado, major flood, earthquake, or other disaster devastates an area there should be no legal obstacle to quick and complete action on the part of government and private agencies alike to bring assistance to those who have lost their homes.

In some cases it might be necessary for the Federal Government to acquire or lease houses or apartments which are standing idle and which the disaster victims would not be able to secure by themselves. In particular I call attention to the provisions which would allow the President to fix rentals for such emergency housing which would be in accord with the individual's or families' ability to pay. Conceivably, in some cases it might be determined that no rent should be charged for the period of time necessary for the disaster victims to reestablish themselves. Note also that in no case would the sufferers be required to pay a monthly rental which would be more than 25 percent of their total monthly income, and that any fixed expense in connection with a mortgage or other debt on a house destroyed or damaged in a disaster would be counted in the monthly housing charge.

Mr. President, I believe that this amendment would be very helpful in assuring that the Federal Government would have full power to provide meaningful housing relief to those unfortunate people who have lost their homes and possessions and in many cases are practically destitute.

I urge the Senate to adopt this amendment; it was incorporated in S. 1861 which this body passed on July 22, 1965, but which was left out when the bill was approved by the House of Representatives on October 17, 1966. That bill became Public Law 98–769. The amendment is also section 5 of S. 438 which is now No. 1055 on the Senate Calendar.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, as the Senator from Indiana has stated, following the disasters which occurred 3 years ago, which were particularly serious in Indiana and Iowa, but also in several other nearby States, legislation was introduced to try to make more meaningful Federal disaster relief legislation. We took as our model the Alaska earthquake disaster bill which was a separate bill which Congress passed, going far beyond traditional disaster relief by the Federal Government, in order to cope with the situation in Alaska.

Since that time there have been several other major disasters in this country. Two weeks ago tomorrow, one of the worst disasters hit my State of Iowa. Two separate tornadoes hit the cities and vicinities of Oelwein and Charles City, Iowa.

On that same day, many other tornadoes occurred in adjoining States. Hundreds of people had their homes completely demolished. I visited the areas of Oelwein and Charles City and I can truthfully say that I have never seen such serious disasters resulting from tornadoes in all my life.

When one goes block after block after block with not one structure standing, he very soon realizes that the people who once lived in those homes simply must have some emergency relief.

There is hope that we will be able to have the Senate adopt S. 438, which is a very comprehensive bill, of which the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Bayh] is the prime sponsor and I am one of its cosponsors. Because of the immediacy of the situation facing hundreds of homeless people, it was thought that this amendment could be, very properly, attached to the housing bill at an appropriate place, and earliest action would be indicated.

I point out one thing to the Senator from Indiana, as a matter of clarifying the legislative history on the bill and that is, as I read it, the provisions on rentals would not necessarily be confined to 12 months.

The 12-month period, as I understand it, would relate to the period of time during which rentals could be compromised or adjusted.

Mr. BAYH. That is correct.

Mr. MILLER. Now there is another provision in the bill which is very important and that is that where the disaster victims—where housing is being provided, say, on a leased basis—will not have to pay more than 25 percent of the individual family income by way of rental. That is on all fours with the rent subsidy approach which is on the law books and which the Senate approved a long time ago. I think it is proper, because certainly, those of us who supported the rent subsidy program recognize that people are in need of decent housing and they may not be able to afford it, that if it goes over 25 percent of their family income, then real hardship is worked upon them. So, too, in the case of a disaster victim who may not be able to find housing. If it goes over 25 percent of his family income, then disaster will be compounded on disaster.

I think the provision as set forth in the amendment, which is also in the bill to which I referred, is very equitable. There is ample precedent for it.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, indeed.

Mr. BAYH. The Senator touched on one of the most tragic aspects of the problem, from the financial standpoint, that takes place in a disaster resulting from a tornado. If it affects a family which has been scrupulous so far as paying its debts and trying to maintain a good financial standing, a family which has followed a policy of investing its income in building and paying for a home, and that family has gone deeply into debt to provide a good standard of living for the family, when a tornado strikes, the family has nothing left but a big hole in the ground and still has to pay off the mortgage. The amendment takes into account the double-barreled problem of trying to pay off the old mortgage and also building a new house.

I am glad the Senator has brought this matter out.

Mr. MILLER. The Senator knows how thoroughly I agree with him.

There is a provision in the amendment which states that such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section are authorized to be appropriated. We understand that that is what is called an open-end authorization, but there are two thoughts which I wish to state. I do not believe the open endedness of the particular disaster provisions will be very costly. It will be very important to those who are covered, but it will not have nearly the impact that the appropriations for many other provisions from the relief bill from which this was drawn for amendment purposes would have.

Second, I do not know when the Senate, and the Congress, should feel more compelled to authorize something like this than when we have hardships visited on people following a disaster. I think the people affected by this provision will bless Congress for enacting this legislation.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this is a good amendment. It passed the Senate of the United States in 1965. As the Senator from Iowa said so well, it will not be much of a burden in the provisions respecting rental payments for victims of these disasters.

I am willing to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, we are willing to accept the amendment on our side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Indiana.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, without the time being taken from either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRUTH IN LENDING—TRIBUTE TO SENATOR PROXMIRE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as long as there is a temporary hiatus in the proceedings, I wish to take this occasion to express my admiration and respect for the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Proxmire]. I do so not only on the basis of the work which he performs daily on the floor of the Senate, in committee, and elsewhere, but because if it were not for the efforts of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, we would not have a truth-in-lending law at this time.

I realize full well that the initial credit for introducing the measure and persevering in its behalf down through the years goes to our former colleague, the distinguished Senator from Illinois, Mr. Douglas, but I do think that credit should be given where credit is due, and I think it should be said for the Record that if it were not for the flexibility and the understanding and also the perseverance of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, in my opinion we would not have that bill on the statute books today.

I take this opportunity to make my views known, to tell the Senate how I feel and to give credit where credit is due, to the Senator who has worked long, hard, and so successfully to obtain the type of consumer protection legislation which is now on the statute books.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute. I thank the distinguished majority leader for his most generous and most undeserved statement. I deeply appreciate it. There is no man in the Senate whose approval I would rather have than that of Mike Mansfield. I join him in saying that former Senator Douglas deserves a whale of a lot of credit for having persisted for 7 long years to bring that legislation to fruition.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with and that it be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 84, line 8, strike out the period at the end of paragraph (6) and insert in lieu thereof "; and"; and add a new paragraph as follows:

"(7) include, to the greatest extent feasible, the employment of new and improved technology, techniques, materials, and methods in housing construction, rehabilitation, and maintenance under programs administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development with a view to reducing the cost of such construction, rehabilitation, and maintenance, and stimulating the increased and sustained production of housing under such programs."

On page 289, after line 18, insert the following:

"(c) Section 1010 (a) of such Act is amended—

"(1) by striking out 'and' at the end of paragraph (1);

"(2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting in lieu thereof '; and'; and

"(3) by adding after paragraph (2) a new paragraph as follows:

"'(3) require, to the greatest extent feasible, the employment of new and improved technology, techniques, materials, and methods in housing construction, rehabilitation, and maintenance under programs administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development with a view to reducing the cost of such construction, rehabilitation, and maintenance, and stimulating the increased and sustained production of housing under such programs.'"

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I was delighted that, a few minutes ago, the Senate adopted the amendment offered by the able Senator from Wisconsin. It bears on our desire that, under the leadership of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, we seek, if you will, to modernize the techniques of building construction.

All of us recognize the enormous unmet needs of housing in this country and the fact that in many areas we are building houses now as we did when grandfather was building them; that to meet the needs will require not alone mass construction but, I suggest, dramatic new techniques.

The purpose of the amendment now pending is to require, to the greatest extent feasible, the employment of new techniques and new methods.

Some time ago the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee held hearings on new technology. It is clear that there are dramatic new methods—some of them, indeed, now used in Europe—which could bring us much closer to the day which is the goal all of us share; namely, adequate housing for the people of this country. It is a goal difficult to reach, but I think the day will be advanced by this type of amendment. I would hope very much we might add to the bill this proposal.

The goal of the bill before us—the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968—and I am sure of most of us in this Chamber is to see that every American soon has a decent place in which to live.

In many ways, the bill simply attempts to assist the poorer members of our society the way the FHA has helped the middle class.

In light of the goal, I have proposed an amendment which I think will help us provide that housing faster—and cheaper—than we would under traditional methods. I am delighted that the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] has just been agreed to and I suggest my amendment will be a useful addition in this area.

At this moment our housing industry is struggling to provide 1.5 million new units a year. Yet as a minimal requirement we must build 25 million units in the next 10 years. Six million of them should be low-cost units.

As chairman of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, I have been well instructed on the fear European nations have about our companies penetrating their markets. Supposedly, the size of our corporations gives them some pause, our efficiency a little also. But the real advantage we have over Europe—as seen from overseas—is our technology.

Is it not ironic, then, that the greatest technological nation in the world today faces an acute housing shortage while Europe put technology to work to solve hers 20 years ago?

Adding to the irony is that we do have the know-how, as one of my colleagues in the Senate says a lot these days, "to do better." We have the technology. We could be building cities with it now.

Today the Antitrust Subcommittee released its hearings on new technology, which included testimony on some of the methods for erecting housing faster—and considerably cheaper—than presently. We heard about new techniques and materials which could revolutionize our building industry. Factory production of homes and apartment components which are assembled on site is one key to the program.

Imagine a home made of molded plastic rooms—24 by 9 feet—each of which can be assembled onsite in one-half hour. Bath fixtures—even closets—could be molded into the units at the factory. Or an apartment building built with fiberglass panels with plumbing and electrical systems plugged in as units. Or houses built of prestressed concrete boxes fit together like a child's building-block house. Or an aerosol heat-electric power generator which—to somewhat simplify—converts heat directly to electricity. It makes use of the forces of nature by "bottling a thunderstorm" in that, like lightning, it draws electricity from minute droplets of water. Or, of being able to eliminate all size of construction lumber except the 2 by 4 by causing those to increase strength equal to, say a 2 by 12.

The possibilities are endless.

A country club in Ann Arbor, Mich., is using a 45-foot diameter dome building—molded of foam plastic and erected by two men in 12 hours—as a temporary clubhouse. This was built as part of a University of Michigan experiment with disposable housing. The foam dome will last up to 3 years—or longer if a second protective coating is applied.

While disposable housing may not be with us soon, it raises interesting possibilities for instant urban renewal—eliminating slums the minute they begin to develop.

In Reston, Va., they are experimenting with using mobile homes—one on top of another—to produce two-story apartments. In Seaside, Calif., they are studying the possibility of erecting a frame for a high-rise apartment and "plugging in" mobile homes as the living units.

This list could go on and on.

But each addition raises the same question: Why are our people living in slums and squalor? Why are we 25 million housing units short? Why is not this new technology at work cutting the ever-increasing cost of building a home for you and me?

Getting these homes out of the engineering shops and onto the lots calls for a revolution in the methods of building. It calls for further research and development outlays. It calls for additional capital expenses for tooling.

But for these outlays to be made, there must be a market for the products.

Because 6 million of the units we need in the next 10 years are for those who cannot carry the full load of purchase or rent themselves, the Government is already in the position to guarantee a market.

What we must do, then, is see that this market is used to put the new technology to work. We must draw performance standards and timetables designed to bring new technology out of the experimental labs and onto the site.

In effect, this type of governmental need can give the impetus to new technology in the building industry that it gave to space and defense projects.

But developing a mass market will not be enough. We must also get rid of the restrictive practices of building codes, outmoded zoning regulations, and political constraints that inhibit innovation and preclude progress.

The country that invented mass production can no longer tolerate only tailormaking in its housing.

There is no question technology can give us housing faster. France recently put up a five-story, 40-unit apartment building in 9 working days. The tenants moved in 15 days later.

There is little question that costs can be brought down. We average $14 to $16 a square foot now for multiunit housing. Costs quoted under new technology generally fall more in the $7 to $9 range.

There is no question that we can avoid sameness and monotony in architecture. The examples I cited are only a small sampling of the variety of possibilities today. Who knows what will be developed tomorrow?

There is no question the building industry would boom. At least they would be able to fill the demands that thus far are annually unmet.

There is no question that labor will benefit. Today we have a serious shortage of skilled workmen for the building trades. Worse, the ones we have are limited to working about 1,400 hours a year because of snow, sleet, rain, and extreme cold. Weather conditions will not affect factory production.

And there is no question that putting new technology to work in building low-cost and moderate-priced housing will benefit all consumers. Obviously, once the technology is on the market, it will be beneficial to all building. For example, the unit bathrooms, developed as part of the show-stopping Habitat for Expo, are now on the market for all consumers.

With all these arguments in favor, only one question remains: What are we waiting for?

If the prophets of doom are not going to still be rubbing their hands in glee 5 years from now, that is a question we had better answer with "We are through waiting." Or, to paraphrase a cry of the day, "New technology now."

This pending bill provides for Government assistance to build 1.2 million low-cost housing units in the next 3 years.

This is great. But I think we must go further.

Therefore, I propose the adding of my amendment which would direct the proper Federal agencies to insist on the use of all new technology which is feasible.

Mr. President, we must put these technologies to work if we are to get away from the slow and tedious efforts of the past in housing—and if we are to get full value from the taxpayers' dollars.

Mayor of the District of Columbia Walter Washington last week put the right edge of urgency on the situation when he outlined proposals for rebuilding the Nation's Capital. Plans, he said, must be ready in 100 days. Building can then start in the fall.

That rebuilding must use the best technology now available and we must make it clear that the Government will continue to encourage technological development in housing.

Given that market guarantee, I feel that in a few years this country can have what none of us have ever seen—beautiful cities. I hope the amendment will be adopted.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this amendment has been discussed with the staff of the Subcommittee on Housing of the Committee on Banking and Currency. I believe it is a good amendment. I think every Senator should certainly support its basic thrust, which is to provide for technological improvement in housing—the only way we can possibly get the enormous cost of housing down—and I am happy, not only to accept the amendment, but to do so with enthusiasm.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. TOWER. I think it is a highly constructive amendment, I congratulate the Senator from Michigan for having offered it, and I am happy to accept it on behalf of the minority.

Mr. HART. I am grateful to the Senator from Texas and the Senator from Wisconsin.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Michigan.

The amendment was agreed to.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may suggest the absence of a quorum without the time for the quorum call being charged to either side.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The Assistant Legislative Clerk. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. Bayh], in behalf of himself and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller], proposes an amendment as follows:

On page 180 between lines 5 and 6, insert the following new section 1004:

"FEDERAL LOAN ADJUSTMENTS

"Sec. 1004. In the administration of subtitle III of the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, relating to emergency loans, any application for a loan thereunder in an amount of $30,000 or less may be granted if such loan is for the repair, rehabilitation, or replacement of property seriously damaged or destroyed as the result of a major disaster, without regard to whether the Secretary of Agriculture finds that the required financial assistance can be met by private, cooperative, or other responsible sources (including loans the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to make or insure under any other provision of law)."

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I should like to modify my amendment.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator has that right.

Mr. BAYH. I modify my amendment to insert, on line 7, after the word "disaster," the words "occurring after January 1, 1968," to conform to a similar provision in the amendment previously agreed to.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be so modified.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, those of us who have had personal experience with this matter, including the Senator from Iowa as well as the distinguished manager of the bill, the Senator from Wisconsin, who has been interested in this matter for a long time, and the Senator from Montana, who was one of the original sponsors of the disaster relief bills of 1965 and 1967, know that it does not do any good for a bill or a statute to provide relief unless, when a person goes in to apply for it, he can qualify.

For the sake of brevity, I think the best way to describe what we are getting at here—and I shall offer another amendment immediately following this one, which would similarly amend the Small Business Act—is by illustration.

If there are two houses, side by side, house A owned by a man who is financially responsible and, because he has worked hard to pay his bills, has a respectable credit rating, and house B, owned by a ne'er-do-well who has not bothered to pay his bills and so has a poor credit rating, if both those houses are damaged equally, partially or totally, the present law has the unconscionable result that the man who is the ne'er-do-well, who does not pay his bills, can now qualify under the Farmers Home Administration or the Small Business Administration for 3-percent disaster loans. But the fellow who has paid his bills and has a good credit rating must go to a local bank and get his money at a 7- or 8-percent rate.

It seems to me that in the event of a disaster—not in the normal course of doing business—we ought to treat everybody exactly alike, even if they might have credit available to them. I do not think they should be penalized because they have paid their bills.

Thus, under limitations not to exceed $30,000 of serious damage resulting from a major disaster, this amendment would remove the requirement which restricts it to ne'er-do-wells and people who do not have a good credit rating.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I thoroughly subscribe to what my colleague has said about the measure and its purpose and intent.

I would like to underscore the policy lying behind the amendment, and that is that we wish to treat disaster victims equally. If disaster victim "A" can obtain a loan for 3 percent, disaster victim "B" should also be able to obtain a loan for 3 percent.

Furthermore, the loan should be made in the event of serious damage. We are not interested in covering minor repairs, although it is granted that if those damages occur from a disaster, it does constitute a hardship. We are trying to cover the truly disastrous situations occurring in the course of a major disaster involving serious damage or destruction of property.

I think the amendment is most equitable, and inasmuch as we have tried to limit the coverage to disasters occurring after January 1, 1968, I again suggest that this will not have a severe impact on the budget at all.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The pending amendment is a real improvement on the basic provision in the measure I offered several years ago. I am delighted to accept the amendment.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. All time having expired, may I seek permission to revise my amendment and incorporate a second amendment which the sponsor of the measure suggests would be a more expeditious way to deal with the matter?

I had earlier stated that we were going to treat the two amendments applying to FHA and SBA in the same way.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. All time has expired. When the Senator offers his other amendment, there will then be an hour time limitation on that amendment.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Indiana.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be stated.

The Legislative Clerk. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. Bayh], on behalf of himself and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller], offers an amendment:

On page 83 between lines 3 and 4, insert the following new section 318:

"FEDERAL LOAN ADJUSTMENTS

"SEC. 318. In the administration of the disaster loan program under section 7(b) of the Small Business Act, any application for a loan thereunder in an amount of $30,000 or less in the case of a homeowner, or $100,000 or less in the case of a business concern, may be granted, if such a loan is for the repair, rehabilitation, or replacement of property seriously damaged or destroyed as the result of a major disaster, without regard to whether the required financial assistance is otherwise available from private sources."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BAYH. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, is the Senator now contemplating extending the provision to cover riot-torn areas? I had an amendment to the bill containing a provision along the same line. I understand that it was involved in quite a controversy yesterday when I was, unfortunately, not present on the floor. However, because I am so anxious to see a housing bill passed, I was not going to raise the matter within this context.

In view of the fact that the Senator has related this measure to the SBA, I should like to clear up the matter.

Mr. BAYH. In my judgment, in view of the rather extended debate yesterday with the senior Senator from Georgia, the Senate removed from the disaster provisions the funds for the public sector. Those would be handled under OEP, but we would maintain the funds under FHA, Urban Renewal, and SBA. So, this amendment would not in any way affect the matter. A person in a riot-torn area would be eligible for disaster assistance under the Small Business Administration.

Mr. JAVITS. Would the Small Business Administration Administrator have to declare a disaster area before that could be done?

Mr. BAYH. The Senator is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. He still would have to do that?

Mr. BAYH. The Senator is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator does not disturb that structure at all.

Mr. BAYH. The Senator is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. How does the pending amendment affect the matter?

Mr. BAYH. My amendment would permit the same thing for small business disaster loans that we permitted by the previous amendment for Farm Home Administration loans. To say that a person having access or not having access to other means of financing can be removed in the event of disaster——

Mr. JAVITS. We are only dealing with it in that respect and not going into the broader question of riot-torn areas.

Mr. BAYH. No. We are removing, as I mentioned earlier, the man who has a going business and has paid his bills, so that a good businessman will be treated in the same way as a bad businessman who does not pay his bills. If they are both covered, they could both go in and qualify for a 3-percent loan. However, otherwise the good businessman could not do so.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BAYH. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. What kind of a disaster does the Senator refer to?

Mr. BAYH. A major disaster.

Mr. STENNIS. What is that?

Mr. BAYH. One that is declared by the President of the United States or by the Small Business Administration.

Mr. STENNIS. Whatever they declared to be a major disaster would be a major disaster?

Mr. BAYH. No. It requires consultation with and request by the Governor of the State. It does not change the groundwork or the frame of reference we were discussing yesterday as to whether it qualifies as a disaster. It would depend upon it being declared a major disaster area by the Director of the Small Business Administration or the President.

Mr. STENNIS. But he has no guidelines really, now, except the words "major disaster."

Mr. BAYH. The Senator is correct.

Mr. STENNIS. It does not have to be a natural disaster. It can be a manmade disaster of any kind?

Mr. BAYH. The Senator is correct. I thought we had discussed that point yesterday and had reached general agreement that we were going to differentiate. The compromise said that we would not permit funds from the disaster relief fund to go to public facilities, but that we would permit funds for local Small Business and Farmers Home Administration loans.

Mr. STENNIS. Does the Senator intend to include disasters caused by riots?

Mr. BAYH. I would intend to, but I am addressing this proposal to the Senate as a result of the experience we had in Indiana in 1965, when 140 lives were lost and large areas were laid waste. Only part of those who suffered losses were told by the Small Business Administration that they would qualify. Some of them would qualify and some would not. The ones who would not qualify were able to get assistance from private credit sources. The ones who paid their debts and had everything in good shape at the bank were discriminated against.

Mr. STENNIS. What was the nature of that disaster?

Mr. BAYH. A tornado. The Senator from Ohio has the same situation in his State now with respect to floods.

Mr. STENNIS. We have a settled policy on that, and I understand it has worked well.

My point is that we are trying to legislate on the floor of the Senate, by amendments, in a matter such as civil disorders and riots. It should not be done in that way but should be worked out by some committee. I believe the Senator should exclude that from the amendment.

Mr. BAYH. This is the identical wording of one section of a bill that was passed by the Senate a year ago without a dissenting vote. The same language is also part of the disaster relief bill that has been reported by the Committee on Public Works and is now on the calendar—S. 438.

Mr. STENNIS. Why not rely upon the bill that was passed a year ago?

Mr. BAYH. Because the House took out the language.

Mr. STENNIS. That shows that there has not been a meeting of minds as to the law.

Mr. BAYH. I am sure the Senator from Mississippi does not always agree with what the Members of the House of Representatives do.

Mr. STENNIS. I am not trying to defeat the provision for a natural disaster, and I am willing to go into the other aspect as much as any other Senator. But commonsense tells me that we should have a system and it should be worked out by someone who knows the subject. I do not know much about it. But if we try to legislate on the floor of the Senate in order to take care of riots, without having some hearings, I believe we make ourselves look ridiculous.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BAYH. I yield.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I should like to say to the Senator from Mississippi that this proposal has to do only with major disasters which have been so declared and found by the Governor of a State.

Furthermore, it is limited to loans, and only to those who are the victims of the disaster. The only thing we are trying to do here is to provide that if disaster victim A can get a 3-percent loan, then disaster victim B can get a 3-percent loan.

I will guess that the House of Representatives will accept this amendment, because it is to cover only the victims of a major disaster.

Mr. STENNIS. Does it include riots, disasters caused by riots?

Mr. MILLER. I would say that if the Governor of a State found that there was a major disaster as the result of a riot, it would be covered.

Mr. STENNIS. Why not spell it out and put that in the amendment, rather than leave it to various Governors?

Mr. MILLER. This has to be unified by a finding in Washington. The Governor declares it, but it has to be supported by a finding in the Office of Emergency Planning and by the President of the United States. So the unification would occur in Washington. Simply because a Governor says it is a major disaster does not make it so, but he must do that first. So most of these cases would never get to Washington.

Mr. STENNIS. I know how thorough the Senator from Iowa is. I ask whether his purpose is to continue the present law as to natural disasters, or is it his purpose to include riots and arson disasters?

Mr. MILLER. In response to the Senator from Mississippi, I point out that two of the worst tornado disasters in the history of my State occurred just 2 weeks ago tomorrow. This is the reason for the urgency in seeking to amend the bill to cover that. Several other disasters hit adjacent States in the same fashion 2 weeks ago tomorrow. So what we had in mind, because of the urgency, was to take care of urgent disaster situations, with hundreds of people homeless and their businesses gone.

As to whether or not a major disaster would include a riot, all I can say is that the legislative history would be whatever the legislative intent was at the time the disaster relief legislation was passed by Congress years ago, long before I began my service in the Senate, and when the Senator from Mississippi must have been in the Senate.

Mr. BAYH. There was a lengthy colloquy yesterday in connection with this matter, and I thought we had reached a general agreement that would draw the line on this matter. The Senator from Georgia was worried about depleting the public disaster funds, and it was agreed that the bill would not cover this aspect although some Senators felt that it should be covered in the case of a riot; but so far as loans—not grants—were concerned under small business and other disaster provisions, it was agreed that the bill would permit them if it was a major disaster, man-made or natural.

Mr. TOWER. Is it not true that, actually, the Senator's amendment does not address itself to whether or not a riot is a natural disaster? It does not change the question of whether or not a riot is a natural disaster.

What they are trying to do is to establish a degree of equality and clarification for benefits between and among people.

Mr. BAYH. Take the situation of a riot—which concerns the Senator from Mississippi—in a given city having adjacent small businesses on adjacent corners. One of them is well run and the man is scrupulous about paying his bills. The other fellow, on the other corner, does not worry about paying his bills. The bill collector is hounding him all the time. The way the bill is presently written, if a riot hits that area and both those buildings are burned down, the fellow who has not paid his bills can, under existing law, obtain 3-percent disaster loans, whereas the other fellow, hit by the same disaster, cannot qualify. This seems unjust to me.

Mr. STENNIS. The Senator's argument is that there is already sufficient law to cover the riot disaster?

Mr. BAYH. That is correct.

Mr. STENNIS. Is that agreed to by the committee? Is that the committee's concept of the present law?

Mr. PROXMIRE. The action yesterday went to that point, when we voted on the amendment following the amendment of the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. TOWER. In other words, this does not change the question that has already been resolved as of yesterday, as to whether or not a riot is a natural disaster.

Mr. BAYH. The Senator is correct.

Mr. TOWER. Senator BAYH and Senator MILLER are suggesting that it is not fair for a man with a good credit rating to be ineligible for this aid, to force him to borrow money at 7 percent, while the fellow who is a poor credit risk and cannot borrow money at the bank gets the Government benefit.

Mr. STENNIS. I see that distinction clearly. I believe we should insert here whether or not a riot disaster would be included. If we do not know whether it is included, how would the Government know and how would an administrator know? It should be spelled out one way or the other.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SYMINGTON in the chair). Is all time yielded back on the amendment?

Mr. BAYH. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Indiana.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment, on behalf of myself and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The bill clerk read the amendment, as follows:

> At the end of the bill insert a new section as follows:
>
> "ASSISTANCE FOR CONTRACTORS IN FULFILLING BONDING REQUIREMENTS
>
> "SEC. 1520. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, in cooperation with the private bonding industry, shall develop a plan for the establishment at the earliest practicable date of a program to assist any private contractor who is qualified to bid on and perform public and private contracts to obtain the requisite bonding on reasonable terms and conditions. Within six months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall report to the Congress concerning the plan developed under this section, and shall recommend to the Congress such legislation as he deems necessary and appropriate to carry out such plan."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President. I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield to the Senator from Indiana without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I wish to make absolutely certain that both these amendments have the same effective dates. We talked about it, and then we got into the colloquy about the riots; and I am not certain that the Chair revised my amendment on page 8 to make it read, following the word "disaster," "occurring after January 1, 1968."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that effective date be accepted in both of those amendments.

Mr. MANSFIELD. It was accepted in the first amendment.

Mr. BAYH. It was accepted in the first amendment, but I am not certain whether the clerk has it in the second amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I do not intend and I hope I shall not have to press this amendment because of the situation which I shall explain.

The purpose of the amendment is to direct attention to a problem which concerns small businesses, especially small businesses in which minority groups, and Negroes particularly, seek to engage, due to their inability to get a bond, especially in the building business, where the person is a contractor. Unless a contractor can procure a bond he finds it difficult to bid on a job of any appreciable size.

Facts and figures indicate that two-thirds of the Negro contractor-builders have been unable to get bonds. Facts and figures also show that a great many of them at one time or another had to complete jobs as subcontractors for another person because they were unable to get bonds themselves.

Mr. President, if we are trying to build up the self-sufficiency and entreprenurial skill of people in that category, we should provide some means in the Federal program to deal with underwriting, on a reinsurance basis, the opportunity for such contractors to get bonds.

The amendment I have offered, on behalf of myself and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], directs the Secretary of HUD to devise a plan to deal with that problem and to submit such a plan in 6 months.

I understand that the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY], who is a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, also had prepared legislation on this subject. I have also prepared legislation on this subject. The Senator from Illinois and the committee, I understand, prefer to deal with this matter on the basis of hearings, at which the Secretary would testify. I understand that it is preferred that we not latch this proposal onto the law now. I understand that the Senator from Illinois prefers the committee hearing route.

Mr. President, I admire so much what the Senator from Illinois [Mr. PERCY] has done in this field that I am not inclined to press my amendment on this basis in view of his views.

I have introduced my proposal. He has his proposal. I understand that the manager of the bill will assure us of their early consideration in hearings on the subject.

I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, once again I commend the distinguished Senator from New York, even though he is not now a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency.

As he has done so frequently in the past, today he is anticipating many of our great human needs. I commend him on his imagination in addressing a real need today.

Mr. President, I have toured inner city areas throughout the country. One of the greatest complaints I have found is that those people are not getting "a piece of the action." The complaint from smaller businessmen, for instance, is that they have the technical ability to employ people from the inner city areas, and they have the competence to carry forward programs in the public and private interests in the housing bill, but they find they are unable to do so because of limited resources to obtain necessary bonding. This is true even though they have great technical skills. I have been developing, and I know that the Senator from New York has been developing, proposed legislation that would assist in this area.

I strongly believe that when we do have the necessary ideas within the legislative body itself, it is our responsibility to respond to the problem and initiate hearings, and to subject those ideas to the most careful scrutiny, not only by the administration but also by all interested parties, so that we will move ahead with the greatest dispatch.

I join the Senator from New York in asking that the Committee on Banking and Currency schedule such hearings this year at the earliest time so that we can dispose of this matter before Congress goes home.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I hope, rather than having separate bills, we can join together in one bill. We think that would be most desirable. I shall make every effort to do that.

Mr. PERCY. I would be delighted.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, if I may have the attention of the manager of the bill, I believe he has heard enough of our discussion so that he may respond. I would like to yield to the Senator from Wisconsin now.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I had an opportunity to discuss this matter with the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], who is the chairman of the committee and also the chairman of the Subcommittee on Housing. He has agreed to schedule hearings on the proposal of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], which the Senator has just discussed.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, before I withdraw the amendment, I should like to ask two questions of the manager of the bill. One question relates to language in the bill. If the Senator will turn to page 109, lines 14 and 15, it will be seen that a qualification for a rehabilitation loan, as there set forth, is that "the property is residential and owner occupied."

One of the grave problems in the big cities in my State, such as New York City, Buffalo, Syracuse, and others, as examples, relates to the structures which have been condemned or abandoned, but are capable of rehabilitation. However, inasmuch as the city has either title or possession, obviously the buildings are not "owner occupied."

We were going to endeavor to amend the section to provide for that situation.

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], the chairman of the committee, felt that there might be too many claims and that too many municipalities would attempt to come in. Again, I wish to do everything I can to go along with the chairman and with everything he wants in this matter, because he has been a great benefactor of housing.

Another way in which this problem is approachable under the law without incurring the problem the Senator from Alabama is concerned about is under sections 235 and 236. Under those sections the local agency conceivably could get a loan in order to rehabilitate such vacant buildings for the purpose of selling or renting them in conformity with the requirement of the sections. So if a municipality really had the enterprise to move in a full-scale effort to do something with such buildings, it could proceed under sections 235 and 236.

I wish to ask the manager of the bill if he would agree with that construction of a pattern, in which a municipality which was really serious and wanted to do something could bring itself under the law.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The committee counsel informs me that under section 235, the homeownership section, it could be done, but not under section 236.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

The other question I wish to ask relates to pages 106 and 108 of the bill. If the Senator would refer to those pages, he will see that section 511, which is on page 108, lines 5 and 6, refers to the interim assistance for blighted areas, for which a certain sum of money is provided. Among the purposes is the establishment of temporary public playgrounds on vacant land within the area.

One of the real and critical problems is that during the summer one of the greatest things that can be done in a slum or a ghetto is to provide a swimming pool or a place to swim. It need be only a canvas tank, or even a hydrant, but at least it would be something. It relates to the unique need of the steaming ghettos during that time of the year.

Does the Senator see anything in the discretion of the Secretary which would exclude that kind of facility for recreation? We should bear in mind the amount of money allocated for space and the desirability of programs of that sort. But just so that we may know, because the words do not say, will the Senator explain whether, jurisdictionally, such a program is not excluded?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I should like to ask the distinguished chairman of the committee, who is really the Senator in charge of the bill—I am just sitting in for him temporarily—if his view is that this kind of facility, a swimming pool, would be excluded.

Mr. JAVITS. Necessarily, is it excluded?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Is it necessarily excluded?

Mr. JAVITS. They are, as a matter of statutory construction. I realize that the amount of money which is totally involved is not great. We are not thinking about any elaborate operation but want to know whether it comes within the purview of the Secretary to include that kind of recreational facility.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator from New York is an able lawyer. When the language refers to the establishment of a temporary public playground, does not the Senator think it might vary according to the type of pool?

Mr. JAVITS. That is exactly correct.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And if it is to be temporary.

Mr. JAVITS. That is exactly so.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It would be allowable.

Mr. JAVITS. Of course.

Mr. SPARKMAN. But not if it were made permanent.

Mr. JAVITS. No; that is not contemplated. I think that is probably true, but I wanted to be sure that it was not by statutory construction excluded.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That would be my construction of the language.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I withdraw my amendment.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, the time for the quorum call not to be charged to either side.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendment will be stated.

The **LEGISLATIVE CLERK.** At the end of the bill insert a new section as follows:

SMALL BUSINESS ACT

SEC. 1520. Subsection (a) of section 4 of the Small Business Act is amended by inserting immediately after "the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico," the following: "the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands,".

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the amendment simply adds the trust territory to the area where the Small Business Act would apply. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is a special responsibility of the United States as a result of United Nations action. It is in a remote area where we need more American investment to compete with Asiatic investment. The amendment merely provides for the Small Business Administration to go in there, in the case of a disaster, or in the case of investment, for the protection of the area which we have purchased with the blood of our American boys on such islands as Peleliu, Eniwetok, and Kwajalein.

I urge the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator from Montana this question. The area is referred to as the Trust Territory in the——

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of the Pacific Islands. Is that the correct title?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Mr. METCALF. That is the correct title.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The thought that is going through my mind is that there are other trust territories in other countries.

Mr. METCALF. No.

Mr. MANSFIELD. This is it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I understand. I just wanted to be sure we had the correct title and that it is limited to the American trust territory.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Exactly.

Mr. METCALF. This is the trust territory popularly known as Micronesia. It is the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and is administered under the aegis of the United Nations.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. I thank the Senator. Mr. President, I am willing to accept the amendment, and I understand that the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] is also willing.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has now been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Montana.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the Record and the information of the Senate, the correct name is "The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands."

Mr. SPARKMAN subsequently said: Mr. President, earlier in the day there was an amendment to extend the provisions of the act to extend the provisions of the Small Business Act to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

I am in receipt of a letter from the Department of the Interior dated May 28, 1968, relating to this problem. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the letter from the Department of the Interior, at the point where the matter was considered.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. Department of the Interior,
Office of the Secretary,
Washington, D.C., May 28, 1968.

Hon. John Sparkman,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman: This is in response to your request for the views of this Department on S. 3070, a bill "To extend the provisions of the Small Business Act to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands."

We strongly recommend the enactment of S. 3070.

The bill amends section 4(a) of the Small Business Act by inserting the phrase "the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, immediately after the phrase "the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, where it appears in the subsection. This amendment includes the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in the definition of the term "United States" as it is used in this portion of the Small Business Act, thereby extending the provisions of the Small Business Act to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

We favor the extension of the Small Business Act to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in order to permit developing commercial and industrial enterprises, which may qualify, to avail themselves of the assistance which is made available under the Small Business Act. We believe that the extension of the Small Business Act to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands will be a major contribution to the economic development of the area, one of the responsibilities the United States accepted in the Trust Territories under its Trusteeship Agreement with the Security Council of the United Nations.

Additionally, extension of the Small Business Act to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands would make available the post-disaster assistance that is authorized by the Small Business Act. At the present time, the Disaster Assistance Act is applicable to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and provides for reconstruction and rehabilitation assistance to the public sector in the event of a major disaster, such assistance being made available through the Office of Emergency Planning. However, there is no provision for assistance to the private sector of the economy such as is now made available to other sections of the United States through the Small Business Act.

Because of limited alternative resources and sources of assistance in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the aid that will be made available by the passage of this bill will probably be more effective in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands than anywhere else.

Article 3 of the Trusteeship Agreement between the United States and the Security Council of the United Nations, under which the United States administers the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands provides:

"The administering authority shall have full powers of administration, legislation, and jurisdiction over the territory subject to the provisions of this agreement, and may apply to the trust territory, subject to any modifications which the administering authority may consider desirable, such of the laws of the United States as it may deem appropriate to local conditions and requirements."

Accordingly, the extension of the provisions of the Small Business Act to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is consistent with the terms of the trusteeship Agreement.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that while there would be no objection to the presentation of this report, the Bureau believes that the existing authority of the Department of the Interior, the administering agency of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, is adequate to meet the needs of small business in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. If additional resources are required, the Bureau believes that they can most efficiently be channeled through the Department of the Interior.

Sincerely yours,

Harry R. Anderson,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment,

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered; and the amendment will be printed in the Record.

The amendment offered by Mr. Sparkman is as follows:

On page 303 amend section 1519 of S. 3497 by deleting the present language and substituting the following:

"Sec. 1519. Section 24 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (12 USC 371) is amended:

"(1) by striking the words 'twenty-four months', wherever they appear in the third paragraph thereof and inserting in lieu thereof the words 'thirty-six months',

"(2) by striking the words 'when the entire amount of such obligation is sold to the association' wherever they appear in the first and second paragraphs thereof and inserting in lieu thereof 'in whole or in part and at any time or times prior to the maturity of such obligation';

"(3) by striking the last paragraph thereof and inserting in lieu thereof the following: 'Loans made to any borrower (i) where the association looks for repayment by relying primarily on the borrower's general credit standing and forecast of income, with or without other security, or (ii) where the association relies on other security as collateral for the loans (including but not limited to a guaranty of a third party), and where, in either case described in clause (i) or (ii) above, the association wishes to take a mortgage, deed of trust, or other instrument upon real estate (whether or not constituting a first lien) as a precaution against contingencies, such loans shall not be considered as real estate loans within the meaning of this section but shall be classed as ordinary non-real estate loans'."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I offer this amendment to section 1519 of S. 3497. It would amend section 24 of the Federal Reserve Act. This section deals with a national bank's authortiy to make mortgage loans. While the change from the committee bill does not expand existing authority of national banks, it does clarify the law and confirm current regulations and interpretations of the Comptroller of the Currency.

The first paragraph of my amendment restates the existing section 1519 of the committee bill.

The second paragraph of my amendment would permit national banks to continue to purchase participations in existing mortgages.

The third paragraph of my amendment confirms the Comptroller's interpretation that loans by national banks shall not be considered as real estate loans where the bank looks primarily for repayment out of income of the borrower or security other than real estate, even though the bank takes a mortgage on real estate as additional security for the loan.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I have no objection to the amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. TOWER. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Alabama.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, if I may have the attention of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Williams], he may recall that yesterday I offered an amendment to change the date, from 1968 to 1969, for the report of the study of the savings and loan industry. I find the language that I used was not sufficient, and I am offering an amendment to change it correctly. No additional funding is required. It simply prolongs the date for the study. The amendment is a substitute for the amendment at page 3, line 4, adopted by the Senate yesterday, as shown on page 15135 of the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Alabama will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

At the end of the bill insert the following:

"SPECIAL STUDIES OF SAVINGS AND LOAN INDUSTRY

"SEC. 1520. That part of Chapter IV of the Second Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1966, which relates to expenses necessary for special studies of the savings and loan industry is amended by striking out '1968' and inserting '1969'."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Alabama.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I have another technical amendment to offer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Alabama will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

On page 55, line 9, after "per annum" insert "(not in excess of 6 per centum)".

On page 82, line 4, after "235(j)(2)(C)," insert "236(j)(4)(B),".

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, it is a purely technical amendment.

I yield back my time.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Alabama. All time has been yielded back.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Georgia will be stated.

The BILL CLERK. It is proposed, on page 180, beginning with line 6, strike out all of title XI.

Renumber succeeding titles and sections accordingly.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, when the distinguished Senator from Alabama opened the debate on this bill last Friday, his initial statement was that this was "the most comprehensive housing and urban development bill our committee has ever presented to the Senate." After having undertaken, in a very brief time, to understand it—there are some 300 pages to the bill—I am perfectly willing to subscribe to that statement in toto. As I understand it, the main thrust of the pending bill is to provide more adequate housing for low-income people of this country. With that objective, I am in agreement. There are many provisions of this long and complicated measure that I can support. However, as I said here last Friday, there are some provisions contained in this bill which I think are fraught with great peril and will develop into real dangers to this country

I refer particularly to title XI, which provides for a scheme of reinsurance to place on the taxpayers of every section of this country the responsibility to absorb the losses brought about by riots and civil disorders such as we have witnessed to an increasing extent in the past several years.

Briefly, the applicable provisions of this title would create a National Insurance Development Corporation within the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and this new corporation would administer the reinsurance program in those States where the corporation would operate.

It is proposed to finance this program jointly by the private insurer, the State, and the Federal Government. The cost of the program is, of course, unknown at this time. It would depend upon the frequency of riots and civil disorders, as well as the amount of losses and damage caused by these outbreaks.

May I say that this portion of the bill is very vague and uncertain as to the distribution and liability of the capital fund this department would administer. It leaves a great deal to the discretion of the manager of the fund, or whoever is designated by the department to handle this new corporation and the insurers. It would be a subject of negotiation and contract. But we do know that, in the last analysis, the responsibility for the payment of claims which may arise under this title and under this new law will rest upon the taxpayers of the United States.

Mr. President, I am greatly concerned that such a program as it stands at the present time would destroy incentives, especially among the city officials in the areas affected and among those living in the cities, to limit the destruction which might be brought about by riots, or, indeed, to prevent and stop such riots.

On yesterday, the Senate rejected a proposal that the cities participate in the creation of the fund from which the payments would be made. There can be no doubt that, under our present system of government, in theory at least, cities have the primary responsibility for law enforcement within their boundaries. They have the primary responsibility for quelling riots or civil disorders. And yet under this bill they have no obligation whatever toward the fund which is created to pay the reinsurance or the insurance claims that may become due by virtue of the provisions of the law.

Mr. President, I have in the past expressed the view that the occurrence and the violence of these disorders is in some cases partly attributable to the permissive atmosphere that has been created, unwittingly, I am sure, by statements and actions of public officials. Some of the highest officials of the Government have indicated—I believe one made the statement in public—that if they lived in the so-called ghettos, they would participate in these demonstrations. I think statements of this kind are inexcusable, and I know that they make no contribution whatever to restoring or to maintaining law and order.

In addition, Mr. President, the police have not been permitted to deal with these riot situations in a realistic manner. Many of the recent violent situations, in my judgment, could have been significantly limited if the law enforcement agencies had been allowed to move when trouble first started. However, this has not been the case, as is clearly evidenced by the bumbling and uncertain handling of the recent violence here in the Nation's Capital.

Now it is proposed in title XI of this bill, that I am now moving to strike, to provide assurance that, after these riots have occurred, the destroyed buildings will be rebuilt partially, at least, through tax money. I believe we are playing with dynamite by entering into this field and by entertaining such proposals, because this program, although it is slightly limited, like so many others, once initiated, will spread and be enlarged upon in each succeeding Congress. I am confident that this would only be a start and that it would eventually lead to the complete assumption and subsidization of these losses by the Federal Government.

Mr. President, I do not see how we can possibly hope to put an end to the wave of riots and civil disorders if we are to maintain a permissive atmosphere, handcuff the police, and then, in effect, have Congress subsidize the damage caused by the rioters after the event.

I shall not undertake to discuss today the extent of crime in this country. The Senate has fully exhausted that subject in the last month. We spent more than 3 weeks, I believe, on the crime bill, in an effort to direct legislation toward bringing about a restoration of law and order. I think the bill we finally passed was a reasonably good bill, but I do not believe it is likely to cure all the ills that afflict the Nation.

I wish to make it very clear that I do recognize the existence of an insurance problem in the areas that have been victimized by riots. In glancing through the record of the hearings, I notice that the witnesses heard by the Committee on Banking and Currency, included a number of distinguished citizens who are affiliated with the insurance industry. I am not surprised that those people favor this proposal, because it would be most beneficial to the insurance industry, at least in the short run. In taking note of this fact, I am in no way criticizing the industry—for all industries in this country today have a habit of coming to the Federal Government for help—but I do point out that this program has other ramifications that should properly be considered.

It seems to me that clear alternatives are available to assist the insurance industry and at the same time avoid the very great dangers of getting the Federal Government involved in this reinsurance scheme, without any idea on earth as to what it is likely to cost. I would point out to those in the insurance industry who support this proposal that it is far easier to get the Federal Government involved in legislation delegating regulatory authority than it is to limit that role once the door has been opened. I have seen this happen time and again in the years I have served in the Senate, and I would say to the insurance industry in this country that they might well consider the vast authority and regulatory role that will inevitably result from the enactment of this type of legislation. The Executive Director of this Corporation has great power, and there is no assurance, whatever, that it will not be expanded in the future from year to year, as other Government programs of this nature inevitably result.

I sincerely believe that it would be to the benefit of this country and, in the long run, of the industry itself, to work out this problem of insurance in riot areas within the industry, without bringing the Federal Government into it in an active or even a proprietary way. I am sure that this can be done. As a matter of fact, I have been told and have read in the Congressional Record that the Finance Committee is now in the process of preparing legislation which would allow the industry itself to build up a tax exempt fund to act as a cushion against these excessive losses in certain areas of our country. I think that that approach is far more desirable than the one involved in title XI of this bill. I cannot emphasize too strongly that if the insurance industry wants to remain one characterized by the competitive free enterprise system, it had better be more careful about entering into such a scheme as is proposed in the pending legislation.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. First, I congratulate the Senator and wish to associate myself in every way with what he has said. I thoroughly agree that this is a dangerous experiment. I thoroughly agree that it is dangerous to the insurance industry itself. Above all, it is a very bad experiment from the standpoint of the underwriting, largely out of Federal and State funds, of the losses in riot-torn areas.

It seems to me that if there needs to be any incentive for destruction of the huge ghettos in some of our cities, this particular part of the bill would operate in that direction, and I would expect, regretfully, that some very destructive fires, similar to the ones in Newark, Detroit, Washington, and elsewhere, would occur in crowded city ghettos in the future, very carelessly on the part of both officials and property owners, with the knowledge that Uncle Sam and the particular State involved stand ready to bear the burden out of tax collections from all of the people.

I hope the Senator's amendment will succeed. This is a very dangerous experiment. As I said in the beginning, I wish to be associated from beginning to end with the position of the distinguished Senator from Georgia.

Mr. RUSSELL. I thank my distinguished friend from Florida.

Mr. President, the bill to which I have referred, which is being considered by the Committee on Finance—undoubtedly the proper committee to consider a matter of this nature—will be found in the Congressional Record, volume 113, part 27, page 36759. I ask unanimous consent that the text of that proposed bill be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, from my review, rather scanty though it was, of the hearings held by the Banking and Currency Committee, I do not believe that the possible encouragement to riot by having the Federal Government assume all this obligation, and eliminating the city from any part of the responsibility, was even considered by the distinguished subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency which held hearings on this measure. The record does not disclose which law enforcement officials, if any, appeared, or whether any of the witnesses were queried as to this point. It may be that the Senator from Florida and I are the only two Members of the Senate who are concerned about this matter, but I certainly hope that that is not the case.

I think it would have been well if the committee had called some of our outstanding police officers, to get their evaluation of the possible effect of such a scheme as is embraced in this proposal. My own view is that it contains many dangers and should be fully explored before it is approved by the Senate.

Mr. President, all of the witnesses—and I am sure every Senator will agree with this—indicated that they sincerely hope that we would have no further riots, but this entire proposal is predicated upon the assumption that we will not only have more riots, but that their violence and severity will increase. I note, for example, that the National Insurance Development Corporation, created by title XI, does not expire until April 30, 1976. I certainly hope that this does not mean that the proponents of this legislation envision that these inexcusable exercises in violence will last that long. I would say further, Mr. President, very frankly, that I do not believe the American people will tolerate extending a continuing reign of terror in our cities for that length of time.

Mr. President, the entire program apparently is based in large part upon the belief that riots are here to stay. That is the source of my greatest concern. We should give more attention to reestablishing law and order and making it clear that the law-enforcement agencies in this country will be fully supported with both the resources and authority with which to cope with these situations.

I do not contend that we should not have any program to assist the insurance industry in these unusual conditions. It is, of course, important under our system—against which these riots are directed—that we maintain reasonable insurance coverage in the riot areas. However, I do not accept the vehicle suggested and presented in the pending legislation. It contains too many potential dangers. It is my view that the situation should be more fully covered in hearings before we adopt any such far-reaching provision of law.

Mr. President, I believe it would have been more appropriate for the committee to have placed the reinsurance provision—if they were determined to bring one to the Senate—in that title of the bill providing for urban renewal because I do not think it is unlikely that many people, including some Government officials, will view the proposal as a rather economical means of urban renewal.

Mr. President, I read the other day in the magazine section of the Washington Post for Sunday, May 5, 1968, a tremendously interesting article written by an anonymous Government girl—a Negro girl—with respect to the riots.

This Government girl told of her own experiences when she drove down into the riot torn area and became involved with some young acquaintance of hers who had picked up some bottles of whiskey in a liquor store, and she was arrested. I will not read the whole article, but I will read these two, very significant lines:

> Most of the buildings that got burned should have. This would be viewed as Urban Renewal.

I present that to the Senate as the views of one of those who was arrested in the riots. She was an educated, young woman, and evidently a Government employee. She was arrested in the recent riots in Washington.

The article shows that she thought the burning was justified because it would produce an urban renewal program here in Washington.

I do not doubt the need for an urban renewal program in Washington. However, cities all over the land have communities needing urban renewal, and those cities have their applications in for urban renewal.

Buildings destroyed in riots by acts of lawlessness should not take priority in applications for urban renewal over buildings in cities that are able to maintain law and order and in which the sections of the cities that are fit subjects of urban renewal are not destroyed.

When we assure a city that the cost of rebuilding any structure destroyed in a riot will be defrayed by governmental units other than that city and that they will then make no contribution whatever thereto, then the incentive of city officials, who are primarily responsible for the enforcement of the law, is bound to be diminished. Almost all of the structures replaced would be, of necessity, of better quality than those destroyed in the ghetto areas, so that the residents of these areas, also, will know full well that the quality of their neighborhood structures will have undergone an urban renewal primarily at the expense of others after those structures have been destroyed by burning.

Mr. President, of course, to me, one of the most undesirable aspects of the whole proposal is the discrimination against those areas of the country that do enforce the law and intend to enforce the law. This discrimination will be brought to bear by requiring, on a tremendously increasing scale in the future, those municipalities and States, in common with others who do not intend to try to enforce the law, to pay for this plan of indirect urban renewal. In effect, we will be telling those who do not intend to tolerate these exercises in violence that they will nevertheless be expected to participate in the program of absorbing the losses brought about in other areas of the country, partly because the officials, for whatever reason, will not fulfill their responsibility for the maintenance of law and order.

I do not believe that it is either a wise policy or an equitable policy in regard to the many responsible officials and citizens who do not plan to or, indeed, will not tolerate, the mounting financial losses from riots.

Mr. President, this title provides that the reinsurance provision of the law should be administered by the National Insurance Development Corporation within the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Mr. President, very briefly I think that this provision should be stricken from the bill, primarily for three reasons.

First, it creates a new agency, and we have created so many thousands of agencies of the Government in the last few years that there is not a single Senator and, indeed, I doubt if there are 10 Senators combined who could sit down and name all of the agencies of the Government that are in operation today, including all of the many corporations that we have created.

I am congenitally opposed to the creation of new agencies of the Federal Government to solve every possible problem with which we are faced. I am opposed to it because it creates a new system of spending obligation that is beyond the reach of Congress in this case if we find it necessary to cut appropriations. This agency is given the power, if it runs out of funds, to go to the Treasury, deposit its notes, get the money and thus bypass the appropriations authority of Congress.

In any emergency that might cause us to find it necessary to cut Government spending, this agency would go right along with those others that we hear so much about and that hamper us so much in our economy efforts, because they do not operate on appropriated funds.

This agency would not operate on appropriated funds. When the finances created by the pending bill are exhausted, the Corporation would put up its notes or bonds and draw the money from the Treasury directly.

Mr. President, I have always had doubts about the constitutionality of that system, but it is employed by other corporations that spend money that is not appropriated in the manner prescribed by the Constitution.

The Constitution says that that practice is not valid. But it has been challenged and I understand that the courts of last resort have passed on the matter.

The measure does provide for large sums of money, if the Corporation incurs large losses, to be obtained and expended without Congress appropriating the funds; and it places the expenditure of these funds and the amount beyond the reach of Congress, unless it decides to undertake to abolish the Corporation.

Mr. President, this amendment should prevail, for the reason to which I have already adverted, namely, that the cities of this country, under our system, have up until now, at least theoretically, had the primary obligation for the enforcement of law and order. They have had the responsibility for the administration of these various programs, and in most of them they have been required to participate financially. In the case of the administration of this program, they contribute nothing. They have no responsibility whatever as to its operations, though the funds are paid into and are expended within the cities.

Mr. President, I am opposed to this measure also because, in my judgment, in the manner in which this one is set up, it will tend to encourage rather than to discourage riots and civil disorders that have brought about so much destruction. I believe that this bill and this whole system—this whole subject—is properly within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Finance of the Senate and should be handled there. As the chairman said, the committee was considering a program for including this subject.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. ANDERSON. I might be accused of self-interest, because I am the chairman of the board of an insurance company. I believe this is a very bad precedent, a very bad policy. I do not believe any funds should be developed in any way until the matter has been studied very carefully by Members of Congress and by the Committee on Finance, of which I am a member. The matter should be the subject of long hearings. We have had compulsory pools. We have had long hearings. I believe there should be long hearings on this matter, and I support the amendment of the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, it is gratifying to me that the Senator from New Mexico is of that opinion, because undoubtedly he knows more about insurance than any other Member of the Senate. He has been engaged in the insurance business all his life. He is trying to do the best for the insurance companies, for the insured, for the cities, and for the Treasury of the United States.

It was said on the floor of the Senate yesterday, Mr. President, that the cities ought not participate in this program because the cities were already in bad shape financially, and that is true. That is true down to the small towns. I live in a small city of about 7,000 or 8,000 people. It is hard pressed financially, and whenever they raise the tax 5 mils, a great howl goes up to high heavens. Every activity of government in this country is hard pressed financially.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPONG in the chair). The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. RUSSELL. I was assured that I would have some time on the bill.

Mr. TOWER. I yield 5 minutes on the bill to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, with respect to the information about this indebtedness, the total indebtednes of local governments—the latest figure available from the Library of Congress—is $77.5 billion. That is a per capita obligation of $396 for the residents of these cities. The State governments are much better off, to my surprise. They have a total obligation of $32.5 billion and a per capita obligation of $164.

But the Federal Government, Mr. President, upon which this provision places the main burden, has a total indebtedness, as of May 20, 1968, of $355,400,000,000. On a per capita basis, it amounts to $1,769, which is more than twice the combined per capita obligation of the cities and the States. Yet, we place all of this eventual obligation on the Federal Government and on the Federal taxpayers.

I hope the Senate will consider this amendment seriously and will vote this title out of the bill.

EXHIBIT 1

TEXT OF PROPOSED BILL TO ALLOW A TAX DEDUCTION FOR ADDITIONS TO CATASTROPHE RESERVES OF FIRE AND CASUALTY INSURANCE COMPANIES

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That—

SEC. 832(b)(4) be amended to read as follows:

"(4) PREMIUMS EARNED.—The term 'premiums earned on insurance contracts during the taxable years' means an amount computed as follows:

"(A) From the amount of gross premiums written on insurance contracts during the taxable year, deduct return premiums, premiums paid for reinsurance, and accumulations as may be required by State law to catastrophe reserves.

"(b) To the result so obtained, add withdrawls from, or reductions in catastrophe reserves for any nonconforming use, and unearned premiums on outstanding business at the end of the preceding taxable year and deduct unearned premiums on outstanding business at the end of the taxable year.

"For the purposes of this subsection, unearned premiums shall include (1) life insurance reserves, as defined in section 806, pertaining to the life, burial, or funeral, insurance, or annuity business of an insurance company subject to the tax imposed by section 831 and not qualifying as a life insurance company under section 801, and (2) required by law for losses resulting from accumulations to catastrophe reserves required by law for losses resulting from catastrophes and insolvencies of other companies.

"The term 'catastrophes' includes but is not limited to riots, windstorms, floods, explosions, earthquakes, and insolvencies of other insurance companies. Nothing in this definition shall be considered to relate to mortgage guaranty insurance companies. The total accumulation in the reserve fund shall be limited to 10 per centum of the premiums earned during the preceding 12-month period on policies which embrace or encompass the specific hazard for which the reserve is created, or the amount provided by State law or regulation, whichever is lesser: *Provided however,* That the catastrophe reserve required by law for each specific insurance hazard is not excessive in proportion to the total hazard in force, and that there is an orderly diminution of such reserve in proportion to the diminution of hazard. For purposes of this subsection, unearned premiums of mutual fire or flood insurance companies described in section 831(a)(3)(B) means (with respect to the policies described in section 831(a)(3)(B)) the amount of unabsorbed premium deposits which the company would be obligated to return to its policyholders at the close of the taxable year if all of its policies were terminated at such time; and the determination of such amount shall be based on the schedule of unabsorbed premium deposit returns for each such company then in effect. Premiums paid by the subscriber of a mutual flood insurance company referred to in paragraph (3) of section 831(a) shall be treated, for purposes of computing the taxable income of such subscriber, in the same manner as premiums paid by a policyholder to a mutual fire insurance company referred to in such paragraph (3)."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I am sorry that this amendment has been offered, because I believe that this is a vital portion of the bill.

I say to the Senator from Georgia that the Banking and Currency Committee had 2½ days of hearings on this specific proposal. I refer the Senator to the table of contents of the hearings, page VI. There were 2 complete days of hearings. Then, on the third day, Mr. James L. Bentley, president of the National Association of Insurance Commissioners, who is from the State of Georgia, appeared as a witness. His testimony consumed a good part of the third day. I believe we did go into this matter thoroughly.

Mr. President, the consideration of the insurance problem did not start in the Senate with this bill. We began consideration of this problem more than a year ago. The Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] was the first to bring it up, when he introduced a bill and conducted hearings in the Select Committee on Small Business on the subject of crime in the city of Washington. He first considered the problem at the local level, in the District of Columbia. Witnesses appeared before the subcommittee and testified about their places having been robbed or subjected to burglaries and holdups. In many instances the owner had been shot and almost every crime against person and property that anyone could think of had been committed. That was the beginning of the study by the Senate of this subject.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE], who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Small Business of the Committee on Banking and Currency, held hearings on proposed legislation to help alleviate the serious lack of crime protection insurance to small business.

Finally, this year's housing program, submitted by the administration, contained a proposal for insurance that would provide greater availability of essential property insurance to all property owners in all urban areas.

Mr. President, I say to the distinguished Senator from Georgia that I do not know of any subject in this bill or any other bill that has received more hard, concentrated thinking and work to develop it. The program was worked out with the insurance companies of America, with the State supervisors of insurance, and with officials of the Federal Government.

Something was said about the great call on the Treasury and about the amount of money involved. As a matter of fact, the best estimate of insured losses arising from the 1967 riots that could be arrived at was between $50 and $75 million. That represents the total insurance liability growing out of the riots of 1967. The bill requires this much to be raised by the reinsurance premiums. If this, along with the other financial responsibilities, is not ample and if there is any backup by the Federal Government, it should be remembered that the money borrowed from the Treasury for this purpose must be repaid. It is not a loss to the Federal Government. The Federal Government backs it up for the time being.

But this insurance corporation receives premiums from the insurance companies of America and, potentially, from the State governments. If the authority to borrow from the Treasury is utilized, the money must be paid back, primarily by reinsurance premiums received subsequently.

I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. President, I wish to emphasize what the chairman of our committee has said. This proposal is not something new which was developed here in the last day or two, or in the last month or two.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] held hearings on this problem over a year ago, in April of 1967.

My own Subcommittee on Small Business held hearings on similar legislation last fall.

I see in the Chamber the junior Senator from Illinois, who serves on the Subcommittee on Small Business. The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], all of us found a pressing need to do something in this area.

It started originally, as the Senator from Alabama said, with the "mom and pop" type store, the small neighborhood business. Then we found it was involved with the riot problem. I do not see this title as a big city bill. I do not see it as an attempt to take the money of rural taxpayers and rebuild the ghettos.

In my small but great State of New Hampshire we have had two riots in the last few years, one of serious proportions at Hampton Beach. This was brought out in the hearings.

This program is absolutely essential to the small bakery shop, the small food store, and the other little businesses which find themselves without any ability to obtain any insurance. Even where insurance is available, the rates are so intolerably high that they cannot afford it, and so they crumble away. They leave the ghetto, which becomes a more hopeless part of the community without them.

Mr. President, there is a strong desire among the members of the committee to retain this part of the bill.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I think that from my point of view the persuasive consideration that led to my support of this provision of the bill is stated in one paragraph on page 87 of the report. It reads as follows:

> The facts developed during the various hearings point out the insurance crisis in our cities. The deterioration of many inner city areas is threatening the economic and social health of the cities as a whole. This deterioration has, in too many cases, caused the owners of well-maintained properties and businesses to be unable to obtain adequate property insurance against fire, crime, and other perils because of the general location of the property in a high-risk area or because of its proximity to dilapidated or hazardous structures.

In other words, here is a risk against which the resources of the private insurance companies are inadequate.

I wish to point out that, with respect to the private power companies of this country and the construction of nuclear powerplants, private insurance was similarly inadequate and so Congress has provided Government-subsidized insurance to protect the private power companies against a risk which the private insurance industry is unable to cover.

So the private power companies, with the help of Government-supported insurance, are protected and given insurance at a fraction of the cost they would have to pay to private insurance companies.

Now, Mr. President, if it is appropriate for us to provide this kind of protection for an industry with such resources as the private power industry of this country, it seems to me a perfectly appropriate precedent for the kind of protection we are seeking here for businesses which are essential to the vitality and development of the ghetto areas of our cities. This is one of the reasons I support this provision of the bill.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator this question: Is the manner in which the Federal Government underwrites private power companies with insurance similar to the provisions in this bill?

Mr. MUSKIE. I do not know the details sufficiently to make that comparison, but it is Government-supported insurance, to the best of my knowledge, and it is not paid for by private power companies, except perhaps a fraction of the cost.

I was hoping that the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island would be in the Chamber, because he knows this provision of the law in much greater detail than I do.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is it not true that in the provision we are now considering, the Federal Government must be repaid any money it expends to pay reinsurance losses?

Mr. MUSKIE. The Senator is correct. I wish to emphasize in connection with private power companies that insurance is Government subsidized. I do not have the details on which the subsidy is provided.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I wish to follow up what the distinguished Senator from Maine has said so well and I wish to emphasize that there was a study, to which the Senator referred, made by a panel headed by Governor Hughes of New Jersey. He made a significant observation in his opening remarks when he appeared before the committee, as is shown on page 541. He said:

> We note first in our committee, and I think that it is a valid conclusion and I think many people are coming to share it, that the real issue confronting this insurance panel was not one that grew out of the riots as though the riots in our cities had created this problem, but one that was highlighted by these disorders. And the real problem was the unavailability, and it has existed for some years, and shortage of insurance.

Governor Hughes continued and said:

> It is a historic fact, Senator, and I am delighted that you commented on it. Many of us are inclined to believe that all these things occurred just recently. That is not so at all. We have seen over these years our urban centers deteriorate and our structures decay and decline, as the criminal rate grows, and the insurance losses increase. As the loss ratios increase, the desirability of center-city business has decreased until it is most difficult, if not impossible, for the homeowner and the small businessman to obtain adequate coverage at a reasonable cost, or often at any cost.

Mr. President, it is very important that we note that this is not something that grew up because of the riots in 1967. This is a continuing problem and this is the way the Hughes committee tried to deal with it.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I wish to say to the distinguished Senator from Georgia that, as the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Small Business, I found throughout the hearings that many of the points the Senator raises are perfectly valid.

The question is whether we would be discriminating against those who do enforce the law as distinguished from those who do not enforce the law. I am the first person to defend the mayors of our great cities. I do not believe the analysis can be made with respect to the riots. We have much to learn with respect to riots and civil disobedience on a massive scale, but it is my impression that the cities have invested a tremendous amount of money in law-enforcement agencies and law-enforcements officers, in increasing their budgets substantially to maintain law and order, and they have moved swiftly and they have not hesitated to call in the National Guard and the Federal troops, if necessary.

This is not the great problem. The question which must be raised is whether insurance should be available to small businesses to maintain protection against their inventories. It simply was not available and until such time as there is insurance available to the private sector, something must be done with respect to the thousands of people living in riot areas who were the victims of the riots and who did not participate in them.

I walked down the streets of Newark, N.J., a year after the riots there, and I have talked to many of the people. Even today many of the small businesses there have not been restored and as a result the families many times have to walk a mile to get groceries or to do their laundry, when formerly they had these facilities within a block or two of their homes. These people are the victims of the disorders. We have to find ways to get small businesses back into the area to service them as before.

Furthermore, the small businesses need the help of insurance companies. They have to have incentive to take protective measures to guard against riots, vandalism, or whatever it may be.

I think they are learning a great deal about how to protect their businesses. By enabling them to pool their resources and by having the Government back them up as a last resort, and by not establishing Government corporations in the first instance, but by using all the facilities of the private sector first. I think we have developed a very good bill which is in the public interest, and one which I firmly support as a former businessman and now a public office holder.

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alabama yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. McINTYRE. I would like to emphasize, as the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] has stated, if a State does not desire to come into the program, it does not have to. Is this your understanding?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. It is a voluntary undertaking. Each State that comes in undertakes to form a State fair plan.

Mr. McINTYRE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is clear that the Senators opposing this amendment have simply raised and then destroyed a strawman here in regard to the need for insurance in the riot areas, because I very clearly and expressly recognized this need in my opening statement. However, my basic objections still stand. I do not like to see any program predicated upon anything so vague and uncertain as this. There is nothing in the testimony to which the Senator refers about it. I ask the Senator from Alabama now, what would it have cost if it had been in effect over the period of the last year? There are absolutely no figures given on it that we could find in the hearings.

Mr. SPARKMAN. For 1967?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes. This is too vague and uncertain, in the conditions we face today. We have had reinsurance programs before, but I think the Senator will find, if he looks into it, that they are more definite than this. This is not only voluntary to a State but it is also voluntary to an insurance company. They do not have to participate if they do not wish to. They can refuse to write this kind of policy altogether. If they do write it, they have to come into the program. I say this with all deference and respect, but it seems to me that the way this is presented is rather half-baked.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator is correct about the voluntary matter, but that is the only way it should be. I am not sure he would be in favor of having enforced participation.

Mr. RUSSELL. No, I would not object to having it enforced if the insurance companies did not want to insure in a State.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all right if they do it State by State.

Mr. RUSSELL. They can withdraw from this high liability provision, but they do not have to do it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Every major insurance company in the United States is strongly in favor of this program. The program has been worked out carefully with them, with the State insurance supervisors, and with Federal officials.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask at this point that I may yield to the Senator from New Jersey for a brief time, for the purpose of introducing some visitors to the Senate, without the time being charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Alabama? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

VISIT TO THE SENATE BY THREE MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF MALI

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it is our pleasure today to have as visitors to the Senate three members of the Parliament of the Republic of Mali who are visiting in the United States at the invitation of the Department of State.

It is my pleasure to present them to the Senate at this time.

First, the Hon. Yacouba Maiga. [Applause.]

Mr. Maiga is a member of the National Committee for the Defense of the Revolution—CNDR—and Chief of the CNDR Policy Committee; First Vice President of the Legislative Delegation, and Minister-Delegate to the Presidency.

Next is Mr. Sory Ibrehim Wane. [Applause.]

Mr. Wane is a member of the Economic and Financial Commission, CNDR.

The next member is Mr. Amadou Diakite. [Applause.]

Mr. Diakite is Precinct Youth Captain, Bamako.

RECESS

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess for 3 minutes for the purpose of greeting our distinguished guests.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thereupon, at 3 o'clock and 24 minutes p.m., the Senate took a recess until 3 o'clock and 27 minutes p.m.

During the recess, the distinguished guests were greeted by Members of the Senate.

On expiration of the recess, the Senate reassembled and was called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. Spong of Virginia).

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3497) to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], who really originated this insurance idea so far as action by the Senate is concerned, unfortunately is not able to be present in the Chamber today. However, he prepared and left with me a statement that he would like to have given to the Senate in the course of this debate, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Record, together with a letter to the editor, referred to in the statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The statement of Senator Smathers and the letter to the editor are as follows:

Mr. Smathers. I wish to direct my remarks to Title XI of S. 3497, which would by amendment of the National Housing Act create a National Insurance Development Corporation within the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In its report on this bill, the Banking and Currency Committee graciously acknowledged the pioneer work done by the Senate Small Business Committee in spotlighting the almost total lack of insurance protection for small businessmen and other property owners in the high-risk and low-income neighborhoods of our inner cities.

The Small Business Committee did indeed hold extensive hearings in April, 1967 in an effort to evaluate the impact of urban crime on small businesses located in or adjacent to the ghetto areas of our cities. This inquiry necessarily included an examination of the extent to which insurance protection is available to small firms.

As a result of our Committee's finding that small businessmen in high-risk localities either were unable to obtain insurance or were forced to pay prohibitive premiums, a year ago I introduced S. 1484, a measure designed to bridge this insurance gap which has such a crippling impact on small store owners in our low-income metropolitan neighborhoods.

Hearings were then held on my bill by the Small Business Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee. Subsequently, the Subcommittee reported S. 1484, with amendments, to the Banking and Currency Committee. The insurance provisions of S. 3497, then, are the product of careful study by the Small Business Committee, by the Small Business Subcommittee, and by the full Banking Committee.

Title XI of S. 3497, Mr. President, has my full support. It is more than a good amendment. It is an imperative legislative proposal—*if* this Congress has any intention of making it possible for merchants and other property owners in the poverty-areas of our cities to continue in business. And continue they must, or we will surely witness further deterioration of these blighted localities and all our efforts directed at the physical and economic rehabilitation of these areas will come to nought.

It should be borne in mind, Mr. President, that the hearings of the Small Business Committee on the impact of crime on small businessmen were held prior to the recent riots which devastated so many of our inner cities. Last year, we were concerned with more or less routine criminal acts; the around-the-clock burglaries, robberies, and senseless acts of vandalism which make life a nightmare for small merchants in the poor and run-down neighborhoods of our cities.

We sought answers to three basic questions:

Does small business need insurance protection against crime?

Is such insurance available at reasonable rates?

Is there a need for a Federal factor to assure the availability of insurance in high-crime neighborhoods?

We found that following a single robbery or burglary, a small businessman's insurance premiums jumped as much as 100 percent. Just as often, the policy was canceled outright.

We found that only 11 percent of all business units have insurance against glass breakage.

We were told that in the Fillmore district of Chicago, almost a third of the merchants questioned stated that they met with outright refusals in their efforts to buy insurance policies against thefts.

Furthermore, Mr. President, statistics of the National Bureau of Casualty Underwriters reveal that between 1964 and 1966, premium rates in the District of Columbia for burglary and robbery rose an average of 61 percent. The increase for small retailers increased 87 percent, and mercantile safe insurance rose more than 100 percent.

These are the hard facts. Inner-city small businessmen simply cannot afford property insurance even when such protection may be available. More often than not, such protection cannot be purchased at any price.

Our experience of the past few months, with its widespread destruction of property cries out for a promptly implemented cooperative effort by the Federal Government, by the States, and by the private insurance industry to provide that insurance protection which is an absolute prerequisite of maintaining and of rehabilitating the economic life of our inner-city neighborhoods.

At this point in my remarks, Mr. President, I request that there be printed a letter which appeared in the Washington Star of May 24, 1968, headed "After 44 Years in Business." This letter to the editor tells the tragic story of a family which operated a hardware store in the District of Columbia for almost half a century. After recounting the losses which this business suffered since April 5 of this year, the letter states: "Now we receive word that the insurance on our building is to be canceled."

After 44 Years in Business

Sir: We are owners of a hardware store in Northeast Washington. We write in behalf of the many who share our problems. We have obeyed the laws, paid our taxes, and insured ourselves, though it was expensive. We are more than equal-opportunity employers, as the majority of our help is Negro, and has been for years. We have been father-confessor, banker and adviser to our customers, with whom we have dealt honestly and fairly. We are charter members of the Business and Professional Association of Far Northeast, and have worked diligently for local improvements and closer cooperation between consumers and merchants. We are for civil rights for all men.

Prior to April, 1968, we had lost money on bad checks, burglary, shoplifting, and vandalism, all repaired or replaced at our expense. We have taken needed hours from our business to set in court at the request of the police, only to see the judges postpone the cases or dismiss the defendant. We are constantly in need of more reliable help. We have had trouble for years.

Since April 5, 1968, we have been the victims of repeated looting, and vandalism. Our store was closed for two weeks in order to repair the major damage done to us on that date. Since we reopened for business, we have been broken into twice and have had numerous broken windows and doors.

Insurance may or may not cover a portion of these expenses. The bills for repairs to our property, and merchandise and equipment that was damaged or stolen are arriving daily. We have lost our expected busy spring season. We are frustrated with the past and pessimistic about the future.

Now, we receive word that the insurance on our building is to be canceled. Since conditions in the District are so bad, this could be the end of our business. We can obtain jobs in the suburbs and lower our standard of living. We can do without the responsibilities of owning a business and all that entails. We can manage. We will not need welfare.

But the taxes the District collects will be lost. All of our years of endeavor will be wasted. Our employees will probably need some financial assistance. Our customers will lose the convenience and service they depend on.

To our way of thinking, this benefits no one and hurts many. Is this what is to become of us after forty-four years in business? Is that what is to become of our employes who have been responsible supporters of their families? Is the city to be left an empty shell of families living on relief?

Citizens must be protected. Criminals must be jailed. The police must have the men and the methods to do this. Businessmen must be able to obtain insurance. We are willing to pay for it. Of all the groups now clamoring for help, how many are offering to help themselves as we have done and hopefully will continue to do?

We and all the others in our predicament are watching our life's work go down the drain, along with our children's education and our security.

Abraham and Ida Wolf.
Harvey and Freeda Wolf.

Mr. Smathers. Title XI of S. 3497, Mr. President, should meet with the approval of all who are concerned with preventing our inner cities from becoming economic wastelands. The National Insurance Development Corporation which would be created by this amendment places the responsibility of maintaining the economic viability of our inner cities where it should be—upon the States and upon the insurance industry, with the full cooperation of the Federal Government as a reinsuring agency.

Thus we have in this amendment a blueprint for a workable partnership to provide insurance protection for the innocent victims of criminal acts.

This legislation is desperately needed by those whom it will serve and I urge its favorable consideration.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Georgia has expressed concern as to the impact of the provisions of the bill upon the Treasury Department. I think we do have some experience which is relevant to that point which should be made a matter of record.

For example, I understand that the insured riot losses which occurred in 1967 were between $50 million and $75 million. The bill provides that the reinsurance premiums charged by the National Insurance Development Corporation must be sufficient to collect this amount, so that if the riot losses do not exceed the experience of 1967, the reinsurance premiums would cover that loss, as I understand it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. MUSKIE. In addition, it is estimated that the potential retention of losses by the industry on a nationwide basis will amount to another $75 million. Finally, the bill as it now stands would provide that the States would be potentially responsible for another $75 million. That is a total of $200 million worth of coverage without the Treasury's borrowing authority being relied upon at all.

I understand that these figures are the product of staff research into the question. Do I correctly understand that?

Mr. RUSSELL. If the Senator from Alabama would allow me to answer that, we must be reading different bills. The bill I have been reading, and the one I am seeking to amend, is that the State pays 5 percent of the premium under the losses, and all the insurance companies have to pay is on the premiums, and not $75 million. It has no connection whatever with what the distinguished Senator from Maine has said.

At least, the bill and the committee report that comes out of the Banking and Currency Committee referred to the premiums paid on the policies, and not the amount of the policies.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think, though, that the figures are arrived at in retrospect of the 1967 losses, and the 5 percent is calculated to bring that much on the premiums.

Mr. RUSSELL. In the report it says 5 percent of the premiums, not of the amount that is paid out in losses.

The Senator from Maine does not give the figures as to what is collected in premiums. He speaks only of the losses. What is the amount of the premiums? That is what the bill deals with.

Mr. MUSKIE. May I say to the Senator that, as I understand it from the staff assistant who gave me these figures, the $75 million that I attributed as the responsibility of the States represents 5 percent of the insurance premiums generated within the country. This is the 5 percent of those insurance premiums for which the States are responsible under the provisions of the bill. Those premiums are available for the losses that exceed the amount of insurance, the excess held against losses.

Mr. RUSSELL. In the first place, it does not apply to all the States, and it cannot, because some of their constitutions will not allow that. So the figures the Senator gives are almost meaningless.

Mr. MUSKIE. I disagree. The Senator is speculating in the wild blue yonder about the cost to the Treasury. I think it is perfectly permissible, the Senator having raised this question, which lies in the field of speculation, to suggest what the impact will be on the insurance companies, on the States, and on the Treasury.

Mr. RUSSELL. Can the Senator give us what was the total of the premiums paid on this type of insurance policy last year, and where is it in the record?

Mr. MUSKIE. The $75 million that I have been referring to here as the amount the States would be responsible for, if all the States participated, is 5 percent of the insurance premiums generated by reinsured lines of property insurance. So the total of the premiums would be 20 times that.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am not skilled enough in the science of insurance to know whether that is correct.

Mr. MUSKIE. It is a simple problem of mathematics. I will be glad to work it out.

Mr. RUSSELL. In other words, the premium is one-twentieth of the amount of the policy?

Mr. MUSKIE. No. I gave the amount that would be generated by the States by retaining responsibility up to 5 percent of the premiums. I am trying to work backwards on the floor to arrive at an answer which is responsive to the Senator's question, and that would be one-fifth——

Mr. RUSSELL. How much?

Mr. MUSKIE. One-fifth of the premiums.

Mr. RUSSELL. On this type of insurance? I hope the Record will be left that way, so I can check into it. I cannot believe it will be that amount.

Mr. MUSKIE. That is the information from the staff who worked on that.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator says one-fifth is paid in premiums on this particular type of insurance. I will be very surprised——

Mr. MUSKIE. All property insurance.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am not talking about all property insurance. This bill does not go to all property insurance. It only goes to this high-cost insurance that applies to riot risks.

Mr. MUSKIE. As I understand it, the percentage is based upon the premiums earned on all reinsured lines of property insurance, and not just in the ghettos.

Mr. RUSSELL. So the Federal Government is now preparing to reinsure all property insurance in the United States?

Mr. MUSKIE. No. The proposal is to provide reinsurance to cover only riot losses. But, the formula for determining the responsibility of the State is related to all property insurance coverage which is reinsured. I emphasize what the Senator from Alabama pointed out—that this was worked out with the insurance companies. It is worked out with the State insurance authorities. There are no surprises on this.

Mr. RUSSELL. There are surprises, because those figures do not appear in the record, or if they do, I could not find them, and I looked it over.

Mr. MUSKIE. The staff says the Senator is correct, that they do not appear in the hearings, and that is the purpose of providing them on the floor. I have to rely on the staff as well. I was not involved in the subcommittee hearings on this bill, and so I am trying to provide information that is available through the staff.

Mr. RUSSELL. I would imagine one-fifth on all, the total, insurance coverage in the country might be about right.

Mr. MUSKIE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. But the coverage of the reinsurance that we are dealing with here cannot possibly cost any one-fifth. It is a very small proportion of the total insurance in the United States.

Mr. MUSKIE. May I say to the Senator, to make it perfectly clear, and I understand this is reinforced by the staff, that these figures of the revenues that are generated—and that is the formula of the bill—relate to all insurance. Five percent of the revenues generated amount to $75 million. That relates to all insurance. But the reinsurance relates to riot losses, and not all property losses.

Mr. RUSSELL. Of course, the staff may find it, but I have been unable to so find, in the bill or in the record, just how much the insurance companies are going to contribute to the fund. As I understand the bill, it is left to future negotiation and contracts, and here the Senator gives us a definite figure when we have no contract and we do not even know who is going to make it.

Mr. MUSKIE. Those contract negotiations are aimed at a figure of $75 million.

Mr. RUSSELL. How can the Senator predict that?

Even if he knows who is going to be named head of this corporation, that is purely an assumed figure. There is no 5 percent in the bill, except as to the amount to be contributed by the States.

Mr. MUSKIE. The guidelines on this subject, may I say, are found on page 95 of the report, the second full paragraph. I ask unanimous consent that that paragraph be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the extract was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> Section 1222(b) of the proposed new title would provide that the reinsurance offered shall reimburse an insurer for its total proved and approved claims for losses resulting from riots or civil disorders during the term of the reinsurance contracts, in excess of the amount of the insurer's retention of such losses as provided in the reinsurance contract. The typical insurance company retention of loss arrangement is expected to involve two features: (1) An initial retention of losses, equal to a percentage of premiums earned in a State on lines reinsured, plus (2) the assumption of an additional percentage of total losses, above and beyond the initial retention. For illustrative purposes, the first percentage might be assumed to be 3 percent. Assuming that premiums earned in the State on reinsured lines amounted to $100 million, the insurers' initial retention would be $3 million ($100 million times 3 percent). If the second percentage is assumed to be 10 percent, and the total insured claims from riots and civil disorders by companies doing business in the State in a calendar year amounted to $45 million, the additional insurers' retention of losses would amount to $4.2 million ($45 million less the $3 million initial retention times 10 percent). Thus, the private insurers' retention of riot losses from their own resources would be $7.2 million.

Mr. MUSKIE. One of the guidelines is this:

> The typical insurance company retention of loss arrangement—

This is directly responsive to the point made by the Senator from Georgia—

> The typical insurance company retention of loss arrangement is expected to involve two features: (1) An initial retention of losses—

This relates to the insurance companies—

> equal to a percentage of premiums earned in a State on lines reinsured, plus (2) the assumption of an additional percentage of

total losses, above and beyond the initial retention.

Those guidelines apply to the obligation expected to be assumed by the insurance company.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The time on the amendment has expired.

Mr. **RUSSELL.** Mr. President, I am glad the Senator put that in the RECORD, because it does not say anything about any 5 percent.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The time on the amendment has expired. Who yields time on the bill?

Mr. **RUSSELL.** Mr. President, that paragraph went into the RECORD, did it not?

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Yes.

Mr. **RUSSELL.** I invite the attention of all Senators to it to see if it confirms the statement made.

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** Mr. President, if the Senator is ready to yield back his time, I am ready to do so.

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. Mr. President, before time is yielded back, may I ask a question?

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** I yield time to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. Mr. President, the latter part of page 181 of the bill states: "provide a Federal program of insurance," and so forth.

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** To what page does the Senator refer?

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. Page 181. My question is directed to the next few words: "and placing appropriate financial responsibility upon the States to share in such losses."

My question is: Will the Senator from Alabama interpret what the committee had in mind when it said "placing appropriate financial responsibility upon the States"?

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** Is that page 181?

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. Page 181 of the bill, the last two lines.

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** I see; right at the bottom of the page.

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. At the bottom of the page.

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** Yes. This is in the statement of purpose, and, of course, under the mechanism that is set up, we have been talking about the 5 percent that the States are responsible for. They bear that potential responsibility.

But, I reiterate, the State financial burden is contingent upon the industry retention and the reinsurance premiums in the State proving inadequate.

The insurance people tell us, and I believe they are the best authorities that we have, that they are confident that the reinsurance program will pay for itself, and that there will be no losses to the Federal Government. The State's responsibility is to assume the financial responsibility described, to set up the State fair plan and administer the program.

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. Then am I correct in understanding that the language saying "placing appropriate financial responsibility upon the States" merely applies to the cost to the State of establishing the plan?

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** The thing that the State has to do is to set up the program, the State fair plan, and administer it.

Let me refer to one further provision. I direct the Senator's attention to page 197, where we get to the conditions of reinsurance. It states, down near the bottom of the page—

> A . . . fund established pursuant to State law, will reimburse the Corporation, in an amount up to 5 per centum of the aggregate property insurance premiums earned in that State during the preceding calendar year.

That is really the burden on the States.

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. That is the burden on the States?

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** That is right.

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. So the placing of appropriate financial responsibility is assumed to be 5 percent?

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** That is correct.

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. I thank the Senator.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Are the yeas and nays requested?

Mr. **SPARKMAN.** I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. **HOLLAND.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt from the report, consisting of pages 95, 96, and 97 down to the heading "Recovery of Premiums: Statute of Limitations," on page 97, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the committee report (No. 1123) was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REINSURANCE AGREEMENTS AND PREMIUMS

Section 1222(a) of the proposed new title would authorize the Corporation, during the first year following enactment of the title, to enter into reinsurance contracts in consideration of payment of such premium or other charge which the Corporation deems adequate to obtain an aggregate fund in excess of the estimated amount of insured riot losses during 1967, assuming a substantial proportion of property insurance written will be reinsured. Thereafter, the Corporation may increase or decrease such premiums for reinsurance if it is found, after full consultation with the advisory board and the National Association of Insurance Commissioners, that such action is necessary or appropriate.

Section 1222(b) of the proposed new title would provide that the reinsurance offered shall reimburse an insurer for its total proved and approved claims for losses resulting from riots or civil disorders during the term of the reinsurance contracts, in excess of the amount of the insurer's retention of such losses as provided in the reinsurance contract. The typical insurance company retention of loss arrangement is expected to involve two features: (1) An initial retention of losses, equal to a percentage of premiums earned in a State on lines reinsured, plus (2) the assumption of an additional percentage of total losses, above and beyond the initial retention. For illustrative purposes, the first percentage might be assumed to be 3 percent. Assuming that premiums earned in the State on reinsured lines amounted to $100 million, the insurers' initial retention would be $3 million (100 million times 3 percent). If the second percentage is assumed to be 10 percent, and the total insured claims from riots and civil disorders by companies doing business in the State in a calendar year amounted to $45 million, the additional insurers' retention of losses would amount to $4.2 million ($45 million less the $3 million initial retention times 10 percent). Thus, the private insurers' retention of riot losses from their own resources would be $7.2 million.

Section 1222(c) of the proposed new title would authorize the Corporation to include such terms and conditions in reinsurance contracts as are necessary to carry out the purposes of the title, but that such terms and conditions shall be uniform throughout the country. Nevertheless, to take account of the significant variations between the needs of insurers, the Corporation, in its discretion, may permit insurers to select from different specified levels of retention of losses, provided that the premium rates adequately reflect each level so retained by each insurer, and further provided that the premium rate for any given retention is uniform for all insurers throughout the country.

Section 1222(d) of the proposed new title would provide that reinsurance contracts will be for a term expiring on April 30, 1969, and on April 30 each year thereafter and shall be entered into within 90 days of the effective date of this title or within 90 days prior to April 30 each year thereafter, or within 90 days after an insurer is authoried to write insurance in a State which it was not so authorized to write in the preceding year.

CONDITIONS OF REINSURANCE

Section 1223(a) of the proposed new title would set forth various conditions under which the Corporation will terminate existing reinsurance and will not offer new coverage on policies written after the termination date.

Paragraph (1) would provide that reinsurance will not be offered in any State if the State itself, its political subdivisions, or a governmental corporation or fund established pursuant to State law, does not assume a portion of the responsibility for assisting the Corporation to reinsure against losses resulting from riots or civil disorders, within 1 year after the effective date of the act, or if the appropriate State legislative body has not met in regular session during that year by the close of its next regular session. The State would not be called on to reimburse the Corporation until the reinsured losses paid by the Corporation in a calendar year are in excess of the total reinsurance premiums received in the State during the year, plus the excess of reinsurance premiums received in the State over reinsured losses paid by the Corporation during the preceding period measured from the most recent calendar year in which the State had reimbursed the Corporation for reinsured losses. After the Corporation has paid such amount of reinsured losses in a calendar year, the State would reimburse the Corporation for its additional reinsured losses in that State during the year, in an amount up to 5 percent of the aggregate property insurance premiums earned in the State during the preceding calendar year on those lines of insurance reinsured by the Corporation in the State. Under the foregoing formula, State sharing would not be required unless losses in a State exceeded the sum of (1) the premiums paid by the insurance industry for reinsurance in that State (premiums paid in the year in which the losses occurred plus premiums paid in previous years in excess of reinsured losses paid) and (2) the companies' retained losses. Assuming that the premiums earned in the State on reinsured lines amounted to $100 million and that the premiums for Federal reinsurance would be 2 percent of such earned premiums, the first amount would be $2 million. If the second amount of retained losses by the companies were $7.2 million, the total would be $9.2 million. Since total riot losses this amount, in this example (i.e., $45 million), the State's share would be $5 million ($100 million times 5 percent). There would remain to be paid $30.3 million ($45 million less $9.2 million less $5 million). This amount would be paid by the Corporation, from premiums received from companies for reinsurance in other States.

Paragraph (2) would provide that reinsurance will cease to be available on new policies written in a State after 30 days following the Corporation's notification to the insurer that the Corporation, after consultation with the State insurance authority, finds that a suitable program, in addition to the plan set forth in part A, is required to make essential property insurance more readily available in the State without regard to environmental hazards, and that such program has not been adopted. This paragraph, however, would not become effective until 2 years after the effective date of this act, or at such earlier date as the Corporation, after consultation with the State insurance authority may determine.

Paragraph (3) would provide that reinsurance will cease to be available on policies written in a State after 30 days following notification to the insurer that the Corporation or the State insurance authority finds that the insurer is not fully participating in the plan in the State, in an existing pool, or in any other existing program found by the Corporation to aid in making essential property insurance more readily available in the State. The Corporation could not make such a finding unless it has requested and considered the views of the State insurance authority, or the State authority has failed to respond to a written request for such views within a reasonable period of time.

Paragraph (4) would provide that reinsurance will not be available on new policies written by an insurer following a merger, acquisition, consolidation, or reorganization involving an insurer with reinsurance on one or more lines of insurance and an insurer with or without such reinsurance unless the surviving company meets the criteria of eligibility for reinsurance other than as provided in section 1222(d) and promptly pays any reinsurance premiums due.

Paragraph (5) would provide that reinsurance will terminate upon cancellation by the insurer.

Section 1223(b) of the proposed new title would provide that if reinsurance is terminated or canceled under this section coverage may continue for policies written during the time reinsurance was in force upon payment of an appropriate premium or other charge.

FINANCING THE REINSURANCE PROGRAM

The financing arrangement envisions a reinsurance program which can be self-supporting, drawing on reinsurance premiums paid by insurance companies and payments by the States to cover losses from riots and civil disorders which exceed the losses retained by the insurance companies. If riot losses throughout the Nation resulted in reinsurance claims in excess of the aggregate amount of reinsurance premiums received by the Corporation, the excess would be paid from funds borrowed by the Secretary from the Treasury, to be repaid from future reinsurance premiums. In the event that there is a need to borrow from the Treasury, the authorization in section 520(b) of the National Housing Act for mortgage insurance would be employed. This existing authorization for the Secretary to borrow funds for payment of mortgage insurance claims would be modified so that it could also be used for payment of claims under the reinsurance program. The similar financial requirements of these insurance programs makes this appropriate. The reinsurance program, like the mortgage insurance program, must provide an assurance of prompt payment of claims. In both cases the amount of claims cannot be determined in advance and in normal situations premiums are expected to be sufficient to pay anticipated losses.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Georgia. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD (after having voted in the negative). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were at liberty to vote, I would vote "aye." I withdraw my vote.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Inouye], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin] is paired with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris]. If present and voting, the Senator from North Carolina would vote "yea" and the Senator from Oklahoma would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long] is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy]. If present and voting, the Senator from Louisiana would vote "yea" and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland] is paired with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy]. If present and voting, the Senator from Mississippi would vote "yea" and the Senator from Massachusetts would vote "nay."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senators from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper and Mr. Morton], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong], and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott] is detained on official business, and his pair has been previously announced.

If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin] and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 10, nays 62, as follows:

[No. 167 Leg.]

YEAS—10

Anderson
Ellender
Hayden
Holland
Jordan, N.C.
McClellan
Russell
Stennis
Talmadge
Thurmond

NAYS—62

Baker
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Clark
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hill
Hruska
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Magnuson
McIntyre
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Symington
Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

PRESENT AND GIVING A LIVE PAIR, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—1

Mansfield, for.

NOT VOTING—27

Aiken
Allott
Bible
Carlson
Church
Cooper
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Smathers

So Mr. Russell's amendment was rejected.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the Russell amendment was rejected be reconsidered.

Mr. TOWER. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

On page 89, line 24, strike out "$500,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$250,000,000".

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on the pending amendment there be a time limitation of 30 minutes, the time to be equally divided between the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick] and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Sparkman].

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, do I correctly understand that we can get additional time on the bill if we need it?

Mr. TOWER. I assure the Senator that I will yield time on the bill, if necessary.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** (Mr. CANNON in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **LAUSCHE**. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado allow me to become a cosponsor of the amendment?

Mr. **DOMINICK**. The Senator from Ohio is a cosponsor.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. **DOMINICK**. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The Senate will be in order. Attachés will retire to the rear of the Senate Chamber.

Mr. **DOMINICK**. Mr. President, yesterday we had a vote on the amendment of the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] to strike all of title IV, which vote was unsuccessful.

This morning I engaged in colloquy with the distinguished Senator from Alabama, pointing out that because we were in the process of guaranteeing bonds and all other types of investments in new communities, which would largely benefit the promoters and the builders of the communities, it seems to me that we were taking on a pretty strong liability, or at least a contingent liability, on the part of the Government.

If Senators will refer to page 89 of the bill, at the bottom of the page, they will note that we agree to guarantee outstanding obligations to a contingent liability extent of a half billion dollars. My amendment would simply cut that amount in half, and I have been joined in this by the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] and the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY], who unfortunately is not present at the moment.

It seems to me that history should show us that this is not a remote contingent liability. It is a fairly imminent one. All we need do is look at the article I hold, published in House and Home, in June of 1966, which reports on what has happened to the so-called new towns that we have been trying to build under private financing. Let me cite some examples, because I believe Senators will be interested. This, I repeat, is in June of 1966, and does not necessarily reflect what is going on now, but it does give some indication.

Reston, Va., which was begun in 1962, had a projected population of 75,000, but the house sales to date—that is, as of June 1966—were 210 houses.

El Dorado Hills, Calif., begun in 1961 by El Dorado Hills West, Inc., had a projected population of 75,000. The house sales up to that point had been 380.

Clear Lake City, Tex., begun in 1962 by Humble Oil & Refining Co., had a projected population of 180,000; but the house sales up to that point had been only 625.

Columbia, Md., begun in 1963 by Community Research & Development, Inc., had a projected population of 110,000; and the article states that ground would be broken in 2 months. In other words, they had not even started.

What I am saying is that we are injecting ourselves into a new type of guarantee financing, into a community situation which is speculative at best, which could be a very sharp liability. The Government, and the Secretary in particular, would suddenly find itself in the land business, in the development business, and I do not believe we want that.

Inasmuch as we are not going to strike the title, it seems to me that we should limit the liability to $250 million, which, under the maximum of $50 million for development, would make a plot program of it, which would permit the guarantee of five of these projects. We could at least see how they work to that extent before we commit ourselves any further.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article to which I referred be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW TOWNS: ARE THEY JUST OVERSIZED SUBDIVISIONS—WITH OVERSIZED PROBLEMS?

(By Frank Lalli)

On the whole, yes.

Regardless of the press, which has tended to hail new-town development as a religion rather than a business, few of today's giant subdivisions meet the planning standard inherent in the new-town concept: a self-sustaining community that offers both employment and the best in urban and suburban living to people of all economic levels.

And all of the current new towns have met serious problems at almost every step from financing to sales.

Size is at the root of these problems. The commonly accepted dividing line between just a big development and a new town is the 6,000-acre mark. There are many projects of up to 3,000 or 4,000 acres that are doing well; so far, virtually none of the 50-odd projects of more than 6,000 acres can, by any stretch of the imagination, be called successful.

The logical conclusion: once a development grows beyond the 6,000-acre mark, its problems become too big—and too expensive—to be handled.

What are these problems? Can new towns make economic sense today—or ever?

To find the answers to these questions, House & Home made an in-depth study of four new towns. They are:

Reston, Va., begun in 1962 by Simon Enterprises. Projected population: 75,000. House sales to date: 210.

El Dorado Hills, Calif., begun in 1961 by El Dorado Hills West Inc. Projected population: 75,000. House sales to date: 380.

Clear Lake City, Tex., begun in 1962 by Humble Oil & Refining Co. Projected population: 180,000. House sales to date: 625.

Columbia, Md., begun in 1963 by Community Research and Development Inc. Projected population: 110,000. Ground will be broken in two months.

NEW TOWNS ARE TRAPPED IN A THREE-SIDED DILEMMA: LOCATION VERSUS FINANCE VERSUS SALES

Each side represents a tough problem in itself. And since all three are interlocked, new-town developers can't solve one unless they solve all three. Conversely, if any one of the problems remains unsolved for very long, the other two get worse—in geometric proportion.

There are other problems too, such as attracting industry and working with local government, which contribute to the basic dilemma and also add headaches of their own.

All these problems are listed below, together with examples of how they have hobbled the four case-study new towns.

Problem No. 1: location—Big enough parcels at low enough prices are way out of town

Almost every new-town developer has had to go well beyond established areas of development to find the right combination of land and price. This makes it tough to lure buyers, and it also creates physical problems in land development. Few far-out areas have either the roads or the utilities required by a new town, even in its early stages.

Robert E. Simon Jr. had to go 18 miles west of Washington, D.C., to find a 7,180-acre parcel for Reston. And even there the land cost $13 million, or $1,900 an acre. (As a rule of thumb, new town developers do not like to spend more than $1,500 an acre.)

Allan H. Lindsey spent $9 million (back in 1959) for 9,000 acres that are a full 25 miles from Sacramento. And Humble Oil & Refining Co. built Clear Lake City on 15,000 flat acres 25 miles from Houston. Humble had owned the land for 28 years (original cost: $300 an acre), and had intended to develop it for industry because Houston buyers considered the area the wrong side of town. But Humble switched to houses after NASA's Manned Spacecraft Center moved in next door.

These early new town developers tended to overlook the remoteness of their sites, believing that their open-space planning and other amenities would bring buyers out from the suburbs. But they have learned that remoteness robs them of far more sales than their amenities can attract. At Clear Lake City, for example, a huge advertising campaign that featured a $1 million recreation center pulled 50,000 visitors during its opening. But only 36 people bought homes the first month.

Location also runs up development costs. It's obvious that 7,000-acre-plus parcels of open land can be found only in rural areas, and these areas will have totally inadequate roads and utilities.

At Reston, more than $14 million will be spent for roads, sewers, and water. And El Dorado Hills spent $1 million just for a five-mile, four-lane access road. Eventually, the road would have been built by local government, but El Dorado's sales couldn't wait.

James W. Rouse, whose Columbia is close to the ground-breaking stage, has been the most scientific of the new-town developers in picking his location. He decided that 1) he needed at least 10,000 acres to make the project worthwhile, and 2) the cost should be no more than $1,500 an acre. He studied many metropolitan areas, and while he couldn't find a big enough, cheap enough parcel close to a city, he may have found the next best thing—a site directly between Baltimore and Washington, D.C. And by purchasing his land quickly and quietly, he held to the $1,500-an-acre limit.

But Columbia still needs utilities, and it is 15 and 23 miles respectively from the centers of Baltimore and Washington. It remains to be seen whether this is close enough.

Problem No. 2: financing—New towns go millions in the hole before the first house is built

Rouse has already borrowed $50 million for Columbia, though ground has yet to be broken. Simon had his $40-million real estate empire tied up in Reston before he got his first loan. ("I was hocked to the hilt," he says.) Lindsey recently closed a lease-back deal with John Hancock Life Insurance Co. for $14 million.

It is obvious that this kind of heavy financing is available from only a handful of rich sources. It is equally obvious that if those sources can be persuaded to back a new town, it will be on their terms.

Reston is a case in point. Between 1962

and 1964 Simon made unsuccessful attempts to borrow money from 80 different sources, including banks, insurance companies, and big corporations. Finally, just five days before Simon would have had to abandon Reston, Gulf Oil made a $15 million commitment. The price: first mortgages on all of Simon's land, an option to buy stock in Reston, and the only gas station in town.

After Simon finished refinancing only $3.5 million was left, so last fall he borrowed $21 million from John Hancock. The price: title to all undeveloped land in Reston. Simon must buy it back in annual chunks—at appreciated prices.

Even now, Simon does not rule out the possibility of another major loan.

Some backers have second thoughts that leave the new-town developer in a damaging situation. Simon's financial woes began when a potential investor promised him $6 million. Simon started Reston with his own money, but when he went back for the loan, the investor handed him instead a list of 20 reasons why he had changed his mind. ("My favorite," says Simon, "was: 'What if the national capitol was moved to Denver?'.")

The same sort of thing happened with El Dorado Hills' first backers. Hale Brothers Associates, owners of Broadway Stores, decided not to wait for long-range profits after El Dorado's first two disappointing years. In a complicated deal, Hale Brothers left Lindsey with the El Dorado Hills land but took 80% of other land Lindsey and Hale Brothers owned jointly in a separate corporation.

Even the $3.2-billion Humble Oil & Refining Co. has shown an increasing reluctance to tie up more money in its own Clear Lake City. Instead, Humble has borrowed money from Chase Manhattan Bank (and possibly others) and transferred it to its development company.

More and more investors are realizing they can take the risk out of financing a new town if they can get control of the appreciating land. And the land does appreciate at unbelievable rates. El Dorado Hills land has climbed from $6.7 million to $29 million in six years.

Investors have also learned that they don't have to own the land to control it. At Columbia, for example, Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., together with Teachers Insurance Annuity Assn. of America and Chase Manhattan Bank, loaned $50 million to Rouse. In return, Connecticut General will get 50% of the land profit and (if it wishes) a strong say in major decisions. The other two investors hold long-term mortgage notes.

Problem No. 3: sales—The cost of financing far outweighs the realities of the marketplace

Every new-town developer finds himself in this double bind. His cash flow situation demands a big and increasing volume of sales right from the beginning. But his far-out location, which often isolates buyers from shops and schools, makes sales difficult in the early months.

Commercial facilities will eventually be built—indeed, it is from this source that new-town developers hope to make much of their profit. But commercial interests are reluctant to move in until there are residents.

The developer's only way is to push early sales—at a loss, if necessary—and subsidize early commercial facilities.

In the three case-study new towns where houses have been built, the sales volume fell far short of cash-flow requirements.

At El Dorado Hills, the developers projected 400 house sales their first year, but sold only 120, though they cut their profits drastically. Total sales in more than three years: 380.

At Reston, Developer Simon has 90 of his first 227 townhouses still unsold. And though he hopes to sell 350 redesigned units this year, he had sold only 25 by the first of May. Now three outside builders have 24 acres under option for townhouses that will be $3,000 less expensive than Simon's.

At Clear Lake City, early market studies promised sales of 1,200 houses a year. But since 1963, a total of only 625 houses have been sold.

Although no houses have yet been built at Columbia, the sales projections required to meet cash-flow demands are high enough to worry even the most optimistic builder. Rouse hopes to capture fully 15% of the Baltimore-Washington, D.C. corridor market. That means he must start by selling 500 houses in 1967, and add 500 more sales every year until they level off at 2,500 in 1972.

Rouse is confident he can meet this schedule. But other new-town developers now scoff at market projections.

"It is a lot of guesswork," says Simon. "Who can tell what the market will be like five or ten years from now?"

Investors, too, have grown weary of unfulfilled projections. Though they still ask for them, they put far more weight on the value of the land and its probable appreciation rate.

Problem No. 4: industry—It's needed most in the early stages, and that's when it's toughest to get

Industry is the cornerstone of the new-town concept: It represents both land profits and a potential source of buyers and renters. The trouble is that industry, like commercial interests, wants to locate where people already are living. So again, in order to persuade industry to move into a new town which is just getting started, concessions must be made—usually at the expense of profits. And if one developer does not make concessions, there is a good chance his competitors will.

That is exactly what happened at Clear Lake City. General Electric had agreed to occupy a new building—if the ceilings were raised about a foot to accommodate special equipment.

Clear Lake City executives refused. But the developers of Nassau Bay, an adjacent community, accepted the deal. The resultant revenue got Nassau Bay off to a flying start, and it has become a rugged competitor both for other industry and for homebuyers.

Logically, the concessions that must be made increase in proportion with the size and prestige of the company being wooed. So big employers are often eyed with mixed emotions by new-town developers.

William E. Finley, vice president of Columbia, points to three dangers in accepting a large industry in the new town's early stages: 1) the project could take on the look of a company town; 2) extra roads and utilities would have to be built immediately to accommodate it; and 3) a big company could drive a very hard bargain for a large site. "The developer," say Finley, "could lose money on the deal, even in the long run."

Furthermore, a new town must be selective about the types of industry it accepts, especially in the town's early stages. Some new towns have such stiff density requirements (number of employees per sq. ft. of building), they tend to ban anything but high-paying "think factories."

At Reston, a few of Simon's aides frown on assembly plants because few workers could afford to buy houses in Reston's price range. Simon himself is more concerned with the town's appearance.

"The building that houses the industry must be good looking," says Simon. "And we are also wary of factories that would bring heavy truck traffic into town."

Many new-town developers have chosen to rely on the expansion of nearby industry to provide homebuyers for the first few years. But this method carries no guarantees either.

Clear Lake City is a case in point. Its developers thought they could rely on the nearby Manned Spacecraft Center, which employed 3,000 people when it opened. It was expected to expand enormously. But here's what happened:

1. The Spacecraft Center was delayed a year. Employees began working in temporary quarters in Houston, and settled either in that city or on the side farthest from Clear Lake City.

2. After the Spacecraft Center moved to its present site, a confidential communique was circulated, according to reliable sources, that warned employees not to buy homes because they might be transferred again soon.

3. The first astronauts bought homes in neighboring Nassau Bay (the same competitor that won the General Electric plant). Nassau Bay thus took on the image of a prestige community, and higher-paid executives tended to buy there.

4. The Spacecraft Center is now slowing down its expansion plans. Those employees who are finally buying in the Clear Lake area may be too few and too late.

El Dorado Hills had an equally unhappy experience with a big nearby company. Aerojet General Corp. employed 20,000 people in the early 1960's, and was scheduled to expand to 30,000 by 1963 after El Dorado Hills opened. Instead, Aerojet lost key government contracts and 10,000 employees were let go.

Problem No. 5: government—The size and complexity of new towns leads to many local complications

Most new towns are built in rural counties whose officials are used to handling the decisions and red tape that goes with perhaps 200 houses a year. Into these hamlets come the new-town developers to force feed the area's growth with thousands of houses.

So it isn't surprising that all new-town developers have run into local troubles. Even if the county wants to cooperate, the many requests a new town makes lead inevitably to delays. And delays can be disasters for the new town. Because of whopping overhead, a two-week setback can cost their developers more than $40,000.

Difficulties arise in every area that is under local jurisdiction. Here are examples of the most common:

Zoning. As Rouse began planning Columbia, Howard County, Md., elected a slate of county commissioners pledged to curb urbanization. Shortly after they took office, Rouse disclosed that he had purchased 10% of the county and wanted urban zoning. It took him a year to win over county residents and the officials (H&H Oct. '65).

"Even so, we were lucky," says Rouse. "Five years before we would have gotten a flat 'no'. And five years later the sewers would have been extended and the land would have cost too much for us."

A zoning fight takes time as well as manpower. An early project manager of El Dorado Hills took one of his aides off another job and told him not to show up again until he had won the necessary zoning for the whole project. The aide didn't came back to the office for nearly six months.

Land Engineering. Reston won the zoning it needed, but its land improvements still must meet the same stringent requirements as any other subdivision in Virginia's Fairfax County.

For example, Simon has asked permission to build winding roads that would preserve trees and add to the town's rural look. But the county has demanded that swaths as much as 100 ft. wide be cleared for the roads. And Reston has also been asked to supplement natural drainage streams with drainage pipes.

Says one employee: "We don't have time to fight every decision. We would have to stop and argue about each tree and each stream in town."

Reston developers claim they could save $500 a lot if the so-called "extra requirements" were waived. But there is little chance the county will yield.

Schools. Normally, local governments try to put schools in growing areas. But the best of intentions can go astray.

At Reston, construction bids for a new school were much too high and were rejected. Simon needs a school to sell houses, so he now has no choice but to bid on the school himself. And he has to make sure that his bid is low enough to be accepted, so profit must suffer.

Access roads. Inevitably, new-town developers jump ahead of road construction to find low-cost land. Then they must decide who will extend the roads to their project—the state or their own crews. Both methods have been tried and both have proved costly.

As noted above, Lindsey spent more than $1 million to build a divided four-lane road linking El Dorado Hills to a freeway five miles away. The state did put an interchange at El Dorado's front gate, but they also required that the private road meet state highway specifications.

At Clear Lake City, Del E. Webb Corp., an early partner with Humble Oil, decided in 1963 to gamble that the state would build a major access road. Humble is still waiting for the road (Webb pulled out of Clear Lake City in 1964). But chances are it will be built soon, because Humble has finally agreed to join in the construction.

Says a former Webb employee: "If we had built the road, every employee at the Manned Spacecraft Center would have had to drive through Clear Lake City to get to work." And he adds that had the access road been built, the Spacecraft Center's front gate probably would have been turned to face Clear Lake City. (As it is, the Center faces Clear Lake's old nemesis, Nassau Bay.)

Developer Simon suffers the most bizarre lack of access roads. A four-lane highway runs right down the middle of Reston, but no one can get on or off. The road links Dulles International Airport with downtown Washington, and it is used almost exclusively by government officials and foreign dignitaries. Simon has asked the Federal Aviation Agency to provide access for Reston, but no action is expected. Meanwhile, visitors to Reston must drive the last seven miles along a two-lane country road.

Problem No. 6: who builds?—Developers lack experience, outside builders look out for themselves

Almost invariably the developer is an entrepreneur whose experience is in land and commercial development rather than in the basics of designing, building and selling houses. As a result, he is seldom a successful builder himself.

The alternative is to bring in experienced outside builders. But this approach has also proven unsuccessful. The developer quickly finds that he has traded lack of experience for lack of control.

Basically, the developer and the builder have quite different aims. The developer wants lower-cost houses because his profit comes from the long-range volume of lot sales. But the builder wants higher-priced units because his profit comes from the house itself.

At Reston, a combination of inexperience and a desire for beauty led Simon to give his architects too much freedom; they produced townhouse plans that were difficult and expensive to build.

At Clear Lake City, Humble Oil joined with Builder Del Webb in what at first seemed an ideal partnership of big money and building know-how. Humble took 70% of the profits and handled the financing; Webb took 30% of the profits plus a straight 5% building fee.

But the partnership was a dud. Webb missed the market and sold less than half of the 288 houses he built. And he left a residue of ill-will in Houston that hurt Clear Lake City. Some subcontractors went bankrupt at the project, so others refused to bid for jobs there later. And confusion about who would establish a bank at Clear Lake City disenchanted parts of the Houston business community.

After Webb departed, in early 1964, Humble put its own staff in charge of the project and sold lots to outside builders. But the Humble men lacked experience, and the outside builders, among other things, replatted their lots and squeezed eight houses onto land that was meant to accommodate six.

At El Dorado Hills, both building approaches were tried. Developer Lindsey began by hiring a construction supervisor and paying him a straight $500 for each house built. But when sales moved slowly, Lindsey decided to option 5,000 lots to an outside builder, William Lyons, in order to save the $500 fee.

It was a mistake. Lyons, a highly successful builder in Southern California, missed the tight Sacramento market by about $500, despite Lindsey's warnings to keep prices low. The result: a liquidation sale of 34 of the 40 Lyons homes that hurt El Dorado Hill's image.

Lindsey has now gone back to building the houses himself. But he is still having trouble finding the right man to head the building program.

Problem No. 7: residents—If buyers aren't kept happy, they can tie up the entire project

When a buyer purchases a home in a new town he immediately becomes a resident with definite legal rights and powers. If enough residents don't like the way the new town is progressing—or not progressing—they can do something about it.

In some new towns the resident members of sewer boards can vote not to continue development. In others, community associations control assessments to maintain parks and other common property.

"For all practical purposes," says a Columbia executive, "an association could keep us from building a whole village."

Such resident revolts are most likely after the town has grown for about five years. And that's when the developer may be starting to make his first clear profit.

Some new town developers have tried to guard against revolts by keeping as much control as possible over resident organizations.

At Clear Lake City, the first sewer board was appointed after the first ten families had been persuaded to buy houses at reduced cost. Two of the board members were actively building in Clear Lake City at the time.

At El Dorado Hills, Developer Lindsey's executive vice president, Carl J. Kowall, is the board chairman of the water district. Kowall points out, however, that he was elected by his fellow residents.

Other new town developers have put emphasis on cooperating with residents right from the beginning. At Reston, each buyer automatically becomes a member both of a neighborhood and a townwide group, and developer Simon is a frequent visitor at their meetings. Says Simon: "We want to show the residents that their welfare is at the heart of our project."

And says Developer Rouse: "If we can't do a good job for our residents at Columbia, we deserve to have the project taken out of our hands." Columbia residents will get that power in about 10 years through a community association that Rouse himself organized.

But just as unhappy residents can hurt a new town, happy ones can help. Developer Lindsey was pleasantly surprised to learn that the John Hancock Co. loaned him $14 million partly because a private survey showed that 98% of his 2,000 residents like El Dorado Hills.

IN THE FACE OF ALL THESE PROBLEMS, WILL NEW TOWNS EVER MAKE ECONOMIC SENSE?

It's too early to say for sure. No new town has progressed far enough to give an accurate indication of its long-range profit potential.

But there are plenty of opinions. California Builder Edward Eichler, who made a study of new towns on a Ford Foundation grant, thinks most developers will be lucky if they make a 6% profit. Charles Haar, HUD's assistant secretary for metropolitan planning, points out that British new towns were greeted with similar skepticism, but are doing well today. (Those towns, however, are controlled—and subsidized—by the British government.)

U.S. new towns have certainly had their early troubles. But it must be remembered that they represent first attempts by their developers. Says Simon: "No one knows very much about this business. It is all trial and error."

But though the basic problems will not go away, new solutions may be coming up. Specifically:

General Electric, and possibly other giant corporations, are about to get into the act. G.E. has been sizing up new towns for about two years and is beginning to put together a management team. Reportedly, G.E. has $500 million to spend in new towns.

The question is not when will big corporations move into the market, but how. If they become operating developers who consolidate small builders into their organization, it could mark the beginning of giant homebuilder companies. (It could also mark the beginning of a decline in new-town esthetics. The best new towns owe their quality to the dedication of men who are, at least to some degree, building monuments to themselves.)

It is more likely, however, that corporations will make loans in return for supplier contracts. That would give new-town developers a new source of funds even after their land has been traded off. A small-scale example: Gulf Oil will build and fuel a central heating and cooling utility at Reston.

Federal aid for new towns may be on the way in the form of FHA insurance for large private (and public) land developments. Such a bill is before Congress now, championed by HUD as an alternative to urban sprawl. But it carries a ceiling of $25 million—too little to make a real difference to a big new town.

Furthermore, the bill probably won't pass until its proponents can explain clearly just who would benefit by it.

HUD's Charles Haar says the bill offers the only way small builders can participate in new towns on a large scale. (But small builders are already doing much of the building in new towns.)

Developer Rouse says that sufficient federal aid will multiply new towns, and adds that new towns will be the vehicle giant companies use to take over the homebuilding industry. (Rouse plans to start another new town in about 5 years if Columbia does well.)

Developer Simon says honestly that federal aid would increase his profits.

Opponents of the federal aid bill argue that all the government would be doing is subsidizing millionaire developers with money that is desperately needed in existing cities. And Edward Eichler says there is nothing special about the new-town concept that warrants federal aid.

While the arguments run on, new towns seem to be getting a form of federal aid right now. Each of the four case-study towns either has a major government installation or stands a good chance of getting one soon. Clear Lake City has the Manned Spacecraft Center; Reston is about to get a 2,000-man government agency; Columbia has been considered as a site for the Government Printing Office; and El Dorado Hills is adjacent to a possible site for a new atom smasher.

Are these only coincidences, or do they reflect a semi-official government policy? Reportedly, President Kennedy encouraged his Cabinet to locate expanded government agencies in new towns whenever possible. But under President Johnson, the emphasis has shifted to existing cities (e.g., the Demonstration Cities Program). According to some sources, that shift explains why Kennedy-appointee Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, has promoted towns like Reston in public while keeping his direct help behind the scenes.

Is it inside information or sheer naivete that prompts key members of Reston's staff to insist, "The Federal Government won't let us fail"?

RESTON: A FINE CONCEPT AND A HANDSOME START—BOTH HAMSTRUNG BY MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS

More than any other giant development, Reston, represents the new-town ideal. It's hard to fault the plan, which includes permanent greenbelts winding through seven distinctive villages, and enough industry to employ 50% of the town's work force. And the first village center is a striking example of urban architecture.

The concept is good because it is the work of a cultured and dedicated man—Robert E. Simon, a former owner of Carnegie Hall. Simon has deep personal involvement in Reston (the town's name is taken from his initials). Ironically, it is his determination to build a dream town that has led to his troubles.

Simon decided to build primarily townhouses so that Reston would have a maximum amount of open space. Financing costs were pressing him, and he was forced to throw together a management team to get things rolling. Result: the first townhouses came in $7,000 too high—and 13 months late. Here's what went wrong:

Simon gave his architects too much freedom, and they ignored the realities of house building. Says one employee: "It took a genius to frame those first 227 townhouses." Because there were 37 different floor plans—plus special features in each house—construction workers continually ran into unfamiliar problems. The inevitable result was long delays. And since Simon did not have late penalties in his subcontractor's agreements, there was little he could do to speed things up.

The architects used non-standard building materials. One used concrete beams, another used special millwork. The result: extra expense and complications. Special brick, made only by one company, was specified for the village center. When the center was half finished, the company went bankrupt, and Simon had to put it back in business with a personal loan.

Simon himself didn't understand how to build and sell houses. He built his townhouses as if they were heavy construction, having the subcontractors pour all the foundations at once, then continuing to build all the houses together, step by step. And he did not have a model area, so buyers had to take long hikes through the village to see each of the 37 floor plans.

Simon believes he has now solved his problems by hiring a so-called "new wave" of aides. He notes that though his townhouses are still being designed by architects, plans are simplified for easier construction. And thanks to his new construction manager (whom he hired away from Builder Ross Cortese), the newest townhouses were built in five months. There are just five different floor plans, and they are placed all together in one model area.

But sales are still lagging. In March only 17 of a projected 30 townhouses were sold (this was still the best month in Reston's history). And after 2½ years Simon is still waiting for FHA approval so he can broaden his market by lowering downpayments.

EL DORADO HILLS: BEAUTIFUL LAND AND A GOOD PLAN ARE HURT BY A SICKLY MARKET

Back in 1959, Developer Allan H. Lindsey was so taken by the rolling and wooded land shown above that he bought 9,000 acres—without really knowing what he would do with it.

It wasn't until two years later that Lindsey decided to put a new town on his land. The timing seemed right: Sacramento was booming, and El Dorado Hills lay right in the path of its logical expansion pattern. Furthermore, Congress had just given Lindsey first rights to pump water from federally controlled Lake Folsom next door. Son Lindsey hired Victor Gruen, who drew a superb plan featuring greenbelts and small neighborhoods (H&H, March '63).

But by the time El Dorado Hills opened in 1962 the Sacramento market was already weak. About a year later Aerojet General Corp. laid off 10,000 workers and the market collapsed completely. Lindsey was particularly hard hit. Aerojet was right next door to El Dorado Hills; now buyers had to be drawn almost entirely from Sacramento, 25 miles away. And Sacramento residents seem to have an inbuilt dislike for long commutes.

Faced with this market, Lindsey chose—and still follows—a conservative course. He didn't try to draw buyers with a stunning commercial complex like Reston's or a giant recreation center like Clear Lake City's. Instead, he has concentrated on offering the best houses for the money in Sacramento (at the expense of much of his profit). And he has held to his master plan.

Lindsey has reason for hope. His recent $14 million loan will allow him to open new models this summer in a wider range of prices, so he can get a bigger chunk of what market there is.

CLEAR LAKE CITY: AN UNHAPPY MIXTURE OF INSTANT SPRAWL AND BUILDER PROBLEMS

Good planning—marked by permanent open space and careful zoning—is the raison d'etre of giant subdivisions. When the planning is done well, as it is in Reston, a new town can provide a real answer to the problem of urban sprawl. But if planning is all but ignored, the project will be little more than a huge tract. And so far, that seems to be what happened at Clear Lake City.

Part of the problem is that Clear Lake's developer, Humble Oil & Refining Co., is inexperienced in homebuilding. Says one member of the development team: "Master plans are a waste of money." The result of this attitude is a sketchy overall layout that sets aside only 4% of the project's 15,000 acres for parks. And although the land is flat and almost completely bald, the developer has planted no trees at all.

But Humble doesn't deserve all the blame. Del E. Webb Corp., an early partner, got Clear Lake City off to a poor start.

Webb made what appeared to be a series of marketing mistakes, and wound up selling only 120 of the 288 homes he built. He put up California-style homes, and found to his surprise that Spacecraft Center employees from California wanted Houston-style homes, just like their new neighbors'. Webb's $18,000-to-$24,000 homes were a little high for the market. And while he put in quality, he put it where buyers couldn't see it.

Webb gave Clear Lake City a tract look by not bringing in outside builders, whose houses would have added variety.

Webb failed to heed buyer-preference studies. Result: he built a nine-hole golf course few people wanted, and a single huge recreation center for buyers who wanted several small centers.

Webb faced complaints of poor workmanship. Some buyers, for example, had to have their lawns seeded five times because landscapers turned up only in bad weather.

Webb is no longer associated with Clear Lake City, but the poor planning remains. Humble has brought in ten outside builders, but they are averaging only 30 houses a month—little better than Webb's pace.

COLUMBIA: PLANNED TO THE NTH DEGREE, IT HAS YET TO FACE ITS FIRST REAL TEST

It's hard to see how James Rouse could have been more scientific in planning Columbia. From the beginning, he hasn't wavered from a classic textbook approach:

Rouse first decided how much land he needed to build a real city. Then he spent months searching from Massachusetts to Virginia for a logical location, deciding finally on a site the size of Manhattan (14,000 acres) between growing Baltimore and booming Washington, D.C.

Before going any further, Rouse turned to financing. He purchased 1,000 acres of his proposed site—just enough to convince three investors (p. 94) that the entire parcel could be assembled for $1,500 an acre. Satisfied, the investors loaned Rouse $50 million, more than enough to get the project under way.

Rouse's next step was most unusual. For more than a year he consulted with 60 of the country's outstanding social planners, and in 1964 he brought some of them together for a total of 200-hours of brainstorming (H&H, Dec. '64). Result: a sociological pattern that is the basis of Columbia's master plan.

Rouse's zoning was approved in 1965 (it took a year), and he has now brought together a team of 20 architects and designers to plan what he calls "the mosaic of the city." Every detail is being considered, from brand-new traffic signs and street furniture to the precise siting of each house on its lot in the first village.

But it is difficult to say how much of all this careful planning will pay off.

Already there have been complications: Bids for a dam came in high, and for a while it seemed that some decorative fountains would have to go. There have been delays: Plans for the first village came back from Howard County, Md., officials with 50 minor objections which took six weeks to resolve. An executive who had exuded confidence earlier now admits that the project is three months behind schedule.

Finally, some important questions have not been answered. Who will the first builders be? And how can Columbia executives enforce the policy of open occupancy that Rouse has demanded for his new town?

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I commend the Senator from Colorado, and I ask him to add my name as a cosponsor of the amendment.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON] be added as a cosponsor of the amendment.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, this is an eminently reasonable suggestion that the Senator makes in his amendment. Of course, I moved to strike the whole title.

In any case, if by some stretch of the imagination this program could be proved highly successful, I believe half of this obligational authority, $250 million, still would give adequate leadtime for us to have some experience with the project and to add more obligational backup on it later, if we wish. It certainly does not hamstring the program to cut the amount in half.

I believe it is a reasonable amendment, and I believe the Senator from Alabama is in a mood to accept it.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMINICK. I yield.

Mr. THURMOND. I wish to commend the able Senator from Colorado for offering this amendment, and I should like to join him as a cosponsor.

Mr. DOMINICK. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] be added as a cosponsor of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I believe there is much merit in what the Senator from Colorado has said. After all, this is still a new program, and this new guaranty authorization is really just an alternative method of financing in order to help the program get started. I believe that cutting the figure in half would leave a reasonable amount with which to get the program started; and if the program proves to be successful, we can provide additional money.

I am willing to accept the amendment.

Will the Senator ask unanimous consent to rescind the order for the yeas and nays?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the yeas and nays be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be added as a cosponsor of the amendment because I believe it is a good one, indeed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. CANNON] be added as a cosponsor of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

All time on the amendment has expired.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALLOTT. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The bill clerk read the amendment, as follows:

On page 261, after line 18, insert the following:

"(10) The sale or lease of real estate which is free and clear of all liens, encumbrances and adverse claims if each and every purchaser or his or her spouse has personally inspected the lot which he purchases and if the developer executes a written affirmation to that effect to be made a matter of record in accordance with rules and regulations of the Secretary."

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I have discussed this amendment with the Senator from New Jersey, the Senator from Texas, and the Senator from Alabama. It relates to the interstate sale of lands in title XIII. It simply exempts those sales in which a company sells land only after onsite inspection and makes a statement with regard to the title.

Mr. President, I think this is a legitimate and proper exemption because with respect to these companies in my State that are developing land in recreation areas and around lakes—many of them are large but most of them are small—it would be a great burden for them to have to file with HUD. Many of them have been operating a long time and there has never been a case of fraud and never a rescission. If there had been I think I would have heard of it. There has never been a deception in the sales in Arkansas. The conditions that give rise to this language have been concentrated in three or four States and I see no necessity for everybody coming to Washington and filing elaborate statements when there is no justification for it.

Title XIII of the omnibus housing bill sets up a system to require "full disclosure" in the sale of land in interstate commerce or through the mails.

The proposal is acknowledged to be a vast improvement over the original bill, S. 275, which would have applied the Securities Act of 1933 almost literally to interstate land sales.

However, the bill is still an adaptation of the Securities Act to these sales, even though it would be administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and even though there is recognition of the differences between sales of land and sales of securities.

Thus, a developer would be required to file with HUD, in great detail, a statement of record. The information required for such a statement is described on pages 113 and 114 of the committee report.

Developers are prohibited from selling land in interstate commerce and through the mails until the statement of record is effective and procedures are set forth for amendments, stop orders, investigations by the Secretary, and so forth.

The title requires that a property report containing any information in the statement of record that the Secretary deems necessary must be given to the purchaser. The title provides that a purchaser may void a contract if he were not given a copy of the property report before or at the time of his signing and that where a purchaser receives the property report within 48 hours of his signing the contract, he may revoke it within 48 hours. However, this latter provision does not apply in the case of a purchaser who first, has read the report and inspected the lot in advance of signing; and second, acknowledges such by his signature.

Civil and criminal liabilities are provided comparable to those of the Securities Act.

The title will apply in any case where a developer has 50 or more undeveloped lots for sale and makes use of the facilities of interstate commerce and the mails. It would be difficult to imagine any developer being able to conduct sales without coming under the act, through the use of the mails or under the current interpretation of interstate commerce. It is true that the Secretary, under the bill, has authority to exempt subdivisions or lots within a subdivision from any of the provisions of the act, if he finds that coverage is not necessary to the public interest and for the protection of purchasers due to the small amount involved or the limited character of the offering.

The committee in its report, states:

> It expects the Secretary to utilize the discretion given him to exempt sales of lots in subdivisions which would technically be covered but which are intrastate or almost entirely intrastate and mainly coincidental. Such a situation could arise, for example, where a few out-of-State purchasers buy lots in a subdivision which is only being offered for sale within the State of the land's location or in nearby communities. (Page 111, committee report.)

I suggest that this is the most general sort of directive to the Secretary and it is by no means clear how he will use this authority, or in fact, whether under the bill he can use it to exempt completely any developer offering for sale 50 or more lots. At any rate a developer will have to hire a lawyer to determine whether or not he is under the act, or to obtain an exemption. Does a developer have to refrain from offering to an out-of-State purchaser? What if a developer in west Memphis advertises in Memphis? Or even merely sells to Tennessee residents?

It is my opinion that there are probably hundreds of developers in the State of Arkansas alone who would be covered by this legislation and who do not have the slightest notion that it is about to be foisted upon them by a Federal Government concerned with protecting a relatively few purchasers from a very few unscrupulous promoters. Unscrupulous promoters can be prosecuted, and many already have, under the mail fraud statutes and their false and deceptive practices can be enjoined under the Federal Trade Commission Act.

The burdens of this legislation fall equally on the good as well as the bad operators and this is what inevitably happens when government seeks to single out an industry and subject it to a kind of prophylactic method of regulation, instead of defining and punishing certain illegal acts.

The Securities Act was passed soon after the 1929 crash and in the beginning of the great depression, when the whole industry was shot through with corruption and widespread speculation had disastrous effect upon the economy. Admittedly there have been some sharp practices and fraud in the interstate sale of land, most of which are now or can be covered by the mail fraud statutes and FTC regulation. There is certainly no crisis which would justify putting real estate in the same straitjacket as the securities industry.

In the State of Arkansas, particularly

in the mountainous areas, there is a rapidly growing market for vacation and retirement homes. Around Greer's Ferry Lake, Norfolk and Bull Shoals Lakes, Beaver Lake, and other lakes near the Missouri border, along the Arkansas River Valley area and in the Ouichita Mountain areas, I am sure, there are hundreds of landowners now offering as many as 50 or more lots. Furthermore, I expect that near almost every city there are farmers or other landowners in suburban areas and even on the edges of small towns who are offering 50 or more lots for sale in interstate commerce or by use of the mails, as those terms are currently defined. All of these are subject to the bill, unless they can be exempted under the Secretary's limited discretion, or unless they can devise some means of avoiding completely the use of the mails or the facilities of interstate commerce.

I question the premise that these people should be subject to the expense and burden of the filing and other requirements, merely because a few unscrupulous promoters have cheated customers.

The cure for these relatively few sharp practices may be worse than the disease. At a minimum it seems to me that there should be an exemption from the act for those developers who, whether or not they use the mails or the facilities of interstate commerce, make it a practice to sell only "onsite." This is the traditional method of selling real estate and it is hard to see how a purchaser would not have an opportunity to know what he is buying if he has inspected the lot himself. It is true, of course, that he would not know all the details of title, encumbrances, and so forth, merely by inspection, but civil and criminal provisions of State laws dealing with real estate transactions have been considered adequate. They apparently are still considered adequate for practically every form of sales except those of undeveloped land. There is no such proposal, for example, to deal with sales of new or used cars or, in fact, homes. Yet I daresay the opportunities for misrepresentation, fraud, and unscrupulous promotion are more prevalent in these areas than in interstate land sales. And their impact on the economy is greater.

The act contains a number of exemptions in section 1303(a), pages 1 through 9, on pages 260 and 261 of the bill.

My amendment proposes a further exemption as follows:

> On page 261, after line 18, insert the following:
>
> "(10) The sale or lease of real estate which is free and clear of all liens, encumbrances and adverse claims if each and every purchaser or his or her spouse has personally inspected the lot which he purchases and if the developer executes a written affirmation to that effect to be made a matter of record in accordance with rules and regulations of the Secretary."

This exemption will not, in itself, properly define those persons who operate truly interstate, but it is at least simple and easily understood. And it can provide a method by which one who is not truly an interstate promoter can avoid needless and burdensome requirements.

Those few interstate developers who would sell "onsite" would also be exempt, it is true, but the purchasers would have inspected the property and its surroundings and would still have the additional protection of the laws against fraud and deceptive practices.

INTERSTATE LAND SALES FULL DISCLOSURE ACT

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, over the past decade, the interstate sale of undeveloped land has grown to where its annual volume is estimated by some authorities at over $1 billion. A great number of these sales are made via long-distance telephone conversations or by personal solicitations. In many instances, the purchaser never sees the land he is buying and relies only on the salesman's oral representations. The purchase price may consist of only a small downpayment with monthly installments being as low as $10 a month. In this manner, many of our citizens, especially the elderly, have pledged millions of dollars for the purchase of land for retirement, investment or in some instances for sheer speculation.

The need for consumer protection legislation in this area was shown beyond a reasonable doubt at hearings held beginning in 1964 by the Aging Committee and at additional hearings held before the Banking and Currency Committee during the 89th Congress and during the first session of the 90th Congress. These hearings made it clear that there are, in many instances, serious problems of consumer deception and a lack of adequate disclosure of all pertinent facts in the interstate sale of undeveloped land.

During past hearings, the committee has learned that only 23 States have enacted legislation to protect consumers against abuses in the interstate sale of undeveloped land. Although Federal action in this area under the mail fraud statute has been most vigorous, and the work of the Post Office Department should be commended by all, these actions have been punitive rather than remedial in nature. From 1962 through 1966, 481 cases of mail fraud involving the interstate sale of land have been investigated by Federal authorities. As a result of these investigations, it has been estimated that unscrupulous land promoters have caused our citizens to lose approximately $50 million. These promoters have by the use of high-pressure sales techniques sold land in swamps, flood control areas, deserts, mountains, remote valleys and—in some cases—jungle lava beds outside the continental United States.

President Johnson in his February 16, 1967, American consumer protection message gave a concise description of the need for legislative action. The President said:

> Many investors—particularly older Americans—are attracted to advertisements offering inexpensive retirement homesites. The interstate mail orders sales of such land runs into many millons of dollars each year.
>
> Most buyers get what they pay for. But, according to evidence obtained by the Senate Subcommittee on Frauds and Misrepresentations Affecting the Elderly, "slippery language and omission of important facts" have given too many buyers grossly distorted impressions of the land they later purchased.
>
> Some of our senior citizens have become victims of subtle and sharp sales practices. They have wasted much of their life savings on a useless piece of desert or a swampland.
>
> A number of states have enacted legislation to deal with these abuses. But only the Federal government can have effective authority over interstate mail order sales. Only the exercise of such authority can protect the buyer and legitimate seller alike against loss and injury.
>
> I recommend the Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act of 1967 to afford the public greater safeguards against sharp and unscrupulous practices.

Legislative action which will protect consumers by providing them with all of the pertinent facts concerning the land which they are solicited to buy is urgently needed in order to supplement State and Federal action. State officials although willing to act are in many cases powerless either because of inadequate law or because their jurisdiction does not run beyond the State border.

John McIsaac, executive secretary of the Massachusetts Real Estate Board, and a director of the National Association of Real Estate License Law Officials, is a man who works daily with the problems this bill is attempting to solve.

In his testimony before the committee Mr. McIsaac reiterated the impediments to effective State action. He said:

> . . . These wild out-of-state land deals I described to you in the beginning of my speech are so varied and intricate in their perpetration—the circumstances so bizarre that I think you will all agree with me that it is almost compulsory to have some kind of Federal control over the sale of out-of-state land. I have talked to many members of the National Association of Real Estate License Law Officials about this and find that there are many of them who feel the same way.
>
> Federal control is the only answer to this problem. You can't fight what you cannot see. We cannot reach out into other States and countries, we cannot control or stop fraudulent promotion coming into Massachusetts by radio, television, national publications, or direct mail.
>
> Most Federal procedures now in effect are after-the-fact measures which are used only after the harm has been done, the fraud perpetrated, the buyer bilked. We need before-the-fact protection.

The proposed Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act cosponsored by Senators BIBLE, MONDALE, MOSS, and MUSKIE, which has been developed as the result of 2 years of intensive hearings and consultations with all interested parties, will in my opinion provide this most needed consumer protection. The bill—proposed title XIII of the National Housing Act of 1968—merely requires that where a subdivision of 50 or more lots of undeveloped land is sold pursuant to a common promotional plan the seller disclose to the buyer full and accurate information. Surely, no one here today would deny such information to purchasers of real estate, many of whom are senior citizens seeking retirement homesites. In addition, a great majority of these people never visit their property until after they have made a substantial investment.

It is clear that the bare principle of "caveat emptor" should not apply to these transactions. Facts are needed in order to make sound business judgments. This bill will help to provide them. That is its only intention. It is not a regulatory statute which will permit the Federal Government to pass upon such questions as land value, its selling price, land use, or zoning. The only purpose of this legislation is to give the purchaser the necessary information upon which he can make his own investment decision.

The bill would require a statement of record to be filed with the Department of Housing and Urban Development 30 days prior to the date of the public offering. This statement is to contain a clear and precise description of all material facts. In addition, a property report setting forth similar information in an abbreviated form is to be given to each purchaser before the contract of sale is consummated. These required disclosures have been discussed with many representatives of the land sales industry. All agree that while providing adequate consumer protection they will not be unduly burdensome on legitimate businessmen.

The facts contained in the property report would in most instances be limited to the name and address of each person having an interest in the subdivision and the extent of such interest; a legal description of the subdivision and a map showing the dimensions of the interests to be sold; the condition of title including all encumbrances; the terms and conditions of sale including the range of selling prices; the condition of access to the subdivision, and the availability of sewerage and other public utilities, including water, electricity, gas, and telephone facilities; the proximity in miles of the subdivision to nearby municipalities; the nature of any improvements to be installed by the developer and the estimated schedule for their completion; the terms of any blanket encumbrance and a statement of consequence to the purchaser if there is a failure to fulfill the obligations incurred.

Under this legislation, all purchasers of undeveloped land will receive such information. This is the only way to provide consumers with adequate information upon which sound decisions can be made.

The Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act, while providing full consumer protection, will also bring a solid foundation to our Nation's land sales industry. This bill will do much to encourage public confidence in an industry which has in the past been tarnished by the actions of a few unscrupulous promoters. The majority of our Nation's real estate promoters are, of course, honest.

And I am sure that they will continue to prosper due to the increased confidence in their soundness and integrity which full disclosure will bring.

It is the sound businessmen, as well as the American real estate investor, who has the most to gain. With this legislation, all will be able to deal in the real estate market knowing that pertinent facts are available. This is a major premise of our free enterprise system. Following this premise, our Nation has thrived and prospered over the years. Now is the time to eliminate one of the last remaining areas where full disclosure is necessary, but not yet available.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, for my part I accept the amendment. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I appreciate the Senator's cooperation. I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the Senator from Arkansas. [Putting the question.]

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered, and the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

At the end of the bill insert the following:

"INSURANCE OF SAVINGS AND LOAN ACCOUNTS AND BANK DEPOSITS OF PUBLIC UNITS

"SEC. 1520. (a) The second sentence of section 401(b) of the National Housing Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 1724(b)), is amended—

"(1) by striking out ', for the purpose of determining the amount of the insured account,'; and

"(2) by striking out the period and inserting in lieu thereof the following: ', and the dollar limitations imposed by this Act shall not be applicable to any such insured member, but the corporation may by regulation limit the amounts of such funds that may be invested in insured institutions.'

"(b) The third sentence of section 3(m) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 1813(m)), is amended—

"(1) by striking out ', for the purpose of determining the amount of the insured deposits,'; and

"(2) by striking out the period and inserting in lieu thereof the following: ', and the dollar limitations imposed by this Act shall not be applicable to any such insured depositor'."

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, if I may have the attention of the chairman of the committee, the reason I have submitted the amendment at this time is due to the fact that in the State of Washington we have an unusual and peculiar situation which prohibits the savings and loan people from accepting deposits from local public units such as the water district and the school districts. They are insured up to $15,000 but many of these deposits are of larger amounts. Therefore, the local officials who have every faith in the world in the institutions are prohibited by law from depositing in any institution that is not guaranteed.

Inasmuch as we need many resources in the savings and loan institutions, we have a bill similar to this amendment, and we hope the committee will give the matter proper attention and clear up the situation.

I understand this situation applies only to the State of Washington and perhaps one other State, the name of which I shall be glad to make available to the Senator.

I want to know if the committee is aware of this problem and if we can get action on it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was not aware of the problem until the Senator presented his proposal. I can understand the Senator's concern. I think it is a matter of getting some administrative action in connection with the regulations of the FDIC and the Home Loan Bank Board.

I think the matter can be worked out administratively. If the Senator will withdraw his amendment, we will do our best to work the matter out.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I thank the Senator. I hope the Senator will be able to do that. This is an unusual situation and applies only in the State of Washington. The need for housing in our area is so great, particularly in western Washington, that we wanted to get money in the institutions.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We shall cooperate.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I withdraw my amendment and I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I yield back my time on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me 10 minutes under the bill?

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from New York on the bill.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator.

We have been examining the record, and we have been examining with great concern what happened to the disaster loan situation in the course of the debate which took place yesterday and in the course of amendments which have been adopted and amendments which have been rejected. We believe that the issue is left rather up in the air.

Mr. President, the main thing that is left up in the air, because everyone is so anxious to avoid the naughty word is with respect to riots and disorders which are disasters and catastrophies.

Mr. President, 25 percent of our retail establishments in New York's Harlem area are boarded up, and probably 20 percent of all retail establishments in Newark, N.J., in the slums are boarded up.

Any Senator representing a city, who has gone through the riot-torn areas, and I have gone through the riot-torn areas of Rochester, Buffalo, Syracuse, and New York, know what a depressing effect it has on the community and only breeds more of what we are trying to surmount.

It is a fact and I am glad it was made very clear. As I said, nobody wants to say the naughty word in the debate on the amendment of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER], that a catastrophe does include a riot, and it does.

I have introduced legislation which tries to deal with this subject without the necessity of the President's declaring a major disaster. We all understand that is an extremely difficult thing to come by, and yet that is the only way to get certain economic relief under the Small Business Administration Act. It is especially bedevilling in many of these cases where they are dealing with not one riot, but a series of riots taken together, because they are one catastrophe piled on top of another.

I am deeply interested in the housing bill and I do not wish to get into an extended controversy on the floor of the Senate at this hour with respect to passage of this important legislation.

Therefore, I would like to address myself to the manager of the bill, first, with respect to interpretation of the law, and second, on the question of whether the Senator might not consider a hearing upon my bill and other bills which will take together everything we have been talking about on this matter, what we have done, what needs to be done in light of the facts, and see if we could possibly come up in some other bill, or separately with necessary legislation to deal with the problem as far as the Small Business Administration is concerned.

With respect to the law, it will be noted, that in the Small Business Administration Act, section 7(b)(1), loans which may be made by the administrator in the event of a catastrophe, as it is called here, there is the following language:

> (b) The Administration also is empowered—
>
> (1) to make such loans (either directly or in cooperation with banks or other lending institutions through agreements to participate on an immediate or deferred basis) as the Administration may determine to be necessary or appropriate because of floods or other catastrophes.

As I understand it, that language has been construed to relate only to certain brick and mortar loans that do not include inventories or anything that enables them to open their businesses.

I would like to ask the manager of the bill, considering what we have been doing with respect to this matter as it may affect the state of the law, whether it is clear such loans, whatever may be the interest rate, can be made. I realize there are some problems. But I wish to ask about the ability to make them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes. Let me say that I can understand the Senator's interest in wanting to assure that working capital is available. I have talked with the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, and he has assured me that the authority which he would have under the Proxmire-Russell amendment of yesterday, coupled with his regular authority under section 7(a), to which the Senator made reference, is adequate to enable him to make loans for work and capital as well as for brick and mortar in those areas.

Mr. JAVITS. Second, and I am very grateful——

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, with reference to the hearings, of course, the Senator knows that we have a great many hearings pending. He has exacted a promise out of me two or three times——

Mr. JAVITS. Just once today.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We will take care of the hearings as best we can. I know the Senator knows that. We are scheduling them. We have scheduled work in the committee for practically every day.

Mr. JAVITS. Would not the Senator from Alabama agree with me, as well as the Senator from Texas, that at least the committee should have a look at the factual situation which is an affront to anyone who takes a look at it. Just walk downtown in Washington and see the depressing influence of burned-out buildings and boarded-up enterprises. This happened once before in the history of Washington and that was at the time the British were here. So it is not such a bad risk. Therefore, it seems to me that a great contribution to avoiding future riots would be to give future hopefulness to reconstruction. The whole picture should be looked at with a view toward seeing what might most constructively be done in the situation.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Hearings on this proposal will be held as soon as possible.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague for yielding me this time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I thank the Senator from New York.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I call up my amendment and ask that it be stated. It calls for a one-word change.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The bill clerk read as follows:

> On page 110, line 16, delete the word "or" the first time it appears and insert in lieu thereof the word "and".

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, we are being charged constantly with the complaint that urban renewal drives poor people out of residential communities. The committee certainly intends that we should provide not only moderate-income housing in urban renewal projects but also low-income housing. This amendment would assure that both low- and moderate-income housing be built in urban renewal areas. I understand that this change has been agreed to by the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I am willing to accept the amendment and yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PERCY. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has now been yielded back on the amendment.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Illinois.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendments to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I invite the attention of the Senator in charge of the bill to the policy of the FHA whereby a builder who has been convicted of defrauding the Government under one of the FHA construction projects will be declared eligible for another large FHA guarantee on a new construction project.

This is happening far too often.

On numerous occasions I have been calling attention to the procedure followed by the FHA where a builder who will be caught, indicted, and convicted for having defrauded the Government under one of his construction projects will again be approved by the FHA for a project under another name, perhaps in another State.

I have been complaining about this careless practice for a number of years but have been unable to get it stopped. I am wondering whether the committee would help in impressing upon the FHA the importance of stopping this practice.

In that connection I direct the attention of the Senate to another case which has just come to my attention. This case was published in the Des Moines Register this past Sunday, and I should like to read briefly from the article to show what is going on:

> OMAHA, NEBR.—The man who will direct construction of Des Moines' first big low-income housing project is a well known and controversial figure here because of many housing developments he has built in the Omaha area.
>
> Don Decker, 55, of Omaha, has been named construction manager for the Des Moines Area Council of Churches' 300 unit project in the Oakridge urban renewal area, according to Lloyd Clarke, the contractor.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the entire article, as appearing in the Des Moines Register of May 26, printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUILDER IS A CENTER OF CONTROVERSY—WILL DIRECT WORK AT DES MOINES PROJECT

(By James Risser)

OMAHA, NEBR.—The man who will direct construction of Des Moines' first big low-income housing project is a well known and controversial figure here because of many housing developments he has built in the Omaha area.

Don Decker, 55, of Omaha, has been named construction manager for the Des Moines Area Council of Churches, 300 unit project in the Oakridge urban renewal area, according to Lloyd Clarke, the contractor.

MASS CONSTRUCTION

Decker built his reputation in Omaha by mass construction of urban housing and, according to Clarke, has a "good background for this type of project."

Decker's background also includes:

A federal court conviction on criminal charges of making false statements to secure a Federal Housing Administration (FHA)-insured loan on housing in Atlantic, Ia.

Development of a new Nebraska town called La Vista, described by its many critics as "an instant slum," in which homes were flooded, streets broke up and buyers defaulted on their loans, forcing the FHA to take over, rehabilitate and try to sell some 300 houses.

Numerous lawsuits against Decker and his companies for such things as not repaying promissory notes.

A lien filed against him earlier this month by the United States for failure to pay federal income taxes totaling $46,533.

Clarke, of Des Moines, said that Decker is "an associate of mine in Clarke Housing Co." and "will be the man on the job." Decker will supervise construction and direct operations of foundation, carpentry and painting crews, Clarke said.

A $4-MILLION PROJECT

Clarke and Council of Churches' spokesmen have said that the $4-million Oakridge project will provide "attractive, safe housing for persons with low incomes."

No public announcement has been made of Decker's participation, but Clarke confirmed that Decker will provide the "executive management" of the project.

The development is being financed under FHA's "221(d)(3)" program, which provides government-insured loans for construction of low- and moderate-income housing. Decker recently got FHA approval to build several 221(d)(3) projects in Nebraska.

The ground-breaking ceremony for the Oakridge project was held May 12, with Robert C. Weaver, secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, turning the first spade of earth. Construction will begin shortly.

Both Clarke and Decker have been active in the National Association of Home Builders, of which Clarke now is president. Both are acquainted personally with the highest federal officials.

Decker has been president of the Omaha Home Builders Association and a director of the National Association of Home Builders.

A 1961 INDICTMENT

On Jan. 7, 1961, Decker and Ralph Norman, an Atlantic man, were indicted by a federal grand jury in Council Bluffs on eight counts of making false statements to get FHA-insured loans and on one count of conspiracy.

The indictment charged that the two men paid eight Atlantic couples $100 each for signing FHA forms, stating falsely that each couple had purchased property in Atlantic from Paul's Development Co., which was described as a subsidiary of Decker Enterprises, one of several corporations controlled by Decker.

Decker and Norman, on Feb. 1, 1961, pleaded nolo contendre (no defense) to one count of making false statements. They were found guilty, fined $2,500 each and placed on three years probation. The other counts were dismissed.

Seven weeks later, Decker was released from probation on the motion of his attorney and business associate, John W. Delehant, who told the court that banks were cutting off Decker's credit and that probation was working a "great hardship" on Decker's business.

JUDGE'S OBSERVATION

In terminating the probation, U.S. District Judge Robert Van Pelt noted that Decker had paid his fine and had been "reinstated" by FHA "to enjoy the privileges of the FHA program."

The court file contains a letter dated Mar. 14, 1961, from Russell M. Bailey, Omaha director of FHA, notifying Decker that the FHA "central office" had reinstated him.

Bailey's letter said the FHA was issuing commitments to Decker for 143 houses. Bailey said he was "extremely happy" about Decker's reinstatement, "as we are hoping to have you, as a builder of low priced homes, supplying a market which is sorely needed in our area."

On Dec. 17, 1965, Decker was given a "full and unconditional pardon" by President Johnson.

After his reinstatement, Decker's new development called La Vista began to boom. It is located at the south edge of Omaha, just across the county line in Sarpy County.

EASY STREET

The main thoroughfare was named Easy street. After the area ran into trouble and the street's name became the butt of jokes, it was changed to Park View boulevard.

Decker Enterprises built hundreds of homes, selling them for $9,999.99 each, many of them to Air Force personnel stationed at nearby Offutt Air Force Base.

Storm sewers in La Vista drained into an open ditch, which overflowed, spilling water and mud into some of the homes.

Homeowners began moving out, in some cases simply abandoning their homes and defaulting on their loans. Lending institutions repossessed many homes and turned them over to FHA, which had to reimburse the lending institutions for the amount of the loan and interest.

Jack Obbink, deputy director of FHA in Omaha, told The Sunday Register that the trouble was the result of "a general market failure."

INSTANT SLUM

A reliable source with a savings and loan association, however, said the trouble resulted more from "the fact that the houses and the area were no good—an instant slum."

Obbink acknowledged that the Decker-built homes had "no insulation, no garages, no driveways and no sidewalks." He said FHA had to do considerable rehabilitation before it could resell the homes.

"We had to create something usable from something that was not usable," he said.

At one point in 1964, FHA was in possession of 268 houses in the entire state of Nebraska. All but 98 of these were in La Vista. Later, the FHA had about 300 La Vista homes and sold the last ones just this year.

Other builders now have come into the area and have built other housing. La Vista is making a "nice comeback" and will not end up being a "ghost town," FHA's Omaha director Bailey said.

Obbink said Decker "is completely eligible as far as we're concerned" for FHA projects. He noted that many builders are not willing to undertake low-cost housing construction, for which there admittedly is a need in most cities.

A source who works for a lending institution that had to repossess some La Vista houses said the FHA lost at least $2,000 on each house it had to fix up and resell.

SUIT ON PAVING

In 1965, the city of La Vista filed a $610,000 lawsuit against Cornhusker Paving Co. of Omaha, a company with which Decker has no apparent direct connection but which has done paving work in Decker developments.

The suit claimed that streets in La Vista had broken up.

At the trial late last year in Sarpy County District Court, the project engineer testified that the streets were paved to a thickness of six inches, on oral instructions from Decker, rather than eight inches as shown in the specifications.

He also testified that sanitary sewers beneath the streets settled, adding to the street breakup, because no earth compaction was done in the sewer trenches. The earth and sewer work was done by Earthworms, Inc., of Omaha, of which Decker is president.

The lawsuit resulted in a $30,000 verdict for the city against the paving company. The city has appealed the verdict to the Nebraska Supreme Court on the ground that the verdict was too low.

OTHER INCIDENTS

Decker was in the public eye several years before he started La Vista.

One of his developments, called Karen Addition, was plagued by flooding in 1956. The storm sewer system then also was basically a drainage ditch dug by Phoenix Development Co., another Decker firm.

The city responded to residents' protests by developing a civil defense plan for evacuation of the area in time of flooding.

Residents of the Decker-built Western Hills addition also complained to the city of the lack of closed storm sewers in their area in 1956.

More than a dozen lawsuits have been filed against Decker and some of his companies—Decker Enterprises, Inc.; Don Decker, Inc., and Cornhusker Homes Co.—since 1960.

Suits for non-payment of promissory notes have totaled more than $260,000.

One Omaha attorney who has extensive knowledge of Decker's affairs said: "I don't know how he does it. It's amazing that he can come up with the money and keep going like this."

TAX LIENS

According to the Douglas County Register of Deeds, the federal government last Jan. 31 filed tax liens against Decker for unpaid federal income taxes as shown on his tax returns for 1960 and 1961.

The unpaid amounts were $917.37 for 1960, $7,111.50 for 1961. The two were paid off and released Apr. 26.

On May 2, tax liens were filed for the years 1962 and 1963, totaling $46,533.35. The liens showed unpaid income taxes of $16,336.79 for 1962, $30,197.06 for 1963. The liens are still in force.

A spokesman for the Internal Revenue Service in Omaha said the federal government has the power to seize and sell property to satisfy a tax lien, but refused to say if any such action will be taken against Decker.

Decker's company, Cornhusker Homes, currently is building a 221(d)3 project in a predominantly Negro area of north Omaha.

The 98-unit Good Neighbor Homes development is sponsored by the St. John A.M.E. Church and the Omaha Redevelopment Co., a non-profit corporation started by Mayor A. V. Sorensen and some Omaha businessmen to raise seed money for housing projects.

The two-story, redwood-paneled development is about half completed.

Decker also has received FHA authorization for two more 221(d)3 projects in Omaha and two in Grand Island, Neb.

DES MOINES PROJECT

The Council of Churches project in Des Moines is designed to meet a critical need for low-cost housing, particularly for those persons, most of them Negroes, who were displaced by the clearance portion of the Oakridge project.

Two insurance companies are financing construction of 150 of the units at a cost of $2 million, under federally insured loans. These units are designed for low-income persons. They will be eligible for federal rent supplements and will rent for as low as $26 a month.

The other 150 units, designed for moderate-income families, will be financed by the Federal National Mortgage Association at below-market interest rates.

A corporation formed by the Council of Churches will administer the housing project after it is completed in about 15 months. The 16-acre site is located north of Center street and east of Fifteenth street.

Clarke Housing Co. is to be paid $218,165. Of that total $61,455 is designated as "overhead" and $156,710 is "profit." Architects are R. Bruce Widstrom Associates of Omaha, a firm that previously has done work for Decker.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, here is Mr. Decker's background as it appeared in this article:

A federal court conviction on criminal charges of making false statements to secure a Federal Housing Administration (FHA)-insured loan on housing in Atlantic, Ia.

> Development of a new Nebraska town called La Vista, described by its many critics as "an instant slum," in which homes were flooded, streets broke up and buyers defaulted on their loans, forcing the FHA to take over, rehabilitate and try to sell some 300 houses.
>
> Numerous lawsuits against Decker and his companies for such things as not repaying promissory notes.
>
> A lien filed against him earlier this month by the United States for failure to pay federal income taxes totaling $46,533.

The article further states:

> Clarke and Council of Churches' spokesmen have said that the $4-million Oakridge project will provide attractive, safe housing for persons with low incomes."
>
> No public announcement has been made of Decker's participation, but Clarke confirmed that Decker will provide the "executive management," of the project.
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> The development is being financed under FHA's "221(d)3" program, which provides government-insured loans for construction of low- and moderate-income housing. Decker recently got FHA approval to build several 221(d)3 projects in Nebraska.
>
> The ground-breaking ceremony for the Oakridge project was held May 12, with Robert C. Weaver, secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, turning the first spade of earth. Construction will begin shortly.
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> Both Clarke and Decker have been active in the National Association of Home Builders, of which Clarke now is president. Both are acquainted personally with the highest federal officials.
>
> Decker has been president of the Omaha Home Builders Association and a director of the National Association of Home Builders.
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> #### A 1961 INDICTMENT
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> The indictment charged that the two men paid eight Atlantic couples $100 each for signing FHA forms, stating falsely that each couple had purchased property in Atlantic from Faul's Development Co., which was described as a subsidiary of Decker Enterprises, one of several corporations controlled by Decker.
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> Decker and Norman, on Feb. 1, 1961, pleaded nolo contendere (no defense) to one count of making false statements. They were found guilty, fined $2,500 each and placed on three years' probation. The other counts were dismissed.
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> Seven weeks later, Decker was released from probation on the motion of his attorney and business associate, John W. Delehant, who told the court that banks were cutting off Decker's credit and that probation was working a "great hardship" on Decker's business.
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> #### JUDGE'S OBSERVATION
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> #### EASY STREET
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> The main thoroughfare was named Easy street. After the area ran into trouble and the street's name became the butt of jokes, it was changed to Park View boulevard.
>
> Decker Enterprises built hundreds of homes, selling them for $9,999.99 each, many of them to Air Force personnel stationed at nearby Offutt Air Force Base.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, may we have order, and will the Senator read a little more slowly so we can follow him?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware (reading):

> Storm sewers in La Vista drained into an open ditch, which overflowed, spilling water and mud into some of the homes.
>
> Homeowners began moving out, in some cases simply abandoning their homes and defaulting on their loans. Lending institutions repossessed many homes and turned them over to FHA, which had to reimburse the lending institutions for the amount of the loan and interest.

Mr. President, I have asked that the whole article be printed in the RECORD. My question to the chairman of the committee is this: Is there not some way we can stop the FHA from approving the same builders who have had a record of having defrauded the Government once? Once is enough. We have had numerous cases of similar situations over the years. I am just wondering if the chairman of the committee and the ranking minority member can join in alerting the FHA that we do not want this type of builder constructing these low-cost homes. Here we have the indefensible situation in which a builder who has a $40,000 tax lien against him has been approved for an FHA-guaranteed loan. It is ridiculous.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator from Delaware that I surely am as opposed to letting fraudulent builders construct these projects as the Senator from Delaware is.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I realize that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I think that out of the hundreds of thousands, there is an infinitesimal number that prove to be fraudulent; but I shall be glad to discuss the matter with FHA officials and alert them in every way I can, and if one does slip by, to do just what was done in the case cited by the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I concur in what has been stated. I think it is indeed appalling that the Government would allow people who defrauded the Government one time to still participate in these Government projects. I would suggest that if there is evidence that this is a rather substantial practice, the Government Operations Committee should look into it and perhaps conduct an investigation.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. This loose practice needs looking into. This is not a blanket indictment of every builder in the country. This may be an isolated case, but it is not the only one. In the past few years we have referred to several such cases. The FHA tells me the trouble is that these people go bankrupt under the name of one company and then move to another State forming another corporation. But this is no excuse. The agency could have a central clearinghouse to which the FHA Directors in all of the 50 States would report all bad credit risks so that if the Jce Dokes referred to had a bad record of payment in one State that fact would be known in all. That is just good commonsense. For months and years I have been discussing some of these so-called isolated cases. I mentioned one case a few months ago in which one builder had defrauded the Government while in New York State, then went to Texas and defrauded the Government again, then went to Florida, and the last time we knew was trying to get approval of another project under another company.

The agency should have a clearinghouse of those who have defrauded the Government by false applications or defaulted payments. At the same time this central filing place should carry a tabulation based on the experience of all Government agencies, the Small Business Administration and all other Government agencies that lend money. Why not have a central clearinghouse for credit.

I found a case some time back in which someone had defaulted with the FHA, and then had borrowed money from the Small Business Administration to make good on the FHA loan. Then he defaulted on the Small Business Administration loan. The argument was made that the FHA had told them nothing about his bad record of payments. They do not check with the Treasury Department, another Government agency, to see whether the man had paid his income taxes, which could very easily be done.

I repeat, what the Government needs for all its lending agencies, not only the FHA but the Small Business Administration and all other agencies that make or guarantee loans, is a central clearinghouse for all its creditors, so the record of Joe Doaks as a credit risk can be put on the computer and then the information can be readily available as to whether he had paid his bills in the past. If the agency did that it would find it could eliminate many of its losses.

I hope that this colloquy, supported by the chairman of the committee and the ranking minority member, will help. By joining in protest to the director of the agency, perhaps we shall be able to get a little more cooperation than we have been able to obtain in the past.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, may I have 5 minutes?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I wish to ask a question of the manager of the bill. Let us assume that organization X, made up of private individuals, desires to develop a project that will make available living suites for what are considered low-income or medium-income families. It makes inquiry of the Federal Government as to what aid can be provided for it to develop the particular project. My query is, first, Would that organization become entitled to what is known in the bill as 1 percent interest loans; and two, supplemental support in the payment of rent by the tenants; and, three, such other aid as the manager of the bill or his staff may be able to identify for me? What I want to find out is what, in the aggregate, is the support that the Federal Government will give to an organization of this type, which is not a nonprofit organization.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, let me say, in answer to the query of the Senator from Ohio, that, first of all, to get approval for the kind of project the Senator refers to, it would have to be a nonprofit organization or a limited dividend organization.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I asked that question because there have been evidences of individuals exhibiting philanthropic or charitable purposes, but who, in fact, want Government aid to enrich their own pockets. But the answer now is it would have to be a nonprofit organization to be legitimate?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes, or a limited dividend corporation.

Mr. LAUSCHE. What is that?

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is a corporation which limits the dividends.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Is there any control of the remuneration in the salaries paid to the officers?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I cannot tell the Senator that. I do not know.

Mr. LAUSCHE. But it is a limited dividend, nonprofit——

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is right.

Mr. LAUSCHE. But that would be a profit organization.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The very fact that it is a limited dividend corporate would mean that 6 percent would be the maximum profit, and, of course, the officers could share that 6 percent.

Mr. LAUSCHE. That answers the third aspect of my question. No. 1, would that organization be entitled to the 1 percent interest payment that the corporation would make, and the interest rate over and above 1 percent would be paid by the Government?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Under this new bill, that would be possible.

Mr. LAUSCHE. All right. That is item No. 2.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator will understand that the 1 percent is not automatic. It may be that low. That is, it may subsidize down to 1 percent. But on the other hand, according to the family's income, the subsidy might be much smaller in amount than that.

Mr. LAUSCHE. No. 2; they would be entitled to the aid provided in the bill which we have discussed, that the Government will pay the difference between the stipulated rate of interest and the 1 percent; is that correct?

Mr. SPARKMAN. It may be 1 percent, but not necessarily. It could be 2, 3, or 4 percent, according to the income of the family.

Mr. LAUSCHE. All right. No. 3, suppose that the corporation wanting to earn its 6-percent dividend should find that the interest help that has been given was not adequate, and that supplemental rent supports for the tenants were also needed. Would the tenants be entitled to supplemental rent supports?

Mr. SPARKMAN. If the project was approved for rent supplement assistance, it would.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Who would determine that?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The Senator speaks of 6 percent. The Government does not guarantee that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I ask for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield the Senator from Ohio 2 more minutes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Who would determine whether it was a supplemental rent project?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The sponsor would request that from the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Who would ask whom?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The sponsor would ask the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Mr. LAUSCHE. So that the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development could finally say, "You are not only going to be allowed up to 6-percent dividend; you will be provided with aid in the payment of interest, but we will also allow your tenants to have supplemental rent supports."

Mr. SPARKMAN. There is no windfall there, if that is what the Senator is driving at.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Are there any other supports that a private promoter would be able to get under the bill, in addition to the ones I have identified?

Mr. SPARKMAN. The private promoter could come in and get permission to build one of these projects, either for sale or for rent, but he would have to qualify, and then when he built it, and the tenants were selected and moved in, or the purchasers were selected, the amount of interest subsidy that would have to be paid would be determined from the income level of the family.

In other words, all of it is based on the income level of the family.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I ask for 3 more minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield the Senator from Ohio 3 additional minutes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The Senator has not answered my question. My question is, what other type of aid is there?

Mr. SPARKMAN. None.

Mr. LAUSCHE. In addition to the interest subsidy and the rental supplement subsidy, what others are there?

Mr. SPARKMAN. We have discussed the rent supplement and the interest subsidy.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Are there any others?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

Mr. LAUSCHE. What about the community housing developments mentioned by the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is, a new town?

Mr. LAUSCHE. Yes. Where it says that the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, in his discretion, can increase the aid for the development of sewer and water systems from 50 to 80 percent.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct. It can make a supplemental grant of 20 percent, but in no event will all of the aid exceed 80 percent for water and sewer projects.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Eighty percent?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is correct.

Mr. LAUSCHE. In a new community project, the Government also, under title IV, guarantees the payment of all bonds and indentures that are issued by a new community development; is that correct?

Mr. SPARKMAN. They are insured. I mean, the whole project would be insured, as an apartment building or a single-family dwelling would be insured.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Is it a correct statement that the Government undertakes, with respect to corporation X, to guarantee those who promote the project that under no circumstances will they lose any money?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Oh, no. No; there is no such guarantee as that. It is just like the regular FHA insurance. In other words, the Government stands behind the guarantee. This is similar to the FHA insurance programs, for which the FHA collects a premium, and on such premiums it has made a profit of some $1 billion over the past 30 years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I think the Senator has answered my question. I ask for 1 minute more.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield the Senator 1 additional minute.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I still believe that the Government guarantees to these individuals, "You have no fear of loss."

Mr. SPARKMAN. No.

Mr. LAUSCHE. The Senator cannot agree with that?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not at all.

Mr. LAUSCHE. That is the way it looks to me.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, this legislation will help close the gap between our expectation and our achievement as a nation.

The expectation was established by Congress itself with the 1949 declaration of the national goal of a decent home in a suitable living environment for every American family.

Enactment of this legislation would be a long step toward fulfillment of the goal we seek.

This omnibus housing and urban development legislation is a blueprint for action vital for an urban America in crisis. President Johnson in his message on housing and cities stated the situation thus:

> Today America's cities are in crisis. This clear and urgent warning rises from the decay of decades—and is amplified by the harsh realities of the present.

We know these realities: Housing inadequate and insufficient, festering slums, streets clogged with traffic, air polluted by soot and waste, crime rates rising, and inadequate public services.

And we know also that our cities are plagued with a shrinking tax base from which to raise funds that can pay for the services that are needed.

There is new thrust in this legislation's provisions for housing and construction and the revitalization of our cities.

The legislation proposes to eliminate our slum housing problem and it offers the means to do it. It paves the way for the development of our total housing and urban resources to meet not only our needs today but for our growing future.

It justly emphasizes the need for accelerating provision of decent housing for low-income Americans. Nothing is more fundamental than this. Sufficient and adequate housing at costs that low-income people can meet is the basic answer to slums. We must replace with decent homes the shameful substandard units where 20 million Americans live.

To achieve this objective, we have to increase our present rate of building housing for the low- and moderate-income market.

The bill we are considering is an essential step in the right direction. It is a minimum step in this year of 1968. As the techniques are tested and improved, and as resources become more available, we can—and I think we will—increase the volume, and increase it until every American has a decent home.

The thrust of these housing and urban programs is toward a heavy involvement of the private sector. I think this is good because our best hope to rid ourselves of slums and bring decent housing to all our people lies in the combined resources of public and private enterprise.

We are fortunate that the challenge and opportunities offered by unmet housing markets are being definitely recognized by the private sector. The business community is giving strong indication of its desire to participate in the rebuilding of our cities and the provision of housing for the low-income market where it is so urgently needed.

Business—large business in particular—has become increasingly concerned and involved in trying to meet and solve housing and urban problems.

We have talked about private sector involvement for years. Now this legislation proposes to translate talk into action. It proposes National Housing Partnerships to bring large-scale capital into the lower income housing field on a private basis. It would enable large business, with capital to invest, to move into this housing field, using the various Federal aids available, with certain tax protections and benefits to support such a risk for private capital, particularly during the early nonprofitable development stages.

The provisions for developing sale and rental housing for families with low or moderate incomes—including the elderly and handicapped who cannot now secure adequate and decent shelter—also look to the private sector for fulfillment. Private enterprise would build the housing, assisted by FHA mortgage insurance and subsidized interest rates. The subsidy would benefit the buyer or tenant according to his income. It would mean opportunity for homeownership for our lower income families; and it would mean decent housing—new or substantially rehabilitated—for renters who otherwise would not be able to achieve it.

Let me say about homeownership, that it has proved, at least on a small scale, that it can be a powerful ingredient in raising the morale and instilling fresh pride into the lives of low-income families.

The scale to which the programs are held in the legislation before us is not, in my opinion, high enough. I feel it should be higher—more nearly on the level of President Johnson's recommendations. But it does adopt the type of action we now need; it does broaden and expand our efforts in the housing and urban development field; it does greatly increase the number of people who would benefit. I am for the legislation, Mr. President, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, though I will resist the temptation either to explore the extent of the wrongs or to express the extent of my exasperation at the unreasonably high interest rates that now prevail and plague the people, before passage of this bill I must and do denounce the tragic mismanagement of our fiscal and monetary affairs by the Johnson administration. In this respect, its failure is colossal.

Mr. McINTYRE. I wish to direct my remarks to a section of the bill that has not received a great deal of publicity but which offers great promise toward solving the problems of slums and blight in our cities. I refer to the creation of a neighborhood development program in the urban renewal legislation as provided by section 501 of this bill. During the course of the subcommittee hearings there was widespread support for this provision. Mayors and urban development professionals have exhibited much enthusiasm for this new provision.

Under the present urban renewal program, a locality designates a blighted area and applies to HUD for funds to prepare the necessary urban renewal plan and other data which are prerequisite to undertaking any project activities. The separate planning period usually takes about 2 years. It is often 3 years from the time an area is designated to the time the project actually begins to acquire land, rehabilitate homes, install improvements, and undertake other activities. The project is financed in its entirety through a grant reservation that is initially based on estimates made prior to planning and which are refined when planning is completed. Consequently, the present program requires that an urban renewal plan and a financing plan be prepared to cover a broad range of activities that will be carried out over a period of several years. Once the plans are approved and activities begin, changing circumstances over time often necessitate revisions being made to the urban renewal plan and adjustments in the financing plan which often result in grant increases. This is to be expected, and properly so, in a complex program that has significant impact and which necessarily takes several years to complete. Given the nature of urban development processes, the program has worked well.

However, the urban renewal program has limitations as a result of the mechanics required under existing law. A project must be big enough to have an impact but small enough so that the whole project can be planned in detail well in advance of project execution. This includes financial considerations as well as physical planning. This system poses difficulties for communities that wish to undertake renewal activities in large areas of critical need.

Moreover, cities have found that it is often difficult to develop plans for large areas when it is known that conditions will change over time. Particularly, in rehabilitation there is a need to begin quickly without lengthy planning delays during which properties may further deteriorate—even to a point where the intended rehabilitation becomes infeasible. In many cities it is essential that some activities begin immediately upon designation of an area. This necessity often precludes utilization of urban renewal because of its detailed planning requirements. While the present urban renewal program successfully meets the needs for which it was designed, our years of experience and the pressing needs of our cities require improvements to increase the flexibility of renewal mechanisms.

The neighborhood development program is the response to these needs. It has been designed to permit flexibility in dealing with changing conditions and to achieve the most effective and efficient utilization of funds. It is an optional program inasmuch as localities have the choice of utilizing it or continuing with the traditional urban renewal program. The new program is most likely to be used for large rehabilitation projects where flexibility is particularly important; and the old program is most likely to be used where clearance of slum areas is to be followed by new construction requiring advance agreement to a relatively firm plan.

A neighborhood development program may consist of urban renewal project undertakings and activities in one or more urban renewal areas that are planned and carried out on the basis of annual increments. The requirements would be similar to those for the existing urban renewal program with a few major differences. Many activities not requiring detailed planning could begin immediately, while more detailed planning of future activities would be carried out concurrently. For example, rehabilitation activities could begin immediately assisted by Federal rehabilitation loans and grants. Rather than funding an entire project that may take many years to complete, only annual activities will be funded. Thus, it is anticipated that urban renewal funds will be more effectively utilized. There is no obligation to fund beyond the annual period for which there is a contract. However, if funds are available and the locality has demonstrated accomplishment, it could anticipate receiving funds for a series of subsequent annual increments. Further, as Congress continues its present practice of appropriating urban renewal funds on a 1-year forward funding basis, it will be possible for HUD to make a tentative reservation of funds for 1 additional year at the time an annual program is approved; so that, in effect, at any given time there is a 2-year local program. Also, the typical annual activity will be of a type which is desirable in itself, even if a later contemplated stage of urban renewal activity is not carried forward.

By way of illustration, let us assume that an area of 1,000 acres is covered by a neighborhood development program. During the first year a vacant site could be developed for low- and moderate-income housing, another area could see the construction of a new school, and in a third rehabilitation could begin. During the second year a dilapidated area could be acquired and cleared while its residents are relocated into the housing developed during the first year, a commercial shopping area could undergo rehabilitation, and several neighborhood parks could be developed.

This program gives cities the necessary flexibility to adjust their programs to respond to changing conditions and to the needs of citizens as well as those of the private sector. The neighborhood development program also creates greater opportunities for citizen involvement as the planning process is a continuing one. Relocation can be more successful because the amount of displacement must be relative to the housing resources provided and available immediately. The new program will substantially increase the opportunities for neighborhood residents to remain in the area if they wish.

I believe this legislation recognizes the vital necessity of local public investment in improvements and facilities in renewal areas. Just as in the existing urban renewal program, the local share of costs may be provided in cash or through these investments recognized as noncash local grants-in-aid. In the new program there are some changes regarding their provision. The eligibility of noncash grants-in-aid, from the standpoint of timing, would be altered so that a facility would be eligible if its construction began within 3 years prior to the date of the first contract for a neighborhood development program that includes any portion of the area to be served by the facility.

Another change somewhat tightens the eligibility for noncash credit by requiring that a facility must actually be constructed or be under contract during the annual period for which credit is claimed. This change is desirable; it will provide an incentive to localities to install needed public facilities, such as schools, sewers, streets, and other improvements, early in the renewal process. It will also enable localities to better program their capital improvement expenditures with assurance that those improvements will receive noncash credit.

The amount of noncash credits to be allowed in any year will be limited to that amount required to meet the local share of renewal costs. Excess credits that have been deemed eligible may be applied to subsequent annual increments. In addition, pooling credit from existing urban renewal projects may be counted toward the local share of a neighborhood development program. However, excess credits from an annual increment may only be applied to subsequent annual increments of the neighborhood development program.

The neighborhood development program offers communities an opportunity to meet head on the forces of blight in large areas. It will provide new tools that have the flexibility to meet problems and opportunities. It will permit cities to make better use of capital improvement programing to maximize its effectiveness. Finally, it will enable the renewal process to respond to the initiatives of private enterprise to revitalize our cities.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, yesterday the New York Times published a report that aptly describes the issue we are considering today.

The story told of a group of Baltimore housing officials who met with New York housing officials to discuss their mutual problems.

The Baltimore visitors were told that there are at least 800,000 deteriorated apartments in New York City. That number is almost equal to the entire population of Baltimore. The visitors were startled—and deservedly so. But rundown housing is a broad-scale problem.

> While housing deterioration affects the poor, it also means—

Said the Times report—

> that many middle-class families, especially after they have children, find it increasingly difficult to get decent housing in the city.

The family that lives on a moderate income has often been overlooked when we have focused on the problems of the cities. This group comprises a large portion of our population. Fully 30 percent of the Nation's families live on incomes ranging from $4,800 to $7,800 a year.

The bill before us today, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, directs itself in part to these solid citizens and their housing needs.

Those wage earners in the moderate income range are the policemen, firemen, schoolteachers, nurses, civil servants, taxi drivers, and many others who are serving useful lives and contributing needed services to our society.

But because they must compete with higher income families for decent housing, they often are unable to improve their housing situation. When tight money strikes, they are hit the hardest.

The legislation we are considering would give to these families a much-needed and much-deserved alternative—the opportunity to purchase a home of their choice that is within their means.

Certainly, a country as wealthy as ours can afford to provide assistance to those who have helped so much to make this Nation what it is. These men and women earning moderate incomes are the backbone of our national economy and our society.

They provide our Nation with stability and strength.

The main thrust of the bill is directed toward helping the poor, through interest subsidies to investment by private mortgage funds and private homebuilders in rental housing and homeownership.

Some key provisions—those dealing with housing for low- and moderate-income families and the civil disorder reinsurance program—of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 are similar to those included in legislation I proposed more than a year ago. My legislation grew out of many months of investigations by the Government Operations Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization into the Federal role in urban affairs.

The legislation and my subcommittee hearings recognized the Federal Government's failure to meet the housing needs of our low- and moderate-income citizens. The Government lacks effective tools for stimulating private housing production. I believe the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 will help to overcome these obstacles.

The bill authorizes an expenditure of $75 million in interest subsidies—a sum that would start more than 100,000 families on the road to homeownership in the first year. In a 3-year period, more than 1.5 million low- and moderate-cost homes would be provided under the legislation.

With regard to Federal housing assistance to poor neighborhoods, the legislation has one very important provision. It would direct the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to require, wherever possible, to make certain that the low-income persons residing in an area of federally assisted construction be employed in the work.

So the bill would not only move to provide more and better housing—needed housing—but it would also provide jobs, which is probably the single most important need of the poor.

There is another need met by this legislation. That is, insurance to homeowners and businessmen located in or near urban areas susceptible to civil disorder.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 has three major objectives in this field:

First, to encourage private insurance companies to offer property insurance in neighborhoods and sections of cities where it has been difficult—if not impossible—to obtain this protection.

Second, to offer reinsurance protection to insurance companies so they can continue to provide coverage in their regular lines of property insurance against extraordinary losses from riots or other civil commotion.

Finally, to provide the basis for improving the market for insurance against burglary and theft in center city areas by including such coverage in "fair access to insurance requirement"—FAIR—plans.

This legislation provides that property owners could not be charged more than the standard premium rate, or be denied insurance coverage, unless there first had been a physical inspection of the property. And if inspection reveals that the risk is uninsurable at standard rates—because of the physical hazards or other deficiencies—the owner must be advised of specific measures necessary for the property to become eligible for insurance at the standard rate.

The FAIR plans also include provision for an "all-industry facility" in each State that would try to place approvable applications with participating companies in the State. The availability of a program of riot reinsurance, offered on a State-by-State basis, would serve as an incentive for insurance companies to cooperate and participate in FAIR plans.

The proposed legislation has a long list of supporters including the National Association of Independent Insurers, representing 350 property and casualty insurance companies writing in all 50 States; the National Association of Mutual Insurance Companies—the oldest trade association representing more than 1,100 mutual insurance companies across the Nation; the National Association of Insurance Agents, Inc., representing more than 36,000 insurance agencies throughout the United States with affiliated associations in every State and in over 1,200 communities and counties throughout the country.

Mr. President, there is a quotation that aptly summarizes the challenge met by the proposed legislation:

> Housing is . . . one of the great universal tests in this difficult world: a test of ideals, ideas, skills, resources; of our democratic capacity for change and growth; of the effectiveness of both private enterprise and government and their ability to cooperate; of the intelligence of consumer and voter as well as producer and administrator. If we in America, with all our resources cannot even solve our own housing problem, what hope is there?

That statement was made by the National Public Housing Conference in 1948. In was applicable then. It is even more applicable 20 years later. Now we have more ideas, more skills, more resources—and even greater needs.

I urge Senators to support the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I would like to comment briefly on the proposed Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 generally before addressing myself to the specific section of the legislation with which I am concerned today.

I am in complete agreement with the President's characterization of the bill as a "charter of renewed hope for the American city." The legislation as proposed includes measures which are essential to the well-being of our cities and all of the people who live in them. We have been asked to make sincere and long-range commitments to reverse urban deterioration, to accelerate new building and to set fixed and ambitious goals on our national housing goals.

The undertaking envisioned by the proposed bill will tax our public and private capacities—but I feel there is no other course if we are to do right by Americans of this and future generations.

One of the striking and innovative features of the act is a proposal to encourage both public and private sectors to develop new communities as a means of coping with our growing urban problems and the exploding population growth which daily aggravates the situation. Secretary Weaver in his testimony before the Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs pointed out that:

> A dozen years from now, when the Census of 1980 is taken it will probably show that our urban population has increased by about 43 million people—equal to the population of 89 cities the size of Buffalo.

Clearly, we must prepare for this massive growth in our population and equally clearly, we must begin our preparations without undue delay. We are faced with a problem which, in my judgment, requires more than corrective measures designed to solve current urban dislocations. I, therefore, applaud the proposed legislation's recommendation to embark on a program to stimulate the planned and orderly building of new communities. And I am pleased that my amendment requiring new technologies in building construction be required wherever feasible.

Title IV of this bill would tap new sources of land development funds by providing a Federal guarantee for private debentures or bonds to finance development for well-planned communities. These guaranteed obligations would finance only land and development other than the construction of residential, commercial, or industrial buildings. In approving the debentures for guarantee, account would be taken of the large, initial capital investment required to provide the improvements which must underlie an entire new community, as well as the extended period of time before the cash flow from the sale of improved building lots exceeds expenditures.

The Government would also be assured before guaranteeing the debentures that the proposed land development is economically sound and represents an acceptable business risk; that it would provide desirable advantages to the entire area, and that it would make available favorable living conditions for residents at all incomes who would live and work in and around the new communities.

The outstanding principal obligations guaranteed for any one new community would not exceed $50 million, and the aggregate for the program as a whole could not exceed $500 million.

I react to the program with enthusiasm. The need is real; the problem is urgent; the corrective measures appear to be practical and realistic.

DISASTER AID FOR RIOT VICTIMS

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. An effort was made yesterday to deny certain kinds of Federal assistance to riot-torn cities such as Newark and Plainfield. The effort was successful.

I was amazed that Senator PHILIP HART and I were the only two Members of the Senate to vote against this effort.

The innocent victims of civil disorders ought to be eligible for any assistance the Federal Government can provide.

I agree with Senator RUSSELL, whose amendment was passed 57 to 2, that all such aid should be denied to individuals who are implicated in starting or carrying on riots or other disturbances, and such a provision will be included in the bill.

The housing bill reported by the committee would have made victims of civil disorders eligible for the same assistance as victims of natural disorders, such as hurricanes.

The Russell amendment denies to riot-torn cities this assistance which is now available for natural disasters from the Office of Emergency Planning. This includes immediate help in the form of food, medical supplies, and emergency shelter and long-term restoration of public facilities, such as water supply or firefighting equipment.

If a man's home is destroyed, his family needs shelter, whether it was swept away by a flood or destroyed by a fire caused by rioters. If a city's fire trucks are destroyed, it needs firefighting equipment, no matter what the cause of the destruction.

And, if the disaster is big enough in scope so that local resources are incapable of meeting the need, the Office of Emergency Planning ought to be empowered to do the job, just as it does in the case of natural disasters.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the explanation just made by the able Senator from New Jersey reflects my own reasoning in voting yesterday against the amendment offered by the respected senior Senator from Georgia. I think I should note an additional reason and it relates to my efforts immediately following the Detroit riots of last July to obtain Disaster Assistance Act funds. Following the destruction of the riot, I argued that disaster assistance money could be made available to Detroit if an emergency declaration had been issued. At that time I introduced into the RECORD, language from the legislative debates when the Disaster Assistance Act initially was adopted and urged that this language showed no prohibition that would have prevented disaster assistance to man-made, rather than nature-made disasters.

My remarks on July 27, 1967, included the following:

> In the hearing on July 19, 1950, before the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives which was then considering bills to authorize Federal disaster relief, the then Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Elmer B. Staats, said:
>
> "I would like to state, at the outset that the kinds of disasters with which H.R. 8396 and H.R. 8461 seek to cope are peacetime disasters such as hurricanes or floods; and do not contemplate those which could arise from war action, such as bombing raids or sabotage. The authority contained in these bills, however, is sufficiently broad to permit the Federal government to mobilize its resources and render prompt assistance."
>
> On September 19, 1950, in considering the conference report on this same legislation, the following colloquy took place on the floor of this body:
>
> Senator Robertson asked:
>
> Is it the Senator's interpretation that the bill would apply to whatever disaster the President might be pleased to have it apply?
>
> Senator McCLELLAN answered:
>
> That is correct; but of course the bill is intended to reach major disasters, where the local governments find that it is impossible for them to cope with the situation without having outside assistance.
>
> Note that the "but" in this answer relates to the consequences; the extent, the sweep

and degree of devastation, not to the cause of the devastation.

The language seems clear: There is ample authority for the appropriate declaration which will enable the Federal agencies to come to the relief of Detroit and its suffering citizens.

As the Senator from New Jersey has explained, the effect of the loss, the destruction, is the same; the emergency is as real and the needs are as great whether man made or nature made. I am sure that if massive flooding followed criminal destruction of a large dam or a major river levee, the disaster emergency funds would and should be available. That the destruction was a result of criminal rather than natural causes would not prevent the use of these funds.

I agree with the amendment which is being offered by the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] that one who participates in the criminal conduct ought not be the beneficiary of such funds, but cities whose facilities are needed for essential public services have been damaged or destroyed in riots to a degree justifying "emergency disaster" should be eligible for disaster aid money.

RURAL HOUSING PROVISIONS

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, the acquisition of a decent, livable home has been a more formidable problem for people living in rural areas of the United States than for those who live in urban areas, where large blocs of housing can be developed and in turn made available to individual families.

This is manifest by the fact, borne out in the census, that half of the substandard dwellings in this country are in rural territory. Inasmuch as only one-third of the population lives in those rural areas, the figures mean that bad housing is twice as prevalent, on a per capita basis, in the rural areas as in the urban United States.

One principal to be upheld as we confront the housing situation is that whatever support is given to credit programs for family homes, rural people must have the same opportunity as urban dwellers.

Another principal is that everything possible be done to place decent housing within the reach of any family that is willing to devote a maximum amount of its own means toward securing a home for itself.

Decent housing is not a luxury. It is a necessity if we are to maintain a proper living environment for the American family, for the children of American families, and for people living in retirement on frozen incomes that do not respond to ups and downs in the economic situation. Many forces influence the fortunes of an individual family, and some of those forces are wholly beyond the family's control. No family should be abandoned to its fate, so long as it is making a resolute effort to help itself.

These principles are upheld in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968—S. 3497—now before the Senate.

Title I authorizes the Government to supplement installment payments by low-income families for purchase of modest homes when the required payments exceed 20 percent of family income. The family would pay the principal plus at least 1 percent interest. Any necessary part of interest above 1 percent would be met by the Federal Housing Administration or, in the case of a rural family, the Farmers Home Administration of the Department of Agriculture. The Government is protected against unnecessary perpetuation of such a subsidy, in that every family's situation will be reviewed at least once every 2 years, and as periodic review may show that the family's situation is improving, the home-payment subsidy will be reduced or eliminated as may be indicated.

In title II, families unable to avail themselves of other housing programs would benefit from a plan of assistance, similar to title I, to the builders of low-cost rental and cooperative housing, to be made available to families of low and moderate income. Here again, the bill provides that these benefits will be extended in rural areas through the Farmers Home Administration, acting on authority delegated by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Title VI of the pending bill provides for a very necessary extension of community development planning into rural areas that must be brought into use in the coming years. The same kind of grant assistance now extended to urban areas will be made effective through State and regional agencies. The Secretary of Agriculture is given a share of responsibility for this planning in areas where new community development and the adaptation of agricultural land come into question.

Title X of the act now before us extends homeownership opportunity to rural families of low- and moderate-income by authorizing loans at the Treasury rate, or not less than 1 percent a year, for families who cannot be assisted under provisions of titles I and II. It also meets an urgent need of people who now live in cities but work in rural localities by making them eligible for rural housing loans so that they can establish homes in the communities where they work.

Title X also authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to make loans or grants, depending on repayment ability of the recipients, for housing and training facilities for rural people who are enrolled in federally assisted manpower training courses, through which they can improve their employment capability.

This title also strengthens the farm labor housing program by authorizing that loan funds may be used to buy building sites, as well as to erect farm labor housing.

Mr. President, these are improvements in the National Housing Act that will help to alleviate the housing problems of some 3 million rural families whose homes today fall short of a decent American standard.

I commend the Committee on Banking and Currency for the concern it has shown toward the long-neglected housing crisis in our rural areas, and I urge that the Senate pass this much-needed legislation.

THE SYMBOL AND CAUSE OF HOPELESSNESS

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, an excellent article on the housing problems of the great city of New York was published in yesterday's New York Times. The article, written by Steven V. Roberts, outlines in reality the housing problems of the entire Nation.

There is no easy, quick, or cheap solution to the housing problems in New York City or in the Nation as a whole. However, we must continue to try new programs and to improve old ones, as inadequate housing is among the most urgent of our urban problems.

As the author points out, poor housing is fear: fear of vandals and narcotics addicts, fear of thieves and muggers, fear of the landlord who will throw you out if you complain, fear of being old and helpless in a five-story walk-up, fear for your children in a hundred different ways. Poor housing is the symbol, and the cause of hopelessness.

While I urge Senators to read this article, I hope they will be challenged by the problems that beset us and not discouraged by their magnitude and complexity. We must join together to find new ways to better the housing of our Nation—to provide homes, not just housing. The bill which we are considering today goes far to present innovative programs, but it surely will not be the last housing bill to be considered in this Chamber. Together with my valued colleagues, I intend to continue to apply myself to the solution of these problems and I hope today we will renew our commitment to this great task.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND DWELLINGS IN THE CITY AFFECTED BY GROWING DECAY

(By Steven V. Roberts)

A group of Baltimore housing officials recently visited Jason R. Nathan, the city's Housing and Development Administrator, to discuss mutual problems.

"To begin with," Mr. Nathan said, "we have at least 800,000 deteriorated apartments in New York City."

The visitors sat silently for a moment before one gasped: "That's almost as much as the number of people in our whole city."

The decay of vast areas of good housing is probably the major problem facing city housing officials—and one of the most important facing the Lindsay administration. The deterioration means that most of the city's poor—especially the Negro and Puerto Rican poor—live in substandard housing with little hope for improvement.

It also means that many middle-class families, especially after they have children, find it increasingly difficult to get decent housing in the city and must seek it elsewhere, usually by migrating to the suburbs.

Since only a limited amount of public money is available to finance new construction, the city government has to run at top speed to stand still.

Last year 12,000 new apartments were built through a variety of publicly aided programs—at least half for middle-income families. But city officials estimate that close to that number of good apartments deteriorated into substandard condition for many reasons: vandalism by tenants and narcotics addicts; the venality of speculators and blockbusters, and above all, the economic difficulties of managing housing for poor families.

These are the basic conclusions of a New York Times study of city housing problems that included interviews with dozens of city officials, landlords, tenants and academic experts.

The study also reached the following conclusions:

Housing experts now realize that landlords must make a decent profit if they are going to keep their buildings in good repair, especially in low-income areas.

The fear among whites that racial integration will degrade an area both socially and economically has been a self-fulfilling prophecy; it has led to the decay of most areas into which nonwhite residents have moved, and the eventual flight of most whites. Thus nonwhites who can afford decent housing can seldom find it.

Programs designed to provide new housing for both low-income and middle-income families have been plagued by rising labor costs, interest rates and taxes. As a result, officials find it increasing difficut to build housing at rents people can afford.

Lengthy bureaucratic delays have slowed down the construction of public housing and made private investors reluctant to become involved in public programs. Moreover, private investors demand such a high return on their money—6 per cent with government guarantees, twice that without insurance—that authorities generally agree few privately owned projects could ever provide housing for the really poor.

INDIGNITIES ARE ENORMOUS

Above all, the problem of housing in New York is the problem of people. The physical discomforts and indignities the poor must suffer are enormous, but the psychological damage inflicted by life in the slums is perhaps even more critical.

Kathleen Harris grew up in Harlem with her mother and six brothers and sisters. She had the first of five illegitimate children when she was 16 years old, about 10 years ago. There was no privacy, she explained, no escape from the gang on the block.

Arthur Simon, a young Lutheran minister, quoted Miss Harris in his book, "Faces of Poverty":

"Harlem makes you feel disgusted and let down. You feel this way every day. When you get up you don't care anymore.

"In Harlem there is too much confusion. People all get to feeling the same. They don't care. They don't try. But most of the people can't move out. They can't afford to. They're trapped there."

Housing for the poor in New York is the rotting tenements on the Lower East Side that Jacob Riis, the social reformer, said were "scarcely fit to shelter brutes" when he viewed the same buildings more than 50 years ago.

It is the glowering, six-story tenements along Eighth Avenue in Harlem around which junkies and idle youths gather like a flock of birds. It is the dilapidated apartment buildings in the South Bronx; once good housing, most are now abandoned by recent landlords and, from the looks of the streets, by the Sanitation Department as well.

It is the crumbling frame and brownstone houses in Bedford-Stuyvesant. It is the shacks of Arverne on the Rockaway peninsula and Coney Island, the final dumping grounds for the city's largest, most troubled welfare families, who can find housing nowhere else.

Housing for the poor in this city is halls reeking with urine and containing leaking pipes and falling plaster. It is small children crowded into tiny rooms with no heat, and the sharp winter wind cutting through cracked glass.

HOUSING IS FEAR

Most of all, housing is fear: fear of vandals and narcotics addicts, fear of thieves and muggers, fear of the landlord who will throw you out if you complain, fear of being old and helpless in a five-story walk-up, fear for your children in a hundred different ways. *Poor housing is the symbol, and the cause, of hopelessness.*

In grappling with the housing problem in New York, officials really face two distinct tasks: building new housing, and preserving existing buildings, most of which would provide decent quarters, if adequately maintained.

Since it is virtually impossible to quickly replace 800,000 dilapidated apartments, more attention has been focused in recent years on rehabilitation and preservation. For many years the cry of housing reformers was to "take the profit out of the slums." The methods proposed were vigorous criminal prosecution of "slumlords," who would thus be forced into repairing their property. Today virtually every housing expert agrees that purely punitive methods have failed.

"We have to put the profit back into housing for the poor," said Roger Starr, executive director of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council. "People have to make money or they won't invest," added an official of the Buildings Department. "Nobody will throw good money after bad."

LANDLORDS BLAME TENANTS

However, most experts, such as Mr. Starr, are pessimistic about the possibility of upgrading existing slum housing. The central reason is that owning and managing decent housing for the poor is just not profitable. *Housing experts point out that if an investor can make 6 per cent on his money by buying blue-chip bonds, real estate—with all its headaches—has to provide twice that return to make it worthwhile.*

Housing authorities contend that many slum buildings are so abused that they would require enormous investments to be transformed into decent accommodations (investments that usually result in rent increases of as much as 100 per cent). But most landlords would find it extremely difficult to get either mortgage money or insurance in run-down areas. If they did upgrade their buildings, they would run into abnormally high maintenance costs.

There is evidence indicating that tenants themselves sometimes damage buildings. Landlords usually blame tenants for most deterioration. One landlord in Brownsville said: "They're animals, you just don't know what it's like. You can't keep a place decent."

But many academic experts argue that even if a tenant does damage a building, the roots of his antisocial behavior are deep and complex. "His building is a handy symbol of all the authority in society that oppresses him," said Professor Chester Rapkin of Columbia University. "He just lashes out against it."

RÔLE OF RENT CONTROL

Another problem is outside vandalism, primarily by narcotics addicts, who have been known to steal the plumbing from a building in daylight. And good janitorial help, which could keep many minor problems from getting out of hand, is also difficult to find in poor areas.

The rents most families can pay in rundown areas often do not cover the costs of renovation and maintenance. Thus there is no incentive for the landlord to do it. The Citizens Housing and Planning Council tried to rehabilitate two tenements on the Lower East Side last year with a foundation grant and wound up losing money.

Landlords also complain that rent control keeps down their profits and prevents them from investing more money in their buildings. City officials acknowledge privately that in some cases rent control does contribute to deterioration. But they doubt that most landlords would, in fact, put higher profits back into their buildings.

They also note that the lifting of controls would cause tremendous hardship to thousands of families, and is thus both economically and politically unfeasible.

Economics is only half of the problem of upgrading slum housing. The other half is the changing pattern of ownership in low-income housing.

It is generally agreed by students of the problem that the best housing for the poor was provided in the past by resident owners who did much of the maintenance work themselves and took pride in their buildings. But in many areas of the city, close-knit ethnic communities, such as the Lower East Side, have broken up as the immigrants and their children became assimilated into American society and sought better housing elsewhere.

As the number of resident owners dwindled, much of their property was bought up by speculators who were more interested in making as much money as possible than in managing good housing. The poor and unorganized minority groups moving into the old neighborhoods were exploited. Services dropped, profits increased. In addition, a significant amount of slum property fell into the hands of amateurs who either inherited the buildings or bought them for investment purposes.

The speculators are seldom willing, and the amateurs are seldom able, to keep buildings in good repair. The good landlord, who has both the skill and desire to manage decent property, is increasingly rare in poor areas because, as authorities note, he has better investment opportunities, and fewer headaches, elsewhere.

PRIVATE CAPABILITY IN DOUBT

Given these economic problems, and the character of many owners of slum property, most city officials now doubt that private, profit-making ownership can operate decent housing for the poor.

"The historical system of private ownership is just not working," Donald H. Elliott, chairman of the City Planning Commission, said in an interview.

The city has tried many programs to make it work. An example is the receivership program, under which the city is able to take over hazardous buildings, make repairs, and bill the owners for the costs.

But out of 120 buildings taken into the program, in only 11 cases have landlords paid the bills and reclaimed their property. It just did not pay for them to do it and the city was left with the responsibility for the properties.

What, then, can the city do? "We have been hearing for years from the easy-answer boys, who have been foisting on the public simplistic answers." Mr. Nathan said "They say the villain is the slumlord, the Negro, rent control, the city bureaucracy, someone on the take. But there are no answers to these complex questions."

Subsidizing private owners, through rent supplements or other devices, has been suggested as one answer. But Frederic S. Berman, Commissioner of Rent and Housing Maintenance expressed concern that if many of the landlords who now own slum property were given more income they would not spend it on improving their buildings.

Few housing officials believe widespread public ownership would be a good idea. It would be very expensive, and city-managed public housing has been widely criticized as "sterile" and "institutional," most contend.

City officials have been talking for almost two years about devising some way in which the city could take over slum property, fix it up, and then convey it to either a tenant cooperative or community group. Without a mortgage or real estate taxes, officials believe a building might be able to pay for itself.

While they struggle with the problem of existing slum housing city officials are also deeply disturbed by the continuing collapse and deterioration of neighborhoods that just a few years ago provided decent housing for thousands of New Yorkers.

It is difficult to measure the spread of deterioration, but every index points in the same direction. As of June 30, 1967, unpaid real-estate taxes had jumped to 5.2 per cent of the total bill, or $169-million. In 1960 arrears amounted to 3.2 per cent. Last year 1,056 properties were foreclosed for nonpayment of taxes as opposed to 629 in 1966 and 535 in 1965.

Bankers estimate that many millions of dollars in mortgages are in default, and that market prices in many areas have been cut in half. Councilman Robert A. Low estimates there are 5,000 to 12,000 abandoned buildings in the city.

The blight is indiscriminate. In the East New York section of Brooklyn, the city chose a former synagogue to use as headquarters for the Model Cities program—the Federally aided project attacking physical and social deprivation in selected areas. Two weeks later the building was vandalized and burned out.

Why this happens is very complicated. But authorities believe that these areas are faced with a much more rapid version of what happened in the present Negro and Puerto Rican slums about 30 years ago.

As younger generations of Jews, Irish and Italians move out of their old neighborhoods—primarily in the Bronx and Brooklyn—landlords begin to accept minority families who are struggling to escape from the slums in which they are trapped. Often these minority families have a good income and keep their apartments as well or better than their white neighbors.

But fear often begins to pervade a white neighborhood bordering on a nonwhite area. The out-migration of whites accelerates, and more nonwhites move in, perhaps not as well off as the first wave.

BEGINNING OF DECLINE

As his building begins to fill up with Negroes and Puerto Ricans, a landlord often cuts services, especially if he assumes the neighborhood is going to decline and does not justify more than a minimal investment. His prophecy is self-fulfilling; if he assumes the area will go down, he guarantees that it will.

Blockbusters and speculators move in, and bankers begin to share the assumption that an area is doomed. Mortgage money and fire insurance become hard to get. Deterioration accelerates again, and the flight of whites becomes an unstoppable flood.

The panic, once it hits an area, can be devastating. In the western part of East New York, bordering on Brownsville, city officials estimate that in 1960 the population was 90 per cent white and 10 per cent nonwhite. Today the figures are reversed.

The deterioration of an area like this is not simply a function of racial change. It results from a complex interaction involving the age of a neighborhood, tenant behavior and the venality of speculators. But the most important reason, and the hardest to combat, is fear.

Mr. Nathan and his colleagues believe that while much racial change is inevitable, some whites can be convinced to stay in these turbulent areas. More important, they feel that existing buildings can be preserved so that the new occupants can have decent places to live.

Some middle-class Negroes have moved several times into largely white areas, only to find these sections deteriorating around them in a few years, forcing them to move again.

The most common answer to the problem is that the city must provide special services and show an area that it cares. But often an area seems to suffer a decline in services just as it begins to change.

IMPACT OF SERVICES

It is problematical, however, whether increased services would make much difference to white residents intent on leaving. In the Crotona section of the Bronx, for example, the East Tremont Young Men's Hebrew Association on Southern Boulevard expanded its program in a renovated building five years ago in a deliberate attempt to keep Jews in the area. But the Jewish population continued to drop so badly that the group is planning to close.

City officials acknowledge that sometimes they are so concerned with the problems of the worst slums that transitional areas tend to get ignored. For example, city officials said almost two years ago that they were deeply troubled about the stability of the Grand Concourse area in the Bronx and would commission a study to find out what to do. The study has never been finished.

When asked specifically what the city's strategy for coping with transitional areas was, Mr. Nathan said: "I don't know, I'm groping. We don't understand the real causes. We're hoping the Rand Corporation the West Coast research company recently hired by the city will give us an in-depth analysis so that we can develop a program."

Given the problems of existing slums and transitional areas, the pressures on the city to build new housing has increased enormously. But housing experts maintain that the available resources are in no way equal to the task.

For example, the Federal Government, now the major source of funds for housing programs, has financed only 925,000 apartments in multiple dwellings for the entire country in 30 years—while New York has 800,000 in need of replacement or renovation right now.

President Johnson has proposed the construction of six million new units in the next 10 years. His National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has said the country must reach that goal in five years or risk increased violence in the cities. But city officials are gloomy about the prospects for massive new appropriations, noting that Congress last year barely approved tiny appropriations for the Model Cities and rent-supplement programs.

HOUSING LINKED TO POVERTY

Public subsidy is particularly important because the housing problem is largely a reflection of the poverty problem. The median family income for Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the city—now about 28 per cent of the population—is less than $3,500. Most minority families, and many whites as well, cannot begin to afford new housing on the private market, which costs at least $60 a room a month.

Mr. Nathan said that housing programs have not shown great progress in the last two years, but that the next two would be more productive. He conceded that Mayor Lindsay has lost time by restructuring the city housing agencies under the new Housing and Development Administration and redirecting many old policies.

Moreover, he added, projects usually take several years from the time they are proposed until they are built. Therefore, statistics on how many apartments were started last year reflected more about the Wagner administration than the Lindsay administration, he said.

However, it is possible to get some idea of what the Lindsay Administration has done so far in building low-cost housing. The bulk of low-income apartments are included in public housing, which contains about 525,000 people living in about 144,000 apartments. The average rent is about $18 a room. They were built under a variety of Federal, state and city programs, but since local voters have consistently rejected referendums on new bond issues, most projects today are financed by Washington.

The Housing Authority, which builds and manages public housing, has a waiting list of about 135,000 families. Last year it opened nine projects containing 3,582 apartments, and started another 2,701 apartments, all originally proposed by the Wagner administration.

The city has a four-year allocation for 28,800 apartments from the Federal Government under an appropriation that runs out on June 30, 1969. By its own count, the Lindsay administration says it will have, at most, 16,000 apartments approved on the local level under that appropriation by this summer.

City officials declare that they spent considerable time establishing a new policy of scattering a sizable number of public housing units in largely white, middle-class areas—much to the displeasure of some local residents. In addition, they decided that most public housing within slum areas would be small, well-designed buildings, not the traditional red-brick towers of the past.

Public housing here, is also plagued by an apparent rule-of-thumb that Washington will not usually approve a project that costs more than $20,000 a unit to build. Since New York has the highest construction and land costs in the nation, the policy—Federal officials formally deny it exists, but city officials say it does—means that the city has great difficulty building large apartments. But an extremely critical need is for large apartments, especially since landlords have chopped up so many units into single rooms for higher profit.

Moreover, the Housing Authority's rising maintenance costs—coupled with tenants' demands for more protection against crime—could mean a rent rise throughout the city if the Federal Government does not increase its subsidies for operating expenses.

Housing for poor families is also provided by two midle-income programs financed by Federal, state and city sources. For example, the state will provide subsidies for low-income families living in housing built under the Mitchell-Lama law, but only 904 have been financed thus far.

The Federal Government will also provide rent supplements for families living in housing built under a Middle-income program known as 221 (d) (3), which the city hopes to use extensively here.

RESTRICTIONS CRITICIZED

City housing officials argue that Congress has provided only $40-million for the whole country for rent supplements and has burdened the program with numerous restrictions. A family must pay 25 per cent of its income for rent, which city officials consider far too high for a large family. In addition, a family can make no more than $6,100 a year to qualify— a ceiling officials think is far too low for New York.

These and other programs suffer under another enormous handicap: the difficulty of moving complex technical projects through a tangle of bureaucratic and political decisions that leaves even strong administrations sputtering with anger and dismay.

There are many complex reasons for bureaucratic delay: increasing concern for relocation, detailed checks and audits by timid bureaucrats, the fragmented decision-making structure within the city government. Moreover, a large number of well-organized civic and special-interest groups further limit the government's ability to move decisively.

The most vocal and militant groups in recent years have been those representing communities affected by proposed redevelopment plans. These include national organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality as well as local groups organized by the antipoverty program. The Lindsay administration is convinced that such groups must play a large role in shaping the future of their neighborhoods, but officials are also aware of some of the problems this policy presents.

The Mayor and his aides have noted that community groups could become platforms for ambitious politicians who do not always

> speak in the best interests of the community. Local leaders also often lack expertise in technical areas and experience in managing complex bureaucracies.
>
> Moreover, communities often do not agree on what they want. Planning for the Milbank-Frawley Circle urban renewal area in Harlem, for example, has been virtually halted by a battle between Negroes and Puerto Ricans for control of the program.
>
> The prospect of dealing with community groups is one reason why private investors are reluctant to build housing in poor areas.
>
> URBAN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
>
> This is why Governor Rockefeller has proposed, and the Legislature has established, the Urban Development Corporation, which is empowered to act as a sponsor of a housing project in its early stages, when risks from political and bureaucratic delay are enormous for a private investor. The corporation would then sell the building to private interests, which could then avoid these risks.
>
> However, some housing economists believe that private investment is no panacea. A private investor must be guaranteed a sizable return on his money, and without large government subsidies investors cannot build housing for poorer families. The Urban Development Corporation, for instance, will build mainly middle-income housing.
>
> The problem, then, of housing in New York, is many-sided. But the central difficulty is money. Without it, present programs can neither be expanded nor improved to provide housing for the hundreds of thousands of people trapped in the city's slums, and countless others who are forced to flee to the suburbs.
>
> But with city and state sources severely limited, and with the Federal Government shackled by spending for the Vietnam war, city officials are not optimistic. Moreover, the competition for what money there is grows constantly. New York has to fight for every nickel.
>
> Thus experts agree that unless something unexpected happens, the economics and the statistics point to two conclusions. The middleclass, particularly families with children, will continue to find it increasingly difficult to afford rents in the city. And generations of poor people, most of them Negro and Puerto Rican, are doomed to live in squalor for the foreseeable future.

RIOT INSURANCE IS VITAL FOR GROWTH OF CENTRAL CITY

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I am deeply pleased to see a section of the housing bill that provides for insurance for riot-torn areas. On August 29, 1967, the Committee on Commerce held hearings on riot insurance, and the testimony of the witnesses reflects both a deep concern with the cancellation of insurance in riot areas and a conviction that something must be done about this problem.

The availability of adequate insurance is essential to the future of any city. This was especially noted in the statement of Arthur Yim, who is with the mayor of Detroit's development team:

> Obviously, the matter of insurance is a significant factor in re-establishing normal business activities in the area. For those merchants without insurance, the prospects of reopening are dim. Many have indicated that they will not return. Others are seeking State or Federal loans to help them get back into business.
>
> Those who do return and want to rebuild will encounter many difficulties. It can be assumed that insurance recoveries, if adequate, can best be used for acquiring new stock and for start-up costs but *will not* be adequate to rebuild.
>
> Most of the affected businesses are located on commercial streets that even before the rioting were "going downhill fast." Building loans and insurance were difficult to obtain then, and now, in the light of recent events, may be more difficult, or even impossible to obtain. Many of the merchants have limited funds and bank loans are likely to be hard to come by for them.
>
> Getting insurance on new buildings will also be a big hurdle, no matter how much financing is available. Without insurance, the local lenders won't get into these areas. Neither will the Federal Housing Administration, which requires fire insurance on home loans. . . .
>
> It is my hope that everything I have said will clearly emphasize the need for government participation in the field of insurance for high risk and riot areas. There is a definite need for some program to provide adequate fire and riot coverage at reasonable rates for businessmen and homeowners in riot-torn and riot-prone areas. We endorse and will support those measures which will accomplish this.

I strongly urge the Senate to support this measure.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the housing and urban development bill contains some helpful and beneficial provisions. Important amendments offered by several Republican members of the committee, which I supported, were defeated by the Senate. These would have greatly improved the bill and made it much sounder.

This bill places a tremendous obligation upon the Government financially; in fact, the cost over a 3-year period will be approximately $5.5 billion.

Mr. President, at a time when our Nation is engaged in the defense of freedom in Vietnam and when we are experiencing the largest deficit in history and severe fiscal problems, I believe that it is unwise for Congress to pass a proposal as expensive as this one will prove to be. This bill not only covers housing but also involves the Federal Government and the taxpayers' money in additional expenditures for urban renewal, for rent subsidies, for mass transportation programs, for flood insurance, for riot insurance, for model cities, for guaranteeing development of new communities and many other miscellaneous public housing, urban renewal and related studies and projects.

Mr. President, such a widespread and expensive bill deserves much more careful study and attention by this body. For this reason, and those mentioned above, I cannot vote for S. 3497.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All remaining time having been yielded back, the question is, Shall the bill pass? On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Inouye], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin] is paired with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland]. If present and voting the Senator from North Carolina would vote "yea" and the Senator from Mississippi would vote "nay."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senators from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper and Mr. Morton], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong] and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Aiken], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 67, nays 4, as follows:

[No. 168 Leg.]

YEAS—67

Allott
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Case
Clark
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Ellender
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hill
Hruska
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Magnuson
Mansfield
McIntyre
Miller
Mondale
Monroney
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Symington
Talmadge
Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—4

Holland
Russell
Stennis
Thurmond

NOT VOTING—29

Aiken
Bible
Carlson
Church
Cooper
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hayden
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
McCarthy
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
Metcalf
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Smathers

So the bill (S. 3497) was passed.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized and directed to make any necessary clerical and technical changes in the engrossed bill (S. 3497).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on yesterday the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Cotton] asked a question about the authorization under the bill that was just passed as to how the money would be divided between new and existing programs. I have checked into this matter, and I find that the total authorization under the bill is $5 billion.

Of this amount, approximately $650 million is for new programs, and the remainder of $4,350,000,000 is for existing programs.

I make this further point, which I believe is of interest: The impact on the budget for fiscal 1969 is approximately $18 million.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. COTTON. This authorization extends over 3 years?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. COTTON. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the 2-year effort to conduct a sweeping review of needed changes in this Nation's housing program has just culminated in the Senate's overwhelming acceptance of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. Our thanks go to the senior Senator from Alabama, [Mr. Sparkman], the able chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, whose long and hard work led the way both in committee and here in the Chamber. In short, Senator Sparkman has achieved, with the passage of this bill, only what can be achieved with the highest legislative skill. This magnificent accomplishment is to be added to his already overflowing record of public service. We and the Nation are again in his debt.

Joining Senator Sparkman were other members of the committee and the subcommittee whose keen diligence and leadership in this task should be singled out. High on the list is the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower] whose contribution and cooperation as the ranking minority member of the Housing Subcommittee were certainly indispensable to the Senate's overwhelming adoption of the measure. Senator Tower exhibited the same high degree of ability that has distinguished his service in this body. Also the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Proxmire] deserves our praise. He added his strong, clear, and convincing views; his invaluable support.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy] also must be singled out for his magnificent efforts both in the subcommittee and here in the Chamber. His deep and abiding interest in a constructive housing program is known well in the Senate and throughout the land. During its consideration, he demonstrated clearly his broad knowledge of all of the many facets of this sweeping measure. The same may be said of the Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie].

Of course, the efforts of the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett] must be noted. As the ranking minority member of the committee, his contribution on this bill, as on all measures that are reported by the committee, was superb. The senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell] deserves the same high praise for offering his own strong and deeply sincere views, as do the Senators from Indiana [Mr. Bayh] and Kansas [Mr. Pearson], and the many others who participated in this discussion.

Indeed, the entire Senate is to be commended for obtaining another fine achievement and for performing the task swiftly and with full consideration for the views of each member.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, some years ago they laid a claims bill before President Coolidge, and, as I recall, it probably was 500 pages in length. The committee of Congress was asked to come down and witness the signing. When they got around to this ceremony, President Coolidge looked at that bill, and in his nasal way he said, "Gentlemen, that's a pretty big bill, isn't it?"

We said, "So it is." And he signed it.

Mr. President, this is a pretty big bill. As I recall, there are approximately 1,400 of 1,500 pages of hearings. The bill itself is approximately 310 pages in length. It represents not the work of the last few months, but it represents the work of several years of diligent effort by Members of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, on both sides of the aisle. I salute the members of the committee on both sides of the aisle, but I pay particular tribute to those of our side of the aisle—the Senator from Texas [Mr. Tower], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Hickenlooper], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Percy], who has given a lot of time to research in this field—all of whom have been extremely diligent.

When we consider the Herculean task with which they were confronted, I believe they merit a salute from the Senate for a great job well done in a challenging field.

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, the Senate today passed the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. This measure encompasses the whole range of housing and urban improvement programs and contains amendments to existing law as well as several important new programs. I supported this legislation in the Committee on Banking and Currency and on the floor of the Senate, for I believe that it represents a positive step toward the Nation's goal of a "decent home and suitable living environment for every American family."

Two aspects of this legislation are significant and offer hope for the future. The first is the serious, and I hope effective, effort of the bill to make it possible for low- and moderate-income families to attain homeownership. When a family owns its dwelling, not only will it be better housed, but its members will be better citizens. An important step in the elimination of the blight and decay in our urban centers and our rural areas is to give the people who live there a stake in the area and its improvement. I believe that the growth of homeownership among our low-income families will produce important material and psychological benefits for us all.

The second aspect of the bill that I find encouraging is the increased dependence on the managerial talent and capital resources of the private sector in the solving of our serious housing problems. It is obvious that Government alone cannot provide all or even a significant portion of the housing units that we need, and that private industry, with its know-how and resources, must be called upon for its full capability if we are to approach decent housing for our citizens. In the bill we have taken several significant steps to involve the private sector in housing, and I am hopeful that this approach will be accelerated in the future.

This is an important bill. I am hopeful that the House of Representatives will act quickly and affirmatively on it so that the Nation can move vigorously to meet the serious problem of providing decent housing for our people.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1967

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that consideration of Calendar No. 794, S. 2700, to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development, be indefinitely postponed, and taken off the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Muskie in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1131 and the succeeding measures in sequence.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EKLUTNA PROJECT, ALASKA

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 224) to provide for the rehabilitation of the Eklutna project, Alaska, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with an amendment, on page 1, line 10, after the word "as," strike out "amended." and insert "amended: *Provided, however*, That the nonreimbursable and nonreturnable expenditures shall not exceed $2,805,437"; so as to make the bill read:

S. 224

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the total sums expended by the Secretary of the Interior in rehabilitation of the Eklutna project, Alaska, from damage caused by the earthquake of March 27, 1964, less the difference between the actual cost of the new dam and the estimated cost of rehabilitating the old dam, shall be nonreimbursable and nonreturnable, and not subject to the provisions of the second sentence of section 1 of the Act of July 31, 1950, as amended: *Provided, however*, That the nonreimbursable and nonreturnable expenditures shall not exceed $2,805,437.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1147), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE MEASURE

The purpose of this legislation, which was introduced by the Senators from Alaska, is to make nonreimbursable the cost of the work which was necessary to rehabilitate the Eklutna Federal hydroelectric power project in Alaska because of damage caused by the earthquake of March 27, 1964.

BACKGROUND

The Eklutna project is a single purpose, hydroelectric power development located 34 miles northeast of Anchorage, Alaska. The project was authorized in 1950 (64 Stat. 382) and construction was completed by the Bureau of Reclamation in 1955. The existing, nonfederally constructed, Eklutna Dam was acquired by the Bureau and incorporated into the project.

The project was damaged considerably by the earthquake of 1964. Investigations showed that the original dam was located on an unfavorable geologic foundation and that replacement of the dam by a new structure downstream was advisable. The rehabilitation of the project has been accomplished under existing authority at a total cost of $2,885,415. Under provisions of existing law, this entire sum must be repaid by the power users along with the balance remaining on the original Federal investment.

PRESENT LEGISLATION

This bill will make nonreimbursable the portion of the cost of rehabilitation which are associated with returning the project to its preearthquake condition ($2,805,437). The balance of the rehabilitation costs ($79,978) are considered to be associated with improvement of the project over its preearthquake condition and will be repaid.

The Department of the Interior, by letter of April 12, 1968, recommended enactment of S. 224. The Bureau of the Budget, by letter of April 10, 1968, expressed no objection to enactment. The Subcommittee on Water and Power Resources held open hearings on S. 224 on April 26, 1968.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENT

The committee has inserted language to limit the amount made nonreimbursable by the bill to $2,805,437 which is the specific amount of the cost described in the language of the bill as estimated by the Department of the Interior.

INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR THE PUBLICATION OF CUSTOMS TARIFFS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1578) to authorize the appropriation for the contribution by the United States for the support of the International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs, which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, with amendments, in line 3, after the word "appropriated" insert "annually"; and in line 9, after the word "Union" insert a comma and "but not to exceed 6 per centum of such expenses per annum."; so as to make the bill read:

S. 1578

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated annually to the Department of State such sums as may be necessary, including contributions pursuant to the convention of July 5, 1890, as amended, for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs and of the Bureau established to carry out the functions of the Union, but not to exceed 6 per centum of such expenses per annum.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1148), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BACKGROUND

The International Bureau for the Publication of Customs Tariffs is a small technical organization, the sole function of which is to translate and publish customs tariffs of member countries into five official languages—English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. It was founded in 1890 by the United States and 40 other countries and has now over 70 members. Member nations are grouped for assessment purposes in seven categories, based on the value of their international trade. The United States is in the first category and until 1949 was assessed $2,233 a year. That year a protocol to the original convention was adopted and approved by the Senate which raised the overall budget and increased the U.S. portion to $8,658.

Tariff negotiations have, if anything, become even more intensified since that period and together with the establishment of many newly independent nations with independent tariff schedules, the Bureau's budget has again become inadequate to its task. Rather than pursuing the time-consuming formal process of negotiating and ratifying a new protocol, the Bureau asked its member countries to double their contributions voluntarily. As of the end of 1966, 49 of the 75 members had done so, accounting for well over 70 percent of the total contributions to the Union. S. 1578 will permit the United States to do likewise.

COMMITTEE ACTION AND RECOMMENDATION

This legislation was originally submitted in 1966 and introduced by request as S. 3827. That bill differed from S. 1578, which was resubmitted on April 19, 1967, in that it authorized the contribution of $8,658 in addition to the regular annual contribution in the same amount.

The Committee on Foreign Relations held a public hearing on S. 1578 on May 7, 1968, at which time it heard Mr. Martin Y. Hirabayashi, Chief, Special Trade Activities and Commercial Treaties Division, Department of State. Mr. Hirabayashi's prepared statement it appended to this report. Inasmuch as the answers to several questions raised by committee members were not readily available at that time, the committee in executive session following the hearing, voted to report the bill with amendments to the Senate subject to receipt of the requested information. This information has now been furnished in letters of May 10 and May 21 which are also appended to the report.

The committee amendments place a ceiling on the U.S. contribution of not to exceed 6 percent of total annual contributions. The committee calls attention to the fact that the Department of State recommends against such a limitation in its letter of May 10. The committee, however, decided to place a ceiling on the Department's request. Two years ago the Department of State itself recommended a monetary ceiling. Furthermore, the ceiling reflects what the U.S. percentage will be when S. 1578 is enacted.

All information received by the committee indicates that the International Bureau for the Publication of Customs Tariffs is a useful organization and that the request to double U.S. contributions to it is justified. The Departments of Commerce, State, and private groups find the English translations of foreign tariffs most helpful. It would take many times the amount involved here for the United States to duplicate this service. Nor is this service duplicated by any other international group. Therefore, subject to the amendment, the committee recommends passage of S. 1578.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

The bill (S. 3073) to promote the economic development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments, on page 1, line 4, after the word "Islands" insert "Economic"; in line 10, after the word "Act" strike out "an amount equal to the amount which $5,000,000 exceeds the sum of the grant contributed to such government under section 3 of the Act of August 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 601)." and insert "such amount as will result in a Trust Territory Economic Development Loan Fund of $5,000,000. The Trust Territory Economic Development Loan Fund means the fund established pursuant to section 3 of Public Law 88–487, as augmented by further Federal grants prior to the date of enactment of this Act."; and, on page 3, line 14, after the word "conditions." strike out "The maximum participation in the funds made available under section 2 of this Act shall be limited to 25 per centum of the available funds to any single project, to 90 per centum of loan guarantee, and, with respect to all loans, the degree of participation

prudent under the circumstances of individual loans but directly related to minimum essential participation necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Act." and insert "The maximum participation in the funds made available under section 2 of this Act shall be limited (a) with respect to all loans, to that degree of participation prudent under the circumstances of individual loan but directly related to the minimum essential participation necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Act, but in no event shall more than 25 per centum of the funds actually appropriated by the Congress be devoted to any single project, (b) with respect to loan guarantees, to a guarantee of 90 per centum of any loan: Provided, That, with respect to loan guarantees, the reserves maintained by the agency or agencies for the guarantee shall not be less than 25 per centum of the guarantee."; so as to make the bill read:

S. 3073

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Section 1. This Act may be cited as the "Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Economic Development Fund Act of 1968".

Sec. 2. For the purpose of promoting economic development in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior to be paid to the government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the purposes of this Act such amount as will result in a Trust Territory Economic Development Loan Fund of $5,000,000. The Trust Territory Economic Development Loan Fund means the fund established pursuant to section 3 of Public Law 88–487, as augmented by further Federal grants prior to the date of enactment of this Act.

Sec. 3. Prior to receiving any funds pursuant to this Act the government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands shall submit to the Secretary of the Interior a plan for the use of such funds which meets the requirements of this section and is approved by the Secretary. The plan shall set forth the policies and procedures to be followed in furthering the economic development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands through a program which shall include and make provision for loans and loan guarantees to promote the development of private enterprise and private industry therein through a revolving fund for such purposes: *Provided*, That the term of any loan made pursuant to the plan shall not exceed twenty-five years; that such loans shall bear interest (exclusive of premium charges for insurance, and service charges, if any) at such rate per annum as is determined to be reasonable and as approved by the Secretary, but in no event less than a rate equal to the average yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States as of the last day of the month preceding the date of the loan, adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 per centum, which rate shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury upon the request of the authorized agency or agencies of the government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; and that premium charges for the insurance and guarantee of loans shall be established at rates which will be adequate to cover expenses and probable losses related to the loan guarantee program.

Sec. 4. No loan or loan guarantee shall be made under this Act to any applicant who does not satisfy the agency or agencies administering the plan that financing is otherwise unavailable on reasonable terms and conditions. The maximum participation in the funds made available under section 2 of this Act shall be limited (a) with respect to all loans, to that degree of participation prudent under the circumstances of individual loan but directly related to the minimum essential participation necessary to accomplish the purposes of this Act, but in no event shall more than 25 per centum of the funds actually appropriated by the Congress be devoted to any single project, (b) with respect to loan guarantees, to a guarantee of 90 per centum of any loan: *Provided,* That, with respect to loan guarantees, the reserves maintained by the agency or agencies for the guarantee shall not be less than 25 per centum of the guarantee.

Sec. 5. The plan provided for in section 3 of this Act shall set forth such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement, repayment, and accounting for such funds.

Sec. 6. The High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands shall make an annual report to the Secretary of the Interior on the administration of this Act.

Sec. 7. The Comptroller General of the United States, or any of his duly authorized representatives, shall have access, for the purpose of audit and examination, to the books, documents, papers, and records of the agency, or agencies, of the government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands administering the plan that are pertinent to the funds received under this Act.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be added as a cosponsor of this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1149), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of S. 3073, introduced by Senators Burdick, Metcalf, and Moss, as amended, is to establish a Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Economic Development Loan Fund to promote the development of private enterprise and private industry in the trust territory. It would bring the total economic development authorization fund to a $5 million level.

This fund would be outside the ceiling limitation imposed on the trust territory by the act of June 30, 1954, as amended.

BACKGROUND

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands consists of the Caroline and Marshall Islands and all of the Marianas except Guam. Though it comprises 2,100 islands scattered over a 3 million-square-mile area its total land area is only 687 square miles. It has 90,000 inhabitants. The territory is administered by the United States under a trusteeship agreement with the Security Council of the United Nations approved by the President under authority granted by the Congress on July 18, 1947 (61 Stat. 397). The terms of that agreement (61 Stat. 3301) give the United States "full powers of administration, legislation, and jurisdiction" over the former Japanese-administered territory and obligate it to (1) "foster the development of such political institutions as are suited to the Trust Territory and * * * promote the development of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory toward self-government or independence," (2) "promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants," (3) promote the social advancement of the inhabitants, and * * * protect the health of the inhabitants," and (4) "promote the educational advancement of the inhabitants." The U.S. authority is presently vested in a High Commissioner appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.

Public Law 88–487, among other things, granted approximately $369,000, which represented the balance in a federally financed revolving fund for loans to private trading companies in the territory, to the local government "for use as a development fund within the trust territory of the Pacific Islands." This fund, assisted by subsequent grants totaling $550,000, has undertaken an economic development program of limited proportions.

NEED

In February 1967, a comprehensive economic study of the trust territory, prepared by the internationally known economic consulting firm of Robert Nathan Associates, was submitted to the High Commissioner. This study shows that economic resources of the trust territory are limited, yet with suitable guidance and assistance the potentials that exist can be developed. At the present time most of the population is in a subsistence economy. However, at least in the district centers and on Ebeye in the Marshall Island district, this pattern is changing and there is a significant movement into a limited cash economy.

During January 1968, Senator Burdick, chairman of the Territories Subcommittee, along with Senators Metcalf and Moss, made an inspection trip through Micronesia. Aside from a new fish freezing plant in the Palau district, a large cattle ranching enterprise on Tinian and a new first-rate tourist hotel on Saipan, both in the Mariana district, the subcommittee found almost no economic development in the territory. For the most part, the people of Micronesia rely on a subsistence agricultural and fishing economy, or on government input for cash. Economic resources in Micronesia are not large, however, opportunities for development do exist in agriculture, fishing, construction, wholesale and retail trade and services, tourism and travel, and air and sea transportation. These possibilities can only be realized if capital is made available with which to develop them.

The economic consultants who recently studied the trust territory have pointed out that local private capital from savings or from present private or governmental borrowing cannot meet the total needs. Nor are prospects of obtaining outside capital investment good, in view of the uncertainty of the political future of Micronesia. Thus, there is a definite need for a revolving loan fund such as that provided in the bill.

S. 3073 is patterned after S. 1763, the Guam development loan fund bill, which passed the Senate on August 30, 1967.

SECTION-BY SECTION ANALYSIS

S. 3073, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Economic Development Fund Act of 1968, will provide what Micronesia patently needs most—an economic mechanism to help develop a viable economy. The bill, as amended, authorizes to be appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior, to be paid to the government of the trust territory for the purposes of the act, not to exceed $5 million. Prior to the time the authorized funds are made available to the territory, a plan for the use of the funds is to be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior and approved by him. It must set forth the policies and procedures to be followed in promoting the economic development of the territory through a program of loans and loan guarantees to promote private enterprise and private industry, and make provision for a revolving fund for such purposes.

The term of any loan made under this act would not exceed 25 years, and the maximum term is not to be granted except in cases involving projects requiring substantial construction of buildings, et cetera. Otherwise, the duration of loans should range from a period of 15 to 25 years, as is presently required by the act governing the Small Business Administration. All loans would require payment of interest at rates determined to be reasonable, but in no event less than a rate equal to the average yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States as determined by the Secretary of the Treasury. Premium charges for insurance and guarantee of loans are required at rates to be established which will adequate cover expenses and probable losses.

Section 4, as amended, provides that no loan or loan guarantee shall be made under this act to any applicant who does not satisfy the agency administering the plan that financing is otherwise not available on reasonable terms. This section also makes clear that the maximum participation in the funds made available, with respect to all loans, shall be limited to that degree of participation that is prudent, but in no event shall more than 25 percent of the funds actually appropriated be devoted to any single project; with respect to loan guarantees, to a guarantee of 90 percent of any loan. A further provision with respect to loan guarantees requires that the reserves maintained for the guarantee shall not be less than 25 percent of the guarantee.

Section 5 requires that the plan provided for in section 3 shall contain such fiscal and accounting procedures as will assure proper disbursement and repayment of all loans.

Sections 6 and 7 require that the High Commissioner of the trust territory shall make an annual report to the Secretary of the Interior on the administration of the act, and authorize the Comptroller General of the United States to audit the agency, or agencies, administering the loan program.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (S. 444) to establish the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area in the States of Utah and Wyoming, and for other purposes, was announced as next in order.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Over, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over.

CONTINUANCE OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT FOR THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 3207) to amend section 2 of the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments, on page 1, line 6, after the word "following:" strike out " '$35,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1968 and 1969, and $40,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1970, 1971, 1972, and 1973,'." and, in lieu thereof, insert " '$35,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1968 and 1969, and $120,000,000 for the three fiscal years 1970, 1971, and 1972,'."; and, on page 2, after line 2, insert a new section, as follows:

Sec. 2. The Act of June 30, 1964 (68 Stat. 330), as amended, is amended by adding a new section 3 as follows:

"Sec. 3. In the event of a major disaster in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed $10,000,000 for any single disaster, as the Secretary of the Interior may find necessary to assist the public and private sectors. Such sum shall be in addition to those authorized in section 2 of this Act and by other provisions of law, and shall not be subject to the limitations imposed by section 2 of this Act."

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 2 of the Act of June 30, 1954 (68 Stat. 330), as amended, is amended by deleting "and $35,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1968 and 1969," and inserting in lieu thereof a comma and the following: "$35,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1968 and 1969, and $120,000,000 for the three fiscal years 1970, 1971, and 1972,".

Sec. 2. The Act of June 30, 1954 (68 Stat. 330), as amended, is amended by adding a new section 3 as follows:

"Sec. 3. In the event of a major disaster in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums, not to exceed $10,000,000 for any single disaster, as the Secretary of the Interior may find necessary to assist the public and private sectors. Such sums shall be in addition to those authorized in section 2 of this Act and by other provisions of law, and shall not be subject to the limitations imposed by section 2 of this Act."

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1151), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE

The purpose of S. 3207, as amended, introduced by Senators Burdick, Metcalf, and Moss, is to authorize increased appropriations for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for civil works and administrative programs. The bill, as amended, increases the present appropriation authorization of $35 million for fiscal year 1969 to $120 million for the 3 fiscal years 1970, 1971, and 1972. The bill would also add a new section 3 to the 1954 act to authorize up to $10 million for any single disaster (principally typhoons) that strikes the territory in order to assist the public and private sectors to properly rebuild damaged facilities.

BACKGROUND

The islands which form the trust territory lie in three major archipelagoes to the north of the Equator in the western Pacific. The land area totals less than 700 square miles, but it is scattered over almost 3 million square miles of open ocean. About 97 of the more than 2,000 islands are inhabited; they range from low-lying coral atolls to high islands of volcanic origin. The Mariana Islands, which stretch to the north of Guam and the western Caroline Islands, are typically high islands, although coral atolls, such at Ulithi, do occur. The eastern Caroline Islands are similarly a mixture of high islands and coral atolls. The Marshalls are entirely low coral atolls, usually a loose string of narrow sandy islands surrounding a lagoon.

These islands were governed between World War I and World War II by the Japanese as a League of Nations mandate. Converted into military bases by the Japanese, they were captured by allied forces during World War II and placed under Navy military government. Japanese colonists and military personnel were returned to their homeland after the war and in July 1947 the United States placed the former mandate under the newly established United Nations trusteeship system. In recognition of the defense value of these islands, the provisions of the United Nations Charter relating to strategic areas were brought into play, and the trusteeship agreement was concluded between the United States and the Security Council. Under the trusteeship agreement, the United States has undertaken to promote the educational, social, political, and economic development of the people of the territory.

Administrative responsibility was first vested by the President in the Navy but was transferred to the Secretary of the Interior on July 1, 1951. In 1952, administrative responsibility for the northern Mariana Islands was reassigned to the Navy, and the dual administration continued until July 1, 1962. On that date the Marianas were returned to Interior supervision, and the headquarters of the trust territory government were moved to Saipan as provisional capital of the territory.

U.S. authority is vested in a High Commissioner, who is presently appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. The High Commissioner's legislative authority was granted to the Congress of Micronesia on the day of its first session in 1965, but the High Commissioner retains veto power over measures passed by the Congress of Micronesia.

Six administrative districts, which roughly conform to geographic and ethnic divisions, have been established and have formed basic elements in American administration of the area.

During the period of July 1, 1951, through the end of fiscal year 1968, a total of $165,000,000 has been appropriated to the Department of the Interior for administration of the area, including capital improvements. (This total is exclusive of funds appropriated to the Navy for the northern Mariana Islands during the years 1953–62.) For fiscal years 1952 through 1962 the annual appropriation ranged from $4,271,000 to a high of $6,304,000 in fiscal year 1962. These funds were within the $7.5 million authorization approved in 1954, and provided minimal basic services to a people who were largely on a subsistence economy.

Enactment of Public Law 87–541 in 1962 increased the Federal appropriation authorization for the trust territory from $7.5 to $15 million for fiscal year 1963 and $17.5 million thereafter. The funds which have been appropriated and expended under this authorization made possible an appreciable start toward bringing the physical facilities and the level of services to a minimum standard acceptable in an American community.

Enactment of Public Law 90–16 in 1967 further increased authorization for the territory from $17.5 to $25 million for fiscal year 1967 and to $35 million for fiscal years 1968 and 1969. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain all of the funds authorized in recent years and therefore an enormous amount still remains to be accomplished if the United States is to fully discharge the responsibilities it has assumed in the Pacific.

In Senate Report No 62, accompanying S. 303, which became Public Law 90–16, this committee stated in part as follows:

"The committee feels that a 3-year program, in which projects most urgently needed are given priority in the expenditure of funds, is the best means of alleviating the territory's needs. Data on needed projects and their costs, adequate to justify a longer program, is not available at this time. At the end of the 3 years, however, the recently appointed High Commissioner will have had a chance to review the territory's expenditures and its future needs. On the basis of his personal knowledge and review, the High Commissioner may submit such appropriations requests as he feels are necessary for the territory's development. In addition, committee members will visit and inspect the trust territory in 1967 to gain firsthand information of further needs in the territory."

COMMITTEE INSPECTION TRIP

Beginning on January 8, 1968, Senator Burdick, chairman of the Subcommittee on Territories, and Senators Metcalf and Moss made an inspection trip through Micronesia. Starting with the Marshall Islands in the eastern part of the territory, in the course of which the subcommittee received a thorough briefing of the Nike and Zeus missile testing programs at the Kwajalein Test Site, the group proceeded to visit all of the six districts which comprise Micronesia and numerous islands outside of the district centers. The subcommittee journeyed to islands that had not been seen by congressional delegations for many, many years. For example, the group flew to the island of Kusai in the Ponape district and held a full day of hearings on local problems. They visited Kapingamarangi, the only major Polynesian island in all of Micronesia, in the Ponape district.

Committee members made one of the very rare amphibious lands at Rongelap, where the people were the victims 14 years ago of a thermonuclear accident. After being dusted by the A bomb fallout from the Bikini test, the island people of Rongelap were awarded a compassionate settlement of almost $1 million for their nuclear burns and enforced evacuation of the lagoon for 3 years. The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs worked on and approved that settlement legislation, and subcommittee members reported that they met with the people, examined their rebuilt island community, and found them happy and well.

Boat trips were taken to several islands within the Truk lagoon, and in the Palu district an entire day was spent in getting to Peleliu, one of the most remote islands in all the territory, and the scene of complete destruction during the course of one of the most bloody battles of World War II.

In addition to several days in each of the six district centers, the hubs of administrative activity in the territory, the subcommittee also landed for half a day at the Ulithi lagoon, where the greatest armada of ships in history assembled for the attack on Okinawa at the close of World War II. These islands have reverted to a subsistence coconut economy, with only the ghosts of former great activity still around them.

At the conclusion of the trip, committee members spent 2 days on Saipan where the headquarters of the trust territory government are located and discussed with the High Commissioner and various department heads numerous problems encountered in the course of this inspection tour.

The conclusions about the big issues presently restraining the advancement of this huge region of the world that spans an ocean area roughly equal to that of the continental United States are these:

(1) The logistic problems of transporting people, goods, and ideas around this far-flung, variegated territory are staggering. The administrators there have been pleading for greatly augmented shipping tonnage and communications equipment, and they do desperately need it.

(2) The territory properly recognizes that its shortcomings in its educational system are a self-defeating limitation from which they must escape. Some very appreciable improvements have been made lately, but the system is hidebound by a very conventional approach to educational curriculum and administration, resulting in a very thin input in the classroom itself, and a disproportionate amount of overhead cost consumption. This program is being bombarded by criticism from the trust territory leadership, and that at least augurs well for improvement as new planned innovations are translated into reality.

(3) The subcommittee was prepared to find a medical crisis in the territory as a result of the critical report of the World Health Organization a few years ago. No such crisis was found, but every evidence of recent dramatic achievement in health. Almost all hospitals need replacement, but what they have are quite well equipped, maintained, and manned. Some of the Micronesian medical practitioners are marvels. Outer-island dispensaries, though, are often horrible, and committee members were glad to learn of planned programs to rebuild and retrain the health aides for all of them.

(4) About economic development, little was found to be excited about. There is a large new fish freezing plant at Palau, a large cattle ranching enterprise on Tinian, and a first-rate new tourist hotel on Saipan. Beyond that there is almost total reliance on government input for cash, a subsistence agricultural economy for others, and an almost total deficiency of an even minimal availability of capital, roads, docks, water, power, sewerage, and other needs for development of the local resources—which are really more significant than most assume. A less tangible deficiency is the uncertainty of the political future of Micronesia, and this dilemma effectively discourages the kind of developmental investment in the region that these people really need.

Upon returning to Washington on February 1, the three members agreed that several legislative proposals should be introduced and enacted to meet the needs of the trust territory government and the more than 90,000 people who inhabit the islands. S. 3207 is one important piece of legislation aimed at meeting Micronesia's needs.

NEED

Although increased appropriations for the trust territory in recent years have enabled important and significant progress to be made in administration and capital improvements, much remains to be done. The committee recognizes that additional funds must be made available to develop public health and education facilities, and the infrastructure of roads, harbors, water supplies, etc., without which the local economy cannot readily expand, and attract private investment. The development of these basic facilities and services has been greatly complicated by factors such as the geographic dispersion of the inhabited islands, which means an uneconomic duplication of facilities for the population; the small total land area of the islands, the high birth rate, the large proportion of children in the population, and the low level of economic and social development. Past appropriations, in the face of steadily rising administrative costs, have not encouraged development of the full potential of the islands.

The committee, recognizing these great developmental needs, feels that increased appropriations for a 3-year program of capital improvements are vital if Micronesia is to rise above a low level of subsistence and take its place in a modern world. The money authorized to be appropriated by S. 3207 would bolster health, education, water, power, and sewage services; provide better air, ground, and water transportation; modernize and extend radio and telephone communications; and establish suitable buildings for executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the territorial government. At the same time, the higher level of economic development produced by these improvements would enable the territory to pay for a much greater portion of its financial needs.

In addition to the foregoing justification for this legislation, a devastating typhoon struck the Mariana district during April 1968, causing more than $16 million in damage to public facilities. The President declared the Marianas and Hall islands a national disaster area making them eligible for Federal disaster funds. Some $8.5 million has been released to aid the territory in recovering from this tragic storm. However, this amount meets only half of the need and makes no provision for assisting in rebuilding the hundreds of homes and private structures destroyed by the 200-mile-an-hour winds.

In February 1967, a comprehensive economic study of the trust territory, prepared by an internationally known economic consulting firm, was submitted to the High Commissioner. The study makes many recommendations for the development of Micronesia, not the least of which is an increased annual budget in an amount comparable to that approved by this committee.

The committee, on recommendation of the subcommittee members who toured Micronesia in January 1968, has adopted a language providing a $120 million authorization for fiscal years 1970, 1971, and 1972. It is believed that an additional 3-year program, in which projects most urgently needed are given priority in the expenditure of funds, is the best means of alleviating the territory's needs. By authorizing a flat sum for the 3 years, the High Commissioner will have flexibility in making requests for appropriations and will be in a better position to plan and "gear-up" for an expanded construction program. To date, the territory has not demonstrated the capability of managing a program exceeding $24 million annually.

ORDER FOR RECESS TO 9 A.M.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in recess until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR YOUNG OF OHIO TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the prayer on tomorrow and disposition of the Journal, and not to exceed the hour of 9:30 a.m., the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] may be recognized, to consider Calendar No. 1117, H.R. 15004, the so-called Civil Defense Act.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, does the Senator have any idea how long that will take?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Not beyond 9:30.

Mr. MILLER. In other words, the Civil Defense Act will be completed by 9:30 in the morning?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules and Administration be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REFERRAL OF LETTER FROM SECRETARY OF LABOR ON DRAFT LEGISLATION ON THE DAVIS-BACON ACT

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, on May 2 there was referred to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare a letter from the Secretary of the Department of Labor transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to apply prevailing wage-rate protection in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act to the construction or reconstruction of buildings to be leased for public purposes. This matter involves to some extent an overlapping jurisdiction between the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the Committee on Public Works.

The Committee on Public Works now has pending before it S. 930, a measure addressed to the same problem, on which hearings were held on October 5, 1967. The Executive message has been discussed with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH], the chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor, and he has agreed that this message might more appropriately be referred to the Committee on Public Works. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the message and proposed draft legislation which I have mentioned be re-referred to the Committee on Public Works.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SENATOR ELLENDER'S REPORT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, before the Chair recognizes the distinguished chairman of the committee, I wish to announce that sometime tomorrow, the distinguished senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] will make a very worthwhile report; and I hope a good many Senators are present to listen to him, because what he has to say is always interesting.

ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following routine business was transacted:

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The PRESIDING OFFICER announced that on today, May 28, 1968, the Vice President signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 126. An act for the relief of Pedro Antonio Julio Sanchez;

S. 233. An act for the relief of Chester E. Davis;

S. 1040. An act for the relief of certain employees of the Department of the Navy;

S. 1052. An act for the relief of Nicholas S. Cvetan, U.S. Air Force (retired);

S. 2409. An act for the relief of the estate of Josiah K. Lilly;

H.R. 15348. An act to extend the authority to grant a special 30-day leave for members of the uniformed services who voluntarily extend their tours of duty in hostile fire areas; and

S.J. Res. 168. Joint resolution to authorize the temporary funding of the emergency credit revolving fund.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. LAUSCHE, from the Committee on Commerce, with amendments:

S. 752. A bill to amend section 203(b)(5) of the Interstate Commerce Act to clarify this exemption with respect to transportation performed by agricultural cooperative associations for nonmembers (Rept. No. 1152).

By Mr. JACKSON, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments:

S.J. Res. 106. Joint resolution regarding the status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Rept. No. 1153).

SUSPENSION FOR THE 1968 CAMPAIGN OF THE EQUAL-TIME REQUIREMENTS OF THE COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1934 FOR NOMINEES FOR OFFICES OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE (S. REPT. NO. 1154).

Mr. PASTORE, from the Committee on Commerce, reported an original joint resolution (S.J. Res. 175) to suspend for the 1968 campaign the equal-time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 for nominees for the offices of President and Vice President, and submitted a report thereon, which joint resolution was placed on the calendar, and the report was ordered to be printed.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, from the Committee on Armed Services, as in executive session, I report favorably the nominations of 29 flag and general officers in the Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps. I ask that these names be placed on the Executive Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered placed on the Executive Calendar, are as follows:

Gen. Gabriel P. Disosway (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force, and Gen. Maurice A. Preston (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force, to be placed on the retired list, in the grade of generals;

Lt. Gen. Harold C. Donnelly (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force, and Lt. Gen. Leighton I. Davis (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force, to be placed on the retired list, in the grade of Lieutenants General;

Lt. Gen. Horace M. Wade (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force, and sundry other officers, to be assigned to positions of importance and responsibility designated by the President;

Lt. Gen. Joseph R. Holzapple (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force, to be senior Air Force member, Military Staff Committee, United Nations;

Brig. Gen. Rollin B. Moore, Jr., Air Force Reserve, and sundry other officers, for temporary appointment in the U.S. Air Force;

Brig. Gen. Glenn Jesse Collins, Army of the United States (colonel, Medical Corps, U.S. Army), and sundry other Medical Corps officers, for temporary appointment in the Army of the United States;

Adm. Alfred G. Ward, U.S. Navy, for appointment on the retired list, in the grade of admiral;

Vice Adm. William E. Ellis, U.S. Navy, and Vice Adm. Alexander S. Heyward, Jr., U.S. Navy, for appointment on the retired list, in the grade of vice admirals; and

Frank C. Tharin, and Lewis J. Fields, for commands and other duties determined by the President, for appointment to the grade of lieutenants general while so serving.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, in addition, I report favorably 310 promotions and appointments in the Army in the grade of colonel and below, 2,794 promotions and appointments in the Air Force in the grade of lieutenant colonel and below, and 105 appointments in the Marine Corps in the grade of colonel and below. Since these names have already been printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I ask unanimous consent that they be ordered to lie on the Secretary's desk for the information of any Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered to lie on the desk, are as follows:

Barbara J. Bishop, and Jeanette I. Sustad, women officers of the Marine Corps, for appointment to the grade of colonels;

Edward G. Abersold, and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Regular Air Force;

Joseph T. Anderson, and sundry other U.S. Naval Academy graduates, for permanent appointment in the Marine Corps;

Charles B. Alexander, and sundry other Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps officers, for permanent appointment in the Marine Corps;

Michael J. Baumhover, and sundry other staff noncommissioned officers, for temporary appointment in the Marine Corps;

John W. Hooper and Robert D. Jones (meritorious noncommissioned officers) for permanent appointment in the Marine Corps;

John C. Howland and William D. Warren (Army Reserve Officer Training Corps), for permanent appointment in the Marine Corps;

Michael L. Patrow (U.S. Military Academy graduate) for permanent appointment in the Marine Corps;

Jack T. Kline (staff noncommissioned officer), for permanent appointment in the Marine Corps;

Alexis M. Gagarine and sundry other officers, for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States;

Elmer J. Dymmel and sundry other persons, for appointment in the Regular Air Force;

Bruce M. Abis and sundry other distinguished graduates of the Air Force Officer Training School, for appointment in the Regular Air Force;

Manley E. Rogers, for appointment as Director of Admissions and Registrar, U.S. Military Academy;

Bruce Kennedy and sundry other persons, for appointment in the Regular Army;

Arnold W. Ahders and sundry other distinguished military students, for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States; and

David F. Gregg and David A. Napoliello, scholarship students, for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HARRIS:

S. 3554. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to consider a petition for reinstatement of oil and gas leases (BLM-A-068348 and BLM-A-068348(c)); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. HARRIS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HART:

S. 3555. A bill for the relief of Dr. Mounir Farid Guindi, his wife, Mona Schehab Guindi, and their child, Salwa Guindi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TYDINGS (for himself and Mr. BIBLE):

S. 3556. A bill to establish a basic property insurance placement plan and joint underwriting association to improve the availability of basic insurance protection for residential and business properties against fire and other perils through the cooperative efforts of the District of Columbia and the private property insurance industry; to authorize the District of Columbia to assume a portion of insurance losses resulting from riots and other civil disorders; and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

(See the remarks of Mr. TYDINGS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 3557. A bill to amend title 28, United States Code, section 753(e) to eliminate the maximum and minimum limitations upon the annual salary of reporters; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BARTLETT (by request):

S. 3558. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to consider a petition for reinstatement of certain oil and gas leases; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BYRD of Virginia (for himself and Mr. SPONG):

S. 3559. A bill to revise certain taxing authority of the State of Virginia with respect to Washington National Airport; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. 3560. A bill to provide for an extension of Interstate Highway 82 and Interstate Highway 5 in the States of Washington and Oregon; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ALLOTT (for himself and Mr. DOMINICK):

S. 3561. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Narrows unit, South Platte Division, Missouri River Basin project, Colorado, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 3562. A bill for the relief of Tso-Yee Ming; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PASTORE:

S.J. Res. 175. Joint resolution to suspend for the 1968 campaign the equal-time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 for nominees for the offices of President and Vice President; placed on the calendar.

(See reference to the above joint resolution when reported by Mr. PASTORE, which appears under the heading "Reports of Committees.")

S. 3554—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO REINSTATEMENT OF CERTAIN OIL AND GAS LEASES

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill for the relief of Phillips Petroleum Co., a Delaware corporation, and David Miller. The bill directs the Secretary of Interior to receive and act upon any petition of Phillips Petroleum Co., and David Miller filed within 180 days of enactment for reinstatement of two oil and gas leases. The enactment of this bill is necessary due to human error in calculating the number of acres and amount of payment due on lease No. BLM-A-068348 and lease No. BLM-A-068348C.

Under existing law failure to pay timely the exact amount due on any particular lease necessitates the cancellation of the lease regardless of the causes for the untimely or insufficient payment. In the case of the leases mentioned above, Mr. David Miller paid timely for the years 1964, 1965, and 1966, however, due to an error on the part of the Bureau of Land Management in calculating the number of acres contained in the leases, Mr. Miller was billed for and paid $1 less than the amount actually required.

The bill I introduce today is a companion bill to H.R. 16880 introduced by my colleague, Congressman ED EDMONDSON, in the House of Representatives. The legislation is needed in order to reinstate the Miller lease and the Phillips Petroleum lease. Present law allows no leeway. The leases were automatically terminated, human error and good intentions notwithstanding. I would hope that this legislation could be acted upon expeditiously and favorably. Thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3554) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to consider a petition for reinstatement of oil and gas leases (BLM-A-068348 and BLM-A-068348(c)), introduced by Mr. HARRIS, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 3556—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO PROVIDE INSURANCE PROTECTION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, since the riots which swept through Washington, Baltimore, and other cities almost 2 months ago—the Subcommittee on Business and Commerce, of which I am chairman, of the Senate District of Columbia Committee has been conducting a series of hearings regarding the steps that must be taken to rebuild the city—to remedy the damage that was done to merchants and homeowners who were looted or burned out.

One clear conclusion has emerged from these hearings. The need for immediate, far-reaching action is compelling, but the resources which are available to do the job are pathetically small. The government—both District of Columbia and Federal—must take action at once to meet these problems. Unless new resources are found to rebuild the riot-torn areas, these areas will be condemned to remain burnt-out shells.

One particularly grave problem for merchants and homeowners in the riot-affected areas has been highlighted by our hearings—that is the problem of obtaining adequate property insurance. Numerous witnesses have told us that insurance in center city areas is rapidly becoming almost impossible to obtain. Unless immediate action is taken to remedy this problem, businesses will be forced to leave the center city; they cannot exist without insurance. At the present time, the Senate is considering legislation to create a National Insurance Development Corporation which would offer reinsurance to private insurance companies for the kinds of property losses which are typically suffered in center city areas, particularly when there is civil disorder.

It has been increasingly apparent, Mr. President, that the security and success of persons residing and doing business in central city neighborhoods are drastically impeded by the lack of insurance coverage at reasonable rates. Reputable lenders usually will not extend loans to make improvements on a dwelling, to begin or expand a business enterprise unless the borrower is adequately insured. But insurance companies have been unwilling to extend coverage in high-risk areas. Thus, a small businessman in the inner city is caught in a vicious circle. He cannot get a loan at a reasonable rate without insurance against the hazards of a high-risk neighborhood and he cannot get the insurance because it is a high-risk neighborhood. All too often, he is then forced to borrow from an unscrupulous lender at an exorbitant interest rate which may, in the end, bankrupt him.

The National Insurance Development Corporation which would be created by this act would be authorized to offer reinsurance to any insurer for losses from vandalism, fire, burglary, theft; in short, the kinds of losses sustained in city neighborhoods characterized as "high-risk areas," and during riots and civil disorders. This reinsurance provision would go a long way toward breaking the vicious circle that has trapped so many small businessmen in cities all across the country. I wholeheartedly support this provision of the pending bill.

This national bill requires each local jurisdiction to adopt regulations regarding property insurers in order to participate in this national reinsurance scheme.

I am today introducing a bill, with the cosponsorship of Senator BIBLE, to conform to the requirements of the national bill pending on the Senate floor, which would permit the District of Columbia to participate in this reinsurance program. This legislation requires top priority because of the urgency of the insurance problem in the District of Columbia. Immediate action must be taken.

My subcommittee is today holding hearings on this bill, and I will make every effort to see that this bill is acted on at once.

I ask unanimous consent that a section-by-section analysis of the bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the section-by-section analysis will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3556) to establish a basic property insurance placement plan and joint underwriting association to improve the availability of basic insurance protection for residential and business properties against fire and other perils through the cooperative efforts of the District of Columbia and the private property insurance industry; to authorize the District of Columbia to assume a portion of insurance losses resulting from riots and other civil disorders, introduced by Mr. TYDINGS, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The section-by-section analysis, presented by Mr. TYDINGS, is as follows:

District of Columbia Insurance Bill (S. 3556)—Section-by-Section Analysis

SHORT TITLE

The enacting clause provides that the act may be cited as the "District of Columbia Insurance Placement Act."

Section 2. Declaration of purpose

This section states that the purposes of the bill are to (1) assure stability in the District of Columbia property insurance market; (2) assure the availability of basic property insurance; (3) encourage the maximum use of the normal insurance market to provide basic property insurance; and (4) provide by the creation of a Joint Underwriting Association for the equitable distribution among insurers of the responsibility for insuring qualified property which cannot be insured in the normal insurance markets.

Section 3. Definitions

This section defines (a) "Commissioner" to mean the Commissioner of the District of Columbia or his designated agent; (b) "basic property insurance" to mean fire and extended coverage insurance and such other property insurance coverages for such types, classes and locations of property as may be designated by the Commissioner, except insurance on automobiles; (c) "environmental hazard" to mean any insurance hazards beyond the control of a property owner; (d) "inspection bureau" as the organization designated by the Commissioner to perform inspections required under the act; (e) "Industry Placement Facility" to mean the Facility formed to assist agents, brokers and applicants in securing basic property insurance; (f) "premiums written" to mean gross direct premiums written for basic property insurance, including the basic property insurance components of multi-peril policies, less all premiums and dividends returned to policyholders or the unused or unabsorbed portions of premium deposits; and (g) "property owner" to mean any person having an insurable interest in real, personal, or mixed real and personal property.

Section 4. Fair access to insurance requirements

This section authorizes the Commissioner to adopt such rules and regulations applicable to insurers, insurance agents and brokers as he deems necessary to assure all District of Columbia property owners fair access to basic property insurance. These rules and regulations would, among other matters, cover (a) the manner and scope of inspections of risks; (b) the preparation and filing of inspection reports and reports on actions taken in connection with inspected risks; (c) prohibitions against penalizing agents and brokers for soliciting applications for insurance on properties which are inspected, and (d) the operation of an Industry Placement Facility.

Section 5. Industry placement facility

Subsection (a) requires all property insurers in the District to establish an Industry Placement Facility to formulate and administer a program, subject to the disapproval of the Commissioner, to seek the equitable apportionment among such insurers of basic property insurance at the request of an agent, broker or property owner. The Facility is to seek to place the insurance with one or more participating companies up to the full insurable value of the risk, if requested, except to the extent that certain underwriting devices are employed to meet special problems of insurability.

Subsection (b) requires each insurer to participate in the Industry Placement Facility in accordance with its established rules as a condition of its authority to transact business in the District of Columbia. The subsection, however, provides that in lieu of revoking or suspending the certificate of authority of any company for failure to comply with the requirements of this subsection, the Commissioner may fine a company not more than $5,000 if he believes such action would best serve the public interest.

Section 6. Joint underwriting association

Subsection (a) authorizes the Commissioner to establish by order a Joint Underwriting Association if he finds, after notice and opportunity for hearing, that such association is necessary to carry out the purposes of the act. The Association is to consist of all District insurers writing basic property insurance on a direct basis.

Subsection (b) requires such insurers to comply with all requirements of membership in the Association as a condition of authority to transact business in the District. In lieu of revoking or suspending the certificate of authority of a company for failure to comply with this subsection, the Commissioner is authorized to fine a company not more than $5,000 if he believes such action would best serve the public interest.

Paragraph (1) of subsection (c) requires the Association to submit a proposed plan of operation to the Commissioner within sixty days after the Commissioner orders the formation of the Association. The plan is to provide for the economical, fair, and nondiscriminatory operation of the Association and for the prompt and efficient provision, without regard to environmental hazards, of such basic property insurance as may be designated by the Commissioner. The Association may provide insurance directly, i.e., issue policies in its own name, may reinsure policies written by its members, or both.

Paragraph (2) of subsection (c) provides that the plan of operation of the Association shall be subject to approval by the Commissioner. If the Commissioner disapproves all or any part of the proposed plan of operation, the Association is given another thirty days to devise an acceptable alternative. If it does not, the Commissioner is authorized to promulgate a plan of operation.

Paragraph (3) of subsection (c) provides for the amendment of the plan of operation.

Subsection (d) provides that all members of the Association shall participate in its writings, expenses, profits, and losses, or in such categories thereof as may be separately established by the Association, in accordance with such formula as may be devised by the Association, subject to approval by the Commissioner.

Subsection (e) provides that the Association is to be governed by a Board of eleven directors, elected annually, by cumulative voting of the members of the Association. The votes of each member of the Association are to be weighed in accordance with the proportionate amount of each member's net direct premiums written in the District of Columbia during the preceding calendar year. The first board is to be elected within thirty days after the Commissioner's order at a meeting of the members at a time and place designated by the Commissioner.

Section 7. Examination by Commissioner

This section provides that the Inspection Bureau, Industry Placement Facility and any Joint Underwriting Association are to be subject to the supervision, regulation and examination by the Commissioner. Further, it authorizes the Commissioner to summon and qualify witnesses under oath with respect to the operation of such facilities.

Section 8. Waiver of liability

This section provides that no cause of action shall arise against insurers, the Inspection Bureau, the Industry Placement Facility, the Joint Underwriting Association, or their agents or employees, or any officer or employee of the District of Columbia, for any statements made in good faith by them concerning the insurability of property. Reports and communications with respect to individual properties are not to be available for public inspection.

Section 9. Annual report by association

This section requires the Joint Underwriting Association to file an annual report with the Commissioner containing information with respect to its transactions, condition, operations and affairs during the preceding year and such other information in such form as the Commissioner may prescribe. The Commissioner may also require the Association to furnish him with such information from time to time as he may require to evaluate the scope, operation and experience of the Association.

Section 10. Appeals

Subsection (a) permits any applicant for insurance to any affected insurer ninety days to appeal to the Commissioner any ruling, action or decision by or on behalf of the Inspection Bureau, Industry Placement Facility, or Joint Underwriting Association.

Subsection (b) provides that all final orders or decisions of the Commissioner made pursuant to the act are reviewable by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals.

Section 11. Reimbursement of National Insurance Development Corporation

This section authorizes the Commissioner to assess each insurance company authorized to do business in the District of Columbia to provide a fund sufficient to reimburse the National Insurance Development Corporation in the manner set forth in section 1223 (a) (1) of the National Insurance Development Corporation Act of 1968. The assessment would be based on the proportion the premiums written in the District of Columbia by each such company bears to aggregate premiums written in the District of Columbia during the preceding year on lines of insurance reinsured by the Corporation during the current year whether or not the particular company was reinsured by the Corporation. Such fund could be added to or created by appropriations.

Section 12. Delegation

This section authorizes the Commissioner to delegate any or all of the functions vested in him by the act.

Section 13. Appropriations

This section authorizes appropriations of such sums as are necessary to carry out the act.

Section 14. Judicial Review

This section would amend section 11-742 (a) of the District of Columbia Code to make all final orders and decisions of the Commissioner under the act reviewable by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL AND RESOLUTION

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] be added as a cosponsor of the resolution (S. Res. 13) to amend rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. Hansen], and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan] be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 3483) to protect the freedom of choice of Federal employees in employee-management relations.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT OF FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ACT OF 1950—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 832

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 15004) to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to extend the expiration date of certain authorities thereunder, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENTS NOS. 833 AND 834

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware submitted two amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 16913) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT NO. 837

Mr. HART (for himself, Mr. Muskie, Mr. Javits, Mr. Kennedy of Massachusetts, and Mr. Young of Ohio) proposed an amendment to House bill 16913, supra, which was ordered to be printed.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENTS TO DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969

AMENDMENT NO. 835

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph (4) of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 16913) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely: On page 38, between lines 17 and 18, insert a new section as follows:

"Sec. 510. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, after January 1, 1969, no producer shall be eligible for payments under any program or programs administered by the Department of Agriculture in any amount in excess of $10,000 for any one year. The foregoing limitation shall include the dollar value (as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture) of any payment-in-kind made to a producer, but shall not include the amount of any price support loan made to a producer."

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware also submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 16913, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

AMENDMENT NO. 836

Mr. HOLLAND submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 16913) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely: Page 19, line 12, insert the following: ": *Provided*, That not to exceed $2,500,000 of this appropriation shall be available for the payment of obligations incurred under the appropriation for similar purposes for the preceding fiscal year".

Mr. HOLLAND also submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 16913, supra, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, May 28, 1968, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

S. 126. An act for the relief of Pedro Antonio Julio Sanchez;

S. 233. An act for the relief of Chester E. Davis;

S. 1040. An act for the relief of certain employees of the Department of the Navy;

S. 1052. An act for the relief of Nicholas S. Cvetan, U.S. Air Force (retired);

S. 2409. An act for the relief of the estate of Josiah K. Lilly; and

S.J. Res. 168. Joint resolution to authorize the temporary funding of the emergency credit revolving fund.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON EAST-WEST TRADE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, on June 4, 1968, at 10 a.m., in room 5302, New Senate Office Building, the International Finance Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee will commence hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 169, which is a joint resolution that would express the sense of the Congress that the Export Control Act regulations and the Export-Import Bank financing restrictions be modified to promote the best interest of the United States by permitting an increase in trade in peaceful goods between the United States and the nations of Eastern Europe.

As previously announced, the hearings will continue on June 13, June 27, July 17, and July 24. Persons wishing to testify or submit statements in connection with this resolution should contact Mr. Hugh H. Smith, Jr., assistant counsel, Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, 5300 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, telephone 225-3921.

THE NEED TO ABOLISH BUREAUCRATIC TYRANNY

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, more than 8 months ago, the Senate voted approval of proposed legislation reported by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, described as a "bill of rights" for Government employees. The vote was 79 to 4, indicating this Chamber's emphatic indorsement of new regulations designed to terminate political pressures and prying into the religious beliefs, sexual attitudes, and private finances of Federal workers. The system, arousing widespread indignation, has been compared to the "big brother" government envisioned in George Orwell's "1984."

For some reason, the measure has been bottled up in a subcommittee in the other body, and its chances of passage at this session now appear dim. Meanwhile, the need for reforms in bureaucratic tyranny continues evident. In a series of three columns in the Chicago Tribune, the tribulations of a constituent, Mr. Charles F. Olson of Morris, Ill., have been described. They provide graphic evidence, as the writer suggests, that Otto F. Otepka, the celebrated target of a 5-year campaign of harassment by the State Department, is not the only victim of Federal oppression.

I ask unanimous consent that the three columns written by Willard Edwards, columnist for the Chicago Tribune, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Capitol Views

(By Willard Edwards)

Washington, May 20.—If it were not for other revelations about such victims of federal tyranny as Otto F. Otepka and his associates, the story of Charles F. Olson would be regarded as incredible in this land of freedom.

It is in some respects more tragic than the Otepka account, because a cruel weapon was employed in Olson's case, leaving a stigma which will always haunt him.

Olson, 47, an American citizen peacefully engaged in the pursuit of happiness until he ran afoul of bureaucratic arrogance, came here last week, seeking relief from a campaign of harassment by the government which employs him.

For three days, he told his story to all who would listen and enlisted the interest of two powerful senators, Everett M. Dirksen [R., Ill.] and Sam J. Ervin Jr. [D., N.C.].

Then he returned to his home at 1341½ Liberty st., Morris, Ill., daring to be hopeful of justice in the future.

Olson talked to Otepka, the state department security chief who is still waging a fight for vindication after five years of federal persecution. The two men found much in common. They both got into trouble because they offended their superiors in the government by refusing to close their eyes to wrongdoing.

Both were fired from their jobs, both won reinstatement when the charges were proved false. But bureaucratic vengeance continues to pursue them.

OLSON QUESTIONED DEFENSE CONTRACTS

Otepka dared to expose conditions in the state department which protected security risk. Olson touched an equally sensitive nerve in the defense department where he was employed. His questioning of defense contracts infuriated superiors who were nervous about congressional probes of waste, inefficiency and potential fraud in the Pentagon's multi-billion dollar spending programs.

The two men are alike in mildness of manner, keen intelligence, and a fierce patriotism which inspires them to fight back against the overwhelming forces of "big brother" government. Both recoil from the thought of being classified as martyrs but are willing to take the chance of being crushed in a battle against injustice.

Olson is an electronics engineer, a grade 12 [$12,250 a year] employee of the United States army's ammunition procurement and supply agency in Joliet, Ill.

Until he took this post in March, 1965, his life had been comparatively placid. He had previously been employed by the government for five years in the 50's as a maintenance engineer on an atomic warhead project, receiving a top secret security clearance and the highest ratings. He worked in private industry for five years before returning to federal employ. The documented record of his professional career reveals him as a trusted and respected figure, highly commended by every employer for whom he worked.

His new duties consisted of inspection trips around the country, evaluating munitions contracts together with a team of other experts. He was extremely conscious of the fact that these contracts were for supplies to equip young Americans fighting in Viet Nam. As a youth, he had served overseas in World War II as a medical corpsman. For three years, he had cared for wounded men and seen them die. He wanted no waste of taxpayers' dollars or costly delays in the fulfillment of government contracts.

PROPOSES PLAN TO SAVE $250,000

On his first trip, Olson pointed out how a $250,000 saving could be accomplished on a contract. On another tour, he made recommendations designed to speed up the manufacture of weapons. The record shows that the contractors in these cases acknowledged the soundness of his suggestions, but Olson found himself quickly in trouble with his bureaucratic superiors.

He was advised to approve contracts without scrutinizing them too closely. He was only increasing paper-work, reflecting upon the efficiency of higher-ups, and getting a reputation as a "trouble-maker."

Olson refused to "go along." He continued to note defects. After a series of warnings, he was suddenly, in November, 1966, dismissed on charges of being absent without leave.

With the aid of his pastor, the Rev. David Zimmerman of St. Thomas Episcopal church, Olson secured legal aid and fought the dismissal. He and his family, a wife and three sons, endured the loss of his income for six months. Then, at a hearing in Chicago, he proved his contention that the charges were without basis. He was ordered reinstated by the Civil Service commission with full back pay and Washington rejected the agency's appeal against this ruling.

It should have been a moment of triumph. But the government now promptly wielded its most dreaded instrument to punish refractory employes—a charge of mental instability. That story will be explored in a succeeding column.

Capitol Views

(By Willard Edwards)

Washington, May 22.—For a brief, comforting period, Charles F. Olson of Morris, Ill., believed that an ordinary American citizen, with justice on his side, could prevail over the awesome forces of the government bureaucracy. Disillusionment came quickly.

As described in a preceding column, Olson won his fight in May, 1967, for reinstatement to his post as electronics engineer in the army's ammunition procurement and supply agency in Joliet, Ill.

The charges against him had been officially branded as without basis by the Civil Service commission. They had been leveled by angry superiors who resented his refusal to close his eyes to defects in defense contracts providing materials for the troops in Viet Nam. The word from the Pentagon, alarmed by congressional exposure of waste, inefficiency, and fraud, was to get rid of this underling as a "non-conformist and disruptive influence."

Olson, 47, collected six months back pay and paid off debts incurred during his legal battle for vindication. On his first day back at work, he found that he had not been forgiven. A fellow worker told him, "We got rid of you once and we'll do it again."

Instead of being returned to his engineering duties, he was assigned to a clerical job, filing meaningless papers. Other employes were hostile or afraid to speak to him.

PATTERN OF VENGEANCE IS FAMILIAR

The pattern of vengeance was familiar. He was isolated and given demeaning duties just as Otto F. Otepka and his associates, in a more celebrated case, were penalized by the state department for refusing to remain silent about wrongdoing.

The defense department, in Olson's case, now decided to use the weapon of reprisal most dreaded by government employees. It ordered Olson last January to submit to a psychiatric examination.

In his entire career, up to this point, no question had ever been raised about Olson's mental fitness. He had served for three years in military service in World War II and later, as an engineer on a top-secret atomic project where every employe was rigidly examined. In private industry, he had been subjected to exhaustive psychological testing, receiving superior ratings.

He was surprised when the psychiatrist dismissed him after a half-hour of questioning. Such examinations are usually lengthy and detailed. Promptly, the verdict came thru: Olson was a "chronic paranoid," an all-embracing term covering delusions of grandeur or of persecution, indicated by suspicion or distrust of others.

Apprised of this rush job, Chairman Sam Ervin Jr. [D., N.C.], of the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, on April 2 wrote Chairman John W. Macy Jr. of the Civil Service commission:

"The speed with which Mr. Olson's agency attempted to obtain a psychiatric disability retirement after the Civil Service commission restored him to his position, suggests the commission inspectors might look into the management problems in this office."

RESPONSE SEEMS TO ADMIT DOUBT

The commission's response on April 9 seemed to admit doubt of its own psychiatrist's report. After reviewing the medical findings, Olson was advised, it had been suggested that another psychiatrist look him over "so that no injustice should be done."

Olson, on the advice of counsel, refused to submit to another examination. He came to Washington seeking aid from Congress, the court of last appeal for fugitives from government oppression. Sen. Dirksen [R. Ill.], after studying a full report on the case, joined Ervin in interceding for Olson.

Why has Olson, like Otepka, fought against seemingly hopeless odds? His wife, Ruth, in an eloquent letter, remarked that "it takes a certain type of courage to endure this type of punishment."

"The good Lord made me what I am and I can't sit down and take it quietly," said Olson. "I've got to fight what I regard as injustice because there are too many others being treated similarly."

The files of the Ervin subcommittee confirm that Olson's treatment is typical of the harassment given scores of government employes who dare to speak up against waste or corruption around them. This is a subject requiring another column.

Capitol Views

(By Willard Edwards)

Washington, May 24.—How many government employes—witnesses to malfeasance in their offices—have been frightened into silence by the threat of a mental disability discharge?

Congressional investigators estimate that the number is large—perhaps in the hundreds or thousands. They can document scores of cases in which the pattern of intimidation has been similar to the experience of Charles F. Olson of Morris, Ill.

Olson's harassment has been detailed in two preceding columns. As an electronics engineer in the army's ammunition procurement and supply agency in Joliet, Ill., he incurred the wrath of his superiors by questioning defense contracts. He was first fired, reinstated with back pay when he proved the dismissal unwarranted, then was slapped with a mental disability finding on the basis of a superficial examination. With the aid of Congress, he hopes to erase this stigma.

He has many companions in distress. The files of the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, headed by Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D., N.C.), disclosed two typical examples:

An air force scientist, with an impeccable reputation, refused to sign a report attesting to the accuracy of a military scientific project. He protested that he would be doing a disservice to his country.

DISCHARGED FOR MENTAL DISABILITY

Retaliation was swift. When he remained firm, he was forced to submit to examination by a psychiatrist who promptly recommended his discharge on grounds of mental disability. The scientist withdrew all his savings, came to Washington a year ago, and has been battling for justice ever since. The psychiatrist, called upon to justify his findings against the scientist, could only argue that he had found him "hard to get along with." To this date, however, his diagnosis has not been changed.

The second case involved a woman tax examiner with the internal revenue service who affronted her superiors by making "too many complaints" about office procedures. On the basis of a one-hour interview, a public health service psychiatrist declared her mentally unfit.

She fought this finding in court and was declared the victim of a hasty and unscientific examination. But the agency didn't give up. It moved to dismiss her on grounds of "emotional instability" and made this firing stick. The woman succeeded only in avoiding the permanent brand of mental instability which the agency had been willing to impose to get rid of her.

The subcommittee has been flooded with complaints, outlining similar abuses of the "involuntary retirement by reason of mental disability" procedure. Present law does not permit the employe a hearing. He is at the mercy of a psychiatrist who is first briefed by the agency and who almost always comes thru with a finding satisfactory to the government. The employe can appeal but it is a long, tedious, and costly process.

JOB ELSEWHERE VIRTUALLY PRECLUDED

Once a Federal employe is retired on a charge of mental incompetency, of course, employment elsewhere is virtually precluded. Even if he succeeds in having the finding declared invalid, doubts are planted in the minds of his neighbors and business associates. It is such a potent form of blackmail that most individuals—threatened with it—hasten to assure their superiors that they will stop criticizing and "conform."

Only the few like Olson, bolstered by an inner faith in American justice and fair play, dare to weather the publicity involved in an open airing of his case, knowing the dangers involved. He is an amiable man, kind and patient, intelligent, a good husband and loving father who has seen his family suffer from gossip. His Norwegian-Irish ancestry also has given him the stubborn courage and determination to fight for his rights against great odds.

The Senate acted last September to end the system of intimidation involved in the "involuntary retirement" procedure. It gave overwhelming approval, 79 to 4, to a bill of rights for federal employes, granting them a special board to hear their complaints.

Sent to the House, this measure has been bottled up in a House civil service subcommittee for eight months. Inquiry today brought vague assurances that hearings were planned "sometime in the future" after more important bills had been considered.

Chairman David Henderson (D., N.C.) was reported under administration pressure to kill the bill at this session. Big brother government, it was evident, doesn't want to lose the privilege of cowing employes who dare to speak out when they see something wrong.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BY PRIME MINISTER JOHN GORTON OF AUSTRALIA

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, the Southern Cross of the Australian flag adorns the streets of our Washington as President Johnson in the name of the American people welcomes from "down under" the Prime Minister, Hon. John Gorton, representing an old ally who is still an ally, emphasizing Australia's security ties with the United States through the ANZUS Treaty.

In these days when the image of America is being unfairly tarnished at home and abroad, it is refreshing to have the views of an able statesman who resents the scant thanks we have received for our efforts for world peace and domestic tranquillity.

I will let the thoughts and words of these two great leaders speak for themselves and be inscribed as a part of our history as I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the exchange of remarks between President Lyndon B. Johnson and Prime Minister John Gorton of Australia in their White House meeting on Monday, May 27, 1968.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCHANGE OF REMARKS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER JOHN GORTON OF AUSTRALIA, MAY 27, 1968

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Gorton, Secretary and Mrs. Rusk, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Mr. Prime Minister, it is a very great pleasure for Mrs. Johnson and I to welcome you and your most charming wife to our country.

We have very little to offer in the way of surprises. Mrs. Gorton is a native of New England. We have some New England weather for her this morning. But she already knows all of our secrets anyway. Even if she did not, you, yourself, Mr. Prime Minister, are the Prime Minister of Australia—and the Australians and the Americans have so much in common that we seem to understand each other almost on sight anyway.

Our people have been molded by the same forces. Both of our continents are vast. Both of our histories are young. Both of our governments are free. All of our people were drawn from many lands. We both enjoy an abundance which, for most of the world, is yet just a dream.

We share a common vision. We see a world where might does not make right. We strive for a world where nations can live together in peace and freedom under the rule of law.

We have been fighting for this dream for a long time now. Twenty-five years ago we fought side by side from the Middle East to the South Pacific. Today we are fighting side by side in the rice fields in Vietnam.

I do not know how close we may be to success in our common—and our historic—cause.

But I do know that you, Mr. Prime Minister, come here at a moment of very historic importance. Our American aim is now, as it has been from the beginning, to achieve peace with honor, a peace which will permit the people of Asia and the South Pacific to work out their own destiny in their own way. We have never sought anything else, and we will not accept anything else.

I believe that Australia shares that aim, and I look forward with a great deal of anticipation to our conversations about this—and about many other common concerns.

Mr. Prime Minister, you and your countrymen are always welcome in Washington. I think you will soon find that although you are half a world away from Australia, you are still very much at home. Thank you very much.

Prime Minister GORTON. Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, Secretary Rusk and Mrs. Rusk, distinguished guests:

Thank you, Mr. President, on behalf of all Australians, for the honor which, through me, you do my country.

We value this the more since it comes from a power which is not only great, but which, since the end of the last world war, has assumed all the burdens and responsibilities of being great.

You helped reconstruct Europe. In large measure, you financed the constructive work of the United Nations. You have without stint given blood and treasure to protect small nations from subjugation by force or by threat. And you seek to raise the living standards of people in every corner of the world.

For this your country has received scant thanks—yet at one time, through sole possession of atomic power, you could have imposed your will upon the world—and did not. You could have chosen to conquer, but chose to set free. You could have looked inward, but instead you choose to look out.

If the United Nations has not brought that end to war which its founder sought, if the world is still torn by strife as it is, that is the fault of others, not of yours.

You have assumed, sir, as I said, many burdens, and today one dominates our minds.

Even as we stand here, our men fight in Vietnam together, as they fought in other wars, to protect small nations from overthrow by force of governments elected by the people. Even as we stand here, diplomats in Paris seek to discover whether there is hope of ending that fighting and securing a peace—just, lasting and honorable—giving to the people of South Vietnam a chance themselves to choose their future path without fear or threat.

You, Mr. President, bore the lonely weight of decision to continue to resist force with force. You, Mr. President, by your recent gesture, brought the North Vietnamese to talk. You, Mr. President, relinquished chance of further office to give those talks such chance of success as they may have. And for that we admire and salute you.

It is that struggle which engrosses us today, but when it is decided, that solution will be one step only in the solution of other problems to which men and nations are born, which have arisen in the past, which exist now, and which will arise in the future in a world in transition.

So the Revolutionary War decided whether America would or would not be independent. The War Between the States decided whether the Union would continue or fragment. The Second World War decided whether the world would be subject to Fascist tyranny.

Just as those decisions engrossed the hearts and consciences of those then living, and decided a particular matter but did not provide solutions for future conflict or for progress, so will the outcome of the war in Vietnam decide that matter—but not those questions for decision arising in the years ahead. As Australians see it, those problems, although worldwide, are likely to be most acute in Asia.

We see there an area which needs an economic and technical base such as Europe already has. We see there an area where development and progress are essential if the peoples of those divergent nations are to support and defend something dynamic and developing—not something stagnant.

We see there an area crying for technical skills, a more experienced administration, a more equitable sharing of an increasing income—and we see there an area subject, above all, to the threat of subversion, terrorism, and aggression.

In some way, sir, because of internal division, parts of Asia are reminiscent of the Balkans before World War I—and in some ways they may pose the same dangers, dangers aggravated by the eagerness of agitators to exploit divisions.

Perhaps, Mr. President, though I don't think so, we Australians see this out of perspective—because it is here that we, contiguous to Asia—part of the South East Asian region—live and breathe and have our present and our future. It is here that we feel that we can best contribute to stability and to progress and to preserving its political freedom which seeks economic freedom as its concomitant. It is here that we can play our part. But we cannot effectively play it alone.

As for ourselves—we are not a great power, though we are destined so to be.

In our Nation are new frontiers and boundless opportunities for those who will risk in order to win; for those who will work in order to build; for those who will endure initial hardship to gain distant goals.

We shall grow in numbers and in industrial power, and further develop the use of our natural resources, and in growing, Mr. President, will grapple with existing problems and prepare for those which wait in the corridors of the future.

But for the present, we, who for two centuries were shielded by the British Navy, have as our major shield the ANZUS Pact, and behind that, and becasue of that, we can the sooner grow to that stature we shall reach, we shall the sooner reach a position to repulse any attack the future may hold from any quarter, and by any means. We can the sooner grow in capacity to offer more economic and technical assistance to the Governments and peoples of our region.

I do not mean that we do not now play our part in defense, as we do in aid, or in seeking to foster trade which may be more important than aid.

But I do mean that because of your assistance, because of the ANZUS Treaty and what it implies, we can divert to building a future strength, resources which would otherwise be now diverted to defense, to the future detriment of defense, and to the future diminution of our ability to render as much help in the region as we would wish.

This is to us the virtue of the ANZUS Pact. And allied to it is the sure knowledge that you—while providing that shield—recognize that behind it we, as we build our country, are free to make and will make our own foreign policy decisions subject only to our Treaty obligations.

Sir, I have not been here before in my present office, yet I feel I come not as a stranger.

On too many fields of battle we have stood together fighting for the concept of freedom, fighting against aggression. On too many occasions we have cooperated in the economic plans to help the worlds underprivileged advance their standards of living.

There is too much common heritage of a system under which Government is chosen by a majority, dismissed by a majority, protect minority rights, yet refuse to be coerced by organized minority demonstrations. There are too many bonds for any Australian Prime Minister ever to feel that here he is a stranger.

And so as in the past, so may it be in the future. Looking down the vista of the years, I hope that you in your greatness now, and we in our present strength and our greatness to come, will together give protection, stability, advancement, encouragement, will help to foster, along with and depending on the people who live in that region—a new world in Asia to redress the balance of the old.

If this can be done, if we can do this together successfully, the price to be now paid will, in the future, be thought by humanity small.

CRIME AND THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the following news stories:

A Washington Evening Star story of May 27, 1968, titled "Abernathy and Aides Confer as Rain Again Swamps Camp";

A news story which appeared in the Evening Star of today titled "City of Poor Battens Down Under Deluge";

A story appearing in today's Evening Star titled "Motel Ousts Militant Seeking Abernathy";

An article by Paul W. Valentine, which appeared in today's Washington Post, titled "Rift Mended; Poor Stage New Protest"; and

An article by Robert G. Kaiser, which appeared in today's Washington Post, titled "District Will Seek 1,000 More Police."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 27, 1968]

ABERNATHY AND AIDES CONFER AS RAIN AGAIN SWAMPS CAMP

More rain, buttressed by cold winds, was again turning Resurrection City into a muddy encampment today, but officials of the Poor People's Campaign indicated there probably would be no evacuation.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, visited the campsite on The Mall early yesterday for an eemergency meeting with top staff members.

The Rev. Andrew Young, a top SCLC aide, said afterward "We tried to evacuate before and no one wanted to go. The rain is a way of testing if we are really for real." He said that those who wish to seek shelter elsewhere would be free to do so, however.

Even as the campaigners—some 2,200 to 2,400 in the camp—were reclaiming their city from the mud yesterday after two sunny days, the Weather Bureau predicted perhaps as much as an inch of rain today and tomorrow.

The mercury plummeted from a midnight reading of 68 degrees to a chilly 55 around dawn. A cold wind, up to 25 miles an hour, kept most of the campers in their plywood shelters until midmorning and the streets again were becoming a mucky bog.

ACTIVITIES TO CONTINUE

Despite the weather, SCLC officials said they would continue their activity today, sending a 100-man delegation to the Department of Agriculture for a "visitation" and a second, smaller group to seek an appointment with Rep. Wilbur Mills, D-Ark., who was the target of a protest last week against welfare amendments which the marchers contend are unfair to the poor.

Abernathy yesterday said he hopes this week to get nonviolent activities into "full swing."

A new problem surfaced today when the leader of a group of Spanish-Americans engaged in an angry shouting session with an SCLC official at Resurrection City.

Reies Lopez Tijerina, a militant New Mexican land-reform leader, said his group of some 400 Spanish-speaking campaigners may refuse to move into the campsite until SCLC agrees to push their land claims.

Tijerina and group, which has been staying at the private Hawthorne School, 6th and I Streets SW, paid their respects to the memory of the late Democratic Sen. Dennis Chavez of New Mexico in a visit to his statue in the Capitol this morning accompanied by his son, Dennis Chavez, Jr.

They then went to Resurrection City. At an impromptu news conference just outside the gate Tijerina said, "poor whites are pushed down, pushed out, discriminated against and humiliated" during the campaign.

Rudolph Thompson, who said he was "political administrator" for the camp, pushed into the group and shouted, "I want to clarify this. I'm here to deny whatever this man says."

After a brief exchange, Tijerina walked away and said he and his group might refuse to move to the camp. Abernathy later went to the school to talk to the dissidents.

STRATEGY SESSION

Young later said the steering committee would meet later this week with groups participating to hear their views on strategy. He said, "I'd be the first to say that we will have some interethnic" tensions.

Among those attending the emergency session to see "what to do about all this," Abernathy said, pointing to the mud, was Bertram Harding, acting chief of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the federal antipoverty agency.

As the rain continued to fall, a large uncovered collection of donated clothing and shoes on makeshift tables was becoming soaked.

In regard to new demonstrations, Abernathy, speaking on ABC's "Issues and Answers," said yesterday:

"Now civil disobedience, of course, would come as a last result. It may be that we will have to resort to civil disobedience. We certainly hope that this will not become necessary at all."

TRAFFIC TIED UP

The successor to the slain Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. also warned that "I think there are those who are standing idly by, waiting on the side, hoping that the Congress will fail" to act on SCLC demands for antipoverty action. "And if the Congress should fail, I think that they will seize this as an opportunity and as a moment to really move forward.

"That's the reason why I believe that America must not let the Congress fail," he declared.

An SCLC aide, the Rev. James Bevel, yesterday told campaigners, "We just may sit in on Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman until we persuade him to go with us to Congress."

A delegation of SCLC officials met last week with Freeman, the same day that saw 18 arrests in the first confrontation between campaigners and police. Freeman agreed to start food programs for the poor in a number of low-income counties in advance of a previously indicated July 1 date. Various SCLC officials, however, have expressed dissatisfaction, arguing that more must be done.

At a brief press conference at the camp, the Rev. Jesse Jackson said groups would return to the Agriculture and HEW Department today and "probably to Mills' office." He said, "We will probably escalate in terms of the size of our demonstrations and the frequency of our demonstrations. We will probably start simultaneous demonstrations and night demonstrations."

CONSTRUCTION CONTINUES

As Abernathy and Tijerina met today, it was unclear whether the 400 persons from the Western contingent, who have been staying in a number of Montgomery County churches, would move to Resurrection City in the near future.

Construction of sections of the shelters was continuing at Xaverian College in Silver Spring. The federal permit to SCLC stipulates that only 3,000 may occupy the campsite. Several SCLC leaders said yesterday it probably would not be necessary to expand the city to other areas, as they have reiterated they would do if necessary.

House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford of Michigan charged yesterday that the possibility of violence mounts the longer the campaigners remain here.

"I hope that they conduct themselves in the image and philosophy of Martin Luther King . . . Once they've carried out their objective, I trust they will not linger in Washington too long, because there is danger of violence that would be harmful over-all," Ford said.

A second day of warm sunshine continued to dry up the muck and pools of water along the main streets of Resurrection City yesterday, and the camp was thrown open to sightseers. Boardwalks were in place along some of the main lanes.

For several hours during the afternoon, neatly dressed Washingtonians and suburbanites, with their cameras and children, strolled by, often stopping to talk with the residents.

The hammering of builders, constructing more A-frame, plywood homes blended with the strumming of guitars and the steady stream of announcements over the camp's loudspeaker system.

The acrid smell of trash burning in steel barrels seemed to have little effect on the carefree Sunday activity at the 15-acre West Potomac Park site.

ABERNATHY RETURNS

Returning from Louisville, Ky., where he had preached a sermon in the Rev. A. D. Williams King's church, Abernathy spoke last night at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church.

In a subdued, carefully worded address, Abernathy said the poor could not go back to the cities and farms as failures because "groups of people that are frustrated and confused" will say "you cannot deal with America nonviolently."

Abernathy argued that "it is suicidal for this nation or any nation to develop a people who feel they have no stake in the nation . . . they will rise up someday, though they destroy themselves in the process . . ."

As to the tent city, he said it is in "much finer shape," and that morale is "much higher."

"Now that our energies are being directed toward the people we came here to see (Congress), we are releasing internal pressures," he said.

In another church talk last night, Bevel, made an emotional appeal for support for the campaign at the Bethlehem Baptist Church in Anacostia. It was billed as a mass rally but the church was half empty.

Bevel told his audience of about 120 that "If we don't bring about a civilized revolution, there's going to be a mess," and added:

"You Negroes, you white folks, you can sit and let Carmichael and these jitterbugs create violence—we've got to become workers, we've got to keep that shanty town working."

In New York yesterday, about 2,000 persons attended a Central Park rally in support of a proposed march on Washington by poor Puerto Ricans June 8.

"Among the poor people of the country, we, the Puerto Ricans, are some of the poorest," said Joseph Monserrat, director of the migration division of Puerto Rico's Department of Labor, who is national coordinator of the proposed march.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 28, 1968]

City of Poor Battens Down Under Deluge—No Evacuation Set; "Concerned" District of Columbia Cites Health Peril

An inch and a half of cold, driving rain finished the job of turning Resurrection City into a desolate waste of mud and water today, and the spirits of many residents reportedly were sagging under the onslaught of the weather.

Top officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were huddling early this morning and the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy was to inspect the campsite on The Mall as the Weather Bureau predicted another quarter-inch of rain today.

Dr. Murray Grant, director of the District Health Department, said the situation at the camp was "no good." Grant said, "It's really up to them (SCLC)," but said he would advise "at least temporarily evacuating" the camp if the situation warrants. He has not made a formal recommendation yet, he said.

CHANCE OF INFECTION

"We all have a concern that it's damp and cold down there and the shelters they have are not particularly adequate. There's a chance, of course, of virus infection," Grant said. The SCLC leaders "can see the situation themselves," he added.

At a late press conference yesterday, Abernathy said there were no plans for evacuation because the residents don't want to go.

But as the steady downpour continued through the night, one campaign marshal said, "This rain has nearly wiped us out."

As half an inch of rain late last week swamped the campsite at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial, SCLC leaders first called for a temporary evacuation and then qualified this. Estimates of those who temporarily left varied from 100 to 400. They returned as two sunny weekend days began drying up the sump.

Some residents left last night for shelter in area churches but figures were not available.

RIFT AVERTED

Compounding problems for the hard-pressed campaign leaders was a flareup from the 400 Mexican-American campaigners that Abernathy and other top staff members apparently averted after a quickly called conference with the group's leader, Reies Lopez Tijerina, the volatile New Mexican land-reform leader.

Tijerina and his group early yesterday leveled charges of discrimination against the non-Negro members of the campaign and charged that SCLC had subordinated the Southwestern contingent's complaints in SCLC strategy.

Tijerina, who is awaiting trial in connection with an armed raid on a New Mexican County courthouse, claims that millions of acres of land belong to poor Spanish-speaking persons through centuries-old land grants.

Tijerina and an SCLC official engaged in a heated shouting match when the Southwestern leader visited the camp, and Tijerina returned to the private Hawthorne School, 6th and I Streets SW, where his contingent has been staying.

Abernathy quickly drove to the school and met with Tijerina and his aides. Abernathy later said SCLC would address itself to the problems of hunger "not just in the black community but in all the communities" and said that the campaign leadership would decide on the land question at a steering committee meeting tomorrow.

PARTIAL UNDERSTANDING

Tijerina said some of the problems that had cropped up between his delegation and the SCLC leaders was because this was the first time that black people have ever united in a cause with Spanish-speaking Americans.

The two said they had reached a "partial understanding" and Tijerina said his followers "were anxious to move in" to Resurrection City, and said, "We will move in as soon as possible in the near future."

Another rift threatened last night when about 20 black militants invaded the Pitts Motor Hotel, 14th and Belmont Streets NW, which SCLC officials have been using as a headquarters.

SCLC officials insisted the group was not from Resurrection City.

Despite the rain that was swamping the campsite, Poor People's Campaigners mounted two demonstrations yesterday—one, at the Connecticut Avenue residence of Rep. Wilbur Mills, D-Ark., continuing through the night with a corporal's guard of shivering demonstrators.

About 160 residents, led by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, "city manager" of the camp, drove to the Agriculture Department and were met outside the locked doors by an assistant secretary.

The Agriculture Department has been a prime target, as SCLC officials contend that too little is being done in supplying food to the poor.

After being allowed inside the building finally and huddling in a first-floor meeting room, Jackson led his contingent to lunch in the departmental cafeteria.

Jackson asked for the bill to be totaled on one check. It came to $292.66 and, without paying, Jackson and the Rev. James Bevel led their followers out of the building.

"We figure it this way," Jackson said. "The Agriculture Department owes us for all those food programs that have never been down South. We owe them this much for lunch. We'll just have to balance it out and see."

Jackson added, "Besides, we're planning to come back tomorrow (today) and have lunch again. . . ."

Jackson and the Rev. James Bevel conferred briefly before the lunch with a number of Agriculture officials on various food-for-the-poor programs.

In early evening, about 60 residents of Resurrection City piled on a rickety bus and drove to Mills' apartment house at Connecticut Avenue and Woodley Road, where they set up a chanting, singing protest.

Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, has also been a prime target of the campaign because of amendments to the Social Security law last year that campaigners contend are unfair to those on welfare.

In the rain outside the apartment house, one of the SCLC officials said, "We're going to keep bugging him until we get some action." This was the second protest at Mills' residence.

The first arrest of the campaign came last week when some 300 protesters descended on the Longworth Building, where Mills has his office.

Shortly after midnight, the protesters had dwindled to 20 persons who continued to chant and sing as they circled on the sidewalk in front of the building.

Police, under Asst. Chief Jerry V. Wilson, maintained a watch and there were no incidents. Periodically, some of the marchers were invited inside of what police said was a neighborhood house for coffee.

By morning, 18 pickets—working in sodden shifts of six—continued the protest. Mills, police said, was in the building throughout the night.

At one point during the demonstration, Wilson warned the campaigners they would be arrested if they blocked the sidewalk.

Through the early evening, residents of the apartment house watched and listened to the shouts of "Soul Power, Sock it to Me, Soul Power," and "We Want Mills"—some in bitter disapproval and some in apparent approbation.

Abernathy today was scheduled to meet with the ad hoc committee of senators and House members formed last week to provide a liaison with the SCLC's campaign.

So swampy had the campsite become last night, that an ambulance with flashing red lights—called for what doctors said was a "routine surgical problem"—drove toward the medical van on the camp periphery and the right rear end of the vehicle disappeared in a huge pothole of mud.

A District fire department ambulance picked up the sick person. A crane came and took the other ambulance away.

During the night, the big double-domed dining tent collapsed, about half of it lying on the ground. One report was that a guy rope had been cut. Camp residents grimly said they would get it back up.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 28, 1968]

Motel Ousts Militants Seeking Abernathy

(By Paul Hathaway)

About 20 black militants were ejected from the Pitts Motor Hotel last night after making a fruitless attempt to meet with the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, leader of the Poor People's Campaign.

For 20 minutes, the group roamed the lobby and the second floor of the motel at 15th and Belmont Sts. NW., demanding a meeting with Abernathy, but he was in Huntington, L.I., for a speaking engagement. The militants then burst in on a meeting of executive staff members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the mistaken belief Abernathy was there.

They left after Cornelius Pitts, owner of the motel, threatened to have them arrested.

POLICE CARS ARRIVE

Three police cars arrived on the scene shortly after the group stormed out to the rain-swept street.

"You tell Abernathy if he doesn't come down (to the campsite) to talk with us in the mud," a youth shouted, "he's going to have to deal with us."

There were varying reports on the identity of the group. One witness said it was a group called the Memphis Invaders from Resurrection City. But the Rev. Andrew Young, executive vice president of SCLC, and the Rev. Albert Sampson insisted that the group was from outside Resurrection City.

Young explained the incident this way:

"For some reason, they resent the fact that we have our headquarters here in the motel. They think we should have it down there. If I, for one minute, felt it would do the movement any good to have it there, I would change it. I don't believe it would. . . . But what I regret most is all this has nothing to do with the plight of poor people in this country, nothing at all."

WHITES ARE BLAMED

Sampson later charged that the group had been paid by whites to disrupt the campaign.

"These are the people who would like to see poor people fail in Washington," said Sampson. "They want to see black people fighting each other."

It was the fiery Sampson who clashed with the militants in the lobby of the motel.

"If we can't see Abernathy, we're going to see somebody and we're going to see them tonight," said a broad-shouldered, 6-foot, African-dressed youth.

"Get out of this motel," said the pint-sized Sampson staring up at the youth. "This is private property. This is this man's hotel (pointing to Pitts) and you have no right to be here."

When another youth cursed at William Moyer, the white assistant director of the campaign, Sampson cautioned Moyer; "Don't react to that, man. Don't react. We're here to help poor people, not tend to Negroes collecting their neuroses."

Three uniformed policemen and two plainclothesmen remained on guard in the lobby for the rest of the night at Pitts' request.

Later, SCLC leaders summoned six marshals from Resurrection City to stand guard at the hotel.

There were reports that the group that invaded the motel, was disturbed over the fact that there had been no attempt by SCLC leaders to evacuate residents from the muddy West Potomac Park site.

DRIVE TO CAMPSITE

After the incident, Young and Sampson rode to the campsite to talk with residents to determine if anyone wanted to move out.

"We rode up and down the site with a loudspeaker asking if anyone wanted to move," said Young. "Not one person came forward."

Sources close to SCLC said that black militants from outside the poor people's site were bent on creating a series of incidents at the hotel, to embarrass SCLC and the campaign.

They cited another incident last night in which a group of militants refused to pay a $50 bill in the downstairs Red Carpet Lounge of the motel, where most SCLC officials are staying. The group later backed down and paid the bill after Pitts again called the police.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 28, 1968]

RIFT MENDED; POOR STAGE NEW PROTESTS

(By Paul W. Valentine)

The first public rupture in the leadership of the Poor People's Campaign developed yesterday when Spanish-American militant Reies Tijerina accused Negro coordinators of excluding non-Negroes from the Campaign's decision-making processes.

The split was quickly repaired after the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, campaign leader, met privately with Tijerina, and the two emerged embracing and assured newsmen that any problems they might have are not insurmountable.

The developments occurred during a day of heavy rain and chilling wind that left the Campaign's Resurrection City a forlorn quagmire. Despite the weather, about 160 Campaigners went to the Agriculture Department where they broke into small groups and visited offices to seek information about food surplus programs.

The outburst by Tijerina underscores a long-developing but quiet disenchantment among many of the non-Negro residents at Resurrection City, the plywood and plastic encampment near the Lincoln Memorial. Most of the 2400 residents are Negroes, and the city's activities have been coordinated by the Negro-dominated Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Tijerina, 41, fiery leader of a band of Spanish-speaking Americans seeking return of public lands in New Mexico to the descendants of Spanish-speaking settlers, arrived at the gates to Resurrection City early yesterday. He told newsmen his Western caravan of 350 Mexican-Americans, Indians and poor whites would not move into the encampment until Negro leaders agreed to include their particular demands and grievances in the general program of the Campaign.

Tijerina engaged in a brief shouting match with Rudolph Thompson, SCLC staff worker, who objected to Tijerina's holding the press conference.

Tijerina and a small group of supporters then returned to the Hawthorne School, at 5th and I Streets sw., where the Western caravan is temporarily housed.

Within minutes, Mr. Abernathy left a staff meeting at Resurrection City and met privately with Tijerina for an hour and a half.

Mr. Abernathy emerged with his arms around the shoulders of Tijerina and Rudolph Gonzales, a Mexican-American leader from Denver, Colo.

"Things are well in hand here for my Mexican-American brothers," Mr. Abernathy told newsmen.

"We are having minor problems," Tijerina acknowledged, ". . . but the next steering committee meeting will iron out the important issues relating and uniting black people, red people and brown people."

He referred to a meeting scheduled for Wednesday when representatives of all ethnic groups in the Campaign will discuss details of their demands to Congress and the executive branch of the Government.

Mr. Abernathy said the only thing keeping the Western caravan from moving into Resurrection City now is the completion of housing.

Several groups of poor whites, totaling more than 100 people, already live in the city. They are concentrated in one section of the encampment and tend to keep to themselves.

Guy Carawan, white folk singer and folklore collector, said several whites have left the city because of harassment by the Negroes, and many of those remaining feel they have no voice in shaping policies and activities of the Campaign.

Although SCLC talks about developing grass-roots leadership, he said, it has essentially controlled the entire life of Resurrection City with its own closely knit directorate of Negro ministers, such as the Revs. Andrew Young, James Bevel, Bernard Lafayette and Jesse Jackson.

Asked about Tijerina's complaints of discrimination and humiliation, Mr. Young said, "Nobody's had an equal voice here yet because we haven't had a chance to set up a democratic process."

He said SCLC has been preoccupied with getting the city built and coping with emergency situations created by the heavy rains.

Residents wallowed in a new sea of mud yesterday.

When Mr. Abernathy emerged from the private meeting with Tijerina, he said that hunger and lack of jobs continue to be the chief issues of all poor people, but he added that the Campaign will also push specifically for what he called the "land question" and "hunting and fishing rights"—an apparent reference to Tijerina's land reform demands in New Mexico.

At an afternoon press conference, Mr. Abernathy announced that plans for the June 19 mass march of support for the Campaign here will be completed Wednesday, and that an ad hoc committee of 30 Senators and Congressmen who are helping to present the Campaign demands to Congress will visit Resurrection City at 10 a.m. today and meet with Campaign leaders.

During the Campaigners' visit to the Agriculture Department yesterday, the group walked out on a $292.66 lunch bill in the Department's cafeteria.

Mr. Jackson, leader of the group, asked that the bill be consolidated in a single check. When it was presented, he said it would be compared with what "the Government owes to the poor people of this Nation" because of its failure to feed them.

"Whoever owes the other will pay," he said. He said demonstrators will return regularly to the Department until it "closes the gap between surplus food and starvation."

On Capitol Hill, the House Public Works Committee, which has before it a bill that would force the Poor People's Campaign to move off all public lands west of the Anacostia River in Washington by the June 16 expiration date of its present permit, met behind closed doors with police and business leaders on the legislation.

In a separate development after Tijerina's accusations against SCLC, Rep. Bob Wilson (R-Calif.) asked Attorney General Ramsey Clark to investigate whether the civil rights of Mexican-Americans, Indians, and Appalachian whites are being violated by Resurrection City officials.

About 100 Campaign members and District mothers on welfare, shadowed by more than 50 policemen, marched and sang for an hour in the rain last night outside the apartment house where Rep. Wilbur H. Mills (D-Ark.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, lives at 2701 Connecticut Ave. nw.

The rain soaked demonstrators were invited inside the Woodley House next door for food and coffee shortly after Deputy Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson announced there would be a 9 p.m. curfew on their singing.

Most of the group returned to their homes or to Resurrection City about 11 p.m. but 25 resumed their vigil in the rain. Members of this contingent said they would continue walking outside the apartment house until Mills emerged this morning.

Mills has been the object of several Campaign demonstrations in this past week. The Campaigners are protesting his proposed budget cuts which they say would fall hardest on poor people.

In Columbus, Ohio, the National Council of YMCAs announced it is conducting a 60-day campaign to raise at least $24,000 to support the Poor People's Campaign.

In Philadelphia, officials of Christ Lutheran Church said a man identified as James Walton of the C. M. Grace Foundation, gave them a check for $132,574.86 to be turned over to the Poor People's Campaign.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 28, 1968]

DISTRICT WILL SEEK 1,000 MORE POLICE

(By Robert G. Kaiser)

President Johnson revealed yesterday that the District of Columbia will ask for 1,000 more policemen—a 30 per cent increase.

If Congress grants the request, the Police Department would be authorized to maintain a 4,100-man force, giving Washington by far the largest number of policemen per citizen of any city in the Nation.

The President stepped into the city's crime problem during a White House ceremony at which he signed legislation raising the starting salary of a policeman here to $8,000 a year, the third highest in the country.

The bill also gives firemen the same pay scale as policemen. It gives Washington teachers a starting salary of $7,000 after July 1.

Later in the day Mayor Walter E. Washington and several aides met the press to outline their plans for the dramatic increase in police protection here. Deputy Mayor Thomas W. Fletcher said he hoped to have a bill ready for Congress "within 48 hours."

City officials expect Congress to act favorably on their request, but expect some difficulty on the question of financing the huge new police force. Fletcher said yesterday he hoped that the Federal payments to the city will be increased to cover the cost, which he estimated would be more than $10 million a year. (Salaries alone for 1,000 new men would cost at least $8 million.)

The chances of congressional approval would appear to be high, since so many Congressmen have spoken out for more police protection in the Capital.

The Mayor said he hoped to have money and authorization to begin expanding the force July 1.

The decision to increase the size of the Department so suddenly followed a period of increasing criticism of police protection in the city. Many small merchants, bus drivers, taxi drivers and others have complained in recent weeks that they did not feel safe in Washington.

Before yesterday's announcement, city officials had increased patrols in high-crime neighborhoods and had authorized substantial overtime that had the effect of putting 200 extra men on the street. Patrick V. Murphy, the director of public safety, said yesterday that the Department could not maintain the extra protection indefinitely without more men.

Murphy said that an average of 1500 of the 2954 men on the force yesterday were regularly available for street patrols. If he had 1000 more men, Murphy said, the number on the streets every day could rise to 2400. In other words, nine out of ten of the new men would walk a beat or ride in a patrol car.

Recruiting 1000 men would be "a staggering job," Murphy acknowledged. He said he hoped the new $8000 starting salary would help overcome the Department's recruiting difficulties. The Department was 146 men below its authorized strength of 3100 yesterday, lowest number of vacancies in more than four years.

Mayor Washington said several times in several different ways yesterday that crime is a byproduct of other "deep-rooted problems." He said the city had to take action on many fronts to eradicate crime, and he announced one new program in an area that he said was most important—employment.

Five private firms, Washington announced, will soon establish new on-the-job training programs here using $2.5 million from the Labor Department to provide "training and job opportunities for 666 disadvantaged residents of Washington."

The Mayor mentioned education and "health services in the neighborhoods" as services that could reduce crime. And he urged area businessmen to provide summer jobs for the city's teen-agers.

"We must continue to develop programs that strike at the heart of the crime problem," Washington said.

Murphy said he would have to assign more men to his recruiting staff and to the Department's training program if Congress authorizes the 1000 new positions. "Temporary facilities" for training might have to be rented, he added.

But Murphy expressed confidence that 1000 men could be trained and absorbed into the force. He said 1500 men had been appointed to the New York City Police Department in one day when he was a top officer there, and they were trained and put on the street without serious delay or confusion.

Crime in the Capital was becoming a national issue, some local and Administration officials believed. Yesterday's issue of the conservative newspaper Human Events, for example, featured a front-page story under the headline "Crime in Washington: A National Disgrace." The article predicts that the city's crime problem would be exploited by the Republican Party in the coming elections.

Washington was not the only city to decide that more policemen were needed to combat ever-increasing crime rates. Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York announced Saturday that he planned to add 3000 new patrolmen to his 29,000-man force.

According to the D.C. Crime Commission, Washington already had the highest number of policemen per citizen in the country. Last year the rate was almost four per 1000 citizens.

Washington already spends more per resident than any other city in the Nation for police protection.

President Johnson said at the White House yesterday that "the police in Washington have always shown the face of responsibility in an hour of danger and crisis. True, they are a small force," the President said, "but they have responded magnificently."

"I have made no secret whatever of my hopes for this great and beautiful city," Mr. Johnson continued. "I want to see this community the pride of our democracy—in its schools, in its neighborhoods, in the lives of all of its people."

The cost of 1000 more policemen will be more than two per cent of the city's entire $500 million budget. Fletcher suggested yesterday that the Federal payment to the city be pegged at 30 per cent of local tax revenues. The city has already suggested a formula of 25 per cent of tax income. The additional five per cent would raise $16 million, assuming all proposed new taxes now pending in Congress are approved. This would certainly be enough to pay for 1000 more policemen, Fletcher said.

According to the FBI, the Washington metropolitan area had the sixth highest crime rate of the 12 largest metropolitan areas in 1966, the last year for which statistics have been made public. Baltimore and New York were among those with worse crime rates. Washington's relative position has improved since 1964, when it was fourth worst in the country.

The pay bill signed by President Johnson yesterday will give retroactive increases to teachers, policemen and firemen. Rookie policemen and firemen, now make $6700 a year, will receive $7800 retroactive to last Oct. and $8000 after July 1. Starting teachers who now earn $5840 with a rate of $6400 retroactive to Oct. 1, and will receive $7000 after July 1.

The on-the-job training programs announced by Mayor Washington yesterday will be run by Allied Builders Union, Inc., Sequentail Computer Corp., S. J. Industries, Manpower Teaching Service and Radiation Systems. All will work with the Washington Concentrated Employment System to recruit trainees, who will be paid $1.60 an hour while they are trained.

A REPLY TO "SPIES ON CAMPUS"

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, a national magazine, in March, published an article entitled "Spies on Campus," written by Frank Donner. The article is a typical diatribe on the legitimate activities of Government investigative agencies which one comes to expect from fuzzy-thinking individuals of Donner's ilk.

Why anyone should feel that a college or university campus should be a haven for criminals, radicals, traitors, and assorted subversives I cannot understand. Yet this is exactly what Donner seems to propose. He would make our institutions of higher education open to anyone except representatives of investigative agencies. His article is the same old pap of wanting to hide all manner of evil behind the cry of academic freedom.

Pulitzer Prize winner Edward J. Mowery, in two recent articles, has exposed something of Donner's background. The facts revealed by Mr. Mowery clearly show that Donner is but another leftist who wants to pervert our cherished freedoms to his own selfish purposes.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Mowery's two articles be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Reading (Pa.) Eagle, Apr. 28, 1968]

EDWARD J. MOWERY

NEW YORK.—Did you know that a horrendous invasion of "political privacy" is under way on our campuses? That legions of clean-cut, patriotic college students resent the slimy, on-campus harangues of assorted Communist lecturers and cooperate in routing out the oddballs? That city, state and federal experts on subversion keep running charts on the identity and activities of neophyte collegiate Marxists?

With gallant American boys dying by the hundreds at the hands of Vietnam Communists, most of us would salute any effort to rout Red worms from our campuses. But not a fellow named Frank Joris Donner who uses 7,000 words of pap in a national magazine to decry "campus spying" by the FBI and "Red Squads" of various law enforcement agencies.

Donner's mixed-up, cliche-peppered tome isn't easy to read. And it isn't worth too much strain. But if I "dig" his feverish trajectory, he's trying to prove a negative. There's no Communist menace, and why try to keep tabs on radical campus agitators who may sow pure treason to adolescent enrollees?

This, Donner says, clashes with that old bromide, "academic freedom" and emerges as "political" surveillance. Donner, who has modestly described himself as a "constitutional lawyer," displays a curiosity inept knowledge of the mandated internal security mechanism and duties of those who enforce it.

Donner cries in his soup about infringement of "civil liberties" on campus, the existence of "right-winger" CIA and FBI informers in the student body, and the "inordinate preoccupation" of the House Un-American Activities Committee with the campus scene.

Donner shudders at the cooperation of college officials with authorities seeking to protect students "from being duped by wily Communists."

With true Hawkshaw instinct, Donner also reveals that universities such as Ohio State, Duke, Illinois, Indiana, Texas, Kansas and Michigan State are collaborating with the FBI in keeping tabs on campus oddballs. Happy day! But Donner's venom targets in on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, charged with identifying individuals working against their country's best interests, tagging their objectives and nullifying their effectiveness.

The FBI offers no apologies for its zeal in protecting internal security. And certainly, subversives in professorial or collegiate garb are no less deadly than grubby Communists pursuing their intrigue in back rooms.

College officials cooperating in ridding the collegiate woodwork of radical worms? It's their duty. Americans fighting the Reds in Asia also have a stake in "academic freedom."

Who is Donner? He's a Manhattan lawyer. He was attached to the National Labor Relations Board in the early '40s, served as a top legal aid of the CIO and general counsel for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union after its expulsion from the CIO for its Communist influences.

The (defunct) Daily Worker duly noted Donner's affiliation with the National Lawyers Guild, cited by two congressional committees as a Communist front—"the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party." And when the garrulous Donner was questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee about his alleged CP activities in '56 and '59, he invoked the "Fifth" 33 times at one sitting.

Donner isn't important. But "radicalization" of America's campuses is a constant threat. We should be grateful that subversive hunters are moving in.

[From the New York Knickerbocker, May 19, 1968]

"Let's Expose Campus Reds Now"—Hoover

(NOTE.—Leaders of the long line of Red orators on U.S. campuses are such famed Communists as Herbert Aptheker, Dorothy Connelley, Gus Hall and Claude Lightfoot. According to FBI head J. Edgar Hoover, more of them appeared in New York than in any other state.)

J. EDGAR HOOVER ASKS STUDENT AID TO REJECT RED PROPAGANDA

(By Edward J. Mowery)

Did you know that horrendous invasion of "political" privacy is under way on our campuses? That legions of clean-cut, patriotic college students resent the slimy, on-campus harangues of assorted Communist lecturers and cooperate in rooting out the oddballs? That city, state and federal experts on subversion keep running-charts on the identity and activities of neophyte collegiate Marxists?

With gallant American boys dying by the hundreds at the hands of Viet Nam Communists, most of us would salute any effort to rout Red worms from our campuses. But not a fellow named Frank Joris Donner, who uses 7,000 words of pap in a national magazine to decry "Campus Spying" by The FBI and "Red Squads" of various law enforcement agencies.

None are so blind

Donner's mixed-up cliche-peppered tome isn't easy to read. And it isn't worth too much strain. But if I "dig" his feverish trajectory, he's trying to prove a negative. There's no Communist menace, and why try to keep tabs on radical campus agitators who may sow pure treason among adolescent enrollees?

This, Donner says, clashes with that old bromide, "Academic Freedom", and emerges as "political" surveillance. Donner, who has modestly described himself as a "constitutional lawyer", displays a curiously inept knowledge of the mandated internal security mechanism and duties of those who enforce it.

Donner cries in his soup about infringement of "civil liberties" on campus, the existence of "right-winged" CIA and FBI informers in the student body, and the "inordinate preoccupation" of the House Un-American Activities Committee with the campus scene.

The CIA, of course, has no internal security jurisdiction. And Donner has good reason to respect the anti-subversion thrusts of the House committee.

Donner shudders at the cooperation of college officials with Authorities seeking to protect students from being duped by wily Communists. And he observes gratuitously that, as a group, college teachers dominate the New Left "intellectual community," also known as the "bubblehead factory."

With true Hawkshaw instinct, Donner also reveals that universities such as Ohio State, Duke, Illinois, Indiana, Texas, Kansas and Michigan State are collaborating with the FBI in keeping tabs on campus oddballs. Happy Day! But Donner's venom targets in on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, charged with identifying individuals working against their country's best interests, tagging their objectives and nullifying their effectiveness.

The FBI offers no apologies for its zeal in protecting internal security. And, certainly, subversives in professorial or collegiate garb are no less deadly than grubby Communists pursuing their intrigue in back rooms.

College officials cooperating in ridding the collegiate woodwork of radical worms? It's their duty. Americans fighting the Reds in Asia also have a stake in "Academic Freedom."

A fifth amendment zealot

Who is Donner? He's a Manhattan lawyer. He was attached to the National Labor Relations Board in the early 40's, served as a top legal aid of the CIO and general counsel for the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Union after its expulsion from the CIO for its communist influences.

The (defunct) Daily Worker duly noted Donner's affiliation with the National Lawyers Guild, cited by two Congressional committees as a Communist Front—"The foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party." And when the garrulous Donner was questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee about his alleged CP activities, in '56 and '59, he invoked the "Fifth" 33 times at one sitting.

Donner has allegedly denied that he was ever a member of the Communist Party. But he helped prepare the defense of Party bigshots at New Haven, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh charged with violating the Smith Act. And, for 14 years, he has authored numerous articles and books with a single theme: Uncle Sam's efforts to expose Communism are a disguise to enforce "political" conformity of its citizens.

Equating the Marxist conspiracy with "politics" is as aged as the walls of the Kremlin. Donner isn't important. But exploding "radicalization" of America's campuses should be of vital concern to every citizen.

J. Edgar Hoover, who enjoys the burning hatred of the Red cabal, senses the gravity of the Communist campus drive to subvert youth and is taking every precaution to dull its impact.

"Suppose," the FBI chief observed, "that Communism advertised its true aim like this: 'Wanted: Young People To Help Bury America, No Prior Experience Necessary.'

"With such an appeal, Communism would become a dusty, cobweb-covered doctrine untouched by young Americans steeped in a heritage of liberty and freedom. But the treachery of Communism does not permit such a factual recruiting poster.

"Young people in record numbers are entering college classrooms to engage in one of man's most noble pursuits: The search for truth through the acquisition of knowledge. In America, this endeavor is as honored as the freedoms which make it possible. It is an undeniable fact that under Communism these freedoms do not exist."

Marxism, Hoover said, stipulates the warped "truths" its adherents must embrace and disseminates its "venomous" lies through any and all media. A primary avenue of exploiting and propagandizing the masses—the CP's "central dogmas"—is the American campus where front groups manipulate speaking "invitations" to topflight communists.

Prominent among such front groups, Hoover explained, are the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (named in honor of a Communist). As for the noisy, militant group billed as Students For A Democratic Society, Hoover said Communists are "actively promoting and participating" in the organization, which claims 3,000 members in 100-plus "chapters" around the country.

"Its members," the official continued, "condemn our involvement in Viet Nam, the American way of life and our established form of government."

This triple advocacy spells a minor form of anarchy. The coloration of Students For A Democratic Society continuously seeps through its "constitutional liberty" camouflage. Hoover recalled that 20 of 100 participants attending the group's national council meeting in '65 had "past or present affiliations with the CP or other subversive organizations."

Communists from over the nation joined the organization's march on Washington three years ago, including 70 comrades from New York City alone. Two months later, Hoover declared, among delegates to the organization's national convention (near Kewadin, Mich.) were spokesmen from virtually "every subversive group in the country."

The very vocal Reds

Whether it's the "New Left" or the "Old Left", the FBI director said grimly, the Communist emphasis is on wholesale subversion of youth. Citing the rise in Communist Party speakers on various campuses, Hoover noted that speakers mouthing the Marxist line at student assemblies averaged 50 appearances yearly from 1961 to 1965. In the 1965–66 academic year, the total zoomed to 69.

The pitch wasn't static.

"They hit hard at the United States for its role in the Viet Nam War," the official said, "especially when student assemblies were peppered with draft-age listeners. The Communists feel that our nation is witnessing a new upsurge in 'Leftist' thinking among youth which makes the Marxist message more palatable.

"And . . . they enjoy the controversy their campus appearance frequently provoke.

"An uproad enables the campus agitator to don the undeserved role of a persecuted defender of free speech. Among the speakers' stock answers for questions posed by students are the bland assurance that the Communist Party, USA has no organizational ties with its counterpart in the Soviet Union, and if they ever attain power here, the free press will continue in the 'American tradition'."

These answers not infrequently trigger howls of laughter from Red-wise undergraduates. But there can be little doubt that spoon-fed poison to student crowds of up to 4,000 is leaving its mark. Hoover revealed that the Communist thrust for campus recruits was cunningly conceived and executed.

Subversion of editors

More than 700 editors of college publications, he declared, received from Communist Party Public Relations Director Arnold Johnson a copy of the Reds' "new" program. The editors were invited to comment "editorially" on the program—a soft-sell lectern in the students' own paper. Editors also were urged to make the Communist drivel available at college bookstores to undergraduates writing term papers on Communism, or those debating "Communist viewpoints".

This is the Reds' brazen, new direct approach to student functionaries, hoping that a single seed will take root. Buried deeply in the note to editors was the pervading lure: The Communist Party will gladly provide "authoritative and capable" speakers for campus functions of both students and faculty members. And it would be just dandy if the college paper or campus organization would "sponsor" the speaker's appearance.

Those of "libertine" leanings—including the author of "Campus Spying"—see nothing sinister in Communists presenting their views before college groups, even though adolescent minds are being manipulated by master propagandists.

Leaning on his vast knowledge of Communism's deadly goals. Hoover commented:

"We all believe in academic freedom. But this does not grant license to deliberately present distortions or falsehoods. Communists aren't obligated morally or otherwise to seek for, or tell, the truth.

"Some young people are capable of recognizing and exposing propaganda. Others are not. This is the dangerous thing, particularly when it is recognized that Communists in this country are conducting an energetic propaganda campaign to recruit youth, to reach their hearts, minds and souls."

Concerning the youth groups working under CP guidance on campuses, Hoover said:

"The true face of Communism now has another mask to wear, a disguise calculated to dupe unwary youth. The official insignia of the Party-spawned DuBois Clubs, for instances, is a half-white, half-black circle encompassing a white hand and a black hand under a dove.

"But a look over their shoulder reveals the other hand clasping the Berlin Wall and squeezing freedom's breath from enslaved millions. It is this duplicity that is difficult for young Americans to comprehend.

"If our young citizens turn an objective, analytical searchlight on this ideology and its organizational arms, they will understand Communism for what it is—a materialistic, godless dogma dedicated to world domination.

"Gangerous Communism is attempting to render future America a quadruple amputee—a nation without freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion. Armed with the scalpel of truth, our youth can and must cut this disease from the body of America."

INDIA—ECONOMIC AID FROM US ENABLES MILITARY PURCHASES FROM SOVIETS

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, for years, some of us have questioned the policy of our heavy economic aid to India at the same time India continued to purchase heavily military arms from the Soviet Union.

It is no secret that at this time India is modernizing its army with Soviet equipment, and is also purchasing modern air and sea weaponry.

Apparently some of the Indians themselves question why that country should have multimillion-dollar submarines.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Indian Arms Cost Scored," published in the Baltimore Sun of May 20, be printed in the Record.

I also ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "One Billion Dollars in Nonproject Aid to India To Be Sought," published in the Journal of Commerce of May 27, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Baltimore Sun, May 20, 1968]

Indian Arms Cost Scored—Critics Want Funds Devoted to Development

(By Adam Clymer)

New Delhi, May 19.—Fears that defense expenditures are crippling economic development are getting increasingly official discussion in India.

For some time this concern has been openly expressed only on the fringes of Indian politics, though it is a subject of economists' concern.

The most eloquent exponent of this fear has been Sheik Mohammed Abdullah, the Kashmiri leader freed from detention in January. Arguing that subcontinental reconciliation over Kashmir would bring peace and friendship, Abdullah recently complained:

VAST FUNDS DIVERTED

"Vast funds, which should be devoted to the progress of education, health, agriculture and social welfare in general, are now diverted by both countries towards the production of destructive weapons of warfare."

The two extremes in Parliament, the Conservative Freedom party and the left Communists, have also urged an accommodation with Pakistan in order to cut defense spending.

But Government leaders, while often expressing regret that arms were so heavy a burden, have always said it was a burden which must be borne.

A similar contention has been voiced by Canjeepuream N. Annadurai, chief minister of Madras state.

NEW VOICE HEARD

But last week, Dhananjaya R. Gadgil, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's hand-picked deputy chairman of the planning commission (as Prime Minister, she is chairman), joined the chorus.

After warning that the central Government had very limited resources available for further development spending, he called on the Government "to give special attention to economy in non-plan expenditure."

"Administrative expenditure of all types must be kept down if plan outlays are to be increased," he added. "In this context, special attention may have to be paid to defense expenditure."

Gadgil did not get down to precise figures. The published Indian defense budget totals $1,353,333,333, or about 22 per cent of the central budget.

But this figure appears to many observers to understate capital expenditures, for India has been buying submarines, jet fight-bombers, frigates and other equipment from the Soviet Union at a considerable pace lately.

The planning commission leader warned that besides their basic budgetary costs, arms expenditures eat up the country's scarce foreign exchange.

Terms on Soviet purchases have not been announced, but it is thought a significant portion of the cost of such equipment as a submarine priced somewhere between $50,000,000 and $75,000,000 must be repaid in hard currency.

Gadgil also warned against the reliance on foreign expertness that accompanies defense production. He said greater efforts should be made to relate arms manufacture to existing domestic industry.

Annadurai, leader of probably the most stable non-Congress party state Government in India, spoke up at the National Development Council meeting Gadgil addressed and said he thought that, without weakening the nation's defense posture, it should be possible to achieve some economies in the defense budget.

[From the Journal of Commerce, May 27, 1968]

One Billion Dollars in Nonproject Aid to India To Be Sought

(By Oscar E. Neumann)

Washington, May 26.—The 11 countries, plus the World Bank and International Development Association, comprising the India Consortium decided at the end of the week that India should receive the largest amount for nonproject aid ever provided to that country—$1 billion for the fiscal year that started April 1.

They also agreed that about $100 of this amount should be in the form of debt relief. India's debt-service obligations this year amount to about $500 million.

NOT A COMMITMENT

The figures, however, represent what the consortium considers desirable, not necessarily what will be committed. The previous high commitment for nonproject aid—foreign exchange that is used almost exclusively to import requirements of high priority industries in the private sector—was in fiscal 1966–67, when the consortium raised $900 million.

However, in that year almost exactly two-thirds of the commitment came from the United States and IDA. This year neither the U.S. foreign aid program nor an IDA replenishment have been acted upon by the U.S. Congress.

In fiscal 1967–68—the year ending last March 31—the consortium provided India with only about $550 million of nonproject aid, and this amount included no money at all from IDA.

Despite the industrial recession still going on in India, officials at a briefing after the consortium meeting said that the nonproject aid pipeline was now so low that India would have difficulty in planning ahead. They also predicted that the turnabout in agriculture during the past year, to a record high food grains crop, meant that India was beginning to come out of the recession.

EXPORT INCREASE

Dr. I. G. Patel, special secretary of India's Economic Ministry, said that one encouraging factor was the increase of India's exports, especially goods that had not been sold abroad before. In the last fiscal year India exported $70 million worth of steel, as against only $30 million the year before. In the current fiscal year he hopes for exports in this category of $100 million. Similarly, India exported $45 million of railroad wagons last year and hopes for $75 million this year (Russia placed a large order for wagons early this year).

Peter Cargill, representing the World Bank on the consortium, said that India would continue the emphasis of the past two years—absolute top priority to fertilizer imports and those of other agricultural inputs.

In addition, project aid, i.e., aid funnelled directly to a plant, a dam, a railroad or a power plant which has languished in the past two years is expected to be "sympathetically considered" at the magnitude of about $450 million a year, with a large part aimed at fertilizer production.

The debt-service rescheduling will take a variety of forms, depending on the creditor country: some countries will postpone payments due on principal, some will include interest postponement and others will make outright grants of free exchanges. The World Bank itself will participate in the rescheduling of its debt but officials declined to state just how much. India is due to repay the bank $50 million of principal in the current fiscal year.

The fourth five-year plan, which was scheduled to go into effect two years ago, but which was mangled by the two years of drought, may be resumed in April, 1969, Dr. Patel indicated. He expressed optimism that India is pulling out of the recession as a result of the last year's record corps and, if the consortium aid of $1 billion actually is forthcoming, India once again will be able to plan ahead, he said.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SCHOOLS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record an article which appeared in the Sunday Star of May 26, 1968, titled "Some Educators Doubt District of Columbia Schools Can Meet Needs."

There being no objection, the article

was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME EDUCATORS DOUBT DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SCHOOLS CAN MEET NEEDS

Several District educators take a dim view of the ability of the schools to meet needs growing out of the current racial turmoil.

Changing the curriculum of the schools will not solve the problem of "institutional racism," according to an official of the Washington Teachers Union.

Charles Cheng, assistant to union President William H. Simons, said that "there's nothing there (in white America) to salvage."

"America was born rotten and has been rotten ever since," Cheng declared.

He was one of four panelists at American University on racism in the schools, sponsored last week by the Center for Emergency Support, an organization formed to deal with the District's problems.

RECENT CHANGES STRESSED

Kenneth Haskins, principal of the community-run Morgan School, said that American education has not changed essentially since the period when it was illegal to teach Negroes to read and write.

He said that Negroes until recently have been "forced out of school or made to feel very uncomfortable," and that history lessons had been used to reinforce the notion of white superiority.

Now "whitey has to decide for himself what he will do in the ghetto," Haskins said, because black people are going to act independently.

Mary Lela Scherburn of the Model Schools Innovation Team in the public schools said it is "seldom we let anything like the heady air of contemporary experience into the classroom." She asserted that refusal of the schools to use material relevant to the everyday lives of the pupils implied a prejudice against the quality of those lives.

KING MATERIAL INTRODUCED

Mrs. Scherborn was one of the group that introduced material on Dr. Martin Luther King and civil disturbances into the classroom immediately after the early April disorders, producing the booklet, "Children of Cardozo Tell It Like It Is." But, she said, "you don't have to have a riot" to make classroom experiences more relevant.

Marcia Kallen, who lost her job as a United Planning Organization education specialist after a work stoppage by UPO employes last month, said, "This culture is going to perish because it's not a culture." In education, she said, terms like "slow learner" or "low IQ" are "excuses for not getting to where these kids are at." She said that the attitude of too many educators is that the children exist to keep the school system running, rather than the reverse.

THE REPUBLICAN EFFORT AGAINST CRIME: SENATOR KUCHEL'S STAND ON LAW AND ORDER

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from California, the minority whip [Mr. KUCHEL], recently compiled a position paper on law and order.

In it, he outlines the untiring efforts—and they have been outstanding ones—that he has made in the fight against crime; in his support for much needed assistance to local law enforcement; and his unending dedication to the control of juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, and organized crime. He goes to the heart of the matter as he reiterates his belief that crime can best be controlled in the local community by efficient and effective local police agencies.

The comments of the senior Senator from California are most timely, particularly since the Senate so recently acted upon the omnibus crime bill. More important, however, his position paper symbolizes the kind of support that Republicans as a whole have continually given in the battle against crime in the Nation. Our party has long recognized the ominous dangers of this growing threat in our midst.

We have pleaded with the administration over and over again for action. Last week, action was finally taken, not by the administration but by Congress. Make no mistake about it. What was achieved was largely due, not to the administration, which opposed practically every title in the bill passed by the Senate, but to the overwhelming support and action of Senate Republicans like Senator KUCHEL.

The distinguished Senator from California, along with a number of other Republicans, cosponsored two of the principal titles contained in that bill. He joined with me in the successful effort to protect the autonomy of State and local law-enforcement agencies through Federal bloc grants to the States. He was also a coauthor of the wiretap bill authored by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], which served as a principal basis for title III of the crime bill.

Senator KUCHEL's views on law and order represent those of the Republican Party itself. Let me quote from but one paragraph:

> A free society such as ours brings with it certain duties, and one of the most important of these is to live by the rules that the majority of citizens or their representatives have agreed to. In a totalitarian state like the Soviet Union, conscience sometimes spurs citizen disobedience to unjust and repressive laws. Here in America, we have the noble and tested machinery of constitutional self-government to change laws. Until they are changed, however, they must be obeyed, and obeyed by all.

I believe that his words are worthy of consideration not only by Californians but by all citizens of every State throughout America. I therefore ask unanimous consent that Senator KUCHEL's position on law and order be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the position paper on law and order be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POSITION PAPER ON LAW AND ORDER

(By U.S. Senator THOMAS H. KUCHEL)

This great nation of ours was founded on a rule of laws, not of men, and it is by that system that this society will stay free. To make our system work and to assure justice, all our laws must be observed and enforced with favor to none. Law enforcement must have the support of all the citizens of the United States. It has my support in word and deed.

A free society such as ours brings with it certain duties, and one of the most important of these is to live by the rules that the majority of citizens or their representatives have agreed to. In a totalitarian state like the Soviet Union, conscience sometimes spurs citizen disobedience to unjust and repressive laws. Here in America, we have the noble and tested machinery of constitutional self-government to change laws. Until they are changed, however, they must be obeyed, and obeyed by all.

I jealously guard the right of free speech, and the right of lawful assembly to exercise free speech. But those rights must not be confused with any asserted right to break the law. There is no right to break the law. Whether it is on the city streets or on a college campus, civil wrongs can never make civil rights, and outright criminal activity must be punished as the law requires.

It is my position that the battle for law and order must be won basically in the local community, by the local community agencies under the authority of the individual state. Bills I have helped to write and pass over the years will bear out my stand.

It is easy to *talk* about law and order. But more than talk is required. This is what I have *done*:

To aid local law enforcement, I was a firm supporter of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965, the first measure to provide Federal assistance to state and local governments to upgrade their enforcement agencies. Today, police and sheriff departments across the country benefit from these grants.

This year, I worked closely with Senator Dirksen on his amendment to the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act, providing grants to states for more effective crime-fighting techniques. Of these grants, at least 40% of research funds would be passed on to local agencies, and 85% of action funds for new programs and equipment would also be passed by the state to cities and counties. The Dirksen-Kuchel formula was largely the outgrowth of my frequent talks with local California law officers.

Shocked and angered by continued riots, I voted for successful legislation this year to punish those who cross state lines to foment riots and those who carry weapons of any kind across state lines in furtherance of riots.

Because I am against vigilantes of any type, I denounced a federal effort last year to finance a band of roving youths called the Community Alert Patrol to police the police in Los Angeles. After my objections were made known, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare called me to say that he was revoking the irresponsible order authorizing the payment of a quarter of a million dollars to this private vigilante group.

To fight organized crime, I have co-sponsored a bill to authorize the use of wiretapping and eavesdropping devices, under court order and with full protection of citizens' rights.

I have fought juvenile delinquency on two fronts. Three years ago, I co-sponsored the bill to enact, and later to extend the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offense Control Act, under which Federal government aid upgrades state and local juvenile crime-fighting campaigns. And, in both 1965 and last year, I wrote and introduced a bill to reduce the largely juvenile crime of auto theft by curbing the sale of master keys. This measure, still pending, would also work against the professional adult criminal, of course.

In other areas of concern, I have co-sponsored bills to increase penalties for violations of certain drug laws, and to give Federal assistance to establish narcotics treatment and cure facilities. I co-sponsored a bill of Senator Mundt, which became law last year, to form a national commission on pornography, dedicated to combatting traffic in obscenity. Today, commission members have been appointed and staff work has begun.

These are examples of my record, a record I said I would bring to the people and a record which indicates better than any promises how I will act in the future.

I am concerned that the search for easy solutions might lead to the wrong approach.

Our Constitution, with its system of dual sovereignty, leaves maintenance of local law and order to state and local government. I agree with that concept. I want no centralized police state authority in America. I have great confidence in local departments and the individual officer. That is one reason why I have spoken out against the so-called Federal riot squad approach and against blanket "shoot-to-kill" orders in riot situations. These proposals would rob the individual policeman and his local agency of the right to exercise their own valuable judgment.

The best Federal role is to strengthen local law enforcement without controlling it or usurping it. This is the role my votes in the Senate have consistently supported.

U.S. COMMERCE WITH SWEDEN

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, getting a true perspective on what is happening in our fast-moving world today is becoming increasingly difficult.

Recently, we have seen in the newspapers and magazines articles indicating that the young people of Sweden are becoming increasingly hostile to the United States and to our Government's policies. As an American of Scandinavian extraction and deeply aware of the 185 years of friendship and commerce which have tied our two countries together in a bond of mutual respect, I am very much distressed by these reports. They have helped to create a hostile atmosphere among certain segments of our population toward the good people of Sweden. As a result, commerce with Sweden is being affected, and orders in this country for Swedish products have been canceled. This seems to me to be an unfortunate set of events, since we have a favorable balance of trade with Sweden.

In 1966, U.S. exports to Sweden totaled $426,332,000, while Sweden's exports to the United States amounted to $291,757,000. On a per capita purchasing power basis, Sweden bought $54.66 per capita from the United States in 1966, and the United States purchased $1.49 per capita from Sweden.

The young people of Sweden do not represent the business community nor the official position of the Government. They are, in fact, no more vocal than our own young people in their protest against the Vietnam war. However, vocal they may be, I want the American people to understand that the people of Sweden are our friends; American business is welcome in Sweden; and the majority of the people of Sweden have respect and admiration for our country and the ideals for which we stand. In order to set the record straight on Sweden's attitude toward this country, I ask unanimous consent that an article, entitled "Americans Are Not So Bad," published in American Banker for May 8, 1968, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Americans Are Not So Bad

Despite the sharp criticism by some Swedes of some U.S. policies, others, especially members of Sweden's business community, remain fundamentally sympathetic to the United States. One such Swede is Axel Iveroth, executive director of the Swedish Federation of Industry. Mr. Iveroth said at the Foundation's annual meeting last month that much of the criticism of America "is partially based on lack of knowledge of American Society." Following are excerpts from Mr. Iveroth's speech, in which he announced awards to 30 Swedish students to study in the U.S. this summer:

"Many Swedish youths of today dream about being able to go to America to see and learn in that great, dramatic country. The sometimes diffuse, often insinuating and implied, and almost always arrogant and lofty criticism against the U.S. which we have been forced to experience in Sweden during the last year has not succeeded in suppressing the positive, inquiring interest among today's Swedes in the U.S.

"As a matter of fact, it is quite natural that so many young, enthusiastic Swedes, with an appetite for life, turn to the U.S. because there is no other country in the whole world which interests us more than America."

"In the field of culture we know that the U.S. is not a desert. It is amazing how much of the literature which is being read by Swedes is written by Americans. The same is true in the theater and the arts. Theaters all over Sweden play dramas from America. Young artists make every effort to go to New York to gain inspiration in the extraordinarily, most excessively creative environment which that city offers. Our whole everyday life is filled with impulses from America, clothing, toys, environment.

"It is as a matter of fact rather comical that many of the youths who are alienated from the majority, those who have shown their special attitude in the form of demonstrations and protest meetings, are often dressed in clothing of American style, and also act according to an external pattern which also first has been tried here and there in the U.S. and which is easy to adopt.

"But to us in industry, impulses in our field are most important; our industry is facing a difficult situation. We must have an 'Operation Bootstrap'—it is as simple as that. How will we go about this?

"In every place of work, in every research laboratory, in every educational context, we must rely on the sort of knowledge developed by our American friends. We would never be able to go through with our 'Operation Bootstrap' if we did not have access to the knowledge—and if we did not have the possibility of learning from daring experiments and the purposeful planning in different fields which is carried out by America—and which Americans also are so willing to make available to Europe. We shall obviously receive and utilize this knowledge, but we shall also safeguard it as a challenge—not by being isolationistic but in open competition."

"Is it not reasonable that America expects us to express ourselves moderately and intelligently in debate whenever it takes place, and with whomever it is carried on? Is it not justified that we safeguard the contact possibilities we have by choosing our words and gestures so that the goodwill and friendliness in our relations with America may continue to develop?

". . . But it is injurious that now, according to my opinion, too often Swedish interest in the continuance of the Free World takes the expression of an inflamed anti-Americanism which is partially based on a lack of knowledge of American society; partly gives the impression of serving Swedish domestic political objectives—two reasons which are not likely to strengthen international confidence in its advocates. It must, as I see it, appear not only to America but also to friends which are nearer to us, as though Sweden were not quite mature enough to participate in discussions and debates in really serious international questions.

". . . We have grown up in a country which, for centuries, has been somewhat remote from the great international scene. And we have become accustomed to being mainly spectators of the great dramas which are played in the world.

". . . We have found it difficult to overcome a feeling of frustration over not being able to participate as actively as many of us have wished. But perhaps this isolation has also planted in us a seed of conceit. We have not shared the sorrows and disappointments that many millions of people in other countries have gone through, and which have formed their view of today's and tomorrow's problems.

"But the rapid technical development which has given us the possibility of seeing the world and of following its changes has brought us to a period of transition. This is particularly true for the young generation. We can see signs of unrest among the youth, both in our country and in other countries. The old rules, the old ideals are no longer valid.

". . . I have met some of the scholarship winners of this year and I think they have the prerequisites, each one in his city, to appear successfully as representatives of a society which, although it is somewhat different from the American society, still shares the basic conviction of progress by freedom which has made America the greatest success story in world history."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S FREE PRESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record an article by John Karch, entitled "Can Czechoslovakia's Free Press Stay Free?" which appeared in the Sunday Star of May 26, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Can Czechoslovakia's Free Press Stay Free?

(By John Karch)

One of the most remarkable facets of the remarkable liberalization taking place in Czechoslovakia today has been the appearance of an inquisitive untrammeled, uncontrolled press—a press "free" in the Western usage of the term.

Papers and journals are being bought, not out of duty as in the past, but because of the reader's intense interest to discover something interesting and new, some revelation of fact that had been long suppressed.

Journalists have had the temerity to inquire into fields heretofore sealed off from discussion. Was former Foreign Minister Jan Masarky's death a suicide, as previously claimed, or was it murder? To what extent, if any, was Moscow implicated?

No longer are readers turning first to the sports page as they did when, to put it kindly, the papers were dull and uninspiring, filled with pictures of smiling "builders or socialism," long party tracts, and anti-Western distortions. Censorship was there to ensure that the wishes and programs of the party would be applied—strictly.

COLLECTIVE AGITATOR

Czech and Slovak journalists, as other journalists operating within most Communist systems, had for the most part obediently reported only that which was approved by the Communist party.

The press apparatus in most Communist countries has operated according to Lenin's precept: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer." Objectivity, in Lenin's words was "absurd, scandalous, and harmful."

In the exhilarating but unpredictable atmosphere of today's Czechoslovakia, however, the intriguing question becomes, "where did the censors go?" The dailies and periodicals seem to be virtually free from censorship. Radio and television, too, have become alive and exciting.

Press, radio, television and films are not behaving like the "shock forces on the ideological front" Communist dogma envisions them to be. Instead the media report variegated news, original commentaries and analyses; they include unrehearsed political debates and exhortations for political, economic and social reform.

Press and radio strongly reacted to Soviet, East German, Polish, and other Communist criticism of their push toward liberalization.

Participating in these activities have been not only reporters, but other intellectuals and political leaders, Communist and non-Communist, including religious figures. No area, activity, institution, or personality has been exempt from their scrutiny.

PRESS CONFERENCES

Open press conferences have been held by leading political figures who have promised to continue the practice. Public opinion polls are being taken on a variety of searching issues, including inquiry into the basic structure of the state.

Even the party organ Rude Pravo has invited responses to a series of questions on the democratization effort. More important, the Prague leaders seem to be paying attention to the results. Incisive letters to the editor are published, and self-searching answers given.

As early as April 10, a Yugoslav correspondent reported to his Zagreb weekly that "freedom of speech is complete in Czechoslovakia." However, the judgment on this must be reserved. Some pointed questions must yet be answered. And the skeptic is somewhat justified in referring to a short-lived era in Poland following the "Polish October" of 1956 where, for several months, a climate of freedom prevailed. Will "Czechoslovakia's Spring" be much more durable?

As in other communist countries, Czechoslovakia's constitution guarantees freedom of the press. However the 1948 document reserved to the state the sole right to determine the publisher and the distributor, making that freedom meaningless. In the present, "socialist," constitution adopted in 1960 the party continued to circumvent basic freedoms by copying the Soviet rubric "in conformity with the interests of the working people." The Communist party of course arrogated to itself the required judgment.

Not surprisingly, Czech party leaders rejected any allegations of lack of freedom of the press in Czechoslovakia. Former Party Secretary Vladimir Koucky, recently demoted, used to emphasize that freedom of the press in Czechoslovakia was even more extensive than in the Western countries where allegedly advertisers, together with big business, issue instructions to the press and "incite provocative incidents," "intentionally provoke chaos," and "assist colonizers."

To ensure that the printed word would be Communist-pure, in 1953 Prague followed Moscow by institutionalizing censorship. Together with self-censorship of journalists and editors, the latter appointed by the party on the basis of loyalty, the Main Administration of Press Censorship (Hlavni sprava tiskoveho dohledu) conducted its nefarious activities throughout the publishing field. Uncooperative editors were dismissed and even whole issues confiscated. For example, in 1963 an entire issue of the Slovak literary weekly, Kulturny Zivot, was confiscated because it criticized, albeit indirectly, certain communist leaders.

CENTRAL DIRECTION

Operating under the Ministry of Interior, the Main Administration placed a "censorship commissioner" in every editorial office. This censor disseminated directives from headquarters to the editors; he himself objected to the editors when anything was published except the approved stories.

The prohibited area was incredibly wide. For example, one Top Secret directive said "No articles or other materials authored by Ivan Svitak (a law professor) may be published in the entire publication sector."

Another said: "No further report may be published about the case of a wheelbarrow being pushed, because of a bet, from Smrzovka to the Sparta-Slavia (soccer) game, on 4 September, 1965." Others covered shootings, signature drives, polemics, student riots, films, and the like.

The impetus for political reform originated in Slovakia in 1963. Slovak writers, in demanding greater cultural freedom and the rehabilitation of victims of Stalinism, achieved the dismissal of Stalinist Prime Minister, Viliam Siroky. However, the Ideological Commission created in September, 1963, in response to these pressures reasserted Communist party control over culture. The party Theses of December, 1965 reiterated Party orthodoxy as well as issued a warning to the intellectuals to adhere rigidly to the party line.

STRUGGLE SHIFTS

The struggle for reform shifted from Bratislava to Prague where in June of last year the Writers' Congress sought freedom for the writers. It demanded that censorship be confined to matters relating to national security. The party quickly expelled three prominent writers and placed the Writers' Union organ, Literarni Noviny, under government control.

The cry for cultural freedom, freedom of the press, and end of censorship is being heeded by the regime of Czechoslovakia, led by First Secretary Alexander Dubcek, a Slovak. While the liberal reforms are taking place within the framework of the Communist party, the new party leaders themselves are emphasizing the necessity for these freedoms.

In concrete terms, the leaders are exhibiting a new look with domestic and foreign correspondents. For example, in a surprising move, Oldrich Cernik and his two deputies held Prague's first American-style press conference at which they met with more than one hundred correspondents for eighty minutes, fielding written and oral questions in a seemingly relaxed and jovial mood. The Premier promised that the regime would continue to "stress the democratic rights and freedom of citizens."

Dubcek has said that in effect press censorship ended in March. But did it?

The new Action Program contains potentially important guidelines. The Program provides for a new press law which would eliminate "preliminary censorship." But freedom of the press and censorship are among the most sensitive and significant tests for the new leadership. Domestically, the intellectuals are demanding legislative guarantees to attain an amendment to the January 1, 1967, press law and an abolition of *all* censorship.

This question is equally important to foreign communist rulers who fear the impact liberal changes in Czechoslovakia would have on their control; in their limited coverage of developments in Czechoslovakia, the references to freedom of the press have been censored.

The question is not one of getting a new press law on the books, but to what extent will guarantees be given? There is anxiety already about the future prospects. Orthodox communists, supported by Moscow, can be expected to exert pressure against Dubcek. Some "liberal" communists and non-party intellectuals were disappointed with the Action Program—that it did not guarantee an end to censorship.

STRANGE CASE

Then, there is the still strange case of Oldrich Svestka of Rude Pravo. Several days ago the new Party Presidium member criticized those who take advantage of freedom of expression to attack the party. His was the leading article in Rude Pravo where he has served as deputy editor-in-chief and editor-in-chief since 1952 and thus must share the responsibility for that paper's performance during those dark years. While his deputies on the party organ were demoted recently, Svestka surprisingly was elevated to the highest Party circle.

An editorial in the Slovak cultural organ Kulturny Zivot exclaims "abolish censorship," but censorship is not likely to be abolished completely. The Party's Action Program still needs to be implemented, and nowhere in it does one find a provision to abolish all censorship.

Only several days ago the party presidium apparently seeking some middle way between the total controls of the past and the unchecked liberties of the present, considered methods of restraining the media. More will be known after this Wednesday's important meeting of the central committee.

Where are the censors? The censors are still there, largely silent and unobtrusive, but there nevertheless.

Freedom of the press is a vital question. For once freedom of speech and press is allowed, how long can the rise of an independent political opposition be prevented?

One thing is certain—Moscow as well as Prague is pondering this crucial question.

ADDRESS BY ROBERT T. STEVENS AT UNVEILING OF KARL E. MUNDT MEMORIAL LIBRARY, MADISON, S. DAK.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, one of the most distinguished Members of this body is our beloved colleague, Hon. KARL E. MUNDT, the senior Senator from South Dakota.

It was 30 years ago this year that KARL MUNDT was elected to the House of Representatives. His dedication to duty, his keen mind, his sterling character, and his basic Americanism have made him a most valuable Member of Congress.

It is, therefore, fitting that the Karl E. Mundt Memorial Library is being established in his hometown of Madison, S. Dak.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the speech delivered by Mr. Robert T. Stevens, president of J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., at the unveiling of the cornerstone of the Mundt Library be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"A FAIR CHANCE FOR A FREE PEOPLE"—KARL E. MUNDT

(Remarks by Robert T. Stevens, president of J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., at unveiling of the cornerstone of the Karl E. Mundt Library, Madison, S. Dak., May 18, 1968)

(NOTE.—The Karl E. Mundt Library on the campus of General Beadle State College will be the repository for the Mundt Collection of historical papers and archives. It will also serve as a center for the public service educational and inspirational projects and programs to be sponsored by the Karl E. Mundt Historical and Educational Foundation. The Foundation was established in 1963 by friends and admirers of Senator Mundt.)

For many reasons, I am grateful for the opportunity of being here today. One compelling reason is that we are dedicating a library. Books are where the experiences of countless generations are to be found. They are the only short cut we have to acquiring breadth of knowledge without exhausting a whole lifetime in study alone. They are the seed corn of civilization.

Another reason is that this structure is of contemporary architecture. Built with materials and methods unavailable a few years ago, it is stamped with the mark of this generation and of its forward thrust. So, it joins the knowledge drawn from the past to the uses of knowledge in the future. In this, I would cite the work of the Karl E. Mundt Historical and Educational Foundation. Its activities, now and in the future, in the advancement of knowledge and human understanding, are living proof of the unique values of such foundations.

Still another reason, and most important, is that this library is to house the papers of a statesman. What do the archives of a public man do for a library and for the community that houses it? I have asked that question of many scholars and they tell me that, unfailingly, such a collection brings serious students of human events, both history and behaviorism, to your door, from distant parts of the country and, indeed, from all over the world.

Yours is a modest size institution in a modest size community. As such, it is an ideal place for clear thought, and for seeing events in a longer and better perspective than may be possible in the center of metropolitan clamor. I am sure that many students here will make their way some day to the world's centers of action. This is as it should be. A great many of the country's leaders, in government and in business, in education and in the other professions, began in the heart of rural America. They came forth clear-eyed, determined and strong, and were recognized as leadership material. Karl Mundt is an outstanding example of what I am talking about.

For me, personally, there is a special contact with this area of the country that makes today almost in the nature of a sentimental journey. Here your college name honors General William Henry Harrison Beadle, a Civil War commander. He left a mark in later life by vigorous and successful efforts to keep the proceeeds of public land for the support of education in this state—a far-sighted son of Dakota.

Another general of the Civil War had been through your territory somewhat earlier. General Isaac Ingalls Stevens was a New England forebear of mine. A graduate of the United States Military Academy and a veteran of the Mexican War, he was appointed as the first Governor of the Territory of Washington in 1853. Not content with that appointment, he asked for a simultaneous assignment to survey the overland route to the northwest for wagon trains and the railroad that would come later. In this sense, his career paralleled that of General Beadle who, in 1869, was appointed by President Grant as the Surveyor General of Dakota Territory.

The careers of General Stevens and General Beadle also paralleled one another in that each of them served heroically in the Civil War. General Stevens rendered the last full measure of devotion to his country when he was killed at Chantilly during the Second Battle of Bull Run at the age of 45. Let me tell you a bit of General Stevens' earlier timetable in 1853, twenty-three years before Custer's fateful expedition.

Congress created Washington Territory on March 2, 1863. President Pierce took office March 4. On March 17, Stevens was confirmed by the Senate in his post as Governor. On April 8, he had his orders for the transcontinental survey. On May 9, with plans and supplies organized, he left Washington for St. Louis to pick up mules for the party that was to traverse the country from St. Paul to Puget Sound. On June 10th, St. Paul now behind him, his party crossed the Mississippi River.

On July 4, he crossed the Maple River about 180 miles due north of where we are right now. The record shows that he raised Old Glory, stitched together from white and red shirts, by the needle of a French trapper guiding the party. They gave a cheer and drank a toast to their beloved homeland. By August 1, he was on the Yellowstone River, in what is now Montana, where Mrs. Stevens and I have been part-time ranchers for the past 24 years. Seven members of our immediate family are now permanent residents of Montana.

Governor Stevens, on his nearly 2,000 mile trip from the Mississippi to the Pacific, averaged about 15 miles a day, a distance which is now, 115 years later, covered in one and a half minutes by jet plane. If one goes straight north from here on U.S. Highway 81, then North Dakota Highway 18, you come to a marker commemorating that Stevens crossing on the bank of the Maple River, about 25 miles southwest of Fargo.

But, all these things of the great plains area aside, I am sure the invitation to be here today traces to a very different bit of history. We are unveiling the cornerstone of this building named for The Honorable Karl E. Mundt who once headed the Speech Department here. Over the years that he and I have known each other, I think our mutual respect has grown steadily.

But we really began to observe one another closely in the midst of a tense Senate Hearing, just 14 years ago in 1954. It was an event which, I believe, inevitably will take its place in the history books of our country. Yet, surely, neither of us expected anything of the kind at the time. The occasion came to be known as the Army-McCarthy Hearing.

Ever since this Hearing, I have felt that its outcome expressed, even more than greater events, some of the peculiar genius our forefathers showed in their creation of our form of democracy. We are proud of our country's democracy, its dedication to the rights and opportunities of all within it. I believe in that word democracy very deeply. Let no one, dwelling on its imperfections, disparage the word, or the real personal liberties our democracy has created here even for the humblest of our people. Go anywhere else in the world and see what the chances are for the humble citizen compared with America!

Democracy has provided the unlimited opportunity that exists here, for any man or woman of character, energy and purpose, to rise and to thrive. It is the opportunity to contribute to others and to be rewarded. This may all be expressed in satisfaction or self-respect; or it may be riches, modest or great. Nothing could more fully express the meaning of democracy than the phrase chosen for the dedication of this building by our good friend Karl Mundt—"A Fair Chance For a Free People."

What happened to Senator Mundt and to me was that the process of democracy caused our paths to cross in connection with a significant incident in our country's history. It came about in an unplanned and an unpredictable way. If the occasion became a crossroads of destiny, and I think it did, I can identify nothing about myself at that time that would have made me seek an opportunity to be involved. I was surely not spoiling for a confrontation over a moral issue or any other kind of issue. Yet, it proved to be a moral issue that brought me face to face before the committee chairman whom we honor here today.

The matter that brought Senator Mundt and me to that juncture, was that another senator, who then rode high and powerful as an investigator, had dealt contemptuously with a combat-decorated veteran of the Armed Forces of the United States in a one-man Senate committee hearing. That veteran was told he was not fit to wear the uniform. He was helpless to protect himself under the discipline imposed upon him.

We are very much a civilian nation, and our army is very much a civilian army, with little of the privileged status that the military demand and receive in many other countries. Here the rule is clear that the military always, and completely, report to and take orders from civilian authority.

That being so, it was clear to me that there are times when the civilian authority has to stand up and be counted. It has to meet the issue head on. I was Secretary of the Army at the time and the first layer of civilian authority was mine. My first action was to order that no army man in uniform appear again before that investigating committee until further notice. I would do so myself instead.

Those who remember, know that the confrontation was with the late Senator from Wisconsin. I doubt that too many people in this group today could have been among the very large national audience that hung on the television and the radio, day after day, as the issue was thrashed out through a maze of side issues and extraneous matters, introduced by the investigators, which were used to obscure the central question that concerned me.

I believe that Hearing brought about the greatest saturation TV coverage of a national controversy, and I can assure you that spending 13 days as a witness, being hammered at under the eye of the TV cameras, which were projecting the scene, live to the entire country, is not exactly an easy experience.

Senator Mundt was not a participant in this issue. He sat as the impartial presiding officer. He was utterly fair in the conduct of the proceedings, which lasted two months. It was really a trial in the court of public opinion and he was in control. The eyes of America were upon him.

I shall never forget how this all began. The first I heard about it was when General Matthew B. Ridgway, then the Army's Distinguisheed Chief of Staff, came through the door connecting our two offices in the Pentagon and told me of his great concern about a most serious thing that had happened the day before. He was deeply concerned and greatly disturbed as to the possible effects on service morale. We were dealing now with the spirit of the men in the military who constantly, in one way or another to this day, have their lives on the line for all of us. The uneasy Korean "cease fire" had occurred only eight months earlier.

In public office, there are moments of decision. I felt the central issue was so clear that there could be only one decision. I was the first civilian in the line of command. The decision was mine. The duty of blocking the whole attack was mine. Those of you who watched, know that the role in which I was cast was not heroic in any way. It was doing my duty as I saw it. But to me, there is the lasting satisfaction that, so far as I know, since that day no member of the military, appearing before any committee of the Congress, has been treated with anything but appropriate respect. I think civilian authority rose to the challenge in those dangerous days as, indeed, it should have done. Joseph Welch, the genial lawyer from Boston, who represented the Army in the Hearings, called them a "moment in history." In looking back over the years, it seems clear that our country needed the cleansing effect of that moment in history.

I hope that young people, many young men facing the possibility of active duty in such harsh outposts as Vietnam, can take a bit of satisfaction in the fact that, even in these days of sometimes confused protests and dissension, there is a powerful public reaction to any disrespect of those who wear the uniform of our country. Today, Armed Forces Day, respect for the uniform is being demonstrated in public ceremonies throughout the country.

Looking back to that time, I take comfort also in the fact that the grim confrontation, in which we took part, was to mark the end of an unhappy period of name calling. Stated in its essence, it was public condemnation, without due process, of individuals who may or may not have committed misdeeds. The opportunity for an adequate defense was all but denied. The accusing word swept over the innocent as well as the guilty. Guilt by association was proclaimed.

The harm done to a person so afflicted was rarely ever lived down. It was an attitude, and temporarily became a force, utterly at variance with the very purpose of the articles of the Bill of Rights, which form the rooftree of our national house. Surely, it represented nothing resembling "A Fair Chance For a Free People" and, in a few months, public opinion swept it from the scene.

Today, I can look back at it all quite relaxed. The events of 1954 seem to have fallen into perspective. Through the years since that time, I have often been asked: "Would you enter Government service, if it were all to be done over again? Were you not glad to be out and resolved to stay out?" And, my answer has always been an unhesitating reply that I would surely do it again. If it had to be, I would be willing to relive every hour of it. After all, our country comes first. In public service, one must take the bad with the good.

Make no mistake. It is a great honor to be called upon to serve your country in high public office. It comes as close to being a duty for a responsible person as any free and voluntary choice can be. I hope that every one of you here will feel a sense of deep obligation to our country if you receive a call to serve the public interest.

In these few minutes, I have dwelt on just one of the notable events which will be found fully recorded among the papers assembled during Senator Mundt's long, distinguished and continuing service to the United States. His papers dealing with other notable events as well, will also be housed here. They include investigations of government scandals, the 5 percenters, labor rackets, and the Whitaker Chambers-Alger Hiss case. His papers will also point up his contributions to the strength of America through the establishment of the Voice of America and NATO, and his role in conservation. It is a comforting thought that these and other historic and notable papers are to be lodged permanently in this beautiful building.

Karl Mundt never forgot the problems of his home state and his people. Yet, he looked out from this wonderful state of South Dakota to the total interest of his country. From Washington, he looked out further at the world and sought to encompass it in his understanding, and in the influence his office could wield.

No other man has served South Dakota as long as he in our national legislature. No other man of his party, serving today, has been at the United States Capital longer than he. Few statesmen of either party, or of any state, have enjoyed the long enduring approval accorded him by his constituency.

If years ago he shared with me a crossroads of destiny, he remains active on the simmering front in Washington today. This is a time of critical events, of upheavals and turmoil, foreign and domestic, that are infinitely grave and perplexing. More men like Karl Mundt are desperately needed to help achieve solutions to these pressing problems.

Neither we ourselves, nor our leaders, can possibly see clearly the way ahead, nor be sure in what manner we shall extract ourselves from the divisiveness, the lawless use of force, the disregard of the rights of others, that embroil us today. The currently displayed contempt for high standards of personal and group conduct is not like us. These standards have meant too much to the advancement of our people. Somehow we shall change the present course of events.

I deeply believe that we are going to see, springing from countless individuals, a revival of morality and decency. . . . A renewal of the principles present in religious attitude and thought. . . . A faith in society, and in law, equally administered, and in order, fairly maintained. I think the American people once again will recognize that we must have a greater reliance on good citizenship. And that includes putting an end to draft card burning, draft evasion and outrages against public order. We cannot build to the great destiny of America without a return to the character and integrity of those who have gone before.

Thank you, one and all, for the opportunity to share with you today in this memorable event. I am greatly honored to have been invited. Here and now, you take one more step of the American people towards attainment of a still better society and a still richer life.

Truly, we can dedicate this day and this structure, honoring Karl Mundt, to:

"A Fair Chance For a Free People."

PRESCHOOL EDUCATION ACT OF 1968

Mr. HART. Mr. President, every parent, I am sure, would like to have his child receive the best education that the Nation is capable of providing.

For a long time we thought that if we sent our children to a good elementary and secondary school, and then on to a college or university, we were doing all that could be done to insure high quality education for them.

Now, modern research is beginning to challenge that approach.

There is increasing evidence that we are ignoring the critical years of child development, the years when children are most receptive to learning and most responsive to intellectual growth.

In effect, our current efforts could be compared to a nurseryman who neglects a tree for the first 5 years of life and then decides to use the best soil and plant food to encourage growth and full development.

Actually, we are just beginning to discover the potential of our youngest generation, just beginning to understand that questions like, "Why does coffee pour straight and how many minutes in a year?" are not childhood babble, but a real search for answers—a determination on the part of the 3-year-old to increase his vocabulary—to find out about the world in which he lives.

The old school of education says that a child is not ready for school until he is 6—oh, perhaps we can put some of them in kindergarten at 5, give them some toys and let them just get adjusted to being in a schoolroom. But they are not ready to really "learn" anything.

So most of our 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds have been dressed by mother in the morning and turned out to play in the backyard with little guidance and direction because there is little awareness of their ability, need and desire to learn.

Fortunately, there is a real fire brewing in education circles today.

While not all educators agree on "what should be taught" at the preschool level, there is unanimous agreement that a child who goes to nursery school and kindergarten is the likeliest to succeed.

This agreement is based on much research which says the critical years for intellectual development and concept formation are 3 to 6.

Three to six, when most of our children are riding tricycles and sitting on the curb.

Three to six—the formative years—yet less than half of America's children have the opportunity to go to kindergarten.

In terms of intelligence, Benjamin Bloom, a noted authority on human development, goes one step further. He claims that as much intellectual development takes place in the first 4 years of life as in the next 13 years.

If the educators are right—and I do not doubt them—we are seriously handicapping our children by not offering good preschool training.

We know from looking at the disadvantaged child—that early environment can spell success or failure. What a child misses in those early years cannot be made up later even if we put him in the best schools, with the best equipment and the best teachers.

But the "critical years" do not apply solely to the disadvantaged child—they are crucial for all children: the bright, the average, the slow beginner.

Just because a child has a mother and a father who can answer some of his questions and take him to the zoo does not mean that he has not the need for preschool experience, where he can learn about his world from a well-trained adult—where his creative ability may be best nurtured, where his whole self-concept can be seen in relation to others and tested in the world outside the security of his own home.

No, the well-endowed child needs and profits from the preschool environment, too. The only difference between him and the poor boy is the degree to which they suffer from the preschool "education gap."

If we want to talk about developing a child's intelligence, about raising his IQ level, we had better stop ignoring those critical years of development.

Mr. President, yesterday I introduced a bill entitled the "Preschool Education Act of 1968."

It is a bill authorizing an experiment to determine if public education should be expanded to include 3-, 4-, and 5-year-olds.

Under my plan, pilot programs in preschool education would be conducted in representative urban and rural areas of the Nation.

Classes would be held at what educators term an educational park now in use at the high school level. This is actually a consolidated educational center which is both pleasing to the eye and efficient. Within a few acres it offers the student all the resources that education can muster—like libraries, auditoriums, well-equipped laboratories and the latest audiovisual equipment.

The program would offer half-day sessions on a voluntary basis to all preschool-age children within a reasonable distance from the project site.

We already know that the child who begins training earliest is more likely to excel—but there is another benefit that deserves some attention.

It seems to me that the preschool educational park would be the best and most natural place to start developing a society where each man can be judged on the content of his character and not the color of his skin.

Because a 3-year-old has not had time to become prejudiced, he would be free to cultivate respect for others, and at the same time, develop respect for those with whom he comes in contact.

Certainly a child who comes from a poor family especially needs to develop that respect—and I think—deserves the opportunity.

I came across an amazing fact the other day.

Members of underprivileged groups had a rather surprising view about the importance of education.

Researchers asked the question: What do you miss most in life that you would like your children to have?

Over 50 percent of the white lower socioeconomic group and 70 percent of the Negro group said "education."

But white middle-class parents—who rightly attach a high pricetag on a solid education—are afraid that if their children are exposed to anyone other than a white middle-class child, such integration would force lower school standards and have an undesirable effect on the motivations of their children.

Research says this is just not so.

In the city of White Plains, N.Y.—to cite just one example—the school board was told either to desegrate the schools or lose the Federal money.

They integrated in a way that was fair to both the black and white community. In no school was there a Negro enrollment below 10 percent or above 30 percent.

What were the results?

Well, of course, the Negro students showed tremendous gains—but the important finding concerned the white students. They had consistently higher scores on most tests than did their predecessors in predominantly white neighborhood schools.

These are the kind of statistics that will demonstrate to white parents that the education of their children in an integrated school is not endangered—if anything, it is enhanced. Once our fears and doubts are diminished, we can truly create a democratic education system that will prepare our children to live and build together, in peace.

Educational parks would be a beginning. They would provide a place where young children from all backgrounds would experience the real world where no man, no class, no race, no creed is an island.

In closing, I would like to mention that my bill specifies no program of instruction nor does it name a pricetag.

The Nation's bookkeepers would be so preoccupied with the figure that they would fail to take a look at the product being offered.

At this point, it is the idea that is important, and I would prefer to let the committee decide its worth at the time the bill comes up.

Of course, this is not the sort of proposal that can be expected to win congressional approval in the next few months.

But I am convinced that it is the sort of idea whose time will come in a Nation where education is of swiftly increasing importance.

SUPREME COURT GAVELED DOWN ON CONFESSIONS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a column by James J. Kilpatrick, titled "Supreme Court Gaveled Down on Confessions," which appeared in the Evening Star of today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUPREME COURT GAVELED DOWN ON CONFESSIONS

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

The United States Senate last week dealt the Supreme Court the strongest rebuke that has been officially hurled at the court in more than 30 years. Not since the days of Roosevelt's court-packing proposal has a co-equal branch of government spoken in such unmistakable terms.

Roosevelt's scheme failed of adoption, of course, but it had its effect nonetheless. Chief Justice Hughes got the word. Many Americans, deeply concerned at the trend of Supreme Court decisions over the past ten years, will pray that Chief Justice Warren and his majority bloc prove equally attentive this time around. The Senate has said bluntly that it wants to see a balance restored between the rights of a defendant and the rights of society. The step is long overdue.

Specifically, the Senate approved section 3501 of the Crime Control Act of 1968. The section says that in Federal criminal prosecutions, a confession shall be admissible in evidence "if it is voluntarily given." Trial judges are to review the circumstances in the absence of a jury. If a judge determines that a confession was in fact voluntary, according to conditions laid down in the act, he is to admit the confession and instruct the jury to give it such weight "as the jury feels it deserves under all the circumstances."

Under the Senate bill, the presence or abscence of a lawyer would be merely one factor, and not necessarily a conclusive factor, in determining the issue of voluntariness. Manifestly, this provision of the act is intended to override the high court's 5–4 decision in the famed Miranda case two years ago. The court then laid down such sweeping requirements for the advice of counsel that the use of confessions in evidence was rendered almost impossible.

As you might expect, the Senate's refusal has evoked moans of anguish from knee-jerk liberals who bleed for the rights of rapists. The Washington Post, which goes into hysterics whenever Earl Warren sneezes, has been regaling its readers with horror stories of confessions obtained by the third-degree. You would suppose that police routinely exact confessions by thumbscrews and rubber hoses.

Sure enough, instances of coerced confessions have occurred. Too many of them. But there is not one line in the Senate bill that would condone the abhorrent practice. It is an insult to the whole of the Federal trial bench to imagine that such confessions would be received in the future.

The more applicable horror stories go in precisely the other direction.

Two months after the Miranda decision, a Brooklyn housewife came on trial for the murder of her four-year-old son. She had taped his mouth and beaten him to death with a broomstick. She freely confessed. She had not had a lawyer. She went free. Miranda.

There was the case in New York of Jose Suarez, 22, a laundry worker. He killed his wife and five small children by stabbing them more than 100 times. Police arrested him. He confessed at once. No lawyer. Justice Michael Kern bitterly agreed that "even an animal such as this one, and I believe this is insulting the animal kingdom, must be provided with all the legal safeguards—but it makes my blood run cold to let a thing like this out on the street." Suarez walked out of court, a free man. Miranda.

Dozens of such fantastic miscarriages of justice have occurred by reason of the Supreme Court's excessive solicitude. As North Carolina's Sen. Sam Ervin has noted, the number of confessions in criminal cases has fallen drastically. The state's attorney of Baltimore remarks that "the confession as a law enforcement instrument has been virtually eliminated." If the House accepts the Senate bill, the trend may be reversed. It will all depend on whether Chief Justice Warren gets the word.

INDIAN JUSTICE

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it was gratifying to me that the Senate yesterday approved Senate Joint Resolution 157, calling upon the Secretary of the Interior to pay persons who owned unrestricted interest in land taken by the enactment of Public Law 87–734 and Public Law 87–735 or to their heirs unless they have been previously compensated.

This action climaxes many months of effort to bring justice and equity to individual landowners residing on the Crow Creek and Lower Brule Indian Reservations for land taken for the purpose of constructing Big Bend Dam and its reservoirs in central South Dakota. I became interested in the matter in July of 1966 when I received a letter from Mrs. Estelle M. LaCroix who wrote me that the Government owed her approximately $4,000 for land she owned near Fort Thompson, S. Dak. Mrs. LaCroix told me she was desperately in need of the funds and that at the age of 81 needed the money long owed her for her land by the Federal Government and which she desperately needs for her subsistence.

I contacted the Department of the Interior and the Corps of Engineers and learned that neither Federal agency believed they had the authority to make payment to the several landowners who did not own the land in trust but rather held a clear title thereto. Because these statutes provided that the Department of the Interior would allocate the funds to be paid for the acquisition of the land, it was the judgment of the Corps of Engineers that the Corps did not have the authority to compensate the landowners. The Department of the Interior found legal hindrances to paying the landowners who held their land in fee because the legislation provided for the compensation of interest owned by the tribes or individual Indians in trust or in restricted status and any other interest in the tribe or Indians might have in the land taken.

At the request of the Secretary of the Army, the Attorney General filed a complaint in condemnation in the U.S. District Court for South Dakota to acquire nontrust and nonrestricted interests which were not required by Public Laws 87–734 and 87–735. The U.S. district court dismissed the complaint in condemnation on the basis that the public laws had acquired these interests.

It was disturbing to me that neither the Corps of Engineers nor the Department of the Interior was able to resolve the impasse that existed between them and that neither agency had taken the responsibility to seek additional legislative authority to insure that the land which had been taken was paid for. It was particularly distressing because the land was taken by legislative action rather than the normal procedure of condemnation under the right of eminent domain and because the interests owned by the individual landowner were in many cases so small that it was not feasible for him to seek his day in court.

Finally, with no resolution of the problem, I wrote to Secretary of the Interior Udall on September 14, 1967, urging that the matter be resolved as quickly as possible because of the years that had passed since the land was taken. As a result, the Department of Interior drafted Senate Joint Resolution 157 and submitted it to the Senate for introduction by the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

I hope that the other body of Congress will take expeditious action to insure the earliest possible compensation for the landowners who have been deprived of their land for more than 5 years.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL OF THE ARMY OMAR N. BRADLEY

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a great American discussed our land, our people, and their problems as well as their opportunities a few days ago. The speaker was Gen. Omar Bradley. The occasion was the annual awards banquet of the American Heritage Foundation.

General Bradley, spoke, fittingly enough, at Williamsburg, Va. Although I was not able to attend the function, a friend who was there brought the speech to me.

I ask unanimous consent that General Bradley's address be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION ANNUAL AWARDS—WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

(Address by General of the Army Omar N. Bradley, May 9, 1968)

Ladies and Gentlemen: I doubt if ever there was a time in our history when there was greater need to give thought to what we owe our country. Too many of our citizens have not learned that freedom is not free, that democracy can extract stern repayment from those who share in its bounty.

Almost two hundred years ago our forefathers made great sacrifices to win our right to establish a democracy—a government where we govern ourselves and where the rights of the individual were given paramount consideration. But our right to keep our freedom and to continue our way of life has not gone unchallenged. Almost every generation has had to defend that right. Let us remember that self-government is not a luxury on which men may grow fat and indulgent. Rather it is an instrument by which men can—if they have the wisdom—safeguard their individual freedom and employ that freedom in pursuit of happiness and fair reward for their ingenuity, labor and intellect. Because self-government is an instrument which demands increasingly the services, the energies, the participation of those who would benefit by it, self-government is weighted as heavily with obligations as it is with privilege.

If we dare look upon our government simply as a legacy left to us for our benefit, enrichment and ease, then we shall someday awaken to find that our nation has rotted as quickly as our character has decayed. Democratic self-government tries its people with a sterner challenge than any other system in the world. Scorning the brutal coercion of totalitarian states, it asks generosity and brotherhood of its people. It asks that they cooperate willingly and voluntarily for one another's common welfare.

And while there are imperfections in our democratic government—as in all man-made institutions—this form of government nevertheless has rewarded us with greater personal dignity and more material wealth than any other nation in the world.

At a time when people throughout the world are being courted by an aggressive statism that would have them abdicate their personal share in government and entrust their welfare to rule by cliques, the American people must put their faith in not less—but more—personal responsibility in the affairs of their community and nation.

When we speak of our obligations to our country, we are not speaking of any particular age or economic group. We are speaking of every individual. Young men are called upon for active service in our armed forces. Their families and loved ones are called upon for courage and patience. Their communities are called upon for sustenance and support. These are viewed by many as contributions. I, myself, and the men I have served with through two wars view them as privileges. In annual reunions with the Headquarters Staff of the 12th Army Group, which I commanded during World War II, I have heard it said time and time again: "Life is sweeter and their country dearer to them because they fought for both." Those of our young men who are unfortunate enough to be unqualified for military service and those who are misguided enough to want to avoid it are being denied a precious right. Democracy is not a free ride. We must earn our way.

Not one of us who cherishes our way of life can afford to be delinquent in the business of being a good citizen. Probably the greatest single cause for delinquency in citizenship can be traced to our declining sense of responsibility in the home, the church, the school and the community in which we live.

Unless the young person can feel that the security, the well-being and happiness of his family is in part his own responsibility, there is little hope in tutoring him later, on his broader obligations. For citizenship is a progressive education that has its roots in the home and works its way toward the dizzying heights of national and world responsibility.

Much as we welcome the leisurely comforts of indoor plumbing, oil heat, electric lights and the family car, we nevertheless lost a primary lesson in good citizenship when 20th-century conveniences rendered the tradition of chores old-fashioned. It doesn't have to be that way. It is the responsibility of each parent to involve their youngsters in the business of being a family. The necessity for doing one's daily round of little jobs made a youngster of earlier generations feel part of the household and planted in his young mind the seed of responsibility to someone other than to himself.

Back home in the flat farmlands of Missouri, life on a schoolmaster's wages was not calculated to make one rich or idle. But however busy his modest life might be, my father still had time to take me through crisp cornfields hunting coveys of quail when I was a youngster of seven.

By the time I had grown to twelve, he had given me a shotgun for my own; and for the next four years I used that shotgun to hunt rabbits which I sold for five cents each, dressed, to contribute to the income of the family.

Even at that time our life was an itinerant one. My father moved from schoolhouse to schoolhouse, first in the soft-coal fields of Randolph County, then in the rich farmlands of Fayette. At the end of each short six-month term, he took an interim job. Some times we lived on a farm, sometimes in town where dad ran the mutual telephone exchange.

For a period of several years we farmed 200 bottom-land acres. During the school year, dad would set off each Sunday afternoon and walk eight miles to the family with whom he boarded nearest the schoolhouse. And each Friday afternoon, when school was out, with a book under his arm, he would walk eight miles back to our farm to work on the weekend with mother and me.

My chores were neither painful nor unpleasant. Each morning I filled the woodbox with chips and kindling for the big kitchen stove. I kept the buckets filled with water from the deep well out in back. When there were cows in the barn, I helped with the milking. And when we had 200 chickens, I helped mother feed them, keep the henhouse clean, and count new records in fresh white eggs. Once a week we went together to town carrying great tin buckets of those gleaming eggs. They fetched ten cents a dozen.

Most cherished of all my memories was the dinner table at home. That is where my father and mother discussed many subjects. I was encouraged to join freely in these discussions. It was here, I think, that I learned the meaning of many words—honesty, integrity, responsibility, pride in being an American, proper consideration for the rights of others, religion—and the many facets of being a good citizen.

We did not have television in the days when I was growing up, but I think we had something better. We had time to be a family. There is no question that television is a landmark in modern technology and a great educational factor and, as such, should be welcomed. However, as in all things, it should be properly employed. In too many homes today, television has become an escape. In too many homes today, the evening meal is timed around a television program. In too many homes today when a youngster turns to a parent for guidance and comfort, that parent's attention is riveted on a television set. The need for family consultation and communication is perhaps even greater than the need for consultation and communication between nations.

The integrity of the family today has been damaged by the rising rate of divorce. The urge of each individual in the family to pamper his own wants and to seek leisure time has placed the emphasis on selfishness and suffocated the instincts of good citizenship at its very source. Despite these handicaps, our youth has survived. As a whole our youth has emerged a truly wonderful body of people. Unfortunately, there are those among them who are plainly undisciplined and who are more aware of their rights than of their responsibilities. Unfortunately, there are those among them who are antagonistic to authority in any form.

We hear about the young men who burn their draft cards and who demonstrate against the war in Vietnam. We must remember that this represents a vociferous, small minority. My wife and I spent two weeks in

Vietnam last August and we talked to and visited with thousands of servicemen. We found only two who did not understand what they were doing in Vietnam. As a group, our boys know that they are not in Vietnam fighting solely for the Vietnamese. They know they are fighting communistic desires to impose their way of life upon the entire world. Our boys in Vietnam know that if they do not fight communist aggression there, they will have to fight it closer to home—closer to their families and to the democracy they love.

The family is the foundation of our democracy and both are like tall stands of timber. We cannot cut from them more than we plant in them without periling their survival. They are like forests which must be cultivated by toil and nourished by the sweat of those who would keep them. A democracy such as ours cannot be defeated. It can only lose through default. It can only lose if our people deny through indifference and neglect their personal responsibilities for its security and growth. Our danger lies not so much in our avowed enemies. It lies in our own well-meaning American citizens, too many of whom today are one hundred percent Americans in their daily protestations and ten percent citizens in their daily routine of neglect.

Whatever we have to do to preserve our democracy, we shall have to do it, because we owe it to our country—and to ourselves.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL BUYS HOME IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record an article by Barry Kalb, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on May 27, 1968, titled "Carmichaels Bid on House."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A $70,000 Estate in NW: Carmichaels Bid on House

(By Barry Kalb)

Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael and his bride, African folk singer Miriam Makeba, are negotiating to buy a $70,000 castle-like house in the verdant "Gold Coast" area of upper Northwest Washington on the eastern edge of Rock Creek Park.

The owner of the house has accepted a written purchase offer from the Carmichaels, subject to further discussions on financing and other matters, according to sales manager Archie Kennedy of the Floyd E. Davis real estate company.

The three-story, four-bedroom house, at 4331 Blagden Ave. NW, sits amid about an acre of well-kept gardens. City Councilman William S. Thompson lives two doors away at 4343, and prominent investment broker Belmont Ver Standig lives next door at 4329.

The owner of the house, F. Vic Guidice, said yesterday that negotiations with "some singer from New York" had been in progress for about a week.

Guidice, who is retired, said he and his son have been living in the house and plan to move out of the City.

Kennedy confirmed that the singer is Miss Makeba, 35, who was married to the 27-year-old Carmichael here early this month. Her lawyer is to contact the real estate firm tomorrow or Wednesday to discuss "a certain situation that we have to get straightened out," Kennedy said.

"One of the contingencies is financing," he added, but he refused to be more specific about the tentative purchase agreement.

"It's all up in the air," he emphasized. "We don't know what the situation is."

Kennedy said the house had been on the market at $70,000 for about six weeks. Miss Makeba expressed her interest in a telephone call to Kennedy about a week ago, he said, but he did not recognize the prominence of her name until later.

The Carmichaels "probably looked at the house one Sunday" but were not recognized by the agent, he added.

The house, which Guidice said is about 30 years old, is just west of 16th Street NW a short distance from the Carter Barron Amphitheater, where Miss Makeba has performed.

Carmichael, who popularized the black power ideology and became head of the Student NonViolent Coordinating Committee, is now a Washington-based field secretary for the organization.

There have been several recent reports that Carmichael and Miss Makeba were seeking a house in the upper 16th Street area. A recent newsletter of the GOP Congressional Committee pictured another upper Northwest house that the Carmichaels purportedly were buying.

Miss Makeba, whose previous marriage to South African recording star Hugh Masakela ended in divorce, has a 17-year-old daughter, Bongi. Carmichael has not been married before.

PROCLAMATION OF TEHERAN AT HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the most comprehensive review of the status of human rights activities and their progress was undertaken at the International Human Rights Year Conference which recently concluded at Teheran, Iran.

The complexities of protecting the rights of man were spotlighted at the conference which also marked the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the U.N. General Assembly.

A report of the U.N. meeting and an approved Proclamation of Teheran urging human rights for all people appeared in the May 25 issue of the AFL–CIO News. I ask unanimous consent that that article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Human Rights for All Urged at U.N. Parley

Teheran, Iran.—A United Nations Conference on Human Rights has adopted a Proclamation of Teheran calling upon all nations to grant all of their people freedom, equality, dignity and social justice.

The proclamation was approved unanimously by delegates representing 84 countries just before the conference concluded a three-week review of human rights progress over the past 20 years.

The conference marked the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN General Assembly and the proclamation affirmed faith in the principles "enshrined" in it and other UN declarations on human rights.

"The primary aim of the United Nations in the sphere of human rights is the achievement by each individual of the maximum freedom and dignity," the proclamation declared.

FREEDOM UNDER LAW

The realization of this objective, it said, requires the laws of each country to grant certain freedoms to all individuals "irrespective of race, language, religion or political belief."

Specifically called for were "freedom of expression, of information, of conscience and of religion, as well as the right to participate in political, economic, cultural and social life."

The 19-point proclamation, which contained many of the recommendations advanced by the U.S. delegation, condemned all forms of discrimination and denials of political rights.

It appealed for an end to all forms of aggression, urged economically developed nations to aid the developing ones, stressed a need for disarmament and proposed international action "aimed at eradicating illiteracy."

AFL–CIO Vice Pres. John J. Grogan was a member of the six-man U.S. delegation to the conference named by Pres. Johnson. Henry Kirsch, an AFL–CIO Dept. of Intl. Affairs representative, served as his adviser.

FOOD STAMP LEGISLATION, HOUSING LEGISLATION, AND GOVERNMENT PERMITS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a transcript of questions which were asked of me during a TV interview which was filmed on May 22, 1968, and my answers thereto.

There being no objection, the transcript of the interview was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Text of Senator Byrd's Television Interview, May 22, 1968

Q: Senator, the Washington marchers are reportedly seeking additional space. As chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, how do you feel about this?

A: Well, my Subcommittee has no jurisdiction, whatsoever, over any Federal lands in the Nation's Capital. I was opposed to the issuance of any permit allowing the camp-in on The Mall. Just this week I have expressed to the President, to the Secretary of the Interior, to the Secretary of the Air Force and the Attorney General my objections on the issuance of any additional permit for additional space in the Nation's Capital. I have no objection whatsoever to people coming to the Nation's Capital to petition their Government, but I feel that it was a serious mistake for the Government to issue a permit which allowed for the creation of this powder keg, within the Nation's Capital. And I believe that in the long run the Federal Government may find it more difficult to get these people out of the city than the difficulty which may have been encountered in preventing them from setting up on The Mall in the beginning.

Q: Senator Byrd, what is your view of the Omnibus Housing Bill which will soon be before the Senate?

A: Well, I think it has some excellent provisions. Title I, which provides for low-income housing, is a good provision. And Title XII which would provide for a national flood insurance program, I think, would be very desirable. Title I, the low income housing provision, would provide for Federal assistance to low income families who wish to purchase a home or an apartment dwelling rather than continue to pay rent. I feel that when a low income family can acquire some equity in the property in which it lives, it will be more inclined to improve and protect that property, rather than let it fall into disrepair and neglect.

Q. How does the housing provision work, Senator?

A: Well, the bill would provide for a plan whereby the Federal Government would subsidize a portion of the interest on the mortgage. The owner of the mortgage would pay up to twenty percent of his income on that mortgage, and the Federal Government then would subsidize the difference between the twenty percent and the actual payments on the mortgage.

Q: How does the flood protection provision operate in the Housing Bill?

A: Well, this would provide for a national program under which flood insurance would be made available to residents in flood-prone areas. Heretofore, they have not been able to secure insurance because of its high rates, and, in many instances, because of its non-availability. This would make it available to them, and I think that in West Virginia it will be very beneficial to many of the people who have lived in the flood-ravaged areas and who have not heretofore been able to get such protection.

Q: Senator Byrd, you recently introduced new Food Stamp legislation in the Senate. Would you explain what your bill would do?

A: My bill would eliminate the present ceiling on the amount which Congress can appropriate to run the program. In Fiscal Year 1969, the ceiling will be $225,000,000. This ceiling would be eliminated, and, also, the program would be extended through Fiscal Year 1972. The Act presently expires at the end of Fiscal Year 1969. Now the present Act extended the program and expanded it. And, it was my bill, which passed the Congress last year, permitting the expansion of the Act. And under the Act now, which is much better than the old surplus commodity distribution program, all 55 counties in West Virginia are participating. 122,000 people are receiving the benefits of the program, and the total value of the Food Stamps distributed last year was something like $18,000,000. This has been very beneficial, not only to the recipients themselves, but also to the merchants in the various communities. I feel that if the Congress accepts the Act which I have introduced just recently, this will be a great step forward in the elimination of malnutrition and hunger, not only in my State and other States of Appalachia, but also throughout the country.

Interviewer: Thank you, Senator Byrd.

CONCERN FOR PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THE UKRAINE

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, the news in recent months from the Eastern European nations has been filled with suggestions that freedom is not a forgotten concept in the hearts of the men and women who live there. Dr. Anthony Zukowsky of Steele, N. Dak., a man who has expressed to me considerable concern for the people who are living in the Ukraine, has called to my attention two newspaper articles. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Minot (N. Dak.) Daily News, Feb. 20, 1968]

Fifty Years of Atrocities Fuel Ferment Inside Ukraine

(By Sid Goldberg)

New York.—Kremlin repression in the Ukraine has a 50-year history.

This great nation, with a population of 46 million, stretches in a sweep of forest and open steppe from the Carpathian Mountains in the west to the Caucasus in the east, and from the Pripet Marsh and the Don River in the north to the sunny Black Sea shores. With its fertile black soil, its immense wealth of mineral resources and its strategic position on the Black Sea, a bridge between Europe and Asia, both the Russian czars and commissionars have always regarded Ukraine as an absolutely essential cog in their political and economic machine.

When the November 1917 Revolution broke out, the Ukrainians saw their chance to end two centuries of Russian control. On January 22, 1918, in defiance of Moscow, they proclaimed an independent Ukrainian republic. Thus began a half-century of bitter struggle between Russians and Ukrainians, and the atrocities committed are well remembered by Ukrainian patriots today. They are cited frequently by Ukrainian defendants whose appeals recently have been smuggled to the West.

Moscow declared war, and sent the Red Army into Ukraine. After three years' bloody fighting, most of Ukraine was forcibly incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Paragraph 17 of the USSR's constitution states that any republic in it may freely secede. But, as KGB (secret police) interrogators told the imprisoned Ukrainian lawyer Ivan Kandyba, author of one of the smuggled letters, "As educated people, don't pretend to be naive simpletons. That paragraph of the constitution was published not for practical use, but for the outside world."

During the 1920s, as a necessary concession to Ukrainian national pride, Moscow allowed the country a wide measure of cultural freedom. Lenin proclaimed that every Communist nation should be left free to follow its own path in political and cultural development—his famous "national self-determination" policy.

Ukrainian writers were free to publish books in their own language, a liberty they had not enjoyed under the czars. They were also free to develop and modernize the language itself (which is as distinct from Russian as Spanish is from Portuguese).

Ukrainian thinkers made great progress in historical research, science, archaeology, linguistics—a period now known to Slavic experts as the "Ukrainian Renaissance." They discovered the treasures of Western culture, from which Moscow had cut their country off for two centuries. Heady with excitement, the intellectuals' leader, fiery prose-writer Mykola Khvilovi, cried out, "Away from Moscow!" a phrase that became a rallying-cry.

But when Stalin succeeded the ailing Lenin, he threw the "self-determination policy" overboard. By 1929, all phases of Soviet life, from industrial planning to poetry, was rigidly controlled from the Kremlin. All republics were to abandon their native culture and orient their art, literature, language—even their very thoughts toward Russian culture and speech.

But the Ukrainian intellectuals put up grim opposition to this new policy. Result: a gigantic purge that began in 1930 and lasted several years. Some 300 writers alone, including the fearless Khvilovi, died before firing squads or in concentration camps, or committed suicide.

The purge ripped like an earthquake through all levels of Ukrainian society, burying agricultural experts, researchers, film stars—even the staffs at the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, and the Chamber of Weights and Measures. The Ukrainian Communist Party (whose views would today be considered as liberal as Tito's) was totally destroyed, from its leader, Mykola Skrypnyk, down through the rank and file. Its vanished members were replaced by Russian functionaries.

The darkest hour came in 1933–34, brought on by the peasants' dogged resistance to collective farming. Stalin's first agricultural Five-Year Plan was of crucial importance to the USSR's immediate future, because foodstuffs from the fertile Ukrainian steppe were needed to feed the entire Soviet Union.

Stalin was so infuriated by the peasants' sabotaging of his plans (they destroyed livestock, held back large amounts of grain) that, in 1933, he ordered the Ukraine's entire harvest seized. He made it a crime against the state for any Ukrainian to hold back a single potato or handful of wheat.

Thus the calculated horror of a man-made famine hit the rural areas. Guards shot women who tried to break into storage bins or trains bursting with wheat. Whole villages died, with corpses littering their streets. Cannibalism was rife even in major cities, with black-marketing in human flesh.

By the following year, of the country's 30 million population, an estimated 7 million people (nearly one-fourth) had died. It was one of the biggest—and least publicized—mass crimes in modern history.

During World War II, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, the Ukrainians still had enough spirit left to stage another revolt. In Western Ukraine, the most politically restive part of the country, 50,000 crack partisan fighters threw themselves against the larger, better-equipped Red Army. But the Russians, advancing as they pressed Hitler's retreat, rolled over them. For five years after the war ended in Europe, pockets of these guerrillas still held on in remote areas. It wasn't until 1950 that they were wiped out.

Stalin then launched a second purge, as reprisal for the revolt. Captured partisans, their relatives, whole villages who had supported them, were executed. Thousands more were deported to camps. The country presented a scene of desolate ruin, its cities in rubble, industry destroyed, the countryside depopulated.

The total Ukrainian population loss from 1917 through 1950, due to famine, war and purges, stands at a staggering 15 million dead. Yet, according to noted American Sovietologist Yaroslav Bilinsky, "Paradoxically, Ukrainian nationalism was stronger in 1945 than it had been in 1917–18."

Stalin came to harbor such a special hatred for Ukrainians that, according to Khrushchev, he would have deported all 40 million of them if he had only known how and where he could send them.

It is the black memory of 25 years of Stalin's rule that haunts the men who wrote the smuggled documents. One of them, Mykhaylo Horyn, during his secret trial held by the Lviv regional court on April 16, 1966, had the temerity to tell his judges, "The remains of the spirit of Stalinism still exist in our social and political life. It is necessary to displace this spirit and to engage the general masses of the workers into an active political life. Only when each person feels a high degree of duty can one guarantee that what happened in the '30s will not be repeated.

"State prosecutor, can you find any period in history when the despotism of one man could eliminate the will of millions to creative work? Peter the Great could not do this, Stalin did not do it, even Hitler could not do this. Does one need to remind you of these generally known truths, state prosecutor?"

But the state prosecutor did not listen. Horyn was sentenced to six years in prison.

[From the Minot (N. Dak.) Daily News, Feb. 19, 1968]

Smuggled Letters Document Ukrainian Fight for Freedom

(Note.—Rarely does news of Soviet crimes outside of Moscow or Leningrad reach the West. Russia takes special pains to conceal the ferment in its satellite republics. Following is the first of six articles that document suppression of freedom and justice in the largest non-Russian Soviet Republic, the Ukraine.)

(By Sid Goldberg)

New York.—Event: The secret trial of a noted Soviet journalist.

Time: November 15, 1967.

Scene: A grim, bare, improvised courtroom in a KGB (secret police) prison "isolator."

Protagonists: The defendant, KGB men, the judge, and a squad of bayonet-bearing soldiers.

The defendant protests his innocence, and cites the law to prove the trial is illegal.

The judge sentences him to three years in a prison camp.

It's a familiar story by now, repeated with numbing frequency throughout Soviet history in dreary, make-shift courts.

What's different about this one, however, is that it is fully documented, and rips the curtain from the ferment taking place in the Ukraine, the largest non-Russian republic in the Soviet Union.

This trial was in Kiev, capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkSSR). The journalist was 30-year-old Vyacheslav Chornovil, arrested for protesting the arrests of other Ukrainian intellectuals.

Though the Chornovil trial and others like it have received scant and belated attention in the Western press, experts rank them in importance with the highly publicized Sinyavsky-Daniel trial in Moscow.

Their significance lies in the flood of light they shed on Soviet abuse of its own laws, and on the Ukrainians' persisting struggle to maintain their national identity.

The Ukrainian trials are documented by letters smuggled to the West, all of them desperate appeals by condemned Ukrainian intellectuals, including a remarkable 71-page document written by Chornovil himself before his arrest.

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, director of Columbia University's Research Institute on Communist Affairs, calls these documents "remarkable" and "of monumental importance."

One of the encouraging developments in the recent trials is that Soviet intellectuals—not only in Russia and the Ukraine, but in many other Soviet republics—are talking back to the prosecutors and to the judges. Soviet youth is no longer cowed, as it was under the Stalin terror.

Ironically, the greatest defense for the defendants on trial turns out to be the Soviet Constitution itself, which resounds with lofty ideals but is seldom enforced. Ukrainian intellectuals, for example, have frequently cited the Soviet Constitution's Paragraph 126, which guarantees freedom of the press, the right to hold public demonstrations, and the right to organize. The intellectuals insist that these laws be obeyed by the Soviet law-enforcers; the KGB officials insist equally strongly that they won't be intimidated in their police work by "legalists."

The new ferment does not exist in a vacuum. There has been great unrest in the Soviet Union since the lid was taken off when Stalin died. In 1953 and 1954 several large slave labor camps, among them the notorious Vorkuta, rose up in abortive rebellions. In 1956 there was widespread rioting in Georgia, birthplace of Stalin. In 1962, rises in the food prices triggered riots in Moscow itself, while in Novocherkassk on the Don River, KGB troops battled rioters for several days, killing hundreds. On June 10 last year at Chimkent, an industrial center in Soviet Asia, riots were sparked when police beat to death a taxi driver. The disorders ended only when tanks and armored cars opened fire against the mobs.

In the Ukraine, rioting flared in 1963 and 1964, fanned by crop failures and intolerable labor conditions in industry. Since the Ukraine is the agricultural and industrial heart of the Soviet Union, the Kremlin felt a special urgency in crushing the rebelliousness there.

In the forefront of the Ukrainian ferment are the intellectuals, who seek not only individual freedom but also a more authentic nationhood for their people. They cite laws guaranteeing not only freedom of speech and press, but also laws purported to safeguard the Ukrainian language and culture. Despite this, there has been for years a relentless Russification of the Ukraine.

Since 1965, the KGB has arrested several hundred of these Ukrainian intellectuals. The sentences have ranged from three years in prison to death by firing squad. There have been at least two executions.

Journalist Chornovil became embroiled in the KGB's struggle with restive intellectuals in 1966, when, as correspondent for the Kiev Radio and TV Station, he was admitted to trials of young Ukrainian intellectuals in Kiev and Lviv (called Lvov by Russians). What he saw there shocked him deeply. "The lawlessness and arbitrariness that are permitted today as a kind of experiment," he wrote in his letter, "may tomorrow become a terrible and all-pervading epidemic."

On April 16, 1966, he found himself personally involved. The Lviv authorities called him to testify as a witness in the secret trial of four people. Chornovil refused to appear, on the ground that secret trials were a violation of Soviet Ukraine's legal code, which specifies that all trials must be public.

Consequently, on April 19, Judge Rudyk and prosecutor Antonko of the Lviv regional court filed charges against Chornovil, accusing him, under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, of "disseminating anti-Soviet propaganda with the purpose of weakening the Soviet regime." In his letter, Chornovil wrote, "The court did not have any evidence of such propaganda and agitation. This was their revenge for my refusal to testify." (This was the same accusation made against Sinyavsky and Daniel in Moscow.)

Chornovil, who had taken a master's examination in Marxism-Leninism and knew his law, appealed. On May 17 the Ukrainian SSR's Supreme Court overruled the charges against him as groundless. But the all-powerful KGB, which is a law unto itself, kept working diligently to catch Chornovil.

On May 22, Chornovil boldly wrote the 71-page letter to the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Petro Shelest. The letter, flashing with sarcasm and with the human drama of the trials Chornovil had witnessed, arrayed powerful arguments against KGB procedures. It appealed to Shelest to protect all the arrested intellectuals.

Shelest ignored it, and allowed the KGB to move in. Not long after, Chornovil was arrested. Last November after months in prison (during which the KGB conducted its investigation of the case), he was brought to trial and sentenced. As he had written in his letter, "Again and again it will be necessary to throw behind bars those who stubbornly refuse to call white that which is black."

Clandestine copies of his letter were made and circulated broadly in Ukraine, at great personal risk for those who did it. It finally penetrated the Iron Curtain and came into Western hands.

FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN ACHESON CRITICAL OF RHODESIA FOES

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an article, which appeared in the May 25, 1968, edition of the Evening Star titled "Acheson Raps Rhodesia Foes."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

ACHESON RAPS RHODESIA FOES

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson says invocation of international sanctions aimed at Rhodesia's bid for independence from Britain amount to "barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle."

"It will surprise some of our fellow citizens, though hardly anyone here today to be told that the United States is engaged in an international conspiracy, instigated by Britain, and blessed by the United Nations, to overthrow the government of a country that has done us no harm and threatens no one," Acheson told an international law group here yesterday.

"The charge that Britain brings against Rhodesians is one that George III once brought against Americans and sought unsuccessfully to enforce by arms," he said.

TALKS TO BAR GROUP

Acheson spoke at a luncheon of the international and comparative law section of the American Bar Association.

His criticism was directed at a United Nations call for economic sanctions against Rhodesia after that country's white minority government asserted its independence from Britain in November 1965.

Acheson's comments brought a sharp reply from Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

"As we say in United Nations circles, the former secretary of state is a distinguished gentleman, but what he says is sheer nonsense," Goldberg told a National Press Club luncheon.

DECRIES MEDDLING

Acheson said that Rhodesia's approach to government, in which whites have the controlling voice, may not be "everyone's cup of tea." But, he said, "neither was it anyone's business; nor was it apartheid."

"It was a matter relating solely to the international affairs of Rhodesia—in which the United Nations was forbidden by its charter to meddle."

ADDITIONAL POLICE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, 1 week ago today, I addressed the Senate on the subject of crime in the District of Columbia. I said then that the best deterrent to crime is the policeman on the street. I strongly recommended that the authorized strength of the Metropolitan Police Department be increased.

Yesterday, the President of the United States took positive action in this direction. He announced that the District of Columbia soon will submit proposed legislation to add 1,000 policemen to the force.

This is excellent news. The President and other officials responsible for government in the District of Columbia have recognized the validity of the argument I voiced last week.

This city needs more policemen. Now steps are being taken to provide them.

The legislation to increase the authorized strength of the Metropolitan Police Department will have my strongest support. It is my hope that it also will have the backing of every other Member of Congress.

On the same general subject, it also is worthwhile to note a report made public yesterday by a select committee of legal experts who studied the matter of civil disorder in the District of Columbia.

The committee—known as the Committee for the Administration of Justice Under Emergency Conditions—specifically studied the April disorders in Washington.

One of the committee's key conclusions is that the early commitment of military personnel to any future civil disorder is a prime key to control in emergency situations.

I have stated several times that Federal troops should have been called to duty earlier than they were during the April disorders in Washington. I have urged that in future situations of this type, military troops should be called to duty immediately, or at least placed on such status that they could be brought quickly to duty on the streets.

It is indeed heartening to note that the prestigious committee which has studied the April disorders here has endorsed that position.

Mr. President, the Washington Post this morning contains an editorial entitled "One Thousand More Police" which addresses itself to the subject I have discussed. The Daily News today contains a similar editorial. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 28, 1968]

ONE THOUSAND MORE POLICE

The Administration's move to increase the District's police force by 1,000 men is the best news this community has heard for some time. It is a positive and direct effort to cope with the growing lawlessness that concerns everyone. The jump from an authorized strength of 3,100 policemen to 4,100 is drastic, but not too drastic to meet the rising demand for restoration of law and order in the Nation's Capital.

Fortunately, the move comes on the heels of the pay increase for policemen. At least it should be possible to recruit the men needed to police the city. Recruiting efforts among men about to be released from military duty have been remarkably successful, and it should now be possible further to expand the rank by this and other methods. We hope that recruiting will be intensified within the city also. The number of Negroes on the force should be greatly increased if that is possible.

The cost of this expansion of the force—estimated at $10 million—is high, but there appears to be no reasonable alternative. Because of the Federal Government's great interest in curbing crime in Washington, this sum could reasonably be obtained through an adjustment of the formula which determines the annual Federal payment to the District. In any event, the sum will have to be found. Neither the national nor the local government can tolerate mounting crime rates here, and the most direct means of coping with the problem is to put more policemen on the streets for the purpose of deterring crime and of catching suspects when offenses have been committed.

We are well aware of the fact that more policemen will do little to remove the cause of crime. The city needs to do much more than it has done to relieve its frustrated and hopeless citizens of the incentive to lawlessness. But a city that is plagued by robberies, muggings, housebreakings, assaults, rapes and murders on a large scale cannot wait for the ameliorating effects of long-range social changes. It must move also to cope with its current problems and to let all individuals and groups know that lawlessness will not be tolerated.

As soon as this excellent start in the sphere of police protection has been approved, we hope that the President and Mayor Washington will move forward with the rehabilitation of the city's judicial machinery and corrections institutions, which are equally in need of major improvements.

[From the Washington Daily News, Tuesday, May 28, 1968]

LET'S GET ON WITH IT

Shortly before noon on Nov. 3, 1967, President Johnson issued the District City Council a mandate to rid Washington of crime on the streets.

Looking directly at the newly sworn Council, he said:

"If you need twice as many policemen and need to pay them twice as much money and need twice as many motorcycles . . . I say it's time to start working . . ."

That was then. The crime President Johnson was talking about was Washington's "normal" crime which had reached disturbing proportions over the years.

Since then, the Federal City has been battered by the riots of early April, and the continuing arson, wanton murders and attempted extortions of merchants that followed in their wake.

Now, six months after the ceremony in the White House, President Johnson has announced that a move will be made to increase the D.C. police force by 1000 men, from 3100 to 4100 men. This will cost some $10 million, and it will require high pressure recruiting, because the way things are here not many men relish the idea of patrolling our streets.

However, it must be done, no matter what the cost in money and effort. It is to be hoped that the new wage scales for policemen, signed into law yesterday, will lure men to the force.

Added policemen will not remove the causes of crime, but they will help to nullify its effects upon the law-abiding citizen. And that, certainly, is what those law-abiding citizens have had a right to expect long before this. Let's get on with it!

REPRESENTATIVE ROSENTHAL, A FRIEND OF THE CONSUMER

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, a recent issue of the Washington Post contains a forceful and convincing letter written by Representative BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, of New York, defending the decision of the Department of Transportation to publish data on the safety performance of automobiles by make and model.

Of course, any Government agency undertaking to publish information which can have a significant, competitive impact on an industry must take extreme precautions to insure that the information is objective, relevant, and meaningful in the form in which it is presented, and that factors which affect the significance of the data are also fully disclosed. For example, while certain cars generally manifest a high rate of accident involvement, the National Highway Bureau has also taken pains to stress that the type of individual attracted to this type of car is very likely to be accident prone.

Representative ROSENTHAL has consistently led the fight to illuminate product information of concern and interest to consumers. The work of his Special Consumer Inquiry Subcommittee has been a major force in the vitalization of the consumer cause.

Again, I commend him for his efforts on behalf of the Nation's consumers and ask unanimous consent that his letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Washington Post, May 23, 1968]

AUTO SAFETY DATA

I must take exception to your editorial, "Meddling or Protection," and its suggestion that the American motorist should not have Government safety data on autos. Last fall I urged Secretary of Transportation Boyd to publish this data. My tenure in the House of Representatives has taught me that in the vast majority of cases, Government intervention in the field of consumer protection takes place when a vacuum has been created by the apathy or inaction of private industry. Such is the case with auto safety.

Contrary to your belief, the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 does authorize release to the consumer of performance and technical data. The Safety Act emphasizes not only the need for greater motor vehicle safety through the promulgation of Federal standards, but also the need for a more meaningful competition between automobile manufacturers regarding safety features. Such competition is impossible, however, if the consumer is without meaningful safety information at the time of vehicle purchase—a situation which is all too prevalent at this time.

Private organizations such as Consumers Union have shown the value of providing the American consumer with performance data about sophisticated products in a complex marketplace. But even CU could not easily match the data already compiled by the Government at the taxpayer's expense. It is, of course, true that those who rate products "make mistakes" but the alternative to occasional mistakes—an almost total absense of meaningful safety information—is far less desirable.

Today's auto buyer should thank the Highway Safey Bureau for demonstrating the kind of creative initiative that is all too lacking in other consumer protection agencies of government.

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL,
Member of Congress.

WASHINGTON.

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE DISINTEGRATES

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, this morning's Washington Post contains a full-page advertisement sponsored by the AFL–CIO Maritime Committee.

The advertisement dramatically calls public attention to our Nation's seriously deteriorating status as a maritime power.

It is incredible to me that the world's No. 1 power, the United States, is continuing to allow its merchant fleet to shrink in size while other nations are striving to strengthen their merchant fleets.

I believe the message contained in this advertisement is important and deserves the closest attention of Senators. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SOVIETS ARE BURYING US AT SEA

In 20 years, the United States merchant marine has sunk from the world's greatest to sixth place—and we are sinking faster today than ever before. At the same time, the Soviet Union is building its merchant fleet—passenger ships, freighters, tankers and fishing vessels—faster than any other country. Right now, the Soviet Union with its own ships is able to supply all its far-flung fronts—including North Vietnam and Cuba—for Communist military and economic penetration. It is continuing to build at a rate that will give the Soviet Union the world's most powerful merchant marine within a few short years—unless our country wakes up.

Three years ago, the President of the United States said that he would recommend to the nation a positive maritime policy to stem the disastrous decline of our merchant marine. Not until last week did the Administration deliver any policy recommendations to Congress. And instead of a positive program, the White House has proposed that the United States abandon its historic role as a maritime nation.

In essence, the proposals which Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd outlined to Congress would have the United States abandon any responsibility for maintaining an American-flag merchant marine beyond bare defense requirements.

What will this mean to you?

Does your work involve imported raw materials or parts? Is some of the product you help produce sold abroad? If so, you have a particularly vital stake in the American merchant marine. Under the Administration proposals, what we can send abroad or receive from overseas will depend on the ships foreign companies see fit to put in our trade and we will have to pay the freight rates they choose to charge. For want of ships of our own, our ability to compete in world trade can be crippled.

Do you intend to do any traveling by ship? Without American-flag ships you will have no choice but to take your chances with the inferior safety requirements of foreign-flag ships. No other ships in the world maintain the strict safety standards required on U.S. flag ships.

Do you pay taxes? Under the Administration proposals, skills of most of the men who sail and build our ships will go down the drain. Hundreds of thousands of jobs will be lost forever; public welfare roles will increase.

Do you believe America must be able, regardless of cost, to fulfill its responsibilities as leader of the free world? Under the Administration proposal our strength and our posture as a world leader will be gravely impaired. In time of emergency, even our armed forces overseas would have to depend for supplies on the ships we can beg, borrow or buy from foreign governments.

The cost of maintaining an adequate merchant marine under our own flag is relatively modest. The cost of failure to do so is more than our nation can afford. Without a strong merchant marine under our own flag manned by skilled loyal American seamen our country can be crippled economically, the value of the dollar jeopardized, our industries isolated from their markets and their sources of supply—and in an emergency we can be made helpless.

Should American ships be left to disappear from the oceans? We think not.

Should our own government help make the Communist leaders' threat to bury us on the high seas come true? We think not.

We believe that our country can well afford the cost of the limited government assistance necessary to keep the American flag flying on our ships. Every other maritime nation provides such assistance to their ships. We believe that for our country to do otherwise is not only false economy but a cold clear threat to our country's interests. Many Congressional leaders agree. Do you?

Write to us at: AFL–CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. We will see that your sentiments are brought to the attention of the White House and Congress.

National Maritime Union of America, AFL–CIO, 36 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011, Joseph Curran, President.

National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, AFL–CIO, 17 Battery Place, New York, N.Y. 10004, Jesse M. Calhoon, President.

American Radio Association, AFL–CIO, 270 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016, William R. Steinberg, President.

International Longshoremen's Association, AFL–CIO, 17 Battery Place, New York, N.Y. 10004, Thomas W. Gleason, President.

International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots, AFL–CIO, 39 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10006, Captain Lloyd W. Sheldon, President.

United Steelworkers of America, AFL–CIO, Great Lakes Seamen, Local 5000, 1219 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio 44114, Carroll T. Armstrong, President.

Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, 1126 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, John J. Grogan, President.

AMERICAN PHARMACY IN THE 1970'S

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the older citizens of this country are fortunate in having an articulate friend in the distinguished Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya].

None of us can forget the battle which Senator Montoya fought on the Senate floor last year when he sought to extend medicare to include the cost of prescription drugs. He narrowly lost the battle, not because the bill lacked merit—for it was a sound proposition—but because of an unprecedented lobbying effort on the part of the multi-billion dollar drug industry and inflated cost estimates supplied the opposition.

He lost that battle, but he will, I am sure, in the end, win the war. He has reintroduced a modified version of his proposal as S. 2936. The new bill now has the support of 38 Senators as cosponsors—and I might say, I am proud to be numbered among these—as well as the active support of virtually every organization in this country which has the interests of the elderly at heart. Organizations having more than 14,000,000 members have pledged their active support to Senator Montoya's bill. Only those segments of the drug industry, fearful of a reasonable commonsense challenge to their often ridiculously high and totally unreasonable profit margins have remained adamant in opposition.

Among the groups supporting Senator Montoya's efforts is the professional organization of pharmacy, the responsible and reputable American Pharmaceutical Association—APhA—with a membership of almost 50,000. Recently, at their 115th annual meeting in Miami, the APhA once again reaffirmed its support of Senator Montoya's efforts—in spite of extensive opposition from some pharmaceutical manufacturers.

Senator Montoya delivered a statement to the APhA annual meeting which not only reviews the provisions of his drug legislation, but also forecasts the direction American pharmacy will take in the 1970's. This is an excellent address, one revealing the great concern which Senator Montoya has not only for the elderly of this country, but also for the health professionals—pharmacists and physicians—who administer to their needs.

I commend this thoughtful address to Senators and ask unanimous consent that it and a press release issued by the APhA summarizing the Senator's address be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address and news release were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

AMERICAN PHARMACY IN THE 1970'S A PERSPECTIVE FOR THE FUTURE

(Address by U.S. Senator Joseph M. Montoya, of New Mexico, delivered to the 115th annual meeting of the American Pharmaceutical Association and related organizations, May 8, 1968, Miami Beach, Fla.)

Mr. Grider, distinguished officers, members and guests of the American Pharmaceutical Association, ladies and gentlemen—it is a privilege and an honor to have this opportunity to meet personally with each of you at this, the 115th annual meeting of your Association.

Since entering public life some thirty-two years ago, I have witnessed many important revolutions in American social thinking and public policy. None of these revolutions, however, has been quite as dramatic—nor perhaps as important—as the changes in the attitudes of Americans toward their health care system. Public policy has reflected these changes in attitudes. A review of Congressional legislation over the past few years alone reveals just how significant the changes in national attitudes toward health matters have been. Today, nearly every American has the means with which to purchase high quality medical and health care. New public and private health programs are eroding the barriers of class and color, new delivery systems are being developed to bring health services to areas where none existed, and the day seems close when we can declare that the access to quality health care is truly a matter of right, rather than of privilege.

The real substance to the American revolution in health lies with the fact that the American consumer is playing an ever-increasing role in the decision-making process with respect to the health services he purchases and receives. Recently enacted and pending health legislation in the Congress, in State legislatures, and in local councils reflects the desire of Americans to have a voice in planning the quality, quantity, cost, and organization of their health services.

In the last thirty years, we have also witnessed a "pharmaceutical" revolution. Powerful and valuable new drug agents have vastly improved the ability of medical practitioners to treat and make manageable the scourges of human illness, disease, and accidents. The rapid growth in pharmacology, as you all know, has brought about new laws and procedures to assure that the public interest and safety are preserved. We now have statutes and the administrative machinery necessary to evaluate drug products under safety and quality criteria before such products are placed in the hands of physicians and, ultimately, in the hands of patients themselves. This quest for quality and safety is a never-ending search. And, as I'm sure Dr. Goddard will note in his remarks, while considerable progress is being made to guarantee drug safety and effectiveness, we have by no means completed the task.

Many hope for the day when every drug product in the marketplace is known to be 100% safe and 100% effective. Obviously, however, such a goal can never be achieved, for there will always be risks associated with the use of powerful and effective pharmacological agents.

Yet we can, and indeed we must, seek to reduce insofar as possible—the risk factors characteristic of many drugs in a program of rational drug therapy based upon a sound and positive benefit-to-risk approach. This goal can only be achieved when practitioners are fully apprised of the full effects of specific drug experience and when practitioners make better use of the skills and knowledge of trained American pharmacists.

In your hands, then, is placed much of the responsibility for reaching this goal. Certainly no one is more qualified than you are to carry on this work. The American pharmacist receives more education in pharmacology and toxicology than any other health professional, including the physician who has overall responsibility for the patient's wellbeing. It is my sincerest hope that our medical practitioners will begin to more fully utilize the experience of our community pharmacists as much as hospital physicians now rely upon pharmacists who are members of hospital pharmacy and therapeutics committees. Without an increased professional dialogue, prospects for improving rational drug therapy in a rapidly-changing world of medical innovation may never be achieved.

The American Pharmaceutical Association has long urged that efforts be made to fully utilize the skills and training of pharmacists in the overall health care system. Pharmacists in hospitals, for example, can play an essential role in assuring that drug experience among hospital inpatients is fully known to the hospital medical staff, to local pharmaceutical associations, and to voluntary and public health or drug agencies.

Community pharmacists stand ready to assist private practitioners with information, counsel, and technical assistance in evaluating drug products, particularly newly marketed products. Obviously, however, there is considerably more room for closer professional relationships between physicians and pharmacists and opportunities for better use of the ancillary services which pharmacists in every setting can provide.

The American Pharmaceutical Association must continue to play a central role in helping to bring about the enactment of legislation which will better protect the American public. Support of proposals to provide physicians with more comprehensive and more rational information about the capabilities and limitations of various drug therapies, individual products, and other data will do much to further the public health and safety.

I can assure you that the Members and Committees of the Congress as representatives of our country have considered and will continue to consider the advice and counsel of the Association in formulating any and all kinds of drug legislation. The Congress has been fortunate in having the benefit of the views and technical assistance provided by Dr. William Apple, your Executive Director, and his very competent staff. These representatives of the American Pharmaceutical Association are articulate and dedicated spokesmen, not only to the problems confronting American pharmacy, but also to the issues inherent in a review of drug practices and their impact upon the health of the American people.

While we have done much to guarantee that quality drug products are made available to the American public and to its physicians, we also must work now toward another objective, that of assuring access to a variety of quality products and services in a competitive setting. For many, the impact of the costs of vitally-needed prescription medicines is very great; this is particularly true among those with limited incomes, such as the elderly and the poor. With the enactment of national programs which help underwrite the costs of medical and health care, we can be assured of continuing public attention to the pricing of drugs in the United States.

First, last, and always, the American people want assurances that what they are buying is of the finest quality available. And, the American people have always been and are now prepared to pay for quality, particularly for items which bear directly upon their well-being. But the American people expect, and the Congress has the obligation to assure—insofar as tax-supported programs are concerned—that quality drugs like quality health care, be provided in the most economical manner possible.

The marketing and pricing forces which establish the cost of prescription drugs are largely outside the control of the consumer—the person who must ultimately bear the cost. The health professions, pharmacists and physicians alike, the pharmaceutical industry, and the wholesale and community drug distribution system in the United States have a special obligation to the American people to guarantee that competitive arrangements are maintained.

Yet, preliminary studies in the areas of drug economics, including efforts by various Congressional committees, reveal that there are pricing and marketing inequalities and practices which are not in the best interests of the individual consumer, the independent pharmacist or even the public at large insofar as tax-supported programs are concerned. I know that your Association has long been concerned about some of the effects which captive marketing practices have had upon your professional responsibilities. Your endorsement of the professional fee concept, for example, which would place the economics of the profession on an independent and rational basis, offers a responsible solution to part of the problems of pricing inequality.

Other problems need prompt and rational solution. Certainly, there can be no justification for discriminating, differential pricing practices among various community pharmacies. Certainly, the non-profit status of hospitals and other related institutions should not be exploited to place such institutions into competition with traditional pharmaceutical outlets. Perhaps the long-range solution to these and many other problems will come only with a complete shift in attitude toward the proper role of drug products. By this, I mean we must move toward the view that drugs are essential elements in the rendering of professional pharmaceutical services, and not merely articles of trade. Such a viewpoint already exists in the practitioner's office and is rapidly developing in the drug programs of hospitals throughout the United States.

Professional pharmacists, who often serve as secretaries to hospital P&T committees, work closely with the medical staff to develop an orderly, rational, and efficient system for the provision of drugs to hospital inpatients. By working together to evaluate drug requirements, eliminating irrational products duplication, physicians and pharmacists provide high quality at the least possible cost. Drugs are viewed as items incident to the provision of professional health services. This attitude can and should be expanded beyond the hospitals into the community at large.

With rising costs in health and medical care, public expenditures for prescription medicines—for both inpatients and outpatients—will continue to receive close scrutiny. The recently passed Social Security Amendments of 1967, for example, have directed that methods and procedures be devised to assure that payments for drugs, provided in Title XIX programs, or medicaid, are not in excess of reasonable charges consistent with efficiency, economy, and quality of care. More recently—in March—the President called for the enactment of legislation to protect the American consumer from paying—in the words of the President, "needlessly high and exorbitant prices for prescription drugs used in Federally-supported programs." As I suggested a few minutes ago, unless the private sector will show the same vitality in solving drug pricing problems it has shown in discovering new products and marketing them, public and governmental pressures will grow to find alternatives to the existing arrangements.

Medicare, as all of you know, does not provide protection against the costs of outpatient prescription medicines—it is a critical gap in an otherwise comprehensive program of health insurance coverage among the Nation's nearly 19 million people. Few seem to disagree about the need to provide some form of protection against outpatient prescripiton drug costs. The question is one of how to best achieve such protection.

Legislation which I sponsored last year, but which was just narrowly defeated, and legislation which I have again reintroduced, represents a reasoned and modest beginning toward protecting the elderly from catastrophic drug expenses. I would like to just briefly touch upon the significant points contained in the proposal which now has the endorsement of 38 Members of the Senate.

First, I repeat that the program I have proposed is a modest program designed to protect against catastrophic prescription drug costs. Since the aged and the Government share in the costs of my program, we must assure that the funds are used wisely and only to assist those who really need protection. Many older persons can budget drug expenses and require no assistance. Consistent with the principle of an insurance program, my bill insures against the expenses of high risk individuals.

Second, the proposal insures against the risk of overwhelming drug expense by paying benefits to patients themselves. In this way, community pharmacists are in no way affected in their pricing or marketing practices. The relationships which exist between pharmacies and their patrons are thereby not interferred with.

Finally, the legislation fully endorses freedom of choice for a patient in selecting his pharmacist and guarantees that physician judgment is in no way compromised by the fact that patients may be reimbursed in whole or in part by the medicare program. I have long seen the contribution which independent pharmacists within the community can make. For this reason, the legislation I have introduced does not authorize payments to physicians for prescribed medicines as part of physicians' services—a responsibility properly assigned to the independent community pharmacies. Any proposal to help our older citizens meet the costs of outpatient medicines should, therefore, strengthen rather than limit the role of local pharmacy.

But the legislation which I am sponsoring also takes into account the need for guarantees that Federal tax dollars and the premiums paid by older people are used in the most economical manner possible. The proposal also reflects the belief that reimbursement for drug expenses should be based upon rational, professional decisions about the kind and quality of drugs the aged require. In other words, the proposal expands upon the experience of formularies in hospitals and in some public programs in order to look intelligently at price and cost considerations. It is at this point that critics of the proposal have tried to confuse the merits of the legislation with various polemic smokescreens.

The amount of benefits to which patients would be entitled would be determined by a National Formulary Committee. The first concern of this committee, which would have professional and technical pharmaceutical assistance, would be to identify those drugs, required by the aged, for which reimbursement would be made. The same professional evaluation of drug products, about which I spoke earlier, would be made by this Committee. Such a dialogue invariably leads to issues of rational drug therapy and drug quality. These are professional decisions and can be made only by physicians and pharmacists. Having established a formulary for which the program will provide payments, the Committee would identify the most competitive product on the market. The price of this product would then become the extent of the program's liability to which would be added an amount representing the value of professional pharmaceutical services and the other costs required for dispensing a prescription.

One of the principal criticisms raised against the proposed legislation is that it would require generic prescribing or interfere with the physician's right to select any product he so chooses for his patient. This contention is utterly false. Physicians would continue to prescribe in any manner they see fit and would continue to judge first the requirements of his patient's health and safety. As you all know, the presence or absence of a trade name is no guarantee of quality by itself. My proposal seeks to pay for quality products, but for quality which is the most competitive.

Since payments for covered drugs are to beneficiaries, pharmacists are not placed in the position of vendors, compelled to accept this or that price. Substitution of Federal prices for prices which already make captive too many transactions in pharmacies or place the professional services of the pharmacist in dollars and cents framework is no answer either. The pharmacist dispensing a prescription charges his usual and customary fee to the patient just as he now does. And while the beneficiary receives part of his payment for pharmacy services, the use or non-use of the professional fee system remains the decision of the individual pharmacist himself. Pharmacy must evaluate the desirability of freeing itself and its compensation for professional services from the costs of the products dispensed.

The substance of the proposal I and others are sponsoring is to consider costs and drug economics after scientific judgment is exercised. Where evidence and experience indicates that lower-cost products perform as well as higher-cost products, the program would not be committed to paying more than is necessary. Since the inclusion or exclusion of this or that product, under this or that name, is irrelevant to the income or pricing position of manufacturers or pharmacists—these practices are not part of the program—only the beneficiary may wonder why large price differentials exist between what he is charged and what the program will pay him. Certainly this concern will provide an incentive for closer consultation between physicians and pharmacists as to the availability and usefulness of alternate products in subsequent prescribing practice. Certainly, no professional can dispute the desirability of such increased communication.

One of America's leading pharmaceutical houses, in a publication and in advertisements distributed Nation-wide—including one in your own Journal—outlined what it sees as necessary principles which must be adopted for a sound program of third-party payment, including medicare.

First, maintain the physician's right to prescribe the product of his choice.

The Montoya bill heartily endorses this principle, and says in the opening language of the proposal, "nothing (in this Act) shall be construed in anywise to limit or restrict the complete freedom of choice of any insured individual in the selection of his physician, limit or restrict any physician treating such individual in prescribing drugs for such individual's use."

Second, insure the patient's right to select the pharmacy of his choice.

The Montoya bill begins with the statement that, "It is the policy of the Congress that individuals insured . . . shall have complete freedom of choice in the selection of the community pharmacy from which they purchase drugs, the expenses of which are covered under such program . . ."

Third, eliminate the threat of government pharmacy facilities replacing local pharmacies.

Certainly, recognition of the role of community pharmacies cannot be compromised. This is why my proposal insists upon underwriting the costs of prescription drugs for the aged under existing and private arrangements, rather than to call for government pharmacies.

Fourth, adopt beneficiary identification measures that avoid confusion about eligibility.

Since my proposal is to expand the benefits of the Supplementary Medical Insurance portion of the medicare program, beneficiary identification is already an accomplished fact. Moreover, entitlement to benefits under my proposal does not involve any determination on the part of the physician or the pharmacist.

Fifth, the industry spokesmen in this statement of principles, recommends the use of a "co-pay" program which would result in benefit payments from the first dollar of prescription expense.

This recommendation I cannot endorse. The initial deductible provision in my proposal allocates a higher proportion of the program's income to high-risk individuals, the persons who actually need assistance in meeting their drug expenses. Instead of insuring against any risk occurrence for drug expenses among the aged, the $25 deductible provision in my bill prevents the use of program funds for small and obviously manageable expenses. This initial deductible permits us to provide more comprehensive protection for those with catastrophic drug expenses. The initial deductible also avoids the heavy administration costs of processing small bills, the charges of which in the aggregate are not greater than the amount of the drug deductible.

The sixth recommendation calls for the use of the most efficient and practical method of processing drug claims.

As many of you know, much of the benefits involved in a prescription drug insurance program can be lost in very expensive administrative procedures. The bill I have proposed provides the widest possible latitude to the administrators of such a program to insure that benefits are provided in the most efficient and economical manner.

Other industry recommendations include the adoption of procedures to guarantee the rapid processing of claims, the establishment of effective utilization controls to guard against program abuse, and the recommendations to ground the entire program on sound financial principles. I can assure you that the supporters of the bill are working to incorporate each of these recommendations.

Your Association is on record as supporting this proposal. But this endorsement is not only a program to help the elderly meet the costs of prescription medicines. It is also an endorsement of a rational therapy from which can follow, without emotion, legitimate considerations for the economics of providing drugs to the American people. Although my bill uses the concepts of "professional fee" and relies upon physician-pharmacist cooperation in establishing a formulary, the legislation does not make either of these approaches a compulsory feature of the program. It is my fervent belief that men of pharmacy and medicine will work to bring about these changes in a voluntary manner—for the benefit of all.

Ladies and gentlemen, the support you have given, individually and as an Association, to this and other legislation is not only a tribute to your goals as an Association, but marks out for the 1970's the challenges and responsibilities for the future. Your perspective is indeed far-reaching. I wish you continued success. Thank you.

[An American Pharmaceutical Association news release, May 8, 1968]

MONTOYA URGES EXPANDED PROFESSIONAL ROLE FOR PHARMACISTS

MIAMI BEACH, FLA., May 8.—Senator Joseph Montoya (D-N. Mex) today urged the Nation's pharmacists to seek an expanding role in providing the American public with quality drug products in the most economical manner possible.

Speaking before the 115th Annual Meeting of the American Pharmaceutical Association, in Miami Beach, Florida, the Senator noted that "the American pharmacist receives more education in pharmacology and toxicology than any other health professional, including the physician who has overall responsibility for the patient's well-being." Senator Montoya called upon members of both health professions to seek "an increased professional dialogue" in order to "more fully utilize the skills and training of pharmacists in the overall health care system."

Noting that while much is being done to improve the quality of drug products purchased by Americans, the Senator pointed to another objective—that of assuring access to a variety of quality products in a competitive setting. "First, last, and always," the Senator said, "the American people want assurances that what they are buying is of the finest quality available." But, he added, "the American people expect, and the Congress has the obligation to assure—particularly insofar as tax-supported programs are concerned—that quality drugs, like quality health care, be proved in the most economical manner possible."

Noting the increased public concern about rising costs in health and medical care, Senator Montoya predicted that "public health expenditures for prescription medicines—for both inpatients and outpatients—will continue to receive close scrutiny." The New Mexico Democrat suggested that "by working together to evaluate drug requirements, eliminating irrational product duplication, physicians and pharmacists provide high quality at the least possible cost." "Obviously, however," the Senator went on to say, "there is considerably more room for closer professional relationships between physicians and pharmacists."

Turning to the legislation he has introduced to help the elderly meet their drug costs under medicare, Senator Montoya underlined the philosophy behind his proposal. He stated that his bill reflects the belief that reimbursement for drug expenses should be based upon rational, professional decisions about the kinds and quality of drugs the aged require. Where evidence and experience indicates that lower-cost products perform as well as higher-cost products, the program would not be committed to paying more than is necessary. The Senator also pointed out that an increased dialogue between physicians and pharmacists invariably leads to issues of rational drug therapy and drug quality. In his view these are professional issues and can only be discussed by physicians and pharmacists. In summary, he said, "the substance of the proposal I and others are sponsoring is to consider costs and drug economics after scientific judgment is exercised."

Montoya told his audience that his drug legislation in no way interferes with the practice of medicine or the pharmaceutical pricing practices in community pharmacies. He also noted that "recognition of the role of community pharmacies cannot be compromised. This is why my proposal insists upon underwriting the costs of prescription drugs for the aged under existing and private arrangements, rather than to call for government pharmacies."

Montoya concluded by calling for continued endorsement of instituting principles or rational drug therapy in a rapidly-changing world of medical innovation.

FREE TRADE BENEFITS THE NATION

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, the welfare of many millions of workers and farmers, and the profitability of thousands of business firms are directly involved in this country's foreign trade policy. In fact, the vitality of the American economy as a whole is directly linked to our trade policy. We should, therefore, move cautiously before tampering with the fundamentals of a policy which has brought unparalled prosperity to our people for more than three decades.

Proposals which would seriously damage that policy have been introduced in the Congress in alarming numbers. President Johnson has now submitted his foreign trade policy bill. This action gives us a clear choice; a retreat to outmoded protectionism or a continuation of the progressive policy which has made a major contribution to our prosperity for more than 30 years.

For me, the choice is clear. I support the concept of liberalized trade and continued prosperity as reflected in President Johnson's foreign trade policy proposals.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1121, H.R. 16913.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 16913) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that beginning at 9:30 a.m. tomorrow under the usual regulations, there be a time limitation of 1 hour on each amendment, the time to be equally divided between the cosponsor of the amendment and the manager of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No time limitation on the bill?

Mr. MANSFIELD. No time limitation on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement, subsequently reduced to writing, is as follows:

Ordered, That, effective on Wednesday, May 29, during the further consideration of H.R. 16913, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, debate on all amendments be limited to one hour to be equally divided and controlled by the proponent of the amendment and the manager of the bill [Mr. HOLLAND], or someone designated by him.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, we now have under consideration H.R. 16913, the Department of Agriculture and related agencies appropriation bill for fiscal year 1969. The amount of the bill, as reported to the Senate from the committee, contains a total of new budget—obligational—authority of $5,536,050,300, a reduction of $1,615,555,400 under the amounts carried in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for 1968. The bill, as reported by the committee, is $1,387,929,500 under the budget estimates with a net increase of new budget—obligational—authority over the House bill by $12,414,800. The bill, as reported, includes a number of increases and decreases and the committee report No. 1138 describes in detail the recommendations made by the committee in the appropriations for the several agencies and program activities of the Department of Agriculture. I will deal briefly with only a few of the more significant appropriation items, with the understanding that I am perfectly willing to be questioned about any item that I do not deal with directly.

In the atmosphere of economy which prevails as a result of the general fiscal situation, the committee has recommended concurrence with the other body on most of the major reductions that it made in the budget estimates for new budget—obligational—authority, and authorization to spend agency debt receipts.

In summary, these reductions under the budget estimates total $1,503,536,500 in recommendations for the Farmers Home Administration and the Commodity Credit Corporation.

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION

The committee concurred in the House action to deny the budget estimate of $425,000,000 for participation sales authorization. The Department did not request restoration of this item.

Mr. President, at this stage I want to say that in a manner unusual to the Department and to the Bureau of the Budget, many of the cuts made by the other body were not requested to be restored. In most instances our committee did not feel its judgment was better in that regard than the judgment of the Department and the Bureau of the Budget, regarding those reductions.

COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

The committee has concurred in reductions made by the House version of the bill in the estimates for appropriations for the Commodity Credit Corporation totaling $1,078,536,500.

In spite of these reductions in new obligational budget authority the Commodity Credit Corporation will have adequate borrowing authority to carry out all of its authorized program activities during fiscal 1969, and still provide an estimated margin of $1.250 billion of borrowing authority at the end of fiscal 1969.

REIMBURSEMENT APPROPRIATION FOR THE COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

As shown in detail in the committee report—on page 35—the budget estimate of $3,648,506,000 requested only a partial restoration of the 1967 fiscal loss of $3,813.6 million for the Commodity Credit Corporation to be applied against the unreimbursed balance of $1,585 million from fiscal 1966 and a part of the loss for 1967 fiscal year.

I would like to say that the budget recommended did not request any restoration of the balance of the deficit for 1961, which was $1.057 billion for revaluation of inventory in that fiscal year.

The committee did not receive any request to restore the House reduction in the estimate of $460,393,500 and has recommended that the Senate concur in the House action, thereby providing a total restoration of $3,188,112,500, of which $350,467,000 is liquidation of contract authorization. The unrestored loss for 1967 and the balance from 1961 total $3,267.6 million.

The committee has received good cooperation from the Department in its repeated efforts to bring the reimbursement appropriation to a current basis as intended by Public Law 87-155, approved August 17, 1961. The committee hearings show clearly that the Bureau of the Budget is at fault in this matter—by its failure to transmit to the Congress the estimated amounts necessary to be appropriated as intended by law. This continued failure year after year to request the restoration of the full amount of the deficit may, if continued in the 1970 budget, result in the need for a deficiency or supplemental appropriation again during fiscal 1970 unless corrective action is taken when the budget estimate for 1970 is transmitted to the Congress.

I would like to explain for the RECORD that this committee has not changed its views at all on this subject. The committee has consistently held that the law requires, and good bookkeeping and good business procedure require that the deficit be reimbursed in its entirety each year. We have never been able to get the cooperation of the Bureau of the Budget in this regard nor have we been able to get the cooperation of the other body.

We are now getting pretty close to the time when the Bureau of the Budget will have to arrive at the moment of truth because it has so heavily impaired the borrowing capacity of the Commodity Credit Corporation. If it continues to impair the borrowing capacity with the same practices it has followed without interruption up to now and has continued into this budget, there will be a need in 1970 for a large restoration going much beyond any of the Bureau of the Budget's previous recommendations.

I am able again to say, however, that there is sufficient remaining borrowing capacity of the Commodity Credit Corporation to carry on the business of the Corporation during fiscal 1969, and we think to leave a balance at the end of fiscal 1969 of $1.250 billion of unused borrowing authority.

PUBLIC LAW 480—TITLES I AND II

The third principal reduction—and we have used this double term each time this year because of the change in the nature of the budget submitted and be-

cause of the fact we are complying with the new plans of the administration in reference to the budget—for new budget obligational authority deals with the expenses under Public Law 480, as amended. The bill provides $300 million, a reduction of $618,143,000 under the estimate, and $1,305.5 million under the 1968 Appropriation Act.

The Department requested only partial restoration of the House reductions—$50 million restoration for title I for sales, and $250 million for title II for donations abroad. The printed record shows on page 1698 that $200 million of the restoration requested for title II is contingent upon Senate ratification of the International Grains Agreement, not yet reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations. In other words, we want to make very clear that in the reduction of that $200 million we are simply awaiting action of the committee and subsequent action by the Senate upon the proposed new International Grains Agreement.

The committee recommendations do not affect the program level under Public Law 480 since the borrowing authorization of the Commodity Credit Corporation may be used for costs incurred in fiscal 1969, subject to subsequent reimbursement by future appropriations.

It is expected, however, that in the coming year major emphasis will be placed upon increasing export sales for dollars and for long-term credit sales since the other program activities authorized by Public Law 480—while meritorious—contribute to our very critical foreign trade imbalance.

GENERAL ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT

As I stated earlier the recommendations made by the committee for fiscal 1969 were formulated in the prevailing atmosphere of budgetary economy. Thus, most recommendations made by the committee maintain new—obligational—authority for 1969 at the 1968 appropriation level, plus pay costs. Several increased amounts simply reinstate the 1968 appropriations prior to deferrals under Public Law 90–218.

That was the resolution passed by the Congress in December, accomplishing cuts both in appropriations and in expenditures for fiscal year 1968. There are some exceptions to this procedure, principally in the programs administered by the Consumer and Marketing Service.

Last year the Congress authorized the Wholesome Meat Act calling for a broadening of the meat inspection program and the bill carries an increase of $21 million over 1967 for the first-year cost of the enlarged program.

The Food Stamp Act was extended last year and provided with a $225 million annual authorization. The bill recommends the full $225 million, an increase of $40 million over the 1968 level.

PAYMENTS TO STATE LAND GRANT INSTITUTIONS

Last year, under Public Law 90–218, the Department deferred the increases over 1967, provided in the 1968 Appropriation Act for payments to States for cooperative research and payments to States for cooperative extension work.

The committee has recommended an appropriation of $54,965,000 for payments to States under the Hatch Act, an increase of $3,852,000 over the House bill and the amount of the budget estimate, thereby restoring the 1968 level. The additional funds provided are to be directed toward pay adjustments for research workers in those States where comparability with Federal pay has not been achieved.

PAYMENTS FOR COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE

For payments to the States for cooperative extension work, pursuant to the regular distribution formula under the Smith-Lever Act, a total of $81,917,500 is recommended. This is an increase of $3,385,000 over the House bill, the amount in the budget estimate, and a restoration of funds deferred in fiscal 1968. Here again, the committee report directs that the increased funds be directed to meet pay comparability adjustments for county extension workers in those States where such increases are required to meet this objective.

The committee has only partially restored the reductions made by the House in the budget estimate for the research program conducted by the Agricultural Research Service proposing a net increase over the House of $5,978,100, but leaving the appropriation $4,322,500 under the estimate. The committee recommendations include funds requested for the staffing and equipping of important research laboratories which have been constructed in recent years.

Digressing from my prepared statement, the committee reluctantly agreed last year to defer some of the staffing of new, and much-needed facilities. We thought that it would be unwise policy to continue longer the failure to staff the new and needed facilities. Our bill provides for their staffing.

It is believed that it is essential that the research programs for these important facilities should be advanced by making these restorations—since the research work has already been deferred by 1 year as a result of the action taken last year pursuant to Public Law 90–218.

Mr. President, I offer for the Record a table which shows the increases and decreases proposed in the budget for "Research" of the Agricultural Research Service taken from page 1105 of the printed hearing record.

As stated, the Senate committee has recommended the partial restoration of research for the staffing of new laboratories deferred in 1968 and for other research projects deferred in 1968. Prior to the subcommittee markup the Department of Agriculture supplied the committee with three tables called special table No. 1, special table No. 2 and special table No. 3. In the committee report No. 1138 these tables and the specific amounts provided were not printed, but for the information of the Senate and for others who are interested in the amounts actually restored, I request that these three tables be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SUMMARY OF INCREASES AND DECREASES

Research	1968 obligations	Increase or decrease		1969 estimate
		Pay costs	Other	
Decrease to eliminate funds obligated in 1968 for activities discontinued in 1968 pursuant to Public Law 90–218	$1,265,500		−$1,265,500	
Increase of $7,377,900 in obligations to provide for research activities authorized in the 1968 appropriation act but deferred pursuant to Public Law 90–218:				
For staffing, equipping, and operating new research facilities and to meet other program needs			+2,986,700	$2,986,700
For research conducted by Agricultural Research Service			+522,400	522,400
For research conducted under research contracts, grants, and cooperative agreements			+3,368,800	3,368,800
To restore contingency research fund	[1] 500,000		+500,000	1,000,000
For additional farm, utilization, nutrition, and marketing research in existing facilities	$1,996,600	+$20,200	+$1,212,200	$3,229,000
Staffing, equipping, and operating new research laboratories	22,919,500	+241,500	+1,837,400	24,998,400
Subtotal, program changes	26,681,600	+261,700	+9,162,000	36,105,300
Construction and improvements			+290,000	290,000
Planning fund for facilities			+710,000	710,000
Nonrecurring items provided in 1968	4,350,000		−4,350,000	
Subtotal, facilities	4,350,000		−3,350,000	1,000,000
All other	113,069,500	+1,098,300		114,167,800
Subtotal	144,101,100	+1,360,000	+5,812,000	151,273,000
Balance of 1968 reduction under Public Law 90-218 lapsing	2,668,000		−2,686,000	
Total, research	146,769,100	+1,360,000	+3,144,000	151,273,100

[1] Includes $385,000 of nonrecurring funds for planning new research facilities as provided in the 1968 appropriation act, of this amount $240,000 was deferred until 1969 pursuant to Public Law 90-218.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH SERVICE

SUMMARY TABLE ON RESEARCH

Item	1968 Appropriation Act[1]	1968 reduction in research program (excluding deferrals in construction)	1968 increased pay costs	1968 obligations	Budget estimate, increase or decrease (6)		Amounts, 1969 budget estimate	House bill, 1969	House bill compared with—		Senate committee recommendations
					Pay costs	Other			1968 Appropriation Act	1969 budget estimate	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(a)	(b)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Research items:											
(1) Decrease to eliminate funds obligated in 1968 for activities discontinued in 1968 pursuant to Public Law 90-218 (see pp. 1110-1112 of the Senate hearings for details)	$5,067,600	−$3,810,500	+$8,400	$1,265,500		−$1,265,500			−$5,067,600		
Increase of $7,377,900 in obligations to provide for research activities authorized in the 1968 Appropriation Act but deferred pursuant to Public Law 90-218:											
(2) For staffing, equipping, and operating new research facilities and to meet other program needs (see special table No. 1 for details—also see p. 1113 of the Senate hearings)	2,955,100	−2,955,100				+2,986,700	$2,986,700	$1,094,300	−1,860,800	−$1,892,400	
(3) For research conducted by Agricultural Research Service (see special table No. 2 for details—also see p. 1160 of the Senate hearings)	518,600	−518,600				+522,400	522,400	32,600	−486,000	−489,800	
(4) For research conducted under research contracts, grants and cooperative agreements (see p. 1121 of the Senate hearings for details)	3,368,800	−3,368,800				+3,368,800	3,368,800		−3,368,800	−3,368,800	
(5) To restore the full $1,000,000 contingency research fund to meet unforeseen and immediate research needs	1,000,000	−500,000		500,000		+500,000	1,000,000	500,000	−500,000	−500,000	
Subtotal (2 to 5, above)	7,842,500	−7,342,500		500,000		+7,377,900	7,877,900	1,626,900	−6,215,600	−6,251,000	
(6) For additional farm, utilization, nutrition, and marketing research in existing facilities (see special table No. 3 for details)	1,947,100		+49,500	1,996,600	+$20,200	+1,212,200	3,229,000	2,016,800	+69,700	−1,212,200	
(7) Staffing, equipping, and operating new research laboratories (see special table No. 1 for details)	22,369,300		+550,200	22,919,500	+241,500	+1,837,400	24,998,400	23,161,000	+791,700	−1,837,400	
(8) **Subtotal, research program changes**	37,226,500	−11,153,000	+608,100	26,681,600	+261,700	+9,162,000	36,105,300	26,804,700	−10,421,800	−9,300,600	
(9) Research facilities:											
Construction and improvements						+290,000	290,000			−290,000	
Planning funds for facilities						+710,000	710,000			−710,000	
Nonrecurring items provided in 1968	4,350,000	([2])		4,350,000		−4,350,000			−4,350,000		
(10) Subtotal, research facilities	4,350,000			4,350,000		−3,350,000	1,000,000		−4,350,000	−1,000,000	
(11) All other research	110,469,600	−62,730	+2,662,630	113,069,500	+1,098,300		114,167,800	114,167,800	+3,698,200		
Subtotal (research and construction)	152,046,100	−11,215,730	+3,270,730	144,101,100	+1,360,000	+5,812,000	151,273,100	140,972,500	−11,073,600	−10,300,600	
(12) Balance of 1968 reduction under Public Law 90-218 not used for pay or program costs		2,668,000		2,668,000		−2,668,000					
Total, research (including transfers)	152,046,100	−8,547,730	+3,270,730	146,769,100	+1,360,000	+3,144,000	151,273,100	140,972,500	−11,063,600	−10,300,600	

[1] Adjusted to include $275,000 transferred from Commodity Credit Corporation for cotton research and excludes $4,400 transferred to General Services Administration for space rental.

[2] Approximately $3,680,000 of construction was deferred to fiscal year 1969.

SPECIAL TABLE NO. 1.—STAFFING, EQUIPPING, AND OPERATING LABORATORIES

[Code: A—New research authorized in the 1968 appropriation act but deferred in 1968 pursuant to Public Law 90-218; B—Staffing, equipping, and operating costs to carry out high-priority research programs in new laboratories recently authorized by Congress]

[Note.—The distribution of the amount in the House bill was made by the Department]

Item	Appropriation, 1968	Reduction, 1968	Increased pay costs, 1968	Obligations, 1968	Budget estimate, 1969 compared with obligations, 1968 (6)		Budget estimate, 1969	House bill	House bill compared with—		Senate committee recommendation	Senate committee recommendation compared with—	
					Pay costs	Other			1968 Appropriation Act	1969 budget estimate		1969 budget estimate	House bill
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(a)	(b)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
A. For work in new facilities:													
1. Utilization research and development:													
(1)													
California, Albany:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	$283,000	$283,000				+$283,000	$283,000	$196,600	$86,400	−$86,400	$283,000		+$86,400
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	6,640,600		$163,600	$6,804,200	+$67,700	+331,000	7,202,900	6,871,900	+231,300	−331,000	7,202,900		+331,000
(2)													
California, Pasadena:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	75,000	75,000				+75,000	75,000	75,000			75,000		
(3)													
Georgia, Athens:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	50,000	50,000				+50,000	50,000		−50,000	−50,000	50,000		+50,000
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	175,800		3,200	179,000	+2,300	+506,000	687,300	181,300	+5,500	−506,000	687,300		+506,000
(4)													
Illinois, Peoria:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	296,000	296,000			+3,000	+296,000	299,000	299,000	+3,000		299,000		
(5)													
Louisiana, New Orleans:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	253,500	253,500				+253,500	253,500		−253,500	−253,500	253,500		+253,500
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	6,844,200		187,700	7,031,900	+90,400	+88,000	7,210,300	7,122,300	+278,100	−88,000	7,210,300		+88,000
(6)													
Pennsylvania, Wyndmoor:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	98,500	98,500			+2,300	+98,500	100,800	100,800	+2,300		100,800		
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	5,524,200		139,700	5,663,900	+58,000	+33,100	5,755,000	5,721,900	+197,700	−33,100	5,755,000		+33,100
2. Other:													
(7)													
Arizona, Phoenix—Research on western cotton insects and cotton physiology:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	40,000	40,000			+800	+40,000	40,800		−40,000	−40,800	40,800		+40,800
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	57,100		500	57,600	+300	+71,400	129,300	57,900	+800	−71,400	129,300		+71,400
(8)													
Arizona, Tucson—Nutrition, physiology, and behavior of bees:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	10,000	10,000				+10,000	10,000	10,000			10,000		
(9)													
Colorado, Fort Collins—Sugar beet quality:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	35,000	35,000			+1,100	+35,000	36,100		−35,100	−36,100	36,100		+36,100
(10)													
Delaware, Georgetown—Poultry production research:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	50,000	50,000			+300	+50,000	50,300		−50,000	−50,300	50,300		+50,300
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate						+34,700	34,700			−34,700	34,700		+34,700
(11)													
Florida, Gainesville—Insect attractants and research on stored products insects:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	240,000	240,000			+3,400	+240,000	243,000		+240,000	−243,400	243,400		+243,400
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	183,000			183,000	+400	+125,000	308,400	183,400	+400	−125,000	308,400		+125,000
(12)													
Georgia, Byron—Tree fruit and nut crop research:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	55,000	55,000				+55,000	55,000		−55,000	−55,000	55,000		+55,000
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	580,900		10,800	591,700	+4,500	+56,000	652,200	596,200	+15,300	−56,000	652,200		+56,000
(13)													
Georga, Dawson—Storage, quality maintenance, and marketing of peanuts:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	50,000	50,000				+50,000	50,000		−50,000	−50,000	50,000		+50,000
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	309,500		5,200	314,700	+1,900	+85,400	402,000	316,600	+7,100	−85,400	402,000		+85,400
(14)													
Georgia, Experiment—Varietal resistance to insects:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	40,300	40,300			+400	+40,300	40,700	40,700	+400		40,700		
(15)													
Georgia, Savannah—Research on insect control in agricultural products:													
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	462,800		10,300	473,100	+3,800	+105,400	582,300	476,900	+14,100	−105,400	582,300		+105,400

(16)													
Minnesota, St. Paul—Cereal rust research:													
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	154,400		3,600	158,000	+1,400	+42,600	202,000	159,400	+5,000	−42,600	202,000		+42,600
(17)													
Mississippi, Oxford—Sedimentation research:													
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	648,800		16,200	665,000	+6,600	+65,000	737,200	671,600	+22,800	−65,600	737,200		+65,600
(18)													
Mississippi, Stoneville—Weeds in cotton:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	20,000	20,000			+900	+20,000	20,900		−20,000	−20,900	20,900		+20,900
(19)													
Nebraska, Clay Center—Meat animal research:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	51,800	51,800				+51,800	51,800	51,800			51,800		
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	595,800		4,700	600,500	+2,400	+101,300	704,200	602,900	+7,100	−101,300	704,200		+101,300
(20)													
North Dakota, Grand Forks—Nutrition and consumer use research:													
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate						86,500	86,500			−86,500	86,500		+86,500
(21)													
Oklahoma, Durant—Water pollution research:													
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	45,000		800	45,800	+300	+30,400	76,500	46,100	+1,100	−30,400	76,500		+30,400
(22)													
Texas, College Station—Toxicological and pathological effects of pesticides on livestock:													
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	147,200		3,900	151,100	+1,500	+75,000	227,600	152,600	+5,400	−75,000	227,600		+75,000
(23)													
Texas, Lubbock—Cotton ginning research:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	235,000	235,000			+1,100	235,000	236,100	236,100	+1,100		236,100		
Total:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	1,883,100	1,883,100			+13,300	+1,883,100	1,896,400	1,010,000	−873,100	−886,400	1,896,400		+886,400
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	22,369,300		550,200	22,919,500	+241,500	+1,837,400	24,998,400	23,161,000	+791,700	−1,837,400	24,998,400		+1,837,400
Total for work in new facilities	24,252,400	1,883,100	550,200	22,919,500	+254,800	+3,720,500	26,894,800	24,171,000	−81,400	−2,723,800	26,894,800		+2,723,800
B. For work in existing facilities:													
(24)													
Arizona, Tuscon—Research to reduce cost of producing cotton (for bee research at this location see item (8) above):													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	15,000	15,000			+300	+15,000	15,300		−15,000	−15,300	15,300		+15,300
(25)													
California, Pasadena—Hormone physiology studies of citrus fruits in connection with problems of mechanical harvesting (for utilization research at this location see item (2) above):													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	80,000	80,000			+2,400	+80,000	82,400		−80,000	−82,400	82,400		+82,400
(26)													
California, Shafter—Research to reduce cost of producing cotton:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	93,000	93,000			+1,700	+93,000	94,700		−93,000	−94,700	94,700		+94,700
(27)													
Idaho, Dubois—Sheep production research:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	75,000	75,000				+75,000	75,000		−75,000	−75,000	75,000		+75,000
(28)													
Idaho, Twin Falls—Research on sugar beet root maggot:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	41,000	41,000			+700	+41,000	41,700	41,700	+700		41,700		
(29)													
Illinois, Urbana—Production research on soybean:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	40,000	40,000			+500	+40,000	40,500		−40,000	−40,500	40,500		+40,500
(30)													
Iowa, Ames—Research to improve protein content of cereal and other grains:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	14,000	14,000			+200	+14,000	14,200	14,200	+200		14,200		
(31)													
Maryland, Beltsville:													
Dairy herd improvement:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	50,000	50,000				+50,000	50,000		−50,000	−50,000	50,000		+50,000
Research to improve protein content of cereals and other grains:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	7,000	7,000			+200	+7,000	7,200		−7,000	−7,200	7,200		+7,200
Research to improve ornamental crops (in addition, a budget request of $621,600 for this activity is included in item (8) of special table No. 3):													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	56,000	56,000			+1,100	+56,000	57,100		−56,000	−57,100	57,100		+57,100

SPECIAL TABLE NO. 1.—STAFFING, EQUIPPING, AND OPERATING LABORATORIES—Continued

[Code: A—New research authorized in the 1968 appropriation act but deferred in 1968 pursuant to Public Law 90-218; B—Staffing, equipping, and operating costs to carry out high-priority research programs in new laboratories recently authorized by Congress]

[Note.—The distribution of the amount in the House bill was made by the Department]

Item	Appropriation, 1968	Reduction, 1968	Increased pay costs, 1968	Obligations, 1968	Budget estimate, 1969 compared with obligations, 1968 (6)		Budget estimate, 1969	House bill	House bill compared with—		Senate committee recommendation	Senate committee recommendation compared with—	
					Pay costs	Other			1968 Appropriation Act	1969 budget estimate		1969 budget estimate	House bill
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(a)	(b)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
B. For work in existing facilities—Continued													
(32) Minnesota, St. Paul—Sugar beet quality research (for research on cereal rust at this location see item (16) above):													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	$10,000	$10,000			+$400	+$10,000	$10,400		−$10,000	−$10,400	$10,400		+$10,400
(33) Mississippi State College:													
Research to reduce costs of producing cotton:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	50,000	50,000			+500	+50,000	50,500		−50,000	−50,500	50,500		+50,500
Boll weevil investigations:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	100,000	100,000			+2,700	+100,000	102,700		−100,000	−102,700	102,700		+102,700
(34) Mississippi, Stoneville—Production research on soybean (for research on weeds in cotton at this location see item (18) above):													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	40,000	40,000			+700	+40,000	40,700		−40,000	−40,700	40,700		+40,700
(35) Nebraska, Lincoln—Research to improve protein content of cereal and other grains:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	28,000	28,000			+400	+28,000	28,400	$14,200	−13,800	−14,200	28,400		+14,200
(36) Texas, Beaumont—Research to improve protein content of cereal and other grains:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	14,000	14,000			+200	+14,000	14,200	14,200	+200		14,200		
(37) Texas, Brownsville—Research to reduce costs of producing cotton:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	10,000	10,000			+200	+10,000	10,200		−10,000	−10,200	10,200		+10,200
(38) Texas, College Station—Research to reduce costs of producing cotton (for research on toxicological and pathological effects of pesticides and livestock at this location see item (22) above):													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	25,000	25,000			+200	+25,000	25,200		−25,200	−25,200	25,200		+25,200
(39) Texas, Lubbock—Research to reduce costs of producing cotton (for cotton ginning research at this location see item (23) above):													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	82,000	82,000			+2,200	+82,000	84,200		−82,000	−84,200	84,200		+84,200
(40) Utah, Logan—Research on sugar beet quality:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	5,000	5,000			+200	+5,000	5,200		−5,000	−5,200	5,200		+5,200
(41) Washington, Prosser—Weeds in horticultural and specialty crops:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	50,000	50,000			+1,200	+50,000	51,200		−50,000	−51,200	51,200		+51,200
(42) Washington, Pullman—Production research on dry peas and lentils:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	60,000	60,000			+1,300	+60,000	61,300		−60,000	−61,300	61,300		+61,300
(43) Wisconsin, Madison—Oat breeding and analytical evaluation research:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	40,000	40,000			+1,000	+40,000	41,000		−40,000	−41,000	41,000		+41,000
(44) The Netherlands, Rotterdam—Research on maintenance of quality of agricultural products for export (in addition, a budget request of $346,900 for this activity is included in item (17) of special table No. 3):													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	87,000	87,000				+87,000	87,000		−87,000	−87,000	87,000		87,000
Total for work in existing facilities:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	1,072,000	1,072,000			+18,300	+1,072,000	1,090,300	84,300	−98,700	−1,006,000	1,090,300		+1,006,000
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate													
Grand total:													
A. Restoration of 1968 reduction	2,955,100	2,955,100			+31,600	+2,955,100	2,986,700	1,094,300	−1,860,800	−1,892,400	2,986,700		+1,892,400
B. Additional research requested in 1969 budget estimate	22,369,300		$550,200	$22,919,500	+241,500	+1,837,400	24,998,400	23,161,000	+791,700	−1,837,400	24,998,400		+1,837,400
	25,324,400	2,955,100	550,200	22,919,500	+273,100	+4,792,500	27,985,100	24,255,300	−1,069,100	−3,729,800	27,985,100		+3,729,800

SPECIAL TABLE NO. 2.—RESEARCH PLANNED WITH BASE FUNDS IN THE 1968 APPROPRIATION ACT BUT DEFERRED IN 1968 PURSUANT TO PUBLIC LAW 90-218

[Note.—The distribution of the amount in the House bill was made by the Department]

Item	Appropriation, 1968	Obligations, 1968	Budget estimate, 1969 [1]	House bill	House bill compared with—		Senate committee recommendation	Senate committee recommendation compared with—	
					1968 appropriation	1969 budget estimate		1969 budget estimate	House bill
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
A. For work in new facilities, Animal husbandry:									
(1) Meat animal research: Nebraska, Clay Center	$2,000		$2,000	$2,000			$2,000		
B. For work in existing facilities:									
Animal husbandry:									
(2) Sheep breeding: Idaho, Dubois	14,800		14,800		−$14,800	−$14,800	14,800		+$14,800
(3) Dairy production: Maryland, Beltsville	39,200		39,200		−39,200	−39,200	39,200		+39,200
(4) Dairy herd improvement: Maryland, Beltsville	1,900		1,900		−1,900	−1,900	1,900		+1,900
(5) Bee nutrition and management: Texas, College Station	11,200		11,200		−11,200	−11,200	11,200		+11,200
(6) General reduction	2,100		2,100		−2,100	−2,100	2,100		+2,100
Subtotal, Animal husbandry	69,200		69,200		−69,200	−69,200	69,200		+69,200
Animal disease research:									
(7) Cattle: Iowa, Ames	30,000		30,000		−30,000	−30,000	30,000		+30,000
(8) Sheep: Iowa, Ames	10,000		10,000		−10,000	−10,000	10,000		+10,000
(9) Poultry: Iowa, Ames	30,000		30,000		−30,000	−30,000	30,000		+30,000
(10) Swine: Iowa, Ames	30,000		30,000		−30,000	−30,000	30,000		+30,000
(11) General reduction	25,400		25,400		−25,400	−25,400	25,400		+25,400
Subtotal, animal disease research	125,400		125,400		−125,400	−125,400	125,400		+125,500
Crops:									
(12) Sugar beet breeding: California, Salinas	30,000	$600	30,600	30,600	+600		30,600		
(13) General reduction	22,400		22,400		−22,400	−22,400	22,400		+22,400
Subtotal, crops	52,400	600	53,000	30,600	−21,800	−22,400	53,000		+22,400
Entomology:									
(14) Insect taxonomy: District of Columbia	45,000	1,100	46,100		−45,000	−46,100	46,100		+46,100
(15) Parasite rearing program: Missouri, Columbia	75,000		75,000		−75,000	−75,000	75,000		+75,000
(16) General reduction	16,700		16,700		−16,700	−16,700	16,700		+16,700
Subtotal, entomology	136,700	1,100	137,800				137,800		+137,800
(17) Soil and water conservation: General reduction	35,000		35,000		−35,000	−35,000	35,000		+35,000
(18) Agricultural engineering:									
Environmental study of poultry diseases: Georgia, Athens	25,000	400	25,400		−25,000	−25,400	25,400		+25,400
General reduction	1,400		1,400		−1,400	−1,400	1,400		+1,400
Subtotal, Agricultural engineering	26,400	400	26,800		−26,400	−26,800	26,800		+26,800
(19) Utilization research and development: develop new and improved milk products and efficient processing techniques: District of Columbia	71,500	1,700	73,200		−71,500	−73,200	73,200		+73,200
Total	518,600	3,800	522,400	32,600	−486,000	−489,800	522,400		+489,800

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[1] Includes increased pay costs for the full year.

SPECIAL TABLE NO. 3.—ADDITIONAL FARM UTILIZATION, NUTRITION, AND MARKETING RESEARCH IN EXISTING FACILITIES

[Note.—The distribution of the amount in the House bill was made by the Department]

	1968 obligations (1)	1969 budget estimates (2)	House bill (3)	House bill compared with— 1968 obligations (4)	House bill compared with— 1969 budget estimates (5)	Senate committee recommendation (6)
(1) To initiate research on methods to improve care and handling of laboratory animals		$50,700			−$50,700	
(2) Research on bluetongue disease in cattle	[1] $321,100	425,600	[2] $325,600	+$4,500	−100,000	
(3) Research to improve protein content in corn, wheat, and rice	60,800	[3] 214,900	[2, 3] 61,200	+400	−153,700	
(4) Improving peanut quality	93,900	145,000	[2] 94,300	+400	−50,700	
(5) Control of aquatic weeds at Fort Lauderdale, Fla		50,700			−50,700	
(6) To develop better methods for determining the amounts of pesticides in soils and water	339,800	392,900	[2] 342,300	+2,500	−50,600	
(7) Research on effects of air pollutants on shade and ornamental trees		50,600			−50,600	
(8) Research on disease control in ornamental plants	574,300	[4] 621,600	[2] 581,600	+7,300	−40,000	
(9) Research to increase the production of dry peas and lentils	26,400	41,600	[2] 26,600	+200	−15,000	
(10) Research on the biological control of cotton insects	41,400	130,800	41,800	+400	−89,000	
(11) To determine the effect of agriculture on the nitrogen content of surface and ground water	32,700	83,000	[2] 33,000	+300	−50,000	
(12) Research on mechanizing the harvesting and handling of vegetables	94,400	120,000	[2] 94,700	+300	−25,300	
(13) Research on condensation, drying, and preservation of whey	80,900	184,700	[2] 81,700	+800	−103,000	
(14) Research on factors contributing to air pollution from citrus pulp driers		42,900			−42,900	
(15) To develop processing techniques to eliminate "Salmonella" from meat and meat products	72,900	146,600	[2] 73,600	+700	−73,000	
(16) Human nutrition research on the mineral and vitamin content of foods	110,500	180,500	[2] 111,500	+1,000	−69,000	
(17) Research on quality and improved transportation and handling of U.S. products to foreign markets	147,500	[5] 346,900	[2] 148,900	+1,400	−198,000	
Total	1,996,600	3,229,000	[2] 2,016,800	+20,200	−1,212,200	

[1] An additional nonrecurring amount of $40,000 was available from the contingency research fund.

[2] Increase over 1968 is to provide for Pay Act costs on a full-year basis.

[3] Excludes $42,600 provided for this activity in items 30, 31, 35, and 36 in special table No. 1.

[4] Excludes $57,100 provided for this activity in item 31 in special table No. 1.

[5] Excludes $87,000 provided for this activity in item 44 in special table No. 1.

SOIL AND WATER

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, the committee has reduced the contract authorization for the advance ACP program for calendar 1969 to $195,500,000. For many years, this program has been carried at the $220 million level, but last year, pursuant to Public Law 90-218, the $220 million authorization of a year ago was reduced to $195,500,000. It was found that the amount necessary to liquidate this authorization is $190 million, and that is the amount carried in the House bill.

The committee has proposed this reduction in the advance authorization for the ACP only because of the general fiscal situation which presently prevails, and also because it appears Agriculture accepted the reduction to the $195.5 million in good faith and we believe will continue to do so.

SMALL WATERSHED CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

The Senate has repeatedly attempted to obtain a better balance in funding between the installation of works of improvement in the small watershed program versus the planning of new projects. Last year, some progress was made in this regard and the Appropriation Act contained new obligational authority of $70,403,000. This amount included river basin surveys and investigations, and a separate appropriation item is proposed for these surveys in order to provide a clearer presentation of the funding of works of improvement. In other words, we divided the two items this year.

The budget estimate proposed reducing this item to $33,368,000 for fiscal 1969. The House bill provided $56,220,000 and the Senate committee has recommended appropriations of $57,907,000. This amount, plus estimated carryover funds of $5,691,000, will provide a total operating level for the coming year of $63,598,000. The appropriated amount recommended is $1,687,000 over the House bill, and $24,539,000 over the estimate, but is still $3,993,000 under the 1968 Appropriation Act.

Approximately one-third of the cost of watershed projects is financed by contributions from State and local jurisdictions. It seemed very unfair to the committee and, I am sure it did in the other body, that such a drastic reduction should be made in a construction program embodying such substantial amounts of cost sharing.

Mr. President, that concludes my prepared statement, but I do want to comment on one item which was not included in my statement. In the bill this year we determined, regretfully in many cases, that we could not provide money for the construction of any new research facilities, much as we would like to have done so. There were some members of the committee who would have been reached in the construction of soil and water research laboratories in due course, this year, if we had continued to follow up the priorities that had been agreed upon, in Senate Document 59, based upon feasibility reports requested in prior years.

We were all of the opinion, however, that in view of the fiscal condition of this country, the better policy was to withhold appropriations this year for planning of new facilities and construction. That we have done.

Mr. President, I now yield gladly to my highly cooperative and exceedingly able colleague, the ranking Republican on the subcommittee, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], who has been so very helpful and so very cooperative in the hearings and in the preliminary meeting before we voted the bill out of the subcommittee, and in the subcommittee and in the full committee, and who, I am sure, will recall many things that I have failed to mention. I yield now to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, before beginning my comments on the bill, I should like to pay a personal tribute to the sound, careful, and thoughtful manner in which this bill has been handled by the chairman of the Agricultural Subcommittee, the distinguished Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND]. It can be said that his mode of conducting hearings, assembling information, and completing consideration of this bill is a model by which others may judge their own conduct when they are similarly placed in a position of leadership such as that which he occupies.

I comment briefly, first, upon the concluding remarks of the chairman of the subcommittee; namely, the steadfast resistance of the subcommittee, and in turn the committee itself, to allowance of funds for construction of new projects.

They went so far as to include expansion of those facilities which have already been started. Our only hope is that inasmuch as we are among the first on this kind of bill, we will not have committed ourselves to a course of conduct which may not be followed in full measure by other appropriations processes.

However, we are taking our colleagues and our fellow committees in good faith and we will hope for the best.

The bill this year carries almost exactly the same total figure as that contained in it as it came from the House. The House bill authorized $5,524 million. The Senate bill total differs by about one-fifth of 1 percent. We authorize $12 million more, for a total of $5,536 million. Although the Senate figure is a trifle more, it is likely that the ultimate cost of our bill will be somewhat less, since the increases in this bill are in authorizations for loans—for rural electrification and for farm operating loans by the Farmers Home Administration—which will be largely repaid, whereas the reductions contained herein from the House bill are in expenditures, which represent true savings of the taxpayer's dollar.

More important, both House and Senate versions represent a sharp cutback from the budget requests of the President. This is a true economy bill, in line with the program of austerity we have insisted upon in voting the Williams-Smathers amendment to the excise tax bill a few weeks ago. The President's budget requests total new obligational authority for 1969 of $6,924 million. Your committee's bill has reduced those requests by almost exactly 20 percent in the amount of $1,388 billion.

In view of the financial situation faced by our Nation, we have pared costs wherever we could find room for economies. This is a tight bill, a carefully and economically drafted bill, and I have no hesitation in defending the figures for appropriations which are here being presented. It is my hope that the Senate will approve this work, and then that other appropriations bills which may come along will be subjected to equally stringent and severe cost cutting, as we feel we have done in this measure. The farmer should not be required to absorb the major part of the burden of economizing; we feel he is doing his full share in this bill.

Many Senators may recall that in recent years it was usually the case that the Senate agricultural appropriations bill would show an apparent large increase over the figure in the bill as it came from the House. That was not because the Senators on the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee were spendthrifts. Rather, it was chiefly due to the difference in the bookkeeping treatment of one major item—the reimbursement to the Commodity Credit Corporation of losses and other costs which impaired the capital account of the CCC. For many years it has been the consistent position of the Senate that impairments of the capital account of the Commodity Credit Corporation should be reimbursed by appropriations in the Agriculture Appropriations Act. Such appropriations do not lead to expenditures, of course. The expenditures have already been made. The only issue is whether the capital account of the Commodity Credit Corporation will be made whole again. Again and again in past years the Senator from Florida has insisted, with the full support of this Senator—and, this Senator's predecessor on that subcommittee—that such depletion of the capital structure of the Corporation should be repaired.

In so doing, we have merely been carrying out the express will of Congress, as embodied in Public Law 87-155, which provides that the funds of the CCC be restored as soon as the extent of the depletion of its capital has been determined.

Notwithstanding the clear provisions of this law and its intent to give the public the benefit of honest accounting and full disclosure of the facts, we have been faced with the problem repeatedly that the Budget Bureau and the President refrained from including in the budget a request for full reimbursement of the capital impairment of the CCC. By so doing, they have been able to make the budget look better by coming out with a smaller total figure for appropriations, but at the cost of honest accounting and a full disclosure of the facts.

Last year, when the President in January of 1967 sent forward his budget for the fiscal year 1968, it was known that the Commodity Credit Corporation had sustained losses during fiscal 1966 of $2,985,000,000. Nevertheless, the President's budget request at that time did not request reimbursement of that figure as clearly intended by Public Law 87-155. Instead, at that time the Budget Bureau and the President asked for only $1,400,000,000 to repair the depleted capital structure of the CCC. The House allowed only that figure—$1,400,000,000, in accordance with the budget request. The Senate in its bill voted the full amount required to reimburse the CCC for its 1966 losses—$2,985,000,000. Thus, the total of our appropriations bill last year looked larger than the House bill, even though the difference in this item was really only a different method of keeping books on expenditures which had already been made. In the conference, however, in order to reach agreement with the House, we were forced to yield, and the 1968 agriculture appropriations bill as finally enacted contained the lower figure—$1,400,000,000.

That was last year.

This year, during our consideration of 1969 appropriations for the Agriculture Department and related agencies, the same problem arose, of course. Again, the Budget Bureau and the President have failed to comply with the law requiring reimbursement of the impairment of the capital structure of the Commodity Credit Corporation. The Corporation's losses for 1967 were $3,813 million, but, in addition, there are now unreimbursed losses for 1966 and going back as far as 1961. This year the Budget Bureau failed to request reimbursement even of the full losses for 1967, to say nothing of the unreimbursed losses of previous years. The House did not even allow the full figure requested by the Budget Bureau.

Reluctantly, your committee has decided to go along with the House figure, which is $3,188,000,000. We have adopted this course because there seems to be no alternative. We found it impossible last year to persuade the House to adhere to the provisions of law providing for full reimbursement of the impairment of the Corporation's capital structure, and it seems futile to retread the same ground we trod so unsuccessfully last year. For that reason, reluctantly we have put in this bill the same figure approved by the House.

It should be said that this course, in my judgment, is a dangerous one. What we are doing is tampering with the capital resources of the Commodity Credit Corporation. We are eating into the Corporation's capital structure, and spending off the funds which should back up the guarantees we have given to the farmer of price supports and of payments. We are spending off those funds without replenishing them, even though there is law on the books which provides that the Corporation's capital structure should be reimbursed each year for losses incurred in carrying out authorized programs.

In this bill, as passed by the House and as reported by your committee, we are refusing to restore most of the loss for 1967, and, of course, there are still unreimbursed losses going back as far as fiscal 1961. Altogether, the unreimbursed losses of the Commodity Credit Corporation, including an estimated loss of $3,465,300,000 for fiscal 1968, will total $6,732.9 million.

By the end of the coming fiscal year, the borrowing authority of the Corporation will be down to $1,247,000,000, a dangerously low level. This figure assumes just a "normal" rate of expenditures, with no unusual demands being made in the form of farm program costs or Public Law 480 shipments.

In short, the moment of truth approaches—the point in time when the Department of Agriculture can no longer carry on operating programs by eating into the Government's investment in the capital structure of the Corporation. As stated above, it is a dangerous policy being pursued. We in the Senate committee have reluctantly agreed to go along with the House determination in this matter, but only because we tried in the past to secure a change in this policy, and were unable to secure the concurrence of either the House or the Budget Bureau.

One other particular feature of this bill deserves special mention, because it represents a positive gain over the bad practices of previous years. I refer to our refusal to approve the request for permission to continue the sale of participation sales certificates, based on loans held by the Farmers Home Administration.

This is a point on which my respected and revered subcommittee chairman differs somewhat. Nevertheless, I want to say that in the matter of participation sales certificates based on loans held by the Farmers Home Administration, we have a change in policy this year which I think represents a betterment in our Government.

The President in his budget asked for authority to sell $425 million of such certificates based on Farmers Home Administration assets. The House rejected the request in toto. We have agreed with the House position in full.

Mr. **HOLLAND.** Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?

Mr. **HRUSKA.** I yield.

Mr. **HOLLAND.** Were we not also influenced by the fact that the Department and Bureau of the Budget did not ask for a restoration of that amount?

Mr. **HRUSKA.** Yes, indeed; and, of course, the House was motivated by the very expensive method of financing represented by these participation sales certificates. The chairman is correct. After that action was taken, there was no request for restoration of it. It would have been a vain exercise, and we preferred not to go through all the strictures that would be necessary for this purpose.

Last year the agricultural appropriation bill, as it came to us from the House, incorporated authority for the sale of $800 million in participation certificates on the basis of Farmers Home Administration assets. At that time it was my position that the practice should be reduced sharply and phased out as soon as possible. At that time, last year, I proposed that the authority be reduced from $800 to $600 million. The distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, reasonable and considerate as he always is, compromised with me on a figure of $700 million in such certificates for the fiscal 1968 bill. The bill was reported in that form by the committee and approved by the Senate.

This year it is gratifying to be able to note that the authority for such certificates has been stricken from this bill entirely. I count that as a positive gain for good government.

This request to the Appropriations Committees to sell participation certificates is controlled by an amendment proposed by me to the enabling legislation, Public Law 89-429. My amendment required each department to come to the Appropriations Committees to seek authorization to participate in the program. In this instance, that requirement has enabled us to take control over this situation and reject the proposal this year that participation certificates be sold on the basis of assets of the Farmers Home Administration.

It has been carefully calculated that the excess cost to the taxpayer, in the form of the higher interest rates that must be paid, is about one-half of 1 percent per annum. This additional cost serves no useful purpose; participation certifications, like Treasury bonds, notes, or other forms of indebtedness, must be paid, both principle and interest. One-half percent per annum on $425 million of participation certificates would therefore amount to something over $2 million per year in completely useless expenditure.

In addition, the participation certificates are fundamentally a deceptive device whose principal effect is to deceive the public as to the total size of the public debt. The amount of outstanding certificates is not included in the U.S. bonded indebtedness. It would be my hope that we could avoid the use of them entirely.

Mr. President, one other aspect of this bill which should be clarified in the RECORD is the extent to which the appropriations herein contained are in fact for the benefit of other segments of the population than the farmer. In some ways, it is unfortunate that we allow all these items to be contained in this bill. This bill includes the cost of various programs for the benefit of the needy in the cities, certain types of foreign aid, the cost of programs to protect the consumer, and so forth. These and other programs are included in this bill, and then we find from time to time that critics of the farmer point to the gross total of appropriations in the agricultural appropriation bill, and refer to it all as "farm subsidies," which ought to be cut.

To help correct that misunderstanding—this is done periodically during the course of the year—I ask unanimous consent to have inserted at the conclusion of my remarks a table, taken from the Senate hearings, showing budget expenditures by the Department of Agriculture which are partly for the benefit of other segments of the population.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. **HRUSKA.** Mr. President, for those of us who come from the agricultural regions of this country, it is sometimes sad, sometimes painful, to discuss the developments in the farm economy of recent years.

Agriculture is the mother of us all. Not so many generations ago, all of our forbears were farmers, or almost all of them. Today, agriculture still supplies us with the great part of our most basic necessities—food and clothing.

Yet it sometimes seems that today the farmer is the forgotten man in our society. The Secretary of Agriculture sometimes appears to be more concerned about the consumer than about the farmer. A new slogan, "The Affluent Society," has been applied to our era, but for the farmer that phrase is a cruel jest. He is not affluent; he is still caught as in a vise between rising costs of operation, and sluggish or falling prices received for what he produces.

Theoretically, we are engaged in a pursuit of parity for the farmer. In practice, under this administration that pursuit has become a sham and a pretense. Each year, it seems, with few exceptions the parity ratio—that is, the level of prices received by the farmer compared with the cost of what he must buy—sinks lower and lower. Last month the parity ratio fell to 73 percent—lower even than the depression level experienced in 1934, and nearly the lowest in modern times.

As a reflection of this depressed level of farm prices, farm income goes down and down. In 1967 total farm income was only $14.9 billion. The year before it had been $16.2 billion. So the farmer suffered a severe drop in income in 1967, at a time when income for the nonfarm segment of the population increased sharply.

For 1968, we are told by the Department of Agriculture that farm income may recover part way from the decline experienced in 1967, but will still be well below even the level of 1966.

In 1966, which was the record high year for farm income, the per capita personal income for the farm population was only 65.1 percent as high as the average per capita income of the nonfarm population. In 1967 the situation was worse—per capita income on the farm was only 60.5 percent as high as for the nonfarm population.

We hear much these days about the problems of poverty, and the need for programs to alleviate those problems. We are importuned to tax the farms and the small towns for revenue to be given as grants to solve the urban problems of the great cities. Most of the time we are looking at the wrong place. We are told to look at the slums in the cities, but we should be looking at the poverty on the farms. With today's low farm prices—the parity ratio down to 73—is it not easy to understand the cause of this widespread rural poverty? How can we expect to make progress against rural poverty, unless we can reverse the downward tread in the parity ratio experienced under the Kennedy-Johnson administration?

In the face of these depressing conditions on the farm, our rural areas are being depopulated by a flight to the cities. During the past 8 years practically one farmer out of every four has been forced off the farm. In 1960, there were 4 million farms in America; today, there are barely 3 million. In Nebraska the number of farms has declined from 93,000 to 76,000, a loss of 17,000 farms in the short space of 8 years. The farms are being abandoned, and the towns in the farming regions are being deserted.

Mr. President, we sometimes hear it said that if all the so-called farm subsidies were cut out, it would make the job of budget balancing easier. If we should liquidate the farm programs, and liquidate the farmer also, would we not thereby be liquidating and destroying our food supply also? The farmer is losing ground fast enough. He is entitled to make a fair living, the same as the rest of the population. He is entitled to be placed in a position where he can continue his operations; and his problems are many. This agriculture appropriations bill is a tight bill. In this bill we have cut the farm programs as much as they can stand. In this bill the farmer is absorbing his share, and more than his share of the budget cutting problem that we face.

Again, I express the hope that following appropriation bills will also consider the budgetary situation and also that Senators will look at the pages of this appropriation bill, so that they may comport with the spirit and the figures in it.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT 1

BUDGET EXPENDITURES FOR PROGRAMS IN DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE OF BENEFIT TO OTHER SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION, FISCAL YEAR 1967, AND ESTIMATED 1968 (INCLUDES TRUST FUNDS AND REFLECTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH BUDGET CONCEPTS USED IN THE 1969 BUDGET)

[In millions of dollars]

Item	1967	1968 estimated
Programs which clearly provide benefits to consumers, businessmen, and the general public:		
Programs having foreign relations and defense aspects:		
Sales of agricultural commodities for foreign currencies and for dollars on credit terms (title I, Public Law 480)	1,070	890
Commodities and other costs in connection with donations abroad (title II, Public Law 480)	381	425
Transfer of bartered materials to supplemental stockpile (net)	24	24
Donations of dairy products to armed services and others		1
Other	−2	−1
Subtotal	1,473	1,339
Food distribution programs (domestic):		
Commodities distributed to the needy and others	222	424
Food stamp program	114	178
School lunch program	208	220
Special milk program	96	102
Subtotal	700	924
REA and FHA repayable loans:		
REA loans	412	471
Repayments of principal and interest	−274	−296
FHA loans	−15	−103
Salaries and expenses for loan programs	69	78
Subtotal	192	150
Long-range programs for the improvement of agricultural and natural resources:		
Forestry	198	217
Agricultural and forestry research	247	263
Plant and animal disease and pest control	77	87
Soil and water resource protection and development:		
Agricultural conservation program	257	257
All other	255	277
Cooperative agricultural extension work	92	90
Inspection of commodities and other marketing services	85	100
Other	81	97
Subtotal	1,292	1,388
Total	3,657	3,801
Other programs which are predominantly for stabilization of farm income, but which also benefit others:		
CCC price-support and related programs:		
CCC loan, purchase, export, and related programs	−1,317	−240
Storage, handling, and transportation expenses	261	121
Interest expense (net)	302	304
Acreage diversion payments:		
Feed grains	542	634
Wheat	27	
Cotton	303	254
Price-support payments:		
Feed grains	799	326
Cotton	489	611
Wheat certificate program	276	346
Cotton equalization payments	20	
National Wool Act program	33	61
Subtotal	1,735	2,417
Cropland adjustment program, adjustment payments	44	80
Conservation reserve program	141	123
Federal crop insurance program (net)	−6	15
Sugar Act program	82	86
Salaries and expenses for above programs	175	183
Total	2,171	2,904
Grand total	5,828	6,705

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I certainly thank my distinguished colleague and counterpart for his able address and also for his constant help as we have gone along together in this effort.

Mr. President, my understanding now is that the Senate has given unanimous consent, at the conclusion of business, to recess until tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock, with other business to prevail until 9:30, at which time the consideration of this measure will be resumed.

I understand further that the Senate has given unanimous consent to a limitation of time on any or all amendments that may be offered to the bill tomorrow.

Mr. MUSKIE. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I now ask the normal and customary unanimous consent that the committee amendments be considered and agreed to en bloc, and that the bill, as thus amended, be regarded as original text for the purpose of amendment, provided further that no point of order shall be considered to have been waived by reason thereof.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the committee amendments are considered and agreed to en bloc, and the bill, as thus amended, will be regarded as original text for the purpose of amendment.

The amendments agreed to en bloc are as follows:

On page 3, line 10, after "$100", strike out "$125,972,500" and insert "$131,950,600".

On page 4, line 4, after "(21 U.S.C. 114b-c)", strike out "$85,298,500" and insert "$88,239,500", and in line 11, after the word "per centum", insert a colon and "Provided further, That the Secretary is authorized to acquire land for plant quarantine control activities presently located at Presidio, Texas".

On page 6, line 18, after the word "including", strike out "$51,113,000" and insert "$54,965,000"; at the beginning of line 23, strike out "$3,370,000" and insert "$3,485,000"; on page 7, line 1, after "(16 U.S.C. 582a–582a–7)", strike out "$1,800,000" and insert "$2,000,000"; at the beginning of line 6, strike out "$2,000,000 for grants for facilities under the Act approved July 22, 1963 (7 U.S.C. 390–390k);"; and in line 15, after the word "all", strike out "$58,958,000" and insert "$61,125,000".

On page 8, line 1, after the word "Act", strike out "$77,082,500" and insert "$80,467,000", and in line 4, after the word "all", strike out "$78,532,500" and insert "$81,917,500".

On page 8, line 14, after the word "employees", strike out "$8,818,500" and insert "$9,333,500".

On page 11, after line 9, strike out:

"For necessary expenses to conduct river basin surveys and investigations, and research, and to carry out preventive measures, including, but not limited to, engineering operations, methods of cultivation, the growing of vegetation, and changes in use of land, in accordance with the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, approved August 4, 1954, as amended (16 U.S.C. 1001–1008), and the provisions of the Act of April 27, 1935 (16 U.S.C. 590a–f), to remain available until expended; $65,000,000, with which shall be merged the unexpected balances of funds heretofore appropriated or transferred to the Department for watershed protection purposes: *Provided*, That this appropriation shall be available for field employment pursuant to the second sentence of section 706(a) of the Organic Act of 1944 (7 U.S.C. 2225), and not to exceed $100,000 shall be available for employment under 5 U.S.C. 3109: *Provided further*, That $3,000,000 of the funds in the direct loan account of the Farmers Home Administration shall be available until expended for loans."

On page 12, after line 3, insert:

"*River basin surveys and investigations*

"For necessary expenses to conduct research, investigations and surveys of the watersheds of rivers and other waterways in accordance with section 6 of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, approved August 4, 1954, as amended (16 U.S.C. 1006), to remain available until expended; $8,780,000, with which shall be merged the unexpended balances of funds heretofore appropriated to the Department for river basin survey purposes: *Provided*, That this appropriation shall be available for field employment pursuant to the second sentence of section 706(a) of the Organic Act of 1944 (7 U.S.C. 2225), and to exceed $60,000 shall be available for employment under 5 U.S.C. 3109."

On page 12, after line 17, insert:

"*Works of improvement*

"For necessary expenses to carry out preventive measures, including, but not limited to, research, engineering operations, methods of cultivation, the growing of vegetation, and changes in use of land, in accordance with the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, approved August 4, 1954, as amended (16 U.S.C. 1001–1005, 1007–1008), and the provisions of the Act of April 27, 1935 (16 U.S.C. 590a–f), remain available until expended; $57,907,000, with which shall be merged the unexpended balances of funds heretofore appropriated or transferred to the Department for watershed protection purposes: *Provided,* That this appropriation shall be available for field employment pursuant to the second sentence of section 706(a) of the Organic Act of 1944 (7 U.S.C. 2225) and not to exceed $100,000 shall be available for employment under 5 U.S.C. 3109: *Provided further,* That $3,000,000 of the funds in the direct loan account of the Farmers Home Administration shall be available until expended for loans."

On page 13, line 22, after the word "expended", strike out "$20,000,000" and insert "$17,500,000".

On page 14, line 15, after "(16 U.S.C. 590a–f)", strike out "$6,256,000" and insert "$6,474,000".

On page 15, line 18, after the word "products", strike out "$12,789,000" and insert "$13,089,000".

On page 16, line 15, after the word "laws", strike out "$14,184,500" and insert "$14,467,500".

On page 17, line 14, after "1946", strike out "$118,989,500" and insert "$116,314,500".

On page 18, line 18, after "(42 U.S.C. 1773–1785)", strike out "$182,825,000" and insert "$173,349,000"; in line 19, after the word "including", strike out "$5,000,000" and insert "$7,500,000"; in line 20, after the word "schools", strike out "$3,500,000" and insert "$4,500,000"; and in line 21, after the word "program", strike out "$750,000" and insert "$2,000,000".

On page 19, line 12, after the word "program", insert a colon and "*Provided,* That not to exceed $2,500,000 of this appropriation shall be available for the payment of obligations incurred under the appropriation for similar purposes for the preceding fiscal year."

On page 20, line 15, after "(7 U.S.C. 1766)", strike out "$21,153,800" and insert "$21,928,800".

On page 22, at the beginning of line 18, strike out "$80,000,000" and insert "$82,000,000".

On page 24, line 1, after the word "to", strike out "$220,000,000" and insert "$195,500,000".

On page 25, line 22, after "(7 U.S.C. 1838)", strike out "$84,500,000" and insert "$85,700,000", and, after the amendment just above stated, to insert a colon and "Provided, That agreements entered into during the fiscal year 1969 shall not require payments during the calendar year 1969 exceeding $30,500,000."

On page 27, line 11, after "5 U.S.C. 3109", strike out "$12,276,000" and insert "$12,576,000".

On page 27, line 18, after "5 U.S. 3109", strike out "$2,565,300" and insert "$3,065,300".

On page 27, line 24, after the word "service", strike out "$4,461,000" and insert "$4,761,000".

On page 28, line 6, after the word "Department", strike out "$1,965,000" and insert "$1,997,000".

On page 29, line 4, after the word "Library", strike out "$3,166,500" and insert "$3,419,000".

On page 29, line 14, after the word "Agriculture", strike out "$2,821,000" and insert "$2,862,200".

On page 30, at the beginning of line 18, strike out "$304,000,000" and insert "$329,000,000".

On page 31, line 9, after the word "loans", strike out "$250,000,000" and insert "$300,000,000".

On page 31, at the beginning of line 14, strike out "$15,000,000" and insert "$30,000,000", and in line 15, after the word "account", strike out "Provided, That farmer applicants for housing loans shall be required to offer only such collateral security as is required of owners of nonfarm tracts".

On page 32, at the beginning of line 7, strike out "$3,500,000" and insert "$5,000,000".

On page 32, line 16, after "(40 U.S.C. 440–444)", strike out "$57,461,000" and insert "$58,319,000".

On page 33, line 20, after the word "expenses", strike out "$10,487,000" and insert "$12,000,000".

On page 33, line 23, after the word "exceed", strike out "$2,850,000" and insert "$1,430,000".

On page 38, after line 2, strike out:

"SEC. 509. Money appropriated in this Act shall be available for expenditure in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969 only to the extent that expenditure thereof shall not result in the net aggregate expenditure of Federal funds by all agencies provided for herein beyond $6,524,470,897 except by those Commodity Credit Corporation expenditures required by law which may exceed budget estimates therefor."

On page 38, at the beginning of line 10, change the section number from "510" to "509".

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment.

AMENDMENT NO. 837

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the able Senator from Florida has reminded us of the parliamentary situation that will apply tomorrow. It seems to be desirable that before we adjourn tonight, I outline an amendment which I shall offer. This will enable our colleagues to study the proposal as they review the RECORD before we come to the floor tomorrow.

I hope very much, Mr. President, that the amendment I offer and the remarks which I make in support of it will not be viewed as criticism of the able senior Senator from Florida, the able Senator from Nebraska, and their colleagues and ours on the Appropriations Committee.

Actually, I rise now to thank them for their support, as reflected by the figures that they recommend to us in the area of school feeding programs, of the effort which all of us are undertaking to insure that we do respond to what I think is a national concern increasingly felt about young children in this country. The Committee on Appropriations has recommended substantially larger sums for school lunch programs and for related aspects than our colleagues in the House of Representatives thought wise to adopt.

Having said that, I now realize that everything that will follow will sound very critical. I regret that. I know that it is not easy for the committee, even given the strong leadership of the Senator from Florida and the Senator from Nebraska, to recommend figures substantially higher than the House of Representatives saw fit to settle on. I repeat, I am grateful, and I know there are a great many children in this country who, though they will never know that we stand here tonight or that the Senate will vote tomorrow, will be in their debt.

I hope the Senators will join with me in going still further, in supporting what the amendment which several of us will offer will seek to accomplish.

How far would it take us? It would adopt the figures recommended by the President for a food service program for children. That is what I think we should do. If there was ever a year when concern about hunger crowded the conscience of this country, I think it is this year. Perhaps the message is communicated in a form which to some is offensive; but the message is being delivered; and, I think, all of us would agree that if, in this land, so rich, so strong, there go to bed at night even a thousand children who have not had a decent meal during the day, it offends our sense of right and wrong.

I think the bitter truth is that there are a great many thousands of children in this unhappy category. This ought not to be. Even if we were a less rich people, we ought not to tolerate that. We should not be tolerant of ourselves until we can honestly say that we have used the delivery system which we have built into the schools of this country in such a fashion that no child who attends a school in our land will be without at least one nutritious meal a day.

That is what the effort of those of us who propose the amendment which I now send to the desk and ask to have printed seeks to achieve.

I offer the amendment, Mr. President, on behalf of the able Senator from Maine who is now Presiding Officer (Mr. MUSKIE in the chair), the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG]. I am sure that in the morning I shall ask that additional names be added.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Chair correctly understand that the Senator is calling up his amendment, or simply sending it to the desk?

Mr. HART. I send it to the desk, and, if there is no objection, I ask that it be stated and become the pending business in the morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 18, lines 19 to 21, strike out "$173,349,000, including $7,500,000 for special assistance to needy schools, $4,500,000 for the pilot school breakfast program, $2,000,000 for the nonfood assistance program" and insert the following: "$184,149,000, including $10,000,000 for special assistance to needy schools, $6,500,000 for the pilot school breakfast program, $6,500,000 for the nonfood assistance program, and $2,300,000 for State administrative expenses".

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I urge that we respond today—now—to the national concern felt about hungry children—by appropriating the sums recommended by the Bureau of the Budget. I urge we restore the level of funding recommended by the President for food service programs for children. Both Houses of Congress are exploring ways to improve nutrition among our low-income families. Here we have a readymade delivery system that will get a good meal to hungry children. Here we have a delivery system that is in operation—is ready to roll—as fast as we will let it. We in the

Congress built that delivery system—section 11 of the National School Lunch Act carries its own authorization—its own apportionment formula to get lunch to children in low-income area schools.

We enacted that legislation in 1962. We never provided the first penny until the 1965–66 fiscal year and we have been pennypinching on this one ever since. We knew when we enacted section 11 that a real need existed. We knew that hundreds of thousands of children had been bypassed by the lunch program because the schools and the children could not afford it. We have in recent years appropriated funds that provide an average rate of reimbursement of 4.5 cents in cash for the regular lunch program. That is not much, but together with the foods made available, thousands of schools and millions of children have been able to participate in the lunch program.

There is a requirement in the School Lunch Act—we put that requirement in back in 1946 when we wrote the act—that children who cannot pay shall receive a lunch free or at a reduced price. We did not say just some children—we did not just give every school a quota of free meals. We intended that every child should have access to the lunch program and by access we meant economic access as well as physical access. We wanted all schools in the program and we wanted all the children to eat lunch that wanted to eat the lunch. When we took a good look at the program in 1962 we saw hundreds of schools and hundreds of thousands of children who had been left out—the schools could not start a lunch program because they had so many needy children that they could not afford a viable program. Other schools were in the program but they could afford only a handful of free or reduced price meals—not nearly enough to meet the need.

We recognized that simply increasing the total amount of funds for the program would not do the job. We needed to focus—we needed to direct a special level of assistance to low-income area schools so they could get into the lunch program and to stay in. We authorized an appropriation of $10 million for the first year of operation but we did not approve a penny. Almost 6 years later we are still cutting back, cutting back. Perhaps we can congratulate ourselves that we have an Appropriations Committee recommendation for $7.5 million—but it is a 50-percent increase over what was a totally inadequate amount last year. I think we should approve the budget request for $10 million.

I want to insert in the RECORD a table showing what each State received under section 11 in fiscal years 1967 and 1968. In my own State of Michigan, the public schools received $43,000 this year. There are 38 public schools in the entire State participating under section 11. You know and I know that there are far more than 38 public schools in Michigan that could well use section 11 money to open or strengthen a lunch program. I suggest you look at how much your State received—will that amount feed your hungry children?

We enacted the school breakfast program as part of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966. It was put on a 2-year pilot basis and just a few weeks ago we extended the breakfast program for an additional 3 years with a 1969 authorization of $6,500,000. We were told over and over again by school officials that the need for this program is great. Too many children fall asleep at their desks—too many youngsters are apathetic, or restless or sick to their stomachs from hunger—the morning is a waste of the child's time—the teacher's time—the school's time.

The Appropriations Committee did approve $4.5 million—I believe we should move for the entire $6.5 million authorized and requested.

I would like to insert in the RECORD tables showing what each State received for the breakfast program in fiscal years 1967 and 1968. And again I would ask that each of you take a look at the funds provided to your State. Do you believe this reaches all the youngsters in your poor downtown elementary schools who show up with no breakfast? Do you believe this reaches all your rural schools where children may have been riding a bus for an hour or more and show up hungry?

We enacted a provision authorizing assistance to low-income area schools when we approved the Child Nutrition Act of 1966. Once again, this was an effort to get at the heart of a real problem—to get to those schools that could not afford the basic nonfood assistance equipment to get the program underway. The small, isolated rural school—the downtown elementary school—all too frequently have no facilities for food service. We all know that neighborhood elementary schools were built with the idea that children would walk home to lunch. But with millions of working mothers in these neighborhoods there is no one at home to prepare lunch and the children must shift for themselves.

As in the case of section II special assistance—as in the case of the breakfast program—we have done well in getting substantive legislation on the books. We roll up tremendous majorities with wide bipartisan support when we come forward with legislative proposals that are soundly based and carefully designed to pinpoint the assistance where it is most needed. When it comes to funding, we have another situation entirely. The administration asks for, pleads for, reasonable amounts that will get things moving. So, for equipment, we approved for fiscal 1967 the magnificent sum of $750,000 to be distributed nationwide for the purchase of food service equipment. The same sum, $750,000, for 1968.

I want to insert two tables that will show each of you how much your State received in assistance for the purchase of equipment in fiscal years 1967 and 1968. This year, the Senate Appropriations Committee does propose $2 million to be made available nationwide. I urge that we approve the full $6 million requested. We must make a real breakthrough in our urban elementary schools and we must make it possible for remote rural schools to offer a food service. Each year of delay means just one more year of poor nutrition for these children.

This leads me to the final and very important point. In the Child Nutrition Act of 1966, we authorized assistance to State agencies that administer the school food service programs. We did that deliberately and thoughtfully. We did it because we knew that the hardest tasks lay ahead of these dedicated people. We were asking them to go out and get breakfast programs operating, make section 11 function in schools that would be coming into the program for the first time. Schools in low-income areas that would need a maximum of technical assistance and guidance if they were to have viable programs. We were asking that these school lunch staffs review every request for equipment assistance—that they analyze each request in terms of what is really needed to initiate or expand food service. We are asking them for innovation and imagination to do this at the least possible cost. To work with each school or school district—to explore the feasibility of providing meals prepared in an existing or centralized kitchen to serve a number of satellite schools—to make sure that every penny of equipment money is used wisely and well.

School lunch people through the years have been real experts in getting the most mileage possible out of every nickel and dime. They have to be—their young clients inevitably disappear in droves if the lunch price inches up a notch too high. Frankly, I think it is about time we face up to the fact that we have really imposed too long on the dedication of these people. In virtually every State the State staff is too understaffed and underpaid even to cope with the existing regular lunch program. They are woefully understaffed and underpaid to take on what we are now asking—to go the last mile and reach out to the last child not now reached.

I urge your support for this amendment. In these programs we know precisely what we are doing—we know that every penny of Federal assistance goes to serve a youngster a good meal or to make it possible to serve a youngster a good meal at minimum price. We know these programs work. We know the money requested is really a modest amount. Let us provide it.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD certain tables showing the apportionment of funds under the various categories for fiscal years 1967 and 1968.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM—SPECIAL ASSISTANCE APPORTIONMENT, BY STATE, SEC. 11, FISCAL YEAR 1967

State	Free lunches [1] (1)	Assistance need rate [2] (2)	State index in units of 100 [3] (3)	Percent [4] (4)	Total apportionment [5] (5)	State agency (6)	District office (7)
Alabama	6,548,963	7.2	471,525	0.0285129	$55,315	$54,209	$1,106
Alaska	1,189,130	5.0	59,457	.0035953	6,975	6,975	
Arizona	3,390,099	5.7	193,236	.0116849	22,669	19,054	3,615
Arkansas	7,176,768	7.6	545,434	.0329821	63,985	62,383	1,602
California	6,673,197	5.0	333,660	.0201762	39,142	39,142	
Colorado	1,885,934	5.0	94,297	.0057021	11,062	9,229	1,833
Connecticut	704,091	5.0	35,205	.0021288	4,130	4,130	
Delaware	136,708	5.0	6,835	.0004133	802	786	16
District of Columbia	2,592,110	5.0	129,606	.0078372	15,204	15,204	
Florida	13,920,684	5.7	793,479	.0479812	93,083	90,954	2,129
Georgia	15,016,891	6.4	961,081	.0581160	112,745	112,745	
Guam	151,465			(.0027686)	166	94	72
Hawaii	989,486	5.0	49,474	.0029917	5,804	3,183	2,621
Idaho	292,456	6.0	17,547	.0010611	2,058	1,852	206
Illinois	3,178,375	5.0	158,919	.0096097	18,643	18,643	
Indiana	2,497,451	5.0	124,873	.0075510	14,649	14,649	
Iowa	2,104,426	5.3	111,535	.0067445	13,084	9,354	3,730
Kansas	1,104,441	5.1	56,326	.0034060	6,608	6,608	
Kentucky	10,101,094	6.7	676,773	.0409241	79,393	79,393	
Louisiana	16,569,222	6.6	1,093,568	.0661274	128,287	128,287	
Maine	1,403,806	6.2	87,036	.0052630	10,210	7,612	2,598
Maryland	1,872,768	5.0	93,638	.0056622	10,985	8,182	2,803
Massachusetts	3,823,656	5.0	191,183	.0115607	22,428	22,428	
Michigan	4,375,324	5.0	218,766	.0132287	25,664	19,845	5,819
Minnesota	2,725,501	5.2	141,726	.0085701	16,626	12,351	4,275
Mississippi	5,100,657	8.6	438,657	.0265253	51,459	51,459	
Missouri	3,946,736	5.2	205,230	.0124101	24,075	24,075	
Montana	1,083,486	5.6	60,675	.0036690	7,118	5,647	1,471
Nebraska	1,576,311	5.4	85,121	.0051472	9,985	6,983	3,002
Nevada	225,071	5.0	11,254	.0006805	1,320	1,308	12
New Hampshire	577,303	5.3	30,597	.0018502	3,589	3,589	
New Jersey	2,198,455	5.0	109,923	.0066470	12,895	6,654	6,241
New Mexico	3,559,643	6.1	217,138	.0131302	25,473	25,473	
New York	60,821,434	5.0	3,041,072	.1838919	356,750	356,750	
North Carolina	12,588,833	6.7	843,452	.0510031	98,946	98,946	
North Dakota	765,861	6.0	45,952	.0027787	5,391	3,758	1,633
Ohio	7,517,597	5.0	375,880	.0227293	44,095	33,543	10,552
Oklahoma	3,705,709	6.1	226,048	.0136690	26,518	26,518	
Oregon	647,520	5.0	32,376	.0019578	3,798	3,798	
Pennsylvania	10,692,743	5.0	534,637	.0323292	62,719	41,136	21,583
Puerto Rico	52,762,059			(.9644405)	57,867	57,867	
Rhode Island	133,245	5.0	6,662	.0004028	781	781	
South Carolina	13,009,265	7.6	988,704	.0597864	115,986	114,560	1,426
South Dakota	1,040,325	6.6	68,661	.0041519	8,055	8,055	
Tennessee	11,359,234	6.9	783,787	.0473952	91,947	90,813	1,134
Texas	12,247,878	5.8	710,377	.0429561	83,335	78,324	5,011
Utah	1,561,486	5.7	89,005	.0053821	10,441	10,328	113
Vermont	442,576	7.0	26,555	.0016058	3,115	3,115	
Virginia	6,133,188	5.7	349,592	.0211396	41,011	39,961	1,050
Virgin Islands	1,512,931			(.0276550)	1,659	1,659	
Washington	1,562,005	5.0	78,100	.0047227	9,162	7,652	1,510
West Virginia	5,694,138	6.8	387,201	.0234138	45,423	44,634	789
Wisconsin	2,716,995	5.1	138,567	.0083791	16,255	9,218	7,037
Wyoming	129,750	5.3	6,877	.0004158	807	807	
Samoa, American	280,972			(.0051359)	308	308	
Total	336,017,462		16,537,279	1.0000000	2,000,000	1,905,011	94,989

[1] Number of free or reduced-price lunches served in the preceding fiscal year by program schools.

[2] A need rate of 5 is assigned to any State having an average annual per capita income for the past 3 years (1963, 1964, and 1965) equal to or greater than the U.S. average. The need rate for any State with a per capita income less than the United States is obtained by dividing the U.S. average by such State's average and multiplying by 5, except that no State's need rate may exceed 9.

[3] Free lunches multiplied by assistance need rate (col. 1 times col 2).

[4] Percent State index is of total index. For Guam, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, the percent is obtained by dividing free and reduced-price lunches of each territory by the total of such lunches served by all 4 territories.

[5] Total apportionment, col. 5, less 3 percent ($1,940,000) times each State's percent, col. 4. Apportionment for Guam, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, and American Samoa is based on 3 percent of $2,000,000 or $60,000.

NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM—SEC. 11 APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS, BY STATE, FISCAL YEAR 1968

State	Free lunches [1] (1)	Assistance need rate [2] (2)	State index in units of 100 [3] (3)	State percent [4] (4)	Total apportionment [5] (5)	State agency (6)	District office (7)
Alabama	7,697,372	7.2	554,211	2.85736	$138,582	$136,710	$1,872
Alaska	1,281,481	5.0	64,074	.33034	16,021	16,021	
Arizona	3,421,804	5.8	198,465	1.02323	49,627	41,576	8,051
Arkansas	10,375,102	7.4	767,758	3.95835	191,980	188,979	3,001
California	8,559,532	5.0	427,977	2.20654	107,017	107,017	
Colorado	2,004,834	5.1	102,247	.52715	25,567	22,212	3,355
Connecticut	696,608	5.0	34,830	.17958	8,710	8,710	
Delaware	157,413	5.0	7,871	.04058	1,968	1,950	18
District of Columbia	3,142,273	5.0	157,114	.81004	39,287	39,287	
Florida	18,603,931	5.7	1,060,424	5.46725	265,162	260,998	4,164
Georgia	19,062,663	6.4	1,220,010	6.29004	305,067	305,067	
Guam	163,889			(.28584)	429	265	164
Hawaii	1,189,411	5.0	59,471	.30661	14,870	9,019	5,851
Idaho	357,648	5.9	21,101	.10880	5,277	4,765	512
Illinois	2,486,311	5.0	124,316	.64094	31,086	31,086	
Indiana	2,630,924	5.0	131,546	.67821	32,893	32,893	
Iowa	2,073,092	5.2	107,801	.55579	26,956	19,125	7,831
Kansas	1,249,146	5.2	64,956	.33490	16,243	16,243	
Kentucky	10,862,168	6.7	727,765	3.75216	181,980	181,980	
Louisiana	11,573,915	6.6	763,878	3.93834	191,009	191,009	
Maine	1,379,696	6.0	82,782	.42680	20,700	15,803	4,897
Maryland	2,201,000	5.0	110,050	.56739	27,518	22,227	5,291
Massachusetts	4,089,597	5.0	204,480	1.05424	51,131	51,131	
Michigan	4,270,733	5.0	213,537	1.10094	53,396	43,161	10,235
Minnesota	2,573,570	5.2	133,826	.68997	33,463	25,024	8,439
Mississippi	6,090,925	8.5	517,729	2.66927	129,460	129,460	
Missouri	4,548,580	5.2	236,526	1.21946	59,144	59,144	
Montana	1,067,653	5.7	60,856	.31376	15,217	12,107	3,110
Nebraska	1,660,825	5.3	88,024	.45383	22,011	15,663	6,348
Nevada	258,579	5.0	12,929	.06666	3,233	3,213	20

See footnotes at end of table.

NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM—SEC. 11 APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS, BY STATE, FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

State	Free lunches [1] (1)	Assistance need rate [2] (2)	State index in units of 100 [3] (3)	State percent [4] (4)	Total apportionment [5] (5)	State agency (6)	District office (7)
New Hampshire	580, 103	5. 3	30, 745	0. 15851	$7, 688	$7, 688	
New Jersey	2, 229, 992	5. 0	111, 500	. 57486	27, 881	16, 171	$11, 710
New Mexico	4, 237, 773	6. 3	266, 980	1. 37648	66, 759	66, 759	
New York	67, 601, 109	5. 0	3, 380, 055	17. 42664	845, 192	845, 192	
North Carolina	24, 984, 735	6. 7	1, 673, 977	8. 63056	418, 582	418, 582	
North Dakota	759, 148	6. 2	47, 067	. 24267	11, 769	8, 527	3, 242
Ohio	7, 247, 899	5. 0	362, 395	1. 86841	90, 618	70, 807	19, 811
Oklahoma	4, 331, 572	6. 0	259, 894	1. 33994	64, 987	64, 987	
Oregon	690, 184	5. 0	34, 509	. 17792	8, 629	8, 629	
Pennsylvania	10, 565, 524	5. 0	528, 276	2. 72364	132, 096	90, 900	41, 196
Puerto Rico	54, 525, 929			(95. 10042)	142, 650	142, 650	
Rhode Island	161, 135	5. 0	8, 057	. 04154	2, 015	2, 015	
South Carolina	18, 565, 754	7. 4	1, 373, 866	7. 08328	343, 539	340, 929	2, 610
South Dakota	1, 019, 980	6. 4	65, 279	. 33656	16, 323	16, 323	
Tennessee	12, 356, 937	6. 8	840, 272	4. 33221	210, 112	207, 730	2, 382
Texas	16, 013, 891	5. 9	944, 820	4. 87124	236, 255	225, 526	10, 729
Utah	1, 731, 689	5. 8	100, 438	. 51783	25, 115	24, 824	291
Vermont	448, 600	5. 9	26, 467	. 13645	6, 618	6, 618	
Virginia	8, 068, 618	5. 7	459, 911	2. 37118	115, 002	113, 382	1, 620
Virgin Islands	1, 651, 204			(2. 87992)	4, 320	4, 320	
Washington	1, 652, 832	5. 0	82, 642	. 42608	20, 665	17, 788	2, 877
West Virginia	6, 024, 818	6. 8	409, 688	2. 11224	102, 444	100, 955	1, 489
Wisconsin	2, 514, 151	5. 0	125, 708	. 64811	31, 433	19, 587	11, 846
Wyoming	126, 112	5. 4	6, 810	. 03512	1, 703	1, 703	
Samoa, American	994, 087	9. 0		(1. 73382)	2, 601	2, 601	
Total	384, 814, 451		19, 395, 910	100. 00000	5, 000, 000	4, 817, 038	182, 962

[1] Number of free or reduced-price lunches served in the preceding fiscal year by program schools.

[2] A need rate of 5 is assigned to any State having an average annual per capita income for the past 3 years (1964, 1965, and 1966) equal to or greater than the U.S. average. The need rate for any State with a per capita income less than the United States is obtained by dividing the U.S. average by such State's average and multiplying by 5, except that no State's need rate may exceed 9.

[3] Free lunches multiplied by assistance need rate (col. 1 times col. 2).

[4] Percent State index is of total index. For Guam, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, the percent is obtained by dividing free and reduced-price lunches of each territory by the total of such lunches served by all 4 territories.

[5] Total apportionment, col. 5, less 3 percent ($4,850,000) times each State's percent, col. 4. Apportionment for Guam, Puerto Rico, Virgin Ialands, and American Samoa is based on 3 percent of $5 million or $150,000.

CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1966—PILOT BREAKFAST PROGRAM, APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS, BY STATE, FISCAL YEAR 1967

State	Apportionment [1] (1)	State agency (2)	District office (3)
Alabama	$37, 807	$36, 871	$936
Alaska	37, 807	37, 807	
Arizona	37, 807	36, 205	1, 602
Arkansas	37, 807	36, 691	1, 116
California	37, 807	37, 807	
Colorado	37, 807	34, 958	2, 849
Connecticut	37, 807	37, 807	
Delaware	37, 807	37, 410	397
District of Columbia	37, 807	37, 807	
Florida	37, 807	36, 990	817
Georgia	37, 807	37, 807	
Guam	11, 345	6, 575	4, 770
Hawaii	37, 807	35, 442	2, 365
Idaho	37, 807	36, 635	1, 172
Illinois	37, 807	37, 807	
Indiana	37, 807	37, 807	
Iowa	37, 807	33, 110	4, 697
Kansas	37, 807	37, 807	
Kentucky	37, 807	37, 807	
Louisiana	37, 807	37, 807	
Maine	37, 807	33, 535	4, 272
Maryland	37, 807	36, 456	1, 351
Massachusetts	37, 807	37, 807	
Michigan	37, 807	34, 029	3, 778
Minnesota	37, 807	32, 944	4, 863
Mississippi	37, 807	37, 807	
Missouri	37, 807	37, 807	
Montana	37, 807	35, 361	2, 446
Nebraska	37, 807	31, 755	6, 052
Nevada	$37, 807	$37, 489	$318
New Hampshire	37, 807	37, 807	
New Jersey	37, 807	32, 773	5, 034
New Mexico	37, 807	37, 087	
New York	37, 807	37, 807	
North Carolina	37, 807	37, 807	
North Dakota	37, 807	33, 519	4, 288
Ohio	37, 807	33, 874	3, 933
Oklahoma	37, 807	37, 807	
Oregon	37, 807	37, 807	
Pennsylvania	37, 807	33, 003	4, 804
Puerto Rico	37, 807	37, 807	
Rhode Island	37, 807	37, 807	
South Carolina	37, 807	37, 384	423
South Dakota	37, 807	37, 807	
Tennessee	37, 807	37, 178	629
Texas	37, 807	36, 252	1, 555
Utah	37, 807	37, 633	174
Vermont	37, 807	37, 807	
Virginia	37, 807	37, 146	661
Virgin Islands	11, 345	11, 345	
Washington	37, 807	36, 675	1, 132
West Virginia	37, 807	36, 993	814
Wisconsin	37, 807	30, 321	7, 486
Wyoming	37, 807	37, 807	
Samoa, American	11, 346	11, 346	
Total	2, 000, 000	1, 925, 266	74, 734

[1] Funds appropriated were not sufficient to fully implement the apportionment formula prescribed in the Child Nutrition Act. Therefore, funds available were apportioned on a prorated basis in accordance with sec. 4(b)(1) only.

CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1966—PILOT BREAKFAST PROGRAM, APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS, BY STATE, FISCAL YEAR 1968

State	Basic apportionment, sec. 4(b)(1) (1)	Remainder apportionment, sec. 4(b)(2) (2)	Total apportionment, cols. 1 and 2 (3)	State agency (4)	District office [1] (5)
Alabama	$50, 000	$25, 989	$75, 989	$74, 139	$1, 850
Alaska	50, 000	740	50, 840	50, 840	
Arizona	50, 000	7, 374	57, 374	54, 944	2, 430
Arkansas	50, 000	16, 111	66, 111	64, 395	1, 716
California	50, 000	32, 943	82, 943	82, 943	
Colorado	50, 000	8, 388	58, 388	54, 591	3, 797
Connecticut	50, 000	7, 577	57, 577	57, 577	
Delaware	50, 000	2, 076	52, 076	51, 578	498
District of Columbia	50, 000	1, 378	51, 378	51, 378	
Florida	50, 000	34, 424	84, 424	82, 796	1, 628
Georgia	50, 000	38, 668	88, 668	88, 668	
Guam	15, 000	717	15, 717	10, 533	5, 184
Hawaii	50, 000	5, 473	55, 473	51, 992	3, 481
Idaho	50, 000	3, 714	53, 714	51, 981	1, 733
Illinois	50, 000	25, 529	75, 529	75, 529	
Indiana	$50, 000	$19, 709	$69, 709	$69, 709	
Iowa	50, 000	16, 204	66, 204	58, 308	$7, 896
Kansas	50, 000	10, 332	60, 332	60, 332	
Kentucky	50, 000	25, 354	75, 354	75, 354	
Louisiana	50, 000	36, 012	86, 012	86, 012	
Maine	50, 000	4, 671	54, 671	48, 386	6, 285
Maryland	50, 000	11, 400	61, 400	59, 492	1, 908
Massachusetts	50, 000	19, 349	69, 349	69, 349	
Michigan	50, 000	21, 690	71, 690	65, 562	6, 128
Minnesota	50, 000	19, 696	69, 696	61, 231	8, 465
Mississippi	50, 000	22, 682	72, 682	72, 682	
Missouri	50, 000	20, 799	70, 799	70, 799	
Montana	50, 000	2, 730	52, 730	49, 538	3, 192
Nebraska	50, 000	6, 626	56, 626	48, 293	8, 333
Nevada	50, 000	696	50, 696	50, 337	359

See footnote at end of table.

CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1966—PILOT BREAKFAST PROGRAM, APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS, BY STATE, FISCAL YEAR 1968—Continued

State	Basic apportionment, sec. 4(b)(1) (1)	Remainder apportionment, sec. 4(b)(2) (2)	Total apportionment, cols. 1 and 2 (3)	State agency (4)	District office [1] (5)
New Hampshire	$50,000	$2,527	$52,527	$52,527	
New Jersey	50,000	11,025	61,025	53,989	$7,036
New Mexico	50,000	6,158	56,158	56,158	
New York	50,000	55,373	105,373	105,373	
North Carolina	50,000	43,407	93,407	93,407	
North Dakota	50,000	4,300	54,300	48,431	5,869
Ohio	50,000	34,114	84,114	76,000	8,114
Oklahoma	50,000	11,831	61,831	61,831	
Oregon	50,000	7,837	57,837	57,837	
Pennsylvania	50,000	34,716	84,716	74,807	9,909
Puerto Rico	50,000	23,380	73,380	73,380	
Rhode Island	50,000	1,512	51,512	51,512	
South Carolina	50,000	26,045	76,045	75,197	848
South Dakota	50,000	3,504	53,504	53,504	
Tennessee	$50,000	$26,796	$76,796	$75,580	$1,216
Texas	50,000	40,514	90,514	87,058	3,456
Utah	50,000	6,964	56,964	56,787	177
Vermont	50,000	1,509	51,509	51,509	
Virginia	50,000	24,420	74,420	73,299	1,121
Virgin Islands	15,000	702	15,702	15,702	
Washington	50,000	10,914	60,914	59,198	1,716
West Virginia	50,000	10,423	60,423	59,178	1,245
Wisconsin	50,000	16,009	66,009	53,679	12,330
Wyoming	50,000	1,447	51,447	51,447	
Samoa American	15,000	422	15,422	15,422	
Total	2,645,000	855,000	3,500,000	3,382,080	117,920

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[1] Nonprofit private schools disbursement effected in accordance with sec. 10 of National School Lunch Act, as amended, exclusive of the matching provision.

CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1966—NONFOOD ASSISTANCE, APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS, BY STATE, FISCAL YEAR 1967

State	Apportionment [1] (1)	State agency (2)	Private schools (3)
Alabama	$23,319	$22,742	$577
Alaska	805	805	
Arizona	6,651	6,369	282
Arkansas	13,996	13,583	413
California	30,868	30,868	
Colorado	7,363	6,808	555
Connecticut	6,666	6,666	
Delaware	1,658	1,641	17
District of Columbia	1,133	1,133	
Florida	29,728	29,086	642
Georgia	32,928	32,928	
Guam	557	323	234
Hawaii	4,770	4,472	298
Idaho	3,419	3,313	106
Illinois	22,674	22,674	
Indiana	17,231	17,231	
Iowa	14,368	12,583	1,785
Kansas	8,586	8,586	
Kentucky	22,281	22,281	
Louisiana	30,468	30,468	
Maine	4,107	3,643	464
Maryland	10,138	9,776	362
Massachusetts	17,246	17,246	
Michigan	19,726	17,755	1,971
Minnesota	17,182	14,972	2,210
Mississippi	20,370	20,370	
Missouri	18,357	18,357	
Montana	2,413	2,257	156
Nebraska	5,679	4,770	909
Nevada	$658	$652	$6
New Hampshire	2,091	2,091	
New Jersey	9,935	8,612	1,323
New Mexico	5,530	5,530	
New York	46,971	46,971	
North Carolina	37,312	37,312	
North Dakota	3,805	3,373	432
Ohio	30,050	26,924	3,126
Oklahoma	10,640	10,640	
Oregon	6,985	6,985	
Pennsylvania	29,956	26,150	3,806
Puerto Rico	20,247	20,247	
Rhode Island	1,398	1,398	
South Carolina	23,166	22,907	259
South Dakota	3,234	3,234	
Tennessee	24,242	23,839	403
Texas	35,117	33,672	1,445
Utah	5,878	5,851	27
Vermont	1,347	1,347	
Virginia	21,409	21,034	375
Virgin Islands	600	600	
Washington	9,567	9,281	286
West Virginia	9,480	9,276	204
Wisconsin	14,201	11,389	2,812
Wyoming	1,335	1,335	
Samoa, American	159	159	
Total	750,000	724,515	25,485

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[1] Apportioned on the same basis as provided under sec. 4 of National School Lunch Act, as amended, except that apportionment to American Samoa is on the same basis as other States.

CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1966—NONFOOD ASSISTANCE, APPORTIONMENT OF FUNDS, BY STATE, FISCAL YEAR 1968

State	Apportionment [1] (1)	State agency (2)	District office (3)
Alabama	$22,797	$22,242	$555
Alaska	737	737	
Arizona	6,468	6,194	274
Arkansas	14,133	13,766	367
California	28,897	28,897	
Colorado	7,358	6,880	478
Connecticut	6,647	6,647	
Delaware	1,821	1,804	17
District of Columbia	1,208	1,208	
Florida	30,197	29,615	582
Georgia	33,919	33,919	
Guam	629	422	207
Hawaii	4,800	4,499	301
Idaho	3,259	3,154	105
Illinois	22,393	22,393	
Indiana	17,288	17,288	
Iowa	14,215	12,520	1,695
Kansas	9,063	9,063	
Kentucky	22,241	22,241	
Louisiana	31,590	31,590	
Maine	4,097	3,626	471
Maryland	10,000	9,689	311
Massachusetts	16,973	16,973	
Michigan	19,027	17,401	1,626
Minnesota	17,277	15,179	2,098
Mississippi	19,896	19,896	
Missouri	18,245	18,245	
Montana	2,395	2,250	145
Nebraska	5,813	4,958	855
Nevada	$610	$606	$4
New Hampshire	2,217	2,217	
New Jersey	9,671	8,556	1,115
New Mexico	5,402	5,402	
New York	48,573	48,573	
North Carolina	38,076	38,076	
North Dakota	3,772	3,364	408
Ohio	29,924	27,037	2,887
Oklahoma	10,378	10,378	
Oregon	6,874	6,874	
Pennsylvania	30,453	26,891	3,562
Puerto Rico	20,509	20,509	
Rhode Island	1,326	1,326	
South Carolina	22,847	22,592	255
South Dakota	3,073	3,073	
Tennessee	23,505	23,133	372
Texas	35,539	34,182	1,357
Utah	6,108	6,089	19
Vermont	1,324	1,324	
Virginia	21,421	21,098	323
Virgin Islands	615	615	
Washington	9,574	9,304	270
West Virginia	9,143	8,955	188
Wisconsin	14,043	11,420	2,623
Wyoming	1,269	1,269	
Samoa, American	371	371	
Total	750,000	726,530	23,470

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[1] Apportioned on the same basis as provided under sec. 4 of National School Lunch Act, as amended.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, replying only briefly, because we shall be discussing this matter tomorrow, our committee has provided in connection with the school lunch program, the full amount of the budget request for the regular school lunch program, cash payments to States. The House of Representatives authorized an additional amount, over the 1969 budget estimate and the Department of Agriculture requested that we strike out those additional amounts, because they are not in a position to carry out the increased program proposed, since their programs have already been established.

We increased the funds provided in the House bill for the section 11 assistance to needy children. These funds go to children in areas that are very poor, and in this program the Federal Government pays a larger portion of the cost. We enlarged also the funds for the special pilot school breakfast program, as well as the funds for the nonfood assistance program, which is for refrigerators and other types of equipment for schools that simply cannot afford to furnish that type of equipment for themselves.

We did not, as our distinguished friend from Michigan has already stated, go to the full budgeted amount, because we have had considerable experience with our colleagues in the House of Representatives, and we know something of the feeling that we will encounter in conference. We know also that we have increased existing programs by substantially large percentage amounts. For instance, for section 11 funds, we have provided a 50-percent increase over this year's appropriation, from $5 million to $7.5 million. We have increased the pilot school breakfast program by $1 million, from $3.5 million to $4.5 million, and the nonfood assistance by $1,250,000; from $750,000 to $2 million.

I think that we cannot get by with any more than that with the other body. We do not believe that the agencies can reasonably absorb any more than that.

We are increasing the programs very rapidly, and we ask the understanding and tolerance of our friends, the Senator from Michigan and some of the others. There are some of these programs that we cannot increase any faster than we are doing. We think we are going as fast as possible and that we have accomplished the best balance possible under the circumstances in a program which has many complexities and many different methods of approaching the problem of hunger for the children and particularly the children who are dependent and come from homes where they are not getting sufficient food. We have given our full attention to this field.

RECESS TO 9 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, unless there is further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered, that the Senate now stand in recess until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 52 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Wednesday, May 29, 1968, at 9 a.m.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate May 28 (legislative day of May 27), 1968:

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

Roy T. Sessums, of Louisiana, to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission for a term of 9 years.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Tuesday, May 28, 1968*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Rev. Emmett C. Johnson, of the First Baptist Church of Sarasota, Fla., offered the following prayer:

II Chronicles 7: 14: *If My people, which are called by My name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek My face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land.*

Almighty God, who art alive and not dead; who art for us and not against us; forgive our sins. Help us to instill greater respect for authority and rid our boundaries of lawlessness.

Grant these, our Congressmen, courage for the towering tasks which confront them. May they have compassion for the needy, concern for the individual, and contempt for the greedy. Grant them patience toward those who kick at their shins and usurp their time thoughtlessly.

We pray for the youngbloods of America. May they embrace wisdom as swiftly as they are exposed to knowledge and war.

Bless our President. Direct the dialogs concerning peace. Issue courage and protection to our combatants.

O God, we pray for the death of war.

In Christ's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

On May 18, 1968:

H.R. 14681. An act to declare a portion of Boston Inner Harbor and Fort Point Channel nonnavigable.

On May 23, 1968:

H.R. 14940. An act to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to extend the authorization for appropriations.

On May 24, 1968:

H.J. Res. 1234. Joint resolution to provide for the issuance of a gold medal to the widow of the late Walt Disney and for the issuance of bronze medals to the California Institute of the Arts in recognition of the distinguished public service and the outstanding contributions of Walt Disney to the United States and to the world.

On May 27, 1968:

H.R. 15131. An act to amend the District of Columbia Police and Firemen's Salary Act of 1958 to increase salaries, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16409. An act to amend the District of Columbia Teacher's Salary Act of 1955 to provide salary increases for teachers and school officers in the District of Columbia public schools, and for other purposes.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 3299. An act to authorize the purchase, sale, and exchange of certain lands on the Spokane Indian Reservation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 14672. An act to amend the act of February 14, 1931, relating to the acceptance of gifts for the benefit of Indians;

H.R. 14922. An act to amend Public Law 90–60 with respect to judgment funds of the Ute Mountain Tribe;

H.R. 15224. An act to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard; and

H.R. 15271. An act to authorize the use of funds arising from a judgment in favor of the Spokane Tribe of Indians.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with an amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 5704. An act to grant minerals, including oil, gas, and other natural deposits, on certain lands in the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, Mont., to certain Indians, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 203. An act to amend sections 13(b) of the acts of October 3, 1962 (76 Stat. 698, 704), and for other purposes;

S. 2701. An act to provide for sale or exchange of isolated tracts of tribal lands on the Flathead Reservation, Mont.;

S. 3017. An act to change the provision with respect to the maximum rate of interest permitted on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936; and

S.J. Res. 157. Joint resolution to supplement Public Law 87–734 and Public Law 87–735 which took title to certain lands in the Lower Brule and Crow Creek Indian Reservations.

ADJOURNMENT FROM WEDNESDAY, MAY 29, 1968, UNTIL MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1968

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Concurrent Resolution 782 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 782

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That when the two Houses adjourn on Wednesday, May 29, 1968, they stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian, Monday, June 3, 1968.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING CLERK TO RECEIVE MESSAGES FROM THE SENATE, AND THE SPEAKER TO SIGN ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the adjournment of the House until Monday, June 3, 1968, the Clerk be authorized to receive messages from the Senate and that the Speaker be authorized to sign any enrolled bills and joint resolutions duly passed by the two Houses and found truly enrolled.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

NO INVOLUNTARY ASSIGNMENT OF SURVIVING IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBERS TO VIETNAM

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I have today written to Secretary of Defense Clifford urging that it be strict Defense Department policy not to assign involuntarily to Vietnam immediate relatives of servicemen killed in action.

With the extensive manpower available in the regular Armed Forces, the Reserves, and through the draft, I do not believe there can be any justifiable reason to involuntarily confront a single family with the possibility of losing two or more members in Vietnam.

I have been contacted about this matter by a constituent and agree that assigning a second son to Vietnam after one member of the family has been killed places an undue burden on the family.

I trust Secretary Clifford will recognize that the policy order I request is a logical extension of the policy issued at my request 2 years ago to prevent two sons of the same family from serving concurrently in Vietnam.

If the reply from the Secretary is not affirmative I shall bring this matter before the Committee on Armed Services.

INSURANCE FOR RIOT VICTIMS

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, something must be done to insure and protect the property owner and small businessman from a complete loss due to mob violence, mass looting, stealing, and arson. The right to own property is guaranteed in the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The right to own property and be protected in that right is a basic elemental American freedom. Property rights is the foundation of our private enterprise system. The American people have been shocked as never before at the mob violence which has devastated whole areas of many American cities. These riots have shaken the faith of the American people in the ability and determination of government at the local, State, and National level to protect the homes, businesses, and lives of our citizens.

In a few short hours of burning and robbery thousands of our people have been left homeless and injured. Many have been killed. Lifetime savings and businesses were destroyed completely overnight. Something must be done to reassure our people and protect their right to own a home and own a business. Today I am joining my colleague, the able gentleman from New York [Mr. HORTON], in introducing a bill which will provide for the Federal Government to assist insurance companies in paying for the huge and often fantastic losses incurred as a result of riots and mob violence.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, yesterday on rollcall No. 152 I am properly recorded as not voting. I was not present for the reason that I was at the White House in a conference with the President of the United States.

The pair I had with the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. MAYNE] indicates I would have voted against the amendment on rollcall No. 152.

RAID BY LOEW'S THEATER ON THE STOCK OF COMMERCIAL CREDIT CO.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, one of the attributes of a free people is a free market. With the purpose of maintaining freedom of the market place in America, I have introduced a measure calling for a study of mergers, monopolies, and other business practices comprehended within our broad definition of antitrust.

The urgency of the need for this kind of a study is illustrated by the frequency of stock fights in this country, which cause upheavals in entire industries and in large segments of the economy, as well as putting the interest of individual stockholders in jeopardy.

An example of this is the raid which is now taking place, organized by Loew's Theaters, Inc., on the stock of the Commercial Credit Co., a corporation which has its headquarters in Maryland.

I am sure the Securities and Exchange Commission is going to take very careful cognizance of this stock fight and will view the acquisition by Loew's of the stock of the Commercial Credit Co., with a very careful eye.

I am today calling on the Attorney General of the United States to investigate this proposed stock acquisition to determine whether it would create a conglomerate prohibited by section 7 of the Clayton Antitrust Act or be in violation of other Federal law.

The net result of this stock fight, of course, will be to oust the Maryland officers of Commercial Credit and to prejudice the rights, not only of several thousand Maryland stockholders, but also of many more thousands all over the country. I believe it does illustrate the need for broad action in the area of antitrust.

A TRAGICALLY PROPHETIC ARTICLE

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I take this moment to call the attention of my colleagues to an article which may be tragically prophetic and which I intend to insert in the Extensions of Remarks today.

It is an article which, strangely, appeared in the Sunday Star, May 26, under the caption of "World of Science," written by William Hines, World Book Science Service editor. The headline of the article is, "Navy Not Ready for Another *Thresher* Disaster."

The first paragraph of this article states the following:

> Just over five years have elapsed since the worst undersea tragedy in history occurred, and little has been done in the meantime to cope effectively with another *Thresher* disaster.

The concluding paragraph of this article reads as follows:

> And the chilling thought is, it could happen tomorrow.

Indeed, with the headlines in this morning's paper, there is a possibility that it did "happen tomorrow."

I am sure my colleagues would share with me the concern expressed in this article, that we may not be ready for this second disaster of the *Thresher* type.

I might also call the attention of my colleagues to a map which appears in the current issue of National Geographic. It is an undersea map of the Atlantic Ocean, which may be of some import in connection with the missing *Scorpion* submarine.

TIME TO TAKE A FIRM STAND

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today for two occasions, one of which has already been brought to the attention of the House; namely, the misuse of the cafeteria in the Department of Agriculture and the short changing by some $250 of the American people in order to buy lunch for the "Poor People."

Even more revealing than that, Mr. Speaker, is a statement which I heard this morning, that because of the widespread use, abuse, and misuse of the Reflecting Pool, down near the "Poor People's" encampment, the Department of the Interior is considering doing one of two things: Either chlorinating the Reflecting Pool as a means of prevention of disease, or—and this is considered most likely—the possibility of actually draining the pool.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the American people have had all they are going to take on this subject. Rather than getting rid of the pool as a means of getting rid of disease we had better put some ropes around that pool or order those people to leave town that mistreat our Capital parks.

We have gone much too far. We have been tolerant to the point of incredible defacement of the Congress and of the American people. It is time we do something about it and take a firm stand against these people misusing the Capital parks in this manner.

COMMUNICATION FROM COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the chairman of the Committee on Public Works which was read and referred to the Committee on Appropriations:

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 24, 1968.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
The Speaker,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the provisions of Section 2 of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended, the Committee on Public Works has approved the work plans transmitted to you which were referred to this committee. The work plans involved are the following:

State	Watershed	Executive communication No.	Committee approval
Mississippi	Browns Creek	1347	May 22, 1968
Oklahoma	Fitzgerald and Soldier Creek.	1347	Do.
Arizona	Harquahala Valley	1347	Do.
Kansas	Lower Elk River	1347	Do.
Maine	Nezinscot River	1347	Do.
Oklahoma	Okfuskee tributaries.	1347	Do.
Mississippi	Silver Creek	1347	Do.
Kansas	Upper Elk River	1347	Do.
South Carolina	Brown's Creek	1346	Do.
North Carolina	Cane Creek	1346	Do.
South Carolina			
Mississippi	Chunky River	1346	May 22, 1968
Arkansas	Fourche Creek	1346	Do.
Missouri			
Indiana	Little Walnut Creek	1346	May 22, 1968

Sincerely yours,
GEORGE H. FALLON,
Chairman.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 155]

Andrews, Ala.
Ashmore
Battin
Berry
Bingham
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Carter
Chamberlain
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Conyers
Cowger
Culver
de la Garza
Downing
Evins, Tenn.
Findley
Flynt
Fraser
Gettys
Gilbert
Green, Oreg.
Gubser
Harrison
Hawkins
Holland
Howard
Jones, Mo.
Kee
Kleppe
Long, La.
Lukens
McMillan
May
Miller, Calif.
Moore
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
Pike
Randall
Rees
Rivers
Roybal
Rumsfeld
Selden
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Tunney
Utt
Watts
Wilson, Charles H.

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 381 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO HAVE UNTIL MIDNIGHT TONIGHT TO FILE CERTAIN PRIVILEGED REPORTS

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

GREATER PROSPERITY THROUGH EXPANDING WORLD TRADE—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 322)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

A nation's trade lines are its life lines. Open trade lines and active commerce lead to economic health and growth. Closed trade lines end in economic stagnation.

Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized these truths more than thirty years ago, when the nation and the world were in the grip of Depression.

On that March day in 1934 when he asked the Congress to pass the historic Reciprocal Trade Act, he pointed to America's declining world trade and what it meant to the nation: "idle hands, still machines, ships tied to their docks."

That Act set in motion three and a half decades of descending tariff barriers and rising world trade. Our producers and farmers found new markets abroad, and American exports multiplied twenty-fold.

This era of commercial progress was capped by the Kennedy Round Agreements reached at Geneva last year—the greatest success in all the history of international trade negotiations.

When I reported to the Congress last November on the Kennedy Round, I said it would mean new factories, more jobs, lower prices to families and higher incomes for American workers and for our trading partners throughout the world.

Already, through these Agreements, tariff barriers everywhere are falling, bringing savings to consumers, and opening new overseas markets for competitive producers.

But the problems and the promises of world trade are always changing. We must have the tools not only to adjust to change, but to turn change to our advantage.

To prepare for the era of world trade unfolding before us now, I submit to the Congress today the Trade Expansion Act of 1968. This measure will:

- —maintain our negotiating authority to settle—advantageously—trade problems and disputes.
- —carry out the special Geneva agreement on chemicals and other products.
- —improve the means through which American firms and workers can adjust to new competition from increased imports.

OUR INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will strengthen relations with our trading partners in three ways.

First, it will extend through June 30, 1970 the President's authority to conduct negotiations for tariff reductions. This authority was contained in provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 that have expired.

Most of this authority was used in negotiating the Kennedy Round. The unused portion of that authority will give the President the flexibility to adjust tariff rates as future developments might require.

For example, the United States might

find it necessary to increase the duty on a particular article—as the result of an "escape clause" action or a statutory change in tariff classification. In such event, we would be obliged to give other nations compensatory tariff adjustments for their trade losses.

Without this authority, we would invite retaliation and endanger American markets abroad.

I recommend that the President's authority to make these tariff adjustments be extended through June 30, 1970.

Second, the Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will eliminate the American Selling Price system of customs valuation. This action is necessary to carry out the special agreement reached during the Kennedy Round.

The American Selling Price system has outlived its purpose. It should be ended.

The generally accepted method of valuing goods for tariff purposes—which we and all our trading partners employ—is to use the actual price of the item to the importer.

But many years ago, to protect a few of our fledgling industries, we imposed on competing foreign goods—in addition to a substantial tariff—the special requirement that their tariff value be determined by American prices. Today this unusual system often produces tariff protection of more than 100 percent of the import cost of the product.

Such excessive protection is both unfair and unnecessary.

This system is unfair because it:

—Gives to a few industries a special privilege available to no other American business.

—Rests on an arbitrary method of valuation which no other nation uses.

—Diverges from the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

—Imposes an unjustified burden on the U.S. consumer.

This system is unnecessary because the few industries which it covers no longer need special government protection.

It applies primarily to the chemical industry in the benzenoid field. Yet chemicals, and benzenoids in particular, are among our most efficient and rapidly expanding industries. They have done well at home. They have done well in the international market. They are in a strong position to face normal competition from imports.

A supplementary agreement was negotiated at Geneva which will lower foreign tariffs on American chemicals and reduce certain non-tariff barriers—road taxes and tariff preferences—on American automobiles and tobacco. To receive these important concessions, the United States must eliminate the American Selling Price valuation system and thereby give foreign producers of chemicals and a few other products normal access to our markets. This bargain is clearly in our national interest—good for our industries, good for our workers, and good for our consumers.

I recommend that the Congress eliminate the American Selling Price system to remove inequities in our tariffs and enable us to take advantage of concessions negotiated in the Kennedy Round.

Third, the Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will provide for specific funding of our participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

This is the procedure we follow in meeting our financial responsibilities to all other international organizations.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has become the most important forum for the conduct of international trade relations. The Kennedy Round took place under its auspices. Yet since 1947, we have financed our annual contribution to this Agreement through general contingency funds rather than through a specific authorization.

I recommend that the Congress authorize specific appropriations for the American share of the expenses for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

OUR NEEDS AT HOME

When trade barriers fall, the American people and the American economy benefit. Open trade lines:

—Reduce prices of goods from abroad.

—Increase opportunities for American businesses and farms to export their products. This means expanded production and more job opportunities.

—Help improve the efficiency and competitive strength of our industries. This means a higher rate of economic growth for our nation and higher incomes for our people.

Some firms, however, have difficulty in meeting foreign competition, and need time and help to make the adjustment.

Since international trade strengthens the nation as a whole, it is only fair that the government assist those businessmen and workers who face serious problems as a result of increased imports.

The Congress recognized this need—in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962—by establishing a program of trade adjustment assistance to businessmen and workers adversely affected by imports.

Unfortunately, this program has been ineffective. The test of eligibility has proved to be too rigid, too technical, and too complicated.

As part of a comprehensive trade expansion policy, I propose that we make our adjustment assistance program fair and workable.

I recommend that Congress broaden the eligibility for this assistance. The test should be simple and clear: relief should be available whenever increased imports are a substantial cause of injury.

I intend to pattern the administration of this program on the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965. Determinations of eligibility will be made jointly by the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce and Treasury.

The adjustment assistance provisions of Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965 have been successful. They have well served American automobile firms and their workers as we have moved to create an integrated U.S.-Canadian auto market.

These provisions will expire on June 30.

I recommend that the Congress extend the adjustment assistance provisions of the Automotive Products Trade Act through June 30, 1971.

TRADE INITIATIVES FOR THE FUTURE

The measures I have recommended today will help us carry forward the great tradition of our reciprocal trade policy.

But even as we consolidate our past gains, we must look to the future.

First and foremost, we must ensure that the progress we have made is not lost through new trade restrictions.

One central fact is clear. A vicious cycle of trade restrictions harms most the nation which trades most. And America is that nation.

At the present time, proposals pending before the Congress would impose quotas or other trade restrictions on the imports of over twenty industries. These measures would cover about $7 billion of our imports—close to half of all imports subject to duty.

In a world of expanding trade, such restrictions would be self-defeating. Under international rules of trade, a nation restricts imports only at the risk of its own exports. Restriction begets restriction.

In reality, "protectionist" measures do not protect any of us:

—They do not protect the American working man. If world markets shrink, there will be fewer jobs.

—They do not protect the American businessman. In the long run, smaller markets will mean smaller profits.

—They do not protect the American consumer. He will pay more for the goods he buys.

The fact is that every American—directly or indirectly—has a stake in the growth and vitality of an open economic system.

Our policy of liberal trade has served this nation well. It will continue to advance our interests in the future.

But these are critical times for the nation's economy. We have launched a series of measures to reduce a serious balance of payments deficit. As part of this program, I have called for a major long-run effort to increase our trade surplus. This requires that we push ahead with actions to keep open the channels of trade.

Many of our trading partners have indicated a willingness to cooperate in this effort by accelerating some of their tariff reductions agreed to in the Kennedy Round, and by permitting the United States to defer a portion of our tariff reductions. Furthermore, a number of Western European countries are now taking more active steps to achieve a higher rate of economic growth. This promises to increase the demand for our exports and improve our trade position.

To take full advantage of the expanded trading opportunities that lie ahead, we must improve the competitive position of American goods. *Passage of the anti-inflation tax is the most critical action we could take now to strengthen our position at home and in world markets.* The tax measure I have recommended will help prevent destructive price increases—which can sap the vitality and strength of our economy. Continued rapid increases in our prices would mean fewer exports and higher imports.

Second, other nations must join with us to put an end to non-tariff barriers.

Trade is a two-way street. A successful trade policy must be built upon reciprocity. Our own trade initiatives will founder unless our trading partners join with us in these efforts.

The Kennedy Round was an outstanding example of international cooperation. But major non-tariff barriers continue to impede the free flow of international commerce. These barriers now block many U.S. products from competing for world markets.

Some non-tariff barriers violate provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. We will step up our efforts to secure the prompt removal of these illegal restrictions.

Other non-tariff barriers may not be illegal, but they clearly hamper and hinder trade. Such barriers are found in all countries; the American Selling Price system is an example of one of our non-tariff barriers.

We have initiated a major international study to assess the effect of non-tariff barriers on world trade.

We have already begun action in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and other international organizations to deal with some of these non-tariff barriers.

Efforts such as these are an important element in our trade policy. All sides must be prepared to dismantle unjustified or unreasonable barriers to trade.

Reciprocity and fair play are the essential standards for international trade. America will insist on these conditions in all our negotiations to lower non-tariff barriers.

Third, we must develop a long-range policy to guide American trade expansion through the 1970's.

I have directed the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations to make an intensive study of our future trade requirements and needs.

I would hope that Members of the Congress and leaders of Labor, Business and Agriculture will work with the Executive Branch in this effort. To help develop the foundations of a far-reaching policy, I will issue an Executive Order that establishes a wide basis for consultation and assistance in this important work.

AN EXPANDING ERA IN WORLD TRADE

The proposals in this message have been shaped to one purpose—to develop the promise of an expanding era in world trade.

We started on this road three and a half decades ago. In the course of that journey, the American farmer, the businessman, the worker and the consumer have benefitted.

The road ahead can lead to new levels of prosperity and achievement for the American people. The Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will speed us on the way.

I urge the Congress to give this important measure its prompt and favorable consideration.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 28, 1968.*

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF TRADE EXPANSION ACT OF 1968 MADE BY MR. MILLS OF ARKANSAS

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks and to include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the message of the President of the United States which has just been read, the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS], chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, has prepared a bill to continue the expansion of international trade, and thereby to promote the general welfare of the United States, and for other purposes, which he will introduce today.

In reference to the bill that he will introduce today, the gentleman from Arkansas has asked unanimous consent that there may be inserted in the RECORD at this point a section-by-section analysis of the so-called Trade Expansion Act of 1968. I do so in his behalf.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PRICE of Illinois). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The document referred to follows:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF TRADE EXPANSION ACT OF 1968

The Trade Expansion Act of 1968 consists of five titles. Title I (sections 101–102) is entitled "Short Title and Purposes", title II (sections 201–202) "Trade Agreements", title III (sections 301—304) "Adjustment Assistance to Firms and Workers", title IV (sections 401–404) "Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade", and title V (section 501) "Adjustment Assistance to Firms and Workers in Automotive Industry".

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE AND PURPOSES

Section 101. Short title

This section provides that the short statutory title of the Act is the "Trade Expansion Act of 1968".

Section 102. Statement of purposes

This section sets forth the three basic purposes of the Act. The first purpose is to continue and strengthen the trade agreements program of the United States. The second purpose is to establish a viable program of adjustment assistance for firms and workers affected by imports. The third purpose is to promote the reduction or elimination of non-tariff barriers to trade.

TITLE II—TRADE AGREEMENTS

Section 201. Basic authority for trade agreements

Subsection (a) amends section 201(a)(1) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (TEA) so as to authorize the President to enter into trade agreements with foreign countries until July 1, 1970. Subsection (b) makes clear that, in proclaiming any reduction in a rate of duty pursuant to a trade agreement, the President is limited by section 201(b)(1) of the TEA to a reduction of not more than 50% of the rate existing on July 1, 1962.

As a result, the President may exercise whatever portion of his authority to reduce rates by as much as 50% which he did not use by the close of the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations. He is not given any authority to eliminate rates of duty pursuant to section 202, 211, 212, or 213 of the TEA.

In fact, the authority provided by section 201 of the bill will not be used in any major bilateral or multilateral tariff negotiation. Instead, it is intended primarily for cases where the United States finds it necessary to increase a rate of duty which is subject to a tariff concession. In such cases, the United States would offer compensatory tariff concessions to the countries affected by the rate increase, since failure to do so would probably lead to retaliatory action on the part of such countries.

All the requirements of the TEA normally applicable to the exercise of the authority in section 201 of the TEA will apply, including the pre-negotiation requirements of chapter 3 of title II of the TEA and the staging requirement of section 253 of the TEA.

Section 202. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

This section amends the TEA by adding a new section 244. This new section authorizes annual appropriations to finance each year's U.S. contribution to the budget of the GATT. This contribution is presently financed from the appropriation made to the Department of State and entitled "International Conferences and Contingencies."

TITLE III—ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE TO FIRMS AND WORKERS

Section 301. Petitions and determinations

In general, section 301 amends section 301 of the TEA in two respects. First, it liberalizes the criteria of eligibility of individual firms and workers to apply for adjustment assistance. Among other changes, injury will be related to increased imports whether or not a trade agreement concession was involved.

Second, it provides that, instead of the Tariff Commission, the President will make the substantive determinations of eligibility. The Tariff Commission's function will be to gather and supply to the President the relevant facts to assist him in making such determinations.

Subsection (a) amends section 301 of the TEA to change the title of the section from "Tariff Commission Investigations and Reports" to "Petitions and Determinations", consistent with the subsequent amendments to section 301.

Subsection (b) amends section 301(a)(2) of the TEA by substituting "President" for "Tariff Commission" in the two places it appears. Accordingly, petitions for a determination of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance which are filed by a firm or a group of workers are to be filed with the President. It is expected that the President will delegate this function and his other functions under this section. In the case of a group of workers, it is intended that a group of 3 or more workers in a firm may qualify as a petitioner.

Subsection (c) amends section 301(a)(3) of the TEA so as to provide that the Tariff Commission shall transmit to the Secretary of Commerce copies only of petitions for tariff adjustment, since the Tariff Commission will no longer be receiving petitions for adjustment assistance.

Subsection (d) amends section 301(c) of the TEA so as to provide new criteria of eligibility of firms and workers to apply for adjustment assistance and to substitute the President for the Tariff Commission for the purpose of determining whether the criteria are satisfied.

Under the amendment, new section 301 (c)(1) of the TEA provides that in the case of a petition by a firm for a determination of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance under chapter 2 of title III of the TEA, the President shall determine whether increased quantities of imports on an article directly competitive with an article produced by the firm have been a substantial cause of serious injury, or the threat thereof, to such firm.

Similarly, new section 301(c)(2) of the TEA provides that in the case of a petition by a group of workers for a determination of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance under chapter 3 of title III of the TEA, the President shall determine whether increased quantities of imports of an article directly competitive with an article produced by such workers' firm, or an appropriate subdivision thereof, have been a substantial cause of unemployment or underemployment, or the threat thereof of a significant number or proportion of the workers of such firm or subdivision.

The term "increased quantities of imports" is intended to require that, if quantities of imports in a recent period reflect an absolute increase over quantities of imports in a representative base period, the total quantity of imports in such recent period shall be taken into account. Thus, if quantities of imports in a representative base period were 8 million units and the quantities in a recent period were 10 million units, the quantities of imports to be considered would be 10 million units.

The "directly competitive" imported article is intended to mean either an article which is like the domestic article and is therefore necessarily directly competitive with it, or one which is unlike the domestic article but nevertheless competes directly with it.

In cases where there is more than one directly competitive imported article, it is intended that the quantities of imports of the several imported articles shall be taken together for purposes of determining whether there have been increased quantities of imports.

By the use of the words "have been", it is intended that the increased quantities of imports shall have occurred in the recent past.

With respect to the causal relationship between increased quantities of imports and injury, or the threat thereof, the term "substantial cause" is intended to require the demonstration of an actual and considerable cause. A substantial cause in any specific case need not, however, be greater than all other causes combined nor even greater than any other single cause.

In the case of a firm, in determining serious injury, it is intended that all relevant economic factors shall be considered, including idling of productive facilities, inability to operate at a level of reasonable profit, and unemployment or underemployment.

In the case of a group of workers, it is intended that in most cases unemployment or underemployment shall be found where the unemployment or underemployment, or both, in a firm, or an appropriate subdivision thereof, is the equivalent of total unemployment of 5% of the workers or 50 workers, whichever is less. At the same time, there are many workers in plants employing fewer than 50 workers. Accordingly, there may be cases where as few as 3 workers in a firm, or an appropriate subdivision thereof, would constitute a significant number or proportion of the workers.

It is intended that an "appropriate subdivision" of a firm shall be that establishment in a multi-establishment firm which produces the domestic article in question. Where the article is produced in a distinct part or section of an establishment (whether the firm has one or more establishments), such part or section may be considered an appropriate subdivision.

New section 301(c)(3) of the TEA provides that the Tariff Commission shall assist the President in making determinations with respect to petitions filed by firms or groups of workers. That is, the President shall promptly transmit to the Tariff Commission a copy of each petition filed by a firm or group of workers under new section 301(a)(2) of the TEA. Not later than 5 days after the date on which the petition is filed, the President shall request the Tariff Commission to conduct an investigation relating to questions of fact relevant to his determinations under new sections 301(c)(1) and (2) of the TEA and to make a report of the facts disclosed by such investigation. In his request, the President may specify the particular kinds of data which he deems appropriate. This is not intended, however, to preclude the Tariff Commission from making an investigation of, and including in its report, such additional data as it considers relevant. Upon receipt of the President's request, the Tariff Commission shall promptly initiate the investigation and promptly publish notice thereof in the Federal Register.

It is intended that the President, and not the Tariff Commission, shall make the determinations under sections 301(c)(1) and (c)(2) with respect to firms and groups of workers. Accordingly, the Tariff Commission is not to include in its report conclusions, opinions, or judgments which are tantamount to the determinations. Instead, it is to present the facts and in a manner which will render the report useful to the President. It is recognized that the Tariff Commission will have to reach conclusions with respect to such subsidiary questions as what constitutes the firm or an appropriate subdivision thereof, what product is directly competitive, and what is the appropriate base period, in order to gather the relevant facts. In any case, however, the President has the final authority to make a decision with respect to any element which enters into the determinations under sections 301(c)(1) and (c)(2), and 302(c), (d), and (e).

Subsection (e) amends section 301(d)(2) of the TEA to provide that, in the course of any investigation under new section 301(c)(3) of the TEA, the Tariff Commission shall hold a public hearing if requested by the petitioner or any other person showing a proper interest. However, such a request must be made not later than 10 days after the date of the publication of its notice under section 301(c)(3). The Tariff Commission is to afford interested persons an opportunity to be present, to produce evidence, and to be heard at such hearing. It is understood that a public hearing may be held in any case on the Tariff Commission's own motion.

Subsection (f) amends section 301(f)(1) of the TEA to provide that the Tariff Commission shall be under an affirmative obligation to include any dissenting or separate views only in its reports concerning petitions for tariff adjustment.

Subsection (g) amends section 301(f)(3) of the TEA to provide that the report of the Tariff Commission of the facts disclosed by its investigation under new section 301(c)(3) of the TEA with respect to a firm or group of workers shall be made at the earliest practicable time, but not later than 60 days after the date on which it receives the request of the President under new section 301(c)(3).

Section 302. Presidential action after Tariff Commission reports

In general, section 302 amends section 302 of the TEA to provide for Presidential action following receipt of the Tariff Commission's factual report with respect to a petition for adjustment assistance.

Subsection (a) amends section 302 of the TEA to change the title of the section from "Presidential Action After Tariff Commission Determination" to "Presidential Action After Tariff Commission Reports", consistent with the amendments to section 301 of the TEA.

Subsection (b) and (c) each makes a similar amendment to section 302(b)(1) and (2), respectively, of the TEA in order to conform with the criteria of eligibility in new sections 301(c)(1) and (2) of the TEA.

Under section 302(a) of the TEA, if the Tariff Commission makes an affirmative finding with respect to a petition for tariff adjustment filed on behalf of an entire industry, the President may furnish increased import protection (e.g., increased tariffs or quotas) to the industry involved, and/or provide that the firms and workers in the industry may request the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor, respectively, for certifications of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance. Under section 302(b) of the TEA, a firm or group of workers in the industry must be certified as eligible to apply for adjustment assistance if it demonstrates that the increased imports (which the Tariff Commission has determined in the case of the industry to result from concessions granted under trade agreements) have caused serious injury to the firm, or unemployment or underemployment of the workers, or the threat thereof, as the case may be.

The amendments to sections 302(b)(1) and (2) of the TEA make it clear that it shall be sufficient, for purposes of section 302(b) of the TEA, for the firm or group of workers to demonstrate that the increased imports have been a substantial cause of serious injury or unemployment or underemployment, or the threat thereof. In this way, whether a firm or group of workers files an original petition for adjustment assistance under section 301(a) of the TEA, or seeks to become eligible under section 302(b) of the TEA for adjustment assistance following an affirmative finding of the Tariff Commission with respect to an industry under section 301(b) of the TEA, the same degree of causality to be ascribed to increased imports will apply.

Subsection (d) amends section 302(c) of the TEA to provide four new paragraphs. New paragraph (1) provides that, after receiving a factual report of the Tariff Commission, the President shall make his determination under new section 301(c)(1) or (c)(2) at the earliest practicable time, but not later than 30 days after the date on which he receives the Tariff Commission's report, unless, within such period, the President requests additional factual information from the Tariff Commission. In this event, the Tariff Commission shall, not later than 25 days after the date on which it receives the President's request furnish such additional factual information in a supplemental report. The President shall then make his determination not later than 15 days after the date on which he receives such supplemental report.

New paragraph (2) provides that the President shall promptly publish in the Federal Register a summary of each determination under new section 301(c) of the TEA with respect to any firm or group of workers.

New paragraph (3) provides that, if the President makes an affirmative determination under section 301(c) of the TEA with respect to any firm or group of workers, he shall promptly certify that such firm or group of workers is eligible to apply for adjustment assistance.

New paragraph (4) provides that the President is authorized to exercise any of his functions with respect to determinations and certifications of eligibility of firms or groups of workers to apply for adjustment assistance through such agency or other instrumentality of the U.S. Government as he may direct. Such agency or instrumentality may issue rules or regulations pursuant to section 401(2) of the TEA.

Section 303. Tax assistance to firms

Section 303 amends section 317(a)(2) of the TEA to conform to the new section 301(c)(1) of the TEA.

Section 304. Adjustment assistance to workers

Section 304 amends section 337 of the TEA to provide that sums appropriated pursuant to section 337 for adjustment assistance for workers may be used to pay the cost of training provided to adversely affected workers entitled to trade readjustment allowances under chapter 3 of title III of the TEA, to the extent that training resources provided under any Federal law would not otherwise be available to such workers.

TITLE IV—NONTARIFF BARRIERS TO TRADE

Section 401. Elimination of American selling price system

In general, this section provides for the elimination of the American selling price (ASP) system as a method of customs valuation. The products now subject to the ASP system are benzenoid chemicals, canned clams, wool-knit gloves, and rubber-soled footwear. As a result of the elimination of this system, these products will no longer be subject to ASP, if competitive with a domestic article, or, in the case of benzenoid chemicals, to United States value as the next basis of value, if not so competitive. Instead, they will be subject to export value (or alternative bases of value in the absence of export value) in accordance with the provisions of section 402 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1401a).

Subsection (a) authorizes the President to proclaim such modifications of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) as are required or appropriate to carry out two agreements concluded as part of the Kennedy Round. The first agreement is the multilateral Agreement Relating Principally to Chemicals, Supplementary to the Geneva (1967) Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Under this Agreement, the President undertakes to use his best efforts to obtain promptly such legislation as is necessary to enable the United States to eliminate the ASP system of valuation, as provided in Part II of the Agreement. Part II provides new column 1 rates for benzenoid chemicals, which shall be based on the first three alternative bases of valuation (export value, United States value, or constructed value) provided for in section 402 (as opposed to section 402a of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1402)). Part II also provides additional tariff concessions by the United States on chemical and related articles not subject to the ASP system. Parts III, IV, and V of the Agreement provide the concessions with respect to tariff and nontariff barriers which the other parties to the Agreement have undertaken to make if the ASP system is eliminated.

The second agreement is the bilateral agreement with Japan, which consists of an exchange of notes. The U.S. note provides that the President is prepared to use his best efforts to obtain promptly such legislation as is necessary to enable the United States to eliminate the ASP system of valuation as it relates to canned clams and wool-knit gloves. The attachment to the U.S. note sets out the new column 1 rates for these products, which shall be based on export value (or alternative bases of value in the absence of export value) in accordance with section 402 of the Tariff Act of 1930. The Japanese note provides the tariff concession which Japan is prepared to make if the ASP system is eliminated.

Subsection (b) concerns the last class of products now subject to the ASP system—rubber-soled footwear. These products were not included in any Kennedy Round agreement providing for the elimination of ASP. Accordingly, paragraph (1) authorizes the President to enter into an agreement with respect to rubber-soled footwear. This agreement would provide for two new items in the TSUS to replace the present single item covering such footwear. The two new article descriptions were set forth by the Tariff Commission in its report of August, 1966, concerning investigation number 332-47. In addition, the agreement would provide that the rates of duty for the two new items shall be based on export value (or alternative bases of value in the absence of export value) in accordance with section 402 of the Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph (2) authorizes the President to proclaim such modifications of the TSUS as are required or appropriate to carry out such agreement, so long as two conditions are met. First, the modifications must not become effective earlier than January 1, 1971. Second, the new rates of duty for column 1 must not be lower than the rates specified in the Act.

Subsection (c) provides that, in a proclamation issued pursuant to section 401, the President is authorized to simplify the TSUS by consolidating article descriptions, but without changing rates, with respect to articles which will be subject to full concession rates of duty (i.e. the final rates set out in the applicable agreements) that are identical to one another in column numbered 1 and to rates of duty that are identical to one another in column numbered 2. Any such consolidation shall become effective on the date the full concession rates become effective for such articles. This subsection is designed to ensure that the President has the authority to consolidate provisions bearing the same rates of duty following the elimination of the ASP system and thereby to simplify customs administration.

Subsection (d) authorizes the President at any time to terminate, in whole or in part, any proclamation issued pursuant to section 401.

Section 402. Application of related provisions

In general, this section provides for the treatment of column 1 rates of duty proclaimed pursuant to section 401 under three related provisions of law.

Subsection (a) is intended to ensure that the present rates of duty based upon ASP will not continue to qualify as rates existing on July 1, 1962, for purposes of the tariff-reducing authority in the TEA even after the ASP system is eliminated. In order to avoid such a possibility, subsection (a) deals with section 256(4) of the TEA, which defines the term "existing on July 1, 1962" as it applies to the 50% limitation on tariff reductions under section 201 of the TEA. Subsection (a) provides that for purposes of section 256(4) of the TEA, the column 1 rates existing on July 1, 1962, shall, in effect, be two times the full concession rates (i.e. the final rates set out in the applicable agreements) proclaimed pursuant to section 401. Accordingly, if, for example, one of the new column 1 rates were increased and the President subsequently wished to reduce it under section 201 of the TEA, he could reduce it to a level no lower than the actual full concession rate.

Subsection (b) provides that a rate of duty proclaimed pursuant to section 401 shall be treated as a concession granted under a trade agreement for purposes of the provisions of title III of the TEA related to tariff adjustment. In particular, this would permit an industry to file a petition with the Tariff Commission alleging, in effect, that a rate of duty proclaimed pursuant to section 401 has been the major cause of increased imports and that such increased imports have been the major cause of serious injury to that industry.

Subsection (c) provides that a rate of duty proclaimed pursuant to section 401 shall be treated as a rate of duty proclaimed pursuant to a concession granted in a trade agreement for purposes of general headnote 4 of the TSUS. As a result, by operation of paragraph (b) of general headnote 4, during such time as a column 1 rate proclaimed pursuant to section 401 is, for a few benzenoid chemicals, higher than the column 2 rate, the column 2 rate will in effect be increased to the level of the column 1 rate. Moreover, by operation of paragraph (d) of general headnote 4, if, for example, a full concession rate proclaimed pursuant to section 401 were terminated under section 402, the column 2 rate would apply.

Section 403. Consequential amendments of tariff schedules of United States

In general, this section makes three kinds of amendments to the TSUS which are consequential upon the elimination of the ASP system. These statutory amendments relate to the four parts of the TSUS providing for the four categories of articles subject to the ASP system and complement the President's proclamatory modifications of the TSUS under section 401 with respect to column 1 rates of duty.

First, all four paragraphs of section 403 establish new column 2 rates for the four categories of articles now subject to ASP and, by an increase over the present column 2 rates in certain cases, adjust for the lower bases of customs valuation that will apply. Second, all four paragraphs of section 403 delete the headnotes in the TSUS which now provide for the application of the ASP system to both column 1 and column 2 rates applicable to the four categories of articles. Third, the last three paragraphs of section 403 in effect remove benzenoid chemicals, rubber-soled footwear, and wool-knit gloves, respectively, from the so-called "final list", whereby these articles are valued for customs purposes on the basis of section 402a of the Tariff Act of 1930 (canned clams are not subject to the "final list"). They do so by substituting for the ASP headnotes new headnotes providing that both column 1 and column 2 rates shall be based on export value (or alternative bases of value in the absence of export value) in accordance with section 402 of the Tariff Act of 1930.

Section 404. Consequential amendments of other provisions of Tariff Act of 1930

In general, this section makes several amendments to the Tariff Act of 1930 which relate to three sections of that Act dealing with the ASP system and which are consequential upon the elimination of the ASP system. These amendments all become effective as of the date the ASP system is eliminated pursuant to section 401 with respect to the last of the articles now subject to that system.

Paragraph (1) amends section 336 of the Tariff Act of 1930 to remove from that section the authority to use ASP in equalizing costs of production between a domestic article and a like imported article. Section 336 can be applied only to the few articles in the TSUS which are not subject to a tariff concession. This amendment ensures that, once the President has eliminated the ASP system with respect to all the articles now subject to that system, the ASP system cannot be established by Executive action with respect to any article.

Paragraphs (2) and (3) amend sections 402 and 402a, respectively, of the Tariff Act of 1930, in order to eliminate ASP as an alternative basis of valuation. This is a formal amendment eliminating the provisions concerning ASP in sections 402 and 402a which will in any case have become inoperative by virtue of the President's proclamations pursuant to section 401 and the amendments to the TSUS made by section 403(a).

TITLE V—ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE FOR FIRMS AND WORKERS IN AUTOMOTIVE INDUSTRY

Section 501. Adjustment assistance for firms and workers in automotive industry

Section 501 amends section 302(a) of the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965 in order to extend the adjustment assistance program under that Act for firms and workers in the automotive industry for another three years, i.e. until July 1, 1971. Accordingly, petitions for a determination of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance may be filed at any time during such additional three-year period.

DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, FISCAL YEAR 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 17522) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes; and pending that motion, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that general debate be limited to 2 hours, the time to be equally divided and controlled by the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CEDERBERG] and myself.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PRICE of Illinois). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 17522, with Mr. HAYS in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] will be recognized for 1 hour, and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CEDERBERG] will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, the total amount recommended by the committee for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the judiciary and related agencies for the fiscal year 1969 is $2,050,981,500 in new obligational authority. This is an increase of $3,094,000 over the total in new obligational authority provided to date for the current fiscal year.

However, there are presently pending proposed supplementals for the current fiscal year totaling over $46,000,000, a large part of which is to cover pay act costs.

The total amount allowed for new obligational authority is $152,839,400 below the total of the budget estimates. This decrease is due principally to the fact that the request for authorization of the sale of $150,000,000 in participation certificates has been disallowed by the committee. The reduction in participation sales will not reduce fiscal year 1969 expenditures but could effect substantial reductions in future years.

The following table summarizes the amounts recommended in the bill in comparison with the budget estimates and the appropriations to date for fiscal year 1968:

Department or agency	New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968 (enacted to date)	Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969	New budget (obligational) authority recommended in the bill	Bill compared with— New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1968 (enacted to date)	Bill compared with— Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1969
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5	(6)
Department of State	$385,667,400	$412,948,000	$388,802,600	+$3,135,200	−$24,145,400
Department of Justice	417,623,000	467,833,000	448,384,000	+30,761,000	−19,449,000
Department of Commerce	763,016,000	825,020,000	888,977,000	+125,961,000	+63,957,000
The Judiciary	93,947,100	101,006,900	98,679,500	+4,732,400	−2,327,400
Related agencies	387,634,000	397,013,000	226,138,400	−161,495,600	−170,874,600
Total	2,047,887,500	2,203,820,900	2,050,981,500	+3,094,000	−152,839,400

[1] Amounts have not been reduced to reflect reserves established pursuant to Public Law 90-218. Proposed supplementals are also excluded.

The comparatively small overall reduction is due to the recommended increase of $129,500,000 over the budget estimates for the Maritime Administration.

The majority of the committee members feel that despite the present national fiscal situation, it is imperative that adequate funds be provided for our merchant marine which plays a most important role in the national security of our country.

As the result of the action taken by the committee, it is estimated that expenditures for the fiscal year 1969 have been reduced by approximately $67,000,000.

The reductions in personnel resulting from the President's directive on overseas personnel together with reductions recommended by the committee will more than offset the new provisions allowed in the accompanying bill.

There are a substantial number of new positions provided for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The committee, as I will point out when I get to the Department of Justice, has allowed the full amount requested for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Now with regard to the Department of State, the total amount recommended in the bill for the Department of State is $388,802,600. This is a decrease of $24,145,400 below the total amount of the budget estimates.

It is an increase of $3,135,200 in new obligational authority over the current fiscal year but is actually a decrease of $12,470,800 below the amount available for the current fiscal year since $15,606,000 was made available by transfer for the fiscal year 1968.

I think that at this point I should interpolate the statement that this bill represents the consensus of opinion or judgment of all the members who participated in the markup.

In this connection I should like to thank my fellow members of the subcommittee for their kindnesses and for their patience with me as their chairman, and thank them for the great cooperation and labor which they contributed in bringing to completion the bill that we have brought to the House floor for your consideration today.

However, among the various items which are reported in the pending bill there are certain items that I do not agree with, that is, I do not agree with the action of the majority of the committee. For example, in the markup I opposed the cut of the State Department's educational exchange program from $44,862,000 to $30 million. This is entirely too drastic a cut in my opinion.

In the Department of Justice, salaries and expenses, general legal activities, there was a cut from $24,852,000 requested to $23,598,000. In law enforcement assistance, there was a cut from $20 million to $7.5 million, which I likewise did not agree with. Nor did I agree with the action of the subcommittee with regard to the cut for the community relations service from $2,808,000 to $2,200,000.

I did not agree to the cut in economic development assistance for the Department of Commerce, which was reduced from $310,650,000 to $274,740,000.

As to the item for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, civil rights educational activities, I certainly did not agree with the cut from $14,976,000 to $10 million.

Finally, I also did not agree with the cut in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, salaries and expenses, which was reduced from a budget estimate request of $13,093,000 to $6,936,000.

I pointed these things out during the course of the markup, but the bill before you represents the action of the majority of the members of the committee.

There are other items which I thought the committee was too extravagant with. So we are here today with a bill which represents the consensus of the thinking of all the members of the subcommittee who participated in the markup.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. With which items of the bill was the committee too extravagant? The gentleman said he thought they were too extravagant.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I do not think this is an extravagant subcommittee. I do not think there is an extravagant member of this subcommittee.

Mr. GROSS. I must have misheard the gentleman.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. It could be.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. With regard to the subject that my distinguished friend from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] and I have discussed for many years, the item known as representation allowances for the State Department, whereby we furnish enough money so that our diplomats will not run out of Martinis, Gibsons, highballs, and such things, the committee has not been extravagant but has allowed exactly the same amount as it allowed in the current fiscal year and in a number of years past. The gentleman might say, "If you are going to reduce the personnel of the Foreign Service overseas by 10 percent"—and this is happening—"you do not need this much money for representation allowances." But I would like to point out to the gentleman from Iowa that the people who are coming back from overseas under the 10-percent personnel reduction never get a smell of this sort of thing—never.

These are FSO–8's and FSO–7's who do not participate in the allocation of funds for representation allowances and entertainment.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, of course, the committee opened with $993,000 for the State Department, and then running through the bill I do not find very many agencies or departments that are overlooked in the matter of booze and entertainment.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Oh no. The Small Business Administration wanted some money for light refreshments. Since they could not guarantee us that they were going to buy at least a few highballs with it, we figured they did not need refreshments at all, so the committee decided to delete the amount that was requested from this bill.

Further, I should say to my distinguished friend from Iowa, I believe a careful examination of all the representation items in this bill will indicate that the total amount is less than it was for the current fiscal year.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I hope the gentleman is correct. I have not the time to compare the representation allowances contained in this bill with those of last year or the year before. It seems to me it would have been a good year—and I think this is where the committee is extravagant—to have cut about 25 percent.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, at first I was going to inform my distinguished friend from Iowa, after we had this bill passed and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table, but I will be presently frank with him: The reduction in the representation allowances is not an overwhelming one. It is a reduction from the current fiscal year in the amount of $500.

Mr. GROSS. I guess we have to be thankful for small favors, but that will not stop the deficits.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, we now get to "Emergencies in the Diplomatic and Consular Service," where the committee allowed the sum of $1,600,000, which is a decrease of $2.5 million below the amount provided in the current fical year, but the entire amount requested by the State Department.

In the overseas schools program, we find the Department wanted $700,000 to acquire sites in Belgrade and Warsaw, behind the Iron Curtain, for construction and purchase of school facilities. The committee denied this in toto for the reason that the majority of the children who would go to these two schools would be children of foreign diplomats rather than children of American diplomats. I think, if I recall correctly, the ratio would be 150 to 50.

For "Contributions to international organizations," the committee has allowed $118,453,000, which is the full amount requested except for the International Coffee Organization, where there was no authority in law to make an appropriation at this time. The committee accordingly reduced the total by $175,000. A list of these international organizations is set forth at page 5 of the committee report.

For "Missions for international organizations," there is included in the bill $3.8 million.

For International Conferences and Contingencies, there is $1.8 million.

For the World Health Assembly, which is to be held in Boston, Mass., there is included the sum of $500,000.

For the International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, there is included a total of $8.686 million.

Incidentally, some Members from southern California, particularly the gentleman from San Diego [Mr. VAN DEERLIN], are interested in a project known as the Tijuana River flood control project. The committee has allowed the requested amount of $400,000 for this purpose in this bill for fiscal year 1969.

Next, we have "American sections, international commissions," where the committee has allowed $610,000, a reduction of $40,000 below the amount of the budget estimate.

For the International Fisheries Commissions, set forth on page 7 of the report, the committee has allowed a total of $2,075,000.

I suggest that the committee has amply taken care of the funds necessary for the control of the lamprey eel in the Great Lakes, which is a very, very important item.

Now, getting further on, we find another project of the State Department which was denied in toto; that is, the sum of $3.1 million requested for developing the teaching of English in Poland. There are those of us who fought and fought hard on this floor, and very often on some very close votes, to permit the Polish Communist Government to buy Public Law 480 commodities for the purposes of their school lunch programs and such. There were a great many Members against doing this sort of thing, thinking it would help the Communist government. I did not want to help the Communist government. I have no use for any Communist government, regardless of whether it is Polish or whatever it is. But this had to do with the Polish people. The eminent Cardinal Wyszynski, the first time this matter of purchase was brought up, said he did not understand the politics of the situation but he did know his people were hungry and needed food and that his people were bare and they needed clothing. Those of us who fought for this on the assurance to the House that the appropriated funds were going to be repaid to the Treasury of the United States in dollars were utterly amazed to find that the policy planners, or whoever they are down in the State Department, came up with the brilliant idea of sidetracking the delivery of the dollars back to the U.S. Treasury. They now want and asked the Bureau of the Budget to start a $10 million English teaching program in the city of Warsaw, Poland.

This we did not agree to. We want the dollars returned to the Treasury, which was the original agreement. No one in the Congress of the United States, on either side of the Capitol, ever gave the State Department authority to change that plan or agreement and use these moneys in any way other than to have them delivered in dollars back to the Treasury of the United States.

Continuing on with the items in the bill, we get to the Department of Justice, where the committee approved $448,384,000, which is $19,449,000 below the budget estimates and $30,761,000 over the amount appropriated to date for the current fiscal year. However, I should point out there are presently pending supplemental requests for the current fiscal year of items totaling approximately $20 million, a large part of which is to pay for Pay Act costs.

The committee has allowed 836 new positions out of the 1,297 requested for the Department of Justice, and the largest number of these is for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for which agency the committee approved the full amount.

I have already made reference to some of these items in pointing out that I did not agree with the amount of the reductions. I thought some of these reductions were too drastic. However, the committee was unanimous in providing all the funds required for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and in providing sufficient funds for the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

I should point out here that in the Department of Justice we have a new Chairman of the Parole Board, a gentleman who not too long ago arrived from California. We were utterly amazed to find that he believed his predecessor, a kindly, highly efficient gentleman named Richard Chappell, who was Chairman of the Parole Board for years and who in my estimation knew something about parole and prisoners, was not so good. He had the idea there never was a previous chairman of the parole board before him who knew anything about the job. When we inquired as to why, he said his predecessors did not get the prisoners out of the jail fast enough.

This gentleman from California—I am sorry, Mr. LIPSCOMB, I have now mentioned California twice.

This gentleman has designs of not only having the Parole Board under his jurisdiction, but he wants to take over the

Federal prison system and run the jails and he wants to take over the probation system, which is a part of the Federal judiciary and which is appropriated for in the judiciary appropriations for the Federal courts of the United States. Well, that gentleman should feel a bit discouraged by now, and I hope he is.

Now, as to the budget estimates for the Department of Commerce, they total $825,020,000 in new obligational authority. The committee has included in the accompanying bill $888,977,000, which is an increase of $63,957,000 over the total amount requested.

The amount of this overall increase is due to the action of the committee with regard to the Maritime Administration. I must say that not every member of the committee but a great majority of the committee agreed to this action. This new obligational authority was increased by $129.5 million over the total amount of the budget requests. Excluding the action concerning the Maritime Administration, the committee has reduced the Department of Commerce budget requests by $65,543,000 and has allowed an increase of $21,526,000 over the appropriations made to date for the current fiscal year.

Now we get on to the various items in the Department of Commerce budget. The committee increased the funds for international activities and increased the funds for the U.S. Travel Service. This has been done primarily for the reason that the new Secretary of Commerce, Gen. C. R. Smith, former president and chairman of the board of American Airlines, who should know something about travel and more so than anybody ever connected with this travel service since it was conceived, says that he will change the whole approach of the U.S. Travel Service. The committee has agreed to go along with this. General Smith believes that these plush offices that the travel service has in many capitals of the world should be closed. The committee agrees with this.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield on this?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Did you increase it from $1.5 million to $4.5 million?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. No. We increased it from $3 million to $4.5 million.

Mr. GROSS. An increase of $1.5 million?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. $1.5 million.

At the same time, in connection with the supplemental request for fiscal year 1968, which has not been reported out yet, the committee will consider denying the amount in toto which was requested; to wit, $1.7 million.

Funds are included in this pending bill for the organization known as the Environmental Science Services Administration, the Patent Office, the National Bureau of Standards, the Office of State Technical Services, the Maritime Administration and the various ramifications thereof, Foreign Direct Investment Control, and other such items.

Now, to get to the Federal judiciary, this bill includes funds for all of the courts from the U.S. Supreme Court down to the district courts and all of the personnel and people connected therewith. The total amount of the requests was $101,006,900, which included a requested appropriation of $13,205,000 from the referees' salary and expense fund.

The committee recommends a total of $98,679,500, which represents a reduction of $2,327,400 in the total request. The amount allowed is $4,732,400 more than has been appropriated to date for the current fiscal year.

Mr. Chairman, with reference to the courts, among which are included the Supreme Court of the United States, the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, the Customs Court, the Court of Claims, the courts of appeals, and the district courts.

Then we come to the related agencies. I believe there are about 13 related agencies included in this bill. The total recommended in new obligational authority is $226,138,400, which is a reduction of $170,874,600 from the budget estimates and a decrease of $161,495,600 from the total appropriated for the current year. The decrease is largely attributable to the fact that, as I have pointed out, there was requested $150 million for additional participation sales authorizations for the Small Business Administration, but this request was not approved.

There are funds for the American Battle Monuments Commission, the Commission on Civil Rights, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, civil rights educational activities, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Federal Maritime Commission, and the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission.

Mr. Chairman, at this point I shall pause to point out to the members of the Committee of the Whole that this Foreign Claims Settlement Commission presented to the committee a request to keep 102 people on the payroll at a cost of over $1 million to investigate and to adjudicate claims against whom? Claims against Mao Tse-tung and Castro. When the subcommittee wanted to know when they were going to have money with which to pay these claims for which they were going to spend all of this money to investigate and adjudicate, it became obvious that Mao Tse-tung and Castro might contribute some money in connection with these claims in the next world, but not in this one. The committee has drastically reduced the funds for the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission from—well, the reduction is from $1,331,000 to an allowance of $344,000.

Now, we go on to the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws, the Small Business Administration, Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, the Subversive Activities Control Board, the Tariff Commission, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the U.S. Information Agency.

Mr. Chairman, if there are any questions with regard to the items that I have covered so far in the bill I shall be glad to answer them at this time.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. EDMONDSON. First, Mr. Chairman, permit me to compliment the chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations which handled this bill for a very comprehensive presentation and for what in my opinion is an excellent presentation which we always expect from the distinguished gentleman from New York when he handles a bill on the floor of the House.

However, I am concerned particularly as a member of the authorizing committee with respect to the Economic Development Administration and the various regional commissions that have been established in the last few years to carry on the work of regional economic development with reference to the absence of any indication in either the bill or the report of the amount that is expected to be available to the regional commissions which have the authority of carrying out this economic development program in the different sections of the country.

I say this, Mr. Chairman, because New England has a commission which has been established and which has been operating upon a very limited budget and let me say further that it has been engaged in planning along this line for some period of time.

In our area of the country, Ozarka, which is the second major commission in the country, really, to get operating following the Appalachian Commission, has been operating upon a real shoestring, and has had very little money available for actual grants, or for development assistance.

The administration had made a request which I know contemplated funding at the level of about $21 million for these regional commissions in fiscal year 1969. The committee in its judgment has granted a $5 million increase under the overall topic of economic development assistance over last year which falls about $35 million below the overall figure that had been requested, and at the same time is not spelled out in any specific way just what part of the funds available for economic development assistance should be available to the regional commissions. And I would like to know how close they could expect to come to the Bureau of the Budget recommendations for $21 million in fiscal year 1969 within the guidelines set by the committee?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON], my dear friend, has put his finger on one of the most inept agencies in the U.S. Government; that is, the economic development assistance area in this bill included in the Department of Commerce.

I am afraid that they are going to have to get along this year on a shoestring of $274,740,000, of which an amount of money unknown to the committee will be allocated by the Department of Commerce for the regional commissions. I suppose that that amount will not be determined until both Houses of Congress have acted upon this appropriation, and until they know exactly how much they are going to have. At that time they will make their allocations for these regional commissions.

Mr. EDMONDSON. If the able chairman of the subcommittee has this feeling about the Economic Development Administration, it would be my hope that his subcommittee would supply a little more guidance to that administration as to what amount of money should be available to the more independent agencies like the Ozarka Commission.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. One of the reasons that the committee does not continue to do that is that they never pay very much attention to us. The committee told the EDA, and before that, the ARA, what we thought of this business of going up to the State of Maine and weaning potato growers, traditional potato farmers in the State of Maine, to wean them away from potatoes, and have them grow beet sugar.

Now, holy smoke, a great many States throughout the country have allocations for beet sugar. Why should they take beet sugar away from some other area and move it up to the State of Maine in order to get them to stop growing Maine potatoes.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Will the chairman yield further on that point?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield further to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Without getting into the merits of the beet sugar question in Maine, and I know that there are arguments on both sides of the question, and some time could be spent debating them, the decision to have that project was a decision of the Economic Development Administration, and local people who wanted to have the project. It was not a decision of the New England Regional Commission. The New England Regional Commission is a new entity which we have created, authorized by law, to try to get better direction and better planning and better coordination of the economic development programs in these areas, and it had been the hope of many of us on the authorizing committee that these commissions could have some independence from the Economic Development Administration, and not be under the thumb, so to speak, of the Economic Development Administration.

I am afraid, in the absence of some guidelines from the committee as to what money should go to these commissions and what money they should be given to operate upon, that you are leaving them right in the lap, and under the control, of the very agency of which the gentleman has been critical.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I should say to my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Oklahoma, that perhaps it would be better if this was left in the hands of the Department of Commerce because if this subcommittee got into allocating this money, it is possible we would not have any regional commissions.

Do you know that some of these regional commissioners are set up for salaries as high as $30,000 a year? Regional commissioners to give advice with regard to where the taxpayers should spend their money.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EDMONDSON. The gentleman from New York chairs a subcommittee which could exercise some direct control over this question if he spelled out in his bill a budget for the regional commission and put some specific line item there on what the regional commission could have.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I know the gentleman is a great admirer of the EDA and has supported them and has helped them, but I think so far as his position is concerned, he is better off that this committee does not allocate it.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Then may I conclude from that that the Subcommittee on Appropriations dealing with the Department of Commerce is not giving any guidance or direction at all to the bill as to what money should go to the regional commissions?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. That is correct.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I thank the gentleman for his frankness.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. What else would I be? I thought I was being frank for the last 10 minutes.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee yielding to me and compliment him on including the antiriot promoter section, section 705, of the bill. This will save time in debate, I am sure.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. That is exactly what the committee had in mind.

Mr. HALL. It will save time in debate during the amendment process.

Second, I want to say I think the question of representation allowance scattered throughout the bill has been adequately covered in the colloquy already today, but I still question this way of spending the taxpayers' money.

But what I really rose for——

Mr. ROONEY of New York. But, surely, the good doctor would not object to a little spirits every once in a while. I am sure the doctor has prescribed that for his patients.

Mr. HALL. Not since the influenza epedemic in 1918, I will say to the distinguished gentleman, when we knew of nothing better than "corn squeezings," to treat the "flu" with.

But would the gentleman from New York yield further?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. HALL. With reference to page 50 of the bill, I would simply like to ask a question about the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, salaries, and expenses. I would presume that is the representative to Geneva that we often refer to as the GATT conferee or special envoy of this Government with ambassadorial status.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The present Ambassador, William M. Roth, is the successor to the late Christian Herter who was the first to hold that position which, so far as the committee is concerned, is considered a temporary post.

Mr. HALL. That is the question I wanted to ask and the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee has anticipated it and answered the question. It will be temporary and it will not be continued insofar as the subcommittee knows, beyond its period of fruitfulness to this Nation?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. That is our understanding.

Mr. HALL. Would you tell us why, under the "U.S. Information Agency" on the bottom of page 52 and the top of page 53, in the wisdom of the committee they have authorized expenditures for "the purchase of ice and drinking water abroad," whereas this is not specifically spelled out in any other department—the Department of State or the Foreign Service? Do the information people have to have specially clear water or pure ice in order to keep from rusting their vocal cords and their pipes as they broadcast this information around the world?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I should say to my distinguished friend from Missouri, this is a health matter abroad. There is authority in the legislation for the Department of State to purchase ice and drinking water abroad.

Mr. HALL. That is like the purchase of a bottle of Lindoya water, which is the "agua pura" of Brazil, rather than water from the tap, which might be contaminated because of lack of sanitary processing.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Exactly.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your response.

Is there any question involved on page 7 of the report and page 11 of the bill under the question of "Mutual education and cultural exchange activities" as far as duplication and overlap is concerned? I would point out for the distinguished chairman's aid in answering that this refers to the hearing, which contains a list of lecturers, research scholars, and specialists sent overseas under this program, together with the costs; of course these are costs to the taxpayers. It would appear to me, at least in part, a duplication of a similar type of effort made by the National Science Foundation. I have here at my chair volumes and volumes of releases received almost every alternate day from the NSF, and every one contains generous grants to professors for trips to attend international conferences abroad.

As an example, there is a list of those who would attend the Eighth International Conference of Anthropological and Ethnological Scientists in Tokyo, Japan, from September 3 to 10, 1968. I could go on with a long list. But these trips abroad for the professors from NSF are from a completely different appropriation. I want to know whether or not these professors have an opportunity to go shopping between the State Department and the National Science Foundation for these international trips and conferences, or whether the State Department does or does not check with any clearinghouse or with the distinguished gentleman's subcommittee to see if there is not duplicity and overlapping in these payments or in their missions.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I thought the gentleman was going to ask me if their travel was routed so that they could get to Hong Kong for some good shopping. But that apparently has nothing to do with the gentleman's question.

Mr. HALL. No; my question was serious.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Of course, there is some waste and overlap, but it is well taken care of by the committee action. There is a reduction from $44,862,000 to $30,000,000, which should amply take care of any overlapping. Not only do the professors travel under programs of the National Science Foundation, but also they travel under a number of programs in different Government agencies. The largest program for mutual exchange is with the military.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, it would seem to me that if this is indeed a year of austerity and a time for reductions, maybe we should keep the professors at home and let them teach instead of conducting research abroad.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. That was the reason given by the majority of the committee in arriving at the figure of $30,000,000. The President does not want the public traveling abroad because of the balance-of-payments situation, and these professors are bound to take some money of their own and do some purchasing on their own when they travel abroad. That is not good for the balance-of-payments situation. So with that in mind, together with the reduction in travel of Government employees, the majority of the committee gave as their reason for arriving at the $30,000,000 just exactly what the gentleman is referring to.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman. I would hope the chairman would be sympathetic, in view of the fact that we have discouraged travel abroad and in view of the fact that there is overlapping and duplication, to an endeavor to reduce that amount even further.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. No, I do not suggest that we reduce it a nickel further.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to my distinguished friend from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I would like to go back to the Community Relations Service and the $2,200,000 provided for that. What is the function of the Community Relations Service?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. To help prevent the riots which have been taking place in this country, which were foreseen quite some time before.

Mr. GROSS. How long has it been in existence?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Not too long. It is in title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the first appropriation was made in the supplemental appropriation bill in the 1965 fiscal year.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, does the gentleman know that this Community Relations Service is apparently cosponsoring an anniversary celebration in the District of Columbia in behalf of the Capitol Press Club, that there is to be a black tie dinner at 8 o'clock on this coming Saturday night, and that the invitations to this private club celebration have gone out under the free mailing privilege of the Justice Department? How can this be possible, that the invitations go out under the frank of the Justice Department? What part do they play in sponsoring it?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I must say to the gentleman that I do not go to many of these affairs around town, either at embassies or those given via the representation allowances of Government agencies. It seems that in this particular case I must have been discriminated against, because usually at least they send me an invitation so I know what is going on.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman is not alone. I, too, have been discriminated against. I did not get one of the black tie invitations, but, nevertheless, I am interested in knowing how much is being spent out of the present appropriation to the Community Relations Service for this purpose.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I must say to the gentleman, I have no knowledge of the subject he is discussing.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman has no knowledge on this particular item?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. No; but I will be glad to get him an answer while the minority is making its presentation.

Mr. GROSS. I would very much like to know how much in Federal funds is being spent in behalf of promoting this function on behalf of the Capitol Press Club.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. On behalf of the Capitol Press Club? Is it the Capitol and not the National Press Club?

Mr. GROSS. No; the Capitol Press Club.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I do not know anything about the Capitol Press Club.

Mr. GROSS. I do not either, but I would like to know why the Justice Department frank is being used to invite people to a private party.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. This sounds like a very good question to me, and I will endeavor to get the gentleman an answer.

Mr. GROSS. At this party, incidentally, there will be a "cash bar." I do not know what that means.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Does the gentleman mean they have to pay for their own drinks? Oh, my.

Mr. GROSS. Apparently the Justice Department is just fresh out of liquor for this outfit, so they have a cash bar.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. It could be that they do not and should not have any money for representation.

Mr. GROSS. We can check into that, too.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I want to thank the gentleman from Iowa for calling this to my attention.

Mr. Chairman, how much time has the gentleman from New York consumed?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York has consumed 48 minutes.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, that concludes my presentation.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] may extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, this is a good bill. We have made cuts wherever they could be effected without endangering essential functions performed by these Departments and agencies. I commend the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], and my other colleagues who serve on the subcommittee for a job well done.

In view of the fact that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] has explained the bill in detail, I shall not be repetitious and discuss each line item. I do want, however, to touch upon a couple of matters in the bill because they are indispensable to our national security and to our balance of international payments.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

First, I want to point out that we have allowed the budget estimate for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This is one of the finest and best administered agencies in the executive branch. Director Hoover made his usual outstanding justification of the funds requested for the Bureau. Moreover, the Bureau's ever-increasing workload is occasioned by the fact that Congress, through its legislative actions, continues to add to the Bureau's statutory responsibilities for domestic intelligence, internal security, and a wide spectrum of general criminal statutes not specifically assigned to other investigative agencies downtown. Furthermore, the rash of civil disturbances which have arisen throughout the Nation in recent years have caused the Bureau's workload to become almost insurmountable.

MARITIME ADMINISTRATION

Second, in further defense of our national security and the dollar the committee has recommended two items for the Maritime Administration which are appreciably above the budget estimates. They are $125.2 million and $4.3 million, respectively above the budget requests, for ship construction and for research and development.

May I go back a bit in history and say that when I first came to Congress my new colleagues were surprised a Member from Ohio would have an interest in the merchant marine. Two things shaped that interest. First is the fact that my hometown, Canton, has been for many years an industrial center with firms prominent in international commerce—the Hoover Co., Diebold, Bliss, Timken, and others. And, second, Canton was the home of President William McKinley, a President who had great interest in the merchant marine, mentioned its importance in his inaugural address, and did all that he could to carry out the program which he described in the following words:

> Congress should give prompt attention to the restoration of our American Merchant Marine, once the pride of the seas in all the great ocean highways of commerce. To my mind, few more important subjects so imperatively demand its intelligent consideration. The United States has progressed with marvelous rapidity in nearly all the great lines of inland trade, commerce and industry. Yet, while this is true, our American Merchant Marine has been steadily declining. . . . Commendable progress has been made of late years in the upbuilding of the American Navy, but we must supplement these efforts by providing as a proper consort for it a merchant marine amply sufficient for carrying our own trade to foreign countries.

What a shame it is that the Johnson administration did not see fit a week ago yesterday to follow the wise suggestions made by President McKinley. The Johnson administration not only did not follow President McKinley's recommendations, it set the stage for complete disintegration of our American merchant marine as we now know it. And mind you, it has taken the Johnson administration more than 3 years to come up with its new maritime policy which the President promised the American people in his 1965 state of the Union message.

Mr. Chairman, I do not intend at this time to go into the details of the administration's maritime proposal but I do want to say that the proposal is not acceptable to me. I think it will not be acceptable to a majority of Congress and probably will not be acceptable to a majority of Americans.

At least, one very fine organization has already rejected the proposal. Last Wednesday night the distinguished national commander of the American Legion, Mr. William E. Galbraith, while addressing the Propeller Club of Washington in honor of National Maritime Day said:

> This watered down proposal is truly a betrayal of the American Merchant Marine and all it stands for in the building of this nation, past and present.

Mr. Chairman, Congress endeavored in 1967 to make a start toward the development of an adequate merchant marine but the administration's 1969 budget put an end to that endeavor before it got off the ground. The budget seems to be big enough for everything else that goes into what is known as a Great Society, but there is precious little for the merchant marine. Instead of the $245 million the committee has allowed, the President recommended about $120 million to build about eight ships in the next fiscal year.

Despite the President's new maritime policy which was presented to the Senate Commerce Committee last week, his budget closed the door on our opportunity to build and modernize the fleet beginning now. We are already late. We are entering the critical period right now. During the next 5 years nearly two-thirds of our present fleet—some 600 or more vessels—will become 25 years old or older. At the present program level we will have only 357 vessels less than 25 years old in 1972.

It should be clear to the President and to everyone else that you cannot build a truly Great Society with either an antiquated merchant marine or with practically no merchant marine at all, as his new program implies.

Indeed, you cannot build even a safe society, for as McKinley said, the merchant fleet is the necessary partner of the Navy.

NATIONAL SECURITY

All of you know how the merchant marine has been strained to provide the necessities of war to our men in Vietnam. Supplemented by rusting relics of World War II, withdrawn from the mothball fleet, our own ships are carrying all but 2 percent of the supplies and equipment moving to Saigon. In the past 3 years American ships have delivered over 25 million tons of military supplies and equipment. There are half a million Americans fighting in Vietnam. I am told that every other day the weight of each of these men in supplies and equipment is delivered to the war zone by ship.

It is frightening to think of the problems that could be created by any other major emergency, and there are plenty of potential trouble spots.

America can build the world's most modern merchant fleet if given the opportunity. Although we are 90 ships behind in our replacement schedule, the present subsidy program as pertains to the liner fleet has been a success. We can point with pride to 124 of the fastest, most modern, and most revolutionary cargo liners on the high seas today. There are another 42 ships building in American yards under this program. We have the world's largest container ship fleet and the promise in the future of seeing on the oceans of the world our own American designed and built gigantic barge-type ships—the *Lash* and *Seabee*. They will be able to carry as much cargo as three or four conventional ships, and their capability to load and unload swiftly will save many days in valuable cargo handling time. These achievements are the result of the energetic research and development program conducted by our shipping lines.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

There is another side of this question that needs urgent consideration now. All of us here are concerned about the balance-of-payment situation, the crisis in gold, and the attacks upon the dollar.

But the President's proposal to build ships in foreign yards will make more difficult our efforts to stem the outflow of gold, ease the foreign attacks on our dollar, and reverse the unfavorable international trade balance which plagues this Nation today.

The merchant marine is a major contributor to a more favorable balance of payments. That contribution amounts to almost $1 billion per year. Eighty cents of every dollar of ocean freight payments to U.S. cargo ships is retained in the United States. More than 90 cents of every dollar spent for travel abroad on U.S. passenger ships is retained in the United States. Without this vital contribution, amounting to billions of dollars over the years, our payments problem would be far more serious. And this contribution is made even though foreigners are carrying all but a small fraction of our international commerce. American ships should carry much more—50 or 60 percent of our commerce—if only to bolster our financial position, and they could if we had the kind of green light we need for an all-out building program.

The Soviets have all of these facts well in mind. Russia's virtually new merchant marine—it outnumbers our active fleet—is extolled continually by Moscow radio. They boast that Soviet ships leave Odessa "practically every day with cargoes for Vietnam." I am not going into the now well-known negative comparison of how the Russians are outbuilding us nearly 12 merchant ships to one, or that their tonnage under construction is in the millions while ours is a few hundred thousand, or that someday they will control the world's commercial sealanes, and already are visiting 800 ports in 90 foreign countries. Most of us are familiar with these points concerning their 100-percent subsidized merchant marine.

SOVIET ATTITUDE

But what does strike me is that the long-range Soviet planners have shown a vision about balance of payments that our administration might well emulate.

The recent Russian shipbuilding study compiled by the Library of Congress for the Senate Commerce Committee, points out:

> Economy in the outlay of hard currency is cited as a major operative consideration. New instructions received by the Ministry of Merchant Fleet require that an allout effort be made to provide enough national-flag vessels to carry all merchandise either sold or bought on terms of delivery by the Soviet side.

The purpose of this, of course, is to preserve their rubles at home. The report further states:

> One of the goals on record under the terms of the 1966–70 plan is to increase by 100 to 150 percent the volume of cargoes *its ships* will carry for foreign charters. The stated purpose of their ambitious goal is to bring into the state treasury of the U.S.S.R. enough foreign exchange to enable it for the first time to cover in full by 1970 all Soviet expenditures of hard currency paid out for the chartering of foreign ships.

This country waited 40 long months for a new maritime program that would modernize our shipping and shipbuilding industries and then to be shamed with the administration's proposal is too much for reasonable men to accept lying down. I say to you a crisis is upon us. Unless we have an across-the-board program to build many new ships, our defense capabilities and commitments cannot be fulfilled. Our balance-of-payments problem will grow worse, and will do so by leaps and bounds if whatever fleet we are to have is built in foreign shipyards. Our worldwide export expansion program cannot succeed and our overall economic well-being will suffer irreparable damage.

For all these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I urge the House today to approve the committee's recommendations so that we can get on with the job of building the merchant fleet so desperately needed for defense of our national security and of our dollar.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I do not plan to take very much time, because, as usual, the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], has presented a clear, concise, and detailed explanation of this bill.

I do want to say all the hearings were conducted in a very expeditious and fair manner. The gentleman from New York has done his usual excellent job in handling this legislation.

I think if Members will read the hearings on this bill, they will find the money that is provided in the bill for every agency is sufficient to do the jobs they are required to do.

I realize that is a statement with which some members of the committee may disagree. However, I am convinced that we have given ample funds to all the agencies to carry on their activities for fiscal year 1969, and in some instances I think we may have provided too much money. I will not go through as detailed an explanation of this bill as the gentleman from New York has, but I will make just a few comments on a number of the items.

I should like to state that insofar as the State Department is concerned, they have done their usual job in holding the line. I wish other agencies of the Government would be as conscientious in holding the line on expenditures as the Department of State.

There are some areas in which they have problems; that is, in the areas involving contributions to international organizations. I happen to believe there are too many international organizations, too much money is being spent on international organizations, and too many conferences are being held. I believe it would be better for the country if we had fewer international conferences rather than more, but the tendency seems to be the other way.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] raised some questions about the educational and cultural exchange activities. If Members will check this appropriation, they will note we reduced it from $44,862,000 as a budget request to $30 million. It is fair to state, since the gentleman from New York said he felt this was too drastic a cut, that I happen to be one who believes it should have been cut more. I say that not because I do not believe there is merit and value in the exchange of people for various reasons. However, if the situation is as critical as it has been presented to us by the administration, so far as the gold flow is concerned and with the President's request to withhold travel by citizens from this country, then I believe we can do no less than to set an example in the Federal Government and reduce the sending of professors and teachers overseas.

I might say that this program has supported the sending overseas of some people who have not entirely agreed with the position of the Government, and they never should have been allowed to go. They should have stayed at home. We have enough unrest at the universities and colleges around the country now so, perhaps, we should keep these professors at home to help keep some of the unruly college students in this country in line.

If Members will look through the hearings, they will find page after page after page of professors and lecturers going abroad and spending taxpayers' money.

If the fiscal situation were different I might agree to go along, but so far as I am concerned this appropriation could have been reduced even further. I would have cut it in half. This was the consensus of the committee.

Being from the State of Michigan as I am, and recognizing the problems we have had up there in the Great Lakes so far as our fisheries are concerned, I want to make a statement of my own personal opinion, which is that the Great Lakes Fisheries Commission did receive this year everything requested in the budget. I have had numerous requests to have this item increased, because of the threat of an increase in the lamprey eels and the need for a control program, which is so essential if we are to have a rising fishery capability in the Great Lakes. I did my best in the subcommittee to increase this another $150,000, and $150,000 is not much in this bill, but I was not able to do so. I believe the money could have been well spent. I do have some reservations as to whether it would have been spent, because that would be up to the people in the executive branch as to whether or not they wanted to expend it.

I believe the money provided here, if wisely used, will go a long way toward continuing a program so essential to our part of the country.

So far as the Department of Justice is concerned, I merely want to say we have provided, I believe, everything that is essential to carry out the necessities for this Department. As the gentleman from New York said, once again, we have given the FBI everything they needed to carry on the programs so essential to control crime in this country.

I want to say at this time, I cannot think of anyone who has done more than the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] in providing whatever is necsary for the Department of Justice, through the FBI and through the Immigration Service and through the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, to be sure that the law-enforcement people in this country have the tools with which to do their job. I want to commend the gentleman from New York for the stand he has always taken in behalf of law and order and for providing the tools to carry out law and order. I have noticed some comments other than this from someone up in the State of New York who seems to think that the gentleman from New York has not done the kind of job essential for his area in the controlling of crime and providing law and order.

Let me say that I have sat on this committee for a long time, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] has time and time again done everything that he possibly can within this subcommittee to provide the tools that are necessary to maintain law and order not only in the State of New York but in the State of Michigan and in all of this country. I think if anyone wants to check with the director of the FBI, the Attorney General, or others in the field, they will know that the gentleman from New York has been a stalwart supporter in this area, and I commend him for it.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CEDERBERG. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. JOELSON. I would like to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman. I do not know of anybody in this Congress who has done more to encourage and stimulate effective law enforcement than our distinguished subcommittee chairman, and for anyone to suggest otherwise is ludicrous.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I agree with the gentleman. The gentleman from New Jersey sits on this subcommittee day after day, as I do. We know of the contribution that the gentleman from New York makes in this regard. For anyone to say otherwise is unjust and not factual.

The Department of Commerce has received everything that they need to carry on their activities. One thing that impressed me during the hearings was the fact that when representatives of the various bureaus of the Department of Commerce came to us they always tried to justify their appropriation on the ground that they were going to do something about the balance-of-payments problem. There may possibly be some duplication of effort there, but on the other hand, it may be that they felt if they tried to sell it, on this basis, we might be a little more generous with the money that we make available to them. Nevertheless, although there are some substantial reductions in the Department, it can carry on its activities at a satisfactory level.

There is one item that I want to talk about briefly which was touched on by the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY]. This is the increase in the budget for our ship construction program as well as research in this area for the Maritime Administration.

The time is coming, I believe, when the Government of the United States is going to have to make a clearcut decision as to whether or not it believes in a strong merchant marine. The facts are—and if you read the record of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries when its authorization bill was here, you will see—that the American-flag ships are becoming obsolete in the dry cargo field. By 1971 all but about 271 of those ships will be over 25 years of age. If anyone can come up with a better idea as to how to take care of the problem, we would like to hear it. I read Mr. Boyd's comments on the new maritime policies. He wants to build ships abroad, and he has other ideas. I do not think this Congress will buy his ideas. As I said, I believe fundamentally that the merchant marine is a very vital arm of the defense of this country. It is going to cost some money, but if we are going to have an off-again, on-again program, this is not the way to do it. We should have some kind of long-term commitment and meet that commitment so that we can have a strong merchant marine.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CEDERBERG. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. I want to commend the subcommittee for the fine work that it has done in this particular field as far as the merchant marine is concerned. I know the subcommittee was not too excited about the fact that the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee now have the authority to write an authorization bill, but I am convinced with the authorization powers of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and with the outlook that this subcommittee has that together we are going to build a good merchant marine and we are going to see a good merchant marine is built in spite of what the administration's position is and in spite of the lack of real interest which we find across the country.

Again I commend the gentleman in the well as well as the chairman of the committee and the entire subcommittee for the work that they have done and the number of ships that they have provided for in this bill.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CEDERBERG. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. PELLY. I would like to say as a member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries that I have sat in and listened to the testimony that was given before my committee. As a result I want to commend the Committee on Appropriations and especially the gentleman from New York whose name was mentioned a little earlier for the careful consideration of the needs of this Nation when it comes to merchant marine.

I think the committee has recognized this need and I think those of us who are familiar with this problem are very grateful to the committee and intend to fully support the action of the committee.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I understand that my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON], will have an amendment to this legislation having to do with the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. Just briefly, let me say that this agency has an important task to do. However, it is an expanding agency and expanding far faster, I believe, than it can carry out its responsibilities and far faster than I believe is necessary. The agency requested $13,093,000. We reduced it in trying to hold the line to a lesser figure but with the increase sufficient to take care of the traditional increases in costs for salaries, and so forth.

The request this year was for 637 new employees. Now, when one puts that into perspective one will see what I mean when I refer to this as a drastic increase. Last year we increased the number of employees, or granted an increase of 75 new employees, bringing the total number of employees up from 314 to 389. This year the agency has requested an increase from 389 employees to 1,026 employees.

Mr. Chairman, I submit to the members of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union that this is a drastic increase, an increase far in excess of what is essential and far in excess, in my opinion, of what we should be doing under the budgetary situation with which we are faced at the present time.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, my own thinking is that probably there could be some minor increase, but certainly not any increase greater than that which we granted last year. However, we held the line to last year's figure, and I am confident that this agency can perform the type of job that is necessary.

Mr. Chairman, I know that there will be discussions with reference to the increasing workload, and I shall not get into that at this time, because I understand that other members of the committee will do so when we get to the point of reading the bill.

Just one other comment, and then I shall be through. I wish to commend the Small Business Administration for its operations. In my opinion this is an agency which, over the years, has been doing an extremely good job. They screen their loan applications quite well and conduct their business in an efficient manner. I am sure that those of us who have had occasion to contact this agency from time to time will readily agree that it provides a very good service in trying to carry on the activities which are assigned to it in an efficient manner.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, we have the U.S. Information Agency as a part of this bill, which is also another agency that has a tremendous task to perform, and all too often it is a task that many of us do not always recognize and see the results thereof. Sometimes we think they might not be doing the job which they should be doing. However, I have every confidence in Mr. Leonard Marks and this agency during the short period of time during which he has been its Administrator. I personally know that this has been an efficient organization and that Mr. Marks has tried to make it as streamlined as possible, consistent with carrying out the mandate of the Congress and in carrying out our policies overseas while acting as our spokesman. So, Mr. Chairman, I commend Mr. Marks because, as I said, it is my opinion that he has tried to do a most commendable job.

Mr. Chairman, as I have stated previously, on balance, I believe this is a good bill. There are areas in which reductions could be made. But as I said before, this is the consensus of the majority of the members of the Committee on Appropriations.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan has consumed 16 minutes.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES].

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 additional minutes to the gentleman from Florida.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the courtesy of my distinguished colleagues on the committee.

First, Mr. Chairman, let me commend the distinguished gentleman from New York, the chairman of the subcommittee, for his outstanding service to the Nation. The gentleman provides a very significant contribution to sound legislation, and he saves money for the taxpayer.

Mr. Chairman, this is a very broad bill. It covers many important branches of the Government. One of the most important from the standpoint of the average person today is the Department of Justice, and Office of the Attorney General.

The blatent and virtually unchecked arrogance of criminals is beginning to cause a great many people to wonder if we even have a Department of Justice, and an Attorney General. Crime in America has nearly doubled since 1960. One of the worst spots is the Nation's Capital City, where violence was climaxed a little more than a month ago in an orgy of burning and stealing, which left much of the city in shambles. Many merchants whose stores were looted or burned will insist that the police simply looked the other way while this was taking place.

I do not know any issue which is of greater concern to the American people today than to curb violence and stop the runaway growth of the crime rate. Another 1,000 policemen have just been requested for Washington, and certainly I do not oppose this. But many of us believe more effective action by the Department of Justice to curb crime, and the appointment of a few Federal judges who will punish criminals instead of coddling them would do more to stop crime than any additional number of police.

Mr. Chairman, this subcommittee has made a number of realistic reductions in the budget proposals which have been submitted, and this is in keeping with the absolute essentiality for holding the costs of Government to a minimum. The very serious fiscal problems which confront our Nation permit no other course.

Since the bill was marked up and reported, there has been an outcry from some of those affected, protesting the actions of the committee in its efforts to save money. It would be more commendable if those who are protesting would acquaint themselves with the fiscal facts which confront our Nation, and lend the Congress and the Nation their support in the efforts we are making to prevent a collapse of the dollar itself. It ill befits these appointive officials to think first of their programs and last of their country's problems.

One program for which a requested increase was not granted is the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. For this agency the amount of $742,000 was requested. That can be contrasted with the $490,000 provided for fiscal 1969. The committee is allowing $450,000. This is $40,000 below last year's budget. It is $292,000 below the request for fiscal 1969. By no stretch of the imagination could higher amounts be justified on the basis of the performance or needs of this office. Actually, the amount allowed by the committee is probably too much. This committee tries to deal fairly with the agencies of Government, and in so doing we sometimes find ourselves overly generous.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to call the attention of the Members to new language which has been added to the paragraph affecting this agency. It provides that none of the funds contained in this paragraph shall be made available for the collection and preparation of information which will not be available to committees of Congress in the regular discharge of their duties.

Now, there is a compelling reason for this language. I confess that I am apprehensive each time trade negotiations are conducted with representatives of other nations. I am certain I am not alone in this. There have been too many instances where we have seen U.S. representatives yield concessions to other nations in trade agreements which drive American industries to the wall and throw American workmen out of jobs.

I am reluctant to believe it is a policy of our Government's representative to destroy America's resources. I hesitate to think there is ignorance on their part about the needs of American industries and American workmen.

I must assume they are being hoodwinked by the representatives of other powers who argue more convincingly for the needs of their own countries.

In an effort to determine something of what has been going on behind closed doors in these negotiations, a number of Congressmen have made routine requests for information about the findings and the conclusions of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. In a democracy, it would appear that this sort of information would be forthcoming without question. I am surprised that we even have to ask for it. Certainly it is proper that Members of Congress, and especially the committees of the Congress which must appropriate for its activities would be entitled to know how the deliberations of any agency of Government are conducted. I think the public has a right to know what they are doing. Why should any agency object to making their activities known?

It was with consternation that I received notification that their findings and conclusions are confidential material which cannot be entrusted to the Congress. The subcommittee received the same refusal. Now this is a shocking thing.

I do not know of any other agency of Government which refuses willy-nilly to tell the Congress what it is doing with the money that is appropriated to it. Frankly, it would appear that the best thing to do with an agency of Government that considers itself too powerful to advise the elected representatives of the people about its transactions is to eliminate its appropriations altogether.

This kind of thinking by an agency of the Government can be dangerous to the Nation—for an agency which holds such opinions obviously can be dangerous to the best interests of American industries and American workmen.

However, we have continued to appropriate in a somewhat smaller amount for this agency, and we have placed this mild restriction in the language of the bill.

We hope this action will at least insure that the committees of Congress in the regular discharge of their duties may know what this agency of Government does behind locked doors when they are negotiating on the rights and resources of America.

The committee recognizes the essentiality of preserving the separate and coequal branches of Government.

The action I have discussed is intended to do just that. I hope it will help to prevent the growth of a little dictatorship into a position where great harm might be done by that agency.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Broyhill].

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I take this time to thank and to commend the subcommittee on appropriations for adopting the amendment which I had proposed to offer today and which I have offered to other appropriation bills during this session of the Congress which will prohibit any of the funds appropriated by this legislation to pay the salary of any employee who has been convicted of participating in a riot or other civil disorder.

It is indeed ironic, Mr. Chairman, that in these modern times, in a civilized society, that our Government must find it necessary to take steps to protect itself from having employees on its payroll who are bent on destroying that very Government.

Unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, we will have to continue to provide this protection, to offer amendments to other appropriation bills, because right here in Washington, the seat of our National Government, the situation is getting continuously worse. It did not clear up with the end of the so-called rioting and civil disturbances early in April. Every night we find acts of arson, looting, robbery, and murder. Within a period of 15 days four merchants here in the Washington area were murdered. The small businessman in Washington is losing money, losing business. People are afraid to come to Washington to do business during the day as well as at night. Tourists are canceling their reservations every day. Businessmen are being threatend and intimiated if they do not put up money to sponsor various programs.

Our own Government employees are afraid to go to work. Last Thursday the representatives of nine unions, representing the printers and employees of our Government Printing Office, were in my office; 2,400 of them are required to work at night in order to get out the Congressional Record, to print our bills and to print our hearings. They did not threaten to strike, but they said they were fearful of loss of life and limb because they were not getting adequate protection when they came to work at night. There could very well be an occasion when they were not at work and we would not have these publications available for use in the House.

You all know the threat of the loss of transportation here in Washington because bus drivers are afraid to operate their vehicles at night.

I have called upon the President to provide additional protection, to provide soldiers on every street corner and at every bus stop to protect our citizens.

As pointed out by the gentleman from Florida a few minutes ago, the President has acknowledged this problem. He has recommended the appointment of an additional 1,000 policemen to the Metropolitan Police Force. It will take some time, however, to bring that force up to proper strength.

In the meantime, we have to protect our citizens, our Federal employees, the businessmen, and visitors here in Washington. They deserve this protection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Is the gentleman objecting to the fact that the committee inserted this amendment in the bill in order to save time? That was one of the reasons it was put in the bill.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I said I took the floor to commend the committee for adopting the amendment.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. It looks as though we did not save any time.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. I was trying to speak not only for the amendment, but other action in order to provide protection for the people in the Nation's Capital. I think we have to prove to the criminals and the lawbreakers that crime does not pay.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Smith].

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I support this bill. As a member of the subcommittee, I have become much more aware of the importance of the services performed by some of the departments and agencies covered by this appropriations bill.

Mr. Chairman, one of those agencies that has been relied upon so heavily and performs great service is the Small Business Administration.

I would like to submit to this body the results of the operations of the SBA which to my mind exemplifies the cooperation between the public and private sectors that has been so carefully fostered by the present Administration. This comparatively small agency has brought Federal benefits to hundreds of thousands of Americans directly, and to millions, indirectly. It has helped foster competition and has helped many small businessmen help themselves and create work for others.

Only last week, Mr. Chairman, our great chairman of the House Select Committee on Small Business, the Honorable Joe L. Evins, of Tennessee, held extensive hearings on SBA. I also have the honor to sit on that committee and the privilege to chair the Subcommittee on Special Small Business Problems. From my participation in these hearings, I would like to say that in my estimation SBA has shown phenomenal progress in the past 5 years, not only in the more mature programs, but in the imaginative and aggressive new programs developed and implemented since 1963.

Mr. Chairman, each and every program conducted by SBA has shown remarkable growth in the last 5 years. For example:

SBA has made more than 83,000 regular business loans since 1953. Of that number, 46,000 loans have been made since 1963.

In another area, SBA financial assistance through the local development company loan program has created or saved about 65,000 jobs throughout the country. I was pleased to learn that a high percentage of this assistance went to rural areas.

Mr. Chairman, I could go on and on showing how SBA has met its congressional and executive mandates, but I do not believe this necessary in the limited time we have today. Most of us are personally aware of the positive accomplishments of the Administration in helping small business through this small but highly effective agency.

SBA has developed a very healthy and effective working relationship with banks and regular financial institutions and has had a very small percentage of defaults on their relatively high risk loans. While I do not agree with some recommendations in this bill, it represents a compromise in funding among the members of the subcommittee and I believe the overall bill deserves the support of the House.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. HECHLER].

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I was pleased to note that the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], made reference in his opening statement to his judgment that the cut in economic development assistance was too deep. I share the chairman's feeling that a slash of $35,910,000 does not take into consideration the great strides which have been made under this program.

In September the Economic Development Administration will be 3 years old. It was established to help create new jobs and income in areas of our Nation which have problems of high unemployment or low family income.

By the end of this fiscal year, EDA will have provided approximately $750 million in public works and business loan assistance. When all the projects receiving EDA assistance to date are completed and in full operation, an estimated 75,000 direct new jobs will have been created.

The funds being voted on here today will advance this effort even further. Let me illustrate by specific reference to West Virginia.

West Virginia has been a major beneficiary of the EDA program. To date, EDA has made available more than $36 million in grant and loan assistance in West Virginia. The greatest portion of this—almost $25 million—has been grant assistance.

West Virginia is demonstrating that this is not a handout program. EDA has not been funding the full cost of these projects. Businessmen, communities, the State and many development organizations have joined in this cooperative program for economic growth and have added $20 million to the EDA investment.

Because of this cooperative program, there are many West Virginians working today who might be without jobs if it were not for EDA and many more will be working in the future because of this program.

We have made economic progress in West Virginia but we cannot relax our efforts. There are still too many counties with unemployment rates of 10 and 15 percent and where men continue to be without jobs during a time of continuing national prosperity.

I am confident that we will continue to progress in West Virginia and that EDA will be one of the major contributors to these advances.

This program has proven of great value throughout the Nation, and deserves the strong support of the Congress.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Chairman, employment discrimination is a matter that concerns all Americans for its seeds account for much of the growth of our present social ills.

If we allow employment discrimination to persist, other efforts being made to insure equality for our citizens will surely be undermined.

I am told that discrimination in employment costs our Nation $30 billion annually in addition to the other nonmonetary but highly detrimental effects it has on our citizens.

The matter is, indeed, an important one, especially at this particular time of public concern and awareness for the need of equal opportunity for all our citizens regardless of race, color, creed, or sex.

The President, aware of this apparent need and public desire for equal opportunity in jobs as well as other areas of our society, requested that $13.1 million be made available for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. However, the Appropriations Committee has recommended that this amount be reduced by almost 50 percent to $6.9 million.

While I can appreciate the committee's efforts to reduce spending, I feel that in this particular area a reduction would eventually spell greater costs to the Nation.

When we are confronted with the figure of $30 billion, which employment discrimination is reputed to cost us each year, a so-called savings of $6 million in expenditures by the Commission created to fight the problem does not make much sense.

If the problem is real, which it is, and we passed the legislation to create a body to fight it, which we did, then we should provide the necessary finances for the Commission to effectively fight the problem.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I call upon all of my colleagues to join me in opposing this reduction in appropriations for the highly esteemed and vital Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to H.R. 17522. There are several department appropriations that are fair and necessary but the bill is hung like a Christmas tree with such questionable items as the United Nations, civil rights deadheads, and even a Cadillac and chauffeur for Chief Justice Earl Warren.

All this amounts to unnecessary taxpayers' money being spent the day before we are to receive the conference report calling for our saddling our people with a 10-percent surtax while at the same time calling for a large cut in Federal waste and spending.

Why not start now—only by separating the good and necessary from the chaff of this bill can we stop the practice of slipping in appropriation sums that could not find support for approval on their own merit.

How can I be asked to authorize $83 million of our people's tax dollars for the United Nations and its agencies one day and the next day raise taxes because we are in a financial bind from overspending? The budget calls for $83,918,144 for the U.N.

Poor people are here in Washington demanding handouts only to be told, and accurately so, there is no money. We would be helping our people more giving the $83 million to our States to help the poor rather than wasting it on this gigantic spy-hole and debating factory known as the U.N.

The sum of $9,500 for Earl Warren's limousine; $2,650,000 for the Civil Rights Commission; $10,000,000 to civil rights educational activities to continue race-mixing propaganda; $6,936,000 to the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to continue its efforts to destroy free enterprise—spy on businesses—remove competition and free selection of personnel and for all practical purposes destroy organized labor.

I have not the time to explain the completely un-American goings-on by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission people in my district. But I can say they have all but destroyed labor unions by their theories and policies that union seniority is now against equal employment opportunity. I will ask that a copy of my remarks on the EEOC from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 20, last year, follow.

And there are many more valid reasons and arguments for additional cuts of needless waste from this Santa Claus give-away of our people's money.

I think I speak for the vast overwhelming majority of my constituents when I say "no" that I will not be a party to helping create the financial crisis and money dilemma which tomorrow we must face. The same appeal of financial distress will be used to try to convince us to vote to pry loose an additional tax on an already overtaxed people.

Mr. Chairman, I include the U.N. budget from the committee report and my remarks on the activities of the EEOC in my district following my remarks:

Amounts requested and provided for each organization funded in the bill

United Nations and Specialized Agencies:	
1. United Nations	$37,180,529
2. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization	9,085,410
3. International Civil Aviation Organization	3,225,092
4. World Health Organization	18,075,620
5. Food and Agriculture Organization	8,749,722
6. International Labor Organization	6,209,022
7. International Telecommunication Union	615,000
8. World Meteorological Organization	667,549
9. Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization	110,200
Subtotal	83,918,144

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Apr. 20, 1967]

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, organized labor, without its right to collective bargaining, seniority, progression, recall, and job security is but a dues-paying social club.

However, the strong hand of the Federal Government is even now casting its control over labor unions with the obvious goal of destruction of organized labor and in its place the establishment of a national labor force at the mercy of intellectual bureaucrats.

The plan is rigged so as to use the contractors as frontmen to catch the blame while behind the scenes, justifying their activity by title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1965, is the Department of Labor, its offspring the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity. Their guided objective can but be destruction of organized labor and the full control of a national labor force.

Using the tactics of a civil rights organization, these Federal agencies feel they can justify all controls and intervention under their guidelines to abolish segregation—it matters not that the laws are being followed—what counts is that they claim the law is not being adhered to. Their real power is controlled use of the taxpayers' money, the teamwork of the Federal judiciary and the U.S. Attorney General's office.

This is the way the "keep-'em-on-the-run" scheme works. The contractor is told that to continue receiving any Federal business, he must renegotiate his contract with the Office of Federal Compliance. The renewed contract is a stepped-up guideline providing for policies and provisions that cannot be accepted by any labor union. In the new Federal contract the employer is told he must refuse to comply with any collective bargaining contract provisions conflicting with the Government contract.

Should the union refuse to accept the Federal guidelines the employer is further required to prevent or restrain his workers including, if necessary, proceedings under the National Labor Relations Act or title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Picketing, striking, or walkout is forbidden, according to the new Labor Department policies.

The Labor Department has now become antilabor.

Already numerous labor leaders have found themselves under the gun. Papermill unions, plumbers unions, and typographical unions have been told the Federal agencies—not their rank and file members—run their respective union halls. Already they have experienced the alien non-American feeling of "Federal spies" in their midst.

Consider this example of a negotiated contract between the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and a national employer last month here in Washington, D.C.

The employer's union, by the way, having recently been lauded by the Jimmie Roosevelt Committee on Human Rights as exemplary in equal employment opportunity.

Obviously the social mechanics have now progressed on their equality timetable to where they feel sufficient muscle to demand compensatory benefits, guaranteed job opportunities, and advancement, and actually political priority for their select crowd.

This employer's workers are organized. They have negotiated and operated under a collective bargaining contract which protects the job security and individual rights of the employer. But the Federal agency contract requires changes in the existing agreement or arrangement with the union which differs with the intended plans of the Federal contract. Where does this leave the union and workers? Exploitation by big business is now replaced by exploitation by their own Government.

Further, if the employer has trouble with his union he is to take the initiative to stop any strikes or walkouts by "institution of proceeding under the National Labor Relations Act and title VII of the Civil Riots Act."

Examine a few of the other provisions of the new Office of Federal Contract Compliance contract:

First. No aptitude, intelligence of other employment tests.

Second. Application records to be kept by race and if any applicant not hired—the reason.

Third. Program of recruitment from minority groups with specified number of announcements in press and on the radio.

Fourth. All applicants rejected because of failure to pass intelligence tests to be notified to reapply.

Fifth. Affirmative program for hiring and placement of minority group applicants.

Sixth. Merger of progression lines, seniority to be on total plant basis.

Seventh. Affirmative program for promotion of minority employees.

Eighth. All locker room assignments in alphabetical basis.

Ninth. Additional onsite training for minority group employees for transfer or promotion.

The Office of Federal Contract Compliance credits its highhanded dictates against the union men on Executive Order No. 11246, dated September 24, 1965, which is here reproduced for reading:

"EXECUTIVE ORDER 11246—EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

"Under and by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

"PART II—NONDISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT BY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS AND SUBCONTRACTORS

"*Subpart A—Duties of the Secretary of Labor*

"SEC. 201. The Secretary of Labor shall be responsible for the administration of Parts II and III of this Order and shall adopt such rules and regulations and issue such orders as he deems necessary and appropriate to achieve the purposes thereof.

"*Subpart B—Contractors agreements*

"SEC. 202. Except in contracts exempted in accordance with Section 204 of this Order, all Government contracting agencies shall include in every Government contract hereafter entered into the following provisions:

" 'During the performance of this contract, the contractor agrees as follows:

" '(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of this nondiscrimination clause.

" '(2) The contractor will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

" '(3) The contractor will send to each labor union or representative of workers with which he has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding, a notice, to be provided by the agency contracting officer, advising the labor union or workers' representative of the contractor's commitments under Section 202 of Executive Order No. 11246 of September 24, 1965, and shall post copies of the notice in conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment.

" '(4) The contractor will comply with all provisions of Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. 24, 1965, and of the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Secretary of Labor.

" '(5) The contractor will furnish all information and reports required by Executive Order No. 11246 of September 24, 1965, and by the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor, or pursuant thereto, and will permit access to his books, records, and accounts by the contracting agency and the Secretary of Labor for purposes of investigation to ascertain compliance with such rules, regulations, and orders.

" '(6) In the event of the contractor's noncompliance with the nondiscrimination clauses of this contract or with any of such rules, regulations, or orders, this contract may be cancelled, terminated or suspended in whole or in part and the contractor may be declared ineligible for further Government contracts in accordance with procedures authorized in Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. 24, 1965, and such other sanctions may be imposed and remedies invoked as provided in Executive Order No. 11246 of September 24, 1965, or by rule, regulation, or order of the Secretary of Labor, or as otherwise provided by law.'

" '(7) The contractor will include the provisions of Paragraphs (1) through (7) in every subcontract or purchase order unless exempted by rules, regulations, or orders of the Secretary of Labor issued pursuant to Section 204 of Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. 24, 1965, so that such provisions will be binding upon each subcontractor or vendor. The contractor will take such action with respect to any subcontract or purchase order as the contracting agency may direct as a means of enforcing such provisions including sanctions for noncompliance: *Provided, however*, That in the event the contractor becomes involved in, or is threatened with, litigation with a subcontractor or vendor as a result of such direction by the contracting agency, the contractor may request the United States to enter into such litigation to protect the interests of the United States.'

"SEC. 203. (a) Each contractor having a contract containing the provisions prescribed in Section 202 shall file, and shall cause each of his subcontractors to file, Compliance Reports with the contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor as may be directed. Compliance Reports shall be filed within such times and shall contain such information as to the practices, policies, programs, and employment policies, programs, and employment statistics of the contractor and each subcontractor, and shall be in such form, as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe.

"(b) Bidders or prospective contractors or subcontractors may be required to state whether they have participated in any previous contract subject to the provisions of this Order, or any preceding similar Executive order, and in that event to submit, on behalf of themselves and their proposed subcontractors, Compliance Reports prior to or as an initial part of their bid or negotiation of a contract.

"(c) Whenever the contractor or subcontractor has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding with a labor union or an agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or training for such workers, the Compliance Report shall include such information as to such labor union's or agency's practices and policies affecting compliance as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe: *Provided*, That to the extent such information is within the exclusive possession of a labor union or an agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or training and such labor union or agency shall refuse to furnish such information to the contractor, the contractor shall so certify to the contracting agency as part of its Compliance Report and shall set forth what efforts he has made to obtain such information.

"(d) The contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor may direct that any bidder or prospective contractor or subcontractor shall submit, as part of his Compliance Report, a statement in writing signed by an authorized officer or agent on behalf of any labor union or any agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or other training, with which the bidder or prospective contractor deals, with supporting information, to the effect that the signer's practices and policies do not discriminate on the grounds of race, color, creed, or national origin, and that the signer either will affirmatively cooperate in the implementation of the policy and provisions of this Order or that it consents and agrees that recruitment, employment, and the terms and conditions of employment under the proposed contract shall be in accordance with the purposes and provisions of the Order. In the event that the union, or the agency shall refuse to execute such a statement, the Compliance Report shall so certify and set forth what efforts have been made to secure such a statement and such additional factual material as the contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor may require.

"Sec. 204. The Secretary of Labor may, when he deems that special circumstances in the national interest so require, exempt a contracting agency from the requirement of including any or all of the provisions of Section 202 of this Order in any specific contract, subcontract, or purchase order. The Secretary of Labor may, by rule or regulation, also exempt certain classes of contracts, subcontracts, or purchase orders (1) whenever work is to be or has been performed outside the United States and no recruitment of workers within the limits of the United States is involved; (2) for standard commercial supplies or raw materials; (3) involving less than specified amounts of money or specified numbers of workers; or (4) to the extent that they involve subcontracts below a specified tier. The Secretary of Labor may also provide, by rule, regulation, or order, for the exemption of facilities of a contractor which are in all respects separate and distinct from activities of the contractor related to the performance of the contract: *Provided*, That such an exemption will not interfere with or impede the effectuation of the purposes of this Order: *And provided further*, That in the absence of such an exemption all facilities shall be covered by the provisions of this Order.

"Subpart C—Powers and duties of the Secretary of Labor and the construction agencies

"Sec. 205. Each contracting agency shall be primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor with respect to contracts entered into by such agency or its contractors. All contracting agencies shall comply with the rules of the Secretary of Labor in discharging their primary responsibility for securing compliance with the provisions of contracts and otherwise with the terms of this Order and of the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor issued pursuant to this Order. They are directed to cooperate with the Secretary of Labor and to furnish the Secretary of Labor such information and assistance as he may require in the performance of his functions under this Order. They are further directed to appoint or designate, from among the agency's personnel, compliance officers. It shall be the duty of such officers to seek compliance with the objectives of this Order by conference, conciliation, mediation, or persuasion.

"Sec. 206. (a) The Secretary of Labor may investigate the employment practices of any Government contractor or subcontractor, or initiate such investigation by the appropriate contracting agency, to determine whether or not the contractual provisions specified in Section 202 of this Order have been violated. Such investigation shall be conducted in accordance with the procedures established by the Secretary of Labor and the investigating agency shall report to the Secretary of Labor any action taken or recommended.

"(b) The Secretary of Labor may receive and investigate or cause to be investigated complaints by employees or prospective employees of a Government contractor or subcontractor which allege discrimination contrary to the contractural provisions specified in Section 202 of this Order. If this investigation is conducted for the Secretary of Labor by a contracting agency, that agency shall report to the Secretary what action has been taken or is recommended with regard to such complaints.

"Sec. 207. The Secretary of Labor shall use his best efforts, directly and through contracting agencies, other interested Federal, State, and local agencies, contractors, and all other available instrumentalities to cause any labor union engaged in work under Government contracts or any agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or training for or in the course of such work to cooperate in the implementation of the purposes of this Order. The Secretary of Labor shall, in appropriate cases, notify the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, The Department of Justice, or other appropriate Federal agencies whenever it has reason to believe that the practices of any such labor organization or agency violate Title VI or Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or other provision of Federal law.

"Sec. 208. (a) The Secretary of Labor, or any agency, officer, or employee in the executive branch of the Government designated by rule, regulation, or order of the Secretary may hold such hearings, public or private, as the Secretary may deem advisable for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes.

"(b) The Secretary of Labor may hold, or cause to be held, hearings in accordance with Subsection (a) of this Section prior to imposing, ordering, or recommending the imposition of penalties and sanctions under this Order. No order for debarment of any contractor from further Government contracts under Section 209(a)(6) shall be made without affording the contractor an opportunity for a hearing.

"Subpart D—Sanctions and penalties

"Sec. 209. (a) In accordance with such rules, regulations, or orders as the Secretary of Labor may issue or adopt, the Secretary or the appropriate contracting agency may:

"(1) Publish, or cause to be published, the names of contractors or unions which it has concluded have complied or have failed to comply with the provisions of this Order or of the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor.

"(2) Recommend to the Department of Justice that, in cases in which there is substantial or material violation or the threat of substantial or material violation of the contractual provisions set forth in Section 202 of this Order, appropriate proceedings be brought to enforce those provisions, including the enjoining, within the limitations of applicable law, or organizations, individuals, or groups who prevent directly or indirectly, or seek to prevent directly or indirectly, compliance with the provisions of this Order.

"(3) Recommend to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or the Department of Justice that appropriate proceedings be instituted under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

"(4) Recommend to the Department of Justice that criminal proceedings be brought for the furnishing of false information to any contracting agency or to the Secretary of the Labor as the case may be.

"(5) Cancel, terminate, suspend, or cause to be cancelled, terminated, or suspended, any contract, or any portion or portions thereof, for failure of the contractor or subcontractor to comply with the nondiscrimination provisions of the contract. Contracts may be cancelled, terminated, or suspended absolutely or continuance of contracts may be conditioned upon a program for future compliance approved by the contracting agency.

"(6) Provide that any contracting agency shall refrain from entering into further contracts, or extensions or other modifications of existing contracts, with any noncomplying contractor, until such contractor has satisfied the Secretary of Labor that such contractor has established and will carry out personnel and employment policies in compliance with the provisions of this Order.

"(b) Under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Labor, each contracting agency shall make reasonable efforts within a reasonable time limitation to secure compliance with the contract provisions of this Order by methods of conference, conciliation, mediation, and persuasion before proceedings shall be instituted under Subsection (a)(2) of this Section, or before a contract shall be cancelled or terminated in whole or in part under Subsection (a)(5) of this Section for failure of a contractor or subcontractor to comply with the contract provisions of this Order.

"Sec 210. Any contracting agency taking any action authorized by this Subpart, whether on its own motion, or as directed by the Secretary of Labor, or under the rules and regulations of the Secretary, shall promptly notify the Secretary of such action. Whenever the Secretary of Labor makes a determination under this Section, he shall promptly notify the appropriate contracting agency of the action recommended. The agency shall take such action and shall report the results thereof to the Secretary of Labor within such time as the Secretary shall specify.

"Sec. 211. If the Secretary shall so direct, contracting agencies shall not enter into contracts with any bidder or prospective contractor has satisfactorily complied with the provisions of this Order or submits a program for compliance acceptable to the Secretary of Labor or, if the Secretary so authorizes, to the contracting agency.

"Sec. 212. Whenever a contracting agency cancels or terminates a contract, or whenever a contractor has been debarred from further Government contracts, under Section 209(a)(6) because of noncompliance with the contract provisions with regard to nondiscrimination, the Secretary of Labor, or the contracting agency involved, shall promptly notify the Comptroller General of the United States. Any such debarment may be rescinded by the Secretary of Labor or by the contracting agency which imposed the sanction.

"PART IV—MISCELLANEOUS

"Sec. 401. The Secretary of Labor may delegate to any officer, agency, or employee in the Executive branch of the Government, any function or duty of the Secretary under Parts II and III of this Order, except authority to promulgate rules and regulations of a general nature.

"Sec. 402. The Secretary of Labor shall provide administrative support for the execution of the program known as the "Plans for Progress."

"Sec. 403. (a) Executive Orders Nos. 10590 (January 19, 1955), 10722 (August 5, 1957), 10925 (March 6, 1961), 11114 (June 22, 1963), and 11162 (July 28, 1964), are hereby superseded and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity established by Executive Order No. 10925 is hereby abolished. All records and property in the custody of the Committee shall be transferred to the Civil Service Commission and the Secretary of Labor, as appropriate.

"(b) Nothing in this Order shall be deemed to relieve any person of any obligation assumed or imposed under or pursuant to any Executive Order superseded by this Order. All rules, regulations, orders, instructions, designations, and other directives issued by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and those issued by the heads of various departments or agencies under or pursuant to any of the Executive orders superseded by this Order, shall, to the extent that they are not inconsistent with this Order, remain in full force and effect unless and until revoked or superseded by appropriate authority. References in such directives to provisions of the superseded orders shall be deemed to be references to the comparable provisions of this Order.

"Sec. 404. The General Services Administration shall take appropriate action to revise the standard Government contract forms to accord with the provisions of this Order and of the rules and regulations of the Secretary of Labor.

"Sec. 405. This Order shall become effective thirty days after the date of this Order.

"Lyndon B. Johnson.

"The White House, *September 24, 1965.*

"[F.R. Doc. 65-10340; Filed, Sept. 24, 1965; 4:18 p.m.]"

The President's Executive order is stretched out from title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which defines "discriminatory practices" in section 703 as follows:

"DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

"Sec. 703. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—

"(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex or national origin; or

"(2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

"(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

"(c) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for a labor organization—

"(1) to exclude or to expel from its membership, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

"(2) to limit, segregate, or classify its membership, or to classify or fail or refuse to refer for employment any individual, in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities, or would limit such employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee or as an applicant for employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

"(3) to cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an individual in violation of this section."

A reading of the Civil Rights Act as passed by Congress is hazy but certainly does not grant the authority to proceed as far as the Department of Labor has set sail. This "block building" on questionable foundations has delivered labor into the hands of the devil.

Consider the new crew of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission task force committed by its remarks to "get this agency moving" on a series of industry-wide attacks on discrimination. The new breed has been educated to believe that anything goes as long as it is camouflaged by its racist cry of discrimination.

The master destroyer in charge of this unionism destruction is Stephen W. Shulman, age 34, who does not understand labor and probably never worked for a living in his life.

On his activist staff are Gordon Chase, age 34, promoted from the Agency of International Development; Eric Springer, age 38, from the University of Pittsburgh; David Shefrin, age 39, formerly with ABC–TV; and Peter Robertson, age 31.

They hope to be financed by $7.2 million of your tax dollars and command 424 employees to promote bias on the job and to "rev-up" the faked civil rights agitation to divide our people. And the operation is being pulled off very smoothly.

In fact, they deny being antilabor. They put out the propaganda line that they are after the Nation's employers. Possibly like other theoretical intellectuals they cannot see any further ahead than to believe their own conversation. Most employers are now unionized and in jamming Federal compliance of equalitarianism down the employer's throat, it is the workingman who suffers.

And there you have it. Coming from the color of a social law enacted with workingmen's funds, the theatrical production financed by workingmen's taxes—a clear-cut conspiracy is underway to abolish organized labor.

And who can say these unelected rulers will not succeed. We have seen the havoc caused by guidelines and raw power displayed by Executive orders in every other field of human endeavor. The military is controlled and our public education nationalized. Then, why not destroy labor and make it jump at the every personal wish of "big brother government."

Tomorrow, no strikes permitted—the next year no pay increases and eventually full equalization of all labor by removal of such petty distinctions as craft unions, pay scales, and fringe benefits.

Labor will be thrust from unionism under the profit motive of capitalism to full exploitation and slavery by a complete national socialism under political control.

It is late, but never too late to be heard. The collective voices of workingmen are the strength, the prosperity, and the liberty of America. If only they can see through this legal mumbo-jumbo, and take unified action before the chains fall completely into place.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further requests for time, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

International Organizations and Conferences

CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary to meet annual obligations of membership in international multilateral organizations, pursuant to treaties, conventions, or specific Acts of Congress, $118,453,000.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GROSS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Gross: 'On page 5, line 13, replace the period with a colon, and add the following:

"*Provided*, That none of these moneys shall be expended until such time as the financial obligations, past and present, of all other members of each multilateral organization to which this paragraph applies, shall have been fully met."

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman wish to be heard, will the gentleman state his point of order?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, the point of order is that the amendment would require someone to do additional duties, to make a determination of what is suggested in this amendment, and therefore it is subject to point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Iowa wish to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. GROSS. Only, Mr. Chairman, that it is patently a limitation on the appropriation bill.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Hays of Ohio). The Chair believes that this amendment does provide additional duties inasmuch as it says that none of these moneys shall be expended until such time as national obligations, past and present, and so on, shall be fully met, and therefore somebody would have to make a pretty thorough study to decide whether this has been met. Therefore, the Chair sustains the point of order.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Educational Exchange

MUTUAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES

For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary to enable the Secretary of State to carry out the functions of the Department of State under the provisions of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2451–2458), and the Act of August 9, 1939 (22 U.S.C. 501), including expenses authorized by the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended (22 U.S.C. 801–1158); expenses of the National Commission on Education, Scientific, and Cultural Cooperation as authorized by sections 3, 5, and 6 of the Act of July 30, 1946 (22 U.S.C. 287o, 287q, 287r); hire of passenger motor vehicles; not to exceed $10,000 for representation expenses; not to exceed $1,000 for official entertainment within the United States; services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109; and advance of funds notwithstanding section 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 529); $30,000,000, of which not less than $8,700,000 shall be used for payments in foreign currencies which the Treasury Department determines to be excess to the normal requirements of the United States: *Provided*, That not to exceed $2,000,000 may be used for administrative expenses during the current fiscal year.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HALL

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HALL: On page 11, line 18, through page 12, line 16, strike, and renumber ensuing sections accordingly.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, this was discussed during colloquy in general debate on the bill. This is obviously and patently an area where, as proved by the printed hearings and page 7 of the committee report, lecturers selected by the Department, research scholars, and so-called professors and other specialists are sent abroad under this program at great expense to the taxpayers.

In addition to this, as previously pointed out, there is in large part—even in full—a duplication of a similar type of grant or research traveling scholarship made by the National Science Foundation.

As I said but did not demonstrate during the general debate, there is on about each alternate day a list which comes to the desk of each Member, of grants and contracts awarded by the National Science Foundation. Many of these are at great expense. The amounts are given, the duration in months, the grant per month, the congressional district, and the university or other organization to which the award by number and name is granted.

Some of the most interesting of these grants which are in an overlapping position or duplicative are ones that, for example, involve Iowa State University, to attend an international meeting of accurate determination of X-ray intensities and structure factors at Cambridge, England, June 24 to 28. I cited the one in Japan from September 3 to 10 for the VIII International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

There is one listed here at São Paulo, Brazil, to the State University of Stony Brook, to attend the second international symposium on nuclear magnetic resonance. They do not have a nuclear capability in that sovereign nation, so obviously the place has been picked as a good place to convene. Having been there, I would concur, but I went on my own expense—not the taxpayers.

The total for trips abroad for professors, on the releases thus far from the National Science Foundation, is well more than $150,000 for this month.

I ask the question: Do the professors have an opportunity to go shopping as between the State Department and the National Science Foundation for these trip grants or research awards and international conferences?

I ask the second question: Why is this not a function given either to the National Science Foundation or to the State Department, and one agency alone, given the responsibility to determine who should be authorized and who should not?

I ask the question whether or not these trips are really necessary in view of the travel curtailment, the balance-of-payments deficit, duplication, and overlap?

I raise the question, as indeed my colleague from New York who is handling the bill for the majority did, as to how many other agencies of the Federal Government in this time of austerity and alleged economy have the authority to fund trips on so-called research grants abroad for the educational community?

Finally I ask the question as to whether or not there is any check or cross-fertilization made by the State Department to check with other agencies and the National Science Foundation in particular to determine if they have approved like trips to similar individuals before it is allowed or denied by the asking agency?

I believe this should be eliminated in this time of fiscal reform. I solicit support for the amendment. It would simply eliminate the portion on page 11 beginning with line 19 down through line 16 of the following page 12.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman from Missouri yield?

Mr. HALL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I am sorry, but I did not hear the reference of the distinguished gentleman from Missouri to cross-fertilization.

Mr. HALL. Yes. Interfacing between the different agencies of the bureaucracy of our Government would be another sophisticated term. I know we all understand.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I still do not know too much about this cross-fertilization business, but it looks as though the gentleman from Missouri wants to kill all the eggs in the nest right off the bat, if his amendment were to be unfortunately adopted.

In this item we have a program which has been carried on for years and which is an essential part of this Government's activities—the educational exchange program, whereby our country sends some of our bright students abroad and we bring bright students from abroad to this country. These appropriations have been made for many years. The House and the Senate saw fit to appropriate in 1963, $41,950,000; in 1964, $42,625,000; in 1965, $45 million; in 1966, $53 million; in 1967, $47 million; and in 1968, $46 million. The committee amount now pending for your approval is $30 million, which is unfortunately far, far lower than any of the amounts to which I have just made reference. The amendment of the distinguished gentleman from Missouri would cut the appropriations for this activity down to nothing, and I do not think that the House of Representatives is going to go along with any suggestion such as that.

So, Mr. Chairman, I urge defeat of the pending amendment.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I ask the gentleman to yield—and I appreciate him doing so—simply to make it clear to the House that this has absolutely nothing to do with the Fulbright student interchange and scholarship program

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Why, of course, that is exactly what this program is. The professors and lecturers that the gentleman referred to are but one part of this appropriation item. This would take all of your college students out of this program and give them nothing. It would be the end of the program. This is one of the most foolhardy things that I have heard suggested on this floor for a long time.

Mr. HALL. We are in the most foolhardy time that we have been in for a long time, and this is partly because of the research grants that have been made to assistant professors and full professors under this program.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I am not making apologies for all of the professors sent abroad in this program. I know that some of them have gone abroad and said things that I do not like to hear about foreign policy. But that does not justify wiping out an entire program that many of the students in college and in the academic world have aspired to for a long period of time.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri is too drastic. Now, as I said in my remarks, I believe the program could be cut some more, but I do not believe it would be wise to cut it out entirely. I think that the best thing we could do at this time would be to vote against the amendment, because it does do violence to a program which under normal circumstances has some merit. I would just like to say this: I would like to see some of these other programs that have a great deal of exchange between countries also reduced. If all of the other agencies would be cut as drastically as this one, we would be making progress. But, to be honest with you, I have some very basic reservations as to the advisability of completely abolishing this program.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CEDERBERG. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I appreciate the gentleman's reservation and appreciate his comments, but I ask the gentleman if he would refer to the bill, on page 12 in particular, wherein the amount we are appropriating is stipulated to include expenses authorized by the Foreign Service

Act of 1946, as amended, and expenses of the National Commission on Education, Scientific, and Cultural Cooperation and for the hire of passenger motor vehicles, and not to exceed $10,000 for representation expenses; and not to exceed $1,000 for official entertainment within the United States.

If these "students" or professors are going to study and do research and learn anything worthwhile to bring home, I do not think they need to be using up a "booze allowance," not to exceed $1,000 for official entertainment within the United States.

It stipulates further that $8,700 shall be used for payments in foreign currency and, finally, there is a proviso that not to exceed $2 million may be used for administrative expenses during the current fiscal year.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman yield?

Mr. CEDERBERG. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Michigan for yielding to me at this time. I should like to point out, as the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] well knows, because he has probed into this item upon innumerable occasions, this $1,000 is student entertainment within the United States and is known as the Coca-Cola fund. This is merely to provide Coca-Cola, coffee, orangeade, and lemonade at the reception centers upon the arrival of these foreign students in the United States. I certainly contend that in a program of this dimension the sum of $1,000 for this purpose is not undue.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I do not feel that we should get the impression that this is all for students.

Mr. HALL. Nor is it all for Coca-Cola.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I feel that the wise thing to do would be to vote down the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL], although I appreciate his intentions. However, I do not feel it would be the wise thing to do at this time.

SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GROSS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute amendment for the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa may offer a perfecting amendment to the text which the amendment seeks to strike.

The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. GROSS of Iowa to the amendment offered by Mr. HALL of Missouri: On page 12, line 11, after the semicolon, strike the remainder of line 11, and all of lines 12, 13, and 14, and substitute the following: "20,000,000, all of which shall be used for payments in foreign currencies which the Treasury Department determines to be excess to the normal requirements of the United States:".

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I want to take a stab at trying to save $10 million, and to that end I do not believe I need to belabor this particular amendment. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] has made a good case for wiping out the appropriation altogether, but I am convinced his amendment will be defeated and in an effort to be practical I would like to save $10 million if possible.

Mr. Chairman, I am much intrigued by the hearings. I wish to compliment the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] and the members of the subcommittee, including the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CEDERBERG], the ranking minority member, for the excellent information which they have supplied in the hearings. I am only sorry on the basis of the information that is provided the Members of the House that they have not cut this bill deeper, based upon what seems to me to be excellent justification for so doing.

Among the so-called specialists that this fund apparently finances is Stephen L. Addiss, who was paid $5,850 to teach Vietnamese musicians and develop a system of musical scores for Vietnamese music.

Then there is Robert Alexander, swimming coach of Wayne, N.J., who was paid $4,429 to lecture and hold swimming clinics and demonstrations for instructors in the United Arab Republic.

There is Arnold J. Auerbach, general manager of the world champion Boston Celtics basketball team who was paid $4,125 to lecture and hold basketball clinics and demonstrations for instructors in Hong Kong, Malaysia, and the Republic of China. I know he needs this stipend very badly, being the former coach of the longtime world champion Boston Celtics basketball team.

At least he had a nice trip to Hong Kong and Malaysia, and the Republic of China, apparently instructing in the so-called art of professional basketball.

Then there is Eugenia Babylon——

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I believe it is amateur basketball.

Mr. GROSS. Eugenia Babylon. She serves as an adviser to the Vietnamese University libraries. She was paid $6,068.

Lloyd Richards, drama director of New York City, was paid $5,182 to advise on theatrical productions in Zambia, Ghana, Uganda, and Kenya.

I suppose the theater is going full blast in Africa.

There is Lou Rossini. He is listed as head basketball coach at New York University. He gets money out of the U.S. Treasury to coach the Tunisian National basketball team, and is paid $4,599.

There is page after page—page after page in the hearings listing these individuals who have had lush trips abroad at the expense of our hardpressed taxpayers.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I will yield in just one second.

Also included is former Supreme Court Justice Clark. He is apparently another traveler and lecturer around the world at public expense. And if I remember correctly, the Chief Justice of the United States, Mr. Warren, went off on a junket around the world, paid out of these funds. What he was doing I do not know. At the same time, his wife was on some other Government payroll as an expert on some other kind of enterprise. At any rate, they got a nice, lush trip abroad, and perhaps around the world.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. SIKES. I know the gentleman wants the record to be correct. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court made two such trips, not one.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The gentleman from Iowa has not yet come to that one. He has not reached that page.

Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman in the remarks he has just made, starting with Red Auerbach, would leave the impression that all of these people were paid something for the patriotic services that they give in taking these educational trips abroad. The money which the gentleman mentions is also for the travel and for the expenses of these people who make these visits to these countries.

Mr. GROSS. In view of the financial crisis in this country, when is it proposed to let some of these countries take care of their own athletic and lecture programs rather than send handpicked individuals, regardless of whether they are paid a salary. This record shows that thousands upon thousands of dollars have been spent on this extravagance. There are page after page of them.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Does the gentleman realize——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I would not, by any means, endorse or send abroad some of these characters. For instance, they sent a 51-year-old boxing coach down to the Dominican Republic. I believe that was a waste of time. In the Eisenhower administration they used to send Helen Hayes at $1,500 a week—not just pay her travel, not just pay her hotel bills, but they paid her $1,500 a week under this program.

They sent Mary Martin abroad at $1,000 a week to play "Skin Of Your Teeth" in English in foreign countries where they did not understand a word that was being said on the stage.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. In just 1 second, if the gentleman will allow me just 1 more second.

The point is that the whole amount requested for these so-called cultural presentations is $1,600,000.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield very briefly?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I am sure the gentleman must have voted against those bills. I know I did because of expenditures of that kind. Did the gentleman vote against those bills in the Eisenhower administration?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The gentleman forgets that I had the responsibility during part of the Eisenhower administration to appropriate money for him to keep the Government going.

Mr. GROSS. Of course, the gentleman voted for those bills. I doubt if he ever voted against one of them.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The gentleman from Iowa will remember how many times I saved President Eisenhower from the Republican majority.

Mr. GROSS. I was not interested in saving him. Of spending of this kind, I vote against it regardless of the President.

But how about that swimming coach who was sent over to Egypt to teach the Egyptians how to swim? I wonder, have they converted the Suez Canal into a swimming pool, since it is not being used for much else?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I wish that one of these days the distinguished gentleman from Iowa would pack his bags and take a trip abroad as a Member of the House of Representatives and see what goes on. He might then visit the Suez Canal and determine for himself what the situation is.

Mr. GROSS. I am overwhelmed with what I read in the gentleman's hearings. I do not need to go abroad to be convinced that this spending is bad.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, in conclusion let me say that one of these amendments is as irresponsible as the other.

I have pointed out that the amount of money in this program which is a part of the academic world in America today, the Fulbright-Hays program—if we may put it that way since the gentleman from Ohio is in the chair—these are necessary programs.

If there are some irregularities in connection therewith, they surely have been taken care of when the committee reduced the requested amount from the $44 million plus down to $30 million. The distinguished gentleman from Missouri would like to knock this down to zero and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] says he is going to make it $20 million—but he says—all in foreign currencies.

This is utterly impossible. This just cannot be done. Either one of these amendments would mean the total discontinuance of the Fulbright-Hays educational exchange programs.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that the pending amendment be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. GROSS), there were—ayes 39, noes 49.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GROSS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GROSS: On page 12, following line 14, after the colon, insert the following:

"*Provided*, That no funds appropriated to the Department of State shall be used, either directly or indirectly, for payment to any person to coach foreign athletic teams, to teach golf or give exhibitions or demonstrations of golf, to teach Vietnamese music to Vietnamese musicians, to write books or articles on Turkish investment laws, to lecture or hold demonstrations for track instructors, to give boxing or swimming lessons, to conduct research on mathematics in India, for travel or expenses abroad of any member of the Supreme Court or any member of his family:".

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York reserves a point of order. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, the amendment speaks for itself. It provides badly needed restrictions on this appropriation bill and I urge that it be adopted.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, if any Member agrees with the distinguished gentleman from Iowa, I suggest that we now vote on it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

The question was taken; and the Chairman being in doubt, the Committee divided, and there were—ayes 33, noes 42.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 106. Existing appointments and assignments to the Foreign Service Reserve in the Department of State which expire during the current fiscal year may be extended in the discretion of the Secretary of State for a period of one year in addition to the period of appointment or assignment otherwise authorized.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the language beginning with line 25, on page 13, and extending through line 5 on page 14 as being legislation on an appropriation bill and as calling for added authority on the part of the Department of State without the authority of Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I am constrained to admit that the point of order is valid.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is sustained.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

1967 CENSUS OF GOVERNMENTS

For an additional amount for expenses necessary to prepare for taking, compiling, and publishing the 1967 census of governments, as authorized by law, $347,000, to remain available until December 31, 1969.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HALL

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HALL: On page 24, line 4, strike out through line 8 on page 24, inclusive.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, there is a great tendency to submit amendments to strike both the 1967 Economic Census authorized on page 23 preceding, as well as the 1967 Census of Governments. Especially is this true just prior to and at the time we are appropriating $17 million for the next decennial census which will be taken in 1970, and will remain available until December 31, 1972.

I think we all appreciate the importance of the Bureau of the Census, but I cannot imagine why we would take, just 1 year prior to the decennial census, the 1967 authorized census of governments and municipalities.

The amendment only strikes out this census of governments. There can be nothing here that cannot be obtained in the regular decennial census. I submit it would be wise, prudent, and fiscally responsible to save this additional $347,000. I think at a time when we are hearing complaints about the privacy of individuals from various censuses that this Congress has been authorizing, and which were aired in the well of this House, recently; and especially at a time when the inappropriate questions developed by the Census Bureau are being questioned and investigations called for, the least we can do is to strike this additional census of governments, which may well be included in the regular decennial census of 1970.

I think the amendment speaks for itself and I seek the support of Members.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I am quite certain that when the distinguished gentleman from Missouri, my friend Dr. HALL, learns the facts with regard to this, he will withdraw his amendment.

This 1967 census of governments was first appropriated for in 1966 fiscal year in the amount of $200,000. There was appropriated in 1967 fiscal year, $1,300,000. There was appropriated in the 1968 fiscal year, $1 million. That is a total of $2.5 million of the taxpayers' money.

Now, what is this $347,000 for?

It is to complete the processing of data for the public employment, governmental finances, and taxable property values surveys, and for final publication of the data. In other words, after having spent $2.5 million of the taxpayers' money, we need $347,000 to get the results from the expenditure of that $2.5 million.

I suggest that the gentleman from Missouri withdraw his amendment, or that it be defeated.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I gladly yield to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. I would give serious consideration to withdrawing this amendment, in view of the persuasive explanation of the chairman of the subcommittee, especially if he tells me that in the wisdom of his committee, and after the hearings; that with all the computers we have in Government, with the ones we have recently authorized for the legislative reference service of the Library of Congress, and with the ability of the

Government Printing Office to get out a report, that this function of the governments and municipalities census cannot be cleared up without the expenditure of this additional money at a time when we are supposed to be tightening our fiscal belts.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The Census Bureau is one of the best run agencies in the Government of the United States. It is a frugal, intelligent operation. When they say, "After you have spent $2.5 million of the taxpayers' money we want to print the results for the American public and those who are interested in the results," I am going to heed them, rather than follow an amendment such as this.

Mr. HALL. Is the gentleman suggesting that whether we put the appropriation in for the Bureau of the Census at this point or whether we put it in elsewhere to cover the cost to the Government Printing Office, the cost for the summary and the final results will be the same?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. No, not at all. It has to be appropriated to the Census Bureau. We do not appropriate directly to the Government Printing Office for such an item as this. Any of these activities of an agency, when they use the Government Printing Office, calls for money to be appropriated to the agency, which in turn transfers it to pay the bill of the Government Printing Office.

However, this is not all for printing. This is also for compiling the final statistics and putting it in final form and getting it printed.

Does the gentleman wish to withdraw his amendment?

Mr. HALL. Under those circumstances, unless I can be assured otherwise, I would ask for a vote on the amendment.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I also ask for a vote.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SHIP CONSTRUCTION

For construction-differential subsidy and cost of national-defense features incident to construction of ships for operation in foreign commerce (46 U.S.C. 1152, 1154); for construction-differential subsidy and cost of national-defense features incident to the reconstruction and reconditioning of ships under title V of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (46 U.S.C. 1154); and for acquisition of used ships pursuant to section 510 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (46 U.S.C. 1160); to remain available until expended, $245,000,000: *Provided*, That transfers may be made to the appropriation for the current fiscal year for "Salaries and expenses" for administrative and warehouse expenses (not to exceed $3,150,000) and for reserve fleet expenses (not to exceed $700,000), and any such transfers shall be without regard to the limitations under that appropriation on the amounts available for such expenses.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the language on page 32, lines 6 through 23, on the basis of no authorization.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, under the 1936 Merchant Marine Act a point of order would never properly lie against this item for subsidies for ship construction until last year when the House Committee on Merchant Marine did away with the open-end appropriations provisions of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act and insisted that the amount asked for be brought before that committee for authorization. Now we have a situation where the bill has not yet passed the other body. So today I am constrained and with tears in my eyes I have to say to the Chair that the point of order made by the distinguished gentleman from Missouri is perfectly valid.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I share the views of the chairman of the subcommittee. I regret very much that the gentleman from Missouri feels it is essential to make a point of order. I concur that the point of order is valid, but we are faced with a very difficult situation as far as the merchant marine in this country is concerned. The sooner we realize it, the better off we will be. Until we can get an ongoing, reasonable program, on a long-term basis, we will not be in good condition in our merchant marine. The sooner we get this long-term program the better off our merchant marine will be and the defense of this country is going to be.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Such a point of order as the one now made by the gentleman from Missouri could not have been successfully made in all of the years since the enactment of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act until the passage of an act last year requiring an annual authorization by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to be heard on the point of order.

Obviously, since the point of order has been conceded and that there is no authorization, since it is pending in the other body, and the authorizing section is not law; I want to say that perhaps no one knows more acutely than I the need for increasing our ship construction regardless of how we do it and whether it is on past appropriations or whether it is on this appropriation, which is not in order, or otherwise. I say this because I serve on the Airlift and Sealift Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, and have for years. I am sorely perplexed, but this is a matter of principle.

I want to make a final point, Mr. Chairman. In addition to not being in order in this appropriation bill for lack of authorization, this appropriation is for $125 million more than called for in the budget. Therefore, I am constrained to make the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], has conceded the point of order.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ROONEY OF NEW YORK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Rooney of New York: On page 32, line 5, insert:

"MARITIME ADMINISTRATION

"SHIP CONSTRUCTION

"For construction-differential subsidy and cost of national-defense features incident to construction of ships of operation in foreign commerce (46 U.S.C. 1152, 1154); for construction-differential subsidy and cost of national-defense features incident to the reconstruction and reconditioning of ships under title V of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (46 U.S.C. 1154); and for acquisition of used ships pursuant to section 510 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (46 U.S.C. 1160); to remain available until expended, $237,470,000: *Provided*, That transfers may be made to the appropriation for the current fiscal year for 'Salaries and expenses' for administrative and warehouse expenses (not to exceed $3,150,000) and for reserve fleet expenses (not to exceed $700,000), and any such transfers shall be without regard to the limitations under that appropriation on the amounts available for such expenses."

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the amendment which has just been offered by the gentleman from New York.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri reserves a point of order on the amendment.

Does the gentleman from New York wish to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I offer would provide the exact amount for ship construction that was previously approved quite overwhelmingly by this House of Representatives in the annual authorization bill which came from the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. That authorization was in this amount, to wit, $237,470,000. It is presently pending in the other body. It has been reported out of the Senate committee in that amount.

Therefore, I would exhort the distinguished gentleman from Missouri to not insist upon his point of order, for I would have to concede his point of order. I ask the distinguished gentleman to permit the will of the House previously expressed that we have an independent merchant marine; that we have a merchant marine for which we will build at least 31 ships a year and that will protect us if we ever get into a national emergency.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Missouri insist upon the point of order?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I do insist upon the point of order. This is still approximately $117 million above the budget for this expense. Inasmuch as I know full well, and as the distinguished gentleman from New York knows full well, the Committee on Merchant Marines in/and the other body can report out the authorizing legislation to cover this amount instanter, and it will then be properly considered by the Committee on Appropriations. Then final action can be taken thereon by the Congress in accord with proper procedure, rules, and principle.

Mr. Chairman, I insist upon the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] concedes the point of order. Therefore, the Chair sustains the point of order.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ROONEY OF NEW YORK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROONEY of New York: On page 32, line 5, strike out:

"MARITIME ADMINISTRATION

"SHIP CONSTRUCTION

"For construction-differential subsidy and cost of national-defense features incident to construction of ships for operation in foreign commerce (46 U.S.C. 1152, 1154); for construction-differential subsidy and cost of national-defense features incident to the reconstruction and reconditioning of ships under title V of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (46 U.S.C. 1154); and for acquisition of used ships pursuant to section 510 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (46 U.S.C. 1160); to remain available until expended $119,800,000: *Provided*, That transfers may be made to the appropriation for the current fiscal year for 'Salaries and expenses' for administrative and warehouse expenses (not to exceed $3,150,000) and for reserve fleet expenses (not to exceed $700,000), and any such transfers shall be without regard to the limitations under that appropriation on the amounts available for such expenses."

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against this amendment, or, rather, I reserve a point of order against this amendment which has been offered by the distinguished gentleman from New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York wish to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I do, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, the amendment which I have offered and which is now pending would provide for the puny amount recommended by the administration and the Bureau of the Budget for ship construction.

The amount contained in this amendment is the amount previously referred to by the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL]. It is $119,800,000. I again plead with the distinguished gentleman from Missouri to refrain from making his point of order or, rather, to withdraw his point of order so that at least this small amount may be made available to the Maritime Administration for the construction of new ships so vitally needed by our Merchant Marine.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Missouri wish to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. HALL. I do, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from New York is coming down rapidly and appreciably on his figures, but I still insist upon the point of order, as a matter of procedure and principle.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. It is the easiest thing in the world to stand here and make a point of order and be so utterly reckless. The gentleman may not know it but he is doing his best to wreck the merchant marine. He does that when he insists upon his point of order.

This amount has already been approved by this House of Representatives in the month of April.

Of course, all of this comes about as a result of having done away with the provisions of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act, where we could have brought in an appropriation of any amount that the House would agree upon.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] concedes the point of order, and the Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I would just like the RECORD to show that the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries presented the authorization bill, which was one of the first bills taken up this year, the bill passed on the floor here on April 10.

The position was upheld by the Senate. It is unfortunate that they have not had a chance to pass the authorization bill due to the sickness of one or two of the Senators. It is not the fault of the House.

I would like the RECORD to show that the House passed the bill on April 10.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr Chairman, would the distinguished gentleman from Maryland yield?

Mr. GARMATZ. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The point is that we already had the authority for these appropriations and it was taken away by the action of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in insisting on annual authorizations.

Mr. GARMATZ. You had the authority, but not the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, where it properly belongs.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. This record speaks for itself.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

For expenses necessary for research, development, fabrication, and test operation of experimental facilities and equipment; collection and dissemination of maritime technical and engineering information; studies to improve water transportation systems; $11,000,000, to remain available until expended, of which $3,400,000 shall be for operation of the NS Savannah: *Provided*, That none of the funds appropriated herein are to be used for a layup of the NS Savannah: *Provided further*, That transfers may be made to the appropriations for the current fiscal year for "Salaries and expenses" for administrative expenses (not to exceed $931,000) and any such transfers shall be without regard to the limitation under that appropriation on the amount available for such expenses: *Provided further*, That transfers may be made from this appropriation to the "Vessel operations revolving fund" for losses resulting from expenses of experimental ship operations.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the language on page 33, line 15, through page 34, line 10, inclusive, as being legislation on an appropriation bill.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, if the Chair will excuse me, I have no alternative but to concede that the point of order is well taken, and for the same reasons I have advanced all along in trying to get these moneys appropriated here today. So I concede the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is sustained.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ROONEY OF NEW YORK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROONEY of New York: On page 33, line 15, insert:

"RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

"For expenses necessary for research, development, fabrication, and test operation of experimental facilities and equipment; collection and dissemination of maritime technical and engineering information; studies to improve water transportation systems: $6,700,000, to remain available until expended, of which $3,400,000 shall be for operation of the NS Savannah: *Provided*, That none of the funds appropriated herein are to be used for a layup of the NS Savannah: *Provided further*, That transfers may be made to the appropriations for the current fiscal year for 'Salaries and expenses' for administrative expenses (not to exceed $931,000) and any such transfers shall be without regard to the limitation under that appropriation on the amount available for such expenses: *Provided further*, That transfers may be made from this appropriation to the 'Vessel operations revolving fund' for losses resulting from expenses of experimental ship operations."

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri will state his point of order.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Chairman, I make the same point of order against this amendment as I did against the research and development subsection. It is not authorized. It is legislation on an appropriation bill.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman would the gentleman reserve his point of order?

Mr. HALL. I will be glad to reserve my point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri reserves his point of order.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. This is a situation similar to the previous matters that we have had under discussion with regard to the merchant marine.

The amendment which I have offered provides merely for the amount requested by the Bureau of the Budget, $6,700,000, which compares with an appropriation for research and development in the amount of $9,575,000 in the current year.

I wonder if the gentleman has considered, as he makes his point of order, that his action would take the nuclear ship *Savannah* off the high seas.

A year ago, in the fiscal year 1968, the administration wanted to lay up the *Savannah* and not sail her any more. It was this committee and this House of Representatives that said to the Maritime Administration and to the Bureau of the Budget, "You do not know what you are doing and we are going to give you the money to continue sailing the nuclear ship *Savannah*. Sail it."

Here we are a year later with this point of order that would discontinue its sailing although they have learned in the interim that the committee and the Congress were right in the first place and that they should never have proposed the discontinuance of its sailing.

Mr. HALL. In view of the statement of the gentleman from New York that they have found we are correct and will continue to sail the *Savannah*, I know we will bring forth authorizing legislation in the immediate future, so that the necessary appropriations will be in order and voted.

Mr. Chairman, I am getting fed up with the statements in the press about Mr. Boyd's shipping program and about noneconomy on the Hill, by editorial writers who allege pork barreling and parochialism. I have copies here which I will ask to be inserted in the RECORD when we go back into the House. For those reasons, Mr. Chairman, I do insist upon my point of order.

The editorials referred to follow:

[From the New York Times, May 27, 1968]

MR. BOYD'S SHIPPING PROGRAM

The nation's shipping program, despite heavy Government subsidy, is in deep trouble. The merchant marine is expensive, inefficient and uncompetitive. The remedy does not lie in providing $300 million a year in fresh subsidies, as Congress is contemplating. It is in taking a cold look at the strengths and weaknesses of American shipping and coming up with a realistic blueprint for its survival.

Alan S. Boyd, Secretary of Transportation, has done just that. He recognizes that the industry is ailing and that fundamental changes are needed to put things right. He recommends getting rid of the costly subsidies for passenger ships, establishing new and more innovative operating subsidies, and basing Government support for shipowners on security rather than on commercial needs. The total cost would be less than half of what is now being spent.

These are painful proposals for an industry and for unions that have come to depend on Government subsidy. They are also painful to many an American citizen who loves the sea and who prefers to travel on it rather than about it when he goes abroad. The trouble is that this age of mechanized efficiency has little time for such amenities of life as the grace and comfort of seaborne passenger transportation, and little willingness to pay for it.

But, quite apart from the reduction in cost to the taxpayer, Mr. Boyd's proposals attempt to restore realism to the nation's maritime policy in order to make possible a more competitive fleet.

While the opposition to Mr. Boyd's proposals is strong and vigorous, it is being colored by the illusion that the nation's shipping interests warrant a perpetual subsidy from the public purse for their private enterprise.

There is no justification for the charge that the Administration's plan would destroy the American merchant marine. The new program specifically calls for funds to build ships for defense purposes and for an expansion in research and development outlays. If the plans to encourage American ship operators to buy abroad are accepted, actual expansion of the merchant fleet is probable.

The appeal of the new plan is that it will cut the cost of public subsidy while making private operators more efficient. To be sure, these objectives involve changing the rules of the game for the martime industry. But the Administration is saying that there can be no real growth in shipping unless the industry is forced to operate competitively.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, May 27, 1968]

NONECONOMY ON THE HILL

Congressional pledges of fiscal responsibility and economy are one thing. Actual performance, as the House Appropriations Committee has just demonstrated, can be an entirely different matter.

In essence, the committee's self-proclaimed contribution to the $6-billion economy goal was supposed to be a commitment to save at least $4 billion in the fiscal year ahead. So what happens? Its $2-billion State-Commerce-Justice appropriation bill, reported on Friday, turns out to be $3 million above the amounts provided for the same functions this year, and a scant $153 million below the President's requests.

The real absurdity, however, was not in what was done, but how. Here and there, where the end result was not much affected, the committee ax cut hard and deep. A $13.5-million request for the administration's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, for example, was slashed to $6.9 million, just about what that overburdened agency received this year.

On the big-money issue of construction subsidies for U.S. merchant ships, however, the economy machine swung sharply backward. The President sought $120 million—and the committee, incredibly, more than doubled that amount by voting $245 million, along with $206 million requested to subsidize existing merchant ship operations for another year.

What this does to the cause of economy speaks for itself. Its most galling aspect, however, is that the beneficiary of this largesse is an industry already enmeshed up to its ears in federal subsidy. Due largely to labor costs, merchant shipping, U.S. style, has priced itself out of the competitive market. A further, unsolicited stepup in construction would lead inevitably, of course, to still further drains on public tax resources.

The ultimate means, if any exist, of restoring this sick industry to health is a question on which the administration and Congress have not even come close to a meeting of minds. To escalate the government's fiscal commitments to such an unsound operation at this point of national financial crisis, however, as the appropriations committee proposes to do, makes no sense whatever. And it adds a decidely phony note to the economy hoopla espoused by its members.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. If I may be heard further, surely the gentleman does not refer to these editorial writers such as were mentioned yesterday by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] when he made his remarks entitled "All the News That's Fit To Print—the New York Times."

I am sick of these pipsqueek editorial writers whom nobody knows—we do not know whether they are drunk or what they are—calling public officials elected every 2 years from communities of half million people in most instances, who sit down in their cells and write these vicious editorials.

I have been a target of the New York Times for many years, because I saved for the taxpayers millions of dollars—USIA wanted to give away $120 a year annual subscriptions to the New York Times free of charge to every member of the British Parliament. Every 2 years one of these pipsqueek editorial writers states that although my opponent is unqualified and has no background in public life he is still preferable to Congressman ROONEY?

Are these the people you are talking about and paying attention to?

Mr. HALL. The gentleman is paying for this, indeed. He can say he pays because my opinion is my own; and my statement stands, as will the gentleman's statement stand in the RECORD.

Mr. Chairman, I insist on the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

MARITIME TRAINING

For training cadets as officers of the Merchant Marine at the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, New York; not to exceed $2,500 for contingencies for the Superintendent, United States Merchant Marine Academy, to be expended in his discretion; purchase of three passenger motor vehicles for replacement only; and uniform and textbook allowances for cadet midshipmen, at an average yearly cost of not to exceed $475 per cadet; $5,177,000: *Provided*, That, except as herein provided for uniform and textbook allowances, this appropriation shall not be used for compensation or allowances for cadets: *Provided further*, That reimbursement may be made to this appropriation for expenses in support of activities financed from the appropriations for "Research and development" and "Ship construction".

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I simply rise to ask the gentleman from New York if the professor from California has yet converted the Merchant Marine Academy into a coeducational institution?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. No, I do not think that that screwball ever influenced anybody.

I shall tell the House about a situation with regard to Prof. Preble Stolz of the University of California—a law professor no less—a friend of the former seagoing Administrator of the Maritime Administration, Mr. Nicholas Johnson, from Landlock, Iowa, a great expert on the Merchant Marine. He has his friend, Prof. Preble Stolz, come east to Kings Point Merchant Marine Academy, on Long Island, to study the Merchant Marine Academy and to make recommendations to him. He pays him $4,000 for this purpose—he recommended that they take the uniforms off the boys at the Academy and make the institution coeducational. No one after graduation from the Merchant Marine Academy should be required to spend 5 minutes at sea or in a job connected with the merchant marine, according to his recommendations. That is what the taxpayers received for $4,000. I assure you that everybody at the Merchant Marine Academy and everyone down in the Maritime Administration and the maritime industry thinks about as much of Professor Stolz as I do.

Mr. GROSS. The question is saying, I believe, that the recommendation of the renowned professor who came all the way from California——

Mr. ROONEY of New York. From Berkeley, if you please.

Mr. GROSS. From Berkeley to Kings Point, N.Y., did not result in changing the Merchant Marine Academy into a coeducational institution, and whereby the captains of ships in the future would be known as "captainettes" or something of that kind?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. They might be known as "captainicks."

Mr. GROSS. And as for the landlocked former Administrator of the Marine Administration, who spent $4,000 of the taxpayers' money on this professor, I assume he was an Iowa Democrat; was he not?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I do not know. He never behaved like a Democrat when he was head of the Maritime Administration.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

AUTOMOBILE FOR THE CHIEF JUSTICE

For purchase, exchange, lease, driving, maintenance, and operation of an automobile for the Chief Justice of the United States, $9,500.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words. I would like to make inquiry about the $9,500 automobile for the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. What is this all about?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I am quite sure that the distinguished gentleman knows that this item is to pay the salary of the chauffeur of the car of the Chief Justice of the United States, oil——

Mr. GROSS. I did not hear the gentleman. Did the gentleman say "oil"?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Oil. Did the gentleman think I said "Earl"?

Mr. GROSS. I would not know from reading the bill whether it provided for the purchase of a Rolls Royce or a Cadillac. "For purchase, exchange, lease, driving, maintenance, and operation of an automobile" covers a multitude of sins. The gentleman will have to admit that. What does the Chief Justice do with this automobile during the June to October vacation that the Justices of the Supreme Court take? Does the gentleman know?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I am sorry. Does the gentleman know?

Mr. GROSS. No; I do not.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I think we are too busy to be chasing his automobile.

Mr. GROSS. How about the chauffeur? Is he around during that long vacation?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I have never met him, to tell the gentleman the truth.

Mr. GROSS. Is he the valet? Does he go overseas with him?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I have not the slightest idea.

Mr. GROSS. What happens from June until late September when they are off, running and junketing?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The gentleman, of course, is not a lawyer and perhaps would not understand that during that period a great deal of work is done by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. GROSS. Such as climbing mountains and getting married?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. They do have a mountain climber over there, I will admit that, but I expect he pulls an oar and works when it comes down to getting out the decisions.

Mr. GROSS. Here is an instance in which the committee did not go into the usual detail and depth.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. We think it is a waste of time and beneath our dignity.

Mr. GROSS. In the future will the gentleman get the information privately so he can give it to me privately if not publicly?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. If the gentleman will write a letter to the Supreme Court, to the clerk of the Supreme Court, and if he happens to be in the city, he would gladly answer the gentleman, I am sure.

Mr. GROSS. Why does not this $9,500 come out of the $140,000 of miscellaneous expense made available to the Chief Justice?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Because they want the gentleman to understand exactly what it is for.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to turn back to page 35.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I object. I have always objected to such a request. When we read an appropriation bill, section by section, it is suicide to turn back.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is heard. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

CUSTOMS COURT

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For salaries of the chief judge and eight judges; salaries of the officers and employees of the court; services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109; and necessary expenses of the court, including exchange of books, and traveling expenses, as may be approved by the court; $1,600,000: *Provided*, That traveling expenses of judges of the Customs Court shall be paid upon written certificate of the judge.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Missouri ruled out various sections of the maritime program, with the exception of the one on maritime training. I would like to ask the gentleman why that particular section, which also does not come under this authorization, should be allowed to pass?

The CHAIRMAN. That is not a parliamentary inquiry. If the gentleman wants to address a parliamentary inquiry to the Chair, and if the Chair can answer it, he will, but the gentleman cannot address it to just anyone on the floor.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Chairman, I address it to the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is afraid the gentleman addressed it to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Chairman, I am afraid that is one section I did not have objection to. The gentleman objected to the rest of the section, but why this one particular section?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will say to the gentleman from Maryland he did not make a point of order to that section, so the Chair had no occasion to rule on it, so it was passed, and it stands, and it is in the bill. That is the substance of what the Chair can tell the gentleman about it.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SALARIES OF SUPPORTING PERSONNEL

For salaries of all officials and employees of the Federal Judiciary, not otherwise specifically provided for, $43,500,000: *Provided*, That the compensation of secretaries and law clerks of circuit and district judges shall be fixed by the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts without regard to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, except that the salary of a secretary shall conform with that of the General Schedule grades (GS) 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, or 10, as the appointing judge shall determine, and the salary of a law clerk shall conform with that of the General Schedule grades (GS) 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, or 12, as the appointing judge shall determine, subject to review by the Judicial Conference of the United States if requested by the Director, such determination by the judge otherwise to be final: *Provided further*, That (exclusive of step increases corresponding with those provided for by title VII of the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, and of compensation paid for temporary assistance needed because of an emergency) the aggregate salaries paid to secretaries and law clerks appointed by one judge shall not exceed $20,282 per annum, except in the case of the chief judge of each circuit and the chief judge of each district court having five or more district judges, in which case the aggregate salaries shall not exceed $27,016 per annum: *Provided further*, That without regard to the aforementioned dollar limitations, each circuit judge may appoint an additional law clerk at not to exceed grade (GS) 9.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the language on page 42, beginning on line 3, which reads as follows:

Provided further, That without regard to the aforementioned dollar limitations, each circuit judge may appoint an additional law clerk at not to exceed grade (GS) 9.

Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against this language on the ground that it is legislation on an appropriation bill.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I maintain that this is authorized by law. The additional law clerk is most certainly authorized. The committee inserted this language in the bill so that they would not hire law clerks at higher grades than GS–9. It is in the bill to save money or to keep down the amount of money that would be required to pay these law clerks.

The CHAIRMAN. Before the Chair rules on the point of order, can the gentleman from New York cite to the Chair the authority the gentleman says is already existing?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The gentleman from New York will endeavor to get that information. Obviously, we never expected such a point of order as this to be made. Law clerks are a necessary part of the judge's chambers.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state the Chair was not apprised that this point of order would be raised, and is therefore not able to put a finger on the section involved.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I understand.

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Chairman, may I be heard?

The **CHAIRMAN**. The Chair would like to pick up some time, so the Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Chairman, I submit that it does not make any difference whether this is authorized or not. This provides in an appropriation bill for an additional law clerk, and stipulates the grade at which the clerk shall serve. This is patently legislation on an appropriation bill.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The Chair will state that if the additional clerk is authorized somewhere in law, this would be a limitation upon the grade at which the clerk could be appointed. What is sought to be found out is whether there is existing legislation.

Mr. **GROSS**. I point out, Mr. Chairman, "without regard to the aforementioned dollar limitations," and so on and so forth. It is not a limitation.

Mr. **ROONEY** of New York. Mr. Chairman, I am sure this is authorized. However, we will concede the point of order in the interest of saving time and bring it back to the House after the conference. This does not affect the amount of money for these law clerks.

The **CHAIRMAN** (Mr. HAYS). In view of that statement, the Chair sustains the point of order.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses necessary for the Commission on Civil Rights, including hire of passenger motor vehicles, $2,650,000.

Mr. **MICHEL**. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to make several observations and to propound a question or two.

In the report, on page 23 it is stated:

> The Commission on Civil Rights, established by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, as amended by Title V of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, is responsible for fact finding, disseminating information, and reporting denials of equal protection of the laws to the President and the Congress.

On Saturday, May 12, there was a so-called Civil Rights Commission hearing in my home community of Peoria, Ill. with respect to alleged denial of student rights in the Peoria public school system. I would surely leave to put the word "hearing" in quotation marks.

My concern stems more from the announced purpose of the hearing—that is, that it was to develop data for the use of the President and the Congress in future legislation—than from any other feature.

This so-called hearing, was so conducted that no safeguards were employed to secure truthful, factual, and up-to-date testimony. It is my concern that if the record as reported in the press is accurate, then the President and the Congress could only be misled by receiving a transcript of what occurred, as to the true facts of the situation in my home community of Peoria.

For example, just one citation. One James Moore stated that he had been suspended from school for 3 days and immediately upon his return was suspended for an additional 7 days with a statement that this was contrary to the school code and indicating that it was racially motivated.

The fact that was overlooked was that Mr. Moore was suspended for 3 days for improperly leaving school and inducing others to do so, also, in a boycott of the school. Upon his return he was suspended for 7 days,' the reason being that he was apprehended with a loaded revolver concealed on his person, of which offense he was subsequently convicted.

There is no citation in the hearing whatsoever of the fact that this was the kind of witness they had testifying in this so-called open hearing. At an appropriate time, Mr. Chairman, I will ask that a letter be inserted at this point in th RECORD setting forth a bill of particulars from the counsel of the local school district citing a number of instances where you have just flim-flam testimony given to the Civil Rights Commission. I could have balanced up this so-called hearing record with witnesses of my own representing 99 44/100 percent of the law-abiding community, both black and white, who have been denied their civil rights because of a NAACP-sponsored school boycott, and other acts of intimidation. I could have personally cited instances, specific instances, of my own kids being assaulted in two instances, and robbed in another instance, by gangs of young toughs from the schools involved in the hearing. We hear all of this whining and bitching about policemen stationed in our schools, but they are there for the protection of minority and majority. It seems to me that it is high time someone speaks out for the majority who are law-abiding citizens, who pay the taxes and provide the resources and the facilities to give a little better life to those who are less fortunate.

On the strength of your applause I should probably offer an amendment to cut this item in half or do away with it altogether.

I am a little bit irked when I hear that we are voting funds for a Civil Rights Commission that holds such a flim-flam hearing. They should be admonished for not giving adequate public notice that a hearing is to be held so the record could be an objective one. I personally resent this kind of proceeding. It is a sad commentary on the way we are operating these days.

I would like to propound a question, maybe to the chairman or to some of the members of the committee. What assurances or guaranties do we have that this commission really conducts a bona fide hearing which can be recognized as a real hearing? Does anyone have any idea on how they operate? Are we to accept this one-sided story? From the negative shaking of heads and lack of response it is quite apparent that no one knows for sure how they conduct their hearings. It seems to me that until we get an assurance that these hearings are going to be objective, calling in witnesses on all sides, these kind of proceedings are pretty much of a farce.

Mr. Chairman, under unanimous consent I place the letter previously referred to in full at this point in the RECORD:

KAVANAGH, SCULLY, SUDOW, WHITE
& FREDERICK,
Peoria, Ill., May 16, 1968.

Mr. JOHN L. MCKNIGHT,
Midwest Field Office,
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights,
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. MCKNIGHT: I am quite disturbed by the newspaper account of the hearing your Department held in Peoria last Saturday with regard to deprived students in the Peoria Public Schools and Civil Rights questions. My concern stems more from the announced purpose of the hearing, that is that it was to develop data for the use of the President and the Congress in future legislation than from any other feature.

The "hearing" was so conducted that no safeguards were employed to secure truthful, factual and up-to-date testimony. It is my deep concern that if the record as presented in the newspaper is accurate then the President and the Congress could only be misled by receiving a transcript of it as to what the true facts are here in Peoria.

Some examples of what I mean are the following:

1. James Moore stated that he had been suspended from school for three days and immediately upon return was suspended for an additional seven days, with the statement that this was contrary to the School Code and indicating that it was racially motivated. The fact that was overlooked was that Mr. Moore was suspended for three days for improperly leaving school and inducing others to do so also in a boycott of the schools and upon his return was suspended for seven days, the reason being that he was apprehended with a loaded revolver concealed on his person, of which offense he was subsequently convicted.

2. Floyd Pickett was permitted to testify as to a program in the public schools which no longer existed at the time of the hearing. He was also permitted to say that people in the program that he alluded to were not to be permitted to return to high school despite the fact that they had been told they would be. This was not true because at the time Mr. Pickett testified all of these students had been reenrolled in our high schools for next fall.

3. Mrs. Barbara Penelton stated that students are suspended if the school learns of a police arrest without waiting to find out if they are guilty. While this may have been true in the past it is not now true and had not been true for some time prior to the hearing.

4. The statements of Dr. Shotwell were completely hearsay and at best very stale. Her generalities such as "parents are insulted and ignored" intended only to prejudice and not informative of the true facts.

5. Dr. Goldberg's statements that the School Board lags far behind public acceptance of integration is patently inaccurate. The Board itself has accepted the concept of integration whereas the vast majority of the electorate whenever given the choice has voted for candidates favoring neighborhood schools.

6. Reverend Ramsey's statement that predominately negro schools have been "stigmatized as poor schools", failed to add that this has been done only by some negro leaders and not by the community or school district.

Worst of all is the timing of this hearing. It produced primarily a gripe session against old discarded practices with the insinuation that these gripes were valid today. The statements were evidently prepared long before Dr. Norcross took the lead in strong commitment to achieving integration and general community involvment. Thus your organization is placed in the unhappy light of, perhaps unwittingly, undermining a school administration which is attempting to accomplish the same end as you foster by the use of gripes against that which is no longer valid.

It is my sincere hope that you can convey to the President and the Congress a far more factual picture than this hearing produced.

Very truly yours,

W. McD. FREDERICK.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission established by title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, including services as authorized by 5 U.S.C. 3109; hire of passenger motor vehicles; and not to exceed $700,000 for payments to State and local agencies for services to the Commission pursuant to title VII of the Civil Rights Act, $6,936,000.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. JOELSON

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. JOELSON: On page 46, line 22, strike "$6,936,000" and substitute "$11,800,000".

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, it is never pleasant for a member to disagree with his own committee. I hesitate to do so, and I would not do so in this respect unless I felt there were really compelling reasons. I wish that the committee had followed the lead of the distinguished subcommittee chairman in trying to get adequate funding for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the budget recommendation for this agency was $13.1 million. It was cut by the committee action to $6.9 million, which is the same as last year when one considers the mandatory pay increases.

Mr. Chairman, my amendment would increase that amount to $11.8 million, which is a cut of 10 percent over the budget recommendation.

The reasons why this amendment is necessary are twofold: First of all, I believe we have to look at the backlog of this agency. The testimony given us indicates that it takes this agency with its present personnel 16 long months to bring a case to conclusion from the institution of the complaint, through the investigatory process, and then the conciliation process.

If you look at the Civil Rights Act of 1964, you will find that if the Commission is not able to conciliate cases within the period of 60 days, then the complaining person can within the next 30 days bring suit in the Federal District Court. The Federal District Courts have interpreted this in some cases as a statute of limitations which requires a claimant to come to court within 90 days. Obviously the Commission has a 16-month backlog. So everyone is running to court and flooding the courts with cases, which has resulted in an impossible situation.

On top of that, this July a new provision of law will go into effect which will extend the coverage to businesses employing 25 employees. What will this mean? This will mean that in addition to the present backlog, 250 percent more employers will be covered, and 16 percent more employees, or 6 million additional employees. In other words, 195,000 additional employers will be covered by the agency which is already running almost a year and a half behind schedule.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we raised hopes and expectations when we enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1964. I think it is far more cruel to kindle hopes and dreams and not attempt to bring forward the realization of those hopes and dreams than to fail to enact programs which are designed to do this in the first place.

We can kill the equal employment opportunity program by the malnutrition of inadequate funding just as well as by the gunshot of repeal. I believe that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a milestone. It was passed with bipartisan support. I will be frank and state that the Democratic vote alone could not have done it. The Republicans effectively and courageously supported that legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I am appealing to every Member here today, Democrat and Republican, who voted for that historic Civil Rights Act of 1964, not to be killers of the dream.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. REID of New York. I strongly join with my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON] in support of his amendment, and urge that the Equal Opportunity Commission be fully funded. Not to do so is to bring about the result of adding billions of dollars in discriminatory employment and it is my further belief that this Commission should be working and working on a current basis.

Mr. JOELSON. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to add that although we read terrible headlines about violence and disorder, there are millions of people who wish to do things in an orderly manner and who wish to achieve progress in accordance with the law.

Mr. Chairman, it is our job to encourage people and to insure that through undernourished budgets, they will not be denied the opportunity of utilizing benefits provided for by existing law.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I agree with every word that the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey has had to say with regard to this President's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and, insofar as I am personally concerned, I accept the gentleman's amendment. I shall vote for it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. CEDERBERG

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute amendment for the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON].

The Clerk read as follows:

Substitute amendment offered by Mr. CEDERBERG for the amendment offered by Mr. JOELSON: On page 46, line 22, strike out "$6,936,000" and insert "$7,936,000."

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, first I want to say that I certainly have no quarrel with the activities of the Equal Opportunity Commission. I believe we are all in agreement that this is a Commission that needs to do its job, and it has a job to do.

However, I do believe there is such a thing as trying to go overboard, and expand the Commission in one fiscal year far in excess of needs of the Commission to take care of the situation.

Last year we gave this Commission 75 new employees. We raised it from a total of 314 to 389 employees. This year the Commission requested an increase of 637 new employees, raising the number from 389 to 1,026.

The fact of the matter is that in April of this year they had 36 vacancies in authorized personnel. So I see no reason why we should adopt the Joelson amendment.

Mr. Chairman, what my amendment does is increase the amount by $1 million, and this gives them a little in excess of the same percentage increase they had last year. We gave them 75 new employees last year. This amendment will increase it to 100 new employees this year.

To me this makes some sense. No one can say that we are not concerned about providing equal opportunities, but we want to do it in an orderly fashion.

If the Members could take the time to read the hearings, they would find that there is some question as to whether or not this Commission is receiving all of the complaints or the number of complaints that they expect. As a matter of fact, the Bureau of the Budget cut their request $2,777,000. What I would do with this amendment would be to give them 100 new employees. In other words, they would go from 389 employees to 489 in 1 year.

Now, this is a pretty rapid expansion, and is sufficient, in my opinion, to do the job.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CEDERBERG. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I am told that the backlog of cases in the Commission is so great that a complaint cannot be processed in less than 18 months. Can the gentleman tell me whether this is correct or not?

Mr. CEDERBERG. I can tell the gentleman from our records that they anticipated they were going to have 360 successful conciliations last year when they requested their additional new employees, and they actually had 88. So what happened I do not know.

Now, there is a great deal of difference between complaints that may be coming in because some of them come in in groups from a given organization.

Mr. YATES. Does the gentleman agree with me that 18 months' time for processing an application is much too long a time, and that justice delayed is justice denied? And so that they should have enough employees, a sufficient number of employees dealing with these cases, to render an expeditious disposal of the applications?

Mr. CEDERBERG. I do not disagree that things should be expedited as much as possible, but I do say that just as in many law cases, as we go into the judiciary, we get a lot of cases that are coming in that can be handled routinely and very, very easily, and the backlog in this situation, as I understand, is not such that it cannot be handled. All I am saying is that to increase by some 600 employees in 1 year is, I believe, unreasonable; 100 new employees is, I believe, a generous approach.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CEDERBERG. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I wanted to point out that out our way the regional headquarters for this setup is at Albuquerque, N. Mex., and any complaints that develop in my State—and I represent the largest metropolitan city in the West—means that the man must make his application out, send it to Albuquerque, N. Mex. They have one man who comes up and makes the investigation, goes back down, and then there are a number of delays, according to cases that have been directed to my attention.

I have been told one of the reasons they have not been able to process them is they do not have the employees.

Mr. CEDERBERG. You cannot have regional offices or resident offices in every location. As a matter of fact, there is a substantial increase here for travel so there can be no excuse for not getting out to an area to make an investigation if it is necessary to make an investigation.

All I am saying is that in an agency which grows too quickly there will be a tendency not to get as efficient a handling of cases.

I think 100 new employees is a substantial amount.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to both amendments.

Mr. Chairman, I oppose both amendments that have been offered.

I wonder if we might just take a very few minutes to look at the facts.

In 1967, which was just a year ago, this agency had 314 positions. Now they want 1,026 for next year.

Last year they were soliciting business by radio trying to drum up support and trying to drum up activity. They did not have sufficient work to keep 314 people busy.

For 1968, this fiscal year, they were given 75 additional positions. That was a total of 389 and they have not been able to fill all of those.

On April 23 they had 36 vacancies. So let us say they had 360 people last month—they still want for next year, 1,026. That is an increase of 637 plus the 36 that they have not been able to add to their payrolls this year.

That is a lot of people to add in one year to an agency which according to all the facts are not doing a very good job with those who are now employed.

When representatives of the agency appeared before the committee in 1967, they estimated they would have 360 successful conciliations. How many did they have? They had 88. Not a very good record of achievement.

For the current fiscal year they estimated they would have 560 successful conciliations. They presently say they will have 225—and that is quite a drop. It is only 40 percent of that which they estimated. Still not a very good record of achievement.

The Department of Justice hearings show that Department has to do additional work in five of every six cases that is presented to it by this agency.

Mr. Chairman, this is simply a case of empire building and we do not have money for empire building. By no stretch of the imagination are either of the proposed increases justified.

The agency was not content to ask for $13 million, the budgeted amount. It wanted nearly $3 million more. The agency had the colossal nerve to ask for $16 million. That is 2½ times the $6.5 million it had last year. They wanted to expand by 2½ times in 1 year. Obviously, when they are not even doing a good job now, they cannot properly carry on an operation next year that is 2½ times as large.

Mr. Chairman, this is empire building and we do not have that kind of money. I have not talked about the meddling and interference it engages in. That is another story and it provides ample reason to vote against the appropriation in its entirety.

The committee has provided the money to carry on the operations of the agency at the same level they were carried on during the current fiscal year. If this is done the agency can build up to the level it said it was going to reach in the current fiscal year. Obviously that is all it can hope to accomplish.

Do you want to throw away money? That is exactly what you are being asked to do. I urge the defeat of both amendments.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I regret that I must rise in opposition to the substitute amendment offered by my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan.

I do support the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

These are very troublous times in our land. We have an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission set up on a bipartisan basis. It is about the weakest kind of commission that you can have. It does not have the power to go in and impose its will after hearings. In court it carries the burden of proof to show that there has been discrimination in individual cases.

To demand of a commission of this nature the kind of results that we get from a number of State commissions, that have great powers, is unfair. We have not given this Commission sufficient staff and money. We all are aware of the flickering lightning and rolling thunder across our land. Certainly we are not going to do anything to solve our problems by depriving this Commission of the money it needs to attempt to guarantee equal employment opportunity.

I have voted consistently in this Congress to cut appropriations. We are in serious fiscal straits. There are many areas that I believe in this bill we should cut further money. But I do not believe we should cut the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The statement has been made that we are going from 389 to 1,000 employees. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission requested of the President $2.5 million more than was budgeted. They were cut to $13.1 million initially. This bill now provides $6.9 million, not the $13.1 million they feel is the minimum necessary to do their job.

The proposal made by the gentleman from New Jersey would raise the amount to $11.8 million. That is 10 percent below the budgeted figure. It seems to me a fair compromise under the circumstances to fund this vital Commission.

Unless we can offer equal employment opportunity to our people, we are not going to be able to put them to work to support themselves. We are going to have them on the relief rolls. We are going to have increasingly all the problems we have in the poverty program. We have to approach this problem constructively. This, I think, is a fair compromise, and I hope that the substitute will be defeated and that the Joelson amendment will be adopted.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. I would like to commend the gentleman on his remarks and ask him if he does not agree that one of the fine aspects of the work of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission is the extent to which it can function confidentially and not inside the bright lights. Given an adequate staff, which the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON] seeks to do, they can handle these problems confidentially, quietly, and much more successfully than attempting to litigate these matters in court.

Mr. GOODELL. The gentleman is absolutely correct. They are now 6 to 9 months behind. When a complaint comes in, it takes 6 to 9 months to get any action at all. If we fund the Commission now at the level that is proposed in the bill, it will be a year and a half to 2 years behind. The law provides that they should get results in 60 days or the individual can sue. That was the concept of the original law. Some have said "They have not done very much. Why give them more?" The reason they have not done more, or one of the reasons, is that they have not had sufficient staff, and the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON] would give them more staff.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOODELL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. I would like to commend the gentleman for his remarks and associate myself with his views.

I would like also to point out we are appropriating in this Congress and spending in this Nation millions and millions of dollars in order to do what? To promote meaningful equality of opportunity. This is true of education; it is true of housing; it is true of employment; it is true of training; it is true across the board in almost every item of the domestic budget. We are authorizing billions of dollars trying to achieve this end. Yet here we have an instrumentality which we are cutting down now below that level that I believe it can operate at. I recognize it is an increase from the zero level at which it started back when it originated just 3 years ago. Nevertheless, it is false economy to cut back on this budget.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to both the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey and the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan.

The facts are very simply that this Commission has been disappointed in the requirements for the work that are set out in the authorizing legislation. The Commission has not found the complaints nor the grounds for the complaints that it had either expected or hoped to find. In 1966 there were 314 positions. The Congress authorized an increase of 75 additional positions, bringing this to a total of 389. The Commission, for some reason unknown to the subcommittee and to the committee, has been unable to fill the vacancies in positions which they are authorized at the present time.

Now the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey would add 673 new positions for a total of 1,026 positions. Based on caseload and every reasonable requirement such an increase is more than unjustified, it is unconscionable.

One reason that the timelag exists in these Equal Employment Opportunity Commission cases is they spend most of their time trying to bolster up the complaints that come in rather than judging them on the merits of the case presented to them. In time after time, Mr. Chairman, investigators and other staff members of the EEOC have generated complaints where no justifiable ground for complaint existed in the first place.

Make no mistake about it, Mr. Chairman, what the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the staff members of that Commission want to do with the additional money that is being asked for in these amendments is to set up a handbook, a set of rules and regulations that will usurp the authority that a company must have in determining personnel policies.

When the long arm of the Federal Government and of this Commission go down into private enterprise and determine how it will operate the personnel office and personnel management of every industry and every company in this country, then we will see profits turn to losses, we will see companies forced out of business, and we will see unemployment increase and employment decrease.

Mr. Chairman, no company on earth could operate at a profit if it had to depend on the personnel and the staff of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to set its personnel policies. Certainly no company outside of one that is part of a monopoly or a company which does all or nearly all of its business with the Federal Government, where profits in operations are substantially guaranteed, could do so if the EEOC deliberately sets out to originate complaints.

Mr. Chairman, the subcommittee and the committee have been more than generous to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in this bill and in this report. We have provided more money than they have been able to spend. We are trying at this time of needed economy in Government to hold down expenses to a minimum. To reject an increase in this item is an effort to reduce unnecessary increases in spending.

Tomorrow we will be called upon to cast one vote relating to this. A week from tomorrow we may be called upon to cast another. Mr. Chairman, the vote on this amendment gives us one additional opportunity to reduce unnecessary and unjustified expenditures in the operation of our Government, and I urge the rejection of both amendments.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I think the substitute amendment might be tolerable as a means toward wiping out a backlog were it not the case that this July we are going to add 6 million new covered employees and that we are going to add 195,000 additional employers.

When this appropriation was first set up, it was set up for a staff that was expected to receive 2,000 charges annually, and in the first year it received 9,000 charges. It started with a backlog which grew deeper and deeper.

The gentleman from Florida mentioned the fact that the Justice Department is increasingly involved in these cases.

That is true; but it is true because of the backlog, because of that 90-day provision which says if a decision is not reached in 90 days the complainant may go to court. This has been interpreted by some courts as mandatory. The courts are flooded with complaints.

What my amendment seeks to do is to encourage conciliation, to reduce acrimony and conflict and strife and to try to resolve these things.

I believe this is money well spent in a Nation where people are bitter and at one another's throats. It would provide a forum and personnel to solve these things in the American way, rationally and decently and compassionately.

I have been advised by the Chairman of the Commission that the substitute amendment will really not help solve the problem significantly, and for that reason I must urge the support of my own amendment.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HALPERN. I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey. I trust the substitute will be defeated, and I heartily support the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

I deplore the cut of almost 50 percent from the President's request for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which was made by the Appropriations Committee.

This reduction means that thousands of people who feel they have been victims of employment discrimination will have to wait between a year and a half and 2 years to get their cases processed by the Federal Government—despite the congressional mandate to process cases in 60 days.

The EEOC, under title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, is charged by the Congress to investigate and, when it appears there is discrimination, to conciliate cases of employment discrimination because of race, religion, national origin, sex, and color. Because of the heavy volume of complaints—over which we have no control—and the resultant backlog, the average case now takes about 16 months to process—16 months of waiting for an American who may have been denied a job or a promotion because of discrimination.

On July 2, 1968, title VII automatically increases the number of employers covered by 250 percent and the number of employees covered by 16 percent. Thus, this delay promises to get worse unless something is done about it.

I have no question that the President's request, if appropriated by the Congress, would do something about it. It would provide the vitally needed additional investigators and conciliators needed to process the cases on a current basis.

Only if the EEOC operates on a current basis can Americans feel that title VII and the processes of law provide a meaningful instrument for coping with employment discrimination.

Of course we are cognizant of the country's budgetary problems. But we are talking of $6 million contrasted to the $30 billion that employment discrimination costs the United States each year. And we are talking about the rights of thousands of individuals and companies and unions to a speedy determination of cases.

I trust the Joelson amendment is overwhelmingly approved and that the amendment to the amendment is soundly defeated.

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Joelson amendment, and I commend the gentleman from New Jersey for his excellent presentation.

What the gentleman is saying is we have a backlog with present personnel, and we are going to add, on top of that backlog, a whole new jurisdiction. We must have adequate funds and personnel, or we will be in worse trouble.

We are concerned mostly about how the delay affects the complainants, but is it not also true that the defendants, the employers, have been complaining about delay in the handling of their cases? So we have both the workers and the employers backing the amendment.

Mr. JOELSON. That is right. I would add to that the labor unions, who are often targets of complaints.

Mr. MOORHEAD. All of them suffer as a result of delay.

Mr. JOELSON. That is entirely correct.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment, and in opposition to the substitute amendment.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission shall have no more than 60 days to resolve claims of employment discrimination before a charging party shall have the right to bring suit in Federal court. The law also provides that suit shall not occur until the Commission has attempted to settle the dispute confidentially. Because Congress has not appropriated funds sufficient to deal with the Commission's caseload, the Commission has never been able to carry out its duties within the time directed by title VII.

Inevitably, this has produced a profusion of litigation in our district courts and courts of appeal. In Dent against St. Louis-San Francisco Railway, the court said that regardless of how long it takes, the plaintiff must wait for the Commission to seek to conciliate the case—a process now averaging almost 10 times the 60 days provided. Other district courts have concurred in this result.

In Miller against International Paper, a Mississippi case, and in Cunningham against Litton Industries, which arose in California, the courts have given up all hope of conciliation as a means for resolving claims of employment discrimination, and require suit to be brought 60 days after a charge is filed. Other courts simply permit suits to be filed after the Commission has had the case for 60 days, whenever the charging party gets tired of waiting.

Rather than the carefully balanced scheme of Federal conciliation followed by private litigation only when necessary, the compliance process under title VII, which was so laboriously created in 1964, has become a shambles. Plaintiffs are denied the prompt relief promised them. Defendants are denied the opportunity to peacefully and confidentially settle disputes promised them. And the public as a whole is denied the effective Federal instrument promised it for dealing with the pernicious problem of employment discrimination.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to my colleague from New Jersey.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I wish to associate myself with the remarks of my distinguished friend and colleague from New Jersey in support of his amendment, and I urge defeat of the substitute amendment.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that I thank the gentlemen on the Republican side who have supported my amendment. As they supported the Civil Rights Act of 1964, they are doing the statesmanlike thing today. I want to acknowledge their action and hail them for it. This is one area where partisanship has no place.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Joelson amendment and in opposition to the substitute amendment. I believe the case has been well stated by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON].

The fact is that as of July of this year there will come within the jurisdiction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission some 6 million employees who have not been covered and some 195,000 employers. If the Commission is to maintain its present level of enforcement effort which is really not sufficient, then the funds which the administration requested should be restored.

The fact is that there exists an enormous backlog of cases which needs to be eliminated.

I quote from the testimony of Clifford Alexander, who is the very able chairman of the Commission, who testified before the committee and said:

> We will enter fiscal year 1969 with a backlog of about 1,918 investigations and 1,375 conciliations.

Clearly the present level of funding is inadequate to deal with that. When the commission is 11 months behind in investigations and 5 months behind in conciliations, there is not justice either for the one who complains about discrimination or for the one who is charged with it. So in fairness to all parties I suggest that the Joelson amendment, which is still a 10-percent reduction below the budget request, at least would meet the problem of inordinate delay. Congress intended that the process of investigation and conciliation be completed within 60 days.

The Appropriations Committee recommended $6,936,000, a reduction of nearly 50 percent in the administration's request of $13,093,000 for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The Joelson amendment provides $11.8 million.

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act makes discrimination in employment an illegal act. Beginning in fiscal year 1969 this provision is extended to all firms employing 25 persons or more. The increase in EEOC personnel is required both to improve the quality of enforcement and to extend enforcement to the firms that will be covered for the first time.

As I pointed out in my remarks of February 29, although discrimination in employment is against the law, enforcement has been less than adequate. Discrimination in employment, although its tactics have become more subtle and elusive, persists. EEOC is hampered by its dependence on the case-complaint method. It must wait until a complaint is received, then go through the lengthy process of conciliation. If probable cause for legal action is found, it recommends that the Justice Department undertake legal proceedings in Federal court on behalf of the complainant. During the 4 years of EEOC's existence, only 20 such cases have actually been initiated by the Justice Department.

This process must be expedited, if those discriminated against are to get redress according to law. This process requires enforcement personnel.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 currently covers approximately 133,000 employers. As of July 1968, this coverage will be extended to some 328,000 employers, an increase of 195,000 or about 150 percent.

As I pointed out, the investigation backlog is currently about 2,000 cases. If the full budget request were funded, this would be reduced to about 400 cases in investigation by June 30, 1969; but if funding is held to this year's level, the backlog would grow to about 2,900.

This delay in prompt redress discourages those discriminated against from seeking implementation of their rights under law. EEOC has requested funds for 637 additional employees in order to carry out its obligations under the 1964 act. This is an increase in enforcement officials which is necessary to even maintain, let alone increase, the quality of Equal Employment Opportunity enforcement.

The report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has documented the discrimination in jobs suffered by Negroes and other minority groups. They are shunted to menial occupations. Promotions are obstructed. Job discrimination is one of most basic of grievances which causes those discriminated against to lose faith in the promise of America.

Those who echo the call for stricter law enforcement should be concerned with the strict enforcement of those laws finally designed to give the underprivileged and discriminated-against a real stake in society. Those who decry welfare handouts should give their strongest support to the full enforcement of laws which protect the right of all Americans to equal consideration for employment.

Discrimination in employment is at the heart of the very serious unemployment problem which particularly affects our big cities. It is one of the key causes of the unrest which exists in this country today. If we deny the funds asked for in the Joelson amendment, we are simply telling the poor, the deprived, and the downtrodden of America that we are not willing to enforce the law which we enacted in 1964 in order to protect them.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RYAN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ECKHARDT. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the statement of the gentleman from New Jersey and the gentleman from New York and urge the approval of the Joelson amendment and the defeat of the substitute.

Mr. RYAN. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas and simply repeat that this amendment gives us the opportunity to help provide equal opportunity for employment for every person. America's poor are calling for jobs. They only want the opportunity to have gainful employment at the same high standard of living that most Americans take for granted. They should not be denied that opportunity.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in

opposition to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan and in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

The Appropriations Committee has recommended an appropriation of $6.9 million for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. This is almost 50 percent below the $13.1 million requested by the President for the enforcement of the equal employment opportunities provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The EEOC, under title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, is charged by the Congress to investigate and, when it appears there is discrimination, to conciliate cases of employment discrimination because of race, religion, national origin, sex, and color. The Commission is the chief watchdog against bias in job employment and promotion.

While there is a congressional mandate to process cases in 60 days, the average case now takes about 16 months. This situation results from the unexpected heavy volume of complaints and the resultant backlog. And, the situation can only get worse, when after July 2, 1968, title VII automatically increases the number of employers covered by 250 percent and the number of employees covered by 16 percent.

The President's request of $13.1 million would provide the means for correcting this situation by providing for additional investigators and conciliators needed to process cases on a current basis.

Mr. Chairman, we are talking about $6 million contrasted to the $30 billion, and I emphasize $30 billion, that employment discrimination costs the United States each year. Only if the EEOC operates on a current basis can Americans feel that title VII and the processes of law provide a meaningful instrument for dealing with employment discrimination.

I strongly urge the Members to support the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey. Let us appropriate the funds needed by the EEOC so that it can properly fulfill its role to end employment discrimination.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CEDERBERG] for the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. CEDERBERG) there were—ayes 88, noes 82.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. CEDERBERG and Mr. JOELSON.

The Committee again divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 105, noes 110.

So the substitute amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. JOELSON].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. ROONEY of New YORK) there were—ayes 94, noes 103.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. JOELSON and Mr. CEDERBERG.

The Committee again divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 113, noes 121.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS (SPECIAL FOREIGN CURRENCY PROGRAM)

For payments in foreign currencies which the Treasury Department determines to be excess to the normal requirements of the United States, for necessary expenses of the United States Information Agency in connection with special international exhibitions under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (75 Stat. 527), $428,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That not to exceed $1,250 may be expended for representation.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, I take this time in order to explain to the Committee that there will be a motion to recommit, and it will be a motion to recommit with instructions to impose a spending limitation. The motion to recommit will instruct the committee to report the bill back to the House forthwith with an amendment which will read as follows:

SEC. 706. Excluding the Federal Bureau of Investigation money appropriated in this Act shall be available for expenditure in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, only to the extent that expenditure thereof shall not result in the net aggregate expenditure of Federal funds by all agencies provided for herein beyond $1,989,640,000.

I would like to compliment the subcommittee on the fine job it did in reducing new obligational authority. The total reduction in NOA of this bill is $152 million. But I would most respectfully point out that such a reduction in obligational authority does not reflect an equal reduction in spending. The spending reduction related to this cut in new obligational authority, as provided by the committee, will amount to only $67 million. The additional cut provided by the amendment will amount to $69,620,000, or a total limitation on spending by that method of $136,620,000, which is even less than the cut in new obligational authority made by the subcommittee.

Tomorrow we will be voting here in this body on the question of whether to instruct the conferees on the tax bill to insist upon imposing a spending limitation of $4 billion as contrasted with the $6 billion as now contemplated. This will be, as I recall it, the fifth appropriation bill that we have cleared in this body out of the total of 13. We are not approaching close to a cut in spending of $4 billion, much less $6 billion. So I think it is incumbent on all of us, if we are really sincere in our effort to impose a spending limitation of either $4 billion or $6 billion, to impose these spending limitations on each of the appropriation bills as they clear the House. This additional cut will amount to only 3.2 percent. I think any bill involving $2 billion can afford a spending limitation of 3.2 percent.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, as I understand the motion to recommit, it would further limit spending of all agencies covered by this bill by $69 million with one exception?

Mr. JONAS. That is correct.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. But do I understand correctly that the additional spending limitation is not applicable to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. JONAS. That is correct. The FBI is excluded.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS. I yield to my friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, my question, I guess, is the $64 question: "Where does the gentleman propose to take this $69 million from?"

Mr. JONAS. There are three departments of Government involved here.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. There are many more agencies of the Government involved.

Mr. JONAS. And many agencies. The gentleman has done a very fine job in reducing obligational authority, but we cannot impose spending limitations on a line item basis. We have to do it this way if we expect to have any influence on spending.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Apparently the committee did so well that the gentleman from North Carolina would now like to make twice the amount of cuts that the committee did after sitting in daily hearings since early in February up to very recently when we reported out this bill.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Chairman, I have already congratulated the committee on doing a good cutting NOA. Now I am merely offering the House an opportunity to impose an additional spending limitation. The House can work its will on that proposal and I will be content with its decision.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, as I have just said, after all the time and energy and effort put into bringing this bill to the floor, we will now have a recommital motion which will cut over twice as much in amount as the committee did in its deliberations.

I asked the question: "Where are we going to make this cut?" but, of course, I did not get an answer. I do not at all believe in this sort of approach to appropriations, and I never have. So I now ask these questions: Does the gentleman propose to take the cut out of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, including the border patrol and the detection of narcotics smuggling very often discovered by the border patrol? Does the gentleman propose to take it out of law enforcement? Does the gentleman propose to take it out of the Federal prisons system and cut down on the number of guards in our prisons?

Does the gentleman propose to do away with work on the 19th decennial census which is required by law? Does the gentleman propose to take it out of the salaries of the judges in our courts and all of the court personnel? Does the gentleman propose to take it out of the Small Business Administration and small business loans and disaster loans? Does the gentleman propose to take it out of these important areas?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I yield to my distinguished friend, the minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, does the distinguished gentleman from New York, the chairman of this subcommittee, intend to vote for a $4 billion reduction in the President's budget which comes up tomorrow?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I will cross that bridge when I come to it.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. No; I want an answer today. It is the same basic problem.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The gentleman is convincing me that perhaps I should not follow him. I never commit myself in advance.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The gentleman refuses to answer whether he will vote for the $4 billion cut?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The gentleman from Michigan refuses to answer whether he wants to cut the judges' salaries, or the prison system, or the U.S. border patrol.

This is an approach similar to the one whereby Members wrecked the merchant marine here this afternoon, when one man stood up and defeated the will of the majority of this House expressed only in the month of April, just passed.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I am glad to yield.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I am sure the gentleman would agree that the gentleman who made the point of order was perfectly justified, and the only reason why we do not have an authorization bill is because the majority party has not put through the Congress the necessary merchant marine authorizing legislation and sent it down to the President for signature. That is where the problem is with the merchant marine funding. It is not anything else.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. The distinguished gentleman from Michigan does not need to ask me whether or not my distinguished friend from Missouri was within his rights in making his point of order. Of course he was.

But perhaps there was a little—what should I say?—cooperation on both sides with regard to annual authorizations for our merchant marine, as a result of which they did away with the open-end appropriations provisions of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The Senate committee or majority leadership are responsible on the other side for not acting on the authorization bill and sending it down to the President for his approval. That is what should be done and done quickly. It is just poor handling of a very important bill.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Evidently the gentleman from Michigan cannot keep up with things around here any more than can the gentleman from New York. I do not know who is responsible over on the other side. I understand that the majority and the minority got together and reported out a bill.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Will the gentleman from New York speak for himself and not include anybody else when he pleads guilty.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. I have never been found guilty, by plea or otherwise.

Mr. Chairman, we are at the point where we shall have a vote on the motion to recommit, a motion which would double the amount of the drastic cuts made by the committee—and this committee works quite closely together, the minority members and the majority members—I trust that the motion to recommit this bill will be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk concluded the reading of the bill.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House with the recommendation that the bill do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. HAYS, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 17522) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, had directed him to report the bill back to the House with the recommendation that the bill do pass.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. JONAS

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. JONAS. I am, in its present form, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mr. JONAS moves to recommit the bill to the Committee on Appropriations with instructions to that Committee to report it back forthwith with the following amendment: On page 58 after line 14, insert a new section as follows:
>
> "SEC. 706. Excluding the Federal Bureau of Investigation money appropriated in this Act shall be available for expenditure in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969 only to the extent that expenditure thereof shall not result in the net aggregate expenditure of Federal funds by all agencies provided for herein beyond $1,389,640,000."

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 223, nays 154, not voting 56, as follows:

[Roll No. 156]

YEAS—223

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Anderson, Tenn.
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Belcher
Bell
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Dorn
Dowdy
Duncan
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Fino
Fisher
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gathings
Goodell
Goodling
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harsha
Harvey
Henderson
Herlong
Horton
Hosmer
Hull
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, N.C.
Keith
King, N.Y.
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lloyd
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minshall
Mize
Montgomery
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Konski
O'Neal, Ga.
Ottinger
Passman
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Pool
Price, Tex.
Purcell
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Roberts
Robison
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Vander Jagt
Vigorito
Waggonner
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—154

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Bolton
Brademas
Brasco

Brooks
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Byrne, Pa.
Carey
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Clark
Corman
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
de la Garza
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Eilberg
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, William D.
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Halpern
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Hungate
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
Leggett
Lipscomb
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McFall
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Meeds
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Neill, Mass.
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Poage
Podell
Price, Ill.
Pryor
Pucinski
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Staggers
Steed
Stratton
Sullivan
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Tiernan
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Waldie
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

NOT VOTING—56

Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, Ala.
Ashmore
Battin
Berry
Bingham
Blatnik
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Carter
Chamberlain
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Conyers
Cowger
Culver
Downing
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Evins, Tenn.
Findley
Fraser
Gettys
Gilbert
Green, Oreg.
Hagan
Harrison
Hawkins
Holland
Howard
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Kleppe
Long, La.
Lukens
McMillan
May
Miller, Calif.
Moore
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
Pollock
Randall
Rees
Resnick
Rivers
Roybal
Selden
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Thompson, N.J.
Tunney
Utt
Watts
Willis
Wilson, Charles H.

So the motion to recommit was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Randall for, with Mr. Rees against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Willis with Mr. Battin.

Mrs. Green of Oregon with Mrs. May.

Mr. Olsen with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.

Mr. Selden with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Utt.

Mr. McMillan with Mr. Findley.

Mr. Tunney with Mrs. Dwyer.

Mr. Watts with Mr. Carter.

Mr. Ashmore with Mr. Berry.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Del Clawson.

Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Cowger.

Mr. Downing with Mr. Harrison.

Mr. Fraser with Mr. Kleppe.

Mr. Gettys with Mr. Lukens.

Mr. Gilbert with Mr. Moore.

Mr. Charles H. Wilson with Mr. Pollock.

Mr. Karsten with Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Thompson of New Jersey.

Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Conyers.

Mr. Stuckey with Mr. Howard.

Mr. Resnick with Mr. Hawkins.

Mr. Stubblefield with Mr. Hagan.

Mr. Bingham with Mr. Cohelan.

Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. O'Hara of Illinois.

Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Culver.

Mr. Roybal with Mr. Holland.

Mrs. BOLTON changed her vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the instructions of the House in the motion to recommit, I report back the bill H.R. 17522 with an amendment.

The **SPEAKER**. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> On page 58 after line 14, insert a new section as follows:
>
> "SEC. 706. Excluding the Federal Bureau of Investigation money appropriated in this Act shall be available for expenditure in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, only to the extent that expenditure thereof shall not result in the net aggregate expenditure of Federal funds by all agencies provided for herein beyond $1,989,640,000."

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 348, nays 28, not voting 57, as follows:

[Roll No. 157]

YEAS—348

Abbitt
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashley
Aspinall
Ayres
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Belcher
Bell
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Bolton
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Corman
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Devine
Diggs
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Dulski
Duncan
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Gardner
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Griffiths
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harsha
Harvey
Hathaway
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Hosmer
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Michel
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Pool
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—28

Abernethy
Ashbrook
Bennett
Bevill
Brinkley
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Colmer
Derwinski
Dickinson
Dowdy
Edwards, Ala.
Fuqua
Gathings
Gross
Haley
Henderson
Jones, N.C.
Lennon
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Montgomery
Nichols
O'Neal, Ga.
Rarick
Teague, Tex.
Waggonner
Whitten

NOT VOTING—57

Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, Ala.
Ashmore
Battin
Berry
Bingham
Blatnik
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Carter
Chamberlain
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Conyers
Cowger
Culver
Downing
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Evins, Tenn.
Findley
Fraser
Gettys
Gilbert
Green, Oreg.
Hagan
Harrison
Hawkins
Holland
Howard
Irwin
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Kleppe
Long, La.
Lukens
McMillan
May
Miller, Calif.
Moore
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
Pollock
Randall
Rees

Resnick
Rivers
Roybal
Selden
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Thompson, N.J.
Tunney
Utt
Watts
Willis
Wilson,
Charles H.

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Willis with Mr. Battin.
Mrs. Green of Oregon with Mrs. May.
Mr. Olsen with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.
Mr. Selden with Mr. Bow.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Utt.
Mr. McMillan with Mr. Findley.
Mr. Tunney with Mrs. Dwyer.
Mr. Watts with Mr. Carter.
Mr. Ashmore with Mr. Berry.
Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Del Clawson.
Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Cowger.
Mr. Downing with Mr. Harrison.
Mr. Fraser with Mr. Kleppe.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Lukens.
Mr. Gilbert with Mr. Moore.
Mr. Charles H. Wilson with Mr. Pollock.
Mr. Karsten with Mr. Chamberlain.
Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Thompson of New Jersey.
Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Conyers.
Mr. Stuckey with Mr. Howard.
Mr. Resnick with Mr. Hawkins.
Mr. Stubblefield with Mr. Hagan.
Mr. Bingham with Mr. Cohelan.
Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. O'Hara of Illinois.
Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Culver.
Mr. Roybal with Mr. Holland.
Mr. Randall with Mr. Rees.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

PROGRAM FOR TOMORROW

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this time to ask the acting majority leader as to the program for tomorrow.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Hawaii.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. I wish to announce on behalf of the leadership the following changes in the program for tomorrow:

First. The gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] has advised that he will ask unanimous consent to send to conference the bill, H.R. 5037, the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967; and

Second. The bill, H.R. 16127, to increase the limitation on the number of officers for the Coast Guard, has been added to the program and it will be considered under an open rule, with 1 hour of general debate.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I thank the gentleman.

POOR PEOPLE VISIT DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE CAFETERIA

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the news media last night reported that a large group of the so-called poor people visited the cafeteria in the Agriculture Department yesterday and as they went down the line, indicated that the charges for their food should all be put on one bill.

Then the man at the end of the line who ostensibly was to pay the bill refused to do so. It was reported that he stated the Agriculture Department owed the poor people of America several million dollars worth of surplus food and that the bill amounting to more than $200 worth of food taken by his group should simply be charged against what the Department owed them.

It is an outrage when a group of people is permitted to do a thing like this with complete impunity. The news media did not report a single arrest. It did not report that any effort was made to collect, or even that these lawbreakers were ordered or required to leave the building.

Just how much are we supposed to take? I think it is high time we made it clear to these people that every one of them will be arrested and tried for every violation of the law which he commits.

It is time to get them off the grounds of West Potomac Park and to hold them to the same rules and regulations that are applicable to Boy Scout groups and anyone else desiring to camp on Federal property in Washington.

As a member of the House Public Works Committee, I have heard several hours of testimony from officials here who attempted to justify permitting these people access to Federal property here. I have yet to hear a single word which showed any basis whatever for extending to those in the "Poor People's" March privileges not generally available to other groups.

In my judgment, the patience of the American people is exhausted. They are willing to help those who show themselves in need of help and worthy of help, but they are sick and tired of having a bunch of rabble-rousers stir up trouble and deliberately violate our laws without a hand being raised to stop them.

TRUTH IN LENDING BILL—CONSUMER CREDIT PROTECTION ACT

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the Consumer Credit Protection Act of 1968 will become law. When President Johnson signs this truth-in-lending bill another milestone will have been taken in our Government's continuing effort to protect American consumers in the vast and complex arena of advertising, selling, and buying. For the first time a seller must now clearly show a buyer what it will cost him to borrow money and what it will cost him to purchase credit. This truth-in-lending bill will also exempt 75 percent of an employee's weekly wages from garnishment, an act in itself which will go a long way to reduce high-pressure selling against those who are too polite to say no, or who cannot control impulsive purchases, or who cannot fully comprehend their financial complexity.

For 8 years—ever since former Senator Paul Douglas introduced the truth-in-lending bill—we have debated not the merit or wisdom inherent in such a measure, but rather the means whereby lenders and sellers could state the truth about finance charges in terms agreeable to diverse elements in our business and financial community. The breakthrough in this seemingly unbreakable impasse came about only after the Treasury Department prepared a series of tables that demonstrated how annual rates could be disclosed by businessmen without being burdened by excessive paper detail or substantial increases in operating costs.

The interest manifested by the Treasury Department in helping the 90th Congress bring to fruition the truth-in-lending bill and the creative statistical analysis of Treasury actuary Cedric Kroll, who devised rate tables, reflect the administration's keen and continued interest in safeguarding the consumer public. The truth-in-lending bill represents an important facet of President Johnson's comprehensive message to the Congress last February in behalf of the American consumer. As such, its passage is of special interest and significance to him, for no President has worked harder nor labored longer than President Johnson to protect the American people in the marketplace, and to provide them with an economy sufficiently healthy and strong to raise the standard of living for all.

I am certain, too, that the signing into law of the truth-in-lending bill will be of special significance to Chairman PATMAN, Congresswoman SULLIVAN and Senator PROXMIRE. For it was through their inspiring leadership, their infinite patience and steadfast devotion to the American public that the long-sought dream of former Senator Douglas became a reality.

INVASION OF PRIVACY

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, I have risen many times before this distinguished body, but never have I addressed myself to a more disturbing and distasteful situation than I do at the present time. This concerns the involvement of a former Attorney General of the United States, presently a Member of the other body, in a series of wiretap episodes which invaded the privacy of a number of prominent Americans including the late Dr. Martin Luther King.

These disclosures, first made in columns by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, were reported last week in the news columns of the New York Times. No direct comment or denial on these stories has been made by the person accused of ordering the taps.

The fact that a high-ranking public official—a member of the President's Cabinet—legally could, and actually would, order the FBI to bug the telephone of a distinguished American like Dr. King is an affront to the causes to which Dr. King dedicated his life. Even more important, however, it clearly illustrates how easily the power to tap a telephone—even when legally granted—can be abused and diverted from its primary intention.

If Martin Luther King's home can be tapped—for no apparent reason—by order of one of the highest officials in the U.S. Government—and a professed "champions of the liberals"—then nobody is safe.

These disclosures constitute the strongest arguments I can think of to back up the present Attorney General, Mr. Ramsey Clark, in his support of the administration's proposed antiwiretap bill. They raise a question of whether wiretaps of any kind and under any circumstances, should be legally permitted, since the temptation to abuse and misuse this privilege is always present.

So far the only reply we have had to these charges is a statement issued by the press secretary of the person involved. The American people can hardly consider this "response by proxy" an adequate one. I suggest a hearing under oath, at which the person directly concerned here can testify fully about his role in this disgraceful affair, which discredits him and demeans the office that was used for this purpose. No American wants "Big Brother" looking over his shoulder, peeping through his keyhole, or listening in on his telephone.

WIRETAPPING

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I did not know that the gentleman from New York was going to raise this subject, and I have not researched the law. But if the law does not require the Attorney General to obtain a court order before tapping a phone in the case of national security, it certainly should.

I was in charge of a prosecutor's office for many years. Before I could obtain even a search warrant in any case, I had to prepare an affidavit and get the court to be satisfied that there was legal ground for a search warrant. You see, this is a very sensitive area, and an Attorney General in either political party is subject to political influences.

If an Attorney General can tap a wire without any court order, merely on his own say-so, then the right of privacy as we have known it in this country is dead and gone. This statute should be looked into. If a court order was required, and was not obtained, that is most serious. If the statute does presently so require, I would like to know if there ever has been such an order. If it does not so require, steps should promptly be taken to remedy the situation.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Will the gentleman tell us whether or not it is true Attorney General Kennedy tapped or authorized the tapping of wires when he was in the Attorney General's Office?

Mr. JOELSON. I do not know whether it is true or not. The gentleman who took the well before me made the allegation and, of course, I know it has been made in the press, but to my knowledge I do not know if it is true.

LEGALIZED WIRETAPPING

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York and the gentleman from New Jersey raised the question of wiretapping. I happen to be one who thinks wiretapping should be legalized in some individual cases involving serious crimes and only by court order.

A question has been raised as to the extent wiretapping has occurred in the past. I do not think it is as important whether it has occurred in the past as that everybody agrees it could happen. I think this is one thing we need to deal with in this Congress before we go home. It will be part of the crime bill coming over from the Senate and I hope we very carefully provide the proper conditions under which wiretapping will be permitted and that we protect against abuses in the future such as it is alleged have occurred in the past.

MUTILATION OF DRAFT CARDS—THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a landmark decision by upholding the constitutionality of a law which made it a crime to knowingly destroy or knowingly mutilate a draft card.

I commend the Supreme Court and its 7-to-1 decision. I must also admit that I was pleasantly surprised to learn that the present Supreme Court had rejected the so-called "symbolic speech" defense set forth by the American Civil Liberties Union.

As it was so eloquently stated many years ago, freedom of speech does not give anyone the right to yell "fire" in a crowded theater.

It was back in August of 1965 that the House of Representatives, by a vote of 393 to 1, passed the bill to make it a crime to knowingly destroy or mutilate a draft card.

So now, Mr. Speaker, I think a review of that law and its genesis is in order.

I was amused this morning to read in the press an editorial which stated:

> There is a wealth of common sense in Chief Justice Warren's opinion for the Supreme Court upholding the constitutionality of the 1965 law prohibiting the destruction or mutilation of a draft card.

I do not recall this newspaper commending the author of this law, my friend the gentleman from South Carolina, Mendel Rivers, when he quickly wrote the bill back in August 1965, and just as quickly had it reported from the House Armed Services Committee with only one dissenting vote, and steered it through the House with only one dissenting vote.

So, I would like to tell you something unusual about this law which has now been upheld by the Supreme Court.

If you will read House Report No. 747 of the first session of the 90th Congress, which accompanied the bill, H.R. 10306, the bill that became the law making it a crime to knowingly destroy or mutilate a draft card, you will find no departmental position stated in the report. There was none.

I would be less than candid if I did not tell you that the Department of Justice was less than enthusiastic about the bill that Mendel Rivers wrote, introduced, and presented to the full committee for consideration on Friday, August 6, 1965.

The bill was informally discussed with the Department of Justice and their only contribution as far as I can recall was to suggest using the word "knowingly" destroy rather than "willfully" destroy.

There was great reluctance on the part of the Department of Justice to say anything favorable about the bill which Mendel Rivers had written, and which is now the unchallenged law of the land. In effect, Justice felt that the bill would be construed as a violation of the freedom of speech provision of the Constitution.

I hope, now, the Justice Department will proceed more expeditiously with the prosecution of a multitude of similar cases still hanging fire.

Nowhere in certain segments of the press will you find any reference to Mendel Rivers, the author of this law.

In fact, you will not find any reference to the House Armed Services Committee. But now it has suddenly become a popular law, annointed with the august pronouncement of the Supreme Court.

This decision of the Supreme Court will be an everlasting tribute to the initiative and farsightedness of the distinguished chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, MENDEL RIVERS. It is likewise a tribute to the intelligence of the Congress of the United States for so quickly enacting MENDEL RIVERS' bill into law.

This is not MENDEL RIVERS' only victory by any means. He has a long succession of legislative victories and I am sure will have many more in the years ahead.

But I hope you will excuse me for taking this time to pay fitting tribute to the distinguished chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who saw a clear and present danger back in 1965.

Would that there were more MENDEL RIVERS serving in positions of high importance throughout the Nation today.

CUT OF $6 BILLION WOULD CRIPPLE SAN DIEGO MEDICAL PROGRAMS

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, a forced reduction of $6 billion in Federal spending would be a body blow to Federal and State medical programs in my own city of San Diego, Calif.

The first casualty would most likely be an 811-bed veterans hospital for which more than $30 million has already been appropriated, but the ramifications of a $6 billion cutback would not stop there. Indeed, the development of a $63 million university medical school surrounding the hospital would be threatened, if not stopped altogether.

The hospital is a project which veterans groups in San Diego have been urging for two decades. We thought we had finally won this long battle for our own VA hospital, when the construction money was appropriated last year. The University of California thought so, too, and went into high gear with its own plans to develop a major San Diego medical school in conjunction with the hospital.

The school and the hospital would be interdependent, of course, and one could not really get along without the other. As is well known, the VA is insisting that all its new hospitals be located near medical schools. And for its part, the University of California at San Diego is counting on the VA facility as an integral part of the medical school's teaching program for medical students, interns and residents.

Now it appears that everyone may be in for an unpleasant surprise—even some of those zealous economizers who have been stanchly backing the hospital while demanding cuts in Federal spending nearly everywhere else.

In fact, the timetable for building this hospital could be set back a year or more—an especially ominous turn of events when one considers that the orderly development of the medical school's teaching program is predicated on completion of the hospital in 1971.

The construction contract for this hospital, for which we San Diegans have waited so long, is still tentatively scheduled to be awarded in February 1969. After that, about 30 months would be required for actual construction.

Unfortunately, this particular contract, like so many others, is now officially "subject to deferral," thanks to the uncertainty in the Veterans' Administration about their future funding capability.

The VA estimates it would need $6.4 million to meet its obligations under a construction contract signed for the San Diego hospital in fiscal 1969, as presently planned. If the money is not available, award of the contract will simply have to be postponed—but at what a price to the hopes of our veterans and the plans of our great university.

Key people in the Veterans' Administration and at the University of California share my deep concern about this situation. In fact, I have been advised by university administrators that deferment of the hospital would be only one of a number of ways in which the medical school would be hurt by the proposed $6 billion slash in spending.

Construction of a clinical sciences building, a university hospital wing, and the campus teaching hospital all will rely heavily on Federal funds—which might or might not be available. And of course San Diego would not be an isolated medical hardship case if we vote the $6 billion reduction. The significant curtailment of Federal support would seriously inhibit the efforts of academic institutions everywhere in the Nation in their efforts to educate physicians and train health sciences personnel.

It goes without saying that the meat-chopper approach to economy would also devastate a variety of other proven domestic programs. I have cited the San Diego VA hospital only as an example of the problems which could be created by too much economizing. I am sure that most of my colleagues are becoming painfully aware of similar cases in their own areas.

To minimize the damage, I intend to support JIM BURKE's motion tomorrow to instruct the House conferees on H.R. 15414 to insist the expenditure reductions be held to $4 billion rather than $6 billion.

I would urge my colleagues to do likewise.

PERMITTING 18-YEAR-OLDS TO DRIVE TRUCKS IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas.

There was no objection.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, late last month one of my constituents, Mr. F. A Schell, of Tyler, Tex., wrote me in regard to a regulation which prohibits 18-year-olds from driving trucks for companies engaged in interstate commerce. Mr. Schell was upset to know that our Government believes an 18-year-old youth is old enough to fight and possibly die for our country, but is not old enough to shoulder the responsibilities of driving a truck for his civilian employment.

If we can send our 18-year-old boys to another country and assign them any kind of duties, including that of truck driving, then, I believe they are old enough to be trusted to do the same thing here in the States in connection with their employment.

To me, this is the worst kind of "double standards." It is not right to tell them on the one hand that they must drive a truck under battle conditions and then tell them no, they are not old enough to accept the responsibilities of driving a truck on good highways under normal conditions.

In a reply to my letter to the Secretary of Transportation on this subject, I received a letter from George A. Meyer, the Director of the Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety. The Director stated:

> Commercial vehicles must operate in all kinds of weather, under all traffic conditions, and drivers must have every faculty possible to meet the many emergencies that arise.

How anyone can believe there are emergencies equal to those under battle conditions, I do not know. Show me a man who does not agree with this statement, and I will show you a man who has never been in combat.

I think this rule is ridiculous and that the motor carrier safety regulations should be revised to correct this inequity. I hope my colleagues will join me in a bill to correct this situation.

THE LATE DANNY NEUNSCHWANDER—REPRESENTATIVE OF THE "SILENT MAJORITY" OF HARD-WORKING HONEST PATRIOTIC YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include a letter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, on the 15th of this month a young man from my State was killed in action in Vietnam. His name was Danny Neunschwander and his family lives in Fessenden, N. Dak. Danny was different from the minority of young people we hear about too frequently in the press these days, but I think that he represented the "silent majority" of hard-working, honest, and patriotic young men and women who, unfortunately, are often judged along with the minority of unruly dissenters.

Danny had contracted mononucleosis while at the University of North Dakota and was classified unfit for military service, so he "had it made" in the view of many. Despite this, he managed to enlist in the Marine Corps to be assigned to Vietnam.

Shortly before he was killed, Danny wrote a letter to his parents which was penned hurriedly in the field, but nevertheless conveys very well, I think, the spirit of our American fighting man which we should remember during the observance of this Memorial Day for those Americans who have given so much. The letter follows:

Dear Mother and Dad and Everyone: I haven't been able to write as I have been busy—too busy. Everything over here is fine. We didn't move and will probably stay in this area for quite awhile. The place is kind of—hot.

I have a new job—carry a M.79 grenade launcher. It looks like a sawed-off shot gun. (picture in March Leatherneck ROTC) Decent weapons, put me next to the squadleader in the chain of command.

Everything has been happening lately. Guess a battalion of NVA (North Viet Army) moved in so am playing nighttime games with them. I guess that I've been getting too bored lately and enjoy the little action, keeps me awake. Captured a pair of NVA tennis shoes and other gear which I can send home. The shoes should fit Tom, so get some stamps over here and I will send them. They're pretty beat up but might be good for running around in (swimming) and a good conversation piece.

Also will have something for all (nephews and nieces) in about a week, so have them wait on a few packages. I'll probably send them to Fessenden and let you distribute them. (Send me the birthday list right away). Also have two special packages in July. Excuse my pen and writing.

Everyone, I am not writing this letter to scare you. Believe me, I am fine. I feel better than I ever have and I have found muscles and strength which I have never had. We Marines just say guts and I have that too. I will definitely be home (8 months and?) No doubt and I will come home changed but changed only in a good way and because of all of you. I know what (because of dad and mom and all of you) Americanism means.

Also Fessenden, N.D., must be the most beautiful city in the world as I can remember everyone I've ever met there and I remember almost every moment I've spent there. I grow older (mature) and the children are born and everything stays the same or improves.

I am making everyone a promise—that is why I am here—to promise Tom-Jerry-Mark-etc. Every young person in America, that they will never have to come here or anyplace similar. When we and the thousands with me finish up we will have peace and it will last for a long time.

There is no "Pepsi Generation" in the states when the chips are down. It's more like raise hell—love God, respect authority and give all for country. Go ahead and talk about the teenagers and the young hippys and all the problems of youth and include the nuclear weapon.

I know I'll never be able to explain as to why I am here to all of you but only hope that you understand. I like it here, which is even harder to understand. Just guess I lost my temper listening to all the draft dodgers and the doves and 'Reds' saying that the U.S. couldn't fight ground warfare and also lost a lot of friends proving we could fight and can hate (Communists).

I'm also learning and growing. I know what it means to go to school without it being blown up the next day. To be able to drive down the highway without a weapon and security. To have one's own religion and not be afraid and to vote without the poll box exploding.

And I'm proud to be up north, to be where "the action is," and I'm proud and surprised to go without food and water and sleep for days. Got 15 hours sleep the last seven days, but we go on and fight and go on and go on.

Because this thing will end and we will win. And at the same time I am scared. Scared that the election will vote in a "dove," put in one and make all our efforts futile. I as much as anyone want this war to end, but don't end this war by quitting. If we quit all of us (Marines, Army, Navy, Air Force) Americans-parents have done our job in vain-Republicans, Democrats, nonparty, anyone who wants withdrawal will not get my vote and I will vote because I can vote!

Morality, society, religion, true freedom, tradition, never will you find a life like ours. I hope that you make sense in all of this. Just respect all of us (new generation). Forgive our social mores and believe in our future. You've probably figured out by now that most of the Marines here are 18–19 year old adults.

Look forward—look at the good future. It is there, I know-believe me. Well enough of this.

I received your package, toothbrush, banana bread, brownies, etc. Packs take about a month, so the one mailed the 14th of April, might be here in two weeks. My requests for packages are crazy (escapism) but are appreciated. My check $525 is mixed up and delayed (maybe a month) no sweat.

I am fine—waiting for mail call and chow.

All my love,

Dan.

THE HEART OF LONGMONT PROJECT—AN EXAMPLE FOR AMERICA

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, May 25, 1968, I was privileged to participate in the official opening of the Heart of Longmont Project.

This ceremony marked the opening of the new downtown district of Longmont, Colo. The Heart of Longmont Project is the outgrowth of a desire on the part of the people of this community to stop the blight of the core area of their city, to provide adequate parking facilities for the retail and service trades customers and the clients of the various professions in the area.

Longmont, Colo., certainly is not the only city in the United States which has had to face this problem. The story of this community which worked together to save its downtown district can be an example to hundreds of other cities facing a similar problem. It is an exciting story and one, Mr. Speaker, which demonstrates that the real strength of America still lies with the concerned citizens at the local level.

In 1962, a 10-man committee surveyed the parking conditions in the Longmont business district. The committee came up with some startling facts and recommendations and assisted in the raising of over $6,000 to engage the services of a consulting engineering firm, for the purpose of reappraising the committee's recommendations.

The survey prepared by this company in 1965 became the basis of the program for the Heart of Longmont Committee. The committee viewed the project as a potent business stimulant as well as a blight arrester and began planning how best to accomplish their goals.

The Heart of Longmont Committee's next decision was to form the Longmont Improvement District No. 1 under Colorado statutes related to the formation of general improvement districts. Early in 1966 the 15-man committee circulated 10 petitions in the 9-square-block area that was determined to be the heart of Longmont. One hundred and forty-nine signatures of the 182 qualified taxpaying electors owning property in the district were obtained.

This represented 81.8 percent of the eligible taxpaying electors. There were no petitions for exclusion. The total assessed valuation of real property within the proposed district was $1,645,360. The value of inventories within the district was approximately $1 million. Approximately 68 percent of the assessed value of real property was represented by the signatures obtained on the petitions.

The service of a Colorado investment security firm was contracted to assist with the formation of the improvement district, the bond election and the sale of the $400,000 bond issue. The special bond election was held on September 20, 1966. Approximately 80 percent of the eligible voters cast their ballots and the vote was 5 to 1 in favor of the bond issue.

Passing of the bond issue meant that the owners of real property in the district had voted to tax themselves an additional 10 mills for the next 20 years to retire the bonds.

With the district formalized, the Heart of Longmont Committee became the Heart of Longmont Advisory Board charged with presenting recommendations to the Longmont City Council, whose members became the governing board of the district.

The advisory board reaffirmed earlier recommendations that 13 pieces of property be purchased for the purpose of creating five new parking lots, parking space for approximately 170 cars, and five malls or pass throughs from the parking lots to the Main Street of Longmont.

The total assessed valuation of the properties was $286,000. Eight members of the Longmont Board of Realtors volunteered their services, without fee, to obtain options on all the property.

Following the recommendations of the advisory board, the governing board of the district decided to offer to purchase all parcels of the needed property at a price of 10 percent more than the appraised valuation. They also decided to attempt to purchase the property without instigating condemnation proceedings. All properties were finally purchased in April of 1966.

The first of November 1967 saw the demolition of the one remaining store building and the beginning of construction of the fifth and final pass through.

The Heart of Longmont Advisory board has established a subcommittee which will accept funds for memorials to be erected in the pass throughs as well as funds for landscaping and maintenance of the new facilities.

The goal to create and build the dis-

trict "on their own" has been achieved. The effort to stop the blight of the core area is beginning to show results. Approximately 80 retail and service trades in Longmont Improvement District No. 1 have begun a promotional effort which should provide a theoretical "roof" over Longmont's approach to a revitalized retail area.

Mr. Speaker, this project is dramatic proof of what a concerned citizenry can initiate. It shows what business and local government can accomplish working in concert. As one Longmont citizen said:

> It's amazing what you can get done, if you don't care who gets the credit.

This spirit typifies the people of this community and is a splendid example for the rest of our Nation.

THE ANTICRIME BILL

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply distressed by the contents of a news story that appeared in last Thursday's New York Times, authored by John W. Finney.

Mr. Finney reported, and this was before the Senate passed the omnibus crime bill, that our distinguished colleague, and learned chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, said that "he would not accept any crime control legislation that contained the provisions undoing the Court's restrictions on the admissibility of confessions and line-up identifications," and that "he was prepared to 'sacrifice' the administration's basic anticrime bill if the Senate provisions were not removed in a Senate-House conference."

To condemn any provision before the Senate bill was passed, before the House-Senate conferees were even appointed, before the first meeting of the conferees, and before any of us could have known what the entire bill was to contain, would be reactionary. I feel sure the gentleman from New York must have been misunderstood, or misquoted, or both.

Many of us, as yet, have had little chance to study the final version of the Senate-passed crime bill. I am not prepared either to endorse or to oppose the entire bill, but, I do believe all of its provisions must be given careful, deliberate study, in an open atmosphere. Nothing less should be expected from all who may serve on the conference committee. It should be recognized, of course, that if any member of the conference takes action to render the bill less effective as a crime control weapon, he and his party must bear the heavy responsibility for having done so.

The Supreme Court, in its historic rulings in the area of confessions, interrogation, and lineup identification, left, what I consider to be ample room for legislation. In fact, many believe the Court called for legislation in this area to better define the role of law-enforcement officers in the performance of their duties.

Believing this to be true, I authored and introduced during the first session of the 90th Congress, The Federal Interrogation Act of 1967, which, working within the limitations in the Supreme Court's decisions, would regulate interrogation of criminally accused by Federal law-enforcement officers. It would also establish guidelines covering on the street stop, arrest, and interrogation. Many of these areas could be covered similarly in a conference version of the Senate bill.

The Cincinnati Post and Times-Star, and the Christian Science Monitor have published editorials on the pending crime bill which would be of interest to my colleagues. Following are those editorials and the New York Times article:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 25, 1968]

ACTION ON CRIME

These columns have repeatedly emphasized, and they will continue to emphasize, the overriding need for immediate and effective action to reduce the horrifying crime rate in the United States. This topic is too urgent to be dropped. There must be continual pressure upon public opinion, upon all public bodies and services until adequate action is taken.

Currently the national Congress is wrestling with a crime bill, several of whose sections are highly controversial. The Senate has overwhelmingly passed the so-called Title II, which would overturn key Supreme Court decisions limiting in court the use of confessions and line-up identification as evidence. It seems likely, however, that the House of Representatives will hearken to the many voices which have been raised against such action and will reject it.

Thus a deadlock might occur. This, in turn, might threaten the rest of the administration's crime control legislation over which there is less disagreement

We refuse to accept the thesis that a strong crime bill, strengthening the hand of the nation's law enforcement agencies and the courts, while granting full constitutional protection to the accused, cannot be drafted and passed. It would be a tragedy if national debate became so wrapped up in whether the Senate is right or the House is right that no effective measure came out of this session of Congress.

We call upon both houses of Congress to bid their respective committees sit down together and stay together until they have drafted measures which achieve these ends. If the Supreme Court has gone too far (and no human organization is immune to mistakes), a way can be found to correct this. If the court's decisions are deemed unexceptionable, then, new paths must be found. But, in any event, the American people *demand* that law enforcement become surer and swifter. The sooner this is done, the more easily will it be done.

[From the Cincinnati Post and Times-Star, May 25, 1968]

CRIME, CELLER AND L. B. J.

In passing a much stronger anti-crime bill than President Johnson had recommended, the United States Senate most assuredly is reflecting majority public opinion.

The chief features of the bill would make voluntary confessions of crime admissible as evidence, permit wiretapping in a variety of crime investigations, and restrict the sale of pistols.

These are weapons law-enforcement agencies need to do a better job of offsetting the rising crime wave.

The new provisions on confessions were made necessary by a series of Supreme Court decisions which very nearly made any confession unacceptable at a trial. Under the Senate bill, the trial judge would have the power to determine whether a confession was actually voluntary. Who else is better qualified to make this decision?

Wiretapping has been widely used by private snoops but police agencies have been under heavy restrictions. The Senate voted to reverse that upside-down situation by prohibiting private "bugging" entirely and permitting police use of these devices under court supervision.

The gun-control section of the bill may not go as far as the Administration wished, but at least it heads in the right direction.

What the Senate attempted to do was to take away some of the extraordinary "breaks" which have been given convicted criminals and restore some balance in the war between crime and law and order.

If wiretapping is an "invasion of privacy," as its opponents contend, what in the name of creation is murder, rape, kidnaping and burglary?

Congressman Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, is saying he would rather "sacrifice" the whole bill than accept the wiretapping and confession sections. There have been hints Johnson might veto the bill because of these provisions.

If either of these gentlemen succumbs to such narrow obstinacy he will be bucking a tide of public opinion which is sick of crime and is demanding that society get at least an even draw with the criminal.

The Senate has devised a historic and reasonable bill. Celler and others of his inclination will undo it at the risk of compounding a crime wave which already has reached fearful proportions.

[From the New York Times, May 23, 1968]

CRIME-CURB BILL FACES REJECTION—CELLER WON'T ACCEPT SENATE LIMIT ON THE HIGH COURT

(By John W. Finney)

WASHINGTON, May 22.—The Administration's crime control bill appeared today to be heading for rejection in a Senate-House conference committee unless Senate provisions overturning Supreme Court decisions were removed from it.

Representative Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, said that he would not accept any crime control legislation that contained the provisions undoing the Court's restrictions on the admissibility of confessions and line-up identifications.

The Brooklyn Democrat said in an interview that he was prepared to "sacrifice" the Administration's basic anticrime bill if the Senate provisions were not removed in a Senate-House conference.

His statement introduced a serious complication in the tangled Congressional action on the crime control legislation first requested last year by President Johnson.

Meanwhile, the Senate rejected an amendment that would have granted persons the right to counsel at local draft board hearings. The proposal, offered by Senator Edward V. Long, Democrat of Missouri, was tabled—or, in effect, killed—by a 63–18 vote.

The amendment was directed by reversing a ruling by the Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey, that youths were not entitled to counsel in appearances before local draft boards.

Mr. Long argued that potential draftees were entitled to this protection before boards just as they would be before any other Government agency in an administrative proceeding.

The Administration's request on crime-control legislation was for a program on Federal grants to states and local communities to help strengthen and improve police forces and law enforcement agencies.

The Administration's bill was approved last year by the House, but with the provision that the Federal grants go to the states rather than directly to the local communities.

But in the Senate, where the bill is now being debated, the Judiciary Committee has tacked on three major and controversial provisions to the House-approved legislation.

One would reverse recent Supreme Court decisions limiting the use in court of confessions and line-up identifications. This was approved by the Senate yesterday after the chamber deleted committee-proposed provisions that would have stripped Federal courts of the right to review criminal convictions in state courts.

The second major provision would authorize under court supervision wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping against a broad variety of crimes.

The third, already approved by the Senate, would ban mail-order sales of handguns.

When the bill is finally approved by the Senate, probably next week, it will go to a House-Senate conference committee, which will try to work out a compromise between the House and Senate versions.

CELLER TO HEAD PANEL

It is there that Mr. Celler will be in a position to control the outcome of the negotiations.

He will be chairman of the conference committee. He will also be able to pick House conferees who support his position and thus will have the votes to block acceptance of the Senate provisions.

The Senate conferees will then be faced with the alternative of either retreating from the Senate provisions or seeing the politically popular bill blocked by Mr. Celler and the House conferees.

In his position, Mr. Celler expects to have the backing of the House, which, he said, has become increasingly resentful of the Senate practice to "look upon House-passed bills as Christmas trees" on which to hang bills that have never been considered by the House.

TO EXTEND AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1965

Mr. **MADDEN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. **MADDEN**. Mr. Speaker, as a follow-up to my statement on the floor of the House yesterday regarding H.R. 17126 now being pressed for a rule by some of the members of the Agriculture Committee, I wish to call to the attention of the Members a resolution passed by the Fresno, Calif., County and City Chamber of Commerce, and ask unanimous consent to include this in my remarks. I also include an approximate breakdown of Government checks received by farmers in the county of Fresno, Calif., for the year 1967. The last paragraph of the Fresno County and City Chamber of Commerce resolution states:

> Now, therefore, be it resolved, That the Fresno County and City Chamber of Commerce does hereby strongly recommend that the Agricultural Act of 1965 be extended for at least one year.

To my mind it is not surprising that the Chamber of Commerce of Fresno so acted because, I have in my hand a document from the Senate Appropriations Committee printing the names and addresses, by county and State, of every farmer receiving Government subsidy checks, which were over the sum of $5,000. The county of Fresno has the questionable honor of ranking with the five highest counties in the United States in the amount received in the year 1967—$19,961,809. And I might read the names of recipients and the amount of the top six welfare farmers owning land in that prosperous county of Fresno, to wit:

Rancho San Antonio, Gila Bend, Ariz.: $2,863,668.

ACCO Seed, Leoti, Kans.: $814,714.

Mt. Whitney Farms, Five Points, Calif.: $591,980.

Boston Ranch Co., Lemoore, Calif.: $458,020.

Jack Harris, Inc., Five Points, Calif.: $414,970.

Following this list of distinguished recipients are 27 names and addresses who all received sums from $329,000 to $100,301. Below these six-figure welfare recipients, apparently prosperous farmers, we have a list of 324 who received checks in the amount of five figures, to wit: From $10,000 up to $99,843. Following this we have a list of 241 farmers in Fresno County who received checks in four figures, to wit: From $5,004 up to $9,919, all located in Fresno County. This total, as I stated, amounts to $19,961,809 for merely Fresno County recipients who, annually, received sums over $5,000. No doubt the farmers in Fresno County who were recipients of checks below $5,000 will add up to a far greater number than the more affluent donees.

I might also state that the Fresno County receipts for the previous year 1966 were $18,213,382. In other words, in 2 years, 1966 and 1967, the farmers in the $5,000 or over bracket received a total of $38,155,191, and this does not include the hundreds of farmers who received checks under $5,000.

So, Mr. Speaker, I cannot condemn the actions of the Fresno County and City Chamber of Commerce for passing a resolution and mailing it to Washington to lobby the Congress for an additional year of prosperity in this financial Government bonanza. Time does not permit me to list them all, but there are other counties in the South and Southwest who rank close to Fresno in this program of guaranteed income to wealthy rural citizens.

The records reveal, the farmers of Kern County, Calif., received $20,696,984 in the year 1967. Imperial County did not do too badly in receiving $11,320,120, and Tulare County, Calif., was not totally neglected, as their farmers received checks amounting to $12,678,370.

California should not be singled out as the one State whose farmers have been so fortunate, but for the purpose of time and space saving, I do not want to burden Members with so many figures. Many counties in other States would favor extending this legislation for another year, through 1970.

In order to simplify the picture, I might state that the State of Texas has not been neglected, as the total rural payees in Texas in 1967 was $292,834,466, compared to the California State total of $93,609,336.

The resolution referred to follows:

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Agricultural Act of 1965, which is scheduled to expire in 1969, provides significant advantages for the San Joaquin Valley's Agricultural industry, such as programs creating research and development of cotton, and

Whereas it is in the best interests of the entire Nation to maintain its agricultural industry in its strongest possible position, and

Whereas reverting back to the national agricultural program which existed before the present one will seriously detract from our international agricultural trading position, in addition to prematurely ending very constructive research work which can add immeasurably to our competitive position in the world markets: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Fresno County and City Chamber of Commerce does hereby strongly recommend that the Agricultural Act of 1965 be extended for at least one year.

THE FARM PROGRAM AND FEDERAL PAYMENTS

Mr. **WAGGONNER**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. **WAGGONNER**. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] who just preceded me in the well spoke as he has spoken today in opposition to the extension of the farm bill.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Committee on Rules he has taken the position that we should not extend this legislation and that the Rules Committee should not send it to the floor of the House in order for the membership of the House to make a decision thereon.

I find this a little bit inconsistent with the thinking of the gentleman with reference to some other recent measures wherein he has talked time and time again about the democratic process and about the duty and responsibility of the Committee on Rules to send legislation which had been passed out of the House committees to the floor of the House of the Congress for a decision thereon.

Mr. Speaker, over and over again the gentleman has said that the Rules Committee should not obstruct the flow of legislation and Congress should be able to speak its will. It is just a little inconsistent on the part of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] to say now because he opposes a bill, which he seldom does, that the Committee on Rules should not let the Congress make a decision on this farm legislation. Over and over again the gentleman has advocated letting the House speak its will.

Now I shall be glad for the gentleman from Indiana to clarify his thinking since it appears he wants me to yield.

Mr. **MADDEN**. Let me say to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER] that this bill is now in the Committee on Rules. Permit me to say further that by a vote of 6 to 6 a week ago the committee failed to report it out. The committee met this morning, but it was not brought up. The committee is going to meet next week, and if the committee wishes to bring it out, why, I am only one member of the 15 members of the committee, and whatever the committee does is all right with me, because it is my belief that we can defeat the bill on the floor of the House when the Members of the House know what is going on in the subsidizing of thousands of farmers over the Nation with extravagant payments for their inactivity in production of food, grains, and so forth.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Will the gentleman from Indiana tell the House how he voted on this measure and what his position is on the measure?

Mr. MADDEN. In the Committee on Rules I voted against reporting it out and opposed the 1-year extension of the $3½ billion rural welfare fund.

Mr. WAGGONNER. But, the gentleman from Indiana refuses to follow the democratic process that he at times pretends to advocate? Why?

Mr. MADDEN. I was fearful when I cast my vote in the committee that the Members were not familiar enough with all of the facts in connection with this measure and that it ought to be held up for awhile in order to have a further study of the matter.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Has the gentleman from Indiana ever been fearful before that the Members of the House were not familiar with certain legislation and, therefore, it should be held up? You did not show this concern when we had the open-housing legislation which only the Senate debated.

Mr. MADDEN. In response to the gentleman from Louisiana, with about 71 percent of the population of this country living in the cities, with about 20 million people of this country living in poverty, and about 5 million people living in this country on the verge of starvation, I do not believe these large farm corporations and other wealthy farmers should get a bonanza of about $3.5 billion every year. This bill proposes to extend the program until 1970 because the supporters of the bill are afraid that the next Congress in January might deposit this bill in the wastebasket. However, they want it to be extended including the year 1970.

Mr. WAGGONNER. What was the gentleman's position when this bill was first passed in 1965 by the Congress of the United States?

Mr. MADDEN. I supported it because there was a great surplus of grain and other agricultural commodities and I thought it would help the farmers of this Nation. The so-called rural experts, no doubt, did not foresee the clearing up of the surplus and also the unfortunate extravagant methods used by the large corporate farm interests in exploiting the funds to the damage of our economy.

Mr. WAGGONNER. What was the position of the gentleman then on final passage?

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. Yes, I will yield to the gentleman, but first will the gentleman answer my question: Did the gentleman support it, or oppose it?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes, I supported it.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Yes what? You supported it?

Mr. MADDEN. I supported it then.

Mr. WAGGONNER. And you were wrong then?

Mr. MADDEN. Because I did not know what the program would be.

The **SPEAKER.** The time of the gentleman from Louisiana has expired.

THE FARM PROGRAM

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN] seems to be on quite a kick here the last few days in discussing the wealth of the farm population in this country. The gentleman has just put into the RECORD a resolution from the Fresno County and City Chamber of Commerce—which happens to be my home chamber of commerce.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say this: That I believe I have as fine a group of people representing the Fresno City and County Chamber of Commerce as there are to be found in this country. They are interested and concerned about the people of Fresno County just as, I am sure, your home counties, from whatever section of the country you may come from, are concerned. But the thing that I am getting a little concerned about is a matter that we discussed here a short time ago at the time a proposition was offered to put a ceiling on some of these payments. Now we have been involved in a subsidy to the consumers in this country to a substantial extent for a good many years. Now all that a person has to do, and I am sure some of my good Republican friends are going to be sounding off about this subsidy during the coming campaign, is talk about what parity for the American farmer is today. I do not know where my good friend from Indiana has been, or if he has examined just what the parity is that the farmer is receiving today. This is actually what he is really earning, what he comes out with at the end of the year compared to the national income. And I might say to my good friend from Indiana that it is way, way below the national average in this country. I have to admit to my good friends on the Republican side that, as I say, I am sure they are going to use some of this in the coming campaign. Many of us have been concerned about trying to stabilize the farming communities in this country because we believe it is important to the overall economy of the country. But again I reiterate, Mr. Speaker, what was said here about a month ago, that this represents a great subsidy to the American consumers, because the American people—and that is all of us—are the best-fed and the best-clothed people in the world, and at the lowest prices of any country in the world today and in all history.

So that I would hope, Mr. Speaker, that at some point my good friend from Indiana would take a look at some of the figures, and not get too far off base, because of the fact that there are some substantial payments made.

The **SPEAKER.** The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

THE FARM PROGRAM

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I have been listening to the pros and cons of this little debate today on the farm program. My position is one that is very sensible. I believe perhaps we must stay up late at night, most of us, trying to develop some kind of program that gives us more trouble the next day than we really need.

This program does not run out until June 30, 1969. Why borrow trouble now when we already have enough troubles with an unbalanced budget, and with a tax program that is barking at our heels? We are talking about further extending this program, and telling the public that do not quite know the insides of the program that we are not spending money this year. The idea that we are adding $7 billion to the so-called budget with a 2-year extension that does not even take place until next June does not ring true to the public. Let us wait until January and we will have plenty of time to do this, those of us who come back here.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENT. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. We need a bill because there are some crops such as wheat, winter barley, and so forth and so on, that must be planted this fall, and growers need to know before next June whether we will have the program.

Mr. DENT. The winter crops will be harvested in many areas before June.

Mr. ALBERT. But in many areas it will not.

Mr. DENT. I know, but on that same basis there is never time to consider this proposition without the pressure of harvest time.

The other day we talked about the Public Law 480 program, and we found it ran out in December. At that point I said "Why do we not let the next Congress that is coming in—that will have had the benefit of having put their program before the public, and have had some instructions given to them as to what the people want, let them decide?"

But here we are tying the hands of the next Congress for 2 years.

Mr. ALBERT. But the truth of the matter is, if the gentleman will yield further, that it will be the farmer who has to make his decision, if he grows winter wheat before the next Congress convenes.

Mr. DENT. That is true—but the laws of this country and legislation do not follow wheat harvest and do not follow the seasons, they follow the voters and the elections.

We must stop tying the hands of the future Congress on this and other spending programs.

MRS. JOHNSON'S PROGRAM FOR CONSERVATION OF NATURAL BEAUTY

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Rhode Island?

There was no objection.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to commend and congratulate Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson for her effective leadership in reawakening the citizens of our country to the preservation and conservation of our natural beauty. The First Lady's program has instilled in our cities and towns a new sense of concern, pride, and imagination in the effort to make our environment beautiful as well as healthy.

Mrs. Johnson should be given the lion's share of the credit for the initiative, incentive, and interest at the grassroots level. She has traveled to all sections of our country—to California and Connecticut, Vermont and Virginia, Wyoming and Wisconsin, and just last week to North Carolina and New York. She has hosted three annual White House conferences, attended citizens' rallies, addressed youth seminars, historical societies and urban groups, and has held monthly White House meetings of the Committee for a More Beautiful Capital—all in the interest of preserving our natural beauty.

I, for one, am delighted with the achievements here in Washington. Mrs. Johnson has done much to make the Capital one of the most beautiful cities in the world, an accomplishment of which we can all be proud.

Mr. Speaker, all of us owe a word of thanks to President and Mrs. Johnson for their untiring efforts in the fields of conservation and beautification.

Without objection, I include in the RECORD at this point an article from the Kansas City Star of April 23, entitled, "First Lady Also Is First in Park Effort":

FIRST LADY ALSO IS FIRST IN PARK EFFORT

Lady Bird Johnson, able and energetic, has been described as a "warm, smiling cyclone." Add these characteristics to the prestige of the White House and something is bound to happen. It has.

During the years as first lady, Mrs. Johnson has made beautification her cause. The first target was Washington and she set forth to plant trees, shrubs and flowers to spurce up the nation's capital.

Later, in characteristic Texas fashion, she broadened her aim to include the whole country. One can point to specific accomplishments and they should not be overlooked. But her major contribution has been to create a new mood in the country, a climate which has given acceptance and respectability to the word beautification. She has given it a prestige and status it never had before.

An old cliche comes to mind: "Never underestimate the power of a woman." To which might be added: "Particularly, if her husband is President of the United States."

When the White House calls with a request, few men have the courage to say no. And that includes top government officials, highway builders and other leaders. Mrs. Johnson has spoken out repeatedly on the need for a more beautiful America. She has done some lobbying of her own and even twisted a few arms.

Although the results have fallen short of her dream, her message has not fallen on deaf ears. The Highway Beautification Act of 1965 offers a good example. That legislation, which originated in the White House, called for the removal or screening of highway junkyards and the elimination of thousands of roadside billboards.

Since then, enormous pressures have been exerted to water down the intent of the law. Few signs have actually been removed. But the law is still on the books and the issue is very much alive.

Recently I asked Mrs. Johnson about this. She had invited me to tea in the library of the White House. It was a snowy winter day and we sat before a roaring fire. Spring flowers were on the table.

Was she disheartened? In a word, "No."

"We'll get it when we deserve it," she said. "If people want flowers along their highways and a place to stop and stretch their legs, they can have it. Or our highways can be strips of concrete down between avenues of billboards. We can have it either way."

The First Lady was delighted when the Vermont Legislature voted to eliminate all highway billboards, except those on the premises of a place of business. Since then, the bill has been signed into law by Governor Hoff. Vermont and Hawaii are the only two states that have banned all billboards. Fourteen others have agreed to the terms of the beautification act, which prohibits billboards within 660 feet of federal highways.

"That should make life more pleasant," she continued. "It will reduce the abrasive qualities of living in a city. I am delighted by everything that has happened. But you couldn't say that enough has been done.

"After all, there is no authority, no agency responsible for beauty in this country. The biggest thing I have done is to help create a climate of interest where it is more possible to get amenities in the budget.

"We are getting more converts as the climate of the nation changes. Beautification is no longer just for garden clubs. It has become possible for politicians to mention it. I think beautification is getting to the point where it is good politics."

I referred to her efforts to have bluebonnet seeds scattered along the runways of Texas airports. She beamed and asked if I would like to see some photographs.

A butler was dispatched to the living quarters of the White House. When the album arrived, she pulled up a chair alongside mine and began thumbing through it. The colored pictures showed striking scenes of bluebonnets lining Texas country roads, of vast fields of blooming coreopsis and other wildflowers. Such beauty could be duplicated all over the country, she said, if people cared enough to make the effort.

She is convinced that people would speak with "affection and pride" of their communities, if efforts were made to landscape them and make them more congenial to live in. The work in Washington is designed to serve as a larger example of what can be accomplished.

"Since 1964," she said, "our small Committee for a More Beautiful Capital has been working throughout the city to demonstrate what concerned citizens can do. We have boarded busses in front of the White House and set out to open our eyes to the city's needs.

"I remember coming upon a ravine in the northeast part of Washington. It was filled with rotting tires, junked refrigerators, discarded bricks—all the debris of a careless civilization.

"In a year's time that scene changed. Laurance Rockefeller provided the money to haul away 40 truckloads of junk, to landscape and plant. Today that gully is a park, an outdoor living room where old people sit and young people play.

"We began beautification with flowers, because somehow a splash of color is quickly seen and contagious. More than 80 small parks and triangles, formerly the habitat of litter and wild onions, now bloom for three seasons of the year. This spring a million new daffodils will grace the Virginia entrance to the city."

Mrs. Johnson makes the point that the same thing can be done in any city, if concerned citizens will get busy.

In the last few years, Lady Bird Johnson has worked tirelessly on many beautification projects. She has floated rivers, dedicated parks, made speeches. All were designed to keep the subject before the people of the United States.

Those who have worked closely with her say the First Lady is never too busy to take on an added chore, or to lend a hand when White House assistance would prove helpful.

Laurance Rockefeller evaluates her contribution this way: "She has done more to encourage citizen participation than anyone else by far. She has encouraged everyone who is doing well. Through the President, she has infused enthusiasm for beautification on many levels."

THE CONGRESS SHOULD MOVE TO PUT THIS COUNTRY'S FINANCIAL HOUSE IN ORDER; LOOSE PRACTICE AT THE FED MUST BE STOPPED

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I want today to reassure everyone who may be a little unstrung, what with the rainy weather and all the gloom and doom emerging from that meeting the bankers held for themselves down in sunny Puerto Rico last week.

I just want to say I am not persuaded that this country is plunging into the worst financial crisis since 1931. I do not believe this country must face either an uncontrollable inflation or an uncontrollable recession. I do believe this country's financial house can be, and should be, put in order.

We are hearing all kinds of explanations for our current financial condition. Some say we are in tough shape because the President would not agree to cut Federal spending—enough. Others say we are in tough shape because the gentleman from Arkansas would not agree to a Federal surtax on incomes unless the budget is cut—too much.

But now look: Neither of these is a full explanation. Neither says a word about the Federal Reserve System or what shape it is in. Yet the System and its Chairman go right on; shouting crisis, predicting inflation, encouraging recession. It is time for the Congress to look closely at the Federal Reserve and move to put it in order.

Let me describe to you just one example of loose practice. The Federal Reserve Open Market Committee is holding in its portfolio today $50 billion worth of Government bonds. Where did those bonds come from? The Federal Reserve simply issued $50 billion worth of Federal Reserve notes or Federal Government credit to buy those bonds in the open market.

I want to be sure that everyone understands just what this means. It means that the bonds already have been paid for once. The Federal Reserve simply has exchanged one form of Government obligation—the reserve notes, currency backed 100 percent by the United States—for another form of Government obligation—the bonds.

But the bonds have not been canceled. Instead, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York is holding them in its portfolio, collecting interest on them. And that means the taxpayers are paying twice for these bonds. I challenge Chairman William McChesney Martin or any other member of the Federal Reserve Board to deny it.

Now look at what this loose practice does: It establishes reserves for the Federal Reserve member banks. Upon these reserves, the member banks can create nearly $10 in demand deposits for each $1 of reserves held, or $33.33 for each $1 on time deposits. At a time when Chairman Martin is shouting crisis, this loose practice actually helps to increase the money supply.

It also affects another item about which Chairman Martin claims to be concerned: the national debt. Because two Government obligations still are outstanding for one debt, the national debt is overstated by $50 billion. Think of it. Mere bookkeeping adds $50 billion to the national debt. I challenge Chairman Martin or any other member of the Federal Reserve Board to deny it.

How this loose practice got started and was permitted to spread is a long story, but I will try to make it short. The Federal Reserve System originally was not a central bank. It was begun in 1914 as 12 separate and distinct banks. The law did not permit the 12 banks to operate together. They operated separately.

But do not forget that the big banks had opposed passage of the Federal Reserve Act. And the minute it was passed, the big banks began trying to get the law changed—by administration—so that it would fit into the system which they had urged without success upon the Congress. Not until 1935 did they get their central bank and Open Market Committee written into law.

In the meantime, the 12 Federal Reserve Banks were looking for a way to raise money to pay their current expenses. They were determined to avoid coming to the Congress for operating funds; they did not want to go through the congressional appropriations process. And they didn't want to assess the member banks. Assessments would only displease the bankers.

The New York Federal Reserve Bank stumbled into a solution. Using the credit of the Nation, the New York bank bought some municipal bonds issued by New York City. Then it bought some U.S. Government bonds. The bank, of course, collected interest on these bonds. And the interest soon amounted to enough to pay the operating expenses of the bank.

From this small beginning, the Federal Reserve Banks have amassed and now control completely $50 billion in Government securities—all obtained and based upon the credit of the people of this country.

We do not have to put up with this loose practice. The Congress can get at it and stop it. The Congress simply can pass a bill to cancel the $50 billion in bonds for which the taxpayers are paying twice. I recommend this course of action, and I recognize that such action must come first from the House Ways and Means Committee. Its jurisdiction includes all bills involving this country's bonded indebtedness.

If the Congress declines to act, it is obvious that loose practice will continue. The Federal Reserve System will continue to avoid the Congressional appropriations procedure. Chairman Martin will continue to shout crisis, predict inflation, and encourage recession. The Congress should move to put this country's financial house in order.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the slow progress in the talks in Paris, between the United States and North Vietnam, still sustains hope throughout the world that a peaceful solution can be found to the conflict in Southeast Asia and that an end can finally be brought to the bloodshed and destruction which that region has suffered for so many years.

But in the Middle East, which has seen similar bloodshed and where the danger of destruction is even greater, such hopes for peace are absent. Hope will come only when the parties in the Middle East wars become the parties in peace talks.

Exactly a year has elapsed since the beginning of the crisis which erupted last May, climaxing in the third war the Arabs and Israelis have fought in two decades. And I believe that it is important, at this time, to recall the events of May 1967.

Israel had just celebrated her 19th birthday. At the urging of the United Nations and the United States she had restricted her independence day parade in Jerusalem in order to avoid even a technical violation of the armistice agreements signed in 1949 and prevent increased tensions with her neighbors.

But even as the parade was in progress word came that Egypt had begun moving massive numbers of troops up to the Israeli border in Sinai. Within days the United Nations Emergency Force was expelled by President Nasser, a blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba was imposed, and all the Arab states declared their intention to destroy the Jewish State "once and for all time."

Israel stood alone. The United Nations insisted that it was powerless to resist Egyptian demands. The Department of State backed away from the commitments this Nation had given to Israel in 1957 following the Sinai war. The Communist world stood solidly arraigned behind the Arabs, providing economic, political, and military support. The rest of the world limited its involvement to pious expressions of sympathy for Israel's plight.

Resolutely the Israelis prepared for the onslaught. Despite the overwhelming might poised on their borders and the mounting estimates of expected casualties, they were determined to defend their homeland.

Thus, when war came on June 5 and was followed, in 6 days, by the amazing Israel victory over the combined armies of Egypt, Jordan and Syria, the people of Israel were not triumphant but rather relieved and thankful.

We all recall those events which occurred only 12 months ago. But I believe that they must be kept in mind as we discuss the Middle East and seek solutions to the problems which still threaten the region and which may embroil the entire world in open conflict.

Last year Israel learned—and we must realize—that it cannot depend on vague assurances and promises to insure its survival.

Earlier this month, the United Nations demanded that Israel forego her 20th independence day parade. A year ago the U.N. stood helpless before Nasser's aggression and today it is silent in the face of continued threats of the Arab leaders to renew their plans to destroy Israel. Nevertheless, it is Israel which is rebuked for "increasing tensions" in the area by holding a parade.

Similarly, the United Nations has condemned the Israel unification of Jerusalem. Twenty years ago the Security Council did nothing when the city was shelled, its food and water cut off, and its people were dying. It remained silent when Jordan seized the Old City and Hussein incorporated it into his kingdom. It did not protest when Jewish residents were expelled, when Jews were denied access to their holy places, in blatant violation of the armistice agreement, and when Jordan destroyed Jewish synagogues and desecrated the ancient cemetery on the Mount of Olives. Today the city is again united, the shrines of all faiths are safeguarded and it is open to members of all religions, yet the United Nations is debating its administration and future.

Arab terrorism, sabotage, and murder continue unabated, however, it is not these violations of the U.N. Charter which are censured but Israel's reply to aggression committed against her.

It is clear, therefore, that until the United Nations ceases to be an arena of the cold war, until the Soviet Union decides to end its backing of the Arabs and its veto of any anti-Arab resolution, and until we can secure a world force with a mandate and the capability to resist aggression, Israel must rely on her own strength to maintain her independence.

Since the June war, Russia has replaced all the Arab military equipment destroyed or captured by Israel. It has, in fact, supplied its Arab clients with even more sophisticated and deadly armaments. The Sukhoi-7, Russia's latest fighter plane, is one such weapon, and Arab airpower is now reported to be four times as great as that of Israel. In addition, Egypt is now receiving ground-to-ground missiles from Moscow, with an offensive capability.

In the past, Israel has turned to France for the planes she needed to defend her borders. But General de Gaulle is now attempting to woo the Arabs and has canceled a contract to deliver Mirage jet fighters to Israel. As a result the Israelis have asked Washington to sell them 50 Phantom fighters, comparable to the Mirages. But Washington has not yet responded.

Recently Secretary of State Dean Rusk told the Foreign Affairs Committee that the sale of Phantoms was being held up because the United States did not want to accelerate the arms race in the Middle East. The goal is an excellent one and I am in complete agreement with attempts to reduce the wasteful and dangerous arms expenditures of all the nations of the region. But I cannot understand how a unilateral arms ban, applicable only to Israel, will advance the cause of peace.

Unless the Arabs know that Israel is strong enough to deter any attack, they will again attempt to destroy the Jewish State. And unless the Soviet Union realizes that the United States is committed to Israel's survival, they will continue to rearm the Arabs.

I therefore believe that we must immediately agree to sell Israel the Phantom jets she requires to maintain her defensive capacity. Only in this way can we make it clear to both the Arabs and the Russians that their attempt to overrun Israel is a futile one.

But the shipment of arms to Israel, however vital, must not be the only road to peace. On November 22, 1967, the Security Council adopted a resolution appointing a special representative "to promote agreement" between the Arabs and the Israelis. The U.N. envoy was to follow these guiding principles: termination of the state of belligerency, acknowledgment of territorial integrity and political independence, secure and recognize boundaries, freedom of navigation through international waterways, a just settlement of the refugee problem, and the withdrawal of Israel forces from occupied territories.

The Arabs, however, have selective eyesight. They can only read that section which refers to the Israeli withdrawal. Israel, on the other hand, has repeatedly announced her readiness to discuss all the principles. She rightly argues that her withdrawal from the lands she occupies as a result of a war she did not want would only reinstate the status quo which existed last May.

The United States has supported the Israel position that all the sections of the resolution are tied together. We must maintain that stand. Through a continued insistence that now is the time to come to grasps with the reality of Israel's existence, the Arabs can be brought to the conference table. If this opportunity is lost, as we have lost previous chances for peace in 1949 and in 1957, war will again come to the Middle East. And the next conflict between the states of that region may spread far beyond its borders.

THE FEDERAL INFORMATION EXCHANGE SYSTEM, A WASTE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ERLENBORN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, we hear much talk in this Chamber and across the land about waste in Government, about the ever-expanding power of Government, about Government inefficiency, and about the need to curb spending and to balance the budget. These are concerns, I am sure, of every legislator sent to Washington, and to every thoughtful American.

The Federal Government has, indeed, grown too large and too powerful. Most of us recognize the problem. At one time or another, each of us has encountered the confusion and frustration of Federal redtape. Each of us is well aware of the increasing tax burden which our Government places upon the American people.

Each of us asks that nagging question: "Where do we cut spending? Who should surrender power?"

Is there too much government? All of us agree that there is. We do not always agree on where the cuts can be made.

Our Republic was founded with three branches—executive, legislative, and judicial. Each branch has powers over the other two, making a pattern of checks and balances that is well known, even to schoolchildren.

Sometimes in our history, the executive, by reason of its own initiative, has been strongest; and at other times the legislative branch has more freely exercised its powers. Today we most often hear complaints about the judiciary.

These changes come in cycles. The pendulum swings, and the system of checks and balances works.

Or does it?

Yes, it works to balance the powers of the judiciary, the legislative, and the executive. What of that fourth branch, however?

We have a fourth branch of Government whose power and cost seems to know no restraint. It is the bureaucratic branch, and its numbers, its budgets, its rules and regulations overshadow the constitutional powers of Congress, the President, and the courts.

The bureaucratic branch sets its own policies all too often and drafts its own rules for regulating the lives of Americans. It busily seeks to justify its own existence and its own expansion by performing unauthorized and unwanted duties in the name of public service.

The General Accounting Office is the efficiency and economy watchdog of the Federal Government. It issues more than 300 reports a year pointing to waste. Its reputation is above reproach. Its reports get notice from Congress and the press, but all too often it is a watchdog with a big bark and no bite.

That is our fault—Congress' fault—not the GAO's. When Congress does not act on GAO findings, the fourth branch of Government expands its power, its influence, and its cost.

I ask each of you to join me in making the GAO's warning bark become a bite. I ask your support today in eliminating a specific area of waste and inefficiency.

On April 7, 1968, I asked for an investigation by the GAO of the activities and reports of the Federal Information Exchange System, an agency of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The investigation was made and I have gotten a report from the Comptroller General.

The Federal Information Exchange System is known as FIXS, and it is bureaucracy gone wild. Its records can help to explain why we in Congress are so often frustrated in our efforts to economize.

The Office of Economic Opportunity is a well-worn target of complaint. Those who complain—and I am one—are often painted as heartless misers who are insensitive to the needs, the wholly legitimate needs, of the poor. Let those who cast that aspersion understand that it is the waste, the inefficiency, and the unjustified spending of the OEO that have earned this agency its bad reputation. The Federal Information Exchange System is bureaucracy at its most wasteful.

FIXS was created to inform local and State governments of available Federal aid programs. Its first effort was publication of a reference of Federal programs. The volume was well done and was useful. After the reference work was completed, FIXS was left with the easy task of keeping the information up to date.

This minimal chore only whetted the appetite of the kingdom builders in this bureau, however. They promptly turned their energies to new activities, new reports to compile, new references to publish. It was a typical justification of existence, common to bureaucracy.

Two years ago, FIXS published a 50-volume study of Federal spending, State by State and county by county. In naive good faith, I accepted the work as useful and accurate, and so did many of my colleagues in this House. The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity pointed to it with pride. I suspect that he, too, was naive; but perhaps his ghost writer was carried away when he wrote his glowing report of these volumes of data.

For my part, I was astounded at the amount of Federal aid which the Illinois volume showed for my district. The major political subdivision in the district is DuPage County, which the Census Bureau ranks as the fourth wealthiest county in the Nation. The people of DuPage County were surprised, too.

It was explained later, however, that the tabulation included social security payments, funds which really had gone to other counties, and funds which had been spent on State projects which were located far from the 14th Congressional District.

The FIXS first report covered seven major categories of so-called Federal aid in DuPage County. My investigation revealed that the report erred seven times out of seven. The multimillion-dollar mistakes were verified by the departments involved, in some cases, or were admitted by the Federal Information Exchange System.

OEO even thanked me when I called to its attention a nationwide multimillion error. The Director explained that things would get better next year.

They did not get better, however.

I asked for verification of the figures again the following year. I wrote to the various departments and agencies asking for explanations and confirmations. Three months of letter writing and phone calls convinced me they were worse.

I made the public charge that "the report issued by the Federal Information Exchange System for fiscal year 1967 is fraught with inconsistencies and errors." It appeared that most of the so-called county outlay statistics were what bureaucrats describe as "statistically derived data." Translated into English, that means estimates which were not even estimated on a uniform basis.

I decided that the FIXS report was useless and that the agency was not doing the work it was created to do. I asked the General Accounting Office to make a study. I now have a report from GAO, telling the results of that study. Here is what the Comptroller General advised:

> We doubt that the cost of securing and publishing the geographic information, as is now being done, is warranted, because of the unreliability of the figures. Moreover, in our opinion, the geographical classification of every federal transaction by state and county would be impractical and extremely costly. We question whether the usefulness of such information would warrant the cost of securing accurate figures . . . As you have correctly diagnosed, the figures in the report are all but useless for their intended purpose and they are misleading in some instances.

When I was convinced of the deplorable purposelessness of the FIXS reports, I said:

> Present reports have little relationship to the intended purpose of FIXS, which was to aid local governments in knowing what federal programs are available and how to utilize federal grant-in-aid programs.

Once again, the Comptroller General's office concurs. The GAO said in its report to me:

> We believe that the reports of federal outlays by geographic areas might be made more realistic and meaningful if they were limited to the programs included in the current *Catalog of Federal Assistance Programs* issued by the Office of Economic Opportunity. This would eliminate any appropriations for which there is no sound basis of pro-ration.

The GAO also agreed that users of the Federal Information Exchange System's should be warned about the reliability of the figures. The Comptroller General noted that "the users of the reports should be specifically alerted to the shortcomings."

Thus, there is no question that the "Summary: Federal, Social, Economic Programs" is useless and inaccurate, or that it is a costly waste of manpower and money.

Now let us dig a little deeper into the chaos of the fourth branch of Government, bureaucracy. I will continue to use the FIXS make-work project as my example.

What was the total cost of gathering this so-called information? How many hours were involved by how many people? How badly were the taxpayers gouged? It would be both impractical and impossible to answer these questions; but I believe we can gain a little insight if we try to understand the scope of the waste.

We shall start at the beginning.

The Federal Information Exchange System was authorized in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It was called an information center, and it was to inform local governments about the availability and use of the OEO programs "and other revelant information."

The information center's purpose is good, and its first effort was good, but it has strayed from its original purpose. After the information center had cataloged the Federal programs which are available to State and local governments, things must have gotten dull. At this point, FIXS embarked upon uncharted seas with no destination in mind.

The first unrequested, unnecessary and unwanted FIXS summary covered fiscal 1966. It was a modest start. Only seven departments and agencies were asked to report county-by-county expenditures.

The summary for fiscal 1966 was a botched job. OEO said it outlined OEO program expenditures. The pre-release news accounts were intended to bolster the sagging image of the war on poverty. Out came the 50-volume study.

I was one of several Members of Congress who complained at the time of the evident waste of tax dollars. I find also that, in January 1967, the General Accounting Office first questioned the utility and cost of the summary. OEO was undaunted, however. The Federal Information Exchange System stayed in business and got bigger. It widened the scope of its study, if I may call it that.

When the time came to compile the summary for fiscal 1967, FIXS enlisted help from the Bureau of the Budget. Together, they asked expenditure information from 22 departments and agencies.

Hundreds—perhaps thousands—of Federal payrollers were put to work tabulating, computing, and reporting; and they were estimating, too. Forms were printed. Instructions were drafted and disseminated. Directives were dictated. Bureaucracy was busy at purposeless work.

Should spending figures to FIXS be obligations? Accrued expenditures? Costs? or Disbursements? This seems like a reasonable question; and it also seems reasonable that each agency must make its calculations by the same method, else the report would be no more than a collection of numbers.

You probably have guessed by now that the reporting instructions for fiscal 1967 allowed each agency to choose its own basis. The General Accounting Office calls the result "a hodgepodge of figures."

There is more, however. How did a department or agency decide the geographic location of an expenditure? By the recipient's place of residence? By his place of business? By the place where the work was done? Or by the location of the duty station where the obligation was incurred?

Each agency chose its own way of doing this.

Another variable: Some expenditures go to an initial recipient who passes the money along to the person who does the work. Which should be listed in the summary?

Each agency also was permitted to make its own decision on another question: Should expenditures be reported by fund, by appropriation, or by program?

Now for a final variable.

Few Federal agencies keep records on a county basis. The bureaucratic chieftains of FIXS seem to have looked upon this as only a minor obstacle in compiling a county-by-county summary. They may even have welcomed it because it created more work for more people.

How should an agency or department which does not keep books on a county basis report its obligations or accrued expenditures or costs or disbursements—as the case may be—on a county basis? Each was asked to devise its own method, and they did not lack ingenuity.

All these variables, estimates, and deviations mount in geometric progression. This being so, I find that there are 192 different ways of arriving at each one of the figures which are in this summary—192 opportunities for error.

This, Mr. Speaker, is the fourth branch of Government. This is bureaucracy in action. This is the kind of nonsense which burdens American taxpayers. It is one small example of the busy-work which makes Government costs unnecessarily high; the kind of busy-work which makes it difficult to attend to the social and educational programs which we believe are necessary.

In a letter to the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, I have asked that the Federal Information Exchange System limit its summary to outlays for programs shown in the current "Catalog of Federal Assistance Programs." I have asked, further, that the data be uniform. Most of all, I have asked the Director to heed the findings and recommendations of the General Accounting Office.

Mr. Speaker, the cost and power of the fourth branch of Government must be curtailed. It is the job of Congress to keep a check-rein on waste, and unless we do so, I believe the welfare of our Republic is in jeopardy.

Our system of checks and balances, which has saved us from Presidential, legislative, or judicial dictatorship in over 19 decades as a nation, will become meaningless if we sink further into the mire of bureaucratic confusion. We shall strangle on our own redtape.

Mr. Speaker, I include a copy of the GAO letter with these remarks in the RECORD:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., May 3, 1968.

Hon. JOHN N. ERLENBORN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. ERLENBORN: The Federal Information Exchange System of the Office of Economic Opportunity, about whose activities you inquired in your letter of April 5, 1968, and concerning which a verbal report was given to you on April 30, does not produce or compute the figures which it publishes in its reports of Federal outlays by states and counties. Rather it publishes only such figures as the Federal agencies report to it. Most of these figures are reported by magnetic tape or punch card for direct use by the computer. The $76,000 error for Will County, Illinois, which you mentioned, was one of several county coding errors inadvertently made by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on the magnetic tape they furnished to the Office of Economic Opportunity. Part of the work done by automatic data processing has been contracted out by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Only a few agencies keep their accounts and records so they can report outlays by state and county. It is not a requirement of the General Accounting Office that they do so. Consequently, when the Office of Economic Opportunity for 1966 and the Bureau of the Budget for 1967 requested such information, most agencies had to estimate or approximate their figures by one means or another.

There are four principal areas of difficulty:

1. Should the figures reported be obligations, accrued expenditures, costs, or disbursements? The instructions for the 1967 reports permitted the agency to use whatever basis it chose, resulting in a hodgepodge of figures. The instructions for the 1968 reports permit obligations or costs. However, accrued expenditures are undoubtedly the best measure of the impact on the economy which is the purpose of the reports.

2. What will determine the geographical location of the outlay—the residence of the recipient, the place of business of the recipient, the place where the work is performed, or the location of the duty station where the obligation is incurred? Will the location of the ultimate recipient or the initial recipient be used? (This is particularly important in the case of grants.) There is no uniformity among agencies as to the basis which is used. Present instructions permit various methods of determining geographic location.

3. Should the agency report by appropriation or fund, or should it report by program? It is probably easier and less costly in most cases to report by appropriation or fund. However, appropriation reporting would not usually be as meaningful to the local planner and administrator as reporting by program would be. At present, some agencies use one method, some the other, and some both.

4. When figures by geographical location are not available from the accounts or records of an agency, what methods of prorating, estimating, or approximating should be used? At the present time, each agency is permitted to use whatever basis it wishes. There is no uniform method employed. Nor is it probable that any uniform method would be universally applicable. Many Federal appropriations and programs do not reach into every county. Yet when a population basis is used for prorating, every county is charged with a portion of the total. The result, as you have correctly diagnosed, is that not only are the figures all but useless for their intended purpose, but they are misleading in some instances as well.

We doubt that the cost of securing and publishing the geographic information as is now being done is warranted because of the unreliability of the figures. Moreover, in our opinion, the geographical classification of every Federal transaction by state and county would be impractical and extremely costly. We question whether the usefulness of such information would warrant the cost of securing accurate figures. This same conclusion was reached in January 1967 as a result of a study made at that time.

On the other hand, the Bureau of the Budget and the Office of Economic Opportunity, recognizing the inadequacies of the 1966 and 1967 reports, are desirous of improving future reports so that they will have sufficient validity to make their use beneficial. We believe that the reports of Federal outlays by geographic areas might be made more realistic and meaningful if they were limited to the programs included in the current "Catalog of Federal Assistance Programs" issued by the Office of Economic Opportunity. This would eliminate many appropriations for which there is no sound basis of proration. If this were done, it would change the purpose of the reports from attempting to measure the economic impact on local units of all Federal outlays to measuring the use by local units of the "Federal Assistance Programs." It seems that this would be more in keeping with the authorization contained in Section 635 of the Economic Opportunity Act (42 USC 2977). If statistical methods can be improved to supplement existing financial data, the costs might be kept down to a point where the information would still be useful, despite its inconsistency as to measure of outlay, its variation as to location of recipients, and its inadequacy as to method of distribution to states and counties. The users of the reports should be specifically alerted to these shortcomings as long as they exist.

The facts included in this letter were obtained primarily by interviews with officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Bureau of the Budget.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK H. WEITZEL,
Assistant Comptroller General.

GONZALEZ CALLS FOR SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE WAR PROFITEERING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that we must renew our traditional response to wartime mobilization, and appoint a special committee to protect the people's right to equality of wartime sacrifice. I am therefore introducing today a resolution to establish a special House committee to investigate the entire spectrum of military and space spending.

A good many Congressmen and Senators with expertise in military procurement have revealed examples of the public interest coming off second best against defense contractors. The examples range from nuts and bolts and generator knobs, to the M-16 rifle, to the company which has been charged by the Renegotiation Board of being delinquent for millions of dollars for the third time.

A Comptroller General's study, a DOD study, and university study all indicate that Vietnam has produced higher profits on defense contracts.

Several congressional committees have published their findings that military procurement procedures are showing the strain of the vast requirements for Vietnam. Each contains shocking examples. Each recommends changes to shore up the cracked regulations or procedures.

I say that these examples of war profiteering, that these indications of higher war profits, that these revelations of faulty procurement procedures demonstrate the American taxpayer is not getting his money's worth in defense goods and services. I raise my voice in behalf of a special committee to undertake a complete and comprehensive investigation of defense costs and profits, and report to the American people on the extent and practice of present-day war profiteering.

It has been customary in the United States to establish special investigating committees for the duration of foreign wars. The question of profiteering by domestic firms has always been given prime consideration. The American people have customarily recognized that wartime often presents irresistible opportunities for an unconscionable few to make vast profits from the critical needs, the heavy volume and confusion surrounding mobilization for war.

The Vietnam conflict should be no exception. Our spending for defense procurement has reached the $45 billion mark, the highest level in our history. This represents about 80 percent of all Government purchases. That defense firms are getting very prosperous on this war is indisputable. Is it somehow OK for some defense suppliers to reap extraordinary profits from this war amid the safety and affluence of home while thousands of American men are called upon to make the supreme sacrifice for their country in the Far East?

The state of war has always been considered alien to the fundamental character of the American people. The coming of war in this country has traditionally been followed by the establishment of special committees or commissions charged with overseeing the conduct of the war and distributing its burdens equitably, as befitting to a democratic people.

For the duration of the Civil War, Congress established the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War. In the Spanish-American War, President McKinley formed the Executive Investigating Committee. After that war Congress investigated the activities of the American meatpackers.

However, Congress failed in an attempt to establish a joint investigating committee during World War I. But when ominous signs reoccurred in Europe, the previous war experience was examined. A Presidential commission recommended a 90-percent surtax on any profits a defense supplier made in excess of his average peacetime earnings, and Senator Nye's committee investigated the role of American munitions makers in the war.

The lesson of World War I was not lost as the Second World War approached. In 1940 the House of Representatives formed the special Tolan committee to investigate defense production. In the next year, the Senate appointed Harry S Truman as chairman of the Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, which was continued until 1948.

Similarly during Korea, the Senate established in July 1950 a defense preparedness subcommittee to investigate the conduct of the Korean war, under the chairmanship of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Despite the American tradition of special wartime investigating committees, war profits are receiving no comprehensive attention today. Despite the fact that we are in the second year of record high military spending, there are no compensatory safeguards of the public till. Despite a balance-of-payments problem and an international gold crisis which is largely a dollar crisis, there is only a fragmented concern about getting full value for the defense dollar. Despite a traditional desire not to mock the wartime sacrifices of our soldiers and their families, profiteers have felt little heat from public opinion about the charges of widespread enrichment from the Vietnam buildup. And despite the unanimous conclusion of authoritative studies that costs and profits are soaring on defense procurement, no one has called for a special committee to investigate all ramifications of these special times.

There are three principal reasons why a special committee to investigate Vietnam spending is needed: First, to establish with finality to what degree war profiteering exists; second, because of the inability of present administrative procedures to adequately prevent profiteering; and third, to determine how much defense production actually costs the Government, and therefore the actual extent of profitmaking on this war.

1. THE WHOLE TRUTH ON PROFITEERING IS NEEDED

Despite all recent evidence to the contrary, certain Defense Department officials and certain associations of defense contractors continue to insist that nobody is making much money on Vietnam.

Replying to my charge that war profiteering was increasing, an Assistant Secretary of Defense told a joint congressional subcommittee last fall that he knew of "absolutely no evidence to support those statements." Commenting on my legislation to strengthen the Renegotiation Board, spokesmen of defense contracts have argued in the face of all logic that defense profits are so low that they are endangering the war effort.

At the end of these remarks, I have received permission to summarize the most recent, authoritative studies concerned with Vietnam procurement. All conclude that profits are increasing, and that the strain of wartime requirements has revealed weaknesses in the procurement system.

Averages often average out to very little. But average profit rates on defense contracts have increased about 25 percent over recent years, indicating that someone is making higher profits. The specific examples of profiteering uncovered recently show without a doubt that some defense suppliers are making excessive profits on this war.

These specific examples have been reported by various Congressmen, by congressional committees, by the Comptroller General, and by the Defense Contract Audit Agency. But they seem to have little effect. The self-serving denials continue that business-as-usual prevails.

A comprehensive congressional investigation is needed not only to establish conclusively whether war profiteering is rampant, but to demonstrate to doubters in the Department of Defense and among defense suppliers that we will not tolerate excessive profits on Vietnam defense production.

2. GENERAL INABILITY TO ADMINISTER AGAINST EXCESSIVE WAR PROFITS

About 85 percent of military procurement is negotiated. The remaining 15 percent is supposedly competitive—based on formal bidding procedures or comprised of "standard commercial articles" with established catalog prices.

The Department of Defense has promulgated regulations to cover both negotiated and "competitive" contracts, big and little. In connection with small purchases, a special House investigating subcommittee recently concluded:

> Procurement files give the appearance of having met all of the technical requirements of the Armed Services Procurement Regulations (ASDR) but, in fact, procurement personnel failed to apply commonsense judgment to preclude the payment of exorbitant prices.

The subcommittee showed why procurement officials prefer to have their purchases designated as "competitive," because such a designation absolves them from further price justification and usually protects them from later recriminations for the lack of "commonsense judgment."

Much the same preference of procurement personnel for the quick, easy way occurs with larger contracts. Fifty-six percent of defense contracts in 1967 were firm-fixed price—FFP—negotiated contracts. Once an FFP contract is agreed upon, DOD gives up any right to know what costs or profits are involved. The contractor assumes all cost-profit risks. This obviously saves DOD paperwork and time, but it is highly doubtful that it saves the taxpayers money.

Procurement personnel obviously like FFP contracts also, because once it is negotiated there is little chance to check whether their judgment on the contractor's costs were justified. Only on those contracts over $100,000 does the procurement agency have a recourse, and only then if it can establish that the contractor knew at the time of negotiations that his price estimates were not "current, complete, and accurate" in accordance with the Truth in Negotiations Act.

Further, the administration of the Truth in Negotiations Act has come under sharp criticism by a joint congressional subcommittee, which charged last month that DOD "only timidly, at best" has implemented the 5-year-old "Truth" Act.

There is an administrative watchdog agency which theoretically can backstop the procurement process in its assigned task of determining and recovering excessive profits on defense and space contracts. The very fact that the tiny Renegotiation Board has returned millions each year to the Treasury indicates that excessive profits abound. But much military procurement is not renegotiable because of exemptions in the Renegotiation Act. I estimate that there are about 7,600 contractors who would no longer escape renegotiation if my bill to restore the Board to its Korean war strength had been passed. However, the House voted yesterday to extend the Renegotiation Board with only slightly boosting its powers, after shouting down my amendments designed to enable the Board to cope with present-day profiteering.

I would have to agree with Admiral Rickover that "the Department of Defense has been too greatly influenced by those having an industry viewpoint," to the detriment of the public interest.

3. NO ONE KNOWS THE ACTUAL COSTS OF MILITARY CONTRACTS

One reason it is impossible to take comfort in the ability of the present administrative procedures to prevent war profiteering is that no one in or out of Government knows what it actually costs to produce goods and services for the military. All we can know is what we are paying.

In "competitive" and firm-fixed price contracts the Government by definition does not care what a supplier's actual costs turn out to be. But in most types of negotiated contracts and in the renegotiation process, the costs which a contractor has actually experienced is supposed to determine directly how much profit a contractor earns and how much he retains if renegotiated.

But Vice Adm. Hyman Rickover, an expert in naval and nuclear procurement, contends that "profit is only a part of the real income to a company." About 49 cents out of every profit dollar goes to the Government in income taxes. Therefore, a dollar which a company can obtain through overstating its overhead or other costs is worth about $2 in profits. Admiral Rickover has said:

> Large additional profits on defense work can be hidden as costs just by the way overhead is charged, how component parts are priced, or how intracompany profits are handled. . . . Thus, profit statistics are meaningless unless measured in accordance with a uniform standard.

He has said further:

> The Renegotiation Act and the Truth in Negotiations Act . . . are based on the presumption that the Government can readily determine supplier costs. The Government can't. . . . The Government encounters such a wide variety of complex accounting systems that it is virtually impossible to know just how much defense equipment costs and how much profit a supplier makes in producing it—without spending months reconstructing a supplier's books.

In the absence of a uniform system of accounting standards for military contracts, a conscientious procurement officer or renegotiator finds it nearly impossible to ascertain what a contractor's real costs are. A contractor can report his costs and profits in nearly any manner he chooses for renegotiation, as long as they accord with "generally accepted accounting practices." This means a contractor can pick the accounting device which best misstates his costs and hides his true profits, dependent almost solely upon his desire to retain any windfall profits on a completed defense work. Although the armed services procurement regulations contain cost requirements more suitable to defense contracts than renegotiation does, the contractor still has much the same ability to disguise his actual and estimated profits in cost figures when negotiating original contract prices.

AN EXAMPLE OF PROFITEERING

A current example will help to illustrate how present laws and regulations are unable to prevent profiteering on war contracts. The second largest defense supplier in the Nation recently completed negotiations on a contract to supply the propulsion turbine and related gears for an aircraft carrier at a price of $10.1 million. Six years earlier, the company had agreed to supply the same turbine and gears for a similar ship, but at a cost of only $5.5 million. The cost of raw materials has obviously gone up in the 6 intervening years and a few more spare parts were ordered, but basically the company was bidding almost twice as much for the same job.

For the turbine in the first ship, the company had accepted a contract allowing profits of 10 percent, or half a million dollars. But for the second job, the company wanted $2.5 million in profit on the $10.1 million contract, a 250-percent jump in profit.

Then the company refused to certify that its costs were current, complete, and accurate as required by the Truth in Negotiations Act. Such certification should have been relatively a simple matter for the company, since it could draw directly upon its prior experience. But the company contended that the presence of competition justified their refusal to comply with the law—an unwarranted contention in view of the fact that the only other bid was an unreasonably high "courtesy" bid by a company which would have been unable to fulfill the contract because it was moving its gear plant from one city to another.

The Navy had a critical need for the second aircraft carrier for the Vietnam conflict. In the face of the company's adamant refusal to comply with the law and certify its costs, an Assistant Secretary of the Navy was forced to waive the certification provision of the Truth in Negotiations Act.

This means that the company has been guaranteed at least the 25-percent profit it claimed. However, if the actual costs of the turbine for the ship now under construction turn out to be close to the $5 million in costs certified for the same turbine installed in the first ship, then the company will in fact reap profits which are 100 percent of costs.

It is also pertinent to note that the Government has gone a long way to establish this company as a major supplier of defense equipment. The Government owns the gear plant in which part of the turbine will be constructed, and the company enjoys a considerable advantage in the leasing arrangements. Further, the Government has favored the company with about 9,000 pieces of Government-owned industrial productive equipment. And of course progress payments will be made periodically until this contract is completed, so that the company will not have to tie up its own capital.

Obviously the main difference between the first contract with its certified profit of 10 percent and the second contract with the possibility of 100-percent profit is the fact that we are at war. The turbine is now critically needed for an aircraft carrier for Vietnam, and the company is taking every advantage of its position to gouge the taxpayer.

This is certainly war profiteering. We have been held up by this company for two and a half times more profit, at the very least, than it required prior to Vietnam. Extortion of this magnitude inflates the cost of defense goods, drains money away from other critical military needs, and reduces the field support we could otherwise give our soldiers under arms. Congress has been grossly negligent in allowing such a flagrant opportunity for war profiteering to go unchecked.

This is a firm-fixed price contract; the Truth in Negotiations Act has been waived; the Navy is over a barrel and has had, now as always, no recourse.

The Renegotiation Board can be expected to recover a portion of exorbitant profits made by defense suppliers if certain conditions are present. But it appears to me that this contract will be exempt from renegotiation, like many others. Since the majority of this company's turbines are likely sold to commercial powerplants, its similar turbine for the aircraft carrier would probably escape renegotiation because of the "standard commercial article exemption," an exemption, incidentally, which my bill to strengthen the Renegotiation Board would have eliminated.

But let us assume, for the sake of illustration, that this contract would be subject to renegotiation. It would be lumped together with all costs and all profits of all the company's renegotiable work completed during the fiscal year. Costs are defined by the Internal Revenue Code in renegotiation and are more liberal than the ASPR definitions which disallow costs that have no application to defense contracts, such as advertising, interest, and bad debts. The company is able to choose any generally accepted accounting practice which best suits its purpose, so long as it makes internal accounting logic. I seriously doubt, with the well-paid accountants this company can employ, that it has ever been subject to a renegotiation determination.

THE GONZALEZ RESOLUTION FOR A WAR PROFITEERING INVESTIGATION

Mr. Speaker, the need for a complete investigation and total airing of Vietnam war profiteering is painfully clear. I urge all my colleagues with a knowledge of excessive war profits or faulty defense procurement practices to join me in proposing a special investigating committee. I would hope that the entire membership of this great body would quickly comply.

My simple resolution would establish a special committee to investigate all ramifications of the defense and space effort. It is based on the Truman committee of World War II, and continues the precedent of establishing special committees to investigate the special conditions of foreign wars. The committee would have full powers of subpena, and all access to services and information of the executive branch consistent with existing law. It would be charged with determining the need and feasibility of establishing a uniform system of accounting standards for defense contractors. The committee would consist of 11 members, including the chairmen of the five standing committees of the House which presently oversee various aspects of defense spending: Appropriations, Armed Services, Banking and Currency, Government Operations, and Ways and Means.

RECENT STUDIES OF MILITARY PROCUREMENT AND PROFIT RATES ON DEFENSE CONTRACTS

First. A subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee recently concluded:

> The evidence we have received in the most recent round of hearings document a case of loose and flagrantly negligent management practices in the Defense procurement program.
>
> The DOD apparently refuses to reverse the long-term trend away from competitive bidding and toward noncompetitive negotiated contracts, while only timidly, at best, implementing the Truth in Negotiations Act passed 5 years ago. Its practice of furnishing property to contractors at Government expense without proper scrutiny amounts to a multibillion-dollar-door subsidy program never intended by the Congress.[1]

Second. The Hardy subcommittee found:

> Recent examination indicates that deficiencies continue to persist in the contractor's submission of cost data and in the Government's review of negotiation data . . . some contractors succesfully avoid disclosure by resorting to alleged estimates . . . the negotiation process, as conducted over the past several years, has permitted mistakes, misunderstandings, half-truths (and, in some cases, even various shades of fraud) to creep into the establishment of prices to the government.[2]

Third. Concerning small purchases, the Hardy subcommittee found:

> The incidence of overcharges occurred in buying activities nationwide and in all military departments. * * * procurement files gave the appearance of having met all of the technical requirements of the Armed Services Procurement Regulation (ASPR) but, in fact, procurement personnel failed to apply commonsense judgment to preclude the payment of exorbitant prices.[3]

Fourth. The Comptroller General told Congress last year:

> We found in our review of 208 contracts involving $2.25 billion worth of procurement negotiated during the last 6 months of fiscal year 1966 that the average profit rates were 2 percentage points higher than they were in the 5-year period (fiscal years 1959–63) prior to the establishment of the weighted guidelines.

This jump in the average profit rates from 7.7 to 9.7 percent represents an increase in profits of 26 percent. The Comptroller General said further:

> The increase in profits may reflect, to some extent, a general trend in recent years toward higher earnings, increased procurement by the Dept. of Defense to meet its commitments in Southeast Asia, and other factors.[4]

Fifth. Adm. Hyman Rickover, an expert in Naval procurement, testified before Congress:

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[1] "Economy in Government Procurement and Property Management," Report of the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, April 1968, page 1.

[2] "Review of Defense Procurement Policies, Procedures and Practices," Part I—Truth in Negotiations, Report of the Subcommittee for Special Investigations of the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. House of Representatives, February 29, 1968, pages 3 and 1.

[3] Ibid, Part II-Small Purchases, January 22, 1968, page 3.

[4] Report to the Committee on Appropriations by the Comptroller General of the United States, Report No. B–159896, April 20, 1967; pages 1 and 28.

> The military is experiencing large increases in prices due both to higher costs on defense work and to higher profits on defense contracts; on the average 25 percent higher in 1964–67 than in 1959–63.[5]

Sixth. The Chairman of the Renegotiation Board recently told Congress:

> The profits which we see in the filings that are currently coming in are higher than they have been in recent years . . . the possibility of excessive profits is there.

The Chairman pointed out that 43 percent more filings with the Board were assigned to the regional offices in 1967 than the previous year, indicating the necessity for a close scrutiny of the profits of 43 percent more defense contractors.[6]

Seventh. A professor of the University of Washington at St. Louis who recently published the results of his study comparing the profits of equal-sized defense with non-defense-oriented corporations, concluded:

> The gap between Defense and non-Defense profit has indeed widened over the past decade—in favor of Defense business.[7]

Eighth. Increased profit rates are also shown by the only authoritative study in the LMI report much quoted by defense contractors because it contains the only current set of statistics around showing a contrary decline in profits. Some of the aspects of this report are simply amazing. At a time when major defense suppliers are showing overall increases in net income from 22 to 65 percent in Wall Street publications such as Moody's Industrials, we are supposed to believe that these same companies are so poorly managed that they have recently been making reduced profits on military contracts, and indeed losing money in some cases.

But, significantly, the LMI report contains a table which disputes its contention of lower profits. It is the only table based on a fair sample; the only table not dependent upon scanty, voluntarily reported figures. It was not necessary to admit, in connection with this survey, that 40 percent of the companies from which profit data was requested would not comply. It was not necessary to gloss over the fact that some contractors' "losses" were deliberate losses in order to "buy in," becoming a sole source supplier of some necessary item and thereby gaining the ability to recoup high profits later. It was the only table which reflects the vast buildup in Vietnam spending by giving full weight to profit data from recent years.

I refer to table IV–1, on page 37 of the LMI report. Significantly, it was compiled by the Department of Defense. It shows the going-in profit rate on cost of every type of negotiated contract increasing from the 1959–63 period as compared to 1964–67. The total profit rate on cost for all negotiated contracts increased by 22 percent during this period, from 7.7 to 9.4.[8]

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from Texas yield to me at this point?

Mr. GONZALEZ. I shall be delighted to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the gentleman from Texas for introducing this resolution. I, for one, shall be happy to join with the gentleman. I say this because it is my opinion that this is long overdue.

Mr. Speaker, I could not help but think that if we went back to one of those periods when we were having a 90-percent surcharge on certain profits, we might not be concerned with the responsibility here on the floor of the House tomorrow with which we will be faced when a motion is made to reduce the budget to the extent of $4 billion. In other words, we would have sufficient funds with which to meet our fiscal responsibilities and to reduce our fiscal deficit.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to again congratulate the distinguished gentleman from Texas for bringing this matter to the floor of the House today.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I deeply appreciate the kind and generous remarks of my colleague from Rhode Island, and I am honored that he would wish to subscribe with me to the resolution I shall introduce. I will be delighted to show the gentleman as a cosponsor of the resolution.

Mr. TIERNAN. I thank the gentleman, and I am happy that he will do that.

DO FEDERAL EMPLOYEES FACE COMPULSORY UNIONISM?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, there is an immediate need to guarantee that "no employee of the Federal Government shall be required without his consent to join or become a member of any union of Government employees or to pay dues to such organizations."

This wording is taken from H.R. 17037, a bill which I introduced May 6 of this year and which, in light of the statements presented by labor officials before a Presidential Commission, should be enacted by the House and Senate.

The Presidential Commission, set up to study labor-management relations in the Federal Government, was announced by Mr. Johnson last September. It held hearings in October and is expected to make recommendations to the President in the near future. Specifiically, it is dealing with the need for modification of Executive Order 10988, issued by President Kennedy in January 1962.

Members of Congress who are watching for an announcement from the Commission should be advised that a major power surge in the position of labor in relation to Federal employees has been proposed by labor leaders.

Led by AFL–CIO President George Meany, the union leaders who testified are pushing for a closed-shop of Federal employees.

SEEK MORE POWER AND CONTROL

From an Executive order which specifically gave Federal employees the right not only to affiliate with an employee organization, but "to refrain from any such activity," the big-labor bosses are now pushing for more power and more control. As Meany said in his testimony:

> We recommend that the Executive order be amended to state explicitly that the federal government accepts the principle that unions and management in federal service should have the right to negotiate *union security agreements*. (Emphasis added.)

The distilled version of Meany's remarks is this: If a union gains 50 percent recognition, 100 percent of the employees in the particular unit—department, or agency—would be forced to pay union dues or equivalent assessments, fees, initiation costs, and the like.

Civil Service Commission Chairman John Macy, serving as chairman of the panel, opened the hearings at which Meany's testimony was heard with the statement of fact that the Commission was ordered by the President, to be concerned, "particularly," with "what Executive Order 10988 has accomplished, where it is deficient and what adjustments should be made to insure the present program's continued vigor in the public interest."

There is no doubt that the Executive order is under review. And there is no doubt that Meany, and a team of tag-along AFL–CIO union leaders of lesser prominence were pushing for a closed shop of Government employees.

Following Meany's statement which I quoted above, he said:

> A long-standing principle of labor-management relations in the United States is that unions and management should have maximum freedom through collective bargaining to reach whatever agreements they consider appropriate, desirable, or necessary.
>
> When a union has exclusive recognition with a federal activity or agency, that union is required to represent all workers in that unit, whether or not those workers are members of the union.
>
> We do not contest this requirement. We support it for the federal service, just as we support it in private industry labor-management relations.
>
> However, we believe a labor organization which has majority status and hence exclusive recognition should be free to negotiate with management arrangements which will enable the union to have support from all workers in the appropriate unit. Those who get benefits from union representation should help pay the costs of union representation.
>
> We do not believe there is any legal or constitutional prohibition against the negotiation of labor-management union security agreements which bring all workers in an appropriate unit into membership of the appropriately recognized labor organization. The dues check-off is already in effect for

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[5] Hearings before the Committee on Banking and Currency, U.S. House of Representatives entitled "To Renew the Defense Production Act of 1950," April 10, 11, 1968, Pages 65 and 72.

[6] "Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriations for 1969," Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part I, February 5, 1968, pages 496 and 483.

[7] "*Profit:* University Study Finds Several Large Defense Firms More Profitable Than Nondefense Counterparts," by Dr. Murray L. Weidenbaum, *Federal Contracts Report*, March 11, 1968, pages A–1 and A–2.

[8] "Defense Industry Profit Review," LMI Task 66–25, vol. 1, *Logistics Management Institute*, November 1967.

> union members where formal or exclusive recognition exists. It is entirely appropriate for negotiated agreements to specify that those workers in the covered unit shall become dues-paying union members or shall support the union with regularly checked-off payments equal to the regular union dues.

THE RIGHT TO REFRAIN FROM JOINING

I hope the Review Commission very seriously considers the implications of such a move before recommending it to the President. The repeatedly abortive attempts to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act indicate as much. But the statements of union officials before the Review Commission indicate that labor is asking for just that, except that it would be done by fiat, not by legislation, and would encompass some 3 million Federal employees.

The position of the 1961 Kennedy Task Force on Employee-Management Relations in the Federal Service was abundantly clear. In the letter of transmittal to the President, Task Force Chairman Arthur J. Goldberg, then Secretary of Labor, stated as the second sentence of the proposals;

> A. *The Federal Employee's Right to Organize.* Federal employees have the right to join bona fide employee organizations. *This right encompasses the right to refrain from joining.* (Emphasis added.)

In addition to Goldberg, this Cabinet-level group included David Bell, Director, Bureau of the Budget; John W. Macy, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission; J. Edward Day, Postmaster General; Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, and Theodore Sorensen, Special Counsel to the President.

In the body of their recommendations to the President they again stressed this point. Following mention of the Lloyd-Lafollette Act of 1912, they stated:

> It has become the common law of Federal personnel practice that any government employee has the right to join or not to join any organization which does not assert the right to strike against or advocate the overthrow of the Government.

Again, they stated:

> It is clear, for example, that there are many areas in the Federal Government in which civil servants have shown little or no inclination to join employee organizations or to enter into collective relationships with management officials. *This makes it most important* to recognize that the right of Federal Employees to organize *and deal* collectively with management officials is matched by the right to refrain from any or all of such activities. There should be no compulsion in *either direction.* (Emphasis added.)

Paramount among the recommendations to the President by his Labor-Management Review Commission should be that the entire area of the "right to refrain" from associating oneself with a union should be handled by, and guaranteed by, legislation and not left to the discretion, or whim, of the present or future presidents.

Legislation such as my H.R. 17037, or Senator WALLACE BENNETT's S. 3483, is vital to the interests of Government employees. Passage of it is also the duty of Congress, lest the legislative branch relinquish yet another area to the caprice and empire building already rampant in the executive branch of Government.

While AFL–CIO leaders recommended other changes in the Executive order—changes which in themselves are severe—full implications of "union security agreements," their wording for a closed shop—should be explored.

Testimony taken on October 23, 1967, the same day George Meany appeared, also came from W. H. Ryan, coordinator, Government Employee Department, Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, an AFL–CIO affiliate. He, too, addressed himself to the union shop recommendation.

> Union security agreements are merely objective devices to attempt to evenly distribute the cost of representating all employees in the unit. Since unions are required to equally represent all employees in the bargaining unit, then the Government should not be permitted to prohibit full and equal contribution to those same unions by workers who reap the benefits of union representation.
>
> We urge that the Executive Order be amended to provide for a negotiation of union shop clauses in instances where 50 per cent of the employees in the unit vote for union representation.

Assistant Secretary of Labor Thomas R. Donahue questioned Ryan about his statement:

> Mr. DONAHUE. Earlier, you alluded to . . . your feelings that since the union agreement protects everyone, everyone should share the cost of representation. You don't take the next step. Are you also talking about agency shop agreements? Would you be willing to talk here—are you suggesting in effect the agency or the union shop or just the union shop?
>
> Mr. RYAN. I would say the agency or the union shop. They both have somewhat the same effect.

Later Ryan stated:

> If the employee is in a unit whereby the majority of people voted for union representation, then he ought to morally be obligated to pay his share.

But Ryan did not give an opinion when asked about enforcing such a provision. He stated:

> Now, whether you fire him or not or whatever action you take, if he refuses to do this, this is something that this commission is going to have to give some thought to.

Ryan expressed no concern for the issues, moral or otherwise, involved in forcing a Government employee to support a union.

UNIONS COULD CIRCUMVENT HATCH ACT

I stated on September 26, 1966, what is certainly pertinent to this issue. At that time, and referring to the political activities of Government employees and specifically to the Hatch Act, I said:

> The Hatch Act was never meant to relegate federal workers to a second-class citizen's status. It was developed with the idea that Federal employees should not be exploited politically nor should they be the cadre for a political machine to promote their own special candidates.

This is even more timely today, for there is still no basis for questioning the reasoning behind the act. The dangers still exist. Organized labor, through its various committees on political education and the like, could be the direct channel for millions of dollars of forced dues. And the end product could be that a dues-paying, nonunion, Federal employee would be supporting ideas and policies to which he was totally opposed, candidates to which he was similarly opposed, and whole administrations to which he was opposed, and yet be unable, because of the limitation of the Hatch Act to speak out publically against them.

While a Federal employee may contribute to a political party, he may not be required to do so under the provisions of the Hatch Act. Meany's proposal, however, might force just this on an indirect basis.

Keeping in mind Mr. Ryan's statements on the union shop, I again cite the 1961 task force. This is the entire section "K" of part II, "General Considerations":

> K. UNION MEMBERSHIP
>
> *The union shop and the closed shop are inappropriate to the Federal service.*
>
> The Task Force wishes to state its emphatic opinion that the union shop and the closed shop are contrary to the civil service concept upon which Federal employment is based, and are completely inappropriate to the Federal service.

The seriousness of this point and the feelings of Congress were alluded to by Mr. Macy, who remarked:

> Rather fresh in my memory is the series of hearings held before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee at which I was cross-examined at some length about the constitutional rights of federal employees and I am now having some difficulty in reconciling the principles enunciated to me and legislation flowing from that hearing with the requirements of union shop, an employee who was disinterested in joining the union.

It is time to remember Macy's opening statement where he mentioned that for the past 5 years the accomplishments have been within the framework of law and politics and that they were ones "that regard the public interest as the paramount consideration."

It is inconceivable that the President might choose to make union membership a condition of Federal employment, just as it would have been incredible to find that President Kennedy had omitted the employees' right to refrain from such activity from Executive Order 10988. Regardless of the conception, Congress should still take the legislative action necessary to insure these rights.

HAS L.B.J. MADE A DEAL WITH THE UNIONS?

President Johnson's actions in this vital phase of union-Government worker relationship brings some questions to mind. Has the President tacitly capitulated to the AFL–CIO on this issue because he has not been able to deliver on his 1964 campaign promises? Organized labor received his commitment to four important planks in their legislative program for the 89th Congress—repeal of 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law, the so-called right-to-work provision; repeal of the situs picketing restrictions; federalized unemployment benefits; and a $2 minimum wage. Labor also wanted a 35-hour week and double pay for overtime, but the other four were at least counted upon.

When the President was unable to

deliver, strange things started happening. The guidelines went out the window and no Presidential pressure has been brought to bear on inordinate wage demands. Formerly, the President chastized anyone who added to inflationary pressures by price hikes or wage hikes. His silence has been pronounced regardless of the demands—some even hitting requests for 25-percent increases and above. Politically, it is the old maxim that if you cannot deliver to your friends on the "big ones" you give them enough "little ones" to make them happy. Here is a perfect example of giving in on a "little one" although many of the 3 million Federal employees would consider it anything but insignificant. The Congress should not allow this to happen.

EMPLOYEES DO DESERVE RIGHT TO ARBITRATION

Mr. Speaker, I do agree with Mr. Meany in one important respect. There is something unfair in the Government's position that employees cannot strike and yet when there is a substantial grievance they can be arbitrarily turned down by their superiors. On the important matter of pay, the Congress will probably always be the final word but on many work procedures and honest differences regarding policy and practice, the Government employee should not be left high and dry. My bill, H.R. 15120, would provide for improved employee-management relations in the Federal service by allowing substantial issues to be resolved by an outside board rather than departmental superiors as is now the case.

There is, of course, some danger in this approach but I think the equities are in favor of trying arbitration. The Kennedy panel put their finger on the crucial point when it said:

> In the developing stages of employee-management relations it is quite likely that the availability of arbitration would have an escalation effect whereby the parties instead of working out their differences by hard, serious negotiations, would continually take their problems to a third party for settlement.

This is possible. Yet it is unfair, it would seem, when, to give an example, the Post Office Department sets out regulations, the employees object and the dispute is eventually settled by the Postmaster General who promulgated the regulation in the first place. I think the experience of arbitration should at least be had before we make any judgments that either side would consistently take an adamant position rather than work things out.

This is one technique which could be tried out in what the Kennedy panel referred to as the "developing stages of employee-management relations." The fact that such a small number of employees have affiliated in many areas of civil service and that there are still the three forms of recognition—informal, formal, and exclusive—makes Mr. Meany's push toward a closed shop all the more out of order at the present time.

It has been estimated that the union proposal calling for each Federal employee to ante up equal dues, regardless of whether he was a member, would bring a windfall to union coffers of between $150 and $700 million. This figure is based on the possibility of unionizing part or all of the 12 million persons working for government—State, local, and national.

With millions—hundreds of millions of dollars—feeding into union accounts how is the Federal employee, restricted from political activity by the Hatch Act, going to keep his money separate? He is not. This windfall will provide funds for more and farther reaching union political action that in many instances will work against the contributor who is forbidden, by law, from expressing his views against it, or refusing to contribute to it.

In reading over the recommendations made to the Presidential Review Commission by George Meany, the careful reader sees the stranglehold that is being proposed under this means of financing.

THREE MILLION EMPLOYEES A PRIZE

If these recommendations are accepted, Executive Order 10988 will be decimated. The public interest, the rights of employees, the unique position of the Federal Government and its relations with its employees will be relegated to secondary consideration behind union's power. This increase in union power will also cut into the decisionmaking authority of the Congress.

Meany began his remarks by indicating:

> Our five years' experience under Executive Order 10988 clearly indicates that changes are needed to bring about true collective bargaining.

To implement this, he proposed that two of the present three forms of union recognition be dropped. Thus, informal and formal recognition would be replaced by "exclusive" recognition. This is central to gaining the agency fee from all employees, regardless of whether they are union members. And, all it would require for exclusive recognition under the Meany proposal is a 50 percent favorable vote. By any standards, when 50 gets you 100, this is a good investment and worth fighting for. In fact, 3 million Government employees represent the greatest prize the sagging AFL–CIO could covet.

Along with elimination of informal and formal recognition, Meany proposed that "national consultation" be established as a replacement for the "confusing term, formal recognition at the national level."

He explained the implications and requirements of this by saying:

> National Consultation should imply and require comprehensive consultation rights for the appropriate union organization on the formulation, implementation, and interpretation of all personnel policies and practices. National Consultation should imply and require discussion on proposals regarding the formulation of new policies or changes in present policies. It does not mean the mere notification of labor organization by an agency about personnel policy changes.

And there is more. It should also include, Meany said, the "right of labor" to institute proposals to change present or to formulate new policies. Thus, industrywide bargaining tactics would be applied to the civil service.

"National consultation rights should extend also to discussions with the Civil Service Commission on its regulations concerning personnel policies."

Under the present interpretation of the Executive order of January 1962, the unions—or employee organizations—may be consulted. Meany wants more say, but the Kennedy group was emphatic in recommending:

> Employees and officials who are concerned are governed by the provisions of applicable Federal laws and regulations, including policies set forth in the Federal Personnel Manual—

Which as I stated above he wants brought into labor's sights—

> and the agency's regulations, *all of which are regarded as paramount*, and any such agreement *must at all times be applied subject to all such laws, regulations and policies*. [Italics mine.]

An innocuous appearing proposal, or "recommendation," is that the terminology of the Executive order be changed from "employee organization" to "labor organization." This would further define the class of potential representing organizations to exclude groups or organizations other than labor unions, or organizations, if you will. In doing so it would serve to further shrink the freedom of choice and association of the Federal employees.

MANAGEMENT RIGHTS TO BE NEGATED

Meany states on several occasions that the recommendations he proposes are designed to bring together into practice what the Executive order really means, but to admit this is to admit that Executive Order 10988 is the most sloppily written decree in the history of the Presidency. Indeed, it is most specific. His statement also flies into the face of the clear statements of officials who set up the famous Executive Order 10988.

Among other recommendations of organized labor were these.

That the "veto right" of agency heads be abolished.

That management rights, that is, the rights of officials of an agency, to "direct employees of the agency; to hire, promote, transfer, assign, and retain employees in positions with the agency, and to suspend, demote, discharge, or take other disciplinary action against employees; to relieve employees from duties because of lack of work or for other legitimate reasons; to maintain the efficiency of the Government operations entrusted to them; to determine the methods, means and personnel by which such operations are to be conducted; and to take whatever actions may be necessary to carryout the mission of the agency in situations of emergency," be deleted.

Going over that again, the Executive order reserves these areas and the rights of agency officials to control them, subject to law and Federal regulations. Meany recommends this:

> We urge deletion from the Executive order of the references to management rights contained in section 7 (2). Most of the six items listed in this section are governed by law or regulation. There is no reason why these matters cannot be subject to negotiation within the framework of law.

What he is saying, in effect is that management should no longer manage. Union leaders would be coequal if not dominant in decisionmaking.

I suppose we are to picture in our minds a union steward stationed in the State Department's war room or top-secret communications headquarters during the time of national crisis—to insure proper treatment of the employees and observance of coffee breaks.

To continue the power play, Meany recommends:

> That unions be awarded protection of the worker in areas such as the mission of an agency, its budget, organization, assignment of its personnel, and the technology of performing its work, and that these items be subject not only to collective bargaining but negotiable;
>
> That employees of the District of Columbia and non-appropriated fund activities be covered by the order;
>
> That the 60 per cent rule be abolished;
>
> That the revocation period for dues check-off be changed to once a year;
>
> That the Department of Labor be required to "provide services and collect and publish data for well-informed and intelligent collective bargaining;"
>
> That a Federal Service Labor-Management Relations Board be established for the purpose of administering the Executive Order.

LABOR LEADERS EVEN CIRCUMVENT THE AUTHORITY OF THE CONGRESS

The 1961 panel stated:

> It must also be emphasized that however desirous an agency may be to respond to the wish of employees to negotiate collectively on matters of mutual interest, it remains true that many of the most important matters affecting Federal employees are determined by Congress, and are not subject to unfettered negotiation by officials of the executive branch. The benefits to be obtained for employees by employee organizations, while real and substantial, are limited. No valid purpose will be served by exaggerating them.

This is a statement of fact. What should also be included is that it should not be left to the discretion of the Executive to exaggerate the power and influence of employee organizations at the expense of the responsibilities of Congress and the rights of Federal employees.

A great deal is at stake here, not the least of which is the public interest. Congress should, as soon as possible, fill the legislative void which now exists and has existed for sometime by guaranteeing the right of federal employees to choose between joining a union or other employee organization and not joining. Congress must also be aware of the testimony of union officials and the results which implementing their recommendations could have on the functioning of the Government, the rights of employees, and the jurisdiction of Congress itself.

There has been no mad rush to affiliate with unions since President Kennedy issued his Executive order. Now, we in Congress must closely observe the working of and recommendations made to the Presidential Review Commission to insure that unions do not come through the back door for power they were not granted and could not gain either by convincing employees or Congress.

In the June 1968 issue of the Postal Record, organ of the National Association of Letter Carriers, their "Editor's Page" column indicates the fact that my bill is much stronger than the Senate measure. Editor Rademacher says:

> A bill sponsored by Congressman John Ashbrook of Ohio, declares outright that no employee of the federal government shall be required without his consent to join or become a member of a union of government employees or to pay dues to such organization. The bill sponsored by the 16 Senators merely reiterates the language of the Executive order.

Now is the time, Mr. Speaker, to make this outright declaration, as the Postal Record calls it, and I urge my colleagues to work for the passage of my H.R. 17037, the text of which I include at this point:

H.R. 17037

A bill to guarantee that every employee of the Federal Government shall have the right to refrain from union activity

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) subchapter I of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"§ 7103. Right of employees to refrain from joining or assisting employee organizations

"Notwithstanding any provision of law or presidential executive order, no employee of the Federal Government shall be required without his consent to join or become a member of any union of Government employees or to pay dues to such organization."

(B) The table of contents of subchapter I of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting—

"Sec. 7103. Right of employees to refrain from joining or assisting employee organizations."

immediately below—

"Sec. 7102. Right to petition Congress; employees."

ZENON C. R. HANSEN HONORED BY NATIONAL CATHOLIC COMMITTEE ON SCOUTING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Zenon C. R. Hansen—a leader in civic affairs in every city he has lived—has been honored with the Knights of St. George medal by the National Catholic Committee on Scouting. The award was presented at a dinner held here in Washington on May 9.

Mr. Hansen, president and chairman of the board of Mack Trucks, Inc., in Allentown, Pa., is a Presbyterian and is the first living American non-Catholic to receive the award.

At the same dinner, Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, D.D., archbishop of Washington, received the Ad Altare Dei medal from the Most Reverend William G. Connare, D.D., bishop of Greensburg, Pa., who is the Episcopal moderator for Boy Scouting.

Mr. James T. Griffin, chairman of the laymen's committee who made the presentation to Mr. Hansen said:

> I know of no person who has done as much for Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Scouters—or who has given more of himself to scouting than Zenon Hansen.

Representatives of 69 Catholic dioceses across the United States were present and heard Mr. Hansen praise the Scouting movement and urge businessmen throughout the country to promote Scouting "for no matter how much you give, more will come back to you." He said further:

> No matter if you are Catholic, Jew or Protestant, black or white, scouting can do more for an individual, for his community and for his church than anything else I know.
>
> Scouting gave me an opportunity to achieve; but more important the opportunity to help boys of all ages, boys of all races and of all creeds—this was the great opportunity for which I am eternally grateful.

Mr. Hansen's early remarks centered on his role as a Scout and Scout leader. He reasoned that "some of the things this country is experiencing would not have occurred if Scouting had been made available to more young people; nothing has done more to eliminate prejudices than the Scout movement."

In presenting the award for the Cardinal, Bishop Connare said:

> The National Catholic Committee on Scouting brings honor to itself in this presentation this evening. In conferring scouting's oldest religious emblem, the Ad Altare Dei Medal, on Washington's Archbishop, Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, it deepens the appreciation of every Catholic boy in scouting for the precious privilege of serving at the Lord's altar.
>
> Personally, I am delighted to present this Medal to a fellow Pennsylvanian. Practically the whole of the Commonwealth separates our respective birthplaces, Scranton and Pittsburgh. However, each have much in common as the centers of the hard and the soft coal regions of the United States. I share with His Eminence a deep affection for our people who have achieved much for their families from the exacting demands of the coal mines.
>
> Cardinal O'Boyle was ordained a priest for the Archdiocese of New York in the days of America's adjustment to the pains of World War I. Following a pastoral assignment he pioneered in accommodating the skills of the social sciences to the service of the pastoral ministry.
>
> He first served the needs of the child care arm of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York. Then, for a period of four years he directed the relief services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the parent of the present Catholic Relief Services, known the world over for its concern for and service to the poor and the needy of the world. For a short time he returned to the direction of the complete program of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York.
>
> When the Nation's Capital was established as an Archdiocese, independent of the primatial See of Baltimore in November of 1947, Pope Pius XII named him the first Archbishop. In the intervening two decades he has served the needs of the Church both locally and nationally with evident success, as anyone can quickly detect from a careful look at the record.
>
> Always the priest, but with a vision sharpened by his training and experience in social work, the Archbishop has constantly related the Church to the Community. As Chairman he has guided an Interreligious Committee on Race Relations in effectively facing the problems of the moment. Additionally, as Archbishop he has determined that the Church will measure fully to its responsibility in this hour of crisis.
>
> With the Church moving into the Council in the sixties, the Archbishop accepted his role in implementing this historic step in Christian history. He served with distinction as a member of the Commission for Seminaries and Universities.
>
> In recognition of his long years of devoted service to the Church and the community,

> Pope Paul in June of 1967 elevated Archbishop O'Boyle to the College of Cardinals.
>
> With affection and gratitude, then, to His Eminence, the National Catholic Committee proudly presents this Ad Altare Dei Medal, specially designed against a background featuring the Cardinal's Coat-of-Arms. We add the fervent prayer that his years will continue to be many in the service of people within the Church and the community.

The St. George Award presented to Mr. Hansen was inaugurated at the 13th National Conference of Diocesan Scout Chaplains and approved for wearing with the leader's uniform by the executive board of the National Council, Boy Scouts of America, in 1954. It is a national award for adults offered to the respective dioceses, subject to the approval of the local ordinary.

Insignia for the St. George Award, for wear on formal occasions, consists of a medal suspended from the neck by a ribbon of the papal and U.S.A. colors. The medal includes an emblem of St. George superimposed on an equal-armed bronze cross.

Hansen entered Scouting in 1923 following which he attained the rank of Eagle Scout. He is the recipient of all three of Scouting's awards for distinguished service to boyhood—Silver Beaver, Silver Antelope, and Silver Buffalo. He is a patron of World Scouting; a member of Order of the Arrow; life member and former national executive board member of Alpha Phi Omega, national Scouting fraternity.

In addition to his post as treasurer of the Boy Scouts of America, Hansen currently is active in other national Scouting activities including chairmanship of the national finance committee, vice chairman of the national supply service division committee; national executive committee; Johnston Historical Museum committee; and former chairman of the national personnel division and employee benefits committees. Additional national Scouting offices formerly held by Hansen include national Explorer committee and chairman of the civic relations committee.

Having been a member of the executive committee of three of Scouting's regions across the United States serving areas included by the cities of Portland, Oreg.; Chicago, Ill.; and Allentown, Pa., Hansen has held the posts of vice chairman and chairman respectively in the first two, and still is either an active or honorary member in all three.

Local area Scouting councils in which Hansen has served as a member of the executive board include Portland, Oreg., and Thatcher Woods—Oak Park, Ill.—where he also was president in both locations; Chicago, Ill., also serving as a member of the advisory committee; Lehigh—Allentown, Pa.—currently serving as vice president; and Mason-Dixon—Hagerstown, Md.

Hansen is chairman of the board and president of Mack Trucks, Inc.; and vice president, director, and member of the executive committee of the Signal Companies, of which Mack is a subsidiary. He is a director of several other corporations and is active in numerous civic, honorary, fraternal, and social organizations.

FAIR INTERNATIONAL TRADE BILL

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, with the final negotiation last year of the Kennedy round, which marked the virtual renunciation by this country of the tariff as an instrument of regulating our foreign commerce, and with the severe pressure created on this country by our adverse balance of payments, it is no longer possible to ignore the facts that confront those of us who contemplate the existing trade policy.

This trade policy, which goes back to 1934 or nearly 35 years, has brought us to a critical stage in our foreign trade. Contrary to what we have so long been told, the trade agreements program and the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 have not freed world trade even though we have stripped our own tariff to the bone. If the Kennedy round is carried out our average tariff on dutiable items will be in the magnitude of 6 to 8 percent, down from slightly over 50 percent. It will be in nearly all instances a useless appendage so far as moderating import competition is concerned.

The trade program did not bring us the promised land in terms of foreign markets. Our exports, subsidized as they are and assisted by foreign aid and food-for-peace shipments, represent a lower percentage of our gross national product than they did a generation ago.

Contrary, also, to the touting of our official trade reports, we are not enjoying a true trade surplus. As a competitor in world markets we have not held our own in the past decade, even when we credit as exports the shipments made under governmentally assisted programs, as mentioned just now. Our share of the world market has shrunk. In manufactured goods we have fallen behind in our exports while on the import side manufactured goods have almost doubled their share of total imports. These are the goods in which heaviest employment takes place. Our imports of manufactured goods grew six times as rapidly as our imports of raw materials from 1960 to 1967, or 129 percent compared with 19 percent.

This contrast is not difficult to explain. Cheap foreign labor is what makes imports attractive. The most attractive imports therefore consist of products in which the maximum of foreign labor has been incorporated. This is in manufactured goods rather than in raw materials. It is more profitable therefore to import manufactured goods than raw materials.

The unquestionable fact is that labor costs in this country per unit of production is generally materially higher than in other countries; in some cases, much higher. Nor is this true of only a few so-called labor-intensive industries. It is true of some of our leading large-scale industries, such as steel, flat glass, footwear, office machinery, and a long list of consumer goods. While we enjoy a productivity lead in almost any industry that may be mentioned, compared with other countries, our lead is no longer wide enough to offset the competitive advantage of lower wages prevailing abroad.

We are told we must become more efficient, but this comes down to displacing more and more workers by machinery. There is no other way of reducing production costs materially. In our total corporate outlay employee compensation is close to 80 percent. Therefore if we are to cut costs the reduction must come primarily out of this 80 percent. The remainder consists of taxes, which are inflexible, interest and profits. Since wages cannot be reduced, the only real cost-reduction can be accomplished only through the displacement of labor.

In recent years this process has been hidden by the prosperity induced in great part by our Vietnam involvement; but it is a fact of economic life we must not forget nor overlook. Labor costs are rising, not falling. Now, some may indeed deplore the great escalation of wages in this country; but, again, it is a fact, and it adds to our vulnerability, as do the great governmental deficits we are running. Since we are in fact on this high plateau we must recognize the fact that we are competitively vulnerable, highly vulnerable, and that we know of no way to descend without endangering our whole economic structure. We may aspire to hold at present levels, but even that is doubtful. Who hears today about the wage guidelines or a balanced budget?

Mr. Speaker, the outlook is not reassuring. It is rather for lesser competitive capacity than more. For this there is one principal reason, namely, the rapid technological advancement of other industrial nations. The very comfortable lead that we enjoyed in the past is shrinking. Even as our industrial productivity improves from year to year other countries also improve their productivity, often more rapidly than we, if for no other reason than that they start from a lower base.

Foreign wages came up more rapidly for a while than our wages, but in the past 2 years wage increases in this country again took to the wing and we left the other countries far behind once more. We got far ahead of them soon after World War II in the first place but then slackened for a time. Foreign wages for several years then suddenly outpaced our percentage increases, but were still far behind. Then, to repeat, we took off again and the wage gap is far from closing. In dollars and cents it is not even narrowing.

The fact is that our economy is geared to high wages and high employment, which together mean high consumer income. Our high national output from farms and factories would soon pile up if our national income should falter.

Our vulnerability to imports is no figment of the imagination. It is a very real factor in the future economic health of this country. With the tariff down to very low levels, and imposed, as it is, in many lines of goods, on the foreign value of imports, it must be clear that we must find some other means of assuring our many import-vulnerable industries a fair competitive chance to supply our home market.

This does not mean that imports should be shut out or even cut back materially. It does mean that they must be prevented from running wild and upsetting our own producers and manufacturers. We must keep in mind that our costs are highly inflexible and will respond only to worker displacement. There is no magic in the idea of becoming more efficient as a means of becoming more competitive. It is almost wholly a question of holding or advancing our technological lead.

Now, Mr. Speaker, imports may be treated with a liberality that is almost unknown in the rest of the world by assuring them a reasonable share of our market and allowing them to grow in proportion as our total consumption grows. What other country offers such a liberal prospect? This is what is offered in the newly proposed trade bill. Sharing of our market in this manner is a new concept and is a far cry from any policy of excluding imports or putting them in a straitjacket.

I am joining in the introduction of the fair international trade bill already introduced and summarized in the RECORD, by my colleague of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. HERLONG]. I look for early consideration of this important legislation by the committee and ask for the wide support the bill so richly deserves.

NEWSPAPERS SUPPORT CENSUS REFORM

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the response to my special order last week demonstrated the deep concern in Congress for census reform. Forty-two Members of the House joined me in urging changes in the 1970 decennial census, since then many letters and editorials calling for a limitation on the number of mandatory questions have come to my office.

I wish to call particular attention to the editorial from the Wisconsin State Journal, Madison, Wis., written following a pretest of the 1970 census conducted on May 15 in the Madison area. This is a community whose citizens have first-hand experience in being required to answer the 120 questions on the long census form. The editor reviewed the issue of whether the Census Bureau should have absolute power to ask any question desired by Government officials and private statistical users. My bill, H.R. 10952, it was noted, would limit the mandatory provision—$100 fine or 60 days in jail for noncompliance with all questions—to seven basic population questions. All other questions the Census Director includes would be voluntary. The Wisconsin State Journal believes:

> This seems to be a reasonable alternative to protect the question of right to privacy which is involved here.

Mr. Speaker, the hour for action by the House in this 90th Congress is growing late. I include the following editorials as typical of the nationwide expression of endorsement for census reform and the urgency to secure House action on this matter in 1968:

[From the Madison (Wis.) State Journal, May 17, 1968]

HOW MANY QUESTIONS ON CENSUS?—LET CONGRESS DEBATE IT

Most Dane County residents have probably completed by now the questionnaire sent to them as part of the special census.

And most probably have complied with the law by mailing it back to the census bureau.

Three out of four householders received a short form containing some basic questions.

One out of four received a much longer and much more detailed questionnaire which seeks information far beyond the enumeration of population. There is no question that the Census Bureau has the power by law to ask for this information.

A question might be raised, however, whether the bureau should have this absolute power. Some of the questions on housing and employment might be considered objectionable. We would concede most of them do not appear to be to us.

Yet there remains a principle involved—namely, the extent to which an individual has a right to keep private certain bits of information he considers personal. A good many people apparently did object—and objected strongly—to many of the questions. Their suspicions were aroused.

We have a few doubts also, although not so much with this particular questionnaire. Our doubts arise from the possible future questionnaires that the government might send out and the possible uses they would have.

We think an individual ought to have the right to withhold from the government certain information that he might consider personal or private.

At the same time, we do not think the actual headcount necessary for determining the population should be voluntary.

But is all the required information really necessary and how will it be used? And how accurate and useful can a national do-it-yourself census be when people of all educational levels fill in the circles? (Madison is not a typical community.)

Rep. Jackson E. Betts (R-Ohio) has sponsored bill H.R. 10952 limiting the number of compulsory questions which the census might ask. This seems to be a reasonable alternative to protect the question of right of privacy which is involved here.

A public hearing followed by congressional debate would bring needed light on a subject which up to now the federal government has decided without determining public opinion.

[From the New York Daily News, May 27, 1968]

Bureaucratic busybodies seem determined to make the 1970 census form the longest, pokingest and pryingest document in the 190-year history of that nose-counting operation. It is a prospect that Rep. Jackson Betts (R-Ohio), for one, finds far from pleasing.

Betts is appalled at the length of the questionnaire. He further boggles at the idea that a 60-day jail term and a $100 fine could be levied against anyone refusing to answer any of the 120-odd questions that will be put to some Americans.

Present estimates are that one in four or five citizens will be faced with the jumbo-sized quiz.

Included are some highly personal questions about family history, income, property values and ownership of appliances. The snapper is a query on whether and with whom a family shares its bath.

No doubt all this mountain of information can be used to great advantage by the government and by business for marketing studies. In the latter instance, it seems a good case could be made for industry coughing up its own dough for such information instead of getting a free ride from the taxpayers. But the big bones of contention are the number of questions and the invasion of privacy backed by the bludgeon threat of fines and prison.

Betts believes that punishment should be handed out only to those who hold back answers to seven basic questions dealing with name, age, sex, place of residence, and the like. We consider that eminently fair.

The government certainly needs that information if the census is to serve its basic purpose of providing the basis for reapportionment of the House of Representatives.

As for the nonessential items, Betts would defer some, omit others and—in all cases—give citizens the option of cooperating or not as they saw fit.

We hope he can stir up enough of his colleagues to put a clamp on the Nosey Parkers in government.

[From the Syracuse (N.Y.) Post Standard, May 21, 1968]

CENSUS TOO PERSONAL?

Here are a few of the 120 questions which every person in the United States can be compelled to answer during the 1970 Census, under penalty of a $100 fine or 60 days in jail, unless Congress is able to change Census Bureau plans:

1. Income, dollar by dollar, from all sources including public assistance, alimony, unemployment and disability insurance, pensions and investments.
2. The value of property owned or rent paid.
3. Educational, marital, employment and military history.
4. With whom bathroom and kitchen facilities are shared.
5. What household appliances, automobiles, second home are owned.

Where each person and his parents were born.

Congressman Jackson E. Betts of Ohio contends many of these questions constitute a violation of privacy, and he predicts a greater undercount that the 5.7 million Americans missed in 1960 unless the forms are simplified and most questions are placed on a voluntary basis.

Name, address, age, sex, race, head of household, and names of visitors in home at time of census are the basic questions for which answers should be required, Betts argues. He predicts a high response if residents are permitted to decide if other questions are too personal.

Write your Congressman if you agree. Now is the time to trim Census Bureau plans.

[From the Belleville (Ill.) News-Democrat, May 24, 1968]

DOUBLE-BARRELLED THREAT

Every American citizen interested in good government and equitable representation in legislative councils will applaud and support the efforts of Congressman Jackson E. Betts of Ohio.

Representative Betts is spearheading a congressional drive for reforms to guarantee that the forthcoming 1970 decennial census will be the most accurate ever made by our nation.

Congressman Betts rightly objects to the penetrating invasion of personal privacy posed by the unduly lengthy 1970 census questionnaire.

He says, moreover, "The American people should not be faced with $100 fine or 60 days in jail if they decline to reveal some overly personal information about themselves and their households."

Typical of some 120 questions to be asked by neighborhood enumerators are:

(1) income, itemized dollar by dollar, from all sources, including public assistance, alimony, unemployment and disability insurance, pensions and investments;

(2) the value of property or the amount of rent paid;

(3) educational, marital, employment and military history;

(4) with whom bathroom and kitchen facilities are shared;

(5) a long list of household items including dishwashers, television, radios, automobiles, and second home;

(6) and where each person and his parents were born.

If a citizen wishes to assert his right of privacy, by refusing to answer census questions, he is subject to prosecution like a criminal. The alternative to standing his ground and risking being railroaded into jail is to take a powder when the head-counter comes around, which defeats the paramount purpose of the census.

The penalties were provided years ago to promote compliance and accuracy, but since then the questionnaire has been expanded to include everything—even the kitchen sink!

Such aggravated infringement of privacy is given new dimension by the proposal for a Federal Data Bank, a computer system which would combine information from various government agencies to develop a complete and readily accessible dossier of information on every individual in the country.

The implications of this scheme are monstrous. That the census is being twisted into a tool to "fill the punchcard file" is an intolerable affront to our traditional freedom.

We are heartened that 28 members of the Senate and House have sponsored bills to remove the penalty clause from all but seven essential population questions. These are: name, address, age, sex, race, head of household, and visitors in household at time of census.

The constitutional purpose of the census is to count people. All but the last of the foregoing basic data should enhance the accuracy of the count, and Lord knows there's plenty of room for improvement of that score. For the estimated 5.6 million Americans missed by the 1960 census is ultraconservative.

However, the question about "visitors in the household at the time of census" needs clarification. A casual interpretation would include Aunt Susie from Coshocton here with relatives for a few days. But the census bureaucrats are not casual interpreters by any stretch of the imagination.

Much to their dismay, Bellevilleans discovered after the special recount last November that the Bureau of Census had arbitrarily credited a couple thousand local collegians temporarily away to school to Champaign-Urbana, Carbondale, Columbia, Rolla, etc. It also cheated us of credit for a couple thousand more local residents currently doing their stint in the armed forces. And those local GIs assigned to overseas duty were totally ignored by the population count, notwithstanding that the census is the fundamental foundation for all political districting and apportionment.

Of course this policy is dead wrong. But the Bureau of Census says that's the way it has been doing it for years and, right or wrong, it isn't about to make any changes. So, obviously, senators and congressmen, supervisors and aldermen all over the country will go right on being gypped, and the 2 million men and women attending to our national defense overseas will be left out altogether.

That's the way it will be, unless Congress calls the turn and puts the Bureau of Census back on the right track.

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, May 23, 1968]

BIG BROTHER PLANS TO ASK 113 TOO PERSONAL QUESTIONS

Big Brother is getting all geared up to knock on every American door in 1970 and ask 120 questions—113 of them entirely too personal.

Big Brother's excuse for this intrusion into privacy is the decennial census whose constitutional purpose is to count people to establish congressional apportionment.

But the Census Bureau is planning to count far more than just noses. It wants to know the value of each home or how much rent is paid. It wants a count of dishwashers, television sets and radios as well.

In addition, the census-taker is planning to inquire about the educational, marital and employment status of each resident along with data on his military history, where he was born and where his parents were born.

He will demand a dollar by dollar rundown on all sources of income—wages, alimony, public assistance, pensions and investments.

All of these questions will be in addition to the real essentials a census should cover—seven questions regarding name, address, sex, race, head of household and visitors in the home at the time.

And the Census Bureau is backed by a threat—each American who fails to cooperate in answering all of the 120 questions faces a fine of $100 or a jail sentence of 60 days.

Congressman Jackson E. Betts of Ohio is working diligently at getting Congress to change these census plans. He sees not only danger in this overt invasion of privacy, but the probability that there will be a vast undercount of people.

That happened in the 1960 noses-count, the Census Bureau admitting that it failed to tabulate an estimated 5.7 million Americans.

Congressman Betts, aided by 27 other members of Congress, is sponsoring legislation which would remove the mandatory requirement for answering the 113 too-personal questions.

Much of this data already is available. The Treasury Department knows about citizen income. The Veterans Administration has a detailed file on military service. Most of the other data is readily available.

Big Brother proposes to lump all these data under the disguise of a nose-count. And he is prepared to wave a big club against non-compliance.

Big Brother is going far too far.

[From the Geneva (Ohio) Free Press, May 23, 1968]

CENSUS REFORM SEEMS MANDATORY

Very commendable efforts are being made by some concerned congressmen to reform the U.S. Census, which each time around, probes a little deeper into the personal privacy of citizens.

In a speech before the House a few days ago, Rep. Jackson Betts of the 8th Ohio Congressional District said he sees no justification for a mandatory requirement, backed by a potential fine of $100 or sentence of 60 days in jail, that families must furnish such information as the following:

Income, dollar by dollar, from all sources including public assistance, alimony, unemployment and disability insurance, pensions and investments.

The value of property or the amount of rent paid.

Educational, marital, employment and military history.

With whom bathroom and kitchen facilities are shared.

Lists of household items including dishwashers, television sets, radios, automobiles and second homes.

In all, the congressman notes, there will be 120 questions, all compulsory, to be asked by the Census takers unless Congress intervenes to change the bureau's plans.

Rep. Betts makes a good point.

The probing by the U.S. Census Bureau should be limited to essential facts—not allowed to continue to free wheel in an effort to satisfy the statistical appetites of departmental bureaucrats at the expense of personal privacy, under threat of punitive action.

Rep. Betts notes that the 1960 Census failed to count some 5.7 million Americans.

The editor's immediate family was among those 5.7 million as well as among those who were overlooked in the 1960 Census.

Or at least not interviewed.

Perhaps the bureau felt it already had adequate information without coming to call.

[From the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader]

BETTS VERSUS "THE SNOOPERS"

The purpose of the census taken every ten years, as originally stated in the Constitution (Section I, Article 2), was to determine the population of states so the House of Representatives could be apportioned equitably.

In 1790 when the first census was taken, five or six questions were enough.

As might be expected, however, the simple business of counting noses, age and sex was not destined to continue indefinitely. Particularly since the turn of the Century, when the Bureau of Census was made a permanent and full-time entity, the list of questions has grown longer and longer—maybe because the people in this establishment didn't really have enough to do in the 10 long years between enumerations.

If the Bureau has its way in 1970, 65 million homes will be mailed a 20-page document filled with questions. Along with a head count will be other queries such as: How many bedrooms are in your house? What was your income last year? Did you lose money in your business? What were you doing in April, 1962? How did your first marriage end? Do you have more than one bathroom? Do you share your shower?

Some of these questions would, doubtless, be of interest to sociologists and plumbing fixture manufacturers, but for the government to demand answers, with a penalty of $100 fine and 60 days in jail for refusal (that's the present law), sounds like George Orwell's Big Brotherism to a lot of people.

One of those who feel that way is U.S. Rep. Jackson E. Betts of Ohio, who introduced a bill (H.R. 10592) in the last session of Congress, making mandatory only those questions necessary to meet the constitutional requirements. The others would be purely voluntary.

We submit that Rep. Betts' idea is a very good one.

Think of the psychologically exhilarating and beneficial effects of being able to say "No" to something that looks very much like an income tax form.

[From the Warrensburg (Mo.) Daily Star-Journal, May 23, 1968]

NOT ALL SHOULD BE COMPULSORY

A great many citizens and a number of Congressmen are registering concern over the 120 questions the Census Bureau has cooked up to confront the populace with when the 1970 census is taken.

We share their concern and feeling that many of the questions will be an intrusion on the individual's privacy as well as entirely irrelevant to the basic purpose of the census—that of counting people.

The bad feature is, as the situation now stands, answering all the questions will be compulsory. Many of them request information which, certainly, most individuals would consider a disclosure of their private and confidential business.

Why should a citizen be forced to make known to a census taker (very often a neighbor down the block) the source of every dollar of his income? Or, the value of his property? Or, the amount of rent he pays?

Another question asks for the educational, marital, employment and military history of the individual. Some seem a little absurd. For instance, how do you enter your home? With whom do you share bathroom and kitchen facilities?

Fortunately, some members of the House and Senate are sponsoring bills to eliminate the penalty provision from all of the questions except those essential for determining the population count in the nation. There are seven of them: name, address, age, sex, race, head of household and visitors in home at time of census. We trust these Congressmen will be successful in getting Congress to go along with them.

Any, or all, of the remaining 113 questions may then be answered as the individual chooses. He should have the right to decline answers for those which he feels are too personal.

Only the essential should be mandatory—the rest voluntary.

[From the Passaic (N.J.) Herald News, May 22, 1968]

WHAT THE CENSUSTAKER WANTS TO KNOW

If you don't mind being required to answer more than 120 questions about yourself, your family and your private affairs for the census enumerator in 1970, this will not interest you.

However, if the prospect of being one of the numerous citizens who will have to tell the census-takers exactly what their incomes are and where the money comes from, how many times they were married and when, where they were living five years ago, if they have flush toilets and a multitude of other questions, then you will be interested in the campaign being conducted by Rep. Jackson E. Betts of Ohio.

Mr. Betts wants the census questions which must be answered limited to name, address, age, sex, race, head of household and visitors in the house at the time. These, he argues, are the basic, essential population questions.

Rep. Betts is willing to let the Census Bureau ask people how many bedrooms they have, if they have a bathtub or shower, how they get to work, how many hours they worked last year and to fish for other tidbits of information, but he wants the answering of these questions to be put on a voluntary basis. If people don't want to answer the added questions, he says, they should be able to refuse without risking a $100 fine or 60 days in jail, which the law presently calls for.

Twenty to 25 percent of the people are to be subjected to the 125-question interrogation under the present plans.

While Rep. Betts is willing to go along with the government's ravenous hunger for personal information, he has expressed concern about it. In the past, he says, Congress has been generous about permitting questions that invade privacy because the information was available to so few. Now, however, the government is considering establishing a federal data bank, a computer system which would make all the information government has about an individual instantly available. "Information is power and the government would have complete files on everything about a person within minutes after the push of a button," said Rep. Betts.

He's not enthusiastic about that. Americans had better not be either if they want to retain any privacy. If you want to encourage Rep. Betts, drop him a line at the House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[From the Hickory (N.C.) Daily Record, May 21, 1968]

THE 1970 CENSUS

Congressman Jackson E. Betts, an Ohio Republican, asserts that the 1970 census canvassers will be expected to obtain the answers to one hundred and twenty questions—all of them allegedly compulsory and many of them intruding into the personal privacy of the citizen.

Betts asserts that: "The American people should not be faced with a $100 fine or sixty days in jail if they decline to reveal some overly personal information about themselves and their households."

The six questions to which Betts objects most strenuously, have to do with the monetary income of the person questioned; the value of personal property or the amount of rent paid; the educational, marital, employment and military history; with whom bathroom and kitchen facilities are shared; a list of household items possessed such as dishwasher, television, radios, automobiles, and second home; and where the parents of the interviewed person were born.

The Ohio solon pointed out that the Constitutional purpose of the census is to count people and that the gathering of a hundred other facts about them is a secondary objective. He noted that in 1960 the Census Bureau failed to count 5.7 million Americans and he predicted a greater undercount in 1970 unless the forms are simplified and most questions put on a voluntary basis.

The Record can see no reason why the census-takers should not get as much desirable information as possible while they are making their compilation of facts and listings.

Certainly most of the questions are relevant and reasonable, if properly analyzed. However, we see no excuse to threaten the public with a fine or jail sentence in order to obtain the information essential to the census.

[Editorial from WZZM-TV, Grand Rapids, Mich., May 23, 1968]

THE 1970 CENSUS

(By William C. Dempsey, general manager)

What would be your reaction if you received in the mail a Federal Government form asking such questions as: "Have you been married more than once?" "How many people share your bathroom" Or, "Which door do you use to enter your home?" And what would be your reaction if you were told that refusal to answer these questions could result in a fine of $100, or a 60-day jail sentence? It could happen, because in 1970 the United States Bureau of the Census plans to mail a 50-question, 20 page questionnaire to one out of every four households in America.

The original purpose for taking a census every ten years was to count the number of people in each state in order to determine the apportionment in the House of Representatives. This is spelled out in Article I of the Constitution. But over the years, the Bureau of the Census has required more and more personal information, until the whole operation has become an invasion of privacy.

To us, it's unthinkable that our tax money should be used to conduct a vast market research for the ultimate benefit of private industry. Why does the government need to know if a person owns an air conditioner, where his parents were born, or what fuel he uses to cook his meals? Polls conducted by private research organizations can determine such things more quickly, more efficiently, more accurately, and without using public tax funds.

The Census Bureau defends its position by saying "the significance and importance of the results of the national census are more critically needed than ever before." What does *that* mean? Significant to whom? Critically needed by whom?

This is an example of bureaucracy at its worst, and sounds like the type of prying that is common in governments of some other countries. To threaten a citizen with a prison term, because he refuses to answer questions that are nobody else's business, is a frightening possibility in the land of the free.

[From the Titusville (Pa.) Herald, May 22, 1968]

WHAT ABOUT THE 1970 CENSUS?

Congressman Betts of Ohio is all worked up about the Census Bureau's plans for 1970. He says the list of questions to be asked will number 120, many intruding on privacy.

If people don't answer questions he cites—a few follow below—they are faced with a $100 fine or 60 days in jail. Here is some of the information the Bureau will seek:

(1) income, dollar by dollar, from all sources including assistance, alimony, unemployment and disability insurance, pensions and investments.

(2) the value of property or the amount of rent paid,

(3) educational, marital, employment and military history;

(4) with whom bathroom and kitchen facilities are shared.

If Congressman Betts is correct, then the Census Bureau had better darn well change its plans. The purpose of the Census is to count people and gather facts—but not facts that are this nosey. In a written, sealed form like income tax returns, maybe yes we'd answer. But not eyeball-to-eyeball with a Census taker.

SENIOR CITIZENS' MONTH

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, the month of May—Senior Citizens' Month—consists of 31 days. That is surely time enough to pause for just a moment to consider the past and present contributions made to America by her older citizens.

Americans who are now 65 or older were born during the tranquil years near the end of the last century and the beginning of this. They grew up in a time of unrivaled peace and prosperity. They kept pace with their Nation, and with her, achieved a hard-won maturity, the fruit of World War I. The long and hysterical party of the Roaring Twenties was eclipsed by the even longer morning-after of the depression, and through it all the men and women we now salute kept our Nation a functioning, living democracy. Then came World War II and our citizens had to face the horror of a second global conflict in the space of their lives. But they weathered the storm-trooping tempest that shook the world, they came through the Korean war, and finally they led America to a welcome time of peace and prosperity revisited under President Eisenhower.

Today, many of our senior citizens continue to play active roles in our national life and in the affairs of our States. In my State of California, we have 1,-

763,100 senior citizens, whom Governor Reagan has said are "among our State's most valuable assets as they are a vital resource of talent, wisdom, and energy."

We are grateful to our older citizens for the manner in which they helped shape America's past, and we admire them for the way they continue to help shape the present. And some of us, as we look to the future of our senior citizens, want to make sure that this Nation shows her pride in lives well lived by allowing older Americans to maintain a sense of purpose and dignity as well as by assuring them of an adequate standard of living.

To this end, my party helped to shape medicare and the Older Americans Act in 1965. We also voted for an end to age discrimination in employment and for the Social Security Amendments of 1967.

To that end, too, I introduced a bill that would increase the benefits of a widow to 100 percent of her husband's allowance instead of the 82½ percent presently in effect. I also introduced a bill that would permit those receiving social security to earn as much as $3,000 annually instead of $1,500 before their benefits are diminished.

We must have time to devote to the central problem of senior citizens—stable incomes in a stable economy. We can no longer ignore constructive Republican proposals to aid older Americans; we can no longer allow inflation to diminish further the purchasing power of the dollar, a disastrous situation for people living on fixed incomes. To help safeguard retirees against the problems of inflation, I introduced a bill that would provide for an automatic cost-of-living increase in social security benefits, payable whenever the Consumer Price Index rises 3 percent above the base period price index. But neither the Congress nor the administration has yet had time for such a proposal.

There are those, however, who do have time for our senior citizens, and who will continue to have time for them. We shall not give up in our attempts to solve the problems affecting them. Through two world wars and a great depression our senior citizens did not give up on America; they had time for their country for so many years. Now it is up to us to make sure that America has time for them.

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES IN AGRIBUSINESS

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, Agribusiness is a new word coined by foreign aiders in the past few years to describe the combination of two major concepts of foreign aid. The first concept is that of concentration on programs to increase agricultural production in the less-developed countries. The importance of this type of program cannot be overemphasized, for statistics show that world food production is insufficient to feed our growing population.

The second concept is that of participation of the U.S. private business community in programs of foreign assistance. Experience has shown us that this is one of the best types of foreign aid. This is so because in doing business in a less-developed country, the American business man stimulates the economy and improves the well-being of that country while at the same time making a reasonable profit himself. When these two concepts are combined, the result is good and it becomes the single most important facet of the foreign aid program today.

William G. Carter and Charles D. Hyson of the Office of Private Resources at AID have written a paper entitled "Opportunities and Challenges in Agribusiness in the Less-Developed Countries" which was presented by Mr. Carter at the 28th annual meeting of the Chemical Marketing Research Association in New York City this month. I include this paper in the RECORD for the benefit of our colleagues:

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES AN AGRIBUSINESS IN THE LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

(By William G. Carter and Charles D. Hyson)

By the time of the first World War, the wide disparities in per capita income between manufacturing or industrial nations and primary producing countries were evident. With the rise of 50 new independent nations since World War II, this cleavage between the rich and poor nations has deepened and become highly charged politically. The first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva in 1964 and the second in New Delhi, concluded only about a month ago, demonstrated two things with equal force: the determination of the less-developed countries (LDCs) to narrow the widening gap in income between the rich and the poor nations and the enormous difficulty of doing so.

The imbalance between numbers of people and the food supply in the LDCs is a major element of the problem. As Professor Roger Revelle of Harvard has pointed out, the population problem is "unique in the long history of our species." Populations growing by 3% a year double within a generation and multiply eighteenfold within a century. Coupling this with the fact that since the forties the LDCs have been net importers of food leads to the truly horrendous forecasts of worldwide famine made by numerous authorities in recent years.

The problem can be stated quite simply: will the world be able, through widespread adoption of family planning and increased food production, to establish a balance between food and mouths? No problem presses more remorselessly on the world. Addressing only the food side of the equation, this paper concludes that recent developments are most encouraging. Whether this program can be sustained will depend in large part on worldwide agribusiness.

The paper (1) briefly outlines the framework of the food problem for U.S. agribusiness; (2) summarizes LDC agribusiness imports and U.S. market share; (3) reviews recent agricultural advances; (4) suggests some of the implications of an "agricultural takeoff" for agribusiness trade and investment; (5) illustrates some of the ways in which U.S. agribusiness has become involved in expanding food production; and (6) outlines A.I.D. support of private agribusiness investment in the LDCs.

FRAMEWORK OF THE PROBLEM FOR U.S. AGRIBUSINESS

Resource transfers essential

If the world food problem is to be solved, the production of food in the LDCs must be increased enormously. This, in turn, requires the transfer of massive resources—both public and private—from the rich countries to the poor countries in order to create a worldwide food production and marketing system. Most of the needed resources—capital and managerial, technological and distributive—are in private hands, outside of government.

Market-orientation: the spur to raising output

In subsistence farming economies of the LDCs only a small fraction of the food produced by a farmer gets into marketing channels outside the community in which it is produced. In the developed countries the farmer selects crops for production that are in greatest demand for the market place.

One system emphasizes production of crops to provide food for the farmer and his dependents.

The other system emphasizes production of crops that provide the greatest cash return; this system encourages increased production but it can operate only in conjunction with a highly developed marketing system.

The factors that induce a change to a market-oriented agriculture are—

Policies adopted and services provided by government;

Private investment in facilities and organizations to collect, store and distribute farm products;

Consumers with money to buy the food required to meet their nutritional requirements;

An understanding and acceptance by producers of benefits of a market economy.

Filling food requirements depends not only on farm production and distribution but also on obtaining a rate of economic growth high enough to translate the need for food into effective commercial demand.

Private investment risks and returns

The spectrum of investment opportunities to help the LDCs avert a world food crisis is varied, ranging from traditional capital inputs of plant and machinery, through new forms of technology, to advanced techniques of management, organization and marketing. Each new investment project requires a judgment based on risk vs. anticipated return. Private enterprise, domestic and foreign, will only be willing to invest when there are good prospects for "reasonable" monetary profits resulting from competitive operations carried out in a hospitable climate. Expected returns must be commensurate with the nature and size of the risk; what is "reasonable" may vary over time and from country to country and from one kind of activity to another.

LDC AGRIBUSINESS IMPORTS AND U.S. MARKET SHARE

Overall analysis made in A.I.D. of the foreign exchange needs for agricultural production imports by the LDCs has led to some surprising results which suggest possibilities for expansion of U.S. agribusiness exports.

Exports of direct agricultural inputs[1] (agribusiness products) from the OECD member countries to the LDCs (excluding Turkey and Greece amounted to roughly

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[1] Direct agricultural inputs are defined to include manufactured fertilizer, pesticides, fungicides, disinfectants, wheeled tractors and parts, and other agricultural equipment and implements. Excluded are feed crops, seed, fertilizer raw materials, equipment or materials used to produce other farm inputs, nor any agribusiness exports from Soviet area and other non-OECD sources.

$800 million in 1966. This was only about 2.8% of total OCED exports to the LDCs.

Half of the total agribusiness foreign exchange expenditures by the LDCs in 1966 were for fertilizer. Pesticides, fungicides, disinfectants accounted for roughly one-fifth, farm tractors,[2] another one-fifth, and other agricultural machinery and implements came to slightly over 10%.

Agribusiness imports vary considerably by country and by region. In per capita terms, Latin America and the Near East had 1966 imports equal to roughly $1 per person. The worldwide LDC per capita average was about 50¢. South Asia per capita imports, including India, came to 80% of the LDC average in 1966, compared to less than 35% in 1960. India, although registering substantial gains since 1960, had 1966 imports equal to only 22¢ per person, about 40% of the 1966 LDC average. (Note, however, that when production inputs are produced locally, this will reduce the import needs of countries with large internal markets such as India. In Argentina, for example, agribusiness imports fell from $2 per person in 1960 to 37¢ in 1966, at least in part as a result of increased domestic production.)

The lack of technical, production-function type analysis of the role of agribusiness inputs in agricultural production precludes the making of more than conditional projections of future agribusiness markets in the LDCs. However, with a world-wide LDC food production growth rate goal of 4–5% per year, it is likely that production inputs considerably in excess of this growth rate will be required.

U.S. share

The A.I.D. study shows that the U.S. share of the OECD agribusiness export market to the LDCs has been slightly larger than its share of total OECD exports to the LDCs if A.I.D. financed commodities are included. The U.S. share of the LDC agribusiness market was 38% in 1966 (25% if A.I.D. financed goods are excluded) while the U.S. share of total OECD exports to the LDCs was 36%.

In 1961, the U.S. was a large supplier of pesticides, fungicides, and disinfectants and accounted for over 50% of total OECD exports of these commodities to the LDCs. However, in spite of A.I.D. financing, the U.S. share of sales of these commodities in 1966 fell to 27% of the OECD total.

Over 50% of the non-tractor machinery exports to the LDCs in 1960 came from the U.S. This share fell to 44% in 1966. However, the U.S. share of fertilizer exports to the LDCs grew in the 1960–1966 period, even after excluding A.I.D. financed fertilizers.

The size of the total U.S. agribusiness market in the LDCs in 1966 was relatively small compared to total U.S. exports to the LDCs. Excluding A.I.D. financed goods, 1966 U.S. agribusiness exports to the LDCs amounted to only $159 million (of which the largest element was fertilizer).

A.I.D.'s role in financing agribusiness inputs has been appreciable. Over 50% of the increase in total OECD agribusiness exports to the LDCs between 1960 and 1966 resulted from A.I.D. financing, accounting for $113 million of the $206 million OECD gain. Without A.I.D. contributions OECD exports grew at 2.6% a year, far less than the 5.2 annual growth of total LDC imports. With A.I.D. financing, the growth of OECD agribusiness exports to the LDCs was the same as the total LDC import rate.

The Report of the President's Science Advisory Committee on *The World Food Problem* indicates that the extent to which imports will rise to meet increased demands will depend on export policies of the U.S. and other suppliers, as well as the import policies of the governments of the LDCs. Because of the shortages of foreign exchange these needs are not likely to be filled except on concessional terms. The Report emphasizes, however, that continued indefinite expansion of concessional sales by the U.S. is not in the best interest of either the donor or the recipient nations.

The U.S. will remain one of the world's major exporters of agribusiness commodities for the next decade. In many instances, however, capitalizing on this market will depend on the ingenuity of U.S. firms in taking advantage of investment opportunities. Opportunities already exist. Others need to be identified. The demand for a wide spectrum of agribusiness inputs is there and growth leads to more growth. To stay abreast of this fast changing situation, to evaluate and quantify these demands in terms of new markets and investment implications is a requirement for any progressive U.S. agribusiness firm.

RECENT AGRICULTURAL ADVANCES IN THE LDCS

The "Green Revolution"

William S. Gaud, Administrator of A.I.D., recently said: "Record yields, harvests of unprecedented size and crops now in the ground demonstrate that throughout much of the developing world—and particularly Asia—we are on the verge of an agricultural revolution." He calls it the "green revolution."

In challenging the views of those who hold that the food battle has been lost, Mr. Gaud said recent developments suggest that in the medium term food requirements for the world can be met. The long term issue of bringing down rates of population growth to a manageably low level still remains.

The recent advances were brought about by thoroughly creative cooperation between public and private efforts, research breakthroughs, sound policies and self-help programs.

Today's developments have been more than a few seasons in the making. The new "miracle rice"—IR–8—resulted from extensive experimentation at the International Rice Research Institute at Los Banos in the Philippines, which was established in 1962 by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. IR–8 has a stiff, strong, short straw. It does not fall over, or lodge, when the plant is heavily fertilized or when it is buffeted by wind and rain. It matures quickly, allowing for two—sometimes three—crops in a single year. Under favorable conditions, each planting yields four to six times as much as most traditional varieties.

High-yield varieties of wheat, maize, sorghum and millet have also been developed in recent years. The best known—and most important—of these are the "Mexican wheats" developed by the Rockefeller Foundation which have quadrupled Mexican yields from 11 to 40 bushels per acre.

It is a long way, however, from breakthroughs in laboratories and test fields to the record crops now being harvested by tens of thousands of farmers in half a dozen or more countries. Transforming the new seeds into food for millions of mouths requires many things. Some of these the developing countries can supply, some they cannot.

To begin with, of course, there must be a *will for improvement* in the developing countries themselves. In many of them such a will exists—particularly in Asia, where the pressures of food and population are so intense. Given this will, the people of the developing nations can put the new seeds, the fertilizer and the pesticides to work. And their governments can facilitate the credit, the price incentives and the market that will begin to change their lives.

But the developing nations—their governments, their institutions and their farmers—cannot sustain the "green revolution" without outside support. They lack the skills to do the necessary adaptive research. They lack the foreign exchange to import fertilizer. They lack the capital to build fertilizer plants. They lack the facilities and the technicians needed to train their people in the new ways.

If this agricultural revolution is to succeed, it can only do so as the result of a working partnership between the advanced and the developing nations.

Fertilizer use growing

By 1980 the world demand for fertilizer will probably increase two and one-half times or more. This is why fertilizer is rapidly becoming the largest single element in the A.I.D. program. This is why A.I.D. is backing a growing number of American companies in their efforts to put up fertilizer plants in countries which are seeking to expand their production of food. And this is why the program which A.I.D. has proposed to Congress for FY 1969 emphasizes Development Loans and Alliance Loans to finance exports of American fertilizer: $200 million to India, $60 million to Pakistan, and lesser amounts to Brazil, Chile, Morocco, Tunisia, Indonesia and Laos, among others.

New attitudes

You are familiar with the physical requirements of the new agriculture—seeds, fertilizer, pesticides, farm-to-market roads, irrigation, and so forth. You know, too, that the success of the new agriculture will depend as much on attitudes as on tangible inputs and infrastructure.

To the farmer, the new seeds and fertilizer represent an untried and expensive investment. The high yields of IR–8 depend on a combination of intensive labor and materials which makes it four times as costly to grow as ordinary rice. Only when the farmer sees that the added investment will increase his profit will he give them a try.

In our Middle West in the 1930s, Mr. Roswell Garst of Iowa sold hybrid corn to American farmers by demonstrating its high yield when the seed is properly fertilized. Thirty years later in El Salvador, Mr. Garst and Dr. Benjamin Birdsall of A.I.D. reapplied this technical assistance lesson by starting a mass fertilizer demonstration program to induce the farmers of El Salvador to grow more corn.

Each dollar invested in seed, fertilizer and insecticide gave the farmer a return of $3.50 to $7.50. The demonstrations spread. In 1966–67 total corn production in El Salvador increased nearly 22% over the previous year—double that year's average gain in Latin America. Total cost of the demonstrations over three years was approximately $50,000. More than half this amount was contributed by private industry, the balance by A.I.D. and the El Salvador Ministry of Agriculture.

Farmers in other developing countries are responding to these new opportunities. In Pakistan where they have never before paid a premium for seeds, they are now doing so. Many want the high-yield varieties. At times the demand for fertilizer in India has been strong enough to create a black market.

New policies

New government policies are also essential to the new agriculture. Since the early 1960s we have pressed the developing nations to invest more in agriculture, to introduce price incentives and other measures which favor and stimulate food production, to shift fertilizer manufacture and distribution from public channels to more efficient private outlets, and to liberalize import quotas on raw materials for fertilizer production.

Increasingly, we have made such policy reforms conditions for receiving both food aid and A.I.D. program loans. The message has been getting through. More resources *are* going to agriculture—in India, for example, where a change in priorities was plainly in order. Last year, India increased its budget for agricultural development by 42% and is now using the equivalent of one-fifth of its foreign exchange earnings to import fertilizer and fertilizer raw materials.

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[2] Farm tractor numbers provide a rough indication of the general level of the mechanization of agricultural production.

In Pakistan until recently, fertilizer was distributed through government outlets even at the retail level. A.I.D. urged that private dealers be allowed to take over. One of our fertilizer loans was conditioned on wider private distribution. By last summer there were over 10,000 private fertilizer dealers in East Pakistan—an increase of nearly 50% in one year—and more private dealers are entering the field.

All of these elements, each playing a vital role, have started to come together. The results are startling:

In May 1967 Pakistan planted 600,000 acres to new high-yielding wheat seed. Pakistan's wheat crop now being harvested from a total of about 3.5 million acres is estimated from 5.4 to 7 million tons—an increase of between 20% and 50%—a new record. Pakistan has an excellent chance of achieving self-sufficiency in food grains in another year.

In 1967 the new high-yielding wheats were harvested from 700,000 acres in India. This year they will be planted to 6 million acres. Another 10 million acres will be planted to high-yield varieties of rice, sorghum and millet. India's food grain harvest this year is now estimated at over 100 million tons—again a record crop—up about 30% over last year's drought depressed levels, and 12% above the previous record of three years ago. She hopes to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains in another three or four years. She has the capability to do so, assuming reasonably normal rainfall and growing conditions.

Turkey has demonstrated that she can raise yields by two and three times with the new wheats. Last year's Turkish wheat crop set a new record. In 1968 Turkey will plant the new seed to one-third of its coastal wheat growing area. Total production this year may be nearly one-third higher than in 1965.

The Philippines have harvested a record rice crop with 14% of their rice fields planted with new high-yielding seeds. This year more land will be planted to the new varieties. For the first time since 1903, the Philippines are self-sufficient in rice.

New varieties of food grains totaled only a few hundred acres in 1964–1965, rose to 23,000 acres in 1965–1966, increased to 3,000,000 acres in 1966–1967, and an estimated 20,000,000 acres in 1967–1968.

This new revolution can be as significant and as beneficial to mankind as the industrial revolution of a century and a half ago.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF AGRICULTURAL ADVANCES FOR U.S. AGRIBUSINESS

As the "green revolution" becomes more effective, rates and directions of change become more difficult to project. The sharply increased yields due to new technology were not taken into account in earlier projections of the output and demand of food and the demand for purchased farm inputs.

Demand for practically all farm inputs will be affected by the new high-yielding varieties which are much more responsive in the proper use of fertilizer, water and land.

Agricultural mechanization

Experience with IR–8 and other high yielding rice varieties shows that it is often possible to plant a second crop of rice before the end of the monsoon. Prompt planting can use monsoon rainfall for initial growth, then irrigation. But to ensure rapid seedbed preparation mechanical power may be required. Similarly, under some conditions tractors must be used for seedbed preparation to realize the full potential of Mexican wheats.

Moreover, the full potential of the high yielding rices cannot be realized without careful water management. As crops will be grown increasingly during the dry season, water is vital to realize the full yield potential. This results in new demands for irrigation pumps, engines and tubewells. Pumps are required along with engines and fuel to work excessive water from the paddy as well as have water in. Hence, the need for machinery increases as new seed varieties are used.

Early maturing new rices and those which mature during the rainy season must be harvested quickly and dried mechanically. The traditional method of spreading rice out to dry in the sun is not possible under such high yield methods of output.

Tractors numbers in developing countries more than doubled betwèen 1954 and 1965. However, only about 800,000 or 5% of the total tractors for agricultural production were in the developing countries in 1965. About two-thirds of these were in Latin America, with two-thirds of the regional total in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. Thailand, which has not yet fully accepted the new varieties of rice, has imported around twenty to twenty-five thousand tractors in recent years to prepare rice land. They are owned mostly by contract operators who plow rice fields at a fixed fee per acre. An estimated one-quarter of Thailand's rice land is now plowed by tractor.

Fertilizer requirements projected

"Chemical fertilizer is destined to be one of the most important factors shaping the course of world history during the next 10 to 15 years," according to Professor Raymond Ewell of the State University of New York at Buffalo. Certainly in any known practical method of increasing total agricultural productivity, fertilizer is vital.

Greater responsiveness of the new varieties may require revision of present projections for fertilizer demand. Some projections of fertilizer demand have assumed that the use of one additional pound of fertilizer would yield ten pounds of additional grain. New varieties, however, have a much higher response coefficient. In the short run, the greater responsiveness of the new varieties should increase the profitability of fertilizer use and increase the demand for fertilizer above what it otherwise would be.

The LDCs face a continuing fertilizer deficit requiring increased imports unless the pace of new plant construction accelerates within the next few years. A recent OECD study concludes that even with fairly optimistic assumptions concerning fertilizer output in LDCs, net imports by LDCs in 1980 may increase sixfold above the 1965 level. Expansion of capacity in LDCs is envisaged to result in investment requirements in foreign exchange at an annual level of $750 million in the 1970s (excluding the foreign exchange required for replacement of the obsolete plants existing in 1965). Furthermore, the study points out this will be only a small part of total requirements in foreign exchange: fertilizer imports plus imported raw materials for local fertilizer production suggest foreign exchange expenditure needs of some $4.7 billion per year by 1980. Combined with the total needs for investment finance, annual foreign exchange requirements may therefore approach $5.6 billion per year in 1980 (assuming total investment finance of $850 million including $100 million for replacement of obsolete plants).

Pesticides

With expectations of only a half to three-quarters of a ton of rice per acre, expenditures for pesticides were limited accordingly. Now that yields have climbed to between 3,000 to 4,000 pounds per acre, the use of pesticides have become not only profitable but essential if farmers are to protect investments in other purchased inputs.

Marketing systems

Of all the constraints on accelerating farm output, perhaps the dominant one will be the weakness in the existing marketing systems of many LDCs.

For example, now that some real breakthroughs in food grain output are occurring, there is considerable risk that some of the gains will be offset by inadequate marketing systems. Self-sufficiency in food grain production can only be achieved if the grain can be distributed efficiently within the country. Many of Asia's large coastal cities have become heavily dependent on imported food grains. Many countries do not have marketing systems to move grain from the rural interior to the coastal cities on a scale sufficient to feed their populations.

With marketable surpluses of food grains envisaged for some Asian countries (notably Philippines, West Pakistan and Turkey), they could become net grain exporters within a few years. To compete in world markets they must develop marketing systems which for the most part are still primitive.

Improvement of marketing (food storage, processing and distribution) systems in the LDCs is as important as increasing production—and, in fact, is indispensable to increasing production. U.S. agribusiness investments in the LDCs can make a great contribution in the fields of food storage, processing and distribution.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF U.S. AGRIBUSINESS INVOLVEMENT

Adequate data on annual investments by U.S. agribusiness firms in the LDCs are not available. However, U.S. private investments in fertilizer plants—which account for a major share of agribusiness capital needs—suggest a sizeable contribution to solving the food problem.

U.S. firms have built or are building fertilizer plants in Brazil, Colombia, India, Iran, Malaysia, Philippines, Pakistan, South Korea and Taiwan. Applied to grain, fertilizer produced in these plants could increase the annual grain producing capability of these countries by 30 million tons—roughly double that now provided under our food assistance programs. U.S. agribusiness investments in other areas such as farm machinery and pesticides contribute still further to the food producing capability of the LDCs.

Agribusiness firms are now providing vital technical assistance through their business investments. The impact can be of great value. For example, Esso has established 400 agroservice centers in the Philippines, staffed by trained agronomists, providing a private extension service. They market both fertilizer from their local fertilizer plant and a complete line of other farm inputs such as pesticides and farm equipment.

There has been much generalized talk about consortia and a "systems approach" to LDC agriculture problems. To our knowledge, the first meaningful project incorporating these ideas has recently been launched.

Five international companies [3] have joined in a consortium to work with the government of the Dominican Republic in an agro-industrial development program on government-owned lands. The consortium, Agro-Industrial Development Company, S. A., will plan and implement a development program integrated with the government's long-term program for land improvement and broadening of land ownership among Dominican farmers. While details have yet to be worked out, the land would be turned over to Dominican farmers on liberal credit terms after a ten to fifteen year development period. During development, profits would be split by the consortium and the Dominican government.

The Dominican Republic has applied for a loan from A.I.D. to begin developing 200,000 acres of land. These funds would go to the consortium. Approximately $15 million is believed adequate to get the project started.

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[3] International Minerals & Chemicals Corporation, ADELA (a multinational private investment company), Dow Chemical Company, International Harvester Company, and the Worthington Corporation.

investment in the land would come from the Dominican Republic, with the consortium providing plant, equipment and technology.

The plan involves the expansion and diversification over 10 to 15 years of an agricultural economy now based mainly on coffee, cocoa, sugar and tobacco. To develop a market-oriented economy, the consortium would concentrate on raising cattle, peanuts, winter vegetables, melons, strawberries, rice and soybeans.

The Dominican project, still in the planning stage, has attracted the attention of Argentina, Paraguay and Iran. Argentina is interested in having the consortium assist in turning some half-million acres from sugar to other crops and to help develop necessary marketing systems. The Paraguayan proposal, also involving the diversification and development of large acreages, complements the Argentine project and could be implemented on a regional or sub-regional basis.

Millions of pre-school children suffer permanent mental and physical damage because they do not get enough protein. The U.S. food industry is attacking this problem by developing and introducing high protein products which appeal to consumer taste patterns and financial means.

Some examples are:

The Coca Cola Company has announced plans to produce a new protein beverage in Brazil called Saci. Soybean based, Saci contains 3% protein and seven vitamins. A 7 ounce bottle will provide about half the minimum daily requirements, according to Coca Cola.

Vitasoy is a popular soft drink in Hong Kong. The Monsanto Company and a Hong Kong entrepreneur, which have been producing this high-protein beverage since 1940, have set up a joint venture to make Vitasoy concentrate for franchised bottlers in Southeast Asia and Latin America.

Quaker Oats has been working with a high-protein flour called Incaparina to meet Latin American tastes. Incaparina, developed by the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama, uses a corn base supplemented by sesame, cotton seed, or soybeans, plus yeast. On par with milk nutritionally, it only costs one-fifth as much.

The Pillsbury Company, assisted by an A.I.D. grant, has been consumer-testing a new high-protein soft drink in El Salvador made from corn meal, cotton seed and nut meal.

Other firms are at work on comparable product development under A.I.D.'s high-protein food studies program

AID INCENTIVES TO PRIVATE INVESTMENT

Within the Office of Private Resources a *Private Investment Center* has been established as a point of contact between U.S. business and A.I.D. for private investment projects in all the developing countries. Through the Private Investment Center, continuing working relationship will be established with the U.S. private investor who is seriously interpreted in doing a development job in the less-developed countries.

We are providing a multiplicity of assistance to encourage private U.S. enterprise to invest in projects to meet food deficiencies in the LDCs. The following major aid programs are now operating to encourage private capital flow to the LDCs: *Information Services, Investment Surveys, Investment Insurance, Extended Risk Guaranties, Local Currency Loans* and *Dollar Loans.*

In Africa, under A.I.D. contracts, investment houses and subsidiaries of several commercial banks are locating specific investment opportunities and promoting them with their customers. Also in Africa, a group of major U.S. agribusiness companies are working with A.I.D. to promote large-scale, vertically-integrated agricultural and fisheries projects. Six study teams are already in Africa.

A look at the current use of A.I.D. incentive programs by U.S. agribusiness is encouraging. *Today one-third of A.I.D.'s investment survey agreements have been in the field of agribusiness.*

The potential investment represented by the 25 agreements signed to date in this fiscal year totals roughly $190 million. Ten of these are in the agribusiness field and represent an estimated $163 million—if all companies make positive decisions to invest.

During the three year period 1965–1967, A.I.D. wrote political risk insurance (against inconvertibility of local currencies, loss from expropriation and war damage) totaling $701 million to protect 155 projects directly related to food and agriculture investments of some $233 million.

A.I.D. has recently worked out a new form of extended risk loan guaranty (e.g., covering commercial as well as political risks) for U.S. institutional lenders, such as banks, pension funds and insurance companies who make long-term loans for projects in the developing countries. Extended risk guaranties were written in fiscal year 1967 for 6 agribusiness projects with a total capitalization of $181 million. Thirteen loan guaranties are projected for this fiscal year, totaling $105 million in A.I.D. extended risk guaranty authority, covering investments in agribusiness projects with a capitalization of over $350 million.

In 1963, A.I.D. provided a specific risk guaranty for a Gulf Oil refinery in Korea. Subsequently, two fertilizer plants were constructed to use the raw materials from the refinery operation. Each fertilizer plant has an annual capacity of 143,000 metric tons of nitrogen, phosphate and potash.

Ultrafertil, S.A., owned 60% by Phillips Petroleum and 40% by local investors, is building a major fertilizer plant in Brazil. An A.I.D. extended risk guaranty made it possible for six U.S. insurance companies to put up $23 million of long-term loan capital. A.I.D. loaned $14.8 million. Total capitalization is expected to be $70 million. Both loans will be used to buy U.S. goods. Meantime, using imported fertilizer materials, Ultrafertil has already opened 8 fertilizer distribution centers in rural areas, offering technical assistance and modern fertilizer materials. This starts the network even before Ultrafertil is in production, which is slated for early 1969.

During 1965–67, A.I.D. lent some $20 million in local currency under the Cooley loan program to new U.S. affiliated agribusinesses.

Under A.I.D.'s Investment Survey Program, we partially underwrite the cost of feasibility surveys by private U.S. firms in a wide range of investments. If the project does not prove out, A.I.D. covers half the cost against receipt of a professionally acceptable report.

Furthermore, as an integral part of A.I.D.'s efforts to pay increased attention to valuable resources available, or potentially available, from U.S. non-federal aid donors, the *Private Resources Development Service* has recently been established in the Office of Private Resources. The primary function of this new service is to assure the maximum effective utilization of the resources of the U.S. private community in furthering overseas development objectives; and stimulate the growth of the private sector in the less developed countries.

Clearly a beginning has been made and a good one. The job is to accelerate and broaden what is underway.

PROSPECTS

New inputs and infrastructure, new attitudes, adequate farm credit and sound policies—these are the active ingredients of the "green revolution." And they are paying off. World agricultural production in 1967 set a new record, and the less developed countries accounted for most of the increase.

There is concrete evidence that some developing countries may be entering a period of "agricultural takeoff." The transfer of resources—both public and private—to countries of great food needs has already resulted in new fertilizer plants, new high-yielding varieties of rice and wheat, and the beginnings of market-oriented economies.

The question is whether this promising state of affairs will continue—whether the growth of food production in the developing world will continue to accelerate—whether this burgeoning agricultural revolution will become a part of the permanent order of things.

A sustained effort between the U.S. and other developed countries and the LDCs is necessary. The four-way working partnership between the governments and the private sectors of both developed and less-developed countries must be strengthened. We have come a long way. We have a long way to go. If we stick to it—the job can be done.

THE INDEPENDENCE DAY OF ARMENIA

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on May 28, 1918, the independent and free Republic of Armenia was proclaimed by the Armenian National Council and the nation that had survived a hiatus of almost 15 centuries without a state of their own was again a member of the family of nations. The rebirth of the Republic of Armenia was stirring news to the world in those times of global war for these proud people had withstood persecution, exile, and massacre in anticipation of the day when their nation would once again be free and independent.

In the years immediately preceding the refounding of one of the world's ancient states, the Armenians had been attacked from two sides by the Turks, then allied with the central powers, and the Russians. On the very day of independence, the Armenians were engaged in a fierce battle with the Turks at Sardarapat, a bloody conflict that saw the victorious Armenians begin the pursuit of their enemies only to be halted by the news of the Armistice of Batum. Not long thereafter, the Republic of Armenia performed its first international act on June 4, 1918, when the Armenian representative signed the treaty of peace with Turkey. That document was also the first foreign recognition of the new nation.

The Armenians from all over the world rallied to the support of their reborn homeland. Contributions came from exiled Armenians in the Near East, Europe, Asia, and in the United States; moneys that were much needed by the state which had no treasury, no capital, and no funds. But, despite the hardships and the absence of resources, the Armenian nation rose up like the Phoenix and began the task of building a strong and viable nation. Because of the war and the trials faced by the Armenians at the hands of their overlords for so many years, there were no industries, no factories, no food and thousands of homeless, destitute refugees. On either side of the valiant nation were hostile neighbors who had long held designs on the land of the Armenians. To anyone but an Armenian, the situation in those first months of independence looked hopeless. But the Armenians are a hardy people, and a brave people and they are a determined people, and they built their nation.

Within 2 years the state of Armenia, nestled on the Anatolian highlands and the Caucasus, was engulfed by its adversaries and the Republic of Armenia fell. Armenia was destroyed not because it wanted war with its neighbors or because it posed a threat to any other nation. Armenians wanted only to live in peace in their homeland. The combined strength of the Russian and Turkish forces that allied against Armenia were too powerful for the tiny nation and the nation that had lived but 2 short years was swept from the map.

In the pages of history, there are two dreams that were born in the era of World War I; the Wilsonian dream of self-determination and the dream of the independent state of Armenia. Those dreams have not perished. One day, all men will again be able to decide their own fates without the heavy hands of the dictators and the tyrants holding the fetters of oppression and one day the nation that is Armenia will again rise and be free.

On this 50th anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Armenia, we should reemphasize our determination to see that those two dreams become realities. To the Armenian people around the world, we offer our hopes and our support that one day soon their nation will again be free and independent.

THE THREAT OF WIRETAPPING

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida.

There was no objection.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the able gentleman from New York [Mr. RESNICK] has mentioned a matter which raises a subject which should be of serious concern to the Members of this House. If the charge is true that the Department of Justice has put a wiretap on the telephone of the late Rev. Martin Luther King or any other citizen, it is a very serious matter.

We all commend the zeal of all who have to do with law enforcement to get all the data necessary for effective enforcement of the law. But in this country, being a government of laws and not of men, we do not derive such information by torture although sometimes it would be valuable to the prosecutor. We do not countenance gathering such information from threats of serious bodily harm although such threats might yield valuable data to an official responsible for securing a conviction. We do not tolerate acquiring such material by bribery although information obtained in that manner might serve a useful purpose to an officer charged with the responsibility of getting a conviction.

Except in matters involving critical subjects of national security and in nonsecurity cases without the authority of a court, I think wiretapping by public officials is a most dangerous invasion of the rights of privacy of the American people. If officials are allowed, except in cases of vital national security and in instances where authority to do so is granted by court, the temptation is not only to do it in one particular case but to do it in any case where the officers feel this method would be helpful to them.

With the devises that are now available the encouragement of such a practice would practically destroy the right of privacy of any citizen. In fact, we are facing a very serious challenge as to how the individual may protect his or her privacy in the home, in the office, in recreation or in almost every activity of our lives against the invasion of that privacy by private detectives or officers, on or off duty, employed by private individuals, and by private individuals directly.

If the Government sets the example of the invasion of privacy it gives encouragement to officials and semi-officials and private people to do the same thing. So the people have a right to know when and whether public authority does those things and to have a feeling of security except when the needs of our national security and the authority of a court justify the invasion of one's privacy.

CAMPUS REVOLTS

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the student revolts breaking out on college campuses all over the country are 10 percent based on legitimate complaints, and 90 percent on fraud.

In my opinion these "activist" movements do not present a serious danger to our educational system because college administrators and the public are coming to recognize that student rebels can and must be dealt with firmly and effectively.

In some cases college heads have been hesitant to know what to do when confronted with demands put to them by irresponsible youngsters. Some have meekly agreed, others have fluctuated from one approach to another.

But I believe that there is only one thing to do with a student who militantly defies university authority, and that is to expel him from the school immediately.

Hopefully, college administrators are coming to know that when they take bold and honest action in defense of their institutions they will have the solid support of the great majority of students as well as parents.

In one sense these student revolts are an extension of the goldfish eating and panty raid of other days. Students have to do something wild in the spring.

And they have some complaints that deserve a hearing, especially on the very large campuses. Classes are much too big and impersonal. The computer has replaced personal conversation.

In some cases administrators and teachers make only feeble attempts to draw out the students' interests, and curiosities, and insights; they are too busy with other things.

Hypocrisy can penetrate university campuses just as anywhere else, and young people may be the first to recognize it.

These matters ought to be carefully looked into, but they provide no excuse for violence or for taking over the schools.

The revolts are started by students who have been given reason to believe that a person should be permitted to do whatever it is he wants to do, without regard for future consequences or for the rights of others.

This is the natural outgrowth of the permissive society which many Americans have thought to be the correct approach.

But once started, the revolts are taken over by groups which receive a large part of their support from international communism.

At one midwestern college, for example, the main issue has become centered on Staughton Lynd, the professor who made an unauthorized trip to Hanoi some months ago when he was on the Yale faculty.

His behavior, then, provided a great propaganda field day for the Communists. And now his students followers are insisting that he be given a full-time post instead of only part time.

Several large universities have been paralyzed over issues just as fraudulent as that. In one case students demand that the college sell its Government savings bonds, and this is supposed to be a protest against the Vietnam war effort.

But the really basic issue is whether a small minority of students should have the right to obstruct the educational pursuits of the majority.

Mr. Speaker, there can be only one answer to this, and that is why the colleges are clamping down on such wild activists.

Our education system has faults. But it has produced more and better educational opportunity than any other in the world, by far. Improvements will come through responsible action, not anarchy.

THE 175TH ANNIVERSARY OF CHESHIRE, MASS.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, this week Americans everywhere are preparing to celebrate Memorial Day. The good people in Cheshire, Mass., in my congressional district will be sharing in this holiday, but for them it will have special significance, for this marks the 175th anniversary of this community.

The celebration which is beginning in Cheshire is a fitting tribute to the founders and citizens of this town who established and developed a prosperous community out of the ruggedness of the Berkshires.

In a country that is only 192 years old, there are very few towns who can claim a history of 175 years, and I would like to call the attention of my colleagues in the House to some of the events in the town's history which are worthy of recognition.

The earliest settlement of Cheshire is attributed to a group of settlers led by Col. Joab Stafford, Joseph Bennett, and Governor Cook. They came from Rhode Island and named their new tract of land New Providence in honor of their former State capital.

Between the years 1767 and 1770, New Providence had become a prosperous farming community, and other pioneers were soon to follow in the footsteps of the earliest settlers. Among these were Samuel Lowe and Jonathan Richardson who developed a highly productive tract of land on grants from the original proprietors.

During the Revolution the town provided the flower of its youth for the cause of American independence. An example of the keen sense of responsibility felt by the people of the area concerns the Battle of Bennington. Capt. Daniel Brown, a staunch pioneer and patriot, led a group of his neighbors on a march to the battlefield. They fought the British with bravery and courage, while they listened to the roar of cannon and the crack of muskets from their homes. The cause of liberty had led these men to seek the battle and participate in the fight even though their own property was never endangered.

Cheshire's record on the pursuit of civic duty is paralleled only by the dominant role which it has played in forming the religious history of the region.

The First Baptist Church was built on the original New Providence grant. It came under the pastoral care of Rev. Peter Werden, who preached there from 1770 to 1808. The original Baptist Society was formed to support the preaching on a part time basis. This was done with funds obtained from the rental of certain lands, which were donated by the original proprietors in order to perpetuate Baptist teaching in the community.

The religious community was in a state of some upheaval as the Second Society for Baptists was formed in 1794. It occupied a house built on the west bank of the Hoosac River which flows north into the verdant Adams Valley. It was in that house that the famous John Leland preached throughout his remarkable career. Reverend Leland's interests were not confined solely to preaching, however. He was a member of the legislature in 1811, and in this capacity he worked hard against the third article of the Bill of Rights, contending that legislatures had no power to bind the consciences of men.

The sense of public service and loyalty felt by this community has never been in doubt. Cheshire has, in fact, shown an interest since the earliest days of the Republic. It was in 1802, on New Year's Day, that John Leland presented President Jefferson with a mammoth cheese weighing a total of 1,450 pounds. The donation of this effort by the local farmers has made Cheshire cheese famous the world over.

Today, Cheshire remains a symbol of New England dignity and prosperity. Cheshire's dairy products to this day remain the standard of highest quality. In establishing these high standards, Cheshire has shown itself to be more than worthy of the great dairy district in England for which it is named.

It is then with the greatest pride that I call to the attention of the House the 175th anniversary of Cheshire.

The contributions which Cheshire has made to its State and to our Nation have been of the greatest value.

Cheshire will continue to prosper in the beauty of the Berkshires as it looks forward to the future.

Today Cheshire reflects a proud past, and, as we pause to look into that past, we will find that there is much of which we may all be proud.

So, as Cheshire begins the celebration of its 175th anniversary, it need not do so with nostalgia for a bygone golden age. Cheshire's golden age is still in progress, and there is every indication that it will be even brighter in the years ahead.

SCARE TACTICS AND H.R. 5710

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I have received a great deal of mail concerning a defunct bill, H.R. 5710, and I know that other Members of the House, and the Committee on Ways and Means and the Social Security Administration as well, have been receiving letters on the same subject.

I would like to set the record straight concerning H.R. 5710. This was the administration bill which was introduced early in the 90th Congress to increase social security benefits and which included related items.

False statements have been circulated that this bill would remove the statutory right to receive social security benefits and would give discretion to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to determine the payment of benefits on the basis of need. It is claimed that the social security system would cease to be insurance and become converted to a welfare system, and that H.R. 5710 is currently under active consideration in the House and Senate.

The actual situation is as follows: Although H.R. 5710 had many debatable features, it did not contain any provisions which would have changed the social security insurance system to a welfare system based on a definition of need, or in any other way have endangered the available funds for payment of social security benefits.

For reasons of its own, the House Ways and Means Committee did not approve the administration bill, H.R. 5710, and wrote its own bill instead, H.R. 12080. H.R. 12080 was introduced on August 3, 1967, was reported by the committee on August 7, passed the House on August 17, and then went through the Senate. The House-Senate conference report was accepted on December 15, and the bill became law on January 2, 1968—Public Law 90-248.

Although H.R. 5710 is still technically pending—and will remain so until the end of the 90th Congress at which time it will automatically expire—there is no possibility that H.R. 5710 will be brought up for action.

Although H.R. 12080 contained many provisions which I opposed and continue to actively oppose in the new public law, it did not include any such provision as the one that has been rumored in connection wtih H.R. 5710. In fact, I believe that such a provision, if anyone should actually propose it, would meet with opposition from both liberals and conservatives in the Congress and would stand no realistic chance of passage.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. MESKILL (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for tomorrow, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. ERLENBORN, for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. ASHBROOK (at the request of Mr. BIESTER), for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania (at the request of Mr. TIERNAN), for 30 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.

Mr. GONZALEZ, for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. DORN and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. DULSKI in three instances and to include an editorial in each instance.

Mr. ROONEY of New York to revise and extend his remarks made in Committee of the Whole and to include certain tables and other material.

Mr. RYAN to revise and extend remarks made in Committee of the Whole on the Joelson amendment and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BIESTER) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ADAIR.

Mr. GUBSER.

Mr. LATTA.

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona in two instances.

Mr. Talcott in two instances.
Mr. Curtis in three instances.
Mr. Scherle in two instances.
Mr. Denney.
Mr. Smith of New York.
Mr. Brown of Ohio.
Mr. Morse of Massachusetts in two instances.
Mr. Ashbrook in two instances.
Mr. McClure.
Mrs. May.
Mr. Devine in three instances.
Mr. Skubitz.
Mr. MacGregor in five instances.
Mr. Michel.
Mr. Derwinski in two instances.
Mr. Bob Wilson in five instances.
Mr. Lipscomb.
Mr. O'Konski in two instances.
Mr. Findley.
Mr. Pelly.
Mr. Conte.
Mr. Snyder.
Mr. Morton.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Tiernan) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Pepper in two instances.
Mrs. Kelly in two instances.
Mr. Ryan in four instances.
Mr. Resnick.
Mr. Casey in two instances.
Mr. Flood in two instances.
Mr. Helstoski.
Mr. Rooney of New York.
Mr. Gonzalez in three instances.
Mr. Gibbons.
Mr. Blatnik in five instances.
Mr. Machen in six instances.
Mr. St. Onge in two instances.
Mr. Long of Maryland.
Mr. Charles H. Wilson in three instances.
Mr. Dingell in two instances.
Mr. Walker.
Mr. Rarick in seven instances.
Mr. Nix.
Mr. Rostenkowski.
Mr. de la Garza.
Mr. Wolff in two instances.
Mr. Boggs.
Mr. Moorhead.
Mr. Vanik.
Mr. Donohue in two instances.
Mr. Cohelan in three instances.
Mr. Scheuer in two instances.
Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Edwards of Louisiana.
Mr. Pickle in two instances.
Mr. Hungate in two instances.
Mr. Vigorito.
Mr. Conyers in two instances.
Mr. Gathings in six instances.
Mr. Tuck in two instances.
Mr. Kluczynski in two instances.
Mr. Whitener in two instances.

SENATE BILLS AND A JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

Bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 203. An act to amend sections 13(b) of the acts of October 3, 1962 (76 Stat. 698, 704), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 2701. An act to provide for sale or exchange of isolated tracts of tribal lands on the Flathead Reservation, Mont.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S.J. Res. 157. Joint resolution to supplement Public Law 87-734 and Public Law 87-735 which took title to certain lands in the Lower Brule and Crow Creek Indian Reservations; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 3299. An act to authorize the purchase, sale, and exchange of certain lands on the Spokane Indian Reservation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 14672. An act to amend the act of February 14, 1931, relating to the acceptance of gifts for the benefit of Indians;

H.R. 14922. An act to amend Public Law 90-60 with respect to judgment funds of the Ute Mountain Tribe;

H.R. 15224. An act to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard; and

H.R. 15271. An act to authorize the use of funds arising from a judgment in favor of the Spokane Tribe of Indians.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 27 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, May 29, 1968, at 10 o'clock a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1892. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated October 11, 1967, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a review of the report on Cucamonga Creek, San Bernardino and Riverside Counties, Calif., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, adopted February 24, 1960 (H. Doc. No. 323); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

1893. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need for improving reviews of designs of Federal buildings to achieve better utilization of space by the Public Buildings Service, General Services Administration; to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HALEY: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 3306. A bill to amend section 4 of the act of May 31, 1933 (48 Stat. 108); with amendment (Rept. No. 1490). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MADDEN: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 1191. Resolution providing for the consideration of S. 974, an act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands to the city of Glendale, Ariz. (Rept. No. 1497). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 1192. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 16127, a bill to increase the limitation on the number of officers for the Coast Guard (Rept. No. 1498). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. YOUNG: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 1193. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 17268, a bill to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950, and for other purposes. (Rept. No. 1499). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. FALLON: Committee on Public Works. Report entitled "Federal-State Highway Management Practices and Procedures" (Rept. No. 1506). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. DOWDY: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 10854. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jorge Ricardo Dávalos-Reyling (Rept. No. 1491). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CAHILL: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 10857. A bill for the relief of Dr. José Ramón Fernández-González (Rept. No. 1492). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MacGREGOR: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 10858. A bill for the relief of Dr. Reynaldo A. Geerken-Saladrigas (Rept. No. 1493). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FEIGHAN: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 10861. A bill for the relief of Dr. Rolando Guzmán-Rodríguez (Rept. No. 1494). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 10862. A bill for the relief of Dr. Esther Martha Espinosa-Báez de Guzmán (Rept. No. 1495). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DONOHUE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 10863. A bill for the relief of Dr. Oscar F. Cartaya (Rept. No. 1496). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DOWDY: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 13159. A bill for the relief of Dr. Jorge Mañach-Baños (Rept. No. 1500). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CAHILL: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 13380. A bill for the relief of Dr. Arturo Brito Santos (Rept. No. 1501). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MacGREGOR: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 13381. A bill for the relief of Dr. Victor Luis Bienes Jimenez; with amendment (Rept. No. 1502). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FEIGHAN: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 13382. A bill for the relief of Dr. Orlando De Varona De Zayas (Rept. No. 1503). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. RODINO: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 14658. A bill for the relief of Dr. Francisco Loza Díaz (Rept. No. 1504). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DONOHUE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 14660. A bill for the relief of Dr. Leopoldo Pérez Pérez (Rept. No. 1505). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BARING: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 16429. A bill to provide for the conveyance by the Secretary of the Interior of certain lands and interests in lands in Grand and Clear Creek Counties, Colo., in exchange for certain lands within the national forests of Colorado, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1507). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 17547. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Commission on Negro History and Culture; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BETTS:

H.R. 17548. A bill to encourage the growth of international trade on a fair and equitable basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. EVANS of Colorado:

H.R. 17549. A bill to amend the Antidumping Act, 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FEIGHAN:

H.R. 17550. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide that no reduction shall be made in old-age insurance benefit amounts to which a woman is entitled if she has 120 quarters of coverage; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLS:

H.R. 17551. A bill to continue the expansion of international trade and thereby to promote the general welfare of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SHIPLEY:

H.R. 17552. A bill to encourage the growth of international trade on a fair and equitable basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WYDLER:

H.R. 17553. A bill to provide for the establishment of a national cemetery in or near Yaphank, N.Y.; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. DANIELS:

H.R. 17554. A bill to increase the size of the Board of Directors of Gallaudet College, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 17555. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to utilize the columns removed from the east central portico of the Capitol in an architecturally appropriate manner in the National Arboretum; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.R. 17556. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to make additional immigrant visas available for immigrants from certain foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 17557. A bill to provide uniform, fair, and equitable treatment of persons, businesses, or farms displaced by Federal and federally assisted programs; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ADAIR:

H.R. 17558. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to conduct research and development programs to increase knowledge of tornadoes, squall lines, and other severe local storms, to develop methods for detecting storms for prediction and advance warning, and to provide for the establishment of a National Severe Service; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 17559. A bill to amend the Hazardous Substances Act to provide safe packaging of toxic household substances in order to protect children; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.R. 17560. A bill to eliminate hunger in the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DORN:

H.R. 17561. A bill to promote the availability of private insurance coverage in areas where there may exist high risks of loss due to riots and civil disturbances; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 17562. A bill to provide Federal leadership and grants to the States for developing and implementing State programs for youth camp safety standards; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. MONTGOMERY:

H.R. 17563. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to remove persons from Federal employment who engage in unlawful acts connected with riots or civil disorders, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. POOL:

H.R. 17564. A bill to protect the freedom of choice of Federal employees in employee-management relations; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma:

H.R. 17565. A bill to provide for orderly trade in iron ore, iron and steel mill products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ASPINALL (for himself, Mr. Rogers of Colorado, Mr. Evans of Colorado, and Mr. Brotzman):

H.R. 17566. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Narrows unit, South Platte division, Missouri River Basin project, Colorado, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BENNETT (for himself, Mr. Downing, Mr. Fascell, Mr. Baring, Mr. Byrne of Pennsylvania, Mr. Addabbo, Mr. Hays, Mr. Friedel, Mr. Clark, Mr. Roybal, Mr. Walker, Mr. Waldie, Mr. Ottinger, Mr. Leggett, Mr. Pickle, Mr. Tiernan, Mr. Howard, Mr. Matsunaga, Mr. Machen, and Mr. Pucinski):

H.R. 17567. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a tax credit for employers who employ members of the hard-core unemployed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. NEDZI (for himself, Mr. Adams, Mr. Clark, Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Dent, Mr. Diggs, Mr. Dingell, Mr. Edmondson, Mr. Farbstein, Mr. Fascell, Mr. William D. Ford, Mr. Gallagher, Mr. Gonzalez, Mrs. Griffiths, Mr. Hanna, Mrs. Hansen of Washington, Mr. Hébert, Mr. Holifield, Mr. Hungate, Mr. Karth, Mrs. Mink, Mr. Moorhead, Mr. Moss, Mr. O'Hara of Michigan, and Mr. Patten):

H.R. 17568. A bill to provide for the disclosure of certain information relating to certain public opinion polls; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. PUCINSKI (for himself, Mr. Resnick, Mr. Reuss, Mr. Rodino, Mr. Rosenthal, Mr. Rostenkowski, Mr. St. Onge, Mr. Smith of Iowa, Mr. Tiernan, Mr. Udall, Mr. Vander Jagt, Mr. Anderson of Tennessee, Mr. Murphy of New York, Mr. Podell, Mr. Walker, Mr. Long of Maryland, Mr. Vigorito, Mr. Sisk, Mr. Pepper, Mr. Price of Illinois, Mr. Shipley, Mr. Matsunaga, Mr. McCarthy, and Mr. Conte):

H.R. 17569. A bill to provide for the disclosure of certain information relating to certain public opinion polls; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H. Res. 1194. Resolution creating a special committee to conduct an investigation and study of procurement and construction for the national defense and the national space program; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HÉBERT:

H. Res. 1195. Resolution authorizing printing as a House document the dedication ceremony of the portrait of the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, chairman, Committee on Armed Services; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. MORGAN:

H. Res. 1196. Resolution providing for further expenses of conducting studies and investigations authorized by House Resolution 179; to the Committee on House Administration.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 17570. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Aiosa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17571. A bill for the relief of Angelina and Bartolomeo Capolongo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 17572. A bill for the relief of Stefano Vaccaro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17573. A bill for the relief of Angelo, Antonina, and Nunzia Brigida Zuzze; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17574. A bill for the relief of Giovanni, Desiderata, and Maria Natalina Monteleone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 17575. A bill for the relief of Erlinda De Los Santos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17576. A bill for the relief of Estela Aguilar Hurtado; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17577. A bill for the relief of Eliseo V. Repique and Celerina R. Repique; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURTON of California:

H.R. 17578. A bill for the relief of Siu Won Shew; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 17579. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Corbi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17580. A bill for the relief of Maria Fontana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17581. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Lo Porto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GALLAGHER:

H.R. 17582. A bill for the relief of Mr. Antonio Ladogana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 17583. A bill for the relief of Piero Andreni and Luigia Andreni; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.R. 17584. A bill for the relief of Amelia Martinez Castillo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCLOSKEY:

H.R. 17585. A bill for the relief of Mr. Paulino Narvios; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NIX:

H.R. 17586. A bill for the relief of Eulogio Navasca Bayna, and his wife, Ligaya Nicanor Bayna; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.R. 17587. A bill for the relief of Pietro Campagnuolo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLFF (by request):

H.R. 17588. A bill for the relief of Pasqualino Petringa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

330. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the City Council of Camden, N.J., relative to legislation on truck size and weight limits on interstate highways, which was referred to the Committee on Public Works.

REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

In compliance with Public Law 601, 79th Congress, title III, Regulation of Lobbying Act, section 308(b), which provides as follows:

> (b) All information required to be filed under the provisions of this section with the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall be compiled by said Clerk and Secretary, acting jointly, as soon as practicable after the close of the calendar quarter with respect to which such information is filed and shall be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate jointly submit their report of the compilation required by said law and have included all registrations and quarterly reports received.

QUARTERLY REPORTS

The following reports for the fourth calendar quarter of 1967 were received too late to be included in the published reports for that quarter:

A. Ad Hoc Committee of the Construction Industry Advancement Fund, 1016 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,945.17. E. (9) $3,945.17.

A. Herbert F. Alfrey, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $412. E. (9) $32.25.

A. American Civil Liberties Union, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $4,465.68. E. (9) $4,465.68.

A. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $179.76. E. (9) $33,439.20.

A. American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $893.95. E. (9) $19,649.39.

A. American Nurses' Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $12,929.15. E. (9) $12,929.15.

A. The American Short Line Railroad Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,163.91. E. (9) $1,163.91.

A. American Society of Consulting Planners, Post Office Box 206, West Trenton, N.J.
E. (9) $2,489.59.

A. American Taxpayers Association, 326 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,448. E. (9) $1,245.88.

A. Robert E. Ansheles, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Consolidated International Trading Corp., 180 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $82.25.

A. Arnold & Porter, 1229 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Arnold & Porter, 1229 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Co., Rochester, N.Y.
E. (9) $4.96.

A. Arnold & Porter, 1229 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Record Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $8,333.34. E. (9) $339.57.

A. The Arthritis Foundation, 1212 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $950.09.

A. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc., 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $68,840. E. (9) $70,402.42.

A. Vincent Gerrard Barnett, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of European Shipowners, 30–32 St. Mary Axe, London, E.C. 3, England.
D. (6) $13,977.81. E. (9) $13,977.81.

A. Irvin L. Barney, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, 4929 Main Street, Kansas City, Mo.
D. (6) $3,600.

A. Dr. Davis M. Batson, 611 Madison Office Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The Ethyl Corp., 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $250.

A. Donald S. Beattie, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Daniel S. Bedell, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $1,415.38. E. (9) $465.

A. Andrew J. Biemiller, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,950. E. (9) $640.35.

A. Thomas D. Blake, 1108 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sharp, Partridge, Gants & Perkins, 1108 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $35.65.

A. Fred F. Bockmon, 405 Luhrs Building, Phoenix, Ariz.
B. Southern Pacific Co., 65 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif., and The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, 121 East Sixth Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. (9) $179.79.

A. J. Wiley Bowers, 325 Pioneer Building, Chattanooga, Tenn.
B. Tennessee Valley Public Power Association, 325 Pioneer Building, Chattanooga, Tenn.

A. Joseph E. Brady, 122 Sheraton Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.
B. National Coordinating Committee of the Beverage Industry.

A. Wally Briscoe.
B. National Cable Television Association, Inc., 1634 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $135. E. (9) $16.50.

A. James E. Bryan, 2000 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Blue Shield Plans, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,732.34.

A. C. P. Burks, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Short Line Railroad Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $600.

A. George B. Burnham, 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Numerous stockholders of the Burnham Chemical Co., 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $205. E. (9) $205.

A. David Burpee, Fordhook Farms, Doylestown, Pa.

A. Canal Zone Central Labor Union-Metal Trades Council, Post Office Box 471, Balboa Heights, C.Z.
D. (6) $3,317.72. E. (9) $2,382.20.

A. Casey, Lane & Mittendorf, 26 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. South African Sugar Association, Post Office Box 507, Durban, South Africa.
E. (9) $1,005.73.

A. Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., 1615 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Donald E. Channell, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Bar Association, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $203.

A. Hal M. Christensen, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Dental Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,250.

A. Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,050.22. E. (9) $11,609.86.

A. William F. Claire, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Paper Institute, Inc., 260 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Clarke & Nevius, 1000 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc., 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,730.79. E. (9) $864.96.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Tobacco Co.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Philip Morris, Inc.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Tobacco Institute.

A. J. I. Collier, Jr., 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Short Line Railroad Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $231.24.

A. Nicholas S. Collins, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of American Steamship Lines, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $298. E. (9) $18.07.

A. Committee for Study of Revenue Bond Financing, 55 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $155,250. E. (9) $15,140.43.

A. J. Milton Cooper, 1000 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. New York Stock Exchange, 11 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

A. J. Milton Cooper, 1000 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., Winston-Salem, N.C.

A. Council of Savings & Loan Stock Companies, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $600.

A. Paul L. Courtney, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300 or less.

A. Michael P. Daniels, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Charles A. Darnell, 3129 Brereton Court, Huntington, W. Va.
B. Sheet Metal Workers International Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. D.C. Transit System, Inc., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,500.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Guild of Prescription Opticians, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Donald S. Dawson, 723 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Oceanic Properties, Inc., Post Office Box 2780, Honolulu, Hawaii.

A. James J. Delaney, Jr., 1003 Lancaster Drive, Anchorage, Alaska.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Ronald W. De Lucien, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $100.

A. Vincent A. Demo, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. New York Committee of International Committee of Passenger Lines, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $5,000.

A. Ray Denison, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,214. E. (9) $277.42.

A. Franklin W. Denius, Post Office Box 1148, Austin, Tex.
B. Texas Electric Service Co., Post Office Box 970, Fort Worth, Tex.; Dallas Power & Light Co., Dallas, Tex.; and Texas Power & Light Co., Post Office Box 6331, Dallas, Tex.
E. (9) $1,149.02.

A. William H. Dodds, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $73.04.

A. James F. Doherty, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,214. E. (9) $949.80.

A. Harry J. Donohue, 200 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.
D. (6) $1,908. E. (9) $92.49.

A. Evelyn Dubrow, 1710 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1710 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,715.44. E. (9) $1,725.67.

A. Eastern Meat Packers Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $102. E. (9) $38.50.

A. James B. Ehrlich, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $516.25. E. (9) $338.

A. Elliott & Naftalin, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Council of Savings & Loan Stock Companies, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $600.

A. Elliott & Naftalin, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Scientific Apparatus Makers Association, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. Elliott & Naftalin, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Business Schools Association, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. John W. Emeigh, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, D.C.
B. The National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $143. E. (9) $11.40.

A. The Ethyl Corp., 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $250.

A. Mello G. Fish, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $2,835. E. (9) $1,164.22.

A. Gordon Forbes, 207 Union Depot Building, St. Paul, Minn.
B. Minnesota Railroads Association.
D. (6) $500.

A. Frederick W. Ford.
B. National Cable Television Association Inc., 1634 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $417. E. (9) $18.

A. Morley E. Fox, 300 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.
B. Central Arizona Project Association, 1124 Arizona Title Building, Phoenix, Ariz.
D. (6) $105.45. E. (9) 110.10.

A. Glassie & Molloy, 1819 H Street NW, Washington, D.C.
B. Eastern Meat Packers Association, Inc., 1820 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5. E. (9) 2.21.

A. Glassie & Molloy, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Independent Meat Packers Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John Goldsum, Post Office Box 1148, Austin, Tex.
B. Texas Electric Service Co., Post Office Box 970, Fort Worth, Tex.; Dallas Power & Light Co., Dallas, Tex., and Texas Power & Light Co., Post Office Box 6331, Dallas, Tex.

A. John F. Griner, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $8,388.47. E. (9) $2,643.27.

A. Robert N. Hampton, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,249.98. E. (9) $98.85.

A. Franklin Hardinge, Jr., 1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, Calif.
B. California Savings & Loan League, 1444 Wentworth Avenue (Post Office Box R), Pasadena, Calif.
D. (6) $1,800. E. (9) $1,509.64.

A. Mildred B. Harman, 13th and E Streets NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
D. (6) $725. E. (9) $207.59.

A. L. James Harmanson, Jr., 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,300. E. (9) $140.

A. Hays & Hays, Warner Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Motor Commerce Association, Inc., 4004 Versailles Road, Lexington, Ky.
D. (6) $427.50. E. (9) $17.

A. Robert B. Heiney, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $875. E. (9) $990.16.

A. Noel Hemmendinger, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Carey W. Hilliard, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $412. E. (9) $34.25.

A. David P. Houlihan, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harold K. Howe, 734 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Automatic Merchandising Association, 400 Walker Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Harold K. Howe, 734 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Outdoor Power Equipment Institute, Inc., 400 Walker Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Robert R. Humphreys, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $320. E. (9) $93.45.

A. Meryle V. Hutchison, 1030 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Nurses' Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,535.72.

A. Philip A. Hutchinson, Jr., 1735 New York Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $100.

A. Elmer P. Hutter, Post Office Box 2255, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5.

A. Elmer P. Hutter, Post Office Box 2255, Washington, D.C.
B. Miss Alice M. Hebing, Rochester, N.Y.
E. (9) $12.

A. Illinois Railroad Association, 135 East 11th Place, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $1,847.32.

A. Institute of Scrap Iron & Steel, Inc., 1729 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300. E. (9) $1.50.

A. Raymond M. Jacobson, 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Society of Consulting Planners, 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $239.59.

A. Ralph K. James, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of American Steamship Lines, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $440. E. (9) $44.86.

A. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. L. Dan Jones, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Petroleum Association of America, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $23.62.

A. Gerald M. Katz, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Gerald M. Katz, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. Robert H. Kellen, 25 East Chestnut Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Mayonnaise & Salad Dressing Institute, 25 East Chestnut Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Robert H. Kellen, 25 East Chestnut Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. National Preservers Association, 25 East Chestnut Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Cornelius B. Kennedy, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Motorola, Inc., 9401 West Grand Avenue, Franklin Park, Ill.
D. (6) $28. E. (9) $3.

A. Kennon, White & Odom, 356 St. Charles Street, Baton Rouge, La.
B. Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Co., Post Office Box 21008, Greensboro, N.C.
D. (6) $4,500. E. (9) $419.50.

A. John A. Killick, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Eastern Meat Packers Association, Inc., 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $12.50.

A. John A. Killick, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Independent Meat Packers Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $70.83.

A. Mr. and Mrs. Harry L. Kingman, 535 San Luis Road, Berkeley, Calif.
D. (6) $510. E. (9) $510.

A. John H. Kostmayer, 120 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc., 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $2,471.16.

A. Krause, Lindsay & Nahstoll, Ninth Floor, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.
B. Master Contracting Stevedore Association of the Pacific Coast, Inc., San Francisco, Calif.

A. The Lawyers Co-Operative Publishing Co., Rochester, N.Y.

A. G. E. Leighty, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Donald Lerch & Co., Inc., 1522 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Shell Chemical Co., 110 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Kenneth D. Lester, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $510.

A. Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of Producers of Ferroalloys and Related Products.
D. (6) $2,763.24. E. (9) $138.95.

A. Joseph J. McDonald, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $3,635. E. (9) $649.20.

A. Mrs. Judith Nies McFadden, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $49,222.05. E. (9) $11,706.74.

A. Joseph B. McGrath, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,468.79. E. (9) $632.55.

A. F. Howard McGuigan, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,361.

A. Don Mahon, 1127 Warner Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $964.98.

A. Edwin E. Marsh, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
B. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
D. (6) $3,417.75. E. (9) $110.47.

A. Michael Marsh, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $503.96.

A. Albert E. May, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of American Steamship Lines, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $436. E. (9) $54.40.

A. Arnold Mayer, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America, 2800 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $4,984. E. (9) $773.

A. Mayonnaise & Salad Dressings Institute, 25 East Chestnut Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Kenneth A. Meiklejohn, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,508. E. (9) $498.61.

A. Joseph L. Miller, 815 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Northern Textile Association, National Parking Association, Maytag Co., Chicago Bridge & Iron Co.

A. Lester F. Miller, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $412. E. (9) $37.

A. Clarence Mitchell, 422 First Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Stephen A. Mitchell, Post Office Box 486, Taos, N. Mex.
E. (9) $143.70.

A. Mobilehome Dealers National Association, 39 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $2,143.78.

A. Willis C. Moffatt, 525 First Security Building, Boise, Idaho.

A. Motor Commerce Association, Inc., 4004 Versailles Road, Lexington, Ky.
D. (6) $1,250. E. (9) $2,088.89.

A. Kenneth D. Naden, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7,999.98. E. (9) $517.62.

A. Micah H. Naftalin, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Ethyl Corp., 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. National Associated Businessmen, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,062.50. E. (9) $1,387.84.

A. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. National Association of Blue Shield Plans, 211 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,732.34.

A. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $11,903.73. E. (9) $12,675.54.

A. National Association of Insurance Agents, Inc., 96 Fullerton Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $616.84.

A. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 East Superior Street, Chicago, Ill., and 1300 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $10,491.49.

A. National Association of Social Workers, Inc., 2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., and 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,656. E. (9) $5,656.

A. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $560,690.54. E. (9) $10,202.61.

A. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C. D.C.
D. (6) $7,027.50. E. (9) $7,059.23.

A. The National Independent Meat Packers Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,615.05. E. (9) $1,732.

A. National Preservers Association, 25 East Chestnut Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. National Reclamation Association, 897 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,008. E. (9) $6,243.18.

A. National Rehabilitation Association, 1522 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $12,199.49. E. (9) $1,059.

A. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $2,596.20.

A. National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,565. E. (9) $8,341.

A. National Tax Equality Association, Inc., 1000 Connecticut Avenue Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,127.93. E. (9) $5,493.01.

A. National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
D. (6) $825. E. (9) $489.63.

A. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
D. (6) $10,677.65. E. (9) $4,452.04.

A. Sarah H. Newman, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Consumers League, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,100.

A. Richard T. O'Connell, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,650. E. (9) $93.18.

A. Charles T. O'Neill, Jr., 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $178.33.

A. Bruce O. Pike, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $625.

A. F. E. Pinkston, 101 East High Street, Lexington, Ky.

A. J. Francis Pohlhaus, 422 First Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. James K. Polk, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Consolidated Edison Co. of New York, Inc., 4 Irving Place, New York, N.Y.

A. William I. Powell, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Petroleum Association of America, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $3.20.

A. William C. Prather, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $429.84.

A. Jerry C. Pritchett, 59 Ivy Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Plumbing-Heating-Cooling Contractors, 1016 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $750.

A. Publicom Inc., 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Midwest Federal Savings & Loan Minneapolis, Minn.
D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $381.

A. Publicom, Inc., 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Record Industry Association of America, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $15,000. E. (9) $1,378.

A. Ragan & Mason, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sea-Land Service, Inc., Post Office Box 1050, Elizabeth, N.J.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $491.66.

A. Ragan & Mason, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. South Atlantic & Caribbean Line, Inc., 250 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $200. E. (9) $9.20.

A. Ragan & Mason, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Stimson Lumber Co., Post Office Box 68, Forest Grove, Oreg.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $102.47.

A. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Edward M. Raymond, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,075.02. E. (9) $325.29.

A. Robert E. Redding, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Transportation Association of America, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

A. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, care of Mercantile-Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. James W. Richards, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. (Ind.), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,138.46. E. (9) $6.90.

A. John Riley, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $600. E. (9) $35.95.

A. Stephen Philip Robin, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C
B. International Public Relations Co., Ltd. (N.Y.) d/b/a Japan Steel Information Center, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $135. E. (9) $53.29.

A. Walter E. Rogers, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,650. E. (9) $650.

A. Nathaniel H. Rogg, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $102.65.

A. John F. Rolph III, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $500.

A. Mrs. Edward F. Ryan, 110 Bridge Street, Manchester, Mass.
B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $226.81.

A. Carl K. Sadler, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,066. E. (9) $704.84.

A. Robert A. Saltzstein, 1300 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Business Press, 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $3,128.98.

A. William H. Scheick, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D . (6) $50.

A. Jacques T. Schlenger, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Jacques T. Schlenger, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, care of Mercantile Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. C. Herschel Schooley, 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Independent Bankers Association of America, Sauk Centre, Minn.

D. (6) $4,250. E. (9) $2,121.75.

A. Hilliard Schulberg, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Washington, D.C., Retail Liquor Dealers Association, Inc., 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $55.75.

A. Leo Seybold, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $186.75.

A. James R. Sharp, 11008 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Fur Merchants' Association, 224 West 30th Street, New York, N.Y., and Scandinavian Fur Farm Organizations, Langagervej 60, Glostrup, Denmark.

D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $3,161.77.

A. John J. Sheehan, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $4,300. E. (9) $2,696.46.

A. Max Shine, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Technical Engineers, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $992.50. E. (9) $20.

A. T. W. Smiley, 135 East 11th Place, Chicago, Ill.

B. Illinois Railroad Association, 135 East 11th Place, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $1,847.32.

A. Milan D. Smith, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dr. Spencer M. Smith, Jr., 1709 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Va.

B. Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, 712 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C

D. (6) $3,581.72. E. (9) $1,824.53.

A. J. R. Snyder, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

A. Carl A. Soderblom, 1 East First Street, Reno, Nev.

B. Nevada Railroad Association, 1 East First Street, Reno, Nev.

A. Stanley L. Somer, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,500.

A. Marvin J. Sonosky, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D C.

A. W. Byron Sorrell, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Mobilehome Dealers National Association, 39 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $2,025. E. (9) $118.78.

A. Southern Pine Industry Committee, 520 National Bank of Commerce Building, New Orleans, La.

D. (6) $650. E. (9) $462.

A. William W. Spear, 214 Fremont National Bank Building, Fremont, Nebr.

B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,030.77. E. (9) $4.32.

A. B. H. Steuerwald, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, 2247 West Lawrence Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Daniels, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Importers Association, 111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,140.63. E. (9) $1,640.63.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Daniels, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Japan Chemical Fibers Association, 3, 3-Chome Muromachi, Nihonbashi, Chuoku, Tokyo, Japan.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Daniels, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Japan General Merchandise Exporters Association and Japan Rubber Footwear Manufacturers Association of Tokyo, Japan; Miscellaneous Goods Division, Japanese Chamber of Commerce of New York, Inc., and Imported Footwear Group, American Importers Association, Inc., New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $75.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Daniels, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Japan Iron & Steel Exporters' Association, Tokyo, Japan.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $150.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Daniels, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Japan Woolen & Linen Textiles Exporters Association, 4, 4-Chrome, Bingomachi, Higashiku, Osaka, Japan.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Daniels, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Unione Industrial Pratese, Prato, Italy; American Textile Importers Association, 200 West 34th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Nelson A. Stitt, 100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Daniels, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Vorort des schweinzerischen Handels-und-Industrie-Vereins, Boersenstrasse 26, Zurich, Switzerland.

A. Russell D. Tall, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William C. Taylor, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Southern Pine Industry Committee.

D. (6) $650. E. (9) $462.

A. Julia C. Thompson, 1030 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Nurses' Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,922.44.

A. Dwight D. Townsend, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Cooperative League of USA, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $8.240.

A. Paul T. Truitt, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Plant Food Institute, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dick Tullis, 307 Maple Terrace, Dallas, Tex.

B. Superior Oil Co., Houston, Tex., and Los Angeles, Calif.

D. (6) $100. E. (9) $50.

A. United Business Schools Association, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $750.

A. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. The Universal Exchange, Post Office Box 8701, Orlando, Fla.

E. (9) $1,492.97.

A. Venable, Baetjer & Howard, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

B. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Venable, Baetjer & Howard, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

B. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, care of Mercantile Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. James S. Vlasto Associates, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Dominium International, Inc., 1270 Avenue of Americas, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $191.53.

A. Volume Footwear Retailers Association, Inc., 51 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $600. E. (9) $435.36.

A. Thomas G. Walters, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,452.42. E. (9) $8,495.66.

A. E. E. Webster, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes, 12050 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $3,820,10.

A. Western States Meat Packers Association, Inc. 604 Mission Street, San Francisco, Calif.

D. (6) $13,663. E. (9) $312.48.

A. Robert Winter-Berger, 123 East 75th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Venlo Wolfsohn, 1729 H Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Institute of Scrap Iron & Steel, Inc., 1729 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $1.50.

A. Russell J. Woodman, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Transportation-Communication Employees Union, 3860 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.

A. Kenneth Young, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,361. E. (9) $361.35.

QUARTERLY REPORTS

The following quarterly reports were submitted for the first calendar quarter 1968:

(NOTE.—**The form used for report is reproduced below.** In the interest of economy in the RECORD, questions are not repeated, only the essential answers are printed, and are indicated by their respective letter and number.)

FILE ONE COPY WITH THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE AND FILE TWO COPIES WITH THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

This page (page 1) is designed to supply identifying data; and page 2 (on the back of this page) deals with financial data.

PLACE AN "X" BELOW THE APPROPRIATE LETTER OR FIGURE IN THE BOX AT THE RIGHT OF THE "REPORT" HEADING BELOW:

"PRELIMINARY" REPORT ("Registration"): To "register," place an "X" below the letter "P" and fill out page 1 only.

"QUARTERLY" REPORT: To indicate which one of the four calendar quarters is covered by this Report, place an "X" below the appropriate figure. Fill out both page 1 and page 2 and as many additional pages as may be required. The first additional page should be numbered as page "3," and the rest of such pages should be "4," "5," "6," etc. Preparation and filing in accordance with instructions will accomplish compliance with all quarterly reporting requirements of the Act.

Year: 19------- ◄

REPORT

PURSUANT TO FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

P	QUARTER			
	1st	2d	3d	4th
(Mark one square only)				

NOTE ON ITEM "A".—(a) IN GENERAL. This "Report" form may be used by either an organization or an individual, as follows:

(i) "Employee".—To file as an "employee", state (in Item "B") the name, address, and nature of business of the "employer". (If the "employee" is a firm [such as a law firm or public relations firm], partners and salaried staff members of such firm may join in filing a Report as an "employee".)

(ii) "Employer".—To file as an "employer", write "None" in answer to Item "B".

(b) SEPARATE REPORTS. An agent or employee should not attempt to combine his Report with the employer's Report:

(i) Employers subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their agents or employees.

(ii) Employees subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their employers.

A. ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL FILING:

1. State name, address, and nature of business.

2. If this Report is for an Employer, list names of agents or employees who will file Reports for this Quarter.

NOTE ON ITEM "B".—*Reports by Agents or Employees.* An employee is to file, each quarter, as many Reports as he has employers, except that: (*a*) If a particular undertaking is jointly financed by a group of employers, the group is to be considered as one employer, but all members of the group are to be named, and the contribution of each member is to be specified; (*b*) if the work is done in the interest of one person but payment therefor is made by another, a single Report—naming both persons as "employers"—is to be filed each quarter.

B. EMPLOYER.—State name, address, and nature of business. If there is no employer, write "None."

NOTE ON ITEM "C".—(*a*) The expression "in connection with legislative interests," as used in this Report, means "in connection with attempting, directly or indirectly, to influence the passage or defeat of legislation." "The term 'legislation' means bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations, and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House"—§ 302(e).

(*b*) Before undertaking any activities in connection with legislative interests, organizations and individuals subject to the Lobbying Act are required to file a "Preliminary" Report (Registration).

(*c*) After beginning such activities, they must file a "Quarterly" Report at the end of each calendar quarter in which they have either received or expended anything of value in connection with legislative interests.

C. LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS, AND PUBLICATIONS in connection therewith:

1. State approximately how long legislative interests are to continue. If receipts and expenditures in connection with legislative interests have terminated, ☐ place an "X" in the box at the left, so that this Office will no longer expect to receive Reports.

2. State the general legislative interests of the person filing and set forth the *specific* legislative interests by reciting: (*a*) Short titles of statutes and bills; (*b*) House and Senate numbers of bills, where known; (*c*) citations of statutes, where known; (*d*) whether for or against such statutes and bills.

3. In the case of those publications which the person filing has caused to be issued or distributed in connection with legislative interests, set forth: (*a*) Description, (*b*) quantity distributed; (*c*) date of distribution, (*d*) name of printer or publisher (if publications were paid for by person filing) or name of donor (if publications were received as a gift).

(Answer items 1, 2, and 3 in the space below. Attach additional pages if more space is needed)

4. If this is a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) rather than a "Quarterly" Report, state below what the nature and amount of anticipated expenses will be; and if for an agent or employee, state also what the daily, monthly, or annual rate of compensation is to be. If this is a "Quarterly" Report, disregard this item "C4" and fill out item "D" and "E" on the back of this page. Do not attempt to combine a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) with a "Quarterly" Report.◄

AFFIDAVIT

[Omitted in printing]

PAGE 1◄

NOTE ON ITEM "D."—(*a*) *In General.* The term "contribution" includes *anything of value.* When an organization or individual uses printed or duplicated matter in a campaign attempting to influence legislation, money received by such organization or individual—for such printed or duplicated matter—is a "contribution." "The term 'contribution' includes a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution"—Section 302(a) of the Lobbying Act.

(*b*) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN EMPLOYER.—(i) *In General.* Item "D" is designed for the reporting of all receipts from which expenditures are made, or will be made, in accordance with legislative interests.

(ii) *Receipts of Business Firms and Individuals.*—A business firm (or individual) which is subject to the Lobbying Act by reason of expenditures which it makes in attempting to influence legislation—but which has no funds to expend except those which are available in the ordinary course of operating a business not connected in any way with the influencing of legislation—will have no receipts to report, even though it does have expenditures to report.

(iii) *Receipts of Multipurpose Organizations.*—Some organizations do not receive any funds which are to be expended solely for the purpose of attempting to influence legislation. Such organizations make such expenditures out of a general fund raised by dues, assessments, or other contributions. The percentage of the general fund which is used for such expenditures indicates the percentage of dues, assessments, or other contributions which may be considered to have been paid for that purpose. Therefore, in reporting receipts, such organizations may specify what that percentage is, and report their dues, assessments, and other contributions on that basis. However, each contributor of $500 or more is to be listed, regardless of whether the contribution was made solely for legislative purposes.

(*c*) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN AGENT OR EMPLOYEE.—(i) *In General.* In the case of many employees, all receipts will come under Items "D 5" (received for services) and "D 12" (expense money and reimbursements). In the absence of a clear statement to the contrary, it will be presumed that your employer is to reimburse you for all expenditures which you make in connection with legislative interests.

(ii) *Employer as Contributor of $500 or More.*—When your contribution from your employer (in the form of salary, fee, etc.) amounts to $500 or more, it is not necessary to report such contribution under "D 13" and "D 14," since the amount has already been reported under "D 5," and the name of the "employer" has been given under Item "B" on page 1 of this report.

D. RECEIPTS (INCLUDING CONTRIBUTIONS AND LOANS):

Fill in every blank. If the answer to any numbered item is "None," write "None" in the space following the number.

Receipts (other than loans)

1. $________Dues and assessments
2. $________Gifts of money or anything of value
3. $________Printed or duplicated matter received as a gift
4. $________Receipts from sale of printed or duplicated matter
5. $________Received for services (e.g., salary, fee, etc.)

6. $________TOTAL for this Quarter (Add items "1" through "5")
7. $________Received during previous Quarters of calendar year

8. $________TOTAL from Jan. 1 through this Quarter (Add "6" and "7")

Loans Received

"The term 'contribution' includes a . . . *loan* . . ."—Sec. 302(a).

9. $________TOTAL now owed to others on account of loans
10. $________Borrowed from others during this Quarter
11. $________Repaid to others during this Quarter

12. $________"Expense money" and Reimbursements received this Quarter

Contributors of $500 or more (from Jan. 1 through this Quarter)

13. Have there been such contributors?

Please answer "yes" or "no": ________

14. In the case of each contributor whose contributions (including loans) during the "period" from January 1 through the last days of this Quarter total $500 or more:

Attach hereto plain sheets of paper, approximately the size of this page, tabulate data under the headings "Amount" and "Name and Address of Contributor"; and indicate whether the last day of the period is March 31, June 30, September 30, or December 31. Prepare such tabulation in accordance with the following example:

Amount	*Name and Address of Contributor*
	(*"Period"* from Jan. 1 through ________________, 19____)
$1,500.00	John Doe, 1621 Blank Bldg., New York, N.Y.
$1,785.00	The Roe Corporation, 2511 Doe Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
$3,285.00	TOTAL

NOTE ON ITEM "E".—(*a*) *In General.* "The term 'expenditure' includes a payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make an expenditure"—Section 302(b) of the Lobbying Act.

(*b*) IF THIS REPORT IS FOR AN AGENT OR EMPLOYEE. In the case of many employees, all expenditures will come under telephone and telegraph (Item "E 6") and travel, food, lodging, and entertainment (Item "E 7").

E. EXPENDITURES (INCLUDING LOANS) in connection with legislative interests:

Fill in every blank. If the answer to any numbered item is "None," write "None" in the spaces following the number.

Expenditures (other than loans)

1. $________Public relations and advertising services
2. $________Wages, salaries, fees, commissions (other than item "1")
3. $________Gifts or contributions made during Quarter
4. $________Printed or duplicated matter, including distribution cost
5. $________Office overhead (rent, supplies, utilities, etc.)
6. $________Telephone and telegraph
7. $________Travel, food, lodging, and entertainment
8. $________All other expenditures

9. $________TOTAL for this Quarter (Add "1" through "8")
10. $________Expended during previous Quarters of calendar year

11. $________TOTAL from January 1 through this Quarter (Add "9" and "10")

Loans Made to Others

"The term 'expenditure' includes a . . . *loan* . . ."—Sec. 302(b).

12. $________TOTAL now owed to person filing
13. $________Lent to others during this Quarter
14. $________Repayment received during this Quarter

15. Recipients of Expenditures of $10 or More

In the case of expenditures made during this Quarter by, or on behalf of the person filing: Attach plain sheets of paper approximately the size of this page and tabulate data as to expenditures under the following heading: "Amount," "Date or Dates," "Name and Address of Recipient," "Purpose." Prepare such tabulation in accordance with the following example:

Amount	*Date or Dates—Name and Address of Recipient—Purpose*
$1,750.00	7-11: Roe Printing Co., 3214 Blank Ave., St. Louis, Mo.—Printing and mailing circulars on the "Marshbanks Bill."
$2,400.00	7-15, 8-15, 9-15: Britten & Blaten, 3127 Gremlin Bldg., Washington, D.C.—Public relations service at $800.00 per month.
$4,150.00	TOTAL

A. Ad Hoc Committee of the Construction Industry Advancement Funds, 1016 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Clarence G. Adamy, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Food Chains, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500.

A. Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc., 1725 DeSales Street NW, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,754.75. E. (9) $5,754.75.

A. Air Traffic Control Association, Inc., 525 School Street SW., Washington, D.C.

A. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,234.55. E. (9) $3,234.55.

A. Aircraft Owners & Pilots Association, Post Office Box 5800, Washington, D.C.

A. Mrs. Donna Allen, 3306 Ross Place NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $1,040. E. (9) $1,541.50.

A. Kenneth D. Allen, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Health Insurance Association of America, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $32.63. E. (9) $10.58.

A. Louis J. Allen.
B. Class I railroads.

A. Nicholas E. Allen & Merrill Armour, 444 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Music Operators of America, Inc., 228 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,437.50. E. (9) $25.13.

A. Amalgamated Transit Union, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Amalgamated Transit Union, National Capital Division 689, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
A. American Association of Bioanalysts, 805 Ambassador Building, St. Louis, Mo.
A. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. American Cancer Society, 219 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $7,868.66.

A. American Carpet Institute, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $133. E. (9) $262.

A. The American Beekeeping Federation, Minco, Okla.
D. (6) $6,512.78. E. (9) $6,348.34.

A. The American College of Radiology, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,510.50. E. (9) $1,510.50.

A. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. American Farm Bureau Federation, Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill., and 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $36,566. E. (9) $36,566

A. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $38,324.66.

A. American Hospital Association, 840 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $10,810.61. E. (9) $10,810.61.

A. American Hotel & Motel Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
(D). (6) $1,800. E. (9) $1,800.

A. American Insurance Association, 85 John Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $8,474.90. E. (9) $8,474.90.

A. American Israel Public Affairs Committee, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $548.48. E. (9) $266.46.

A. American Justice Association, Defense Highway, Gambrills, Md.
D. (6) $2. E. (9) $2.

A. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $87,754.50. E. (9) $36,372.40.

A. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $15,086.04.

A. American Merchant Marine Institute, Inc., 11 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $1,631.

A. American Mutual Insurance Alliance, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $340.

A. American National Cattlemen's Association, 801 East 17th Avenue, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $70,659. E. (9) $5,696.

A. American Nurses' Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $9,653.05. E. (9) $9,653.05.

A. American Optometric Association, care of J. C. Tumblin, 4836 Broadway NE., Knoxville, Tenn.
E. (9) $4,398.70.

A. American Paper Institute, Inc., 260 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. American Parents Committee, Inc., 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C. and the subcommittee Bipartisan Citizens Committee for Federal Aid for Public Elementary and Secondary Education, 2104 Davenport Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $662.36.

A. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $25,559. E. (9) $9,867.

A. American Podiatry Association, 3301 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $3,152.44.

A. American Pulpwood Association, 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. The American Short Line Railroad Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $269.35. E. (9) $269.35.

A. American Society of Consulting Planners, 800 Federal Bar Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $2,328.05.

A. American Society of Travel Agents, Inc., 360 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E.(9) $21,003.98.

A. American Stockyards Association, 1712 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,350. E. (9) $900.

A. American Taxpayers Association, 326 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

A. American Textile Machinery Association, 224 Ellington Road, Longmeadow, Mass.
D. (6) $333.22.

A. American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc., 1501 Johnston Building, Charlotte, N.C.
D. (6) $14,451. E. (9) $14,451.

A. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $10,290.06. E. (9) $15,856.07.

A. American Veterinary Medical Association, 1522 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $345.

A. The American Waterways Operators, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,473.61. E. (9) $3,473.61.

A. Cyrus T. Anderson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Football League, 1 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. Cyrus T. Anderson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Spiegel, Inc., 2511 West 23d Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Walter M. Anderson, Jr., Montgomery, Ala.
B. Alabama Railroad Association, 1002 First National Bank Building, Montgomery, Ala.

A. William C. Anderson, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,687.50. E. (9) $49.45.

A. Mrs. Erma Angevine, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. George W. Apperson, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, National Capital Division 689, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Arkansas Railroad Association, 1100 Boyle Building, Little Rock, Ark.
B. Class One railroad operating in and through the State of Arkansas.
D. (6) $134.54. E. (9) $459.79.

A. Carl F. Arnold, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,125. E. (9) $1,787.50.

A. Arnold & Porter, 1229 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Record Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $16,666.68. E. (9) $352.37.

A. Associated Railroads of New Jersey, Pennsylvania Station, Raymond Plaza, Newark, N.J.

A. Associated Third Class Mail Users, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc., 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $525. E. (9) $525.

A. Association of American Railroads, 929 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $8,857.08. E. (9) $8,857.08.

A. Association on Broadcasting Standards, Inc., 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Association on Japanese Textile Imports, Inc., 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,000.

A. Association of Oil Pipe Lines, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $310.

A. The Association of Western Railroads, 224 Union Station Building, Chicago, Ill.

A. Atlanta Committee for Democratic Republican Independent Voter Education, 2540 Lakewood Avenue SW., Atlanta, Ga.

D. (6) $3,213.96. E. (9) $5,009.35.

A. Atlantic Richfield Co., 260 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

E. (9) $300.

A. Robert L. Augenblick, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Richard W. Averill, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Optometric Association, in care of J. C. Tumblin, 4836 Broadway NE., Knoxville, Tenn.

D. (6) $800. E. (9) $301.

A. Michael H. Bader, 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Association on Broadcasting Standards, Inc., 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harry S. Baer, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National AeroSpace Service Association, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $333.

A. Donald Baldwin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Northern Pacific Railway Co., St. Paul, Minn.; Great Northern Railway Co., St. Paul, Minn.; Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Co., Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $381.91.

A. Ernest L. Barcella, Washington, D.C.

B. General Motors Corp., 3044 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.

A. Barna-Reggitts, 1055 Main Avenue, Clifton, N.J.

A. John Barnard, Jr., 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Arthur R. Barnett, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $662.50. E. (9) $10.29.

A. Vincent Gerrard Barnett, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Committee of European Shipowners, 30–32 St. Mary Axe, London, E. C. 3, England.

D. (6) $13,555.89. E. (9) $14,555.89.

A. Irvin L. Barney, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America, 4929 Main Street, Kansas City, Mo.

D. (6) $3,600.

A. A. Wesley Barthelmes, 2133 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Insurance Company of North America and Life Insurance Company of North America, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

D. (6) $491.30. E. (9) $286.76.

A. Eugene T. Bartkowiak, 3829 W Street SE., Washington, D.C.

B. The National Association of Polish Americans, Inc., 3829 W Street SE., Washington, D.C.

A. James P. Bass, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Airlines, Inc., 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Ross Bass Associates, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Record Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $6,250.

A. Roy Battles, 917 Cafritz Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Clear Channel Broadcasting Service (CCBS), 917 Cafritz Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Mrs. Dita Davis Beard, 1707 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., 1707 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,200. E. (9) $5,070.

A. Donald S. Beattie, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,200.

A. Daniel S. Bedell, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Union, United Automobile Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $1,256.13. E. (9) $908.16.

A. John H. Beidler.

B. Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,076. E. (9) $443.56.

A. James F. Bell, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $987.50.

A. Reed A. Benson, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The John Birch Society, Inc., 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont, Mass.

A. Andrew J. Biemiller, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $7,060. E. (9) $314.20.

A. Walter J. Bierwagen, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John H. Bivins, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Petroleum Institute, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $690.

A. Joel D. Blackmon, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Mailers Union, 2240 Bell Court, Denver, Colo.

A. Robert W. Blair.

B. New Process Co., Warren, Pa.

E. (9) $116.

A. Thomas D. Blake, 1108 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Sharp, Partridge, Gants & Perkins, 1108 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $1.70.

A. Wm. Rhea Blake, 1918 North Parkway, Memphis, Tenn.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

A. William Blum, Jr., 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Committee for the Study of Revenue Bond Financing, 55 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $4,253.33. E. (9) $1,450.80.

A. Blumberg, Singer, Ross, Diamond & Gordon, 245 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Cigar Manufacturers Association of America, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $6,250.

A. Fred F. Bockmon, 405 Luhrs Building, Phoenix, Ariz.

B. Southern Pacific Co., 65 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif., and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, 121 East Sixth Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

D. (6) $435. E. (9) $15.

A. Eugene F. Bogan, Bogan & Freeland, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Book Manufacturers' Institute, Inc., 161 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Lyle H. Boren, Seminole, Okla.

B. The Association of Western Railways, 224 Union Station Building, Chicago, Ill.

A. Robert T. Borth, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. General Electric Co., 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $103.10.

A. G. Stewart Boswell, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Textile Manufacturers Institute, 1501 Johnston Building, Charlotte, N.C.

D. (6) $550. E. (9) $88.08.

A. Robert S. Bourbon, 8121 Georgia Avenue, Silver Spring, Md.

B. American Association of Bioanalysts, 805 Ambassador Building, St. Louis, Mo.

A. Samuel E. Boyle, 428 South Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

B. The Christian Amendment Movement, 304 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $1,517.43. E. (9) $313.34.

A. Col. A. A. Brackett, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Charles N. Brady, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph E. Brady, 122 Sheraton Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

B. National Coordinating Committee of the Beverage Industry.

A. Charles R. Bragg, 90 Stony Corners Circle, Avon, Conn.

B. Northeast Utilities Service Co., 176 Cumberland Avenue, Wethersfield, Conn.

E. (9) $1,075.22.

A. A. Marvin Braverman, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. American Motors Corp., 14250 Plymouth Road, Detroit, Mich.

E. (9) $124.56.

A. Parke C. Brinkley, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Agricultural Chemicals Association.

A. Wally Briscoe.

B. National Cable Television Association, Inc., 1634 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $135. E. (9) $16.50.

A. Florence I. Broadwell, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Federation of Federal Employees, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,753.05.

A. David A. Brody, 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) Approximately $250.

A. W. S. Bromley, 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. American Pulpwood Association, 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Milton E. Brooding, 215 Fremont Street, San Francisco, Calif.

B. Del Monte Corp., 215 Fremont Street, San Francisco, Calif.

D. (6) $500. E. (9) $50.

A. Joseph P. Brosnan, 9160 Springhill Lane, Greenbelt, Md.

B. Air Force Sergeants Association, 1501 Pennsylvania Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.

A. Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America, 217 North Sixth Street, Lafayette, Ind.

A. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

D. (6) $21,939.04. E. (9) $21,939.04.

A. J. D. Brown, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $150.

A. Brown, Lund & Levin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American & Foreign Power Co., Inc., 2 Rector Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Brown, Lund & Levin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert J. Brown, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $325.

A. Robert W. Bruce, 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

B. The Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co., 140 New Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Calif.

D. (6) $306. E. (9) $364.

A. Lyman L. Bryan, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. George S. Buck, Jr., Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

D. (6) $150. E. (9) $5.92.

A. George S. Bullen.

B. National Federation of Independent Business, 921 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Norman D. Burch, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $107.89.

A. George J. Burger.

B. Burger Tire Consultant Service, 250 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. George J. Burger.

B. National Federation of Independent Business, 921 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Burley & Dark Leaf Tobacco Export Association, Post Office Box 860, Lexington, Ky.

E. (9) $780.94.

A. George B. Burnham, 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.

B. Numerous stockholders of the Burnham Chemical Co., 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $225. E. (9) $225.

A. George Burnham 4th, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United States Steel Corp., 525 William Penn Place, Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $625. E. (9) $425.51.

A. David Burpee, Fordhook Farms, Doylestown, Pa.

E. (9) $80.22.

A. Hollis W. Burt, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1107 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $75.

A. Herbert H. Butler, 438 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. United States Independent Telephone Association, 438 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $120. E. (9) $626.50.

A. Robert B. Byrnes, 1514 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Railroad Pension Forum, Inc., 2403 East 75th Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $218.99.

A. Charles G. Caffrey, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Textile Manufacturers Institute, Inc., 1501 Johnston Building, Charlotte, N.C.

D. (6) $760.20. E. (9) $140.

A. Gorden L. Calvert, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Investment Bankers Association of America, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $1,040.

A. Donald L. Calvin, 11 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

B. New York Stock Exchange, 11 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Carl C. Campbell, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

D. (6) $263.08.

A. Canal Zone Central Labor Union-Metal Trades Council, AFL-CIO, Post Office Box 471, Balboa Heights, C.Z.

D. (6) $1,181.37. E. (9) $2,265.41.

A. Marvin Caplan.

B. Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,977. E. (9) $128.10.

A. Ronald A. Capone, 505 The Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Committee of European Shipowners, 30-32 St. Mary Axe, London E.C. 3, England.

E. (9) $359.45.

A. Michael H. Cardozo, Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Law Schools, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Philip Carlip, 650 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

B. District 2, Marine Engineers Beneficial Association.

D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $101.40.

A. Philip Carlip, 675 Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

B. Seafarers International Union.

D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $1,210.

A. Colonel John T. Carlton, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Braxton B. Carr., 1250 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. The American Waterways Operators, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,917. E. (9) $169.33.

A. Robert S. Carr, 1220 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Hiram Walker & Sons, Inc., 8323 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

A. Richard M. Carrigan, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Legislation and Federal Relations, National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,145.01. E. (9) $41.18.

A. Blue Allan Carstenson.

B. The Farmers' Educational & Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo.; 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,624.70. E. (9) $259.46.

A. Eugene C. Carusi, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $100.

A. Ralph E. Casey, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Merchant Marine Institute, Inc., 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 11 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,380. E. (9) $251.

A. E. Michael Cassady, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

B. Mississippi Valley Association, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

A. Central Arizona Project Association, 1124 Arizona Title Building, Phoenix, Ariz.

D. (6) $15,220. E. (9) $29,040.60.

A. Col. Joseph L. Chabot, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Chapman, DiSalle & Friedman, 932 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. International Association of Game, Fish & Conservation Commissioners, Secretary's Office, 5727 Blake Road, Minneapolis, Minn.

D. (6) $900. E. (9) $122.22.

A. Chapman, DiSalle & Friedman, 932 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The National Committee for the Recording Arts, 9300 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, Calif.
D. (6) $16,666.67. E. (9) $345.33.

A. Chapman, DiSalle & Friedman, 932 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Newspaper Committee for a Free and Competitive Press, 33 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $297.36.

A. Chapman, DiSalle & Friedman, 932 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Strohmeyer & Arpe Co., 139–141 Franklin Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $443.75. E. (9) $64.43.

A. James W. Chapman.
B. Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,625.

A. A. H. Chesser, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
E. (9) $100.

A. The Christian Amendment Movement, 804 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $1,709.89. E. (9) $5,652.89.

A. Hal M. Christensen, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Dental Association, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,250.

A. Edwin Christianson.
B. The Farmers' Educational & Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo.; 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $35. E. (9) $108.70.

A. Lowell T. Christison, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Optometric Association, in care of J. C. Tumblin, 4836 Broadway NE., Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $140.60. E. (9) $91.20.

A. Cigar Manufacturers Association of America, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $38,840.06.

A. Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $18,292. E. (9) $9,031.11.

A. William F. Claire, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Paper Institute, Inc., 260 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Allen C. K. Clark, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Shipbuilders Council of America, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Earl W. Clark.
B. Labor-Management Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,294. E. (9) $62.

A. James E. Clark, Jr., 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Fleet Reserve Association, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert M. Clark, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., 80 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

A. Clay Pipe Industry Depletion Committee, Post Office Box 13125, Kansas City, Mo.
D. (6) $197.05.

A. Clear Channel Broadcasting Service (CCBS), 917 Cafritz Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Tobacco Co.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Philip Morris, Inc.

A. Earle C Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

A. Earle C. Clements, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc.

A. David Cohen.
B. Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,806.40. E. (9) $196.65.

A. Edwin S. Cohen, 26 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $10.

A. Garrett V. Coleman, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $47.

A. William J. Colley, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association.

A. Collier, Shannon & Rill, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Broiler Council, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $600.

A. Collier, Shannon & Rill, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Footwear Manufacturers Association, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $275.

A. Collier, Shannon & Rill, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Tool and Stainless Steel Industry Committee, care of the Carpenter Steel Co., Reading, Pa.
D. (6) $1,250. E. (9) $450.

A. Paul G. Collins, 111 Westminster Street, Providence, R.I.
B. The Industrial National Bank of Rhode Island, 111 Westminster Street, Providence, R.I.
D. (6) $68.75.

A. Colorado Railroad Association, 702 Majestic Building, Denver, Colo.
B. Colorado Railroad Association.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $597.56.

A. Harrison Combs, Jr., 1427 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Mine Workers of America, 900 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,295.98.

A. The Committee for Broadening Commercial Bank Participation in Public Financing, 50 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,135.

A. Committee for a Free Cotton Market, Inc., 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $171.53.

A. R. T. Compton, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Manufacturers.

A. Paul B. Comstock, 1812 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Broadcasters, 1812 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Raymond F. Conkling, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Texaco, Inc., 135 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $240. E. (9) $215.50.

A. Howard M. Conner, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 245 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $1,557.50. E. (9) $1,280.69.

A. John D. Conner, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Book Manufacturers' Institute, Inc., 161 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert J. Conner, Jr., 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chrysler Corp., 341 Massachusetts Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $485. E. (9) $215.

A. Paul R. Conrad, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Newspaper Association, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $130.78.

A. Harry N. Cook, 1130 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Waterways Conference.

A. Eileen D. Cooke, 200 C Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $61.56.

A. Edward Cooper.
B. Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. J. Milton Cooper, 1000 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., Winston-Salem, N.C.

A. Joshua W. Cooper, 626 South Lee Street, Alexandria, Va.
B. Portsmouth-Kittery Armed Services Committee, Inc., Post Office Box 1123, Portsmouth, N.H.
D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $1,269.20.

A. Mitchell J. Cooper, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Council of Forest Industries, 1477 West Pender Street, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
D. (6) $3,000.

A. Mitchell J. Cooper, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Footwear Division, Rubber Manufacturers Association, Inc., 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $6,000. E. (9) $50.50.

A. Darrell Coover, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $583.17.

A. Council for a Livable World, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $15,154.03. E. (9) $23,513.09.

A. Council of State Chambers of Commerce, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $827.61. E. (9) $827.61.

A. Counihan, Casey & Loomis, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Linen Supply Association of America, 975 Arthur Godfrey Road, Miami Beach, Fla.
E. (9) $15.60.

A. Donald M. Counihan, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. American Corn Millers Federation, 1030 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Donald M. Counihan, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. Classroom Periodical Publishers Association, 38 West Fifth Street, Dayton, Ohio.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Machine Tool Distributors' Association, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Eugene Meyer III, Katharine Graham, Frederick S. Beebe, and American Security & Trust Co., as Trustees under an agreement, dated April 25, 1963, between them and Agnes E. Meyer.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. A. P. Moller, 8 Kongens Nytorv, Copenhagen, Denmark.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Mortgage Insurance Companies, in care of William A. Granberry, Post Office Box 2976, Raleigh, N.C.
D. (6) $5,000.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Machine Tool Builders' Association, 2139 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Tool, Die & Precision Machining Association, 1411 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Covington & Burling, 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The Wisconsin Corp., Route 3, Box 3747, Bainbridge Island, Wash.
D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $49.54.

A. Cox, Langford & Brown, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Collegiate Athletic Association, Midland Building, Kansas City, Mo.

A. W. J. Crawford, Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co. (a Delaware Corp.), Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.

A. P. H. Croft, 200 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Short Line Railroad Association, 2000 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $77.42.

A. Michael B. Crowson, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Distilled Spirits Institute, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

A. J. Steele Culbertson, 1614 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Fish Meal & Oil Association, 1614 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $135.35.

A. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $1,555.81. E. (9) $332.86.

A. John T. Curran, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Laborers' International Union of North America, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,550. E. (9) $2,205.39.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Importers Association, 111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $400.39. E. (9) $400.39.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japan Chemical Fibers Association, 3, 3-Chome, Muromachi, Nihonbashi, Chuo-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japan Woolen & Linen Textiles Exporters Association, 4, 4-Chome, Bingomachi, Higashiku, Osaka, Japan.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Vorort des schweizerischen Handels- und Industrie-Vereins, Boersenstrasse 26, Zurich, Switzerland.

A. John C. Datt, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,062.50. E. (9) $15.53.

A. Aled P. Davies, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. American Meat Institute, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $28[illegible].10

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Chicago Bridge & Iron Co., 901 West 22d Street, Oak Brook, Ill.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Chicago & North Western Railway Co., 400 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Inland Steel Co., 30 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,435.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $122.53.

A. Charles W. Davis, 1 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Union Tank Car Co., 111 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

A. Lowell Davis, 5710 Arthington Street, Houston, Tex.
D. (6) $135. E. (9) $135.

A. Charles W. Day, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.
D. (6) $197. E. (9) $260.52.

A. Michael B. Deane, 611 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Meat Importers Council, Inc., 26 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Debevoise, Liberman & Corben, Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Northeast Utilities Service Co., 176 Cumberland Avenue, Wethersfield, Conn.
D. (6) $1,400. E. (9) $47.72.

A. Tony T. Dechant.
B. The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo.; 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $152.10.

A. L. E. Deilke, 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.
B. The Interstate Manufacturers Association, 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. L. E. Deilke, 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.
B. National Association of Direct Selling Cos., 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.
D. (6) $3,000.

A. John deLaittre, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $9,250. E. (9) $3,993.

A. James J. Delaney, Jr., 1003 Lancaster Drive, Anchorage, Alaska.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Richard A. Dell, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.

A. Max A. Denney, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $900.

A. Leslie E. Dennis, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $2,375. E. (9) $963.27.

A. Steven B. Derounian, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Courier Corp., 222–17 Northern Boulevard, Bayside, N.Y.
D. (6) $100. E. (9) $130.

A. Steven B. Derounian, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amperex Electronic Corp., 230 Duffy Avenue, Hicksville, N.Y.
D. (6) $75. E. (9) $142.

A. Steven B. Derounian, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Town of Hempstead, Town Hall, Hempstead, N.Y.
D. (6) $200. E. (9) $160.

A. Lloyd J. Derrickson, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc.

A. Russell C. Derrickson, 4000 Cathedral Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Responsive Environments Corp., 1707 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $105.00.

A. Cecil B. Dickson, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $360. E. (9) $55.20.

A. George S. Dietrich, 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association on Broadcasting Standards, Inc., 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Timothy V. A. Dillon, 1001 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Department of Water Resources, State of California, Post Office Box 388, Sacramento, Calif.
D. (6) $2,829.97.

A. Timothy V. A. Dillon, 1001 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sacramento Municipal Utility District, Post Office Box 15830, Sacramento, Calif.
D. (6) $1,084.14. E. (9) $34.14.

A. Timothy V. A. Dillon, 1001 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Yuba County Water Agency, Marysville, Calif.
E. (9) $9.65.

A. Disabled American Veterans, National Service Headquarters, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Spring, Ky.
D. (6) $12,750. E. (9) $3,731.40.

A. Robert H. Distelhorst, Jr., 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $487.50. E. (9) $4.50.

A. William H. Dodds, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW), 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $143.98.

A. Paul R. M. Donelan, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Jasper N. Dorsey, 1730 K Street NW, Washington, D.C.
B. American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $190.30.

A. C. L. Dorson, 501 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retirement Federation of Civil Service Employees of the U.S. Government, 501 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,640.61. E. (9) $399.

A. Leonard K. Dowiak, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Hotel & Motel Association, 211 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $150.

A. Franklin B. Dryden, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Tobacco Institute.

A. Evelyn Dubrow, 1710 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1710 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,715.44. E. (9) $1,835.85.

A. William DuChessi, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Textile Workers Union of America, AFL–CIO, 99 University Place, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,224.98. E. (9) $100.

A. J. D. Durand, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $310.

A. Robert G. Dwyer, 1511 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Anaconda Co., 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $250.

A. Eastern Meat Packer Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $102. E. (9) $37.

A. William B. Edgerton, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,125.

A. J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Jr., Post Office Box 1776, Raleigh, N.C.
B. Southern Railway System, Post Office Box 1808, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,512.50. E. (9) $1,493.35.

A. James B. Ehrlich, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $516.25. E. (9) $414.

A. Milton Eisenberg, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Dominium International, Inc., 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

A. Harmon L. Elder, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Wilson E. Hamilton, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $11.90.

A. John Doyle Elliott, 5500 Quincy Street, Hyattsville, Md.
D. (6) $3,140.39. E. (9) $2,983.89.

A. John M. Elliott, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Elliott & Naftalin, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Business Schools Association, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) 750.

A. Warren G. Elliott, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,041.88. E. (9) $77.52.

A. Dorothy A. Ellsworth, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $2,818.74. E. (9) $529.13.

A. Perry R. Ellsworth, 1025 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retail Jewelers of America, Inc., 1025 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,400.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Coachella Valley County Water District, Coachella, Calif.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Department of Water and Power of the City of Los Angeles, 111 North Hope Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $2,400.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. East Bay Municipal Utility District, 2130 Adeline Street, Oakland, Calif.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Imperial Irrigation District, El Centro, Calif.
D. (6) $2,100.

A. Ely & Duncan, 1200 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Six Agency Committee, 909 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $5,137.50.

A. Grover W. Ensley, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,470. E. (9) $140.

A. Lawrence E. Ernst, 324 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C.
B. National Star Route Mail Carriers' Association, 324 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $368.30.

A. John D. Fagan, 200 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.
D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $15.70.

A. The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo.; 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $85,992.29. E. (9) $21,447.46.

A. Joseph G. Feeney, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. REA Express, 219 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $300.

A. Maxwell Field, 4575 Prudential Tower, Boston, Mass.
B. New England Footwear Association, Inc., 4575 Prudential Tower, Boston, Mass.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $15.42.

A. Herbert A. Fierst, 607 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Council of Forest Industries of British Columbia, 1477 West Pender Street, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
D. (6)$7,400. E. (9) $220.

A. Herbert A. Fierst, 607 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Joint Committee of Printing and Publishing Industries of Canada, 117 Eglinton Avenue East, Toronto, Canada.
D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $190.81.

A. Mello G. Fish, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $2,835. E. (9) $1,203.49.

A. William J. Flaherty, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Spring, Ky.

D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $230.24.

A. Roger Fleming, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,450. E. (9) $13.42.

A. Floyd O. Flom, 260 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. American Paper Institute, Inc., 260 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Gene Fondren, Post Office Box 192, Taylor, Tex.

B. Texas railroads.

D. (6) $3,472. E. (9) $766.40.

A. Gordon Forbes, 207 Union Depot Building, St. Paul, Minn.

B. Minnesota Railroads Association.

D. (6) $500. E. (9) $434.23.

A. Frederick W. Ford.

B. National Cable Television Association, Inc., 1634 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $417. E. (9) $18.

A. James W. Foristel, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,762.50. E. (9) $151.24.

A. Charles E. Foster, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Kaiser Industries Corp., 900 17th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $250. E. (9) $381.35.

A. Ronald J. Foulis, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $210.

A. John G. Fox, 1730 K Street, NW., Washington, D.C., and 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $364.50.

A. Walter L. Frankland, Jr., 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Silver Users Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $450. E. (9) $101.75.

A. R. Frank Frazier, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Broiler Council, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $900.

A. James O. Freeman, 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. United States Savings and Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,562.50. E. (9) $61.67.

A. James H. French, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Book Manufacturers' Institute, Inc., 161 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Joseph Freni, Jr., 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $750.

A. Philip P. Friedlander, Jr., 1343 L Street NW, Washington, D.C.

B. National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, Inc., 1343 L Street NW, Washington, D.C.

A. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $35,964. E. (9) $11,043.

A. Frank W. Frisk, Jr., 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $335.

A. David C. Fullarton, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $659.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,375. E. (9) $305.11.

A. Gadsby & Hannah, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brazilian Embassy, 3007 Whitehaven Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Henry E. Gardiner, 1511 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Anaconda Co., 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $275. E. (9) $68.79.

A. William B. Gardiner, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexandria Pike, Cold Spring, Ky.

D. (6) $3,250. E. (9) $138.

A. Marion R. Garstang, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Milk Producers, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $200.

A. Gas Appliance Manufacturers Association, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Gas Supply Committee, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Aubrey D. Gates, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $170.

A. Mary Condon Gereau, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Education Association, Legislation and Federal Relations, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,623.50 E. (9) $43.05.

A. Arthur P. Gildea, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

B. International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers of America, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

E. (9) $95.65.

A. Joseph S. Gill, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.

B. The Ohio Railroad Association, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.

D. (6) $1,375. E. (9) $148.33.

A. Jay W. Glasmann, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C. and Richard B. Barker, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Employee Relocation Real Estate Advisory Committee, Inc., 209 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $11.18.

A. Glassie & Molloy, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Eastern Meat Packers Association, Inc., 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5. E. (9) $.77.

A. Glassie & Molloy, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The National Independent Meat Packers Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $225. E. (9) $29.73.

A. Glenn F. Glezen, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Fleet Reserve Association, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. W. S. Gookin, 112 North Central Avenue, Phoenix, Ariz.

A. John A. Gosnell, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,833.34.

A. Edward Gottlieb & Association, Ltd., 485 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Florists' Transworld Delivery Association, 900 West Lafayette Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.

A. Jerry Gould, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $82.82.

A. Government Employes' Council, AFL–CIO, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $13,317.64. E. (9) $3,988.29.

A. Grain & Feed Dealers National Association, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, 15401 Detroit Avenue, Lakewood, Cleveland, Ohio.

D. (6) $26,679.67. E. (9) $26,679.67.

A. Cornelius R. Gray, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. George O. Gray, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Legislative Committee, International Economic Policy Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $3,611.21.

A. James A. Gray, 2139 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Machine Tool Builders' Association, 2139 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Mrs. Virginia M. Gray, 3501 Williamsburg Lane NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Citizens Committee for UNICEF, 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.50. E. (9) $80.45.

A. Samuel A. Grayson, 611 Idaho Building, Boise, Idaho.

B. Union Pacific Railroad Co., 1416 Dodge Street, Omaha, Nebr.

E. (9) $353.31.

A. Clifford P. Greck, 1826 Jefferson Place NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Educational Publishers Institute, 432 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $250.

A. Dale Greenwood, 302 Hoge Building, Seattle, Wash.

B. Washington Railroad Association, 302 Hoge Building, Seattle, Wash.

E. (9) $432.02.

A. Ben H. Guill, 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Automobile Dealers Association and American Zinc Co.

D. (6) $4,100. E. (9) $1,800.

A. Jerome R. Gulan.

B. National Federation of Independent Business, 921 Washington Building, 15th Street and New York Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $120.

A. Lester M. Haddad, 5005 Wickett Terrace, Bethesda, Md.

B. Committee for the Evaluation of Industrial Aid Financing, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $8,000. E. (9) $1,049.75.

A. Hoyt S. Haddock.

B. Labor-Management Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,294. E. (9) $73.78.

A. John R. Haire, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Hal H. Hale, 421 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Randolph M. Hale, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Electrical Contractors Association, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harold T. Halfpenny, 111 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. J. G. Hall, Detroit, Mich.

B. General Motors Corp., 3044 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.

A. E. C. Hallbeck, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Federation of Postal Clerks, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $6,346.14.

A. Norman S. Halliday, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Electric Co.'s, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $825. E. (9) $606.86.

A. Thomas A. Halsted, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Council for a Livable World, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,000.

A. Hamel, Morgan, Park & Saunders, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National School Supply & Equipment Association, 79 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Hamel, Morgan, Park & Saunders, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Tejon Ranch Co., Post Office Box 1560, Bakersfield, Calif.

D. (6) $1,800.

A. Hamel, Morgan, Park & Saunders, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Student Aid Funds, Inc., 845 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $15.

A. Carlton B. Hamm, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Oceanography Association, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,500. E. (9) $51.16.

A. Harold F. Hammond, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Transportation Association of America, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $70.24.

A. Robert N. Hampton, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,449.98. E. (9) $320.15.

A. William E. Hardman, 1411 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Tool, Die & Precision Machining Association, 1411 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Eugene J. Hardy, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Manufacturers.

A. Bryce N. Harlow, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Procter & Gamble Manufacturing Co., 301 East Sixth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

E. (9) $170.

A. Mrs. Mildred B. Harman, 13th and E Streets NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1780 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Ill.

D. (6) $825. E. (9) $108.45.

A. L. James Harmanson, Jr., 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $6,516.64. E. (9) $261.17.

A. Herbert E. Harris II, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,650.

A. David Hartsough, 245 Second Street NE., Washintgon, D.C.

B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $562.

A. James L. Hatcher, 4222 Suitland Road S.E., Suitland, Md.

A. Paul M. Hawkins, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Health Insurance Association of America, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $3.61.

A. Kit H. Haynes, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,593.75. E. (9) $56.38.

A. Hays & Hays, Warner Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Motor Commerce Association, Inc., 4004 Versailles Road, Lexington, Ky.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $33.26.

A. Joseph H. Hays, 280 Union Station Building, Chicago, Ill.

B. The Association of Western Railways, 224 Union Station Building, Chicago, Ill.

A. John C. Hazen, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $47.80.

A. Health Insurance Association of America, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $114.63. E. (9) $114.63.

A. Patrick B. Healy, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $99.52.

A. George J. Hecht, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N.Y., and 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Parents Committee, Inc., 20 E Street NW., Washington, D.C., and the Subcommittee Bipartisan Citizens Commission for Federal Aid for Public Elementary and Secondary Education, 2107 Davenport Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Kenneth G. Heisler, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20036.

B. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $250.

A. Phil D. Helmig, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Atlantic Richfield Co., 260 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

D. (6) $150. E. (9) $150.

A. C. O. Henderson, Box 381, Washington, D.C.

A. Christopher O. Henderson, 1341 G Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

B. Organization of Professional Employees of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $550. E. (9) $25.

A. Mrs. Elizabeth S. Hendryson, 6303 Indian School Road NE., Albuquerque, N. Mex.

A. Edmund P. Hennelly, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

B. Mobil Oil Corp., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $233.36.

A. John K. Herbert, 575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Magazine Publishers Association, 575 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Maurice G. Herndon, 801 Warner Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Insurance Agents, 95 Fulton Street, New York, N.Y., and 801 Warner Building, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $616.84.

A. Clinton M. Hester, 432 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Football League, 1 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $10,000.

A. Clinton M. Hester, 432 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Savage Arms, Westfield, Mass., Redfield Gun Sight Co., Denver, Colo., O. F. Mossberg & Sons, Inc., New Haven, Conn., High Standard Corp., Hamden, Conn., and Browning Arms Co., Morgan, Utah.

D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $110.30.

A. Hester & Stone, 432 Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.

B. United States Brewers Association, 535 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $149.58.

A. M. F. Hicklin, 507 Bankers Trust Building, Des Moines, Iowa.

B. Iowa Railway Committee, 507 Bankers Trust Building, Des Moines, Iowa.

A. George T. Higgins, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Chrysler Corp., 341 Massachusetts Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

D. (6) $50. E. (9) $25.

A. John W. Hight, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Legislative Committee of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.

A. J. Eldred Hill, Jr., 720 Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C.

B. Unemployment Benefit Advisers, Inc.

D. (6) $2,000.

A. Hill & Knowlton, Inc., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y., and Robert K. Gray, Sr., 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Brig. Gen. James D. Hittle, USMC (Ret.), 200 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

D. (6) $1,614. E. (9) $104.50.

A. Lawrence S. Hobart, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $500.

A. Claude E. Hobbs, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Westinghouse Electric Corp., 3 Gateway Center, Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $900. E. (9) $195.

A. Ralph D. Hodges, Jr.

B. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $945.25.

A. Irvin A. Hoff, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. United States Cane Sugar Refiners' Association, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $17.70.

A. Lee B. Holmes, 829 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Mutual Insurance Alliance, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $129.75.

A. John W. Holton, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $727.75.

A. Edwin M. Hood, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Shipbuilders Council of America, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harold A. Hosier, 2240 Bell Court, Denver, Colo.

B. International Mailers Union, 2240 Bell Court, Denver, Colo.

A. Thomas B. House.

B. National Association of Frozen Food Packers, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.

A. Joe L. Howell, 1710 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Allstate Enterprises, Inc., Allstate Plaza, Northbrook, Ill.

A. Joe L. Howell, 1710 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Allstate Insurance Cos., Allstate Plaza, Northbrook, Ill.

A. Charles L. Huber, 1221 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Disabled American Veterans, 3725 Alexander Pike, Cold Spring, Ky.

D. (6) $5,750. E. (9) $3,363.16.

A. Robert R. Humphreys, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $320. E. (9) $223.35.

A. Elmer P. Hutter, Post Office Box 2255, Washington, D.C.

B. Alfred T. Eisinger, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1.00. E. (9) $396.

A. Elmer P. Hutter, Post Office Box 2255, Washington, D.C.

B. Elmer P. Hutter, Post Office Box 2255, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5.

A. Frank N. Ikard, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

A. Bernard J. Imming, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,175.

A. Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Institute of Scrap Iron & Steel, Inc., 1729 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $3.

A. International Armament Corp., 10 Prince Street, Alexandria, Va.

E. (9) $1,500.

A. International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $6,870.43.

A. International Mailers Union, 2240 Bell Court, Denver, Colo.

A. International Union of District 50, United Mine Workers of America, 1435 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $3,194.24.

A. The Interstate Manufacturers Association, 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.

D. (6) $2,975.

A. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $9,211.73.

A. Iron Ore Lessors Association, Inc., 1000 First National Bank Building, St. Paul, Minn.

D. (6) $29,113.23. E. (9) $9,523.97.

A. Ives, Whitehead & Co., Inc., 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $136.

A. Rear Adm. Alexander Jackson, Jr., 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Allstate Enterprises, Inc., Allstate Plaza, United States, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Chas. E. Jackson, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $75.54.

A. Charles Jackson, Jr., 82 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.

B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $75.

A. Robert C. Jackson, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Textile Manufacturers Institute, 1501 Johnston Building, Charlotte, N.C.

D. (6) $2,750. E. (9) $391.03.

A. Raymond M. Jacobson, 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Society of Consulting Planners, 1815 H Street NW., Washington D.C.

D. (6) $2,250. E. (9) $78.05.

A. Walter K. Jaenicke.

B. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $700. E. (9) $175.

A. Japanese American Citizens League, 1634 Post Street, San Francisco, Calif.

E. (9) $200.

A. Daniel Jaspan, Post Office Box 1924, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Postal Supervisors, Post Office Box 1924, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,770.51. E. (9) $60.10.

A. Chas B. Jennings, 1712 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Stock Yards Association, 1712 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $400.

A. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Gene Johnson, 814 Fleming Building, Des Moines, Iowa.

B. International Mailers Union, 2240 Bell Court, Denver, Colo.

A. Reuben L. Johnson.

B. The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo., and 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,461.38. E. (9) $279.08.

A. Spencer A. Johnson, National Retail Furniture Association, 1025 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Retail Furniture Association, 1150 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $2,250.

A. Stuart H. Johnson, Jr., 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. League of Americans Residing Abroad, 348 rue St. Honore, Paris (1er), France.

A. Ned Johnston, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

B. International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers & Milk Industry Foundation, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Charlie W. Jones, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Carpet Institute, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $150. E. (9) $82.

A. George Bliss Jones, Montgomery, Ala.

B. Alabama Railroad Association, 1002 First National Bank Building, Montgomery, Ala.

A. L. Dan Jones, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Independent Petroleum Association of America, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $38.50.

A. Mrs. Fritz R. Kahn, 9202 Ponce Place, Fairfax, Va.
B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $8.53.

A. Karelsen, Karelsen, Lawrence & Nathan, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $62.84.

A. Gerald M. Katz, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Gerald M. Katz, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, care of Mercantile-Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. William J. Keating, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Grain & Feed Dealers National Association, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $50.

A. Howard B. Keck, 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.
B. The Superior Oil Co., 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. (9) $300.

A. W. M. Keck, Jr., 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. (9) $275.

A. Charles C. Keeble, Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co. (a Delaware Corp.), Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $39.50.

A. Eugene Adams Keeney, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation.

A. Thomas John Kehoe & Associates, 1904 Rookwood Road, Silver Spring, Md.
E. (9) $500.

A. James C. Kelley, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Machine Tool Distributors' Association, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harold V. Kelly, 720 Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C.
B. Unemployment Benefit Advisors, Inc.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. John T. Kelly, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association.

A. Thomas A. Kelly, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $593.75.

A. I. L. Kenen, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Israel Public Affairs Committee, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harold L. Kennedy, 420 Cafritz Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Marathon Oil Co., Findlay, Ohio.
E. (9) $105.90.

A. James J. Kennedy, Jr., 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $3,075. E. (9) $1,379.50.

A. William F. Kenney, 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Shell Oil Co., 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Thomas P. Kerester, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $5,500. E. (9) $550.

A. J. Don Kerlin, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Letter Carriers, Employee Union, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $225. E. (9) $60.

A. J. Don Kerlin, 100 Indiana Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C.
B. Time, Inc., Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $50.

A. Edward W. Kiley, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John A. Killick, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Eastern Meat Packers Association, Inc., 1620 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $12.50.

A. John A. Killick, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Independent Meat Packers Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $270.83.

A. Kenneth L. Kimble, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $853.83. E. (9) $24.28.

A. Joseph T. King, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Associated Equipment Distributors, and Sprinkler Irrigation Association.
E. (9) $1,349.48.

A. T. Bert King, 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $825.

A. Mr. & Mrs. Harry L. Kingman, 535 San Luis Road, Berkeley, Calif.
D. (6) $1,965. E. (9) $1,965.

A. John M. Kinnaird, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $521.27.

A. Kirkland, Ellis, Hodson, Chaffetz & Masters, 800 World Center Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. A. R. Kirkley, M.D., 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $343.75. E. (9) $21.40.

A. Clifton Kirkpatrick, 1918 North Parkway, Memphis, Tenn.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $690. E. (9) $36.41.

A. Ernest A. Kistler, 901 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.
B. Pennsylvania Power & Light Co., 901 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.
D. (6) $144.50. E. (9) $198.34.

A. Ralph W. Kittle.
B. International Paper Co., 220 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert E. Kline, Jr., 430 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Fishing Tackle Manufacturers Association, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $600. E. (9) $58.15.

A. Robert E. Kline, Jr., 430 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Bowling Proprietors' Association of America, Inc., West Higgins Road, Hoffman Estates, Ill.
D. (6) $1,250. E. (9) 41.50.

A. James F. Kmetz, 1427 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Mine Workers of America, 900 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4.796.

A. John D. Knodell, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co., Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $189.66.

A. George W. Koch, 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert M. Koch, 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $35.

A. William L. Kohler, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $362.80.

A. June Kysilko Kraeft, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Maurice Kramer, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,462.50. E. (9) $166.43.

A. Krause, Lindsay & Nahstoll, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.
B. Master Contracting Stevedore Association of the Pacific Coast, Inc., San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $2,500.

A. Krause, Lindsay & Nahstoll, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.
B. National Maritime Compensation Committee, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,500. E. (9) $1,794.30.

A. Germaine Krettek, 200 C Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $474.30.

A. Lloyd R. Kuhn, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc., 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,064. E. (9) $686.55.

A. Labor Bureau of Middle West, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Labor-Management Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $8,700. E. (9) $7,919.

A. Laborers' International Union of North America, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $9,630.39.

A. Laborers' Political League, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C
D. (6) $8,337.93. E. (9) $13,700.

A. Landowners Protective Association, Box 294, Route No. 1, Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

A. Richard H. Lane, 1511 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Committee for Broadening Commercial Bank Participation in Public Financing.

A. Albert Lannon, Jr., 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $1,299.99. E. (9) $286.88.

A. Glenn T. Lashley, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. D.C. Division, American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dillard E. Lasseter, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $525.

A. George H. Lawrence, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $312.50. E. (9) $74.70.

A. John V. Lawrence, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Legislative Committee of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $365. E. (9) $1,359.30.

A. Legislative Committee, International Economic Policy Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $3,611.21.

A. Robert J. Leigh, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $96.

A. Richard Leighton, National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

A. G. E. Leighty, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Nils A. Lennartson, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Progress Institute, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $9,499.96.

A. Donald Lerch & Co., Inc., 1522 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Shell Chemical Co., 110 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Kenneth D. Lester, 400 First Street NW.,Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D (6) $510.

A. Roy T. Lester, M.D., 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $437.50. E. (9) $21.86

A. Mrs. Alfred Letzler, 237 North Galveston Street, Arlington, Va.
B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Leva Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.

A. Leva Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Waterways Operators, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $42.80.

A. Marx Leva, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Arden Publishing Co., Tucson, Ariz.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pennsylvania Central, Penn Center Plaza, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Liberty Lobby, Inc., 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $22,186.22. E. (9) $13,857.17.

A. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $5,379.65. E. (9) $5,379.65.

A. L. Blaine Liljenquist, 917 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Western States Meat Packers Association, Inc., 917 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,562.50. E. (9) $156.65.

A. Lester W. Lindow, Association of Maximum Service Telecasters, Inc., 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Charles B. Lipsen, 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retail Clerks International Association, AFL–CIO, 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D (6) $5,250. E. (9) $1,657.74.

A. Robert G. Litschert, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Cos., 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $795. E. (9) $62.57.

A. Paul H Long, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $73.17.

A. Lovre & DeVany, 639 Woodward Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Board of Fur Farm Organizations, Inc., 152 West Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.

A. Harold O. Lovre, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $394.

A. Harold O. Lovre, 639 Woodward Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Major Professional Football, 1 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. Otto Lowe, Cape Charles, Va.
B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. Otto Lowe, Cape Charles, Va.
B. Norfolk & Western Railway Co., Roanoke, Va.
D. (6) $600.

A. Scott W. Lucas, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mobile Homes Manufacturers Association, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Scott W. Lucas, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Western Medical Association, 415–423 West Pershing Road, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Dr. John M. Lumley, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,437. E. (9) $340.35.

A. Milton F. Lunch, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. John C. Lynn, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,850. E. (9) $44.60.

A. LeRoy E. Lyon, Jr., Eleventh and L Building, Sacramento, Calif.
B. California Railroad Association, Eleventh and L Building, Sacramento, Calif.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $643.24.

A. Breck P. McAllister, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. William C. McCamant, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300 or less.

A. John A. McCart, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Government Employes' Council, AFL–CIO, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,242.54.

A. Alfred R. McCauley, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Consumer Products Division, Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $175.87.

A. Alfred R. McCauley, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Independent Petroleum Association of America, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $38.50.

A. Mrs. Fritz R. Kahn, 9202 Ponce Place, Fairfax, Va.
B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $8.53.

A. Karelsen, Karelsen, Lawrence & Nathan, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $62.84.

A. Gerald M. Katz, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Gerald M. Katz, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, care of Mercantile-Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. William J. Keating, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Grain & Feed Dealers National Association, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $50.

A. Howard B. Keck, 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.
B. The Superior Oil Co., 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. (9) $300.

A. W. M. Keck, Jr., 1801 Avenue of the Stars, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. (9) $275.

A. Charles C. Keeble, Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co. (a Delaware Corp.), Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $39.50.

A. Eugene Adams Keeney, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation.

A. Thomas John Kehoe & Associates, 1904 Rookwood Road, Silver Spring, Md.
E. (9) $500.

A. James C. Kelley, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Machine Tool Distributors' Association, 1500 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harold V. Kelly, 720 Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C.
B. Unemployment Benefit Advisors, Inc.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. John T. Kelly, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association.

A. Thomas A. Kelly, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $593.75.

A. I. L. Kenen, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Israel Public Affairs Committee, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Harold L. Kennedy, 420 Cafritz Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Marathon Oil Co., Findlay, Ohio.
E. (9) $105.90.

A. James J. Kennedy, Jr., 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $3,075. E. (9) $1,379.50.

A. William F. Kenney, 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Shell Oil Co., 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Thomas P. Kerester, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $5,500. E. (9) $550.

A. J. Don Kerlin, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Letter Carriers, Employee Union, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $225. E. (9) $60.

A. J. Don Kerlin, 100 Indiana Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C.
B. Time, Inc., Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $150. E. (9) $50.

A. Edward W. Kiley, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John A. Killick, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Eastern Meat Packers Association, Inc., 1620 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $12.50.

A. John A. Killick, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Independent Meat Packers Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $270.83.

A. Kenneth L. Kimble, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $853.83. E. (9) $24.28.

A. Joseph T. King, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Associated Equipment Distributors, and Sprinkler Irrigation Association.
E. (9) $1,349.48.

A. T. Bert King, 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $825.

A. Mr. & Mrs. Harry L. Kingman, 535 San Luis Road, Berkeley, Calif.
D. (6) $1,965. E. (9) $1,965.

A. John M. Kinnaird, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $521.27.

A. Kirkland, Ellis, Hodson, Chaffetz & Masters, 800 World Center Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. A. R. Kirkley, M.D., 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $343.75. E. (9) $21.40.

A. Clifton Kirkpatrick, 1918 North Parkway, Memphis, Tenn.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $690. E. (9) $36.41.

A. Ernest A. Kistler, 901 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.
B. Pennsylvania Power & Light Co., 901 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.
D. (6) $144.50. E. (9) $198.34.

A. Ralph W. Kittle.
B. International Paper Co., 220 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert E. Kline, Jr., 430 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
B. American Fishing Tackle Manufacturers Association, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $600. E. (9) $58.15.

A. Robert E. Kline, Jr., 430 Wyatt Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Bowling Proprietors' Association of America, Inc., West Higgins Road, Hoffman Estates, Ill.
D. (6) $1,250. E. (9) 41.50.

A. James F. Kmetz, 1427 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Mine Workers of America, 900 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4.796.

A. John D. Knodell, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co., Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $189.66.

A. George W. Koch, 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Robert M. Koch, 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $35.

A. William L. Kohler, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $362.80.

A. June Kysilko Kraeft, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Maurice Kramer, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,462.50. E. (9) $166.43.

A. Krause, Lindsay & Nahstoll, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.
B. Master Contracting Stevedore Association of the Pacific Coast, Inc., San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $2,500.

A. Krause, Lindsay & Nahstoll, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.
B. National Maritime Compensation Committee, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,500. E. (9) $1,794.30.

A. Germaine Krettek, 200 C Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $474.30.

A. Lloyd R. Kuhn, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc., 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,064. E. (9) $686.55.

A. Labor Bureau of Middle West, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Labor-Management Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $8,700. E. (9) $7,919.

A. Laborers' International Union of North America, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $9,630.39.

A. Laborers' Political League, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C
D. (6) $8,337.93. E. (9) $13,700.

A. Landowners Protective Association, Box 294, Route No. 1, Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

A. Richard H. Lane, 1511 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Committee for Broadening Commercial Bank Participation in Public Financing.

A. Albert Lannon, Jr., 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $1,299.99. E. (9) $286.88.

A. Glenn T. Lashley, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. D.C. Division, American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Dillard E. Lasseter, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $525.

A. George H. Lawrence, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $312.50. E. (9) $74.70.

A. John V. Lawrence, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Legislative Committee of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $365. E. (9) $1,359.30.

A. Legislative Committee, International Economic Policy Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $3,611.21.

A. Robert J. Leigh, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $96.

A. Richard Leighton, National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

A. G. E. Leighty, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Nils A. Lennartson, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Progress Institute, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $9,499.96.

A. Donald Lerch & Co., Inc., 1522 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Shell Chemical Co., 110 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Kenneth D. Lester, 400 First Street NW.,Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D (6) $510.

A. Roy T. Lester, M.D., 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $437.50. E. (9) $21.86

A. Mrs. Alfred Letzler, 237 North Galveston Street, Arlington, Va.
B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Leva Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.

A. Leva Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Waterways Operators, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $42.80.

A. Marx Leva, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $150.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Arden Publishing Co., Tucson, Ariz.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Morris J. Levin, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pennsylvania Central, Penn Center Plaza, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Liberty Lobby, Inc., 132 Third Street SE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $22,186.22. E. (9) $13,857.17.

A. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $5,379.65. E. (9) $5,379.65.

A. L. Blaine Liljenquist, 917 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Western States Meat Packers Association, Inc., 917 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $6,562.50. E. (9) $156.65.

A. Lester W. Lindow, Association of Maximum Service Telecasters, Inc., 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Charles B. Lipsen, 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retail Clerks International Association, AFL–CIO, 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D (6) $5,250. E. (9) $1,657.74.

A. Robert G. Litschert, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Cos., 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $795. E. (9) $62.57.

A. Paul H Long, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $73.17.

A. Lovre & DeVany, 639 Woodward Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Board of Fur Farm Organizations, Inc., 152 West Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.

A. Harold O. Lovre, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $394.

A. Harold O. Lovre, 639 Woodward Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Major Professional Football, 1 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. Otto Lowe, Cape Charles, Va.
B. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. Otto Lowe, Cape Charles, Va.
B. Norfolk & Western Railway Co., Roanoke, Va.
D. (6) $600.

A. Scott W. Lucas, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mobile Homes Manufacturers Association, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Scott W. Lucas, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Western Medical Association, 415–423 West Pershing Road, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Dr. John M. Lumley, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,437. E. (9) $340.35.

A. Milton F. Lunch, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. John C. Lynn, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,850. E. (9) $44.60.

A. LeRoy E. Lyon, Jr., Eleventh and L Building, Sacramento, Calif.
B. California Railroad Association, Eleventh and L Building, Sacramento, Calif.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $643.24.

A. Breck P. McAllister, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.,
B. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. William C. McCamant, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300 or less.

A. John A. McCart, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Government Employes' Council, AFL–CIO, 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,242.54.

A. Alfred R. McCauley, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Consumer Products Division, Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $175.87.

A. Alfred R. McCauley, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Magnavox Co., 270 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. E. L. McCulloch, room 814, Railway Labor Building, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, B. of L. E. Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
D. (6) $284.60. E. (9) $81.50.

A. Albert L. McDermott, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Hotel & Motel Association, 221 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $175.

A. Angus H. McDonald.
B. The Farmers' Educational and Co-Operative Union of America (National Farmers Union), 1575 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo.; 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,277.06. E. (9) $125.12.

A. Joseph J. McDonald, 1101 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $3,625. E. (9) $540.

A. Joseph A. McElwain, 40 East Broadway, Butte, Mont.
B. The Montana Power Co., Butte, Mont.
E. (9) $109.33.

A. Stanley J. McFarland, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,842.51. E. (9) $122.84.

A. Paul J. McGowan, 777 14th Street, Washington, D.C.
B. Virgin Islands Legislature, Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands.
D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $408.54.

A. Marshall C. McGrath.
B. International Paper Co., 220 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $210.62.

A. F. Howard McGuigan, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,394. E. (9) $807.79.

A. Clarence M. McIntosh, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $2,587.62. E. (9) $264.64.

A. William F. McKenna, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $40.

A. Marvin L. McLain, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,475. E. (9) $42.98.

A. William H. McLain, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,700. E. (9) $72.42.

A. C. W. McMillan, 801 East 17th Avenue, Denver, Colo.
B. American National Cattlemen's Association, 801 East 17th Avenue, Denver, Colo.
D. (6) $5,250. E. (9) $193.

A. Clarence M. McMillan, 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Candy Wholesalers Association, Inc., 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) Less than $10.

A. Ralph J. McNair, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $311.95. E. (9) $9.42.

A. Charles R. McNeill, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,300. E. (9) $440.14.

A. Shane MacCarthy, 20 Chevy Chase Circle NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Printing Industries of America, 20 Chevy Chase Circle NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $475. E. (9) $820.

A. William P. MacCracken, Jr., 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Optometric Association, care of J. C. Tumblin, O.D., 4836 Broadway NE., Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $2,000.

A. George E. MacKinnon, 800 Investors Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
B. Investors Mutual, Inc., Investors Stock Fund, Inc., Investors Variable Payment Fund, Inc.
E. (9) $761.72.

A. Joseph R. MacLaren, 4 Linden Drive, Hudson Falls, N.Y.
B. Potlatch Forests Inc., Post Office Box 3591, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $1,400. E. (9) $682.55.

A. H. E. Mahlman, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Optometric Association, in care of J. C. Tumblin, O.D., 4836 Broadway NE., Knoxville, Tenn.
D. (6) $968.75. E. (9) $92.15.

A. Don Mahon, LaSalle Building, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $3,261.93.

A. Robert L. Maier, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Kaiser Industries Corporation, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Carter Manasco, 5932 Chesterbrook Road, McLean, Va.
B. National Coal Association, Coal Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,750.01. E. (9) $137.95.

A. Rufus W. Manderson, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Electrical Contractors Association, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Manufacturing Chemists Association, Inc., 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $3,000.

A. Olya Margolin, 924 Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Jewish Women, Inc., 1 West 47th Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,475. E. (9) $147.05.

A. James Mark, Jr., 1427 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Mine Workers of America, 900 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,796.

A. Rodney W. Markley, Jr., 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.
D. (6) $450. E. (9) $215.28.

A. Raymond E. Marks, 65 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
B. Southern Pacific Co., 65 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Edwin E. Marsh, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
B. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
D. (6) $3,417.75. E. (9) $107.70.

A. Michael Marsh, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $503.96.

A. Winston W. Marsh, 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, Inc., 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. J. Paull Marshall, 925 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $265.50. E. (9) $367.20.

A. Thomas A. Martin, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association, 300 Tulsa Building, Tulsa, Okla.
D. (6) $500.

A. Mike M. Masaoka, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Mike M. Masaoka, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association on Japanese Textile Imports, Inc., 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $1,000.

A. Mike Masaoka, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japanese American Citizens League, 1634 Post Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $200. E. (9) $200.

A. Walter J. Mason, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $5,499.91. E. (9) $1,890.

A. P. H. Mathews, 925 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $420. E. (9) $329.

A. Charles D. Matthews, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $460. E. (9) $120.48.

A. Charles E. Mattingly, 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $2,925. E. (9) $75.15.

A. C. V. and R. V. Maudlin, 1111 E Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Georgia Power Co., 270 Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Ga.

A. James E. Meals, 1143 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Air Line Pilots Association, 55th Street and Cicero Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $100. E. (9) $100.

A. John S. Mears, 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
D. (6) $3,291. E. (9) $77.65.

A. Medical-Surgical Manufacturers Association, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $4,050.90. E. (9) $995.28.

A. Kenneth A. Meiklejohn, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,394. E. (9) $183.91.

A. Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. George F. Meyer, Jr., 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $562.50.

A. Capt. A. Stanley Miller, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Committee for Flags of Necessity, 25 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $100.00.

A. Dale Miller, 377 Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.
B. Dallas (Tex.) Chamber of Commerce.
D. (6) $1,650.

A. Dale Miller, 377 Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.
B. Gulf Intracoastal Canal Association, 2211 South Coast Building, Houston, Tex.
D. (6) $2,625.

A. Dale Miller, 377 Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.
B. Texas Gulf Sulphur Co., Newgulf, Tex., and New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,250.

A. Edwin Reid Miller, 1815 Capitol Avenue, Omaha, Nebr.
B. Nebraska Railroads Legislative Committee, 1815 Capitol Avenue, Omaha, Nebr.
D. (6) $3,900. E. (9) $1,014.97.

A. Joseph L. Miller, 815 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Lloyd S. Miller, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $158.72.

A. Luman G. Miller, 912 Failing Building, Portland, Oreg.
B. Oregon Railroad Association, 912 Failing Building, Portland, Oreg.
E. (9) $426.07.

A. Luther L. Miller, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Retired Civil Employees, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,692.20. E. (9) $25.65.

A. Jim M. Milligan, 402 Barclay Building, Bala-Cynwyd, Pa.
B. National Water Co., 402 Barclay Building, Bala-Cynwyd, Pa.

A. Jack Mills, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Tobacco Institute.

A. Marion Daniel Minchew, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $176.25. E. (9) $7.85.

A. Othmer J. Mischo, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Missouri Railroad Committee, in care of W. W. Dalton, Law Department, Frisco Lines, 906 Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo.
E. (9) $144.12.

A. Clarence Mitchell, 422 First Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Carl A. Modecki, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Automobile Association, 1712 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Willis C. Moffatt, 525 First Security Building, Boise, Idaho.

A. Michael Monroney.
B. Communications Satellite Corp., 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $850.

A. G. Merrill Moody, 925 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $21.25. E. (9) $52.45.

A. Morison, Clapp, Abrams & Haddock, The Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The Sperry & Hutchinson Co., 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. James G. Morton, 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) Under $50.

A. Lynn E. Mote, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., 320 New Center Building, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $500.

A. Motor Commerce Association, Inc., 4004 Versailles Road, Lexington, Ky.
D. (6) $2,572.98. E. (9) $2,450.13.

A. T. H. Mullen, 4301 Columbia Pike, Arlington, Va.

A. John J. Murphy, 2794 Wilelinor Drive, Edgewater, Md.
B. National Customs Service Association.

A. William E. Murray, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Kenneth D. Naden, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $8,249.98. E. (9) $449.44.

A. Micah H. Naftalin, Elliott & Naftalin, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Ethyl Corp., 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750.

A. Augustus Nasmith, Pennsylvania Station, Newark, N.J.
B. Associated Railroads of New Jersey, Pennsylvania Station, Raymond Plaza West, Newark, N.J.

A. Sarah Anne Nation, 917 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Western States Meat Packers Association, Inc., 917 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,700. E. (9) $20.

A. National Agricultural Chemicals Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National Associated Businessmen, 1000 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,482.82. E. (9) $1,321.36.

A. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. National Association of Direct Selling Companies, 163–165 Center Street, Winona, Minn.
D. (6) $15,000. E. (9) $95.75.

A. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $63,800.32. E. (9) $16,129.31.

A. National Association of Food Chains, 1725 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $500.

A. National Association of Frozen Food Packers, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $79,667.81. E. (9) $1,577.59.

A. National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

A. National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $4,155.73. E. (9) $4,155.73.

A. The National Association of Polish Americans, Inc., 3829 W Street SE., Washington, D.C.

A. National Association of Postal Supervisors, Post Office Box 1924, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $35,000. E. (9) $11,244.41.

A. National Association of Travel Organizations, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $46,530.87. E. (9) $682.50.

A. National Automobile Dealers Association (NADA), 2000 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7,610.69. E. (9) $7,610.69.

A. National Broiler Council, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $1,500.

A. National Canners Association, 1133 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $400. E. (9) $100.

A. National Coal Association, Coal Building, Washington, D.C.

A. National Commission to Abolish HUAC, 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $1,541.50. E. (9) $1,541.50.

A. National Committee for Research in Neurological Disorders. Care of Dr. A. B. Baker, Division of Neurology, University of Minnesota Hospital, Minneapolis, Minn.
E. (9) $3,000.

A. National Conference of Non-Profit Shipping Associations, Inc., 2309 Fannin, Houston, Tex.
D. (6) $4,175.

A. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. National Cotton Compress & Cotton Warehouse Association, 1085 Shrine Building, Box 23, Memphis, Tenn.

A. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

D. (6) $2,906.95. E. (9) $2,906.95.

A. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $15,563.58. E. (9) $24,387.

A. National Council Junior Order United American Mechanics, 3027 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. National Council of Naval Air Stations Employee Organizations, 239 Beach Road, Alameda, Calif.

A. National Council of Technical Service Industries, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $825. E. (9) $349.06.

A. National Counsel Associates, 421 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

B. Cenco Instruments Corp., 2600 South Kostner Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $900. E. (9) $121.09.

A. National Counsel Associates, 421 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C.

B. Committee for the Study of Revenue Bond Financing, 55 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $147.70.

A. National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $21,297.48.

A. National Electrical Contractors Association, Inc., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National Electrical Manufacturers Association, 155 East 44th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. National Federation of Federal Employees, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $174,274.31. E. (9) $11,775.16.

A. National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., 920 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $24,141.31. E. (9) $24,141.31.

A. National Federation of Professional Organizations, Box 331, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,200.

A. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,292.67. E. (9) $3,743.36.

A. National Housing Conference, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $58,164.31. E (9) $35,208.51.

A. National Independent Dairies Association, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $74.

A. The National Independent Meat Packers Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,650. E. (9) $1,785.

A. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $390,541.56. E. (9) $505.07.

A. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,265.50. E. (9) $1,265.50.

A. National Livestock Feeders Association, 309 Livestock Exchange Building, Omaha, Nebr.

D. (6) $6,796. E. (9) $6,796.

A. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,767.38. E. (9) $4,767.38.

A. National Multiple Sclerosis Society, 257 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $618.50.

A. National Parking Association, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National Reclamation Association, 897 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $6,306.40. E. (9) $3,632.46.

A. National Retail Furniture Association, 1150 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $3,712.70.

A. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $6,500.21.

A. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $1,200.30.

A. National Small Business Association, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $2,562.52.

A. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $317,000. E. (9) $2,273.

A. National Tax Equality Association, Inc., 1000 Connecticut Avenue Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $6,526.46. E. (9) $6,292.86.

A. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $1,080.

A. National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.

D. (6) $27,649. E. (9) $3,987.58.

A. The Nation-Wide Committee on Import-Export Policy, 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $9,650. E. (9) $6,939.61.

A. Alexander W. Neale, Jr., 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1107 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,427.87.

A. Alan M. Nedry, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Southern California Edison Co., Post Office Box 351, Los Angeles, Calif.

D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $2,401.84.

A. Samuel E. Neel, 1707 H Street NW, Washington, D.C.

B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $2,722.

A. Frances E. Neely, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,131.

A. George R. Nelson, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $910.43.

A. Ivan A. Nestingen, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $105.60.

A. Louis H. Nevins, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 East Superior, Chicago, Ill., and 1300 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,166.67. E. (9) $46.25.

A. New England Footwear Association, Inc., 4575 Prudential Tower, Boston, Mass.

D. (6) $415.42. E. (9) $415.42.

A. Sarah H. Newman, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Consumers League, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C

D. (6) $1,650.

A. Patrick J. Nilan, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Federation of Postal Clerks, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,615.38. E. (9) $1,020.54.

A. Robert W. Nolan, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Fleet Reserve Association, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.

A. Charles M. Noone, 410 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Small Business Investment Companies, 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $433.58.

A. Joseph A. Noone, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Agricultural Chemicals Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert H. North, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

B. International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers and Milk Industry Foundation, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $268.40.

A. Harry E. Northam, 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

B. Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc., 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Northeast Utilities Service Co., 176 Cumberland Avenue, Wethersfield, Conn.

E. (9) $2,522.94.

A. Graham T. Northup, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,625. E. (9) $6,659.

A. Michael J. Norton, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $200. E. (9) $589.05.

A. Ira H. Nunn, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Restaurant Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 1530 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $250.

A. Seward P. Nyman, 3301 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Podiatry Association, 3301 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $650.

A. Frank J. O'Brien, 1435 K Street NW., Washington, D.C

B. International Union of District 50, United Mine Workers of America, 1435 K Street NW., Washington, D.C

D. (6) $3,194.24.

A. Leo O'Brien, 99 Hawthorne Avenue, Albany, N.Y.
B. Home Rule Committee, Virgin Islands Legislature, St. Thomas, V.I.
D. (6) $1,875.

A. Richard T. O'Connell, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,816.64. E. (9) $181.93.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Transit Association, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $258.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Barden Investment Management Corp., 18610 James Couzens Highway, Detroit, Mich.
E. (9) $161.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Fingerhut Manufacturing Co., 3104 West Lake Street, Minneapolis, Minn.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $259.56.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investors Diversified Services, Inc., Investors Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
E. (9) $605.02.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Upper Mississippi Towing Corps, 7703 Normandale Road, Minneapolis, Minn.
E. (9) $74.

A. John B. O'Day, 11 East Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. Insurance Economics Society of America, 11 East Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $23,438.73.

A. John A. O'Donnell, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. Jane O'Grady, care of Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL–CIO, 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,230. E. (9) $461.93.

A. Richard C. O'Hare, 1120 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Harness Tracks of America, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago Ill.

A. The Ohio Railroad Association, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.
E. (9) $1,698.52.

A. Alvin E. Oliver, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Grain & Feed Dealers National Association, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $33.21.

A. Robert Oliver, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Sperry & Hutchinson Co., 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Samuel Omasta, 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $10.

A. Jerry H. Opack, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Order of Railway Conductors & Brakemen, O.R.C. & B. Building, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
E. (9) $6,258.21.

A. Organization of Professional Employees of U.S. Department of Agriculture, Post Office Box 381, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,176. E. (9) $1,213.87.

A. Morris E. Osburn, Central Trust Building, Jefferson City, Mo.
B. Missouri Railroad Committee.

A. Kermit Overby, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $185.

A. Raymond S. Page, Jr., Mill Creek Terrace, Gladwyne, Pa.
B. Campbell Soup Co., 375 Memorial Avenue, Camden, N.J.

A. Norman Paige, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Distilled Spirits Institute, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Lew M. Paramore, Post Office Box 1310, Kansas City, Kans.
B. Mississippi Valley Association, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

A. J. D. Parel, 244 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $322. E. (9) $147.

A. James D. Parriott, Jr., 539 South Main Street, Findlay, Ohio.
B. Marathon Oil Co., 539 South Main Street, Findley, Ohio.

A. Geo. F. Parrish, Post Office Box 7, Charleston, W. Va.
B. West Virginia Railroad Association.
D. (6) $6,000.

A. Robert D. Partridge, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $68.30.

A. Perry S. Patterson, 800 World Center Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Automatic Phonograph Manufacturers.

A. Lynn C. Paulson, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Independent Dairies Association, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $219.85.

A. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $2,947.56.

A. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $777.

A. D. V. Pensabene, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Company of California, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $50. E. (9) $25.

A. J. Carter Perkins, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Shell Oil Co., 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. A. Harold Peterson, 715 Cargill Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
B. National R.E.A. Telephone Association, 715 Cargill Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $1,418.73.

A. Kenneth T. Peterson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Aldens, Inc., 5000 West Roosevelt Building, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,500.

A. Kenneth T. Peterson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. District of Columbia Psychological Association, Post Office Box 8227, Southwest Station, Washington, D.C.

A. Kenneth T. Peterson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, 6 East Fourth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $2,499.99.

A. Walter T. Phair, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Kaiser Industries Corp., 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $350. E. (9) $210.

A. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph D. Phelan, 485 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Colorado River Association, 417 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $3,525. E. (9) $500.

A. John P. Philbin, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mobil Oil Corp., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $496.13.

A. Albert Pike, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Bruce O. Pike, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $625.

A. James F. Pinkney, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $332.20

A. T. E. Pinkston, 101 East High Street, Lexington, Ky.

A. James H. Pipkin, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Texaco, Inc., 135 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $700. E. (9) $1,460.

A. Plains Cotton Growers, Inc., 1720 Avenue M, Lubbock, Tex.
D. (6) $74,260.84. E. (9) $1,350.

A. J. Francis Pohlhaus, 422 First Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. James K. Polk, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Consolidated Edison Co. of New York, Inc., 4 Irving Place, New York, N.Y.

A. Joseph M. Pollard, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. County of Los Angeles, State of California, Hall of Administration, 500 West Temple Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
E. (9) $1,050.

A. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

D. (6) $2,906.95. E. (9) $2,906.95.

A. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $15,563.58. E. (9) $24,387.

A. National Council Junior Order United American Mechanics, 3027 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. National Council of Naval Air Stations Employee Organizations, 239 Beach Road, Alameda, Calif.

A. National Council of Technical Service Industries, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $825. E. (9) $349.06.

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D. (6) $24,141.31. E. (9) $24,141.31.

A. National Federation of Professional Organizations, Box 331, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,200.

A. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,292.67. E. (9) $3,743.36.

A. National Housing Conference, Inc., 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $58,164.31. E (9) $35,208.51.

A. National Independent Dairies Association, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $74.

A. The National Independent Meat Packers Association, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,650. E. (9) $1,785.

A. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $390,541.56. E. (9) $505.07.

A. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,265.50. E. (9) $1,265.50.

A. National Livestock Feeders Association, 309 Livestock Exchange Building, Omaha, Nebr.

D. (6) $6,796. E. (9) $6,796.

A. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,767.38. E. (9) $4,767.38.

A. National Multiple Sclerosis Society, 257 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $618.50.

A. National Parking Association, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National Reclamation Association, 897 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $6,306.40. E. (9) $3,632.46.

A. National Retail Furniture Association, 1150 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $3,712.70.

A. National Retail Merchants Association, 100 West 31st Street, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $6,500.21.

A. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $1,200.30.

A. National Small Business Association, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $2,562.52.

A. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $317,000. E. (9) $2,273.

A. National Tax Equality Association, Inc., 1000 Connecticut Avenue Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $6,526.46. E. (9) $6,292.86.

A. National Telephone Cooperative Association, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $1,080.

A. National Tire Dealers & Retreaders Association, 1343 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. National Wool Growers Association, 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.

D. (6) $27,649. E. (9) $3,987.58.

A. The Nation-Wide Committee on Import-Export Policy, 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $9,650. E. (9) $6,939.61.

A. Alexander W. Neale, Jr., 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1107 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,427.87.

A. Alan M. Nedry, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Southern California Edison Co., Post Office Box 351, Los Angeles, Calif.

D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $2,401.84.

A. Samuel E. Neel, 1707 H Street NW, Washington, D.C.

B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,750. E. (9) $2,722.

A. Frances E. Neely, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,131.

A. George R. Nelson, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $910.43.

A. Ivan A. Nestingen, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.

D. (6) $300. E. (9) $105.60.

A. Louis H. Nevins, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 East Superior, Chicago, Ill., and 1300 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

D. (6)$2,166.67. E. (9) $46.25.

A. New England Footwear Association, Inc., 4575 Prudential Tower, Boston, Mass.

D. (6) $415.42. E. (9) $415.42.

A. Sarah H. Newman, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Consumers League, 1029 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C

D. (6) $1,650.

A. Patrick J. Nilan, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United Federation of Postal Clerks, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,615.38. E. (9) $1,020.54.

A. Robert W. Nolan, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Fleet Reserve Association, 1303 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.

A. Charles M. Noone, 410 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Small Business Investment Companies, 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $433.58.

A. Joseph A. Noone, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Agricultural Chemicals Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert H. North, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

B. International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers and Milk Industry Foundation, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $268.40.

A. Harry E. Northam, 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

B. Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc., 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Northeast Utilities Service Co., 176 Cumberland Avenue, Wethersfield, Conn.

E. (9) $2,522.94.

A. Graham T. Northup, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 1707 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $5,625. E. (9) $6,659.

A. Michael J. Norton, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $200. E. (9) $589.05.

A. Ira H. Nunn, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Restaurant Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 1530 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $250.

A. Seward P. Nyman, 3301 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Podiatry Association, 3301 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $650.

A. Frank J. O'Brien, 1435 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Union of District 50, United Mine Workers of America, 1435 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $3,194.24.

A. Leo O'Brien, 99 Hawthorne Avenue, Albany, N.Y.

B. Home Rule Committee, Virgin Islands Legislature, St. Thomas, V.I.

D. (6) $1,875.

A. Richard T. O'Connell, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,816.64. E. (9) $181.93.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Transit Association, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $258.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Barden Investment Management Corp., 18610 James Couzens Highway, Detroit, Mich.

E. (9) $161.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Fingerhut Manufacturing Co., 3104 West Lake Street, Minneapolis, Minn.

D. (6) $750. E. (9) $259.56.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Investors Diversified Services, Inc., Investors Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

E. (9) $605.02.

A. O'Connor, Green, Thomas, Walters & Kelly, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Upper Mississippi Towing Corps, 7703 Normandale Road, Minneapolis, Minn.

E. (9) $74.

A. John B. O'Day, 11 East Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

B. Insurance Economics Society of America, 11 East Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $23,438.73.

A. John A. O'Donnell, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,200.

A. Jane O'Grady, care of Industrial Union Department, AFL–CIO, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL–CIO, 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $2,230. E. (9) $461.93.

A. Richard C. O'Hare, 1120 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Harness Tracks of America, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago Ill.

A. The Ohio Railroad Association, 16 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.

E. (9) $1,698.52.

A. Alvin E. Oliver, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Grain & Feed Dealers National Association, 500 Folger Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $33.21.

A. Robert Oliver, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Sperry & Hutchinson Co., 330 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Samuel Omasta, 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $10.

A. Jerry H. Opack, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Order of Railway Conductors & Brakemen, O.R.C. & B. Building, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

E. (9) $6,258.21.

A. Organization of Professional Employees of U.S. Department of Agriculture, Post Office Box 381, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,176. E. (9) $1,213.87.

A. Morris E. Osburn, Central Trust Building, Jefferson City, Mo.

B. Missouri Railroad Committee.

A. Kermit Overby, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $185.

A. Raymond S. Page, Jr., Mill Creek Terrace, Gladwyne, Pa.

B. Campbell Soup Co., 375 Memorial Avenue, Camden, N.J.

A. Norman Paige, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Distilled Spirits Institute, 1132 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Lew M. Paramore, Post Office Box 1310, Kansas City, Kans.

B. Mississippi Valley Association, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

A. J. D. Parel, 244 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $322. E. (9) $147.

A. James D. Parriott, Jr., 539 South Main Street, Findlay, Ohio.

B. Marathon Oil Co., 539 South Main Street, Findley, Ohio.

A. Geo. F. Parrish, Post Office Box 7, Charleston, W. Va.

B. West Virginia Railroad Association.

D. (6) $6,000.

A. Robert D. Partridge, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $68.30.

A. Perry S. Patterson, 800 World Center Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Automatic Phonograph Manufacturers.

A. Lynn C. Paulson, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Independent Dairies Association, 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $219.85.

A. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

E. (9) $2,947.56.

A. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

E. (9) $777.

A. D. V. Pensabene, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Standard Oil Company of California, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $50. E. (9) $25.

A. J. Carter Perkins, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Shell Oil Co., 50 West 50th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. A. Harold Peterson, 715 Cargill Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

B. National R.E.A. Telephone Association, 715 Cargill Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

D. (6) $2,500. E. (9) $1,418.73.

A. Kenneth T. Peterson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Aldens, Inc., 5000 West Roosevelt Building, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $2,500.

A. Kenneth T. Peterson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. District of Columbia Psychological Association, Post Office Box 8227, Southwest Station, Washington, D.C.

A. Kenneth T. Peterson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, 6 East Fourth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

D. (6) $2,499.99.

A. Walter T. Phair, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Kaiser Industries Corp., 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $350. E. (9) $210.

A. Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph D. Phelan, 485 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Colorado River Association, 417 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

D. (6) $3,525. E. (9) $500.

A. John P. Philbin, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Mobil Oil Corp., 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $496.13.

A. Albert Pike, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Bruce O. Pike, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $625.

A. James F. Pinkney, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $332.20

A. T. E. Pinkston, 101 East High Street, Lexington, Ky.

A. James H. Pipkin, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Texaco, Inc., 135 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $700. E. (9) $1,460.

A. Plains Cotton Growers, Inc., 1720 Avenue M, Lubbock, Tex.

D. (6) $74,260.84. E. (9) $1,350.

A. J. Francis Pohlhaus, 422 First Street SE., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. James K. Polk, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Consolidated Edison Co. of New York, Inc., 4 Irving Place, New York, N.Y.

A. Joseph M. Pollard, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. County of Los Angeles, State of California, Hall of Administration, 500 West Temple Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

E. (9) $1,050.

A. Robert R. Poston, 908 Colorado Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $900. E. (9) $252.12.

A. Ramsay D. Potts, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $2,515.74. E. (9) $2,805.05.

A. William J. Potts, Jr., 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association on Broadcasting Standards, Inc., 1741 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Richard M. Powell, 1210 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Refrigerated Warehouses, 1210 Tower Building, Washington, D.C.

A. William I. Powell, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Petroleum Association of America, 1110 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $17.10.

A. Graydon R. Powers, Jr., 1735 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William C. Prather, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $450. E. (9) $64.

A. William H. Press, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade, 1616 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $7,500.

A. Forrest J. Prettyman, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Registered Bank Holding Cos., 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $187.50.

A. Jerry C. Pritchett, 59 Ivy Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Plumbing-Heating-Cooling Contractors, 1016 20th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $750.

A. Publicom, Inc., 13000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Midwest Federal Savings and Loan, Minneapolis, Minn.
D. (6) $3,000. E. (9) $345.05.

A. Earle W. Putnam, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL–CIO, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William A. Quinlan, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $36.96. E. (9) $18.48.

A. Luke C. Quinn, Jr., 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Cancer Society, New York, N.Y., et al.
D. (6) $11,883.30. E. (9) $7,741.97.

A. Thomas Henry Quinn, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee for Study of Revenue Bond Financing, 55 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,640. E. (9) $209.20.

A. Alex Radin, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Public Power Association, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW., Washington, D.C
D. (6) $181.80.

A. Edward F. Ragland, 6917 Marbury Road, Bethesda, Md.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Railway Labor Executives' Association, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Railway Progress Institute, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Alan T. Rains, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William A. Raleigh, Jr., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,375.

A. Carl R. Ramsey, 239 Beach Road, Alameda, Calif.
B. National Council of Naval Air Stations Employee Organizations, 239 Beach Road, Alameda, Calif.

A. Edward M. Raymond, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,755.76. E. (9) $173.70.

A. Record Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $25,267.63.

A. Robert E. Redding, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Transportation Association of America, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. George L. Reid, Jr., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $799.98. E. (9) $44.53.

A. Reserve Officers Association of the United States, 1 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Retired Officers Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,781.25.

A. Retirement Federation of Civil Service Employees of the U.S. Government, Warner Building, 13th and E Streets NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,354.87. E. (9) $7,769.20.

A. William L. Reynolds, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $105.

A. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, care of Mercantile Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. James W. Richards, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,138.46. E. (9) $10.02.

A. Dorsey Richardson, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Harry H. Richardson, 335 Austin Street, Bogalusa, La.
B. Louisiana Railroads.
D. (6) $31.75. E. (9) $45.25.

A. Siert F. Riepma, National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.

A. William Neale Roach, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200.

A. William Neale Roach, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Armament Corp, (Interarmco), 10 Prince Street, Alexandria, Va.
D. (6) $1,500.

A. Paul H. Robbins, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Society of Professional Engineers, 2029 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $250.

A. Austin L. Roberts, Jr., 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $875.

A. Kenneth A. Roberts, 423 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Animal Health Institute, 1030 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,000.

A. Kenneth A. Roberts, 423 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.
B. College of American Pathologists, 230 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $3,750.

A. Charles A. Robinson, Jr., 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $185.

A. James A. Rock, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $162.50. E. (9) $2.40.

A. Donald L. Rogers, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Association of Registered Bank Holding Companies, 730 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $562.50.

A. Frank W. Rogers, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Western Oil & Gas Association, 69 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $526.

A. Walter E. Rogers, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,871.37. E. (9) $671.37.

A. Michael J. Romig, 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $401.97. E. (9) $41.30.

A. Royall, Koegel, Rogers & Wells, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., and 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Realty & Petroleum Corp., 16 West 61st Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $15.78.

A. Royall, Koegel, Rogers & Wells, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., and 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Great Salt Lake Mineral & Chemical Corp., 579 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Royall, Koegel, Rogers & Wells, 200 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., and 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Power Authority of the State of New York, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $48.60.

A. John Forney Rudy, 902 Ring Building, Washington, D.C.
B. The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio.

A. Harland J. Rue.
B. New Process Co., Warren, Pa.
E. (9) $150.55.

A. Albert R. Russell, 1918 North Parkway, Memphis, Tenn.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

A. J. T. Rutherford, 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Trucking Associations, Inc., 1616 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,200. E. (9) $554.24.

A. J. T. Rutherford & Associates, Inc., 1555 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The American College of Radiology, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $760.50.

A. Mrs. Edward F. Ryan, 110 Bridge Street, Manchester, Mass.
B. National Congress of Parents & Teachers, 700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $325.69.

A. William H. Ryan, Machinists Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, Machinists Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $480.

A. Francis J. Ryley, 519 Title and Trust Building, Phoenix, Ariz.
B. Standard Oil Co. of California, San Francisco; et al.

A. Carl K. Sadler, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,066. E. (9) $1,717.20.

A. Charles E. Sandler, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Automobile Manufacturers Association, Inc., 320 New Center Building, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $500.

A. Jacques T. Schlenger, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Jacques T. Schlenger, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust, in care of Mercantile-Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. Leslie J. Schmidt Associates, 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Beer Wholesalers' Association of America, 6310 North Cicero Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $200.

A. C. Herschel Schooley, 815 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Bankers Association of America, Sauk Centre, Minn.
D. (6) $4,250. E. (9) $2,698.35.

A. Hilliard Schulberg, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Washington, D.C., Retail Liquor Dealers Association, Inc., 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $110.83.

A. Scribner, Hall & Casey, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Co., Post Office Box 21008, Greensboro, N.C.
D. (6) $7,000. E. (9) $50.

A. Scribner, Hall & Casey, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Record Industry Association of America, Inc., 1 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Durward Seals, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Hollis M. Seavey, 1812 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Broadcasters, 1812 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Clayton A. Seeber, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Education Association, Legislation and Federal Relations, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $2,700. E. (9) $171.95.

A. W. O. Senter, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Gas Supply Committee, 1725 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Theodore A. Serrill, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. National Newspaper Association, 491 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $99.29.

A. Leo Seybold, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Air Transport Association of America, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,125. E. (9) $335.95.

A. Robert L. Shafer, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., 235 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $800. E. (9) $440.

A. A. Manning Shaw, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Arnold F. Shaw, 503 D Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The National Committee for the Recording Arts, 9300 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, Calif.
D. (6) $8,333.33.

A. Carroll M. Shaw, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amalgamated Transit Union, 5025 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Kenneth D. Shaw, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
D. (6) $750.

A. Shaw, Pittman, Potts, Trowbridge & Madden, Barr Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Doubleday & Co., Inc., 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., Publishers.

A. John J. Sheehan, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $4,300. E. (9) $2,656.70.

A. Ira Shesser, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Max Shine, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Technical Engineers, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $992.50. E. (9) $20.

A. Alvin V. Shoemaker, 425 13th Street, NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Investment Bankers Association of America, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $940.

A. Robert L. Shortle, 1147 International Trade Mart Tower, New Orleans, La.
B. Mississippi Valley Association, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

A. George Shuff, 916 Nashville Trust Building, Nashville, Tenn.
B. Class I railroads in Tennessee.

A. Charles B. Shuman, Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $938.

A. Sidley & Austin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. David Silver, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $60.18. E. (9) $53.55.

A. Silver Users Association, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $8,511.50. E. (9) $4,753.80.

A. Six Agency Committee, 909 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $26,520. E. (9) $5,137.50.

A. Carstens Slack, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Phillips Petroleum Co., Bartlesville, Okla.

A. Harold Slater, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $360. E. (9) $66.06.

A. Stephen Slipher, 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $3,125. E. (9) $7.50.

A. Jonathan W. Sloat, 1632 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Donald E. Smiley, 1730 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Humble Oil & Refining Co. (a Delaware Corp.), Post Office Box 2180, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $271.77.

A. Fran Kingston Smith, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Aviation Trades Association.
D. (6) $1,125.

A. Gordon L. Smith, 1145 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Edward Gottlieb & Associates, Ltd., 485 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $28.45.

A. Irvin A. Smith, 418 East Rosser, Box 938, Bismarck, N. Dak.

E. (9) $302.34.

A. Robert B. Smith, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $150.

A. Robert Wm. Smith, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.

D. (6) $1,480. E. (9) $423.

A. Dr. Spencer M. Smith, Jr., 1709 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Va.

B. Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $2,571.20. E. (9) $2,548.89.

A. Wallace M. Smith, 829 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.

B. American Mutual Insurance Alliance, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

E. (9) $210.25.

A. Wayne H. Smithey, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.

D. (6) $1,224.60. E. (9) $1,101.

A. Lyle O. Snader, 244 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $270.75 E. (9) $111.

A. Frank B. Snodgrass, 1726 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Burley and Dark Leaf Tobacco Export Association, Post Office Box 860, Lexington, Ky.

D. (6) $425. E. (9) $355.94.

A. J. R. Snyder, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

A. Society for Animal Protective Legislation, Post Office Box 3719, Georgetown Station, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $10,095.33. E. (9) $8,011.98.

A. Carl A. Soderblom, 1 East First Street, Reno, Nev.

B. Nevada Railroad Association, 1 East First Street, Reno, Nev.

D. (6) $250. E. (9) $1,187.10.

A. J. Taylor Soop, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 330 South Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $695.12.

A. William W. Spear, 214 Fremont National Bank Building, Fremont, Nebr.

B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,030.77. E. (9) $5.18.

A. John F. Speer, Jr., 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

B. International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers and Milk Industry Foundation, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

A. Lawrence Speiser, 1424 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Civil Liberties Union, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Newton I. Steers, Jr., 4419 Romlon Street, Beltsville, Md.

A. Mrs. Neil May F. Stephens, Post Office Box 6234, Northwest Station, Washington, D.C.

A. Steptoe & Johnson, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. California Olive Growers and Canners Industry Committee, 1868 East Lindmore, Lindsay, Calif., and Green Olive Trade Association, Inc., 80 Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $500.

A. B. H. Steuerwald, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, 2247 West Lawrence Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

B. Man-Made Fiber Producers Association, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,680. E. (9) $20.00.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Kennedy, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Japan General Merchandise Exporters Association and Japan Rubber Footwear Manufacturer Association of Tokyo, Japan; Miscellaneous Goods Division, Japanese Chamber of Commerce of New York, Inc. and Imported Footwear Group, American Importers Association, Inc., New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $70.

A. Stitt, Hemmendinger & Kennedy, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Japan Iron and Steel Exporters' Association, Tokyo, Japan.

A. Sterling F. Stoudenmire, Jr., 61 St. Joseph Street, Mobile, Ala.

B. Waterman Steamship Corp., 61 St. Joseph Street, Mobile, Ala.

A. Francis W. Stover, 200 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

D. (6) $4,600. E. (9) $220.40.

A. Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Federation of American Scientists, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Hualapai Tribe of the Hualapai Reservation, Box 168, Peach Springs, Ariz.

A. Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, Box 907-X, Route 1, Scottsdale, Ariz.

A. Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. San Carlos Apache Tribe, San Carlos, Ariz.

A. Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Seneca Nation of Indians, Box 231, Haley Community Building, Salamanca, N.Y.

A. Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried, Frank & Kampelman, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Tuscarora Nation of Indians, Tuscarora Indian Reservation, Lewiston, N.Y.

A. Ronnie J. Straw, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Herald E. Stringer, 1608 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The American Legion, 700 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

D. (6) $4,675.98. E. (9) $687.54.

A. William A. Stringfellow, 6004 Roosevelt Street, Bethesda, Md.

B. National Association of Mutual Insurance Agents, 520 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.

E. (9) $136.87.

A. Norman Strunk, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,875. E. (9) $781.48.

A. Walter B. Stults, 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Small Business Investment Companies, 537 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $600.

A. Barry Sullivan, 536 Washington Building, Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of River & Harbor Contractors, 3900 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Md.

D. (6) $750.

A. Frank L. Sundstrom, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

B. Schenley Industries, Inc., 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

A. Noble J. Swearingen, 224 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C.

B. National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, 1740 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $400.

A. Monroe Sweetland, 1705 Murchison Drive, Burlingame, Calif.

B. National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $335. E. (9) $50.

A. Russell A. Swindell, Post Office Box 2635, Raleigh, N.C.

B. North Carolina Railroad Association, Post Office Box 2635, Raleigh, N.C.

D. (6) $230.76. E. (9) $115.19.

A. Gary Tabak, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $150.

A. Charles P. Taft, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Legislative Committee, Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $100.

A. Russell D. Tall, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Rev. Charles C. Talley, 3 High Street, Waterford, Va.

B. National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 700 North Bush Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Clarence M. Tarr, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Retired Civil Employees, 1909 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,365.60. E. (9) $1,110.88.

A. Warren G. Taylor, 301 Central Trust Building, Jefferson City, Mo.
B. Missouri Railroad Committee, 301 Central Trust Building, Jefferson City, Mo.

A. L. D. Tharp, Jr., 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $300.

A. Evert S. Thomas, Jr., 1730 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. CUNA International, Inc., 1617 Sherman Avenue, Madison, Wis.
D. (6) $853.84. E. (9) $185.96.

A. J. Woodrow Thomas, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Trans World Airlines, 10 Richards Road, Kansas City, Mo.

A. Julia C. Thompson, 1030 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Nurses' Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,586.66.

A. William B. Thompson, Jr., 244 Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $308.25. E. (9) $114.

A. Eugene M. Thoré, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. William H. Tinney, 1223 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Penn Central, 6 Penn Center Plaza, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. E. Linwood Tipton, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers & Milk Industry Foundation, 1105 Barr Building, Washington, D.C.

A. H. Willis Tobler, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3,041.66. E. (9) $337.15.

A. John H. Todd, Post Office 23, 1085 Shrine Building, Memphis, Tenn.
B. National Cotton Compress & Cotton Warehouse Association, 1085 Shrine Building, Box 23, Memphis, Tenn.

A. David R. Toll, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Electric Companies, 1140 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,192.50. E. (9) $492.15.

A. F. Gerald Toye, 777 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. General Electric Co., 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,150. E. (9) $49.91.

A. Dwight D. Townsend, 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Cooperative League of USA, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,750. E. (9) $2,195.

A. John P. Tracey, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Bar Association, 1705 DeSales Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $350. E. (9) $25.

A. Transportation Association of America, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Richard S. Tribbe, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Trans World Airlines, 10 Richards Road, Kansas City, Mo.

A. Matt Triggs, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $2,137.50. E. (9) $37.04.

A. Glenwood S. Troop, Jr., 812 Pennsylvania Building, Washington, D.C.
B. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $98.

A. Paul T. Truitt, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Plant Food Institute, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
A. Galen Douglas Trussell, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Manufacturers.

A. Dick Tullis, 3007 Maple Avenue, Dallas, Tex.
B. Superior Oil Co., Houston, Tex., and Los Angeles, Calif.
D. (6) $100. E. (9) $75.

A. John D. Tyson.
B. International Paper Co., 220 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $340. E. (9) $140.12.

A. William S. Tyson, 821 15th Street, Washington, D.C.
B. Western Range Association, 375 North Fulton Street, Fresno, Calif.
D. (6) $5,000. E. (9) $59.01.

A. United Business Schools Association, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $750.

A. United Cerebral Palsy Association, Inc., 321 West 44th Street, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $1,364.17.

A. United Federation of Postal Clerks, 817 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $660,316.47. E. (9) $52,976.50.

A. United States Cane Sugar Refiners' Association, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $206.11.

A. United States Savings & Loan League, 221 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
E. (9) $35,539.38.

A. Charles R. Van Horn, 17th and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co. and Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co., Charles and Baltimore Streets, Baltimore, Md.

A. John A. Vance, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 245 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
D. (6) $320. E. (9) $56.55.

A. Theodore A. Vanderzyde, Machinists Building, Washington, D.C.
B. International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, AFL–CIO.
D. (6) $1,750. E. (9) $480.

A. G. W. Vaughan, 233 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Venable, Baetjer & Howard, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

A. Venable, Baetjer & Howard, 1400 Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.
B. Zachary Smith Reynolds Trust in care of Mercantile-Safe Deposit & Trust Co., Mercantile Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.

A. L. T. Vice, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. of California, 1700 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
E. (9) $145.

A. James S. Vlasto Associates, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Dominium International, Inc., 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $3,200. E. (9) $173.50.

A. Volume Footwear Retailers Association, Inc., 51 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $4,000. E. (9) $3,265.56.

A. E. R. Wagner, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Council of Technical Service Industries, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $177.69. E (9) $19.73.

A. Richard B. Walbert, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc.

A. Wald, Harkrader & Rockefeller, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Edward Weck & Co., Inc., 49–33 31st Place, Long Island City, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,250.

A. Charles E. Walker, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. The American Bankers Association, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,000.

A. Paul H. Walker, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $233.50. E. (9) $14.40.

A. Reno F. Walker, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $750. E. (9) $3.25.

A. Franklin Wallick, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Solidarity House, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
D. (6) $3,998.50. E. (9) $1,145.32.

A. Thomas G. Walters, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Government Employees, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $3452.42. E. (9) $8,874.28.

A. William A. Walton, 820 Quincy Street, Topeka, Kans.
B. Kansas Railroad Committee, 820 Quincy Street, Topeka, Kans.

A. Waterways Bulk Transportation Council, Inc., 1750 Brentwood Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.

A. Herbert A. Watkins, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $59.73.

A. Charles A. Webb, 839 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Motor Bus Owners, 839 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. E. Jerome Webster, Jr.

B. National Association of Frozen Food Packers, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Edward Weck & Co., Inc., 49–33 31st Place, Long Island City, N.Y.

E. (9) $1,250.

A. Clarence M. Weiner, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

B. Cigar Manufacturers Association of America, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $8,000.

A. Dr. Frank J. Welch, 3724 Manor Road, Chevy Chase, Md.

B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph E. Welch, 1630 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

B. Wellington Management Co., 1630 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Wenchel, Schulman & Manning, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Motors Corp., 14250 Plymouth Road, Detroit, Mich.

E. (9) $10.67.

A. Robert L. Weneck, 9121 West 73d Street, Shawnee Mission, Kans.

B. Weneck International Marketers, Inc., 2 East Gregory, Kansas City, Mo.

A. Donald F. White, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Retail Federation.

A. John C. White, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Private Truck Council of America, Inc., 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Douglas Whitlock II, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Retail Federation.

A. Whitlock, Markey & Tait, 15th and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Institute of Laundering, Joliet, Ill., and National Institute of Drycleaning, 909 Burlington Avenue, Silver Spring, Md.

D. (6) $500. E. (9) $107.60.

A. Louis E. Whyte, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Claude C. Wild, Jr., 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $250.

A. Billy Glen Wiley, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $692.30. E. (9) $11.82.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Society of Travel Agents, Inc., 360 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

E. (9) $933.09.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Arapahoe Indian Tribe, Fort Washakie, Wyo.

E. (9) $5.11.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Mont.

E. (9) $12.15.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. KSL, Inc., 145 Social Hall Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. J. Ray McDermott & Co., Inc., Oil Division, Houston Club Building, Houston, Tex.

E. (9) $24.01.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Congress of American Indians, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Quinaielt Tribe of Indians, Taholah, Wash.

E. (9) $5.12.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, New Town, N. Dak.

E. (9) $8.20.

A. John Willard, Box 1172, Helena, Mont.

B. Montana Railroad Association, Helena, Mont.

D. (6) $200. E. (9) $306.02.

A. Francis S. Williams, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Harding deC. Williams, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Manufacturers.

A. John C. Williamson, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 East Superior Street, Chicago, Ill., and 1300 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,500. E. (9) $353.34.

A. Kenneth Williamson, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.

B. American Hospital Association, 840 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.

D. (6) $1,302.46. E. (9) $390.71.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Iron & Steel Institute, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $380.

A. E. Raymond Wilson, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $1,488.

A. Earl Wilson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Brotherhood of Railway, Airline & Steamship Clerks, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

D. (6) $2,365.94. E. (9) $706.66.

A. Frank J. Wilson, 888 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc.

A. W. E. Wilson, 623 Ockley Drive, Shreveport, La.

B. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $947.56.

A. R. J. Winchester, 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

B. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

D. (6) $500. E. (9) $312.

A. Richard F. Witherall, 702 Majestic Building, Denver, Colo.

B. Colorado Railroad Association, 702 Majestic Building, Denver, Colo.

D. (6) $250. E. (9) $597.56.

A. Peter L. Wolff, Washington, D.C.

B. Association of American Law Schools, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Nathan T. Wolkomir, 1737 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Federation of Federal Employees, 1737 H Street, Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,971.95. E. (9) $1,257.66.

A. Russell J. Woodman, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Transportation-Communication Employees Union, 3860 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.

A. James Woodside, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Technical Engineers, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $240. E. (9) $20.

A. Albert Young Woodward, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. The Flying Tiger Line, Inc., Los Angeles International Airport, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Albert Young Woodward, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Signal Oil & Gas Co., 1010 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Perry W. Woofter, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.

D. (6) $1,500. E. (3) $1,432.40.

A. Edward E. Wright, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $333.

A. Hal J. Wright, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. John H. Yingling, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. Holly Corp., 1111 West Foothill, Boulevard, Azusa, Calif., et al.

D. (6) $250. E. (9) $60.

A. J. Banks Young, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.

D. (6) $712.50.

A. Kenneth Young, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

B. American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

D. (6) $4,341.20. E. (9) $509.57.

A. Zimring, Gromfine & Sternstein, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

REGISTRATIONS

The following registrations were submitted for the first calendar quarter 1968:

(Note.—The form used for registration is reproduced below. In the interest of economy in the Record, questions are not repeated, only the essential answers are printed, and are indicated by their respective letter and number.)

File One Copy With the Secretary of the Senate and File Two Copies With the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

This page (page 1) is designed to supply identifying data; and page 2 (on the back of this page) deals with financial data.

Place an "X" Below the Appropriate Letter or Figure in the Box at the Right of the "Report" Heading Below:

"Preliminary" Report ("Registration"): To "register," place an "X" below the letter "P" and fill out page 1 only.

"Quarterly" Report: To indicate which one of the four calendar quarters is covered by this Report, place an "X" below the appropriate figure. Fill out both page 1 and page 2 and as many additional pages as may be required. The first additional page should be numbered as page "3," and the rest of such pages should be "4," "5," "6," etc. Preparation and filing in accordance with instructions will accomplish compliance with all quarterly reporting requirements of the Act.

Year: 19_______ ◀

REPORT

Pursuant to Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act

P	QUARTER			
	1st	2d	3d	4th
(Mark one square only)				

Note on Item "A".—(a) In General. This "Report" form may be used by either an organization or an individual, as follows:

(i) "Employee".—To file as an "employee", state (in Item "B") the name, address, and nature of business of the "employer". (If the "employee" is a firm [such as a law firm or public relations firm], partners and salaried staff members of such firm may join in filing a Report as an "employee".)

(ii) "Employer".—To file as an "employer", write "None" in answer to Item "B".

(b) Separate Reports. An agent or employee should not attempt to combine his Report with the employer's Report:

(i) Employers subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their agents or employees.

(ii) Employees subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their employers.

A. Organization or Individual Filing:

1. State name, address, and nature of business.

2. If this Report is for an Employer, list names of agents or employees who will file Reports for this Quarter.

Note on Item "B".—*Reports by Agents or Employees.* An employee is to file, each quarter, as many Reports as he has employers, except that: (*a*) If a particular undertaking is jointly financed by a group of employers, the group is to be considered as one employer, but all members of the group are to be named, and the contribution of each member is to be specified; (*b*) if the work is done in the interest of one person but payment therefor is made by another, a single Report—naming both persons as "employers"—is to be filed each quarter.

B. Employer.—State name, address, and nature of business. If there is no employer, write "None."

Note on Item "C".—(*a*) The expression "in connection with legislative interests," as used in this Report, means "in connection with attempting, directly or indirectly, to influence the passage or defeat of legislation." "The term 'legislation' means bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations, and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House"—§ 302(e).

(*b*) Before undertaking any activities in connection with legislative interests, organizations and individuals subject to the Lobbying Act are required to file a "Preliminary" Report (Registration).

(*c*) After beginning such activities, they must file a "Quarterly" Report at the end of each calendar quarter in which they have either received or expended anything of value in connection with legislative interests.

C. Legislative Interests, and Publications in connection therewith:

1. State approximately how long legislative interests are to continue. If receipts and expenditures in connection with legislative interests have terminated, ☐ place an "X" in the box at the left, so that this Office will no longer expect to receive Reports.

2. State the general legislative interests of the person filing and set forth the *specific* legislative interests by reciting: (*a*) Short titles of statutes and bills; (*b*) House and Senate numbers of bills, where known; (*c*) citations of statutes, where known; (*d*) whether for or against such statutes and bills.

3. In the case of those publications which the person filing has caused to be issued or distributed in connection with legislative interests, set forth: (*a*) Description, (*b*) quantity distributed; (*c*) date of distribution, (*d*) name of printer or publisher (if publications were paid for by person filing) or name of donor (if publications were received as a gift).

(Answer items 1, 2, and 3 in the space below. Attach additional pages if more space is needed)

4. If this is a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) rather than a "Quarterly" Report, state below what the nature and amount of anticipated expenses will be; and if for an agent or employee, state also what the daily, monthly, or annual rate of compensation is to be. If this is a "Quarterly" Report, disregard this item "C4" and fill out item "D" and "E" on the back of this page. Do not attempt to combine a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) with a "Quarterly" Report.◀

AFFIDAVIT

[Omitted in printing]

PAGE 1◀

B. National Association of Motor Bus Owners, 839 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. E. Jerome Webster, Jr.
B. National Association of Frozen Food Packers, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Edward Weck & Co., Inc., 49-33 31st Place, Long Island City, N.Y.
E. (9) $1,250.

A. Clarence M. Weiner, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
B. Cigar Manufacturers Association of America, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $8,000.

A. Dr. Frank J. Welch, 3724 Manor Road, Chevy Chase, Md.
B. The Tobacco Institute, Inc., 1735 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joseph E. Welch, 1630 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
B. Wellington Management Co., 1630 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Wenchel, Schulman & Manning, 1625 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Motors Corp., 14250 Plymouth Road, Detroit, Mich.
E. (9) $10.67.

A. Robert L. Weneck, 9121 West 73d Street, Shawnee Mission, Kans.
B. Weneck International Marketers, Inc., 2 East Gregory, Kansas City, Mo.

A. Donald F. White, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation.

A. John C. White, 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Private Truck Council of America, Inc., 1317 F Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Douglas Whitlock II, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation.

A. Whitlock, Markey & Tait, 15th and H Streets NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Institute of Laundering, Joliet, Ill., and National Institute of Drycleaning, 909 Burlington Avenue, Silver Spring, Md.
D. (6) $500. E. (9) $107.60.

A. Louis E. Whyte, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Independent Natural Gas Association of America, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Claude C. Wild, Jr., 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Gulf Oil Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. (6) $1,000. E. (9) $250.

A. Billy Glen Wiley, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $692.30. E. (9) $11.82.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Society of Travel Agents, Inc., 360 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.
E. (9) $933.09.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Arapahoe Indian Tribe, Fort Washakie, Wyo.
E. (9) $5.11.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Mont.
E. (9) $12.15.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. KSL, Inc., 145 Social Hall Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. J. Ray McDermott & Co., Inc., Oil Division, Houston Club Building, Houston, Tex.
E. (9) $24.01.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Congress of American Indians, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Quinaielt Tribe of Indians, Taholah, Wash.
E. (9) $5.12.

A. Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, New Town, N. Dak.
E. (9) $8.20.

A. John Willard, Box 1172, Helena, Mont.
B. Montana Railroad Association, Helena, Mont.
D. (6) $200. E. (9) $306.02.

A. Francis S. Williams, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
B. Investment Company Institute, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

A. Harding deC. Williams, 918 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Manufacturers.

A. John C. Williamson, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Real Estate Boards, 155 East Superior Street, Chicago, Ill., and 1300 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,500. E. (9) $353.34.

A. Kenneth Williamson, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Hospital Association, 840 North Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.
D. (6) $1,302.46. E. (9) $390.71.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Iron & Steel Institute, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $380.

A. E. Raymond Wilson, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $1,488.

A. Earl Wilson, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
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A. W. E. Wilson, 623 Ockley Drive, Shreveport, La.
B. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.
D. (6) $2,000. E. (9) $947.56.

A. R. J. Winchester, 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.
B. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.
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A. Richard F. Witherall, 702 Majestic Building, Denver, Colo.
B. Colorado Railroad Association, 702 Majestic Building, Denver, Colo.
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A. Peter L. Wolff, Washington, D.C.
B. Association of American Law Schools, 1521 New Hampshire Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

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B. National Federation of Federal Employees, 1737 H Street, Washington, D.C.
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A. Russell J. Woodman, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
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A. James Woodside, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Technical Engineers, 1126 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $240. E. (9) $20.

A. Albert Young Woodward, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Flying Tiger Line, Inc., Los Angeles International Airport, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Albert Young Woodward, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Signal Oil & Gas Co., 1010 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif.

A. Perry W. Woofter, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Petroleum Institute, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y.
D. (6) $1,500. E. (9) $1,432.40.

A. Edward E. Wright, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $333.

A. Hal J. Wright, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. John H. Yingling, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Holly Corp., 1111 West Foothill, Boulevard, Azusa, Calif., et al.
D. (6) $250. E. (9) $60.

A. J. Banks Young, 1200 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Cotton Council of America, Post Office Box 12285, Memphis, Tenn.
D. (6) $712.50.

A. Kenneth Young, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
D. (6) $4,341.20. E. (9) $509.57.

A. Zimring, Gromfine & Sternstein, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C., and 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

REGISTRATIONS

The following registrations were submitted for the first calendar quarter 1968:

(NOTE.—The form used for registration is reproduced below. In the interest of economy in the RECORD, questions are not repeated, only the essential answers are printed, and are indicated by their respective letter and number.)

FILE ONE COPY WITH THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE AND FILE TWO COPIES WITH THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

This page (page 1) is designed to supply identifying data; and page 2 (on the back of this page) deals with financial data.

PLACE AN "X" BELOW THE APPROPRIATE LETTER OR FIGURE IN THE BOX AT THE RIGHT OF THE "REPORT" HEADING BELOW:

"PRELIMINARY" REPORT ("Registration"): To "register," place an "X" below the letter "P" and fill out page 1 only.

"QUARTERLY" REPORT: To indicate which one of the four calendar quarters is covered by this Report, place an "X" below the appropriate figure. Fill out both page 1 and page 2 and as many additional pages as may be required. The first additional page should be numbered as page "3," and the rest of such pages should be "4," "5," "6," etc. Preparation and filing in accordance with instructions will accomplish compliance with all quarterly reporting requirements of the Act.

Year: 19_______ ◄

REPORT

PURSUANT TO FEDERAL REGULATION OF LOBBYING ACT

P	QUARTER			
	1st	2d	3d	4th
(Mark one square only)				

NOTE ON ITEM "A".—(a) IN GENERAL. This "Report" form may be used by either an organization or an individual, as follows:

(i) "Employee".—To file as an "employee", state (in Item "B") the name, address, and nature of business of the "employer". (If the "employee" is a firm [such as a law firm or public relations firm], partners and salaried staff members of such firm may join in filing a Report as an "employee".)

(ii) "Employer".—To file as an "employer", write "None" in answer to Item "B".

(b) SEPARATE REPORTS. An agent or employee should not attempt to combine his Report with the employer's Report:

(i) Employers subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their agents or employees.

(ii) Employees subject to the Act must file separate Reports and are not relieved of this requirement merely because Reports are filed by their employers.

A. ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL FILING:

1. State name, address, and nature of business.

2. If this Report is for an Employer, list names of agents or employees who will file Reports for this Quarter.

NOTE ON ITEM "B".—*Reports by Agents or Employees.* An employee is to file, each quarter, as many Reports as he has employers, except that: (*a*) If a particular undertaking is jointly financed by a group of employers, the group is to be considered as one employer, but all members of the group are to be named, and the contribution of each member is to be specified; (*b*) if the work is done in the interest of one person but payment therefor is made by another, a single Report—naming both persons as "employers"—is to be filed each quarter.

B. EMPLOYER.—State name, address, and nature of business. If there is no employer, write "None."

NOTE ON ITEM "C".—(*a*) The expression "in connection with legislative interests," as used in this Report, means "in connection with attempting, directly or indirectly, to influence the passage or defeat of legislation." "The term 'legislation' means bills, resolutions, amendments, nominations, and other matters pending or proposed in either House of Congress, and includes any other matter which may be the subject of action by either House"—§ 302(e).

(*b*) Before undertaking any activities in connection with legislative interests, organizations and individuals subject to the Lobbying Act are required to file a "Preliminary" Report (Registration).

(*c*) After beginning such activities, they must file a "Quarterly" Report at the end of each calendar quarter in which they have either received or expended anything of value in connection with legislative interests.

C. LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS, AND PUBLICATIONS in connection therewith:

1. State approximately how long legislative interests are to continue. If receipts and expenditures in connection with legislative interests have terminated, ☐ place an "X" in the box at the left, so that this Office will no longer expect to receive Reports.

2. State the general legislative interests of the person filing and set forth the *specific* legislative interests by reciting: (*a*) Short titles of statutes and bills; (*b*) House and Senate numbers of bills, where known; (*c*) citations of statutes, where known; (*d*) whether for or against such statutes and bills.

3. In the case of those publications which the person filing has caused to be issued or distributed in connection with legislative interests, set forth: (*a*) Description, (*b*) quantity distributed; (*c*) date of distribution, (*d*) name of printer or publisher (if publications were paid for by person filing) or name of donor (if publications were received as a gift).

(Answer items 1, 2, and 3 in the space below. Attach additional pages if more space is needed)

4. If this is a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) rather than a "Quarterly" Report, state below what the nature and amount of anticipated expenses will be; and if for an agent or employee, state also what the daily, monthly, or annual rate of compensation is to be. If this is a "Quarterly" Report, disregard this item "C4" and fill out item "D" and "E" on the back of this page. Do not attempt to combine a "Preliminary" Report (Registration) with a "Quarterly" Report. ◄

AFFIDAVIT

[Omitted in printing]

PAGE 1 ◄

A. American Landowners Association, Box 294, Route No. 1, Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

A. American Society of Travel Agents, Inc., 360 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. American Vocational Association, Inc., 1025 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John B. Babcock, 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.
B. American Business Press, Inc., 205 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. John C. Bagwell, 723 Investment Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Honolulu, Hawaii.

A. Moylan E. Brown, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William B. Brown, Post Office Box 1716, Balboa, Canal Zone.
B. Canal Zone Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council, Post Office Box 471, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone.

A. Albert T. Church, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of American Steamship Lines, 1155 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Garrett V. Coleman, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Miss Eileen D. Cooke, 200 C Street SE., Washington, D.C.
B. American Library Association, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Thomas A. Cosgrove, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National League of Insured Savings Associations, 1200 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Daniel T. Coughlin, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Upjohn Co., 7000 Portage Road, Kalamazoo, Mich.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Importers Association, 111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japan Chemical Fibers Association, 3, 3-Chome, Muromachi, Nihonbashi, Chuo-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Japan Woolen & Linen Textiles Exporters Association, 4, 4-Chome, Bingomachi, Higashiku, Osaka, Japan.

A. Daniels & Houlihan, 1819 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Vorort des schweizerischen Handels-und Industrie-Vereins, Boersenstrasse 26, Zurich, Switzerland.

A. Debevoise, Liberman & Corben, Shoreham Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Northeast Utilities Service Co., 176 Cumberland Avenue, Wethersfield, Conn.

A. Ray Denison, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Steven B. Derounian, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Courier Corp., 222-17 Northern Boulevard, Bayside, N.Y.

A. Steven B. Derounian, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Amperex Electronic Corp., 230 Duffy Avenue, Hicksville, N.Y.

A. Steven B. Derounian, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Town of Hempstead, Town Hall, Hempstead, N.Y.

A. William B. Edgerton, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Carl Elliott, 1330 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Vocational Association, Inc., 1025 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Clinton M. Fair, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 815 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Owen V. Frisby, 821 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. The Chase Manhattan Bank, 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York, N.Y.

A. James M. Goldberg, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Douglas R. Gordon, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Jerry Gould, 1 Farragut Square South, Washington, D.C.
B. American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Clifford P. Greck, 1826 Jefferson Place NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Educational Publishers Institute, 432 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y.

A. Fred J. Greiner, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Evaporated Milk Association, 910 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Thomas A. Halsted, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Council for a Livable World, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Anthony Haswell, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
B. National Association of Railroad Passengers, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. George T. Higgins, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Chrysler Corporation, 341 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Detroit, Mich.

A. Insurance Company of North America, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. International Sportsmen's Committee, Boston, Va.

A. Philip F. Jehle, 300 National Press Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Smith Kline & French Laboratories, 1500 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Elmer A. Jones, 1145 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Edward F. Kenney, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.
B. Mississippi Valley Association, 225 South Meramec, St. Louis, Mo.

A. Kennon, White & Odom, 356 St. Charles Street, Baton Rouge, La.
B. Maryland Casualty Co., Baltimore, Md.

A. Wilbur A. Korfhage, 204 Burnham Court, Aptos, Calif.
B. American Council on Alcohol Problems, 119 Constitution Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.

A. Krause, Lindsay & Nahstoll, Loyalty Building, Portland, Oreg.
B. National Maritime Compensation Committee, 919 18th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John R. Kupferer, 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Limestone Institute, Inc., 702 H Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Albert Lannon, Jr., 1341 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Longshoremens' and Warehousemen's Union, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Legislation for Animal Welfare, Inc., (LAW, Inc.), 3045 P Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin, & Oppenheimer, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Marx Leva, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Industrial Bankers Association, 1629 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Scott W. Lucas, Friedman & Mann, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Mobile Homes Manufacturers Association, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

A. Scott W. Lucas, Friedman & Mann, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Western Medical, 415-423 West Pershing Road, Chicago, Ill.

A. Matthew James McCabe, Box 362, Flaglar Beach, Fla.

A. Robert L. McNeill, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.

A. R. Otto Meletzke, 1701 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Life Insurance Association of America, 277 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Hermon I. Miller, 5116 Moorland Lane, Bethesda, Md.
B. National Turkey Federation, Mt. Morris, Ill.

A. Jane Muller, 5921 Ramsgate Road, Bethesda, Md.
B. American Nurses' Association, Inc., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.

A. National Association of Railroad Passengers, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. National Turkey Federation, Mt. Morris, Ill.

A. Alexander W. Neale, 1107 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, 1101 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Robert Oliver, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. L. T. Barringer & Co., 161 South Front Street, Memphis, Tenn.

A. Pacific Lighting Corp., 600 California Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

A. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

A. Fred B. Perry, 950 Stoddard Building, Lansing, Mich.
B. Consumers Power Co., 212 West Michigan Avenue, Jackson, Mich.

A. Publicom, Inc., 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Midwest Federal Savings & Loan Association, Minneapolis, Minn.

A. Recreational Vehicle Institute Inc., 62–A Keeler Building, Grand Rapids, Mich.

A. David W. Richmond and Barron K. Grier, partners in the law firm of Miller & Chevalier, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pacific Lighting Corp., 600 California Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. Carl Roberts, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Retired Teachers Association-American Association of Retired Persons, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.

A. J. T. Rutherford & Associates, Inc., 1555 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Central Arizona Project Association, 111 West Monroe Street, Phoenix, Ariz.

A. Hilliard Schulberg, 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Washington, D.C., Retail Liquor Dealers Association, Inc., 1900 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. A. Z. Shows, 1612 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
Kenard D. Brown, 1227 South Willow Street, Casper, Wyo.

A. Sidley & Austin, 1625 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Electronic Industries Association, 2001 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. W. Byron Sorrell, 1140 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Recreational Vehicle Institute Inc., 62–A Keeler Building, Grand Rapids, Mich.

A. Roy H. Stanton, 1625 L Street NW. Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Home Builders of the United States, 1625 L Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Eugene L. Stewart, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Trade Relations Council of the United States, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William M. Stover, 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Manufacturing Chemists' Association, Inc., 1825 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John R. Sweeney, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Bethlehem Steel Corp., 701 East Third Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

A. Trade Relations Council of the United States, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Joel B. True, 918 16th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Manufacturers.

A. John A. Vance, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 245 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

A. John Robert Vastine, Jr., 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Emergency Committee for American Trade, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Wald, Harkrader & Rockefeller, 1225 19th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Insurance Co. of North America, 1600 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

A. Reno F. Walker, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Farm Bureau Federation, 1000 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill.

A. Washington Consulting Service, 1435 G Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Occupational Therapy Association, 251 Park Avenue South, New York.

A. Donald Dent Webster, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Committee of European Shipowners, 30–32 St. Mary Axe, London, England.

A. Robert L. Weneck, 9121 West 73d Street, Shawnee Mission, Kans.
B. Weneck International Marketers, Inc., 2 East Gregory, Kansas City, Mo.

A. John L. Wheeler, 815 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Sears, Roebuck & Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. J. Joseph Whelan, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Trade Relations Council of the United States, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. William E. Wickert, Jr., 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Bethlehem Steel Corp., 701 East Third Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

A. Leonard M. Wickliffe, 11th & L Building, Sacramento, Calif.
B. California Railroad Association, 11th & L Building, Sacramento, Calif.

A. Billy Glen Wiley, 1000 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A. Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, 900 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Iron & Steel Institute, 150 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. W. E. Wilson, 623 Ockley Drive, Shreveport, La.
B. Pennzoil Co., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

A. W. E. Wilson, 623 Ockley Drive, Shreveport, La.
B. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

A. R. J. Winchester, 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.
B. Pennzoil United, Inc., 900 Southwest Tower, Houston, Tex.

A. Edward E. Wright, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. United States-Japan Trade Council, 1000 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John H. Yingling, 905 16th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. First National City Bank, 399 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. Lyndol L. Young, 612 South Flower Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
B. Mrs. Joan Orville Smith, Middlebury, Vt.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

PRIDE IN AMERICA COMMITTEE

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to the new Pride in America Committee which has just been organized and is headed by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, former President of the United States, as honorary national chairman. Mr. Fred L. Dixon is serving as national chairman. The mailing address of the headquarters is Post Office Box 1600, Washington, D.C.

The following news release ably describes the purpose of Pride in America, and I commend the formation of this committee because we should all have pride in America and display our flag proudly.

The formation of a nationwide "Pride in America" Committee to promote display of the flag and pride in country was announced today. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower will serve as honorary national chairman of the committee.

The announcement of the establishment of the committee was made by Fred L. Dixon, a Washington, D.C., investment broker, who is serving as national chairman of the group. Dixon said a top-level board of directors made up of some of this Nation's most prominent citizens will be announced shortly.

"The Pride in America Committee was established," Dixon said, "to counterbalance the wave of lawlessness, violence, flag-burnings and similar activities which have been sweeping the country and to provide a rallying point for citizens who still have faith and pride in this Nation and its flag."

The first phase of the committee's plan to restore respect for the flag will come on June 14, which is Flag Day. On that day, and on subsequent national holidays, Americans across the country will be asked to clip small (4 by 6 inch) flags on their car radio antennas, to wear metal lapel flags on their suits or dresses, and display flags on their homes and places of business.

"What we're trying to revive with this committee," Dixon said, "is a spirit which has been too long dormant—namely, pride in country and respect for and display of the American flag. We are pleased that former President Eisenhower has enthusiastically agreed to serve as honorary chairman of this committee and we expect to announce shortly the membership of a board of directors composed of some of this Nation's leading citizens from all walks of life."

Dixon said the committee is a non-profit venture designed solely to promote pride in flag and country. He said there will be no dues or membership assessments. "We are promoting only pride in America," said Dixon, "and we invite all Americans to join us."

He said the committee plans no demonstrations, marches, parades or other group activity—only the individual participation of citizens displaying flags on their car antennas, on their clothing or their homes and places of business on occasions such as Flag Day, the Fourth of July and other holidays.

A CLOSE LOOK AT THE CIA

HON. CARL HAYDEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an article entitled "A Close Look at the CIA", written by Mrs. Jeanette H. Sofokidis, and printed in the May issue of American Education, which is published by the U.S. Department of Education.

Mrs. Sofokidis is a former CIA employee and is now an assistant editor in the Office of Education. I found the article of even greater interest when it was called to my attention that the author had studied at Arizona State University and taught high school in my native city of Tempe.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CLOSE LOOK AT THE CIA

In two and a half years of working with these men I have yet to meet a '007,' " said President Johnson in June 1966, referring to the personnel of the Central Intelligence Agency. "In a real sense they are America's professional students; they are unsung just as they are invaluable."

Appreciation from the White House. But sometimes a cooler reception from the college campuses which furnish much of the manpower the CIA needs. At Stanford University last November, for example, 10 students drew disciplinary action for their activities in trying to block Agency recruiters. At Northern Illinois University, 20 students marched for a short time in bitter February weather in a protest demonstration. A few other colleges have experienced similar disruptive efforts this year, sometimes tied in with general antiwar or "student power" manifestations.

The problem seems to be basically one of communication. CIA doesn't exactly advertise. "The CIA doesn't need defending," said Charles J. Minich, the recruiter who encountered problems at Northern Illinois. He pointed out that the CIA is not a secret organization and that libraries have many books about the Agency, citing as an example *The Real CIA* by Lyman Kirkpatrick, a professor of political science at Brown University who formerly held a high post at CIA. Still, many people think about the Central Intelligence Agency in terms of glamorous fiction characters, exotic foreign assignments, clandestine meetings, and secrets passed in the dark.

As support to national policy, prelude to decision, or guide to action, our Nation's top officials must know what other nations are doing. They need to know the accuracy and reliability of the ICBM's of the USSR and Red China. They must be aware of Soviet advances in radar, and they must know just how much the Soviets know about our own progress or there can be no rational planning of America's prodigiously costly defense effort.

CIA has the responsibility of reporting to the President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, and other senior national security advisors on events abroad. Its staff reads nearly everything that comes into official Washington and covers the American and foreign press. They distill information into brief, accurate reports, arrange it in context, and present it in concise nonbureaucratic English. Each top policy officer exercises a priority call on CIA's services, and each is entitled to have his particular interest satisfied in the terms most convenient to him.

Responsibility such as this places on CIA a burden for a high degree of quality as well as variety in its manpower. So CIA from its beginnings a quarter of a century ago developed close ties with the field of higher education. Colonel William J. Donovan, in designing the Office of Strategic Services as a national intelligence unit, turned first to the academic community for an organizational nucleus. He brought into the OSS such distinguished educators as Professors William Langer and Edward S. Mason of Harvard and Presidents James Phinney Baxter of Williams College and Walter McConaughy of Wesleyan University. Others from the field of education who served the Agency in its early days were Barnaby Keeney, now chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities; Presidential advisors Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Walt W. Rostow; and John W. Gardner, until recently Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and now chairman of the Urban Coalition.

Ford Foundation's McGeorge Bundy in his 1964 book, *The Dimensions of Diplomacy,* described the relationship between colleges and the CIA in these words: "It is a curious fact of academic history that the first great center of area studies in the United States was not located in any university, but in Washington, during the Second World War, in the Office of Strategic Services. In very large measure the area-study programs developed in American universities in the years after the war were manned, directed, or stimulated by graduates of the OSS.

"It is still true today, and I hope it always will be," Bundy continued, "that there is a high measure of interpenetration between universities with area programs and the information-gathering agencies of the Government of the United States."

Currently, about 18 percent of CIA's professional employees have had experience in education, and, according to a *New York Times* report, the Agency would be able to staff any college from among its corps of analysts, half of whom have advanced degrees, 30 percent the doctorate. CIA's debt to education is further shown in the fact that a majority of all the Agency's employees have earned baccalaureate degrees, 16 percent hold master's degrees, and five percent have attained Ph.D.'s. These academic degrees were awarded by nearly 700 colleges and universities in the United States and by 60 universities abroad. They comprise 281 major fields of specialization, the six most representative disciplines being history, political science, business administration, economics, English, and international relations.

Considering the years required for undergraduate and graduate study, the foreign experience amassed, and an average of 10 to 15 years of professional intelligence work on the part of its employees, CIA represents an unmatched reservoir of knowledge, competence, and skills at the service of the Nation's policymakers. Little wonder that it believes its missions are being accomplished not by flashy triumphs of espionage (it regards the occasional Colonel Penkovsky as a windfall), but by an enormous amount of painstaking work.

A prime need of the Central Intelligence Agency, its recruiters say, is young men and women with liberal arts training and a strong sense of history. They should be keenly aware of the forces of economics and politics and in substantial command of at least one foreign language. They must be intelligent and resourceful, personable and persuasive. They must be willing to work anonymously, and they must be willing to serve in far places as needs arise.

Research staffs of CIA require and work in an intellectual environment conducive to scholarly inquiry and contemplation. They are supported by a collection of source materials and library facilities that include 116,000 volumes; they have access to external consultants and a foreign documents division that supplies translations and editorial assistance.

CIA's responsibility for research, analysis, and reporting on, for example, a particular phase of economics may involve the measurement of the entire economic performance of a country, or it may demand a detailed study of a narrower segment of the subject—major industries, transportation, communications, agriculture, international trade, finances—over a much larger geographical area. These assignments require graduate skills in economics, economic history, economic geography, area studies, and international trade.

Other components of the Agency call for other skills. One office, for instance, requires sensitivity to developing trends and the ability to synthesize from political, economic, and military intelligence, support for judgments regarding the intentions and capabilities of foreign governments. Many specialities of scientists, engineers, and technicians are employed in the study of space technology and missile systems. The art and science of photogrammetry are called upon in the critical interpretation and analysis of aerial photographs, and, here, CIA makes use of geologists, geodesists, geographers, foresters, architectural engineers, civil engineers, and people talented in the graphic and illustrative arts. The electronic engineer may work on one of the communications media so vital to the continuity of the intelligence process. Physical and biological scientists may be members of the research staffs responsible for surveying foreign scientific literature.

Singularly active in the use of computers for management applications, scientific and engineering calculations, and information retrieval, CIA offers mathematicians, systems analysts, computer programers, and electronic engineers career opportunities in its unique and progressive data processing complex. With CIA initiative, a high-speed facsimile transmitter has been developed with which an untrained operator can encipher and transmit a document at more than six pages per minute. At that rate the entire Encyclopaedia Britannica could be transmitted in about 60 hours.

For its administrative support arm to keep all of its human and mechanical elements functioning efficiently and effectively, the Agency seeks out law graduates, business and public administration majors, medical officers and medical technicians, personnel management specialists, communications engineers, and technicians trained in wireless transmission, reception, and maintenace.

CIA celebrated its 20th birthday in 1967, so it can no longer be considered a newcomer to the national scene. Nearly half of its employees have now served more than 15 years, and about 75 percent of its professionals are over 35 years of age. This unusual depth of experience, however, might sink into institutional formalism were it not for a farsighted, orderly, career development process.

As a deterrent to professional obsolescence, each year several thousand CIA employees attend some type of non-Agency program in management, science and certain technical fields, language and area studies, and in liberal arts. In any one month employees spend thousands of man-days participating in training, on a full- or part-time basis, at a university, senior service school, commercial firm, military facility or another Government agency. In addition, two universities in the Washington area have established off-campus centers at the CIA headquarters building, where Agency students may enroll in courses for credit in their off-duty hours.

While national security interests impose some limitations on CIA employees, many write for publication, attend professional meetings, and take periodic leaves of absence to teach and renew their contacts with the academic world. Many take up or return to an academic career upon leaving the Agency.

In addition to its external education program, CIA operates a number of programs of internal instruction. Basic methods of acquiring information are taught selected field personnel early in their careers. They are also trained in such specialized skills as paramilitary techniques and their application in counterinsurgency situations such as Laos and Vietnam. But since these "tradecraft" subjects concern comparatively few CIA officers, perhaps the most comprehensive example of inhouse training is Agency instruction in foreign languages.

Overall, CIA employees are able to speak and read more than 100 separate languages and dialects, while nearly half of all Agency personnel possess foreign language skills in some degree. Thirty-eight percent of CIA's professional employees speak one foreign language, 18 percent have demonstrated capability in two languages, 14 percent in at least three, and about five percent have facility in six or more languages. One CIA officer, who must be unique in our Government, if not the world, possesses abilities in 51 foreign languages, many of which were acquired under CIA auspices.

Training in foreign languages is accomplished in a varied program that ranges from 12-month, intensive, comprehensive courses to part-time familiarization programs of only a few hours. It is also undertaken through tutorial training and programed assisted instruction. CIA's emphasis on spoken language skills originates from a major requirement for Agency employees who serve abroad—ability in oral communication. For these employees, the ability to read or write a language is secondary. On the other hand, intelligence production specialists more often need to read and evaluate foreign documents, frequently in a recondite field.

Language school instructors use techniques similar to those used in traditional academic courses, but the subject matter and the technical level of foreign language materials are quite different from those of most universities. The language school has therefore developed additional techniques, tailored to the Agency's interests. These include instructional tape recordings in 60 different languages, a large and modern language laboratory, and a library of 4,000 language and area books.

The language faculty is made up of staff employees, scientific linguists, and contract employees, many of whom are employed on a full-time basis. With this staff, CIA's language school can provide full-time instruction in 20 languages and less intensive instruction in 35 others. About 40 percent of the students are under full-time instruction.

Taken in all its aspects, CIA's language instruction program is believed to have few, if any, rivals in the Free World.

And it is the Free World that CIA, in concert with other departments of our Government, is working to keep free. Twentieth century technology—and ideology—have forced the American intelligence system to grow in size and importance; yet the end products of this system remain information and judgment. Thus, the ultimate success of American intelligence and, in turn, American foreign policy, depends to a large extent upon the educational excellence of its responsible officers. CIA's officials freely admit this. The stress, though, that the responsibility is a two-way street and that the lives and freedom of us all could depend on the degree to which the American academic community can continue to fill this demanding requirement.

GOVERNMENT PRINTERS HIT CRIME

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, crime in our Nation's Capital continues to soar unmolested.

Now the Typographical Union threatens to walk out because of lack of security and protection for their members—who fight poverty and pay taxes.

These working people do not blame the poor police—they know the cure has to be unleashed from the top down. Those in high places must take action against crime. Crime will not disappear by pretending it does not exist. Soon the U.S. Supreme Court may be shut down because of the fear of its staff and employees exposed to violence and denied protection because of wishy-washy decisions of the members of the Court.

In the meantime if the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD stops, you will know crime continues.

I include the report from the May 23 Evening Star:

GPO WORKERS HIT CRIME RATE, WEIGH WALKOUT

(By William Grigg)

Government Printing Office employes are talking about a wildcat strike to protest what they feel is a lack of police protection in GPO's section of the city, a Columbia Typographical Union official says.

Some of the night employes are already carrying guns for protection, while other employes are quitting, he said.

He said three men have been victims of armed holdups in the last few nights and a woman coming to a daytime retirement celebration for her husband was attacked and thrown to the ground, suffering a broken shoulder.

TELEGRAMS SENT

The employes' concern has produced telegrams to the White House, Mayor Walter E. Washington and members of Congress, as reported in the Federal Spotlight column in The Star yesterday.

If these wires don't produce more protection, some printers are talking about following the example of D.C. Transit bus drivers who have balked at night work because of crime here, Charles F. Hines, president of the union said. The bus drivers won't work as long as they have to carry cash.

Hines has been meeting with congressmen, including Sen. Daniel B. Brewster, D-Md., to discuss the problems. He told Brewster yesterday afternoon that if something isn't done, the men say they are going to "let the Congressional Record go to hell."

PRINTS DAILY RECORD

The GPO, at North Capitol and H Streets, prints the daily record of speeches and actions in the House and Senate.

Hines said he personally cannot support such an illegal work stoppage.

Hines said he felt most of his union also would support moving the GPO to the suburbs.

Brewster told Hines that the union has a right to petition Congress for help and that it should continue to do so until something is done about crime. He said he would push for more police protection.

The senator said the problem also would be eased if the GPO provided employe parking.

A LESSON FOR US

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Cheraw News, of Cheraw, S.C., published a very interesting editorial in the May 8, 1968, issue entitled "A Lesson for Us."

In this publication the article emphasized the warning of one of the Founding Fathers of our Nation. It stated that internal weaknesses were possibly a greater threat to the perpetuation of this Nation than any foreign military power.

One such case of internal collapse is illustrated by the breakdown of the British Empire, and the fate of that Empire has been covered by the world's press. What at one time seemed impossible for Hitler and his forces to accomplish has now happened. Britain is no longer the world power that she was 22 years ago. The misfortunes of that nation can be traced back to the actions of her socialist leaders.

The phrase "A Lesson for Us" may very well be termed a second warning to the United States, because even the strongest nation can be destroyed from within.

Mr. President, I wish to commend Mr. W. C. Gaddy, editor of the Cheraw News, for his enlightening article, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LESSON FOR US

One of the Founding Fathers of our country warned a long time ago that internal weaknesses might present a greater threat to the perpetuation of our country than foreign military aggression. We have now had a first-rate example of how internal weakness can wreck a nation. Within a space of 22 years following World War II, the British Empire disintegrated. The obituaries of Britain's decline have been documented in the world's press. What Hitler and his mighty air armada were unable to accomplish—the extinction of Britain as a world power—is now a fact of history. From all accounts, the demise of Britain is traceable largely to socialist leaders. The energy-sapping philosophy of the welfare state which they advocated apparently played an important part in the rapid decline of British fortunes. U.S. citizens should take note that even the mightiest nation can be brought down by its own weaknesses—just as was predicted nearly two centuries ago.

committee and we expect to announce shortly the membership of a board of directors composed of some of this Nation's leading citizens from all walks of life."

Dixon said the committee is a non-profit venture designed solely to promote pride in flag and country. He said there will be no dues or membership assessments. "We are promoting only pride in America," said Dixon, "and we invite all Americans to join us."

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OF ARIZONA

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"It is still true today, and I hope it always will be," Bundy continued, "that there is a high measure of interpenetration between universities with area programs and the information-gathering agencies of the Government of the United States."

Currently, about 18 percent of CIA's professional employees have had experience in education, and, according to a *New York Times* report, the Agency would be able to staff any college from among its corps of analysts, half of whom have advanced degrees, 30 percent the doctorate. CIA's debt to education is further shown in the fact that a majority of all the Agency's employees have earned baccalaureate degrees, 16 percent hold master's degrees, and five percent have attained Ph.D.'s. These academic degrees were awarded by nearly 700 colleges and universities in the United States and by 60 universities abroad. They comprise 281 major fields of specialization, the six most representative disciplines being history, political science, business administration, economics, English, and international relations.

Considering the years required for undergraduate and graduate study, the foreign experience amassed, and an average of 10 to 15 years of professional intelligence work on the part of its employees, CIA represents an unmatched reservoir of knowledge, competence, and skills at the service of the Nation's policymakers. Little wonder that it believes its missions are being accomplished not by flashy triumphs of espionage (it regards the occasional Colonel Penkovsky as a windfall), but by an enormous amount of painstaking work.

A prime need of the Central Intelligence Agency, its recruiters say, is young men and women with liberal arts training and a strong sense of history. They should be keenly aware of the forces of economics and politics and in substantial command of at least one foreign language. They must be intelligent and resourceful, personable and persuasive. They must be willing to work anonymously, and they must be willing to serve in far places as needs arise.

Research staffs of CIA require and work in an intellectual environment conducive to scholarly inquiry and contemplation. They are supported by a collection of source materials and library facilities that include 116,000 volumes; they have access to external consultants and a foreign documents division that supplies translations and editorial assistance.

CIA's responsibility for research, analysis, and reporting on, for example, a particular phase of economics may involve the measurement of the entire economic performance of a country, or it may demand a detailed study of a narrower segment of the subject—major industries, transportation, communications, agriculture, international trade, finances—over a much larger geographical area. These assignments require graduate skills in economics, economic history, economic geography, area studies, and international trade.

Other components of the Agency call for other skills. One office, for instance, requires sensitivity to developing trends and the ability to synthesize from political, economic, and military intelligence, support for judgments regarding the intentions and capabilities of foreign governments. Many specialities of scientists, engineers, and technicians are employed in the study of space technology and missile systems. The art and science of photogrammetry are called upon in the critical interpretation and analysis of aerial photographs, and, here, CIA makes use of geologists, geodesists, geographers, foresters, architectural engineers, civil engineers, and people talented in the graphic and illustrative arts. The electronic engineer may work on one of the communications media so vital to the continuity of the intelligence process. Physical and biological scientists may be members of the research staffs responsible for surveying foreign scientific literature.

Singularly active in the use of computers for management applications, scientific and engineering calculations, and information retrieval, CIA offers mathematicians, systems analysts, computer programers, and electronic engineers career opportunities in its unique and progressive data processing complex. With CIA initiative, a high-speed facsimile transmitter has been developed with which an untrained operator can encipher and transmit a document at more than six pages per minute. At that rate the entire Encyclopaedia Britannica could be transmitted in about 60 hours.

For its administrative support arm to keep all of its human and mechanical elements functioning efficiently and effectively, the Agency seeks out law graduates, business and public administration majors, medical officers and medical technicians, personnel management specialists, communications engineers, and technicians trained in wireless transmission, reception, and maintenace.

CIA celebrated its 20th birthday in 1967, so it can no longer be considered a newcomer to the national scene. Nearly half of its employees have now served more than 15 years, and about 75 percent of its professionals are over 35 years of age. This unusual depth of experience, however, might sink into institutional formalism were it not for a farsighted, orderly, career development process.

As a deterrent to professional obsolescence, each year several thousand CIA employees attend some type of non-Agency program in management, science and certain technical fields, language and area studies, and in liberal arts. In any one month employees spend thousands of man-days participating in training, on a full- or part-time basis, at a university, senior service school, commercial firm, military facility or another Government agency. In addition, two universities in the Washington area have established off-campus centers at the CIA headquarters building, where Agency students may enroll in courses for credit in their off-duty hours.

While national security interests impose some limitations on CIA employees, many write for publication, attend professional meetings, and take periodic leaves of absence to teach and renew their contacts with the academic world. Many take up or return to an academic career upon leaving the Agency.

In addition to its external education program, CIA operates a number of programs of internal instruction. Basic methods of acquiring information are taught selected field personnel early in their careers. They are also trained in such specialized skills as paramilitary techniques and their application in counterinsurgency situations such as Laos and Vietnam. But since these "tradecraft" subjects concern comparatively few CIA officers, perhaps the most comprehensive example of inhouse training is Agency instruction in foreign languages.

Overall, CIA employees are able to speak and read more than 100 separate languages and dialects, while nearly half of all Agency personnel possess foreign language skills in some degree. Thirty-eight percent of CIA's professional employees speak one foreign language, 18 percent have demonstrated capability in two languages, 14 percent in at least three, and about five percent have facility in six or more languages. One CIA officer, who must be unique in our Government, if not the world, possesses abilities in 51 foreign languages, many of which were acquired under CIA auspices.

Training in foreign languages is accomplished in a varied program that ranges from 12-month, intensive, comprehensive courses to part-time familiarization programs of only a few hours. It is also undertaken through tutorial training and programed assisted instruction. CIA's emphasis on spoken language skills originates from a major requirement for Agency employees who serve abroad—ability in oral communication. For these employees, the ability to read or write a language is secondary. On the other hand, intelligence production specialists more often need to read and evaluate foreign documents, frequently in a recondite field.

Language school instructors use techniques similar to those used in traditional academic courses, but the subject matter and the technical level of foreign language materials are quite different from those of most universities. The language school has therefore developed additional techniques, tailored to the Agency's interests. These include instructional tape recordings in 60 different languages, a large and modern language laboratory, and a library of 4,000 language and area books.

The language faculty is made up of staff employees, scientific linguists, and contract employees, many of whom are employed on a full-time basis. With this staff, CIA's language school can provide full-time instruction in 20 languages and less intensive instruction in 35 others. About 40 percent of the students are under full-time instruction.

Taken in all its aspects, CIA's language instruction program is believed to have few, if any, rivals in the Free World.

And it is the Free World that CIA, in concert with other departments of our Government, is working to keep free. Twentieth century technology—and ideology—have forced the American intelligence system to grow in size and importance; yet the end products of this system remain information and judgment. Thus, the ultimate success of American intelligence and, in turn, American foreign policy, depends to a large extent upon the educational excellence of its responsible officers. CIA's officials freely admit this. The stress, though, that the responsibility is a two-way street and that the lives and freedom of us all could depend on the degree to which the American academic community can continue to fill this demanding requirement.

GOVERNMENT PRINTERS HIT CRIME

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, crime in our Nation's Capital continues to soar unmolested.

Now the Typographical Union threatens to walk out because of lack of security and protection for their members—who fight poverty and pay taxes.

These working people do not blame the poor police—they know the cure has to be unleashed from the top down. Those in high places must take action against crime. Crime will not disappear by pretending it does not exist. Soon the U.S. Supreme Court may be shut down because of the fear of its staff and employees exposed to violence and denied protection because of wishy-washy decisions of the members of the Court.

In the meantime if the Congressional Record stops, you will know crime continues.

I include the report from the May 23 Evening Star:

GPO Workers Hit Crime Rate, Weigh Walkout

(By William Grigg)

Government Printing Office employes are talking about a wildcat strike to protest what they feel is a lack of police protection in GPO's section of the city, a Columbia Typographical Union official says.

Some of the night employes are already carrying guns for protection, while other employes are quitting, he said.

He said three men have been victims of armed holdups in the last few nights and a woman coming to a daytime retirement celebration for her husband was attacked and thrown to the ground, suffering a broken shoulder.

TELEGRAMS SENT

The employes' concern has produced telegrams to the White House, Mayor Walter E. Washington and members of Congress, as reported in the Federal Spotlight column in The Star yesterday.

If these wires don't produce more protection, some printers are talking about following the example of D.C. Transit bus drivers who have balked at night work because of crime here, Charles F. Hines, president of the union said. The bus drivers won't work as long as they have to carry cash.

Hines has been meeting with congressmen, including Sen. Daniel B. Brewster, D-Md., to discuss the problems. He told Brewster yesterday afternoon that if something isn't done, the men say they are going to "let the Congressional Record go to hell."

PRINTS DAILY RECORD

The GPO, at North Capitol and H Streets, prints the daily record of speeches and actions in the House and Senate.

Hines said he personally cannot support such an illegal work stoppage.

Hines said he felt most of his union also would support moving the GPO to the suburbs.

Brewster told Hines that the union has a right to petition Congress for help and that it should continue to do so until something is done about crime. He said he would push for more police protection.

The senator said the problem also would be eased if the GPO provided employe parking.

A LESSON FOR US

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Cheraw News, of Cheraw, S.C., published a very interesting editorial in the May 8, 1968, issue entitled "A Lesson for Us."

In this publication the article emphasized the warning of one of the Founding Fathers of our Nation. It stated that internal weaknesses were possibly a greater threat to the perpetuation of this Nation than any foreign military power.

One such case of internal collapse is illustrated by the breakdown of the British Empire, and the fate of that Empire has been covered by the world's press. What at one time seemed impossible for Hitler and his forces to accomplish has now happened. Britain is no longer the world power that she was 22 years ago. The misfortunes of that nation can be traced back to the actions of her socialist leaders.

The phrase "A Lesson for Us" may very well be termed a second warning to the United States, because even the strongest nation can be destroyed from within.

Mr. President, I wish to commend Mr. W. C. Gaddy, editor of the Cheraw News, for his enlightening article, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Lesson for Us

One of the Founding Fathers of our country warned a long time ago that internal weaknesses might present a greater threat to the perpetuation of our country than foreign military aggression. We have now had a first-rate example of how internal weakness can wreck a nation. Within a space of 22 years following World War II, the British Empire disintegrated. The obituaries of Britain's decline have been documented in the world's press. What Hitler and his mighty air armada were unable to accomplish—the extinction of Britain as a world power—is now a fact of history. From all accounts, the demise of Britain is traceable largely to socialist leaders. The energy-sapping philosophy of the welfare state which they advocated apparently played an important part in the rapid decline of British fortunes. U.S. citizens should take note that even the mightiest nation can be brought down by its own weaknesses—just as was predicted nearly two centuries ago.

CONGRESSMAN TENZER ON SST

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. TENZER] has written a letter to the New York Times which was published on May 25, 1968. It concerns the supersonic transport and the still major unsolved problem of the sonic boom.

I concur in the sentiments expressed in Congressman TENZER's letter, and I note that he mentions one point not often appreciated by those concerned with our balance of payments. Congressman TENZER states:

> The threat of competition from foreign producers of supersonic transports can be readily resolved by regulations to prevent the landing and takeoff of such aircraft from our airfields until all the answers to sonic boom have been obtained.

I would add three small points to his statements:

First, several European nations have already stated that they will ban SST overflights unless the sonic boom problem is solved, so the proposal should be a feasible one even from the public relations point of view;

Second, studies exist which suggest that, contrary to popular expectation, the balance-of-payments result from extensive development of the SST may not be in our favor—Institute for Defense Analysis;

Third, it has recently become clear, as many have been suggesting and questioning for some time, that major technical problems in development of the SST are not yet solved, and any discussion of production timetables is premature and may be unrealistic.

I commend Congressman TENZER's letter to the editor of the New York Times to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

TO SHELVE SST

TO THE EDITOR:

I commend The New York Times for the May 16 editorial "Banning Sonic Booms."

When the appropriation bill for the design and development of the supersonic transport reached the House floor last year, I cast my vote against the project. My reasons for opposing this expenditure include my concern that the Congress has failed to establish realistic priorities in domestic spending as well as my findings that we know relatively little about the problem of controlling sonic booms.

When those who supported the SST appropriation sought to sooth our fears by stating that the transport would be used only over water, I asked the question, "What would happen if a sonic boom struck a ship at sea?" No one was able to provide a satisfactory answer to that question.

The SST if developed will serve less than 1 per cent of the population of the United States. It seems unrealistic to approve an expenditure for such a project which may total $5 billion when Congress has reduced appropriations for programs in education, housing, health and the war on poverty. If the SST, the space program and public works projects are to receive a higher priority than the crisis in our cities, we are heading down a road of disaster.

The supersonic transport project should be shelved until further study on controlling sonic boom has been completed and until we have assigned priorities for domestic programs to meet human needs.

The threat of competition from foreign producers of supersonic transports can be readily resolved by regulations to prevent the landing and takeoff of such aircraft from our airfields until all the answers to sonic boom have been obtained.

HERBERT TENZER,
Member of Congress,
Fifth District, New York.

WASHINGTON, *May 17, 1968.*

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN GRAIN PRODUCTION

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, recently Mr. Eugene B. Hayden, executive vice president of the Crop Quality Council, provided the American Railway Development Association with a comprehensive overview of new developments in grain production. In my judgment, his remarks bear further study and reading, and therefore, I ask unanimous consent that his statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SIGNIFICANT AGRICULTURAL CHANGES AHEAD

(Address by Eugene B. Hayden, executive vice president, Crop Quality Council, Minneapolis, Minn., before the American Railway Development Association, Montreal, Canada, April 30, 1968)

It is a genuine pleasure to meet with you and attempt to place in perspective some key developments in the crop production field, which are likely to have major impact on North American grain production in the next 10 years.

I feel it a particular privilege to meet with this railroad group, because of the key role your industry originally played in opening up for agricultural development the vast land areas of the Great Plains of the United States and of the Canadian Prairie Provinces—an area which has contributed importantly to supplying grains to the world, and which is a major resource available to meet world grain and food needs in the decades ahead.

INCREASED WORLD WHEAT PRODUCTION CAPABILITIES EMERGING

Last year there was great optimism that the time had come to unleash North America's grain production capacity in order to meet world wheat needs. However, present large world wheat supplies, including record levels of food grain production in India (nearly 100 million metric tons), have been reflected in lower prices, a softening of export demands, and a build-up of wheat supplies in the United States and Canada. Favorable weather conditions in India have contributed greatly to her expected record harvest, in sharp contrast to 2 previous years of serious drought which resulted in U.S. food aid shipments of 264 million bushels of wheat, plus other grains, in a single year.

Of greater importance for the future is the rapid progress being made in increasing the wheat production capacity of India and Pakistan. This year more than 40% of the Pakistan wheat crop is being produced on only 20% of the total area seeded to wheat. In this important area, the high yielding, fertilizer-responsive Mexican semidwarf wheats have been combined with fertilizer and better soil and water handling practices to produce dramatic increases in per acre yields. *The successful introduction of this new wheat production technology into Pakistan means that Pakistan will achieve near, if not full, self-sufficiency in wheat production during the current harvest which is now underway.* This new technology can, according to Dr. Norman Borlaug of the Rockefeller Foundation, be rapidly extended to much larger areas of Pakistan and make continued self-sufficiency a reality.

Great progress is also being made in India, where about 6,000,000 acres are now seeded to the high yielding Mexican wheat varieties, and is likely in other countries where campaigns to increase wheat production are underway. There has been a large-scale movement of these broadly adapted Mexican seed wheats into India, Pakistan, Turkey and Afghanistan, and semidwarf breeding materials are being evaluated throughout North America, North Africa, and in many other parts of the world. The implications of Pakistan and India moving toward self-sufficiency in wheat production are very great, as these two countries have accounted for nearly ⅓ of total grain imports by the developing countries in recent years.

Significant efforts are also underway to increase wheat production in some of the traditional wheat exporting countries as well. Increasing acreage in Australia, and efforts in Argentina to increase both total acreage and per acre yields, can have important effects on world wheat supplies in the decade ahead.

INCREASING COMPETITION FOR MARKETS

The pattern of success in introducing a new wheat production technology into Pakistan and India, with dramatically increased per acre yields, has the potential for markedly changing world wheat production and distribution patterns. Similar changes are also being achieved in some Asian countries through the use of new short straw fertilizer-responsive varieties of rice. These wheat and rice varieties show major promise in helping to keep world food supplies and rapidly increasing population growth in balance in the years immediately ahead.

These recent developments suggest the following to me:

1. Current world wheat production prospects, and the potential likely in the next several years, clearly indicate there will be increasing competition for access to commercial grain markets. The ability to supply wheats with desired milling and baking qualities will continue to be vital in marketing.
2. Continued efforts by the railroad industry to provide more efficient and economical transportation for grains will be of increasing importance, as North American wheat enters a decade of greater competition.
3. New research developments, such as attempts to develop higher yielding hybrid wheat varieties, have the potential for increasing wheat production efficiency in North America, thus helping to meet increasing world-wide competition.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTES TO AGRICULTURE

There has been growing investment and involvement of private industry in agricultural research and development.

The chemical and fertilizer industries are making an increasingly important contribution to agricultural productivity through the development and efficient merchandising of fertilizer and disease, insect, and weed control chemicals.

The commercial seed industry continues to play a vital role in the development of superior corn hybrids through research. The rise of hybrid grain sorghum to a major commercial crop was greatly speeded through research investments by the seed trade, and the recent development of forage hybrids (crosses between Sudangrass and sorghum), which hold substantial future promise, has come from seed industry research which now approximates $10,000,000 annually.

The farm implement industry invests between 200 and 300 million dollars in research and engineering costs each year to develop machinery, which permits more timely and efficient land preparation, seeding and harvesting operations.

Substantial investments in improved equipment by the railroad industry have speeded the distribution of agricultural products at reduced cost. A revolution in the development and use of equipment by railroads serving the Upper Midwest has already occurred. During 1966 four lines serving this grain producing area took delivery or placed orders for 2,600 high capacity covered hopper cars. Each car cost an average of $18,000 for a total investment of 47 million dollars. The unit train, an entire train transporting a single commodity, is now providing more rapid service at substantially reduced cost. Single cars formerly took up to 20 days for the round trip from the Head of the Lakes to easern destinations—until trains complete the round trip in about 7 days.

Canadian railroads can take pride in their record of moving more than 800,000,000 bushels of grain during a recent crop year, despite a shortage of diesel locomotives which forced leasing of some units from the United States, and during the most severe winter on record.

A NEW RESOURCE BEING COMMITTED TO WHEAT IMPROVEMENT—THE COMMERCIAL SEED INDUSTRY

Hybrid wheat has received a great deal of publicity during the past several years. Although production of hybrid wheat on any substantial commercial acreage is still about 4 to 5 years away, the genetic discovery which permitted scientists to begin efforts to develop hybrid wheat varieties has several important aspects. The development of economically useful hybrids would increase wheat yields at least 25–30% per acre. Farmers would need to purchase hybrid seed each spring, as is now true in the case of corn and sorghum. It could also mean greatly increased economic activity in the production, marketing and distribution of hybrid seed for a potential market of 80–100 million acres seeded to wheat in the United States and Canada.

The potential of a market of this size has been a great stimulus, causing a substantial number of seed companies to begin wheat research activities for the first time. Currently DeKalb, Funk Bros., Rudy-Patrick Seed Division of W. R. Grace & Company, Northup, King & Co., and others have hybrid wheat research programs underway, as do universities and agricultural experiment stations in the United States and Canada. Only recently Cargill, Inc., one of the world's major grain trading companies, has initiated a hybrid wheat research effort.

A substantial wheat research effort by the seed industry is new and desirable. The hybrid mechanism provides a means by which research investments by industry can be recovered through seed sales. The successful development of commercial hybrids, not yet achieved, will make continuing investments in wheat research attractive to industry.

The Crop Quality Council has had a long history of encouraging additional investment of state and federal funds in wheat research so we look upon the participation of private industry as a desirable addition to the effort. We have encouraged seed industry participation in wheat research by sponsoring the first Hybrid Wheat Seminar in 1964 to encourage communication and cooperation among industry, state and federal wheat scientists throughout North America. Our sponsorship last January of a working conference, "Wheat Development Opportunities in the Decade Ahead" is part of this continuing effort.

COUNCIL EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE CROP PRODUCTION

The Crop Quality Council looks at grain and wheat production from both a short and long-run viewpoint. Our extensive crop survey trips, from Texas northward to North Dakota and across the Canadian Prairie Provinces, generate current information on grain crop potentials. This timely information, supplemented by continuing contact with key grain research programs throughout North America, provides a long-range view of research or crop protection areas which require strengthening.

Many in this group will recall the devastating reductions in wheat production caused by stem rust attacks in the Upper Midwest and Canada during the early 1950's. Heavy losses in income were sustained by crop producers, grain loadings were reduced, and implement sales declined.

Out of the need to quickly develop new rust resistant wheat varieties evolved the Council-sponsored winter seed increase program in Mexico. This provides U.S. and Canadian scientists with an opportunity to reduce the 12–15 years required to develop a new spring wheat, durum, barley or oat variety. It extends the hands of the plant scientists by permitting a second crop of their breeding materials to be grown in Mexico each winter, thus speeding the release of new varieties. Within the last 10 days breeding lines from the Mexican harvest were returned to scientists at Upper Midwest and Canada experiment stations. This cooperative international program has played an important role in speeding development and release of an impressive number of new grain varieties

Another important step in strengthening stem rust control efforts will be taken when construction of a new $650,000 research facility for the Cooperative Rust Laboratory gets underway later this year on the St. Paul Campus of the University of Minnesota. This national research group has responsibility for detecting and identifying dangerous new races of both wheat and oat stem rust, so that plant breeding programs can develop varieties with resistance to them.

The cereal leaf beetle, a destructive foreign insect pest, was first found in North America in 1962 in southern Michigan and northern Indiana. The Council has maintained close association with cereal leaf beetle control efforts because of the potential for heavy damage which this insect could cause to spring seeded wheat, oats and barley in major producing areas of the United States and Canada. Extensive efforts have been made by pest control officials to prevent the westward spread of this pest into principal small grain producing regions and to provide time for scientists to develop insect resistant varieties. Nearly 2 million acres were sprayed during 1966 and 1967 as part of this effort, and 420,000 acres will be treated in eastern Illinois this spring.

It is appropriate to mention that continuing efforts are being made by the Council to have plant quarantine activities strengthened to prevent the introduction of other destructive foreign pests. Opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959 exposed major North American crop producing areas, and concentrated grain storage facilities, to the threat of dangerous foreign pests when more than 1,000 ships entered the Seaway from 43 foreign countries. The substantial expenditures required to prevent the introduction of a new pest are sound investments when viewed against resulting reductions in crop production and eventual control costs.

The job of maintaining North America's agricultural productive capacity is of vital importance to producers, industry and the general economy. It is for this reason that the Crop Quality Council works to strengthen crop research and pest control programs.

CAMPUS DISSENTERS: PRINCETON MEN LAUNCH PROBUSINESS MONTHLY

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the popular sport on college campuses is to attack, mock, and disrupt the great American institution known as business, it is indeed refreshing to learn that a group of "squares" at Princeton University has taken on the challenge of setting their student brethren straight on the fascinating world of business.

We all hear about the bearded, beaded, shoeless and posie-picking student hippies. Their "bag" is overthrowing campus administrations, halting troop trains, and boycotting companies that produce weapons for the Vietnam war efforts. These campus revolutionaries now are being confronted with what politicians might call a "backlash." For at Princeton, a new student publication has been born, entitled "Business Today." Its purpose is to wash away student hostilities and indifference toward American business. This new slick magazine and the daring young collegians who started it are described in a Wall Street Journal article, which I insert in the RECORD so all of our colleagues may benefit from it, as follows:

CAMPUS DISSENTERS: PRINCETON MEN LAUNCH PROBUSINESS MONTHLY—STUDENT GROUP SEEKS TO SELL SLICK MAGAZINE NATIONALLY—PRO-DOW AND ANTI-McCARTHY

(By Frederick C. Klein)

PRINCETON, N.J.—What's that you say, Mr. Executive? The colleges are stuffed with alienated hippies who would rather shave than consider a business career? You're having a tough time with your recruiting?

Well, take heart. A group of four-square Princeton University underclassmen are going to bat for you. They've come out with a quarterly magazine called Business Today. Its declared purpose is to wash away student hostility and indifference toward business by presenting it as the "fascinating, many-angled world" they say it really is.

Business Today is no ordinary student publication. It aspires to a national circulation. Its first edition—50,000 copies of which were mailed last week to college students around the country and officers of the 2,000 largest U.S. corporations (the editors bought the company list from Dun & Bradstreet)—is slick-papered, 68 pages in length and typographically handsome. An editor is Malcolm S. Forbes Jr., 20-year-old son of the president of Forbes, a twice-monthly business magazine. The advertising manager is Edward Scudder III, 18, whose father is the president of the Newark News.

IN DEFENSE OF DOW

The appearance and demeanor of Business Today's editors seem guaranteed to reassure corporate advertisers and recruiters; none are bearded and all address their elders as "sir." Likewise soothing are the magazine's contents. The featured article: "Defense of Saran Wrap; The Real Side of Dow." In this article, Dow Chemical Co. President Herbert Doan tells in an interview about the "99.5%" of the concern that is not engaged in the manufacture of napalm, an activity that has brought Dow under widespread student attack.

The magazine is the idea of Jonathan Perel, an 18-year-old freshman from Richmond, Va. Young Mr. Perel, blond and pleasant, says he likes to have a nonacademic side project—while a pupil at Collegiate Prep in Richmond, he wrote a 234-page history of the school. He also says that a few weeks at Princeton convinced him that the good name of business was in some need of protection on the campus.

"Kids are down on business because the publications they see usually just present the unfavorable side," he asserts. "When business tries to defend itself, students tend to shrug it off as self-serving propaganda. We figured that students will listen to other students—that a student-run business magazine would get a better hearing."

Whether this will be the case isn't clear yet. The magazine to date has no paid subscribers—its first edition was mailed free to corporations and to university departments of commerce and economics for distribution to their students. Business Today's newsstand price of $2 (subscribers will get discounts) might be a bit steep for some, even though the editors point out that Harvard Business Review also sells for $2 a copy.

CHEERS FOR THE COPS

It's questionable, too, whether great numbers of students will cheer Business Today's editorial policies. One of the magazine's initial editorials applauds Columbia University President Grayson Kirk for his "firm" stand against student demonstrators ("We found it a refreshing sight to see the cops, their clubs a swingin', disrupt a band of willful ruffians disrupting an entire university."); another editorial expresses dismay at Sen. Eugene McCarthy's appeal to collegians. The Senator, according to Business Today, is a "sleeping pill" who substitutes "petulance" for wit.

Business Today, however, already shows promise of being a hit with advertisers. The first edition carried 21 full-page ads, including ones from IBM, U.S. Steel and Chrysler. Most were recruiting appeals, and a few were couched in terms students are supposed to respond to. Chrysler, for instance, advertised that engineering—not selling cars—is "our bag."

Despite their magazine's pro-business orientation, Business Today's editors say they aren't in it for the money. Indeed, the magazine is run on the nonprofit basis under Princeton's auspices. It's not that they are against profits, the editors hasten to assert; it's just that nonprofit status brings them low postal rates, and university affiliation means free office space, legal advice and computer time.

Aided by those savings, Business Today should "just about" break even on its first edition, says editor-in-chief Perel. Nonprofit status helped in another way, too, he adds: "It got us some top contributing writers for nothing."

Featured in the initial Business Today were reprinted political columns by James Reston, William F. Buckley Jr. and David Lawrence. Nine of the 10 major articles (the exception was the interview with Mr. Doan of Dow) were donated by contributors, among them Willis J. Winn, head of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, Fritz Machlup, a Princeton economics professor, and Rawleigh Warner Jr., president of Mobile Oil Corp.

The editors, however, did contribute a few comments on the featured articles, and it's doubtful that the contributors took offense at them. Fletcher Jones, the president of a nine-year-old computer firm, wrote an article on the use of computers; he was introduced by Business Today as living proof that "making a million" as an entrepreneur" may not be so far-fetched."

William T. Kelly, president of Abex Corp., a New York maker of industrial equipment, wrote an article on corporate diversification and added separately a brief recollection of his own choice of a career. To wit: "When I was in college and trying to decide where I would like to spend the rest of my life, it never occurerd to me to consider any career other than business."

Commented Business Today's editors: "We found Mr. Kelly's thoughts on a business career frank and refreshing."

FRANK QUINN OF THE MONTANA STANDARD—BUTTE'S BIOGRAPHER

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, for 43 years Frank Quinn has written for the Montana Standard about Butte and its people. Montanans called him "Butte's biographer."

Recently, Mr. Quinn was given the Butte Rotary Club Service Above Self Award. I also wish to invite attention to the many years Mr. Quinn has faithfully served the people of Montana.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excellent article entitled "Day Care Fills Community Needs," written by Mr. Quinn.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Montana Standard, Mar. 3, 1968]

Day Care Fills Community Need

(By Frank Quinn)

Working mothers need a hand, particularly those from low income families or families on welfare.

Most important, however, is the need for proper care for such children, commonly known as day care. Primary function of day care is to give attention and supervision to children, particularly those of pre-school age.

There are two types of day care services available in Butte. The day care home offers individual attention to the very young, the infant, the toddler or the child under three. A family home receives from three to five children for care during the day, or part of the day.

The day care center offers group care to the young child of three to five and group activity for the older child after school hours or during vacation.

Under state law, a day care center must receive seven or more children for care five or more hours a day for five or more consecutive weeks. Day care homes are limited to five children.

It is not generally known, but there are 12 day care homes and one day care center, the Soroptimist Club Children's Home, in Butte. In all of these, the working mother can expect good care for her child, for all have been licensed under law passed in the 1965 State Legislature which set minimum standards for the care, health and safety of children. The State Welfare Department has the responsibility of licensing these facilities.

Social workers involved in the day care and day care center program in Butte are Mrs. Mary Ann Baumgardner of Helene, day care licensing assistant, and Mrs. Jacqueling Lane, Butte, child welfare district worker.

Mrs. Baumgardner, R.N., has the duty of studying day care homes and centers in the Butte-Helena area. She then recommends to the state child welfare director the licensing of those facilities meeting state standards.

Mrs. Lane is a day care consultant and coordinator in the Butte area and is in charge of communicating to the public the availability of such homes and their uses.

The legal requirements family day care homes must meet are relatively simple. They include that the day care mother have a special interest in and love of children; that the operator not care for more than six children under 12 years, two of these children may be two years or younger; that the home has public liability and fire insurance; that the home has a first aid kit; that the operator be free from communicable diseases and that the home will provide a balanced meal at noon, plus morning and afternoon snacks, and has play equipment.

Day care centers may include facilities known as child care centers, nursery schools, day nurseries and centers for the mentally retarded.

Mrs. Baumgardner said, "The need for day care homes and centers has tripled within the last six years, and the growth is attributed to the fact that more women have found it necessary to work or have found it desirable to enter training programs to make them eligible for trained employment."

Mrs. Lane commented: "Mothers not able to be at home during the day to care for their children should assure themselves of the best care for their children. It is best to select a licensed home or center. The license assures that the facility has been inspected and meets health and safety conditions and that there is no overcrowding. The license protects both the parent, the child and the operator."

Both Mrs. Baumgardner and Mrs. Lane advised parents to use a day care facility near their homes. That will save travel time, will be less tiring on the child and it is better for children to be in their own neighborhoods among people and locations they know, they say.

Although the facilities are important, the social workers stress they are not as important as the day care mothers and try to answer for themselves whether such mothers like children, are the type of persons who would be kind to children, have a sense of humor, are calm, firm but still gentle, neat and interested in making children happy.

Relative to facilities the workers advise checking play space in the home, outside play areas, and presence of toys and books.

They advise mothers to visit the day care facility a time or two before leaving children for extended periods.

The facilities in Butte are available to all regardless of income level, but are particularly beneficial to mothers who work full or parttime, are ill or otherwise incapacitated; and fathers who are caring for children alone.

It is a valuable community resource for those of lower income brackets, for mothers who must work to help family finances.

One such mother works as a housekeeper to help out with the family income. Last year the total income for husband and wife was $4,300 for eight persons, including three children who use day care homes and three older brothers and a sister. Baby sitting for three was too costly. A day care home provided reduced rates and welfare aid was available.

For those unable to meet part or all of the day care costs, help can be secured by contacting Veronica Smith of the Silver Bow County child welfare department in the courthouse, or by calling 792–2351.

There are federal funds that may be used to pay for day care of children whose parents' salaries fall below a certain income level. Similar aid is available for day care for children whose mothers are training for work under the Title V program.

Mrs. Baumgardner and Mrs. Lane, discussing Butte facilities, said, "We've had good cooperation from all operators in Butte. We encourage persons of low income to discuss and to try to come up with answers for day care for children. Perhaps some low income persons could qualify to operate day care homes. This would provide a service to others, and give them additional income."

RIOTS AND RIGHTS

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, with all the talk about "rights" and the current rash of "riots," it is interesting to read about a refreshing point of view.

Jack McDonald, chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, made a report in the May issue of Young Republican News, relating to a young Negro friend. The report follows:

On a recent afternoon as the April Nashville riots began to simmer down and the pace of racial violence abated across America, I got a phone call from a young Negro who wanted to see me. I've known him for a period of years. He's about sixteen or seventeen, and he's a young man that studies hard for the good grades he gets in school. He's not a top athlete, but he's as highly regarded on the playing field as he is in the classroom. On the weekends and in the summer he works hard to contribute to his family's modest income.

When he first sat down in my office, I could see his nervousness and his pleading eyes, and I could sense his feeling of helplessness.

"Im not one to be asking for help," he said, "but I and a lot of other young Negroes in America need somebody to speak up for them. You have friends in Washington—you know some Congressmen, Senators and Governors—can't you get them to stop this rioting, this looting and this burning? A few years from now I'll be going in to ask for a job in some company and I can see the man behind that desk asking himself—'Was that one of those kids I saw walking out of a looted store with a couple of TV sets in hand while the police stood by with orders not to stop them?' We're sick and tired of men like Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown burning our homes and wrecking our communities. Won't somebody please have the guts to lock these men up and throw away the key before they destroy what friendship still exists between your people and mine and before they ruin the future I and others have worked to build for a hundred years?"

After he left I thought about all the reams of editorial copy that have been written on Negro rights, the volumes of the Kerner report, the succession of Civil Rights Acts—all of which were supposedly designed to help the Negro; but not one word has been offered to help this young man. No one is trying to protect his rights—his right to feel confident his home isn't going to be burned down in the middle of the night; his right to make something of his own life with his own effort; his right to raise his children in an atmosphere of respect for law and order.

The white American must not forget that those weren't our homes that were destroyed; it wasn't us who went to sleep with the stench of burning buildings in our lungs; it wasn't us who looked out our windows and saw our streets filled with soldiers with fixed bayonets; it wasn't our neighbors that were killed by snipers' bullets.

Maybe from this young Negro we can all learn something. Maybe we can realize that the time has come for majority rule rather than minority licence—and I mean a majority of blacks as well as whites, because the real majority is made up of all Americans who know that no civilization can long endure when mob rule takes the place of law and order. Mob rule can destroy this nation whether it be a mob of black revolutionaries in Washington or a mob of hooded Klansmen in Mississippi. Maybe from this young Negro we can learn that the greatest thing America can give him—and what he wants most—is the heritage of this great civilization which we hold so tenuously in our hands, because without that civilization words like "freedom," "better education," "jobs," "equal opportunities," are simply empty phrases with no relevance.

What this nation needs is someone in the White House with the courage to stand up and say, "No—We will not have a revolution in America," and have the courage to back up that statement. Such courage cannot come from Bobby Kennedy who insults the intelligence of all Americans when he says there is "no point in telling Negroes to obey the law" or from Hubert Humphrey who brags that he "could lead a pretty good riot" himself.

Will we, as Republicans, display the courage and leadership to answer the plea of this young Negro? Will we protect his rights?

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. McDonald for sharing this information with us.

RESOLUTION OF VIRGINIA RETAIL MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks a resolution adopted by the Virginia Retail Merchants Association with regard to individual rights and its support of vigorous enforcement of existing laws.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas, the Virginia Retail Merchants Association supports equality of opportunity for all our citizens, regardless of race, religion, sex or national origin, and likewise encourages retailers and other segments of the business community to join with government, labor, religious, educational and civil rights groups to initiate voluntary, cooperative plans of action to deal with the urgent problems of all those who live in poverty, the under-educated and the hard-core unemployed; and

Whereas, the Virginia Retail Merchants Association, believing that individual rights cannot long exist in a chaotic and disorderly society, views with deep concern the riots, violence and disorders in many of the cities of our nation that have already impeded efforts to provide additional opportunities and assistance for the disadvantaged; now therefore be it

Resolved that the Virginia Retail Merchants Association hereby calls on public officials and law enforcement agencies at all levels of government to provide sufficient funds and personnel to take prompt, effective and non-discriminatory action to enforce laws protecting the lives and property of all our citizens at all times and especially against riots, criminal insurrections and violent disorders; and be it further

Resolved that the Virginia Retail Merchants Association urges the American Retail Federation, the National Retail Merchants Association and other associations of like purpose to take the lead in reaffirming the basic principle of American democracy that liberty, justice and individual rights for all can only be guaranteed by a lawful and orderly society and in supporting vigorous enforcement of existing laws.

TOWARD PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, last week former Vice President Richard M. Nixon issued a statement for Near East Report on the critical problems which still exist nearly 1 year after the armed conflict between Arabs and Israelis. Mr Nixon's statement contains a three-point policy for the United States to follow in the Middle East, including efforts to prevent a balance of power shift in favor of the militant Arab States bent on a new war, direct dealings with Soviet Russia, and American leadership in forging an acceptable settlement.

I am proud to insert this excellent statement in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE RICHARD M. NIXON FOR NEAR EAST REPORT

The Middle East today stands closer to the threshold of armed conflict than at any period since the June war. Outside of the cauldron of the Middle East itself, this new danger to regional and global peace can be traced directly to Soviet policy in the area—and indirectly to the absence of an effective American counter-policy.

There is no question but that the Soviets were the losers in the six-day conflict itself. The belligerent Arab states to which they were allied suffered a stunning defeat; a Soviet-trained and -equipped army was humiliated on the field of battle and a multi-billion dollar investment in arms and equipment had to be written off.

But if the Soviets were the losers in the six-day conflict, they are the principal beneficiaries of the uneasy post-war truce; and United States interests have suffered to the same extensive degree that Soviets interests have advanced.

Their naval manpower in the Mediterranean has been augmented five-fold since the war. Their client states have been re-armed and equipped with some of the most modern of weaponry in the Soviet inventory. Their influence has grown in the entire Arab and Near Eastern world—from Morocco to Iran—as they have stiffened the spine of the militants with encouragement and arms, established naval bases on the south shore of the Mediterranean, and assumed the leadership of the anti-Israel league in the United Nations. For the first time in history they are in the Mediterranean in power, and solidly entrenched on the World Bridge.

Confronted with this diplomatic and military policy of expansionism and adventurism on the part of the Soviets, the American response has been halting and lame and ineffectual. Indeed, there seems to be no American policy at all in a region of the world where a single chance spark could ignite a local conflict that could bring the great powers hurtling together in a major confrontation.

What should American policy be in the area, now that we have paid so dearly for the absence of an effective past policy?

The first urgency is for America not to allow the balance of power to shift in favor of the militant Arab states bent on a new war. To this end, the United States must see to it that Israel's military strength is never at a level vis-a-vis the Arab militants that will invite a war of revenge, the consequences of which we could not possibly foresee and which at all costs we must avoid.

Second, the United States must deal directly with the Soviets and impress upon them both the urgency of keeping their client states in check, and the dangers inherent to the peace in any renewal of the kind of wholesale Soviet irresponsibility evident just prior to the recent conflict.

Third, the United States must take the diplomatic lead in forging an acceptable settlement. Included in the terms of that settlement should be solid guarantees that the currently occupied territories will never again be used as bases of aggression or sanctuaries for terrorism. Access for the ships of all nations through the re-opened Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran should be guaranteed. It should include recognition of Israeli sovereignty, its right to exist in peace, and an end to the state of belligerency.

With regard to the occupied territories, it is not realistic to expect Israel to surrender these vital bargaining counters in the absence of a genuine peace and effective guarantee. However, it is also my view that for Israel to take formal and final possession of these occupied areas would be a grave mistake.

It is my belief from my own visits to Israel and my own talks with her leaders that the one thing that Israel values more highly than the peace she desperately seeks is her freedom and national independence.

If the United States is to help secure this for the future, then we must strengthen our ties with America's friends in the Arab world. The channels of communication that have broken down must be repaired and the United States must re-establish its position on the side of all of those, Arab and Jew, who are appalled at the prospect of wasting their precious resources on another war.

To find a just peace in an area of the world that has known only armed truces and three major and bitter wars in a generation is not an easy task. But the United States is not without diplomatic and economic resources, and its private and public men are not without cogent ideas to get directly at the underlying problems of refugees and water. And I think that we cannot wait longer to make the effort.

MINNESOTA MINING & MANUFACTURING CO. TO ENLARGE WEST VIRGINIA PLANT—SENATOR RANDOLPH PRAISES CREATIVE LEADERSHIP OF THIS ORGANIZATION

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, West Virginia Printing Products Plant, a division of Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., located in Middleway, W. Va., has announced plans to enlarge the facility by 85,000 square feet.

Approximately 300 persons are employed at the Jefferson County plant, which was first opened in 1961.

It was my privilege, on April 24 of this year, to address the sales forces of the Reflective Products Division of the 3M Co. in St. Paul, during the global sales meeting. I was again impressed by the creative leadership of the company and by the dynamic sales program being administered by capable personnel.

This vast 3M organization now operates in 34 countries, manufacturing more than 38,000 products. Harry Heltzer, the progressive president of the 3M Co., directs the nearly 54,000 workers of this team.

The expansion of the West Virginia plant will be economically beneficial to the eastern panhandle of West Virginia. The plant is expected to hire additional personnel.

I ask unanimous consent that the press release issued by the company on the addition in West Virginia be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MIDDLEWAY, W. VA.—Plans to add 85,000 square feet to the 3M Company's printing products plant here were announced today by the plant manager, Vern Herum.

Construction will begin as soon as possible with completion of one phase expected by April, 1969, and the balance by the end of next year.

About 11,000 square feet will be devoted to production space, 10,000 square feet to office space and the balance for warehousing. Plans and specifications are being prepared by 3M's engineering department.

"The added facilities are needed to meet the needs of our printing industry customers," Herum said.

This is the second expansion at the Middleway plant which was opened in 1961. The first addition was finished in 1965 and brought the plant size to around 200,000 square feet.

Printing products is one of 20 domestic product divisions in 3M which has its world headquarters in St. Paul, Minn.

This division also has manufacturing facilities at Cottage Grove, Minn., and last November started construction on a plant at Weatherford, Okla.

The product line includes presensitized photo offset plates, an automatic system for imaging and developing offset plates, proofing materials, dampening sleeves and offset blankets.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE KANSAS BANKERS ASSOCIATION

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, many bankers in Kansas have been writing to me urging early action on legislation which would reduce Federal spending by at least $6 to $8 billion and increase income taxes at least as much as 10 percent and to make a concerted effort to balance the budget.

The following resolution was adopted unanimously on May 16, 1968, by the Kansas Bankers Association in annual convention at Kansas City, Kans., and I recommend it to the attention of our membership in this House:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, recent events have illuminated a worldwide diminution of confidence in the dollar as an exchange currency; and such a lack of confidence imperils the stability of the international monetary system; and

Whereas, speculative attacks on the Free World's gold supply have necessitated establishment of a two-price market for gold which will function as a temporarily effective deterrent to dangerous speculation; and

Whereas, we agree with the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System that the Free World is confronted with a financial crisis unless this nation takes prompt and effective steps to cut back the huge federal deficit and to increase taxes;

Now therefore, be it resolved, that members of the Kansas Bankers Association, both individually and in concert, do call upon the President and the Congress of the United States to take immediate action to reduce the federal budget by at least $6 to $8 billion and increase income taxes at least as much as the 10 per cent surcharge requested by the President; and to make a concerted effort to balance the budget.

And be it further resolved, that officers of this Association to be directed to communicate this policy to the President and the Congress; and that all members of this Association, in their individual capacities, are urged to do the same.

Attest:

CARL A. BOWMAN,
Executive Secretary,
Kansas Bankers Association.

RIOTS AND RESERVES

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the May 23, 1968, edition of the State Newspaper, Columbia, S.C., carries an article entitled, "Riots and Reserves." This editorial points out the extensive training program now being given to 200,000 Army reservists who will be able to assist 300,000 National Guardsmen in controlling future civil disturbances.

The editor concludes that this training should have been given to the Army reservists earlier, but expresses certain relief over the knowledge that this additional force will be available in the event of renewed rioting this summer. He further indicates that this increase in training manpower forecasts a new firmness and a new determination on the part of our Government to control civil disturbance in the future.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIOTS AND RESERVES

In the lexicon of the United States government, the word "riot" has lost favor. The new euphemism is "civil disturbance," which has a softer, less abrasive sound and presumably excites fewer citizens and offends fewer rioters.

Newspapers, which prefer to call a spade a spade, are not likely to go along. (Try getting "civil disturbance" in a short headline.)

But the term is not totally inappropriate.

When the government gets around to initializing it (and knowing the government that won't be long), it will be stuck with "CD," a territory already staked out by Civil Defense.

And who would deny that "civil disturbance" control is civil defense in the truest sense of the word.

Recently Washington announced that 200,000 Army Reservists would receive training by June 16 in the newest techniques of quelling civil disturbances. If we read that message accurately, it was addressed, not so much to Reservists, who must cram 33 hours of training into the next month, but to those members of the so-called Poor People's Army assembling in Washington, and to any others who have plans to ransack the cities of America during the summer.

The timing of the order, coming as the weather heats up, the end of school nears, and a form of insanity rocks the campuses, indicates the federal government's increasing, and perhaps belated, concern with the attitude of irresponsibility and disorder that is sweeping America.

The 200,000 Reservists, added to the 300,000 National Guardsmen already trained, will give the nation a half-million trained citizen-soldiers to help cope with situations that might develop.

The prime responsibility will still lie with the National Guard, which is under state control. But it will be recalled that elements of the active army were rushed into service when matters got out of hand in Detroit last summer.

Now, portions of the 82nd airborne division, which served in Detroit, and other units from the active Army continental force are serving in Vietnam and elsewhere overseas. Reservists, therefore, might be needed to replace active Army units dispatched for riot control duty, or to augment Army forces in the streets. As federal troops, they can be called up only by the President.

Why Reservists weren't given this intensive training earlier, we don't know. Perhaps the psychological impact of last week's announcement was a factor.

New training and equipment, both for police and soldiers, is designed to achieve results with a minimum loss of life.

America does not want to gun down any of its citizens, even looters and arsonists, unless absolutely necessary. But the government's latest action in increasing its trained manpower does show, at least we hope it does, a new firmness and a new determination to see that civil disturbances are quickly dampened and don't flare into first-class riots or insurrections.

CARL MARTY TALKS BUSINESS

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an article from the Milwaukee Sentinel of Monday, May 27.

This article contains statements of the greatest recreational and wildlife protector in the Western Hemisphere, Carl Marty of Three Lakes, Wis.

His advice and recommendations pertain to promotion of the recreational and wildlife facilities of our Nation and are most timely and appropriate.

With the turmoil we have in this world, it would do well for all citizens of the world to go to Three Lakes, Wis., to see how Carl Marty has been able to make wild animals accept each other and live together to a degree which makes humans envious.

I would like the members of the United Nations to spend 1 week at the Northernaire, Three Lakes, Wis., so Carl Marty could show the members of this international body how every wild animal can be made to accept each other and live together which seemingly we have not been able to accomplish with human beings.

Mr. Speaker, I include with these remarks the article which appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel:

TOURISM IN STATE NEEDS BOOST

(By Mervin C. Nelson)

THREE LAKES, WIS.—Tourism may be the state's third largest industry, but it's not getting the recognition an industry its size should.

That's what Carl Marty, a northwoods businessman for 29 years, and Arthur Huebner, president of the newly formed Wisconsin Recreation Industries, Inc., believe.

Marty, owner of the Northernaire hotel on a chain of lakes here, began business in 1940—with just a golf course and a nightclub.

Today, the Northernaire is one of a few deluxe resorts in the northwoods offering a year round recreation program including lodging, dining, fishing, golf, horseback riding, boat trips through rustic portions of the chain of lakes, nature trails, boating, skiing, swimming and floor shows in the resort's Showboat nightclub nearly six months a year.

JUST TWO CENTS

State officials estimate tourism is a billion dollar a year business in Wisconsin, but, Marty pointed out, Wisconsin still gets only 2c out of every dollar spent by tourists in the United States.

Wisconsin has the potential to get much more than 2c, he believes, and it could be capitalizing on what he considers a most valuable natural resource—the wild animals of the northwoods.

Resorts get but 20% of the tourist dollar in the state, Marty said, "But it has fallen upon their shoulders to finance the greater part of the promotional program."

It is the other businesses, which pick up 80% of the tourist dollar, that have been benefiting by tourism but not helping to build it, according to Marty and Huebner.

It is through Wisconsin Recreation Industries, an outgrowth of the former state resort association, that "we hope to establish a larger umbrella under which the nonresort businesses will want to unite" in the promotion of tourism, Huebner said.

FEW LIKE IT

Marty is convinced that there are few industries that spend a larger percentage of gross revenue on promotion than the resort people.

He used the Northernaire as an example. "We spend a minimum of 5% for advertising and publicity," Marty said, "and never less than $20,000—although some years we do under $500,000 gross."

The promotion problem is even more acute for the small resort owner, the one with 5 to 10 cottages, he said, because this man may spend 10% or more of his gross on promotion.

When Marty talks of the resort business, he talks of the entire northwoods area—not just the Three Lakes community—for the problems in each area are similar.

A real problem facing the resort business, he said, is that the small resorts have not kept pace with the changing desires of the tourists.

RESORTS LEFT BEHIND

Marty is quick to point out that resorts like his and the nearby Chanticleer Inn, run by John Alward and located farther up the lake chain, are exceptions in the business.

Ninety per cent of the 6,000 Wisconsin resorts, he said, are "ma and pa" operations, often run by a couple in semiretirement.

It is these resorts which are being left behind, but with a chance to catch up with the demands of the tourists if given some help, according to Marty.

Most of the "ma and pa" resorts were built either during World War I, or just after World War II, when families frequently came north by train to spend from two weeks to a month.

"But now people are vacationing on wheels and few make reservations in advance," Marty observed. "They pull into a northwoods town in the evening, get a motel room, check with the tourist information office the next morning and then go looking for a resort.

RATES OUT OF LINE

"Some resorters don't like to take 2 or 3 day business, but they're going to have to or be out of business.

"The days that I book reservations from Saturday to Saturday are gone."

Huebner noted that the traveler to the northwoods may believe he wants to rough it, but usually "he wants to rough it deluxe."

Marty feels the "ma and pa" resorts could have had the revenue to keep their places in step with the changing demands of the tourists, had they kept their rates in line with rising wage rates.

"Who else is supposed to provide housing for a family of six for $50 a week?" Marty asked and that includes bedding and the boat. That same family, Marty and Huebner observed, may spend $20 to $25 per night at a motel while driving to the northwoods resort.

FINANCING CITED

"If the resort owner was to increase his rates 50% in July and August, he would still fill up," Marty said. "But he's afraid to do it."

"You can ask any resort owner and he will tell you that his most deluxe and expensive unit rents first," Huebner said. "But many 'ma and pa' owners shudder when someone suggests that they ask $75 rather than $50 a week for a cottage."

Marty is convinced the small resort owner can get financing, from normal local lending sources, to bring his resort up to what the tourists expect.

"We've got resort owners who can get this money, if they try," Marty declared. Too often, he said, they don't approach the bank right, they don't know the true equity they have in their property and they are depressed after the first bank tells them "no."

This all points to the lack of businessmen in the resort industry, and to the need for the state to give aid to the resort owner, similar to that which the university extension has given to the farmer, Marty said.

"You aren't going to help them with government aid, with 20, 30 or 40 year loans," he declared. Rather, he said, the small resort owner needs help in planning the updating of his resort, establishing the true equity in his property and preparing his application for a loan.

One thing going for the small resort owner, when it comes to financing improvements, has been the appreciation in land value. In the Three Lakes chain, this has been "quite sensational," Marty said.

Here, sound lakefront footage held at $10 per foot for many years. Now, $50 is low for sound footage and some has been sold for $75 or higher.

With this increment in land value, and with the hesitation or fear to refinance to improve, the small resort owner is faced with the alternative of "subdividing or upgrading," Marty said.

PACKAGE PROFIT

He told of one resort in the Three Lakes area which had no inside plumbing. It was on the market for $25,000 for two years. When the owner found no takers, he subdivided, kept the best cabin for himself and came out with $32,500—$7,500 more than he asked for the resort as a single package.

Marty is not concerned that the subdividing of resorts will curtail the business, even though this means the cabins become individually owned and are occupied for but a few weeks each season. "These resorts (those subdivided) are the types tourists don't want."

Too many resort owners, Marty said, "operate thinking that, when we get the people, we will give them something. . . . You've got to have something to get the people."

Marty disagrees with the northwoods businessmen who are critical of the camping boom.

"Some families pay more for a camper (in rental) than they would pay for a good cottage. They are good for the economy."

He is critical of the resorts which put out brochures with photos of beaches, the rooms and the bar—but not a single photo of the wild animals of the northwoods which he believes are the "greatest asset" of the area.

ANIMALS CARED FOR

"Why has the conservation department, in its management of wildlife, given primary consideration to the gun carrying conservationist?" Marty asked. "It's a throwback to the turn of the century, and leaves the department almost totally dependent on license income."

Marty is disturbed that "there is not in the state of Wisconsin today a single natural refuge where wildlife can be predictably seen in their natural state. This could be made available to the state on privately owned land at practically no expense."

"I'm not opposed to hunting," he declared, "but we don't need 100% of the land for hunting."

U.S. FOREIGN AND EXPORT POLICIES FOR THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR—ADDRESS BY MICHEL FRIBOURG

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, last week at the World Trade Conference in Minneapolis, Minn., Mr. Michel Fribourg gave a definitive statement on the ramifications of U.S. foreign and export policies for the agricultural sector. Mr. Fribourg is president and chairman of the board of Continental Grain Co.; therefore, his views have special importance for all of us interested in the future of agricultural exports.

I ask unanimous consent that his speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN U.S. AGRICULTURE MAINTAIN ITS DOMINANT POSITION IN WORLD TRADE?

(By Michel Fribourg, president and chairman of the board of Continental Grain Co., at the World Trade Conference, Minneapolis, Minn., May 21, 1968)

Gentlemen, I appreciate the privilege and honor of participating in this Conference on Foreign Trade Policy.

Today, we are faced with a situation that causes real concern for all of us involved in foreign trade policy matters. The Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, William Martin, said recently that "We are in the midst of the worst financial crisis we have had since 1931." And yet the nation's business is in the eighth year of its longest uptrend in history. American production has never been higher than right now. Is this a contradiction? Is Mr. Martin exaggerating? I believe not. Mr. Martin himself adds, "It is not a business crisis, but a financial crisis." For the past two years a booming economy, combined with a lack of proper financial restraint on the part of our Government, has created an increasing inflation. In addition, a 10 year balance of payments deficit has reduced our gold stocks to a point where international confidence in the U.S. dollar has been badly shaken. In the month of March, for the first time in many years, our balance of trade was unfavorable.

My purpose is not to dwell on these serious and general problems but to relate them to the area of my business activities—the agricultural trade. Exports of agricultural products, particularly those handled by my company: grains, oilseeds and their by-products, are major contributors both to our balance of trade and our foreign aid programs. U.S. commercial agricultural exports amounted to 5.2 billion dollars in 1967, representing 19% of the total U.S. commercial exports of 27 billion dollars. They exceeded any other major category of U.S. commercial exports.

The importance of agricultural exports in terms of what they mean to the national economy is generally not fully understood or appreciated. This is because we tend to think of agriculture in terms of farms and farmers. But today agriculture is industrialized. It should be viewed as a converter of the products of industry into food and fiber; in other words, as agribusiness.

The value of purchased inputs in agribusiness is surprisingly large. Among America's 12 largest industries, agriculture comes first in spending for equipment. Farming alone uses the output of 20% of our petroleum and rubber industries, 15% of our motor vehicle industry, and 10% of our chemical industry. Agricultural products provide a major source of revenue for our different types of transportation. Agribusiness, directly or indirectly, provides 3 out of every 10 jobs in the U.S. Now, when you consider that we export the output of one out of every four acres of grain under production, you can understand the importance of agricultural exports to our basic industries. When we export grain, we are also exporting the output of a broad segment of our economy.

Continental, as a major grain company, favors an aggressive policy of trade liberalization. We also firmly believe that it is in the best interest of all major industries to take a similar stand, though certain special interests can be hurt in doing so. The U.S. will have to make certain concessions to gain liberalization. But the alternative of returning to a policy of protectionism, which is advocated by a few powerful groups, would be disastrous to our overall economy. We have supported such efforts as the GATT negotiations inasmuch as they would achieve freer trade. But we have objected to restrictive aspects of the proposed International Grains Arrangement which, in my view, threatens the ability of the U.S. to compete freely for world markets.

I have wholeheartedly endorsed the creation of free trade areas of economic units such as the European Economic Community and the Latin American Free Trade Agreement, even though these entities make it tougher every day for our agricultural commodities to enter these sectors. There is no doubt that the European Common Market, while it has succeeded in eliminating tariffs amongst its members, has erected barriers against third countries such as the U.S. Particularly in the agricultural field, Europe is striving, through high internal support prices, to become more and more self-sufficient. In South America, the Latin American Common Market, still in its infancy, has established certain advantageous tariffs for its members. Argentine wheat is already displacing U.S. wheat in some Latin grain importing countries. We can visualize that, one day, the Far East may form another economic group, which would favor Australia, the major grain exporter in that part of the world. This would be to the detriment of the U.S. who is a prime exporter to the Far East. It would appear, therefore, that U.S. agriculture is becoming increasingly isolated.

There is no question in my mind that our agricultural exports face a growing challenge. But I believe we can pursue a program which will create a dynamic expansion in our farm exports. At all times, we should follow a policy of fully competitive international grain prices. Further, we should exhort all countries, especially the grain importing ones, to lower their interior prices, thereby contributing to an increasing standard of living worldwide.

It seems evident to me that the efforts of economic blocs, to become more nearly self-sufficient in agriculture, when they do not have a comparative advantage to do so, are doomed eventually to failure, for it inhibits economic growth in several ways. First, excessive use of labor and capital in agriculture limits their utilization in those non-farm industries which can produce goods efficiently. This has been specially true in the EEC where serious nonfarm labor shortages have caused a substantial inflation the last few years. But perhaps more important, grain prices have been kept artificially high to promote self-sufficiency, thereby creating high food costs. Consumers then spend a large percentage of their income on food and less on other consumer goods and services. Lower food costs would have the opposite effect. The standard of living rises as a larger share of personal income becomes available for non-food consumer goods. Increased demand in these industries expands employment and creates more disposable income. In effect, a reduction in food costs will stimulate economic growth, as would a reduction in taxes.

I favor the principle that each country, or economic bloc, should produce goods for which it has the greatest advantage, and be willing to import what can be produced by others more economically. This, of course, requires major adjustments; but why could they not be achieved? The European Common Market, though it has not applied this policy towards the outside world, has done so internally. The GATT agreement can also be considered as a first step toward the long range economic goal of an Atlantic Community. This trade liberalization would considerably benefit our agriculture, which is the most efficient in the world today.

There are a number of actions the United States can take unilaterally to expand commercial exports of agricultural products. We must first recognize that we cannot dissociate our domestic from our international policies. Our exports of grains and oilseeds have expanded much more rapidly than our domestic usage. We cannot have a rapidly expanding and prosperous agriculture without a growth in exports.

Our agricultural policy has been domestically, rather than internationally, oriented. We have pursued a policy based on short run expediency rather than a policy designed to utilize the potential of our agricultural resources for increasing the nation's economic strength and the quality of its society. Our primary objective of improving farmers' income has been achieved by maintaining high domestic prices and restricting production instead of expanding sales in open competition in world markets.

Withdrawal of agricultural resources is

best illustrated by our land use policies. In 1968, about one-fourth of the total acreage normally used for cereal grains and soybeans, will be kept idle. Prospects are that wheat acreage for 1969 will be less than two-thirds as large as in the early fifties when government controls were first instituted.

Contrast this performance with other major wheat exporting countries. In the past decade Canada expanded its wheat acreage more than one-third and Australia doubled its wheat acreage. During that time, we have also witnessed the European Common Market shift from a net importer to a net exporter of wheat. The same is true of such countries as Mexico, Greece and Spain. Furthermore, their exports are on commercial terms whereas about ½ of U.S. sales are on non-commercial terms.

It is logical to question why some countries have successfully pursued an expansionist policy while the U.S. has followed a policy of retrenchment. To put it another way, our policy of high prices and restrained output has encouraged production in those countries to the long run detriment of the U.S. and U.S. agriculture. Although we cannot dictate the internal policies of other countries, we can discourage increased production by high cost producers either through trade liberalization negotiations or through free and open price competition for available markets.

The U.S. official endorsement of the International Grains Arrangement a year ago, providing for a 20 cents per bushel increase over the minimum price of the previous International Wheat Agreement, may have seemed logical at the time. The final stage of the negotiations occurred in a period when the U.S. and world wheat stocks appeared to be quite low. This apparent shortage, however, proved to be temporary. Currently, world wheat production is considerably in excess of consumption. World prices have been declining and are now about ten percent under the minimum prescribed in the Grains Arrangement Treaty the Senate has been asked to ratify. This is another example of having applied a long range policy to a short term problem. The annual report of the Council of Economic Advisers sent this February to Congress stated, "Primary producers sometimes attempt, through commodity agreements, to raise prices above the long term equilibrium level. They rarely succeed. Maintenance of a price above long term cost requires restrictions on supply; the necessary export quotas are extremely hard to negotiate and to enforce." In my view, this is sound advice from an informed body. It should be followed.

Another reason our commercial exports have failed to expand is due to the fact that we have been unable to compete on equal terms with the other major exporters, chiefly Canada, Australia and France. I am alluding to the very substantial commercial agricultural trade that has developed over the last five years with the Eastern countries. The U.S. participation has been minor. In part, this is due to government prohibition of all trade with Mainland China; in part, it is due to restrictive regulations with respect to most countries in the Soviet Bloc. These include the requirement that one-half the quantity of grain exported be shipped on American flag vessels, if available.

Even if we assume that our policy toward Communist China is correct, I fail to see what we have achieved by restricting commercial trade in non-strategic goods, mostly agricultural products, with such countries as the Soviet Union and some of its Eastern European partners. Other exporters, such as Canada and France, have derived great benefits from these trades. We have not prevented the East from meeting its needs. Actually, we have only denied ourselves an important source of dollar earnings, so vital to our balance of payments.

As stated by the U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, "Trade by definition does not take place unless benefits accrue to both parties. If one nation refused to participate, insofar as the second party can find another trading partner, the loss is entirely sustained by the country refusing to do business."

Two other important advantages have been given by some of the large grain exporting nations and have not been available to U.S. exporters: government-backed credit insurance programs and bilateral agreements—though I know the latter are against basic U.S. trade principles.

Government policy has been more progressive in promoting commercial exports of feed grains than of wheat. The soundness of a market oriented price support loan and direct income payments to cooperating farmers has enabled us generally to compete with other exporting countries without the benefit or necessity of export subsidies. Of course, our position is aided by the following factors: the U.S. produces about 50% of the world's major feed crop, corn; and has supplied over 50% of the feed grains traded in the world market. Also, feed grains are consumed mostly in the advanced industrial nations, where consumption of meat and poultry has developed substantially on account of the steady increase in their standard of living. Production of feed grains outside the U.S. has and will continue to increase. Nevertheless, I believe that, if we pursue a policy of reasonable prices, we can maintain our preponderant position in feed grains for many years.

U.S. soybeans are another story. Our production and exports have seen tremendous growth since the end of World War II due to a heavy demand for soybeans and its byproducts, and limited competition. No acreage restrictions were placed, and prices have been governed more by international values than by our domestic pricing policy.

Currently, however, U.S. soybeans are overpriced at the support level of $2.50 per bushel. Exports have slowed down and most soybean oil exports are under concessional terms. The commercial export market has gone by default to competing products, mainly Russian sunflower oil. Under the circumstances, a reduction in the support price of this commodity is warranted.

I would like to make a few remarks concerning non-commercial exports.

Agricultural exports on concessional terms, mostly PL 480 sales for foreign non-convertible currencies or long term credit, are useful as a tool of foreign policy, humanitarian goals, and surplus removal. They have also contributed to commercial market development, since some of our best customers for dollars, Japan and Spain, for example, were once recipients of PL 480 aid. But, as now executed, most PL 480 sales to the developing countries fail to make much contribution to our balance of payments.

In my view more can be done to increase food shipments to the hungry nations of the world without increasing costs to our government. In fact, such shipments can and should make a contribution to our economy. It will not be easy but important problems seldom have simple answers.

Some concessions will be required on our part. For instance, we should consider giving special market access to the goods, mostly those using labor intensively, of the developing countries.

It will take ingenuity to facilitate exchange of our current and potential agricultural surpluses for the goods and services of the hungry. But it can be done; it must be done.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I would like now to summarize the few proposals I have made to achieve an expansion of our agricultural trade—so vital to help prevent a severe financial crisis.

The first step is to adopt a positive internationally oriented rather than a restrictive domestically oriented agricultural policy. Our long range thinking should be an expansion of demand rather than a reduction of supply.

We should increase the shift in emphasis for supporting farm income from one of high price supports to one of market oriented price supports, where, as recommended by the President's Food and Fiber Commission, "Price supports be set modestly below a moving average of world market prices." Direct income payments should be paid to farmers to allow them a decent income.

We should advocate the concept that production of agricultural products on a worldwide basis should fall into the hands of the most efficient farmers. The marginal agricultural producers should be gradually shifted into more productive non-agricultural pursuits. If we wish to export, we should be willing to import goods, even agricultural goods, produced at a cheaper price than others.

Steps should be taken to facilitate and expand commercial trade in farm products with Eastern countries. Trade is the best medium to build understanding and peace with the East.

The huge populations of the developing countries constitute the largest potential demand for our farm products. We must continue our aid programs for humanitarian reasons. But we must also aid these countries to become commercial customers. In order to do so, we will have to lower our own protective barriers. They must have access to our markets.

In the final analysis, the best way to expand sales is to provide a consistently reliable supply of a good product at a reasonable price. Our agricultural policies should be directed to these ends.

The nation has huge underutilized agricultural resources. Conditions require that we direct these resources and our best efforts into effective assets which will contribute to the nation's economic strength and the vitality of its citizenry.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN IN THE MIDDLE: THE NEED FOR TOTAL JOB ESCALATION

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker. I submit for the RECORD my remarks to the 66th annual meeting of the National Forest Products Association:

It is a great pleasure to appear before this group as a participant on the panel today with Senator Smathers and Mr. Sam Shaffer of Newsweek magazine to discuss the topic "Do We Have A New Forgotten Man?—The American in the Middle". This is a most timely subject, and it embodies several key issues which must be faced. I would like to briefly sketch some basic themes which are pertinent to this topic which perhaps can be developed more fully in our ensuing discussion, as set forth in the paper I prepared for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Symposium in December 1966, entitled "The Guaranteed Opportunity to Earn An Annual Income".

My first theme, which permeates the others that follow, is that we must return to accentuating the positive aspects and values of our society. Too many Americans in high places today are emphasizing the negative. They are viewing our society through the anxious eyes of a hypochondriac, which aggravates our ills, and blocks efforts to correct them. Attention and study should be given instead to our successes, not to ignore the failures, but rather that from our successes we can see what it is we are doing right and apply that knowledge to eliminating our shortcomings.

My second theme then is to locate and call attention to the keystones of our success as a dynamic society. Certainly one of them is the ability and spirit of the average American working men and women. Their ability to accept challenges and opportunities and keep pace with changes and advances, as well as create them, are worldwide symbols of the success of the United States as a society. Our topic the "forgotten man"—is most fitting. The forgotten man is the blue and white collar working man in America who has made it by his own skill and industry.

Another keystone to our success has been the ingenuity of our people to develop technological improvements; and the foresight of others to come forward with capital and means to apply these new ideas.

Thirdly, linking the first two themes, what can we learn from an analysis of our success which can be extended to solving our shortcomings? Many allege that very little can be gained from continuing the practices that have brought us so far. They argue that "automation", one of our successes has destroyed jobs and replaced our working men by machines; that automation has rendered certain people economically useless. Their solution is massive programs for the so-called "hard core unemployed", such as a guaranteed annual income, negative income tax, or the like, a separation of work from earnings.

My response is that this type of thinking is a result of the myopia which comes from staring too long at our failures. Automation creates more jobs than it destroys. However, the new jobs created are often in a new geographical area, and most often require a new skill. Also the new job is not yet attached to a human being, whereas the rendered obsolete one is. The new job is probably outside of the existing jurisdictions of labor unions, while the old job is entrenched in the union movement and is considered to be "vested". In short, those who argue that automation has brought us to the end of our successful road have simply not looked far enough; and their programs, although well intended, reflect this shortsightedness.

The terms "automation," cybernetics, or what have you, relate to nothing new under the sun. The process of human invention and engineering to exploit new inventions is the story of mankind's material progress from the time he invented his first tool and became man, not beast. The most that can be said for coining a new term to describe the inventing and engineering process during our own times is that its rate has increased and continues to accelerate. This rate of innovation is creating new problems because innovation is moving much faster compared to the human life span. Until the present, innovation, although rapid, did not disrupt en masse the life of individual human beings, even though it did affect generations and so the history of nations. For example, in 1900 a young man entering the labor force could probably assume that the skill he had learned or was about to learn would be in demand for his entire working life. Today with rapid innovation, the skill learned as a youth may become obsolete and unusable within ten or fifteen years.

If we join our successes—the innovative pace of our economy and the ability of our working men and women to adopt—we can find our solution. There needs to be continuous job escalation. Everyone across the entire industrial landscape should be continually preparing himself for a new and better job.

We are no longer dealing with jobs which remain the same. We are confronted with a ladder of skills which is continuously escalating. Continuous retraining is then necessary just to stay employed today. Furthermore, the man who refuses to retrain hurts not only himself, but he hurts the man below him who could be retraining to move into his job. To achieve further success our attention must be focused on our present success—the forgotten man in the middle who has a job, is educating his children and is paying taxes. It is he who must lead the way in this job escalation process. Too many of our present federal manpower programs have ignored the working man with a job today, and have concentrated instead on the "hard core" unemployed, trying to train him for a job where there is no demand, or leap frog him far up the job skills ladder with very unsatisfactory results.

Furthermore, in this job escalation process, no one need be left out—not even the handicapped. I would observe that we face a problem which has never been presented to us before so clearly. With the continued emphasis on skills and with greater emphasis on brain instead of brawn, those who were born with very limited talents would be phased out of the labor market only to society's overall economic detriment. Throughout history the person with deficient brawn tended to be an economic drone. A similar situation may be developing today with those with very limited mental capacities. However, I believe that by a system of proper job analysis we can find a sufficient number of economically sound jobs which persons of limited IQ can perform. Even many of those we presently institutionalize can perform useful tasks. After all, a human brain with an IQ of 60 is still a much more versatile and usable thinking apparatus than the computer. Industry should undertake this positive task, working with rehabilitation people to learn from their decades of experience in dealing with the physically handicapped, to get those who are limited physically or mentally into the labor force and headed toward useful lives. This can be done on a sound economic basis and very few need to be welfare cases except for short interim periods. They can have the pride of knowing that they are economically useful.

My fourth and final theme is that job escalation is most properly undertaken in the private sector of our economy; but government can help—mainly by stopping impeding programs. Government can help by amending the laws, particularly the tax laws, so as to treat private training and retraining—and all forms of education—as capital expenditures. We have been unnecessarily slow in recognizing that upgrading the skills of our working people is an investment which pays rich dividends not only to them but to the entire society. The knowledge and skills of a people are the larger part of a nation's wealth, not its physical assets.

I have advocated upgrading the ladder of job skills and amending our tax laws to conform with it for many years. This theme, set forth in a book I wrote in 1962, "87 Million Jobs", chips from the workshop which produced the Manpower Development and Training Act of the same year. Since then I have urged that we move further in this area, and proposed the Human Investment Act in 1966, which provides a tax credit of 10% for expenses borne by industry for job training programs, the Employment Equalization Act, H.R. 13777, and recently the Veterans Placement Act, H.R. 16984. I have proposed a corresponding tax credit for the expenses borne by the individual for his training, and a substantial graduated tax credit for elementary and higher educational expenses. We ought to stop inhibiting through our tax laws private capital expenditures for all forms of education and job training.

Our military manpower procurement policies can also be vastly improved if we focus on the types of skills in demand by a modern army. In my studies of the draft system, I have found that there is approximately a 90% correlation between the skills needed by the military and the comparative skills available in the civilian economy. A modern army needs technicians, not bodies. I have proposed that this high ratio of comparative skills be utilized and that our draft system be replaced by a volunteer system in which specific skills are recruited at the going civilian wage. It is within our means to have a volunteer career armed service. Indeed, when considering the expenses saved in training and retraining, reduced turnover, abolition of the costly draft apparatus, and higher performance of personnel, we will be saving money with such a system which focuses on job skills.

Government must do its job by collecting the data and information necessary to make any manpower training program work. Such data as can be assembled in monthly Job Vacancy Statistics on both a national and regional breakdown level. A loose leaf Dictionary of Occupational Titles, the common nomenclature of jobs existing in the society—those phasing out and those coming in—is essential. The Johnson Administration, though required by law to do this, has not done it.

Government must maximize the ability of our dynamic innovative economy, and the energy of our working people—by providing the proper climate—providing the equal opportunity of all to develop their God-given talents to the fullest.

WHAT PRICE SURVIVAL?

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the May 26, 1968, edition of the State Newspaper, Columbia, S.C., carries an interesting editorial on the anti-ballistic-missile system entitled "What Price Survival." This editorial discusses the pros and cons of the so-called "thin" ABM system—named the Sentinel—with the more comprehensive ABM system recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The editor quotes Air Force Secretary Harold Brown on the subject of building superhard silos for Minute Man III missiles. These silos would be capable of standing pressures of up to 2,500 pounds per square inch, and the related control areas would have a hardness of about 7,000 pounds per square inch. Dr. Brown believes that these superhard silos reduce the requirement for ABM defense.

Nevertheless, Editor W. D. Workman, Jr., brings up the important question, "Will the superhard silos work?" He further adds the observation that we must spend whatever is necessary to insure the defense of the Nation.

Mr. President, I concur with Bill Workman's arguments and commend this editorial to the attention of my colleagues. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

What Price Survival?

Ever since the American public first began demanding an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system for the United States, the word has come from the top civilian levels of the Pentagon that the costs would be too great.

Even when the chief foot-dragger, former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, authorized a limited ABM system (to be tailored against Red China, not Red Russia) he stated that the cost of a full-fledged ABM effort would be prohibitive.

The Russians, it will be recalled, were not deterred by any such considerations of expense. They kept right on adding to their own ABM system while Americans wrangled over whether a costly ABM umbrella would be warranted so long as we maintained an overwhelming capacity to retaliate.

The argument had good points and bad. It was true, for example, that building an adequate ABM system would cost lots of money. It was likewise true that the enemy might find some way to penetrate our defensive shield. On the other hand, the Russians regarded defensive missiles as a wise investment, and—to make matters even worse—there was some doubt as to the ability of U.S. missile sites to withstand nuclear attack.

It goes without saying that if our missile sites are destroyed, the nation's retaliatory potential evaporates. This is especially true since the decision was made to phase out the Strategic Air Command, which once kept a fearsome second-strike force constantly aloft and thus largely impregnable.

One answer to this seeming dilemma may lie in the recent testimony of Air Force Secretary Harold Brown before the Senate Appropriations Committee. Dr. Brown revealed there for the first time an Air Force plan to build "highly survivable superhard silos" for America's Minuteman III missiles, the latest weapon in our defensive arsenal.

These silos would be capable of withstanding pressures of up to 2,500 pounds a square inch, which is roughly 10 times the hardness of existing silos. Related control areas would have a hardness approaching 7,000 pounds a square inch. This means, in terms of survival, that an attacker would have to deliver four times the megatonnage now required to destroy the U.S. missile force—a requirement far beyond Russian capability in the foreseeable future.

As Dr. Brown explained, such a system of superhard silos, is, in effect, an ABM defense. Only the most foolhardy belligerent would attack the United States in the knowledge that this country's retaliatory power could not be seriously diminished. The question is, will superhard silos work?

It is a good question, and—if answers can be found—they should be studied carefully before this country launches another multi-billion-dollar defense program.

But when all is reduced to basic essentials, the hard fact remains that we must spend whatever is necessary to insure the defense of the nation. Survival cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents.

PAPER SILVER

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, Harry Magnuson of Golconda Mining Corp. possesses one of the keenest minds in the silver mining industry. I have talked with him on many occasions about the problems that beset his troubled industry and I never cease to be impressed by the depth of his knowledge.

Mr. Magnuson goes beyond the mere mastery of silver economics. Rather, he is what might be called a student of silver psychology, for he often knows what policies the Government will adopt long before Treasury officials themselves know.

Last week, Mr. Magnuson addressed the Commodity Club of San Francisco and in the process coined a new phrase, "paper silver." If time bears out his contentions, we will soon be hearing this phrase about as frequently as we do its counterpart, "paper gold." His speech follows:

Paper Silver: A Review of the Silver Situation

(By H. F. Magnuson, vice president, Golconda Mining Corp., Wallace, Idaho, presented before the Commodity Club of San Francisco, Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, Calif., May 22, 1968)

In your minds, SDR means paper gold.

The initials stand for Special Drawing Rights, a new kind of credit being set up by the International Monetary Fund.

But, SDR also could mean "paper silver."

In that case, the initials would stand for "Silver Diluted Reserves."

About 57 million ounces of the silver the Treasury lists among its reserves exist, for all practical purposes, on paper alone.

The "paper silver" consists of 36 million ounces of silver mixed with gold that is being refined and made usable at the rate of only two million ounces a year; 10 million ounces that is mostly .300 fine; and nearly 11 million ounces of .400 fine silver set aside for making clad fifty-cent pieces.

In addition, a considerable portion of the silver that is earmarked for the strategic stockpile will exist only on paper until September, at the earliest.

And furthermore, a question has arisen about 13 million ounces of silver ordered by industry on the day the Treasury stopped sales of silver at $1.29 an ounce—last July 14. The Coinage Commission will meet again to discuss this problem and, if it agrees that these purchasers should be sold this metal, then scratch another 13 million ounces of the metal off the current reserves held by the Treasury.

To be fair, I am not including these last two items—the stockpile silver or the 13 million ounces that may be considered sold—among the "paper silver."

But, after making allowance for the 57 million ounces of "paper silver," and the 165 million ounce strategic stockpile, we find only 39 million ounces of immediately usable silver bullion on hand in the Treasury on May 1.

Compare that with the average monthly withdrawal of 21.5 million ounces of silver in the first four months of this year.

And then consider that the withdrawal this month and next month should be at a higher rate because of the acceleration in redemption of silver certificates before the deadline on June 24.

First, let me explain "paper silver."

On March 5, 1968, Eva Adams, Director of the Mint, stated in a letter to Congressman James A. McClure of Idaho that the Treasury on January 31, 1968, had silver bullion reserves of 328 million ounces. Of this total, she said, 177 million ounces was of .999 fine silver bullion, 88 million ounces of .996 to .998 fine bullion, and 63 million ounces were other silver bullion."

This "other silver bullion" is most interesting.

Upon examination, we learn that 56.7 million ounces of this "other silver bullion" is either not usable in its present form or is not immediately available for sale.

The Bureau of the Mint says 36 million ounces is unrefined silver in gold deposits. This is gold held by the Mint in New York, Philadelphia, Denver and San Francisco waiting to be put through refineries. Only about two million ounces is refined each year, so it will be more than 15 years before all this silver becomes available, at the present refining rate.

Incidentally, and this should be of interest to Dr. McLaughlin, this bullion contains gold valued at just under one billion dollars, and I presume this gold is carried with the official gold reserves.

Miss Adams said another 10 million ounces of silver in the "other silver bullion" category is low grade silver bullion free of gold.

The Bureau of the Mint says this is silver, mostly .300 fine, that has been stored in West Point for 30 years, and there is no current plan for disposing of it. During coinage operations, a lot of scrap metal falls onto the floor and is swept up as it accumulates and is melted down into bars.

Another 10.7 million ounces of silver in the "other silver bullion" category refers to .400 fine silver in process for making clad fifty-cent pieces, and so is not available for sale. This reserve amounted to 13 million ounces on January 31, and 10.7 million ounces early in May.

I should mention here that Miss Adams' figures in her letter of March 5 differ slightly from the report of silver bullion prepared by the Bureau of the Mint on March 31, which accompanies the printed version of this speech that will be made available to you this afternoon. The reason is in the different dates. Miss Adams used January 31 figures and the Mint report is of March 31.

The remaining 3.782 million ounces of silver in the "other silver bullion" category is high grade silver bullion free from gold. It is silver that has been in the Treasury at least 30 years and is .992 fine. At one time industrial users considered .992 acceptable. They then raised their standards, but now with the shortage of silver, they are purchasing .897 and .900 fine silver.

The silver bullion mixed with gold, the .300 fine silver and the silver set aside for making clad fifty-cent pieces represent, then, the "paper silver."

But in addition, the Treasury's silver bullion reserves also include almost 65 million ounces of .999 fine silver that has been held by the Atomic Energy Commission since 1956. The Treasury intends to transfer this silver to the strategic stockpile.

Congressman McClure has been told that the A.E.C. began returning this silver in January, and intends to make the transfer in approximately equal monthly shipments that will be completed in September.

However, we learn from the Mint report of March 31 that up to that date only three million ounces actually had been transferred.

And even if the shipments are completed in September on schedule, this means that at the best the silver bullion reserves actually in the Treasury on June 24 must be reduced by another 21 million ounces from the amount the Daily Treasury Statement shows. Nine equal shipments of 65 million ounces means about seven million ounces a month, and three shipments will remain to be made after June 24 if the schedule is maintained. So after deducting the "paper silver," we find that on May 1 the Treasury had 39 million ounces of .999, .998, .996 and .992 silver immediately usable and uncommitted reserves.

To this must be added the .897 and .900 fine silver that is being obtained by melting down old silver coins. On May 1, this grade of silver totaled about 3.5 million ounces, and it is being increased at the rate of one million ounces a week. The melting rate could be stepped up to two million ounces a week.

However, beginning in May, the Treasury is offering one million ounces of this silver for auction each week, plus one million ounces of higher grade silver

The weekly auctions will reduce the current silver bullion in the Treasury by another seven million ounces by June 24, when the Treasury stops redeeming silver certificates for silver. This would leave 32 million ounces of silver—apart from the paper silver—available for redemption of silver certificates.

During the first four months of this year redemption of silver certificates amounted to 27 million ounces.

However, as the deadline for redemption of silver certificates nears, the rate of redemption is expected to accelerate. To what degree, no one can say at this time.

However, Congressman McClure reports he has been told by members of the Banking and Currency Committee that they believe many people are holding silver certificates for redemption at the last minute because it is cheaper to warehouse certificates than bars of silver.

Redemption of silver certificates has been increasing each month this year. In January, $4.4 million worth of certificates were redeemed, in February, $6.1 million, in March, $11.3 million and in April, $13.5 million. By comparison, redemptions in all of last year amounted to $43.2 million.

As of May 1, $286.1 million worth of silver certificates still were outstanding, after deducting the $200 million that were written off by the Treasury last year and this year.

There is one big imponderable in the silver supply picture.

This is the amount of silver the Treasury will be able to recover by melting down coins.

The Treasury told Congressman McClure it had 260 million ounces of silver in such coins on hand early in May, and expects to have another five million ounces by June for a total of 265 million ounces. This will produce .897 and .900 fine silver.

By early this month, however, only 40 million ounces had been counted by separating silver coins from clad coins being held by the Treasury and Federal Reserve Banks.

These are the only statistics and estimates available on the coin silver situation.

And we must keep in mind that it is this silver that will enable the Treasury to continue weekly silver sales after June 24.

The Treasury expects to continue to recover silver coins "over the foreseeable future," Assistant Secretary of Treasury Robert A. Wallace said in a speech earlier this month.

"The ultimate potential recovery can be measured by the approximately 1.3 billion ounces of silver in the dimes and quarters minted during the past 25 years," he said.

On the other hand, it should be pointed out that this 1.3 billion ounces amounts to only 6.5 ounces per person in the United States today, and that this 6.5 ounces has a face value in dimes and quarters of just under $9.

I wonder how many of you in this audience have $9 worth of silver dimes and quarters squirreled away.

The Treasury does admit that the public is hoarding silver coins in large quantities, and it is making every effort to discourage this.

For example:

On May 4 Assistant Secretary of Treasury Wallace addressed the Metropolitan New York Numismatic Convention—a group that obviouly is interested in collecting and holding coins.

Mr. Wallace said, in part:

"Among many members of Congress, members of the Coinage Commission and Treasury officials, there is a distinct lack of sympathy for those who engage in hoarding and speculation in silver coins. Their activities severely handicapped our action to deal with past coinage shortage. The possibility of ever permitting them to reap windfall profits of millions of dollars at the expense of taxpayers will, to say the least, not be very popular."

It can be argued, however, that these coins are the private property of their owners; that there probably are more people who hold such coins than those who don't; the fact that many of these coins are being held in numismatic collections and that they grow more valuable each year because such coins are no longer being minted; and that many other such coins are being held as souvenirs to be handed down to children and grandchildren because they are the last of their kind.

We do have figures to indicate the general public is holding silver coins. These figures are set out in detail in tables accompanying this paper.

They show that between June 30, 1967, and March 31, 1968, the amount of subsidiary coins held by the general public (excluding silver dollars) increased by $407.8 million. During the same period, the amount of such coins held by the Treasury and Federal Reserve Banks decreased by $22 million.

During this period, the Mint produced $385.7 million worth of subsidiary coins.

Now it is hard to conceive of the public hoarding clad, non-silver coins.

And because the Treasury said last July it had completed the transition from silver to non-silver coins, it is difficult to explain the increase of $407.8 million of coins in circulation, which includes hoarded coins, except on the basis that silver coins are being put away in piggy banks.

So to recapitulate on the silver supply situation:

Secretary Wallace said on May 4 "it still seems to be a pretty safe guess that we ought to be able to continue our GSA sales another three years at least, and depending on our silver coin recoveries, perhaps considerably longer."

I submit that because of the "paper silver" that exists in the Treasury reserves, virtually the only silver the Treasury will have for sale after June 24 is the metal it obtains from melting down coins, which will be .897 and .900 fine, and that these sales will depend upon whether the Treasury can melt down two million ounces a week and the quantity of silver coins it has on hand.

The ability of the Treasury to maintain these sales will be the major factor in determining the price of silver in the future.

The Treasury insists it must sell 100 million ounces of silver a year to make up the deficit that exists between supply and demand in the United States.

Actually, this deficit was 114 million ounces last year, and it has been growing steadily each year. It was 107 million ounces in 1966 and 96.7 million ounces in 1965. The annual deficit since 1960 has increased by 59 million ounces. If the situation progresses at the same rate for another eight years, the deficit by 1975 will be more than 170 million ounces.

But it is not fair to look at just this narrow part of the picture.

We must examine the entire Free World supply-demand situation, for Treasury silver goes to all parts of the Free World, as we shall see.

Only if the government intends to embargo exports of silver can we look simply at the domestic picture.

In the four-year period 1964–1967, Free World consumption of silver amounted to 1,570,300,000 ounces and Free World production totaled 866,500,000 ounces. Other Free World supplies of silver, not including Treasury silver, amounted to 364.7 million ounces, leaving a gap of 339.1 million ounces.

In that four-year period, withdrawals of silver from the Treasury, not including silver used for U.S. coinage, totaled 569.1 million ounces. The excess, or 230 million ounces, went into inventories or hoarding.

The point is, had Treasury silver not been available in those four years, Free World silver consumption would have exceeded total supplies by 339.1 million ounces, or almost 85 million ounces a year.

This gap has been growing. In 1963, the Treasury had to supply only 23 million ounces to make up the Free World deficit. In 1967, the Treasury supplied 195.2 million ounces of the other supplies. Of this amount, 120 million ounces went into hoarding and inventories.

The fact is that, despite the domestic gap between production and consumption, this nation in the past four years has been a net exporter of silver. In that period, we have exported 238.5 million ounces of silver and we have imported 183.8 million ounces, creating a total net export balance of 77.8 million ounces.

Despite the nation-wide copper strike that began last July 15 and continued through the first quarter of this year, our net exports of silver in the first three months of this year have been running at a near record rate.

In these three months our exports of silver have exceeded our imports by 10,041,505 ounces. In those three months we exported 3,008,945 ounces of silver in ore and base bullion and 23,039,694 ounces of silver in refined bullion, for a total of 26,048,639 ounces. In that same period, we imported 3,818,983 ounces in ore and base bullion and 12,188,151 ounces in refined bullion for a total of 16,007,134 ounces.

Even more significant is the fact that in December, January, February and March our exports of refined silver bullion exceeded imports of this kind of metal by 11,077,940 ounces.

Exports of refined bullion in February amounted to 12,599,958 ounces, the largest monthly export since June, 1966, when the total was 13,503,050.

A review of silver import-export figures indicates that when runs develop on Treasury silver reserves, a large amount of American silver ends up overseas.

In 1964, for instance, withdrawals of silver from the Treasury, excluding silver used for domestic coinage, amounted to 151 million ounces. In that year, exports of refined bullion silver exceeded imports of that quality metal by 100,218,000 ounces. In that year we exported 108,746,000 ounces and imported only 8,528,000.

Last year Treasury silver withdrawals, not including silver used for coinage, totaled 195.2 million ounces. Despite the nation-wide copper strike in the last half of that year, which reduced production from 43.7 million ounces in 1966 to 31 million ounces in 1967, our exports of refined bullion silver exceeded imports by 38,556,273 ounces. We exported 68,403,924 ounces and imported 29,847,651.

This occurred despite the fact that since last July 14, the Treasury sales of silver have been limited to bona fide, domestic, industrial consumers.

The silver that has been going overseas since that time, quite obviously, has come either from silver obtained by redemption of silver certificates, or silver that had been purchased previous to July 14. That would mean a reduction in the silver reserves being held by speculators in the United States.

This makes two recent developments significant.

One is the fact that the Coinage Commission may recommend at its July meeting that the Treasury offer its silver at its weekly auctions to foreign buyers. The Commission came close to making such a recommendation at its March meeting.

The second is the remark made by Mr. Wallace in his May 4 address in New York.

Let me quote from that speech. He said:

"I would point out here one fact about silver certificate redemptions that often seems to be overlooked, and that is that every ounce of silver exchanged for them represents a sale of Treasury silver into the private market and is available for industrial or investor use just as is any other silver. If silver certificate redemptions rise in May and June, this means an equivalent increase in total Treasury silver sales and a concurrent need for the market somehow to absorb this increased supply of silver."

I believe these import-export figures indicate the market has no difficulty in "absorbing" this silver.

These figures indicate to me that much of this silver, as well as other silver previously stored in the United States, is flowing overseas, and there much of it will be held until speculators find that the price is right for them to sell.

This is obvious to me from the fact that although domestic silver production was virtually nil in January and February, our exports of refined silver bullion in those two months exceeded imports by 11,189,248 ounces.

Now, admittedly these speculative holdings of silver do overhang the market, and if they were excessive would act as a deterrent to any wide price increase.

But at the end of 1967, according to Handy & Harman, these speculative holdings totaled only 195 million ounces—just half the Free World consumption of silver in 1967.

Handy & Harman reports previous speculative holdings were liquidated in 1962 and 1963. In 1964, it estimates 70 million ounces were added to these holdings, in 1965, 35 million ounces of these holdings were liquidated, and in 1966 these speculative holdings were increased by 40 million ounces and in 1967 by 120 million ounces.

Against this, we must balance the fact that after June, 1968, the Treasury will be making only 100 million ounces of silver available annually—and that amount for only a limited time—as compared with 195 million ounces in 1967, 142 million ounces in 1966, 80 million ounces in 1965 (when 35 million ounces of speculative holdings were liquidated) and 151 million ounces in 1964.

And so we come down to one simple fact.

In the future, with the Treasury's vast holdings of silver—which totaled more than 1.7 billion ounces in 1961—exhausted, and the demand for silver increasing each year, the deficit between supply and demand must be made up from hoarded supplies of silver.

This includes the relatively small amount of silver bullion held by speculators, the silver coins held by the Treasury and individuals and the five billion ounces or so of silver held in India, plus additional silver in Red China and Russia.

Russia has sold a total of 27 million ounces in the past three years and Red China has not sold any silver to the Free World since 1962. In 1961 and 1962 she sold a total of 80 million ounces.

India does not permit the export of bar silver, but in 1966 and 1967 between 25 and 35 million ounces of the metal have been smuggled out of that country annually.

Much of this silver is sold in France and Italy, and information I have indicates that the French do not believe there will be any substantial increase in this trade.

French sources say much of the silver in India is in the hands of very small hoarders who would not be able to sell enough silver to purchase gold in exchange—and they will not exchange silver for paper money.

But of course everything has a price—even silver. But I don't believe that price has been reached yet.

Now let us turn to the domestic supply-demand picture.

The gap between consumption and production in the United States has been rising in almost an uninterrupted straight line. In 1960, for example, American industry used 55.5 million ounces of silver more than was mined; in 1967, the spread was 106.7 million ounces, almost double that of eight years ago.

In three of those years, 1964, 1965 and 1966, the annual increase in industrial consumption in the United States just about equalled the entire output of the mines in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District in Idaho—and we produce half the silver mined in the United States.

At present prices for silver, it is unlikely that domestic production will gain on industrial consumption.

Because the price of silver has almost doubled in the past year, a casual observer might believe that this would lead to vastly increased production.

The fact is, however, that costs have increased substantially over the past twenty years, and that the big shallow bonanza deposits of silver have been exhausted.

At no time in our history has domestic production of silver come close to matching the industrial consumption of today.

The greatest production came in the period 1901–1925, when output averaged 61.4 million ounces a year. In the period 1874–1900, when the then fabulous Comstock Lode in Nevada was most productive, the annual mine output averaged 47.7 million ounces a year.

Normal domestic production now is in the vicinity of 45 million ounces a year.

Higher production was possible in earlier periods of our history because the deposits of silver ore being mined then were shallow. But most of these shallow deposits have been worked out, or are now marginal.

Much of the production today in the United States, outside the Coeur d'Alene Mining District, is a by-product of other ores and in these cases production of silver depends to a large extent upon the prices for these other metals.

As I mentioned, about half the newly mined silver in the United States comes from mines in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District. The only deep-seated silver ore bodies in the world are found in this district.

All the major silver ore bodies in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District are found below sea level, and the richest mine of all, the Sunshine, now is developing mining levels 2500 feet below sea level, at a depth of 5200 feet.

The Sunshine Mine is the largest silver producer in the United States, followed by the Galena and the Lucky Friday. All three are located in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District.

The higher price for silver has stimulated the greatest exploration for ore bodies in the 84-year history of the Coeur d'Alene Mining District.

American Smelting and Refining Company is just completing the first stage of its $5 million Coeur Project, which includes sinking a 4400-foot shaft; Sunshine is developing a number of neighboring properties at depth; Hecla and Asarco are consolidating a number of Silver Belt properties and plan to explore and develop them at depth; and Hecla plans development of properties adjacent to its Lucky Friday Mine.

These projects, and others on the drawing board in our district, could add significantly to the silver production in the United States.

However, I must point out to you that there is a "time lag" of between four and five years between the time such a project is started and when production is begun—provided an ore body is discovered. It takes time to sink deep shafts and explore for and develop ore bodies.

That is the reason I have consistently recommended that the Treasury phase out the sale of its remaining silver, thereby permitting the price of silver to gradually rise to a level that will stimulate exploration for silver.

You do not begin a $5 million project until you are fairly certain that the price you will obtain for your metal will make the project profitable.

So to sum up:

The gap between consumption of silver and production of silver continues to widen.

Over the longer term, this means a dramatic development must occur in the silver situation . . . either a sharp price increase or an equally sharp decrease in consumption. After the Treasury is no longer a dominant factor in the silver market, the price must ultimately rise to a level that will bring the supply and demand for silver into balance. This will require a price that will result in new production, and will encourage the flow of silver produced over the centuries, and now in hoarding, back into the market. There is nothing in past history to indicate a letup in the demand for silver.

The short term picture is clouded by the uncertainty as to whether and how long the Treasury will be able to make up the deficit between supply and demand.

But this picture is coming into focus.

By June 24 we will know for certain how much usable silver bullion the Treasury has on hand for sale, and how much it will be able to supply from its melted down coins.

In other words, on that date we will be able to separate the "paper silver" from the metallic silver.

FRACTIONAL COIN, EXCLUDING SILVER DOLLARS—INCREASES (DECREASES) FROM PRECEDING PERIODS

	Outstanding	In circulation	Held by Treasury and Federal Reserve banks
1st quarter, 1967	$254,002,300	$37,791,362	$216,210,938
2d quarter, 1967	240,091,400	123,400,557	116,690,843
3d quarter, 1967	197,620,000	110,221,710	87,398,290
4th quarter, 1967	94,977,700	166,224,079	(71,246,379)
1st quarter, 1968	93,071,100	131,309,451	(38,238,351)
Net increase, Dec. 31, 1966 to Mar. 31, 1968	$879,762,500	$568,947,159	$310,815,341
Net increase (decrease), June 30, 1967, to Mar. 31, 1968	385,668,800	407,755,240	(22,086,440)
Net increase (decrease) Aug. 31, 1967, to Mar. 31, 1968	248,686,100	328,854,141	(80,168,041)

BREAKDOWN OF SILVER BULLION

[Fine ounces, Mar. 31, 1968. Revised preliminary]

	Total	Fineness						
		999+	999	996-998	900-995	400 [1]	Unrefined [2]	Other
New York	29,658,453.19	8,033,231.96	1,039,898.54	896,484.86	0	0	19,688,837.83	0
West Point	68,728,832.55	217,116.71	6,220,423.91	48,180,643.38	3,713,953.32	0	0	[5] 10,336,695.23
Philadelphia	599,611.46	0	449,082.20	74,50.18	29,772.12	58.80	46,198.16	0
San Francisco	105,191,057.73	9,477,594.50	81,997,695.40	4,224,231.15	75.47	632,548.17	8,698,957.39	[4] 159,955.65
Denver	31,382,551.37	578,815.85	2,268,026.26	0	4,105.02	[3] 20,835,377.53	7,452,456.15	[4] 243,770.56
In hands of contractors, Denver	11,042,549.94	0	0	0	0	11,042,549.94	0	0
In silver clad makeup, Denver	400,721.42	0	0	0	0	400,721.42	0	0
Mint holdings	247,003,777.66	18,306,759.02	91,975,126.31	53,375,859.57	3,747,905.93	32,911,255.86	35,886,449.53	10,800,421.44
Held by AEC	[6] 64,751,316.12	0	64,751,316.12	0	0	0	0	0
Total	311,755,093.78	18,306,759.02	[7] 156,726,442.43	[7] 53,375,859.67	3,747,905.93	32,911,255.86	35,886,449.53	10,800,421.44
Percent	100.0	5.9	50.3	17.1	1.2	10.5	11.5	3.5

[1] Includes 999 fine silver in process for coinage.

[2] Silver mixed with gold.

[3] Low fineness silver free of gold.

[4] Coin silver.

[5] Includes 1,150,008.82 999 fine silver (M. & R. Supt. Accts).

[6] Includes 3,040,388.64 ounces not taken up in New York's account as of Mar. 31, 1968.

[7] As of Mar. 31, 1968 the totals do not reflect reductions amounting to 400,000 fine ounces of 999 fine silver and 4,100,000 fine ounces of 996-998 fine ounces of silver resulting from GSA silver sales for which payment had not been received. Effectively these commitments reduce the balances shown accordingly.

THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ACTION

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, I have been distressed at the remarks made almost daily in the RECORD concerning the Poor People's Campaign. We have heard cries of alarm that the poor are the tools of revolutionary demagogs. We have heard accusations of some nefarious collaboration between the march leaders, who are dedicated to the nonviolent philosophy, and militant advocates of violence. We have heard vicious attacks on leaders of the campaign—and even attacks on the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. We have heard charges that the campaign has a goal of anarchy and disruption.

We have listened to all of these harangues and charges; and yet, the events of the past weeks have not borne out the fears of these Members. The poor people have suffered in their simple shanties, throughout the cold and rainy welcome that our local weather provided, just as so many of them suffer in their own homes. And yet, they have conducted themselves with proud and sublime restraint.

Here is a situation in which several thousand people, all with legitimate complaints against their Government, have congregated together in the seat of that Government, and this fact alone makes their dedication to the principles of nonviolence all the more remarkable. If the Members of Congress who have been so critical and so fearful would talk to the leaders and participants in the campaign, perhaps these Members would reevaluate their positions.

These gentlemen and others have pointed to the Poor People's Campaign as evidence of a breakdown of "law and order," a phrase which, in the highly emotionalized campaigns of this election year, has become a euphemism for retrogression and nonthinking. Some Members are speaking of "law and order" as if it were an end unto itself, rather than our accepted means of assuring equal justice for all. There cannot be viable law and order without justice, and we can ill afford to sacrifice justice to a "law and order" imposed by repression and reaction.

What is needed most in this crucial hour is a program that offers realistic promise of swift advance toward a society of true equal opportunity. The dimensions of that program are clearly set forth in the recommendations of the Kerner Commission report. What we are missing is a long-term commitment by the Congress to make the sacrifices necessary to assure good schools, jobs, and housing for all Americans.

This, then, must be our goal. And those who are concerned with the overtures that militant radicals are making to the poor might well remember Disraeli's statement, that the way to make a man conservative is to give him something to conserve.

The Poor People's Campaign must, however, be regarded as something more than simply a collection of just demands of people who are starving throughout the world's richest nation. The campaign is also noteworthy because it is a nonviolent protest. In the past few years, we have become quite used to nonviolent protests, but this may well be the last one we shall ever see.

We are being reminded constantly that nonviolence is only one school of social action. The militants are constantly telling the poor people in our rural slums and urban ghettos that nonviolence is ineffective. The poor, despite their frustrations and agony, have so far given little head to the extremists' cries. If we in the Congress turn a deaf ear to the pleas of the poor, we will be confirming the charges of the militants, and giving aid and comfort to those who say that rebellion is the "only answer."

I am certain that my colleagues will agree that the democratic process is preferable to violence and destruction as a means of petition. I submit, therefore, that it is we who have the greatest stake in the success of this campaign. When we act on the demands of this campaign, we will decide more than the issue of "poverty versus opportunity" for the poor. For these poor people are protestors who have chosen to "play within the system." When Martin Luther King planned this campaign, he placed his faith in our American legislative process, and his followers have done likewise. They have a right to expect results.

If the Poor People's Campaign is successful, it will be because we, the Congress, showed all Americans that we are responsive to their problems, and responsible in trying to solve them. By the same token, the defeat of this campaign will mean more than simply the failure of nonviolence as an effective means of social protest. For if the poor people leave Washington just as they came—with no real prospects for a better life—we will have demonstrated the total inability of this body to deal with a deplorable human plight which we allowed to go unchecked.

In effect, then, the Poor People's Campaign is putting Congress on trial; the American people are our jury, and history will ultimately be our judge. The Congress is the keystone of our democratic process, and the Poor People's Campaign is a very real test of that process. We must not let it fail.

THE ROBERT P. CONNELLY MEDAL

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, each year the Kiwanis International organization presents the Robert P. Connelly Medal for Service Beyond the Call of Duty in memory of the late Robert P. Connelly, a 32-year-old Kiwanian from Illinois who gave his life in a vain attempt to rescue a crippled woman from the path of an onrushing railroad train. Both of them were killed.

This medal and award acknowledge heroism and a deep sense of personal responsibility. It gives me great pleasure to announce that this year's medal has gone to a young Floridian, Walter Stormant, of Wiersdale, Fla. He risked his own life to save the lives of six persons. He was driving home from school when he spotted flames coming from the roof of a friend's home. He entered the burning building notifying its residents and helping people to safety. At one time, he had to crawl through flames and go to the second story to reach a member of the family.

This young man has always exhibited a deep sense of responsibility. He is a former Key Clubber of Lake Weir High School and a former lieutenant governor of Key Club Division 18 of the Florida district. He commutes 50 miles to school each day and helps his parents run their country grocery store.

I would like to add my congratulations to all the others he has received and ask that he be recognized in this RECORD for outstanding heroism and service to his fellow man.

THE REAL THREAT OF GEORGE WALLACE

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the Minneapolis Tribune, in an editorial of May 20, entitled, "The Real Threat of George Wallace," points out a situation which could precipitate an alarming constitutional crisis next January.

Unfortunately, the editorial is correct in stating:

> It would be all but impossible to change this obsolete procedure (electoral college) before the 1968 election.

I have repeatedly urged congressional action to change the archaic electoral college system. My only hope now is that the concern of the Minneapolis Tribune, expressed in the following editorial, does not become a reality next year.

The editorial follows:

THE REAL THREAT OF GEORGE WALLACE

The prospect of a Republican or Democratic candidate having to make a "deal" with George Wallace to gain the presidency is enough to make many Americans shudder.

What would be the price? The appointment of Wallace as secretary of health, education and welfare? Or a pledge to ease up on enforcement of the voting rights law? Or perhaps withdrawal of the FBI from its infiltration of the Ku Klux Klan?

Can this be possible in 1968 America? It is, although estimates vary on whether it will happen. The fear is that Wallace will get enough votes in the South to prevent either major-party candidate from gaining the required number of Electoral College votes to win the presidency. Then Wallace could bargain and throw his votes to the candidate who responded most favorably—to him.

If that failed, the election would have to be decided in the House of Representatives, with each state delegation having one vote. That would give Alaska's one representative the same voice as New York's 41. Twenty-six small states could elect the president.

The House did elect the president twice. Thomas Jefferson was the first, in 1801. John Quincy Adams was the second, in 1824, and in that case, negotiations over a three-month period allegedly involved a deal that put Clay in as secretary of state.

The system that produced those results remains today. It means that the candidate who carries a state, regardless of how tiny his margin, gets all the electoral votes for that state. This makes it possible for a nominee to win a majority of the electoral votes and thus be elected president even though he had less than a majority of the total popular vote.

It would be all but impossible to change this obsolete procedure before the 1968 election, but the Wallace threat shows the need to change soon. Rep. Clark MacGregor has proposed a constitutional amendment that would provide for election of the president by direct popular vote. That would be a gain for democracy, and it ought to be adopted.

UTT SAYS REPUBLIC IS IN DANGER

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, one of our distinguished colleagues, JAMES B. UTT, of my home State of California, recently wrote his constituents about the "unthinkable" but possible consequence facing our great Republic if racial and civil disorders continue in this country. His analysis is a thought-provoking one and should be of interest to all of us. I include in the RECORD an editorial from the San Diego Union which comments on Congressman UTT's statement.

The editorial follows:

THINKING THE UNTHINKABLE: REPUBLIC IN DANGER, SAYS UTT

Only a short time ago, so-called "liberals" were busy, as they expressed it, "thinking the unthinkable." By that they meant weighing what we should do, and what would result, in case of a nuclear war.

Now, on the other hand, a conservative is "thinking the unthinkable" regarding what is happening and what can happen on the home front.

He is Rep. James B. Utt, a Republican.

In a news letter he has told his constituents that "fantastic though it may seem, this great Republic is threatened with anarchy. In fact, the threat has grown so far that the only salvation may be a military dictatorship."

For Congressman Utt, a mild and freedom-loving individual, this is strong medicine. And he knows it. He warns that anarchy and dictatorship represents two opposite extremes; the first, a complete absence of government; the second, a totality of government.

"These two extremes have faced many civilizations over the past 4000 years," he says. And he raises the point that we, too, may be facing a choice.

When the "liberals" were "thinking the unthinkable" they were mostly concerned with bringing an end to the Cold War. Many of them were willing to accept unilateral disarmament on the part of the United States.

Their real aim was to jar us into fear of the consequences of continuing on the course which this country was taking.

Rep. Utt's warnings may have the same effect—and maybe that is what he is after.

A hard look at the consequences of continuing racial and civic disorder perhaps could raise the fear of anarchy, or the counter to anarchy, dictatorship, and shake the country into reason.

Though the situation may not have deteriorated to the degree described by Rep. Utt, he is right in his reading of the straws in the wind.

Over the last 35 years, he says, there has been a steady downgrading of the concept of a government of balanced powers, and the dignity of the individual has tended to become submerged in a collectivism.

We are sinking into a self-criticism. Nobody seems to have much good to say about the country—and this includes some of our so-called political leaders.

Let this go on long enough, and let the rioting run, and let each person decide what law he will or will not obey, and history may make Congressman Utt look like a prophet.

We are sure, however, that the good sense of the people will prevail, and that they are eager to call a halt to an era of reforms that went wrong.

It is time to take stock of where we have been and where we are going. It is time to think out the thinkable.

OPPRESSION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I received a letter from Mark P. Mensheha, assistant professor in geography at Wisconsin State University, Superior, Wis., which I think is the most timely evaluation of our troubles at home and the oppression behind the Iron Curtain.

The Soviet Union is making great capital of our riots and civil disorders at home and gloating over these conditions.

In spite of our faults, there is not a human being in the world who would not rather live in America than in the Soviet Union where oppression is still the order of the day.

I include this letter and paper from Professor Mensheha for my fellow Members of Congress to read. I feel that these show more clearly than anything that has ever been stated how fortunate we are in America as compared to living behind the Iron Curtain:

WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITY,
Superior, Wis., May 27, 1968.

Hon. ALVIN O'KONSKI,
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. O'KONSKI: The Russian daily newspapers, which I have read systematically, are filled with the description of "police brutality" on American campuses and streets of Washington, Milwaukee, and other cities. The pictures of peace and civil rights fighters, stricken down and dragged by police, are illustrated in Russian papers. In addition to this the United States is depicted as an "imperialistic" country, suppressing the movements for national liberation and self-determination everywhere in the world.

While blaming the United States for "imperialism", "neo-colonialism", and racial injustice, the Soviet government exposed itself as a champion of liberation, self-determination, and independence of each nation beyond the Soviet borders.

It is worth knowing how "polite" the Soviet authorities are in handling their own dissentient intellectuals and how "respectful" they are of the rights of non-Russian nationals: Jews, Tartars, Caucasians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians, and others inside the Soviet Union.

Some brief information about the secret trial of dissentient intellectuals in Moscow was published in the Western World. Little is known about more trials in Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, and other Ukrainian cities. Many protests, petitions, and letters of jailed intellectuals are clandestinely copied and circulated among the Soviet students, professors, writers, and scientists. Some of them reached the Western World and were translated and published.

The most illustrative of the question of national policy of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union is Mr. Y Karavansky's petition to the Soviet Parliament. The author, a Soviet Ukrainian poet and literary worker, was jailed for 25 years for his protest against the severe Russification of non-Russian nations. His petition was written in jail. I recommend this document for reading by my students in the class of Geography of the U.S.S.R. I think that the reading of this document is helpful for the understanding of the extreme sensitivity of the Moscow rulers to the liberal movements spread over the Eastern Satellites, especially in Czechoslovakia (including the Cz-Sl. Comm. Party). For this reason I submit respectfully the copy of this document for your attention.

Sincerely yours,

MARK P. MENSHEHA,
Asst. Prof. in Geog.

G–356, GEOGRAPHY OF THE U.S.S.R. NATIONAL POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TOWARD THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES: A PETITION *

(The following petition, addressed to the President of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, was written by a Soviet Ukrainian writer, Svyatoslav Yosypovich Karavansky. Dated April 10, 1966, it was composed after Karavansky had been imprisoned without trial and sent to a labor camp in the Potma area of Movdovskaya ASSR. The petition urges the elimination of the widespread discrimination still practiced against national minorities in the USSR. It was circulated underground before reaching the west and is published here for the first time in English.)

TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES OF THE U.S.S.R.

(By Svyatoslav Y Karavansky)

Over the last 30 years, the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has investigated very few of the pressing problems that should be of primary concern to it. Obviously, one can neither criticize nor condemn the Council's activities up to 1953, for like all Soviet state organs, it was represented by Stalin personally. During this period it existed formally, but did not in fact perform any official business. Unfortunately, inertia still characterizes the Council, although it is high time that it undertook the correction of a long list of abuses resulting from the Stalinist cult of personality—abuses which even today restrict and undermine friendly relations between the nations of the USSR.

Such friendship will develop successfully and increase in strength only when all the nations of the Soviet Union are accorded equal rights in every branch of social and political life. This is a truth that is self-evident. It is the principle that has compelled me to address the Council of Nationalities, and to petition it for the implementation of measures to remove the vestiges of discrimination against nationalities in our society.

To begin with, I call your attention to *the discrimination against* the Jewish population. I state this problem first because the attitude of a society toward its Jewish population is the litmus paper indicating that society's level of international consciousness. The closing down of Jewish cultural institutions (newspapers, schools, theaters, publishing houses); the execution of Jewish cultural workers; discrimination in admitting Jews to institutions of higher and secondary learning—these are all practices that flourished in the era of the personality cult. It would seem that the condemnation of the cult should have also put an end to these flagrant injustices, yet this did not occur. To appease public opinion abroad, Nikita Khrushchev (who paid little attention to public opinion in the Soviet Union itself) was forced to "rehabilitate" the innocent Jewish cultural leaders executed under Stalin. But he went no further.

Where are the Jewish theaters now, the newspapers and publishing houses, the Schools? In Odessa, there are approximately 150,000 Jews, but not one Jewish school. And what about admission to institutions of higher learning? Again in Odessa, where 25 per cent of the population is Jewish, Jews make up only 3–5 per cent of the student body at those institutions. That is the *unofficial quota* maintained in processing admissions. Yet Jewish students applying to institutions of higher learning in other cities are told: "You have a school in Odessa—go to your 'own' school." Students from the Urals, Siberia, Moscow, Tula, Saratov (all with their own large, well-established universities) are permitted to study in Odessa, where they are provided with specially constructed dormitories, while local Jewish students (as well as the local Ukrainians and Moldavians) are severely restricted in their right to a higher education.

Practices such as these can only lead the Jews to an awareness of the fact that in the Soviet Union they belong to an inferior and unequal national group, and so drive them to Zionism. One must admit that never before has Zionism been as popular among the Jewish population as it is today, and this is a direct result of discriminatory practices against the Jewish minority.

An equally glaring example of national discrimination was *the mass deportation of the Crimean Tartars* and the Germans from their own territories and *confiscation* of their statehood. The expulsion of the Tartars from Crimea was an act of open injustice that no argument can excuse. How, in the 20th century, could a society that wants to create the most just order on earth deport a nation of 900,000 from its historic land for "treason against the motherland" committed by a few of its people? Who has the right in this century to delve into the archives of an imperialism long past to come up with an argument that "historically" this land belonged not to the Tartars but to the Russians? If one followed this line of reasoning then Khabarovsky Kray, Prymorsky Kray, and the Amursk Oblast should all be immediately returned to the Chinese Republic because the imperialistic Tsars of Russia forcefully seized these lands from the Chinese rulers. Can friendship among the Soviet nations possibly be encouraged by depriving the Crimean Tartars of statehood, by scattering them throughout the expanses of Kazakhstan and Siberia, by depriving them of their schools, newspapers, and theaters?

And how are the Germans of the Volga Region responsible to society for Hitler's crimes? Does Marxism solve complex problems by judging people on the basis of their nationality rather than their social contribution? Does not the slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" apply to the Jews, the Crimean Tartars, and the Germans of the Volga Region? We have no bourgeois Jews, no capitalist Tartars, no German landowners in the Soviet Union. We have only workers.

How can our young people be educated in the spirit of internationalism when they see entire nations deprived of their right to national autonomy and of their right to an education in both their native and foreign languages? What friendship can there be between the man who has been exiled from his own home, from his native land, and the man who has taken over this home and this land?

To the injustices above one must also add the errors committed in the restoration of national statehood to the Chechens, Ingush, Kalmyks, Karachais, and a number of other nationalities. This seemingly just act toward the smaller national groups was not accomplished without blunders, making it obvious to these nationalities that they are still less than equal. According to the established procedure, the families of these unjustly exiled national groups are not given back their immovable property—their buildings and their homes; if they wish to return to their ancestral lands, they must buy back their homes from the local state authorities, or else build new ones. Having given them the right to return, the decree of the Supreme Soviet did not secure for them the means to realize this return. It is the same as presenting someone with an expensive cake, after first eating the chocolate icing and filling. Can such a gift be considered a gift?

During the era of the personality cult many injustices were likewise perpetrated against the Baltic nations. *The Estonian population occupying regions near the Soviet-Estonian border was deported en masse to Siberia*—although the only crime of these people was that they happened to live near the border. They could at least have been resettled in another part of the Estonian Republic; but, no, the entire population of the town of Silamaye was transported to Siberia.

As everyone knows, in 1940 the Latvian Republic joined the Soviet Union of its own accord. Therefore, no repressive measures should have been taken against the military personnel of the Latvian Army. Strangely enough, however, *officers of the Latvian Army were invited in 1941 to military maneuvers from which they have never returned; they were interned, and their fate is unknown. Not one of these officers ever came home*. This is true, too, of *the thousands of Lithuanians who were unjustly repressed and deported in 1940–41*. The suspicion arises that under Beria's arbitrary rule, these Soviet citizens may have been liquidated in one way or another in the concentration camps. This is in itself a crime against humanity and can hardly strengthen friendship among nations. To prevent similar occurrences in the future, it is time to investigate and, if necessary, perform the appropriate excavations and exhumations of bodies in order to prosecute those criminally responsible for murdering thousands of Lithuanian and Latvian citizens of the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, inordinate damage to the friendship of nations has been and is being done by the distorted national policies applied in one of the largest republics of the USSR, the Ukraine. The *Russification* of Ukrainian institutions of higher learning introduced after 1937 has been condemned and partially corrected in the Western Ukraine, but in the Eastern Ukraine, these institutions remain completely Russified. This discriminatory policy is explained by the supposed difference between the two regions; but if this is the case, why did the Ukrainian nation unite into one Ukrainian Soviet state in the first place? Obviously, so that the entire Ukrainian nation, previously deprived of statehood, could develop into one national organism. Now, in the field of education the united republic is divided into two parts. Practices of this kind not only discourage friendship; they even divide one nation into two.

It is no secret that the unjust acts against the Ukrainian nation—the execution of leaders such as Chubar, Kosior, Zatonsky, and Luibchenko; the execution of writers such as Mykytenko, Vlyzko, Falkivsky, and dozens of others; the groundless exclusion of the Communist party of the Western Ukraine from the Comintern; the liquidation and deportation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Lvov between 1939–53; *the compulsory mass deportations of Ukrainians to Siberia;*

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* Copied from the New Leader, January 15, 1968.

the forced Russification of the Ukrainian population in Kukan, Bilohorod, Stavrodub—that all these acts could not fail to provoke the national outrage which developed into a national revolt between 1943–49. The majority of the participants in this revolt and even more witnesses (there are more of these) are still living beyond the borders of their own republic.

These victims of the personality cult should be returned to their native homes. A true friendship among the Soviet nations requires a wide and general amnesty for all those prisoners who (after 15, 18, or 20 years) are wasting away in prisons and concentration camps for their active opposition to the personality cult and to Beria's terror. If there is really to be friendship among the nations of the USSR, then it must be based on humane relations, and not on national hatreds and fratricide.

The fact that there has been no amnesty for participants in the 1943–49 national uprisings against Stalin's personality cult and Beria's terror in the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia does great harm to the ideal of friendship among Soviet nations. *Today in Komi ASSR (Vorkuta, Inta, Pechora), in Siberia (Irkutsk Oblast, Kemerovo Oblast, Krasnoyarsk Kray), in Kazakhstan, and in Kolyma, there are large numbers of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians who were deported on the suspicion of opposing the personality cult between 1943–49.*

One can only presume that it is precisely because it intends to prevent the release of these persons that the USSR continues to maintain its *barbaric 25-year prison term. For at this time 25-year sentences are being served primarily by Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, and Moldavians. Why is there no pardon for them? We have generously pardoned those who contributed to the mass extermination of Soviet citizens in 1937–39,* excusing them on the ground that they were not responsible for the conditions of those times and were only obeying orders.

Why is there no similar pardon for such Ukrainian women as Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk, and Odarka Husiak, each sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment? Should it be permissible to hold women in the Volodymyr Prison for 18–20 years: Kateryna Zarytska since 1947, and Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak since 1950? At one time Khrushchev condemned inhuman execution of a pregnant woman-revolutionary in Albania; bearing this condemnation in mind, can one condone the imprisonment of women so many years in a stone grave?

The practice of settling the cities of the national republics with Russians further contradicts true friendship among the Soviet nations. In the UkrSSR the Russian population systematically increases while the Ukrainian population decreases. Similar migrations are still taking place in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and elsewhere. *The colonization of the Ukraine with a large number or Russians (retired officers, retired KGB officials, and other privileged categories of citizens) who settle in the cities and get all the comfortable jobs and professional positions, has forced the native Ukrainian population into low-salaried jobs as unskilled laborers, ambulance drivers, caretakers, stevedores, construction and farm workers.* Such arbitrary settlement of prehistoric Ukrainian lands produces nothing but national enmity. Let us remember the bloodshed among nations between 1917–1920 in the Caucasus and in the Middle East.

In 1958, when the Chechens and the Ingush finally returned to their native lands, they were greeted by the Russian population of Grozny with banners reading, "Chechens and Ingush, get out of the Caucasus?" and "Long live Stalin's national policies!" Is this not typical of the colonizer's attitude toward age-old inhabitants in any given locality, toward the legal owners of the land? Is this not a shameful expression of international enmity? Is it not clear proof of the fact that the policy of colonization of the national republics has led not to friendship among nations and at the same time support the policy of arbitrarily and deliberately intermingling nationalities and dividing among them the social functions of work and leadership. From the point of view of a true friendship between the Soviet nations, it is necessary to re-examine this discriminatory policy of deporting national minorities to Siberia and of settling the national republics with foreign, usually Russian or Russified groups.

An equally pernicious vestige of the personality cult is the so-called system of passport registration that exists in the Soviet Union. According to this law, a person may live only where the militia allows him to live; he does not have the right to move about freely in the country—or more precisely, he has the right to move to Siberia, to the Urals, to Kazakhstan, but he does not have the right to live in the so-called "regime" cities. Thus an inhabitant of the Ukraine is not free to settle in Kiev, Odessa, or Lvov; an inhabitant of Lithuania, in Vilna or Kaunas; an inhabitant of Latvia, in Riga. Why? How could the fact that Ukrainians live in Kiev threaten the safety of the Communist society there?

In 1948, the Soviet Union signed the International Convention on Human Rights, which contains a paragraph concerning the right of people to move about freely within a given country. But this freedom does not exist in the Soviet Union, where the inhabitants of a national republic do not have the right even to settle in the cities of their own republic. The discriminatory system of registration presently in force makes it possible only for foreigners, usually Russians, to settle in these cities. Inevitably, such a practice evokes antagonism that is felt today in all the national republics.

Discrimination against certain nationalities is further manifest in the "errors" made in designating the borders of the national republics. Large regions settled by Byelorussians in the Smolensk and the Bryansky Oblasts, for instance, were not included in the Byelorussian SSR; Krasnodarksy Kray, parts of Voronezh, Bilhorod, and the Tahanroha Rayon of the Rostov Oblast were not included in the UkrSSR; regions settled by Moldavians in the Odessa Oblast were excluded from the Moldavian SSR; the Horno-Badakhshanska Autonomous Oblast was excluded from the Armenian SSR.

In the case of the autonomous republics, the division of lands might have been carried out by the lion in Aesop's fable. A part of the Penza Oblast and the city of Penza, settled by Moldavinians, were excluded from the Mordovian ASSR. Large territories of the Ulyanovsk and Orenburg Oblasts, settled by Tartars, were excluded from the Tartar ASSR. The homeland of Musa Dzalil was left in the Orenburg Oblast. Part of the Kirov Oblast, settled by Udmurts, was excluded from the Udmurt ASSR. And what conceivably could have been the reason for excluding Vyborg from the Karelian ASSR, or for artificially dividing the Komi nation into two republics—the Komi ASSR and the Komi-Permyak National Okrug? Similarly, the Ossetians were divided into the North and the South Ossetian ASSR, while the Buryat-Mongols were divided into the Buryat-Mongol ASSR, the Ust-Orda Buryat National Okrug, and the Aginsky National Okrug.

Such arbitrary dissection of nationality serves only to create hostility. The true development and strengthening of friendship among the nations of the USSR demand that these problems be investigated and rectified within the briefest possible period. I therefore propose that the following measure be quickly adopted and implemented:

1. Cessation of all forms of discrimination against the Jewish population.
2. Return of statehood to the Crimean Tartars and the Germans of the Volga Region.
3. Return of all immovable property to the families of unjustly deported and repatriated national groups.
4. Permission for the members of the Baltic nations, the Western Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Moldavia who were unjustly deported to Siberia to return to their homelands.
5. Investigation of the disappearance of the Latvian Army officers.
6. Proclamation of a general amnesty encompassing all victims of Stalin's personality cult.
7. Release of women-martyrs: Kateryna Zarayrska, Odarka Husiak, and Halyna Didyk.
8. Investigation of the question of discriminatory practices toward Ukrainians living in Kuban, Bilhorod, and Starodub and appropriate action to abolish such discrimination.
9. Removal of all forms of discrimination in education against nationalities in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, and other republics.
10. Condemnation of the deportation of peoples from their national republics to Siberia, and of the settlement of these republics with Russians.
11. Review of the system of passport restrictions, and condemnation of passport discrimination that is in contradiction to the International Convention on Human Rights.
12. Review of the borders of national republics so that they may conform more closely to ethnographic settlements.
13. Wide discussion in the press of all questions broached in this petition.

UNITED STATES ON A WAR ECONOMY, NOT A PEACE ECONOMY

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the United States is currently on a war economy, and the so-called boom we are experiencing is based on the risked lives of American soldiers overseas. If it were not for the war, the United States would currently have a relatively high unemployment rate and would probably be experiencing a recession.

Two recent articles point this up. The May 14, 1968, issue of the Wall Street Journal contained a short paragraph on the front page in the column entitled "Labor Letter." The paragraph states:

> Federal spending, mostly for defense, provided a majority of the new jobs in the private economy last year, the Labor Department says. The outlay generated 800,000 new industry jobs, or about three-fifths of the 1967 non-farm employment gain. In 1966, Federal outlays, produced about 300,000 such jobs.

The Defense Department created three-fifths—60 percent—of new jobs in the private sector last year.

The May 13, 1968, issue of the Journal of Commerce backs up this point in an article "Labor Shortages Prodding Inflation." The article states that the protests, petitions, and letters of jailed intellectuals are clandestinely copied and circulated among the Soviet students, professors, writers, and scientists. Some of them reached the Western World and were translated and published.

The most illustrative of the question of national policy of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union is Mr. Y Karavansky's petition to the Soviet Parliament. The author, a Soviet Ukrainian poet and literary worker, was jailed for 25 years for his protest against the severe Russification of non-Russian nations. His petition was written in jail. I recommend this document for reading by my students in the class of Geography of the U.S.S.R. I think that the reading of this document is helpful for the understanding of the extreme sensitivity of the Moscow rulers to the liberal movements spread over the Eastern Satellites, especially in Czechoslovakia (including the Cz-Sl. Comm. Party). For this reason I submit respectfully the copy of this document for your attention.

Sincerely yours,

MARK P. MENSHEHA,
Asst. Prof. in Geog.

G–356, GEOGRAPHY OF THE U.S.S.R. NATIONAL POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TOWARD THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES: A PETITION [*]

(The following petition, addressed to the President of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, was written by a Soviet Ukrainian writer, Svyatoslav Yosypovich Karavansky. Dated April 10, 1966, it was composed after Karavansky had been imprisoned without trial and sent to a labor camp in the Potma area of Movdovskaya ASSR. The petition urges the elimination of the widespread discrimination still practiced against national minorities in the USSR. It was circulated underground before reaching the west and is published here for the first time in English.)

TO THE COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES OF THE U.S.S.R.

(By Svyatoslav Y Karavansky)

Over the last 30 years, the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has investigated very few of the pressing problems that should be of primary concern to it. Obviously, one can neither criticize nor condemn the Council's activities up to 1953, for like all Soviet state organs, it was represented by Stalin personally. During this period it existed formally, but did not in fact perform any official business. Unfortunately, inertia still characterizes the Council, although it is high time that it undertook the correction of a long list of abuses resulting from the Stalinist cult of personality—abuses which even today restrict and undermine friendly relations between the nations of the USSR.

Such friendship will develop successfully and increase in strength only when all the nations of the Soviet Union are accorded equal rights in every branch of social and political life. This is a truth that is self-evident. It is the principle that has compelled me to address the Council of Nationalities, and to petition it for the implementation of measures to remove the vestiges of discrimination against nationalities in our society.

To begin with, I call your attention to *the discrimination against* the Jewish population. I state this problem first because the attitude of a society toward its Jewish population is the litmus paper indicating that society's level of international consciousness. The closing down of Jewish cultural institutions (newspapers, schools, theaters, publishing houses); the execution of Jewish cultural workers; discrimination in admitting Jews to institutions of higher and secondary learning—these are all practices that flourished in the era of the personality cult. It would seem that the condemnation of the cult should have also put an end to these flagrant injustices, yet this did not occur. To appease public opinion abroad, Nikita Khrushchev (who paid little attention to public opinion in the Soviet Union itself) was forced to "rehabilitate" the innocent Jewish cultural leaders executed under Stalin. But he went no further.

Where are the Jewish theaters now, the newspapers and publishing houses, the Schools? In Odessa, there are approximately 150,000 Jews, but not one Jewish school. And what about admission to institutions of higher learning? Again in Odessa, where 25 per cent of the population is Jewish, Jews make up only 3–5 per cent of the student body at those institutions. That is the *unofficial quota* maintained in processing admissions. Yet Jewish students applying to institutions of higher learning in other cities are told: "You have a school in Odessa—go to your 'own' school." Students from the Urals, Siberia, Moscow, Tula, Saratov (all with their own large, well-established universities) are permitted to study in Odessa, where they are provided with specially constructed dormitories, while local Jewish students (as well as the local Ukrainians and Moldavians) are severely restricted in their right to a higher education.

Practices such as these can only lead the Jews to an awareness of the fact that in the Soviet Union they belong to an inferior and unequal national group, and so drive them to Zionism. One must admit that never before has Zionism been as popular among the Jewish population as it is today, and this is a direct result of discriminatory practices against the Jewish minority.

An equally glaring example of national discrimination was *the mass deportation of the Crimean Tartars* and the Germans from their own territories and *confiscation* of their statehood. The expulsion of the Tartars from Crimea was an act of open injustice that no argument can excuse. How, in the 20th century, could a society that wants to create the most just order on earth deport a nation of 900,000 from its historic land for "treason against the motherland" committed by a few of its people? Who has the right in this century to delve into the archives of an imperialism long past to come up with an argument that "historically" this land belonged not to the Tartars but to the Russians? If one followed this line of reasoning then Khabarovsky Kray, Prymorsky Kray, and the Amursk Oblast should all be immediately returned to the Chinese Republic because the imperialistic Tsars of Russia forcefully seized these lands from the Chinese rulers. Can friendship among the Soviet nations possibly be encouraged by depriving the Crimean Tartars of statehood, by scattering them throughout the expanses of Kazakhstan and Siberia, by depriving them of their schools, newspapers, and theaters?

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To the injustices above one must also add the errors committed in the restoration of national statehood to the Chechens, Ingush, Kalmyks, Karachais, and a number of other nationalities. This seemingly just act toward the smaller national groups was not accomplished without blunders, making it obvious to these nationalities that they are still less than equal. According to the established procedure, the families of these unjustly exiled national groups are not given back their immovable property—their buildings and their homes; if they wish to return to their ancestral lands, they must buy back their homes from the local state authorities, or else build new ones. Having given them the right to return, the decree of the Supreme Soviet did not secure for them the means to realize this return. It is the same as presenting someone with an expensive cake, after first eating the chocolate icing and filling. Can such a gift be considered a gift?

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It is no secret that the unjust acts against the Ukrainian nation—the execution of leaders such as Chubar, Kosior, Zatonsky, and Luibchenko; the execution of writers such as Mykytenko, Vlyzko, Falkivsky, and dozens of others; the groundless exclusion of the Communist party of the Western Ukraine from the Comintern; the liquidation and deportation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Lvov between 1939–53; *the compulsory mass deportations of Ukrainians to Siberia;*

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[*] Copied from the New Leader, January 15, 1968.

the forced Russification of the Ukrainian population in Kukan, Bilohorod, Stavrodub—that all these acts could not fail to provoke the national outrage which developed into a national revolt between 1943–49. The majority of the participants in this revolt and even more witnesses (there are more of these) are still living beyond the borders of their own republic.

These victims of the personality cult should be returned to their native homes. A true friendship among the Soviet nations requires a wide and general amnesty for all those prisoners who (after 15, 18, or 20 years) are wasting away in prisons and concentration camps for their active opposition to the personality cult and to Beria's terror. If there is really to be friendship among the nations of the USSR, then it must be based on humane relations, and not on national hatreds and fratricide.

The fact that there has been no amnesty for participants in the 1943–49 national uprisings against Stalin's personality cult and Beria's terror in the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia does great harm to the ideal of friendship among Soviet nations. *Today in Komi ASSR (Vorkuta, Inta, Pechora), in Siberia (Irkutsk Oblast, Kemerovo Oblast, Krasnoyarsk Kray), in Kazakhstan, and in Kolyma, there are large numbers of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians who were deported on the suspicion of opposing the personality cult between 1943–49.*

One can only presume that it is precisely because it intends to prevent the release of these persons that the USSR continues to maintain its *barbaric 25-year prison term. For at this time 25-year sentences are being served primarily by Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, and Moldavians. Why is there no pardon for them? We have generously pardoned those who contributed to the mass extermination of Soviet citizens in 1937–39*, excusing them on the ground that they were not responsible for the conditions of those times and were only obeying orders.

Why is there no similar pardon for such Ukrainian women as Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk, and Odarka Husiak, each sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment? Should it be permissible to hold women in the Volodymyr Prison for 18–20 years: Kateryna Zarytska since 1947, and Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak since 1950? At one time Khrushchev condemned inhuman execution of a pregnant woman-revolutionary in Albania; bearing this condemnation in mind, can one condone the imprisonment of women so many years in a stone grave?

The practice of settling the cities of the national republics with Russians further contradicts true friendship among the Soviet nations. In the UkrSSR the Russian population systematically increases while the Ukrainian population decreases. Similar migrations are still taking place in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and elsewhere. *The colonization of the Ukraine with a large number or Russians (retired officers, retired KGB officials, and other privileged categories of citizens) who settle in the cities and get all the comfortable jobs and professional positions, has forced the native Ukrainian population into low-salaried jobs as unskilled laborers, ambulance drivers, caretakers, stevedores, construction and farm workers.* Such arbitrary settlement of prehistoric Ukrainian lands produces nothing but national enmity. Let us remember the bloodshed among nations between 1917–1920 in the Caucasus and in the Middle East.

In 1958, when the Chechens and the Ingush finally returned to their native lands, they were greeted by the Russian population of Grozny with banners reading, "Chechens and Ingush, get out of the Caucasus?" and "Long live Stalin's national policies!" Is this not typical of the colonizer's attitude toward age-old inhabitants in any given locality, toward the legal owners of the land? Is this not a shameful expression of international enmity? Is it not clear proof of the fact that the policy of colonization of the national republics has led not to friendship among nations and at the same time support the policy of arbitrarily and deliberately intermingling nationalities and dividing among them the social functions of work and leadership. From the point of view of a true friendship between the Soviet nations, it is necessary to re-examine this discriminatory policy of deporting national minorities to Siberia and of settling the national republics with foreign, usually Russian or Russified groups.

An equally pernicious vestige of the personality cult is the so-called system of passport registration that exists in the Soviet Union. According to this law, a person may live only where the militia allows him to live; he does not have the right to move about freely in the country—or more precisely, he has the right to move to Siberia, to the Urals, to Kazakhstan, but he does not have the right to live in the so-called "regime" cities. Thus an inhabitant of the Ukraine is not free to settle in Kiev, Odessa, or Lvov; an inhabitant of Lithuania, in Vilna or Kaunas; an inhabitant of Latvia, in Riga. Why? How could the fact that Ukrainians live in Kiev threaten the safety of the Communist society there?

In 1948, the Soviet Union signed the International Convention on Human Rights, which contains a paragraph concerning the right of people to move about freely within a given country. But this freedom does not exist in the Soviet Union, where the inhabitants of a national republic do not have the right even to settle in the cities of their own republic. The discriminatory system of registration presently in force makes it possible only for foreigners, usually Russians, to settle in these cities. Inevitably, such a practice evokes antagonism that is felt today in all the national republics.

Discrimination against certain nationalities is further manifest in the "errors" made in designating the borders of the national republics. Large regions settled by Byelorussians in the Smolensk and the Bryansky Oblasts, for instance, were not included in the Byelorussian SSR; Krasnodarksy Kray, parts of Voronezh, Bilhorod, and the Tahanroha Rayon of the Rostov Oblast were not included in the UkrSSR; regions settled by Moldavians in the Odessa Oblast were excluded from the Moldavian SSR; the Horno-Badakhshanska Autonomous Oblast was excluded from the Armenian SSR.

In the case of the autonomous republics, the division of lands might have been carried out by the lion in Aesop's fable. A part of the Penza Oblast and the city of Penza, settled by Moldavinians, were excluded from the Mordovian ASSR. Large territories of the Ulyanovsk and Orenburg Oblasts, settled by Tartars, were excluded from the Tartar ASSR. The homeland of Musa Dzalil was left in the Orenburg Oblast. Part of the Kirov Oblast, settled by Udmurts, was excluded from the Udmurt ASSR. And what conceivably could have been the reason for excluding Vyborg from the Karelian ASSR, or for artificially dividing the Komi nation into two republics—the Komi ASSR and the Komi-Permyak National Okrug? Similarly, the Ossetians were divided into the North and the South Ossetian ASSR, while the Buryat-Mongols were divided into the Buryat-Mongol ASSR, the Ust-Orda Buryat National Okrug, and the Aginsky National Okrug.

Such arbitrary dissection of nationality serves only to create hostility. The true development and strengthening of friendship among the nations of the USSR demand that these problems be investigated and rectified within the briefest possible period. I therefore propose that the following measure be quickly adopted and implemented:

1. Cessation of all forms of discrimination against the Jewish population.
2. Return of statehood to the Crimean Tartars and the Germans of the Volga Region.
3. Return of all immovable property to the families of unjustly deported and repatriated national groups.
4. Permission for the members of the Baltic nations, the Western Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Moldavia who were unjustly deported to Siberia to return to their homelands.
5. Investigation of the disappearance of the Latvian Army officers.
6. Proclamation of a general amnesty encompassing all victims of Stalin's personality cult.
7. Release of women-martyrs: Kateryna Zarayrska, Odarka Husiak, and Halyna Didyk.
8. Investigation of the question of discriminatory practices toward Ukrainians living in Kuban, Bilhorod, and Starodub and appropriate action to abolish such discrimination.
9. Removal of all forms of discrimination in education against nationalities in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, and other republics.
10. Condemnation of the deportation of peoples from their national republics to Siberia, and of the settlement of these republics with Russians.
11. Review of the system of passport restrictions, and condemnation of passport discrimination that is in contradiction to the International Convention on Human Rights.
12. Review of the borders of national republics so that they may conform more closely to ethnographic settlements.
13. Wide discussion in the press of all questions broached in this petition.

UNITED STATES ON A WAR ECONOMY, NOT A PEACE ECONOMY

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the United States is currently on a war economy, and the so-called boom we are experiencing is based on the risked lives of American soldiers overseas. If it were not for the war, the United States would currently have a relatively high unemployment rate and would probably be experiencing a recession.

Two recent articles point this up. The May 14, 1968, issue of the Wall Street Journal contained a short paragraph on the front page in the column entitled "Labor Letter." The paragraph states:

> Federal spending, mostly for defense, provided a majority of the new jobs in the private economy last year, the Labor Department says. The outlay generated 800,000 new industry jobs, or about three-fifths of the 1967 non-farm employment gain. In 1966, Federal outlays, produced about 300,000 such jobs.

The Defense Department created three-fifths—60 percent—of new jobs in the private sector last year.

The May 13, 1968, issue of the Journal of Commerce backs up this point in an article "Labor Shortages Prodding Inflation." The article states that the

United States is presently in an inflationary wage-price spiral based on the demands of a war economy. The war has put an additional three-quarters of a million men in the Armed Forces, requires another million workers to directly supply goods for the war, and the extra spending created by the war-caused inflation has probably created 1 or 2 million more jobs. Thus, from 2¾ to 3¾ million jobs have been created by this war. Taking a conservative figure of 2 million jobs created by the war—if the war had not created these jobs the unemployment rate in the United States would be around 6 percent.

There is not a sound economy in the United States today and what seeming prosperity there is is based on war. The two articles follow:

Federal spending, mostly for defense, provided a majority of the new jobs in the private economy last year, the Labor Department says. The outlays generated 800,000 new industry jobs, or about three-fifths of the 1967 nonfarm employment gain. In 1966, Federal outlays produced about 300,000 such jobs.

PRODUCTION COSTS RISE: LABOR SHORTAGES PRODDING INFLATION

(By Sidney Fish)

Labor shortages are causing employers to offer high wages for unskilled and semiskilled workers in many parts of the country. Skilled workers, too, are in extremely short supply, and labor unions representing these workers are taking advantage of this situation to boost their demands in collective bargaining.

In many areas, employers are bidding against each other to obtain workers needed to build or man new plants or service operations.

JOB TURNOVER

Some companies say they have not witnessed such severe labor shortages since World War II. Moonlighting is widely prevalent, job turnover has risen, and absenteeism, too, is at a high level. These factors add to production costs and intensify inflationary trends.

Government figures show that the total number of unemployed last month was only 2,491,000, or 3.5 per cent of the labor force. This is the first time that the number of unemployed has been under 2.5 million since 1953, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Most of the unemployed are of the hard core type and require careful training and rehabilitation. Employers have already taken on many workers in this category and have absorbed higher costs, as a result.

The labor shortage situation thus has contributed to relieving some of the hard core unemployment among Negroes and other minority slum-dwellers. But the labor shortages have made it difficult to conduct efficient operations in new plants.

Breaking-in costs have soared on new equipment. Many employers have commented on the unusually high starting-up costs during the first quarter of this year.

"I don't know whether inflation is causing labor shortages or labor shortages are causing inflation," one employer said. "But this much is plain—if it weren't for the war in Vietnam we wouldn't be having any of the problems that we are finding in this highly inflationary economy.

"The war has meant a buildup of three-quarters of a million men in the armed forces to about 3.5 million. In addition, another million workers are engaged in production of equipment and supplies needed for the war. And the extra spending generated by war-caused inflation has probably created another million or two million jobs."

Building contractors are being hit by man power shortages in two ways. They are receiving extremely high demands from labor unions, calling for wage rises of 30 per cent for a three-year contract.

In addition, they are being forced to bid against other employers by guaranteeing overtime pay in order to get a supply of workers.

An illustration of what happens under these conditions is provided by the shortage of skilled plumbers and steamfitters in Westchester County in New York State.

Consolidated Edison Co. is building a $108 million nuclear generator at Indian Point, N.Y., to get the job done in time, and to meet demands for electric power, the contractors and subcontractors on this job are offering overtime work with premium rates. This tends to attract pipe fitters and other building trade skills from home construction and other building jobs.

Including overtime, building trade skilled workers are able to earn over $400 a week, not only at Indian Point, but at many other large industrial construction jobs throughthe country. Some home builders feel they cannot afford to offer such high pay. Hence, completion of many home projects is being retarded, and some homes are not being started, because builders fear that they will run into labor shortages.

Help wanted ads throughout the country reveal shortages of skilled and unskilled workers. Unskilled factory workers are getting $100 a week in many northern cities. Porters, who often are among the lowest paid, are getting $90 a week or more. Young high school graduates who are draft-exempt can make $120 a week in Chicago and San Francisco. Only a few years ago, starting pay for such workers would be $60 a week, or less.

The shortages of workers, and the rapid upward movement of pay among unskilled and inexperienced workers has made it harder for employers to bargain with unions. The latter feel that in view of the sharp rise in minimum pay scales, under the Fair Labor Standards Act, that wage differentials should be reestablished by raising the pay of skilled workers proportionately. Under job evaluation programs, such increases are periodically necessary after unions have had flat increases of so many cents per hour for several years.

IN SHORT SUPPLY

Last year, the auto industry and other industries had to agree to special pay increases for carpenters and other craftsmen, over and above the increases granted to semi-skilled or assembly line workers.

White collar workers are also in short supply in many cities. This includes clerical workers, stenographers and many others. Reflecting these shortages, salaries have risen sharply in some cities.

Some industrialists think this situation will end with a cease-fire order in Vietnam. The return of the troops and the reduction in war output should make the labor market easier. But others feel that early relief is not in sight.

Even if the shooting war ends, defense spending will remain at a high level. As tension eases in the Far East, it may build up in the Middle East or in Western Europe.

The performance of the Johnson administration, in reducing income tax rates in 1964 and 1965, and in cutting excise taxes in 1965 despite the war buildup will provide a pattern for other presidents who may want to provide job opportunities by stimulating the economy "full employment" may not end with the coming of peace.

DECISION IN NATIONAL SECURITY: PATCHWORK OR POLICY?

HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. TOWER. Mr President the task force on national security of the Republican coordinating committee has just published an important study entitled "Decisions in National Security: Patchwork or Policy?"

As a member of the task force, I am deeply convinced that the decisionmaking process in the Department of Defense and elsewhere among our national agencies involved with security is badly in need of review and improvement if we are to assure the Nation's future safety.

In order that Senators and other concerned Americans may have the benefit of the task force's views, I ask unanimous consent that the full report and the supporting appendixes be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DECISIONS IN NATIONAL SECURITY: PATCHWORK OR POLICY?

"Good national security policy requires both good policymakers and good policy machinery. One cannot be divided from the other."—U.S. Senate Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery; Committee on Government Operations, 1961.

War and the threat of war continue to add an ominous dimension to our search for peace. In an international environment where true peace continues to elude us, we must maintain the highest priority on efforts to ensure our nation's security.

Providing for our security absorbs more of our human and material resources than any other single function of government. Fortunately, our nation is endowed with these great resources. However, wise policies and efficient organization and management are as essential as the resources themselves.

Our review concludes that the effectiveness of our security structure has declined, due to indecisive policies—faulty policy-making machinery—over-centralization in the Department of Defense—over-management of our security structure—over-reliance on cost accounting procedures and computer techniques—and a downgrading of seasoned human judgment.

We are concerned with the self-imposed isolation of top civilians in the Pentagon who have too often dismissed or altered solid recommendations of the service Secretaries or the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and distorted the authority of unified and field commanders.

The technological explosion has forced new political—military relationships. The civilian administrator must understand the soldier and the scientist. The soldier must understand the civilian administrator and the scientist. This new relationship has fared poorly in recent years, to the detriment of our policies and policy making machinery. We see the result in dealing with crucial international events, years of indecisiveness over Vietnam, in our failure to develop new advanced weapons systems, and in the erosion of America's prestige throughout the world.

History sternly warns that weakness invites aggression. The weakness may be in armaments. But even with ample superior armaments, a nation can invite aggression by a lack of will and determination. Such a condition is often revealed by a hesitancy or inability to reach timely and forthright decisions.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

Within policies and requirements specified by Congress, the President determines and directs our national security efforts. By constitutional provision and historical precedent, he is responsible for the conduct of foreign relations. He is Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He directs all departments and agencies in the Executive Branch.

National security policy formulation and implementation processes have become interdepartmental. Not only the Department of Defense, but also State, Treasury, Commerce, Interior and Agriculture, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Export-Import Bank, the Development Loan Fund and a score of other agencies are involved. Almost every major element of the Federal Government is involved to some extent in national security policy.

National security planning and execution cut across agency and departmental lines, and make the President's administrative task difficult and complex. The effective management of this responsibility, however, remains critical for the American people.

NATIONAL SECURITY POLICYMAKING MACHINERY

In 1961, the National Security Council, its Planning Board and Operations Coordinating Board, were inherited from the Eisenhower Administration, as organized, functioning and prestigious policy-making instruments. Immediately, and without careful consideration of possibly fateful consequences, both Boards were abolished. The effectiveness of the National Security Council was compromised.

The National Security Council,[1] created by the National Security Act of 1947, is charged with advising the President:

"With respect to the integration of domestic, foreign and military policy relating to the national security so as to enable the military services and the other departments and agencies to cooperate more effectively in matters involving national security."

The National Security Council was to be the keystone of our nation's security structure. It was established not to restrict but to advise a President, by assuring thoughtful analysis and careful coordination of every significant aspect of national security policy. It assumed competent management of current problems and contingency planning for the future. It was to be insurance against hasty action—a device to ensure that every factor bearing on vital security policies and programs would be presented to the President for action.

During the Eisenhower Administration, the National Security Council—meeting frequently and formally throughout the eight years—proved its indispensability to the nation.

Its procedures and deliberations were not flawless, but over this span of time it was invaluable in assuring comprehensive analyses, in producing timely recommendations in critical security issues, and in coordinating activities of the members of the Council.

Since then, the entire supporting structure has so changed, or even disappeared, as to now produce little more than mechanical compliance with the law. The procedures for integrating military, political and economic considerations often have given way to informal and impromptu consultations with staff assistants and other individuals or *ad hoc* groups. The results have been harmful to our country.

National security policies have become unclear and indecisive. Others urgently needed have been left unmade. Reaction to crisis—not avoidance of crisis—has been the inescapable result.

Continuous review and planning has been substantially eliminated, in the downgrading of formal policy planning. Thus, when an immediate crisis looms, there is hope that crash handling will avoid a fundamental compromise of our national security. A solid and effective structure can permit the development of a policy which can be appropriately carried out at the tactical level.

OVERCENTRALIZATION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The progression toward a centrally-directed defense establishment began long before the 1960's. The National Security Act of 1947, and the 1949 and 1958 amendments to the Act, progressively strengthened the role of the Secretary of Defense as the principal advisor to the President on national security matters.[2] In 1961, however, centralization became not policy but dogma, and the Secretary became "first among equals" as advisor to the President.

Ultimate responsibility for the defense establishment must be exercised by the Secretary of Defense under Presidential direction and within the statutory guidelines set by Congress. The function assumes highest-level policy guidance and the resolution of policy differences—such policies, for example, as the formulation of national security operations, criteria for organizing forces, and the development of the defense budget. In these activities, the civilian authorities are responsible to the President, the Congress and the electorate.

Under civilian control and within civilian established guidelines, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the uniformed services must direct the planning and management of all military forces. In force planning and operations, the military leadership must be responsive through the Secretary of Defense to the President.

A careful delineation of these roles of civilian policy-makers and military managers is absolutely essential for a secure and balanced national security posture.

IMPLEMENTING POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

Civilian operational planning and control

Major organizational changes and new procedures have created a serious over-centralization of civilian management at the top of the defense establishment. The practice of lower-level civilians in the OSD superimposing themselves in originating and developing analyses for the Secretary does injustice to the competence of the military services. The most current and disturbing example of the reduced role of the military in strategic and tactical decisions is Vietnam. A policy of gradualism[3] largely dictated by civilians has been imposed, which has prolonged the war, increased the casualties and costs and divided the American people.

Civilian control over the details of the air war has been particularly questionable. Testimony before the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee last August disclosed that tactical decisions were frequently being made by civilians in Washington. Military witnesses stated that many target recommendations approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff were being denied and others delayed, thus impairing the war effort. The Subcommittee was also advised that operational decisions were at times being made without the involvement of responsible military professionals on the scene.

It is axiomatic that when a tactical commander is given a mission, once a policy has been approved, he must also be given latitude and control over intelligence and military capability to accomplish the mission. Continuing support within the defense establishment and the Administration is necessary for the commanders as they carry out assigned tasks.

Civilians in the Office of the Secretary of Defense have assumed greater control of contingency planning and military preparedness, and often have abandoned or ignored contingency plans in favor of rapidly conceived *ad hoc* decisions. Military operations, directed principally by civilians, have occurred, and illustrate suppression of the proper command and military role in our defense structure.

Research, development, and procurement practices

Civilian authority has been administered to over-control research, development and procurement. Under present procedures, new weapons systems will not be approved unless they are justified as a response to a visible new threat. Nor can a new system be approved until all technology and cost data are "in hand." Thus, research and development[4] policies threaten to deprive our nation of the military superiority sufficient to maintain our security.

Military judgment—in a number of cases the considered judgment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—has not been followed in weapons selection and procurement. Many urgently-needed weapons systems have fallen victim to a misapplication of the cost effectiveness process, or become lost in a morass of civilian boards or working groups increasingly capable of vetoing proposals.

The weapons systems evaluation capability of the Department of Defense is experienced and comprehensive. The individual services and the OSD Weapons Systems Evaluation Group prepare extensive evaluations of proposed new weapons systems. Frequently this process has been compromised, bypassed or ignored, the findings obscured. Civilian leaders have substituted judgments based on "other reasons."

A notable example is the TFX contract award. The contractor unanimously recommended by both the military analysts and the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group was rejected. Recently, the commonality feature of the aircraft imposed by the Office of the Secretary of Defense upon the Navy was rejected—six years and many millions of dollars later. The development of a new aircraft for the Navy now will cost considerably more in new expenditure and lost time, while leaving the service arm with a present complement and types of planes it feels is inadequate.

A similar incident was the X-22 VSTOL aircraft contract award. The Senate Preparedness Subcommittee found that both civilian and military evaluators were over-ridden. The Subcommittee concluded that the final decision was made in 30 minutes by a Deputy Secretary of Defense with a handful of civilian advisors, discarding analyses of 75 Navy experts who had spent 4,000 man hours assessing competing designs.

As a result of frequent OSD rejections and cutbacks, the services have gravitated toward a policy of "half a loaf," which is simply acquiescence in inadequacy. This approach is unsound and cannot be condoned.

THE COST EFFECTIVENESS HURDLE

Proposed weapons systems for the military services must pass, under current OSD procedures, a cost of effectiveness test—an analysis requiring precise cost data, application definitions and a demonstration of utility against a specific military threat. Over-reliance on a theoretical and mechanical cost effectiveness procedure has distorted the national security decision-making process.

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[1] See Appendix I

[2] Largely reflecting the recommendations of The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government on National Security Organization (Hoover Report).

[3] See Republican Coordinating Committee report "Gradualism—Fuel of Wars" March 1968.

[4] See Republican Coordinating Committee report "Research and Development: Our Neglected Weapon" May 1968.

Decisions on weapons systems, strategy and tactics demand the additional input of practical, professional knowledge. Intuition and other human factors must be introduced into decision-making. War and defense preparations, with all of their unpredictabilities, are matters of judgment. Innovation cannot be predicted or quantified. Defense is an inexact science.

A former top civilian official of the Administration recently wrote on the organizational and procedural changes of the past 7 years;

"The second reason for (organizational) changes made it essential for political leader ship of the country to consider the implications of any military move no matter how minor. If war has already become too important to leave to the generals, the selection and deployment of weapons and forces to deter war were now at least equally important.

"The need for more active political management could not have been made if the tools had not been available, and the tools might not have been picked up without the need to find and use them."[5]

The "tool" is primarily the cost effectiveness study. Many witnesses before Congressional committees have testified that the cost effectiveness study has often been used to cloud issues or to legitimize previously determined positions.

Appropriate applications of the cost effectiveness technique are necessary and important in the vast Defense Department structure. Indeed, in response to Hoover Commission recommendations, then Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal introduced financial management procedures into the Department. Thereafter the system was continuously and properly expanded.

Such procedures are vital from a position of fiscal responsibility and orderliness. However, weaponry cost estimates cannot be allowed to remain as virtually the sole determinant on which national security decisions are based. Our nation's security demands a flexible assessment system for determining threats and the most effective response to them.

Misapplications of the cost effectiveness process can create critical conditions, some of which became evident in the Administration's FY 1969 budget. Items previously reduced or rejected by the Secretary of Defense were suddenly requested. For example, several thousand additional helicopters, long before requested by the Army, were provided for, in addition to several billion dollars for aircraft spare parts for all services. Since national security rests in part upon adequate "lead time" for the procurement of weapons and supporting materials, deliveries in the two categories above in 1969 or later may well render a part of our military establishment vulnerable or incapable of performing at an effective level.

Under this procedure, rejections or reduction in military requests are most frequently reported only verbally. Back-up material is not made available. Committees of the Congress are generally unable to examine cost effectiveness studies supporting a given decision. The Chairman of the National Security and International Operations Subcommittee, Senate Government Operations Committee, concluded after a hearing in 1967 that the analysis process has been so used that it may well be damaging to our nation's security.

EFFECTS OF OVERCENTRALIZATION

Over-centralization ensures greater control. It also can produce delays, depress creativity and initiative, and can prevent the emergence of new ideas from lower echelons—the most fertile source. The Administration's zeal for over-centralization appears to stem from a desire to control policy, people and events. It has resulted in numerous instances of control of news, public information and intelligence.

An example is the TFX program. A policy memorandum was issued directing that all news releases on the program would uphold the validity of the decisions of the Secretary of Defense. Such is the internal power of an over-centralized, publicly unresponsive structure. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the Administration's credibility has come under severe and sustained criticism.

The problem reaches into Congress, where defense committees expect to receive a free exchange of views on critical aspects of our national security. However, in observance of Administration and Defense Department restrictions, witnesses testify under a directive stating that they must express the views of the Administration unless "pressed." When "pressed," before stating his own views, the witness must first reiterate the views of the Administration.

On completion of Congressional hearings, testimony is examined by Defense Department officials for the purpose of deleting information the release of which might harm the nation's security. Frequently, however, deletions have been made not for security reasons but for political reasons. Examples of this practice are numerous, and are a matter of public record.

The August, 1967, report by the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee reflects the lack of candor between Defense Department civilians and the Congress. The subject was the war in Vietnam. The bipartisan Subcommittee arrived at such conclusions as these:

It was clearly implied by the Defense officials that few, if any, important military targets remained unstruck. The great weight of the military testimony was to the contrary.

The Defense official said that North Vietnam could sustain its required import rate by way of land, rail and water from Red China. This position contrasts sharply with the views of military experts.

The Administration has asserted for years that the Defense Department cost reduction program has been highly effective. A report by the House Armed Services Committee and the General Accounting Office, on analysis of such claims, concluded that not more than 50 percent of the alleged savings were valid. Nor does this figure take into account that Congressional budget cuts, if adhered to by the DOD, were considered "cost savings."

From the management standpoint, over-centralization of authority inevitably will produce increased costs and gross inefficiencies in an organization as large as the Department of Defense. Decisions on routine matters are postponed, and major decisions must also be delayed or too hastily reached. In many decisions, particularly those related to combat in Southeast Asia, the time factor is such that when the decisions are finally made and communicated, circumstances may have changed, opportunities lost, the decisions no longer applicable.

In research and development, where timing is critical, delays of decision have caused paralysis. Defense industry spokesmen have indicated that in the past, some four to six months would be required in the Pentagon between the time proposals were submitted and final approval. Today, it averages twelve months. Some take two years. This must be added to the extremely long lead-time of 5 to 10 years common to weapons research projects.

In the current research and development cycle, too many individuals can say "no" and very few can say "yes." Confusion has resulted from the separation of responsibility and authority. While a measure of review is necessary and advisable, a current typical review of a major new weapons system will be made by 17 different staff agencies and over 700 people before receiving final approval.

As reported in official organization charts,[6] the recent rapid increase of personnel in the Office of the Secretary of Defense has brought into serious imbalance the process required for sound assessment and implementation of national security policies. This is another illustration of the structural dislocations which have come to frustrate comprehensive policy analysis.

EFFECT ON MORALE

The effects of over-centralization on the morale of both military and civilian personnel are grave. Responsibility without commensurate authority is frustrating and demoralizing. The exercise of authority, so necessary to the experience of a military professional seeking a career, is difficult under current conditions. It is a capability on which this nation must rely in time of emergencies and conflicts. Further, the initiative necessary for both military and technical civilian personnel is an imperative for a responsive national security structure. The cumulative effect of the current policies, procedures and organization is to weaken this vital ingredient.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The principle of civilian control over our national security structure requires that authority reside in the President. The two major counselors to him must be the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State. Focus at this level should primarily assume a broad policy-making and enforcing function.

In view of the threatening international environment, the collapse of time, and our exceedingly complex governmental structure, adherence to a formal decision-making process such as the National Security Council is a necessary prerequisite for effectively providing for the nation's security.

We must have a more articulate definition of our national interests and the steps required to promote them. Upon such determinations a clear policy must be set.

A crucial point in the national security process is placing the most capable people in key positions. Good national security policy requires good policy makers as well as good policy machinery.

The policy decision-making process must be planned and organized, and must make use of the talents of responsible individuals within the structure. Timely and regular meetings must be held. A coordination function must be established to ensure prompt and effective implementation. Follow-through and analysis of the effect of promulgated policies must be reinstituted, with reports from all involved sectors.

Detailed implementation of both planning and operations should be delegated to lower echelons, which must have both the necessary authority and responsibility to carry out assignments.

There must be reaffirmation of the responsibility to better inform both Congress and the electorate on issues affecting our national security, within appropriate safeguards.

Budgetary policy guidelines to the services must be clarified. There should be greater emphasis on the reestablishment of the priority budget concept utilizing to the extent practicable the "mission" basis.

The role of the Joint Chiefs of Staff should be reaffirmed, ensuring their direct and active participation in the development of policy, weapons system and force planning.

Advanced management techniques should be utilized in their proper role as tools, not as ends in themselves.

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[5] See *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1967.

[6] See Appendix II.

CONCLUSION

The extreme over-centralization and overmanagement of our national security structure on the one hand, and the extensive *ad hoc* policy deliberations on the other, developed in the past seven years, have weakened our national security position and created increased risks. It has brought into question this nation's ability to respond in a timely and effective manner to crises which threaten America's vital interests.

Regarding overcentralization, in 1949 Ferdinand Eberstadt, one of the foremost students of defense organization, testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee, stating

"From shattered illusions that mere passage of a unification act would produce a military utopia, there has sprung an equally illusory belief that present shortcomings will immediately disappear if only more and more authority is conferred in the Secretary of Defense and more and more people added to his staff . . . I suggest that great care be exercised lest the Office of the Secretary of Defense, instead of being a small and efficient unit which determines the policies of the military establishment and controls and directs the departments, feeding on its own growth, becomes a separate empire."

Today the separate empire exists. Balance must be restored, to ensure our nation's security, and to reinforce our ability to respond quickly to challenge.

Equally important are policies and an organization structure that will at all times conform to our representative form of government, with its system of checks and balances.

APPENDIX I

TITLE 50—UNITED STATES CODE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SEC. 402. (a) Establishment; presiding officer; functions; composition.

There is established a council to be known as the National Security Council (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "Council").

The President of the United States shall preside over meetings of the Council: *Provided*, **That in his absence he may designate a member of the Council to preside in his place.**

The function of the Council shall be to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security so as to enable the military services and the other departments and agencies of the Government to cooperate more effectively in matters involving the national security.

The Council shall be composed of—

(1) the President;

(2) the Vice President;

(3) the Secretary of State;

(4) the Secretary of Defense;

(5) the Director for Mutual Security;

(6) the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board; and

(7) the Secretaries and Under Secretaries of other executive departments, the Chairman of the Munitions Board, and the Chairman of the Research and Development Board, when appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to serve at his pleasure.

(b) Additional functions.—

In addition to performing such other functions as the President may direct, for the purpose of more effectively coordinating the policies and functions of the departments and agencies of the Government relating to the national security, **it shall, subject to the** direction of the President, be the duty of the Council—

(1) to assess and appraise the objectives, commitments, and risks of the United States in relation to our actual and potential military power, in the interest of national security, for the purpose of making recommendations to the President in connection therewith; and

(2) to consider policies on matters of common interest to the departments and agencies of the Government concerned with the national security, and to make recommendations to the President in connection therewith.

(c) Executive secretary; appointment and compensation; staff employees.

The Council shall have a staff to be headed by a civilian executive secretary who shall be appointed by the President. The executive secretary, subject to the direction of the Council, is authorized, subject to the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary to perform such duties as may be prescribed by the Council in connection with the performance of its functions.

(d) Recommendations and reports.

The Council shall, from time to time, make such recommendations, and such other reports to the President as it deems appropriate or as the President may require. (July 26, 1947, ch. 343, title I, Section 101, 61 Stat. 497; Aug. 10, 1949, ch. 412, Section 3, 63 Stat. 579; Oct. 28, 1949, ch. 782, title XI, Section 1106(a), 63 Stat. 972; Oct. 10, 1951, ch. 479, title V, Section 501(e)(1), 65 Stat. 378.)

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PERSONNEL (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Office of the Secretary of Defense	136
Secretary of Defense	7
Deputy Secretary of Defense	4
Office of Administrative Secretary	25
Administrative Office of the Secretary	100
Director of Defense Research and Engineering	265
Office of the Director	234
Weapons Systems Evaluation Group	31
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller)	170
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Health and Medical)	11
Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs)	212
Office of Assistant Secretary	185
Defense Representative, NA and MA and U.S. Rep. USRO	27
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower, Personnel, and Reserve)	86
Office of Assistant Secretary	82
Reserve Forces Policy Board	4
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations)	57
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs)	74
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Supply and Logistics)	166
General Counsel	56
Assistant to the Secretary (Atomic Energy)	12
Assistant to the Secretary (Legislative Affairs)	7
Assistant to the Secretary (Special Operations)	17
Special programs	15
Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff	302
Office of the Chairman	10
Joint Staff	187
Other Joint Chiefs of Staff activities	105
Other activities	223
Advanced Research Projects Agency	80
Standing Group—NATO	41
U.S. Court of Military Appeals	38
Interdepartmental activities	5
Defense Communications Agency	59
Total employees (47 W.O.C.)	[1] 1,809

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Office of the Secretary of Defense	2,124
Secretary of Defense	4
Deputy Secretary of Defense	5
Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Office of the Director	212
Advanced Research Projects Agency	138
Weapons Systems Evaluation Group	36

See footnotes at end of table.

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PERSONNEL (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Assistant Secretary of Defense (Administration)	226
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller)	325
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics)	282
Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs)	233
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower)	250
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs)	87
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Systems Analysis)	142
General Counsel	54
Miscellaneous activities	40
Special staff assistants	46
USRO	32
NATO force planning	11
Special project	1
Joint Chiefs of Staff organization	467
Office of the Chairman	14
Joint staff	225
Other Joint Chiefs of Staff activities	228
Other Defense activities	73,265
Armed Forces information education	403
Defense Contract Audit Agency	3,745
Defense Atomic Support Agency	2,198
Defense Communications Agency	1,235
Classified activities	3,328
Defense Supply Agency	62,356
Interdepartmental activities	37
International military activities	59
Total employees (35 w.o.c.)	[2] 75,952
Office of the Secretary (including other Defense activities)	75,952
Department of the Army	455,523
Department of the Navy	376,879
Department of the Air Force	321,425
Total, DOD (43 w.o.c.)	[3] 1,229,779

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Secretary of Defense area	41
Office of the Director of Armed Forces Information and Education	39
Office of Industrial Personnel Access Authorization Review	2
Secretary of Army area	671
Office of the Secretary and the Under Secretary of the Army	38
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (MP and RF)	26
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (FM)	22
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (Logistics)	28
Office, Director of Research and Development	8
Office, Administrative Assistant to Secretary of the Army	8
Office, Chief of Public Information	5
Office, Chief of Legislative Liaison	48
Office of General Counsel	19
Administrative Support Group	35
Armed Services Board of Contract Appeals	16
Armed Services Explosive Safety Board	11
Army Board for Correction of Military Records	20
Army Civilian Lawyer Career Committee	3
Army Council of Review Boards	14
Grievance and Employment Policy Board	7
Defense Supply Service	177
Defense Telephone Service	103
Employment Coordination Office	6
Management Office	9
Office Personnel Manager	15
Office of Management Analysis	5
National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice	20
Security Review and Security Screening Boards	3
Space Management Service	4
Per Diem Travel and Transportation Allowance committee	21
Army Staff (departmental and field)	[4] 18,717
Office, Chief of Staff	128
General Staff Committee on National Guard and Review Policy	2
Comptroller of the Army	260
Army Audit Agency	1,312
Chief of Information	112
Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel	477
Assistant Chief of Staff Intelligence	948
Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations	337
Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics	524
Chief of Finance	4,186
Industrial College of the Armed Forces	104
Office of the Inspector General	48
Office of the Chief of Military History	63
The Judge Advocate General	218

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Armed Forces Information and Education, DOD	385
National War College	88
National Guard Bureau	189
Office of the Chief, Army Reserve and ROTC Affairs	40
Office of the Chief of Civil Affairs	37
Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Components	20
U.S. Military Academy	1,934
The Adjutant General	4,010
Chief of Chaplains	57
Provost Marshal General	156
Chief of Research and Development	175
Army Physical Review Council	7
Military Communications and Electronics Board	2
Army special and joint activities	2,898
Miscellaneous area activities	4
Army Air Defense Command	117
Civil functions, Corps of Engineers	27,268
Technical Services	208,147
Chief Chemical Officer	8,698
Chief of Ordnance	95,447
Quartermaster General	29,364
Chief Signal Office	24,585
Surgeon General	8,449
Chief of Transportation	14,630
Chief of Engineers, Military Functions	26,974
Continental Army Command	67,445
U.S. Continental Army Command	948
First U.S. Army	8,271
Second U.S. Army	10,443
Third U.S. Army	15,336
Fourth U.S. Army	10,710
Fifth U.S. Army	10,543
Sixth U.S. Army	9,269
Military District of Washington, U.S. Army	1,925
Alaska	[5] 2,793
Hawaii	[5] 5,032
Total continental United States	330,225
Total outside continental United States	50,439
Total employees (7 w.o.c.)	[6] 380,674

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Secretary of the Army Area (departmental and field)	1,101
Office of the Secretary and the Under Secretary of the Army	45
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (FM)	17
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (I. & L.)	56
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (R. & D.)	14
Office, Administrative Assistant to Secretary of the Army	9
Office, Chief of Public Information	6
Office, Chief of Legislative Liaison	69
Office of General Counsel	21
Administrative support group	35
Army Board for Correction of Military Records	22
Army Council of Review Boards	11
Grievance and Employment Policy Board	13
Employment Coordination Service	7
Management Office	16
Office, Personnel Manager	15
National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice	21
Space Management Service	4
Office of Civil Defense	720
Army staff area (departmental and field)	45,451
Office, Chief of Staff	350
General Staff Committee on National Guard and Review Policy	2
Special Assistant for Army Information and Data Systems	332
Comptroller of the Army	285
Army Audit Agency	741
Chief of Information	126
Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel	510
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence	887
Assistant Chief of Staff for Force Development	333
Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations	258
Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics	649
Chief of Finance	4,659
Office of the Inspector General	44
Office of the Chief of Military History	74
The Judge Advocate General	235
National Guard Bureau	118
Office of the Chief, Army Reserve	51
Office of the Chief, Reserve Components	51
Office of Personnel Operations	1,122
Office of the President	4
U.S. Military Academy	2,271
The Adjutant General	4,467
Chief of Chaplains	33
Provost Marshal General	53
Chief of Research and Development	559
Chief of Engineers, military functions	12,699
Chief of Communications, electronics	360
Chief of Support Services	1,059

See footnotes at end of table.

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Surgeon General	10,564
U.S. Army Recruiting Command	2,557
DOD and joint activities	1,322
Joint Brazil-United States Defense Commission	1
Joint Mexican-United States Defense Commission	1
Office, Industrial Personnel Access Authorization Review	6
Industrial College of the Armed Forces	92
National War College	69
SHAPE Liaison	2
Armed Services Explosive Safety Board	12
Defense Supply Service	199
Defense Telephone Service	95
Per Diem Travel and Transportation Allowance Committee	23
Defense Language Institute	779
Defense Information School	43
Army Security Agency	1,077
Army Air Defense Command	295
Combat Developments Command	1,022
Army Materiel Command	161,007
Headquarters, AMC	2,601
U.S. Army Tank Automatic Center	6,846
U.S. Army Aviation Materiel Command	3,879
U.S. Army Electronics Command	11,338
U.S. Army Missile Command	9,851
U.S. Army Mobility Command	4,580
U.S. Army Munitions Command	26,522
U.S. Army Test and Evaluation Command	12,975
U.S. Army Supply and Maintenance	63,075
U.S. Army Weapons Command	12,635
Other activities	9,705
Continental Army Command	107,154
U.S. Continental Army Command	1,133
1st U.S. Army	31,117
3d U.S. Army	27,278
4th U.S. Army	19,310
5th U.S. Army	14,760
6th U.S. Army	11,139
Military District of Washington, U.S. Army	2,417
Military Traffic Management Service	6,212
Intelligence Corps Command	911
Army Strategic Communications Command	2,681
Civil functions, Corps of Engineers	30,701
Miscellaneous	7
Alaska	2,987
Hawaii	5,899
Total United States	361,941
Total outside United States	84,696
Total employees (4 W.O.C.)	455,523

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Executive Office of the Secretary	2,144
Office of Secretary of the Navy	25
Office of Under Secretary of the Navy	4
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Material)	16
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Research and Development)	5
Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Personnel and Reserve Forces)	8
Office of Administrative Assistant to Secretary of Navy	7
Office of Analysis and Review	23
Administrative Office	785
Office of the Comptroller	346
Office of the General Counsel	26
Office of Industrial Relations	133
Office of Information	13
Navy Management Office	66
Office of Naval Material	191
Office of Naval Petroleum Reserves	4
Office of Naval Research	400
Board for Correction of Naval Records	12
Naval Physical Disability Review Board	16
Naval Physical Review Council	5
Special Assignments and Details to Other Agencies	2
Electronics Production Resources Agency	21
Office of Industrial Personnel Access Authorization Review	3
Office of Legislative Affairs	20
Savings Bonds Office	1
Navy Panel, Armed Services Board of Contract Appeals	12
Office of the Judge Advocate General	97
Office of Chief of Naval Operations	1,044
Office of the Chief of Naval Operations	3

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Staff offices	26
Assistant Vice Chief of Naval Operations/Director of Naval Administration	240
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Intelligence)	357
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Communications)	76
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Personnel and and Naval Reserve)	14
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Fleet Operations and Readiness)	35
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Logistics)	107
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air)	95
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans and Policy)	29
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Development)	64
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	375
Office of the Chief	12
Assistant Chief for Personnel and Professional Operations	157
Assistant Chief for Planning and Logistics	165
Assistant Chief for Aviation Medicine	9
Assistant Chief for Dentistry	12
Assistant Chief for Research and Military Medical Specialties	20
Bureau of Naval Personnel	1,699
Office of the Chief	12
Administrative and Management Division	113
Inspector General	1
Special Assistant to the Chief for Leadership	5
Personnel Research Division	23
Office of Liaison and Technical Information	5
Manpower Information Division	220
Assistant Chief for Plans	61
Assistant Chief for Personnel Control	442
Assistant Chief for Education and Training	135
Assistant Chief for Naval Reserve and Naval District Affairs	8
Assistant Chief for Records	473
Assistant Chief for Performance	39
Assistant Chief for Morale Services	68
Assistant Chief for Finance	73
Chief of Chaplains	10
Assistant Chief for Property Management	11
Bureau of Naval Weapons	3,318
Office of the Chief and Deputy Chief	8
Assistant Chief for Program Management	256
Inspector General and Assistant Chief for Administration	478
Assistant Chief for Fleet Readiness	426
Office of Counsel	46
Office of the Comptroller	155
Assistant Chief for Contracts	361
Assistant Chief for Production and Quality Control	290
Assistant Chief for Research, Development, Test, and Evaluation	943
Assistant Chief for Field Support	108
Special Projects Office	247
Bureau of Ships	3,083
Office of the Chief	40
Assistant Chief for Plans and Administration, and Inspector General	475
Assistant Chief for Research and Development	91
Assistant Chief for Design, Shipbuilding, and Fleet Maintenance	601
Assistant Chief for Technical Logistics	1,279
Assistant Chief for Field Activities	172
Assistant Chief for Nuclear Propulsion	67
Contract Division	214
Comptroller Division	144
Bureau of Supplies and Accounts	754
Office of the Chief	89
Director of Planning	41
Director of Management Engineering	69
Director of Industrial Relations	35
Director of Naval Personnel	26
Comptroller of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts	183
Assistant Chief of Supply Management	111
Assistant Chief for Transportation	112
Director of Mutual Security Programs	34
Assistant Chief for Purchases	33
Assistant Chief for Research and Development	21
Bureau of Yards and Docks	841
Office of the Chief	33
Assistant Chief for Administration and Comptroller	272
Assistant Chief for Planning and Design	228
Assistant Chief for Construction	109
Assistant Chief for Maintenance and Materiel	113
Assistant Chief for Real Estate	40
Assistant Chief of Housing	46
Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps	1,083
Office of the Commandant	6
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1	20

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3	20
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-4	16
Personnel Department	311
Division of Aviation	18
Administrative Division	86
Supply Department	434
Inspection Division	4
Division of Information	5
Fiscal Division	47
Division of Reserve	10
Marine Corps Boards	4
Data Processing Division	102
Total departmental	14,440
Continental United States	320,925
Overseas	[7]—22,054
Total all areas (1 w.o.c.)	[8] 342,979

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Executive Office of the Secretary	116
Office of the Secretary of the Navy	38
Office of Under Secretary of the Navy	9
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Installations and Logistics)	42
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Research and Development)	11
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Havy (Financial Management)	5
Office of the Special Assistant to Secretary of the Navy	4
Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of the Navy (Manpower)	7
Department of the Navy Staff Offices	1,318
Office of Program Appraisal	14
Administrative Office	226
Office of the Comptroller	237
Office of the General Counsel	21
Office of Civilian Manpower Management	235
Office of Information	39
Office of Management Information	41
Office of Petroleum Reserves	6
Office of Naval Research	400
Board for Correction of Naval Records	14
Navy Council of Personnel Boards	16
Physical Review Council	6
Office of Legislative Affairs	28
Armed Services Board of Contract Appeals	35
Office of the Judge Advocate General	79
Office of Chief of Naval Operations	990
Staff Offices	14
Assistant Vice Chief of Naval Operations/Director of Naval Administration	255
Navy Program Planning Office	66
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Intelligence)	150
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Communications)	60
Office of Anti-Submarine Warfare Programs	10
Office of Naval Inspector General	24
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Manpower and Naval Reserve)	39
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Fleet Operations and Readiness)	64
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Logistics)	110
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air)	94
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans and Policy)	33
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Development)	71
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	327
Office of the Chief	10
Assistant Chief for Personnel and Professional Operations	151
Assistant Chief for Planned and Logistics	126
Assistant Chief for Aviation Medicine	9
Assistant Chief for Dentistry	12
Assistant Chief for Research and Military Medical Specialties	19
Bureau of Naval Personnel	1,771
Office of the Chief	10
Administrative and Management Division	115
Office of Inspector General	1
Office of Liaison and Technical Information	5
Manpower Information Division	248
Assistant Chief for Plans	78
Assistant Chief for Personnel Control	451
Assistant Chief for Education and Training	157
Assistant Chief for Naval Reserve and Naval District Affairs	7
Assistant Chief for Records	465
Assistant Chief for Performance	41

See footnotes at end of table.

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Assistant Chief for Morale Services	66
Assistant Chief for Finance	89
Chief of Chaplains	10
Assistant Chief for Property Management	12
Special Assistant to Chief for Retention Task Force	3
Navy Department Board of Decorations and Medals	7
Board for Correction of Records	1
Outside Bureau Details	5
Office of Naval Material	460
Office of the Chief	12
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Program and Financial Management	98
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Procurement	106
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Development	95
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Logistic Support	84
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Management and Organization	65
Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps	1,244
Office of the Commandant	42
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1	22
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3	17
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-4	40
Personnel Department	342
Administrative Division	151
Supply Department	309
Inspection Department	3
Division of Information	8
Fiscal Division	158
Division of Reserve	10
Marine Corps Boards	4
Data Processing Division	138
Military Sea Transportation Service	292
Total departmental service	6,597
Total United States	344,648
Total outside U.S.	32,231
Total a llareas (1 w.o.c.)	376,879

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Office of the Secretary	307
Secretary of the Air Force	6
Under Secretary of the Air Force	6
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Materiel)	27
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Financial Management)	12
Special Assistant to the Secretary (Manpower, Personnel and Reserve Forces)	9
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Research and Development)	9
Special Assistant for Installations	7
Administrative assistant	61
General Counsel	32
Office of Legislative Liaison	84
Office of Information Services	38
Secretary of the Air Force Personnel Council	10
Office, Missile and Satellite Systems	6
Headquarters, U.S. Air Force	4,446
Chief of Staff	9
Vice Chief of Staff	18
Scientific Advisory Board	68
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence	122
Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Forces	9
The Inspector General	34
The Surgeon General	193
The Judge Advocate General	90
Secretary of the Air Staff	277
Directorate of Administrative Services	499
Comptroller of the Air Force	641
Deputy Chief of Staff, Development	122
Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations	646
Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Programs	152
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel	605
Deputy Chief of Staff, Materiel	321
Central control group	528
Mutual defense aid program	112
Air Materiel Command	151,013
Headquarters and subsidiary units	17,090
Aeronautical Systems Center	1,372
Ballistic Missiles Center	669
Central contract management region	3,177
Eastern contract management region	3,576
Electronic systems center	371
Western contract management region	3,476
Middletown, Pa., Air Materiel Area	10,544
Mobile, Ala., Air Materiel Area	15,001
Ogden, Utah, Air Materiel Area	11,327
Oklahoma City, Okla., Air Materiel Area	18,601
Rome, N.Y., Air Materiel Area	7,682
San Antonio Tex., Air Materiel Area	19,596

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Sacramento, Calif., Air Materiel Area	13,602
San Bernardino, Calif., Ail Materiel Area	9,906
Warner-Robins, Georgia Air Materiel Area	15,023
Strategic Air Command	18,065
Headquarters and subsidiary units	1,767
2d Air Force	6,187
8th Air Force	4,528
15th Air Force	5,583
Tactical Air Command	6,649
Headquarters and subsidiary units	1,254
9th Air Force	1,194
12th Air Force	4,196
19th Air Force	5
Aeronautical Chart and Information Center	3,261
Air Defense Command	9,831
Air Force Accounting and Finance Center	1,732
Air Research and Development Command	22,956
Air Training Command	23,909
Air University	2,361
Continental Air Command	9,761
Headquarters Command, USAF	6,017
Military Air Transport Service	10,111
U.S. Air Force Academy	1,739
USAF Security Service	875
Total, continental U.S.	273,033
Total, overseas	[9] 33,538
Total employees (46 w.o.c.)	[10] 306,571

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Office of the Secretary	347
Secretary of the Air Force	6
Under Secretary of the Air Force	3
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Installations and Logistics)	28
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Financial Management)	17
Special Assistant to the Secretary for Manpower	14
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Research and Development)	18
Deputy Undersecretary (International Affairs)	3
Air Force Board for the Correction of Military Records	12
Administrative assistant	78
General Counsel	33
Office of Legislative Liason	83
Office of Information	40
Secretary of the Air Force Personnel Council	12
Headquarters, U.S. Air Force	2,983
Chief of Staff	8
Vice Chief of Staff	14
Scientific Advisory Board	8
Director, Secretariat	11
Director of Administrative Services	147
Secretary of the Air Staff	141
Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Forces	5
Chief, Operations Analysis	41
Chief of Chaplains	12
The Inspector General	26
The Judge Advocate General	61
The Surgeon General	146
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence	112
Comptroller of the Air Force	419
Deputy Chief of Staff, Programs and Resources	476
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel	295
Deputy Chief of Staff, Research and Development	173
Deputy Chief of Staff, Systems and Logistics	418
Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Operations	204
Central Control Group	167
Military assistance program	99
Air Force Logistics Command	131,336
Headquarters and subsidiary units	16,522
Middletown Air Materiel Area	2,427
Mobile Air Materiel Area	6,842
Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area	23,191
Ogden Air Materiel Area	17,371
Rome Air Materiel Area	3,072
San Antonio Air Materiel Area	23,334
Sacramento Air Materiel Area	19,689
Warner Robins Air Materiel Area	18,888
Air Force Systems Command	32,238
Headquarters and Subsidiary Units	1,148
Arnold Engineering Development Center	145
Air Force Flight Test Center	2,074
Aeronautical Systems Division	3,364
Ballistic Systems Division	740
Electronic Systems Division	2,277
Air Force Missile Development Center	1,637
Space Systems Division	1,114

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Armed Forces Information and Education, DOD	385
National War College	88
National Guard Bureau	189
Office of the Chief, Army Reserve and ROTC Affairs	40
Office of the Chief of Civil Affairs	37
Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Components	20
U.S. Military Academy	1,934
The Adjutant General	4,010
Chief of Chaplains	57
Provost Marshal General	156
Chief of Research and Development	175
Army Physical Review Council	7
Military Communications and Electronics Board	2
Army special and joint activities	2,898
Miscellaneous area activities	4
Army Air Defense Command	117
Civil functions, Corps of Engineers	27,268
Technical Services	208,147
Chief Chemical Officer	8,698
Chief of Ordnance	95,447
Quartermaster General	29,364
Chief Signal Office	24,585
Surgeon General	8,449
Chief of Transportation	14,630
Chief of Engineers, Military Functions	26,974
Continental Army Command	67,445
U.S. Continental Army Command	948
First U.S. Army	8,271
Second U.S. Army	10,443
Third U.S. Army	15,336
Fourth U.S. Army	10,710
Fifth U.S. Army	10,543
Sixth U.S. Army	9,269
Military District of Washington, U.S. Army	1,925
Alaska	[5] 2,793
Hawaii	[5] 5,032
Total continental United States	330,225
Total outside continental United States	50,439
Total employees (7 w.o.c.)	[6] 380,674

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Secretary of the Army Area (departmental and field)	1,101
Office of the Secretary and the Under Secretary of the Army	45
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (FM)	17
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (I. & L.)	56
Office, Assistant Secretary of the Army (R. & D.)	14
Office, Administrative Assistant to Secretary of the Army	9
Office, Chief of Public Information	6
Office, Chief of Legislative Liaison	69
Office of General Counsel	21
Administrative support group	35
Army Board for Correction of Military Records	22
Army Council of Review Boards	11
Grievance and Employment Policy Board	13
Employment Coordination Service	7
Management Office	16
Office, Personnel Manager	15
National Board for Promotion of Rifle Practice	21
Space Management Service	4
Office of Civil Defense	720
Army staff area (departmental and field)	45,451
Office, Chief of Staff	350
General Staff Committee on National Guard and Review Policy	2
Special Assistant for Army Information and Data Systems	332
Comptroller of the Army	285
Army Audit Agency	741
Chief of Information	126
Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel	510
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence	887
Assistant Chief of Staff for Force Development	333
Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations	258
Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics	649
Chief of Finance	4,659
Office of the Inspector General	44
Office of the Chief of Military History	74
The Judge Advocate General	235
National Guard Bureau	118
Office of the Chief, Army Reserve	51
Office of the Chief, Reserve Components	51
Office of Personnel Operations	1,122
Office of the President	4
U.S. Military Academy	2,271
The Adjutant General	4,467
Chief of Chaplains	33
Provost Marshal General	53
Chief of Research and Development	559
Chief of Engineers, military functions	12,699
Chief of Communications, electronics	360
Chief of Support Services	1,059

See footnotes at end of table.

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Surgeon General	10,564
U.S. Army Recruiting Command	2,557
DOD and joint activities	1,322
Joint Brazil-United States Defense Commission	1
Joint Mexican-United States Defense Commission	1
Office, Industrial Personnel Access Authorization Review	6
Industrial College of the Armed Forces	92
National War College	69
SHAPE Liaison	2
Armed Services Explosive Safety Board	12
Defense Supply Service	199
Defense Telephone Service	95
Per Diem Travel and Transportation Allowance Committee	23
Defense Language Institute	779
Defense Information School	43
Army Security Agency	1,077
Army Air Defense Command	295
Combat Developments Command	1,022
Army Materiel Command	161,007
Headquarters, AMC	2,601
U.S. Army Tank Automatic Center	6,846
U.S. Army Aviation Materiel Command	3,879
U.S. Army Electronics Command	11,338
U.S. Army Missile Command	9,851
U.S. Army Mobility Command	4,580
U.S. Army Munitions Command	26,522
U.S. Army Test and Evaluation Command	12,975
U.S. Army Supply and Maintenance	63,075
U.S. Army Weapons Command	12,635
Other activities	9,705
Continental Army Command	107,154
U.S. Continental Army Command	1,133
1st U.S. Army	31,117
3d U.S. Army	27,278
4th U.S. Army	19,310
5th U.S. Army	14,763
6th U.S. Army	11,139
Military District of Washington, U.S. Army	2,417
Military Traffic Management Service	6,212
Intelligence Corps Command	911
Army Strategic Communications Command	2,681
Civil functions, Corps of Engineers	30,701
Miscellaneous	7
Alaska	2,987
Hawaii	5,899
Total United States	361,941
Total outside United States	84,696
Total employees (4 W.O.C.)	455,523

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Executive Office of the Secretary	2,144
Office of Secretary of the Navy	25
Office of Under Secretary of the Navy	4
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Material)	16
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Research and Development)	5
Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Personnel and Reserve Forces)	8
Office of Administrative Assistant to Secretary of Navy	7
Office of Analysis and Review	23
Administrative Office	785
Office of the Comptroller	346
Office of the General Counsel	26
Office of Industrial Relations	133
Office of Information	13
Navy Management Office	66
Office of Naval Material	191
Office of Naval Petroleum Reserves	4
Office of Naval Research	400
Board for Correction of Naval Records	12
Naval Physical Disability Review Board	16
Naval Physical Review Council	5
Special Assignments and Details to Other Agencies	2
Electronics Production Resources Agency	21
Office of Industrial Personnel Access Authorization Review	3
Office of Legislative Affairs	20
Savings Bonds Office	1
Navy Panel, Armed Services Board of Contract Appeals	12
Office of the Judge Advocate General	97
Office of Chief of Naval Operations	1,044
Office of the Chief of Naval Operations	3

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Staff offices	26
Assistant Vice Chief of Naval Operations/Director of Naval Administration	240
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Intelligence)	357
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Communications)	76
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Personnel and and Naval Reserve)	14
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Fleet Operations and Readiness)	35
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Logistics)	107
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air)	95
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans and Policy)	29
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Development)	64
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	375
Office of the Chief	12
Assistant Chief for Personnel and Professional Operations	157
Assistant Chief for Planning and Logistics	165
Assistant Chief for Aviation Medicine	9
Assistant Chief for Dentistry	12
Assistant Chief for Research and Military Medical Specialties	20
Bureau of Naval Personnel	1,699
Office of the Chief	12
Administrative and Management Division	113
Inspector General	1
Special Assistant to the Chief for Leadership	5
Personnel Research Division	23
Office of Liaison and Technical Information	5
Manpower Information Division	220
Assistant Chief for Plans	61
Assistant Chief for Personnel Control	442
Assistant Chief for Education and Training	135
Assistant Chief for Naval Reserve and Naval District Affairs	8
Assistant Chief for Records	473
Assistant Chief for Performance	39
Assistant Chief for Morale Services	68
Assistant Chief for Finance	73
Chief of Chaplains	10
Assistant Chief for Property Management	11
Bureau of Naval Weapons	3,318
Office of the Chief and Deputy Chief	8
Assistant Chief for Program Management	256
Inspector General and Assistant Chief for Administration	478
Assistant Chief for Fleet Readiness	426
Office of Counsel	46
Office of the Comptroller	155
Assistant Chief for Contracts	361
Assistant Chief for Production and Quality Control	290
Assistant Chief for Research, Development, Test, and Evaluation	943
Assistant Chief for Field Support	108
Special Projects Office	247
Bureau of Ships	3,083
Office of the Chief	40
Assistant Chief for Plans and Administration, and Inspector General	475
Assistant Chief for Research and Development	91
Assistant Chief for Design, Shipbuilding, and Fleet Maintenance	601
Assistant Chief for Technical Logistics	1,279
Assistant Chief for Field Activities	172
Assistant Chief for Nuclear Propulsion	67
Contract Division	214
Comptroller Division	144
Bureau of Supplies and Accounts	754
Office of the Chief	89
Director of Planning	41
Director of Management Engineering	69
Director of Industrial Relations	35
Director of Naval Personnel	26
Comptroller of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts	183
Assistant Chief of Supply Management	111
Assistant Chief for Transportation	112
Director of Mutual Security Programs	34
Assistant Chief for Purchases	33
Assistant Chief for Research and Development	21
Bureau of Yards and Docks	841
Office of the Chief	33
Assistant Chief for Administration and Comptroller	272
Assistant Chief for Planning and Design	228
Assistant Chief for Construction	109
Assistant Chief for Maintenance and Materiel	113
Assistant Chief for Real Estate	40
Assistant Chief of Housing	46
Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps	1,083
Office of the Commandant	6
Assistant Chief of Staff, G–1	20

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3	20
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-4	16
Personnel Department	311
Division of Aviation	18
Administrative Division	86
Supply Department	434
Inspection Division	4
Division of Information	5
Fiscal Division	47
Division of Reserve	10
Marine Corps Boards	4
Data Processing Division	102
Total departmental	14,440
Continental United States	320,925
Overseas	[7]—22,054
Total all areas (1 w.o.c.)	[8] 342,979

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Executive Office of the Secretary	116
Office of the Secretary of the Navy	38
Office of Under Secretary of the Navy	9
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Installations and Logistics)	42
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Research and Development)	11
Office of Assistant Secretary of the Havy (Financial Management)	5
Office of the Special Assistant to Secretary of the Navy	4
Office of the Deputy Under Secretary of the Navy (Manpower)	7
Department of the Navy Staff Offices	1,318
Office of Program Appraisal	14
Administrative Office	226
Office of the Comptroller	237
Office of the General Counsel	21
Office of Civilian Manpower Management	235
Office of Information	39
Office of Management Information	41
Office of Petroleum Reserves	6
Office of Naval Research	400
Board for Correction of Naval Records	14
Navy Council of Personnel Boards	16
Physical Review Council	6
Office of Legislative Affairs	28
Armed Services Board of Contract Appeals	35
Office of the Judge Advocate General	79
Office of Chief of Naval Operations	990
Staff Offices	14
Assistant Vice Chief of Naval Operations/Director of Naval Administration	255
Navy Program Planning Office	66
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Intelligence)	150
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Communications)	60
Office of Anti-Submarine Warfare Programs	10
Office of Naval Inspector General	24
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Manpower and Naval Reserve)	39
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Fleet Operations and Readiness)	64
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Logistics)	110
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air)	94
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans and Policy)	33
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Development)	71
Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	327
Office of the Chief	10
Assistant Chief for Personnel and Professional Operations	151
Assistant Chief for Planned and Logistics	126
Assistant Chief for Aviation Medicine	9
Assistant Chief for Dentistry	12
Assistant Chief for Research and Military Medical Specialties	19
Bureau of Naval Personnel	1,771
Office of the Chief	10
Administrative and Management Division	115
Office of Inspector General	1
Office of Liaison and Technical Information	5
Manpower Information Division	248
Assistant Chief for Plans	78
Assistant Chief for Personnel Control	451
Assistant Chief for Education and Training	157
Assistant Chief for Naval Reserve and Naval District Affairs	7
Assistant Chief for Records	465
Assistant Chief for Performance	41

See footnotes at end of table.

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Assistant Chief for Morale Services	66
Assistant Chief for Finance	89
Chief of Chaplains	10
Assistant Chief for Property Management	12
Special Assistant to Chief for Retention Task Force	3
Navy Department Board of Decorations and Medals	7
Board for Correction of Records	1
Outside Bureau Details	5
Office of Naval Material	460
Office of the Chief	12
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Program and Financial Management	98
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Procurement	106
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Development	95
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Logistic Support	84
Deputy Chief of Naval Material for Management and Organization	65
Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps	1,244
Office of the Commandant	42
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1	22
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3	17
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-4	40
Personnel Department	342
Administrative Division	151
Supply Department	309
Inspection Department	3
Division of Information	8
Fiscal Division	158
Division of Reserve	10
Marine Corps Boards	4
Data Processing Division	138
Military Sea Transportation Service	292
Total departmental service	6,597
Total United States	344,648
Total outside U.S.	32,231
Total a llareas (1 w.o.c.)	376,879

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Office of the Secretary	307
Secretary of the Air Force	6
Under Secretary of the Air Force	6
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Materiel)	27
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Financial Management)	12
Special Assistant to the Secretary (Manpower, Personnel and Reserve Forces)	9
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Research and Development)	9
Special Assistant for Installations	7
Administrative assistant	61
General Counsel	32
Office of Legislative Liaison	84
Office of Information Services	38
Secretary of the Air Force Personnel Council	10
Office, Missile and Satellite Systems	6
Headquarters, U.S. Air Force	4,446
Chief of Staff	9
Vice Chief of Staff	18
Scientific Advisory Board	68
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence	122
Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Forces	9
The Inspector General	34
The Surgeon General	193
The Judge Advocate General	90
Secretary of the Air Staff	277
Directorate of Administrative Services	499
Comptroller of the Air Force	641
Deputy Chief of Staff, Development	122
Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations	646
Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Programs	152
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel	605
Deputy Chief of Staff, Materiel	321
Central control group	528
Mutual defense aid program	112
Air Materiel Command	151,013
Headquarters and subsidiary units	17,090
Aeronautical Systems Center	1,372
Ballistic Missiles Center	669
Central contract management region	3,177
Eastern contract management region	3,576
Electronic systems center	371
Western contract management region	3,476
Middletown, Pa., Air Materiel Area	10,544
Mobile, Ala., Air Materiel Area	15,001
Ogden, Utah, Air Materiel Area	11,327
Oklahoma City, Okla., Air Materiel Area	18,601
Rome, N.Y., Air Materiel Area	7,682
San Antonio Tex., Air Materiel Area	19,596

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1961

Sacramento, Calif., Air Materiel Area	13,602
San Bernardino, Calif., Ail Materiel Area	9,906
Warner-Robins, Georgia Air Materiel Area	15,023
Strategic Air Command	18,065
Headquarters and subsidiary units	1,767
2d Air Force	6,187
8th Air Force	4,528
15th Air Force	5,583
Tactical Air Command	6,649
Headquarters and subsidiary units	1,254
9th Air Force	1,194
12th Air Force	4,196
19th Air Force	5
Aeronautical Chart and Information Center	3,261
Air Defense Command	9,831
Air Force Accounting and Finance Center	1,732
Air Research and Development Command	22,956
Air Training Command	23,909
Air University	2,361
Continental Air Command	9,761
Headquarters Command, USAF	6,017
Military Air Transport Service	10,111
U.S. Air Force Academy	1,739
USAF Security Service	875
Total, continental U.S.	273,033
Total, overseas	[9] 33.538
Total employees (46 w.o.c.)	[10] 306.571

As of Jan. 1, 1967

Office of the Secretary	347
Secretary of the Air Force	6
Under Secretary of the Air Force	3
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Installations and Logistics)	28
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Financial Management)	17
Special Assistant to the Secretary for Manpower	14
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Research and Development)	18
Deputy Undersecretary (International Affairs)	3
Air Force Board for the Correction of Military Records	12
Administrative assistant	78
General Counsel	33
Office of Legislative Liason	83
Office of Information	40
Secretary of the Air Force Personnel Council	12
Headquarters, U.S. Air Force	2,983
Chief of Staff	8
Vice Chief of Staff	14
Scientific Advisory Board	8
Director, Secretariat	11
Director of Administrative Services	147
Secretary of the Air Staff	141
Assistant Chief of Staff for Reserve Forces	5
Chief, Operations Analysis	41
Chief of Chaplains	12
The Inspector General	26
The Judge Advocate General	61
The Surgeon General	146
Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence	112
Comptroller of the Air Force	419
Deputy Chief of Staff, Programs and Resources	476
Deputy Chief of Staff, Personnel	295
Deputy Chief of Staff, Research and Development	173
Deputy Chief of Staff, Systems and Logistics	418
Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Operations	204
Central Control Group	167
Military assistance program	99
Air Force Logistics Command	131,336
Headquarters and subsidiary units	16,522
Middletown Air Materiel Area	2,427
Mobile Air Materiel Area	6,842
Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area	23,191
Ogden Air Materiel Area	17,371
Rome Air Materiel Area	3,072
San Antonio Air Materiel Area	23,334
Sacramento Air Materiel Area	19,689
Warner Robins Air Materiel Area	18,888
Air Force Systems Command	32,238
Headquarters and Subsidiary Units	1.148
Arnold Engineering Development Center	145
Air Force Flight Test Center	2.074
Aeronautical Systems Division	3.364
Ballistic Systems Division	740
Electronic Systems Division	2.277
Air Force Missile Development Center	1.637
Space Systems Division	1,114

APPENDIX II—ORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES—Continued

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE (EXCLUSIVE OF SEPARATE SERVICES PERSONNEL)—Continued

As of Jan. 1, 1967—Continued

Research and Technology Division	6,260
Air Proving Ground Center	2,649
Air Force Special Weapons Center	1,263
Aerospace Medical Division	1,782
Foreign Technology Division	895
National Range Division	3,071
Air Force Contract Management Division	3,819
Strategic Air Command	20,648
Headquarters and Subsidiary Units	1,689
2d Air Force	5,802
8th Air Force	5,456
15th Air Force	6,461
1st Strategic Aerospace Division	1,240
Tactical Air Command	111,292
Headquarters and subsidiary units	1,468
9th Air Force	3,499
12th Air Force	5,586
19th Air Force	
USAF, Special Air Warfare Center	676
USAF, Tactical Air Warfare Center	32
USAF, Tactical Air Reconnaissance Center	25
Aeronautical Chart and Information Center	3,728
Air Defense Command	12,511
Air Force Accounting and Finance Center	1,793
Air Force Communications Service	4,292
Air Training Command	21,860
Air University	2,521
Continental Air Command	8,938
Headquarters Command, USAF	6,726
Military Air Transport Service	15,236
Office of Aerospace Research	1,388
U.S. Air Force Academy	1,898
U.S. Air Force Security Service	1,202
Alaskan Air Command in Alaska	2,422
Pacific Air Forces in Hawaii	2,365
Total, United States	285,724
Total, outside U.S.	[11]35,701
Total, employees (4 w.o.c.)	[12] 321,425

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[1] Includes 40 part time and w.a.e., and 38 overseas employees.

[2] Includes 3,450 part time and w.a.e. employees, and 913 employees outside United States, of which 415 are American citizens.

[3] Includes a total of 20,588 w.a.e. employees, and 153,541 employees outside United States, of whom 35,266 are American citizens, and 118,275 nationals of other countries.

[4] Excludes 5,053 technical staff personnel (departmental) included with technical services.

[5] Data shown for Alaska and Hawaii are by geographical area, not by command.

[6] Includes 1,298 part time and w.a.e. employees and 50,419 overseas employees, of which 13,616 are American citizens and 16,823 are nationals of other countries.

[7] Includes 6,778 American citizens and 15,876 nationals of other countries.

[8] Includes 934 part time and w.a.e. employees.

[9] Includes 14,179 American citizens and 19,389 nationals of other countries.

[10] Includes 755 w.a.e. employees.

[11] Includes 9,621 American citizens and 26,080 nationals of other countries.

[12] Includes 4,523 w.a.e. employees.

Source: Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies, U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations.

EDUCATED VIOLENCE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the pacifist "students" of Paris have become a violent mob.

In Paris alone—one death and 1,000 injuries.

And in Lyon, the police commissioner, murdered by "students."

Makes one wonder what is the definition of a student? When does a student stop being a student and become an unruly mobster, criminal, revolutionist, or murderer?

Can it be that these "students" who talk peace are against the Paris peace talks on Vietnam? Could it be their comrades, the Vietcong are regarded as "students"?

Or was France selected because De Gaulle refused to cooperate in turning over France's gold to the control scheme of the International Monetary Fund? If so, the "students" then become but the foot soldiers for the U.N.

Is the word "student" manipulated to become a mental bloc justification of riots and violence by the instigation of international gangsters and their dupes?

If so, notice how many of the "poor people's" leaders and backers in the District of Columbia are under 30 years of age? Students? Poor people or a play in group mental-therapy? Can Washington, D.C., be turned into another Paris—by "student"?

Mr. Speaker, I place the May 26 Evening Star account of the threatened student takeover of France and related articles in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, May 26, 1968]

FRANCE BANS DEMONSTRATIONS—THREAT OF CIVIL WAR IS CITED—POMPIDOU MEETS WITH UNION CHIEFS

(By Smith Hempstone)

PARIS.—The government of Charles de Gaulle, moving to quell what it has described as the threat of "civil war," yesterday suspended the right of assembly, banned further demonstrations in the largely student-occupied Latin Quarter and met with union leaders.

Student and teacher organizations announced they would hold no demonstrations until tomorrow.

But while Paris remained calm, fighting broke out in the provincial capitals of Bordeaux and Lyon.

In Lyon, where the police commissioner was killed Friday night, a policeman was reported in serious condition after having been shot twice last night.

POLICE AND YOUTH FIGHT

Police and youths fought in the streets of Bordeaux and several injuries were reported.

The government is deeply alarmed over the pitch of the violence here Friday night and its spread to provincial cities.

In his speech to the National Assembly Wednesday night, just before his government defeated a censure motion by 11 votes, Premier Georges Pompidou said there was a line beyond which strike action could not go without becoming "unacceptable."

It is clear this line was reached, if not crossed, by the Friday night disorders that in Paris alone resulted in one death, about 1,000 injured (including 131 police) and 795 arrests.

POMPIDOU'S ORDERS

Yesterday, in the wake of all-night riots that raged from the Latin Quarter virtually to the gates of Elysee Palace, Pompidou instructed security forces to crush further demonstrations relentlessly and immediately.

His instructions to police to use "the greatest energy" in smashing any new disorders amount to a virtual license to kill.

Police relations with both the government and the demonstrators already are near the breaking-point. The 60,000 riot police guarding Paris have been working up to 18 hours a day for more than two weeks.

Like their fellow workers on strike, they claim they are underpaid and overworked. But they are not permitted by law to strike.

STATEMENT BY POLICE

Only Thursday, police union leaders in a formal statement issued what amounted to sharp criticism of Pompidou's handling of the crisis, claiming they had been thrown into action May 11 before all other ways of calming the situation had been explored.

If the students defy what amounts to a virtual ban on demonstrations, Pompidou's new instructions to the police mean more hard fighting for them.

The fact that one of the two men killed Friday was Lyon Police Commissioner Rene Lacroix has both enraged the riot police against the demonstrators and underlined their bitterness toward the government for what they regard as its unfair and unwise use of them.

But in his strong statement yesterday, Pompidou showed that, if police cannot or will not restore order in France, he will call upon the army to move "without delay to end the subversive agitation." Such a move could have extremely serious consequences for the future of Gaullism, and would not be taken except as a last resort.

One bright spot for the government in the whole gloomy situation is the fact that Waldeck Rochet's Communist party and the big, Communist-led General Labor Confederation, having used Sorbonne disorders as a springboard from which to launch their own demands, apparently are prepared to abandon the students to whatever fate the government may mete out.

Although the sit-ins that have led to the occupation of hundreds of factories and put 10 million Frenchmen on strike originally had the appearance of spontaniety, union leaders since appear to have re-established discipline, if ever in fact they had lost it.

The marches by 100,000 workers Friday were in strong contrast to those of students. The workers paraded quietly for a couple of hours, then retired to their homes to watch De Gaulle's speech on television.

In the seven hours that the students battled with police back and forth from the Right Bank to the Left, the "Red belt" where industrial workers live was as quiet as the mice scavenging among the city's mounds of seven-day-old rotting garbage.

Pompidou's meeting with leaders of labor and industry was the first formal attempt to end the week-long wildcat general strike which has brought French economic life to a standstill.

After listening for nearly two hours to the listing of the workers' demands, he asked for a "period of reflection" before he replied.

CGT, the Catholic-oriented Democratic Labor Confederation (CFDT) and the Socialist-led Workers' Force (FO) are united in their basic demand that 3 million non-agricultural workers who now receive a poverty-line wage of $80 a month be hiked to $120.

They also want to be paid for days during which they have occupied plants, a gradual reduction of the work-week from 48 to 40 hours without loss of pay, retirement at 60 rather than 65, more say in plant management and cancellation of unpopular increases in workers' contributions to social security programs.

It is difficult to calculate how much all this would cost, but some economists say it would soon come to more than $4 billion annually.

WOULD BE INFLATIONARY

Such action would be highly inflationary, would reduce the competitiveness of French goods a little more than a month before all Common Market trade barriers are due to come down, would cause balance of payments difficulties that would eat into France's gold reserves and might well result in devaluation of the franc.

This would do the currently uncertain world financial situation no good.

It is clear then that neither the government nor industry can afford to meet what the workers say are their "minimum" demands. The financial weakness of the unions means that compromise must be found.

On the other hand, the workers sense that perhaps never again will they have De Gaulle over such a convenient political barrel. The government needs a settlement at least as much as the unions do.

Yet the capacity of French workers to stay off the job for long is limited. There is no such thing in France as strike pay. The ability of the workers to hang on depends largely on the willingness of petit bourgeois butchers and grocers to extend credit.

Even if the strike should be quickly settled, great economic damages have been done, not only to France, but to her major trading partners, many of whom (such as Britain) are facing economic troubles just as serious if less dramatic than that which is bringing France to its knees.

CRITICISM MOUNTING

Meanwhile, criticism of De Gaulle's handling of the current crisis is mounting among Frenchmen who, if not ardent Gaullists, normally agree with most of his policies.

Such criticism, which also implies doubt as to the General's ability to lead the country in the future, centers on some or all of these four points:

1. De Gaulle should not have left the country during the early days of the crisis, as he did when he flew to Romania for a state visit May 4, only two days after the riots at the Sorbonne.
2. Having gone, he should have returned more quickly, rather than just trimming 10 hours off his stay.
3. Having come back early, he should have seized the initiative by addressing the nation immediately. Instead, he waited five days while France slowly came apart.
4. When he did speak, he should have done so with more confidence and vigor, setting forth his plans in detail, rather than just making his customary threat to resign if the country does not accept a vaguely worded referendum proposal on academic and industrial reform next month.

DE GAULLE'S PORTRAYAL

De Gaulle's portrayal of himself in the speech as the one man who can prevent France from being taken over by "certain people" (read Communists) may work for him again, as it has in the past, despite the fact that both the Communist party and the CGT have acted with as much if not more restraint during the crisis as anybody else.

De Gaulle won the 1965 presidential runoff with 55 percent of the vote. It is extremely difficult to see how he could get that high a vote in next month's referendum, despite the fact that people will be faced with a situation, more or less, of voting for or against motherhood.

On the other hand, many voters—like De Gaulle himself—clearly will view the referendum as having more to do with expressing an opinion on the quality of De Gaulle's leadership than on educational and labor reform.

Even those willing to accept the referendum at its face rather than its real or symbolic value may be excused if they do not feel that the 77-year-old general is the man to lead the "renovation" of which he spoke Friday night.

Labor leaders and educational reformers have, after all, been seeking change for a number of years. For 10 of those years, De Gaulle has been sitting in the Elysee Palace exhibiting more interest in foreign policy matters than in his people's domestic problems.

De Gaulle may, in fact, have made a fatal miscalculation: He could lose the referendum, in which case he is publicly committed to resigning.

It would be premature to imply that De Gaulle's 10-year-old Fifth Republic is on the verge of collapse. But even the most sanguine of observers would agree that never has it been in greater peril.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 24, 1968]

FIVE THOUSAND STUDENTS ARE EXPECTED TO JOIN CAMPAIGN OF POOR

Up to 5,000 college students reportedly are expected to take part, starting Wednesday, in a planned Poor People's University, in connection with the Poor People's Campaign.

Ross Connelly, staff member working on the project, said today there still was no offer of dormitory space to house the visiting students at area campuses. He said cooperating churches were expected to house some of the students.

At Georgetown University, officials were expected to meet later today with a group of students who staged a sit-in to press their demand that Georgetown make campus facilities available for the Poor People's University.

Georgetown had joined in a Consortium of Universities statement that on-campus facilities could not be provided for the Poor People's University. American University, a consortium member, has offered downtown classroom and office space for the project, however.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 24, 1968]

MARCHER, 18, GETS 1 YEAR IN GUN CASE

An 18-year-old youth from Atlanta, Ga., in Washington for the Poor People's Campaign, yesterday was sentenced to a year in prison and fined $250 for carrying a pistol.

Judge Alfred Burka in the Court of General Sessions imposed the sentence on Arthur L. Copeland, who arrived at Resurrection City on Monday. The judge said failure to pay the fine would mean an additional 30 days in jail.

However, he indicated that if the court could be assured that Copeland will be placed on a bus and sent home, he might reconsider the sentence.

Burka said he was disturbed by the case and added that it seemed "to indicate to me that loopholes exist in controls at Resurrection City."

He asked the court's probation department to try contacting someone at Resurrection City who would be willing to assume responsibility for the youth.

Copeland said before sentencing that "the only thing I want to do is to get out of here and go back home to Atlanta where I come from."

He told the court he had joined the campaign in Atlanta, got into a fight with another member in North Carolina and was stabbed in the arm, then was sent home by the group's leader.

However, Copeland said, he hitchhiked to Washington on his own, arriving Monday, and went to Resurrection City, where he reregistered. He was not assigned a tent but moved in with a friend.

He told Burka he bought the .22-caliber pistol at a truckstop "somewhere in Virginia" because "I got stabbed one time and I wasn't takin' no chances."

He was arrested Tuesday in the 1200 block of Washington Drive after he took the pistol from a holster in a quick-draw maneuver, police said. They said they recovered six bullets, all of which had had the heads shaved off of them, turning them into dumdum bullets.

The youth said he had been on probation for assault on a counselor in 1963 and at present was taking a course in crime prevention offered by the Atlanta police.

[From Tactics, Apr. 20, 1968]

GOVERNMENT AID—FOR REVOLT

The greatest psychological advantage that the enemy has in its gradualist strategy for turning prosperous American communities into hellholes of barbarism, terrorism and guerrilla warfare, as has happened in such cities as Algiers and Saigon, is the disbelief of almost all Americans, white and black, that it could possibly happen.

This red psychological advantage is increased by the even greater inability of most Americans, white and black, to imagine that the guerrilla warfare inflicted on such backward areas as China's Hunan Province and the Congo's Katanga could be duplicated in our advanced United States.

Enemy strategy benefits even more from a material advantage. This is the tolerance and even assistance bestowed on it, either directly or indirectly, by the government itself. Inconceivable as it sounds, only this help from inside government has made possible the step by step progress made by the Fabian socialist-Marxist-communist complex in its conspiracy to create a war front on United States soil. The proper term for this sector in the war is "peace" front. Its strategy is coordinated with that of the military front in Viet Nam. The communists are likely, too, to call it a "people's" front, their word, people, being synonymous with communists. Perhaps the most descriptive term is civilian front.

"CHEERED" BY WHITE HOUSE COFFEE

Signals and symbolism constitute the warp and the woof of propaganda warfare. The White House is more than the President's convenient lodging house for a limited number of years; it is one of our greatest symbols. Only the Supreme Court and the Congress equal it, and of these, only the Congress can be said to surpass it, as the symbol of the people's sovereignty. The White House of late has been seeking to become the paramount symbol, through such subtle devices as postage stamps, and to a degree has been successful. So anything the White House says or does has practically unsurpassable impact on minds.

Early in the Kennedy administration, the first large, so-called "peace" demonstration focussed on the national capital. The line then was against testing in space of our nuclear potential, and for withdrawal from our missile bases. Demonstrators shivered as they marched up and down in front of the White House in opposition to our defense posture and our military preparedness program.

The weather was biting cold. As reported by the Washington Star on Feb. 17, 1962: "In freezing weather yesterday, an estimated 1,500 pickets took part in demonstrations at the White House. They were cheered by hot coffee sent out by President Kennedy."

On Feb. 18, 1962, a Washington Post editorial, "Cold War and Hot Coffee," said that the picketing and demonstrations by college students was "a healthy sign." The Chief Executive seemed to agree, for he "made it plain" he did not consider this opposition "represented a personal affront or a challenge to government stability. He sent out some piping hot coffee to warm the marchers and designated three of his key advisers to meet with a student delegation." The N.Y. Times, for its part, enthused over this, declaring there was "a new political ferment on the campus," and: "It is good to find students debating what kind of policies are most promising for the nation and the world . . . There is no indication that they are becoming doctrinaire in the process . . ." The editorial concluded that the picketing of the White House showed that higher education was "making headway" toward its goal of fostering "critical thinking."

Publicized throughout the nation, the sending of refreshments from the White House to those engaged in picketing against its policies could only have been heady wine for the misled and agitators alike. The reds, of course, have only contempt for this, that they call "bourgeois sentimentalism," and regard as a welcome sign of weakness, that can be exploited for a renewed assault. So it happened, of course.

Especially were the knowledgeable conspirators and the naive encouraged to engage in further and more drastic measures by sympathetic members of the White House staff. These unelected, government functionaries declared, as reported in the press, that if they had not been working in the White House, they would be out on the pavement with the demonstrators, picketing the White House.

As was also reported by the Washington Post of Feb. 18, 1962, "the Washington project of the 'Turn Toward Peace Council' was the biggest picketing demonstration seen here in about a decade." It added:

"The leaders of 'Project Washington' were happy at day's end. Todd Gitlin of Harvard said he thought the long line looked good from White House windows. The trip had also been an education for the students, he said." Some years later, he visited Red Cuba, and wrote glowingly about it.

Imagine what the innocent students, taken along as bodies, were able to tell their fellows when they returned to their classes, and what the red agents were able to report to their superiors! The latter were able to translate the doubletalk into party language, and it could mean only one thing. This was that they had overt collaboration in the highest places in government. This, too, is how "psywar" is conducted.

A delegation from Young Americans for Freedom counterpicketed, under Fulton Lewis 3d, then their chairman. "We cannot in all conscience permit the 'surrender operation' to go unopposed—perhaps to influence the weak in mind or the weak in heart," he was quoted in the Washington Post of Feb. 16 as saying, when Y.A.F. announced its plan to support American policy. Significantly, its marchers got no coffee from the White House, nor were they given the prestige of being invited inside for a chat. They had no chance to look out of the White House windows at the scene outside. They could only shiver on the outside, not only from the freezing cold but from this plain indication where tangible support from inside the government was being bestowed.

LAW BENT TO PERMIT ALL-OUT TREASON

This sympathy and cooperation from inside government—specifically inside the Administration— is the really decisive element in the program of gradualism that has been followed by collaborators with Hanoi, Peking and Moscow, that is intended to reach guerrilla warfare proportions on American streets. Without this cooperation, the treason could not have reached first base. The Justice Department under Ramsey Clark, in simply ignoring, re-interpreting or breaking the law, has been the main factor in this.

This policy is political; it has to be under the direction of the Executive Offices. Justice Department representatives, in testimony before Congressional committees, have labeled overt, reasonable acts as only "eccentric behavior." They have indiscriminately insisted that we have plenty of laws on the books already, when they are opposing new legislation to deal with treason, and that there are no laws to cover the treasonable acts, when questioned regarding their failure to act on treason.

The boldness of the enemy, encouraged by this policy of unprecedented tolerance during a fighting war, was graphically demonstrated on April 1, April Fool's Day. Red psychological warfare lays great stress upon symbolic actions, as in the symbolic capture of the Pentagon on Oct. 21, 1967. Only a few hours passed after President Johnson's cringing television talk of March 31, 1968, when our flag was removed from on top of Iwo Jima statue at Arlington National Cemetery and replaced by the Viet Cong flag. The reds had interpreted his seemingly bold statement literally. Hanoi would not be allowed to take over all of Viet Nam "by force," but he had said nothing about letting it go discreetly, without loss of face, in "talks." The Stars and Stripes had been publicly defiled during a pro-red demonstration at the Washington Monument some time before, but the park police had been forbidden to take notice. The Viet Cong flag had been paraded in front of the White House, as if by a conquering force. Now the enemy flag had been hoisted to the top of our most heroic statue. Apparently, all this remains "eccentric behavior," in the view of the Justice Department. Congress should insist on a repudiation of this term and the policy it represents.

REVOLUTION, STEP BY STEP, AND UNMOLESTED

Step by step, since the White House sent out hot coffee to pickets, and White House staff members told them they would be picketing, too, but for their official jobs, we have been witnessing a progressive advance toward guerrilla warfare on our streets, and a red revolution in the land. None of this could have happened but for the protective shield and collaboration given the revolutionaries from inside government.

We have now reached a stage in the recruitment, training and equipping of revolutionaries beyond which it is impossible to go, except for refinements in each of these fields. This is suicidal, of course. Rarely, if ever, has anything similar been seen in any country. Surely, no government where this could happen was able to survive it. It is happening here, with sympathy and collaboration from those whose responsibility it is to preserve our way of life against those who would destroy it by violence.

The conspiracy—and it is proven conspiracy—to soften up our people to accept crime, treason and revolution, has reached proportions that simply are not imagined by the average person. The government knows all this, though, and so must the press. This writer has just received through the mails, thanks to the anarchism in Supreme Court decisions, the Nov., 1967 issue of a San Francisco tabloid called "The Movement," in which, in capital letters, a filthy collaquialism is applied to the President's sex life. Even the absolutism of the Supreme Court does not cover this extreme example. But under obvious Justice Department instructions, nothing is done. This writer saw similar indecencies applied to the President in picket signs raised on Pentagon grounds in front of the American troops.

UNDERGROUND PRESS TEACHES GUERRILLA TACTICS

The term, underground press, is applied to a nationwide chain of tabloid papers that are edited and published, distributed and sold openly. The subtle connotation is that these are papers that would have to be produced secretly if our laws were being enforced. Explicity, tactical details are taught on how to conduct guerrilla warfare in our communities.

Diagrams show how the main section of a city can be paralyzed or panicked. The word, tactics, that seems such a bore to most who call themselves patriots and anti-communists, is found frequently in these publications. The tactics taught are those of subversion and violence, with the plainly admitted objective of overthrowing our form of government. This is treason, of course, but not to the Justice Department. (Readers might want to ask their congressmen and senators what specifically they are doing about this.)

If one accepts the purely anarchist or obsessionist interpretation, that nothing spoken or written can be interfered with legally, this sort of material as found in the openly distributed underground press is just as much a part of an overt operation as the printed directions provided with a can of inflammatory or poisonous fluid. The underground press contains instructions, and they are related to actual incidents. What we are presented with is what the reds call "learning by doing," the doing in this case being violence.

An article in this November issue, signed Jeff Segal, is accompanied by five diagrams on how to outmaneuver and fight the police or troops in an area of a city, and put the community in destructive chaos. A case study is made of one community struck by the "stop the draft week." The title on the first page is, "The Days We Seized the Streets of Oakland." A large photograph alongside illustrates one of the recommended tactics, the placing of an automobile diagonally across both sides of the street to block traffic from either direction.

"TACTICS THAT INVOLVED DIRECT CONFLICTS"

The article explains its intent blandly: "A primary purpose of this article is to make available to movement organizations and organizers the most up-to-date methods for handling police and police connected agencies in situations of struggle. Its purpose ranges from peaceful discussion with the cops to varying degrees of force when lesser means are inadequate to insure control and provide for the success of the guerilla action."

Farther on, it declares, referring to the Oakland affair, "We experimented with tactics that involved direct conflicts with the duly constituted forces of the law—cops. . . . Here, for the first time (in the history of our own movement) did we plan for and carry out an operation whose object was the taking of control over one of the basic institutions of the society. We organized in advance that manner in which we expected to defend ourselves, and our plan took the form of a military action against the cops. . . .

"We have now had clashes with the public in more than a dozen places around the country . . . and I am confident that those clashes will grow in numbers and in militancy. We most seriously study each new encounter, provide ourselves with the preparations to meet the cops in battle and win . . . This then is an attempt to present to our comrades in the movement an analysis of the specific tactics that were used and the lessons that we learned from our struggle. . ."

Who is meant in "we experimented," who "organized in advance" and who is doing the staff work? Can the Administration still insist that these are spontaneous affairs, with no conspiracy involved? Obviously, the participants would not dare operate openly this way if, in the red manner, they have not been assured by intelligence and contacts that they are immune to prosecution. Part of the backstopping for such treason, of course, is the failure to use FBI facilities or reports, and the sabotage of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The Supreme Court went far toward guaranteeing such immunity by depriving the states of their right to intervene in matters of subversion and treason within their borders. This enabled the pro-red mechanism to concentrate on investigatory agencies of the federal government and to put political pressure on the federal courts. They have been scandalously successful in this.

The infiltrated and fake "liberal" press has probably the major responsibility both in preventing disclosure of subversion and treason, and in giving them a favorable and even glamorous image. A typical example is the manner by which the underground press can put out the most obvious publicity for itself and receive extraordinary coverage, whereas the legitimate information—not blurbs—in anti-communist publications just never receive mention.

A recent example was the publicity stunt of the Washington Free Press, the announcement that it was conducting a kite flying demonstration. The usual propaganda twist was inserted with the statement that an old law made kite flying illegal in the District of Columbia, and "we invite you to join us in direct protest of this oppressive law." The all-news radio, WAVA, in Arlington, Va., gave this corny stunt a fine position in its news program, with respectful reference to the Washington Free Press.

The rest of this issue of the pro-communist rag in which this announcement was found was given over entirely to all-out support of Red Cuba and the Viet Cong, and to obscenity. The doublespread in the center of the 20-page tabloid contained the start of a series of articles "on the development of a socialist society in Cuba."

A page was given over to advice to draft dodgers, telling them how to falsify their status and where to obtain professional guidance. Another page was an expose, from the point of view of Moscow, of Dr. Hans Weigert—"Washington's own Dr. Strangelove Weigert, an intellectual in the exclusive service of the government," who is accused of conducting a project to provide our troops with anti-personnel bombs. The article is part of the subversive campaign to unilaterally disarm the United States in all phases, from character to weaponry, while the enemy goes full speed ahead to arm itself in every manner.

DISARMING PUBLICITY RUN WITHOUT HINT OF RED SOURCE

Ads in this same issue include a "manual for draft-age immigrants to Canada," "Letters re-mailed: N.Y.C. or Long Island . . . Confidential . . ," "French ticklers," and the like. At a time when our boys are dying in Viet Nam, for any editor to present a corny piece of publicity for such a sheet, without letting his readers or listeners know what it presents, aids and abets the enemy in a very direct manner in the psychological war being waged to defeat the United States militarily.

The question at least might have been asked where the money comes from to finance these expensive "underground" papers, and where the strategy is laid down for the obvious adherence to the enemy line. One might also ask the Justice Department why no action is taken against any of the patent treason and violation of the law. One must ask, too, why the appropriate Congressional committees are so quiet.

Surely, these matters should be determinants as regards the qualifications of those seeking office.

TREASON IS MADE THE NEW "IN" FAD

In the same, highly professional manner as mini-skirts are popularized, so is treason being made the "in" thing. All the hackneyed, red gimmicks are being polished up and presented as fine, new, intellectual ideas. The hush-hush in our educational system on communist intrigue of the past in our land enables the reds to announce these discredited and exposed machinations as fresh ideas for "change." A particularly heinous example was the long dispatch sent out by the Associated Press, and widely printed, concerning a purported project for a separate black nation on American soil, to be carved out of a number of states such as Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Louisiana.

This is precisely the original proposition insisted upon by Josef Stalin for a wedge-driving campaign in the United States as a means of destroying our nation. Yet the dispatch was printed without any reference to this historical background. The time has come when insistence must be made that the immunity given communists and communist projects, under which they are presented without any indication of their red source, be ended. No other element in American society possesses this immunity. The N.Y. Times is perhaps the worst offender.

What this requires is that our side acquire an historical background, carefully avoiding scapegoat obsessions that are substitutes for knowledge, study tactics, as well, and focus its force only on the foe.

[From Tactics, Apr. 20, 1968]

VIETNAM WAR ONLY A PART OF IT: REAL WAR IS STRATEGIC—REAL WAR IS GLOBAL

The major conflict in which we now are engaged is a strategic war. The Viet Nam war is a tactical war. As such, it is only a part of the major clash. Important strategic losses already have been inflicted on our side in this major war. They have occurred on land, in air space and beyond, on the sea and underwater.

Soviet Russia is our direct antagonist in the major war, while it is only indirectly so in the Vietnamese fighting, although the latter still is costlier in manpower and resources. The U.S.S.R. has chalked up threatening gains in both conflicts. In the one, because our government policy of concealing the harsh facts makes us vulnerable to the boldest red thrusts, and in both, because we are fighting with one hand—and one foot—tied behind our backs.

The editor of Tactics has been provided extraordinary details regarding the major conflict by sources with a record of accuracy. These reports are of such life-and-death importance to our nation that the patent secrecy in which the government is taking refuge should not be allowed to prevent disclosure, surely not in Tactics. Certainly, we cannot afford a repetition of our experience with the Soviet missiles in Cuba, which the State Department successfully hushed up until President Kennedy found it politically expedient to suddenly discover them. This correspondent, for one, was told the details in Senate offices several months before. Similar concealment could cost us our existence.

CENSORS REGARD U.S. PUBLIC, NOT REDS, AS THE ENEMY

There was a time when security classification—the imposition of official secrecy—was directed at a real or potential enemy of the United States. This no longer is the case. The suppressed details are well known to Soviet Russia, because what is being hushed up are Moscow's actions. Secrecy now is aimed at the American people, their press and their Congress. Under our "escalation" bogy, these become the enemy, not the reds, because if we knew the truth, we would insist upon a basic change in policy, and a thorough housecleaning of such infiltrated institutions as the State Department.

Exactly as blunders can be blackmailed by Moscow to force compliance, those involved in secret policy have to regard the Ameriacn public, press and Congress as the foe. Even a defector to the U.S. is a peril.

Meanwhile, Moscow is proceeding full speed ahead in its global war, its strategic warfare that has replaced the erstwhile cold war.

Tactics does not intend to allow itself to become a party to his deceit. What is not of help to the enemy, we shall print. For instance, the perilous goings-on of a military nature upon our continental shelf.

The continental shelf is that portion of our continent that lies underwater off our coastlines. This extends for some miles into the Atlantic and the Pacific, and is characterized by much the same geographical features as dry land, with valleys and gulleys, ravines and mountains. This land must be guarded against enemy submarines of the Polaris type, that can launch an underwater Pearl Harbor against the East or the West coasts.

RED SUBMARINES WERE IN POSITION TO STRIKE

The most highly developed and the most sophisticated electronic devices, consisting of special buoys and radar detectors, are supposed to be in place to protect our continental shelf from intrusion. But ten Soviet submarines are declared to have invaded this region, without being detected coming or going. They were in position to launch a Pearl Harbor attack not just upon some distant point, but against the Atlantic seaboard. They could have destroyed such cities as New York and Washington. Whatever gobbledygook may be used to explain away this inexcusable affair, in plain English it constituted a rehearsal for such attack.

The first that we learned about this intrusion came from our intelligence sources abroad. This is a deeply worrying matter, for it means that our entire continental shelf lies open, like an ambush site in the Vietnamese war. The simple fact is that we do not know how the reds came in and left.

Indeed, one of these ICBM-delivering submersibles may be there now, sitting and waiting for orders. Such a submarine can patiently rest on its hull this way for a year, waiting for the signal. Soviet Russian technological and electronic advances make this quite a simple matter. Oceanography has made tremendous strides in the U.S.S.R., which ranks far ahead of any other nation, including ours, in this field.

One of Moscow's exploits has been to construct a submarine with a transparent hull, made of some plastic material. Exploration of the ocean bottom becomes much more feasible with such an instrument. The utter lack of dynamism in such a computer mind as McNamara's, and the discouraging of initiative all along the line by the Administration, has limited us to reacting to what the reds do, and then by too little, too late. We even have permitted the reds to forge ahead on undersea processes vital to warfare that depend only on the will, because the techniques are simple and known to all.

The outstanding instance of this is telecommunication by longwave sound through water. What this depends upon is a thorough mapping of the underseas. A system of tuning forks can be fastened into the sea bottom. A message could thus be sent from Baltimore around the world back to Baltimore, using no electronics, and therefore impossible to monitor unless one knew the exact pitch or wave length.

The message would go out as a wave, consisting of minor sounds like microdots, jumping from one tuning fork at one ridge to be picked up by another on some hill, and this way complete its vibrating trip. What is needed is a precise study of the ocean bottom, and this we have neglected. But the reds did not.

WHAT IS LACKING IS "AMERICAN INITIATIVE"

Scientifically, this is no complicated task, but it requires money, resources and submarines, above all boldness and a sense of dedication to victory. This dedication is squelched by an even more incomprehensible failure, our refusal to acknowledge that the cold war is accompanied by a technical war, and that we are deeply engaged. The Kremlin is out to obtain every technical advantage possible.

A number of events have taken place recently that appear unrelated. But in actuality, they may be as much related as the various fronts on which the communists are waging war. We make believe, as in Viet Nam, that each sector is the whole front, which gives the decisive advantage to the enemy, that coordinates its operations on a worldwide front, and regards each area as only one sector on this front. So it is in the technical field. The loss of the U.S.S. Pueblo was not a mere exhibition of hotheadedness at Seoul. Instead, it was a cunning maneuver by the Soviet Union to inspect the little "black boxes" on the intelligence ship, with the latest electronic secrets. These can win or lose a battle, or even a war. The reds got hold of them. Never in history has any nation put its highest scientific accomplishments in a specific field such as intelligence in one basket, and then let it lie within reach of the enemy. This may not be treason, but it certainly is criminal irresponsibility. McNamara simply had no right to thus gamble with our security.

Then there was the F-111 that was downed apparently in North Viet Nam its second day out. The plane was a storehouse of the very latest and the most delicate electronic equipment. If the pro-red agents in the United

States, whose path the Supreme Court has smoothed, had not learned those secrets, the enemy may well have them now. The blockheads among the Pentagon civilians had no right to put everything we had in "black boxes" on one plane, and that of a questionable capability, and to send it within reach of the Russians on a very secondary front, so far as the strategic war is concerned. Of course, we lost it.

Then there was that other Edsel-minded conception, the McNamara fence that we are building along the enemy-infested, demilitarized line in Viet Nam. Again, our over-intellectualized muttonheads who have been put in control of our weaponry gave this line everything we had. Nothing like it ever was built before. The "black boxes" and other electronic gadgets were so super-modern that they could signal the movement of a rabbit to planes overhead. They could sense the sound of rustling made by a fly or a bee.

Much of the instrumentation was experimental. Formerly, a sniper could move through a line safely unless he tripped a wire. Now the sound of every motion can be caught by infrared lights, sound devices, and beams. All have been miniaturized, and use very little electricity, which they are equipped to make themselves. Indeed, the most advanced mechanism on a tank for the detection of danger or a target has been adapted to the needs of the new fence. Actually, most tanks do not have such advanced equipment.

But we can be practically sure the reds have this now. They obviously captured it during their Tet offensive. Only a mind obsessed with the chimera of a mellowing Communist Russia would gamble this way, putting this extraordinary mechanism in the open where it was only a matter of time for it to be captured. The obsession, of course, is that the Kremlin really means to be peaceful, and so it doesn't make any essential difference whether it finds out our secrets or not. How tragic it is that the enemy does not have people of a like mentality on its side. The difference is, of course, they never would have the chance of controlling the disposition of any delicate instrumentation. The reds would shoot them first.

DISAPPEARANCE OF TWO SUBMARINES JUST TOO PAT

Somewhere, somehow, in this global, strategic war that the Kremlin is waging against the free world, principally the United States, the odd disappearance without trace of two submarines in the Mediterranean at practically the same time, or within a couple of days of each other, has a place. The Israeli submarine Dakar had been purchased and modernized in England, had completed its tests, taken on a specially trained Israeli crew, and was practically at its destination when it vanished. Just like that, vanished!

Contact was had with the Dakar on Jan. 25, and by Jan. 27 she was gone. A wide-scale search was conducted 250 miles southwest of Israel, in the very deep waters south of Cyprus. No trace of any kind was found. This is most peculiar.

The French submarine, La Minerve, was off the southern coast of France. The two submersibles were quite a distance from each other. Contact with La Minerve suddenly was lost on Jan. 27, and she, too, vanished. Just like that, vanished! An intensive search was made for her, too, with no more success than the Israelis, with American Navy assistance, had had in their search for the Dakar. Again, most peculiar.

Such abrupt disappearance is extremely rare, and the coincidence of two submarines in the Mediterranean, at different ends of the sea, vanishing simultaneously in the same manner, is extremely intriguing. Moscow now has 40 to 50 naval vessels in the Mediterranean, about the same number as the United States, thanks to its utterly callous outwitting of the U.S., Israel and Egypt in order to achieve what it has been unsuccessfully trying to do for several centuries, to become a Mediterranean power. The American press and radio-television, with all their foreign correspondents, and the Washington Administration, with all its "whiz kids" and self-proclaimed elite, were playing poker, moving one hand at a time, while the communists were playing chess, concentrating on a number of moves ahead. Of course, we know this.

THE TWO SUBS MIGHT HAVE DETECTED SOMETHING

These submarines had the latest electronic devices, of course. Surely, we should know by now of the utter ruthlessness and duplicity of the reds, and we should have learned by now, too, that the communists are murderous when they can get away with it. The two submarines might have been curious about the Russian fleet, and its submarines. They might have approached, intentionally or unintentionally, to a point where they were able to see some of the oceanographic trickery that the Kremlin is preparing, and so just had to be destroyed. That is, from the viewpoint of the U.S.S.R.

What is likely is that our intelligence or the Pentagon has information regarding the disappearance of these two submersibles, which under our "bridge-building" policy, would be kept secret from the American people, press and Congress, so as not to annoy the supposedly "mellowing" Kremlin, and not to reveal the utter bankruptcy of our appeasement policy toward the communists, at home and abroad.

The penetration of our underwater area or shelfland by red submarines shows how thoroughly Moscow has gone ahead with its program for a single, knockout blow against the United States. We have buoys and detectors carefully spaced in our undersea area, much the same as a minefield. Automatically, they are equipped to pick up and report any undersea or surface movement by ships of any description, or even by a frogman. We are supposed to have a maintenance program scrupulously kept up, so these always would be in perfect condition. A device can be silted over, and its effectiveness in this way be diminished or destroyed. The successful passage into and out of thee waters by Soviet submarine indicated that the reds had found out how to neutralize or immobilize these crucial gadgets. Or they just might have drowned them in silt.

Another of these singular coincidence in the military electronics field, so intimately attached to nuclear warfare, was the catastrophic wreck of a French plane taking off from the airport at Reunion Island with Gen. Charles Ailleret, his wife and daughter, and a number of members of his staff. The plane, on March 9, had just begun a hop to Paris with Gen. Ailleret, who was chief of staff for France's international ballistic missiles program, a top technocrat deeply knowledgeable regarding nuclear warheads. He reportedly was returning from preparations for a new test of French nuclear capability, and was taking an irregular route to avoid our installations.

Soviet Russia's strategic war has a self-evident objective, which is to put us in a position to be knocked out with one blow. The Kremlin's goal is to counter our McNamara second-strike policy by making the first blow also the last blow. The intent is to have no second strike, the ultimate gamble of this strange man, who enthusiastically implemented the policy of the over-intellectualized "liberals" in government to put their faith dogmatically in Communist Russia's evolution into a peace-loving nation. President Johnson went along with every detail of this dangerous line. Red agents in government used their diversion and paralysis tactic to make this program palatable, and to eliminate those who objected.

MOSCOW HAS FOLLOWED THE DULLES POLICY

Moscow first employed its propaganda machine in the United States to discredit the Dulles policy, and cause us to abandon it, whereupon it took it over. This constitutes a return to the hardware, technological politics of Josef Stalin and Lavrenti Beria. They much distrusted any reliance upon or the substitution of diplomatic victories for the ability to have a military victory. Nikita Khrushchev reversed or discarded this policy. He argued that Soviet military and security police were unimaginative, and could achieve through diplomacy the conquest of the West.

The Berlin adventure, Aswan Dam, competition for the underdeveloped countries, and even the second Cuban confrontation, all were parts of this Khrushchev policy. The Soviets were not prepared as yet for real war over Cuba, but hoped to achieve their program through bluff. Beria and the hard-line military always feared this line as adventurism. Once they got rid of Khrushchev, they returned to concentrating on hardware and a first-strike victory.

Reliance upon a diplomatic and political breakthrough was minimized. Moscow became annoyed with the Chinese reds who, while pretending to be anti-Khrushchev were relying on a bluff, as he had done in Cuba. Indeed, the Moscow-Peking clash now is over this approach.

Moscow does not want us to strike first, and so its orchestrated minions in the United States have dutifully persuaded us to accept the first blow, as policy. Moscow also has made an intensive study of history. What good would it do us to have a war too soon? Beria asked. The Kremlin does not intend to repeat the errors of the ultranationalist Japanese, Hitler and Napoleon. "What good did Pearl Harbor do for the Japanese?" the red planners have asked, and answered themselves. Tokyo got no good out of it, for Japan lost the war, as did Hitler and Napoleon their wars. Khrushchev almost reproduced a Pearl Harbor situation for the reds. He could have jolted us, but as the Kremlin strategists figured it out, we ultimately would have won. So Khrushchev was removed for nearly staging a premature Pearl Harbor.

REDS ARRANGING GUERRILLA WARFARE FOR UNITED STATES

The present Kremlin policy has for its purpose a spatial or undersea Pearl Harbor, or such a predominance of power that the so-called practical "doves" in the Administration and in Congress would bring about the surrender of the United States to Soviet Russia. The American people are being softened up for this, as in our attitude toward the fighting in Viet Nam. This is double-cross, here and abroad.

Guerrilla warfare on American streets are part of the global, strategic war, in its initial stages. The reds have progressed so far that nests of traitors in such institutions as our colleges and universities are able to operate out in the open, shielded by the permissive decisions of an anarchist-minded Supreme Court. Americans grasped the danger of the "it can't happen here" mentality as regards nazis, but an anti-anticommunist propaganda climate has kept us from recognizing the communist conspiracy right under our noses. So long as treason is given any dissembling term, the enemy can get away with it. The latest instance is the providing of academic immunity, with college and university credits, for students who go out from their campuses to participate in pro-red demonstrations. They are given the protective label of "participant-observers," no more of a deceit than the term that Ramsey Clark, attorney general, used for those engaged in overt acts of treason. He called this "eccentric behavior." The scandal is made even more detestable by the fact that these students, coached

by red professors, obtain draft exemption for their treasonable activities. This is psychological warfare on the "peace" front.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA'S MERCHANTS MEET RUIN

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, Washington is a city in real trouble. The local newspapers have chosen to ignore the problem. The highly respected National Observer has this to say about the situation this week:

BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM: RUIN FOR TINY MERCHANTS IN CHAOTIC WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Two Negroes sauntered into a neighborhood liquor store here the other day, paid for two half-pints of Scotch, walked outside into the morning sunshine, and smashed the bottles on the sidewalk. Then they sauntered back into the store, held the jagged necks of the bottles to the throat of the proprietor, and said quietly:

"You're in *deep* trouble Jew man. Deep, deep trouble. You done sold us two bad bottles, man. They done explode. Now make good, Jew man."

The proprietor quickly handed over two new bottles and the Negroes left. That night, when he climbed into his automobile to drive home, the headlights failed to respond; they had been smashed in.

Such bullying of the city's small merchants by Negro hoodlums has been going on day in and day out since the disorders that swept the capital following the murder of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. And it's only part of the upsurge in violence and lawlessness that has come—many believe predictably—in the aftermath of those outbreaks.

Between April 30 and May 14, four merchants were murdered in their stores. A bus driver was slain on a late-night run in the District just 3 days later. There have been as many as eight arson attempts a day here recently, according to the fire marshal's office. Extortion, harassment, threats, and anti-Semitic abuse—all have made life increasingly miserable and dangerous, particularly for small shopkeepers.

By and large these people are operators of the little "Mom and Pop" grocery stores, carry-out sandwich shops, clothing stores, and the like. Some of these merchants still bear on their forearms the tattooed numbers from their days in Nazi death camps.

The night, and parts of the day for that matter, belong to Negro toughs. The Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade says that business in downtown stores, restaurants, hotels, and private clubs is off by at least 20 percent.

The small merchants, for the most part, bore the brunt of the April riots, which saw 488 buildings destroyed or damaged by fire, and it is they who live today in alternating states of terror and despair. To protect themselves, some storekeepers now carry pistols in their belts, and many have bought police dogs.

Although little noted publicly because they have become so commonplace, assaults on businessmen have created an atmosphere of continuing tenseness here in the capital—a city already put on edge by the influx of more than 2,400 participants in the Poor People's Campaign. While there have been only minor disturbances involving marchers, authorities have been obliged to spread police forces thin to avert the danger of mass disorders. Individual shopkeepers thus are caught in the midst of a rising crime wave with reduced police protection. In recent days, police have gone on overtime to help this situation.

FEARING OF AN INCIDENT

Many merchants here are bitter because they trace the cause of the new lawlessness to the way authorities handled the April disorders. At the beginning of the rioting, local police along with Federal troops did little to try to prevent the widespread looting that went on. Since then, criminal elements in the Negro community including roving bands of juveniles, have been acting with increasing boldness in the apparent belief that they can continue to get away with quite a lot, at little risk of being punished.

It is their view that the Metropolitan Police force, under Patrick V. Murphy, public-safety director, is following a policy of "softness" toward Negro hoodlums, fearing that the slightest "incident" might set off a second riot. They trace this policy directly to Ramsey Clark, U.S. Attorney General, in whose office Mr. Murphy once labored, and hence to the White House itself.

Mr. Murphy and Mr. Clark, both of whom have denied that any such policy is in effect, have been under heavy fire from the U.S. Congress. Citizens' associations have passed resolutions of "no confidence" in Mr. Murphy, and an organization of merchants, calling itself "We the People," has retained criminal lawyer Edward Bennett Williams to investigate the feasibility of suing the District of Columbia for losses sustained in the April riots.

DEATH AND INACTION

When the deaths in quick succession of two merchants failed to stir community reaction, the friends of Benjamin Brown, who was shot while defending his store, placed a full-page advertisement in the local newspapers that read, in part:

"Ben Brown Is Dead. Is law enforcement also dead? Should anarchy prevail because a small segment of the population takes the law into its own hands? Should bands of hoodlums be allowed to continue preying on law-abiding citizens, Negro and white? . . .

"Who is at fault? Certainly not the majority of citizens, white or Negro. Certainly not the majority of the poor, Negro or white. Certainly not the policemen on the beat, who must obey orders. . . .

"This is no revolt of youth against older generations. This is no revolt of the poor against the wealthy. This is no part of the Civil Rights movement whose real leaders know that Utopia doesn't have to be built on ashes. It is an open attack by a few criminals against a community that lacks firm leadership and the courage to demand that its leaders exercise their authority—or resign. . . . Where will tragedy strike next? Today, the Inner City. Tomorrow, the residential areas, the suburbs.

"Today, Ben Brown. Tomorrow?"

BUS DRIVER KILLED

Charles Sweitzer, a World War II hero and the third man to be killed by hoodlums, met his death on May 7—the day that the black-bordered advertisement about Ben Brown appeared in the Washington Post and the Evening Star. On May 17, a D.C. Transit bus driver was slain, touching off an angry revolt among the drivers.

Last week the drivers were refusing to carry large amounts of silver for making change. When they asked for, and failed to receive, what they considered adequate police protection on the late-night "owl" runs, they refused to take the buses out with cash aboard; the transit company refused to let them go without cash. At the week end, bus service in the city had grown increasingly spotty. There was even the suggestion that the solution might be troops to ride the buses.

Apart from the violence, small merchants are bitter about other things. Many of them have lost their life's savings. Insurance companies are refusing to reinsure them. But what bothers them most are the statements by high Federal as well as District officials, which appear to echo the line of the black militants and the Communist Party, that the April looting was in some way "selective," that it was directed against usurious Jewish merchants.

"The extreme liberals, including many of my own race here in town, are using us as a scapegoat," declared a prominent Jewish businessman. "You know it eases peoples' consciences, and here we have to go back to Hitler. There was no depth to his philosophy but he appealed to many hungry, unhappy people by saying to them: 'The Jews have got all the money.'

"And as for the members of my own race who are saying such things today, I would remind them of the Jews who backed Hitler in the early days, of the Jews who went to gas chambers saying: 'It will never happen to me.'"

The small merchants express annoyance with the big retail establishments downtown that were not as badly hit by the rioters and which are in a better position to withstand temporary losses. It is their view that the "fat cats" are sitting back, appeasing the predominantly Negro District government, appeasing the Negro militants.

VIGOROUS DENIALS

Such private organizations as the Federal City Council, which is made up of prominent businessmen and civic leaders, deny the charge.

"We are working as hard as we can, but quietly, behind the scenes," is a typical response. "One of the great problems is that Walter Washington, the mayor, is a Johnson appointee and as such he is just as much a lame duck as the President."

One businessman, however, who is supplying food "at cost" to the Poor People campaigners on the mall, concedes privately that he is doing so under duress. "We are trying to 'buy' a certain amount of peace."

Oscar Dodek, an executive of D. J. Kaufman clothing stores here, has this to say: "It is an unfortunate fact of human nature that few people will move until they have been hurt themselves. We just have to recognize that looting and arson are crimes. And we must deal with them. We have arrogant, roving gangs all over town. They come through in packs of 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and they open their coats and yell: 'D. J. Kaufman looted suit!' daring me to do something.

"Take the Washington Post, for example. If the Post had been invaded the way my stores were, if their presses had been smashed by the mobs, then they might change their attitude."

POLICE POLICY PRAISED

Until recently, the Washington Post has been praising the police policy of restraint, and many merchants believe, fairly or unfairly, that the paper's news columns tend to downplay stories of Negro intimidation of merchants, such as the recent, successful efforts by militants to shut down many white businesses in honor of Malcolm X's birthday.

Mrs. Katharine "Kay" Graham, president of the Post, and daughter of its founder, Eugene Meyer, is known to be disturbed by the merchants' oft-expressed anger, and she has been hearing them out. A recent Post editorial suggests that time had come to "Stop the Violence."

During the riots, says Oscar Dodek, one of his stores was gutted by fire. The other store, on Pennsylvania Avenue across the street from the U.S. Department of Justice and the FBI, was looted "on and off for 8 to 10 hours and we had no police protection whatsoever."

Mr. Dodek has been in the forefront of the civil-rights movement in this town for years. As the former head of a human-rights commission and a merchants' association, he pushed for the hiring of more Negroes in downtown business establishments years before the movement became fashionable. He says that he does not regret his civil-rights work and he plans to continue it. But, like many other merchants, he now pleads for some kind of "balance" in the scale of justice.

NOT THE EXCEPTION

Mr. Dodek is no exception. Take Mortimer Lebowitz, head of Morton Stores, one of which was burned to the ground, another looted, Mr. Lebowitz has headed the Washington, D.C., Urban League; the Human Resources Commission; the Inner City Boy Scout Council. He marched in Montgomery, Ala., with the late Dr. King, and he has won an Equal Opportunity Award.

"It is simply not true that the looting was selective," says Mr. Lebowitz. "Almost exclusively, the looters went after places like mine which had the kind of apparel they wanted."

Hyman Perlo, whose liquor business has been destroyed, has worked for years to find jobs for Washington high-school dropouts, most of them Negro. There are many similar examples.

There is now a movement afoot to rebuild the riot corridors of 7th and 14th Street Northwest and H Street Northeast with black labor for black-owned businesses, a movement being pushed by militants on the one hand and the City Council on the other. Where the financing will come from, how the insurance will be worked out, and what will be the fate of the white-owned properties now there, are questions that have not been answered.

Not long ago, an organization called Build Black, Inc., on upper 14th Street Northwest, picketed the little P&G Market owned by Henry Walczak, a 56-year-old refugee of Nazi-occupied Russia in World War II. Negro pickets turned back customers, saying: "We want Whitey out."

Mr. Walczak boarded up his store and has taken an unlisted telephone number, but before he left he told a newspaper reporter that he had offered to sell his business to a Negro who had replied: "I didn't say I was going to buy it, I want you to give it to me."

"We are the biggest government in the world. We can lick anybody. But we can't find a way to save my business."

The Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation lies around the corner a few blocks away from the P&G Market and a depressing succession of gutted-out, fire-blackened stores. The Rev. William Wendt, its white pastor, is especially popular with fashionable matrons from the suburbs who come to St. Stephen's to do charity work.

"It's a new ball game along 14th Street," says Mr. Wendt crisply. "New concepts must be faced up to. The P&G Market has gone: Beautiful! It's right that he went. He charged too much.

"The people up here want black businesses now, 51 per cent black. How will we finance it? Government subsidy, I suppose. Now if you want to call that socialism or whatever, go ahead."

A new ball game it is. I returned to 14th Street on May 20, the birthday of Malcolm X, because a number of merchants had told me the previous week that militants had come by their stores to "suggest" that they close down in Malcolm's honor.

"You close down for a white man, now you close for a black man," they said.

While waiting to talk with Tilmon O'Bryant, the Negro captain of the crime-ridden 13th Precinct, which encompasses upper 14th Street Northwest, I overheard one of his patrolmen report that he had counted 80 business locations closed down along 14th Street alone, a figure that I was later to confirm by walking and driving up and down the nearly deserted street. And at a closed meeting of the crime committee of the Federal City Council, later in the week, members reported that warehouses and other businesses had shut down when they had received telephone threats from militants saying that they would be "burned" if they did not.

CARMICHAEL HEADQUARTERS

Near the corner of 14th and U Streets Northwest, where the April rioting began, a mob can be gathered today in seconds. Not far from here are the offices of Stokely Carmichael and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (Snick) and half a dozen other black nationalist organizations with hate literature in their windows: A big Negro Uncle Sam glares from one such storefront with the words: "Uncle Sam Wants You Nigger!"

It was on 14th Street, just down from the corner of 14th and U, that Washington's second riot nearly erupted one day last month when a white policeman from the 13th Precinct arrested a Negro narcotics suspect who was, incidentally, carrying a television set on his back at the time of his arrest.

According to police, the suspect attempted to swallow the narcotics capsules and when he did, one of the policemen grabbed him by the throat to retrieve the evidence. An angry crowd quickly gathered. Someone hurled a bottle at the policeman and hit the suspect instead, opening a small gash on his head.

At some point during the proceedings, Stokely Carmichael appeared on the scene. After the narcotics suspect was driven away to D.C. General Hospital, leaflets appeared in the crowd that said: "A white honky policeman creeped up behind a black brother . . . and started to choke him and drag him down the street."

RUMOR OF A KILLING

The word then flashed up and down the street that the Negro narcotics suspect had been killed by the white policeman. Some of the crowd marched on the 13th Precinct headquarters. where they were told he had been taken to a hospital.

Mayor Walter Washington sped to the scene and suggested that the suspect be removed from the hospital and produced so that the crowd could be convinced that he was, in fact, alive. This was done, after two stitches were taken in the man's head. The crowd settled down, but not before some of their number set fire to a Jewish owned shop, touching off a two-alarm fire.

During the disturbance, another white police officer went from store to store suggesting that all white owners shutter up and go home immediately. "If this gets much bigger, we can't protect you," he said. Some of the merchants took his advice, closed shop, and left by back doors.

Mayor Washington and other members of the District government are being pulled this way and that by the situation, which has been severely aggravated by the pressure of the Poor People's marchers. One day Mr. Washington hits at his critics for their fear, and for "hiding under the bed." Next day he informs the House District Committee that "the problem of threats against business properties is assuming serious proportions," and he asks for legislation to curb extortion.

In a 42-page report, the Washington City Council states that "institutions created by white society created the ghetto," and urges that the rebuilding be directed toward the Negro community. The report condemns "exploitive" retail practices by the city's lending institutions and raps the liquor industry for its "attitude" toward Negroes.

Julian R. Dugas, a key aide of Mr. Washington, said not long ago: "I am going to be very color conscious in my appointments. This is a Negro city and it should be run by Negroes."

THIS IS THE CAPITAL

Exclaims a prominent white restaurateur: "This is *not* a Negro city. It is the capital of the United States! I've worked in and for this city all my life. My parents came here from Poland in 1902. My father opened a little grocery in an alley in Southwest. He never took a day off in his entire life. He dedicated his life to raising a family that would have a better chance than he did. He raised a family of seven and two more distant relatives, most of whom went to college and are now leaders in this town.

"The Negroes are being hit just as hard as we are by this crime thing; those hoodlums don't discriminate when they set fire to a store, soul brother sign or not!"

The other afternoon, I visited a little liquor store in the far reaches of one of the riot corridors. It was shortly before 4 p.m., and the owner and his clerk were getting ready to go home. The clerk was a little Jewish man with thick eyeglasses whose own store had been destroyed.

He said that he had been born in Russia, had made his way to Palestine after World War II where he had fought against the British in the underground. He had come to this country, married an American, and had worked for 18 years to establish his business. Now it was gone.

"I had a dream, too, and it was realized," he said flatly. "Now it has turned into a nightmare. If my wife will come, I will move to Switzerland. I don't feel safe in America any longer."

PETER T. CHEW.

COMMENTS ON THE POOR PEOPLES CAMPAIGN

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all the Members of Congress are getting comments from their constituents relative to what is going on in Washington these days under the guise of a poor peoples' campaign to exact from the Congress all kinds of exorbitant and unreasonable demands. This morning's mail brought one from a good constituent of mine, which I share with the membership of this House and include at this point in the RECORD:

HENRY, ILL.,
May 25, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT H. MICHEL,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MICHEL: If the newscast this morning be accurate in reporting the attempt of a pressure-group to intimidate Mr. Wilbur Mills in his own home, then indeed have the processes of representative government been stultified by a mob-action which subordinates the national interest to its demands of transitory urgency!

It is disgraceful enough, that a pigsty encampment of rabble has been tolerated in the very precincts of the Capital but an intrusion of massive coercion into the budgetary deliberations of the Congress is destructive of all representative government.

As Mr. Justice Frankfurter discerned the ultimate contours of the First Amendment, they are "subject to prohibition of those abuses of expression which a civilized society may forbid. . . . Who is to balance the relevant factors and ascertain which interest is in the circumstances to prevail? . . . Can we establish a constitutional doctrine which forbids the elected representatives of the people to make this choice? Can we hold that the First Amendment deprives Congress of what it deemed necessary for the Government's protection?[1]

Or, has Lyndon Johnson obliterated every last hope, that this shall remain "a Government of laws and not of men?"

With every expression of highest esteem, I am

Very sincerely yours,
MILES DUNNINGTON.

THE ARITHMETIC DOES NOT MATCH THE RHETORIC

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 27, 1968, I had the pleasure of addressing the Toilet Goods Association, Inc. I spoke about the current economic problems of the United States and the administration's inability and unwillingness to cope with them.

In my speech I outlined the history of the administration's maneuvering on the tax issue for the past 2 years and the fact that the administration still refuses to talk about realistic ways to restore a sound economy.

The President keeps insisting that any expenditure cuts would mean cutting programs designed to assist the poor and disadvantaged. This is untrue. If poverty programs are cut this year, it will only be because the President wants to cut them.

In my speech I also identified a number of non-Vietnam and nonpoverty areas that can be reduced by about $15 billion.

The speech follows:

THE U.S. ECONOMY: WHAT LIES AHEAD

The United States is today in a severe financial and fiscal crisis; and the Administration and its allies in the leadership of the Congress seem unable and unwilling to take the measures necessary to correct the situation.

The Federal deficit for fiscal 1968 is now predicted for at least $25 billion with the same to follow in fiscal 1969; interest rates are at the highest level since the Civil War; inflation is currently running at a rate between 4% and 5%; and the balance of trade in March was negative for the first time in 5 years, representing the worst negative figure in 30 years.

The last three times I have mentioned, namely the all-time high interest rates, increased inflation, and the deterioration in the balance of trade, all stem directly from the Federal deficit.

Even Secretary Fowler in testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee admitted this—that the deficits accumulated over a period of years lie at the base of our domestic inflation and the deterioration in the balance of trade.

To give one more example of the current economic problems, look at the growth of GNP in the first quarter of 1968. GNP grew $20 billion. This figure seems impressive until you examine it and discover that 40% of GNP growth—or $8 billion of the $20 billion—was due to inflation (price rises). There was only $12 billion in real economic growth.

With all these facts widely recognized, what is being done about them? A too-little, too-late spending cuts/tax surcharge bill which would cut spending by $6 billion and increase corporate and individual income taxes by 10% is currently pending before both Houses of Congress. However, it now appears that the leadership of the House will not call it up for a vote until at least June 18th. But even if this bill is passed, it will still not be enough. The Administration itself says that this bill is insufficient. Even if the tax surcharge had been voted back in January, domestic inflation would still have continued at a rate of over 3 percent this year.

This was clearly seen by the Joint Economic Committee as long ago as January, 1967, when the President's budget and economic message came to the Congress showing spending at the $135 billion level. The Joint Economic Committee, 20 members; with 12 Democrats and 8 Republicans, said unanimously that we must cut that figure by $5 billion. Otherwise the deficit would be in the range of $20 billion and would create inflationary pressures on society which could not be borne without severe economic consequences.

The Administration did nothing, month after month, until finally, about August, the President came with a message asking for his tax increase. The Ways and Means Committee held hearings in September, right after Labor Day. The Administration told Congress that it had cut expenditures by $4 billion.

I well recall interrogating the Secretary of the Treasury. I said, "Fine. Then we are down to $131 billion from $135 billion." The Secretary appeared a little confused and flustered—and well he might—because the figure, he knew, was $142 billion. He said, in effect, No, we have not.

What happened was that the Administration may have cut expenditures of $4 billion somewhere, but somewhere else it had increased expenditures by $11 billion, so we had a net increase of $7 billion and not a decrease of $4 billion.

Under this kind of climate it became very clear we were not getting anywhere but that a tax increase would be simply transferring purchasing power from the private sector to an administration that was increasing its expenditures even then beyond a level that we felt was a breaking point. This is an economic fact.

We held hearings further. I recall asking the economists who appeared before us, and all agreed that what we should be talking about was a combination package of a tax increase with expenditure cutbacks. There was to be a balance between the two.

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[1] *Dennis* v. *United States*, 341 US 494. (I have cited from 95 *L. Ed.* 1137)

Mr. Dodek has been in the forefront of the civil-rights movement in this town for years. As the former head of a human-rights commission and a merchants' association, he pushed for the hiring of more Negroes in downtown business establishments years before the movement became fashionable. He says that he does not regret his civil-rights work and he plans to continue it. But, like many other merchants, he now pleads for some kind of "balance" in the scale of justice.

NOT THE EXCEPTION

Mr. Dodek is no exception. Take Mortimer Lebowitz, head of Morton Stores, one of which was burned to the ground, another looted, Mr. Lebowitz has headed the Washington, D.C., Urban League; the Human Resources Commission; the Inner City Boy Scout Council. He marched in Montgomery, Ala., with the late Dr. King, and he has won an Equal Opportunity Award.

"It is simply not true that the looting was selective," says Mr. Lebowitz. "Almost exclusively, the looters went after places like mine which had the kind of apparel they wanted."

Hyman Perlo, whose liquor business has been destroyed, has worked for years to find jobs for Washington high-school dropouts, most of them Negro. There are many similar examples.

There is now a movement afoot to rebuild the riot corridors of 7th and 14th Street Northwest and H Street Northeast with black labor for black-owned businesses, a movement being pushed by militants on the one hand and the City Council on the other. Where the financing will come from, how the insurance will be worked out, and what will be the fate of the white-owned properties now there, are questions that have not been answered.

Not long ago, an organization called Build Black, Inc., on upper 14th Street Northwest, picketed the little P&G Market owned by Henry Walczak, a 56-year-old refugee of Nazi-occupied Russia in World War II. Negro pickets turned back customers, saying: "We want Whitey out."

Mr. Walczak boarded up his store and has taken an unlisted telephone number, but before he left he told a newspaper reporter that he had offered to sell his business to a Negro who had replied: "I didn't say I was going to buy it, I want you to give it to me."

"We are the biggest government in the world. We can lick anybody. But we can't find a way to save my business."

The Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation lies around the corner a few blocks away from the P&G Market and a depressing succession of gutted-out, fire-blackened stores. The Rev. William Wendt, its white pastor, is especially popular with fashionable matrons from the suburbs who come to St. Stephen's to do charity work.

"It's a new ball game along 14th Street," says Mr. Wendt crisply. "New concepts must be faced up to. The P&G Market has gone: Beautiful! It's right that he went. He charged too much.

"The people up here want black businesses now, 51 per cent black. How will we finance it? Government subsidy, I suppose. Now if you want to call that socialism or whatever, go ahead."

A new ball game it is. I returned to 14th Street on May 20, the birthday of Malcolm X, because a number of merchants had told me the previous week that militants had come by their stores to "suggest" that they close down in Malcolm's honor.

"You close down for a white man, now you close for a black man," they said.

While waiting to talk with Tilmon O'Bryant, the Negro captain of the crime-ridden 13th Precinct, which encompasses upper 14th Street Northwest, I overheard one of his patrolmen report that he had counted 80 business locations closed down along 14th Street alone, a figure that I was later to confirm by walking and driving up and down the nearly deserted street. And at a closed meeting of the crime committee of the Federal City Council, later in the week, members reported that warehouses and other businesses had shut down when they had received telephone threats from militants saying that they would be "burned" if they did not.

CARMICHAEL HEADQUARTERS

Near the corner of 14th and U Streets Northwest, where the April rioting began, a mob can be gathered today in seconds. Not far from here are the offices of Stokely Carmichael and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (Snick) and half a dozen other black nationalist organizations with hate literature in their windows: A big Negro Uncle Sam glares from one such storefront with the words: "Uncle Sam Wants You Nigger!"

It was on 14th Street, just down from the corner of 14th and U, that Washington's second riot nearly erupted one day last month when a white policeman from the 13th Precinct arrested a Negro narcotics suspect who was, incidentally, carrying a television set on his back at the time of his arrest.

According to police, the suspect attempted to swallow the narcotics capsules and when he did, one of the policemen grabbed him by the throat to retrieve the evidence. An angry crowd quickly gathered. Someone hurled a bottle at the policeman and hit the suspect instead, opening a small gash on his head.

At some point during the proceedings, Stokely Carmichael appeared on the scene. After the narcotics suspect was driven away to D.C. General Hospital, leaflets appeared in the crowd that said: "A white honky policeman creeped up behind a black brother . . . and started to choke him and drag him down the street."

RUMOR OF A KILLING

The word then flashed up and down the street that the Negro narcotics suspect had been killed by the white policeman. Some of the crowd marched on the 13th Precinct headquarters. where they were told he had been taken to a hospital.

Mayor Walter Washington sped to the scene and suggested that the suspect be removed from the hospital and produced so that the crowd could be convinced that he was, in fact, alive. This was done, after two stitches were taken in the man's head. The crowd settled down, but not before some of their number set fire to a Jewish owned shop, touching off a two-alarm fire.

During the disturbance, another white police officer went from store to store suggesting that all white owners shutter up and go home immediately. "If this gets much bigger, we can't protect you," he said. Some of the merchants took his advice, closed shop, and left by back doors.

Mayor Washington and other members of the District government are being pulled this way and that by the situation, which has been severely aggravated by the pressure of the Poor People's marchers. One day Mr. Washington hits at his critics for their fear, and for "hiding under the bed." Next day he informs the House District Committee that "the problem of threats against business properties is assuming serious proportions," and he asks for legislation to curb extortion.

In a 42-page report, the Washington City Council states that "institutions created by white society created the ghetto," and urges that the rebuilding be directed toward the Negro community. The report condemns "exploitive" retail practices by the city's lending institutions and raps the liquor industry for its "attitude" toward Negroes.

Julian R. Dugas, a key aide of Mr. Washington, said not long ago: "I am going to be very color conscious in my appointments. This is a Negro city and it should be run by Negroes."

THIS IS THE CAPITAL

Exclaims a prominent white restaurateur:

"This is *not* a Negro city. It is the capital of the United States! I've worked in and for this city all my life. My parents came here from Poland in 1902. My father opened a little grocery in an alley in Southwest. He never took a day off in his entire life. He dedicated his life to raising a family that would have a better chance than he did. He raised a family of seven and two more distant relatives, most of whom went to college and are now leaders in this town.

"The Negroes are being hit just as hard as we are by this crime thing; those hoodlums don't discriminate when they set fire to a store, soul brother sign or not!"

The other afternoon, I visited a little liquor store in the far reaches of one of the riot corridors. It was shortly before 4 p.m., and the owner and his clerk were getting ready to go home. The clerk was a little Jewish man with thick eyeglasses whose own store had been destroyed.

He said that he had been born in Russia, had made his way to Palestine after World War II where he had fought against the British in the underground. He had come to this country, married an American, and had worked for 18 years to establish his business. Now it was gone.

"I had a dream, too, and it was realized," he said flatly. "Now it has turned into a nightmare. If my wife will come, I will move to Switzerland. I don't feel safe in America any longer."

PETER T. CHEW.

COMMENTS ON THE POOR PEOPLES CAMPAIGN

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all the Members of Congress are getting comments from their constituents relative to what is going on in Washington these days under the guise of a poor peoples' campaign to exact from the Congress all kinds of exorbitant and unreasonable demands. This morning's mail brought one from a good constituent of mine, which I share with the membership of this House and include at this point in the RECORD:

HENRY, ILL.,
May 25, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT H. MICHEL,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MICHEL: If the newscast this morning be accurate in reporting the attempt of a pressure-group to intimidate Mr. Wilbur Mills in his own home, then indeed have the processes of representative government been stultified by a mob-action which subordinates the national interest to its demands of transitory urgency!

It is disgraceful enough, that a pigsty encampment of rabble has been tolerated in the very precincts of the Capital but an intrusion of massive coercion into the budgetary deliberations of the Congress is destructive of all representative government.

As Mr. Justice Frankfurter discerned the ultimate contours of the First Amendment, they are "subject to prohibition of those abuses of expression which a civilized society may forbid. . . . Who is to balance the relevant factors and ascertain which interest is in the circumstances to prevail? . . . Can we establish a constitutional doctrine which forbids the elected representatives of the people to make this choice? Can we hold that the First Amendment deprives Congress of what it deemed necessary for the Government's protection?[1]

Or, has Lyndon Johnson obliterated every last hope, that this shall remain "a Government of laws and not of men?"

With every expression of highest esteem, I am

Very sincerely yours,
MILES DUNNINGTON.

THE ARITHMETIC DOES NOT MATCH THE RHETORIC

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 27, 1968, I had the pleasure of addressing the Toilet Goods Association, Inc. I spoke about the current economic problems of the United States and the administration's inability and unwillingness to cope with them.

In my speech I outlined the history of the administration's maneuvering on the tax issue for the past 2 years and the fact that the administration still refuses to talk about realistic ways to restore a sound economy.

The President keeps insisting that any expenditure cuts would mean cutting programs designed to assist the poor and disadvantaged. This is untrue. If poverty programs are cut this year, it will only be because the President wants to cut them.

In my speech I also identified a number of non-Vietnam and nonpoverty areas that can be reduced by about $15 billion.

The speech follows:

THE U.S. ECONOMY: WHAT LIES AHEAD

The United States is today in a severe financial and fiscal crisis; and the Administration and its allies in the leadership of the Congress seem unable and unwilling to take the measures necessary to correct the situation.

The Federal deficit for fiscal 1968 is now predicted for at least $25 billion with the same to follow in fiscal 1969; interest rates are at the highest level since the Civil War; inflation is currently running at a rate between 4% and 5%; and the balance of trade in March was negative for the first time in 5 years, representing the worst negative figure in 30 years.

The last three times I have mentioned, namely the all-time high interest rates, increased inflation, and the deterioration in the balance of trade, all stem directly from the Federal deficit.

Even Secretary Fowler in testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee admitted this—that the deficits accumulated over a period of years lie at the base of our domestic inflation and the deterioration in the balance of trade.

To give one more example of the current economic problems, look at the growth of GNP in the first quarter of 1968. GNP grew $20 billion. This figure seems impressive until you examine it and discover that 40% of GNP growth—or $8 billion of the $20 billion—was due to inflation (price rises). There was only $12 billion in real economic growth.

With all these facts widely recognized, what is being done about them? A too-little, too-late spending cuts/tax surcharge bill which would cut spending by $6 billion and increase corporate and individual income taxes by 10% is currently pending before both Houses of Congress. However, it now appears that the leadership of the House will not call it up for a vote until at least June 18th. But even if this bill is passed, it will still not be enough. The Administration itself says that this bill is insufficient. Even if the tax surcharge had been voted back in January, domestic inflation would still have continued at a rate of over 3 percent this year.

This was clearly seen by the Joint Economic Committee as long ago as January, 1967, when the President's budget and economic message came to the Congress showing spending at the $135 billion level. The Joint Economic Committee, 20 members; with 12 Democrats and 8 Republicans, said unanimously that we must cut that figure by $5 billion. Otherwise the deficit would be in the range of $20 billion and would create inflationary pressures on society which could not be borne without severe economic consequences.

The Administration did nothing, month after month, until finally, about August, the President came with a message asking for his tax increase. The Ways and Means Committee held hearings in September, right after Labor Day. The Administration told Congress that it had cut expenditures by $4 billion.

I well recall interrogating the Secretary of the Treasury. I said, "Fine. Then we are down to $131 billion from $135 billion." The Secretary appeared a little confused and flustered—and well he might—because the figure, he knew, was $142 billion. He said, in effect, No, we have not.

What happened was that the Administration may have cut expenditures of $4 billion somewhere, but somewhere else it had increased expenditures by $11 billion, so we had a net increase of $7 billion and not a decrease of $4 billion.

Under this kind of climate it became very clear we were not getting anywhere but that a tax increase would be simply transferring purchasing power from the private sector to an administration that was increasing its expenditures even then beyond a level that we felt was a breaking point. This is an economic fact.

We held hearings further. I recall asking the economists who appeared before us, and all agreed that what we should be talking about was a combination package of a tax increase with expenditure cutbacks. There was to be a balance between the two.

I want to say one other thing. The Republicans on the Joint Economic Committee this year, 1968, in our report in March, said in effect that even with expenditure cuts we think this fiscal picture is so serious it will require a tax increase. This is where there was disagreement with the Democrats on the Joint Economic Committee, who said they were opposed to a tax increase.

In further pursuing this economic problem I asked the economists in October what is the effect on inflation of a $1 billion tax increase in relation to a $1 billion cut in expenditures by the Federal Government? They responded, all but one, that a $1 billion cut in Federal expenditures would have a much greater multiplier effect in hitting at the problem of inflation than would the equivalent amount in increased taxes.

From this answer we had at least the beginning of how we might have pursued the problem of getting the proper package of expenditure cuts along with whatever tax increase might be needed.

We ended up the calendar year 1967 with the Administration refusing to sit down with the Ways and Means Committee to go over expenditure priorities on programs, or even to say where it would cut. It was adamant in saying that there was no place to cut. Administration officials said that the budget was austere and that any cutting would just damage needed programs.

1968 came with the Administration still unwilling to talk about realistic expenditure cuts and as I interpolated not really wanting a tax increase either.

In January of 1968 the President submitted his budget for fiscal 1969 which called for a spending level of $152 billion on an administrative budget basis. This figure of $152 billion is extrapolated from the consolidated budget figure of $186 billion. The $152 billion of expenditures I am talking about are those financed through general revenues. I have excluded trust funds and certain other items financed through earmarked taxes—for example, the payroll tax for social security and unemployment insurance and gasoline and other excise taxes for one defense highway program. Thus the $152 billion figure of expenditures is the important one to match against general revenues for the shortfall becomes the amount of new government debt to be floated, $25 billion for fiscal 1968, and $31 billion for fiscal year 1969 if the tax package hung up in conference is not enacted into law.

The budget submitted for fiscal 1969 in January clearly indicated the attitude of the Administration toward expenditure control and was tantamount to a thumbing of the nose at those Congressional leaders and others calling for expenditure cuts. At a time when inflation was clearly gaining steam and the budget deficit was estimated at between $20 billion and $30 billion, the President submitted a budget for the next year that was even more stimulative.

This budget presentation for fiscal year 1969 is the biggest economic fact of 1968. When Europeans realized that this proposed budget was not austere and contained none of the expenditure restraints necessary to counteract the deficit and inflation, the run on the dollar picked up momentum.

Finally, on April 2d, against intense Administration pressure and lobbying, the Senate passed a spending cuts/tax surcharge amendment to the excise tax bill and it was sent to conference. The Senate amendment called for spending cuts of $6 billion. The President said he could accept spending cuts of only $4 billion but refused to discuss priorities on line-item cuts on even a $4 billion reduction. As soon as the conference started, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget was asked where he would apply the $6 billion cut or even the $4 billion cut which the Administration might want. He started listing an across-the-board cut approach beginning with school lunches. Just as was done so futilely last October.

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[1] *Dennis* v. *United States*, 341 US 494. (I have cited from 95 *L. Ed.* 1137)

Federal Government has to tighten its belt and therefore ask the people to be understanding with the Members of the Congress when they vote for cutting programs, yes, including special public works programs in their own districts in an effort to restore more power and confidence in the dollar. The President must get on television and radio and make these speeches in order for him to be believable, and in order for the Congress to feel that it has his backing in proceeding toward this goal of establishing expenditure priorities between foreign and domestic programs and between domestic programs themselves.

Let me say something further: The President says he will have to cut in the poverty area in order to provide a $6 billion saving. This is untrue. Not that I do not think the poverty area could not stand a deep scrutiny, because we are feeding money into redundant programs at such a rate that much is being wasted. There is room in these programs to cut funds in order to get better results.

Putting the war in Vietnam and the poverty war aside, the cuts I direct attention to are in other areas. If the President cuts in the poverty area, or in the Vietnam war--except for the sake of efficiencies which are badly needed—it will be because he wants to, not because other alternatives have not been presented which are more feasible.

I have suggested a number of areas in which Federal expenditures could be reduced by about $15 billion. These include:

(1) Troops in Europe—$2 billion.

(2) Foreign Aid—P.L. 480—and Development Bank expenditures can be cut back from a $5.5 billion level by $3.5 billion to a $2 billion level.

(3) Research and Development. We are currently spending at a rate of about $17 billion. I favor research and development programs in general but they have been expanded with great rapidity beyond all reason. We could cut back to $14 billion, thus saving $3 billion.

(4) Cut public works—and this I dislike to do because public works are capital expenditures which usually have good cost-benefit ratios, but because of the times we should cut them from a $5 billion to a $2 billion expenditure level until we can get on top of our fiscal problem.

Yes, I am willing to have a sign go up on the projects in my district that says, "This project temporarily suspended until we put purchasing power back in the dollar."

I believe the people of my district and of the country would applaud this.

(5) Cut space back from a level of about $5 billion to $3.5 billion. It was originally projected at an annual expenditure level of $2.8 billion.

(6) In the Williams-Smathers amendment relating to Federal personnel, there is a saving of $1 billion.

(7) I have argued we ought to review our agricultural programs to help the farmers, but to pay them through the marketplace for producing rather than by paying them in this inefficient way through government subsidies and controls to not produce. This actually would save $2 billion in tax money, and would channel income to the farmers through the private sector.

(8) Then there is $1 billion that we would save on the interest for the Federal debt by reducing these other expenditures.

Actually, this totals up to be more than $15 billion. There is some redundancy. I want to emphasize, in cutting research and development, and some of the other areas that have been mentioned such as space. But here is the list where we could make a beginning in cutting back these expenditures.

I regret to say that the way things have been going, the Executive is not about to tell the people or the Congress that he is going to accept the $6 billion cut, and then spell out where it is. He won't even spell out where he can make $4 billion in cuts. But, in my judgment, this must be done, if we are going to really hit at the problem of inflation which is eroding our economic strength—both at home and abroad.

It is interesting to note that the President has wasted so much time in his rhetoric unaccompanied by action that fiscal 1968 is almost a thing of the past. The current fiscal year ends in 5 weeks. The President has deliberately delayed any real attempt to reduce the federal deficit until fiscal 1969, in which he won't be President for the last half. He can continue to spend for the first half of fiscal 1969 at his present increased levels, leaving the incoming President to make all the cuts. This will not help our fiscal problem now. It will only aggravate and postpone meeting it.

But unless this country moves toward fiscal and monetary restraint immediately, with a heavy emphasis on genuine expenditure reform, I think there is little doubt that another run on the dollar will occur. This time we may not be able to count on the degree of cooperation from other countries which has been forthcoming in the past. There comes a time when recognition of mutual interests is blunted by a growing sense of one's own self-interest. The international financial community needs dramatic proof that this country can act responsibly to establish spending priorities, stop inflation and restore equilibrium to its balance of payments. Other countries are too sophisticated to demand results overnight. But they do want to see action taken that shows promise of producing results within the reasonably near future.

This does not mean more controls over trade, investment and travel. Controls merely throw out the baby with the bath water. They are self-defeating attempts to save the system by destroying it. What good is the international monetary system unless it provides greater freedom of trade, travel and investment? What good have been our efforts since World War II to construct an open international economy when we insidiously restrict it in the name of its salvation?

Gentlemen, I have not given you an optimistic message today. The only thing that encourages me is that I am now convinced that there is only one date to keep in mind—November. It is very doubtful that any meaningful fiscal action will be taken before that time.

The people of this country will have an opportunity in November to cast their ballot in judgment between a fiscal policy that has produced these kinds of results I have been describing today and, hopefully, the fiscal policy that I would like to see. Let us only hope that people in Europe do not want to pull the rug out from under us in the intervening months. The reason they are not cashing in the $34 billion against the $11 billion of gold we still have left is that they know our overall society—essentially the private sector—is sound, $120 billion of assets abroad against about $40 billion foreign owned assets here. They know also that there is an election in November and they think that the American people are going to throw out of office an administration that not only cannot balance a budget, but very clearly, does not want to.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 127th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

REPORT ON THE RIOTS

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Sunday Star of March 3, 1968, carried an article "Report on the Riots," which analyzed the findings of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Here is a most sensible and thought-provoking article, the full text of which is as follows:

REPORT ON THE RIOTS

The President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has produced a long report that is notable both for its rhetoric and its lack of realism. As far as riots in the cities are concerned, it may prove to be more harmful than helpful.

The basic conclusion in the summary of the report is that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." We think this is a misconception. Fifteen years ago, when segregation was the order of the day, this statement would have been largely true. Until a few years ago, however, there was a significant movement toward one society as old racial barriers fell under the impact of court rulings and, we think, a rather widespread recognition by many white people that discrimination was wrong and had to go. Let us not forget the white men and women who marched with Dr. Martin Luther King.

Then came the riots—Watts, Newark, Detroit and so on. "Burn, baby burn" and "Get Whitey" moved into the language. As a result there unquestionably has been a diminution of good will. The white backlash, though it may have been exaggerated, is real. What other reaction could a rational person expect? So now there is a movement apart, not only by whites but by Negroes who can get out of the central cities. But why not put the blame where it primarily belongs—on the riots and those responsible for them?

This report indicts "white racism" as being essentially responsible "for the explosive mixture" which "has been accumulating" in our cities since World War II. By white racism, the report means "the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans." There may be something to this. But the authors of the report, strangely enough, find no comparable basis for indicting black racism.

On this score it is said that the riots involved Negroes acting against "local symbols of white American society" rather than against "white persons." A bit further on the report describes the "typical rioter" as a Negro teenager or young adult, a high school dropout, and "extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes."

This last is about the size of it, and it is regrettable that the report does not put as much emphasis on forthrightly condemning riots and rioters as it does on offering excuses for them.

President Johnson, as might be expected, has reacted cautiously to the report of his own commission. An aide said Mr. Johnson wants to "do everything he can" in this field and that the report "will be very carefully considered." A key figure, Chairman Mahon of the House Appropriations Committee, has been more candid. Pointing out that we are spending more than $25 billion this year to help the poor, Mahon criticized the report for not even trying to estimate how many billions of additional dollars its implementation would require, and for raising hopes which he fears "will be impossible of fulfillment."

There is a crisis, a real crisis, in our cities. But with the costly war in Vietnam and a

budget already dangerously out of balance, the money needed to deal with it certainly will not be available this year or next. We believe, however, that this country, given a chance, will find a solution to the problem. We also believe that more riots or threats of riots will serve only to delay that solution—and this at the expense of the people who are most in need of help.

AN EXCITING NEW JOB-TRAINING GROUND BROKEN IN WESTERN NEW YORK BY THE BUILDING TRADES UNIONS AND THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY EMPLOYERS WORKING TOGETHER IN PROJECT JUSTICE

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, we are always pleased to commend cooperative efforts by organized labor and employers' associations. And when these cooperative efforts are aimed at alleviating poverty by providing job-training and jobs for the unemployed, they are particularly worthy of praise.

We in western New York and the Niagara frontier are very proud of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Buffalo and vicinity and the Construction Industry Employers Association, who, with the cooperative assistance of the Opportunities Development Corp., a local nonprofit enterprise concerned as its name implies with employment of the unemployed, and of various minority groups and organizations, have developed Project Justice—journeymen under specific training in construction employment. This project has been approved and funded by the U.S. Department of Labor.

I am sure that the concept and scope of Project Justice will be of great interest to all Members of Congress. I commend it to the attention of the United States and the world, for here is an example of people working with people, for people, and for the benefit of all, in the American way.

The concept and scope of this imaginative yet practical approach to jobs for the unemployed is set out in the application for funding and approval. It reads:

JOURNEYMAN TRAINEE PROGRAM FOR WESTERN NEW YORK

The Building and Construction Trades Council of Buffalo and Vicinity and the Construction Industry Employers Association representing the Contractors in the Western New York area working in conjunction with the Opportunities Development Corporation have developed and hereby submit for approval the following Journeyman Trainee Program for the benefit of minority group personnel.

SCOPE AND EMPHASIS

The Program will include up to fifty (50) males mainly from the Minority Groups who are beyond the normal apprenticeable age and who are desirous of coming into the Construction Industry and through training received from this Program and from the Industry, become qualified mechanics.

RECRUITMENT OF TRAINEES FOR PROGRAM

The recruitment of the trainees shall be accomplished under the direction of a Recruitment and Advisory Committee, such Committee to be comprised of representation from the Minority Organizations in the Buffalo, New York area which would include the Opportunities Development Corporation, Workers Defense League, The Urban League, the New York State Apprenticeship Information Centers and others. The Recruitment and Advisory Committee shall also include a Public Member of the Construction Industry's Review and Referral Committee, a representative of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Buffalo and Vicinity and of the Construction Industry Employers Association.

The recruitment of applicants shall be established on the following criteria:

1. Above the apprenticeable age, (depending on the particular craft qualifications)
2. A background of mechanical skills or aptitudes
3. Physical ability
4. Fully motivated to enter the construction field
5. Head of household

The Recruitment and Advisory Committee will also be charged to fully inform all applicants for training that openings in the several crafts will be such that the applicants' choice of craft cannot necessarily be met.

CRAFT OPENINGS AND CONTINUITY OF ON-THE-JOB TRAINING FOR TRAINEES

The fifty (50) openings for trainees will be provided in that each participating Union will accept at least one (1) trainee with a formula developed depending upon work opportunities and size of the particular Union to fulfill the fifty (50) applicants with training opportunities in the crafts. Employers are committed to provide the trainee upon successful completion of his first phase of instruction with twenty (20) weeks of on-the-job training on the same basis as employment is provided to any other employee. The Recruitment and Advisory Committee shall be charged with providing the continuity of employment for the trainee by moving, if and when necessary, the trainee from one employer to another.

PAYMENTS TO JOURNEYMAN TRAINEE THROUGH AGREEMENT BY AND BETWEEN THE CONTRACTORS AND THE BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL OF BUFFALO AND VICINITY

There has been accepted a new classification of journeyman trainee. The wage rate for this classification will be the wage rate established for the journeyman in the craft for which the trainee is undergoing instruction. Such classification and wage rate will be paid to the trainee while undergoing on-the-job training.

INSTRUCTIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAM PHASE I—GENERAL INDUSTRY INSTRUCTION

This initial phase of instruction to the trainee will consist of a three (3) week period which is to provide three (3) hour classes, three (3) nights per week for a total of twenty-seven (27) hours of instruction.

The emphasis of this instruction period is on a broad indoctrination of the trainee to the Construction Industry generally, such instruction and training to cover make-up of the Industry, duties and responsibilities of the various craft Unions, Safety, duties of the craft journeyman, role of the Union and of Management in the Industry, etc.

This first phase of the Program will be conducted by instructors from the various craft Unions, Employer representatives and accredited personnel drawn from either the Public School System or local Colleges and Universities to conduct the necessary academic training.

PHASE II—SPECIFIC CRAFT TRAINING

At the conclusion of Phase I trainees will elect specific crafts to pursue to the extent that available openings will allow and according to the allocations that are made by the Recruitment and Advisory Committee. The trainee when so designated to the specific craft training will undergo six (6) weeks of intensified craft and related instruction for three (3) nights a week for a total of fifty-four (54) hours.

Two (2) nights per week will include practical skill instruction in the shop locations as are provided. The third night of the week of the training will be devoted to related instruction (craft relevant academics).

The various crafts will select instructors to conduct the practical training while academic instruction will be conducted by the accredited personnel drawn from sources indicated above.

The objective for Phase II is to provide at its conclusion an individual who is sufficiently instructed in Safety and in job orientation so that he will not be a hazard to himself or to other employees on the job; that he will have sufficient knowledge of the basic tools, jurisdiction of the craft, so as to have the essential elements to make the individual productive.

PHASE III—ON-THE-JOB TRAINING AND INSTRUCTION

Concluding successful completion as determined by the Recruitment and Advisory Committee of Phases I and II the journeyman trainee will then enter into the phase of one-the-job training and instruction for an average period of twenty (20) weeks normally at forty (40) hours per week for a total of approximately eight hundred (800) hours.

During this phase of training, close contact will be maintained with each trainee which among other things will require a weekly report on the trainee's progress to the Project Director. There will be frequent and routine meetings between the trainees and either the Union Coordinators or Recruitment Counselors. The main purpose of these meetings will be to discuss the trainees' progress or lack of progress, but in general, for the purpose of assisting the trainee in his own job development and adjustment. The outcome of these meetings might well be the assignment of tutoring classes for the trainee where specific academic deficiencies have been identified. Further problems outside of the job or instruction itself that might be of a personal nature and which might impinge upon the trainees' job performance, that might be brought to the fore through these meetings will be then serviced through an appropriate community resource.

DETERMINATION OF STATUS OF TRAINEE CONCLUDING PHASE III OF THE JOURNEYMAN TRAINING PROGRAM

The Review and Referral Committee of the Construction Industry and the Recruitment and Advisory Committee will establish objective criteria in order that a complete review may be made as to the progress of each individual trainee and from such review the determination as to the future status of each trainee. These determinations would be:

1. That the trainee be referred to his craft for journeyman qualification examination
2. If lacking sufficient qualification for examination, but sufficient potential, the trainee be required to accomplish additional related and/or vocational training prior to commencing another period of on-the-job training, or
3. Because of complete lack of qualification or potential, the trainee be terminated from the Program.

It should be recognized that this Program shall be a continuing one as long as the need exists for journeymen in the various crafts but it is understood that when sufficient manpower has been trained in any particular craft or skill that this portion of the Program will be discontinued.

CONTEMPLATED LOCATION OF INSTRUCTIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

It is contemplated that during the instructional and training phases during the Spring of 1968 that the practical instruction will be provided in the various shops at McKinley Vocational High School and that the academic related instruction will be conducted at the State University of New York Urban Center of Buffalo.

The Construction Industry Employers Association has now under construction a $500,000 Apprentice and Training Building on Ensminger Road, Town of Tonawanda. This building will be available for use as of September, 1968.

Inasmuch as the Apprentice and Training Building has both shop and class room facilities more than adequate to meet the needs of this Journeyman Training Program, it is expected that both the practical and related training as is required under the Journeyman Training Program will be conducted on and after September 1, 1968 in this new facility.

TIME TABLE FOR STAFF TRAINING

All program staff will participate in a five (5) day, forty (40) hour training period as the initial activity of the Program. Besides general orientation, this training session will concern itself with such other topical areas as:

1. Program's organizational structure.
2. Fundamentals of supervision.
3. Instructional schedules, methods and materials, to be used in Program.
4. Tours of instructional facilities.
5. Anticipated characteristics of the trainee population.
6. An overview of the trade union movement.
7. Roles of all participating agencies.
8. Assigned functions of all Program personnel.
9. Community resources.
10. Functions of Construction Industry Employers Association and Craft Unions.

The two (2) weeks following the above staff training program will be used for recruitment. Interested community groups will be requested to suggest candidates who meet the selections criteria to participate as trainees of the Program. Final selection of trainees will be the responsibility of the Program Director.

KING OF NORWAY IMPRESSES

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, Minnesota recently had the great honor of a visit from King Olav of Norway. Wherever he went in Norwegian-favored Minnesota he made a tremendous impression on the people. Mr. H. O. Sonnesyn, editor of the Post Publishing Co. in my congressional district—an outstanding journalist—captured the spirit of the King's visit in an editorial on May 16. I am pleased to insert Mr. Sonnesyn's remarks in the RECORD, as follows:

KING OLAV IMPRESSED LOCAL PEOPLE, HE WAS AN ORDINARY AND COMMON GOOD FELLOW

Like all good Norwegians, and this is not to insinuate all of them are not good, we joined with the descendants of the Norsemen in greeting King Olav Saturday, May 4, and singing "Ja i Elsker . . . we also said, "skal" many times.

We have not seen too many members of royalty. In fact King Olav V was the first boss of any foreign country we have ever seen.

If you had done a little mixing at the head table it would have been hard to figure out who King Olav really was because he was that modest and unassuming.

He had no special adornments indicating he was a member of royalty. He seemed more democratic to us than some of the very individuals who are seeking to become our president.

King Olav seemed just like a common ordinary fellow. It was hard to realize there are more Norwegians in the country he was visiting than in his homeland. Yet this is true.

King Olav emphasized time after time that Norway and the United States have never been at odds. He said these bonds should be strengthened. He also called attention to the fact that his nation and the United States are bound together by water—through the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean.

Gov. Harold LeVander brought out the fact that Norwegians have always wanted their children educated in higher institutions of learning and pointed to St. Olaf, Luther, Augsburg and Concordia colleges. Chief Justice Oscar R. Knutson reminded the governor the Swedes also have a good college at St. Peter, Minn., called Gustavus Adolphus.

Come again, King Olav. You were a welcome visitor.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, I will soon send to the constituents of Nebraska's First Congressional District my fourth progress report of the second session of the 90th Congress. For the information of my colleagues, I submit that report for the RECORD:

DEAR FRIEND: I am pleased that I will be able to serve the First District even more by my recent appointment to the House Republican Task Force on Agriculture. This group makes important studies and legislative recommendations in the area of agriculture. I've had some 25 years' experience working with farmers, have owned a farm, and in my law practice prior to coming to Congress 90 per cent of my work was rural-oriented.

I'm pleased to have this additional assignment to work on the behalf of all farmers. My other Task Force work includes serving as vice chairman of the Republican National Committee's Task Force on Crime and Delinquency.

REPUBLICAN "WATCHDOG"

For one legislative week in May, I held the job of assistant minority floor leader in the House. The assignment is that of Republican "watchdog" in the absence of the House minority leader who is Michigan Congressman Gerald Ford.

Unless a minority leader is present and acting at all times, the majority can slip through legislation without adequate debate. I had the responsibility of monitoring debate and requesting the "right to object", thus postponing a vote until the issue had been cleared by either the minority leadership or the ranking Republican member of the committee concerned with the legislation under discussion.

FIRST DISTRICT OFFICE SERVICE

As you probably know, I maintain offices in Lincoln and Norfolk where you may talk to members of my staff in lieu of calling or writing Washington.

Darvid Quist, the man who used to run my Lincoln office, has come to Washington as legislative assistant. My former legislative assistant, Larry Reida, has returned to Nebraska to operate the Lincoln office. Both are lawyers and I feel will benefit from the added experience.

That office in Lincoln is located in the Anderson Bldg., at 120 No. 12th St. Bob Harrison is my representative in Norfolk and has part-time office hours at the Post Office.

To contact me in Washington, call Area Code 202, 225–4806. Or write: Congressman Robert Denney, House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

ELDERLY NEED HELP

May was Senior Citizens' Month and it was an added opportunity to speak to some elderly groups in Nebraska. One occasion was the 82nd anniversary of the Tabitha Home in Lincoln.

To such groups I stressed what I think is the proper function of government—to do for the people only those things that need to be done and which can't be done by individuals for themselves. Therefore, I support policies that will protect the elderly and guarantee them respect.

DESTRUCTION OF IDA BONDS

The question of tax exempt status for industrial development (IDA) bonds is now tied up on a bill with the income surtax and the $6 billion reduction in federal spending. I opposed the Treasury Department action in March removing the tax exemption, and I am opposed to the ensuing recommendation of a Senate-House conference committee to exempt only those bonds under $1 million. If they are to be preserved as an effective tool for employment and growth of non-urban areas, a dollar limit should not be set below $10 million.

THE NATURE OF SPRING IN WASHINGTON

For some time before his death, Dr. Martin Luther King had planned the Poor People's March to Washington to make the invisible poor visible to Congress and to the nation. In the wake of his death, the worst racial disturbance in the capital's 168-year history left eight dead, 929 injured, more than 5,000 facing police charges and millions of dollars in property damage. Fires set by arsonists, hold-ups and shootings have continued through April and May.

In such an atmosphere, a massive demonstration, even one which advocates nonviolence, is a power keg and represents a clear threat to the return of peace and tranquility in the nation's capital.

I co-sponsored legislation to require a bond to be posted by the march leaders to cover additional expenses which might be incurred by the government during the demonstration. To date, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has been required to post a $5,000 clean-up bond and given permission to camp 3,000 people in an area along side the Reflecting Pool until June 16. They have paid for utility hook-ups and are using their own people as marshals to control the activity of the camp, known as Resurrection City.

There's no doubt they are visible. And while I support the right to petition in an orderly fashion, that right has its proper limitations as do all rights.

Let us hope the peaceful elements of the Poor People's leadership remain in control and make themselves heard without destroying other Constitutional rights which they also should cherish.

CONGRESS TAMPERS WITH CAMPUS

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the vote of 306 to 54 on May 9, 1968, to deny Federal financial aid to students who disobey university regulations, is a sad indication of the mood of this House. In a moment of indignation, the House approved a condition of scholarship and fellowship aid which I hope the other body will reject.

WCBS radio has broadcast on May 10 and May 11, 1968, a cogent editorial on this question, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

> If the U.S. Congress is any barometer, the nation is deeply disturbed by student unrest at our colleges and universities.
>
> This feeling was reflected when the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly to cut off federal financial aid to students who take part in disorders that disrupt academic life.
>
> The vote was 306 to 54, and in a sense it represented the reply of the House to the riots at Columbia University. There's no mistaking how the House felt.
>
> We share this feeling to some degree, and we have expressed it in previous editorials. The militants at Columbia acted like tyrants, and they must face punishment for their acts. But at the same time, WCBS Radio does not agree with the way the House manifested its displeasure. We do not believe in legislation as a form of reprisal.
>
> The so-called Wyman amendment, which would keep financial aid from rebellious students, is loosely-worded. As it now stands, it would deny federal assistance funds to any student who refuses to obey a lawful order of the college authorities, and who is determined by those authorities to have taken part in activities that led to a disruption of academic operations.
>
> The questions naturally follow: what constitutes a "lawful order of the college authorities?" And how do you define "disruption" of campus operations?
>
> As the office of President Johnson's science adviser has said, the proposal would be "unenforceable, unworkable and an administrative nightmare." Perhaps unconstitutional besides.
>
> WCBS Radio believes colleges and universities should handle their own discipline problems, not the federal government.
>
> To quote one federal official, the Wyman amendment would cause more problems than it would solve.
>
> The bill of which the amendment is a part is now awaiting Senate action. We hope the Senate will reject it without compromise, to prevent this proposed federal intrusion into academic affairs.

SPEECH OF GEN. LEONARD F. CHAPMAN, JR.

HON. EDWARD J. GURNEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. Speaker, recently, Gen. Leonard F. Chapman, Jr., Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, gave a speech before the Marine Corps Reserve Officers' Association.

In this speech, General Chapman movingly spoke of the role of the reservist in the Marine Corps and also the role of marines in our history. He stressed patriotism and gallantry.

It is an outstanding example of a responsible leader speaking frankly about our country. I include his speech in the RECORD as a tribute not only to General Chapman, but to the Marine Corps and to the Nation and its freedoms, which the Marine Corps has defended so valiantly and ably throughout its history.

The speech referred to follows:

> In time of crisis the Marine Corps Reserve has made possible the accomplishment of our many difficult missions—often providing the greater portion of our strength.
>
> And we make no effort to conceal this fact. On the contrary, we are quite proud of it. We have been for 51 years. And we are today.
>
> We're justifiably proud of our 4th Division/Wing team—and of its combat readiness. And, as General Rottet told you yesterday, we consider it a strategic reserve, and integral fighting unit, which should be employed as one, and not called and committed in piece-meal fashion. When I see a job that calls for this team, I'll recommend its mobilization. But until that job appears, I intend to see that our Reserve Division/Wing team retains its unit integrity.
>
> I think the high professional interest, and the caliber of leadership in that team is evident in this conference—and I add my praise to that already passed to MCROA for conducting it.
>
> I'd like to share a few thoughts with you, tonight—discuss something which has been on my mind for quite some time. I'll try to remove some disguises—to strip away some of the false fronts which seem to have papered over the true face of America. Then I want to paint the true picture of the challenge which faces us today. Some may say, "Oh, you mean the war in Vietnam." But that is not what I mean. The true challenge facing our country, marines, is right here at home.
>
> At the outset, let me make it crystal clear that I am not an expert in the social sciences. I stand here, first as an American citizen and secondly, as a marine. And it is in those roles—in that order—that I speak to you.
>
> As a marine for the past 33 years—my entire adult life—I have acquired some knowledge of human values.
>
> As marines, so have all of you. We've learned the value of such intangibles as discipline, esprit-de-corps, and the firm adherence to high standards of personal conduct. We know that the slogan, "The Marine Corps builds men," means a great deal more is being built than mere muscle. We know that character is really what we build.
>
> And we build character because that is what sustains men in the most adverse of circumstances. It is character from which they draw strength when they engage in mankind's greatest curse—war. We have seen what happens to men when they face death, danger, and seemingly hopeless situations—and, as marines, we have learned what pulls men through in such times. And, having learned these things we continue to teach them to other, younger, marines. We build their character—their determination—if you will.
>
> As marines, in our duty to oncoming generations of marines, we have done well. We have passed along our belief in discipline, esprit-de-corps, and our high standards.
>
> As Americans, with the duty of passing along the determination we possessed, we may not have done so well. As Americans, dedicated to the good of the entire Nation—we have some problems.
>
> And it is around that framework that I intend to build my remarks tonight.
>
> Practically all of us here are of the same generation. I do not consider it too sweeping a generality to state, as a group, we achieved full manhood—and a certain amount of well-deserved glory—during those dark days between 1941 and 1945. Or perhaps for a few of us, during the first few years of the 1950's. But the point is this: We found our maturity—and our glory—during dark, difficult times. We were a generation prepared for, then hardened and tempered in the crucible of, war.
>
> We weren't ashamed. On the contrary, we were proud of our service, our contribution to our country—and to our Corps. In a word, we possessed patriotism.
>
> We didn't blush when Kate Smith belted out "God Bless America."
>
> We didn't sneer when someone shouted, "Remember Pearl Harbor."
>
> We didn't think it was "square" to march to the sound of the drum.
>
> We didn't burn the flag in the concrete canyons of New York. We hoisted it on a mountaintop to let the world know we had seized Iwo Jima. We had the willpower to use military power, to keep our freedoms.
>
> And that willpower grew from patriotism.
>
> But, take a look at your country today, ladies and gentlemen. Take a very close look.
>
> At first glance you will see that this is the most exciting time in our lives—or for that matter in all of man's history. We are moving toward solving the mysteries of the ocean depths. We are reaching out to the stars. And we are doing these things—not in the figurative sense—but literally. And we are doing them today, in our time. We hold the power of the atom in uncertain hands. Therefore we hold our destiny. Power and destiny—for good or for evil. In your lifetime and mine, in our generation, we have made more progress up the ladder of knowledge than was made in the previous thousand generations. Our physical sciences reign supreme. Our efforts to conquer outer space are bearing the buds of new fruit every day.
>
> But—again—take a look around you. Look and see the difficulties we're having with our inner space. Note the erosion that seems to be wearing away at the moral fabric wherein lies the true strength of our land. Look at the statistics which show that the difficulties people have in living together are on the rise. And parents, police, legal authorities, leaders, teachers, educators—and all persons who are thoughtful, are also deeply disturbed.
>
> And well we should be. Make no mistake about it. Crime, violence, permissiveness, lack of good taste, shirking of responsibility, liberty to the point of license—all these abrasives seem to be grinding away at the very foundation of our social structure; and this is a dark time when we have never needed more, our sense of values—our strong moral fabric to pull us through—to bring us again our moment of glory.
>
> Now, up to this point I have dabbled in domestic issues. There are those who say a military man should keep his silence in that field: That he should speak only on military matters. But let me tell you this. Military strength without moral fiber is nothing. All the sophisticated hardware we can build is useless—if we lack the national will to employ it—when, where, to the degree, and for the length of time that we must.
>
> We need will power. We need conviction in our cause. We need determination to continue our course even when the going becomes difficult: We need dedication to the task of retaining—as well as exercising—our freedom.
>
> And will power such as that cannot be issued through our supply systems, nor can it be inculcated overnight at our training camps, nor injected by a hypodermic needle.
>
> That kind of power and strength comes only from the brains, the hearts, the moral courage of our people.
>
> It cannot be generated by military leaders, by political figures, by those who wear the cloth, or by those who practice before the bar.
>
> But it can be encouraged by them. Such men can set the example. And that is why I have chosen to speak thus to you tonight.
>
> Our two hundred million countrymen have never failed this nation in time of crisis. From those women and children who trudged westward in the dust behind covered wagons,

on down the line to those men who stormed ashore at Inchon—Americans have had the will power to protect their heritage, and to fight for its longevity.

And, through the exercise of these powers, our country can—again—demonstrate the greatness of America. We can, again, have our moment of glory. We can, again, restore our real values.

Today's young marines have a true sense of values. For my money, and I'm certain for yours, we passed on to them a knowledge of the really important things. We gave them a mighty fine example to follow.

Yes, we gave them that example, you and I, and all the marines of our generation. We gave it to them during World War II and Korea.

And since then, with the benefits of hindsight, experience, and ever-increasing maturity—we have sired, reared and watched—sometimes in wonder—a new generation of Americans.

It's a great generation, if our marines are typical of it. Let me assure you of that. Again, speaking from my experience, I can tell you—and I know you'll agree—that the young man of today who wears the globe and anchor is the smartest, toughest, best-led, most highly motivated marine who ever shouldered a rifle in the defense of this country. I am told by my counterparts in the other services that this fact is no less true for the young men who wear their insignia.

Marines drink deeply from the well of patriotism. We need only tap it for them.

Here are a few examples which prove my point:

Item: More than 18,000 young marines have extended, voluntarily, their tours in South Vietnam.

Item: on a cardboard sign, nailed outside a marine's foxhole at Khe Sanh, I saw these words: "For those who fight for it, life has a special flavor the protected never know."

Item: A young marine lies wounded in a hospital in Vietnam. He is minus a foot, which his general assures him can be replaced in the States. "Sir," speaks that young marine, "why can't they mail it to me out here and let me go back to my squad. They need me."

And the families of marines know patriotism, too.

Item: very young widow journeys to Washington to receive a posthumous Navy Cross for her marine husband—killed near the demilitarized zone. We search for words—something for her to tell her infant son when he is old enough to understand. During our awkward discomfort she puts everyone at ease by reaching into her purse with quiet composure. She produces a check for $2,500 and states it is from the people in her hometown and is to be used for the school children in South Vietnam.

There's no doubt in my mind that marines—and their families—know the true values in life that build national will power.

Well, then, how can we get all Americans to have this same set of values? We know the fabric of our nation is good—how can we clean and strengthen it? How can we pass it on to the new generation?

I'll tell you how. Simply this: By applying the same determination to being Americans that we apply to being marines!

We can take a new, an honest, an objective look at the heritage that is ours and that we are leaving to that generation. And, once we look, we can set about correcting those things which we ought not to have done, and doing those things which we ought to have done. For there is still health in us.

Long before anyone coined the term "United Nations" we were a united nation of diverse peoples. In our blood runs the blood of every race, color, and creed. Our culture is enriched, our language flavored, by cultures and languages from all over the world.

And all these diverse people have possessed the single will to cast off the yokes of weakness, to resist the easy road, to emerge with strength.

Moral strength, if you will. Pride in country, if you will.

We can rebuild pride in country—patriotism—we can pass it along.

In our time, and in our corps, we have—certainly—fostered much which contributes to the love of this country.

Think of the things we stand for—the things that are second nature to any marine.

We exert leadership—strong leadership—over those in our charge. And we unhesitatingly accept responsibility for their actions.

We take care of our own—never leaving our dead, never abandoning our wounded. There's a certain honor to the Corps involved. A certain personal integrity—true. But the real reason behind this attitude of Marines is one of strength—strength in the knowledge that no matter what happens to one marine, there'll be other marines to take care of him.

But it doesn't stop within the Corps itself. There are the families to consider, as well. We make those saddening personal calls on the next of kin of every casualty—no matter how much time and effort are involved. Let me read you one letter which shows just how worthwhile it is for us to take care of our own.

It's from the young widow of a Lance Corporal who lives down in North Carolina. She wrote:

"April 17, 1968.

"Dear General Chapman: I want to tell you how appreciative I am of the Marines. My husband was killed in Vietnam on March 16, 1968 and since that day I have been taken under wing like a new bird.

"Major William Warren, Jr. and 1st Sergeant McCarter of the Marine Corps Reserve unit out of Johnson City, Tennessee, have been my strength through this whole incident and without them I don't have any idea where I would be right now.

"I didn't realize, until now what a great organization, or should I say fraternity, the Marine Corps is.

"General Chapman, may I take this opportunity to say thanks and to tell you how proud I am to be in this great circle of Marine Corps families."

Neither Major Warren, First Sergeant McCarter, nor I—none of us could ask for a greater expression of thanks than is in that letter.

And there's something else about the way we take care of our own. While we possess concern for our marines and their families, we do not possess any concern whatsoever about their race, color, or creed. They are—or were—marines, and Americans. And that's all that matters to us about their heritage—about their beliefs.

Here's another letter which explains what I am trying to say. So much so that I'm going to let this mother of a marine say it for me.

"Dear General Chapman: Thank you so much for the wonderful way you treated my family when we came to receive the Medal of Honor for our beloved son.

"He was such a fine Christian son who possessed the kind of love that Jesus tried to teach the multitudes, that of loving thy neighbor as thyself.

"Although nothing in the world can ever replace him, we do feel honored, and proud to have been his parents, and so long as this great Nation has men like him, I don't think we should concern ourselves with the few who desert us and find shelter elsewhere, and the ones who refuse to serve their country by other means. I wouldn't want either kind alongside my sons, as when the going got rough, they would merely hide behind a brave man.

"We feel a sense of pride to be helping in the struggle for peace. This is still the greatest Nation in the world and we are glad to be Americans."

And then she adds—in parentheses—this mother who has expressed herself so eloquently, who has said what I've been trying to say all along—she adds this:

"(Forgive me for my poor grammar, for I have only a high school education.)"

No one can doubt her patriotism. No one can doubt the fact that she passed a great personal strength—a great moral courage—on to her son. He won the Nation's highest award. He gave his life.

We pass along personal strength—character—determination—patriotism—in our corps. Beyond question, we do it as marines.

But we must also do it in the communities where we live.

In every civilian community I've seen, the very attributes which make a man a leader in the corps will also make him a leader in our society.

You—as citizen marines—are that kind of leader. In addition to being marines you are opinion molders, employes, policy makers, letter writers, and public speakers. You are influential.

We cannot stop with influencing our marines. As Americans, we have a responsibility to our civilian communities.

We must pass on to all Americans the things which will build our national will power. The things which inspire our American fighting men in Vietnam.

And I'll tell you something else. Nearly a half million of those inspired young men are returning home from Vietnam each year. They are the "mature Americans" of tomorrow. They're not going to shed the mantle of leadership—the qualities of character—the firm determination they have acquired—when they return. They've been shot at for real, and they're not going to let anything keep them from taking a stand on issues involving the security of the country. They have the responsibility for America's position in the world on their shoulders now. And they'll all have the responsibility of citizenship, and many of them the responsibilities of citizen-marines, to fulfill. And they'll do a good job in both.

Some of our young Americans, obsessed with the exercise of freedom, may not understand its inherent responsibilities. They—and others—may condemn our peace representatives, and demand "peace at any price."

But peace, when it is made, must be made to keep them free and their country free.

Our task, yours and mine, is to insure that peace is made with that in mind—and that they, today's young Americans—and their country, are worthy of such freedom.

We must carry the meaning of "semper fidelis" beyond the ranks of our Marine Corps.

MARTIN E. WEISS: ON THE WIRE

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, recently Martin E. Weiss, editor and publisher of the Westbury Times, an important weekly newspaper in my district, participated in a symposium sponsored by the Department of Justice Community Relations Service.

Mr. Weiss wrote in his issue of May 23, an incisive and penetrating column on the symposium and the many thoughts it provoked. Because this column is an excellent example of responsible reportage, and because Mr. Weiss addresses himself to certain of the grave issues facing this Nation, I commend his column to my col-

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I was one of nine panel members invited by the Department of Justice to lead the series of round-table discussions—which took place at Oakland University, a sprawling, mostly-new 4,500-student campus in Rochester, Mich., some thirty miles north of Detroit.

Of the nine panelists, three were editors—and my two colleagues came from New Jersey and Missouri, respectively. Then there were three sociologist-educators and three representatives of the Community Relations Service.

It is, of course, easily understandable why the press in the Detroit area should want to assimilate a better understanding of its role in the urban crisis—it was, after all, the scene of 1967's most violent inner city explosion.

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The latter is not to be taken slightly. One of the sociologist-educators, who was from Cleveland, Ohio, told me privately of the Republic of New Africa—an organization of black militants who have already elected a president and vice-president, and chosen a cabinet.

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It may sound implausible—but the separatists who advocate this are deadly serious; they believe that any means, including open revolution, are justifiable to attain their goal. Even now they are seeking to open negotiations with federal officials in Washington for the creation of their state.

If we are to avoid open warfare or guerrilla-type action in our streets, then we must face up to facts rather than just wishing the problem would go away.

To begin with we must understand that the words "civil rights" have been replaced by "civil equality"—which is a way of thinking rather than simply a play on phrasing.

Next, we must recognize that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed until his death by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., is the one voice which can be equally heard by the masses in the inner cities, the ghettoes of suburbia and the poverty areas of the rural south.

No longer, it seems, can we look to the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or even the Congress of Racial Equality—all of which are over-identified with the past and the present—and, equally important, which represent the contentment of upper- or middle-class security.

Above all else, the SCLC seeks a sense of identity for black America—and I use the word "black" because this, in today's scheme, is the reverse of derogatory. "Black is beautiful" is what "soul brothers" tell each other.

In essence, we are witnessing a birth of pride—which, if nurtured and encouraged, can be the foundation of a meaningful dialogue and inter-action where hostility and the reaction to despair now hold sway.

However, if we are to move in this direction we must accept the thesis that organizations of black Americans must be controlled by black people—and that whatever contributions whites may make must be limited to providing advice and expertise when, and only when, they are asked.

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Whether we accomplish this through a guaranteed annual income—which is the prime focus of the SCLC's current "Poor People's March"—or whether we adopt some other means, the one certainly is that our present system is antiquated, demeaning and overly bogged down in administrative costs.

Let there be no mistake, however, in what the reaction of a society of law and order must be to those who see looting and arson as a means to an end. Such activities must be met by measures which will enforce the law.

Insurrection, even if limited to the areas in which those involved reside, can not be justified; certainly, if we are to come to "civil equality" there must be an atmosphere of respect by each man for the other.

We are, however, at the eleventh hour!

WHAT HAVE WE DONE?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a young Navy hospitalman in a letter to the editor of the San Diego Union has expressed the feelings of many Americans in asking what will we say if we were ever face to face with a crewman from the *Pueblo*. How will we explain America's apparent willingness to blandly accept the seizure of her ship and her men?

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The days of inaction increased, the tension lessened and the spark was fallen in the ashes of tired Americanism.

I, like many Americans, followed the above course of behavior and feeling. This morning I woke as usual and, for some strange reason, thought about the stolen crew.

Good God, what have we done?

Aboard the Pueblo were men risking and dedicating their lives for our safety. They were part of a team, the U.S. Navy, which has defended freedom with blood.

Are we so ungrateful, so un-American that we will let the days keep passing while the crew of the Pueblo remains at the whims of an enemy so small?

What would we be asking this moment if we were a Pueblo crewman?

"Where is my Navy, of which I am a part?"

"Where is my country, of which I am a citizen?"

"Where are the defenders of freedom, of which I am one?"

"Where are my countrymen?"

I am a member of the United States Navy and I wonder how to answer these questions myself. If we meet someone from the Pueblo some day, what are we going to say?

DENNIS E. JOHNSON,
HN, HCS, Staff, U.S. Navy Hospital, San Diego.

AMERICA: "WHERE SELDOM IS HEARD A DISCOURAGING WORD"

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Honorable Barry M. Goldwater, I am inserting the following:

"WHERE SELDOM IS HEARD A DISCOURAGING WORD"

We were seated on the flagstone patio of a guest ranch, the night air cool and clean; five men full of pit-cooked beef and icy bourbon. Five men of diverse backgrounds and battle stations, but all in the prime of their productive lives. All having produced enough by their own sweat and ingenuity to afford the belly-busting luxury of a few days with their families in the quietude of the Arizona desert. We talked, as men do, of our jobs, our concern for the future, and of those things that life is made of.

The owner of a foundry in northern Michigan, second generation Swede, whose father had been a blacksmith. He hires thirty-four percent Negroes in his plant. He has been forced to close down three times in the past two years, not by reason of legitimate labor disputes, but to avoid dangerous situational strife among his workers. He is looking hard for a buyer. At 46, he's tired of the fight and now says he'll just putt around on his boat.

A California manufacturer of plastic laminations—makes credit cards and such. Built three plants from scratch. He can't get the Rhode Island police to break up a Mafia controlled counterfeiting card manufacturer which is destroying confidence in his own product safety, despite the fact that they know where and who makes them. He hires a crew of "detectives" whose job it is to "steal back" credit cards of his own manufacture that have been lifted and misused. He snaps on a snub-nosed Smith & Wesson as he enters his own office each morning—frequent demonstrations in his plant have cost injury to several employees. Agitators infiltrate his fifty-four percent colored work force repeatedly. He wants out. His appeal to the NLRB in Washington on two occasions for a workers' vote to unionize or not has resulted in a cursory, "You'll lose, sell out to Litton." He's 44 and quitting.

on down the line to those men who stormed ashore at Inchon—Americans have had the will power to protect their heritage, and to fight for its longevity.

And, through the exercise of these powers, our country can—again—demonstrate the greatness of America. We can, again, have our moment of glory. We can, again, restore our real values.

Today's young marines have a true sense of values. For my money, and I'm certain for yours, we passed on to them a knowledge of the really important things. We gave them a mighty fine example to follow.

Yes, we gave them that example, you and I, and all the marines of our generation. We gave it to them during World War II and Korea.

And since then, with the benefits of hindsight, experience, and ever-increasing maturity—we have sired, reared and watched—sometimes in wonder—a new generation of Americans.

It's a great generation, if our marines are typical of it. Let me assure you of that. Again, speaking from my experience, I can tell you—and I know you'll agree—that the young man of today who wears the globe and anchor is the smartest, toughest, best-led, most highly motivated marine who ever shouldered a rifle in the defense of this country. I am told by my counterparts in the other services that this fact is no less true for the young men who wear their insignia.

Marines drink deeply from the well of patriotism. We need only tap it for them.

Here are a few examples which prove my point:

Item: More than 18,000 young marines have extended, voluntarily, their tours in South Vietnam.

Item: on a cardboard sign, nailed outside a marine's foxhole at Khe Sanh, I saw these words: "For those who fight for it, life has a special flavor the protected never know."

Item: A young marine lies wounded in a hospital in Vietnam. He is minus a foot, which his general assures him can be replaced in the States. "Sir," speaks that young marine, "why can't they mail it to me out here and let me go back to my squad. They need me."

And the families of marines know patriotism, too.

Item: very young widow journeys to Washington to receive a posthumous Navy Cross for her marine husband—killed near the demilitarized zone. We search for words—something for her to tell her infant son when he is old enough to understand. During our awkward discomfort she puts everyone at ease by reaching into her purse with quiet composure. She produces a check for $2,500 and states it is from the people in her hometown and is to be used for the school children in South Vietnam.

There's no doubt in my mind that marines—and their families—know the true values in life that build national will power.

Well, then, how can we get all Americans to have this same set of values? We know the fabric of our nation is good—how can we clean and strengthen it? How can we pass it on to the new generation?

I'll tell you how. Simply this: By applying the same determination to being Americans that we apply to being marines!

We can take a new, an honest, an objective look at the heritage that is ours and that we are leaving to that generation. And, once we look, we can set about correcting those things which we ought not to have done, and doing those things which we ought to have done. For there is still health in us.

Long before anyone coined the term "United Nations" we were a united nation of diverse peoples. In our blood runs the blood of every race, color, and creed. Our culture is enriched, our language flavored, by cultures and languages from all over the world.

And all these diverse people have possessed the single will to cast off the yokes of weakness, to resist the easy road, to emerge with strength.

Moral strength, if you will. Pride in country, if you will.

We can rebuild pride in country—patriotism—we can pass it along.

In our time, and in our corps, we have—certainly—fostered much which contributes to the love of this country.

Think of the things we stand for—the things that are second nature to any marine.

We exert leadership—strong leadership—over those in our charge. And we unhesitatingly accept responsibility for their actions.

We take care of our own—never leaving our dead, never abandoning our wounded. There's a certain honor to the Corps involved. A certain personal integrity—true. But the real reason behind this attitude of Marines is one of strength—strength in the knowledge that no matter what happens to one marine, there'll be other marines to take care of him.

But it doesn't stop within the Corps itself. There are the families to consider, as well. We make those saddening personal calls on the next of kin of every casualty—no matter how much time and effort are involved. Let me read you one letter which shows just how worthwhile it is for us to take care of our own.

It's from the young widow of a Lance Corporal who lives down in North Carolina. She wrote:

"APRIL 17, 1968.

"DEAR GENERAL CHAPMAN: I want to tell you how appreciative I am of the Marines. My husband was killed in Vietnam on March 16, 1968 and since that day I have been taken under wing like a new bird.

"Major William Warren, Jr. and 1st Sergeant McCarter of the Marine Corps Reserve unit out of Johnson City, Tennessee, have been my strength through this whole incident and without them I don't have any idea where I would be right now.

"I didn't realize, until now what a great organization, or should I say fraternity, the Marine Corps is.

"General Chapman, may I take this opportunity to say thanks and to tell you how proud I am to be in this great circle of Marine Corps families."

Neither Major Warren, First Sergeant McCarter, nor I—none of us could ask for a greater expression of thanks than is in that letter.

And there's something else about the way we take care of our own. While we possess concern for our marines and their families, we do not possess any concern whatsoever about their race, color, or creed. They are—or were—marines, and Americans. And that's all that matters to us about their heritage—about their beliefs.

Here's another letter which explains what I am trying to say. So much so that I'm going to let this mother of a marine say it for me.

"DEAR GENERAL CHAPMAN: Thank you so much for the wonderful way you treated my family when we came to receive the Medal of Honor for our beloved son.

"He was such a fine Christian son who possessed the kind of love that Jesus tried to teach the multitudes, that of loving thy neighbor as thyself.

"Although nothing in the world can ever replace him, we do feel honored, and proud to have been his parents, and so long as this great Nation has men like him, I don't think we should concern ourselves with the few who desert us and find shelter elsewhere, and the ones who refuse to serve their country by other means. I wouldn't want either kind alongside my sons, as when the going got rough, they would merely hide behind a brave man.

"We feel a sense of pride to be helping in the struggle for peace. This is still the greatest Nation in the world and we are glad to be Americans."

And then she adds—in parentheses—this mother who has expressed herself so eloquently, who has said what I've been trying to say all along—she adds this:

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"Where is my country, of which I am a citizen?"

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I am a member of the United States Navy and I wonder how to answer these questions myself. If we meet someone from the Pueblo some day, what are we going to say?

DENNIS E. JOHNSON,
HN, HCS, Staff, U.S. Navy Hospital, San Diego.

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A Seattle fisherman. His father and he have a fleet of commercial boats and a processing plant. His accent is still tinged with old country Norway. They have done exceedingly well. His home is on the lake, he breeds good Morgan horses and handsome children. He fights the unions, he pays more for workmen's compensation insurance in a year than a new seventy foot reefer shrimper costs. And he bemoans the fact that a twenty-five year old seaman can become a permanent ward of workmen's comp by claiming a bad back or emphysema, and many do. He and his father are negotiating with a Japanese combine for the sale of their whole fleet.

We ambled off at midnight to our separate cabins.

We had felt the crushing sense of defeatism in a country of vigorous builders. It was a nothing evening. Avuncular.

Brain drain? Strength slide?

Not much point in trying to relate this to you and me as physicians in the same environment. It needs no pointed punch line.

This is your country and mine. These men are your people and mine.

We either fight to restore and rebuild the good that is left in it, or we rot with it.

ARTHUR R. NELSON, M.D.,
President.

LEGISLATIVE AID TO STORM STRICKEN AREAS

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, again a severe windstorm causing widespread property damage and the death of several persons has swept through Indiana including the district I represent. Its devastating power has created untold problems for individuals, businesses and public utilities of the area. Heavy rains accompanied the storm and, in one instance particularly, a tornado wreaked havoc in Andrews, Ind., in Huntington County.

My colleagues will recall that 3 years ago on Palm Sunday, Indiana suffered from another tornado. At that time, the damage and destruction were so great that the President made a tour of some of the stricken communities. I was one of those who went with him to survey the situation. He promised relief and Federal assistance to the people who were without homes and businesses but the help was slow in coming or nonexistent. However, through sheer effort and determination the people worked out their own plans, and restored the enterprises, homes and farms that were damaged by the intensity of the storm. I introduced a bill at that time to assist in alleviating the conditions and to help these people.

There was a heavy toll in Thursday's tornado in Huntington County. The electrical storm temporarily paralyzed some of the public utilities. Heavy rains partially inundated many parts of the Fourth District, including Fort Wayne and Allen County. Therefore, I am calling upon Federal officials immediately to investigate conditions in the wake of the storm and assist in the recovery efforts. At the same time, I again am introducing a bill to provide legislative aid to the stricken areas and help these communities get back on their feet. I urge that my colleagues give prompt and expeditious support to this measure, which is so badly needed.

NOT READY FOR ANOTHER "THRESHER" DISASTER

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the following prophetic article appeared in the Sunday Star here in Washington on May 26, 1968. All of us hope that its concern and admonitions were not written too late, and that the submarine *Scorpion* which was reported to have been overdue in Norfolk yesterday on a cruise from the Azores with 99 men aboard, will not prove to be lost at sea.

Two submarines of other nations, Israel and France, have recently disappeared at sea. I understand, without a trace. Surely these losses and our increasing interest in the seas as a source of food, fresh water, weather, and other resources and influences on our life recommend to our Government a mission for our Navy which should be expanded in the years ahead, the charting and development of our more intricate knowledge of the oceans—that four-fifths of our world which is water.

[From the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., May 26, 1968]

NAVY NOT READY FOR ANOTHER "THRESHER" DISASTER

(By William Hines)

Just over five years have elapsed since the worst undersea tragedy in history occurred, and little has been done in the meantime to cope effectively with another Thresher disaster.

This neglect of a pressing problem is a black mark against the Navy, even more incomprehensible and inexcusable than the space agency's stubborn disregard of the need for an astronaut rescue system. After all, space flights are rare occurrences and the risk of being stranded in orbit is remote, but an undersea catastrophe is an ever-present danger to thousands of men.

There are 75 nuclear submarines in commission in the United States Navy, all designed to run silent and deep on the supersecret business of national security. Any one of these vessels could come to grief tomorrow.

Far-fetched? No more so than the Thresher disaster itself, or the loss of a hydrogen bomb in the Mediterranean Sea off Spain. A third national emergency would have occurred last January when a bomb-laden plane crashed near Thule, Greenland, had not the surface of North Star Bay been solidly frozen.

A thought-provoking and disturbing article in the May issue of "U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings" puts the problem into sharp focus. It recites the hypothetical case of an attack submarine—the same general type as Thresher—which runs into an uncharted seamount somewhere in the mid-Pacific.

Capt. Charles N. G. Hendrix, a retired submariner, tackles the problem mainly as an operational one: How to rescue the survivors and, if possible, retrieve the stricken ship. But underlying these logistic aspects are profound scientific and technological difficulties. The basic oceanographic and engineering work that would make the task possible simply has not been done.

"The magnitude and complexity of such an undertaking today are enormous—almost beyond belief," says Hendrix in summary.

Building his case, the author speaks of the woeful shortage of information about currents and obstructions in the deep ocean. It is true that most of the world's surface is covered by water more than three miles deep, but shallower areas abound and it is here that submarines can get into serious trouble.

Hendrix asks his readers to consider an attack sub on a typical mission, running submerged through the Central Pacific. The waters along its course are known to be studded with hundreds of submerged volcanic cones, some rising to within a few hundred feet, or even a few feet, of the surface. Most are uncharted. On the course laid out by Hendrix there is a stretch of more than 3,000 miles for which not a single sounding appears.

Hendrix supposes that the submarine is traveling between 10 and 20 knots (11½-23 mph) "at a relatively great depth." What this means is a Navy secret, but one might guess 1,000 feet. Without warning, the submarine crashes into an uncharted seamount. Its bow section is destroyed and all hands up forward are killed.

"As seen through her captain's eyes, the situation is extremely grave," says Hendrix with typical bite-the-bullet understatement.

Fortunately, the watertight doors and pressure hull maintain their integrity, and the nuclear reactor mounted amidships continues to operate. With atomic power available to run the ship's life-support system, the crew has a life expectancy up to 70 days. If the reactor had failed the limit would have been five days.

Having crashed because of the inadequacy of charts, the submarine's skipper now faces the problem of communication, and again he finds himself poorly equipped. Probably the most effective method of making his whereabouts known, Hendrix says, would be to have the crew bang on the hull with hammers—just as World War I submariners did half a century ago.

This might be effective for a range of five or six miles, provided search vessels could locate the disabled submarine this precisely. Hendrix indicates that this is doubtful, because again the Navy is wallowing in the depths of ignorance: It has inadequate knowledge about surface and underlying currents.

And even should the craft be found before its crew dies, how are the rescuers to bring the men to the surface or salvage the submarine? "For the present," says Hendrix, "it is clearly evident that the search for, rescue of personnel from, and recovery of a disabled submarine in the remote ocean area described above will be an extremely difficult and complex operation."

And the chilling thought is it could happen tomorrow.

NASA'S DR. WALTON W. JONES STUDIES AIRCRAFT NOISE

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in the May 14 edition of the Christian Science Monitor, Mr. Neal Stanford wrote a very enlightening interview with Dr. Walton W. Jones, chief of NASA's biotechnology and human research division, on the problem of aircraft noise.

Since the Los Angeles International Airport is adjacent to my district, I have long taken a deep personal interest in the problem of excessive jet noise. I have introduced several major pieces of legislation designed to curb and control this harassing problem, one of the most important of which is H.R. 11073, to amend the Federal Airport Act to provide for Federal financial assistance for noise abatement with respect to certain schools located near public airports.

It is no exaggeration to state that countless hours of valuable classroom discussion are lost because of overhead jet noise. Thus, it is imperative that, unless these classrooms can be adequately soundproofed, some technological or legislative measures must be taken to reduce aircraft noise.

Dr. Jones, who is in charge of conducting research studies on the noise problem for NASA, has some very provocative insights into this complex problem. Knowing that many Members of the House will find his views of great interest, under unanimous consent I include this article following my remarks:

Aircraft Noise

(By Neal Stanford)

Aircraft noise gets intensive study. It's about time. Aims are to uncover:

How bad it is.

Where the noise comes from.

What can be done about it.

How people can adjust to sonic-boom intensities, and how much.

Dr. Walton W. Jones heads NASA's biotechnology and human-research division. He heads up noise studies and research for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

In an interview he talks about his current airport-noise survey, his sonic-boom simulator, the nature of noise, and how it can be minimized or modified. One surprise: In all four cities studied, people were found who were not disturbed at all.

An aim by the Federal Aviation Administration is to have Congress set up fair maximum flying-noise levels. Too-noisy airplanes would not be allowed to fly.

Dr. Jones, I understand you are in the midst of some studies of the aircraft-noise problem at some of our big airports. What cities are you studying?

Our studies this last year have centered on four cities, Chicago, Denver, Dallas, and Los Angeles. We are shortly choosing four other cities for similar studies. Our research centers on what we call the psychoacoustic aspects of aircraft noise and sonic boom, on how humans react to these noises, on the different characteristics of these noises, and what might be done to minimize or modify them.

The data we have collected is presently being reviewed by a National Academy of Sciences panel, and until they report we won't choose the next four cities to study.

In the four case studies made how did you go about getting data and what kind of data was it?

We interviewed some 3,500 people in these studies in communities being overflown, trying to measure the reaction of the people to different kinds of noise: high frequency, low frequency, spikes in the spectrum of noise, and the like. We turned up some surprising and interesting things. For example, we found people in each of these communities who really were not disturbed by the noise at all, weren't actually aware of it. Then there were others who objected strenuously. The explanation is psychological, possibly sociological. It has to do with their being, their makeup, their interests, what they do.

You know, some men have developed very nice ways of just tuning out their wives at times, and maybe this same thing happens here.

How do you go about questioning these people? Do they know you are trying to find out how they react to different aircraft noises?

We don't advertise our studies, for we don't want any bias in them. So our interviews in going into homes do not say they are inquiring about aircraft noise. They ask a lot of questions about other noises in the community. It is really a community study. We even put in some questions for the Housing and Urban Development people so they won't have to make their own study. We only raise the question of airplane noise indirectly.

Dr. Jones, I am curious. How do you indirectly ask a person if aircraft noise bothers him?

Well, other questions may lead up to it. If they don't volunteer their reactions we can work it around so they do. I'm not so sure I should give you the questions we ask to get our information since our job is only half done.

But it is true if you ask them outright what they think of aircraft noise in their community, you will get biased answers. So our interviewers get it indirectly.

Also they notice the type of house, type of construction, number of windows, any noises from appliances, refrigerators, fans, etc. Then we have sound trucks in the neighborhood measuring the aircraft noise at the time—so answers can be related to actual noise measurements.

This may all be interesting, but how will it prove useful?

The FAA (Federal Aviation Administration) has asked Congress for authority to add to their certification requirements for airline use of airports one on noise. So if future airplanes emit noise of certain value characteristics over what criteria have been found to be acceptable, then these airplanes won't be allowed to fly. The FAA won't certify them.

The noise level agreed to, of course, must be fair—fair to both sides, and that is what we are working on now—trying to help find a fair noise level.

There are other ways of helping to improve the noise problem—quieter engines, for example, retrofitting existing engines, but those are hardware approaches, and out of my area of research.

Different kinds of planes make different kinds of noises. From your study, what planes cause the most noise problem—jets?

This is part of the reason for this study. Some people are annoyed by some aspects of noise more than others. For example, we found in work this fall that certain helicopters give very low frequency, have a very low frequency spectrum, but pictures on the walls of a house are apt to rattle. This can be very objectionable to some people.

There are several ways of handling this problem. One very simple one is to tell the people to modify their picture-hanging methods. The annoyance did not come from the noise of the helicopter but the rattle of the pictures!

Did you find that people questioned about aircraft noise while outdoors objected more strongly than those questioned indoors?

That was what we expected to find. But startlingly enough, that isn't what happened. We asked people to judge the seriousness of noise outside, and then had them enter their homes before asking again. As soon as they entered the house and closed the door, it appears, their criteria dropped, that is, their noise threshold went up, to about the attenuation of the building.

Noise that was objectionable outside on the graph indicators at 110 was just as objectionable when inside the house and registering 95. Apparently people have a built-in filter they slip off as soon as they walk inside. Part of the reason for this study is to learn such things as this, so we don't do something unnecessary in setting acceptable noise standards for airport areas.

I gather that your work also includes a psychoacoustic approach to the problem of the sonic boom. What are you doing in this field?

We have several research studies going on. One is out at the Stanford Research Institute, where we have a sonic-boom simulator measuring the effects of sonic boom on sleeping individuals.

This is a room comparable to a bedroom, furnished as in a home. One end, however, is a diaphragm that can be driven in a small adjoining room by a motor to give the effect of various boom characteristics. Tapes are used that record actual booms of varying strengths. The person is wired to an apparatus which measures levels of sleep.

Then after he has slept there for several nights and become accustomed to his surroundings the simulator is turned on.

A sonic boom is referred to as an "in-wave," and an in-wave can be low and wide, or tall and skinny, meaning time-duration widths and intensity for height. When the room is hit with a sonic boom the effect on the sleeping person can be recorded.

Does the simulator prove that people can become adjusted to sonic booms, and do they sleep through them?

So far this experiment seems to prove that people do adapt to sonic booms, but we are not prepared to say, on what data we have, what they will adapt to. But there is an adaptive mechanism, apparently.

Also, we have found that the deeper sleep they are in the more boom it takes to awaken them. People seem to get accustomed to some booms, but we can't say this applies to the whole population.

I believe your shop is also involved in the matter of improved aviation safety. What particular approach are you taking to this problem?

We are doing some interesting experimentation along with the FAA and the federal air surgeon on safer passenger and crew seats.

The military have been working on this for some time, on the question of using energy-absorption techniques in seats. If we can get some of the energy imparted to the passenger in a crash taken up by some energy-absorption device, then the passenger gets a reduced load.

Many injuries could be avoided if seats were designed to dissipate more energy. . . . If stronger seats were designed and combined with dissipation techniques, these seats could dissipate about 16 times the energy dissipated by present seat designs.

What about the talk of having passengers sit backward as a safety measure?

Not all forces are directly forward or aft in a crash. If a passenger pitches to one side he may still need a good harness. A good forward seat, with possibly a shoulder harness, would be better in many ways than turning seats around.

We are looking into all these matters. Our work on research into aircraft noise, the sonic boom, and passenger safety is really only part of a much broader study. As explained, we concentrate on the psychoacoustic aspects of the noise problem and the energy-absorbing techniques in seat construction.

BRIDGES TO HUMAN DIGNITY—PART II

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, on May 2, 1968, former Vice President

Richard M. Nixon delivered the second part of an outstanding two-part statement on the crisis of our cities.

Mr. Nixon's nine specific programs designed to point the way toward national unity are: core city credits—rural development, new capital, new enterprises, human investment, computer job bank, student-teacher corps, extended training, teacher-veterans, and homeownership.

It is a great pleasure for me to insert this address in the RECORD:

BRIDGES TO HUMAN DIGNITY: II

(An address by Richard M. Nixon on the NBC radio network, Thursday, May 2, 1968)

In a radio address last week, I stated this conviction: that the economic crisis confronting America today is so acute that it rules out a massive transfusion now of additional Federal funds into the nation's cities. Rather than spending more, the Federal budget must be cut by some $8 billion if the fiscal crisis is to be averted and the dollar itself preserved

But I also stated that a lack of available Federal funds ought not to stifle our ingenuity. I spoke of bridges that can and should be built between the developed and the underdeveloped parts of our society—between rich and poor, white and black—human bridges, economic bridges, bridges of understanding and of help.

Tonight I would like to describe some of those bridges.

These programs represent a beginning; they illustrate the new direction that our efforts to reconcile the races and to rescue the poor ought to be taking.

They will not by themselves eliminate poverty now, or even in the next decade. They will not guarantee complete racial harmony. But they will point the way toward our becoming at last one nation and one people. For they aim at breaking the dismal cycles of despair and dependency, which have created a welfare class catered to by a welfare bureaucracy. And the point about them is that they are all things which *can* be done *now*—which do not require the massive spending which can be neither realistically promised nor responsibly delivered.

The old approach was custodial: to *care* for the poor with Federal doles, Federal housing, Federal make-work jobs. The new approach is remedial: to involve the poor in the rebuilding of their own communities and in the fostering of self-reliance and self-respect.

The first need is to replace dependence with independence.

This means laying the economic stepping-stones of meaningful and productive jobs securely in place. Beyond this, it also means encouraging black pride through its vigorous development of black management and of black capital ownership, and thus helping remove the ceiling from black aspiration.

The possible answers to our nation's problems are infinite in number—the product of the ingenuity of the American people multiplied by their commitment to the cause of justice. But here are some of the things—specific, practical things—that can be done *now* to get private enterprise into the ghetto, and the people of the ghetto into private enterprise.

CORE CITY CREDITS—RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Tax incentives—whether direct credits, accelerated depreciation or a combination of the two—should be provided to those businesses that locate branch offices or new plants in poverty areas, whether in the core cities or in rural America.

Free enterprise goes where the profits are. Tax incentives can place these profits where the people are, and where the need is.

I include rural America in this incentive program for two reasons.

The first is need. We don't see rural America exploding on television, but these harsh realities cannot be overlooked: More than half the Americans living below the poverty line live in rural America. Unemployment on the farm is twice what it is in the city. More than half the nation's inadequate housing is in rural areas.

The second reason is, quite simply, that many of the cities' problems are rooted in rural decay. As workers are forced off the farms, they crowd into the cities—often as unprepared for city life as they are for city jobs. To the extent that new jobs can be opened in rural America, to that extent will the pressure be lessened on the cities.

NEW CAPITAL

If our urban ghettos are to be rebuilt from within, one of the first requirements is the development of black-owned and black-run businesses. The need is more than economic. Black ownership—of homes, of land, and especially of productive enterprise—is both symbol and evidence of opportunity, and this is central to the spirit of independence on which orderly progress rests.

Establishing new businesses requires both capital and know-how.

Too often, the normal sources of capital are unavailable for ghetto enterprises. The risks are considered too high.

As the President's Riot Commission has recommended, the Small Business Administration's loan program should be substantially expanded in these areas.

Beyond this, additional loan guarantee programs can be combined with active efforts to enlist traditional lending institutions in ghetto development.

Reinsurance programs cost little to establish, and these can reduce the risk of investment in poverty areas.

Dr. Andrew Brimmer, a Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, has urged a greater use of correspondent relationships between large, white-controlled lending institutions and smaller, black-controlled ones, which again would increase the capital available for ghetto business loans.

Churches, unions, and corporations doing substantial business in poverty areas, might choose to keep some of their cash deposits in banks that serve those communities.

Federal and state banking authorities might join with private banking institutions to provide technical and capital assistance for the establishment of more new, black-controlled banks.

Senator Javits has proposed creation of a Domestic Development Bank, roughly comparable in concept to the World Bank. This would make loans and guarantees for businesses that either are located in poverty areas or draw most of their employees from poverty areas, with preference given to those enterprises that are locally-owned or that allow residents of the area to participate in ownership.

NEW ENTERPRISES

A New Enterprise program should be established to serve the Negro in the central city, helping black employees to become employers.

Under such a program, successful businessmen and business school teachers could provide training in the techniques of business management. If such a program were organized, surely enough could be found who would volunteer their time—and, as an extra inducement. I would suggest an individual tax deduction equivalent to the rate of pay of an instructor in a business school for the time individually put in, and corporate tax deductions for those companies that loan their executives.

HUMAN INVESTMENT

Next, I urge immediate enactment by Congress of the Republican-sponsored Human Investment Act, providing tax incentives to corporations which hire and train the unskilled and upgrade the skills of those at the bottom of the employment ladder.

A few years ago, American industry was given a seven per cent tax credit for the modernization of equipment. The credits were widely used. Productivity increased, and the entire economy benefited. A similar tax credit for increasing the productivity of people is overdue, and along with it should go a vigorous effort—led by the President—to persuade industry to utilize it to the fullest. Workers, business and the nation would benefit.

Critics have questioned such tax-credit proposals on the ground that each dollar of tax credit increases the budget deficit by as much as a dollar of new spending.

But in this case, it wouldn't work that way. In the first place, those put on payrolls will be taken off of welfare rolls or unemployment—compensation rolls; and in the second place, as industry is moved into the job-training field, government can be moved out of it.

The Job Corps, for example, has proved a costly failure. It costs some $10,000 a year to train a Job Corpsman for a job that often turns out not to exist. Under the Human Investment Act, industry itself—which creates the jobs—would be training men at far less cost for jobs that did exist.

COMPUTER JOB BANK

Part of the unemployment problem is simply a matter of getting the man and the job together.

Last month, while the Department of Labor reported that three million American men and women were looking for jobs, classified pages all across the nation were thick with "Help Wanted" ads.

This is an area in which modern technology can serve human needs. If computers can match boys and girls for college dates, they can match job-seeking men with man-seeking jobs.

Thus I have recommended the creation—immediately—of a National Computer Job Bank.

Under this plan, computers would be located in areas of high unemployment, both urban and rural. These would be programmed with data on available jobs and job training programs—locally, statewide and nationwide. A jobless man could tell the computer operator his employment background, his skills, his job needs—and in minutes he could learn where to find the work or the training he seeks.

These economic programs all are simple in concept and modest in cost. They lack the drama of a $2 billion or a $20 billion price-tag. But they are aimed at enlisting the real engines of American progress—individual initiative, private capital, voluntary services; the dynamic four-fifths of our economy *not* accounted for by government.

Now let us turn to education.

When it comes time for budget-cutting, this is one area that must *not* be short-changed. Doing so would shortchange the future of our children, and the future of the nation.

The Federal government has an immensely important role to play in advancing education, as do the states and the local communities.

But there also is a great deal the *people* can do.

STUDENT-TEACHER CORPS

Young Americans have shown their idealism and their dedicaton in the Peace Corps and in VISTA. To these now should be added a National Student Teacher Corps of high school and college students; carefully selected, paid volunteers who would work at the tutoring of core-city children. What they might lack in formal teaching skills, they could make up in the personal bonds of friendship and respect.

A comparable program already is at work in New York City where Homework Helpers—supervised high school seniors—are tutoring fourth-to-sixth grade students. Both helper and pupil have benefited. The Riot Commission has commended the program—and it represents the kind of helping hand needed across the nation.

EXTENDED TRAINING

Compensatory education is the first step toward bringing quality education to slum schools. Without it, the children of poverty will never catch up with the children of abundance.

I recommend inauguration of Extended Training Programs in core-city schools, in which classes in basic language and communications skills would be made available after regular school hours and during the summer months. For those willing to take advantage of them, these programs would provide an essential and often missing foundation for further learning.

TEACHER-VETERANS

One of the key needs in the ghetto is for more black teachers and administrators, highly trained, highly motivated. As Floyd McKissick put it a few months ago, "We need a black authority figure . . . with whom our children might be able to identify and to whose position they might aspire."

Among the nation's greatest underutilized assets are the returning Negro veterans of Viet Nam. These include thousands of officers and non-commissioned officers, trained and proven in leadership. Many of these would be superbly qualified for training as teachers.

The universities and schools for teacher training should intensify their recruitment among these veterans. For its part, the Department of Defense should set up a special information program to make Viet Nam veterans, black and white alike, aware of the opportunities and rewards of teaching.

The black soldier has written a proud record in Viet Nam—and that pride is needed in the ghetto schools.

HOMEOWNERSHIP

People who own their own homes don't burn their neighborhoods; rather, in pride and self-interest, they turn to fixing up their communities and making them livable for themselves and their neighbors.

Exciting new trails are being blazed toward more widespread home ownership.

Senator Percy's National Home Ownership Foundation plan, for example, would provide a private sector device for channeling mortgage capital into the slums and for enabling the poor to own their own homes—and it would do so at only a minute fraction of the cost of packing them into public housing.

Flanner House, a private self-help organization in Indianapolis, has shown dramatically that "sweat equity" can be made to work as a means of getting the poor into their own homes; some 400 families there have built their own homes from scratch. The example should be widely copied.

The FHA is largely limited today to "safe" mortgages. It should be turned in the direction of taking greater mortgage risks, so that it can function effectively in slum areas where now it does little.

I have tried tonight to set forth a few examples of low-cost steps that could be taken now to attack the problems of slum housing, rather than spending hundreds of millions to clear more slum acres, to displace more families, and to build more public housing.

The basic principle here is the same as in the job programs I outlined: imaginative enlistment of the private and the independent sectors, encouragement of private ownership, development of the pride that can only come from independence.

Significantly, some of the nation's outstanding Negro leaders have shown the way. Men like Dr. Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia and Dr. Thomas Matthew in New York have established private programs which have opened doors of opportunity to thousands of Negroes who might never have benefited from a government program.

The old way—the government way—will no longer do. The old way is still the conditioned reflex of those whose policy approaches are rooted in the 30's—the old way of massive spending piled on massive spending, and of looking to Washington to solve the problem of Watts.

The old ways have failed, because the Crisis of the Old Order is not the crisis of today. In the ruins of downtown Washington, of Detroit and Watts and Newark, lie the ruins of a philosophy of government that has outlived its origins and no longer speaks to its time.

It's time now for a new way, which yet is the oldest way of all—the way that begins with people, marshaling their own energies, moved by their own will, pursuing their own dreams.

The people are responding—individuals, voluntary organizations, businesses, universities.

People are *asking* what they can do. Businesses are *looking* for ways to enlist.

Our legislative goal should be the maximum mobilization of this will and these resources, with government's primary role not to do the job by itself, but to assist in getting it done.

Through this creative interaction of public and private, of government and people, the poor can finally receive what law alone cannot provide—the hope, the help, the fellowship of human dignity, which stem from that greatness of heart that lies at the heart of America's greatness.

THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, in the past few weeks, there has been considerable public discussion on the merits and demerits of the Poor People's Campaign currently underway in our Nation's Capital.

Typical of the American capacity to honestly explore a difficult problem, most of this discussion has been rational, searching, analytical, and responsive to the needs articulated by the campaign. For the first time in their lives, many Americans who heretofore have had no exposure to poverty or its crippling effects or for that matter, no awareness of this social cancer, have been forced to think about the deprived segment in our affluent midst. One of the country's largest magazines, Time, indicated its sensitivity to the issues raised by the Poor People's Campaign by doing a cover story on poverty in its May 17 issue.

Whether or not this Nation and this Congress will be able to fully respond and thereby satisfy the demands of the Poor People's Campaign remain unknown as of this moment. I do believe and I am deeply optimistic that this Congress will respond in some measure to the critical plight of the poor people of this country. Certainly, the establishment of an unofficial dialog between an ad hoc committee of Congressmen and Senators and officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, organizers of the campaign, is a constructive step in the right direction.

I might add, parenthetically, that several days before our first meeting with the SCLC representatives in the Rayburn House Office Building on May 16, 1968, I had publicly urged that such a dialog begin. I also recommended that SCLC leaders make a searching attempt to trim some of their legislative demands in order to present a realistic legislative program that had some reasonable chance of passage. These comments were reported in the Philadelphia Inquirer on May 13, 1968.

But, Mr. Speaker, my concern here today is not with the immediate demands of the Poor People's Campaign whose cause I heartily and enthusiastically espouse. Nor am I discussing what kind of programs could be passed by Congress to meet these critical demands. I have already submitted a group of legislative proposals and have outlined what can be accomplished concretely with these proposals.

What concerns me as a legislator and as an American is the reaffirmation of the God-given right of any peoples in a democracy to peacefully petition for a redress of their grievances.

That these people—black, white, Mexican-American, Indian, and Puerto Rican—who have assembled in Resurrection City have legitimate grievances, none of us can deny. Living in some of the most inhuman conditions imaginable, many of these families do not know what it is to eat three meals a day or to live in a house with heat, a bathroom, and a roof that does not leak when it rains.

Impoverished economically, they have also been impoverished politically.

They have never been apprised of their rights. Indeed, they do not know such rights exist. Even among our middle-class and reasonably informed groups, there is a paucity of understanding of due process, the right to petition one's government, the inherent right to demand redress of legitimate grievances and other attendant rights guaranteed by our Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution.

The poor people who have gathered together in Washington, D.C., are here to seek redress of their depressed condition. They are performing this important task within the constitutionally recognized machinery of American Government. They are here as American citizens. And what they seek is what most American citizens now enjoy—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

To the extent, they are unable to earn a living, to the extent they do not enjoy the security of a decent job and are unable to provide for their families, then to that precise extent do they not enjoy life, liberty, and the ability to pursue happiness.

Whether or not some may consider their demands, just or unjust, is unimportant. What is important is that their need is undisputed.

Theirs is a need borne out of centuries of discrimination, disenfranchisement, and disinheritance. The kingdom of heaven on earth is as remote from them as it was for their ancestors.

I think that many of the critics of the Poor People's Campaign have been frightened not by the demands or the cause the poor people represent but by the great throngs of people inundating the Capital. Implicit in their presence is they are a threat to the peace and security of this city.

But, outside of a few marches and orderly confrontations with members of the executive branch, they have been essentially orderly. Yes, some of the rhetoric has been colorful and at times, hostile. Some have even classified the expressions as violent. But I make a clear distinction between a violent call to arms and the despairing anger of a subjugated peoples whose righteous indignation can no longer be contained.

When Rev. Ralph Abernathy and his associates met with Members of Congress and the Senate on May 16, he made it crystal clear that he intended to lead a peaceful and nonviolent movement. To those who see violence. Communist-control and other subversive influences operating in this truly American exercise in good citizenship, let me suggest that the words of James Mathews Legaré's poem, "To a Lily," is applicable here:

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I would painfully suggest that those who raise the issues of "threats" "violence" and "blackmail" reflect a troubled conscience.

As this Nation's highest deliberative body, we should never be forced to legislate under duress or the threat of violence. But that does not preclude our being jolted or disturbed by segments of the American people who justifiably feel—and the vast array of statistics support their contention—that they have been mistreated, humiliated, scorned, and abused by their fellow citizens.

Such abuse and scorn, Mr. Speaker, has not been necessarily any organized conspiracy or the result of an entire nation acting against one segment of the population because I sincerely believe that the majority of white Americans are fair-minded people. I believe that if the issues now confronting this Nation are highlighted and focused by this Poor People's Campaign, there resides in the hearts of most Americans a wellspring of passion and loving concern for their fellowman that will overflow in a legislative program of redress.

When we took our oath of office, we made a compact with our voters and congressional constituents that we would faithfully represent them in the discharge of our duties. But that oath, by definition, demands that we also represent America.

Those poor people now living in Resurrection City are Americans. They do have rights. They do have needs. And their lives must be changed.

What kind of change depends upon us in this Congress.

I think they have rendered a great service to the tree of democracy and its continued nourishment by coming here to remind us and this great Nation that we are indeed one Nation and that unless we all are able to enjoy democracy's blessings, then we have failed to fulfill the mission of our Founding Fathers.

EDUCATION AND HUNGER

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, it has become apparent in the hearings before the House Committee on Education and Labor, which is considering the proposed Commission on Hunger, that food alone is not the answer to the problem of some malnourished Americans.

It appears from testimony and literature on the subject that some individuals, because of upbringing or background, are not in the habit of using or preparing certain commodities they receive.

Subtle and considerate education programs for effective changes in eating patterns must be initiated to overcome these cultural tastes.

In the October 1954 edition of the Journal of American Dietetics Association, there appeared an article entitled "Odd Dietary Practices of Women," by Cecile Hoover Edwards, Hattie McSwain, and Susie Haire. Because some of these practices may possibly exist today, I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

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Fixed traditions and taboos about foods existed even among the Hebrews of early Semitic periods. Only a limited number of investigations, however, have been made of the unusual or odd dietary practices of women, particularly those of pregnant women.

Dickins and Ford,[3] Hertz,[4] and Whiting [5] have referred to the practice of eating such substances as starch and clay. In anthropologic literature, this practice is known as geophagy, which has been defined as earth-eating among some Indian and Negro tribes. Since the existence of geophagy has been reported from various parts of the world, it would seem that the practice is not limited to any particular ethnic group or spatial area.

In a survey of rural Negro children in Oktibbeha County, Mississippi, Dickins and Ford [3] observed that 30 to 38 per cent of the 209 children studied had eaten dirt that school year.

The existence of dirt- and starch-eating in North Carolina first came to the attention of Hertz through her work with Negro mothers. According to her, mothers defend themselves by pointing out that they eat dirt when pregnant because "pregnant women have 'cravings'." She concluded that the habit of eating starch and clay was sex-linked, since there were no reports of adult men who ate either substance.

Accordingly to Whiting, the practices of clay- and starch-eating are closely associated. While working on a health education project sponsored by Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina, Whiting reported that two types of clay were eaten, red and white, which were described as tasting the same—sour and "puckerish." White clay was reported to be smoother and less gritty. A third substance, soot, was also referred to by Whiting. The soot was consumed (a) directly from stove pipes and (b) after being placed in bags, dipped in water, and boiled into soot tea.

The present study was undertaken to determine the nature and prevalence of unusual dietary practices of rural women who resided within a 75-mi. radius of Tuskegee Institute. As the study progressed, it became apparent that the practices of clay- and starch-eating were fairly common throughout the South and in some parts of the North. Additional information, therefore, was obtained from health agencies, doctors, and midwives in other southern states.

The objectives of the study were: (1) to compile information on "cravings" for foods which are normal dietary constituents, (2) to study the practice of eating foods or substances which do not conform to the normal dietary pattern, (3) to investigate the influence of superstitious beliefs, food taboos, customs, and traditions on the dietary habits of women in normal health and during pregnancy, and (4) to interpret and evaluate the data on the basis of (a) reasons given for ingestion or non-ingestion of specific substances and (b) the nutritive values of the foods and/or substances.

EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURE

By use of the normative survey method and personal interviews, information on odd dietary practices of women in the South was obtained. Questionnaires were directed only to individuals who were in close contact with the eating habits of women who lived in rural and suburban areas.

The names of 300 Negro women who had given birth to babies from 1949 to 1951 were randomly selected from the postpartum records of the John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital, Tuskegee Institute. Questionnaires were sent to these women to obtain information on their dietary habits during pregnancy and in normal periods. The average income of the families of the 150 women who returned the questionnaires was $1750, ranging from $168 to $4000. The ages ranged from thirteen to forty-nine years—average twenty-five years. The average education was seventh grade, with a range of from none to sixteen years. These women were farmers, domestic workers, and homemakers. The majority (55 per cent) rented their homes; 15 per cent were sharecroppers; and 19 per cent owned their homes. In this group, 87 per cent of the diets were rated fair, poor, or very poor; 10 per cent were rated good; and 3 per cent were rated excellent.

A random sample of 50 women was chosen from the group of 150 who returned the questionnaires. Visits were made to their homes to verify and supplement the information obtained from the questionnaires.

In addition to the 50 women who were randomly selected for home interviews, 61 other women were interviewed at maternity clinics in Alabama, and at home and maternity clinics in Georgia.

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RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The food habits of man are intimately interwoven with his cultural and religious beliefs. In his effort to survive, he has turned to food not only as an energy-giving and body-building material, but also as a refuge from the many ills which beset him. Even today, our culture retains some of the early effects of animism, demonology, and metaphysics which have influenced the practices of peoples as generations passed.

According to Mason,[6] the medical prescriptions in early Egyptian culture showed a strong belief in the power of the supernatural. The concept that certain plants picked in the moonlight were particularly efficacious in the preparation of medicine was accepted by the peoples in that country and others, and it is still not infrequently encountered in modern popular medicine. More rational was the following prescription of the same period.

"To cure granulations of the eye, you will prepare a remedy of collyrium, verdigris, onions, blue vitriol, powdered woods. You will mix it all and apply it to the eyes of the sick person."

In those early times, the body was seen as a temple of the soul. The concept that illness and death were due to sin existed, according to Mason, in early Babylonian medicine. Evidence of this idea is found in adherence to the bath, the selection and preparation of foods, and concepts of sanitation.

The ritual of bathing and washing of the hands before meals in biblical times served a dual purpose. Whereas washing the hands before meals was done both for the sake of cleanliness and as a religious duty, symbolic of the cleansing of the soul, washing them after the meal was practiced as an evidence of duty and of respect to other persons. This practice today seems to be based wholly on sanitary principles.

The selection and preparation of food was important in Hebrew religion and even today is highly ritualistic in Jewish families. Mason quotes the "law of clean and unclean meats" (Deut. 14:3–8):

"Thou shalt not eat any abominable thing. These are the beasts which ye shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the goat, the hart, and the roebuck, and the fallow deer, the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the wild ox, and the chamois. And every breast that parteth the hoof and cleaveth the cleft into two claws, and chewth the cud among the beasts, that ye shall eat. Nevertheless, these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that divide the cloven hoof; as the camel and the hare and the coney, for they chew the cud, but divide not the hoof. Therefore they are unclean unto you. And the swine, because it divide the hoof, yet cheweth not the cud, it is unclean unto you: ye shall not eat of their flesh, nor touch their dead carcass."

The prescribed instruction, "Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself . . ." (Deut. 14:21) is practiced even today, on one hand as a ritual by those following Jewish tradition, and on the other hand by a much larger group because of adherence to modern sanitation and disease prevention and control.

INFLUENCE OF SUPERSTITION ON FOOD HABITS

In the group of 211 Negro women studied in this investigation, many interesting "reasons" for certain dietary practices were given. For example, in Manning, South Carolina, there was evidence of a traditional belief that milk, eggs, fish, yellow vegetables, grapefruit, tomatoes, butter, liver, and beans should not be eaten. The basis for this belief was unknown. In Anniston, Alabama, this belief also applied to other foods, as bacon, ham, and onions.

The eating of green foods appeared to be taboo during the postpartum period among women in Louisiana, and approximately one-third of the women who visit the County Health Department in Talladega, Alabama, were reported to eat only rice, potatoes, and milk during the postpartum period. It may be that lack of information on the metabolism of food has fostered the idea that the green color of vegetables might show up in the mother's milk.

Fish, too, is widely taboo; in North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina, and Kentucky, as many as 35 per cent of the rural Negro women apparently adhere to this practice. Comments indicated that some felt it would poison them, and others stated that it would prove fatal if consumed during a period of several weeks after childbirth. The combination of "fish and milk" was thought to be especially dangerous.

Other strange, ill-founded notions which were stated included: "Cheese, bananas, and ice cream will make you sick." . . . "Cooked cabbage and other 'strong-tasting' greens will upset the stomach and 'taint' the milk." . . . "Milk, eggs, and liver should not be eaten." . . . "If block magnesia is not eaten, the unborn will be marked." . . . "If the bark of trees is not eaten, the unborn will be marked." . . . "If clay is not eaten, the unborn will be marked." . . . "Sweet milk gives 'milk fever.' "

It is difficult to determine what experience formed the basis for these beliefs. The superstition that fish and milk must not be eaten together is probably based on digestive disturbances brought about in a few instances by factors entirely unrelated to the foods, or by foods which had been spoiled. Also, aside from being foods of high nutritional value, milk, eggs, and liver possess no similarity except that they all come from within the animal. Lack of knowledge regarding the nutritive value or desirability of certain foods in many instances appeared to be the major reason why women did not drink milk or eat green and yellow vegetables.

FOOD CRAVINGS AND BIZARRE FOOD INTAKES

Large intakes of familiar foods and intakes of substances not generally considered food were reported, both by the individuals in the survey and by the health workers. Of the women returning questionnaires, 55 reported "cravings," and although unfortunately, the listings of cravings were not accurately recorded for all of the 111 women interviewed personally, at least 40 of this group were reported to experience "cravings."

Most striking of all "cravings" was the practice of a large number of women of eating red and white clay, cornstarch, flour, and baking soda. These "foods" were part of the dietary pattern during pregnancy particularly and were eaten either because of superstitious belief that the substance had special powers or by custom. Some women stated emphatically, "The unborn will be marked if I don't eat it!" In many instances, the mother said that she had been told to follow this practice by her mother or grandmother. In other cases, it was stated that clay, starch, or baking powder relieved the nausea accompanying pregnancy.

The intake of some of these substances was quite large. As much as a 1-lb. box of starch might be consumed each day, and this practice appeared to be widespread in most of the southern states involved in the study, occurring in as many as 75 per cent of the women who attended some health departments. The practice of clay-eating, too, was quite common, being followed by as many as 50 per cent of the patients in some of the health departments and experiment stations which were queried. Another odd substance which was reported to be eaten was tree bark; the reason ascribed to this practice was superstition. For some women, block magnesia seemed to satisfy a craving, or prevented nausea, but the exact nature of the effect could not be determined.

It was interesting to search for further links in the chain of information relating to these cravings. Stoney reported[7] that the eating of clay in rural communities seemed to be a privilege reserved for the pregnant woman. In fact, disparaging remarks were made about women who continued this practice after their babies were born.

In interviewing midwives in Georgia, we became aware of one of the consequences of eating clay. Some midwives stated that they could tell whether the mother had eaten clay by observing the thickness of the "coating" over the newborn child. According to them, if the infant was coated with a thick white material (the vernex) which looked like flour, the mother had eaten clay during pregnancy. Otherwise, the "coating" would be thin.

Eating large quantities of cornstarch was explained as an attempt to satisfy a craving. Some women indicated that it "relieved nausea," or that they ate it because "mama" or "grandma" had told them to do so. Even in educated circles, this practice has been reported.

Because cravings for clay and cornstarch were more frequently reported by pregnant women (21.0 per cent) than by women during other periods (10.4 per cent), the authors felt it of interest to determine if these differences were significant. The chisquare was computed as an index of dispersion, using the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the number of normal or pregnant women eating odd substances. A chi-square of 1,849 was found, which was not significant unless a one in five chance of being in error is acceptable.

This problem was also approached from another direction by computing the t value. Forty-five per cent (8) of the women who listed cravings when they were not pregnant ate clay, but, during pregnancy, the percentage increased to 64.9 per cent. The standard error of the per cent of increase was 14.098. A t value of 1.448 was found, which is not significant at the 1 or 5 per cent levels for 53 degrees of freedom. Consequently, by this standard, too, the difference in the craving for clay among normal and pregnant women does not seem to be significant.

Fifty per cent of the women who listed cravings ate cornstarch when they were not pregnant; during pregnancy, this percentage decreased to 32.43. The standard error of the difference was 14.071. A t value of 1.249 was found, which was not significant for the involved degrees of freedom. Thus, the difference in craving for cornstarch in normal and pregnant women does not seem to be significant.

Foods which are eaten in exceptionally large quantities and which as such or in the form used are not usually included in the American dietary patterns include: lard (as much as 1 lb was consumed without bread every three days); coffee beans (chewed throughout the day); flour, dry oatmeal; baking powder (reported to relieve nausea of pregnancy); dry skim milk powder (the woman reported she could not drink it mixed with water, but that she ate 8 oz. dry per day); baking soda (the women started eating it for "heartburn." It then became a habit and was eaten throughout the day. Several cases were reported in Tennessee and a large number in South Carolina).

Many foods which ordinarily make up our diet were reported to be eaten in excessively large quantities, usually to satisfy "cravings." This list includes: Apples, banana pudding, bananas, barbecue, cake, candy, cheese, chicken, cocoa and dry milk, collard greens, crackers, cranberries, cucumbers, eggs, fish, grapefruit, grapes, ice cream, meat, cause the poor people represent but by the great throngs of people inundating the Capital. Implicit in their presence is they are a threat to the peace and security of this city.

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[6] Mason, W. A.: The monotheistic concept and the evolution of medical thought. Phylon 12:255, 1951.

[7] Stoney, G. C.: Personal communication.

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It is difficult to determine what experience formed the basis for these beliefs. The superstition that fish and milk must not be eaten together is probably based on digestive disturbances brought about in a few instances by factors entirely unrelated to the foods, or by foods which had been spoiled. Also, aside from being foods of high nutritional value, milk, eggs, and liver possess no similarity except that they all come from within the animal. Lack of knowledge regarding the nutritive value or desirability of certain foods in many instances appeared to be the major reason why women did not drink milk or eat green and yellow vegetables.

FOOD CRAVINGS AND BIZARRE FOOD INTAKES

Large intakes of familiar foods and intakes of substances not generally considered food were reported, both by the individuals in the survey and by the health workers. Of the women returning questionnaires, 55 reported "cravings," and although unfortunately, the listings of cravings were not accurately recorded for all of the 111 women interviewed personally, at least 40 of this group were reported to experience "cravings."

Most striking of all "cravings" was the practice of a large number of women of eating red and white clay, cornstarch, flour, and baking soda. These "foods" were part of the dietary pattern during pregnancy particularly and were eaten either because of superstitious belief that the substance had special powers or by custom. Some women stated emphatically, "The unborn will be marked if I don't eat it!" In many instances, the mother said that she had been told to follow this practice by her mother or grandmother. In other cases, it was stated that clay, starch, or baking powder relieved the nausea accompanying pregnancy.

The intake of some of these substances was quite large. As much as a 1-lb. box of starch might be consumed each day, and this practice appeared to be widespread in most of the southern states involved in the study, occurring in as many as 75 per cent of the women who attended some health departments. The practice of clay-eating, too, was quite common, being followed by as many as 50 per cent of the patients in some of the health departments and experiment stations which were queried. Another odd substance which was reported to be eaten was tree bark; the reason ascribed to this practice was superstition. For some women, block magnesia seemed to satisfy a craving, or prevented nausea, but the exact nature of the effect could not be determined.

It was interesting to search for further links in the chain of information relating to these cravings. Stoney reported[7] that the eating of clay in rural communities seemed to be a privilege reserved for the pregnant woman. In fact, disparaging remarks were made about women who continued this practice after their babies were born.

In interviewing midwives in Georgia, we became aware of one of the consequences of eating clay. Some midwives stated that they could tell whether the mother had eaten clay by observing the thickness of the "coating" over the newborn child. According to them, if the infant was coated with a thick white material (the vernex) which looked like flour, the mother had eaten clay during pregnancy. Otherwise, the "coating" would be thin.

Eating large quantities of cornstarch was explained as an attempt to satisfy a craving. Some women indicated that it "relieved nausea," or that they ate it because "mama" or "grandma" had told them to do so. Even in educated circles, this practice has been reported.

Because cravings for clay and cornstarch were more frequently reported by pregnant women (21.0 per cent) than by women during other periods (10.4 per cent), the authors felt it of interest to determine if these differences were significant. The chisquare was computed as an index of dispersion, using the hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the number of normal or pregnant women eating odd substances. A chi-square of 1.849 was found, which was not significant unless a one in five chance of being in error is acceptable.

This problem was also approached from another direction by computing the t value. Forty-five per cent (8) of the women who listed cravings when they were not pregnant ate clay, but, during pregnancy, the percentage increased to 64.9 per cent. The standard error of the per cent of increase was 14.098. A t value of 1.448 was found, which is not significant at the 1 or 5 per cent levels for 53 degrees of freedom. Consequently, by this standard, too, the difference in the craving for clay among normal and pregnant women does not seem to be significant.

Fifty per cent of the women who listed cravings ate cornstarch when they were not pregnant; during pregnancy, this percentage decreased to 32.43. The standard error of the difference was 14.071. A t value of 1.249 was found, which was not significant for the involved degrees of freedom. Thus, the difference in craving for cornstarch in normal and pregnant women does not seem to be significant.

Foods which are eaten in exceptionally large quantities and which as such or in the form used are not usually included in the American dietary patterns include: lard (as much as 1 lb was consumed without bread every three days); coffee beans (chewed throughout the day); flour, dry oatmeal; baking powder (reported to relieve nausea of pregnancy); dry skim milk powder (the woman reported she could not drink it mixed with water, but that she ate 8 oz. dry per day); baking soda (the women started eating it for "heartburn." It then became a habit and was eaten throughout the day. Several cases were reported in Tennessee and a large number in South Carolina).

Many foods which ordinarily make up our diet were reported to be eaten in excessively large quantities, usually to satisfy "cravings." This list includes: Apples, banana pudding, bananas, barbecue, cake, candy, cheese, chicken, cocoa and dry milk, collard greens, crackers, cranberries, cucumbers, eggs, fish, grapefruit, grapes, ice cream, meat, raw fat, oranges, peaches, pears, pickles, plums, potato chips, rhubarb, raisins, starchy foods, strawberries, tangerines, tomatoes, turnips, watermelon.

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[6] Mason, W. A.: The monotheistic concept and the evolution of medical thought. Phylon 12:255, 1951.

[7] Stoney, G. C.: Personal communication.

Although these are familiar foods, their use in this situation is certainly not according to our cultural pattern. As an indication of the bizarre nature of some of these intakes resulting from "cravings," the intake of fourteen eggs a day was reported in one instance. Another reason for excessive intakes of ice cream, apples, potato chips, fish, and chicken was found to be superstition.

Of the 55 women who reported cravings on their questionnaires, 67.3 per cent were pregnant. It was also apparent that a greater number of foods were craved during pregnancy than during times when the woman's health was normal. Statistical evaluation revealed that significantly greater quantities of fruits, cereals, meats, vegetables, desserts, and beverages were eaten by pregnant women, but differences for consumption of bread, salads, fat, soups, and nuts were not significant. In Table 1 is tabulated the reported frequency of these cravings.

It has been postulated by some workers that a "craving" expresses a body deficiency which is satisfied by the ingested food. The literature on this subject, however, contains many conflicting observations. Whiting, in pointing out the difficulty in explaining why these substances were eaten suggested that the practice and its genesis in an unconscious endeavor to compensate for certain nutritional deficiencies. What these nutritional deficiencies were remains to be investigated. The suggestion that this is a problem in nutrition was put forth by that investigator on the assumption that the human organism, through a system of chemical checks and balances, sets up within itself certain appetites which, when satisfied, tend to restore the normal chemical balance necessary for efficient and healthful functioning.

TABLE 1.—FOODS AND OTHER SUBSTANCES CRAVED BY 55 WOMEN RETURNING QUESTIONNAIRES

Food	Number of women reporting cravings	
	During times of normal health	During pregnancy
Fruit:		
Apples		11
Bananas		4
Cranberries		1
Figs		1
Grapefruit		3
Grapes		8
Oranges		2
Peaches		3
Pears		3
Plums		2
Raisins		1
Tangerines		1
Watermelon	4	8
Cereals:		
Potato chips	2	2
Rice		1
Spaghetti		1
Bread and bread substitutes:		
Corn bread		1
Crackers		1
Flour		1
Meat and meat substitutes:		
Barbecue		1
Cheese		4
Chicken		11
Chitterlings		1
Eggs, boiled		1
Fish	2	18
Liver		3
Pork chops		1
Sausage		2
Steak		1
Vegetables:		
Collard greens		5
Corn		1
Cucumbers		1
Pickles	2	2
Tomatoes		3
Turnips		5
Desserts:		
Banana pudding		1
Cake	3	2
Candy	6	2
Ice cream	4	7
Beverages:		
Milk		1
Milk, chocolate		1
Other substances:		
Clay	8	24
Corn starch	9	12
Paper	1	1

These strange practices do not seem to bring about any harmful or pathologic symptoms. Hertz advanced the hypothesis that clay- and starch-eating provide satisfaction for individual needs and suggested that these needs include the desire to satisfy hunger pains and the pleasure of chewing.

In our laboratory, in an effort to estimate the effect the craved substances might have on the individuals who ingested them, the nutritional value of the substances which were actually food was reviewed (Table 2).

In the case of foods of high-water content, the stomach would be filled, thereby satisfying hunger pains. Because of the nature of the food, however, it would leave the stomach comparatively rapidly, thereby setting in motion again the same "craving." Thus it may be that the "craving" expressed for certain foods or other substances is merely an indication of inadequate caloric intake (i.e., total quantity of food), since the main contribution of these foods is either carbohydrate or water. Cornstarch and other high-carbohydrate foods, for example, would supply calories (energy) and might keep the blood sugar at a more normal level, thereby preventing hypoglycemia and the attenuating symptoms of hunger.

Though no reference was made to it, the color of red clay may have been associated with rich blood for the mother and that of white clay with her milk.

These explanations are, of course, pure speculation. Detailed studies of blood and tissue changes are necessary before one can set up a hypothesis regarding the effect of clay, cornstarch, and other substances on the body. Such studies are essential in explaining the mechanism of the "craving" for specific substances as expressed by those who eat them.

PAUCITY OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT UNUSUAL DIETARY PRACTICES

That many public health officials were unaware of these superstitions and traditional dietary practices was evidenced by lack of specific information on the questionnaires returned and from the paucity of information obtained through personal interviews. Stoney has observed that the custom of hiding one's superstitions from those who might ridicule them is a powerful one. According to him, some public health nurses with years of experience in clinic and home visiting were completely unaware that such strong food taboos exist among their patients. He states: "In many instances, the patient simply learned what diet the nurse wanted her to tell her she was eating, and graciously obliged."

For example, the eating of fish seems to be taboo after parturition. According to Stoney:

"Along the Georgia coast, especially, fish is such a staple food that its removal from the mother's diet as soon as the baby is born must demand important nutritional readjustments. It was surprising to note that none of the public health nurses interviewed were aware of this taboo, although they had been interviewing patients about their diets for many years."

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Information derived from questionnaires and personal interviews revealed several generalizations that might be made in connection with dietary habits.

(a) In general, the first meal immediately after the baby was born, and often for several days thereafter, consisted of white bread toast, buttered grits, and black coffee. In some instances, a diet of this type was continued for each meal for as long as a month. Rice, mashed potatoes, and other starches may be used to vary the pattern during this period. Some women avoided drinking sweet milk during the first week after the birth of their babies because of the fear of "milk fever."

TABLE 2.—COMPOSITION OF FOODS CRAVED MOST OFTEN: 100-GM. PORTIONS[1]

Food	Calories (grams)	Protein (grams)	Fat (grams)	Carbohydrate (grams)	Ash (grams)	Calcium (milligrams)	Phosphorus (milligrams)	Iron (milligrams)	Vitamin A (international units)	Thiamine (milligrams)	Riboflavin (milligrams)	Niacin (milligrams)	Ascorbic Acid (milligrams)
Watermelon	28	0.5	0.2	6.9	0.3	7	12	0.2	590	0.05	0.05	0.2	6
Grapes	70	1.4	1.4	14.9	.4	17	21	.6	80	.06	.04	.2	4
Bananas	88	1.2	.2	23.0	.8	8	28	.6	430	.04	.05	.7	10
Apples	58	.3	.4	14.9	.3	6	10	.3	90	.04	.03	.2	5
Fish	205	19.0	2.5	.0	1.3	21	218	1.0	---------	.07	.70	4.2	2
Chicken	200	20.2	7.2	.0	1.1	14	200	1.5	0	.08	.16	10.2	0
Cheese	398	25.0	32.2	2.1	3.7	725	495	1.0	1,400	.02	.42	---------	0
Turnips	32	1.1	.2	7.1	.7	40	34	.5	---------	.05	.07	.5	28
Collards	40	3.9	.6	7.2	1.7	249	58	1.6	6,870	.11	.27	2.0	100
Ice cream	207	4.0	12.5	20.6	.8	123	99	.1	520	.04	.19	.1	1

[1] From Agriculture Handbook No. 8. Watt, B. K., and Merrill, A. L.: Composition of Foods—Raw, Processed, Prepared. U.S.D.A. Agriculture Handbook No. 8, 1950.

This custom of eating light, starchy foods immediately after parturition may be traced back to generations when sanitation and facilities for food storage and preservation were poor. Feeling that she might be upset by spoiled or strong food (and thus the food she gave the baby would be affected, possibly even endangering his life), the mother avoided anything that might spoil or have a strong taste. Today the dangers of food spoilage are much less real. Old taboos, however, are still powerful and thus have a marked effect on the well-being of mothers who may already be suffering from lack of proper diet.

(b) During this period, "store bought" bread is eaten in preference to the usual cornbread and biscuits. Since this is considered a delicacy by country families, it may be an "attention-getting" device comparable to the postnatal craving of sweets and other foods.

(c) Attitudes and food practices seemed more "normal" in and near cities. As one moves further out to the rural areas, the attitudes and food practices become more unfamiliar. This may be directly related to the influence exerted by hospitals, newspapers, radios, and other social agencies in the city.

(d) Direct experiences, such as contact with other women, whose babies had been delivered in hospitals and who had been given adequate diets, seem to have more effect than the recommendations of public health nurses in the clinics. Thus, the women believe what they see rather than what they are told.

(e) Older individuals in the community, such as the grandmothers, have a strong influence on the attitudes of the younger women toward food. It is not strange, then, that taboos and superstitions about food should be passed down from generation to generation in rural communities when little opportunity to correct them is available. Thus, where hospital service is not available, the old midwives and "grannies" teach the younger mothers their only knowledge of proper food. Where the mothers have access to hospitals and physicians, they often defy the teachings of the "grannies."

MIDWIVES' INFLUENCES

And what is the attitude presented by the midwife? Only limited information is available. However, through interviews, their attitudes seemed to fall into three categories:

(a) A few midwives believed that a woman fares better if she eats a light, mostly starchy diet for the first few weeks after parturition.

(b) A larger number of midwives were completely convinced that the newer recommendations of health departments were sound and told these to their patients, relating this to what was done in hospitals.

(c) A majority believed that the patient should eat what she had been accustomed to eating, giving no additional recommendations on diet.

This picture is distressing and tells a story which might well be in the realm of fantasy. In some states, the only hope of the rural mother to improve her condition and that of her infant is the midwife. Perhaps the solution to the problem is that of re-educating midwives in the newer knowledge of nutrition, using effective teaching aids that will show a clear picture of the value of an adequate diet.

The task of improving nutrition in low-income rural groups is certainly a difficult one, not only because of inadequate funds and the paucity of knowledge concerning the nutritional value of food, but also because of the strong influence of superstition and tradition on the dietary habits of this group. The ideas about food are firmly embedded in the older generation whose influence on the younger mothers is powerful. Their limited education and the lack of adequate communication further restrict the influence of nutrition education programs on the dietary practices of the rural population.

Some progress is being made through clinics, but not until the intricate web of emotions and superstitious beliefs can be more clearly understood, can we make real strides toward improving the nutritional status of this group. As progress is made in this area, infant and maternal mortality, morbidity, stillbirths, and abortions will decrease.

And, as we are able to convert this large group of rural families to the doctrine of sounder dietary practices, so will the health of the community and nation improve.

Average caloric intake of American women in four cities—Birmingham, Buffalo, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and San Francisco—is 1780, according to the 1953 annual report of the Chief, Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics, U.S.D.A. This intake appears in general to be adequate for food energy needs as indicated by the relation of weight to height in these women. Average calcium intake, however, was 0.6 gm. per day, as compared with 0.8 gm. recommended by the National Research Council.

THE KING AND HIS COMMUNISTS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, more and more documentation on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—SCLC—continues to be brought to light.

The leaders of this mockery of names and titles must be exposed for what they are so that our people knowingly will never be duped into emotional submission.

This must be one of our foremost duties to our constituents—to get them the facts so they can decide for themselves the truth and knowing they will remain free.

Under unanimous consent I submit a report from the American Opinion magazine in 1965 titled, "The King and His Communists" by Alan Stang, and an article from Time for May 1968 for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

THE KING AND HIS COMMUNISTS

(By Alan Stang, a former business editor for Prentice-Hall, Inc., and a television writer, producer, and consultant (Mike Wallace Interviews and Biography))

(NOTE.—Mr. Stang is a frequent contributor to American Opinion and is author of the Western Islands bestseller, It's Very Simple: The True Story of Civil Rights, a book which we heartily recommend to our readers.)

It was Sunday morning in Alabama. It was clear. It was cool. It would be a perfect day. And the most wonderful thing about it was that a foreboding, pervasive sense of nonviolence hung heavy in the air—a premonition of nonviolence in the afternoon.

Selma was so full of nonviolence it was fit to bust.

At one end of the bridge were the troopers, mounted and afoot, billies in hand. Nothing much needs to be said about them. Everybody knows, don't they, that all white Alabamians, especially the police, are filled with hatred and police brutality.

At the other end of the bridge were the others, meek, innocent, pure, abused: the "Civil Rights" fighters. Nothing much needs to be said about them. Everybody knows that they were stuffed with love. They were full of it, crammed with it, there was no way at all you could jam in any more of it.

The troopers tensed. The marchers marched.

Was this going to be it at last? Were we finally going to get some nonviolence going—most people were basically so peaceful—you had to spend such a long time lying before you got any of it at all, and then what you got might not even be decent.

"For weeks," Newsweek of March 22, 1965, explains, "Martin Luther King had been escalating his Selma voter-registration campaign toward the state he calls 'creative tension'—the setting for a paroxysm of segregationist violence that can shock the nation to action . . . ."

"The Negroes' rationale in holding night marches," explains the New York Times of February 24, 1964, "is to provoke the racist element in white communities to show its worst."

Believe me, you don't know what work is until you've tried to provoke some nonviolence.

And then at last, O Happy Days, the troopers were charging across the bridge, kicking and clubbing and tear gassing—gosh, it was wonderful. It was great. Man, you talk about nonviolence! *Newsweek* of March 22, 1965, tells it this way: ". . . At a half-walk, half-run, troopers shoved and clubbed the marchers into retreat. Behind them, the sheriff's cavalry mounted a Cossack charge into the scattering column. . . ."

Cossacks! You get it? You remember the Cossacks. They were the crowd who used to ride down the luckless, Russian workers on orders of the Tsar. Later on, the "workers" made a "revolution." You may have heard about it.

But Alabama Cossacks didn't do it on orders of the Tsar. The only reason they were there at all it seems, was that the March had been forbidden, because of this very premonition of nonviolence, by an order from Georgi Wallace, the Ivan the Terrible of American society, otherwise known as the Governor of the once sovereign state of Alabama—if you will pardon the expression.

Now, what's the point to all this nonviolence? We know it's about "Civil Rights," of course; but why must the nonviolence get so bloody? What's the theory behind it? Well, the man behind it is of course the "Reverend" Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and he tells us about it all in *Saturday Review* for April 3, 1965:

1. Nonviolent demonstrators go into the streets to exercise their constitutional rights.

2. Racists resist by unleashing violence against them.

3. Americans of conscience in the name of decency demand federal intervention and legislation.

4. The Administration, under mass pressure, initiates measures of immediate intervention and remedial legislation.

Ladies and gentlemen, here it is from the man himself. Let's spell it out—in English:

1. "Nonviolent demonstrators—that's anyone who, say, has a pair of sandals and needs a bath—go into the streets to provoke the hicks.

2. "Racists"—that's anyone, say, who doesn't have a pair of sandals and doesn't need a bath—finally lose their heads, or are simply forced to use violence—as in Selma.

3. "Americans of conscience'"—that's a reader of the *New York Times*, a professor at Yale, or anybody calling himself a clergyman—put on the pressure for more federal intervention to promote collectivism that leads to Communism.

4. The Administration—I don't know who that is—under mass pressure (you know what this is), sends in more troops and passes more laws.

In short—and remember that this is from the massive brain of the man himself—the violence that usually occurs in a King Production isn't unexpected, isn't to be avoided, isn't something to be sorry about. It is exactly what he wanted. It is the point to the whole Production.

It is in fact, says Dr. King, the *only reason* for a "nonviolent" demonstration: To generate pressure on the Congress to install more collectivism.

As we have seen, the Selma March, for instance, caused the lightning passage of the "Voting Rights" Bill, under which the federal government, rather than the states, now conducts voting registration—the point being, of course, that in any dictatorship, whether Communist or Nazi, all the power must be centralized.

So when Dr. King sees the troopers, he isn't sorry. Land O'Goshen, no! He's glad; the "paroxysm" is on its way! He loves to see his own supporters get their skulls cracked.

You see, when the nonviolence broke out in Selma, for instance, the skull of King—as chance would have it—was safe in Atlanta.

What does it all mean? What's behind it? What manner of man is Martin Luther King?

Well, there are all sorts of opinions. The "Reverend" Ralph Abernathy, for instance, explained on the Selma March, according to the *New Yorker* of April 10, 1965, that King was "conceived by God." Legend has it, we read in *Newsweek* of April 2, 1965, that after his conviction for leading the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Negroes gathered outside shouting: "Behold the king! Long live the king!"

Talk about cult of personality!

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm going to make a lot of wild charges; I'm really going to throw them around. But you never know. There may be a "Liberal" among us. Maybe even somebody from the Anti-Defamation League. So let's avoid speculation, opinion, and evaluation for the moment, and begin with a simple narration of the known facts.

Before 1955, nothing much happened to this King of Kings. *Time* of January 3, 1964, tells us that he did try to commit suicide twice. But then, life is lonely for prophets and such an act may not always denote emotional instability. Lots of people try to kill themselves just to get some attention.

But then, on December 1, 1955, a nonviolent lady named Mrs. Rosa Parks, who is a Negro, refused to move to the back of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama. "I don't really know why I wouldn't move," says Mrs. Parks, according to *Time* of February 18, 1957. "There was no plot or plan at all. I was just tired from shopping. My feet hurt."

Is it possible? Yes, it is "possible." But what is definite is that Mrs. Parks had no doubt been prepared for the adventure by a recent educational experience that included a course at an institution by the name of the Highlander Folk School, then located in the town of Monteagle, in the State of Tennessee. The Highlander Folk School was organized with the assistance of a gentleman by the name of Don West. Don West, of course, was at the time District Director of the Communist Party of North Carolina. The Highlander Folk School was of course a Communist Training School, teaching the overthrow of the U.S. Government—and authoritatively cited as such by several agencies of your government.

It was of course the Montgomery Bus Boycott, launched by Mrs. Parks of the Communist Highlander Folk School, that put Dr. King on the long road to nobelfication. He would not again attempt suicide; he had all the attention he needed. You may recall that Dr. King did his work at the head of an organization by the name of the Montgomery Improvement Association (M.I.A.). The Montgomery Improvement Association had been formed by the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth. Now, the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth is probably a very wonderful gentleman, I am sure, but he is also a former convict, says the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of the State of Louisiana, and "has been affiliated with several communist-front organizations.

The *New York Times* of August 22, 1965, tells us that his Cincinnati congregation—composed of Negroes—may soon ask the "Reverend" Shuttlesworth to resign. A suit has been filed, which charges "that Mr. Shuttlesworth had usurped the power of the church trustees and officers and assumed absolute authority over the church's property. It also alleged that he had deposited funds of the church in institutions without authorization of the trustees and that he had denied members the right to call a meeting of the congregation." And Judge Frank M. Gusweiler of Common Pleas Court has issued an injunction, forbidding Mr. Shuttlesworth from spending any church funds.

What they basically want the "Reverend" Shuttlesworth to do, says a committee—a "freedom" committee (that's right)—of the worshippers, is "to treat the officers and members of the church as intelligent human beings and not as illiterate slaves as he does now."

According to a spokesman for the "Reverend" Shuttlesworth—and you will remember that all of this is from the pages of the *New York Times*—the trouble is caused by jealousy of the "Reverend" Shuttlesworth's "Civil Rights" activities—jealously "inspired by white persons."

One of these activities, we read in the *New Yorker* of April 10, 1965, was the Selma March—conducted, as chance would have it, by Dr. Martin Luther King.

Another former convict is a gentleman by the name of Bayard Rustin. Dr. King thinks very highly of Mr. Rustin. He describes him, according to the *Washington Post* on August 11, 1963, as "a brilliant, efficient and dedicated organizer and one of the best and most persuasive interpreters of nonviolence."

In 1953, the Pasadena Police Department described him differently. Arrest record No. 33914 includes Mr. Rustin's qualifications as a sexual pervert.

The *Allen-Scott Report* for August 16, 1963, says of the qualified Mr. Rustin:

> *As a student at the College of the City of New York in 1936, Rustin joined the Young Communist League* and was active in its operations on the campus and elsewhere.
>
> *In World War II, he was arrested several times for making speeches advocating resistance to the conflict against Hitler and Mussolini. As a professed conscientious objector, he served 26 months in the federal prison at Ashland, Ky., and Lewisburg, Pa.* [Emphasis mine.]

He says he resigned from the Young Communist League in 1941. What probaby happened was that he was graduated.

National Review of August 20, 1963, says "Rustin worked closely, often as an office holder, with: the War Resisters League, the World Peace Brigade, *Liberation* magazine, the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, the second General Strike for Peace, the Monroe (N.C.) Defense Committee, the Committee for Non-Violent Action . . . the Greenwich Village Peace Center, and any number of other groups, ad hoc committees, petitions, etc., few of which are arrestingly wholesome. . . ."

Mr. Rustin has also been active in a group called the American Forum for Socialist Education, which is Communist dominated, says the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

In 1958, Mr. Rustin got involved in a trip to Russia sponsored by a group known as the Nonviolent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons.

The January, 1963, issue of *Fellowship* reveals Mr. Rustin to be a "friend" of Kwame Nkrumah, the Communist dictator of Ghana.

In September of the year, he was in Richmond, Virginia, where he suggested, says the *Richmond News Leader* of September 27, 1963, "that more bloody Negro suffering should be encouraged so that squeamish Northern Negroes would be horrified into line. . . ."

He was fresh from the March on Washington, which he conducted on August twenty-eighth to help pass the "Civil Rights" bill, the day after which he urged that the only hope for Negroes was to "go left."

On February 3, 1964, Mr. Rustin successfully conducted the New York City school boycott. On the next day, photographers recorded his departure from a cocktail party at the Russian mission to the United Nations. He has a real feel for comedy, Bayard does. He says he was there to discuss "artistic freedom" in Russia.

And finally, as chance would have it, Mr. Rustin somehow managed to find employment, in the year of 1955, as "secretary," and "adviser," to a Very Important Person.

The person's name was Martin Luther King—as chance would have it.

So the three of them—ex-con and Communist-Fronter Fred Shuttlesworth, ex-con and Communist-Fronter Bayard Rustin, and the "Reverend" Dr. King—went ahead and improved Montgomery.

After they had improved Montgomery for more than a year, they held a meeting in Atlanta, in March of 1957, at which they formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.).

The meeting probably couldn't have been called in February because Mr. Rustin, Dr. King's "secretary," was then attending the sixteenth national convention of the Communist Party. He had been officially invited, as an official "non-Communist" observer, you see. The observers observed in a signed statement that:

> . . . *The sessions of the convention were democratically conducted with vigorous discussion of all matters brought to the floor. There were many indications that no individual or group was in a position to control the convention.*

You will recall that at the time, the Animals were trying to shed the image they deserved for crushing the Hungarian Revolution. But that didn't bother Bayard Rustin and the other observers, who also said:

> *Finally, we wish to protest vigorously against the continuance by Senator Eastland's Senate Internal Security subcommittee of the un-American practice of governmental inquisition into political opinions and activities. . . .*

My goodness, these "non-Communist" observers come in handy, don't they?

The President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is the "Reverend" Dr. King.

The Vice-President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth. And the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth is the new President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, ladies and gentlemen, has been described by *three* agencies of your government—the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of the State of Louisiana—as a department of the Communist Conspiracy. It was organized by Communists. It is run by Communists. It is the most important Communist organization in the South.

Mr. Carl Braden of Louisville, Kentucky, who serves as field director of S.C.E.F., has been named under oath as a member of the Communist Party. Mrs. Anne Braden, also of Louisville, Kentucky, and editor of the *Southern Patriot*, which is published by S.C.E.F., has also been named under oath as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Braden is a former convict, of course. While in Louisville, he was convicted of a felony—a little matter involving some dynamite. And Mrs. Braden was indicted for sedition. It seems she doesn't care for our form of government.

Carl Braden is also listed on its letterhead as one of the "national sponsors" of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee which sponsored member emeritus Lee Harvey Oswald, the "lone fanatic"—which is a Communistic

Front. Braden was one of the main speakers at the F.P.C.C. dinner in New York on April 28, 1961.

Benjamin E. Smith and his law partner, Bruce Waltzer, take part in the general management of S.C.E.F. Both are under indictment for multiple violations of the Louisiana Subversive Activities and Communist Control Act. At a closed meeting of the S.C.E.F. on February 3, 1964, at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York, Benjamin E. Smith, explained as follows: "Come June, armies will take the field." "These armies are coming to strike. The Southern Conference Educational Fund is one of those armies." "The Southern Conference Educational Fund occupies a unique place in the South, it furnishes a staff organization supervising others." "There will be strikes, sitdowns, movements, we must play our part." "Revolution is on its way."

Mr. Aubrey Williams was President of S.C.E.F. until 1963, when he got so busy as Chairman of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC—which is a Communist Front—that he decided to make himself President Emeritus. As Director of the National Youth Administration under President Roosevelt, Mr. Williams was Lyndon Johnson's boss. He also held other important jobs in the New Deal. In 1945, however, the U.S. Senate rejected his appointment as Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, after his affiliations with the Communist apparatus had been placed in the record.

On March 19, 1954, Mr. Williams testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that he had made the following statement in a speech in New York on September 11, 1947:

> *It is my belief that it is precisely at this point that we take our stand and defend the* right of any Communist to *maintain his position as an employee of the Government of the* ***United States*** . . . [Emphasis mine.]

In April of 1954, at Hearings held in New Orleans by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Mr. Williams was identified as a Communist Party member by one witness who had been in the Party, and was identified by another witness as one who had accepted Communist Party discipline.

It was Mr. Williams, a Communist, whom the "Reverend" Shuttlesworth—friend and colleague of the "Reverend" Dr. Martin Luther King—recently replaced as President of S.C.E.F., a Communist organization.

Mr. Williams died recently. There is always something sad about the death of a man, even a professional criminal and Communist like Aubrey Williams.

The Executive Director of S.C.E.F. is Dr. James A. Drombrowski. At the S.I.S.S. Hearings in March of 1954, John Butler, former Alabama Communist Party official, testified that on July 8, 1942 he attended a meeting of Communist Party leaders in the Thomas Jefferson Hotel, in Birmingham, Alabama, at which Alton Lawrence introduced James A. Drombrowski as a member of the Communist Party. Butler said this meeting of Communist Party leaders was held in Drombrowski's own hotel room.

The Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of the State of Louisiana has preserved a letter dated September 21, 1960, from Carl Braden to James A. Drombrowski, which shows that the "Reverend" Fred Shuttlesworth—friend and colleague of Dr. Martin Luther King—was using the Bradens to write his news releases.

In fact, ladies and gentlemen, on October 7, 1958, the "Reverend" Dr. King himself wrote a letter to Anne Braden, who as you will recall is a Communist and had been indicted for sedition by the American State of Kentucky. Louisiana Committee Counsel Jack Rogers explains at a hearing that "in this [letter] *King urges Anne Braden and her husband, Carl, both Communist party members to become permanently associated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. . . . Of course, the Bradens were well identified publicly as Communists long before the date of this letter.* We offer the letter.

"The next document is a letter from Martin Luther King to James A. Drombrowski, dated August 16, 1960. It shows *the friendly personal relationship that had developed between these two men by that time.* It is very brief, I will read it to the Committee. It says: 'Dear Jim: This is just a note to acknowledge receipt of your letters of recent date. *We, too, were more than happy to have you in our home,* the fellowship was very rewarding. I will expect to hear from you when Bishop Love returns to the country. At that time we can set the date for an Atlanta meeting. Very sincerely yours, Martin.'" [*Emphasis mine.*]

Committee Counsel Rogers testifies furthermore that Dr. King actually filed a lengthy affidavit in the Federal Court in New Orleans strongly supporting James A. Drombrowski and the Southern Conference Educational Fund as "integrationists" of good character, and that Dr. King refused to repudiate the affidavit even after Mr. Rogers showed him absolute proof that they were all actually Communists.

Indeed, a photograph exists which shows the "Reverend" Dr. King along with Anne Braden, Carl Braden, and James Drombrowski (the last three all identified Reds), the back of which reads as follows in Drombrowski's handwriting: "The 6th Annual Conference of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Birmingham, Alabama, September 25 to 28, 1962."

And there is a check, issued by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, signed by Benjamin E. Smith and James A. Drombrowski, and dated March 7, 1963, to the order of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in the amount of $167.74, with a notation on it: "New York expenses"—and the endorsement, on the back of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The Committee concludes that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—*headed by Dr. King*—is "substantially under the control of the Communist Party through the influence of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the Communists who manage it."

It is important to repeat that nothing of what we have said so far is speculation, rumor, hearsay, or opinion. All it is a simple narration of the known facts—some of them—to be found, among many other places, in a report entitled *Activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. in Louisiana*, issued by the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of that State and available now from American Opinion.

Also of interest is the career of the "Reverend" Andrew Young. The "Reverend" Andrew Young was trained at the Highlander Folk School, which as we have seen is a Communist Training School.

"Before its charter at Monteagle was revoked," the *Atlanta Constitution* of July 24, 1963, tells us, "the Highlander School received support from the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

"An officer of the union, now under indictment on a charge of filing a false non-Communist affidavit, was one of the directors of the Highlander School.

"The Reverend Young has been headquartered rent-free in Savannah in the offices of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers. The Subversive Activities Control Board, an agency of the Federal Government, has found the union to be Communist infiltrated. The Mine-Mill Union has appealed the finding to a Federal court of appeals."

The "Reverend" Andrew Young, we read in the *New Yorker* of April 10, 1965, was one of the directors of the Selma March, which was headed, of course—as chance would have it—by Dr. Martin Luther King. In fact, the "Reverend" Andrew Young is Program Director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—which is headed of course by Dr. Martin Luther King. As chance would have it.

On the Labor Day weekend of the year 1957, at this same Highlander Folk School—a Communist Training School—many humanitarians gathered to discuss "civil rights." A photograph of the events records the presence of Mrs. Rosa Parks. That's *the* Mrs. Rosa Parks The "Reverend" Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was there, of course, with his close friend and associate, the "Reverend" Ralph Abernathy. A photograph records the Abernathy presence. Another photograph shows the "Reverend" Dr. King addressing the assemblage—perhaps at the very moment when he piled praise on School Director Myles Horton, whose "noble purpose and creative work" he says he has long admired, possibly because it has included some cash to Dr. King.

Mr. Horton's creative work consists of having run, with Communist James Drombrowski, an outfit called Commonwealth College, which was convicted under the laws of the American State of Arkansas of displaying the hammer and sickle and openly teaching Communism—and which on April 27, 1949, was cited by the U.S. Attorney General as a Communist Front; and of operating the Highlander Folk School, a Communist Training School. His "noble purpose" is apparently to Communize the South.

Dr. King also mentioned Aubrey Williams—a Communist—whom he called "one of the noble personalities of our times."

Still another photograph—the best—shows the following comrades enjoying a lecture: the "Reverend" Dr. King; Aubrey Williams, a Communist, and then President of S.C.E.F., a department of the Communist Conspiracy; Myles Horton, friend and teacher of Communists, and director of this Communist school; and Abner W. Berry, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Comrade Berry looks bored. but the others seem to be enjoying the lecture very much. In fact, on a form letter from Director Horton, dated May 15, 1963, the "Reverend" Dr. King is listed as a Highlander sponsor.

As chance would have it.

Then there is the interesting case of a gentleman who is sometimes known as Mr. Hunter Pitts O'Dell. "The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee declared today," we read in the *New York Times* of September 16, 1956, "that 'a smoothly coordinated' Communist underground was operating in New Orleans as late as last spring. The panel made public in support of its finding the transcripts of hearings held in that city in April."

The subcommittee said that American Communists "sought to infiltrate labor unions, churches, farmer organizations, parent-teacher organizations, channels of public opinion and other streams of influence in our society . . .

"Much of the Senate panel's case was built up at New Orleans from material found by New Orleans policemen in the abandoned apartment of one Hunter Pitts O'Dell. Mr. O'Dell had been identified in previous testimony as being the district organizer of the Communist party in New Orleans".

"On April 12, 1956, identifying himself as Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a New Orleans waiter," we read in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of October 26, 1962, "he testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to say whether he was a southern district organizer for the Communist Party.

"Robert Morris, counsel for the sub-committee, said information had been received that O'Dell was, in fact, a district organizer for the Communist Party in New Orleans; that O'Dell gave 'directives to the professional group' in that city, and that he operated under three different names—the two other names being John Vesey and Ben Jones."

In 1958, when O'Dell was living in Montgomery, he again declined to answer on grounds, *et cetera*.

In 1962, the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a two-volume study entitled ***Structure and Organization of the Communist Party of the United States.***

On Page 576, there is a list of those elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as known to the House Committee in November of 1961.

Among the names was that of Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

With this as a reference, Mr. O'Dell went looking for a job. And in 1960 he landed one. It was quite a job.

As chance would have it, he went to work for an outfit called the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by a gentleman by the name of Dr. Martin Luther King.

Who says an intelligent, young Negro in America can't make good?

But "racists" and "imperialists" naturally began to complain: "A Communist has infiltrated to the top administrative post in the Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference," we read in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for October 26, 1962.

"He is Jack H. O'Dell [another alias], acting executive director of conference activities in southeastern states, including Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana."

So Dr. King developed an interesting strategy.

You may have heard of it.

We call it lying.

Like Bayard Rustin, Dr. King has a real feel for comedy. He developed the strategy of firing O'Dell.

After he got fired, Mr. O'Dell was probably pretty broken up. But in America you can't keep a good man down. He landed another job, this one with the "Reverend" Andrew Young, who as you will recall was trained at the Communist Highlander Folk School by Communists, and is program director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed, as chance would have it, by Dr. Martin Luther King.

After that, O'Dell got still another job—as Administrator of the New York office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed, as chance would have it, by Dr. Martin Luther King.

Legend has it that they got on great, until the odor got to be too much even for the American Press.

Dr. King acted, swiftly, decisively.

He fired O'Dell.

"King said the Negro, Jack H. O'Dell of New York, left the S.C.L.C. the second time June 26 by mutual agreement," we read in a U.P.I. story inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for July 31, 1963, "because of concern that his affiliation with the integration movement would be used against it by 'segregationists and race baiters'."

That ended it.

Some time later, in the summer of 1963, U.P.I. had an interesting story inserted in the *Congressional Record* for July 31, 1963. It seems that the *Atlanta Constitution* had published a report that O'Dell was still working for S.C.L.C. as Director of the New York office. So U.P.I. called the office.

". . . *A Staff employee who answered the telephone Thursday morning told United Press International O'Dell was still with the office as administrator of the New York operation.* Later in the day the same office said he was not connected with the agency and had no knowledge of his whereabouts.

"King told reporters he could not understand why anyone in his office would say O'Dell worked there when he doesn't . . ." [*Emphasis mine.*]

It's quite a strategy.

So it's very reasonable to assume, wouldn't you agree, that Hunter Pitts O'Dell, of the National Committee of the Communist Party, may very well be working with Martin Luther King right now.

In fact, we read in the *Boston Globe* of April 15, 1964:

Official warnings have again been given to King about another, even more important associate who is known to be a key figure in the covert apparatus of the Communist Party. After the warnings, King broke off his open connection with this man, but a second-hand connection none the less continues . . . [*Emphasis mine.*]

Ladies and gentlemen, there's no need to go on, I am sure you will agree. In fact, we *can't* go on—you see, they only allow us ninety-six pages per issue of the magazine. So let's leave it at that, and remind ourselves again that all we have recorded here is a simple narration of the known facts—some of the known facts. There are others—many others—as I say. So there's no need to mention, for instance, that the American Committee for Africa, which Dr. King allows to use his name, sponsored and financed the American tour of Communist terrorist Holden Roberto, the Butcher of Angola; or that in October, 1962, King turned up in a Harlem hotel with Communist Ahmed Ben Bella, of Communist Algeria, who joined him in a statement that the two injustices of colonialism and American segregation are "linked."

What do you make of it?

As you know, it is my usual practice to garnish even the most minor assertion with a wagon load of evidence. But I now take the position—after Los Angeles—that to add to the obvious facts that the "Civil Rights movement" was not only planned by the Communists, but was begun, is staffed, and is conducted by the Communists—and has only one real purpose: the destruction and Communization of America—would be an unforgivable redundance.

Readers of my book—or of *Two Revolutions at Once*, by Robert Welch—will know that the Communist "revolution" now going on in this country, under the cloak of "Civil Rights," consists of two parts. The first is the drive for a Soviet Negro Republic, an independent "nation," consisting of several Southern states—and is of course conducted by the "Reverend" Dr. King. It is the Soviet Negro Republic that the current "voter registration campaign" is all about—a campaign which includes the amazing spectacle of the Attorney General of the United States boasting publicly that he is forcing the sovereign states to register total illiterates.

The second part of the Communist scheme also bears a faint resemblance to the activities of the "Reverend" Dr. King—as chance would have it. It consists of course of forcing more and more legislation through the Congress under the cloak of "Civil Rights," all of it designed only to destroy the states and concentrate the power.

Recent developments leave little doubt about the "Reverend" Dr. King. As we have seen, he has begun a new series of the usual violent and money-making visits—but for the first time including cities of the North—complete with the usual hints of guerrilla warfare if Americans do not immediately come to heel. He has recently decided to conduct American foreign policy himself, by negotiating our defeat directly with North Vietnam, apparently having lost patience with Dean Rusk—and who can blame him? And at this writing he has just landed in Los Angeles to establish what he calls a "community of love," but in actuality of course simply to return to the scene of the crime. The man behind Dr. King on the television screen when he was interviewed on arrival in Los Angeles looked very much like Bayard Rustin, who of course is an authority on establishing "communities of love." Mr. Rustin was also allowed to accompany Dr. King to Oslo for the Prize; they go everywhere together.

Angelenos of all colors should keep their backs to the wall, until the verified departure of the King and the Thing.

It is unfortunately true that some American Negroes have suffered from injustice, and obviously true that the *few remnants* of this injustice must be erased.

But, ladies and gentleman, it is equally and much more dangerously true that the "Civil Rights movement" which is supposedly designed to erase them *is* what we have said it is, *only* what we have said it is, and *nothing else but* what we have said it is.

The interesting question remains of why Dr. King does it.

It is remotely possible that Dr. King was not already a practicing Communist when he was selected to conduct the Montgomery Bus Boycott. That is possible.

If this was the case, there can be no doubt that he was broken in slowly, in the usual way, step by planned step, until the ultimate revelation, when it was fully explained to him what he had become.

Dr. King says he did it because he wanted to create a "community of love," whatever that is. He says he felt a moral obligation; that it was his duty. And most important, he says he wants nothing for himself. He couldn't care less about material things, you see. He's above all that. In fact, we learn from Mrs. King, in *Redbook* for September, 1961:

There was a time when he was quite concerned about his personal appearance. Today I have to remind him that he needs a new suit. Our trip to India in 1959 to study Gandhi's independence movement made a deep impression on him. He became even more committed to non-violence and much less interested in material things. At times he has even talked seriously about whether or not he should own anything that's not absolutely necessary for the rest of the family.

My goodness, he's quite a little gentleman.

In fact, we read in *Newsweek* for December 21, 1964:

To share his moment of triumph, Dr. King had brought with him the largest entourage in Nobel Prize history—some 26 relatives, friends, and aides. "We are all of us very poor people," said one, explaining that they had scraped together the money for the trip from savings accounts, pension funds, and "travel now, pay later" arrangements.

Gosh! Ain't it terrible? The poor Negroes down in the South!

As it happens, ladies and gentlemen, the senior "Reverend" King, a Southern Negro, had earned the money down in the South to pay for his son's college education. Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. is a graduate of Antioch—that's right. *Commonweal* of June 10, 1960, tells us that the father of the "Reverend" Abernathy—King's colleague and cell mate—had his own *five hundred acre* plantation—in Alabama!

You know—this makes me mad! My father did not have the money to send me to college and to graduate school. But I went. I invoked an unusual procedure—I worked. I drove a taxicab. My father also does not own a five hundred acre plantation. I bawled him out about it as soon as I got the news about the "Reverend" Abernathy. You see, I got all kinds of funny feelings in the "racial integrity." Maybe I'll go out and organize a spontaneous riot.

It's enough to make you wish you were a Negro down in the South.

Once again the fact is dramatically and irrevocably proved that Communism is not caused by "poverty," or by "hunger," or by "sickness," at all. The cause of Communism is so simple that many honest men have missed it, and many dishonest men have hidden it.

Communism is caused by criminals.

There is no other cause of Communism.

You see—as Dr. King is well aware—there are essentially two types of degenerate thug; the big timer, and the small timer. The small timer is represented by a specimen such as John Dillinger. Sure, John liked robbing and killing and beating people up—bad mannered stuff like that—but you must admit that at the mention of his name you can't help but feel a touching nostalgia. There was a refreshing sincerity about the man; he told you straight out what he wanted. He didn't claim that he was robbing you and beating you up for your good; he was perfectly pleased to admit that he was doing it for his own good.

That was his mistake.

A big timer would have known that the first thing to say was that he was doing it for you. They want nothing for themselves, this type. Everything they do is for your own good. Classic specimens of this variety are called Socialists, of course, and they include, for instance, the things known as Stalin and Hitler.

Whatever the type, they believe, because of their own insignificance, that it is impossible for men to deal fairly with each other, and that a man has only two real choices; whether to be master, or whether to be slave. Like all sure losers, they blame the "system" for their own insignificance. They talk only of power, and deal only in force.

All of which makes it now seem reasonable to theorize that as a smart, young man on the make, Dr. King quickly found out how the wind was blowing.

Ladies and gentlemen, the time has come. J. Edgar Hoover is wrong. Martin Luther King *isn't* the "most notorious liar in the country." He's the *biggest*. He isn't notorious enough. That this man can not be only tolerated, but honored and admired, quoted and consulted—by the President of the United States—is a travesty compared with which that nemesis of the innocent known as Earl Warren can seriously be called a judge.

King has no real interest in the real welfare of black—or white—Americans.

He is only interested in tricking them both into civil war—and in lifting their money.

He doesn't mind that it is exactly because of his own activities that Negroes aren't making the progress he complains they aren't.

He doesn't really mind that many Negroes are illiterate—as long as they register and vote for him.

What he really wants is to be a black plantation boss giving orders to "his people."

In a rational society, he would be a carny barker or a snake oil salesman in a crooked side show.

So let's do it. Let's do it now.

As you know, the origin of the exact science of ducknology is irrevocably lost in the mists of antiquity, although it is undoubtedly based on the master principles discovered by Aristotle—the first great extremist.

Let's apply them.

The Thing walks like a duck.

It smells like a duck.

It looks like a duck.

It quacks like a duck.

Ladies and gentlemen, there can be only one explanation. I can not even imagine any other explanation.

It's a duck.

[From Time, May 17, 1968]

CHALLENGING THE PHARAOH

Affluent America will have ample opportunity during the next few weeks to weigh the extensive—perhaps explosive—demands of the black poor. Last week, stepping out from shantytowns and slums throughout the nation, more than 1,200 marchers of the Poor People's Campaign began the trek toward Washington. Some were weathered field hands who had never before left the cotton-blown bottoms; others were rambunctious teen-agers splitting from a desperate scene. "The cause this march represents is alarmingly real," wrote Atlanta Constitution Editor Eugene Patterson. "Before any white man passes judgment on it, he ought to understand what he is judging."

That tolerance was not always so evident among the marchers. "By the time we're through in D.C.," cried March Coordinator Hosea Williams, "white folks gonna say, 'Where's Dr. King? Wake up, Dr. King!' These white folks killed the dreamer, but we're gonna show these white folks what become of the dream. The poor people are marching to challenge the Pharaoh." Led by Williams and the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, 42, successor to Martin Luther King, the poverty pilgrims wound through back-country roads in buses, battered cars and behind farm wagons drawn by mules named Stennis and Eastland, George Wallace and Jim Clark (for the former Selma, Ala., sheriff who bloodied many a black head during earlier civil rights marches).

Even a man of the cloth like Abernathy felt no compunction about wearing the marchers' arm band reading "Mississippi God Damn." In Boston, where 1,000 poverty marchers mustered en route to Washington last week, a self-styled "Polish Freedom Fighter" named Joseph Mlot-Mroz, 53, picketed the parade with a sign reading, "I am fighting poverty. I work! Have you tried it?" In a sorry scuffle, the bow-tied anti-protester was stabbed and hospitalized in fair condition.

Abernathy was ebullient before his own people. "You're gonna have hell on your hands," he told a Selma audience. "I weigh 185 lbs., and it's all man from the top of my head to the bottom of my foot. I'm just 5 ft. 8 in. tall, but that's tall enough. If it isn't, I can walk on my toes too." There is still considerable walking to be done before the talking starts in Washington. There, last week, officials granted permission for the marchers to erect their "Resurrection City," whose plywood A-frames will house 3,000 people on 15 acres in West Potomac Park, just south of the Lincoln Memorial.

PUSH FOR AN EQUAL EDUCATION SQUEEZING ALL TO ONE LEVEL

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Miss Ruth Moss, who is today recognized as one of the most competent educational writers in America, has written a most timely article in the Chicago Tribune on the entire question of whether or not the push for equal education in America is going to drive all of our youngsters into an educational monolith.

I call to my colleagues' attention this excellent article and hope that it will become the basis of a growing dialog in educational circles regarding the whole question of equality in education.

I wonder if too many people aren't confusing equality in education with equal opportunity in education.

The article by Miss Moss follows:

PUSH FOR AN EQUAL EDUCATION SQUEEZING ALL TO ONE LEVEL

(NOTE.—Is the power of social pressure ending the ability groupings in schools that enable students to learn at their own rates? In a drive for "equality," schools are beginning to make courses the same for everyone.)

(By Ruth Moss)

The fact of individual differences in learning ability is inescapable. So is the problem of coping with these differences in the great cross section of children served in our nation's public schools.

Consider, for example, the challenge to high school teachers who welcome each fall a freshman class with a range in reading ability from 4th or 5th grade level to senior or college level. And reading is but one reflection of academic skill.

In an effort to assure the best possible education for each youngster, many high school administrators in recent years have turned to ability grouping, with students assigned to honors, regular, general, and basic classes on the basis of test results and teacher recommendation reflecting students' former classroom performance. When current accomplishment indicated a change, students have been reassigned to more appropriate classes.

The winds of social change, tho, have shifted, and schools in integrated communities are feeling the buffetings of this social thought and action. Even schools which long have been successfully integrated now are strongly subjected to pressure for further social adjustment.

Such a school is Evanston Township High school, where within the last year the ability groupings in English, for example, are being cut from four to two at each grade level.

In the current newsletter to parents, English Supervisor Clarence Hack reports on the implications of the cutback and the "spiritual dilemma" faced by the faculty in making its decision:

"Robert Lowell once said that one of America's major spiritual problems was that of reconciling the claims of equality and of excellence. At the present time, the English department is faced with this spiritual dilemma as it eliminates both basic and honors classes and groups pupils into only two tracks, the lower and the higher."

By grouping, the department recognizes pupil differences in learning and achievement, Mr. Hack explains. It also recognizes the unanimous condemnation of grouping by a seminar at the Anglo-American conference at Dartmouth college in August, 1966, which asserted that "the aim in teaching literature and language are fundamentally humane and should be the same for all students, at all levels."

With grouping eliminated, the English teacher "could thus help to overcome division between kinds of human beings, the deplorable social effects of separating and classifying youngsters," the Dartmouth report states.

The Dartmouth conference calls for "more democracy in the classroom" would require an overhauling of curriculum, teacher preparation, and working conditions.

"The English department finds itself in the position of Prof. Wallace Douglas of Northwestern university," Mr. Hach explains, "who said at the conference he would not argue that grouping should be dropped forthwith—'tho all my instincts, values and feelings tell me to say so.'"

"The practical problem and danger of heterogeneity," says Mr. Hach, "is that every pupil in a class may become a neglected child unless the teacher has a reasonably light load and is sufficiently able to individualize instruction almost to a tutorial level.

"The problem of the English teacher who recognizes that his aims are fundamentally humane and that one of the functions of a school is social is also recognition that one of his important goals is academic and that not every pupil can read the same book, do the same assignments, participate competently in the same abstract discussion, write the same thesis."

Leveling influences? Meeting individual needs so that no child is neglected and remaining true to the philosophical aims of his subject and of democracy is the spiritual dilemma of the English teach, Mr. Hach explains.

So those at Evanston Township High school find themselves as they "philosophically agree that less grouping is desirable and at the same time express concerns of the probable leveling influences of grouping procedures, particularly with numbers that make a tutorial or independent learning kind of program difficult at best."

"In years past it has been the belief of the department that grouping, rather than being undemocratic or inhumane, has been democratic and humane.

"It has been the feeling of many as in the words of one of the Dartmouth reports, that it may be more humane to relieve backward students of direct competition with superior ones, which may give them more pronounced feelings of inferiority than placement in classes suited to their needs."

Despite concerns for the welfare of all pupils, Mr. Hach says, his department is committed to try two-track grouping as a compromise to complete heterogeniety, recognizing the challenge to teachers and the demand placed upon them to respect "both equalities and inequalities."

"The long-standing benefit that the teaching of English requires a super human being to accomplish 'The Impossible Dream' is becoming ever more evident." Mr. Hach concludes.

GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY OF ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1968

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the golden anniversary of any event is marked by a joyous celebration of the occasion. But, today in Armenia there is no joy on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Armenian Independence Day.

In 1918 the brave patriots of Armenia threw off the yoke of Turkish despotism and formed a free and independent Armenia. That day was a day of rejoicing and the Armenian dedication to the freedom of man, because Armenia was to be the first democratic republic in Asia Minor. May 28, 1918, was a day that climaxed a six-century struggle for freedom and the Armenians proved that they will always cherish freedom and will endure any hardship to attain it.

The life of the Armenian Republic was short indeed. It lasted a brief 2 years when it fell prey to the conquering armies of Soviet Russia. The dreams of the Armenian people for an independent country were shattered by the attacking Communist forces. The work of Woodrow Wilson to establish an order which would guarantee political independence for the great and small nations alike, was destroyed by the invading Red troops.

But dreams are not forgotten and the work of the Armenian people for a free and independent Armenia is continuing. The Armenian people are determined that the lamp of liberty will again shine upon their native land.

We are proud of the more than 150,000 people of Armenian descent who live in this country. They have contributed much to the American way of life. They have brought to this Nation a zest for living and a willingness to fight for liberty which they learned about long ago on the plains of Armenia.

We have in our midst many Armenian Americans who have made outstanding contributions to the culture and progress of the United States. They have proved to be unusually gifted in educational, artistic, political, and economic fields.

We thank them all for what they have given to America and we share in their prayers that their homeland of Armenia will soon know the rebirth of freedom.

WASHINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, BETHLEHEM, PA.

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, our Nation's true greatness is rooted in the diversity of race, creed, and nationality of its people. Men and women and children from all parts of the earth have come here over a period of centuries and helped to mold this Nation. Our Nation has often been called the "melting pot" because of its rare blend of races, creeds, and nationalities.

In my congressional district, Mr. Speaker, is a school which draws its student body from a neighborhood where people of many races, creeds, and nationalities make their homes. I might add, nowhere have I ever encountered a greater spirit of true American patriotism than among the students of such diverse backgrounds who attend this school.

I refer to the Washington Elementary School in Bethlehem, Pa. Several times within the past few months I have had occasion to visit this school and meet many of the students.

A visit there early this year was prompted by a letter I received from Angelo Martinez, president of the sixth grade of Washington School, and his classmates whose names remind one of a roster of United Nations delegates. They wrote:

> We are sixth grade students at Washington School, in Bethlehem, Pa. On the flagpole in front of our school flies a dirty, torn, faded American flag. We feel embarrassed to fly this flag because every day hundreds of steel workers see the flag on their way to and from work. We like to think we are very patriotic but people who see our flag flying would not believe that we are.
>
> It would make us feel proud if we could obtain a new flag, especially one that has flown over the Capitol building in Washington. Is it possible for you to help us get such a flag? We do not know the expense involved but we would all be willing to work and earn money to pay for the flag.

It was a unique pleasure to present the Washington School sixth grade with a new flag which had flown over our Nation's Capitol and to address the students during an assembly program. Recently, they expressed their deep gratitude with a beautiful, handcrafted plaque during a surprise presentation to me on a return visit to the school. The plaque is a reproduction of the great seal of the United States crafted in fine detail of crepe paper. It was their expression of thanks for a new American flag which they could display proudly from the school flagpole.

Their spirit of patriotism, Mr. Speaker, is clear evidence that our American youth will meet and exceed the hopes and expectations of older generations. Much credit for instilling such keen patriotism in these young people is due the dedicated members of the teaching profession, who have helped them to gain knowledge of their Nation and its heritage, such as their sixth grade teacher, Mr. Henry W. Richard, who has established an extraordinary atmosphere for learning in his classroom, and their principal, Mr. Jerome Quarry, a former school classmate of mine and a fine administrator.

TAX AND SPEND

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, since the Congress is being implored by the President and criticized for not enacting his proposed surtax, as well as an income tax increase, he should be made aware that the Congress is not "dragging its feet" as a body but is merely reflecting the views of the majority of taxpayers across America who do not favor the surtax nor a tax increase until such time as there have been meaningful and substantial reductions in spending.

On May 16, 1968, in the Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch, a letter to the editor, over the signature of Eugene L. Pace, of Jackson, Ohio, is an example of the feelings of many Americans.

The letter follows:

> TAXPAYER DECRIES CALLS FOR "MORE!"
>
> JACKSON, OHIO.
>
> TO THE EDITOR: My family and I can't afford a trip to visit our nation's capital.
>
> We can't afford the time that would be required because my hours of employment are much too long.
>
> We can't afford it because my salary is only enough to buy our few necessities.
>
> We can't afford it because taxes during the past eight years have gone higher and higher to keep pace with the ever increasing demands of our so-called federal assistance programs to minority groups.
>
> Yet these very minority groups are the ones who visit Washington, D.C. They visit our nation's capital while I stay on the job to pay my taxes.
>
> They march and demonstrate while I pay taxes. They sing and chant, "You aren't doing enough for us," while I pay taxes.
>
> If by chance we do visit Washington some day, I suspect just what will be there to see. There will be tons and tons of litter, rubble and garbage.
>
> Perhaps then, I can see how my tax dollars are utilized—to help pay for cleaning up after the very ones who are screaming, "Give us more, give us more."
>
> EUGENE L. PACE.

ALL THE NEWS FIT TO TINT—NO. 2

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, no newspaper in the United States is more sanctimonious on the issue of civil rights than the New York Times. They prate on this issue more than any other but when it comes to delivering rather than talking it is the old story of not practicing what they preach.

This startling revelation came to light today while perusing the hearings on the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies appropriation bill. It gave a graphic illustration of how far apart the word and deed of the New York Times actually is.

Mr. Clifford L. Alexander, Jr., Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, testified before the Appropriations Subcommittee on April 23, 1968. His testimony is found on page 997 and subsequent pages.

On page 1054 he was asked about the employment practices of the New York Times. He indicated that although the Times had over 200 reporters in the New York area, it had only three Negroes and no Puerto Ricans on this staff. Note well, this is the New York area and not their outposts from Bangkok to Nairobi.

By my arithmetic, that figures out to something less than 1.5 percent. You do not even have to read the New York Times to know that one Negro reporter out of 67 would not be a very good batting average for Gerald L. K. Smith's cross and the flag, let alone the supposed champion and defender of liberalism and the paragon of reporting excellence, the New York Times.

Possibly this is the best they can do—after all you would not expect them to go too far down the line in setting an example. Aside from their questionable hiring practices, they certainly set no example of journalistic excellence and their bias is reflected daily in their news reporting. The maligning of my colleagues and friends in their editorial column last Sunday, as I reported yesterday in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, was biased, childish, and beneath the dignity of a reputable paper. If they had specific complaints about votes, issues or conduct in office it would have been one thing but they instead chose to slur and deprecate these good men whose only sin must be their failure to adhere to the Times line.

Possibly I will find the time to go back over some of their editorials and stories where they have castigated business, the railroad brotherhoods, the construction trades and just about everyone in general for Jim Crowism. Maybe someone down in the New York Times personnel department never got the word. At any rate, the Times could well merit the title of "Jim Crow Employer of New York City."

At any rate, it can be readily seen that the Times does not include practicing what it preaches in the steady and unfaltering liberal line it promotes. Mr. Alexander's testimony pinpoints the disparity in the paper which rightly earns the slogan, "All The News Fit To Tint."

Mr. Alexander's testimony is as follows:

NEGRO OR PUERTO RICAN EMPLOYEES WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. ROONEY. Now, Mr. Alexander, I understand you have had occasion to go into the question of how many Negro employees there are with the New York Times newspaper.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROONEY. Can you give us the facts with regard to that? It might be interesting to a reader of this record to find out how liberal the policy of the New York Times is in this regard.

Mr. ALEXANDER. In New York City, the New York Times in public testimony indicated that it had over 200 reporters in the New York area. In this area it also indicated that it had a very liberal editorial policy, and that it practiced what it preached.

When we questioned the representatives of the New York Times, they indicated they had three Negro reporters in New York City.

Mr. ROONEY. Out of how many?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Out of over 200, Mr. Chairman.

They have no Puerto Rican reporters and, in fact, had never had a Puerto Rican reporter on the New York Times, and never in the history of the Times had they had an editor or vice president who was a Negro or Puerto Rican.

I asked the New York Times if it felt it wanted to stick by the specific statement that it practiced what it preached in its employment policies, and they said they did. We expressed our hope that the New York Times would take the lead in the future in equal employment opportunity.

There is, of course, a great source of Negro and Puerto Rican talent in New York City, as the chairman knows from the many efforts he has made on behalf of minority groups. These constructive efforts, I might add, date back over 20 years ago and have continued unabated.

Mr. ROONEY. You have a couple of good Spanish-language newspapers in New York, do you not?

Mr. ALEXANDER. We certainly have.

ALASKA PASSES "CASEY" GUN BILL TO CRACK DOWN ON CRIMINAL FIREARM USE

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, on July 23, 1968, a new law will go into effect in our sister State of Alaska, one of the first in our Union to adopt the "get tough" policy on criminal use of firearms I have been advocating.

It is a law strongly supported by sportsmen, hunters, gun collectors and dealers, and the plain, average American who knows the answer to our problem is to crack down on the criminal.

After July 23, any person in Alaska who uses or carries a firearm during the commission of a robbery, assault, murder, rape, burglary, or kidnaping is guilty of a felony and upon conviction for a first offense is punishable by imprisonment for not less than 10 years.

A second conviction requires imprisonment of not less than 25 years.

No "if's, and's, or but's"—Mr. Speaker. Mandatory, long-term incarceration of not less than 10 years.

This is the answer to our crime problem, and the growing use of firearms by criminals. The new Alaskan law is exactly the same as the bill I have pending before the House, H.R. 6137, pertaining to the Nation as a whole, and H.R. 4212 to set the same penalty for gun crimes in the District of Columbia.

This is exactly in line, Mr. Speaker, with the President's call for an additional 10-year prison term for those who rob with firearms in the District, issued in his message on crime in the District of Columbia last March.

Mr. Speaker, every law-abiding citizen—every sportsman who enjoys the peaceful and lawful use of firearms—extends grateful thanks to the Governor, and the Legislature of Alaska for taking the lead in this bitter struggle against crime.

They have shown our Nation the way, and I hope every State follows suit. My sincere congratulations to them.

SOMETHING IS HAPPENING

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the Port Mail and the Manhasset Mail, two important weekly newspapers in my congressional district last week printed a perceptive and eloquent editorial on the grave problems of lawlessness and violence that are facing this Nation.

This editorial made the too often neglected point that utlimate resolution of the problems that breed domestic unrest, no matter what the stimulus or the reaction, will require individuals to examine their consciences and recognize the need for individual responsibility.

Because this editorial so clearly and effectively goes below the surface of our domestic problems, I commend it to my colleagues' attention and wish to include it in the RECORD at this point:

Where there once was one nation, indivisible, with justice for all, there now lies a sick land, divided by prejudice and warped by Fascists, Communists, racists, cross-burners, flag-burners—all with a basic intolerance of others and for the rights of others, and all exercising a twisted interpretation of individual rights.

The sick sentimentality that condones criminality as society's fault and dismisses the individual from responsibility has led to bravado masking cowardice and patriotism a farce.

There is a long hot summer directly ahead. During the winter, the hippies disappear inside—even they suffer from cold—but during the pleasant weather can take over the parks. The warm weather also encourages sit-ins, lie-ins, in-burnings. The hot weather ignites the riots.

Permissiveness has pervaded the nation to the point where the individual is lost in a mass move toward total destruction of a nation's soul, once a proud beacon, whose standards waved pioneers across unclaimed land. A man slept well in those days, soothed by moral law.

Violent opposition to law—any law—is against the basic principles upon which this country was founded. It is as equally against the law to oppose free speech—a disdain for the rights of others—as it is to preach blasphemy against a constitution.

If the preservation of the whole range of Civil Rights is the goal, the whole range of Civil Wrongs must be rejected.

Open housing will come to North Hempstead, it will not solve prejudice, the lack of opportunity, the woes of the underprivileged. In the end, both the cause and solution lie with the individual.

It is a time for individual responsibility to take over—and to heal.

MELVIN H. HEARN, OF NORTH CAROLINA, RECEIVES DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month, one of North Carolina's most distinguished and able public servants received the highest award which the U.S. Department of Agriculture can give any person—the Distinguished Service Award.

That man was my good friend and fellow North Carolinian, Melvin H. Hearn, State director of the Farmers Home Administration.

What Mr. Hearn has accomplished and for which the award was presented to him, exemplifies the best that is now going on in rural America and on our family farms through the credit programs of the Farmers Home Administration.

In presenting the Distinguished Service Award to Mr. Hearn, Secretary Freeman said:

> Mr. Hearn has demonstrated remarkable leadership that has helped improve the living standards of nearly 400,000 North Carolinians since assuming the state directorship in April 1961. Under his supervision the Farmers Home Administration program in North Carolina increased 534 percent, to $68.4 million in 1967 and the caseload of borrowers went up 269 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to read the citation which went along with Mr. Hearn's award:

> For singular achievement in furthering rural areas development and community relations in North Carolina through effective administration of USDA credit, technical assistance and outreach programs.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to cite just a few of the accomplishments which Mr. Hearn and the Farmers Home Administration has achieved since 1961:

Rural housing: An old program revamped and expanded—$100 million loaned—51,000 people assisted, 9,600 homes built, 1,700 homes repaired, 65 additional units constructed or improved to provide rental housing for senior citizens, migratory laborers, and others. Annual activity fivefold over 1960.

Strengthening family farms: Old programs broadened and expanded—$143 million loaned, 180,000 people assisted—60 percent of which were young farmers and older low-income boxed-in farmers who were helped to acquire, expand, develop, operate farms, overcome crop disasters, and other emergencies. Annual activity fourfold over 1960.

Directing strong antipoverty effort: New programs began January 1965—$5 million loaned, 18,600 low-income people assisted in raising their average annual incomes by $2,133 a year. Borrowers average more than 62 years of age.

Stimulating rural areas development—communities of tomorrow:

First. Rural water and sewer systems: 105,000 people in 81 rural communities have good water to drink, and for business and industrial expansion and State board of health-approved waste disposal systems. Loans and grants totaled $2¼ million.

Second. Community recreation facilities: 18,500 people in 29 rural communities enjoy swimming, golfing, and other healthful recreation previously available only to city dwellers. Loans totaled $4¼ million.

Third. Rural renewal: New pilot program to help stimulate lagging economics of three counties.

Fourth. Controlling floods and protecting watersheds: 25,500 people live in less fear of floods, using Farmers Home Administration financial assistance to carry out long-term measures to protect, develop and better utilize their land and water resources. Though an old program, there was no activity prior to 1960.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my congratulations to Mr. Hearn.

INTEREST RATES

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, financial conditions in the credit markets have continued to foster rapid increases in both long-term and short-term interest rates.

The current pace of rising interest rates must not be permitted to continue. Too many risks are involved that extend beyond our borders and may come back to us many times magnified.

In today's markets, the clear need is for fiscal restraint to prevent a return of the now infamous 1966 "credit crunch." The markets both here and abroad continue to reflect the indecision on the currently pending tax-spending package. They demonstrate that they are wholly dependent on the outcome of the surcharge proposal.

In two unusually informative economic analyses about the current situation in financial markets, newspaper columnists, Peter Nagan and Harold Dorsey, report that concern is being voiced in financial markets at home and abroad, and that in the current environment, financial experts are saying the fate of the tax bill is the single most important factor influencing financial markets.

These important articles should be read by all of us as we continue the current dialog, and for this reason I insert into the RECORD those two recent newspaper columns:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 27, 1968]

PROSPECTS OF PRESIDENT'S SURTAX INFLUENCES BOND, MONEY MARKETS

(By Peter S. Nagan)

The bond and money markets demonstrated again last week how completely their outlook depends on passage of the President's surtax.

Up through Wednesday, deep gloom prevailed. Postponing of Congressional action on taxes swelled fears of still tighter money and pushed certain interest rates to all-time highs.

But, on Thursday, the markets bounced back as hopes for the tax bill suddenly brightened again. Ways and Means Committee Chairman Mills predicted that, once all the turmoil in the House subsided, Congress will vote the 10 per cent surcharge and spending cuts of $6 billion.

Until the reversal in the tax outlook, prices of bonds and other fixed-income securities had been falling steadily. Investors shied away from even high-quality issues offering up to 7 per cent. Dealers found it all but impossible to sell tax-exempt state and municipal bonds, though the interest offered was a quarter of a percentage point higher than the week before.

Among short-term issues, the rates on the Treasury bills due to mature in three months rose to a record high of 5.92 per cent at one point. The new seven year 6 per cent notes the Treasury sold earlier this month fell to nearly a point below offering price—a big decline for a new issue in a market that measures its movements in thirty-seconds of a point.

The climate in the market was the dreariest professionals could recall since the "crunch" of 1966. Some talked of "demoralization." Others saw no end to the slide in bond prices and whispered about "approaching chaos."

But after mid week, the rekindled hopes of tax action reversed the market's direction. Bill rates fell a full eighth of a point. The new Treasury 6's regained more than half their slump in price from par. And the tone in corporate and tax-exempt sectors was noticeably happier.

Without a tax increase further tightening of credit seemed inevitable as the only tool left to slow inflation and restore confidence in the dollar. As money becomes less available, its costs—interest rates—would go up.

This doesn't mean that the Federal Reserve, which controls the nation's credit supply, was planning to reduce the flow further right away. The monetary authorities never want to push the markets to the brink of disorder or panic. And they don't want the banks to run out of money to lend.

Right now, the banks are feeling considerable pressure as past actions by the "Fed" to curb credit take hold. They have been losing hundreds of millions of dollars in large time deposits weekly, because the maximum rates they are currently permitted to pay are not competitive with those available on Treasury bills or other short-term obligations.

And things could get worse in June if there's no tax action, when more than $4 billion in Certificates of Deposit mature. The Fed could ease the strain by lifting the ceilings on what banks can pay on these large certificates, but that would lead rates even higher.

There has also been deep concern at the Fed over what has been happening at the savings and loan associations. Their money inflows have fallen sharply, as savers do their own investing in securities at today's very attractive votes.

There could be sharp outflows over the early July dividend crediting dates, even if the Reserve System takes no positive steps to tighten further. Homebuilding would be feeling the effects after a lag of several months.

Of course, the outlook will change significantly if the tax bill passes. The Federal Reserve would tighten no further. Indeed, it would have to consider a fairly early start toward relaxing its current harsh grip. Certainly, expectations of a trend toward easing would produce a tidy rally in the bond markets, with related slippage in interest votes.

But the tax increase must first be voted before either the Fed or the markets really react. They have seen their hopes battered down too often to rely on optimism from Capitol Hill. The start-of-the-week performance was only a preview of what will happen if Congress fumbles the surtax in the end.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 27, 1968]

FINANCIAL MARKETS ENTER A PERIOD OF TURBULENCE

(By Harold B. Dorsey)

NEW YORK.—The financial markets here and abroad have reflected mounting tensions since action on the tax and spending-cut bill was postponed. With yields on bonds and other debt instruments soaring to new highs, the domestic financial markets have entered a period of great turbulence.

The price of gold climbed past $42 an ounce early last week, about 20 percent above the official price. And the pound sterling has come under renewed pressure, reflecting worries about gold and the dollar.

Another substantial outflow of funds from the thrift institutions is an immediate threat, with some signs that that trend has already started. The interest yields now available on top-quality debt instruments are more attractive than the rate of interest being paid on thrift deposits. And the yield on the other debt instruments is more attractive than the net yield on mortgages and hence the former attracts money that otherwise might have been available to the mortgage market.

Hence it seems inevitable that the flow of money into homebuilding and other mortgage-financed activities is diminishing, thus foreshadowing a significant slowdown in the activity of these areas later in the year.

In the absence of fiscal restraint, the Federal Reserve has little choice but to pursue a stringent money policy designed to slow the rate of business expansion. The need for restraint was underscored by the first-quarter balance-of-payments figures, which showed a further deterioration in the commercial trade balance to a deficit of about $2¾ billion (annual rate). There is little doubt that credit will tighten even further if a tax bill is not forthcoming.

Although the interest rates paid by commercial banks on Certificates of Deposit have been boosted to the upward-revised ceiling, even better returns are readily available on other debt instruments. Hence this form of deposit with the banks is now declining and seems likely to decline even more sharply over the next few weeks. This reduction in fund available to the banks for lending and investing is coming at precisely the time when the demand for bank credit is going to rise to finance the rapid expansion in business activity and the June 15 tax payments.

Thus, there is a very distinct possibility that a financial crunch will become front page news in the month of June. As if that threat were not enough, the credit markets are seriously worried about the huge demands for credit by the government to finance an enormous deficit in the second half of the year, assuming legislation is not enacted immediately to reduce the size of that deficit.

Procrastination in respect to this legislation has already done a tremendous amount of damage to the foundations of domestic and foreign economies—further jeopardizing the position of the pound sterling, further accelerating the wage-price spiral, seriously distorting cash flows, etc. But to present this evidence as a reason for not enacting the pending fiscal legislation is like argument that there is no reason to apply the brakes to a speeding car that is heading for a smashup anyhow.

While the early passage of this legislation would not immediately correct the damage that has already been done, it would resolve some of the current uncertainties. The very real threat of a financial crisis would be significantly reduced. Very tight credit policies would not be so necessary. Interest rates would probably tend to decline instead of rise. An immediate threat of an international currency crisis would be lessened; at last the deteriorating trend of the balance of payments deficit would slow down.

If the government's domestic deficit is to be reduced by $16 billion within the short space of a year, the withdrawal of that sum as a stimulant to the economy would certainly slow down the expansion from its current excessive pace. But that is the prime objective of the legislation.

CASUAL CHAT

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Bill Courtney, editor of the Wynne Progress, Wynne, Ark., writing in his "Casual Chat" column comes up with quite a timely and illuminating editorial on law enforcement.

I agree with Mr. Courtney that to stop the riots, looting, and lawlessness requires the use of force by law-enforcement officers. These officers need to be assured by their superiors that they will stand behind them in the performance of their duties. The Bill Courtney article is as follows:

CASUAL CHAT

(By Bill Courtney)

Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago issued an order to police to "shoot to kill" arsonists as potential murderers, and "shoot to maim" looters.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark says it won't work; that it will just make the arsonists and looters mad and cause more trouble.

I'm inclined to disagree with Mr. Clark. When an officer sees an arsonist in action and shoots to kill, that solves the case right then and there. There will be no more arson from that particular source.

And I'd give this advice to looters who console themselves that the officer will only shoot to maim—go out to the firing range and watch them shoot at targets, then measure how far they miss and lay out the error on your anatomy. It is possible that you wouldn't want to bet the officer would hit you in maiming territory only.

It has become apparent that the courts are virtually useless in backing up law enforcement officers after a riot situation. Knowing their cases will be dismissed, even if they are arrested, arsonists and looters have what amounts to a license from the government to do as they please.

Until the courts assist policemen in protecting the peace and security of our nation, it is necessary that such barbaric orders as Mayor Daley's be given and carried out. When the courts return to the law of the land in handing down verdicts and meting out punishments, then we can turn from this vigilante course.

PROJECT TRANSITION: A PRAISEWORTHY PROGRAM

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, beginning July 1, approximately 840,000 men are scheduled to be discharged from the military service. Of this number—40,000 are Negroes—over 183,000 have not yet completed their high school education. All of these men have made great personal sacrifices in the defense of freedom, sacrifices which entitle them to return home to a nation free of discrimination and open to opportunity.

Thus, it is welcome news indeed to learn that "Project Transition," the Defense Department's program to help returning GI's adjust to civilian life and find employment, is well on its way toward becoming fully operational.

Since I myself have cosponsored the bill—House Concurrent Resolution 705—to assure preferential employment for returning veterans, I am heartily in favor of doing everything in our power to give these men every possible advantage upon their reentry to civilian life.

"Project Transition" is a giant step forward in this respect since it aims to give those GIs having 1 to 6 months remaining military service the vocational and academic training they require to find suitable and satisfying employment. Also, this program will go far in helping upgrade that segment of American youth which has been most likely to be drafted—the victims of limited opportunity.

Already, major industries are devoting their time and expertise to train these young men. IBM offers courses in machine repair; Humble Oil in service station management; postal employees in letter carrying; lawyers and law-enforcement officers in police work. Instruction is followed by vigorous jobs placement efforts. These contributions by private industry are vital to the success of "Project Transition," and I hope that other industries will follow their lead.

Returning veterans are a rare breed of men as they have proven themselves unafraid of challenge and responsibility. Eager as these veterans are to channel their energies into a productive civilian life, the U.S. Government and private industry would be missing a remarkable opportunity were they to let this source of manpower lie untapped.

KENNEDY'S HUMBUG ON VIETNAM

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since the Kennedy campaign has taken on all the trimmings of a Hollywood production with little regard for facts, I believe an editorial in this morning's Chicago Tribune setting forth some facts on Vietnam will certainly be an interesting contrast to the platform tirade of the junior Senator from New York.

The editorial follows:

Kennedy's Humbug on Vietnam

Patrick E. Nolting Jr., who was President Kennedy's ambassador to South Viet Nam, has accused Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of falsifying the record in trying to absolve his brother of responsibility for the involvement of huge American forces in the war.

Nolting says it is "now generally recognized" that by encouraging a group of generals to overthrow the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem "the Kennedy administration made inevitable the dispatch of American combat forces or the abandonment of South Viet Nam altogether."

Diem was assassinated in a coup d'etat on Nov. 1, 1963. President Kennedy, at a press conference, had called for "changes in personnel" in the Saigon government, and a Voice of America broadcast said this meant Diem. At the same time the state department sent Henry Cabot Lodge, the new ambassador in Saigon, a directive stating in effect that Diem must go. Lodge thereupon consulted the generals, promising recognition of a military junta as successor to Diem's government and resumption of American aid, which had been cut off in a squeeze play. The result was political chaos and massive military intervention by the United States to prevent a communist takeover in South Viet Nam.

It was the Kennedy administration's "final decision" to get rid of Diem, Nolting says, that "transformed South Viet Nam's own national effort into an American responsibility."

Bobby Kennedy's transformation from hawk to dove on Viet Nam at about the time he decided to run for President has been as transparently opportunistic and cynical as his attempt to shift blame for the Viet Nam tragedy from the Kennedy administration to President Johnson.

Here is the way he talked about the war in 1962:

"The President has pledged the United States to stand by the side of Viet Nam through this very difficult and troublesome time. We will win in Viet Nam and we shall remain here until we do."

"The solution [to the Viet Nam war] lies in our winning it. That is what the President intends to do."

"Viet Nam's struggle to preserve its independence against communist aggression is a grave one which affects free countries everywhere. . . . The American people will see Viet Nam through these times of trouble."

As late as 1965, after President Johnson had started bombing North Viet Nam and committed American ground forces to the war, Kennedy said:

"Until North Viet Nam and the Viet Cong become convinced that a military solution is impossible, they will continue their attacks—and we will have to continue to aid South Viet Nam."

In 1966, however, Kennedy said: "To give blood to the North Vietnamese would be in the oldest traditions of this country. I'm willing to give blood to anyone who needs it."

"Military victory would require that we crush both our adversary's strength and his will to continue the battle. . . . Its coming is beyond our present vision."

In 1967 he said: "Hundreds of thousands of people are being killed on our responsibility."

This year he has said: "We must be willing to foresee a settlement which will give the Viet Cong a chance to participate in the political life of the country."

Such is the credibility of a young man who asks the American people to take him seriously as a candidate for President of the United States.

OIL SHALE AND PUBLIC POLICY

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of May 25, 1968, had a pertinent editorial concerning action by the Interior Department to protect the public interest in connection with oil shale deposits and public land.

After describing the Department's action in ruling that dawsonite cannot be used as a basis for claims on public lands bearing oil shale, the New York Times stated wisely, "but the problem remains of formulating an effective policy for the extraction of the oil."

The Interior Department has now prepared a study, made over a period of nearly 1½ years, which will be released on May 29. It is my understanding that the public will have 90 days to respond to this study after which various experimental procedures will be undertaken. Although I have not yet had a chance to evaluate the study, I am advised that it is a thoughtful document but that many questions remain unanswered.

I hope that industry's sense of urgency about implementing plans for oil shale extraction will not lead the Interior Department to anything but a sober approach to formulating policy and to making commitments that will limit future possibilities. This issue, which is of monumental financial and social interest to this Nation, should receive full and prolonged public debate. The public interest must be protected.

The New York Times editorial follows:

[From the New York Times, May 25, 1968]

No Oil Shale Bonanza

The Interior Department has moved belatedly but firmly to block the effort of some oil companies and individual speculators to obtain public lands rich in oil shale.

The oil shale deposits, which are potentially of immense commercial value, lie in Colorado, Wyoming and Utah and four-fifths of them are in publicly owned land. Since 1920 Congress has forbidden any private mineral claims to be filed for the shale itself. But two years ago a sudden rush began. Claims were filed, based on the presence of dawsonite, a mineral often found in the shale lands. Dawsonite has commercial value. The real objective was not to mine the dawsonite but to get hold of the oil shale.

After some public protest Secretary of the Interior Udall put a freeze on the filing of further claims in January of last year. Now the Interior Department has ruled that dawsonite cannot be used as the basis for filing a mineral claim on public land, thus wiping out more than 5,000 of the claims filed during the 1966 rush.

The Interior Department deserves praise for this defense of the public interest, but the problem remains of formulating an effective policy for the extraction of the oil. Last year Secretary Udall proposed a tentative plan for development under which 30,000 acres of public land were to be leased to private companies for a research-and-development project, with the Government receiving a graduated royalty. The Government would do better to go ahead with the research on its own, thus achieving early development of this resource and at the same time protecting the taxpayers' stake in an immensely valuable public property.

EXCHANGE OF REMARKS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER JOHN GORTON OF AUSTRALIA

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, our Nation and our capital were privileged to host the Prime Minister of Australia and Mrs. Gorton. Undoubtedly the meetings of the Prime Minister with the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and other U.S. Government officials will be of mutual advantage to both of our nations. Today as in the past the great country of Australia is a champion of and has contributed to the preservation of freedom and security not only in its own area but throughout the world. This fact is very eloquently documented in the exchange of remarks between the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson and Prime Minister John Gorton of Australia which I insert at this point in the Record:

Exchange of Remarks Between the President and Prime Minister John Gorton of Australia

The President. Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Gorton, Secretary and Mrs. Rusk, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Mr. Prime Minister, it is a very great pleasure for Mrs. Johnson and I to welcome you and your most charming wife to our country.

We have very little to offer in the way of surprises. Mrs. Gorton is a native of New England. We have some New England weather for her this morning. But she already knows all of our secrets anyway. Even if she did not, you, yourself, Mr. Prime Minister, are the Prime Minister of Australia—and the Australians and the Americans have so much in common that we seem to understand each other almost on sight anyway.

Our people have been molded by the same forces. Both of our continents are vast. Both of our histories are young. Both of our governments are free. All of our people were drawn from many lands. We both enjoy an abundance which, for most of the world, is yet just a dream.

We share a common vision. We see a world where might does not make right. We strive for a world where nations can live together in peace and freedom under the rule of law.

We have been fighting for this dream for a long time now. Twenty-five years ago we fought side by side from the Middle East to the South Pacific. Today we are fighting side by side in the rice fields in Vietnam.

I do not know how close we may be to success in our common—and our historic—cause.

But I do know that you, Mr. Prime Minister, come here at a moment of very historic importance. Our American aim is now, as it has been from the beginning, to achieve peace with honor, a peace which will permit the people of Asia and the South Pacific to work out their own destiny in their own way. We have never sought anything else, and we will not accept anything else.

I believe that Australia shares that aim, and I look forward with a great deal of anticipation to our conversations about this—and about many other common concerns.

Mr. Prime Minister, you and your countrymen are always welcome in Washington. I think you will soon find that although you are half a world away from Australia, you are still very much at home. Thank you very much.

Prime Minister GORTON. Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, Secretary Rusk and Mrs. Rusk, Distinguished Guests:

Thank you, Mr. President, on behalf of all Australians, for the honor which, through me, you do my country.

We value this the more since it comes from a power which is not only great, but which, since the end of the last world war, has assumed all the burdens and responsibilities of being great.

You helped reconstruct Europe. In large measure, you financed the constructive work of the United Nations. You have without stint given blood and treasure to protect small nations from subjugation by force or by threat. And you seek to raise the living standards of people in every corner of the world.

For this your country has received scant thanks—yet at one time, through sole possession of atomic power, you could have imposed your will upon the world—and did not. You could have chosen to conquer, but chose to set free. You could have looked inward, but instead you chose to look out.

If the United Nations has not brought that end to war which its founders sought, if the world is still torn by strife as it is, that is the fault of others, not of yours.

You have assumed, sir, as I said, many burdens, and today one dominates our minds.

Even as we stand here, our men fight in Vietnam together, as they fought in other wars, to protect small nations from overthrow by force of governments elected by the people. Even as we stand here, diplomats in Paris seek to discover whether there is hope of ending that fighting and securing a peace—just, lasting and honorable—giving to the people of South Vietnam a chance themselves to choose their future path without fear or threat.

You, Mr. President, bore the lonely weight of decision to continue to resist force with force. You, Mr. President, by your recent gesture, brought the North Vietnamese to talk. You, Mr. President, relinquished chance of further office to give those talks such chance of success as they may have. And for that we admire and salute you.

It is that struggle which engrosses us today, but when it is decided, that solution will be one step only in the solution of other problems to which men and nations are born, which have arisen in the past, which exist now, and which will arise in the future in a world in transition.

So the Revolutionary War decided whether America would or would not be independent. The War Between the States decided whether the Union would continue or fragment. The Second World War decided whether the world would be subject to Fascist tyranny.

Just as those decisions engrossed the hearts and consciences of those then living, and decided a particular matter but did not provide solutions for future conflict or for progress, so will the outcome of the war in Vietnam decide that matter—but not those questions for decision arising in the years ahead. As Australians see it, those problems, although worldwide, are likely to be most acute in Asia.

We see there an area which needs an economic and technical base such as Europe already has. We see there an area where development and progress are essential if the peoples of those divergent nations are to support and defend something dynamic and developing—not something stagnant.

We see there an area crying for technical skills, a more experienced administration, a more equitable sharing of an increasing income—and we see there an area subject, above all, to the threat of subversion, terrorism, and aggression.

In some way, sir, because of internal division, parts of Asia are reminiscent of the Balkans before World War I—and in some ways they may pose the same dangers, dangers aggravated by the eagerness of agitators to exploit divisions.

Perhaps, Mr. President, though I don't think so, we Australians see this out of perspective—because it is here that we, contiguous to Asia—part of the South East Asia region—live and breathe and have our present and our future. It is here that we feel that we can best contribute to stability and to progress and to preserving its political freedom which seeks economic freedom as its concomitant. It is here that we can play our part. But we cannot effectively play it alone.

As for ourselves—we are not a great power, though we are destined so to be.

In our Nation are new frontiers and boundless opportunities for those who will risk in order to win; for those who will work in order to build; for those who will endure initial hardship to gain distant goals.

We shall grow in numbers and in industrial power, and further develop the use of our natural resources, and in growing, Mr. President, will grapple with existing problems and prepare for those which wait in the corridors of the future.

But for the present, we, who for two centuries were shielded by the British Navy, have as our major shield the ANZUS Pact, and behind that, and because of that, we can the sooner grow to that stature we shall reach, we shall the sooner reach a position to repulse any attack the future may hold from any quarter, and by any means. We can the sooner grow in capacity to offer more economic and technical assistance to the Governments and peoples of our region.

I do not mean that we do not now play our part in defense, as we do in aid, or in seeking to foster trade which may be more important than aid.

But I do mean that because of your assistance, because of the ANZUS Treaty and what it implies, we can divert to building a future strength, resources which would otherwise be now diverted to defense, to the future detriment of defense, and to the future diminution of our ability to render as much help in the region as we would wish.

This is to us the virtue of the ANZUS Pact. And allied to it is the sure knowledge that you—while providing that shield—recognize that behind it we, as we build our country, are free to make and will make our own foreign policy decisions subject only to our Treaty obligations.

Sir, I have not been here before in my present office, yet I feel I come not as a stranger.

On too many fields of battle we have stood together fighting for the concept of freedom, fighting against aggression. On too many occasions we have cooperated in the economic plans to help the world's underprivileged advance their standards of living.

There is too much common heritage of a system under which Government is chosen by a majority, dismissed by a majority, protect minority rights, yet refuse to be coerced by organized minority demonstrations. There are too many bonds for any Australian Prime Minister ever to feel that here he is a stranger.

And so as in the past, so may it be in the future. Looking down the vista of the years, I hope that you in your greatness now, and we in our present strength and our greatness to come, will together give protection, stability, advancement, encouragement, will help to foster, along with and depending on the people who live in that region—a new world in Asia to redress the balance of the old.

If this can be done, if we can do this together successfully, the price to be now paid will, in the future, be thought by humanity small.

Thank you, sir.

CONGRESSMAN MACHEN ISSUES SIGNIFICANT STATEMENT ON NATIONAL ISSUES

HON. E. S. JOHNNY WALKER

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 26, 1968, my good friend and distinguished colleague, Representative HERVEY G. MACHEN, of Maryland, announced that he will seek a third term in the U.S. House of Representatives.

As a sometime resident of southern Prince Georges County in Congressman MACHEN's congressional district, I know that his announcement is welcome news to Congressman MACHEN's constituents. HERVEY MACHEN and I have been members of the House Armed Services Committee for 4 years and we have worked very well together. I look forward to another 2 years serving with him on this important committee in our work on national security and defense. I also know from my first 2 years on the House District Committee that Congressman MACHEN has a long and continuing interest in legislative measures to strengthen law enforcement and to restore law and order in the Nation's Capital and environs. He has been successful in working with our committee on other measures of significance to his congressional district and the metropolitan area.

I believe that Congressman MACHEN's statement not only is important to his constituents but also to all our colleagues as a comprehensive statement of the major issues facing our Nation. I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

Today I am announcing my strong desire to continue serving all the people of Prince George's and Charles Counties in the U.S. House of Representatives.

I shall campaign for a third term as the Congressman from the Fifth Congressional District of Maryland. I shall discuss the major issues—as I see them and as my constituents see them—that face our nation. I shall discuss my record of four years' service in the Congress. I shall continue to meet the challenges of our times in a responsible and progressive manner. I shall meet my challengers in the forum of the campaign and I shall prevail over them in September and November with the help of the grass roots citizens I have served for 14 years as a state and national legislator.

I would be shirking my duty and reneging on my obligation to my constituents if I were to quit when the going gets tough. This will not be an easy year for any person to seek elective office because these are very uneasy times. Simple, pat, public relations solutions to the overwhelming problems we face will be rejected out of hand by the voters.

Never in the 14 years I have held legislative office have I seen our nation in such a state of utter distress—and this includes the years of World War II and Korea. Never have I felt such strongly conflicting forces in our nation as today. Never have I heard such extremism from the left and from the right threatening to tear apart our society and our democracy. Never, in my recollection, has there been so much stirring for violent metamorphosis, an urge to rip off the cocoon of our nation's short but great history to bare the raw, and undeveloped infant of radical change.

Certainly we must make changes in our society for our society to remain viable and responsive to the needs of all its citizens, and to retain its unprecedented position of continuing economic and democratic leadership in the world. But such change must, and this is imperative, must be peacefully and constructively accomplished within the framework of our democratic process. To do otherwise would engender a reaction on a scale rarely seen in our history—one that would wipe out all the gains we have made toward freedom and equality for all Americans.

It is primarily because of this state of unrest that I have decided to continue my public career. I believe strongly that there is a greater need in times of national distress for men of experience and proven ability, men such as myself who were first elected on programs of constructive progress within the ability of our national economy to finance them, men who can lead our national legislature and government in striking a balance between the conflicting philosophies of negativism and radical change, between the haters and the lovers, between the majority and the minority, between the past and the future. In striking such a balance we will continue to provide responsible and responsive leadership

In this statement I will discuss briefly a number of issues which I shall develop during my campaign. In my view there are at least six overriding issues.

Our major foreign issue is Viet Nam. My position has been stated time and again. As long as we have American servicemen fighting in Viet Nam we must support them. As a member of the House Armed Services Committee I have staunchly supported all legislation, not only to provide our servicemen with the equipment, supplies and weapons they need, but to increase their salaries and benefits. We must greatly increase the retention rate for our military services, and if we succeed we will automatically reduce the numbers of men drafted to replace those who leave.

I believe that the priority domestic issues are law enforcement, education, fiscal security, individual security, conservation and consumers.

No democratic government can function in a state of lawlessness, confusion and rampant fear among the populace. If the man on the street walks in fear of crime in the streets he will have a profound distrust in the ability of his government—local, state and national—to provide orderly and needed services his taxes pay for, and to make the laws, enforce them and prosecute them fully to maintain security for the innocent and detention for the guilty.

Our next domestic priority is education. It was said by Herbert George Wells in 1914 that "Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." This statement is as accurate today as yesterday. This race is a race that I intend our nation to win. My 100 percent record for programs to further expand and increase educational abilities and capabilities will attest to my strong convictions for education. I do not view education as a key or a passport to the future—but as an essential way of life today.

The problem of fiscal security is one of the most complex. Ranging from deficit spending to inefficiency in government, it includes a complete overhauling of our welfare system and getting rid of government programs that overlap, that have outlived their usefulness and that are simply a waste of the taxpayers' money. Generally speaking, I have opposed the income tax surcharge because I feel it will not accomplish its stated purpose and because we cannot legislate prosperity; I strongly support legislation to end loopholes that cost our government an estimated $21 billion a year in so-far uncollectable oil-mineral depletion allowances and the end of tax escapes for the very wealthy; I support programs, such as the war on poverty that delete the dole and provide constructive approaches to instill motivation and responsibility in those below the poverty level.

Individual security may not yet be an issue of national significance. It is to me. The cybernetic or computer revolution is rapidly overtaking every person and everything we give to it takes a little from each of us. Frankly I fear the depersonalization of the individual, the enormous increase in leisure time, the cold calculation of emotion and intellect that are coming with a computerized society. I feel that there is much to fear in this regard unless our national leaders move now to address themselves to the complex ramifications associated with cybernetics. We must take steps to protect the individuality and dignity of every member of our society in order that we are prepared for another new age without undergoing painful and frustrating periods of adjustment.

Conservation has always been an issue close to my heart. I was extremely gratified that in this Congress my national campaign to save the view from Mount Vernon through a joint citizen-government program was successful. I intend to persevere in my efforts to save the Potomac River shoreline in Prince George's County and to do everything possible to see that our natural beauty is protected in the face of our rapidly-urbanizing country.

The American consumer is no longer the forgotten man in our society. The Congress has enacted, and will continue to enact with my strong support, programs to protect the consumer. My own consumer protection bill, to provide short-term financial assistance to States for State consumer protection offices, has gained considerable support since I offered it. I will continue pushing consumer protection programs so everyone will have dollar power.

This is a capsule of the major issues as I see them today. Others will develop during the year and I intend to discuss them if I feel that they are germane to the role of a Congressman.

There is a subject of special interest to me that is not an issue. The needs of our Federal employees have always been foremost in my mind. Not only have I offered quite a number of bills to provide them the same benefits as their counterparts in private industry. I have also made a sincere effort to fight for their causes when they face a sometimes inconsiderate bureaucracy or administration policy. It probably goes without saying, but as my seniority increases in each Congress I shall be that much more effective in representing the Federal employees in my district and everyone else in their relationships with the national government.

As to my record, I feel that it will stand up to the strongest scrutiny. It has been my policy to perform as a legislator in a legislative body, because if a Congressman cannot succeed in having his own bills enacted he is not serving his country nor his constituents. It has been my policy not to speak out irresponsibly, nor at the drop of a chance for publicity for publicity's sake. It has been my policy to do everything within my power as a Congressman to help my constituents who have problems with merit. In many respects, my office has been a "court of last resort," and many of our verdicts have been favorable.

This concludes my statement. I will campaign as much as possible but I will be limited because of our daily sessions in Washington. My attendance record is about 98 percent and I intend to maintain that. I look forward to seeing each one of you in this campaign and I wish you the best in every hour of every day.

FACTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE UKRAINE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 18, the Ukrainian-American community in Chicago held a day-long series of meetings reaffirming its solidarity with the Ukrainian nation, now oppressed by the Soviet Union.

At a meeting held at St. Vladimir's Cathedral in Chicago, the Ukrainian-American group adopted a resolution addressed to the Human Rights Division of the United Nations.

Prof. Vasyl Markus set the tone for the meetings when he assured those gathered that the Ukrainian-American community in the United States will not rest until their compatriots in the Ukraine can again enjoy their traditional freedom.

Mr. Andrij Gajecky, president, and Mr. Mychajlo Panasiuk, secretary of the United Ukrainian-American Organizations of Illinois submitted a resolution to the gatherings which was unanimously adopted.

It was my privilege to also address this group, and I should like to include in the RECORD both the telegram sent to Mr. Marc Schreiber, director, Human Rights Division, United Nations, and my own remarks.

A copy of the telegram and my remarks follow:

[Telegram]

RESOLUTION

Mr. MARC SCHREIBER,
Director, Human Rights Division,
United Nations, New York, N.Y.

SIR: The meeting of Ukrainians in Chicago on May 18, 1968, convened by the United Ukrainian-American Organizations in Illinois, calls your attention to the continuous suppression of political and human rights in the Ukrainian SSR and to the recent secret trials and illegal imprisonment of thousands of Ukrainian patriots, including over a hundred of young intellectuals and students.

We urge you to investigate this serious matter in the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, systematically violated by the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR. If the U.N. Human Rights Commission will bypass opportunistically the known discriminatory practices, including the cultural genocide by the Soviet governments vis-a-vis non-Russian peoples, it will fail in its noble mission and its service to the humanity.

FACTS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE UKRAINE

(By U.S. Representative ROMAN PUCINSKI)

The intellectual ferments in Eastern Europe and among the literati in Moscow have their counterpart in Ukraine, second largest Soviet Republic.

Khrushchev in the last years of his rule strengthened the Party control over the Ukrainian people.

The new school reform 1959–60 made the Ukrainian language only optional in the schools of the Republic.

The decentralized economy was blamed as "localism," i.e., economic nationalism, and soon the economic regions were dissolved;

The autonomous rights of the Republic once again were reduced;

A new doctrine of the merger of languages and cultures was propagated throughout the 60's;

The forced russification was intensified: reduction in the circulation of the Ukrainian books and press; many courses at the Universities and institutes started to be taught in Russian; transfer of Ukrainian cadres to other republics and simultaneous increase of Russian technical and administrative personnel in Ukraine;

In 1964, an event which recalled a flagrant anti-Ukrainian action of the ruling Russian-dominated Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place. This was the arson of the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev in which precious manuscripts and book-holdings perished. The Ukrainians considered it to be an act of a planned destruction of the Ukrainian culture.

All this generated a reaction in form of the Ukrainian self-defense.

In 1963, the Ukrainian scholars, educators, literati and students convened a cultural conference at the Kiev University which called for stopping discriminatory policy, for introduction of the Ukrainian as the language of public use, for Ukrainization of the higher learning and for the rights of the Ukrainian minority in other republics of the U.S.S.R.

The resolutions of this conference attended by over a thousand people were suppressed in Ukraine. They were published in Poland.

At the end of 1966, the Fifth Congress of Ukrainian Writers took place. It was also a strong protest against the present policies of Moscow in Ukraine. The Congress also echoed the fact that in meantime many Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested and tried.

All over Ukraine sporadic arrests took place. The people were tried secretly and sent to the labor camps, mostly in Mordovian Autonomous Republic. Among the victims of repression were renowned critics Dziuba and Svitlychnyj. Against illegal trials and persecution many protests were risen even in the ranks of the loyal Ukrainian Soviet cultural and civic leaders; academicians, members of the Unions of Writers, Composers, Artists, even the vice-president of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet attempted to intercede on behalf of the arrested. Nothing helped.

Over a hundred of well known names in the artistic-cultural life of Ukraine disappeared from the national cultural and creative activity. They are now prisoners of Mordovia or of a notorious jail in Vladimir. These who attempted to defend the accused and persecuted, were silenced.

What was the criminal activity of the Ukrainian intellectuals? Formally, the "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". In a few cases the Procuracy was able to demonstrate that the accused read some publications from abroad. A group of Ukrainian jurists were tried because allegedly, they advocated implementation of the right of secession of the Ukrainian Republic from the Union, a right publicly guaranteed in the Constitution. One group tried to organize a Peasant-workers Socialist Society, not sponsored by the Soviet official institutions. And, finally, some others were sent to the labor camps because they have protested and publicized the regrettable state of affairs of the Soviet Ukrainian Justice.

However, the people were not silent.

There were some courageous people who rose their voice. They wrote petitions, circulated them among people, compiled pamphlets on the victims of the new repressions. Their voice has been heard also outside the USSR.

The free world is now in possession of a number of documents, pamphlets, literary works from the captive Ukraine. Many of them were published in Ukrainian, English and French. From this literature we learn what is the true spirit of Ukraine.

It is the spirit of liberty, of human dignity, of social justice, of national independence and cultural freedom.

This is the same spirit as over a hundred years ago was the spirit of Shevchenko's Ukraine. The present situation in the Ukraine reminds so much a similar oppression of the Ukrainian nation by Czarist Russia.

A modern Polish writer called that period the "Ukrainian Nights." Really and truly—it was a dark night in which a genius came to bring a new dawn in the person of Taras Shevchenko. We hope that there will be another Jerzy Jendrzejewicz who will write about the continuing genealogy of the Ukrainian genius.

Ukraine suffers now as a nation, as a people and as a culture. This gifted and vigorous nation is forcefully prevented by a foreign rule to be a full-fledged member of the Community of Nations.

Its place in the United Nations is nothing but a caricature, irony and hypocrisy. Ukraine is neither sovereign nor free and independent member of the Union, as the constitution proclaims.

She is not master of her destiny. She is a colony in the worst sense of this word.

Presently, in this 1968 year of the Human Rights, proclaimed by the United Nations, we experience flagrant violation of very basic rights of the millions of people and of the nations in the Communist bloc.

The lot of Ukraine now is very dramatic. That nation fights for its survival.

We are confident that the Ukrainians in this struggle will overcome. However, the friends of Ukraine in free world, in particular those who are of Ukrainian descent, cannot be passive spectators of this historical struggle. We must help our kin and all freedom-loving people in their aspirations toward a better world, toward a democratic, just and peaceful order.

THE BENEFITS OF VISTA—A TWO-WAY STREET

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, our VISTA volunteers have already proven that the contributions they make will bring significant results in improving the lives of many of the underprivileged. I am enclosing with these comments an article from the March 24 issue of the Austin American-Statesman which tells the personal story of Miss Betty Frausto of Austin, Tex. and of the work she is doing in Bristol Terrace, Pa.

One aspect of the program not always as apparent as the benefits to the underprivileged is that VISTA also pays tremendous rewards to the volunteers themselves. William H. Crook, whose home is San Marcos, Tex., in my district, and the National Director of VISTA said:

> The idealism, dedication, and constructive energy VISTA volunteers such as Miss Frausto bring to their work certainly can be counted as one of America's greatest resources.

To my way of thinking, VISTA gives each citizen the opportunity to help in a meaningful way. It helps each of the volunteers know the real nature of our country and the problems underlying so many of the boiling issues of the day. I believe citizens who have this awareness are better citizens, and I commend VISTA and all who work with it for their efforts.

The article follows:

VISTA IN PENNSYLVANIA—AUSTIN GIRL WORKS IN EASTERN SLUM

Transport a girl from the sweeping spaces of Texas to a crowded slum in the East, and you are introducing two opposites.

"There are 1500 children in Bristol Terrace, Pennsylvania," said Isabel (Betty) Frausto, 20, of Austin. "Not one of them knows the marvelous games children can play in the grass and the trees. Not one of them has room to spread out and romp."

"If that weren't sad enough," she adds, "the only open spaces they know are dirty streets and alleys. What kind of a healthy playground is that?"

For the past year Betty, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Juan Frausto of 1705 Francis Avenue in Austin, has worked as a Volunteer in Service of America (VISTA), providing activities to take these Pennsylvania youngsters off the streets and give them something to do.

Her work is part of a program set up through the Bristol Township Community Center. In 1966, the first VISTA Volunteers were assigned there. Starting with only an old building at their disposal, they set up a children's recreation program.

In two years, that initial program has grown. In addition to the original sports activities, the current five Volunteers sponsor organized club meetings.

"The whole concept is just great," said Betty. "All the kids participate in whatever we plan. And we gear our clubs to what they tell us they want."

Pre-school youngsters claim Betty's morning hours every weekday.

She is involved with youngsters of all ages. Together with another Volunteer she sponsors the Teen Club, driving its members to various activities in an old Army bus. The teens themselves raise the money for their functions, which have included dances, movies, and skating parties.

Recently Betty started an arts and crafts program for the junior high set. With supplies donated by the local stores, 25 boys and girls have made paper mache puppets. Future projects include jewelry craft and a party with a pinata.

As an integral part of the community she serves, Betty is also involved in the problems of its adults.

Bristol Terrace is a housing development of 3500 persons. Although predominantly Negro, one third of its people are Puerto Rican or white. Betty, who is herself Spanish-American, has found her bi-lingualism very helpful.

"Most of the Puerto Ricans find it hard to speak English," she said. "I can help the other Volunteers understand what they want."

Job opportunities in the community are severely limited. Many people are on welfare.

Many women support their households through domestic work. The men work in steel mills and other day labor jobs. Through home visits, Betty and the other Volunteers work with the families on their problems.

A community action group was formed, which meets monthly to discuss such topics as urban renewal and better police protection. The residents have elected their own officers and boast a full-house attendance.

VISTA director Bill Crook, a fellow Texan, has high praise for Betty. "It's a real pleasure to watch her with those children," he said. "They follow her around as if she was the Pied Piper. And she enjoys it so much, it hardly looks like the true work it is at all."

A VISTA recruiter will be in Austin Monday through Friday in the lobby of the Lowich Building at 11th and Guadalupe from 8:30 a.m. until 8:30 p.m. His telephone number there is 476-6005. The Academy Award winning VISTA movie will be shown daily at 10 a.m., noon, 2 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. during this recruiting drive.

TAINTED MEAT AND TAINTED EVIDENCE

HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, the National Observer of May 20 carried on its front page a most disturbing article concerning reports prepared by the U.S. Department of Agriculture at the time Congress was considering the Wholesome Meat Act last year. The USDA reports were on conditions in U.S. meat slaughtering and processing plants not under Federal inspection, and were used by many people, both in and out of Congress, as evidence of the need for stronger Federal meat inspection laws.

The author of the National Observer article, Mr. Joe Western, says in one of his opening paragraphs:

> What can now be confirmed is the nasty fact that the "evidence" gathered last July was deliberately biased, that the tainted reports were used to mislead Congress and the public, that they put a lie in the mouth of President Johnson, duped a large number of well-meaning people, including Ralph Nader and Betty Furness, and did a superb con job on much of the nation's press.

Mr. Speaker, the idea of an agency of the Federal Government deliberately fostering misleading and biased reports is shocking to say the least. It is entirely alien to our whole concept of government, and carries implications that are positively frightening.

I supported the Wholesome Meat Act and exerted every effort to get the best legislation possible. While I feel that this legislation was both necessary and desirable, I submit that even such a worthy goal as this could not possibly justify the tactics described in the Observer article. The basis for such actions could only be a cynical belief that the ends justify the means, and I firmly believe that such a philosophy has no place in our system of Government.

Some have viewed this article as an attempt to justify opposition to the Wholesome Meat Act, but that is not the point at all. This has absolutely nothing to do with the merits of the legislation. The point is that no agency of the Federal Government ever has the right to use misleading or deliberately biased evidence, no matter what the purpose.

Mr. Speaker, at this critical time especially, U.S. citizens need to be able to have confidence in our Government, but nothing will erode that confidence any faster than the kinds of actions described in the following National Observer article:

[From the National Observer, May 20, 1968]

Flimflam and the Federal Men: Tainted Meat and Tainted Evidence

Washington, D.C.—Agents of the Federal Government fanned out across the nation last July under urgent and explicit instructions from Washington to gather examples of horrid conditions in meat-processing plants not under U.S. Government control.

Swiftly and often with calculated deception, the Federal men got what they were ordered to get. Their findings, which were widely accepted as factual and unbiased Government inspection reports, painted a picture of widespread filth in meat handling. These reports were later to be used as undisputed authority for scare stories that frightened the public and helped stampede Congress into passage of a new and tougher Federal meat-inspection law—the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967.

What can now be confirmed is the nasty fact that the "evidence" gathered last July was deliberately biased, that the tainted reports were used to mislead Congress and the public, that they put a lie in the mouth of President Johnson, duped a large number of well-meaning people, including Ralph Nader and Betty Furness, and did a superb con job on much of the nation's press.

FINDINGS CHALLENGED

The stench of the filthy-meat survey began seeping out belatedly early this year when state and industry officials challenged the authenticity of some of the inspectors' findings. An investigation by this newspaper revealed that U.S. inspectors had, indeed, fudged on some facts [The National Observer, Jan. 29, 1968] and that other reports were doctored in Washington to make them sound even more damning than they were [The National Observer, Feb. 12, 1968].

The Observer's inquiry uncovered the fact that a written memorandum with explicit instructions to field inspectors did exist. Officials in Washington admitted as much but refused to release it. After months of determined efforts, including legal action, by this newspaper, the Agriculture Department finally agreed last week to give a copy of the memorandum to The National Observer. The contents of this remarkable document, which the Agriculture Department admits reflects the substance of its orders to field inspectors, are published in full on Page 12.

The memorandum was written by Wilbur F. Michael, officer in charge of the Dallas area compliance and evaluation staff, which is the investigative arm of the USDA's meat-inspection service. It was to serve as a guide for the activities of three field inspectors: John Halverson, based in Dallas; Joseph J. Barrett in Denver; and Matias Ramos in San Antonio.

Entitled "Special Project QQ&C (Quick, Quiet and Confidential)," the memo instructed agents to use guile in entering plants not under Federal supervision, to select plants "in which you would expect to find the most discrepancies," to look for "horrible examples" of unsanitary conditions in those plants, and to describe them "in dramatic, graphic terms with impact, such as cancer-eye, pus, manure, disease, excreta, cockroaches, rats, flies, loose paint, cobwebs, rust, grease, overhead dripping sewer lines, toilet facilities, mice, flour, excess water, chemicals, excess fat, etc., instead of other more acceptable terms."

A sense of urgency was emphasized because, as the memo put it, the information "is to be used at Congressional hearings now being held . . ." The memo, dated July 27, 1967, which was a Thursday, instructed the agents to get into plants in five states—Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Colorado, and Arkansas—write their reports, and send them directly to Washington. By Wednesday, August 2.

The compliance officers complied—swiftly and predictably.

Out of Oklahoma flew reports of seven inspections by Mr. Barrett. A random, not untypical sample of the report on one plant: "Stagnant water stood in bloody puddles all over the place. The walls were covered with grime grease and mould. One beef carcass had an infected brisket and another had a large knee joint which appeared to be arthritic. A butcher was boning out a beef round which had sour bone and the meat near the bone was greenish colored."

In addition to covering plants in Oklahoma, Mr. Barrett managed in the brief period to hustle through inspections of nine plants in Colorado and file reports of a similar nature on each of them.

REPORTS FROM TEXAS

Out of Texas came reports of five inspections by Mr. Ramos. A random, not untypical sample of the information in one: "Edible meat drums were very dirty, contaminated with rust and the inside showed a very poor job of washing. Some of the lips were broken with meat imbedded in. The paint on all walls is flaking off, some was evident on hanging beef fore shanks. Hair, bruises, and kill dirt was also noticed on these carcasses. Flies were swarming on the back dock. Spitting on the floor by an employee was noted."

In addition to covering plants in Texas, Mr. Ramos managed to file similar inspection reports on conditions in three plants in Louisiana.

Inspector Halverson sent in reports of inspections in four Arkansas plants. Sample: "Large numbers of flies in processing room. No coverings over the mixers. Knocked down boxes were placed and piled on floor, toilet rooms were in an unsanitary condition; no ventilation in toilets."

A FLOOD OF REPORTS

And so it went. All told, the order from Washington rapidly produced reports of inspections with derogatory comments of one sort or another on 183 plants in 38 states. Nobody made much effort to tell Congress or the public that these were plants specially and hastily selected to prove a point. On the contrary, the implication was floated time and time again that the findings of the "survey" were generally representative of conditions in the 15,000 meat plants not under Federal supervision. Indeed, even the astute and knowledgeable Rep. Thomas S. Foley, Washington Democrat, referred approvingly in Senate hearings to the USDA reports as "current and comprehensive." And he was by no means alone in believing this.

The reports themselves, all of which have now been made available to The Observer, vary widely in length and quality. Some are little more than brief, generalized statements. Others run on at some length in a chatty, informal manner with a high content of irrelevancies. One, for example, offers the unexpected information that breweries do not knowingly permit females during the menstrual period to enter certain phases of the brewing procedure. "How do I know?" rhetorically asks the writer. "I had a friend who was a salesman for a brewery, and he told me so."

The actual names and locations of the plants inspected have been deleted by the department. While this is standard practice in many regulatory agencies of Government, it imposes a difficult detective job on anyone outside the agency who might have doubts about the accuracy of reports and seeks to check them out independently. Thus they have the aura of anonymous authority, offering no opportunity for the accused or the skeptic to dispute the findings.

Mr. Michael's written instructions, of course, went to only three field inspectors. In a letter accompanying the release of the memo to The National Observer, Rodney E. Leonard, administrator in Washington of the Consumer and Marketing Service, states that the memorandum "was issued by a subordinate field official, and that certain parts of it did not represent the policy or instructions of this Service."

But in an interview here last week, Mr Leonard acknowledged that the memo did, in fact, reflect the "substance" of instructions telephoned to all field officers from Washington.

"The men were told," he says, "to arrive at the plants unannounced, ask for permission to enter without stating their purpose, and, if admitted, to record their factual observations. We are satisfied that they carried out this mission and accomplished this goal without any improper conduct, without any substantive inaccuracies, and without being underhanded about it."

DIFFERENCE IN STANDARDS

The standards that Marketing Service officials set for judging conduct, inaccuracies, and underhandedness are, of course, their own. But there's ample evidence to conclude that those standards are not widely shared, especially by those people who were being slyly investigated.

It should be noted, first off, that Federal inspectors had no jurisdiction last summer over state-inspected packing plants. (They do now, as a result of the law signed last Dec. 15.) Nonetheless, Mr. Michael's memo clearly directs Federal inspectors "to gain entrance into non-Federally-inspected plants . . . under the guise of (a) meeting local inspection personnel to gain co-operation in our normal C&ES work (b) discussing our denaturing and decharacterizing requirements with management, (c) etc."

The fact that an inspector sometimes could not get into a plant did not deter him from submitting a report anyway. For example, Mr. Barrett reports thus on a locked-up plant in Oklahoma: "The exterior of the premises was filthy and stinking. I moved a meat barrel containing meat scrap and a rat jumped out and nearly knocked my hat off. I noticed that the rat entered the rear of subject plant."

Included in the batch of current reports last summer was one about a Colorado plant that, it developed, had been closed at least nine months earlier. The inspector later explained that he had been told it was all right to include plants he had inspected in the "recent" past. He said his inspection of that particular plant had been made in November 1966, a year before his findings were published in the Congressional Record by an obviously impressed congressman.

The managers of some plants cited in inspectors' reports insisted that they did not even know a Federal inspector had been on their premises. And, in at least one instance, an inspector conceded that he stayed in his car and did not enter a plant that his report later criticized. He said he had been in the plant a week earlier and so knew the conditions there.

During The Observer inquiry last February, it was discovered, too, that field reports from some inspectors had been edited by a ghost in Washington who deleted complimentary passages and thus made reports sound more critical than they really were.

All the reports flowed into Washington just as a House Agriculture subcommittee was completing work on a milder version of what later became the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967. Predictably, the reports began filtering out in a manner calculated to make headlines. News accounts giving stomach-turning details of the "survey" were published and broadcast as gospel. There were again predictably, cries of outrage by housewives, consumer groups, labor organizations, and editorialists over the fresh evidence of filthy meat. Lost in the furor were protests by many state officials that the reports were grossly exaggerated, misleading, unfair, and that some were outright fabrications.

"Nobody had any idea of the explosive impact these reports were going to have," Mr. Leonard asserted last week. "Our goal was simply to demonstrate that despite all the new state and local meat-inspection laws that had been enacted there was relatively little improvement in actually enforcing those laws."

There is no dispute among people with knowledge of the meat industry that unsanitary conditions do exist. Nor with the contention that the American consumer deserves to be protected against the health dangers that may lurk in filthy meat products. There is a basic philosophical and practical disagreement, however, over whether the meat-inspection job can be done better by a corps of Federal inspectors with Federal powers and authority rather than state and local officials. These arguments, however, have been made rather academic since the passage of the new law. What is not academic, at least in a democratic society, is whether the means adopted to obtain Federal inspection justify that end.

When the House version of the meat-inspection bill came to the floor for debate late in October, the House Agriculture Committee's report carried long excerpts from the quickie July investigation. These excerpts appeared in the "supplemental views" of five committee members, led by Representative Foley, who contended the bill had to be strengthened in view of the bad conditions revealed by the reports.

In the debate on the House floor, speaker after speaker rose to support the bill, citing the fresh Federal reports again and again. The White House silent up to then on the bill sent Miss Furness on a speaking tour to plug the Administration's consumer-protection legislation, including the meat-inspection bill. Both she and Mr. Nader, the safety consultant, repeatedly cited the USDA reports as evidence of the need for mandatory Federal meat inspection.

THE HEART OF THE BILL

On Oct. 31, the House passed its meat-inspection bill by a vote of 403 to 28. The heart of that bill provided mainly that Federal matching funds would be made available to the states to encourage them to upgrade their meat-inspection systems.

But by the time a Senate Agriculture subcommittee began hearings on a similar proposal on Nov. 9, Administration leaders and their allies on Capitol Hill decided to push for a much stronger measure. During four days of hearings, witnesses and senators referred to the USDA's July survey no fewer than 35 times. One of the witnesses was Mr. Leonard of the Consumer and Marketing Services, who thoughtfully brought along three staff investigators who had participated in the summer survey. The kindly questioning, mostly by Sen. Walter F. Mondale, Minnesota Democrat, elicited from each of the investigators generalized comments on what they had found. The questioning, for example, of Edward Chizek, a compliance officer brought in from Omaha, went like this:

"Senator Mondale. Now, in your studies and surveys, you found instances of practices that fell substantially below the Federal meat-inspection standards in these intrastate plants; is that correct?

"Mr. Chizek. Yes, sir.

"Senator Mondale. Would you give a few examples, if you will.

"Mr. Chizek. I did not visit any slaughtering plants. These were basically processing plants that I visited in 1967 and so the deficiencies there were mainly in the nature of additives and poor sanitation.

"Senator Mondale. Would you give a few examples?

"Mr. Chizek. More specific than that?

"Senator Mondale. Yes.

"Mr. Chizek. This was in the summer months—in July. And some of the screenings were off these buildings, flies were abundantly present, mold and slime present on the ceilings and walls of various coolers, debris and trash lying freely about in some of the operating areas as well as storage areas.

"Employes not being required to wear any type of washable clothing. Equipment left to sit overnight at room temperatures, or perhaps even longer periods without any adequate sanitation procedures—to be used again the following morning."

A TOUGHER PROPOSAL

The bill that emerged Nov. 27 for debate on the Senate floor was tougher than the House-passed version. It required the states to match Federal meat-inspection standards, and enforce them, within two years or face Federal take-over of the state inspection job. Matching funds to help the states improve their own systems were authorized. Involved were all 15,000 plants not then subject to Federal meat-inspection regulations because they weren't engaged in interstate commerce.

As Mr. Michael's memo indicates, inspectors also had been told to get samples of non-Federally inspected meat products on sale in retail food stores. These samples, it has been learned, were sent to USDA meat-inspection laboratories for analysis. A total of only 162 samples collected from around the land were tested. Of these, 39 products met all Federal meat-inspection standards. The other 123 samples were said to show a total of 259 violations of Federal standards due to excessive water, excess nonmeat fillers, and use of various additives such as ascorbate, phosphates, and nitrites in products where they are prohibited by Federal standards.

"A DEEP SENSE OF OUTRAGE"

Senator Mondale in a long speech in the Senate seized on this sampling as a major point in his argument that ". . . The revelations of the last few weeks, and information received in the hearings, have provoked a deep sense of outrage on the part of consumers. . . . Mr. President, well might we insist upon immediate Federalization of all plans under state control. . . ."

During Senate debate on the bill, Senator Mondale inserted into the Congressional Record enough of the investigators' reports, set in small type, to cover seven pages. There was little substantive debate; the Senate completed action on the measure in two days.

A joint House-Senate conference committee quickly convened to try to reconcile the milder House version with the stronger Senate bill. What emerged was, essentially, the Senate bill. Both Houses approved the conference version on Dec. 6. Nine days later, President Johnson signed the law.

In the ceremony at the White House, Mr. Johnson read these words taken from one Federal inspector's report: ". . . Beef was being broken on an open dock, by a dirt road, in 95-degree weather. There were flies in meat. Drums of bones and meat scraps were covered with maggots."

Subsequently, John P. Orcutt, Colorado's commissioner of agriculture, identified the plant that Mr. Johnson had referred to and stated the conditions cited were not so. He said the dock is located adjacent to a paved street—not a dirt road—and that the plant's owner flatly denies there was any truth in the inspector's report. He quotes the owner as stating: "Beef is not broken (cut up) on our dock and never has been. . . . If this so-called inspector saw any meat scraps or bones in drums, he must be a contortionist, as our bone barrels are stored bottom side up." Mr. Orcutt says the plant owner insists the Federal inspector never entered the processing area of the plant and so he couldn't have seen the barrels in use.

A diligent effort to determine precisely how and why the quickie survey came about turns up no definitive answers. It is known, however, that many congressmen were not impressed by the results of an old USDA survey made in 1962. Though it was an extensive and serious study of meat-inspection operations, the facts in it were well-dated by the summer of 1967. This, incidentally, did not discourage publicists, public and private, from dramatically citing those stale findings to marshal support for fresh legislation last year.

The man in the Agriculture Department who initiated the survey was Rodney Leonard.

"Mr. Purcell [Rep. Graham Purcell, the Texas Democrat who is chairman of the House Agriculture subcommittee] asked us to update the old survey made in 1962 showing that many of the non-Federally inspected plants were in bad shape," Mr. Leonard says. "We knew that many states had passed new meat-inspection laws and had strengthened old ones. But we also knew, through our compliance and evaluation activities, that actual enforcement of good sanitation and good meat inspection wasn't much better than it was in 1962."

Mr. Purcell says he may have asked Mr. Leonard to update the old survey at the request of some of the other subcommittee members. "Representative Foley, perhaps, and others," he says. "I personally thought we had a good bill and that additional surveys weren't needed." Indeed, the new survey's timing and effect were peculiarly unsuited for Mr. Purcell's purposes. The furor the survey caused torpedoed the mild meat-inspection bill that emerged from the House subcommittee, which was basically the bill Mr. Purcell himself had introduced.

Mr. Leonard continues: "I told Bob [Dr. Robert K. Somers, chief of the meat-inspection service] to try to make the survey. I did it. I should have been more specific about how to handle it."

Dr Somers relayed Mr. Leonard's request to Berlin H. Rorem, acting director of the compliance and evaluation staff. It was Mr. Rorem who telephoned the C&E's field offices and got matters rolling.

On July 27, Mr. Michael wrote his memo. When The National Observer called his office last week to talk with him, a reporter was told he was sick at home. Mr. Leonard says Mr. Michael explained recently that he wrote the memo in such explicit form because some of his staff members were new to his office and he wanted to make sure nobody misunderstood what was expected. Mr. Michael has been in the meat-inspection service for more than 20 years.

Mr. Rorem says his memory is dim as to precisely what he said in telephone calls to the C&E's six field offices in Dallas, Kansas City, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Atlanta. He does deny he told anyone to call it "Project Quick, Quiet, and Confidential."

"I certainly didn't tell anyone to look for 'horrible examples,'" Mr. Rorem says. "I didn't have to. Those men are experienced inspectors. They knew where to go, what to look for, and how to write their reports."

It might be added that they also know how to follow orders.

U.S. GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL, TOP PRIORITY, RUSH PROJECT

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
CONSUMER AND MARKETING SERVICE COMPLIANCE AND EVALUATION STAFF,
Dallas, Tex., July 27, 1967.

To: All Dallas Area, Compliance Officers.
From: Wilbur F. Michael, Officer in Charge.
Subject: Special Project QQ&C (Quick, Quiet and Confidential).

Effective immediately, we are to discontinue all other C&ES work and devote full time (plus any overtime necessary to effectively complete this assignment) to "Project QQ&C." Overtime will not be authorized for travel.

The information we will gather at Non-Federally Inspected (NFI) plants in this effort is to be used at Congressional hearings now being held in connection with the proposed amendment (HR–6168) to the Meat Ispection Act.

For the purpose of this project, the following areas of responsibility are assigned: Barrett—Colorado and Oklahoma; Halverson—Arkansas; and Ramos—Texas and Louisiana.

We have been designated to make this "survey" since our presence in NFI plants would attract less attention than any other USDA personnel, as we are normally in and out of these plants.

This project consists of 3 parts, as follows:

1. You are to gain entrance into NFI plants (slaughter and/or processing) under the guise of (a) meeting local inspection personnel to gain cooperation in our normal C&ES work, (b) discussing our denaturing and decharacterizing requirements with management, (c) etc. This should be done quickly and quietly in such a manner that no one is aware of the real purpose of your visit. This will require a very discreet approach and may tax your imagination. Other approaches used to gain entrance to NFI plants are: (1) requesting management's permission to check their freezers for product bearing Federal Marks of Inspection that might be forged or counterfeit. (2) explaining to and showing management how Federal Marks of Inspection must be obliterated before used containers are filled.

The sole purpose of your visit is to observe, and for each plant visited, submit a written report direct to B. H. Rorem, Acting Director, C&ES, USDA, South Agric. Building, Room 2614, Washington, D.C. 20250, (copy to me), *listing any deficiencies noted that indicate a need for tighter inspectional controls*. You are not to limit your observations to the following, but examples of things to be checked are: (a) *Plant Facilities*—window and door screens, drainage, types of floors, ceilings and walls, lighting, welfare facilities, equipment, etc., (b) *Environmental Sanitation*—Availability of sterilizers for equipment used on diseased or contaminated meat, hand washing facilities, cleanliness of employees and their clothing, spitting on floor, cleanliness of equipment (describe *type* of dirt or filth, stipulate amount only if excessive), etc., (c) *Inspectional Procedures*—lack of or inadequate ante and post mortem inspection, temperaturing of cooked product containing pork, labeling controls, etc., (d) *4-D type Animals Held in livestock pens for Slaughter*—Cancer-Eye, downers, deads, cripples, (e) *Plant Operations Procedures*—meat and/or product in contact with floors, contamination of carcasses with manure, pus, dirt, etc., in dressing operation, deceptive packing, etc.

Plants selected for this survey will be those in which you would expect to find the most discrepancies. In other words, look for "horrible examples."

2. In 1963, Dr. M. R. Clarkson prepared a report concerning a comprehensive fall and winter survey made in 1962 by MID of *intrastate* meat packers and processors in 48 states. Their report showed there was widespread use of false or deceptive labels or packing and that much intrastate meat contained diseased tissues and spoiled, putrid, filthy materials.

Please submit a report to me stating what each of the states you are concerned with, has accomplished in the way of corrective measures (as new laws, etc.) since 1963.

3. You are to each collect a minimum of *five* retail samples of NFI produced meat food product. If time permits and you find additional products you feel should be sampled, feel free to do so. It is expected that most of this sampling will need to be done on Saturday and Sunday. This will leave the weekdays through next Wednesday for your survey of NFI plants. Incidentally, all of this work must be completed by Wednesday, August 2, 1967.

The samples are to be air mailed to the Meat Inspection Laboratory, U.S. Court and Customhouse Building, 1114 Market Street, St. Louis, Missouri 63101. You should select products you believe might be violative. Be sure you get labels if available. Labels should be attached to the 6th copy of the MI–422, which will be mailed directly to Rorem. You keep the 7th copy and mail 5th copy directly to me. Original and all other copies should accompany the sample. If hamburger is sampled, be sure it is produced in a meat plant and not ground by the retail store. Purchase and use dry ice you feel necessary to pack with your sample. Contact your nearest MI office for sample mailing containers, bags, etc.

Attached is a specimen copy of MI–422 to be used as a guide in their preparation. Be sure all information shown on the specimen is included. In block No. 3, show "Non-Inspected–1" for your first sample, "Non-Inspected–2" for your 2nd sample and so on.

Use the attached chart to determine the particular analyses you desire laboratory to do. Desired analyses not printed in blocks on the MI–422 should be written in the "other" blocks.

Also attached for your use is a paper listing "Analysis Which the MI Laboratories are Able to Perform," including species determination and coagulation tests to determine highest temperature attained in cooked products. Suggest this analysis be made on smoked sausage to determine if possible live trichinae have been destroyed.

In your reports of plant "surveys" it is suggested you use dramatic, graphic terms with impact, such as cancer-eye, pus, manure, disease, excreta, cockroaches, rats, flies, loose paint, cobwebs, rust, grease, overhead dripping sewer lines, toilet facilities, mice, flour, excess water, chemicals, excess fat, etc., instead of other more acceptable terms. Of course, you must be factual in your reports. Try to find evidence of contaminants on the meat if possible.

Please keep in daily contact with this office and give us telephone contact points, etc., where you might be reached.

Enclosed are pre-addressed "franks" for the St. Louis Laboratory.

I am to phone Mr. Rorem next Monday to report our progress.

Enclosures—4.

THE QUESTION OF WIRETAPPING

HON. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, with the passage last week by the Senate of the crime-in-the-streets bill much national attention was focused on the question of wiretapping. Recent public statements by knowledgeable persons and stories in the newspapers by eminent journalists have also brought the spotlight to rest on this very important legal and moral matter.

Since I have received mail on this subject from my constituents, I would like to make as a matter of public record my views on wiretapping.

Wiretapping is of great concern to me. It is an instrument with the potential for much good, for instance to combat crime. Yet, improperly utilized, it can cause great damage to our sacred individual rights. For that reason I feel that the jurisdiction over wiretapping should come under close Government scrutiny. Not everyone should be authorized to allow wiretapping. I believe that because of its wide ramifications, wiretapping authority should be entrusted only to the President of the United States and used only in matters of vital national security for the national defense.

Wiretapping could also be authorized on court order, similar to search warrants now issued on the request of law-enforcement officials. This would mean that a wiretapping order would be granted only after a police officer had made a thorough determination that it was necessary for the prosecution of a certain case and had sufficient evidence to prove this request before a court of law. Only after proof was given would the court issue the wiretapping order.

I believe that if we concentrate the power to authorize wiretapping in the hands of the courts of law and the President of the United States, we will prevent its abuse.

ISRAEL'S 20TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, May 15 marked the 20th anniversary of the State of Israel. I am pleased to pay tribute to the noble people who have succeeded in building a strong nation in a strategic part of the world despite enormous obstacles.

The development of Israel is one of the great success stories of this century. In 1948 when Israel proclaimed her independence she did not know which nations were her friends. With hostile nations surrounding her and a large portion of the land within her boundaries considered wasteland, Israel faced tremendous problems. Many of these problems have been overcome.

Israel has transformed much of her land into a highly productive state. Three-fourths of her food is now home grown and the value of agricultural production has increased tenfold in 20 years.

While the people of Israel are peace-loving, they have shown their enemies that they have the military strength and the determination to deal with aggressive acts. They are a permanent nation of the free world.

The United States, under the leadership of President Harry S. Truman, was the first nation to recognize the State of Israel. We should all be proud of the bonds of friendship which have grown since our first act of faith in behalf of Israel 20 years ago.

It is a privilege to congratulate the people of Israel on their great success. I believe each anniversary will mark even greater advances.

FEDERAL BUSINESS GAINS FROM FREE TRADE

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it is quite encouraging to note the proposals contained in the President's Trade Expansion Act of 1968. There are two major areas in which the President's international trade recommendations seem to have particular significance.

The first is concerned with the elimination of the American selling price valuation system. At the present time, the U.S. chemical industry is the primary beneficiary of the ASP. Forty years ago, the ASP performed a needed function for what was then a young, struggling industry. But today the U.S. chemical industry is a formidable competitor in world chemical trade and the ASP is no longer needed to sustain it.

Our country's trade negotiators have been successful in obtaining significant concessions directly beneficial to our domestic chemical industry in exchange for the elimination of the ASP. But, we must act first, in order to gain the benefit of those concessions.

The President's Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will enable us to get those benefits.

The second area of importance under the new trade legislation concerns adjustment assistance for American workers and firms that are adversely affected by import competition.

In 1962 when we first adopted the Trade Expansion Act, we gave solemn assurances that help would be forthcoming for workers and firms adversely affected by our trade concessions. For various reasons, we have not been able to make good on that commitment.

Happily, the proposals in the new trade legislation presented to the Congress today will correct this situation. I support the President's trade bill as beneficial to workers and business alike. His message follows:

GREATER PROSPERITY THROUGH WORLD TRADE

To the Congress of the United States:

A nation's trade lines are its life lines. Open trade lines and active commerce lead to economic health and growth. Closed trade lines end in economic stagnation.

Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized these truths more than thirty years ago, when the nation and the world were in the grip of Depression.

On that March day in 1934 when he asked the Congress to pass the historic Reciprocal Trade Act, he pointed to America's declining world trade and what it meant to the nation: "idle hands, still machines, ships tied to their docks."

That Act set in motion three and a half decades of descending tariff barriers and rising world trade. Our producers and farmers found new markets abroad, and American exports multiplied twenty-fold.

This era of commercial progress was capped by the Kennedy Round Agreements reached at Geneva last year—the greatest success in all the history of international trade negotiations.

When I reported to the Congress last November on the Kennedy Round, I said it would mean new factories, more jobs, lower prices to families, and higher incomes for American workers and for our trading partners throughout the world.

Already, through these Agreements, tariff barriers everywhere are falling, bringing savings to consumers, and opening new overseas markets for competitive producers.

But the problems and the promises of world trade are always changing. We must have the tools not only to adjust to change, but to turn change to our advantage.

To prepare for the era of world trade unfolding before us now, I submit to the Congress today the Trade Expansion Act of 1968. This measure will:

maintain our negotiating authority to settle—advantageously—trade problems and disputes.

carry out the special Geneva agreement on chemicals and other products.

improve the means through which American firms and workers can adjust to new competition from increased imports.

OUR INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will strengthen relations with our trading partners in three ways.

First, it will extend through June 30, 1970 the President's authority to conduct negotiations for tariff reductions. This authority was contained in provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 that have expired.

Most of this authority was used in negotiating the Kennedy Round. The unused portion of that Authority will give the President the flexibility to adjust tariff rates as future developments might require.

For example, the United States might find it necessary to increase the duty on a particular article—as the result of an "escape clause" action or a statutory change in tariff classification. In such event, we would be obliged to give other nations compensatory tariff adjustments for their trade losses.

Without this authority, we would invite retaliation and endanger American markets abroad.

I recommend that the President's authority to make these tariff adjustments be extended through June 30, 1970.

Second, the Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will eliminate the American Selling Price system of customs valuation. This action is necessary to carry out the special agreement reached during the Kennedy Round.

The American Selling Price system has outlived its purpose. It should be ended.

The generally accepted method of valuing goods for tariff purposes—which we and all our trading partners employ—is to use the actual price of the item to the importer.

But many years ago, to protect a few of our fledgling industries, we imposed on competing foreign goods—in addition to a substantial tariff—the special requirement that their tariff value be determined by American prices. Today this unusual system often produces tariff protection of more than 100 percent of the import cost of the product.

Such excessive protection is both unfair and unnecessary.

This system is unfair because it—

Gives to a few industries a special privilege available to no other American business.

Rests on an arbitrary method of valuation which no other nation uses.

Diverges from the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Imposes an unjustified burden on the U.S. consumer.

This system is unnecessary because the few industries which it covers no longer need special government protection.

It applies primarily to the chemical industry in the benzenoid field. Yet chemicals, and benzenoids in particular, are among our most efficient and rapidly expanding industries. They have done well at home. They have done well in the international market. They are in a strong position to face normal competition from imports.

A supplementary agreement was negotiated at Geneva which will lower foreign tariffs on American chemicals and reduce certain non-tariff barriers—road taxes and tariff preferences—on American automobiles and tobacco. To receive these important concessions, the United States must eliminate the American Selling Price valuation system and thereby give foreign producers of chemicals and a few other products normal access to our markets. This bargain is clearly in our national interest—good for our industries, good for our workers, and good for our consumers.

I recommend that the Congress eliminate the American Selling Price system to remove inequities in our tariffs and enable us to take advantage of concessions negotiated in the Kennedy Round.

Third, the Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will provide for specific funding of our participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

This is the procedure we follow in meeting our financial responsibilities to all other international organizations.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has become the most important forum for the conduct of international trade relations. The Kennedy Round took place under its auspices. Yet since 1947, we have financed our annual contribution to this Agreement through general contingency funds rather than through a specific authorization.

I recommend that the Congress authorize specific appropriations for the American share of the expenses of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

OUR NEEDS AT HOME

When trade barriers fall, the American people and the American economy benefit. Open trade lines:

Reduce prices of goods from abroad.

Increase opportunities for American businesses and farms to export their products. This means expanded production and more job opportunities.

Help improve the efficiency and competitive strength of our industries. This means a higher rate of economic growth for our nation and higher incomes for our people.

Some firms, however, have difficulty in meeting foreign competition, and need time and help to make the adjustment.

Since international trade strengthens the nation as a whole, it is only fair that the government assist those businessmen and workers who face serious problems as a result of increased imports.

The Congress recognized this need—in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962—by establishing a program of trade adjustment assistance to businessmen and workers adversely affected by imports.

Unfortunately, this program has been ineffective. The test of eligibility has proved to be too rigid, too technical, and too complicated.

As part of a comprehensive trade expansion policy, I propose that we make our adjustment assistance program fair and workable.

I recommend that Congress broaden the eligibility for this assistance. The test should be simple and clear: relief should be available whenever increased imports are a substantial cause of injury.

I intend to pattern the administration of this program on the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965. Determinations of eligibility will be made jointly by the Secretaries of Labor, Commerce and Treasury.

The adjustment assistance provisions of Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965 have been successful. They have well served American automobile firms and their workers as we have moved to create an integrated U.S.-Canadian auto market.

These provisions will expire on June 30. *I recommend that the Congress extend the adjustment assistance provisions of the Automotive Products Trade Act through June 30, 1971.*

TRADE INITIATIVES FOR THE FUTURE

The measures I have recommended today will help us carry forward the great tradition of our reciprocal trade policy.

But even as we consolidate our past gains, we must look to the future.

First and foremost, we must ensure that the progress we have made is not lost through new trade restrictions.

One central fact is clear. A vicious cycle of trade restrictions harms most the nation which trades most. And America is that nation.

At the present time, proposals pending before the Congress would impose quotas or other trade restrictions on the imports of over twenty industries. These measures would cover about $7 billion of our imports—close to half of all imports subject to duty.

In a world of expanding trade, such restrictions would be self-defeating. Under international rules of trade, a nation restricts imports only at the risk of its own exports. Restriction begets restriction.

In reality, "protectionist" measures do not protect any of us:

They do not protect the American working man. If world markets shrink, there will be fewer jobs.

They do not protect the American businessman. In the long run, smaller markets will mean smaller profits.

They do not protect the American consumer. He will pay more for the goods he buys.

The fact is that every American—directly or indirectly—has a stake in the growth and vitality of an open economic system.

Our policy of liberal trade has served this nation well. It will continue to advance our interests in the future.

But these are critical times for the nation's economy. We have launched a series of measures to reduce a serious balance of payments deficit. As part of this program, I have called for a major long-run effort to increase our trade surplus. This requires that we push ahead with actions to keep open the channels of trade.

Many of our trading partners have indicated a willingness to cooperate in this effort by accelerating some of their tariff reductions agreed to in the Kennedy Round, and by permitting the United States to defer a portion of our tariff reductions. Furthermore, a number of Western European countries are now taking more active steps to achieve a higher rate of economic growth. This promises to increase the demand for our exports and improve our trade position.

To take full advantage of the expanded trading opportunities that lie ahead, we must improve the competitive position of American goods. *Passage of the anti-inflation tax is the most critical action we could take now to strengthen our position at home and in world markets.* The tax measure I have recommended will help prevent destructive price increases—which can sap the vitality and strength of our economy. Continued rapid increases in our prices would mean fewer exports and higher imports.

Second, other nations must join with us to put an end to non-tariff barriers.

Trade is a two-way street. A successful trade policy must be built upon reciprocity. Our own trade initiatives will founder unless our trading partners join with us in these efforts.

The Kennedy Round was an outstanding example of international cooperation. But major non-tariff barriers continue to impede the free flow of international commerce. These barriers now block many U.S. products from competing for world markets.

Some non-tariff barriers violate provisions of the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade. We will step up our efforts to secure the prompt removal of these illegal restrictions.

Other non-tariff barriers may not be illegal, but they clearly hamper and hinder trade. Such barriers are found in all countries; the American Selling Price system is an example of one of our non-tariff barriers.

We have initiated a major international study to assess the effect of non-tariff barriers on world trade.

We have already begun action in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and other international organizations to deal with some of these non-tariff barriers.

Efforts such as these are an important element in our trade policy. All sides must be prepared to dismantle unjustified or unreasonable barriers to trade.

Reciprocity and fair play are the essential standards for international trade. America will insist on these conditions in all our negotiations to lower non-tariff barriers.

Third, we must develop a long-range policy to guide American trade expansion through the 1970's.

I have directed the President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations to make an intensive study of our future trade requirements and needs.

I would hope that Members of the Congress and leaders of Labor, Business and Agriculture will work with the Executive Branch in this effort. To help develop the foundations of a far-reaching policy, I will issue an Executive Order that establishes a wide basis for consultation and assistance in this important work.

AN EXPANDING ERA IN WORLD TRADE

The proposals in this message have been shaped to one purpose—to develop the promise of an expanding era in world trade

We started on this road three and a half decades ago. In the course of that journey, the American farmer, the businessman, the worker and the consumer have benefitted.

The road ahead can lead to new levels of prosperity and achievement for the American people. The Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will speed us on the way.

I urge the Congress to give this important measure its prompt and favorable consideration.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 28, 1968.*

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY, OF NEW YORK, RECEIVES HONORARY DEGREE

HON. DANIEL D. ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and colleague, the Honorable JOHN M. MURPHY, of New York, recently toured Korea, South Vietnam, and other areas in Southeast Asia. Mr. Murphy is no stranger to this area; it was his third battlefield inspection of Vietnam, and he had served in Korea during the Korean War, where he won the Distinguished Service Cross, the Nation's second highest award for bravery. While in Korea Mr. Murphy was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the Sung Kyun Kwan University in Seoul. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of Mr. Murphy's speech on that occasion:

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE JOHN M. MURPHY OF NEW YORK AT SUNG KYUN KWAN UNIVERSITY, SEOUL, KOREA, UPON RECEIVING AN HONORARY DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS, APRIL 15, 1968

The university occupies a key position in the life of a nation. As the depository for the cultural and intellectual wealth of a nation, the university provides the stability and continuity necessary to preserve and protect the nation's identity.

Regardless of changes in government or rule, whether they be internal or external, as long as the university survives, the nation will be assured of retaining its sense of purpose and direction and meaning.

As an American I cannot help be impressed with the longevity of your university. In the United States our oldest and most distinguished universities are only a few hundred years old. Sung Kyun Kwan University has been in operation for nearly a millennium, and was training leaders for your nation before my country had even been discovered.

But while a university is a link with the past, it is also a bridge to the future, while it preserves the old, it must also discover the new; it must be flexible enough to meet the demands of a changing world without sacrificing the strength and stability it derives from its ancient heritage.

Sung Kyun Kwan University has successfully met this dual responsibility. It met the impact of Western Civilization in the 19th century by introducing a new educational system to reap the benefits of both Eastern and Western culture; the year 1895 marks the date when your modern university was established.

Today, Sung Kyun Kwan University continues to play a leading role in the development of this nation. It is training a new generation of leaders who will lead Korea into the 21st century, just as it trained many of the leaders who today guide your nation.

But the university also fosters the educational, social and cultural development of the rest of the nation. It is both an example to be followed, and a stimulus to those who would follow. The great economic and social progress which today is so evident in Korea is directly indebted to this fine university.

In receiving this honorary Doctor of Laws Degree, I am honored first by the fact that this university occupies such a hallowed position in the history, both past and present, of your nation.

I am honored second because I feel very close to both your country and your people. I helped in your effort to defend your freedom more than fifteen years ago, and since that time I have maintained close ties with my many Korean friends, both in my country an here in Korea. I have met many of your national legislators when they visited the Congress of the United States, and I found that we had much in common, both as individuals and as nations. I am also proud to say that I am an honorary citizen of Kyung Sang Nam Do province.

Third, I am honored because this degree is in a field which I consider to be the most important in any free society. As a Representative in the Congress of the United States, it is my job to help write the laws which guide my nation, and I believe that the strength of the nation depends in a large part on the strength of those laws.

Law is the fabric of our societies. It is the source of our strength, it gives order to our lives, and it provides the framework within which we can live and prosper as individuals to the fullest extent of our capabilities.

Basically law is an expression of the relationship between men. It sets forth this relationship in a formal manner, but it is essentially an acknowledgment that men must respect the rights of the individual, that men share a common purpose in life, that men desire to be free to pursue their own goals in life, and that to do so they must establish a legal framework which protects both their own rights and the rights of others.

This common understanding between men evolves into mutual respect among nations. For the rights claimed by an individual are those claimed by a nation. Just as individuals want the freedom to live their own lives, so do nations want this freedom; just as men realize that cooperation and mutual respect for the differences between them is essential for orderly development of any society, so must nations realize that cooperation and mutual respect are essential for the peaceful development of the world.

The United States and Korea have fought for this philosophy in the past, and we stand shoulder to shoulder today in Vietnam fighting for it once again. It is our common desire to live in peace under this philosophy, but it is also our common pledge to resist any attempt to destroy this philosophy.

It has been said that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." This has never been more true than it is today. Freedom cannot be sacrificed in one part of the world without endangering it throughout the world.

I am confident, however, that the universal desire for freedom will prevail on this planet, for freedom is the strongest force we know today. Man's technology has produced awesome weapons of mass destruction, but none has the power of an idea or a dream. Bombs can threaten to destroy much of the world, but the concept of freedom will eventually rule the world.

ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the great tragedy of these times is the subjugation of peoples under the Fascist-like dictatorship of Communists who now dominate the lands of Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and the Caucasus. One of the proudest of these nations is the Armenian people, its homeland now reduced to a puppet state in the U.S.S.R. But it was not always so. Just 50 years ago, the Armenians were a free and independent people with their own Government and their own state, without the bonds of tyranny or the chains of oppression.

The Republic of Armenia, patterned after the Republican government of the American system and some of the European nations, was born after the Great War amid the hopes of the Armenian people that they would finally realize their centuries-long dream of a free and independent nation of their own.

But the Armenians were unable to withstand the onslaught of other, more powerful countries. The Armenians had started their new country with the barest of resources and had believed they could coexist with their neighbors. Soon, Russia and Turkey were conspiring to end the Armenian dream of liberty. Just 2 years after the rebirth of Armenia that had once flourished as a proud nation before the rise of Greece and Rome, the Republic of Armenia succumbed to the strength of the Turkish and Russian Armies.

In those 50 years since the foundation of the Armenian Republic, other nations have come and gone, many forgotten by all but the historians. The principles of self-determination and freedom are expired dreams, lying in state with the nations that were created and nurtured on the slim hope that men would recognize the basic ideals of individual freedoms. The machinations of international diplomacy and power dealt the death blow to the Republic of Armenia because the world's free men did not care or would not be bothered with the struggling nation in the Caucasus Mountains.

But Armenia did not die in 1920, and the Armenian people did not end their valiant struggle for freedom, just as no free men surrender to the tyrants and the dictators who would lock the yoke of oppression around the neck of all men.

These people now living behind the barricades of intolerance and the thousands that live in exile, scattered across the world when their nation dissolved, have not forgotten Armenia. They will never relinquish their right to live again in their nation. It is their dream that one day the Armenians living in the U.S.S.R. and the Armenians denied the status of citizens will regain their nation.

On this 50th anniversary of the founding of the Armenian Republic on May 28, 1918, we, the free people of the world, must rededicate ourselves to the most basic principles of individual liberty under God—that all peoples should have the right to rule and govern themselves and be assured of a future for their children.

I congratulate the Armenians on this the anniversary of their Republic.

Theirs is not forgotten by free men.

REGRET FOR THE SITUATION IN WASHINGTON

HON. EDWIN W. EDWARDS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. EDWARDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I was looking forward to a visit by a group of patriotic high school students from Jennings, La. The group planned to visit Washington on June 6 and had made all the necessary arrangements, including a scheduled guided tour of the White House. For reasons best expressed in the letter which follows, the group has elected to cancel its trip to our Nation's Capital. How tragic that in this Nation, Americans are fearful to visit our Capital as a result of the unrest, violence, and turmoil here in Washington. It is a sad commentary and a poor example to people around the world who are striving for the freedoms we so often boast exist here in America. I hope that it is not unrealistic to believe that in the near future all American citizens will demonstrate a desire to restore peace and quiet, law and order and a respect for law and order in our Capital and in our beloved Nation. That is the kind of march, and demonstration we need in troubled America. Hopefully, we can address ourselves, as the freest people known to mankind, to our sober and law-abiding ways and in full respect for the rights and privileges of all American citizens.

Mr. Speaker, I insert herein the letter received from these students and join with them in expressing my own regrets anent the situation now existing in Washington:

JENNINGS HIGH SCHOOL,
Jennings, La., May 16, 1968.

HON. EDWIN EDWARDS,
House of Representatives, Seventh District, Louisiana, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. EDWARDS: This is a letter of thanks, regret and anger that we believe must be written.

First, thank you very much for taking such a strong interest in our proposed trip to Washington, D.C., and arranging for the trip through the White House that seemed to have such strong appeal to the students.

Secondly, we regret to inform you that we have been forced to cancel our trip to Washington A vast majority of the parents felt that this was necessary. We realize that we may have been able to have stayed in Washington for a month and not have seen any violence, while possibly, one of our buses might have been in the wrong place at the wrong time and injury or worse may have occurred to our young people.

The angry part has to do with what I am sure you and the majority of other Americans believe very strongly. Our first reaction after having to cancel the trip was one of sorrow because so many young people had looked forward to this trip for such a long time and then to have it taken away from them was indeed a sorrowful thing. But the final reaction that set in, the one that is still very strong in us today, is one of anger—anger at the very thought that this country, which is so great and mighty and wealthy and has for so long upheld the foundations of freedom, would have allowed events to advance to the point that a group of high school students, intent on studying their nation's history and government, had to cancel a trip to their nation's capital. What has become of our freedom of travel? What has become of our freedom to pursue our educational goals? We don't know what has happened to them; we can only say we are very angry!

Again we say, thank you Congressman Edwards. The parents of this group really appreciate what you have done for us. I, also, would like to express my gratitude for your help.

Respectfully,

J. W. Adcock, Carolyn Ford, Glenda LeGros, Nancy Ford, Randy Sonnier, Ronald Billodeaux, Jimmy Doucet, Matt Dees, John Conner, Jr., Ann Spurry, Alice Marie Lockey, Buddy Bloch, Calvin Mire, Matt Hebert, Randy May, Ronald Wilkinson, Jeannie Adams Sandy Caldwell, Polly Mire, Diane Bertrand, Karla Nelson, Charlotte Cormier, Charles Patrick LeGros, Wally Constant, Jill Hebert, Valerie Dailey, Brenda M. Lejeune, Evelyn Settlemyer, Judy Pousson, Chris Vicknair, Connie Davis.

ELECTION PERIL AT PANAMA

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in a statement to the House on "Peril at Panama" in the RECORD of March 28, 1968, I commented on the much publicized attempt by the present National Government of Panama to control the outcome of this Isthmian country's presidential election in favor of the government's candidate and against the opposition.

In the May 12 election there were three aspirants for the presidency of Panama: David Samudio, the government candidate; Dr. Arnulfo Arias, the candidate of the opposition; and Dr. Antonio Gonzalez Revilla, candidate of the small Christian Democratic Party.

In contrast with the election practice in the United States, where the results of an election would be known in the night immediately following the vote, the results in Panama of the May 12 election are not yet known nor is it known when such announcement will be made. It seems clear, however, from returns of the workers for the three candidates that Dr. Arnulfo Arias was the winner. Such delay can be explained only by the manipulations of the parties in power.

The forces supporting the government's candidate, according to popular judgment in Panama and as given by prominent and objective newspapers with observers on the spot, is that the government of Panama is delaying action on the counting and announcement of the results of the vote for the purpose of formulating and putting into practice fraudulent procedures to defeat the majority of the voters.

Thus, in two news stories from Panama City by James Nelson Goodsell in the Christian Science Monitor of May 21 and 27, 1968, he cites open declarations by supporters of the government candidate that their purpose is to defraud the winner of his majority in favor of their own candidate; also that candidate Samudio has stated:

> We can do away with 25,000 (votes) but how can we get rid of 50,000?

The National Guard of Panama, which previously favored the government candidate, has recently announced that it will recognize as valid the vote as finally announced by the Panamanian Board of Scrutiny. Certainly, Panama, by its own actions, has again revealed its inherent political instability.

Because of the strategic importance of the Panama Canal the people of the United States have every right to be deeply concerned about the current situation at Panama.

They wish the candidate who received the required number of votes to be declared the winner and thus to see a constitutional outcome ensue with the course of fair play and justice observed. Just such a condition as now obtaining in Panama adds to the apprehension on the part of the U.S. Congress concerning Panamanian stability and the security of the Canal Zone and Panama Canal.

Because of their relevance, I quote as part of my remarks the indicated news stories by James Nelson Goodsell; also two editorials from important newspapers denouncing what has been transpiring in Panama:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 21, 1968]

PANAMA AWAITS VOTE REVIEW

(By James Nelson Goodsell)

PANAMA CITY.—Panama's long-drawn-out electoral drama shifted over the weekend to the high-ceilinged hall of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture here.

Seated at one end of the hall was Junta Nacional de Escrutino—the national board of scrutiny, composed of one member from each of the 10 parties represented in the May 12 presidential election.

Before the group were official papers from the first of 1,360 polling places throughout the nation.

The board's task: to decide whether David Samudio, the government candidate, or Dr. Arnulfo Arias, the opposition candidate, will be Panama's next president.

Mr. Samudio, a former finance minister in the Cabinet of outgoing President Robles, continues to claim a small margin of about 5,000 votes.

But, Dr. Arias also claims victory—by close to 50,000 votes.

And Dr. Antonio Gonzalez Revilla, candidate of the small but growing Christian Democratic Party, says his party's computations show a clear Arias victory.

BIG QUESTION POSED

In fact, most observers here tend to accept an Arias plurality. Then the question arises: Why shouldn't he be declared president?

Part of the answer lies in the attitude of government politicians. There is deep-seated bitterness between Arias and many in the government, going back many years to the previous two Arias presidencies. People in the Robles government do not want to see Arias president and have vowed to do all within their power to keep him from the presidency.

The tactic now seems to be one of delay in certifying the vote, allowing time for maneuver or, as one independent politician said, "allowing time for a miracle to happen."

The government-controlled electrical tribunal, which ordinarily gives results before the national board of scrutiny reviews the vote, has so far refused to issue any official returns.

ARIAS BACKING STRONGER

And thus the whole election focus has fallen on the board of scrutiny, which met for the first time Saturday and continued a rather confused meeting schedule Sunday and Monday.

The board's members include representatives from five parties supporting Dr. Arias, four supporting Mr. Samudio, and one from the Christian Democratic Party which has accepted an Arias victory. The government can vote only in case of a tie.

Thus on the surface of things, Arias forces appear stronger with six votes than Samudio forces with four.

This surface strength showed up over the weekend in various votes on procedural matters. A majority called for the vote review to begin with Panama City and then to go through the provinces in order of population. Traditionally, the vote review has taken provinces in strict alphabetical order.

EARLY LEAD VALUED

A debate over where to start counting may seem unimportant, for it will not change the vote, but to the parties involved it was a question of major importance. Panama City is conceded to be pro-Arias, and an early lead in the vote review was felt to be an important advantage by the Arias group.

Samudio supporters then got into the picture by obtaining an order from the electoral tribunal that the vote count follow alphabetical order. This was rejected by Arias supporters, who said the electoral-tribunal order was unofficial since it was not published in the nation's official gazette, having been issued on Sunday when the gazette is not published. And so it went.

The first polling places to undergo review late Sunday were in Panama City. Polling place No. 1 gave Dr. Arias 150 votes and Mr. Samudio 111.

The whole process of review is proving slow. In the first three hours, only 14 polling places had been certified.

LONG HAUL EXPECTED

A long haul in this vote review is expected.

Apparently an Arias landslide would result in a difficult change result. The government tactic, as outlined to this reporter by one highly placed supporter of Mr. Samudio, is to "stall, stall, stall while we see what happens."

His comment came after that of still another Samudio supporter who virtually admitted the Arias lead. "We can do away with 25,000," he said, "but how can we get rid of 50,000?"

That question remains unanswered. But there are some people here who are convinced the government would find a way. At the same time if the board of scrutiny shows up a major Arias lead, it is going to be hard to deny him the presidency.

GUARD PROMISES RESPECT

Then, too, the National Guard, in a highly unusual statement, said it would "abide by and respect" the decision of the board of scrutiny.

The Guard is a small, efficient, United States-trained force. It has often played a role in Panama politics. It helped twice in deposing Dr. Arias from the presidency and has frequently indicated opposition to the former president.

Indeed, there is little friendship between Dr. Arias and Brig. Gen. Bolivar E. Vallarino, the guard commander.

But the Guard is not necessarily pro-government.

The statement saying it will respect the decision of the board of scrutiny indicates the Guard has decided, at least for now, to keep out of the political struggle. And in so doing, it has given a big boost to the Arias forces.

But it probably will be some weeks before a definite answer is available to the question of who is Panama's president-elect.

[From the Washington Daily News, May 24, 1968]

Bad Odor in Panama

It would take a spray can four stories tall to cover up the stench given off by the unscrupulous gentlemen trying to hang onto political power in Panama.

The bare facts tell the story of record-breaking chicanery by the government party. The elections were held May 12. The public is still waiting for the official results. Who got the most votes is no secret. The adding up of ballots got through 1295 of the 1341 tables, at which point it became obvious the opposition candidate, Dr. Arnulfo Arias, was going to beat the government man, David Samudio. So the stalling began.

Despite the tactics of Samudio's cronies, eventually the National Election Board is bound to complete its arithmetic. The ruling oligarchs have one more card; they control the Electoral Tribunal that has the power to overrule the election board. But the National Guard, Panama's army-police, which has been pro-Samudio, surprised many by declaring it will uphold the election board's finding.

Panama may still be in for renewed street fighting, or even civil war, before the election is finally "over."

Meanwhile to date, the conduct of overridingly ambitious politicians has given the entire Western Hemisphere a lesson that democracy can be crushed and mutilated not only by the likes of Fidel Castro and his communists, but by rich, hypocritical "aristocrats" who defile the basic instrument of democracy, the fair election. They, too, are a disgrace to the Hemisphere.

[From the New York Times, May 21, 1968]

Panama's Shame

A six-month power struggle within the narrow elite that runs Panama has now culminated in a fraud-ridden Presidential election, sporadic violence and a delayed vote-count—all of which threaten what passes in Panama for constitutional government. The country's 350,000 voters went to the polls a week ago Sunday, but it will be several weeks more before the official results are tallied and certified.

President Marco Robles is trying desperately to force the election of his candidate, former Finance Minister David Samudio. Opposition candidate Arnulfo Arias, in the opinion of most observers, obtained too large a lead in the capital city to be easily overcome even by a manipulated provincial vote. But two election boards are involved in determining the results, one controlled by the government, the other with an opposition majority, and the outcome remains in doubt.

The conflict has traced a bizarre course from the beginning, centering on personalities and clan allegiances rather than substantive issues. President Robles' choice of Mr. Samudio as his successor split the country's oligarchy. Four of the eight parties in his Government coalition broke away. They threw their support to Dr. Arias, a former President and leader of the country's largest party, giving the opposition a majority in the National Assembly.

The Assembly impeached, then removed Mr. Robles but Mr. Robles refused to surrender office. The National Guard, which serves as army and police, supported him until the pro-Robles Supreme Court declared the impeachment unconstitutional.

The United States is embarrassed in two ways.

The National Guard, with a strongly anti-Arias commander, will be tempted to stage a military coup if Dr. Arias is declared the winner. With its American advisers, equipment and training, the Guard is regarded as an American instrument by many Panamanians.

Meanwhile, new treaties concerning the Panama Canal, completed with Mr. Robles last summer, cannot be put through until the new President is installed. For the United States, the need is for great circumspection. It is a moment of shame for Panama, a failure in self-government out of which Panamanians alone can extricate themselves.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 27, 1968]

Panamanian Politics at Crossroads

(By James Nelson Goodsell)

Panama City.—Ever since Vasco Núñez de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and sighted the Pacific early in the 16th century, Panama has been the cross roads of the New World.

Long before the Panama Canal was built early in the 20th century, Panama had become a natural lifeline between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans—and a melting pot of peoples, allegiances, and ideas.

Its history has been chaotic—not only since it became independent at the turn of the century, but also earlier in Spanish colonial years and in an era when it was simply an appendage to Colombia.

In recent months, this history erupted again in a violent clash of men and allegiances. A power struggle for control of the Isthmian Republic of 1.3 million people culminated May 12 in the presidential election which may prove to have been one of the most fraudulent in Panamanian history.

LEADERS HOLD ON

Those in power today are just as unwilling to turn over power to others as their Spanish colonial ancestors were in the 16th century.

"Our history has a way of repeating itself," a young lawyer said here this week as he surveyed the election aftermath without any declared winner.

"We have the trappings of constitutional government," he added, "but trappings and little more. Things have changed little from Spanish times when Balboa, then Pedrarias [Pedro de Arias, a ruthless Spanish colonial official] and then others ruled this land."

In the presidential vote, more than 350,000 Panamanians went to the polls—and apparently chose opposition candidate Arnulfo Arias as their president by a 50,000-vote margin. But the government of Marco Aurelio Robles is doing what it can through alleged manipulation and admitted delaying tactics to prevent Dr. Arias from taking office.

SAMUDIO BACKED BY ROBLES

The Robles administration wants its candidate, David Samudio, former Finance Minister, to be Panama's next president.

The trouble is that government people here are finding it hard to "eat" 50,000 votes, as one government supporter called it the other day. The tactics of delay, employing a complicated election law, are being used by the Robles-Samudio team. With two election boards involved in determining the winners, there is plenty of opportunity for such tactics.

Politics here are based on personal loyalties and enmities—both of which run deep. But these loyalties and enmities can change, and often do. They did in this election when Panama's ruling oligarchs—several dozen families—split forces. Some went with Dr. Arias who, despite a family heritage in oligarchy, is something of a maverick.

What happens now as politicians maneuver to see who will be declared winner is an open question. The longer the Arias people await a decision, the more unhappy they will become. This could lead to many taking to the streets in support of Dr. Arias.

Already, a vicious, invective-filled campaign over the radio waves is part of the Panama scene. Radio stations operated by Fernando Eleta, Panama's foreign minister, and those supporting Mr. Samudio and Dr. Arias, are airing a variety of programs in which opponents are called everything from "sex deviates" to homosexuals to "illegitimate children."

It is the roughest personal sort of attack ever heard in Panama, according to long-time observers here who say, as one did this week, "Politicians here have stooped to new lows."

No one really knows what will happen. Panama's National Guard, a small but efficient military unit, may make the final decision—as it has frequently done in the past. How it will go is a major topic of discussion.

GUARD SAYS "HANDS OFF"

A few weeks ago it was thought the National Guard was on the side of President Robles and candidate Samudio. But now the picture has changed.

The Guard commander, Brig. Gen. Bolivar E. Vallarino, met last week with Dr. Arias. The guard subsequently issued a statement saying it would respect the decision of the National Board of Scrutiny in the election count. That board is composed of a pro-Arias majority.

AN EMERGING CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, the Poor People's Campaign has brought many civil rights leaders to Washington. Most of them are familiar figures from earlier and somewhat less tense days, but this Poor People's Campaign, the last dream of Dr. Martin Luther King, has brought at least one new leader to the national scene. Jesse Louis Jackson has long been active in the "movement" despite his youthful 26 years, but his new job as the city manager of Resurrection City has placed him in the position of being seen and known by everyone. The New York Times carried a feature on Mr. Jackson on Friday, May 24, after he quietly removed 300 campaigners from the front of the House Office Building. Feelings in the crowd were very tense because 18 members of the group had been arrested only moments earlier, but when Jackson arrived and talked with police and congressional officials, he was able to calm the group with a press conference and address in the Rayburn Building before they returned to Resurrection City.

I would like to commend Mr. Jackson for his actions on Thursday, for his dedication to nonviolence, and his determination to make Resurrection City work. For the benefit of those of my colleagues who did not see the Times profile, I am inserting the article following my remarks:

EMERGING RIGHTS LEADER: JESSE LOUIS JACKSON

WASHINGTON, May 23.—"We have been the nation's laborers, her waiters. Our women have raised her Presidents on their knees. We have made cotton king. We have built the highways. We have died in wartime fighting people we were not even mad at. America worked us for 350 years without paying us. Now we deserve a job or an income." The speaker was Jesse Louis Jackson, who at the age of 26, is one of the emerging leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

His speech was flawless as he preached what was undoubtedly the only revival sermon ever to come through a bullhorn through the third-floor hearing room of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in the Rayburn House Office Building.

Mr. Jackson, who is to be ordained a Baptist minister on June 30 in Chicago, is the city manager of "Resurrection City, U.S.A.," the shantytown headquarters of the Poor People's Campaign. He rushed to the Rayburn Building today after 18 of his townfolk were arrested.

After a quick conference with the police and Congressional officials, the arrests were stopped and the band of about 300, including newsmen, crowded into the hearing room for an hour and a half of song, prayer and Mr. Jackson's remarks.

Mr. Jackson looks like a leader. He is more than six feet tall and weighs more than 200 pounds. He always seems serious, and he rarely smiles. According to his friends, he can carry on a conversation with a white businessman on the sociology of the black ghetto one minute, and shout the language of "soul" to black gang leaders the next.

"And he hasn't forgotten how to talk to the people he grew up with," said Dr. Robert S. Moore, the dean of students at the Chicago Theological Seminary.

Mr. Jackson spent two full-time years at the seminary in 1964 and 1965 before his activities with "Operation Breadbasket," the economic uplift program of the leadership conference began taking most of his time.

The program, which Mr. Jackson now heads nationwide at the personal request of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was organized to provide jobs for low-income Negroes by posing the threat of a boycott on businesses who did not cooperate in the program.

BORN IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. Jackson was born in Greenville, S.C., on Oct. 8, 1941, the eldest of the two sons of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Henry Jackson. His father has worked as a maintenance man in the Greenville post office for more than a decade.

His mother, Mrs. Helen Jackson, remembers him as a "very handsome young man." He saved his money, she said, from jobs in a bakery, theater, drive-in restaurant and elsewhere. He also was a Boy Scout.

Mr. Jackson's right arm and his good high school grades got him into college. The University of Illinois offered him a football scholarship, which he accepted. But after a year there he transferred to North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro, a predominantly Negro school.

There, he became the all-American collegian—star quarterback, head of the student government, honor student, national officer of his fraternity, Omega Psi Phi. There, he also became interested in civil rights and led students into segregated restaurants in Greensboro.

At North Carolina A. & T., he met his future wife, Jacqueline. They live in South Chicago and have three children, Santita aged 5, Jesse Jr., aged 3, and Jonathan Luther, one year old.

BEEF IMPORTS AFFECT ADVERSELY EVERY U.S. CITIZEN

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the American cattlemen are becoming a vanishing race. Through no fault of the U.S. beef producers, the foreign imports of cheap meat are ruining the most basic American industry.

Because the cattleman must of necessity spend most of his time in the hills and has little time or talent for communicating his plight and problems to the Congress or the American consumer, under unanimous consent, I include an exceptionally good and informational article from the California Cattleman relating to the present and future U.S. foreign trade policy pertaining to the widening disparity of beef products between imports and U.S. exports.

FUTURE OF U.S. FOREIGN TRADE POLICY

(Statement of the American National Cattlemen's Association to the Trade Information Committee)

Beef imports have a direct impact on all levels of the U.S. beef and live cattle market. First, and most obvious, is that the family dining on imported beef is not in the market that mealtime for any domestic product, whether it be domestic ground beef from cows, steers, bulls or heifers or from fed beef roast or steak.

In 1967, imports of beef, veal and other meats subject to the 1964 import law were equivalent to 6.2 percent of U.S. commercial beef production.

The importation of inexpensively produced boneless beef from foreign sources has had a significant influence on packers and processors who no longer are, as a result of these imports, encouraged to actively bid for "two-way" cattle. There are animals generally weighing from 700 to 800 pounds which could go either into the feedlot or to the packer for slaughter and boning. By transferring their own labor and other costs to foreign nations, these packers sidestep active competition for a domestic supply of animals which has remained abundant, but which has gone, largely, for want of a better home, to the feedlot. In other words, since domestic packers and processors have such high labor costs and can purchase imported manufacturing beef for "blending" purposes for less than what they can afford to slaughter and bone out domestic two-way cattle in tthe U.S., they will do so, and as a result, directly contribute to too many fed beef animals.

Therefore, excessive imports in past years have led to a condition which contributes to the plight of the stockman in two basic ways: (1) Presenting direct competition with domestically produced beef for a significant number of "stomachs"; and (2) taking away competition for an even more significant number of "two-way" cattle that are domestic supply of ample quantities of lean beef, and measureably contributing to the oversupply of fed beef tonnage by increasing the average slaughter weights of these same cattle by 300 to 500 pounds.

United States export-import maladjustment must be corrected by taking it out of the realm of theory. Beef imports and objectives of foreign aid must be disassociated from commercial realities. Domestic beef producers can operate in no other way than upon hard business facts. Balancing low present gross income equivalent to 20 years ago with constantly inflating costs of operation, has become an impossible task.

No matter how production costs are held down by new efficiencies, costs beyond the pasture or feedlot have jumped so immensely that there is no opportunity to compete "big" in export trade except in certain offal or variety meat items.

There *is* an ample supply of beef available in the U.S. which could meet the demands and consumer preference at home and in some foreign countries, *providing* such beef could conceivably be made available to these countries on a competitive basis.

Dr. G. Alvin Carpenter, agricultural economist at the University of California, made an extensive survey on prospects for U.S. beef sales in Europe, published in December 1965, with the USDA as cosponsor. The report said, "Exports of U.S. chilled beef to Western Europe are overshadowed by three or four major impediments," and added "Major hindrance to moving U.S. beef to Europe is price . . . possibilities for narrowing this price gap are becoming less promising as we look into 1966. Unless sizeable reductions in ocean freight rates and other handling costs can be achieved, the price gap will still be too great to generate such trade . . ."

Since that report, the price gap generally has widened due to exceptional inflation in the U.S. while most European Countries have held down inflation.

Labor cost in food marketing, according to USDA, has increased at an average annual rate of four percent, or 42 percent in the past 10 years. Services went up by 24 percent and other items more than 4 percent. At the same time, meat imports into the U.S. have increased by 21 percent just in the three years since the Trade Expansion Act of 1964. And these added millions of pounds have entered the U.S. in such erratic pattern that normal marketing flow has been disrupted, at times as much as 42 percent over a previous month. No matter how carefully domestic beef producers may attempt to plan orderly marketing to even out price levels, they cannot program serious unknowns such as large irregular imports. (See Chart No. 1.)

The domestic beef cattle industry subscribes to the doctrine of "reasonableness" with respect to the importation of beef to the U.S. The 1964 meat import law was aimed in this direction but in practice has created severe irregularities that amount almost to "dumping" at certain periods when heavy domestic marketings are also present in the U.S. market. Chart No. 2 graphically shows the pattern of import flow and demonstrates the bulk of imports arrive in the U.S. at a time of high cow slaughter and thus create a price depressing effect on those domestically produced animals.

While other countries have imposed export subsidies and border taxes, the U.S. continues its policy of foreign aid and tariff concessions without regard to the domestic cattle industry.

We continue to support the basic market sharing approach, but economic disparity has become so pronounced that modification of the present meat import law is essential.

Particularly, meat imports into the U.S. must be leveled out so that during periods of domestic abundance a double price depressing effect will be alleviated. This is more important now in view of an intensified effort presently being made by cattle producers and feeders nationwide to bring domestic beef supplies into proper balance with effective demand.

We see the widening disparity of beef and cattle products between imports and U.S. exports. These cannot be overcome under any foreseeable circumstances because of domestic policies creating greater inflation and because of foreign policies which place foreign aid and balance of trade above commercial reality that guides private industry domestically.

If exports-imports are considered necessary for the benefit of the U.S. as a whole, then all the citizens should pay equally rather than place disproportionate cost upon the beef producing segment of the nation.

To further illustrate the present import-export situation affecting U.S. cattlemen, other countries demonstrated their unwillingness to share their market during the Kennedy Round in 1967. The breakdown in negotiations revolved around refusal of the participating countries, particularly in the EEC, to permit access for competing meats on any kind of equal basis. While the U.S. opens its borders to nearly a billion pounds of beef annually, as called for in the Meat Import Act of 1964, other countries adamantly keep it a one-way street. Indications are that future negotiations will not change the situation.

In summary, the U.S. producers are placed in the untenable position of "giving away" a large portion of their domestic market while the U.S. and other exporting nations are being prevented from gaining access to outside markets. Three factors beyond U.S. producers' control reveal their price-destroying position: (1) Refusal of foreign countries to agree upon mutually equitable trade terms; (2) Rising domestic inflationary costs that prevent profitable exchange; and (3) Unpredictable and erratic import supplies to the U.S. at prices that cannot be met by domestic producers and which depress the domestic market at frequent periods of oversupply.

Mr. Speaker, many industries of our Nation are plagued with problems. Many of these suffer from self-induced troubles. Numerous U.S. industries are facing devastating underselling from foreign competitors. Some U.S. industries have priced themselves out of the foreign markets. Some U.S. industries have failed to produce a product superior to competing foreign products. Although it is questionable how much the Federal Government should undertake to assist industries which overprice their products or which produce inferior goods, we in the Congress are importuned every day to come to the aid of just such an industry.

Some industries do not fit into this general practice.

The plight of the U.S. beef producer is as precarious as any U.S. industry facing foreign competition today. However, the U.S. beef producer did not cause his products to be overpriced, and his quality is the highest in the world. Furthermore, the beef industry may be our most important and strategic industry. Agriculture is our No. 1 industry, and beef is the No. 1 agricultural product. If our beef-producing industry is bankrupt by unfair, cheap foreign competition, we could not revive it in case of an international emergency.

Every Member of the Congress should understand the plight of the U.S. cattle producer and contemplate the consequences of the current conditions which are worsening, rather than improving.

REDWOODS

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in a statement which appears in yesterday's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I included an editorial from the Washington Post endorsing the exchange of the Northern Redwood Purchase Unit as a means of reducing the outlay necessary to acquire a Redwood National Park.

Today the New York Times in an editorial lends its voice in support of the Purchase Unit exchange.

In the view of the Times it is "critically urgent" that the Congress complete action on the Redwood Park this session. I agree.

I commend the Times editorial to the attention of my colleagues and to the readers of the RECORD by inserting it at this point:

DECISION TIME FOR REDWOODS

A House Interior subcommittee held the final round of hearings last week on bills to establish a Redwoods National Park. The Senate last year passed a bill to create such a park and the time for a decision is now approaching in the House.

As part of the compromise worked out in the Senate, the nationally owned Redwood purchase unit of 14,500 acres administered by the Forest Service would be traded to private timber companies in exchange for land to be included in the park. It was only to be expected that the Forest Service would resist such a trade, and Secretary of Agriculture Freeman duly set forth its objections in his testimony the other day. As a general principle, it is better for the Federal Government to buy the lands it seeks and not to engage in barter deals. These transactions only encourage private interests to shop around for desirable portions of the public domain and, as Secretary Freeman emphasized, unhealthy precedents can thus be set.

However, in this instance, the special purpose for which the purchase unit was set aside is no longer relevant and the fiscal pressures of the Vietnam war make it essential that the Government's financial outlay be kept to a minimum. Moreover, an emergency exists today because Georgia Pacific has with supreme arrogance already cut some of the historic trees that should have been saved for the park; and there is no certainty that the existing industry moratorium on logging inside the proposed park boundaries can be extended to next year.

Under the circumstances, it is critically urgent that the Congress complete action on a Redwoods National Park before the end of this session. The two-unit park envisaged in the Senate bill is smaller than this newspaper believes desirable, but it does afford protection to a portion of the beautiful trees in Redwood Creek as well as those in Mill Creek. The Senate bill is a minimum measure. Efforts to shrink it still further in the name of "economy" are tantamount to sabotaging the entire project.

FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF HARLINGEN, TEX.

HON. ELIGIO de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, it has recently come to my attention that the First Christian Church of Harlingen, Tex., was among the top award winners among winning youth, Chistian Endeavor societies and other local groups in the the International Society of Christian Endeavor's Christian youth witness program.

First place went to four Christian Endeavor societies of the New Cumberland Christian Church, New Cumberland, W. Va., for their "Sing Out," which challenged its audiences to stand up and be counted as loyal Americans and God-fearing citizens.

The second award was made to the 25 members of the high school group of the Harlingen, Tex., First Christian Church under the sponsorship of Mrs. H. R. Fuqua, herself an outstanding lady. These boys and girls entered a float in the community Christmas parade and took first honors in the church division. The float depicted a church with children inside at worship, carrying out the message, "Worship at the church of your choice."

Mrs. Fuqua said, and I can certainly verify the fact, that this annual project faced special difficulties in 1967. Because of the hurricane and floods in September school was delayed 3 weeks and many of the youth helped in the cleanup, thus giving the students less time for preparation for the parade December 8, and to top it all off, when the float was almost completed, there was another downpour which ruined the work already done so they had to begin again.

Undaunted, they started again from scratch, and the parade was viewed by

20,000 people, mostly youth, as well as untold thousands on television. Dick Ross was float chairman and Kathy Wetzel was president. The pastor, Rev. W. E. Davis, proudly says these young people carry their witness to the community by many acts of service as well as worshipping regularly in their own church.

Mr. Speaker, at the time my district was ravaged by Hurricane Beulah and the ensuing floods, I myself was moved to comment on the floor of this Chamber at which time I said:

> There is no beginning and there is no end of those who helped. Let me talk about the young people. You talk about the younger generation. You talk about the young people in high schools and in colleges and you see how they are publicized in what they are doing. But you should have seen the young people in my district (and Harlingen was in the area hardest hit by this disaster). They were filling sandbags. They were helping in the refuge shelters. They were acting as interpreters when there were people from Mexico. They were acting as runners for the Civil Defense organization and for the volunteer agencies such as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army. I do not have any question about the young people of my district. Oh, they might publicize someone who gets out of line now and then. But I think if we all look back, we were out of line now and then. I cannot do anything but commend the young people of that area because really I think we learned a lot from them. They brought the whole high school football teams and the coaches and teachers and worked as a team . . . that is how they filled the sandbags—when one sandbag made the difference between whether a city would be under water or not . . . so I think they publicize too much what the young people may do that is wrong. I am here to say that I saw what they did there and what they did was right, and, by golly, they did a lot of things that were right.

Mr. Speaker, what I said then still goes, not just for this group, of whom I am justly proud, but for the majority of our young people, and I think not just the winners, but the youthful participants in this witnessing program all over the country can be proud, and we can be proud of them. Thank you.

SPREAD THE WORD AND SAVE THE TAXPAYERS MONEY

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include here, for the wider reading it eminently merits, a most interesting and revealing article by the distinguished columnist, Carl T. Rowan, that appeared in last Sunday's issue of the Washington Star outlining the activities of the personnel in the Inspector General's office of the State Department in trying to save the hard-earned dollars of the American taxpayer for which these public servants are owed the deepest gratitude.

Mr. Rowan's article is especially timely and thought provoking as the Congress and the people face the challenge of establishing priority spending standards in order to maintain the financial stability of this country. Inherent in this recital is the silent admonition to all custodians of the taxpayers' money to "go now and do likewise," and I most earnestly hope the admonition is clearly heard and fully observed throughout the whole structure of our Government.

The article follows:

OUR TIRELESS, UNSUNG, DOLLAR-SAVING AGENTS

(By Carl T. Rowan)

One day last May two inspectors from the office of the State Department's Inspector General for Foreign Assistance were walking through a warehouse in Buenos Aires, Argentina. They found 18 large crates of tool kits that the Defense Department had shipped to Paraguay's Ministry of National Defense more than nine years earlier.

After the Inspector General's Office (IGA) proded the Defense Department, the crates finally reached their destination.

IGA inspectors analyzing vouchers last year discovered that the Agency for International Development (AID) was financing the shipment to the Dominican Republic of: James Bond lunch-kits, dolls' eyes, dolls' hair, cocktail napkins, champagne glasses, chrome hub caps, toy snakes, and bubble gum.

There were $84,572 worth of items on these vouchers that AID later determined were ineligible for shipment, and for which AID claimed reimbursement from the Dominican Republic government.

Last June, IGA inspectors walking the docks of Weehawken, N.J., came upon 16 tons of chains that had been "shipped" to Pakistan in 1965. The chains finally got to Pakistan last September.

Probably the most unsung group of people in the U.S. government are the officers of IGA. The 23 men who work under J. Kenneth Mansfield, the inspector general, and his deputy, Howard Haugerud, are the scourge of embassy incompetents the world over.

They have cost some people their jobs and caused others to face federal indictments.

They have also uncovered enough embarrassing situations in time for them to be corrected to prevent the entire foreign aid program from going down the drain. In this economy-minded Congress, only the most dramatic evidence that the State Department is effectively policing our military and economic aid programs has kept the foreign aid programs alive—weak though they are.

It was an IGA officer who tipped off former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara that the military was shipping ridiculous amounts of whisky into Vietnam.

The choicest brands of scotch, liquors, and wines were poured into Saigon in such profusion that nobody knew how much was where. Then an IGA man came upon a mountainous supply that the South Vietnamese were about to auction off. That brought the stream of whisky for Vietnam to a slow trickle.

It was also an IGA team which discovered that, although only 750 women in Vietnam were "eligible" to buy hairspray at U.S. PXs, the Pentagon was shipping in 100,000 to 200,000 cans each month.

An IGA protest stopped these exorbitant shipments—and deprived the GIs of a favorite bargaining commodity in Vietnamese fun houses.

These IGA officers, who shun the limelight, are not always viewed as a plague by our missions overseas. One team went to Peru last year and raised some harsh questions about lavish plans for a student union building at the La Molina agricultural university. Not only were the top two stories of the building postponed, at a saving of $1,250,000, but a senior AID official in Lima wrote:

"I count your calling the La Molina matter to our attention as the most useful of the services which your visit here rendered."

IGA inspectors are now toting up the many millions of dollars in foreign exchange that they have saved the U.S. over the last year—just by forcing the use of surplus local currency in some countries where dollars were being spent carelessly.

Mansfield's agents are popular with Congress, though possibly considered traitors by every other department in government, for a most unusual reason: though allocated two million dollars a year to carry out its work, IGA has never spent as much as a million dollars.

So IGA not only challenges the bureaucracy to do as it says, but to do as it does.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE START OF AIRMAIL SERVICE IN NATION AND IN PITTSFIELD, MASS.

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 50th anniversary of the inauguration of a great advance in bringing closer together Americans living everywhere across our broad land. For it was in 1918 that an adventurous pilot departed from this Nation's Capital in a fragile single-engine aircraft carrying for the first time a cargo of U.S. mail. With that initial flight, watched by a nervous Postmaster General on the ground, the Post Office Department's airmail service took off on a flight that has been characterized by ever swifter and more efficient delivery of the mails that are so essential to business, government, and happiness of separated families and friends.

Within 20 years of that first Washington to New York flight, mail was being flown coast-to-coast day and night in one-quarter of the time required by surface mail. Most smaller cities and towns in between, too, were benefiting from the faster airmail service.

Pittsfield, Mass., entered the airmail picture on May 19, 1938, so I am happy that 1968 is also the 30th anniversary of airmail service for my own hometown. In the beginning, Pittsfield served as the center collection point for all mail of Berkshire County destined for air transport. By 1949, scheduled flights to Albany, N.Y., were in effect and Pittsfield became sectional center for all western Massachusetts cities and towns. Daily air service to Springfield, Mass., and Albany began in 1965, and today there are, in addition, four round trip air taxi flights to New York carrying Pittsfield's daily average of 1,000 pounds of mail. As a result, Pittsfield is no further than 2 mail days away from any place in the Nation. Previous to the air taxi service, mail to and from the west coast sometimes took 5 days for delivery.

The continually improving mail service enjoyed by Pittsfield was a prime example of the progress being made nationwide in postal service. Using volume as one indicator, we see the 8.5 million pounds of mail carried by air in 1931 increased to over 250 million pounds by 1967.

Today 75 percent of all that mail is being delivered the day after mailing—much faster than the 7-day delivery time of 1922. As of January this year, the Post Office Department airlifted, not just airmail, but all first-class mail that could be expedited in any way by air transportation.

The price paid by Americans enjoying swift, efficient mail delivery in 1968 is 6 cents per letter, a far less expensive rate that the 24 cents an ounce charged for the 1922 airmail delivery.

I am happy to have the opportunity to serve on the House Post Office Appropriations Committee and to be able to have close and continuing contact with the Post Office Department and I am proud to be a resident of Pittsfield which has long played an important role in the development of mail delivery by air.

CONGRESSMAN PODELL RECEIVES A GIFT FROM THE YESHIVA OF FLATBUSH

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, on the 24th day of March 1968, the Yeshiva of Flatbush, one of the leading Hebrew parochial schools in the United States, held its annual dinner, at which time two outstanding members of the community, Mr. and Mrs. Irving Allerhand, were honored. Over 1,000 guests were assembled at the dinner, including an illustrious alumnus of the Yeshiva of Flatbush, the Hon. BERTRAM L. PODELL, our newest Member from the 13th Congressional District in Brooklyn, N.Y.

During his prepared remarks, Dr. Jack Walker, president of the yeshiva, surprised the audience by calling upon Congressman PODELL to rise for a presentation. In Mr. Walker's remarks he said the following:

Thank you Mr. Chairman. With your kind permission, I wish to depart from the program for a few moments to acknowledge the presence of a distinguished alumnus of the Yeshiva of Flatbush, a director of our institution and now a member of the House of Representatives of the United States of America. I am honored to call your attention to the Hon. Bertram Podell—our new Congressman—in recognition of his great achievement. The Yeshiva of Flatbush is proud to present a most meaningful gift, the symbol of our faith and identity as Jews; a mezuzah, to be affixed to the door of his new office in Washington.

Mr. Congressman, surely you associate the words on the seal of your Alma Mater, our Yeshiva, with the same words found in the Shema inscribed on parchment in the mezuzah, "and you shall teach them diligently to your children."

The Shema, the cornerstone of the Jewish faith and the Yeshiva, the cornerstone of our children's education are those lasting influences in their character training for loyal American citizenship and their legacy for moral, religious and ethical living. These traditions are also part of your fibre, to our great distinction and yours.

We are proud of you, our distinguished graduate, Mr. Congressman, for your achievement in the sphere of government and for your example of upright character and high idealism.

May G-d set in your heart the spirit of wisdom and understanding to uphold peace and freedom. May He bless all that you undertake on behalf of the citizens whom you represent.

At the conclusion of Dr. Walker's remarks, those who were sitting close to the Congressman saw that he was genuinely moved and he was heard to remark that this was one of the most touching moments of his life.

Shortly thereafter, Emanuel B. Quint, now a member of the board of trustees of the Yeshiva of Flatbush, went to Washington and in the presence of Congressman PODELL and his staff, proudly affixed the mezuzah to the doorpost of his congressional office.

Knowing our distinguished colleague, Congressman PODELL, as I do, I know that he is proud of the remarks made by Dr. Walker and of the mezuzah which is affixed to the doorpost of his office in Washington. Congressman PODELL can also be very proud of the high esteem in which he is held by the Yeshiva of Flatbush.

As a new Member of Congress, BERTRAM FODELL, with his background of experience in the New York State Legislature, is destined to become one of the leaders in the Congress of the United States and thus serve the best interests of his constituents.

C. & O. NATIONAL MONUMENT

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GUDE], has taken the lead in the effort to maintain the C. & O. Canal National Monument within the Potomac National River concept proposed by the administration. The Washington Post editorial of May 18 makes a clear and worthy case for the preservation of the identity of this historic waterway.

I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD, and commend it highly to my colleagues of the Congress:

HISTORIC VALUES

Rep. Gilbert Gude has made a good point about preserving the identity of the historic Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The old canal and its towpath between Washington and Cumberland were made a national monument by President Eisenhower. Under the Administration's bill to create a Potomac National River, the national monument would be abolished and the property would be absorbed into the much larger park occupying both shores of the river.

Although we heartily support the National River concept, we think it is desirable to preserve the identity of the C. and O. Canal National Monument for historic reasons. The towpath has become a favorite trail for thousands of hikers each year. The old locks, lock houses and other facilities are a source of enormous historic interest that should not be lost. Indeed, these relics ought to be restored and preserved without waiting for full realization of the National River project.

Mr. Gude's point is that there is no more reason for abolishing the C. and O. National Monument than there is for abolishing the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, which is also a part of the Potomac basin. The latter is left intact under the bill. The same could be done with the "monument" for the sake of emphasizing the rich history associated with it. Administration of the three units could then be merged or closely coordinated without upsetting historical values.

CRIPPLING OUR MERCHANT MARINE AKIN TO DEPRIVING POLICE OF SQUAD CARS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the La Mesa (Calif.) Scout, May 23, 1968]

CRIPPLING OUR MERCHANT MARINE AKIN TO DEPRIVING POLICE OF SQUAD CARS

The Johnson administration, like some of its predecessors, is bound and determined to saw off the legs of one of America's most precious adjuncts in national security.

This week, the administration announced its plans for the Merchant Marine program.

Slash. Slash. Slash.

Johnson's hatchetmen would lop off by 60 per cent the proposal of the U.S. Senate Commerce Committee.

Included in the hatchet job is the whacking of a proposed $300 million program for ship building to $110 million.

The administration has a lot of pat answers for questions that Congress—and the public—raise on the Merchant Marine role in national defense.

It is costly to subsidize passenger liners that cost the government $275 for each passenger transported . . . Atomic ships are not economically competitive with those normally powered . . . Aircraft has supplemented the need for shipping . . . Reforms are needed.

If our present administration had its way, the Merchant Marine would be cast aside as worthless.

It's almost like paying for a large police force but not providing squad cars.

Our federal government thinks nothing of throwing billions of dollars across the seas to foreign nations in the guise of investment for national security. Our administration has tossed billions of dollars into a space program and a few billion here and a few more there for a fighter plane that still has to prove itself as a satisfactory weapon along with a supersonic transport that may or may not prove economically feasible.

Yet, from a practical standpoint, we have had difficulty in supplying troops in a "limited brush fire war" in Viet Nam. We have been in a position where we would have to back down in a confrontation by communists from North Korea simply because we did not have the means to prosecute any other "brush fire wars."

It is said that an atomic-powered merchant vessel is not economically competitive. Still, this nation moves ahead with atomic development to create electricity, fresh water and many other uses . . . on the grounds that such development eventually will prove beneficial.

* * * * *

But let us consider the plight of our Merchant Marine.

In ranks somewhere around 10th or 11th among world powers. While we have let our Merchant Marine dwindle, Russia has risen to eminence in this field. Japan has built super tankers that dwarf the giants that plied the seas only a few years ago. So-called friendly nations have been supplying BY SEA the very forces that oppose our servicemen on the field of battle.

We are losing a war on the home front. We have sold off many of our best vessels as surplus. Those remaining in mothball are of nebulous value. Even the de-mothballing practice should bear scrutiny. The national public—and Congress—demanded a better seaborne weapon be used off the coast of North Viet Nam and the administration belatedly complied with the de-mothballing of the battleship New Jersey. That ship has been a year in the re-fitting process. It still hasn't put to sea for Viet Nam and it may not be used . . . if peace talks are successful. In other words, mothballing doesn't mean that a ship can be made readily available.

Moreover, one must consider what is left in the mothball fleets that dot rivers and bays on three coastal fronts. We have sold off most of our better vessels. Even those, by the way, were ships built 20 years ago of a design intended for swift, easy construction.

We have spent a mere pittance in new design. We have done little enough in mechanization of loading or automation in operation of the merchant vessels now under American flag.

We find a number of ex-American vessels under foreign flags, supposedly friendly to us. We also find many of these same shipping firms have supplied our enemy. Their friendship and availability in time of need is a matter of question.

We will argue the matter of subsidization at any level. We maintain that virtually every industry and utility in this country is under subsidization of one sort or another. We can range from the aircraft industry to other forms of transportation to the oil interests to communications to the farmer. It may be an out-and-out subsidy or it may be a tax advantage. Whatever, it is governmental aid. Even the taxpayer is subsidized. Federal and state funds go toward local education. State and federal tax refunds go toward the highway and street improvement on the local level.

Who kids anyone when he says federal aid is limited. It is omnipresent.

American costs of shipping are high because American labor costs are high. We must accept this—not blame the Merchant Marine for its predicament.

In just a few years, we have seen a nation strip itself of a merchant fleet second to none to one that is strictly 10th rate.

In the meantime, a nation that has challenged us in many phases of life, Russia, has done everything it can to build the world's greatest merchant marine.

And now we find our federal administration is bent upon slicing the proposed expenditures for maintaining the miniscule Merchant Marine by 60 per cent.

We doubt that Congress will let this transpire.

Congress has protected the Merchant Marine just as it has protected other facets of national security.

This isn't a Congress of yesteryear that thought the seas which surrounded us on most of three sides were our greatest national defense. This is a Congress aware that those oceans are now avenues of attack or thoroughfares for our conduct of war, as well as avenues for peaceful business.

* * * * *

We would support this Congress even if we were residing in the Ozarks or beside a lake in Wisconsin or deep in the heart of Texas.

A strong Merchant Marine is paramount in our picture of national security. We cannot afford to let it be destroyed by a negligent administration.

We want squad cars for our police force and we want merchant vessels that fly our own flag . . . are capable of serving us in time of need . . . that operates efficiently today . . . not a fleet on paper draft or a mothballed, motley collection of derelicts.

BAIL AND RIOTS

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert the Washington Post editorial, "Bail and Riots," of May 27, 1968, so that all Members may have a chance to consider it.

The editorial follows:

Bail and Riots

The argument in the District's Judicial Conference over denial of bail to suspected arsonists and rioters during a critical emergency was in part based on semantics. The special committee appointed by the Judicial Council to study bail problems had recommended that judges here be granted additional authority "to deny release entirely for persons charged with certain riot-connected offenses for the duration of an officially declared emergency." Opponents of the recommendation denounced it as "preventive detention," and its sponsors defended it as an essential means of avoiding chaos in times of widespread civil disturbance.

There is good reason to be concerned, of course, over "preventive detention" proposals. One major purpose of the Bail Reform Act is to prevent judges from trying to curtail future crime by putting a price on liberty that poor defendants cannot meet. That is an inexcusable practice, and there should be no retreat from the determination to abolish it. The problem of crime committed while the accused is awaiting trial should be attacked by other means. The American Bar Association Committee on Pretrial Proceedings recently noted that, when there are indications that an accused may be a menace to the public, the courts should be able to limit his movements and associations, prevent him from possessing a dangerous weapon or put him under supervision of an officer of the court. The Bar group also suggested that judges be authorized to revoke the release of a defendant if he violates the conditions of his release. It properly opposed preventive detention.

The starting point of wisdom in any judicial system, however, is sufficient flexibility to meet unusual situations. A court should not be required, for example, to release a prisoner in the face of evidence that he had threatened the life of the complaining witness. In the case of a major civil disturbance, we surmise that the judges will find a way of detaining accused arsonists and snipers until order is restored regardless of what the statutes say. In the April riots here, delays in the courts had this effect in some cases.

In our view temporary detention of defendants "arrested under very incriminating circumstances for riot-connected acts dangerous to life and limb"—to use the language of the report which the Judicial Conference approved—should not be swept into the general category of "preventive detention." It is a self-defensive action on the part of a city in great peril. The courts can be trusted to prevent its abuse. One of the strong recommendations of the bail study panel was that greater use be made of the Bail Act's requirement for 24-hour review of all cases in which an accused has been denied release. Safeguards can be erected against abuses which come under the heading of "preventive detention" without crippling a law-enforcement system in the face of a major crisis.

EX-RED GENERAL REAL CAPTOR OF PRAGUE AHEAD OF ALLIES

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Julius Epstein, a research associate at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University in my congressional district has recently published an article in the Palo Alto Times which states that Prague was not liberated by the Soviets, but by the Soviet renegade, General Vlasov. Mr. Epstein published this article in order to counteract press reports of anniversary celebrations in Prague of the "Soviet liberation" of Prague in 1945. The article follows:

[From the Palo Alto Times, May 14, 1968]

Ex-Red General Real Captor of Prague Ahead of Allies

(By Julius Epstein)

I read with gratification recent press dispatches from Prague which reported that Lidova Demokracie, the Czech Roman Catholic newspaper, finally recognized the "sober truth" that the western part of Czechoslovakia was liberated by the American Army.

The same reports contained the even more astounding news that Czech authorities placed a wreath of flowers on the site of the destroyed monument to American soldiers in Pilsen, the farthest point Lt. Gen. George S. Patton was allowed by General Eisenhower to reach in Czechoslovakia.

Also reported was the arrival of a 12-man Soviet delegation, headed by Marshal Ivan S. Konev, for the celebration of the 23rd anniversary of "Prague's liberation by Soviet forces." It is this gross distortion of historical truth which induces me to take exception.

REAL TRUTH

The truth—established beyond the shadow of any doubt—is that Prague was liberated neither by the Americans nor by the Soviet Red Army, but by Gen. Andrei A. Vlasov and his troops.

Who was Vlasov?

Born in 1900 as the 13th child of a peasant family, he attended—like Stalin—a theological seminary and joined the Red Army in 1919. During the period of the great purge in the 1930s, Vlasov was a member of a group of military advisers to Chiang Kai-shek. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Vlasov fought heroically in the defense of Kiev and later of Moscow and Leningrad. He was celebrated by Ilya Ehrenburg as one of the great heroes of the Red Army. While defending Leningrad, he was captured by the Germans.

Some months thereafter, Vlasov—in captivity in Germany—published an appeal, inviting all Soviet armies and civilians to support Hitler's fight against Stalin. Under Nazi supervision, Vlasov organized several divisions, consisting of anti-Stalinist Soviet prisoners of war in German prisoner of war camps. They fought in German uniforms in the East as well as later in the West. At the end of the war, Vlasov and his generals and troops desperately tried to surrender to the West, especially to the Americans.

Neither the Americans nor the British accepted them as prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention but repatriated them by force and against their wishes to Stalin. But before this happened, Vlasov had liberated Prague from the SS.

EYEWITNESS

Ivan H. Peterman, an American correspondent for the Saturday Evening Post, published his eyewitness account in the Saturday Evening Post of July 14, 1945. I quote the following passage:

"Prague really was liberated by foreign troops, after all. Not by the Allies, who did not arrive until the shooting was all over, but by 22,000 Russian outlaws wearing German uniforms. The leader of these renegades was General Vlasov, a former hero of the Red Army."

Vlasov and his soldiers of his first division liberated Prague in May, 1945, at the specific invitation of the leaders of the Czech underground resistance. For all these facts documentary evidence is available and they have never been disputed by any serious historian. That the Soviets ignore this historical truth will come as no surprise to anybody familiar with their technique of "rewriting history."

HANGED

Vlasov was hanged in Moscow in 1946. A brief communique in Pravda stated that he was sentenced by a military tribunal to death because of "treason of the fatherland, active espionage, sabotage and terroristic activities against the Soviet Union as agent of the German secret service."

With him, the following 11 generals and colonels of the Vlasov army were hanged: V. F. Malyschkin, G. N. Schilenkov, F. I. Truchin, D. E. Sakutny, I. A. Blagoweschensky, M A. Meandrow, V. I. Malzew, C. K. Bunjatshenko, G A. Zwerev, V. D. Korbukov and N. Schatov.

The forced repatriation of Vlasov, his officers and about 900,000 soldiers will always remain an indelible blot on the American tradition of ready asylum to political exiles. Moreover, it was a gross violation of the Geneva Convention.

COMMUNISM IN DISGUISE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the frantic performance of Melina Mercouri as she fronts for the worldwide Communist propaganda barrage against the Government of Greece was dramatically demonstrated when she revealed her Marxist philosophy in a recent press interview.

The story is described in a very penetrating column by Dumitru Danielopol of the Copley News Service who has just returned to Washington from an extensive European trip. The article appeared in the Auroa, Ill., Beacon News on May 22, as follows:

Melina Mercouri's Democracy Is Communism in Disguise

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

Athens.—"What kind of democracy do you recommend, that of Plato or that of Marx?" ask the newsman.

"Only that of Marx exists," Melina Mercouri answered, in her recent interview in the French Communist paper L'Humanite.

The Greek actress posing as a defender of "democracy," has for months been engaged in trying to overthrow the military-backed government of Greece.

She has been denouncing its leaders with every kind of invective, calling them fascist, hangmen and murderers.

She has influenced some people. But she never explained what the word "democracy" meant to her.

In Paris she explained. What Melina apparently advocates for her country is communism, or the Eastern Europe style of "Marxist democracy."

That she should be drawn to such ideology is not surprising. Her late father was a member of Parliament when the Greek military coup took place in April, 1967. He called himself an independent but was elected with the support of EDA which was the Communist front organization of Greece.

Her husband Jules Dassin, has long been associated with Communist front groups in Hollywood and elsewhere. He's noted for his extreme left-wing views.

If Melina thinks a Marxist democracy is good for Greece, that's strictly her own affair. But she should make it plain everywhere what kind of government she would prefer to the present Athens regime.

She travels in a world which allows people to express their opinions even when they are denigrating the society that protects them.

Her insulting description of the United States, where she has earned a living for many months, also was not totally unexpected. When she failed to captivate official Washington, she turned to inventions, inexactitudes and invectives.

"There are two Americas," she told the French Communist reporter, "that of the people and of the young . . . from which I got extraordinary support. The other America is that of the C.I.A., the Pentagon and the State Department."

What is shocking, however, is that Americans who are supporting the so-called Committee for Democracy in Greece, of which Melina is a vice president, some of the members of Congress, have allowed themselves to be duped by this Greek "passionaria."

Very few of these people would share Melina's views on democracy. Very few would agree with her description of the United States.

Let's hope they read the interview in L'Humanite and then take another look at this self-styled Greek Joan d'Arc.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Wednesday, May 29, 1968*

The House met at 10 o'clock a.m.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

The righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance.—Psalm 112: 6.

God of all the ages, our fathers' God and our God, we thank Thee that our forefathers founded on these shores a free nation, dedicated to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all, and we are grateful that our fathers continued this heritage that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people would not perish from the earth.

Grant, our Father, as we come to another Memorial Day, to remember that there are those who gave their lives that we may be free and there are those even now who are giving their lives that freedom can be ours.

We may weep over the graves of our beloved, but may there be no tears of bitterness, nor resentment, nor ill will, but only sorrow that so great a price has to be paid that men continue to be free.

Help us so to live and so to love our country that our flag may fly over a united nation, one flag, one faith, one folk, one fellowship of good will and to Thee be the glory now and forevermore. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill and a concurrent resolution of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 15004. An act to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to extend the expiration date of certain authorities thereunder, and for other purposes; and

H. Con. Res. 782. Concurrent resolution providing for the adjournment of the two Houses from Wednesday, May 29, 1968, to June 3, 1968.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the bill (H.R. 15190) entitled "An act to amend sections 3 and 4 of the act approved September 22, 1964 (78 Stat. 990), providing for an investigation and study to determine a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. Magnuson, Mr. Bartlett, and Mr. Cotton to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 224. An act to provide for the rehabilitation of the Eklutna project, Alaska, and for other purposes;

S. 1578. An act to authorize the appropriation for the contribution by the United States for the support of the International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs;

S. 3073. An act to promote the economic development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands;

S. 3207. An act to amend section 2 of the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; and

S. 3497. An act to assist in the provision of housing for low and moderate income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM—H.R. 16027, TO AMEND TITLE 38, UNITED STATES CODE, TO PROVIDE INCREASES IN RATES OF COMPENSATION FOR DISABLED VETERANS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order for the Speaker to recognize for calling up under suspension of the rules on Thursday of next week H.R. 16027, to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to make it crystal clear that I have no objection to considering this particular legislation under any circumstance at any time, but I wonder if the distinguished majority leader would not defer his request until the Members at least know what the legislative schedule is for next week. It seems that would be ordinary comity to make such a request, before any Member is asked to grant unanimous consent.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALL. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. The leadership has the problem of getting the program prepared. If the request comes late, we will have to reprepare the program after we have announced it. This is one of the problems.

Further, in response to the gentleman's question, we have three suspensions scheduled for Monday. The bill to which I have referred is one of the three that would be eligible for consideration on Monday. The other two are minor bills. We do not have a heavy program for Tuesday. The reason for putting the bill over, or asking that it be put over, is simply that there are primaries on Tuesday, and we know that Members will want to be here to vote on this measure and some will not be able to get back on account of their own races. It is merely a matter of accommodating Members.

Mr. HALL. I would simply point out to the majority leader that the biggest vote on this particular bill would be on Monday.

Mr. ALBERT. That is correct.

Mr. HALL. Not on Tuesday, which is another primary day. We have long since agreed not to defer action on primary days.

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman is absolutely correct. We are only making the request as a matter of accommodating Members. We are not asking to put over rollcall votes from Monday to Wednesday or from Tuesday to Wednesday. We are simply trying to arrange a program.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the difficulty the majority leader has, as compared with the minority. But, could the request be made after we have more information what will be the order of business on Tuesday and on Wednesday next, if we are going to defer this until Thursday, and see indeed what the responsibilities of the scheduled business will be on Thursday. Surely, this is a logical and reasonable request, as well as timely.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I will defer the request for a few minutes.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I will object and I am constrained to object unless the Chair accepts the decision of the majority leader to defer.

The SPEAKER. Will the majority leader repeat his decision?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I temporarily withdraw my request.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman withdraws his request.

HIGHEST STANDARDS OF CHARACTER AND CONDUCT REQUIRED TO FILL VACANCIES IN POSTAL SERVICE

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I am acutely aware of the high degree of integrity possessed by postal workers. Perhaps no other type of work demands so much of its employees in the way of honesty and trust without security clearance. Naturally, among postal employees, this integrity is a source of enormous pride.

In this regard, I have received a letter of protest against the hiring of individuals of questionable character, which bears the signatures of 85 employees of the Main Post Office in Dallas, Tex. They contend that indiscriminate hiring of so-called hard-core unemployables is unfair to the career postal employee. Their point is well taken, and I should like to seize this opportunity to warn of the importance to the American postal service to continue to hire only individuals of the highest character.

In handling the mails, temptation is constant. Detriment to service will doubtless result if the mails are handled by untrustworthy employees, and morale in the ranks of career postal employees will certainly suffer. I might add that the cost of detection and prosecution of dishonest employees would be one more burden for the taxpayer to bear. It is, moreover, unfair to individuals of questionable character to subject them to the temptation inherent in post office jobs.

The highest standards of character and conduct must continue to be the guidelines for filling vacancies in the postal service.

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I was absent from the Capitol on Monday and missed three rollcall votes. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye" on rollcall No. 152, and I would have voted "nay" on rollcall Nos. 153 and 154.

TENTATIVE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR WEEK OF JUNE 3, 1968

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, referring to the colloquy between the gentleman from Missouri and myself, I have a list of at least most of the bills that will be up for consideration next week. There are three suspensions:

One is H.R. 8953, to provide for the relocation of certain bridges by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The next one is H.R. 3306, to provide for the protection of the Pueblo de taos Indians in New Mexico.

The third one is H.R. 16027, service-connected compensation increase for veterans.

For Tuesday we expect to have four bills under unanimous consent from the Committee on Ways and Means, subject, of course, to objection by any Members, and H.R. 17268, the Defense Production Act Extension with an open rule and 1 hour of debate.

For Wednesday and the balance of the week, as of now—there may be one change or so in this, but this is to give the gentleman the general idea:

S. 1028, Federal employment conditions for former employees of agricultural county committees, with an open rule and 1 hour of debate;

S. 2349, additional circuit judgeships—and this will probably be called first—with an open rule and 1 hour of debate;

S. 974, land conveyance, Glendale, Ariz., with an open rule and 1 hour of debate;

H.R. 16363, Wholesome Poultry Products Act, with an open rule and 2 hours of debate; and

H.R. 16162, extension of certain loans by Export-Import Bank, subject to a rule being granted.

Of course, the gentleman realizes I cannot be bound by this, but I make the reservation that we may change the program at a later date.

This will give the gentleman the basic idea of what we have to do.

In view of that, I ask unanimous consent that the Speaker may recognize for calling up under a suspension of the rules procedure on Thursday of next week H.R. 16027, to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask the distinguished majority leader if, when he refers to the possibility of changing the program, it is possible a final vote on the tax bill will be added to the schedule for next week, pending the action of the Congress today; or, do we have his assurance that we will not consider the tax bill next week?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I have discussed this with the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. There will be no effort to bring it up next week, regardless of the action taken by the House today.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, as I understand the distinguished majority leader there will be a great number of relatively noncontroversial—if not inconsequential—bills, many referred from the other body, except for adding more Federal judges for patronage and other purposes while this administration is in power; and making a Poultry Inspection Act similar to the Beef and Red Meat Inspection Act we recently passed. These are the only two likely to keep us busy beyond the usual Tuesday to Thursday gambit upon which we program our business.

Therefore, I would see no objection to putting this over as requested for a worthy bill to be under rules of suspension, and I withdraw any reservation I have.

Mr. ALBERT. I thank the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 158]

Andrews, Ala.
Ashley
Ashmore
Bell
Berry
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Carter
Clawson, Del
Cowger
Culver
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Evins, Tenn.
Green, Oreg.
Hanna
Hardy
Hawkins
Holland
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Lukens
McClure
McMillan
May
Meskill
Miller, Calif.
Moore
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Mosher
Olsen
O'Hara, Ill.
Passman
Randall
Rees
Roybal
Selden
Stubblefield
Tunney
Utt
Wilson, Charles H.

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 388 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1967

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 5037) to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes, with a Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment and request a conference with the Senate thereon.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, in order that the House may be fully advised as to the procedural options and alternatives I propose to propound under my reservation a series of parliamentary inquiries.

Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. POFF. If objection is registered to the unanimous-consent request, will the effect be to send the bill either to the Committee on Rules or to the Committee on the Judiciary for a resolution instructing the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary to make a motion that the bill go to conference?

The SPEAKER. In response the Chair will say if objection is made to the unanimous-consent request the bill will remain on the Speaker's desk. The Committee on the Judiciary could take action to authorize the chairman or any Member to make a motion to take the bill from the Speaker's desk for the purpose of sending it to conference.

Mr. POFF. A further parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. POFF. If the Committee on the Judiciary adopts a resolution instructing its chairman to move that the bill go to conference and if that motion is made on the floor and is adopted on the floor, will it then be in order to make a motion to instruct the House conferees?

The SPEAKER. Before the appointment of the conferees such a motion would be in order.

Mr. POFF. A further parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his inquiry.

Mr. POFF. Am I correct in assuming that only one such motion to instruct would at that time be in order?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's assumption is correct.

Mr. POFF. A further parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. POFF. If the motion to go to conference is not adopted by the House, in such case would it be in order for the Committee on Rules to report a resolution making it in order to move to recede and concur?

The SPEAKER. Under the rules of the House, it is within the authority and jurisdiction of the Committee on Rules to report a resolution providing for the disposition of the Senate amendments.

Mr. POFF. A further parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. POFF. If the motion to instruct the conferees is adopted, is that instruction binding upon the House conferees, or is it in the nature of an advisory instruction only?

The SPEAKER. The construction is that it is in the nature of an advisory instruction, because the House cannot instruct the managers on the part of the Senate.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, a further parliamentary inqury.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. POFF. If the conference is appointed and has not agreed within a 21-day period, will it then be in order to move to discharge the House conferees?

The SPEAKER. Under rule XXVIII, it would be in order to move either to discharge or to instruct the managers on the part of the House after 20 days.

Mr. POFF. A further final parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. POFF. In the event a motion to discharge is adopted, in such case would it then be in order for the Committee on Rules to report a resolution making in order a motion to recede and concur?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that that is a matter that would be within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, further under my reservation, I wish to state—and I will be brief—that I will readily concede there are imperfections in the structure of the Senate version of the bill and I am dissatisfied with several of its provisions, including specifically the gun title. Yet, Mr. Speaker, I am persuaded that the Senate version contains so much good and the need for prompt action is so imperative that the proper approach here is not to go to conference but to recede and concur.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask for regular order.

The SPEAKER. Regular order is demanded.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is heard.

MOTION TO INSTRUCT HOUSE MANAGERS ON CONFERENCE ON H.R. 15414

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BURKE].

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts moves that the managers on the part of the House, at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill H.R. 15414, be instructed not to agree to any limitation on budget outlays (expenditures and net lending) during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, below $182,100,000,000 increased by budget outlays in excess of the amounts estimated therefor in the budget for (1) special support of Vietnam operations, (2) interest, (3) veterans' benefits and services, and (4) payments from trust funds established by the Social Security Act.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, 1 week ago today, I served notice on the floor of this House that I would offer a motion to instruct the managers on the part of the House in conference on the bill, H.R. 15414, to insist on an expenditure reduction of $4 billion for fiscal year 1969 instead of the $6 billion cut voted by the Senate.

I can assure the House that my announcement was the culmination and result of very, very serious and deliberative study over a considerable period of time. It was not a spur-of-the-moment decision on my part to bring this exceedingly important matter here to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, the gravity of the present fiscal situation in this country is widely recognized and highly publicized, both here and abroad. Its domestic and foreign implications are of a magnitude and seriousness such as I have never before experienced in the nearly 10 years that I have had the honor of serving in this great body.

We have a responsibility to shoulder, and I am convinced that the task we have to perform and the decision we have to make regarding the depth of the proposed expenditure cut in H.R. 15414 demands an expression of this whole House. It is not a responsibility that really can be delegated to any committee—no matter how responsible its composition or how profound the wisdom of its individual Members.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the House know the importance of the issues involved in the tax surcharge-expenditure cut package in H.R. 15414. They realize the implications that it holds for domestic fiscal policy; its potential influence on monetary policy; its hoped-for effect on our balance of payments and on the strength of the dollar; and they know its portent for the future course of the vital and worthwhile programs that have been initiated and advanced by this administration.

To remind Members of the House, let me call the roll of just some of the wise and influential voices that have been raised in warning against the dangers of the $6 billion cut that has been proposed by the conferees for fiscal year 1969. The first of the highly respected voices to which I would call specific attention is the proper and jurisdictional committee in the House of Representatives, the Committee on Appropriations, that great committee that is chaired by the distinguished gentleman from Texas, Congressman GEORGE H. MAHON.

The Committee on Appropriations on the first day of this month rejected the $6 billion proposal and instead approved a resolution calling for, among other things, a reduction of not less than $4 billion in budget outlays for fiscal 1969. Chairman MAHON in announcing to the House this action of the Committee on Appropriations advised that it had been taken after the committee had received presentations from the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly, Mr. Speaker, that the decision of the Appropriations Committee, after due deliberation, on the issue before the House was to reject the proposed $6 billion cut. We cannot afford to cavalierly disregard this advice from the jurisdictional committee in the House, for it represents the well-reasoned decision of the congressional experts in the field of Federal outlays and expenditures. To go contrary to this determination will surely bring about very serious consequences and possible disruption in the proper functioning of vital Government programs.

We have a decision of the Committee on Appropriations, therefore, which is substantively consonant with the motion now before the House. But this is not all the committee support we have, Mr. Speaker. We also have notable action within the Committee on Ways and Means against the proposed $6 billion. I refer to the committee's votes on the sixth day of this month when we rejected the $6 billion reduction proposal and adopted a motion offered by the gentleman from Florida, Congressman A. SYDNEY HERLONG. The adoption of the Herlong motion was a clear-cut endorsement of a spending cut of $4 billion and a flat rejection of the $6 billion cut.

Let me just read a pertinent portion of the Herlong motion adopted by the Committee on Ways and Means on May 6:

> I move that the Committee on Ways and Means advise the Chairman to advise the Committee on Conference between the House and the Senate on H.R. 15414 that the Committee on Ways and Means has studied the resolution adopted by the Committee on Appropriations calling for a reduction of not less than $4 billion in expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, with the exceptions enumerated therein, and that the Committee on Ways and Means, in the light of the existing critical domestic and international fiscal situation, adopts the following position:
>
> (1) That it is the view of the Committee on Ways and Means that budget expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, should be reduced by at least $4 billion (excepting special Vietnam costs, interest on the debt, veterans' benefits, and Social Security Trust Funds, in excess of amounts estimated in the budget).

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have heard the President criticized unjustly for not specifically endorsing the $6 billion cut in H.R. 15414, but who can in good conscience fault the President on this score when the two great committees of the House who control fiscal legislation, both on the spending and taxation sides, have gone even further and affirmatively rejected it. The President has stated his position and he makes no apology for it—nor should he. In his letter of May 4 to the Speaker, the President stated his position, as follows:

> The $186 billion budget I submitted in January was tight. It was tailored to finance responsibly the urgent work we must pursue in our cities, to help the poor and to protect our national security.
>
> * * * * *
>
> The House Appropriations Committee late last week approved a formula which included a $4 billion reduction in expenditures for fiscal 1969.
>
> To accept reductions any deeper than this in an already lean budget—designed to meet the urgent needs of our people at home and abroad—is unwise.
>
> As Secretary Fowler stated, the reduction formula voted out by the House Appropriations Committee will be approved by me, although I know it will require great sacrifices. I think it would be a serious mistake to go beyond that formula.

The situation is very serious, Mr. Speaker, and I agree with the President that we will be compounding its seriousness by approving a $6 billion cut in expenditures for the coming fiscal year. Our action here today, if the motion before the House is defeated, could result in severe crippling of vital governmental functions. We know that under the terms of the bill certain programs are placed in a special category and expenditures for these programs are not to be taken into account for purposes of the proposed expenditure limitation. These expenditures that are excepted are, first, those for special support of Vietnam operations; second, interest on the national debt; third, veterans' benefits, and, fourth, social security trust fund payments.

The total of these four exceptions aggregate over $84 billion out of a total budget of $186.1 billion. These expenditures are exempted from the ceiling in recognition that they are uncontrollable. I should like to point out that there are certain other uncontrollable expenditures—for instance, public assistance grants to States and Commodity Credit Corporation farm price supports—that are not exempted, and unanticipated increases—and anticipated increases because of inflation—in these uncontrollable expenditures would require even further cuts in other programs which are classified as controllable. In practical effect then, Mr. Speaker, what will happen is that the reduction will be made from the remaining programs falling outside the exceptions. The cutbacks will have to come from such fields as education, health, housing, community development, pollution control, postal services, to name but a few. Programs such as I have just named—programs vital to our cities—will bear the brunt of the reductions.

The short-term savings, if any, to be derived from a $6 billion cut, as opposed to the more reasonable $4 billion cut I propose, will simply result in compounded and increased long-term costs. I do not need to dwell on this point. We all know it is true from experience. With price increases running at the rate of around 4 percent annually, it is indisputable.

Moreover, I agree with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget when he said last week:

> The real effect of the proposed absolute ceiling on expenditures would transfer most of Congress powers of the purse to the President by giving him carte blanche authority to reserve funds made available by Congress.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe the people of this country elected us to Congress to abdicate our authority and responsibility. The fact of the matter is that we do not even know who will be President next January. Yet, if we vote down this motion before the House today, we will not only be abdicating our responsibility, but we will be vesting an unknown entity with these powers that have been entrusted to us by the people to assume and exercise.

Even the senior Senator from Delaware, one of the authors of the $6 billion cut, admitted that it carries with it potential Presidential life-and-death decisions over Federal programs that the Congress has enacted. On Tuesday of last week on the Senate floor, the Senator stated as follows:

> Certainly the Budget Bureau, operating under instructions of the President, could if it so desired practically destroy any Government function and use the $6 billion budget cut as an excuse.

I ask the Members of this House in all seriousness: Is that what we want to happen? Is this the kind of authority that we want to vest in an unknown person, the President in 1969, whoever that may be? I do not think it is the desire of the House to do this, and that is why I have made this motion today.

This could be your only opportunity to register your objection to this meat-ax approach. Make no mistake about the potential effects of the proposed $6 billion cut. Programs you have supported will be placed in jeopardy. Normal and orderly congressional appropriation procedures will be undermined.

I most respectfully ask the Members of this House not to just take my recommendation. Instead, with the greatest measure of urgency, I ask you to take the recommendation of the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Ways and Means, and the President of the United States, and reject the $6 billion cut. Vote for my motion. A $4 billion cut is reasonable. It is attainable by Congress alone without such a very real and pronounced danger of erosion of congressional authority, and it will not imperil the very existence of some of our most vitally important and necessary Federal programs.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. I am happy to yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. I commend the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BURKE] on the statement he is making and I commend him for offering this motion.

Mr. Speaker, I think the President's budget was a tight budget and in the national interest. However, I am realistic enough to know that without some reductions in expenditures we will not be able to pass a tax bill, and I think the enactment of the President's tax bill is the most important issue before the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this motion represents the best possible compromise between the advocates of heavy cutbacks in Federal expenditures and those who are opposed to any cutbacks.

In my opinion, the adoption of this motion will speed the day toward the passage of the vital tax proposal—a proposal that will insure the continued economic stability of the United States at home and abroad.

There is no more urgent matter before the Congress than the tax proposal—and the gentleman's statement bears that out, and points up in detail why that is true.

I think we all realize that time is running out for positive and decisive action that will strengthen the dollar and lessen the dangers of serious inflation and recession.

The motion made by the gentleman in my view would be a significant step toward the passage of the tax bill. I think we can all be assured that its passage will be a responsible act—and most important—one that will not impair existing programs dealing with the security and welfare of the American people. In my opinion, the motion offered by my friend from Massachusetts is in the national interest. I sincerely hope the House will accept it.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. I thank the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the gentleman for offering this motion today. I wholeheartedly support his motion.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. I am happy to yield to the distinguished gentlewoman from Missouri.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts. Personally, as much as I dislike voting for a tax increase, I feel, as a responsible Member of the Congress, that we must have a tax increase immediately, at least on a temporary basis. I also believe that a $4 billion cut in appropriations is necessary. However, if this motion is defeated, I feel a $6 billion cut, made as it would have to be done by the Bureau of the Budget, would cripple many necessary domestic programs.

Can the gentleman from Massachusetts tell the House what would happen if this motion is defeated and then also a motion for a $6 billion cut is defeated? What would happen then?

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. As I stated during my remarks, if my motion is defeated and then a $6 billion expenditure reduction is defeated in the surtax measure, it is my opinion that the only thing that will be left, since we are getting close to the end of the year, is that this will be thrown back on the President and on the new President coming in after January 1, and with a back-to-back deficit of $22 or $23 billion on one side and a $30 billion deficit coming up next year, it is my opinion that the Executive of this Nation would be faced with a reality and would have to come in with at least a $15 billion deficit expenditure cut. This will leave to the Members of Congress the responsibility of either voting for the $4 billion cut or the $6 billion cut. If they vote against both of them, then actually they are voting for at least a $15 billion cut that would have to take place in order to get the country on a sound fiscal basis.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS].

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, I realize that the strategy of this motion lies in its possibly assuaging the conscience of the worried Congressman who fears a $6 billion cutback may have an impact on some constituent's favorite program. As such, it is part of the intricate dance of politics, a perfectly accepted means of communication between this body and the outside world, and I do not belittle it. I hope, however, that a majority of the House will not take it so seriously as to vote for it. That, Mr. Speaker, would be a vote for paralysis, for impasse between the two Houses of the Congress, a condition we cannot afford at this critical point in our Nation's economic life.

It is possible to find fault with any combination of tax increase and spending cut which the mind of man can conceive. Nobody likes the ingredients to begin with: How can we find pleasure either in raising the tax burdens of the American people or in voting for expenditure reductions inevitably affecting programs which, standing by themselves, are directed at our national problems? In our country, the basic vehicle for improving the lot of our people is not government, but our remarkable economic system, and the system is in trouble according to those who understand it. They tell us that what is most important is that we get on with the work of providing some fiscal discipline before our economy tears itself apart by excessive monetary restraint or no restraint at all. We cannot provide fiscal restraint by quibbling or temporizing or seeking to assess the blame. Our duty should be clear to us unless we deliberately avert our faces, and I have enough confidence in the collective wisdom and responsibility of this body to know we will not do that.

Mr. Speaker, the American people are the best informed and wisest people on earth and they are willing to have us do what is necessary. They know we cannot correct the results of fiscal excess with mirrors, and I think they have heard enough of debate. Further discussion on the campaign trail this fall is inevitable and proper as we set our course for the future, but here and now are the place and time for action.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution. On May 14, on pages 13112–13118 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, are my remarks under a special order that I made before the House, pointing out the reasons why I have not signed the conference report on the $6 billion package. Both the $4 billion and the $6 billion, with a tax increase, are too little and too late. Inflation has already provided what amounts to a meat-ax cut on all the poverty programs, on the war in Vietnam and, I might say, on the pocketbooks of the lower income groups, by over 4 percent.

The administration in its testimony before the Ways and Means Committee this year said that even if we passed the tax package as they requested, inflation would be over 3 percent. This is entirely too much. We are too little; we are too late. We are seeing what is happening now with imports which results from domestic inflation and, in fact, in March we had a negative balance of trade for the first time in many years and the worst month in 30 years.

This is too little and too late. The question is not whether the House would be so foolish, in my judgment, as to cut down the $6 billion cut to a $4 billion cut. I say this in behalf of all of our poverty programs, as well as all our programs. The question is whether or not the $6 billion would be an adequate package cut. I would vote for the $6 billion package, and I would have signed the conference report—even though that is too little and too late, because at least it helps some—if the President of the United States had spoken up or even now if he were to speak up and say, "Yes, this is what is necessary, and I will cooperate with the leaders of the Congress in spelling out the line item cuts."

It is necessary to understand where we are cutting to find out what that economic impact is in order to figure out the future course.

We have horsed around to the point where we are no longer talking about fiscal year 1968. We have only one month left of fiscal year 1968, and we have not done what is necessary for fiscal year 1968. All we are talking about now is fiscal year 1969. Six months of fiscal year 1969 will not be under this particular administration. This administration, without the cooperation we seek even in a general way, let alone the line item cuts, could continue spending at the present level, which would do no good then as far as hitting at these inflationary forces.

It would be simply transferring purchasing power from the people to the Government, with the Government continuing to spend at these levels. This is why I have urged our side not to vote for even the $6 billion until the President of the United States speaks up.

Instead, we have the opposite going on. Every time we try to cut here in the House or in the Senate, the President has his lobbyists trying to fight these cuts, trying to have the amounts put back in. He is still telling the people of this country falsely that a cut of $6 billion has to do with poverty. It does not have to.

I listed $15 billions of cuts without even mentioning education and welfare—not that we could not spend those dollars better, but I did this to try to get away from the demagogic appeal. We could cut out, and I say we start with the troops in Europe, and then we go to foreign aid, and then we come back to research and development, the $17 billion should be cut back to $14 billion. And yes, public works. We would all have to tighten our belt, and we could cut from $5 billion to $2 billion. We can and should cut this.

This fiscal year we are spending $142 billion on a $135 billion level projected in the budget. Fiscal year 1969 administrative budget expenditure is projected at $152 billion. Fiscal year 1967 expenditures were $115 billion. In 1960 we were spending at a level of $77 billion.

Clearly, we have permitted Federal expenditures to exceed the considerable increases in our Federal incomes and economic growth. We are in serious fiscal trouble. I urge that the $4 billion cut be voted down. Even the $6 billion cut is too little and too late and, I add, meaningless unless the President speaks up and agrees to cooperate with the Congress in spelling out how and when the $6 billion cut is to be effected.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. JONAS] for purposes of debate.

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, I concur in the views expressed by the gentleman from Missouri. We are in a fiscal crisis today, not because the Government has been collecting too little in income, but because the Government has been spending too much money. It has spent more money than it has taken in every year since 1960. This excess in spending over receipts had to be borrowed. So national debt has gone up, up, up, and up. Today it is $355 billion—up $66 billion since 1960. This money has been used for operating expenses of the Government.

I contend that any government is subject to censure if it spends more money than it takes in during periods of high prosperity. The administration should have been balancing the budget during these years of high prosperity. It should have been putting aside something for a rainy day. But instead of doing that, the administration has spent all of the money the Government could take in through taxes. But that was not sufficient to satisfy the appetite of the planners and the spenders, and they have spent all they could borrow in addition to all they collected in taxes.

I do not believe we will curb inflation by increasing taxes. It might have some slight effect, but not a measurable effect, because when taxes are increased the money is merely transferred from individuals and business enterprises to the Government. This does not reduce spending. The money flows right back into the economic stream. The only difference is the Government is spending it instead of individuals and business enterprises.

The most effective way to curb inflation and restore confidence in the dollar, is to reduce spending drastically, because it is the spending side of this ledger that has gotten the Government into trouble, not the receipts side. We do not need to produce more income for the Government. That will not get us out of this economic crisis. The only thing that will do it, in my judgment, is to reduce spending, and I do not believe it would be enough to reduce spending next year by $4 billion.

Let me give some facts. So far this year the House has approved and passed five regular appropriation bills out of the 13 that we will consider before the year is over. The total amount of funds considered in those five bills, in new obligational authority, is roughly $30 billion. That leaves us approximately $112 billion still to consider.

Out of that $30 billion we have considered so far the House has reduced new obligational authority requested by the President by $4.7 billion. But when that is reflected into reduced spending the result is quite different. The result is that with the action taken yesterday on the fifth bill, by actions taken in this body so far on the 1969 budget we will have reduced spending authority below the budget figures by $1,125,900,000.

This indicates that we can reach a figure of $6 billion in spending reductions when considering the remaining 13 bills that have not even cleared the committee yet. If we can cut $1,125,000,000 from the budget figures for spending out of a total of $30 billion considered, surely we will not have any difficulty, if we have the courage and the will to do it, to cut spending by an additional $5 billion in order to come up with the $6 billion that has already been approved by the Senate and has already been approved in conference.

What are we trying to do here today, march back down the hill? It is difficult enough to get up. Let us not march down. I urge defeat of the pending motion.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE].

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to ask some member of the committee what effect this conference report has on our veterans' programs.

First, it is very difficult to learn anything from the committee as to what is in the conference report, and we are told not to worry, but if I know what is going on and if my staff is accurate in what they have figured out, this conference report will mean the closing of up to 30 VA hospitals in this country. I know this House does not want to do anything like that.

I would like for some member of the committee to tell me what the true story is so far as this conference report is concerned.

Mr. HERLONG. I would be glad to discuss it with the gentleman. I am the only member of the committee here who is familiar at all with this.

The conference report has not yet been filed, and I have not seen it. I think it would be best to ask some member of the conference committee to discuss that. Would the gentleman from Wisconsin answer that question?

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I want to make it clear that there is a member of the conference committee present.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. It is amazing to me that they are not all here.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. But I will say this to the gentleman, if the gentleman will yield further to me.

Mr. HERLONG. If the gentleman from Texas will yield, I apologize. I meant a member from our side.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. In the first place, let me say to the gentleman that the conference report is not here in issue. The conference report has not been filed. The conference report, if it had been filed, as I understand this motion, would not be in order. I understand it was held back so that this procedure could be undertaken.

Now, as to the veteran situation, we do exclude veterans' benefits programs completely from any operation under the ceiling. It is a completely separate exemption from any effect of the ceiling.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. I would like to say to the gentleman that we do not agree with that. I would like to say to the gentleman that from what we can get from the Bureau of the Budget and the Veterans' Administrator and my staff that that is not an accurate statement.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Well, you are saying that you have not seen the conference report and you are asking a conferee as to his understanding of what will be in the conference report, and I am just trying to tell you. I suggest that if you have information as to what is in it, you do not have to ask me what it does.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. I want to ask the gentleman a question and ask him if it is accurate. The information I have is it was agreed with respect to the permanent full-time employees of the executive branch of the Government that one vacancy in four in each department or agency is not to be filled until such time as the overall number of employees reaches the level of June 30, 1966. Is that accurate?

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. That is right. Let me point out that is not part of the issue of the $4 billion and $6 billion. That has to do with the item adopted by the Senate to the bill which restrains and restricts rehiring or filling of job vacancies which the conferees liberalized as far as that is concerned over what the Senate had. We liberalized it from the Senate bill. We also gave complete discretion. It is up to the Bureau of the Budget as to where these particular job vacancies will be filled. So the Bureau of the Budget is given great latitude in the determination of what are essential jobs that have to be filled.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Three years ago the Bureau of the Budget tried to close 15 Veterans' Administration hospitals. The gentleman from Texas is not stupid enough to leave this in the hands of the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. In other words, the gentleman from Texas has no confidence in his own administration, and I cannot be expected to stand here and defend them. Please.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. But the gentleman from Wisconsin is willing to turn it over to them to do whatever they want to.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I know of the gentleman's interest in this matter and his concern, because we have talked about it many times. As the gentleman from Wisconsin points out, the proposition is probably about half as bad from the point of view raised by the gentleman from Texas as it was when it passed the Senate. The question which the gentleman raises is one of whether or not after an agency has been reduced in personnel to the level it had on June 30, 1966, in order to accomplish the overall reduction in personnel to that level, that particular agency will be forced to reduce personnel further to accomplish the overall objectives throughout the Government.

Let me say this: It is my intention, and there is every intention in the conference statement, that the VA personnel will not be reduced below the June 30, 1966, level. I will spell this out, because I do not want the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to get the idea that the Congress intends that to happen. I know my friend does not want it to happen and wants the record clear. We were provided a specific exemption under the dollar limitations for the Veterans' Administration——

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Texas.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. MILLS. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLS. Both for benefits and services, I repeat, both for benefits and services, indicating we wanted all benefits and all services as determined by the Congress to be carried out.

That is clearly the intention.

Mr. Speaker, second, obviously personnel are required to administer benefits and services and it is the very clear intent in the conference report to have that personnel to do that. However, there is a certain point which has not as yet been cited, one that concerns me; this, plus one other point involved in the conference report probably had more to do in the delay of the filing of the conference report than probably anything else. It is still being worked on. It takes time.

I wish to congratulate the gentleman from Texas for calling this to our attention. I share his point of view that we do not want to diminish the services and care of our veterans as a result of the reduction of personnel in the Veterans' Administration below the minimum required level.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Texas has again expired.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Would the gentleman answer this question?

Mr. MILLS. I shall be glad to do so if I can. I am told that there are two reductions involved. However, that has nothing to do with this problem.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. If this motion is adopted would that action result in sending it back to conference?

Mr. MILLS. This is still subject to consideration because the conference report has not been filed.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Will the gentleman say, if he can say, that this is correct?

The gentleman has been propounding these questions in an effort to make this point crystal clear, because 90 percent of all of the employees of the Veterans' Administration are employed in hospitals and I am sure that the conferees do not wish to close these hospitals, such hospitals and facilities as Walter Reed Hospital, Bethesda Hospital and many other Veterans' Administration hospitals around the country.

Mr. MILLS. We certainly would not want, and it is not our intent, to impair the efficiency and effectiveness of the treatment accorded our veterans.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WHITTEN. May I say to the gentleman from Texas that this is a significant point and there may be a good reason for not filing the report. But if it is sound I can see no reason for what is contained in the conference report to be kept secret. The fact that it is secret is significant. There is nothing to indicate that the Commodity Credit Corporation or the Tennessee Valley Authority would be able to operate and if not, great damage would be done to the economy. It is my judgment that the essential operations of these corporations are intended to be exempt by law—but who can tell?

Recently our Appropriations Committee had before us Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fowler; Mr. Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board; and the Director of the Budget Mr. Zwick. Though they advocated a $4 billion cut, each refused to make a single recommendation as to where we should make cuts or give any idea as to where they would cut. The hearings were released on May 15.

Mr. Speaker, we need to make reductions in expenditures. We did so in the bill I handled, reducing obligations by $1.4 billion and expenditures by $414 million.

The Appropriations Committee needs to do its job so that those things essential to the economy will be taken care of. If the total is not enough, we can look again and take appropriate action. We made such overall reduction last year. We can do it again.

By no means should we turn this job over to the whims of the Budget Bureau, which lists reserves for the FDIC as unobligated.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Texas has again expired.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield for the purpose of debate only to the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Gerald R. Ford], 5 minutes.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I am strongly opposed to the $4 billion recommendation included in this motion. I strongly believe that the conference report, which will be filed if this motion does not prevail, should be approved. The conference report includes a $6 billion spending limitation.

Mr. Speaker, 3 months ago I would not have come to the floor and indicated my support for the President's 10-percent surcharge tax increase on both corporate and personal income. But for the reasons which I shall explain later, I shall support the conference report, primarily because of the inclusion of a $6 billion spending limitation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, since the word got out that the conference report includes the $6 billion spending limitation, we have had various vicious rumors that if this $6 billion spending limitation is imposed, the Federal programs and policies on the domestic side of the Government will be deferred, cut back, or ruined in one way or another.

I respectfully say that is not an accurate accusation. The change cannot be sustained. Let me tell you why. If you take the President's proposed spending for fiscal year 1969 of $186 billion, in round figures, it is in effect, a spending estimate of $10 billion more than the current fiscal year—on the domestic side, a $10 billion increase in spending in the next fiscal year vis-a-vis this fiscal year.

Now, no one—no one—in this body will allege that fiscal year 1968 is a year of austerity in Federal spending. Therefore it is just totally inaccurate to say that all programs in the Federal Government are going to be mutilated by a $6 billion spending limitation because if you do impose such a spending limitation the domestic programs in the Federal Government will still have between $3 billion and $4 billion more to spend next year than they are spending this year.

And let me point out, if I might, from the President's budget, as actually submitted for fiscal year 1969, page 147, and I read from the budget itself:

> In fiscal year 1969, Federal outlays which aid persons below the poverty line (for example, a family of four with an annual income under $3,335) are estimated to total $27.7 billion. This represents an increase of $3.1 billion over fiscal year 1968 and $15.2 billion over 1963.

So by no stretch of the imagination can the allegation validly be made that a $6 billion reduction in expenditures will hurt or harm going programs, and specifically programs involving the so-called poverty area.

Now, second, just yesterday it was announced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics that the cost of living had gone up 0.3 percent in the month of April. The Bureau also released the fact that in the previous 12 months the cost of living had gone up 4 percent. It announced that the rate of increase in the cost of living for the current 12-month period now is close to 4.5 percent.

The American people are concerned about what has happened in the past with the inflation we already have had, and they are deeply concerned today about the prospects of more inflation in the future. A $6 billion cutback in expenditures with the President's tax increase will help to alleviate this condition.

The President a few weeks ago said we in the Congress—on your side and on our side—should bite the bullet.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I believe the Congress, by approving the President's tax increase and by approving of a $6 billion spending limitation, will bite the bullet.

But let me point out that the American people in the State of Oregon yesterday, on both sides, did bite the bullet, and they told the Members of the Congress, the ones here and the ones that are seeking reelection, that we had better bite the bullet and vote for some economy in Congress, and dig ourselves out of the fiscal mess that we are in. And we—all of us—ought to get the warning right now, and similarly I believe it ought to be a warning to the President of the United States and the executive branch of the Government.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I cannot understand why the conference report has not been brought up a long time ago, if the situation is as serious as we all know it is. I believe I understand what has happened today—I would call this operation today "Operation Get Off the Hook," because a lot of the people on the other side are going to vote for the resolution, then when the conference report comes in they will vote against the other one, and then be off the hook, and I do not believe we ought to buy it.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Burke] yield me 1 additional minute?

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. I am happy to yield the 1 minute to the gentleman, but we will have to take it from the gentleman's side.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I thank the gentleman and I appreciate it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, in conclusion let me say that a $4 billion reduction is just insufficient to meet the crisis the Nation faces. If we do not approve the conference report with a $6 billion spending limitation, then all of the evils that have been forecast by the experts in the field of economics will come to pass. Practically everybody in this room has lived through and suffered under the chaos of the thirties, and not one of us, certainly, wants that to happen again.

So if you are going to avoid the catastrophe of the thirties, you should reject this $4 billion spending limitation, which is insufficient. You should approve the $6 billion spending limitation so that we can restore some stability to the American dollar at home and so that we can restore confidence in the American dollar abroad.

I hope the motion is defeated.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. Pepper].

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Director of the Bureau of the Budget told me that if a $6 billion cut were enacted, there would be substantial personnel cuts in every veterans' hospital in the country and it would materially affect, of course, the operation of those hospitals.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, he said it was expected that probably the thinking in the White House now was, so far as they could presently reveal it, that the proposed cuts would be about equally divided between the Defense Department and the civilian economy.

Mr. Speaker, a few days ago one of the President's economic advisers, Mr. James S. Duesenberry, stated that if the proposed tax increase were enacted and the $6 billion cut were enacted, the principal effect of the tax increase would be in this half year of 1968—and the principal effect of the expenditure cut would be in the first half year of 1969.

He said that the two together in view of the retroactive character of the tax increase and the increase of $3 billion in social security taxes January 1 were too much and would produce unemployment in the country in the first 6 months after the first of the year.

So I propose, and I think our distinguished friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts, has given us the rationale of the desirable course to follow—let us enact the tax increase and get the effect of it in the last half of this year along with a $4 billion cut in spending. That will curb inflation. If another $2 billion cut should be necessary in the view of the new President and the new Congress at the beginning of next year, the President could easily effect the additional $2 billion cut or whatever amount should be possible or desirable in the interest of the public welfare of our country by not spending such amount.

Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman from Massachusetts has done a commendable job and I shall strongly support this motion.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Collier].

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, as I have watched proceedings of this body in considering appropriation bills this year, and after having listened to lengthy testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee from Secretary Fowler, Chairman, of the Federal Reserve Board Martin, and fiscal economists, it is seemingly impossible to believe that most of the Members of this House really realize how serious a fiscal mess this country is in today. The fact is that we are about as sick financially as we have ever been in the past 35 years.

Paradoxically, the chaotic situation

comes at a time when tax revenues have been the highest in our history. And even those who nurture a desire to spread the tentacles of the Federal Government farther and farther into every area of our national life, cannot afford to be so oblivious that they would send this country down the drain for expediency's sake.

During the 89th Congress when new programs and big spending bills were rammed through with little regard for the war in Vietnam and the inevitable fiscal crisis deficit spending would create, there were many of us who warned right on the floor of this House that the chickens would come home to roost within a year or two. And that is just where we find ourselves today.

There has been a lot of lipservice given to austerity. Although there has been a sort of token action in this direction, just pure and simple mathematics establishes the fact that the proposed $4 billion cut is not going to do the job. We have talked of priorities, and yet I have seen funds appropriated for desirable yet certainly nonpriority programs.

And the ironical thing is that there are probably more people back at the grassroots level who are more deeply worried and concerned with the situation than some folks around Washington.

I can only suggest that we now take a good, hard look at the facts of life. It is the responsibility of every Member of this Congress and the administration to see that we do not slip farther into the morass of this fiscal mess because short-term thinking today may result in greater deprivation in the years ahead as this country moves from crises to crises. The day is gone when we can afford to indulge in the folly of GNP and deficit ratio theories.

I fully realize that warnings of this nature, no matter how mathematically logical they may be, are easy to scorn in the face of political pressures in an election year.

But as one Member of this body, I say today that unless we face the responsibility of the situation, no matter how distasteful it may be, the consequences will be far more dangerous.

I do not think a $6 billion cut in expenditures is enough, and certainly a reduction of only $4 billion will be far too little—too late.

So please let us accept the proposal agreed to by the House-Senate conferees, and proceed from there in trying to do the job which the vast majority of American people have the right to expect us to do. To do anything less at this juncture would not only be irresponsible, but indeed dangerous to the future of this country.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, for the purposes of debate, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. HERLONG].

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, I hope that we will not get carried away with collateral issues. The only issue involved at this time is whether we will have a $6 billion or a $4 billion cut in spending for fiscal 1969.

I am surprised that the Director of the Bureau of the Budget would say that if we had a $6 billion rather than a $4 billion cut, the personnel loss to the Veterans' Administration would cause the closedown of hospitals. The part of the conference report dealing with personnel is an entirely different section, I say to my distinguished colleague and friend from Florida, and whether we have a $6 billion or a $4 billion cut has nothing to do with personnel. This problem will have to be taken care of in some other way. I do say there is a problem there, and I hope it will be taken care of. But it is not before us at this time, nor are any of the other collateral issues which have been brought up before us at this time. I repeat, we are deciding today whether to cut $4 billion or $6 billion.

My motion in the Ways and Means Committee that sprung this tax bill stated that budget expenditures for fiscal 1967 should be reduced by at least $4 billion in expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969—with certain exceptions, of course, as are also included in the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BURKE]. The motion then went on to say:

> The chairman and the House conferees are requested to negotiate within the conference on an appropriate limitation on expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969.

This meant that the conferees could go for a $4 billion cut or for a $6 billion cut or for anything in between. We thought we did the right thing to give the conferees this much latitude.

The Appropriations Committee passed a resolution which said in part:

> Budget outlays (expenditures and net lending) during fiscal year 1969 should be reduced by not less than $4 billion.

I submit that the action that we hear reported as having been taken by the conferees, of cutting to $6 billion, is within the ballpark. It is not inconsistent with either the motion passed by the Committee on Ways and Means and the resolution passed by the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, in 1967 the Joint Economic Committee reported—and I quote from the report:

> Federal expenditures that are not absolutely essential to national defense or our economic growth or welfare must be sharply reduced. Congress must find ways to reduce expenditures for fiscal year 1968 by at least $5 billion or $6 billion per year.

That was 1968. We did not do it. We had a $22 billion deficit. The problem is even worse now. Secretary Fowler says we will have a deficit of approximately $31 billion if we do not do something.

So we have to pass a bill. The Senate conferees have indicated that they cannot go back to the Senate with anything less than that which they voted for the first time, which is a $6 billion cut. They yielded, I understand, to the House on practically everything else except this amount of cut.

I think, for my part, we have to get a bill passed or we are going to be headed down the same road that Great Britain has been headed down for all these years, with the only exception being we do not have the United States to bail us out, as they did.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, at this time for purposes of debate, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I must say that I debated with myself as a member of the conference committee as to whether I should speak on this matter. I come here not to defend what the conferees did. I think the conferees did a good job. But as I debated whether I should speak, it seemed to me there were some points I should make.

First, the issue before us goes far beyond the normal issue we face when we talk about the desirable or undesirable level of Federal spending. Under normal circumstances maybe we can enjoy the luxury of examining whether a certain level of spending or whether certain programs are needed or desirable. Today, however, we cannot consider these questions in that relaxed manner. Today we face a fiscal crisis.

That is a factor that should be uppermost in our minds as we discuss and debate this issue. Make no mistakes about it: The dollar, our medium of exchange, is in serious trouble. It is in serious trouble at home, and it is in serious trouble abroad. Involved, Mr. Speaker, is not just the question of certain Government programs and whether they will be cut back or postponed or eliminated. Involved is our capacity to carry out even the very basic functions of government, because if the dollar goes down the drain, our fundamental capacity as a government is jeopardized.

Certainly the continuation of Government services at the current projected level is involved in the question before us, but also involved—and here is the point I would ask the Members to consider as they vote on this—is the value of the wages of our people, their savings, their insurance, their pensions, their retirement, and, yes, their veterans' benefit checks, and, yes, the value of the welfare checks, whether those checks come from Federal, State, or local sources, the value of these checks on which our poor rely.

Mr. Speaker, this is not my conclusion alone. This is what the Secretary of the Treasury has been saying for months. This is what the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board has been saying for months. This is really what the economic advisers have been saying for months. It is not just my conclusion that involved here is the value of our money. All responsible opinion in this country points a finger of "beware"—that is what we had better be concerned about today.

Unless we come to the defense of the dollar, its value and its integrity, we will be asking for trouble far greater, frankly, than that involved in the reduction or deferral of approximately $6 billion out of almost $190 billion of projected Federal expenditures. If the dollar is to be defended, we must substantially reduce the anticipated $25 to $30 billion deficit projected for 1969.

Inherent in any solution is bringing the explosion in Federal expenditures under control. We have got to start establishing some priorities around here. Yes, and they have got to start establishing some priorities downtown. And high on that priority list, my friends, must be—must be the defense of the dollar, our currency, our medium of exchange.

As you consider the issue before you, ask yourself what is more important, the value of the dollar or some service that might be cut under a $6 billion retrenchment? What is more important? I believe you will have to agree that more important is the integrity of our money.

The first point I would make is that we must face up to and establish priorities. Defense of the dollar is of the highest priority.

The second point I would make is that the establishment of a spending ceiling and cutback in expenditures as is proposed both by this motion and by the conference report is at best a crude tool, and retrenchment is not going to be without anguish and difficulty. But, in view of the seriousness of the situation, it is our only tool and at this late date we had better seize it and use it in spite of its imperfections.

We heard a lot about the problems and difficulties involved in a cutback in planned expenditures. I in no way underestimate those difficulties. The point I would make, however, and which we must all realize is that unless we are successful in a defense of the dollar the problems which we will face will be far more difficult and far more distasteful than the problems entailed in a $6 billion retrenchment.

My third point is that the issue before us today is intimately tied up with the proposal of the administration to increase taxes. The conference committee report would provide a tax increase of some $14 billion in a full year of operation.

I believe a tax increase is necessary. I have been saying so for over a year. However, let me make it perfectly clear that a tax increase by itself, a tax increase that merely invites another round of expenditure increases, will leave the budget deficit where it is and accomplish little toward a solution of the problem.

Increased taxes means that the private citizen must reassess his spending pattern and reduce or eliminate low priority items. Is it not only reasonable that the Federal Government do the same? It is not only reasonable, it is essential. I am convinced the American people will accept any sacrifice in time of need, but they insist that the Government set an example. This Congress will not enact, and I am convinced the people will not accept, a tax increase unless it is accompanied by a meaningful cutback and restraint on Government spending plans.

My last and final point is that the conferees have reached an agreement. It is a good agreement. It is an agreement that I am convinced will be accepted by the Senate. It is an agreement that should be accepted by the House. The conference committee has produced a package that will make a frontal attack on the deficit and it will shore up our sick and tottering dollar.

It raises taxes but, at the same time, it puts a ceiling on expenditures and cuts back obligational authority. I remind you that the Secretary of the Treasury has urged this adoption.

If this House today passes the motion offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BURKE], it will knock the conference report into a cocked hat. I believe it will kill the chances of reaching an agreement with the U.S. Senate on this most important issue.

Your conferees have labored long and hard. We have reached an agreement. Instructions to go back and hold further conferences under limitations, in my judgment, create an impossible situation.

Rather than raise havoc with the conference report, it is time, Mr. Speaker, that the President and the Congress give their support to the work of the conferees.

Unless the President and the Congress give full support to the conference report, it will be clear that neither the Congress nor the President has the will or the competence to make the difficult decisions essential to the defense of the dollar at home and abroad.

It is essential to the welfare and the security of this Nation that we get on with the job and approve the conference report. The mischievous motion before us should be rejected.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN].

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include tables and other extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the way I view it, the reason why we are in this difficult situation is twofold.

One relates to high interest rates. We are paying $7.5 billion a year this year on the national debt in excess of reasonable and traditional rates of the past. That is absolutely unnecessary. It is exorbitant and should not be paid. That is one of the main causes.

The Members who have been talking on this subject have failed to state that we are paying twice as much interest as we should pay according to our experience as a Government in the past.

Furthermore, we are paying a large part of our Federal debt twice. We have paid for $50 billion in Government bonds with Government money. We have paid for it once, and every informed person knows that. Those bonds have not been canceled. We have not had a bond burning. They are still charged against our national debt. And on those bonds we are paying $2 billion a year interest, which should not be paid. It is as simple as that.

I congratulate the gentleman from Massachusetts for making his motion. I am glad to support it, because it is the right thing to do.

But, however, we have not given consideration to the causes of our plight. We can correct this. Where is the blame? That will become an issue in this campaign now. This will force the issue. People will be looking for the party which is most responsible for these high-interest rates, for not canceling our bonds when they have been paid for once. They want to stop paying our debts more than once, sometimes two or three times.

We do not even require an audit of the Federal Reserve. We have no audit. We do not know whether the bonds actually are there. I assume that they are. The first thing we should do is to have the General Accounting Office audit the Federal Reserve, including the Open Market Committee, and the Federal Reserve banks. It is possible we will find some things that will open our eyes. We know now that they have $50 billion in bonds that have been paid for once, that we are paying $2 billion a year interest on, that should not be paid.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the motion to send the conference report on the Tax Adjustment Act of 1968, back with instructions to limit expenditure cuts to no more than $4 billion. On May 6, 1968, I voted with the majority of the Ways and Means Committee to advise the chairman to advise the committee of conference between the House and the Senate on H.R. 15414 that budget expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, "should be reduced by at least $4 billion—excepting special Vietnam costs, interest on the debt, veterans' benefits, and social security trust funds, in excess of amounts estimated in the budget."

I voted for this on the strength of the President's message that he would agree to $4 billion expenditure cuts in order that a tax increase might be enacted. It does not take a great deal of imagination to realize that expenditure cuts of the magnitude of $6 billion are going to play havoc with many of our domestic programs. The space program, medical research, grants to education, urban problems, veterans' benefits and hospitalization, and employment in the Federal Government.

I will realize that no one likes to take a backward step and relinquish the good and beneficial programs that the Johnson administration has put in motion but at the same time, I also realize that something must be done to change the direction in which our fiscal policies are taking us. We have been running at a deficit for 16 out of the last 17 years. Our balance of payments has been running at a deficit due to our vast foreign investments, our military commitments, and our far-flung tourist travel. Our gold reserves have declined to about $11 billion.

The devaluation of the pound last fall and the run on the gold markets made the desirability of holding dollars by the central banks less attractive. Our allies have been patient but they look with growing concern on America's reluctance to put her house in order.

Whether you call it a "cost push" or a "demand pull" inflation, every housewife knows that food prices are becoming ridiculous. The cost of living has risen to a record 4 percent in the last year and it is on a one-way street toward outer space.

We have been told by the administration that the tax increase will provide a psychological lift and restoration of confidence in the dollar. I think we must take action now. I support the motion to instruct the conferees on expenditure cuts of $4 billion because I think we should not destroy all our worthwhile domestic programs to achieve the first step toward responsibility. Like violent exercise, it should not be ventured into so vigorously that we will have a national heart attack.

I support a tax increase with expenditure cuts of $4 billion. I only hope its enactment will not be too late.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, we face today probably the most pressing issue to come before this Congress. The outcome of this debate will go very far in determining the economic future and well-being of our Nation. It would be far better if the tax question were considered alone so that it would be decided on purely economic issues. These clearly militate in favor of the tax.

But the situation is otherwise: The tax debate of 1968 is inextricably tied to the fate of vital social legislation, to political maneuvering respecting the national debt ceiling, and to the conduct of the war in Vietnam and its cost.

I support the 10-percent surtax even when linked to a mandated expenditure cut of no more than $4 billion. I do this only with the assurances of the administration that a cut of this size will not affect the really important domestic programs; that is, the war on poverty, the rebuilding of the cities, education, and so forth. I am sad that this tax, this most necessary tax, could not be debated on its own merits. There can be no doubt of the economic validity of this fiscal policy. We have a duty to the American people to stop inflation, to curb interest rates, to put our international accounts in balance, and to restore confidence in the dollar.

But a cut beyond a $4-billion expenditure is risky to our economy and cruel to our needy and disadvantaged people. At a time when we should be devoting more resources to our most pressing domestic problems, it is difficult, in good conscience, to cut costs of programs calculated to solve them.

This is the dilemma—there are two grab bags: One contains a curb for inflation and high-interest rates and a cure for an unfavorable balance of payments. But it also contains an abandonment of the Nation's poor, disregard for the decay of the cities, and a retreat in our battle for equal opportunity for all.

The other grab bag contains fiscal irresponsibility but no retreat, at least in principle, from the needed humane programs. But is there, perhaps a retreat in fact?

If we fail to pass any kind of tax legislation, there can be no doubt that Treasury financing of the ensuing deficit will push the national debt beyond the legal ceiling. If my colleagues are as recalcitrant as they were last year, and balk at raising that ceiling, the expenditure cuts can be forced upon us without the therapeutic effects of the tax. The Treasury Department tells me that the debt over ceiling will be at least as great as the much discussed $6-billion figure.

But there is an overriding consideration that may determine at least my one vote. If we do not vote a tax plus the excessive and cruel cut of $6 billion, the economy may swing wildly on its hinges, but I do not think it will swing off. Because of what I have said about the debt ceiling we will probably not get the needed remedies for the sickness of the cities, either—and this is more dangerous but likely not fatal.

But if we agree to tax, and then we destroy the anti-inflationary effect of the tax by expending an additional $3.9 billion in Vietnam—the President's requested deficiency appropriation—we are fiscally at about the place we started. And we will have cut expenditures by $6 billion, 2 billion of which has not been responsibly accounted for in any way other than through cuts in the humane programs that we used to call, proudly, the Great Society.

If the motion to instruct the conference committee to compromise on a $4 billion cut along with the 10-percent surtax were passed, we would be relieved of a hard choice.

The acceptance of the conference report, requiring its $6 billion cuts, would almost undoubtedly cause a retrenchment in the progressive and humane programs designed to meet our most serious domestic ills. First, it would incline the Congress toward lesser appropriations in programs having to do with housing for the poor, relief for the cities, and equality of opportunity for the disadvantaged. To take care of the amount of required cut then remaining it would require the administration to make line item vetoes and reduce existing programs—like the closing of some veterans' hospitals and the withdrawal of funds from many projects meeting crying needs of local people throughout the land.

On the other hand, the $4 billion cut envisages only such reductions as these: A cut of $2 billion in the military budget and another $2 billion which would come from Agriculture, the Corps of Engineers, and HEW—higher education only. Admittedly this calls for belt tightening, but it does not call for the crippling of the various social and humane programs.

But if the motion on the floor today fails, we will be faced with the package, containing the $6 billion cuts and the tax, which must be bought or rejected. If we reject it, as I have said, we do not thus save the various social and humane programs. We do not assure sympathetic response to the problems of the cities, because we are even more acutely limited by the debt ceiling—and by the danger of my falsely frugal colleagues irresponsibly slamming the door on the poor and on the cities' ills by refusing to lift it—without the tax.

I am frank to say that I do not know how I will vote if we are faced with the conference committee report to be voted up or down. It is like being given the choice to be hanged or drowned. To vote against it is to risk economic chaos and to reject necessary tax resources which may eventually help solve our very serious domestic problems. But to vote for it is to give a kind of sanction for more war and less domestic tranquility, unless one speaks out with the clearest possible voice against a policy which channels a substantial amount from new taxes into war and which closes the door for these new tax funds to be used to meet the crying human needs of our own people.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the motion of my good friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BURKE]. I oppose instructing the House conferees on H.R. 15414 to insist on a $4 billion cut in expenditures for fiscal year 1969, rather than the $6 billion cut contained in the bill as it passed the Senate.

In support of the motion limiting cuts to $4 billion, it has been argued that if the $6 billion cut is retained, the extra $2 billion cut will be taken from vital social programs such as education, job training, housing, and health. I cannot accept this argument.

I see no reason why $6 billion cannot be taken comfortably from such nonessential programs as public works, highways, agricultural, and other special interest subsidies, space, and the SST.

In the 89th Congress I voted in total against $27 billion spending for such nonessential pork barrel and special interest spending. Already in this Congress, I have voted against more than $20 billion in this category. Just yesterday I voted for a successful motion to recommit appropriations for the Departments of State, Commerce, Justice, and the judiciary resulting in a 3.2-percent reduction. There should be no difficulty finding the $6 billion cuts to which this motion is directed from such fat in the Federal budget.

I have also introduced legislation to set up another Hoover Commission to go through the existing Federal establishment with a fine-tooth comb, recommend elimination of nonessential activities and establish national spending priorities. If such a commission had been established, I do not think Congress would be confronted today with any uncertainty about our ability to cut $6 billion from nonessential activities.

Furthermore, I cannot believe that the President, when the chips are down, will damage the essential social programs to which he is so strongly committed, particularly not when there are so many available nonessential alternatives.

Let us not fool ourselves. The country is in financial jeopardy. Inflation is rapidly eating away at the average American's paper prosperity. The cost of living is going up at a dangerous 4½-percent annual rate. Our national debt is at a record level of $353 billion, resulting in interest costs of more than $16 billion per year. Credit is getting threateningly tight, endangering many segments of our business, most seriously the housing, real estate, and related industries. The dollar is in jeopardy internationally.

In response to these severe financial problems, the Federal Government simply must put its fiscal house in order. We have to take our belts in somewhere if we are to be able to afford to support our essential domestic programs and the costs of the Vietnam war until it can be terminated. The most propitious means of attacking inflation and balancing the Federal budget is through drastic cuts in nonessential spending programs. In my opinion, we shall have to cut far more than $6 billion in these programs to restore our economy to a condition of reasonable stability and health.

Reductions in spending are by far the most effective means of curbing our present inflation. Even a sound increase in taxes—which I do not consider the administration's proposed 10-percent surcharge to be—is not an effective inflation curb. A tax increase will not stop money from being poured into the economy—it will just increase the ability of the Government to spend while it takes a comparable amount from private sector spending. The only way to effectively decrease the amount of money going into the economy is to reduce the amount the Government spends.

It is time for drastic action to save the dollar. We have to put our money where our mouths are. A mandated reduction of spending from $6 billion to $4 billion simply does not seem justified at this time. I therefore urge my colleagues to join me in opposing the Burke motion.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I favor the $6 billion cut in Federal spending and bitterly oppose this motion to reduce $6 billion to $4 billion.

The question before the House is the stability, integrity and purchasing power of the American dollar. Wild Federal spending programs are the principal cause of inflation. Excessive Government spending bears down most heavily on the American housewife, the elderly, those with annuities and the American wage earner. With a cut in Federal spending we can provide for the American people the equivalent of a wage increase by giving them a sound dollar with more purchasing power.

The greatest threat to any nation is paper money with little value. We are on that road today. It is not too late to prevent our Nation going the route of the Weimer Republic in Germany. In the 1920's it took the German housewives a basket of money to buy a loaf of bread. This tragic state of affairs followed, of course, by Adolf Hitler and his dictatorship.

We must cut every nonessential expenditure of the Federal Government and save the American dollar.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I will support the Burke motion for an expenditure reduction of $4 billion. In spite of that, however, I am not sure that I would support a 10-percent surtax in the event this motion is adopted to hold expenditure reductions to $4 billion. If we do not adopt the $4 billion motion, then I certainly cannot support the surtax at this point. As I have said before, Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned that any cutback in expenditures of more than $4 billion will disable our important and urgently needed domestic programs and will lead to chaos.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BURKE] for his motion.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am voting not to restrict expenditure reductions to $4 billion. If a larger cut can be made, I favor it.

The principal reason for my vote is the inability of anyone at this time to say with authority what governmental programs would be affected by a $6 billion cut that would not be affected by a $4 billion cut. I believe that the need is strong to protect the integrity of our fiscal system and to insure the soundness of the dollar. Without this basis, as has been demonstrated in England, the most liberal social programs will be set on a weak foundation and will eventually be undermined.

With a prospective deficit of $30 billion and budget requests of $182 billion, somebody has to take a stand for fiscal responsibility.

Some Members of Congress have asserted that the entire amount of the $6 billion cut could be taken from the Defense Department without damage. If this were so, surely there would be a consensus that this should be done. At the same time, there is no indication that vitally important programs would be sacrificed in any cut. As a matter of fact, one of the great difficulties in talking about this whole matter is the lack of definiteness as to where the cuts would come, when they would come, and who would make them.

Incidentally, the other body has already voted to recommend a $6 billion cut by a vote of 57 to 31.

Accordingly, and until it can be more clearly shown what programs will be affected, I support the principle of the more substantial cut in spending.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Burke motion to instruct the House conferees to the effect that H.R. 15414, provide a cut in expenditures of $4 billion rather than $6 billion in fiscal year 1969.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot support the proposition that the problems of our Nation and especially of our urban areas ought to be ignored and for this reason I strongly support the motion of my good friend, the very distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BURKE].

Further, as a responsible Member of this House, I resent the alternatives given us by the Ways and Means Committee. In substance they have given us a choice between voting to increase taxes on our already hard-pressed middle-income taxpayers on the one hand or voting against a tax increase or voting to further damage the American dollar and worsen the already serious inflation which has hit this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, if there were not an alternative I would not be as angry as I am but I know that there is an alternative and all Members of this House know this as well.

Almost a year ago, I introduced H.R. 12681, a tax reform bill which would enable us to avoid a surcharge if we were willing to close the loopholes in our present inequitable tax code, a step that we have not been willing to take.

Mr. Speaker, I said then and I repeat now, I think a system where an underemployed person in Jersey City pays 14 percent of his net income on the one hand and oil companies which in 1965 earned $6 billion in profits paid only a tax of 6.3 percent of their profits is inherently wrong.

Mr. Speaker, I include my remarks, delivered on August 29, 1967, in support of H.R. 12681 at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS BY MR. DANIELS

Mr. Speaker, on August 7th of this year, President Johnson proposed a 10 percent surtax on Federal Income Taxes. One of the most important results of this proposal is that it has stimulated great discussion on our existing tax structure and, in my view, increased the possibilities for tax reform.

I have received hundreds of letters from citizens of the 14th Congressional District of New Jersey, who feel as I feel that this additional tax burden should not be imposed until we have a system whereby the tax load is shared on a basis of relative equality.

Mr. Speaker, I am appalled by a tax system where an underemployed person in Jersey City pays 14 percent of his net income and on the other hand, oil companies who in 1965 earned almost $6 billion in profits, payed only 6.3 percent in taxes. Surely there is something inherently wrong about this kind of a system.

Mr. Speaker, while the oil depletion allowance is the most glaring weakness in the Internal Revenue Code there are others too which, while smaller, deserve equally to be plugged up.

As a responsible Member of this Congress, I cannot vote for governmental programs without voting to raise the revenue. And, with domestic programs already cut to the quick, the only other possibility is to deny our fighting sons in Vietnam the supplies they need to sustain themselves or for this government to renege upon obligations it has assumed either for our veterans of earlier wars or the debt which has accrued from these wars. None of these courses is acceptable for me.

Thus, I have posed a nine-plank program which I think will raise enough revenue to obviate the necessity for imposing new personal income taxes.

According to the very knowledgeable gentleman from Wisconsin, my good friend and colleague (Mr. REUSS) these nine steps would enable this government to raise $4.3 billion with no new taxes. Surely, Mr. Speaker, the bill I have introduced today deserves a good hard look by this Congress.

I would like at this time to explain the major provisions of my bill to all Members of the House.

Mr. Speaker, the single loophole in the law which screams to heaven for adjustment is the oil depletion allowance which allows oil companies to deduct 27.5 percent of their income before they even start to pay taxes. The apologists for this loophole would have us believe that this deduction is necessary to enable the small wildcat driller to obtain the oil which is necessary to keep this nation functioning. In practice, however, it has enabled the largest oil companies in the world to avoid paying their fair share of the tax load.

Mr. Speaker, consider these figures. In 1965, the twenty largest oil companies paid corporate taxes of 6.3 percent on earnings. Other less favored corporations paid the corporate tax of 48 percent. The largest oil company, Standard of New Jersey, paid $82 million or a rate of less than 5 percent. The poorest taxpayer in the 14th District of New Jersey or anywhere else in America paid at a rate of 14 percent or more. Surely before we saddle the small taxpayer with an additional burden we have a duty to go after the big fellows who are getting off so lightly.

Mr. Speaker, the mineral depletion allowance gambit has gone on too long and now is a time for this House and the other Body too, to take a hard look at the whole Internal Revenue Code.

Mr. Speaker, I do not come before this Body as a great tax expert, but my years as an attorney and as a Magistrate have equipped me to seek for equity and it is for this reason that I have drafted a bill which I think will serve a rough guideline for action along these lines by the Congress to raise needed revenue without imposing the 10 percent surtax on our middle income citizens.

Section 2 of the bill would enable the government to realize $2.5 billion by closing up the capital gains loophole. Under present law, if a person sells a capital asset, he is taxed at 25 percent, the capital gains rate. Yet, if he dies before selling or transferring the asset his estate pays no tax at all. This section would permit the taxation of such property at the standard capital gains rate.

Section 3 of my bill would end the unlimited charities deductions which permits millionaires to deduct up to 90 percent of their income for charitable donations while the ordinary taxpayer is limited to 30 percent of his income. How this works is that there is a special provision in the Code which permits a taxpayer who has given away or paid in state and local income taxes 90 percent of his taxable income in 8 out of 10 years. This loophole permits the man with a large income from municipal bonds or through capital gains to pay virtually no tax at all. Secondly, I might point out at this point that the present tax law allows another little gimmick designed to aid our rich taxpayers. The United Auto Workers Report in its July 17, 1967, edition points out that a person wishing to give away a work of art valued at $50,000 can have a straw man offer him $150,000 for it. After turning down the "offer" he then gives it away and deducts the puffed up price of $150,000.

Section 4, Mr. Speaker, would end the stock portion provision in the Code which permits highly paid corporate executives to exercise an option to buy tomorrow at today's prices, large chunks of their companies' stocks and thus pay taxes at a rate of 25 percent rather than the steeper rates which they would normally have to pay.

Section 5 would repeal the $100 dividend exclusion which permits a taxpayer to pay no taxes on the first $100 of dividends at a cost of the Treasury and to the six out of seven taxpayers who do not have dividend income, of some $200 million annually.

Section 6 deals with the multiple corporate dodge which permits the division of a single business entity into several units permitting the separate units to be taxed at the rate of 22 percent which is assessed against the first $25,000 of corporate income rather than the 48 percent which is assessed after the first $25,000 of income.

Section 7 would forbid the financing of plants owned by private industry by municipal governments who are able in this way to aid the corporations by financing this plant by tax free municipal bonds. This provision in the Code ostensibly written into the law to aid depressed areas has resulted in great abuses. Ending this device would bring in $50 million a year.

Section 8 would lower the oil depletion to 15 percent. Very frankly, I would prefer a lower figure but I think 15 percent would be a start in the right direction. In this section the depletion allowance for other minerals which is presently 23 percent would be cut to 15 percent as well.

Section 9 would establish the same rate for gift and estate taxes. Under present statutes, $3,000 a year can be given to a single individual with no imposition of a gift tax. Beyond this, $30,000 can be given away during a person's lifetime without any gift tax being imposed. In addition, any taxable gift is assessed at a rate ¾ of that for the prevailing estate tax. This action of my bill would set a rate of 25 percent for both taxable gifts and property which pass as a result of death.

Mr. Speaker, under present law estate taxes may be paid in government bonds which are redeemed at par value. This loophole costs the government not less than $50 million a year, a not insigificant sum. Section 10 of the bill I have introduced today would end this device frequently employed by the very wealthy to avoid payment of taxes.

Mr. Speaker, I do not think this bill is the final word but it is my hope that it will provide a rallying symbol for those Members of this House who share my reluctance to further tax our middle and lower income citizens who, as I see it, are paying more than their share of the total tax load of this nation, federal, state and local.

I have read very carefully the superb material put forth by my capable colleagues, Congressman Reuss and my good neighbor from New York (Mr. Tenzer) from whom I have drawn heavily for their good ideas expressed in recent weeks on this House Floor. It is my hope that we can produce an alternative to the plan suggested by President Johnson, which will meet the very elementary test of fairness to all.

Mr. Speaker, as I said a few minutes ago, out of the fiscal crisis of 1967 may come something more important than just raising needed revenue, a tax code which is fair to all.

The people of the 14th Congressional District of New Jersey like taxes no better than other people in these United States but they recognize, as do all sensible people, the inevitability of the taxation process. When all is said and done the people of Hudson County are willing to do their share of the responsiblities that go with citizenship. Yet, to ask these people to bear an extra load in order to permit those more financially capable to escape their share is a policy which cannot be supported at any time.

I am not sure my bill is the final answer or whether it is an answer at all, but I do know that it is a possibility and it is a possibility worth considering. And if in any way it has helped this nation to move toward tax reform, then I feel satisfied that I have served my people and all the over-burdened middle income taxpayers of America as I would wish to do so.

As a people, we admire justice and fair play and it is my belief that our tax laws should reflect these principles.

Mr. Speaker, let me again reiterate without taking the time of this House that these alternatives are wrong. The House is being forced into a position where conscientious Members will have to vote for a highly unpopular—and deservedly so—tax increase on the premise that there is no alternative short of destroying the economy of this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the House conferees and all Members of this body and the other body, too, to do what is right—right for our economy, but above all for the middle-income taxpayers who are the very backbone of this Nation.

As I see it, a tax increase should not be enacted until we have tax reform.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the motion to instruct the House conferees on H.R. 15414, to insist that the measure provide a Federal expenditure reduction for fiscal year 1969 of $4 billion rather than $6 billion. I do so, not because I agree or believe that this method of a forced, set figure expenditure reduction for the coming fiscal year is in the best interest of the welfare of the people of this country; but, because the $4 billion cut will do less harm than the $6 billion cut.

The fact is that the House has been using a general meat-ax approach in its consideration of appropriation measures. I do not believe that this is the wisest nor most responsible approach for reducing Federal expenditures. By the time the appropriation bills reach the House for consideration, they are generally below the amounts requested by the administration. The Appropriations Committee has not acted blindly in reaching its decision. It has fully explored the need and purpose of all requested funds and after due deliberation has recommended what it deems appropriate. We may not agree with the committee on its determination and we are able to make changes in individual appropriations. In so doing we are properly fulfilling our responsibility.

The committee print of May 9, 1968, prepared for the use of the Senate Committee on Finance and the House Committee on Ways and Means, explaining the expenditure limitation for fiscal year 1969, states:

> Under this provision Congress would cut appropriations for current expenditures to the extent it could, but to the extent the Congressional reductions fell short of $6 billion, then the President would be required to further reduce actual spending to reach the limit.

This is a unique method of cutting appropriations and shifting the responsibility from the Congress to the President. The President has neither requested this authority nor has he recommended it. On the contrary, his statements question the wisdom of such action.

I strongly oppose the wholesale and indiscriminate cutting of funds from the domestic, civilian sector of the budget, the effects of which imperil the programs to improve conditions for and the welfare of our people. Such action only tends to further neglect those who have been too long neglected.

I want to make it very clear that I am voting to support the motion, not because I favor it, I do not, as I have explained; but, it is the lesser of two evils. I have voted against the across-the-board cuts and will continue to vote against cuts until it is clearly indicated where they are to be made.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield the remaining time to the distinguished lady Member from the State of Michigan [Mrs. GRIFFITHS].

The SPEAKER. The gentlewoman from Michigan is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, I support the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts. I would support any motion which attempted to make the tax conference report less mischievous. Throughout my years in Congress I have opposed a line item veto for the President, because I feel that it gives him an unwarranted and oppressive power over the Congress; that is, he can say, "You vote for what I want or I will cut out of this budget what you want." In this case I oppose this power now.

But how will this Congress make these cuts and deny him the power that is given him in the conference report? On what cuts does Congress have a majority? Well, we have a majority to cut $7 million from the use of the EEOC and a majority to pass a bill which will ultimately require $25 billion to develop the Colorado River. There is a majority to authorize $80 billion for the use of the Defense Department and a majority to make a mockery of the Renegotiation Board—the last clear chance we have to recover the excess profits and to push down the exorbitant and silly prices paid for the armaments of war.

I ask you, where is our majority and which cuts will be made in these appropriations and for what does our majority stand? In this year, if the tax conference report passes as written, there is every danger that a majority can sustain the bridge for Clim's Gulch at Podunk Center and cut the programs which have as their purpose the upgrading of our labor force and the education of our children.

This conference report is in effect an attempt to balance the economy with 30 million people outside of it. It is our announcement to the world that we cannot afford full employment. How does the tax conference report approach this problem? Why, by attempting to build a road to yesterday.

This report seeks to hold Federal employment to the 1966 level. Just how this is to be done is beyond me. Are you going to ask new subdevelopments of America to call at the post office for their mail? Will you cut down those who send out social security checks or cut the number of inspectors who guard the border against the importation of drugs?

I object also to that beautiful tax loophole for the rich welded into this report. I mean the right to issue $1 million in tax-free bonds for industry. Will this help to solve the problems of our cities? Will it aid the unskilled? It will not. It will put small factories into the highest trained labor market that management can find.

I support the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts. It has been made clear in this debate that there exists no majority in this body to make proper cuts. It is obvious that there is already concern that the essential services will be cut.

Mr. Speaker, I represent the looted and burned city of Detroit. Even with the best of will the conferees can build no road to yesterday, but they may succeed in paving the road to hell.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I yield half a minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN].

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I have listened carefully to the debate but have heard no mention of the basic reason why the Nation faces a fiscal crisis. It is the fundamental fact that some $30 billion a year is being spent on the war in Vietnam.

We are about to be faced with a request for $3.9 billion in a supplemental appropriation bill for fiscal year 1968 for military operations in Southeast Asia. If we want to reduce spending by $4 billion, the place to start is by voting that down. Instead the motion before us would instruct the conferees to insist on an expenditure reduction of $4 billion, while specifically exempting funds for Vietnam operations. It is tantamount to a transfer of $4 billion from non-Vietnam programs to the war. As long as Vietnam expenditures are uncontrolled, the principal cause of the Federal deficit remains.

The failure to establish priorities has caused the present difficulty which will not be resolved by imposing an absolute ceiling on expenditures—whether it be $182.1 billion or $180.1 billion.

The conferees on H.R. 15414 would deal with inflation by restraining private and public spending through imposing a 10 percent income tax surcharge coupled with a mandatory reduction in expenditures for fiscal year 1969 of $6 billion from the level of $186.1 billion estimated in the budget to $180.1 billion.

The motion offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BURKE] adopts the same approach, reducing expenditures by $4 billion to an absolute ceiling of $182.1 billion.

To the extent that Congress does not reduce appropriations for current expenditures, the President would be required to further reduce actual spending to reach the limit.

I am not prepared to accept either limitation, nor for that matter the basic approach which has serious shortcomings.

In the first place, both the 10-percent income tax surcharge and the expenditure limitation, as well as other items, were never considered or debated in the House.

Second, the Congress would be abdicating to the Executive its responsibility to determine spending levels through the appropriation process.

Ironically, the most vocal advocates of the proposal are usually the most jealous guardians of the prerogatives of the House.

Neither the administration nor the Congress has yet faced the need to establish priorities. The administration blandly assured the Nation that it could afford both guns and butter. But guns and butter was a myth. Within the next week or two Congress will be asked to approve the tax conference report reducing spending by $4 billion or $6 billion and in a separate action to increase Vietnam spending by $3.9 billion. In other words, $4 billion will be transferred from domestic programs to the war. It is predictable that Congress will approve both and thus divert to the war funds urgently needed for domestic programs.

For those who have called for greater escalation in Vietnam, this should produce satisfaction. For those who have sought to reduce the Federal commitment to programs in education, housing, jobs, health, and other social needs in committee and on the floor through gutting amendments and recommital motions, this should produce satisfaction.

If the budget-cutters were serious about effecting economy without injury to critical domestic programs, then they would spell out where the $4 billion or $6 billion reduction should be made. The military budget of approximately $80 billion could easily absorb such a reduction.

It is obvious that the price for bailing the administration out of an economic crisis of its own making is the gutting of domestic programs through the back door, and I do not intend to sanction it by voting for either the $6 billion or $4 billion reduction on the basis presented.

The deepening domestic crisis—the plight of the poor in the urban ghettoes and in the backwaters of America—requires new, bold programs of massive Federal assistance to create jobs, decent housing, a minimum level of income maintenance, and decent education for all.

Approval of the package will foreclose efforts in all of these areas, while placing no limit on escalation of war. To those who say that domestic needs must await the conclusion of the war, I say let the war wait. We will always have ample opportunities to blunder into war, but we are fast losing the chance to redeem the promise of this Nation.

According to the testimony of Secretary of the Treasury Fowler, before the House Appropriations Committee:

> The total rise of $10.4 billion (in the fiscal year 1969 budget) is completely accounted for by higher expenditures for defense, obligatory interest on the public debt, and mandatory payments required by recently enacted legislation dealing with social security, public assistance, veterans benefits, and Federal pay increases.

In other words, budgeted expenditures for "controllable" domestic programs have not increased since fiscal year 1968, yet Congress is about to decrease them either by $6 billion or $4 billion. In practice, these cuts would have to come out of the roughly $20 billion to $30 billion of domestic spending which the Budget Bureau considers "controllable." The imposition of a ceiling on such expenditures will foreclose any effective response to the domestic crisis.

For fiscal year 1968 administration requests for funding of these programs were $4.5 billion below authorized levels. In addition, the Congress further reduced them by some $2.5 billion through the appropriation process. Then the administration reduced fiscal year 1968 expenditures in these nonmilitary domestic programs by another $2 billion pursuant to House Resolution 888 of last session. In other words, reductions in domestic programs for fiscal year 1968 totaled some $9 or $10 billion.

As far as the 10-percent income tax surcharge is concerned, it aggravates existing inequities. A program of tax reform could raise $10 billion by correcting existing inequities and closing loopholes like the oil depletion allowance.

According to the Internal Revenue Service, in calendar 1964 there were 35 individual returns filed with adjusted gross incomes of $500,000 and over, and on which no Federal income tax was paid—24,084 individuals filed tax returns with adjusted gross incomes in excess of $10,000 and paid no taxes.

The proposed tax package involves a regressive surtax, with no semblance of tax reform, and accepts the principle of an expenditure ceiling at a time of unparalleled domestic need.

As long as this measure includes a ceiling on domestic expenditures with no ceiling on war, it is unacceptable. Let us not take the bait of believing that it is somehow acceptable if the ceiling on domestic expenditures is a little bit higher.

Those of us who have fought to make the Nation face up to its domestic responsibilities should not give legitimacy to a freeze on domestic efforts. Let us not be led into supporting this motion on the pretext that it will make a bad bargain slightly better. Until our Nation's priorities are reordered, until there is meaningful and equitable tax reform, then we will not begin to meet the crisis which confronts our Nation.

I regret that, under the parliamentary situation, it is not in order to offer an amendment to the pending motion unless the gentleman from Massachusetts yields for that purpose. However, if the previous question is voted down, an amendment will be in order. Therefore, I intend to oppose the previous question. If it is voted down, I will offer the following motion:

> Mr. Speaker, I move that the managers on the part of the House, at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill H.R. 15414, be instructed not to agree to any limitation on budget outlays (expenditures and net lending) during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969.

Yesterday 10 Members of the House joined in a statement which summed up our views on the proposed tax package. I include it at this point in the RECORD:

JOINT STATEMENT OF OPPOSITION TO THE CONFERENCE TAX PACKAGE, MAY 28, 1968

At this time of domestic crisis, we cannot support any absolute ceiling on budgetary expenditures. Therefore, we are opposed to the proposed Conference Report on the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968, on the following grounds:

The Tax is a war tax;

The limit on expenditures cripples existing social programs, and forecloses any new efforts to meet the grave social and economic crises facing America;

The $10 billion tax increase and the $6 billion spending cut total $16 billion, and constitute an excessive response to inflation;

The surtax, far from being equitable, exaggerates the inequities in our present tax structure. Tax reform is needed instead.

1. *A war tax:* As the Vietnam war has become less and less supportable, the Administration has shifted its arguments justifying the surtax from a strong emphasis on paying the cost of the war to an emphasis on the need to control inflation. Nevertheless, this would be a war tax. The present fiscal crisis has been created by the war.

If Congress accepts the proposed Conference Report, it continues to accept false priorities. Military policies, no matter how wrong, will continue to receive full support, while domestic needs, no matter how pressing, will be shunted aside or ignored.

2. *A foreclosure on meeting the domestic crises:* The Conference Report proposes a $6 billion reduction in Federal expenditures by imposing an absolute ceiling on expenditures in Fiscal 1969 or $180.1 billion. A $4 billion cut would establish the ceiling at $182.1 billion.

The Bureau of the Budget has stated roughly $150 billion are "relatively uncontrollable expenditures." Of these, military spending would account for more than $80 billion. Even though the Administration might decide to allocate a portion of the reduction to non-Vietnam military spending, the recent request for a $3.9 billion Vietnam supplemental appropriation renders the prospects for any overall reduction totally illusory.

Thus, the specific cuts would have to come from the remaining portion of the budget for domestic expenditures, about $35 billion. Education, health, housing and job programs are already short of funds. These are precisely the areas where further cuts would be made.

3. *An excessive response to inflation:* It is questionable whether the combination of a tax increase and spending cut is a desirable weapon to use against the present inflation. Since the current inflation is not characterized by an excessive growth rate, over-full employment and the full use of industrial capacity, a $16 billion reduction in public and private spending would surely have two negative effects. It would increase unemployment, especially among Negroes and other minorities, and the decline in production would raise the specter of recession.

4. *An exaggeration of present tax inequities; tax reform is needed:* The war in Vietnam has made many of our rich richer, and our powerful corporations more powerful. Yet, under the guise of equal sacrifice from all, we are being asked to support another regressive tax scheme. The "simple" 10% tax surcharge appears to maintain everyone's relative position, but in fact it exaggerates existing tax inequities.

It is claimed that tax reform must be postponed until we get by the present fiscal crisis. But no study is needed to change the most outrageous inequities. There are millionaires who pay absolutely no taxes, and new millionaires are being created by the unholy alliance of war profits and tax loopholes. This is happening while citizens across the country are struggling to care for their families symbolized by these poor camping beneath the Capitol. This is happening while the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition finds that ten million Americans are suffering from hunger, and twenty million more lack adequate diets.

We would accept a program if it increased revenue through tax reform and allocated it to urgent domestic needs. This could be done by closing major loop holes, imposing a minimum tax on the wealthy, and taxing excess corporate war profits.

We cannot support a tax package that continues the imbalance in our national priorities. The Conference Report says "Yes" to the war in Vietnam, and "No" to America's problems at home.

George E. Brown, Jr. (California), Phillip Burton (California), John Conyers, Jr. (Michigan), John G. Dow (New York), Don Edwards (California), Augustus F. Hawkins (California), Henry Helstoski (New Jersey), Robert W. Kastenmeier (Wisconsin), Benjamin S. Rosenthal (New York), William F. Ryan (New York).

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves the previous question.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. As many as are in favor let it be known by saying "aye." As many as are opposed "no." In the opinion of the Chair, the "ayes" have it.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan will state it.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I was not entirely clear. Was that vote on the previous question or on the motion?

The SPEAKER. We are voting now on ordering the previous question. The "ayes" appear to have it.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from New York rise?

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I was on my feet and seeking recognition.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is recognizing the gentleman.

Mr. RYAN. To propound a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, if the previous question is voted down would it be in order to move that the managers on the part of the House, at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill H.R. 15414, be instructed not to agree to any limitation on budget outlays—expenditures and net lending—during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state to the gentleman from New York in response to his parliamentary inquiry that if the previous question had been voted down any motion that is germane would be in order.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Louisiana will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, should the previous question be voted down would the motion be open to a preferential motion to amend and would of necessity the time be controlled by those in opposition to the previous question?

The SPEAKER. The previous question has already been ordered. If it had not been ordered and voted down, the answer to the parliamentary inquiry of the gentleman from Louisiana would be in the affirmative.

Mr. WAGGONNER. I thank the distinguished Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 137, nays 259, not voting 37, as follows:

[Roll No. 159]

YEAS—137

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Annunzio
Ashley
Barrett
Bingham
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Carey
Casey
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
Conte
Corman
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
de la Garza
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Eilberg
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Farbstein

Feighan
Flood
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Halpern
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Karsten
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
Leggett
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McFall
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Minish
Mink
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
O'Neill, Mass.
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Podell
Price, Ill.
Pucinski
Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Rodino
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Ruppe
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Sisk
Smith, Iowa
Staggers
Steed
Sullivan
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Tiernan
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—259

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Aspinall
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Bolton
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conyers
Corbett
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Downing
Duncan
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Everett
Fascell
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Gathings
Gettys
Gibbons
Goodell
Goodling
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hébert
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Herlong
Horton
Hosmer
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jarman
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, N.C.
Kastenmeier
Keith
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
McClory
McCloskey
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Mayne
Meeds
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Morris, N. Mex.
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Neal, Ga.
Ottinger
Passman
Pelly
Pettis
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Purcell
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ryan
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stuckey
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Ullman
Vander Jagt
Waggonner
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wolff
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING—37

Andrews, Ala.
Ashmore
Bell
Berry
Blatnik
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Carter
Clawson, Del
Cowger
Culver
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Evins, Tenn.
Green, Oreg.
Hardy
Hawkins
Jones, Mo.
Lukens
McClure
McMillan
May
Meskill
Miller, Calif.
Moore
Morse, Mass.
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
Randall
Rees
Roybal
Selden
Stubblefield
Tunney
Utt
White
Wilson, Charles H.

So the motion was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Blatnik for, with Mr. Bow against.

Mr. Roybal for, with Mr. White of Texas against.

Mr. Stubblefield for, with Mr. Hardy against.

Mr. Olsen for, with Mrs. May against.

Mr. Rees for, with Mr. Utt against.

Mr. Hawkins for, with Mr. Randall against.

Mr. Charles H. Wilson for, with Mr. Ashmore against.

Mr. Edwards of California for, with Mr. Evins of Tennessee against.

Mr. Brown of California for, with Mr. Andrews of Alabama against.

Mr. O'Hara of Illinois for, with Mr. Berry against.

Mr. Miller of California for, with Mr. McMillan against.

Mr. Culver for, with Mr. Del Clawson against.

Mr. Tunney for, with Mr. Meskill against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Selden with Mr. McClure.

Mr. Lukens with Mr. Moore.

Mrs. Dwyer with Mr. Cowger.

Mr. Morse of Massachusetts with Mr. Carter.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 15794, U.S. GRAINS STANDARD ACT

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1171 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1171

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 15794) to provide for United States standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LATTA], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1171 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 15794 to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes.

H.R. 15794 would continue the present U.S. standards for grain, improve the national grain inspection system by authorizing additional inspection services under the act, eliminate certain requirements which appear to be a burden on interstate commerce and which are apparently no longer needed by the commercial grain trade, strengthen the requirements for export grain, and strengthen the prohibitions to further protect the integrity of the national grain inspection system. The bill would authorize the establishment of national standards similar to those established under the present act and would authorize the utilization of additional criteria in the standards for measuring characteristics of grain.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1171 in order that H.R. 15794 may be considered.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill is to continue the present U.S. standards for grain, to improve the current national grain inspection system, which grades grain type and quality prior to shipment in interstate or foreign commerce, and generally to improve the system by removing some old requirements which are no longer applicable in today's market situation and to strengthen the prohibition against certain illegal acts relating to the incorrect labeling of grains for transit into the flow of commerce.

The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to establish official grain standards. Any change proposed to such a standard after it is in effect will not take effect until 1 year after its adoption. All grain for export or moving in interstate commerce must be inspected for grade; this is done at the time of loading for shipment—not before. Inspection is to be made by persons licensed to do so by the Secretary. These may include State employees, employees of governmental agencies or of commercial enterprises. All must apply the standards promulgated by the Secretary. Licenses are for 3-year periods and at the expiration of such time a license must be reexamined to renew his license.

A list of prohibited acts is spelled out in section 13 of the bill. These include:

1. Knowingly mislabeling grain as to quality or forging an official inspection mark;
2. Knowingly use a false inspection mark;

3. Attempting to cause the issuance of a false inspection certificate;
4. Altering an official grain sample; or
5. Trying to improperly influence an inspector.

Penalties are imprisonment for up to 6 months or a fine of up to $5,000 or both for a first offense, up to a year in prison and up to a $5,000 fine for future offenses.

The authorization called for in the bill is for "such sums as are necessary." The Department of Agriculture estimates the annual cost at $2,900,000.

The Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of the Budget support the bill. There are no minority views.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 16127, INCREASE OF CEILING ON NUMBER OF COAST GUARD OFFICERS

Mr. **O'NEILL** of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1192 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 1192

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 16127) to increase the limitation on the number of officers of the Coast Guard. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. **O'NEILL** of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1192 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 16127 to increase the limitation on the number of officers for the Coast Guard.

H.R. 16127 would authorize an increase in the ceiling on Coast Guard officers from 4,000 to 5,000 by amending section 42 of title 14, United States Code.

In 1966, the limitation of Coast Guard officers was increased from 3,500 to 4,000. Since that time, the Coast Guard has been transferred into the Department of Transportation from the Treasury Department and some 18 officers are serving in various capacities within the Department. Also, since that time, jurisdiction over all large icebreakers has been transferred from the Navy to the Coast Guard and it has been necessary to provide crews for these vessels.

In addition, our operations have been stepped up in the Southeast Asia area, with the result that additional officers have been required there.

With these additional requirements, the presently authorized ceiling will be insufficient to accommodate the commissioning of all the graduates of the Coast Guard Academy this year.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1192 in order that H.R. 16127 may be considered.

Mr **LATTA**. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with the statements which have been made by my friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. O'Neill]. However, I wish to point out the fact that there are 80 Coast Guard cutters now being used to patrol the waters off Vietnam, which represents another reason for the passage of this legislation.

The purpose of the bill is to authorize an increase in the current ceiling on U.S. Coast Guard officers from 4,000 to 5,000.

In 1966, when the current ceiling was set, it was anticipated that it would be adequate for about 5 years. Since that time, however, several unforeseen events have necessitated an increase. The Coast Guard has been transferred into the Department of Transportation and about 18 officers are on shore duty in the Department. More immediate is the fact that the Navy has transferred jurisdiction over all large icebreakers to the Coast Guard; this necessitates more crews and officers for these ships.

The cost of the bill cannot be estimated because it is unknown now how much of this enlarged authorization will be funded.

The Department of Transportation supports the bill as does the Bureau of the Budget. There are no minority views.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further request for time. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. **O'NEILL** of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

U.S. GRAIN STANDARDS ACT

Mr. **PURCELL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill (H.R. 15794) to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes, be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 15794

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States Grain Standards Act, consisting of part B of "An Act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and seventeen, and for other purposes", approved August 11, 1916 (39 Stat. 446, at 482), as amended (7 U.S.C. 71–87), is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SHORT TITLE

"Section 1. This Act may be cited as the 'United States Grain Standards Act'.

"DECLARATION OF POLICY

"Sec. 2. Grain is an essential source of the world's total supply of human food and animal feed and is merchandised in interstate and foreign commerce. It is declared to be the policy of the Congress, for the promotion and protection of such commerce in the interests of producers, merchandisers, warehousemen, processors, and consumers of grain, and the general welfare of the people of the United States, to provide for the establishment of official United States standards for grain, to promote the uniform application thereof by official inspection personnel, and to provide for an official inspection system for grain; with the objectives that grain may be marketed in an orderly manner and that trading in grain may be facilitated.

"DEFINITIONS

"Sec. 3. When used in this Act, except where the context requires otherwise—

"(a) the term 'Secretary' means the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States or his delegates;

"(b) the term 'Department of Agriculture' means the United States Department of Agriculture;

"(c) the term 'person' means any individual, partnership, corporation, association, or other business entity;

"(d) the term 'United States' means the States (including Puerto Rico) and the territories and possessions of the United States (including the District of Columbia);

"(e) the term 'State' means only one of the States (including Puerto Rico) or territories or possessions of the United States (including the District of Columbia);

"(f) the term 'interstate or foreign commerce' means commerce from any State to or through any other State, or to or through any foreign country;

"(g) the term 'grain' means corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, flaxseed, grain sorghum, soybeans, mixed grain, and any other food grains, feed grains, and oilseeds for which standards are established under section 4 of this Act.

"(h) the term 'export grain' means grain for shipment from the United States to any place outside thereof;

"(i) the term 'official inspection' means the determination and the certification, by official inspection personnel, of the kind, class, quality, condition, or quantity of sacks of grain, under standards provided for in this Act or, upon request of the interested person applying for inspection, other criteria approved by the Secretary under this Act (the term 'officially inspected' shall be construed accordingly);

"(j) the term 'official inspection personnel' means employees of State or other governmental agencies or commercial agencies or other persons who are licensed to perform all or specified functions involved in official inspection under this Act; employees of the Department of Agriculture who are authorized to supervise official inspection and to conduct appeal inspection or initial inspection of United States grain in Canadian ports;

"(k) the term 'official inspection mark' means any symbol prescribed by regulations of the Secretary to show the official determination of the kind, class, quality, condition, or quantity of, or other facts relating to grain, under standards provided for in this Act or, upon request of the interested person applying for inspection, other criteria approved by the Secretary under this Act;

"(l) the term 'official grade designation' means a numerical or sample grade designation, specified in the standards provided for in this Act;

"(m) the term 'official inspection agency' means the agency or person located at an inspection point designated by the Secretary for the conduct of official inspection under this Act;

"(n) the term 'official certificate' and 'official form' mean, respectively, a certificate or other form prescribed by regulations of the Secretary under this Act;

"(o) the term 'official sample' means a sample obtained from a lot of grain by, and submitted for official inspection by, official inspection personnel (the term 'official sampling' shall be construed accordingly);

"(p) the term 'submitted sample' means a sample submitted by or for an interested person for official inspection, other than an official sample;

"(q) the term 'lot' means a specific quantity of grain identified as such;

"(r) the term 'interested person' means any person having a contract or other financial interest in grain as the owner, seller, purchaser, warehouseman, or carrier, or otherwise;

"(s) the verb 'ship' with respect to grain means transfer physical possession of the grain to another person for the purpose of transportation by any means of conveyance, or transport one's own grain by any means of conveyance;

"(t) the terms 'false', 'incorrect', and 'misleading' mean, respectively, false, incorrect, and misleading in any particular;

"(u) the term 'deceptive loading, handling, or sampling' means any manner of loading, handling, or sampling that deceives or tends to deceive official inspection personnel, as specified by regulations of the Secretary under this Act.

"STANDARDS

"SEC. 4. (a) The Secretary is authorized to investigate the handling, grading, and transportation of grain and to fix and establish standards of kind, class, quality, and condition for corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, flaxseed, grain sorghum, soybeans, mixed grain, and such other grains as in his judgment the usages of the trade may warrant and permit, and the Secretary is authorized to amend or revoke such standards whenever the necessities of the trade may require.

"(b) Before establishing, amending, or revoking any standards under this Act, the Secretary shall publish notice of the proposal and give interested persons opportunity to submit data, views, and arguments thereon and, upon request, an opportunity to present data, views, and arguments orally in an informal manner. No standards established or amendments or revocations of standards under this Act shall become effective less than one calendar year after promulgation thereof, unless in the judgment of the Secretary, the public health, interest, or safety require that they become effective sooner.

"OFFICIAL INSPECTION REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN EXPORT GRAIN

"SEC. 5. Whenever standards are effective under section 4 of this Act for any grain, no person shall ship from the United States to any place outside thereof any lot of such grain that is sold, offered for sale, or consigned for sale by grade, unless such lot is officially inspected in accordance with such standards on the basis of official samples taken after final elevation as the grain is being loaded abroad, or while it is in, the final carrier in which it is to be transported from the United States, and unless a valid official certificate showing the official grade designation of the lot of grain is promptly furnished by the shipper, or his agent, to the consignee with the bill of lading or other shipping documents covering the shipment: *Provided, however,* That the Secretary may waive any requirement of this section with respect to shipments from or to any area or any other class of shipments when in his judgment it is impracticable to provide official inspection with respect to such shipments.

"REQUIRED USE OF OFFICIAL GRADE DESIGNATIONS AND PROHIBITION OF CERTAIN ACTS WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN GRAIN

"SEC. 6. (a) Whenever standards are effective under section 4 of this Act for any grain no person shall in any sale, offer for sale, or consignment for sale, which involves the shipment of such grain in interstate or foreign commerce describe such grain as being of any grade in any advertising, price quotation, other negotiation of sale, contract of sale, invoice, bill of lading, other document, or description on bags or other containers of the grain, other than by an official grade designation, with or without additional information as to specified factors: *Provided,* That, with respect to interstate commerce, the description of such grain by any proprietary brand name or trademark that does not resemble an official grade designation, or by the use of one or more grade factor designations set forth in the official United States standards for grain, or by other factor information shall not be deemed to be a description of grain as being of any grade.

"(b) No person shall, in any sale, offer for sale, or consignment for sale, of any grain which involves the shipment of such grain from the United States to any place outside thereof, knowingly describe such grain by any official grade designation, or other description, which is false or misleading.

"OFFICIAL INSPECTION AUTHORITY AND FUNDING

"SEC. 7. (a) The Secretary is authorized to cause official inspection under the standards provided for in section 4 of this Act to be made of all grain required to be officially inspected as provided in section 5 of this Act, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe.

"(b) The Secretary is further authorized, upon request of any interested person, and under such regulations as he may prescribe, to cause official inspection to be made with respect to any grain whether by official sample, submitted sample, or otherwise within the United States or with respect to United States grain in Canadian ports under standards provided for in section 4 of this Act, or, upon request of the interested person, under other criteria approved by the Secretary for determining the kind, class, quality, condition, or quantity of, or other facts relating to, grain, whenever in his judgment providing such service will effectuate any of the objectives stated in section 2 of this Act.

"(c) The regulations prescribed by the Secretary under this Act shall include provisions for reinspections and appeal inspections; cancellation of certificates superseded by reinspections and appeal inspections. The Secretary may provide by regulation that samples obtained by or for employees of the Department of Agriculture for purposes of official inspection shall become the property of the United States, and such samples may be disposed of without regard to the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 471 et seq.).

"(d) Certificates issued and not canceled under this Act shall be received by all officers and all courts of the United States as prima facie evidence of the truth of the facts stated therein.

"(e) The Secretary may, under such regulations as he may prescribe, charge and collect reasonable fees to cover the estimated total cost of official inspection except when the inspection is performed by employees of an official inspection agency. The fees authorized by this paragraph shall, as nearly as practicable and after taking into consideration any proceeds from the sale of samples, cover the costs of the Department of Agriculture incident to the performance of appeal and Canadian port inspection services for which the fees are collected, including supervisory and administrative costs. Such fees, and the proceeds from the sale of samples obtained for purposes of official inspection which become the property of the United States, shall be deposited into a fund which shall be available, without fiscal year limitation, for the expenses of the Department of Agriculture incident to providing official inspection services.

"(f) Not more than one inspection agency for carrying out the provisions of this section shall be operative at one time for any one city, town, or other area.

"LICENSES AND AUTHORIZATIONS

"SEC. 8. (a) The Secretary is authorized to issue a license to any individual upon presentation to him of satisfactory evidence that such individual is competent, and is employed by an official inspection agency to perform all or specified functions in official inspection; to authorize any competent employee of the Department of Agriculture to perform all or specified functions involved in supervisory or appeal inspection or initial inspection of United States grain in Canadian ports; and to license any other competent individual to perform specified functions involved in official inspection under a contract with the Department of Agriculture. No person shall perform any official inspection functions for purposes of this Act unless he holds an unsuspended and unrevoked license or authorization from the Secretary under this Act.

"(b) All classes of license issued under this Act shall terminate triennially on a date or dates to be fixed by regulation of the Secretary: *Provided,* That any license shall be suspended automatically when the licensee ceases to be employed by an official inspection agency or to operate independently under the terms of a contract for the conduct of any functions involved in official inspection under this Act: *Provided further,* That subject to paragraph (c) of this section, such license shall be reinstated if the licensee is employed by an official inspection agency or resumes operation under such a contract within one year of the suspension date and the license has not expired in the interim.

"(c) The Secretary may require such examinations and reexaminations as he may deem warranted to determine the competence of any applicants for licenses, licensees, or employees of the Department of Agriculture, to perform any official inspection function under this Act.

"(d) Persons employed by an official inspection agency and persons performing official inspection functions under contracts with the Department of Agriculture shall not, unless otherwise employed by the Federal Government, be deemed to be employees of the Federal Government of the United States.

"REFUSAL OF RENEWAL, OR SUSPENSION OR REVOCATION OF LICENSES

"SEC. 9. The Secretary may refuse to renew, or may suspend or revoke, any license issued under this Act whenever, after the licensee has been afforded an opportunity for a hearing, the Secretary shall determine that such licensee is incompetent, or has inspected grain for purposes of this Act by any standard or criteria other than as provided for in this Act, or has issued, or caused the issuance of, any false or incorrect official certificate or other official form, or has otherwise inspected grain improperly under this Act, or has accepted any money or other consideration, directly or indirectly, for any neglect or improper performance of duty, or has used his license or allowed it to be used for any improper purpose, or has otherwise violated any provision of this Act or of the regulations prescribed or instructions issued to him by the Secretary under this Act. The Secretary may, without first affording the licensee an opportunity for a hearing, suspend any license temporarily pending final determination whenever the Secretary deems such action to be in the best interests of the official inspection system under this Act.

"REFUSAL OF OFFICIAL INSPECTION

"SEC. 10. (a) The Secretary may (for such period, or indefinitely, as he deems necessary to effectuate the purposes of this Act) refuse to provide official inspection otherwise available under the Act with respect to any grain offered for inspection, or owned, wholly or in part, by any person if he determines (1) that the individual (or in case such person is a partnership, any general partner; or in case such person is a corporation, any officer, director, holder, or owner of more than 10 per centum of the voting stock; or in case such person is an unincorporated association or other business entity, any officer or director thereof) has committed any repeated or flagrant violation of section 14 of this Act, or that official inspection has been refused for any of the above-specified causes (for a period which has not expired) to such person, or any other person conducting a business with which the former was, at the time such cause existed, or is responsibly connected; and (2) that providing official inspection with respect to such grain would be inimical to the integrity of the official inspection service.

"(b) For purposes of paragraph (a) of this section, a person shall be deemed to be responsibly connected with a business if he was or is a partner, officer, director, holder, or owner of 10 per centum or more of its voting stock, or an employee in a managerial or executive capacity.

"(c) Before official inspection is refused to any person under paragraph (a), such person shall be afforded opportunity for a hearing.

"PROHIBITION ON CERTAIN CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

"SEC. 11. No person licensed or authorized by the Secretary to perform any official inspection function under this Act, or employed by the Secretary in otherwise carrying out any of the provisions of this Act, shall during the term of such license, authorization, or employment, (a) be financially interested (directly or otherwise) in any business entity owning or operating any grain elevator or warehouse or engaged in the merchandising of grain, or (b) be in the employment of, or accept gratuities from, any such entity, or (c) be engaged in any other kind of activity specified by regulation of the Secretary as involving a conflict of interest: *Provided, however*, That the Secretary may license qualified employees of any grain elevators or warehouses to perform official sampling functions, under such conditions as the Secretary may by regulation prescribe, and the Secretary may by regulation provide such other exceptions to the restrictions of this section as he determines are consistent with the purposes of this Act.

"RECORDS

"SEC. 12. (a) Every official inspection agency and every person licensed to perform any official inspection function under this Act shall maintain such samples of officially inspected grain and such other records as the Secretary may by regulation prescribe for the purpose of administration and enforcement of this Act.

"(b) Every official inspection agency required to maintain records under this section shall keep such records for a period of two years after the inspection or transaction, which is the subject of the record, occurred: *Provided, however*, That grain samples shall be required to be maintained only for such period not in excess of ninety days as the Secretary shall prescribe; and in specific cases other records may be required by the Secretary to be maintained for not more than three years in addition to said two-year period whenever in his judgment the retention of such records for the longer period is necessary for the effective administration and enforcement of this Act.

"(c) Every official inspection agency required to maintain records under this section shall permit any authorized representative of the Secretary to have access to, and to copy, such records at all reasonable times.

"PROHIBITED ACTS

"SEC. 13. (a) No person shall—

"(1) knowingly falsely make, issue, alter, forge, or counterfeit any official certificate or other official form or official inspection mark;

"(2) knowingly utter, publish, or use as true any falsely made, issued, altered, forged, or counterfeited official certificate or other official form or official inspection mark, or knowingly possess, without promptly notifying the Secretary or his representative, or fail to surrender to such a representative upon demand, any falsely made, issued, altered, forged, or counterfeited official inspection certificate or other official form, or any device for making any official inspection mark or simulation thereof, or knowingly possess any grain in a container bearing any falsely made, issued, altered, forged, or counterfeited official inspection mark without promptly giving such notice;

"(3) knowingly cause or attempt (whether successfully or not) to cause the issuance of a false or incorrect official certificate or other official form by any means, or sampling of grain, or submitting grain for official including but not limited to deceptive loading, handling, inspection knowing that it has been deceptively loaded, handled, or sampled, without disclosing such knowledge to the official inspection personnel before official sampling;

"(4) alter any official sample of grain in any manner or, knowing that an official sample has been altered, thereafter represent it as an official sample;

"(5) knowingly use any official grade designation or official inspection mark on any container of grain by means of a tag, label, or otherwise, unless the grain in such container was officially inspected on the basis of an official sample taken while the grain was being loaded into or was in such container and the grain was found to qualify for such designation or mark;

"(6) knowingly make any false representation that any grain has been officially inspected, or officially inspected and found to be of a particular kind, class, quality, condition, or quantity, or that particular facts have been established with respect to grain by official inspection under this Act;

"(7) improperly influence, or attempt to improperly influence, any official inspection personnel or any officer or employee of the Department of Agriculture with respect to the performance of his duties under this Act;

"(8) forcibly assault, resist, oppose, impede, intimidate, or interfere with any official inspection personnel or any officer or employee of the Department of Agriculture in, or on account of, the performance of his duties under this Act;

"(9) falsely represent that he is licensed or authorized to perform an official inspection function under this Act;

"(10) use any false or misleading means in connection with the making or filing of an application for official inspection; or

"(11) violate any provision of section 5, 6, 8, 11, or 12 of this Act.

"(b) No person licensed or authorized to perform any function under this Act shall—

"(1) commit any offense prohibited by subsection (a);

"(2) knowingly perform improperly any official sampling or other official inspection function under this Act;

"(3) knowingly execute or issue any false or incorrect official certificate or other official form; or

"(4) accept money or other consideration, directly or indirectly, for any neglect or improper performance of duty.

"(c) An offense shall be deemed to have been committed knowingly under this Act if it resulted from gross negligence or was committed with knowledge of the pertinent facts.

"PENALTIES

"SEC. 14. (a) Any person who commits any offense prohibited by section 13 shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, on conviction thereof, be subject to imprisonment for not more than six months, a fine of not more than $3,000 or both such imprisonment and fine; but if such offense is committed after one conviction of such person under this section has become final, such person shall be subject to imprisonment for not more than one year, or a fine of not more than $5,000, or both such imprisonment and fine.

"(b) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as requiring the Secretary to report minor violations of this Act for criminal prosecution whenever he believes that the public interest will be adequately served by a suitable written notice or warning.

"RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTS OF OTHERS

"SEC. 15. When construing and enforcing the provisions of this Act, the act, omission, or failure of any official, agent, or other person acting for or employed by any association, partnership, or corporation within the scope of his employment or office shall, in every case, also be deemed the act, omission, or failure of such association, partnership, or corporation as well as that of the person.

"GENERAL AUTHORITIES

"SEC 16. The Secretary is authorized to conduct such investigations, hold such hearings, require such reports from any official inspection agency or any person, and prescribe such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to effectuate the purposes or provisions of this Act. Whether any certificate, other form, representation, designation, or other description is false, incorrect, or misleading within the meaning of this Act shall be determined by tests made in accordance with such procedures as the Secretary may adopt to effectuate the objectives of this Act, if the relevant facts are determinable by such tests. Proceedings under section 9 or 10 of this Act for refusal to renew, or for suspension or revocation of, a license, or for refusal of official inspection service not required by section 5 of this Act, shall not, unless requested by the respondent, be subject to the administrative procedure provisions in sections 554, 556, and 557 of title 5, United States Code.

"ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS

"SEC. 17. (a) For the purposes of this Act, the Secretary shall at all reasonable times have access to, for the purpose of examination, and the right to copy any documentary evidence of any person with respect to whom such authority is exercised; and the Secretary shall have power to require by subpena the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of all such documentary evidence relating to any matter under investigation, and may administer oaths and affirmations, examine witnesses, and receive evidence.

"(b) Such attendance of witnesses, and the production of such documentary evidence, may be required from any place in the United States, at any designated place of hearing. In case of disobedience to a subpena the Secretary may invoke the aid of any court designated in paragraph (h) of this section in requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence.

"(c) Any such court within the jurisdiction of which such inquiry is carried on may, in case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpena issued to any person, issue an order requiring such person to appear before the Secretary or to produce documentary evidence if so ordered, or to give evidence touching the matter in question; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by such court as a contempt thereof.

"(d) Witnesses summoned before the Secretary shall be paid the same fees and mileage that are paid witnesses in the courts of the United States, and witnesses from whom depositions are taken and the persons taking the same shall severally be entitled to the same fees as are paid for like services in the courts of the United States.

"(e) Any person who shall neglect or refuse to attend and testify, or to answer any lawful inquiry, or to produce documentary evidence, if in his power to do so, in obedience to the subpena or lawful requirement of the Secretary, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof be subject to the penalties set forth in section 15 of this Act.

"(f) No person shall be excused from attending and testifying or from producing documentary evidence before the Secretary, or in obedience to the subpena of the Secretary, or in any cause or proceeding, criminal or otherwise, based upon or growing out of any alleged violation of this Act, or of any amendments thereto, on the ground or for the reason that the testimony or evidence, documentary or otherwise, required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture; but no individual shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter, or thing concerning which he is compelled, after having claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify or produce evidence, documentary or otherwise, except that any individual so testifying shall not be exempt from prosecution and punishment for perjury committed in so testifying.

"(g) Any officer or employee of the Department of Agriculture who shall make public any information obtained under this Act by the Department of Agriculture, without its authority, unless directed by the court, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof be subject to the penalties set forth in section 14 of this Act.

"(h) The United States district courts, the District Court of Guam, the District Court of the Virgin Islands, the highest court of American Samoa, and the United States courts of the other territories and possessions of the United States shall have jurisdiction in cases arising under this Act.

"RELATION TO STATE AND LOCAL LAWS; SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS

"SEC. 18. (a) No State or subdivision thereof may require the inspection or description in accordance with any standards of kind, class, quality, condition, or other characteristics of grain as a condition of shipment, or sale, of such grain in interstate or foreign commerce, or require any license for, or impose any other restrictions upon, the performance of any official inspection function under this Act by official inspection personnel. Otherwise nothing in this Act shall invalidate any law or other provision of any State or subdivision thereof in the absence of a conflict with this Act.

"(b) If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of the Act and of the application of such provision to other persons and circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

"APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 19. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act to the extent that financing is not obtaining from the fees and sale of samples as provided for in section 7 of this Act.

"EFFECTIVE DATE

"SEC. 20. This Act shall become effective one hundred and eighty days after enactment hereof, except that the repeal of the mandatory inspection provisions with respect to grain shipped or delivered for shipment in interstate commerce shall become effective thirty days after enactment hereof and the provisions of paragraphs 6(a) and 13(a)(5) of this Act shall then become effective with respect to such grain."

With the following committee amendments:

On page 10, line 15, starting after the word "into", strike out the remainder of that sentence on lines 15 through 8, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "the United States Treasury at miscellaneous receipts.".

On page 12, line 6, strike the word "or".

On page 13, line 18, strike out the word "committee" on line 18, and insert in lieu thereof the words "been convicted of".

On page 13, line 19, strike out the words "repeated or flagrant".

On page 13, line 19, strike out the numeral "14" and insert in lieu thereof the numeral "13".

On page 16, lines 24 and 25, strike out both of such lines in their entirety and insert in lieu thereof the following: "including but not limited to deceptive loading, handling, or sampling of grain, or submitting grain for official".

On page 18, line 7, delete the word "and" and insert in lieu thereof the word "an".

On page 22, line 8, strike the numeral "15" and insert in lieu thereof the numeral "14".

On page 24, line 7, after the word "Act", insert a period and strike the remainder of line and all of lines 8 and 9.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to be able to present this legislation here today.

H.R. 15794 represents a modification of the proposal presented by the administration. Its major thrust is to bring our present Grain Standards Act, passed in 1916 in line with the many changes that have occurred in the grain business during the past 50 years. At the same time, it permits maximum utilization of facilities and equipment with a minimum of costs, delay and inconveniences, without diminishing quality standards of grain in either domestic or foreign commerce.

The action of the committee rewrites and modernizes the Grain Standards Act of 1916, by making several basic changes from the present law.

First, permissive, or voluntary grading on grain shipped in commerce within the United States would be allowed. As in the past, mandatory inspection of all grain shipped to a point outside of the United States is still required.

The use of modern mechanical and electronic grain-sampling equipment would be permitted.

There would be a revision of licensing regulations for ispectors under this act. Persons qualifying to be grain inspectors would be licensed by the Secretary for 3-year renewable periods.

Additional enforcement provisions authorizing the Secretary to refuse or renew licenses, to have access to certain records, and to refuse to provide grain inspection under certain circumstances are also provided, in order to guard against fraudulent or dishonest acts on the part of unscrupulous members of the grain trade and others who affect this vital segment of our national economy.

In short, what this bill does is to provide for continuation of the present system of U.S. standards for grain, while improving the national grain inspection system by authorizing additional inspection services under the act, eliminating certain requirements which appear to be a burden on interstate commerce and which are apparently no longer needed by the commercial grain trade. There are also provisions for strenthening the requirements for export grain.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that it would be in order to mention a few things for purpose of background that should be taken into account by my colleagues as they pass on the merits of this legislation.

It is presently, and has been the practice since enactment of our present law in 1916, to require grain which is shipped in interstate commerce to be inspected by licensed grain inspectors who customarily are employees of a private inspection agency. The inspection is performed to ascertain the quality, kind, and grade of grain that is being shipped, and is not an inspection for purposes of ascertaining wholesomeness or suitability for human consumption. This latter is a matter that is handled under the authority of the Food and Drug Administration.

The inspection results determine a grade for the carload of grain, and this grade is recognized as definitive of the class of grain that is being sold and transported. If contested, the initial inspection can be appealed.

At the time that the original law went into effect, there was a distinct need for the protections that mandatory inspection of grain offered the buyer. Federally required inspection insured that no buyer or seller could be billed through mislabeling of the grain. He was being insured that what was traded was actually of the same quality as was being contracted for.

Since the present Grain Standards Act was passed in 1916, grain merchandising practices have changed greatly. Domestic traders are more knowledgeable, and specification buying is more common.

The general feeling, both among the grain trade, and the Department of Agriculture which administers the present law, is that there is no logical justification for continuing the requirement that grain sold by grade in domestic commerce must be officially inspected. The needs of the trade, rather than Federal law, should determine when official grain grades and inspection are used for such commerce. This procedure is now the case for rice, beans, eggs, dairy products, fruits, vegetables, and most agricultural commodities.

In addition, since the act was passed, grain transportation methods have also changed greatly. A large percentage of the grain now shipped in interstate commerce is shipped by truck. An ever-increasing percentage is being shipped by rail under special point-to-point rates.

Official inspection of lots of grain such as these is apparently not desired, and, frankly, is not obtained by the trade even though official inspection of much of this grain is technically required by the present act.

None of us here, Mr. Speaker, want to continue to be party to keeping in effect a law that is basically unenforceable. If the mandatory inspection requirements were enforced with respect to trucklot grain, it would increase the cost of merchandising the grain, and would apparently serve no useful purpose. Furthermore, it is discriminatory to require the official inspection of grain shipped by water, or by rail under conventional rates, and not require the official inspection of grain shipped by truck or by rail under point-to-point rates.

There is another point that needs to be made about the advantage of going to permissive inspection of grain shipped within domestic markets. During examination of this legislation before the Subcommittee on Livestock and Grains, which I have the honor to chair, the Interstate Commerce Commission supported this bill as an approach toward easing another problem that exists in our transportation network—this is the problem that occurs during peak periods of rail transportation of grain, known as a "boxcar shortage." In a communication to the subcommittee, the ICC indicated that considerable delays occur in shipment, due to the holding of grain for inspection. The Commission has also found, in their investigations, that grain inspection facilities are not even remotely adequate to meet peak receipts—resulting, I am sorry to say, in many cars being held much longer than they should at terminals while awaiting inspection.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, accordingly felt that the latitude given under this bill to develop and promulgate new methods for the inspection of grain, chiefly through mechanical sampling devices, would result in a substantial reduction of the number of car-days lost by cars held for inspection under present procedures.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, this bill does more than do away with the mandatory requirement of inspection for grain. In fact, this bill could actually be described as a thorough overhaul of our present system of grading, and providing for the orderly marketing of grain.

The other changes that are embodied can best be described as technical ones, relating to the actual inspection procedures themselves.

Naturally, the bill that is before you has not been created out of a vacuum. This bill has been subjected to an intense set of hearings during its examination: two full sets of hearings before the Subcommittee on Livestock and Grains, and additional hearings before the full committee. During all stages, objections were carefully noted, and procedures were adopted which provided the appropriate safeguards needed for administration of the system the bill envisions, at the same time building legislation that was "liveable" from the standpoint of the grain trade. The complete agreement among members of the committee as to the value of the bill that is before you is evidenced by the fact that the bill was unanimously reported from both the Subcommittee on Livestock and Grains, and the full Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, this represents vital legislation to update our present grain standards system, and deserves the full support of every Member of this body. I will be glad to answer any questions that my colleagues have regarding the import of this bill.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I am glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. MAHON. In reading through the language of the bill, I call the gentleman's attention to the provision in section 12(b), where it states, and I quote:

> That grain samples shall be required to be maintained only for such period not in excess of ninety days as the Secretary shall prescribe.

It has been called to my attention that a number of inspection agencies have expressed a great deal of concern over the wording of that section, due to the undue burden and strain on storage facilities that would occur in the event that the Department of Agriculture chooses to require these grain samples to be maintained for a full 90 days. In a volume operation such as that conducted by many of these exchanges, these samples will quickly accumulate, creating storage problems, and additional expense to comply with such a requirement.

Accordingly, I want to inquire of the gentleman, as author of the bill before us, and as chairman of the subcommittee examining this legislation, whether or not it is the intent of this bill that the grain samples will be maintained for a full 90 days? I hope the gentleman will clarify the whole matter.

Mr. PURCELL. I thank the gentleman for raising this point, and I will be happy to clarify what is involved.

The 90-day figure referred to in section 12(b) represents a limitation for the period that the grain sample can be required to be maintained. Since the legislation also deals with export grain, it was necessary to use a longer period than would be necessary for samples of grain shipped within the United States. There is little reason for requiring a sample to be kept more than a limited time after the arrival of the grain at its destination, and naturally, this will be a function of the distance the grain is to be transported, and the mode of transportation.

It is the intent of the bill that the Secretary will study the transportation statistics, and provide reasonable figures for retention of the sample which should be worked out with the grain industry itself. Certainly there would be no call for shipments of grain via barge or rail to be maintained for 90 days. A reasonable figure, in view of the needs of the trade, and the need to always insure the orderly marketing of grain would be 45 days for shipment by barge, and 15 days for truck or rail shipment. There would certainly be no need to require the sample to be kept beyond these limitations, except in the most peculiar circumstances.

In order that factors that would affect the ultimate decision on this matter might be more readily available, I asked the Department of Agriculture to comment on this problem. I have with me a letter from Mr. George Grange, Deputy Administrator for Marketing Services, indicating what factors will influence the final decision, which would be within the guidelines I have mentioned.

At this point, I insert Mr. Grange's letter in the RECORD:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
CONSUMER AND MARKETING SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., May 23, 1968.
Hon. GRAHAM PURCELL,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. PURCELL: This is in response to your request for further details concerning the Department's plans for implementing the provision in H.R. 15794 under which inspection agencies would be required to maintain file samples of grain for a period of time not in excess of 90 days.

Our grain inspection officials intend to require that the file samples be retained until normal transit time to destination and normal unloading time have expired. This will give inspectors an opportunity to check the file sample whenever there are complaints or questions concerning the initial certification. If the grain dealers are to trade on the basis of U.S. grades and official inspection certificates, they should have this opportunity for review of file samples while the transaction is still in process if the service is to be of maximum usefulness.

The retention time would vary dependent upon destination and mode of transportation. Domestic shipments by truck and rail would require the shortest time and export shipments the longest.

The retention times would be part of revised regulations which would not become effective until 180 days after enactment of H.R. 15794. These regulations, under the Administrative Procedures Act, would involve the issue of a rulemaking proposal and consideration of views and comments from interested persons prior to final promulgation.

We believe that reasonable and realistic retention periods for grain samples can be established which will meet the needs of the grain industry and, at the same time, will not overtax the facilities of Federal, State, or private grain inspection offices.

We hope that this information provides the additional details on this matter which you desired.

Sincerely yours,
G. R. GRANGE,
Deputy Administrator, Marketing Services.

I hope that this helps answer the gentleman's question. This bill has been carefully worked out in order to meet the needs of all, but occasionally there may be questions still to be answered. In a similar vein, there was a question raised as to whether or not cotton seed is included under this bill. It is not.

I would also hope that members of the grain trade are aware of the outstanding job that my distinguished colleague has done in calling this problem to our attention. I learned immediately after coming to Congress that when he speaks, all within the sound of his voice should listen. I know of no man for whom I have greater respect.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the distinguished minority leader of our Agricultural Committee.

Mr. BELCHER. I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I am glad that the gentleman from Texas clarified this matter, because to maintain these samples for 90 days would in some instances be almost impossible. In Enid, Okla., for example, they have unloaded as many as 2,177 carloads of wheat and sampled them in a 21-hour period, and the gentleman can see how many samples would be needed, as the grain inspector at Enid, Okla., described it to me. He said that we would have to build another warehouse just to store these samples. So I am glad the gentleman has gotten this matter cleared up, because, as I say, it would be an absolute impossibility to keep all the samples for 90 days.

Mr. PURCELL. That is correct, and I wish to assure the gentleman from Oklahoma, just as I have endeavored to assure the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON] that after passage of this bill it will take 180 days before it goes into effect. The Department of Agriculture assures me that they will hold hearings and make detailed studies as to the practical length of time in which to keep these grain samples. And, as I say, I am sure it will be in line with the good judgment of the trade itself.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from North Dakota.

Mr. KLEPPE. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the distinguished chairman of the agriculture subcommittee a question concerning two paragraphs which were inadvertently left out of the Agriculture Committee's report on this bill.

Did not the committee agree, Mr. Speaker, that the language of section 18 of this bill will not invalidate State warehouse laws requiring grain received in or delivered out of terminal warehouses to be inspected, and did not the committee agree to include a paragraph to this effect in the committee report?

Mr. PURCELL. The gentleman's statement is indeed correct. The committee agreed to include those exact words in the report on the bill, but due to a technical oversight they were not actually printed in the report.

The committee intended that the legislation should not invalidate State warehouse laws.

Mr. KLEPPE. Did not the committee also agree, Mr. Speaker, that the language in section 7 of this bill exempts from inclusion in fees assessed by an official inspection agency—such as a State—the charges for Federal supervisory and administrative costs? And did not the committee agree to include a paragraph to this effect in the committee report?

Mr. PURCELL. The gentleman from North Dakota is again correct. The committee agreed to include those exact words in the report on the bill, but they were not actually printed. It was the committee's intention to incorporate both of these statements in the committee report. It has never been the intent of the committee that Federal supervisory and administrative costs be paid from these fees, but rather that they be paid from general revenues.

Mr. KLEPPE. I want to thank my distinguished chairman of the subcommittee for this clarification and thank him for yielding to me.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WRIGHT. I would simply like to commend the distinguished author of the bill and chairman of the subcommittee and thank him for his clarification respecting the retaining of grain samples for not exceeding 90 days.

This clarification is greatly reassuring. It is a matter about which the Fort Worth grain exchange also had expressed some concern, and I appreciate the gentleman's clarification.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Would the gentleman explain to me whether this legislation will in any way affect adversely or otherwise the dealing in futures in the commodity exchanges where you have the Secretary setting different standards on grain and setting up different criteria?

Will this have any long range effect on the whole commodities market?

Mr. PURCELL. It is my judgment that this will not have any effect on the futures market in the grain trade. In fact, the major effect of the bill is upon cash sales.

This topic, or this area of discussion, has not been brought up by any of those in the trade, that I have any knowledge of, and I feel perfectly safe in assuring the gentleman that to my knowledge this will have no effect one way or the other on the grain futures business.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I do not participate in grain futures so I am not too familiar with this operation. But since Chicago is a great center in the whole feed-grain business, I am just concerned as to whether or not this is going to have some effect in the long run when we do give the Secretary here, as I read this legislation, the authority to change the standards from time to time and set up new rules and new regulations and new criteria for measuring quality.

I wonder if that has all been discussed during the hearings and during the deliberations on this legislation?

Mr. PURCELL. The changing of grain standards by the Secretary has been discussed in great detail. Briefly stated, it just means this—as better qualities of grain are produced by our farmers, the better grades will remain in the better classifications.

To answer the gentleman's question further, I can state that the Chicago Board of Trade has not indicated that they are against this bill. I feel confident there would be no danger of damaging futures trading in grain.

Mr. PUCINSKI. If the gentleman will yield further so as to establish some understanding here, the bill in section 4(a) on page 6 reads as follows:

> "SEC. 4. (a) The Secretary is authorized to investigate the handling, grading, and transportation of grain and to fix and establish standards of kind, class, quality, and condition for corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, flaxseed, grain sorghum, soybeans, mixed grain, and such other grains as in his judgment the usages of the trade may warrant and permit, and the Secretary is authorized to amend or revoke such standards whenever the necessities of the trade may require.

I am not quite sure—how does all this affect the dealing in futures?

Mr. PURCELL. These changes would come about only after coordination with the trade itself.

To go back to my statement a moment ago, the only example I can think of quickly is that if in the future we have an unquestionably better quality of wheat, corn, or whatever the grain might be, then in order to have U.S. No. 1 corn truly be the best corn that we produce, it would be my belief that the trade in coordination with the Department of Agriculture would not want to maintain the present grade, which might not be the best quality at that time. But this would not come about merely by an arbitrary ruling of the Secretary.

Mr. PUCINSKI. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY] may extend her remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, the legislation before us would provide needed modernization of the Grain Standards Act of 1916. In the 52 years that have elapsed since this law was enacted, grain merchandising practices have changed greatly. Specification buying is more common, and reference to official grades and inspection is often just not desired in domestic commercial transactions. There is merit in the U.S. Agriculture Department's comment in proposing this bill:

> The needs of the trade, rather than Federal law, should determine when official grain grades and inspection are used for such commerce. This is now true for rice, beans, eggs, dairy products, fruits, vegetables, and most other agricultural commodities.

Transportation methods have changed greatly since 1916. An increasing amount of grain is now shipped by truck or by rail under special point-to-point rates. Official grading inspection of much of this grain is apparently not desired, even though it is technically required by the act. The grading inspection of grain shipped by truck would require inspectors on duty 24 hours a day, especially during harvest, or would necessitate delays in handling. The proposed bill provides for voluntary grading inspection of grain in domestic commerce and mandatory inspection for grain going abroad.

An important feature of this bill is that it permits the use of modern mechanical and electronic grain-sampling equipment and allows its use at elevators or other locations rather than only at inspection stations.

It is hoped that use of mechanical sampling equipment will help alleviate the recurring problem of boxcar shortages, by reducing the amount of time trains will be required to wait for inspection. This in itself would be of real value to all grain-producing areas of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this legislation is needed, and I urge that it be passed.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 15794. This bill rewrites the 50-year-old U.S. Grain Standards Act and brings it more up to date in concert with the way grain business is handled today.

I believe this bill represents a great step forward for farmers, for the grain trade and for the transportation industry. It makes grain sampling voluntary although either the buyer or the seller can request an inspection certificate from a licensed inspector, and it certainly will speed up grain payments for farmers and elevator operators.

Testimony was very evident and clear that this bill will reduce the turn-around time on boxcars used for hauling grain which will be of great benefit in reducing the boxcar shortages plaguing not only North Dakota, but other grain-producing States as well.

In short, it will speed up the movement of grain through elevator facilities. This is a good bill and I request my colleagues to give it their support.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PURCELL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. On page 24 of the bill, as the gentleman well knows, section 19 provides:

> SEC. 19. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Does the gentleman anticipate increased expenditures under this bill?

Mr. PURCELL. This bill will not increase expenditures. I think it is entirely possible it will decrease expenditures, because this is the first time, to my knowledge, that a regulation is put into our law authorizing the executive branch of the Government to reduce the work to be done by that department, and I think you will find a reduction in expenditure, and certainly not an increase, in my judgment.

Mr. GROSS. So there is no increase in employment under the terms of this bill?

Mr. PURCELL. No, there is not.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, while those who are directly affected by this bill believe it is a very important bill, it is not generally considered to be one of the major agricultural bills which affect income directly.

Such major bills as the feed grains program or the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 directly affect the incomes of people who receive far less than their due share of the national income in accordance with their contribution. In spite of the fact that they are not receiving their share, it seems to be becoming more popular to jump upon the programs they depend upon, to ridicule them, and to make statements which are grossly misleading to those who would really like to be fair.

Mr. Speaker, this body has heard some impassioned pleas suggesting a limitation on payments under our farm commodity programs and asserting that these same programs have become "a multibillion-dollar boondoggle." One colleague who has taken that position even went so far as to declare that he erred when he voted for the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

I find more valor than wisdom in such a statement. I further find that too many who have recently grabbed what they apparently assume is an easy or popular position have failed to familiarize themselves with the facts.

The fact is that farm commodity programs are not welfare programs—that the Government does not, as our colleague suggested, "write relief checks to farmers who make application for a subsidy on vacant land." The programs aim quite simply at adjustment of total supply of a commodity—to balance supply with demand so that the producer is not severely penalized for being sure to produce what is needed; and the programs have achieved an astonishing degree of success in this regard. Farmers are compensated in direct proportion to their contribution to the national goal of balanced production.

The fact is that these programs do not represent any kind of a boondoggle, and that our colleague is grossly in error when he says "80 percent of the recipients are wealthy landowners and large corporation farmers—some controlled by nonresident owners." Actually, 87 percent of the recipients of payments receive less than $2,000. In addition, 82 percent of the funds involved are for payments of $10,000 or less. Thus, it is highly misleading and inaccurate to single out a few of the largest payments, as our colleague did, and conclude that "the fat cats of American agriculture are those who have benefited from the Agriculture Act of 1965."

The fact is that this legislation has significantly increased farm income, which has been and is unfairly low, has insured consumers of an adequate food supply at reasonable prices, and has brought about a healthy boost in exports.

The fact is that these programs are the charter for economic justice to rural America. We have found that farmers—acting alone—cannot obtain balanced production. We have learned from sad experience what happens when farm production gets out of balance. Government costs go up, farm income goes down, and America as a whole pays the price.

A few Members have even been claiming that the imposition of a $10,000 limit upon production and conservation payments would save the Government $600,000,000. While it is extremely far-fetched and ridiculous, I find that there are actually some people who believe this. To start with, it does not cost one penny more to secure production or conservation compliance on an acre tilled by a farmer with a large operation, than it does on an acre tilled by a farmer with a small operation. However, the limitation would exclude farmers with a larger operation from making their contribution to balanced production and would therefore require farmers with a small acreage to make bigger reductions in their production in order to achieve the same balance. If they failed to make the bigger reductions, their prices would suffer severely. Smaller farmers are the very ones that have an excess of labor available and it would be better for them if all of the acreage contribution were provided by large operators. The net effect of this proposed $10,000 limitation would be to hurt smaller operators without any overall saving to the Government. As a matter of fact, it might very well cost the Government more, at least during the first year or two.

Let us suppose for a moment that Congress imposed a limitation of $10,000 on program payments, and consider what would happen to feed grain production.

The Department of Agriculture estimates that in 1968 alone—if the $10,000 limit were imposed—CCC expenditures would skyrocket by $45 million because of increased production which would at least temporarily go into Government storage as a result of driving the larger operators out of the acreage adjustment program.

The voluntary grain programs of the 1960's have benefited producers and taxpayers. Feed grain stocks have been reduced to manageable levels, program costs have been reduced and farm income has been strengthened. This could not continue if a payment limitation were imposed.

This is just one example, and it is much the same story with cotton and wheat. With sugar and wool, the proponents of a limitation on payments have overlooked the fact that these are incentive programs designed to encourage production since domestic production is not great enough to meet total need.

In truth, these attacks on the payment provisions of the commodity programs are usually made by those who want to get rid of the farm programs and find the payments a convenient handle for the whip. Make no mistake about this, for these proposals seek not to improve, to strengthen, to refine. They seek to weaken and dilute and destroy.

Should that happen, we know on good authority that rural America would suffer drastic consequences. Leading universities, congressional committees, and the Department of Agriculture have studied this problem and found that without the programs farm prices and net incomes would drop anywhere from half to one-third.

I believe these programs will stand up to the light of public scrutiny. They have been administered fairly and effectively. Yet they seem constantly under attack. Perhaps it is significant that those who choose to attack these programs propose no real alternatives, no positive steps to be undertaken once the cornerstone of protection is removed. They do not face the fact that they are really proposing to limit the size of a farm—without realizing this would be the same in principle to limiting the size of a steel company or a food company or a labor union. Do they really want to put a ceiling on farming enterprise? If so, let them propose it directly and hold hearings on the issue. Their equation seems to be that bigness equals badness in agriculture but not in industry. They do not mention that "small business" loans can be as much as $250,000. They seem to say it is OK to enter into contracts with industry for many millions of dollars' worth of airplanes or construction but not OK to contract with farmers to conserve the land rather than produce wasteful surpluses, against the public interest. I hope they have carefully considered the consequences, for the path they propose would result in severe reductions in the income of people who are already enjoying less than a comparable return for their contribution. Until and unless they and the rest of this Congress are willing to vote the funds for big food distribution programs, any alternative to the Food and Agriculture Act such as they suggest would be ruinous to farm income.

Our farmers—large and small—are making a meaningful contribution to the health, welfare, and prosperity of all America. This is a contribution they could not long make without the protection provided by farm commodity programs.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

INCREASING THE LIMITATION ON THE NUMBER OF OFFICERS FOR THE COAST GUARD

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill (H.R. 16127) to increase the limitation on the number of officers for the Coast Guard, be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 16127

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (a) of section 42 of title 14, United States Code, is amended by striking out "four" and inserting "five" in place thereof so that the subsection will read as follows:

"(a) The total number of commissioned officers, excluding commissioned warrant officers, on active duty in the Coast Guard shall not exceed five thousand."

The **SPEAKER.** The gentleman from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Will the gentleman give us a brief explanation of this bill, particularly as to the cost involved?

Mr. CLARK. Yes. I saw the gentleman on the floor of the House when the explanation was given by the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts and the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, and I thought he knew about it. But I will be very brief and to the point.

This bill is a most necessary one, and to those of us who really are wondering about keeping expenditures within bounds, I say there is really no explosion of the Coast Guard officer population. What this bill really will do is to allow 1,000 or less additional Coast Guard officers which are being taken away from us at this time to the events in the last year in East Asia, or the Asian coastline. We need these people in order for the Coast Guard Academy people to be graduated, and if they are not graduated by June 4, we are going to have to take some of the men off the Reserve list.

Mr. GROSS. If the gentleman will yield further, how can it be said that there will be no increased cost, or did the gentleman say there would be no increased cost?

Mr. CLARK. The Appropriations Committee has complete control of the amount of money that would be appropriated and the amount or number of officers that would be commissioned.

Mr. GROSS. That will be determined by the number of officer increase, will it not?

Mr. CLARK. No, the officer increase will be governed by the Appropriations Committee in relation to the amount of money that will be given to them.

The **SPEAKER.** The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The **SPEAKER.** The question is on passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR WEEK OF JUNE 3, 1968

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader the program for the remainder of this week and the schedule for next.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished minority leader yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in response to the inquiry of the gentleman from Michigan, we have completed the legislative program for the week, and, under the terms of the resolution previously adopted, we will adjourn over, on adjournment today, until Monday next.

The program for next week is as follows:

Monday is Consent Calendar day.

There are four suspensions:

H.R. 8953, to provide for the relocation of certain bridges by the Tennessee Valley Authority;

H.R. 3306, to provide for the protection of the Pueblo de Taos Indians in New Mexico;

H.R. 15971, to increase the participation of law officers in courts-martial; and

S. 2634, to establish the U.S. Court of Military Appeals.

Tuesday is Private Calendar day. Also on Tuesday, the gentleman from Arkansas, Mr. Mills, has advised he may call up by unanimous consent the following bills unanimously agreed to by the Committee on Ways and Means;

H.R. 272, extension of the Reed Act, unemployment security administration account for certain State expenses;

H.R. 7735, permanent suspension of duty on aluminum hydroxide and oxide, calcined bauxite, and bauxite ore;

H.R. 15798, temporary extension of suspension of duty on spun silk yarn; and

H.R. 17104, temporary extension of suspension of duty on electrodes for use in producing aluminum.

We will also consider H.R. 17268, Defense Production Act extension, under an open rule with 1 hour of debate.

For Wednesday and the balance of the week, we will have:

S. 2349, additional circuit court judgeships with an open rule and 1 hour of debate;

S. 1028, Federal employment conditions for former employees of agricultural county committees, with an open rule and 1 hour of debate;

S. 974, land conveyance, Glendale, Ariz., with an open rule and 1 hour of debate;

H.R. 16363, Wholesome Poultry Products Act, with an open rule and 2 hours of debate;

H.R. 16162, extension of certain loans by Export-Import Bank, which is subject to a rule being granted; and

H.R. 17267, to remove persons from Federal employment who engage in riots or civil disorders, which is also subject to a rule being granted.

On Thursday, under the unanimous-consent agreement previously obtained, the Speaker will recognize to be called up under suspension of the rules H.R. 16027, service-connected compensation increase for veterans.

This announcement is made subject to the usual reservations that conference reports may be brought up at any time and that any further program may be announced later.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, looking over the program for next week, numerically there are a number of bills set down for consideration. Should Members be forewarned that there is a possibility of a Friday session next week?

Mr. ALBERT. There is that possibility. Also there is a possibility, of course, that conference reports may come up. I think the arts and humanities bill conference report may come, or action may be taken on the omnibus crime bill, and Members should be aware of that. I think we can be quite sure that action on those matters would not come before Wednesday of next week, but I think it is possible we may have to go over to a Friday session. Of course, some of these bills are subject to rules being granted, and we will take up the veterans bill, I assume, the first thing on Thursday, regardless of whether we have reached other bills or not.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it is true, is it not, that the so-called package tax bill will not come up under any circumstances next week?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I see on the floor the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. He has conferred with the leadership on this matter, and I believe it is the intention of the gentleman to go to the Committee on Rules on the 11th of June and to call up the bill the next day or the following day.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I would hope that schedule could be carried out.

Mr. ALBERT. In any event, I believe the gentleman and I both can assure the gentleman from Iowa that no action will be taken on the tax bill next week.

Mr. MILLS. It is not possible next week for us to get to it.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I believe it would be as helpful as possible if there could be some determination as soon as possible of the date that measure will be on the floor.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. MILLS. I have conferred, as has the majority leader, with the chairman of the Rules Committee. The chairman has advised us that the Rules Committee will meet on Tuesday morning, the 11th of June, to hear us in behalf of a rule for the conference report, and that he sees no reason why the Rules Committee could not complete its action that day. If that is the case, I am prepared, working with the leadership of the House, to bring it in on Wednesday or Thursday, whenever it is convenient.

I agree with the gentleman. I believe it would be wise at the earliest possible date if some notice is given to all Members that it will come up on a specific day.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, barring some unforeseen difficulty, I believe we could agree it would come up on Wednesday, June 12.

Mr. MILLS. That is right.

DISPENSING WITH BUSINESS IN ORDER UNDER THE CALENDAR WEDNESDAY RULE ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

SUB SAFETY RECOMMENDATIONS WERE MADE, BUT NOT IMPLEMENTED

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, once again an apparent tragedy has focused national attention on the seas.

I speak of course of the missing submarine *Scorpion*, just as we spoke of the *Thresher* some 5 years ago.

When the *Thresher* went down, the Nation and the Congress was grieved and concerned. After an investigation, the Congress was appalled at the lack of knowledge and the capability of our Navy for preventing another *Thresher*. All of a sudden we were aware that our submarines were operating with emergency devices intended to help locate distressed ships, but that these devices were developed and used as far back as World War I.

I think we were all appalled at the idea that even if we were successful in locating the *Thresher* immediately, the rescue of the crew depended on the depth of the water where the submarine was located. For our rescue capabilities were all but useless past the 1,000-foot mark and that figure is an optimistic one.

We did not find the *Thresher* in time.

Now we are searching for another American submarine, one with 99 men aboard. This time we do not even have the advantage of supporting evidence, as the *Scorpion's* position is unknown because she was not maneuvering with other ships at the time of her distress.

We are, indeed, searching for an atomic needle in a watery Atlantic haystack.

I think it is unbelievable that the present situation has arisen in light of the *Thresher* and what we learned in that case. Investigation pointed out that the Nation was lacking proper vehicles with the capability for rescuing men and that our ships lacked advanced homing and communication devices for use in emergencies.

If we found the *Scorpion* today, and she were in depths of more than 1,000 feet, it is unlikely we could save the men. We do not have the vehicle with even this capability.

The hull for such a vehicle—the deep submergence rescue vehicle which can operate to a depth of about 3,500 feet—is presently being laid. But this is of little solace to us today.

But let me go back to the original problem—the problem of locating the *Scorpion*. Here again we see in retrospect that recommendations for added safety devices were made in 1964, but apparently were not implemented.

In a report issued after the *Thresher* disaster which claimed 129 men, the Deep Submergence System Review Group found that we needed to "improve alerting, marking, homing, and location by installing radio buoys and acoustic beacons on submarines and by modifying existing acoustic communication on submarines and surface ships to automatically receive distress signals."

As far as I know, the *Scorpion* was not equipped with such an automatic homing device. Instead she had a manual release buoy system which apparently was not released or has fallen prey to the elements.

Since the intent of these recommendations had as their sole purpose the safety and protection of the crew of ships of the U.S. Navy, I cannot reason why they have not been implemented.

I do, however, certainly intend to look into the matter and the apparent negligence in this regard if the facts are as I now understand them.

THE "PUEBLO": A TIME TO REMEMBER OR A TIME TO FORGET?

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, on Memorial Day we remember and honor the heroes of America's past. We remember George Washington at Valley Forge. We remember Teddy Roosevelt at San Juan Hill. We remember the marines who raised the American flag on Iwo Jima.

Those who have fought our wars have been valiant and dedicated men devoted to freedom. As they paid the supreme sacrifice, our Nation's fighting men believed that their lives were not given in vain—they believed that America with liberty, order, and justice would survive—for these precious gifts were purchased with life itself.

Tomorrow, on the 100th anniversary of Memorial Day, we recall and pay highest tribute to those who have died for our country.

We should also pay tribute to those, who, today, are engaged in performing their duty in defense of their country. Whether it is on the battlefields of Asia or the training camps of America—thousands of her youth are once again defending our historic principles.

Today marks the 128th day that the

crewmen of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* have been held captive in Communist North Korea.

I am sure that the members of the crew of the *Pueblo* are asking these questions which were highlighted in a letter to the San Diego Union by Dennis E. Johnson of the U.S. Navy hospital of that city:

> Where is my Navy, of which I am a part?
> Where is my country, of which I am a citizen?
> Where are the defenders of freedom, of which I am one?
> Where are my countrymen?

The relatives of the crewmembers held hostage could also ask these questions.

The War of 1812 was fought on the very issue of the imprisonment by foreign powers of American sailors. President John Adams said that the immediate reason for the founding of the U.S. Navy was to forestall and avenge "the injuries committed on our commerce, the insults offered to our citizens—which are to be attributed to the hope of impunity arising from a supposed inability on our part to afford protection."

Has the administration exhausted every means to obtain the immediate release of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew?

Ours has always been a nation proud of its heritage, loyal to its fighting men, and jealous of its freedom and liberty. On this 100th anniversary of Memorial Day I ask: How long, Mr. President, How long? Is this a time to remember, or a time to forget?

IOWA STATE BAR ASSOCIATION ADOPTS POWERFUL STATEMENT ON FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY'S DEPENDENCE UPON RULE OF LAW

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend the closing session of the 95th annual meeting of the Iowa State Bar Association in Des Moines, Iowa, last Friday. Underscoring the urgent concern which the association's 3,400 members feel in an area in which they have special responsibilities, the resolutions committee offered but one resolution to the convention. I want to share its powerful statement of a free and democratic society's dependence upon the rule of law with my colleagues today.

I will not try to improve upon the language of the resolution itself, but now read it as it was presented by David M. Elderkin, of Cedar Rapids, chairman of the committee, after which it was adopted unanimously.

> Whereas, every good thing including the institution of democracy has within it the seeds of its own destruction, and
>
> Whereas, a society that fails to enforce obedience of its own laws destroys its own freedom and forces its people for their individual safety to forsake the institutions of free men for the club and the mace or the dictator's decree, and
>
> Whereas, a system under which an individual responds only to his own conscience is not a body of law but a jungle and protects neither society for the individual, and
>
> Whereas, the only system under which democracy can survive equates its law with the public conscience, not the private conscience.
>
> Now, therefore, the members of the Iowa State Bar Association reaffirm our belief in the rule of law, obedience thereto and uniform and fair enforcement thereof, and highly resolve to dedicate our courts and our professional energies to carry the public conscience from the implicit to the explicit, and to render into immanent law, and protect, the decencies and aspirations of free men.
>
> DAVID M. ELDERKIN,
> *Chairman.*
> H. F. REYNOLDS,
> *Dubuque.*
> W. O. WEAVER,
> *Wapello.*
> DAROLD JACK,
> *Oelwein.*
> JAMES A. LUCAS,
> *Bedford.*

CRIME OUT OF CONTROL

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in many of our largest cities today crime is virtually out of control. That is a harsh fact of life in America of 1968.

It is unsafe for anyone to be on the streets after dark in many small and medium-size cities as well as the larger communities. Arsonists seem to stay beyond the reach of the law. Vandals and hoodlums leave their marks of destruction everywhere.

Armed bandits make it very difficult for retail businessmen and bankers to continue operations. Many established merchants are having to close up after repeated holdups. Violent crimes continue to increase at a far greater rate than the population.

Mr. Speaker, if one thing is clear today it is that the country is demanding action for the control of crime and criminals. In my opinion there exists today across America a very deep disgust at the rising rate of crime.

The permissive attitude that excuses criminals has had its day. A great deal of nonsense about crime has masqueraded as progressive thinking.

The American people are tired of excuses and molly-coddling. They are demanding that crime be recognized for what it is, and that criminals be apprehended.

They are demanding that human life and property be protected, and that police be given a fair chance to do their job. They are demanding that laws be enforced, and that Washington refuse to turn the country over to the hoodlums.

Many of us have been trying to say this for years but the country as a whole seems finally to be getting the message.

Mr. Speaker, I urge early approval of the crime bill and I particularly urge the House conferees to agree to the Senate provisions dealing with the Supreme Court decision.

CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ACTION

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, a number of constituents have expressed concern about the prosecution of a District of Columbia police officer, Pvt. Albert C. Lorraine, who shot a looter during the disturbances in Washington last month. The newspaper accounts indicated that the victim was climbing out of a broken window of a liquor store and made a menacing gesture toward the officer, whereupon he was shot and killed by the police officer. Upon inquiry by a number of constituents, I wrote to the Attorney General requesting information on the prosecution of a law enforcement officer who had to make a judgment decision during the height of a riot upon which his life could well have depended. Prosecution of a policeman seems questionable when a person like Carmichael, who urged violence upon the people of Washington, has not been charged with any offense. The Attorney General referred the letter to the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, and I enclose a copy of the reply of the Assistant Attorney General in charge of Civil Rights at this point in the RECORD.

Certainly I have no brief for any unwarranted action on the part of a police officer resulting in the death of any individual, and a matter of this type should be investigated by those charged with the responsibility in the law enforcement field. However, I do question the wisdom of referring a matter of this nature to the Civil Rights Division. Apparently, the Department of Justice is more concerned about protecting the civil rights of a man burglarizing a liquor store than it is with upholding the law in this country. Therefore, I again wrote the Attorney General yesterday and requested to be advised as to the basis for the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice handling this case rather than the Criminal Division which ordinarily determines whether a prosecution is warranted. It seems to me to be a matter in which our own Judiciary Committee might make a proper inquiry.

A copy of my letter to the Attorney General is inserted for the information of the House:

> DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
> *Washington.*
>
> Hon. WILLIAM L. SCOTT,
> *U.S. House of Representatives,*
> *Washington, D.C.*
>
> DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCOTT: The Attorney General has referred your letter of April 30, 1968, concerning the case of police private Albert C. Lorraine, to me for reply.
>
> The chronology of events to date is as follows: Pursuant to the requirements of section 11-1902(a) of the District of Columbia Code (1967), an inquest was held last month

to ascertain the cause of death in the shooting by police officer Lorraine. The Coroner's Jury had a choice of three possible verdicts: justifiable homicide, accidental homicide, or homicide. The jury returned a verdict of homicide and, in accordance with section 11-1904 of the District of Columbia Code, ordered officer Lorraine held for grand jury action. Section 11-1904 further requires the coroner to "return" to the United States District Court for the District of Columbia the "inquisition and testimony . . . taken by him." The United States attorney is then compelled to present the case to the grand jury unless the court authorizes him to dismiss the "charge" returned by the Coroner's Jury. The United States attorney, therefore, expects to present this matter to the grand jury later this month.

In view of the stage that this case is now in, it would not be appropriate for me to comment on the evidence or circumstances surrounding the shooting. I can assure you, however, that a thorough investigation has been conducted and that officer Lorraine will get a fair hearing at which all the evidence will be presented.

I hope this information will prove helpful to you in responding to your constituents.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN J. POLLAK,
Assistant Attorney General,
Civil Rights Division.

MAY 28, 1968.

Hon. RAMSEY CLARK,
The Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: I recently received the enclosed letter from Stephen J. Pollak, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, in response to my inquiry concerning the arrest of Metropolitan police private Albert C. Lorraine.

While I appreciate Mr. Pollak's position regarding comments on the evidence in this case, his letter prompted me to consider the role of the Civil Rights Division in this case.

According to my copy of the U.S. Government Organization Manual, the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice is charged with the responsibility for enforcement of all federal criminal laws except those specifically assigned to the Civil Rights, Antitrust, Internal Security, or Tax Divisions.

I assume therefore that the case of Officer Lorraine is considered by you to involve a violation of the civil rights laws.

Please advise me if I am correct in this assessment of your position, and if so, inform me concerning the basis for your referral of this matter to the Civil Rights Division.

It appears that the employment of deadly force by police officers in the District of Columbia in the performance of their duties may be construed to be a violation of the civil rights laws. Please therefore inform me whether you have established a policy of referring such cases to the Civil Rights Division.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM L. SCOTT,
Member of Congress.

OIL SHALE RESERVES

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wyoming?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Department of the Interior made public its new plan for the slow and cautious development of the immensely rich oil shale reserves in Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah.

The Department in effect scrapped plans for such development which were made public in January 1967. Proposed instead is the awarding of two test leases to be the basis for the development of a technology which at some point in the future, probably well into the 1970's, could lead to a viable oil shale industry.

Those of us who are concerned about the lack of acceleration of the economic development of our Rocky Mountain States see great potential in the oil, coal, trona, dawsonite, and other minerals which make this region a storehouse of wealth and energy potential.

We feel the Government might have proceeded with more stridence and enthusiasm in unlocking what is estimated at 1.8 trillion barrels of oil in the three-State shale pockets, principally the Green River Basin of Wyoming and Uinta Basin of Colorado, and the Piceance Creek Basin of Colorado which contains the richest deposits.

If press reports on this action by the Interior Department are true and it is a "put up or shut up" offer to industry for which the Interior Department does not actually expect to find any takers, then it is incumbent upon the Congress to propound a formula for the opening of these shale lands.

The United States has no divine guarantee that we will always be an energy surplus Nation. Projections beyond 2000 indicate that conventional sources of energy such as petroleum are not in inexhaustible supply. The need for oil shale will pass from the academic and theoretical stage to the urgent and practical within the next few decades.

It is appropriate that the Interior Department brought out its prospects for oil shale development soon after House passage of the central Arizona project bill.

It is the position of Wyoming that H.R. 3300 will have the practical effect of committing up to a half million acre-feet of Wyoming's 14 percent of the Upper Basin States allotment to the use of the downstream CAP project. Accordingly, I was very interested in that section of "Prospects for Oil Shale Development" which begins on page 101 and proceeds through the following page. I include this section of the report at this point in my remarks:

> (2) AVAILABILITY
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> Water from the Colorado River or its tributaries would be used to supply the needs of the area and the amount that can be consumed is restricted by existing compacts between the States in the Colorado River Basin and by treaty with Mexico. That available for the Upper Colorado Basin for depletion is estimated by the Bureau of Reclamation to be 5,800,000 acre-feet per year assuming the Upper Colorado Basin meets half of the Mexican Water Treaty delivery.
>
> As shown in table 9, "water is not a critical factor in either Utah or Wyoming" since there are more than 200,000 acre-feet in each State available for consumptive use by an oil-shale industry even if all of the committed water use takes place by the year 2030. This quantity of water could support an industry of 1 to 2 million barrels per day in each State; however, this available water could be allocated to uses other than oil shale should they develop in the future.

TABLE 9.—PRESENT AND FUTURE WATER USE IN WYOMING AND UTAH [1]

[Thousand acre-feet annually]

	Wyoming		Utah	
	1975	Ultimate (2030)	1975	Ultimate (2030)
Apportioned ultimate depletion	805	805	1322	1322
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Total, potential water available for depletion for oil shale development	346	[2] 210	460	[2] 267

[1] Bureau of Reclamation estimates.

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The report states in part:

> Water is not a critical factor in either Utah or Wyoming since there are more than 200,000 acre feet in each state available for consumptive use by oil shale industry, even if all the committed water use takes place by the year 2030.

The table which accompanies this section attempts to demonstrate that by 1975 Wyoming will have 346,000 acre-feet annually of "potential water available for depletion for oil shale development," and that this figure will be reduced to 210,000 acre-feet annually by the year 2030.

An inquiry with the Department of the Interior evidences that this formula is only half a loaf. Neither the Sublette project, which will probably be constructed as a result of the Upper Green River reconnaissance surveys now underway in Wyoming, and which will call for the consumptive use of some 250,000 acre-feet of water, nor the CAP, are written into this estimate.

Regardless of whose statistics are used in this projection CAP will certainly commit more than the 210,000 acre-feet and more than the 346,000 acre-feet, and probably the balance of Wyoming's share of the Green River which is not now in use.

The Department of the Interior estimates that Wyoming will have "committed for future use" 228,000 acre-feet by 2030.

This includes 165,00 acre-feet for the Seedskadee project, 10,000 acre-feet for Lyman, 41,000 acre-feet for the Westvaco, and other M. & I. projects, and 12,000 acre-feet for Savery-Pothook.

Parenthetically this projection is encouraging, because it is a fresh indicacrewmen of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* have been held captive in Communist North Korea.

I am sure that the members of the crew of the *Pueblo* are asking these questions which were highlighted in a letter to the San Diego Union by Dennis E. Johnson of the U.S. Navy hospital of that city:

> Where is my Navy, of which I am a part?
> Where is my country, of which I am a citizen?
> Where are the defenders of freedom, of which
> I am one?
> Where are my countrymen?

The relatives of the crewmembers held hostage could also ask these questions.

The War of 1812 was fought on the very issue of the imprisonment by foreign powers of American sailors. President John Adams said that the immediate reason for the founding of the U.S. Navy was to forestall and avenge "the injuries committed on our commerce, the insults offered to our citizens—which are to be attributed to the hope of impunity arising from a supposed inability on our part to afford protection."

Has the administration exhausted every means to obtain the immediate release of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew?

Ours has always been a nation proud of its heritage, loyal to its fighting men, and jealous of its freedom and liberty. On this 100th anniversary of Memorial Day I ask: How long, Mr. President, How long? Is this a time to remember, or a time to forget?

IOWA STATE BAR ASSOCIATION ADOPTS POWERFUL STATEMENT ON FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY'S DEPENDENCE UPON RULE OF LAW

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAYNE. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend the closing session of the 95th annual meeting of the Iowa State Bar Association in Des Moines, Iowa, last Friday. Underscoring the urgent concern which the association's 3,400 members feel in an area in which they have special responsibilities, the resolutions committee offered but one resolution to the convention. I want to share its powerful statement of a free and democratic society's dependence upon the rule of law with my colleagues today.

I will not try to improve upon the language of the resolution itself, but now read it as it was presented by David M. Elderkin, of Cedar Rapids, chairman of the committee, after which it was adopted unanimously.

> Whereas, every good thing including the institution of democracy has within it the seeds of its own destruction, and
>
> Whereas, a society that fails to enforce obedience of its own laws destroys its own freedom and forces its people for their individual safety to forsake the institutions of free men for the club and the mace or the dictator's decree, and
>
> Whereas, a system under which an individual responds only to his own conscience is not a body of law but a jungle and protects neither society for the individual, and
>
> Whereas, the only system under which democracy can survive equates its law with the public conscience, not the private conscience.
>
> Now, therefore, the members of the Iowa State Bar Association reaffirm our belief in the rule of law, obedience thereto and uniform and fair enforcement thereof, and highly resolve to dedicate our courts and our professional energies to carry the public conscience from the implicit to the explicit, and to render into immanent law, and protect, the decencies and aspirations of free men.
>
> DAVID M. ELDERKIN,
> *Chairman.*
> H. F. REYNOLDS,
> *Dubuque.*
> W. O. WEAVER,
> *Wapello.*
> DAROLD JACK,
> *Oelwein.*
> JAMES A. LUCAS,
> *Bedford.*

CRIME OUT OF CONTROL

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in many of our largest cities today crime is virtually out of control. That is a harsh fact of life in America of 1968.

It is unsafe for anyone to be on the streets after dark in many small and medium-size cities as well as the larger communities. Arsonists seem to stay beyond the reach of the law. Vandals and hoodlums leave their marks of destruction everywhere.

Armed bandits make it very difficult for retail businessmen and bankers to continue operations. Many established merchants are having to close up after repeated holdups. Violent crimes continue to increase at a far greater rate than the population.

Mr. Speaker, if one thing is clear today it is that the country is demanding action for the control of crime and criminals. In my opinion there exists today across America a very deep disgust at the rising rate of crime.

The permissive attitude that excuses criminals has had its day. A great deal of nonsense about crime has masqueraded as progressive thinking.

The American people are tired of excuses and molly-coddling. They are demanding that crime be recognized for what it is, and that criminals be apprehended.

They are demanding that human life and property be protected, and that police be given a fair chance to do their job. They are demanding that laws be enforced, and that Washington refuse to turn the country over to the hoodlums.

Many of us have been trying to say this for years but the country as a whole seems finally to be getting the message.

Mr. Speaker, I urge early approval of the crime bill and I particularly urge the House conferees to agree to the Senate provisions dealing with the Supreme Court decision.

CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION OF DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ACTION

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, a number of constituents have expressed concern about the prosecution of a District of Columbia police officer, Pvt. Albert C. Lorraine, who shot a locter during the disturbances in Washington last month. The newspaper accounts indicated that the victim was climbing out of a broken window of a liquor store and made a menacing gesture toward the officer, whereupon he was shot and killed by the police officer. Upon inquiry by a number of constituents, I wrote to the Attorney General requesting information on the prosecution of a law enforcement officer who had to make a judgment decision during the height of a riot upon which his life could well have depended. Prosecution of a policeman seems questionable when a person like Carmichael, who urged violence upon the people of Washington, has not been charged with any offense. The Attorney General referred the letter to the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, and I enclose a copy of the reply of the Assistant Attorney General in charge of Civil Rights at this point in the RECORD.

Certainly I have no brief for any unwarranted action on the part of a police officer resulting in the death of any individual, and a matter of this type should be investigated by those charged with the responsibility in the law enforcement field. However, I do question the wisdom of referring a matter of this nature to the Civil Rights Division. Apparently, the Department of Justice is more concerned about protecting the civil rights of a man burglarizing a liquor store than it is with upholding the law in this country. Therefore, I again wrote the Attorney General yesterday and requested to be advised as to the basis for the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice handling this case rather than the Criminal Division which ordinarily determines whether a prosecution is warranted. It seems to me to be a matter in which our own Judiciary Committee might make a proper inquiry.

A copy of my letter to the Attorney General is inserted for the information of the House:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington.

HON. WILLIAM L. SCOTT,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCOTT: The Attorney General has referred your letter of April 30, 1968, concerning the case of police private Albert C. Lorraine, to me for reply.

The chronology of events to date is as follows: Pursuant to the requirements of section 11–1902(a) of the District of Columbia Code (1967), an inquest was held last month to ascertain the cause of death in the shooting by police officer Lorraine. The Coroner's Jury had a choice of three possible verdicts: justifiable homicide, accidental homicide, or homicide. The jury returned a verdict of homicide and, in accordance with section 11–1904 of the District of Columbia Code, ordered officer Lorraine held for grand jury action. Section 11–1904 further requires the coroner to "return" to the United States District Court for the District of Columbia the "inquisition and testimony . . . taken by him." The United States attorney is then compelled to present the case to the grand jury unless the court authorizes him to dismiss the "charge" returned by the Coroner's Jury. The United States attorney, therefore, expects to present this matter to the grand jury later this month.

In view of the stage that this case is now in, it would not be appropriate for me to comment on the evidence or circumstances surrounding the shooting. I can assure you, however, that a thorough investigation has been conducted and that officer Lorraine will get a fair hearing at which all the evidence will be presented.

I hope this information will prove helpful to you in responding to your constituents.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN J. POLLAK,
Assistant Attorney General,
Civil Rights Division.

MAY 28, 1968.

Hon. RAMSEY CLARK,
The Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

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It is the position of Wyoming that H.R. 3300 will have the practical effect of committing up to a half million acre-feet of Wyoming's 14 percent of the Upper Basin States allotment to the use of the downstream CAP project. Accordingly, I was very interested in that section of "Prospects for Oil Shale Development" which begins on page 101 and proceeds through the following page. I include this section of the report at this point in my remarks:

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> As shown in table 9, "water is not a critical factor in either Utah or Wyoming" since there are more than 200,000 acre-feet in each State available for consumptive use by an oil-shale industry even if all of the committed water use takes place by the year 2030. This quantity of water could support an industry of 1 to 2 million barrels per day in each State; however, this available water could be allocated to uses other than oil shale should they develop in the future.

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[Thousand acre-feet annually]

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The table which accompanies this section attempts to demonstrate that by 1975 Wyoming will have 346,000 acre-feet annually of "potential water available for depletion for oil shale development," and that this figure will be reduced to 210,000 acre-feet annually by the year 2030.

An inquiry with the Department of the Interior evidences that this formula is only half a loaf. Neither the Sublette project, which will probably be constructed as a result of the Upper Green River reconnaissance surveys now underway in Wyoming, and which will call for the consumptive use of some 250,000 acre-feet of water, nor the CAP, are written into this estimate.

Regardless of whose statistics are used in this projection CAP will certainly commit more than the 210,000 acre-feet and more than the 346,000 acre-feet, and probably the balance of Wyoming's share of the Green River which is not now in use.

The Department of the Interior estimates that Wyoming will have "committed for future use" 228,000 acre-feet by 2030.

This includes 165,00 acre-feet for the Seedskadee project, 10,000 acre-feet for Lyman, 41,000 acre-feet for the Westvaco, and other M. & I. projects, and 12,000 acre-feet for Savery-Pothook.

Parenthetically this projection is encouraging, because it is a fresh indication that the Interior Department does indeed plan to go ahead with Seedskadee, another of Wyoming's original projects under the Colorado River Storage Project Act of 1956.

The upshot of my inquiries with Interior this morning is that the optimistic figure on Wyoming's availability of water for oil shale development—an optimism which leaves Interior to prophesy that "water is not a critical factor in either Utah or Wyoming"—is based on an incomplete projection of consumption by the year 2030.

The estimates reflect an absence of overall planning by the Interior Department as that planning relates to all probable uses of Wyoming's share of the Colorado River.

The projections include for Wyoming primarily existing and committed projects. Contrary to the 210,000 acre-foot surplus projected for Wyoming by 2030, my State will have in fact a dry well long before that time.

Mr. Speaker, Wyoming favors development of an oil shale industry. We have rich reserves that could mean jobs, taxes, and economic expansion for Wyoming.

Those of us who have an interest in the energy future of the United States realize that oil shale could become necessary to the Nation's total energy picture at about the time it could be economically produced under a projection of existing technology.

But we certainly object most strenuously to the Pollyanna projections of the availability of water for such development in Wyoming and other basin States. The Colorado is a water-short river at present. There is not enough water—indeed there was never as much water in the river as was written into the 1928 compact which divided a hypothetical 16 million acre-feet between the upper and lower basin States.

Wyoming has never had access to as much water as was apportioned to us by the Upper Colorado River compact and we will not have available for oil shale or any other development by the year 2030 as much water as is printed in black and white in the Interior Department's "Prospects for Oil Shale Development."

It is therefore incumbent that the Department proceed with augmentation studies for the Colorado River, attempt to salvage some of the precious liquid that flows into the Pacific Ocean, and divert it to use in the water-short inland States.

If this can be done, then perhaps Interior Department projections will prove valid. But for the moment, the figures in the oil shale report are as short of validity as the Colorado is short of water.

I include at the conclusion of my remarks an editorial from the May 23, 1968, Green River Star and two press accounts of the Interior Department's oil shale report, as follows:

[From the Green River (Wyo.) Star, May 28, 1968]

WHAT IS THE SITUATION ON OUR WATER?

We really wonder what the proper defense of Green River basin is? Or which way do we want our water to go if we are going to retain it in the basin? Will eastern Wyoming demands be worse on us than possible Central Arizona demands as outlined in the Central Arizona bill?

These questions have been popping up a lot lately. At times, it seems as if Western Wyoming is being brainwashed to accept a decision to allow one-fifth of our water to go to the eastern slope of Wyoming for use on the Platte—where some believe that Nebraska can demand almost all of any additional water placed in the Platte. The thing that has been bugging us is that we have seen the low, low stage of the river while Fontenelle is being filled. This storage represents about the amount which has been proposed for Platte river diversion. The CAP bill accepts the Upper and Lower states division of the waters of the Colorado river, and accepts the Upper Colorado River compact.

The state and the Bureau of Reclamation are conducting surveys of water supply and water use. These surveys could be pointed towards the transmountain diversion. We just hope that they are actually factual and not born of wishful thinking on the part of eastern Wyoming as against actualities in western Wyoming. Water going over the hump north of us cannot be used by us in any way, shape or manner. Water passing us can at least be tapped and some use made.

It has been a privilege recently to obtain some figures on use in relation to some possible large power developments by private capital, of coal conversion plans, and of the soda ash industry growth, in addition to the possibilities of pulp manufacture and in situ shale development—and it won't take many moves to demand every bit of water now available in the Green.

Those of us really interested should start making a close and thorough study of what may happen to our water—and not take the word of wishful thinkers who cock a desiring eye upon our most vital resources.

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 29, 1968]

INTERIOR AGENCY STUDY OF SHALE OIL APPROVES GREATER INDUSTRY ROLE—REVIEW ADVISES GOVERNMENT KEEP ITS HOLDINGS, URGES INCREASED INCENTIVES TO SPUR RESEARCH

WASHINGTON.—An Interior Department study of prospects for U.S. commercial shale-oil production suggested that private industry be given greater incentives to carry on oil-shale research than the department originally proposed last year.

It advised, however, that the Government hang onto its shale holdings, which contain about 80% of the recoverable oil in known U.S. shale-oil deposits.

As the department's most comprehensive analysis of shale oil's future, the study generally confirmed what Interior Department officials have been saying all along—that exploitation of Western shale deposits isn't likely until well into the 1970s and must await answers to difficult questions concerning oil recovery methods.

"The value of the (oil shale) in place now is small and will remain so until new technology has been developed and proved," the study concluded. But at the same time, "it is in the Government's interest to encourage industry to make sufficient research expenditures" leading to oil-shale utilization, thus increasing the value of Federal shale lands, the study stated.

Oil Shale is a varying mixture of insoluble organic material that includes carbonates, feldspar and quartz, as well as kerogen, the actual source of the oil. Temperatures above 800 degrees transform the kerogen into an oil similar to petroleum, producing from some deposits 30 gallons of oil per ton of Shale. Oil shale with a content of at least 15 gallons a ton in the Green River formations of Colorado, Utah and Wyoming may contain as much as 1.8 trillion barrels of oil—more than 60 times the estimated proven natural petroleum reserves and seven times the crude petroleum that ultimately can be recovered in the U.S., the Interior Department noted.

Despite a history of commercial shale-oil production dating back to 1838 in France, however, competition from cheaper petroleum and failure to reduce shale-oil production costs have left vast shale deposits practically undeveloped. Interior Secretary Udall has barred uncontrolled development of Federal shale holdings until means are developed for preserving the landscape from strip mining and assuring the fullest possible recovery of minerals associated with shale oil.

The chief new concession to industry urged by the study involves reduced restrictions on any patents a company might develop while conducting research under an agreement with the Government. In May 1967, when the Interior Department first issued research proposals, it offered Federal shale lands for pilot plant operations, but said any technical discoveries would become public property.

Under the latest proposals, where research requires use of oil-shale land, the Government would agree to provide private companies with "not more than 5%" of the shale they'd eventually need to support a full production plant. If the research proved successful, the company would have to bid competitively for additional acreage.

If mining methods don't figure into the experimentation and the company only needed oil shale to conduct surface retorting tests, it could purchase the needed shale from the Government by agreement "at a suitable charge."

In either situation, the experimenting company would retain rights to patents but offer them for licensing to "everyone at reasonable royalties," the study suggested. This provision also would apply to "necessary background patents."

In line with its thesis that "private construction of a full-scale plant or a module is the preferable method of proving retorting and related technology," the study said the department also should offer, on a competitive basis, two substantial shale land tracts. These would have sufficient shale "to satisfy the requirements of a 35,000 to 50,000-barrel-a-day plant" over a 20-year or 30-year period. One lease would be in a "thin" formation where deposits lie close to the surface, and the other would be in a "thick" bed that would require stripping away perhaps 1,000 feet of overburden to reach the shale deposit.

"Significant" leasing of Federal lands for shale-oil production is estimated to be "at least" five years off, and privately owned deposits should be adequate to meet any production demand in the meantime, the study said.

Private companies already have told the department they aren't happy with its original shale-development proposals. Should they continue unenthusiastic, the Government might find it necessary to sweeten its proposal still further, an official said. Interested parties have 90 days to file comments on the latest suggestions.

The study also advocated speedy development of regulations governing ordinary commercial leasing of shale lands "so that the lack of availability of Federally owned resources . . . will not represent a barrier to the development of an oil-shale industry."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 29]

TWO TEST LEASES OF OIL SHALE PROPOSED BY INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

(By George Lardner, Jr.)

The Interior Department put its controversial plans for developing the Government's rich oil shale reserves into limbo yesterday and proposed award of two "test leases" instead.

Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall called the tentative new plan "the best, most up-to-date . . . judgment on how to proceed in the public interest."

Spread over Colorado, Utah and Wyoming, the shale deposits, according to the latest estimates, hold as much as 1.8 trillion barrels of oil—more than 60 times the Nation's known reserves of conventional petroleum.

The new proposal for tapping the huge reserves was set down in a 134-page report released yesterday.

It calls for competitive bidding by private interests on two leases, both of them probably in Colorado, to test the market for development of an oil shale industry.

One of the leases would be in the midst of thick, oil shale beds deep in the ground and the other would straddle a thinner formation close to the surface and easier to exploit. The 20- to 30-year leases are expected to cover no more than a few thousand acres together.

Officials estimated that each of the leases would require an investment of $140 to $200 million for plants capable of producing 35,000 to 50,000 barrels a day.

It was described by some as a "put up or shut up" proposition to private interests which have accused the Government of holding up development of the oil shale lands.

The Government owns some 72 per cent of the more than 11 million acres in the so-called Green River Formation and nearly 80 per cent of its known shale deposits. The report noted, however, that much of the land suitable for development under present-day technology is in private hands.

Consequently, the report cautioned, the Government "should alienate little of its holdings until improved technology is developed or shown to be available by bids of appropriate size."

Interior Department Solicitor Edward Weinberg told newsmen at a briefing that the new plan to promote oil shale technology and enhance the value of the Government's lands puts last year's proposals by Udall "in limbo."

The old plan centered on a proposal to grant commercial leases on the richest Government lands to big corporations that could afford costly research projects. Some assailed it as "a giveaway" while private interests complained of a proposed requirement that the fruits of the research be public property.

The proposal aired yesterday represents an effort to encourage oil shale research and production before committing the Government to large-scale leasing of its holdings. The Interior Department report estimated that it would be at least five years before "significant" production leasing would be "possible or desirable."

In a prepared statement, Udall invited comment on the plan before making it final. Weinberg said officials hoped to invite bids on the two "test leases" within a year. The terms have yet to be drawn up.

Some Interior officials, however, voiced skepticism that the Government would find any takers. In this event, the report said, the Government should "reassess all aspects" of its oil-shale policies.

Harry Perry, an aide to Assistant Secretary for Mineral Resources J. Cordell Moore, told newsmen at the briefing that alternate steps by the Government could range from joint ventures with private industry or encouragement of private consortiums to a Federally owned demonstration plant.

MILITARY CHAPLAINS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES—RESOLUTION OF GRATITUDE AND PRAYERFUL SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the Military Chaplains Association of the United States is unique among American organizations for it is the only national association of military chaplains. The membership includes all chaplains of all wars; men of every denomination; representing the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Air Force. All are included—Regular, Reserve, and retired chaplains.

The Nation is deeply indebted to our military chaplains. They have not only given religious and moral guidance, consolation, and courage to our military personnel, they have also given to all Americans a splendid example of "Ecumenism" in their mutual understanding, cooperation, and friendship.

The Military Chaplains Association held their annual convention at Colorado Springs, April 22–25, 1968.

On April 24, the convention delegates enthusiastically and unanimously adopted a resolution of gratitude and prayerful support for their Military Commander in Chief, President Lyndon B. Johnson.

I feel that this historic resolution merits the attention of all Americans.

The resolution follows:

Whereas, Our President and Commander in Chief of the Military Forces of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, has borne the heavy burdens and responsibilities of the leadership of our nation's military efforts to preserve the integrity and freedom of a small nation under unjust attack,

Whereas, In his leadership as Commander in Chief, he has been a zealous guardian of the spiritual and moral values of the Military Forces under his command,

Whereas, His concern for the spiritual welfare of the Military Forces has been a reflection of his own deep faith in and humble dependence upon Almighty God and,

Whereas, He now has dedicated his talents to the achievement of a just peace,

Therefore, We, the Military Chaplains Association of the United States in convention assembled, express our gratitude to our Commander in Chief,

And further, We pledge to him our daily prayers to Almighty God to bless his efforts in the difficult and tortuous path to the blessed horizon of peace.

LUMBER STANDARDS

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement made by me to the press regarding lumber standards:

PRESS CONFERENCE OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN D. DINGELL, MAY 23, 1968

One of the most basic sectors of our economy is the housing industry. In the case of the American family, the greatest single investment they make during their lifetime is the purchase of a home. The very existence of this home depends on the structural lumber, the frame which gives it strength and supports its walls and roof.

My Small Business Subcommittee has long been concerned with whether the public and the small business men in the industry have been given a square deal with respect to structural lumber.

This Subcommittee, during the 88th Congress, made the following recommendation:

"The Federal Trade Commission should proceed with both dispatch and vigor to fully investigate past and present deceptions upon the public, such as the recently discovered examples of fraudulent upgrading of lumber and the use of counterfeit grading stamps."

While the views I give here today are, of course, my own, and should not be ascribed to any of my colleagues, I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the great debt which I owe to both Congressman Joe L. Evins, Chairman of the House Small Business Committee, and my colleagues on the Subcommittee on both sides of the aisle, all of whom have been most helpful concerning our task in this area.

On October 20, 1966, on the floor of the House, I delivered an address raising questions as to the strength of lumber as purchased by the public. At that time I called for "full protection for the consumer . . . in . . . grading and marketing through a systematic and reliable testing procedure." I called attention to differences between actual and ascribed mechanical properties of lumber as great as almost 50 percent.

The following month, November, the Trade Commission published notice of a hearing on Misgrading of Softwood Lumber. The hearing was held in March of 1967. Their report is now complete. You will find that copies of it have been distributed to you.

This report, which will be released in the future by the Trade Commission, is painfully instructive.

As you would expect, the physical properties of lumber involve many highly technical factors It is most difficult for a layman to understand all of them, let alone make value judgments concerning them. The Trade Commission, under the able leadership of Chairman Paul Rand Dixon, is to be commended for the splendid job they have done in exposing and explaining some of the current practices which are clearly against the public interest.

By way of beginning, at the present time, the lumber industry, through a group known as the American Lumber Standards Committee, purportedly oversees the grading and inspecting of lumber. The end product is a grade mark on each piece of lumber which indicates the species, the manufacturer, and the grade of the lumber, first, second, and so on, which, in theory, equates with a given strength.

In structural lumber, it is not the appearance but the performance that counts. The function of the individual piece of lumber is to support a given amount of weight over a given span—that is to say, the distance between supporting members.

There are available to the industry vast bodies of data, the end product of which are span tables which state that a given grade of a given species can support a given weight over a given span. To this end, architects and others use so called "span tables." If lumber does not possess the strength ascribed to it, it will not, in truth, adequately perform the function assigned to it by the architect on the basis of the span table.

Upon occasion, this can be a matter of not only concern, but even tragedy. As an example, in testimony before the Subcommittee, we were told of the collapse of the St. Rose of Lima Church in Baltimore, in February 1966, the direct cause of which was the failure of one 2 x 4 piece of lumber which had been misgraded, and was of insufficient strength to perform the vital function of helping to support the church roof.

Then, bearing in mind that the lumber industry has to this day been allowed to regulate itself, consider the following finding of the Trade Commission report:

"The masquerading of low grade lumber for high grade lumber has bilked consumers of millions of dollars; has lowered the margin of structural safety in innumerable dwellings; and, in the affected market areas, has impaired competitive mores among surviving wholesalers, retailers and contractors."

This fraud upon the public has worked in a number of ways. There is misgrading at the mill. The Trade Commission on page 23 of its report notes that their review of a subpoenaed American Lumber Standards Committee document revealed instances of grading agencies' failure to supervise mills adequately.

They pointed out that the range of below grade lumber for some grading agencies in 1965 ran as high as almost one in three, that is 28.2 percent.

Also, there are instances of below grade incidence, boards being graded higher than warranted, of 18.4 percent and 14.6 percent. Among the two largest grading agencies in the United States, Southern Pine Inspection Bureau and Western Wood Products Association, it runs as high as 8.83 percent and 8.46 percent, respectively.

These figures strongly suggest that consumer protection has been almost totally lacking, and it has. The American Lumber Standards Committee, which as I have pointed out, has the duty of overseeing the grading system and keeping it honest, in recent years has budgeted as little as $18,000 a year—their top expenditure being $59,000 for last year—this much to oversee the grading of well in excess of 20 billion board feet of lumber a year, the value of which annually exceeds 1 billion dollars.

It is also revealing that, although grading agencies have upon occasion, been put on probation, that fact is made known only to the affected agency—not to its customers and the public—the agency carries on business as usual, nothing really changes. Never has an agency guilty of misgrading been decertified, even though ALSC has that power

Examples were also found of intentional misgrading. In one example, a subpoenaed document revealed that a new grader was subjected to pressure from the management to "crowd the grade" in view of the excellent market.

Sometimes it almost seems as though the grading system has been devised to "bilk" the public. As an example, southern yellow pine is sold by the single grade, number one or two; and also on a combined grade basis, number two and better. But this lumber is not checked to see if it meets the requirements of number one grade, only to see if it complies with the requirements for number two. Again, even though the rules for southern pine require that lumber up to two inches thick not contain more than 19 percent moisture, the Commission found that "Lumber found above the required moisture level is not considered below grade."

I would refer you to the language of the Commission on page 31 of their report for an excellent summary of this aspect of the problem.

Lumber is also misgraded at destination. This occurs most frequently when lumber is sent with no grade mark, and a false or fraudulent grade mark is placed on it at the point of destination.

In Long Island, it was discovered that "at least sixty or even 70 percent of the lumber being used in certain homes bore a fraudulent grade mark stamp."

Witnesses testified that some lumber is bought for the unstated purpose of being mixed with grade marked lumber of higher grades. One witness expressed, as his opinion, that this is so wide spread as to be properly called a common trade practice.

The Trade Commission states that it intends to proceed with a trade regulation rule requiring mandatory grade marking. They are to be commended for taking this action, as it is clearly required to protect the public interest.

It is shocking to learn of the vast amounts of marginal or substandard lumber being shipped. Markets in which this lumber has been found in a substantial number of homes include markets throughout the country such as Houston, Texas, Long Island, N.Y., New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Southern California, Maryland and Virginia. Several witnesses testified that this ungraded lumber "endangers the lives of those occupying the home, apartment or industrial building. It does not have the structural strength to carry a live or dead load of snow, ice, etc."

In New York alone, there were ships arriving bearing 8.5 million board feet of unmarked utility (the lowest grade) lumber each week. Just one dealer in that area had sold 12 million board feet. The average home takes around 10,000 board feet.

Another way in which the public can be "bilked" is in misgrading as to size. There has been a continuing tendency over time to lessen the dimensions of lumber. At one time a 2 x 4, the structural board of commonest usage, was, prior to planning, actually two inches by four inches. At the present time, a nominal 2 x 4 must be 1 and $\frac{5}{8}$ inches by 3 and $\frac{5}{8}$ inches, dressed size.

Under a proposed new rule, this would be decreased to $1\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 and $\frac{9}{16}$ inches for a "dry" 2 x 4. I cannot conceive that it is in the public interest for the size of these boards to be decreased in this manner.

While it is true that whether a board is marketed "green" or "dry" it should end up at the same size. It does not seem to me, however, that this should be used as an excuse to decrease the size of the lumber which holds the roof over the heads of our families.

This brings me to my next point which is that, as the Commission has found, lumber is being sold misgraded as to its stress or strength.

This is perhaps the most important of all, since the entire body of assumptions governing span tables and grading rests on the body of data supposedly assigning strength on a scientific basis to boards of a given grade, i.e., containing only certain enumerated defects. If this data is false, then, as the Commission points out, there is a misrepresentation of the strength of that grade of lumber. So even if the rules aren't honest even if there is accurate grading, there is a false representation made on every board graded.

It must be borne in mind that the grade books by which the various regional agencies throughout the country establish the grading rules, according to the Commission report, approved by a Federal Agency, the Forest Products Laboratory, located in Madison, Wisconsin, a division of the Forest Service, which is within the Department of Agriculture.

It is my impression that there is much to criticize about their role of the Forest Products Laboratory. As an example, the Commission, in its report, points out that the same species of lumber can have a substantial difference in strength from one region to another. For instance, Douglas fir, one of the chief species, is much stronger on the Pacific Coast than in the Rocky Mountain area because of differences in rain fall and similar factors. Yet, Western Wood Products Association has written its rules in such a way that they apparently are assigning the same strength to inland Douglas fir as they are to coastal Douglas fir.

The facts as to the actual, as opposed to the assigned strengths, are startingly different. Examination in detail shows that the coastal type of Douglas fir has a basic strength value which is almost 50 percent higher than that of the inland variety. It would appear difficult to justify this practice, yet, apparently, the Forest Products Laboratory has given its approval to this very practice.

As a further example, the Southern Forest contains primarily six subspecies of southern yellow pine. These have a variation in elasticity or stiffness of as much as four hundred thousand pounds per square inch. Between the two strongest species and the two species which account for 75 percent of all southern pine currently being milled, there is a difference of 200,000 pounds per square inch. Yet, the higher value is being assigned to the entire group of species.

This evidently has both the acquiescence and the approval of the American Lumber Standards Committee and the Forest Products Laboratory as well.

There are other similar situations in which stronger and weaker species are grouped, and the mechanical properties of the stronger are used to "pull up" the strengths of the weaker species, through the device of averaging the strength for all the species and then ascribing it to each of them. Too often, the range of strengths grouped together is excessive.

This appears to me to be clearly against the public interest. It is a practice which simply must be stopped.

At the present time, the Department of Commerce is on the verge of promulgating a new lumber standard. Under the terms of an antitrust decree of some years ago, this standard also creates the American Lumber Standards Committee and the entire system of and structure for grading and inspection. This action by the Department of Commerce, would, in effect, reenact all the vices and shortcomings which I have enumerated here today, with one exception which is scarcely an improvement—the boards will be thinner than before.

I find myself in agreement with Richard W. O'Neill, the distinguished editor of *House and Home*, when he says that:

"Some experts have it that 60 percent of all so-called grade marked lumber in the U.S. won't meet the assumptions of the span tables, and as a result the various building codes have built in huge safety factors for lumber use, just to cover the fact that one 2 x 4 may have only a third of the strength of another 2 x 4.

"The size battle down at the Department of Commerce is really a camouflage of the real problem of the variation of structural strengths of various species of wood. Put another way, the half pound of meat that a consumer might buy for his dinner could be grain fed angus beef, horsemeat, dogmeat or ratmeat—there could be a world of difference in a simple specification that calls for 'half a pound of meat'. What is most urgently needed in the housing business is a stress rating system that would apply to all lumber sold for structural uses, a system that would permit lumber to be used in the same way that the steel construction industry uses various alloys for their differing strengths."

The Trade Commission has noted in its report the urgent need for stress grading, grading which would show the actual strength of each board. Opponents of this say that technology does not exist that could do this in a practical and economic way.

First of all, I disagree with this contention. During our hearings, one of the witnesses who testified demonstrated a simple method of doing this. Again, L. J. Markwardt, one of the outstanding lumber technicians in the world, testified that, in his opinion, stress grading for stiffness is "simplicity itself and can be done very accurately."

Surely, if we can develop the technology to place men in orbit, we can determine reliable strength values for the lumber which insures the safety of our families.

Within the next several weeks, it is my intention to hold hearings, asking for an explanation of this dismal state of affairs; to ask the Secretary of Commerce what likely will be very difficult questions concerning his Agency's role in this matter. The Secretary of Agriculture will be asked to appear, accompanied by the staff of the Forest Products Lab, to explain their role. The President of the American Lumber Standards Committee will be asked to answer for the lumber industry's apparent disregard of consumer rights.

Additionally, upon receiving this testimony, I shall prepare and introduce legislation which will include, in addition to any other additional matters which may appear necessary during the course of the hearings, the following: requirements for mandatory grade marking of structural lumber; making the simulating, counterfeiting or unauthorized use of lumber grade marks a criminal offense; and also making it unlawful to knowingly misrepresent the species, size, strength or grade of lumber; and any other provisions which are found necessary to fully protect the home buyer.

EQUALIZATION OF MILITARY RETIREMENT PAY

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today legislation designed to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service.

Many of my constituents have brought to my attention the inequity of the present system of basing increases in military retired pay on the cost-of-living index instead of the former more liberal method of recomputation of such pay. I have given this matter much thought. The more I think about it, the more I am convinced that my bill, which would restore the former system, is equitable and just.

Perhaps there are some who feel that if my bill was enacted, it would set the stage for other groups to seek similar legislation. If this were a new proposal, for which there was no precedent, I could perhaps understand the justification for this viewpoint. On the contrary, my bill does not establish a new precedent; it does not establish a new and unique system for military retirees; it would merely restore to this group a benefit which had, in effect, been held out to them as an inducement to make the military profession their chosen career.

For more than 100 years, the law provided that when our military men retired from active service, their retired pay would be based on a certain percentage of their active duty base pay, and that whenever active duty pay scales were increased, retired pay would be increased correspondingly.

In 1958, the Congress, for reasons which appeared cogent at the time, deviated from the long-established principle of recomputation by granting a flat 6-percent pay increase to those who were then on the retired rolls of the military services. It is interesting to note that the 85th Congress did not repeal the portion of the military pay laws which provided for automatic recomputation; it simply substituted a different method in that particular act. It was not until October 1963, more than 5 years later, that action was taken to repeal the principle of recomputation of retired pay.

I ask my colleagues to consider whether we, in the Congress, have reneged on a moral obligation to our retired servicemen who had dedicated the major portion of their adult lives to the service of our Nation. During the period in which the majority of these men served, active duty pay was relatively low in comparison with pay in other professions, and pay raises were few and far between.

In the more than 40 years from 1922 to 1963, the period during which these men served, active duty pay for the military services was increased only eight times, with six of these pay increases occuring after World War II. Contrast this to the pay increases granted the present active duty forces. Beginning in 1963, active duty pay has been increased five times, with the sixth pay raise scheduled to take effect this year.

I strongly favor paying our servicemen on active duty a fair and equitable wage. I feel that they deserve every consideration which our grateful country can afford to give them. But I feel that once we have made a promise to them, we must stand behind our word, whether it was given today, 20 years ago, or a hundred years ago.

To hold out promises, on the one hand, as an inducement to a long career in the military services, and then to reduce or eliminate the benefits to individuals after their service is completed—on the basis that the Government has no legal obligation to fulfill its commitments—at once breaks faith with those who have already retired and raises grave doubts in the minds of those on active duty as to their treatment in the years to come.

It is my understanding that the Defense Department has completed a study in which it proposes that military men on active duty contribute a portion of their active duty pay toward their retirement pay. This, the Department argues, will give these men the feeling that they have a "vested" right to such retirement pay. I don't argue this point. But once it is accepted that the promises of the U.S. Government to the individual member of its Armed Forces are enforceable only if contained in a written contract as a "vested" right, the morale of the active duty forces will clearly be destroyed.

In these trying days, when there is so much disregard for law and order; when it appears to be the "in" thing to trample and burn our flag and to relegate patriotism to the high-button-shoe era; when misguided mentors of our young men attempt to outdo one another in fomenting ideas designed to tear down the framework of our constitutional government, we turn our backs on those whose sole job was to protect and defend our lives and our Constitution.

The military retirement system was initiated by Congress during the Civil War. It was at that time that the basic principle of keeping retired pay geared to current active duty pay schedules was established. This basic principle was not seriously challenged by successive Congresses until passage of the Joint Services Pay Act of 1922, which denied to those already retired—similar to the Pay Act of 1958—the right to recompute retired pay on the basis of the new pay schedule.

However, the 69th Congress, in passing Public Law 204 in 1926, corrected this injustice. Senate Report S. 364, 69th Congress, contained this statement:

> The 1922 legislation deprived all officers retired prior to that date of said benefits, thereby violating the basic law under which these officers gained their retirement rights. There is no justice in two pay schedules for equal merit and equal service.

In my opinion, this statement is true today as it was more than 40 years ago. There is no justice in two or more pay schedules for equal merit and equal service. It is my feeling, as it was of our predecessors in these Halls of Congress, that military retired pay should once again be linked directly with active duty pay, and automatic adjustments in retired pay assured whenever active duty pay rates are changed.

IMPROVING LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS IN THE FEDERAL SERVICE

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to cosponsor H.R. 460, a measure which will finally and belatedly bring some semblance of reason to the labor-management policies of the Federal Government. While some progress has been made in recent years toward fostering an enlightened approach to public employee labor relations, the traditional paternalistic attitude still prevails. H.R. 460 will at least allow public employees an equal voice in the formulation of decisions affecting them.

Employees of the Federal Government have come a long way since 1902 when postal workers were forbidden by law "either directly or indirectly, individually or through associations, to solicit an increase of pay or to influence or attempt to influence in their own interest any other legislation whatever, either before Congress or its committees, or in any way save through the heads of the Department in or under which they serve, on penalty of dismissal from the Government service." This approach was abandoned 10 years later, but it was not until 1962 that the Federal Government had any stated policy whatsoever for dealing with its own employees. In that year, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10988 which recognized the right of employees to join or to refrain from joining unions, gave employees—through their unions—some greater measure of participation in the formulation of personnel policies, and defined the responsibilities of management in conducting agency business efficiently and in the public interest.

Executive Order 10988 was, at its inception, a giant step forward. It did, at least, fill a total void. Yet in the intervening years we have had ample evidence that the Executive order not only contains flaws but leaves a great deal unsaid, as well. We therefore propose to remedy these deficiencies by enacting H.R. 460 during this session of Congress.

Our declaration of policy recognizes that strong employee organizations are in the public interest and should be encouraged by lawful means. It also recognizes the right of employee organizations to present grievances without restraint, coercion, interference, intimidation, or reprisal.

The provisions of H.R. 460 relating to the administration of the Government's labor-management program will be a substantial improvement over provisions of the Executive order. Under our measure, the Secretary of Labor will be authorized to set the rules and regulations for departments and agencies to follow in the implementation of the act. If it is found that a department or agency has failed to develop an adequate labor-management program—or has allowed administrative violations—the Secretary "shall assume responsibility" for developing a labor-management program therein.

Section 402 of this measure directs the Civil Service Commission and the Department of Labor to prepare standards of conduct for employee organizations and a proposed code of fair labor practices for the Federal service.

H.R. 460 will also establish a clear and effective system for processing employee grievances. The scope of a grievance is specifically defined as covering "the effect, interpretation, or application of any law, rule, regulation, or provision of a collective bargaining agreement, governing any condition of employment, including but not limited to working conditions, work procedures, automation, safety, transfers, job classification, promotional procedures, demotions, rates of pay, reduction in force, hours of work, and disciplinary actions."

The details of agency grievance procedures are to be worked out in negotiation or consultation with union representatives of the employees involved. It is specifically stated that such procedures will assure that employees have the right to be represented through their union, that reasonable and fixed time limits are to be observed for a decision at each step of the grievance procedure, that the employee has the right to witnesses at each step, and that neither the employee, his witnesses, nor his representatives will suffer loss of pay for time spent in processing the grievance.

This measure, moreover, provides general guidelines for the processing of grievances. The employee may, through his union, carry his grievance from the lowest management level having authority to the chief supervisory officer of the agency. "Failing prompt and satisfactory adjustment," the problem may then be appealed to the principal administrative officer of the agency. If no satisfactory adjustment is made at this point, the union may in writing request arbitration by a three-member board of arbitration, composed of one person named by the union, one named by the agency, and one impartial member chosen by both sides; or, in the event of disagreement in selection between the union and the agency, the Secretary of Labor shall select the third member. The decision of this board will be final and binding. Such a board will be qualified to render its decision based on all the facts in a particular situation, and will assure that a decision reached will have been formulated with both sides adequately represented.

Mr. Speaker, I have only briefly summarized the major provisions of H.R. 460. Enactment of this measure is essential. We must not only correct the present inadequacies in our system; we must also formalize our policies as the law of the land. Our public servants have been treated too long and too often as stepchildren. It is up to this Congress to grant them the stature that they deserve. It is up to this Congress to reaffirm its faith in the Federal service by taking positive action on H.R. 460.

QUICK, QUIET AND CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, on December 15, 1967, the Federal Meat Inspection Act of 1967 became Public Law 90-201.

The overwhelming majority of the Members of Congress supported the final version of this legislation, reflecting the sincere desire of Congress to provide the American people with the most healthful meat and meat products possible under existing technology.

During hearings conducted by the Committee on Agriculture, of which I am a member, officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture presented evidence allegedly showing widespread unsanitary conditions, neglect, and filth in nonfederally inspected meat processing plants.

This USDA "evidence" caused a national scandal. The public was shocked, and for months butchers reported difficulty in selling meat without the "USDA Inspected" label. "Consumer champions" like Ralph Nader and Betty Furness waged a propaganda war against the State-inspected plants. The legislation signed into law in December reflected widespread mistrust of any State agency or plant manager's ability or desire to maintain sanitary conditions. The Federal Government—through the USDA—had convinced many Americans that only federally inspected meat was wholesome.

USDA TACTICS UNCLEAN?

Mr. Speaker, I wish to make very clear at the outset: I am for clean meat, but also for clean, aboveboard investigation.

The May 20, 1968, issue of the National Observer confirms suspicions that the Department of Agriculture used deception and underhanded tactics to "collect" the data presented to the Committee on Agriculture as unbiased fact. It is shocking that at least one Department of Agriculture official issued marching orders to his men to work "quietly in such a manner that no one is aware of the real purpose of your visit." Federal inspectors were instructed to "discontinue all other work," and were sent into several States to find "horrible examples" of filth and grime and disease. These reports were to be used at the hearings of our committee in connection with the proposed amendments to the Meat Inspection Act.

CONFIDENTIAL MEMO TELLS THE STORY

An alleged photocopy of a confidential memorandum from Mr. Wilbur F. Michael, officer in charge of the Dallas area compliance and evaluation staff—an investigative arm of the USDA Meat Inspection Service—was printed along with the National Observer article. The article reports this memorandum was substantially in line with what was asked of inspectors throughout the Nation. The memorandum casts objectivity to the wind. Mr. Michael directed his field inspectors to perform an investigation entirely devoid of objectivity—with the results a foregone conclusion.

He virtually ordered his inspectors to go find the dirt—he knew it was out there somewhere.

This episode of fear-mongering has cost the American livestock producer—and the meat industry generally—dearly in economic terms. Estimates have projected farmers' and ranchers' losses in the millions of dollars during the past season of sensationalism.

Mr. Speaker, if this report in the National Observer is accurate, and if the Department undertook to mislead the American people, causing them to believe their State and local officials were incompetent and incapable of protecting them from the dangers of unsanitary meat, those responsible for this departure from democratic and accepted practice should be required to answer for their conduct and be dismissed immediately.

CALL FOR INVESTIGATION

Today I have requested hearings by the Departmental Oversight Subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee, of which I am the ranking minority member. The entire procedure used by the Department of Agriculture in collecting data used as evidence before Congress must be investigated.

Our committee hears testimony from the Agriculture Department on a variety of subjects each year. We cannot tolerate deception; the American people deserve better treatment from their executive officials.

No official should be allowed to continue in any capacity of trust and responsibility if he has shown such serious lack of good judgment as has apparently been found here.

The gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. MAY] placed in yesterday's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on page 15484 the complete text of the National Observer article.

The following is the text of a letter delivered today to the chairman of our Departmental Oversight Subcommittee, the gentleman from Texas, Mr. ELIGIO DE LA GARZA:

MAY 29, 1968.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am writing in reference to the recent revelations in *The National Observer* concerning the procedures allegedly used by the U.S. Department of Agriculture officials in securing information about State inspected meat plants as a basis for our Committee's consideration of the Wholesome Meat Act.

In case you have not seen *The National Observer* article and the allegations made therein, a copy is attached for your reference. As you will note, the article contains a copy of a USDA memorandum entitled "Special Project QQ&C—Quick, Quiet and Confidential", and it instructs various field officers of the Meat Inspection Branch to secure information ". . . quietly in such a manner that no one is aware of the real purpose of your visit".

As Chairman of the Departmental Oversight Subcommittee, you must certainly share my profound concern over this type of administrative procedure. If it should be factual, our Subcommittee should take appropriate action to insure that such conduct does not occur again.

I therefore respectfully request that a meeting of our Subcommittee be called forthwith to discuss what appropriate steps might be taken to thorougly investigate this serious matter.

Sincerely yours,

BOB DOLE,
Member of Congress.

LOUIS CLIFFORD

Mr. **FEIGHAN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. **FEIGHAN**. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep regret that I learned of the passing of my friend, Louis Clifford, city editor of the Cleveland Press.

Ohio and particularly greater Cleveland will miss his influence and judgment in dissemination of news. Louis Clifford led an exemplary life and his passing will be mourned.

Tom Boardman, editor of the Cleveland Press, aptly expressed the feeling of the legion of Lou's friends when he said:

> Louis Clifford directed the local newsgathering staff of The Press for 25 years—years of excitement, years of drama, years of change.
>
> The challenge which these changing times posed was one that Louis Clifford welcomed, and to which he responded skillfully and effectively.
>
> He won, as well, the professional respect and the personal affection of a generation of newspapermen with whom he worked, and whom he trained.
>
> And for these, his loss is measured in a very personal dimension. He was a fine man and a fine friend, and the memories of his good life will endure for us through countless years to come.

Under leave granted, I include editorials from the Cleveland Press and the Plain Dealer:

[From the Cleveland Press]

LOUIS CLIFFORD

The vital nerve center of a newspaper's editorial department is the city desk. At The Press, for 25 years, the man who ran that nerve center with an imperturbable calm was Louis Clifford.

Mr. Clifford, who died Saturday at the age of 61, was a newspaperman's newspaperman. There was no pretense about him; he was a pro.

Mr. Clifford had unerring instincts about news. He could feel where there was a story to be smoked out and what facts were needed to make the news more than routine. He knew what people should know—and what they wanted to know.

To say that he flawlessly directed coverage on the big news events of this town would be to give only one side of the man. If this paper has long been thought of as knowing and caring about what the "little guy" is thinking, Mr. Clifford must be given much of the credit for that spirit.

He was a man who was not effusive in his praise. But if he said about a story you had written, "That's a good reading piece," your day was made. He never raised his voice, yet there was no question about the firmness with which he ran the city room. A sidelong glance over his eyeglasses was enough warning to a reporter that his performance had been less than perfect.

There is no doubt about what Mr. Clifford would want his colleagues to do without him. He would want them to keep on getting the news first and getting it straight. And this, in his absence, is what we will do.

[From the Plain Dealer]

LOUIS CLIFFORD

Louis Clifford, city editor of the Cleveland Press for 25 years, was a keen competitor who not only kept his own reporters alert and inquisitive but played a large part in the strongly competitive spirit that has existed between Cleveland's afternoon newspaper and The Plain Dealer.

His death at the age of 61 takes from the Cleveland newspaper scene a real pro. He will be missed by the many newspapermen and ex-newspapermen who benefited from his guidance.

[From the Cleveland Press]

THERE WAS A LITTLE OF LOUIS CLIFFORD IN EVERY PRESS STORY

The thing about a city editor is that he becomes a part of nearly every local newspaper story. His influence and judgment show in whether it is written, when it is written and how it is written—and more than likely he has a hand in writing it.

So at least it was with Louis Clifford who from 1943 until his death Saturday at 61 was city editor of The Press.

As one who often expressed admiration for such a flamboyant performer as the old Cleveland News, a man who boisterously scolded his staff, Louie was unfailing quiet and considerate, even when pressures were most intense.

Speaking in 1961 at the Indiana University Press Institute seminar, Louie paid his respects to Bergener in these words:

"I was on the police and the criminal courts beats most of my four years of apprenticeship under Mr. Bergener. He was a cussing, shouting, reporter-insulting, hard-boiled individual for whom despite his cussedness, I bore a tremendous amount of admiration and even a trace of affection."

It was not often that Louie revealed as much as that about himself, so it is worth noting that he was almost the exact opposite of his mentor. And after four years of such driving, in spite of the nostalgia he expressed more than three decades later, he came to The Press for his career.

Very few of today's editorial staff at The Press have any recollection of Louie as a beat reporter or rewrite man. Those who do say he performed in these fundamentals with great skill and discrimination. He covered both police and courts during the exciting lawlessness of prohibition.

When he talked at Indiana University, he spoke highly of the competitive days when The Press and the old News were eyeball to eyeball every edition every day. Such competition, he said, sharpened the staff and its product by the hour.

But he also said:

"For the tremendous improvement in newspapers in the last 25 years I credit largely two factors: The planning, preparation and thinking ahead that go into the daily edition output, and the wide broadening of the base of coverage."

Louie had a great deal to do with the development of a more responsive and responsible press. His contributions to modern journalism have been widely recognized.

Early in his city desk career he was a speaker at the American Press Institute at Columbia University on the training of staff. He returned later to lead a three-week seminar on municipal affairs.

For all his intense interest in the affairs of Cleveland, he made only infrequent and highly selective public appearances. But quietly he accepted civic responsibility, devoting his own time and attention.

He was a member of the Euclid Charter Commission, which a few years back revamped and notably stabilized the government of that city. He was a member for several years of the Euclid-Glenville Hospital Board, during its time of greatest expansion.

Louie also was a sentimentalist. On a vacation five years ago, Louie came upon Rev. Fr. Albert Schmidt in his poverty parish of 6000 hill people at Ponce, Puerto Rico. Louie wrote a fistful of stories, raising substantial sums for the people.

Born in Wabash, Ill., Louie lived most of his life in this community. In 1924 he graduated from Cathedral Latin High School and entered immediately upon his newspaper career. The family home is 22561 Edgecliff Dr., Euclid.

He was named 1965 Man of the Year by Cathedral Latin Alumni Assn., receiving a scroll that called attention to his devotion to church, family and The Press.

His surviving family are his wife Pat and three children, Dr. John E., professor and head of drama at Bradley University, Peoria, Ill.; Mrs. Eugene (Donna) O'Donnell, Euclid, and Thomas S., a teacher of physics at the Grosse Pointe, Mich., High School. There are 8 grandchildren. A brother, Roland, also survives.

Two weeks ago Louie received from doctors the sad news that he had inoperable heart disease. On Dec. 13 he had lost his brother Robert, also a Press veteran, to heart disease, and the word about himself shook him up.

But he returned to work at the city desk, to make up his mind what to do. The alternatives were varied. He could have retired to a life of ease, which he said was not attractive. He could have taken a less demanding assignment.

"I'll take next week off and decide what I'm going to do," he told a close friend.

He died as he was starting that vacation.

OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS ACT OF 1968

Mrs. **KELLY**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mrs. **KELLY**. Mr. Speaker, it is a disgrace to our country that crime has become a national concern and is constantly increasing. Public order should be the first business of government. Law enforcement is essentially a local problem and must be dealt with locally. However, when lawlessness reaches into every section of the country, then it becomes a national problem. Congress must heed the cry of all our citizens by enacting an effective anticrime program.

It is for this reason that I view as particularly unfortunate the House's failure to complete action today on the omnibus crime control and safe streets bill. I am glad that the unanimous-consent request to send the bill to conference was rejected by my colleagues, because it has been rumored in the press that such a move would have killed this much-needed legislation. However, I had hoped the House would have agreed to an immediate discussion of the Senate amendments and final action before the Memorial Day recess.

An article in the New York Times of today, May 29, 1968, reemphasized the immediate need for this legislation by relating that the increase of crime in April in New York City alone was 27 percent, as reported by the New York City Police Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The substance of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 is long overdue. Although legislation is not always perfect, this does not give any one Congressman or any one committee the right to delay or to sacrifice legislation because of possible objectionable features. Disregard of the will of the people and of this body's previous actions is, to me, unacceptable.

I have long been a devoted and active supporter of civil rights for all persons, all minorities, and all groups. Support for civil rights has been and is my position. I think, however, that in our zeal to support individual rights, we have too frequently confused the right of the criminal with the rights of the public.

It is axiomatic that two of the most basic rights of any citizen are his right to be secure in his home and to walk the street in safety. When those rights are not enforced, innocent hard-working citizens quail behind barred doors and only the denizens of the night stalk the streets. Such a situation is not civil liberty.

All too often have we seen the rights of the criminal upheld and ringed with ironclad legal protections while the rights of the upright, the honest, and the weak are trod upon with impunity. Therefore, I question the wisdom and the propriety of statements of some Members of this body, as reported in the press, that the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 will be killed or blocked unless certain provisions are eliminated. If anyone questions those provisions, I can understand. Indeed, if anyone fights for the elimination of those provisions, I can understand. But for anyone to arrogantly state that the entire legislative package will be sacrificed is, to me, unacceptable.

I have stood in the well of the House on many occasions to support this bill and other measures to provide a greater degree of security to our citizens and the means of providing such security. I believe that I speak for my constituents when I say that I do not want to see all of our work go for naught.

I have studied the Senate amendments to the safe streets bill, I have listened to many lawyers arguing the pros and cons of them and I have taken note of the fact that there are many distinguished members of the bar in the other body who supported those amendments. However, I cannot support any frustration of the will of this House on the basis of one's own personal constitutional views. Such action by those who oppose the Senate amendments are not in accord with the democratic process.

I wish to call to the attention of this body some of the programs which would be eliminated by a preemptory rejection of the bill, including, first, funds to State and local governments for a variety of training, study, and other programs for the improvement and strengthening of law enforcement at the local and State levels; second, Federal control of wiretapping; and third, firearms control.

I think it foolhardy for this body not to act merely because of the intransigence of those who oppose certain amendments enacted by the other body. Therefore, I urge the House Judiciary Committee to ponder anew the seriousness of the crime situation in this country and to expedite House debate and action on this bill, so that the people of this country can be reassured that we are interested in their safety and security.

THE RELOCATION AND ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H.R. 16953, the Relocation Assistance Act of 1968, in order to assist thousands of Americans who are displaced every year from their homes and places of business as a result of construction facilitated by Federal programs. These programs include urban renewal and other housing programs, highway construction, university expansion, hospital construction, Federal facilities such as post offices, and a host of other programs. Only under the urban renewal program are Federal funds provided for relocation payments, and these are rarely adequate.

In previous years I have introduced legislation to improve the relocation benefits under urban renewal standards and to require that construction may not begin until adequate relocation has been provided—H.R. 1225, H.R. 1226, H.R. 1227.

I have also introduced legislation to provide that recipients of loans or grants for construction under the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963—H.R. 1248—or for hospital construction under the Public Health Service Act—H.R. 1246, H.R. 1247—be required to satisfy the Federal Government that relocation benefits, similar to those available under the Housing Act of 1949, be provided.

H.R. 16953 would establish a uniform Federal relocation policy to be administered by a central Relocation Assistance Bureau, located in the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The basic standard of payment would be that which is now provided for persons and business displayed by urban renewal action in section 114 of the Housing Act of 1949, amended as follows: the ceiling on compensated moving expenses would be removed; tenants would be paid the difference between former rentals and the rental in new comparable housing for 1 year; in the case of businesses, certain losses of profit and goodwill would be covered; businessmen who could not find suitable relocation sites would be compensated for the fair market value of their trade.

Payments would be made directly to the relocatees by the Bureau of Relocation Assistance.

My bill also provides that no Federal agency shall approve an application for loan or grant assistance, nor undertake direct construction without first identifying persons to be relocated, informing them of their rights, and providing the Director of the Relocation Assistance Bureau with information sufficient to permit the computation of relocation benefits. All Federal grants, direct loan and direct construction programs are covered.

H.R. 16953 charges the Director of Relocation Assistance with the responsibility of keeping a current file on all Federal assistance and construction programs and the need for relocation assistance. It also requires that he take actions to insure that individuals and businessmen displaced as a result of federally aided activities be fully informed of their rights and given assistance in relocating. He is further required to coordinate his activities with other Federal agencies.

This bill will finally provide a uniform, consistent Federal relocation policy, regardless of the program. It will insure that federally aided construction and acquisition will proceed with a minimum of injury and dislocation to citizens.

I urge that hearings be held by the Committee on Banking and Currency, so that we may act on this important legislation as soon as possible.

TIME FOR CONGRESS TO LOOK INTO THE CONTENTION OF MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL OWNERS THAT THEY OPERATE A SPORT AND NOT A BUSINESS

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, once again the time has come for Congress to look into the contention of major league baseball owners that they operate a sport and not a business. For it is becoming all too evident that what was once our national game has now become the monopolistic province of a few profit-hungry, selfish men.

I am referring particularly to the Monday decision by National League clubowners in which two additional cities, San Diego in California and Montreal in Canada, were added in the latest of several league expansion moves.

I have no prejudice against either of the two cities, though it is interesting to note that one of them, San Diego, is in an area already supporting two other major league clubs, while Montreal is not only outside the boundaries of this country and has not supported professional baseball of any sort in almost 8 years.

On the other hand, the Dallas-Fort Worth area is the 12th largest radio-TV market in the Nation and is a big league area as shown by its support of the Dallas Cowboys in professional football, two major golf tournaments, and many other top sporting events. In the Texas League today the Dallas-Fort Worth Spurs are consistently among the leaders in attendance records, though Dallas and Fort Worth would prefer to attend the big league contests they deserve.

In times past, baseball owners have met all charges of monopoly by protesting that they are operating a sport and not a business and that their prime motive is to expand only into those areas where fans would be given an opportunity to attend a sport they cannot easily see.

Under this ruling, the National League's decision does not hold water. Not only is a vast and untapped market in Dallas-Fort Worth still without major league baseball, but the adverse decision is to benefit only one man—Houston's Judge Roy Hoffheinz—who makes little effort to cover his fear that a club in Dallas would cut into his badly needed Astrodome revenue.

Baseball can exist only as it pleases a sports-loving public, not because it is a producer of revenue for an overextended promoter.

I do not believe it is the intention of Congress to promote or to protect such individuals and I feel it high time for this Government to break up its partnership with them.

These recent actions raise anew the question of monopolistic practices among big league owners and I shall ask the House Judiciary Committee to reopen its studies of this question. It is long overdue.

PRESIDENT JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY SLIEVE COILETTE (MOUNTAIN OF THE WOODS) DEDICATED TODAY BY PRESIDENT EAMON DEVALERA OF IRELAND AT KENNEDY ANCESTRAL HOME IN DUNGANSTOWN, COUNTY WEXFORD, ON 51ST BIRTHDAY OF LATE PRESIDENT

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues that at this moment on a beautiful green hillside in County Wexford, Ireland, President Eamon DeValera is dedicating a national forest and arboretum in memory of a former Member of this House and the late President of the United States, President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, on the anniversary of his 51st birthday, May 29, 1917.

Mrs. Eunice Kennedy Shriver, sister of the late President and wife of U.S. Ambassador to France Sargent Shriver, and Mrs. Joan Kennedy, wife of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, are representing the Kennedy family and planting trees on the site during ceremonies dedicating the President John Fitzgerald Kennedy Slieve Coilette—Mountain of the Woods—comprising 450 acres overlooking the Kennedy ancestral farmhouse in Dunganstown, County Wexford.

President DeValera and Prime Minister Jack Lynch were hosts at a reception for Mrs. Shriver and Mrs. Kennedy in St. Patrick's Hall, Dublin Castle, last night, where they met with many of the Irish Government officials and members of the diplomatic corps who welcomed President Kennedy on his sentimental visit to the land of his forebears 5 years ago, June 26–29, 1963.

Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to accompany President Kennedy during his visit to Ireland, and to the farmstead at Dunganstown, from which his great-grandfather, Patrick Kennedy, had emigrated to the United States over a century ago. The President's boyish enthusiasm and obvious enjoyment was infectious and an official occasion became a happy Kennedy family reunion as Mrs. Mary Kennedy Ryan and her family served tea on tables covered with linen cloths in the concrete farmyard between the whitewashed cabin, which was Patrick Kennedy's home before his departure in 1848 to East Boston, and the newer grey-painted farmhouse.

The former Irish Prime Minister, Sean F. Lemass, who welcomed President Kennedy to Ireland in June 1963, and was the President's guest at the White House in October 1963, said of President Kennedy after the tragic assassination:

> Naturally John Kennedy's Irish-American background quickened our interest in his career and leadership. The rise to the august position of President of the United States of the descendant of Irish emigrants who found refuge in America over a century ago, driven on as the late President himself said by famine and hope, is part of the great American epic and part, too, of the reason why every man who values freedom and democracy has a deep-rooted interest in the continuing welfare of the United States.
>
> But our real appreciation and love for President Kennedy was for reasons more profound than his blood-ties with Ireland. We, in common with people everywhere, admired a real human being who gave the world inspired leadership and whose heroic courage and cool judgment brought about a new atmosphere of confidence and hope and elicited universal trust and faith.
>
> His personal qualities of humour, humility and humanity added to his stature and appeal. The range and depth of the world's mourning for him was a reflection of the extent to which he had become a symbol of enlightened mankind grappling successfully with the dilemma of the nuclear age and pushing farther away from us the spectre of the total annihilation of our society.
>
> The cutting off of his career before it could come to full fruition—heartbreaking though it is—must not dismay us. From the grave his spirit bids us onward to the achievement of the goals he had formulated for the preservation of peace and freedom. For such was the extraordinary nature of this great man that no one can dare prophesy that his influence on the course of human affairs will be less in the future than in the past.

So, Mr. Speaker, we pay homage today to the memory of one of the greatest American Presidents, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

From the very beginning of his Presidency, with the delivery of his brilliant inaugural address on January 20, 1961, John Fitzgerald Kennedy unleashed and generated a new spirit for the advancement of the human cause on earth.

He did not shrink from the burdens of the Presidency, but welcomed them as an opportunity to make America mean more to its people and the world.

The legislative programs he recommended in the fields of education, medical care, civil rights and for the economic strength of the Nation have become law.

Our Nation has been alined with the hopes and aspirations of peoples throughout the world because of the Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, all originated and fought for by President Kennedy.

We look back in awe that this young President could have acted with the courage and judgment that John Fitzgerald Kennedy demonstrated during the Cuban missile crisis, when the lives of millions upon millions of men, women, and children hung in the balance.

We have been told that the peril in which the lives of the world's children were placed by those grim and terrible days weighed heavily upon his mind throughout the missile crisis. That was the kind of man and leader that he was. That was the kind of man and leader that we lost.

He was a President who strove mightily for peace. The Test Ban Treaty is an example of the success of his efforts toward mitigating the dangers of the balance of terror. But, when challenged, the man who had been a hero of naval combat during World War II well knew how to stand his ground.

The tragedy of John Fitzgerald Kennedy's death has become an indelible part of our lives. He was my friend from Massachusetts as well as my leader. Not one of us who knew him will ever forget him.

On this day we continue to respect the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy in death, as we admired and respected his spirit and achievement in life. His spirit still envelopes and inspires the peoples of the world.

WORLD TRADE AND TRAVEL CENTER SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED AT FLUSHING MEADOWS PARK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point.

ever, when lawlessness reaches into every section of the country, then it becomes a national problem. Congress must heed the cry of all our citizens by enacting an effective anticrime program.

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Mrs. Eunice Kennedy Shriver, sister of the late President and wife of U.S. Ambassador to France Sargent Shriver, and Mrs. Joan Kennedy, wife of Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, are representing the Kennedy family and planting trees on the site during ceremonies dedicating the President John Fitzgerald Kennedy Slieve Coilette—Mountain of the Woods—comprising 450 acres overlooking the Kennedy ancestral farmhouse in Dunganstown, County Wexford.

President DeValera and Prime Minister Jack Lynch were hosts at a reception for Mrs. Shriver and Mrs. Kennedy in St. Patrick's Hall, Dublin Castle, last night, where they met with many of the Irish Government officials and members of the diplomatic corps who welcomed President Kennedy on his sentimental visit to the land of his forebears 5 years ago, June 26–29, 1963.

Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to accompany President Kennedy during his visit to Ireland, and to the farmstead at Dunganstown, from which his great-grandfather, Patrick Kennedy, had emigrated to the United States over a century ago. The President's boyish enthusiasm and obvious enjoyment was infectious and an official occasion became a happy Kennedy family reunion as Mrs. Mary Kennedy Ryan and her family served tea on tables covered with linen cloths in the concrete farmyard between the whitewashed cabin, which was Patrick Kennedy's home before his departure in 1848 to East Boston, and the newer grey-painted farmhouse.

The former Irish Prime Minister, Sean F. Lemass, who welcomed President Kennedy to Ireland in June 1963, and was the President's guest at the White House in October 1963, said of President Kennedy after the tragic assassination:

> Naturally John Kennedy's Irish-American background quickened our interest in his career and leadership. The rise to the august position of President of the United States of the descendant of Irish emigrants who found refuge in America over a century ago, driven on as the late President himself said by famine and hope, is part of the great American epic and part, too, of the reason why every man who values freedom and democracy has a deep-rooted interest in the continuing welfare of the United States.
>
> But our real appreciation and love for President Kennedy was for reasons more profound than his blood-ties with Ireland. We, in common with people everywhere, admired a real human being who gave the world inspired leadership and whose heroic courage and cool judgment brought about a new atmosphere of confidence and hope and elicited universal trust and faith.
>
> His personal qualities of humour, humility and humanity added to his stature and appeal. The range and depth of the world's mourning for him was a reflection of the extent to which he had become a symbol of enlightened mankind grappling successfully with the dilemma of the nuclear age and pushing farther away from us the spectre of the total annihilation of our society.
>
> The cutting off of his career before it could come to full fruition—heartbreaking though it is—must not dismay us. From the grave his spirit bids us onward to the achievement of the goals he had formulated for the preservation of peace and freedom. For such was the extraordinary nature of this great man that no one can dare prophesy that his influence on the course of human affairs will be less in the future than in the past.

So, Mr. Speaker, we pay homage today to the memory of one of the greatest American Presidents, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

From the very beginning of his Presidency, with the delivery of his brilliant inaugural address on January 20, 1961, John Fitzgerald Kennedy unleashed and generated a new spirit for the advancement of the human cause on earth.

He did not shrink from the burdens of the Presidency, but welcomed them as an opportunity to make America mean more to its people and the world.

The legislative programs he recommended in the fields of education, medical care, civil rights and for the economic strength of the Nation have become law.

Our Nation has been alined with the hopes and aspirations of peoples throughout the world because of the Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress and the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, all originated and fought for by President Kennedy.

We look back in awe that this young President could have acted with the courage and judgment that John Fitzgerald Kennedy demonstrated during the Cuban missile crisis, when the lives of millions upon millions of men, women, and children hung in the balance.

We have been told that the peril in which the lives of the world's children were placed by those grim and terrible days weighed heavily upon his mind throughout the missile crisis. That was the kind of man and leader that he was. That was the kind of man and leader that we lost.

He was a President who strove mightily for peace. The Test Ban Treaty is an example of the success of his efforts toward mitigating the dangers of the balance of terror. But, when challenged, the man who had been a hero of naval combat during World War II well knew how to stand his ground.

The tragedy of John Fitzgerald Kennedy's death has become an indelible part of our lives. He was my friend from Massachusetts as well as my leader. Not one of us who knew him will ever forget him.

On this day we continue to respect the memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy in death, as we admired and respected his spirit and achievement in life. His spirit still envelopes and inspires the peoples of the world.

WORLD TRADE AND TRAVEL CENTER SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED AT FLUSHING MEADOWS PARK

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have been following with great interest the frequent references by administration officials and others to the critical nature of our international balance-of-payments deficit. One major deficit item is the travel account. Money spent by our citizens traveling abroad exceeds spending by foreign visitors in this country by about $2 billion annually.

In 1962, the Congress created an agency in the Department of Commerce—the U.S. Travel Service—to promote foreign travel to this country and ease the travel deficit. While there has been some improvement in inbound travel, in my opinion the Travel Service has not at all realized its potential.

One reason for lack of success, it seems to me, is that the head office of the U.S. Travel Service is located in Washington, D.C. This violates the commonsense proposition that you should locate your sales facilities as close to the market as possible. In my opinion, the U.S. Travel Service should be headquartered in New York, not Washington, at the nerve center of international travel in this country and the world. I have seen proposals for cooperation between the Government and the overseas carriers in promoting travel to the United States—home offices of these carriers are in New York. Of course, we want to receive European visitors properly so that they stay longer and come again—the first port of call for foreign tourists and businessmen is New York. Why does it not make sense to provide a central travel promotion in that city where most travelers get their first impressions of the United States?

Another recent disappointment has been the failure of our exports to keep pace with growing imports. We are spending funds in various markets of the world on trade fairs to promote U.S. goods and services. These are essential, but we should also have a permanent "showcase" for our industrial products convenient to foreign businessmen. Many, if not most, of these business visitors call regularly in New York City. Why not a permanent trade show and information center in New York for their convenience and information?

The Federal Government spent close to $11 million for the erection of a beautiful and dynamic building in Flushing Meadows, as a part of the World's Fair exhibition. This splendid building remains intact and can be made available to the city of New York without charge. What better use could be made of it than the creation of a new trade and travel center for our metropolitan community and world visitors. Space could be leased to exhibitors on a long-term basis, affording substantial income for operating and carrying charges.

When this facility is completed, it could also house that part of the Maritime Administration concerned with encouraging shippers to use U.S.-flag vessels for their transportation. In view of the importance of these promotional activities, it makes no sense to hide them in Washington. New York, not Washington, is the great market for ocean shipping and a new trade and travel center would be the ideal base for penetrating that market.

We must improve our trade balance and our payments balance. What better way to do this than to create a new and dynamic trade-travel center in the world's greatest market?

I therefore call on the mayor of New York and the Secretary of Commerce to work out the necessary plans for adapting the Flushing Meadows Pavilion into a new and vital trade and travel center, to which major portions of the Department of Commerce's promotional activities could be transferred. I look for prompt action on this step which will be so important to the New York area as the world's greatest market. In view of the potential impact such a center could have on increased exports and inbound tourism, we can look, I think, for the full cooperation of the administration and the Congress in this vital project.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. DULSKI in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. RIVERS and to include an article from the Reader's Digest.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa during consideration of H.R. 15794 and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ROTH) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ZION.
Mr. SCHERLE.
Mr. CURTIS.
Mr. WYMAN in three instances.
Mr. LATTA.
Mr. SCHADEBERG.
Mr. HARSHA.
Mr. ASHBROOK in two instances.
Mr. WIDNALL.
Mr. KLEPPE.
Mr. CONTE.
Mr. HANSEN of Idaho in five instances.
Mr. ESHLEMAN.
Mr. REID of New York.
Mr. BOB WILSON.
Mr. MIZE.
Mr. RHODES of Arizona.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PATTEN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. PRYOR.
Mr. VANIK.
Mr. FISHER in two instances.
Mr. TUNNEY.
Mrs. KELLY.
Mr. MURPHY of Illinois.
Mr. PODELL.
Mr. UDALL.
Mr. RARICK in three instances.
Mr. DINGELL.
Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD in two instances.
Mr. SCHEUER.
Mr. LONG of Maryland.
Mr. PURCELL.
Mr. O'HARA of Illinois.
Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.
Mr. DONOHUE in two instances.
Mr. FRIEDEL.
Mr. NIX.
Mr. RYAN in three instances.
Mr. WHITENER in two instances.
Mr. PEPPER in three instances.
Mr. FALLON.
Mr. PICKLE.
Mr. PATTEN.
Mr. FASCELL in two instances.
Mr. ROGERS of Colorado.
Mr. HATHAWAY.
Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 224. An act to provide for the rehabilitation of the Eklutna project, Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 1578. An act to authorize the appropriation for the contribution by the United States for the support of the International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

S. 3073. An act to promote the economic development of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 3207. An act to amend section 2 of the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 3497. An act to assist in the provision of housing for low and moderate income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on May 28, 1968 present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 15348. An act to extend the authority to grant a special 30-day leave for members of the uniformed services who voluntarily extend their tours of duty in hostile fire areas.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1968

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MATSUNAGA). In accordance with House Concurrent Resolution 782, 90th Congress, the Chair declares the House adjourned until 12 o'clock noon on Monday, June 3, 1968.

Thereupon (at 1 o'clock and 13 minutes p.m.), pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 782, the House adjourned until Monday, June 3, 1968 at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1894. A letter from the Assistant to the Commissioner, government of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to establish in the District of Columbia a unified court system in order to provide increased attention to family problems, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1895. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need to improve the system for managing capitalized equipment in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior; to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. GARMATZ: Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. H.R. 11026. A bill to amend section 3 of the act of September 15, 1960, for the purpose of facilitating the conduct of the fish and wildlife conservation and rehabilitation program authorized by that act; with amendment (Rept. No. 1508). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DOW:

H.R. 17589. A bill to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961, as amended, to provide an alternate method of making loans for acquisition and improvements of the farm, needed by farm families, including young farmers, and to provide the borrower family with adequate standards of living and the consumer with reasonable prices for dairy and other agricultural products, as well as to maintain and improve national health, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. PUCINSKI:

H.R. 17590. A bill to encourage the growth of international trade on a fair and equitable basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. REINECKE:

H.R. 17591. A bill to provide for improved employee-management relations in the Federal service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma:

H.R. 17592. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. WYMAN:

H.R. 17593. A bill to name the Veterans' Administration hospital located in Manchester, N.H., the Styles Bridges Memorial Veterans' Hospital; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois:

H. Res. 1197. Resolution to provide for agreeing to the Senate amendment to be bill (H.R. 5037) to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. POAGE:

H. Res. 1198. Resolution to provide funds for the Committee on Agriculture; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. ROGERS of Florida:

H. Res. 1199. Resolution to provide that the House agree to the Senate amendment to H.R. 5037; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WHITENER (for himself, Mr. LENNON, Mr. FOUNTAIN, Mr. TAYLOR, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, Mr. HENDERSON, Mr. KORNEGAY, and Mr. GALIFIANAKIS):

H. Res. 1200. Resolution providing for agreeing to the Senate amendment to the bill (H.R. 5037) to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1, of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

H.R. 17594. A bill for the relief of Sparton Corp.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.R. 17595. A bill for the relief of Antigone Manzella; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17596. A bill for the relief of Stavroula Pasiecznik; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia:

H.R. 17597. A bill for the relief of Zarifa Serhan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 17598. A bill for the relief of Antonio Piccirillo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 17599. A bill for the relief of Virgilio Pasion Mercado; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 17600. A bill for the relief of Jose Laranjeira Cerqueira; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TENZER:

H.R. 17601. A bill for the relief of Josephine Palazzolo and Michele Palazzolo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H.R. 17602. A bill for the relief of Samir Tarsha; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE—*Wednesday, May 29, 1968*

(Legislative day of Monday, May 27, 1968)

The Senate met at 9 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Rabbi Leon J. Weinberger, Temple Emanuel, Tuscaloosa, Ala., offered the following prayer:

God and Father, grant Thy blessings upon the lawmakers of our Nation, their families and dependents. As we stand here, grateful witnesses to the wonders of Thy creation, help us testify to Thy greatness with our humility, to Thy love with our compassion, to Thy righteousness with our fair dealing. Like sun and planets may we faithfully do our allotted tasks, knowing that we cannot ourselves complete the work, but then neither are we free to desist from our share. Guide us in our search for Thy wisdom and protect us from thinking that we have easily found it. Direct our steps to pursue Thy truth and make us know that it cannot be cheaply bought. For all we ask, O God, is for the privilege of sharing in Thy life and meriting the gift of being made in Thine image. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, May 28, 1968, be approved.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Operations of the Committee on Government Operations be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT OF BOTH HOUSES FROM MAY 29 TO JUNE 3, 1968

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on House Concurrent Resolution 782.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BYRD of West Virginia in the chair) laid before the Senate House Concurrent Resolution 782, which was read as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That when the two Houses adjourn on Wednesday, May 29, 1968, they stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian, Monday, June 3, 1968.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, "12 o'clock meridian" means 12 o'clock noon, eastern daylight saving time, Monday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 782) was agreed to.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 16913) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill.

AMENDMENT OF THE CIVIL DEFENSE ACT OF 1950

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, under the agreement reached yesterday, I ask unanimous consent that the pending business be temporarily laid aside, and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1117, H.R. 15004.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 15004) to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to extend the expiration date of certain authorities thereunder, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] is recognized.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Will the Senator yield, without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, at the desk is an amendment I have offered, and I ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 1, line 8, strike out "1972" and insert in lieu thereof "1970".

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the pending bill, H.R. 15004, proposes to extend until June 30, 1972, certain civil defense authorities—namely, first, providing for 50 percent contributions to State and local governments for civil defense personnel and administrative expenses; two, donations to States of radiological instruments; and, three, providing contributions to the travel and per diem expenses of trainees attending civil defense schools.

In my judgment, the entire civil defense program should be scrapped. There is no such program within the Soviet Union, the only nation in the world capable of launching a nuclear attack on us. I believe the program should be done away with altogether. It is a huge boondoggle. However, I desire to be a realist. I have offered this modest amendment, which would limit the extension of these authorities to 2 years instead of 4.

I offered the same amendment in the Committee on Armed Services, and, frankly, I made a mistake in doing so, for the reason that it was defeated in that committee. I believe that had I not offered the amendment in the committee, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], would probably now accept the amendment. Probably, he feels that he should not accept it because it was defeated in committee.

Civil defense, let us face it, provides excellent patronage plums for political has-beens and hacks throughout the Nation. I know that in my State that is the case. Unfortunately, too few Governors, mayors, and county commissioners can resist the temptation of Federal matching funds to provide, in many cases, a comfortable haven in the political storm for political wardworkers and defeated officeholders.

As of March 1968, 6,300 men and women whose salaries were paid in part by Federal funds were employed by State and local governments for civil defense purposes. More than $19 million has been requested for fiscal year 1969 to help pay their salaries and for State and local civil defense administrative expenses.

In his testimony last year before the Committee on Appropriations, Civil Defense Director Joseph Romm alleged:

> There is active participation of local governments in civil defense. This would not be possible without local public acceptance. More than 4,000 local jurisdictions representing more than 85 percent of the Nation's populations, submit annual program papers to OCD and semiannual progress reports, detailing the work scheduled to be accomplished during the year and the status of accomplishments. These documents are used by local government authorities as a management tool.

Of course, civil defense officials and employees in those 4,000 local jurisdictions referred to by Mr. Romm have a personal stake in the continuation of the civil defense program. It provides easy money and maintenance at the public trough for some so-called deserving Democrats or Republicans who need jobs of some sort. It is only natural that they urge continued spending of taxpayers' money on this frivolous and useless program. To claim, as Mr. Romm did, that there is "public acceptance" of this program is absurd.

Public apathy regarding our civil defense program could not be greater. The truth is, citizens have completely lost faith in the civil defense boondoggle.

In New York City, our largest, most densely populated city, officials have abolished the civil defense program, following the example of other great American cities such as Portland, Oreg.; Los Angeles, Calif., and Balitmore, Md. In those cities, civil defense programs and expenditures have been either completely discarded, or ignored to the point where for all practical purposes they have been eliminated.

Mr. President, eliminating the time of the extension of these civil defense authorities would encourage other mayors and Governors to eliminate or drastically curtail local and State civil defense activities and thereby save millions of dollars of taxpayers' money urgently needed for other purposes.

Where were civil defense officials during the recent tragic riots in Detroit, Newark, Washington, D.C., and other cities? The answer is, of course, safe at home or in their offices. Civil defense organizations in those cities were of no value whatever during the recent strife that afflicted those communities. The fact is that if they can accomplish nothing whatever during localized riots in metropolitan areas, what can we expect from them in the event of the unimaginable havoc that would be caused by a nuclear strike?

Frequently, we Senators receive calls and letters from mayors and other municipal officials requesting assistance in having their applications for public works and other Federal projects expedited. At the same time, the Federal Government is encouraging these officials to spend millions of dollars for civil defense employees and on ridiculous civil defense follies. If we cut off the head of the bureaucratic octopus in Washingington, its wasteful satellites in States and cities will soon wither away. The adoption of my amendment would be a good beginning toward that end.

Therefore, it is of utmost importance that we limit the extention of those civil defense powers relating to contributions to State and local governments so as not to encourage further State, municipal and county officials in wasting scarce funds on utterly useless civil defense activities.

Mr. President, our real defense is to keep our offensive power so far ahead of any Russian defense that it will remain perfectly clear to the Soviet leadership that a first strike against us will trigger unbearable retaliation. We now maintain a 3-to-1 or 4-to-1 advantage over the Soviet Union in the number of strategic missiles we possess. But even this does not fully measure our real advantage. Above everything else, we maintain 41 Polaris submarines each carrying 16 missiles with nuclear warheads. The most modern of these missiles has a maximum range of approximately 2,875 land miles. No area with the vast land mass of the Soviet Union or Communist China is safe from devastation by missiles fired from these submarines.

Leaders of the Soviet Union and Communist China are well aware of the tremendous offensive power that we possess and of our ability to annihilate any enemy by instant retaliation. Furthermore, the Soviet Union is no longer ruled by a tyrant such as Stalin. It is no longer a "have not" nation, but a "have" nation seeking to raise the standard of living of its people. Present leadership is evincing cooperation toward us instead of threatening annihilation. The Soviet Union is no longer the menace it once was to the peace of the world. It is really unthinkable that there would be any nuclear conflict between us.

There is no other nuclear power in the world that could threaten us at this time. Communist China, which has a crude nuclear capacity, will not have the capacity to make any sort of nuclear attack on us whatever before 1975 at the earliest. The civil defense program of today will be as obsolete by that time as are Civil War cannonballs, ladies' bustles, flintlock muskets, mustache cups and other items I could mention. Nothing being done today by the civil defense bureaucrats will be of any use whatever 5 years from now.

Civil defense officials know, or should know, as any thinking person does know, that there is no real defense against atomic missiles except for our tremendous power of immediate retaliation and offense with more powerful nuclear intercontinental ballistic missiles aimed at targets within the aggressor nation.

The fact is that not only do these officials detract from our national defense effort by utterly wasting taxpayers' money, but also foster the illusion that there is such a thing as a defense against the hydrogen bomb and other deadly atomic weapons. To continue doing this is to render a disservice to all Americans except for those few civil defense characters in the Department of Defense who enjoy fancy salaries while sitting around sending messages to each other and devising costly schemes and fancy propaganda pamphlets while waiting for the bomb to drop.

A recent example of outrageous waste of $10 million of taxpayers' money was the so-called home shelter inventory. Every homeowner in the United States received an official questionnaire from the Bureau of the Census acting as agent for civil defense officials in the Department of Defense, requesting officially that they indicate and mark out possible shelters in their homes, and so forth. And then to compound this foolish wastefulness, in 5 days they sent a follow-up reminder causing a great many millions of people to believe that they would be in trouble with our good Uncle Sam if they did not respond and furnish the information. This project was ridiculous in its concept and outrageous in its execution.

Concern for shelters is a relic of our fears in an earlier phase of the nuclear age. We have since come to better terms with our peril, putting our faith in diplomacy and in mutual fear of nuclear ruin.

It would be far better to spend this money in attempts to avert a nuclear holocaust than in silly little schemes concocted by civil defense bureaucrats who have nothing better to do with their time than to formulate such absurdities. The Nation would be better served if this money were spent for improving homes in slum areas, for the Headstart program for underprivileged children, for expanded school lunch programs, or for any one of dozens of other projects to improve the welfare of millions of Americans.

This propaganda for fallout shelters is a vestige of that era a few years ago that included ridiculous evacuation plans in event of a nuclear attack. The high-salaried civil defense bureaucrats in Washington and in city and State governments have wasted millions of dollars on food and medicine stockpiled in holes in the ground and in basements, termed fallout shelters, and in countless other insane and wasteful boondoggles.

It seems to me that as we are hoping to near the conclusion of this session of Congress, in view of the critical financial situation we face, it is time to serve notice that the taxpayers will no longer tolerate such waste. My amendment, in effect, would do just that. Mr. President, I urge its adoption.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I want to make one or two very brief observations with reference to the amendment.

In my judgment, the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Ohio will defeat the very purpose that he has in mind; namely, elimination of the Office of Civil Defense, or at least a drastic reduction in its operations.

The Office of Civil Defense is the only instrumentality of Government I can bring to mind at the moment that has not had any increases whatever in its authorizations or its appropriations for the past several years. This result is largely attributable to the adamant opposition of the distinguished Senator from Ohio. The authorization for State and local civil defense personnel expenses has been $25 million for years. Civil Defense has been compelled to absorb pay increases. It has been compelled to absorb other increases that have occurred in the cost of Government.

If the amendment is adopted, and 2 years from now there is a request for an extension of these authorizations, in my opinion, we will have a request that will be as much as $50 million a year in authorization instead of the $25 million maximum that now applies.

The $25 million, of course, is the Federal Government's contribution, which must be matched by States and cities. In many cases, the States and cities spend much more than that.

Just how valuable this agency is to the country is, of course, a debatable question. I hope we never have to put it to the supreme test—that is, its functioning in time of atomic or nuclear attack. But this activity has designated many millions of shelter areas. It has stocked shelters with food and water for those who may have to use temporary shelter to avoid the disastrous effects of radiation.

I hope the Senate will not agree to the amendment because Civil Defense will be back here 2 years from now, in my opinion, and we will be fighting an increase in the authorization.

I freely concede that there have been instances of political usage of this agency as the Senator from Ohio has brought out in times past, where old cronies have been rewarded, but the Office of Civil Defense is in existence and it has done some good work.

I know that in my own State of Georgia it has been extremely helpful to some of our small communities. At times when they have had no water available, Civil Defense has brought in water supply systems that it has held in emergency storage.

Mr. President, in my opinion, it would be a serious mistake to accept this amendment or to defeat the authorization.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I wish merely to say a word on this point. First of all, I applaud the Senator from Ohio for his sincerity and consistency with respect to this matter. I have disagreed with him with equal consistency. Of course, persistency does not prove that he is right and I am wrong, or vice versa.

But, I am chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and our committee has gone into these matters in quite some depth.

I do not think protection is a waste of money. It is like saying that if I buy fire insurance on my house and it has the good fortune not to burn down, then I have wasted money on the premiums.

Well, we hope and pray to God that we will never suffer a nuclear holocaust. For it has been said with authority that if we should have a surprise nuclear attack, 250 million people could be killed at the very first blow.

I quite agree with the Senator from Ohio that if that bomb strikes, at the point where it strikes it may make little difference whether that point has any shelters or not.

Indeed and—God forbid—if an atomic bomb did drop on Chicago and the wind began to blow toward Ohio and there were shelters in Ohio, there then certainly would be some protection for the people in Ohio. It all depends on the circumstances. We all hope a nuclear holocaust does not happen, but the cold fact is that the world is spending billions of dollars building up nuclear and thermonuclear stockpiles. There are in existence today enough nuclear and hydrogen bombs to destroy everything that man has built from the time of beginning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I yield time to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. I do not want to prolong the debate but the point I want to make is that there has to be some point at which we draw the line. It may be true that we have been fumbling along in some respects. But we need a little time to work it out. I would hope that any abuses to which the Senator from Ohio has referred might be remedied, but, at the same time, it would be most unfortunate if we wrote this whole agency off. That would be a tragic decision.

I hope the amendment is defeated.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, do I have any time left?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the bill has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I urge that my amendment be adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from Ohio.

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 15004) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; the Committee on the District of Columbia; and the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Committee on the Judiciary all be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 16913) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

Mr. HOLLAND obtained the floor.

MODIFICATION OF UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Florida yield one-half minute to me?

Mr. HOLLAND. I am very happy to yield to the majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I want to add to the unanimous-consent request of yesterday, and ask unanimous consent that 1 hour of debate be allowed on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield, without losing his right to the floor and without having any time allocated on the bill used, for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the time is charged to neither side, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, with no time being allotted from the agriculture appropriations bill, that the Senate turn to the consideration of the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Florida yield for that purpose?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I asked that no time be allotted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

IN THE U.S. AIR FORCE

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Air Force.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are confirmed.

IN THE U.S. ARMY

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Army.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I make the same request for those nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are confirmed.

IN THE U.S. NAVY

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Navy.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, same request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are confirmed.

IN THE U.S. MARINE CORPS

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Marine Corps.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, same request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are confirmed.

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK—IN THE AIR FORCE, IN THE ARMY, IN THE MARINE CORPS

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. Nominations on the Secretary's desk in the Air Force, in the Army, and in the Marine Corps.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, same request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations will be considered en bloc; and, without objection, they are confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be so notified.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 16913) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, with the time to be taken out of the time on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call be discontinued.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, we now go on controlled time on the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Michigan, Senator Hart, and other Senators.

AMENDMENT NO. 837

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART]. Under the previous agreement, the time is to be equally divided between both sides, the time being 1 hour on each amendment.

The Senator from Michigan is recognized. To whom does he yield time, and how much time?

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, late yesterday after this bill was laid before the Senate, the able Senator from Florida outlined the recommendations before us, following which I offered the amendment that is now pending.

At that time, I made an explanation suggesting the reasons why some of us in the Senate feel that restoration to the budget recommendation in the four areas covered by my amendment would be very desirable.

I think all of us have had an opportunity, overnight, to read in the RECORD, the explanation in support of the amendment. During the interval, I have, frankly, thought of no additional reasons to suggest in support of it. Very briefly, it proposes increases in four areas.

The first would be in what is known as the section 11 money. Here we seek to enable the poorest school districts and the poorest schools in areas of really hard core poverty to have an opportunity to give the children in those schools hot lunches.

This program was first authorized in 1962, but not funded until fiscal 1966. At that time, the sum of $2 million was appropriated. We maintained that level in 1967, and increased the amount to $5 million in 1968. This year, the administration recommendation in the budget request is an increase to $10 million. That amount is reflected in the amendment now pending.

The House of Representatives has set a figure of $5 million; and to the great credit of our Committee on Appropriations, as I see it, they recommend a figure of $7.5 million.

Of the four areas which are covered in the amendment I have offered, this, I think, is the most critical. I feel that this is the attitude of school administrators and those otherwise concerned with the welfare of the children of this country. This program is most important.

The second in the order of importance and need is the pilot school breakfast program. This program attempts to assist schools in providing hot breakfasts for children. As I indicated in my remarks yesterday, reports are frequent that children come to school lethargic, having had no morning meal, or certainly no hot meal, as a consequence of which the morning is wasted with a detrimental effect on the child as well as on others in the classroom.

This program was first authorized in 1966. The first appropriation, in the amount of $2 million, was made in 1967. In 1968, the amount was increased to $3.5 million. For fiscal 1969, the budget request is for $6.5 million. Our committee—and wisely, I believe—has increased the figure of $3.5 million sent us by the House of Representatives to $4.5 million. My amendment, as it relates to the pilot school breakfast program, would increase that figure to the budget request of $6.5 million, or an increase of $2 million.

Mr. President, the third and fourth areas covered by this amendment relate to what is described as non-food assistance. This is a program which attempts to assist States which already are making efforts in this area to obtain equipment for the schools. Tragically, where the need of the children is greatest, the school plant is generally the oldest; it was built before the days of hot lunches, when everyone went home for lunch. Generally, even though the children in those schools go home for lunch now, most of them do not go home to houses of light—or food, either. I believe this is a very worthwhile effort on the part of the Federal Government. It was first authorized in 1966, but in the succeeding 2 years the appropriation has been held to a figure of $750,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. Burdick in the chair). The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. HART. I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

That amount does not buy very many refrigerators, food containers, or anything else, when spread across 50 States.

The budget request is for $6 million. My amendment would increase the amount our committee has recommended—$2 million—to the budget figure. The House of Representatives—unhappily, as I see it—has retained the figure of $750,000.

The second of the remaining two programs would help State school people extend the several programs we are talking about in this subject area, by providing $2.3 million for State administrative expense. We have never funded in this area, although it was authorized in 1966. This provision would enable technical assistance to be provided, and would be especially valuable for schools coming into one or more of these programs for the first time.

Mr. President, as I did yesterday, I again acknowledge the appreciation of those of us who, over these years, have been especially interested in school lunch programs, to the Committee on Appropriations, and particularly to the Senator from Florida [Mr. Holland]. In the bill that our committee presents us, in the first three of the areas I have described, the committee responds much more adequately to what I think is an obvious and serious need in this country than did our colleagues in the House of Representatives.

For this we are all grateful, and in a sense embarrassed at now having to take the floor and, by implication at least, suggest that the action of our fellow Senators on the committee was not adequate. Mr. President, it was infinitely better than that of our colleagues at the other end of the hall, and I think it quite in order that I repeat my appreciation.

Mr. President, to summarize, the most critical area is that of section 11 feeding. The next most critical area is extending increased support of the school breakfast program. The remaining two items are of real interest, and reflect a response we believe should be made to an established need as we see it. I hope, Mr. President, that the day will soon be at hand when Congress will step up to an adequate level its response to the needs in all of these areas.

I have had a visit this morning with the able Senator from Florida, and I know he has some reactions to my proposals, reactions which I would describe as praiseworthy and constructive. I anticipate that he will voice some further reactions to my remarks.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

I am glad that the Senator from Michigan has made it clear that our committee has gone considerably farther than our colleagues at the other end of the hall in taking care of these needs of the poor children, or the children in impoverished areas, because we have. My own feeling is that we have gone about as far as is reasonable under the conditions existing; and I now recite what we have done.

We have raised the $5 million figure for section 11 that was contained in the bill last year—and that was reported in the House by its committee and passed by the House—to $7.5 million, which is a 50-percent increase for section 11 assistance to poor schools. The budget had requested $10 million.

I would have no great objection to the granting of that $10 million, although I have told my distinguished friend that I do not have any great optimism about this having any practical bearing upon our colleagues at the other end of the Capitol. I have found them quite indisposed to step up this program. I would be willing, however, to step up this particular figure to the entire budget request, insofar as I am concerned. In discussing the matter with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell]—who is in a sense one of the founders of this whole school lunch program—I find that they are in accord with me that we could do this provided the Senate agreed to accept the amount of $10 million suggested by the amendment of the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I will yield in just a moment.

We could do the same thing with reference to the suggested increase in the special pilot breakfast program in which we have already increased the appropriation of the other body and the appropriation of last year from $3.5 million to $4.5 million, as reported and recommended by our committee. We would be willing to increase that to the full budget amount of $6.5 million. But again, it would be without any great optimism as to what the result will be in conference.

I want to make it very clear that if the Senate accepts the amendment, as far as I am concerned, I am willing to stand for it in conference, and I am sure that is true with respect to the remainder of the committee.

As to the other items, I do not think it would be practical to increase them this year.

We have already stepped up the amount with respect to nonfood assistance, which provides refrigerators, kitchen utensils, and other equipment of that type, from $750,000 as provided in last year's appropriation, and the same level approved this year by the House, to $2 million, which is an increase of nearly three times. We think that is as much as could be expected in any one year.

I hope that the Senator from Michigan will not insist on any increase of that amount. If he did, I would have to oppose it.

Likewise, on the item for aiding States in their administrative expense, which as I recall was $2,300,000 in the budget, we have not only run into adamant opposition at the other end of the Capitol on this, but also many members of our own committee, of whom the chairman of the subcommittee is one, feel that this is a very unfortunate provision because, in the first place, it is a very small item spread out over a great many States and, in the next place, it establishes a precedent of our supplying Federal funds to do something that certainly the States in which the schools are located are well able to do for themselves.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself an additional 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. HOLLAND. I hope, therefore, that the Senator from Michigan will not insist on any restoration in that particular field.

So far as the Senator from Florida is concerned, if the amendment can be confined to the first two items and if it can be confined to the reestablishment of the budgeted amounts on those two items, the Senator from Florida would be willing to recommend to the committee and to the Senate that the amendment be accepted and taken to conference subject to the understanding that the Senator from Florida will strongly insist upon the adoption of the amendment in conference, but without too great optimism as to the final success in that amount.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Florida.

I interrupted him when I did bcause I will be conducting a one-man hearing in 5 minutes, and I think I ought to be there because the witnesses have come.

First of all, I appreciate very much the sensitivity which the Senator from Florida and his committee have shown to this problem in the bill which they have reported to the floor.

I listened last night to the colloquy between the distinguished Senator from Florida and the distinguished Senator from Michigan, and I concur wholeheartedly in the sentiments expressed by the Senator from Michigan on that score. And this is an especially sensitive problem at this time. We are aware of that because of the events occurring in this city. But I think that also across the country there is a wave of concern about the problem of hungry children and hungry people generally. I think we need to show all possible sensitivity to the problem at this moment.

I think the Senator from Florida in his action this morning toward the amendment of the Senator from Michigan—which I was happy to sponsor along with other Senators—is revealing that sensitivity. I think the compromise which is being worked out here reflects the Senator's concern over the practical legislative problem which the Senator has indicated.

Before I rushed off to the hearing, I wanted to indicate my feeling in respect to the trend of events that are occurring.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Maine for his gracious remarks, and I thank the Senator from Michigan for his gracious remarks.

There is apparently one of our brethren who does not understand this situation as it is understood by all of us who are here this morning. I note in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of several days ago a statement made by one of our Senators to the effect that the lunches for 1 million children were involved in this item. The Senators know that is not the case at all.

The Federal Government is itself the cost carrier of these new programs. These are not programs like the regular school lunch program in which the State and local governments have to carry the major portion of the cost and in which the Federal Government carries only 4.5 cents of the cost of the lunch.

This is a new experimental program of the Federal Government in an attempt to do something for children who are getting nothing at all and who probably need the lunches worse than any other group on the average that could be found. And it is only a few thousand lunches we are talking about—which is enough for us all to be concerned about—rather than a million lunches as was so generously mentioned by our brother who apparently did not understand the scope of the problem at all.

These two suggested increases have to do with programs entirely financed by the Federal Government, entirely directed to the bringing of some very poor children into the lunch program, partly for school lunches and partly for pilot breakfasts, and wholly at Federal cost. I want the RECORD to show that.

If there is any disposition to modify the amendment as I have suggested, I am told by the other side of the aisle, so ably represented by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], that he would have no objection to that course. And I am told by the grandfather of the school lunch program, the able senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], that he would have no objection to it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself an additional 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized for an additional 2 minutes.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I am very pleased with the agreement that has been made concerning the amendment of the Senator from Michigan. Several years ago the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] and I introduced an amendment to provide the first funds for section 11, and made some progress at that time. A similar objective has been attained today.

I am familiar with the problem not only because of its application in Kentucky, and particularly the eastern part of Kentucky.

I am glad to say that the school lunch program in Kentucky reaches over 60 percent of the children—the sixth highest percentage of any State. It has been an effective program in Kentucky. It is larger in scope than the programs of almost all the metropolitan States, including the State of New York. But there is a problem for those people who are the least able to pay, with three or four or more children, who cannot meet even the charges that are required. The unfortunate result has been that those who are the neediest have been deprived at times of the lunch. I must say that I am very happy about this amendment.

I know the tremendous labors of the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] in this field because I had the honor of serving with him on the Committee on Agriculture. I appreciate very much his action, and that of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], upon this amendment, in which I join, and which has been sponsored by the humane and able Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART].

Mr. President, while the amendment of the Senator from Michigan is now before the Senate, I would like to comment also on several other provisions of the bill.

The bill before the Senate, H.R. 16913, provides funds to carry out during fiscal 1969 the farm programs and the functions of the Department of Agriculture. During my service in the Senate, I have supported the programs important to farm families, and while I no longer serve as a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, of course, Kentucky is largely a rural State and my interest in agriculture continues.

I realize the debate is proceeding under a limitation of time, but I would like to touch briefly on certain items in this appropriations bill.

First, I know that rural electric cooperatives and members of individual REA's have been deeply concerned that the amount for rural electrification loans recommended by the budget and approved for the House of Representatives, be maintained by the Senate. I have found the leadership provided by the rural electric cooperatives in Kentucky to be responsible, and they recognize the importance of fiscal restraint at this time. But they know also that the ability of the rural systems to provide and maintain proper service must be maintained. The action of the Senate Committee on Appropriations recommends an increase of $25 million over the $304 million provided by the House, and I believe this to be helpful and prudent.

Second, I have called attention each year to the good work of the county agents and the home demonstration agents through the Extension Service. I recall that last year the Congress authorized a salary increase for extension workers, in line with that provided to Federal employees, but understand that the salary increase could not be made because of the subsequent reduction of appropriations by the Congress. I had been in touch with the director of the Extension Service in Kentucky, Dr. Schneider, and others who expressed concern that over the last 2 or 3 years salaries for extension workers have been falling behind comparable employment. I am pleased that the committee has given attention to this matter. The Senate bill provides an addition of $3,385,000 to the amount approved by the House, restoring the budget request, and I call attention to the statement in the committee report that—

> The Committee expects the use of these additional funds to be directed to the adjustment of salaries for county extension workers, where necessary, to provide increases for these workers comparable to those received by Federal employees pursuant to Public Law 90-206.

The third point which I had raised in my communication with the chairman of the Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittee, the able senior Senator from Florida, concerned appropriations for the Soil Conservation Service. As I had told Senator HOLLAND, I received a great many letters earlier this year from supervisors of soil conservation districts and others who were concerned about maintaining the level of appropriations and continuing the good work of the SCS in providing technical assistance to farmers, for watershed planning, for the construction of small watershed projects—and urging also that the authorization for the agricultural conservation program not be sharply reduced as proposed by the budget. While the committee has maintained the amounts approved by the House for conservation operations and for watershed planning, which were approximately the same as the budget estimates, I note that the bill passed by the House increased from $33 million to $56 million the amount for installing small watershed works of improvement. The Senate committee recommendation of $58 million, together with a carryover of $5.7 million, would make available $63.6 million during fiscal 1969 to continue the construction of small watershed projects. This has been a very helpful and useful program, but construction of planned projects has already been stretched out in previous years. I consider it important that these projects be completed in a reasonable time, and that the backlog of approved projects not become so large as to discourage local interest and participation in these upstream conservation measures.

In each recent year, the Bureau of the Budget has proposed to cut the agricultural conservation program by approximately one-half, but each year the Congress has restored funds for the agricultural conservation program. Of all the farm programs, I believe the agricultural conservation program helps more small farmers than any other. It is limited in the amount of assistance that can be provided to any farmer, but it does encourage measures which conserve and build the soil for future generations. In Kentucky, I know that more than 40,000 farms participate in the program each year, and while the average payment amounts to only about $160 per farm, I believe this program has played a large part in improving practices and preventing erosion—apparent to anyone who travels regularly about over the State, as I do. The committee has provided $195.5 million for the agricultural conservation program, somewhat less than the authorization for last year and the amount approved by the House this year. But an amendment is now pending in the Senate to reduce that amount by $95.5 million—to reduce it to $100 million, or less than half the level of recent years. I have opposed these amendments each year to so drastically reduce the agricultural conservation program.

I call attention also to the action of the committee increasing from $15 million to $30 million the authority for the rural housing direct loan program. The amount is provided especially for low-income-housing loans to individuals, but includes also $2 million for natural disaster housing loans. The direct-loan program is of particular interest in eastern Kentucky, and Kentucky is among the States struck recently by tornados, such as those at Falmouth and in Bracken County. The Senate bill also maintains the House amount for rural water and waste disposal grants.

I support, as I have in the past the school lunch and special milk programs, and the food stamp and food distribution programs. Earlier this year, on April 11, during the Senate debate on the extension of the School Lunch Act, I called attention to the importance of section 11 of that Act, which provides reduced price and free lunches to children not able to pay. I said at that time that I considered it most important that section 11 funds be realistically increased—for I can think of nothing that would do more good than to insure at least one sound meal a day for these children in isolated and deprived rural areas, and also in the deprived areas of our central cities.

Since that time, much attention has been directed to the food programs for those who are unemployed and who have little or no income. I have urged that greater priority be given to the adequate funding of section 11, which is an existing and proven program. I am pleased that the committee has recognized the value of this program by increasing the House amount from $5 million to $7.5 million. And I am glad to join with Senator Hart in his amendment to increase fiscal 1969 funds for the reduced price and free lunches to the budget request of $10 million. While it may be considered a modest step, this would be an advance and would bring food to children who need it most.

There is great interest in improving the operation of the food stamp and food distribution program. I think improvements can be made, as I have discussed with the Secretary of Agriculture. But one of the best things would be to insure that children in these families get the school lunch.

It seems to me an anomoly that many families having little or no income, and therefore eligible for the food stamp or food distribution program, are in many cases asked to pay the full cost of the regular school lunch. Again and again statements have been made, in testimony before House and Senate committees and elsewhere, that often they cannot do so. It would seem to me a logical step to at least insure that, with respect to each of these families declared eligible for the food programs, the children who are in school be made eligible for the reduced price lunches.

I hope very much that the Department of Agriculture will take steps to see that this is done, and that the interested committees of the Senate and the House will ask for a survey and report on how this can be accomplished, and what level of appropriations may be needed to carry out such a program.

Mr. President, I do wish to commend the Senator from Florida [Mr. Holland], the ranking Republican member of the subcommittee, Senator Young of North Dakota, and the other members of the committee for their work on this bill, which is important to farm families in Kentucky and throughout the Nation, and to the economy of rural America.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

I thank the Senator from Kentucky for his kind remarks, and I apply them not only to the Senator from Florida but also to all members of our committee.

I want to make it very clear, also, that there are literally thousands and thousands of children who are not able to pay for lunches and who are getting free lunches under the regular school lunch program.

It is true that in every area where the children are not able to pay, they are supposed to be taken care of, and many thousands of them are. The problem arises in the extremely poor districts, where the number of children who cannot pay is so great in proportion to others that no program has been set up. It is in such a situation that these two special programs would apply.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, thanks have been voiced several times to Senator Holland, Senator Hruska, and Senator Russell for their reaction to the proposal that was laid down last night.

May I just interject that I had the privilege of being a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry for a few years at a time when Senator Cooper was a member. It was then, actually, that the section 11 idea was developed, and I am proud to say that we worked at it together; and it is nice to see that the program, when given an opportunity, has demonstrated great value.

Mr. President, may I then offer an amendment which will reflect the recommendation made by the Senator from Florida.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the Senator modifying his amendment?

Mr. HART. I am modifying it to this extent: We will propose that we adopt the budget request in the area of section 11 and the pilot school breakfast lunch, and those two figures only.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be so modified.

The amendment, as modified, is as follows:

On page 18, lines 19–21: Strike out "$173,349,000 including $7,500,000 for special assistance to needy schools, $4,500,000 for the pilot school breakfast program," and insert the following: "$177,849,000 including $10,000,000 for special assistance to needy schools and $6,500,000 for the pilot school breakfast program."

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I have no objection to the amendment as modified, and I am able to speak, also for the distinguished Senator from Nebraska. We will be glad to take this item to conference, in the hope that it will prevail there.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point excerpts justifying the amounts, as contained on pages 162 and 164 of the Senate hearings.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

JUSTIFICATION OF AMENDMENTS BY THE DEPARTMENT

(a) *The Department recommends that the amount provided by the House for cash payments to States be reduced $14,351,000, to restore the budget estimate.*

The amount budgeted for cash payments to States will provide for a Federal cash contribution of about 4.5¢. It is expected that 3.5 billion lunches will be served in 1969—a growth of about 5 percent.

The following table reflects for 1966–1969 the average Federal contribution per lunch from the direct appropriation:

Item	Fiscal year 1966 (actual)	Fiscal year 1967 (actual)	Fiscal year 1968 (estimate)	Fiscal year 1969 (estimate)
Number of schools (peak participation)	71,162	72,944	73,500	74,000
Number of schoolchildren (peak thousands)	18,040	18,456	19,600	20,200
Number of lunches served (millions)	3,093	3,147	3,336	3,503
Federal cash contribution (millions)	$139.1	$147.7	$155.0	$157.1
Average Federal contribution per lunch (cents)	4.5	4.7	4.6	4.5

The Department believes that the 4.5¢ Federal cash contribution is adequate. In any case, it should not be increased at the expense of the more pressing needs of the special cash assistance, pilot breakfast, nonfood assistance and the other programs in this appropriation for which the budget estimates were reduced by the House.

(b) *The Department recommends restoration of the reduction of $5,000,000 made by the House for Special cash assistance to needy schools.* The House action in reducing this request would substantially reduce the progressive expansion proposed for this program in 1969.

The most urgent need for free or reduced-price lunches is concentrated in about 10,000 schools (less than 10 percent of the over 100,000 schools in the U.S.) located in both urban and rural areas. About 1.4 million children attending these schools cannot afford the price of a lunch. In these situations, the amount of cash assistance that can be provided under the regular lunch program, together with the limited resources the community can provide, is not sufficient to finance the cost of serving lunches to these children. Section 11 is specifically designed to provide special funds for these areas and schools where needy children are not now being reached.

The following table reflects program participation for 1967–1969 (1967 was the first full year of operation for the program):

Item	1967 actual	1968 estimate	1969 estimate
Number of schools	610	1,750	2,250
Number of lunches served (millions)	15.5	40	80
Federal cash contribution (millions)	$1.9	$5	$10
Average Federal contribution per lunch (cents)	12.6	12.5	12.5

The Department is considering national guidelines to help States and communities decide which children are entitled to free or reduced-price lunches. Determination of need is presently done by local school officials, and definitions of "needy children" vary from school district to school district, and sometimes among schools within districts.

(c) *The Department recommends restoration of the reduction of $3,000,000 for the pilot school breakfast program.* Under the House action 135,000 children could not be provided an adequate breakfast.

There is no question but that thousands of children arrive at school hungry and this inevitably affects their span of attention and conduct. In very poor families there may be little or no breakfast. In rural areas, children frequently ride the bus for as much as an hour or more and then stand around and wait for school to start. These children leave home early and time often does not allow for adequate breakfast. They may wait 6 or more hours for lunch. In urban areas, thousands of children are in families where the mother, or both parents, must leave for work long before the children leave for school. Breakfast tends to be a neglected meal.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], who is necessarily absent, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared by him and a letter and excerpts from certain testimony.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MONTOYA

Mr. President, once again, the distinguished Senator from Michigan, Senator Hart, has taken the initiative in an effort to provide adequate funding for food programs for our nation's school children.

I am pleased to join him in this effort to increase the appropriation for the National School Lunch Program from the recommended $173,349,000 by the Senate Appropriations Committee to $184,149,000. Even this latter amount is a modest one and below the Administration's request.

Mr. President, I do not mean any criticism of Senator Holland, Chairman of the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee nor of the Appropriations Committee itself. I recognize that the Committee has been under tremendous pressure to trim all budget requests and that the cuts recommended in the School Lunch Program reflect this pressure. However, I believe that we are dealing with an exception here—one that we cannot afford to trim. That is, the feeding of undernourished children, many of whom would not get even one full meal a day were it not for the National School Lunch Program.

I, therefore, urge adoption of the amendment by Senator Hart.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter I received this morning from the New Mexico Superintendent of Public Instruction be inserted at this point in the RECORD as well as the pertinent portions of my testimony before the U.S. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on the Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies in support of full funding for the National School Lunch Program.

STATE OF NEW MEXICO,
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
Santa Fe, May 27, 1968.

Hon. JOSEPH M. MONTOYA,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JOE: I understand that the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives has approved the budget for Fiscal Year 1969 for the School Lunch and Child Nutrition without a recommendation for funding Section 7 (State Administrative Expenses) of the Child Nutrition Act.

The New Mexico Department of Education would object to signing an agreement to administer the increasing number of child feeding program created by the Congress without monies for their administration. I strongly urge that Section XI of the School Lunch Act, as well as the Breakfast Program and the Non-Food Assistance Program of the Child Nutrition Act be funded at the full amount of the Executive Budget proposal.

If the above programs are to reach the maximum number of children it is imperative that funds for administrative personnel also be made available.

Sincerely yours,
LEONARD J. DELAYO,
Superintendent of Public Instruction.

EXCERPTS FROM TESTIMONY

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am pleased to appear before you again to testify in support of funds for programs administered by the Department of Agriculture in New Mexico. Today I would like to endorse particularly the President's recommendations for funding of the Department's food programs for children and low-income families.

We have a real nutrition problem in this country—the scope of it was outlined in the Department's recent report on the adequacy of the American diet as found in the 1965 survey on food consumption by households. The survey revealed considerable slippage from the levels of the earlier survey of ten years ago. We have simply got to make a concerted effort to reduce this trend.

Secretary Freeman moved immediately to direct an expanded nutrition education program by the Department with priority attention to children and young families, low-income families, the aged and the general population. There are other measures proposed by the Secretary but here, today, we have an opportunity to help in this effort by voting the funds requested to support the legislation we have written over the years.

The President has requested an increase in funds for the National School Lunch Program. He should have it. He has asked that Section 11—the special assistance phase of the National School Lunch Program—be increased to $10 million from the $5 million we approved last year. I am told that $30–$35 million would be required to meet the full need for this assistance. You may recall that when we first added Section 11 to the National School Lunch Act in 1962, we authorized a $10 million appropriation. Section 11 in itself recognized the difficulty faced by many low-income area schools where local resources and limited Federal assistance just weren't enough to begin and maintain a lunch program. We knew then that many schools weren't in the lunch program simply because they couldn't afford it. Many others were not meeting the National School Lunch Act requirement that free or reduced price meals be served to those who cannot pay the full price.

Hundreds of schools and thousands of children are in the lunch program this year because that extra financial help made a viable lunch program possible. The need still remains great in small rural schools and downtown elementary schools. Millions of dollars of assistance under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have been spent to feed children in lunch and breakfast programs. Local officials felt that food service was a top priority need for their youngsters. With adequate funding of the programs under discussion today, Education Act funds can be directed where they were really intended—to strengthening local schools and improving their educational capabilities.

I urge full funding of the school breakfast program at the recommended $6.5 million—an increase of $3.0 million over this year. The other body recently passed H.R. 15398, providing, among other things, for permanent authorization for the two-year pilot breakfast program. I introduced in the Senate, a similar measure, S. 2871, in which I was joined by 26 co-sponsors. House action on the bill was unanimous—398 to 0. Equally unanimous was the opinion from coast-to-coast of the benefits of the breakfast program to children participating.

We opened several breakfast programs in Albuquerque schools a few weeks ago. One newspaper account had this to say in part:

"The first grader's cheeks were as red from what had obviously been a good scrubbing with a bath cloth as they were from the nip of cold air outside.

"Dressed in neat brown corduroy pants, scuffed sneakers and plaid sport shirt, he waited solemnly for his yellow plastic tray in the cafeteria line.

"On the plastic tray was a carton of milk, a glass of orange juice, a hot buttered roll, jelly and a steamy bowl of hot oatmeal . . . . .

"The youngsters—those who can afford it—pay a dime for the breakfast.

"The ones who can't—selected by the principal of each school—eat for free."

Mrs. Irvin Henreyson, of Albuquerque, who is President of the National Congress of Parent Teacher Associations, was present and said, "We feel that adequately fed children learn better, adjust better and have fewer problems than those who have a poor nutrition."

This year we appropriated only $750,000 for non-food assistance—equipment assistance for schools. For 1969, the request is for $6 million—and it should be honored. Lack of equipment and the money to buy it is inhibiting program growth in many areas. The Department of Agriculture and the State educational agencies have devised a variety of ways of meeting and overcoming the equipment and space obstacles to school food service. Some situations are more difficult than others but there is every indication the money has been used prudently and carefully.

> We have asked a great deal of our State school lunch staffs in adding these new responsibilities—Section 11, the breakfast and equipment programs. We recognized this, too, in the Child Nutrition Act by authorizing some help to the States in administering these new features. But we appropriated no funds. The request for the next fiscal year is for $2.3 million and, I believe, in all good conscience, we should provide these funds. State school lunch staffs are small. In terms of numbers and salaries, they are in competition with all the unmet needs of others on the State educational staffs who have also had greatly increased responsibilities put on them in the last few years. The big difference is that we have provided help for State administrative costs in the education acts but not for the food service programs. The implementation of special assistance, breakfast and equipment programs is time-consuming and costly. On-site help must be provided. You can't sit in the State capitol and handle the tough ones by correspondence. You have to get out there and help the school put a package together. The money requested, when distributed nation-wide, will not build State school lunch empires. It will help ease the impact of increasing responsibilities. The Director of our New Mexico School Lunch Program has repeatedly emphasized to me that there simply are not enough man-hours available to meet the needs of all our needy children. For example, the State has turned back $40,000 of $56,158 in school breakfast money in fiscal year 1968 because of lack of funds for qualified personnel to administer the program.
>
> I also want to endorse the continuing request for $104 million for the special milk program. It remains a valuable supplement in our efforts to improve child nutrition but it is no substitute for a complete meal—lunch or breakfast.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, 10 million Americans, mostly children, suffer from hunger and malnutrition. Too many American youngsters born to poverty stricken families are the victims of dietary deficiencies that affect their normal mental development as well as their physcial development. They are condemned from childhood to a lifetime of second-class citizenship. This is a continuing national disaster and must not be permitted.

There is uncontestable medical testimony that the first 5 years of life are the most important from the standpoint of nutritional needs and the necessity of an adequate diet. If babies and young children do not receive an adequate diet they often suffer irrevocable and severe physical and mental retardation damage. During recent hearings, Dr. Jule M. Sugarman, Associate Director of Headstart for OEO testified:

> From our experiences with the Head Start Program, I am convinced that the problem of nutritional deficiency in disadvantaged children is both real and broader in scope than we had originally anticipated. Our observations of Head Start children indicate specific physical disabilities including anemia rates as high as 51.6 percent in some areas of the country. Head Start Center reports describe cases of malnutrition so severe that the child is unable to function in a meaningful physical and intellectual fashion.

We must provide an early childhood nutrition program to provide an adequate diet for America's disadvantaged children before irreparable damage is done.

Our most valuable and precious national asset is our youth. We cannot permit millions of children from low-income families to suffer permanent damage both physical and mental as a result of inadequate diet. It is unconscionable that such a condition should be permitted to exist, in the richest and greatest Nation in the world. The pending amendment which I have cosponsored with the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] to restore more than $10 million for the school lunch program and other programs providing food for children would help to correct this situation.

Mr. President, by restoring these funds, we are fighting one of the direct causes of the social ills which afflict the Nation. Hunger for food surpasses hunger for knowledge. Hunger surpasses any regard for social responsibility. Hunger for food in a land of affluence and plenty can only instill a sense of injustice, grievance, frustration and revolt.

Mr. President, last year the school lunch program served meals to more than 20 million children. These children were assured of at least one nutritious meal each schoolday. The school lunch program is a direct way of reaching those children who studies indicate are most markedly and adversely affected by hunger and malnutrition. By adopting this amendment which restores funds for the school lunch program, we will be a step further along the road to what must be our goal—a nation in which no child goes hungry.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the pending fiscal year 1969 appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies, H.R. 16913, is the product of extensive and exhaustive hearings by the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, which is very ably chaired by the distinguished senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND].

It has been my great pleasure to serve under the fine and gracious leadership of Senator HOLLAND during consideration of this vital and complicated legislation. I wish to say to Chairman HOLLAND that I deeply appreciate his fairness to me and his consideration of my views during our deliberations on this bill.

Agriculture is a matter that touches each of us daily, whether we be producer or consumer. This bill, which appropriates $5,536,050,300, embodies the agricultural policy of the United States for fiscal year 1969. It is an extremely important piece of legislation—not only for those that it affects directly or even indirectly, but also for those that it leaves out.

In the few brief minutes that I will take here, I cannot touch on every aspect of the bill, though every provision is important and has been carefully considered. I will comment generally only on a few provisions of particular importance to me and to my State.

Particularly, I am gratified that the committee has seen fit to recommend new obligational authority of $329 million for the Rural Electrification Administration. This is $25 million more than the House bill provides, and I think it will be wisely used by the REA, which has extended its benefits to millions of our rural families during its distinguished 33-year history.

GENERATION AND TRANSMISSION LOANS

I especially am pleased that the committee took note of the important role played by the generation and transmission facilities of REA. In its report, the committee declares the policy of the United States toward these facilities to be as follows:

> The committee recognizes that generation and transmission facilities are, in many rural areas of the Nation, a necessary part of the rural electrification program. It is aware of the beneficial effect which the operation of these facilities has had in reducing wholesale power costs for the distribution cooperatives serving the thin rural areas. It recognizes the need for "heavying up" generation and transmission facilities, as well as distribution facilities, to enable power-type cooperatives to meet their power supply obligations to their members and honor their commitments to other electric power systems where they are working together in power pools. It acknowledges the importance of having financing available for such facilities where distribution systems find it necessary to escape from unreasonable or damaging conditions sometimes imposed by unfriendly power suppliers.
>
> The Administrator has advised the committee that the loan level for electric facilities proposed in the budget request will necessitate the deferment of some loan needs which would normally be met in fiscal year 1969.
>
> The committee urges the Administrator to screen all applications for loan funds with extraordinary care in view of the Nation's need for practicing the maximum economy in fiscal year 1969 to insure that loan funds will be available to finance those facilities, including generation and transmission, which cannot be delayed without causing serious and lasting damage to existing rural electric systems and the economy and effectiveness of their operations.

I wish only briefly to note the committee's action on certain rural projects of the Farmers Home Administration. In three important programs—rural housing direct loan account, rural renewal, and rural housing for domestic farm labor—we have recommended funding at the level requested by the Department.

At least these amounts are needed, and I am hopeful that the Senate position on these important programs will prevail in conference over lesser sums approved by the House. Full funding of rural development programs are essential if we hope ever to stem the flow of rural residents to the cities.

The bill makes more than $146 million available for agricultural research programs. Agricultural research is the foundation of our Nation's farm and ranch program. Agricultural research projects dealing with new and improved livestock breeding, crop improvement, and watershed planning are important factors in our being the most productive agricultural Nation in the world. Action taken by the Senate represents an increase of $5,978,100 over the House bill.

For Texas, I support the Senate action appropriating $227,600 for pesticide research at College Station, Tex., an increase of $75,000 over the House-passed bill, and for restoring $25,200 for cotton research at College Station, which had been deleted by the House. I commend the Senate for restoring in this appropriations bill $84,200 for research for reducing the costs of cotton being conducted at Lubbock, Tex., and for allocating $236,100 for cotton ginning research. This bill also appropriates $14,200 for research at Beaumont, Tex., to improve protein content of cereal and other grains and restores $10,200 deleted by the House for research at Brownsville, Tex., for reducing costs of producing cotton.

The Senate-passed bill provides $227,719,000 for the Soil Conservation Service which provides technical assistance to farmers and ranchers for soil conservation, watershed planning, flood prevention, and resource conservation and development. Under this bill, over $6 million will be available for assistance in watershed planning, and $17.5 million for flood prevention.

I have been a long-time supporter of the Great Plains conservation program which provides critical assistance to farmers and ranchers in the "dust bowl" areas of Texas and the Southwest. This bill allocates $16 million to be used for loans on a cost-shared basis. I regret this figure could not have been higher.

I would also like to mention my opposition to the attempts made to place a limitation on the amounts of money a farmer could receive under our agricultural programs. Any such effort should be well thought out and planned to be sure that the family farmer is receiving an adequate and just income. An across-the-board limitation without sufficient groundwork and study would not accomplish that program, but would indiscriminately eliminate many family farmers.

Furthermore, because of the provisions inserted in the cotton bill, if any such limitations were enacted there would be a return to the cotton bill of 1958. This snapback provision would deprive our cotton farmers of the benefits of the 1965 cotton bill.

Lastly, limitations on payments would completely destroy voluntary programs, since a farmer would not voluntarily participate in a program which would not entitle him to payments because of a maximum entitlement.

Mr. President, there is one dark spot in our agricultural picture. In spite of the fact that America's agricultural sector is the most productive of the world—indeed, it is the envy of the world—and in spite of the fact that the American people, as a whole, eat better than any other people in history, there is hunger, malnutrition, and even starvation in this land of plenty. Our agricultural affluence is phenomenal, but there are some who do not share in it. Paradoxically, there are some, perhaps millions, who do not have enough to eat.

It is almost impossible for most of us even to imagine the breadth and depth of hunger, malnutrition, and even starvation that plagues our country. Yet, in recent weeks, there has been clear evidence of this tragedy from three major sources: Hunger, USA, a report of the citizens' board of inquiry into hunger and malnutrition in the United States; Their Daily Bread, a report by the committee on school lunch participation; and Hunger in America, a CBS television report.

We have seen that hundreds of thousands of Americans—perhaps as many as 10 million—are being crippled in body, in mind, and in spirit because they have not enough to eat. Some are starving to death. The facts cannot be avoided any longer.

The Department of Agriculture has primary responsibility for our national effort to feed America's hungry. The food stamp program represents the Government's main attempt to deal with hunger. Yet, the progress of this and other surplus food-for-the-poor programs has not been sufficient to meet the need.

The budget request for the food stamp program was $225 million, only $40 million above the previous year. Mr. President, according to testimony from the Department of Agriculture, all of that increase is to be used to maintain the program at its present level of 2.75 million participants. There was no request for money to extend the program to the other 7 million or so Americans who are in need.

The committee approved the full amount requested. I had hoped we might do more. In my State, food stamps issued in fiscal year 1967 had a total value of $1,528,795. With some 3 million Texans living in poverty, that averages out to little more than 50 cents for each poor person per year—not a day, a week, or even a month, but 50 cents a year. More is needed, and we must all work to make sure that more is provided.

I also am concerned with the appropriation recommended for the school lunch program. This is a vital and a proven program. I was sorry that the committee cut it to $173.3 million from $184.4 million requested. I support and will vote for the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] to fund the school lunch program at the full amount requested.

Mr. President, it is imperative that all Americans share in our agricultural abundance. We spend $1.5 billion a year to help feed the rest of the world. Surely we will now work together to make sure that none of our own fellow citizens go hungry.

Again, I commend the distinguished chairman of our subcommittee for his fine work and leadership on this bill. No man has worked harder than he to assure the steady growth of our agricultural capability, and no man has been more concerned than he that all Americans share in our productivity.

Mr. HART. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified, of the Senator from Michigan.

The amendment (No. 837), as modified, was agreed to.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to take 5 minutes from the time on the bill, with the permission of the distinguished chairman of the committee, to lay the pending business aside temporarily and to call up Calendar No. 1134, S. 444.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I am glad to yield, provided the time is limited to 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FLAMING GORGE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In accordance with the previous order, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1134, S. 444, which will be stated by title.

The BILL CLERK. A bill (S. 444) to establish the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area in the States of Utah and Wyoming, and for other purposes.

Accordingly, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments, on page 3, line 18, after the word "enjoyment." insert "Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction or responsibilities of the States of Utah and Wyoming under other provisions of State laws with respect to hunting and fishing."; and on page 4, line 14, after the word "the" strike out the word "administration" and insert "purposes"; so as to make the bill read:

S. 444

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to provide, in furtherance of the purposes of the Colorado River storage project, for the public outdoor recreation use and enjoyment of the Flaming Gorge Reservoir and surrounding lands in the States of Utah and Wyoming and the conservation of scenic, scientific, historic, and other values contributing to public enjoyment of such lands and waters, there is hereby established, subject to valid existing rights, the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area in the States of Utah and Wyoming (hereinafter referred to as the "recreation area"). The boundaries of the recreation area shall be those shown on the map entitled "Proposed Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area," which is on file and available for public inspection in the office of the Chief, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture.

SEC. 2. The administration, protection, and development of the recreation area shall be by the Secretary of Agriculture (hereinafter called the "Secretary") in accordance with the laws, rules, and regulations applicable to national forests, in a manner coordinated with the other purposes of the Colorado River storage project, and in such manner as in his judgment will best provide for (1) public outdoor recreation benefits; (2) conservation of scenic, scientific, historic, and other values contributing to public enjoyment; and (3) such management, utilization, and disposal of natural resources as in his judgment will promote or are compatible with, and do not significantly impair the purposes for which the recreation area is established: *Provided,* That lands or waters needed or used for the operation of the Colorado River storage project shall continue to be administered by the Secretary of the Interior to the extent he determines to be required for such operation.

SEC. 3. Within six months after the effective date of this Act, the Secretary shall publish in the Federal Register a detailed description of the boundaries of the recreation area. Following such publication, the Secretary may make minor adjustments in the boundary of the recreation area by publication of the amended description thereof in the Federal Register: *Provided,* That the total acreage of the recreation area within the adjusted boundary does not exceed the acreage of the recreation area as shown on the map referred to in section 1 hereof.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall permit hunting, fishing, and trapping on the lands and waters under his jurisdiction within the recreation area in accordance with the applicable Federal and State laws: *Provided*, That the Secretary, after consultation with the respective State fish and game commissions, may issue regulations designating zones where and establishing periods where no hunting, fishing, or trapping shall be permitted for reasons of public safety, administration, or public use and enjoyment. Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction or responsibilities of the States of Utah and Wyoming under other provisions of State laws with respect to hunting and fishing.

Sec. 5. The lands within the recreation area, subject to valid existing rights, are hereby withdrawn from location, entry, and patent under the United States mining laws. The Secretary of the Interior, under such regulations as he deems appropriate, may permit the removal of the nonleasable minerals from lands or interests in lands within the recreation area in the manner prescribed by section 10 of the Act of August 4, 1939, as amended (53 Stat. 1196; 43 U.S.C 387), and he may permit the removal of leasable minerals from lands or interests in lands within the recreation area in accordance with the Mineral Leasing Act of February 24, 1920, as amended (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.), or the Acquired Lands Mineral Leasing Act of August 7, 1947 (30 U.S.C. 351 et seq.), if he finds that such disposition would not have significant adverse effects on the purposes of the Colorado River storage project and the Secretary of Agriculture finds that such disposition would not have significant adverse effects on the administration purposes of the recreation area: *Provided*, That any lease or permit respecting such minerals in the recreation area shall be issued only with the consent of the Secretary of Agriculture and subject to such conditions as he may prescribe.

All receipts derived from permits and leases issued under the authority of this section for removal of nonleasable minerals shall be paid into the same funds or accounts in the Treasury of the United States and shall be distributed in the same manner as provided for receipts from national forests. Any receipts derived from permits or leases issued on lands in the recreation area under the Mineral Leasing Act of February 25, 1920, as amended, or the Act of August 7, 1947, shall be disposed of as provided in the applicable Act.

Sec. 6. The boundaries of the Ashley National Forest are hereby extended to include all of the lands not presently within such boundaries lying within the recreation area as described in accordance with sections 1 and 3 of this Act.

Sec. 7. Subject to any valid claim or entry now existing and hereafter legally maintained, all public lands of the United States and all lands of the United States heretofore or hereafter acquired or reserved for use in connection with the Colorado River storage project within the exterior boundaries of the recreation area which have not heretofore been added to and made a part of the Ashley National Forest, and all lands of the United States acquired for the purpose of the recreation area, are hereby added to and made a part of the Ashley National Forest: *Provided*, That lands within the flow lines of any reservoir operated and maintained by the Department of the Interior or otherwise needed or used for the operation of the Colorado River storage project shall continue to be administered by the Secretary of the Interior to the extent he determines to be required for such operation.

Sec. 8. Funds hereafter appropriated and available for the acquisition of lands and waters and interests therein in the national forest system pursuant to section 6 of the Act of September 3, 1964 (78 Stat. 897, 903), shall be available for the acquisition of any lands, waters, and interests therein within the boundaries of the recreation area.

Sec. 9. Nothing in this Act shall deprive any State or political subdivision thereof of its right to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction within the recreation area consistent with the provisions of this Act, or of its right to tax persons, corporations, franchises, or other non-Federal property, including mineral or other interests, in or on lands or waters within the recreation area.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I express my gratitude to the Senator from Florida [Mr. Holland] for allowing us to intervene at this point because of the necessities of having this matter considered. It was called up on the call of the calendar yesterday, but we were not able to reach it. I believe we can handle the matter very briefly today.

S. 444 would establish the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area on the lake that has been created by the Flaming Gorge Dam on the Green River in the State of Utah. The lake would extend into Wyoming for approximately 92 miles. This is a successor bill to two previous bills that have been before the Senate, introduced in 1964 and 1965, and this one was introduced on January 12, 1968.

The areas are now being administered under an administrative agreement between the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior. This bill would establish it by law and would transfer the jurisdiction of the entire area to the Department of Agriculture, the Forest Service. This has become necessary because of administrative problems which we foresaw when we visited that area as a committee some 3 years ago. By consolidating the administration in the Department of Agriculture, we not only avoid overlapping and duplication of problems that arise from new administration, but also, it is estimated that there will be a saving of approximately $100,000 a year in the efficiency of the administration.

This is not a matter that will cause any additional budget expenditures. As a matter of fact, as I pointed out, it is a matter of economy. There has been one problem—to make certain that the management of the fish and wildlife there would be in accordance with the State law, which is the requirement under all of the recreation areas, and that has been worked out satisfactorily; and the bill has been reported unanimously by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

I therefore urge that this matter be quickly disposed of and passed by the Senate, so that it will be possible for the bill to be considered by the other body and signed into law this year; and I urge its passage.

I am glad to yield, Mr. President, to my senior colleague, the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett].

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I support S. 444, a bill to establish the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area in the States of Utah and Wyoming and I urge its immediate adoption by the Senate.

The bill would authorize as a national recreation area 201,253 acres of land and water extending from several miles below the Bureau of Reclamation's Flaming Gorge Dam on the Green River in northeastern Utah and upstream from the dam through steep canyon walls carved by the river, through the Uinta Mountains and the Flaming Gorge into southwestern Wyoming.

Currently the resources in the area are administered under an agreement between the Bureau of Reclamation, the National Park Service, and the Department of Agriculture. As reported by the committee, the legislation would provide for administration of the area by the Secretary of Agriculture, a move, I am happy to report, which would save about $100,000 in administrative costs each year by eliminating duplication of overhead costs, technical staffs, and public facilities.

This area has already become a major tourist attraction since Flaming Gorge Dam has created a large body of water in a semiarid region enhanced by breathtaking scenic surroundings. The section of the Green River from the head of Flaming Gorge downstream to the mouth of Red Canyon is almost a continuous series of canyons and smaller side canyons. Many portions of Red Canyon are narrow, precipitous, and colorful with the same reds, grays, and purples found in the canyons of Dinosaur National Monument. Flaming Gorge itself is notable for the intense reddish-orange shades of its cliffs which rise abruptly a thousand feet above the river. Generally, these canyons of the Green River parallel the Uinta Mountains, the only major east-west mountain range in the United States—an area nationally known for its scenic beauty.

Recreational use of the area will include boating, fishing, swimming, camping, picnicking, hiking, horseback riding, hunting, and water skiing. The area also has considerable historical interest and the Henrys Fork region would be an excellent point from which to present the story of the fur trappers, or mountain men, who persevered and did so much to open up this vast region.

In reporting this legislation to the Senate, Mr. President, I am very pleased to see that the Senate Interior Committee has agreed to amend section 4 in such a way as to protect the people of Utah and Wyoming by spelling out very clearly the role of the States in the management of the fish and game in the new recreation area. The amendment is designed to protect the States' longtime and court-supported rights in this field.

Section 4 originally read:

> Sec. 4. The Secretary shall permit hunting, fishing, and trapping on the lands and waters under his jurisdiction within the recreation area in accordance with the applicable Federal and State laws: *Provided*, That the Secretary, after consultation with the respective State fish and game commissions, may issue regulations designating zones where and establishing periods when no hunting, fishing, or trapping shall be permitted for reasons of public safety, administration, or public use and enjoyment.

Working with our colleagues Senators Hansen and McGee of Wyoming and Senator Moss of Utah as well as with State fish and game officials we have now added the following amendment to this section:

> Nothing in this act shall affect the jurisdiction or responsibilities of the States of Utah and Wyoming under other provisions of State laws with respect to hunting and fishing.

Mr. President, it is my feeling, and I feel the intent of the committee and of Congress, that this language guarantees to the States of Utah and Wyoming the right to apply State hunting and fishing laws within the Federal area.

Since colonial times in this country, the ownership of wildlife, by law, history and tradition, has been separated from the ownership of the land. The Supreme Court has also ruled that all species of wildlife are held in trust by the individual States for the people of each State. The historical doctrine of ownership of fish and game by the States is still basically the law of the land as decided in *Geer* v. *Connecticut*, 161 U.S. 519(1896).

This case was quite complicated and rather long, therefore, I will not go into its various ramifications. I will merely point out that the conclusion was that the States had inherited from the Crown and Parliament of England all of the rights, both of property and sovereignty, which were exercised in England over fish and game. Another significant case which set down the law that the U.S. Government is not the owner of game and fish, despite its superior treaty-maker power, was decided in *Sickman* v. *United States* (1950), 184 F. 2d 616.

This basic right, with one exception, has remained with the States. That exception concerns migratory bird treaties, since a treaty negotiated under the treatymaking power of the United States becomes the supreme law of the land and all State or Federal laws become subordinate to the provisions of such a treaty.

Mr. President, I do not want to take the Senate's time going into the legal problems and precedents in this field, but in the event others in this body want to go deeper into it, I have placed in the S. 444 Interior Committee hearing of October 19, 1967, a copy of a lengthy brief from the Legal Committee of the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners which explains the problem fully.

In addition, it should be pointed out that legislation clarifying State jurisdiction has been introduced in both the Senate and House in this second session of Congress. Senators FANNIN and BIBLE, with seven cosponsors each, have similar bills before the Senate and a total of 12 Members of the other body have similar legislation before the House. I am pleased to report that I feel so strongly about this protection for the States that I have joined with Senator FANNIN as a cosponsor of S. 3212 and with Senator BIBLE on S. 2951.

This legislation has the widespread bipartisan support of virtually every organization in my State and elsewhere that deals with fish and wildlife. For the interest of the Senate these include: the Coordinating Council of Natural Resources of the State of Utah; the Utah Fish and Game Department; Arizona Game and Fish Commission; the Wyoming Fish and Game Commission; the National Rifle Association of America; the Utah Department of Natural Resources, the Western Conference of the Council of State Governments; the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners, and the National Governors Conference.

It is obvious that when such groups as these show concern over a problem, it is time for the Congress to stop, listen, and act.

The added sentence at the end of section 4 would provide the protection embodied in the pending legislation and will provide the States their protection until the general legislation is approved by Congress.

I want to make it perfectly clear for those who may read these proceedings later and for those who may wish to seek out the intent of Congress in adding the last sentence to section 4 that the reason those words are there is to guarantee to the States of Utah and Wyoming the right to apply State hunting and fishing laws within the Federal area. The States shall prevail. It is as simple and as clear as that. We do not intend to allow the Federal Government to take control over fish and game hunters currently under State control.

Mr. President, once again I urge the Senate to act quickly on this legislation so that we can get it signed into law before the session ends. Now that we have handled the question of fish and game jurisdiction I am certain that the passage of the bill will be greeted favorably virtually everywhere.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, I am extremely pleased that the Senate is taking such speedy action on S. 444, a bill to establish the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area in the States of Wyoming and Utah.

This legislation is of considerable importance to those two States, and it is also another step in the meritorious program afoot in our country today which seeks to set aside for all time Federal lands of unique beauty and recreational value.

During consideration by the Senate Interior Committee, the question of jurisdiction over resident species of fish and wildlife was broadly debated, both in public hearing and in executive sessions of the committee. I am happy to have been a party to that debate and to have followed the very able leadership of Senator BENNETT of Utah, in clarifying those questions. I am also happy with the bill as it is now written, for I feel that it adequately protects the interests of Utah and Wyoming with respect to their long-time traditional rights in the control and management of resident species of fish and wildlife.

At the suggestion of Senator BENNETT, the Interior Committee included a final sentence in section 4 of the bill, which now reads:

> Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction or responsibilities of the States of Utah and Wyoming under other provisions of State laws with respect to hunting and fishing.

I urged the inclusion of the words "State laws" in that sentence in the interest of clarity. The legislative history shows that the inclusion of a similar sentence in the Sawtooth Recreation Area bill was for the purpose of guaranteeing to the State of Idaho its right to apply State hunting and fishing laws within the Federal area.

I believe it was the proper intent of the Congress in that case to preserve the status quo, irrespective of any arguments which may be currently made by the Department of the Interior on the matter.

General legislation affirming to the States their rights over resident fish and wildlife is now pending before the Congress. Until such time as that legislation is acted upon, I favor the preservation of the status quo on this matter in any specific bills, such as the Flaming Gorge bill, which may be adopted by the Congress.

This is by no means an empty question or a "straw man." There are rights of the various States involved here and these rights have been seriously threatened by policy positions, based upon the Solicitor's memorandum, M-36672, dated December 1, 1964, which have recently been taken by the Department of the Interior.

Recognizing the difficulties posed by the Interior Department's position, the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners, and various State game and fish commissioners, including Wyoming's, have requested that Congress enact general legislation which clearly enunciates the jurisdictional responsibilities of Federal and State Governments on this matter. Since the Senate Interior Committee first considered the Flaming Gorge bill, such general legislation, S. 2951 and S. 3212, has been introduced, with wide bipartisan sponsorship, to accomplish this clarification.

On May 27, 1968, at page 15103 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I indicated to the Senate the broad cosponsorship of S. 3212, as introduced by the Senator from Arizona [Mr. FANNIN]. At this time, let me also point out that S. 2951, as introduced by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE] is presently cosponsored by Senators ALLOTT, COTTON, SPONG, BENNETT, MOSS, MAGNUSON, CANNON, CHURCH, and myself.

I also call the attention of the Senate to the case of the New Mexico State Game Commission against Udall in which a decision was handed down adverse to the Department of the Interior on March 12, 1968, in the U.S. District Court for the District of New Mexico. This litigation arose out of differing jurisdictional claims under circumstances which could have as easily arisen in the Flaming Gorge area. I believe that it is more than hypothetically important that such jurisdictional questions be resolved in the legislation which authorizes these Federal areas, rather than through a long, after-the-fact, litigation process.

Lastly, I call attention to the present impasse between the National Park Service and the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission over the administration of lands within the recently established Big Horn Canyon National Recreation Area in Wyoming. This is a matter of immediate practical concern to both our Wyoming Game and Fish Commission and to the Department of the Interior. I have talked with, and written to, the various parties in this dispute in an effort to reach an agreement and, pending such agreement, to insure that proper management of the wildlife and lands in question continues. Once again, this time-consuming and costly problem could have been avoided if proper language had been contained in the legislation authorizing the Big Horn Canyon National Recreation Area.

For these reasons, I consider the questions that have been raised about section 4 of S. 444 to have been very important to the States of Utah and Wyoming, and I believe the legislative record should be clarified accordingly.

Once again, I thank the members of the Senate Interior Committee, and particularly its chairman, Senator JACKSON, for the expeditious manner in which this legislation has been handled. I am extremely pleased by the action which the Senate is taking today.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered and agreed to en bloc.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The amendments were considered and agreed to en bloc.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 17522) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 3299. An act to authorize the purchase, sale, and exchange of certain lands on the Spokane Indian Reservation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 14672. An act to amend the act of February 14, 1931, relating to the acceptance of gifts for the benefit of Indians;

H.R. 14922. An act to amend Public Law 90–60 with respect to judgment funds of the Ute Mountain Tribe;

H.R. 15224. An act to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard; and

H.R. 15271. An act to authorize the use of funds arising from a judgment in favor of the Spokane Tribe of Indians.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 17522) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 16913) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NO. 811

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 811, and ask that it be read. I am calling up this amendment on behalf of myself and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON].

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read the amendment, as follows:

At the appropriate place insert the following:

"SEC. —. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, after January 1, 1969, no producer shall be eligible for payments under any program or programs administered by the Department of Agriculture in any amount in excess of $10,000 for any one year. The foregoing limitation shall include the fair dollar value (as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture) of any payment-in-kind made to a producer."

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, this would clearly change existing legislation and would constitute legislation on an appropriation bill. Therefore, under the instructions given by the Committee on Appropriations in all such cases, I make a point of order against the consideration of this amendment.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The proposal of the Senator from Delaware is legislation on an appropriation bill. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I concede the point of order in that the pending amendment would amend existing law.

AMENDMENT NO. 834

Mr. President, I now call up amendment No. 834, which would apply as a limitation to the bill before us. I call up the amendment on behalf of myself and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. NELSON].

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 38, between lines 17 and 18, insert a new section as follows:

"SEC. 510. None of the funds appropriated in this Act may be used to make payments to any producer during the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1968, for participation in any program or programs administered by the Department of Agriculture in an amount in excess of $10,000, or any payment-in-kind in excess of $10,000 made to such producer in such fiscal year."

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on this amendment.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** There is not a sufficient second.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I shall renew my request in a moment.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I want to make it clear that at such time as we have more Senators in the Chamber I shall be glad to join the Senator from Delaware in asking for the yeas and nays.

I would like to ask a question of the Senator from Delaware on this matter on my time prior to deciding whether or not to make a point of order.

Am I correct in my understanding that this amendment would not affect payments under the sugar program and the wool program since the funds to make such payments are not included within this bill, and since those programs operate under special laws which are financed under provisions included in those laws and which exist in the effort to deal successfully with deficit production of those commodities by increasing production of them in our country?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. To the extent that such payments would be made out of funds provided in this bill they would be affected.

Mr. HOLLAND. My question is: Are there any payments under this bill that would go to those two programs?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I say, to the extent there would be any funds in this bill it would apply. Yes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, this leaves open the question of whether payments under this bill would go to those two programs. My understanding is they would not; but since the Senator leaves that question open, I raise a point of order, because if this would affect the status of those two existing programs, it would certainly be legislative.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I would point out that while it would affect them to an extent it also affects other programs. This is a limitation on expenditure of moneys as provided in the bill, and a limitation on the money provided in this particular bill would be in order.

The previous amendment went beyond that and provided that any other provisions of other laws also be included. That did go beyond the bill, but this proposal is drafted on a limitation of funds provided for in this bill.

Mr. HOLLAND. But the question of the Senator from Florida was intended to bring out a statement from the Senator from Delaware that there is nothing in this bill that supports those two particular programs. The Senator from Delaware does not concede that, but instead says that any funds under this bill that would support those programs would be affected by the amendment.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Yes; but on the other hand, the moment the Senator yields the floor I am sure that someone from the corn-producing area would say it affected corn.

If we exclude all agricultural commodities we might as well lay aside the amendment.

Mr. HOLLAND. My understanding is that those two programs are not under this bill. If the Senator from Delaware thinks they are, there is certainly a point of order applicable here because those two programs operate under separate legislation. They are, in a sense, self-financing, in the case of sugar with respect to the processing tax, and with respect to wool, the percentage of tariff fees. It is my understanding that in a sense those programs are self-operating.

The Senator from Delaware indicates that in his opinion there may be something in this bill that goes to the support of those two programs.

If that be the case, a point of order would have to be upheld.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I said it would be true only to the extent the money is appropriated. If the Senator from Florida says they are not under the bill it would not apply, but if they are it would. I am not putting them in or taking them out; I am not passing an opinion. However, to the extent that they are included in this bill, they would be affected. We have a right to put a limitation on the appropriation in this bill.

Mr. HOLLAND. If it is the contention of the Senator from Delaware that those two programs are affected by this bill, I ask for the point of order.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I am not contending that any more than I would contend that foreign aid is under the bill or that these payments are embraced in here.

This is a limitation applicable to all payments made from money provided in this bill.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. HOLLAND. Are those two programs affected under the provisions of the pending measure?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair cannot interpret legislation. This proposed amendment is confined to the money in this bill. If it extended beyond that, it would be subject to a point of order.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I will withdraw my point of order. But I will state affirmatively for the RECORD that, in my opinion, this bill does not affect those two programs. If it should affect those two programs, certainly it would have legislative meaning, because those two programs are covered by separate acts of Congress, which have been modified by Congress. They have no relation at all to the ordinary application of programs under the Department of Agriculture which are price supported or encouraged by the Department for reasons other than that there is deficit production in our Nation.

The deficit production in our Nation in sugar and wool is the basic reason for the existence of those two programs, which are financed, as I understand it, from the sources I have indicated: In sugar, by the processing tax, and it is financed to an excess because there is a payment back to the Treasury of the excessive amounts raised; and in the case of the wool program, financed by that portion of tariff receipts on foreign wool which is imported into this country.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

There is no need to labor the point. The issue is clear. Under existing law, payments to farmers not to produce crops are made in various amounts. The highest payment is around $4 million.

It is true, as the Senator from Florida has said, that, to a large extent, the largest payments are made to sugar producers. I wish to make it clear that to the extent that any of the payments, whether they be to producers of sugar, cotton, wheat, corn, oats, or whatever else they may produce, are included and provided for in the bill, they would be included.

My first amendment went beyond the bill and applied to existing law. It would definitely have included all those programs. However, I conceded that that amendment was subject to a point of order. But this amendment makes a limitation on payments provided for under the bill.

It has been estimated by the Department of Agriculture that if the payments could be reduced to a level of $10,000—and I think there is merit to that, even including the payments to sugar and other crop producers—the small farmer would be benefited. Much has been said about the need to protect the small farmer in America. Yet when these programs are put into effect and large payments are made, only one group or type of operation can afford to take advantage of the program.

The average small farmer, the one-man operation, has the same amount of equipment and incurs the same expenses to buy a tractor, a combine, or other types of equipment needed to produce the crop he is growing. If he takes a third or a fourth of his acreage out of production and idles his equipment, he has the same carrying charges as he would have if the equipment were used.

But the large, corporate type of operator can put a third or a half of his acreage into the soil bank and collect payments for nonproduction. He can merely roll his tractor or other equipment into the barn and lay off his help. To that extent the payments he receives constitute additional profit.

If the amount is confined strictly to $10,000, an advantage would be given to the small farmer. Why should he not receive an advantage? We shed crocodile tears about the plight of the small farmer. Why not do something for him? It is estimated that if the $10,000 limitation were extended across the board the annual savings would be around $600 million.

Certainly at a time when we will have to cut the spending for fiscal 1969 by $6 billion, which we are proposing to do next year, here is a place we can reduce spending by $600 million a year and I think can have just as good, if not a better, agricultural program and one more equitable to the smaller producers. I want to point that out as I make that statement.

Contrary to what many may think, I come from a farm-producing area. I know that the State of Delaware is small, but the county in which I live, up to a few years ago, was the third or fourth highest ranking county east of the Rocky Mountains in agricultural production. So I am not speaking from the standpoint of a heavily populated area; we do have farmers in the area I represent, and I think I know what those farmers are confronted with. I was born and reared on a farm myself.

I do not understand how anyone can justify the payments of $50,000 to $100,000 being made under this particular program.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Delaware has expired.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I placed in the RECORD on May 23 a list of payments in excess of $50,000. The committee report carries this list to $5,000. But just to show the size, I notice there are 186 in Alabama over $25,000, totaling $7¼ million; 32 and a half million dollars going into Arizona; 28 and a quarter million dollars going into Arkansas, and so on down the line.

I ask unanimous consent that this list of over $25,000, broken down by States, be printed in the RECORD. There were 6,579 so-called farming operations which collected $333,127,693 last year. All of these payments were in excess of $25,000.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

1967 PAYMENTS OF $25,000 AND OVER UNDER ASCS PROGRAMS BY STATES (EXCLUDING PRICE SUPPORT LOANS)

State	Total payees	Total payments
Alabama	186	$7,262,524
Arizona	495	32,632,601
Arkansas	617	28,270,128
California	810	61,310,642
Colorado	75	2,935,565
Florida	49	4,943,043
Georgia	130	4,797,677
Hawaii	26	9,808,390
Idaho	49	1,766,205
Illinois	13	463,829
Indiana	9	379,443
Iowa	9	459,645
Kansas	109	3,804,974
Kentucky	3	84,644
Louisiana	263	11,266,492
Michigan	2	67,863
Minnesota	5	150,891
Mississippi	1,112	55,890,830
Missouri	85	3,295,160
Montana	45	2,101,731
Nebraska	23	739,913
Nevada	6	291,448
New Mexico	101	3,857,277
North Carolina	48	2,103,774
North Dakota	21	726,807
Ohio	3	132,065
Oklahoma	58	1,987,838
Oregon	44	1,486,281
Pennsylvania	1	28,710
Puerto Rico	55	3,553,220
South Carolina	157	6,117,524
South Dakota	12	406,439
Tennessee	73	2,821,483
Texas	1,762	72,646,201
Utah	6	207,679
Virginia	2	62,486
Washington	106	3,966,469
Wisconsin	2	66,176
Wyoming	7	233,626
Total	6,579	333,127,693

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I do not see how we can justify these large payments, particularly at a time like this.

I hope that the amendment will be adopted, fully recognizing that we can find many places more meritorious to put our money.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I give three brief reasons why I think the Senate should not adopt the amendment and I hope it will not consider adopting it.

The report shows on page 35, about the middle of the page, that the amount included for the Commodity Credit Corporation includes $350,467,000 to liquidate contract authorizations established in fiscal year 1968 and payable in fiscal year 1969. These are payments for land diversion and all types of program payments, many of which go beyond the figure stated by the Senator from Delaware.

We can all understand his enthusiasm for limitations but it should be on the basic legislation.

The point I am making now is that he is suggesting we repudiate contracts made and in effect and under which payments have been promised and under which $350 million-plus is appropriated for under the particular bill to pay off Uncle Sam's obligations to farmers from one end of the Nation to the other under existing contracts.

Mr. President, the second point I make is that insofar as the amendment proposes to limit payments to $10,000 this year, the amendment does not seek to change basic legislation. Under basic legislation, there would be many farmers who have already planted or who will be planting and who will be entitled, under basic legislation, to more than $10,000 of price supports. He does not propose to change the basic legislation. He does not propose to change the obligations which the Federal Government will owe under that basic legislation to hundreds and even thousands of farmers from one end of the Nation to the other.

Mr. President, many times I find myself in complete approval of things which the Senator from Delaware suggests, but I am rather surprised to find him suggesting here the two objectives which I have already mentioned; namely, repudiating obligations already made and obligated in the amount of $350 million-plus; and, second, proposing, without changing the basic legislation, to deprive farmers who are entitled under that basic legislation to sums which are fixed in accordance with that basic legislation, of their right in such a way as will not prevent them from having claims against the Government, which are enforceable. They would have to be paid by future appropriations or reduced to judgments in courts of claims. He does not propose to change this basic legislation; but, instead, proposes this limitation which does not at all go to the setting up of contracts in strict accord with basic legislation.

The third point I make hurriedly is this: I find no way at all to equitably distinguish between small and large farmers when it comes to the taking of a position here which, in effect, fixes prices on the market. It is fair to say that, with reference to one group of farmers, their price can be upheld to the tune of $10,000 payments, and with respect to other farmers, their price upon the same kind of commodity, which happens to be produced in greater amount by them, will not be upheld but, contrarily, their product might easily be thrown on the market at a price which will adversely affect the whole market structure?

I make these three points because I think they are basic, although they are not the only points which can be made. It would be inconceivable to me that Congress, which has passed this basic legislation and which is now trying to honor the $350 million-plus of outstanding contracts, and is now not proposing to affect the basic law under which many new contracts will be made, and is not proposing to affect basic legislation under which all are treated equally, whether they be large or small, would adopt this kind of amendment. I hope that it will not do so.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I heartily endorse and concur with every word the distinguished and able Senator from Florida has said with reference to the amendment. I hope it will be defeated.

Congress, in its wisdom, has passed farm price support programs for more than 30 years. We have tried to give the farmers a better share of the national income. We have not succeeded very well because farmers still earn only about half what the nonfarmers in the United States earn.

The amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Delaware would have the effect of absolutely destroying the farm support laws in this country.

Why do I say that? Because Farmer A could be producing wheat, and if this amendment is agreed to, wheat would have one price for Farmer A and a different price for Farmer B. In other words, there would be unequal treatment of the laws in this country, affecting the people of our country. That would be inherently true of every price-supported farm commodity in the United States.

I do not believe we can pass legislation here and say, in effect, that though the Congress of the United States has passed these farm price-support laws, now we are going to destroy them by limitations in the appropriation bills that make such laws totally inapplicable and totally ineffective.

I believe all citizens of the United States must be treated alike, whether a farmer is a small farmer or a moderate-sized farmer or a large farmer. If we are going to have a price support program that will work, it means that every pound of every essential commodity that is grown must be supported by the Government at the same price. Otherwise you would have a sieve, through which some farm commodities would sift at a low price. Then how do you expect another farmer to sell the same commodity at a higher price when it is selling in this country at a lower price?

The Senator from Delaware has offered this amendment from time to time. It has some emotional political appeal in some quarters. I hope the Senate will understand that, if it is agreed to, it will destroy the farm price support program for all our basic commodities in the United States. I hope the Senate will turn it down by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I agreed to yield to the Senator from Nebraska, who, I understand, has to leave.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me a minute to permit me to ask a question of the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. Those of us who are interested in the textile industry—and certainly I am interested in the consumer, and I have always taken that position in my entire public life—feel we are in a paradox in connection with cotton. The cotton we produce we sell abroad to foreign manufacturers at a price 8 cents a pound lower than the domestic manufacturer can buy it in the United States, to make shirts and other cotton products.

I am wondering—and this is the question I ask the Senator from Georgia—whether this proposal would affect or repeal what we have done with regard to equalizing the plight of the domestic manufacturer, who is providing American jobs, as against a foreign exporter of goods to the United States, who can buy cotton from the United States at a reduced price of 8 cents per pound?

Mr. TALMADGE. It is the considered opinion of the Senator from Georgia that, if this amendment were to be agreed to, it would destroy one-price cotton that has been so beneficial not only to the farmers of the country but to employees in our textile industries and the textile employers themselves. This provision, in my judgment, would be an opening wedge to destroy the gains that have been made by the textile industry in recent years.

Not too many Georgia farmers would be affected by this legislation, but the Western cottongrowers are much larger than those in my State. Those that now participate in that program with substantial acreage could not participate if the amendment of the Senator from Delaware were agreed to. I think the effect of it would be to ruin the jobs, the incomes, and the living of thousands of textile employees through the length and breadth of our country.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield such time as he may need to my distinguished friend the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA].

Mr. HRUSKA. Two minutes.

Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the amendment. The case is well stated by the chairman of the subcommittee in the three points he makes. I just want to reiterate one of those points, namely, the effect of the amendment being a repudiation of contractual obligations of the U.S. Government. It would be hard to conceive of the practicality of the Government issuing a security on which it promised to pay 4½ percent and, at a later time, after the security had been issued, delivered, and paid for, to try to pass a law in the Congress saying no interest shall be paid on outstanding obligations in excess of 3½ percent interest. That, in a way, indicates what the amendment of the Senator from Delaware would do in that regard.

The arguments advanced by the Senator from Georgia are absolutely sound. The amendment would be a repudiation of the entire system of this type of payment. Perhaps that is a subject that can well be argued. Maybe it would merit some consideration on the basis of an independent debate. But certainly the way to attack the problem is not by the method adopted by the Senator from Delaware, however well-intentioned it is. I say that most respectfully, because all of us know of the sincerity efforts of the Senator from Delaware whenever he makes a proposal.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I am going to yield to the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG], but before I do, I want to advise the Senator from Delaware that the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry is even now considering legislation for the future in this field. I warmly invite him to appear before that committee, because there would be the proper place for making this suggestion, and not by an effort to tie it to an appropriation bill, which would do violence to contracts that are outstanding.

I shall be glad to yield momentarily to the Senator. Then I have agreed to yield to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes from my own time.

I am submitting to the committee a proposal to amend the existing law.

The Senator from Florida has raised the question that this proposal should be directed to basic legislation. The reason why it is not directed to basic legislation is very simple. The Senator made a point of order against my first amendment, which would have amended existing law, and that point of order was sustained. I do not question it. The reason why we are acting here on the basis of a limitation is that we are not able, under the rules of the Senate, to offer a legislative proposal at this time.

If the Senator will withdraw his point of order I shall be glad to accommodate his wishes and make this an amendment to the existing law.

As to the price support program, the Senator from Georgia mentioned that my amendment would destroy it. The amendment does not affect in one iota the price support program. We do not touch that. The price support program is a separate law. The price support program is not affected by this amendment, either by its rejection or by its adoption.

We are not repudiating our obligations. We have no obligation to pay these large farmers half a million dollars or $200,000, any more than we have an obligation to pay x dollars under the school lunch program or other programs. We modified that program this morning. We appropriate money, and surely, as we appropriate it we can lay down ground rules.

As to the argument that people would be treated unequally under the law if we put a limitation on large operators, I point out that there is nothing unusual about that. A large segment of American society is paying taxes to the Federal Government.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BYRD of Virginia in the chair). The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

At the same time, other American citizens, equally eligible to citizenship, pay no taxes and are the recipients of welfare due to their financial status. So we have a situation where one man is paying into the Government and another is receiving from the Government.

So the argument that we must give everybody $50,000 or $100,000 because he qualifies as a farmer, as far as I am concerned, is not a very valid argument.

All that I propose to do is put a limitation on the amount which can be paid to any one individual. As evidence that this is not a revolutionary proposal, under another section the bill itself provides for ACP payments limiting to $2,500 per farmer the amount anyone can receive, and that provision was put in by the committee. The small farmer can get up to that amount, and the larger farmer has that ceiling.

So we have a precedent for this proposal. It is just a question, Do we or do we not wish to limit these payments?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, with reference to my raising the point of order, as the Senator knows, that was my duty under the standing rules of the Senate.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I appreciate that and did not question it.

Mr. HOLLAND. Furthermore, as the Senator knows, the Senate Committee on Agriculture is now considering legislation for next year and the following years in this field, and I have invited the Senator warmly to appear before us. He makes a very persuasive case, and the committee will be glad to hear him. That is the proper place; this is the point I have been trying to make.

Mr. President, I yield now to the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON], who the Senator from North Dakota tells me was on his feet before the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. PEARSON. I thank my colleague.

I merely wish to say that I concur in the comments of the Senator from Florida and the observations made by the Senator from Nebraska.

The facts and figures put into the RECORD by the Senator from Delaware are indeed startling. As I have extracted them, he indicates that there are five farming operations receiving more than $1 million each; 15 receiving between $500,000 and $1 million; and I think about 388 receiving, every year, between $100,000 and $500,000.

These are figures that cause one to think again about the farm program. But the point to keep in mind, I think—and I represent, as does the Senator from Nebraska, an area where there are some very large farms—is that if the situation were such that the big farmers were making money and the little farmers were not making money, then there would be more merit to the amendment of the Senator from Delaware.

But parity, which is today about 72 percent, affects the big farmer as well as the small farmer; so the subsidies coming out are helping the big farm operations, which are caught in the same price squeeze as the little farmers. They are subject to the same low net incomes in proportion to investment, in proportion to effort, and in proportion to the amounts they take in.

So I find it difficult, given those facts, to believe that the proposal made by the Senator from Delaware faces up to the realities of American agriculture today.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield another 2 minutes to the Senator from Kansas, so that the Senator from Rhode Island may address a question to him and receive an answer.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, without regard to the emotional appeal—because when we say that we are paying a million dollars or a half million dollars to an individual to subsidize his profit, it is hard for most people to understand what that means to the consumer, what advantage he gets out of it—the Senator has made an argument here that in many of these cases even large producers are in financial straits.

The question I ask the Senator is this: If the amendment of the Senator from Delaware should prevail, what in fact would it do to that man who receives a million dollars in subsidies?

Mr. PEARSON. I think, if he is still operating under the production controls that he will be operating under, but not receiving the subsidy which he is paid to conform, under the law as it now is, he would be in very dire shape.

Digressing a moment from the Senator's question, I do not say that some of the large farm operations are not making money. I think they are. But where to draw the line between the large operations and the small operations, which are all subject to the same price situation today, at about 72 percent of parity, is what gives me great concern.

Mr. PASTORE. What will it do to the production of food, in an era when we have millions of people in our own country who are not being properly fed?

Mr. HOLLAND. It discourages it, of course.

Mr. PEARSON. I cannot answer the Senator's question, although it is an excellent one. I cannot answer except to say that I think we would have lower production, actually, in the food supply of this country.

Mr. PASTORE. The point I am trying to make is this: In the event we were to eliminate the subsidy, would that force even a large producer to the point where he would have to restrict his planting, and not produce as much?

Mr. PEARSON. I think it would have the opposite effect. I think if we were to pull away the subsidy which he is paid to conform to a farm program which limits production, the only opportunity he has, then, is to expand production, and that would have a very serious effect upon the market today.

Mr. PASTORE. Would not that give us more food to feed the hungry?

Mr. PEARSON. That is the argument of a great number of people who would like to remove all farm controls today.

It might be a very good thing, but we have not gotten to that point yet; and as long as we are in a controlled agricultural production, I find it very difficult to find a place to properly draw the line between the big farmer and the little farmer.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I now yield such time as he may require to the distinguished Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Delaware is not without merit, and is not without support in my State. I think some kind of a limit is desirable. But this is a question we would wish to consider very seriously, in view of the fact that these farm programs have been changed almost completely in the last 5 years. With respect to cotton, we now have a one-price program, and we do not require the big export subsidies of years past. With respect to wheat we have a one-price program now, with practically no export subsidy.

The cash price of wheat today is only about half what it was 20 years ago. There has been no other period in the last 20 years when cash wheat prices have been lower. To compensate for this lowering price, we have the wheat certificate payments. This is a part of the support the farmer receives to compensate for world prices for wheat. The same thing is true of cotton, and the same thing is true of sugar. We have gotten away from import protection for the sugar industry. But, in turn, we give the domestic producer a subsidy payment to stay in business and to give total income sufficient to produce at least a part of total requirements.

If it were not for the sugar program, there would be practically no sugar produced in the entire United States, and we would be completely at the mercy of the rest of the world. Nearly half of the income of the sugar beet producer is by way of payments under this program.

In my State, if you happened to be a sugar beet producer and a wheat producer, your payments would have to be fairly sizable if you were to maintain a feasible economic unit. This is in the nature of the programs. This is one of the reasons why Secretary Freeman, who is a long way from being a conservative, believes that a limitation would do great injury to these programs.

Wool is another example. In recent years, we have done away with price supports and let the world price govern. In order to maintain any wool production at all in the United States, we pay the wool producers a subsidy payment. Even with this payment, the sheep population now is far lower than it was 100 years ago. I think everyone will agree that it is highly desirable to maintain some kind of wool production in the United States. That is why the textile manufacturers, and even the textile workers, are greatly interested in these programs.

This proposal would not seriously affect my State. I suppose more than 90 percent of our producers receive payments of less than $6,000 a year. There are none in the bracket over $100,000, that I know of. So the proposal of the Senator from Delaware does not seriously affect my State.

But if we want to keep the progams workable, it is necessary to have the big producers as well as the small producers participating in them, and that includes the land retirement program, the acreage control or production control programs which include payments.

These programs are not without their shortcomings, but without them agriculture, the most important biggest segment of our economy, would be in much more trouble than it is today.

What is more important than the production of food and fiber here in the United States? The purchasing power of the agricultural economy is far greater than any other segment of our economy, and the programs, as I said before, are now based on these payments. If we place a limitation on them, I think we should seriously consider what that limitation should be and it should be written into the acts themselves. Otherwise we might wreck the whole program.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, most of these large payments referred to by the Senator from Delaware are in the sugar program. I want to make it very clear that those payments are financed by a process tax against the very sugar the grower produces. And the payment he gets back is smaller for the big producer per unit than it is for the little producer.

The result has been that every year a very large payment is made to the general revenue fund after the operation of the year's business.

If the Senator will look at his figures, he will find that most of these large payments are made to large sugar producers who have already put up more than they got back.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Arkansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida does not have 5 minutes remaining.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I will be glad to yield time from the bill. I have 30 minutes on the bill, as I understand it. I yield 5 minutes from any time that I have to the Senator from Arkansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, the pending amendment, or similar amendments, have been offered many times in the past and have been defeated consistently by sizable margins. I hope that this amendment will likewise be rejected.

The various farm programs have been passed in an effort to do two things. The first was to assure the farmers of the country some reasonable income commensurate with their important part in the economy and comparable to that of people who live and work in the cities. That objective has not been reached; the farmers still work the longest hours and receive the lowest reward for their labors. The second objective was to deal with the enormous surpluses built up after World War II. Substantial progress has been made toward this objective, but we wish, certainly, to retain this satisfactory relationship.

The pending amendment would destroy our farm programs, because we cannot deal with one farmer in one manner and deal with his neighbor who is producing the same farm commodity in a different manner.

This amendment is directed to establishing eligibility of producers for price-support payments rather than to restrict the use of funds in the appropriation. The impact of the limitation would fall directly on large producers, but would indirectly affect all producers. If large producers were unable to use price-support loans to carry out orderly marketing, they would be forced to dispose of crops in such a manner that prices would be depressed, thus adversely affecting small producers and disrupting orderly marketing procedures.

The result of such an amendment would be the collapse of successful farm programs and a return to the situation of more than 30 years ago with alternating overproduction or underproduction, extremely high or extremely low prices, a depressed agricultural economy including foreclosures of small farms, and a probable national depression.

An appropriation bill is not the proper vehicle for establishing public policy with respect to the substance of our agricultural programs.

As important as is the policy dealt with by the pending amendment, it seems to me that the most conclusive and unanswerable objection to this proposal on an appropriation bill is that it is wholly inappropriate to deal with it in this manner, even assuming that it had any substance.

I hope that the Senate will reject the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield the distinguished Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN] as much time as he needs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, I rise to speak on the pending amendment with mixed emotions. I am not unmindful of the fact that since 1960 in this country we have lost nearly one out of every four of our farmers from the farms and ranches of America.

I am conscious of the fact that parity stands today at 73 percent. Cattle ranchers, of which I am one, are receiving for their products today about the same amount that they received 20 years ago.

If there is one thing on which most or many of us could agree, it is that our experience in controlled agriculture has not been very successful.

I hope that before too long this very distinguished committee can get together and decide and agree upon a plan and a program that will be more responsive to the desires of the consuming public while recognizing at the same time the problems of rural America.

We are concerned when we consider the problems of cities and municipalities.

We recognize that much of the problem existing in those areas has resulted from the extreme poverty which characterizes sections of rural America today. There has been an exodus from the rural South and from the West to the cities because farm income has been so low. Yet, at the same time we are called upon to support a program that is costly and that seems to fly in the face of some of our other objectives.

I was quite interested in the question of the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] who asked:

> Would not these programs, if they were changed so as to encourage production, help alleviate hunger?

The fact is that a lot of the crops which are presently price-supported are not very much in demand. I doubt that there are very many poor people in the country today that do not have available to them some of the surplus crops that are being price-supported today.

I say this from some firsthand knowledge. In my State of Wyoming, I know it has been reported more than one time. When we used to have a surplus commodity availability plan whereby welfare recipients could get certain commodities that were in excess, they chose not always to use the commodities they were able to receive. And one could drive down certain farm and country roads around some of the cities in Wyoming and find thrown out alongside of the road some of the commodities that were actually being given away by welfare agencies.

So, I do not think it quite responds to the question of hunger in America to say, "Would we not be better off to vote to stimulate production of commodities already in surplus?"

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. HANSEN. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I think that the Senator from Rhode Island was grossly misunderstood on that point that he was trying to make.

I have been listening very attentively here, and there was such a push here for the subsidy that I was wondering if we eliminated the subsidy, whether it would put thousands of people out of jobs and drive people away from the farm and do us more harm than good in the long run.

I regret very much that the Senators from these States have talked around the point and not come to the center of the point I am trying to make.

In other words, why are the subsidies so essential? Would it hurt the consumer and the population of America in the long run? Would it drive these people out of business? Would it drive the farmers to the urban areas, as the exodus in our experience has shown over the years?

I think when we talk to a consumer and tell him he has to pay a little more, we ought to justify why we are doing it and why it is to his benefit. And no one has said that yet. No one has quite expressed that, and I hope somebody would do so.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PASTORE. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I am very glad to answer that question categorically, because in my opinion, it would drive many thousands of small farmers off the farms and into the cities. In my opinion, it would make it possible only for the well financed, highly organized, and large farmers to stay in business.

I have been willing to support price supports—which are not popular in my State—because I think it is part of the effort to keep the people on the land. It is necessary, if we are going to keep them there. It strikes very strongly at the question of prosperity in the country and prosperity in the city. If you add hundreds of thousands going to the cities, and they are to be added to those who are already there and who have found no particular place to work, our problems in the great cities became more complicated.

So my feeling is that the answer to the Senator from Rhode Island is this, and it is clearly this: destruction of the price support system is a destruction of literally hundreds of thousands of small farms.

Mr. PASTORE. I have been waiting for that answer for an hour, and I thank the Senator from Florida.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HANSEN. I yield.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I agree with the Senator from Florida. This would accelerate the exodus of the farmers to the big cities.

In further reply, the eventual result would be more big corporation farmers and much fewer farmers. The fewer farmers we have—and we have only about 3.5 million now—they would have a much better chance to get together and organize, control markets, and demand and get a higher price.

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator from Rhode Island has to go back and explain to the consumer in his State. We have no price supports in my State that amount to anything, whether it is 5 cents, $5,000, or $5 million. We buy; we do not produce. On the other hand, there must be something to buy, in order to eat.

I have been waiting for this answer, because I have to document what I say, because I am going to vote against the amendment.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I had yielded to the Senator from Wyoming. I will yield if he has concluded.

Mr. HANSEN. I did have one or two more comments. I appreciate the graciousness of the Senator from Florida, and I will yield the remainder of my time back, in order that other Senators may be heard.

Mr. HOLLAND. I have only 18 minutes remaining. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, as one who has viewed most intimately the entire change in the migration away from the farm and the changed methods, I heartily agree with the Senator from Florida in his fine analysis of the situation as to the impact and the necessity to keep this matter spread out and to keep more people on the farm.

Some type of subsidy program is absolutely essential, and if you do not have it, the day will quickly come when, as the Senator from Rhode Island has said, the supply of food would be reduced and it would be necessary to pay a premium price for the supplies that were available, because the production would not be there.

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield myself 1 minute.

If I may add to my answer to the Senator from Rhode Island, not only would the production be more concentrated in the hands of the large producers, but, also, the mechanization would be largely stepped up, because it is the large producers who are able to avail themselves of every fine development in mechanization. That means, of course, a reduction in agricultural employment, which means that more and more people who have been employed agriculturally will go to the cities—not only the producers but also the employees.

Mr. President, I see that the chairman of the legislative committee, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], who is extremely knowledgeable in the field of agriculture, is in the Chamber. I shall be glad to yield to him out of my limited time, if he wishes to say anything on this subject.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, as chairman of the committee, I appreciate the kind remarks of my good friend the Senator from Florida.

A few years ago we had a study made with respect to what would happen if we were to strike out all price supports. The study was very interesting, and it showed that wheat as well as all other commodities could not be produced profitably unless we had price supports.

The report showed further that farm prices would fall substantially and production would continue to increase by about 2 percent per year if all acreage controls—except tobacco—were removed and price supports were at levels which would permit an orderly reduction of currently excessive stocks of storable agricultural commodities over a 7- to 10-year period.

Increased marketings would result in average farm prices of about 90 cents per bushel for wheat; 80 cents a bushel for corn, with other feed grain prices in proportion; $3 per hundredweight for rice; 25 cents a pound for cotton; $15 per 100 pounds for beef cattle; $11.20 per 100 pounds for hogs; $3.60 per 100 pounds for milk at wholesale; 29 cents a dozen for eggs; and 15 cents a pound for broilers.

The farmers would not ask for any price support, if every industry can start from the same level. But with contracts providing a minimum wage of as much as $1.60 per hour, that affects the farmer.

On the other hand, the cost of a family-type farmer getting into business has gone up from a measly $5,000 to $6,000 per year, say, 15 years ago, to as much as $50,000 today. A good deal of the production must be mechanized.

I am very hopeful that we can continue this program. We are now in the process of extending the act of 1965, and

I believe that act is a very good one; and with a few minor changes in it, we can make it better.

Insofar as the amendment of my good friend, the Senator from Delaware, is concerned, I hope that it is rejected. He has been offering it for many years.

I wish to point out that the objective of the Department is to get acres out of production; and whether those acres come from a 50-acre farm or a 10,000-acre farm, the point is that we want the acres out of production. That is exactly what takes place now. A graduated scale of payments would not work, in my humble judgment, and I am very hopeful that the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. President, I am glad the distinguished Senator brought out the fact that hearings are now pending. I had already made that statement, and I had gone further and invited the distinguished Senator from Delaware to appear before our legislative Committee on Agriculture, which is the proper place to request any change in the basic agricultural legislation. I hope the distinguished Senator from Louisiana will join me in that invitation to the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. ELLENDER. I hereby invite him.

As the Senator knows, we will present to the committee next week a bill which will have a few amendments, in keeping with the hearings that were held approximately 4 or 5 weeks ago. It is my hope that we can have hearings in the next 2 weeks so that we can bring back to the Senate a revised 1965 act. I am hopeful that my good friend the Senator from Delaware will appear and testify on the subject we are now discussing.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I desire to make a further observation with respect to the question of the Senator from Rhode Island.

I believe it is quite clear that the prices of agricultural products, especially as received by the farmer, have not gone up in relation to the price of manufactured goods, wages, and so forth. I believe one reason is that this program has helped restrain both the fluctuations, which always cause dislocation, and the continuation of the efficiency of operation. I believe that poultry, which is a big industry in my State, is a remarkable example of that. These people are now receiving only 14 cents a pound for the poultry at the farm. I will grant that one must pay 28 cents on sale and 32 cents in the regular market in this area. It is still one of the cheapest items in relation to what purchasers buy.

The people in the poultry industry are not supported directly, but the feed and other things that are necessary are supported, and they get a regular supply. I believe it does provide cheap food.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator has 11 minutes remaining on the bill.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, I am somewhat confused. If I correctly understand the statement of the distinguished Senator from Louisiana, I believe he said that the purpose of this bill, or one of the purposes, is to take acres out of production. I can only conclude from such a statement that the framers of this measure must recognize that there is more land potentially able to produce than would serve the purposes of this country if it were all in production. So we are paying farmers money to keep acres out of production.

On the other hand, I understand the distinguished Senator from Florida to say that one of the results of the adoption of the amendment proposed by the distinguished Senator from Delaware would be to force additional farmers off the farms and thereby to reduce production; and it would follow logically, I should think, that this would result in higher prices being charged and being demanded for agricultural products.

The thing that disturbs me is that apparently this bill, as it is viewed by different Senators, would serve a double purpose. On the one hand it would keep land out of production, hold production down, and on the other hand it would keep farmers on the land so that we can be assured of adequate production. To me it seems obvious that it is a failure.

We have had a law that results in the farm population receiving, according to the testimony of the Senator from Nebraska yesterday, about 65 percent as much per capita in personal income as does the average nonfarm person in this country today.

All I can say is that I think it is time we overhauled the entire program. I shall vote against it, but I am disturbed. It seems to me that we are riding off in two different directions at the same time.

Mr. HOLLAND. The Senator from Florida has at times had that feeling of frustration in connection with the price support program, which is not popular in my State. It is my prediction that anything, such as attempted here today, even if written into the basic legislation, would drive off the farms the very people we are trying to keep on the farms, the small farmers, and it would enable the large operators to build bigger empires.

I have already invited the Senator from Delaware to appear before our committee. I extend that invitation to my good friend, the Senator from Wyoming. We need the best brains in the Senate to bring out the best we can.

There is a difference of opinion within our committee, and further, I want to say that there is a difference of opinion by industries and commodities. They are not alike and production conditions are not alike. Therefore, it is an exceedingly difficult problem to solve.

I hope our good friends will be able to accept the invitation to discuss this matter.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield.

Mr. HANSEN. If I may, let me first express my gratitude to the Senator for the generous invitation to come before his committee and make whatever contribution I might be able to make. I have no illusions at all about the enormity of the task facing the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry in trying to bring some semblance of order out of what I think is a chaotic situation, with all the limitations the agriculture program poses to American lawmakers.

Insofar as my State is concerned, I recognize the importance nationally and strategically of our being somewhat independent and self-sufficient, and having a production potential in this country that adds to our national security by seeing that we are able to produce all the things we need.

I have felt for some time, as far as livestock and wool are concerned, that we would be better off by bringing meaningful quotas into being so that with respect to imports our production could be better protected. More than 11 percent of our red meat in this country was imported last year and the effect it had on ranchers and farmers was nothing short of disaster.

I appreciate the generous invitation and I will be very happy to make whatever contribution I can.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator. I yield the floor.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator has 19 minutes remaining.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Delaware is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, in the last hour we have heard so many expressions of sympathy for these poor farmers in America that I thought I had better join in this expression of sympathy and lend a word of encouragement to my brothers on the floor by pointing out that the approval of this amendment would not destroy these poor farmers for whom they are so concerned. I refer to part 2 of the committee report, which is on the desk of each Senator. I wish to call this matter to the particular attention to the Senator from Rhode Island, inasmuch as he raised this question and expressed interest in it.

Total payments under this program are estimated at $3,081 million. That amount is paid out under this type of payment we are dealing with here. It is estimated about 6 percent of our population is on the farms, which is about 12 million people. I do not know how many receive these payments, but they run into millions of farmers. The committee report does not list the number of farmers that draw less than $5,000, so I cannot give that figure. However, those who draw less than $5,000 are not affected by this bill, and there are millions of persons getting less than $5,000.

The payments to farmers drawing less than $5,000 total $1,852 million, or 60 percent of the total. They would not be affected. Therefore, there are millions of small farmers who are not affected one iota by this amendment. A $10,000 ceiling on payments would exempt $380 million additional from this amendment.

Which farmers are affected? It would affect about 30,000 farmers in the entire United States, and they are affected only to the extent they would get paid more than $10,000. I sympathize with these persons, and perhaps eventually we will have to adopt or expand the poverty program to take care of some of these people.

Nevertheless, for the moment, let us see what happens under existing law. Five farmers draw over $1 million, for a total of $10,889,036. I do not think those "poor fellows" are going to the poor house. Fifteen farmers received $9,356,000; 388 farmers received $64,883,000; 1285 farmers received $84,603,000; 4,843 farmers received $161,642,000; 9,894 farmers received $186,931,000; 15,415 farmers received $186,318,000.

These were all receiving above the $10,000 limitation, referred to in my amendment.

The average is around $50,000 apiece, and they are drawing all the way up to millions of dollars.

All I am proposing to do is to roll the amount back to $10,000. That would not affect the small farmers one iota. They would have an advantage; and why should we not give them an advantage?

One of the farmers in that large group is the Louisiana State Penitentiary, which received $89,697. That land belongs to the penitentiary. I do not think that the Louisiana State Penitentiary is one of America's small farmers.

I notice that the State of Montana received $553,358 not to cultivate its farms. I respect the State of Montana as much as I respect my own State, but it does not have to be paid not to cultivate the land.

We have $653,252 being paid to one corporate-type farmer in Mississippi. This is owned by British interests. Why should we pay the British that amount of money not to farm in the United States?

Much is said about the wool program. I say again that the small wool producer is not affected. Certainly we need wool in this country, but let us not take all the fleece off the American taxpayer. We have about shorn the American taxpayer. They need help. Let them keep a little wool on their backs.

My proposal would not affect the millions of small farmers who would be eligible to get full payments up to $10,000.

I do not see how we can justify these large payments. The argument is made that the sugar program is self-sustaining, in that we take the tax on the sugar and put it in a special fund to pay the subsidy payments. To an extent, that is true, but on the other hand, we could take the income tax that the farmers of America pay and put that in a fund by itself, and we could say that that pays their own subsidies. We could take the income tax of the corporations of America, and we could say that that pays their subsidies. If we are going to give everyone back his taxes in some form of subsidy, on what will we run the Government?

The mere fact that the funds are earmarked does not mean they are not coming out of the Federal Treasury. This amendment does have merit. The very least we can do at a time when we plan to cut $6 billion—that is what the Senate has decided to do from next year's spending—is to establish a system of priorities. There is merit to every program we are proposing to cut, but at some point, somewhere, we must establish priorities. If we do not, then we will be delegating authority to the President.

I think we have a responsibility here. I appreciate the good intentions of those who oppose the amendment. I do not question for one moment their sincerity. They have an argument on their side. But there is not a single program that I know of that will be debated in the Senate during this session, when we are trying to cut, that someone cannot rise on the floor and give an excellent argument as to the merits of the program.

I think we must cut some of the programs that do have merit. I point out again that if we adopt the amendment there will still be $2,400,000,000 to be paid to millions of American farmers who would not be affected one iota by the payments left under the bill.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, the Senator makes a persuasive argument, which is music to the ears of the Senator from Rhode Island, because I do represent a consuming State and I have voted with the Senator from Delaware time and again. But I know this: I have been a Senator now for 18 years and the question of commodity subsidization has been one of the most perplexing problems we have had to contend with. As a matter of fact every presidential candidate, has always talked about it. They are doing it even today in various parts of the country. I quite agree with the Senator from Delaware—may I have his attention, because there is no need to talk if he is not listening?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Excuse me. I am listening.

Mr. PASTORE. I quite agree with the Senator that this needs quite a considerable review. There is no question about that. It needs some modification. There is no question in my mind about that. But, what has the Senator to say to the argument made by the Senator from Florida that because of the authorizations in the basic law, we have already made commitments to these producers and now we would withdraw that commitment. Would we not be breaking faith on this appropriation bill, which raises a serious question in my mind as to whether this is the proper way to do it?

I agree with the Senator from Florida that this should be referred to his committee and studied very thoroughly. Possibly, we should wait to see what the new President has to say about it because it is one of the most important problems confronting the American people, whether producer or consumer. The magic of America, the miracle of America, is that we have always been able to produce a great deal more than we actually need for our own subsistence. Moreover, we have shared much of our bounty and largess with other countries of the world.

Some people argue that if we did not have the program at all and had no restraints at all, a producer could produce whatever he wanted and find his own way on the open, free market.

There are two questions I have in my mind: Why does the Senator from Delaware include anyone at all? Why $10,000 to anyone? Why 5 cents to anyone? If a man has to take his chances on selling what he grows, then what difference does it make whether it is $10,000 or $15,000? Where does he get the figure to shut it off at $10,000? That is question No. 1.

Question No. 2 is whether it is not rather unfair at this moment, and an element of breaking faith after having passed an authorization bill and indulging in this program, that we now say that in the bill which provides the money, they cannot have the money?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. First, as to the commitments of the wheat farmer and the corn farmer, those who are going to participate in this program. That corn is planted and will be planted before this fiscal year is out, and they will have established their eligibility to be paid under 1968 commitments. As to the commitments made in the next planting season, which would be wheat, which would be seeded in the fall, those commitments are not there. We can make the same argument that if we make it in January, because the wheat is in the ground, there is always one type of crop in the ground which will be planted, so that we can fulfill the commitments on those farmers who have actually planted their crops. They would still fulfill their commitments if it was adopted. So we will always have that cutoff.

As to the argument, "Why don't I testify before the Agricultural Committee?" let me say that I was a member of the Agriculture Committee several years ago. Both then and since, I have been consistently and repeatedly trying to get a limitation on, so there is nothing new in this proposal. I will be before the Agriculture Committee. I appreciate the invitation of the Senator from Florida, but I am going to be there, anyway, I will get the same arguments then that we get when we get on authorizations, that there is precedent in the Senate, that it did write a ceiling on payments. That same argument was made so that we can write a ceiling in.

As to the argument about waiting for the next President, I do not think we can afford to wait. We are proposing to cut $6 billion from the 1969 expenditures under that budget. Some of that will be reflected between now and the time we inaugurate Nixon but, nevertheless—[laughter]—we cannot just wait on all this and expect Mr. Nixon to put the $6 billion into effect in the last half of the fiscal year. I think we have got to distribute it across the board.

Seriously speaking, though, we are going to be confronted with the question of establishing priorities. I just personally feel—although I appreciate the argument of my friend from Rhode Island—that there is no violation of a commitment here because, as I said before, the grain farmers will not be planting corn in the month of June. If I am not mistaken, the deadline for signing up for the grain crop was March 15. Anyway, that time has passed. They can sign up for wheat, and the wheat that would be planted in the fall would be affected. There is no question about that. But they would know it, and they could make their plans accordingly.

Mr. PASTORE. I hope that the Senator from Delaware does not have the impression that the Senator from Rhode Island is trying to be funny——

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. No.

Mr. PASTORE. I was not suggesting who might be the next President of the United States. I do not think that has anything to do with it. I hope that I was not misunderstood in that regard, nor that I suggest——

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. No.

Mr. PASTORE (continuing). That people who drive around in air-conditioned Cadillacs are expanding the poverty population. Wit is wit and being funny is being funny, but I do feel that what we are discussing here is a matter of sincerity and seriousness. I do not think it could be called in any way funny. I do not see what is funny about it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The point I am making is——

Mr. PASTORE. I do not see what is so funny about this as to provoke any laughter. That has no place in this debate.

I hope that we are talking about a very serious problem. I hope that we are all trying to be fair. I hope we are not trying to outmatch one another with wit or facetiousness. I hope that is not the case. We can disagree without being disagreeable and without making fun. I do not believe this is any funmaking matter. I think we must conduct ourselves as men, and talk as men, with commonsense and clarity.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I am sorry if I offended the Senator from Rhode Island——

Mr. PASTORE. The Senator did not offend me, but——

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Let us face it——

Mr. PASTORE. If this is a question of laughter, it does not make any sense to me.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I agree with the Senator that it is not a laughing matter, sometimes, a good laugh does a guy good.

In all seriousness, let me say that I was answering the point of why we cannot wait until we get the next President.

That argument can be made on every proposal to cut during the time we are acting on appropriation bills, if we are going to postpone all these reductions.

It certainly is not a laughing matter, but the reason I made that proposal is that some of the spokesmen think that we should postpone these cuts until after the first of the year. The intention of the $6 billion cut is that part of the reduction should be allocated to this half of the fiscal year and part of it to the next half. There may be a difference of opinion as to whether we should or should not cut, but if we are going to cut, we have to start somewhere, and if we do, it is going to hit some programs which many of us feel are important.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. I think the argument of the Senator from Florida has great merit. It is one thing to limit payments and another thing to change the whole concept of many of these agricultural programs; for example, the sugar program. We lower the tariffs. We take cheap, foreign produced sugar. Of course, at times the world price goes higher and the American public gets taken. So in the long run, the program is to their benefit. But the whole program is based on these payments. Many farmers, even those with fair sized farms, and especially average size farms, would be hurt by this amendment, particularly if the farmer is involved in the wheat program and sugar programs the same year.

With respect to wheat, the whole program was changed to lower price supports, so that the price of wheat now is about the same as the world market price. There is practically no export subsidy involved. The program provides that for that portion of the wheat consumed in the United States, the farmer will receive full parity or about $2.60 a bushel. The difference is made up by the wheat certificate payment. The small and large farmer alike are entitled to the payment, because under the concept of that program, that is what he is supposed to receive on that part of the wheat consumed in the United States. So you would have to go into the rewriting of many of these programs. Therefore, I believe there is more involved than just limiting the amount of the payments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has expired.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I am ready to vote.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes on the bill, to make three points.

The first is that—and I want the whole Senate to understand this—this bill is a barebones bill. Senators will see, on page 1 of our report, the two figures applicable. As compared with the appropriations act of last year, we are $1.615-plus billion under that act. As compared with the budget estimates for this year, we are $1.387-plus billion under that estimate. That is the first point.

The second point is this: Like the Senator from Rhode Island, I noted the complete lack of any answer on the part of the Senator from Delaware to a point I made in my original presentation, and that is this bill provides $350 million to apply on obligations set up this year, 1968, but payable the next fiscal year. Senators will find that referred to on page 35 of the report. I read these words:

> The amount proposed includes $350,467,000 to liquidate contract authorization established in fiscal 1968 and payable against obligations in fiscal 1969.

There is not any question about it. This amendment would prevent carrying out our contractual obligations to people relying upon the faith of the United States.

The third point, which I noted the Senator made no attempt to answer in the beginning, and which I think is unanswerable. We had the solicitor from the Department of Agriculture down yesterday. He told us that, as to this amendment, there is no question that the basic legislation was left intact—and the Senator from Delaware knows that—and under that basic legislation many farmers would be entitled to over $10,000, and they would have a complete right to have a claim against the U.S. Government, which we would have to recognize either in an additional appropriation or which could even be reduced to a judgment against the United States.

No effort was made to answer those two points, and I think they alone are enough to require rejection of the amendment.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 1 minute?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I respect the positions of the Senator from Florida. It is still my contention that as far as feed grains are concerned the period for signing a contract is over. No farmer can sign up from this date on for the 1968 crop, and they would be eligible for payments, and those payments will be made. They can stop signing up under the program for the fall plantings in this calendar year. In my view, that would not violate contracts.

There is no need to debate this further. It would apply only next year. The basic law does need amendment. I had hoped we could amend it, but the amendment was subject to a point of order. We will try it later, but, at the very least, we can adopt this amendment here today.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I join my distinguished colleague the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Williams] in support of his "saving" amendment. This amendment would cut $600 million for agriculture subsidy programs by limiting the annual maximum payment to $10,000 per farm.

If critics are concerned for budget cuts, this is a good place to begin. This is the program which allows one giant corporation farm owned by British interests to collect more than $600,000 anually. Another recipient of subsidies over $10,000 is the Louisiana State Penitentiary Farm.

The original intent of the subsidy program was to help the small farmer. Indiana has a lot of small farmers. Our farmers in the 76 counties, which were declared disaster areas last year, would be grateful of this saving. There are not enough funds in the Farmers Home Administration Emergency Loan Bank to provide these people with desperately needed aid. I might add that the Army Corps of Engineers has just estimated flood damages on the Wabash River and its tributaries this year at $15,000,000 to farmlands.

I urge my colleagues join in support of a $600,000,000 cut in farm subsidies. In my own State of Indiana only 130 farms receive over $10,000 a year. Two receive over $50,000 and only seven over $25,000.

For fiscal year 1969 our committees have been forced to cut far more deserving programs than this one—watersheds, reservoir construction, and land acquisition for conservation. Let us get our priorities in line and stop support to foreign interests and corporate giants.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the text of some remarks the Senator from Hawaii had intended to deliver today.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Agricultural Payment Limit Would Destroy Hawaii's Sugar Industry

Mr. Fong. Mr. President, I am unalterably opposed to the Williams amendment to establish a ceiling of $10,000 for agricultural payments, including compliance payments to U.S. sugar growers.

There is no question that such a limit would destroy the sugar industry in Hawaii. This in turn would deal a staggering blow to Hawaii's economy, which is based heavily on the sugar industry.

Sugar, Hawaii's leading farm crop, yields more than 190 million dollars a year in income to the economy of our Islands. It provides full-time jobs for some 12,000 workers and pays them over 69 million dollars in wages. Hawaii's sugar workers are the highest paid agricultural workers in the world.

Hawaii's sugar producers comply with all the requirements of the Sugar Act in order to qualify for compliance payments. In other words, Hawaii's sugar producers comply with production restrictions, pay "fair" wages to workers, do not employ child labor, and if they are processors too, they pay "fair" prices for sugar cane. In so doing, Hawaii's sugar producers earn entitlement to payments out of a fund consisting of Federal excise taxes collected by the Treasury on all sugar, foreign and domestic, processed in the United States.

The purpose of the sugar excise tax is to provide funds to pay U.S. sugar producers or processors for maintaining good working conditions, promoting orderly development of the sugar industry, and stabilizing the price of sugar for our domestic consumers. Compliance payments, therefore, are not a subsidy.

However, compliance payments are an integral part of the U.S. sugar program designed to assure American consumers ample supplies of this essential staple at modest prices. If this amendment is approved to limit compliance payments to $10,000, the sugar industry in Hawaii could not survive. Hawaii would suffer tremendous disruption of her economy and of her economic growth.

Loss of Hawaii's sugar industry would not only inflict great damage on my State, it would also have very adverse consequences on the entire domestic production of sugar. For Hawaii produces about one-sixth of all U.S. sugar production. Compliance payments are therefore not only crucial to Hawaii but vital to the stability of the U.S. domestic sugar industry.

It should be remembered that these payments are made on a sliding scale; the lower the production, the higher the compliance payment per ton of sugar. In this way, small producers receive more per ton in compliance payments than large producers.

Only those growers who produce 350 tons of sugar or less are entitled to the maximum authorized compliance payment of $16 a ton. Large growers receive less per ton, with the largest paid $7 a ton.

The largest payment made to Hawaii's sugar producers in 1965 was $8.83 per ton, whereas compliance payments to producers in other domestic areas went as high as the maximum of $16.00 a ton.

Total compliance payments to Hawaiian companies ranged from a low of $54,600 to a high of $1,177,000, with the majority of companies receiving over $200,000. These large payments are necessitated by the special nature of sugar cane production. Unlike many other agricultural commodities, sugar cane needs vast acreages in order to attain high efficiency. Hawaii sugar producers must plant enormous acreage before they can produce a high output of cane and achieve the efficiency of labor that will make Hawaii's sugar competitive in the marketplace.

There are about 237,000 acres devoted to cane and at least one-half of this acreage must be irrigated. Because of Hawaii's mountainous terrain, expansion of acreage is limited and costly. Sugar producers have spent large sums of their own money—none Federal—to develop and operate wells, reservoirs, ditches, and tunnels of the elaborate irrigation systems now in use. Halwaii's sugar industry also spends more than two and one-half million dollars annually on sugar research, an activity financed by the producers since 1895. As a resut of the Hawaii sugar industry's own efforts, Hawaii has one of the highest sugar yields per acre of any area of the world.

Efficiency per acre is a "must" for Hawaii's sugar producers, considering the cost of modern equipment, the cost of its skilled labor, and the great distance of Hawaii from Mainland markets. Hawaii's closest market for sugar is San Francisco, some 2400 miles away. Most of the Hawaiian sugar is refined at Crockett near San Francisco and is marketed in 26 western and mid-western States, including Alaska.

These are some of the compelling reasons for development and operation of large farming units in Hawaii. There are 25 large sugar plantations which produce some 93 per cent of Hawaii's sugar. The other seven per cent is produced by 750 small independent growers. The small producers receive higher compliance payments per ton than the large producers. Since compliance payments are based on total farm production and most Hawaiian sugar is produced on the large plantation company farms, many of the total payments are large.

I would like to point out, however, that in every year since the inception of the Sugar Act, the excise tax paid on sugar produced in Hawaii has substantially exceeded the compliance payments to our sugar companies. In 1965, the latest year for which I have figures available, the U.S. Treasury collected $11,607,060 in taxes on Hawaiian sugar, and paid back a total of $10,760,112 in compliance payments to Hawaiian sugar companies. Thus, in 1965 as in past years, Hawaii paid more in taxes that it received in compliance payments. Clearly, there is no net drain on the U.S. Treasury.

In fact, during the life of the Sugar Act, the Treasury has collected over $500,000,000 more in the sugar excise taxes than it paid out in compliance payments to U.S. sugar producers. This program has operated at a profit to the U.S. Treasury.

Over the period of the last ten years, a majority of the sugar producers in Hawaii would have operated at a net loss if there were no compliance payments. In fact, many of our companies were in the red even with these payments. No industry can survive if it is consistently in the red. Any lowering of the ceiling on compliance payments would sound the death knell for Hawaii's sugar industry. It would be an economic disaster for my State, which is the largest sugar producing State. There are no important alternative agricultural uses for the land now used for sugar cane.

Hawaii's sugar industry faces large new costs over the next few years as it cooperates in the nationwide drive against water pollution. It has agreed to prevent dumping of bagasse into streams and ocean, a process that will require substantial expenditures. The sugar industry also faces unknown, but undoubtedly large, expenditures in complying with Hawaii's water quality standards on turbidity and thermal pollution. Such added costs will put an extra financial drain on Hawaii's sugar producers.

To summarize, the sugar industry in Hawaii provides year-round employment for some 12,000 people. It pays over $69,000,000 in wages. Sugar workers in Hawaii are the highest paid agricultural workers in the world. Sugar represents a private investment of $200,000,000, with 12,500 individual stockholders, of whom more than two-thirds live in Hawaii.

The Williams amendment would destroy these jobs and this investment. It would deal a death blow to our sugar industry and plunge the economy of Hawaii into a tailspin from which it would be very difficult to recover.

Hawaii's sugar industry has been a world leader in sugar technology and mechanization. It has served our nation well in war and in peace, providing sugar so basic to human needs.

It would be unthinkable for the Senate to approve the pending amendment, which would surely destroy one of Hawaii's prime industries.

I am totally opposed to this amendment. I urge my colleagues to join me in voting against the Williams amendment.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, I find myself in agreement with much of what the distinguished Senator from Delaware has said. I have studied the statistics which he placed in the Record last week, identifying the number of farms which received ASCS payments totaling $50,000 and over. And, like him, I find subsidies in this magnitude to be outlandish.

I am in full agreement with the proposition that there should be a limitation on subsidy payments to individual farm operations. However, I have voted against such limitations in the past, and I will vote against the $10,000-per-farm limitation proposed by the distinguished Senator from Delaware today.

I do so because, although I support the idea of a subsidy limitation, I am not at all satisfied in my own mind as to where and how that cutoff should be applied.

Indeed, if we are to have subsidy limitations, and I believe that we should, I do not think that an arbitrary, across-the-board limitation would be at all practical. There are just too many types of farming operations in our various agricultural regions to be fitted under one arbitrary cutoff figure without causing a great number of inequities.

Thus, we need to devise a formula which would be flexible enough to take into account the various farming operations. I would further suggest that the guiding goal in devising such a formula should be centered around the notion of what constitutes a family farm operation.

The great bulk of all our agricultural programs are based on the fundamental and nationally accepted policy of encouraging the family farm system. Therefore, in a very real sense, our agricultural programs can be considered failures to the extent that they do not serve to protect the family farm system and/or serve to encourage non-family-farm operations.

It is fairly obvious that a farm operation large enough to receive a $1 million subsidy payment is not a family farm. Payments of this size could, however, be justified if it could be demonstrated that there were certain beneficial side effects to legitimate family farmers. Indeed, many have argued this point in the past. They have said that if large, corporate-type farm operations were not brought into the production control program, thereby qualifying them for the subsidy payments, they would greatly increase their production on the acres which had been freed from control measures. This increased production then would tend to force a general decline in farm prices thus creating new economic difficulties for the family farmer who would be participating in the control program.

This argument may have a certain validity, but I must confess I am finding it increasingly difficult to accept. I doubt that over the long run there would be any significant increase in production.

Thus the principle of a family farm cutoff certainly makes sense to me. But again from my study of the matter, I do not think we have the data and adequate farm classifications to reach agreement on this point at this time.

But one thing is clear: Something must be done. We must not simply continue to push this very legitimate issue aside.

Therefore, I very much hope that the appropriate committees of Congress, and the Department of Agriculture, as well, will undertake serious studies as soon as possible, aimed at coming up with some meaningful family subsidy cutoff formula.

Such studies would be timely. With the expiration next year of the Agriculture Act of 1965, farm commodity programs are already under intensive review and study, and this will continue into 1969.

Therefore, a new and thorough study of this pressing question would not only seem to be appropriate at this time but also absolutely necessary.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, all my time on the amendment has been used.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been used. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Delaware. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Inouye], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. McIntyre] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Anderson], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Mondale], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Russell], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Talmadge], and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] is paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin]. If present and voting, the Senator from Oregon would vote "yea," and the Senator from North Carolina would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster] is paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings]. If present and voting, the Senator from Maryland would vote "yea," and the Senator from South Carolina would vote "nay."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senators from Vermont [Mr. Aiken and Mr. Prouty], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska], and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska], and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 45, as follows:

[No. 169 Leg.]

YEAS—19

Bayh
Boggs
Byrd, W. Va.
Case
Clark
Cotton
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hartke
Hatfield
Javits
Nelson
Pell
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Scott
Tydings
Williams, Del.

NAYS—45

Allott
Baker
Bartlett
Bennett
Bible
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Cannon
Cooper
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Ellender
Fulbright
Hansen
Hart
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Mansfield
McClellan
Metcalf
Miller
Monroney
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Pastore
Pearson
Percy
Randolph
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—36

Aiken
Anderson
Brewster
Brooke
Carlson
Church
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hayden
Hollings
Hruska
Inouye
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Prouty
Russell
Smathers
Talmadge

So the amendment (No. 834) of Mr. Williams of Delaware was rejected.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

On page 24, line 1, strike out "$195,500,000" and in lieu thereof insert "$100,000,000".

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, this amendment is one which those Senators who argued against the other measure should support.

Under the existing law we are paying about $3 billion a year to farmers not to produce crops.

The amendment just rejected would have limited those payments to $10,000 per farmer. There would still have left over $2.4 billion that would be paid out not to produce crops. That amendment was defeated.

We now have a situation where we will be paying out about $3 billion a year to American farmers not to produce.

Under this section of the bill the Bureau of the Budget asked for $100 million to pay the farmers to help improve the fertility of the soil in order that they could produce more crops. The committee has added $95,500,000 above what the Bureau of the Budget asked for. This is for commitments on the 1969 crop year. It does not affect 1968 in any way, shape, or form. These provisions are for all future commitments for the farming year, the calendar year 1969. All this amendment proposes to do is to roll it back to the budget figure.

Why should we add an extra $100 million to pay farmers to increase the fertility of the soil in order that they can increase their production on the one hand and then pay $3 billion a year not to cultivate the farms after they have increased the fertility?

This is just a round robin.

The pending amendment should by all means be accepted, especially in view of the fact that the other amendment was rejected. The amendment would merely go back to the budget figure.

Much has been said about cutting expenses. We plan to cut next year's budget authority by $10 billion. We also propose to decrease expenditures during the fiscal year 1969 by $6 million.

On the other hand if we reject the pending amendment, we are proposing here, to increase the budget by $95.5 million, or nearly double what the Budget Bureau asked for.

I hope that the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the pending amendment does have some merit. However, with respect to the amendment that was just rejected, I think the record shows—and I refer this question to the manager of the bill—that had we placed a ceiling of $10,000 on the payments, we would have been actually impairing existing contracts, up to about $350 million.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, a large part of the $350 million, I will say to my distinguished friend, would be in payments above $10,000. The $350 million is shown by the report as being needed to liquidate contracts entered into during this fiscal year and payable in fiscal year 1969.

Mr. DIRKSEN. They are existing contracts.

Mr. HOLLAND. They are existing contracts, existing commitments of our Government.

Mr. DIRKSEN. And to place a ceiling on those would have been an impairment of contracts by legislative fiat.

Mr. HOLLAND. There is no question about it at all.

Mr. DIRKSEN. With respect to the amendment that my distinguished friend, the Senator from Delaware offers now, I think there is merit to it. Of course one can argue on the other side. We have to continue to conserve our greatest resource, our soil. But on the other hand, we are up against fiscal problems.

Frankly, I am willing to support the amendment.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I appreciate the comments of the Senator from Illinois.

I understand the question in the minds of many Senators concerning the previous amendment. And without debating that subject further at this time, I state that I shall appear before the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and urge that this provision be a part of the bill to be reported by that committee later.

Under the pending amendment none of the other arguments advanced against the preceding amendment would stand.

I do not understand how we can justify doubling the appropriation to increase the fertility of the soil while at the same time we pay $3 billion a year not to cultivate it.

I realize this will not all be used to increase the fertility. However, a lot of it would go for that purpose. Certainly this is not the time to double the amount requested by the Bureau of the Budget.

At some point, somewhere, not only will we have to hold the line but also we will have to roll back even beyond the budget figures.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I admit it is very clear that this would relate to a future operation. It does not contain some of the points that were very applicable to the amendment that was just rejected. However, that does not make the amount any more acceptable to me or to the committee.

In the first place, in our hearings we wanted to find out what the department thought about the program. They show, on pages 341 and following, that they regard it as one of the most necessitous programs for the enrichment of the soil and for the conservation of our natural resources that we have.

I asked why they were asking for more than $100 million. They were reluctant to reply. Finally, in an effort to bring out what they had asked for, I asked Mr. Godfrey, and it appears at the bottom of page 341:

> Senator HOLLAND. What was your request?
> Mr. GODFREY. $220 million.
> Senator HOLLAND. What did the Department request?
> Mr. GODFREY. $200 million.

So, this is just another year when we have received, as we have been receiving for 8 or 10 years, a recommendation from the Budget Bureau to cut the heart out of this large program.

This is a matching program under which the farmer, if he wants to increase the fertility of his soil, has to match the Federal contribution. It is also a program under which, due to amendments which we placed in the bill, the amount that can be paid to any one farmer is limited to $2,500. So this is not an extravagant program.

Mr. President, every year since I have been a member of this committee, the Budget Bureau has tried to cut this program to $100 million, and every year Congress has refused and put it back to $220 million. This year again our colleagues in the other body put back in the bill $220 million. The Senate went a good deal further into the matter. We found that under the resolution we had passed last year, this program was reduced to $195 million, and we found on inquiry of the agricultural groups that they accepted that in good faith. They would rather have had $220 million, but they realized they had to make some contribution to the saving. They all got along pretty well with the $195.5 million that was approved after our resolution of last December.

So, this year, rather than the full amount of $220 million, which the House had put in the bill, we reduced it to $195.5 million, believing that what the farmers had accepted as their contribution, or part of their contribution, to the fiscal stringency in which we exist, for this year, would be acceptable to them again.

Now, we have received some complaints. They would rather have $220 million. That is understandable. Even though they have to match it, they would rather have the $220 million.

There are literally hundreds of thousands of farmers who customarily cooperate with the Government in enriching and maintaining the fertility of the soil by cooperating under this program. They cannot cooperate for more than $2,500, as I have already said. This is a widespread program, and we have cut the program to $195.5 million.

Before I conclude on this point, I wish to point out that this is just a part of the huge cut that we have made in this bill. Senators will find on the first page of the report the fact that we have recognized the difficulty in these fiscal times, in that we are in this bill $1.615 billion-plus under the Appropriation Act of 1968, and they will find that we are $1.387 billion-plus under the budget estimates for this year.

I believe the committee has given most careful consideration to this matter. This is a very important cooperative program which should not be further impaired.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I believe this is a much misunderstood program. I intend to support the committee and to support the chairman of the committee on this matter. But I believe it is much misunderstood.

I believe the ordinary concept is that the Government goes in and pays for fertilizer and things like this to go on a man's land. Nothing could be less true. It is true that under the act, as I understand it, they can participate in a liming process. I recently received a request to provide certain other things, not fertilizers, but in addition to lime, and the line was tightly drawn there.

What this measure does is to save, in my opinion, one of the most valuable resources this country has—its soil.

Unless people have been out in the great expanses of the West, where this is particularly true, where the soil must be saved from erosion, where you have to have leveling of fields, where you have to have irrigation, it perhaps is difficult to understand how significant this program is to the preservation of soil for the foods that we will need now and in the years to come.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield 5 additional minutes to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ALLOTT. If you permit the soil to erode, if you permit the soil to go away once, you cannot come back and level off a field that has a gully 10, 20, or 30 feet deep in the middle of it.

I am sorry to say that, in my opinion, there has been too little emphasis placed in this entire area in the last 8 years. I applaud the efforts of the distinguished chairman of the committee and the entire committee for making this effort. It is not a giveaway, as the chairman has well said. It preserves and helps to preserve on an utterly fair basis, the most valuable resource we have left in this country, and that is our soil, and it has been given too little attention for many years.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the distinguished Senator. He has put his finger upon the value of this program.

In my own part of the country, one of the contributions that is made is that, if a farmer has, for instance, produced a crop of peas or a hay crop that could be cut and could be capitalized upon, and if instead the soil needs the mulching effect of that crop he permits it to go back into the soil, the Government will help him pay the loss that he incurs.

The same is true with reference to every feature. Anything that comes under this program must be matching and cannot exceed $2,500 so far as the Federal Government is concerned, in any case, to any farmer, big or small. This is one of the most democratic programs and one of the best programs we have.

While I have no fault with the distinguished Senator from Delaware, he is simply echoing an effort that the Budget Bureau has been making for the last 8 or 10 years to cut down this program. This effort by the Budget Bureau has been strongly opposed every year by the Department, and the Department this year testified, as I have already read into the RECORD, that they wanted the $220 million. But the Budget Bureau, proceeding as it has heretofore, wanted to cut it back to $100 million. I hope we will not permit them to do so.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. President, I do not question for a moment that some of the bureaucrats could ask for more than is in the bill. But if we are going to start giving them all they ask for, we just cannot print enough money. They ask for twice the amount they expect to receive, and if they are given half of it they still have more than they really need.

The point is that it is not a case of what the Budget Bureau asked for. The Senate has gone on record as suggesting that we cut next year's appropriations by $10 billion. My question is, where are we going to make these cuts, and when are we going to start?

I agree with the Senator from Florida that they have reduced somewhat under this bill. And what I am going to say next is not in criticism of the Senator from Florida, because he has been one of the strongest advocates of what I am suggesting here. The primary reason why the amount in this bill is lower than the Budget Bureau request is that we are not reimbursing the Commodity Credit Corporation for all the losses it sustains during fiscal 1968 or projected 1969. The law required them to seek restoration, but they did not. We have accumulated unrestored losses in the Commodity Credit Corporation of approximately $6 billion, which will have to be faced by future administrations.

The reason why this bill indicates a reduction is that we are not paying our bills. The Senator from Florida has been one of the strongest advocates of this paying as we go, so what I am saying certainly is not in criticism of what he is doing here today. Quite the contrary.

Nevertheless, we will have to cut some of these programs. I agree with everything the Senator from Florida has said about the merits of this program. In my opinion, this is as meritorious a program as any under the farm program. It does much good. Merit can be found in any of these programs. But we come back to the question of whether we are going to hold the line or are going to double the amount. In my opinion, this is not the time to double this program, which is what would occur if the committee amendment is agreed to. It would practically double it, and I do not believe we can afford to do it. I believe this is one area in which we can roll back and save $95 million.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. The Senator does not mean double the program as it has existed, does he?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Double the budget request.

Mr. HOLLAND. He means we would nearly double the recommendation of the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HOLLAND. But it would continue the program as carried on last year on a requested basis of $220 million.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Yes; but can we afford to double this and continue it on that basis?

As I said before, in order to get these reductions in expenditures we must cut our programs. The Government has been operating at a deficit. Our deficit for the last 5 years is about $60 billion more than our income. That means we have been running in the red $1 billion a month. The deficit for fiscal 1968 is about $20 billion; the deficit for fiscal 1969 is estimated at $28 billion.

This means that at the moment we are running in the red at the rate of about $100 million a day, putting the Government on a 5-day week.

At some point, somewhere, we will have to cut programs, and we will have to cut on programs which have merit because all of them have some merit and all of them have some supporters.

I recognize that this is just as meritorious as some other programs I know of, and perhaps more so, but we are going to have to cut somewhere. I think the least we can do is adopt this amendment.

I am willing to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield such time as he may require to the Senator from Louisiana, the chairman of the legislative Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I hope the pending amendment will be rejected.

I do not know of any other program that has been placed on the statute books in the past that has done more good to protect and preserve our soil than the soil conservation program.

As the distinguished Senator from Colorado said, this program protects and conserves our soil. He hit the nail on the head.

Many think this money is used in part to buy fertilizer to put on the crops. That is not true. It is true that in some instances lime is put on the land to sweeten it and make better crops. I am satisfied that the 109-bushel average in Illinois this year would never have happened except that soil conservation practices were put into effect in that State during the last 20 years. The same thing holds true for every other State.

Mr. President, I hope the amendment is rejected.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I do not know that there is much I can add. I associate myself with the statement the chairman has made. This is an old program.

The Senator from Delaware is saying that we are spending too much money. I think it is true that we are spending too much money, but not on this program. This program is beneficial to the present and to the future.

We are spending money in many areas where I am perfectly willing to join the Senator in making cuts.

However, of all the programs, this program deals with the productivity of our land, and it should be the last program to be prejudiced. I regret that the committee cut the program as much as it did from the House figure. Nevertheless, I realize they know more about it, and it is their duty to exercise judgment. I do not think it should be cut more.

I join the Senator from Delaware in his statement that we need to make certain cuts in Government spending. We have to have a sense of priority, however. All of these items are not equally affected. We know many items get into large budgets that are luxury items and they have no basis except in times of prosperity, and we are not in such times now. I hope the Senate will not cut this item.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Arkansas such time as he may require.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I join with the views expressed by my distinguished colleague from Arkansas on the pending issue. I associate myself with his statements.

OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS ACT OF 1967

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the Policemen's Association of the District of Columbia expressing approval of the action of the Senate in the passage of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1967 a few days ago, and with particular reference to those features that would aid the police in the performance of their duties.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLICEMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
Washington, D.C., May 27, 1968.

Hon. JOHN L. MCCLELLAN,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MCCLELLAN: At the regular monthly meeting of the Policemen's Association of the District of Columbia held on Tuesday, May 21, 1968, the members went on record in support of the overwhelming vote by the United States Senate in passing the Crime Bill sometimes known as the "Safe Streets" bill.

The view was expressed that this bill will give to the law enforcement officer many of the necessary tools which has been needed for a number of years in their effort to reduce the ever-increasing crime rate.

We sincerely hope that the conferees will abide by the Senate passed version of this bill.

Respectfully yours,
Sgt. CARL W. BEATTY,
President.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a number of articles and editorials, as follows: An article entitled "Supreme Court Gaveled Down Confessions," by James J. Kilpatrick, published in the Washington Evening Star on May 28, 1968; an editorial entitled "Senate Backs Police Wiretaps," published in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of May 24, 1968; an article entitled "Byrd Urges Crime Action," by Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, published in the Chicago American of May 24, 1968; an editorial entitled "Nonenforcement of Law," published in the Mobile Register of May 22, 1968; an editorial entitled "City Streets Must Not Be Jungle," published in the Rochester, N.Y., Times-Union of May 24, 7

1968; and an editorial entitled "Whitcomb On Crime," published in the Indianapolis Star of May 25, 1968.

There being no objection, the articles and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 28, 1968]

Supreme Court Gaveled Down on Confessions

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

The United States Senate last week dealt the Supreme Court the strongest rebuke that has been officially hurled at the court in more than 30 years. Not since the days of Roosevelt's court-packing proposal has a co-equal branch of government spoken in such unmistakable terms.

Roosevelt's scheme failed of adoption, of course, but it had its effect nonetheless. Chief Justice Hughes got the word. Many Americans, deeply concerned at the trend of Supreme Court decisions over the past ten years, will pray that Chief Justice Warren and his majority bloc prove equally attentive this time around. The Senate has said bluntly that it wants to see a balance restored between the rights of a defendant and the rights of society. The step is long overdue.

Specifically, the Senate approved section 3501 of the Crime Control Act of 1968. The section says that in Federal criminal prosecutions, a confession shall be admissible in evidence "if it is voluntarily given." Trial judges are to review the circumstances in the absence of a jury. If a judge determines that a confession was in fact voluntary, according to conditions laid down in the act, he is to admit the confession and instruct the jury to give it such weight "as the jury feels it deserves under all the circumstances."

Under the Senate bill, the presence or absence of a lawyer would be merely one factor, and not necessarily a conclusive factor, in determining the issue of voluntariness. Manifestly, this provision of the act is intended to override the high court's 5–4 decision in the famed Miranda case two years ago. The court then laid down such sweeping requirements for the advice of counsel that the use of confessions in evidence was rendered almost impossible.

As you might expect, the Senate's refusal has evoked moans of anguish from knee-jerk liberals who bleed for the rights of rapists. The Washington Post, which goes into hysterics whenever Earl Warren sneezes, has been regaling its readers with horror stories of confessions obtained by the third-degree. You would suppose that police routinely exact confessions by thumbscrews and rubber hoses.

Sure enough, instances of coerced confessions have occurred. Too many of them. But there is not one line in the Senate bill that would condone the abhorrent practice. It is an insult to the whole of the Federal trial bench to imagine that such confessions would be received in the future.

The more applicable horror stories go in precisely the other direction.

Two months after the Miranda decision, a Brooklyn housewife came on trial for the murder of her four-year-old son. She had taped his mouth and beaten him to death with a broomstick. She freely confessed. She had not had a lawyer. She went free. Miranda.

There was the case in New York of Jose Suarez, 22, a laundry worker. He killed his wife and five small children by stabbing them more than 100 times. Police arrested him. He confessed at once. No lawyer. Justice Michael Kern bitterly agreed that "even an animal such as this one, and I believe this is insulting the animal kingdom, must be provided with all the legal safeguards—but it makes my blood run cold to let a thing like this out on the street." Suarez walked out of court, a free man. Miranda.

Dozens of such fantastic miscarriages of justice have occurred by reason of the Supreme Court's excessive solicitude. As North Carolina's Sen. Sam Ervin has noted, the number of confessions in criminal cases has fallen drastically. The state's attorney of Baltimore remarks that "the confession as a law enforcement instrument has been virtually eliminated." If the House accepts the Senate bill, the trend may be reversed. It will all depend on whether Chief Justice Warren gets the word.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, May 24, 1968]

Senate Backs Police Wiretaps

Crime fighters won another significant victory in the United States Senate Wednesday, for the second consecutive day, as Senators resoundingly defeated an attempt by Sen. Edward V. Long of Missouri to amend the wiretap and electronic eavesdropping section from the bill.

Senator Long first tried to delete from the bill a provision that would permit a judge authorizing a wiretap to postpone, on showing of good cause, a requirement that persons under surveillance be so notified within 90 days. His proposition lost 51 to 21.

Then the Missouri Senator sought to eliminate a section that would permit judges to authorize wiretaps or eavesdropping where there was a belief a crime was about to be committed. He contended that this authority should be granted only when it was believed that a crime already had been committed.

The Senator lost on this by a vote of 60 to 18.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark also was dealt a blow by these Senate actions. He has been a strong opponent of wiretapping and eavesdropping except in national security cases.

When the Senate had completed its work yesterday the crime control bill still authorized court-supervised wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping both by federal and state law enforcement officers.

These provisions, added to Tuesday's Senate reversal of the Miranda, Mallory and Wade decisions of the Supreme Court made the crime control bill the best to come through the Senate in years.

But these Supreme Court-curbing measures face a stiff fight in the Senate-House conference. House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler has claimed he would never accept these provisions, contending they take away power from the Supreme Court.

If the heavy support in the Senate for the bill is a barometer, Mr. Celler probably will have no choice but to accept the Senate version.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) American, May 24, 1968]

Byrd Urges Crime Action

(By Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON.—Fear and terror are stalking the capital. That is the grim pronouncement of the chairman of the Senate appropriations subcommittee in charge of the District of Columbia's annual budget of more than 500 million dollars. With characteristic bluntness, Sen. Robert Byrd [D., W. Va.] told his colleagues:

"One fools only himself if he attempts to believe that this city is not gripped in fear. It is time to quit temporizing with criminals. We need action, not words, from Mayor Washington and from the White House to prove that the reign of terror will be brought to a halt by whatever means are necessary."

For several weeks, Sen. Byrd has been vigorously urging that troops be returned to Washington to avert a repetition of the destructive violence that followed the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King. Byrd has argued troops are necessary because of the massing of the so-called "poor people's march."

FIRES, MURDER, ROBBERIES

He cited the virtually daily incendiary fires now running into the hundreds, the repeated slaying of business men, numerous rapes, and the scores of robberies of bus drivers, culminating with the slaying of one by a gang of Negro juveniles.

"I heard the President at the White House several months ago," declares Byrd, "speaking with reference to crime in this city, address himself to those who are responsible for enforcing the law. He told them in effect that if they did not get busy and reverse this trend, the fur would fly. I have not yet seen any fur fly, and I have not seen the crime trend reversed in Washington."

Making no bones that he deems the so-called "poor people's" encampment as a potential danger, Byrd stated, "I would not advise any [students] to come here while this 'campaign' is in progress, or while crime continues at the pace it does now.

"Look at the galleries today. Often they are only half or one-third full. There are no people standing in line, and the reason is obvious. People are fearful of coming to Washington."

BLAMES SUPREME COURT

The courts, and particularly the Supreme court, were singled out by Byrd as "greatly responsible for the spiraling crime rate." He held that while there is endless talk and reports about crime and criminals, "no word is ever said about how the federal courts are greatly responsible for the spiraling crime rate."

"If we really want to strike at the roots of crime in our country," declared Byrd, "we should start with the Supreme court. In making appointments to that court, they should be men who will not temporize with criminals. Yes, accord the criminal his constitutional rights; but let us not forget about the rights of innocent victims.

"Let us point the finger where we should. I say to the President of the United States, whoever he is or may be, 'Look at your Supreme court. Look at your appointees. If you really want to do something about crime, start there.'"

It is known that Sen. Byrd is making a thorough study of the handling of crime and other critical problems in Washington, and will report his findings in detail to the full Senate. No member of that chamber is more informed on Washington affairs than he is, nor more forthright in expressing his views and advocating forceful remedial measures.

[From the Mobile (Ala.) Register, May 22, 1968]

Nonenforcement of Law

Sen. John L. McClellan of Arkansas read the riot act against lawlessness more alertly and more impressively than many of his colleagues in Congress.

He is also more alert and impressive than many in pointing to the serious mistake that is made by letting crime go unpunished or not sufficiently punished.

Crime is seldom curbed by turning criminals loose without penalty or without adequate penalty.

Yet many criminals escape what they have coming to them. Senator McClellan discusses this unfortunate state of affairs in terms that should hold interest for lawabiding citizens generally:

"According to the statistics, many crimes are not reported. How much, no one knows. Estimates are that from two to three times as many serious crimes are committed in this country as are reported.

"But of the serious crimes reported, seven of eight of (the) law violators who commit those crimes are not punished for their unlawful deeds.

"That is not law enforcement. I believe that if we had the true figures, taking into account the number of crimes that are not reported, the figure would not be seven of eight. The figures probably would reveal that only one out of 15 criminals is punished for the crime he commits.

"We cannot have law and order in this country with that kind of law enforcement."

Senator McClellan warned forthrightly that the nation is headed for disaster if it continues to travel the route of non-enforcement of the law:

"We all suffer from lack of law enforcement. . . . No one profits from it except the criminal; no one except the criminal is profiting from crime today; and regrettably and tragically, too many criminals today are profiting from crime. . . . They are getting by with it because of the lack of law enforcement.

"I say it cannot go on. We are moving, moving rapidly, toward anarchy in America. Some say it cannot happen here."

Statements such as this by Senator McClellan should shake some of the apathy out of any American who remains apathetic about what lawlessness is doing to law and order.

And statements such as Senator McClellan's should speed-up public decision to clean house of office-holding politicians who have been too preoccupied in playing socialistic, welfare-state, "civil rights" politics to make their voices satisfactorily active in behalf of better protection for the lawabiding through law enforcement.

Senator McClellan is one of the best in business in Congress, or anywhere else in America, in throwing heavy punches at crime and at the appalling deficiency in law enforcement in the United States.

Two prime factors in the lack of law enforcement are nonsensical decisions of the courts, starting with the U.S. Supreme Court, and an oversupply of public-be-damned politics.

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union, May 24, 1968]

City Streets Must Not Be Jungle

News of continuing police determination to remove as many muggers and hoodlums from Rochester's streets as possible is heartening.

The tough roving Tactical Unit is working each night from 7 p.m. to 4 a.m. when the crime menace is greatest. And the other day, the unit put in some daytime hours clearing gangs of troublemakers from downtown stores, where they have harassed clerks and shoppers.

City police hope that the Tactical Unit will follow up the earlier success of a special anti-mugging squad.

But Police Chief Lombard exposed the Achilles heel of this anti-crime campaign when he complained of "too lenient" court treatment of some caught earlier by the anti-mugging squad.

It is not enough just to arrest those who would make Rochester's streets a jungle. Those convicted must understand that "society is not going to tolerate them," as Lombard said. That message won't get through, however, if the best efforts of the police are frustrated in the courts.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star, May 25, 1968]

Whitcomb on Crime

Secretary of State Edgar D. Whitcomb, a candidate for Republican nomination for governor, has added his voice to the increasing criticism of the United States Supreme Court rulings on crime cases.

Whitcomb said crime continues to increase faster than the population increases and blamed a general attitude of irresponsibility and ". . . the very radical attitude of the Supreme Court toward the suspect in criminal cases."

Citing statistics, he showed that the majority of offenders who are released from prison get in trouble again and he called for a general review of rehabilitation programs. This sounds logical enough. If the majority of offenders get in trouble again then the "rehabilitation" programs are not doing much rehabilitating.

We are glad to see that a major candidate for governor is aware that rampant crime is what the people of Indiana are insisting on having curbed.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an advertisement, entitled "An Appeal to the 200 Million People in This Great Nation—All of Whom Own a Share of Washington, D.C.—Have You Forsaken Us?" published in the Washington Evening Star of May 28, 1968.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

An Appeal to the 200 Million People in This Great Nation—All of Whom Own a Share of Washington, D.C.—Have You Forsaken Us?

For weeks now, even the heavens have been weeping at the tragedy that has befallen this once proud city.

Where are the tourists? Where are the shoppers? Where are the school children who came by the tens of thousands to discover their heritage?

But most important—where are you. All 200 million of you. Why are your voices stilled? Isn't this your Capital City, too?

Don't you know, or don't you care that the stunned and shattered business community is afraid to act.

Don't you know, or don't you care that the stricken and heart-sick residents are afraid to act.

Don't you know, or don't you care that many of your fellow Americans are afraid to open their doors at night; afraid to take public transportation at night; afraid to stroll the streets at night; afraid to do little else but scurry from home to office and back again as quickly as possible.

Of course you care! Then where is your storm of protest? Your outrage? If you fail to voice your concern soon, your share of Washington, D.C. will be worthless.

Our Mayor talks. Our police officials talk. Our Congress talks. Our President talks. But they have failed to dispel the current climate of fear.

It wasn't too long ago we flew our flags at half-mast. Unless you insist upon *action* now, we may have to do it again.

It's only fair to tell you—your nation's capital is dying.

(This message sponsored by The Committee for a Safer Washington, P. C. Ryan, Treasurer.)

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record excerpts from more than 100 letters from people of all walks of life regarding and approving of the crime bill which was passed by the Senate last week.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Confessions

1. A citizen from California writes me the following concerning recent Supreme Court decisions:

"I was most pleased to read that you were going to attempt changes made by the Supreme Court over the past few years which have considerably lessened the authority of our law enforcement agencies and, I feel, have also caused a substantial increase in the crime rate."

2. A housewife from California expresses her concern in the following:

"We are glad you are fighting the crime problem. We also feel the Supreme Court has done much to protect the criminals and weaken our society."

3. An attorney from Los Angeles writes:

"A recent column in the Los Angeles Times by Bill Henry brought to mind again the tremendous job that you are doing almost single-handedly to combat crime in the United States and to eliminate those elements which seem to encourage rather than curb crime, including some of the absurd decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States."

4. Another California housewife writes:

"I wish to commend you on the stand you are taking against crime and the Supreme Court decisions! What can we—as law abiding citizens do in regard to these judges who are responsible for laws that coddle the criminals?"

5. A minister from California writes:

"I stand behind you in my prayers for an alleviation of the hodge-podge we are in in the areas of law enforcement.

"I know of many lawmen out here in California who are seeking other jobs because they are virtually handcuffed by the Court's decision."

6. A California housewife writes:

"We have criminals given a fair trial and given a sentence by a very responsible jury, only to find that 13 years later they are still fighting to overturn sentence and then of course . . . the Supreme Court sets them free!"

7. A California Chief of Police, one of many who have written concerning these decisions, has the following opinion:

"It appears to be well established that the *Escobedo* and *Miranda* decisions have had a decidedly adverse effect upon law enforcement.

"The number of convictions and guilty pleas has declined drastically since the pre-Escobedo days of 1963. This is in spite of the fact that felony arrests have increased 75% since 1963."

8. From another California Chief of Police:

"I earnestly request that you give serious consideration to legislation or even Constitutional Amendment to overcome the effect of some of the recent Supreme Court decisions in the field of criminal law.

"The Miranda decision has created many technical problems within the ranks of law enforcement. Arrests are being made by policemen but complaints are not issued by District Attorneys because of some purely technical errors."

9. An instructor in police science writes the following:

"I am distressed over the present trend of various United States Supreme Court decisions. The problem has grown to such proportions that attempting to understand, let alone try and explain same to a group of students, is extremely difficult.

"The indication is that the Court is more concerned with the 'rights' of the criminal and certain technicalities than they are of the welfare of the law abiding citizen."

10. Another California Chief of Police writes:

"As a career police officer and a Chief of Police, I feel that the United States Supreme Court has committed a great injustice to law enforcement."

11. A California police officer writes the following:

"As a veteran Police Officer with 32 years experience, I can attest to the fact that the recent decisions of the Supreme Court are resulting in the further handcuffing of the police officer and at the expense of the law abiding citizen."

12. The following is from a California Chief of Police:

"I would like to add my support to your bill (S. 674) [title II of S. 917]. It is my opinion, related on my personal experience, that the Supreme Court has gone past a reasonable man's interpretation of the Constitution. I think it is time the rights of the victims of crimes be considered and society's right to be protected against violence and crime be brought to the forefront.

"Guilt or innocence no longer seems to be a factor in our courts. The contest now is to see if the defense can find any minute detail that may have been overlooked by the police to free a guilty person and return him to prey on society."

13. From a California Chief of Police:

"Wish to commend you for your efforts in trying to restore commonsense and reason in Court actions regarding criminals. It is, indeed, disturbing for Law Enforcement Officers to see guilty persons released on minor technicalities."

14. From a California Chief of Police:

"I believe the many Supreme Court decisions that have recently been handed down by that Body, have adversely affected law enforcement and justice more than anything I have seen in my twenty years as a peace officer."

15. Another California Chief of Police writes:

"May I join the thousands of other law enforcement officers in this country in giving you every possible support in this endeavor. We feel strongly that Supreme Court decisions in the area of *Escobedo, Miranda,* and others unnecessarily restrict the best efforts of law enforcement nationwide."

16. From a California detective:

"Speaking as a long time law enforcement officer, I wish to state that I am heartily in favor of S. 674, a bill with respect to the admissibility in evidence of confessions in criminal cases."

17. From a California Chief of Police:

"But, if the present dangerous trend of Supreme Court decisions is not stopped, and if possible, reversed, Law Enforcement will be dealt a crippling blow from which it may never recover."

18. This excerpt is from another letter from a California Chief of Police:

"We have, as have other law enforcement agencies, experienced instances where self-confessed persons have gone free due to an interpretation as to when suspicion had focused on those persons.

"To say that these decisions have not greatly affected the efforts of law enforcement officers in the battle against the rising crime rate would be to indulge in a costly form of vanity. These decisions, particularly the *Miranda,* have caused a great deal of confusion not only among law enforcement officers but among the Judiciary, each Judge in many cases having his own interpretation of its meaning and intent."

19. From a citizen in Illinois:

"We congratulate you on your stand to limit the powers of the Supreme Court. In our opinion they are doing all they can to destroy law enforcement not to aid it."

20. I received the following from an Illinois Chief of Police:

"Recent decisions of the Supreme Court have made an almost intolerable situation for police officers.

"Law enforcement's difficulties have become very burdensome with these decisions and will continue to be so and we are extremely worried about the future of crime which is now gaining momentum at an all too rapid pace."

21. From another Illinois Chief of Police comes the following:

"Your positive action in introducing Senate Bill 674 [title II of S. 917] with respect to the admissibility in evidence of confessions, is hailed by all law enforcement administrators as a possible roadblock—or at least a turning point—in stopping the downhill run of the "one-man majority", in the United States Supreme Court, to absolve criminals of their anti-social deeds, to disregard the civil rights of victims of criminal offenses, to pronounce retroactive rules in the fancied game between law enforcement and the criminal element—all under the guise of the administration of justice."

22. This quote is from a Superintendent of Police in Illinois:

"I am dismayed by recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions which are adversely affecting the ability of law enforcement agencies to fulfill their responsibilities to the citizens of their communities. My feelings are the same as, so many other law enforcement men, who feel the criminal has been given all rights, advantages and freedom to prey again on a victimized society."

23. From another Illinois Chief of Police:

"The Supreme Court of the United States has laid down rules that we as Officers must follow. We have been Handcuffed. Crime can be reduced. We as officers have the knowledge, ability and are willing to enforce the State laws and City Ordinances and assist each other of any department and the FBI. We are and there is no doubt every department has and is. The Handcuffs Must Be Removed from us."

24. From an Illinois attorney I received the following:

"Today's radio news told about a speech you made . . . in which you expressed views that the Supreme Court has gone much too far and has in effect encouraged crime. I want to commend you for this position."

25. From another Illinois lawyer:

"Our law enforcement agencies are today arresting thousands of dangerous criminals and bringing them before our courts, only to find these criminals turned back into the streets with complete disregard for the welfare of the rest of us.

"The breakdown in our battle against crime has come from our courts, and parole boards which have been infiltrated by persons who are either incompetent, corrupt or lacking in ability to understand that the major function of imprisonment for the criminal is not to punish him, is not to rehabilitate him, but to protect society from him."

26. From a State's Attorney in Illinois:

"I pass this on to you as an area that I see that the Miranda decision hampers tremendously, and this area of child abuse is becoming such a critical problem."

27. From another Illinois State's Attorney:

"I would say that the general feeling among these law enforcement people is that the Miranda decision and decisions of this nature have removed one of their most valuable tools in law enforcement investigation, and has substantially impaired their ability to be of service to the public at large."

28. From a Virginia sheriff I received the following:

"This Miranda decision has put the handcuffs on the policeman instead of the prisoner."

29. From a Virginia Chief of Police:

"I commend you for efforts to restore the confession as a tool of law enforcement and of justice.

"I have been an officer for thirty years, believe the current court rulings will contribute to a greatly increased crime rate despite expanded enforcement activities with greatly increased operating costs."

30. From another Virginia Chief of Police:

"It is indeed gratifying to learn that you have introduced legislation with respect to the admissibility in evidence of confessions."

31. This came from a Virginia citizen:

"Support your anti-crime bill to override some of the fantastic Supreme Court decisions which are protecting the criminal."

32. From a Virginia citizen:

"I fully agree with your committee's attempts in trying to deal with the problem of lawlessness and it's support by the Supreme Court."

33. This excerpt is from a letter from a Virginia circuit judge:

"I firmly believe that the *Miranda* case and others have placed too many safeguards around the criminals to the point that innocent people are no longer properly protected."

34. From another Virginia Chief of Police:

"I trust the legislation designed by your committee to restore the rule of reason in the admissibility of voluntary confessions will soon be adopted. This Miranda decision has put the handcuffs on the policeman instead of the prisoner."

35. This is a letter from a Virginia railway executive:

"I was very pleased to learn that some of our Senators and Representatives are concerned about the U.S. Supreme Court through technicalities freeing many hardened criminals and the effects of the *Miranda* decision upon Law Enforcement.

"The Miranda decision as well as others handed down by the Supreme Court have definitely had adverse affect on all law enforcement officers in fulfilling their responsibility. Through our association with local police executives, we also know these decisions have made it extremely difficult for them to recruit competent personnel to fill the ever increasing vacancies. A large percentage of these vacancies are brought about by people leaving the profession as they feel they have been shackled by the various Court decisions in the last few years, which makes it almost impossible for them to effectively enforce the laws."

36. From another Virginia sheriff, a member of the State Sheriff's Association:

"We feel strongly that the wiretapping, confessions and criminal procedure are a vital part of this bill."

37. From a Virginia Chief of Police:

"This decision has handcuffed Police Officers throughout the U.S. in fulfilling their obligations to the citizens in protecting their property, rights and person against lawlessness which has become the number one topic in society today."

38. From a Pennsylvania Chief of Police:

"As the Chief of Police of a small department, I have found that the *Miranda* decision has hampered our investigations seriously."

39. From another Pennsylvania Chief of Police:

"I agree with you and all of your policies, take the shackle off the police and let them perform their duties, to reduce the country's criminal population."

40. From a Philadelphia executive:

"The dedicated men and women of our police forces have been rapidly demoralized and disarmed by the Supreme Court decisions of recent years."

41. From a Pennsylvania Chief of Police:

"The recent Supreme Court decisions favoring the criminals at the expense of our citizens is shameful."

"I never arrested, or tried to convict an innocent man. Today I fear making an arrest because of the loopholes expressly put into the law by the courts to aid a criminal to avoid paying the penalty for his misdeeds."

42. From a Philadelphia citizen:

"Please be assured that I am in favor of amending Title 18, U.S.C. with respect to the admissibility in evidence of confessions."

43. From a Pennsylvania Police Chiefs Association:

"We agree wholeheartedly with your efforts to enact legislation as proposed in your Senate Bill 674." [Title II of S. 917].

44. From a Pennsylvania judge:

"It is my opinion that a voluntary confession and the information gathered by police as a result of a voluntary confession should be admitted in evidence in the trial of a case.

"I think I have the right to say that I believe that these decisions are based upon some rather fuzzy, mental, sob-sister gymnastics. I am very much interested in the rights of the individual, but I am also interested in the rights of society generally."

45. From a Pennsylvania Chief of Police:

"The psychological approach to some kind of utopian society which seems to be within the purview of the Supreme Court tomes and may seem ideal, nevertheless, lost sight completely of the practical approach to the ceaseless and never-ending conflict that always exists between crime and law and order."

46. From a New Jersey Chief of Police:

"I want to go on record against the deplorable conditions created by the *Miranda* decision and its adverse effect on responsible law enforcement.

"There is no question that the Miranda decision is responsible for criminals being returned to society to prey again on the community without fear of paying their rightful debt for their criminal acts.

"Morale, which is the crux of good law enforcement efforts, is dwindling as a direct result of the *Miranda* decision."

47. From a department store security manager in New Jersey:

"As a retail security executive and a member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, I am in complete agreement with your remarks and support your bill."

48. From a New Jersey Police Chiefs Association:

"We greatly respect all laws of our country but feel that recent Supreme Court decisions have adversely affected the ability of local law enforcement agencies to fulfill their responsibilities, to the greatest degree possible."

49. From a New Jersey Chief of Police:

"I cannot express too emphatically the disastrous effect that recent decisions have had upon the morale of the police."

50. From another New Jersey chief of police:

"The most recent decisions have placed a severe hardship on the local enforcement officer and his supporting taxpayers.

"We do feel very strongly that the Supreme Court has overstepped its bounds, especially in the *Miranda* et al case."

51. From another New Jersey Chief of Police: (re *Miranda*)

"As a result of this decision we are having increasing difficulty, and we feel that there is a need for Congress to examine and modify the laws of arrest and search and seizure so that public interests may better be served by the Police."

52. From a member of a New Jersey Police Chiefs association:

"We whole-heartedly support your campaign in which illogical, short-sighted decisions reflect an unjustified and unprecedented concern for the law breaker.

"These decisions and rulings have handcuffed law enforcement agencies by requiring impossible procedures which will insure the release of the guilty to the detriment of the law-abiding people."

53. From another New Jersey Chief of Police:

"I am in full accord with your endeavors in introducing S. 674 [title II of S. 917], which is a bill to amend Title 18, U.S. Code, with respect to the admissibility in evidence of confessions."

54. From a New Jersey executive:

"I regard with dismay recent and not so recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions which prevent law enforcement agencies from protecting us from the murderer, rapist, robber and knife wielder.

"Please, do your best to nullify these bad U.S. Supreme Court decisions and as a member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, I can vouch that we are 100% behind you."

55. From a New Jersey citizen:

"Each year the U.S. Supreme Court makes it harder and harder for our police and local courts, and easier for the criminals. As a result crime has been increasing at an alarming rate. The public, the press and radio keep protesting this high crime, but no one seems to pay attention to us."

56. From a New Jersey housewife:

"The investigations your Criminal Laws Subcommittee is making into the effect the Supreme Court's recent decision to disregard voluntary confessions by suspects is having on the administration of justice, you have my wholehearted support."

57. From a New Jersey Chief of Police:

"It appears in my opinion as a law officer for the past twenty-six years that the Supreme Court has read into the constitution in their majority decisions, opinions that were never meant to be, more recently in the *Miranda* decision."

58. From a New Jersey detective:

"I strongly urge the passage of Senate Bill No. 674 [title II of S. 917] amending Title 18 of the U.S.C. with respect to the admissibility of confessions. It has been my experience since the pronouncement in the *Miranda* case by the United States Supreme Court, the work of this office has met with considerable difficulty in the investigation endeavors of the personnel."

59. From a district judge in Kansas:

"Some of the recent Supreme Court decisions have weighted the scales too heavily in favor of the criminal and against the public."

60. From a Kansas Chief of Police:

"It is my opinion that the recent Supreme Court rulings have had an overly sharp, adverse effect in our efforts to clear felony cases, charge subjects implicated in such cases and to convict them in our courts after they have been charged.

"We have noted a marked decline in the area of interrogation of suspects of felony cases.

"In our preliminary court we find we are getting repeated dismissals of cases upon grounds that would indicate decisions far beyond the mandate of our Supreme Court and its new rulings.

"There is no question that the rulings have curtailed the efforts of all police officers in their efforts against crime to a very great degree."

61. From an Idaho housewife:

"Some of these decisions have almost wrecked our country, and have been the means of turning vicious criminals free to prey on society."

62. From the American Farm Bureau Federation:

"S. 674, [title I, S. 917] providing that a confession given voluntarily and without coercion shall be admissible, appears to us to be the most important of these bills. Society needs further protection from the adverse effects of recent Supreme Court rulings which have freed self-confessed criminals because of some technical inadequacy of the procedures used. The test of admissibility should be, as provided in S. 674 [title II, S. 917], whether or not the confession was in fact, in the light of all circumstances, voluntary or not voluntary."

63. From a Washington, D.C. Political Study Club:

"We deplore the Rulings of the Supreme Court, and trust that the finished Bill will this time be acceptable to the President."

64. From a doctor at Saint Elizabeth's:

"Those of us who have been at this business for a number of years are convinced beyond any question that Court opinions can and do influence the thinking and behavior of some of the criminals in the District of Columbia."

65. From two Louisiana judges:

"We wish to join other Judges, District Attorneys, Law Enforcement Officers and Law Abiding Citizens in expressing our disapproval of the *Mapp, Gideon, Escobedo, Miranda* and other recent Supreme Court decisions destroying our criminal laws."

66. From the Louisiana Department of Public Safety:

"Law enforcement agencies join you and the other Senators and Representatives in your concern with regard to recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions which are adversely affecting the ability of those agencies to fulfill their responsibilities."

67. From a Tennessee Police Commissioner:

"We urgently need support, and new laws of search and seizure, and something definite on defining rules on confessions, and the admissibility of confessions. This is also true on interrogations."

68. From a Tennessee Chief of Police:

"As Chief of Police, I should like to express our sincere appreciation for your introduction of Senate Bill 674 [title II, S. 917] and to assure you of our support of any legislation designed to free Law Enforcement from the shackles of recent Supreme Court decisions."

69. From an officer in the Colorado State Highway Patrol:

"In recent years the law enforcement profession has been confronted with problems stemming from decisions handed down by all court jurisdictions from the lowest to the highest, but no case decision has had such a pronounced effect as the recent decisions handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Miranda* and *Escobedo* cases, along with other case decisions based upon the same general conceptions.

"Although the decisions in question here were handed down in crimes classified as felonies, the effects of these decisions are permeating the entire gamut of law enforcement from simple misdemeanors to murder."

70. From the National Sheriff's Association:

"In recent years the various trial courts throughout the nation have been hampered in the trial of criminal cases as the result of Supreme Court decisions, both State and Federal, wherein the admissibility of a criminal's confession of having committed an alleged crime has all but been outlawed."

71. From a Wyoming Chief of Police:

"I wish to commend you in your efforts to restore some logic in the handling of statements taken from defendants and evidence obtained during investigation through interrogation."

72. From a New Mexico Chief of Police:

"I am convinced that recent United States Supreme Court decisions have put a burden on police in the nation and have affected every law abiding citizen of this country."

73. From an Oklahoma Chief of Police:

"The Court has confused the understandable desire of the framers of the Constitution to escape oppression at the hands of a foreign king with the right of a housewife to escape assault in the parking lot of a supermarket."

74. From a West Virginia police officer:

"The plight of the law enforcement officer whose duty it is to protect life and property is becoming more and more difficult. The law enforcement effectiveness is being curtailed by some recent U.S. Supreme Court rulings.

"The citizens in many parts of the United States are now paying because of some of the recent Supreme Court rulings that seem to serve the purpose of throwing protection around the criminal."

75. From an Iowa Chief of Police:

"In a series of rulings during the past nine years, the Supreme Court has handed down increasingly unreasonable decrees on police procedure. The trend has been toward strengthening the rights of the accused, and limiting the powers of law enforcement."

76. From a North Carolina Chief of Police:

"I am sure that I only speak the sentiment of all law enforcement officers that we appreciate your and Senator Ervin's efforts to assist law enforcement officers to do their job. Recent Supreme Court decisions have handicapped us to some extent and the situation certainly needs clarifying."

77. From another North Carolina Chief of Police:

"As one who has been in law enforcement work for seventeen years, I wish to protest the U.S. Supreme Court decisions affecting local law enforcement.

"The *Miranda* decision has practically paralyzed the Police Departments efforts to make an honest investigation and is an insult to American intelligence."

78. From a Connecticut Captain of Police:

"As Captain of Detectives and a veteran police officer, it is my opinion that certain decisions made by the Supreme Court have given the criminal an unwarranted 'Supreme Court Robe of Protection.'"

"Unless a perpetrator is apprehended in the commission of a crime, it is almost impossible to convict him because of the *Mapp* and *Miranda* decisions."

79. From another Connecticut Chief of Police:

"It is with a deep feeling of respect and admiration for you that I ask that you do everything within your power to have S. 674 [title II, S. 917] (passed).

"All police departments are having a very difficult time in recruiting men to the departments and it is all due to the decisions which have been handed down by the Supreme Court."

80. From a Maryland State's Attorney: (Charles Moylan, Baltimore)

"The very best recollection of our existing staff of Assistant State's Attorneys would indicate that at least 72 indictments have been adversely affected by *Miranda*. 64 of those indictments are now closed, with the State either entering a stet or a nolle prosequi in the case because of insufficient evidence with a confession rendered inadmissible by *Miranda* or a verdict of not guilty being entered against the State with the inadmissibility of a confession being a very significant factor in that verdict. 8 other indictments are still open, but the Assistant State's Attorney assigned to the case has indicated to me that because of Miranda there is no hope whatsoever of the State winning the case."

81. From a Maryland judge:

"However, in addition to supporting legislation which would make reasonable modifications to the Miranda Ruling of the Supreme Court, I reiterate that Congress should enact legislation limiting the present practice of the Federal Courts in acting as Appellate Courts of State Courts."

82. From the Maryland Chiefs of Police Association:

"The Maryland Chiefs of Police Association would like to go on record supporting S. 674 [title II, S. 917]. We feel very strongly in support of any legislation lessening the restrictions placed upon law enforcement officers in ther efforts to perform their duties within the framework of the Constitution."

83. From a Maryland police officer:

"I cannot help but wonder, however, at the necessity of some decisions, particularly where there has been a close division in opinion on the part of Justices when such decisions obviously favor the rights of an individual over the seemingly more important rights of society, particularly with respect to the protection of society against the actions of criminal and subversive elements."

84. From an Ohio Chief of Police:

"It seems to me that the Supreme Court has worried too much about the criminal's rights and has forgotten that there are quite a few million honest people in this great country that have rights, too, against lawlessness and crime."

85. From an Ohio Director of Police:

"*Miranda* has produced two definite problems in law enforcement. In the first instance, the day of the suspect admitting his criminal action is almost gone.

"The detectives feel that the *Miranda* decision definitely caused lack of prosecution in 128 cases.

"Miranda has hurt in a second instance as to the clearing of complaints. Prior to this decision, we could question a suspect as to related offenses, thus clearing more complaints. Today we are fortunate to clear one offense with the reflecting decrease in Part I crimes cleared."

86. From an Ohio citizen:

"I hope your bills pass that will 'counteract' some of the recent Supreme Court decisions that favor criminals over the public."

87. From an Ohio Chief of Police:

"The Miranda decision is a great deterrent to effective law enforcement. I feel that the law-abiding citizens of our great country should be able to expect and receive better protection from those who commit crimes than the Miranda decision permits."

88. From another Ohio Chief of Police:

"My honest feeling is that we are going overboard to protect the criminal in recent decisions and it is about time to protect the honest and law abiding citizen. It is about time the cases were tried on the merits of the cases instead of technicalities."

89. From another Ohio Police Chief:

"With respect to your proposed legislation S. 674 [title II, S. 917], I would like to offer the support of our small municipal police agency.

"The resultant theory to the recent Escobedo, Miranda, Mapp and other Supreme Court decisions, that police investigations must rest basically upon scientific evidence is, in my opinion, a gross injustice to the law abiding American citizen. It is unreasonable to believe that the majority of law enforcement agencies can equip, train, or hire personnel so as to conduct criminal investigations with the same professional approach as that of the Federal Agencies or the large metropolitan departments."

90. From an Ohio Police Chief:

"I join with you in expressing dismay at the recent Supreme Court decisions which are adversely affecting the ability of law enforcement agencies to fulfill their responsibilities. In our own Department (66 men) we have had several cases wherein we were forced to release a guilty person because of the fact that he refused to sign the so-called 'Miranda Waiver'. Cases such as these do much to undermine the morale of members of the Police Department."

91. From a Wisconsin Police Chief:

"I wish to take this opportunity to express my views and objections to the problems fostered on the police by the Supreme Court decisions in the Escobedo and Miranda decisions.

"We have experienced a great deal of difficulty in clearing cases involving criminals with previous records. These persons, when apprehended, are hiding behind their so called rights and refuse to answer questions, consequently only cases with physical evidence and witnesses are being cleared. We are not having any problems with the first offenders. These persons willingly waive their rights and confess to their crimes."

92. From a Wisconsin Police Chief:

"As a representative of law enforcement, I strongly support a change in the law regarding the admissibility of confessions. The quagmire produced by recent court decisions is affecting police operations because of the lack of operational guidelines."

93. From a Wisconsin Sheriff:

In regard to the Supreme Court's Miranda decision Title 18 U.S.C., your amendment S. 674 [Title II, S. 917], would be greatly appreciated by all of us who are trying to keep the protection of honest people."

94. From a Wisconsin Police Chief:

"I heartily endorse any legislation that will lift some of the burdensome restrictions brought about by the Miranda decision.

"The full impact of this decision cannot be adequately assessed by merely comparing the number of confessions obtained before and after the decision was rendered. A more realistic picture is presented when one considers the following:

"Witnesses and other people with pertinent information are now reluctant to cooperate with investigators, especially after the required warnings are recited."

"I honestly feel that unless some of the restrictions on questioning suspects prior to arrest are removed, crime figures will soar and conviction rates will drop."

95. From a Wisconsin police chief:

"My purpose in corresponding with you is to commend you for your concern relative to recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions that have literally handcuffed professional and dedicated law enforcement personnel. Recent decisions involving Miranda and Escobedo have certainly tipped the scales of justice directly in favor of the criminal element."

96. From a Michigan city official:

"We appreciate your efforts relative to the U.S. Supreme Court decisions affecting Local Law Enforcement and give your Senate Bill S. 674 [title II, S. 917] our wholehearted support."

97. From a Michigan chief of police:

"Even in our small communities, Law Enforcement is feeling the confusing affects of recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions."

98. From a Michigan citizen:

"Attached hereto is a petition from residents of my community. I am hoping that in some small way I am furnishing you with some ammunition to fight against the Supreme Court and their very unpopular rulings which affect the protection of our families from criminals that are being released."

99. From a Michigan police chief:

"I am very pleased, and in accord with your dismay in regard to the U.S. Supreme Court decisions of late. That this affects the ability of local law enforcement is certainly very disturbing. In the relatively short time that these decisions have been in effect, they have had adverse effects on even the very smallest police agency.

"Many of our laws refer to 'reasonable and prudent person', but it certainly appears that some of the most recent decisions of the Supreme Court have disregarded reason."

100. From a Michigan chief of police:

"In common with many other law enforcement officials, I am delighted that you have introduced legislation to amend Title 18, U.S.C. with respect to the admissibility in evidence of confessions.

"The Miranda decision has placed an almost intolerable burden on law enforcement personnel, and has made the efficient discharge of our duty toward society most difficult.

"The ultimate loser in all the situations whereby conviction is made impossible is society itself."

101. From the Dallas Crime Commission:

"Dallas Crime Commission believes critical crime situation resulted from Supreme Court decisions such as Miranda."

102. From a Texas citizen comes this wire:

"As a J.P. in this west Texas community of 10,000, I meet head on constantly with the damaging affectations of the Miranda case. If some change is not made soon, enforcement will be at a standstill."

103. From a Houston lawyer: (Member of the President's Crime Commission Leon Jaworski)

"As a member of the President's Crime Commission, I joined in the filing of an addendum to the report in which several of my fellow commissioners and I pointed out the adverse effects of *Miranda* on law enforcement and the need for remedial action."

104. From a Texas chief of police:

"The number of offenses and property losses have constantly increased,. since the advent of the Supreme Court Rulings and the restrictive measures passed by our Texas legislature, based upon those rulings. In contrast, the percentage of cases solved and property recovered has consistently declined."

105. From a Representative of Florida:

"Your recommendations to the Senate in connection with the recent decisions of our Supreme Court are commendable. I hope that Congress can and will find the solutions to reverse the trend of our High Court."

106. From a Florida housewife:

"I am taking the liberty of writing to express my concern over the ruling of the Supreme Court in connection with releasing self-confessed criminals, citing in particular the New York article regarding the release of Jose Suarez who admitted killing his wife and 5 children, though there have been many news items in the past several months of similar cases."

107. From a Florida chief of police:

"As a member of the Law Enforcement profession, with almost forty years experience in this field, I am truly amazed by the decisions in the above cases (Mapp, Mallory, Miranda, Escobedo) along with others that have handcuffed police throughout our nation."

108. Another Florida chief of police writes:

"We, in law enforcement, feel that the time has come when we must speak out on the subject of too much protection for the 'rights of the criminal' and not enough for society."

"It has gotten to the point where court trials have receded to where the only questions that are argued are the ones on admissibility of evidence. The actual fact of guilty or innocent does not enter the case. The police officers, testifying often suffer more harrassment than the person being tried."

109. From a former Attorney General in Arkansas:

"Since the *Escobedo* decision and others wherein the United States Supreme Court has either modified or completely overruled its previous decisions, the law is in a state of considerable confusion and uncertainty, and apparently will remain so if left entirely to the Court."

110. From a Rhode Island detective:

"The recent Supreme Court decisions not only hamper police with investigations, but it has dealt a serious blow to the morale of police across the country. The Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution is certainly misconstrued as it not only allows criminals to escape punishment; it allows them to remain a threat to free society."

111. From a Rhode Island Chief of Police:

"I am in complete favor with the provisions of S. 674 (title II, S. 917).

"In their zeal to protect a defendant's constitutional guarantees in accordance with their measure of these rules, justices, particularly in the lowest municipal courts, are handing down decisions that are virtually crippling the traditional investigative procedures of the police."

112. From a Massachusetts chief of police:

"I whole-heartedly endorse your legislative bill S. 674 (title II, S. 917) . . .

"Since the *Ohio* v. *Mapp*, *Escobedo* v. *Illinois* and *Arizona* v. *Miranda* decisions, this Department has lost some of its cases in Court due to these decisions."

113. From a Massachusetts chief of police:

"We are all very disturbed about the many recent one-man decisions made by the Supreme Court of this country."

114. From a Massachusetts police chief:

"With respect to recent United States Supreme Court decisions which are adversely affecting the ability of local law enforcement agencies to fulfill their responsibilities, it is my judgment that in this total protection and insurance of a defendant's 'rights' as required by these decisions, we are forgetting and neglecting the rights of an innocent victim, and his constitutional rights also as a citizen."

115. From a Massachusetts police chief:

"It is gratifying to know that someone knows about the problems of Law Enforcement Agencies and is doing something about it. You are to be congratulated for your stand in reference to the recent U.S. Supreme Court one-man majority decisions.

"I do find from my own personal experience, as a law enforcement officer, that many cases have been lost in court as the result of these decisions and that some cases did not even reach the court because the police were unable to interrogate the suspect."

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 16913) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, are there further requests for time?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I am delighted to yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I wish to ask a few questions.

It is my understanding that the amount that was included by the Committee on Appropriations is designed primarily for soil conservation purposes. Is that correct?

Mr. HOLLAND. The Senator is correct; in pursuance of the ACP program. There is a reduction from $220 million, which has been the amount for 10 or 20 years, to $195 million, which was the amount left this year after the reduction under Public Law 90–218, adopted last fall and it was generally acceptable.

Some would like to have the $220 million but we were looking for places to cut and this was one place.

Mr. DOMINICK. I congratulate the Senator from Florida. I think this is one of the most essential programs we have. Unless we keep up the soil conservation practice in this country we could find ourselves in bad shape agriculturally, such as other countries have found themselves in.

This, of course, is one of our strong points in our ability to produce, not only domestically, but overseas. So I congratulate the Senator from Florida. I am happy to support him.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the distinguished Senator from Colorado.

Mr. President, unless I have further requests for time, I shall be glad to yield back such time as I have remaining.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I should like to be yielded some time.

Mr. HOLLAND. I will gladly yield time to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. I may not be on the Senator's side.

Mr. HOLLAND. That is all right. I am glad to have Senators express their views.

Mr. CURTIS. I am a strong supporter of soil conservation. But I think the erosion of the dollar is worse than the erosion of the soil.

As I understand this particular item, it does not, in the main, go to the personnel. Perhaps a little of it does. But there is another item in the bill which does not affect soil conservation districts per se, nor small watersheds.

Mr. HOLLAND. If the Senator will yield, this provision applies, in the main, to the individual farmer. It would meet the limitation of $2,500. Payments may not exceed $2,500 to any one farmer.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes. The reason I should like very much to stay with the committee is that I have voted for cuts in expenditures. But I have got to vote for some things that affect my area, things in which I am very much interested. Any cut we make, anywhere, will be hard and disappointing.

The landowner can avail himself of a provision of the Internal Revenue Code, that I sponsored, which permits him to spend his own money for soil conservation and treat it as a business deduction.

One of my reasons for proposing that provision, at the time it became law—and I worked on it for a number of years—was that it was not only right, just, and in line with the taxing of business, but that it would also get away from paying the farmer to improve his own property.

I find myself very much in sympathy with everything that has been said in favor of the committee position. But I come back to the point that these expenditures are fixed and are long range. In the last dozen years, a hundred new programs have been started, costing $350 million in the first year.

In the 1969 budget, it will be over $15 billion. The budget submitted to us for 1969 is not an austerity program. It calls for eight or 10 new programs which will grow and grow and grow. On the long-range commitments we have to keep faith with them. We cannot refuse to pay the national debt. We have got to win the war. We cannot default on veterans' pensions. There are so few places we can cut because of the long-range effect of what we would do.

Again, I say, I do not want a word that I have said to be termed critical of the committee or anyone who has spoken on behalf of it. I am almost persuaded to be with it but in the last few months, I am a little bit more concerned about the erosion of the dollar than I am concerned over additional soil erosion which may come about if, for a while, we reduce the amount of payments direct to the farmers for saving their own land.

I say this as a representative of one of the most conservation-minded States in the Union.

I do not like to do it, but I shall support the amendment.

Mr. HOLLAND. Since the Senator from Nebraska was not on the floor when it was discussed, I want him to know that the committee has reduced——

Mr. CURTIS. I was here.

Mr. HOLLAND (continuing). The total of the budget by $1,387 million and that while, as the Senator from Delaware has properly said, perhaps part of that is due to the failure to reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation, there is between $300 and $400 million of that which is an actual cash reduction, so that if other bills are reduced in proportion, we will be able to reach the level we are talking about. Of course this is not one of the larger bills. I want the Senator to know, as I indicated a while ago——

Mr. CURTIS. I understand.

Mr. HOLLAND (continuing). That I want him to do what his conscience dictates. Here is a cost-sharing program under which the farmer does not call upon the Federal Government to put Federal money into his land without his cooperation. He has to match it——

Mr. CURTIS. I understand.

Mr. HOLLAND (continuing). And only

for approved practices that very clearly preserve and enrich the fertility of the soil.

Mr. CURTIS. And the value.

Mr. HOLLAND. In my judgment, the committee has gone about as far as it can go in reducing the program from the $220 million level, at which it has been every year since the Senator has been a Member of the Senate—to $195.5 million. I think that is coming to grips with the problem. Again I say, I want the Senator to vote as his conscience dictates.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has now been yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Delaware. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered; and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Inouye], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. McIntyre], are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Anderson], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Mondale], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Talmadge], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Tydings] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris] would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster] is paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin]. If present and voting, the Senator from Maryland would vote "yea," and the Senator from North Carolina would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] is paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings]. If present and voting, the Senator from Oregon would vote "yea," and the Senator from South Carolina would vote "nay."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senators from Vermont [Mr. Aiken and Mr. Prouty], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. Bennett], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 16, nays 47, as follows:

[No. 170 Leg.]

YEAS—16

Baker
Boggs
Case
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Griffin
Hansen
Hartke
Hickenlooper
Javits
Pastore
Pell
Percy
Proxmire
Williams, Del.

NAYS—47

Allott
Bartlett
Bayh
Bible
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Clark
Cooper
Dominick
Ellender
Fulbright
Gore
Gruening
Hart
Hatfield
Hill
Holland
Jackson
Jordan, N.C.
Jordan, Idaho
Mansfield
McClellan
Metcalf
Miller
Monroney
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Nelson
Pearson
Randolph
Ribicoff
Russell
Scott
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, N Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—37

Aiken
Anderson
Bennett
Brewster
Brooke
Carlson
Church
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Harris
Hayden
Hollings
Hruska
Inouye
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Prouty
Smathers
Talmadge
Tydings

So the amendment of Mr. Williams of Delaware was rejected.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I want to address an inquiry to the chairman of the subcommittee.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield the remaining 2 minutes I have to myself.

Mr. STENNIS. I call attention to the item "Flood Prevention," which is covered in the report on page 12, and point out that the House figure is greater than the budget recommendation, but the Senate figure is $2.5 million under the House increase.

I want to point out that this is a highly important item. The so-called watershed projects have been very successful. I know they apply in California and Mississippi, and I think they apply in the State of Georgia, as well as others.

I am not going to offer an amendment, but I know the chairman thinks this is an important item. My request is that, as to the difference between the Senate figure and the House figure, the chairman will consider this matter in conference in the light of what may develop there, as well as any other meritorious information that may be submitted. I know he is in sympathy with the projects.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, in reply, I certainly am in sympathy with the watershed projects. The budget figure was $12.395 million. The House applied $20 million. Our committee recommended $17.5 million, this being more than $5 million over the budget amount, and one of the few items where we have gone over the budget. We did not do this until we discovered that there was a $6 million carryover. We think that the program is well funded, but I will be glad to consider any matter in conference that the Senator is concerned with and will do what I can to bring about what I think is a sound result.

I am sure that other members of the conference committee will take the same position.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the chairman, I know he is not adamant on this matter, but will have an open mind on any facts in connection with it.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 19, it is proposed to strike out everything beginning on line 16 through line 4 on page 20.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The provision sought to be stricken is the provision which relates to the use of section 32 funds, or at least the restriction on their use which is contained in the appropriation bill. The language sought to be stricken reads as follows:

> No funds available under section 32 of the Act of August 24, 1935 (7 U.S.C. 612c) shall be used for any purpose other than commodity program expenses as authorized therein, and other related operating expenses, except for (1) transfers to the Department of the Interior as authorized by the Fish and Wildlife Act of August 8, 1956, (2) transfers otherwise provided in this Act, and (3) not more than $2,950,000 for formulation and administration of marketing agreements and orders pursuant to the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, and the Agricultural Act of 1961.

The reason why I have moved to strike this language is the present very strong controversy going on between the Secretary of Agriculture and many of us, who are deeply concerned with the problem of starvation, or malnutrition equivalent to starvation, in the United States.

It will be remembered that the record of the Senate on this issue is very good. The Senate took up the bill of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], passed it, and has done its utmost to bring about action by the House of Representatives on the bill, without success. That is a distressing thing to say; nevertheless it is true.

Then along comes a film produced by the Columbia Broadcasting System, purporting to show in a most heart-rending fashion, the situation of starving people in our own country, including children and babies. Indeed, I am informed by many Senators, and it has been said publicly, including statements made at a hearing as recently as this morning, that they have never received an amount of mail on any issue equal to the mail they are receiving on the question of starvation in the United States.

When the Secretary of Agriculture is pressed upon this matter—and he has gotten into quite a controversy with CBS and others who have made strong statements about the subject—this is what he says. I now read from his testimony given before the Committee on Education and Labor in the House of Representatives just a very few days ago, on May 22, 1968. Chairman PERKINS asked him:

> What amendments would you suggest, Mr. Secretary?

That is in trying to find some way of introducing the ability of the Secretary to deal with this subject in a flexible and selective way.

The Secretary said, as recorded at page 210 of the hearings:

> The one that seems to be at issue here, and was all morning more than any other point was the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture on section 32. I would welcome, as I said this morning, action by the Congress that would say that those funds can be used for any food programs at the discretion of the Secretary, to wit: the school lunch and the food stamp programs in addition to the direction programs, regardless of whether it involves surplus commodities or not.

What the Secretary, in effect, is saying, is that he is inhibited in his freedom of action in dealing selectively with conditions of starvation in the United States by this particular provision in the appropriations act, a provision, incidentally, which we have carried in appropriations acts before. I am a member of the Appropriations Committee, and I have never objected, because it never seemed to me that there was any real import to this provision, as I read the law, or at least that it was a doubtful question. But the Secretary makes this the one set piece that he says makes it absolutely impossible for him, because we have said so, to do the things that need to be done about hunger. I do not agree that the language so inhibits him, but will assume for purposes of discussion that it does. I would note that $227 million, according to my information, in these section 32 funds will be returned to the Treasury this year.

By way of explanation, we all know that section 32 funds are made up of 30 percent of the U.S. customs levies, and may be used for a wide variety of purposes, including feeding the poor. Incidentally, we have provided in this bill, in the special milk program and the school lunch program, authority to use section 32 funds. This is not at all unusual.

Another aspect of the matter, Mr. President, that is important, is that we have written, as a matter of law, into the Food Stamp Act a prohibition against utilizing any of these permanently appropriated section 32 funds. We have limited the food stamp program specifically to the amounts we have appropriated. That is contained in Public Law 90–91. It will be noted that the food stamp program is appropriated for the pending appropriation bill. My amendment would not change that.

The Secretary would not be able to use this money for food stamps, unless we changed the substantive law, which obviously we cannot do on an appropriation bill. But what he would be free to do would be to use it for commodities or cash transfers to all his other food assistance programs. He could use it to provide additional funds for school lunches, for example. The evidence indicates that a good many poor children cannot afford to pay whatever they have to pay to get these lunches. A woman testified this morning that she had seven children in school, and they had to pay 30 cents a day, which would be $2.10 a day, and she just could not pay it.

Therefore, we should seek to alleviate the situation now, until we may later reconsider our position on the food stamp program, by using section 32 funds to expand other programs, to wit, the direct distribution program, school lunches, the OEO emergency food programs, and other existing efforts or any new programs he might create. He could use these funds either to buy commodities for use in these programs, or he could transfer section 32 funds directly. The Secretary seeks to have Congress free his hands with respect to his construction of the law. I do not necessarily agree with it, but that is his construction of the law. That is one reason why we have had these terrible rows with the Secretary. We have asked, "Why cannot the bureaucracy somehow or other free itself so as to deal with the situation of starvation, or of such serious malnutrition as to amount to starvation?" His answer is, "My hands are tied by what Congress has written into appropriation bills"—I am trying to untie his hands with respect to this matter and accept his interpretation of the law, a law which apparently he feels is absolutely binding.

That is the issue, Mr. President. If we do untie his hands, it does not mean that he will spend all the $200 million, but it does mean that he will no longer have a reason—call it an excuse if you will; that is what it may be—for not applying it in a massive way to situations which seem to be causing so much pain and anguish to the country, which constitute a big factor in the agitation in Washington now, by the so-called Poor People's March, and which are producing such a violent reaction in terms of mail being sent to all Members of Congress.

As to the way in which the poor are dealt with in terms of food, it is well known, that the food stamp programs are local option programs in many counties. The Secretary cannot institute them over local objections.

There has also been, of course, a tremendous complaint that, in the case of commodity distribution, there is a very sharp limitation as to the kind of commodities which people get. That is very restrictive and harmful to any kind of a sound dietary practice.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself an additional 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in the case of food stamps, we have the problem that some people do not even have the minimal amount of money that is required to pay for food stamps. It might be as low as 50 cents. Still, they do not have even that much.

This is not an easy issue. We have the findings of the Citizens Committee on Hunger, which claims that roughly 300 counties in the hunger category, out of the poorest 1,000, have no program. We have the counter argument of the Secretary that if they do not have it now, they will have it by July 1.

It seemed to me that the only way in which I could see that we could try today to touch the focal point of the issue was by at least freeing the hands of the Secretary in respect of this pool of section 32 funds, so that he could at least deal with the direct situation of starvation and malnutrition where it exists until we could actually unravel this ball of wool in order to see what ought to be done and what ought not to be done in terms of substantive legislation.

I point out as the author of the amendment, and by way of legislative history, that we would expect it to be used only by the Secretary in cases of serious hunger or in cases of malnutrition such as to represent a serious peril to health.

I do not wish the manager of the bill to have any idea that this is some open ended authorization to the Secretary of Agriculture. And I am not even trying to argue the big issues which are involved in the food stamp plan, et cetera. But I am confining myself to a situation that is appalling to us, no matter what are ideological views—the fact that a Secretary of Agriculture in the United States, with a tremendous pool of funds available, claims that he cannot move into a situation as desperate as hunger and malnutrition equivalent to hunger. Therefore, I have made my effort in the best way I can define it—artistic or inartistic as it may be, and without necessarily agreeing with him on the law—to strike those shackles from his hands.

This thing has been going on for months. We had a terrific row with the Secretary of Agriculture. He got very angry at me, as some Senators may have seen on television, months ago.

Yet, in the intervening time, not enough progress has been made. The situation continues. He makes the same point that he made before when he got so angry at me—the fact that he cannot see his way under the law as being able to do what needs to be done, but which he says he cannot do, because his hands are tied by this provision.

I am a member of the committee. I could have brought this matter up on

Monday. However, unfortunately I could not be present on Monday.

In the meantime the arguments against it have burgeoned and boiled up in the last few days. The Secretary of Agriculture has been very put out at the broadcasting companies, and he had a press interview which has been placed on the front page of the newspapers. It is this situation that I am trying to contend with in the amendment.

I hope the manager of the bill will accept it as a good faith explanation. I was unable to be here on Monday to explain this to the committee.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I will yield first to the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG], and next to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL].

The Senator from Georgia was chairman and the Senator from North Dakota was ranking minority member of the subcommittee back in the years when the provision in the bill was first put into effect, in the fiscal year 1964 Appropriation Act. It has been carried every year since. It has been a salutary measure.

I want the Senate to have the background from these two great Senators.

I yield first to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I think it would be a serious mistake to use section 32 funds for any other purpose than that for which they are now being used. I refer to their use to help the producers of perishable commodities and the hungry people of the United States. I see no need to use these funds to increase the USDA payroll.

I do not know of any State that cannot afford to hire welfare directors. My own State does this. Every county in my State has a welfare director. Five-twelfths of the sales taxes collected are dedicated to welfare purposes. I assume every other State tries to take care of the poor people as we do.

I did not see that great film that the Senator talks about, but I did read the book, "Hunger, USA," on which it was based. And I never read a book as inaccurate as that book. For example, in my State the book lists eight counties as starvation counties.

I checked with welfare directors there. They said that there was no truth to it. Any hungry person can get food if he wants it.

I do not know of a county in the United States that cannot get surplus food or food stamps if they need them.

I will give some figures as to what is contained in the bill and what we are doing with section 32 funds under the Department of Agriculture appropriations to help poor people and schoolchildren.

In the bill there is contained $225 million for the food stamp program. For the school lunch program, there is $237,674,000. For the special milk program, there is $104 million. For the food distribution, there is an estimated amount of $168 million. The total amount is $734,674,000 as against $666,725,000 last year.

I do not know of a county in the United States, if they are able to present a case on behalf of their poor people and if the poor people are really in need of food, that cannot get it under the present system.

There never was a time when the Federal Government did more to help poor people than now.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the tabulation to which I referred.

There being no objection, the tabulation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

	Fiscal year 1968	Fiscal year 1969
Food stamp	$185,000,000	$225,000,000
School lunch	227,825,000	237,674,000
Special milk	104,000,000	104,000,000
Food distribution	[1] 149,900,000	[1] 168,000,000
Total	666,725,000	734,674,000

[1] Estimate.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield now such time as he may need to the Senator from Georgia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia is recognized.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I recall very well the insertion of the item in the fiscal year 1964 Agricultural Appropriation Act.

The item was placed in the bill because the committee wished to retain some semblance of congressional surveillance and control over spending in the executive branch.

Section 32 is a very loosely drawn section of the bill. In passing may I say that a great deal of the money is now being spent for the benefit of poor people in the purchase of surplus commodities for distribution to the school lunch program and to food programs in various counties of the States.

The item was inserted in the bill because the Department was proposing to use $285,000 of the section 32 funds for the administrative expenses of other agencies of the Department of Agriculture.

As I recall, it was the old Agricultural Marketing Service for which they wished to use the funds. Some of it was for the employment of personnel and for traveling expenses and per diem payments to a number of experts.

Mr. President, the item was put into the bill so the Senate committee as an agency of the Senate, and the House committee as an agency of the House of Representatives, might have surveillance of these funds. A great deal of money is involved. As I recall, some $700 million is allocated to this fund each year.

They do not always use all of it. Some of it goes back to the Treasury, and the idea of any money reverting to the Treasury is, of course, very painful to some people.

This provision should not be stricken without having some hearings as to the reasons for this action and the effect it will have on the overall program of the Department of Agriculture.

There is too much at issue here to strike this limitation on such a sketchy testimony as was afforded by the statement of the Senator from New York. With all deference to him, he does not go into nor consider its possible impact upon other programs of the Department of Agriculture.

These section 32 funds should not be used for administrative expenses throughout the Department, and if this provision is stricken from the bill, they can and will be used for this purpose.

I believe this matter should be the subject of committee hearings, before any such drastic action as proposed by the Senator from New York is taken.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to ask for the yeas and nays, by yielding momentarily?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I object strongly to this amendment, for several reasons.

The first reason I cite is that the distinguished Senator from New York, who offers this amendment on the floor, is a member of our subcommittee, is a member of our full committee, and did not attend the hearings when this matter was before the committee. Until this morning, he has not suggested anything be done along the line of this amendment. I do not believe that is playing quite fair with the other members of the committee, who have worked hard, who have attended the hearings, who have attended the markups. I do not believe that is the way to go about getting legislation.

The second point is this: This provision was placed in the bill long before I became chairman of the subcommittee. I was a member of the subcommittee. And it was done so because misuses of section 32 funds were being made and others were being suggested which the committee felt should not be made without having some kind of congressional supervision.

The particular feature that was suggested was the payment of per diem and mileage expenses to the amount, as I recall—and the clerk has just told me it also is his recollection—of approximately $285,000 that year, which they wanted to use in that way.

Mr. President, I do not believe that is the proper way for Federal money to be used. I do not believe it is a proper exercise of our own discretion, to allow that kind of practice or to allow a situation under which that kind of practice could result.

The next point to which I wish to call attention is the fact that the Senator makes his proposal at a very dangerous time. The Kennedy round reductions of tariff go into effect as of July 1. We do not know what the result will be by way of reduction of tariff receipts; and Senators know, of course, that the amount of section 32 funds in any one year depends upon the amount of tariff receipts, 30 percent of which is dedicated to this fund, which, in the first instance, is earmarked for use in preventing surpluses in highly perishable crops—fruits, vegetables, meats, poultry, and the like—from tearing down the value of the production which is needed by our country.

There is a limit upon how much can

be used in any one commodity. That limit has had to be approached 3 times since I have been a Member of the Senate—always for meat. I believe once it was for red meat, and twice for pork, or vice versa. Approximately $100 million a year had to be used to prevent surplus production of those important meats from tearing down the value of the rest of the meat which was needed by our Nation.

The fact is that this amendment, as it has been continued in this bill for the last 6 years, simply provides that except as authorized annually in this bill, and except for certain permanent transfers out of section 32, which we have agreed to by legislation—one for the aid of the fishery people and one for the formulation and administration of marketing agreements. We feel that marketing agreements, as applicable to perishable commodities, is one of the pieces of machinery allowed by law which should help to avert surpluses. So we have allowed by law the use of $2,950,000 for the administration and development of marketing agreements and orders.

We have allowed other sums which are mentioned in this bill, which have some relation to the general subject matter. We have allowed $104 million a year to be directed for the special school milk program. We have no objection to that continuing. Over the years, we have allowed $45 million a year for the school lunch program, and that is stepped up this year to $64,325,000.

We are not insensible to the thought that the school lunch program needs help. The surplus purchase program, as a matter of fact, has been one of the great contributors to the school lunch program. When commodities are taken off the market by a section 32 purchase, the first and dearest objective for the use of those commodities is their being placed into the school lunch program.

So we believe that the continuation of this program is wise and has proved necessary. It would be unwise to discontinue the program at the very time when we need to transfer, at the end of the year, all that is not really needed for section 32 purposes. This would be the most unwise time we could move to take this provision out of the law.

This provision insists upon the use of section 32 funds for approved section 32 purposes, as approved by Congress; and then the remainder of it, with the exception of a carryover of $300 million as provided for by law, goes into the general revenue fund each year.

Mr. President, we have not had as much use for section 32 funds in the last 2 or 3 years as we sometimes have had, because there have not been huge surpluses that were selling at a loss to people in the fields of perishable commodities, such as has sometimes existed in the past. Frankly, looking at the picture as it is now developing, I believe we will have more need for section 32 purchases this year than we have had for the last 2 or 3 years. When I look at the price of meat, when I look at the price of poultry, when I look at the price of some fruits and vegetables, I believe we will have real need for this provision.

I believe we have been careful and even generous in caring for other needs that are not strictly section 32 objectives, and I have mentioned some of them already.

I hope that we shall not disturb this salutary provision of the law, which has been carried forward for the last 6 years; or, if we seriously believe it should be disturbed, that we will make it the subject matter of proper hearings at the proper time in our committee, so that we can know what is happening, rather than have something simply thrown into the lap of the Senate on the floor of the Senate, at the time of consideration of the bill, by a member of the subcommittee, who is also a member of the full committee and who has never previously suggested that such a course would be followed.

The committees have, therefore, not had a chance to consider it. I hope the amendment will be rejected.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield.

Mr. ALLOTT. Do I understand there was no testimony before the committee on this amendment?

Mr. HOLLAND. If there is any testimony I have no recollection of it. There is much testimony in the hearings as to the use of the section 32 fund and our desire to continue that. We even showed a desire to enlarge the use of it for the school lunch program and we have been rather generous in allocating for it. We allocated $15 million this year for some research programs, as the Senator may recall. We do not want to be stingy in any way and this committee cannot be charged with being insensitive to the needs of the poor or insensitive to the needs of schoolchildren.

To the contrary, we have gone far beyond the action of the other body in those fields. My feeling is that this is a very meritorious provision, long continued in the bill, and this is the very worst time to discontinue it, when we need money to be saved, when we need congressional supervision of spending, and when we do not need to turn loose to a governmental official large sums as this might involve, as large as $230 million, for spending in any direction that the Secretary or his people may require.

Considering the fact that the tariff revenues will certainly go down beginning July 1, this is the worst time possible to suggest a depletion of section 32 funds.

I hope the amendment is rejected.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, Secretary Freeman told the House Committee on Education and Labor that section 32 of the Agriculture Act of 1935 prevented him from feeding the hungry. I do not think he is right, but if he is right, and he might be, let us take section 32 out of the way so that the hungry can be fed. I can think of no better time to do it than now, right after that extraordinary documentary film produced for television by CBS, entitled "Hunger in America," which incidentally will be shown in 15 minutes in the Senate auditorium in the New Senate Office Building, and again at 3 o'clock.

Hunger in America is beginning to get through to the American people, and it is high time it did. It is also high time that bureaucrats—and I exclude Mr. Freeman from that invidious description—were given a clear green light to feed the hungry.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point three editorials as follows: An editorial entitled "A Morsel for the Starving," published in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, an editorial entitled "Hunger in the Nation," published in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, and an editorial entitled "Inexcusable Hunger in America," published in the Philadelphia Inquirer.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Morsel for the Starving

More than 13 months have gone by since the first general disclosures of starvation in the Deep South and now the first trickle of funds to alleviate the condition is just beginning to flow out.

Aside from the shame of permitting starvation in the world's most affluent nation and the added shame of taking so long to do something about it, the prime realization required at the moment is that the present effort is nowhere near enough and must be substantially augmented by Congress this year.

After Congress last year amended the Economic Opportunity Act to provide $25 million this year and $50 million next for relief of those needing food, the Senate Appropriations Committee chopped the first-year allocation to $10 million. The first $5 million of that—for dispersal of food and medicine by the Office of Economic Opportunity in 256 counties in 21 states—is just now beginning to be paid out.

Of the remaining $5 million, about half will go into the food stamp program, which has lately run out of funds, and the remainder will go to a variety of programs, including some payments to families who cannot afford to buy the food stamps, no matter how great a bargain they are.

This has been a situation encountered by the poor all over the country, including Philadelphia, and should prompt a restudy of the program.

Not only are the programs skimpy, the information about starvation in America is rudimentary. At last year's Senate subcommittee hearings, it was revealed that no agency of the Government knew how extensive the condition was. Provision was then made in the Partnership for Health Act for a study to find out, but the Bureau of the Budget allocated no funds for it and no study has been started.

The conclusion must be: not only do we tolerate starvation, we don't want to know much about it.

Hunger in the Nation

The gap in the Federal Government's knowledge about the extensiveness of hunger and starvation in the United States has now been bridged—not by the Government, but by a private organization, the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition. It is one more chapter in our questionable record of dealing with this national problem.

Ten million people, at least—more than the total population of Belgium—are victims of hunger, the Citizens' Board found. Federal food programs cover only 5.4 million of the 9 million poor, and not the poorest of the poor, at that. The Citizens' group calls the surplus food and food stamp programs of the Department of Agriculture a failure, much of the blame resting with influential members of Congress who have prevented the programs from being effective. They recommend that emergency food programs and free food stamps based on income tax returns be handled by either the Department of Health, Education and Welfare or the Office of Economic Opportunity.

To a small degree, this is the direction in which government already has begun turning. The tiny trickle of emergency food funds that began to flow out of Washington last month—a good year after the first general disclosures of starvation and hunger—went out through the OEO. Except for the physical fact that food was being handled, there never has been any fundamental reason for the Department of Agriculture to administer the programs. They are, in fact, quite apart from the department's prime mission.

It is high time that the Federal Government seriously undertook to eliminate hunger in this affluent land. A proposal by Senator George McGovern for a special and searching inquiry by the U.S. Senate into all aspects of the programs now supposedly dealing with this problem certainly appears to merit immediate approval.

Inexcusable Hunger in America

The charge by a committee of private citizens that there is detailed and explicit evidence of chronic hunger of a "desperate" nature in many parts of the United States, but primarily in the South and Southwest, in spite of the vast abundance of this Nation's food production and largesse to the needy both at home and abroad, demands immediate attention from State and local agencies and the Federal Government.

A principal blame for this situation is fastened by the committee on misconceptions in the handling of Federal food programs administered by the Department of Agriculture and funded by Congress. The committee charges these are "designed and administered" to maximum agriculture income. All other objectives, it says, "always yield to this one."

About the actual existence of large scale suffering there seems little reason for doubt. The Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition has spent nine months studying the evidence and touring the country. It found 256 "hunger counties" in 20 States where a total of millions of people "must go without food for days each month." It describes the prevalence of hunger and malnutrition among the poor in such counties, particularly in Georgia and Mississippi, as "desperate and shocking."

It reported a second group of counties in other States, including eight in Pennsylvania, where a "serious hunger problem" exists primarily because food and welfare programs reach less than 25 percent of the poor.

More study may be needed to find a permanent remedy, but while people suffer, the inescapable immediate need is for corrective steps. Congress might well heed the Board's advice that Federal food programs be removed from the administration of the Agriculture Department. Responsible agencies in our own Commonwealth should forego the usual indignant denials and concentrate on eliminating the horrible conditions found by the Committee.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a transcript of the CBS program "Hunger In America," as broadcast over CBS Television on May 21, 1968.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Charles Kuralt. Hunger is hard to recognize in America. We know it in other places, like Asia and Africa. But these children, all of them, are Americans. And all of them are hungry.

Hunger is easy to recognize when it looks like this. This baby is dying of starvation. He was an American. Now he is dead.

(Announcement.)

Announcer. Here for CBS Reports is Charles Kuralt.

Kuralt. Food is the most basic of all human needs. Man can manage to live without shelter, without clothing, even without love. Poverty, unpleasant as it is, is bearable. But man can't remain alive without food.

America is the richest country in the world, in fact the richest country in history. We spend a colossal amount of money—one and a half billion dollars a year—to feed the rest of the world. But this spring a private agency, The Citizens Board of Inquiry, consisting of distinguished leaders in many fields, released an exhaustive report claiming that serious hunger exists in many places in the United States.

Out of a total population of 200 million, the report states, 30 million Americans are impoverished, with family income below $3,000 a year. Five million of these people are helped by two existing Federal Food Programs. Now a new figure must be added: Of the 30 million who are impoverished ten million Americans, whether or not they are reached by Federal aid, are hungry. That's just the arithmetic. Unfortunately, the problem is all too human.

CBS News has spent the last ten months investigating hunger in America. We selected four areas of the country to examine closely. Tonight we present our results.

San Antonio, Texas, is celebrating its 250th birthday with an international exposition, HemisFair '68. Thirty-two foreign countries with pavilions, restaurants, amusements and exhibits are helping San Antonio congratulate itself on its growth and progress. There is a skyride, a monorail, and, of course, the usual 600-foot tower with the revolving restaurant on top. Texas Governor John Connally says HemisFair has turned the downtown area "from slum to jewel box."

But the jewels don't glitter very brightly on the other side of town where 400,000 Mexican-Americans live, half the city's population. Most of them are crowded into what city officials refer to as "poverty tracks." Mexican-Americans face a language barrier, and like most poor people, they suffer from lack of skills and unemployment. A hard time earning means a hard time eating. A quarter of San Antonio's Mexican-Americans, 100,000 people, are hungry all the time.

CBS News Correspondent David Culhane found out how hungry from a woman with six children and an unemployed husband.

Culhane. Do you have any food in the house now?

Mrs. Medrano. No, sir. I haven't got anything.

Culhane. What do you tell your children when they come home and there is no food?

Mrs. Medrano. That we haven't got anything to eat and they just have to lay down like that until the next day and see if we can find something to eat.

Culhane. And that's it?

Mrs. Medrano. Yes, sir. They just come in and drink some water and go to bed.

Kuralt. Father Ralph Ruiz, a Catholic priest, lives and works with the poorest of San Antonio's Mexican-Americans. He is a missionary among his own people. Father Ruiz gives out food as often as he does Communion. Prayer, Father Ruiz knows, is not what a man wants when his stomach is empty.

Ruiz. Many people expect to see hunger in the faces of children or of other people. Hunger is felt and when you begin to see hunger in the faces of people, it is because they no longer feel that hunger. I've asked them, "Are you hungry? How are you doing?" "No, no, Father, we're doing fine." "What did you have to eat?' I asked them. "We had beans and tortillas." "When?" "This morning." "And this afternoon?" "We had beans and tortillas." "And what are you going to eat tonight?" "Beans and tortillas."

I am a Mexican-American myself and I love beans and tortillas and chile, but I also love meat, milk, cheese. And if anybody thinks the poor eat tortillas and beans and that alone because they love it, they are naive.

Many times children get pennies, nickels, dimes, and the first thing they do is run to the store and buy junk like candies, potato chips, things like that, and we criticize them. Look at those kids running to the store and buying that junk. But these little fellows instinctively go and buy these sweets and so on because it will do away with their hunger. It will mitigate their hunger. For these people—my people—education is a luxury. The mind comes in second place when the stomach is empty.

Y tu? Jerry, Pasa a escuela?

Jerry. Si.

Ruiz. Hablas Ongles?

Jerry. Poquito.

Ruiz. OK. What school do you go to?

Jerry. Southside.

Ruiz. Southside. How far is school from here?

Jerry. Eight.

Ruiz. Eight what?

Jerry. Eight miles.

Ruiz. Is it a high school, or a junior high school?

Jerry. Junior high.

Ruiz. Junior high. When you go to school there, do you take lunch with you?

Jerry. No, sir.

Ruiz. And what do you eat at noon then?

Jerry. Nothing.

Ruiz. Do they have—do they have a cafeteria there?

Jerry. Yes, sir.

Ruiz. Do they know that you eat nothing at noon?

Jerry. I guess not.

Ruiz. How much does lunch cost over there?

Jerry. Thirty-five.

Ruiz. Do you have 35 cents to buy your food with?

Jerry. No, sir.

Ruiz. In the mornings when you go to school, do you always have breakfast here at home?

Jerry. Yes, sir.

Ruiz. What do you have for breakfast here at home?

Jerry. Beans.

Ruiz. Beans. What time do you quit school every day?

Jerry. Three-thirty.

Ruiz. Till three-thirty. So from morning till three-thirty, you have nothing else to eat?

Jerry. No, sir.

Ruiz. Besides beans?

Jerry. Yes.

Ruiz. How are you able to work, in school, and to study if you have nothing to eat at noon?

Jerry. I don't know.

Ruiz. They don't know what it is to have meat at least once a week. They don't know what it is to have milk at least once a day for their children. They don't know what it is to have a dessert. They've never had a dessert. All these things to them are like a star, able to be seen, unable to be attained.

Kuralt. San Antonio's answer to hunger for the last fourteen years has been surplus commodities. Surplus commodities are foods that farmers cannot sell and nobody else wants. The U.S. Department of Agriculture buys surplus crops from farmers and gets rid of them by giving them to the poor. For farmers and the Government, commodities are a convenience; for the poor they are simply an inadequate dole. The program consists largely of dumping excesses rather than providing essentials. In April, for instance, the Department of Agriculture distributed 1,400,000 pounds of peanut butter. The program has not changed since it was conceived of in the 1930's. Commodities are still given to three and a half million Americans in 1,272 counties. Commodities are most notable for the foods they do not include: there are no green vegetables, no eggs, no fresh meat, fresh milk or fruit. No one claims that surplus commodities are anything but a diet supplement, but for all too many of those who receive them, commodities are the entire diet.

The poor are alive because they eat; they are malnourished because of what they eat. Fat people can be hungry people.

CULHANE. I understand that you've been ill. Can you tell me about it?

WOMAN. Well, it started when I was expecting my baby, about nine months—almost a year. I got sick and the doctor said that I had to stay in bed for quite a while, which I did and, well, I was supposed to be in so many ways on a diet, but I couldn't afford them on account that my husband is not making enough money to support a family, which is nine in the family.

CULHANE. What did he say that you should eat?

WOMAN. Well, he—he recommends that I had to eat—either I eat these things or if I keep on gaining—The truth is, if I keep on gaining and eating starch things, I won't last long.

KURALT. Hunger is never so devastating as in a child. Never so horrifying as in what it may drive a child to do. Social Worker Mary Garcia sees many such children.

CULHANE. Miss Garcia, why is this girl being detained?

Miss GARCIA. She was picked up for soliciting for prostitution.

CULHANE. How old is she?

Miss GARCIA. She's eleven.

CULHANE. Eleven. Is this an unusual case?

Miss GARCIA. Well, yes, unusual because of her age; but I do have quite a number of girls that are involved in it.

CULHANE. Why would a girl of this age go into prostitution?

Miss GARCIA. Well, in talking to them, the reason they give me is that they do it so that they can get the money to buy food. Because they don't have any at home.

KURALT. San Antonio has four County Commissioners, and their opinions vary. A. J. Ploch is the Senior Commissioner. He has served five successive terms—for the last 18 years. David Culhane asked Commissioner Ploch about the children in San Antonio who are not getting enough food.

PLOCH. Well, why are they not getting enough food? Because the father won't work and I mean won't work. If they won't work, do you expect the taxpayer to raise all the kids? First let's do something with their daddies, and then, yes, take care of the kids.

CULHANE. I wonder whether these children who are not getting a proper diet are going to be able to learn properly in school?

PLOCH. Well, what do you mean "learn properly in school?" Do you really need school? Other than, say, an eighth grade education? That's another thing people keep talking about—this education—college education. It's not necessary.

CULHANE. What do you do about the children who are not getting enough to eat?

PLOCH. Well, I don't know about that, because that's really the problem of the father. Now, what to do about the man, I don't know, but you'll always have that condition, because if you don't have that condition, then you'll never have Indians and chiefs and you've got to have Indians and chiefs.

CULHANE. I'm not sure I understand what you mean. You mean that you'll always have hunger?

PLOCH. Not necessarily—yes, you'll always have it, because some men just ain't worth a dime. You'll always have hunger, yes.

KURALT. San Antonio has one charity hospital, The Robert B. Green. David Culhane talked with Mrs. Vera Burke, who is director of Social Services at this hospital.

CULHANE. Mrs. Burke, how many of these people would you say are malnourished?

Mrs. BURKE. Well, I would say in one way or another all of them are malnourished and we see in this clinic 300 patients every day during the week and about 200 every single day of the week in the emergency room. Many of our patients arrive here without having had breakfast; all of them we know have inadequate food budgets and inadequate diets, and one of the problems in treating patients with inadequate diets is that you have a prolonged period of recovery due to inadequate food intake and inadequate protein. Specifically these patients eat a high starchy diet which is not conducive to good—speedy recovery.

Perhaps because of the malnutrition and their hard lives, many of them look 10, even 20 years older than they really are. Many of these patients will be told that they must have certain foods. None of them will be able to buy even the basic diet that the doctors tell them to have. As a social worker, the first impact that the hospital in San Antonio made on me was one of great shock, because in the ten years that I worked at Bellevue Hospital in New York, I never saw patients with as much malnutrition as I encountered here. Most particularly this occurs in the pediatric service.

KURALT. Three wards at the Robert B. Green Hospital are constantly filled with babies admitted because of malnutrition and diarrhea. In a small child who is poorly nourished to begin with, diarrhea can be fatal. These babies are from six months to more than a year old.

Mrs. BURKE. Think, if you will, of a baby over a year old weighing less than five pounds. They come here weighing less than they did when they were born. But the awful fact is that after these months of treatment, we send these babies back home where there is no milk and the nutrition is so poor that they return to the hospital again and again and again.

KURALT. Because of malnutrition, the wards for premature babies are also constantly filled. Malnutrition—a problem for the mother—can become a tragedy for her baby.

Mrs. BURKE. There is a distinct correlation between the food that a mother receives during pregnancy and the kind of a delivery she is going to have. With inadequate nutrition, there is also a strong risk that the baby will be premature or will be of premature weight—less than five pounds—even if born at full term.

KURALT. Many of these babies born of malnourished mothers weigh as little as a pound and a half. They must be fed intravenously and they require constant medical attention. Some have to remain in isolets for more than eight months, still weighing less than a baby should at birth.

Mrs. BURKE. Their lives are constantly in jeopardy. They have a very hard time making it to live, but with the special care that they get, many do manage to survive.

KURALT. Some of the babies do not survive. (Announcement.)

ANNOUNCER. Here again is Charles Kuralt.

KURALT. Loudoun County, Virginia, is anything but a poverty pocket. It is headquarters for the so-called horsey set. The county contains hunt clubs, private schools, and aristocratic race meets that mingle the pedigrees of the horses with those of their owners. The trappings of wealth are everywhere. Loudoun County is only 25 miles outside Washington, D.C. It is the home of distinguished legislators like Senator Everett Dirksen, celebrities like Arthur Godfrey. Society here is studded with American nobility—names like du Pont, Mellon and Whitney.

Hunger is the last thing an outsider would expect to find; indeed it might be the last thing he would find. Yet hidden away in Loudoun County are thousands of shacks where tenant farmers lead a marginal existence. Loudoun County, like one-third of the counties in America, has no Federal Food Program.

Dr. Stephen Granger, the Loudoun County Medical officer, knows and treats many of the tenant families. Dr. Granger told us the households have too many members and too little food.

Dr. GRANGER. In Loudoun County the families of the tenant farmers tend to be large, and the children get neither the right food nor enough food. Their diet is heavy on starch, mainly potatoes, and very light on protein. The physical effects of this poor diet are striking. The children have kind of a hollow lifeless look—stringy hair, a pasty complexion, a dead look about their eyes. There is a hopeless feeling that springs almost physically from these children. But bad diet affects brain tissues as well, a child's ability to think and to learn. Perhaps the worst damage is done during infancy when the child is completely dependent and helpless. The brain damage is not reversible. It can't be changed. Not by Christmas baskets, not by hot lunches when he starts school, or anything else, one year from now or five years from now.

KURALT. Dr. Granger's staff of Public Health Nurses has to spend a good deal of time figuring out ways for these families to eat a little bit better—how to get the right kind of food, and how to make the best use of it.

Mrs. BARRETT. I see the youngsters are all up aren't they? Has she had her lunch?

Mrs. HOPKINS. Not yet.

Mrs. BARRETT. What does she eat for lunch?

Mrs. HOPKINS. She eats from the table.

Mrs. BARRETT. What she going to have for her lunch today?

Mrs. HOPKINS. Well, we don't know.

Mrs. BARRETT. You don't know what's being prepared yet?

Mrs. HOPKINS. No.

Mrs. BARRETT. Do you have any baby food in the house?

Mrs. HOPKINS. Not yet.

Mrs. BARRETT. And this one is two weeks old.

Mrs. HOPKINS. Yes.

Mrs. BARRETT. And you haven't started feeding her her cereal yet?

Mrs. HOPKINS. No.

Mrs. BARRETT. Well, I would start that. And this child eats all together from the table?

Mrs. HOPKINS. Yes.

Mrs. BARRETT. What did she eat for her breakfast this morning?

Mrs. HOPKINS. She ate gravy.

Mrs. BARRETT. She ate gravy for breakfast. Anything else besides gravy?

Mrs. HOPKINS. No.

KURAT. There is an additional problem in Loudoun County. The pride of the people. Even if surplus food were available—and it's not—most of them would probably reject it. David Culhane talked to a tenant farm worker and his wife.

Mr. JONES. You've got to admit to the fact that you're poor and you can't be—look down on yourself because you're poor. You've got to be proud of it, and we're poor and we're proud of it. Some people are rich and they're proud of it. It's just a way of—a way of life.

CULHANE. Do you think that you need help?

Mr. Jones. No, I don't need no help. God only helps those that help themselves. Now a man—so long as a man has got two hands, two feet and a brain, nothing—there's no limit.

Culhane. Granted that you try, but really now, doesn't it sometimes happen that you can't afford something that you know they should have?

Mrs. Jones. Well, usually when it comes right down to that we usually get what we need for the kids first, then if we have to go without juice, or we have to go without some little extra, we have to buy less potatoes for ourselves, or less something for ourselves, we'll do that in order to get for the kids.

Culhane. What would you say about people who say they want help?

Mr. Jones. I would consider them kind of people—well, to put it in plain words, leechers, because if they can't help themselves, they've got no business being married. They've got no business having children. I want to take care of my family myself. I didn't marry—they didn't marry me. I married my wife and I have two children and it's up to me to take care of them, not receive handouts. That's a bum. If I want to be a bum, I'll go to Washington. There's plenty of them.

Kuralt. Dr. Granger also sees the slow but certain human erosion caused by the kind of life the tenant families lead, the kind of food they eat.

Granger. One of our patients, a woman with dignity and perseverance, is only 39 years old. She looks to be much older than that. This is not rare among our families. It can be caused by a number of medical problems, but malnutrition certainly plays a big part. There are about 7,000 households in the area that have severe nutrition problems. They rarely, if ever, eat a complete meal. Their lives are borderline in every sense. These people, with no past to be proud of and no hope for the future, seek immediate forms of enjoyment. This is why we frequently see a late model television set in the living room of a family that's not tasted meat for six weeks. This is why we frequently see a late model baby in the crib. This is why we often see empty pint bottles in the yard. All these things are signs of the short term. With no real prospects in life, they turn to the few pleasures they can find. Often the only creative thing a woman can do in these circumstances is to have a baby, and then to have another one. And so they do. The children grow into the image of their parents, and like their parents, they will be old before they should be.

Surrounded by prosperity, these people share in none of it. The misery in their lives is a constant. The sameness stretches from one day to the next, one year to the next, one generation to the next.

Kuralt. The deserts of Arizona and New Mexico are nice places to visit, but the Navajo Indians have to live there.

Living in a desert, just staying alive, is very hard for the 125,000 members of the largest tribe in the United States. The West was theirs once. They were nomads and their home was vast. Now they have an arid reservation.

Dr. Jean Van Duzen of Tuba City, Arizona, has practiced among the Navaho Indians for the past 14 years. She continually faces the medical problems caused by lack of food.

Dr. Van Duzen. Right now they look like they're kind of low on food. When they run out of food, what kind of foods do they eat?

Wilson. (Dialect). Flour and lard and coffee.

Dr. Van Duzen. In other words, fried bread and coffee.

Wilson. That's right

Dr. Van Duzen. The children too?

Wilson. (Dialect). The children—

Dr. Van Duzen. Everybody eats the same?

Wilson. Everybody eats the same.

Dr. Van Duzen. The people that I see every day look like they are fed mostly on starches. The older people tend to be rather fat and dumpy. The children are just plain undernourished. They're shorter than they should be. They're thinner than they should be. They're less resistant to infection.

Mr. Kuralt. Half the Navajos make less than $1,500 a year. There is not enough water to farm here, so they try to be shepherds. But it takes ten of their dry acres to produce enough food for one sheep—and when sheep are hungry, so are their owners.

Surplus commodities are given to the Navajos every month by the Department of Agriculture. The tribe has trucks that deliver the commodities to trading posts, but the Navajos often have to walk as far as 25 miles to pick them up.

Dr. Van Duzen. Surplus commodities are not meant to act as the entire diet for the Navajo, or for anybody else. It's only 40 percent of the caloric needs of the people. It does not make any allowance for protein needs, for vitamin needs, for mineral needs. It does have mostly starch. It's what I would call a white diet and this is actually a very, very, poor diet.

I've been out in the hogans and I've seen what the women have to make. It's usually lard, flour, sugar, salt, some tea, coffee, maybe a few potatoes. In fact, I very seldom have seen vegetables in the hogan of any kind. They talk about mutton stew, but in fact, they do butchering only every other week, and then they share it with the whole camp. So no matter how you figure it, they couldn't possibly get meat more than once every two weeks. The main diet is starches with fried bread or sometimes store bread, potatoes, very little else.

Kuralt. The Public Health Service Hospital for the Navajo Reservation is in Tuba City, Arizona. Dr. Van Duzen showed David Culhane some of the babies brought to this hospital because of malnutrition bordering on starvation.

Dr. Van Duzen. Let me show you one of the real kwashiorkors.

Culhane. This child is representative of the sort of thing you find here?

Dr. Van Duzen. He still shows some of the signs of kwashiorkor.

Culhane. What is—you keep using that word "kwashiorkor." What exactly is that?

Dr. Van Duzen. Kwashiorkor is the most severe form of protein calorie malnutrition. This is a disease that was seen first in South America and Africa. It's not supposed to exist in the United States, but it does.

Culhane. How much of it do you get here?

Dr. Van Duzen. I've seen about four cases a year and right now I've got four cases on the ward. I've seen several other cases, so there's lots of it.

Culhane. How about this child now? What's this child's condition at this point?

Dr. Van Duzen. He's much improved. When he first came in, the skin was much looser and hung in folds. It still is not normal. You can't feel a good muscle mass and the thighs show a lot of flabbiness. The child's face shows a lot of things to us. The corners of the lips and then we look at the gums. Very frequently we even see scurvy. I can tell about the hair. This is not normal hair for a Navajo child. Much too thin. It's red.

Culhane. What would the normal condition be?

Dr. Van Duzen. Oh, Navajo babies have beautiful black, silky hair and lots of it. This is not normal.

Culhane. What did this child look like when he came into the hospital?

Dr. Van Duzen. When they arrive they're usually so weak that they can't suck. They can't lie, they really don't even cry. Some of them are sick enough so that you think they're going to die in a day or two. But he's much better. Can you stand up? No, not real—

Culhane. Is it possible that this child will ever really catch up?

Dr. Van Duzen. It depends whether or not he goes back to a home with a normal diet or not. It also depends upon how long the bad diet was before and how severe. Most of them recover, but there's some question that they may be always shortened and they may have permanent damage to the brain and ability to learn how to read and write and learn in the usual schooling situation.

The disease that I'm worried about the most though is the marasmus which is in the very young baby.

Culhane. What is marasmus?

Dr. Van Duzen. Marasmus to total, total calorie and protein malnutrition. This is where a child gets nothing, practically nothing but water, and very quickly they get into great trouble and frequently they die. When you make the diagnosis of marasmus, you know a third of them is going to die. That's one-third.

Marasmus children usually lose the fat padding in their cheeks and so they don't have strength enough to suck even if they want to. The problem is that many times they don't want to. Mothers will tell me that the baby doesn't cry and they don't. They just lay there. This baby had marasmus mainly because the mother's milk dried up and she didn't have any other way to feed it. If you don't have the money, well, you don't buy milk. And after a few weeks or months living on nothing, why, yes, he starves.

The baby came in, it had lost all the fat that it was born with. The skin hangs particularly on the legs, doubles over on the knees, the face is wrinkled and looks like a very, very old person without any teeth. We decide how they're getting well just by how young they look. When they look 60 years old rather than a 100 years old, they're getting better.

We lost a little girl last week with marasmus. When I talked to the mother afterwards she said she had lost eight other children, all of them under a year of age when they died. She wanted this little girl. Little girls are prized in the Navajo culture. She's up in the Tuba City Cemetery now. It's a little mound. The little short mounds are for the little short caskets, and the larger ones are for the older people. I think more of them are little than they are big. I don't go there any more. There are too many people up there that I know.

Announcer. CBS Reports: "Hunger in America" will return in a moment.

(Announcement.)

Announcer. CBS Reports: "Hunger in America" continues.

Kuralt. It has never been easy to be a Negro in Alabama. Times have often been bad, and they've never been good. But there's always been cotton—to plant, to chop, to pick and to plough. Cotton has been a misery, but at least it's been a meal ticket. Now it's not even that. The machines have taken over, and a field that once needed 100 Negroes today barely supports three. Ten years ago machines harvested only two percent of Alabama's cotton. This year they will harvest more than 80 per cent.

The Negroes must look elsewhere for jobs, and the jobs are not in Alabama. Some go North. Many others remain, often because they are so poor, so tired and so hungry that they can't even get up and go. In the long history of Black Belt deprivation there have never been times as bad as these.

Last spring the field Foundation sent six prominent doctors to investigate hunger in Mississippi. One of these was Dr. Raymond Wheeler, who has lived and practiced in the South all his life. We asked Dr. Wheeler to visit Hale County, Alabama.

Dr. Wheeler. Slow starvation has become part of the Southern way of life. The apathy and the violence, the ironic but brutal contrasts that pass for Southern traditions are impossible to believe until you have seen them.

You have how many children to feed?

Mrs. ZANDERS. Ten.

Dr. WHEELER. Ten children.

Mrs. ZANDERS. Yes.

Dr. WHEELER. Are there times when you don't have enough food in the house to go around?

Mrs. ZANDERS. Yes, sir, lots of times.

Dr. WHEELER. There are times when——

Mrs. ZANDERS. I just have to make out with what I have. Give each one of them a little of what I have.

Dr. WHEELER. What did you have for dinner today?

Mrs. ZANDERS. I didn't have any dinner.

Dr. WHEELER. You're going to have a baby before long?

Mrs. ZANDERS. Yes, sir.

Dr. WHEELER. What kind of food do you eat?

Mrs. ZANDERS. Rice; chicken sometimes.

Dr. WHEELER. What else do you eat?

Mrs. ZANDERS. That's all, and water.

Dr. WHEELER. Mrs. Zanders, what does your husband do for a living?

Mrs. ZANDERS. He gets jobs in hay fields.

Dr. WHEELER. In hay fields?

Mrs. ZANDERS. Yes.

Dr. WHEELER. How much does he make when he's working?

Mrs. ZANDERS. From three to four dollars a day.

Dr. WHEELER. Three to four dollars a day?

Mrs. ZANDERS. Yes, sir.

Dr. WHEELER. And he hasn't worked now in three or four weeks?

Mrs. ZANDERS. Yes.

Dr. WHEELER. Do you get food stamps?

Mrs. ZANDERS. No, sir, because I'm not able to get them.

Dr. WHEELER. Why not?

Mrs. ZANDERS. I ain't got them this month. They cost $70 and I don't have it.

Dr. WHEELER. Have you asked for any help from anyone in raising the money to buy those stamps?

Mrs. ZANDERS. No, sir, there ain't no need.

Dr. WHEELER. Why?

Mrs. ZANDERS. They ain't going to give it to you.

Dr. WHEELER. Have you been down to the Welfare Department and talked to them, or has your husband?

Mrs. ZANDERS. No, sir, the last time I went to Welfare the lady told me—said if you have a living husband that they can't give you no help.

Dr. WHEELER. Even if he's not working?

Mrs. ZANDERS. Yes, sir.

KURALT. Three weeks after talking to Dr. Wheeler, Mrs. Zanders gave birth to a severely malnourished baby. Two days later the baby died.

Alabama's solution to hunger in 15 counties is the Federal Food Stamp Program. The U.S. Department of Agriculture sponsors the program, but it is administered locally by the states and counties. Each county has a central office where the stamps are sold. Food stamps are a means of giving a family a bonus. For a cash payment—$25 for instance—a family receives food stamps worth much more money, perhaps $70 or $80. The stamps, in other words, are worth much more than the cash paid for them. The cost of stamps varies from family to family. Coupons worth $80, for instance, may cost one family $40 and another only $15. This cost is set by local officials. Many factors affect the cost, such as the size of the family, income, and how much the family usually spends each month for food.

Food stamps can be used at local grocery stores and supermarkets. They allow a family to purchase whatever it wants in the way of food. If the family uses them wisely, stamps can provide a more balanced diet than surplus commodities. But a family may not buy food stamps a day at a time or a week at a time. They must buy a month's supply or a half month's supply all at once. For many Alabamans it is difficult to accumulate any sum of money, even as little as $5 or $10 on a given day. What little money they do get must go immediately to pay an urgent debt or to feed an urgently hungry mouth.

Dr. Wheeler examined the children of a family that can't afford food stamps. Their father had not worked in five weeks.

Dr. WHEELER. When children don't get enough to eat, their initial response to the world is mistrust. The children here get up hungry, go to bed hungry and never know anything else in between. They are hungry all the time. They can't even feel the depth of their own hunger.

Even a superficial examination of these children reveals the unmistakable effects that their skimpy, monotonous meals must inevitably produce. In the first year of their lives, these children fall behind. In each subsequent year they fall further behind, and they never catch up. Malnutrition impairs their performance for life.

Hi, Charles.

CHARLES. Hi.

Dr. WHEELER. How old are you?

CHARLES. Fourteen.

Dr. WHEELER. You go to school?

CHARLES. Yeah.

Dr. WHEELER. Do you get breakfast at home before you go?

CHARLES. Yeah. Some mornings we have peas.

Dr. WHEELER. You have peas?

CHARLES. Yeah.

Dr. WHEELER. Well, when you get to school what do you have to eat there?

CHARLES. Nothing.

Dr. WHEELER. You don't have anything to eat when you're at school?

CHARLES. No.

Dr. WHEELER. Isn't—is there any place at school where you can buy something to eat or get something to eat? Do they—do they cook a meal for you there?

CHARLES. Yeah.

Dr. WHEELER. Well, why don't you have some?

CHARLES. I don't have any money to buy it.

Dr. WHEELER. You don't have any money to buy it.

CHARLES. Yeah.

Dr. WHEELER. How much does it cost?

CHARLES. Twenty-five cents.

Dr. WHEELER. It costs twenty-five cents to have something to eat at school?

CHARLES. Yeah.

Dr. WHEELER. Well, what do you do while the other children are eating?

CHARLES. Just sit there.

Dr. WHEELER. Where do you sit?

CHARLES. I sit where all the children be seated.

Dr. WHEELER. How do you feel toward the other children who are eating when you don't have anything?

CHARLES. Be ashamed.

Dr. WHEELER. Are you ashamed?

CHARLES. Yes, they haunt you.

Dr. WHEELER. Why are you ashamed?

CHARLES. Because I don't have the money.

KURALT. Dr. Wheeler talked to a woman whose family has been sharecroppers ever since they stopped being slaves. The woman and her husband and 14 children and grandchildren still live on the farm, but it does not support them any more.

Dr. WHEELER. Mrs. Carlile, why don't you raise your own food?

Mrs. CARLILE. Well, we raise what we can. We raise that okra, we raise all stuff like that in the garden when we can, but not no corn. That's the only food we can grow.

Dr. WHEELER. Why no corn?

Mrs. CARLILE. Because we don't have no corn acres.

Dr. WHEELER. What do you mean?

Mrs. CARLILE. The landlord said he sold the corn acres to the Government. And we can't have no corn.

Dr. WHEELER. So then who plants the corn?

Mrs. CARLILE. Don't nobody plants none. Just the land for the corn lays up and it's nothing.

Dr. WHEELER. The lands' there.

Mrs. CARLILE. That's right.

Dr. WHEELER. But nobody plants it.

Mrs. CARLILE. That's right. Can't plant it, when you sell it to the Government. Whoever sell it get a check off it. Can't raise nothing on it. Just have to stay there. I've always been raised on corn. Having corn, raised hogs, chickens, turkeys. But I can't raise them 'cause I don't have food to feed them. I can't raise corn and I can't buy it.

Dr. WHEELER. Now that you can buy food stamps, aren't you able to get more food for your family?

Mrs. CARLILE. I can't buy them every two weeks because I don't have the money. I don't have the $33 every two weeks. I don't have anybody to get it from. My husband don't make but three dollars and a half a day for the city and that's all. He don't make over $20–$22 or $23 a week and I couldn't get the food stamps. They sets the price what they want you to pay and if you ain't got that price, why, you don't get no food stamps. But I just have to go along with it because I can't do no better.

None of them white people—they don't care how you live. You can work for them all right but the livin' problems, they don't care too much for it.

Dr. WHEELER. Why's that?

Mrs. CARLILE. They don't treat us like they used to treat us. They did used to treat us a lot better than they do now. But they don't do it, and I imagine—I feel like it's because the children go to school together and do a little voting, something we never have did. I never known them to do. And the younger group can speak a little more clear and a little more for themselves than we used to could. That's why the young people is leaving, leaving home, going North, where they've been all their life. Some of them have been nowhere all their life, but they leaving Alabama goin' North. They getting better jobs and they getting better treatment, the younger people. But, see, the older people, we still here in it. We ain't like the young ones. I figure they don't care whether we go or stay.

Dr. WHEELER. Why do you think they don't care?

Mrs. CARLILE. I know they don't care. I don't have to think they don't care. I know they don't care.

KURALT. The families we have visited tonight are, sadly, more typical than unique. Hunger can be found many places in the United States—too many places. Ten million Americans don't know where their next meal is coming from. Sometimes it doesn't come at all.

More than one thousand counties in need of food programs have no program whatsoever. States and counties often keep out Federal Food Programs. Surplus commodities means less food purchased in local stores. And states and counties must share in the cost of food stamps. There is also the failure of these programs themselves. Surplus commodities are free but do not contain the right foods. Food stamps are not free and too often, the people who need them most can't afford them.

The Department of Agriculture has emergency power to bring food to hungry people in any county in the United States. So far, it has been reluctant to exercise this power. In the last two years, the Department of Agriculture has quietly turned back to the Treasury $408 million that could have been used to feed hungry Americans. CBS NEWS has learned that this year the Department plans to turn back to the Treasury another

$227 million, more money than ever before. According to the Department of Agriculture, the existing food programs are run as efficiently as possible without this money.

Meantime, American farmers, in recent weeks, have slaughtered and buried 14,000 hogs because, they say, there is no market for them. The Department of Agriculture protects farmers, not consumers, especially not destitute consumers. The Federal Food Programs might be better administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, or by a special commission whose only concern would be to see that hungry Americans are fed.

We are talking about 10 million Americans. In this country the most basic human need must become a human right.

This is Charles Kuralt for CBS Reports.

(Announcement.)

ANNOUNCER. Today in Washington the House Committee on Education and Labor began hearings on the problem of hunger. On Thursday the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty will also begin an investigation of hunger in America.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the television program entitled "Hunger in America," has brought home to millions of Americans the fact that there are millions of hungry people in America and that we are doing nothing about it. We are doing nothing adequate about it.

Thanks to the cooperation of the manager of the bill, the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND], and my colleague from Michigan [Mr. HART], some slight amelioration in the terms were made which will make it a little more available to feed the hungry in America. However, the amount available falls short by several hundred millions of dollars from what is needed. If the Javits amendment is agreed to there would be $200 million available to feed the hungry.

I suggest that our national priorities require us as a matter of first importance to feed the hungry.

We who serve on the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, of which I have the honor to be chairman, have held hearings all over the country, from Mississippi to Rhode Island, and from New York to New Mexico and California. We have established beyond any doubt that there are thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions of Americans suffering from malnutrition and hunger, many who are little children, and some who are unborn children whose condition is being prejudiced by malnutrition for life before they are even born.

Surely, the conscience of America should be aroused in this cause. Surely, we should not let technicality stand in the way. I heard what the Senator from Florida said about the Senator from New York, and it may be the procedure utilized was not the procedure which one ordinarily follows. However, I say that hunger comes first with me. I think it is high time that we gave Secretary of Agriculture Freeman the authority he thinks he needs, whether he needs it or not, to stop this business of diverting funds passed by Congress, so that the hungry can be fed, as was done by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS] last year.

I believe hunger in America is one of the most critical matters facing our country.

It is deplorable for the richest country in the world to be unable to feed its people with an adequate and nutritious diet.

I support the amendment.

I yield back whatever time I have remaining.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes for the purpose of referring to the arguments made by the distinguished Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND].

First, I thank the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] for his support in respect to this amendment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] be added as a cosponsor of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, with respect to the matter of protocol, it will be remembered, although I believe the Senator from Pennsylvania did not hear me when I spoke originally, I said the reason I had not brought the matter before the Committee on Appropriations—and I charge myself with it, mea culpa—was that it had not burgeoned at that time into a burning issue. We did not have the Secretary's testimony or the CBS film.

Therefore, I had the choice of following that protocol, which I respect, or not following it, and it makes me a little uncomfortable not to follow it. Under normal conditions, I think the Senator from Florida would be right in that respect.

I had the choice of following that protocol and not bringing this matter up. My conscience would not permit me to do that in view of the publicized report on hunger, the evidence that there is hunger in the United States, and the assertion of the Secretary of Agriculture that it is this provision which is tying his hands and preventing him from doing what needs to be done.

Inasmuch as I am a Senator, and it is a public duty, and not only a situation between Senators working in committee, although that is critically important to me and I respect it, I felt I must proceed.

I only ask the indulgence and the forgiveness of the distinguished Senator from Florida under the circumstances.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I thank the Senator for bringing up the amendment. I ask that my name be added as a cosponsor.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] be added as a cosponsor of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BARTLETT in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I wish to ask the Senator whether under the Senator's amendment, which I believe is not printed, it is permissive for the Secretary; in other words, he does not have to divert these funds.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the Senator. Not only is it permissive but it would be confined only to those cases where he needs this money to relieve starvation, hunger, and malnutrition.

I have no illusions about vast sums of money being spent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, with respect to the assertion by the Secretary that it is this which is tying his hands, I think the provision was put in for totally different purposes, as has been said, dealing with per diems and other aspects of the Agriculture Department, but without in any way contemplating that the Secretary of Agriculture would invoke it now for this purpose. So I say, if that is what is tying the hands of our Secretary, we will strike it and let us see what he does now.

Finally, on the point that is the argument of the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND], that this is a bad time to do it, this is a 1-year appropriation bill. The fact is that the Secretary is turning back over $200 million this year—the Senator says $227 million—so that this is, therefore, a good time to do it and not a bad time to do it. The money will go back into the Treasury in large amount. A relatively small part of it can be used for this purpose which cries out to the conscience of the country, if we let the Secretary do it.

This is the one thing we should permit to be done. After all, we are not dealing with all appropriations in Congress. The question is how do we spend $180 million, not the fact that we are going to appropriate it. We appropriate for everything under the sun in regard to agriculture. I do not begrudge it. But when we have as deserving a demand as this, and it takes a relatively small amount to honor it, we should put the Secrtary in the position that he can do it. We have plenty of restraints on the Secretary. There is the Senate Committee on Agriculture, and the Appropriations Committee, so that no Secretary will go wild with these funds, I am pretty sure of that, in the face of the legislative history.

I hope very much that this will be understood, that the Senate must move to put the Secretary in the position that he does what we want him to do.

I hope the Senate will adopt the amendment.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes, and then I shall be ready to vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, the Secretary of Agriculture has done a humanitarian job in this regard. Congress has furnished him with the material to do that fine job, and we are proposing to do even more this year. The Secretary asked for funds for the food stamp program, including reappropriation authority to meet excess program costs this year. It is $2.5 million. We are providing that amount in the bill.

The Secretary asked me personally to see if we could provide him with that sum, to allow him to take care of the overexpenditure for this year. We found that $2.5 million would take care of it. I had a conference with the Senator from Pennsylvania and others, and we find that in the bill.

We have tried to be sensitive to this whole situation but, after all, we are representing agriculture and we want to save good agricultural programs and we want to save the Senate, too, and Congress, from having it said that we are turning over about $200 million to be spent as someone at his own discretion might provide. We have carefully stayed away from that kind of situation for the past 6 years through this provision; I hope that the language that is in the bill will be sustained and that the amendment offered by the Senator from New York will be rejected.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute, then I, too, shall be ready to vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on May 23, 1968, the Secretary of Agriculture wrote a letter to Dr. Abernathy and he wrote as follows—it is more eloquent than anything I can say:

> We, too, are concerned that our food programs do not reach as many people as they should, but today, they are reaching 5.9 million people.
>
> We, too, are concerned that even the 50-cent minimum payment may keep some poor people from participating in the food stamp program, though 200,000 people were benefited when this minimum requirement was reduced from $2 last year.
>
> We, too, would like to broaden the variety and increase the nutritional value of the foods available under the commodity distribution program and we have taken action to add canned chicken, dried eggs, fruit juice, instant hot cereal, and vitamin-enriched instant mashed potatoes to the items already distributed.
>
> And, we, too, worry that there are needy school children who do not have equal access to school lunch or breakfast programs, even though more than 2 million needy children now receive a free or reduced price lunch and over 100,000 participate in the breakfast program.

Then he wrote the following, which is the only argument that needs to be made for the amendment:

> We cannot expand food stamp programs into additional counties until the start of the next fiscal year, July 1, because we have committed all the money available. Further, we will not have the resources to expand into additional counties after July 1 unless Congress raises or eliminates the $225 million ceiling on funds authorized for the food stamp program and appropriates additional money.
>
> The problem of the hungry poor in America is not a shortage of food. American agriculture is producing all the food that Americans can consume and more. The problem is that the poor lack the purchasing power to buy the food they need. And this is the problem we are trying to meet through our food stamp and commodity distribution programs.

Mr. President, all I am saying is that in order to do what he recognizes needs to be done, which he says is inhibited by the provisions of law, is to strike the shackles from his hands and have him do it, especially as it is de minimis and we are not talking about vast sums of money or vast grants of authority.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has now been yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from New York.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Hill], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Hart], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Inouye], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. McIntyre] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Anderson], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Church], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Eastland], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Lausche], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. McGee], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern], the Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Mondale], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Talmadge], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Yarborough] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Brewster] is paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin]. If present and voting, the Senator from Maryland would vote "yea," and the Senator from North Carolina would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse] is paired with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings]. If present and voting, the Senator from Oregon would vote "yea," and the Senator from South Carolina would vote "nay."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senators from Vermont [Mr. Aiken and Mr. Prouty], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Fong], and the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper] is absent to attend the funeral of a friend.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], and the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] is paired with the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska would vote "nay," and the Senator from California would vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Fannin] is paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper]. If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona would vote "nay," and the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 31, nays 30, as follows:

[No. 171 Leg.]

YEAS—31

Baker
Bayh
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va
Case
Clark
Cotton
Dominick
Griffin
Gruening
Hartke
Hatfield
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, Idaho
Moss
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Symington
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—30

Allott
Bartlett
Bennett
Bible
Byrd, Va.
Cannon
Curtis
Dirksen
Ellender
Fulbright
Hansen
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Holland
Jordan, N.C.
Mansfield
McClellan
Miller
Monroney
Mundt
Russell
Smathers
Smith
Sparkman
Spong
Stennis
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—39

Aiken
Anderson
Brewster
Brooke
Carlson
Church
Cooper
Dodd
Eastland
Ervin
Fannin
Fong
Gore
Harris
Hart
Hill
Hollings
Hruska
Inouye
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
McCarthy
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Prouty
Talmadge
Yarborough

So Mr. Javits' amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, as a member of the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, I want to express my support of the action taken by the committee in dealing with certain programs within the Department of Agriculture. I think the committee has shown its wisdom in restoring the funds for both the Extension Service and the Cooperative State Research Service. I also support the funding for the watershed protection program, allowing that program to move forward immediately. In addition I am particularly pleased to note that the bill contains some funding for two new programs.

First is a badly needed study of the economic indicators of change in the rural economy. We have become more aware that a determined effort is needed to provide for a strong economically viable rural economy to offer reason to stem the vast migration of rural people into our already overcrowded cities.

Another study to be begun will assist in identifying the kinds of agricultural development that would be appropriate in the undeveloped countries. This will help to accelerate the self-help requirements which I feel are so vital to world agriculture development.

I am also pleased to note our committee has restored the budget requests for both domestic farm labor housing and rural housing direct loans. We must make every effort to improve our rural environment and anyone familiar with the pitiful condition of such migrant housing will know how much still needs to be done.

Finally although I regret the Senate did not see fit to adopt the full budget request for non-food assistance in the Consumer and Marketing Service, I was glad to join with the Senator from Michigan [Senator HART] to increase the funds from the House for the school breakfast program and special assistance for needy schools.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill (H.R. 16913) was read the third time.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Florida yield 2 minutes, so that I may ask him a question on the bill?

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 2 additional minutes for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President. I ask the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee if funds to finance the inspection of kennels for the care of laboratory animals are contained in the bill this year, as they were last year.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, my answer is as follows: Last year the line amount in the bill was $300,000. The conference report provided that up to $1,200,000 could be used for that purpose, and provided that any amount above the $300,000 which could be found in lower priority work could be transferred to this item.

In the last 4 months of fiscal 1968, the program has been increased to a size that will require an additional amount of $300,000 to operate it through fiscal 1969. A letter from the department shows that, and the amount has been increased accordingly. Our bill provides an amount of $607,800, which will enable the carrying out of this effort on exactly the same level as it has operated in the last quarter of fiscal year 1968.

Mr. MONRONEY. I thank the distinguished chairman for this information. This is one of the best expenditures, I believe, of public money that we make in any bill. By the careful supervision the committee has given it, and by insistence on the use of enough men to fulfill the requirements, we have made great strides toward humane care and the elimination of untold, unprecedented cruelty that formerly went on in countless laboratories throughout the country.

The use of the veterinarians of the Department of Agriculture to do this job has been indeed a credit to the Department and a credit to their diligence, and justifies the faith the distinguished members of the committee have had in seeing that the program was not starved to death, and seeing that the enemies of the program did not sabotage it by turning the supervision of the quarters and the conditions in which these animals live over to the very men who are conducting the experiments, and have had no interest, in the past, in their humane care.

So I thank the distinguished committee members for this very great forward step in eliminating cruelty and advancing the cause of humane care and treatment of the animals that contribute so much in giving their lives for medical research.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, in behalf of the committee I thank my distinguished friend. I want the RECORD to show that we all know of his continuing interest in this very highly worthy objective.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time the question is, Shall it pass?

The bill (H.R. 16913) was passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. HOLLAND. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist on its amendments and request a conference with the House of Representatives thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HRUSKA, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. MUNDT conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, it is always a pleasure to be able to witness the handling of a measure when the task is performed by the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND]. He is truly not exceeded in ability, in persuasiveness, in generally the high caliber of the effort that is applied to such a job. Through the years Senator HOLLAND has contributed immensely to the betterment of this Nation. In the field of agriculture he has excelled. The passage of the Agriculture appropriations measure for 1969 simply adds another outstanding achievement to his already abundant record.

Joining Senator HOLLAND was the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HRUSKA], the ranking minority member of the Appropriations Subcommittee. Senator HRUSKA, like Senator HOLLAND, has consistently applied his broad knowledge and abiding dedication to the achievement of agriculture funding measures that serve well to enhance the status of the Nation's farmers. We are in his debt.

Also to be singled out for their deep interest and splendid contributions to the consideration of this measure were the Senators from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] and Michigan [Mr. HART]. They offered their own strong and sincere views on some of the features of our agriculture program. They offered amendments. And they are to be commended. The same may be said of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG], and the many others who participated in the discussion.

The Senator may be proud of another fine accomplishment toward the improvement of our agricultural community.

REVIEW OF U.S. GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS IN SOUTH ASIA

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, Senators will find on their desks a copy of Senate Document No. 77 of the 90th Congress, second session, which is the report of my findings on our U.S. Government operations in the countries of south Asia. As in the past, this inspection tour of our operations in this area of the world was made at the direction of the Senate Appropriations Committee, of which I am a member. It was my purpose to observe and evaluate our many governmental programs in the area, as well as our Embassy and consulate facilities, and then make known my findings and recommendations to the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, to the Congress, and to the American people.

The material dealt with in this report was gathered by me between November 23 of last year, when I left the United States and December 24, when I returned to this country. The report discusses and analyzes the operations of our embassies, the service attachés, our U.S. Information Agency, agricultural attachés, the military assistance program, the Peace Corps, and the Agency for International Development, as well as other miscellaneous missions which we are maintaining in that area of the world.

It was my intention to be as comprehensive and objective as possible and to visit and inspect every activity I possibly could within the time allotted. During the month devoted to my tour, I was able to spend several days in each of the countries of south Asia. These included Iran, Afghanistan, East and West Pakistan, India, Nepal, Burma, and Ceylon. Because of its importance in terms of geography, population, and potential, I devoted much of my time to India, and fortunately was able to tour by motorcar, as well as by air, much of this very large country.

Because of the cooperation extended by the State Department and our other officials in the field, I was able to inspect conditions on both of the seacoasts of

India, and visit the interior regions of both north and south India. I am frank to say that I gained an appreciation of the vast subcontinent that I never had before, and I will discuss my conclusions as to its future further in these remarks.

Seven years before my visit last year, in 1960, I last made an inspection tour of the countries of Pakistan, India, Nepal, and Ceylon. I had been in Iran 10 years previously, in 1957, and in 1956, I visited our facilities in Afghanistan and Burma. For those unfamiliar with the manner in which these tours are conducted and my reports compiled, I wish to say that each of my visits to a specific country is preceded by a questionnaire sent to our embassy in each country. Our U.S. ambassador or the head of our country team is then requested to distribute the sections of the questionnaire to those in charge of each of the specific programs, such as the Peace Corps or AID, and so forth. Material is then collected by the country team to supply the information requested in the questionnaire. Then, upon my arrival, I am able to go over the responses with those in charge of our actual operations in the field.

I have found this to be a very useful approach. As a matter of fact, several of our ambassadors have informed me that it was only by going over the material supplied at my request that they were able to realize the scope of our Government's activities in the country to which they are assigned. Several have also indicated that because of the material which was compiled and brought together in one place, they expect and hope some consolidation of functions can be obtained, and economies in Government effected. Needless to say I share this hope.

Before drafting my 1967 report, Mr. President, upon my return to the country, I went back and reviewed my findings and recommendations of 1960, which I presented to the Senate in 1961, and which dealt with many of the same countries I visited last year. That report also dealt with the general situation facing the United States in its international affairs, particularly the foreign aid program and our balance of payments. I dealt with this question at length in the conclusions and recommendations contained in the volume on each Senator's desk.

I shall not go into this here again at length. Suffice it to say that I expressed grave criticism of the course in which our Nation was heading because of its failure to meet and deal with the deteriorating balance-of-payments problem. I pointed out that in 1960 we still had on hand roughly $19 billion in gold and there was ample time to correct the situation had the reasonable and realistic approach I advocated been adopted.

I further pointed out that by 1960 our foreign policy had become to a large degree outmoded. I felt it placed too great a reliance on the military and economic strength of the United States and paid scant attention to the great increase in European prosperity. As I need not remind Senators, this prosperity was brought about by American largess, and I felt it to be time, indeed past time, for our administrators to expect that the newly strengthened countries of Western Europe should begin to bear a fair share of the economic and military defense of the Western way of life.

I did not feel, for instance, and again this is in 1960, that there was any good reason requiring the maintenance of 300,000 American troops as a garrison in Western Europe. I felt this to be particularly true, as I also pointed out, that the United States was virtually the only NATO ally to fulfill its NATO commitment.

At the same time I advocated the use of international and multilateral agencies to fulfill whatever obligations the United States might have to the less developed areas of the world. I felt strongly that bilateral aid programs should be phased out or brought down to an absolute minimum, and I returned home from this trip reenforced in that view.

In a study of U.S. policy toward south Asia, Norman D. Palmer of the University of Pennsylvania states as follows:

> Although the old adage, "it is more blessed to give than to receive", may still have general validity, it is particularly difficult for governments and for people either to give or to receive. Those who give often do so with bad grace, sometimes for the wrong reasons, and they expect more in the way of tangible and intangible returns from the recipients than they ever get. Those who receive also often do so with bad grace, with doubts and suspicions, and they sometimes seem to assume that they are receiving only what is due them or that the giver is making help available only for some very selfish or even Machiavellian reason. Undoubtedly there are grounds for such reservations and suspicions, especially when foreign aid is used as a "cold war" weapon or when it is received in lieu of maximum effort on the part of the recipients.

As a footnote pointing up the dangers of bilateral assistance, Palmer quotes B. K. Nehru, an Indian Ambassador to the United States saying that:

> Foreign aid is often rung out of unwilling hands with a lack of grace that is truly remarkable; it is often given the color of charity so that there is almost invariably resistance to the acceptance of it. Furthermore, it is on occasion overtly and often covertly sought to be used to ensure that recipient nations do not depart in their external policies from the line taken by the donor country.

In my view, the points made by Mr. Palmer and by Ambassador Nehru are both valid. If it is indeed in our national interest to have a foreign assistance program, not just in south Asia, but throughout the underdeveloped world, I am firmly convinced that our interests would be better served by adhering strictly to the multilateral approach. It seems to me that too often foreign assistance mixes politics and economics resulting all too often in inept political achievements and poor economic benefits.

Turning to south Asia specifically, there is a great need for reliance on a multilateral approach to the problems of these nations. Their problems are serious ones and I, for one, am willing to extend a measure of assistance to their solution. I am firmly convinced, however, that any American aid should be strictly relegated to international and multilateral programs. Where bilateral assistance is considered necessary and advisable, such assistance should be of a minimal amount and confined to technical assistance only; that is, the paying of salaries for technicians and experts as needed. We should by no means engage in any further capital development projects, and I include in this a phasing out of our development loan program in the area.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD, Mr. President, two tables bearing on the question of foreign aid funds derived from the industrialized countries of the world and the membership of these same countries in aid groups formed on a multilateral basis.

There being no objection, the tabulations were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE 1.—FLOW OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES FROM DAC COUNTRIES TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS, 1966

DAC country	Per capita income	Total net official flow (millions)	Flow as percent of national income		Percent of total official commitments	
			Official	Total (including private)	At 3 percent or less	At 25 years or more
Australia	$1,660	$129	0.67	0.71	100.0	100.0
Austria	1,030	37	.49	.66	24.4	15.6
Belgium	1,520	81	.57	1.24	100.0	94.3
Canada	1,990	209	.52	.66	91.2	91.2
Denmark	1,800	26	.30	.28	100.0	62.5
France	1,520	723	.95	1.70	85.5	84.7
Germany	1,520	490	.54	.81	86.5	70.6
Italy	940	121	.24	1.28	73.1	13.4
Japan	780	285	.37	.70	41.5	41.5
Netherlands	$1,380	$56	0.38	1.31	98.1	88.1
Norway	1,570	13	.23	.29	100.0	100.0
Portugal	380	25	.70	1.14	39.7	82.0
Sweden	2,140	56	.34	.64	100.0	70.7
United Kingdom	1,520	501	.61	1.16	93.1	95.4
United States	3,100	3,634	.59	.74	87.5	84.1
Total, DAC average	1,870	[1] 6,397	.57	.87	85.0	78.2
DAC target				1.00	81.0	82.0

[1] Total DAC.

Source: Revised figures of 1967 DAC Chairman's report.

DAC COUNTRIES

[Donor country assistance [1] as a percent of national income, 1966]

	Percent		Percent
France	0.95	Canada	0.52
Portugal	.70	Austria	.49
Australia	.67	Japan	.37
Belgium	.64	Sweden	.34
United Kingdom	.60	Denmark	.30
United States	.60	Italy	.24
Netherlands	.55	Norway	.23
Germany	.54		

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[1] Bilateral and multilateral official flows, net.

TABLE 2.—MEMBERSHIP IN CONSORTIA AND CONSULTATIVE GROUPS [1] AND 1966 NET DISBURSEMENTS

[In millions of U.S dollars]

	Consortia				Consultative groups										Aid group, IBRD, Ceylon
	IBRD		OECD		IBRD									IDB, Ecuador [2]	
	India	Pakistan	Greece	Turkey	Colombia	Korea	Malaysia	Morocco	Nigeria	Peru	Sudan	Thailand	Tunisia		
IBRD	−12.9	3.9		26.7	21.6		22.5	11.6	27.5	13.8	7.3	14.6	3.4		−1.2
IDA	154.2	62.1		17.0	2.6				3.2		1.6		1.3	0.1	
IDB					12.1					2.0				1.9	
EEC			18.7	6.6											
Australia						0.3	2.3					3.3			1.1
Austria	4.5		1.1	1.0											
Belgium	.1	(3)	(3)	1.4	.1		(3)	.3	.1	.4		(3)	.8	(3)	
Canada	110.7	31.7				.1	4.1	.1	3.6			.7	.6		5.2
China						(4)									
Denmark				.3	(3)		(3)					.2	.5		
Finland										(4)			(4)		
France			4.5	7.5				49.1					29.5		
Germany	55.4	35.6	7.8	17.1	1.5	6.0	1.2	2.2	10.6	15.5	2.1	17.6	4.4	.6	6.0
Italy	1.4		.5	4.2	−.3	5.3	(3)	−.3	9.7	.8	−.7	.1	−1.3		
Japan	49.5	21.3			.1	31.2	.4		.2	(3)	(3)	3.7		.1	6.9
Kuwait													(4)		
Netherlands	10.5	2.9		1.0	.7				.3		1.0		1.7		
New Zealand							(4)					(4)			
Norway															
Spain					(4)					(4)			(4)	(4)	
Sweden				1.1							.7		1.9		
Switzerland					(4)		(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)	
United Kingdom	89.4	24.0		19.3	.2	.4	13.2	(3)	16.0	.5	4.3	.6	.1	.3	6.6
United States	744.0	198.0	6.0	117.0	58.0	166.0	6.0	47.0	30.0	30.0	2.0	21.0	39.0	20.0	5.0
Total	1,206.8	379.5	38.6	220.2	96.6	209.3	49.7	110.0	101.2	63.0	18.3	61.8	81.9	23.0	29.6

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[1] The IMF and UNDP participate in most of the consortia and consultative groups, as well as CIAP, the EEC, and regional development banks, as appropriate. The IBRD is a member of all consortia and consultative groups and the Ceylon aid group.

[2] Other countries participating include Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Israel, Mexico, and South Africa.

[3] Less than $50,000.

[4] Data not available.

Source: AID justifications for fiscal year 1969.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the first of these tables is headed "Flow of Financial Resources From DAC Countries to Developing Countries and Multilateral Institutions 1966." These are the latest figures currently available.

The first table lists the 15 so-called developed countries in the world, ranging from Australia to the United States, and indicating the per capita income for each country and the amount of assistance expressed in dollars flowing from these sources to the underdeveloped nations of the world. I point out that in 1966 the total net official flow from all the industrialized countries was estimated to be $6.397 billion. Of that amount, the United States supplied $3.634 billion. Of the total official commitments, that is, loans made by our Government in that year, 87.5 percent of the dollar value was on terms of 3 percent interest or less.

The average for all the industrialized countries was 85 percent. Also, 84.1 percent of our commitments were made on terms of 25 years or more. The average of all developed countries was 78.2 percent.

The second table deals with membership in consortia and consultative groups and 1966 net disbursements shown in U.S. dollars. The second table indicates conclusively that we are carrying far more than our share of the burden. For instance, under the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development consortia to assist India, the United States supplied a total of $744 million out of a total consortia commitment of $1206.8 million. In Pakistan, another country I visited, in 1966 we supplied $198 million out of a total consortia program of $379.5 million.

In the aid group lending assistance to Ceylon, another country on my itinerary, the aid group formed to assist that nation disbursed $29.6 million in 1966. Of that amount, we supplied $5 million, a more modest figure and perhaps slightly below the guidelines that I, myself, would advocate as our contribution to such groups. It seems to me that in all cases we should not supply more than one-third of the total assistance granted by way of the multilateral approach.

In this regard, Mr. President, I made a special effort to obtain a full listing of the amount of assistance, aside from that supplied by the United States, flowing into the South Asian nations. The listing that I obtained is fairly complete and, although it appears in my report beginning on page 7, I ask unanimous consent that it be made a part of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the listing was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIRD-COUNTRY AID

It has always been my contention that other nations, particularly in Western Europe, Japan, in Asia, and the U.S.S.R., should do a great deal more than has been done in extending aid to the less-developed nations of the world. Some improvements have been made in this regard, particularly since the late 1950's and early 1960's when the United States found itself virtually alone as far as rendering tangible assistance.

I believe, however, that much more could be done in this regard, through utilizing various international agencies or international consortia. Large amounts of consortia aid are now flowing into Pakistan and an aid group has combined to extend assistance to Ceylon ond other nations of Southeast Asia.

I believe this approach offers many advantages to all of the nations involved. In the first place, it has the effect of removing political implications and charges of political interference from the recipients of international and consortium programs. In the second place, it has the effect of reducing the overall overhead charges primarily incurred because of personnel employment.

In each country that I visited in south Asia, I requested information as to the amount of third country assistance flowing into that nation. The data that I gathered follow.

AFGHANISTAN

The U.S.S.R. has been the primary source of most of Afghanistan's loan assistance. I was informed that most of this assistance consists of credits extended at 2½ percent interest with from 10 to 20 years to repay. This is considerably less liberal than our own development loan program, even for a country bordering on Russia's southern boundary and forming a buffer state.

The United Kingdom and West Germany also have programs of loan assistance here.

As to grant aid, we have approximately doubled the amount the U.S.S.R. made available to Afghanistan cumulative from 1957. The figures are $87.9 million by the U.S.S.R. and $160.3 million by the United States.

Table 1 sets out detailed information.

TABLE 1.—AFGHANISTAN LOAN ASSISTANCE

[In thousands of dollars]

Country and purpose	Amount	Disbursed	Available
U.S. total [1]	68,187	67,387	800
U.S.S.R.:			
Economic development	100,000	100,000	
Do	12,000	12,000	
Do.[2]	115,556	72,000	43,556
Salang and Jalalabad Canals	19,484	19,484	
Fuel and goods [3]	81,109	36,200	44,909
Natural gas development	38,898	13,200	25,698
Bagram Airport	3,800	3,800	
Petroleum exploration	13,626	13,626	
Kabul housing	11,110	4,800	6,310
Commodities	11,110	7,688	3,422
Do	11,110	7,400	3,710
Do	11,110	4,300	6,810
Road equipment	2,970	2,970	
Naglu Dam	5,000	[4] 1,500	3,500
Total	436,883	298,968	137,915
Czechoslovakia:			
Cement and fruit plants	1,030	1,030	
Cement factory (Ghazni)	2,853	2,853	
Puli Charkhi workshops	5,040	5,040	
Total	8,923	8,923	
United Kingdom:			
Edible-oil plant (Bost)	1,820	1,820	
Baghlan sugar factory	616	616	
Trucks	560	560	
Total	2,996	2,996	
West Germany: [5]			
Mahipar hydroelectric dam	23,750	19,227	4,523
Kabul electric distribution	4,080	4,080	
Grain storage	7,000	200	6,800
Gas tanks, service station	2,820	130	2,690
Telephone exchanges	5,375	4,411	964
Textile plant	7,500	7,500	
Radio station	1,825	1,825	
Consumer goods	2,500	2,500	
Consultation: Health clinics	100	100	
Hospitals	3,650	200	3,450
Kabul water system	1,600		1,600
Total	60,200	40,173	20,027
Mainland China: Agricultural and light industrial projects	28,000	(6)	(6)

[1] See pt. VII, sec. 8 of exhibit B: Afghanistan for itemized list of U.S. dollar-financed loans.

[2] Gas exploration; Doshi-Sherkhan Bandar Rd.; technicians, Mazar-i-Sharif; electrical transmission line, Naglu-Kabul; Naglu construction; gas pipeline; canal maintenance; technicians' salaries.

[3] Equipment, Sherkhan Bandar; fertilizer plant; powerplant; Sardeh Dam (Ghazni); powerline (Kunduz); farm equipment and Nangahar Canal; mineral survey; polytechnic institute; technicians, Jongalak; irrigation; Kabul-Jabul-Seraj Rd.

[4] Estimate.

[5] Following agreements not yet signed:

Industrial estates	$175,000
Electric power	4,500,000
Power supply services	125,000
Total	4,800,000

[6] Not known.

Total grants received by Afghanistan, 1957–58—1966–67

	Millions
U.S.S.R. [1]	$87.9
United States [2]	160.3
West Germany	4.2
United Nations	12.2
France	0.1
Japan	0.3
Total	265.0

[1] Majority of Soviet and United States grant aid has been for highway construction.

[2] See pt. VII, sec. 5, 6, 7 of exhibit B (Afghanistan) for itemized list of U.S. grant projects.

BURMA

Burma receives aid from several Communist and Western countries. According to information presented to me in the field, there have been four Soviet projects here: a technical institute and a hotel in Rangoon, a hospital in Taunggyi, and an irrigation and flood control dam at Kyetmauktaung. All have been completed. Although the projects have been called gift projects by the Soviets, the Burmese Government has been paying for their costs by shipping rice to the Soviet Union.

An $84 million Chinese loan, extended in January 1961, was the largest single Communist credit in Burma. It was utilized to build a bridge over the Salween River at Kunlong, a textile mill at Meiktila, and a sugar factory at Bilin. Other projects begun but not completed are a plywood factory at Swa, a papermill at Sittang and a second bridge over the Sittang River at Takaw. Following the sharp deterioration of relations between Burma and Communist China in June 1967, Chinese aid was stopped and Chinese technicians in Burma were recalled to Communist China. Trade between Communist China and Burma has also ceased.

Japanese aid, which has been for the most part grants, has been used to set up assembly plants for trucks, small cars, agricultural machinery, and household appliances. In addition, the Japanese are building a nitrogen fertilizer plant.

West Germany and India have also extended fairly large loans to Burma. Assistance has also been received from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. The detailed figures are set forth in **table 2.**

TABLE 2.—FOREIGN AID TO BURMA

[Million U.S. dollars]

	Agreement through calendar year 1966	Expended through calendar year 1966	Agreements since calendar year 1966	Expended in 1966 (Burmese fiscal year, unless noted)	Expended in 1967
Yugoslavia:					
Grant	1.1	1.1			
Loan	8.0	.546		1.366	1.786
East Germany: Loan	14.0				1.681
Poland: Loan	10.0				
Czechoslovakia:					
Grant	.1	.1			
Loan	1.4	1.4			3.151
U.S.S.R.: Loan	13.7	12.9		.210	
China: Loan	84.0	21.4		5.7	6.1
West Germany:					
Loan	12.5	1.125		1.125	5.48
Guarantee-fund	25.0	5.0		.89	(1)
India: Loan	42.0	42.0			
Israel: Grant	1.0	1.0			
IBRD: Loan	33.30	32.75		.42	.21
IMF: Drawings	15.0	15.0	15.0		
Japan:					
Grant	340.0	208.3		10.29	15.3
Loan	30.0	(1)		(1)	(1)
International organizations:					
Grant	12.86	11.01		4.76	1.7
Colombo plan: Grant	13.525		(1)		(1)

[1] Not available.

CEYLON

The major portion of free world aid to Ceylon since the present Government came to power has been granted under the auspices of the IBRD, which has acted as a catalyst and channel for aid to Ceylon. The IBRD has provided analyses of Ceylon's economic situation and aid requirements, and it has convened three meetings of aid donors; July 1965 in Washington, May 1966 in London, and April 1967 in Tokyo. The summary of aid below is divided into (a) pre-1965 aid, and (b) post-1965 aid. It should be noted that all countries provided technical assistance before 1965 except the United States have continued to do so after that time and that values of technical assistance are not available.

The information I received from the field appears in table 3.

"TABLE 3

"Australia

"(a) Two million dollars in gifts of equipment and materials; $6 million in gifts of wheat flour, with rupee counterpart funds being used for development projects; technical assistance in the form of scholarships and experts.

"(b) Three grants totaling about $3 million to finance purchases of wheat flour. As of mid-1967, Australia had provided scholarships and training facilities for 361 Ceylonese and had supplied 74 experts to Ceylon.*

"*These figures are totals for the period since the inception of the country's aid to Ceylon."

"Canada

"(a) Dollar grants of $14 million primarily for an aerial resources survey, power transmission lines, railway equipment, and runway extension at Katunayake Airport; $13 million in wheat flour gifts, with rupee counterpart funds being used for development projects; dollar loans of $10 million for wheat flour and hydroelectric equipment; technical assistance in the form of scholarships and experts.

"(b) Three $4.2 million aid programs, consisting of $5½ million as wheat flour gifts, $4½ million as 50-year interest-free development loans, and $2½ million as capital grants. As of mid-1967, Canada had provided scholarships and training facilities for 167 Ceylonese and has supplied 167 experts to Ceylon.

"Federal Republic of Germany

"(a) Two million dollars in grants for a tile factory and bus workshop; $10 million in loans for a cement factory and equipment for the Colombo Port; technical assistance in the form of scholarships and experts.

"(b) $17 million in the form of three 20-year 3 percent interest commodity loans; $6 million grant for technical assistance; $4.5 million grant for capital assistance. As of mid-1967 the Federal Republic of Germany had provided scholarships and training facilities for 112 Ceylonese and had supplied seven experts to Ceylon.

"France

"(a) $1.5 million in 5-year 4½ percent credits for a water supply scheme.

"(b) $8 million in guarantees of commercial suppliers credits for commodity purchases. As of mid-1967 France had provided scholarships and training facilities for 17 Ceylonese and had supplied two experts to Ceylon.

"Great Britain

"(a) $1 million in grants of equipment and material; $8 million loan for the purchase of telecommunications equipment; technical assistance in the form of scholarships and experts.

"(b) Three $10 million 25-year-interest-free commodity loans. As of mid-1967 Great Britain had provided scholarships and training facilities for 867 Ceylonese and had supplied 146 experts to Ceylon.

"India

"(a) Technical assistance in the form of scholarships and experts.

"(b) $4 million in 3-year credits for the purchase of foodstuffs and $7 million 10-year 5½ percent loan for the purchase of capital equipment. As of mid-1967 India had provided scholarships and training facilities for 338 Ceylonese and had supplied 45 experts to Ceylon.

"Japan

"(a) $2 million for the establishment of a fisheries training center; technical assistance in the form of scholarships and experts.

"(b) Three $5 million 7-year 5½ percent interest commodity loans. As of mid-1967 Japan had provided scholarships and training facilities for 169 Ceylonese and supplied 104 experts to Ceylon.

"*II. Other Free World Aid*

"Israel

"Technical assistance in the form of scholarships and experts.

"New Zealand

"In capital grants $2.5 million, used primarily in the field of agriculture. As of mid-1967 New Zealand had provided scholarships and training facilities for 135 Ceylonese and had supplied 30 experts to Ceylon.

"Sweden

"For a family planning pilot project, $1 million. As of mid-1967 Sweden had provided scholarships and training facilities for five Ceylonese.

"*III. Communist Countries*

"Communist China

"In grants $26 million ($15 million utilized) over the period 1958–67 for the purchase of commodities, which have included railway rolling stock, textiles, and textile machinery and equipment; two 10-year-interest-free loans—$10 million (all utilized) in 1958 and $4 million ($1 million utilized) in 1964. Projects for the construction of a textile mill and of an international conference hall were nominally initiated 3 years ago, but no work has been undertaken since then.

"Czechoslovakia

"A 1950 agreement provided for credits (4 years at 3 percent interest) in an unspecified amount for the purchase of capital goods, $1.5 million of these credits has been utilized for purchases by various state corporations. Czechoslovakia has provided 22 scholarships to Ceylonese.

"East Germany

"An agreement was signed in 1965 for a $42 million line of credit (10 years at 2½ percent interest), under the terms of which a contract was signed in late 1966 covering about half of the $42 million for the construction of a large integrated textile mill. East Germany has provided 27 training courses for Ceylonese and the services of one expert.

"Poland

"A line of credit of $8 million (8 years at 2½ percent interest) was granted in 1963 for financing the foreign exchange costs of agreed upon development projects. Drawings of less than $1 million have been utilized primarily for the construction of a hardware factory. Poland has provided six scholarships to Ceylonese.

"Soviet Union

"Under the terms of a 1958 agreement for a $30 million line of credit (12 years at 2½ percent interest), 10 projects have been agreed upon: Iron and steel factory, tire and tube factory, preparation of land for sugar plantation, preparation of land for cotton plantation, flour mill, cold storage plant, peat deposit utilization study, river basin study, reservoir headworks study, and preparation of land for pasture. The first nine projects have been virtually completed, and it is expected that the utilized $10 million of the line of credit will be used for advanced stages of the iron and steel factory and the tire and tube factory. The Soviet Union has provided 159 training places for Ceylonese and an unspecified number of experts, all as part of the 10 projects.

"Yugoslavia

"A line of credit of $15 million was extended in 1959 for the purchase of capital goods. Drawings of $1.5 million have been used primarily for the purchase of stern trawlers. Yugoslavia has provided 11 scholarships and training places for Ceylonese."

INDIA

Although 19 nations have been involved in extending loans to India and 10 nations have made grants available, the United States is by far the largest contributor. For instance, in the third 5-year plan which was completed in 1966, the United States extended loans amounting to $1.765 billion to India, not including Public Law 480 commitments. The nations which came closest to our contribution were Germany with $647 million and Britain with $508 million. The U.S.S.R. extended credits of only $211 million to this Nation which must rank of prime importance to the success of its Asian policies.

As to the grant program, the United States has extended $310 million in grant assistance for the last three 5-year plans while the U.S.S.R. has extended only $10 million in grants.

The detailed breakdown appears in table 4.

TABLE 4.—GRANTS AND OTHER ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

[In millions of dollars, 5-year total]

	Agreements signed			Utilized		
	1st plan (Apr. 1, 1951, through Mar. 31, 1956)	2d plan (Apr. 1, 1956, through Mar. 31, 1961)	3d plan (Apr. 1, 1961, through Mar. 31, 1966)	1st plan (Apr. 1, 1951, through Mar. 31, 1956)	2d plan (Apr. 1, 1956, through Mar. 31, 1961)	3d plan (Apr. 1, 1961, through Mar. 31, 1966)
A. Grants:						
Australia	23	5	26.0	11	16	15
Britain	1	1	2.0		1	2
Canada	68	120	181.0	41	127	114
Czechoslovakia			1.0			1
Germany		4	1.0		1	4
Japan		1	.3		1	
New Zealand	4	4	2.0	1	6	1
Sweden			8.0			5
Norway	1	4	5.0	1	4	5
U.S.S.R.		2	8.0		2	8
United States of America (TCA)	181	93	36.0	88	160	52
U.N. Special Fund		8	9.0			4
Ford Foundation	12	22	10.0	5	20	13
B. Other assistance:						
Public Law 480 imports		2,337	946.0		1,083	1,791
Public Law 665 imports	36	31		11	56	
3d-country currency assistance		6			5	1

LOANS TO INDIA

[In millions of dollars]

Country	Agreements for loans signed					Loans utilized				
	1st plan (Apr. 1, 1951, through Mar. 31, 1956) (5-year total) [1]	2d plan (Apr. 1, 1956, through Mar, 31, 1961) (5-year total)	3d plan (Apr. 1, 1961, through Mar. 31, 1966) (5-year total)	1966–67 (Apr. 1, 1966, through Mar. 31, 1967) (full year)	1967 (Apr. 1, 1951, through Sept. 30, 1967) (half year)	1st plan (Apr. 1, 1956, through Mar. 31, 1956) (5-year total) [1]	2d plan (Apr. 1, 1961, through Mar. 31, 1961) (5-year total)	3d plan (Apr. 1, 1961, through Mar. 31, 1966) (5-year total)	1966–67 (Apr. 1, 1966, through Mar. 31, 1967) (full year)	1967 (Apr. 1, 1967, through Sept. 30, 1967) (half year)
Austria			18	5				10	5	2
Belgium			24		1			10		
Britain		258	508	99	53		256	358	121	59
Bulgaria					15					
Canada		33	65	55	23		33	24	16	8
Czechoslovakia		49	84					26	18	4
Denmark			5	4				1	4	3
France			120	17				44	3	20
Germany		292	647	59			263	461	85	24
Hungary				33						
Italy			171	33				24	1	
Japan		56	290	45	70		34	185	40	49
Netherlands			46	9	8			20	9	14

See footnote at end of table.

LOANS TO INDIA—Continued

[In millions of dollars]

Country	Agreements for loans signed: 1st plan (Apr. 1, 1951 through Mar. 31, 1956) (5-year total)[1]	Agreements for loans signed: 2d plan (Apr. 1, 1956, through Mar, 31, 1961) (5-year total)	Agreements for loans signed: 3d plan (Apr. 1, 1961 through Mar. 31, 1966) (5-year total)	Agreements for loans signed: 1966–67 (Apr. 1, 1966, through Mar. 31, 1967) (full year)	Agreements for loans signed: 1967 (Apr. 1, 1951, through Sept. 30, 1967) (half year)	Loans utilized: 1st plan (Apr. 1, 1956, through Mar. 31, 1956) (5-year total)[1]	Loans utilized: 2d plan (Apr. 1, 1961, through Mar. 31, 1961) (5-year total)	Loans utilized: 3d plan (Apr. 1, 1961, through Mar. 31, 1966) (5-year total)	Loans utilized: 1966–67 (Apr. 1, 1966, through Mar. 31, 1967) (full year)	Loans utilized: 1967 (Apr. 1, 1967, through Sept. 30, 1967) (half year)
Poland		30	57					24	1	2
Sweden			5	4					2	1
Switzerland		14	18	−4				13	10	2
U.S.S.R.	136	670	211	344			157	435	48	26
United States (other than Public Law 480)	220	712	1,765	383	112	194	323	1,672	354	140
Yugoslavia		40	5	80				20	8	1
IBRD	120	548	304	29	23	71	468	259	34	15
IDA			585	304				421	180	117

[1] Includes amounts authorized and utilized prior to 1st plan.

IRAN

Little information was available as to the third country grant assistance extended to Iran. I was informed that almost all of such assistance would be in the form of salaries paid to technicians. There were about 200 U.N. personnel stationed in Iran at the time of my visit; the French were said to have about 45 technical advisers involved in bilateral programs and the German technicians numbered about 37.

About $1 billion in loan aid has been extended to Iran from countries other than the United States over the last decade. The largest amounts have come from the Soviet Union ($348 million) and from France ($259 million).

The pertinent information is presented in table 5.

TABLE 5

	Millions
USSR: A $286,000,000 loan, of which about $209,000,000 is for the steel mill at Isfahan with the balance divided equally between a machine-tool plant at Arak and the Soviet share in the gas pipeline, plus loans for dams on the border of the Aras River and for the construction of silos, for a total of about	$348
Romania: About $34,000,000 for sundry projects plus $32,000,000 for a tractor plant, for a total of about	66
Czechoslovakia: Sundry supplier credits plus a Government loan of $15,000,000 for Tabriz machine-tool plant	20
Poland: Government credit for industrial projects	15
Bulgaria: Government credit for industrial projects	10
Hungary: Government credit for industrial projects	10
Total for Soviet bloc (very little expended to date)	469
International Bank (most of which expended)	173
France: Almost entirely supplier credits, of which about $142,000,000 are covered by Government guarantees	259
Germany: Government credits of $50,000,000 and $10,000,000 plus supplier credits	89
Japan: A $10,000,000 loan for pipes and steel plate for the gas pipeline, a $17,000,000 loan for telecommunications project, plus sundry	28
United Kingdom: A Government loan of $11,200,000 for development projects, a Midland Bank loan of $12,000,000 for a transmission line to Tehran plus sundry supplier credits	25
Austria	10
Italy	9
Other	7
Total	1,069

NEPAL

The largest portion of third country aid to Nepal has been in the form of grants with only a few loans being involved. The principal donors, aside from the United States, are India, Communist China, and the U.S.S.R. Communist China is emphasizing impact projects in public works and especially road building. A road from Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, to Kodari on the Tibetan border was begun by the Chinese in the middle of 1967. The Soviet Union is concentrating in public works and, again, primarily road construction. Some attention has also been given to industrial projects. No figures were available in the field concerning contributions from Western European countries, although Great Britain, West Germany, Switzerland, and Israel were said to have small programs underway. Table 6 sets forth the contributions of the three largest contributors, aside from the United States, from 1952 to 1968.

TABLE 6

	Millions
India	$83.2
Mainland China	21.9
U.S.S.R.	18.7
Other	8.7

PAKISTAN

Pakistan is being assisted by a consortium of nine Western nations and there are several bilateral programs in existence. According to Pakistani Government sources, as of March 31, 1967, there was $964.1 million available from consortium sources and $386.8 million available on a bilateral basis, including some food shipments.

All of the current U.S. assistance is being made available through the consortium and again we are the largest single contributor, supplying $276 million of the total. The Ex-Im Bank and the World Bank are also heavily involved. The complete picture appears in table 7.

TABLE 7.—AVAILABILITY OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM CONSORTIUM AND NONCONSORTIUM SOURCE DURING THE 3d 5-YEAR PLAN

[In millions of dollars]

Countries	Uncommitted pledges as on June 30, 1965	Pledges during 3rd plan: 1965–66	Pledges during 3rd plan: 1966–67	Total availability up to Mar. 31, 1967
Consortium sources:				
Belgium	9.5		0.5	10.0
Canada	[1] 30.4	25.4	25.4	81.2
France	17.1	10.0	10.0	37.8
Germany	48.4	40.0	38.8	127.2
Italy	14.7	20.0	30.0	64.7
Japan		30.0	30.0	60.0
Netherlands		4.8	4.4	9.2
United Kingdom		22.4	22.4	44.8
United States	86.0	50.0	140.0	276.0
Eximbank	66.0			66.0
IBRD/IDA	38.2	49.0	100.0	187.2
Total	311.0	251.6	401.5	964.1
Nonconsortium sources:				
A. Project aid:				
Australia		.9		.9
China	30.0			30.0
Czechoslovakia	14.0	1.5	28.0	43.5
Denmark		2.2		2.2
Japan (textile credit)	10.0			10.0
New Zealand		.9		.9
Poland	14.0			14.0
Sweden		4.8		4.8
Switzerland	10.0		4.5	14.5
U.S.S.R.	50.0		84.0	134.0
Yugoslavia	10.7	40.8	30.0	80.8
Suppliers' credits		1.0	29.9	30.9
Subtotal (project)	138.7	52.1	176.4	367.2
B. Nonproject aid:				
Australia		2.2		2.2
Canada (wheat)		3.7	6.8	10.5
China (food grains)			6.9	6.9
Subtotal (nonproject)		5.9	13.7	19.6
Total	138.7	58.0	190.1	386.8

[1] Includes surrenders and savings which have become available for reprograming to date from earlier allocations.

Note: A sum of $13,300,000 has been pledged by France ($10,000,000), Italy ($2,000,000) and Germany ($1,100,000) outside the consortium.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, frankly, I do not believe that the multilateral principle can be stressed too much. It seems to me that any objective observer must agree that its many advantages far outweigh the supposed disadvantage of reducing any credit which our Nation might receive from the aid recipient.

The biggest advantage seemed to me to be that the multilateral approach works, and it works well. A prime example is the Indus River Basin development project undertaken under the auspices of the World Bank for the mutual benefit of India and Pakistan. In this instance, the World Bank was instrumental in bringing these two antagonistic neighbors together in a cooperative effort to improve the Indus River Valley. I saw much of the work underway and it holds great promise for the entire area.

Conversely, the experience of our bilateral aid program in Afghanistan might be said to represent the worst example of the bilateral approach. There we have constructed a large and modern international airport which is now being bypassed by international flights, and which promises to turn into a white elephant on the hands of the Government. Also in Afghanistan, we undertook a project in the Helmand Valley. To date, this development has fallen far short of expectations. In this venture, as well as in the airport construction, the United States is bearing the blame for expensive mistakes which have been made.

As I examined both of these on my inspection tour, it was easily apparent that we were being blamed unjustly, particularly in the Government valley project. Yet, this is one of the dangers of bilateral assistance programs. You may rest assured that had these two projects turned out eminently successful, the host government would have claimed and received the credit due.

There are two other considerations involved in the multilateral versus bilateral foreign assistance argument. The first is by far the most important.

The underdeveloped areas of the world are in great ferment at the present time and this is likely to continue for years into the future. To a large extent, particularly in South Asia, the underdeveloped nations of the world form an ideological battleground between the forces of Western democracy and Russian and Chinese communism. Because of this, governments inclined to be friendly toward the West are put on the spot. On the one hand they must fiercely defend their neutrality, while on the other hand they must take action to meet the needs of the people if the governments themselves are to survive. The multilateral approach would allow this conflict to be resolved. And, if Russia saw fit to cooperate in the development effort through these various consortia or other multilateral groups, I, for one, say all the better. It seems to me we should welcome such cooperation and not fear it. Furthermore, I believe that such cooperation would be forthcoming, for Russia has a much greater stake in the stability of South Asia than does the United States.

Returning to my discussion of Senate Document 18, Senators will find that it contains a wealth of information concerning the general condition of the South Asian countries today, as well as specific information on all of our many governmental programs carried on in the area. I have attempted to organize this report in a manner to make this information easily available to all concerned.

Senators will note that the first section of the report contains my conclusions and recommendations which I drafted upon my return to the States. Here, as I have already indicated, is to be found a brief recapitulation of my past views on the course of our international affairs as well as a discussion of the course which should be followed in the future. Next comes a section devoted to "third country aid," which I have already placed in the Record.

While I am on this subject, I believe it should be reiterated that I found, once again, that our country's assistance is extended on terms more liberal than the assistance provided by other industrialized areas of the world. Our loans are usually made at the rate of 2½-percent interest with a grace period of up to 10 years. Germany, for instance, extends development loans at rates ranging from 1- to 5½-percent interest; Italy's loan program is marked by interest rates of from 2½ to 7 percent. Japan makes development loans available at rates of 3½- to 5½-percent interest, and the rates of the United Kingdom range up to 7½ percent in interest charges. This information is contained in exhibit A of my report, and I ask unanimous consent that it be made a part of the Record at this point, with my conclusion and recommendations.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It has been 7 years since I last toured south Asia to inspect and evaluate our Nation's operations in this area on behalf of the Senate Appropriations Committee. At the conclusion of that trip, I reported to the Senate that I had returned to the United States—

"Much disturbed at the harvest our aid effort has reaped, alarmed at the future consequences in store for our Nation unless significant basic changes were made in our program, and that what began as a nourishing broth of 'international cooperation for peace' has become a witches' brew—a serious threat to our own economic stability and growth."

I have come back and reviewed my recommendations of 1960 as to the course of our Nation's policy in international relations. Frankly, I find them extremely pertinent today in light of the situation which our country faces. Further, I cannot resist expressing the opinion that if our policies had been examined and brought more closely into line with what I saw as reality at the time, our Nation as a whole would be much better off than it is today. For those interested in going over my comments of 1960, I have included paragraphs taken from my report of that year, dealing with an evaluation of our foreign operations and the balance-of-payments problem, as appendix A.

As a brief recapitulation of my earlier views, I might merely point out one or two principles which became obvious to me at the time, but which, for some reason, could not be made obvious to our policy planners and administrators.

First, I pointed out that by 1951 Europe's economic and industrial programs had begun to exceed prewar averages. In light of this development, which was brought about primarily through the largesse of our Nation through the operation of the Marshall plan, I saw no reason to continue assistance on a grant basis to the nations of Western Europe.

By the same token, I saw no reason for us to continue maintaining as many as six divisions of American troops in Western Europe. I was particularly insistent upon this when it became clear to me that the United States seemed more concerned with providing for the defense of Western Europeans than they were themselves. In effect, we were providing a military defense "umbrella" for our allies. This allowed them to concentrate on developing their own domestic economies while we bore the defense burden.

It also allowed them to accumulate large dollar holdings, because of our extensive expenditures abroad, as obligations against our country. At the end of 1959 we still had on hand $19.5 billion in gold and there was ample time to correct the dollar flow while we could still act from a position of strength. Unfortunately, as is well known, we are now being forced to act from a position of weakness.

As a corollary to the increasing economic strength of the hard currency countries of Western Europe, I recommended more than 8 years ago that every effort be made to induce those countries with strong economies to assist us by sharing in the aid efforts aimed at the less-developed countries of the world. To this end, I recommended the greatest possible use of international and multilateral agencies. I feel that our contribution to these agencies should not average more than one-third of the total commitments made.

I continue to favor this position today, and I believe it has become more reasonable and valid with the passage of time. This is particularly true when we consider the case of India. The record indicated that for the implementation of India's third 5-year program, the United States supplied grants amounting to $982 million, including Public Law 480 assistance. The country coming closest to our own total was Canada, which supplied grants of $181 million during the period. Australia supplied $26 million but all of Western Europe contributed only $16 million.

When we turn to the loan program, we see a somewhat different picture. During the third 5-year plan, the United States supplied India with loans amounting to $1.765 billion, but substantial contributions were also forthcoming from several Western European sources. These loans were usually made on terms much more businesslike than our own commitments. Complete details on these terms are contained in exhibit A.

The leader among these contributors was Germany, with loans amounting to $647 million. Great Britain supplied $508 million and the Netherlands $290 million. Several other hard-currency countries contributed as well including Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, and Sweden.

In my estimation, we are still carrying far too large a part of the burden. This is particularly true concerning the task of feeding the Indian population. We owe nothing to India. Helping to feed her people to prevent starvation is a humanitarian problem and all countries of the world should participate, especially the rich countries. Here, our contributions outshadow the rest of the world's. In 1966 we provided about 80 percent of India's deficit. If the industrialized countries are unable to assist in making direct gifts of food to India, I believe they should be asked to buy foodstuffs for shipment to the ill-fed masses or supply her with fertilizer, pesticides, and farm machinery, so that her hard currency reserves could be used to buy food from us.

Aside from this assistance, of course, both by way of agricultural commodities and loans and grants for technical developments, India must continue to make every possible effort to assist its own economy. One area that comes to mind is the possibility of an educational campaign to change the attitude of the Hindu population toward many of the thousands of cattle presently roaming the countryside. In my country report on India, I point out that from 1918 we in the United States have been able to free 26.6 million acres of land which were formerly devoted to producing hay and grain to support our workhorses and mules.

I realize that this is a sensitive area, and certainly any efforts to coerce the people should be avoided. At the same time, however, if some way could be found to decrease the number of cattle, many economic benefits could be derived therefrom. Since cattle are not used for food, some way should be devised to control the cattle population.

In this connection, I believe that the Government of India should also be encouraged to direct more of its attention to the production of fish, to further improve the people's diet. This is true throughout most of south Asia, for most of the nations have long and productive coastlines. Particularly in the case of India, however, it might be well to follow the example of the Japanese, who have learned to "farm" fish in the ponds used to store water for the irrigation of rice paddies. The fish harvest now forms an important part of the Japanese food production and it seems to me that the technique could well be applied in India.

I also recommended a phaseout of our bilateral assistance programs as we shifted to the multilateral approach. I shall have more to say in this regard in a moment.

By and large, I find these principles especially pertinent to south Asia today. Neutralism is the primary ideology throughout the entire area, with the exception of Pakistan. Since most of the south Asian nations border directly on the U.S.S.R., and Red China, there is a great deal of pragmatism involved, as well as ideology. Our cooperation in a multilateral policy would bring many benefits to the aid recipients and to ourselves, and, carrying the projection one step further, to the world of the future.

Fortunately, important multilateral programs are already underway. The Indus Basin is being developed as a cooperative venture among Pakistan, India, and the United States. The administration of the work is carried on under the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The program is discussed in full in my country report on Pakistan, and I am frank to say that I am optimistic as to the outcome of the project.

Here we have two nations who have allowed themselves to be drawn into positions of rivalry, cooperating to bring economic benefits to both. In the process, one of the prime causes of the rivalry—the division of the Indus River waters—has been brought to a negotiated settlement. The World Bank, as the Inernational Bank for Reconstruction and Development is commonly known, played an important part in bringing the two nations together to solve the question of water rights and to cooperate in putting that water to the best use of both parties. Here is an example we should strive to have imitated throughout south Asia, and, for that matter, throughout the rest of the world where such conditions exist.

Across the breadth of the Indian subcontinent we have a similar undertaking underway in Ceylon, where an aid group has been formed to extend long-range assistance to the Ceylonese. Here again, we have another promising example of what can be accomplished by nations working together.

On the other hand, the perils of a bilateral aid policy are many. One need only turn to my comments concerning Afghanistan in the country reports to find a prime example of what occurs all too often. There we have gone to great expense to develop an international airport at Kandahar, which has turned into a white elephant on the hands of the government. We participated on a bilateral basis in developing the Helmand Valley for Afghanistan and this development has fallen far short of its planners' hopes. In both of these instances, our Nation, rightly or wrongly, has been blamed for expensive mistakes.

Regardless of the economic effects of bilateral aid, programs and projects of this nature leave us open to charges of seeking political influence over the internal and external policies of the recipient nations. Resort to other methods would do much to remove that propaganda ploy from the hands of our enemies.

Accordingly, I am recommending, if possible more strongly than before, that we relegate our entire efforts in the future to projects and programs undertaken on a multilateral basis. This can be accomplished through our participation in various consortia and through aid groups. As a corollary I would recommend that the administration of the programs be placed under the auspices of the World Bank, which has developed the expertise necessary to provide the planning and management.

I believe that our entire bilateral development loan fund should be phased out and liquidated as soon as possible.

Many recipient nations in the underdeveloped areas of the world are already finding it difficult to meet the payments due us from past development loans. This is true even though the loans have been made on the most liberal of terms and are usually repayable in the currency of the recipient nation. Still, many authorities feel that pressures are building up which will someday require us to write off a large part of the development loan repayments, especially in those instances where the loans are repayable in dollars.

Aside from our participation in multilateral and international assistance programs, our own foreign aid should be devoted entirely to a small amount of technical assistance. By this, I mean the payment of salaries for technicians and perhaps some simple experimental and demonstration projects in the hope that the uneducated masses can learn by seeing and doing. Our technical cooperation can be carried on in important aspects through the currencies generated from the Public Law 480, or "Food for Peace" program.

Concerning another feature of the Public Law 480 operation, I have found that all too often our Nation is treated as a residual supplier of agricultural commodities by the recipients of our sales for local currency and our gifts abroad. To some extent this may be due to the fact that with the beginning of the program in 1954 and for several years thereafter, our warehouses and storage facilities were bulging at the seams with surplus commodities. The tendency of our administrators was to dispose of our surplus on almost any terms. Many abuses of the program had their roots during this period.

Conditions have changed in recent years, however, and we have been successful in bringing our agricultural surpluses under control. We can no longer look upon "Food for Peace" as a surplus disposal program. It has become an important adjunct of our total aid effort, and although it does much good, it also costs us much money on which we receive very little return.

Foreign governments should be made to understand that while they may not consider the sale of American agricultural commodities as direct foreign aid, because we permit them to pay for them with their own currencies, the fact of the matter is that our food shipments impose an additional drain on our already hard-pressed Treasury. Therefore, it would seem to me obvious that we should no longer allow the United States to be treated as a residual supplier of commodities. A recipient nation should not spend its hard-currency reserves and foreign exchange earnings with suppliers such as Australia and Canada, as well as some of the Western European nations, and then expect to receive the balance of their needs from the United States on a soft-currency basis. Recipient governments should be compelled through contractual arrangements or otherwise to make hard-currency purchases of food from us in proportion to the amount of soft-currency agreements and gifts made by other countries and that which we make available to them. In this way, we would assist our balance-of-payments problem and receive a greater return on our cash investments.

There are two areas which I believe should come in for special attention. These are population growth and increased agricultural production. These two go hand in hand. The Agency for International Development is already moving to provide more assistance in the first area, and in fiscal 1967, better than $4 million was devoted to this purpose in South Asia alone. This is quite an increase from fiscal 1965, when the sum of only $10,000 was so earmarked for the entire region.

More needs to be done, however, as our demographers are already forecasting dire consequences if meaningful steps are not taken in the near future. Those nations willing to assist themselves in this regard should be given every possible encouragement. In my estimation, here is an area where the local currencies generated through Public Law 480 sales could be put to extremely good use. I believe that not less than 5 percent of the local currency available should be devoted to population control. Where possible, the percentage should be higher. I believe that this resource should be placed at the disposal of our technicians and the government planners of any of the recipient nations requesting such assistance, on a voluntary basis, or for family planning programs.

In agriculture, we are also assisting in efforts to bring about meaningful increases in production in what appears to be a losing battle against the population increase. I have devoted one section to the agricultural situation in India. The comments found there will have bearing on other countries in the area as well.

In addition to my comments above concerning the need to have other industrial nations engage in assistance programs, I think we must look to the U.S.S.R. for greater activities in this regard. Again, this can be done most easily through the multilateral system, for I would see no reason to discourage Russian participation in these areas. Further, it seems to me obvious that Russia has a very real stake in maintaining the status quo in south Asia. This is particularly true regarding India. It is in the U.S.S.R.'s own interest to see that India becomes an economically strong and viable state, able to provide a counterbalance to mainland China.

A glance at the aid figures for India contained in the later section devoted to "Third Country Aid" will indicate how far our own contributions to India outstrip Russia's. In my view, this is almost the reverse of what the picture should be. We are acting in India primarily on humanitarian grounds, I repeat, although we do have an interest in seeing that India does not fly apart into a number of weak and divided states. On the other hand, Russia has a very real and pragmatic self-interest.

EXHIBIT A

TERMS OF LOANS MADE BY DAC COUNTRIES AND U.S.S.R. TO LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Country	Percent of aid program which is grant	Range of interest	Range of years to maturity	Weighted average for 1966	
				Interest	Years
Australia	100.0				
Austria	16.0	Development loans, 3½ percent Export credits, 6½ percent	20 maximum 10 maximum	5.7	6.5
Belgium	94.0	Development loans, 3 percent; export credits, none	20 maximum	2.8	14.0
Canada	77.0	Development loans, none Export credits, 6 percent	50 maximum 5 to 17	2.4	34.0
Denmark	63.0	Development loans, none; export credits, none	25 maximum	0	18.7
France	83.0	Development loans, 1 to 6 percent; export credits, none	1 to 25	3.6	15.0
Germany	42.0	Development loans, 1 to 5½ percent Export credits, 5¾ to 6 percent	5 to 25 5 to 10	3.3	21.0
Italy	13.0	Development loans, 2½ to 7 percent Export credits, 3 percent	5 to 20 1 to 10	3.7	8.0
Japan	41.5	Development loans, 3½ to 5½ percent Export credits, 5½ to 6 percent	20 maximum 7 to 18	5.2	14.0
Netherlands	75.0	Development loans, none to 6 percent; export credits, none	10 to 25	2.0	23.6
Norway	100.0				
Portugal	23.0	Development loans, none to 7 percent; export credits, none	5 to 30	3.6	25.0
Sweden	71.0	Development loans, always 2 percent (new law allows no interest, 50 years); export credits, none.	20	2.0	20.0
United Kingdom	50.0	Development loans, none to 7½ percent; export credits, none.	5 to 40	1.0	24.0
U.S.S.R		2½ percent	12		

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the third section of Senate Document 77 is devoted to a discussion of the agricultural situation in India. As I said previously, because of its importance, I devoted the bulk of my time and attention to the Indian subcontinent.

Generally speaking, I left India feeling more optimistic toward its future than I have at any time in the past. We are providing much assistance in improving the Indian agricultural plant, and at long last, the Indian Government is coming around to the view that the agricultural sector is fully as important as the industrial sector of the nation's economy. Of course, in my view, the agricultural sector is more important because of the base it provides, and must provide, for any meaningful economic development in any of the less-developed nations of the world.

I was informed that the Government is now putting a far greater percentage of its resources into agriculture and that agricultural education and research are being stressed. For my part, I was pleased to note that a large part of our assistance has been directed to the development of demonstration farms. I have long felt that this was one of the best ways that we could make American technology available to the people who need it so badly. To make our technical knowledge and assistance worthwhile the people must be motivated to change the old ways, and in my estimation, no one method is as effective in achieving this end as the establishment of demonstration plots and farms.

The United States and Indian Governments are not the only agencies involved in the desperate effort to improve Indian agriculture. I was fortunate enough to be able to visit several programs undertaken by private groups from the United States, including some of our large foundations, and I was very much impressed by all that I saw. This, of course, is described in detail in my country report on India found in Senate Document 77.

Before leaving this subject, I would like to make one final point that was graphically brought to my attention on my tour; that is, the need for more adequate sources of agricultural credit. I was informed that for more than 60 years, efforts have been made to establish ways and means to serve the credit needs of the Indian farmer at reasonable interest rates. So far, I was informed, approximately 200,000 rural credit societies have been established, but their success has been limited. Because of this limited success, many of the local farmers continue to rely upon the village moneylenders for the financial help they need.

As might be expected, exorbitant interest rates are charged for production loans. It is easy to understand that a poor Indian farmer would be very hesitant to borrow additional funds to purchase fertilizer or expensive farm machinery before he is absolutely convinced that the new and expensive improvement will yield additional returns.

It seems to me that if credit were made available to the farmers when it is needed, and at a reasonable rate of interest, it would greatly help in modernizing the entire agricultural plant. Given the availability of credit, it would be far easier to encourage the local farmers to adopt improved practices, such as the purchase of improved seed, fertilizer, pesticides and the other requirements of a modern farming operation. Accordingly, I am firmly convinced that more attention should be given to developing ways and means of using the local currencies credited to U.S. accounts in India to provide adequate sources of credit to Indian farmers. Our own Nation has developed a wealth of experience in this field and its benefits are well known here. This is one field where we could export the American experience to the long range benefit of foreign lands. Although I realize there are many obstacles, I am sure that they could be overcome with time and the cooperation of the Indian Government.

The fourth division contained in my report is devoted to a country-by-country discussion of the observations made on my tour. These country reports in turn are divided into several sections.

The first section is made up of thumbnail sketches of each country's history and development, and a listing of some of the most serious problems to be found therein. I have also included portions of my day-to-day impressions while traveling through the area.

This is followed by detailed comments on the operations of all of our governmental programs including, as I said, our U.S. embassies, the service and agricultural attachés, the Peace Corps, the military assistance groups and, of course, the U.S. Information Service and the Agency for International Development. Of these, the programs carried out by AID are the most important and I have gone into considerable depth in analyzing the AID program in each country.

I have tried to be, again, as objective as possible in listing both the successes and failures as they appeared to me. Also in this connection, each country report contains a complete breakdown of all American assistance activities to that particular country. This includes not only moneys going to the country through the Agency for International Development, but also the assistance rendered by such means as the Export-Import Bank and Public Law 480. In other words, I have attempted to bring together in one place all of our involvement in each of the developing countries' economy.

Finally, the report contains two appendixes. The first, or appendix A, is a reprint of my 1960 recommendations which I had discussed previously. The second appendix is an analysis of our mammoth Public Law 480 operation in India, and it includes several recommendations as to how the operation might be improved.

In conclusion, I would like to commend this report, "A Study of U.S. Government Operations in South Asia," to all Senators, to the staffs of the Appropriations and Foreign Relations Committees, and, most particularly, to the administrators of our agencies engaged in the area. I believe that our entire Government operations would benefit from many of the thoughts, recommendations, and suggestions expressed herein.

I would also like to commend the report to the American public. South Asia is a frontier of American foreign policy, and it is a frontier that too many of our citizens know too little about. The changes that are taking place throughout the region hold great importance to the course of our foreign policy, and the position we hold in the world today. This importance is likely to grow in the future.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a statement showing the number of Americans employed in each of those countries and the number of local people employed. This information was extracted from the answers to my questionnaire. In those seven countries we have 2,189 employees.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. EMPLOYEES IN SOUTH ASIA, FISCAL YEAR 1968

AFGHANISTAN

	Americans	Locals	Total
Embassy	52	67	119
Defense attachés	18	7	25
USIS	5	18	23
Agriculture attaché			
Military group			
Peace Corps	12	2	14
Peace Corps volunteers	200		
Agency for International Development	265	[1] 344	609
Total, United States and locals	[2] 352	438	790

BURMA

	Americans	Locals	Total
Embassy	39	95	134
Defense attachés	22	5	27
USIS	5	42	47
Agriculture attaché			
Military group	21	25	46
Peace Corps			
Agency for International Development	7	27	34
Total, United States and locals	94	194	288

CEYLON

	Americans	Locals	Total
Embassy	24	57	81
Defense attachés	4	3	7
USIS	4	34	38
Voice of America	1	4	5
Agricultural attaché			
Military group			
Peace Corps	5	1	6
Peace Corps volunteers	59		
Agency for International Development	3	2	5
Total, United States and locals	[2] 41	101	142

INDIA

	Americans	Locals	Total
Embassy	146	490	636
1. Consulates (3)	50	231	281
2. Miscellaneous agencies:			
(a) USAF postal and career service	6		6
(b) Library of Congress regional office	3	74	77
(c) Military Airlift Command	2	15	17
(d) Refugee Migration Service	2		2
(e) General Accounting Office	7		7
Defense attaché	27	13	40
USIS	70	630	700
Agriculture attaché	5	9	14
Far Eastern Regional Research Office (ARS)	5	11	16
Military group	10	9	19
Peace Corps	41	13	54
Peace Corps volunteers	950		
Agency for International Development	314	548	862
Total, U.S. and locals [2]	688	2,043	2,731

IRAN

	Americans	Locals	Total
Embassy [3]	82	198	280
1. Special civilian components:			
(a) Regional communications center	27		27
(b) Agriculture (regional pulse improvement project)	5	17	22
(c) Federal Aviation Administration	5		5
(d) Bureau of Public Roads	[4] 7		7
2. Special military missions:			
(a) STRATCOM	68	2	70
(b) GENMISH	24	22	46
(c) Army Gulf District	5	[5] 4	9
(d) Marine guard	16		16
(e) Military liaison	9		9
(f) USA–RU–20	30	15	45
Defense attachés	17	9	26
USIS	23	114	137
Agricultural attachés	2	2	4
Military group	450	265	715
Peace Corps	14	11	25
Peace Corps volunteers	328		
Agency for International Development [6]	25	45	70
Total, United States and locals [2]	809	704	1,503

NEPAL

	Americans	Locals	Total
Embassy	34	43	77
Defense attaché	3	2	5
USIS	4	33	37
Agricultural attaché			
Military groups	3	3	6
Peace Corps	15	17	32
Peace Corps volunteers	240		
Agency for International Development	83	[7] 190	273
Total, U.S. and locals [2]	142	288	430

PAKISTAN

	Americans	Locals	Total
Embassy [8]	119	507	626
Defense attachés	20	8	28
USIS	36	297	333
Agricultural attaché	3	2	5
Military group	6		6
Peace Corps			
Agency for International Development	181	495	676
Total, U.S. and locals	365	1,309	1,674

[1] Includes 34 3d country nationals under contract.
[2] Total does not include Peace Corps volunteers.
[3] Includes employees at 4 consulates.
[4] Salaries and expenses paid by GOI.
[5] Includes 2 3d country nationals.
[6] As of Nov. 30, 1967, program to be phased out by June 30, 1968.
[7] Includes 3 3d country nationals under contract.
[8] Includes personnel at 4 consulates.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a statement of my expenses abroad. I usually do that with respect to every report. The local currencies withdrawn for my personal expenses amounted to $350; whereas I was entitled to reimbursement at the rate of $50 per day, under the law.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF EXPENDITURE OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS, COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, U.S. SENATE, BETWEEN NOV. 23 AND DEC. 24, 1967

Name and country	Name of currency	Lodging		Meals		Transportation		Miscellaneous		Total	
		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency
Senator Allen J. Ellender:											
Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Burma, and Ceylon	Deutsche mark					8,076.82	2,018.70			8,076.82	2,018.70
Pakistan	Rupee					45.00	9.35	140.00	20.00	185.00	29.35
India	do					1,335.15	175.68	1,748.00	230.00	3,083.15	405.68
Ceylon	do							591.00	100.00	591.00	100.00
Total											

RECAPITULATION

	Amount
Foreign currency (U.S. dollar equivalent)	2,553.73

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I wish to take this occasion to salute the distinguished Senator from Louisiana. I marvel at his stamina and his agility in getting around the way he does and in the way he does it. As a matter of fact, he travels by himself, very economically, as he has pointed out. He writes his own reports.

The Senate of the United States and the country as a whole are very fortunate to have his type, his character, and his devotion to duty in this body.

Mr. ELLENDER. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to join in the comments of the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island. Over the years, I have always found the reports of the distinguished Senator from Louisiana worthwhile, full of information one cannot get anywhere else, and representative of down-to-earth reporting, based on personal observations conducted on a very meticulous basis.

I believe the Senator does the Senate and the American people a distinct service, and I hope he continues this custom year after year.

Mr. ELLENDER. I thank the Senator.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President I share the view that has been so well expressed by the senior Senator from Rhode Island and the senior Senator from Montana. I believe that the senior Senator from Louisiana has through the years rendered a tremendous service in enlightening the American people, and particularly Congress, to what is going on in the foreign world. It is a service that deserves to be fully recognized for its great value.

Mr. ELLENDER. I thank the Senator.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I, too, would like to congratulate the Senator from Louisiana. He at least goes and sees, and although one may differ with his conclusions, one cannot say he did not even trouble to find out. I congratulate him on what he does in these wonderful trips.

Mr. ELLENDER. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, I ask that all the reports that were placed on the desk of each Senator be sent to the office of each Senator.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I should like to join my colleagues in commending the distinguished Senator from Louisiana. I note from his report that this is his 13th formal report concerning our Nation's foreign operations.

I note, also, that the Senator from Louisiana devoted more than a month of his time to his foreign observations. He left this country on November 23 and did not return until Christmas Eve, December 24.

I note, also, although I have not had an opportunity to read the report as yet, that it contains 380 pages. My guess is that there is more information concerning this Nation's foreign operations in this report than perhaps has been presented to the Senate in any other report.

In my opinion, the Senate and the American people owe a debt of gratitude to the distinguished senior Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. I thank the Senator.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR MILLER ON MONDAY NEXT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] be recognized to speak for not to exceed 30 minutes on Monday next after the conclusion of the morning hour.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE AUTHORITY TO RECEIVE MESSAGES AND SIGN DULY ENROLLED BILLS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to receive messages from the House of Representatives during the adjournment of the Senate until June 3, 1968, and that the Vice President or the President pro tempore be authorized to sign duly enrolled bills.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

INAUGURAL ARRANGEMENTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 73.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 73

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That a joint committee consisting of three Senators and three Representatives, to be appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, respectively, is authorized to make the necessary arrangements for the inauguration of the President-elect and Vice President-elect of the United States on the 20th day of January 1969.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, this resolution was reported unanimously by the Committee on Rules and Administration. It meets with the approval of the distinguished minority leader. It seeks to set up the groundwork for the inauguration of the next President of the United States on January 20, 1969.

I urge its approval.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 73) was agreed to.

SUSPENSION OF CAMPAIGN EQUAL TIME REQUIREMENTS

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1138, Senate Joint Resolution 175.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPONG in the chair). The joint resolution will be stated by title.

The BILL CLERK. A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 175) to suspend for the 1968 campaign in equal time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 for nominees for the office of President and Vice President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, Senate Joint Resolution 175 is designed to suspend beginning August 31, 1968, for the period of the 1968 presidential and vice presidential campaign with respect to the nominees for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States a part of section 315(a) of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended. That part requires a licensee of a broadcast station who permits any legally qualified candidate for a public office to use a broadcasting station to afford equal opportunities to all other candidates for that office in the use of the broadcasting station. However, the resolution also states that the suspension is not to be construed as relieving broadcasters from the obligation imposed upon them under the Communications Act to operate in the public interest.

Finally, this joint resolution would also provide that the Federal Communications Commission shall make a report to the Congress not later than March 1, 1969, with respect to the provisions of this joint resolution and any recommendations the Commission may have for amendments to the Communications Act of 1934 as the result of experience under the provisions of the legislation.

In all other respects, section 315 continues to apply to the use of broadcast facilities by nominees for the offices of President and Vice President. This means that the prohibition against censorship as presently contained in section 315 would remain intact as it applies to the presidential and vice presidential nominees who appear on any program made available as a result of the suspension provided by this joint resolution. This legislation does not affect that provision.

In addition, the committee desires, as it did in 1960, to make it crystal clear that in recommending this legislation it does not diminish or affect in any way the FCC policy or existing law which holds that a licensee's statutory obligation to serve the public interest is to include the broad encompassing duty of providing a fair cross section of opinion in the station's coverage of public affairs and matters of public controversy. This standard of fairness applies to political broadcasts not coming within the coverage of section 315, such as speeches by spokesmen for candidates as distinguished from candidates themselves. In fact, the committee has endeavored to point this up by inserting the following language in the resolution:

> Nothing in the foregoing shall be construed as relieving broadcasters from the obligation imposed upon them under this act to operate in the public interest.

As to all legally qualified candidates for other offices, section 315 continues to apply in its entirety.

Mr. President, for the purpose of the RECORD, I merely wish to clarify one statement. Before the committee acted on this legislation in legislative session, we invited the presidents of NBC, CBS, and ABC to meet with us. We had quite an informal talk with those gentlemen as to the possibilities of a format and what they might have in mind.

There was a report by one of the wire services which I think left the wrong impression in the minds of many persons, because it stated that we had agreed or that the networks had agreed, that the format would be a three-way debate among the three leading candidates for the office of President. No such agreement was made. It would have been presumptuous on the part of the committee and it would have been presumptuous on the part of the networks to presuppose any kind of format without consultation with the principals who are to participate.

The only agreement we reached and wanted was that the networks would be fair and operate in the public interest, and that they would call in the principal candidates, talk this matter over, negotiate among themselves, and reach an agreement upon which all could agree, and if there was any difference of viewpoints, the difference would not be used to the embarrassment or detriment of any candidate.

Mr. President, as a matter of fact, this resolution is being proposed at this time to enhance public interest and not to embarrass any candidate.

It was our firm conviction at the time that we should do all this, and that is why we are anxious to do it today, before even the primaries are ultimately resolved, so it cannot be argued that we have any personalities in mind and that this applies to all of them. If they wish to agree to it, they can; and if they do not wish to agree to it, then that is their choice.

All we are doing is opening the door so that these men can walk through and give light to the public on the issues and problems of the day.

This resolution was resisted a little by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], who had a personal complaint of his own, which was justified in every respect. I want the RECORD to show that I have discussed this with him and he knows that I am bringing up this resolution in his absence. He has no objection. The matter meets with his approval although if he were here he might vote against it. Outside of the foregoing, the action of the committee was unanimous.

I wish to add that this matter has been discussed with the majority leader and the minority leader and the action we are taking today meets with the approval of both sides.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, as the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Communications, I would simply like to say that the statement made by the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island fully covers the situation as we found it, and subject to the one concern which he has noted, I believe the action of the committee was unanimous and it was well and thoroughly discussed.

All we are anxious to do is to open the doors to such appearances as the several candidates may find available to them by reason of the action of the television and radio networks and stations.

I think that what will result will be in the public interest and that what will be worked out will be areas of equal time, and perhaps in other areas, of equitable time; but whatever is done now is a matter between the future candidates of political parties and the TV networks and radio stations.

I would add simply for the future that I hope the day will come when we will permanently remove the inhibitions of section 315 that are imposed on broadcasters with respect to major candidates, so that we do not have to consider it over and over again, and so that we can save future incumbents of the Presidency the possible embarrassment of having to make these decisions for themselves with regard to possible future enactment.

I urge adoption of the resolution.

Mr. PASTORE. I merely want to add that it also means free time.

Mr. SCOTT. Indeed, it does. It means free time. That is a matter of great gratification to those who have to find the means to fund activities of political candidates.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I am happy to yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I want to congratulate the Senator from Rhode Island for his diligence and leadership in this field, and especially to pay special tribute to the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] for his leadership in this field. Both Senators have demonstrated their concern for a better informed public in the field of election campaigns for 1968.

I believe that the time has come when we must make a permanent change in this provision of the law. Section 315, which provides for equal time on the basis only of time without reference to any other element, certainly has demonstrated its ineffectiveness in presidential campaigns of being a proper deterrent to those people who think it is abused.

On the other hand, there is a tendency on the part of radio and television stations today to hide behind section 315. Local stations, in effect, will say that if they provide free time for one candidate, they will have to provide free time for every candidate, that some of the candidates are not of major importance and are therefore not entitled to consideration.

This kind of hiding will be eliminated so far as President and Vice President are concerned.

To me, the law should be not alone modified as we are doing today, to suspend it for this election year, but ultimately the time will come for permanent change which would permit decisions on a fairness doctrine principle, to decide what stations are acting in the public interest.

I would also hope that when that time comes, we will get the opportunity to provide this privilege to other candidates, including Senator, Governor, possibly all the way down to the local level. I would hope that the law, which had been suspended twice within three presidential elections, instead of being suspended each time, would be repealed.

Radio and television stations are responsible and responsive. They are mature organizations. I know that we can trust them to exercise maturity of judgment and responsible action in the public interest; otherwise, we should have more severe regulations other than the one merely pertaining to time.

I urge adoption of the resolution. I think it is worthwhile, and I congratulate the committee on its action.

Mr. PASTORE. I thank the Senator from Indiana very much for his kind comments.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, let me add briefly that I want to thank the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON], and all who had a hand in this measure. I believe it bears the imprimatur of the entire Committee on Commerce.

I appreciate very much the comments made by the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is open to amendment.

If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S.J. RES. 175

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United Satets of America in Congress assembled, That that part of section 315(a) of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, which requires any licensee of a broadcast station who permits any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station to afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station, is suspended beginning August 31, 1968 for the period of the 1968 presidential and vice-presidential campaign with respect to nominees for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States. Nothing in the foregoing shall be construed as relieving broadcasters from the obligation imposed upon them under the Communications Act of 1934 to operate in the public interest.

SEC. 2. The Federal Communications Commission shall prepare and submit a report to the Congress, not later than March 1, 1969, with respect to the effect of the provisions of this joint resolution and any recommendations the Commission may have for amendments to the Communications Act of 1934 as a result of experience under the provisions of this joint resolution.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, let the RECORD show that the joint resolution was passed without a dissenting vote.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the resolution was agreed to be reconsidered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am pleased that the Senate has today passed legislation which I introduced to suspend temporarily the section 315(a) "equal time" provisions of the Federal Communications Act for the 1968 presidential and vice-presidential campaigns.

Increasingly, the forthcoming presidential contest looms as the most important in our history. This year, a record 120 million Americans will be of age to vote in an election which ultimately will influence the course this Nation takes in efforts to resolve a baffling array of problems ranging from war in Southeast Asia to demands for a better life for our poorer citizens at home. This situation demands, as never before, that the electorate make an intelligent choice based on a full understanding of the problems and the solutions which the presidential candidates propose.

A maximum use of broadcast time can help immeasurably in this process. The bill we have passed today is designed to make this possible. By freeing broadcasters of an "equal time" obligation to minor party candidates who have no real chance to occupy the White House, it will lead to greater broadcast exposure for those candidates from whom the choice of President will finally be made. The views of the minor parties will continue to be protected under the fairness doctrine and its required "reasonable opportunity for the discussion of controversial issues of public importance."

Legislation, similar to this, made possible the famous Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960. While the bill we have passed today does not guarantee debates this year, it does make this a possibility, and it also leaves the candidates and broadcasters free to experiment with other program innovations in keeping with the unusually high level of interest which can be expected in this year's campaign.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Senate has again called upon the expert services of the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] to perform a task of utmost importance. I refer, of course, to his handling of the measure suspending equal time broadcasting provisions of the Communications Act. Both in the Committee on Commerce and just now in this Chamber, he obtained overwhelming approval of this vitally important measure. Indeed, it was largely through his persuasive and articulate capacity that such prompt and efficient action was forthcoming. I commend Senator PASTORE—I also commend the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON]—for again leading the way in applying the "rule of reason" to television time used by candidates for office in a presidential election year; and for doing so with wide bipartisan support. Their efforts, the efforts of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], were greatly appreciated by the Senate and by the Nation as well.

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consideration of Calendar No. 1137, Senate Joint Resolution 106.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be stated by title.

The BILL CLERK. Senate Joint Resolution 106, regarding the status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments, on page 2, line 6, after the word "as" where it appears the second time, strike out "possible, and not later than June 30, 1972," and insert "possible"; on page 3, line 3, after the word "members," insert "at least two of whom shall be members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,"; at the beginning of line 6, insert "at least two of whom shall be members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs,"; at the beginning of line 13, strike out "shall consult as appropriate with representatives of the people of Micronesia.", and, in lieu thereof, insert "shall, as appropriate, meet and consult with representatives of the people of Micronesia and with the Commission established by Senate Joint Resolution No. 25 (August 5, 1967) of the Congress of Micronesia."; and in line 18, after the word "than" strike out "eight months after funds for the Commission are appropriated and made available to the Commission," and, in lieu thereof, insert "twelve months after its first meeting"; so as to make the joint resolution read:

S.J. RES. 106

Whereas the United States is the administering authority of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, pursuant to the trusteeship agreement between the United States of America and the Security Council of the United Nations; and

Whereas the United States, in the trusteeship agreement, undertook a solemn obligation to "foster the development of such political institutions as are suited to the trust territory" and to "promote the development of the inhabitants of the trust territory toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the trust territory and its people and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned;" and

Whereas the United States, in the trusteeship agreement, further undertook a solemn obligation to promote the economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territory; and

Whereas the United States is dedicated to the principal of government by consent of the governed; and

Whereas the Congress of Micronesia has petitioned the President to "establish a commission to consult the people of Micronesia to ascertain their wishes and views, and to study and critically assess the political alternatives open to Micronesia; and

Whereas the President has proposed to establish a commission in response to such petition and has invited congressional participation; and

Whereas the Congress, by enacting Public Law 90–16, has evidenced its support for an intensive program to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the trust territory: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is the sense of Congress that whatever steps may be necessary shall be taken to provide for such a degree of self-government as will permit the people of the trust territory freely to express their wishes as soon as possible on the future status of the trust territory.

SEC. 2. In addition to eight members of the Commission to be appointed by the President, the appointment of eight Members of Congress to serve on the President's Commission on the Status of the Trust Territory is hereby authorized. Four of such members, at least two of whom shall be members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, shall be appointed by the President of the Senate, and four, at least two of whom shall be members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. An additional member shall be appointed by the President, and shall serve as Chairman.

SEC. 3. The Commission shall study and assess all factors bearing upon the future of the trust territory and shall, as appropriate, meet and consult with representatives of the people of Micronesia and with the Commission established by Senate Joint Resolution Numbered 25 (August 5, 1967) of the Congress of Micronesia. The Commission shall, no later than twelve months after its first meeting submit recommendations to the President and to the Congress of the United States concerning the best means to obtain the objective set forth in section 1.

SEC. 4. The Commission is authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its functions. Employees of the executive branch may be detailed to assist in the work of the Commission, with or without reimbursement. Any member of the Commission who may be appointed by the President from among the public shall be compensated $100 per diem for his services when engaged on Commission business, and all members shall be entitled to reimbursement for actual travel and per diem in lieu of subsistence when engaged on Commission business, as authorized by law for persons employed intermittently. The Commission is authorized to procure services as authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code.

SEC. 5. There is authorized to be appropriated out of moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such funds as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this joint resolution, but not to exceed $200,000, to be available until expended.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1153), explaining the purposes of the joint resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE

The primary purpose of Senate Joint Resolution 106, introduced by Senator Jackson and cosponsored by several other Senators, is to express the sense of Congress that the citizens of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands should have an early opportunity to express their wishes on the future status of the territory. The resolution further provides for congressional participation on a Commission to be appointed by the President. Senate Joint Resolution 106 was introduced as a result of a communication from the President of the United States to the President of the Senate dated August 21, 1967. The Congress of Micronesia, by House Joint Resolution 47, adopted in 1966, requested the President to appoint a Status Commission to ascertain the political desires of the people of Micronesia.

BACKGROUND

The islands which form the trust territory lie in three major archipelagoes to the north of the Equator in the western Pacific. The land area totals less than 700 square miles, but it is scattered over almost 3 million square miles of open ocean. About 97 of the more than 2,000 islands are inhabited; they range from low-lying coral atolls to high islands of volcanic origin. The Marianas Islands, which stretch to the north of Guam, and the western Caroline Islands, are typically high islands, although coral atolls, such at Ulithi, do occur. The eastern Caroline Islands are similarly a mixture of high islands and coral atolls. The Marshalls are entirely low coral atolls, usually a loose string of narrow sandy islands surrounding a lagoon.

These islands were governed between World War I and World War II by the Japanese as a League of Nations mandate. Converted into military bases by the Japanese, they were captured by allied forces during World War II and placed under Navy military government. Japanese colonists and military personnel were returned to their homeland after the war and in July 1947 the United States placed their former mandate under the newly established United Nations trusteeship system. In recognition of the defense value of these islands, the provisions of the United Nations Charter relating to strategic areas were brought into play, and the trusteeship agreement was concluded between the United States and the Security Council. Under the trusteeship agreement, the United States has undertaken to promote the educational, social, political, and economic development of the people of the territory.

Administrative responsibility was first

vested by the President in the Navy but was transferred to the Secretary of the Interior on July 1, 1951. In 1952, administrative responsibility for the northern Mariana Islands was reassigned to the Navy, and the duel administration continued until July 1, 1962. On that date the Marianas were returned to Interior supervision, and the headquarters of the trust territory government were moved to Saipan as provisional capital of the territory.

U.S. authority is vested in a High Commissioner, who is presently appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. The High Commissioner's legislative authority was granted to the Congress of Micronesia on the day of its first session in 1965, but the High Commissioner retains veto power over measures passed by the Congress of Micronesia.

Six administrative districts, which roughly conform to geographic and ethnic divisions, have been established and have formed basic elements in American administration of the area.

During the period of July 1, 1951, through the end of fiscal year 1968, a total of $165 million has been appropriated to the Department of the Interior for administration of the area, including capital improvements. (This total is exclusive of funds appropriated to the Navy for the northern Mariana Islands during the years 1953–62.) For fiscal years 1952 through 1962 the annual appropriation ranged from $4,271,000 to a high of $6,304,000 in fiscal year 1962. These funds were within the $7.5 million authorization approved in 1954, and provided minimal basic services to a people who were largely on a subsistence economy.

Enactment of Public Law 87–541 in 1962 increased the Federal appropriation authorization for the trust territory from $7.5 to $15 million for fiscal year 1963 and $17.5 million thereafter. The funds which have been appropriated and expended under this authorization made possible an appreciable start toward bringing the physical facilities and the level of services to a minimum standard acceptable in an American community.

Enactment of Public Law 90–16 in 1967 further increased authorization for the territory from $17.5 to $25 million for fiscal year 1967 and to $35 million for fiscal years 1968 and 1969. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain all of the funds authorized in recent years.

On May 27, 1968, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reported to the Senate S. 3207 which, if enacted, would increase the ceiling authorization for the trust territory from the present level of $35 million for fiscal year 1969 to $120 million for the 3 fiscal years 1970, 1971, and 1972. The favorable consideration of this measure to again increase authorized funds for capital improvements and administrative purposes is further evidence of Congress' deep interest in carrying out the responsibilities assumed by the United States under the trusteeship agreement and recognition that an enormous amount still remains to be accomplished if the United States is to fully discharge its responsibilities in the Pacific.

NEED

Developments have reached a point where the clarification of the status of the trust territory would be in the interest of both the United States and Micronesia. After more than two decades of trusteeship, it has become clear that a more definitive status for the territory is necessary and desirable. Moreover, article 6 of the trusteeship agreement states in part that:

"In discharging its obligations under article 76(b) of the charter the administering authority shall—

1. Foster the development of such political institutions as are suited to the trust territory and shall promote the development of the inhabitants of the trust territory toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the trust territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned; * * *"

To date the United States has not formally sought to elicit the wishes of the people of Micronesia as to the political status they would prefer. However, much has been done and is being done to foster the development of political institutions and self-government in the territory.

In January 1968 three members of this committee, Senator Burdick, chairman of the Territories Subcommittee, and Senators Metcalf and Moss, made an inspection trip to Micronesia. Discussions were held at that time with the special committee of the Congress of Micronesia appointed to study political alternatives open to the territory. In addition, committee members heard many points of view from political leaders throughout the territory on this important issue. In some cases they suggested that the time had already arrived in which the Micronesians should make a decision. In other cases, it was suggested that the people were not sufficiently informed of the alternatives open to them, and that a thorough educational program should be undertaken before a plebiscite is held.

The committee believes that the Commission to be appointed by the President, including congressional representation, is the proper manner in which to study in detail the political alternatives which are realistically available to the Micronesians. The trusteeship agreement makes no provision concerning the procedure for its termination. However, in the past, it has been customary practice to conduct plebiscites in trust areas to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants. If the people of the trust territory opt for political association with the United States, the form of that association is a matter that will require congressional action.

In order that the executive branch, the legislative branch, and the government of the trust territory may have a better understanding of the meaningful status choices open to Micronesia, it is proposed that the Commission study and critically assess the available political alternatives. Following the submission of Commission recommendations, it is contemplated that a plebiscite will be held. The resolution, as reported, does not specify a date by which such action shall be taken; however, it is intended that it be done as soon as practicable. The committee believes the date for a plebiscite is a matter on which the Commission should make a recommendation, but that the timing of the plebiscite need not necessarily be after the date (June 30, 1972) specified in Senate Joint Resolution 106, as introduced.

ANALYSIS OF THE RESOLUTION, AS AMENDED

The joint resolution begins with a series of seven recitals, the first four of which reflect the basic relationship of the trust territory to the United States and our obligations to the trust territory. The fifth acknowledges the request of the Congress of Micronesia that a Commission be created; the sixth announces the desire of the President to create such a Commission and to invite congressional participation; and the seventh recognizes the recent congressional action in support of an intensive program to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the trust territory.

Section 1 states that "it is the sense of Congress that whatever steps may be necessary shall be taken to provide for such a degree of self-government" as will permit the Micronesians to participate meaningfully in the foreseen plebiscite. Apart from insuring consistency with the trusteeship agreement, this language means that, on the day they go to the polls to vote on their political future, the Micronesians must know what the consequences of their vote will be. If they vote to associate with the United States, they must know with reasonable certainty the terms of that association.

Section 1, as amended, also provides that this plebiscite, this occasion on which the people of the trust territory will "express their wishes * * * on the future status of the Trust Territory," will be held "as soon as possible".

Section 2, as amended, provides that in addition to eight members of the Commission to be appointed by the President, there shall be eight congressional members, four to be designated by the President of the Senate and four to be designated by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. At least two of the four Members of each House shall be members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The section also provides that the President shall appoint an additional member who shall be the chairman.

Section 3, as amended requires the Commission to study and assess all factors bearing upon the future of the trust territory; to meet and consult with representatives of the people of Micronesia and the Commission established by Senate Joint Resolution No. 25 of the Congress of Micronesia; and to submit recommendations to the President and to the Congress of the United States concerning the best means to obtain the objective set forth in section 1. Section 3 requires that the submission must be made within 12 months after the Commission's first meeting.

Section 4 provides for the detail of employees to the Commission, the hiring of technical or expert personnel, and the payment of travel expenses of the Commission members, and per diem in lieu of subsistence.

Section 5 authorizes the appropriation of not to exceed $200,000 to be available until expended, for the purposes of the Commission. This amount should permit necessary travel to, from, and through the trust territory by members of the Commission, travel to and from Washington by public members, assuming that there will be such, and by Micronesian members of the Commission, if any; a small staff for approximately 12 months; and all other necessary expenses of the commission such as communications, printing, and supplies. The committee strongly recommends that the Commission's findings and recommendations be translated, to the extent possible, into the major Micronesian languages, and distributed widely throughout the territory.

COST

Enactment of Senate Joint Resolution 106 will authorize an appropriation of $200,000 for use by the Status Commission.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendments are considered and agreed to en bloc; and, without objection, the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 106) is passed.

The preamble was agreed to.

OKLAHOMA HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT TV STAR

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at the end of my remarks, a statement by Mr. Jeff Krumme, president of Teleview Cable, Inc., of Holdenville, Okla., on the local origination capabilities of his CATV channel 7 and an example of the opportunities it offers to communities in the way of local service.

Mr. Jimmy Cofer, a 17-year-old high

school student, is the producer, director, and star of a weekly presentation on Holdenville CATV channel 7, which offers interviews with students and teachers, and which has become a source for the dissemination of school news and events. I think he is to be congratulated on his achievements in this field. This kind of community service offers the high school student a fine opportunity to learn all facets of the television industry and at the same time makes him aware of his community and its problems.

Mr. Krumme's CATV channel 7 brings to the city of Holdenville news and events of local interest that might otherwise not be offered.

Mr. Krumme's operation is an example of how CATV can be used to its fullest capability, and I am proud of the outstanding community service being displayed in the State of Oklahoma.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OKLAHOMA HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT TV STAR

A seventeen year old high school senior has his own television show in Holdenville, Oklahoma. Jimmy Cofer produces, directs and performs weekly on Holdenville CATV channel 7, presenting interviews with students and teachers, news of events at the school, guest appearances by high school musical groups, and reading unusually good essays by fellow students. Holdenville is the first place in Oklahoma and neighboring states where a high school student has this opportunity, and Jimmy Cofer is the first student to take advantage of it.

Because of modern television economics, such training can be given high school students only in a small community and through community antenna television (CATV) companies such as the Holdenville Cable Company. Metropolitan communities are served by TV broadcast stations with multi-million dollar annual budgets tied to national network programming, and do not have time available for such activities. CATV can fill the program vacuum for the smaller communities across America. Subscribers have the opportunity to see their friends, neighbors, children and local events on television through the closed circuit television service by CATV.

Jimmy Cofer is a regular star, and has made tremendous personal development as a result of his regular performances on Holdenville channel 7. Other high school students give performances on a special schedule basis. These include not only musical groups, but the complete spectrum of school activities. Football and baseball games are replayed by video tape so that the players can observe and improve their performances as well as experience the fun of seeing themselves on television. Of course, the parents and relatives enjoy seeing the kids on TV playbacks also. Viewers have a large choice of programs by Cable TV service so local programs have to be worthwhile.

The Holdenville Cable Co. never tries to compete with a network program, but offers the local interest programming which the network can't possibly offer. Local church services are carried each Sunday morning and replayed by video tape Monday evening at 6:30. Thus many elderly and infirm persons are able to take part in local worship services and enjoy the inspiration of familiar hymns. A local news show Monday through Friday is given at 6:00 p.m., and late news specials are available through announcements on Holdenville CATV weather channel 3, which operates 24 hours a day. Such news is often reported first by cable television when the local radio station is off the air and the newspaper has gone to press. Election results, fires, and tornado alerts are examples of news given first by Holdenville CATV company. Other local interest programs on channel 7 are Indian Arts and Crafts Presentations, Saturday afternoon "man on the street" interviews, Wednesday and Saturday night western jamborees.

Jimmy Cofer is an unusual young man who seized the opportunity to express his creative abilities in the medium of television. He is on his way to a great future. The same opportunity is available to other high school students through CATV in Holdenville, Oklahoma.

AMENDMENT OF NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES ACT OF 1965—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11308) to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The bill clerk read the report, as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11308) to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"SECTION 1. Section 3(f) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 is amended to read as follows:

"'(f) The term "workshop" means an activity the primary purpose of which is to encourage the artistic development or enjoyment of amateur, student, or other nonprofessional participants, or to promote scholarship and teaching among the participants.'

"SEC. 2. (a) Section 5(c) and section 5(f) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

"'(c) The Chairman, with the advice of the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities and the National Council on the Arts, is authorized to establish and carry out a program of contracts with, or grants-in-aid to, groups or, in appropriate cases, individuals of exceptional talent engaged in or concerned with the arts, for the purpose of enabling them to provide or support in the United States—

"'(1) productions which have substantial artistic and cultural significance, giving emphasis to American creativity and the maintenance and encouragement of professional excellence;

"'(2) productions, meeting professional standards or standards of authenticity, irrespective of origin, which are of significant merit and which, without such assistance, would otherwise be unavailable to our citizens in many areas of the country;

"'(3) projects that will encourage and assist artists and enable them to achieve standards of professional excellence;

"'(4) workshops that will encourage and develop the appreciation and enjoyment of the arts by our citizens;

"'(5) other relevant projects, including surveys, research, and planning in the arts.'

"'(f) The total amount of any grant to any group pursuant to subsection (c) of this section shall not exceed 50 per centum of the total cost of such project or production, except that not more than 20 per centum of the funds allotted by the National Endowment for the Arts for the purposes of subsection (c) for any fiscal year may be available for grants and contracts in that fiscal year without regard to such limitation.'

"(b) Section 5(j) and section 5(k) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended by inserting after the words 'or individual' wherever they appear in such subsections the following: 'of exceptional talent'.

"SEC. 3. Section 5(h)(3) and section 5(h)(5) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

"'(3) Funds appropriated to carry out the purpose of this section 5(h) for any fiscal year shall be equally allotted among the States.'

"'(5) All amounts allotted under paragraph (3) for a fiscal year which are not granted to a State during such year shall be available at the end of such year to the National Endowment for the Arts for the purpose of carrying out section 5(c).'

"SEC. 4. Section 6(b) and section 8(f) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

"'(b) The National Council on the Arts shall, in addition to performing any of the duties and responsibilities prescribed by the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964, (1) advise the Chairman with respect to policies, programs, and procedures for carrying out his functions, duties, or responsibilities pursuant to the provisions of this Act, and (2) review applications for financial assistance made under this Act and make recommendations thereon to the Chairman. The Chairman shall not approve or disapprove any such application until he has received the recommendation of the Council on such application, unless the Council fails to make a recommendation thereon within a reasonable time. In the case of any application involving $10,000 or less, the Chairman may approve or disapprove such request if such action is taken pursuant to the terms of a delegation of authority from the Council to the Chairman, and provided that each such action by the Chairman shall be reviewed by the Council.'

"'(f) The Council shall (1) advise the Chairman with respect to policies, programs, and procedures for carrying out his functions, and (2) shall review applications for financial support and make recommendations thereon to the Chairman. The Chairman shall not approve nor disapprove any such application until he has received the recommendation of the Council on such application, unless the Council fails to make a recommendation thereon within a reasonable time. In the case of any application involving $10,000 or less, the Chairman may approve or disapprove such request if such action is taken pursuant to the terms of a delegation of authority from the Council to the Chairman, and provided that each such action by the Chairman shall be reviewed by the Council.'

"SEC. 5. Section 10 of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 is amended by:

"(a) repealing paragraphs (2) and (3) of subsection (a) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"'(2) in the discretion of the Chairman of an Endowment, after receiving the recommendation of the National Council of that Endowment, to receive money and other property donated, bequeathed, or devised to that Endowment with or without a condition or restriction, including a condition that the Chairman use other funds of that Endowment for the purposes of the gift; and to use, sell, or otherwise dispose of such property for the purpose of carrying out sections 5(c) and 7(c) and the functions transferred by section 6(a) of this Act;'

"(b) redesignating paragraphs '(4)', '(5)', '(6)', '(7)', and '(8)' as paragraphs '(3)', '(4)', '(5)', '(6)', and '(7)'.

"(c) amending the text following subsection (a)(8) to read as follows:

"'In any case in which any money or other property is donated, bequeathed, or devised to the Foundation (A) without designation of the Endowment for the benefit of which such property is intended, and (B) without condition or restriction other than that it be used for the purposes of the Foundation, such property shall be deemed to have been donated, bequeathed, or devised in equal shares to each Endowment and each Chairman of an Endowment shall have authority to receive such property. In any case in which any money or other property is donated, bequeathed, or devised to the Foundation with a condition or restriction, such property shall be deemed to have been donated, bequeathed, or devised to that Endowment whose function it is to carry out the purpose or purposes described or referred to by the terms of such condition or restriction, and each Chairman of an Endowment shall have authority to receive such property. For the purposes of the preceding sentence, if one or more of the purposes of such a condition or restriction is covered by the functions of both Endowments, or if some of the purposes of such a condition or restriction are covered by the functions of one Endowment and other of the purposes of such a condition or restriction are covered by the functions of the other Endowment, the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities shall determine an equitable manner for distribution between each of the Endowments of the property so donated, bequeathed, or devised. For the purposes of the income tax, gift tax, and estate tax laws of the United States, any money or other property donated, bequeathed, or devised to the Foundation or one of its Endowments and received by the Chairman of an Endowment pursuant to authority derived under this subsection shall be deemed to have been donated, bequeathed, or devised to or for the use of the United States.'

"Sec. 6. Section 11 of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 is amended by—

"(a) amending subsection (a) to read as follows:

"'(a) For the purpose of carrying out section 5(c) and the functions transferred by section 6(a) of this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the National Endowment for the Arts $6,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $6,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970; for the purpose of carrying out section 7(c) of this Act there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the National Endowment for the Humanities $8,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $9,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970. In addition, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the National Endowment for the Arts for the purposes of section 5(h) the sum of $2,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $2,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970. Sums appropriated under the authority of this subsection shall remain available until expended. For each subsequent fiscal year such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law to carry out the provisions of this subsection.'

"(b) amending subsection (b) to read as follows:

"'(b) In addition to the sums authorized by subsection (a), there is authorized to be appropriated to each Endowment an amount equal to the total of amounts received by that Endowment under section 10(a)(2) of this Act, except that the amount so appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and the amount so appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, shall not aggregate more than $13,500,000. Amounts appropriated to an Endowment under this subsection shall remain available until expended. For each subsequent fiscal year such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law to carry out the provisions of this subsection.'

"(c) repealing subsection (c).

"(d) redesignating subsections '(d)' and '(e)' as subsections '(c)' and '(d)'.

"Sec. 7. Section 3(a) and section 3(b) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

"'(a) The term "humanities" includes, but is not limited to, the study of the following: language, both modern and classical; linguistics; literature; history; jurisprudence; philosophy; archeology; the history, criticism, theory, and practice of the arts; those aspects of the social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods; and the study and application of the humanities to the human environment.

"'(b) The term "the arts" includes, but is not limited to, music (instrumental and vocal), dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture and allied fields, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, tape and sound recording, the arts related to the presentation, performance, execution, and exhibition of such major art forms, and the study and application of the arts to the human environment.'"

And the Senate agree to the same.

Claiborne Pell,
Ralph W. Yarborough,
Harrison A. Williams, Jr.,
Jacob K. Javits,
George L. Murphy,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.
Carl D. Perkins,
Frank Thompson, Jr.
Hugh L. Carey,
James Scheuer,
John Brademas,
William H. Ayres,
Chas. Goodell,
John M. Ashbrook,
Ogden Reid,
Managers on the Part of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, this was an uncomplicated conference. The House and Senate had four areas of disagreement.

The House receded from its position on that portion of the Senate bill which changed the definition of "the arts" and "the humanities."

The Senate receded from its position and accepted with an explanatory phrase the House-passed language limiting the authority of the National Endowment for the Arts to make individual grants.

The House and Senate both receded and agreed to a compromise on the authority of the chairman of each endowment to make grants.

The House receded from its position and accepted with qualifying phrases the Senate-passed language on the level of authorization for fiscal years 1969 and 1970.

Mr. President, I believe that this unanimously signed conference report is eminently fair and equitable, and that the Senate can accept it in good conscience. I move the adoption of the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on adoption of the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

MEETING AT WHITE HOUSE WITH JOINT CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, last evening, the President called in the joint leadership of both Houses to meet with Ambassador Cyrus Vance, Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach, and others, to discuss the situation in Paris and in Vietnam.

Ambassador Vance briefed the leadership on developments in Paris. And while I did not find the results encouraging, as of now, neither are they discouraging. In view of the jockeying for propaganda position up to this time, the lack of tangible results is hardly surprising.

Ambassadors Harriman and Vance have been persevering and patient. They are aware and wary of the pitfalls which confront them during the conference. They are determined to persist in their efforts to find reasonable solutions which will bring the war in Vietnam to an honorable conclusion. It is to be hoped that, once the propagandistic preliminaries are out of the way, it will be possible for the representatives of both countries to meet together in private to discuss in detail ways and means of getting the actual negotiations underway.

That will not be an easy process. In this regard, there is a need for those of us in Congress and for the American people as a whole to recognize the importance of flexibility. Our representatives should be able to work with the greatest possible leeway. The stakes are high. The objectives sought call for understanding and patience.

If I judge accurately the reaction of the joint leadership at the meeting last night, it was one of understanding of the position of the President and his agents and of satisfaction with Ambassador Vance's report. The Ambassador was frank in his statements. He answered all questions to the best of his ability in the context of the present situation in Paris.

If I may, I would like to make a plea for continued patience. The road is extremely precarious. The pitfalls will be many during the difficult days ahead. The President and his negotiators need and warrant every confidence, support, and encouragement which can be given to them. I would hope, therefore, that there will be a continuance of the reflection and reserve in the discussion of the issues of Vietnam which have been so marked up to this time. The need for restraint is especially acute because questions may arise in the heat of the political campaign during the weeks and months ahead.

May I repeat what I have said before: In taking himself out of the campaign for the office of President, President Johnson, in my judgment, has taken the political content out of Vietnam. Let us hope that the rest of us will continue to act to keep Vietnam out of a political context. The negotiation of a peace in Paris takes priority over the negotiation of a political victory in November.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, some weeks ago, when Hanoi had agreed to a meeting in Paris, our negotiators were appointed, and the President requested that the majority leader and I come to the White House to sit with him and also with the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, and others, for the purpose of a round-robin discussion of what might lie ahead.

At that time, I remember he gave us full assurances that from time to time he would make it possible for those who represented this country in these very delicate proceedings to come back, if possible, and to give information to the leadership.

It was pursuant to that assurance that Secretary Vance returned from Paris, and the reason for summoning the joint leadership, together with the Under Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, General Wheeler, and others, was so that all of us might have the benefit of Secretary Vance's report.

As the majority leader has so well said, the report was neither grim nor gay. We did not expect it to be more than it was, as a matter of fact; and we have the experiences of Korea and Panmunjom long years ago as indications of how slow and sometimes painful and tortuous these negotiations can be.

So it is for us to be patient, because truly the stakes are high. Last night, after Secretary Vance had delivered his report, the President called on everyone who sat around that table in the Cabinet room for any questions or any remarks that he would care to make. It was somewhat reminiscent of the time, years ago, when, during the Eisenhower administration, it appeared that we might have to send a contingent of marines out to the Levantine Coast because of troubles in Syria, Lebanon, and elsewhere. I remember that meeting well. John Foster Dulles was Secretary of State, his brother was Chief of the CIA, and both of them first gave the joint leadership a briefing, which was followed by a statement by the President, who then insisted that everyone who attended that conference give whatever reaction he felt inclined to give.

It was at the time when the late Sam Rayburn was the Speaker of the House of Representatives. I remember, and I think the distinguished Senator from Montana will also remember, that he was the first to be called upon for any comment he had to make with respect to what was then proposed. I having sat in that meeting, an inquiry was addressed to me as well as to everybody else who attended the meeting.

Last night's meeting was somewhat in that context and that frame; everyone had a chance to respond and make whatever uninhibited comment he cared to make.

I am very glad that Secretary Vance came back and that he made this report. I am confident that from time to time, as the negotiation proceeds, there will be other reports, as well; that they will not be obscured; and that we will be able to comment and state to the country that the procedural aspects of the matter have been fairly well disposed of. It is anticipated that the conferees will get down to substantive issues before too long.

Let us, then, be patient, because so much is at stake. Wherever and whenever I can, I shall counsel patience as this very delicate undertaking is carried on.

CONGRESS AT MEMORIAL DAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, with only 2 months remaining in this session of Congress, I shall take this opportunity to assess our progress and itemize that which we must do before adjourning sine die.

For the first time in history, this session of Congress has enacted legislation to provide—

An effective Federal law against discrimination in the sale and rental of housing which will cover 80 percent of all dwellings by 1970;

Criminal penalties for forcible interference with persons seeking to exercise specifically enumerated civil rights;

Federal penalties for persons who traveled in interstate commerce or used the facilities of interstate commerce with intent to incite, organize, encourage, or take part in a riot or assist others to do so and who performed any overt act to incite, organize or further a riot;

A "bill of rights" for Indians prohibiting tribal governments from making or enforcing laws which violate specified constitutional rights;

Federal penalties for persons who teach the use, application or making of a firearm or explosive with the knowledge or intent that the firearms or explosive would be used in a civil disorder which would obstruct commerce;

A "truth-in-lending" bill requiring lenders and retail creditors to disclose the cost of the credit to the consumers as an annual percentage rate, and establishing a Federal limit on the garnishment of wages to satisfy debts;

A prohibition against discrimination on the grounds of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status in the selection of Federal grand and petit juries;

Compensation for law enforcement officers not employed by the U.S. Government who are killed or injured while apprehending persons suspected of committing Federal crimes;

Two million dollars for the Secretary of Transportation to conduct a 24-month study and investigation of the automobile insurance system;

Reorganization Plan No. 1, creating a new and powerful Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in the Department of Justice so the Atorney General will have full authority and responsibility for enforcing the Federal laws relating to narcotics and dangerous drugs;

For a National Visitor Center in the District of Columbia at the site of the Union Station to serve as a central clearinghouse where visitors to the Nation's Capital can obtain information about our monuments, museums, and government buildings;

For the election of an 11-member nonpartisan School Board in the District of Columbia instead of selection by a Federal court;

For the creation of a National Commission on Fire Prevention and control and providing for a national research and safety program;

Federal support of $32 million for a 3-year period for lunches, to children in public or private nonprofit child-care institutions;

Federal criminal penalties for making certain obscene or harassing telephone calls in interstate or foreign commerce or within the District of Columbia;

That any agricultural producer cannot be discriminated against because of membership in an association of producers or interference with his right to join; and

For consolidated pretrial proceedings in multidistrict civil suits in Federal courts where a large number of lawsuits involved one or more common questions of fact.

In addition, the Congress has enacted into law—

A $2.6 billion authorization for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1969;

A bill to strengthen the regulation of the commodity futures markets including livestock and livestock products;

A 5-year extension of the Export-Import Bank of the United States; increased to $13.5 billion the limitation on the amount of loans, guarantees, and insurance permitted to be outstanding at any one time; increased to $3.5 billion the Bank's authority to issue export credit insurance and guaranties; and banned financing exports to Communist nations but allowed the President to waive the ban if he finds a transaction to be in the national interest;

Authority for the U.S. Governor of the Inter-American Development Bank to vote in favor of a $1 billion increase in the Bank's authorized callable capital stock and to agree on behalf of the United States to subscribe to our share of the increase;

An extension of 3 years in the pilot breakfast program in schools in impoverished areas and authorized $6.5 million for fiscal 1969, $10 million for fiscal 1970, and $12 million for fiscal 1971;

A bill to provide increases in railroad retirement benefits to approximately 653,000 retirees;

An authorization of $24.556 million for fiscal 1969 for the saline water conversion program;

Legislation to protect veterans by providing that increased social security benefits would not affect their pensions until 1970 when pensions would be gradually adjusted to take into account the increased social security benefits;

A 2-year extension in the authority to grant an extra 30 days leave and round-trip transportation to those members of the uniformed services in a hostile fire area who voluntarily extend their periods of service;

Authority to establish the 143,000-acre San Rafael Wilderness in California as a part of the National Wilderness Preservation System;

The removal of the 25-percent gold cover requirement;

A 2-year extension of the Federal Reserve Board's authority to purchase public debt obligations directly from the Treasury up to a limit of $5 billion outstanding at any one time;

The authorization of $9 million through fiscal 1969 for the Public Broadcasting Corporation to further educational television;

Additional Federal control over savings and loan holding companies;

The establishment of the Saugus Iron Works national historic site in Massachusetts as a unit of the national park system;

An increase to $25 million in the annual authorization for the Indian adult education program and on-the-job training;

An additional $28 million for unemployment compensation for Federal employees and ex-servicemen;

An authorization of $18.5 million for fiscal years 1969 and 1970 for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and limited external research to $7 million for these years;

An amendment to the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act temporarily exempting limited production motor vehicles—less than 500—from certain safety standards required under the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966;

A raise from $7,500 to $12,500 in the maximum amount of guarantee for a GI home loan and authorized the Veterans' Administration to set interest rates at levels high enough to meet local mortgage conditions;

An increase of $59 million in the authorization for continuing reclamation work on the Missouri River Basin project;

A resolution authorizing the Commodity Credit Corporation to make advances to the emergency credit revolving fund up to $30 million for loans by the Farmers Home Administration to farmers and ranchers where a natural disaster has caused a general need for agricultural credit which cannot be met by local sources;

An authorization of $136 million for the capital requirements of the Coast Guard for fiscal 1969; and

A 4-year extension of the civil defense authorities.

Passed Senate and waiting for conference or final action are—

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act authorizing $100.1 million for the first year of operation and $300 million for the second year for law enforcement block grants to States and cities of 25,000 and over to help cope with crime; granting authority for wiretapping by Federal, State, and local police officers acting under court authority; and prohibiting interstate mail-order sales of handguns and over-the-counter sales to nonresidents of a State and to minors;

Extended the 7-percent excise tax on automobiles and the 10 percent on telephone communications through December 31, 1969; accelerated corporate tax payments; passed a 10-percent surtax; provided for an expenditures reduction of $6 billion and a $10 billion reduction in obligated authority; and terminated as of May 1, 1968 the tax-exempt status of industrial revenue bonds of more than $1 million;

A 3-year extension of the food-for-peace program encouraging greater use of local currency funds for population control and broadening the authority for using foreign currencies for educational activities—House passed a 1-year extension;

A recommendation to the States that absentee registration and voting procedures for Federal, State, and local elections be extended to all U.S. citizens temporarily residing abroad;

Authority to construct the central Arizona project in Arizona and New Mexico;

A bill extending to December 1, 1970, the time by which the Interoceanic Canal Study Commission must complete its study and make recommendations concerning a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans;

Authority to appropriate $19.25 million for fiscal 1969 and $21.5 million for fiscal 1970 for the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities;

A bill authorizing an appropriation from general revenues to make the total annual income into the land and water conservation fund amount to $200 million for each of fiscal years 1969–71 instead of $100 million under existing authority; and

An appropriation totaling $536,050,300 for fiscal 1969 for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies.

The Senate has passed and sent to the House—

An omnibus Housing and Urban Development Act authorizing $300 million through fiscal 1971 for construction and rehabilitation of rental housing for low-income families; extending the public housing and rent supplement programs through fiscal 1971; establishing a new Government bond insurance system to help finance the acquisition and development of new communities; establishing a new neighborhood development program as part of urban renewal; extending urban planning to cover rural districts; authorizing the creation of federally chartered, privately funded corporations to mobilize private investment and the application of business skills in the job of creating low- and moderate-income housing in large volume; establishing the National Insurance Development Corporation to provide reinsurance to insurance companies for losses paid by them resulting from riots or civil disorders; and establishing a program of national flood insurance as a joint venture between the Federal Government and the private insurance industry;

An authorization increase of $900,000—to $1.9 million—for the construction of an experimental and demonstration plan to develop fish protein concentrate;

A bill to provide for the control of alewife, smelts, and similar fish in the Great Lakes;

A bill increasing the vehicle weight and width which a State may lawfully permit on the Interstate Highway System;

The second addition to the National Wilderness Preservation System designating 36,000 acres of the Angeles National Forest in California as the San Gabriel Wilderness;

An authorization of $21,341,738,000 for fiscal 1969 for the procurement of missiles, aircraft, naval vessels, tracked combat vehicles, and research and development;

A bill to reimburse owners of fishing vessels for any losses incurred through their seizure by foreign governments;

An authorization of $112.8 million for fiscal 1969 for the Peace Corps;

A 3-year extension of the migrant health program through June 30, 1971, authorizing $9 million for fiscal 1969, $15 million for fiscal 1970, and $20 million for fiscal 1971;

A resolution declaring as the sense of the Congress that the President call a White House Conference on Aging in 1970 to make recommendations for further action and research in aging and related fields;

An increase from $225 million to $245 million in the food-stamp program authorization for fiscal 1969;

A bill authorizing the National Gallery of Art to construct a building or buildings on a previously reserved site with all costs to be paid from private trust funds;

Legislation authorizing the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety regulations for the transport of natural gas by pipeline; and

A resolution suspending for the 1968 campaign the equal time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 for nominees for the Office of President and Vice President.

The Senate must take action on all but one of the appropriation bills. In addition, a few of the items which claim our attention in the months before adjournment include a military construction authorization; amendments to the Higher Education Act; vocational rehabilitation amendments; Defense production extension; Renegotiation Act extension; Federal Aid Highway Act amendments; foreign aid authorization; extension of the Juvenile Delinquency Act; numerous health bills; extension of our farm programs; wholesome poultry and fish acts; Bank Protection Act; Recreational Boat Safety Act; District of Columbia revenue measure; Child Health Act; Special Drawing Rights Act; reorganization authority extension; and the Water Quality Improvement Act.

The following is a complete summary of Senate legislative activity through May 29:

SENATE LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY THROUGH MAY 29, 1968—SENATE DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE, 90TH CONGRESS SECOND SESSION

Days in session: 91.

Hours in session: 485:32.

Total measures passed: 218.

Treaties ratified: 4.

Confirmations: 20,050.

Public Laws: 71.

Symbols—P/H: Passed House; P/S: Passed Senate.

Following is a brief summary of major Senate activity. Presidential recommendations and bills in accord with the President's program are indicated by (PR).

AGRICULTURE

Commodity Exchange Act: Amended the act to require that commodity futures markets meet specified minimum standards, to increase the penalties for certain violations such as manipulation and embezzlement, to add livestock and livestock products as regulated commodities, and to authorize the issuance of cease-and-desist orders. Public Law 90–258 (PR).

Crude pine gum price support: Provided for production goals and compliance payments for a period of 3 years, 1968 through 1970. S. 2511. Passed Senate, February 7, 1968.

Emergency farm loan funds: Authorized the Commodity Credit Corporation to make advances to the emergency credit revolving fund up to $30 million. The Commodity Credit Corporation will be reimbursed with interest out of a subsequent appropriation. Senate Joint Resolution 168. Public Law 90–____.

Fair trade practices: Made it unlawful to discriminate against any agricultural producer because of membership in an association of producers or interference with his right to join. Public Law 90–288 (PR).

Food for peace: Extended the Food for Peace Act for 3 years; encouraged greater use of local currency funds for population control; and broadened the authority for using foreign currencies for education activities. S. 2986. Passed Senate, April 3, 1968. Passed House, amended, May 14.

Food-stamp program: Increased from $225 million to $245 million the Food Stamp program authorization for fiscal 1969. S. 3068. P/S, May 17 (PR).

Orange juice futures: Amended the Commodity Exchange Act to add frozen concentrated orange juice to the list of commodities subject to regulation under the act. S. 3143. P/S, May 17.

School lunch-pilot breakfast: Expanded the National School Lunch Act to provide Federal support for lunches to children in public or private nonprofit child-care institutions and authorized $32 million a year for fiscal 1969–71; extended for 3 years the pilot breakfast program in schools in impoverished areas and authorized $6.5 million for fiscal 1969, $10 million for fiscal 1970 and $12 million for fiscal 1971. Public Law 90–302 (PR).

ANTICRIME

Omnibus crime control and safe streets: Authorized $100.1 million for the first year and $300 million for the second year for law enforcement block grants to States and cities of 25,000 and over to help cope with crime; granted authority for wiretapping by Federal, State, and local police officers acting under oourt authority; and prohibited interstate mail-order sales of handguns and over-the-counter sales to nonresidents of a State and to minors. H.R. 5037. P/S, amended, May 23 (PR).

APPROPRIATIONS

FOR 1968

Supplemental, 1968: Appropriated an additional million for unemployment compensation for Federal employees and ex-servicemen. Public Law 90–286 (PR).

Urgent supplemental: Appropriated a total of $1,213,980,863 for various departments and agencies for fiscal 1968. H.R. 15399. In conference (PR).

FOR 1969

Agriculture: Appropriate a total of $536,050,300 for fiscal 1969 for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies. H.R. 16913. In conference (PR).

ATOMIC ENERGY

AEC: Authorized $2,174,550,000 for operating expenses and $443,751,000 for plant and capital equipment making a total of $2,618,301,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal 1969. Public Law 90–289 (PR).

CIVIL RIGHTS

Federal jury selection: Provided improved judicial machinery for the selection, without discrimination, of Federal grand and petit juries in order to assure all litigants that potential jurors will be selected at random from a representative cross section of the community and that all qualified citizens will have the opportunity to be considered for jury service. Public Law 90–274 (PR).

Federal Voting Assistance Act amendments: Revised procedures under the Federal Voting Assistance Act to facilitate absentee balloting by members of the Armed Forces and Federal civilian employees on duty away from home. S. 1581. P/S, July 17, 1967; P/H, amended, May 20, 1968.

Protection against interference with rights; fair housing; incitement to riot; and Indian bill of rights: Punished forcible interference with persons seeking to exercise specifically enumerated rights; provided punishment for persons who travel in or use the facilities of interstate commerce with intent to incite, organize, promote, encourage, participate in or carry on a riot; created a "bill of rights" for Indians; prohibited discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the sale or rental of housing; and added a new civil obedience title relating to firearms or explosives. Public Law 90–284 (PR).

Voting procedures: Recommended to the States that absentee registration and voting procedures for Federal, State, and local elections be extended to all U.S. citizens temporarily residing abroad. S. 2884. P/S, April 8, 1968; P/H, amended, May 20, 1968.

CONGRESS

Code of ethics: Adopted a code of ethics for Senators, officers, and Senate employees—making in excess of $15,000—covering restrictions on outside employment, contributions, political fund activity, and disclosure of financial interests. Senate Resolution 266. Senate agreed to, March 22, 1968.

Joint Economic Committee study: Authorized the Joint Economic Committee to study the distribution of population between urban and rural areas of the United States. Senate Concurrent Resolution 33. P/S, January 24, 1968.

Senate Office Building: Authorized $1,250,000 for the purchase of land as an addition to the site for an extension of the New Senate Office Building. S. 2484. P/S, April 30; House Calendar.

DEFENSE

Civil defense authorities: Extended for 4 years the following three civil defense authorities which would otherwise expire June 30, 1968—50 percent contributions to States and local governments toward the cost of personnel and administrative expenses, donations of radiological instruments to the States, and contributions for the travel and per diem expenses of trainees attending civil defense schools. H.R. 15004. Public Law 90–____ (PR).

Military procurement—defense reserves: Authorized for fiscal 1969, a total of $21,341,738,000 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, tracked combat vessels, for research, development, text, and evaluation; and authorized the personnel strengths for fiscal year 1969 for the Selected Reserve of each of the Reserve components of the Armed Forces. S. 3293. P/S, April 19, 1968 (PR).

Special leave for military: Extended for 2 years the authority to grant an extra 30 days' leave and round-trip transportation to the United States or another place of the member's choosing to those members of the uniformed services who voluntarily extend their service in a hostile fire area. H.R. 15348. Public Law 90–____ (PR).

Stockpile disposals (PR): Beryl, 988 short tons, H.R. 14367, P/S, amended, April 26; magnesium, 55,000 short tons, H.R. 5785, P/S, amended, April 26; platinum, 115,000 troy ounces, H.R. 5789, P/S, amended, April 26.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Air pollution: Created the District of Columbia Air Pollution Control Board to investigate and control causes of air pollution in the District through standards and regulations. S. 1941. P/S, December 14, 1967; P/H, amended, May 27.

District-owned buildings: Authorized the District to enter into contracts with private concerns for the inspection, maintenance, and repair of fixed equipment in District-owned buildings for periods up to 3 years. S. 2017.P/S, April 24.

Elected School Board: Provided for the election of an 11-member School Board in the District of Columbia at the time of the presidential election in November. Public Law 90–292 (PR).

Land-Grant College: Amended the Public Education Act to name the Federal City College as the Land-Grant College for the District of Columbia. S. 1999. P/S, December 8, 1967; P/H, amended, May 24.

Liens: Provided that a judgment or decree of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia shall not constitute a lien until filed and recorded in the office of the Recorder of Deeds. Public Law 90–263.

National Visitor Center: Authorized the Secretary of Interior to enter into an agreement with the Washington Terminal Co. for the use of the Union Station for a National Visitor Center in the District of Columbia. Public Law 90–264 (PR).

Police-firemen pay bill: Established a minimum base salary for police and firemen of $7,800 retroactive to October 1, 1967, and effective July 1, 1968, increased the base to $8,000. Proportionate increases were provided for all police and firemen. Public Law 90–320 (PR).

Presidential inaugural ceremonies: Broadened the category, under the Presidential Inaugural Ceremonies Act, the number and kinds of employees for whom compensation for travel and related expenses may be allowed during the Inaugural period, to cover sanitarians and municipal employees. Public Law 90–251.

Psychology: Provides for the protection of the public from the unqualified practice of psychology and from unprofessional conduct of persons practicing psychology in the District of Columbia by requiring all persons who offer psychological services to the public for a fee to obtain a license from the District of Columbia government. S. 1864. P/S, April 24.

Reciprocal agreements: Authorized the District of Columbia government to enter into reciprocal agreements with governmental units in Maryland and Virginia to provide police mutual aid when emergencies threaten or occur. S. 2496. P/S, April 8, 1968.

Teachers pay increase: Provided an overall increase of approximately 8.3 percent in the salaries of all professional personnel in the public school system retroactive to October 1, 1967, and a second increase of approximately 10.9 percent effective July 1, 1968. Public Law 90–319 (PR).

Uniform gifts: Amended the District of Columbia Uniform Gifts to Minors Act to provide that monetary gifts to minors in the District may be deposited in savings and loan associations, credit union, and related institutions, as well as in banks. Public Law 90–290.

ECONOMY AND FINANCE

Export-Import Bank Act Amendments of 1968: Extended the life of the Export-Import Bank of the United States for 5 years, to June 30, 1973; increased from $9 to $13.5 billion the limitation on the amount of loans, guarantees, and insurance permitted to be outstanding at any one time; increased from $2 billion to $3.5 billion the Bank's authority to issue export credit insurance and guarantees; and banned financing exports to Communist nations but allowed the President to waive this if he finds a transaction to be in the national interest. Public Law 90–267 (PR).

Gold cover: Removed the requirement that each Federal Reserve Bank maintain reserves in gold certificates not less than 25 percent against its Federal Reserve notes in circulation, and eliminated the $156 million gold reserve for U.S. notes and Treasury notes of 1890. Public Law 90–269 (PR).

Savings and loan holding companies: Provided a comprehensive statutory framework for the registration, examination, and regulation of holding companies controlling one or more savings and loan associations, the accounts of which are insured by an agency of the Federal Government, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. Public Law 90–255 (PR).

Treasury obligations: Extended for 2 years the authority of the Federal Reserve Board to purchase public debt obligations directly from the Treasury up to a limit of $5 billion outstanding at any one time. Public Law 90–300 (PR).

Truth-in-Lending Act of 1968: Required creditors to disclose to consumers the full cost of credit expressed in terms of dollars and cents, and for most forms of credit, as an annual percentage rate. S. 5. Public Law 90 —— (PR).

EDUCATION

Educational TV: Extended through fiscal 1969 the authorization of $9 million for the Corporation of Public Broadcasting. Public Law 90–294 (PR).

Fire Research and Safety Act: Provided for a national fire research and safety program and created a National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control in order that more effective measures may be taken to protect against the hazards of death, injury, and damage to property as a result of fire. Public Law 90–259 (PR).

National Science Foundation Act: Amended the act by authorizing $525 million for fiscal year 1969 for the Foundation and by making reforms in the organization and operation of both the Foundation and its governing body, the National Science Board. H.R. 5404. P/H, April 12, 1967; P/S, amended, May 24, 1968.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

ASCS county office employees: Recognized periods of employment service in the county offices of the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service for the purposes of salary adjustment, annual and sick leave, and reduction in force for former county office employees who are appointed to positions as Federal employees in the Department of Agriculture. S. 1028. P/S, June 28, 1967; House Calendar.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Arts and humanities: Authorized $19.25 million for fiscal 1969 and $21.5 million for fiscal 1970 for the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities. H.R. 11308. Conferees agreed, May 28 (PR).

Civil government for Trust Territory of Pacific Islands: Authorized increased appropriations for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for civil works and administrative programs; increased the present authorization of $35 million for fiscal 1969 to $120 million for fiscal years 1970, 1971, and 1972; and authorized up to $10 million for any single disaster, principally typhoons, that strikes the territory. S. 3207. P/S. May 28.

Economic development of Trust Territory of Pacific Islands: Established a Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands economic development loan fund to promote the development of private enterprise and private industry in the trust territory; and would bring the total economic development authorization fund to a $5 million level. S. 3073. P/S, May 28.

Guam Governor's election: Provided for the popular election of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the Territory of Guam. S. 449. P/S, May 9, 1967; House Calendar (H.R. 7329) (PR).

National Gallery of Art: Authorized the National Gallery of Art to construct a building or buildings on a previously reserved site with all costs to be paid from private trust funds. S. 3159. P/S, May 14. H.R. 16358. House Calendar (PR).

Public lands: Provided for the conveyance of certain real property of the United States to the Alabama Space Science Exhibit Commission. Public Law 90–276.

U.S. historical documents: Extended for 5 years the authorization to make appropriations for allocations and grants for the collection and publication of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States. S. 2060. P/S, May 3.

Virgin Islands: Provided for the popular election of the Governor of the Virgin Islands. S. 450. P/S, July 18, 1967; House Calendar.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Migrant Health Act: Extended the migrant health program for 3 years and authorized $9 million for fiscal 1969, $15 million for fiscal 1970, and $20 million for fiscal 1971. S. 2688. P/S, May 6 (PR).

White House Conference on the Aging: Declared as the sense of Congress that the President call a White House Conference on Aging in 1970 to make recommendations for further action and research in aging and related fields. Senate Joint Resolution 117. P/S, May 6.

HOUSING

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968: Authorized $300 million through fiscal 1971 for construction and rehabilitation of rental housing for low-income families; extended the public housing and rent supplement programs through fiscal 1971; established a new Government bond insurance system to help finance the acquisition and development of new communities; established a new neighborhood development program as part of urban renewal; extended urban planning to cover rural districts; authorized the creation of federally chartered, privately funded corporations to mobilize private investment and the application of business skills in the job of creating low- and moderate-income housing in large volume; established the National Insurance Development Corporation to provide reinsurance to insurance companies for losses paid by them resulting from riots or civil disorders; and established a program of national flood insurance as a joint venture between the Federal Government and the private insurance industry. S. 3497. Passed Senate May 28 (PR).

VA and FHA interest rates: Removed until October 1, 1969, the statutory 6-percent interest rate ceiling requirement and authorized the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to set the ceiling for FHA mortgages; continued the VA authority to set interest rate ceilings but limited it to the rate set by HUD; and increased the maximum amount of the guarantee on VA-guaranteed home loans from $7,500 to $12,500. Public Law 90–301 (PR).

INDIANS

Adult vocational education: Increased the annual authorization from $15 to $25 million for the Indian adult education program and on-the-job training. Public Law 90–252 (PR).

Apache Tribe of the Mescalero Reservation: Authorized consolidation of judgment funds awarded to portions of the Apache Tribe of the Mescalero Reservation and use of the $8.5 million already recovered. Public Law 90–266.

Cherokee Nation: Authorized the conveyance of 2,668 acres of land in Oklahoma to the Cherokee Nation upon payment by the nation of $3.75 per acre to the Federal Government. Public Law 90–279.

Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes: Provided for the donation of approximately 116 acres of Federal land to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. Public Law 90–310.

Colville-Yakima: Conferred jurisdiction of the Court of Claims to determine the respective rights of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation and the Yakima Tribes of the Yakima Reservation of the State of Washington in and to a joint judgment fund. Public Law 90–278.

Crow: Granted mineral rights to the Crow Indians on certain lands of the Crow Reservation, Mont. Public Law 90–308.

Crow Creek and Lower Brule Indian Reservation: Amended existing law, which provided for the legislative taking of certain lands of the Crow Creek and Lower Brule Indian Reservations needed for the Big Bend Dam and Reservoir, by extending to September 1, 1969, the time in which an individual Indian who was not willing to accept the amount offered for his property to obtain a judicial determination of just compensation. S. 203. Passed Senate, May 27.

Flathead Reservation, Mont.: Authorized the disposal of certain isolated tracts of land on the reservation presently owned by the Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation and authorized the tribes to acquire Indian- or non-Indian-owned lands to be held in trust for tribal use or conveyance to tribal members in trust. S. 2701. Passed Senate, May 27.

Gifts for the benefit of Indians: Permits the Secretary of Interior to accept and use donations of property in furtherance of any program authorized by other provisions of law for the benefit of Indians. H.R. 14672. Public Law 90- ——.

Higher education: Removed the prohibition against appropriation of Federal funds for the higher education of Indian children in any sectarian school. Public Law 90–280.

Navaho Indian Reservation: Broadened the provisions of existing law governing the use of revenue from oil and gas leasing on a portion of the Navaho Indian Reservation in Utah. Public Law 90–306.

Navaho-Ute Mountain Tribes: Authorized the Navaho Tribe of the Ute Mountain Tribe to commence litigation to determine the location of a part of the common boundary between their two reservations. Public Law 90–256.

Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, Mont.: Provided for a reservation in perpetuity for the benefit of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Tribe of the minerals on or underlying the allotted lands on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation. H.R. 5704. Passed Senate, amended May 27.

Pawnees-Oklahoma: Conveyed certain lands embraced in the Pawnee School and Agency Reserve to the Pawnee Indian Tribe of Oklahoma. H.R. 5910. In conference.

Spokane Indian Reservation: Provided general authority to acquire and hold in trust for the Spokane Indian Tribe land within its reservation, to dispose of tribal land, and to enter into long-term leases of tribal or allotted land, all for the purpose of consolidating landownership patterns within the reservation and making the maximum utilization of the reservation land base. H.R. 3299. Public Law 90——.

Spokane Tribe: Provided legislative authority for the Spokane Tribe of Indians to use the claims judgment of $6,029,831.78 for any purpose that is authorized by the tribal governing body and approved by the Secretary of Interior. H.R. 15271. Public Law 90——.

Tiwa Indians of Texas: Recognized the Tiwa people of the pueblo of Ysleta del Sur in El Paso County, Tex., as a band of American Indians and to transfer to the State of Texas any responsibility the United States may have for them. Public Law 90–287.

Ute Mountain Tribe: Permitted the Ute Mountain Tribe to use its portion ($1,441,002.24) of an Indian Claims Commission judgment in favor of the Confederated Bands of Ute Indians. H.R. 14922. Public Law 90——.

INTERNATIONAL—GENERAL

Arms control: Authorized $18.5 million for fiscal years 1969 and 1970 for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and limited external research to $7 million for these years. Public Law 90–314 (PR).

Claims: Amended the International Claims Settlement Act to provide for an orderly liquidation of the Bulgarian and the Rumanian claims programs. H.R. 9063. In conference.

Inter-American Development Bank: Authorized the U.S. Governor of the Inter-American Development Bank to vote in favor of a $1 billion increase in the Bank's authorized callable capital stock and to agree on behalf of the United States to subscribe to our share of the increase, amounting to $411,760,000. H.R. 15364. Public Law 90—— (PR).

International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs: Authorized the appropriation of such sums annually as may be necessary for the payment by the United States of its share of the expenses of the International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs and of its Bureau, but not to exceed 6 percent of such annual expenses. S. 1578. Passed Senate, May 1968.

Passport law changes: Provided that a passport shall be valid for 5 years without renewal instead of 3 years with a renewal period of 2 years; provides for a uniform fee of $15; and eliminates the necessity of successive personal appearances by individuals who have already been issued passports. S. 1418. Passed Senate, April 8, 1968.

Peace Corps authorization: Authorized $112,800,000 for the Peace Corps for fiscal 1969. S. 2914. Passed Senate, April 30 (PR).

Warsaw: Recognized the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. House Concurrent Resolution 655. Passed House, April 23; Passed Senate April 25.

World weather watch: Expressed the sense of Congress that the United States should participate in and give full support to the world weather program and that the President shall transmit to Congress before March 1 of each year a statement of the proposed participation, activities to be conducted in connection with it, department or agency to carry out these activities, and appropriations needed. Senate Concurrent Resolution 67. Senate adopted, April 1, 1968; Passed House, amended, May 20 (PR).

TREATIES (PR)

Convention on International Exhibitions: Established the Bureau of International Expositions to maintain oversight over the location, timing, cost, purposes, and quality of international expositions in which its members are invited to take part. Executive P, 90th Congress, first session. Resolution of ratification agreed to, April 30, 1968.

Convention on International Hydrographic Organization: Gives treaty status to an existing international organization known as the International Hydrographic Bureau whose purpose is to make navigation easier and safer by improving nautical charts and documents. Executive O, 90th Congress, first session. Resolution of ratification agreed to, May 13.

Organization of American States: Protocol to the Charter of the Organization of American States made substantial revisions in the OAS organs and the powers of certain OAS organs to increase its capacity to function more effectively. Executive L, 90th Congress, first session. Resolution of ratification agreed to, April 10, 1968.

Safety of life at sea amendments: The six amendments are designed to improve the standards of ship safety. Executive C, 90th Congress, second session. Resolution of ratification agreed to, May 13.

JUDICIAL

Abusive and harassing telephone calls: Made it a Federal offense to make certain obscene or harassing telephone calls in interstate or foreign commerce or within the District of Columbia. Public Law 90–299.

Additional circuit judges: Provided for the appointment of eight additional circuit judges as follows: one for the third, two for the fifth, four for the ninth, and one for the 10th; made permanent the four additional judgeships for the fifth circuit created by the act of March 18, 1966. S. 2349. Passed Senate, November 17, 1967; House Calendar.

Local law enforcement officers: Provided compensation for law enforcement officers not employed by the United States killed or injured while apprehending persons suspected of committing Federal crimes. Public Law 90–291 (PR).

Multidistrict litigation: Provided formal machinery to transfer, for coordinated or consolidated pretrial procedures, civil actions pending in different judicial districts, that have one or more common questions in fact. Public Law 90–296.

U.S. Court of Military Appeals: Provided that the present Court of Military Appeals be redesignated the U.S. Court of Military Appeals. S. 2634. Passed Senate, November 28, 1967; House Calendar.

LABOR

Railroad retirement: Amended the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act to provide increases in railroad retirement benefits to approximately 653,000 persons in amounts equal to 110 percent of the amounts they would have received had they been social security beneficiaries. Public Law 90–257 (PR).

MEMORIALS AND PARKS

Cradle of Forestry in America: Established the Cradle of Forestry in America in the Pisgah National Forest in North Carolina to promote knowledge about forestry education and forest land management. S. 2837. Passed Senate May 17.

Robert S. Kerr Center: Established the Robert S. Kerr Memorial Arboretum and Nature Center in the Ouachita National Forest in Oklahoma, to promote learning about nature and forest land management. H.R. 15822. Public Law 90-——.

Saugus Iron Works: Established the Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site in Massachusetts; provided for its administration as a unit of the national park system; and authorized $400,000 for rehabilitation and construction work. Public Law 90–282.

PROCLAMATIONS

Safety Patrol Week: Designated the second week of May of 1968 as National School Safety Patrol Week, and requested the President to issue a proclamation calling upon all people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies. Public Law 90–277.

Save Your Breath Month: Authorized the President to proclaim National Jewish Hospital Save Your Breath Month. Public Law 90–281.

Treaty of peace: Authorized the President to issue a proclamation designating the calendar year 1968 as the centennial of the signing of the 1968 treaty of peace between the Navajo Indian Tribe and the United States. Public Law 90–309.

REORGANIZATION

ICC: Permits the Interstate Commerce Commission to refer to individual qualified employees for decision those matters which have not involved the taking of testimony at a public hearing or the submission of evidence by opposing parties in the form of affidavits. The bill specifically provides for a right of appeal from these individual employee decisions to the Commission and the courts. S. 758. Passed Senate, May 14.

Plan No. 1: Transferred the Bureau of Narcotics from the Treasury Department and the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control from HEW and created the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in the Department of Justice. Effective April 8, 1968 (PR).

Plan No. 2: Transferred urban mass transportation programs to the Department of Transportation and established an Urban Mass Transportation Administration within the Department. Effective May 7, 1968 (PR).

Plan No. 3: Brought recreation programs under the authority of the District of Columbia Commissioner and abolished the present Board and the Office of the Superintendent of Recreation. Effective May 23, 1968 (PR).

Plan No. 4: Strengthened the District of Columbia Commissioner's authority to initiate and guide the administration of urban renewal by authorizing him to appoint the five members of the Redevelopment Land Agency Board and to prescribe the rules and regulations of the Redevelopment Land Agency. Effective May 23, 1968 (PR).

RESOURCE BUILDUP

Alewife control: Authorized $5 million for the control of the alewife, smelts and other fish and aquatic life in the waters of the Great Lakes which affect adversely the fish resources and ecological balance of the Great Lakes. S. 2123. Passed Senate, April 4.

Cape Hatteras: Authorized the necessary appropriations to satisfy civil judgments for acquisition of lands for the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in North Carolina. S. 561. Public Law 90-——.

Central Arizona project: Authorized $768 million for the construction of the central Arizona project in Arizona and New Mexico; and $360 million for five projects in the upper basin. S. 1004. Passed Senate, August 7, 1967; Passed House, amended, May 16 (PR).

Eklutna project, Alaska: Makes nonreimbursable the cost of the work which was necessary to rehabilitate the Eklutna Federal hydroelectric power project in Alaska because of damage caused by the earthquake of March 27, 1964. S. 224. Passed Senate, May 28.

Feasibility investigations: Authorized the Secretary of Interior to engage in feasibility investigations of certain water resource developments in the States of Oklahoma, North Dakota, Arizona, and Oregon. Public Law 90–254.

Fish protein concentrate: Increased the authorization to $1.9 million for the Secretary of Interior to develop, through the use of an experiment and demonstration plant, practicable and economic means for the production by the commercial fishing industry of fish protein concentrate. S. 3030. Passed Senate, April 2 (PR).

Foss Reservoir: Authorized the Secretary of the Interior to conduct feasibility studies of ways and means of alleviating the problems encountered by the Foss Reservoir Master Conservancy District associated with the poor quality and supply of water stored in Foss Reservoir, Washita River Basin, Okla., and afforded relief to the district from the burden under its repayment contract wherein it is obligated to pay for water that is unusable. Public Law 90–311.

Land and water conservation fund: Authorized an appropriation from general revenues to make the total annual income into the fund amount to $200 million for each of fiscal years 1969 to 1971. S. 1401. Passed Senate, April 30; Passed House, amended, May 23 (PR).

Migratory birds: Replaced the Secretary of Commerce with the Secretary of Transportation as a member of the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission. Public Law 90–261.

Missouri River Basin project: Authorized an additional $59 million for fiscal 1969 and 1970 to continue the program of the Bureau of Reclamation for investigation and construction of the comprehensive plan for the Missouri River Basin project. Public Law 90–315 (PR).

Navaho Reservoir, N. Mex.: Granted authority to the Secretary of the Interior to enter into three repayment contracts for water for industrial purposes from the Navaho Reservoir in New Mexico. Public Law 90–272.

Saline water conversion: Authorized $24.556 million for fiscal 1969 for the saline water conversion program. Public Law 90–297 (PR).

San Gabriel Wilderness: Designated 36,000 acres of the Angeles National Forest in California as the San Gabriel Wilderness. Public Law 90–318 (PR).

San Rafael Wilderness: Designated as the first addition to the National Wilderness Preservation System since its establishment in 1964, 143,000 acres of land located in the Los Padres National Forest, Santa Barbara County, Calif., as the San Rafael Wilderness. Public Law 90–271 (PR).

Watershed project contract procedure: Amended the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act to permit the Secretary of Agriculture, upon request of the local organization, to contract for the construction of works of improvement. S. 2276. Passed Senate, May 20.

TAXATION

Chinese gooseberries: Made fresh gooseberries subject to a tariff rate equivalent to the general tariff level applied to berries rather than the tariff level applied to "other" fruits, which would change the rate from 17.5 percent ad valorem to 0.75 cent per pound. H.R. 2155. Passed Senate, amended, April 11.

Excise: Continued until May 1, 1968, the existing excise tax rates on automobiles and communication services. Public Law 90–285.

Excise-surtax-expenditure reductions: Extended the 7-percent excise tax on automobiles and the 10 percent on telephone communications through December 31, 1969; accelerated corporate tax payments; imposed a 10-percent surtax on individuals effective April 1, 1968, and on corporations effective January 1, 1968; provided for an expenditures reduction of $6 billion and a $10 billion reduction in obligated authority; and terminated as of May 1, 1968, the tax-exempt status of industrial revenue bonds of more than $1 million. H.R. 15414. Conferees agreed, May 9 (PR).

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Automobile insurance investigation: Authorized $2 million for the Secretary of Transportation, in cooperation with other Federal agencies, to conduct a comprehensive 24-month study and investigation of the automobile insurance system. Public Law 90-313 (PR).

Cargo containers: Prevented the application of discriminatory policies or practices by any Government agency against any carrier by giving preference as between them on the basis of length, height or width of cargo container cells, except when required by military necessity. Public Law 90-268.

Coast Guard: Authorized $136 million for the capital requirements of the Coast Guard for ships, planes, shore facilities, aids to navigation, and bridge construction for fiscal 1969. H.R. 15224. Public Law 90-—— (PR).

Equal time: Suspended for the 1968 campaign the equal time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 for nominees for the Office of President and Vice President. Senate Joint Resolution 175. Passed Senate, May 29.

Fishing vessel seizure: Authorized reimbursement to the owners of fishing vessels for losses incurred through their seizure by foreign governments. S. 2269. Passed Senate, April 3.

Freight charge refunds: Empowered the Federal Maritime Commission to authorize common carriers by water in foreign commerce to make voluntary refunds to shippers and to waive the collection of a portion of freight charges where it appears that there is an error in a tariff of a clerical nature, or where, through inadvertence, there has been a failure to file a tariff reflecting an intended rate. Public Law 90-298.

Interoceanic Canal Study Commission: Extended to December 1, 1970, the time by which the Commission must complete its study and make recommendations concerning a site for the construction of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. H.R. 15190. In conference (PR).

Loan insurance: Removed the 6-percent statutory interest ceiling on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, and authorized the Secretary of Commerce to approve such interest rates as he determines to be reasonable. S. 3017. Passed Senate, May 27.

Masters' liens for wages: Granted to the master of a vessel documented, registered, enrolled, or licensed under the laws of the United States the same lien for his wages against such vessel, and the same priority therefor, as any other seaman serving on such vessel. Public Law 90-293.

National Traffic and Safety Act: Amended the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 to temporarily exempt limited production motor vehicles—less than 500—from any motor vehicle safety standard if compliance would cause the manufacturer substantial economic hardship and would not result in undue hazard to the public. Public Law 90-283.

Ocean cruises: Permitted any U.S.-flag passenger ship receiving operating subsidy payments to engage in cruise trade off its assigned trade route for up to 8 months of the year if the Secretary of Commerce finds that such off-route cruising will not prevent adequate service on the vessel's assigned trade route nor substantially adversely affect an existing U.S.-flag operator's services. H.R. 12639. In conference.

Passenger vessels: Postponed for 2 years the date on which passenger vessels operating solely on the inland rivers and waterways must comply with certain safety standards. S. 3102. Passed Senate, April 10.

Pipeline safety: Authorized the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety regulations for the transport of natural gas by pipeline. S. 1166. Passed Senate, November 9, 1967; House Calendar (PR).

Vehicle weights and dimensions: Amended the Federal-Aid Highway Act to increase the vehicle weight and width which a State may lawfully permit on the Interstate Highway System. S. 2658. Passed Senate, April 4.

Water carrier financing: Made equipment trust certificate financing available to the water carrier industry by extending the same recordation and limited bankruptcy benefits now available to the railroads and the airlines. S. 913. Passed Senate, April 25.

VETERANS

Pensions' Protection Act: Provided that increased social security benefits would not affect veterans' pensions until 1970, when pensions would be gradually adjusted to take into account the increased social security benefits. Public Law 90-275 (PR).

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR HRUSKA

Mr. **DIRKSEN.** Mr. President, recently when the safe streets, crime control, and gun control bill was before the Senate, and after we had completed action upon it, I completely overlooked making what I feel is a richly deserved tribute to the very distinguished Senator from Nebraska, Mr. ROMAN HRUSKA.

He is a member of the Committee on the Judiciary. He is also a member of the subcommittee of which the distinguished Seantor from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN] is the chairman. I cannot state how many weeks, months, yes, even years that Senator HRUSKA has devoted to these questions of gun control and crime control. He certainly deserves the thanks and gratitude of the American people for the diligence and devotion that he displayed in working toward the ultimate enactment of what I regard as a truly great piece of legislation. So I salute him for the part he played therein.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM—AUTHORITY TO REAPPOINT CHAIRMAN OF JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, it is anticipated that when we return on Monday next, we will take up Calendar No. 1115, House Joint Resolution 1224, to authorize the reappointment of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I ask unanimous consent that at this time the bill be laid before the Senate and made the pending business.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The bill will be stated by title.

The **BILL CLERK.** A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1224) to authorize the President to reappoint as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for an additional term of 1 year, the officer serving in that position on April 1, 1968.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, that will be followed, though not necessarily in this order, by the following measures:

Calendar No. 1104, H.R. 15189, to authorize maritime appropriations.

Calendar No. 1001, S. 1316, to amend the Bankruptcy Act and civil service retirement laws.

Calendar No. 1082, S. 3218, concerning Eximbank loans.

Calendar No. 1119, H.R. 15856, the NASA authorization. That will very likely come up on Wednesday.

Then, I understand that early next week, the appropriate committees will report out certain measures which will very likely be called up during the week, such as the special drawing rights measure from the Committee on Foreign Relations and the legislation having to do with recapturing and relicensing and the deceptive sales measure, both to be reported by the Committee on Commerce.

That is the extent of the legislative program for the time being. I think the Senate should be advised that there may well be rollcall votes on Monday next, and should plan to be present accordingly.

BILL ORDERED TO LIE ON THE TABLE

Mr. **MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Calendar No. 1055, S. 438, to provide additional assistance for areas suffering a major disaster, be ordered to lie on the table.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONTRADICTORY POSITION OF UNITED STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS ON RHODESIA AND VIETNAM

Mr. **BYRD** of Virginia. Mr. President, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson was blunt but accurate, I think, in his speech Friday before the American Bar Association.

He accused Great Britain and the United States of conspiring to overthrow the Government of Rhodesia.

The former Secretary of State under President Truman assailed the United Nations Security Council's demand for economic sanctions against Rhodesia, saying that Government "has done us no harm and threatened no one."

Noting that the U.S. representative to the United Nations took the leadership in seeking economic sanctions against the government of Ian Smith, Mr. Acheson called this action "barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle."

Mr. Acheson added that "the United States is engaged in a national conspiracy, instigated by Britain, and blessed by the United Nations" to overthrow the Rhodesian Government.

Mr. Acheson did not defend Rhodesia's decision to progressively extend the voting franchise to Africans but to stop short of majority rule. He said such a decision "was not everyone's cup of tea but neither was it anyone's business. It is a matter relating solely to the internal affairs of Rhodesia—in which the United Nations was forbidden by its charter to meddle—and to the political relation between Rhodesia and Britain."

The former Secretary of State indirectly extended his arguments to Vietnam by suggesting that the United States is in a contradictory position.

Mr. Acheson, I feel, is so right.

For 18 months, the Senator from Virginia has been pointing out the absurd position in which the United States finds itself.

On the one hand our representatives to the United Nations have demanded and obtained economic sanctions against Rhodesia—a nation at peace—and yet has done nothing about seeking economic sanctions against North Vietnam, a nation at war and a nation at whose hands the United States has suffered 168,387 casualties.

Not only are we in the foolish and absurd position of demanding sanctions against a nation at peace while doing nothing about seeking to shut off supplies going to a nation with which we are at war, but, as Mr. Acheson points out, there is no legal or moral justification for our unprovoked attack on Rhodesia.

The controversy is one between Rhodesia and Great Britain.

Rhodesia is seeking its independence from Great Britain just as the American people did in 1776.

The Senator from Virginia does not pass judgment on whether Rhodesia should be independent or whether she should continue her relationship with Great Britain.

But I submit, as did Mr. Acheson, that that is a matter to be decided between the two countries involved, Great Britain and Rhodesia. The American Government has no business interfering in this matter one way or the other.

My feelings about the United Nations has been recorded many times: As a naval officer having returned from Okinawa to San Francisco at the time the United Nations was formed in 1945, the formation of that organization held for me high hopes that another generation of Americans would not be called upon to offer their lives for their country in time of war.

But let us consider the attitude of the United Nations toward American involvement in Vietnam.

The Senator from Virginia put this question to our then Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg: "Does the United Nations consider North Vietnam an aggressor nation?"

He replied that the United Nations "has taken no formal position on the Vietnamese war."

My next question to Ambassador Goldberg: "Has the delegation of the United States to the United Nations officially sought United Nations military help in Vietnam?"

Ambassador Goldberg replied thusly: "Because of the sharply divided opinions of United Nations members, it is not realistic to seek a United Nations military role."

So the U.S. Government, while committing 500,000 troops to Vietnam, and while paying 31 percent of the cost of the United Nations, has not persisted in efforts to brand North Vietnam an aggressor nation, saying "it is not realistic to seek military help from the United Nations."

Our representatives do not even ask for United Nations help. They do not take to the floor of the U.N. Assembly or stand in the councils of the United Nations Security Council and officially demand that this world organization, which was designed to keep the peace, give some help to the United States.

The next question the Senator from Virginia asked Ambassador Goldberg was this: "Has the United States delegation advocated economic sanctions against North Vietnam?"

His answer amounted to, no.

The U.S. representative to the United Nations has, however, demanded economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

Our Government has not sought sanctions against North Vietnam through whose ports flow many of the war materials killing Americans in South Vietnam. No, we have not done that.

But our representative in the United Nations has demanded sanctions against the peaceful little country of Rhodesia. The Socialist Government of Great Britain cracked the whip, and the representative of the U.S. Government at the United Nations jumped to his feet and demanded that sanctions be applied against Rhodesia, whose only crime is that she is seeking independence from Great Britain, the same offense—if that's how we choose to regard it—that the United States itself committed in 1776.

In discussing this, Ambassador Goldberg said: "The United Kingdom, which has primary responsibility for this problem, has turned to the United Nations for assistance."

I ask this question, Mr. President: "Why does not the United States seek United Nations assistance in Vietnam?"

Because, Mr. Goldberg says, of "sharply divided opinions of United Nations members" concerning Vietnam.

So, because of "sharply divided opinions of United Nations members," our representative remains officially silent about economic sanctions against North Vietnam, yet speaks out for economic sanctions against a country that is threatening no other nation.

Is it logical to demand sanctions against a country at peace while being unwilling to demand the same sanctions against a country at whose hands the American people have suffered 168,000 casualties and the very lives of our sons are involved?

While a worldwide embargo has been put on the flow of oil to Rhodesia, the oil for war continues to flow freely to North Vietnam.

Perhaps this makes sense, but the Senator from Virginia finds it difficult to reach that conclusion.

Another question I put to Ambassador Goldberg was this: "Does the U.S. delegation to the United Nations think the United Nations should adopt sanctions against North Vietnam?"

Ambassador Goldberg said: "We would naturally welcome such a decision, but as a practical matter we know that this cannot be done."

I say, Mr. President, that whether or not this objective can be accomplished, our representative has an obligation to strive constantly for it.

But why does he not demand a rollcall vote? Let us see where Great Britain stands. Let us see if Great Britain is willing to vote sanctions against North Vietnam after demanding that we vote sanctions against Rhodesia. Ships flying the British flag carried on a brisk trade with North Vietnam during 1966 and 1967, and it continues during 1968. In fact, 36 ships flying the flag of Great Britain carried cargo to North Vietnam during January through April of this year.

Why should not the other U.N. members be called on to cast a vote of "yea" or "nay" on a proposal to adopt sanctions against North Vietnam?

On Tuesday, October 10, 1967, I introduced in the Senate an amendment to the State Department Appropriation Act. The amendment reads as follows:

> It is the sense of the Congress that the United States Government through its representatives in the United Nations, having advocated economic sanctions against Rhodesia, should initiate and support in the United Nations economic sanctions against North Viet Nam at whose hands the United States has suffered 55,888 casualties during the first nine months of 1967.

The Senate approved that amendment by a vote of 74 to 15. It was supported by both the majority leader and the minority leader of the Senate. The Senate took that action nearly 8 months ago; yet no action has been taken by either the President or the American representative to the United Nations.

In the meantime, supplies continue to pour into North Vietnam, and U.S. casualties in Vietnam continue to increase. During the past 2 weeks the United States suffered more casualties than during any other 2-week period in the history of the entire Vietnamese war. So I sometimes wonder whether our troops in Vietnam have become the forgotten men.

THE NEED TO REDUCE FEDERAL SPENDING

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, in the last several weeks there has been a refreshing air of candor from the administration in regard to the need to reduce Federal spending.

Two months ago Under Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Joseph W. Barr, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that this country cannot continue indefinitely fighting a costly war in Vietnam and simultaneously expanding domestic spending.

More recently Arthur M. Okun, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, asserted that the Federal Government was the major cause of recent inflation because it was pouring so much money into the economy. He said this spending policy was inappropriate to the economic conditions that exist.

Now we hear from Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler. Speaking before a bankers' meeting in Puerto Rico, Mr. Fowler is reported to have said that the $2 billion difference between the spending cuts which President Johnson has agreed to and the $6 billion reductions which the Congress has demanded "must not be allowed to stand between the Nation and the early reestablishment of a responsible fiscal policy."

What Mr. Fowler is saying, as I read his statement, is that all the scare stories about what would happen should the $6-billion reductions be made are exaggerated and are only delaying the day when we can begin to put our fiscal house back in order.

At this point I want to mention a telegram I received from a representative of one of our national publishing houses who objects to the $6-billion cut because he claims it would lead to the "virtual destruction of our Federal education and library programs."

This is typical of some of the scare stories making the rounds these days. I say it is pure bunk.

There are dozens of programs which can be cut and should be cut and have been cut without impairing Federal assistance to libraries.

This session I have voted to cut nearly $1 billion out of Defense Department appropriations and I supported today reductions of $1.3 billion in agriculture appropriations. These are only two examples of what can be done to bring Federal spending under control.

Narrow business interests must not be allowed to obscure the larger interest involved here, and that is the economic stability of this country. This $6-billion reduction is the minimum necessary to prevent run-away inflation and the possible collapse of the American dollar in world money markets.

Most businessmen with whom I have had contact stand to suffer some losses as a result of these reductions. Despite this, they have recognized the need for these reductions, and they have favored the action taken by the Senate and the House, and the action which I understand the House took today in refusing to go along with a $4 billion reduction, but demanding a $6 billion reduction.

I believe all of us must put the best interests of this country ahead of our own personal desires.

I would like to commend Secretary Fowler whom I regard as one of the finest men ever to have held the difficult job as Secretary of the Treasury, for his forthright and courageous statement.

His statement is especially noteworthy coming as it does in opposition to the public position on this question taken by the White House.

At this point in my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial published in the Washington Daily News of May 28, 1968, commending Secretary Fowler for saying what needed to be said.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, May 28, 1698]

FOWLER'S VALEDICTION?

Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler talked about resigning "before much longer" when he said it. But at least he said it.

He said—to a bankers' meeting in Puerto Rico—that the $2 billion difference between the $4 billion spending cuts President Johnson reluctantly has agreed to and the $6 billion spending rollback written into the pending tax increase bill "must not be allowed to stand between the nation and the early re-establishment of a responsible fiscal policy."

In other words, Mr. Johnson's top fiscal officer would stop squawking about the horrors the Administration imagines in a $6 billion spending cut, accept it, get the tax increase on the books and get on with the show. Which is what should be done—as even such liberal economists as Dr. Walter W. Heller have advocated.

It's a rare thing for the Administration's top fiscal officer to depart openly and strongly from the Presidential position on a major money matter. Maybe it could only happen in the closing days of an Administration, and with the Cabinet officer ready to resign.

But, even in such circumstances, Secretary Fowler deserves commendation for saying what needed to be said.

EXPANDED EFFORT TO INCREASE THE ACCURACY AND EXTEND THE TIME RANGE OF WEATHER PREDICTIONS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate a message from the House on Senate Concurrent Resolution 67.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the concurrent resolution from the Senate (S. Con. Res. 67) requesting the President to take action to insure the United States will derive maximum benefits from an expanded and intensified effort to increase the accuracy and extend the time range of weather predictions which was, on page 4, line 10, strike out "and seek appropriations therefor."

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Maryland.

The motion was agreed to.

EXPLANATION OF VOTE ON HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1968

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I voted against the housing bill yesterday. I regret very much that I had to do so because the bill included many worthwhile programs which I have strongly supported in the past.

The FHA insurance program, the college housing program, and FNMA have proved to be sound, solid programs which help the people to help themselves and repay their cost to the Federal Government. They can stand alone on their own merit, but when programs such as these are lumped together with riot insurance and unlimited subsidies to almost half the families in the country, then the bad features of the bill so outweigh the good that I am compelled to vote against it.

Title I of the bill, the new mortgage subsidy program, is not a housing measure at all but a major step toward setting up a Federal guaranteed minimum income scheme on a piecemeal basis. This is not only highly objectionable in principle but is particularly unwise at this time. Federal spending is soaring, inflation is steadily eating away at personal income, and the people are being asked to take on a bigger tax burden. Considering the heavy load the hardworking, taxpaying citizens of this country are already carrying, it is just plain unreasonable and unfair to require them to pay a still larger bill for those who do not pay their own way.

Title I authorizes the appropriation of $300 million for the first 3 years of a program to subsidize mortgage payments on private homes. This $300 million sounds like a small sum as Federal spending goes, but this is just the tip of a huge iceberg. This $300 million is just the initial cost, the first payment on mortgages which the Federal Government will be paying for a period of 35 years. Even if the program is held to its present size and not increased or expanded in the future, the Federal Government will be obligated to pay $10.5 billion on the mortgages assumed by this first payment of $300 million.

The average monthly Federal subsidy is estimated to range from $17.63 to $76.20, depending on the size of the buyer's family, his income, and the amount of the mortgage. These are relatively small sums when considered on a monthly basis, but they rapidly mount up when calculated for the total life of a 35-year mortgage. For example, on a $15,000 mortgage of a home buyer having an income of $3,600 after deducting $300 for each child, the Federal Government would pay a monthly subsidy of only $57.15. Over a period of 35 years, however, the Federal Government would pay a total subsidy of $23,998.

It is estimated that 46 percent of the families in the Nation will be eligible for a Federal subsidy under this program. They are not all families that are ordinarily considered poor; families with incomes in excess of $7,800 after allowing $300 for each child will be eligible. The kind of houses that will be eligible, are not all modest dwellings but may range up to $20,000 homes.

I just do not believe the American people are willing to undertake such a gigantic welfare program, nor do I think it wise. It is another serious blow to individual initiative and responsibility. It penalizes the productive members of society and destroys their incentive to work and produce, earn and save, to create the wealth out of which these subsidies are to be paid. It is getting closer to the point when it will be to their advantage also to abandon the effort and join the ranks of the nonproductive.

ATTEMPTED TAKEOVER OF COMMERCIAL CREDIT CORPORATION BY LOEW'S OF NEW YORK REQUIRES FULL-SCALE CONGRESSIONAL AND SEC INVESTIGATION

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I want to bring to the attention of the Senate a situation which I believe to be potentially dangerous to the entire American economy because of precedents it is setting in violating the spirit of our laws.

I refer to the attempted takeover of 56-year-old Commercial Credit Corp. of Baltimore, the Nation's second largest independent finance company, by Loew's Theaters, Inc., of New York, a hotel, motel, and motion picture chain with one-twelfth its assets. This proposed financial coup may be completed next week if Loew's plans continue unchecked.

Briefly, what has happened to date is that Loew's surreptitiously acquired more than 1 million shares of Commercial Credit, which with more than $3 billion in assets is the largest company headquartered in the State of Maryland. Then 4 weeks ago Laurence Tisch, the chairman of Loew's, informed CCC's top management that Loew's intended to make an exchange offer for all of the remaining shares of CCC. Meanwhile trading activity in Commercial Credit stock stepped up to a fever pitch.

Reports have been received that Loew's proposed tender offer to Commercial Credit stockholders was disclosed several days before the public announcement on April 25 to large investors, including mutual funds, and to certain brokerage houses. It was reported that the disclosure to these investors pointed out that a purchase of Commercial Credit stock would give a call on Loew's stock through the proposed exchange of Loew's convertible debentures for Commercial Credit stock. The recommendation of this manner of getting into Loew's was pursued even prior to the filing of a registration statement with the SEC on May 1—registration statement which has not yet become effective. Clearly, those reports warrant an investigation for possible violations of the Securities Act of 1933.

The increase in the volume of trading on the New York Stock Exchange, which began about April 10, lends support to these reports. The volume reached very substantial proportions late in the afternoon of April 25, the day on which the proposed tender offer was made public, and has continued since. Commercial Credit was the most actively traded stock for some 9 trading days after April 25 and the aggregate shares traded during that period was equivalent to about one-third of Commercial Credit's outstanding stock. Commercial Credit closed on April 5 at $33, and on April 24, the day before the announcement, at $37⅞. At the close of business on April 25, it had risen to $40, and by May 10 it had risen to $47⅛.

If, as has been reported, mutual funds acted on advance information to buy up large blocks of Commercial Credit stock, they, too, will have used their financial strength to assist in the takeover.

I understand the SEC is looking into this matter. These reports, however, warrant a full investigation by the SEC and by the Congress with use of subpena powers to determine whether there have been any violations of any of the securities laws including the Investment Company Act. I have already asked the appropriate Senate and House committee to begin an immediate investigation of this matter to determine what new legislation might be required to protect innocent companies and shareholders from unscrupulous outside attack.

Mr. President, I have today addressed a letter to the Honorable Manuel F. Cohen, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, requesting a full-scale investigation of this matter with subpenaed witnesses.

I have also discussed this matter with members of the House Commerce Committee, which is now considering SEC legislation, and they are very interested in pursuing this matter.

I ask unanimous consent that several recent newspaper articles describing this matter be inserted in the Record.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Baltimore Sun]

Loew's Offer Planned for Credit Firm—Commercial Credit's Officers Surprised by Proposal

(By Jesse Glasgow)

Loew's Theatres, Inc., notified Commercial Credit Company's management late yesterday that it plans to make an exchange offer to shareholders of the Baltimore-based firm.

Commercial Credit's officers, admittedly caught by surprise, said they had no immediate comment on the apparent takeover move.

Laurence Tisch, Loew's chairman and president, said his firm expects to offer $45 principal amount of 25-year convertible subordinated debentures in exchange for each share of Commercial Credit common stock.

Commercial Credit, traded heavily in yesterday's action on the New York Stock Exchange, closed at 40, up 2⅛ for the day, and a new high for the year. Previously, the stock had traded in 1968 within a range of 31½ to 37½.

Loew's Mr. Tisch said his firm would act shortly to file the necessary registration statement covering the issuance of debentures with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

TISCH CALLED HERE

His company, which has hotel and motel investments as well as its theater interests, now holds about 1,000,000 of the approximately 10,500,000 shares of Commercial Credit common stock now outstanding.

Mr. Tisch called Commercial Credit's new president, Donald S. Jones, late yesterday afternoon to read a statement which Loew's later released to the press.

Michael Sheehan, a Commercial Credit vice president, said the diversified Baltimore-based company could not comment on the proposed offer until it had more information.

"The first time we heard about Loew's plans was this afternoon when Mr. Tisch . . . called . . . and read us a release saying Loew's was planning to acquire us," Mr. Sheehan said.

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 2, 1968]

Finance Concern Spurns Acquisition Bid for Loew's—Commercial Credit Directors Say the Debenture Offer Would Aid Loew's Holders—Swap Valued at $430 Million

Commercial Credit Corp. directors at a board meeting yesterday in Baltimore rejected the offer of Loew's Theatres Inc. to acquire the sales finance company. Commercial Credit also reported a drop in first quarter profit.

The rejection of the Loew's offer followed yesterday morning's announcement by Loew's in New York that it will offer a debenture issue that will be convertible into one Loew's common share for each two common shares of Commercial Credit, under a previously announced tender plan.

Because it filed a registration statement, Loew's said it isn't in a position to comment on Commercial Credit's rejection of the exchange offer.

Donald S. Jones, president of Commercial Credit, said the board, "could only view the exchange offer as one designed to benefit Loew's stockholders at the expense of Commercial Credit Stockholders."

He said that in essence, the proposal would change the status of Commercial Credit stockholders into subordinated creditors of Loew's.

Mr. Jones urged stockholders not to react too quickly to recent unusual trading activity in the stocks of the two companies and cautioned them not to be stampeded into either selling their Commercial Credit stock or accepting the Loew's offer. He stressed that the Loew's offer wasn't definitive and was subject to revision.

The board listed six reasons for rejecting the Loew's offer:

The small size of Loew's relative to Commercial Credit.

The incompatibility of Commercial Credit's business with hotels, motels, and motion picture theaters, Loew's principal business.

The exchange of Commercial Credit common stock for debentures that would be subordinated to the present and future debt of Loew's.

The wide swings that have occurred in the market price of Loew's stock, which they said makes the convertible feature of the debenture speculative.

The fact that market trading operations accounted for a substantial portion of Loew's increase in earnings last year.

Loew's dividend record. The first time in Loew's history that a dividend was paid was in November 1967, and that amounted to 10 cents a share.

Loew's already owns 1,000,700 of the 10,538,029 Commercial Credit shares outstanding. It is seeking to acquire the remaining 9,537,329 publicly held shares.

Those 9,537,329 Commercial Credit shares, if acquired by Loew's, would be convertible into a total of 4,768,664 Loew's common shares.

At yesterday's closing price on the New York Stock Exchange of $90.25 a share, down $1.25, the 4,768,664 Loew's shares would have a market value of about $430.4 million. Commercial Credit, also traded on the Big Board, closed yesterday at $46.50, up 37½ cents.

In the announcement, Laurence A. Tisch, chairman and president of Loew's, said the hotel and theater chain will offer a $45 principal amount 5½% 25-year debenture for each Commercial Credit common share. That debenture will be convertible into Loew's common at one share for $90 of debentures. Thus, for each two Commercial Credit shares, holders would receive debentures convertible into one Loew's common.

Loew's filed a registration statement with the Securities and Exchange Commission covering the proposed issuance of $438.8 million of debentures. The exchange offer is to become effective after required approval of a majority of Loew's outstanding stock at a special meeting to be held in June.

Mr. Tisch said Loew's doesn't have any plans for a reorganization or change in the existing corporate structure of Commercial Credit.

Holders of Commercial Credit common on May 31 will receive the 45-cent quarterly dividend that is payable July 1 even if they turn in their shares under the exchange offer, Loew's said.

Lehman Brothers will act as dealer manager of a group of securities dealers who will solicit exchanges. Dealers will receive 85 cents a share for each share exchanged through their efforts.

Commercial Credit reported earnings of $4.9 million, or 46 cents a share, for the first quarter, down from $6 million, or 56 cents a share, a year earlier. Gross income was $90.2 million, up from $87.6 million.

Mr. Jones, president, said the company's reduced earnings were "entirely the result of losses sustained by a group of manufacturing subsidiaries," two of which were closed during much of the first quarter due to labor difficulties.

Five of the company's eight manufacturing subsidiaries showed improved profit in the quarter, Mr. Jones said, adding that Commercial Credit is considering disposing those units that seem likely to continue unprofitable.

Mr. Jones said Commercial Credit's finance subsidiaries continued to show good growth, with earnings about the same as a year earlier. Receivables outstanding, he said, increased by $150 million to $2.87 billion. Deferred income rose by $23 million to more than $265 million.

He said the company's insurance subsidiaries produced about the same profit as in last year's quarter and had shown a "marked increase" in written premiums and a $5 million growth in unearned premium reserves.

[From the New York Times, May 2, 1968]

Credit Company Fights Loew's Bid—Commercial Cautioning Its Stockholders on Deciding To Sell Their Shares

(By Clare M. Reckert)

The Commercial Credit Corporation yesterday termed the proposed tender offer made by Loew's Theatres, Inc., as "unfavorable," and cautioned shareholders yesterday not to make a hasty decision in selling their stock.

The large independent finance company, based in Baltimore, also issued its first-quarter report, which showed that net earnings fell to $4,880,379, or 46 cents a share, from $5,983,316, or 56 cents a share, in the first three months of last year. Gross income rose to $90,150,635 from $87,601,518.

The decline resulted from losses by the manufacturing subsidiaries, two of which were closed down by labor disputes, Donald S. Jones, president and LeBaron S. Willard Jr., chairman, explained. Also, an unprofitable German printing machinery company was sold on April 4 of this year, they disclosed.

Here, meanwhile, Laurence A. Tisch, chairman and president of Loew's, announced that the company will offer Commercial Credit stockholders $45 principal amount of 5½ per cent convertible subordinated debentures due 1993 in exchange for each Commercial Credit common share. Loew's also filed a registration statement yesterday with the Securities and Exchange Commission covering the proposed issue of the $438,817,900 in debentures.

EXCHANGE OFFER TERMS

The new debentures will be convertible in Loew's common stock at $90 a share. Based on terms of the exchange offer, Commercial Credit stockholders would receive for each two shares of common stock, debentures convertible into one common share of Loew's.

Loew's and Commercial Credit stocks reached new highs on the New York Stock Exchange yesterday. After reaching 92¼, Loew's closed at 90¼, down 1⅓ points. Commercial Credit, the most actively traded stock with 334,800 shares traded, closed at 46½, up ⅜ point after hitting 47¾.

Loew's with 1,000,700 shares of Commercial Credit's 10,538,029 shares outstanding, is the largest holder of Commercial stock.

The exchange offer is expected to become effective following required approval of a majority of Loew's shareholders at a special meeting set for June.

Holders of Commercial Credit common stock on May 31 would receive 45 cents quarterly dividend of Commercial Credit payable on July 1, notwithstanding the acceptance of their shares under the exchange offer, Mr. Tisch explained.

Directors of Commercial Credit listed several factors which they said made the exchange offer "unattractive." These were the "small size of Loew's relative to Commercial Credit;" incompatability of the company's business with hotels, motels and motion picture theaters; exchange of Commercial stock for a debenture subordinated to the present and future debt of Loew's; the wide swings in the market price of Loew's stock; and the dividend record of Loew's which paid its first dividend, which was 10 cents last November.

[From the Baltimore Evening Sun, Apr. 26, 1968]

(By John T. Ward)

Commercial Credit Co. Receives Surprise Takeover Offer From Loew's

Management of Commercial Credit Company was completely surprised by the overnight announcement that Loew's Theaters, Inc., intends to make an offer to stockholders of the Baltimore firm, a holding company which is one of the nation's leaders in credit financing of all types.

STOCK JUMPS 1.5 POINTS

The Stock Market made a quick response today. A block of 30,000 shares of Commercial Credit was sold at 41½, up 1½ points from yesterday's close when 67,700 shares were recorded during the day.

During the first hour 114,000 shares of Commercial Credit were traded, the price dropping back to 41¼.

Donald S. Jones, president of Commercial Credit, said a telephone call late yesterday from Lawrence Tisch, chairman of Loew's, was the first intimation of the proposed takeover offer. Mr. Tisch requested a meeting soon so that he may discuss the matter with Baltimore officials.

IS MERGER MINDED

Loew's is aggressively merger minded, its business in recent years being radically different from the time when it was strictly a movie-making and movie theater concern.

The offer is said to involve a $45 principal amount of 25-year convertible subordinate debentures in exchange for each share of Commercial Credit. There are around 10,500,000 shares of the latter outstanding.

CALLED TAXABLE OFFER

There are intriguing sides to the offer through convertible subordinated debentures. Acceptance would deprive stockholders of voting rights. Generally, such debentures are convertible into common or preferred stock of the successor corporation. Details were not spelled out in the brief news concerning the Loew offer.

No rate on the debentures was mentioned, nor a conversion price into stock.

Furthermore, financial men said it would be a taxable offer, in that the seller would be liable for taxes on his profit on the shares, quite unlike most recent share exchanges not been subject to income taxes.

NOT LOOKING FOR MERGER

Loew's already owns 1,000,000 shares of Commercial Credit, making it the largest individual holder. The shares, which pay $1.60 annual dividend, closed yesterday at 40. The range in 1967 was from 25⅝ to 35⅞, and finished the year at 32.

Loew's closed yesterday at 81¼. It had a low of 26¾ last year and a high of 145, closat 140½.

"We are not looking for a marriage partner," Mr. Jones said. "At the same time, we will have to look at the proposition as it affects our stockholders and our employees. We cannot look at the offer emotionally. We cannot prevent the offer being made. We must look at it from all angles.

TO BE FILED WITH SEC

Commercial Credit was founded in 1912, rapidly grew as automobiles were financed on time payment plans; then expanded over the years in varied other forms of credit financing.

During World War II, it absorbed a number of manufacturing companies, and in the last twenty years has made extensive acquisitions of finance companies dealing in both individual and corporate lending.

The proposed financing offer by Loew's will be filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Only in the last few months, Commercial Credit has joined with Radio Corporation of America in a venture to advance time-sharing in computer service. This had been under study for some time, and the possibilities of success and profit are considerable in a field which is becoming more competitive day by day. Both companies are giants in different fields, and are prepared to proceed vigorously.

THE 1969 EARNINGS PICTURE

Commercial Credit last year had gross income of $316,972,282, up from $307,395,684 in 1966.

Net income was $27,215,927, at the rate of $2.41 per common share, compared with $25,404,417 and $2.24 in 1966. The book value per share at year-end was $29.73 against $29.36.

Assets employed by the company amounted to $3,067,439,130, up from $2,960,451,849 in 1966.

LOEW'S OPERATIONS

Loew's is a holding company in hotels and theaters. It has been expanding interests in hotels in leading cities in recent years, and owns, leases or has management operations of more than 60 theaters in the United States and Canada. Through various subsidiaries, it exhibits motion pictures.

CHARTERED IN NEW YORK

Loew's was incorporated in New York in 1954 to take over theater properties of Loew's Inc., a move forced by Federal court order.

The latter changed its name in 1960 to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and continues as a motion picture producing corporation.

Loew's once was the owner of a leading theater in Baltimore, the Century on Lexington street, torn down in the rehabilitation of the center of the city in the last decade.

LOEW'S 1967 RESULTS

For its fiscal year ended August 31, 1967, Loew's Theatres, Inc., had revenues of $136,764,660 and a profit of $15,755,024. This compared with $114,260,289 revenues and net income of $5,818,639 in 1966. The earnings per common shares were $8.26 against $2.94.

Retained earnings at the end of its fiscal year were $89,423,245. Its total assets were $209,725,666.

DEBT STATUS

Commercial Credit could be attractive to Loew's because it has a large reservoir of funds available. Money is the muscle with which finance companies operate.

The Baltimore concern also has a large debt, a total of $1,350,493,850 having been due this year, some of it already paid off. Included are $1,079,003,099 of open market notes in the United States, $57,814,323 in Canada, and bank loans in the United States amounting to $162,110,000.

Senior long term notes total $738,500,000. Subordinated long term notes and junior subordinated long term notes, according to its annual report, amounted to $255,000,000. The grand total due subsequent to one year was $993,500,000.

Not counting the shares of Commercial Credit which Loew's had been accumulating, the offer would amount to $425,000,000 more debt for Loew's.

At the end of its fiscal year, that company had a long-term debt of $88,775,856.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Evening Sun, May 16, 1968]

Anatomy of a Financial Coup

(By John T. Ward)

Late in the afternoon of Thursday, April 25, shortly after the 3:30 o'clock Stock Market closed, there was a telephone call from New York to Commercial Credit Company in Baltimore. On the line was Laurence A. Tisch, chairman of Loew's Theatres, Inc., telling Donald S. Jones, president of the Baltimore finance company, that Loew's owned 1,000,700 of the 10,614,100 shares of Commercial Credit common stock. It was prepared to make an exchange offer to holders of the remainder.

The move to take over was on, but what a takeover this is. A financial minnow is gobbling at a financial whale twenty-five times its size—Maryland's largest corporation headquartered in Baltimore.

That the headquarters offices on St. Paul place were surprised, perhaps shocked, goes without saying. Commercial Credit Company has been reliably described as having an "unsecured debt bigger than all but eight nations in the world." It has weathered crises before and feels itself powerful enough to survive this one without help from anyone.

And yet, how did an outsider acquire this 1,000,700 shares without arousing Commercial Credit's suspicions?

Secrecy wasn't hard. True, a holder of 10 per cent of a company's stock must register the fact with the Securities and Exchange Commission. But Loew's holdings in Commercial Credit are just under that 10 per cent, apparently accumulated gradually in this year's sliding market without giving away its intentions. Besides, stock may be held in nominee names, or shielded through brokerage houses acting for the buyers (held in "street names" the saying is). Loew's game was not known until it chose to tell.

But what emboldened this pygmy to beard this giant?

Only 10 per cent of ownership is often enough to control a company. Commercial Credit itself controls very little of its own stock. Its board of sixteen directors, six of whom are management men, owned in March only a total of 73,325 shares—although in various fiduciary capacities one was responsible for 750,000 shares. On May 1, after Mr. Tisch's requested conference here with management had been held, the directors unanimously rejected the offer as unfavorable to Commercial Credit's owners. Its assets are 25 times those of Loew's: does a giant run from a pygmy? A whale flee from a minnow? Loew's, too, was unfazed. It filed its formal loan program, of which the 25-year debentures would be exchanged for the remaining Commercial Credit stock—provided it is rounded up.

Here lay Loew's financial equalizer: the debentures eventually would be convertible into Loew's common stock and so Commercial Credit, once captured and generating profits over the years, would in effect be paying for its own takeover. Humiliating, perhaps, but the postwar years have seen several such happenings in the financial world.

Meanwhile, the fight is on. Seeking to smoke out more shares, Loew's obtained the services of Lehman Brothers, one of the more astute New York investment counselors, to act as dealer manager, in effect, as strategist. That they are being successful is suggested by the frantic churning on Wall Street. From April 26, when the bid became known, through May 10 Commercial Credit led the trading volume on the New York Stock Exchange in eight of the eleven sessions, and at rising prices. On one day, 648,000 shares changed hands. The volume through these days—3,300,000 shares—exceeded by 1,000,000 all the 1967 trading and was three times that of 1966.

Commercial Credit is fighting back with spirit if largely in public silence. And yet a curious dualism appears. On its board of directors are two leading Baltimore bankers—one commercial, one investment—plus men of financial or legal weight in New York and Boston. The point is, however, that stockholders are the actual owners of a company and can do as they choose with their shares. To represent them, they elect directors who in turn choose the management. But which is the directors' first love—the company they direct or the stockholders they represent?

Here arises what could be an interplay of dual loyalties. Commercial Credit is a case in point. The directors voted unanimously to reject the Loew's offer. But it immediately became known that some of the shares sold as a result of the Loew's bid came from a Baltimore bank. This complication reflects stockholders' motives, stockholders who perhaps had bought at $35 a share and who found $45 too attractive to pass up.

The pattern is growing sadly familiar. Baltimore has seen takeovers and mergers of other sorts, losing several company headquarters in recent years. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was a willing partner with the Chesapeake & Ohio, but the battle for shares went as far as Switzerland.

W. R. Grace & Company got control of Davison Chemical Company, highly successful in its own right. The Security Insurance Group of Hartford, Conn., waged a winning fight for control of New Amsterdam Casualty Company here. Maryland Casualty Company fought hard but in vain in the courts to prevent takeover by the American General Insurance Group, of Houston. The age of merger goes on.

Just how Commercial Credit's management intends to fight the Loew's takeover attempt remains to be seen. It has been quietly biding its time. In matters of this sort, time can be on the side of the persistent and resourceful. But the financial district has taken note of the diligence of the Lehman Brothers' solicitation. There are lines of influence spread everywhere and nearly 10 percent of the stock already is in the hands of Loew's. Money men believe a solid block of Commercial Credit stock is accumulated for a sudden thrust.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a brief period for the transaction of routine business and that statements therein be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Report of Number of Officers on Duty With Headquarters, Department of the Army, and Army General Staff

A letter from the Under Secretary of the Army, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the number of officers on duty with headquarters, Department of the Army and the Army General Staff on March 31, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Report of Grants for Basic Scientific Research Made by the Department of Defense

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report showing grants for basic scientific research made by the Department of Defense to nonprofit institutions during the calendar year 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Map of Major Natural Gas Pipelines

A letter from the Chairman, Federal Power Commission, transmitting for the information of the Senate a copy of the map "Major Natural Gas Pipelines," dated December 31, 1967 (with an accompanying map); to the Committee on Commerce.

District of Columbia Insurance Placement Act

A letter from the assistant to the Commissioner, executive office, government of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to establish a basic property insurance placement plan and joint underwriting association to improve the availability of basic insurance protection for residential and business properties against fire and other perils through the cooperative efforts of the District of Columbia and the private property insurance industry; to authorize the District of Columbia to assume a portion of insurance losses resulting from riots and other civil disorders; and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to Committee on the District of Columbia.

District of Columbia Unified Court Act of 1968

A letter from the assistant to the Commissioner, executive office, government of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to establish in the District of Columbia a unified court system in order to provide increased attention to family problems, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Reports of the Comptroller General

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of opportunities for reducing the cost of providing Federal agencies with certain supplies, General Services Administration, dated May 24, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the need for Government-wide standardization of allowances under Federal fellowship and traineeship grants programs, dated May 24, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the need to improve requirements computations for expensive missile repair parts, Department of the Army, dated May 27, 1968 (with an accompanying report);

to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of cost reductions available to civil agencies by purchasing rather than leasing two-way radio equipment, dated May 27, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of proposed revision of law governing financing of salary costs of retired Civil Service annuitants reemployed by Federal agencies, dated May 28, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the need for improving reviews of designs of Federal buildings to achieve better utilization of space, Public Buildings Service, General Services Administration, dated May 28, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the opportunity to reduce expenditures for map revision and accelerate mapping through changes in map revision practices, Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, dated May 28, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the need to improve the system for managing capitalized equipment in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, dated May 28, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on a survey of program loan assistance to Chile, Agency for International Development, Department of State, dated May 29, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

Proposed Contract Between United States of America and Mechanical Technology, Inc.

A letter from the Acting Director, United States Bureau of Mines, transmitting a copy of a proposed contract with Mechanical Technology, Inc., of Lathan, N.Y., to conduct a research program for increasing the reliability of process fluid lubricated brayton cycle turbomachinery with broad power range (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Public Laws Enacted by Ninth Guam Legislature

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of laws enacted by the ninth Guam Legislature in 1968 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Report on the Narrows Unit, Missouri River Basin Project, Colorado

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the Narrows unit, Missouri River Basin project, Colorado, dated January 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Report of Awards of Young American Medals for Bravery and Service for 1966

A letter from the Attorney General of the United States, reporting, pursuant to law, the awards of the Young American Medals for Bravery and Service for 1966; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as in dicated:

By the **PRESIDING OFFICER**:

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Finance:

"Senate Joint Resolution 1

"Joint resolution to physical therapists

"Whereas, The State of California has by far the most outstanding laws in the United States for the sanctioning of the legalized practice of physical therapy in any state (Chapters 5.6 and 5.7 of Division 2 of the Business and Professions Code); and

"Whereas, The Legislature of the State of California has established high educational requirements and qualifications for all physical therapists in the state through the enactment of such laws; and

"Whereas, The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has denied over 1,200 physical therapists in the State of California the right to serve the public in their professional capacity under the Medicare Act by its rules and regulations defining physical therapists qualified to participate under the Medicare Act; and

"Whereas, Senate Bill No. 1538, enacted as Chapter 1344 of the 1967 Statutes of the State of California, recognizes the fact that there is an acute shortage of physical therapists in the State of California, and the elimination of so many qualified physical therapists from the medicare program is decidedly contrary to the public interest; and

"Whereas, The restrictive administrative definition of a qualified physical therapist promulgated by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will only serve to make the shortage of physical therapists in the State of California more critical, will deprive many patients in the medicare program of physical therapy treatments, and will be contrary to the concept of total health care because many well-qualified physical therapists licensed or registered by the Board of Medical Examiners are not eligible to participate in the program as a result of such restrictive definition of a qualified physical therapist; and

"Whereas, The 89th Congress recognizes the important contribution of physical therapy services to total health care in the passage of Public Law 89–97, the 'Medicare Act'; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly,* That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States to direct the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to reexamine its present definition of physical therapists qualified to participate in the medicare program as it applies to the State of California and the impact it will have upon the provision of services in California; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare be directed to amend its definition of qualified physical therapists to be inclusive of all physical therapists legally sanctioned to practice physical therapy in the State of California so that such legally sanctioned physical therapists are not excluded from serving the public in their professional capacity under the medicare program; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, and to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare."

A resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"House Resolution 245

"The United States intends to have a major celebration upon the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the United States of America in 1976. Major participation by foreign countries in such a celebration is dependent upon the approval of the Bureau of International Expositions.

"Those nations which are parties to the treaty creating the Bureau of International Expositions are given preference in such approval. The United States is not a party to that treaty; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania memorialize the Senate of the United States to ratify the Paris Convention of 1928, establishing the Bureau of International Expositions, as recommended by the President for United States accession in the Paris Convention of 1928, which will enable the United States to participate as a voting member of the Bureau of International Expositions; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the presiding officer of the Senate of the United States, and to the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of that body."

The petition of Paul W. Nelsel, of Marquette, Mich., praying for a redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Resolutions adopted the National Association for Community Development, Atlanta, Ga., praying for the enactment of legislation relating to antipoverty and community development programs; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE

The following reports of a committee were submitted:

By Mr. **JORDAN** of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, without amendment:

S. 3504. A bill to amend section 11 of an act approved August 4, 1950, entitled "An act relating to the policing of the buildings and grounds of the Library of Congress" (Rept. No. 1156).

S. Res. 291. Resolution authorizing expenditure from the contingent fund of the Senate;

S. Res. 292. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of part 5 of Senate hearings on competitive problems in the drug industry (Rept. No. 1158);

S. Res. 294. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of part 6 of Senate hearings on competitive problems in the drug industry (Rept. No. 1159);

S. Res. 295. Resolution authorizing the printing of the study entitled "Automatic Data Processing and the Small Businessman" as a Senate document (Rept. No. 1160);

S. Res. 296. Resolution to authorize additional funds for the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs;

H. Con. Res. 44. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of a veterans' benefits calculator (Rept. No. 1161);

H. Con. Res. 614. Concurrent resolution to provide for the printing of 1,000 additional copies of anticrime program hearings (Rept. No. 1162); and

H. Con. Res. 702. Concurrent resolution authorizing certain printing for the Committee on Veterans' Affairs (Rept. No. 1163).

By Mr. **JORDAN** of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment:

S. Res. 286. Resolution to employ additional clerks for the Committee on the District of Columbia (Rept. No. 1157).

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS—INDIVIDUAL VIEWS (S. REPT. NO. 1155)

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], I submit the committee's 18th annual report, and ask that it be printed, together with the individual views of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be received and printed, as requested by the Senator from Montana.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. GORE:

S. 3563. A bill for the relief of Marble International, Inc.—Alexander Marble & Tile Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCLELLAN (by request):

S. 3564. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prohibit enterprises of gambling; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. McCLELLAN when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. GRUENING:

S. 3565. A bill for the relief of Kwok Yuen Wong; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONRONEY (for himself and Mr. MAGNUSON):

S. 3566. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 with respect to the definition of "supplemental air transportation," and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. MONRONEY when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts:

S. 3567. A bill for the relief of Laura Pinna; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JAVITS (for Mr. KUCHEL):

S. 3568. A bill for the relief of Jack Edward Cooley; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THURMOND:

S. 3569. A bill to amend title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with respect to the use in good faith by State and local authorities of freedom of choice systems for the assignment of students to public elementary and secondary schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 3570. A bill relating to the use in good faith by State and local authorities of freedom of choice systems for the assignment of students to public elementary and secondary schools; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

(See the remarks of Mr. THURMOND when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

S. 3564—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO PROHIBIT ENTERPRISES OF GAMBLING

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I introduce, by request, a bill to prohibit business enterprises of gambling.

Gambling is the principal source of income for the elements of organized crime and it is the purpose of this bill to seek to shut off this flow of revenue by making it a crime to engage in a substantial business enterprise of gambling.

We have tentatively scheduled hearings on this bill and several other anti-organized crime bills during the month of July before the Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures.

The scope of those hearings and the bills to be considered will be announced at a later date.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill, along with a letter of transmittal from the Attorney General to the Vice President be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and letter will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3564) to amend title 18 of the United States Code to prohibit enterprises of gambling, introduced by Mr. McCLELLAN, by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3564

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That chapter 95 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended by inserting after section 1953 thereof a new section as follows:

"§ 1953A. Prohibition of business enterprises of gambling.

"(a) The Congress finds that—

"(1) Illegal gambling involves widespread use of and effect upon interstate commerce and the facilities thereof which existing Federal controls over such gambling do not adequately enable the Federal Government to prevent;

"(2) Illegal gambling is dependent upon facilities of interstate commerce for such purposes as making and accepting wagers, obtaining odds, laying off bets and other illegal gambling operations;

"(3) Money derived from or used in illegal gambling frequently moves in interstate commerce or is handled through the facilities thereof in the course of illegal gambling operations;

"(4) Paraphernalia used in illegal gambling moves in interstate commerce for the purpose of establishing or facilitating, illegal gambling;

"(5) Profit from illegal gambling is the largest single source of revenue for organized crime; organized crime operates on a nationwide basis; and members of organized crime in different States frequently carry on and coordinate their activities through the use of interstate commerce and the facilities thereof.

"(b) Whoever participates in a substantial business enterprise of gambling shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

"(c) As used in this section the term 'substantial business enterprise of gambling' means an enterprise that, within any period of sixty consecutive calendar days, either engages in gambling or twenty days or more or engages in gambling in which the aggregate amount of $2,000 or more is wagered.

"(d) This section does not apply to—

"(1) gambling which is lawful under the law of the State in which it is conducted, or

"(2) any drawing conducted by an organization exempt from tax under sections 501 and 521 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, if no part of the proceeds derived from such drawing inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

"(e) Nothing contained in this section shall be construed as indicating any intent on the part of Congress to preempt, to the exclusion of State or local laws on the same subject matter, the field in which any provision of this section operates nor shall any provision of this section be construed to invalidate any provision of State or local law.

"(f) Whenever in the judgment of a United States attorney the testimony of any witness, or the production of books, papers, or other evidence by any witness, in any case or proceeding before any grand jury or court of the United States involving a violation of this section, or any conspiracy to violate this section, is necessary to the public interest, he, upon the approval of the Attorney General or an Assistant Attorney General designated by the Attorney General, shall make application to the court that the witness shall be instructed to testify or produce evidence subject to the provisions of this subsection, and upon order of the court such witness shall not be excused from testifying or from producing books, papers, or other evidence on the ground that the testimony or evidence required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture. But no such witness shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter, or thing concerning which he is compelled, after having claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify or produce evidence, nor shall testimony so compelled or evidence so produced be used as evidence in any criminal proceeding (except prosecution described in the next sentence) against him in any court. No witness shall be exempt under this subsection from prosecution for perjury or contempt committed while giving testimony or producing evidence under compulsion as provided in this subsection."

SEC. 2. The table of contents preceding chapter 95 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended by inserting after the reference to section 1953 the following:

"1953A. Prohibition of business enterprises of gambling."

The letter, presented by Mr. McCLELLAN, is as follows:

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D.C.

The VICE PRESIDENT,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: Enclosed for your consideration and appropriate reference is a legislative proposal "to prohibit business enterprises of gambling."

The purpose of the bill is to make it a federal crime to engage in a substantial business enterprise of gambling. Four considerations call for the enactment of this legislation.

First, gambling is largely the creature of organized crime and is its principal source of revenue. If we can diminish this revenue materially, we will strike a significant blow at the nation-wide underworld empire which prays upon the American people.

Second, gambling both involves and affects interstate commerce. People, information, funds and paraphernalia, without which gambling could not function, move regularly across State lines. These interstate aspects of gambling make it an appropriate subject of concern to the Federal government.

Third, an inevitable companion of flourishing gambling activity is bribery and corruption of local law enforcement officials, often on an aggravated scale which stulifies local law enforcement as an effective weapon against illegal gambling and organized crime. The criminal activity which flourishes under such conditions affects not only the local community in which it occurs but also other parts of the country, thus becoming a matter of federal concern.

Fourth, existing federal statutes dealing with the interstate aspects of gambling (Sections 1084, 1952 and 1953 of Title 18 of the United States Code) are not broad enough to reach all gambling activity which is of legitimate concern to the United States. Despite these statutes and despite efforts made to date by both the federal and the several State governments, gambling continues to exist on a large scale to the benefit of organized crime and the detriment of the American people. A more effective effort must be mounted to eliminate illegal gambling. In that effort the federal government must be able not only to deny the use and facilities of interstate commerce to the day-to-day operations of illegal gamblers—as it can do under existing statutes—but also to prohibit directly substantial business enterprises of gambling.

The proposed statute would not bring all illegal gambling activity under federal cognizance. It deals only with those who are engaged in a substantial business enterprise of gambling, as distinguished from those whose operations are relatively small. A substantial business enterprise of gambling is defined to mean one which, within a period of 60 days or less, engages in gambling on 20 days or more or in the amount of $2000 or more. It is anticipated that cases in which this standard is met will ordinarily involve gambling operations of considerably greater magnitude because it is usually possible only to prove a relatively small proportion of the total operations of a gambling enterprise. Thus, the statute does not apply to gambling which is sporadic or of insignificant monetary proportions. It seeks to reach only those who prey systematically upon our citizens and whose operations are so continuous and so substantial as to be a matter of national concern. Even as to these, the federal government's enforcement effort will necessarily have to be centered on selected targets of special significance because of manpower limitations.

The federal government will not preempt the field of gambling regulation if this statute is enacted. Rather, it will play its traditional role of cooperating with local law enforcement authorities who will continue to have major responsibility in this area. The purpose of the statute is simply to make the federal government a more effective member of the established state-federal law enforcement partnership which has long been waging a common war on organized crime and illegal gambling.

Because it is important that we mount a more effective coordinated federal-state attack on illegal gambling, I urge the introduction and prompt enactment of this legislation.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that submission of this legislation is in accordance with the President's program.

Sincerely,

——— ———,
Attorney General.

S. 3566—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO AMEND THE FEDERAL AVIATION ACT OF 1958—NOTICE OF HEARINGS

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, yesterday the Supreme Court, equally divided, 4 to 4, with Justice Marshall taking no part, affirmed the decision of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals which struck down the inclusive tour authority of supplemental airlines granted by the Civil Aeronautics Board for international operations which had been approved by the President of the United States. The issue centered on the intent of Congress when it passed Public Law 87–528.

To clarify Congress' intent, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to, first, authorize the Civil Aeronautics Board to grant to supplemental air carriers inclusive tour charter authority; second, define inclusive tour charter trips to insure that they would not involve individually ticketed service; and third, validate and ratify the existing certificates of public convenience and necessity for inclusive tour charters and authorizations issued by the Board, notwithstanding any contrary determination by any court.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3566) to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 with respect to the definition of "supplemental air transportation," and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MONRONEY (for himself and Mr. MAGNUSON), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, in 1962 there were over 30 irregular carriers—some that were flagrant violators of Civil Aeronautics Board rules and regulations, some that were not financially fit, and some that had questionable operating practices and abilities. The legislation enacted by the Congress, Public Law 87–528, was necessarily designed to be somewhat restrictive and to insure that the Civil Aeronautics Board had the authority to certificate only those carriers which met the highest fitness standards and which the Board considered were essential to the public convenience and necessity.

In 1962 the financial status of the supplemental industry was not good. In fact, there were those who thought there was no need for a group of charter specialists. However, there were others who believed that the public convenience and necessity and the defense needs required at least some of the carriers currently operating to be designated as charter specialists.

Whereas in 1962 these carriers, to a large degree, were almost totally dependent on military business, the supplemental carriers have now developed substantial commercial business of which the inclusive tour charter is an ever-increasing part of the commercial operation. For example, during the period 1962 through 1967 total revenues of the supplemental carriers increased 174 percent whereas commercial revenues increased 474 percent. The development of commercial markets clearly shows the need for charter-type operations.

Since the grant of inclusive tour authority by the Civil Aeronautics Board, the charter market has been considerably expanded. In 1967 over 51,000 passengers traveled on mainland to Hawaii inclusive tour charters, and conservative estimates indicate that the total will exceed 140,000 passengers in 1968. In the same period no impact on scheduled services has been evident as passenger traffic on the scheduled airlines in this market has grown from 1,090,000 passengers in 1966 to 1,722,000 in 1967. It is estimated that the total will reach 2,066,000 passengers in 1968.

The supplemental carriers today operate the most modern jet equipment. This equipment is not only available for the commercial charter market, but is committed to the Department of Defense for not only peacetime operations but, more importantly, for emergency airlift operations. The supplemental carriers provide to the Department of Defense, in the event of an emergency, a very substantial part of the expanded capability needed to deploy troops and cargo into troubled areas.

Although the supplemental carriers have increased their reliance on commercial versus military business, there is still substantial reliance on the military. The overall industry average shows that, of the total supplemental business, 60 percent of the revenues are derived from military sources. This, however, is a marked improvement over the 90 percent reliance in 1962. It is therefore important that the supplemental carriers have the necessary authority to continue to expand and promote their commercial activities, especially in view of the phasedown in defense requirements as a result of curtailment in Vietnam and other related operations.

Inclusive tour charters have become an essential part of the U.S. air transportation system. Without them, many of our citizens, in the lower income groups, cannot afford to travel to vacation spots which aid in the overall economic development of the United States. In addition, inclusive tour charters are currently aiding the balance of payments by transporting large numbers of vacationers within the Western Hemisphere, and it is projected that the inclusive tour program will aid in bringing many additional visitors to the United States from Europe and other foreign points. An inclusive tour program based on European originating traffic on a back-to-back basis could in 1 year transport up to 150,000 additional passengers to the United States, which would add to the positive side of our balance of payments.

Inclusive tours have already demonstrated that they are reaching an entirely new market. They are not only broadening the basis of air travel for charters, but are also developing the base of scheduled airlines. Recent demand for these charters has exceeded supply, and many potential passengers have been moved by the tour operator or travel agent on scheduled service.

The supplemental carriers, created by the Congress of these United States, should be granted the authority that is necessary to their well-being and essential to our transportation needs and the needs of our national defense. The inclusive tour authority is a system of transport that will enable the 50 to 60 percent of our American citizens who have never taken an airplane trip to partake of this seemingly commonplace mode of travel because of the reduced rates that the supplemental carriers through this authority are able to offer to the public.

Mr. President, the Congress should consider this legislation immediately. Congress should make clear it intended the Civil Aeronautics Board to have the authority to authorize the supplemental carriers to perform inclusive tour trips.

The supplementals have pioneered and proved the concept of inclusive tour charters and Congress has an obligation to resolve the issue in their favor this year. Therefore, I am announcing today that hearings will be held on this bill by the Senate Aviation Subcommittee beginning June 12.

"AIR CARGO PROFIT POTENTIAL"—SPEECH BY RICHARD M. JACKSON

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the text of a speech entitled "Air Cargo Profit Potential or How to Succeed in the Air Cargo Business by Really Trying," delivered by Richard M. Jackson, chairman of the board and president of Seaboard World Airlines, Inc., to the Wings Club in New York City on April 17, 1968. I commend it to the attention of the Members of Congress.

Mr. Jackson is a dynamic aviation executive whose transatlantic all-cargo airline has made great strides in promoting U.S. trade. The views he expresses in this speech are most informative and reflect a full knowledge of all aspects of the all-cargo industry. What is more, he is one of the few airline executives I know who can make his point in a truly entertaining manner, as witness his tongue-in-cheek advice to his competitors under the heading of "Cargo Sales Secrets."

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AIR CARGO PROFIT POTENTIAL; OR HOW TO SUCCEED IN THE AIR CARGO BUSINESS BY REALLY TRYING

(An address by Richard M. Jackson, chairman of the board and president, Seaboard World Airlines, Inc., to the Wings Club, New York City, April 17, 1968)

My subject today has been announced as "Air Cargo Profit Potential" and it may be misleading in the sense that you might expect me to do what most speakers on air cargo do, namely, to make the usual rosy forecasts of industry growth—to speak of the famed cargo "breakthrough"—to paint dreams of the time when cargo revenues will exceed passenger revenues—to describe to you the jumbo cargo airplane of the future.

In fact, I will speak on none of these subjects because they have been amply covered in the past by airplane manufacturers, aviation consultants, professors, and financial forecasters, and I hope all their dreams come true. My real subject today is "How To Succeed in the Air Cargo Business by Really Trying." By "really trying", I mean the tough nitty-gritty business of finding out how to make money with present airplanes, routes, rates, facilities, and market—today—not at some future date. My approach is not "Pie in the Sky", but more likely "Pie in Your Eye" to show how air cargo can produce profits through constant and diligent application of common-sense principles to a low-revenue per-ton-mile business.

CARGO COSTS AND RATES

The air cargo business in the United States is almost 25 years old, and even now many of the people in the airline industry have not made up their minds as to its profitability or profit potential. There is good cause for their perplexity, not only because of the low per-ton-mile yield of cargo as compared to passenger fares, but because of the variety of choices of method for determining profit by comparing air cargo revenues with their costs.

The problem is centered around the carriage of cargo in the lower baggage compartments where it is difficult to find out the real costs of operating the cubic capacity under the main cabin floor. The choices range from the contention that this space comes free, because the airplane is going to operate anyhow for passengers and their baggage, to the opposite premise that the underfloor baggage compartment cubic capacity should bear its full pro-rata share of the cost of operating the entire airplane.

This cost-accounting dilemma occurs because of cargo carried on passenger operations, but since approximately one-half of the industry's cargo ton miles are flown in passenger aircraft, it is a dilemma of considerable magnitude in today's business. There is, of course, no question about the cost of cargo carried on all-cargo flights, since the entire airplane is assigned to cargo carriage. If and when all-cargo-plane operations become a dominant portion of the total industry's carriage, the dilemma will diminish in importance.

However, this discussion today is not academic since cargo rates are generally predicated on costs. It could therefore be argued by the "anyhow" school of analysts that a typical cargo rate of 15 cents per ton mile could be cut in half if the cargo did not have to bear the operating cost of the space it fills. The remaining half would represent the costs of sales, ground handling, and overhead. Rate making based on the "anyhow" theory would be disastrous for all-cargo operators, who must pay their way from cargo and mail revenues only, with no help from other revenue sources.

In recent years the major passenger carriers have acquired fleets of all-cargo airplanes and have trended toward full cost accountability in cargo rate making, although they often find themselves philosophically with one foot on each horse and riding in different directions. The advent of the jumbo passenger jets a few years hence may again spur the passenger operators toward the "anyhow" theory since the underdeck areas will be so large. The jumbos' baggage compartments are almost comparable in size to present all-cargo airplanes' main deck and it is even possible that these underdeck areas will displace the passenger carriers' all-cargo fleets.

As a promoter and defender of all-cargo operations, I must lay down the first requirement for success and profitability: "Do not permit cargo rate making based on figures less than all-cargo airplane costs."

AIRCRAFT SIZE, FREQUENCY, AND TRAFFIC CONTROL

The next "must" for success in the air cargo business is to have the right size airplanes and frequency of service for the routes and markets to be served. These factors are, of course, the "ABC's" of any airline operation, but with air cargo they take on a different aspect from that usually considered in passenger operations. The basic difference is that cargo is shipped to meet a planned delivery time without any concern about intermediate routing or timing. The highly-advertised passenger-appeal factor of "nonstop" flights is meaningless to cargo so long as it arrives when it is needed. If the desired delivery time is twenty-four hours from the time of airline acceptance, and the direct flight time is eight hours, it makes no difference to the cargo where or how the other sixteen hours are spent. The airline may choose to spend the balance of time at the point of origin collecting other cargo to realize higher load factors in the flight, or it may schedule a number of time-consuming intermediate revenue stops on the flight for the same reason, or it may dispatch the cargo directly to destination well in advance of scheduled customer pick up. If the shipment is destined from New York to Rome, it does not care whether the intermediate stops are London, Paris, Hamburg or Zurich. These factors of airline choice of operations are key elements in cargo traffic control and essential to air cargo profitability—factors rarely considered in passenger operations. In a sense, every flight is routed to maximize profit and not merely to provide point-to-point nonstop service. The printed non-stop schedule is an essential ingredient of the passenger business where the passengers insist upon knowing when and where they are, and as a redundant legacy, has been handed down to all-cargo operations where it does not have the same pertinence. Only the *arrival time at destination* remains as an important factor to the cargo customer.

The all-cargo operator, therefore, has certain capabilities of traffic control, absent in the passenger business, which can spell profit or loss to him. Ideally, the route pattern of all-cargo operations should have no restrictions as to sequence of stops, so that cargo traffic controllers can plan aircraft routing and loading/unloading sequence to maximize profits. The linear route pattern typically awarded to passenger airlines is an anachronism in the context of cargo carriage and is probably responsible for the slow development of profitable all-cargo operations. Other deterring factors are the lack of trained air cargo traffic controllers, needed to serve around the clock, and the failure of airline management to vest in the traffic controllers the authority to plan services and loadings to maximize the traffic economic objectives.

If you will accept with me that routing flexibility is a "must" in profitable cargo operations, let me now return to the problem of sizing the airplane and deciding upon the frequency of service best suited to the route pattern and market. Each airline, of course, must make an evaluation based on its own route and market projections, and therefore, my comments will be general in nature. For example: Let us assume the availability of two different size airplines (not unlike those currently offered by manufacturers) with equal range capabilities and customer appeal. Airplane A can carry 200,000 lbs. of payload at a direct operating cost of 3.0¢ per available ton mile, and airplane B can carry 100,000 lbs. at 4.0¢ per available ton mile. Airplane A's direct operating cost per mile is $3.00, and airplane B's cost per mile is $2.00. If we then assume a market of up to 200,000 lbs. a day and two flights-a-day frequency requirement, the larger airplane A cannot compete economically with smaller airplane B, because the profit will be a reflection of A's cost of 2 trips x $3 or $6 per route mile versus B's cost of 2 trips x $2 or $4 per route mile—$6 vs $4. If the market grows above 200,000 lbs., requiring a third frequency by airplane B while still capable of being handled by two airplane A frequencies, the economics become equal 2 trips x $3=3 trips x $2. Only when the market grows to exceed 300,000 lbs. requiring a fourth frequency by airplane B will airplane A produce better profits by maintaining its two-frequency schedule. Airplane manufacturers don't use this analytical approach. Instead they insist upon comparing different airplanes at the same assumed load factors, which technique always favors the larger airplane, but does not truly represent one of the basic facts of life: How much cargo can *actually* be expected to be on hand at departure time?

The moral here is to size the airplane to your market and flight frequency, and don't be lured entirely by the projected lower available ton mile costs of new airplanes.

GROUND HANDLING FACILITIES

Profitability, of course, is a reflection of costs as well as revenues, and the most controllable nonflight costs are in the area of ground handling of cargo. This subject should be sub-divided into two headings—one entitled "Domestic Cargo Handling", and the other, "International Cargo Handling". The latter is distinct, and incidentally, at least 50% more costly, due to Customs' clearance and warehousing requirements, primarily in the U.S.

Domestic cargo handling and paperwork processing are relatively simple, and require a minimum of warehousing time by the airline for most of the cargo. Inbound shipments are unloaded from the airplane, cross the airline's dock, and are promptly picked up by truck for delivery to the consignee. Outbound shipments reverse this process, and both probably require palletizing build-up or breakdown by the airline's staff. The economic problem here is typical of any ground transport collection and dispersal system, and involves the efficient use of manpower and mechanical equipment related to the volume and rate of cargo flow at certain periods of the day, week, or year. There isn't very much new to say about this function, except to comment on the myriad of engineering schemes for mechanization. Some of these systems are a nightmare of Rube Goldberg rollers, elevators, moving belts, ground and overhead tracks, etc., which are very susceptible to malfunction and resulting temporary failure of the entire mechanical system. Simplicity should be the key to these designs, with adequate provisions for alternate ways of powering the system and of processing the cargo in case of such troubles. One common error in designing mechanized facilities has been to predicate the system on too small a package size (a heritage from passenger baggage experience) with resultant low utilization of the whole mechanical system. Flexibility is necessary in the system to handle readily at least three sizes of shipment—less than pallet size (8 to 10 ft.), pallet size, and more than pallet size. It sounds simple, but many systems have been built to accommodate the bulk of the freight in less than pallet size.

The key economic factor here is the efficient use of the manpower, and I believe the industry is a long way from achieving acceptable levels in this area.

CONTAINERS—RIGHT OR WRONG

One of the most highly-touted innovations in the future of air cargo is containerization. This promise of better things to come via containers emanates strangely enough, from the surface transport media, where considerable success is being experienced. Advantages to the surface carriers include protection from pilferage and bad weather, cheaper labor handling costs, higher utilization of the cubic capacity of ships, and expedited transit time. The last-mentioned is accomplished with intermodal containers, which can be transported in a sequence of ships, trucks, and trains with a minimum of wasted transfer time.

At the risk of sounding like a renegade on this subject, I would like to take a position far less optimistic on the future importance of intermodal containers to the air cargo industry. Intermodal containers, built to stand the wear and tear of surface shipping, are particularly unattractive for airplane use. A regular container measuring 8′ x 8′ x 20′ weighs approximately 5,000 lbs. or 4 lbs. per cubic foot, which is about one-half of the average density of the air cargo it is designed to carry. Since air cargo rates are primarily based on weight, who is going to pay 50% more for the weight of the container? The answer is "no one". The jumbo jets of the future will be the first commercial airplanes with a large enough fuselage cross-section to physically accommodate the 8′ x 8′ square ended container, but even these giants will be severely penalized in payload if they must carry the intermodal container's dead weight. The airlines' answer, of course, is to design their own lightweight containers weighing perhaps 1 to 2 lbs. per cubic foot, which disqualifies them as true intermodal units due to their relative fragility. So let's forget the intermodal container crusade—we can't afford it—and probably will never need it since all suitable aviation-designed containers can be flown and trucked to final destination.

However, it is very important that airplane containers be designed to be interchangeable between aircraft types. These lightweight containers will serve the requirements of security and reduction of claims for damage. In addition, they must be packed by the shipper or his agent if the airline is to gain handling advantages. Most important, the loaded container must be packed as densely as possible. These containerization rules are air shipping principles for increasing revenues and decreasing costs, which should permit reduced rates for containerized freight.

Before leaving the subject, let me say a good word for the "poor man's" container, namely a flat pallet with a net and plastic covering over the cargo. This simple arrangement has almost all the advantages in air carriage of the six-sided container, and is much cheaper, easier to care for, lighter in total weight, and less subject to the container logistic problem of return to the owner. Idle pallets are also capable of being stacked for storage at terminals without penalizing a large area of ramp or building space, which is not true of empty containers.

CARGO SALES SECRETS

Thus far I have talked about cargo costs and rates, airplanes, frequencies, and traffic management, facilities, and containers. If an airline does a perfect job with all of these factors, it can still go broke without adequate sales. Now, with many of my competitors here in the room, I am going to reveal some of the real deep secrets of airfreight sales. This is free advice and I hope you fellows will be able to put it to good use:

1. Your competitive cargo salesmen—especially in the passenger airlines—have the easiest job in the world. You are in a fabulous exciting fast-moving industry which is growing at a rate of 25 to 35% a year. Relax, sit back and watch the air cargo business pour in.

2. Your competition in surface transportation is periodically crippled with strikes and is notorious for its reputation of pilferage and breakage. Don't worry about them, you are as clean as a whistle.

3. If I'm not mistaken, about 80% of your business comes from about 10% of your customers. Forget the other 90%, and buy lunches for the big 10%.

4. With your many years of training in the passenger end of the airlines, you know how to reach the *man on the street*. Therefore, advertise on the subway billboards, radio soap operas, TV, and above all, take full page ads in leading daily newspapers. Why shouldn't every man, woman and child in the country learn that you have 45 cargo services a week to Duluth?

5. As you well know, your real competition is from that ubiquitous group called cargo agents and freight forwarders. But you know in your heart that they are a mixed blessing because they also can be your major customers. So treat them in a mixed way—all smiles, cocktail parties and goodies to their faces, but secretly call on their major shippers behind their backs and try to return the control of the business safely into your own hands.

6. Your cargo sales job in the passenger airline is doubly easy because the passenger airplane baggage compartments—the bellies—always have some empty room and are blessed with frequency of operation throughout the day. "Sell bellies", and the big boss will thank you because he can then boast of a lower passenger breakeven load factor. This is hard to believe, but he and the CAB subtract belly cargo revenues from total airplane operating costs to show that the net costs can be offset by less revenue from passengers at the breakeven point. It sounds complicated, but it's just a statistical trick to make the passenger operations appear to be more efficient than they are.

7. My last point is that you should have no worries about job security, because you can always go back into the passenger end of the airline business—or see me behind the dais after lunch.

As you can see, this is a highly competitive business and may the better man win!

S. 3569 and S. 3570—INTRODUCTION OF TWO BILLS RELATING TO ASSIGNMENT OF STUDENTS TO PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it is appalling that the Supreme Court has held the freedom of choice desegregation plan of New Kent County, Va., unconstitutional. This was a plan which gave every student the unrestricted and uninhibited choice to attend the school of his preference. While holding that the New Kent County plan was not a plan which "promises realistically to work," the Supreme Court very conveniently neglected to give proper consideration to the present provisions of the acts of Congress dealing with the desegregation of our schools.

If this decision is enforced throughout the country, it will do great harm to the public school system and will deny parents and school children the right to choose the school which they wish the children to attend. It seems that the Supreme Court has now set as its goal, as has the administration, the bringing about of total integration of schools regardless of consequences and of the desires of the parents of the children and regardless of any laws to the contrary.

Mr. President, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 prohibits "the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance," and the first Brown decision held only that State-enforced racial segregation is a violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment.

In 1954 and 1955 we had the Brown decisions, *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483, 349 U.S. 294 (hereinafter referred to as Brown I and II or as the Brown decisions). The mandate of Brown I was clearly stated by the Court in *Cooper* v. *Aaron*, 358 U.S. 1 (1958):

> On May 17, 1954, this Court decided that *enforced racial segregation* in the public schools of a State is a denial of the equal protection of the laws enjoined by the Fourteenth Amendment. (Emphasis added.)

I believe the proper interpretation of the Brown decisions is stated in *Down* v. *Board of Education of Kansas City*, 336 F. 2d 988 (1964), certiorari denied 380 U.S. 914, where the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals said:

> Appellants also contend that even though the Board may not be pursuing a policy of intentional segregation, there is still segregation in fact in the school system and under the principles of Brown v. Board of Education, supra, the Board has a positive and affirmative duty to eliminate segregation in fact as well as segregation by intention. While there seems to be authority to support that contention, *the better rule is that although the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits segregation, it does not command*

integration of the races in the public schools and Negro children have no constitutional right to have white children attend school with them.

In Brown II the Court concerned itself with the question of lower court decrees that are "necessary and proper to admit [Negro pupils] to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed." I think it is clear that the Brown decisions were aimed at eliminating discrimination rather than producing some type of racial balance, and I believe a freedom of choice plan which gives the student an unrestricted choice to attend the school of his preference is implicit in these decisions.

Mr. President, an honest reading of the legislative history of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 indicates unequivocally that the intent of Congress in passing title VI was to prevent State-enforced segregation. The purpose of this title was not to integrate all the public schools, and it neither explicitly nor implicitly authorizes attempts to eliminate racial imbalance. In fact, the elimination of racial imbalance is specifically excluded from the definition of "desegregation."

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended now, says that no department or office of the United States while administering this program shall "require the assignment or transportation of students or teachers in order to overcome racial imbalance." To my way of thinking, the law is very clearly opposed to the policy of forced integration. However, HEW has refused to follow the law and has pursued a policy which they are not authorized to carry out.

Mr. President, I send to the desk two bills which, when passed, will reaffirm the position of Congress in opposition to the policy of forced integration. I am proposing amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 which will prohibit Federal agencies from enforcing a policy of forced integration or from interfering with real freedom-of-choice school desegregation plans. These amendments would make it absolutely clear to everyone that Congress is not only opposed to discrimination but is also opposed to forced integration.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have these two bills printed in the Record.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The bills will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bills will be printed in the Record.

The bills, introduced by Mr. Thurmond, were received, read twice by their titles, appropriately referred, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 3569

A bill to amend Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with respect to the use in good faith by State and local authorities of freedom of choice systems for the assignment of students to public elementary and secondary schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section as follows:

"Sec. 606. Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to authorize any department or agency to prescribe any requirement, or take any action to effectuate compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this title, which is designed to or has the effect of interfering with or prohibiting the application or enforcement in good faith by State and local authorities of any system for student assignment based on an unrestricted exercise on the part of each student of his freedom to choose the public elementary or secondary school in which he is to be assigned."

S. 3570

A bill relating to the use in good faith by State and local authorities of freedom of choice systems for the assignment of students to public elementary and secondary schools; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 704 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 884) is amended by adding, immediately preceding the period at the end thereof, a comma and the following: "or to interfere with or prohibit the application or enforcement in good faith by State and local authorities of any system for student assignment based on an unrestricted exercise on the part of each student of his freedom to choose the public elementary or secondary school in which he is to be assigned".

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. **GRUENING**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, my name be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 3519) to provide increased programs of assistance to the fishing industry of the United States.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 73—CONCURRENT RESOLUTION CREATING A JOINT COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT AND THE VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT ON JANUARY 20, 1969

Mr. **JORDAN** of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported an original concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 73) creating a Joint Committee on Arrangements for the inauguration of the President-elect and the Vice President-elect on January 20, 1969, which was considered and agreed to.

(See the above concurrent resolution printed in full when reported by Mr. Jordan of North Carolina, which appears under a separate heading.)

SENATE RESOLUTION 297—RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING THE PRINTING OF TRIBUTES ON THE SENATE FLOOR TO THE HONORABLE CARL HAYDEN AS A SENATE DOCUMENT

Mr. **JORDAN** of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported the following original resolution (S. Res. 297); which was placed on the calendar:

S. Res. 297

Resolved, That the tributes expressed on the Senate Floor by Members of the Senate to the Honorable Carl Hayden, a United States Senator from the State of Arizona and President Pro Tempore of the Senate, on the occasion of the announcement of his retirement from public office, be printed as a Senate document, in such format and together with such pertinent materials and illustrations as may be determined by the Joint Committee on Printing.

Sec. 2. There shall be printed and bound for the use of the Joint Committee on Printing that quantity of additional copies of such document permissible under statutory limitations.

SENATE RESOLUTION 298—RESOLUTION TO PAY A GRATUITY TO GEORGE N. PFEIFFER

Mr. **JORDAN** of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported the following original resolution (S. Res. 298); which was placed on the calendar:

S. Res. 298

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay, from the contingent fund of the Senate, to George N. Pfeiffer, widower of Helen K. Pfeiffer, an employee of the Senate at the time of her death, a sum equal to two months' compensation at the rate she was receiving by law at the time of her death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

SENATE RESOLUTION 299—RESOLUTION TO PAY A GRATUITY TO MARIE T. MUSSELMAN

Mr. **JORDAN** of North Carolina, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, reported the following original resolution (S. Res. 299); which was placed on the calendar:

S. Res. 299

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay, from the contingent fund of the Senate, to Marie T. Musselman, widow of William Melvin Musselman, an employee of the Architect of the Capitol assigned to duty in the Senate Office Buildings at the time of his death, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

NOTICE OF HEARING ON NOMINATION OF WALTER L. NIXON, JR., OF MISSISSIPPI, TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. **McCLELLAN**. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, I desire to give notice that a public hearing has been scheduled for Wednesday, June 5, 1968, at 10:30 a.m., in room 2228, New Senate Office Building, on the nomination of Walter L. Nixon, Jr., of Mississippi, to be U.S. District Judge, for the Southern District of Mississippi, vice a new position created under Public Law 89-372, approved March 18, 1966.

At the indicated time and place persons interested in the hearing may make such representations as may be pertinent.

The subcommittee consists of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK] chairman, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], and myself.

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY PROTECTED IN PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S TRADE BILL

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the new trade bill recommended by President Johnson should have our support. One provision which I would cite specifically is the section which will finally give some effective relief to firms and workers hit by import competition.

As we all know, we intended to provide such relief in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, but it appears that we made the criteria for obtaining help too rigid and too inflexible. In hearings before the Tariff Commission, not one single firm or group of workers has ever been able to qualify as eligible for adjustment assistance.

The new bill liberalizes those criteria. Where increased imports are a substantial cause of injury, the affected firms and workers will clearly be able to qualify for assistance.

Business and labor need this help. We must remember that sometimes American industry is competing in our domestic market against foreign products priced considerably below ours. We, of course, have a technological capability superior to that of most other countries, but even this does not always enable us to meet the competition in the marketplace.

As the President says in his message:

> Since international trade strengthens the nation as a whole, it is only fair that the government assist those businessmen and workers who face serious problems as a result of increased imports.

Our firms and workers therefore may need special consideration and I am glad this bill provides it.

MILITARY THREAT TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, in remarks appearing on page 14807 of the Record of May 23, 1968, I invited attention to a letter to the editor of the New York Times from a group of research associates of the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research. They warned of the consequences of any use of military force to reverse recent promising trends toward liberalization in Czechoslovakia. The signatories of that letter were: Robert E. Osgood, the center's director; Herbert S. Dinnerstein; Cary O. Fisher; George Liska; Charles Burton Marshall; and Edmund Stillman.

REINDEER MEAT MAKES GOURMET STEAKS

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I wish to invite attention to an article entitled "Raising Reindeer on the Tundra," published in the spring issue of Our Public Lands magazine, the Bureau of Land Management's official publication. The article was written by John D. Abrahamson, an eminent resource economist in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and it begins with the following advice:

> When dining out in an Alaskan city, or in Chicago, Portland or San Francisco, try a reindeer steak. It's a gourmet item for the gourmet appetite.

Far from being solely a "gourmet item," it is quite possible that the marketing of reindeer meat has commercial potential, not only for the purposes of domestic consumption, but for export to foreign markets—such as Japan and West Germany, where interest has already been demonstrated.

As Mr. Abrahamson's article points out, reindeer were brought to northwest Alaska more than 75 years ago as a supplement to the diet of the Eskimos in that region. The expansion of reindeer ranching by the Eskimo people, with the aid of Federal legislation in 1937 and with the guidance of various Government agencies, has shown hope for the development of a profitable industry. Evidence of this is seen in the recent establishment of the Alaska Reindeer Industry Advisory Committee. The advisory committee is a cooperative effort of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Bureau of Land Management, the State of Alaska, and the Alaska Reindeer Herders Association, which seeks specifically to improve and promote the reindeer industry.

I should like to compliment Mr. Abrahamson on his useful article, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

RAISING REINDEER ON THE TUNDRA: ALASKAN HERDS PRODUCE GOURMET STEAKS AND A PROFIT

(By John D. Abrahamson, resource economist, Bureau of Indian Affairs)

When dining out in an Alaskan city, or in Chicago, Portland, or San Francisco, try a reindeer steak. It's a gourmet item for the gourmet appetite. If its on the menu, most likely the steak came from Alaska, where in the western reaches of the State reindeer are raised by Eskimo herdsmen.

Twelve herds, consisting of some 35,000 animals by 1965 count, are the source of all commercially produced reindeer meat in Alaska. Eleven of the herds, located on or adjacent to the Seward Peninsula, are owned by Eskimos. One herd, on Nunivak Island, is owned by the Federal Government.

Reindeer production in Alaska can be credited to Yankee whalers from New England. While hunting whale in the Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean in the 1870's and 1880's, the heyday of whaling, whalers also hunted all other sea and land mammals for their marketable products and, to a much lesser extent, for food.

These activities decimated the Eskimos' resources and left them in a precarious condition. Numerous instances of starvation are documented in a report on the introduction of reindeer into Alaska that was prepared by Dr. Sheldon Jackson in 1893. Through the 1890's and until 1910 he was the General Agent of Education in Alaska for the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior. Starvation deaths were reported at Nunivak, King, and St. Lawrence Islands, and at coastal villages from the Yukon-Kuskokwim delta northward to Point Hope.

CAPTAIN HEALY

A significant contribution toward easing the plight of the Eskimos was made by the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, an agency of the U.S. Treasury and a forerunner of the Coast Guard. In fact, Capt. M. A. Healy, commander of the revenue steamer *Bear*, made the suggestion to Dr. Jackson that reindeer might be the solution to the Eskimo's problems. From 1879 onward, revenue cutters made annual summer visits to the Alaskan shores of the Bering Sea. The officers of the revenue service came to have an intimate knowledge of the condition of the Eskimo, for at that time the service was responsible for the welfare of the Alaskan natives. It administered law and order, provided medical service, and distributed provisions. The cruises of the revenue cutters extended to the Siberian shores, and there the grazing of domesticated reindeer by the Chuckchee people was observed.

Captain Healy warned of the gradual exhaustion of the native food supply. From time immemorial, he wrote, the Eskimos had lived principally on whale, seal, walrus, salmon, and caribou. In the persistent hunt of white men for the whale and walrus, he noted, the walrus had largely disappeared and the whale had been driven beyond the reach of the native. The disappearance of the mammals ended a major source of the food supply, and starvation and gradual extinction of the people appeared inevitable in the near future.

REINDEER FROM SIBERIA

As a replacement for the resources lost to whalers, Captain Healy and Dr. Jackson obtained over a 4-year period about 1,300 reindeer from Siberia. These were transported to the Seward Peninsula where the first Alaskan reindeer herds were established. The herds flourished in the early years. Under close herding, the reindeer population almost exploded, increasing as much as 25 to 33⅓ percent annually.

Nonnatives began to see possibilities in a thriving commercial reindeer industry. Ample and free ranges, rapid rates of reproduction, and low operating costs attracted white people to the industry.

By the late 1920's and early 1930's it was estimated that the reindeer had increased to more than 630,000 animals. Then a decline set in. Large-scale operations led to imprudent practices and to a rapid, disastrous drop in numbers of reindeer. Depletion of ranges, inadequate herding, and attacks by an increased number of wolves, all combined to bring ruin to the industry.

The depletion of the ranges was due to excessive grazing and trampling in many areas during both summer and winter. Fires set by prospectors and miners also damaged the ranges. Inadequate herding was attributable to hardships experienced, crude range facilities, absentee ownership, village attractions, and failure to understand the habits and requirements of the deer. The lack of herding led to losses by wolves and bear, to starvation, and the deer straying away with herds of caribou. These and numerous other factors, both physical and economic, contributed to the decline of the industry.

THE "REINDEER ACT"

Following the decline, the Congress, by the Reindeer Act of 1937, provided for the liquidation or nonnative interests through the purchase of capital equipment and all remaining reindeer. Today there are the 12 herds, which were mentioned earlier, that are producing meat for the commercial market. There are, in addition, four other herds. One of these is to be used in various husbandry and feeding experiments, and another is native-owned but has not been under control and management for many years. Two are the remnants of community herds, a type of enterprise once encouraged by the Federal Government as a source of native subsistence. The community herds have been less than successful because no villagers care to bear responsibility for them. They have not been subjected to husbandry practices and have been treated much like game animals.

Native reindeer herdsmen have faced so many serious handicaps that it is surprising the industry has persisted at all. Chief among the handicaps are environmental, cultural, and economic conditions. While reindeer apparently thrive under the harsh subpolar climate, and on the tundra, which is shunned by other large mammals, man endures only by being ever careful and prepared to meet unexpected emergencies and dangers. The Eskimo's culture orients him to the maintenance of reindeer as reserves to meet subsistence needs while his enterprise is designed for a cash-based economy geared for the marketplace and, as such, demands husbandry practices of at least a modest order. Barter, directly and on a credit basis, is still the predominant means by which he obtains goods from the local trader. The exchange of cash or the use of bank reserves are still largely beyond his acceptable understanding.

MANAGEMENT PROGRAM ESTABLISHED

His adaption to these new cultural and economic patterns and practices has lagged for reasons not entirely within his control. For years teachers in the native schools carried the responsibility for supervising and advising the herdsmen on reindeer management practices. They were ill-prepared for this task, being trained in education of children and not in animal husbandry. Only in the early 1950's was a continuing management program established in the Branch of Land Operations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and trained supervisory personnel employed.

The reindeer industry has experienced its greatest frustrations with marketing problems, beginning with slaughter. Unlike stockmen elsewhere, reindeer men have had to perform the entire gamut of activites from raising the deer to slaughtering to marketing. The inability to readily move prime animals and culls off the range and on to the marketplace on a systematic basis is currently slowing the establishment of improved herd management practices.

Activities initiated in the past 2 years, however, are already bringing improvements. Reindeer men have established their own organization, the Northwest Alaska Reindeer Herders Association, to bring about greater cooperative effort and general improvements to the industry. This organization led last year to the design of a herdman's recordbook for maintaining accounts and a record of husbandry activities. On his request, each herdowner was given personal instruction in using the recordbook.

SIGNIFICANT ACTION

Possibly the most significant action for long-range benefits took place in late 1967 with the establishment of the Alaska Reindeer Industry Advisory Committee. Its purposes are to furnish leadership, obtain technical assistance and economic aid, and promote education and training for the people participating in the industry. Participants are the Northwest Alaska Reindeer Herders Association, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Bureau of Land Management, and the State of Alaska. BIA has had administrative responsibility for the ranching aspects of the industry but will relinquish these responsibilities as the native leadership develops skills to assume them. The ranges are under the administrative jurisdiction of the Bureau of Land Management. BLM will continue to manage the habitat and to determine the suitability of new areas for reindeer grazing. The State of Alaska will assume responsibility for advice, guidance, and promotion of the slaughtering, processing, and marketing aspects of the industry.

Benefits from the reindeer industry are several. It offers employment to natives as full-time or part-time herders, as helpers during roundups, and as employees in slaughtering. The reindeer are also a standby reserve to meet the possible need for another sources of food in the event of a disastrous shortage arising from unsuccessful hunting or fishing.

INCOME FROM REINDEER

In 1963, for example, 240 families received some income, and 100 families received a substantial portion of their income, from privately owned reindeer operations. Assuming a conservative number of five persons per family, then some 1,200 persons received some benefits, and around 500 persons derived a substantial portion of their livelihood from reindeer. The government herd at Nunivak Island also considerably benefits the natives there.

Bordering the length of the Bering Sea coast southward from the Seward Peninsula is a broad area of tundra that is unused except by small fur-bearing animals and large numbers of nesting waterfowl. The waterfowl congregate at streams, lakes, and ponds near the coastal fringes. Away from these areas, there is no productive use for the tundra except as reindeer ranges. It is estimated that about 85 million acres could carry about 400,000 head and provide full support for approximately 5,600 people, and partial support for an additional 11,000 people. The reindeer industry offers a significant economic development potential for this extensive area which has few resources on which to build a self-sustaining economy to meet the needs of its future.

HUMAN RIGHTS CONTRADICTION IN THIS NATION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, intensifying efforts in this country in the field of human rights is just plain essential if we are to advance the cause of humanity throughout the world.

We all recognize, quite readily, the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family. These represent the foundation not only of freedom and justice, but also of peace. However, we have got to do something more than commit ourselves to mere words.

The recent United Nations International Conference on Human Rights, held in Teheran, Iran, evaluated the effectiveness of the United Nations role in the field of human rights and is now engaged in preparing a program of further measures.

Various governments, agencies, and others are also compiling special programs for the balance of 1968 which is regarded as the International Human Rights Year.

Our Nation has lost considerable prestige among the countries of the world for its failure to pass the Human Rights Convention. I think it is time we halted this contradiction between this country's proven commitment to human rights and our egregious failure to join internationally in affirming the dignity of mankind.

Again, I genuinely urge the Senate to force its approval of the Human Rights Conventions on Genocide, Freedom of Association, Political Rights of Women, and Forced Labor.

OUR ESSENTIAL DOMESTIC PROGRAMS SHOULD NOT BE CUT—OUR FIRST DUTY IS TO THE FOLKS AT HOME

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, earlier this month, the executive council of the AFL-CIO announced that the AFL-CIO is unalterably opposed to the meataxe approach to cutting the budget, stressing that—

> Essential programs must be maintained and expanded.

The desirability of attending to the pressing domestic needs of our Nation is clear. We will not solve them by evasion or by the appearance of ignorance on the part of Federal agencies or the Congress.

Our domestic crisis will not vanish if we ignore it and slight it by inadequate funding.

Cuts in education are inexcusable. They cannot be justified on any basis.

Our affluent society cannot afford to neglect its people's health, as is happening.

The drive to depollute our rivers and lakes and the atmosphere we breathe cannot be interrupted without losing the benefits of the starts we have. To stop now or cut back would be highly wasteful.

Resource development is not only essential for itself but it keeps unemployment at a minimum.

No need exists in 1968 for any citizen to go hungry.

No child or adult at this time in our history should suffer from a lack of food or from malnutrition.

Obviously we must solve first things first. I would put the immediate emphasis on the ending of unnecessary hunger, and I would hope that through the cooperation of all levels of our government—Federal, State, and local—we will do this as quickly as possible. By "quickly" I mean days, not months.

As a nation, we have neglected other crisis areas. We must attend to our needs in the fields of health, education, and welfare. As a nation, we should fund adequately our war on poverty and our war on crime. We can fund our domestic programs if we cut wasteful foreign aid expenditures, our space program and our bloated military expenditures, the latter which threatens to exceed $102 billion in the next fiscal year.

This week we passed the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, a measure which contains a number of provisions aimed directly at establishing a program that will help provide homeownership for lower income families, make it possible for lower income families to obtain rental and cooperative housing and provide some new ways to help meet the urban crisis of the cities.

It makes good sense for families to be able to buy homes. The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 provides the subsidy which will make this possible for families in the general income range of $3,000 to $7,000. Concommitantly, this should make our housing industry healthier and bolster our sagging lumber industry.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 is a far-reaching bill. It provides for improvements in urban renewal and urban planning, mass transportation, national flood insurance, an extended housing program which looks ahead 10 years and an expanded model cities program which authorizes the appropriation of $1 billion for fiscal year 1970 for supplementary grants and for other purposes under the model cities program. The urban renewal demonstration grant program is amended to permit grants to nonprofit organizations as well as public bodies and the maximum level of Federal assistance for a demonstration project is increased from two-thirds maximum to 90 percent. I believe this may enable us to find new and creative ways to deal with urban blight and the age-old slum problems.

Of special interest to Alaskans is section 1515 of S. 3497, which extends the date the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is required to report his findings and recommendations on earthquake insurance to June 30, 1969. The time extension will, I hope, allow the Secretary to give Congress a better report and in turn make it possible to provide the needed relief to residents of areas which are threatened by earthquakes.

But these improvements contained in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, as reported and as amended on the floor, will do no good whatsoever if they are not funded.

An editorial, written by Philip H. Abelson, and published in the May 17, 1968, issue of Science, correctly states that Federal support of research buys more than research. Says Science:

> It pays for graduate education, leads to improved teaching of undergraduates, and facilitates initiatives. In deploring budget cuts, university and administrators have a good case, and they should be listened to.

Science observes that some State-supported schools derive 30 percent of their total budgets from the Federal Government. Yet of the proposed budget cut of $4 billion at a minimum, we hear today that at least $1 billion is to be taken from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

How nearsighted are we?

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the May 13, 1968, statement on indiscriminate budget slashing by the AFL-CIO and the text of the Science editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON BUDGET SLASHING, WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 13, 1968

The AFL-CIO is unalterably opposed to the meat-axe approach to cutting the budget. We believe every federal expenditure must be considered on the merit, need and priority of individual programs.

Obviously some expenditure reductions are possible because they involve postponable items and less-urgent needs. Continuing efforts should be made to eliminate the types of wasteful expenditures that develop in all large enterprises, both private and government.

But essential programs must be maintained and expanded.

So it follows that we are appalled by the recent action of the House-Senate conferees in slashing the budget without regard to the merit, need or priority of individual programs.

Instead of responding affirmatively to the President's challenge to the Congress to demonstrate legislative statesmanship, the conferees accepted the counsel of those who have little faith in America.

To our mind, pressing domestic problems demand immediate attention, not avoidance. America's urban crisis, its housing shortage, its educational needs, its pockets of poverty-stricken citizens and shortage of health-care and anti-pollution facilities require expanded action, not slashing cutbacks. If Congress rises to its responsibilities, it will increase—not cut—appropriations for such efforts.

As we have said before, we will support a fair and equitable tax increase on a temporary basis.

But the actions proposed by the conferees will set the United States on a course that can lead only to chaos in domestic and international policies.

Therefore, we intend to oppose with all our strength all indiscriminate budget slashing.

[From Science, May 17, 1968]

EFFECTS OF CUTS IN FEDERAL SUPPORT OF UNIVERSITY RESEARCH

Universities are dependent on federal funds. Some state-supported schools derive 30 percent of their total budgets from the federal government. Science departments of such institutions obtain most of the money needed for graduate training as a by-product of support for research. Many private institutions are heavily dependent on government funds. Some obtain more than 80 percent of their budgets from Washington. Funds for the conduct of research and for graduate training at even the highly endowed schools come almost entirely from federal sources.

With this background in mind, I recently asked administrators at 12 great universities for their estimates of the effects of proposed cuts in the federal support of research. All responded frankly and indicated that the consequences of cuts had been under study at their institutions. They were gravely concerned and felt that heavy damage to their schools and to higher education might occur. All agreed that they would give a high priority to meeting commitments to their staff and said that, even if there was no federal funds for research, they would provide for the tenured faculty. The reduced population of graduate students on campus next year will probably be supported. Most vulnerable to effects of cuts are the postdoctoral fellows and technical supporting staff. A cut in federal support would result in a much larger drop in research output. Postdoctoral fellows are among the most creative scholars on campus. Without supporting technical staff, the complex equipment vital to modern research would be inefficiently used. Operating under restricted budgets, the professors would eschew chancy initiative involving new equipment in favor of safe investigations employing items already at hand.

While the most disruptive effects of a budget cut would be manifest in the science departments, the entire faculty would feel stringency. For example, at one top private university, the annual cost of operating the computer center is $3 million. This cost, which is highly inelastic, is met by users supported on government grants and contracts. A drop in federal funds would exacerbate the institution's deficit during the next fiscal year. The deficit would deepen for another reason. The university is geared to handle a certain volume of activity. It will be difficult to reduce overhead costs quickly enough to avoid further deficits if federal funds are diminished.

At a number of large state universities, overhead from federal grants has had catalytic effects. Legislators are willing to pay for cutting the grass but not to provide for large items of equipment or funds for new initiatives. Some university administrators have been able to retain control of overhead on grants. These funds have been used for computer facilities, matching funds for construction of science buildings, and even support for the humanities. One vice president told me that a first casualty resulting from a drop in support of the physical sciences would be new studies of urban problems.

Federal support of research buys more than research. It pays for graduate education, leads to improved teaching of undergraduates, and facilitates initiatives. In deploring budget cuts, university administrators have a good case, and they should be listened to.

Philip H. Abelson.

THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I wish to express my disappointment that committees of both the House and Senate have postponed the consideration of the International Development Association—IDA—authorization bill. While it is understandable that the committees may give priority to other legislation, I am hopeful that action on the IDA authorization will not be deferred indefinitely.

The importance of IDA to U.S. foreign aid policy should not be underestimated. IDA represents international cooperation to assist in the development of low-income countries. IDA represents the effort to channel more aid and resources into multilateral channels in order to minimize the political and military entanglements of unilateral aid while maximizing the constructive impact of the aid. IDA represents the willingness of 18 other developed nations to share with the United States the responsibility to help less fortunate nations. IDA represents the commitment of other developed nations to contribute, as a group, 60 percent of the funds required.

Fundamentally, IDA provides poor countries with loans on very favorable terms for high-priority development projects. Thus, low-income countries which cannot afford conventional foreign-exchange loans may finance development programs and maintain some momentum for progress.

It is noteworthy that the idea of an international development association was first formally proposed in a Senate resolution adopted with bipartisan support in 1958. By September 1960, IDA was operating with the support of most of the member countries of the World Bank. Now, 98 of the World Bank's member countries have joined IDA.

Some critics have stated that the IDA authorization request might aggravate the U.S. balance of payments. However, an agreement reached within the association provides that none of the U.S. contribution shall be used except for purchases in the United States during the next 3 fiscal years and, if the payments problem persists, for as long thereafter as possible. Thus, at least for the next 3 fiscal years, the U.S. contribution to IDA can have no appreciable effect on the U.S. balance of payments.

It should be remembered that for every $2 the United States contributes to IDA, other nations will contribute $3. This principle of matching funds was an important departure when IDA was established. It is still important and deserves the continuing support of the U.S. Congress.

Even if it were necessary to cut the AID authorization the same amount, I believe it would be far better to put the funds to work in IDA. We would be spending 40-cent dollars, since our funds would be matched one and one-half times by other contributing nations. Investments would have the expert supervision of the World Bank staff. Repayments would be made to, and collected by, the World Bank rather than the U.S. Government.

I urge Senators to study the International Development Association, its funding, its procedures, its activities. If they do, I am confident that we shall move ahead in this session to approve the IDA authorization.

BURIED AT SEA

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, yesterday, May 28, in a full-page advertisement in the New York Times and the Washington Post, the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee made very clear its position on the administration's merchant marine policy. This policy was outlined by Secretary of Transportation Boyd when he appeared before my Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, on Monday, May 20.

Because of the importance of the statement by the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The Soviets Are Burying Us at Sea

In 20 years, the United States merchant marine has sunk from the world's greatest to sixth place—and we are sinking faster today than ever before. At the same time, the Soviet Union is building its merchant fleet—passenger ships, freighters, tankers and fishing vessels—faster than any other country. Right now, the Soviet Union with its own ships is able to supply all its far-flung fronts—including North Vietnam and Cuba—for Communist military and economic penetration. It is continuing to build at a rate that will give the Soviet Union the world's most powerful merchant marine within a few short years—unless our country wakes up.

Three years ago, the President of the United States said that he would recommend to the nation a positive maritime policy to stem the disastrous decline of our merchant marine. Not until last week did the Administration deliver any policy recommendations to Congress. And instead of a positive program, the White House has proposed that the United States abandon its historic role as a maritime nation.

In essence, the proposals which Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd outlined to Congress would have the United States abandon any responsibility for maintaining an American-flag merchant marine beyond bare defense requirements.

What will this mean to you?

Does your work involve imported raw materials or parts? Is some of the product you help produce sold abroad? If so, you have a particularly vital stake in the American merchant marine. Under the Administration proposals, what we can send abroad or receive from overseas will depend on the ships foreign countries see fit to put in our trade and we will have to pay the freight rates they choose to charge. For want of ships of our own, our ability to compete in world trade can be crippled.

Do you intend to do any traveling by ship? Without American-flag ships you will have no choice but to take your chances with the inferior safety requirements of foreign-flag ships. No other ships in the world maintain the strict safety standards required on U.S. flag ships.

Do you pay taxes? Under the Administration proposals, skills of most of the men who sail and build our ships will go down the drain. Hundreds of thousands of jobs will be lost forever; public welfare roles will increase.

Do you believe America must be able, regardless of cost, to fulfill its responsibilities as leader of the free world? Under the Administration proposal our strength and our posture as a world leader will be gravely impaired. In time of emergency, even our armed forces overseas would have to depend for supplies on the ships we can beg, borrow or buy from foreign governments.

The cost of maintaining an adequate merchant marine under our own flag is relatively modest. The cost of failure to do so is more than our nation can afford. Without a strong merchant marine under our own flag manned by skilled loyal American seamen our country can be crippled economically, the value of the dollar jeopardized, our industries isolated from their markets and their sources of supply—and in an emergency we can be made helpless.

Should American ships be left to disappear from the oceans? We think not.

Should our own government help make the Communist leaders' threat to "bury us on the high seas" come true? We think not.

We believe that our country can well afford the cost of the limited government assistance necessary to keep the American flag flying on our ships. Every other maritime nation provides such assistance to their ships. We believe that for our country to do otherwise is not only false economy but a cold clear threat to our country's interests. Many Congressional leaders agree. Do you?

Write to us at: AFL-CIO Maritime Committee, 100 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 2001. We will see that your sentiments are brought to the attention of the White House and Congress.

National Maritime Union of America, AFL-CIO, 36 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011, Joseph Curran, President/National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, AFL-CIO, 17 Battery Place, New York, N.Y. 10004, Jesse M. Calhoon, President/American Radio Association, AFL-CIO, 270 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016, William R. Steinberg, President/ International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, 17 Battery Place, New York, N.Y. 10004, Thomas W. Gleason, President/International Organization of Master Mates and Pilots, AFL-CIO, 39 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10006, Captain Lloyd W. Sheldon, President/United Steel Workers of America, AFL-CIO, Great Lakes Seamen, Local 5000, 1219 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio 44114, Carroll T. Armstrong, President/Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, 1126 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, John J. Grogan, President.

UNITED STATES-WESTERN EUROPE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I have just returned from a brief but very productive visit to Europe, where I was chairman of a meeting of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly held in Brussels on May 20, and honored speaking commitments in Frankfurt on May 21 and in Rome on May 22. In addition, I was able to meet with our distinguished chief negotiators in Paris—Ambassadors Harriman and Vance—and to have a most rewarding audience with His Holiness Pope Paul.

I spoke in the Senate last Friday about the Paris peace talks, in fulfillment of an undertaking I had made to Governor Harriman and based on my conversations with him in Paris and with Pope Paul.

Inasmuch as the speeches I gave in Frankfurt and in Rome, which were also tabled as discussion papers at the North Atlantic Assembly, provoked much thought in European circles, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record as matters of possible interest to Senators.

In Frankfurt I spoke on the subject "The United States and Europe—After Vietnam." This speech offers a broad conceptual framework for the modernization and expansion of the overall United States-European relationship in the decade ahead. In Rome I spoke on a more specific subject—the new situation in the Mediterranean basin—resulting from new U.S.S.R. actions there—which must be of urgent concern to the whole Western community. This speech is entitled "A New Role for NATO" and offers specific proposals for counteracting the great new Soviet push to flank NATO to the south and east.

There being no objection, the speeches were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The United States and Europe—After Vietnam

(By Senator Jacob K. Javits)

The present structure of relations between the United States and Europe has grown obsolete in many respects. The great task ahead is to modernize this relationship.

One major contributing factor to the problem of obsolescence in the relationship has been the ever-growing preoccupation of the United States with the Vietnam war following the great Cuban missile crisis of late 1962. The opening of the preliminary Vietnam peace talks in Paris hopefully marks the beginning of an end to that war, and to the U.S. preoccupation with Southeast Asia.

Once again, in a way that has not been true since the immediate post World War II period, the nature of our relationship with Europe will be the prime concern of our national attention. In its broadest sense, the question to be decided is how best to organize the 1,000 billion dollar productive capacity of Western Europe and North America to assure our collective security, our mutual prosperity and the full blossoming of our individual national lives.

The United States has achieved an awesome superpower status. What we want from Europe is a partnership in the exercise of that power in pursuit of the highest values and objectives of western civilization. We seek partnership with Europe—not hegemony or domination. We are neither content nor comfortable with the new role history would thrust upon us—the unilateral exercise of almost incredible "superpower."

Let me make it clear, however, that the United States cannot favor the development of a self-centered and self-contained Europe—as a so-called third force superpower—to arbitrate between the United States and the Soviet Union. This seems to be the Gaullist objective. But the United States is not interested in Europe as an intermediary, or Europe as an "honest broker." We want, I feel, a full and equal partner in the great tasks of the last third of the twentieth century.

Fortunately, the western world is positioned, at least potentially, on the crest of an unprecedented wave of technological progress and economic prosperity. We will have before us, I am quite confident, a veritable cornucopia of options and tools with which to construct our new relationship, on the solid foundation of the past. We can construct for ourselves virtually any future we choose—such are the possibilities! If we undertake our labors in a spirit which is determinedly cooperative and forward-looking we can achieve peace and prosperity, not only for ourselves but for the entire world. However, if we proceed in a spirit which is backward-looking and marked by suspicion and petty rivalry, the future can be dangerous and unpleasant for all.

I think that President De Gaulle has, by-and-large, generally identified aspects of the U.S.-European relationship most in need of reform. But, in my judgment, his prescriptions for our maladies are invariably wrong. Being based on such an antique vision, they may, one day in historical retrospect, appear merely whimsical. Today, however, Gaullist counsel must be viewed as a serious challenge from one of the most respected members of the western family. Narrow, backward-looking, competitive nationalism could again prove to be the curse and the scourge of Europe—as it has been so often in the past—and dangerously involve the U.S. as well.

The area of our relationship most obviously bursting its seams is the commercial-financial sector. All our efforts in this regard, and they have not been unsubstantial, have been inadequate and barely sufficient to maintain a semblance of order and control over the straining torrent of growth. We have learned the lesson that unrestrained growth which is not balanced and carefully structured can lead to collapse and depression. The answer, however, is not a return to the irrational and obsolete "discipline" of the gold standard. Rather, it lies in creating an institutional framework comprehensive enough to accommodate and channel the accelerating growth thrust of the western industrial economies.

The conclusion of the Kennedy Round was a solid achievement and the agreement on "Special Drawing Rights" within the IMF give creative promise for the orderly and rapid expansion of international trade and investment. Nonetheless, as the recent and continuing severe balance of payments problems of Britain and the United States have demonstrated, very troublesome problems of organization, and of institutional relationships among the OECD groups of nations, persist and require urgent remedial attention.

I would assign highest priority of all to solving the problem of Britain's economic crisis and the dangers created by its continuing exclusion from the Common Market. A healthy and prosperous Britain is essential to the security and well-being of the entire western community. To allow Britain to continue to be buffeted about on the high seas so to speak alone, while denying her entry into the EEC is an extremely costly and short-sighted policy.

The best solution, in my judgment, would be Britain's early entry into the Common Market. However, in view of the continuing unilateral French veto on British membership—and the unlikelihood of an early change in this situation— it has become essential to explore alternatives. I have been closely associated with an international experts study of an International Free Trade Area, which would encompass, in the first instance, Britain, the United States and Canada and which could expand rapidly to include the EFTA nations, Japan and other industrial trading nations which might wish to join. Eventually, IFTA could be expanded to include even the EEC in a broad, expensive institutional framework. To me and to many others, the concept of an Industrial Free Trade Area represents the logical next step in the continuing effort to liberalize world trade.

The point I wish to emphasize is that we must be governed by the principle of "inclusiveness" as opposed to the principle of "exclusiveness," as we go about the business of structuring our economic relationships in the years ahead. We will assuredly be dealing with a constantly expanding pie, so to speak, and—as we have learned domestically in the United States—bitter and destructive squabbles over the shape of the pieces to be cut are unnecessary and dissipate energies better applied elsewhere.

The problem of "exclusiveness" in western economic relationships does not just effect Britain. It is of vital importance to the United States as well. There are voices in Europe, powerfully represented in the Common Market, which allege that the United States seeks to establish economic hegemony over Europe, represents a threat to its economic independence and welfare and propose allegedly "defensive" measures.

Also there are many in the U.S. who retort that restrictive and discriminatory economic nationalism in Europe—no matter how it is rationalized and irrespective of whether it is administered collectively through the EEC or individually—is certain to trigger retaliatory "protectionist" effort in the United States. Their argument is fortified by the non-tariff barriers to trade which continue to prejudice and bedevil U.S. and other trade even within the EEC countries. It is, of course, most unlikely that any responsible person would accept the idea that "Wall Street" somehow would be able to—or even seek in it wildest dreams—to emulate Julius Caesar in establishing an imperium over Europe. What could become an ugly reality, however, is a destructive and impoverishing cycle of protectionist trade barriers on both sides of the Atlantic.

The "American Challenge" to Europe, when seen with a steady eye and for what it really is, can hardly be a cause for fear or misgivings. The American challenge is a challenge to face the future with a full realization of its exhilarating potentialities. We just cannot afford to face our economic future—based on revolutionary new technology and principles of organization—in the fearful and cowering spirit of the weavers and spinners who smashed the first textile machinery.

The second aspect of United States-European relations which needs modernization and revision is our security relationship institutionalized in the North Atlantic Treaty. As we approach 1969, the year in which individual members can denounce the Treaty under article 13—and especially with the uncertainty regarding President De Gaulle's intentions in this regard—it is essential that we reassess with full deliberateness the structure and purposes of our "Grand Alliance."

We can take justifiable pride and satisfaction in the extraordinary success of NATO in achieving over the past twenty years the basic objective for which it was originally established—the deterrence of potential USSR aggression in Europe. But much has changed since 1949, and NATO must now be modernized to face the future rather than the past.

The Gaullist thesis offers one possible approach to the changed circumstances determining western security. In essence, this thesis argues that the diminution of the Stalinist threat of a massive conventional attack on the central front warrants a dismantling of NATO's integrated command system and the downgrading of the entire alliance structure to the status of a stand-by, volunteer fire department.

In my judgment, this is a dangerously myopic approach. Of course it is true that the recovery of Western Europe, the development of U.S. strategic nuclear weapons, and the liberalizing and nationalist ferment in eastern Europe, have greatly reduced the likelihood of a conventional communist invasion of western Europe, notwithstanding the fact that the attack capabilities of the Warsaw Pact powers are greater now than they have ever been in the past.

But there has been no change in Soviet objectives in Europe—they are as inimical as ever. Moreover, there has been a vast development of Soviet power and capabilities over the past two decades which has enabled the Kremlin to adopt more subtle, broad-ranging and varied new tactics. The Soviet Union now has the power to intimidate with threats of destruction from a distance, made possible by its arsenal of nuclear missiles. The Soviet development of new, sea-based, globally mobile power enables it to essay bold flanking movements, as we are now witnessing in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Soviet strategy is to divide the west, play off one faction against another, isolate potential victims in Europe and to pick them off one by one. Individually, the nations of Europe are no match for the USSR.

Deterrence has been the principal function of NATO over the past two decades and the key to our success has been our unity of purpose and the capacity of the alliance to present a common front in times of trial and crisis.

The future business of NATO must be twofold: to maintain deterrence but also to achieve détente Both are possible—but only possible if we maintain our unity of purpose and our unity of defense organization in being. A revitalized NATO is the institution which we must use to give structure, coherence and discipline to our common purpose.

We face a highly dynamic future and the future tasks of the Alliance increasingly will be political and diplomatic, as well as military. The Soviet boc is watching intently to see whether NATO has the resilience and the creativity to the new challenges it faces in a security environment developing in new directions and new dimensions.

I am convinced that if our "deterrence response" is sufficiently vigorous and adaptable we will increasingly be able to reap the benefits of détente, and be positioned to seek even the fruits of reapproachment—both within Europe and with the Soviet Union.

The coming decade will provide a crucial test for the organizational genius of the Atlantic community's people. Not only must we creatively restructure the channels and institutions of our economic and security relationships. We must do so in a manner which assures the optimum degree of institutional compatibility and mutual reinforcement between the economic and security fields.

Inevitably there will be a trend toward greater and greater interdependency. This involves our overall political relationships. I envisage and endorse the establishment of new, communitywide consultative institutions of a quasi-political nature. In addition to the present periodic meetings of NATO foreign ministers and defense ministers, and ad hoc meetings of our Treasury ministers in one form or another, I envisage the evolution of regular, institutionalized meetings of Atlantic Community cabinet officials dealing with a wider range of matters of national interest and responsibility. Not only Commerce ministers, but also Education ministers, Transport ministers, Housing and Urban Affairs ministers may find it highly productive to have institutionalized meetings for exchange of information and harmonization of policies for mutual benefit. This may be defined as a form of confederation but without any diminution of national sovereignty.

An excellent and indispensable first step in the institutional growth of the North Atlantic Alliance would be the official recognition of the North Atlantic Assembly as the parliamentary consultative branch of NATO.

Increasing interdependence is the name of the future, and vastly expanded consultation and coordination of effort will be required for the smooth management of intra-Atlantic community relations. Increasing coordination and "concert" of policy with regard not only to the Soviet Bloc, but the entire outside world is essential and inevitable, in my judgment.

A very modest beginning in this regard has been made, with French acquiescence, in the Harmel report on "Future Tasks of the Alliance," which was adopted at the NATO ministerial meeting in Brussels last December. The question of the global posture and responsibilities of the Atlantic Community is bound inextricably to the question of how intra-community relations will develop.

The United States is a superpower with global interests and global responsibilities. We seek a full, equal, worldwide partnership with western Europe in the exercise of global power and in the burden of global responsibilities. The "third world" may be non-western, colored, and underdeveloped but it can be ignored or neglected only at our collective peril. We share a rapidly shrinking planet with this rapidly increasing, restless and impoverished non-western majority of mankind. Neither the imperial nor the missionary approaches of our past will suffice, any better than indifference and neglect.

In place of imperial conquest, we have a duty and a self-interest to see that the peace of the world is maintained. This is not a job for the United States to perform alone outside of some arbitrarily defined NATO "treaty area". If for no other reason, it is just not good for world peace to have the Americans and the Russians bumping their respective superpowered, nuclear-tipped noses all over the globe. The reluctance or inability of the European former colonial powers to play a global role as individual nation states is understandable. A new and collective role must be evolved, and the councils of NATO are the place to start.

The NATO countries need a concerted approach to aid and trade with the underdeveloped world. The countries of the Atlantic community have the wealth and the productive capacity, as well as the organizational and technological know-how, to transform the non-western world, if our efforts are pursued coherently, intelligently and persistently and it is essential to our own ultimate security and prosperity that we do so. While the Development Advisory Council is our proto-institution in this regard, I believe that NATO discussions of the broader political and security considerations are desirable and unavoidable.

A NEW ROLE FOR NATO

(By Senator JACOB K. JAVITS)

The apparent apathy within the North Atlantic Alliance to the developing situation in the Mediterranean—where a large and growing Soviet naval force challenges vital western interests and security—raises grave questions. The Mediterranean—and the lands on its eastern and southern shores—have, throughout history, had the most immediate and profound relationship to the security and prosperity of Europe. This relationship, while now perhaps more subtle and complex, is likely to be as profound and inextricable during the remaining third of the Twentieth Century as it was from the days of Rome through the Second World War. The Mediterranean is as vital to the security of western Europe as the Caribbean is to the security of the United States.

At present, the U.S. Sixth Fleet continues to assure the strictly "military" supremacy of NATO in the Mediterranean, and the Soviet challenge there now is more political than military. It is nonetheless a very real challenge. It requires a NATO response. Merely adding to the already preponderant military capabilities of the U.S. Sixth Fleet would not significantly redress the situation. It is essential that there be a multilateral NATO response, with a predominantly European content, if the political impact is to be as sufficient. The time to act is now.

The establishment of a NATO Standing Naval Force in the Mediterranean—along the lines of the recently established NATO Standing Naval Force in the Atlantic—would constitute an excellent first step. It is in the interests of world peace to prevent the Soviet Union from overreaching itself in the Mediterranean, as it did in the Caribbean in 1962. This can only be accomplished by timely and preemptive action.

The Middle East today is potentially the most explosive tinder box in the world. There have been three wars in twenty years between Israel and the Arabs. Now, less than a year after the ceasefire which ended the Six Day War, radical Arab leaders are again talking of war with Israel. The Soviet Union has resupplied the Egyptian and Syrian armies, on a crash basis, with modern sophisticated weapons, and continues to condone, if not abet, the intransigent refusal of the Arab nations to conduct peace negotiations with Israel. There is a persistent grave danger that a renewal of war in the Middle East could embroil the Soviet Union and the United States and drag the world to the brink of nuclear disaster.

It must be recognized that Soviet naval actions in the Mediterranean and Soviet political penetration policies in the Middle East and North Africa are part of an inextricable pattern. *It is, in fact, a mammoth and audacious effort to turn the vital eastern and southern flanks of NATO and thereby attempt to isolate the Atlantic Community from Asia and Africa.* This new threat is not less dangerous to NATO than the traditional Stalinist threat of a conventional land thrust on the central front, although it is subtler and indirect, and based on newly developed Soviet capabilities.

The situation with respect to the Mediterranean was fundamentally different when NATO was formed in 1949. First, Egypt and the Suez were under British control. British and French influence were dominant throughout the Middle East and North Africa. Second, the Soviet threat was then cast in a Stalinist mold. Its political techniques were direct and blunt and designated to strike terror in the West. Its military capabilities were almost exclusively land-based and "continental" in their strategic orientation.

The decision of the Soviet Union to invest significantly in a globally mobile military power, based on the development and deployment of a deep-water naval amphibious force, is a salient feature of the post-Khrushchev era. The success of this new Soviet strategic gambit has been enhanced considerably and gratuitously by three coincidental developments within the Western Alliance:

First, the intense preoccupation of the United States with the Vietnam war;

Second, the French withdrawal from NATO's integrated command and the related problems caused by this and by broad Gaullist efforts to reduce the Alliance to the status of a volunteer fire department;

Third, the financially-dictated decision of Britain to withdraw from "East of Suez"—completing the retreat of a once globally dominant European power back to Europe itself.

The drama of May and June of 1967, when a coalition of Arab states under Soviet influence attempted in a calculated and concerted effort to draw a noose around the neck of Israel, must have chilled the blood of European nations lacking a capacity to influence the situation. The immediate crisis was resolved—and its long range implications partially obscured—by Israel's smashing victory in the Six Day War. But, the subsequent lesson of the Soviet Union's ability to capitalize even on the defeat of its clients is there for all to see. The Soviet fleet is now entrenched at Alexandria, makes free use of the Syrian port of Latakia, and may be eyeing Mers-el-Kebir in Algeria—the great NATO-built base just evacuated by France.

The immodesty of Soviet objectives, despite the Kremlin's tactical caution, is indicated by recent Soviet naval moves in the Indian Ocean, Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Given Soviet involvement in Yemen and its opportunities in Aden, it was not hard to predict that the Soviets would seek to extend their Mediterranean bridgehead into the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf—where oil-rich sheikdoms will soon lose the cover of British protection. The surprise is that the Soviets have not even waited for the reopening of the Suez Canal. The prospective rewards of gunboat diplomacy have seemed so inviting that the Soviets have sent a detachment of their Far East Fleet from Vladivostok to "show the flag" in the warm waters only dreamed of longingly by the Czars.

Let there be no mistake. The prizes at stake are very big and very real: control of the world's major oil reserves, the avenues of Europe's commerce and communication with Asia and Africa, the strategic land link of three continents. It is a new situation and it requires a new response.

Members of the Atlantic Alliance must demonstrate to the Soviet Union that it cannot achieve its objectives through unilateral efforts which do not have the acquiescence of the Alliance. The objective is not to provoke confrontation nor to exclude the Soviet Union from a legitimate role in these areas. Détente and accommodation are possible in the Mediterranean basin, as they are in central Europe; but such détente will only be achieved when the requisite strength of purpose is demonstrated.

There is, in fact, a close connection between the deterrent accomplishments of NATO in central Europe, the hopes for détente, and the current Soviet power play in the Mediterranean. Having been frustrated in Europe by NATO, and facing an increasingly hostile Communist China on its eastern flank, the USSR has found in the Middle East the only exploitable "soft area" within the reach of its capabilities and within the limits of what it considers acceptable risks. It is a situation which NATO cannot ignore, for "European" reasons as well as for reasons intrinsic to the Middle East.

In the Middle East, initially and at a minimum, NATO members should "concert" their actions. If commercial rivalries and maneuvers for advantage predominate, if collective energies are dissipated by individual efforts at cross purposes, if there is only a disjointed and strictly ad hoc approach—the interests of all will be jeopardized.

It is a fact that the former colonial powers of Europe are no longer willing and able, as individual nation-states, to play a global role in keeping the peace. And it is perhaps premature to expect that Europe will assume a collective global role and responsibility within the NATO context, given current realities with respect to problems and mood of the Alliance. An evolution in this direction is necessary, however, if western interests are not to be defaulted in the coming decade. The fact of the matter is that the United States has neither the desire nor capability to police the world and to intervene unilaterally in sundry distant places to protect what are really broad western community interests.

With respect to the Mediterranean proper, the path is much clearer. As a first step, NATO should establish a Standing Naval Force in the Mediterranean—a force which is multilateral and predominantly European in composition. American participation might be useful. But it is essential that Italy, and also Greece and Turkey—the three "Mediterranean" members of NATO—play leading roles. British participation would seem natural, feasible and highly desirable, given Britain's historic role in the Mediterranean, its withdrawal from "East of Suez" and its intention to play a greater role in NATO and European defense.

Defense Secretary Healy's recent announcement of a 40% increase in British troop commitments to NATO is most welcome. Particularly gratifying is the decision to augment British naval strength in the Mediterranean. This possibly could form the nucleus of a NATO Mediterranean force.

The real impact of a NATO Mediterranean Naval Force at this time would be predominantly political and symbolic. Accordingly, its political and symbolic value should be maximized. A tangible, new step *into* the Mediterranean is required. In this regard, Malta seems to be an obvious and ideal location for the headquarters of a NATO Mediterranean Naval Force. Malta is dramatically located in the very center of the Mediterranean and offers an excellent harbor and superior naval facilities. Moreover, Malta is already linked to NATO, perhaps somewhat insecurely, through the November 3, 1965 "Joint Statement of the North Atlantic Council and The Government of Malta."

It is somewhat ironic that Malta—for centuries the contested naval prize of the Mediterranean—should today be courting the patronage and protection of a seemingly reluctant and indifferent NATO. But the British withdrawal from the base at Valletta, and closing of the Suez Canal, have caused severe economic dislocations and stringencies for the Maltese. After establishing diplomatic relations last fall, the Soviet Union has recently sent a trade mission to Malta, and the first Soviet ship was recently admitted to the work-starved shipyards. Moreover, there are significant elements within the Maltese political opposition which seek to move the country away from its strong NATO orientation into a "neutralist" posture congenial to the Soviet Union.

Paragraph 14 of the Harmel Report on future tasks of the Atlantic Alliance, approved at the Brussels NATO Ministerial Meeting in December 1967, commits NATO to: ". . . examine with particular attention the defense problems of the exposed areas, e.g. the southeastern flank." Moreover, it is public knowledge that the North Atlantic Council has had under consideration a proposal to create a Mediterranean Standing Naval Force. Objections and reservations are said to have been raised to this proposal on several grounds—none of which appear to be particularly germane to the issue. Arguments for inaction and procrastination are easy to coin. But NATO is faced in the Mediterranean with a situation which requires action!

CORRUPTION IN SOUTH VIETNAM—ONE OF OUR OWN WORST ENEMIES

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I have repeatedly said that one of the greatest obstacles to the United States achieving any type of victory or success in South Vietnam is the graft-riddled, thoroughly corrupt South Vietnamese Government which has U.S. blessing and could not last 24 hours without U.S. massive military and financial support. Its graft and corruption play into the hands of the Vietcong.

As one National Liberation Front officer is reported to have said:

> Without American money, guns, food, medicine and supplies, we of the National Liberation Front would have a hard time surviving.

This quotation is reported in a soon to be published book by Wiliam Lederer, coauthor of "The Ugly American," entitled "Our Own Worst Enemy," excerpts from which are printed in the Saturday Evening Post of June 1, 1968.

Mr. Lederer's book is but the latest compilation of the almost unbelievable corruption which flourishes in South Vietnam. Despite the tightest possible censorship imposed by the government in Saigon, reports have filtered back to the United States of the almost unbelievable corruption existing in that war-torn area.

What is not realized is that such graft and corruption, on so mammoth a scale, is a major reason why the war in Vietnam is "unwinnable" by the United States.

The South Vietnamese are so disaffected by existing policies that they are more sympathetic with the Vietcong than with their government.

Mr. Lederer's description of the operations of the black market in U.S.-furnished goods is an especially good one. He recounts how he wandered through one of the black markets in Saigon in search of a new U.S. Army uniform. He was conducted up to a loft and describes what he saw there as follows:

> The place looked like a U.S. Army ammunition depot. Everything seemed to be painted brown and to smell of oil or fresh paint. Equipment was arranged in orderly rows, and printed price tags hung from everything. Automatic rifles were $250. A heavy mortar was priced at $400. There were about 1,000 American rifles of different kinds standing neatly in racks. M–16's cost $80. On one side of the loft were uniforms of all services, including the U.S. Air Force. There was even U.S. Navy diving equipment.

The asking price:

> All complete uniform. Everything. Helmet. Pants. Boots. Shirt. Everything. Forty-eight hundred piasters or thirty dollars. You want?

These articles were stolen in various ways, described in detail in Mr. Lederer's book and article, and sold openly in the black markets in South Vietnam, with an unknown amount flowing to the Vietcong.

Instance after instance of looting of supplies has been brought to light; yet, through the years, the kickbacks to the ruling military junta in Saigon have been so lucrative that no action has been taken to stop such looting. The only action taken has been to suppress the news media and prevent their reporting on the details of such lootings, graft, and corruption, though they are well known to the people of South Vietnam.

The dissatisfaction of the people of South Vietnam with the government in Saigon increases as they see their corrupt rulers become richer and richer on their payoffs from the black markets, from the bars, and from the so-called bar girls. This widespread graft on the part of public officials drives more and more people into the arms of the Vietcong or into becoming neutral. The ease with which the Vietcong penetrated Saigon in 1968 is paralleled by the ease with which the Vietcong penetrated Pleiku in February 1965, without warning being given. Both are proof, if any be needed, of the lack of popular support of the Saigon government and of the efforts of the United States to aid it.

Because graft and corruption permeate all strata of the Saigonese government, the flow of U.S. dollars and goods, diverted from their intended use and so often into the hands of the Vietcong, is actually strengthening the latter and is one of the root causes of why the United States is not winning and cannot win in South Vietnam.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Lederer's article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR OWN WORST ENEMY

(By William J. Lederer)

(NOTE.—William J. Lederer: "Not long ago I returned from my thirty-fourth trip to Asia, and my ninth tour of Vietnam. What I saw in Vietnam violated almost everything I had learned during my twenty-eight-year career in the U.S. Navy, almost everything I had learned as a professional observer of Asian affairs. I beheld the United States being beaten—not by the strength of the enemy, but by its own mistakes and incompetence. We have botched up almost everything we have attempted in Vietnam." Ten years ago Mr. Lederer, in collaboration with Eugene Burdick, startled the nation with the controversial best-seller, "The Ugly American," which made its first appearance in this magazine. The following article is taken from his latest book, "Our Own Worst Enemy.")

"Without American money, guns, food, medicine and supplies, we of the National Liberation Front would have a hard time surviving. . . ." (Maj. Pham Van-linh, logistics officer for the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong)—in an interview in Saigon, June 1967.)

Every government we have helped into power in Vietnam has been inadequate; and all of them have been rejected by the Vietnamese people. First it was the French; next Ngo Dinh Diem; and then, after a period of coups and counter-coups, the military junta headed by General Thieu and Marshal Ky.

One of the measures of inadequacy is the degree of governmental corruption. I am speaking of excessive corruption, not the accepted Asian practice of reasonable "cumshaw" for services rendered, which grew from a tradition of low salaries for government officials. Vietnam corruption has gone far beyond the traditional. It has, for example, become the usual method of acquiring government positions and the usual reasons for wanting them—from top to bottom, from cop to high-ranking general or province chief.

My first experience with the Vietnamese black market occurred in Saigon. I told the Army public-relations officer at JUSPAO (Joint United States Public Affairs Office) that I planned to go out with the troops, and asked where I could buy jungle fatigues and jungle boots.

"We have lots of goodies for reporters if they have the right papers," he said, handing me an authorization to buy Army uniforms.

A friend took me, on the back of his scooter, to the big PX in the Cholon district. Outside the compound, with its sandbags and U.S. armed guards, was a place for customers to park their vehicles. As the vehicles were parked, small Vietnamese boys ran up, their hands outstretched, demanding "watch-your-Jeep [or scooter] money." They wanted money to stop "someone" from cutting ignition wires or letting air from tires.

I angrily told a PX officer about the situation. He replied, "The street is Vietnamese territory. We are guests in this country. We have no jurisdiction over anything that happens in the street. Those kids can sell stolen PX merchandise out there, and we can't touch them. Only the Vietnamese police can do anything. We are guests in this country—and that's the way General Westmoreland has ordered it."

I made the obvious remark that it was a strange way to treat guests who were dying by the thousands to protect their hosts.

The major shrugged and said, "This is their country. We are fighting and dying in combat because we have permission from the Vietnamese to be on those battlefields. Parking scooters on their streets is something else."

A sergeant took me to the uniform shop, but when I gave the clerk my authorization, he shook his head. "We haven't had fatigues or jungle boots for months."

"When are you expecting them?"

He held up his hands and shrugged.

My friend and I returned to the street, mended the cut ignition wire on the scooter, and returned to JUSPAO. There I told the public-relations officer that the store did not have jungle uniforms. He laughed and said that I would have to find them where he and his men did—on the black market. "They may charge you a couple of bucks more, but the gear is always available and in all the sizes anybody could want."

I walked down the street past the USO and the flower markets and the sidewalk restaurants. It took about five minutes. And there was the "Little Black Market" (the name implying that there were bigger places elsewhere).

Stalls crowded and leaned against each other, as in any Oriental bazaar. Hundreds of customers milled about, pushing and inspecting the merchandise. Among them were four U.S. Army noncommissioned officers, one Army captain, and a U.S. Navy yeoman. Four Vietnamese policemen stood about, keeping order.

In the stalls were all the most desirable items from the PX.

I noted transistor radios, blankets, toasters, electric blenders, watches, clocks, pens, cigarettes, tobacco, shirts, television sets, cameras, film, toilet articles, patent medicines, shirts, lingerie, socks, and a variety of the best-advertised American liquors, as well as cans of just about every kind of food available in the Army commissary.

I asked a Vietnamese official if it were not against the law to sell merchandise stolen from the PX. He replied that it was, but that there was no proof this merchandise was stolen. I pointed out that almost every item still carried the PX label, and that the PX was most certainly the only local importer of them.

"That is true," he said, "but in this country, for goods to be declared stolen, we must catch someone in the act of stealing them. One must be very careful in making charges. Perhaps the 'PX' stamped on that bottle of brandy is a brand name, is that not so?"

I continued up and down the stalls looking for uniforms and jungle boots. There were none visible. Then one of the black-market operators came up and, speaking in English, asked me what I wanted. When I told her, she said, "All complete uniform. Everything. Helmet. Pants. Boots. Shirt. Everything. Forty-eight hundred piasters or thirty dollars. You want?"

"I want to see them."

"You buy them if they all new and right size?"

"Yes, of course I will. Do I pay you now?"

The woman turned to a boy, spoke to him in Vietnamese and gave him a piece of paper. "Go with boy. Pay when you get clothes."

The boy took me several blocks along the street and into a store that had copper pots in the window. The boy went to an old man who was clacking an abacus. Without speaking, the old man led me out the back of the store, across a yard, into an alley which stank of rotten vegetables, and then up two flights of equally smelly dark stairs into the loft of another building.

The place looked like a U.S. Army ammunition depot. Everything seemed to be painted brown and to smell of fresh oil or fresh paint. Equipment was arranged in orderly rows, and printed price tags hung from everything. Automatic rifles were $250. A heavy mortar was priced at $400. There were about 1,000 American rifles of different kinds standing neatly in racks. M–16's cost $80. On one side of the loft were uniforms of all services, including the U.S. Air Force. There was even U.S. Navy diving equipment.

The old man inquired as to my size, and then brought me the uniform and the boots I wanted.

Later that evening I talked about the black market to an old friend whom I shall call Tran Trong Hoc (and of whom I'll speak more later). He said, "What you saw is nothing. Go down to the waterfront some day and see how the big operators work. The whole South Vietnamese Government is involved."

"Any Americans?"

"Plenty are becoming millionaires—exactly as happened when the U.S. Army occupied Japan and Germany. You can be sure of this, because illicit dealings in Vietnam total about ten billion dollars a year—all in American goods and moneys. This could not exist without American collusion. It would be impossible."

I did not answer.

"We'll go to the waterfront in a few days," said Tran Trong Hoc, "and watch the big operations. We have to plan it well. If we are not careful, neither of us will be alive to tell what we saw."

The Little Black Market, which does business openly near the U.S. Embassy and JUSPAO in Saigon, is small stuff. It is only one bit of crookedness in the vast cesspool of cupidity. It is so small—by contrast to others—that both the South Vietnamese and United States governments tacitly consider it semi-legitimate. The Little Black Market is one of the showplaces of Saigon. Visitors on official tours are shown the Little Black Market as they are shown the U.S. Embassy, the railway station, and the public market. Americans, as well as Vietnamese, buy things at the Little Black Market because sometimes it has a better selection than the legitimate U.S. Government stores from which the merchandise has been stolen. There is nothing disguised about the Little Black Market. Everyone—even the officials in charge—knows how its goods are sneaked out of the PX and the U.S. commissary and by whom, and who gets paid off. If either the U.S. Government or the South Vietnamese Government wished, the retail black market in Saigon could almost certainly be eliminated within a week.

"We aren't too strict about it," said a U.S. police instructor in Saigon, "because we don't want to antagonize the Koreans or the Filipinos [both deeply involved in black-market operations, both allies of the U.S.], and because the black market helps stop inflation. I don't know how, but that's what our economists say."

A Vietnamese National Police lieutenant said, "The Little Black Market is permitted to continue because it is useful to everyone. When the American press—or perhaps a visiting senator—complains about corruption, we close the Little Black Market for a few days. A few people are arrested. The Americans are satisfied. Action against corruption has been taken. It takes pressure off the U.S. Embassy. It takes pressure off my government. Do you see how useful the Little Black Market is?"

I wanted to learn how the black market got its luxury items, so I went to its main Saigon supplier—the PX. When I arrived at the big PX in Cholon, the store had not yet opened, and a line of people had formed. At the end of the line were two GI's who appeared to have come from the combat area. Their jungle clothes were mud-splattered, and their helmets were covered with camouflage netting. I was curious to know what two combat soldiers would buy in the PX, so I got behind them in line. The two GI's were from an isolated Signal Corps station beyond Pleiku, and they were at the PX to buy a refrigerator. Within the last few days their electrical supply had been converted from battery to generator; the men had chipped in to get a refrigerator so that they could have cold drinks, sandwiches, and so forth.

The GI's told me how they had made special arrangements to get the refrigerator on an airplane, and how the Special Services officer in Pleiku had found out that the refrigerators had arrived in Saigon the day before.

When the doors of the PX opened and the GI's got to the counter, they learned that there were no more refrigerators. The shipment had arrived at noon the day before, and all the refrigerators had been sold by closing time.

I learned that of the entire shipment of 16 refrigerators, 12 had been sold to Filipino and Korean soldiers. How did the Filipinos and Koreans know about the refrigerators in order to buy them so quickly? Here again the answer was simple.

The U.S. Army, which runs the PX in Saigon, has brought Filipinos and Koreans into the store at a managerial level. When there is a shipment of some desirable article, these men call up their Korean and Filipino friends.

As the unhappy GI's walked out of the PX, one said, "You remember the Viet Cong supply dump we raided last month?"

"Yeah, I know. It had a refrigerator in it—with the PX tag on the back, and with U.S. antibiotics inside the damn thing."

The PX in Vietnam is a $300-million-a-year business, according to the officer in charge, and it demonstrates in miniature why the United States is in deep trouble in Vietnam—and in foreign affairs in general.

The clerks in the PX's are Vietnamese women, over 5,000 of them. They do not know the merchandise, and on the average, they are uninterested and discourteous. And these women clerks steal from the PX's. In the month of May, 1967, the small headquarters PX in Saigon lost $65,000 in petty pilferage alone. This is the *small* PX. At one time the PX management had the Vietnamese salesgirls searched as they left the store. The clerks objected to the search procedure and said they would go on strike unless the searching was stopped. The searching was stopped. The Americans who operate the PX (the U.S. Army) would rather have things stolen than "not look good" to the Vietnamese.

I personally have seen clerks standing on the main highway outside a PX, removing PX merchandise from their bodices. They dropped the items into a basket while a Vietnamese man made notes of the amount and type of merchandise each girl had taken.

Much of the merchandise in the PX's couldn't possibly have been chosen with the welfare of the GI's in mind. In the Saigon PX, for example, there were no alarm clocks. They hadn't had any for two months. There were no pipes. There was a shortage of film. The PX was "temporarily out" of good razor blades and pipe tobacco. There was no mosquito repellent. (Later I found the "temporarily out" items for sale on the black market—at three times the PX price.) Nevertheless, the whole rear of the store was used for selling diamonds.

Merchandise headed for the PX—and also for the commissary—is stolen before it gets to either place, as well as after it is on the shelves. But the corruption involves more than the black market. For example, some time ago a PX purchasing agent, an American civilian, shared an apartment in Saigon with another American, the representative of a company that sold a famous brand of whiskey. The PX purchasing agent had his rent paid for, he had his food paid for and his "home entertainment" paid for. The PX purchasing agent overbought the salesman's product, and six months later the PX in Vietnam was still overstocked with it.

The purchasing agent involved was caught at his unethical activities. At this writing he is working for the PX in another country and at a higher position than he held in Vietnam. This entire story was given me by a senior PX officer.

It is no secret that the PX and the commissary are supplying just about everybody in South Vietnam (who has the money) with luxury items via the black market. An importer told me he has stopped dealing in legitimately imported refrigerators and tape recorders—they could be had cheaper and quicker from the PX, via the black market. Foreign-food importers are in the same fix. I myself have seen an Army truck with Filipinos and South Koreans, *in uniform*, stop in front of the Continental Hotel at 6 A.M. and unload a truckful of Spam and fruit juices. The menu at the Continental Hotel advertises "American Spam." When one orders tomato juice for breakfast, the waiter brings a small can with the U.S. commissary stamp still on it—10 cents. At four different times during my stay in Saigon, I saw this truck deliver PX and commissary edibles to the Continental Hotel. Once a large package of meat with General Westmoreland's name on it was delivered to the Continental along with the tomato juice. There is hardly a bar in Saigon that does not have liquor that comes from the U.S. supplies.

In investigating PX practices, I requested an interview with a responsible officer. The interview was granted with a colonel on the condition that I would not quote him directly.

I was ushered into the colonel's presence, and I described to him the malpractices I had discovered. What follows is his explanation.

The PX, he said, employs over 5,000 Vietnamese women because it is the duty of the United States to train these women in merchandising practices. After the war is over, the women will know how to be skilled clerks in the stores of Vietnam and will therefore be able to aid the commerce of the country.

This seemed crazy to me. Any store that was run like the PX would soon go bankrupt.

The colonel said that the PX was using Vietnamese women as clerks, and Koreans and Filipinos as merchandising executives, it was far cheaper than using Americans, and because the Filipinos and Koreans have had PX experience in Seoul and Manila.

I pointed out to the colonel that the service was bad, and that perhaps $75 million a year in merchandise was stolen or diverted to the black market largely because of employment of foreigners, including clerks, executives, truckers, longshoremen, and so forth.

The colonel denied that the service was bad. He denied that there was any sizable black-market leak from his stores. He denied that there was $65,000 worth of pilferage in one month from the small Saigon PX. (I myself had seen the Saigon PX's own estimates of pilferage. Either the colonel did not know what was happening his own stores, or he was lying.)

The colonel said that another reason for employing over 5,000 foreigners in the PX's was to give work to worthy Vietnamese of good character, which helped the war economy. I asked him if he knew how the employment racket worked. The facts are that each clerk employed has to get a recommendation from someone in the Vietnamese Government. This recommendation has to be paid for—and the standard payment is approximately a month's wages.

The colonel said he had never heard of any such thing. He then told me what a wonderful thing the PX was. It was being operated so that there could be profits made to supply the Army and the Air Force with money to pay for motion pictures and other recreational activities for the troops. He also said that the PX was a place where restless Americans could spend their dollars—instead of unloading their money on the Vietnamese economy and thus causing inflation.

I asked him, "Isn't the primary mission of the PX's to give the troops a service?"

He said it was.

But the troops come last as far as the big Saigon PX is concerned. Training Vietnamese comes first. Then comes making money for recreational services. Then comes improving the economy of Vietnam. Then comes "looking good." Last and least is the GI.

And it is not the small percentage of men actually in combat who make the most of the Post Exchange. It is the fat boys in the cities and headquarters, and thousands of civilians—construction workers, newspapermen, AID employees and members of the embassy staff.

The luxury items in the Post Exchange are bought by Americans—and also by the Vietnamese elite, via the black market or American friends. The garish way in which American and Vietnamese officials exhibit these things can do nothing but widen the gap that separates the masses from the local rich and the Americans. And the wider the gap the less the people identify themselves with us—and the more they identify themselves with the Viet Cong.

The PX as it is run now makes the United States a collaborator in the worst kind of corruption. Everyone—including the Americans—knows that some Americans are involved. Everyone knows that many Vietnamese clerks are corrupt, that Filipino and Korean PX assistants often are in cahoots with their friends. Therefore, because of the PX and the commissary, the average Vietnamese believes the Americans to be corrupt.

The PX foul-ups and the sale of millions of dollars of PX products in the black market seemed almost petty compared to what turned up later.

I was walking along the Saigon River with my old friend Tran Trong Hoc. A former police official in Hanoi, when it was under French rule, Tran is sort of a retired mandarin who sits back, observes everything, listens to the rumors and gossip, reads the papers, and watches the ever-present power struggle in Vietnamese politics. He has children and grandchildren all over Southeast Asia. Some are employed by the South Vietnamese Government, some by the American Government, and some by the National Liberation Front. Several are in business. Tran Trong Hoc is a miniature Central Intelligence Agency. This for him is only a pastime, a hobby. And yet when I remarked on the danger implicit in his hobby, he smiled and said slowly, "What else can an old man do to help his country?"

During the 1950's Tran spent 18 months in Los Angeles, studying American police techniques. While there he learned the American way of life, and he takes delight in using American slang as much as possible when he is with his friends.

We walked north, past the German hospital ship which is West Germany's humanitarian contribution to Vietnam. Tran told me that the hardworking German doctors and nurses unwittingly are contributing to a crooked racket. All charity patients must have a "permit" to visit the foreign ship. For this they must pay a "tax" to a police organization. Actually, no Vietnamese gets on board unless he is a friend or relative of an important official, or has the money to bribe his way by paying the "tax." The same racket was applied to the American hospital ship, the SS *Hope*, when it was in Saigon. The visiting foreign physicians think they are doing good by helping the "people." In reality they are either treating or enriching the Vietnamese elite.

We saw several American freighters moored in the river. The nearest was a big gray cargo vessel. Her booms were swinging back and forth, and she was discharging cargo to barges alongside.

"That is the one we will watch," said Tran. "But it will be safer if we watch from my car. After all, we are spying. We are gathering intelligence. We are spooks. We want to see who cops the American military supplies. Standing here in the street, using binoculars, is asking for . . ." He drew his forefinger across his throat. We turned and walked back until we reached Tran's car—an old and beat-up Citroën, the front seat covered by an imitation leopard skin. The Citroën started quickly, and in a few minutes we were back by the river, parked about 500 feet from the wharf toward which the barges from the American freighter were headed.

"Those barges," said Tran, pointing, "belong to a Vietnamese company owned by a couple of Vietnamese generals. You Americans pay for the use of those barges. You Americans pay for the privilege of sending ammunition and food and war supplies to this country."

The barges approached the wharf. Standing on the dock were eight 5-ton trucks. Once they had been U.S. Army trucks, but now they were painted a slightly different shade of brown. The barges tied up at the wharf, and Vietnamese longshoremen began to carry the cargo off, loading it directly into the brown trucks.

"The United States pays the wages of those Vietnamese longshoremen," said Tran.

There were no American soldiers or civilian officials about, supervising and checking. I asked about this.

"The South Vietnamese Government has told the American Government to keep its nose out of something which is an internal affair."

I said angrily, "That cargo is American war matériel. The wooden crates are marked, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, ELECTRONICS, THIS SIDE UP. They come from the United States, and are paid for by U.S. citizens."

"Bill," said Tran, "the United States has no customs rights in Vietnam. You must understand that you are only guests here. That is your country's official attitude. Perhaps that's why there is no one here checking on these war supplies. Guests, you know, do not check up on the dishonesty of their hosts."

"But this is American equipment for American troops."

"Yes."

We continued to watch. It took about an hour to load the eight trucks with their 40 tons of American cargo.

The truck drivers clearly were restless. They kept looking at their watches and talking agitatedly among themselves.

Tran said, "Ordinarily time means very little to us. Therefore when Vietnamese drivers are nervous about a schedule, it means only one thing. They are about to go through V.C. territory. The V.C. are paid off to let a convoy come through at a specified time. If the convoy is early or late, the trucks might be blown up."

A Vietnamese Army Jeep, with a small Vietnamese flag flying on the left front fender, drove up to the wharf and stopped. A stout Vietnamese, about 35, dressed in khaki (but wearing no insignia), got out. He carried a new black leather briefcase, which he opened on the hood of the Jeep. The truck drivers clustered about him. To each of them the fat man gave a piece of paper. He talked intensely to the drivers, looking almost like a football coach instructing his team. Finally he nodded, and the drivers fanned out, moved quickly into the cabs of their big trucks, and started their motors. Each driver put his piece of paper into a plastic envelope which he then attached to the sunshade of his truck.

The fat Vietnamese in khaki nodded again.

The first truck started off, and the others fell in behind. The convoy left the river area and headed inland, moving slowly through town. We lost sight of them then, but Tran knows their route as well as their routine. Among his hundreds of friends and informants is one who rides regularly along this convoy route.

When the eight trucks carrying 40 tons of U.S. electronic equipment reach the Saigon-Bienhoa Highway, they are stopped by a Vietnamese guard accompanied by an American soldier. The drivers show their pieces of paper. The Vietnamese guard walks down the line, looking at each paper for a moment. He says something to the American soldier, who, after all, neither speaks nor reads Vietnamese and is dependent on his Vietnamese opposite number. The American says, "OK," and returns to the side of the road. The Vietnamese guard waves the convoy on.

The convoy moves on to Old Route 1, the highway that leads to Phnom Penh, Cambodia. It is only 50 miles to the border. The convoy keeps moving straight for Cambodia. Near Trang-Bang there are holes in the road where a military convoy was blown up by Viet Cong mines. Despite the presence of South Vietnamese and American troops, the Viet Cong are in absolute control of this stretch of land.

The drivers look at their watches. They steer around the holes in the road and speed up. Four times on the way the trucks are stopped by armed guards; four times they have their papers examined. Twice the armed guards are in South Vietnamese Army uniforms, and twice they are in the black pajamas of the peasants. The trucks finally reach their destination, Go Dau Ha, a village almost on the Cambodian-Vietnamese border, 50 miles and about two hours and 20 minutes from metropolitan Saigon.

The trucks pull up at a dirt road called Tu Xuong. At the intersection of this and an even smaller road called Van Lang is a rather large wooden house with a thatched roof. Armed South Vietnamese soldiers come from the house. One of them collects the pieces of paper from the drivers. He gives each a receipt in return. One of the soldiers bellows something. The drivers get out of the trucks. They go to a table by the side of the thatched house. Two women in black pajamas bring some lunch. It comes in a large blue bowl, and it smells like fish and garlic.

While the drivers are eating, a convoy of black-painted trucks arrives from the other direction—from Cambodia. The Cambodian trucks stop, and immediately a crew of laborers swarms from the rear of the thatched house. The cargoes of the two convoys are swapped. The American electronics gear goes to Cambodia, the cartons from Cambodia go into the Vietnamese trucks. Within half an hour the Vietnamese convoy is returning to Saigon, loaded with tons of Red Chinese merchandise. There is no attempt to disguise anything. Everything is marked clearly on the large cardboard cartons. The boxes contain toothbrushes, tooth powder, vitamins, imitation Parker fountain pens, and Thermos bottles, among other things.

Now it is three hours later. The trucks have reached Cholon, on the outskirts of Saigon. They park outside a block-square warehouse. The Chinese Communist products are carried inside. Several National Policemen stand by, watching. Inside the warehouse are big stacks of tires for Jeeps and other U.S. military vehicles. Piled up in the rear are hundreds of bags of U.S. cement (with the USAID markings on them) and hundreds of bags of U.S. rice. The warehouse belongs to a Chinese named Hop Tan.

That was what happened to the trucks with the 40 tons of U.S. military supplies. The story needs no further detail, but there is further detail, and it is of considerable importance.

The fat man in khaki who met the trucks at the Saigon wharf is from the office of the province police for Tay Ninh Province (which is on the Cambodian border). Every day he arrives at the wharf at least once to give pieces of paper to truck drivers. The papers are official documents which say that the materials in the trucks are being delivered to the South Vietnamese Intelligence Forces and that they are for the use of the Intelligence Forces.

Of course these materials are not going to the Vietnamese Intelligence Forces. They are going up the Old Route 1 to Go Dau Ha, or perhaps Ta Loc, or Nan Pi—all of which are gateways to Cambodia. Once there, the contents of the trucks are turned over to a Nationalist Chinese from Taipei, who represents an international black-market cartel.

Involved in the payoffs that make all this possible are high-ranking officials of the South Vietnamese Intelligence Forces, the Tay Ninh Province police, and of the diplomatic and administrative services in Saigon.

The entire operation is beautifully coordinated among the various South Vietnamese Government agencies.

Certain officials of the port of Saigon know which American ships and what American cargoes will be coming to Saigon. These officials control the unloading. Perhaps two weeks before an American freighter arrives in Saigon, the contents of the American vessels have been broadcast among various possible customers. There are many—the Viet Cong, the North Vietnamese, sometimes Red China, perhaps a middleman in Hong Kong, or any nation in the world that needs the cargo and is willing to pay a high-enough price.

According to a Filipino source, Israel was one of the black-market customers in the summer of 1967. She desperately needed the 175-mm. howitzer shells that only the United States was making in considerable numbers. They cost about $400 each. The howitzer shells, designated for the U.S. Army in Vietnam, were diverted via Manila. And from Manila the shells were transported, by a different ship, to Israel.

Who handles these deals?

There are many people. After all, the corruption under discussion here is a multibillion-dollar operation. But in order of profit and numbers, the following are involved:

1. South Vietnamese generals and officials.
2. South Vietnamese businessmen who are friends of the Vietnamese in official power.
3. The National Liberation Front (Viet Cong).
4. American black-market operators.
5. North Vietnamese agents.
6. Nationalist Chinese businessmen, both in Vietnam and in Taiwan.
7. Korean troops, businessmen and officials.
8. Filipino troops, businessmen and officials.

In other words, just about everyone plunders the United States war effort in Vietnam.

"You are an old friend, and we are here at a family celebration, so I will tell you what I think is the truth. We professors call your diplomats and generals 'The Groveling Americans.' They would kiss the backside of a North Vietnamese carpetbagger like General Ky—at noontime in front of the Parliament Building—rather than take a chance of offending the Vietnamese. . . ." (Professor Vo Van Kim after a few glasses of rice wine on the occasion of his 70th birthday.)

Tragically, American officials are afflicted with a paralysis which has made it impossible for them to force the South Vietnamese Government to eliminate corruption. They are afraid of offending the Vietnamese. Because of this helplessness, the Vietnamese treat us with scorn and contempt. They humiliate us at every opportunity—of which there are many. Thus American self-esteem is diminished, and "doormat diplomacy" develops. Efficiency is wrecked.

Here are a few examples of the kind of humiliations heaped upon the United States by her ally, and some examples of just how these humiliations have contributed to our disgraceful performance in Vietnam.

There is a large U.S. air base in South Vietnam which, to protect one of its officers, I will not identify. At this base, one hot Monday morning, the medical officers of all services met for a special conference. Two subjects were on the agenda: (1) the shortage of broad-spectrum antibiotics, and (2) a mysterious disease.

A serious skin infection had appeared among an increasing number of patients of a young Air Force doctor. It had immobilized its victims, and he hoped that his seniors could give him some help. None could, but all reported similar outbreaks in their units.

As a result of the meeting, a public-health team was flown in and an exhaustive investigation undertaken. Laboratory technicians found, on the men's clothing, several different types of fungi and bacteria hostile to the human skin. The dermatitis was traced to the home laundries run by a local Vietnamese company. The clothes were being washed by hand by Vietnamese women. The cold water these laundrywomen used was contaminated by human sewage, some of which carried intestinal parasites.

The military doctors and the public-health personnel ordered the Vietnamese laundrywomen to boil their water, gave them a water purifier and demonstrated how to use it. The managers of the laundries said their employees understood and would comply. Nevertheless, the washerwomen continued to wash clothes in cold, contaminated water, and the troops continued having skin ailments.

One of the service officers on the base—Col. John Adams, I'll call him—found a solution to the problem. Adams negotiated with a non-Vietnamese commercial firm to come to the base and set up a modern laundry. In about six weeks the laundry was operating. The skin-ailment epidemic stopped. The troops now were getting two-day (instead of five-day) laundry service, with the clothes not only sterilized but pressed.

Everyone was grateful for Colonel Adam's initiative. Everybody, that is, except the Vietnamese laundry people, the Vietnamese Army officers and the Vietnamese prostitutes—a combination strange to the Americans but reasonable by local custom.

The South Vietnamese military junta controls or has a finger in almost every form of business in Vietnam. The laundering dry-cleaning and clothes-mending for U.S. troops is about a $120-million-a-year business. Vietnamese officials get a kickback from every washerwoman, laundry operator and tailor who serves foreign troops. Thus, when Colonel Adams established a modern laundry run by outsiders, he automatically stripped the South Vietnamese leaders of their very considerable profits.

The prostitutes got into the act by a less direct route. As soon as the new laundry began operating, there was a sharp drop in the sale of laundry powder at the PX. The Vietnamese laundry managers had been getting their laundry powder from the PX via the troops. For every 10 boxes of soap powder delivered from the PX to the Vietnamese laundry, the men received a coupon usable at some of the better brothels. With the coming of the modern laundry, business fell off.

A few weeks after the new laundry began operating, Col. John Adams received an order from his superiors. The Vietnamese corps commander in Adams's area had complained about the establishment of the new laundry because it had put Vietnamese women out of work. Therefore, said the order to Colonel Adams, if he could not find equal sources of revenue for the Vietnamese women, he would have to shut down the new laundry and give the laundry contracts back to the local Vietnamese.

Colonel Adams was not happy at the idea

of becoming an employment agent for washerwomen and a middleman for Vietnamese racketeers. He went into a rage over the fact that the welfare of perhaps 100 Vietnamese washerwomen and perhaps 200 Vietnamese prostitutes was considered more important than the health of thousands of American servicemen assigned to combat duty on behalf of the Vietnamese. But Colonel Adams is intelligent and practical. He realized that he had no choice. The ex-washerwomen were employed as messengers; they picked up the soiled clothes at the barracks, took them to the new laundry, and later delivered the clean clothes. Their service was not needed; in fact, they slowed deliveries and increased laundry prices. But it was now possible to continue the new laundry and to keep the men healthy.

And it was now possible for the prostitutes near the U.S. base to keep up their business. Even though the Vietnamese laundries were not operating, the troops still had someone to whom they could give the laundry soap from the PX. They gave it to the ex-washerwomen, who, in return, produced the coupons for the brothels. Instead of being used for local laundry, the soap is now sold on the black market.

"Everything worked out OK in the end—at least our troops didn't get dermatitis any more," says Colonel Adams. "But it does make one realize that, if we are ever to win the war, the United States must defeat the South Vietnamese Government's racketeers. After that it will be a cinch to lick the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese. Man, then it would be a cinch!"

Only a small percentage of the more than half a million Americans in Vietnam are in combat. Therefore only a small percentage of them live in the field. The great majority, both military and civilian, are located in urban communities.

Thousands of Americans sleep in houses rented from the Vietnamese. Officially there is rent control. But rent control for American tenants is not enforced. This may not appear important. We have rent-control problems at home. But the way it happens in Vietnam illustrates the contempt the Vietnamese elite have for Americans, and it illustrates the self-humiliation—the "doormat diplomacy," the groveling—that so conspicuously marks the behavior of the Americans in Vietnam.

I inspected some of the houses rented from Vietnamese for the use of American personnel. The first was listed as a "two-bedroom villa." Upon entering it, I thought I must be in the wrong place. It smelled like a cesspool. The stench came from the sewage which backs up through the toilet every time there is rain. The sewage flows all over the floor, which is rotten, and remains between and under the boards. There were holes in the roof, each with a bucket underneath to catch the rain. One of the bedrooms was 10 feet by 12 feet. The other one was 8 feet by 8 feet. The kitchen had no stove. The refrigerator was an old-fashioned icebox that had no drain. It had to be bailed out.

The lease stated that any furniture or equipment brought in became the property of the owner of the house when the tenants moved out. The U.S. Government was paying $200-a-month rent for this pigpen—roughly three times the rent-control ceiling. The two-bedroom dump was occupied by eight American enlisted men. The landlord is a major in the South Vietnamese Army. The American officer whose men lived here complained about the house. His American superiors told him. "Keep quiet. The major is doing us a favor. He could raise the rent if he wanted to."

Three blocks away a South Vietnamese lieutenant colonel was building an apartment house. It was his personal, private venture. The cement, hardware and lumber had been stolen from the U.S. Government. The material, plainly marked, was in an open lot near the USAID building. American officers passed there daily.

Many of the new, large apartment houses in Saigon are owned by senior Vietnamese military officers. The building material used in them—much of it—is USAID goods intended for refugees. Some of the construction labor is done by South Vietnamese Army personnel. The U.S. Government does not complain. One USAID official told me. "At least it relieves the housing shortage. That's how I got my apartment."

The second rented house I looked at had four miniature bedrooms. It had one room that might be called a bath. It contained only a toilet bowl and a shower; the shower had only cold water. Two of the bedrooms each had a basin with cold water, so the house was designated by the Vietnamese as a "three-bathroom house." By Vietnamese zoning law, if a house has three bathrooms it can be designated as a hotel. If it is a hotel, the rent can be raised. This miserable shack was listed as a three-bathroom hotel, and the U.S. Government was paying $400 a month for it.

In Saigon I was invited to a pleasant three-bedroom home in a respectable residential area. It had a garden around it, an airy porch on two sides, and it was well furnished with tropical furniture. It was occupied by three embassy officials. The rent was $2,000 a month.

The rent-control law in Vietnam is a farce. The majority of rental contracts involve the U.S. Government; therefore, the U.S. Government is a party to violating the law—and a party to harming the Americans who reside in the overpriced units.

Everywhere in Vietnam the Americans permit themselves to be gouged and suckered. For example, the Vietnamese military establishment receives equipment which is denied to the American fighting forces.

"On this base, if we don't give the Vietnamese what they want," a supply officer told me, "they complain to Westmoreland that we are insulting them or wrecking the war effort. If I get a couple of such complaints against me, I'll get transferred and get a lousy fitness report."

He took me on a tour of the Vietnamese base. "See," he said, "the Vietnamese have plenty of fire extinguishers, lumber, Jeeps, forklifts and cement. But on our own base we don't even have fire extinguishers. If even a small fire started, we'd go up in flames. I am forced to give first crack at everything to the Vietnamese. Our boys come next—if there's anything left."

So many Jeeps and trucks are stolen from the U.S. military that there is a shortage of transport for our troops. The shortage is so acute that for some time now the American military has been renting its own stolen Jeeps from black-market operators at $250 a month.

In Danang, one of the Vietnamese administrative officials very popular with Americans is an officer in the South Vietnamese Army. He speaks fluent English. He gives parties and flatters the American officers, arranges "entertainment" for them. In return for this he expects no interference from Americans in the local black-market operation. This official requested that the U.S. military pave many of the streets of Danang. He requested that the whole shoreline along the river be strengthened and shored up. The U.S. military did this for him. But of course this Vietnamese official allows Vietnamese landlords to violate the laws and overcharge the military for its housing. The landlords give him a cut.

Several years ago, when there was a terrible rice shortage in Vietnam, the United States sent shiploads of rice to Saigon—on a high-priority basis. But the unloading of the ships was so slow that sometimes they stayed at anchor as long as 40 days. One of them had taken in water in a storm. The rice was spoiling because of the dampness. The captain said if his cargo wasn't unloaded quickly his rice would go bad. The American Government requested that the ship be unloaded. (The priority of cargoes that come ashore in Vietnam is the prerogative of the Vietnamese.) Even though the ships are American and the cargoes are donated by the United States, the ships' cargoes are brought ashore on Vietnamese lighters (for which America must pay a charge) and there they are unloaded by Vietnamese longshoremen.

The Department of Supplies for Vietnam turned down the request from the American Government to unload the rice ship—even though the country was close to famine in some areas. Instead, it gave orders that ships carrying Honda motor scooters be given first priority for unloading.

A high official in the Department of Supplies received a five-percent kickback on every Honda landed in Vietnam. The U.S. Embassy and the U.S. military knew about this. I asked an Army colonel why we didn't do something. He looked at me with puzzlement. "How could we do anything? It's their country, isn't it?"

American economists have spent much time advising the Vietnamese on how to stay economically healthy. They recommend all kinds of measures to prevent inflation, to keep the piaster stable and to safeguard government funds. Despite all this counsel and American supervision, the Government bank of Vietnam does as it pleases. It usually disregards American advice.

At one time the Vietnamese Government funds were deposited in many banks throughout the world. This was to safeguard the security of the funds. But now much of the money has been withdrawn and placed in just a few banks.

I asked the Vietnamese economist who told me about this why the Government bank had done such a thing. He replied, "It wasn't so silly for certain officials who received kickbacks, or shall I say 'favors,' from people connected with the 'preferred' banks. It is no accident that these officials are rich men."

The many thousands of Vietnamese who are employed by the United States are paid in piasters. The hundreds of millions of dollars paid by the United States to Vietnam for the rent of land and buildings and other services are paid in piasters. To get these piasters the United States gives dollars to the Vietnamese Government, which converts them to piasters—which the United States will pay out. But the rate of exchange which the United States gets is artificial—about 80 piasters to the dollar instead of the free-market rate of 160 piasters to the dollar. In short, Uncle Sucker is paying twice as much as he should for everything.

In South Vietnam there are more than four million refugees and displaced persons. A great number of them are refugees because their villages have been destroyed by U.S. bombs or artillery fire, and the United States pays compensation for their homes and property. Assistance to the unfortunate villagers is sent frequently by CARE and AID.

Such money and supplies are supposed, of course, to go to the Vietnamese whose property has been damaged or destroyed. But in questioning approximately 100 Vietnamese in two widely separated sections of South Vietnam, I was unable to find a single instance in which a Vietnamese family had received the money. The consensus was that the money went into the pockets of Vietnamese officials.

Personal-injury money is a compensation paid by the United States if an individual is wounded or killed by accident. The money goes to the individual or to his family, and is known as solatium money.

"Oh, everyone knows," said a Vietnamese woman, "that the Americans give the money to the officials, but it never reaches the people.

"My brothers is a clerk in the Army. He said that whenever his officers need money, they go to the Americans with a solatium claim which they make up. It is easy—they mention the name of a town where a big shell or bomb has dropped, and hand in

a list of names of people killed or hurt. Sometimes the Americans send an interpreter to check on the accident. But the interpreter gets money from the Vietnamese officials. So he says the claim is true. It is only the Marines who sometimes insist on personally inspecting the bodies and the damages. That is why the Army interpreters hate the Marines."

I asked for evidence of cheating for solatium money, and was told about a district chief in Quang Nam Province. I investigated, and got this story first-hand from the Marine officer involved.

One day the district chief, Major Hao, came into the field-command office of a U.S. Marine Corps lieutenant colonel.

"Colonel," he said, "I've come to collect solatium money for the five villagers who were accidentally killed the other day over by the river."

"How were they killed, and by whom?" asked the Marine.

The Vietamese officer unrolled a map and put his finger on it. "Your Marines were dropping mortars in here, and some of them fell on the outskirts of the hamlet, killing three men and two women. This is in my district, and I have come to collect the money for the families."

"Three men and two women? When did it happen?"

The Vietnamese major told the Marine, who knew that at approximately the date and time given the Marines had been firing in that general direction at what they thought was a guerrilla concentration.

The Marine said, "Let me see the bodies."

"They are outside in my Jeep."

They walked outside. In the back of the Jeep were five bodies, well wrapped in sacking.

The Marine said, "Major, put the bodies on the ground and cut open the cloth."

"Oh no," said the Vietnamese major. "They are all bloodied and mutilated by the shrapnel."

"Put them on the ground and cut open the cloth. I want to look at them."

"Colonel, I assure you, you don't want to look at them. They are mangled and mutilated, with stomachs and chests blown open, and with heads smashed. And putrefaction has set in."

The Marine unloaded the bodies from the Jeep and laid them on the ground. Taking out his pocketknife, he cut the wrappings away.

They were the bodies of five men. There were no women. None of the bodies was mutilated or bloodied. In each of the men was one bullet hole. Obviously these individuals had been killed by rifle fire.

Without saying a word, the Marine lifted the bodies and put them back into the Jeep. He took the Vietnamese major's elbow and pushed him into the front seat.

"Major," said the Marine, "if you wish to collect solatium money for dead Viet Cong, I suggest you go and collect it from the headquarters of the National Liberation Front, not from the U.S. Marines. Now get the hell out of here."

Major Hao drove away.

My old shipmate, Chief Photographer's Mate O'Leary—a fictitious name—was going to take me on a tour of Saigon night life. But when O'Leary showed up at 7:30 p.m., he was in uniform and carried cameras. "I got a duty assignment this evening," he said, "but I don't have to leave for a few minutes yet."

"Chief," I said, as we walked about. "I've noticed that the South Vietnamese seem to be making a good thing out of kicking us around. What's the story?"

"It's humiliating," he said. "They lead us around like cattle. And we're so ashamed of our own groveling that everyone lies about it. All the brass—civilian and military—are scared of the South Vietnamese, scared of stepping on their toes. If by chance any of us complain about it, the brass is quick to remind us that we are guests here." O'Leary added, "We're guests, all right. Paying guests."

He pointed at a big generator on the sidewalk. "That generator provides electricity for this building, which has quarters and offices used by our armed forces. It's our building, on lease from the Vietnamese. We pay rent for it. Well, we make our own electricity, because the power supplied by the Vietnamese is unreliable. But we run our cables through their meter, and we have to pay the South Vietnamese what the meter reads at the end of the month. We have to pay *them* for the electricity *we* generate."

"How come?"

"The Vietnamese say they'll throw the United States out of the building if we don't comply. What's more, if we pay without a squawk and everything goes smoothly all up and down the line, some colonel or general gets a commendation for 'unselfish devotion to duty and cooperation' when his tour in Vietnam is up."

O'Leary pointed to a U.S. Army truck. "See that license plate? Well, the U.S. Government pays the Vietnamese the fee for that plate—on the truck we send out here to fight their war with. The Vietnamese will hold up the delivery of the truck until the license fee is paid." O'Leary went on. "Go look for yourself. We invite the Vietnamese to kick us around. We almost have big signs tattooed on our foreheads, saying, 'I am an American. Please kick me around.' Well, damn it all, I've got to go on duty now."

"I thought you had the day shift."

The chief spat in the street. "The Vietnamese Officers' Club is having a party. One of them is getting married. They've got plenty of photographers of their own, but they put in a request for an American photographer. And I'm the guy who got stuck."

"Do you make pictures of the parties for American officers?"

"Hell no," said O'Leary. "That's illegal. It's supposed to be illegal to do it for the Vietnamese Officers' Club also. But you know how it is in Vietnam. When a Vietnamese says jump—then, baby, the Americans jump."

Maj. Tom Smoot, USAF (not his real name), call himself "an honest cop who happens to be in the Air Force." He is heavyset, almost stout. He speaks slowly, walks quickly, and has a reputation among the men as a square shooter. In civilian life he was the police chief of an American city of about 20,000. At Danang he was one of the provost marshals.

At the Air Base in Danang where Major Smoot was stationed, the U.S. Air Force has many out-of-doors storage depots—areas of land jammed with supplies and surrounded by high fences. The gates are always locked except when supplies go in or out. There is always a guard; in most instances he is not an American. In the following incident, the guard was Chinese.

This particular outdoor storage depot contained thousands of cases of supplies. Over a period of two weeks it was observed that stacks of cases were disappearing. The thefts were mentioned to the U.S. Air Force provost marshal, Maj. Tom Smoot.

The next evening Major Smoot hid his men outside the depot. Shortly after midnight, a large South Vietnamese Air Force truck drove up. The Chinese guard unlocked the gate. The truck drove in. The Vietnamese crews loaded the truck with goods belonging to the United States Air Force. When the truck was full, the Vietnamese lieutenant in charge of the working party handed an envelope to the Chinese depot guard.

When the South Vietnamese Air Force truck had moved outside the compound, Major Smoot gave a signal. Floodlights illuminated the truck, and U.S. Air Force policemen surrounded it. The truck and its contents were confiscated. Pictures were made of the truck and the Vietnamese with it. The Vietnamese were taken to jail. The Chinese guard, who had an envelope with 10,000 piasters in it, was jailed.

Within the hour, Major Smoot received a phone call from the South Vietnamese airbase deputy commander demanding that his men be released immediately. Major Smoot refused. By morning the South Vietnamese air-base commander had received a report of what had happened—along with pictures.

The next afternoon the South Vietnamese air-base commander made an official protest to the U.S. Air Force commander: "You have again exceeded your authority. Your provost marshal arrested innocent men who were transporting food to Vietnamese soldiers—on duty.

"Your provost marshal does not know that he is forbidden to meddle in the affairs of my command. I could get along with your former provost marshal, who understood about these things. I trust you will take appropriate corrective action."

The South Vietnamese commander summoned the U.S. Air Force commander, and in personal conversation made it plain that the U.S. Air Force should get rid of the provost marshal who had arrested the South Vietnamese airmen. After all, the U.S. Air Force was on the base only as a guest.

The U.S. commander explained that the provost marshall had only two months to go before returning to the United States. This satisfied the South Vietnamese commander, but he said he would put in a claim for compensation for the inconvenience and insult his men had suffered by being arrested on false charges.

Several miles outside Danang there is a mountain. On this mountain is perhaps $15 million worth of U.S. Air Force equipment—equipment that is secret in nature.

But the United States of America does not own or lease this mountain. It had to get permission from the Vietnamese to build its installation there. The mountain is controlled by a Vietnamese Army officer, a major. There is nothing the U.S. Air Force can do on this mountain without getting this major's permission on a day-to-day basis. And whatever the major wants, even if it is contrary to U.S. war interests, the major usually gets.

In early 1967 the Air Force was building a transmitter near the top of this mountain. A large concrete base was laid on which to erect a tower. But as soon as the concrete foundation was completed, the Vietnamese major called on the U.S. Air Force commander. The major said that he had always wanted a summer home on the mountain. In fact, he wanted it exactly where the new concrete foundation had been poured, and he wanted a home almost precisely the size and shape of the new foundation.

The U.S. Air Force commander objected. The major said he wanted that concrete base for his summer home; unless this was arranged, he would not give permission for the Air Force to continue erecting its electronic units on the mountain. The Air Force commander held consultations with his superiors, both in Danang and Saigon. It was suggested to him by American headquarters in Saigon that "for political reasons it is expedient to cooperate."

The U.S. Air Force built the major a home on the concrete base and furnished it—and it supplies the labor to maintain the house and the grounds.

The major has decreed that all personal services for American airmen on the mountain will be done by Vietnamese. The charges of these cooks, servants, tailors and barbers to the personnel of the U.S. Air Force are about twice those for similar services on other bases around Danang. When queried about this, the barbers said frankly, "We have to give half the gross to the major. That's why the prices are double."

There is nothing the U.S. Air Force can do about it. They have instructions to

knuckle under. Whatever the Vietnamese want from the United States, the United States will give them. After all, "We are guests here."

POLICY STATEMENTS OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to three excellent policy statements recently made by the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy]. The statements deal, in a constructive and highly imaginative fashion, with our national welfare program, with poverty area business development, and with the national economy generally. In each of the papers, the proposals for far-reaching and constructive solutions which Senator Kennedy puts forward deserve the closest attention of the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that the statements be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A Program for a Sound Economy

(Statement of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, May 12, 1968)

The inner strength of the American economy pushes the nation's output and employment upward to new levels, but inflationary pressures and the balance of payments problem could create an economic crisis of major proportions within the next year. Three obstacles to our prosperity are of considerable importance:

1. Inflation and the Budget Deficit.
2. Balance of Payments Deficit.
3. Declining ratio of productivity to labor costs.

We must have an economic program that will avoid the grave risks to our prosperity inherent in each of these areas. The objectives of that sound economic program are shared by all:

High employment in a context of greater price stability.

Rising output per man hour.

An increasing trade surplus.

And a reformed system of international exchange in which reserves grow with expanding world trade.

We should attempt to achieve these goals along with the following:

The declining defense outlays that would be made possible by a settlement in Vietnam.

Increases in expenditures for domestic programs of benefit to our people.

An easing of monetary policy, with lower interest rates.

Our economic policy must reflect our social goals—the prosperity we build must be shared by all Americans. This is a program to make our economy sound, strong and able to meet the needs of all our citizens:

First, maintain full employment without inflation by coordinating fiscal, monetary and foreign policies. That means prompt action to moderate the pace of the economy by:

A moderate increase in individual and corporate income tax—ensuring that this tax rise does not bear too hard on families with modest incomes or on small businesses.

Controls on expenditures in non-essential defense, in space, in SST development, in those public works and highway projects which involve site acquisition and other special costs out of all proportion to their employment benefit—but no reduction of expenditures for education, health, housing, urban development and job programs.

An expectation that the Federal Reserve Board would respond by easing monetary policy, and a readiness to make special provisions to ensure a steady supply of money for home financing.

A willingness to withdraw the tax increase if it exerts too much restraint on the economy or if we are successful in our efforts to end the war in Vietnam. In passing a tax increase Congress should give the President standby power to make this adjustment in fiscal policy—subject to approval or rejection by the Congress. President Kennedy made such a proposal for a more flexible fiscal policy in 1962—Congress ought to adopt it now.

At the same time greater emphasis must be placed on long-term policies to stabilize the economy:

The government must adjust its own policies to exert a stabilizing influence on the economy: to insure that minimum wage increases are consistent with a policy of full employment; to insure that wage increases for public employees are not self-defeating in their inflationary effect; to insure that procurement practices encourage pricing that is not inflationary.

Business and labor must work out their own wage and price levels, but show statesmanship—so that excessive demands or efforts to get the last bit of profit out of an overheated economy do not fuel the wage-price spiral.

Our policies must recognize the importance of increasing productivity as a cost reducing program. In 1967 output per man-hour increased only 40% as much as the average annual gain from 1960–1966, and new investment rose only 1½% compared to gains of 14% in 1965 and 18% in 1966. Private industry must be stimulated to develop new products and new methods of production through technological research. Government should undertake a thoroughgoing review of its contracting policies in order to encourage modernization as a means of reducing prices and increasing profits.

We must promote labor mobility—from one skill level to another in order to allow realization of the benefits of new technology and open new job opportunities for the unemployed and the under-employed; and from one part of the country to another in order to insure that spot shortages and surpluses of labor—now prevalent—are avoided. Realizing these goals involves assisting workers to improve their skills and get a better job; breaking down barriers to entry into all trades and all professions; modernizing placement services to provide instant information and recruitment for job openings in different parts of the country; and exploring ways to insure that pension rights are not sacrificed as a consequence of accepting a better job.

Our policies must promote competition in order to pass on the benefits of productivity to consumers.

The government must do more to provide full information on economic developments and trends in order to facilitate business planning and movements of labor and capital.

Second, reduce the balance of payments deficit and act to reform the international monetary system:

By pressing for multilateral action to create a reserve currency than can grow with expanding world trade. This is essential if speculation against the dollar is to be controlled; and if there is to be an international monetary system which is able to make allowances for deficits and surpluses. World trade has increased from $50 billion in 1950 to $200 in 1967, and continues to grow by 5–7%, each year. The world supply of gold increases only 2% a year and the demands of private industrial consumers have prevented any increase in gold reserves. The implementation of Special Drawing Rights is a constructive step toward reform of international money and the Congress should give prompt approval to SDR's—but we should not stop there. Trade is so important that the nations of the world can no longer rely on a single commodity whose value is determined by supply and demand. We must have a reserve currency responsive to the requirements of orderly world economic development.

Reform of the international monetary system is an important step, but it will not cure America's balance of payments problem. It is important, too, that we end the war in Vietnam—which accounts for nearly $2 billion of last year's $3.7 billion deficit—although that will not end the payments deficit. In the last 10 years the United States has accumulated deficits amounting to $25–30 billion. And the dollar holdings of foreign banks have increased correspondingly. They are less and less willing to continue to increase their dollar holdings and are more likely to demand gold instead—a situation which could cause us great difficulty. We must reduce the imbalance by action to:

1. Eliminate unnecessary military expenditures abroad, not just by pressing our effort to deescalate the war in Vietnam, but by reassessing our troop commitments in other parts of the globe. Press for mutual action with the Soviet Union to reduce the number of troops in Europe.

2. Promote American exports abroad by further multi-lateral action to remove existing barriers to trade. From 1962–1967 imports rose 63.6%; and the value of exports increased only 47.5%. In the first three months of this year, imports rose in value by 20.5% over the first quarter of 1967, while exports rose less than 5%—and in March the three-month figures showed a trade deficit of $158 millon the first in five years. We have consistently run a trade surplus of from 5 to 8 billion dollars, and we need to restore that surplus to offset deficits in other accounts including lending and investment abroad, travel, military expenditures and foreign aid.

3. Stimulate foreign travel in the United States; restrictions on Americans traveling abroad are neither economically sound nor socially desirable.

4. Avoid undue and short-sighted restrictions on the flow of private capital abroad, because productive investment eventually returns substantial income to the United States. An effort should be made to encourage investment in the less developed countries of the world—investment that benefits the economic development of the host country rather than simply extracts its natural resources.

5. Make our products competitive in world markets by controlling inflation at home, stimulating investment in research and development that can increase productivity and reduce prices.

Third, we must undertake major reform of our tax laws to assure that all Americans share equitably in the cost of government, and to assist in raising the revenues necessary to meet the challenges which confront America.

We must reexamine those provisions that permit many Americans to escape their fair share of the tax burden, including:

The oil depletion allowance and immediate write-off of intangible drilling costs—which cost the Treasury $2 billion a year.

The exemption of income on state and local bonds—for two-thirds of these securities are held by persons with income in the top one percent of all taxpayers; the tax exemption costs twice as much as a direct subsidy to local governments to meet the added cost of marketing taxable securities; and the exemption reduces tax revenue about $1.8 billion a year.

The failure of the law to impose a tax on the appreciation in property passed at death—an omission that costs the government an additional $3 billion a year.

This effort at reform is complex and difficult, and will take time. But there is at least one matter of reform which is relatively simple and would end the flagrant situations of tax avoidance.

That is a *minimum income tax*, a minimum percentage which would prevent the wealthy from continuing to escape taxation completely. We might, for example, require all who earn over $50,000—in ordinary income, in tax exempt interest in capital gains and so on—to pay at least 20% of that income in taxes. This is not a complex proposal. It is just and fair. It should be enacted now. At the same time we can begin to work for a general tax reform—so our tax system is equitable and efficient, and capable of producing the revenue required to meet our needs.

Fourth, the resources of private enterprise must be enlisted in the effort to meet the needs of 29 million Americans living in poverty—

By granting tax benefits to companies that provide jobs for men without work, so that the economy can take advantage of the productive potential of more than 5 million unemployed and underemployed.

By granting tax benefits to those who will build housing where it is most needed.

By providing credit for businesses locating facilities in or near poverty areas.

By assisting private enterprise in securing adequate insurance for their plants and equipment.

Fifth, we must institute a simple technique to supplement federal grant-in-aid programs and return a portion of federal tax revenues to local communities so that needed services in fields like education, health, and job development and training can be provided without undue federal red tape and necessary decisions made to a greater extent at the local level. We can begin to do this by taking 1% of taxable personal income and returning it to local communities according to a formula based on population and state-local tax effort. The federal government should set guidelines for the use of these funds—not detailed regulations, as under present grant-in-aid programs, but over-all policy goals. The federal government should retain general supervisory power over plans for the use of the money, but the local communities must have control in deciding how to develop the facilities and services needed by all of their citizens.

THE ECONOMY AFTER VIETNAM

Peace in Vietnam will bring great economic opportunity at home. But we must be prepared to make the adjustments necessary in our economic policy.

Over eighteen months arms spending can probably be reduced by $15–$20 billion. A recent study suggested this will mean a loss of 1.5 million jobs, but the same study suggests that we can create 1.7 million new jobs by appropriate public policy decisions. This should involve a two-fold program: stimulate demand by a tax reduction, thereby creating employment; and at the same time increase spending on programs of social benefit, which also stimulates economic growth and creates jobs.

The great resources which have devoted to Vietnam—public and private—must be directed to meet the pressing needs of our people for jobs, for quality educations, for better housing and adequate food; funds should be allocated in greater proportion to improve our environment by attacking pollution in the air and water, restoring the beauty of open spaces, improving the comfort and efficiency of transportation systems. The resources of government and private enterprise must be mobilized for peace—to improve the lives of all people.

We should expect an easing of monetary policy with lower interest rates. In this way, housing construction and industrial investment in new products can be stimulated in order to meet the demand created by the return of 900,000 servicemen to civilian life. This demand will help the economy adjust to the post-war period without a decline in prosperity.

We should be prepared to expand programs of job retraining, relocation, and low interest loans to assist adjustment in areas dependent on defense spending. Workers will need assistance to find new jobs; and industry will need help in switching its resoures from war production to the products necessary to rebuild American communities. We should begin now to inform industry and labor of their opportunities to invest in consumer areas.

We must re-examine all of the government programs which transfer resources to the less fortunate to determine whether our investment is being administered as efficiently as it might be and whether it is bringing the greatest return in human dignity and productivity and the greatest contribution to the nation's economy. Our review of transfer payments should be guided by some basic principles: that the availability of productive employment is the most dignified and most economic means of assisting those in need; that need alone should be a sufficient reason for assistance regardless of whether the assistance takes the form of employment or any kind of transfer payments; that minimal standards should be established nationwide to assure that no individual or family falls below the poverty line; that any assistance plan must provide incentives to work, to increase earning capacity of the family. For four fundamental goals must be to ensure that all Americans share in our increasing prosperity.

We should be aware that with cooperative effort, the transition can be made without the jarring economic effects that have followed other wars.

Solutions to the Problems of Welfare

(Statement of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, May 19, 1968)

Perhaps the area of our greatest domestic failure is in the system of welfare—public assistance to those in need. There is a deep sense of dissatisfaction—among recipient and government alike—about what welfare has become over the last 30 years, and where it seems to be going.

Welfare is many things to many people. To the recipient it may be the difference between life and starvation, between a house and homelessness, between the cold wind and a child's coat. To the tax payer, facing inflation in the cost of living, paying for his home and educating his children, welfare may be an unwarranted imposition on an already overburdened tax bill. To certain politicians, willing to oversimplify and confuse the issue, it may be a means to easy popularity.

What really is welfare?

There are about 29 million Americans on poverty. About one fourth of them receive some sort of public assistance; the others must fend for themselves. The average person on welfare receives $89 if blind and $80 if disabled. Dependent children receive $39 a month on a national average; but that average means that children receive $60 a month in New York—and $8.35 a month in Mississippi. No state provides welfare payments which add up to recognized subsistence levels.

Even at these minimal levels, however, the bill for public assistance has been spiralling upward at an increasingly rapid rate.

At the beginning of this fiscal year, there were about 4.5 million people receiving federal aid to dependent children. There are now well over 5.2 million—an increase of nearly 700,000 or 13 percent in just a few months. In New York City, with over half a million names already on the ADC rolls, 7 to 10 thousand more are added every month. In California, over 65 per cent of the 1.2 million welfare recipients are ADC families.

During fiscal 1967, the last year for which complete figures are available—the national bill for public assistance was nearly $5.5 billion: over $3 billion from the federal government and nearly 2.5 billion from state and local governments and the bill has risen since.

Of the nation's total welfare budget, $1 billion is spent in New York and an equal amount in California. And these totals will rise again as more and more people leave farms and dying small towns all over the country.

The bill is rising further everyday.

With all this enormous expenditure might we not expect that the recipient would be satisfied? Yet the fact is that they are not. They are as dissatisfied with the welfare system as is anyone in the U.S. They organize and protest and sit-in at welfare offices. Is this rank ingratitude—or is it an indication of how the welfare system has failed? For what are we to make of a system which seems to satisfy neither giver nor recipient—which embitters all those who come in contact with it?

The worst problem is in our very concept of welfare. Welfare began as a necessary program of assistance for those unable to work. But we have tried as well to make it the easy answer to the complex, but by no means insurmountable, problem of unemployment. Our society is full of men without work: two and a half million officially counted as unemployed; over a million and a half who can find only part time or occasional jobs; over half a million more who have become so discouraged that they no longer even look for work; and—especially in the black ghettos of the great cities—hundreds of thousands who have dropped from sight, without homes or families, unseen by all the computers and agencies of government.

These are men like other men. They marry and have children; or they do not marry, but have children just the same. In either case, they often leave home under the strain of joblessness and poverty. We have dealt with the resulting female-headed families not by putting the men to work but by giving the mothers and children welfare. They might have wanted fathers and husbands; we have given them checks. In fact, the welfare system itself has created many of these fatherless families—by requiring the absence of a father as a condition for receiving aid; no one will ever know how many men left their families to let them qualify for assistance so that they might eat, or find a place to live.

More basically, welfare itself has done much to divide our people—to alienate us one from the other. Partly this separation comes from the understandable resentment of the taxpayer, helplessly watching your welfare rolls and your property taxes rise. But there is greater resentment among the poor. The recipient of our charity. Some of it comes from the brutality of the welfare system itself: from the prying bureaucrat, the all-powerful administrator deciding at his desk who is deserving and who is not, who shall live another month and who may starve next week.

But the root problem is in the fact of dependency and uselessness itself. Unemployment means having nothing to do—which means nothing to do with the rest of us. To be without work, to be without use, to one's fellow citizens, is to be in truth the "invisible man" of whom Ralph Ellison wrote; as John Adams said a century and a half ago, "the poor man's conscience is clear; yet he is ashamed . . . He feels himself out of the sight of others, groping in the dark. Mankind takes no notice of him. He rambles and wanders unheeded. In the midst of a crowd, at church, in the market . . . he is in as much obscurity as he would be in a garret or a cellar. He is not disapproved, censured, or reproached; he is only not seen." Well might we conclude with Adams that "To be wholly overlooked, and to know it, is intolerable." So we have seen—all over the country.

We often quote Lincoln's warning that America could not survive half slave and half free. Nor can it survive while millions of our people are slaves to dependency and poverty, waiting on the favor of their fellow citizens to write them checks. Fellowship, community, shared patriotism—these essential values of our civilization do not come from just buying and consuming goods together. They come from a shared sense of individual independence and personal effort.

They come from working together to build a country and that is the answer to the welfare crisis.

The answer to the welfare crisis is work, jobs, self-sufficiency, and family integrity; not a massive new extension of welfare; not a great new outpouring of guidance counselors to give the poor more advice. We need jobs, dignified employment at decent pay; the kind of employment that lets a man say to his community, to his family, to the country, and most important, to himself—"I helped to build this country. I am a participant in its great public ventures. I am a man."

For this reason, the first domestic task of any administration must be, and the first priority of my administration will be to create jobs and put men to work: to take new steps, including the provision of tax incentives, to encourage private industry to hire the jobless, and to make the government the employer of last resort.

But if we are to take the necessary action, we must first rid ourselves of certain prevalent myths.

First is the myth that the creation of jobs would not reduce the growth of welfare roles.

I am aware, of course, that some government officials have contended that of the approximately 8 million welfare recipents only 50 thousand plus are able-bodied and employable men. The point, no doubt, was to show, and properly so, that welfare recipients are not simply idlers feeding at the public trough and that the vast majority of welfare recipients need help to survive. Another 4 million of the 8 million recipients are children, and 1 million are the mothers of these households. The children have a father somewhere; he is not counted on the welfare statistics because in most states he does not qualify for aid, and his family can qualify—and thus be included in the statistics—only if the father does leave home. So it is in no sense inevitable that those 4 million ADC children with their 1 million mothers—well over half the welfare rolls—should have ended up costing us what they do. If those fathers had had jobs, many might never have left their families. And if we provide jobs today, we can help hundreds of thousands of families from breaking up in the future. We can check—and perhaps even reverse—the disastrous present growth of the welfare system with its burdens on local property taxes and the lives of millions.

Second is the myth that the poor and unemployed do not want to work. All disinterested investigations—most recently the President's Riot Commission—have found that the unemployed do want to work. I myself have met and spoken with these men, white and Negro, from Watts to Eastern Kentucky, from Harlem to Atlanta; and without exception they have said, "No more welfare. Give us work." In California, in Oakland, there was a job fair about a year ago. Fifteen thousand men and youths came looking for jobs; there were jobs for 250. Of course there are those in America who do not want to work. But they are, I think, far more likely to be children of favored families than they are to be men and youths of the poor.

Third is the myth that the problems of welfare can be solved by slogans—by getting tough or cutting back, by making the system even more harsh and punitive than it now is. This is the myth that led the Congress last year, to adopt amendments, for example, restricting help to families which stay together, allowing states to force mothers to leave their children and placing an absolute limit in federal welfare payments. It helps nothing and no one to rail at and condemn welfare recipients, if there are no jobs for them to take. It will only leave a greater social problem to our own children, if we force millions of other children to grow up without fathers.

Fourth is the myth that all the problems of poverty can be solved by the ultimate extension of the welfare system to guarantee to all, regardless of their circumstances a certain income paid for by the federal government. Any such scheme, taken alone, simply cannot provide the sense of self sufficiency, of participation in the life of the community, that is essential for citizens of a democracy. At this time, it would have to be maintained at a very low level which would only make dependency and separation between our people more permanent. Indeed, there are some who not only explicitly advocate a guaranteed minimum income at an unlivably low level, but would cut other welfare assistance as well. Most of all, however, primary emphasis on a minimum income guarantee would postpone, perhaps until too late, a massive effort to create new jobs—an effort that we know is the only real solution to this problem. The McCone Commission—Kenneth Clark's pioneering HARYOU study, the White House Conference on Civil Rights, The National Commission on Automation and Technology and most recently the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders all have said that employment is "the major problem." Certainly, all the proposals for various systems for income maintenance deserve careful study. But if there is anything we have learned in the last three years, it is that we cannot do everything at once—that we must understand, establish, and adhere to a clear sense of national priorities. The priority here is jobs. To give priority to income payments would be to admit defeat on the critical battle front. And the worst thing we could do would be to pretend to the poor or to ourselves that we could give them a pittance to leave us alone.

Moreover, putting our primary emphasis on the guaranteed annual income would also be tremendously wasteful. Virtually every man represents potential labor that can make a real contribution to our society. With all the dilapidated housing in America, with the ravaged parklands and inadequate school buildings, with all this work to be done, how can we pay men to sit at home? Government transfer payments help those who receive them, with indirect benefits for the rest of us. But putting men to work is of immense direct benefit to themselves and to the entire country. A million unemployed men represent an investment in their feeding and care and education—just through their 18th year—of at least 30 billion dollars. Maintaining them and their families would mean another $3 billion dollars each year. If they do not work, all that investment is lost to us. But the employment of even half of them, even at minimal levels of productivity, would return $2 billion to society each year, and more as time goes on. It would build up equities in social security, union pension funds and insurance programs. It would, in short, help to build the nation. We need the productivity of these men—for themselves and for others.

Once, however, that we have begun to move toward real employment, it will be imperative to move toward an adequate system of assistance for those who truly cannot work to enable them to lead decent lives. The system should have these characteristics, among others:

It must be automatic, without the complex and complicated bureaucratic structure that now bedevils the welfare system—and which eats up as much as one-fifth of every welfare dollar.

It must be based on one criterion: need.

It must have national standards and not the state by state variations which now allow Mississippi to pay $55 welfare a month to a family of six.

It must contain substantial incentives for people to work if they can, rather than the present welfare system which virtually penalizes work.

The social services offered in association with it should not be segregated, but should also be available for an appropriate fee to people able to pay.

Meanwhile, it is urgently necessary to reform certain features of the present welfare system, as follows:

One, repeal the restrictive 1967 welfare amendments:

a) The freeze of federal aid for dependent children;

b) The requirement that mothers with small children leave home and go to work;

c) The restrictions on the program of aid to dependent children of unemployed fathers.

Two, enact a mandatory program of aid to dependent children whose fathers are unemployed and living at home (now implemented in only 22 states) and thereby repeal the man-in-the-house rule which has caused family after family to break up so that children can obtain assistance.

Three, enact federal minimum standards for welfare assistance to assure a floor of security for every citizen in need.

Four, raise the earnings incentive enacted last year so wages do more than essentially replace welfare payments and more welfare recipients will thereby be encouraged to go to work.

Five, make assistance available to men who work but do not earn even subsistence pay.

Six, assure a full and fair hearing before welfare assistance is cut off or refused, and assure that all rights to assistance are clear and enforceable.

Seven, simplify the process of applying for welfare to minimize degrading interrogations and investigations, and insure that recipients are treated with simple elementary dignity.

Eight, encourage the formation of client and advisory councils to assist in making the system responsive to recipients' needs and concerns.

Nine, provide simplified handbooks to welfare recipients so they know what services the law entitles them to.

Ten, employ more recipients and neighborhood residents as case aids and expeditors to help obtain assistance and service.

Eleven, encourage decentralization of administration in large cities and sparsely populated rural areas so help and assistance are easily available through neighborhood or area centers to those in need.

Twelve, expand day care centers so mothers who want to work can obtain care for their children, and employ neighborhood residents in the centers.

Nevertheless, the first priority is and must be jobs. Work is a mundane and unglamorous word. Yet it is, in a real sense, the meaning of what this country is all about—for those of us who live in affluent suburbs and for our children no less than for the children in the ghetto. Human beings need a purpose. We need it as individuals; we need to sense it in our fellow citizens; and we need it as a society and as a people.

We can achieve that purpose if we develop a system where there are jobs at decent pay for all who are able to work, and adequate assistance provided in a dignified way for those who are unable to work.

Kennedy Proposes Poverty Area Business Development Program

Senator Robert F. Kennedy today in the third of a series of policy statements, proposed a detailed two-part program of special long and short-term low interest loans and technical assistance to aid the establishment and expansion of business facilities in and near urban and rural poverty areas.

Kennedy's two earlier policy statements entitled "A Program for a Sound Economy" and "Solutions to the Problems of Welfare" were issued on May 12 and May 19, respectively.

Designed specifically to encourage the ownership and management of businesses by members of disadvantaged minority groups and residents of poverty areas, and to promote the expansion and establishment of new business in and near poverty areas, Kennedy's proposal supplements the Senate bill which he authored last year to provide tax credits and deductions for business locating in poverty areas and hiring low income and unemployed residents of those areas.

Drawing on the accomplishments and experience gained from New York's Bedford Stuyvesant project, which Kennedy inspired and helped organize in 1966, Kennedy said, "Bedford Stuyvesant has demonstrated that our slum areas can be rebuilt through local ownership, self-determination and cooperation.

"We must, if we are to solve the employment problems of the poor, create an economic climate in which business, especially those owned by members of disadvantaged minority groups and residents of poverty areas, will be able to establish new facilities and expand existing facilities in the centers of our cities and in the midst of our rural poverty areas."

"A new capital creation program is clearly needed. We must provide a mechanism which will break the cycle that turns capital away from businesses seeking to establish in poverty areas. In short, we must provide a flow of short term and long term loans to those businesses which will open and expand badly needed industrial and commercial enterprise and help turn these economic wastelands into areas of hope and opportunity.

"With these needs in mind, I propose two new programs which will directly attack the problem of increasing the flow of capital into poverty areas. Both are designed to create new jobs for the unemployed and underemployed. Both have received long, careful and detailed study.

"The first proposal would make long and short term credit available to any industrial or commercial enterprise including those owned by members of minority groups and poverty area residents, opening a new business or expanding an existing facility having nine or more employees, ⅔ of whom are poverty area residents. Loans would be made available from private lenders and the federal government, with federal interest subsidies and repayment guarantees up to 50% of the total loan. Short term loans would be subsidized up to 3% below the market rate for short term credit; long term loans at a rate 1% below federal borrowing costs.

"The second proposal, supplementing the first, is designed to promote the ownership of retail, commercial and industrial enterprise by members of minority groups and residents of poverty areas. Any new or expanding business, at least 30% of which is owned by such persons and which employs six or more persons, ⅔ of whom are poverty area residents would be eligible for special loan and technical assistance and would have first priority for direct federal loans. Federal loan guarantees would cover 90% instead of 50% of the total loan.

"Loan assistance to minority and resident owned business would be coupled with a technical assistance program which would help open up new business opportunities, seek out capital and provide counseling and management training to eligible borrowers and other poverty area businessmen.

"Long term credit will be provided through a New Fund administered by the Secretary of Commerce and coordinated with the Administrator of the Small Business Administration and the Secretary of Labor. The proposed New Fund will have a first year appropriation of $400 million, which will be increased by $150 million each year thereafter, reaching a maximum authorization of $1 billion.

"Short-term credit will be provided from Treasury Tax and Loan Accounts—tax and bond purchase payments made to the federal government which are then deposited in commercial banks throughout the country.

"These loan and technical assistance proposals and my tax incentive program proposed last July will not, of course, solve all the problems of poverty. They are important steps. They will offer a mechanism for bringing new business and jobs into our poorest areas. And they will help people on welfare get jobs so that welfare recipients will become economically self-sufficient and so that state and local tax revenues may be used for other needed tasks.

"But," Kennedy concluded, "they are but one part of the job we must begin. They must be joined with other equally important efforts.

"They must be combined and coordinated with present Federal education and manpower training programs. They must also be used in conjunction with other new programs which I have proposed and sponsored in the Senate—an emergency employment program to provide 2.4 million new jobs in public service and private enterprise and the housing program which I sponsored in 1967 to give tax incentives to private industry to build and rehabilitate housing for low income families.

"And most important, there must be full participation of community residents, through their own institutions, in the development and implementation of all projects. We must shape our government policies with the active participation of our citizens. What we must seek is not just greater programs, but greater participation—by putting our resources directly into the communities, both urban and rural, where the citizenry can determine how best to use those resources. If we accomplish this, we will have begun one of this Nation's great remaining tasks—to make this a land in which equal opportunities are a reality and not a promise, and in which the right to work at a meaningful job and the opportunity to participate fully in the American economy has significance for all Americans."

The full text of Senator Kennedy's statement, "A Business Development Program for Our Poverty Areas" follows.

A Business Development Program for Our Poverty Areas

No single problem underlies the poverty of our urban centers and rural backwaters. Poverty means inadequate educational systems which result in high-school drop-out rates often reaching nearly 70 percent. Poverty means inadequate health conditions which doom thousands of children before they even reach school age. Poverty means broken families and high crime rates. It means inadequate housing and inadequate social services. And it means going to school on an empty stomach and going to bed hungry.

But above all else, poverty means a lack of jobs. For a young man, it means being cut off from the ability to sustain himself and his family—from contributing to his community and his Nation. It means living without the dignity and pride that comes from working at a meaningful job paying a meaningful wage.

During the last 6 years, we have tried to solve this terrible problem. Almost every Congress has enacted another bill designed to put people to work: the Area Redevelopment Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Investment Credit Act, the Economic Development Act, and the Economic Opportunity Act. But despite all these efforts and despite the uninterrupted rise in prosperity experienced by the rest of the Nation:

More than 11 million working age Americans are either unemployed or have jobs which pay less than a living wage;

More than 4 million of our citizens cannot find jobs at all today, 750,000 of whom have given up looking;

For 2 million of these unemployed no jobs exist no matter what their qualifications and new jobs must be created for them;

In our urban slums unemployment is two and three times higher than in surrounding communities and the subemployment rate is as high as 45%;

In rural areas, where 14 million of our 29.7 million poor live, 800,000 American cannot find jobs.

But these dismal figures measure only the shortage of jobs. They fail to reveal the fact that to millions of Americans who sit in idleness and despair, participation in the *economic* life of their country, their state and their community is denied. It is not simply jobs that our unemployed lack. They also lack what the Kerner Commission called "a stake in the economic community"—the opportunity to own or manage a business. And this is especially true for minority groups:

Negroes own only 50,000, in terms of population, one tenth their proportionate share of businesses across the country.

In cities like Newark, with a majority of its population Negro, only 10% of the businesses are owned or managed by Negroes.

In Washington, D.C., where the population is 63% Negro, only 13% of the businesses are owned by Negroes.

One large corporation has reported that not one of its 7,000 subcontractors is Negro-owned or managed.

Most Negro business, except for a few moderate sized banks, insurance companies and publishing houses are marginal enterprises—small retail groceries, lunch counters, and small contractors which provide little income to their owners and have no opportunity to expand.

Similar problems exist for low and moderate income white residents of poverty areas.

Clearly then, our main focus must be on providing employment opportunities which will enable the residents of poverty areas to participate in the economic life of their community—a task which we have not yet begun nationwide, but which has already been demonstrated in one community.

In 1966 I helped organize in New York City's Bedford Stuyvesant area, a new joint venture between residents and the business community, with the support and assistance of local and state public officials from both parties. We have demonstrated there that meaningful social and economic change can be made in the country's most populous black community. Newsweek Magazine has called the Bedford Stuyvesant project "the most sweeping and comprehensive rehabilitation effort ever brought to bear on a single American community."

Some of the accomplishments in Bedford Stuyvesant to date illustrate the major changes that are taking place:

Community residents have worked out their own programs for jobs, housing rehabilitation, and educational advancement with financial help furnished by government and by some of America's largest corporations.

Two community corporations, the Restoration Corporation and the Development and Services Corporation, one controlled by residents and the other by some of the leading businessmen in the Nation, are working together on all phases of the project. They are developing, for example, local Negro-owned businesses and they have succeeded with assistance from the Federal Special Impact program in getting local franchises from community residents from national firms.

A $100 million commitment has been made by more than 80 banks and insurance companies to provide long term mortgage money which will reduce residents' monthly payments by as much as one-third.

A major corporation has announced plans to build a plant in the area to create 300 new jobs.

Labor unions have cooperated in training young men to work on housing rehabilitation projects.

A new community college will be established.

The community has its own television program—in effect, a community newspaper—twice a week.

All these efforts, and others in Bedford Stuyvesant have demonstrated that our slum areas can be rebuilt through local ownership, self determination and cooperation.

But new programs are needed—programs which will create new jobs, which will enable the hard core unemployed to fill existing job vacancies, and which will open new opportunities in private enterprise.

We must make it possible for urban ghetto residents to move out of the ghetto if they so choose. Jobs must be made available throughout our metropolitan areas and transportation assistance must be given to enable ghetto residents to travel to those jobs.

We must have an immediate emergency employment program, a program that I have cosponsored in the Senate providing jobs in public service with built-in training so that those on the job can move up career ladders. Public service employment is growing at nearly 4 or 5 times the rate of private employment. Major contributions can be made by community residents to meet the need for constructing and maintaining new community facilities and for improving our schools, libraries, hospitals and police forces.

We must also promote on-the-job training in existing private industry. This is now being undertaken with increased emphasis on the hard core. But direct subsidies of employer training costs, while helpful, are of limited value since alone, on-the-job training will not create new jobs. Unless private businesses can also expand existing establishments or build new facilities, the hard core and the unskilled person will simply replace another more qualified worker who might have filled a vacant job.

We must, if we are to solve the employment problems of the poor, provide new jobs in our poverty areas. We must create an economic climate in which businesses, especially those owned and managed by members of minority groups and residents of poverty areas, will be willing to establish new facilities and expand existing facilities in the centers of our cities and in the midst of our rural poverty areas.

But the role of private enterprise can only complement other community efforts. There must be new community-based institutions such as Community Development Corporations, controlled by local residents, through which their wishes will be made known. This is central to the success already demonstrated in Bedford-Stuyvesant. It is essential that indigenous resident participation be coupled with economic development programs.

We must make these efforts for these reasons:

First, we must begin to stem the tide of migration from our farms and rural villages. Without a viable economic base for rural America, a base which can support the men, women and children of these areas at more than a bare subsistence level, millions of poor people will continue to pour into our cities, straining their resources to the breaking point.

Second, we know that at the present time, large numbers of the urban poor cannot be induced to take jobs far away from the areas in which they live. As the Secretary of Labor told the Senate Executive Reorganization Subcommittee, "most of the unemployed in the slums" are so "conditioned by a century of insecurity" that even distances of "more than six or eight blocks away from where they live" create a severe problem. Most new job openings are, of course, much more than a few blocks outside poverty areas.

Third, most cities lack the mass transportation facilities to take them to and from their place of work at a price they can afford to pay. The Department of Labor has found that "present transportation systems are both inadequtae and too expensive to bring the slum residents to these jobs."

Fourth, location of new industrial facilities in or near poverty areas will have an important "multiplier" effect on the creation of jobs. New auxiliary businesses will be spunoff in the same area to service the needs of the primary facility. New retail and service facilities—restaurants and food stores, barbershops, dry cleaners, and clothing stores—will be required to satisfy the demands of the workers at the primary establishment. Most of these derivative jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities will be open to poverty area residents.

Fifth, location of investment and jobs in or near poverty areas is important for its own sake. Partly, it is important to end these areas' isolation—to bring not just individual residents, but the entire community, back into contact with the mainstream of American life. It is important that children and young people see change and development take place through the work of their own fathers and brothers—providing concrete hope through living example. And, it is vital that poverty areas, like other communities, be able to develop a sense of joint community achievement and purpose.

But merely to reach the conclusion that it is necessary for new businesses to establish facilities in and near urban and rural poverty areas will not suffice. For the simple fact is that businesses are not presently making any efforts to establish such facilities in these areas.

Private corporations are, of course, responsible to their stockholders. Large-scale investment in poverty areas will certainly be more costly and difficult than investment elsewhere. Land, transportation, procurement of supplies, training of workers, extra supervision—all these are so costly in poverty areas as to make investment there, under present conditions, uneconomical. If private enterprise is to play its full part in relation to poverty areas, therefore, it must have the support of government to help make up for increased costs.

I have already proposed the first step in this effort. Last July I introduced legislation to provide this support to certain businesses locating facilities in the poorest urban and rural areas. That bill is designed to provide such businesses with tax credits and excess deductions which they can offset against income derived directly from the new facility or against income derived from another source.

In brief, this tax incentive program would work as follows:

First, it would apply only to companies constructing new facilities or expanding existing ones in poverty areas.

Second, full consultation with the residents of the poverty area affected would have to take place before any industrial facility was constructed.

Third, any qualifying business would have to meet certain hiring requirements—both as to number and percentage of low-income, unemployed persons.

Fourth, job training would be undertaken to prepare men for specific roles in clearly designated and available jobs.

Fifth, any qualifying business would receive the following tax incentives during the ten years immediately following the time that it began operations.

A ten percent credit on machinery and equipment in lieu of the normal maximum seven percent credit.

A seven percent credit on expenditures for constructing an industrial facility or for leasing space for a qualifying business.

A credit carryback of 3 taxable years and a carryover of 10 taxable years.

A useful life, for purposes of depreciation, of 66⅔ percent of the normal useful life.

A special deduction of an additional 25 percent of the salaries paid to all workers hired to meet the requirements of this act.

That the use of tax incentives to encourage industrial development in this nation's poverty areas is both a necessary and appropriate step has received growing recognition. In its recent report, the President's Advisory Committee on Rural Poverty concluded that for firms locating in poverty areas, tax incentives in the form of "liberalized investment . . . credits, accelerated depreciation . . . and broader carry forward-carry backward provisions be given." This conclusion was strongly seconded by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. In a special report to the commission by a businessmen's group headed by Charles Thornton, chairman of Litton Industries, tax incentives in the form of credits, accelerated depreciation and excess salary deductions were recommended.

Thus, the two most extensive studies done on the problems of inducing private enterprise to come into this nation's poverty areas have concluded with one basic recommendation. They have found that tax incentives must be utilized if new facilities are to be built in these areas.

Clearly, the time has come for the Administration to support and the Congress to act on these recommendations.

But while enactment of a system of tax incentives would constitute a major achievement in bringing jobs to those who most need them, it is only a first stop.

Businesses can only utilize tax incentives after they have opened new plants. They cannot use them to raise capital.

For all but our largest public companies, the task of obtaining capital to open a new facility—especially one that is in a poverty area is an insurmountable obstacle. The present tight money market and increased fears of loss due to riots, crime and vandalism have made financing particularly difficult for businesses seeking to begin operations in economically distressed areas.

Present federal economic development programs have proved inadequate. The Economic Development Administration has moved too slowly and cautiously. In 1967, its disbursements totaled only $34 million—a fraction of the money which should have been made available for the financing of new businesses. Although Congress gave EDA authority in 1967 to operate in urban poverty areas, it had previously been confined almost entirely to rural areas—this authority has still not even begun to be implemented. Even when EDA does begin to make urban loans, its interest rate and loan period authority is still too restricted to provide any substantial stimulus to business to open new facilities in urban or rural poverty areas. The tools available to the Small Business Administration are similarly inadequate.

A new capital creation program is clearly needed. We must provide a mechanism which will break the cycle that turns capital away from businesses seeking to establish facilities in poverty areas. In short, we must provide a flow of short term and long term loans to those businesses which will open and expand badly needed industrial and commercial facilities and help turn these economic wastelands into areas of hope and opportunity.

With these needs in mind, I propose two new programs which will directly attack the problem of increasing the flow of capital into poverty areas. Both are designed to create new jobs for the unemployed and underemployed.

The first proposal would make long and short term credit available to any industrial or commercial enterprise, including those owned by members of minority groups and poverty area residents, opening a new business or expanding an existing facility having nine or more employees, two-thirds of whom are poverty area residents. Loans would be made available from private lenders and the federal government, with federal interest subsidies and repayment guarantees up to 50 percent of the total loan. Short term loans would be subsidized up to 3 percent below the market rate for short term credit; long term loans at a rate of 1 percent below federal borrowing costs.

The second proposal, supplementing the first, is designed to promote the ownership of retail, commercial and industrial enterprise by members of disadvantaged minority groups and residents of poverty areas. Any new or expanding business, at least 30% or which is owned by such persons and which employs six or more persons, two-thirds of whom are poverty area residents, would be eligible for special loan and technical assistance and would have first priority for direct federal loans. Federal loan guarantees would cover 90% instead of 50% of the total loan.

Loan assistance to minority and resident owned business would be coupled with a technical assistance program which would help open up new business opportunities, seek out capital and provide counseling and management training to eligible borrowers and other poverty areas businessmen.

Long term credit will be provided through a New Fund administered by the Secretary of Commerce and coordinated with the Administrator of the Small Business Administration and the Secretary of Labor. The proposed New Fund will have a first year appropriation of $400 million which will be increased by $150 million each year thereafter, reaching a maximum authorization of $1 billion.

Short term credit will be provided from Treasury Tax and Loan Accounts—tax and bond purchase payments made to the federal government which are then deposited in commercial banks throughout the country.

The principal features of these two programs are explained briefly below.

CAPITAL LOANS FOR POVERTY AREA BUSINESSES

First, Eligible Areas—The areas at which this proposal is directed are: the 193 poverty areas which are located in our major metropolitan centers; this nation's worst rural poverty areas; and, Indian reservations.

Second, Eligible Businesses—virtually any type of industrial or commercial enterprise that can be conducted in or near an urban or rural poverty area, will be eligible for assistance under this bill. Thus, manufacturing enterprises as well as service establishments dealing with other business enterprises will be permitted to obtain financing. Safeguards will be provided to assure that loans are not available merely for the purpose of moving an enterprise from one area to another.

Third, Employment Criteria—The facility must employ at least nine persons. Of these, at least two-thirds must be poverty area residents and one-third must have been low-income persons at the time they were hired.

Fourth, New Fund—A New Fund, to be directed by the Secretary of Commerce in collaboration with the Director of the Small Business Administration and the Secretary of Labor will coordinate all long term lending policies. Short-term lending policies will be directed by the New Fund in conjunction with the Secretary of the Treasury.

The proposed New Fund will start with an initial appropriation of $400 million the first year—an appropriation which will increase by $150 million per year so that at the end of five years the fund will have reached its maximum authorization of $1 billion.

Fifth, Direct and Guaranteed Loans—The primary purpose of the New Fund will be to guarantee and, in some cases, to make long term loans to poverty area businesses.

In providing financing, the specified preference will be for the New Fund to guarantee private loans rather than to provide direct loans. In short, the New Fund will operate as a lender of last resort—making direct loans only when there exists a reasonable assurance of repayment and when comparable financing cannot be obtained by the borrower from private sources, even with the type of guarantees which could be made by the Fund. As a general rule, all private loans will be subject to a guarantee against loss up to 50% of the amount of the loan, except that when the borrower is one of our major public companies, only a 10% guarantee will be provided.

Sixth, Interest Subsidies and Loan Periods—In order to raise the rates of return which can be derived from poverty area investments—thereby compensating for the unusual risks and difficulties involved in opening a business facility in these areas—direct and guaranteed loans will bear a subsidized interest rate. Long-term loans made directly or guaranteed by the New Fund will carry an effective interest rate 1% below federal borrowing costs. The only limitations on these subsidies will be that the federal payment cannot exceed 5% on any private loan, and, if the business is receiving tax incentives it can also receive subsidies. In order to take account of the economic realities of opening poverty area businesses, the New Fund will be authorized to guarantee and provide direct loans for terms up to 35 years. It will also provide loans for up to 80% of project cost. Both in terms of the repayment period and interest charges, these provisions offer great advantages over current federal loan programs.

Seventh, Approval of Guaranteed Loans—In order to avoid red tape and the bureaucratic delays that have invariably occurred in guaranteed loan programs, this proposal rejects the idea of specific government approval for each loan. Rather, the New Fund will be permitted to enter into two year agreements with private lending institutions under which these institutions will be authorized to make guaranteed loans and investments up to a specified quota. Periodic assessments of the performance by lenders will be made and unused quotas will then be reallocated.

Eighth, Short-term Capital—In regard to the development of short term working capital for poverty area businesses, we must establish a further mechanism beyond that of government loans and guarantees.

For years it has been the policy of the federal government in its capacity as a purchaser of goods to promote the development of distressed areas and to assist small businesses. In my judgment, the federal government should now adopt a similar economic development policy by utilizing deposits of public funds as a mechanism for encouraging private banks to provide short term bank credit for poverty area businesses.

Most funds which flow to the federal government in the form of taxes and bond purchase payments remain in the commercial banks through which they are paid in the form of deposits of the federal government. These deposits—which in recent years have normally amounted to about $4 billion—are called Treasury Tax and Loan Accounts and any bank may become eligible to hold such an account. The monies deposited of course earn income for the bank when they are invested, but, as in the case of any demand deposit, the bank pays no interest or other fee to the depositor.

In my judgment, the Secretary of the Treasury would be authorized to establish certain minimum requirements for loans to poverty area businesses, which must be met by special depositaries located in or near these poverty areas. The requirements would be tied to the average balance in the bank's Tax and Loan Account, so that the performance level that a bank would be expected to meet would relate to the benefit which the federal government gives the bank in the form of interest free deposits. The requirements might start as low as 3% of the bank's Tax and Loan Account during the first year and rise in subsequent years to as much as 15%.

This proposal would not simply constitute an additional burden for each depository bank. Any bank which met its percentage requirement would be eligible to receive further deposits of the federal government equal to a significant percentage of its qualified loans. These deposits—which would be in the range of 20 to 50% of the funds put into qualified loans would not be kept in the bank's regular Tax and Loan Account where they would be subject to withdrawal. In an effort to give a greater incentive to the bank, these new compensating deposits would be maintained in separate accounts which would be kept open by the federal government for at least a calendar quarter.

The funds to meet these additional balances for the banks which do meet their percentage requirement, would be derived in the first instance from withdrawals from the banks which do meet their percentage requirement. If most banks meet them so that there is insufficient money available for non-complying banks to provide extra deposits to complying banks, the New Fund would deposit some of its reserve underlying the loan guarantee in complying banks.

Short term loans made by these depository banks would be subject to the same guarantees by the New Fund that will apply to long term loans. Moreover, an interest rate subsidy up to a maximum of 3% will be paid by the federal government. This subsidy will be utilized to reduce the short term costs of capital to qualified poverty area businesses.

SPECIAL LOAN AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO MEMBERS OF DISADVANTAGED MINORITY GROUPS AND POVERTY AREA RESIDENTS

While the above program, providing credit to business operating in or near poverty areas will, of course, apply to businesses owned by members of disadvantaged minority groups and by low and moderate income residents of poverty areas, its primary benefit will be in inducing outside, established business to enter poverty areas. Special assistance should, in addition, be made available to members of disadvantaged minority groups—Negroes, Spanish, and Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and Indians—and to poverty area residents. These are the people who have the greatest stake in the future of their own communities. They must be assisted to enter the mainstream of American economic life.

Special loan assistance

I therefore propose that for enterprises, at least 30% of which are owned by members of minority groups and low and moderate income residents of poverty areas, the provisions of the above-described capital loan program be modified so that:

1. If there is a shortage of federal funds for direct loans or for loan guarantees, priority will be given to such businesses.
2. Retail businesses, as well as commercial and industrial enterprises, will receive both short and long term loans.
3. Federal guarantees will be for up to 90% of the total project cost, instead of 50%.
4. Eligible businesses need employ only 6 employees, instead of 9

5. Loans will be for up to 90% of the total project cost, instead of 50%.

6. The federal government provide guarantees of up to 50% of equity investments of institutions such as small business development corporations in order to create new sources of equity capital. No existing federal program provides guarantees for equity inments which are generally subject to rigid repayment requirements.

7. Community groups within poverty areas will be authorized to obtain loans for purchasing and building facilites for lease back to any businesses qualifying for long or short term loans.

Technical assistance

Capital, while vital, is not enough to establish viable businesses owned and managed by members of disadvantaged minority groups and low and moderate income residents of poverty areas. These groups have been so long excluded from business activities that they also need technical management assistance.

Present federal technical assistance efforts are under-financed and suffer from serious deficiencies.

First, there has been significant lack of coordination. Some cities have several programs, others have none. Programs rarely work closely with each other, either nationally or locally. As a result, tools which are available to one group are often not used by others. Neither successes nor failures are known so that newer efforts frequently do not learn from earlier experience.

Second, most of the businesses created or helped by existing programs are marginal and many are sole-proprietorships. It is important to help existing small establishments even if they are not competitive. But it is a mistake to make such enterprises the major focus of a government effort. Instead, if indigenous persons are to play a significant role in American economic life, they must own and operate automobile dealerships, shopping centers, small and medium-sized manufacturing companies, and the like, and mechanisms must be established which will start a continuing process to create and maintain significant numbers of larger enterprises.

Third, existing programs have generally lacked expertise. They have rarely had the full-time participation of trained staffs with business experience. Minority and poverty area citizens must know when and how to get assistance, both from the government and private industry. They must be able to understand and put together complicated financial arrangements, and be able to communicate with other businessmen.

I therefore propose that a minimum of ten million dollars a year be appropriated to provide federal grants for local technical assistance programs. These programs should enlist the combined efforts of business leaders, local government, and other important elements in the community, with substantial participation and control by the leaders of minority groups and poverty-area residents they are to serve.

At the same time, these programs must have on their staffs full-time business experts. As our large corporations become increasingly interested in meeting the problems of poverty, they may be willing to lend some of their best talent. All programs should include at least these elements:

They must reach out to members of minority groups and residents of poverty areas to motivate them to enter business or to expand and improve existing businesses.

They must help open up new business opportunities—for example, by creating a committee of large corporations committed to providing sub-contracts; by helping businessmen obtain contracts from the federal and local governments; by obtaining franchises to be operated by minority and poverty-area businessmen; by starting shopping centers in urban renewal and model cities areas; and by persuading urban renewal and other government agencies to contract with poverty area contractors to build and rehabilitate housing.

They must provide sources of capital—for example, by starting Small Business Investment Companies to provide equity and working capital, perhaps by seeking funds in the community; by starting Local Development Companies to provide the physical facilities and land needed by new businesses; by persuading private financial institutions to ease credit criteria for business or to provide loan pools; by assisting minority or poverty-area businessmen to obtain loans from private financial institutions, SBA, or EDA and through the new program which I have proposed today.

They must provide continuing training, counseling and assistance—for example by persuading established corporations to offer internships in their own marketing, accounting, cost control or other departments prior to receiving subcontracts from assisted companies; by persuading established corporations to give continued technical assistance through having their own staffs on call by minority or poverty-area businessmen; by asking local colleges or other institutions to give special business courses; by giving individual counseling to existing and potential businessmen; by providing contracts to management consulting companies to assist minority and poverty-area businessmen.

The federal government should also be making other efforts to provide management and ownership assistance to members of minority groups and residents of poverty areas. Plans to aid small business should be required in all model city plans. The Department of Labor can pay private corporations to provide training and technical assistance to existing and potential minority and poverty-area businessmen as it now provides funds to corporations to train the unemployed. The Office of Education can develop special programs to provide high-quality management training through scholarships to business schools and through special business school courses. Federal funds can pay for research into new techniques for assisting minority and poverty-area businessmen. And the federal government can coordinate and assist the efforts of local programs.

It is of vital importance that the federal government involve our national corporations in this effort. They can provide training, subcontracts and franchises, loans or equity capital, and technical assistance. They can, as the Fairchild-Hillyer Corporation has in the District of Columbia, start manufacturing plants, jointly owned with a neighborhood organization in a poverty area, with the objective of completely turning it over to the community in just a few years. National corporations can, as they have agreed to do in Baltimore, provide financial support for a small business investment company controlled by Negroes. All this can occur throughout the country by joining the dedicated efforts of business and government.

These proposals will require appropriations of only $43 million the first year and $337 million over five years for interest subsidies and technical assistance. In addition, $1 billion will be required for the New Fund over five years to provide direct federal loans and as a reserve for guaranteeing private loans, but these funds will be recoverable by the federal government. It is a reasonable estimate that these measures will result in the loan of about $3 billion by private lenders and the federal government to all kinds of businesses in or near poverty areas and for the establishment of many successful businesses owned by members of minority groups and residents of poverty areas.

These loan and technical assistance proposals and my tax incentive program proposed last July will not, of course, solve all the problems of poverty. They are important steps. They will offer a mechanism for bringing new business and jobs into our poorest areas.

But they are but one part of the job we must begin. They must be joined with other equally important efforts.

They must be combined and coordinated with present Federal education and manpower training programs. They must also be used in conjunction with other new programs which I have proposed and sponsored in the Senate—an emergency employment program to provide 2.4 million new jobs in public service and private enterprise and the housing program which I sponsored in 1967 to give tax incentives to private industry to build and rehabilitate housing for low income families.

And most important, there must be full participation of community residents, through their own institutions, in the development and implementation of all projects. We must shape our government policies with the active participation of our citizens. What we must seek is not just greater programs, but greater participation—by putting our resources directly into the communities, both urban and rural, where the citizenry can determine how best to use those resources. If we accomplish this, we will have begun one of this Nation's great remaining tasks—to make this a land in which equal opportunities are a reality and not a promise, and in which the right to work at a meaningful job and the opportunity to participate fully in the American economy have significance for all Americans.

COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICERS PROGRAM

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, on May 14 the Senate adopted an amendment which I offered to title I of S. 917, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1967. The amendment will enable local and State police departments to use Federal grant money to establish and maintain community service officers programs. These community service officers will be available to assist precinct level line officers in their regular patrol and investigative work. They would work closely with other uniformed and nonuniformed police personnel to keep open valuable lines of communication to and from the ghetto communities. Hopefully, the CSO would be a product of the ghettos of our cities. Because of this, the CSO would have a measure of understanding of inner-city problems that could never be acquired by an outsider. He would provide a vitally needed link—a bridge—for communication between the police and the residents of the inner city.

One of the best developed police departments in the Nation is the Atlanta, Ga., department under the direction of Herbert T. Jenkins, chief. Chief Jenkins, a past president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, is perhaps best known as the only law-enforcement administrator appointed a member of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. That distinguished Commission recommended establishment of community service officer programs.

The city of Atlanta has incorporated into its police operations the police community service officer. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the text of the ordinance authorizing the PCSO, with the feeling that Senators may wish to have information on this kind of program so as to pass it on to the police departments in cities of their States.

There being no objection, the ordinance was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ORDINANCE TO CREATE THE CLASSIFICATION AND POSITIONS OF POLICE COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICER (P.C.S.O.) IN THE POLICE DEPARTMENT, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Be it ordained by the Mayor and Board of Aldermen of the City of Atlanta as follows:

Section 1. The classification of Police Community Service Officer (P.C.S.O.) is hereby created in the Police Department.

Section 2. Police Community Service Officers shall be temporary employees of the Police Department and shall not be entitled to civil service status.

Section 3. Qualifications and regulations for Police Community Service Officers shall be as follows: Must be between the ages of 16 and 25. Must be unemployed and unemployable under police standards and qualifications.

Section 4. Police Community Service Officers shall be subject to all the rules, regulations, training and discipline of the Police Department.

Section 5. Police Community Service Officers shall be assigned to the Crime Prevention Bureau and other divisions in the Police Department, to work in high crime and high poverty communities, and at Police Headquarters to assist the regular police in the performance of their duties.

Section 6. Police Community Service Officers shall be furnished police uniforms and other police equipment, except firearms. They shall not be armed.

Section 7. Police Community Service Officers shall be given training and instructions and every opportunity to advance their education and to improve themselves so that they might eventually qualify and pass all examinations and tests to become a regular police officer.

Section 8. The Police Community Service Officer shall be paid on a daily basis for days actually worked, at the same rate of pay as Police Guards.

Section 9. The Chief of Police is hereby authorized to employ one Police Community Service Officer for every ten regular police officers in the Police Department when this is authorized and 90 per cent funded by the Federal Government.

Section 10. Be it further resolved that the Mayor and the Board of Aldermen authorize the Chief of Police to employ five Police Community Service Officers immediately, and that (their salaries) shall be paid from the regular Police Salary Account No. G–32–62–830.

Section 11. All ordinances and parts of ordinances in conflict with this ordinance be and the same are hereby repealed.

Mr. PERCY. In addition to the ordinance, Mr. President, an article by Chief Jenkins appears in the May issue of the Police Chief, the monthly publication of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. The article sets forth the impressions of Chief Jenkins regarding the Riot Commission and his preparations in Atlanta for the coming summer. The characteristics that identify this outstanding law-enforcement official are summed up in the last sentence of his article:

> We are planning for the worst, but working and hoping for the best.

I ask unanimous consent that this honest, forthright discussion be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A COMMISSION MEMBER SPEAKS

(By Herbert T. Jenkins, Chief of Police, Atlanta, Ga.)

(NOTE.—This was the most complete and conscientious investigation and report that I was ever privileged to participate in. I have the greatest admiration and respect for the ability and the sincerity of the ten other members of the Commission, without exception or reservation.)

1967 was not a particularly bright and happy year from the standpoint of law enforcement. Crime and civil disorders increased over the nation last year at an alarming rate. Crime and civil disorders have one thing in common—they are both a violation of the law. There is no common cause for crime—therefore, there is no common cure, but a combination of many things. The same thing applies to civil disorders and riots.

Generally, crimes are committed by repeaters—the same person committing the same crime month after month, and year after year. They are released on bond, parole, appeal bond, or they have escaped from a penitentiary. If a robbery or most any other major crime is committed in this building or in the street, the odds, are about ten to one that when the perpetrator is caught and identified, it will be a person who has committed the same crime previously and has been caught before.

Crime increased 17 percent across the nation last year. And law enforcement is extremely expensive and is becoming more complex and complicated every day. The cost is about $8,000 annually in Atlanta to select, train, equip and assign one police officer. In New York City it is about $12,000 annually. There are many who believe that police salaries are still inadequate, and when we consider the hazards and demands made on a police officer, we must agree.

It is not possible to furnish every American citizen 100 percent security and 100 percent freedom at the same time, for the simple reason that when security is strengthened, freedom is weakened, and vice versa. Maximum security for any single location restricts freedom of movement, and requires constant police guard. Such security not only creates the problem of inconvenience, but it is extremely expensive. For one police officer to be on duty, around the clock, seven days per week, would require the services of five police officers, and the annual cost is in excess of $40,000.

NACCD AT WORK

On July 27, 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson, by executive order, appointed a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The Commission consisted of eleven members: a governor, a mayor, four members of Congress, a business man, a labor union leader, a civil rights leader, a lady, and a chief of police. Governor Otto Kerner was appointed Chairman, Mayor John V. Lindsay was appointed Vice Chairman and Mr. David Ginsburg was appointed Executive Director. I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to have served on such a distinguished commission. This was the greatest honor and the greatest challenge that ever came my way.

The Commission held its first meeting with the President at the White House on July 29, 1967. After administering the oath of office, President Johnson informed the Commission of the seriousness of the civil disorders that the cities had experienced in the last two years. This was supported by all the information and reports that the President had received. He said this commission was to take top priority over all other commissions and that all the facilities and personnel of the federal government would be made available to assist. The President also said that civil disorders can be stopped—they must be stopped—and they will be stopped.

Toward this end, the President instructed the Commission to determine—what happened, why it happened, and what must be done to keep it from happening again and again. And to furnish him with a report with recommendations.

I left the White House on that day with a very strong feeling that this nation is extremely fortunate in having Lyndon B. Johnson as Commander in Chief during these very trying times. It was, and it is my belief, that he is a very dedicated and able man, and tough enough to do the job. Again, this belief was confirmed when President Johnson made a very fine and timely speech to the International Association of Chiefs of Police in Kansas City on September 14th.

The Commission started holding meetings immediately in Washington and visited several of the cities that suffered the greatest damage. The full Commission questioned more than 130 witnesses for twenty full days—that included governors, mayors, chiefs of police, rioters, and everyone else concerned with civil disorders. The Commission heard conflicting reports from many sources as to what happened, why it happened and what must be done to keep it from happening again and again. Most of the witnesses were well qualified to give expert testimony in their respective fields.

All of the testimony and reports given to the Commission were recorded, re-read and studied many times by the Commission and the staff. It was necessary, for obvious reasons, to receive much testimony off the record and in confidence. This confidence has been completely honored and respected. But since the report has been completed and printed, all of the reports and files are being turned over to the Federal Archives and they will be opened for public inspection in accordance with the rules of the Archives.

What happened last summer? More than 100 American cities were threatened with civil disorders. Fifty-two American cities suffered civil disorders, street fighting and riots that caused widespread death and injuries to the population and the police of these cities. Looting and burning were responsible for property damages that cost many millions of dollars. While local police in most of the cities keep the situation under reasonable control and held property damages to a minimum, there were many arrests and some deaths and injuries.

The local police in some of the cities, however, failed to maintain law and order, and when the situation got out of control, it was necessary to call on the State Police and the National Guard to restore order. In one city it necessary to call on the U.S. Army to come in and restore order.

Most witnesses appearing before the Commission gave their version as to why it happened. To simply say that the testimony was debatable and controversial is an understatement. It was apparent from the beginning that, of all the many contributing factors, racism was the most prominent cause, and, racists come in two colors: black and white. It was also apparent from the beginning that law and order, with equal justice for all, must be the first order of business, and that there are no greater priorities.

Senator Everett Dirksen was quoted recently as saying, "The first responsibility of government is to protect itself." The Commission said, "preserving civil peace is the first responsibility of government, and unless the rule of law prevails, our society will lack not only order, but also the environment essential to social and economic progress." Whatever words are used, I believe this is one point that we can all agree on.

Most of the hearings were completed by December 1st. It was obvious from the beginning, that whatever the Commission recommended, would be very expensive, and to do nothing perhaps would be much more expensive. By December the Commission had made the decision not to try to make an interim and a final report and not to try and make a long range and a short range report. For the report to be most effective the Commission decided, it must be a single report, and it must be completed by March 1st if it was going to be helpful in preventing civil disorders in the summer of 1968.

The Commission spent 24 full days between December 1, 1967 and March 1, 1968 writing, reading, discussing, and rewriting the report. Every chapter, every section and every paragraph was read, discussed and rewritten. And every member of the Commission had an opportunity to read, object, approve, amend, or rewrite every sentence and every word in the report. Some sections were discussed and rewritten as many as six times.

Most of the meetings were held in the Executive Building, adjacent to the White House, except for the last few weeks when they were held in the Capitol so that those members of the Commission who were also members of Congress, could vote on important matters before the Congress without being absent, except for just a few minutes. By 2 p.m. on February 28th, the report was completed, with 17 chapters, plus the summary, the supplement, and the index. This report contained more than 1,000 pages and more than 200,000 words. All members of the Commission, without hesitation, promptly signed the report and there was no minority report.

This was the most complete and conscientious investigation and report that I was ever privileged to participate in. I have the greatest admiration and respect for the ability and the sincerity of the ten other members of the Commission, without exception or reservation.

Special attention should be given to the short range recommendations of the report that will be most helpful in preventing civil disorders. These do not require additional funding or financing. National legislation to control fire arms and a federal open housing law do not require any money.

The first two recommendations that the Commission made were for special riot control training for the National Guard and the local police departments. This is now being accomplished with very little extra cost. One hundred and thirty-five chiefs of police and their city managers or mayors met in small groups for one week in February in Washington, to discuss plans and training to prevent civil disorders next summer.[1] Regional training sessions for police captains and watch commanders were held all over the nation for the next two months for all police departments that were interested in receiving such special training.

The record will show that if riots are to be prevented, they must be prevented by local communities. The report speaks for itself, and places special emphasis on prevention. The only way to control a riot is to prevent it. The alternative is battling in the streets with great loss of property, with death and injury to the participants, and great loss in local business. Civil disorders simply paralyze local business. The National Guard or the U.S. Army cannot prevent a riot. They can stop one for sure—but they do not have the training or the opportunity to prevent them.

The prevention of riots rests squarely on the shoulders of local police departments and they must have the full support of all public officials and law abiding citizens, both black and white, if they are going to be successful.

The question most frequently asked is "What will happen to the American cities this summer?" Well, no one knows for sure. I have expressed a personal opinion—The riots this summer will be fewer in number, of shorter duration, but much more bloody. I am much more optimistic about Atlanta.

Atlanta has some advantages over most cities, because: Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., Judge Griffin Bell, and the Atlanta Commission on Crime and Juvenile Delinquency had the foresight more than two years ago, to study these problems and design a plan of action that has received very fine support from Atlanta's citizens. The Atlanta Commission stated, among other things, that poverty and crime are twins that cannot be separated—one could not be improved without improving the other. The Commission also found serious conflict and abrasions between the residents of poor Negro neighborhoods and the police. They recommended that the police should employ police-community officers to improve these conditions, and that the over-all police training program should move rapidly in this direction. We have followed these recommendations. You will find that the general thrust of the Atlanta report is included in the National report.

OUR PLAN OF ACTION

To outline our Atlanta plan of action briefly, I would like to report that we have 20 to 50 officers, predominantly Negro, assigned to the Crime Prevention Bureau, who work every day and night in EOA Centers in Negro neighborhoods. They are getting acquainted with all the residents, answering all of their complaints, including police complaints. They are providing a social service and assistance, as well as police service for the community.

We have a Task Force of 40 predominantly Negro officers, commanded by a Negro Captain. They are assigned to these same neighborhoods from 2:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. every day, and are furnishing a good tough police service for the law-abiding citizens of the community. We will increase the size of this Task Force as the weather gets warmer. At the first signs of a tense situation, or any incident that might cause trouble, we will move the entire Crime Prevention Bureau into the neighborhood, followed by the Task Force. We believe that they will be able to cool any situation quickly, but if they fail, we will move the Riot Squad right in behind them with helmets, night sticks, tear gas and shot guns. At this point all other city departments will be activated and the police department will go on extra duty twelve hours per day, seven days per week. This act alone will more than double the police personnel on duty, so that we will not interfere with all the officers who are patrolling the other parts of the city, and it will give us an equal number of officers in the troubled area.

We are planning for the worst, but working and hoping for the best.

THE OMNIBUS CRIME BILL

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I very much regret that an important commitment in Pennsylvania caused me to be necessarily absent from the Senate floor during the final hours of voting last week on the omnibus crime bill. Although I was present for votes earlier that day, and for most of the votes earlier in the week, I would, nevertheless, like to state briefly my position on this important piece of legislation for the RECORD.

Had I been present for the vote on final passage, I would have voted in favor of the bill. I was paired in favor of the bill. But my support for the bill, as it was passed, is with considerable reservation. For example:

In title I, the Senate approved an amendment providing that 85 percent of the money appropriated for this title be distributed by the State governments. I opposed this measure. To my mind, the so-called "block grant" approach merely interjects another layer of bureaucracy into the administration of this program, which would be far more efficiently administered through direct grants from the Federal Government to local law-enforcement agencies. I would have preferred the administration's approach—the direct-grant approach—but I am far more concerned about getting the money to where it is needed than about how it will get there.

Similarly, I am disappointed that the efforts to delete the provisions of title II which reverses Supreme Court decisions restricting the use of confessions in court was defeated. As I said on the floor early last week, I think the legislature would be wise to leave the whole matter of administering justice up to the judiciary. I also have grave doubts about the constitutionality of this action on the part of the Senate to overrule Supreme Court decisions. I, therefore, voted to delete the whole of title II. But since this effort failed, I was pleased that we were able to modify the provisions of title II to retain in the jurisdiction of the Federal courts the power to review confessions found voluntary in lower courts. Judicial review has been one of the traditional functions of the higher courts, and it is the courts wherein the jurisdiction rightfully resides.

The provisions of the bill which deal with wiretapping, that is, title III, are not as tightly drawn as they might have been. I am not opposed to wiretapping; in fact, I think that under proper safeguards it is an essential tool in our fight against organized crime. What I am opposed to is the possibility of indiscriminate wiretapping by Federal, State, or local officials, which would infringe on the right to privacy of all our citizens, and which is made feasible by the provision allowing "emergency" wiretapping for up to 48 hours without a court order. I regret that this provision was not deleted from the bill, because I think it is a potentially dangerous one. I hope that, if and when such emergency powers are used, they will be used with the utmost responsibility on the part of the officials involved.

I think my views on gun control are well known by my colleagues in the Senate. I was a cosponsor of the administration bill which included a prohibition on the mail-order sale of long guns—rifles and shotguns—as well as handguns. This additional prohibition was not included in the bill passed by the Senate. I think this is a grave mistake. The tragic killings of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr., the death and destruction wrought by a mad sniper at the University of Texas in 1966 are only the most widely publicized incidents of a long gun being in the hands of a person unfit to handle it. There are hundreds more. I shall continue to work with my colleagues who realize the urgent need for truly effective regulation of the sale of guns to achieve that end. But I am encouraged by the fact that the Senate has finally adopted a long overdue set of regulations on the sale of firearms. It is only a beginning, but I am pleased to note that we have finally begun.

The whole bill, too, is only a beginning. As I have indicated, there are many provisions of it which distress me; there are also many vital provisions which were not included in it. I am not at all satisfied with the bill. But if we in Congress are truly concerned about coming to grips with the overriding problems of crime in the streets, of organized crime, and of senseless acts of violence, we must come to grips with them now. The people of this country demand it. With the passage of the omnibus crime bill, we have taken a first, and I think a long, step in the right direction.

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[1] Civil Disorders Conferences conducted by the IACP for the Attorney General of the United States. Discussions and recommendations of the conferees appear elsewhere in this issue.

SUPPORT FOR NEGRO COLLEGES

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, J. D. Wright, chairman and chief executive officer of TRW, Inc., spoke this week on the importance of supporting Negro colleges.

In his speech, he emphasized that the ultimate goal in helping to solve our urban problems "is not to offer welfare in any form; it is to offer opportunity in every form—it is to remove the roadblocks that stand in the path of self-development."

His remarks are cogent and represent some of the best thinking of the American business community with regard to higher education and how it relates to the solution of part of our urban problems.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOWARD TWO SOCIETIES

(Remarks of J. D. Wright, chairman and chief executive officer, TRW, Inc., before the United Negro College Fund luncheon, May 27, 1968, Cleveland, Ohio)

In the introduction of one of the most important books published in this country in recent years, there appears this chilling statement: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal. To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values."

The book is the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, recently released to the President and the nation, and since then many people have been asking, "Is it really possible that our seemingly indivisible Republic could finally become two separate and unequal societies?"

With looming problems facing Americans at home in the hot summers of 1968 and beyond, other questions follow that stagger our capacity to answer: How can we channel our efforts to prevent this polarization of race and destruction of democracy? How do we apply effectively our resources in order to root out the genuine causes of misery and chaos instead of only temporarily treating the symptoms? How do we get the understanding and commitment of all citizens so fundamental to solving our problems?

There can be no single, clear-cut, easy answer. There are too many difficult things to do. Substandard housing. Hard core unemployment. Poor education.

Mayor Stokes knows how many difficult things there are to do. His "Cleveland, Now!" program is the boldest, most imaginative and visionary effort in the history of this—or any—community. It deserves the fullest possible support of every citizen—at every level, station, and discipline—of any age, belief, or birth. The Cleveland job will take time. It can't be done overnight. But I'm sure we all want to be involved in this long, critical journey.

To pour money and human resources into all these areas—housing, employment, education—is essential. We have known that the needs were great—the facts make that clear—our business judgment and social conscience also point in that direction.

And yet I would suggest to you that underlying these needs is still another necessity, which could eventually surpass them all in its power to turn us from our present course toward separate black and white societies. And that is the need to further develop strong, responsible leadership in the Negro community itself. I have come to believe with increasing certainty that in our journey through the ghettos of America, one main street that must not be detoured is sign-posted: "School Zone—Keep Right for Responsible Leadership."

That belief in the increasing need for leadership is the reason I am here today. It is the reason I have accepted the challenge to be Cleveland's chairman of the 25th Annual United Negro College Fund campaign.

Not long ago I read a comment made by a Negro resident of the West Side Chicago ghetto after the riot of April 5. He said, "What will change things is when some responsible people begin to act like they were responsible. Now I'm not just talking about white people . . . I'm talking about people like myself."

The days of dependence on white goodwill—on charity—on paternalism—are passing. And in their place, Negroes now need the ability to further develop their own responsible power—not in order to perpetuate two separate societies, but to help bring about a true integration based on mutual respect and opportunity for achievement.

Education for leadership in an era of engulfing and exploding social change is no easy task. It will require new techniques—new finances—new vision. Above all, it will require institutions, as well as individuals, with unique insights into the problems of restless young Negroes and unusual abilities to prepare them for the role they must play as emerging leaders.

Do the Negro colleges help meet these requirements for developing leadership?

If we are inquiring about the Negro colleges of the past, the answer perhaps would be "no." Until recent years, they primarily directed their efforts toward serving the two halves of a divided society by training teachers, ministers, nurses, craftsmen. This was their role for decades—and it remains today the stereotyped image that many people have of the Negro college in America. A closer look at the facts, however, reveals that substantial changes are taking place.

A study by Columbia University's Institute of Higher Education—known as the McGrath Study—has revealed that:

"Except at the topmost level of excellence represented by a few celebrated institutions, the Negro institution runs the entire gamut of quality within American higher education . . . when compared with the predominantly white colleges they can be matched institution by institution."

Howard Zinn, writing on "A New Direction For Negro Colleges," points out that such famous schools as Howard, Fisk, Lincoln, and Morehouse rank academically today among the top 10% of all American colleges.

At the same time, it would be unrealistic to judge all Negro colleges—or even all of the 36 on the list of the United Negro College Fund—by the performance of the few at the top. All of them, like their white counterparts, are beset by problems in varying degrees, including inadequate financing. In addition, the predominantly Negro colleges have inherited some problems that are peculiarly their own—problems the predominantly white colleges do not ordinarily have to face.

Their students, for the most part, begin with a handicap of substandard elementary and high school education. To help them overcome this deficiency, the Negro colleges have added a great deal of remedial work to their normal curriculum. In effect, they are cramming five or six years of formal education into four. They offer special courses, intensified regular courses, and clinical and tutorial work—all costly but necessary programs.

Since most predominantly Negro colleges are in the South, 75% of the students come from that area, where non-white family income is less than half that of white families. These colleges have placed a premium on keeping the educational doors open to able—though deprived—students. A substantial part of the institutions' resources must therefore go for financial aid to students: Scholarships, loans, and work opportunities.

Also inherited from the past is the overall direction of Negro college curricula. The traditional courses offered have lacked diversity—for two reasons. Typical curricula have tended to emphasize history, English, music, biology—subjects that would prepare students for careers as high school teachers. The first limitation, then, has been the necessity to train Negro students for the kinds of jobs they would be permitted to fill in a segregated society.

The second reason has been a matter of money. It takes much less investment in facilities to operate a curriculum in the humanities than one in the physical sciences.

It seems clear, then, that the stereotype is indeed being broken. The predominantly Negro colleges, far from being the "academic disaster area" they have sometimes been called, are taking effective steps to overcome the special difficulties they have had to face through years of serving essentially a segregated society.

Perhaps the outstanding proof of visible progress can be found in the achievements of men and women who attended Negro colleges. At such major universities as Harvard, Columbia, NYU, and Chicago, prominent faculty members took their undergraduate studies at predominantly Negro colleges.

So did three ambassadors—Patricia Harris, in Luxembourg; Franklin Williams, in Ghana; and Hugh Smythe, in Syria—a member of the U.S. Supreme Court, Thurgood Marshall; and, of course, a civil rights leader and Nobel Prize winner, the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. All from Negro colleges.

The president emeritus of Morehouse College, Benjamin E. Mays, writes: "It is fair to say that without Negro lawyers schooled in predominantly Negro colleges, there would have been no 1954 (school desegregation) decision of the U.S. Supreme Court and no civil rights legislation."

Certainly institutions that can produce leaders of this caliber have within their quadrangles the basis for providing greater education for responsible leadership. Without doubt, there is much building and strengthening to be done—but the solid foundations are there.

Like all institutions of higher learning, Negro colleges need adequate financing to make possible the necessary growth and development. Their need, in fact, is greater than most schools. As the McGrath Study put it, ". . . they labor with a disproportionately small share of the nation's higher education dollar."

Predominantly Negro colleges in number make up 6% of all U.S. colleges and universities—but they carry on with less than 2% of the total expenditures.

Only two, Hampton and Tuskegee, are substantially endowed; only one, Howard, can depend to any helpful extent on Federal money. State allocations and student tuition are the main source of funds.

If these colleges are to move in new and more fruitful directions—if they are to realize their potential for contributing to the leadership of both the Negro community and the Nation in these critical times—if they are to make a significant contribution to the one-society concept—they must have help. It must come from private sources: from foundations, from individuals, from business and industry working through such organizations as the United Negro College Fund. It must be help given on a broader scale than any of us have yet provided or even envisioned.

Before I ask you specifically to join me in this effort, I want to lay to rest two misunderstandings. The first is a widely held belief that the Negro college is a dying institution and that it should be permitted to disappear because it has outlived its purpose.

Predominantly white universities all over the country, the argument goes, are accepting Negro students—in some cases actively recruiting them. To this I would say that one or two Negroes in the University of Mississippi, or only 125 among Northwestern University's enrollment of 20,000, do not make an integrated higher educational structure. The doors are opening, but the progress to get inside is slow.

The fact remains that more than half of the Negroes attending the Nation's colleges and universities are enrolled at predominantly Negro institutions. And the rate of change during recent years would suggest that no immediate alteration in the pattern of distribution is likely. There is a place—there must be a place—for these schools in the foreseeable future.

The second misunderstanding is perpetuated by those who say that to support Negro colleges is to help maintain segregation. Perhaps there is a small grain of truth in this statement. Obviously, predominantly Negro colleges are quite black, but this situation does not continue because Negroes want to be exclusive. The hard fact of the situation is that if Negro colleges are not supported, a very large segment of America's Negro youth will have no opportunity for higher education at all. And the opportunity to further develop responsible leadership will be lost.

Strapped by financial problems, Negro youngsters cannot afford to attend a predominantly white college, where the average cost of staying in school is twice what it is in the Negro college. Handicapped by the poor quality of their elementary and secondary education, they need the special help they can get only at the Negro college. Limited by their cultural background, many of them find the social adjustments demanded by a predominantly white environment more than they can handle—and still maintain their grades.

Yet from this group will come the responsible leaders of tomorrow that our communities and nation must have. The students themselves want an education that will fit them for new leadership roles. The colleges want to give it to them.

In the words of Benjamin Mays of Morehouse:

"These colleges are essential today, segregated as many of them are, and they will be needed in the nonsegregated tomorrow."

We have already learned to expect from these institutions the development of leaders in education and certain professions. They are doing their best job in these areas, and they must continue. But the future will demand other things as well. Since much of the anger and frustration in the ghettos arise from an acute sense of powerlessness, Negroes need more leaders trained in politics and public administration—such as Mayor Stokes.

And since economic self-help is a must for the Negro community, there is a great need for more Negro business leaders. In a recent article, Dr. Wilford White of Howard University said:

"The relative absence of Negro businessmen . . . deprives the Negro community of an essential symbol of full participation in American life . . . a vital source of legitimate power. It blunts motivation. The nation as a whole loses the potential product of Negro entrepreneurs. And the relative absense of business motivation and participation among the Negro-American community means that a large segment of our population fails to understand the free enterprise system."

I might add, that at last count, there were less than 50 Negroes attending accredited graduate schools of business in the whole country.

Education, professions, business, politics—these are a few of the many areas where Negro leadership must be further developed. The predominantly Negro colleges of the nation have some unique strengths—psychological, geographical—to contribute to the job. Our contribution should be to fully support their efforts—to help provide the financial strength and moral support they need.

The United Negro College Fund helps provide money for 36 independent colleges and universities serving more than 40,000 students, including Wilberforce University right here in Ohio. These institutions, which belong to no other fund-rasing group, depend on the Fund for 13% of their annual educational budgets.

In this year's United Negro College campaign, the Cleveland area has set its one-year 1968 goal at $200,000 as part of a nationwide goal of $6½ million. That is the modest figure I put before you—$200,000—and I ask you to join me in seeing that we make that sum available to the colleges and students who need it for the urgent responsibilities that lie ahead. Cleveland, you might like to know, is a direct beneficiary of the United Negro College Fund. The investment comes back to us because surprisingly more than 3,000 Negro residents in this area are graduates from those colleges comprising the Fund, including the Mayor's wife, Shirley Stokes, a graduate of Fisk. Furthermore, over 200 students from Cleveland are currently enrolled among these colleges.

With all of the demands for contributions now being place upon us as individuals and as business or professional leaders, you are no doubt wondering how you can possibly help meet all these urgent appeals. I ask myself the same question. There never seems to be enough money to meet the needs of every legitimate, worthwhile cause.

Perhaps we need to re-examine our priorities—to reorganize our long contributions list in rank order from most-critical to least-critical in importance, making sure that those vital causes at the top are fully funded. This we are now doing at TRW.

I can't tell you what your priority list should look like. I would suggest, however, that such organizations as United Appeal should be up at the top for full support, as well as campaigns like "Cleveland, Now!" And while such important efforts are helping to work the ghetto problems primarily at the lower levels of the community, we must not forget to assign a top priority to higher education, particularly such organizations as the United Negro College Fund. For if we only work the problem from the bottom without also working it at the top, there will be no leadership developing to safely funnel the winds of change into the mainsails of constructive progress.

Each of us, I think, has accepted the absolute necessity of involvement as citizens and businessmen in the urban problems of our times. Let me make this observation: Our ultimate goal is not to offer welfare in any form; it is to offer opportunity in every form. Our obligation is not to perpetuate dependency; it is to remove the roadblocks that stand in the path of self-development.

One such roadblock—and a significant one—has been the insufficiency of education for responsible leadership. The problem will remain unless we are willing to support, with our commitment and resources, the institutions with the best potential for educating Negro youngsters for a new role in, hopefully, a single society.

Your personal and corporate contribution to the United Negro College Fund can help in a substantial way to remove that difficult roadblock and open the way for this nation to move—not toward two separate societies, but toward the still valid concept of one nation—indivisible.

DEATH OF AARON E. BEILER, LANCASTER, PA.

Mr. **CLARK**. Mr. President, an editorial from the Intelligencer Journal, of Lancaster, Pa., has recently come to my attention. It mourns the passing of Mr. Aaron E. Beiler, whose dedication to his faith, the Old Order Amish, and tolerance and understanding in a society which does not always tolerate or attempt to understand those who wish to do things differently should be an example and inspiration to us all. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this editorial be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AARON E. BEILER

It has been many years since this writer sat in the kitchen of the home of Aaron E. Beiler in Salisbury Township, east of Gap. In contrast to the cold winds of a late fall afternoon, the room was warm and comfortable.

In the other end of the large room, the women of the household were busy with preparations for supper; some of the items for that meal already were cooking on the large kitchen stove.

Meanwhile, Mr. Beiler was explaining the position of the Old Order Amish who were attempting to establish a parochial school system, oriented to vocational training for their older sons and daughters. The meeting was one of many with Mr. Beiler who as chairman of the educational committee had been designated as spokesman for the Old Order Amish as they sought approval of state educational authorities.

Many times since then, our thoughts have turned to Mr. Beiler and his group, their patience and tolerance in the midst of a society so different from their own. We have thought too of the persistence with which they persevered in their quest for that same kind of tolerance and understanding from the outside world.

To us, the eventual approval of their school program has always stood as an example of how patient and peaceful persistence can crown dissent with success in our democratic society. And it was people such as Aaron E. Beiler and his group who helped in the education of this writer, strengthening whatever qualities of tolerance and understanding he may possess. That is why the word of the death of Aaron E. Beiler brings a sense of personal loss. We mourn his passing, in common with his family and the many who respected him for his devotion and his faith.

THE PRESIDENT'S TRADE BILL DESERVES SUPPORT

Mr. **BARTLETT**. Mr. President, yesterday President Johnson sent to the Senate a message on the proposed Trade Expansion Act of 1968. I rise today to express my support of this measure, and to say a few words specifically in support of those provisions which would eliminate the American selling price as the method of valuation for certain imports.

At one time, the American selling price served a useful purpose. It provided protection for certain American industries struggling to establish themselves. Most benefited was the benzenoid chemical industry which was relatively new and might have been fatally afflicted had it been necessary to compete with foreign imports.

No longer is this true, however. The benzenoid chemical industry is thriving at home and abroad and has demonstrated its capability to enter into normal competition in both markets. Other industries which needed the protection provided by the American selling price have likewise demonstrated their ability to manage without this added support.

The American selling price has outworn its usefulness, and as with other things to which this has happened should be permitted to retire gracefully. And, it is not just a matter of continuing something no longer useful. It is a question of suffering a distinct detriment, for should we continue to use this outmoded system, we will lose the trade benefits negotiated at the Kennedy round.

First, our trading partners in the common market, the United Kingdom, Japan, and Switzerland have all agreed to make very substantial tariff reductions on all chemicals, covering a larger volume of trade than the cuts we agreed to make.

Second, common market countries have agreed to eliminate certain road taxes, a nontariff barrier which has heavily affected the kinds of cars we build for export. Elimination of those taxes would be an important gain for our automobile manufacturers.

Third, the United Kingdom has agreed to a 25-percent reduction in the tariff preference that commonwealth countries now receive on tobacco, and Switzerland has agreed to eliminate restrictions on imports of canned fruit preserved in corn syrup. This should be of great benefit to our Nation's farmers.

This we stand to gain, Mr. President, if we agree to eliminate ASP, an outmoded valuation system used by no other nation, which has ceased to serve any useful purpose in our own country and has created certain domestic inequities which should be removed.

It seems, Mr. President, that we have everything to gain, nothing to lose. For years, we have been discussing the elimination of ASP. No trading concessions were then offered in exchange. Now the opportunity to rid ourselves of this anachronism again presents itself and with it would come trade concessions of potentially significant impact upon American industry. It is clearly in the national interest to take the action recommended by President Johnson. I support it. It deserves the support of all of us.

OPPOSITION TO RESTORATION OF MILITARY AID TO GREECE

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, during his appearance before the Committee on Foreign Relations, testifying on the Foreign Assistance Act, Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford gave reasons why he felt the United States would be justified in restoring military aid to Greece in spite of the performance of the present dictatorship. Let me quote from the Secretary's remarks:

> I believe that the obligation upon us as a member of NATO is such that I place that as a more important consideration than I do the present Government of Greece. I believe that we deal with a highly imperfect world, and if we were to confine our help to our allies on the basis of our approving completely that different types of governments that existed then, I believe that NATO would dissolve and I believe that that would be a calamity. . . . I believe that we have more influence with Greece if we treat them as an ally and continue our relationship.

What Mr. Clifford is suggesting is that the United States should ignore the character of the present dictatorship in Greece and its illegal seizure of power, simply because Greece is a member of NATO. If a country is faithful to NATO, the Secretary seems to be arguing, we should be tolerant of its political system even if that system turns on its citizens and denies freedom and justice.

I suggest to the Secretary of Defense that he take a closer look at the basic purpose of the very North Atlantic Treaty he uses as justification for restoring military assistance to Greece.

The preamble of the North Atlantic Treaty states:

> The parties to this treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments. They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

What has become of such concepts as "democracy," "individual liberty," and the "rule of law" in Greece? In what way has the ruling junta demonstrated its fidelity to these aspects of the NATO treaty?

It is worthwhile recalling what the then Secretary of State Dean Acheson said of Greece on March 24, 1947:

> It is our object to help to maintain the present constitutional system of Greece so long as the majority of Greeks desire it, and to help Greece create conditions in which its free institutions can develop in a more normal fashion.
>
> * * * Since our primary purpose is to help people who are struggling to maintain their independence and their right to democratic development, *we would not, of course, want to continue this aid if we should find that our efforts were being frustrated by anti-democratic practices.* (Emphasis supplied.)

In spite of the language of the preamble of the North Atlantic Treaty and the assurances given by Dean Acheson as to the intent to our aid to Greece, we are now told that our obligations as a member of NATO are more important than the nature and character of the present Government of Greece. I, for one, reject this proposition. The junta of the colonels now in power in Greece deserves the censure of the United States, not its military support. To the long list of its sins this Government has now imprisoned and denied necessary medical assistance to the former Premier of Greece, Panayotis Canellopoulos, a man who has always been a great friend of the United States.

Mr. President, the U.S. Government should move with great caution in its relations with the Greek colonels, and should certainly not restore military assistance until such time as Greece has returned to a constitutional regime. Undoubtedly, the Greek colonels, like every other dictatorship in Greece's long history, will some day disappear. If the United States should implicate itself with this Government, we will have a bitter harvest of mistrust to deal with when democracy is finally restored in Greece.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial published in the Harrisburg Patriot, criticizing the apparent determination of the Defense Department to restore aid to Greece, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AID TO GREECE: IT SHOULDN'T INCLUDE U.S. ARMS

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in favor of reinstating American military aid to Greece, Secretary of Defense Clark M. Clifford reiterated some familiar and dreary rationalizations for doing precisely the wrong thing.

The aid, except for dollops of light weapons and replacement parts, was suspended about a year ago when the junta of Greek colonels seized power in order to thwart free elections, under the pretense that they were acting to forestall a Communist coup. The junta thereupon proceeded to stamp out freedom of speech, of assembly and of the press and torture its opponents or send them into exile.

It is, in short, a despicable government, its only saving grace being its inefficiency, but Secretary Clifford, expressing the Johnson Administration's position, argues that Greece is an old ally and member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and that "the obligations imposed on us by the NATO alliance are far more important than the kind of government they have in Greece or what we think of it."

The Secretary goes on to assert that unless Congress approves the full Administration request for military aid to Greece and other countries there might be "a crisis in allied confidence" and the curtailment "might be misinterpreted by some as a general retreat from our commitment to the maintenance of an effective system of collective security."

The reply to this is not that obligations and commitments are of no consequence or even that realism sometimes dictates that a nation must do unpleasant things to preserve its own interests. On the other hand, obligations must be understood for what they are, and realism must be realistic.

The NATO pact does not require member nations to support governments which have come to power illegally and which, in so doing, themselves flout the treaty's obligations to provide for the common defense. The Greek colonels have undertaken a massive purge of the country's armed forces, which are now so enfeebled as to be useless in the remote event of an attack from abroad. They are, however, strong enough to continue suppressing the democratic forces within Greece, and this is all the American jets and tanks would be used for.

As to any "crisis in allied confidence," most of America's NATO allies, at least those with democratic governments like Britain and Norway and Denmark, are opposed to the Greek junta and would lose even more confidence in the U.S. if this country foolishly comes to the aid of still another undemocratic regime. Mr. Clifford says he believes "we can play a greater part in helping Greece to get constitutional government if we continue our military aid than if we stop it." He is kidding himself, or someone. The Fascist-minded colonels have made it plain that they have no intention of permitting a return to genuine constitutional government in Greece.

America's commitment is, or should be, to the Greek people, whose liberties have been temporarily lost, and realism based on experience should presuade our policymakers that a freedom-loving people like the Greeks will be there long after the junta has vanished.

THE DRAFT AND THE SUPREME COURT—FUNDAMENTAL LEGAL ISSUES MUST STILL BE RESOLVED

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, on November 9, 1967, in commenting on the refusal of the Supreme Court to grant certiorari in the case of Mora and others against McNamara, involving draft cases, I stated that it was indeed unfortunate that the Supreme Court had not seen fit to review the vital issues raised by a draft of men to fight in the military services in the absence of a declaration of war by the Congress. I said at that time:

> It is, indeed, unfortunate that the majority of the Supreme Court did not see fit to grant the writ of certiorari and decide the issues raised.
>
> These issues must be decided if the collision course which the United States is following is to be changed.

Yesterday, the Supreme Court again refused to grant certiorari in the case of Holmes against United States involving a conscientious objector—a Jehovah's Witness minister—who had been drafted and had refused to perform noncombatant military service or civilian work.

As in the case of Mora and others against McNamara, Mr. Justice Douglas dissented from the refusal to grant certiorari. In a thoughtful, clearly reasoned, thoroughly documented opinion, Mr. Douglas pointed out that the Supreme Court had never passed on the constitutionality of drafting men to fight in the armed services in the absence of congressional declaration of war.

He cited Hughes, Civil Disobedience and the Political Question (43 N.Y.U.L. Rev. 1 (1968)), to the effect that if a war is unconstitutional and the Supreme Court does not invalidate it, then the conduct of the President "strengthens the moral case for disobeying Executive orders which stem from his departure from constitutional demands."

Mr. Justice Stewart filed a memorandum in the Holmes case that the case "does not involve the power, in the absence of a declaration of war, to compel military service in armed international conflict overseas." But he added that "if the latter question were presented, I would join Mr. Justice Douglas in voting to grant the writ of certiorari."

Mr. Justice Douglas was more emphatic in his dissenting opinion and concluded:

> As I said, the question whether there can be conscription when there has not been a declaration of war, has never been decided by this Court. It is an important question. It is a recurring question. It is coming to us in various forms in many cases as a result of the conflict in Vietnam. I think we owe to those who are being marched off to jail for maintaining that a declaration of war is essential for conscription an answer to this important undecided constitutional question.
>
> I would therefore grant certiorari in this case.

With this statement I emphatically agree.

I ask unanimous consent that dissenting opinions of Mr. Justice Stewart and Mr. Justice Douglas in the case of Mora and others against McNamara and the memorandum by Mr. Justice Stewart and the dissenting opinion by Mr. Justice Douglas in the case of Holmes against United States be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[Supreme Court of the United States,
October Term, 1967]

Mora et al. *v.* McNamara, Secretary of Defense, et al., on Petition for Writ of Certiorari to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit

(No. 401: Decided November 6, 1967)

Mr. Justice Douglas, with whom Mr. Justice Stewart concurs, dissenting.

The questions posed by Mr. Justice Stewart cover the wide range of problems which the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations recently explored, in connection with the SEATO Treaty of February 19, 1955, and the Tonkin Gulf Resolution.

Mr. Katzenbach, representing the Administration, testified that he did not regard the Tonkin Gulf Resolution to be "a declaration of war" and that while the Resolution was not "constitutionally necessary" it was "politically, from an international viewpoint and from a domestic viewpoint, extremely important." He added:

"The use of the phrase 'to declare war' as it was used in the Constitution of the United States had a particular meaning in terms of the events and the practices which existed at the time it was adopted. . . .

"[I]t was recognized by the Founding Fathers that the President might have to take emergency action to protect the security of the United States, but that if there was going to be another use of the armed forces of the United States, that was a decision which Congress should check the Executive on, which Congress should support. It was for that reason that the phrase was inserted in the Constitution.

"Now, over a long period of time. . . . there have been many uses of the military forces of the United States for a variety of purposes without a congressional declaration of war. But it would be fair to say that most of these were relatively minor uses of forces. . . .

"A declaration of war would not, I think, correctly reflect the very limited objectives of the United States with respect to Vietnam. It would not correctly reflect our efforts there, what we are trying to do, the reasons why we are there, to use an outmoded phraseology, to declare war."

The view that Congress was intended to play a more active role in the initiation and conduct of war than the above statements might suggest has been espoused by Senator Fulbright (Congressional Record, vol. 113, pt. 21, pp. 28590–28597.), quoting Thomas Jefferson who said: [1]

"We have already given in example one effectual check to the Dog of war by transferring the power of letting him loose from the Executive to the Legislative body, from those who are to spend to those who are to pay."

These opposed views are reflected in the *Prize Cases,* 2 Black 635, a five-to-four decision rendered in 1863. Mr. Justice Grier, writing for the majority, emphasized the arguments for strong presidential powers. Justice Nelson, writing for the minority of four, read the Constitution more strictly, emphasizing that what is war in actuality may not constitute war in the constitutional sense. During all subsequent periods in our history—through the Spanish-American War, the Boxer Rebellion, two World Wars, Korea, and now Vietnam—the two points of view urged in the *Prize Cases* have continued to be voiced.

A host of problems is raised. Does the President's authority to repel invasions and quiet insurrections, his powers in foreign relations and his duty to execute faithfully the laws of the United States, including its treaties, justify what has been threatened of petitioners? What is the relevancy of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and the yearly appropriations in support of the Vietnam effort?

The London Treaty (59 Stat. 1546), the SEATO Treaty (6 U.S.T. 81, 1955), the Kellogg-Briand Pact (46 Stat. 2343), and Article 39 of Chapter VII of the UN Charter deal with various aspects of wars of "aggression."

Do any of them embrace hostilities in Vietnam, or give rights to individuals affected to complain, or in other respects give rise to justiciable controversies?

There are other treaties or declarations that could be cited. Perhaps all of them are wide of the mark. There are sentences in our opinions which, detached from their context, indicate that what is happening is none of our business:

"Certainly it is not the function of the Judiciary to entertain private litigation—even by a citizen—which challenges the legality, the wisdom, or the propriety of the Commander-in-Chief in sending our armed forces abroad or to any particular region." *Johnson* v. *Eisentrager,* 339 U.S. 763, 789.

We do not, of course, sit as a committee of oversight or supervision. What resolutions the President asks and what the Congress provides are not our concern. With respect to the Federal Government, we sit only to decide actual cases or controversies within judicial cognizance that arise as a result of what the Congress or the President or a judge does or attempts to do to a person or his property.

In *Ex parte Milligan,* 4 Wall. 1, the Court relieved a person of the death penalty imposed by a military tribunal, holding that only a civilian court had power to try him for the offense charged. Speaking of the purpose of the Founders in providing constitutional guarantees, the Court said:

"They knew . . . the nation they were founding, be its existence short or long, would be involved in war; how often or how long continued, human foresight could not tell; and that unlimited power, wherever lodged at such a time, was especially hazardous to freemen. For this, and other equally weighty reasons, they secured the inheritance they had fought to maintain, by incorporating in a written constitution the safeguards which *time* had proved were essential to its preservation. Not one of these safeguards can the President, or Congress, or the Judiciary disturb, except the one concerning the writ of *habeas corpus.*" *Id.,* 125.

The fact that the political branches are responsible for the threat to petitioners' liberty is not decisive. As Mr. Justice Holmes said in *Nixon* v. *Herndon,* 273 U.S. 536, 540.

"The objection that the subject matter or the suit is political is little more than a play upon words. Of course the petition concerns political action but it alleges and seeks to recover for private damage. That private damage may be caused by such political action and may be recovered for in a suit at law hardly has been doubted for over two hundred years, since *Ashby* v. *White*, 2 Ld. Raym, 938, 3 *id.* 320, and has been recognized by this Court."

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[1] 15 Papers, of Jefferson 397 (Boyd ed., Princeton 1955). In the Federalist No. 69, at 465 (Cooke ed. 1961), Hamilton stated:

"The President is to be Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States. In this respect his authority would be nominally the same with that of the King of Great Britain, but in substance much inferior to it. It would amount to nothing more than the supreme command and direction of the military and naval forces, as first General and Admiral of the Confederacy; while that of the British King extends to the *declaring* of war and to the *raising* and *regulating* of fleets and armies; all which by the Constitution under consideration would appertain to the Legislature."

These petitioners should be told whether their case is beyond judicial cognizance. If it is not, we should then reach the merits of their claims, on which I intimate no views whatsoever.

[Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1967]

MORA ET AL. *v.* MCNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, ET AL., ON PETITION FOR WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE U.S. COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

(No. 401: Decided November 6, 1967)

Mr. Justice Steward, with whom Mr. Justice Douglas joins, dissenting.

The petitioners were drafted into the United States Army in late 1965, and six months later were ordered to a West Coast replacement station for shipment to Vietnam. They brought this suit to prevent the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Army from carrying out those orders, and requested a declaratory judgment that the present United States military activity in Vietnam is "illegal." The District Court dismissed the suit,[1] and the Court of Appeals affirmed.[2]

There exist in this case questions of great magnitude. Some are akin to those referred by Mr. Justice Douglas in *Mitchell* v. *United States*, 386 U.S. 972. But there are others:

I. Is the present United States military activity in Vietnam a "war" within the meaning of Article I, Section 8, Clause 11 of the Constitution?

II. If so, may the Executive constitutionally order the petitioners to participate in that military activity, when no war has been declared by the Congress?

III. Of what relevance to Question II are the present treaty obligations of the United States?

IV. Of what relevance to Question II is the joint Congressional ("Tonkin Bay") Resolution of August 10, 1964?

(a) Do present United States military operations fall within the terms of the Joint Resolution?

(b) If the Joint Resolution purports to give the Chief Executive authority to commit United States forces to armed conflict limited in scope only by his own absolute discretion, is the Resolution a constitutionally impermissible delegation of all or part of Congress' power to declare war?

These are large and deeply troubling questions. Whether the Court would ultimately reach them depends, of course, upon the resolution of serious preliminary issues of justiciability. We cannot make these problems go away simply by refusing to hear the case of three obscure Army privates. I intimate not even tentative views upon any of these matters, but I think the Court should squarely face them by granting certiorari and setting this case for oral argument.

[Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1967]

HOLMES *v.* UNITED STATES, ON PETITION FOR WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE U.S. COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SEVENTH CIRCUIT

(No. 1072: Decided May 27, 1968)

Memorandum of Mr. Justice Stewart.

This case, like *Hart* v. *United States*, No. 1044, Misc., *post*, p. —, involves the power of Congress, when no war has been declared, to enact a law providing for a limited period of compulsory military training and service, with an alternative of compulsory domestic civilian service under certain circumstances. It does not involve the power, in the absence a declaration of war, to compel military service in armed international conflict overseas. If the latter question were presented, I would join Mr. Justice Douglas in voting to grant the writ of certiorari.

[Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1967]

HOLMES *v.* UNITED STATES, ON PETITION FOR WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE U.S. COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SEVENTH CIRCUIT

(No. 1072: Decided May 27, 1968)

Mr. Justice Douglas, dissenting.

Petitioner, who describes himself as a Jehovah's Witnesses minister, was classified by his Selective Service Appeal Board in August 1965 as a conscientious objector. See § 6(j) of the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1948, 62 Stat. 604 (now the Military Selective Service Act of 1967), as amended, 50 U.S.C. App. § 456(j). Under § 6(j), as it read during all dates relevant to this case, a conscientious objector who, like petitioner, is also opposed to noncombatant military service, may in lieu of induction "be ordered by his local board . . . to perform . . . such civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest as the local board may deem appropriate . . ." Beginning in October 1965 petitioner and his Local Board exchanged a series of letters in which the Board explained to petitioner the types of civilian work available and petitioner asserted his religious scruples against serving the United States Government in any capacity, including civilian work programs. Petitioner reiterated this position in a personal meeting with his Local Board.

On February 7, 1966, the Board sent petitioner an order to report on February 21 to an Illinois state hospital for civilian work assignment. However, on the day he was due to report, petitioner notified the Board that he refused to do so for religious reasons.

By indictment, petitioner was charged with willful failure to report as ordered, in violation of § 12(a) of the Act.[1] At his nonjury trial petitioner moved for judgment of acquittal. That motion was denied, petitioner was convicted and sentenced to three years imprisonment, and the Court of Appeals affirmed, one judge dissenting. *United States* v. *Holmes*, 387 F. 2d 781 (C.A. 7th Cir.).

Petitioner asks this Court to decide whether a draft[2] of men into the Armed Forces in time of peace is constitutionally permissible. In the absence of a declaration of war, he argues, a draft is not authorized and is equivalent to involuntary servitude. The Court of Appeals held that Congress' power to conscript men into the Armed Forces was not so limited, and the Government, opposing certiorari, states that "[e]ven assuming that the present time is one of 'peace,' it has long been settled that the power to raise armies by conscription is not limited to periods of war or national emergency," citing *United States* v. *Henderson*, 180 F. 2d 711 (C.A. 7th Cir.), cert. denied, 339 U.S. 963, and *Etcheverry* v. *United States*, 320 F. 2d 873 (C.A. 9th Cir.), cert. denied, 375 U.S. 930.

It is clear from our decisions that conscription is constitutionally permissible when there has been a declaration of war. But we have never decided whether there may be conscription in absence of a declaration of war. Our cases suggest (but do not decide) that there may not be.

In *Hamilton* v. *Regents of University of California*, 293 U.S. 245, 265, Mr. Justice Cardozo, concurring (joined by Justices Brandeis and Stone), indicated that "governmental power in the exaction of military service when the nation is at peace" was an open question.

At the time Mr. Justice Cardozo wrote (1934) the Selective Draft Law Act of 1917, 40 Stat. 76, had been tested in this Court and its validity and congressional power to conscript men for military service upheld. This Act, however, was enacted May 18, 1917, *after* Congress had declared war on the German Empire on April 6, 1917. (Public Res. No. 1, 65th Cong., 40 Stat. 1.) Thus, the Court had no occasion to reach the problem of drafting men in a technical time of peace, that is, a period not covered by declaration of war. *Selective Draft Law Cases*, 245 U.S. 366. There the Court stated that the basis of congressional power to conscript had to be found in its Art. I, § 8, power to "make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces," to "raise and support armies," and "to declare war." *Id.*, at 377.

None of the decisions prior to the *Selective Draft Law Cases* touches directly on the power to conscript in peacetime, and the reason would appear to be that prior to 1917 the Congress had not enacted a true conscription or draft provision. In 1794 and 1797 Congress enacted measures authorizing the President to require state governors to organize a militia. (I Selective Service System, Backgrounds of Selective Service 59–60 (1947).) In 1814 President Madison by his Secretary of War James Monroe proposed a form of draft into the federal army which would raise some 80,000 recruits for two years' service. (6 Brant, James Madison 337 (1961); 2 Selective Service System, The Selective Service Act, Appendix A, at 143 (1954)). A bill along this line passed the Senate, 19 to 12, but was defeated in the House (6 Brant, at 349, 359–260),[3] and the War of 1812 was completed with use of volunteers and the state militia.

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[1] — F. Supp. — (D. D. C. 1966).

[2] —U.S. App. D.C. —, — F. 2d —.

[1] Section 12(a) provides in part: "Any member of the Selective Service System . . . charged as herein provided with the duty of carrying out any of the provisions of this title, or the rules or regulations made or directions given thereunder, who shall knowingly fail or neglect to perform such duty . . . shall, upon conviction in any district court of the United States of competent jurisdiction, be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of not more than $10,000, or by both . . ."

[2] There is no permissible distinction between men conscripted for armed, combatant service overseas and those drafted for civilian work. Initially, the Government purports to uphold the conscription both of combatants for armed service and conscientious objectors for "civilian work" under the same source of power—Congress' war power and power to raise armies. Moreover, the loss of liberty for a conscientious objector drafted into civilian work is not appreciably less than that suffered by the combatant soldier. Except in unusual cases, the Local Board will not permit the conscientious objector to fulfill his work obligation in his home town (32 CFR § 1660.21(a)). The conscientious objector may indeed be ordered to do civilian work overseas (32 CFR § 1660.31(b)). There is nothing in the Act or regulations which precludes assigning the conscientious objector to civilian work in a theater of war, where his personal safety is imperiled. If he does not perform the assigned work "satisfactorily," he faces prosecution (32 CFR § 1660.31(c)).

The Civil War provision, the Enrollment Act of 1863, 12 Stat. 731, was the first enactment resembling what can be called a "draft" provision.[4] However, it created a "draft" on paper only. Under § 13 of the Enrollment Act enrollees could procure a substitute to avoid service or buy their way out for $300 or less. The result was that "[t]he poor hired themselves to serve for the well-to-do, as the law contemplated; then a flourishing traffic in substitution blossomed out; . . ." (Backgrounds of Selective Service, *supra*, at 66.) The Act procured only 6% of the total manpower for the North in the war: 46,000 conscripts and 118,000 substitutes. See Randall & Gordon, The Civil War and Reconstruction 315 (2d ed. 1961); and see Brandon, Where the Action Was in 1863, The Progressive, April 1968, at 19, and McCague, The Second Rebellion (1968), discussing extensive riots ignited by the 1863 Conscription Act.

The Act of 1863 was never directly attacked in this Court, and thus no opportunity to weigh the significance of the absence of a declaration of war (see the *Prize Cases*, 2 Black 635) arose. Many years later this Court twice suggested in dicta that the Act of 1963 was valid, but the absence of a declaration of war was not considered.[5] This dicta would have particularly little weight in view of the fact that what the 1863 Act created was not a true "draft" as we understand that term today.

Dicta in three post-Civil War cases indicated in a broad sense that the Court believed the Congress had power to enact a draft. *Tarble's Case*, 13 Wall. 397; *Street* v. *United States*, 133 U.S. 299; and *In re Grimley*, 137 U.S. 147. But none of these cases factually concerned conscription, and there is no reason to believe that the Court, in indicating that conscription could be valid, had in mind a peacetime draft.

During the Spanish American War no draft provision was enacted—Congress merely called for a volunteer army. Apart from certain laws reorganizing the national militia, it was not until the Selective Service Draft Act of 1917 that Congress provided for conscription into the Regular Army.

Accordingly, Mr. Justice Cardozo's statement in *Hamilton* that Congress' power to institute a peacetime draft was an open question is vindicated by the pre-1934 decisions of this Court. Turning to post-1934 decisions of this Court, the same conclusion follows. The Act of 1917 was superseded by the Selective Service Act of 1940, 54 Stat. 885. No decision directly attacking the constitutional basis of congressional power to conscript, as exercised in the 1940 Act, came before this Court. In those decisions involving application of the Act, the attempt to induct the potential soldier had occurred after the declaration of war with Japan on December 8, 1941 (55 Stat. 795), so that the issue of a peacetime draft was not before the Court. Thus, in *Billings* v. *Truesdell*, 321 U.S. 542, where a 1942 induction was in issue, the Court stated: "We have no doubt of the power of Congress to enlist the manpower of the nation *for the prosecution of the war* and to subject to military jurisdiction those who are unwilling, as well as those who are eager, to come to the defense of their nation in its hour of peril." *Id.*, at 556. (Emphasis added.)

In 1948 the Act of 1940 was superseded by the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which in turn forms the basis of the current draft law, the Military Selective Service Act of 1967, 81 Stat. 100. No direct attack was made in this Court on the power of Congress to conscript, as exercised in the 1948 Act, but application of the Act was before the Court in two Korean War period cases. *Orloff* v. *Willoughby*, 345 U.S. 83, concerned a petitioner called up under the doctor's draft provisions of the Act who demanded that he either be commissioned an officer and assigned medical duties in the area of his specialty or released. The doctor was inducted on July 26, 1951, before the effective date of termination of our state of war with either Germany (October 19, 1951) or Japan (April 28, 1952). No question of unlawful peacetime draft was raised or alluded to in the case.

United States v. *Nugent*, 346 U.S. 1, concerned the procedures for administrative appeal of those claiming to be conscientious objectors, one of the petitioners having been called for induction in November 1951 and the other in February 1952. The Court said:

"The Selective Service Act is a comprehensive statute designed to provide an orderly, efficient and fair procedure to marshal the available manpower of the country, to impose a common obligation of military service on all physically fit young men. It is a valid exercise of the *war power*. It is calculated to function—it functions today—in times of peril." *Id.*, at 9, decided June 8, 1953. (Emphasis added.)

In that case the declaration of war against Japan in 1941 still had effect that the time of petitioners' induction, although there had been no declaration of war accompanying the Korean conflict.[6]

The Court has held that "War does not cease with a cease-fire order . . . ." *Ludecke* v. *Watkins*, 335 U.S. 160, 167. It "continues for the duration of [the] emergency" (*Woods* v. *Miller Co.*, 333 U.S. 138, 141), and empowers the Government "to guard against the immediate renewal of the conflict." *Hamilton* v. *Kentucky Distilleries Co.*, 251 U.S. 146, 161 (quoting from *Stewart* v. *Kahn*, 11 Wall. 493, 507). In the *Kentucky Distilleries* case the Court indicated that war powers endure for some purposes until the treaty of peace is effective.[7] If, for the purposes of the draft, war continues until the treaty is effective, the attempted inductions of the petitioners in the *Nugent* case were manifestly not peacetime inductions.

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[3] The House bill required classification of all free, white males 18 to 45 into groups of 25 men. Each group would have to provide one recruit. Under Monroe's version, if this was not done, the recruit would be chosen by draft, but the drafted man could provide a substitute. (2 Selective Service System, The Selective Service Act, Appendix A, at 145). Under the House version failure to provide the recruit resulted in a monetary forfeiture levied on each member of the group. (*Id.*, at 153–154.) Daniel Webster strenuously argued in the House of Representatives that the draft bill was unconstitutional. He noted that the draft power claimed for Congress by Madison and Monroe was not limited to time of war or invasion and would permit a draft of men for any type of military service, at home or abroad, at the discretion of the Government. (Daniel Webster, Speech Against the Conscription Bill, House of Representatives, December 9, 1814, in L. Schlissel, ed., Conscience in America 67 (1968). And see 86 Cong. Rec. 5210). "Who will showe me," he argued, "any constitutional injunction, which makes it the duty of the American people to surrender every thing valuable in life, & even life itself, not when the safety of their country and its liberties may demand the sacrifices, but whenever the purposes of an ambitious & mischeivous Government may require it? Sir, I almost disdain to go to quotations & references to prove that such an abominable doctrine has no foundation in the Constitution of the country." (*Id.*, at 68.)

[4] The Act of 1863 provided in § 1, "That all able-bodied male Citizens of the United States, and persons of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath their intention to become citizens under and in pursuance of the laws thereof, between the ages of twenty and forty-five years, except as hereinafter excepted, are hereby declared to constitute the national forces, and shall be liable to perform military duty in the service of the United States when called out by the President for that purpose."

The country was divided up into enrollment districts, and enrollment officers made up two types of lists: class No. 1 consisting of all unmarried eligible enrollees plus others 20 to 35; class No. 2 consisting of the others. Men could be called up during a two-year period following the July after their enrollment and would have to serve up to three years. A pecking-order for draft purposes was compiled on a Draw or lottery-type system. The President would inform each enrollment district of its conscription quota. Exemptions were given the physically and mentally handicapped and sole surviving sons of widows, widowers with young dependent children, etc.

[5] In the *Selective Draft Law Cases*, 245 U.S. 366, 388, the Court said: "Cogency, however, if possible, is added to the demonstration by pointing out that in the only case to which we have been referred where the constitutionality of the Act of 1863 was contemporaneously challenged on grounds akin to, if not absolutely identical with, those here urged, the validity of the act was maintained for reasons not different from those which control our judgment. (*Kneedler* v. *Lane*, 45 Pa. St. 238.)" In *Lichter* v. *United States*, 334 U.S. 742, 757, n. 4, the Court said: "The draft was put in force both by the Union and by the Confederacy during the Civil War and its validity was sustained by the courts in both North and South. 'The power of coercing the citizen to render military service, is indeed a transcendent power, in the hands of any government; but so far from being inconsistent with liberty, it is essential to its preservation.'" The *Lichter* case itself did not concern a conscription act, but rather statutes enacted in 1942–1945 providing for recovery of excessive wartime profits, applied in that case to 1942–1943 earnings. Peacetime exercise of the war power was, therefore, not involved in *Lichter*.

[6] Cf. *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.* v. *Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579, 642, where Mr. Justice Jackson, concurring, said:

". . . no doctrine that the Court could promulgate would seem to me more sinister and alarming than that a President whose conduct of foreign affairs is so largely uncontrolled, and often even is unknown, can vastly enlarge his mastery over the internal affairs of the country by his own commitment of the Nation's armed forces to some foreign venture."

[7] The Court has used different tests to determine when war has ended depending on the nature of the war power sought to be exercised. In *Lee* v. *Madigan*, 358 U.S. 228, involving a prohibition of the Articles of War against court-martial trials for rape or murder committed in the United States "in time of peace," and in *Reid* v. *Covert*, 354 U.S. 1, 33–35 (opinion of BLACK, J.), concerning court-martial jurisdiction of civilians abroad, the Court said war ended with the cessation of hostilities. In respect to seizure and removal of aliens from this country, *Ludecke* v. *Watkins*, 335 U.S. 160, summary exclusion of aliens without hearing; *Knauff* v. *Shaughnessy*, 338 U.S. 537, imposition of housing and rent controls; *Woods* v. *Miller Co.*, 333 U.S. 138; and conserving manpower by forbidding liquor, *Hamilton* v. *Kentucky Distilleries Co.*, 251 U.S. 146, the Court has held that "war" extends beyond the cessation of hostilities. In *Knauff* the Court said as recently as 1950 that we were then in a state of war. 338 U.S., at 546. Because no decision of this Court has faced the question directly of the need for a declaration of war to uphold conscription, no decision indicates when "war" ends for draft purposes.

In World War II Germany surrendered May 8, 1945, and Japan surrendered September 2, 1945. See *Lee* v. *Madigan,* 358 U.S. 228, 230. On December 31, 1946, the President proclaimed the cessation of hostilities, declaring that a state of war still existed. (12 Fed. Reg. 1.) Congress declared the state of war with Germany terminated on October 19, 1951 (House Joint Res. No. 289, 65 Stat. 451) and the President proclaimed the same on October 24, 1951 (66 Stat., c. 3). The effective date of termination of state of war with Japan was April 28, 1952, when the Japanese Peace Treaty took effect (66 Stat., c. 31). See *Lee* v. *Madigan,* 358 U.S. 228, 230.

Mr. Justice Cardozo's question about peacetime draft seems, therefore, to be an open one still. While some decisions suggest that war powers may be exercised in an "emergency" prior to declaration of war, *e.g., Silesian-American Corp.* v. *Clark,* 332 U.S. 469, 476, there are other decisions directly linking the power of conscription to Congress' power under Art. I, § 8, cl. 11, to "declare war." [8] For example, in *United States* v. *MacIntosh,* 283 U.S. 605, the Court said: "In express terms Congress is empowered 'to declare war,' which necessarily connotes the plenary power to wage war with all the force necessary to make it effective; and 'to raise . . . armies,' which necessarily connotes the like power to say who shall serve in them and in what way." Id., at 622.

This Court has not reached the merits of the question which I have been discussing since the *Prize Cases,* 2 Black 635, decided in 1863. Even though Lincoln was putting down an insurrection within the country, the Court was divided five-to-four, Mr. Chief Justice Taney and Justices Catron, Clifford, and Nelson [9] voting that the President alone had no power to place an embargo under which a British ship was seized while in Hampton Roads.

Putting down an internal insurrection, like defending our shores against an aggressor, is certainly quite different from launching hostilities against a nation or a people overseas.[10] I express no opinion on the merits. But there is a weighty view that what has transpired respecting Vietnam is unconstitutional, absent a declaration of war; that the Tonkin Gulf Resolution is no constitutional substitute for a declaration of war; that the making of appropriations was not an adequate substitute; and that "executive warmaking is illegal." Those are the views of Francis D. Wormuth in The Vietnam War: The President versus the Constitution (1968).[11] Many share his views.[12] Another professor has recently pointed out the serious deleterious effects in the country stemming from the Court's failure to decide whether the President may constitutionally wage a foreign war in Vietnam without a declaration of war by Congress. Hughes, Civil Disobedience and the Political Question Doctrine, 43 N.Y.U.L. Rev. 1 (1968). In these type of cases, he says, "to deny certiorari, to dismiss suits without a reasoned opinion has a tendency to arouse suspicion that the Court is shrinking from making pronouncements about the basic norms of the [constitutional] system." *Id.*, at 18. If an executive war is unconstitutional, he says, but the Court refuses to invalidate it, then the President's "conduct strengthens the moral case for disobeying executive orders which stem from his departure from constitutional demands." *Id.*, at 19.

As I said, the question whether there can be conscription when there has not been a declaration of war, has never been decided by this Court. It is an important question. It is a recurring question. It is coming to us in various forms in many cases as a result of the conflict in Vietnam. I think we owe to those who are being marched off to jail for maintaining that a declaration of war is essential for conscription an answer to this important undecided constitutional question.

I would therefore grant certiorari in this case.

SHORTAGE OF PHYSICIANS AND OTHER HEALTH PERSONNEL

Mr. **SMATHERS.** Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Health of the Elderly, of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, I have been concerned over the shortage of physicians and other health personnel as one of the causes of rising health care costs and as a serious impediment to the delivery of health care to the elderly. Last year, our subcommittee conducted two hearings on the subject, "Costs and Delivery of Health Services to Older Americans," during which the health personnel shortage was thoroughly discussed.

It is encouraging that the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. Hill] has introduced an administration bill, S. 3095, to attack this problem, and that his Subcommittee on Health of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has held extensive hearings on his bill.

I was also encouraged recently to note an editorial entitled "Medical Manpower," written by President Milford O. Rouse, of the American Medical Association, calling for action to solve the medical personnel shortage and, in his words:

> To give all qualified young men and women

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[8] The case against the constitutionality of a peacetime draft is forcefully argued in a lawyers' brief on the subject which Senator Wheeler had printed in the Congressional Record when Congress was debating the bill that became the Selective Service Act of 1940. The argument, praised by Senator Wheeler as a "real contribution" to the debate, reviews the history of conscription in England prior to the American Revolution, concludes that peacetime draft was not tolerated there, and urges that the Framers of the Constitution intended Congress to "raise armies" in the manner by which they were raised in England. 86 Cong. Rec. 5206–5210. Jefferson stated in 1777 in a letter to John Adams: "Our people, even under the monarchial government, had learned to consider it [the draft] as the last of all oppressions." Jeffersonian Cyclopedia 263 (1900).

Chief Justice Taney said of the congressional power "to raise and support armies": "[T]he words themselves, even if they stood alone, will not, according to their known and established use and meaning in the English language, justify this construction [permitting conscription].

"During the period when the United States were English Colonies, the Army of England—the standing army—was always raised by voluntary enlistments—and the right to coerce all the able bodied subjects of the Crown into the ranks of the Army and subject them to military law, was not claimed or exercised by the English Government—and when the power to raise and support armies was delegated to Congress [by the States], the words of the grant necessarily implied that they were to be raised in the usual manner.—And the general government has always heretofore so understood them and has uniformly by its own officers recruited the ranks of its 'land forces' by voluntary enlistments for a specified period." Taney, Thoughts on the Conscription Law of the U. States—Rough Draft Requiring Revision, in Auchampaugh, ed., A Great Justice On State and Federal Power, 18 Tyler's Quarterly Historical & Genealogical Magazine 72, 81 (1936). See also *Kneedler* v. *Lane,* 45 Pa. St. 238, 254–255 (opinion of Woodward, J.); Black, the Selective Draft Cases—A Judicial Milepost on the Road to Absolutism, 11 B. U. L. Rev. 37 (1931).

[9] The dissent by Mr. Justice Nelson, which the other three joined, stated:

"I am compelled to the conclusion that no civil war existed between this Government and the States in insurrection till recognized by the Act of Congress 13th of July, 1861; that the President does not possess the power under the Constitution to declare war or recognize its existence within the meaning of the law of nations, which carriers with it belligerent rights, and thus change the country and all its citizens from a state of peace to a state of war; that this power belongs exclusively to the Congress of the United States and, consequently, that the President had no power to set on foot a blockade under the law of nations, and the capture of the vessel and cargo in this case, and in all cases before us in which the capture occurred before the 13th of July, 1861, for breach of blockade, or as enemies, property, are illegal and void, and that the decrees of condemnation should be reversed and the vessel and cargo restored." 2 Black 698–699.

[10] See *United States* v. *Smith,* 27 Fed. Cas. 1192 (C.C.D.N.Y. 1806). The defendant was charged with helping outfit a military expedition against a foreign nation with which the United States was at peace. (See 1 Stat. 384.) As one defense, he proposed to call witnesses who would prove that the President had consented to the military venture against Spanish holdings in South America. The report of the case contains an extensive, scholarly debate between counsel on the President's power to himself order a foreign invasion.

A two-judge court, speaking through Paterson, J., held that the Constitution, "which measures out the powers and defines the duties of the president, does not vest in him any authority to set on foot a military expedition against a nation with which the United States are at peace." (Pp. 1229–1230.) "Does he possess the power of making war? That power is exclusively vested in Congress . . . [T]he executive magistrate . . . and commander-in-chief of the forces by sea and land [may] . . . repel an invading foe. But to repel aggressions and invasions is one thing, and to commit them against a friendly power is another. . . . There is a manifest distinction between our going to war with a nation at peace, and a war being made against us by an actual invasion, or a formal declaration. In the former case, it is the exclusive province of congress to change a state of peace into a state of war. A nation, however, may be in such a situation as to render it more prudent to submit to certain acts of a hostile nature, and to trust to negotiations for redress, rather than to make an immediate appeal for arms. Various considerations may induce to a measure of this kind: such as motives of policy, calculations of interest, the nature of the injury and provocation, the relative resources, means and strength of the two nations, etc. and, therefore, the organ entrusted with the power to declare war, should first decide whether it is expedient to go to war, or to continue in peace . . ." (Pp. 1230–1231.)

[11] An Occasional Paper published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California.

[12] There are of course opposed views; and many *pros* and *cons* of the issue are canvassed in The Vietnam War and International Law (Amer. Soc. Int. Law, ed. by Richard A. Falk) also published in 1968.

who aspire to become physicians . . . the opportunity to do so.

President Rouse's pronouncement on this subject represents enlightened professional leadership of the highest order. It appears as the president's page in the May 13, 1968, issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEDICAL MANPOWER

In previous communications I have indicated that I believe that health care of high quality can be organized and delivered to the nation economically and with maximum accessibility and availability, in a context of competitive, market-oriented enterprise.

I have also indicated, however, that the success of this effort depends upon our candid recognition of those characteristics of the health care service area that violate the precepts of competitive enterprise. The feature to which conservative economists—like Friedman—have most often alluded as a failure in the enterprise approach, is the continuing and serious bottlenecks confronted by qualified aspirants who seek to enter our profession.

I am happy to report that the American Medical Association and the Association of American Medical Colleges are now working in close cooperation and harmony to reduce this obstruction as soon as possible. It a recent joint statement the two organizations agreed that "all medical schools should now accept as a goal the expansion of their collective enrollments to a level that permits all qualified applicants to be admitted. As a nation we should address the task of realizing this policy goal with a sense of great urgency."

We recognize that this noble goal cannot be achieved overnight. It is possible, however, to initiate immediate expansions in certain existing schools and to take action to accelerate the establishment of new schools. The tailoring of innovative experiments that will result in the acceptance of more qualified applicants can also be emphasized.

In Indiana, for example, steps are being taken to provide basic science training in selected colleges of liberal arts so that increased numbers of applicants can be taken into the second or third years of the medical school. Experiments along this line are especially promising because of the fact that the impediment to medical school matriculation exists almost entirely in the first year. It is significantly less in the second year and almost nonexistent in the third. Thus, a student who has completed the first two years of medical school—whether in an existing two-year medical school or in an undergraduate liberal arts college which provides comparable training—encounters almost no problem in completing the last two years of medical schools.

The recognition of the acute physician shortage is also a stimulating reassessment of the length of medical education required before a physician is ready to practice. It is possible that this reassessment will result in shortening of the total educational experience with significant portions of the medical school curriculum assigned to undergraduate college years, while the medical school becomes a center of teaching primarily for clinical subjects.

Another development which is now imminent is a shift from emphasis on research back to teaching. It is obvious that the large federal appropriations for research of the last 15 years have resulted in a serious imbalance between research and teaching. The recent AMA-sponsored Commission on Research, recognizing this imbalance, strongly recommended that federal appropriations, as well as other sources of finances for operational support of medical schools, be markedly increased. This recommendation was accepted by the AMA House of Delegates.

The danger of possible federal control of medical education, which led the AMA to oppose this kind of subsidy for years, still remains—but the acute manpower shortage forces us to take the risk. Certainly we shall do everything possible, while supporting increased federal appropriations for this purpose, to promote local public and private financing so that our medical schools have pluratistic support from multiple sources.

One dividend of this joint working relationship between the AMA and AAMC is the salutary impact it is having on the traditional "town-gown conflict." The acute physician deficit has brought the academic community and practicing physicians together in a program that requires their combined efforts toward a common goal.

I am confident that this program will succeed. A climate of understanding and joint purpose will direct our energies and mobilize our resources in such a way that within a few years all qualified young men and women who aspire to become physicians will have the opportunity to do so. Some of them will fail, during their educational experience or subsequently in medical practice. But, at least, we shall have given them the opportunity to compete, and to succeed or fail according to their individual aptitudes.

MILFORD O. ROUSE, M.D.

MUTUAL FUND PARTICIPATION IN PROXY FIGHTS

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, last year the Senate passed a bill, S. 510, which is designed to fill a gap in the provisions of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to require disclosure in connection with corporate takeovers. The bill was approved unanimously by the Committee on Banking and Currency. I was pleased to support the bill and to work toward its enactment.

I recognize how important it is that the American investing public have full knowledge and information concerning tender offers and other efforts designed to change the management of American industry. All too often corporate takeovers are directed not for the benefit of the corporation and its shareholders but rather for the benefit of a select few. Indeed, there is increasing evidence that the Investment Company Act is also being used in conjunction with corporate takeover bids. This is an abuse of the purpose of this act. Mutual funds are not to be used in this way.

I invite attention to the comments made by the majority and minority leadership of the Committee on Banking and Currency at a public hearing on May 16, 1968, regarding this problem.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of the chairman of the committee [Mr. SPARKMAN] and those of the ranking minority member [Mr. BENNETT] be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

And if I can be just a little more explicit, I want to say this: There have been occurrences over the last year or two that have made quite an impression on my thinking with reference to this field. One was the speech delivered by the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board some time ago about the impact on the stock market institutional investing.

I have noted over the last year or two the prominent part that the use of mutual funds has been made to play in proxy fights. I hope that the study will certainly go into this question—and I think perhaps this is something we may overlook—as to whether or not the good of the shareholders is disregarded in manipulating mutual funds for the purpose of sustaining or overthrowing management of a particular company.

I do not believe that, as important a part as mutual funds play in our economic life and with the many thousands of shareholders, a great many of them small investors, there should be a manipulation of the kind that I fear has been.

Senator BENNETT. I am concerned about that too. I am concerned with the maintenance of the availability of mutual fund type of investment to the small investor, but I agree with you, once those funds have been gathered together to create more power than the small investor would have, I don't think they should be manipulated either for or against the management of a particular company, without regard to the shareholders of that company.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I commend my colleagues for these statements, and I wish to associate myself with them. I hope that the bill that we have already passed in the Senate—S. 510—will be approved by the House of Representatives soon.

THE CANADIAN AUTOMOTIVE AGREEMENT

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the Canadian Automotive Agreement has now been in effect for more than 3 years. The President's second annual report to the Congress on the operation of the agreement has now been received, albeit tardily. The President's report, Mr. President, demonstrably illustrates how unwise the U.S. commitment under the agreement has been. From a trade surplus with Canada in the automotive category—vehicles including cars, trucks, and buses and parts—of $578.3 million in calendar year 1964 our Canadian automotive trade surplus has diminished to $285.8 million in calendar year 1967 or a reduction in excess of 50 percent in the third year in which the agreement has been in force. This, Mr. President, after assurances from administration representatives at the time Finance Committee hearings were held on implementing legislation to this agreement that our automotive export surplus would not be curtailed. I recall those hearings very well Mr. President and I recall Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Trued's statement that under the agreement we would "maintain our present sizable surplus with Canada in automotive trade." I did not join with the majority of my colleagues on that committee in referring the enabling legislation favorably to the full Senate; I do know, Mr. President, as the majority report evidences, that it was upon such representations that my colleagues on that committee favorably reported the legislation.

Under the agreement neither country is a loser; both are winners. By the Treasury computations both nations will share in the expanded trade in such proportions that our

> favorable balance of trade will not be disrupted over the period covered by the letters of undertaking. Such a result of a trade agreement is truly unique. Generally one party or the other must suffer an unfavorable shift in trade patterns. By this agreement we will avoid an unfavorable shift in our export trade. P. 13–14, Report of the Finance Committee on the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965.

I have prepared a table which shows, on a comparison basis for the years 1961 through 1967 inclusive, the severity with which the agreement has adversely effected our balance of payments. The table is a combination, in part, of table II, page 10 of the Finance Committee report on the agreement dated September 27, 1965, and which shows United States-Canadian automotive trade for the calendar years 1961 to 1964 inclusive, and table 14, page 52 of the President's report which, inter alia, provides the same information for the years 1965 to 1967, inclusive. This table is as follows:

U.S. AUTOMOTIVE TRADE WITH CANADA

[In millions of U.S. dollars]

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
U.S. exports:							
Passenger cars	45.2	50.2	26.9	43.4	114.0	275.6	563.0
Trucks, buses, and chassis	23.2	19.2	16.3	15.2	45.4	83.6	138.3
Parts and accessories	311.8	330.1	497.7	393.4	700.5	952.1	1,099.9
Total	380.2	399.6	541.0	654.0	860.0	1,311.4	1,801.2
U.S. imports:							
Passenger cars	.6	.8	.8	18.9	84.1	370.7	818.0
Trucks, buses, and chassis	.2	.3	1.6	4.7	23.7	158.3	269.9
Parts and accessories	6.9	8.4	18.8	52.2	94.0	315.2	427.5
Total	7.7	9.5	21.4	75.7	201.8	844.1	1,515.4
Total, U.S. net exports	372.5	390.1	519.6	578.3	658.1	467.2	285.8

While it is apparent, Mr. President, that our automotive exports to Canada have increased by 275 percent—comparing 1964 to 1967—our automotive imports from Canada have increased by 2,000 percent with a resultant decrease in our Canadian automotive trade surplus of more than 50 percent!

Mr. President, the reason for the enactment of enabling legislation to the Agreement—the Agreement itself was an Executive Agreement which was not ratified by the Senate but the enabling legislation was in substance a ratification of the Agreement—was because the Canadian Government in 1963 had unilaterally undertaken to remit tariffs in order to stimulate Canadian automotive exports. The Agreement and the corresponding legislative implementation, the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965, was the reasoned compromise our Government sought in the face of the Canadian illegal and unilateral remission scheme. As Senators RIBICOFF and GORE and myself stated in our minority views to the Finance Committee report on the enabling legislation:

> With regard to our balance of payments, the Assistant Secretary of International Affairs for the Treasury Department, the Honorable Merlyn N. Trued, testified that in 1964 we had a favorable trade surplus with Canada of $581 million. He further testified that under this agreement, we would retain that surplus, i.e., in 1968 our trade surplus is estimated to be, under the agreement, $580 million. He failed to say that it is estimated that, had the Canadians been persuaded to drop their illegal tariff remission scheme, our trade surplus with Canada would have reached $841 million by 1968. Further, had we done nothing at all in the face of their remission scheme, our surplus would have been $650 million.
>
> In other words, from a balance of payments point of view, in protesting the drop from $850 million to $650 million, the State Department negotiated us down to $580 million.

In short, Mr. President we have gone from a $650 million trade surplus—giving full consideration to the effect of the illegal Canadian remission scheme—to a trade surplus of only $285.8 million.

This Agreement was sold to the American people as free trade. In fact, Mr. President, the Agreement as we noted in our minority views "is the antithesis of free trade." Their is no removal of tariffs generally but only for a few chosen automobile manufacturers. The Agreement and the implementing legislation is class legislation of the worst order.

To quote again from the minority views to the Finance Committee's report on the implementing legislation:

> The Canadian duty on American automobiles is not removed. A dealer in Montana or Maine cannot sell duty-free across the border in Canada. Only an automobile manufacturer can import into Canada free of the 17½ percent Canadian tariff. Not only that, it must be a qualified manufacturer; i.e., one who has provided satisfactory commitments to the Canadian Government.
>
> U.S. duties are not lowered for the benefit of everyone. Parts may be imported duty free only if they are going to an automobile manufacturer. The dealer or supplier who would attempt to sell Canadian made parts to automobile supply stores or automobile repair businesses, or directly to American consumers, must still pay the tariff.

Mr. President, I have always held to the view that the removal of barriers to trade through equitable and reciprocal concession is a valid and important principle in the promotion of commerce between nations.

The concessions in the Canadian agreement are neither equitable nor reciprocal. What has been hailed as "the most successful bilateral trade arrangement in Canadian history" is conversely one of the worst for the United States and the American people. The real beneficiaries of the agreement are a chosen few automobile manufacturers. America has gained nothing but a severe reduction of a balance-of-payments surplus we can ill afford.

I would hope, Mr. President, that when the President of the United States submits his special report to Congress on the agreement and his recommendations prior to September 1, 1968, that he take full account of this severe reduction in our automotive trade surplus with Canada and that he take such measures as are necessary to reverse the situation including, if necessary, the giving of the notice required to withdraw the United States from the agreement.

CRIME, RIOTS, AND THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert the following news stories in the RECORD:

An article by Monroe W. Karmin, titled "Poor People's Campaign Attempts To Overcome Confusion, Gain Aims";

An article which appeared in today's Washington Post titled "Poor Push Protest—Many Leave Camp";

A Washington Post story of today titled "Fauntroy Asks Colleges To Aid Poor Campaign";

A story in today's Evening Star by Lee Flor titled "Chalk Rejects Scrip Plan for Night Buses";

A story by Donald Smith in today's Evening Star titled "Abernathy Sleeps at Camp";

An Evening Star article of today titled "Fifteen More Hurt in Louisville Racial Strife"; and

A story in today's Evening Star titled "Tent City Half Empty as Sun Returns."

There being no objection the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 29, 1968]

STUMBLING CRUSADERS—POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN ATTEMPTS TO OVERCOME CONFUSION, GAIN AIMS—ABERNATHY SEEKS AID FROM ASPIRANTS FOR WHITE HOUSE; A NEW REALISM IS EVIDENT—MUD, VIOLENCE, AND LOW MORALE

(By Monroe W. Karmin)

WASHINGTON.—The Poor People's Campaign, mired in misfortune and mismanagement, is groping for success via an old and trusted strategy.

It's called the "devil" formula and derives from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's successful use in the South of selected enemies, such as Police Chief Eugene (Bull) Connor and his dogs in Alabama, to generate wide public support. Now the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of SCLC and his advisers are ready to try to apply the theory, in modified form, to Presidential politics.

The idea is to haunt White House aspirants with the specter of being cast as villains unsympathetic to the poor people's national aims. The strategy is based on the assumption—as yet far from proven—that there is enough public support for the Poor People's Campaign to persuade the candidates, especially the Democrats, to pay heed.

The opening gambit was Mr. Abernathy's televised statement that, in a departure from past SCLC policy, "it may become necessary this year for us to support" a candidate "if we can find one that will come forth with a real program to deal with poverty." Clearly, support for one candidate could easily mean condemnation for another.

This has been followed, in a move not yet made public, by telegrams inviting the leading Presidential contenders to visit the poor people's muddy campsite and proclaim their intentions to the thousands of rain-drenched poor who have settled here in "Resurrection City" to dramatize their plight to the nation's decision-makers.

GETTING AT JOHNSON INDIRECTLY

Though dispatched to both Democrats and Republicans, the telegrams clearly are directed at the competition within the Democratic Party. SCLC expects that Sen. Kennedy may promise them the most, but their real intent is to threaten Vice President Humphrey with the "devil" specter. In this fashion, they hope to provoke President Johnson to come to Mr. Humphrey's aid by offering some plums for the poor people.

What the Poor People's Campaign managers apparently would like is something of this sort:

A formal invitation to the White House, the presentation of a Presidential package of actions (even if it is only a dressed-up collection of what Federal agencies already are prepared to do), a pledge of more help to come and, most important, some warm words to serve as a victorious justification for the big pilgrimage to Washington that now appears teetering on the brink of failure.

No one knows whether Mr. Johnson will be so accommodating; at a press conference yesterday, he avoided direct comment on the poor people's camp-in, saying only that the Administration is making "rather substantial progress" in Congress on proposed social legislation costing $78 billion.

But SCLC strategists, as they see it, have carefully left the President an opening. Despite Mr. Abernathy's statement that he plans eventually to take the poor people's problem to the White House "directly or indirectly," there has been no real attempt yet to embarrass Mr. Johnson—no picketing of the White House, for instance. And, Mr. Abernathy, unlike the late Martin Luther King, has refrained from harping on the Vietnam war.

TAKING CREDIT

In the SCLC view, a friendly gesture by LBJ would be the icing on the cake expected from Congress, which—the tough public talk notwithstanding—is not a very rich cake at all. "The name of the game is to take credit for what happens," explains an insider, "even if it was going to happen anyway."

That's precisely what SCLC intends to do on Capitol Hill, though the poor people's strategists hope that the worried Presidential candidates will prod their Congressional allies to produce more legislation than might otherwise have emerged.

At the very least, the Poor People's Campaign managers expect Congress to enact a major housing bill and to appropriate funds for the Model Cities and rent supplement programs. The poor people will claim credit for these actions. They are also ready to accept other evidence of legislative progress even without final action this year; such evidence might include Senate approval of a big public job bill, and any movement on a guaranteed income proposal, both of which are at least possible.

The point is that, in private, the poor people's strategists are more realistic than the public rhetoric would indicate. "Very low-keyed and reasonable," is the description of the Abernathy pitch given by one who has attended private meetings between poor people's leaders and Congressional representatives. What the SCLC seems to want is a respectable box score on Capitol Hill, plus some White House action to present as success on "Solidarity Day," June 19. That is the day thousands of poor people's supporters are scheduled to come to Washington for a one-day demonstration.

THE CROWN OF SUCCESS

If much or all of this happens, the thousands of campers in Resurrection City here will pull up stakes. They may well curse Congress as niggardly, promise to come back for more and break up into smaller groups that would dog the August political conventions and the autumn campaigns. But they will leave Washington.

Mr. Abernathy's talk about remaining in the capital for "years" is mostly bombast. For a variety of reasons, he wants to depart Washington on or about June 19 wearing the crown of success. He needs an appearance of quick victory to establish himself as the rightful heir to the murdered Mr. King. He knows he can better manage small groups of well-disciplined followers at the political conventions and during the political campaigns than he can control the thousands of poor people in Resurrection City. And the Washington campaign has so totally preoccupied SCLC that its other activities, including voter registration and literacy projects, have lagged.

"SCLC would like to get out of here by June 19, but they have to have something to take back with them," says a friend of the organization. "They've got to have a basket of gains." And the wheels are turning to help fill that basket.

When Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, in response to a poor people's demand, announced that surplus food would be distributed to hundreds of counties not covered by the Government's food stamp plan, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, an SCLC lieutentant, rejected the overture as insufficient. "Freeman's more concerned with balancing his economy than balancing your stomachs," Mr. Jackson told his followers. But Mr. Abernathy, on television last weekend, labeled the Freeman move "a magnificent accomplishment for the Poor People's Campaign."

The need to depart Washington with dignity is made all the more imperative by the disarray that now afflicts the Poor People's Campaign.

Item: Though Mr. Abernathy embraces the King doctrine of nonviolence, Resurrection City is trembling with violence or threats of it. Hundreds of young toughs from Northern ghettos have had to be shipped home. A white workman was beaten; a white news photographer was assaulted; other whites have been threatened. Some youngsters have wandered off to disrupt District of Columbia schools. The situation compelled a public apology from SCLC. "We tried to bring here representatives of the full range of poverty," explained the Rev. Andrew Young, a high official of SCLC, "and I guess we were too successful."

Item: A key tactic in the nonviolent strategy is to achieve symbolic arrests to dramatize the plight of the arrested and the hard-heartedness of those ordering the arrests; indeed, 18 demonstrators were arrested last week when they marched up to Capitol Hill to seek an audience with Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee (accused by the poor people of "keeping us in slavery" by promoting restrictive welfare legislation). Yet this "symbolic" arrest was not supposed to happen at all; the anti-Mills protest was organized not by SCLC but by an outside supporter—George Wiley, president of the National Welfare Rights Organization, who took command of a group of Resurrection City residents that was supposed to visit Capitol Hill as an observation team. "It was a wrong arrest of the wrong people at the wrong time," confides a campaign insider.

Item: SCLC's decision to state its legislative goals mostly in generalities has left the campaign's Capitol Hill friends in a dither. Congressional liberals have created an informal committee to find out precisely what the Abernathy group wants. Efforts to clarify the situation have not been especially successful. To one meeting with legislative staffers, SCLC sent the Rev. James Bevel, an expert in non-violence who, according to a friend, "doesn't know a damn thing about legislation."

MUD AND GARBAGE

Bad weather has compounded the problems of the Poor People's Campaign. Days of rain have turned Resurrection City from parkland to a mudhole. Garbage disposal is a problem; health dangers are feared; camp morale is sagging; tensions are rising. Hundreds of campers had to be evacuated to Washington churches. Mr. Abernathy, who has pledged to move into Resurrection City, never has; he stays at a Washington motel.

Now reports of high-level dissension affecting the campaign are circulating. To insure the success of Solidarity Day (postponed from Memorial Day to June 19 because of "problems of logistics"), Mr. Abernathy has called in Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York and organizer of the 1963 civil rights march here.

As his price for helping out, Mr. Rustin is reported insisting that the Abernathy group narrow its goals to the "clear and possible" and that he be given a say in deciding these goals. Some SCLC strategists fear that Mr. Rustin's entry may be the beginning of a takeover bid that may shunt Mr. Abernathy aside.

Much of the current confusion can be traced to the April assassination of Mr. King. The murder and funeral prevented the Atlanta-based SCLC leaders from moving into Washington until just before the first poor people's contingent was to arrive in Resurrection City.

But a good deal of the disorder can be attributed to Mr. Abernathy's uncertainty in the role of commander-in-chief and to his groping effort to abide by the principles of Mr. King but also establish himself as a leader in his own right. When Mr. Abernathy threatens to "raise hell" to "turn things upside down" and to "disrupt" the processes of Government, the result has been to stiffen white resistance to the Poor People's Campaign and to arouse some elements of his Negro public to unwelcome and unintended belligerence.

[From the Washington Post, May 29, 1968]

POOR PUSH PROTEST; MANY LEAVE CAMP

About 150 Poor People's Campaign demonstrators swarmed into the main foyer of the Agriculture Department yesterday while their leaders played a delicate verbal tug-of-war with Government officials and narrowly averted arrest.

The confrontation came while the Campaigners' Resurrection City reeled under new torrential rains, and 1200 to 1500 persons were evacuated to churches and other dry shelter.

The demonstrators, led by the Campaign chief, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, arrived at the Agriculture Department at 1:35 p.m. in a driving rain and asked to eat in the Department's cafeteria.

They were stopped at the door by Assistant Agriculture Secretary Joseph M. Robertson who said they could not be admitted until they settled a $292.66 bill for meals the demonstrators had eaten there Monday.

The demonstrators objected noisily. Robertson agreed to discuss the bill privately with a six-member delegation led by Mr. Abernathy while the others waited outside.

The delegation disappeared into the building while the remaining demonstrators began to clap and sing freedom songs in the rain. Within minutes, however, they started into the foyer of the building, some shouting sarcastically that they needed to "go to the rest room."

Metropolitan Policemen and Agriculture Department building guards moved about inside but did not restrain the demonstrators. Robertson emerged from the private meeting and warned leaders to clear the building or face arrest.

Nobody budged. Robertson conferred briefly with Mr. Abernathy and the Rev. Jesse Jackson, another Campaign leader, and then agreed to let the demonstrators stay inside while he resumed private talks with the six-member delegation.

The crowd shouted "soul power" and some sat or lay on the floor and began waiting.

At about 2:20 p.m., the meeting broke up and Mr. Jackson told the crowd that Robertson "tricked" them by delaying them with discussions until the cafetria had closed at 2 p.m.

"We came here and found not an abundance of food," he said, "but an abundance of bigots." The crowd cheered when he vowed to return regularly to the Department "until we eat."

He said he paid Robertson the $292.66 bill from Monday and was prepared to pay for yesterday's cafeteria costs, but "we were still turned away."

"We came here because we were hungry," said Mr. Abernathy. "This is our Department of Agriculture; it is owned by us, and yet we have been turned away in the cold."

The crowd then returned by bus to Resurrection City, the plywood shanty town near the Lincoln Memorial. Campaign leaders have focused demonstrations at the Agriculture Department because they feel its food distribution program to the poor is inadequate.

CAMPERS EVACUATED

The 15-acre encampment in West Potomac Park was in sodden disarray yesterday. At least half the camp's 2400 residents were evacuated. The large blue circus tent that served as the City's kitchen and dining hall collapsed early yesterday in the strong wind and heavy rain. A makeshift kitchen was set up in a smaller tent.

Several low-lying spots were flooded wih up to six inches of water, and a number of shanties were abandoned.

Much of the ground was transformed into deep, soupy mud. Relentless rains kept persons inside their frail, unheated shanties.

The evacuees, most of them women and children, the aged and sick, were taken both to private homes and to churches in the Washington area where they are expected to remain until the end of the week.

The Rev. Howard Stone Anderson, pastor of the First Congregational Church, 10th and G sts. nw., said the first major contingent of evacuees, about 450, had been taken to his church by bus late Monday night.

He said they had not spent the night at the church, but had been assigned there to private families who had volunteered to take them in.

Other groups went to Calvary Episcopal, Holy Comforter, Capitol Hill Presbyterian, St. Augustine Episcopal and Mount Moriah Baptist churches, as well as the Washington City Church of the Brethren, Friendship Settlement House and the William Penn Quaker Meeting House.

The Rev. Tom Toroshian, one of the coordinators of the evacuation to churches, said the response of the church community to the call for aid had been "splendid."

Mr. Toroshian said he had a list of additional churches that were "standing by," to feed and shelter, or offer brief, drying-out hospitality to the Campaigners as needed.

In a morning press briefing, Mr. Jackson acknowledged that many persons have left the campaign because of the discouraging weather.

But he described this as a "divine separating system," causing those persons with "no real sense of purpose" to leave and creating "new strength" among those remaining.

"Some just honestly can't cut it," he said. "But for many of us it's a matter of going for broke."

He accused the Agriculture Department of failing to release enough surplus food to needy persons and said it has not helped the Poor People's Campaign in any way.

A Department spokesman said yesterday that the Department issued 23,080 pounds of basic foodstuffs, such as flour, canned meat, powdered milk and cheese, on May 17 to be distributed to campaigners by the D.C. Welfare Department.

Joseph B. Danzansky, chairman of the ad hoc food committee of the Urban Coalition, estimated another $50,000 is needed to feed the marchers until June 16, the expiration date of the National Parks Service permit allowing them in West Potomac Park.

There were indications yesterday that there may be action by the House of Representatives on legislation to prevent any extension of the permit.

The House Public Works Committee has already approved, but is holding a bill that would throw the Campaigners out of the Park and limit them to parkland east of the Anacostia River in the District after June 16.

There were suggestions yesterday that the Committee might even try to prevent "camp-ins" on any parkland in the District.

ARRESTS NOT INTENDED

At another point yesterday, Mr. Abernathy told reporters that the Campaigners who marched to Capitol Hill last Thursday in a welfare legislation demonstration had not intended to provoke arrests. Capitol police arrested 18.

The Campaign still has not reached the stage of possible civil disobedience, he said. The Campaigners were arrested after they refused to stop singing near the Longworth House Office Building on police orders.

The demonstration was led by George Wiley, director of the National Welfare Rights Organization. No high-ranking officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is sponsoring the Campaign, were present.

"Unfortunate arrests took place," Mr. Abernathy, president of SCLC, said, "because I was not there."

Mr. Abernathy and Reies Tijerina, fiery Spanish-speaking militant from New Mexico, met for a joint press conference late yesterday and voiced disapproval of a recent Supreme Court decision upholding the state of Washington conviction of 24 Indians who staged a "fish-in" to assert their rights to fish in what they consider their ancestral waters.

Mr. Abernathy described it as "another attempt to deny citizens their right to survival. We live in a country controlled by racists . . . who now even deny the right to fish in God's waters."

Pounding a table at the press conference in Hawthorne School, 501 I st. sw., Tijerina said, "The Supreme Court is in contempt of the Constitution of the United States."

NOTE.—*This story was assembled by Paul W. Valentine and is based on reports by him, Bernadette Carey, Willard Clopton Jr. and Jean M. White.*

[From the Washington Post, May 29, 1968]

FAUNTROY ASKS COLLEGES TO AID POOR CAMPAIGN

The Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, vice chairman of the Washington City Council, said yesterday he had asked the presidents of universities in the District of Columbia to reconsider the ban on the use of dormitories and classrooms by students coming to the District for the Poor People's Campaign.

His action came in response to a request from 17 Georgetown University students who complained that the use of University space was being denied by the Consortium of Universities.

Mr. Fauntroy is local head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the sponsor of the Poor People's Campaign.

William Preanor, SCLC's coordinator here for university students, said American and Howard Universities had opened some of their facilities for the use of incoming students.

Joseph Gerson, a Georgetown senior and spokesman for the student group, said more than 5000 students were expected during the next two weeks and that about 500 already were here.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 29, 1968]

CHALK REJECTS SCRIP PLAN FOR NIGHT BUSES—SAYS PROPOSAL WOULD ELIMINATE COMPANY, DEMANDS PROTECTION

(By Lee Flor)

O. Roy Chalk, president of the D.C. Transit System, has rejected a proposed compromise which would have restored night bus service to Washington.

In a statement released today, Chalk said the real problem here with bus service is with crime and not over negotiations between the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) and his bus companies.

He went on to criticize ATU and public officials for not giving the bus company the support he feels it deserves.

The Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority proposed yesterday that Chalk permit his drivers to take buses on the streets at night without the money for making change which has attracted holdup men. In place of the change, the transit commission argued that drivers could issue scrip, or tickets, and the riders could turn the tickets in to receive their change during daylight hours.

Chalk said this was so impractical "it would also eliminate the company and its ability to function."

COURT MOVE VOTED

In another development, the United Planning Organization voted in a closed meeting last night to go to court to force D.C. transit to resume night service.

The trustees of UPO, the local antipoverty agency, voted unanimously in favor of seeking a court injunction against the transit company, the union and the transit commission to require that buses operate at night.

UPO Director Wiley A. Branton urged last week that bus tokens be placed on sale in drug stores, bars and other places open at night so that bus drivers would not have to carry change. As a long-range measure, Branton urged that the city consider taking over the transit system on a permanent basis and the providing of free public transportation.

REACTION TO CHALK

George Avery, chairman of the transit authority, said this morning he had received the Chalk reaction and had been discussing it with the Rt. Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins, the District's negotiator in the dispute.

Avery said, "We're considering now what to do."

George W. Apperson, president of Local 689 of the ATU, said he had received word of Chalk's reaction late last night.

"It's unfortunate that he has replied this way—he's not trying to cooperate with us," Apperson said.

The death of bus driver John E. Talley, who was shot in a holdup May 17, has put emphasis on the need to protect his men, Apperson said.

The union is standing ready to hold further discussions with District and transit company officials in efforts to solve the dispute, he added.

CHALK PROPOSALS

As a counterproposal to that made by WMATA, Chalk recommended four items. They were:

1. That buses at night be limited to the number of police available to guard them, with one policeman to a bus. If only 40 policemen were available, only 40 buses would operate after 9 p.m., and the 40 bus drivers could carry money to make change.

Once the summer emergency is over, the night protection might be adjusted to the needs or requirements, Chalk said, implying that next fall more buses might be provided, even if the police were not available.

2. The city should consider assigning up to

100 policemen to guard the buses, and D.C. Transit and the transit commission should consider cutting night service from about 200 buses to about 100 buses.

3. No tokens should be sold on buses day or night, to reduce the need for carrying cash.

Also, only a "substantially reduced amount" of cash should be carried by the driver to enable him to make change. After 8 p.m., drivers should carry not more than $10 to make change.

4. The Housing and Urban Development Department should give D.C. Transit a priority to receive a federal grant to pay for installation of radios in buses.

The drivers then could signal or call for help if they were being robbed and also could tell their radio dispatchers to send police if they saw a holdup or attack against pedestrians.

BARRED FROM U.S. STUDY GRANT

HUD issued a $200,000 federal grant on Monday to study crime on buses and said Washington would get a priority in the study. However, national transit legislation prohibits HUD from giving grants to private transit companies, so D.C. Transit would have to seek out a private agency for a grant.

Apparently, the next move is up to the transit commission, which may order Chalk to have his company try the idea of scrip, or order him to appear at a public hearing and explain why he cannot use it.

The four bus companies here have been carrying approximately 200,000 passengers a day. The labor dispute would directly affect D.C. Transit and its affiliated company, the Washington-Virginia and Maryland Coach Co., which Chalk also owns.

Bus service on the two other bus lines would be affected, because many suburban riders come in by bus and use D.C. Transit to reach their offices.

SLAYING CREATED CRISIS

The labor dispute began after the slaying of Talley near Dupont Circle on May 17. Bus drivers went on an almost immediate wildcat strike, but went back to work when their union officials began to bargain with D.C. Transit.

Local 689 of the ATU asked for three things: a special radio alarm system for drivers so they could alert police, special $50,000 life insurance for night drivers (which would cost the company around $11,000 a year) and special bullet-proof shields (which apparently would cost around $40,000 in materials).

In negotiations with the transit commission on May 20 and 21, the bus company and union were unable to reach agreement. In the meantime, drivers were refusing to take money for change at night, and the company was refusing to let them take the buses out.

Then Local 689 decided to hold a mass meeting on Thursday. Late Wednesday night Mayor Walter E. Washington asked Higgins to act as informal negotiator in the dispute to represent the city.

TEN-DAY GRACE VOTED

At the Thursday night meeting, John M. Elliott, international vice president of the ATU, Apperson and other union officials and Msgr. Higgins pleaded with the union members not to strike and to give them another 10 days to try to negotiate some settlement to protect the drivers. The vote was 730–568 to grant the 10-day grace period.

Avery said last night the transit commission staff has been working over the weekend and the first two days of this week to develop the scrip compromise.

Chalk told Avery late yesterday of his rejection of the plan.

He also said the union contract had been signed Oct. 31, 1966, and would expire on Oct. 31, 1969. In the middle of the contract, city and union officials are incorrect in implying that the terms of the contract could be amended, Chalk said.

The drivers argument is that one of their members was shot to death, emphasizing a fresh crisis which was not anticipated when the contract was signed. Also, the company made promises earlier that steps would be taken to install protective devices, according to the ATU.

The drivers also are careful to state that they are reporting for work, and say the company is "locking them out." The company claims the night drivers are not reporting properly for work, so it is able to justify shutting off the night service.

CHALK STATEMENT

The major portions of the Chalk statement:

". . . Officials are confusing the lack of law enforcement and lack of police protection with nonexistent union contract negotiations. . . . There are no contract issues in dispute between the union and the company . . .

(D.C. Transit) is willing to consider any workable plan that may reduce and limit dangers to its drivers, even if it means the elimination of route structures and route scheduling which might subject its men to any danger whatsoever. . . .

(But) a transit driver cannot perform his duties without the ability to conduct the necessary fare transactions with his passengers . . .

(The plan to issue scrip for change at night) . . . in the opinion of management would also eliminate the company and its ability to function. . . . It would not only deprive the company of patronage but would enrage the public against the company to an extent never before envisioned . . .

The company can only suggest that if a plan were submitted to it that would be economically feasible, and would limit to a minimum the amount of money which a driver carries, the incentive for crime might be reduced.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 29, 1968]

ABERNATHY SLEEPS AT CAMP—2:30 A.M. INTERVIEW

(By Donald Smith)

At 2:35 a.m. today, rain was still beating a ragged tattoo on the plywood shanties of Resurrection City. Inside one of the structures near the center of the encampment, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy stretched his large frame on a canvas cot, snuggled under three heavy woolen blankets and read a book on economic theory by the light of a single, bare light bulb.

Underneath his cot on the blanketed-covered floor, was a pair of mud-encrusted rubber boots. A portable space heater was at one end of the shanty, but it was turned off.

Abernathy, who has been criticized for staying at a midtown motel in relative luxury while his regiments of poor people have slogged through the mud and rain at Resurrection City, scoffed at his critics.

"I have spent most of the nights here whenever I have been in Washington," he said.

"But I have to be in and out of the city on fund-raising tours and speaking engagements," he added. "And I'm still pastor of a church."

Star reporters, who have kept an around-the-clock watch at the city since its construction, have never seen Abernathy enter at night or leave in the morning. The camp is off-limits to reporters after 11 p.m.

Abernathy apparently entered shortly after 2 a.m. today in an unmarked automobile, unnoticed even by marshals manning the gate.

This reporter was invited into the camp at 2:30 a.m. and escorted to Abernathy's shanty. The civil rights leader was in bed.

Also in his tent, bedded down on cots, were two other officials of Abernathy's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"SUPPOSED TO DREAM"

"All of the executive staff-members live in the camp," Abernathy said. "I haven't been criticized directly by the people here. In fact, a lot of people are critical for me sleeping down here. I'm supposed to dream dreams and come up with ideas. This you can't always do down here."

Abernathy said that his quarters at the Pitts Motel were only used as his office when he was in the city. His wife and three children, he said, will be moving into the city with him next week when the children get out of school

"I'm supposed to have my shanty built in such a way that I can carry on some nonviolent discussions with small groups," he said, "so that people can come in and discuss their problems. I intend to give a great deal of time to that."

During his cot-side interview Abernathy discussed the impact of the campaign so far and some of its troubles.

CAMP IN BAD SHAPE

"It's quite obvious that the camp is in bad shape, physically," he said. "The streets are wet and muddy, and it has been cold.

"But the people are in high spirits," he added. "They have come for a purpose, and that's what keeps us going. When you're suffering for a cause, it's quite different from suffering for the sake of suffering. The rain hasn't been able to shake the foundation of the camp—not the human foundation," he said.

Abernathy estimated that there are now "a few less than 3,000" residents who have not been evacuated from the city because of the bad weather.

(A Star reporter who toured the site in mid-evening with SCLC officials estimated about 1,000 persons spent the night in the camp. The remainder were quartered in churches and private homes.)

LIVE DAY TO DAY

Abernathy said his fund-raising efforts have been "going pretty good." But he estimated that it costs about $1,000 a day to operate the camp, and with no sizeable cash reserve the residents "just live from day to day."

"There's still a big need for funds," he said. "We are not able to move as rapidly in building the city as we wanted to. It's difficult to say how much we need. Number one, we don't know how long we're going to be here."

Abernathy is so far pleased with the results of the encampment and the campaign.

"I think we've dispelled a great deal of fear in the minds of some congressmen and many people across the nation about the possibility of violence," he said: "And some of our goals have been achieved."

He pointed to a commitment of Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman to use several million dollars "that would have been turned back to the treasury" to finance an enlarged food-stamp program.

Another victory, he feels, was the housing bill passed by the Senate yesterday.

As Abernathy spoke, a messenger ducked his head under the canvas door and climbed into the building, his white turtleneck sweater dripping wet.

"A lot of emergency calls are coming in for you at city hall (headquarters of Resurrection City)," he said. "Do you want us to wake you up for them?"

ACCEPTS MESSAGES

Abernathy drowsily rubbed his eyes and regarded the messenger for a moment.

"Send the messages in to me," he said.

The messenger left. Abernathy laid down the book and shifted under the blankets. The rain pattered down.

"It's a lot better home here than a lot of people here have had," he said.

It was a few minutes past 3 a.m. Abernathy's voice had trailed off. He was asleep.

Later, at the main gate to the city, a marshal shivered in the rain and expressed disbelief that Abernathy was sleeping inside.

"I didn't see him come in," he said, shaking his head. "If he's ever spent the night here, I didn't see him."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 29, 1968]

Tent City Half Empty as Sun Returns

Poor People's Campaign officials were conferring today on new demonstrations as the sun returned over the swampy mire of Resurrection City, its population reduced by at least half.

The effects of a 2¼-inch deluge yesterday forced a call for the second temporary evacuation of The Mall campsite in a week. At nightfall, it was estimated that about 1,000 hardy campaigners still were living in their plywood huts in a virtual sea of mud.

The population at its height probably was about 2,800. Area churches and private homes have been offering shelter since the relentless rain began early Monday.

Spirits seemed to be high among those still leading an amphibian existence, and about 700 dined last night on chicken as others cooked in their huts.

"We will not abandon our city," said the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "Morale and spirits are high," he said at a press conference late yesterday.

But it was touch-and-go at midday yesterday when the Rev. Jesse Jackson, camp manager, toured the mucky bog and said, "Oh, God—this is bad," and ordered the temporary evacuation for all who wanted to go.

Despite the precarious events at Resurrection City, SCLC was able to mount another demonstration at the Department of Agriculture yesterday. Led by Abernathy, Jackson and the Rev. James Bevel, about 150 to 200 campaigners confronted departmental officials as some seven Metropolitan Police patrol wagons stood by. The protesters left after some verbal sparring, vowing to return again.

The demonstrators were met at one of the North Building doors by Joseph Robertson, an assistant secretary, a contingent of other department officials and about 40 police and guards.

After being greeted by Abernathy, Robertson asked, "Are you prepared to pay for the meal you ate yesterday?"

On Monday, Jackson had led over 100 campaigners into the cafeteria—run by a departmental employe association—and had run up a bill of $296.66. Jackson led his followers out without paying, saying, in effect, this was owed poor people because of deficiencies in the food-for-the-poor programs.

Jackson replied, "We'll talk about it when we get inside" and demanded that the demonstrators be let in out of the driving rain.

Robertson refused to let the group in. Abernathy then intervened, and it was decided that a small delegation would go inside for a discussion.

Jackson left the meeting, returned to the singing campaigners and led them into the lobby and hallway. Again, Robertson ordered them out and Jackson refused. Abernathy then got an agreement that the group could remain in the foyer during the talks.

After more than half an hour, Abernathy came out and told the group to return to Resurrection City, and said the marchers had been tricked into waiting until the cafeteria—where they again intended to eat—closed at 2 p.m.

MARCHERS PAY TAB

"We came here today because we were cold and hungry and wanted something to eat," he said, "and instead we were turned away."

The SCLC leader said, and department officials confirmed that the bill from Monday had been paid.

Three members of a welfare rights group succeeded yesterday in talking to one of their prime targets, Rep. Wilbur Mills, D-Ark. After what was described as an amicable session in his Longworth Building office, Mills said he would meet today with George A. Wiley, leader of the National Welfare Rights Organization.

The conversation with the members of the welfare rights group—which has been allied with SCLC in the campaign—mainly concerned provisions of the Social Security amendments passed last year. They froze at the present percentage level the number of children in each state admitted to the federally aided program for dependent children and set standards for work programs for adults in families getting such aid.

CALLED "REGRESSIVE"

The welfare rights group repeatedly has contended that these are "regressive and racist."

Mills told the delegation that pending legislation would postpone these provisions during the year beginning July 1.

The House Public Works Committee, meanwhile is expected shortly to approve a bill to force the Poor People's Campaign out of the District when the federal permit for Resurrection City expires on June 16.

The bill would prohibit camp-ins anywhere in the District on parkland or other government-owned land. This would eliminate the possibility, considered earlier, of an encampment at Bolling Air Force Base. The bill also would direct the Interior Department to refuse any modification or extension of the present permit.

SCLC has scheduled a massive demonstration June 19 and has stated repeatedly that campaigners will remain here until Congress reacts to their demands.

President Johnson at a press conference yesterday again said administration programs designed to meet many needs of the poor are pending in Congress and that he is doing everything he can to get them approved.

HOUSING BILL VOTED

And the Senate yesterday overwhelmingly passed and sent to the House a three-year version of Johnson's proposal to provide 6 million new and rehabilitated low-cost housing units by 1978.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 29, 1968]

Fifteen More Hurt in Louisville Racial Strife

Louisville, Ky.—More than 150 persons were arrested and 15 others injured last night as a second night of racial violence was marked by hit-and-run tactics of brick throwers and sporadic sniper fire.

National Guardsmen aided police in the city's West End, a predominantly-Negro section where rioting erupted Monday night and resumed yesterday afternoon and last night.

Three persons hit by gunfire during last night's disorders were reported in serious condition. A policeman was also hit by a gunshot. He was reported in good condition. Three firemen and three guardsmen were admitted to the hospital. One fireman suffered from smoke inhalation. The others were struck by thrown glass and rocks.

Twenty persons were injured or wounded Monday night, including four gunshot victims.

Police Chief C. J. Hyde said the latest violence was more intense than Monday's "from a standpoint of hit-and-run tactics." He said the 8 p.m. curfew imposed yesterday by Mayor Kenneth Schmied increased the number of arrests. Hyde said police policy was "to arrest all violators of any kind."

"By this method and a show of force at an early stage, we have been able to control the situation to the extent that there was no large gathering," he added.

A decision on whether to impose a curfew tonight on this city of 400,000 was to be made today by Schmied.

Bert Hawkins, Hyde's assistant, said the heaviest instance of sniper fire was encountered by police protecting firemen. "Snipers opened up on the firemen and the police with them. The police weren't able to pinpoint the location of the snipers but a car sped away shortly after the firing stopped."

Firemen were constantly active last night as dozens of real and false alarms were reported. All off-duty firemen were recalled Monday night. Louisville's 578-man police force is working 12-hour shifts, with days off canceled.

Some 1,200 National Guardsmen, mobilized by Gov. Louie B. Nunn, and 150 state troopers remained in Louisville today. An initial detail of 700 guardsmen arrived in Louisville Monday and additional units were called out yesterday afternoon when the violence renewed.

Several young gangs ventured into the downtown area, 20 blocks from the West End where some 50,000 of the city's 86,000 Negroes reside. The vandals smashed shop windows and caused authorities to close Louisville's main business artery to vehicular traffic.

About 25 persons were arrested yesterday afternoon, bringing the number of arrests since Monday to approximately 275. Eighteen persons arrested Monday were arraigned yesterday on charges of storehouse breaking and held in lieu of $20,000 bond.

While many of the Negro youth gangs ignored the curfew, most sections of the city observed it. Taverns, restaurants and other public places closed. City buses ceased to operate at 10 p.m. Many liquor stores and bars, which were closed until 6 p.m. because of the Kentucky primary election, remained closed.

(United Press International reported that Schmied said "only a very small minority" of Louisville Negroes were involved in the trouble.

(He blamed the disorder, which first erupted at a street rally Monday night, on outsiders. "We knew the rally was going to be held and were told some people were coming from out of town," he said. "It seems well planned somewhere along the line."

(Negro leaders blamed the trouble on the reinstatement of a white policeman, Michael Clifford, who had been dismissed for using "excessive force" in the arrest of two Negroes May 8.)

Early last evening, the Rev. A. D. Williams King, a brother of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., told a news conference that "the mayor flatly refused to go into the West End to help bring disorder to an end."

"This is not a time for a politican to be arrogant . . . We have pleaded and begged for them to come here," he said.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

A NEW PROGRAM FOR WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the problem of reclamation of strip-mined lands is one which is being given increasing attention in West Virginia.

My State has some 200,000 acres of land which have been mined through surface methods, either auger drilling or strip mining.

And almost 5,000 acres a year are added to this total by virtue of the some 15 million tons of soft coal mined annually through surface methods.

Our industrial society has an increasing need for coal and other minerals. Yet, there is also a coordinate responsibility to restore this strip-mined land to productive uses.

To determine the best way to reclaim these surface-mined areas, the U.S. Forest Service has been carrying out research for nearly 30 years.

However, little of this work has been done directly in West Virginia. That is why I was so pleased to learn from the Forest Service that that organization, in conjunction with the West Virginia Department of Natural Resources and the West Virginia Surface Mine Association, has recently begun a new cooperative research program in West Virginia aimed at improving the reclamation of surface-mined lands.

Each of these three organizations just mentioned will contribute funds, facilities, and manpower to get this West Virginia-oriented research underway.

The work will be carried out by two scientists stationed at the Princeton, W. Va., Forest Products Marketing Center of the U.S. Forest Service. This center was dedicated in 1963, and I am glad that I have been able to obtain increased funding for its important work. That the center has done outstanding research is attested by the fact that the center was the only unit within the U.S. Forest Service this year to win the Department of Agriculture's coveted Superior Service Award.

I believe this new strip-mined land reclamation research will add new luster to this laboratory, and I hope that we will be able to see important benefits in the near future.

That the Senate may know the full extent to which the Forest Service has been carrying out research on strip-mined land reclamation, I ask unanimous consent that a paper written by Mr. Richard D. Lane, director of the Northeastern Forest Experiment Station of the U.S. Forest Service, and published in the May 1968 issue of the Mining Congress Journal, be printed in the Record.

Mr. Lane, I might add, is another recent recipient of the Agriculture Department's Superior Service Award.

There being no objection, the paper, entitled "The Forest Service Reclamation Research Program," was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE FOREST SERVICE RECLAMATION RESEARCH PROGRAM

(By Richard D. Lane, director, Northeastern Forest Experiment Station, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Upper Darby, Pa.)

Surface mining is nothing new. It began with the Stone Age. Flint diggings at least 10,000 years old are still visible today in some parts of the world. Historians tell us that Cicero and Pliny, of ancient Rome, owned stock in an open-cast lead mine in Britain. And these two noble Romans griped—as some of us do today—about the earnings of their company. But I'm sure they had no problems with 200-yard shovels, nor with reclamation practices either.

In the United States surface-mining for coal is an infant industry. In Illinois it began just over 100 years ago.[*]

Research in restoration of surface-mined land by the U.S. Forest Service is even younger. Our work was started in southeastern Ohio in the mid-1930's. You might note that the two men who pioneered this research—A. G. Chapman and John Crowl—are now associated with your industry.

From this modest beginning, our program has grown into a major research effort. Since the mid-1940's we have conducted research in forest resource protection and restoration on surface-mined land, with emphasis on land mined for coal. To the best of my knowledge this is the only continuous research program of its kind conducted by the Federal Government.

FOREST SERVICE RESPONSIBILITIES

You might ask why the Forest Service became interested in surface-mine reclamation. First of all, many of the coal reserves in the East underlie forested land, including National Forests. The Weeks Law authorized purchase of National Forest lands in the East for timber production and watershed protection; and this established our legal responsibility to protect, manage, and develop these public forest estates. Furthermore, we are responsible for research and other federal forestry programs applicable to all forest land of our Nation.

Surface-mining can have tremendous impacts on forest resources. And most of the mined areas that have been revegetated have been planted to trees. So as surface-mining expanded in the East, those concerned with restoration naturally turned to the Forest Service for answers to their reclamation problems.

Before developing our reclamation research program, we made two basic assumptions.

First we assumed that surface mining is here to stay. Obviously minerals and the mining industry are important to the material well-being of our people and to our Nation as a world power. Also, surface-mining is more efficient than underground mining because it is more highly mechanized, and the rate of mineral recovery is much higher. Furthermore, surface-mining provides employment for many of our rural people. By doing so, the industry helps reduce rural poverty as well as the migration of rural people to our overcrowded cities. For example, in the Appalachian Coal Field the surface-mining industry provides full-time employment for over 25,000 wage earners, and a multi-million dollar payroll. Thus any damage that surface-mining does to our natural resources is at least partially compensated for by better conservation of our natural resources and more prosperous rural communities.

Our second assumption was that any damages to natural resources by surface-mining can be reduced or eliminated in time by careful planning, good mining methods, and effective restoration practices.

To do this, we need research to develop practical methods for reducing damage to surface resources during mining operations and for restoring these resources after mining. So we designed our research to provide the scientific information needed for planning and efficiently carrying out mining that: (1) has a minimum impact upon forest resources; and (2) leaves the disturbed areas in the best possible condition for rapid restoration.

EARLY RECLAMATION RESEARCH

In the beginning our research was concentrated on forestation of spoils in the relatively easy terrain in the Midwest. Many of the present practices used to revegetate spoils of the Interior Coal Fields are based on results of these early studies.[4]

After World War II, the surface-mining industry expanded rapidly. Estimates given in *Surface Mining and Our Environment*, a recent publication of the U. S. Department of Interior, indicate that by the end of 1964 over 3½ million acres had been affected by surface-mining for various commodities. This included areas disturbed by access roads and exploration activities. This total is being pushed upward at the rate of over 150,000 acres annually.[6]

As surface-mining spread, we soon saw that the research results of our Midwest program could not be applied throughout the United States. Each area of the country has different topographic, geologic, and geographic conditions; and the problems of mining and reclamation differ accordingly. Moreover, the effects of surface-mining on resources and communities differ according to the nature of the land, owner objectives, conservation needs, socio-economic conditions, and land-use opportunities.

For example, in the Appalachians, "contour" mining presents critical new problems and challenges in both reclamation and research. Overburden deposits here create unstable outslopes that are subject to sliding and are difficult to revegetate. Heavy rainfalls common in the Appalachians can seriously erode outslopes and the runoff can flush chemical pollutants and sediments into streams. Besides the fact that the Appalachians have a high annual rainfall, they also receive frequent severe summer storms that further intensify water problems. And the extensive network of access roads needed to haul coal out of the mountains creates additional erosion and sedimentation problems.

Added to these difficulties is the fact that spoils in the Appalachians tend to be more acid than those in the Midwest. Of 1,000 measurements taken in a survey for the Appalachian Regional Commission, 83 showed a pH of less than 5.0 [5]; and mean pH values of spoils from 6 coal seams in an eastern Kentucky study ranged from 3.3 to 5.0.[1] Some difficulties in revegetation occur when pH is below 5.0, serious difficulties when pH falls below 4.0.

PRESENT PROGRAM IN THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS

In response to industrial expansion, new problems, and changing needs, we have reoriented our earlier research programs.

First, during the 1950's we established a small research program at Kingston, Pa., to solve some problems peculiar to the anthracite and bituminous regions of the State. As before, we put emphasis on the revegetation aspects of reclamation.

Then in 1962 we initiated a more comprehensive research program at Berea, Ky., to solve some of the complex problems associated with surface-mining in the Appalachian Mountains. The Kingston and Berea programs were consolidated in 1966 to obtain greater depth and better coordination.

Our research now has two prime objectives:

1. To develop practical surface-mining methods that cause minimum damage to forest resources and leave the mined areas in the best possible condition for restoration of these resources.

2. To find ways to restore forest resources, compatible with adjacent land use, on surface-mined land as rapidly as possible.

Footnotes at end of article.

In developing our present research program, we tentatively identified major problem areas, selected specific phases of them for research, and set priorities. Then we reviewed these with members of your industry, with state, university and federal authorities, and many others before deciding upon a definite and detailed plan of work. We feel that together we have charted a basic course that will stand up under critical scrutiny for the next few years. Even so, we have a flexible program that we are constantly revising in detail as we learn more about the problems and receive advice from you and many other knowledgeable groups—for example the Strip-Mine Research Coordinating Committee in Kentucky and the Mined Area Restoration Technical Committee of the Soil Conservation Society of America.

Through this process of program development we have selected four broad areas for research.

Engineering.—Engineering research is concerned with the mining processes influencing earth movement and placement, coal-haul roads, and water-retarding structures involved in restoration. We are trying to find ways to achieve better bank stability by investigating the basic causes of slides. We have studied the erosion problems of coal-haul roads and have published a handbook to assist operators in constructing more serviceable roads. And we are determining the most effective type of check dam for trapping sediment below active mining operations (now a requirement in some states).

Hydrology.—Land disturbance of any kind may affect—either adversely or favorably—the hydrology of the area itself and of streams that drain the area. To learn more about these effects and to lay the groundwork for determining remedial measures, we are studying moisture conditions within spoil-banks, the runoff from outslopes and benches, and the quality and quantity of streamflow. We are also investigating the hydrology of ponds formed on mined areas. Besides reducing runoff, ponds can provide water for fish, wildlife, and recreation.

Soil Science.—A knowledge of spoil characteristics, including their growth potential, is prerequisite to favorable disposal of overburden during the mining operation and to successful revegetation after mining. We are developing techniques for sampling, analyzing, and classifying overburden and spoils and for identifying plant-toxic substances. We are investigating the chemical reactions occurring in spoils as they affect water quality and the fertility requirements of vegetation.

Revegetation.—Successful establishment of vegetation is necessary on practically all surface-mined land of the East to stabilize the area, return the land to productivity, and improve its appearance. From the beginning, we have emphasized revegetation. We conduct both greenhouse and field studies to determine what plants are suited to various conditions. We are evaluating different types of vegetation for special uses such as timber crops, wildlife food and cover, forage, recreation, and watershed protection. We are investigating mechanical methods and equipment such as hydroseeders, mechanized tree-planters, and aircraft, which offer promise of reducing costs and speeding establishment of cover.

A TEAM APPROACH

Within these four areas we have begun over 60 studies. The wide variety of problems encountered demands a team approach by scientists trained in several disciplines. Our staff of 9 scientists includes specialists in engineering, hydrology, soil science, forestry, and range and wildlife revegetation. This team of scientists is backed up by an even greater array of disciplines in other units of our Experiment Station—entomologists, pathologists, geneticists, chemists, wildlife and recreation specialists, economists, and mathematicians.

Sound research programs are not developed or carried out by a handful of scientists working alone. We seek and welcome the participation and cooperation of many groups, such as your industry, states, universities, private utilities, and other federal agencies. Much to your credit and to the benefit of the program, your industry has taken an active part in the research.

Besides the help your industry has given us, we have received direct support from utility companies such as the Ohio Power Company and the Pennsylvania Power and Light Company. Both of these companies have made substantial financial and facility contributions. And like your industry, they have hired trained men to put research results into action. Most state agencies have been very cooperative too—Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and West Virginia in particular. Many universities have contributed by doing cooperative research and conducting specific studies that we are not equipped to do. And other federal agencies such as TVA, the Soil Conservation Service and the Department of Interior have been helpful. I want to express here our appreciation to the many individuals and groups that have so generously contributed to this truly cooperative research program.

We also recognize our responsibility to report our research results so that new scientific information can be put to use promptly. Our findings are reported in scientific publications or in popularized forms for general use by industry and state reclamation agencies. Examples of these are: "A Guide for Screen and Cover Planting of Trees on Anthracite Mine-Spoil Areas"[3], "A Guide for Revegetating Bituminous Strip-Mine Spoils in Pennsylvania"[2], and "Designing Coal-Haul Roads for Good Drainage"[7]. Several symposia have been held to help large groups keep abreast of research results. To illustrate: last fall state and federal reclamation personnel from seven states attended a week-long training session conducted by the Forest Service and the Kentucky Division of Reclamation to explain the latest principles and techniques of reclamation.

Your industry has always quickly and intelligently applied research results in your own reclamation programs. States, too, use our information to administer their reclamation laws. This is especially true where laws have recently been passed or revised, as in West Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Both state and industry personnel are constantly asking for information about the most effective and economical methods of meeting state reclamation requirements. In fact, we are hard pressed to keep up with these demands.

In all humbleness, I believe that our research has helped improve reclamation practices throughout the eastern coal fields. Perhaps of equal importance is the fact that we have built up a small corps of skilled scientists to undertake the tough jobs of research that lie ahead.

NEW RESEARCH NEEDS

I am firmly convinced that the most difficult and important research task we have today is to develop a new technology for mountain mining. A wave of interest in this is rolling in upon us. We in research see this as a challenge and an opportunity. And you in industry have a big stake in this. Let me show you some of the evidence.

Experience from our past work clearly indicates to us that the engineering aspects of mountain mining have received far too little attention. Unstable slopes create tremendous problems: sliding spoils and polluted streams. And these conditions cannot be corrected quickly. Furthermore, it is next to impossible to establish and hold an adequate vegetative cover on sliding, eroding surfaces.

Because of these problems, several states have passed new laws that place additional restrictions on mining of steep slopes. And the U.S. Department of Interior has proposed that no mining be done on slopes exceeding 28 degrees.

The Mined Area Restoration Committee of the Soil Conservation Society of America has prepared a Position Statement for consideration of the full Society. Serving as Chairman of the Committee, I participated with several representatives of the mining industry and others in drafting the Statement. It contains two paragraphs apropos of surface-mining in rough terrain. These are:

1. In planning for future surface-mining operations where opportunities for protecting off-site values or making productive uses of the mined land do not exist, operators should be encouraged not to mine such areas.

2. New types of equipment for mining and making productive uses of mined land would offer distinct advantages, particularly in rough or mountainous country. The mining industry and equipment manufacturers should be encouraged and aided in designing and developing such equipment.

To this evidence we must add that our Nation is now being swept by what has been called a "third wave" of conservation—with heavy overtones of preservation. This shows itself in an increasing public awareness of and appreciation for all forest resources: wildlife, soil, recreation, timber, range, natural beauty, and water—especially water.

We in the Forest Service are feeling the impacts of this trend and are rapidly adjusting our programs to it. No doubt you are more aware of these pressures on your industry than I am, and are seeking ways to meet them.

In response to the public interest, President Johnson in his 1968 Conservation Message recommended legislation to "prevent despoilment of land by surface mining". The same day his message was delivered to the Congress, Senator Gaylord Nelson introduced a bill to regulate surface and strip-mining. Following in quick succession, the Department of Interior and Senator Henry Jackson each introduced regulatory and reclamation bills.

To me these developments herald the closing of vast mineral reserves unless new technology is developed for removing coal that underlies steep slopes. This can be accomplished, I believe, through research leading to better methods of using equipment now available, by developing new equipment and mining methods, or by a combination of both. In any case, the methods and equipment must meet three basic requisites. They must: (1) be economically feasible; (2) provide adequate protection to adjacent resources during the mining operation; and (3) leave disturbed areas in condition for rapid restoration.

In my opinion the development of technology and equipment that will meet these requirements is a challenge that must be met by our scientists and by your industry. Therein lies an opportunity to keep available large reserves of minable coal for the benefit of your industry and our industrial society. And it provides an opportunity for our research to make greater contributions to the Nation as a whole as well as to the many communities that could profit from the mining of these coal reserves.

Traditionally we have joined forces to meet such challenges and problems. We would welcome the opportunity to carry forward this tradition and to do with you the research needed to develop improved technology and equipment for mountain mining.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Feiss, Julian W. Surface mining—minerals, metals, and divots. Paper presented at the Conference on Surface Mining conducted

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Footnotes at end of article.

by the Council of State Governments, Roanoke, Va., April 13, 1964.

[1] Cummins, David G., William T. Plass, and Claude E. Gentry. 1965. Chemical and physical properties of spoil banks in the eastern Kentucky coal fields. U.S. Forest Serv. Res. Paper CS-17, 11 pp. Central States Forest Exp. Sta., Columbus, Ohio.

[2] Davis, Grant (ed.) 1965. A guide for revegetating bituminous strip-mine spoils in Pennsylvania. Res. Comm. on Coal Mine Spoil Revegetation in Pennsylvania. 46 pp., illus.

[3] Frank, Robert M. 1964. A guide for screen and cover planting of trees on anthracite mine-spoil areas. U.S. Forest Serv. Res. Paper NE-22, 50 pp., illus. NE. Forest Exp. Sta., Upper Darby, Pa.

[4] Limstrom, G. A. 1960. Forestation of strip-mined land in the Central States. U.S. Dept. Agr. Handbook 166, 74 pp., illus.

[5] United States Department of the Interior. 1966. Study of strip and surface mining in Appalachia, an interim report by the Secretary of the Interior to the Appalachian Regional Commission. U.S. Dept. Interior, 78 pp., illus.

[6] United States Department of the Interior. 1967. Surface mining and our environment. 124 pp., illus. U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

[7] Weigle, Weldon K. 1965. Designing coal-haul roads for good drainage. U.S. Forest Serv. Central States Forest Exp. Sta., 23 pp., illus.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1968

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with House Concurrent Resolution 782, that the Senate stand in adjournment until noon, Monday, June 3, 1968.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 36 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, June 3, 1968, at 12 noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 29, 1968:

U.S. DISTRICT JUDGES

Cecil F. Poole, of California, to be U.S. district judge for the northern district of California vice a new position created by Public Law 89-372, effective September 18, 1966.

Walter L. Nixon, Jr., of Mississippi, to be U.S. district judge for the southern district of Mississippi vice a new position created under Public Law 89-372 approved March 18, 1966.

U.S. CUSTOMS COURT JUDGES

Bernard Newman, of New York, to be a judge of the U.S. Customs Court vice Mary H. Donlon, retired.

Phillip B. Baldwin, of Texas, to be an associate judge of the U.S. Court of Customs and Patent Appeals vice I. Jack Martin, deceased.

ASSOCIATE JUDGE, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF APPEALS

John W. Kern III, of Maryland, to be associate judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals for the term of 10 years vice a new position created by Public Law 90-178, approved December 8, 1967.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 29, 1968:

U.S. AIR FORCE

The following officers to be placed on the retired list, in the grade indicated, under the provisions of section 8962, title 10 of the United States Code:

To be generals

Gen. Gabriel P. Disosway, FR654 (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

Gen. Maurice A. Preston, FR1337 (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

To be lieutenant generals

Lt. Gen. Harold C. Donnelly, FR647 (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

Lt. Gen. Leighton I. Davis, FR1111 (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

The following-named officers to be assigned to positions of importance and responsibility designated by the President, in the grade indicated, under the provisions of section 8066, title 10, of the United States Code:

To be generals

Lt. Gen. Horace M. Wade, FR1872 (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

Lt. Gen. George S. Brown, FR4090 (major general, Regular Air Force, U.S. Air Force.

To be lieutenant generals

Maj. Gen. Francis C. Gideon, FR1993, Regular Air Force.

Maj. Gen. Robert N. Smith, FR3783, Regular Air Force.

Maj. Gen. Alvan C. Gillem II, FR2025, Regular Air Force.

Maj. Gen. John B. McPherson, FR2068, Regular Air Force.

Maj. Gen. Samuel C. Phillips, FR8981, Regular Air Force.

Maj. Gen. Thomas K. McGehee, FR3809, Regular Air Force.

Maj. Gen. John D. Lavelle, FR4359, Regular Air Force.

Maj. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, Jr., FR8956, Regular Air Force.

Lt. Gen. Joseph R. Holzapple, FR1897 (major general, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force, to be senior Air Force member, Military Staff Committee, United Nations, under the provisions of section 711, title 10, of the United States Code.

The following-named officers for temporary appointment in the U.S. Air Force, under the provisions of chapter 839, title 10, of the United States Code:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Rollin B. Moore, Jr., FV397579, Air Force Reserve.

To be brigadier generals

Col. Robert F. Long, FR18142, Regular Air Force.

Col. James U. Cross, FR24719 (major, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

U.S. ARMY

The following-named Medical Corps officers for temporary appointment in the Army of the United States, to the grades indicated, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3442 and 3447:

To be major general, Medical Corps

Brig. Gen. Glenn Jesse Collins, O22687, Army of the United States (colonel, Medical Corps, U.S. Army).

To be brigadier generals, Medical Corps

Col. Spurgeon Hart Neel, Jr., O58688, Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, Medical Corps, U.S. Army).

Col. William David Tigertt, O26412, Medical Corps, U.S. Army.

Col. Hal Bruce Jennings, Jr., O26995, Medical Corps, U.S. Army.

The following-named officers for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States, to the grade indicated, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3306:

Brig. Gen. Glenn Jesse Collins, O22687, Army of the United States (colonel, Medical Corps, U.S. Army).

Brig. Gen. Kenneth Dew Orr, O31042, Army of the United States (colonel, Medical Corps, U.S. Army).

U.S. NAVY

The following-named officers for appointment on the retired list, to the grades indicated, in accordance with the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5233:

To be admiral

Adm. Alfred G. Ward, U.S. Navy.

To be vice admirals

Vice Adm. William E. Ellis, U.S. Navy.

Vice Adm. Alexander S. Heyward, Jr., U.S. Navy.

U.S. MARINE CORPS

The following-named officers having been designated, in accordance with the provisions of title 10 United States Code, section 5232, for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of said section, for appointment to the grade indicated while so serving:

To be lieutenant generals

Frank C. Tharin.

Lewis J. Fields.

IN THE AIR FORCE

The nominations beginning Edward G. Abersold, to be lieutenant colonel, and ending Mary A. Vodopic, to be lieutenant colonel, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 15, 1968; and

The nominations beginning Elmer J. Dymmel, to be major and ending Richard A. Woodsmall, to be second lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 22, 1968.

IN THE ARMY

The nominations beginning Alexis M. Gagarine, to be colonel, and ending James P. Hunt, to be captain, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 22, 1968; and

The nominations beginning Manley E. Rogers, to be Director of Admissions and Registrar, U.S. Military Academy, and ending David A. Napoliello, to be second lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 22, 1968.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The nominations beginning Joseph T. Anderson, to be second lieutenant, and ending Jack T. Kline, to be first lieutenant and assistant director of the Marine Corps Band, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 22, 1968; and

The nominations beginning Barbara J. Bishop, to be colonel, and ending Jeanette I. Sustad, to be colonel, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 22, 1968.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA SINCE JANUARY

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, events in Czechoslovakia have been so dramatic since the first of the year, when Mr. Anthony Dubcek became secretary of the central committee of the Czechoslovakia Communist Party, that I thought it would be helpful to set out a chronology of the most significant events. Mr. Jim Whelan, the very capable and knowledgeable specialist in Eastern European affairs for the Legislative Reference Service prepared this chronology, and I am grateful to him for his assistance. The LRS will publish this chronology as a multilith and perhaps some minor revisions may be made in it.

Members may wish to examine this chronology in view of an amendment before the Foreign Affairs Committee authorizing the President to enter into negotiations to extend most-favored-nation status to Czechoslovakia.

The chronology follows:

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, JANUARY TO MAY 1968: A BRIEF SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY

(By Joseph G. Whelan, specialist in Soviet and Eastern European affairs, Foreign Affairs Division, Legislative Reference Service, May 28, 1968)

January 5: At the end of a 3-day meeting in Prague, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPC) elected Alexander Dubcek, Slovak party leader, to the post of First Secretary of the party, replacing Antonin Novotny. Western observers predicted that Novotny's removal would be the first step toward a general overhaul of the top party and government leadership. Novotny who was one of the last remnants of Stalinism in Eastern Europe had up to this point successfully resisted the pressures of the liberal reform faction within the CPC. His removal was recognized as a signal victory for the reformers. Factors contributing to the political upheaval were the inability of the Novotny regime to cope with the steady decline of the Czechoslovak economy and the mounting pressures generated by the writers and intellectuals for enlarging the area of freedom in the country.

January 24: At the end of a 2-day meeting in Prague, the Central Committee of the Writers' Union announced the election of Edouard Goldsteucker, vice rector of Prague's Charles University, as president. Jan Prochazka and Miloslav Valek were elected vice presidents. Prochazka, a leading critic of the Novotny regime, had been expelled as a candidate member of the Central Committee of the CPC in September 1967 when the conflict between the writers and the regime appeared to reach a new level of intensity. It was said that the Writer's Union steered a compromise course between its moderate majority, sensitive to the new Communist Party leadership, and still vigorous dissenting members whose attacks contributed to Novotny's removal as party chief.

March 5: Jiri Hendrych, a close associate of Novotny's and secretary for ideological affairs in the CPC, was dismissed from his post and replaced by Josef Spacek, who had been appointed to the party's presidium when Dubcek assumed power as First Secretary. Hendrych had long resisted the ascendancy of liberal reformism in Czechoslovakia, especially among the intellectuals.

March 15: The censorship board of the CPC urged an end to secrecy, asked for the abolition of "preventive censorship . . . at the present rate of development," and recommended that censorship practices be standardized and the right of appeal be upheld and investigated.

March 16: First Secretary of the CPC Alexander Dubcek promised the "widest possible democratization" for Czechoslovakia in a speech at a conference in Brno. He also confirmed that the new leadership would publish its political and economic "action program" to the full meeting of the Central Committee scheduled for March 28. Dubcek stressed that there would be "cadre changes" in the party to bring in new blood; he pledged greater autonomy for the government, the courts, trade unions and economic enterprises; he reaffirmed continued cooperation with the Soviet Union but hinted that, with greater independence Czechoslovakia would be in a better position "to express its own standpoint" and play a greater role "in the center of Europe . . . as an industrialized nation."

March 22: The Presidium of the CPC announced a rehabilitation program that would affect some 30,000 victims of Stalinism.

Antonin Novotny was forced to resign as president of Czechoslovakia, a post he continued to hold after his dismissal as First Secretary of the CPC. The Presidency was largely a ceremonial office, but it did signify a further downgrading of the former Stalinist leader. The action was recommended unanimously at a committee meeting of the National Assembly on March 21. The Central Committee of the CPC had already recommended such action. Novotny's removal from power was regarded as marking the end of a 20-year regime that was generally regarded as representing Stalinism, resistance to economic reform, rigid control over writers and intellectuals, depressed status of the Slovak minority, and uncritical dependence on the Soviet Union.

According to informed sources in Prague, Soviet Prime Minister Alexei N. Kosygin promised not to interfere with the removal of Novotny. The pledge was said to have been made in Moscow to the visiting Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Oldrich Cernik. Reportedly, the Czechoslovak visitors pledged to the Soviet leader that the current wave of liberalization would not prejudice continued military, political and economic cooperation between the two countries.

March 30: Gen. Ludvik Svoboda was elected President of Czechoslovakia by 288–282 in a secret vote of the National Assembly. The Central Committee of the CPC selected Svoboda for this largely ceremonial post. The selection was regarded as a necessary compromise as pressures of concern were building up from the Soviet Union and other bloc states. In a speech following his swearing-in ceremony, Svoboda declared that Czechoslovakia would develop "friendly cooperation" with "states of different social systems"; but he also stressed that "the Czechoslovak Republic will continue to be loyal to its alliances which united it with the Soviet Union and other countries."

April 3: The Czechoslovak State Prosecutor's office announced that it would reinvestigate the controversial death of Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk 20 years ago. On March 10, 1948, the body of Dr. Masaryk, son of the Czechoslovakia's founder Thomas G. Masaryk was found in the courtyard of the Foreign Ministry. The Communist regime, which had seized power in February 1948, ruled that he had committed suicide by jumping from a bathroom window. But this explanation failed to suppress the belief held for two decades that Dr. Masaryk was murdered. Plans for a reopening of the case were announced, presumably in response to demands by Student, a weekly of the Czechoslovak student organization, which had listed numerous facts throwing suspicion on the death of Masaryk. On April 16, *Rude Prayo*, organ of the CPC, suggested for the first time that Soviet agents (Beria's "Gorillas") might have been responsible for Masaryk's death.

April 6: Premier Jozef Lenart announced the resignation of his cabinet. Oldrich Cernik, a deputy premier in the cabinet, was asked to head a new government. Cernik presented his cabinet to the National Assembly on April 8. Among the major appointments were, Gen. Josef Pavel, a victim of the Stalinist purges in the 1950's, as interior minister, and Prof. Ota Sik, an economist responsible for the planning of economic reform, who became one of the five deputy premiers.

April 9: The CPC published its "action program" as a basis for reforming Communism in Czechoslovakia. The program had been adopted on April 5 after it had been debated and amended for a week by the Party's Central Committee. The purpose of the program, according to a resolution accompanying the document, was to purify Communism of its "former aberrations" and to "build socialism in this country in a way corresponding to our conditions and traditions." The 60-page document pledged: new guarantees of freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religious observance; electoral laws to provide a broader choice of candidates, greater freedom for the four non-Communist parties within the National Front; upgrading of parliament and the government in relation to the power of the CPC apparatus; broad economic reforms to give enterprises greater independence, to achieve convertible currency, to revive a limited amount of private enterprise and increase trade with the West; an independent judiciary; federal status for Slovakia on an independent basis and a new constitution to be drafted by the close of 1969.

The Central Committee pledged a "full and just rehabilitation of all persons" unjustly persecuted during the Stalinist Years, 1949–54. The pledge offered "moral, personal and financial compensation" to persons affected by the rehabilitation. It also pledged that "persons who took an active" part in the persecutions "must not hold any important posts in the social and political life of our society."

April 19: Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek charged that the United States had failed to show "any proof of good will" toward improving relations with the Dubcek Government. Hajek said the United States "simply repudiated" a 1961 accord outlining principles of a settlement under which 18,400 kilograms of Czechoslovakian gold were to be returned to Prague. The gold valued at about $20 million was stolen by the Nazi, and at the close of the war fell into American hands. Some Czechoslovaks claimed that the return of the gold would give the new government greater freedom to pursue an independent course from the Soviet bloc.

April 20: Alexander Dubcek virtually ruled out the possibility of genuine opposition parties in his regime. "Democracy," he said, "must be developed inside the CPC instead."

April 23: According to reliable sources in Prague, the Dubcek Government warned the

Soviet Union against interference in the internal affairs of the country and told Moscow it would walk out of a world Communist meeting in Budapest if they were criticized there. Behind the regime's stand was the Soviet Union's backing of various conservative elements in the CPC who were opposed to the reforms of the Dubcek Government. Relations became momentarily strained when, according to unconfirmed reports, Soviet Ambassador I. V. Chervolenko had several meetings in April with Novotny, the deposed Stalinist leader.

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May 15: After some weeks of official silence against a background of psychological pressures and criticisms from the Soviet Union and other countries of the Soviet bloc, the leaders of the new Czechoslovak regime began to lift the veil on their talks with Soviet leaders two weeks previously. Moreover, they announced that major steps had been taken to implement the new Action Program. This program was to be carried out by political and economic legislation with the goal of reforming and liberalizing Czechoslovak life and society. In a speech made on May 15, Josef Smrkovsky, President of the National Assembly, disclosed that behind the Government's official silence efforts were being made to allay Soviet fears that the new Party leadership was abdicating its authority and that it would not be able to "contain" the more extreme demands of the radicals. "Our Soviet friends," Smrkovsky said, had accepted Prague's explanations and declared their belief that the democratizations and Czechoslovakia was a Czechoslovak affair. The speech indicated that the Soviets had been insistent on two points in their discussions with the Czechoslovaks, (1) that in Czechoslovak foreign policy the alliance with the Soviet Union was, as Dubcek already declared, "untouchable"; and (2) that the party would retain its leading role.

May 17: Soviet Premier Kosygin arrived in Prague on what was described as a surprise visit, only a few hours after a strong Soviet military delegation had landed headed by Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Alexei Grechko. Officially, Kosygin's trip was described as being "holiday and treatment," but this was considered Communist terminology to describe planned top secret talks. Kosygin finished his first day of talks with Czechoslovak leaders on May 18, as thousands of students began an overtly anti-Soviet demonstration. Kosygin then left for Karlovy Vary, 95 miles from Prague, where it was expected that they would continue discussions with the nation's leaders as well as sip the waters of this historic European spa.

May 18: According to an analysis by *The Economist*, Czechoslovak First Secretary Dubcek was working hard to hold the balance between the extremists at both ends of the political spectrum: at one end, the reforming radicals and at the other end, the right-wing reactionaries who wanted to keep the Communist system largely as it had been under Novotny. Dubcek held the balance with about two-thirds of the Central Committee's votes on most essential issues. The Committee, which was to meet late in May, was expected to decide on calling an extraordinary Party Congress, presumably to purge the Novotny conservatives. Meanwhile, a commission was drafting a new federal constitution establishing Czech and Slovak relations on a more equal basis; new legislation was being prepared to regulate freedom of the press and right of assembly; a new electral law was being prepared that would give greater freedom to non-Communist parties; and a rehabilitation law was being prepared. In addition, the new regime quietly but effectively introduced some new social legislation, namely, the abolition of tax on old age pensions, the introduction of a legal five-day week in September, and increased paid maternity leave. However, the danger to the liberal program lay in the growing restlessness of the trade unions and labor force in general. They sought instant rewards in return for greater effort and output. Incentives, wage raises, and bonuses of a modest nature were being more than offset by rising living costs. Negotiations were going forward with the French for prefabricated houses as a means of relieving the housing shortage. This economic pinch explained Dubcek's insistence that the Soviets should offset their trade deficit by a credit either in hard currency or gold, and not merely in goods delivered at a future date. Distress in the field of labor, it was thought, could lead to strikes and other disputes that could hamper the Dubcek program.

May 18: Official Czechoslovak sources reiterated that the Soviet Union had apparently decided to accept their country's democratization within a Communist framework. Discussions with Soviet Premier Kosygin were said to have shown, according to "authorized Czechoslovak sources," that "the path of the further development of socialism upon which Czechoslovakia has embarked is meeting with understanding among Soviet leaders."

May 20: In a report in *The Christian Science Monitor*, Paul Wohl, a specialist on Communist bloc affairs, reported that economically the Czechoslovaks were "almost completely dependent upon the Russians." In the economic field, he said, the Soviets had exerted pressure without spectacular political consequences. Reports that the Soviets had thwarted the delivery of grain seemed to lack foundations; nor was there any evidence, according to Mr. Wohl, that the Soviets were haggling about a $400 or $500 million hard currency credit allegedly demanded by Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia's economic dependence on the Soviets was evident in the following statistics: two-fifths of the nation's imported food and raw materials were supplied by Moscow; this included more than 90% of the oil, between 70 and 80 percent of the ore used, over half of all imported cotton, nearly 60% of all phosphates, more than 50% of synthetic rubber, etc.

May 20: According to informed Czechoslovak Communist Party sources, the Soviet Union was demanding that the Dubcek regime allow Soviet and Polish troops to be stationed on its territory under the provisions of the Warsaw Pact. The demands had been pressed, it was said, during discussions between Soviet Premier Kosygin and Marshal Grechko, the Soviet Defense Minister. There was no confirmation of this report. According to Josef Smrkovsky, President of the National Assembly and one of the leading reformers, the discussions with Kosygin were gradually succeeding in overcoming the fears and reservations the Soviets had about developments in Czecholslovakia.

May 21: In a report from Moscow Anatole Shub of the *Washington Post* observed that the Soviet Army high command appeared to be emerging as one of the prime forces favoring cooperation with the Dubcek regime and resisting demands for intervention in the country. During a visit to Slovakia two weeks ago. Soviet Marshal Kiril Moskalenko declared that the Soviet Union would not intervene. This remark had not been reported in Moscow but in the past few days *Red Star,* the newspaper of the Soviet Army, made it plain that the Soviet military, unlike some East German, Polish and Soviet circles, did not view developments in Prague "sourly."

May 22: The Most Rev. Frantisek Tomasek, the apostolic administrator in Czechoslovakia, disclosed in Prague that three Roman Catholic bishops forcibly removed by the CPC 18 years ago were being allowed to return to their dioceses. Bishop Tomasek, the highest ranking prelate in Czechoslovakia, said "the first big steps" had now been made in Church-State relations since Dubcek's ascendancy in January. According to the Bishop, the problem of the bishops was the most important single issue in that relationship. The bishops to be reinstated in their dioceses were The Most. Rev. Josef Hlouch, Diocesses of Ceske Budejovice in Bohemia, The Most Rev. Stepan Trochta, Litomerice Diocese, Bohemia, and The Most Rev. Karel Skoupy, Diocesses in Brno, Moravia.

Czechoslovak Defense Minister Co. Gen. Martin Dzur declared that reports that the Soviet Union sought to station troops in his country were not true. The denial was issued as Soviet Minister Crechko and a team of leading Soviet military aides ended a five-day visit and left for Moscow. Reports had been circulating that the Soviet Union wanted to station 11,000 Soviet and Polish troops in Czechoslovakia, but that Dubcek resisted the move. Gen. Dzur denied that the issue had been discussed, noting that the Soviet and Czechoslovak military leaders "talked as equal partners in a really friendly and comradely atmosphere." The General was convinced that the Soviet military visitors had avoided any action "where it might be felt that they wanted to interfere with our affairs or give us special advice."

May 23: In a large meeting of Communist newspapermen and broadcasters in Prague, Cestmir Cisar, the CPC official in charge of information policy, advised his audience in "firm but friendly terms" to start exercising more discipline and restraint. Reportedly, Cisar said it was the task of the Communist journalists to defend the policy of the Party. He also gave the official view that the press must be an instrument of state policy even in a truly democratic socialist country such as Czechoslovakia wanted to become. Cisar emphasized that more unity and concentration on the Party line were plainly needed.

The Presidium of the CPC also announced after a two-day session that the Central Committee would meet on May 29. The long-awaited meeting was expected to provide a debating forum for Dubcek's liberalization policies.

May 24: According to a statement distributed by Ceteka press agency of Czechoslovakia, the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact would hold exercises on Czechoslovak and Polish territory in June. Prague's agreement to hold the exercises on its territory was viewed as a gesture to convince its Soviet bloc allies that liberalization did not imply alienation from the Commuuist alliance system, especially the Warsaw Pact. Czechoslovakia had successfully resisted Soviet bloc proposals to allow the stationing of 11,000 Soviet special forces in western Bohemia and to agree to the formation of a "military Cominform" political department within the Warsaw Pact.

The announcement of agreement on limited maneuvers came several hours after Soviet Premier Kosygin returned from Karlovy Vary spa four days ahead of schedule. Kosygin conferred with President Svoboda. No explanation was made for the sudden change in Kosygin's plans, but authoritative sources said that new difficulties had developed in political and economic discussions between both countries. Czechoslovak sources had given the impression since Kosygin's arrival that Moscow was showing an understanding of the developing process of "democratic Socialist revolution" in Czechoslovakia, although previously there were indications of Soviet, Polish and East German hostility to the liberalizing "revolution." According to Czechoslovak officials, the major question was the degree of this understanding and notably the question whether the Soviets would grant the Dubcek regime much-needed credits and loans.

Authoritative Czechoslovak sources stated that their government had rejected a proposal by Soviet Defense Minister Grechko to create a military Cominform. The agreement to hold maneuvers in June was regarded as a main concession wrested by Grechko during his visit.

May 25: Soviet Premier Kosygin ended his visit to Czechoslovakia in what was described as an effort at personal diplomacy and most signs indicated that he and the Dubcek leadership had agreed to meet each other halfway in working out their differences. Since the visit was allegedly for health purposes, no official communique was issued. According to a report from Prague, Kosygin clearly had come to Prague in the "role of healer, conciliator, persuader and observer at a time of increasing Czechoslovak-Russian tension and rising anxiety in the socialist camp about the direction of the democratization process." Observers believed that Kosygin's major interests were Czechoslovakia's continued participation in the Warsaw Pact, continuation of the Communist Party leadership, Party control over non-Communist opposition, and an orderly settling of the struggle between opposing factions within the CPC.

May 26: In a report from Prague, Dana Adams Schmiut of *The New York Times* stated that the Dubcek regime was taking its first step toward the rehabilitation of 40,000 people who had served sentences in prisons or concentration camps for political reasons during the past 20 years. The regime was also planning relief for about 100,000 who suffered so-called administrative penalties, such as expulsion from their homes for political reasons. The first step was taken a few days previously when the Presidium of the Central Committee decided that people who had served their sentences for political offenses and were barred in the past from all but manual labor would now be free to resume their old occupations.

Reportedly, for most former inmates of concentration camps and prisons this was not enough since they faced suspicion and fear of their fellow citizens which could prevent them from getting jobs or setting themselves up again in the professions. They also felt entitled to compensation for the time spent in prison.

According to a report from Prague by Tad Szulc of *The New York Times*, United States Ambassador Jacob D. Beam, who recently returned from consultations in Washington, was scheduled to call on Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek this week. Prague officials were hopeful that this would lead to the reopening of long-dormant talks on outstanding financial and trade problems. The new regime, which has increasingly insisted on its independence in the conduct of international relations, was authoritatively reported to have decided to deal with the United States without any reference to the Vietnam war. It was not said whether Prague planned to reduce or halt its direct aid to Hanoi which stands as a legal obstacle, among other things, to Export-Import Bank credits to Czechoslovakia. While the Dubcek Government is determined to develop its democratic Socialist revolution along lines of a foreign policy independent of Soviet domination in the Rumanian and Yugoslav manner, it has been recognized that extreme care would have to be applied to contracts with the United States so as to avoid major new complications with Moscow at a time when Czechoslovakia's relations with the Soviet Union appeared to be strained.

According to Czechoslovak sources, the early departure of Soviet Premier Kosygin was related to a failure to persuade the progressives with whom he was said to have some sympathy to restrain the liberalizing movement in the country. Conversations with Kosygin toward the end of his 8-day visit made it clear, these sources said, that the Soviets were in no hurry to grant Czechoslovakia the $400 million hard-currency loan requested earlier in May for industrial modernization and for an improvement in its international balance of payments. Presumably, Czechoslovakia was not planning at this time to seek a loan of such magnitude in the West, particularly not the United States, but receiving no aid from Moscow, its chief trading partner, it was again concentrating on winning better trade terms from the United States and recovering about $25 million which it says the United States owes.

Official sources in Prague said that there were indications Ambassador Beam would open discussions on the possibility of unfreezing $5 million in Social Security funds payable to Czechoslovak citizens. Such payments due to beneficiaries now living in Czechoslovakia have been held up and the funds frozen. Moreover, the Czechoslovaks were hoping that a favorable solution of this problem could lead to the re-opening of discussions over the $20 million in Czechoslovak gold held in the United States since the Communist seizure of power in 1948. In this connection the United States has insisted that Czechoslovakia pay $40 million to $50 million in compensation to American citizens for nationalization of property after 1948.

A report from Washington indicated that the Johnson Administration was reviewing a wide range of issues regarding Czechoslovakia, but has reached no decision on an approach to the Dubcek government.

May 27: In a report from Prague, Dan Morgan of *The Washington Post* declared that pressure was mounting for the resignation of the "holdout Stalinist clique" within the CPC Central Committee, two days before the showdown meeting between the liberal Dubcek faction and the remaining conservative Novotny followers. At issue would be the future course of Party policy.

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May 14: The Soviet press denounced Thomas G. Masaryk, the founder of the Czechoslovak Republic, as an "absolute scoundrel" in an attack that resurrected 44 year old charges that he had paid 200,000 rubles in 1918 to an anti-Bolshevik terrorist in a conspiracy to murder Lenin. The charge was first made in 1924 by a terrorist named Boris Savinkov. The Czechoslovak press reacted "with outrage," according to a press report, to the Soviet charge. One report from Prague indicated that the Soviet attack might prove to be a grave error in judgment . . . "They have stirred Czecholsovakia recriminations," the report said, "that cannot improve relations between the two countries".

May 15: After some weeks of official silence against a background of psychological pressures and criticisms from the Soviet Union and other countries of the Soviet bloc, the leaders of the new Czechoslovak regime began to lift the veil on their talks with Soviet leaders two weeks previously. Moreover, they announced that major steps had been taken to implement the new Action Program. This program was to be carried out by political and economic legislation with the goal of reforming and liberalizing Czechoslovak life and society. In a speech made on May 15, Josef Smrkovsky, President of the National Assembly, disclosed that behind the Government's official silence efforts were being made to allay Soviet fears that the new Party leadership was abdicating its authority and that it would not be able to "contain" the more extreme demands of the radicals. "Our Soviet friends," Smrkovsky said, had accepted Prague's explanations and declared their belief that the democratizations and Czechoslovakia was a Czechoslovak affair. The speech indicated that the Soviets had been insistent on two points in their discussions with the Czechoslovaks, (1) that in Czechoslovak foreign policy the alliance with the Soviet Union was, as Dubcek already declared, "untouchable"; and (2) that the party would retain its leading role.

May 17: Soviet Premier Kosygin arrived in Prague on what was described as a surprise visit, only a few hours after a strong Soviet military delegation had landed headed by Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Alexei Grechko. Officially, Kosygin's trip was described as being "holiday and treatment," but this was considered Communist terminology to describe planned top secret talks. Kosygin finished his first day of talks with Czechoslovak leaders on May 18, as thousands of students began an overtly anti-Soviet demonstration. Kosygin then left for Karlovy Vary, 95 miles from Prague, where it was expected that they would continue discussions with the nation's leaders as well as sip the waters of this historic European spa.

May 18: According to an analysis by *The Economist*, Czechoslovak First Secretary Dubcek was working hard to hold the balance between the extremists at both ends of the political spectrum: at one end, the reforming radicals and at the other end, the right-wing reactionaries who wanted to keep the Communist system largely as it had been under Novotny. Dubcek held the balance with about two-thirds of the Central Committee's votes on most essential issues. The Committee, which was to meet late in May, was expected to decide on calling an extraordinary Party Congress, presumably to purge the Novotny conservatives. Meanwhile, a commission was drafting a new federal constitution establishing Czech and Slovak relations on a more equal basis; new legislation was being prepared to regulate freedom of the press and right of assembly; a new electral law was being prepared that would give greater freedom to non-Communist parties; and a rehabilitation law was being prepared. In addition, the new regime quietly but effectively introduced some new social legislation, namely, the abolition of tax on old age pensions, the introduction of a legal five-day week in September, and increased paid maternity leave. However, the danger to the liberal program lay in the growing restlessness of the trade unions and labor force in general. They sought instant rewards in return for greater effort and output. Incentives, wage raises, and bonuses of a modest nature were being more than offset by rising living costs. Negotiations were going forward with the French for prefabricated houses as a means of relieving the housing shortage. This economic pinch explained Dubcek's insistence that the Soviets should offset their trade deficit by a credit either in hard currency or gold, and not merely in goods delivered at a future date. Distress in the field of labor, it was thought, could lead to strikes and other disputes that could hamper the Dubcek program.

May 18: Official Czechoslovak sources reiterated that the Soviet Union had apparently decided to accept their country's democratization within a Communist framework. Discussions with Soviet Premier Kosygin were said to have shown, according to "authorized Czechoslovak sources," that "the path of the further development of socialism upon which Czechoslovakia has embarked is meeting with understanding among Soviet leaders."

May 20: In a report in *The Christian Science Monitor,* Paul Wohl, a specialist on Communist bloc affairs, reported that economically the Czechoslovaks were "almost completely dependent upon the Russians." In the economic field, he said, the Soviets had exerted pressure without spectacular political consequences. Reports that the Soviets had thwarted the delivery of grain seemed to lack foundations; nor was there any evidence, according to Mr. Wohl, that the Soviets were haggling about a $400 or $500 million hard currency credit allegedly demanded by Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia's economic dependence on the Soviets was evident in the following statistics: two-fifths of the nation's imported food and raw materials were supplied by Moscow; this included more than 90% of the oil, between 70 and 80 percent of the ore used, over half of all imported cotton, nearly 60% of all phosphates, more than 50% of synthetic rubber, etc.

May 20: According to informed Czechoslovak Communist Party sources, the Soviet Union was demanding that the Dubcek regime allow Soviet and Polish troops to be stationed on its territory under the provisions of the Warsaw Pact. The demands had been pressed, it was said, during discussions between Soviet Premier Kosygin and Marshal Grechko, the Soviet Defense Minister. There was no confirmation of this report. According to Josef Smrkovsky, President of the National Assembly and one of the leading reformers, the discussions with Kosygin were gradually succeeding in overcoming the fears and reservations the Soviets had about developments in Czecholslovakia.

May 21: In a report from Moscow Anatole Shub of the *Washington Post* observed that the Soviet Army high command appeared to be emerging as one of the prime forces favoring cooperation with the Dubcek regime and resisting demands for intervention in the country. During a visit to Slovakia two weeks ago. Soviet Marshal Kiril Moskalenko declared that the Soviet Union would not intervene. This remark had not been reported in Moscow but in the past few days *Red Star*, the newspaper of the Soviet Army, made it plain that the Soviet military, unlike some East German, Polish and Soviet circles, did not view developments in Prague "sourly."

May 22: The Most Rev. Frantisek Tomasek, the apostolic administrator in Czechoslovakia, disclosed in Prague that three Roman Catholic bishops forcibly removed by the CPC 18 years ago were being allowed to return to their dioceses. Bishop Tomasek, the highest ranking prelate in Czechoslovakia, said "the first big steps" had now been made in Church-State relations since Dubcek's ascendancy in January. According to the Bishop, the problem of the bishops was the most important single issue in that relationship. The bishops to be reinstated in their dioceses were The Most. Rev. Josef Hlouch, Diocesses of Ceske Budejovice in Bohemia, The Most Rev. Stepan Trochta, Litomerice Diocese, Bohemia, and The Most Rev. Karel Skoupy, Diocesses in Brno, Moravia.

Czechoslovak Defense Minister Co. Gen. Martin Dzur declared that reports that the Soviet Union sought to station troops in his country were not true. The denial was issued as Soviet Minister Crechko and a team of leading Soviet military aides ended a five-day visit and left for Moscow. Reports had been circulating that the Soviet Union wanted to station 11,000 Soviet and Polish troops in Czechoslovakia, but that Dubcek resisted the move. Gen. Dzur denied that the issue had been discussed, noting that the Soviet and Czechoslovak military leaders "talked as equal partners in a really friendly and comradely atmosphere." The General was convinced that the Soviet military visitors had avoided any action "where it might be felt that they wanted to interfere with our affairs or give us special advice."

May 23: In a large meeting of Communist newspapermen and broadcasters in Prague, Cestmir Cisar, the CPC official in charge of information policy, advised his audience in "firm but friendly terms" to start exercising more discipline and restraint. Reportedly, Cisar said it was the task of the Communist journalists to defend the policy of the Party. He also gave the official view that the press must be an instrument of state policy even in a truly democratic socialist country such as Czechoslovakia wanted to become. Cisar emphasized that more unity and concentration on the Party line were plainly needed.

The Presidium of the CPC also announced after a two-day session that the Central Committee would meet on May 29. The long-awaited meeting was expected to provide a debating forum for Dubcek's liberalization policies.

May 24: According to a statement distributed by Ceteka press agency of Czechoslovakia, the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact would hold exercises on Czechoslovak and Polish territory in June. Prague's agreement to hold the exercises on its territory was viewed as a gesture to convince its Soviet bloc allies that liberalization did not imply alienation from the Commuuist alliance system, especially the Warsaw Pact. Czechoslovakia had successfully resisted Soviet bloc proposals to allow the stationing of 11,000 Soviet special forces in western Bohemia and to agree to the formation of a "military Cominform" political department within the Warsaw Pact.

The announcement of agreement on limited maneuvers came several hours after Soviet Premier Kosygin returned from Karlovy Vary spa four days ahead of schedule. Kosygin conferred with President Svoboda. No explanation was made for the sudden change in Kosygin's plans, but authoritative sources said that new difficulties had developed in political and economic discussions between both countries. Czechoslovak sources had given the impression since Kosygin's arrival that Moscow was showing an understanding of the developing process of "democratic Socialist revolution" in Czechoslovakia, although previously there were indications of Soviet, Polish and East German hostility to the liberalizing "revolution." According to Czechoslovak officials, the major question was the degree of this understanding and notably the question whether the Soviets would grant the Dubcek regime much-needed credits and loans.

Authoritative Czechoslovak sources stated that their government had rejected a proposal by Soviet Defense Minister Grechko to create a military Cominform. The agreement to hold maneuvers in June was regarded as a main concession wrested by Grechko during his visit.

May 25: Soviet Premier Kosygin ended his visit to Czechoslovakia in what was described as an effort at personal diplomacy and most signs indicated that he and the Dubcek leadership had agreed to meet each other halfway in working out their differences. Since the visit was allegedly for health purposes, no official communique was issued. According to a report from Prague, Kosygin clearly had come to Prague in the "role of healer, conciliator, persuader and observer at a time of increasing Czechoslovak-Russian tension and rising anxiety in the socialist camp about the direction of the democratization process." Observers believed that Kosygin's major interests were Czechoslovakia's continued participation in the Warsaw Pact, continuation of the Communist Party leadership, Party control over non-Communist opposition, and an orderly settling of the struggle between opposing factions within the CPC.

May 26: In a report from Prague, Dana Adams Schmiut of *The New York Times* stated that the Dubcek regime was taking its first step toward the rehabilitation of 40,000 people who had served sentences in prisons or concentration camps for political reasons during the past 20 years. The regime was also planning relief for about 100,000 who suffered so-called administrative penalties, such as expulsion from their homes for political reasons. The first step was taken a few days previously when the Presidium of the Central Committee decided that people who had served their sentences for political offenses and were barred in the past from all but manual labor would now be free to resume their old occupations.

Reportedly, for most former inmates of concentration camps and prisons this was not enough since they faced suspicion and fear of their fellow citizens which could prevent them from getting jobs or setting themselves up again in the professions. They also felt entitled to compensation for the time spent in prison.

According to a report from Prague by Tad Szulc of *The New York Times*, United States Ambassador Jacob D. Beam, who recently returned from consultations in Washington, was scheduled to call on Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek this week. Prague officials were hopeful that this would lead to the reopening of long-dormant talks on outstanding financial and trade problems. The new regime, which has increasingly insisted on its independence in the conduct of international relations, was authoritatively reported to have decided to deal with the United States without any reference to the Vietnam war. It was not said whether Prague planned to reduce or halt its direct aid to Hanoi which stands as a legal obstacle, among other things, to Export-Import Bank credits to Czechoslovakia. While the Dubcek Government is determined to develop its democratic Socialist revolution along lines of a foreign policy independent of Soviet domination in the Rumanian and Yugoslav manner, it has been recognized that extreme care would have to be applied to contracts with the United States so as to avoid major new complications with Moscow at a time when Czechoslovakia's relations with the Soviet Union appeared to be strained.

According to Czechoslovak sources, the early departure of Soviet Premier Kosygin was related to a failure to persuade the progressives with whom he was said to have some sympathy to restrain the liberalizing movement in the country. Conversations with Kosygin toward the end of his 8-day visit made it clear, these sources said, that the Soviets were in no hurry to grant Czechoslovakia the $400 million hard-currency loan requested earlier in May for industrial modernization and for an improvement in its international balance of payments. Presumably, Czechoslovakia was not planning at this time to seek a loan of such magnitude in the West, particularly not the United States, but receiving no aid from Moscow, its chief trading partner, it was again concentrating on winning better trade terms from the United States and recovering about $25 million which it says the United States owes.

Official sources in Prague said that there were indications Ambassador Beam would open discussions on the possibility of unfreezing $5 million in Social Security funds payable to Czechoslovak citizens. Such payments due to beneficiaries now living in Czechoslovakia have been held up and the funds frozen. Moreover, the Czechoslovaks were hoping that a favorable solution of this problem could lead to the re-opening of discussions over the $20 million in Czechoslovak gold held in the United States since the Communist seizure of power in 1948. In this connection the United States has insisted that Czechoslovakia pay $40 million to $50 million in compensation to American citizens for nationalization of property after 1948.

A report from Washington indicated that the Johnson Administration was reviewing a wide range of issues regarding Czechoslovakia, but has reached no decision on an approach to the Dubcek government.

May 27: In a report from Prague, Dan Morgan of *The Washington Post* declared that pressure was mounting for the resignation of the "holdout Stalinist clique" within the CPC Central Committee, two days before the showdown meeting between the liberal Dubcek faction and the remaining conservative Novotny followers. At issue would be the future course of Party policy.

Workers, managers and youth groups of the iron and steel works in Kosice, Slovakia, near the Soviet border, called for the resignation of Novotny and five of his followers. The letter, demanding their removal, was reminiscent of the type preceeding the successful campaigns earlier in the year for removing Communist dogmatists from leading posts. Claiming to voice the views of 16,000 workers, it said that the old guard had compromised itself and lost the confidence of the Party. Dubcek's liberal followers welcomed this demonstration of criticism of their opponents. Other support came to them over the weekend when district leaders in the mining area of Ostrava backed an emergency Party Congress to vote on whether the Stalinist should retain their positions.

Dubcek himself appeared to give conditional approval to the drive for resignation by declaring in an unprecedented front page editorial in *Rude Pravo*, the Party's journal, that "we must dissociate ourselves from everything that was retarding the development of our country." According to Mr. Morgan, the Dubcek editorial seemed to contain a "balanced warning to both conservatives and radicals not to stray from a moderate line at the meeting starting Wednesday." Dubcek was said to be still in control of the Party.

Some observers regarded the Kosice letter, "which almost certainly had been sought by progressives in Prague," as an indication that Soviet Premier Kosygin had resigned himself to the removal of at least the most diehard Stalinists when he visited the country. Cited among those for removal were Michal Chudik, the former head of the Slovak Communist Party, the discredited former Defense Minister Bohumir Lomsky, and the former National Security Minister Kard Bacilek.

The Central Committee itself, which was scheduled to meet May 29, could not expel the estimated one-third of its members thought to be Novotny followers. But the progressive faction could try to force their resignations or try to persuade the Committee to vote for calling an extraordinary Party Congress, the purpose of which would be to elect a new Central Committee. This could be done by law and thus purge the remaining Stalinist. The next regular Congress was scheduled to take place in 1969.

Liberals have feared that if the remnants of Stalinists were not removed from the CPC, there would be delay in carrying out reforms since Party officials at all echelons would "hedge their bets" pending the outcome of the factional struggle. What has been done so far in matters of liberalization by and large has yet to be rooted in legislation. Hence the determination of how liberal the final laws would be has been regarded more as a political question than a legal one. Communist observers also have felt that a purge of the Novotny elements was absolutely essential if the Party was to permanently regain the respect of the masses and become an institution around which they could rally.

A NEW ALINEMENT FOR AMERICAN UNITY

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, on May 16, former Vice President Richard M. Nixon delivered a nationwide radio address entitled, "A New Alinement for American Unity." This is perhaps the most significant speech made to date in this political year.

In this address Mr. Nixon discusses the new alinement which has been steadily, yet quietly, forming throughout America. It consists of the Republicans, the New Liberal, the New South, the Black Militant, and the silent center. As Mr. Nixon says:

> No man can predict the ultimate shape of the alinement that is happening in America today. But I know this: It is alive, it is moving forward, it is rooted in reality, and it calls out for you to come aboard. In the years to come, I believe that historians will record this: That in the watershed year of 1968, America, in a time of crisis, responded as it has responded before—with new ideas, with great traditions, with a new alinement, and with the fresh hope that comes from a new unity.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to place this address in the RECORD:

A NEW ALINEMENT FOR AMERICAN UNITY

(An address by Richard M. Nixon on the CBS radio network, May 16, 1968)

Great movements and changes in the political scene are seldom recognized while they are happening.

They are perceived long afterward. Historians, looking back in American history, can spot the great shifts:

There was the time, 140 years ago, just after the Era of Good Feeling, when Andrew Jackson re-introduced the two-party system in America.

There was the time, 100 years ago, after the collapse of the Whig Party, of a new coalition that became the Republican Party.

And there was the time, 35 years ago, when Franklin Roosevelt assembled a Democratic coalition of organized labor, minority groups and the "solid" South.

That last assemblage of power blocs dominated the middle third of the Twentieth Century in America. But as we enter the last third of this century, it is time we recognize a profound change that has taken place in American politics.

PARALLEL IDEAS

Without most of us realizing it, a new alignment has been formed.

Most Americans have not been aware that this new alignment has been gathering together. Yet it has happened, and it is an exciting, healthy development.

More than a century ago, Alexis de Tocqueville put his finger on the mysterious formation of a new opinion:

"Time, events, or the unaided individual action of the mind will sometimes undermine or destroy an opinion, without any outward sign of the change. It has not been openly assailed, no conspiracy has been formed to make war on it, but its followers one by one noiselessly secede; day by day a few of them abandon it, until at last it is only professed by a minority . . .

"They are themselves unaware for a long period that a great revolution has actually been effected . . .

"The majority have ceased to believe what they believed before, but they still affect to believe, and this empty phantom of public opinion is strong enough to chill innovators and to keep them silent and at a respectful distance."

This new alignment is already a new majority; it will affect the future of all Americans for generations to come whether they are part of it or not.

The new majority is not a grouping of power blocs, but an alliance of ideas.

Men and women of all backgrounds, of all ages, of all parties, are coming to the same conclusions. Many of these men and women belong to the same blocs that formed the old coalitions. But now, thinking independently, they have all reached a new conclusion about the direction of our nation. Their very diversity of background provides a basis for a new unity for America.

THE REPUBLICAN VOICE

Listen to the conclusion as expressed by one group, the most visible one, voiced by many Republicans for many years:

"This nation has become great not by what government has done for people but by what people have done for themselves. The more centralized and domineering a government gets, the less personal freedom there is for the individual.

"The role of government is to do for people what they cannot do for themselves: to open up new opportunities, to mobilize private energies to meet public needs, to protect and defend every citizen, to create a climate that enables every person to fulfill himself to the utmost—in his own way, and by his own choice."

That's the Republican voice, the voice of both liberals and conservatives within the party, and its good sense is becoming more appealing to millions of Democrats and Independents. That traditionally Republican thinking is the well-spring of the new alignment.

VOICE OF THE NEW LIBERAL

But there is another voice saying much the same thing in a different form. It is the voice of the New Liberal.

That voice of the New Liberal calls for a workable form of "participatory democracy." It demands a political order close to the people who are governed, in which the people play a vital part. That voice demands more personal freedom and less goverment domination.

Thoughtful critics like Daniel Moynihan and Richard Goodwin—both liberals—are giving the word another dimension. A century ago, to be a "liberal" meant to be against the domination of governmental authority, to put personal liberty ahead of the dictates of the State. Only recently has the term "liberal" come to mean the dependence on federal action to meet people's needs.

The future meaning of liberal is likely to return to the reliance on personal freedom. But it will have a difference: it will see that a key role of government is to provide incentives for the free enterprise system to accept more social responsibility.

In that context, liberals and conservatives will find themselves coming closer together, rather than splitting apart.

Just as there is a difference betweeen the New Deal Liberal and the New Liberal, there is a big difference between the New Liberal and the New Left.

The New Liberal recognizes that progress and order go hand in hand. He points to the channels of protest open to those who dissent, especially through the electoral process. In this way, the American system can be a force for change without changing the American system itself.

The extremists of the New Left strongly—even violently—disagree. They say that the respect for dissent, the protection of their civil rights to protest peaceably, are only safety valves for the Establishment.

The very processes that permit gradual change are resented by these extremists. That is because they would find it much easier to break a rigid structure than to break our flexible one.

They feel—quite wrongly—that they have to tear down in order to build, shaking society to its foundations, leading us to anarchy. The New Left has a passsion, while the New Liberal has a program.

And yet I have a feeling that many of the young people who call themselves New Leftists now are in fact far more closely attuned to the voice of the New Liberal. When it comes to a choice between getting something off your chest or getting something done, sooner or later most people choose to get something done.

VOICE OF THE NEW SOUTH

There is a third voice—the voice of the new South. Not the old solid South of the Thirties, of automatic voting habits and a declining economy.

The new South is no longer prisoner of the past; no longer bound by old habits or old grievances or the old racist appeals. The new South is building a new pride, focusing on the future, pressing forward with industrial development through resurgent private enterprise, forging a new place for itself in the life of the nation.

Politically, the new South is in ferment. It is breaking the shackles of one-party rule. Its new voices are interpreting the old doctrines of states' rights in new ways—those of making state and local governments responsive to state and local needs.

VOICE OF THE BLACK MILITANT

There is a fourth voice—the voice of the black militant. There is a deep and widening division between today's black leadership and the doctrinaire welfarist.

When you listen to these black voices, you hear little about "handouts" or "welfare." Instead, you hear the words "dignity," "ownership," "pride." They do not want to be recipients, they want to be participants.

The message of giveaway, of handout, of permanent welfare is no longer of interest to people who want dignity and self-respect.

The nation, in its present economic crisis, cannot afford an increase in these giant welfare programs today.

What we can and should do immediately, is to respond to their demands for a share of American opportunity, for a legitimate role in private enterprise.

THE SILENT CENTER

There is a fifth element to the new alignment—a non-voice, if you will.

That is the silent center, the millions of people in the middle of the American political spectrum who do not demonstrate, who do not picket or protest loudly. Yet, these people are no less committed to seeking out this new direction. They are willing to listen to new ideas, and they are willing to think them through.

We must remember that all the center is not silent, and all who are silent are not center. But a great many "quiet Americans" have become committed to answers to social problems that preserve personal freedom. They have rejected the answers of the Thirties to the problems of today.

As this silent center has become a part of the new alignment, it has transformed it from a minority into a majority. That is why we are witnessing a significant breakthrough toward what America needs: peaceful, orderly progress.

DISHARMONY IN THE NEW ALIGNMENT

My point is this: these voices—the Republicans, the New Liberals, the new South, the black militants—are talking the same language.

Let's not oversimplify. The voices are not joined in any harmonious chorus—far from it. The ideas of the new alignment differ in emphasis. But they do not conflict the way the old alliance of power blocs used to conflict.

The differences within the new alignment are differences of emphasis, not of fundamentals; differences in the *speed* of change, not so much in the *direction* of change.

Now, the new alignment's greatest need is to communicate with all its elements, rather than march along in parallel lines that never converge.

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

You can be sure that the members of the old power blocs will try at first to dismiss this new majority as just an assortment of strange bedfellows.

But despite the differences in appearance, despite the differences in ways and means, despite the lack of communication, despite all the pains of realignment, the *fundamental agreement is there*. Even men who find each other disagreeable at first, can find themselves in agreement.

THE STRADDLERS

I do not claim to be the only one who notices the formation of this new alignment. On the campaign trail today you can see the politicians of the old order adjusting their appeals. It may be awkward, but they speak about "more Federal billions now for the cities" in one breath and then, in the next breath, talk of "an end to the old welfare system and a return to private enterprise."

These politicians are trying to have it both ways. On the one hand, they are reluctant to abandon the old power alliances that have served them so well in the past. On the other hand, they don't want to miss the new boat as it leaves the dock.

People today, and the political figures who appeal to them, will have to make the hard choice: whether to cling to the old power-bloc alliances of the middle third of this century, or to join the new alignment of ideas that will shape the final third of this century.

PROMISE OF UNITY

And therein lies the great excitement of this new alignment. Right now, we see our differences all too clearly; in the future, those of us in the alignment will see our similarity of methods and goals much more clearly.

The mark of a good insight is when everyone says "Of course—that's what I've been thinking all along, only I never put it that way." That is what is at the heart of the new alignment: the crystallization of what is on the minds of the American people today.

Tomorrow, as we focus the new movement more clearly, America will gain a new unity.

We will not seek the false unity of consensus, of the glossing over of fundamental differences, of the enforced sameness of government regimentation.

We will forge a unity of goals, recognized by men who also recognize and value their own diversity. That is the great advantage of an alignment of ideas over the coalition of power blocs.

As we coalesce the elements of this new alignment, some surprising things will begin to happen. As frustration ends, violence will wane; as runaway government is curbed, personal freedom will grow; as demeaning welfare systems are replaced, individual initiative will take the lead; as peace returns to the American city, America will be better able to build peace in the world.

JOINING THE NEW ALINEMENT

The new alignment speaks in many accents, and approaches its point from many directions. But the common message is there:

People come first, and government is their servant. The best government is closest to the people, and most involved with people's lives. Government is formed to protect the individual's life, property, and rights, and to help the helpless—not to dominate a person's life or rob him of his self-respect.

The concept is great not because it is new, but because it is right and it is relevant.

Victor Hugo pointed out that there is nothing so powerful as an idea whose time has come. The time has come for this idea. No one leader has drawn together this new alignment; it has been drawn together by the magnet of an idea that is right for our time, that speaks to us now, that has special meaning today.

How do you become part of the new alignment?

You don't have to be a member of any special party, or any union; you are not required to live in any region or any city; you don't have to be rich or poor, young or old.

Because we're not deealing with blocs—we're dealing with an idea.

If you believe that people do come first; if you believe that dignity must replace the dole; if you believe that order and progress go hand in hand; if you are idealistic about personal freedom; then you don't have to worry about where to go to join the new alignment.

You are already a part of it.

RISING TO THE CRISIS

The great re-alignments of our history did not take place in normal, quiet times. They took place when America was in trouble, or when the existing majority could not come to grips with the needs of the nation. And so without realizing, a new majority is formed and lasts as long as it meets the need for change. This is what we mean by "the collective wisdom of the people."

This is the unspoken voice of America, in its majesty and its mystery, demanding articulation by men who sense its new meaning.

That is why new faces with more of the old answers miss the point. That is why new leadership is needed now—leadership with a proven record for fighting for the action the new majority now demands.

No man can predict the ultimate shape of the alignment that is happening in America today. But I know this: It is alive, it is moving forward, it is rooted in reality, and it calls out for you to come aboard. In the years to come, I believe that historians will record this:

"That in the watershed year 1968, America, in a time of crisis, responded as it has responded before—with new ideas, with great traditions, with a new alignment, and with the fresh hope that comes from a new unity."

FREEDOM HAS VARIED MEANINGS, SAYS GENERAL KRULAK

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the San Diego Union, May 19, 1968]

GUIDELINES OFFERED—FREEDOM HAS VARIED MEANINGS, SAYS GENERAL KRULAK

Freedom means the opportunity to succeed and enjoy the fruits of your labor. It means the right to fail, with the obligation to take the consequences of your failure.

Lt. Gen. Victor H. Krulak, who commands all the Marines in the Pacific, expressed this definition last week in the final address of the Kiwanis Club's annual Pillars of American Freedom series.

The 35-year veteran of the Marine Corps also spoke out on the things that threaten the freedom of the free world, particularly the United States. He spoke of the Vietnam war, Communist China, racial discrimination, rioting and the rising crime rate.

He has some firm opinions. He has a philosophy. He has some solutions and some guidelines.

FREEDOM

"To a man chained to a wheelbarrow in a Siberian uranium mine, freedom can mean simply striking off his shackles . . . To another man, soaking up the sun at Palm Springs, freedom may mean a life of indolence without worries or responsibilities.

"But to us here today, thinking seriously on the hazards which throw a shadow on our land, freedom can mean nothing less than was contemplated by the men who risked their lives to write our own Declaration of Independence, or the men whose vision gave us our Constitution.

Workers, managers and youth groups of the iron and steel works in Kosice, Slovakia, near the Soviet border, called for the resignation of Novotny and five of his followers. The letter, demanding their removal, was reminiscent of the type preceeding the successful campaigns earlier in the year for removing Communist dogmatists from leading posts. Claiming to voice the views of 16,000 workers, it said that the old guard had compromised itself and lost the confidence of the Party. Dubcek's liberal followers welcomed this demonstration of criticism of their opponents. Other support came to them over the weekend when district leaders in the mining area of Ostrava backed an emergency Party Congress to vote on whether the Stalinist should retain their positions.

Dubcek himself appeared to give conditional approval to the drive for resignation by declaring in an unprecedented front page editorial in *Rude Pravo*, the Party's journal, that "we must dissociate ourselves from everything that was retarding the development of our country." According to Mr. Morgan, the Dubcek editorial seemed to contain a "balanced warning to both conservatives and radicals not to stray from a moderate line at the meeting starting Wednesday." Dubcek was said to be still in control of the Party.

Some observers regarded the Kosice letter, "which almost certainly had been sought by progressives in Prague," as an indication that Soviet Premier Kosygin had resigned himself to the removal of at least the most diehard Stalinists when he visited the country. Cited among those for removal were Michal Chudik, the former head of the Slovak Communist Party, the discredited former Defense Minister Bohumir Lomsky, and the former National Security Minister Kard Bacilek.

The Central Committee itself, which was scheduled to meet May 29, could not expel the estimated one-third of its members thought to be Novotny followers. But the progressive faction could try to force their resignations or try to persuade the Committee to vote for calling an extraordinary Party Congress, the purpose of which would be to elect a new Central Committee. This could be done by law and thus purge the remaining Stalinist. The next regular Congress was scheduled to take place in 1969.

Liberals have feared that if the remnants of Stalinists were not removed from the CPC, there would be delay in carrying out reforms since Party officials at all echelons would "hedge their bets" pending the outcome of the factional struggle. What has been done so far in matters of liberalization by and large has yet to be rooted in legislation. Hence the determination of how liberal the final laws would be has been regarded more as a political question than a legal one. Communist observers also have felt that a purge of the Novotny elements was aboslutely essential if the Party was to permanently regain the respect of the masses and become an institution around which they could rally.

A NEW ALINEMENT FOR AMERICAN UNITY

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, on May 16, former Vice President Richard M. Nixon delivered a nationwide radio address entitled, "A New Alinement for American Unity." This is perhaps the most significant speech made to date in this political year.

In this address Mr. Nixon discusses the new alinement which has been steadily, yet quietly, forming throughout America. It consists of the Republicans, the New Liberal, the New South, the Black Militant, and the silent center. As Mr. Nixon says:

> No man can predict the ultimate shape of the alinement that is happening in America today. But I know this: It is alive, it is moving forward, it is rooted in reality, and it calls out for you to come aboard. In the years to come, I believe that historians will record this: That in the watershed year of 1968, America, in a time of crisis, responded as it has responded before—with new ideas, with great traditions, with a new alinement, and with the fresh hope that comes from a new unity.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to place this address in the RECORD:

A NEW ALINEMENT FOR AMERICAN UNITY

(An address by Richard M. Nixon on the CBS radio network, May 16, 1968)

Great movements and changes in the political scene are seldom recognized while they are happening.

They are perceived long afterward. Historians, looking back in American history, can spot the great shifts:

There was the time, 140 years ago, just after the Era of Good Feeling, when Andrew Jackson re-introduced the two-party system in America.

There was the time, 100 years ago, after the collapse of the Whig Party, of a new coalition that became the Republican Party.

And there was the time, 35 years ago, when Franklin Roosevelt assembled a Democratic coalition of organized labor, minority groups and the "solid" South.

That last assemblage of power blocs dominated the middle third of the Twentieth Century in America. But as we enter the last third of this century, it is time we recognize a profound change that has taken place in American politics.

PARALLEL IDEAS

Without most of us realizing it, a new alignment has been formed.

Most Americans have not been aware that this new alignment has been gathering together. Yet it has happened, and it is an exciting, healthy development.

More than a century ago, Alexis de Tocqueville put his finger on the mysterious formation of a new opinion:

"Time, events, or the unaided individual action of the mind will sometimes undermine or destroy an opinion, without any outward sign of the change. It has not been openly assailed, no conspiracy has been formed to make war on it, but its followers one by one noiselessly secede; day by day a few of them abandon it, until at last it is only professed by a minority . . .

"They are themselves unaware for a long period that a great revolution has actually been effected . . .

"The majority have ceased to believe what they believed before, but they still affect to believe, and this empty phantom of public opinion is strong enough to chill innovators and to keep them silent and at a respectful distance."

This new alignment is already a new majority; it will affect the future of all Americans for generations to come whether they are part of it or not.

The new majority is not a grouping of power blocs, but an alliance of ideas.

Men and women of all backgrounds, of all ages, of all parties, are coming to the same conclusions. Many of these men and women belong to the same blocs that formed the old coalitions. But now, thinking independently, they have all reached a new conclusion about the direction of our nation. Their very diversity of background provides a basis for a new unity for America.

THE REPUBLICAN VOICE

Listen to the conclusion as expressed by one group, the most visible one, voiced by many Republicans for many years:

"This nation has become great not by what government has done for people but by what people have done for themselves. The more centralized and domineering a government gets, the less personal freedom there is for the individual.

"The role of government is to do for people what they cannot do for themselves: to open up new opportunities, to mobilize private energies to meet public needs, to protect and defend every citizen, to create a climate that enables every person to fulfill himself to the utmost—in his own way, and by his own choice."

That's the Republican voice, the voice of both liberals and conservatives within the party, and its good sense is becoming more appealing to millions of Democrats and Independents. That traditionally Republican thinking is the well-spring of the new alignment.

VOICE OF THE NEW LIBERAL

But there is another voice saying much the same thing in a different form. It is the voice of the New Liberal.

That voice of the New Liberal calls for a workable form of "participatory democracy." It demands a political order close to the people who are governed, in which the people play a vital part. That voice demands more personal freedom and less goverment domination.

Thoughtful critics like Daniel Moynihan and Richard Goodwin—both liberals—are giving the word another dimension. A century ago, to be a "liberal" meant to be against the domination of governmental authority, to put personal liberty ahead of the dictates of the State. Only recently has the term "liberal" come to mean the dependence on federal action to meet people's needs.

The future meaning of liberal is likely to return to the reliance on personal freedom. But it will have a difference: it will see that a key role of government is to provide incentives for the free enterprise system to accept more social responsibility.

In that context, liberals and conservatives will find themselves coming closer together, rather than splitting apart.

Just as there is a difference betweeen the New Deal Liberal and the New Liberal, there is a big difference between the New Liberal and the New Left.

The New Liberal recognizes that progress and order go hand in hand. He points to the channels of protest open to those who dissent, especially through the electoral process. In this way, the American system can be a force for change without changing the American system itself.

The extremists of the New Left strongly—even violently—disagree. They say that the respect for dissent, the protection of their civil rights to protest peaceably, are only safety valves for the Establishment.

The very processes that permit gradual change are resented by these extremists. That is because they would find it much easier to break a rigid structure than to break our flexible one.

They feel—quite wrongly—that they have to tear down in order to build, shaking society to its foundations, leading us to anarchy. The New Left has a passsion, while the New Liberal has a program.

And yet I have a feeling that many of the young people who call themselves New Leftists now are in fact far more closely attuned to the voice of the New Liberal. When it comes to a choice between getting something off your chest or getting something done, sooner or later most people choose to get something done.

VOICE OF THE NEW SOUTH

There is a third voice—the voice of the new South. Not the old solid South of the Thirties, of automatic voting habits and a declining economy.

The new South is no longer prisoner of the past; no longer bound by old habits or old grievances or the old racist appeals. The new South is building a new pride, focusing on the future, pressing forward with industrial development through resurgent private enterprise, forging a new place for itself in the life of the nation.

Politically, the new South is in ferment. It is breaking the shackles of one-party rule. Its new voices are interpreting the old doctrines of states' rights in new ways—those of making state and local governments responsive to state and local needs.

VOICE OF THE BLACK MILITANT

There is a fourth voice—the voice of the black militant. There is a deep and widening division between today's black leadership and the doctrinaire welfarist.

When you listen to these black voices, you hear little about "handouts" or "welfare." Instead, you hear the words "dignity," "ownership," "pride." They do not want to be recipients, they want to be participants.

The message of giveaway, of handout, of permanent welfare is no longer of interest to people who want dignity and self-respect.

The nation, in its present economic crisis, cannot afford an increase in these giant welfare programs today.

What we can and should do immediately, is to respond to their demands for a share of American opportunity, for a legitimate role in private enterprise.

THE SILENT CENTER

There is a fifth element to the new alignment—a non-voice, if you will.

That is the silent center, the millions of people in the middle of the American political spectrum who do not demonstrate, who do not picket or protest loudly. Yet, these people are no less committed to seeking out this new direction. They are willing to listen to new ideas, and they are willing to think them through.

We must remember that all the center is not silent, and all who are silent are not center. But a great many "quiet Americans" have become committed to answers to social problems that preserve personal freedom. They have rejected the answers of the Thirties to the problems of today.

As this silent center has become a part of the new alignment, it has transformed it from a minority into a majority. That is why we are witnessing a significant breakthrough toward what America needs: peaceful, orderly progress.

DISHARMONY IN THE NEW ALIGNMENT

My point is this: these voices—the Republicans, the New Liberals, the new South, the black militants—are talking the same language.

Let's not oversimplify. The voices are not joined in any harmonious chorus—far from it. The ideas of the new alignment differ in emphasis. But they do not conflict the way the old alliance of power blocs used to conflict.

The differences within the new alignment are differences of emphasis, not of fundamentals; differences in the *speed* of change, not so much in the *direction* of change.

Now, the new alignment's greatest need is to communicate with all its elements, rather than march along in parallel lines that never converge.

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

You can be sure that the members of the old power blocs will try at first to dismiss this new majority as just an assortment of strange bedfellows.

But despite the differences in appearance, despite the differences in ways and means, despite the lack of communication, despite all the pains of realignment, the *fundamental agreement is there*. Even men who find each other disagreeable at first, can find themselves in agreement.

THE STRADDLERS

I do not claim to be the only one who notices the formation of this new alignment. On the campaign trail today you can see the politicians of the old order adjusting their appeals. It may be awkward, but they speak about "more Federal billions now for the cities" in one breath and then, in the next breath, talk of "an end to the old welfare system and a return to private enterprise."

These politicians are trying to have it both ways. On the one hand, they are reluctant to abandon the old power alliances that have served them so well in the past. On the other hand, they don't want to miss the new boat as it leaves the dock.

People today, and the political figures who appeal to them, will have to make the hard choice: whether to cling to the old power-bloc alliances of the middle third of this century, or to join the new alignment of ideas that will shape the final third of this century.

PROMISE OF UNITY

And therein lies the great excitement of this new alignment. Right now, we see our differences all too clearly; in the future, those of us in the alignment will see our similarity of methods and goals much more clearly.

The mark of a good insight is when everyone says "Of course—that's what I've been thinking all along, only I never put it that way." That is what is at the heart of the new alignment: the crystallization of what is on the minds of the American people today.

Tomorrow, as we focus the new movement more clearly, America will gain a new unity.

We will not seek the false unity of consensus, of the glossing over of fundamental differences, of the enforced sameness of government regimentation.

We will forge a unity of goals, recognized by men who also recognize and value their own diversity. That is the great advantage of an alignment of ideas over the coalition of power blocs.

As we coalesce the elements of this new alignment, some surprising things will begin to happen. As frustration ends, violence will wane; as runaway government is curbed, personal freedom will grow; as demeaning welfare systems are replaced, individual initiative will take the lead; as peace returns to the American city, America will be better able to build peace in the world.

JOINING THE NEW ALINEMENT

The new alignment speaks in many accents, and approaches its point from many directions. But the common message is there:

People come first, and government is their servant. The best government is closest to the people, and most involved with people's lives. Government is formed to protect the individual's life, property, and rights, and to help the helpless—not to dominate a person's life or rob him of his self-respect.

The concept is great not because it is new, but because it is right and it is relevant.

Victor Hugo pointed out that there is nothing so powerful as an idea whose time has come. The time has come for this idea. No one leader has drawn together this new alignment; it has been drawn together by the magnet of an idea that is right for our time, that speaks to us now, that has special meaning today.

How do you become part of the new alignment?

You don't have to be a member of any special party, or any union; you are not required to live in any region or any city; you don't have to be rich or poor, young or old. Because we're not deealing with blocs—we're dealing with an idea.

If you believe that people do come first; if you believe that dignity must replace the dole; if you believe that order and progress go hand in hand; if you are idealistic about personal freedom; then you don't have to worry about where to go to join the new alignment.

You are already a part of it.

RISING TO THE CRISIS

The great re-alignments of our history did not take place in normal, quiet times. They took place when America was in trouble, or when the existing majority could not come to grips with the needs of the nation. And so without realizing, a new majority is formed and lasts as long as it meets the need for change. This is what we mean by "the collective wisdom of the people."

This is the unspoken voice of America, in its majesty and its mystery, demanding articulation by men who sense its new meaning.

That is why new faces with more of the old answers miss the point. That is why new leadership is needed now—leadership with a proven record for fighting for the action the new majority now demands.

No man can predict the ultimate shape of the alignment that is happening in America today. But I know this: It is alive, it is moving forward, it is rooted in reality, and it calls out for you to come aboard. In the years to come, I believe that historians will record this:

"That in the watershed year 1968, America, in a time of crisis, responded as it has responded before—with new ideas, with great traditions, with a new alignment, and with the fresh hope that comes from a new unity."

FREEDOM HAS VARIED MEANINGS, SAYS GENERAL KRULAK

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the San Diego Union, May 19, 1968]

GUIDELINES OFFERED—FREEDOM HAS VARIED MEANINGS, SAYS GENERAL KRULAK

Freedom means the opportunity to succeed and enjoy the fruits of your labor. It means the right to fail, with the obligation to take the consequences of your failure.

Lt. Gen. Victor H. Krulak, who commands all the Marines in the Pacific, expressed this definition last week in the final address of the Kiwanis Club's annual Pillars of American Freedom series.

The 35-year veteran of the Marine Corps also spoke out on the things that threaten the freedom of the free world, particularly the United States. He spoke of the Vietnam war, Communist China, racial discrimination, rioting and the rising crime rate.

He has some firm opinions. He has a philosophy. He has some solutions and some guidelines.

FREEDOM

"To a man chained to a wheelbarrow in a Siberian uranium mine, freedom can mean simply striking off his shackles . . . To another man, soaking up the sun at Palm Springs, freedom may mean a life of indolence without worries or responsibilities.

"But to us here today, thinking seriously on the hazards which throw a shadow on our land, freedom can mean nothing less than was contemplated by the men who risked their lives to write our own Declaration of Independence, or the men whose vision gave us our Constitution.

"Freedom . . . First, it means the opportunity to succeed, and to enjoy the fruits of your labor . . . And second, it means the right to fail, with the obligation to take the consequences of your failures."

VIETNAM

"We went seriously into Vietnam about six years ago for the simplest of reasons; because we believed that events there threatened our own freedom . . . It was not kindness, or philanthropy, or altruism, or idealism that took us to Vietnam. It was the realization that the freedom of the United States—our people, our children—was at stake . . .

"We avoided the costly mistake of World War II. We can all remember when we said, 'Never mind; the problem of Hitler is a long way off across the ocean. It is none of our affair.' No this time we were awake . . . This time we rallied to the support of our allies before the eleventh hour. . . .

"Our support has encouraged the Vietnamese to continue making the almost incredible sacrifices they have been making for half a generation. I believe it is largely our own example that has steeled the South Vietnamese to accept their 164,000 dead and wounded, the past five years and still to keep going, still to have an Army that is over one-half volunteers . . .

"Our allies have also been heartened. Korea, Thailand, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines—these countries see the threat to their freedom, too . . . So you realize that there are more non-United States forces in Vietnam today than there were in Korea in 1950? . . . These other countries are sharing the burden and they will share the victory, too.

"I say victory because we are winning. And in saying so, I willingly fly in the face of the very vocal bleeding hearts that say our cause is hopeless, that we cannot win . . .

"First, the Vietnamese government; how strong is it? The facts speak for themselves. It is almost three years old. It has survived longer than all six of its predecessors. While fighting off the violent North Vietnamese invasion it still has the courage and wisdom to create a constitution, to create a congress, a popularly and decently elected president when 85 per cent of the voters voted, and thousands of popularly elected municipal officials—all of this in the midst of war. Who could do better . . ."

"And they have made progress—albeit slow—in bringing peace to the countryside. When the Marines came to Vietnam in the spring of 1965 I recall that we could not move a mile from the Da Nang air base without being in a battle. Today the road is crowned with commerce 100 miles in both directions. This is not a picture of defeat. These are the trappings of victory. . . .

"It is even worse to insult the young men who are willing today to lay down their lives because they believe in this war. They believe it is just and that we are winning . . . Ask them. . . .

They have been there; they'll tell you. And or they're better witnesses than the columnists—or the senators—who have never been there at all.

"And the Tet offensive—it may turn out to be one of the greatest military blunders of this era. . . .

"To begin with, the enemy's purposes were threefold. First, they believed, by infiltrating into the cities and springing up without warning from within, that they would find the people jubilant and willing to rise up and join the Communists.

"Second, they were convinced, when the cities fell to their uprisings from within, that the Vietnamese military would defect; that large units would go over to the enemy en masse.

"Third, they were convinced, when these two things happened, that the Vietnamese government would collapse. . . .

"But, to their chagrin, there were no uprisings, not one. There were no defections in the armed forces, not one. And the government did not collapse. What does all this tell us? It tells us two things; first, that the Vietnamese treasure their freedom; and second, that the Communists are fallible, that they are not 11 feet tall, that they are not all-wise and all-knowing; that they make mistakes.

"All told, the evidence is solid and certain. We are winning the war in Vietnam. We simply have to end it here at home, too.

EMPLOYMENT

"The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders . . . acknowledges . . . that we have tolerated a situation where all of our people do not have equal opportunity to succeed, do not have an equal chance to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

"This report makes a strong case that, despite the state laws and Supreme Court decisions, all Americans are not equal . . . All told, the 600-page report is a powerful indictment of the United States of America on the charge of allowing a cardinal fraction of our freedom to disappear by default. . . .

"But there is one thing I do not like about the report. I may be wrong but, in emphasizing the tremendous magnitude of the problem, it seems to suggest that it may be beyond reasonable solution . . . I am anxious for you to believe that we can solve the problem of equal opportunity for Negroes; that it is well within the capacity of this great nation . . .

"About 12 per cent of the people in our country are Negroes. Fully a third of them live in our 12 largest cities; and a third of these live in squalor. Put another way, those Negro Americans who are in desperate need of help number only about one per cent of our population . . .

"While I don't minimize the tremendous importance of facing up to the total Negro problem, while I realize that discriminatory practices have to be eliminated from places other than just the depressed neighborhoods, we will have made a decent and meaningful beginning.

"Getting down to facts, it seems to me that employment is the key factor. If people are well, gainfully and proudly employed, they are happy . . . The percentage of Negroes who are unemployed today is twice as high as whites; 750,000 of them are unemployed. To bring the Negro unemployment down to the condition of the country at large means just finding or creating no more than 410,000 jobs. That's only one quarter of the new jobs that appear automatically every year. It is only one half of one per cent of all jobs in the United States.

"This certainly is not an insurmountable problem. It can be met by a comprehensive program of training, by recognition that private industry—the place where the unemployed will be best utilized—is going to have to have some subsidy.

RIOTS AND CIVIL DISORDER

"Transgression of the law is not a negotiable matter. Right is right and wrong is wrong, and our cannons of law and of ethics are not altered by the race of the transgressor.

"Altogether, what I have said in connection with the race problem is just that our treasured freedom is in danger, because we have violated both elements of our definition. Some people do not now have an equal opportunity to succeed and enjoy the fruits of their effort. Some of our people have transgressed the law and have not been obliged to suffer the consequences.

"In the Marines we have no race problem . . . and the reason is simple. We have avoided a double standard. We say: 'Behave like a Marine and you will be treated like a Marine. Behave otherwise and take the consequences.' And we mean it.

"Our men are all treated exactly the same—rewarded for their achievements and punished for their transgressions without regard to their background . . . We suffer no man to have less opportunity, take more risk, or endure more punishment than his comrade just because he is white or black . . .

"If we can meet this problem in the Marines . . . why in Heaven's name can't we face up to it the same way everywhere?"

CRIME

"Crime does pay. Criminals could not conclude otherwise in a society where less than six per cent of all crimes reported to police result in convictions . . .

"These growing transgressions of the law, be they in alleys, streets, or campuses—wherever they may be—make plain that we violate daily and repeatedly a part of our basic definition of freedom, 'the obligation to take the consequences for your failures.'

"Ancient Greece went into eclipse because the people could not get together and govern themselves. Rome disappeared because the people were apathetic . . .

"We cannot make the same mistakes. We all know that the penalties for crime are too mild; the sentences too lenient.

"We all know that higher standards of police performance and police compensation are an urgent necessity. We all know that guns are to easy to buy; that LSD and other dangerous drugs are too easy to get; and that the penalties for their possession are too mild.

"We all know what is wrong. We all know what needs to be done. It only remains for us to do it; to awaken to our own strength; to stop condoning violence and lawlessness; to demand that the officials whom we put into office fulfill their obligations; to insure that those who enforce and administer the law are backed up."

"HUNGER IN AMERICA" ON CBS

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on May 21 a CBS documentary called "Hunger in America," written by Martin Carr and Peter Davis, portrayed poverty in America as few of us are often wise enough to visualize it. It showed and emphasized American poverty side by side with the enormous wealth that so many take for granted.

Messrs. Carr and Davis pointed out that our food surplus distribution programs—to which many Americans point as a solution for destitute and starving people—are just another form of dole, and do not begin to attack either the problems of poverty or even the simple matter of a balanced and health-sustaining diet.

The New York Times of May 23 carried a column by Jack Gould which gave an excellent description both of the CBS program and its implications. I commend this commentary to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, May 23, 1968]

TV: A STUDY OF HUNGER AMID PLENTY—PROGRAM ASSAYS USE OF SURPLUS COMMODITIES—STARVATION ACROSS UNITED STATES EXAMINED ON CBS

(By Jack Gould)

The specter of serious hunger in the United States—30 million persons living on an inadequate diet and a third of these not being reached by any kind of Federal aid—was visually detailed Tuesday night on "C.B.S. Reports." The contrast of a rich country harboring pockets of most primitive want was its own editorial on the social contradiction of an affluent nation.

The program, produced and written by Martin Carr and Peter Davis, chose four sections of the country to illustrate that starving people live on the periphery of prosperity. While tourists savor the leisure pleasures of HemisFair '68 in San Antonio, Tex., upward of 100,000 Mexican Americans across the city are hungry all the time.

The Columbia Broadcasting System presentation, narrated by Charles Kuralt, noted that surplus crops distributed by the United States Department of Agriculture were just a poor substitute for the dole. Surplus commodities do not constitute a balanced diet, such as green vegetables, eggs, meat, fresh milk or fruits. How much surplus peanut butter can a human tolerate?

In a country spending $1.5 billion to help feed the rest of the world, the C.B.S. program focused attention on Loudoun County, Va. The home community of such celebrities as Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen and Arthur Godfrey radiates outward signs of wealth but hidden away are thousands of shacks where tenant farmers lead a marginal existence with no Federal food program.

Undernourished children face physical disabilities or worse only 25 miles outside of Washington and the misery is passed on from generation to generation.

The same recurring picture of humans suffering the medical and mental price of undernourishment was found among the Navajo Indians in Arizona and black citizens in Hale County in Alabama. The images of sick children and women old before their time have a universal similarity; on "C.B.S. Reports" there were pictures that could have been taken in chronically undeveloped sections of the world.

The program, entitled "Hunger in America," accused the Department of Agriculture of reluctance to use its emergency powers to bring food to hungry people in any county in the United States. This year the department plans to return record millions to the Treasury Department, while farmers have slaughtered and buried 14,000 hogs because there is no market for them.

The Department of Agriculture, the program observed, is designed to protect farmers, not destitute consumers. After the hour of scenes of home-tolerated starvation Mr. Kuralt suggested that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare might better administer the Federal food program.

The graphic portrayal of youngsters permanently handicapped by malnutrition and the disheartening death rate among neglected citizens in many ways was more vivid than the TV scenes of the poverty march on Washington.

"Hunger in America" successfully pricked the conscience of the viewing citizen, especially when seen in conjunction with a companion spot announcement glamorously proclaiming the consumer as "king."

A Catholic priest in San Antonio summarized in an eloquent single sentence the larger national peril of hunger, when he said: "The mind comes in second place when the stomach is empty."

MARTIN LUTHER KING—A STUDY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Church League of America, 422 North Prospect Street, Wheaton, Ill., in its News and Views Report for May 1968, has issued a 55-page comprehensive documentary on M. L. King, Jr., entitled, "His Three-Pronged Attack On: 1. Christ and the Bible, 2. The United States of America, 3. Law and Order."

Any of our colleagues desiring comprehensive documentation will want this Church League report.

I am asking that a few portions of the report follow my remarks in the Record. Deleted from reproduction in the Record are news clippings and speeches such as Congressman Ashbrook's from the Congressional Record of April 4, 1967, Congressman Derwinski's of January 22, 1968, Congressman Rarick's for March 25, 1968, and the House Appropriations Report on "Law and Order" for 1967:

Martin King's Three-Pronged Attack

In recent days the United States was treated to one of the biggest doses of mass hysteria and idolatry through the media of public communications in the history of any nation of the civilized world. The occasion was the demise of a Negro man by the name of Michael King, born with this simple name as recorded on his birth certificate, with the name changed to "Martin Luther" by his father to imply an affinity for religious causes after the fashion of the famous leader of the Protestant Reformation in Germany, Dr. Martin Luther.

Few of the masses of United States citizens had available for their study the undisputed and documented facts concerning the late Mr. King's life which would stand up under oath in any court of law or before any United States Congressional Investigative Committee—facts which, for some unknown reason, the public was denied by the same supposedly responsible mass media of communication.

Mr. King was hailed over the ether waves, through the printed page, on the theatre screens, and in orations from the pulpit, classroom and government chambers as everything from a modern Messiah to one of the greatest leaders of all of history. Such words as "crucifixion" and "resurrection" were used in reference to Mr. King.

Politicians who formerly scorned him over television and from the public platform assumed a countenance of mourning and mortification. Some public leaders who had denounced him as a rabble-rouser and an instigator of violence and revolution, suddenly eulogized him as a great apostle of peace and love.

What is the truth concerning Martin Luther King's views on theology, his county and law and order? While being called a "Christian" was he in reality a Christian believer as defined by Holy Scripture? While stating that he was for bringing about social justice within the United States of America, was he actually loyal or disloyal to the United States of America? While declaring that he came into cities as an apostle of non-violence (the type which Mahatma Gandhi advocated—satyagraha), did he actually contribute to the breakdown of law and order and the rise of anarchy throughout the United States?

The Church League of America can only come to the conclusion after looking at the record, as made by Mr. King himself, that many people who were swayed by the hysteria following Mr. King's regrettable departure from this world have a lot of catching up to do on their home-work. It is time for people to deal in facts and not in emotion. The orderly conduct of a civilized society is at stake and with it the lives and property of millions of people!

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Activities in his religious life

Martin Luther King was born in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 15, 1929, into a devoutly religious home. At the age of 29 he became the minister of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church after turning down several other offers.[1] He began to work with Atlanta's Intercollegiate Christian Council. King's training had consisted of finishing his high school education at age 15, going to Morehouse College in Atlanta, and attending Crozier Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, where he received a B.D. degree in Divinity in 1951 and the Pearl Plafkner Award for scholarship. While at Crozier, Mr. King became president of the student body and was graduated at the head of his clases. It was here that he was influenced by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Harvard, a strong believer in Gandhi, Hindu non-violent resistance leader. Finally, King obtained his Ph.D. degree from Boston University in 1955 where he was a Louis Crozier Fellow.[1]

Was co-chairman of the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom.[2]

Editor-at-large of the *Christian Century*.[3]

Attended the National Council of Churches' General Assembly in 1960. Was a speaker at the 18th Ecumenical Student Conference on the Christian World Mission, 1960.

President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.[4]

Assistant pastor at Ebenezer Baptist Church.[5]

Sponsor of a statement calling for peaceful resistance to Communism and for unilateral disarmament—pamphlet called "A Christian Approach to Nuclear War" put out by the Church Peace Mission.[6]

Was unable to attend the Baptist World Alliance youth conference in Beirut, Lebanon, July, 1963.[7]

Was speaker at the Second Methodist Conference on Human Relations, August 26–30, 1963.[8]

Contributor to *Motive* magazine—a Methodist youth publication.[9]

Keynote speaker at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations convening in the Hilton Hotel in Chicago.[10]

Honorary chairman of the Baptist Action for Racial Brotherhood Committee of the American Baptist Convention.[11]

Listed as a speaker at "Freedom Now" meeting sponsored by the Milwaukee civic and religious community held in Milwaukee City Auditorium, 1/27/64.[12]

Addressed the 1964 American Baptist Convention where he received the first annual Edwin T. Dahlberg Peace Award.[13]

Is one of the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.[14]

Spoke at a meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; asked them to join with him "in a creative witness to our joint convictions of equality and racial justice." Consequently, 16 rabbis and one Jewish layman participated in a civil rights demonstration in St. Augustine, Florida. The 17 were arrested on June 18, 1964.[15]

Spoke in two Protestant churches in Communist East Berlin.[16]

Had a 25-minute session with Pope Paul VI.[17]

Spoke at the 61st general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Rt. Rev. Arthur Lichtenberger praised him as "one of the great men of our times."[18]

Because of his increasingly heavy schedule, King could not accept an editor-at-large assignment for the *Christian Century*.[19]

Dr. Martin Luther King was to be among the speakers for the Montreat, North Carolina, Christian Action Conference, August 19–22, 1965. He was to be a keynote speaker at the meeting.[20]

Activities in his secular life

Became president of the Montgomery Improvement Association after graduation from college.[21]

Married Coretta Scott, a singer, and now has four children.[1]

Footnotes at end of speech.

Speaker at the 25th anniversary celebration of Highlander Folk School, once declared a Communist training school.[22]

Was on the National Advisory Committee of the Congress of Racial Equality.[23] Of C.O.R.E., Senator Eastland stated in the May 25, 1961, issue of the *Congressional Record* on pages 8349–50, "This organization is the war department of those who sell hate, collect donations, and sow the seeds of discord in this country. Since its inception, its creed has been lawlessness, and its tactics have followed the pattern set by communist agitators the world over."

Editorial contributor or member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation,[24] radical pacifist organization which opposes military defense.

Head of the Congress of Racial Equality.[25]

Made a speech at the War Resisters dinner honoring A. J. Muste.[26]

Ad Hoc Committee on the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks to Explore the Requirements of Peace—member.[27]

Sponsor of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.[28]

Led a successful boycott to integrate Montgomery's city buses.[29]

Honorary co-chairman of the Africa Freedom Day to benefit the African Defense and Aid Fund sponsored by the American Committee on Africa.[30]

Member of the National Committee of the American Committee on Africa.[31]

Sponsor of an appeal for Morton Sobell, convicted atom spy, in article, "1,200 clerics urgs Ike free Sobell." [32]

Writer for *Liberation*, a leftist, pacifist magazine.[33]

Fellowship of Reconciliation—member of advisory council.[34]

Editorial contributor, *Fellowship*, a pacifist magazine of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.[35]

Listed as a supporter of Sobell's release from prison sponsored by the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.[36]

Contributor to radical *Liberation*.[37]

On the advisory committee of Congress of Racial Equality.[38]

On the national committee of sponsors of the American Freedom of Residence Fund.[39]

Launched a drive to double the voting strength of Negroes in the South before the 1964 Presidential election.[40]

Participant in the conference sponsored by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Southern Conference Educational Fund. The conference was on "The Deep South: Ways and Means to Integration" in Birmingham on April 13–14, 1962.[41]

Slated to be principal speaker at the annual reception of the New York Friends of the Southern Conference Educational Fund to be held in the Biltmore Hotel in New York City, 2/8/63.[42]

Member of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell according to a leaflet of February, 1963.

Spoke for the New York Friends of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Guests were invited to make reservations through William Howard Melish, identified by Louis Budenz as a Communist.[43]

Sponsor of Highlander Center, 1625 Riverside, Knoxville, Tennessee, the newly formed group out of Highlander Folk School.[44]

Photograph of King allegedly attending the Highlander Folk School is printed in the *Augusta Courier*, 7/8/63. In answer to a question from Lawrence Spivak on "Meet the Press," King said he was "there" (Highlander Folk School) "only an hour" and that he "made a 45 minute speech." The program appeared on T.V. on March 28, 1965.

Spoke at Cobo Hall along with Detroit Mayor Cavanagh and Walter Reuther. It was the end of the "Walk to Freedom" program, June 23, sponsored by the Detroit Council of Human Relations.[45]

Endorsed a Cobo Hall meeting in Detroit on November 8–10, 1963, headed by Rev. C. L. Franklin who led the Detroit June 23 Freedom Walk. At this meeting Negro leaders from 15 Northern cities planned to establish a Northern Negro Leadership Conference.[46]

The Justice Department furnished a rented car to transport King in Alabama.[47]

Contributing author to *Renewal* magazine published by exploratory program in journalism of the Chicago City Missionary Society.[48]

Contributor for *Liberation*.[49]

Conducts workshops in nonviolent demonstrations. Said the workshops had two goals: instruction in methods of nonviolent action and speedup in voter registration.[50]

In Oakland, California, a mass rally addressed by Martin Luther King, Jr., drew 17,000 participants.[51]

Endorsed Lyndon B. Johnson and said Goldwaterism must be defeated.[52]

Was a special student at the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard.[53]

Participated in Selma March.[54]

Aid received from religious sources

The Synod of the Reformed Church of America sent a gift of money and commendation to the Southern Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King.[55]

Aid received from secular sources

Speakers at rallies in support of King and his activities were Dr. Herbert Aptheker (member of the National Committee of the Communist Party in the U.S.A.), Mrs. Alva Buxenbaum (National Chairman of the Progressive Youth Organization), and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, (late secretary of the Communist party).[56]

Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and Benjamin Davis, Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., protested the arrest of King in wires to President Eisenhower.[57]

King's attorneys charged in the Georgia state court of appeals that King's constitutional rights were violated when he was sentenced to a four-month prison term for violating probation in a traffic case.[58]

A rally was held under the auspices of the "Emergency Committee to Support Birmingham" to back King and his efforts in Birmingham. The principal speaker was Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth. Other speakers were James Farmer and the late Malcolm X.[59]

Sammy Davis, Jr., gave $20,000 to King.[60]

Was backed by a $50 contribution from the Wisconsin Democrats for "human rights campaign." [61]

A photograph shows King and three officers of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, all 3 identified Communists, together. A check was made payable to King personally and deposited by him in his Southern Conference Educational Fund.[62]

King received $50,000 in cash and pledges for use in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference by the New York Central Labor Council.[63]

Union Boss Hoffa presented King with a $25,000 check and said that the donation "was authorized by the international executive board and we have no intention of changing our position." [64]

Announcements made by King

Asked President Eisenhower to end what King called "a reign of terror in Montgomery, Alabama." His charges were dismissed by the city's police commissioner as "the rantings of a rabble-rousing agitator." [65]

"I was immediately influenced by the social gospel . . . Christ furnished the spirit and motivation while Gandhi furnished the method . . . The choice today is no longer between violence and nonviolence. It is either nonviolence or nonexistence . . . I have tried to embrace a realistic pacifism." He pays glowing tribute to Walter Rauschenbusch and Gandhi as influencing him the most.[66]

Announced at a news conference in New York City 6/10/60 that he and Asa Philip Randolph planned to use at least 6,000 pickets at both Democratic and GOP national conventions as a protest against segregation.[67]

"Addressing Freedom Forum in Schenectady, New York, last week, said he favors admission of Peoples China to the United Nations." [68]

Spoke in Los Angeles to "spur voter registration." [69]

Was critical of the F.B.I., especially in Albany, Georgia.[70]

In a sermon delivered November 15, in New York City King is quoted as saying that reports of alleged Southern outrages against Negroes filed with the F.B.I. "produced no action." [71]

Called on President Kennedy to sign an executive order to outlaw segregation.[72]

Made a statement "we are through with gradualism . . . we want our freedom now." [73]

J. Edgar Hoover told a House Appropriations Committee that communists are infiltrating the Civil Rights movement. King said that that statement was a smear and that Hoover "has allowed himself to aid and abet the fallacious claim of Southern racists and extreme right wing elements." [74]

After receiving the American Baptist Convention's first annual Edwin T. Dahlberg Peace award, King, a member of the American Baptist Convention said, "Nothing could be more tragic, than for the civil rights movement to become 'all Negro' " [75]

Spoke at a civil rights rally in Chicago on June 21, 1964. Urged continuance of demonstration, boycotts, rent strikes, and other means of protest.[76]

Was among those who issued a statement urging Negroes and their friends to impose a moratorium on marches, mass picketing, and other mass demonstrations, until after the presidential election. The statement urged friends of civil rights to concentrate on voter registration, enforcement of the civil rights law, and other appropriate forms of political activity. The statement declared that "racism" had been injected into the campaign by the Goldwater forces.[77]

Wanted the Democrats to endorse a 10-year $50 billion "bill of rights" program to aid the 9,000,000 poverty-stricken American families.[78]

In his July-August Newsletter, King implied that anti-Semitism may have been a factor in racial outbursts in New York City and Rochester.[79]

Declared Barry Goldwater was a man indifferent to civil rights, peace and poverty.[80]

Supports C.O.F.O. and said that it was "one of the most creative instruments in the civil rights movement." [81]

Called for a grand alliance of American intellectuals, liberals, labor union and religious leaders to fight the battles in the civil rights struggle. Said the next final step in the fight for civil rights would be for the movement "to work in the field of political action and reform."[82]

Advocated Communist China's membership in the United Nations. Said it would help toward disarmament efforts.[83]

Called for a withdrawal of all troops and mercenaries from the Congo.[84]

Complained to President Johnson that many federal judges "abuse and misuse" their power. He told Johnson that it was important that large numbers of Negroes be assigned top jobs in local levels of the President's anti-poverty program. He and his staff arrived in Washington in the private airplane of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.[85]

Johnson, Humphrey, Katzenbach and King conferred on voter registration. He asked the justice department to seek an injunction against the prosecution of more than 3,000 Negroes arrested in Selma.[86]

Said, "I would strengthen a channel that is already in existence, the United Nations . . . I would work to bring about universal disarmament and set up a world police force through the United Nations . . . I would also consider some form of world govern-

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Footnotes at end of speech.

ment. As we grow and come to see the oneness of mankind and the geographical oneness of the world, made possible by man's scientific and technological ingenuity, more and more we are going to have to try to see our oneness in terms of brotherhood. This does not mean that everyone has to agree at every point. There can be a world government where diversity exists, and this would lessen many tensions that we face today; and it would also enable everybody to understand that we are clothed in a single garment of destiny, and whatever affects one nation directly in the world, indirectly affects all.'"[87]

Autographs King has made

Signer of statement calling for suspension of nuclear-weapons tests sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.[88]

Signer of Church Peace Mission statement calling for cancellation of nuclear-weapons tests.[89]

Signer of open letter to the House of Representatives opposing the Committee on Un-American Activities sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund.[90]

Signer of Manifesto of Southern Negro Leaders against Passage of New Sedition Laws by the States.[91]

Signer of a full page advertisement supporting President Eisenhower's Invitation to Khrushchev and Appeasement Line with Respect to the U.S.S.R.[92]

Signer of statement of Negro Leaders against proposed new sedition laws sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund.[93]

Signer of paid full page advertisement in the New York *Times*, 2/8/60, sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy favoring ban on further U.S. atomic testing.

Signer of advertisement sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy—"Agenda for Geneva" end all nuclear Tests—Total Disarmament.[94]

Signer of telegram to President Eisenhower sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund.[95] Advertisement was titled "Must Southern Negroes Turn to the U.N.?"

His name appeared on a leaflet advertising a mass meeting in Washington D.C. on November 19–21, 1960 for the National Appeal for Freedom for Morton Sobell.

Signed paid advertisement in the Washington *Post*, 7/31/58, demanding that the House Committee on Un-American Activities, "stay out of the South." [96]

Signer of petition to the 87th Congress to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.[97]

Signer of clemency petition sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund to President Kennedy on behalf of Carl Braden.[98]

Signer of petition for clemency for Carl Braden—also denounced the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.[99]

Signer of letter to President Kennedy sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy to ask that the United States remain steadfast in its determination to succeed in test ban negotiations.[100]

Initiator of petition to President Kennedy asking clemency for Carl Braden, convicted field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.[101]

Signer of a statement sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy to guide the United States in conference negotiations with the Soviet Union on the future of Germany and West Berlin.[102]

Initiating signer of petition sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund to the President for Clemency for Carl Braden.[103]

His name appeared on a press release of November 1961 of the National Clemency Appeal on behalf of Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden.

Signer of charge that "HUAC (sic) threatens national security"—the appeal was addressed to the House of Representatives from an Ad Hoc Committee.[104]

One of 550 prominent Americans who signed a petition to President Kennedy to pardon Junius Scales.[105]

Signer of plea on behalf of the Communist Party leader of North Carolina convicted under the "membership clause" of the Smith Act, Junius Scales, to pardon him.[106]

Signer of statement opposing resumption of nuclear tests sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.[107]

Signer of an appeal to desist from testing while negotiating with the Soviet Union for disarmament agreements—Clergymen's Message to the President Opposing Resumption of Atmospheric Nuclear Tests.[108]

Signed a letter asking clerics to deliver sermons and lectures on the first Sunday in January denouncing both the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.[109]

King sent a telegram to Jesse Gray, identified as an organizer of the C.P. of Harlem which said: "You have my absolute support in your righteous and courageous effort to expose the outrageous condition that Negroes confront as a result of substandard housing conditions."

Associates of Dr. King

At Morehouse College in Atlanta King came under the influence of the President of the College, Benjamin E. Mays, who has an extensive record of support of communist fronts and causes.[110]

In the Youth March for integrated schools of Washington, D.C., in 1958 Martin Luther King was co-chairman of the group along with a veteran supporter of Communist fronts, A. Philip Randolph. Again, Rev. King made the pages of the Communist *Worker* which reported: "Rev. King said: The Oppressed Always Marched for Freedom." On May 17, 1959, the *Worker* devoted the entire front page and fourteen columns of print to the March. That King's Washington March was aided and engineered by the Communists is attested to by the *Worker*. On page 15 they said: "Large number of the Left (Communist) forces actively aided in mobilizing support for the Youth March and were in vast audience."

Challenge, official publication of the Young People's Socialist League (11/1/58) headlined the story and pointed out that the Marchers' White House Student delegation leader and 14 of the main youth organizers were members of the Young People's Socialist League.

Bayard Rustin (a joiner of Communist fronts) was secretary to King from 1955 to 1960 and helped to organize the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.[111]

At the sixth annual conference of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Birmingham, September 25–28, 1962, Anne Braden, Carl Braden and James A. Dombrowski (identified as Communists) spoke.[112]

King met with Ben Bella of Algeria in New York.[113]

Allegation is made that the American Committee on Africa (of which King is a member of the National Committee) sponsored a tour of the United States by Holden Roberto, an African terrorist of the Angola-Congo region.[114]

Rev. John B. Thompson, a veteran supporter of communist fronts, introduced Myles Horton, director of Highlander Research and Education Center, as the "grandfather" of Martin Luther King explaining that King has stated he owed his entering the civil rights movement to Rosa Parks, a Highlander alumna.[115]

Has accepted and is almost certainly still accepting communist collaboration and even communist advice.[116]

Urged the Bradens to become permanently associated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference according to a letter dated October 7, 1959, to Anne Braden in which King also thanks Carl Braden for his participation in a meeting.[117]

King was advised to have Hunter Pitts O'Dell dismissed from his organization because he was an identified communist. Either he failed to do so or later rehired him because just over a year ago O'Dell was again on King's payroll as director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference office in New York City.[118]

Bayard Rustin introduced Martin Luther King to Kwame Nkrumah, communist dictator of Ghana.[119]

Arrests of Dr. King

Sentenced to four months imprisonment for parole violations—Atlanta, Georgia, picture and story.[120]

Vowed to be arrested for committing an act of civil disobedience to dramatize the integration campaign. That was his 14th arrest. He was charged with trespassing, intent to breach the peace and conspiracy.[121]

Arrested for not having a permit to parade in Selma, Alabama. This one was his first since he won the Nobel peace prize in November and apparently was part of a plan prepared . . . by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.[122]

Awards for Dr. King

In *Time* magazine in 1956 he was selected as one of the "outstanding personalities of 1956."

Received the Spingarn Medal at the NAACP Convention in Detroit in June, 1957.

Received the 1957 Social Justice Award given by the Religion and Labor Foundation.[123]

Received an award from Local 6 of the Hotel and Restaurant Union after membership poll "overwhelmingly voted him the American who made the greatest contribution in the past year to the improvement of race relations." [124]

Recipient of the St. Francis Peace Medal, the first Catholic reward he received.[125]

Was given the North American Voice of Fatima award, also the Third order of St. Francis.[126]

Named Man of the Year by *Time* magazine.[127]

Received an honorary doctor's degree from Yale University.[128]

Two papers, published in Oslo, one of them a church paper, urged that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., be awarded the 1964 Nobel peace prize. Earlier, in February 1964 eight members of the Swedish parliament nominated Dr. King as candidate to receive this award. The *Christian Century* endorsed Dr. King for this award.[129]

Was awarded the Nobel peace prize. He "has consistently asserted the principle of nonviolence" the Oslo Nobel Institute said in its statement announcing the award.[130]

Awarded the John F. Kennedy Prize by the Catholic Interracial Council in Chicago.[131]

To be honored at a dinner sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.[132]

Accounts Dr. King has made of the civil rights movement

Article, "The Negro Revolution in 1964" published in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference *Newsletter*, January 1964, page 7.

Wrote "Why We Can't Wait" reviewed in the *Chicago Tribune*, 6/28/64.

Author of "Strength to Love" published by Harper and Row.[133]

Author of "Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story" published by Harper and Row.[134]

Footnotes at end of speech.

Author of "Why We Can't Wait" published by Harper and Row and reviewed in the *Christian Century*, 8/19/64, page 1045.

Appraisals of Dr. King

"The subject of real headshaking is the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. His influence is very great. Yet he has accepted and is almost certainly still accepting communist collaboration and even communist advice." [135]

"He is nothing but a dastardly misleader, and is leading the Negroes in the South down the road to bloodshed and violence." [136]

"To rally the masses against imperialism we need also slogans that correctly express the nature of today's struggle for Negro rights . . . The right of Negroes to be the administrator of Civil Rights laws, interpreters of their provisions and enforcers and judges of violations, must be recognized. One of the movements that developed and shook the world in the field of Negro liberation . . . is the Martin Luther King Improvement Association. This movement inspired Negroes of other cities to conduct similar struggles. So powerful was this movement, that the young Martin Luther King emerged five years ago from an obscure clergyman to prominence as an international figure. King, Abernathy, Shuttlesworth and other prominent ministers in the South are the most authorized spokesmen for this movement." [137]

King was accused by President J. H. Jackson of the National Baptist Convention at Kansas City, Missouri, of "designing the tactics that led to a fatal riot" and the death of the Rev. A. O. Wright of Detroit.[138]

An editorial in the Oakland *Tribune* of 10/14/61 entitled, "A Foolish Statement" indicated that King called for recognition of Red China by the United States.

Editorial in the *Christian Century*, "Last Chance for White Alabama?" Supports King's defiance of local court orders to cease demonstrations.[139]

Advised by Billy Graham to "put the brakes on a little bit" in Birmingham demonstrations. Graham was criticized for his advice by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.[140]

Commended by the American Baptist Assembly.[141]

Of King the late Manning Johnson, former negro communist, and later a U.S. Government witness, said:

"Rev. King is doing the negroes considerable harm. Rev. King has none of the qualifications, nor the wisdom to give leadership to the negroes of the South in this period. He has at the present time organized masses of negroes, and he has got them worked up to a frenzy to the extent that they are willing to follow him although he is misleading them." [142]

Two very favorable letters suggest that Martin Luther King's "letter from a Birmingham Jail" should be placed on the same level as Holy Scripture.[143]

Strom Thurmond read into the *Congessional Record* a statement giving much data on King on August 13, 1963.

"Two American Negro agitators were recently arrested in Birmingham, Alabama. Their names are Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy. These two men are expert professional riot-makers. They have been in contact with advisers in direct links with the Soviet Secret Service and extremist African groups operating from Europe." [144]

Was denied the right to speak at the University of Maryland in 1962.[145]

At the 176th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., spring of 1964, the Presbytery of West Tennessee made an overture to the effect that the church "refrain from inviting Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and any and all others who share his persuasion to disregard and violate constitutional laws, to speak at its sessions." No action was taken on the overture.[146]

Gus Hall stated that the Communist Party leaders in the United States "consult with and advise top Negro leaders in their Civil Rights campaigns . . . Members of the Communist Party are very active in all the Negro organizations engaged in the Civil Rights struggle." [147]

In a survey which was conducted by the New York *Times*, and in which 190 New York Negroes were interviewed, three out of four said that, of all their leaders, King was doing the most for Negroes. Results of the survey were released on July 27, 1964.[148]

J. Edgar Hoover called King "the most notorious liar in the Country" and never retracted that statement.[149]

After King spoke at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in May, 1961, three churches in Alabama voted to withold funds from the seminary.[150]

Former president Harry Truman called Dr. King "a troublemaker." [151]

Thomas J. Dodd, (D. Conn.) a strong supporter of King's civil rights activity in the past, spoke against him.

Negro Bishop C. Fain Kyle issued a news release in which he charged King as "directly or indirectly responsible for the chaos, anarchy, insurrection and rebellion brought about through demonstrations and rioting throughout the United States in recent years, months and weeks and days." He suggested that King be "shorn of his power and imprisoned for his criminal acts and deeds for defying the courts of the land." [152]

ITEMS FROM VARIOUS NEWSPAPERS ON MARTIN LUTHER KING

1. Called for Federal laws to ban discriminatory hiring practices by state and local courts and law-enforcement agencies, to establish uniform jury-selection procedures, and to make it a Federal crime to kill a civil rights worker.

Also said that he would continue to speak out "as an individual and as a minister" against the war in Vietnam. (New York Times, November 11, 1965)

2. Called the Vietnam war "bad for our nation and the world," and suggested that those opposed to it be permitted to substitute civil rights activity for military service. (Chicago Tribune, January 13, 1966.)

3. Conferred with Archbishop John P. Cody, head of the Chicago Roman Catholic Archdiocese on racial problems in Chicago. (Chicago Tribune, February 4, 1966.)

4. Police boosted their protection of King after a telephoned death threat, which came shortly before King spoke in a church and attacked the Chicago Board of Education for its decision to build a new high school in the Kenwood district. (Chicago Daily News, February 4, 1966.)

5. Urged residents of the East Garfield Park district of Chicago to be "dissatisfied" until improvements are made in housing, employment, and educational facilities. (Chicago Tribune, February 6, 1966.)

6. Was scheduled to speak at the Illinois Wesleyan campus at Bloomington, Illinois. (Chicago Daily News, February 9, 1966.)

7. Threatened to lead economic boycotts against local industries which refuse to hire negroes for "bigger and better jobs." (Chicago Tribune, February 12, 1966.)

8. Editorial noted that King is shifting part of his emphasis from slums to job discrimination. Editorial also demonstrates that negroes are better off economically than King would have us believe. (Chicago Tribune, February 15, 1966.)

9. Told labor leaders that his civil rights movement in Chicago will emulate labor's techniques and seek its financial support. (Chicago Tribune, February 17, 1966.)

10. Received pledges of $20,000 to $25,000 as a starter after he asked labor unions for financial support. (New York Times, February 17, 1966.)

11. Urged people to join his proposed "union against slums." (Chicago Tribune, February 18, 1966.)

12. Said that he will meet Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad in Chicago. (Chicago Daily News, February 18, 1966.)

13. Said that his campaign to get "bigger and better" jobs for negroes would begin with bread, milk, soup, and soft drink companies. (Chicago Tribune, February 19, 1966.)

14. Said that he backs dissident teachers and parents who seek the ouster of the principal of Jenner Elementary School in Chicago. (Chicago Tribune, February 22, 1966.)

15. Met for the first time with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims. (Chicago Daily News, February 24 ,1966.)

16. Three civil rights organizations led by King "assumed trusteeship," without court authority, of a building in a slum on Chicago's west side. (Chicago Tribune, February 24, 1966.)

17. Editorial criticized King and three civil rights organizations with which he is associated for "assuming trusteeship" over a building. (Chicago Tribune, February 25, 1966.)

18. The action of King and the West Side Federation in assuming what they called "trusteeship" of an apartment building was blasted as illegal by judges, lawyers, and real estate officials. (Chicago Tribune, February 25, 1966; New York Times, February 26, 1966.)

19. Erwin A. Salk, a Chicago mortgage banker, alleged that King's takeover of a building may be justified. (Chicago Daily News, February 26, 1966.)

20. King was sued in Circuit Court by the owner of a building which was taken over by him and three organizations of King's followers in a self-proclaimed "trusteeship." (New York Times, March 5, 1966.)

21. A top aide of King said he "welcomed" a Circuit Court suit challenging King's takeover of an apartment. The aide said that the civil rights groups which took over the building "welcomed" the suit, because it would enable the court "to speak of the right of citizens and tenants to take emergency action such as we took." (Chicago Daily News, March 5, 1966.)

22. Sided with the Rev. William H. DuBay in urging priests to organize into a union "in order to protect their human rights." Rev. DuBay has been suspended by James Francis Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles for "irreverence and disobedience." (Chicago Tribune, March 6, 1966.)

23. The Chicago Committee of One Hundred condemned King's method of assuming "trusteeship" of a building. (Chicago Tribune, March 8, 1966.)

24. A newspaper item indicated that tickets for King's "Freedom Festival" are almost sold out. (Chicago Daily News, March 8, 1966.)

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[50] *St. Petersburg Times*, 4/20/64.

[51] *Christion Century*, 8/12/64, page 1021.

[52] *Chicago Tribune*, 10/12/64.

[53] *Who's Who in America* Vol. 31, 1960–61 page 1590.

[54] *Chicago Tribune*, 3/31/65.

[55] *Christianity Today*, 7/5/63, page 33.

[56] *Worker*, 5/14/63.

[57] *Worker*, 10/30/60.

[58] *Chicago Tribune*, 2/9/61.

[59] *Worker*, 5/14/63.

[60] Committee of Christian Laymen, *Progress Report*, 6/63.

[61] *Chicago Tribune*, 6/5/63.

[62] Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities 11/19/63, Report #4, pp. 100–101.

[63] *Chicago Tribune*, 3/31/65.

[64] *Atlanta Times*, 4/1/65.

[65] *Atlanta Journal*, 3/10/60.

[66] *Christian Century*, 4/16/30.

[67] *New York Times*, 6/10/60.

[68] *Worker*, 10/22/61, page 8.

[69] *Los Angeles Times*, 6/16/62.

[70] *New York Times*, 11/19/62.

[71] *People's World*, 11/24/62, front page.

[72] *Chicago Tribune*, 5/28/63.

[73] *Christianity Today*, 8/2/63, page 47.

[74] *Daily Worker*, 5/5/64.

[75] *Christian Century*, 6/3/63, pages 724–5.

[76] *Christian Century*, 7/8/64, page 894.

[77] *Christian Century*, 8/12/64, page 1005.

[78] *Chicago Daily News*, 8/20/64.

[79] *Christian Century*, 9/30/64, page 1196.

[80] *Chicago Tribune*, 10/30/64.

[81] *Stamford*, Conn. *Advocate*, 12/1/64.

[82] *Chicago Tribune*, 12/10/64.

[83] *Chicago Tribune*, 12/7/64.

[84] *Chicago Tribune*, 12/4/64.

[85] *Chicago Tribune*, 12/19/64.

[86] *Chicago Tribune*, 2/10/65.

[87] *Redbook*, magazine, 1/65.

[88] *Nation*, 2/22/58, pages 162–163; New York *Times*, 8/13/59, page 17.

[89] Press release, 12/2/57; and press release, 4/21/58.

[90] *Washington Post* and *Times Herald*, 7/31/58, page B8.

[91] Press release, 6/12/59.

[92] *New York Times*, 9/17/59.

[93] *Southern Patriot*, 9/59, page 4.

[94] *Washington*, D.C. *Post*, 3/13/60.

[95] *New York Times*, 3/30/60.

[96] National Committee to abolish the HCUA booklet, 1960.

[97] *Washington*, D.C., *Post*, 1/2/61, two page advertisement.

[98] *New York Post*, 5/2/61, page 1.

[99] *Worker*, 5/14/61, page 12; *National Guardian*, 5/15/61, page 3.

[100] *New York Times*, 5/26/61.

[101] *Southern Patriot*, 6/61, page 4; and letter soliciting signer of petition, 6/61.

[102] New York *Times*, 7/20/61, page 13; and New York *Herald Tribune*, 7/20/61, page 13 (full page advertisement).

[103] Petition, 9/19/61.

[104] *New York Times*, 2/22/62, page 17 (advertisement).

Author of "Why We Can't Wait" published by Harper and Row and reviewed in the *Christian Century*, 8/19/64, page 1045.

Appraisals of Dr. King

"The subject of real headshaking is the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. His influence is very great. Yet he has accepted and is almost certainly still accepting communist collaboration and even communist advice." [135]

"He is nothing but a dastardly misleader, and is leading the Negroes in the South down the road to bloodshed and violence." [136]

"To rally the masses against imperialism we need also slogans that correctly express the nature of today's struggle for Negro rights . . . The right of Negroes to be the administrator of Civil Rights laws, interpreters of their provisions and enforcers and judges of violations, must be recognized. One of the movements that developed and shook the world in the field of Negro liberation . . . is the Martin Luther King Improvement Association. This movement inspired Negroes of other cities to conduct similar struggles. So powerful was this movement, that the young Martin Luther King emerged five years ago from an obscure clergyman to prominence as an international figure. King, Abernathy, Shuttlesworth and other prominent ministers in the South are the most authorized spokesmen for this movement." [137]

King was accused by President J. H. Jackson of the National Baptist Convention at Kansas City, Missouri, of "designing the tactics that led to a fatal riot" and the death of the Rev. A. O. Wright of Detroit.[138]

An editorial in the Oakland *Tribune* of 10/14/61 entitled, "A Foolish Statement" indicated that King called for recognition of Red China by the United States.

Editorial in the *Christian Century*, "Last Chance for White Alabama?" Supports King's defiance of local court orders to cease demonstrations.[139]

Advised by Billy Graham to "put the brakes on a little bit" in Birmingham demonstrations. Graham was criticized for his advice by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.[140]

Commended by the American Baptist Assembly.[141]

Of King the late Manning Johnson, former negro communist, and later a U.S. Government witness, said:

"Rev. King is doing the negroes considerable harm. Rev. King has none of the qualifications, nor the wisdom to give leadership to the negroes of the South in this period. He has at the present time organized masses of negroes, and he has got them worked up to a frenzy to the extent that they are willing to follow him although he is misleading them." [142]

Two very favorable letters suggest that Martin Luther King's "letter from a Birmingham Jail" should be placed on the same level as Holy Scripture.[143]

Strom Thurmond read into the *Congessional Record* a statement giving much data on King on August 13, 1963.

"Two American Negro agitators were recently arrested in Birmingham, Alabama. Their names are Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy. These two men are expert professional riot-makers. They have been in contact with advisers in direct links with the Soviet Secret Service and extremist African groups operating from Europe." [144]

Was denied the right to speak at the University of Maryland in 1962.[145]

At the 176th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., spring of 1964, the Presbytery of West Tennessee made an overture to the effect that the church "refrain from inviting Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and any and all others who share his persuasion to disregard and violate constitutional laws, to speak at its sessions." No action was taken on the overture.[146]

Gus Hall stated that the Communist Party leaders in the United States "consult with and advise top Negro leaders in their Civil Rights campaigns . . . Members of the Communist Party are very active in all the Negro organizations engaged in the Civil Rights struggle." [147]

In a survey which was conducted by the New York *Times*, and in which 190 New York Negroes were interviewed, three out of four said that, of all their leaders, King was doing the most for Negroes. Results of the survey were released on July 27, 1964.[148]

J. Edgar Hoover called King "the most notorious liar in the Country" and never retracted that statement.[149]

After King spoke at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in May, 1961, three churches in Alabama voted to withold funds from the seminary.[150]

Former president Harry Truman called Dr. King "a troublemaker." [151]

Thomas J. Dodd, (D. Conn.) a strong supporter of King's civil rights activity in the past, spoke against him.

Negro Bishop C. Fain Kyle issued a news release in which he charged King as "directly or indirectly responsible for the chaos, anarchy, insurrection and rebellion brought about through demonstrations and rioting throughout the United States in recent years, months and weeks and days." He suggested that King be "shorn of his power and imprisoned for his criminal acts and deeds for defying the courts of the land." [152]

ITEMS FROM VARIOUS NEWSPAPERS ON MARTIN LUTHER KING

1. Called for Federal laws to ban discriminatory hiring practices by state and local courts and law-enforcement agencies, to establish uniform jury-selection procedures, and to make it a Federal crime to kill a civil rights worker.

Also said that he would continue to speak out "as an individual and as a minister" against the war in Vietnam. (New York Times, November 11, 1965)

2. Called the Vietnam war "bad for our nation and the world," and suggested that those opposed to it be permitted to substitute civil rights activity for military service. (Chicago Tribune, January 13, 1966.)

3. Conferred with Archbishop John P. Cody, head of the Chicago Roman Catholic Archdiocese on racial problems in Chicago. (Chicago Tribune, February 4, 1966.)

4. Police boosted their protection of King after a telephoned death threat, which came shortly before King spoke in a church and attacked the Chicago Board of Education for its decision to build a new high school in the Kenwood district. (Chicago Daily News, February 4, 1966.)

5. Urged residents of the East Garfield Park district of Chicago to be "dissatisfied" until improvements are made in housing, employment, and educational facilities. (Chicago Tribune, February 6, 1966.)

6. Was scheduled to speak at the Illinois Wesleyan campus at Bloomington, Illinois. (Chicago Daily News, February 9, 1966.)

7. Threatened to lead economic boycotts against local industries which refuse to hire negroes for "bigger and better jobs." (Chicago Tribune, February 12, 1966.)

8. Editorial noted that King is shifting part of his emphasis from slums to job discrimination. Editorial also demonstrates that negroes are better off economically than King would have us believe. (Chicago Tribune, February 15, 1966.)

9. Told labor leaders that his civil rights movement in Chicago will emulate labor's techniques and seek its financial support. (Chicago Tribune, February 17, 1966.)

10. Received pledges of $20,000 to $25,000 as a starter after he asked labor unions for financial support. (New York Times, February 17, 1966.)

11. Urged people to join his proposed "union against slums." (Chicago Tribune, February 18, 1966.)

12. Said that he will meet Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad in Chicago. (Chicago Daily News, February 18, 1966.)

13. Said that his campaign to get "bigger and better" jobs for negroes would begin with bread, milk, soup, and soft drink companies. (Chicago Tribune, February 19, 1966.)

14. Said that he backs dissident teachers and parents who seek the ouster of the principal of Jenner Elementary School in Chicago. (Chicago Tribune, February 22, 1966.)

15. Met for the first time with Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims. (Chicago Daily News, February 24 ,1966.)

16. Three civil rights organizations led by King "assumed trusteeship," without court authority, of a building in a slum on Chicago's west side. (Chicago Tribune, February 24, 1966.)

17. Editorial criticized King and three civil rights organizations with which he is associated for "assuming trusteeship" over a building. (Chicago Tribune, February 25, 1966.)

18. The action of King and the West Side Federation in assuming what they called "trusteeship" of an apartment building was blasted as illegal by judges, lawyers, and real estate officials. (Chicago Tribune, February 25, 1966; New York Times, February 26, 1966.)

19. Erwin A. Salk, a Chicago mortgage banker, alleged that King's takeover of a building may be justified. (Chicago Daily News, February 26, 1966.)

20. King was sued in Circuit Court by the owner of a building which was taken over by him and three organizations of King's followers in a self-proclaimed "trusteeship." (New York Times, March 5, 1966.)

21. A top aide of King said he "welcomed" a Circuit Court suit challenging King's takeover of an apartment. The aide said that the civil rights groups which took over the building "welcomed" the suit, because it would enable the court "to speak of the right of citizens and tenants to take emergency action such as we took." (Chicago Daily News, March 5, 1966.)

22. Sided with the Rev. William H. DuBay in urging priests to organize into a union "in order to protect their human rights." Rev. DuBay has been suspended by James Francis Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles for "irreverence and disobedience." (Chicago Tribune, March 6, 1966.)

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[49] *Liberation* masthead, 1/64.

[50] *St. Petersburg Times*, 4/20/64.

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THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ACT OF 1968

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Select Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Education and Labor is now considering H.R. 14816, the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968.

A national on-the-job program is urgently needed, for, while workers in some States, such as California, enjoy excellent coverage under industrial safety legislation, workers in far too many other States do not have adequate health protection during the hours of their employment. Certainly, this is a needless imbalance which must be çorrected at the earliest opportunity.

Mr. Vernon G. MacKenzie, Assistant Surgeon General, of the Public Health Service, made a very effective case for passage of this bill in his speech before the American Industrial Hygiene Association in St. Louis, Mo., on May 15. Knowing that many of my colleagues will find these remarks of great interest, I insert Mr. MacKenzie's speech in the RECORD at this point:

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY

(By Vernon G. MacKenzie)

Federal legislation now pending in Congress can greatly improve the protection of American workers' health and safety on the job. One of the most convincing reasons for this legislation is that while some industries are dealing effectively with occupational health hazards, the majority are not. There is no justification for an employee suffering health damage simply because his job is in one of those industries where adequate protections have not been provided. Yet of 80 million workers in this great Nation, only 15 million are employed in the large plants which have developed health and preventive services. The remaining majority of 65 million employees work in plants which employ fewer than 100 workers each, but more than two-thirds of the Nation's total work force. These 65 million workers are in plants where the management does not have the resources or the sophistication to provide adequate health protection. These are the plants which lack industrial hygienists, nurses, clinics, plant doctors, and knowledge about the potential health hazards to which their employees may be exposed.

There is very little solid information about the exact incidence of occupational health damage in these plants. But what solid information we do have reveals an appalling toll of occupational deaths, injuries, and impairments. Even with inadequate reporting which fails to disclose the complete toll, we know that each year more than 14,000 workers are killed on the job; more than half a million workers are disabled by occupational diseases; more than 2 million workers are disabled by accidents on the job; more than 7 million workers are injured on the job. With the preventive measures that lie at our disposal, this tribute of life and health is unnecessarily high.

There are sound economic, as well as compassionate, reasons for decreasing the levy exacted by occupational health hazards. The claims for disability through Workmen's Compensation and Social Security are increasing at a rate far faster than the growth in employment or in wage levels. In a recent ten-year period, the number of workers covered by workmen's compensation for occupational injuries and disability increased by 24 percent, while the benefits paid during the same period increased by 130 percent. This represents a jump in costs five times as great as the increase in the number of workers covered. It is a most convincing argument on behalf of preventive medicine: the savings in compensation per injury are becoming greater for every dollar we spend in prevention.

Yet at this moment neither industry, nor the States, nor the Federal government can lay claim to preventive and protective programs that are anywhere nearly fully effective. Industry's programs cover roughly 15 million of the 80 million workers in this country. Only a few States have occupational health and safety programs that might be judged satisfactory (5 States if you listen to one group of experts; 8 States if you listen to another). It is significant in this regard that 36 percent of the employees in occupational health are concentrated in only 3 States. The legislative authorities for occupational health and safety programs are highly inadequate in most States. As to the Federal government's record on occupational health, one finds a history of neglect, inadequate funding, lack of comprehensive legislation, inadequate implementation of existing legislation, and lack of cooperation between the Departments responsible for programs in this area.

The legislation now pending in Congress would provide a solid, Federal legislative mandate for action to protect the American workers' health and safety on the job. The importance of such a legislative directive has been demonstrated in other areas of protection from environmental hazards, such as air pollution and water pollution.

This pending legislation establishes the respective roles of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Department of Labor and provides a rational basis for their cooperation in occupational health and safety activities. To the Department of Labor is assigned the task of establishing standards and providing the machinery for enforcement through Federal action and through State and local governments. To the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is assigned the task of defining through research those elements that make up a safe and healthy workplace and of training the professional and semi-professional personnel needed to accomplish the total task. It will be the responsibility of HEW to provide the Department of Labor, the State and local agencies with criteria needed for the development of sound standards. This same information must be disseminated to management, labor, and the public at large so that all may know how best to solve present occupational health problems.

This pending legislation provides the basis for stronger State programs by providing grant funds for planning and financial backing for demonstrations and other appropriate mechanisms. The commitment of the Federal government to assist in developing viable State programs is illustrated by the provision that Department of Labor can defer to States which have established adequate programs. The Federal government can step in where it is necessary, because State programs prove to be inadequate to protect the health and safety of the worker. The legislation provides further safeguards against arbitrary action in that the provisions of the Administrative Procedures Act are applicable to rule making, and court review is available in the areas of rule making and enforcement action.

Since there is, at the present time, a serious lack of trained personnel for correcting the hazards of the workplace, the education and training provisions of the pending legislation are of great importance. It is estimated, for example, that State programs will need to recruit and train 1,500 non-medical professionals during the next 5 years; that 3,000 new full-time physicians will be needed by industry within the next 5 years; that another 3,000 physicians will be needed to provide part-time service for small industries; that some 10,000 new nurses will enter industry over the next 5 years. The education and training provisions of this legislation should help alleviate the shortage of trained personnel necessary for inspection, enforcement, and scientific and technical activities in occupational health and safety.

It is my firm belief that to ascertain the actual impact of our industrial society upon the health of its work force and at the same time afford protection to the health of every employee, we must dramatically enlarge the dimensions of our public effort in this realm of occupational health and safety. This is the purpose and will be the effect of the pending legislation if it is enacted into law.

To summarize our discussion, the provisions of that law would:

1. Provide the basis for a cooperative and comprehensive Federal, State, and industry program on occupational health and safety.

2. Encourage voluntary action to protect every employee's health and safety and provide sanctions where needed.

3. Make possible the protection of workers in small as well as large plants.

4. Alleviate the manpower shortage through programs of education and training.

5. Provide a solid research base for the development of criteria and rational standards.

6. Permit the gathering of adequate statistics which then would serve as the factual basis for rational planning.

7. For the first time, put this Nation in a position where it stands ready to cope with existing occupational health and safety hazards and those newly emerging problems in our highly industrialized society.

DR. KAHN'S INTERVIEW IS EXTREMELY INTERESTING

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in this day when most people in politics use the English language to confuse and mystify rather than to explain, it is gratifying to read the statements of someone who is direct, to the point, and convincing. I do not know Dr. Herman Kahn, director of the Hudson Institute. Judging by his answers to questions on the controversial Vietnam war, I would like to know him—not so much because I agree with his answers as because he is concise, direct, and honest in his opinions.

His interview appeared in the June 3, 1968, issue of the U.S. News & World Report and I urge that anyone interested in the Vietnam war take the time to read it. The interview follows:

TRUCE OR MORE WAR?—AN EXPERT SIZE-UP OF THE VIETNAM OUTLOOK

With peace talks in Paris dragging along inconclusively, questions are starting to arise:

Is there really going to be a truce at all? If not, is it too late for U.S. to try for victory?

For answers, the editors of "U.S. News & World Report" invited to their conference room one of the country's leading experts on military strategy. In this exclusive interview, Herman Kahn tells why he believes it is not too late to win the war.

Q. Dr. Kahn, are the talks in Paris really going to lead to a truce in Vietnam?

A. Properly speaking, the current talks are not truce talks. They have been defined by Hanoi as an attempt to arrange for a partial cease-fire—i.e., an unconditional permanent cessation of U.S. bombing of the North.

From our point of view, we hope that the Paris talks will lead either to a settlement, or to negotiations which will lead to a settlement.

However, it seems most improbable that the current Paris talks will lead to a stable settlement—or even a cease-fire—in the near future.

Q. What are Hanoi's conditions for an overall settlement in Vietnam?

A. While there are slight differences between the five-point program put forth by the National Liberation Front [Viet Cong] and the four-point program of Hanoi, I think we can briefly summarize both programs by saying they have no intention of allowing any member of the current Government of Vietnam, who are firm opponents of the National Liberation Front, to be members of any postwar South Vietnamese Government—at least none who do not undergo a major conversion. They talk about a coalition government, but only a coalition of what they call "progressive elements."

Q. Is it possible for the U.S. to agree to these conditions?

A. A current remark often made in the U.S., that we must settle "as quickly and as honorably as possible," may carry an implication that, if we cannot settle honorably, we should at least settle quickly.

While I believe that the U.S. has made up its mind to try to settle this war, I do not believe that we would accept humiliation.

Further, I do not believe we would accept some trivial face-saving device or rationalization that, in effect, sold out most or all the anti-Viet Cong groups.

This is particularly true because these anti-Communist groups, while very divided among themselves, are much more numerous and anti-VC than many Americans believe. While the intensity of their anti-VC attitude varies, and there is no firm dividing line between the anti-VC and the fence-sitters, the former almost certainly amount to between one third and one half of the population. Another one third to one half are fence-sitters; and something like one sixth to one third support the National Liberation Front. Of course, in revolutionary movements, one sixth to one third is quite a lot. Our own American Revolution had considerably less support.

Q. What is the least the U.S. can settle for?

A. Presumably, the least we can honorably settle for would be to provide for the rights and safety of almost all of these anti-Viet Cong groups. The North Vietnamese have a similar problem for their supporters.

I could imagine certain "agonizing compromise" settlements in which this would be done for both VC and anti-VC groups, but these settlements would only be achieved over the most intense objection of the South Vietnamese Government and the NLF.

For example, there could be a partition of the country in which the South Vietnamese were given a major portion of the Mekong Delta, almost all of the Second and Third Corps areas, except possibly the Central Highlands, and a major portion of the First Corps area—the northern Provinces—and the NLF or the North Vietnamese given the rest. The specific details could be changed, but such a settlement, while it would satisfy the minimum requirement—after population exchanges—of giving a minimum level of security and independence to each side's supporters, is not really a very promising possibility.

There are other conceivable implicit and *de facto*, or explicit and *de jure*, partitions. One could also imagine a coalition government in which the National Liberation Front had only a minority representation.

Finally, one could imagine a mutual withdrawal by both U.S. and North Vietnamese forces—if well-policed and possibly staged over some period. This could be quite acceptable to both sides, particularly since each is likely to overestimate the likely strength and performance of its supporters. But it is difficult to imagine any settlement in which we simply turned over South Vietnam to the National Liberation Front, or even a settlement which appeared to have a high probability of its happening soon afterward—and, of course, vice versa.

"WE ARE NOT DOING BADLY"

Q. If no truce, what then? Is it too late for the United States to win the war?

A. I believe it is not too late. I would argue that even today we are not doing too badly, at least in strictly military terms. Compared with the situation in 1964 and 1965, both sides have improved their military posture enormously.

However, we have improved our posture, including that of the Government of South Vietnam, almost across the board, while the other side has suffered a significant loss in its local Viet Cong strength and even to some degree of the Viet Cong infrastructure and general support. Their improvement has been made in terms of weapons, other equipment, logistics, armament and numbers of North Vietnamese infiltrated from North Vietnam.

Given the enormous further possibilities for improvement—discussed in our recent book, "Can We Win in Vietnam?"—in U.S. and Government of South Vietnam performance, and the relatively small possibility for improvement in National Liberation Front and North Vietnamese performance, it would seem to me that we should be able to win this war in a strictly military sense.

This does not necessarily mean that we should try to fight it out to the bitter end, but it does mean, at least to me, that if we cannot get an honorable settlement—not even one that involves agonizing compromises—then we should be prepared to concentrate again on improving our military and political position.

I would also not publicly express the view that we cannot achieve a military settlement, because this weakens our bargaining position enormously. I would present the kind of war plans discussed in our book, which could lead eventually to a military settlement whether or not the other side's morale broke and whether or not the other side was willing to compromise. Under these circumstances, the enemy is much more likely to have his morale broken and to compromise than if we advertise that it is our objective to break his morale—we will, in fact, strengthen it.

I would like to repeat this, because it is very important: The more we depend publicly and explicitly on the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam being forced politically to settle, or on their morale breaking, the less likely either of these events becomes. If we do not talk about their will breaking, then it is no shame for them to be beaten militarily by the United States, and if this seems likely to occur, they may be willing to settle long before we, or the South Vietnamese, carry out the long job of completely defeating them militarily in South Vietnam.

Q. What specifically makes you think the war can still be won?

A. The belief that we may yet win rests—in part and very briefly—on the following assumptions:

1. We have fumbled badly in Vietnam, but, with all our mistakes and fumbling, we have not done so badly in the past three years.

2. There is great room for improvement in the programs and performance of the U.S.

3. There are also important improvements on the way—as a result of past programs and recent changes—in South Vietnam's economy, policy and administration, as well as in both their military forces and ours.

4. Significant improvements of this kind could have a decisive influence on the outcome of the war.

5. At the same time, there is much less prospect for improvement by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese of their performance.

In other words, if we exploit the available possibilities, and limit the enemy's, the future could bring a change in our favor.

Incidentally, this need not require as much effort as you might think. Much of our current 25-billion-dollar, 550,000-man effort involves many unnecessarily ineffective and contradictory elements. Any change that makes even a slightly greater percentage of our people work more effectively, or even in the same direction, could have very impressive results.

Of course, we must at the same time limit the enemy's possibilities to negate what we are doing.

BOLSTERING SOUTH VIETNAM

Q. Can you go into detail? For example, why do you believe that the South Vietnamese Army can be strengthened now, when attempts in the past so often failed?

A. For one thing, we never lived up to our own programs. We kept the South Vietnamese underequipped, undertrained and underutilized. The Popular Forces, for example, were never given enough ammunition even for training. The Regular Army was given World War II equipment. We held them back. Also, they had only 10 per cent of the artillery we had, less than 10 per cent of the helicopters, and no decent training or leadership. How could we expect them to take over?

In 1964, even if we had given them the equipment, they couldn't have done the job. They weren't well-enough trained or led.

Today their morale is reasonably high. Their main concern is that we are going to sell them out. If we can keep them from total or even partial political collapse because of fear of an American sellout—that is, if we disengage gradually and perhaps incompletely—I suspect they could undertake most of the job.

By the way, the South Vietnamese Army even today is the best Army in Southeast Asia, except the North Vietnamese. It could lick any other army in the area.

Q. What should be our goal in Vietnam?

A. The basic goal is the independence of South Vietnam. But it should be a prosperous South Vietnam, with a reasonable government. I would define a reasonable government as being about as good as, say, in Pakistan, South Korea, Taiwan or the Philippines. By the way, no American President could make such a comment publicly—if he did, he'd be insulting four Governments as well as the South Vietnamese. But roughly that's our goal, and I think that goal is achievable.

Q. People keep hearing about dictatorship in Saigon—

A. I would say today that, outside of the Philippines, the South Vietnamese Government is the most democratic government in Southeast Asia. In other words, as governments go in Southeast Asia, it's relatively democratic and constitutional—even though not as compared with the United States.

MAJOR PROBLEMS FOR THE UNITED STATES

Q. Earlier you referred to U.S. mistakes and fumbling. What exactly do you mean by that?

A. The American high command in Saigon needs—and, despite many acts which I would judge to be mistakes, deserves—public confidence more than it needs or deserves more public criticism. Let me simply mention some of the problems that are common knowledge:

First, there is a growing feeling that the 12-month tour of duty for American servicemen not in combat roles is an impossible way to try to win a war—particularly this kind of war.

You could not run any big complex organization here if every 12 months you had to start over again with a new crew. In Vietnam, about 550,000 men are involved in a complicated war in a foreign country against a sometimes clever, determined enemy—but there is almost no learning.

What do I mean? Newspaper people who have been in Vietnam three or four years will often tell a U.S. division commander, a major general, "This division has swept this area twice before," and the general will not know about it. There's often little or no overlap between the officers who are leaving and their replacements. No one will have told the general what happened last year.

Another big problem is that a lot of our people just don't understand what we're supposed to be doing in Vietnam. For example, almost everyone is agreed that the pacification war in Vietnam is a police war, a political war. But "political" doesn't necessarily mean giving people "goodies," noble rhetoric, or even good government. The most important political fact is, "Who looks more competent, more powerful, more likely to win?"

"Police" means that you've got to get at the Viet Cong infrastructure—that is, to pick up the supporters in the villages, particularly the recruiting groups, and those who regulate the terror, the people's courts, all those things. In most parts of Vietnam there was little or no attempt to do this until just a few months ago.

Even today, you probably need about 100,000 police field forces, a real constabulary. The South Vietnamese have only 11,000. Just last month they decided to increase it by 20,000. This is pretty late to start to understand what the war is all about.

Another example: Many American units act as if they don't have any woodsman in them. As a result, a lot of Americans have been killed because they camped in the wrong places. They might have read in captured Viet Cong documents that "the Americans will usually camp in the most convenient camping place."

That's what one son of a famous U.S. general did last year—he went into an area and camped on the high ground next to a stream. In the morning he called his officers together. There was a platoon or so of Viet Cong in the trees—they knew where the Americans would camp—and they shot them up.

Q. Do any Americans know how to fight this war?

A. There are many lieutenant colonels and colonels who learn how to fight in Vietnam, but by the time they learn, they're rotated out. The problem is further complicated because a number of the senior officers tend to be conventional-war-minded, European-war-minded, Korean-War-minded.

It's a little bit like the experience of World War I. Any second lieutenant today can give you almost a dozen solutions to the problem of barbed wire and trenches and machine guns. Any second lieutenant today would be a military genius in a World War I. During the war itself, there were several methods developed—one by the Germans, two by the Allies—but not until the last year of the war.

But in this case, many of the methods were waiting for us—they were developed decades ago—the kind of thing we did in the Philippines, the kind of thing we did in Nicaragua. But for many practical purposes we've lost that knowledge.

We continually complain that the South Vietnamese knock off the war every night, but we tend to do this also. It's hard to fight at night, don't misunderstand me. It's uncomfortable, it's dangerous, nobody likes to do it. But the Viet Cong know the way we operate, and they know they can almost guarantee a free ride every evening.

Q. How much of what is going on in Vietnam does U.S. headquarters really know? Do Americans in the field send in bad news with the good?

A. In any reporting system, if you do a good job and report good news, you get credit for it. This has a corollary: If you report bad news, you get punished whether or not it's your fault. The bearer of bad news almost always suffers as a result. However, in most systems, if you *fail to report* bad news, you also get punished. So that—come what may—you may as well stay honest and report the bad news.

It is widely believed by the press corps that in our reporting system in Vietnam there is almost no punishment for failure to report bad news. To the extent that this is true, there will be lopsidedness—emphasizing good news and excessively de-emphasizing the bad news.

But I have been making the same mistakes as many of the reporters—focusing on the difficulties and problems and almost ignoring the positive. Actually, there is a series of positive programs going on now that makes enormous sense for Vietnam, and I'd like to discuss some of them.

IF HO IS REASONABLE

Q. What is the first thing that has to be done?

A. First, if we can get even a halfway honorable settlement with Ho Chi Minh, we should take it. With the current mood of the people here at home, and its seeming instability, it may make sense to cut loses—so long as we are not asked to be dishonorable or to have our noses rubbed in the dirt.

I happen to believe that it's going to be very difficult to get such a settlement. I don't think Ho Chi Minh will offer it. The gap between what I would estimate is our current minimum and Ho Chi Minh's is probably so large that it probably cannot be closed. But if I'm proved wrong, and Ho Chi Minh is more reasonable than I expect him to be, I will be delighted. In any case, we must also keep open alternatives to dishonorable settlement.

Q. How long should we wait to move ahead with the alternatives?

A. We don't wait. That is, right now we should start thinking in terms of improving our military, political and moral position.

We should also start improving South Vietnam's economic position. Some of my colleagues and I at the Hudson Institute in our book recommend several ingredients for winning. One is an economic-development program based on the proven ability of the Vietnamese private sector which we believe can cause spectacular economic growth even during the fighting, and a nice transition to peace if the fighting ever terminates.

We have war-winning programs in other areas: administrative reforms; adoption of a war plan with emphasis on police operations; a more effective prisoner-of-war and reconciliation program; rights for minorities; improved social welfare and refugee programs—about a dozen potentially significant programs in all.

Q. How much time is it going to take you to do all these things?

A. Some can be done almost overnight, some take longer. It also depends dramatically upon how it is done.

One program in Vietnam that really worked very well was in connection with the three nationwide elections. Two of them were very complicated.

Millions of ballots were printed properly, were distributed, arrived at the right place and time, were explained to the voters; almost everybody who was supposed to could vote, and so forth.

Second, some 200,000 or 300,000 South Vietnamese troops moved around the country to guard the polls. As far as we know, every squad, every platoon, every company, every battalion showed up at the right time. Nobody took a three-hour lunch; nobody went home to his girl friend early; nobody took a siesta.

An operation which placed great demands on the country went off like clockwork.

It's interesting to ask why that operation worked. And we have observed eight characteristics which were absolutely central to that program—and to any other program that we are proposing for Vietnam.

WHAT'S BASIC TO SUCCESS

Q. Would you explain them?

A. Yes. First of all, the program must have high priority. In this example, everybody understood that these elections were the life or death of the Government.

Two, they must be explainable. The elections were not a complicated, mysterious program which nobody could understand—they could be explained to everybody, including the mimeograph operator and the private.

Three, the program was persuasive. It was easy to make people agree to elections.

Four, it must be defensible against attack—even unfair attack.

Five, the program must be checkable. Here it was easy to tell whether people were doing what they were supposed to do.

Six, it must be given heavy emphasis, so that it *will* be checked.

Seven, there must must be a high degree of commitment, which means all hell will break loose if the check reveals failure.

Finally, there must be reasonable requirements. If you asked me to run the 100-yard dash in 10 seconds, I'd laugh at you. If you asked me to run it in 15 seconds, I'd still laugh at you. But give me 20 seconds, and you've given me a reasonable challenge. If you then give me an inducement, I may well undertake the necessary training, etc., and do it.

In short, I believe we can put together a set of programs which have all eight of these characteristics—and you need all eight. If you fail in any one of them, the program is in trouble.

Q. And do you guarantee quick success?

A. No one can give guarantees in a war of this type. However, I believe almost all the programs we are considering can be put into effect almost overnight.

I would guess, barring a break in VC morale, it would be two to four years, before the war would be won. But it should be evident that we are winning in less than a year—we should have checkable results in less than a year—assuming, of course, we can prevent the opponent from negating the program in some way. But this caveat always holds. In any war—or indeed, in any contest or competitive situation.

OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS

Q. Why hasn't any of this been done before?

A. Almost everything we talk about—with perhaps three or four important exceptions—has been recommended for the last three or four years by people in the theatre [of operations]. The most disturbing thing in my study is that I've been able to find so many of the recommendations somewhere, in some form. But they get hung up in bureaucracy, inertia, apathy, business-as-usual, or by the optimists, who think they are winning satisfactorily and thus see no need for a change.

As a result, people often say nothing can be done in Vietnam. Usually the people who say that don't understand how to use the system.

Let me give you an example: There was a need for water pumps. In 1963, on their own, the Vietnamese developed a use for the 4½-horsepower propeller pump in irrigation and checked it out independently of us. They did it themselves. By 1964, they started distributing it through the private sector, and by the end of 1967, over 100,000 of these pumps had been distributed.

I'll give you another example: We had a program to deliver 2,500 television sets through official channels—ours and theirs—in three to four years. About 2,000 got distributed, 500 are still sitting in the warehouse. In that same period, the Japanese came in and *sold* 100.000 sets. Another 100,000 sets were sold to Americans through the PX, of which more than half probably found their way into the private sector. We're still trying to distribute those free sets—one at a time.

It's very hard to distribute fertilizer. Since World War II, not a single non-Communist government, so far as I know, has distributed fertilizer successfully through government channels. Yet we tried at first to do it through Government channels in Vietnam.

Q. But was it ever intended to win the war through this kind of smaller detail? Wasn't the strategy to bring military pressure and break the enemy's will?

A. This theory of victory was implausible from the very beginning. Our main idea was: As soon as we convince the other side that it can't win the war quickly, it will give up. The other side of course can reply, "As soon as we convince you that you cannot win, you will give up. Would you care to compare biographies?"

I repeat my earlier point: If we have a theory of victory that explicitly and publicly depends on the other side's morale cracking, it will probably not crack. You can sometimes blackmail or bribe a man of integrity in private, but you can almost never do it in public. That's a principle of international relations.

If you have a theory of victory whose outcome is inexorable, even if it takes, say, five years, whether or not their morale breaks, then morale may break in a year.

The fact that we refuse to use the term "military victory" makes a morale victory or a negotiated victory almost impossible. Without a theory of military victory, we will not even get a decent negotiated settlement.

Q. Who made that mistake?

A. The whole country. Some of the best of us can still make a somewhat sordid private deal, but even the worst of us will find it hard to make a sordid public deal. Yet what we're asking is that Hanoi publicly sell the National Liberation Front down the river without having been defeated on the field of battle. While many believe the United States may—with some face-saving gimmick—publicly sell the South Vietnamese Government down the river, few believe that Hanoi would act similarly. I don't believe either country will do it.

Q. If you were sitting in Hanoi, what would your approach to negotiations be?

A. I would desperately try to humiliate the Americans once more in May, June or July.

Q. Militarily, you mean?

A. Militarily, casting total doubt on our competence. There are a number of conceivable ways to try to do this, but I don't want to discuss the pros and cons of any of them. Hanoi doesn't need my help.

Q. And if the talks fail—

A. We will presumably go back to fighting the war, but hopefully not on a 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. basis. In a way, the longer we have been in the war, the harder it seems to get some portions of the military establishment moving on a wartime basis.

"BUSINESS AS USUAL"

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. Promotions, assignments, other personnel policies, letting contracts, construction, etc.—it is more or less on a business-as-usual basis. But we cannot use normal American administrative procedures or normal Vietnamese administrative procedures in wartime. When the decision was made to fly the U–2 reconnaissance plane, for example, it took 90 days to get it in the air.

We've got to decide to put the war on at least a high administrative priority.

Q. Where does this vacillation stem from?

A. The basic problem is that the country has a business-as-usual attitude, exacerbated by the unpopularity of the war. Both senior civilians and the military often abdicate responsibility by going along with this attitude.

Particularly those who think we are winning the war—and it is surprising how many are so optimistic—tend to be quite satisfied with "business as usual."

Here is what many in the high command are quoted as having said just before the Tet offensive: "Victory is possible by spring, almost certainly by summer." The Saigon press has reported many times that this was the standard thinking of many senior people in Saigon.

After the Tet attacks many either said for the record or were quoted as saying that the enemy had uttered a dying gasp, that this was treacherous and immoral behavior. It was treacherous and immoral behavior by the enemy, but, unless you are careful, it may make you sound like a Boy Scout to say it, particularly if you are thought to be using the cry of "foul" as an excuse for losing.

But according to the newspaper reports, the military seems to have acted very defensively, very cautiously—waiting for the other shoe to drop, the Communists' second wave. Consistently it was reported that they did not go out looking for the enemy's jugular vein, but restricted themselves to spoiling attacks, perimeter defense and reacting.

I have said to senior American officials, "Let's assume you're right—that we are winning the war, and that the other side is bleeding to death by internal bleeding. Even then you are wrong, because we appear to be bleeding to death by rich arterial bleeding; it's gushing from the jugular vein!"

A. There is a great deal of controversy about how much counterattacking we did or did not do.

I would guess that one predominant fear was that we might lose Saigon if we sent our troops after the enemy. If so, we paid a high price for guaranteeing the safety of Saigon and not taking some chances.

HOW THE UNITED STATES HAS ERRED

Q. Is that typical of the way the U.S. has been fighting the war?

A. Whether or not it is true in this case, I believe such considerations have often ruled. I have drawn up a set of characteristics, perhaps a bit unfair, of the way we seem to have been fighting. I'll just mention a few:

Relative emphasis on "business as usual."

Emphasis on military over police—and both over political issues.

Tendency to overestimate Viet Cong skill and capability.

Tendency to underestimate the integrity and dedication of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese cadre and leadership.

Overemphasis on the use of advanced technology.

Overemphasis on avoiding unit disasters.

Our emphasis on body-count-type criteria.

Take one item: emphasis on the use of advanced technology. You probably could get advanced laser equipment in that theater in three months. You can't get a decent shoe or pack in much less than five years.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. In World War II, we had boots with diagonal treads—you know, like self-cleansing truck-tire treads. As you walk, the mud goes through them and a pebble doesn't get stuck, but is pushed out by the mud. Then somebody straightened the treads out so that the mud got caked in them and the tread was lost immediately. It took three years to get the tread changed again!

By the way, the North Vietnamese boots are properly designed.

I'll give you another example: One of our staff had a conversation with a procurement officer which went as follows: He started by asking, "You know about this polyurethane-coated nylon? It weighs about a quarter of the regular poncho, is in every way superior to it." The procurement officer replied, "It won't take a GI laundering." Our man then asked, "In the history of the U.S. Army, has cation, job training, employment and family subsistence allowances.

"I would appreciate your comments on this proposal.

"Sincerely,

"JAMES H. SCHEUER,
"Member of Congress."

I returned a few weeks ago from a brief trip to Israel, in my capacity as a member of the Board of Directors of the American Society for the Technion in Haifa, the M.I.T. of Israel. I conferred with Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, General Moshe Dayan, and Yerucham Meshel, Chairman of the Trade Unions Department of the Histadrut, and other high Israeli officials, about short-term and long-term peace prospects, and about my proposal for a "new careers" training program for Arab refugees and new Israeli immigrants alike, comparable to my new careers program passed by the Congress in 1966, and now operative across the country in 50 cities.

I continue to be astonished at the progress being made by Israelis in building their country—even since my flying visit last July right after the six day war—while they are still burdened with a heavy and continuing defense budget equal to 12.2% of their GNP, almost 50% more than the comparable level of U.S. defense expenditures.

Since my trip last summer they have consolidated their control solidly over the Gaza Strip, the West bank of the Jordan, the Golan Heights, and the straits of Aqaba, and I found authorities at all levels of government prepared both economically and militarily to administer the newly occupied territories for as long as it takes the Arab nations to confront Israel at the conference table in peace as they confronted Israel on the Sinai Desert and the Jerusalem hills in war.

The aid Israel is requesting of us does *not* include American troops or our direct military involvement in any fashion whatsoever. The Israelis ask *only* that we help supply them with the military equipment—hardware and jet planes—to defend themselves.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES H. SCHEUER,
Member of Congress.

IS THE ANSWER MORE PUBLIC SPENDING?

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, today we often hear complaints about the size of public spending and the increasing trend of public expenditures over the years. We also hear a good deal about what happens when people go hungry, or without decent jobs, or without adequate education.

Mr. Howard J. Samuels, Under Secretary of Commerce, in an article appearing in today's Wall Street Journal, thoughtfully presents a case reconciling these views, and he concludes, quite correctly I think, that this country must invest even more of its resources in human capital if we are to bring harmony and a decent life to all the people of this country.

Mr. Samuels notes that private business can and should play an important role in this effort, but it "should not be expected to educate and motivate 4-year-old ghetto kids at its own expense any more than it should build missiles at its own expense."

In the end the burden is on the Government and the Government will have as creatively as it can to spend the money to train the people to be productive in this technological world.

I commend this article most highly to the readers of this RECORD by inserting it at this point:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 28, 1968]

IS THE ANSWER MORE PUBLIC SPENDING?

(By Howard J. Samuels)

The poor people's camp-out in progress in the nation's capital is dramatizing the central question of American life today—whether the country is doing as much as it can without jeopardizing the soundness of the economy on which all progress depends.

The "moral" case for investing more of the nation's wealth in public needs—education, training, health, housing, pollution control—is so apparent that few would disagree.

But many who admit the moral case argue that spending more for such purposes would be bad economics. It would aggravate inflation, weaken the dollar, stunt economic growth, and in the long run kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. Is this true?

As the poor people were staking out their huts on the Mall the Commerce Department was reporting that the gross national product for the first quarter—the measure of the nation's new wealth—had increased by a record $20 billion. Clearly to me the nation is suffering a case of economic schizophrenia—rising private affluence and mounting public need. It is time to examine how the nation's wealth is being used, and whether the "mix" between private and public spending is right.

We have fallen into the trap of praising private spending as economic virtue—no matter what the money is spent for—while condemning public spending as "wasteful." Air-conditioning convertibles is considered progress, while funds for Head Start are cut back as a luxury we cannot afford.

The U.S. runs the risk of starving the public investment, in people and resources, on which much of our future economic growth depends:

We spawn new industries that need more and more skilled people, while a fourth of the population drops out of high school before graduation.

The "help wanted" columns grow longer with offers of technical jobs, while the welfare lists grow longer with names of people who don't qualify for those jobs—but could.

We buy more and more portable TV sets to take to the beach—only to find that the water is too polluted for swimming.

PUBLIC COSTS

Answers to these contradictions must be found. And while "more spending" is not the answer by itself, it is self-deluding to pretend that our public and human needs can be met without public cost.

Simply spurring the economy on to greater growth each year will not solve the problems of the cities if the greater proportion of the new wealth continues to be poured into motor boats, electric carving knives and costume jewelry—while the cities decay—and while millions of people remain undereducated—and unmotivated.

Nor will "turning the problem over to free enterprise" soften it. Private business can and should play a much more significant role, but it should not be expected to educate and motivate four-year-old ghetto kids at its own expense any more than it should build missiles at its own expense.

It is devastating to hear so much of the political dialogue turn on how much spending should be cut, not just today but in the future, while public problems deepen. After the Vietnam war, the argument goes in some quarters, taxes should be reduced a little each year as the means of stimulating growth. There is very little analysis of what kind of growth, growth for what, or even whether that really is the route to growth.

In 1964 we cut taxes in the interest of stimulating the economy, or eliminating the "fiscal drag." And the idea has proved to be valid. But we did not give enough thought to keeping taxes where they were and stimulating the economy by investing more in public needs. It was argued that higher spending instead of a tax cut would have been politically unacceptable; Congress would never have approved. And that may be right. That is why it is important to begin a new discourse now on what our priorities for the future will be.

The time has come to turn the dialogue around, to examine in depth the trade-off in both economic and human terms between future tax cuts and more public investment. The time is coming when that kind of choice will be upon us.

We will have some critical choices to make: Cut taxes and spend our incomes for whatever extra luxuries we wish, or invest more for some of the things we cannot buy as individuals—schools, parks, education of the disadvantaged, economic re-development of decaying areas.

Increasingly the evidence of recent years has pointed to the impressive economic gains from investment in human development. They are harder to measure than investment in steel and concrete, but just as real.

Estimates by some of our experts conclude that about half the growth in output in the last 50 years has come from investment in education, training and health.

Improved education in the past few decades has raised the average quality of labor by a third—quality that is translated daily into higher production.

Or look at the investment in health, in purely economic terms. Since the turn of the century the increase in life expectancy has enlarged the work force by 25%.

The future capacity of this country to produce will depend more on developing "human capital" than on striving for new peaks of affluence. The examples of Germany and Japan have offered striking evidence of the economic importance of human capital. They rose from ashes to affluence in less than 20 years. Their greatest asset: an educated, motivated population.

This country can no longer afford the waste of slums and ghettos. A society cannot expect to prosper indefinitely bedded in social tension so deep that it erupts into riots as predictable as summer. But in more specific terms, society needs the productive capacities of these people as much as they need the help of society.

Few economic analysts fear, as they once did, that automation will flood the country with unusable manpower. The foreseeable problem is one of finding enough qualified people for the more demanding jobs.

A recent Government study predicted that in the decade ending in 1975 employment would grow 26%. The greatest growth will be in jobs calling for higher levels of education. White collar jobs are expected to grow 38% while blue collar jobs grow 17%. Plain laboring jobs will grow scarcely at all.

We have enough experience with manpower training and retraining now to know that a high percentage of those unemployed or under-employed can be fitted for existing jobs. There is some delay on the return, and some waste in the process; but the return when it comes in is manifold.

A man or woman salvaged from idleness and welfare creates a double economic benefit. By earning his own way he saves the public the $2,500 it costs to keep a family of four on welfare, and at the same time contributes $6,000 to the gross national product by his earnings.

RISK OF SLOWING

The argument is often made that a dollar spent in the public sector does not have the same economic "impact" as a dollar spent on a car, TV set or groceries. Thus diverting funds to public purposes risks slowing the rate of economic growth.

That could happen, to some extent, if the spending were managed badly. But it need not.

Growth is dependent on the increase of markets for our output, on the ingenuity of businessmen and their alertness to new opportunities. It is dependent also on maintaining investment incentives in the business community and a steady improvement in the productive quality of the labor source. None of these forces for growth need be undermined by a prudent shift of some of our extra annual output into public investment.

It would not reduce markets as a whole. Whether a dollar is spent by a private consumer or by the government, the end is still the purchase of goods. A dollar spent for teacher training is promptly transformed into purchasing power by the recipient. However, spent, the money still ends up in the cash registers of the private sector.

On top of that, if public spending helps bring into the main stream of the economy—and into the mass market—those people now on the fringes it creates a new source of demand to fuel business growth.

And business incentive would certainly not be shot down by the kind of marginal extra taxes required; it is not that fragile.

The whole conception of "more public spending" is too easily dismissed in boom times likes these as being inflationary. It would be, of course, without taxes to pay for it.

But there is nothing inflationary about channeling an increased proportion of national spending into the public instead of the private sector. Quite the contrary. Properly used, public spending can help combat inflation.

Certain sectors of the economy—like construction, medical services—contribute more than their share of inflationary pressure because demand for these services outstrips supply. Funds spent to develop workers and build factories, or foster technological advance, would alleviate the pressure.

Can the U.S. afford to spend more than it does for public needs without taking a cutback in the standard of living? Clearly it can—as long as the economy can be kept growing as well as it has so far in this decade.

We have been growing at an average rate in real terms of almost 5% a year. This growth adds $35 billion of new wealth to the economy each year, more than the entire output of Sweden and Switzerland combined. Of that amount, some $20 billion is retained in added private affluence with the rest going to increased government spending or business investment.

EXTRA INVESTMENT

It takes about half of the $20 billion to keep the standard of living where it is, allowing for growth in population. If for just a few years the other $10 billion were devoted to extra investment in public needs, within five years the nation could have available $50 billion more each year for such purposes.

That would represent about a 50% gain over the amounts of wealth consumed in 1967 at all levels of government excluding defense; perhaps it would not even take that much to do the job. And if our investment proves sound, our future taxes will be less because of lower social costs and greater productivity.

How much extra taxes would it take? It is impossible to tell until future defense needs are known. But with the end of Vietnam, raising taxes just half way back to the level that prevailed before the 1964 tax cut—or keeping in force the 10% surcharge—would probably be enough. It should permit some continued rise in the standard of living and a budget reasonably in balance at the same time.

Spending by itself, of course, would cure few social ills. Doubling the money spent on education would not double the results if the money were simply pumped into the same stale system. Spending more in a welfare system as degrading as it is bureaucratic would not solve the problem of welfare. But funds used creatively—say, to rescue children from the cycle of poverty even before kindergarten—is something else. Government, with the aid of the best private experts, would have to analyze the problems in depth and plan its response intelligently. But that can be done.

Any corporation with the long-range interest of its stockholders in mind will pass up some of the dividends it could declare each year and invest for tomorrow. The nation must do the same.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS HONORS ARCHBISHOP TERANCE J. COOKE

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, our city was the scene of a truly memorable occasion: the reaffirmation of the close bond of shared ideals, and of the continuing efforts to implement them, on the part of our Catholic and Jewish organizations.

The occasion was a luncheon given by the American Jewish Congress in honor of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Terance J. Cooke, the archbishop of New York.

In their respective remarks, Archbishop Cooke and Mr. Charles H. Silver, one of the outstanding senior statesmen of our city, pledged to continue the work of our late beloved Francis Cardinal Spellman by fostering stronger and more extensive bonds of mutual respect, concern and cooperation among the Jewish and the Catholic people of our community.

I know that my colleagues in Congress will be interested to read the two brief but truly inspiring speeches. I am, therefore, including them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

REMARKS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MOST REVEREND TERANCE J. COOKE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK

I am greatly honored to be here with you today and no words are adequate to describe the joy of these moments we have shared in friendship and brotherhood. I am deeply grateful for the beautiful volume of the Scriptures—the sacred book of God's word, the religious heritage which you and I share, the wellspring of the faith by which you and I live. The rich symbolism of this gift brings to mind warmest thoughts of the past and thrilling hopes for the future. It makes me think of Abraham our Father in faith and Moses the human author of God's law and David whose psalms are our daily prayer. And it stirs fond memories of Pope John XXIII and of our own late beloved Cardinal Spellman.

This day and this holy Book make me vividly aware of the great and important progress made by both the Jewish and the Catholic people of our country and of our city. Through public statements and through quiet private reflection, our peoples have moved in a way at once rewarding and promising toward personal, cultural and religious understanding. This deeper understanding has brought with it heightened respect, sympathy, and affection. This is the road of understanding and love along which we have come thus far and this is the road we intend to pursue toward brotherhood.

I have seen the unmistakable token of this progress in the unprecedented kindness which the Jewish community in our city offered to Cardinal Spellman. I saw too the Cardinal's profound concern for the welfare and interests of the Jewish people in New York. This generous-hearted and open-handed understanding is now being reflected in the relationships of our Catholic and Jewish organizations, in our peoples' knowledge of their shared ideals, and in their happy satisfaction in implementing those ideals.

In these years following the Second Vatican Council, we Roman Catholics are more than ever convinced that anti-Semitism should never find a basis in the Catholic religion and must never find a place in any Catholic's life. In 1968, we Catholic people are anxious to salute our Jewish brothers anew. Conscious of our common heritage of salvation in the covenant made between God and Abraham and his descendants, we pledge ourselves to continue fostering stronger and more extensive bonds of mutual respect, concern and cooperation.

The pursuit of justice in civil rights and the resolution of our serious urban problems are surely areas in which our cooperation can bear rich fruit. Our opportunities are extraordinary here in New York—a great Jewish city and a great Christian city. Our peoples have grave obligations to this city and now in 1968 we have unparalleled opportunities. I know that the American Jewish Committee has always given distinguished service to the cause of brotherhood and has worked earnestly to promote the welfare of all God's children on earth. I pray today and every day that together we shall seize the opportunities afforded now and serve the needs of our people more effectively than ever before.

I thank you again most sincerely and pray that God will bless us all.

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE CHARLES H. SILVER, CONSULTANT TO THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF NEW YORK

Because of the love we bear so deeply in our hearts for His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, we shall long mourn his recent tragic loss.

Our friendship that I cherished for many years is overshadowed in my memory only by the even greater friendship he showed my people and the burning zeal for brotherhood and understanding that warmed his courageous and compassionate heart.

His glorious quest was a determination to unite all men under God regardless of their faith. His work to join every race and creed in a universal solidarity of peace, justice and equality was an expression of his own nobility of spirit. More than that, it was also a personal interpretation of the dominant vitality of the church in our times. As the dynamic leader in a holy crusade to erase the inequities and infirmities, the passions and prejudices, the doubts and differences that divide mankind—he—and his church—proclaimed the sameness, the mutual qualities of all human beings fashioned in the one image by the one divine creator.

Knowing this enlightened Catholic attitude, we were content to await the designation of a successor to take up and press forward the sacred tasks he had so well begun. Whoever it was to be, we knew there would be no lessening of the growing love we have come to hold for one another. But now that the choice has been made and a new administrator of the church takes up the gauntlet of God's mission among the millions in the vast metropolis. . . . our hearts are lifted by the happy fact that our fellow worker in the cause of fellowship is that warm, compassionate, inspired and able friend of man and servant of God, His Excellency Terence J. Cooke.

Not only is the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of New York again whole and complete, but so is this entire community of twelve million men, women and children regardless of the color of their skin or the manner of their worship.

And beyond even this blessed virtue of the Holy Father's choice is the reassuring presence of one who was born here in our very own city, studied here, worked here, served God here—beside our immortal, late lamented comrade—one who knows our people—all our people—and commands the respect and affection of every one of us.

In administering the affairs of the largest Catholic municipal population in the New World, the metropolitan Archbishop of New York commands prestige and exercises influence far beyond the sphere of his own diocese. This imposes a tremendous responsibility—one whose greatness I can confidently affirm is matched by the man on whom this solemn obligation has fallen.

And in further tribute to the Holy Spirit of his church, let me add that Archbishop Cooke is exactly what the church and our age most earnestly need in this present generation of anxiety and enormous challenge. His warmth of personality, his depth of character, his rich and extraordinary gifts as an administrator—already demonstrated so thoroughly over the years—testify to the fitness of the choice and the fine mating of task and master that we witness in this remarkable man of God.

One need only look at his tireless efforts for young people in the past, his labors in the field of social welfare and his grasp of the problems that shake our society to see that here, indeed, is one who will not merely march in the struggle to free men's minds and dignify their present estate—but will lead us toward a better future.

During the moments of surprise and rejoicing that followed the news issued by the Vatican, Achbishop Cooke made this simple but very frank and human statement. He said:

"I will do all that I can. If need be, I will gladly die for the good of mankind. That is what this appointment means to me."

Those who have been fortunate enough to know him, realize that his words may be accepted in their most literal sense. It is this ingredient of complete dedication which stamps the caliber of the man and motivates the life and decisions that will distinguish his days ahead as Archbishop of New York.

They will not be easy days.

Let us brook no delusions concerning democracy's struggle. Our country is not even two centuries old. We are a little young to lean back on our liberties and enjoy the fruits of leisure without realizing that we may have to fight again to preserve them . . . indeed, that we are fighting again in the streets and on far-flung battle lines. The American Revolution did not end in 1783. We are still in the midst of a revolution to achieve a true, well-defined, honest and equal democracy in our own land—and freedom, security and human decency in other lands.

It is time to teach our children—yes, and to learn again ourselves, some good fundamental Americanism, fundamental Christianity, fundamental Judaism—and the time is terribly short—to dramatize the soul-stirring principles of the Commandments and The Sermon on the Mount and to make them live again—if democracy and humanity are worth keeping alive.

We must rededicate ourselves to this most precious asset, to the children of today, to the parents of tomorrow, widening their vistas of knowledge and reviving a pride in their legacy of liberty.

For they must understand—and it is our job to make them understand—that America can remain the land of the free only so long as it remains the home of the brave.

And this is the miracle of it . . . that, in this mammoth melting pot of individual liberty and collective security, they have been transformed by the magic formula of human brotherhood and God's love into one great family of man. Let us be consecrated in the quest for freedom, based on equality of opportunity and knit together in a human family which rejects all artificial distinctions and ethnic labels.

The quest will continue—and men of good will shall conquer. The Holy Grail of peace and understanding will be gained.

I say this recalling the words of Cardinal Spellman, still echoing in my own heart as a Jew. He said:

"Anti-Semitism can never find a basis in the Catholic religion. Far from emphasizing the differences which divide Jews from Christians, our faith stresses our common origins and the ties which bind us together."

It is in this cordial atmosphere of amity and understanding that we salute you and welcome you to our hearts, Your Excellency.

These are times of turmoil and distress. We live in a world that knows how to split the atom but still has not learned to weld together the hearts of men. We see the advocates of war trample on those who seek peace—while so many die together because we cannot find the way to live together.

In these desperate hours we welcome you to your high office, Your Excellency, knowing that the worthiness of your deeds will fulfill the sacred destiny of your covenant with God.

That is our hope—our pledge—and our prayer.

LOUISIANA, MO., CELEBRATES ITS 150TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, Louisiana, Mo., a Mississippi River town in the Mark Twain country, is celebrating its 150th anniversary this year.

The following article in Vic Gierke's Louisiana Press-Journal tells some of the city's colorful history.

The city of Louisiana, located on the Mississippi River and surrounded by beautiful hills in Pike County, Missouri, is celebrating its 150th anniversary this year. Townspeople have enthusiastically worked out an 8-day celebration for the Sesquicentennial, honoring the birth of their city, although 1968 as a whole is being observed as the Anniversary Year.

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HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

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Tuesday, May 28, 1968

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Until the states equip themselves with state laws able to keep their water clean, and appoint pollution control agencies which regard clean water and not industrial development as their primary obligation, Udall's policy alone prevents pollution and protects the public interest.

THE END OF THE GOLDEN AGE

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

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Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, George Halas has retired as the head coach of the Chicago Bears, and with him goes the last of the men who organized the National Football League. Perhaps the editorial in the Chicago Tribune for May 28 expresses it better than I could, and I would like, for the benefit of all the millions of fans of that golden age of sports, to include that editorial here, in tribute to George Halas and the men and teams he helped make great:

A GREAT CHICAGOAN

The retirement of George Halas as head coach of the Chicago Bears marks the end of an era in the world of sports. He is the last of the 20 men who in 1920 met in an automobile showroom in Canton, Ohio, and organized what became the National Football league.

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Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, a most interesting and judicious editorial appeared recently in the Paragould Daily Press written by the publisher, Mr. Fred A. Wulfekuhler, commenting on lawlessness and abuse of the law. The article also quotes Rev. Andrew Young of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with reference to the goals of that group in their campout in Washington.

Members of Congress are being pressured to increase already most-lavish outlays for the poor and underprivileged. This is a challenge that must be met—it will be met—the excessive costs of domestic welfare and giveaway programs need to be reduced appreciably. Our every effort should be directed at providing everything necessary to snuffing out aggression by Communist forces in Vietnam. Let us get the war over by winning it. That must come first.

Mr. Wulfekuhler's editorial follows:

[From Paragould Daily Press, April 10, 1968]

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Woodrow Wilson once said, "The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves."

There is a right way and a wrong way to try to achieve reform, whether it be in the realm of government or in the social life of the nation.

For several years now, it has been popular to flout the rule of law. It has been mocked by those who use the cause of legitimate petition and assembly as a facade behind which to loot, plunder and destroy property.

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We should all view with alarm the growing lack of respect for law and order and our constitutional system.

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Abuse of the law is a dangerous practice for freedom-loving people. And, there can be no exceptions to compliance for where law ends, tyranny begins.

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Marches and demonstrations are designed to get coast to coast publicity and to mobilize public opinion behind "worthy" causes. But overlooked are the effective utilization of the public forum, the printed word of the press, and the spoken word of television and radio.

Upholding the law is a citizen's first duty—no matter what the color of his skin. Intimidation, in any manner, won't wipe discrimination off the boards.

fellow worker in the cause of fellowship is that warm, compassionate, inspired and able friend of man and servant of God, His Excellency Terence J. Cooke.

Not only is the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of New York again whole and complete, but so is this entire community of twelve million men, women and children regardless of the color of their skin or the manner of their worship.

And beyond even this blessed virtue of the Holy Father's choice is the reassuring presence of one who was born here in our very own city, studied here, worked here, served God here—beside our immortal, late lamented comrade—one who knows our people—all our people—and commands the respect and affection of every one of us.

In administering the affairs of the largest Catholic municipal population in the New World, the metropolitan Archbishop of New York commands prestige and exercises influence far beyond the sphere of his own diocese. This imposes a tremendous responsibility—one whose greatness I can confidently affirm is matched by the man on whom this solemn obligation has fallen.

And in further tribute to the Holy Spirit of his church, let me add that Archbishop Cooke is exactly what the church and our age most earnestly need in this present generation of anxiety and enormous challenge. His warmth of personality, his depth of character, his rich and extraordinary gifts as an administrator—already demonstrated so thoroughly over the years—testify to the fitness of the choice and the fine mating of task and master that we witness in this remarkable man of God.

One need only look at his tireless efforts for young people in the past, his labors in the field of social welfare and his grasp of the problems that shake our society to see that here, indeed, is one who will not merely march in the struggle to free men's minds and dignify their present estate—but will lead us toward a better future.

During the moments of surprise and rejoicing that followed the news issued by the Vatican, Achbishop Cooke made this simple but very frank and human statement. He said:

"I will do all that I can. If need be, I will gladly die for the good of mankind. That is what this appointment means to me."

Those who have been fortunate enough to know him, realize that his words may be accepted in their most literal sense. It is this ingredient of complete dedication which stamps the caliber of the man and motivates the life and decisions that will distinguish his days ahead as Archbishop of New York.

They will not be easy days.

Let us brook no delusions concerning democracy's struggle. Our country is not even two centuries old. We are a little young to lean back on our liberties and enjoy the fruits of leisure without realizing that we may have to fight again to preserve them . . . indeed, that we are fighting again in the streets and on far-flung battle lines. The American Revolution did not end in 1783. We are still in the midst of a revolution to achieve a true, well-defined, honest and equal democracy in our own land—and freedom, security and human decency in other lands.

It is time to teach our children—yes, and to learn again ourselves, some good fundamental Americanism, fundamental Christianity, fundamental Judaism—and the time is terribly short—to dramatize the soul-stirring principles of the Commandments and The Sermon on the Mount and to make them live again—if democracy and humanity are worth keeping alive.

We must rededicate ourselves to this most precious asset, to the children of today, to the parents of tomorrow, widening their vistas of knowledge and reviving a pride in their legacy of liberty.

For they must understand—and it is our job to make them understand—that America can remain the land of the free only so long as it remains the home of the brave.

And this is the miracle of it . . . that, in this mammoth melting pot of individual liberty and collective security, they have been transformed by the magic formula of human brotherhood and God's love into one great family of man. Let us be consecrated in the quest for freedom, based on equality of opportunity and knit together in a human family which rejects all artificial distinctions and ethnic labels.

The quest will continue—and men of good will shall conquer. The Holy Grail of peace and understanding will be gained.

I say this recalling the words of Cardinal Spellman, still echoing in my own heart as a Jew. He said:

"Anti-Semitism can never find a basis in the Catholic religion. Far from emphasizing the differences which divide Jews from Christians, our faith stresses our common origins and the ties which bind us together."

It is in this cordial atmosphere of amity and understanding that we salute you and welcome you to our hearts, Your Excellency.

These are times of turmoil and distress. We live in a world that knows how to split the atom but still has not learned to weld together the hearts of men. We see the advocates of war trample on those who seek peace—while so many die together because we cannot find the way to live together.

In these desperate hours we welcome you to your high office, Your Excellency, knowing that the worthiness of your deeds will fulfill the sacred destiny of your covenant with God.

That is our hope—our pledge—and our prayer.

LOUISIANA, MO., CELEBRATES ITS 150TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, Louisiana, Mo., a Mississippi River town in the Mark Twain country, is celebrating its 150th anniversary this year.

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Abuse of the law is a dangerous practice for freedom-loving people. And, there can be no exceptions to compliance for where law ends, tyranny begins.

The race question will never be solved by marches and demonstrations. Those who espouse them as a means of "blackmailing" a nation into compliance overlook the facts of life. Too often, the end result, is an inflaming of hate and bitterness rather than improving human realtionships and paving the way for better understanding between all citizens of the nation.

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Upholding the law is a citizen's first duty—no matter what the color of his skin. Intimidation, in any manner, won't wipe discrimination off the boards.

The practitioners of civil disobedience, events of the past few years tell us, all too frequently ride roughshod over the rights of others.

Rev. Andrew Young, a long-time lieutenant in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is one of two men charged with the day-to-day planning of the "nonviolent invasion" of Washington, D.C. rescheduled for early May.

Young, when asked what if these "nonviolent" protests fail to move Congress, answered: "It may be necessary to create such disruption and disturbance in the system that it will have to reform itself or destroy us.

"I would like to see the domestic crisis become so critical that Congress is faced immediately with what I think is their inevitable choice: between spending for life and spending for death," said Young. "We will make Congress choose. They may choose to serve the war and continue to kill; in which case they'll have to start killing us or putting us in jail."

It's time for all men to realize that there's a right way and a wrong way. The rule of law is the right way. Methods provoking violence are the wrong way.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I count it a real pleasure to join with my many friends of Armenian birth and ancestry as they celebrate the 50th anniversary of their peoples' independence.

Americans have long recognized and admired the significant contribution which its Armenian-American citizens had been making to their adopted country. Our people rejoiced with them when sovereign status came to them on May 28, 1918. All of us old enough to be aware of the persecution and horrors to which thousands upon thousands of innocent men, women, and children had been subjected by their cruel oppressors saw Armenian independence as a great victory in the cause of freedom and independence. Americans responded with the same generosity and brotherly help to this new found nation as they had done in succoring the ravaged victims who suffered unspeakable treatment and torture month after month.

Thus it was that when Armenian independence was so suddenly terminated when the 3-year-old nation was incorporated into the Soviet Union, Americans felt a serious blow against freedom-loving people had again been struck.

Since that fateful day in 1921 the lot of these fine people whose integrity, whose tenacity and whose courage have been carved deeply into the tablets of 2,000 years of history has been one of virtual subjugation.

This 50th anniversary of Armenia's brief independence cannot be celebrated with joy and merrymaking. It can only be observed with great sadness and compassion for those who lost such a precious achievement. It can and should be observed with hope and with the determination of free men everywhere to restore the blessings of freedom and self-determination to a people so deserving of them.

As all the people who proudly claim their Armenian heritage and who live today outside the Iron Country observe this historic event, may they take satisfaction in the knowledge of America's close ties with them. May they gain new courage to fight on for their homeland's restored sovereignty as they realize that Americans of all nationality backgrounds will be at their side to join them in their efforts to free their relatives and friends who today remain in repulsive bondage to their Communist usurpers.

IRISH IMMIGRATION

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join today in cosponsoring legislation to keep America's door open for Irish immigrants after July 1, when new immigration regulations will bar all but a handful.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 has already caused Irish immigration to decline from a 7,000 annual average during the decade ending in 1965, to 1,800 in 1967. When the law takes full effect on July 1, immigration will drop to an estimated 500–1,000 annually.

The 1965 Immigration Act abolished the national origins quota system, replacing it with a preference system based on whether an immigrant has job skills needed here, or on whether he or she will be joining family members who have already emigrated.

The Irish were particularly hard hit by this law because the typical Irish immigrant is a young man without formal training who sets out alone to seek his fortune in the new world, and to marry and raise a family here, whereas immigrants from other nations arrive with part of their families, and earn money here to send for the rest.

The contributions of the Irish—from the Revolutionary War heroes of 1776 to President John F. Kennedy—are important to America's greatness. The flow of such talent and vitality should not be choked off.

My bill would permit about 5,300 Irish immigrants to enter this country each year by preventing any nation's immigration from dropping below 75 percent of the average number of immigrants who entered the United States from that country during the 1956–65 period.

The bill would only add an annual estimated 20,000–30,000 people to the immigrant lists above the present statutory ceiling of 170,000 because of a provision limiting the immigrants from any nation affected by the measure to 10,000. Immigrants from Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, France, Sweden, and Norway would also benefit.

I urge congressional action to remedy the unfair and unintended byproducts of the 1965 act before they take full effect on July 1.

CAMPUS ANARCHY

HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1968

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, with all the adverse publicity about "students" and their activities in universities, I think it should be pointed out that the overwhelming majority of the young people are indeed attending universities for the purpose of furthering their education.

As an example of this, I would like to enclose a column which appeared in the May 16 issue of the Ohio State Lantern, a student publication at Ohio State University, authored by Stephen H. Mayerhofer:

STORMTROOPER TACTICS

(By Stephen H. Mayerhofer)

"Students" have taken over campuses in this country during the past month. They took over the Administration Building here. They have threatened bodily harm to unwilling hostages and have openly declared their intentions to expand their effectiveness through even more disruptive tacics. They appear to be getting stronger and bolder with each incident.

The time and place is obviously 1968 at Ohio State University. But is it? Couldn't this have been written in another country at an earlier time? Are not the tactics and incidents reminiscent of the early 1930's in Germany and Italy? Are they not exactly the same as those used by the Nazi brown shirts and stormtroopers?

The issue on the campuses of America and right here at Ohio State is not student power or Negro rights. The issue is plain and simple: law and order, or increasing anarchy. No matter how legitimate the grievances of the few involved are, there is no excuse and no reason which warrants the tactics used by the radicals. If our modern brown-shirts can forceably detain administrative officials, then they can with equal impunity forceably detain you if they so desire. Perhaps in this regard, it would be best to supplement the investigations of "police brutality" with similar inquiries into "leftist brutality." Of course, we cannot expect the American Assoican of University Professors, the NAACP, or the American Civil Liberties Union to extend their investigations to this area which affects all law-abiding citizens when they have so much to do protecting the criminal.

Those involved in the Administration Building incident reportedly mistreated secretaries and administrtaive personnel alike. They acted in violation of the civil rights of these employees forced to remain in the building as well as those students outside who wanted to enter. In my opinion they are guilty of assault and battery upon employees and newsmen; they are guilty of malicious destruction of public property; they are guilty of breaking at least two fire regulations, and they are probably guilty of breaking half a dozen other laws—city, state, and federal.

One encouraging sign is that the county prosecutor has moved into the case under the theory that it is the duty of the county grand jury to investigate and prosecute violations of state law which have occurred within the county. It is unfortunate that the city and state had not already moved in to investigate. It is comforting to know that someone at least is willing to see that the laws are enforced, even if some University officials would rather look the other way pretendng that nothing has happened.

Another encouraging sign is the petition being circulated on campus sponsored by the "Ad Hoc Majority for Freedom and Order." Apparently some students have gotten tired of lawlessness on the campus and the reluctance of the Administration to face it. The petition states in part: "That the purpose of the University is best served by a free and open expression of all views without threat of force or coercion; that the forceful seizure of the Administration Building by a few radical students constitutes a serious threat to the concept of the University and to the rights and safety of all members of the University community." The petition goes on to urge that any students involved in "forceful acts of coercion" be dismissed from the University and prosecuted under applicable civil laws.

All in all, it sounds like the only solution to protect those who are here primarily for an education and who do not want a small rabble to deprive them of their rights.

We at Ohio State still have an opportunity to keep the campus free from the stormtrooper tactics resurrected by the new left and being used from Berkeley to Columbia. Force and threats have no place in a free society or on a free campus.

ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY POLICY IN COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRIES

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on May 28 and 29 the Federal Bar Association is sponsoring a briefing conference on the role of antitrust and monopoly policy in the communications industry. The association is to be commended for this timely action in a field that increasingly is of the utmost importance to the public interest. Because of the unusual importance of this briefing session, and the interest of my colleagues in it, I insert into the RECORD, pursuant to permission granted, portions of the FBA news release of May 6, 1968, which describes the outstanding program to be taken up at this conference:

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Federal Bar Association will present a two-day briefing conference on the subject of antitrust and monopoly policy in the communications industries, May 28 and 29, 1968, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

In announcing the conference, Washington, D.C., attorney Frederick M. Rowe, chairman of the conference and of the FBA's Council on Antitrust and Trade Regulation, said:

"Our program covers topics of outstanding and immediate importance to all segments of the communications industries and their legal advisers. The program will provide the first public forum for a broad exchange of viewpoints by top policy officials responsible for defining the changing role of competition and monopoly for the communications industries of tomorrow."

Chairman Rowe will open the session the morning of May 28 with a discussion of the theme of the program: "The Changing Role of Competition and Monopoly in Communications."

The topics for the conference, the speakers, and their subtopics are as follows:

THE OVERALL REGULATORY PERSPECTIVE

Moderated by FBA President James McI. Henderson, General Counsel of the Federal Trade Commission, the speakers for this session will be: Donald F. Turner, Assistant Attorney General, Justice's Antitrust Division, on "The Role of Antitrust Policy in the Communications Industries"; Nicholas Johnson, Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission, on "The Role of Regulation and Competition for the Communications Industries of Tomorrow"; and Horace P. Moulton, Vice President and General Counsel of American Telephone and Telegraph, NYC, on "Monopoly and Competition Issues Facing the Communications Industries."

A comment and discussion period will follow, led by a panel of distinguished members of the press: Louis M. Kohlmeier, of the *Wall Street Journal*; Theodore B. Merrill, Jr., of *Business Week*; Eileen Shanahan of the *New York Times*; and Gordon B. Spivack, Professor at Yale University School of Law.

ANTITRUST AND REGULATORY POLICIES FOR MASS MEDIA

The afternoon session on May 28 will be moderated by Alan R. Novak, Executive Director of the President's Task Force on Telecommunications. The speakers and their topics will be: Kenneth A. Cox, Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission, on "Competition in the Broadcast-CATV-Pay TV Industries"; Jerry Cohen, Staff Director and Chief Counsel of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly and the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, on "Distribution Practices in the Broadcast and Newspaper Industries (Network and Syndicate Arrangements, Tying Arrangements, Media Rate Structures)"; and Robert A. Hammond, Director of Policy Planning in the Antitrust Division of Justice, on "Mergers and Diversification in the Newspaper, Broadcasting and Information Industries."

The panel leading the discussion and comment period following the addresses will include: Robert B. Greenbaum, Antitrust & Trade Regulation Report, Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.; Luther A. Huston, Washington, Correspondent, Editor and Publisher; Dawson (Tack) Nail, Managing Editor, *Television Digest;* and Gordon B. Spivack, Professor at Yale University School of Law.

MONOPOLY AND COMPETITION IN INDUSTRIAL AND SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS

This topic will be presented in two parts, the morning and afternoon on May 29. Moderating the morning session will be Donald G. Agger, Assistant Secretary of International Affairs and Special Programs of the Department of Transportation. The panel of speakers for the first session will be: Hon. John D. Dingell, a Member of the House of Representatives' Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, on "The Role of Spectrum Allocation in Shaping Monopoly or Competition in Communications;" Henry Geller, General Counsel of the Federal Communications Commission, on "Competition and Monopoly Policies in Domestic Satellite Communications;" and David C. Acheson, General Counsel of the Communications Satellite Corp., on "Competition and Monopoly Problems in International Communications."

Questions and comments will be led by a panel including Kurt Borchardt, Professor, Harvard Business School; Arthur C. Omberg, Director of the Office of Telecommunications, Department of Commerce; Max D. Paglin, Executive Director of the Federal Communications Commission; and Robert E. Tall, Washington Editor of Industrial Communications.

The afternoon session on May 29 will be moderated by Richard W. McLaren, a Chicago attorney who is the Chairman of the ABA's Section of Antitrust Law. Speaking will be: Lee Loevinger, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, on "Common Carrier Rates, Private Industrial Communications, and Competition;" Lionel Kestenbaum, Chief, Evaluation Section, Antitrust Division, Department of Justice, on "Communications Equipment, Interconnection and Tying Policies;" and Bernard Strassburg, Chief, Common Carrier Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, on "Competition and Monopoly in the Computer and Data Transmission Industries."

Questions and comments will be led by: Kurt Borchardt, Professor, Harvard Business School; Gregg R. Potvin, Counsel, Select Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives; and Richard A. Solomon, General Counsel of the Federal Power Commission.

COMPULSORY SCHOOLING

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Cincinnati Enquirer recently carried an excellent editorial on compulsory education which I will add to the current dialog on how we can improve America's educational process.

The editorial follows:

COMPULSORY SCHOOLING

Common Pleas Judge Otis Hess, in a conference called on ways to curb the rise in crime in Cincinnati, said that the compulsory age for schooling should be raised to 16 and a training program developed to prepare would-be dropouts for gainful employment.

Insisting on every child learning to be a productive citizen fits acceptable standards and would make citizens who are themselves productive feel better, but here are reasons to question whether such a course is workable or desirable.

There is an old saying that you can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink. This applies to education. Leading a child to school doesn't mean that learning can be forced into him.

There must be some who become dropouts at the earliest possible opportunity because they cannot or will not learn. This being so, school to them is boring and humiliating, an experience which makes them rebellious and troublesome.

Forcing such male troublemakers to remain in school may simply be making it more dangerous and more difficult for those who are willing to learn and be making teaching less attractive as a career. What is it doing to a 110-pound female teacher to insist that she force learning upon a 200-pound boy who is hostile and rebellious?

This makes of school on the one hand a place of terror for some children and some teachers, and a place of forced confinement for other children.

But, you ask, isn't it wrong to turn loose on the streets untrained dropouts who will turn to crime or go on welfare?

Of course it is, but isn't it also wrong to allow such troublemakers to disrupt our educational system?

Edward C. Banfield, urban government professor at Harvard university, offers another approach to the same end result which Judge Hess was advocating—keeping youngsters off the streets and teaching them to work.

Professor Banfield's prescription is this:

"Begin compulsory schooling at the earliest possible age but lower the normal school-leaving age to 14. Give children who leave school at the age of 14 the choice between taking a job and being drafted into a military or civilian conservation corps.

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR SOL M. LINOWITZ

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on May 15, the U.S. representative to the Organization of American States, the Honorable Sol M. Linowitz addressed a joint convention of the Massachusetts State Legislature.

I believe Ambassador Linowitz's remarks concerning the nature and future of the Alliance for Progress and the vital importance which continued progress in Latin America has for our own future will be of interest to all of my colleagues in the House.

The Ambassador's address follows:

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR SOL M. LINOWITZ, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, BEFORE A JOINT CONVENTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE LEGISLATURE, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON, MASS., MAY 15, 1968

I am deeply honored to be here today, and to pay my respect to a great State which has done so much to make all Americans proud.

Your prime concern is, of course, the business of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. But I know you also have a concern that extends far beyond the borders of your State, one that encompasses the state of our nation and the state of our world.

For you recognize that the future of all of us is inextricably involved with the wider community of mankind; and that you cannot, with wisdom and circumspection, plan for the future of this State without taking into account the fundamental question of whether the nation is to live in a world at war or at peace.

So I am grateful for your invitation, and pleased to have this opportunity to report about United States policy in Latin America. I do so at a time when the foreign affairs spotlight is focused not on this hemisphere, but on events in Southeast Asia and, of course, the talks relating to them that are now underway in Paris. But it is my *deep conviction* that our stake in Latin America is vital to our future, and that what happens there is directly related to the overriding challenge of our day—the attainment of a lasting peace with justice everywhere.

Today Latin America literally stands at the crossroads. Either it will yield its poverty and underdevelopment to the constructive forces of peaceful revolution and change or they will ignite the violent revolution and chaos that are their inevitable successors. This is the great truism of our hemisphere—a hemisphere in which more people go to bed hungry every night than those properly nourished; in which more people rise to meet a hopeless dawn than those with opportunity, no matter how small.

There was a period not too long ago when Latin American policy was a makeshift affair, when our chief foreign policy interests focused on virtually every area of the world except the one closest to us geographically, historically and traditionally. Today, in facing up to harsh reality, our policy is no longer a stop-gap action, a hurried response to an explosive situation, but a policy that has taken its place among this nation's most vital commitments. For we know that by helping Latin America to modernize and become economically stable and viable, we help ourselves and the entire cause of freedom and democracy. Latin America is our testing ground not for tomorrow but today, and it is my conviction that we are now in the right place, at the right time, and with the right program.

But precisely what is our policy in Latin America? I can think of no better answer to that question than to read to you the Charter of the Organization of American States. Its goals, its hopes for the present, its aspirations for the future express fully all we strive for today in the Americas—a hemisphere in which all people respect their neighbors and share in the blessing of plenty that is the heritage of the New World.

Obviously the OAS will not, in and of itself, guarantee such a future for the hemisphere. But it does point the way. And because it does, the United States' commitment to it is deep and irrevocable. It is a commitment consistent with our over-all international aim, one that bespeaks our belief in peaceful cooperation and change among all men and nations, no matter what their hemisphere.

The OAS is the instrument of this international aim in the Western Hemisphere; and as such, our membership in it well serves our national interest regionally even as our membership in the United Nations serves our national interest universally.

In a few days—on May 18th—a distinguished international statesman and civil servant, Dr. Galo Plaza Lasso, a former President of Ecuador, will be sworn in as the new Secretary General of the OAS. He brings to one of the most important posts in all international oganization a staunchly independent spirit and belief in the future of the Americas.

He takes office at a time when the OAS stands on the threshold of its greatest opportunity to serve the Americas. For only recently the President, with the consent of the Senate, signed the United States ratification of several amendments that streamline and strengthen the OAS Charter, thereby giving the OAS great new impetus for the tasks and challenges ahead.

The work of the OAS does not stop with the defense of the Americas and the efforts to strengthen the peace. It is work that also advances the economic and social well-being of its members—work that runs the gamut from industrial planning to farming, from education to public health, from child welfare to Indian affairs, from culture to human rights, from science and technology to jurisprudence.

Twenty-two members of the OAS are today cooperating to build a better hemisphere. One country is not. We cannot ignore that one country; its threat is too real. But neither can we permit it to divert us from the basic job at hand—the work of peace and social justice that will be remembered long after Castro has been forgotten.

Even Castro must realize by now that extremism is not the way of the future for the rest of the hemisphere. So it would be a grave mistake for us to focus on the Cuban problem to the exclusion of all others in Latin America—or to equate the main challenge of Latin America with that of stopping Castro. Our main job in Latin America is to stop poverty, to stop inequality, to stop hunger, to stop disease, to stop illiteracy—to stop all conditions that create a climate of despair in which a Castro or a Batista can flourish.

Our main job in Latin America—indeed, our policy in Latin America—is a constructive one, a job of building, a job of hope, one that does not believe in the force of arms but in the force of mutual cooperation. The Alliance for Progress gives voice and form to that policy. It is not aimed against any people or regime, but it reaches out to all the people of the Americas. It seeks not to dominate, but to share; and the willingness to share is its only qualification.

And we hope the Cuban people will someday share in it too. The progress of the hemisphere is a vast program in which every nation has its own part to play, the Cuban nation along with all the others. For it is progress that will meet the just yearnings of the great mass of people in Latin America.

It is in these yearnings for economic and social justice that the Alliance for Progress has its roots; and in the final analysis our policy in Latin America will be judged by how closely and successfully we identify ourselves with them. These are the yearnings of democracy—of a people yearning to live in freedom and in dignity—yearnings so well understood by President Kennedy when he launched the Alliance for Progress in 1961 as a bold new effort to confront history with reaffirmations and not despairs.

As both President Kennedy and President Johnson have made clear, we do not want Latin America to become a carbon copy of the United States. The fact remains, however, that there is a distinct parallel to some of the problems facing both of us—problems we can see clearly enough here in America merely by looking at our cities. The problems faced by Boston, New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles differ perhaps in degree only from those confronting the large cities of Latin America in housing, public services, educational facilities—to mention a few of the more obvious. And many of our associated crises depend for their solutions upon what we can learn from each other.

The United States, for example, has reached a high level of industrialization, and there is much we have learned over the years in this area that will be of value to the countries of Latin America in their effort to build a firm and diversified industrial base. At the same time, we in the United States can learn much about race relations from our neighbors in Latin America. What I am saying, in short, is that the welfare of this continent is a continental problem in which we all have equal responsibilities and none a claim to superiority.

But the cry of John Donne, "Send not to ask for whom the bell tolls," echoes even deeper into our consciousness when we see in our own cities those desperate citizens who have bypassed the democratic process as they seek other avenues to bring their plight to public attention and action.

The great lesson for us all is that time is not on our side—that desperate acts demand a firm response in upholding the law, but they demand equally firm measures to correct the causitive ills. For if we want to see democracy fulfill its destiny, then we have a responsibility to see to it that conditions are created that will allow it to flower.

Viewed in this framework, the struggle of our neighbors in Latin America to bring about social justice and create viable democratic regimes sensitive to the needs of the people is readily understandable. Even as all too many of our citizens live outside the mainstream of our society, masses of Latin American people are really not part of their nations' lives, and, therefore, they play no part in the democratic process.

In assessing the progress made by the Alliance, we must, therefore, understand that the average citizen—the man who will ultimately decide the future of the Alliance and of the continent—will not become an ardent supporter of democracy because of any statistics of monthly car loadings or rising figures on a graph. What he wants to see is improvement in his life and in his neighborhood.

The great question, of course, is whether he is seeing this improvement.

It is certainly true that Latin America is not yet reaching the Alliance goal of a 2.5

percent increase in per capita gross national product each year. The available data indicates the figure was 1.8 percent for last year.

The real point, however, is that gross national product statistics in themselves are a poor measure of development. Figures in this area are mere abstractions which do not reflect whether the mass of people is better or worse off than before. In the United States, for example, our per capita gross national product increase last year was 1.3 percent.

What *is* the measure of such improvement in Latin America? To me it is the extent to which Latin American nations are helping themselves in creating a viable climate for development. Take government revenues. Since the start of the Alliance, nearly every government of Latin America has reformed and strengthened its tax structure. With only three exceptions, government income is substantially above pre-Punta del Este levels. In some cases, the increases are above the increases in gross national product.

Furthermore, investments in social services, the human sector, of course, do not produce the spectacular results infrastructure investments do. Nor are they reflected in present gross national product growth figures. But they are the surest guarantee of continued development in the years to come. And they do reinforce the deeply significant fact that the development of Latin America is greater than its growth.

There is another measure I should mention—the participation by the countries of Latin America themselves. In the past seven years the gross investment in Alliance programs has totalled $115 billion. Of this amount, 88 percent has been invested by the Latin Americans, while the United States' share has come to 6.7 percent—with the rest coming from other sources.

The self-help feature of the Alliance is stronger than any program of assistance anywhere in the world; and it is designed to bring about sweeping changes in the basic institutions of Latin society.

There is no question that the Alliance has a long way to go before it accomplishes its goals. Potential for violent revolution still exists in the sordid slums in Latin America, in the backward villages where the heritage of centuries of neglect remains greater than the effort to overcome it. It is this effort that the Alliance must now inspire with increasing urgency.

It is an effort that demands searching social and economic changes—changes that may create temporary dislocations. We must learn not only to live with this kind of change—peaceful change—but to encourage it to its fullest expression. Only as its tempo increases will the potential for violence decrease.

The future of the Alliance will depend not on the politicians or government officials from North or South America. It will depend on the little man, particularly the young man and the young woman. Three-fifths of the people of Latin America are under 24 years of age, and their numbers keep growing. They are intensely proud of their countries and they do not need to be told how important it is for them to build democratic societies that insure their people the greatest degree of freedom, individual dignity and opportunity. They are determined to do so—with or without us—for these are the people who are searching to express themselves in a revolution for social justice. The Alliance must take root in their hearts and in their minds. It must become their personal revolution. It must become the Alliance of the People. Then, and only then, will it succeed. We owe it to the future to help them achieve this goal.

All in all, I believe that the progress made this past year by the Republics of the American Hemisphere since President Johnson's meeting with the other American Presidents at Punta del Este bodes well for the future. We know more about each other and understand each other's inter-continental problems far better than we ever did before—a knowledge and an understanding we gained by working together to advance the Alliance and to find common solutions to our common problems.

The Western Hemisphere is now in the midst of an exciting and far-reaching experiment in the effective application of multilateral diplomacy. A Common Market . . . road and harbor and telecommunications projects . . . regional programs in education, science and technology . . . a Latin American educational television network . . . new approaches to old population problems . . . pioneering agricultural programs . . . all these and more are now the manifestation of multilateralism in hemisphere affairs—a development that is certainly one of the most promising in the whole area of internationalism since the establishment of the United Nations. It can chart the way to the future.

The Charter of the Alliance for Progress states that it is established "on the basic principle that free men working through the institution of representative democracy can best satisfy man's aspirations." It is not going too far to say that the future of the Alliance will, to a large extent, therefore, depend on the capacity of progressive democratic governments and their leaders to realize the full potential of this development in multilateral cooperation.

The road ahead remains difficult. How successfully we negotiate it will depend entirely upon the ability of all the Americans—North and South—to overlook the petty grievances and keep our eyes focused on the goal that must be our mutual hope—a hemisphere in which economic and political freedom is not a promise of the future but a reality of the present.

President Kennedy was reported as having said that the struggle for democracy and freedom "is going to be won or lost right here in Latin America."

What he meant, I think, is that if we cannot, through the Alliance for Progress, win the battle for men's hearts and minds in the countries of this hemisphere where we share common ties of history, geography and tradition, then it is unlikely that democracy can fare better in other parts of the world.

But all indications are that we can win, and that we will win. If we reject the recipes offered by the cynics and do-nothings—and the know-nothings—if our actions are guided by our faith in democracy and in the power of international cooperation—then I am confident that we can move forward toward a brighter tomorrow in a hemisphere and in a world free from war and free from want.

TIME TO THINK

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, a recent edition of the Wynne Progress, Wynne, Ark., carried a most perceptive and provocative editorial, "Time to Think."

The philosophy enunciated by this fine newspaper is valid and sound. The editorial follows:

Time To Think

If one will take the time to examine news reports of riots and disorders, it becomes apparent that much of the violence is committed by persons who will seize any excuse for vandalism, looting and other disorder. Only rarely is it the result of over-zealous emotion in legitimate protest.

The persons who loot stores are thieves, who would take any opportunity to steal if it were not for the likelihood of being punished. (They do not loot to protest injustice; they loot to obtain merchandise illegally.)

Many of the instances of vandalism are done by people who get a perverted joy out of destroying things. It is rarely done to protest injustice; it is done for the sheer joy of tearing up something.

In other words, most of the damage and disorder is not racial, not political, not social protest—it is simply an outpouring of criminality. It cannot be wholly blamed on the Negro race, and no blanket indictment should be made or accepted.

We should view vandals and rioters for what they are—criminals. They are merely jackals of society who infest the movement by both races to purge injustice from our land. We should not let them halt the slow but steady progress which has been made by such arduous effort.

A FEDERAL MARITIME POLICY

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the Record the text of a statement I submitted today to the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee in connection with its hearings on the bill H.R. 13940 and the current discussion regarding a Federal maritime policy. The following is my statement:

Statement by Congressman William L. St. Onge, of Connecticut, Before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, May 27, 1968

Mr. Chairman, I am appalled by the Administration's proposals for a new Federal Maritime policy as stated on May 20 before the Senate Commerce Committee by Mr. Alan S. Boyd, the Secretary of Transportation. I believe that if the suggested programs were carried out they would not only seriously harm the national economy, but would for all practical purposes eliminate the United States Merchant Marine as a viable entity, and reduce whatever was left of it to a mere auxiliary of the military services.

While the Secretary talks in terms general goals such as "a new maritime program and expanded research", aims which we all share, his methods are calculated to demote our indigenous ocean cargo-carrying industry to a skeleton. In addition, Mr. Boyd appears to have far too little faith in the ability of our technological ingenuity and native competitive skills to create a maritime enterprise capable of rivaling any in the world.

The plan in the form as envisaged by Mr. Boyd, which includes the reduction or elimination of subsidies and permits ship operators to purchase vessels abroad, would not help but cripple an industry which generates $1.5 billion of Gross National Product, and directly and indirectly employs some 200,000 persons. It is well to note that significant contributions to the economy also stem from tax payments, both Federal and State, by the merchant marine industry. For 1961, the total direct taxes paid amounted to $63.6 million going to the Federal Government. The subsidized shipping companies reportedly pay about 26 percent of earnings as taxes.

The latest figures (1962) indicate the importance of our merchant marine which earned $924 million in balance-of-payments income. The 300 vessels of the subsidized fleet—about one-third of the total—contributed $526 million to the payments account in that year. This support would be considerably greater if a larger percentage of the U.S. foreign trade were carried in U.S. flag vessels. A survey of worldwide operations of the flag lines showed that when U.S. cargo is routed to foreign-flag vessels, about 73 cents of every freight dollar goes outside the United States, and when routed to U.S. flags about 77 cents of every freight dollar is retained in the U.S. economy.

I am opposed to suggestions that the Maritime Administration be transferred to the Department of Transportation. The legislative intent of Congress in passing the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 was to create an American-built, American-owned, and American-manned merchant fleet adequate to transport a major percentage of our foreign trade and to be readily available for military needs in time of war. To administer this program, Congress established an independent and autonomous U.S. Maritime Commission. During its existence the Commission made very significant achievements, and the vessel built under its authority still provide the backbone of the U.S. Flag fleet.

Without independent authority the Maritime Administration has been forced to compete with the other programs administered by the Department of Commerce. National policy needs have had to be sublimated to budgetary considerations in determining maritime policies. The result has been a continuous decline in the state of our merchant marine to a point where today our economy, and to a considerable extent also our national security, are adversely affected.

I was extremely disappointed that Secretary Boyd specifically avoided any reference to a nuclear shipbuilding program, for I believe that this is an area in which the United States has a clear technological lead and holds the key to the creation of an economically competitive merchant marine. Private industry with minimum federal assistance has a present ability to construct a nuclear transport system which would attract commerce and place the United States in its rightful position as a leading maritime power.

In recognition of the great potential of nuclear cargo vessels, I introduced late last year a bill authorizing the Maritime Administrator to undertake studies culminating in contract plans and specifications with respect to the establishment of an integrated total marine transport system. This integrated transportation plan would be built around high-speed nuclear-powered cargo vessels designed exclusively to carry containers. Such a system would require the development of land facilities for the gathering of containers and cargo to put into them, special machinery to lead the containers onto ships, and related equipment. It represents a whole new approach to the preparation and shipping of goods on the high seas, and it is one of the purposes of my bill to study in depth the most efficient way this may be done.

When publicized and adopted, this system could generate cargo from manufacturers who are not presently engaged in export for various reasons and lure much of the cargo that is costly or urgently needed away from the slower foreign carriers. The system will demand the opening-up and exploitation of added opportunities for motor carriers, railroads, and the barges operating on the inland waterways in both the United States and its trading partners.

From a theoretical and factual evidence, end-to-end integration of all elements of a marine transport system would seem to provide the maximum profit environment. When marine shipping is integrated into an overall freight system and offers a high speed, premium service to complement other modes of transportation, it will be able to compete with foreign shippers for its own share of expanding world trade.

I believe that the systems analytical approach combined with the application of nuclear-powered vessels, containerization, specially-designed cargo consolidation and port facilities, and the other advanced developments of our technology offer a unique opportunity for the United States to compete successfully with the merchant navies of the world. Hopefully, once in operation, such a system will prove efficient and productive to the point where it will be able to pay back to the U.S. Treasury the initial planning and construction costs.

Mr. Chairman, in these times when the war in Vietnam has demonstrated so graphically the folly of allowing our merchant marine to deteriorate, and when the Soviet Union is embarking on an enormously expanded merchant shipbuilding program, we cannot afford to be penny-wise and pound foolish. We must marshal all of our vast managerial and scientific skills under a farsighted maritime program designed to best serve the public interest, both by maintaining our military strength and the sound economic health of the nation. I therefore strongly support H.R. 13940, urge consideration of my integrated nuclear transport system bill, and reject the Administration proposal as unworkable and unacceptable.

DO WE HAVE AN ATTORNEY GENERAL?

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, for the past several weeks I have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD various articles relative to the actions and policies of our Attorney General asking the question whether we actually do have an Attorney General. Apparently the same question has bothered other people in the Washington, D.C., area as evidenced by the following letter from a Mrs. Pearl W. Norman, addressed to me and enclosing a copy of a letter written to the Attorney General by Mr. Burton M. Langhenry, president of the Oldest Inhabitants Association which I commend to all Members of this body, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.
May 25, 1968.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TEAGUE: The enclosed letter to the Attorney General by the President of the oldest inhabitants of the District of Columbia Mr. B. M. Laughenry is an excellent letter. I have known Mr. Laughenry for the past 15 yrs. He is vice Pres and Public Relations for the Acacia Life Insurance Co., Louisiana Ave. and a dedicated patriotic American citizen. It should be in the Congressional Record so all the Congressmen and Senators could read it.

We are certainly in a critical crisis and most any thing could happen in our Capital City. I've been here 30 yrs. the 16th of Feb. and am fearful to even walk on the street in daytime.

Thanking you, I am,
Respectively,
PEARL W. NORMAN.

MAY 13, 1968.

Attorney General RAMSEY CLARK,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CLARK: This letter, written on behalf of the membership of the Association of the Oldest Inhabitants of the District of Columbia, and at their direction, expresses our organization's concern about the ineffective leadership which you gave during what has been aptly described as the sacking of Washington, D.C. following the regrettable murder of Doctor Martin Luther King, Jr.

When riots occur and there is a general breakdown of law and order, most people would agree, we believe, that the restoration of normal conditions as rapidly as possible is, and should be, of paramount importance. Seemingly, you feel otherwise. We say this because of the time which was allowed to elapse between the beginning of the rioting and the calling in of the military. We say this also because of your public statement that it is better to suffer the loss of property running into millions of dollars than to take the life of a looter or arsonist. May we respectfully ask you Mr. Clark if you would have taken the same position had the mobs tried to burn and loot the White House?

The "restraint" which you imposed on both the law enforcement officers and the military in their efforts to restore order, in our opinion, encouraged additional looting and arson. We also believe, although admittedly we have no way of proving it, that your life-before-property doctrine had the effect of an open invitation to looting and burning and encouraged the riots which followed in Baltimore, Maryland and other cities across the land. Here in Washington, when the law breakers were allowed to pursue their acts practically without hindrance they became bold enough to transfer their activities from the so-called ghetto areas to downtown Washington. This might never have happened, if instead of adopting a position of weakness and of permissiveness, you had moved to uphold the law by whatever means were necessary under the circumstances.

Publicly you have stated your belief that the police did a good job and we agree that they did considering that their hands were tied and that they were hopelessly outnumbered. We can't help but wonder, however, what might have happened if the first looter or first arsonist had been stopped—by force if necessary—and the word had gotten around that both the police and the military had orders to shoot, if necessary, to maintain law and order. It's possible that some might have died that got off scot free but isn't it equally possible that the overall number of deaths across the land might well have been even less than they were? Certainly, in those cities where civic leaders publicly stated that they had given orders to "shoot to kill" if necessary, the situation never got out of hand as it did in Washington. Jersey City and Miami are two good examples of how a policy of firmness brought about good results. In the good old days—which we well remember since our members must be at least fifty years of age and some are over 90 years of age—looters and arsonists were "shot on sight" in times of emergencies. But then, Mr. Clark, perhaps this was not an emergency in your eyes.

A person who "gets away" with something is more likely than not to try to do so again and because of this we feel that there will be further looting and burning whenever an "excuse" for the same can be manufactured.

You were placed in office to enforce the law not to circumvent it. When conditions of lawlessness require that stern measures be taken to correct them, we believe it is your duty to take whatever steps are required to make the area safe for the law-abiding citizen, and for the protection of his property.

Or is social work more important to you than law enforcement work? If so, then, in our opinion, you should seek some position other than the one you presently occupy.

We want adequate protection, not restraint. We want to sleep well at night without fear of uncontrolled rioting. We want to be assured that you are willing to take the same precautions to protect our homes and businesses that we are confident you took when the rioting broke out in the near vicinity of the White House. Or can you say to us, as you were reported to have said about the property damage which the Nation's Capital suffered, that you would rather have seen Mr. Johnson's residence burned and looted than have one looter or arsonist lose his life? If this is your position, we want you to know that our Association feels that the security of the Nation's Capital is in the hands of the wrong Attorney General.

Sincerely,

——— ———,
President.

WE MUST MEET THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN WITH COURTESY AND DIGNITY

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, as we are all aware there are more than 2,000 people living in West Potomac Park in Resurrection City. Today they are living—as they have for the past several days—in deep mud and continuous cold rain.

I believe that we here in the Congress at least receive them with courtesy and with dignity when they come to petition us. This is their Government also; this is their House of Representatives also. We represent them also.

One of the leaders of the Pittsburgh Area Religion and Race Council, the Reverend Donald W. McIlvane, has written to me concerning the attitude we should take and I think it is important that we hear what he has to say. I commend his letter to the attention of our colleagues and urge that we all "respect the dignity of the poor."

Reverend McIlvane's letter follows:

PITTSBURGH AREA RELIGION AND
RACE COUNCIL,
Pittsburgh, Pa., May 27, 1968.

Congressman WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MOORHEAD: We write to express confidence that you will receive representatives of the Poor People's Campaign with the same courtesy shown every American coming to visit the highest legislative body of our nation. We know that on your past record you will urge such an attitude also on the part of your fellow congressmen.

Unfortunately, the news media have given much attention to the vindictive statements of a few congressman. We believe it is time for men like yourself to join publicly that other group of congressmen who have shown a willingness to respect the dignity of the poor. It would be a tragedy of the highest order, and an ominous portent for democracy, if Congress were not to receive the members of this campaign with respect.

Sincerely,

Rev. DONALD W. MCILVANE,
Convener.

BY THE FRUITS OF HIS LABORS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, it has sometimes been said that ambassadors became superfluous with the advent of the airplane and telephone. The high-speed jet and cable and satellite communications indeed ended the splendid isolation in which embassies formerly operated, but in a world in which international opinion plays such an important role, the importance of our diplomatic service remains undiminished.

There is no better example of the contribution the modern diplomat can make, than the friendly relations which the United States and Ghana now enjoy, a relationship which owes much to the present U.S. Ambassador in Ghana.

There is no better proof of the success and accomplishments of the U.S. Ambassador to Ghana, than the tributes which have been paid to him in the West African nation.

A recent editorial in the Ghana Daily Graphic made this comment on the announcement of the retirement of U.S. Ambassador Franklin Williams after 2 years' service in Accra:

> As an Afro-American, his appointment as the Ambassador to this country at a time when there was indication of a strong "Government instigated" dislike for the Government of the United States here, must have constituted a serious challenge to him as a person.
>
> We would like to make him aware of our opinion that it is to the credit of his person that he has managed to survive and in fact help to project a more favorable impression of the United States, particularly during the difficult period before the February coup.

Both America and Ghana owe a deep debt of gratitude to Ambassador Franklin Williams for furthering the understanding between our two countries.

A dedicated public servant and distinguished diplomat, he leaves Accra to take up equally important work as the director of the Center for Urban and Minorities Affairs at Columbia University.

I would like at this point to insert in the RECORD the full editorial from the Ghana Daily Graphic:

BY THE FRUITS OF HIS LABORS

Perhaps one day Mr. Franklin Williams, the retiring Ambassador of the U.S.A. here will write a book on what life has taught him. If he does we expect that his stay in this country will constitute and important part of his memoirs.

This is because as an Afro-American, his appointment as the Ambassador to this country at a time when there was indication of a strong "Government instigated" dislike for the Government of the United States here, must have constituted a serious challenge to him as a person.

He was faced with the task of rectifying the prevailing unfavourable atmosphere here regarding the policies of the Government of the U.S.A., which had either rightly or wrongly been decried by our old regime.

He had to justify his presence in the land of his forefathers in face of mounting pressure in the United States by Afro-Americans for equal citizenship in the land that claims to be "the land of the free."

We do not know what makes him decide to leave the diplomatic service of U.S. at the time he does, but we would like to make him aware of our opinion that it is to the credit of his person that he has managed to survive and in fact help to project a more favourable impression of the United States, particularly during the difficult period before the February coup.

We do not know what the leaders of the militant Afro-American Civil Rights Movements think of their brothers who take up such important American Government posts; but this we can say of the calibre of Mr. Franklin Williams, as far as we are concerned: his character and ability to hold such a high office has convinced us that the repression, suppression and segregation of Afro-Americans in the United States is a deliberate act of racial discrimination.

Few of us here ever have the opportunity to meet Afro-Americans of his rank, and his posting here which perhaps must have been motivated by other considerations has confirmed our belief and conviction that given equal opportunities every human being is capable of representing and promoting the highest ideals.

We think Mr. Williams apart from perhaps having done good work for the United States Government, has by his presence here done a lot to raise the prestige of the Afro-American struggle for equality.

It is therefore gratifying to learn that his new occupation will be one directly connected with the movement.

We wish him and our brothers in the United States all the best; and we assure them that we are solidly behind them.

"THE AMERICAN'S CREED"

HON. DELBERT L. LATTA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I have always been of the opinion that we cannot stress patriotism and love of country too much or too often. In view of the dissent in the world today, I believe it is most important that we make an extra effort to do so at this time. As a part of my effort toward this end, I am sending the following letter to the graduating high school seniors in my district, together with a copy of "The American's Creed" by William Tyler Page. The letter and the Creed follow:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 1, 1968.

Mr. DAVID ADAMS,
Antwerp, Ohio.

DEAR DAVID: I want to join your many friends in extending congratulations to you upon your graduation from High School. Your diploma represents the attainment of but one of the treasured goals which I know life holds in store for you. I wish you the same success and happiness in reaching these goals that you have enjoyed in achieving this one.

America has always been a land filled and overflowing with opportunities. You are particularly fortunate to be graduating from High School at a time in her history when opportunities abound in all fields. I hasten to emphasize, however, these opportunities will not seek you out but that you must personally pursue them with diligence and conviction. As an enterprising young American, I am confident you will be doing this and that you will make the most of every one of them.

In order that future Americans will inherit the same freedom and opportunities which you enjoy, I cannot urge you too strongly to be forever active in your church, community, and government.

Knowing that you believe in the principles embodied in William Tyler Page's "The American's Creed," I want to take the occasion of your graduation to present a copy to you.

Sincerely yours,

DELBERT L. LATTA,
Representative to Congress.

"THE AMERICAN'S CREED

"(By William Tyler Page)

"I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a Republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my Country to love it; to support its constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies."

Presented to David Adams with congratulations upon graduation from High School.

DELBERT LATTA,
Member of Congress, Fifth District of Ohio.

WE ALL LOSE

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, an editorial "We All Lose" from the Times Dispatch, Walnut Ridge, Ark., is worthy of being brought to the attention of the House of Representatives.

The Times Dispatch is owned and published by James Bland, Sr., and James Bland, Jr. The theme of this editorial is the effect of the well-being of the Nation should there be a breakdown in the enforcement of laws.

I agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Bland in this splendid editorial that we "must remain law abiding." The editorial emphasizes the excessive costs of welfare, poverty, and job training programs, which together with the costly outlay in the Vietnam war has been the forerunner of "a dollar declining swiftly in value and international dollar troubles." The article is as follows:

WE ALL LOSE

The concluding paragraph of an article on Rev. Martin Luther King in the April issue of Reader's Digest states:

"By publicly condoning the tactics of disruption, the Nobel Prize-winning King has given them a legitimacy and a respectability they do not deserve. If he continues such policies, not only he—but all of us—will be losers."

The United States has been in a civil crisis for two or three years. Rev. King's death caused a shock felt around the world, but the situation was already perilous before his death last Thursday.

The nation's situation is grave—perhaps more so that in any of the recent wars. The Times Dispatch believes we are nearer destruction as a nation than at any time since the Civil War.

We are sympathetic towards Rev. King's wife and little children and for the relatives of those killed and injured in the riots which followed his assassination and for those who sustained such immense property damage.

But the most shocking development in the death of Rev. King was the alacrity with which our political leaders and the national news media sought to martyr Rev. King and to create a situation of national mourning.

It has been said, again and again, that Rev. King was the leader of the non-violent movement and that now the civil rights movement will be turned over to those who want to kill and burn.

Actually, Rev. King's tactics worried some Negro moderates and some of the top NAACP officials. He was really the leader of the non-violent civil disobedience movement.

The United States has historically sought to settle its great issues through peaceful and lawful debate. Yet, the Reader's Digest states, "Dr. King eloquently defends the 'validity and justifiability' of non-violent civil disobedience, insisting that citizens have a moral obligation to violate unjust laws."

No nation in the world, except those under a dictator, has the capability to move as swiftly towards desegregation and civil reform as the United States has done since the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

In spite of a costly war in Vietnam, a dollar declining swiftly in value and international dollar troubles, the taxpayers of the United States are already paying out some $25 billion a year for welfare, poverty and job training programs.

We must remain law-abiding. The acts of destruction and killing under the guise of the civil rights movement must be stopped by force. If more and more civil rights concessions are made while the nation's cities are under attack, it will only encourage more and more destruction.

If President Johnson and his administration use Martin Luther King's death and the resulting riots as a basis for speedier enactment of civil rights programs, it would be one of the most irresponsible acts in our history.

Seventy or 80 years ago, the United States was the golden land of opportunity, beckoning millions of immigrants. It is still the land of promise and plenty. Our living standards, at any level, are so much better than other countries that they are incomparable.

Yet, the overall situation today is such that it is not beyond reason to visualize a time when the law enforcement agencies could lose complete control; and the orderly supply of goods and services could come to a complete halt.

TO POLISH STUDENTS: OUR BEST WISHES

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune recently ran an editorial which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues here in the House.

The editorial follows:

TO POLISH STUDENTS: OUR BEST WISHES

Rep. Roman Pucinski said it, addressing the House of Representatives in comment on the Polish students' demonstrations in protest to censorship: "We hear that young Americans are looking for a cause. Here is an ideal purpose . . . an inspiring cause. . . . Let the communist regime in Warsaw hear . . . that the young people of this country hold high in value the efforts of their counterparts in Poland in standing up to the bitter restrictions against freedom and democracy imposed on the people of Poland."

Pucinski suggests that "every college campus" send best wishes to Polish collegians struggling to break thru shackles on free expression. Tribune Tower is no academic grove, but here are our best wishes for the success of the Polish students' efforts and an indorsement of Pucinski's suggestion.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT: WHY DO SOUTH VIETNAMESE JOIN?

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the International Voluntary Service in Vietnam has been able genuinely to help the people of South Vietnam. Although it has received some AID funds, IVS has been seen by the Vietnamese people as a non-U.S. governmental function and not related to the devastation that the war has wrought. As a result, many of the IVS volunteers have been the Americans closest to the Vietnamese people.

Donald Luce, former director of the International Voluntary Service in Vietnam speaks fluent Vietnamese, having spent 9 years in Vietnam. Last fall, convinced that no meaningful assistance could be carried on because of the American policy of escalation, he resigned.

Mr. Luce has written a cogent article for War/Peace Report, April, 1968, on a subject which the administration is reluctant to face: "The National Liberation Front: Why Do South Vietnamese Join."

I commend this article to my colleagues:

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT: WHY DO SOUTH VIETNAMESE JOIN?

(A veteran of many years' service in Vietnam—and a former supporter of the war—concludes that the N.L.F. builds its strength by putting nationalism and social reform ahead of purely military objectives.)

(By Don Luce[1])

Foe invades U.S. Saigon Embassy: Viet Cong widen attack on cities. These headlines emblazoned American newspapers last January 31, hardly more than a month after Americans had been assured by General Westmoreland and Ambassador Bunker that the end of the war was in sight.

It is a strange war for Americans. No one is clear on what the U.S. objective is. American soldiers often do not understand who the enemy is. Most people are confused about the difference between the Viet Cong and the National Liberation Front (there is none). Viet Cong, which literally means Vietnamese Communist, is a term that was used by the late President Ngo Dinh Diem to discredit his enemies. Its use was designed to enlist American support in getting rid of people who disagreed with Diem, many of them strong anti-communist nationalists.

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[1] Don Luce has spent nine years in Vietnam and speaks fluent Vietnamese. Last fall, in protest against the Vietnam War, he resigned his post as director of International Voluntary Services, a private group partly financed by the U.S. aid program. He is now a research associate at the Center for International Studies at Cornell University.

To the members of the National Liberation Front (N.L.F.), however, the term is insulting and inaccurate. They consider themselves the *Mat Tran Giai Phong*, or National Liberation Front.

Discussions with N.L.F. prisoners, returnees, young Vietnamese thinking of joining the N.L.F., and Vietnamese in general have led me to believe that the N.L.F. has won support from the South Vietnamese people in part because it has successfully appealed to their feelings of nationalism and in part because all the Saigon regimes have failed to offer needed social reforms. This support may mean joining the N.L.F. army; it may mean guiding an N.L.F. unit into Saigon or Hue to make a surprise attack; it may mean carrying supplies, or it may simply mean not reporting the activities of the N.L.F. to the government. This article deals with why some South Vietnamese, and it has become a very significant number, support the N.L.F.

Force or Fear: Some soldiers are recruited as they are for any other army. They don't go through the various classifications of 1–A, 2–S or 4–F. They're told to go and they do; it's that simple. Behind this lies the fear of being shot, or that someone in the immediate family will be shot. Family ties are close in Vietnam, and a young man may join because of the pressure of his family. However, force does not provide the kind of loyalty the N.L.F. needs. A coerced soldier is more apt to desert, taking both information and a gun with him.

Wanting to be on the winning side (or fear of being on the losing side) is a powerful force in Vietnam. The N.L.F. has gone to great lengths to prove that it will win. This is probably one of the main motivations of its attack on the U.S. Embassy. It may also explain the attack on Dak Son, the mountaineer hamlet that was overrun by the N.L.F. By proving that the government could not save a refugee hamlet that it had promised to protect, the N.L.F. makes it more difficult for a hamlet to cast its lot with the government.

The glamor of being with the winners is probably most appealing to the young. They like to think of themselves as part of a victorious army marching into Saigon. To me this is a much better explanation for the number of young people in the N.L.F. than that "the Viet Cong are desperate."

However, the use of force and fear as recruiting devices cannot explain either the size or the dedication of the N.L.F.

An Unresponsive Government: The failure of one South Vietnamese government after another to be responsive to its people has been the biggest single factor behind the growth of the N.L.F. In 1958 at the government agricultural experiment station in Ban Me Thuot where I worked, the workers, who were getting 50 cents a day, often went four months without getting paid. The mountaineer workers complained because they received 10 per cent less in wages than the Vietnamese for doing the same things. Nine years later in Saigon a taxi driver told me about the water system the U.S. had helped the Vietnamese government install: "The problem with your water system is that the pipes all go to the cement houses and I live in a thatched house."

One of the most frequent complaints heard during the last few years involves the corruption in the government. I am familiar with one district where the district chief bought his job for about $8,000. In order to get this investment back, he taxed the local bars and brothels (someone should, but the money should go into public coffers, not some official's pocket), he sold American surplus commodities that had been given to him for free distribution to the refugees, and he sold security passes to refugees who needed them to get jobs on the American air base, the best job opportunity for the refugees. The sister of a good Vietnamese friend of mine was told by a Vietnamese employee in the U.S. Embassy personnel office that she would have to pay a "fee of 50 dollars" for the processing of her papers so that she could get a job quicker. Farmers, refugees, teachers, taxi drivers and students see government workers getting rich by openly selling cement out of government warehouses and contractors becoming wealthy by building poorly constructed schoolhouses. These people become disillusioned and unwilling to support the government actively; often they become willing to support the N.L.F. at least tacitly.

The N.L.F. has made the failures of the government more vivid, both through its anti-government propaganda and through an appealing program of its own. Refugees have told me that in the N.L.F.-controlled areas, N.L.F. soldiers often help poor widows harvest their crops (something I have never seen government troops do). If an N.L.F. soldier takes a chicken, he leaves the farmer a receipt which is supposed to be redeemable after the war. (Not only does this method contrast with the notorious practice by government troops of stealing chickens, but it also gives the farmer a stake in wanting to see the war over, in favor of the N.L.F.)

One significant difference between the South Vietnamese government and the N.L.F. is that the government has subordinated its civilian program to the military, while the N.L.F. has done the opposite. For example, in May of 1967 the American public was told that Ambassador Robert Komer was the equivalent of a three-star general and that he and the economic aid program in the provinces had been put under General Westmoreland. Working on the economic aid program in Vietnam at the time, I found a change in emphasis from trying to get farmers to grow more rice to trying to keep rice from the Viet Cong. To agriculturalists concerned with fertilizer and improved seed distribution, this had strong negative implications.

While the government thus subordinates its civilian to its military objectives, N.L.F. leaders put much more emphasis on political considerations. This does not mean that the N.L.F. has a benign army—it does not. It does mean that the N.L.F. can better justify to the Vietnamese population the things it does. The U.S. Army, in terms of political considerations, must answer to the American public rather than to the Vietnamese, and therefore must lose as few American lives as possible. This has resulted in the widespread use of bombs and artillery and consequently high Vietnamese civilian casualties.

The Americanization of the War: The Vietnamese have fought "the foreign invaders" for centuries. It is easy for them to equate Americans with the French colonialists or the Chinese warlords. Young Vietnamese who would not join the N.L.F. because they did not want to fight their brothers find it easier and easier to join as the U.S. sends more and more troops. But this trend represents more than xenophobia.

The high point of the American image in Vietnam probably came in November, 1963. The U.S. was credited with the overthrow of Diem (or at least allowing him to be overthrown). Unfortunately, this feeling of the South Vietnamese has back-fired on the U.S. Vietnamese now ask: "If you allowed Diem to be overthrown, why do you allow the present government with its graft, despots like General Loan, and all the repressions to continue?"

Americans desperately cling to the myth that they can design effective programs for the Vietnamese. I saw a succession of these programs: the Staley Plan (the strategic hamlets), the Revolutionary Development Program, the elections, and the refugee program were some of the major ones. Designed to Win Hearts And Minds (WHAM), these programs have shared the stigma of "just another American solution" in the minds of Vietnamese. One high government official told me that he found it difficult to maintain morale under the present onslaught of Americanization. He commented: "I have one department where all my technicians except one have been drafted, left the country in self-exile, or gone to work for the Americans. That one technician has five American advisers. He has no time to work with the Vietnamese people. He listens to his five advisers." It is also questionable whether Americans, who seldom stay in Vietnam more than 18 months, who do not speak Vietnamese, and who look at Vietnam as the "Siberia of the American foreign service," can design programs that will meet Vietnamese needs.

The presence of large numbers of U.S. troops has created serious economic and social problems. Soldiers with too much money, not understanding the necessity of bargaining, have pushed the cost of taxi rides up above the means of the average Vietnamese. Vietnamese families have been forced for economic reasons out of the better sections of the cities into the slum areas. (Is it any wonder that N.L.F. soldiers found sympathetic guides in making their attacks on the cities?)

The moral problems created by a foreign army are hard to evaluate, but they hit the idealistic young and religious groups especially hard. I cannot forget the words of a friend who told me sadly one evening, "I'm going to the countryside to join the suffering of my people," "Are you a Communist?" I asked. "No, I am not a Communist. I am a nationalist. Every day I see more of my people and society destroyed . . . my sisters prostituting themselves, my little brothers begging on the streets. This has to stop." And to many, the only way they can see to stop it is to join the N.L.F.

The introduction of television to Vietnam is an example of the "American solution." The idea was to have a way to communicate immediately with the masses. A TV set was to be put in each market place and other public gathering places. In this way ideas could be communicated instantly to the country at large. The first problem came in the distribution of the sets. District chiefs kept them in their own homes because they were afraid that they would be stolen if left in the market place. Then the television station found that cowboy and Indian pictures were more popular than the "educational" programs. Another problem was that the Vietnamese tend to empathize with the Indians rather than the cowboys.

Nationalism and Social Reform: The Americanization of South Vietnam and the unresponsiveness of Saigon governments to social problems created a vacuum; the N.L.F. developed a program that played on the local needs—nationalism and social reform.

In talking with a group of prisoners in Hoi An, central Vietnam, I repeatedly heard these two statements: "I joined the National Liberation Front because I hate the Americans" and "I joined the N.L.F. because I want to own my own land." Over and over, N.L.F. propaganda plays on these two themes: "We're here to drive the foreigners out," and "The land to those that till it."

The new N.L.F. political program, which has been distributed widely throughout South Vietnam, was released in late August—significantly, just before the elections. This program states the determination of the N.L.F. to "defeat the American aggressors and their agents and work with all their might to establish a political regime which will ensure the independence and sovereignty of the country, freedom and happiness of the people; heal the wounds of war and liquidate the social vices inherited from the American puppet regime. . . ." It goes on to "guarantee" such liberties as "freedom of press and publication, freedom of assembly, trade union rights, freedom to form organizations and parties, freedom of belief, freedom to demonstrate. . . ." To Americans these things have a familiar ring—they might have been plagiarized from the Bill of Rights! However, the program indicates that the N.L.F. will not let off easily people who do not join their cause and it "guarantees" to severely punish the most incorrigible and cruel agents of American imperialism. Perhaps the most important point in the N.L.F. program is the promise to correct the complaints against the Thieu-Ky government. The N.L.F. might not follow through on this promise, but it surely understands the grievances of the people.

"It's an illusion to think that U.S. help will defeat the Communists," Father Quynh, the best known Catholic priest in South Vietnam, said recently. Just before I left Vietnam he told me: "The United States will never lose the war and neither will the N.L.F. The United States will not win because the N.L.F. are ghosts. You don't know where they are; you don't know who they are. The N.L.F. will not win because the Americans are in forts and they can't get in. The war will last another 20 years."

If one asked the Vietnamese peasant what he really wants, he would reply simply: "I want to be left alone. I want to grow rice. I want to see my children go to school." Neither side has gained the peasant's full support. The N.L.F. has not experienced the "general uprising" it has hoped for. On the other hand, the South Vietnamese government faces a kind of passive resistance—its army won't fight, agricultural agents write reports instead of visiting farmers, and civil servants at all levels leave their jobs to get rich by working with the Americans. At the same time, the U.S. presence in Vietnam continues to remind Vietnamese of past colonialists, and it continues to guarantee protection to the government of Thieu and Ky, making it easy for them to be unresponsive to their people. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese find it easier and easier to join the N.L.F.

CAUSES OF POVERTY

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, there are those of us who sometimes are criticized for positions we take—and are told that we do not know because we do not live in a certain area.

I doubt, however, that such criticism can be made of the writer of a letter to the editor of the Sunday Louisville Courier Journal.

The letter is submitted herewith and I commend the writer for a good statement:

CAUSES OF POVERTY

I am a Negro. If we are poor from a malnutrition standpoint, it's our own fault. White or black, it's not because we cannot get a job, it's because when we get a job we will not work every day in order to keep it.

Another reason because we are poor, we are failing to invest wisely. We spend too much money on automobiles, televisions, clothing, etc. We should invest more in real estate, various kinds of businesses, buy stock and shares in companies, and help to create ourselves a job and financial security.

If we as poor people would start doing more of these things, as a group or individual, then we would not have to march and beg for someone to give us something. Anyone will help a race or individual if they are really trying to help themselves as we should. There have been too many jobs in these United States over the past 30 years, and too much prosperity for anyone to be hungry. I am persuaded to believe it's our own fault, whether white or black.

KELSEY WEBBER.

LOUISVILLE.

EFFORTS AT SELF-HELP

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, too often we overlook the efforts at self-help that are being made by disadvantaged young men and women in Harlem and elsewhere in the cities of our Nation.

These achievements are being recognized, however, by Clayton Willis, a reporter for the New York Amsterdam News. Mr. Willis recently wrote two stories about Harlem students who have made especial efforts to improve their skills and chances for getting jobs, in one case, and their knowledge of Africa, in another instance. I believe that Mr. Willis' account of the graduation of 245 students from the Harlem Teams for Self-Help Pre-Employment program, coordinated by Mr. Edward W. O'Daniel, of Mount Vernon, N.Y., brings out the depth of the effort and commitment that the students have brought to the program.

I am inserting in the RECORD at this point Mr. Willis' story of this event as well as his article on the trip to Africa planned by 25 Afro-American students this summer:

HARLEM'S SELF-HELP PROGRAM GRADUATES 24

(By Clayton Willis)

On a bright morning last week sunlight streamed through altar windows of Mother AME Zion Church, 140 W. 137th St., on 245 students, their families, teachers and friends at graduation exercises of Harlem Teams' for Self-Help Pre-Employment Program.

The lucky, hard working grads had more in common than their histories of high school forceoutism, unwed motherism, former drug addictism and police recordism. They wanted a chance to learn and improve themselves, society gave it to them and they produced.

Since the beginning of the program in February of 1965, more than 2,500 trainees have made it through the course which is planned to have them earn high school diplomas if they don't have them, get individual guidance and brush up their skills in mathematics, science, remedial reading and social studies.

Of these graduates, 27 will go on to college next fall just as the 225 former trainees who are in college now on full four-year scholarships.

OTHERS SEEK JOBS

Others are now ready to get and keep the jobs which America's big job-loaded corporations SAY they want to fill them with and which most leaders from the President on down assert they should have as citizens of this land.

Harlem Teams' for Self-Help Pre-Employment Program is a New York City Manpower Training Program which the U.S. Department of Labor pays for. Students between 17 and 21 who have been out of school or out of work for at least 1 year can get into the HTFSH-PEP. The City Board of Education and HTFSHPEP run it.

Trainees get a weekly paycheck of $20 to $70 while they take the 20-week course at 179 W. 137th St. from 8:30 a.m. to 3:45 p.m.

SPARK MAY GROW

"Let's hope that this little spark we have developed will grow and develop so you can take your place in this society. Let's hope you can help make this America, our home land, the great nation it has the potential to be," Edward W. O'Daniel, coordinator, Pre-Employment Training Program coordinator told the proud students at graduation ceremonies.

Receiving awards for perfect attendance were: Pak Yin Eng, Pinkey Dubois, Dorothea Howell, Matilda Hutchinson, Viola Middleton, Willard Miller, Lucinda Singleton, Charles Waxter, Dora Ann Wilson, Panthea Harrison, Leroy Swinton, Juanita Jordan, Peter Wong, Laura Wong, Artura Morales, Cynthia Gregory, Gwendolyn Howard, Freddie Bryant, Johnny King, Kim Juan Lee, Barbara Washington, Shirley Campbell, Geraldine Brown, Josephine Takeall, Edward Heywood, Ronald Griffith and Reginald Simmons.

Cited for exceptional achievement were: Willard Miller, Thelma Lang, Minnie Bell, Thelma Leary, Hoyt Boone, Wesley Jones, Ruth Moore, Phillip Reece, Barbara Washington, Ulysses Wade, Robert Nathan, Geraldine Brown, Dolores Madison, Yvonne Ford, Sylvia Graves, Brenda Rodman, Allie Grace, Gloria Jones, Josephine Takeall, Shirley Campbell, Merlea Arner, Gwendolyn Howard, Charles Hickerson, Alfred Warren, Panthea Harrison, Kenneth Williams, Joseph Gadsden, Laverne Johnson, Juanita Jordan, Evangelia Barreto, James Malone, Edwin Lugo, Alonzo Hardy, Robert Wills, Cheryl Clark, Linda Perry, Reginald Simmons and Marvin Bethea.

KIDS TO GO TO AFRICA

(By Clayton Willis)

Because it's darned near impossible for youngsters in this country to study Africa in the public school system, 25 Afro-Americans are planning to catch up this summer in a big way—in Africa itself.

Out of 67 nominees for the June 25-Sept. 7 trip cosponsored by "Forty Acres And A Mule" newspaper and the African-American Institute, the winning students will jet to Accra, Ghana; Lagos, Nigeria; Nairobi, Kenya; Entebbe, Uganda; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Khartoum, Sudan; and Cairo, United Arab Republic (Egypt), before swooping down to John F. Kennedy Airport here.

"Forty Acres And A Mule" is a newspaper run by the New York Urban League's education department. Select students from the Harlem Prep School, Newark Prep School, several Street Academies of the Urban League and several public high schools will make the African Summer Safari.

They will confer with political leaders of the countries on the 42-nation continent.

James J. Smith, 30-year-old director of the monthly publication, said he is negotiating with Pan American World Airways and Trans World Airlines to pay the airfares of the students and their three tour leaders.

Two of the three have been picked. They are: Winston Ayoki, a Kenyan exchange student at Fordham University who teaches mathematics at the Bedford-Stuyvesant Street Academy in Brooklyn; and William Sterling.

Sterling, who worked with the Peace Corps in Kenya, speaks fluent Swahili, and teaches at the 121st Street Academy in Harlem.

The African-American Institute, 866 UN Plaza, has helped raise money while Corning Glass Works has also contributed to the trip cost, Smith noted.

He hopes American blacks will help with the costs. Checks should be sent to P.O. Box 21, NYC. The paper has second floor offices at 170 W. 130th St. Winning students, who are from 17 to 24 and men, must commit themselves to a one-year program involving the paper after they get back.

The student newspapermen will report on their findings in the land of their ancestors. Tours will include cocoa cooperatives in Ghana, and a 10-day live-in on settlement farms, reserve villages and other rural points in Kenya.

FOR BALANCED JUSTICE

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the Pittsburgh Press of May 23, in its lead editorial, entitled "For Balanced Justice," commended the Senate for its vote on title II of the Omnibus Crime and Safe Streets Act. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR BALANCED JUSTICE

The U.S. Senate has rendered an unusually balanced and deliberate judgment on the course law enforcement must take in this country if society is not to be victimized by excess concern for the rights of the accused.

In an extraordinary series of votes it both rebuked and upheld the U.S. Supreme Court which has come under increasing attack for its inflexible rulings on behalf of accused and convicted wrongdoers.

Responding to legitimate national concern, the Senate voted to modify those Supreme Court rulings (Mallory, Miranda, Wade) that in too many instances have hamstrung law enforcement by severely limiting the use of confessions and eyewitness testimony.

The effect of those votes would be to return to the trial judge discretion as to whether a confession was voluntary or eyewitness testimony admissible. This is the so-called "totality of circumstances" approach—a broader avenue to truth and justice than the nit-picking niceties of Supreme Court rulings under which known wrongdoers have been freed.

But the Senate—with equally justified concern for protecting both the innocent and the U.S. Constitution—rejected out of hand proposals that would have limited severely Supreme Court jurisdiction.

Specifically, these proposals, written by Senators apparently out to punish the high court, would have denied to the Supreme Court and other Federal courts the right to review state court decisions on the admissibility of evidence or to issue writs of habeas corpus.

The Senate, in short, heeded the admonition of the late U.S. Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Cardozo that we must "keep the balance true" between the rights of the accused and rights of the accuser if true justice is to be done.

It was an altogether statesmanlike performance. At this point, however, the Senate votes are only tentative. They are part of an overall crime package yet to be passed.

And even if passed by the Senate and agreed to in conference with the House, question has been raised whether the President might not veto it. The controversial section dealing with the high court rulings wasn't part of the anti-crime legislation the President asked for.

Commenting on the Senate's work on this section of the bill, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana called the result "quite salutary."

He said he thought the Supreme Court's powers were not impinged on. Ncr were they. Article III of the Constitution seems to justify the Senate votes. It gives the Supreme Court appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact "with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make."

Finally, Sen. Mansfield expressed his hope the President won't view these modifications of Supreme Court rulings as reason for vetoing the bill.

The modifications point the way out of the side roads of self-defeating legalisms and back to the main highway of justice.

IT'S ABOUT TIME

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, to the extent Congress can constitutionally do so, it is past time that it act to restore as much capacity in law enforcement to protect law-abiding citizens as it can. Over more than a decade of sharply rising crime it has been most peculiar that the Supreme Court has persisted in deciding critical criminal cases in such a way as to cast unnecessary obstructions in the way of public protection. There have been so many unnecessary decisions and in so many fields that many Americans wonder whether all this can have developed by accident—or has it been international?

This is a serious reflection. It is also a disturbingly serious problem, to which in no small measure the Congress is now addressing itself, as indicated by James Kilpatrick's article in the Washington Star of May 28. The example of what has happened to Americans as a direct result of some of these peculiar High Court decisions portray just how critical the situation has become. The article follows:

SUPREME COURT GAVELED DOWN ON CONFESSIONS

The United States Senate last week dealt the Supreme Court the strongest rebuke that has been officially hurled at the court in more than 30 years. Not since the days of Roosevelt's court-packing proposal has a co-equal branch of government spoken in such unmistakable terms.

Roosevelt's scheme failed of adoption, of course, but it had its effect nonetheless. Chief Justice Hughes got the word. Many Americans, deeply concerned at the trend of Supreme Court decisions over the past ten years, will pray that Chief Justice Warren and his majority bloc prove equally attentive this time around. The Senate has said bluntly that it wants to see a balance restored between the rights of a defendant and the rights of society. The step is long overdue.

Specifically, the Senate approved section 3501 of the Crime Control Act of 1968. The section says that in Federal criminal prosecutions, a confession shall be admissible in evidence "if it is voluntarily given." Trial judges are to review the circumstances in the absence of a jury. If a judge determines that a confession was in fact voluntary, according to conditions laid down in the act, he is to admit the confession and instruct the jury to give it such weight "as the jury feels it deserves under all the circumstances."

Under the Senate bill, the presence or absence of a lawyer would be merely one factor, and not necessarily a conclusive factor, in determining the issue of voluntariness. Manifestly, this provision of the act is intended to override the high court's 5–4 decision in the famed Miranda case two years ago. The court then laid down such sweeping requirements for the advice of counsel that the use of confessions in evidence was rendered almost impossible.

As you might expect, the Senate's refusal has evoked moans of anguish from knee-jerk liberals who bleed for the rights of rapists. The Washington Post, which goes into hysterics whenever Earl Warren sneezes, has been regaling its readers with horror stories of confessions obtained by the third-degree. You would suppose that police routinely exact confessions by thumbscrews and rubber hoses.

Sure enough, instances of coerced confessions have occurred. Too many of them. But there is not one line in the Senate bill that would condone the abhorrent practice. It is an insult to the whole of the Federal trial bench to imagine that such confessions would be received in the future.

The more applicable horror stories go in precisely the other direction.

Two months after the Miranda decision, a Brooklyn housewife came on trial for the murder of her four-year-old son. She had taped his mouth and beaten him to death with a broomstick. She freely confessed. She had not had a lawyer. She went free. Miranda.

There was the case in New York of Jose Suarez, 22, a laundry worker. He killed his wife and five small children by stabbing them more than 100 times. Police arrested him. He confessed at once. No lawyer. Justice Michael Kern bitterly agreed that "even an animal such as this one, and I believe this is insulting the animal kingdom, must be provided with all legal safeguards—but it makes my blood run cold to let a thing like this out on the street." Suarez walked out of the court, a free man. Miranda.

Dozens of such fantastic miscarriages of justice have occurred by reason of the Supreme Court's excessive solicitude. As North Carolina's Sen. Sam Ervin has noted, the number of confessions in criminal cases has fallen drastically. The state's attorney of Baltimore remarks that "the confession as a law enforcement instrument has been virtually eliminated " If the House accepts the Senate bill, the trend may be reversed. It will all depend on whether Chief Justice Warren gets the word.

SLOW DOWN IN WAR

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the May 12, 1968, edition of the News and Courier, Charleston, S.C., has an editorial entitled, "Slow Down in War."

The able editor states that he was not one who applauded an end to the bombing above the 20th parallel in North Vietnam, but recognized that a large number of Americans approved the action. Nevertheless, he points out that there is little so far to substantiate any great hope.

He warns Americans from being diverted by the presidential election and other domestic issues, and urges patriotic citizens to watch the negotiations in Paris carefully.

As he pointed out, the United States has a heavy investment in Vietnam in both blood and treasure.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Slow Down in War

Absorbed in the preliminaries of presidential elections, Americans run the risk of losing track of what is happening in Vietnam. The fighting continues but the war does not seem to be the same.

Without assigning full value to statements by some observers that a phase-out of U.S. power in Southeastern Asia is actually already under way, we nevertheless detect unmistakable signs of pull-back. Adding substance to this impression is a recent statement by President Johnson that fighting is to be turned over more and more to the South Vietnamese Army, a force which until very recently was held to be incapable of assuming additional burdens.

Though we were not among those who applauded an end to bombing above the 20th parallel in North Vietnam, we recognize the order grounding the bombers as complying with the views of a large number of Americans. We doubt whether the same numbers would approve subtle moves to disengage completely.

In the press of other affairs, including preliminaries to peace negotiations, Americans are risking being diverted from an important piece of unfinished business. In spite of disillusionment and dissatisfaction with the Vietnam War, and the temptation to turn their attention to happier things, patriotic citizens have an obligation to keep a sharp eye on what is going on in Southeast Asia. They have a heavy investment there in blood and treasure.

COMPULSORY UNIONISM, THREAT BEYOND BELIEF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, as one of those who feels that every working man and woman should have the freedom of choice about joining an organization or refraining from joining according to their wishes and the dictates of their consciences, I have joined in the introduction of legislation to protect the freedom of choice of Federal employees in employee-management relations. My bill is H.R. 17490.

I am naturally appalled over any suggestion that a change of policy will require Federal employees to join unions or pay union dues against their will. It gave me a great deal of encouragement, therefore, to read an editorial in the Atchison, Kans., Daily Globe which supports the position other Members and I have taken against any kind of compulsory unionism for Federal employees.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this editorial, "Compulsory Unionism, Threat Beyond Belief" in the Record. The editorial follows:

Compulsory Unionism Threat Beyond Belief

Unless there is an immediate public outcry, the shield now protecting millions of employes of the federal government against compulsory unionism will soon be removed by President Johnson at the urging of AFL-CIO President George Meany.

The late President Kennedy issued Executive order No. 10988 which explicitly safeguards the right of federal employes to either join or refrain from joining labor unions. In effect, that executive order is a Right To Work law for employees of the federal government, paralleling legislation adopted by 19 states, including Kansas, to protect all working men and women from the compulsory dictation of union coercion.

But Union Boss George Meany and his union chiefs are now trying to undermine President Kennedy's executive order. They are urging President Johnson to authorize forcible collection of money equal to union dues from federal employes who are exercising their right to refrain from union activity. A stacked presidential commission is expected to make such a recommendation soon.

The stakes in compulsory unionism for public employes are tremendous. If all of the 12 million public employees are forced to join a union, the "take" in dues would amount to as much as 700 million dollars a year! Translated into political power (George Meany himself said, "You just can't have too much power"), the compulsory unionization of public employes, if not stopped, could forge a compulsory union power strong enough to dictate the total political destiny of our nation.

We believe all Americans who agree with the late President Kennedy that federal employes should have a freedom of choice to join or not to join a union should make their views known at once to President Johnson and to our members of Congress.

THE MILWAUKEE VOLUNTARY EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COUNCIL

HON. GAYLORD NELSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the National Alliance of Businessmen was created to help solve the growing problem of unemployment among the minority groups in our country. Its goal is to find permanent jobs in each of the 50 largest cities in the Nation for the hard-core poor, and summer employment for school-age youth in these cities.

In Milwaukee, Wis., to help achieve these objectives, a group of business people have initiated an ambitious program to help achieve these objectives. The Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council deserves high praise for their fine efforts in this regard.

An interesting article describing the work that is being done now and will be done in the future appears in the May 1968 issue of the magazine Milwaukee. The article demonstrates what a citizens' group can do when they become aware of their responsibilities. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Black and White Power: Jobs

As Springtime, 1968, warms up to its close, Milwaukee employers are being asked to provide 1,100 permanent jobs and 3,400 summertime jobs—and Milwaukee's hard-core unemployed and inner city youth are being asked to take them.

The success or failure of the program could make the difference between a long, hot summer and a long, busy one. If it works, everybody will be too busy for heat. If it works, it will generate black-and-white power, the kind of power that builds rather than burns.

It isn't going to be easy, on either side of the black-white hyphen. Milwaukee, through the Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council and other influences, has established a firm beachhead and a good record for the employment of minority group members who meet employment qualifications. This program goes a long step beyond that. It asks employers to suspend normal qualifications, hire, and train up to standard hard-core unemployables with at least one or more of these qualifications: a) school drop-outs, b) minority group members; c) under age 22, d) over age 45, e) physically handicapped. They have been called "the potentially employable unemployables." For summertime employment, they are being asked to hire poor youth from the central city between ages 16 and 21 who are either in or out of school and could benefit from work experience which will lead them back to school in the fall, or to other forms of education, training or permanent employment.

The whys and wherefores of the program, and the nitty-gritty on how to make it work are all set out in the article on the opposite page, prepared by the National Alliance of Businessmen.

The machinery is all geared up, and here are the gears:

COOPERATING AGENCIES

National Alliance of Businessmen—Elmer L. Winter, metropolitan chairman (president of Manpower, Inc.).

Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council—Peter G. Scotese, president (chairman of the board, Boston Store).

Metropolitan Milwaukee Association of Commerce—Van Coddington, president of Lakeside Bridge and Steel Co.).

Wisconsin State Employment Service.

DIRECTION

Rymund Wurlitzer, vice president, First Wisconsin National Bank—metropolitan director to coordinate employee recruiting and placement.

Charles Arps, community relations manager, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co.—job procurement and placement manager.

Earl Sengpiel, manpower employment relations coordinator, Wisconsin State Employment Service—recruiting and government programs manager.

Fred Lindner, vice president, County Labor Council—union liaison officer.

STAFF AND RESOURCES

The Metropolitan Milwaukee Association of Commerce, the Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council and the State Employment Service will provide staff and resources. These men will help get job pledges:

Maurice Berger, president, Gimbels-Schusters; Robert Greenebaum, president, Inland Steel Products Co.; Robert Stevenson, chairman of the board, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co.; Charles C. Saville, Milwaukee area group manager, Sears, Roebuck & Co.; Joseph W. Simpson, Jr., chairman, First Wisconsin National Bank; William H. Davidson, president, Harley-Davidson Motors Co.; Lloyd B. Smith, president, A. O. Smith Corp.; Alfred Gruhl, chairman, Wisconsin Electric Power Co.; Harold B. Groh, president, Wisconsin Telephone Co.; John Geilfuss president, Marine National Exchange Bank.

The participation of the Association of Commerce is a concrete application of the policy adopted in March, setting out this position:

"On the premise that the business community—because of its brainpower, know-how and general problem-solving ability—can find an ultimate solution in the most efficient and most economical manner, the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Milwaukee Association of Commerce hereby authorizes the commitment of its resources and its staff to working to find a lasting solution to problems created by racial tensions and unrest.

"The Association will direct its primary attention to dealing with problems related to employment, housing and education. In doing so, the organization will cooperate fully with the Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council, We Milwaukeeans, the Northtown Planning and Development Council, the Milwaukee Urban League and other involved groups. It will also be mindful of the efforts and the programs of tax-supported agencies sponsored by local, state and federal governments, in an effort to provide co-ordination and to avoid duplication.

"In carrying out this important program, the Association will apply the principles of the free-enterprise philosophy, designed to stimulate the assumption by the individual of his responsibilities—as well as his rights—as a productive, useful and contributory member of the community, thus restoring or elevating the disadvantaged to a level of human dignity such as befits a citizen of the United States of America."

The machinery is ready.

Now, the fuel:

Pledges to hire and train.

Pledges to learn and earn.

This takes 20 minutes to read. Take 20 and read it. It may help to cool your summer.

In our fifty largest cities, the massive efforts to help the hard core poor still locked in the ghettos are failing.

The poor are still poor. They are still unemployed. And, to many employers, they are unwanted.

They are Americans who have been bypassed by progress. In an earlier America, these men might have used their physical strength to work their way up the economic ladder. An entry level job today requires more than human strength. It requires education and an understanding of the attitudes that make a worker successful.

The same technology that helped replace "muscle power," however, has produced learning methods which offer an opportunity to quickly prepare the unemployed for work.

The problem of hiring the poor would be much simpler if we started with a clean slate and could deal with the problem in terms of today's attitudes and interest. But we don't start with a clean slate.

Anyone working with the hard core poor . . . some locked for generations into a cycle of poverty and unemployment . . . inherits the accumulated liabilities of yesterday.

The militant leaders of the nation's largest cities assert that business, unlike other segments of the society, has a "show me" credibility. They say that the black man wants a good job and he believes industry and business have the know-how not only to produce that good job, but have the ability to train him to meet the qualifications of that job.

Their only questions concern the willingness of industry to tackle the job.

The National Alliance of Businessmen was created to meet that challenge.

Many recent efforts at eliminating the causes of poverty have gone into treating the symptoms of the problem: bad housing, ill health, inadequate education of the young and the lack of marketable skills of the adult.

Now a concentrated effort by private industry, in unique cooperation with government, will attack the problem at its source: employment.

If we are to win the war on poverty, if the ghetto resident is to be given a chance to lift himself out of poverty, then we must focus on how the poor can find and hold jobs in the private sector of the economy.

NAB was formed to find these jobs and to fill them. If the NAB is successful, a major step will have been taken to eliminate poverty in the midst of plenty.

Specifically, the NAB is a partnership between American industry and government. Its mandate comes from the President. Its direction is from the business community.

Its implementation makes use of a combination of government resources and business know-how. Its goal is to find permanent jobs in each of the 50 largest cities in the nation for the hard core poor, and summer employment for school-age youth from the inner city.

Much of the nation's hard core poverty is urban and involves minorities—Negroes and the Spanish-speaking. It is the product of years of deprivation, and it continues to perpetuate itself in the ghettos that pockmark our cities.

For these Americans, the promise that everyone who is willing to work can have a job and progress in it to the limit of his ability is a hollow one, and its echo produces despair, crime and more poverty.

Some employers, as well as the citizens of the inner cities, have been held back in the past by the broad-stroke stereotype of the ghetto dweller. With the untested conviction that members of minority groups cannot perform as well as other workers, some companies have systematically excluded them from all but the most menial jobs. Faced with this determined resistance, fewer than half the Negroes in the United States have completed high school. Many others have shrugged off attempts to enroll them in skill-training programs, with the bitter knowledge that there were no jobs at the other end of the classes. The result is that many blacks today do not have the education or the special skills to qualify for jobs. A similar lack of qualifications marks other ethnic minorities.

Neither history nor modern experience, however, indicate that the stereotype or the present lack of qualifications reflect the ability of Negroes or other minorities to perform in a productive job. At the end of the War Between the States, for example, 100,000 of the 120,000 skilled workers in the South were Negroes. During World War II, employers who were facing desperate manpower shortages found that minority group members who were unaccustomed to either urban living or an industrial environment could be placed on production lines. In the 1960's a number of companies, working through programs such as Plans for Progress, again discovered that Negroes, when given the opportunity, can produce as well as any other group. Some of the nation's top employers, working closely with the war on poverty, have successfully trained and employed the hard core poor.

The nation can no longer afford quiet experimentation and token hiring of the hard core poor. Unemployment in the ghetto, which for Negro youth alone equals the national unemployment rate during the depression, is costly to the United States, to business, and to the cities which nurture business and give it its vitality.

The cost of employment discrimination, and the hard core poverty it has produced, is a demonstrably heavy burden. The toll in human waste alone—bleak, unproductive lives, broken homes, fatherless children—is exorbitant. Added to this is the cost of billions lost in income, and spent on welfare, and unharvested in taxes. President Johnson put a dollar figure on the fallow human resources in 1967.

"If the Negroes today had the same skills as other Americans, and if they were free from discrimination in employment," he said, "our gross national product could become $30 billion higher."

The National Alliance of Businessmen is ready to assist employers in making the hard core poor part of the work force of American industry. The initiative, however, must come from the employers. They alone can make the commitment to hire the hard core poor, and offer them training and a living wage.

In the past few years, a number of businesses have engaged in what was for them an innovation—hiring hard core poor to do the work that had previously been performed only by better trained and educated men. Despite some initial grumbling from the established work force, most of these men were able to fit into the jobs smoothly, and produce competently. They were, in a very short time, assimilated into the labor force. Many employers later listed them as the most stable, productive and ambitious employees. What they sought was a chance . . . and the help to enable them to take advantage of the opportunity.

But many of the people hired had educational and training advantages not available to many citizens of the ghetto. It is patent that not everyone who lives in the inner cities is poor, either in terms of dollars or in terms of ability. In short, many of the blacks now employed in industry are the elite of the ghetto.

The jobs now being sought are for people whose potential is no less real, but who never have had the opportunity to develop their ability, or to convince themselves of its presence.

Some, such as those who have completed skill-training classes but who have not found jobs, are ready for employment with only a minimum of orientation. Many others have no training, and are functionally illiterate. They will need special help before they can take their place in the mainstream of industry. The Federal government is offering financial aid to employers to make this training economically possible now.

Other help—in such areas as recruiting, screening, placement, the training of recruits and supervisors, and supportive services—will be available through the National Alliance.

The hard core unemployed will be less qualified than those the employer will normally hire. They will generally require extensive training, counseling, and other individual services. The cost of providing the added services will be substantial. Where the company undertakes to provide these added necessary services, it is appropriate that the Government pay the extra costs as part of the national manpower program. A simplified contractual arrangement has been developed by the Department of Labor.

A contract for a period of up to 24 months with reimbursement on a fixed unit cost basis can be negotiated. Any private firm hiring and training 25 or more certified hard core unemployed will be eligible. Reimbursement will be either on a monthly or bimonthly basis. A consortium arrangement for firms wishing to establish cooperative programs is possible. A department of Labor representative will be available in each of the target cities to assist in negotiating the contract.

An understandable cynicism about job promises has developed among the poor. For those who have sought employment and are still unemployed, the promises have obviously not materialized.

This experience from other earlier programs strongly indicates that company intentions to alter hiring patterns are not always implemented at lower levels unless there is a firm and unequivocal statement of position and a plan of action by top management.

This commitment can be initiated by the pledge of a specific number of job openings to the NAB. The pledge can reflect a total to be phased into the work force over the period of a year. It should also make provisions for the number of jobs that will be available for the summer only to school-age youth.

Companies will be contacted for these pledges by businessmen working with the NAB on the national, regional or local levels. Descriptions of the jobs pledged are necessary to permit later matching of positions and individuals.

These pledges are both a guide to the NAB, to assist it in measuring its progress toward its goals, and a reaffirmation of the basic business belief that industry can meet the needs of our society.

Some suggestions:

Almost every company has some jobs that remain unfilled due to labor shortages. These jobs can be a beginning point for management when it assesses the openings available for its pledges to the NAB.

Jobs do not necessarily have to be performed in existing company locations. In pilot projects, some firms have found it advantageous to set up small assembly or packaging operations in the inner city, to meet company needs and provide jobs for those making the transition from long term unemployment to productive work.

The availability of this new labor pool will permit some companies to upgrade present employees, and create openings at the entry level.

Early vacation scheduling will allow companies to determine the number of jobs that will be open for school-age youth.

Reshuffling of production and repair schedules can produce more summer jobs. Painting, maintenance of machinery and updating of corporate records can produce meaningful job opportunities for youth.

The task of recruiting the hard core poor, in the most part, will be done for the NAB by the United States Employment Service, State Employment Services, and through the Concentrated Employment Program in CEP cities.

Youth will be recruited in schools and in neighborhoods through a variety of means geared to capture their interest. In many cities, employers will be asked to participate in Job Fairs, where young people will have the opportunity to meet personnel officials from a number of firms and find the jobs best suited for their careers.

Every effort is being made to minimize red tape for employees and employers. Some of the traditional burden of paperwork will be minimized or expedited by the local NAB office. Still, there will be procedures that management must follow to insure that jobs are filled, and that pledges are honored.

Some suggestions:

Some companies have sent recruiting teams into the ghetto to interview, screen, hire and process new employees as a one-step operation. Other firms may find this an effective means of locating candidates, but recruits must be certified as eligible, i.e., hard-core poor, by the Employment Service if they are to count toward the company quota.

Some prospective employees will apply personally at company offices or plant gates. If they meet job needs, they should be encouraged. Again, to be counted toward the job quota by the company, they must be certified as eligible by the Employment Service.

Centralized recruiting through the designated agencies will make the task of NAB Metropolitan Chairmen easier, and make the program more efficient.

As with any group of employees, it is likely that the hard core poor selected for employment will be most successful in jobs that interest them and are within the limits of their physical and educational ability.

Many companies have found that previously unemployed persons appreciate the opportunity to select their own work fields, but sometimes overreach, and benefit from counseling.

Detailed plans for job matching are being developed by the NAB. In most cities, the method will be mechanical, and based on the employer's job description and the employee's aptitude. More sophisticated methods may be utilized in some localities.

For many entry level jobs, experience qualifications and skill level are relatively unimportant.

Job matching should be simple, accurate and rapid.

Some suggestions:

The degree of accuracy in the job description offered along with the initial pledge by the employer will determine, to a large extent, the effectiveness of the matching process.

Applicants will, on occasion, turn down jobs that are offered. They will, however, be encouraged to take what is available.

Remember that making jobs available and filling them with people is not enough to satisfy the goals of the NAB.

Pre-hiring interviews may reveal avocational interests that will help a recruit fit into a job.

The introduction of hard core poor into industry will be a new experience for many firms. To make this experience productive for both the company and the worker, training will be essential in two fields:

1. Supervisors
2. Recruits

The training of supervisors should begin well in advance of the arrival of the first recruits. Some supervisors will have entrenched attitudes about the recruits, which will almost certainly cause negative results to the program. These attitudes can be altered through a controlled exposure to the experiments of companies that have already hired the hard core poor through well planned and successful programs.

Few supervisors, even those with best intentions, will be prepared to deal with the life styles of the poor from the ghetto. It would be wise to include lectures by minority leaders as part of the supervisor training course.

It should also emphasize the concern of top management for the success of the program. This is a necessary ingredient for success. When the Brooklyn Dodgers decided to break the color line in baseball, general manager Branch Rickey headed off possible difficulties by announcing publicly that he was sure there would be no trouble.

Some companies have found it advantageous to use minority supervisors to work with new employees from the ghetto. Care should be taken, however, to avoid segregated work crews. And employers should take precaution to avoid placing all their poor workers in a single department or division.

Isolated experiences of employers who have made deliberate attempts to bring hard core poor into their plants indicate that half or more of the hard core poor are ready for immediate work assignments, although they do not have the high school diplomas that are usually required for employment. By breaking jobs down by function, these employers have discovered that a seventh or eighth grade achievement level is sufficient to enable employees to work productively.

Care should be taken with testing, since many accepted tests have built-in cultural bias, and do not accurately portray the abilities of minority people.

A number of companies have investigated the worth of various training programs. Many of them have learned that programmed learning courses can be as effective as the traditional teacher-led classroom. Programmed learning has the advantage of allowing students to progress at their own speed, and eliminates the hostility to the teacher as an authority figure that is a common product of the ghetto.

Some companies which tried both the traditional classroom approach and programmed learning with test groups have made a decision in favor of programmed learning on the basis of its lower cost.

Companies participating in the NAB employment program have a variety of options on training available to them:

1. They may operate the training classes as part of their internal training program. When possible, this is the preferable method.

2. They may form a consortium with other firms in the same city to conduct training classes on a pool basis.

3. They may contract with schools, or with private training companies, to perform the teaching function.

For these enrollees, skill training and special classes for the development of work habits are as important as basic education courses.

All of these educational functions can be subsidized by Federal funds, being made available to put the hard core poor in meaningful jobs.

Some suggestions:

Intensified courses, with the basic education directly related to work situations, are most likely to maintain the interest of the recruits.

Courses in the development of work habits should include punctuality, work rules, personal appearance, what is expected from them on the job, relationships with supervisors, job benefits, safety, and future employment opportunities.

The training period is a good time for the recruits to establish a rapport with their future supervisors.

Training programs that produce the best results are distinguished by their rigorous exclusion of non-essential material from the curriculum.

All of the factors of the ghetto's oppression—poverty, lack of education, insecurity, poor diet, bad housing, etc.—will make life difficult for the recruits during their first months on the job. Problems that would appear trifling to most employees may seem insurmountable to the recruits. They will need help in many areas if they are to become productive, established workers.

In Cleveland's Action-In-Manpower—Jobs (AIM—Jobs) program, for example, "coaches" are assigned to each trainee. They function mostly at night and over weekends as morale boosters, confidants and "someone to lean on."

In New York, The Citizens Committee on Metropolitan Affairs, Inc., instituted a "buddy system" program, where new employees from the ghetto received on-the-job assistance from established employees. Among other things, they make sure the recruit gets to work on time, understands the job, has a person within the system to whom he can talk.

In a number of places, minority recruits get counseling, legal aid, medical corrections, and other similar services. These are often available through the local Community Action Agency.

Working mothers in a number of cities get help with child day care from employers or from neighborhood or city agencies. This allows the mother to work and support herself and her children without abandoning them or facing prohibitive care costs.

Many recruits will need special financial counseling if they are to avoid the pitfalls of overextended credit buying and the pressures of bill collectors and garnishments. This is one of the most prevalent reasons for resignations by workers from poverty areas. Financial counselors can also assist recruits in making budgets and beginning savings plans.

Perhaps the biggest single difficulty for workers from the ghetto is transportation to and from jobs in the suburban ring. Most metropolitan public transportation systems are geared to bring workers from the suburbs to the cities in the morning, and home again at night. There is little provision for the reverse flow. Employers who have run pilot programs to employ the ghetto poor have found that transportation problems are by far the prime cause of tardiness and absenteeism.

Some employers, with large numbers of workers coming to suburban plants from the ghetto, have found it worthwhile to charter busses. In some cities, the OEP has set up bus schedules.

These solutions are not always possible. There are alternatives. The company, or employee organizations, can help set up car pools. Credit unions can be encouraged to loan workers money to purchase autos. Pressure can be brought to bear on transit companies to provide more and better service.

The difficulties in bringing 100,000 hard core poor into regular jobs this year will be a burden for many companies, but they will be no greater than many others that American business has faced and overcome in the past. All of these employment problems have confronted the firms that pioneered in developing job opportunities for the hard core poor, and their solutions will be available to the rest of industry.

The National Alliance of Businessmen will help disseminate these solutions, and the new ones that industry develops this year.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL AREAS

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, in the course of grappling with the complex and pressing human needs in our great urban centers, there is often a tendency to overlook the problems of rural America.

But these problems are very much with us. For nearly half of the poverty in America is found in rural areas. It is appalling that one-third of our rural families earn less than $3,000 a year.

So, as we increase our efforts to reach the seriously disadvantaged in our big cities, we must also move with equal urgency to lift the employment prospects of rural Americans.

In this effort to help the residents of our backwaters become productive citizens, the close cooperation of the appropriate Federal, State, and local agencies is indispensable.

I am quite heartened that pilot projects featuring this kind of cooperation are effectively bringing educational and training opportunities to rural citizens in target counties of three States.

Because of these pilot programs, residents of these three rural areas are getting, for the first time in their lives, a chance to acquire the skills and education so necessary in modern America.

I insert into the RECORD an article on this strategic effort from the Department of Labor's Employment Service Review. It is entitled "Manpower Development in Rural Areas":

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL AREAS

(John S. McCauley)

Pilot projects in three rural counties in Arkansas, Minnesota, and New Mexico have demonstrated the effectiveness of a cooperative concerted services approach for "improving the education and training of residents of rural areas and, consequently, increasing the employment opportunities of such residents. Six Federal agencies have joined hands with State and local groups to bring new educational and training opportunities to Saint Francis County, Ark.; Todd County, Minn., (see EMPLOYMENT SERVICE REVIEW, October 1966); and Sandoval County, N. Mex. These new programs are making it possible for hundreds of unemployed and underemployed persons to obtain fulltime jobs. Steps are now being taken to expand the programs within these counties and to extend this promising new approach to other rural communities.

The development of the concerted services approach and its implementation is on an experimental basis. The purpose of these surveys is to determine which programs are most urgently needed, what arrangements should be made to provide educational and training programs, and what measures must be taken to encourage residents to use the new opportunities.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCERTED SERVICES APPROACH

Need for a new approach to rural manpower development became increasingly evident in the early 1960's when it was recognized that rural counties were not participating as effectively as urban areas in the new Federal education and manpower programs. Most rural communities provided only limited opportunities for education and employment. In addition, health and welfare services were generally far more limited than those available in urban areas.

This situation is still much in evidence. Nearly half the poverty in the United States is in rural America. One in three rural families has a cash income of less than $3,000 a year. The families of hired farmworkers, migratory farmworkers, and sharecroppers are chronically poor, often with incomes less than $1,000 a year. Although farm families are presently a very small fraction of all U.S. families, they account for much of the observed poverty. Furthermore, many of the families in urban areas whose earning capacity is very low have recently come from farm areas. Out-migration has taken some of the community leaders and has depleted the supply of more productive workers, while the apathy and frustrations caused by continued failure and the accumulated effects of inadequate nutrition and health care affect many of those who remain.

The market for skills required in agriculture has long been depressed. The quality of elementary and secondary schooling in many farm communities is far below par. Thus, the oncoming generation from these areas is ill-prepared to take advantage of the strong market for high skills in other parts of the economy.

Few rural residents are aware of the existence of programs which could help them. Moreover, most rural counties do not possess the technical competence required to analyze their manpower needs and they fail to make application for government help. The few programs that do become established usually are capable of meeting only a portion of the problems which confront the rural resident. In order to make these programs truly effective, it is essential to provide additional supportive aid designed to meet the total needs of the individuals concerned.

In recognition of the need to develop a cooperative approach by Federal agencies to meet these problems, an interagency task force was established in 1964, under the joint chairmanship of Dr. Walter Arnold of the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and myself, from the U.S. Employment Service, U.S. Department of Labor. The task force was set up by the cabinet-level Rural Development Committee which had been established by Executive Order of the President in October 1963. The task force currently includes representatives from the Departments of Agriculture; Commerce; Health, Education, and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; Labor; and the Small Business Administration. Some of the staff members involved in this effort had served on the Joint Task Force on Health, Education, and Welfare Services and Housing, which was established in December 1961, with Wilbur J. Cohen, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Marie C. McGuire, Commissioner of Public Housing, as codirectors.

OBJECTIVES OF PILOT PROJECTS

After considerable discussion and review of the problems involved in developing educational and training programs in rural areas, the task force established the following major objectives for the pilot projects in Arkansas, New Mexico, and Minnesota:

1. Development of general operational patterns for concentrating the efforts and available resources of the participating agencies on the alleviation and ultimate solution of occupational education problems, and, as necessary, on the health, welfare, socioeconomic, and related problems of those residing in the three communities.

2. Identification of existing, as well as potential, employment opportunities and occupational education programs available to youth and to adults who are unemployed or whose income is insufficient to maintain a respectable standard of living.

3. Development of ways through which these rural communities can provide education, vocational guidance, training, and other services needed to help people become employable. This includes development of plans for:

a. Increasing basic educational skills,

b. Improving general conditions of health,

c. Improving appearance and personal characteristics,

d. Providing vocational counseling, and

e. Developing occupational competency.

4. Demonstration that occupational education programs, in conjunction with other economic development activities, can significantly increase employment opportunities.

5. Demonstration that a cooperative occupational education effort, based on local involvement, will develop indigenous leadership, individual dignity, initiative, and community development.

6. Determination of the relationship of the traditional educational and occupational patterns of people in the communities to their present and emerging needs and, if warranted, development of recommendations for necessary adjustments.

APPROACH USED

In planning for a concerted services approach, the task force placed heavy emphasis on developing flexible arrangements which could be adapted to meet local needs and, at the same time, could operate within the existing budgets of the participating agencies.

It was agreed to observe the following guidelines:

1. Education and training programs were to be designed to meet specific needs identified by a survey carried out by the public employment service in collaboration with local advisory committees.

2. Every resident of the pilot counties was to be considered a potential participant, with preference given to persons needing additional education and training in order to obtain employment.

3. The right of each individual to decide the nature and extent of his own participation was to be respected. Persons desiring education and training in order to qualify for employment outside the county were to receive the same consideration as persons who planned to remain in the county.

4. Each agency's normal channels of communication, administration, and project funding were to be followed to the fullest extent possible.

5. A coordinator under the general supervision of the task force was to be employed in each county.

In order to explain the concerted services approach and to discuss the proposed pilot projects, members of the task force and the executive secretary of the cabinet-level committee met with regional officials of the Federal agencies participating in the program. Regional staff members then arranged a series of meetings with governors and other State officials. The time and effort involved in these discussions were well spent, as the State and regional officials developed a deep interest in the concerted services approach and were most helpful in getting the pilot projects into operation.

In order to assure the necessary coordination and to give the needed "spark" to the project, coordinators were selected who had a high degree of familiarity with the particular county. For example, in Saint Francis County, Edgar Henderson, Jr., who had been a high school teacher and basketball and football coach in the area for 16 years, was chosen coordinator. An office was provided in Forrest City about two blocks from the heart of the business district. Directly across the street from the office was the training facility where education and training programs are provided under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

Arrangements for employing the county coordinator in Arkansas were handled by the Federal-State employment security system; in Minnesota, by the Agricultural Extension Division; and in New Mexico, by the Vocational Education system. G. B. Gilliland of the U.S. Department of Agriculture provided liaison between the task force and the coordinators.

Advisory committees appointed in each of the counties represented a cross section of the community. For example, the Saint Francis County Advisory Committee was chaired by W. W. Campbell, Board Chairman of the First National Bank of Eastern Arkansas, and included businessmen, local officials, lawyers, and farm organization officials.

The following description of the Saint Francis County program reflects the manner in which the concerted services approach has been implemented in this county.

SAINT FRANCIS COUNTY PROGRAM

Saint Francis County covers an area of 638 square miles and is located in northeast Arkansas, approximately 40 miles from the Mississippi River. The county has a total population of approximately 33,000. Forrest City, the county seat, has had some industrial expansion over the past 2 years, primarily in the electronics industry. However, agriculture is the major activity of the county as a whole, the chief crops being soybeans, cotton, and rice. The per-capita income, as indicated by the 1960 census, was only $962.

The county is served by a 110-bed hospital and two hospital clinics with a total of 11 hospital beds. In 1966, there were 5,224 telephone customers in the county. The county has a newspaper, the Forrest City DAILY TIMES HERALD with a circulation of 3,850, and a 5,000-watt radio station. Although there is no local television station, county residents can pick up three Memphis and three Little Rock channels.

SURVEY OF NEEDS AND RESOURCES

The first step in assisting the community was to make careful assessments of (1) the manpower needs of employers and (2) the education and training needs of individuals. An Arkansas Employment Service mobile team of seven interviewer-counselors, operating under the Smaller Communities Program, contacted employers and workers. In an effort to facilitate the gathering of information from widely dispersed county residents, mobile teams set up temporary headquarters in 19 different locations, including Forrest City. Seventeen of these itinerant offices were located in communities with less than 750 population. The teams operated out of churches, country stores, and other available rent-free facilities.

One of the best responses from county residents was obtained at the Pilgrim Rest Baptist Church, located in a small rural community. With the cooperation of church and other officials, the Employment Service team was able to register and process 110 applicants in 1 day. These limited facilities sometimes challenged the ingenuity of the staff. In order to keep nighttime office hours at the Baptist Church, which had no electricity, the team furnished its own light, using 6-volt light bulbs powered by a car battery.

The Arkansas Employment Security Division teams spent 6 months in Saint Francis County. During that time, they contacted 3,760 applicants, approximately two-thirds of whom were not registered with the Employment Service local office in Forrest City. While serving these applicants, the mobile team tested 1,004 persons and counseled 527. As of July 31, 1967, 381 persons registered with the team had been placed in jobs from a total of 873 referrals. In addition to job referrals, 196 of the persons registered with the mobile team had been enrolled in educational and training programs.

Results of the survey of manpower and other resources in Saint Francis County were published in September and October 1966 by the Arkansas Employment Security Division. The survey report brought the manpower capabilities and economic potential of the area into sharp focus, which created both a selling point for bringing new employers into the area and a climate for expanding existing facilities. Special compilations of information contained in the report have also been used by chambers of commerce in various communities within the county in attempts to attract new industry. Furthermore, the labor economist assigned to the mobile team developed a fact sheet to be used in conjunction with industrial development efforts. The fact sheet provided current information on population, work force, the skills of those persons covered in the Employment Service manpower inventory, weekly wage rates for selected occupations, information on nearby metropolitan areas, a list of industrial sites, transportation facilities, natural resources available in the area, and the available power resources.

EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

The Forrest City Employment Security Division office has used the information gathered on the characteristics of the work force in developing MDTA training projects. As of September 30, 1967, MDTA training had been organized for 420 persons, including 207 who had successfully completed training as welders, licensed practical nurses, operating engineers, and in a variety of occupations in the general field of electronics. Another 109 are currently enrolled in MDTA training. Without the communications and publicity brought about by the concerted services project, recruiting applicants who could benefit from this training would have been much more difficult.

Another 795 persons were enrolled in basic education courses. Classes for 42 persons were conducted under the provisions of Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act. Classes in basic education were also provided in collaboration with the out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps program. Basic education for another group of 30 trainees was coupled with an MDTA welding program.

COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY

The Concerted Services Coordinator has worked with local officials in establishing a Community Action Agency that began operation in the county in March 1966. This agency established the following programs: summer Head-Start, summer NYC, out-of-school NYC, and Off-Campus College Work Study. As a result of the liaison that had been established in rural areas by the Smaller Communities Program, a Neighborhood Resident Workers Program was begun and has been able to improve communications with these rural people. Under the program, nonprofessional workers are making contacts in the neighborhoods, passing on pertinent information concerning activities of Adult Basic Education, Manpower Development and Training Programs, Job Corps, Head-Start, Vocational Education, Employment Security Division, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Farmers Home Administration, and other services now available.

NEW VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

Concurrent with the activities of the Concerted Services Program in Saint Francis County has been the development of a vocational education program. The Crowley's Ridge Vocational-Technical School opened in September 1967. Training has been made available for the individual concerned with upgrading, updating, retraining, and self-improvement. Under the direction of Conway Wilson, director of Crowley's Ridge Vocational-Technical School, 459 students have already graduated from various home economics and training extension courses taught at various sites scattered throughout the county. In addition, 126 trainees are currently upgrading their skills as electronics handlers, analyzers and assemblers, whereas in October 1965 hardly any vocational education existed. Many of these students were recruited by the local public employment office, and all were screened through the local office.

OTHER SERVICES

The names and addresses of 700 heads of households which lacked indoor water or sewage facilities were given to the local Farmers Home Administration office. The local FHA home economist contacted 126 of these persons whose net family income fell below the $3,000 poverty level to inform them of low interest FHA loans which could be used for the improvement of water and sewage facilities. In addition, the Arkansas State Department of Health, Bureau of Sanitary Engineering, has developed a report analyzing the number of sanitary facilities available to those persons covered in the inventory. As a result, it was recommended that a sanitarian be employed in Saint Francis County to assist in securing proper sewage disposal and in improving the water supply.

Another aspect of the economic development of Saint Francis County is the creation of a recreation facility known as the Village Creek Project, located in the northern part of the county between Wynne and Forrest City. This project will involve the creation of a 1,200-acre manmade lake and adjoining recreational facilities on land which heretofore was 90 percent unusable. The Saint Francis Wildlife Association has supported this project and cooperated in a survey of interest on the part of area landowners. The results of this survey were surprising. Almost all the persons canvassed were interested in having such a facility located in the area. Some even indicated a willingness to donate part of the land.

The Soil Conservation Service conducted a survey for the damsite, and a consulting engineers' firm was retained to make borings and soil tests. It was determined that location of a dam in the Crowley Ridge area would be economically feasible. The Saint Francis Wildlife Association then urged the State Planning Commission, the State Game and Fish Commission, and the Parks and Publicity Commission to designate a State park to be located in eastern Arkansas. Both houses of the Arkansas Legislature voted unanimously to locate this park in the Crowley Ridge area of the county. The development of the recreation facility and the completion of the improved highway system between Saint Francis County, Memphis and Little Rock should be a major step forward in the economic growth of the area. It is unlikely that this project would have reached its present stage of development without the concerted services approach.

Close working relationships have been maintained with cooperatives. For example, members of the Saint Francis County Vegetable Grower Cooperative participated in an MDTA training program designed to assist them in improving their operations. Plans are also being made to provide with OEO funds a course in administration for officials of cooperatives.

PLANS TO EXPAND THE PROJECT

The three pilot projects have been in operation only 2 years. Despite this short time, there is general agreement that the concerted services approach has been highly successful. Residents of the three counties have taken advantage of the additional educational and training opportunities that have been provided. They are especially pleased with the expansion in job opportunities that has been associated with this project. As a result of the progress that has been made, the pilot projects will be continued for at least another year.

Requests for similar projects have been received from adjacent counties and arrangements have been made to extend the program in Arkansas to Cross and Lee Counties. The pilot projects in Minnesota and New Mexico will also be extended to adjacent counties. Plans are now underway to organize pilot projects in other States.

The following measures would enhance any expansion of the program:

1. Program expansion within the counties currently conducting pilot projects should be accelerated. Some residents who need additional education and training are not yet participating. Persons who have already completed one aspect of the program should be encouraged to take additional courses as needed.

2. In extending the program to adjacent counties, consideration should be given to the establishment of satellite centers to provide partial services there. This approach for expanding concerted services projects would eliminate the cost of establishing a coordinator in every county requesting participation in the program.

3. In extending the project to other States, the Government agencies involved should first establish the plan in one or two counties in each State and then, in light of experience, extend the program to other sections of the State.

A comprehensive manpower program for rural areas under the concerted services approach should help individuals obtain the general education and work skills they need to achieve their maximum earning potential in line with their interests and aptitude, and should help meet the complex skill requirements of the area's employers. Elements of a well-rounded manpower development program for rural areas under the concerted services approach embrace the following:

1. Measures to insure good elementary and secondary education for all young people in rural areas.

2. Financial assistance to help needy youngsters stay in school and to move on to any higher education for which they may be qualified.

3. Effective vocational education—emphasizing skills in growing industries and occupations. This should include the provision of training and work experience opportunities for jobless out-of-school youth.

4. Retraining facilities for unemployed adults, supplemented by allowances to help them support their families during the training period.

5. Facilities for part-time adult education to help employed workers upgrade and update their skills and knowledge.

6. Alternatives in the form of work opportunity or income maintenance when work is not available or training not feasible.

7. Day-care centers for children of working or training mothers.

Experience to date with the pilot projects has shown that Federal and State agencies working together with the local leaders can effectively bring education and training opportunities to rural residents. The approach explored by the projects provides an effective means for introducing new programs, such as job training for welfare recipients under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act, and the Human Resources Development Program of the public Employment Service. High priority should be given to extending this promising new approach. The Nation can ill afford to let the disadvantaged residents of rural areas remain unassisted. It is totally inconsistent with an expanding economy to permit this vast source of manpower to remain untapped. The manpower policies and techniques being developed in the Concerted Services Program offer new hope to rural America.

CREATIVE URBAN LEADERSHIP UNDER PRESIDENT JOHNSON

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, one of the most pressing problems facing this Nation today is the need for decent housing for low- and moderate-income families.

President Johnson, recognizing this problem, has worked long and hard to bring some hope to the 20 million urban Americans now trapped in substandard housing. Working together, the President and the Congress established a Department of Housing and Urban Development to bring scattered housing and urban development programs together and give the American city a Cabinet role; started a new program of rent supplement to increase the housing supply for needy families; inaugurated a model cities program to attack blight on a massive scale and renovate entire neighborhoods.

Now the President has called upon Congress to enact the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968—"a charter of renewed hope for the American city."

We must, over the next 10 years build 26 million homes—6 million of these to be federally assisted. Yesterday my colleagues in the Senate responded to the massive task ahead—by voting to increase Federal assistance for low- and moderate-income families.

We in the House must join in support of the Housing and Urban Development Act. The need cannot be denied and this act is a sensible approach to meeting this need.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents was kind enough to clip and send to me two very readable newspaper articles—one by the nationally known news commentator, Paul Harvey, and the other by Mr. William Lowndes, president of the Southern States Industrial Council. Both deal with "the forgotten man," the "average, honest, religious citizen" whose strength and courage form the backbone of this great Nation.

I would like to offer these articles for my colleagues' thoughtful consideration. We all need to stop now and then to reflect on the most essential ingredients of our national character—personal responsibility and self-respect.

I insert these articles at this point in the Record, as follows:

This Farmer, Champion Down, Seems America, Personified

(By Paul Harvey)

Champion Down is a retired farmer, 87. He lives in a log house about four miles east of Leslie, Mich.

Mr. Down's 127-year-old log house is what most today would call "shabby." By contemporary standards, he lives in "poverty." Many people would call him "underprivileged," "deprived."

I don't. He's one of the richest men I know.

Mr. Down can remember when all Americans worked their way, provided for the rainy day, took care of themselves and their own when they got ill or got old.

The Stars and Stripes were never displayed more reverently than on his living room wall. A modern interior decorator would have a conniption over the petit point picture and its inscription, "God Bless Our Home."

When reporter Bill Cuchaine from the State Journal called on the modest cabin near the crossroads of Olds and Cooper. Mr. Down was doing some carpenter work by the light of the open barn door. Sandy, his pet kitten, was stretching, yawning in the sunlight.

Typically hospitable, Mr. Down invited his visitor into his house, apologized for some untidiness, explained that "Mrs. Down died in 1923 and I never quite get caught up with housekeeping and chores."

His old heater burns wood or coal or corncobs. His daughters talked him into installing a telephone so they could keep in touch. That, and a transistor radio, are his only compromises with modernity. The cabin is lighted by Kerosene lamps.

Though he is 87 and entitled to assorted government pensions, Mr. Down has accepted none; no Medicare, no welfare, no old age pension, no unemployment pay, no subsidy for farming or for not farming. "I worked hard when I was young, saved enough to take care of myself," he says.

"Why should I be a burden on taxpayers? Better they should save their money for their own twilight time."

Today—pleading "poverty"—many Americans demand the property of others.

Some steal it. Others demand that the government seize it for them.

How refreshing to discover Champion Down. No beggar he; no man is more free.

When the rest of us have experimented with the notion that Big Government can take care of everybody and have discovered, as every nation in history has, that those governments end up bankrupt and their people desperate, perhaps then we'll be looking around for an example of independence and self-reliance and the kind of self-discipline that a man can develop only from doing what he ought to do, instead to just what he wants to do.

In that day we'll need to remember how it once was. And we'll need most an example of how it can be. And if, God willing, that day will come around again soon enough—Champion Down or his memory can be that for us all.

FORGOTTEN MAN, 1968 STYLE IS, HOPEFULLY, A VOTING MAN

(By William Lowndes)

Now with candidates, like June, "bustin' out all over," we'll hear a great deal of oratory in the presidential sweepstakes—we might even hear a little logic.

One reference that punctuated the bombast and bunting in the 1930s was the "forgotten man." Nobody was ever quite sure who the forgotten man was, but he gradually assumed the status of a woebegone individual, suffering at the hands of a tyrannical employer. So, in behalf of the "forgotten man," all sorts of legislation was enacted—some of it good, much of it bad.

Today we have a new "forgotten man." He's been crowded out of the political spectrum by appeals to the packaged vote or organized labor, the disadvantaged, the impoverished, the indolent indigent and even the indignant indigent who prefer to remain indolent.

And who is this "forgotten man of 1968?" Well, aside from the fighting troops in Vietnam, he is law-abiding, respectable, hard-working individual, whether he be executive or artisan. He is the man who watches his earnings siphoned away to support global aid programs of the most frivolous type. He is the man who is allowed a $600 yearly tax deduction to raise and educate his child while the unwed mother on relief gets many times that amount in welfare checks to support her burgeoning brood.

He is the man who takes pride in his home, in his environment, his friends and neighbors. He is the same forgotten man who is a "bigot," a "racist," and a veritable beast if he has any personal preference as to the buyer of his dwelling. He is all of these things if he belongs to a club that selects members on the basis of their acceptability in the light of standards approved by the members themselves. He is the man who spends hours filling out forms, questionnaires and other invasions of his privacy in the form of governmental inquiries. He is the same man who contributes to his own community in time and effort—and in money.

It is this same man, or his son, who volunteers for military service or answers a draft summons without complaint, then dies valiantly in a war his country won't let him win for fear of offending "world opinion." He sees his tax dollars used to support the United Nations, then reads of some tirade against his country by a costumed tribal chieftain from some Afro-Asian mini-nation free-loading at the same UN.

No census has been taken to establish the number of forgotten men in this day and age. Perhaps, however, the candidates will find out in November. Whether farmer, junior executive, union member, corporate head or laborer, there must be more than one forgotten man who has asked nothing of his government other than its respect for his basic rights and its compliance with the Constitution. A man who believes that any person should be able to walk the streets of any city, free from attack and mortal hurt. He doesn't need a label. He's just an average, honest, God-fearing citizen and, we hope, a voter.

POOR FOLKS DISCRIMINATION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Stokely Carmichael negotiates purchase of a $70,000 home; Mexican-Americans charge Afro-Americans with discrimination against white Americans and the waterlogged outside "poor campers" accused "Doc" Abernathy and his SCLC crew of sleeping in warm, dry hotels while the victims suffer in the rain and cold.

Quite a circus here in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Speaker, I insert news clippings from the local paper, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 28, 1968]

MOTEL OUSTS MILITANTS SEEKING ABERNATHY

(By Paul Hathaway)

About 20 black militants were ejected from the Pitts Motor Hotel last night after making a fruitless attempt to meet with the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, leader of the Poor People's Campaign.

For 20 minutes, the group roamed the lobby and the second floor of the motel at 15th and Belmont Streets NW, demanding a meeting with Abernathy, but he was in Huntington, L.I., for a speaking engagement. The militants then burst in on a meeting of executive staff members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the mistaken belief Abernathy was there.

They left after Cornelius Pitts, owner of the motel, threatened to have them arrested.

POLICE CARS ARRIVE

Three police cars arrived on the scene shortly after the group stormed out to the rain-swept street.

"You tell Abernathy if he doesn't come down (to the campsite) to talk with us in the mud," a youth shouted, "he's going to have to deal with us."

There were varying reports on the identity of the group. One witness said it was a group called the Memphis Invaders from Resurrection City. But the Rev. Andrew Young, executive vice president of SCLC, and the Rev. Albert Sampson insisted that the group was from outside Resurrection City.

Young explained the incident this way:

"For some reason, they resent the fact that we have our headquarters here in the motel. They think we should have it down there. If I, for one minute, felt it would do the movement any good to have it there, I would change it. I don't believe it would. . . . But what I regret most is all this has nothing to do with the plight of poor people in this country, nothing at all.

WHITES ARE BLAMED

Sampson later charged that the group had been paid by whites to disrupt the campaign.

"These are the people who would like to see poor people fail in Washington," said Sampson. "They want to see black people fighting each other."

It was the fiery Sampson who clashed with the militants in the lobby of the motel.

"If we can't see Abernathy, we're going to see somebody and we're going to see them tonight," said a broad-shouldered, 6-foot, African-dressed youth.

"Get out of this motel," said the pint-sized Sampson staring up at the youth. "This is private property. This is this man's hotel (pointing to Pitts) and you have no right to be here."

When another youth cursed at William Moyer, the white assistant director of the campaign, Sampson cautioned Moyer; "Don't react to that, man. Don't react. We're here to help poor people, not tend to Negroes collecting their neuroses."

Three uniformed policemen and two plainclothesmen remained on guard in the lobby for the rest of the night at Pitts' request.

Later, SCLC leaders summoned six marshals from Resurrection City to stand guard at the hotel.

There were reports that the group that invaded the motel was disturbed over the fact that there had been no attempt by SCLC leaders to evacuate residents from the muddy West Potomac Park site.

DRIVE TO CAMPSITE

After the incident, Young and Sampson rode to the campsite to talk with residents to determine if anyone wanted to move out.

"We rode up and down the site with a loudspeaker asking if anyone wanted to move," said Young. "Not one person came forward."

Sources close to SCLC said that black militants from outside the poor people's site were bent on creating a series of incidents at the hotel, to embarrass SCLC and the campaign.

They cited another incident last night in which a group of militants refused to pay a $50 bill in the downstairs Red Carpet Lounge of the motel, where most SCLC officials are staying. The group later backed down and paid the bill after Pitts again called the police.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 27, 1968]

A $70,000 ESTATE IN NORTHWEST: CARMICHAEL'S BID ON HOUSE

(By Barry Kalb)

Black power advocate Stokely Carmichael and his bride, African folk singer Miriam Makeba, are negotiating to buy a $70,000 castle-like house in the verdant "Gold Coast" area of upper Northwest Washington, on the eastern edge of Rock Creek Park.

The owner of the house has accepted a written purchase offer from the Carmichaels, subject to further discussions on financing and other matters, according to sales manager Archie Kennedy of the Floyd E. Davis real estate company.

The three-story, four-bedroom house, at 4331 Blagden Ave., NW, sits amid about an acre of well-kept gardens. City Councilman William S. Thompson lives two doors away at 4343, and prominent investment broker Belmont Ver Standig lives next door at 4329.

The owner of the house, F. Vic Guidice, said yesterday that negotiations with "some singer from New York" had been in progress for about a week.

Guidice, who is retired, said he and his son have been living in the house and plan to move out of the city.

Kennedy confirmed that the singer is Miss Makeba, 35, who was married to the 27-year-old Carmichael here early this month. Her lawyer is to contact the real estate firm tomorrow or Wednesday to discuss "a certain situation that we have to get straightened out," Kennedy said.

"One of the contingencies is financing," he added, but he refused to be more specific about the tentative purchase agreement.

"It's all up in the air," he emphasized. "We don't know what the situation is."

Kennedy said the house had been on the market at $70,000 for about six weeks. Miss Makeba expressed her interest in a telephone call to Kennedy about a week ago, he said, but he did not recognize the prominence of her name until later.

The Carmichaels "probably looked at the house one Sunday" but were not recognized by the agent, he added.

The house, which Guidice said is about 30 years old, is just west of 16th Street NW a short distance from the Carter Barron Amphitheater, where Miss Makeba has performed.

Carmichael, who popularized the black power ideology and became head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is now a Washington-based field secretary for the organization.

There have been several recent reports that Carmichael and Miss Makeba were seeking a house in the upper 16th Street area. A recent newsletter of the GOP Congressional Committee pictured another upper Northwest house that the Carmichaels purportedly were buying.

In New York, one of Miss Makeba's agents at Associated Booking said he knew nothing of her "personal" business. Neither Miss Makeba nor her personal manager was available to comment on such a matter, he said.

Carmichael reportedly was in Washington today preparing for a West Coast trip but could not immediately be reached.

Miss Makeba, whose previous marriage to South African recording star Hugh Masakela ended in divorce, has a 17-year-old daughter, Bongi. Carmichael has not been married before.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 27, 1968]

POOR TAKE COMPLAINT TO HILL ON JET NOISE AT TENT CITY

Several residents of Resurrection City have complained to Rep. Herbert Tenzer, D-N.Y., about jet plane noise disturbing their community.

Tenzer told them that for several years he has received similar complaints "from the rich and poor alike" in his Long Island district and here.

He said he sympathized with the people of the tent city and hoped that a jet noise bill recently approved by the House Commerce Committee would be passed by Congress this year.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 27, 1968]

ABERNATHY, AIDES ACT TO AVERT LATIN RIFT

Officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference moved quickly today to try to head off a rupture within the ranks of the Poor Peoples' Campaign as a group of Spanish-Americans charged they were being discriminated against.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy and other top SCLC aides conferred at mid-morning with Reies Lopez Tijerina, leader of some 400 Spanish-speaking campaigners from the Southwest.

Visiting Resurrection City, Tijerina earlier charged that "poor whites were being pushed down, pushed out and discriminated against and humiliated" by the campaign officials and said his group might refuse to move into the campsite on The Mall.

Bernard Lee, one of Abernathy's top aides, said a conference between the two elements at the private Hawthorne School in Southwest where the Spanish-Americans have been staying was going "very, very" successfully.

It had been agreed, Lee said, that no more decisions would be made without the concurrence and help of the non-Negro campaigners.

Tijerina, fiery leader of a group calling itself the Political Confederation of Free City States in the Southwest, is awaiting trial in New Mexico growing out of an armed raid on a county courthouse.

He contended earlier today that the Spanish-Americans' claims that they have been cheated out of millions of acres have been subordinated in SCLC strategy.

The meeting today with Tijerina was set up after the Spanish-American leader toured Resurrection City and threatened that his contingent might refuse to move in.

Later, the Rev. Andrew Young said, "I'd be the first to say that we will have some inter-ethnic" tensions, but indicated that he felt it was not a significant problem.

Young said that four loads of Appalachian poor, integrated, was due here Thursday.

"Tactically," he said, "it is hard to relate (the Spanish-Americans land claims) to something as urgent as hunger—and hunger sparked this whole campaign."

And Lee said that a division of labor among elements of the March might be desirable. "It's better that the Spanish-Americans go to see Secretary of the Interior (Stewart) Udall about land grants and treaties than us. . . ."

Lee said he was sure that common ground would be found between the two groups before the day ended.

Meanwhile, SCLC officials still faced problems of getting Resurrection City ready for the other 400 members of the Western contingent who have been staying in Montgomery County churches since late last week.

Tijerina and his group then paid their respects to the memory of the late Democratic Sen. Dennis Chavez of New Mexico in a visit to his statue in the Capitol this morning, accompanied by his son, Dennis Chavez, Jr.

They then went to Resurrection City. At an impromptu news conference just outside the gate Tijerina said, "poor whites are pushed down, pushed out, discriminated against and humiliated" during the campaign.

Rudolph Thompson, who said he was "political administrator" for the camp, pushed into the group and shouted, "I want to clarify this. I'm here to deny whatever this man says."

Thompson at one point had to resort to a position usually jeered by SCLC—"Give us time," he shouted at Tijerina, "give us time to get oriented."

After a brief exchange, Tijerina walked away and said he and his group might refuse to move to the camp. Abernathy then went to the school to talk to the dissidents.

INTERNATIONAL AVIATION LOSES A FRIEND

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, recent negotiations between Mexico and the United States resulted in added international commercial flights between the nations.

The negotiations followed the strong pattern of friendship developed over the years by dedicated persons involved in the development of civil aviation in both countries.

One of the builders of these air bridges was Ing. Ramon Perez Morquecho, director of civil aeronautics for Mexico. The Tucson Airport Authority, whose members had the honor of working closely with him, recently passed a resolution in his memory. I want to share it with my colleagues herewith:

RESOLUTION

Whereas the late Ing. Ramon Perez Morquecho, Director de Aeronautica Civil of Mexico, was a friend of the Tucson Airport Authority and the State of Arizona for many years, and whereas he cooperated and was most helpful in the promotion of general aviation conferences to the benefit of general aviation traffic between Mexico and the United States, and whereas he was also of great assistance to the Tucson Airport Authority and the State of Arizona in obtaining improved commercial air service between the two countries.

Be it therefore resolved by the Board of Directors of the Tucson Airport Authority, at its meeting held this 6th day of May, 1968, that the memory of his friendship and enthusiasm in improving the air transportation system of his country shall long encourage the Authority and other aviation interests in Mexico and the United States in their future efforts to continue to promote closer relations and cooperation.

STATE'S ATTORNEY STAMOS VOTED NATION'S TOP PROSECUTOR

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, with pride in the great 10th ward of Chicago, of which he is a resident, and in the Second Congressional District of Illinois, of which it is a part and which it has been my honor and privilege to represent in nine Congresses, I am honored to announce to the House that one of my most distinguished constituents, the Honorable John J. Stamos, State's attorney, of Cook County, has been named the outstanding prosecutor in the Nation by the National District Attorneys Association.

Never has a greater honor come to Chicago and to Cook County in the field of law enforcement. Never in the history of our Nation has a prosecutor in a metropolitan district and the staff under his direction established a record exceeding if indeed equaling that of State's Attorney Stamos' office—guilty verdicts in over 90 percent of the cases in which indictments were returned.

For myself, and I am sure I speak for the entire membership of the House, I extend warm congratulations to this young man of 44, who by the 2,700-member Association of District Attorneys, has been voted the Nation's outstanding prosecutor. He will officially receive the award at the association's August convention in San Francisco.

Stamos, with the modesty that endears him to his friends, gives all the credit to his staff.

He said:

> The credit must go to my wonderful staff which has created an atmosphere of professional law.

Stamos' law career began in 1951 when he joined the corporation counsel's office. From 1954 to 1959 he was with the State's attorney's office, handling mostly criminal cases.

Stamos left the State's attorney's office in 1960 to enter private practice, but returned the next year as first assistant State's attorney under Daniel P. Ward.

On December 4, 1966, Stamos was named State's attorney to complete the unexpired term of Ward, who was named an Illinois Supreme Court justice.

During Stamos' time in office, he has obtained convictions in 92 percent of the criminal cases tried, including the Richard Speck case involving the slaying of eight nurses, and led a legislative program of 35 anticrime bills, most of which have become law.

IF SPEECHES COULD FEED THE HUNGRY

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on May 26, 1968, an article appeared in the Boston Globe entitled, "If Speeches Could Feed the Hungry."

This incisive and penetrating piece was written by the uniquely talented and gifted Washington writer for the Globe, Richard Stewart. In a relatively few words he has gone to the core of one of our great national problems and one of our great national shames—the starvation and hunger and malnutrition which affects millions of our citizens each and every day of their lives.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this excellent article to the attention of all of my colleagues and to the attention of the general public—it is a hard-hitting article and it deserves our closest consideration.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert this article at this point in the RECORD:

IF SPEECHES COULD FEED THE HUNGRY

(By Richard H. Stewart)

WASHINGTON.—During the recent riots in this city the grounds around the capitol building assumed a disturbingly unreal appearance.

Where groups of tourists and high school graduating classes had walked in glee, grim-faced soldiers with helmets and rifles walked in measured steps behind wooden barriers.

For a brief time there was even a machine gun mounted on the capitol steps, but somebody apparently decided maybe that was a bit too much and it was moved out of sight.

Maybe it was the show of force, but, in any event, not a single rioter ever came close to the impressive marble structure that houses the nation's lawmakers.

This past week the protectors of the capitol building got nervous again. Extra policemen began showing up on the capitol grounds.

There were no soldiers this time, no rifles or machine guns mounted in strategic locations.

The objects of their concern were the ragtag group of forsaken Americans who had come to Washington to make their home in plywood a-frames on a 15-acre plot of ground that belongs to the U.S. government and located between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument.

They are the poor—white, black and red—who moved across the country to make their homes in "Resurrection City, U.S.A." and make themselves visible to a nation that appeared not to know they existed.

Some of them made their way to the capitol building during the week. They were allowed through police lines in small groups while busloads of more affluent Americans were being deposited at the very doors of Congress to make their way freely in their Bermuda shorts, occasionally pausing to reload their cameras with the zoom lenses.

Some of the poor even found their way to the grotesquely magnificent Rayburn house office building to watch the proceedings of the Committee on Education and Labor on the second floor.

They found extra police were there, too, and each end of the corridor leading to the hearing room was blocked by shiny brass stanchions connected by thick red velvet cords.

But they were in small groups, the old and the young children, and they were allowed to pass to the hearing room where the subjects for discussion were hunger and malnutrition.

One Negro boy, about 6, fell asleep in a chair with his hat on as the hearing began. His mother shook him and took off his hat. She was teaching him the respect due to members of Congress.

Two women, one Negro and the other white, were the scheduled witnesses. They were reporting to the committee on the findings of their organization's investigation of the nation's school lunch program.

To the visitors from Resurrection City it must have been confusing.

The hearing, scheduled to get under way at 9:45 began a little after 10. (Not a bad start for a Congressional committee.)

At 10:30 neither of the two women witnesses had uttered a single word of testimony. The most they had done was look at each other a few times and smile weakly in frustration.

Committee Chairman Carl D. Perkins (D-Ky.) made an opening statement, which boiled down to the fact he was sure Congress was not doing enough but he had a feeling it was not ready to do more.

Then he tossed in some bouquets for the House Agriculture Committee for the work it has been doing to help alleviate hunger.

Rep. Perkins may have forgotten for the moment that the Agriculture Committee, headed by Rep. W. R. Poage (D-Texas), had tried to emasculate the bill to protect the American consumer from sellers of unwholesome meat and poultry.

The speeches ground on. One committee member called the hearing "a unique and historic occasion," and, like others on the committee, tossed in the usual praise for the committee chairman for having the foresight to hold hearings on hunger.

Another member vigorously complained that aid to the poor was available but was "being tied up in red tape."

The hearing was now more than a half-hour old. The stenographer had all the speeches duly recorded for inclusion in the bound volume of the hearings that would be compiled when they ended.

But the two women witnesses had still not testified.

And the little boy's hatless head was beginning to nod again.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 128th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

COMPUTER SCIENCE IN THE UNIVERSITIES

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I insert the following in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Computers have not only changed the fundamental systems in industry and government, but their economic success has reached the point where the need for highly trained people has exceeded our available human resources.

Our universities are the logical training grounds for developing skilled computer manpower. Computers are having a dynamic effect on our educational institutions, an effect that must be recognized. Contrary to popular belief, the skillful use of computers can have a humanizing influence on our overcrowded universities, offering an immense promise for our society.

In his January, 1967 message to Congress, the President, recognizing the potential contribution of computers in the field of education, directed the National Science Foundation, in conjunction with the Office of Education, to explore the uses and benefits of computers in the nation's educational institutions. In response to this request, Dr. Leland Haworth established within the National Science Foundation, the Office of Computing Activities with Dr. Milton Rose as Head, to carry out the President's proposal. The new office absorbed two previously existing programs: (1) The Computer Facility Support (2) Computer Science Research Programs.

The President also established an interagency committee to coordinate the activities of the various Federal agencies that support the use of computers in education. The members of this committee include representatives of the Department of Defense, National Institutes of Health, Office of Education and the National Science Foundation. Dr. Rose is Chairman of the committee.

In F.Y. '67 the level of funding of the NSF programs of Computer Facility Support and Computer Science Research was 12.7 million dollars. In F.Y. '68 the level of funding for the Office of Computing Activities was 20.0 million dollars to continue those programs and initiate several new programs in response to the President's directive. The new programs now underway include a program for developing computer uses, designed to encourage efforts to explore the educational implications of computers as they affect different disciplines. Another program is an extension of the Computer Science efforts, designed to expand research in education activities at both the graduate and undergraduate levels in the field of computer science. The Student and Teacher Program is giving particular emphasis to cooperative activities leading to mastery of the computer so that computers become the servants, not the masters of our society. Another category is Special Projects, which has undertaken, among other things, a study of the role of regional centers in developing computer competence throughout the United States. One of the most important activities of the Office of Computing Activities is supporting institutional computer services. The prime function of this program is to provide seed funding to help institutions achieve necessary growth in computer capability to smooth out the financial dislocation associated with the start of computer activity. If this support were not provided, the financial drain would seriously impair many of the other educational functions of most of our universities. The resistance to computer centers by the universities if Federal support were not available, would produce a serious shortage of computer trained specialists who will be essential if we are to maintain a continuing growth of the United States economy in the next twenty years. Federal support generates the momentum that provides educational institutions with the time to develop computer competence and local support for continuing programs.

IMPACT IN CALIFORNIA OF THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION OFFICE OF COMPUTING ACTIVITIES

The various campuses of the University of California and the State Colleges have had to turn to the National Science Foundation for seed money to help cushion the economic shock of bringing computers onto their campuses. State funds are currently being heavily committed to building programs and to providing increased academic staffing and facilities for student instruction. Federal support is essential if we are to carry out research with modern computers. The rapid rate of computer development causes relatively rapid obsolescence, and a computer manufactured ten years ago is incapable of meeting the needs of today's research and teaching programs.

A growing trend at the University of California is the cooperative effort of faculty members working with Federal, State and local government groups on problems of practical importance. For example, the Fire Laboratory of the Federal Forest Service is conducting a program of developing forest fire fighting techniques at the University of California at Riverside. This project is designed to develop a Fire Control Center with management capabilities, to respond to emergencies throughout the National Forests in the western United States. Computers will be used to analyze and evaluate large amounts of data in short periods, obtained from airborne sensors and radio communication links. Computers will also play a large role in damage control assessment and in dispatching crews of fire fighters, aircraft and logistic support. If, as anticipated, the use of computers speeds and improves fire fighting techniques, hundreds of millions of dollars worth of forest resources will be saved. This pioneering program will probably be a prototype for regional damage control centers that will assist in recovery from earthquakes, hurricanes and riots.

Many other applied research projects are being developed at various University of California campuses—projects that are possible only because of the development of the new third generation computers which have enormously expanded speed and memory capabilities. Few campuses in California could afford the high cost of these machines without the Federal support provided by the National Science Foundation's Computing Activities Program.

Federal funds spent in this area have been used very effectively, and have a large multiplier effect, by supporting simultaneously the private and public sectors of our economy.

THE PRESIDENT

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson deserves the gratitude of all concerned Americans for his vision in proposing and supporting the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, which passed the Senate Tuesday by an overwhelming margin.

No President in our history has done more to meet the challenge posed by our cities than President Johnson.

The 1968 act represents a culmination of his efforts to respond to that challenge.

It prescribes a well-balanced attack on our urban problems across a broad front, joined in by both the public and private sectors. It signals the commitment of this Nation's resources to the resolution of urban ills.

In its call for a radical expansion of the volume of housing production for low- and moderate-income Americans, of expanded assistance to the rent supplement and model cities programs, in its assistance to new communities, in its call for ghetto property insurance and a national housing partnership, it gives this country a varied assortment of tools with which we can begin to work on the task before us in a meaningful way.

I commend my colleagues for voting for this act and I commend the President for his vision and concern in proposing it.

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ACT OF 1968

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, the terrible threat of disabling injuries hangs over every American worker. The Secretary of Labor tells us:

> Under the current system it is estimated that 75 out of every 100 teenagers now entering the work force will suffer a disabling injury during their career.

We must block that statistic and divert the course of events. We can do so by passing the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968. I am not making exaggerated claims for this legislation. Unfortunately, the area of job safety and occupational health has been so badly neglected, with rare exceptions, that the proposals before us are capable of exerting very dramatic change.

We have the opportunity here to launch new, strong programs to be administered by the States; to support research that will be the basis for fair and necessary standards; to alleviate the manpower shortage which has hampered progress in attacking the hazards of the workplace; and to collect and disseminate the scientific and technical information bearing on problems of occupational health and safety.

It has been estimated that every 20 minutes a new, and potentially toxic, chemical is introduced into industry. At one time, the occupational health profession was able to publish recommended limits on exposures. Today the chemicals increase so fast that there are recommendations for only 400 out of 6,000 in commercial use. We are not keeping up with current progress to say nothing of those undreamed of inventions and discoveries which lie ahead and which could become hazards if we remain ignorant.

Passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1968 is necessary to protect the worker and to protect the goals we have set elsewhere for better health and a decent environment for all people of this Nation.

BETH BRICKELL IS A BUILDER, LITERALLY

HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Speaker, one of the rising young actresses in the television world today is Beth Brickell. Beth is a fine young lady that I had the privilege of attending Camden, Ark., High School with and now she is the star in the CBS show "Gentle Ben."

She is as outstanding a person as she is an actress and everyone in our hometown of Camden takes justifiable pride in claiming her as one of our most distinguished citizens.

With permission of the House, I enclose in my remarks a United Press story on Beth Brickell which appeared recently in the Arkansas Gazette and other newspapers.

BETH BRICKELL IS A BUILDER, LITERALLY

(By Gay Pauley)

NEW YORK.—If Beth Brickell ever decides to quit acting, she has another job waiting as a carpenter.

Right now, Miss Brickell is putting the tools of the acting trade to work on a top-rated television series. The tools of the carpenter's craft have been at work on renovation of apartments. These she has leased empty, furnished them, and sublet at substantially higher rent than the original.

The profit has been enough to see her through the Actors Studio, support her when she made the rounds looking for jobs, and still is a nice monthly dividend although it no longer is "eat or else" money.

"When you're studying acting, you have to find a way to support yourself without the job taking all your time," Miss Brickell said.

At the moment, she leases three New York apartments that she has renovated, doing everything from converting closets to dressing rooms to installing parquet flooring.

Her landlords don't mind their absentee tenant's making the profit on their property. After all, she is improving it and the improvement remains if ever she decides not to re-lease.

The 25-year-old actress, who plays the wife and mother in CBS–TV's "Gentle Ben," said carpentry began for her when she was a child growing up in Camden, Ark.

"Mom and Dad gave me a bicycle for Christmas when I was 8, but one gift looked lonesome, so Dad added on a tool chest," she said.

The "tomboy," who grew up into a lovely 5-foot-3 blonde, started building—"I was always the project type," she said.

"I'd go anywhere a new house was going up and beg lumber scraps and nails. I built our girls' clubhouse, bird feeders, bird houses, tree houses, scooters.

"By the time I was 14, though, I stopped carpentry," she said. "I got interested in boys."

One of three children of a commercial printer (the family since has moved to Fort Worth, Tex.), Miss Brickell is a graduate of the University of Arkansas, where she majored in history and political science.

Because of an early interest in a government career, she went to Scotland to do graduate work at the University of Scotland. Another early career interest was in reporting and she worked one high school and three college summers for daily papers in Camden and Shreveport, La.

But in the back of her mind always, she said, was the desire to act and once she'd made up her mind to try, "I figured I should study with the best teachers. If I was no good, I'd have gotten it out of my system."

She studied with two of the best known—Sanford Meisner and Lee Strasberg.

Miss Brickell's first New York apartment was a one-room efficiency near the Actors Studio. When she moved in, out came the old tool kit and in went shelves for additional storage space, unfinished furniture she finished, and other improvements.

When she began getting television commercial assignments, she moved to a larger apartment on Central Park South. There, among other improvements, she tore out an interior wall for added space, relaid tiles and parquet floors. Similar improvements have gone into the third New York apartment.

But now, she said, she's too busy to do anything about the apartments she leases in Hollywood and Miami. Miami is the location for the shooting of the television show which stars Miss Brickell, Dennis Weaver as her husband, Clint Howard as their small son, and a pet black bear named Ben.

Furnishings for the renovated apartments came from thrift shops, charity retail outlets, girl friends who moved away from New York, and the attics of her relatives. Her grandfather and six uncles were jewelers, so they were a cut-rate source for china, glass, silver and the like.

"All my relatives know not to throw anything away, just ship to Beth," she said.

SICK—AND TIRED

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Sick—and Tired" published in the Washington Daily News of May 29, 1968.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SICK—AND TIRED

We, and many other Americans, are sick. And tired.

Sick of those who think the U.S. can never do anything right.

Tired of those who think no other country can ever do anything wrong.

Sick of those who promote disobedience.

Tired of those who ignore injustice.

Sick of the brainless mobs who burn and loot.

Tired of their apologists blind to the truth.

Sick of white racists who deny the black man the right to set up a home wherever he wishes.

Tired of black racists who deny the white man the right to set up a business wherever he chooses.

Sick of those who are always demanding something.

Tired of those who never want to give anything.

Sick of those who oppose helping even people who can't help themselves.

Tired of those who favor helping even those who won't help themselves.

Sick of teachers who prefer to preach.

Tired of preachers who fail to teach.

Sick of the bathless boobs who are desecrating our colleges.

Tired of the spineless educators who are letting them do it.

Sick of youngsters who scorn the wisdom of age.

Tired of oldsters who spurn the ideas of youth.

Sick of those movie makers whose films reflect their depravity.

Tired of those movie goers who support such screen scum.

Sick of the authors of latrine literature.

Tired of the readers who elevate them to the best-seller lists.

Sick of the New Left.

Tired of the Old Right.

Sick of those politicians who promise one thing and do another.

Tired of those voters who blindly endorse them from one election to the other.

Sick of the mess we're all in.

And too tired to say any more about it.

LAWLESSNESS IS AMERICA'S NO. 1 CONCERN, WARNS EDITOR HARRY HAMM

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, there is a continuing need for Americans to be alerted to the current crime crisis.

A warning has been set forth in a hard-hitting editorial by Harry Hamm in the May 26 issue of the Wheeling, W. Va., News-Register.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have the editorial inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAWLESSNESS IS AMERICA'S NO. 1 CONCERN

(By Harry Hamm)

Wherever one journeys today the conversation always seems to focus on the increasing lawlessness and permissiveness which has overtaken the land.

The concern is over where the Nation is headed.

It is not a topic which one can easily put out of mind. No issue of a daily newspaper, no newscast on the radio or television passes without some account of the disorder and the chaos which besets the country.

Ironically at the very time when there is at least a glimmer of hope for peace on the foreign front it is at home that the United States faces the greatest challenge.

Last week I was in Charleston for a day and over lunch with a gathering of gentlemen from all parts of the state—both men of business and of labor—the overriding concern was whether law, order and authority can be restored in America before it is too late. There were Republicans and Democrats around the table but on this topic there was no evidence of political partisanship.

The consensus was that crime and lawlessness was the dominant issue of Campaign '68 even superseding the issue of war and peace. It is so, they believed, because the war in Vietnam is far away while the disorder is very real and very near.

No one came right out and said he had found the man best suited to lead the country out of the chaos and turmoil. And I believe that is the way a majority of Americans feel today despite all of the campaign oratory and the polls. It is a discomforting feeling.

Our heritage as a Great Nation stems mainly from our past national leadership and national institutions. Always in times of grave crisis the country found the dedicated and fearless leaders to carry on and always there was strength to be derived from our national institutions—the home, the school and the church. Now we are floundering in all of these areas and that is the American dilemma.

It is not clear how all of this can be fitted in nicely to Campaign '68 so that voters can easily discern where best to trust their votes. Sure crime is the Nation's No. 1 domestic issue for the record shows that in the past twenty years the population of the United States has increased 34 per cent while crime has increased 228 per cent! But how is this question to be resolved through the national election? Certainly no man seeking the high office of President would come out publicly today and uphold lawbreakers. Every candidate in this election year can be expected to stand squarely for law and order. But is there a man who can and who will deliver? How can we be sure?

The issue of crime and lawlessness is further complicated by an array of other issues which become involved with the central problem and all of them are supersensitive, highly emotional topics. There are the problems of race, poverty, centralized government, welfare and all authority in general. These problems have become entangled within our national institutions—the home, the school and the church—and these institutions themselves are in ferment if not in downright turmoil in some instances. Thus they are unable to offer guidance and strength to the national leadership in a time of distress.

Under these circumstances there is a possibility that the voters will go to the polls in November and not decide the elections at all on the basis of restoring order and peace to the home front. Rather the voter may succumb to a personality, an image or an old partisanship loyalty. The bands will play "Happy Days Are Here Again!" and politicians will invoke the names of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy and Ike Eisenhower and the crowds will cheer and hope that somehow out of the tumult and confusion America will survive. I wonder if it can happen?

If there is one encouraging sign to be found in all of this rather dismal scene it is in the fact that more than ever now I believe there is a growing national awareness of the serious problem of lawlessness and the threat of anarchy. There is a tendency for more persons to speak out against the rebellious elements. There is a stiffening of the American spine. And this is good because without an awareness of the problem there will be found no solution. This is not to say there has been any lessening of the American zeal for compassion and justice but rather a realization that such noble traits truly cannot be exemplified while the air is charged with violence, hate and disorder. There is a sharpening of focus on the fact that we cannot destroy a Nation and save it too.

MEMORIAL DAY

HON. WILLIAM T. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Jessie M. Williams, of Chicago, Ill., composed a very deserving and appropriate poem entitled "Memorial

Day," which pays tribute to our servicemen.

I commend this poem to the attention of my colleagues, and under unanimous consent, I insert this poem in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY

Here they come on parade,
Marching side by side.
Our boys in blue and green,
All America's pride.

Bands a-playing, flags unfurled,
The reviewing stand to pass.
Eyes forward, a sharp salute,
They march along in class.

Makes one very proud
To know they're on our side.
Builds up your ego,
And fills a heart with pride.

On this day of dedication,
In memories of all others,
Who gave their lives for you and me,
Dads, sweethearts, sons, and brothers.

A living symbol of the past,
And future dedication,
To those who under Stars and Stripes,
Deserve our commendations.

WHAT IT TAKES TO BE A LEADER

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, William Makepeace Thackeray said that "bravery is never out of fashion." It could be equally said that leadership should never be out of fashion but good leaders are always in short supply.

One of the greatest men our country has produced, a magnificent commander in war and a leader in education since his retirement from military service, is Gen. Mark W. Clark. General Clark served as Allied Commander in Italy during World War II and as Commander in Chief of U.N. Forces in Korea and served as president of the Citadel, the military college of South Carolina, from 1954 to 1965. Drawing on his vast store of knowledge from years of unsurpassed leadership General Clark has now put down in classically lucid, succinct form an explanation of what it takes to be a leader.

The Reader's Digest has done a great service in publishing General Clark's thoughts. I know all Members of the House will find it of great value in its careful summary of the qualities of a leader must possess. I am happy to have this opportunity to insert it in the RECORD.

General Clark points out something we all need to be more aware of—that many of our major problems today result from lack of leadership in the family or in our cities or in our Nation.

As General Clark puts it:

> What can we do to improve the climate in which such attributes of leadership develop? The answer is that parents must do it. The job has to be done early, and it has to be done in the home.

I commend to the attention of all my colleagues this very important and timely article.

The article follows:

WHAT IT TAKES TO BE A LEADER

All my life, both as soldier and as educator, I have been engaged in a search for a mysterious intangible. All nations seek it constantly, because it is the key to greatness, sometimes to survival. That intangible is the electric and elusive quality known as leadership. One of England's great soldiers, Field Marshal Montgomery, calls it "the capacity and will to rally men and women to a common purpose." However you define this quality, one thing is certain: there's never enough of it available.

Where does juvenile delinquency begin? In leaderless families. Where do slums fester? In leaderless cities. Which armies falter, which political parties fail? Poorly led ones.

Contrary to the old saying that leaders are born, not made, the art of leading *can be taught*, and it *can be mastered*. What are the qualities we are trying to evoke? Let me list the characteristics that seem to me fundamental:

Confidence. If a leader does not believe in himself, no one else will. But confidence must be acquired. At every stage, there must be a steady buildup of assurance, a conviction of competence based on training and the gradual accumulation of experience and skill.

Two thousand years ago, Hannibal believed that he could lead an army of 60,000 men and scores of elephants over the Alps through blinding snowstorms to attack the Romans in the most daring march in military history. That confidence in himself was planted and nurtured by his father, the great Carthaginian general Hamilcar, who trained his son in tactics and strategy until as a combat leader Hannibal had no equal in the ancient world.

Energy. A leader must be willing to do everything he asks of his followers—and more. He must be able to work harder, concentrate longer, face the extra danger, carry the extra burden, go the extra mile.

This energy comes from within. John Wesley, founder of Methodism, was a frail little man only five-feet-four-inches tall. But every morning he rose at four, delivered his first sermon at five, was on the road by six. Every day he traveled 60 or 70 miles on horseback, preaching to anyone who would hear him. At night, he sat up writing books or composing hymns by candlelight. In all his 87 years he never once spared himself. And men loved him and followed him for it.

Timing. This is a combination of alertness, imagination and foresight. "No man thinking thoughts born out of time," wrote Woodrow Wilson, "can succeed in leading his generation." Wilson's own career was dramatic proof of this. He led the United States into World War I when the country was ready for it, not before. But later, when Wilson pressed for U.S. participation in the League of Nations, the country was not ready, and his effort ended in crashing failure. Same leader, same country—but wrong timing.

Clarity. A leader must be able to reason logically, weigh alternatives, make decisions—and then convey his thoughts lucidly. "The man who can think," said Pericles, "and does not know how to express what he thinks is at the level of him who cannot think."

Tenacity. Courage, it has been said, is the capacity to hang on five minutes longer. The leader not only must have this ability himself, he must also inspire it in others. Perhaps the greatest leader of our time was Sir Winston Churchill, who never flinched from telling his people the truth, even when the truth was appalling. One of them said of him, "I doubt if any man in history has ever made such grim utterances, yet given his people such a feeling of strength and exuberance—even cheerfulness."

Boldness. This strong and virile characteristic is akin to courage, but more dynamic. It reveals itself in a willingness to take chances, a readiness to experiment, a soaring optimism that rejects and despises the thought of failure.

Leaders of the first rank always have it. Andrew Jackson, tough Old Hickory, bristled with it. Theodore Roosevelt reveled in it. He said, "Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat."

Concern. Experience has taught me that men will never follow anyone unless they feel that he really cares about them and their problems. So George Washington endured the miseries of Valley Forge with his men, sharing every hardship. Indeed, concern for others is a sign of imagination and vision, two key ingredients of leadership.

Morality. A stern code of ethics, a strong sense of personal morality, "obedience to the unenforceable"—these are qualities a leader must have at the core of his being. This is why military schools and colleges put so much stress on duty and honor, love of God and country. They know that without a firm moral base a man is too unsure of himself to be an effective leader.

Faith. Above and beyond all, a leader must believe in his people as well as in the goal toward which he is leading them. Napoleon's confidence in the valor of his troops never wavered. Once, at the siege of Toulon, he ordered a battery of cannon placed in such an exposed position that his staff objected. To man the guns was suicide, they said; no soldier would do it. Napoleon ordered a placard printed: "The Battery of Men Without Fear." The guns were always manned!

What can we do to improve the climate in which such attributes of leadership develop? The answer is that parents must do it. The job has to be done early, and it *has* to be done in the home.

Take confidence, for example. The seeds of this quality are planted long before a child goes to school. It begins with the successful performance of limited tasks. Praise helps. Instruction helps. But if you really want your child to excel you must go beyond that. You must search out and encourage areas of interest and aptitude. You must offer guidance and time and involvement. You must be willing to give of yourself.

You must see that cetain values exist in the home: respect, pride, loyalty, honor. Talk and action reflect these things. Life must be revealed not as a dubious and pointless struggle but as a magnificent privilege, a torch that must burn as brightly as possible before it is handed on to the next generation.

Let no one think that being a leader is easy. Often it is a lonely and difficult business. As Nietzsche said, "Life always gets harder toward the summit—the cold increases, the responsibility increases." And there is never any guarantee of success.

But the rewards are enormous for those who will strike for the summit, who will take the risks, dare the unknown. "Happiness," wrote the late President Kennedy, "lies in the exercise of vital powers along the lines of excellence in a life affording them scope." That is the kind of happiness a leader seeks and often finds. If enough of us understand this, and live by it, the future of our nation will be secure.

ONE TO REMEMBER

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, next November 11 will mark the 50th anniversary of the signing of the armistice in France at the end of World War I.

This is an important occasion for a good many of our citizens—indeed, it properly is one of importance to all our citizens.

We have commemorative postage stamps to mark many important events in our history.

Certainly the anniversary of the Armistice of 1918 should rank at the top level of consideration for a special stamp issue.

I have asked the chairman of the Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee, Mr. David Lidman, to give this suggestion most serious study and attention.

I concur wholeheartedly with the text of an editorial in the May 20 edition of the New York Daily News, which follows:

ONE TO REMEMBER

The Post Office Department is playing ring-around-the-rosy with a proposal to commemorate a great event—the 50th anniversary, come Nov. 11, of the armistice that ended World War I.

For more than a year, the Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., has been pleading that a stamp be issued to honor the occasion. The organization has gotten the brush-off.

It is true, as postal officials argue, that they have many requests for commemorative stamps.

Still, it seems unthinkable that the government would suffer such a milestone in ours and the world's history to pass without official remembrance. Indeed, it is a disgrace that it must be prodded from outside to take such action.

HAVE YOU FORSAKEN US?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, last night's Evening Star here in Washingtn, D.C., contained a large-lettered "Appeal to the 200 million people in this great Nation."

I take this opportunity to advise the District citizens I hear their appeal, but we need awaken more citizens—this is an election year. I include the appeal following my comments:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 28, 1968]

AN APPEAL TO THE 200 MILLION PEOPLE IN THIS GREAT NATION, ALL OF WHOM OWN A SHARE OF WASHINGTON, D.C.—HAVE YOU FORSAKEN US?

For weeks now, even the heavens have been weeping at the tragedy that has befallen this once proud city.

Where are the tourists? Where are the shoppers? Where are the school children who came by the tens of thousands to discover their heritage?

But most important—where are you? All 200 million of you. Why are your voices stilled? Isn't this your Capital City, too?

Don't you know, or don't you care that the stunned and shattered business community is afraid to act.

Don't you know, or don't you care that the stricken and heart-sick residents are afraid to act.

Don't you know, or don't you care that many of your fellow Americans are afraid to open their doors at night; afraid to take public transportation at night; afraid to stroll the streets at night; afraid to do little else but scurry from home to office and back again as quickly as possible.

Of course you care! Then where is your storm of protest? Your outrage? If you fail to voice your concern soon, your share of Washington, D.C. will be worthless.

Our Mayor talks. Our police officials talk. Our Congress talks. Our President talks. But they have failed to dispel the current climate of fear.

It wasn't too long ago we flew our flags at half-mast. Unless you insist upon *action* now, we may have to do it again.

It's only fair to tell you—your nation's capital is dying.

NOTE.—This message sponsored by The Committee for a Safer Washington, P. C. Ryan, Treasurer.

GOVERNMENT BY COMMISSION

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD today an article from the May 1968 issue of Atlantic magazine, entitled "On Giving Oneself a Hotfoot—Government by Commission," by Elizabeth B. Drew.

As the article points out, executive commissions can be beneficial in many ways. One thing the article does not stress, which I believe needs stressing, is the use of the executive commission which almost invariably does its studying behind closed doors—if it does any studying at all—in lieu of the open studies and hearings which can be conducted by the congressional committees.

I think executive commission studies serve admirably as a taking off point for public congressional studies. In effect the annual economic report of the President made by the permanent executive commission, the President's Council of Economic Advisers, is used as a take-off point for the Joint Economic Committee to hold its extensive hearings on the state of the Nation's economy early each year. I think for every executive commission report, regular or ad hoc, there should be a congressional committee standing ready to receive that report to hold public hearings on it and then based upon these hearings ready to issue its report, which then becomes a critique of the executive commission's work and indeed reduces the matters covered in it to potential legislative action.

In recent years I have had particular cause to criticize the failure of both the Executive and the Congress to so treat executive commission reports. Some of my particular criticism has been directed against the various commissions appointed over the years purportedly to study the draft, or military manpower utilization—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 4, pages 5414–5415; volume 113, part 6, pages 8127–8128; volume 113, part 15, pages 19886–19887; volume 113, part 18, pages 23727–23737. Recently I have called attention to the need for the appropriate congressional committees to hold public hearings on the Kerner Commission report on riots in the cities—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 4, 1968, 4941–4942, and April 9, 1968, 9335–9336.

There is also reason for congressional committees to hold hearings on nonexecutive commission reports such as the Reuther commission report on hunger in the United States. It is true that this is not an executive commission but it has received the same kind of nationally organized publicity promotions that accompany many of the executive commission reports and hence it lies in the public's eye as "true" and legislative action is being pushed bottomed on this "truth" without any objective study being made to ascertain just what part of it is true and what part is propaganda. If objective and open public hearings had been held by the appropriate congressional committees on the book, "The Other America," by Michael Harrington, which received the same propaganda buildup received by certain executive commission reports and nonexecutive reports, and led to the enactment of the ill-considered bundle of legislation called the poverty program, possibly much of the overpromising and misspent welfare money which lies so heavily at the base of the riots in the cities could have been averted.

Primarily, however, the Congress must get back into the act as a study and deliberative body. It alone can provide the open forum for all groups, the executive branch of the government, the Fabian Socialists, the John Birch Society, the multitudinous groups in between, to present their set of facts and arguments to the fullest—but under cross-examination and subjected to the rebuttal testimony—of those who hold contrary views.

Here follows the article referred to:

ON GIVING ONESELF A HOTFOOT—GOVERNMENT BY COMMISSION

(By Elizabeth B. Drew)

Since the birth of the republic, Presidents have been appointing commissions to probe into various aspects of American life. What few citizens know, however, is that presidential commissions have been the subject of a probe themselves. The heretofore secret records of the Commission on Commission-Watching, leaked to our Washington reporter by the Stamps editor of the Washington Post, are here bared. It should be noted that Mrs. Drew's report does not encompass the most recent proposal for a presidential commission, the one said to be endorsed by the Robert Kennedy forces and to be established by President Johnson to investigate the President's own conduct of the Vietnam War. That deserves its own separate probe.

In 1794, President Washington had a problem. Rebellious groups in Pennsylvania were threatening the nation with civil disorder. So he appointed a commission. "The report of the Commissioners," Mr. Washington informed the Congress in his sixth annual address later that year, "marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men."

Whether it did or not, or whether the President thought it would or even intended it to, is now lost to history. But the technique of appointing a special presidential commission, of which this was the country's first, to investigate, obfuscate, resolve, defuse, defer, detail, or derail a problem has become as much an instrument of the presidency as the State of the Union Message, the toss of the ball on opening day, or the review of troops in wartime. The fine art of commissionmanship enjoys an unusually flourishing state today. There is no official tally of how many presidential commissions are extant, but a casual inquiry shows that in the past year and a half there have been special presidential commissions on Health, Manpower, Health Facilities, Rural Poverty, Goods and Fiber, Civil Disorders, Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas, Urban Housing, Urban Problems, Income Maintenance, Crime (nationwide), Crime (in the District of Columbia), Criminal Laws, Libraries, the Post Office, the Selective Service, Budget Concepts, Federal Salaries, and the CIA.

There are several types of government commissions: permanent floating ones, such as the American Battle Monuments Commission, or the Canadian-American Boundary Commission, which has been preventing an outbreak of war between the two nations; or so-called regulatory commissions, such as the Federal Communications or Interstate Commerce Commissions; commissions which Congress tells the President to establish, such as the Pornography Commission, also espoused by former Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield, who was so upset about the pornography that came through the mail that he kept a whole room full of it just off his office. There are also the not-so-secret task forces of inside and outside experts which President Johnson has been appointing each year to review federal activities.

But special presidential commissions are an institution unto themselves, so much so that not long ago a group of highly qualified Washington observers (of the stripe that the press frequently turns to for profound insights) formed a Commission on Commission-Watching. Because of internal problems, the report of the CCW has run into unforeseen delays. A comprehensive summary of its findings has been obtained from friendly sources, however, and it goes as follows.

THE USES OF COMMISSIONS

There are eight reasons, which are not mutually exclusive, for appointing a commission.

1. *To obtain the blessing of distinguished men for something you want to do anyway* Thus, if you want to make the Post Office more "businesslike," appoint a commission consisting largely of important businessmen whose concurrence might help persuade Congress to relax its grip on postal operations. A useful by-product might be that the commission would work out some of the difficult problems of making the Post Office more businesslike—which the Post Office itself never could do—but this could also be done through a consulting firm, which the Commission on Postal Operations has hired anyway.

2. *To postpone action, yet be justified in insisting that you are at work on the problem.* This is one of the most popular uses of commissions. The CCW believes that it largely explains the existence of the Commissions on Civil Disorders, Income Maintenance, the CIA, Health Facilities, among others. A guaranteed annual income has now been proposed or studied by one advisory council, one presidential commission, two government agencies, and three secret White House task forces. There are, however, two other possible reasons for the Income Maintenance Commission (see Reasons 3 and 8).

In 1965, Health, Education, and Welfare Department officials were saying that there was an urgent need to build or remodel urban hospitals and estimated that the cost would be $6 billion to $10 billion. In 1966, the Administration asked Congress for a $5 billion program of guaranteed loans for urban hospitals. Mayors and hospital administrators condemned the plan as inadequate, it wasn't pushed very hard, and it got nowhere. Early in 1967 the President promised to appoint a commission to study the problem, described as "pressing" the year before, and seven months later he did. At this writing, the commission has met three times.

3. *To act as a lightning rod, drawing political heat away from the White House.* When the Selective Service Act was to expire in 1967, despite the fact that there had been a (secret) Pentagon study on the draft, it was useful to set up a presidential commission to deal with this politically sensitive subject. This set the terms of the debate at *how* the draft should be extended, not *whether* it should, or why we were in Vietnam; moreover, it permitted the President to pass along recommendations to Congress which were a commission's, not simply his own. The fact that Congress rejected almost all of the commission's recommendations, and brought off the singular achievement of making the draft system worse than it was before, does not negate the effectiveness of the lightning-rod device.

4. *To conduct an extensive study of something you do need to know more about before you act, in case you do.* Commission-watchers report that it is often difficult to distinguish between this and Reason 2 (deferral), but they are generally agreed that the latest crime commissions fall in this category. The National Commission on Urban Problems—Codes, Zoning, Taxation, and Development Standards fits here, too, because of the highly technical nature of its assignment. Administration officials report, however, that the Urban Problems Commission is showing disturbing tendencies toward wanting to solve the urban crisis. (The 1931 Wickersham Commission report on crime grew out of national concern with a breakdown of law and order, which had become a political issue, and it was a landmark report. It analyzed court processes, the relationship between poverty and crime, police brutality, and other problems. A new Administration and other political issues came along, however, and it was largely unimplemented. There has been little implementation of the recent national crime commission report either, but commission sources say that they were writing for posterity, which was foresighted of them.)

5. *To investigate, lay to rest rumors, and convince the public of the validity of one particular set of facts.* The Warren Commission is the most outstanding example of this type of commission.

6. *To educate the commissioners, or get them aboard on something you want to do.* Many, perhaps most, commissions are indeed useful in this respect. They help overcome the insularity of businessmen. The Urban Housing Commission contains representatives of business and labor whose cooperation is needed for any breakthrough in building low-cost housing. The report of the Health Manpower Commission, one of the best and potentially most effective in the view of the CCW, carried the signature of Dr. Dwight Wilbur, the president-elect of the American Medical Association.

7. *Because you cannot think of anything else to do.* This is not to be confused with Reason 2. The origin of this type of commission is often a speech or a message to Congress in which it is necessary to lengthen the list of actions you say you are taking on a problem. The CCW understands that this was the origin of the Rural Poverty Commission.

8. *To change the hearts and minds of men.* This is one of the most frequently cited yet elusive uses of a commission. It is said to be a reason for, among others, the Disorders and Income Maintenance Commissions. It has also been the basis for the numerous blue-ribbon commissions on foreign aid. The theory is that a commission generates press copy and speeches, and that a certain number of people will decide that if, say, John McCone or I. W. Abel says it is so, it must be so, thus spreading the acceptance of an idea. There are two problems with this theory, however. One is that it can backfire. To stem rising congressional opposition to foreign aid, for example, President Kennedy created the Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World, by one count the thirteenth blue-ribbon commission on foreign aid since the program was started in 1945. It was headed by retired General Lucius D. Clay and stocked with a number of respectables. The Clay committee, however, looked over the aid program and wasn't all that enthusiastic about what it saw. Its report, issued in 1963, said the program was trying to do "too much for too many." In desperation, the President pared his own request, but nonetheless the program met with the greatest disaster in its existence at the hands of Congress that year.

The second problem with the "hearts and minds" theory is that there is scant historical evidence that it works. When reports on controversial subjects are issued, the usual result is that those who agree say that they knew it all along, and those who do not say that the report is unwise, that it wasn't thought through. There have now been at least five reports on the causes of riots, all of which came to similar conclusions about the need to improve conditions for Negroes.

The history of commissions indicates that they are most effective when they deal with a discrete problem, such as a special governmental organization question, or when they call for change within a delimited discipline, such as the medical profession. They are least effective when their scope is broad, when the problem they are dealing with lies within the political system itself (as the disorders problem does), or when the political leadership is disciplined to act. The greater and more complex the problem, the less effective the commission, in itself, can be. In fairly short order most reports become footnote material. Thus there were forces within the Disorders Commission staff who argued for continual televised hearings, to spread the impact of what the commission was, once again finding out. But the commission itself rejected the idea, on the grounds it might start trouble. They said it might cause riots.

HOW TO CHOOSE A COMMISSION

Over the years, there has developed an informal set of guidelines for selecting commission members, and they are important for both commission-appointers and commission-watchers to understand.

1. *Neither commissioners nor staff should be controversial.* In many situations, it is also important to rule out commissioners or staff who are "committed" to a particular solution of a problem. This procedure was largely followed in the selection of the Income Maintenance and Disorders Commissions. Since a great many people will be controversial in the eyes of someone, the search for a noncontroversial commission can be difficult, but with effort some commissioners can be found about whom no one has any point of view at all.

2. *Commissioners should be bipartisan and otherwise representative of constituent groups, as long as they are respectable.* This assures both a variety of points of view (within limits) and built-in checks and balances. An ideal commission will be composed of at least one business mogul, labor union president, Negro, woman (Negro women are excellent commission choices), publisher, university president, Italian, Mexican-American (the latest addition to the ideal-commission list), and White House "plant." The latter is a former employee or a friend of the President's and his role is to watch the commission closely, and occasionally to say things like: "This would cause the President a great deal of political trouble, and we wouldn't want to do that, would we?" Among the friends and former associates of the President who have served on commissions are George Reedy (Income Maintenance, Selective Service), Warren Woodward, a vice

president of American Airlines (Selective Service), and Leon Jaworski, a Texas lawyer (Crime). Not all former employees are useful commission members, however. Thus, while former press secretary Reedy has been called upon to serve, former press secretary Bill D. Moyers, long suspected of Kennedy tendencies, has not

Negroes are a particular problem, because of the noncontroversialness principle. Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young can serve only so often. Attempts to bring the more militant aboard have not been notably successful. Floyd McKissick, for example, served on the Council of the White House Conference on Civil Rights and then charged that the conference itself was rigged, a serious breach of the rules of commissionmanship. Negro businessmen will do, and hopefully not too many Negroes on welfare will wonder why Asa T. Spaulding, an insurance millionaire, is on the Income Maintenance Commission, and George Wiley, head of the welfare rights movement, is not.

3. *The chairman should be able, and safe, but better safe than able.* Though some wondered about the independence of a Crime Commission headed by the Attorney General, Nicholas Katzenbach met both qualifications quite well. So has Ben Heineman, a Chicago businessman, who has been chairman of the Council of the Civil Rights Conference and of a White House task force, and now heads the Income Maintenance Commission. Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, chairman of the Disorders Commission, was safe. Mr. Kerner had the further benefit of helping to maintain harmony with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, Kerner's patron. (It should go without saying that appointments to commissions are useful devices for strengthening political ties or paying political debts.)

Commissioners tend to take very seriously the fact that the President has sought their wise counsel, and they assume that their recommendations are eagerly awaited; but if chosen carefully, the commission will not create difficulties for the appointer, whatever action he takes on its proposals. This singular detachment from the fate of their efforts is a phenomenon which the CCW had some difficulty understanding. It was explained to them, however, that people who serve on commissions enjoy the sense of "in-ness" that commission service brings, and, furthermore, that businessmen and university presidents have too many dealings with the government to want to risk the wrath of the White House, no matter who is its occupant. While the latter explanation struck the CCW as touching on paranoia, several commissioners insisted that this stemmed from a real, not an imagined, threat.

A study of the rosters of recently appointed commissions tends to confirm the widely held theory that there are only forty-seven people in the whole world. The CCW is, in fact, considering the presentation of special awards for recent commission service. If so, based on its research thus far, the most-frequent-service awards would go to George Meany and businessman J. Irwin Miller, each of whom has served on three commissions in the last year and a half. Based on attendance and hard work, the best-commissioner award would be divided among Miller, Whitney Young, Kermit Gordon, president of the Brookings Institution, and Henry Rowen, president of RAND. It is understood that the leading candidate for worst-commissioner award, similarly based on attendance and attention to the work of the commission is Meany. The CCW is considering a special commendation for Senator Edward Brooke, a member of the Disorders Commission, who missed some crucial meetings because he took a trip to Africa, in his capacity, his office announced, as a member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

THE PROCESS OF COMMISSIONMANSHIP

Once a commission has been appointed and begins its work, certain procedures are followed.

1. *The staff does most of the work.* When Edward Jay Epstein, author of *Inquest*, wrote of this horrible discovery about the Warren Commission, experienced commission-watchers yawned. Commissioners are, after all, busy people. This makes securing a good staff crucial, but it is difficult to find able people who are ready to drop everything to devote full time to a temporary commission job. Those who do usually have been persuaded that the contribution the commission will make to the national good makes it all worthwhile; most do not do it more than once.

2. *The relationship between the commission and the staff is usually one of mutual contempt.* The staff is often composed of young, less experienced people who still think that the world can and should be changed; the commissioners know better. Moreover, commissioners are disinclined to indict politically important figures, or programs or agencies identified with the President who selected them. "Obviously," remarked someone with the Disorders Commission as its work was getting under way, "we're not going to pick on HUD" (the Department of Housing and Urban Development). A second point of friction stems from the fact that the commissioners, being important people, are not very interested in chewing things over with a lot of young staff members. They prefer memoranda. "Commissioners, by their very credentials," reports a former staff member of the Warren Commission, "are not prepared to admit the need to learn." So the policy alternatives go up from the staff, and the policy directives come down from the commission, and seldom do the twain meet, except in the person of the exhausted, whipsawed executive director.

3. *A high percentage of the work of the director or his deputy has nothing to do with the subject before the commission.* It is spent begging for money from government agencies, which have their own problems, and otherwise stretching the rules of government funding so that Congress need not be asked to appropriate money for commissions; cutting through civil service regulations so that the staff can be hired before the commission expires; arguing with the General Services Administration over office space and typewriters and with the Government Printing Office over how long it will take to print the report.

4. *In the writing of the report, each commission is likely to evidence certain syndromes:*

a. The this-is-not-going-to-be-another-book-that-gathers-dust-on-the-shelf syndrome. This usually shows up early in the commission process, when the commission and the staff agree that this one will be different.

b. The everybody-is-going-to-read-our-report syndrome. This comes just after the commission has sat down and done some hard thinking about the questions Whom are we writing for? Whom are we trying to reach? The politicians? The media? The people? Then it decides on the strategy of reaching all of them. This leads in turn to a desperate search for a great writer and in the end to a report hastily put together by committee.

c. The unanimous-report syndrome. Commissions frequently decide that it would be best not to confuse the nation with divided counsel. Since the commissioners usually *are* divided on important issues, this guarantees that a large number of these issues will be fudged.

Once the report of the Disorders Commission, for example, got beyond the conclusion that the causes of riots lay with white attitudes and actions, it listed some proposals and then neatly avoided the central questions When were these proposals to be carried out? Who had the responsibility for seeing that they were? Could the crisis, so forcefully stated, be met without discomfort to the haves? Should taxes be raised now, beyond the surtax sought by the President ("the major need is to generate new will—the will to tax ourselves to the extent necessary to meet the vital needs of the nation")? If, as the commission concluded, the problem is racism, what specific actions should be taken by specific institutions—the President, the Congress, the governors, the mayors, the unions, and others—to eliminate racist policies? In the true spirit of commissionmanship, the representatives of these institutions on the commission saw to it that the report echewed finger-pointing.

5. *The theory that the commission is independent must be nurtured.* The press is helpful in this respect, since it usually focuses on whether *the President* read the report while it was being drafted. Naturally, this is as unlikely as it is irrelevant. It is a simple matter for the chairman or the executive director to keep a presidential assistant fully briefed, and to receive the assistant's reactions and "suggestions." It is preferable, however, that such exchanges not take place in the Sans Souci restaurant.

HOW TO HANDLE THE REPORT

One of the most serious problems with presidential commissions is that they do issue reports. This is of course the greatest drawback of commissions appointed in order to postpone action. Moreover, despite all the precautions taken in selecting the commission and following its deliberations closely, some commissions will nevertheless recommend something other than what the appointer wants to do. The CCW has ascertained several methods of dealing with this sort of problem.

1. *Hide for as long as possible, leaving the commission the choice of tossing the report over the White House fence or waiting until you are good and ready to receive it.* A number of commissions have found that the White House was not quite as anxious to receive their report as they had expected. One former commissioner reports: "There was a great ceremony with plaudits in the Rose Garden when our appointment was announced, and then at the end we couldn't find anybody to hand the damn report to."

It is always helpful, of course, to have the commissions report, as the Disorders and Urban Housing Commissions did, after one has made one's own proposals to Congress. In this way, the appointer is less in the posture of seeming to react, or not react, as the case may be. With luck, the appointer is then in a position to give one of the handiest responses in case, despite all precautions, the commission's proposals do exceed his own, as some of the Disorders Commission's proposals did: the "Not me, Al" response (Don't look at me—I have proposed many of these things—your problem is with Congress).

2. *After receiving the report, postpone and play down its release.* The report of the Commission on Rural Poverty, a runaway commission, had been printed by September, 1967, but was not released until December. The White House explained that this was because (1) the chairman, Kentucky Governor Edward T. Breathitt, did not want the report released before last November's Kentucky elections, and then (2) because the poverty bill was in trouble in Congress. The report was released after a reporter stumbled on the fact that back in September an employee of the Government Printing Office had routinely sent several hundred copies to libraries, and they had been available all along.

Daniel Bell, a member of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, which reported in 1966, wrote in *The Public Interest* that the handling of his commission's report "was curious indeed." "At the end of Bill D. Moyers' regular press conference, the report was in fact released to the press, in desultory fashion, with no member of the Commission on hand to answer questions, and no prior advance notice to the press that the report would be forthcoming—an advance notice which is usually given when the White House wants its press corps to reserve space with its city editors about important stories." The report on Federal Salaries, submitted last year and recommending substantial pay raises for high government officials, never was released.

3. *Dissociate or denounce the report.* Three Administration officials interviewed by the CCW shrugged their shoulders and said, with striking similarity, of the Rural Poverty report that it was a "terrible" report, "it just calls for more and more."

4. *Hope that the public's interest in the problem has waned during the delays.* Thus, when the stories of CIA's financing the National Student Association and dummy foundations were causing a national furor early in 1967, the President appointed an interdepartmental committee which studied the problem and in turn recommended the appointment of a commission. One year later, the commission, headed by a busy Secretary of State, had had few meetings, and it appeared that the public as well as the commissioners themselves had largely lost interest in the whole matter.

5. If all else fails, there is one other method of handling a commission report that has proved quite workable over the years:

Ignore it.

TRIBUTE TO OUR GRADUATES

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, this is the time of year when the numerous commencement exercises being held around the country direct our attention to the field of education and the youth of this land. We should pay tribute to the future leaders of this country who are graduating, and I attempt to let the high school seniors in my district know how I feel about their graduation by sending them the following letter and creed, which I would like to share with my colleagues:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ———: This letter and the enclosed copy of "The American's Creed" represent my personal commendation and congratulations to you on your high school educational achievement.

I extend to you my very best wishes for continued success and happiness in any of your future endeavors of life.

My best to you.

Sincerely,

TOM KLEPPE,
Member of Congress.

THE AMERICAN'S CREED

(By William Tyler Page)

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a Republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my Country to love it; to support its constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies.

Presented to ——— with congratulations upon High School graduation. May the future bring you success, happiness, and achievement in the highest ideals of American citizenship.

TOM KLEPPE,
Member of Congress, Second District of North Dakota.

REMARKS OF MR. DAN PARKER, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, on April 30, Mr. Dan Parker, chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers and one of the Nation's outstanding business leaders, addressed a convocation at American University.

Dan Parker is a public-spirited citizen who has directed much of his time and energy toward assisting others. His speech before the university group illustrates the depth of Mr. Parker's perceptive approach to the problems of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I place it in the RECORD so that my colleagues may share his remarks:

AN ADDRESS BY DANIEL PARKER, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, BEFORE THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 30, 1968

I am especially happy to be here this evening because—at the age of 42—I probably would be dead now in two-thirds of the world.

This stark, brutal fact underscores the gravest crisis of our time—the widening gulf between prosperous and impoverished countries. Further, this increasing disparity in wealth is intensifying the misery and degradation of two billion people who live on the ragged edge of appalling deprivation. We must convince them that the means by which we achieve new freedoms also will work for them—liberating them from the tyranny of despair and providing them the opportunity to develop the potential of the individual and to achieve human dignity.

We must recognize that mere survival no longer is enough. People everywhere are demanding a higher quality of life, the opportunity to attain a fuller measure of their potential.

These valid aspirations are at the root of the turmoil that is wracking our cities now. Relatively few people are starving to death in the United States. Few have no shelter against the elements, even if it is in a fetid slum. Yet Negroes and other minorities by-passed by progress are demanding improvements in their environments. The riots that have erupted in our cities are grim portents of smoldering time bombs among the economically depressed and culturally deprived people of Asia, Africa and South America. In our concern with domestic problems, we cannot ignore the ferment overseas.

In the broad spectrum of international economics, there is no issue more compelling than the plight of these people. All the eloquent exhortations directing attention to the desperate conditions on three continents can be reduced to a simple proposition:

The problems of the world are the necessary concern of business. This has been the traditional role and responsibility of business, for its self-interest is served best when the *public* interest is paramount—when it is responsive to constant changes in the environment.

Business is not an end in itself. Neither is government. Both are instruments for enriching the quality of life and helping people realize the full potential of their capabilities. Business, like government, has no other purpose—or justification—for existence.

In addition to its moral obligation, business has a direct stake in meeting this challenge. As the quality of life improves, we will sell more cars, more detergents for more dishwashers, more shoes, more books. I obviously will sell more pens as illiteracy is reduced.

We will exploit—in the best sense—the fundamental resource of every nation which, in the final analysis, is man. He is the divine asset that makes it impossible for a country to go bankrupt—no matter how poorly managed it may be.

Our concern is how the quality of man's life is affected by the nature of his institutions and their interactions. More specifically, I want to examine the relationship between the public and private sectors and see how it bears upon the effectiveness of Private Enterprise in helping man to develop as a viable asset.

Long before the principle was enunciated by Marx, Private Enterprise had recognized and put into practice the article of faith that all material value really is no more than the cumulative value added by man.

American business can best promote its self-interest by extending the benefits of private enterprise—which has demonstrated conclusively that it is the best system for the development of man's unique talents. The institutions of the Atlantic Community of Nations, where private enterprise has been permitted to flourish, have generated virtually all the significant advances that have contributed to man's personal freedom and welfare during the last 500 years.

The dozen countries comprising the Atlantic Community have been the wellspring of the attitudes and techniques that have increased food production—fostered scientific discoveries—established controls over environmental hazards—provided the products that contribute to man's comfort and broadened his cultural horizons.

Skeptics may say it is futile or visionary to speak of American industry attempting to improve the quality of life throughout the world in view of our domestic crisis. Actually, the reverse proposition is true. The agonizing problems confronting us today emphasize the urgent need for imaginative planning and constructive action both in the have-not countries and here at home, where a start on such creative involvement by the business community already has been made.

We are feeling today the backlash of the despair and bitterness stemming from our failure to recognize the legitimate grievances of some 20 million Negroes and other racial minorities in the United States. The upheaval will be infinitely worse if we continue to ignore the seething discontent of two billion people in other parts of the world.

We, the "have" society, will become prisoners of the disadvantaged if we do not help them achieve minimal economic objectives necessary to support a decent standard of living.

We no longer can take refuge in the convenient excuse that people in undeveloped countries do not know their wretched living conditions are an affront to human dignity. De Tocqueville's observation a century ago, that in a totally deprived population there is a fatalistic tolerance of sub-human living conditions because people don't know that the quality of life is better elsewhere, no longer is true. The ghetto—whether it is a slum neighborhood in Harlem or a country as vast as India—today is like a deep pit covered with a parabolic mirror. Those at the bottom of the pit can see the surrounding environment from which they are isolated. They see planes and cars and comfortable homes where children do not go to bed hungry every night. Their exposure to this agreeable world further is expanded by pictures in newspapers and magazines, movie posters and perhaps fleeting glimpses of American television shows that are popular overseas. The mirror, of course, reflects in two directions. The affluent nations of Europe and North America no longer are in ignorance of unspeakable poverty elsewhere.

Two enormously significant developments have jolted Western democracy out of its complacency. The first, of course, is the growth of communications, which has brought an awareness of the rampant misery abroad as close to home as the outbreak of a plague around the corner.

Equally important, we now know that there is a manifest means of relieving the plight of the have-not countries. In the past, charity and welfare agencies were overwhelmed by the enormity of the problem. Today, we have tangible evidence that the quality of life can be upgraded phenomenally by American-style expertise in the socio-economic area.

Everyone in this audience knows from first-hand experience the rapid acceleration in our material comforts during the past decade. It is a predictable certainty that if only conventional methods for improving the environment in have-not countries are followed, there will be a truly *traumatic* disparity between their standard of living and ours in the future.

Communications work on a two-way switch. Just as we are acutely aware of conditions in the pit, so are people condemned to it aware that life should hold more than the squalor that oppresses them when they turn from the mirror. They have seen resourceful—or ruthless—members from the group claw their way out of the pit and, inevitably, there will be a concerted, convulsive mass movement to follow them.

In order to facilitate our comprehension of the gathering momentum of this potential upheaval, permit me to employ the imagery of a smaller stage with more familiar dimensions. My home town of Janesville, Wisconsin, has a population of 35,000 which happens to represent one-one-hundred thousandth of the *world* population. Instead of the homogeneous midwestern industrial community which Janesville actually is, picture, if you will, a city of this size as a hypothetical microcosm of the world. In OUR part of this imaginary town of 35,000, 10,000 people live with every expectation of security and abundance for an average life span of 72 years. Our affluence embraces such *basic needs* as a second car, air-conditioning, color TV sets and college educations for our children. On a clear day we can see our grandchildren enjoying more marvelous creature comforts and a richer, more stimulating life.

But no one who reads a newspaper, listens to the radio or glances at the other side of town can ignore the ominous clouds gathering there. 25,000 people struggle to subsist from one month to the next. They are unable to give their children the advantages that open doors to brighter prospects. In my part of the hypothetical town, a 42-year-old man is just approaching the prime of life. On their side, he is in imminent danger of becoming another piece of slag on the scrap-heap of labor. He already is a burden to his children.

Project this hypothetical social structure of a microcosmic community to the year 2000—a date many demographers regard as doomsday rather than a millennium. In a generation, the population will have doubled to 70,000. In our part of town there will be 15,000 people—a drop from 30 to 20 percent of the population. We will be a shrinking enclave among 55,000 bitter, antagonistic people threatening to overrun us—if they have not already made the move.

The economically deprived people of American communities now in ferment are motivated largely by a desire to share the good life they see at every turn. Imagine, though, the shattering impact on Western society if two billion people on three continents rise up in despair and blind fury.

It is imperative to recognize storm signals warning us that the masses in underdeveloped countries will not wait indefinitely for improvements in their environment. Newly created countries, driven by nationalistic pride and their sudden importance in the world arena, are obsessed with a sense of immediacy. They want a higher standard of living NOW: They refuse to watch helplessly while another generation of children grows up debilitated by hunger and disease.

The carrot-on-the-stick gambit that placated colonial subjects no longer will work. The stick must be short enough so that they can smell the carrot today—and taste it tomorrow.

Many of their aspirations are pathetically modest. We could sell thousands of fountain pen caps in Asia and Africa. Just the caps—without pens. Illiterate natives clip the caps to their robes and wear them as status symbols denoting their intention to learn how to read and write when education is available to them.

Pens are prized possessions in those parts of the world because they are attainable—are tangible evidence that a man has one foot on the bottom rung of the ladder that leads from the pit. Attainability is a key to aspirations in the have-not countries. But providing their people with the many costlier products and services essential to their social and economic development is an enormous task. So enormous that it can be accomplished only through the cooperation of government and private enterprise in those areas in which each is uniquely equipped to serve the people. The enormity of the task demands a greatly enhanced cooperative effort, extending to a re-examination of comparable efficiencies.

This concept might have sounded heretical to much of the business establishment only 20 years ago. Today it is embraced by progressive businessmen who are acutely aware of the necessity for harnessing federal and private resources to cope with problems at home and abroad.

This about-face surely is the most significant trend of the last several years in the relationship between government and business. There are literally hundreds of major projects in which the *methods* of business have been adopted by government and the *purposes* of government have been assumed by business. A few conspicuous examples in the industrial field are the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—the Atomic Energy Commission—and the Communications Satellite Corporation.

The trend is even more startling in the social sphere. Henry Ford the Second is chairman of a group of 60 business leaders who are determined to find a half-million jobs for the hard-core unemployed. The Urban Coaliation has been mobilized for an assault on poverty in our cities. In February, President Johnson appealed to private capital to help arrest the decay in the core of urban centers by building six million new housing units in the next ten years. That plan had been anticipated by the insurance industry, which earmarked one billion dollars for financing urban renewal. For several years business organizations have been administering job retraining centers, perhaps the strongest feature of the federal anti-poverty program.

Why has government turned to private enterprise for help in solving the problems that assail it? The blunt truth is that business is more efficient than government. Private enterprise is more resourceful and inventive than government because it constantly must prove itself in competition with rival products and services. Government has no real interior competition because the party or bloc out of power can only hypothesize what it would do if it had the authority to act and, therefore, cannot demonstrate by actual performance the value of effectiveness of its programs.

There is nothing in the history of government administration anywhere to compare with the long-range study made by A.T. and T. in the 1920's. Future projections indicated that demands for telephone service would be so great by the middle of the century as to overwhelm the standard evolutionary pace of technology. As a reductio ad absurdum, it pointed out that all unmarried women between 18 and 28 would have to be employed as switchboard operators to handle the volume of business. The study pointed up the need for something for which there was not even a word—automation—an automatic method of processing calls to accommodate the public—and the experimental dial system was greatly expanded.

Government—necessarily politically preoccupied—commits its attention and resources, reactively, to current problems and thus is notoriously slow in anticipating problems. It is like a fire department that always arrives on the scene after a building has gone up in flames.

Industry, in sharp contrast, is inherently innovative. The dial system triggering the concept of automation is typical of countless others. A prime example is found in the field of education. This is MIND, the acronym for Methods of Intellectual Development, conceived by Charles Adams, who was hired by the N.A.M. a few years ago to apply his theories to training unskilled workers. MIND combines technology and common sense into an accelerated system of basic education on which to build increasing vocational, social and intellectual capability. Its speed, efficiency and effectiveness in advancing "drop-outs" 2 to 4 grade levels in 6 to 10 weeks explains why private industry hires MIND, now a commercial venture, to develop qualified workers. Manifestly, its meaning may go well beyond its use as a self-serving tool of efficiency for American industry. MIND is merely one of the new techniques developed by private enterprise that can be prime movers in raising the quality of life in undeveloped countries and our ghettos to acceptable levels—with the cooperation of government.

Private enterprise is peculiarly qualified to spearhead the drive because the private sector—particularly multinational industry—is a more stabilizing factor than government in international relations. The multinational company plants roots in foreign countries where it can function as a separate local entity. Because of its global interests, the multinational company is concerned with the total environment, with the cumulative effects its policies and activities will have on operations in its country of origin as well as the various host countries.

It is significant that while governments are embroiled in nationalistic rivalries, the infrastructure of business is connected in a network of organizations that have achieved goals which would be hailed as milestones to Utopia if political issues were tackled with comparable effectiveness. Close ties have been forged with the Atlantic Community through such organizations as the N.A.M. in the United States, the Confederation of British Industry, the Patronat in France, the B.D.I. in West Germany, and industrial federations in Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands.

In order to discuss the impact of such synergistic forces, please permit me the indulgence of asking you to share a fantasy with me, to look upon Man and his environment. As I ride at jet altitudes over parts of the world, I sometimes ponder on the perspective of the whole world as it might be seen from an orbiting satellite. One sees and re-sees the world with a frequency which induces understanding, with a separation inducing objectivity, with a proximity inducing empathy. One can see how Man—the true resource—and his institutions, social, political and economic, have used, failed to use—and misued his material environment. One sees the conversion of wasteland by the Shasta and Grand Coulee Dams into a vast complex of power sources, industrial installations, rich farmlands and burgeoning towns. In Australia, one can see how tunnels for water dug through the Great Snowy Mountains have increased the productivity of the Western slopes 200-fold and brought clusters of towns in an area that once was desolate.

One can also see inversely the tragic consequences where man has not yet applied his resources to the potential of his environment. One can see the produce of lush fields ample to feed many undernourished people rotting on the ground because there is no logistical system to ship it to the cities. Standing out in bold relief is the melancholy truth that many political boundaries—which separate people and perpetuate ancient animosities—logically should unify them. The Rhine, a magnificent confluence of nature, served not as a common asset but as a barrier which incited nationalist passions that erupted in war in *three successive* generations. The Jordan River between Israel and Jordan should be their common lifeline instead of the focus of fanaticism that poisons the Middle East.

This view from near space shows that where freedom and private enterprise flourish so does the quality of life for man—in both material and intangible values. Further, it is clear that the evolution of industry has been the dynamic economic vehicle carrying our society forward.

Thus, it is important that we study our own industrial evolution and then that we compare it with the resources of Have-Not societies so that we can ascertain what they need and how it can be developed along with a system of priorities. In this, industry can be a highly effective agency for leapfrogging political barriers and bringing the benefits of private enterprise to have-not countries. But candor compels me to point out that this is an enormous undertaking which cannot be accomplished without active cooperation of governments at home and abroad.

One staggering problem, for example, is the lack of *external economics*—a term used by economists to describe the supply of industrial components needed by manufacturers. These outside sources interwoven throughout the manufacturing community are indispensable, especially in a highly industrial system like ours. Every company, large and small, depends on specialized, highly efficient suppliers of components for its end product.

There is virtually no concept of external economies in underdeveloped countries—where they are needed most urgently. As a consequence, a manufacturing plant in an underdeveloped area of the world must be largely self-sufficient—a factor that sharply increases operating costs. It creates a situation where the demand for a product not indigenously manufactured must be so overwhelming as to overcome the great diseconomy of having to create an entire and integrated manufacturing capability. The Parker Pen Company, for example, has manufacturing facilities in 23 countries and, although labor costs in the United States are as much as *ten times* higher than they are elsewhere, our *operating* costs are lowest here at home. One primary reason, of course, is that here we have an ample pool of suppliers who turn out component parts cheaper than we can and, too, that we ourselves have harnessed technology directly.

The salient point about external economies is that a complex industrial system cannot be grafted on the emaciated trunk of an agrarian society. Before Western or indigenous manufacturers can develop effectively in such areas, there must be studies in depth outlining the structure of a viable industrial environment, country by country.

This would be the guideline for searching out the means to match the needs. One would begin, of course, looking for underdeveloped local resources, adding missing technical pieces and administrative know-how from abroad. When not even embryo capabilities exist to develop a needed industry, the whole non-local requirements must be found—and also a practical way to bring them in. This might well be done by finding the capable, expansion-minded, but domestically oriented American and European specialist producers and bridging the gap for them to supply their know-how in return for equity in foreign ventures beyond their general administrative know-how. This would yield a desirable blend of national and foreign equity reflecting the components of a genuine proportion of contributions.

I would suggest that an international consortium of industrial and trade associations could poll these specialists potentially willing to invest in such situations with a clear understanding of the difficulties involved and the measures required to set up a viable operation.

Education probably will be the chief missing ingredient necessary to build an industrial economy. Cooperation between business and government certainly will be required to meet this important need. Endeavors such as MIND must be considered even if they break with local tradition.

Broad, imaginative projects along these lines could build an environment capable of attracting and sustaining efficient end-item manufacturing. Indigenous capital, with its intimacy of local know-how and opportunities—as well as informed foreigners—could find a new degree of profit-oriented industrial efficiency and thus bring new dimensions to the local and international economy.

The new dimensions of industrial capability must go far beyond simply conserving present supplies of hard currency capital by import substitution. Capabilities must be sought which increase both the intranational and international dimension of industrial functioning.

In order for the have-nots to find a competitive place in international industrial markets, genuine competitive capabilities must be developed. These may be labor-intensive, related to particular material resources or to unique human skills.

To help the have-nots find new capabilities, we must consider still another dimension in the broad, imaginative study I propose. This concerns economy of scale—the escalating productive efficiencies that can be gained as the quantity of needed production increases. The European Economic Community has emphasized this objective in seeking to attain what we possess—a truly macro-market, a very large population compounded in scale by a high level of affluence, a combination that once was unique to the United States.

Great economy of scale is partially the result of a comprehensive system of external economies which I discussed earlier. It presents a major difficulty to underdeveloped nations when the industrial techniques geared to large markets are attempted in a smaller framework.

We know how to think big in a big way—big in terms of grand technological product values via mass production for a very big market. I submit that we must also learn how to think big in a small way—how to bring the benefits of high product values to smaller markets. I propose this as a proper challenge to both business and government. Governments must emphasize with our need for larger markets and thus urge the development of more trading blocs. Business must adjust, too, and apply its innovative talents to this objective. Substantial profits can be made if the diseconomy of scale barrier can be crossed because a high demand exists for non-available products, both industrial and consumer, and marketing costs are lower.

Comes now the crucial question in every blueprint for a brave, new world: Who will pay for it? I believe the private sector of the industrial nations, in cooperation with local capital and Western governments, can afford its share of the vast expenditures involved in the program I propose. I say this as an ardent advocate of the philosophy enunicated by Henry Ford the Second: "To subordinate profit to broad social goals would be totally irresponsible. On the other hand, socially responsible behavior is essential to the long-term growth and profitability of the corporation. The costs of carrying out social responsibilities may be considered as normal costs of doing business."

We can earn profits and, at the same time, regenerate fresh capital in the Have-Not countries. There are huge concentrations of wealth held by small coteries of families in underdeveloped areas. At a conservative estimate, *ten billion* dollars has fled to hard currency safety—in Swiss banks, in gold and gilt-edged Western securities. The flight of capital could be reversed if monied interests are shown they can realize security and profits by investing in local industries operated with Western efficiency.

A very real problem arises in the consideration of attracting Western private investment to the less-developed world against the more clearly visible yield of higher opportunities at home.

Before jumping to a general conclusion that tax incentives are the solution, it is appropriate to consider other factors which might attract investment capital and know-how to the underdeveloped areas.

There are obstacles and schisms that demand attention. Discussed earlier were examples of each: lack of external economies as a barrier; and a new role for a consortium of national industrial associations to clarify the way for home market oriented Western industrialists. It is most desirable that impediments be removed to enable the full normal attraction of profitable investment to function. Also to be considered before tax incentives are the unique natural attractions of the host countries. Puerto Rico's "Operation Bootstrap" certainly was given additional impetus by its climate, the allure of a foreign culture and low labor costs as well as by its very favorable tax arrangements.

When we do come to the consideration of artificial inducements, it is important to avoid those that mask an inherent diseconomy through subsidy. The attractions to be sought are those which induce or enhance enterprises that can continue later on their own merits, without subsidy. By analogy, they may be similar to the unnatural act of taking a small, carefully controlled dosage of a disease to develop a lasting immunity in the body—an on-going, natural accomplishment without further continuous inducement.

All this suggests only some of the new approaches for bringing new dimensions of economic development to disadvantaged countries. A great deal depends on how they are introduced and developed. The process involves a good deal of preliminary planning by government and business—not mere reaction to fires threatening to rage out of control. Red tape and national legal obstacles, now seen mainly as nuisances by industrialists going abroad to underdeveloped countries, will become almost insurmountable obstacles unless governments and business plan together.

Let me pose the dilemma which I see in the future in the absence of such planning. A meaningful quality of life for a majority of the world's free people will be accompanied by charges of American economic imperialism—or there will be continuing deprivation to preserve the semblance of national sovereignty. It is a horrible price to pay—either way.

The more the people of the world aspire to a higher quality of life, the more American participation there will be, simply because we have the highest standard of living and the technology to export it.

If American industry were unrestrained by nationalistic prejudice, I firmly believe it could elevate the quality of life throughout the world to such a degree that the majority of people in the have-not countries would be earning the means to be decently fed, housed and clothed by the end of this century.

In the middle of the Nineteenth Century, we began to speak of America's manifest destiny—a catchword implying our inherent right to expand our political control across the continent. Today, we must proclaim America's manifest role to extend the fruits of private enterprise throughout the world.

The private sector of the American economy is the logical leader of this crusade. It is our manifest obligation to lift ox-and-plow cultures into the Twentieth Century, but we must face realistically the certainty that nationalism in emerging countries will resist the American presence. Under present and unchanged future conditions of emotional and political tensions, foreign governments cannot permit American domination of local industry for the laudable purpose of alleviating the misery of their people. Politically, it would be more than a bitter pill. It would be the cup of hemlock for the head of a state who openly sanctioned such activities.

Allowing the development of a dilemma, the victim confronting it must take action and be impaled on one horn or the other. Government and business must plan together to curb the development of conditions which otherwise will nurture the development of this dilemma to dangerous proportions.

I discussed earlier some courses that can minimize, if not avoid, this dilemma. Among these are education and local national equity in the development of systems of external economics, leading to a higher proportion of local participation in end-item industries. Regionalism, a responsibility of government, can induce a federalism with its manifest meaning in avoiding the dilemma.

It is important to emphasize the significance of education, not just for its obvious values, but as it pertains to this potentially grave dilemma. It is my belief that nationalism has two faces—one good—the other, bad. The latter looks at self, not first but only, and is founded on emotions unable to grasp any reasoned alliances other than "being for" when some external force is "against."

The good face of nationalism is the one having pride in national characteristics, achievements and culture which that society can use to the benefit of itself and the community of nations. This side is founded upon reason and a broader understanding of history and contemporary life.

In the vital area of education, government and business must function together. There is no satisfactory alternative. With planning and objectivity, each can do a part, serving its own purposes with an essential efficiency. Business knows that vocational education built upon a weak scholastic foundation is like constructing a house of cards. It inevitably will collapse.

An educated employee class, knowing why it has reason for national pride, can become the middle economic class that generates the indigenous capital to found a new society. The funding cannot be done by foreign capital alone—private or aid from the public sector—without creating the "Nationalism vs. Imperialism" dilemma. Nor can it be done alone by inducing the repatriation of flight capital by the already very rich nationals. All sources, in fact, will be needed, but that generated from the intranational middle-class has the important added meaning of management participation, as well. Thus is built the foundation of a responsible society capable of coping with its environment.

It is appropriate now to look at the nature of future change as it will bear upon the disparities ahead. Ferment and discontent are not only absolute in the sense of the deprivation of basic human rights—freedom from want. They also are relative. We are seeing this in our own racial crisis. We, of course, cannot diminish the disparities—present or future—by taking from the Haves to boost the level of the Have-Nots. Beginning with Plato's Republic, this approach has been exposed as false throughout history in spite of Herculean efforts by many dedicated believers. Thus it is apparent that we must look ahead, analyze change and plan for the inclusion of disadvantaged societies in the participation of what is to come.

To cite one concrete example, technological advances in the United States are so swift that they are accompanied by a high rate of obsolescence in machinery. It is safe to say that any production manager in America whose equipment is more than a few years old wishes he could trade it in for newer models. I suggest that we recognize that this equipment is outmoded for us, but to less developed nations it still has great usefulness. It can transform many undeveloped countries to a very acceptable level of industrial capability.

There might well be a logical role for governments to play in this regard. First it must be recognized by all that the American technological rate of change is such that mechanically fine equipment can and does become economically outmoded in our capital-intensive economy. This neither demeans the equipment nor those whose productive environment could still find value in it.

Were we to seek a means of promoting the transfer of good but obsolescent plant equipment to countries able to use it—and the technical assistance to operate it—we would also be enhancing our own domestic economy. We would be stimulating replacements, of course, but these, obviously, would be of a higher, more modern type, thereby stimulating our capital goods industries, technological improvements, and our manufacturers' productivity. The transfers could be induced by tax incentives here at home and by simplified procedures in the countries of destination. Payment could range from equity to that financed by existing institutions in the private and public sectors.

Again, I am mindful of the additional service which a consortium of industrial associations could perform. Here, too, as well as in other ways, it is clear to me that the United Nations could serve a vital function.

I have omitted discussing specifically the role the United Nations can play in the extension of industrialization because I regard it as a consortium of nations and include it in the context of government.

The U.N. unquestionably should be a catalyst for improving the quality of man's life universally by helping governments of underdeveloped countries recognize the good face of nationalism as they seek to catch up with the technological revolution. The U.N. obviously can serve a highly important function by inducing regional blocs and by encouraging the cutting of the red tape that is strangling business in many countries.

There are real and formidable problems that impel too many hand-wringers to invent excuses for inaction—but two billion people are hungry, ragged and cramped in the pit today. Right now. They will not wait much longer for the great and small powers to resolve their political conflicts. We have seen them on the march at home and we can hear ominous reverberations of their agitation abroad.

Private enterprise, given a chance to function freely, can help them to satisfy their demands. In our highly advanced phase of economic development, the roles of government and business may have to be changed drastically. The immensity of applying our technology to the solution of global problems can be accomplished only by a continuing objective reappraisal of the conventional roles of the public and private sectors.

It is imperative to recast our objectives to marshal our intellectual as well as our physical resources for the betterment of the Have-Not countries.

In all good conscience, we cannot pursue a higher quality of life only in America while two billion people are clamoring for improvements in their subhuman environment—frontiers that can be gained quickest with the technology and managerial skills of private enterprise. Self-interest, rather than altruism, demands that we help them advance to those frontiers. The cost will not be excessive if we think of it as a prepayment on posterity—an insurance policy that private enterprise will endure as the showcase of democracy.

FAA ADMINISTRATOR McKEE DELIVERS SIGNIFICANT SPEECH ON THE AVIATION CHALLENGE

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, "The Aviation Challenge," is recommended reading for Members of the Congress and fellow Americans who were not privileged to hear the speech by Gen. William F. McKee, Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration, at the May 28, 1968, luncheon meeting of the Aero Club of Washington.

General McKee is an able Administrator of a vital program of our Government and he is one of aviation's most qualified leaders. The FAA Administrator is a dedicated advocate of air progress built on a foundation of the highest achievements possible in aviation safety. He is likewise a forthright realist.

General McKee's Aero Club speech is as challenging as is the title. It reflects the prolific knowledge, the realism, the frankness, and the dedication of the speaker but, above all, it is authoritative and informative in its discussion of aviation status, progress, aspirations, and needs.

Mr. President, I emphasize my agreement with the following evaluations made by General McKee and with quotations included in his speech from a letter written by President Johnson to Secretary of Transportation Boyd. I refer to these paragraphs from the Administrator's speech:

> It is apparent that when we talk about hiring and training more people, modernizing the air traffic control system, establishing new towers, expanding radar and communications capabilities, installing more in-

strument landing systems, building new airports and improving existing ones, a great deal of money is involved. We are not talking about millions, tens of millions or even hundreds of millions. We are talking about billions.

But, Mr. President, even though talking about expenditures for those purposes aggregating billions of dollars, few of them are expenditures which can be postponed without real endangerment to life and valuable property. So I believe, as did General McKee in his Aero Club speech:

> The key question then is who does pay for the system? The answer already has been supplied by President Johnson. In a letter to Secretary of Transportation Boyd, he said: "Those who benefit most from such expenditures, the aviation industry and the flying public, should pay their fair share of the costs of the system needed to handle the increase in air traffic while maintaining a high level of safety. I do not believe the general taxpayer should be asked to shoulder this burden."

The FAA leader pointed out that aviation user taxes—one a 5-percent tax on domestic airline passenger tickets, and the other a 4-cent-per-gallon tax on aviation gasoline—half of which is refundable on request—yield about $237 million, which he appropriately said is wholly inadequate for the type of system aviation so desperately needs. Yes, as General McKee said, additional sources of revenue must be found to take care of industry's and the traveling public's "fair share" of expenditures to meet the needs. He noted that a proposed new schedule of user charges has been sent to Congress, and he remarked that the proposals increase existing taxes appreciably but not excessively.

As General McKee said:

> It needs to be clearly understood that these new taxes are designed to provide resources which will enable us to accommodate the healthy increases in the use of our airspace that is forecast. In the absence of an adequate and separate revenue source, we would continue to be dependent upon the general fund and aeronautical expenditures will be balanced with those other necessary services the Government provides the people of the country.

I must underline, Mr. President, the general's inference that aviation progress will be held back if it must compete for Treasury general funds with all other demands on those funds. On the other hand, adequate and separate revenue sources—user taxes—can more surely insure aviation progress, but, as Administrator McKee further indicated:

> Without such resources, it will be necessary to restrict growth in an effort to maintain our current safety record—a record still not good enough to suit us.

He also warned that—

> Without such resources I will not hesitate to issue the necessary regulations if there needs to be a choice made between safety or restricted traffic flow. Furthermore, I will reassess present commitments for facilities and services and would reallocate funds and staff to high priority locations, consequently closing down or limiting hours of operations of FAA facilities at many locations throughout the country.

General McKee, with frankness, remarked that the administration's airways/airports program contains several "highly controversial elements." But he expressed a judgment which I share wholly with him:

> In the light of the differences which have been expressed in many quarters of Government and the aviation community, there may be some temptation to lay these issues aside for a future session of Congress. In my judgment this would be a serious error. Since good agreement appears now to exist concerning the need for a user tax, I urge that this legislation also receive early Congressional consideration . . ."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that FAA Administrator McKee's speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE AVIATION CHALLENGE

(Address by William F. McKee, Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration, to Aero Club of Washington, May 28, 1968)

You may remember the story about the French skeptic who witnessed history's second balloon launching near Paris in the summer of 1783. Unimpressed by the demonstration, he turned to another spectator, Benjamin Franklin, and asked in a rather belligerent tone: "What is the use of the balloon?" Franklin, who was then in his 78th year, remained unruffled. He peered at the Frenchman for a moment through his tiny square-rimmed glasses and then posed a question of his own. "Of what use is a newborn baby?"

We can laugh today at our Frenchman's lack of vision. We have the benefit of hindsight. But ask yourself this question: Had we been present on that summer day in 1783, would we have been as wise as Franklin?

The point I'm trying to make here is that predicting the future is always a hazardous undertaking. This certainly has been the case in aviation. In recent years the potential of aviation has been consistently underrated. Skeptics have always far outnumbered visionaries.

Increases in the number and utilization of the civil aircraft fleet constitute a large part of the challenge facing aviation in the decade ahead. But we also can look forward to an aircraft of increasing complexity. New generations of aircraft will pose new operational problems. The high-capacity jets will be with us even before the 60's expire. V/STOL aircraft and the supersonic transports are just over the horizon.

The near total transition by the airlines to jets will be completed in the very near future. Moreover, the number of turbine-powered general aviation aircraft will increase seven-fold over the next decade, reaching a total of 7,000 by 1979. These high-speed aircraft will have to blend with an increasing fleet of slower aircraft which will be competing for the same airspace.

In addition, we envision that the bigger, faster, more complex civil aircraft fleet of the 1970's will be operating more and more in certain concentrated geographical areas. In 1965, 21 major American metropolitan areas accounted for two-thirds of total airline passenger enplanements. By 1980, they will account for better than 70 percent of all airline passenger enplanements.

It also should be noted that these same hub areas serve as focal points for general aviation. In fact, the second and third busiest airports in the nation in terms of traffic movements are both general aviation airports and are both located within major hub areas. Opa Locka, serving the Miami area, is number two. It is followed by Van Nuys, which serves the Los Angeles area.

So the airspace challenge in the 1970's is fairly well defined. We are going to have more airplanes. They are going to be of many different characteristics. They are going to be flying faster. And they are going to be operating more and more in certain concentrated geographic areas. To service and support this fleet is going to require a vast modernization and expansion of all supporting systems. The task is urgent, and there is no time to lose.

There are several major obstacles to safety and growth in aviation which must be overcome. Some of these major problems are: (1) An adequate system of airports; (2) An automated air traffic control system; and (3) Trained personnel to operate and maintain the system.

The inadequacy of our airports is the greatest single limitation on the capacity of the nation's air transportation system. Many of our major airports already are suffering from insufficient capacity. Aircraft cannot land or take off at a rate the traffic demands. Many of the constraints stem from a sheer lack of concrete, in the form of runways, taxiways, ramps, etc. The number and duration of these delays already are serious. In 1966, for example, FAA made a study of delays at 304 terminal areas served by FAA towers.

That study showed delays in these areas amounted to 173,000 hours. These delays cost the domestic airlines $57 million. These delays and costs are steadily increasing.

Quite obviously, we need to expand and improve our airports system if we are to meet the challenge of the 70's. We estimate that approximately 2,000 of the 3,200 publicly-owned airports now in use in the United States must be improved over the next 10 years to handle the growing volume of air traffic. We also see a need for some 900 new airports in the same time period. Most of these would be small airports designed to serve general aviation. Approximately 225 of them would be located within busy hub areas to siphon off general aviation traffic from the big commercial airports. But even with the addition of these "reliever" airports, we still see a need for about 35 new airports to meet the demands of the nation's air carriers. The Administration has proposed legislation to assist in the financing of future airport development and I hope this will receive early congressional consideration.

And as we extend the operational capability of our airports, we also must act to improve terminals, parking accommodations, access roads, and the transportation systems which link airports to the cities they serve. In fact, these facilities are a major concern as we move forward into the era of the Boeing 747 and other high-capacity jets. The prospect of several of these huge aircraft arriving more or less simultaneously and disgorging 400 or so passengers each into an already congested terminal is pretty frightening.

Now, let's look at the problem of automating the air traffic control system. This modernization program is well underway in the en route area and has been planned for the terminal area. The en route and terminal systems are based on the use of large modern computers which can assimulate large quantities of control data, and then distribute and display the data to controllers.

Obviously, a large communications capability is required and most communications will be in digital form and done automatically. For example, equipped aircraft will respond with their own identity and altitude after being queried by radar. However, pilot/controller conversations will still be carried on by voice for some years.

In the communications area, we think the future use of satellites has great promise. In remote areas—over the oceans and desert areas—today's communication systems are far from reliable. Through the use of a communications satellite, the reliability of the vital air-ground link could be greatly improved.

The industry is well on the way to providing a dependable cooperative collision warning device for use on large aircraft. We have high hopes that a device that will at least warn of the presence of small aircraft will be developed soon.

In addition to new elements entering the system, we need more of the garden-variety, every-day facilities, such as towers, radars and instrument landing systems.

For example, we see a need for the establishment of control tower service at some 235 airports which presently do not have this service.

Expansion of both en route and terminal radar service also is required. Some 140 new radars will be needed in the terminal areas alone by 1978.

In addition, we must have 850 additional instrument landing systems. Also, refinements in existing equipment are required if our major airports are to achieve full all-weather capability in the 1970's. We also need special landing aids for V/STOL aircraft.

Because we view the job ahead as a joint effort of Government and industry, we believe those in the private sector should have a greater voice in developing the policies which shape their destinies. We intend to see that they are given this opportunity.

Most of you probably are aware that we have already begun to establish consolidated planning machinery which will enable the agency to anticipate future demands for aviation services and to act accordingly. We do not intend this planning function to be a one-shot effort but rather a continuing and vital process which will involve industry as well as Government planners.

We plan to hold our first annual planning review conference this fall, and we look forward to a constructive industry response. We believe this new concept of joint planning points the way to increased Government-industry cooperation which will enable us to meet the challenges in aviation which lie ahead.

As complex as the airports and electronics are, they are soluble and I am sure that, jointly, we will solve them.

There is another problem that worries me more than the problems of concrete and hardware. That problem is an adequate number of trained people.

The brunt of the present explosive growth is now being borne by the highly skilled and dedicated work force of the FAA. Traffic developed faster than facilities and staffing. Our experienced controllers are now working a 6-day week at the busier locations, and are frequently held over for 10, 11 or 12-hour days when the traffic piles up.

Despite the use of more overtime than they should work, and the will of the controllers, communications and maintenance personnel to see that you move efficiently, as well as safely, we are running into more and more delays resulting from saturation of the available work force. When this happens, we hold flights on the ground and delay you. Safety is our goal. Your convenience and expedition are important only if safety is no factor.

The FAA will never criticize a controller for delaying you if he so much as thinks safety may be involved. To the contrary, he can never explain why he expedited your flight if he compromised safety in any way. Nevertheless, we are almost daily breaking traffic count records—and use of overtime records.

We must increase the size of our controller, flight service station, maintenance technician and Flight Standards inspector work forces. They must undergo rigorous selection tests, physical examinations, and long months and years of training before they are qualified. This all costs money and brings me to the main thrust of my speech.

It is apparent that when we talk about hiring and training more people, modernizing the air traffic control system, establishing new towers, expanding radar and communications capabilities, installing more instrument landing systems, building new airports and improving existing ones, a great deal of money is involved. We are *not* talking about millions, tens of millions or even hundreds of millions. We are talking about billions.

The key question then is who does pay for this system? The answer already has been supplied by President Johnson. In a letter to Secretary of Transportation Boyd, he said: "Those who benefit most from such expenditures, the aviation industry and the flying public, should pay their fair share of the costs of the system needed to handle the increase in air traffic while maintaining a high level of safety. I do not believe the general taxpayer should be asked to shoulder this burden."

At present, there are two taxes which are considered to be user charges. One is a five per cent tax on domestic airline passenger tickets. The other is four cents per gallon on aviation gasoline, half of which is refundable on request.

These taxes currently yield about $237 million in revenue, of which $8.3 million is from general aviation fuel taxes. This is wholly inadequate for the type of system we have been talking about today. Additional sources of revenue must be found to take care of industry and the traveling public's "fair share" of these expenditures. A proposed new schedule of user charges was sent to Congress last week.

These proposals increase existing taxes appreciably but not excessively. A better balance is achieved in providing an equitable distribution of costs to those who benefit from the use of the system.

It needs to be clearly understood that these new taxes are designed to provide resources which will enable us to accommodate the healthy increases in the use of our airspace that is forecast.

In the absence of an adequate and separate revenue source, we would continue to be dependent upon the general fund and aeronautical expenditures will be balanced with those other necessary services the Government provides the people of the country.

Without such resources, it will be necessary to restrict growth in an effort to maintain our current safety record—a record still not good enough to suit us. I will not hesitate to issue the necessary regulations if there needs to be a choice made between safety or restricted traffic flow. Furthermore, I will reassess present commitments for facilities and services and would reallocate funds and staff to high priority locations, consequently closing down or limiting hours of operations of FAA facilities at many locations throughout the country.

All of you are aware that the Administration's proposed airways/airports program contains several highly controversial elements. In the light of the differences which have been expressed in many quarters of Government and the aviation community, there may be some temptation to lay these issues aside for a future session of the Congress. In my judgment this would be a serious error. Since good agreement appears now to exist concerning the need for a user tax, I urge that this legislation also receive early Congressional consideration without delay.

As I have already noted, the job of improving and modernizing our aviation system is not one that Government should do alone. We must have the full cooperation and support of all the various segments of the aviation community. Without your help, we cannot hope to succeed. In fact, even with your help, the job will be difficult but it can and must be done.

SECRETARY FOWLER EMPHASIZES ROLE OF MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, Treasury Secretary Fowler delivered a speech before the American Bankers Association's Annual Monetary Conference in Puerto Rico which was characterized as something of a valedictory, in that it would be the Secretary's last speech before that group in his present official capacity. Because news from that meeting was dominated by central bankers' comments on the new arrangements on gold as well as our own fiscal problems at home, the text of Secretary Fowler's remarks did not receive the wide attention I think they deserved.

It has often been said that multilateral development assistance is preferable to bilateral foreign aid programs. This opinion has been shared by Republican as well as Democratic administrations, by many Members of the House and Senate and by international economists specializing in the field of development assistance. Seldom, however, have the reasons underlying this superiority been so clearly and carefully spelled out as in Secretary Fowler's thoughtful address. As is to emphasize the advantages of multilateralism, Mr. Fowler concluded with a recommendation that the United States should "let it be known that we are prepared to join with other contributing countries in expanding the use of the multilateral channels for development assistance leading to a continuation of the shift in emphasis from bilateral to multilateral channels of aid and development."

On the heels of this appeal for a shift from bilateral to multilateral assistance, recent actions by the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Banking Committees with regard to the Asian Development Bank and the International Development Association might be regarded as a move by the Congress in the opposite direction. There is, however, an important distinction between these two committees' resistance to this legislation at this time and the opposition that has emerged in recent years with regard to our bilateral foreign aid programs. On both the Asian Bank and IDA proposals, many of those who are counseling against bringing these measures to the floor of the House and Senate for votes are doing so in the best interests of maintaining the recent emphasis on multilateral aid programs. A 1-year delay in one or both is far superior to an overwhelming defeat in the House or Senate, based in large part upon the apprehension many Members of Congress have over new spending commitments in the face of our fiscal problems here at home. In this regard, it should be recalled that Congress has never turned down a legislative request in behalf of any of the multilateral lending institutions mentioned in Secretary

Fowler's speech. I, for one, hope to see a continuation of this fine record of legislative accomplishment in the years ahead.

Secretary Fowler's speech follows:

Address of the Honorable Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury, at the Closing Luncheon of the American Bankers Association's XVth Annual Monetary Conference, Dorado Beach Hotel, Dorado Beach, Puerto Rico, on Friday, May 24, 1968

Once again I am grateful for the opportunity of addressing this international monetary conference of distinguished financial leaders, public and private, from many important nations. This annual meeting offers an unparalleled opportunity to forward the common objective of the countries represented—a viable international financial system, nourishing economic growth, expanding trade and investment, and promoting security and development—an objective that cannot be achieved by these same nations working in isolation.

This is the fourth of these conferences I have been privileged to attend and it will be my last as Secretary of the Treasury. May I thank you for your warm initial reception at Princeton in 1965, the day following my appointment, and the opportunities at Granada, Spain, Pebble Beach, California, and now Puerto Rico, to talk with you about our common problems.

I. MULTILATERAL RESPONSIBILITY, THE NEW ESSENTIAL OF FOREIGN AND FINANCIAL POLICY

Each of the discussions I have had with you has had a basic underlying theme. It is a theme born of a conviction I held upon assuming my responsibilities in 1965. It has been reinforced by the increasing emphasis of events in the intervening three years.

That conviction is that American foreign policy must increasingly embody and express the principle that the advanced countries must *share* the *responsibility* on a multilateral free world scale for an improved trade and payments system, mutual security arrangements that are soundly and fairly financed, and an expanding system of development aid and finance.

In short, my message, as I saw it coming into this assignment and as I leave it, is the same—we must practice multilateralism, we must insist on it, and we must make it work.

The reason is clear and inescapable—we live in an interdependent world. Its future will depend upon the ability of likeminded leaders of both governments and private institutions to forgo narrow nationalism and seek diligently an improved framework of international economic and financial cooperation.

In Spain two years ago we took a tour of the horizon. We assessed the opportunities for multilateralism in the field of world trade, world liquidity, the strengthening of, the adjustment process in our balance of payments, the improvement of capital markets, development assistance, and assuring fair treatment for the multinational corporation.

Last year at Pebble Beach we singled out a particular topic for detailed examination—the need for multilateral national political decisions to bring about a shared responsibility for a more effective world monetary system which could assure continued progress, security and growth for a greater society of nations.

This sharing of responsibility in international financial affairs cannot continue to be the exclusive or especial concern of finance ministers, central bankers and private citizens involved in finance. It now requires the intensive involvement of chiefs of state, legislative assemblies, foreign ministers, defense ministers, trade ministers, business leaders, labor leaders and, indeed, citizens who, whether they know it or not, are now involved in a process of financial adjustment—a process which must be worked out among countries if the relative achievements of the next twenty years in the field of security, growth and development are to match those since World War II.

This is a necessary consequence of the changed situation of the United States and the dollar. Certain facts must be understood and it is my business and your business to make them understood in a wider circle rather than just consider them in talk among international bankers.

In the seventeen years from 1941 through 1957, the United States had a cumulative balance of payments deficit of less than $10 billion, or an annual average of just about $600 million. We ran a cumulative surplus on trade and services of $85 billion, or about $5 billion per year, a cumulative surplus on capital account of $17 billion, or $1 billion per year, and a cumulative deficit on military and government account of $112 billion, or $6.6 billion per year. From 1946 to 1957 alone, we extended economic assistance in grants and loans of $42 billion net.

During that period, we gained gold reserves of $800 million and financed our deficit completely—and more—by increasing our dollar liabilities to official and private holders.

The basic point is that the United States, throughout this period, was in fundamental surplus but, through its deliberate policy of massive untied grant and loan assistance, incurred more or less consistent liquidity deficits. With high reserves, immense productive power, a great and growing capital market system, and a desire to help rebuild a war-shattered world, the United States engaged in a *unilateral adjustment process* that benefited the world and, in so doing, helped both the world and itself.

It is no exaggeration to say that we picked up most of the checks—balance of payments checks—for insuring free world security; we permitted disadvantage to our trade, we encouraged our tourists to go abroad and make substantial purchases and we strove mightily to increase our export of capital through foreign public and private investment. All of these policies were rational and in the interest of world trade, security and economic growth.

But in the ten years 1958–67, the United States ran a cumulative deficit of $27 billion—an annual average of $2.7 billion—more than four times the average of the earlier period. Our government and military account deficit was reduced but remained large—$55 billion in ten years. It was of course, strongly affected by Vietnam after mid-1965.

Our capital account in the 1958–67 period showed no real improvement as compared with the earlier period. The annual average, in fact, showed a smaller surplus than in 1941–57. Capital outflows on direct investment, in the form of bank loans and in portfolio, rose sharply—enough so that the steadily rising income just about kept it in balance, but only after the outflow had been somewhat controlled and only after special transactions, including some debt prepayments to the United States on government account.

But the big change came in the trade and service account. Here our cumulative surplus was less than $19 billion, or under $2 billion a year. Our exports grew but, particularly in later years, imports grew faster, and we incurred a rapidly increasing deficit on tourist account.

This cumulative U.S. balance of payments deficit of the last ten years—$27 billion—had its counterpart in the continued enjoyment of a rather consistent pattern of surpluses in most of the other developed countries. This resulted both in a further decline in U.S. reserves and a continuing build-up of reserves of the surplus countries and dollars in private hands abroad.

The President's New Year's Day Message to the nation on balance of payments marked the end of that era of deficits. He proclaimed to the nation and the world that the time for decisive action had come and that the need to bring our payments into equilibrium was a national and international responsibility of the highest priority. In so doing, the President set a standard and a policy from which no future President in the decades ahead will find its practical to depart without abandoning the entire fabric of international economic and financial cooperation which we have so painfully sought to construct since World War II. There was no acceptable alternative to strong action then, which must be followed through now, and which must be maintained zealously in the years to come.

Here is the setting in which the moment of truth arrived:

The United States dollar is the principal reserve currency and the most-used transaction currency in the international monetary system.

The last ten years of chronic, sizable deficits in the United States balance of payments had diminished the ratio of our liquid assets to short term claims against them.

The primary surplus countries had failed to play their proper role in the balance of payments adjustment process.

It was clear that there were limits to the willingness of private and official holders abroad to accumulate the currency of a country in chronic deficit.

The United States has a far-flung involvement in security and development finance and as a natural and proper source of export capital.

In this setting, the devaluation of the British pound with resulting heavy pressures on the gold and foreign exchange markets, coincided with the substantial increase in 1967 in the United States balance of payments deficit from the $1.3 billion levels of 1965 and 1966. These events impelled and required the United States to initiate a strong, determined program to restore balance of payments equilibrium and to maintain it—preferably through a multilateral adjustment process.

All that remained open for debate was the choice of means to be employed to achieve this objective. The President's New Year's Day Program sought to satisfy four essential conditions:

Sustaining the growth, strength and prosperity of our own economy;

Allowing us to continue to meet our international responsibilities in the defense of freedom, in promoting trade and encouraging economic growth in the developing countries;

Engaging the cooperation of other free nations whose stake in a sound international monetary system is no less compelling than our own, and

Recognizing the special obligation of those nations with balance of payments surpluses to bring their payments into equilibrium.

The January 1 program was designed to be a balanced program—balanced in three important aspects. In it, there is balance between measures to restrain the domestic economy and reverse the tide of increasing inflation and *direct* measures to improve particular segments of our international payments. There is balance between selective measures on capital and current account. And, finally, there is balance in the impact of the selective measures on the rest of the world.

In essence, having undertaken with unprecedented generosity a *unilateral readjustment process in the years in which the United States was in fundamental surplus,* the United States has now undertaken the initiative for a multilateral adjustment process to reverse its position as a deficit country.

The stakes involved in making this necessary adjustment a multilateral exercise rather than a unilateral one are well understood by those in the financial world, public or private. I am not so sure that this understanding reaches to those in positions of responsibility in the other sectors of government—in the foreign offices, the defense ministries, the trade ministries, the tourism offices, and other areas where decision and action will ultimately determine the success or failure of the adjustment process.

Therefore, I will repeat what I said at Pebble Beach a year ago—a statement which intervening events should make better understood now than it was at the time:

"I find it also necessary to emphasize that this cooperation is not a matter of helping the United States deal with its problem, but a matter of enabling the United States to deal with its problem without: undermining the international monetary system, subjecting that system, by unilateral action, to radical and undesirable change, or withdrawing from commitments involving the security and development of others."

There is much progress to report in this area of multinational responsibility:

The creation of a means for providing an adequate and reliable supplement to gold and reserve currencies to meet the global need for increasing monetary reserves in the form of a Special Drawing Rights facility, administered by the International Monetary Fund, seems a likely reality rather than a far off dream. These Special Drawing Rights, deliberately created by multilateral decision, backed by the currencies of the participating countries, and shared by all who participate according to Fund quotas, will be an important symbol of multilateral sharing of responsibility for this key aspect of a viable international monetary system.

Giant steps toward this long sought objective were taken in the meetings of the Group of Ten at London last July, at Stockholm late March, and at the International Monetary Fund Annual Meeting last September in Rio de Janeiro, scene of the passage of the Resolution of the Board of Governors and the submission of a formal Report by the Executive Directors of the Fund to its Governors of a proposed amendment to the Articles of Agreement creating the Special Drawing Rights facility.

There have been outstanding performances by the major financial countries in containing the devaluation of the British pound and coping with the disruption of financial and foreign exchange markets that followed.

The Washington communique of March 17 of the Central Bank Governors of the active gold pool countries, announcing their decision to separate the private gold markets from what might be termed the monetary gold market, was a historic statement and reflects a major decision. The cooperation of most of the other free world countries, expressed in their willingness to subscribe to the policies stated in the Washington communique, is also most reassuring.

At Stockholm, the Group of Ten Ministers and Governors reaffirmed their determination to cooperate in the maintenance of exchange stability and orderly exchange arrangements in the world based on the present official price of gold. Their communique also said: "They intend to strengthen the close cooperation between governments as well as central banks to stabilize world monetary conditions." This latter statement was agreed unanimously and there was only one reservation to the former statement.

II. MULTILATERALISM IN DEVELOPMENT FINANCE

Today, I should like to single out another specific area of challenge for making multilateralism work—economic development for the poor or less developed nations of the world.

As the United States Governor of the World Bank, the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank, I have come to believe that the care, supervision and development of these key instruments of multilateralism are vital responsibilities for all of us.

I am fortified in that belief by the fact that a world religious leader, Pope Pius, has spoken out strongly on our responsibilities in this area, and that men like John McCloy, Eugene Black, George Woods, Felipe Herrera and Takeshi Watanabe have become true believers along with Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson; that a distinguished Secretary of Defense, whose prime concern for seven years has been our national security, believes that the leadership of this type of institution is a most important outlet for his energies and talents.

But three recent events clinched my choice of subject.

The first is the fact that the new and relatively young Prime Minister of our neighbor, Canada, chose last week in the western province of Alberta to state a conviction. It was that the overwhelming threat to Canada will not come from foreign investment, ideologies or weapons, but "from the two-thirds of the peoples of the world who are steadily falling farther and farther behind in their search for a decent standard of living."

The second reason was that George Champion chose the annual meeting of the Texas bankers ten days ago as the occasion for delivering a truly outstanding address on this subject. In his remarks Mr. Champion made this assessment in these terms:

"But, in my judgment, cooperation in promoting free societies and rising standards of living in the developing nations is essential. Frankly, I see no alternative.

"As our newly appointed Ambassador to the United Nations—George Ball—has stressed, the achievement of a stable world order depends primarily on a handful of industrialized Western nations which 'command the lion's share of world power, possess the most advanced technology, and enjoy in common a humane tradition.'

"Twenty years ago, these nations, acting in unison, halted the westward sweep of Communist aggression.

"Today, acting in unison, they could mount a coordinated attack on world poverty that could ultimately lift a hundred nations to economic respectability."

My third reason for choosing this special subject is that during this year the Congress of the United States and the governing bodies of the seventeen other industrialized nations who are members of the International Development Association, the soft loan affiliate of the World Bank, will determine whether this promising approach to multilateral development finance will be replenished on an expanded scale or leave this vital field to relatively uncoordinated national approaches.

A generation has now passed since the world first turned its attention to the problems of development finance, to meet the challenge of promoting economic growth in the less developed lands. During that time we have witnessed some notable successes and some saddening failures. We have also learned a great deal about the complex and difficult problems of financing economic development, and how to attack those problems.

We have learned that multilateral approach to development finance, making full use of the global network of international financial institutions and of the regional banks, is clearly advantageous, not only to the developing countries, but also to the United States and the other contributing countries. Let me review some of these advantages.

Advantages of the multilateral approach

1. *Attracting large-scale resources.*—The multilateral institutions, which represent the combined efforts of many countries, can attract and command a wider range of financial resources than individual countries working by themselves. The global international financial institutions and the regional banks can not only call upon contributions from member countries, but, in most cases, are in a position to tap private resources through the sale of securities in world capital markets.

2. *Burden-sharing.*—The global international financial institutions and regional banks provide the best vehicles available for bringing about a more equitable sharing of the burden of providing development assistance.

Moreover, these institutions have provided a way to shift burden-sharing arrangements over time to accord with the changes in the international financial situation. This is of particular importance if we are to find the ways and means of meeting the requirements for development finance among the poor nations of the world—requirements which remain immense. The United States, which has for so long carried so large a share of the total burden, cannot by itself, or to the extent to which it has in past years, meet the growing need. Other nations must join in meeting these expanded requirements in volume and in proportions of aid that more closely reflect the realities of their growing economic and financial strength.

The United States share of bilateral free world aid is about 56 percent of the total. But the U.S., two years ago, subscribed to only 20 percent of the share capital of the Asian Development Bank, and we are now seeking legislative approval for only a 40 percent share of an expanded capitalization for the next round of contributions to the International Development Association, the World Bank's concessionary finance affiliate. Our initial contribution to IDA in 1960 represented a 43 percent share of the capitalization provided by the developed countries. In the World Bank, which relies heavily on capital borrowed in private markets, we have been able to encourage a marked shift from extreme reliance on U.S. private markets to much greater reliance on the capital markets of Europe. This is in keeping with the growth in European financial strength.

In addition to questions about *amounts* of financing, the international financial institutions have proved useful in improving the *quality* of financing, as it relates to the need for concessionary repayment terms, by getting other nations to bear a more equitable share of the burden of this type of lending. IDA—to take a most important example—provides hard currency repayable loans at very long maturities, with a small service charge in lieu of interest. Thus, all contributions to IDA from the many capital exporting countries are pooled, and relent on identical terms adapted to the debt-servicing capabilities of borrowing countries. This situation contrasts sharply with bilateral financing arrangements, in which there are wide differences in the terms of financing provided by the various capital exporting nations, with certain nations insisting on excessively strict repayment terms.

3. *Comparison of effort.*—The multilateral financial institutions can provide a useful non-political mechanism for comparison of effort—for comparing the development progress of the different developing nations and the soundness of their development programs and also for comparing the development financing policies and programs of the various capital exporting countries. In the light of such comparison, those developing nations in which planning efforts and development efforts are inadequate can be encouraged to improve their performance, and those creditor countries in which policies for providing development finance show up badly in terms of magnitude, quality, or terms, can

be encouraged to raise their standards. This, of course, complements the valuable work of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

4. *Political objectivity.*—Loans provided by the international financial institutions and regional banks are made on the basis of *economic* criteria. Basically they are not politically oriented—and are not so considered by the recipients. Loans by the international and regional banks tend to be allocated on the basis of the borrowing nation's need and capacity to employ funds usefully, rather than on the basis of political ties, or on an attempt to influence particular governments or persons, or, to use the vernacular, the principle of "who likes whom?"

This political objectivity is a great advantage. It permits the multilateral banks to advise capital recipient nations on matters of political sensitivity, in a manner which would be difficult, if not impossible, for a country providing bilateral development finance. It is easier for developing nations to accept advice and conditions of reform and self-help if that advice and those conditions come from an international institution or regional bank in which the developing nation is a member and has a voice and a vote.

The World Bank and related institutions, as well as the regional banks, have been effective in requiring self-help measures on the part of the borrowing nations and have not only brought about financial and economic reforms within them, but have moved to help bring reform in such fields as education and health.

Moreover, the international and regional financial institutions, with this advantage of being non-political, can sometimes act as arbitrator in difficult situations. Perhaps a case in point is the Indus Water settlement, where the World Bank was in a unique position to obtain agreement of both India and Pakistan to terms for a mutually beneficial solution to a problem which had defied settlement for a long time.

5. *Efficiency of operations.*—The multilateral institutions, which devote full time to the tasks of development finance, bring to these problems a greater concentration of professional expertise than is generally available from single nations—donors or recipients. In effect, they can take advantage of economies of scale in the development financing business. They can provide development capital efficiently, and economically. Just as an international or regional group with broad geographic membership can call on a wide range of contributors for financing, so can it call on, and provide, technicians with a wide range of skills and specialities which no single country is likely to have available.

6. *A forum for discussion.*—Still another advantage is that a multilateral institution can provide a framework within which donor countries and recipient countries, each with a share in financial participation, can work together in a cooperative attack on the problems of poverty and need. There is much gained from sharing experience. Developing nations, by participating in these arrangements, can learn from one another. All can improve their own knowledge of development problems and their own performance.

7. *Providing leadership.*—Perhaps the most important contribution of the international financial institutions and regional banks is that these institutions can provide a critically needed leadership. This means leadership in marshaling capital for development finance, in determining needs and priorities, in selecting the best approaches to the development task, and in encouraging both developing nations and capital exporting nations to pursue sound and helpful policies. This kind of objective leadership, which cannot and should not be undertaken by any single nation, either donor or recipient, is essential. In my view, it is the fundamental advantage of the multilateral approach—making full use of the international financial institutions in attacking the problems of development finance.

During the 1960's many important steps have been taken to shift the emphasis in development finance away from bilateral channels toward increased reliance on the international financial institutions and regional banks. IDA, the concessional financing arm of the World Bank, was started in 1960, was given a substantial increase in its resources in 1964, and, under the proposal now being considered, would be given a further increase, to allow it a substantially higher level of loan activity.

The Inter-American Development Bank, with membership comprising the United States and 20 other nations in the Western Hemisphere, was inaugurated in 1960 and has received increased resources since that time, with growing financial participation by nonmember countries.

The African Development Bank was opened for business in 1966, limiting its equity membership to African states, but with the expectation that the exporting nations might participate, through special funds and other arrangements.

The Asian Development Bank opened its doors in 1966, with 19 regional and 12 nonregional members, including most of the European countries. Last December, Switzerland became the 12th non-regional member. This marked the first time that Switzerland had joined any such financial institution.

In addition to the establishment and expansion of international and regional banks, reliance on the leadership of the multilateral financial institutions increased in recent years with the establishment of consortia and consultative groups. In these, a number of capital exporting countries, each of which is participating in financing development in a particular country—say India or Colombia—meet periodically to discuss past results and future prospects for development finance for that country. This reliance on the international and regional banks will, and should continue to grow.

This is a desirable trend. We must, I repeat, build on the present system, correct any faults, and fashion the system in a way best designed to meet present and future needs. The word "build" is not used in the sense of creating new institutions. It would be pointless and self-defeating to set up new institutions with functions which would overlap those of existing bodies, and which would serve more to bewilder than to contribute. I agree with a leader in this field who said that there should be an antiproliferation pledge of new international organizations; that we should reserve the creation of new entities for functions that clearly have no home among the many rooms already offered by the international family.

But we can build in the sense of adapting present policies of our existing institutions. Our past experience has shown that multilateralism works; we must now make it work more effectively. How can we do that?

1. *First, we should strengthen the position of leadership by the international financial institutions and the regional banks.*

We must do all we can to strengthen these organizations in their position of leadership. To have a multilateral organization dominated by one or two nations is to make a sham of multilateralism. The United States, and every country, must restrain any impulse to try to take the lead and play too prominent a role. A success in a multilateral financing operation is a success for the whole group; a failure is a failure of the whole group.

The implications of this are very important for the United States.

On the other hand it means that the United States must recognize that it cannot and should not exercise more than its fair share of control of the policies of these institutions, determine in each and every case to whom each loan will or will not go, and so on.

Of course, we have an important voice in these decisions. As the largest single contributing country in most of the international financial institutions, we can exert considerable influence. I think the record thus far will indicate clearly that the activities of these institutions have been compatible with U.S. policies and interest. Their operations and policies have in the main broadly coincided with our own views. I am confident that in practice this will continue, but we should not forget that we cannot control these organizations, and we should not expect that each turn and twist of a multilaterally-financed instituion can or should be dictated soley by the United States.

There is another side to this coin. As a strong but minority partner, we should not try to assume unlimited responsibilities in the supply of development finance which so seriously falls short of the expanding need. These increased responsibilities should be increasingly shared by our partners in Western Europe and Japan whose capacity to participate in meeting the enlarged demand has grown so remarkably over the past two decades. With growing responsibilities more equitably shared by them through the channels and under the leadership of the international institutions, an important attack can be launched on the great world economic problem of this decade and the next—economic development of the poor, the less developed, countries of the world, for the benefit of all nations.

It is not a question of whether the United States is in a position in which it can meet all shortfalls of development finance targets, as a residual supplier and lender of last resort. This is a tired question, one which was more alive when other nations now strong were financially weak. Enlarged contributions by other capital exporting nations are not and should not be considered as, help for the United States on the grounds that they were reducing the shortfall which our nation has to meet.

It is the work of the international financial institutions, with all capital exporting nations acting collectively—not the United States acting unilaterally or disproportionately—which must assure that the immense requirements of the developing nations are met.

2. *Second, we should urge the international and regional institutions to strengthen further their management and leadership of the consortia and consultative groups.*

Under the guidance of the World Bank or other multilateral institutions, individual consultative groups and consortia have been set up for about a dozen countries. Each group meets periodically to assess each developing country's economic performance and to evaluate its need for development assistance, usually on the basis of some target drawn up by the developing country and reviewed by the multilateral institution.

We have only started to come to grips with the problem that in some cases these multilateral efforts have been too heavily focused on the gross amount of development finance to be provided, while paying insufficient attention to the form of financing provided and the *terms* on which it is provided. The result has been not only an unequal distribution of the burden among donors, but also—at least until recently—an increasing debt service burden on the borrowers, resulting from the very short terms and very high interest rates on credit offered by some of the donor members of these groups.

The debt burdens which some of the developing countries will face in the years ahead as a result of accepting too much short-term high interest debt can cause serious problems for both the debtors and the creditors. In my view the dangers in this situation are substantial. It might be better to encourage the international institutions to re-examine the presumptions on which participation in consortia and consultative groups have thus far been based.

3. *Third, we must press more vigorously through the international institutions and otherwise, for more equitable sharing of responsibility.*

Progress has been made in recent years toward a fairer sharing of the burden of providing development financing, but more needs to be done. We have no wish to cut back on what the U. S. is doing, but there is still a great need for an increased flow of resources from others, and a critical need for better terms.

I have touched on this question earlier. I will add here only the observations that every important capital exporting nation must be persuaded that the requirements for development finance are growing; that providing development loans on commercial terms is self-defeating, and that cutbacks in development finance programs represent an economy which the world cannot afford.

It is becoming increasingly clear that we can no longer make such comparisions simply by relating the size of a country's development and aid contribution to the size of its gross national product. The form in which a donor provides aid, the terms of its aid, and its international liquidity position must be taken into account. In a broader sense, account should also be taken of the contribution each country is making toward other objectives for the common good—most particularly for the military security of the free world.

4. *Fourth, we need to press for policies and attitudes to give greater weight to balance of payments considerations in multilateral development activities.*

If substantial amounts of funds, particularly those which will be paid over a number of years, are to be channeled through multilateral institutions, ways and means must be found to cause the real resources needed by the developing nations to flow in such a way that they will contribute to, rather than upset, the process of adjusting international payments imbalance. We delude ourselves if we think that any substantial commitment, particularly forward commitment of funds, will be made by responsible national financial authorities without adequate protection for their balance of payments contingencies. There is no magic inoculation known, either in medical or economic science, which can provide immunity to balance of payments problems for developed countries other than the United States.

At present, the United States, which is by far the world's largest provider of multilateral aid, has by far the world's largest balance of payments deficit. We need to make sure that our participation in these multilateral organizations is carried out in ways compatible with our balance of payments policies, while consistent with the needs of the multilateral institutions.

The future ability of the multilateral development finance institutions to mobilize large and increasing resources will depend to an important degree on their ability to meet this challenge. There are a variety of ways in which this problem can be approached.

Additional steps need to be taken to improve the access of the development finance institutions to wider and more diversified world capital markets. For our part, the United States has for a number of years pressed for the creation of new and more highly developed capital markets in other industrial nations. Some have taken actions to facilitate such a development—with national and international benefits.

From the point of view of the international finance institutions alone, much remains to be done. Perhaps this is an area for multilateral action under the leadership of the multilateral institutions themselves. It would be fanciful to expect full results quickly, but the lag in results, compared to the need so far, is regrettable. We have had to afford a substantial degree of access by these institutions to our own capital markets, despite our balance of payments difficulties; but whenever such access was necessary, it was also necessary, in view of our present deficit, for us to mitigate the impact of the event on our own balance of payments. If we are to make a better adjustment of international payments imbalances, we must act upon the responsibility, recognized by all of us in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—and not fully met by all surplus countries—of affording greater financial access to all of our capital markets by the development finance institutions.

But it is not a matter of access alone. To the extent that private capital markets—particularly in surplus countries—are not yet able to provide an adequate volume of resources, does not the member government have a responsibility to the institution and to the adjustment process for timely reinvestment of its international receipts?

We must take all feasible steps to assure that, when resources are being contributed to the multilateral institutions, contributing countries which are in balance of payments difficulties may make their contributions in a way which safeguards their efforts to achieve balance of payments equilibrium.

The proposed contribution to IDA contains such safeguards, and the principle must be maintained in other contributions to other multilateral institutions.

We must seek an increasing recognition of the need for a clear differentiation, in the provision of development finance, in the obligations of capital exporting countries in balance of payments difficulty and those of capital exporting countries which are in balance of payments surplus. Countries in serious balance of payments difficulty may be expected to provide their contributions in the form of goods and services produced in their own country. Countries in balance of payments surplus should make their contributions in the form of cash financing or untied aid. I should note that if countries now in surplus do not provide their aid on an untied basis—in form and fact—while they are in surplus, it will be much more difficult for nations in deficit, such as the United States, to justify providing their aid in untied form when their balance of payments deficits are eliminated.

As a general proposition we should seek to ensure that development finance more actively contributes to the international payments adjustment process. Development financing should be provided in a form which tends to mitigate, rather than to exacerbate, the present disequilibrium in international payments.

5. *Finally, we should increase the share of financing provided through multilateral lending agencies.*

If some of these changes can be introduced a continuation of the shift in emphasis from bilateral to multilateral channels for aid and development finance would be in order. This, of course, is not a decision for the United States alone, but we should, in my view, let it be known that we are prepared to join with the other contributing countries in expanding the use of the multilateral channels for development finance.

This is not a move to be made by one or a few countries but by all contributing countries and should depend upon the effectiveness of the particular institution. However, this does not mean that we should expect to shift altogether out of bilateral aid and development finance arrangements in favor of the multilateral approach. The bilateral channels must continue to play an important role. We would be deluding ourselves, and doing a disservice to those who have responsibility for carrying out the foreign policy of governments, not to recognize it.

I would, at this point, like to say a word about Vietnam. President Johnson has made clear to the world our fervent hope that peace there will be restored. At this moment we cannot predict the outcome of negotiations. But it is not too early to begin to consider the possibility of peace and to plan. Clearly, the problems of restoring economic stability and promoting growth in those war-torn areas in the stresses of the post-Vietnam period will require a multilateral approach. We should begin to examine the problems and plan such an approach.

III. SOME PRESSING, PENDING, UNFINISHED BUSINESS AT HOME

During the month of June the Government of the United States will be called upon to take decisive action on some pending legislation which is of the greatest importance to the objective of making multilateralism work in the field of international finance.

The Senate will be called upon to vote on the legislation authorizing the approval of the proposed amendment of the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund establishing the Special Drawing Rights facility and providing for U.S. participation in the operations of that facility. This legislation has already passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 226 to 16.

I appreciate the interest, participation and support of the American Banking Association in the long and laborious processes of consideration, negotiation and legislative action which have brought us so close to the end of the long road we have traveled toward this objective.

Likewise, it is anticipated that in the month of June Congress will be called upon to approve participation by the United States in the second replenishment of funds for the International Development Association. This second replenishment cannot become effective until at least twelve contributing members—whose aggregate contribution is not less than $950 million (out of the $1.2 billion scheduled over the next three years)—shall have notified the organization that they will make their contributions. Because of the size of the U.S. contribution, the $950 million "trigger" amount cannot be reached without our participation. Our own action undoubtedly will stimulate early action on the part of a number of other governments.

The Executive Directors of IDA have recommended that all governments act in time to permit the Resolutions to come into effect on or before June 30, 1968. By acting promptly to meet that schedule, we can reassert the constructive leadership that has characterized our earlier participation within the International Development Association.

Strong bipartisan backing characterized the U.S. initiative to create the International Development Association under the administration of President Eisenhower. Up to now it has continued under President Kennedy and President Johnson. I hope it will result in a timely approval by the Congress of this measure, so vital to keeping multilateralism at work in the field of development finance.

Finally, in the first week in June, the Congress will vote up or down legislation providing for a tax increase and a reduction in government expenses. This all important measure is designed to restore a responsible national fiscal and financial policy which is vital to the United States and the entire free world.

This audience knows that failure to take affirmative action on this fiscal program would risk incalculable damage to our own and the world's economy and financial system. It would—

Expose our economy to continuing and intolerable inflationary pressures;

Lead to additional fear and distress in our financial markets and a further upward spiral in interest rates already near the highest levels in modern history;

Hamper our efforts to bring our balance of payments into equilibrium through the restoration of a healthy trade surplus, risking a full-scale international financial crisis;

Seriously undermine the basic faith held at home and abroad in the ability of the United States to conduct its Financial affairs responsibly—a faith that is and has been fundamental to the strength of the dollar.

Since last August, I have warned of each of these risks of fiscal failure in every forum open to me—from Cabinet Room to Congressional Committee—from London to Rio to Stockholm. But today, unlike last August, I am no longer speaking of risks alone. For, to a degree, each of the damaging results I have cited are already in evidence. We are no longer faced with dangerous future contingencies but with a current movement toward damaging inflation, financial deterioration and a loss of confidence.

This is why I consider it absolutely essential that proper fiscal action be taken now. We can *not* afford further delay. And the nation can *not* afford the failure in representative government which would result should the Congress refuse to perform its function in meeting the necessities of the people rather than satisfying wishful thinking. It is your responsibility and mine to make sure they understand the necessities. Since the surcharge was proposed last August it has become increasingly clear that a responsible fiscal policy, in the environment then evident and now experienced, calls for decisive action to eliminate the twin deficits in our Federal budget and in our international balance of payments and for early enactment of the President's tax increase proposal as essential to the achievement of this objective.

The past ten months have amply demonstrated that the best chance of obtaining these results in this Congress is to conjoin the tax increase with a substantive spending reduction. The legislative package pending before the Congress does just that.

There have been and continue to be differences of opinion over whether the expenditure reductions should be $4 billion or $6 billion—whether the deficit of our $20 billion should be reduced to $18 billion or $20 billion. I hold strongly to the view that a difference of opinion over the consequences of postponing, or cancelling, or maintaining expenditures in fiscal '69 in the amount of $2 billion must not be allowed to stand between the nation and the early re-establishment of a responsible fiscal policy so necessary and so long over-due.

Speaking to the United States Chamber of Commerce, prior to the decision of the House and Senate, I said:

"Given the Government's serious financial situation, now recognized on all sides, I am confident that the men of wisdom, experience and patriotism who are involved will not permit disagreements over details or procedures, or marginal differences as to the degree of expenditure reduction required, to prevent decisive action to reduce our twin deficits to manageable proportions.

". . . In this process, the individual Congressman or Senator will not get just what he would prefer for his constituents or for the nation, Nor will the President, given the special constitutional power of the Congress over the purse. Neither will you or I. But, acting together, we can do what needs to be done—take care of our essential needs at home and abroad in a manner that will keep our economy stable and the dollar strong."

But, this is not the end of the story.

It is the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to speak plainly on these matters and I have done so in the past as I do now. But it is also his duty to keep trying, to retain hope, and to have confidence in the ultimate capacity of representative government to do what is plainly right, even in an election year.

My role in the torturous journey that the tax bill has been forced to follow has been described by one of my colleagues as follows:

"At times he has been a tax Candide, seeing progress in this procedural move or that statement by a legislator when all else saw only set-back. At times he has sorrowfully been a tax Cassandra, as crises recurred in the international markets and gold filled the headlines. And at many another time he has been the ambulance surgeon on the emergency call or even a Dr. Christian Barnard—always able to detect a pulse or heartbeat when all others had put away their stethoscopes."

May I take one final role—that of a fiscal Paul Revere, riding past our noble banking institutions, shouting a new call to arms:

"The date is early June."

You are the Minute Men who should have the ear of your representatives on financial matters. In this hour of national fiscal responsibility, I ask for your help.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO, TRAINING YOUNG MEN IN JOB CORPS CENTERS—SENATOR RANDOLPH COMMENDS THIS VITAL SERVICE

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, on May 20, it was my privilege to participate in a significant program in the auditorium of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, AFL-CIO, whose headquarters building at 101 Constitution Avenue, NW., is one of the most handsome in our Nation's Capital.

The gathering marked the formal signing by the brotherhood of the official papers to become prime contractor in the training of young men at 14 Job Corps centers throughout the Nation.

More than 800 unemployed and disadvantaged young Americans—many of them ghetto residents and school dropouts—will receive a new lease on a better life because of this bold new program of direct poverty war action.

Four of the Job Corp centers are called urban centers for men, operated by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. They are Camp Atterbury, Ind.; Camp Breckenridge, Ky.; Camp Kilmer, N.J., and the Clearfield Job Corp Center near Clearfield, Utah.

The other 10 are conservation centers, operated by the Forest Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. These are the 5-Mile Center, Calif.; Golconda, Ill.; Popular Bluff, Mo.; Mountainair, N. Mex.; Camp Schenck, N.C.; Camp Timber Lake, Oreg.; New Waverly, Tex.; Flatwoods, Va.; Cispus, Wash., and Anthony, in our State of West Virginia.

Each center will be able to accept for training 60 students at one time and each of these groups will have five instructors and a center coordinator.

The training program will operate for 1 year, from June to June, with 26 weeks spent in general class instruction and 26 weeks in practical application of knowledge gained.

Work training at the centers will consist mostly of constructing recreation facilities in national forests and parks and there erections will be permanent structures of value to the national recreation program.

The Federal Government will supply trainee and instructor tool kits. Textbooks, reference books, and visual aids will be furnished by the Brotherhood of Carpenters, as well as the instructors.

The Office of Economic Opportunity will recruit the trainees for all camps. Candidates are screened for qualifications and aptitude by a panel at each center. The Corpsman must have a sincere interest in becoming a carpenter, demonstrating an ability to perform mechanical operations requiring physical coordination and applicants must be at least 17 years of age.

There are additional selection criteria but these are no more difficult for the candidates to meet than those already established for participants in the pre-apprenticeship program which the Brotherhood of Carpenters conducts under Manpower Development Training Act authorization.

This Job Corps program is aimed at assisting those young people who have been unable to establish themselves because of poor economic or cultural backgrounds and it will have many Negro trainees.

Those Corpsmen who show aptitude will be guided into the carpenters' own apprenticeship training program and they will be placed, whenever possible, in programs in or near their home towns.

General President M. A. Hutcheson of the Carpenters said at the ceremony:

> The challenges facing our country are numerous. Not the least of them is developing enough skilled manpower to meet the ever-growing needs of the construction industry.
>
> Our cities need to be rebuilt, our transportation system must be overhauled, our health facilities must be doubled, our school system requires vast expansion. All these things mean construction and construction means skilled manpower capable of erecting the sophisticated and complex facilities our age calls for.

President Hutcheson continued:

> The programs we are initiating today can and will make a significant contribution to the growing needs of our economy. They will afford youngsters an opportunity to prepare themselves for entrance into an old and honorable trade. For those with the will and desire, avenues will be opened for participating in the exciting growth and development which face the nation in the years ahead.

I was also interested in the remarks of Finlay C. Allan, the first general vice president of the Carpenters, who directs training activities. The importance of the project is indicated by the fact that Mr. Allan directly will supervise it, although day-to-day planning will be handled by such associates as the brotherhood's technical director, Leo Gable. Allan commented:

> I think we can make tradesmen and useful citizens out of the boys we have in camps.

A number of other leaders present at the ceremony included Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman; Ed Cliff, Chief Forester, U.S. Forest Service; Representative HAROLD T. JOHNSON, of California; and William P. Kelly, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This program of the Carpenters is vitally important and they are providing a commendable service for our citizens.

NEGROES IN SPORTS

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, the Negro has come a long way in the field of sports. There have been outstanding Negroes on the sports scene, both professional and amateur, who have, through their excellence, won the admiration, respect, and even envy of their white counterparts and sports fans.

But, with success should come responsibility—which a small proportion of Negro athletes are not now showing through excessive demands, primarily in the ranks of the amateurs.

Joe Richmond, sports editor of the Idaho State Journal, published in Pocatello, Idaho, sums up the situation very succinctly in his column of May 26, 1968, which follows:

BLEACHER NOTES

(By Joe Richmond)

To this sportswriter, who has been following professional and amateur athletics ever since the days when Jackie Robinson was establishing a toehold for other Negroes in major league baseball, it seems somewhat ironic now that there should be such turmoil among colored athletes at colleges around the United States.

Racial discrimination is certainly nothing new. On the other hand, it would be hard for many fans across the nation to sympathize with these same Negro athletes who have been charging discrimination at various schools and citing every kind of example from lack of Negro cheerleaders to the fact that the team trainer showed prejudice.

Threatening to boycott Olympic Games competition or intercollegiate contests does not seem to be the most effective means for our Negro athletes to gain arbitration, either.

These same advocates of "Black Power" among athletes on the college campuses should reflect for a bit and take a look at the plight of the Negroes in the U.S. up until a dozen years ago or so.

Until the 1950's schools in the South were not yet integrated, Negroes in many cities rode in the rear of buses and housing and restaurant accommodations were segregated.

In athletics, progress towards equality for the Negroes has come by leaps and bounds as compared to two centuries or more of struggling for freedom from oppression across the land.

How badly are these Negro athletes being treated? Are their threats of boycotts and revolts within various athletic departments justified?

To be sure, some groups undoubtedly can rightly say they have grievances that should be corrected. But in shouting demands that schools must hire Negro coaches, they must appoint Negro cheerleaders, they must teach Negro history courses, and the coach must coach the sport the way the Negroes direct, hardly seem to be intelligent means of promoting understanding.

How about our Japanese, Chinese and Indians, who also do quite well in athletics in proportion to their population in this country?

If one school is going to have to hire a Negro coach and appoint a Negro counselor for athletes, shouldn't it also have to spare no efforts in digging up a Chinese pom pom girl and a Navajo fellow to manage its training room?

We once knew a college basketball coach who had gone out and offered half his 12 scholarships to Negro prospects. Then one time during an informal banquet speech he jokingly stated that now that he had such a great collection of talent, he would next have to hire his own team psychologist.

Veteran Utah scribe John Mooney, who has been covering the sports scene for 30 years, recently penned words to the effect that these Negro athletes who keep threatening boycott and crying about discrimination are in reality "biting the hand that feeds them."

We have to concur, especially since in our own experience in covering athletics we have seen the Wilt Chamberlains, Elgin Baylors, Gus Johnsons and Ray McDonalds come on to take over the limelight and in most cases prove to be a well-pampered group.

Some still remember Baylor when he was an All-American at Seattle University and joke about his taking a "cut in pay" when he signed with the Los Angeles Lakers. Maybe that wasn't all of a joke, either, for we can still remember the night Seattle was playing an NCAA tournament game at San Francisco and there was Baylor sporting around town in a Cadillac.

Of course there have been a lot of pampered athletes among the whites, too.

Certainly, though, it is hard to see why so many Negro collegians should be screaming racial prejudice. All one has to do is check the lineups when attending any major college basketball game, or to attend one of the bigger track meets around the country, or to watch a pro football game.

Equality for the Negroes in sports may not be completely fulfilled around the country. On the other hand, this guy would be willing to trade bank accounts with Baylor, Chamberlain, Bill Russell or Willie Mays in a minute.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND HOUSING FOR AMERICA

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the basic needs of all humans is for shelter; and housing for all Americans has been one of the continuing goals of President Johnson from the earliest days of his administration. He sought to reach this goal by recommending a vast new program for housing Americans. When he requested the legislation, the President described the situation in these words:

> Today America's cities are in crisis. This clear and urgent warning rises from the decay of decades—and is amplified by the harsh realities of the present.

Yesterday, the Senate passed his bill, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. This landmark piece of legislation is designed to assist in providing housing for low- and moderate-income families, that portion of our population with the greatest need for help in obtaining decent housing. Now, the country awaits action by the House.

I am proud to state that I support this bill. President Johnson has demonstrated once again that he understands the needs of America and that he is truly the President of all the people. I intend to follow his lead and I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

LINCOLN ABHORRED INDOLENCE

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, Abraham Lincoln was once quoted as saying:

> You cannot permanently help a man by doing for him that which he can and should do for himself.

We are also reminded that, when the good Lord turned Adam out of the Garden of Eden. He admonished:

> By the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.

At a time when able-bodied drones and freeriders, stripped of pride and self-respect, are demanding more Government handouts, we need to reattach ourselves to fundamentals which are featured in the holy writ and so prominently displayed in the philosophy of Abe Lincoln.

A recent broadcast entitled "Abe Was Right," which appeared on the Earl Nightingale program, treated this subject very effectively. Every American should read it, particularly the innocent and gullible who are victims of the antiwork agitators.

The contents of the broadcast follow:

ABE WAS RIGHT

One of the reasons Abraham Lincoln was a great president was that he had a great mind, he was a deep thinker. Another reason was his marvelous ability to say a great deal with very few words—a talent seldom found in politicians. Listen to this one:

"Labor was prior to capital, but property is the fruit of labor. Property is desirable, and is a positive good to the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise.

"Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently, and build one for himself, thus by example insuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

Makes a lot of sense, doesn't it?

A young reporter in Detroit, who was still young enough to be going through a puerile socialist phase, once asked me: "But what about the poor, shouldn't we do something to help them?" And I said, "Yes, we should. And the best thing in the world you can do for the underprivileged is to offer them freedom and opportunity; freedom to choose an education if they want it, or not, as they choose; freedom as to the field in which they want to work; freedom as to the heights they choose to climb; the state in which they choose to live; the people they choose to represent them in government; the income they're willing to settle for. But the worst offense a country can commit against its poor and underprivileged is to put them on the dole; to pay them for not working, for not producing, until they, in their ignorance, fall victims of the fallacy that it is all right to receive money for doing nothing, and so finally decide in greater and greater numbers to live in the dull, drab world of perpetual relief. By doing this, we rob them of their manhood and reduce them to the state of domestic cattle."

There is nothing more degrading to a human being than to be idle, and to be paid for his idleness for an unnecessary length of time, until the idleness itself becomes a way of life.

There will always be a segment of the population that is, for one reason or another, unfit to work. It is the duty of society to care for these unfortunates. There will always be a segment of the population temporarily out of work; these people should be allowed minimum, and temporary relief. And if they continue to be unable to find work, an affluent society such as ours should provide food and clothing and lodging for them. But it should be done in such a way as to encourage them to think, to better their education, and to conscientiously seek honest work and honest wages.

But I believe that at the root of it all is the necessity to teach our children, at a very young age, that in this country the opportunity to achieve is available to everyone; that each of us, for all the years of his life, will be paid for exactly what he earns, and never a penny less. And that if he doesn't like his work, he is free to quit and find more agreeable work elsewhere. As long as a man is free to take his work or leave it as he chooses, he cannot be exploited. A man can only be exploited if he is chained against his will and forced to work, or forced to remain idle, or forced to remain if he chooses to leave. Opportunity and freedom are the greatest gifts a country can confer upon its people—they are priceless!

"Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently, and build one for himself, thus by example insuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built." As usual, Abe Lincoln was right.

DEMOCRACY ON THE FARM

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the problem of rural poverty in this country is one that cannot be separated from the problems of our cities.

For even those who wish to live in our rural areas are being forced out. Agricultural workers in 10 States averaged under $1.10 an hour, in 1967.

Add to these wages the plague of seasonal work: the average migrant works only 82 days a year.

The total family income for these workers remains far below any rational definition of poverty. It is a cruel anomaly of our society that too many of those who harvest our food suffer from starvation and malnutrition.

I want to take this opportunity to bring to your attention an article that makes plain the source of this problem and at least a partial solution:

DEMOCRACY ON THE FARM: A CAMPAIGN TO EXTEND THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT TO AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES

PRIORITIES OF A NATION

Many of the problems in America in 1968 have to do with human relations: acceptance of people, negotiations, improved communication, dignity and fair play. For example, the key issue in the Memphis garbage strike wasn't a big economic package, but whether the employer would accept duly-elected representatives of their workers, negotiate a contract with them, and deal fairly with the workers' grievances according to agreed-upon orderly procedures.

In both urban and rural America this is a time of testing of the willingness of our people to work out problems by peaceful negotiations, democratic election procedures and firm agreements instead of relying on the law of the jungle.

While some of America's urgent problems can only be relieved with lots of money and large programs, farm workers have some desperate problems for which they themselves can work out peaceful answers with their employers if only they are granted equal rights under the law.

DISCRIMINATION IN LABOR LEGISLATION

America's seasonal farm workers are extremely poor. Their labor is exploited. This well-known but seldom dealt-with injustice compares in the suffering it causes with racial injustice. Our nation's legitimate concern with the problems of farmers has led to a general solicitude—stimulated by the selfishness of many big farm operators—which has caused government to exempt farmers from obligations carried by other employers.

The public has been aroused most often over issues dealing with such symptoms as filthy labor camps, unsafe transportation, poor health, inadequate education, children working or unattended in the fields. The key issue, however, on which all others hinge, is that if a man is hired to work hard at a vital job he should have decent wages and work rules guaranteed by a legal contract.

Almost all of the roughly three million farm workers (1.5 million at a given time) lack the protection of either contracts or adequate social legislation. They are encountering all the techniques of abuse from which most workers have been protected by federal law for three decades.

COVER AGRIBUSINESS, NOT FAMILY FARMS

America has over three million farms. The proposed bills would cover only about 50,000 of these farms. *One percent of our nation's farms employ nearly half the nation's farm labor.*

Unless the present trend of huge diversified corporations in agriculture is reversed, more and more of the work will be concentrated on these few farms. The grievances of the workers are not against the small farmer. His farm will not be unionized.

The concentration of great power in a few hands through large-scale agribusiness has hurt both small farmers and hired workers. When the big commercial farms exploit their workers, the labor of the family working its own farm is exploited by market conditions so that they receive the same low return for their labor.

Today few farm workers are the traditional "hired hands" enjoying a personal relationship with their employer. The "farmers" who employ most workers are corporate executives—highly capitalized, affluent and powerful businessmen or their contractors who unilaterally make the decisions about wages and working conditions.

Workers have grievances with these businessmen. They charge neglect and the quest for higher profits rather than economic necessity have subjected them to lack of safety equipment on machinery, lack of portable toilets, drinking cups, cool drinking water, or a way to wash their hands while they handle your food. These workers protest a complete lack of job security even when there is work, inefficient work rules, intentional over-recruitment, lost unpaid waiting time, and camp operators and contractors who cheat them in room, board, transportation, and tallying their earnings.

These grievances have grown worse over the years because of the powerlessness of the workers to even talk with their corporate employers. Bad communication leads the workers to expect the same exploitation from fair farm operators that they have experienced from the unscrupulous ones. Workers who object to any procedures know they can be fired on the spot and replaced by someone new.

Both on and off the job, agribusiness exercises very substantial control over the lives of the worker. This influence by a few rich men and corporations in rural America is sometimes well-meaning, but it stifles democracy, promotes class strife, and leads some of the men who have the unrestrained power to use it irresponsibly. Perhaps this is why the vast majority of farm workers lack workmen's compensation, jobless benefits, effective child labor laws, and decent housing, and why—for so many—basic welfare and medical services are still out of reach.

The President's Commission on Rural Poverty, after describing these rural problems, notes that the solution adopted by many rural poor people has been to migrate by the hundreds of thousands to the big cities where, despite the misery, they feel there is a chance for a better life. Fortunately, there are large numbers of rural workers who do not want to migrate to urban slums. They need help staying "down on the farm."

IN UNION IS STRENGTH

Farm workers want to organize into effective civic and labor organizations that can deal with these injustices peacefully. They have begun labor unions repeatedly for a century, being forced to strike over 500 times in the last three decades, but have always been beaten down, ever since hired gunmen put down the first "farm" strike of cowboys on the Chisholm Trail.

Workers in agriculture are trying again in California, Ohio, Texas, Florida, Wisconsin, New York, and elsewhere today. If they have organization they can, through their numbers, bring democracy to the rural power imbalance. If they can win some job security and a fair return for their labor, they can help buy decent education, housing, transportation, and food rather than wait for charity or governmental subsidies to give them these essentials through special programs.

These self-help labor organizations cannot be built by the workers without protection. Opposition power is too often used unjustly and effectively against them. Their methods and leaders are attacked and ridiculed. Their supporters are fired, blackballed, jailed on phony charges, or worse.

This used to happen to almost all unions, but thirty years ago Congress created the Wagner Act, which has since been amended by the Taft-Hartley Act.

WAGNER ACT

The 1935 Wagner Act, as introduced, gave employees in all industries, including agriculture, protection to engage in the practices and procedures of collective bargaining. There was, however, opposition from the "farm bloc" with the consequence that the farmworkers were specifically excluded from the benefits of the act in the overall interest of passing the bill. Representative Connery, who managed the bill in the House, referred to all this and concluded:

"If we can get this bill through and get it working properly, there will be opportunity

later, I hope soon, to take care of agricultural workers."

Congress did get the bill through. It has been working properly for over 33 years. It is now time to take care of the agricultural workers.

The bills are pending. They offer no subsidies to farmworkers. They carry no appropriations. They are not special legislation; on the contrary, they do away with special legislation. They offer one simple proposition: that farmworkers have the same right as workers in all other industries to organize unions and bargain collectively. They do not guarantee success in these efforts; they merely afford the farmworker the opportunity to help himself within the framework of our Federal labor laws.

ADVOCATES OF THESE BILLS

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

AFL–CIO and its many affiliates.

Social Action Department, U.S. Catholic Conference.

National Council of Churches.

Official boards of Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, American Baptist, Episcopal, United Church, Unitarian, Disciples and other denominations.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

National Council of Catholic Men, Church Women United, and a number of other laymen's, student's and women's groups of the three faiths.

Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking.

GI Forum, LULAC, Mexican-American Political Association, and other Mexican-American, Filipino and Puerto Rican groups.

Independent unions (Teamsters, International Longshoremen).

President's Commission on Rural Poverty.

President's Commission on Food and Fiber.

Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs.

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, NAACP and other similar groups.

National Sharecroppers Fund.

National Consumers League.

Over 30 State Councils of Churches and State Catholic Conferences.

National Farmers Organization.

National Farmers Union.

Opponents of the legislation have a lot of muscle on Capitol Hill. They include the American Farm Bureau Federation and most of the special interest grower associations. So, extensive grassroots letter writing is important!

HIRING THE JOBLESS

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, just 4 months ago, President Johnson called for a new partnership between Government and private industry to hire and train the hard-core unemployed in our big cities.

The aim of this program—being spearheaded by a National Alliance of Businessmen headed by Henry Ford II—is to hire and train 500,000 of the jobless by mid-1971.

This effort is especially sound in view of the fact that six out of every seven working Americans are employed in the private sector. The jobs—and not makework jobs—are clearly there.

By involving private industry in turning the hard-core unemployed into productive citizens, with Government assistance, this program offers one of the surest weapons against poverty.

An article in the May 16, 1968, Wall Street Journal illustrates that this strategic effort is well underway across the Nation. I place the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

HIRING THE JOBLESS: BUSINESS ALLIANCE WINS MANY PLEDGES OF WORK FOR IDLE SLUM-DWELLERS—FIRMS BALK AT CALL FOR SUMMER JOBS BUT OFFER TO EMPLOY YOUNG NEGROES ALL YEAR—NOT EVERYONE IS EMPLOYABLE

(By Monroe W. Karmin)

WASHINGTON.—President Johnson's campaign to open up industrial jobs for the idle slum-dweller may convert a looming summertime disappointment into a wintertime success.

The joint Government-industry crusade, launched in January by Mr. Johnson and Henry Ford, is so far falling short of its goal of finding temporary jobs for needy, untrained youngsters this summer. Industry is proving reluctant to hire and train youths for such short-term work.

But the campaign now seeks to install a greater-than-planned number of these ghetto youngsters in permanent jobs by next winter. Employers appear willing to cooperate in achieving this goal. Thus, a possible embarrassment may turn into an impressive accomplishment for the President and business.

Known as the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), the Johnson-Ford effort originally set these three goals: Temporary jobs for 200,000 needy youngsters this summer, permanent jobs for 100,000 hard-core unemployed of all ages by next summer and permanent jobs for 500,000 hard-core urban idle by the summer of 1971.

Now, after four months of probing business sentiment, Leo C. Beebe, the Ford Motor Co. executive who serves as the NAB's operating head, hopes to collect 200,000 or more permanent job pledges from industry before 1968 ends; that would be double the original mid-1969 goal for such jobs. Mr. Beebe expects to fill many of these openings with youngsters under age 22.

SURPRISINGLY LOW TURNOVER

The NAB's experience to date reflects an encouraging enthusiasm in industry for converting the out-of-work slum-dweller into a permanent employe, coupled with a clear disinclination to spend time and money to train unskilled youngsters for summer-only jobs. Pledges of permanent jobs are running well above expectations (83,000 of the original 100,000 goal set for next year), and offers of summer-only jobs are lagging badly (only 58,000 of the 200,000 goal).

As might be expected, Henry Ford's company is in the vanguard. Ford Motor is pledging 5,000 permanent jobs for Detroit Negroes—an extension of the company's hire-the-disadvantaged project begun last fall. "Our experience with the disadvantaged has been very good," says a Ford spokesman.

Ling-Temco-Vought Inc., the big conglomerate company, is pledging 380 permanent jobs at its Dallas-area facilities. Most will probably go to Mexican-Americans. "We've been training this type of person for a couple of years now," says John L. Cockrill, a vice president. "It's worked out very well, and we're still surprised at the low turnover."

Eastern Air Lines is promising 250 permanent jobs by next summer and an additional 310 permanent jobs by the summer of 1970. The company is relaxing its employment standards so it can admit the unqualified to training. "We'd be pretty ostrich-like if we did not pay attention to our civic responsibilities in the cities where we have facilities," says a spokesman.

Shell Oil Co. is not only lowering employment standards but is simplifying jobs so they can be mastered by the unskilled. "We just think this is the right thing to do," says John Quilty, a vice president. "If society doesn't prosper, then our company won't prosper."

CHANGING THE RULES

These and other companies are promising summer-only jobs as well, but the offers of temporary work are generally fewer than the pledges of permanent jobs.

The experience in the Fort Worth area mirrors that in the nation as a whole. Local industry has doubled its assigned quota of 400 permanent job pledges for the hard-core unemployed by mid-1969 but is short of the 1,400 requested temporary jobs for out-of-school youngsters. The lack of interest in the summer program, says Ralph Wagner, the area NAB director on loan from General Dynamics Corp., "surprised all of us, but it's true nationwide."

To avoid failure to meet the summer job goal, the NAB strategy board recently changed the rules of the game. It now will allow a company that hires a youngster for the summer to count him not only against the firm's summer job pledge but also against its permanent job pledge if he stays on in the fall. The idea is to stimulate business interest in the summer program by presenting it as a training school for development of permanent employes.

In any case, Mr. Beebe believes the slum youngster often holds more potential for permanent employment than his elder. The attitudes of youth have not hardened; youngsters not far removed from the discipline of school take to training more readily.

"Young adults make a strong impact on me," Mr. Beebe asserts. "If we could channel their energy, leadership and guts into constructive activity, it would make a tremendous resource."

Being a realist, the NAB executive vice chairman also believes many of the older hard-core unemployed simply are not capable of holding regular industrial jobs. Some people, no matter how poor they are, prefer sitting and suffering to labor, he says. Others who might be counted among the jobless—such as prostitutes, gamblers and drug-pushers—make more money at what they're doing than they could earn at regular jobs.

"Some of the hard-core are beyond redemption," Mr. Deebe declares. "I think we'll end up learning that not everybody is employable."

Thus, he reasons that industry can meet its goal of hiring 500,000 by mid-1971 largely by appealing to the idle ghetto youngster. But there are crucial questions: Can the businessman reach this slum youth—and will the youngster accept the low-level jobs likely to be offered?

There are no firm answers yet, but the NAB is aware of the problems. Mr. Beebe has instructed his regional emissaries to insist that the jobs offered be "meaningful" not the dishwasher, janitorial, "dead-end" type but those that can lead to something better. He is meeting with Negro organizations, such as the Congress of Racial Equality, in an effort to establish contact with the slums. He is also journeying to impoverished neighborhoods himself to test sentiment firsthand. Witness this Philadelphia scene:

The storefront on the corner of 34th and Haverford houses the Young Great Society, top youth gang in the neighborhood. The leader is Herman Wrice, a tall, muscular, 29-year-old Negro whose wife was killed in a gang fight some years back. "What can we do to help?" asks Mr. Beebe. "Do you mean for real, or just for conversation?" asks Mr. Wrice. They talk about kinds of jobs ("A guy must know that if he works six months and does well at his job, he can earn more," says Mr. Wrice), about rates of pay ("Decent pay is $100 a week"), about sincerity ("You gotta be for real—we get lots of promises").

The distance between the ghetto and the corporate world is great everywhere, of course. CORE national director Floyd McKissick, who is working with the NAB to open up lines of communication, explains: "Most kids have little confidence in the program. Most feel it is another game, another cooling program. But most say that if you (CORE) say it's okay, we'll try it." And, for now at least, CORE is giving its blessing. "This can be the start of something good," says Mr. McKissick.

Though Negro response to NAB is guarded, corporate response is warm. Both the Detroit and Omaha areas have more than tripled their permanent-job quotas for mid-1969, San Antonio and Newark, as well as Ft. Worth, have doubled theirs. And when New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles begin to report returns, probably this month, the NAB may have something to shout about.

"Business response has been excellent," says Mr. Beebe.

Two circumstances seem to underlie the NAB's apparent success.

From the beginning, the Alliance has carefully avoided asking employers to create new jobs for the ghetto-dweller; it simply asks them to fill openings with the disadvantaged where possible.

Also, the NAB benefits from the fact that, although it works with the Government and serves as a conduit for Federal training funds, it is not Government. Shell Oil's Mr. Quilty says his company decided to begin hiring the disadvantaged at this time because the NAB is "a group through which we thought we could effectively work."

Indeed, many companies plan to train the untrained without Federal aid. George A. Jacoby, director of personnel relations for General Motors Corp., says his company expects to "carry our fair share of the load." But, he adds, "We have not applied for Government funds and have no present plans to do so."

Still, money could be a problem for the NAB. It now has $106 million to spend on training and is requesting $244 million from Congress. If the lawmakers are generous, $350 million will be available to train the first 100,000 hired for permanent jobs; this would work out to $3,500 per trainee, about $1,000 more than the average spent under regular Federal training programs. But if Congress is sparing with funds, the NAB may be in trouble.

MEMORIAL DAY, 1968

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow is Memorial Day, 1968. In this time of undeclared war that is very real to hundreds of thousands of Americans it is appropriate that expressions of rededication to the basic values that made America strong should receive wide distribution. Such an expression appears in this week's Roll Call, the newspaper of Capitol Hill, and I commend its reading by all Americans:

MEMORIAL DAY, 1968

This day has been set aside for citizens to pause in their occupation and dedicate their memories to those who have died in the defense of their country.

These men died not only to defend their nation against physical takeover. They died so that this nation might live as a sterling example of how free men are able to establish and perpetuate a free society, a more perfect government, a more perfect state.

They died to bring about international peace and security, domestic tranquility and opportunity.

Memorial Day, 1968, is being observed against a backdrop of combat in Vietnam and near-chaos in our domestic life.

Did these brave men die in vain? Is the democratic way of life outdated as an instrument to achieving the more perfect state?

We believe not. A democratic government is only as good as its elected leaders, only as workable as its citizens make it.

Great minds and great leaders formed this democracy—men dedicated to the challenge of establishing a new and better form of government, a better life for the individual.

These men, necessarily, were idealists. But the reason their ideals were brought to fruition is that they were realistic men, more concerned with the welfare of their nation than of the politics of the day.

How such men are needed at this hour! Politics and the lack of leadership have plunged this country into despair. Criminality is condoned, if not by affirmation, then by lack of prohibition. The individual who fears leaving the security of his home at night has lost his individual freedom.

Is this the life for which citizen-soldiers gave their last full measure of devotion?

The boys in Vietnam; Are they fighting to preserve a way of life that promises them that their homes or stores will be burned to rubble? That their mothers may be beaten for sport? That they will fear to tread the streets which they defended with their last full measure?

On this Memorial Day let us hope and pray that out of the chaos of war will emerge Negro patriots who will lead their people, not in violence, but in peace to a better life for all.

The country is mixed up. The liberals are living in another era and spouting the doctrines and remedies and cliches of the past as the cities of the nation cringe in terror.

Leaders react with fear and timidity, fearful of losing popularity and votes. Negro leaders are more dedicated to attracting followers than to intelligently leading their people towards harmony with the white community.

On this Memorial Day let us rededicate ourselves to the concepts of true democracy expressed in President Franklin Roosevelt's four freedoms. We already have a plethora of freedom of speech and assembly and we're allright on freedom of religion. Let's work for freedom from want and especially, freedom from fear. That these men may not have died in vain.

DEAN ACHESON ON SHARED SUBJECTIVITIES, AND RHODESIA

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, although I have not always agreed with Dean Acheson, I have always considered him a distinguished and able statesman and today I call up for consideration his remarks before the International and Comparative Law Section of the American Bar Association.

In addition to being a trenchant treatment of the sanctions against Rhodesia and our participation in them, Mr. Acheson's remarks clearly indicate the shift taking place in America today.

When I was in school, his was the liberal position. Today, as his remarks indicate, he speaks from what would be considered the conservative side. Although there are admitted modifications in his position, on such things as the Connally reservation, I would sooner attribute this shift in positions to the movement of the new left. It is not Acheson who has moved so much as it is the whole body of rampant liberalism.

Be that as it may, the soundness of his arguments and position are evident and I include his remarks at this point. There is value here for those of us who are against the sanctions but there is also additional importance in his thoughts on "shared subjectivities."

THE ARROGANCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS

(Remarks by Dean Acheson before the International and Comparative Law Section of the American Bar Association, Washington, D.C., May 24, 1968)

Five years ago I was bold enough to scold a meeting similar to this for the arrogance that international law seemed to instill in its addicts. To be sure, law in general does this to lawyers in general. One can be tolerantly amused at the veneration with which the craftsman views the materials of his craft. The cobbler murmurs, "There's nothing like leather!" But he is too modest to envision as man's highest earthly condition the Rule of Leather. Yet the lawyer does not blush to proclaim it to be the Rule of Law. As he describes it, the rule of law seems to be goverance by disembodied principle without the intervention of human hand or voice. Even his own not unimportant role at the bar and on the bench the lawyer turns into the mere voice of the oracle inspired by the Law Principle itself. This miracle finds its most mystical expression in the doctrine of Natural Law, which makes it the efflux of the universe, flowing forth from the Godhead. The disciple of Natural Law seemed to Justice Holmes like the knight of romance to whom it was not enough that you agreed that his lady was a very nice girl. If you did not admit that she was the best that God ever made or would make, you must fight. Ordinary lawyers, who work around the temple of Apollo feeding the oracle questions, some of which are loaded, arguing with it and among themselves, "cussing" its pronouncements that go against them, take a more earthy view of law. When former Justice (as he was then) Charles Evans Hughes bluntly—and, perhaps, too "Delphically"—said that the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is, they were not to shocked, though they had to pretend they were.

Those who devote themselves to international relations in foreign offices at what is disparagingly called "the working level" are understandably and wisely silent about the role of law. This, however, is not true of academics who write about it and teach it. Undeterred by the discipline of the adversary procedure or by the test of judgment in contested application, motivated by the highest principles and often spurred by a gift for imaginative rhetoric, some of them recall Disraeli's description of Gladstone, "intoxicated by the exuberance of his own verbosity." I hasten to add that it was the Bar Association *en masse*, and not the International and Comparative Law Section, that voiced the most delusive of all slogans—"World peace through world law."

Those of whom I complain are not the peddlers of spurious panaceas for peace, not those who are overimpressed with the role of international law, but those who would impose upon states in the name of law their own subjective conceptions of justice. As is so often the case with the righteous, deeply convinced of the righteousness of their cause, their impulse is to "snatch the knotted cord from the hand of God and deal out murderous blows." These blows are usually directed against the weak by suborning the subjectivities of the strong. This process also furnishes the fig leaf of legal respectability for otherwise naked aggression.

Such support was given to the action of the United Nations Security Council in calling for economic sanctions against Rhodesia and to the attacks upon the World Court's decision dismissing the complaint in the Southwest Africa case. The viciousness of the substitution of the subjective conception of justice for law in these instances is that both provide means for collective aggression, both degrade international adjudication, and both depart from the basic conception of international law. This is that it is inter *national*, between sovereign states, based upon accepted practices and agreements of sovereigns. In this latter respect it differs basically from the law taught by the international lawyers' other academic colleagues. To strike at this concept of agreed limitations on sovereignty is to strike at confidence in judicial honesty and restraint, which alone can lead to the slow development of international law from its primitive state.

It will surprise some of our fellow citizens, though hardly anyone here today, to be told that the United States is engaged in an international conspiracy, instigated by Britain, and blessed by the United Nations, to overthrow the government of a country that has done us no harm and threatens no one. This is barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle.

The charge that Britain brings against Rhodesians is one that George III once brought against Americans and sought unsuccessfully to enforce by arms. It was that the Colonies felt it necessary, as Mr. Jefferson put it, "to dissolve the political bands which [had] connected them with another [people], and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them." However, two academics writing in the *American Journal of International Law* have taken a quite different view:

"In the most fundamental sense, the assertion of independence at a time and by means which the authoritative organs of the international community had decided would precipitate a threat to the peace of the surrounding region and the world was an act of irresponsibility in violation of the most basic policies of the Charter for the maintenance of international order.[1]

Where authorities differ so widely further inquiry and judgment are indicated.

In the first place, was independence so broad a step for Rhodesia to take? While Britain had asserted sovereignty over the Rhodesian countryside since the latter part of the last century when Cecil Rhodes started developing it, Whitehall had never administered government there, nor provided funds or forces for its defense. All this had been done locally, first under the British South Africa Company chartered to Cecil Rhodes and his associates, and after 1923 under the Constitution of that date, established after the electorate had voted for self-government as against incorporation in the Union of South Africa. In fact, so self-governing was Rhodesia that between 1935 and 1953 (the beginning of the Federation) the Rhodesian Prime Minister sat as an equal in the meetings of Prime Ministers, first of the Empire and later of the Commonwealth. The Prime Minister of the Federation (with Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia) took his place until its dissolution in 1964. Thereafter the Prime Ministers of her two associates, now independent states, sat, but Rhodesia's was excluded because of the dispute which then arose.

Turning to this dispute and the circumstances of the Rhodesian assertion of independence, that country had had since the beginning of its history an electorate based on adult male suffrage, later extended to women, with modest literacy and property requirements. These qualifications are those adopted in this and other countries during early stages of representative government by a people among whom education was the exception and experience, cultural or otherwise, unequal. When white settlement began in 1890, Rhodesia was sparsely populated by very primitive people. The great bulk of its present population, white and black, has immigrated since then, attracted by opportunity and security of life and property available there. The Rhodesian Constitutional Commission was well aware of this situation:

"The Shona, the Ndebele and the Europeans were all in turn [im]migrants, conquerors and settlers and all now know no other home. Thus they have established for themselves and their successors the right to remain in the country in perpetuity, a right which they have every intention of exercising.

* * * * *

"For the[se] reasons . . . Rhodesia is the permanent and rightful home of peoples of different origins and backgrounds, and does not belong to one race or ethnic group alone. . . ."[2]

What did the Commission see as the end of the matter? A progressive extension of the franchise but not majority rule. "For a time which cannot be measured by clock or calendar" Europeans would exercise the more authoritative voice at national government level; the Africans would have a voice that must be allowed increasing, but not limitless, power. The ultimate solution recommended was based on racial parity of representation as most likely to produce immediate and long-term confidence and stability. This was not everyone's cup of tea; neither was it everyone's business; nor was it apartheid. It was a matter relating solely to the internal affairs of Rhodesia—in which the United Nations was forbidden by its Charter to meddle—and to the political relation between Rhodesia and the United Kingdom. When the latter sought to impose a majority rule, in time measured by the calendar, Rhodesia severed the bands that bound them.

It was this act and Rhodesia's assumption, among the powers of the earth, of the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitled her which the general Assembly and the Security Council said created a situation that threatened the peace. While Rhodesia threatened no one, the idea was that her independence, "if continued in time," would disturb the peace because, apparently, someone would attempt to terminate it, because of disapproval of Rhodesia's long-established internal legislation on suffrage. The General Assembly spelled this out in its Resolution of November 5, 1965, when it "reaffirm[ed] the right of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence and recognize[d] the legitimacy of their struggle for the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples . . . [and] solemnly warn[ed] the present authorities in Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in its capacity of administering Power, that the United Nations will oppose any declaration of independence which is not based on universal adult suffrage."[3] (How fortunate were the American colonies to have no United Nations to confront in 1776!)

Of course, no one really believed that Britain, which had been handing out independence in wholesale lots, would fight Rhodesia, or that any African state would take on the prickly job. The point is, however, that this highly theoretical and imaginative threat was not posed *by* Rhodesia but *against* her. From this premise only the most Humpty-Dumpty reasoning could move to the conclusion that Rhodesia should be punished by international action aimed at overthrowing her government and ending her independence. The reasoning provided by academic authority is hardly less curious: Here it is:

"In the contemporary intensely interdependent world, peoples interact not merely through the modalities of collaborative or combative operations but also through shared subjectivities—not merely through the physical movements of goods and services or exercises with armaments, but also through communications in which they simply take each other into account. . . . Much more important than the physical movements are the communications which people make to each other. In the case of Rhodesia, the other peoples of Africa have regarded themselves as affected by the authoritarian and racist policies of the Rhodesian elites. . . ."[4]

In simpler and nonperjorative terms, they do not like Rhodesia's elective system. Subjectivity means the quality or condition of viewing things exclusively through the medium of one's own mind or individuality; the condition of being absorbed in one's personal feelings, thoughts, concerns, etc. The term also means personal bias, emotional predisposition, the substitution of perception for reality, etc. The authors may mean any or all of those senses. What we have here is the idea that law is only a mirror of the beholder's emotional condition at the moment.

Consider for a moment the situation that wounds shared subjectivities of a wholly different nature with which we may be less in sympathy. Within the month the nations of Eastern Europe have met in Moscow to consider their shared dislike of what they regard as the deviationist, antidemocratic, indeed, bourgeois policies of the Czechoslovakian elites in permitting a modicum of personal liberty in that country. Rumor even carries reports of Soviet troop movements near the Czech border. Suppose that, instead of repeating its armed interventionist tactics in Hungary in 1956, the Soviet Union should appeal to the Security Council to stop this Czech breach of the peace by assault on shared subjectivities of communist states. I suppose that the authors would expect it to direct us all to cease building bridges to the East and refurbish our embargoes against trade with a renegade communist state.

Consider, too, our own parlous position in the face of this doctrine. Does any country in the world so widely offend shared subjectivities as we do? Ask General de Gaulle, Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh, Mrs. Gandhi, Castro, the Arabs. Even the South Vietnamese are not too sure. And what about our own subjectivities should our own brain child, the United Nations, expound on what we had done to theirs. Somehow this romantic interpretation of the Charter does not make it read like the last best hope for peace on earth.

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[1] Myres S. McDougal and W. Michael Reisman, "Rhodesia and the United Nations: The Lawfulness of International Concern," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 62, pp. 1, 12.

[2] *Report of the Constitutional Commission, 1968* (Government Printer, Salisbury, Rhodesia), Chapter 2, p. 10.

[3] General Assembly Resolution No. 2022, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 60, pp. 922–923.

[4] Myres S. McDougal and W. Michael Reisman, "Rhodesia and the United Nations: The Lawfulness of International Concern," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 62, pp. 1, 12.

Nevertheless, ridiculous as it appears on analysis, much as it recalls Cicero's observation that there is nothing so absurd but some philosopher has said it, the fact remains that it rationalizes an attempt to overthrow a government that has done no harm to us or any other state. Is participation in such an assault desirable foreign policy? Is this cabal what Mr. Hull thought was being prepared at Dumbarton Oaks or the Senate almost unanimously ratified?

Of course, clever men will attempt to use any instrument to accomplish indirectly what they cannot do directly; but we should have known better than to agree in it had we not been bemused by substituting ideas that appealed to us as ethical for the plain engagements of sovereign states. In the Charter the subscribing sovereigns undertook not to use force as an instrument of policy in their international relations. By a process that cannot be dignified as reasoning force applied against another state has now been equated with the failure to adopt internally the principle of universal suffrage plus the egalitarian doctrine of equally weighted votes as announced by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Baker* v. *Carr*. And this—mark you!—is only the first application of that new doctrine of international lawyers—the sovereign equality of shared subjectivities.

This doctrine is allied in its harmful and disruptive potentialities with the doctrine of liability without injury averted only by the casting vote of the President of the World Court in the decision of the Southwest Africa case. An analogy to this case would have been an original action, in the Supreme Court of the United States, say by the State of Michigan, activated by the policies of its former governor in his State Department days, against the State of Virginia to correct the school situation once said to prevail in King William County. If the Court had found that neither the State nor any of its citizens had been injured, its precedents (which it might or might not have followed) would have required it to dismiss the case for want of jurisdiction. This is what the World Court found and did. The wounding of shared subjectivities would, of course, furnish jurisdiction for the Court on the same reasoning as for the Security Council.

Contemplating the possibilities, I am moved to salute the shade of Senator Tom Connally and thank him for his reservation, which at the time I regretted, providing that our acceptance of the World Court's jurisdiction should not apply to disputes with regard to matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States as determined by the United States.

One of the troubles of the troubled age in which we live is that too many people are trying to achieve harmony of interest by forcing everyone to harmonize with them. Conscience used to be an inner voice of self-discipline; now it is a clarion urge to discipline others. It took a long time to develop the international precept that peace would be furthered by governments' having respect for each other's autonomy. That should apply to them when acting in concert. This is the notion embedded in Paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter. Whatever mistakes they may otherwise have made, the draftsmen of the Charter, at least, did not intend to open the way for endless conflict through unbridled impulses to reform. The new romantic impulse is to overthrow that wise inhibition in favor of a compulsion to reshape the world to fit all sorts of shared subjectivities.

Another thought also occurs. Perhaps, if the meek are to inherit the earth, they might consider adding a clause to the litany. It could follow "From all blindness of heart; from pride, vainglory, and hypocrisy; from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness" and would add "and from the United Nations Charter as distored by professors of international law,

Good Lord, deliver us."

UNTARNISHED LOYALTY

HON. GEORGE HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the Memorial Day recess, I believe it to be most fitting and proper that an editorial, appearing in the issue of May 9, 1968, of the Stars and Stripes—The National Tribune, published in Washington, D.C., be carried in the RECORD.

The editorial once again reminds us that our fighting men—as they have always been in the past—are dedicated to serving their beloved United States, even at the risk of their lives.

Regardless of what the appeasers—the "peace-at-any-pricers"—the proponents of gloom, doom, and defeat—say, our valiant servicemen are well aware of what must be done, and are doing it with distinction.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that all Members of Congress, and many others, will read this outstanding editorial, which follows:

UNTARNISHED LOYALTY

Whether the upcoming peace talks between the United States and Hanoi bear fruit or not, people of the United States and foreigners alike may be certain of one fact. This is that the men who wear the uniform for the United States will keep doggedly at their job unmindful of whatever may be the atmosphere of the negotiations. They will be organizing no marches to command headquarters to insist on one step against another or to lay down demands if they are to continue fighting.

Probably no war in which the United States has participated have the troops in the field been so welded together in determination to accomplish the job assigned them. No matter what may be the thinking or conclusion of individual soldiers, sailors and airmen they have carried out their tasks without question. Undoubtedly the most of them have looked forward to the day when their time of duty in Viet Nam is up; when they can come home to the United States for less hazardous duty or don their civilian clothes and return to the life they left. And many of them have fallen to enemy bullets only days or even only hours before their time was up.

Though this is the expected attitude of the good soldier, it is in a sense remarkable in these times. In World War I and World War II, the people of the United States were solidly united against the enemy. Our men marched to war aware of its frightfulness but determined to accomplish their country's end or to give their lives trying.

Not so in this Viet Nam war. Student groups and others have demonstrated against the war; belittled those responsible for its conduct, and the soldier out there risking his life. Nor has this undermining been confined to lefties, beatniks, and just plain protesters. From the halls of Congress and other high places those not agreeing with the government's war operations and objectives have joined their voices to the dissidents who would pull the Nation out of war in any fashion and regardless of consequences.

Probably the handful of men who have deserted, later to turn up in Sweden or Moscow, were influenced by these undermining agents at home.

Our men in Viet Nam read newspapers from home. They hear radio broadcasts carrying stateside activities. Yet unmindful of it all, they go on doing their job of fighting in a war that though smaller is as vicious as any of the campaigns of World Wars I and II. Climate and geography make it one of the worst areas in which Americans have ever had to fight for prolonged periods.

Tens of thousands of men have done their stint in Viet Nam and returned to civil life. If the position of the United States in standing up against Communist aggression and obliteration of the freedom of men were as wrong as some of the war opposers assert, it is logical to believe that men returning from the war and no longer bound by military discipline would be organizing veterans to oppose its continuation; to demand its immediate end. It is highly significant that there has been no such move.

The man who has been there risking his life knows what the war is all about; that high humanitarian purposes are its foundation, and that from a nationalistic selfish standpoint we cannot risk the Communist overrunning what is left of the free world in South East Asia.

He may feel, as many people at home do, that we should never have entered a land war in Asia. He may have long ago concluded that civilians in high places overruled military brains in the conduct of the war in its earlier years. But he does not go along with those who would let their country down; who would make useless the suffering and death of his comrades. He is an American far from home under harrowing conditions whose loyalty waivers not regardless of the dissidents who, it is sad to say, probably would find pleasure if he turned against his oath and convictions.

AID UNDERSCORES PROGRESS IN COLOMBIA

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, one of the bright spots in Latin America today is Colombia, where President Carlos Lleras Restrepo, with U.S. and other foreign aid, is forging a quiet but effective revolution.

Steady progress is being made in Colombia to achieve Alliance for Progress objectives in the key areas of agriculture, industry, population, tax reform, foreign trade, and general economic stability.

On May 23, the Baltimore Sun published an article by Joseph R. Slevin aptly entitled, "Busy Colombia Pushes Ahead," in which the writer described progress being made by Colombia in achieving development.

I highly recommend reading this article, which I hereby submit for the RECORD, and congratulate the U.S. Agency for International Development for its efforts on behalf of Colombia's socioeconomic growth:

BUSY COLOMBIA PUSHES AHEAD

(By Joseph R. Slevin)

BOGOTA, May 22.—Colombia is on the move. This mountainous, tropical, poor but energetic nation of 20,000,000 people is proving itself the sleeper of Latin America.

The barefoot, poncho-clad campesinos are getting their own farms by the tens of thousands. Industry is growing at a moderate but steady pace here in Bogota, in pretty, solidly established Medillin, in fast-moving Cali, in Baranquilla, Bucaramanga and close to a dozen more heavily populated cities.

Exports are climbing, as they must if Colombia is to pay for the modern equipment it has to have to continue its push toward prosperity.

There is a small but remarkable budget surplus. Tax collections are shooting higher. Bank credit and wage increases are being held on a tight leash and prices are climbing only 7.5 per cent a year—a strikingly low rate for an underdeveloped country.

There has been political stability for ten years, since shortly after dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla was overthrown. Foreign financial advice is listened to closely, even though able, tough President Carlos Lleras Restrepo bargains hard and shrewdly scores essential nationalistic points at home by letting it be understood that no outside country or international agency is pushing Colombia around.

BIRTH CONTROL GAINS

The Catholic Church is strong. Colombia is not one of the anti-clerical nations. Yet there are new, heartening signs that birth control is starting to gain the acceptance it must win if Colombia is to break the poverty cycle.

National production is growing over 5 per cent a year. But Colombia's population is spurting ahead at one of the fastest rates in the world. As the result, little more than $3 a year is being added to the pitifully low $300 that the average Colombian earns annually.

Lleras knows what must be done. Birth control services are being provided. It is an expensive but discreet program. Neither Lleras nor the Church wants a direct confrontation.

The 60-year-old Colombian president is an economist, lawyer and politician and he is achieving his quiet revolution with the help of a cadre of brilliant young economic planners and administrators who carry slide rules in their coat pockets and work late into the night, at least six and often seven days a week.

Lleras took quick, hard measures to end an outbreak at University City and is not well-liked by the students. Labor is unhappy about his wage holddown. Many members of the rich, powerful oligarchy give only careful lip service to his reforms.

OTHER EXPORTS GROW

But Lleras won more than a two-thirds majority in last March's Congressional elections and can claim the rare distinction of being far more popular today than when he entered the Presidential Palace in August, 1966.

Foreign aid still spells the difference between progress and collapse in Colombia. The International Monetary Fund has been providing essential short-term loans. The World Bank is underwriting major highway, power, water, and other projects; and the United States is footing close to 15 per cent of Colombia's import bill through an aid program that will come to just under $100,000,000 this year.

QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am sending 8,000 questionnaires to people living in Pennsylvania's 16th Congressional District, which I am privileged to represent, and the questions being asked are as follows:

What do you feel are the five most important issues facing the people of the United States today? Please list them in order of importance.

A. ______________________

B. ______________________

C. ______________________

D. ______________________

E. ______________________

	Yes	No
1. In the Paris peace negotiations, would you favor the United States agreeing to a coalition government in South Vietnam that would include the National Liberation Front (Vietcong)?	☐	☐
2. Do you believe that the United States should further deescalate the war without reciprocal action by the North Vietnamese?	☐	☐
3. In your opinion, should the United States make basic decisions on obtaining a peace settlement in Vietnam without the consent of our Asian allies?	☐	☐
4. Do you think that the Communists have acted in bad faith in Vietnam by beginning new war offensives after agreeing to preliminary peace talks?	☐	☐
5. Has your evaluation of the President's conduct of the war improved since discussion began toward a negotiated Vietnamese peace?	☐	☐
6. Do you think that the most important factor in the rising crime rate is too much leniency toward lawbreakers?	☐	☐
7. In dealing with civil disorders, do you favor stricter enforcement of existing law by police and the courts?	☐	☐
8. Do you feel that a Federal spending program for slum areas offers the best hope for eventually solving the problems of the poor	☐	☐
9. Should the Federal Government enact legislation to regulate the sale of firearms?	☐	☐
10. Do you believe the American people are receiving sufficient and accurate information from the Government on vital foreign and domestic issues?	☐	☐
11. In your opinion, should a percentage of the tax money collected by the Federal Government be returned to State and local governments for use in locally administered programs?	☐	☐
12. Are you in favor of establishing an all-volunteer Army, at higher pay scales, which would eliminate the draft except in cases of a congressional declared national emergency?	☐	☐
13. Should the voting age be lowered to 18?	☐	☐
14. Are you in agreement with the administration's policies of expanding 2-way trade with Communist countries?	☐	☐
15. Do you believe that the administration's war on poverty has been successful in improving conditions of the poor?	☐	☐
16. Would you generally favor the establishment of a federally administered income maintenance program (guaranteed annual income) if it replaced all of the National and State welfare and public assistance programs now in existence?	☐	☐

Which four of the following interest areas would receive your highest priority for reducing Federal spending?

☐ Agriculture
☐ Aid to cities
☐ Anticrime programs
☐ Beautification
☐ Defense
☐ Education
☐ Foreign aid
☐ Health
☐ Highways
☐ Pollution control
☐ Poverty program
☐ Public works
☐ Space exploration
☐ Supersonic transport

THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI'S SCHOOL OF LAW PROMOTES GREATER LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS BY CONDUCTING A CONFERENCE ON BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, trade with the nations of Latin America is one of the most tremendously significant aspects of our relationship with other lands and other peoples. In my own congressional district, we see daily evidence of the stimulating impact of trade between the United States and Latin America. In my State, the benefits of this commerce are also particularly abundant. In the Nation, all of our people reap the great economic, cultural, and social advantages that derive from the peaceful pursuit of trade with Latin America. And, the people of Latin America receive equal benefits from their commerce with us.

As commercial activity expands among our nations in this hemisphere, it becomes increasingly important that all of us are fully aware of the forward strides being taken and the effects they will produce. Through study of trade with Latin America, and the bringing together of expert knowledge and opinion on the subject, we can do much to direct our efforts in the pathways of the most productive gains. Therefore, I am extremely gratified that a group of distinguished experts in this field gathered recently in Miami Beach to discuss our trade relations with Latin America and suggest ways to improve conditions for the benefit of all concerned. This meeting was an outstanding success and brought out much information which I am sure will be of great interest to my colleagues and others interested in this highly important subject.

Sponsored by the Law Center of the University of Miami, the annual institute on recent innovations in the structure and methods of business transactions in Latin America was held on March 15, 1968. On March 18, 1968, I had the pleasure of inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD remarks made at the institute by my friend, the able and distinguished Mr. Covey T. Oliver, who is Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and U.S. coordinator of the Alliance for Progress. His remarks, on the subject of innovative effects of the Alliance for Progress, were both enlightening and fascinating in their depth and understanding of this vital subject. I invite the attention of all of my colleagues to this statement by Mr. Oliver.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am honored to present for inclusion in the RECORD 10 additional statements delivered at the institute by participating officials. These lectures or speeches were given by Messrs. Metzger, Miller, Richards, Palmer, Argueta, Arnold, Christopher, Garrique, Glick, and Landy. Their remarks are so enlightening that inclusion will be a valuable aid for any persons wishing to know the current status of our business activities with Latin America.

In my own area, Interama will help promote greater cultural relations and exchanges among all our nations in this hemisphere. The University of Miami's Institute on Business Transactions is a major boon to progress in this area. With these efforts, and those of many others in this field, our Nation and Latin America both cannot help but benefit to a remarkable extent.

The material referred to follows:

THE MEANING OF THE KENNEDY ROUND FOR U.S. TRADE WITH LATIN AMERICA

(Remarks by Stanley D. Metzger, Chairman, U.S. Tariff Commission, before the annual institute on recent innovations in the structure and methods of business transactions in Latin America, sponsored by the Law Center, University of Miami, at Miami Beach, Fla., March 15, 1968)

The movement which has been underway for the past decade to expand the trade and economies of developing countries provides the setting for an examination of the meaning of the Kennedy Round for United States trade with Latin America. For there can be little doubt that few international problems are as significant as this drive for economic development on the part of three-quarters of the peoples of this earth.

Progress in the decade of the 1960s toward this end has been slow and limited. It was therefore not surprising that President Johnson's announcement last summer of the successful completion of the Kennedy Round negotiations was followed by expressions of disappointment in many developing countries, including some in Latin America, in the expected benefits for their trade and development. For in the light of the manifold and deep-seated trade and development problems faced by those countries, the results were not great in consequence. Nonetheless, this disappointment should not be permitted to mask the achievements of the Kennedy Round negotiations under the aegis of GATT, especially since almost all had recognized from the outset that there were limitations to the contribution which tariff negotiations could make to economic development.

For an understanding, and perhaps some appreciation, of those achievements, let us first look briefly at the GATT program for expansion of trade of the developing countries, of which the Kennedy Round was an important element, and then turn to a more specific examination of the products in United States-Latin America trade which were directly affected by the Kennedy Round negotiations.

In May 1963, Ministerial representatives of the Contracting Parties to the GATT met in Geneva to give direction to a broad program of liberalization and expansion of trade. The combination of the three items which were on the agenda for this meeting is significant. These were:

I. Measures for the expansion of trade of developing countries as a means of furthering their economic development;

II. Arrangements for the reduction or elimination of tariffs and other barriers to trade and related matters; and

III. Measures for access to markets for agricultural and other primary products.

The first agenda item was the culmination of a program initiated by a group of developing countries, including the Latin American nations of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Haiti, Peru, and Uruguay. In response to their proposal, Ministers of all industrial countries, except the member states of the European Economic Community, agreed to a Program of Action. The Action Program provided for—

1. A standstill on the erection of new tariff and nontariff barriers affecting exports of developing countries;

2. Elimination of quantitative restrictions inconsistent with GATT and affecting exports of developing countries;

3. Duty-free entry for tropical products;

4. Elimination of tariffs on primary products;

5. Reduction and elimination of tariff barriers to exports of semi-processed and processed products from developing countries; and

6. Progressive reduction of internal fiscal charges and revenue duties on products mainly originating in developing countries.

An Action Committee established to execute the program moved promptly to its task. An early and important result was adoption in 1965 of the new Part IV to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. This addition to the General Agreement gave contractual basis to the activities set out in the Action Program and provided an institutional framework enabling the Contracting Parties to carry out their responsibilities in connection with it. Under the new Part IV, a Committee on Trade and Development was established to supervise the implementation of the new Part and to take over the functions which had been performed by the Action Committee.

Acting on the two other items on the Agenda of their 1963 meeting, the Ministers agreed that with a view to a significant liberalization of world trade a comprehensive trade negotiation should begin one year later, in May 1964, with the widest possible participation. The negotiations, known as the Kennedy Round, would cover all classes of products, including agricultural and primary products; would deal not only with tariffs but also with nontariff barriers; and would be based upon a plan of linear tariff reductions with a bare minimum of exceptions. In these trade negotiations, every effort would be made to reduce barriers to exports of the developing countries. In an action important for the future, the Ministers broke with precedent and stated that the industrialized countries could not expect to receive reciprocity from the less developed nations. These trade negotiations, we now know, after much travail were concluded successfully in June 1967, resulting in the most substantial tariff reductions ever negotiated.

While the Kennedy Round is known principally for the degree to which the trade amongst industrialized countries was affected, trade between those countries and the developing countries was also substantially affected.

Shortly after the Ministerial meeting in 1963, a special group of industrial and developing countries began work under the able guidance of Mr. Finn Gundelach, then Deputy Director General of GATT, to maximize the trade negotiations in terms of both direct benefits to exports of less developed countries and of the contributions which the less developed countries themselves would make to the negotiations. The problems faced by this group were not small. Many products of interest to LDCs were in the agricultural sector, which posed an especially difficult negotiating problem throughout the entire conference. Similarly, important industrial products of special interest to LDCs, such as cotton textiles, also presented substantial difficulties. Despite these problems, there was solid, though modest, accomplishment.

With respect to contributions to be made by the LDCs, I have already noted that the Ministers had agreed that the developed countries could not expect to receive from the LDCs reciprocity for benefits which the LDCs would derive from the negotiations. This meant that the developing countries were not expected to make contributions which were inconsistent with their development, financial, and trade needs.

A general idea of the degree of forward movement—of the stimulus which the Kennedy Round should give to LDC trade, including Latin American exports to the United States and the rest of the world—can be gathered from a summary in broad trade terms of total Kennedy Round benefits to all developing countries.

Six industrial markets—the United States, the European Economic Community, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom—account for over 90 percent of all imports by industrialized countries from LDCs. These six markets have been taking about $13 billion of dutiable goods from developing countries. Fuels, which account for $7 billion of these imports, were not dealt with to any significant degree in the Kennedy Round, but the customs duty seems only a secondary factor in regulating this trade. An additional $870 million is in cereals and meat and dairy products. Duties were not reduced on cereals, but a special arrangement on cereals was negotiated. Only limited action was taken on meat and dairy products. The remaining dutiable imports total $5.1 billion. Significant duty reductions were made on almost 60 percent of this trade. In addition reductions made on the vast number of industrial products not yet traded by the LDCs mean that they can anticipate at least some future exports of those products as their economies develop.

The cereals arrangement was of particular importance to Argentina as well as the United States. In the Kennedy Round, nations accounting for almost all of free world trade in wheat signed a Memorandum of Agreement on basic elements for the negotiation of a world grains arrangement which would relate to establishment of basic minimum and maximum prices for wheats of major importance in international trade.

The International Grains Arrangement concluded last fall incorporated these elements. Argentina will benefit from these price arrangements. Senate approval is required, however, before final United States acceptance.

Looking particularly at United States-Latin American trade, about 56 percent of United States imports from Latin America and the Caribbean area prior to the Kennedy Round were dutiable. Four products—petroleum, sugar and lead and zinc—account for 69 percent of the dutiable imports. These four products did not undergo any new duty reductions in the Kennedy Round. Petroleum and sugar move in international trade under very special regimes and the duty is not presently a significant factor affecting the volume of United States imports. The United States lacked authority to make new duty reductions on lead and zinc.

Setting these four products aside, let us look at the remainder of dutiable imports, which total some $633 million. Sixty-eight percent of this trade was covered by concessions. Duties were cut in half on about one-third of the trade, and duties were eliminated on about 28 percent. Some of the large trade items on which duty reductions were made in the industrial sector were: hardwood lumber, veneer, and plywood; pine lumber; wood picture frames and furniture; steel sheets; copper; tin; ferroalloys; copper rods; leather; hydraulic cement; menthol; sodium chloride; synthetic hormones; barium sulphate; mercury; bauxite; bismuth and bismuth alloys; naphthenic acids; ethyl alcohol; electrical conductors; television equipment; office machine parts; cotton yarn, fabrics, and apparel; wool fabrics; synthetic fibers; canned tuna and fresh or frozen fish. In the agricultural sector the large trade items on which duties were reduced were: canned beef; meat extract; coarse wools and wool noils; alpaca, llama and vicuna hair; sesame seeds; Brazil and cashew nuts; cocoa butter; and fresh grapes.

One of the most difficult aspects of trade negotiations such as the Kennedy Round is the measurement of the benefits from tariff reductions and of their effect on future trade. We can point to large trade items on which substantial duty cuts are made, but the picture this gives is far from complete. I have in mind particularly the many cuts made on manufactured products not yet supplied to the United States by the Latin American countries. These cuts could be of substantial significance to Latin America's exports, perhaps in the long run of even greater moment than the reduction on products which they already ship in large volume. An example may be the reduction on Parana pine plywood. Brazil exports this product but sends little to the United States, perhaps in part because our duty on this item for the past few years has been 40 percent. The Kennedy Round has reduced this 40 percent duty to 12½ percent ad valorem.

Within the framework established for participation of LDCs in the Kennedy Round, the participating Latin American countries made contributions that should benefit United States exports. Nine nations in Central and South America and the Caribbean area participated in the Kennedy Round. These were, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay. Of the twelve nations which did not participate, eleven still are not members of the GATT. The participating Latin American countries offered as part of their contribution to the negotiations various economic measures which their governments adopted during the negotiations, moving toward liberalization and rationalization of their trade and financial regimes.

Argentina, for example, in a complete revision of its tariff structure, conformed their tariff descriptions to those used by most other countries, and concurrently made numerous unilateral duty reductions which lowered the average level of its tariff from 119 to 62 percent. Argentina reduced the amount of money which its importers must deposit with the application for an import permit from 100 to 40 percent of the value of the goods, and eliminated the requirement altogether for an increasing number of items. The Argentine peso was devalued and foreign exchange controls were eliminated.

Brazil introduced a less restrictive system of allocation for foreign exchange for imports, eliminated consular fees, eliminated its 5 percent customs clearance tax, shifted to open general licensing, eliminated certain surcharges, and adopted a new tariff involving duty reductions on about 30 percent of its tariff positions.

Chile also adopted the tariff descriptions used by most countries, and in so doing, with a view to facilitating administration, incorporated in a single statute numerous charges previously provided for in separate legal instruments. In adopting a new tariff, Chile unilaterally reduced import charges on 176 items of industrial machinery and raw materials by an average of 80 percent. Categories of Chilean imports requiring prior deposit were reduced, and the percent of deposits for the remaining categories was lowered. Chile also increased its list of permitted imports.

The Dominican Republic exempted certain goods from the prior deposit requirement and made a temporary exemption from duties on certain items.

Peru committed itself to maintain its present liberal trade and monetary policy to the extent permitted by its development needs. This policy avoids quantitative restrictions, discriminatory internal taxes, subsidies, multiple exchange rates, and prior deposits, and relies solely on the tariff to control imports.

Seven of the Latin American participating countries also made tariff concessions in addition to the administrative measures which I have just described. In the agricultural sector, tariff concessions were made on breeding cattle, breeding chickens, seed corn and grain sorghum, fodder seeds, horticultural seeds and bulbs, malt, modified milk for infants' food, hop cones and lupulin, homogenized and dried milk, lard, soybean oil, unmilled wheat and raw cotton. Tariff concessions in the industrial sector covered numerous products, among which the more important trade items were water turbines, compressor heads, tractor engines, road machinery, surgical and dental instruments, valves and pipe fittings, steam boilers and steam engines, airplanes, agricultural tractors, synthetic rubber, railway equipment, insulated cable, transmission chains, machine tools, sewing machines, telephone equipment, electrical equipment for airplanes and ships, rubberized tread for tire manufacture, coal, coke and charcoal, and rock drilling, well boring and excavating machinery.

This, in brief, is the result of the Kennedy Round for United States trade with Latin America, as seen from short range. Its meaning, however, must be sought in a longer perspective. If progress were to stop at this point, I doubt that anyone would contend that it would have major long run significance. But if the Kennedy Round were to be followed by the energizing of the development process through substantial increases in foreign aid; through compensatory financing for shortfalls in earnings of exported raw materials; through substantial further access to the developed countries' markets for the raw materials and manufactured articles of the LDCs, and through great acceleration of the internal reforms needed to modernize the societies of the developing countries—then I believe the meaning of the Kennedy Round for United States trade with Latin America—indeed for the development of Latin America itself—would be deemed by historians to have been profound indeed.

Current Efforts of the Agency for International Development

(By Leigh M. Miller, managing director, Private Investment Center)

I am here today to discuss the current efforts of A.I.D. to increase private investment in Latin America.

AID believes that successful development of the less developed countries throughout the world requires strong, independent private institutions—business firms, labor unions, cooperatives, foundations, voluntary groups and the like—and a framework of sound laws and sensible government policies in which such institutions can develop and grow.

These conditions and institutions exist in the U.S.—but not in most of the developing countries. The developing world starts the development process without a strong independent private base—and, indeed, sometimes a bias against developing such a base.

Foreign private investment makes a multiple contribution to development: it increases gross national product; it expands government revenues; it provides employment; it transfers new technology; it can provide new methods of efficient management; it augments foreign exchange reserves; and it can develop new exports.

The critical contribution of foreign private investment, however, is the catalytic effect it can have on indigenous private investment. To achieve A.I.D.'s development goals, we must build up the role of private investment in the less developed countries.

The countries throughout the world which have made the best development progress in recent years—Korea, Iran, Taiwan—have each built their growth on strong, ebullient, private sectors. Today, other developing countries are beginning to see the need to encourage private initiative. A.I.D.'s efforts help:

1. A.I.D. uses funds and guaranty authorities to increase the amount of private U.S. investment and privately managed U.S. technical assistance going into the developing countries.

2. A.I.D. makes development loans to the governments of countries to make it possible for farmers and businessmen to buy fertilizer, spare parts, raw materials and capital equipment exported from the U.S. In making these development loans, AID encourages governments to make policy changes which will allow a freer private sector.

3. AID uses technical assistance funds to assist private institutions in the developing countries because non-government institutions can best do the job.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR'S ROLE IN SUPPORT OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Both the Charter of Punta del Este and the action program arising out of the Summit Meeting recognize the major role that the private institutions have to play in achieving Alliance objectives. The Charter stresses the importance of private enterprise as a basic system. The Summit Action Program emphasizes the mobilization of public and private resources inside and outside the Hemisphere to encourage development within the process of integration. In this program the Latin American signators recognize that private foreign capital is needed for development.

Most direct foreign investment in Latin America has come from the U.S.: From 1956–60 the average rate (including reinvested earnings) was about $625 million; for 1961–1966, the rate dropped by over 40% to about $370 million. However, this flow is distorted by sharp changes in Venezuelan petroleum investment and repatriation of profits. If Venezuela is excluded, U.S. investment flow shows an increase from about $336 million in 1956–60 to $410 million in 1961–66, a rise of over 20%.

The value of direct U.S. investment in Latin America at the end of 1966 was almost $10 billion. Of this, roughly one-third was in petroleum, one-third in manufacturing, and the balance in mining, public utilities and other industries. The major development in the past few years has been an increased investment in the manufacturing. In 1966, the value of U.S. direct investment in manufacturing exceeded our investment in petroleum for the first time. The countries receiving the most new U.S. investments since 1960 have been Argentina, Mexico, and Panama. Brazil has gained substantial new investment in the last few years after a period of stagnation in its economy. In 1966, about 60% of all new investment in the less developed areas went to the Western Hemisphere.

AID TOOLS TO ENCOURAGE PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

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2. Insurance—programs designed to assure investors against unusual risks which are attendant upon investing in developing countries.

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One of the most difficult aspects of trade negotiations such as the Kennedy Round is the measurement of the benefits from tariff reductions and of their effect on future trade. We can point to large trade items on which substantial duty cuts are made, but the picture this gives is far from complete. I have in mind particularly the many cuts made on manufactured products not yet supplied to the United States by the Latin American countries. These cuts could be of substantial significance to Latin America's exports, perhaps in the long run of even greater moment than the reduction on products which they already ship in large volume. An example may be the reduction on Parana pine plywood. Brazil exports this product but sends little to the United States, perhaps in part because our duty on this item for the past few years has been 40 percent. The Kennedy Round has reduced this 40 percent duty to 12½ percent ad valorem.

Within the framework established for participation of LDCs in the Kennedy Round, the participating Latin American countries made contributions that should benefit United States exports. Nine nations in Central and South America and the Caribbean area participated in the Kennedy Round. These were, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay. Of the twelve nations which did not participate, eleven still are not members of the GATT. The participating Latin American countries offered as part of their contribution to the negotiations various economic measures which their governments adopted during the negotiations, moving toward liberalization and rationalization of their trade and financial regimes.

Argentina, for example, in a complete revision of its tariff structure, conformed their tariff descriptions to those used by most other countries, and concurrently made numerous unilateral duty reductions which lowered the average level of its tariff from 119 to 62 percent. Argentina reduced the amount of money which its importers must deposit with the application for an import permit from 100 to 40 percent of the value of the goods, and eliminated the requirement altogether for an increasing number of items. The Argentine peso was devalued and foreign exchange controls were eliminated.

Brazil introduced a less restrictive system of allocation for foreign exchange for imports, eliminated consular fees, eliminated its 5 percent customs clearance tax, shifted to open general licensing, eliminated certain surcharges, and adopted a new tariff involving duty reductions on about 30 percent of its tariff positions.

Chile also adopted the tariff descriptions used by most countries, and in so doing, with a view to facilitating administration, incorporated in a single statute numerous charges previously provided for in separate legal instruments. In adopting a new tariff, Chile unilaterally reduced import charges on 176 items of industrial machinery and raw materials by an average of 80 percent. Categories of Chilean imports requiring prior deposit were reduced, and the percent of deposits for the remaining categories was lowered. Chile also increased its list of permitted imports.

The Dominican Republic exempted certain goods from the prior deposit requirement and made a temporary exemption from duties on certain items.

Peru committed itself to maintain its present liberal trade and monetary policy to the extent permitted by its development needs. This policy avoids quantitative restrictions, discriminatory internal taxes, subsidies, multiple exchange rates, and prior deposits, and relies solely on the tariff to control imports.

Seven of the Latin American participating countries also made tariff concessions in addition to the administrative measures which I have just described. In the agricultural sector, tariff concessions were made on breeding cattle, breeding chickens, seed corn and grain sorghum, fodder seeds, horticultural seeds and bulbs, malt, modified milk for infants' food, hop cones and lupulin, homogenized and dried milk, lard, soybean oil, unmilled wheat and raw cotton. Tariff concessions in the industrial sector covered numerous products, among which the more important trade items were water turbines, compressor heads, tractor engines, road machinery, surgical and dental instruments, valves and pipe fittings, steam boilers and steam engines, airplanes, agricultural tractors, synthetic rubber, railway equipment, insulated cable, transmission chains, machine tools, sewing machines, telephone equipment, electrical equipment for airplanes and ships, rubberized tread for tire manufacture, coal, coke and charcoal, and rock drilling, well boring and excavating machinery.

This, in brief, is the result of the Kennedy Round for United States trade with Latin America, as seen from short range. Its meaning, however, must be sought in a longer perspective. If progress were to stop at this point, I doubt that anyone would contend that it would have major long run significance. But if the Kennedy Round were to be followed by the energizing of the development process through substantial increases in foreign aid; through compensatory financing for shortfalls in earnings of exported raw materials; through substantial further access to the developed countries' markets for the raw materials and manufactured articles of the LDCs, and through great acceleration of the internal reforms needed to modernize the societies of the developing countries—then I believe the meaning of the Kennedy Round for United States trade with Latin America—indeed for the development of Latin America itself—would be deemed by historians to have been profound indeed.

CURRENT EFFORTS OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(By Leigh M. Miller, managing director, Private Investment Center)

I am here today to discuss the current efforts of A.I.D. to increase private investment in Latin America.

AID believes that successful development of the less developed countries throughout the world requires strong, independent private institutions—business firms, labor unions, cooperatives, foundations, voluntary groups and the like—and a framework of sound laws and sensible government policies in which such institutions can develop and grow.

These conditions and institutions exist in the U.S.—but not in most of the developing countries. The developing world starts the development process without a strong independent private base—and, indeed, sometimes a bias against developing such a base.

Foreign private investment makes a multiple contribution to development: it increases gross national product; it expands government revenues; it provides employment; it transfers new technology; it can provide new methods of efficient management; it augments foreign exchange reserves; and it can develop new exports.

The critical contribution of foreign private investment, however, is the catalytic effect it can have on indigenous private investment. To achieve A.I.D.'s development goals, we must build up the role of private investment in the less developed countries.

The countries throughout the world which have made the best development progress in recent years—Korea, Iran, Taiwan—have each built their growth on strong, ebullient, private sectors. Today, other developing countries are beginning to see the need to encourage private initiative. A.I.D.'s efforts help:

1. A.I.D. uses funds and guaranty authorities to increase the amount of private U.S. investment and privately managed U.S. technical assistance going into the developing countries.

2. A.I.D. makes development loans to the governments of countries to make it possible for farmers and businessmen to buy fertilizer, spare parts, raw materials and capital equipment exported from the U.S. In making these development loans, AID encourages governments to make policy changes which will allow a freer private sector.

3. AID uses technical assistance funds to assist private institutions in the developing countries because non-government institutions can best do the job.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR'S ROLE IN SUPPORT OF THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Both the Charter of Punta del Este and the action program arising out of the Summit Meeting recognize the major role that the private institutions have to play in achieving Alliance objectives. The Charter stresses the importance of private enterprise as a basic system. The Summit Action Program emphasizes the mobilization of public and private resources inside and outside the Hemisphere to encourage development within the process of integration. In this program the Latin American signators recognize that private foreign capital is needed for development.

Most direct foreign investment in Latin America has come from the U.S.: From 1956–60 the average rate (including reinvested earnings) was about $625 million; for 1961–1966, the rate dropped by over 40% to about $370 million. However, this flow is distorted by sharp changes in Venezuelan petroleum investment and repatriation of profits. If Venezuela is excluded, U.S. investment flow shows an increase from about $336 million in 1956–60 to $410 million in 1961–66, a rise of over 20%.

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Partners for the Alliance for Progress

The potentials of setting up direct links between U.S. communities and the developing countries have been convincingly demonstrated by the Partners of the Alliance which now involves 33 States. By the end of FY 1967 the $825,000 A.I.D. invested multiplied tenfold in privately contributed supplies.

Five investment conferences have been sponsored by the Partners in which specific investment and commercial proposals were discussed by U.S. and Latin American business and financial groups. One regional investment conference, for example, brought together 50 Brazilian businessmen with specific proposals to present to 75 potential U.S. investors. Investment tours to Partners' areas followed the investment conference.

ADELA

One approach developed by the business community itself is the Atlantic Community Development Group for Latin America (ADELA), a multinational investment company. By the end of its second full fiscal year (June 30, 1967), ADELA had made 61 investment commitments for $38.3 million in 17 Latin American countries. ADELA has demonstrated that worthy private investment projects can be found in adequate numbers in Latin America, if an investor is willing to look. AID has recently authorized a guaranty of additional private loan funds to be made available to ADELA to enlarge its capacity to find more private projects.

THE EFFECT OF THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROGRAM ON LATIN AMERICAN INVESTMENT

The emergency balance of payments program has many parts: passage of the temporary income tax surcharge; reduction of overseas government expenditures unrelated to Vietnam; reduction in non-essential travel; expansion of exports; reduction in overseas bank loans and curtailment of the outflow of funds for foreign direct investment.

The program involving controls on direct investment abroad by US persons is the one of greatest interest here. It is under the supervision of the Department of Commerce, and obviously I cannot speak authoritatively on this subject. Any statement which I make must be viewed purely as my personal opinion. Only the Office of Foreign Direct Investment can authorize direct investment abroad under the regulations.

The Foreign Direct Investment Regulations limit investment during 1968 in the Western Hemisphere (excluding Canada). But, with regard to Latin American countries, the regulations allow investment flexibility and possibly expansion. The investment ceilings under the new regulations sharply differentiate between investments in developing countries and those that are more developed. (These ceilings are placed on US firms individually and not on separate countries.) The new regulations allow individual firms to expand their direct investment and profit reinvestment in 1968 over past levels in Schedule A countries. (Schedule A countries include all less developed countries, dependencies and colonies throughout the world.) The 1968 investment ceiling is 110% of a company's average investment and reinvestment figure for 1965 and 1966 among all Schedule A countries. On the other hand, investors face a 65% ceiling in Schedule B countries, and a flat moratorium on new direct investment in the industrialized countries of Europe. These controls are designed to cut our dollar outflow by $1.0 billion, the great bulk of it in Europe.

For many years the United States has pursued a policy of encouraging private industry to provide capital to help developing countries. Some people have expressed the fear that the new program will discourage further private investment in these countries and seriously hamper long-range development plans. It is true that direct investment in the less developed countries is limited to 110 percent of the 1965–66 average—but I understand that the Department of Commerce regards this as a target as well as a limit.

Within this limit—110 percent of a fairly high base—the United States Government will continue to encourage investment to those countries which are operating at levels far below their economic potential.

It seems reasonable to assume that American investment in the less developed countries in general—and Latin American countries in particular—will increase because some companies will be shifting their sights if their investments in developed countries are curtailed.

There must be exceptions, of course, to the limitations on investment. The regulations permit the Commerce Department's Office of Foreign Direct Investment to issue Special Authorizations to take care of difficult situations. Despite the difficulties involved in setting up an entirely new system almost overnight, OFDI has already processed more than 300 of these applications.

But the fact remains, as the President stated in his foreign aid message: "We are committed to maximum encouragement of private investment in and assistance to the developing countries. We shall remain so."

Foreign aid is not a purely government-to-government program. A.I.D. desires a public-private partnership—American and foreign—to hasten economic development.

Development is complicated and tough. It requires capital, skills and institutions that focus people's energies. Both we and the developing countries have come a long way in learning how to make it occur more frequently and quickly. Private resources play a crucial role in the development process.

THE EXPANDING ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

(Address by R. B. J. Richards, March 1968)

First, let me express appreciation of the opportunity of visiting the University of Miami and of participating in this excellent program. It is a real pleasure to be here.

My purpose is to say something of the International Finance Corporation. IFC is unique. Now nearly twelve years old, it is the only international organization which operates for the sole purpose of assisting the international spread of private enterprise.

The background paper that you have before you outlines the formal parts of IFC and indicates its basic purposes and policies. I shall not repeat what is contained in this outline or in IFC's published material, such as IFC's Articles of Agreement, its Annual Reports, and statement of its General Policies, all of which are available on request and indicate the way in which IFC carries on its business.

At this time, I would like to highlight some aspects of IFC's operations and also illustrate, by reference to a case history, the way in which IFC can set about its basic task of mobilizing capital, domestic and foreign, for the private sector of the developing countries.

IFC has available to it about US$100 million derived from the subscriptions of its member countries and it has a line of credit from its parent organization, the World Bank, that could amount to US$400 million, upon which IFC has not yet drawn. With a paid-in capital of US$100 million, IFC has made commitments of about US$250 million. Of this amount, roughly half has been committed in Latin America.

IFC has disbursed over US$160 million and still has about US$40 million on hand—that is, a total of double IFC's original subscribed capital, so it is obvious that IFC has been successful in replenishing its funds.

The value of IFC is dependent upon its ability to make useful and successful investments in the developing countries and to attract private capital so as to keep IFC liquid for further operations. The key to IFC's ability to act in this way is its complete flexibility. It is an investing, not a lending, institution and it expects its return to depend basically upon the success of the enterprise that it helps to finance.

IFC, alone among the public international financing institutions, can provide equity capital, thereby complementing the activities of the lending institutions. IFC financing is available for foreign exchange and for local currency expenditures; it can be used for fixed assets or for working capital; and IFC money is not tied to the purchase of specific equipment or to a specific country. IFC can operate in much the same way as does any private investment banker.

The current operations of IFC indicate that the Corporation is growing and diversifying. The amounts committed by IFC have risen year by year. The average size of IFC's commitments has risen likewise. Further, IFC continues to diversify the kinds of business in which it invests. IFC has generally concentrated upon industrial projects but, last year, IFC, for the first time, made an investment in tourism (in Kenya) and an investment in a public utility (in the Philippines).

IFC continues to diversify geographically and the countries in the Western Hemisphere are well represented in the IFC portfolio. The equity component of IFC financing is assuming a larger place in the IFC portfolio. During the last fiscal year, IFC acquired capital stock in every business in which it invested and the equity component of IFC's portfolio is now about 40%. IFC is intensifying its efforts to help strengthen the food and agricultural supply base for economic development and fertilizer projects are assuming an increasingly important place among ventures financed by IFC.

The essential situation calling for IFC's help is one where sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms. In some instances, this may mean that IFC puts up the "last money" for a project. That is, IFC fills a gap after most of the financing has already been arranged. In other cases, by making a commitment as an "early money" investor IFC may make it possible to bring in other investors whose funds can complete the financing of a project.

IFC may be needed because it can help to secure local participation in an enterprise that would otherwise be foreign owned. Or, IFC's key function may be to help locate an experienced industrial partner from one of the industrially advanced countries. Each investment proposal presents different features but, always, IFC expects to contribute more than money—perhaps financial advice, technical assistance from IFC's engineering or legal staff, or perhaps helping to put the deal together and harmonize and blend the different interests that may be involved.

I expect that you are all familiar with the conventional pattern for (say) a new private industrial venture in Latin America. There is likely to be a strong local group, a competent foreign technical partner with a financial interest in the business, and there may be a number of financing institutions involved. Loan capital might be provided by AID or Inter-American Development Bank and perhaps a local development finance institution or financiera, and IFC—perhaps with ADELA—might provide loan and equity financing together with private participants introduced into the transaction.

However, in addition to helping capital to move across frontiers, one of IFC's major objectives is to assist the growth of capital markets in order to make possible broader local participation in the ownership of industry. IFC tends to finance only those companies in which there is already some participation by the public, or where it may be possible to get public participation. Perhaps you will be less familiar with this aspect of IFC's business and I would like to illustrate the way in which IFC works by telling you about IFC's six-year relationship with the largest private steel company in Mexico—Compania Fundidora de Fierro y Acero de Monterrey, S.A. ("Fundidora").

In 1962, Fundidora was about to complete an expansion program. To complete this, US $4 million additional equity was required which the Company decided to raise by way of a rights offering which was then the largest of its kind in Mexico. Credito Bursatil, a subsidiary of Banco National (the largest private bank in Mexico), was prepared to underwrite 25% of the issue; and IFC was asked to cover the remaining 75%, in order to assure the monies for the program. That is to say, if and to the extent that the shareholders of Fundidora did not exercise their rights to subscribe shares, the underwriters would take up unsubscribed shares in their respective proportions.

IFC made a full appraisal of Fundidora and bought outright shares of Fundidora in the amount of $1.1 million to indicate its confidence in the enterprise. IFC also agreed to join in the underwriting as asked.

IFC succeeded in interesting Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and Morgan Guaranty International Finance Corporation of New York, and also Handelsfinanz, A. G., a Swiss subsidiary of Banca Commerciale Italiana, all of which took participations in IFC's commitment, so that IFC's own exposure was reduced to 49% of the issue. The offering price was Pesos 110 per share of Pesos 100 par value. The underwriters received a fixed commission on each share underwritten and an additional commission on each share actually taken up, thus providing an incentive to local distribution. About 60% of the offering was subscribed by the shareholders and about 40% was taken by the underwriting syndicate; these latter shares were sold through the market in Mexico shortly afterwards.

The effect of the transaction was not only to assure the raising of the money by Fundidora but also to expand the market for Fundidora's shares and so lay the groundwork for future marketing operations.

In 1964, Fundidora engaged upon a second expansion program. A loan was contracted from the Export-Import Bank of Washington but, complementary to this loan capital, Fundidora made a US$12.5 million rights offering of its shares, and this offering was also underwritten by IFC and Credito Bursatil. This time, Credito Bursatil increased its share to 50% of the underwriting and IFC committed itself for the remaining 50%. The previous sub-underwriters also joined in and increased their proportions from 26% to 44%, so that IFC's net commitment for the second issue was reduced to 6% only. The offering price was Pesos 125 per share. More than 99% of the issue was subscribed by the shareholders and the small balance taken by the underwriters was soon sold on the open market.

In 1966, further monies were required by Fundidora and there was a US$7.2 million rights offering of shares to the shareholders and a simultaneous private placement of US$6 million convertible debentures. The same syndicate, led by IFC and Credito Bursatil, participated in the underwriting of the rights issue; and the convertible debentures were privately placed by a group consisting of IFC, Credito Bursatil and Kuhn Loeb. The offering price of the share issue was Pesos 120 per share and, again, more than 99% of the issue was sold during the offering period and the balance a few days later.

IFC, in conjunction with the same syndicate, is currently engaged in assisting Fundidora with yet another rights issue of shares involving over US$14 million. This is again the largest issue of its kind ever undertaken in Mexico. On this occasion also, IFC expects to reduce its net commitment in the transaction to a relatively modest exposure for its own account.

By this series of transactions IFC has assisted Fundidora to expand its operations on a sound basis through an expansion of its equity base; IFC has assisted the development of the capital market in Mexico and has facilitated the flow of international private capital into an important company in the private sector in Mexico. On each occasion, the offerings were successful, and IFC's net participation was progressively reduced as local and foreign investors were prepared to participate to an increasing extent. Trading in Fundidora's shares has increased more than ten times since 1962; its shares are now among the most actively traded in Mexico. Over the period, the number of Fundidora's shareholders has increased from 500 to 2,200, of whom about 10% have been introduced from outside Mexico. Fundidora now has recourse to capital markets in Europe and the United States, which it would not have otherwise.

I believe that this story well illustrates the performance by IFC of its catalytic role and the way in which it can effectively carry out its special function of assisting to mobilize capital. I may say that each transaction has been profitable to IFC, as well. But none of this was accomplished without considerable effort and expertise in terms of financial analysis, technical appraisal of Fundidora's business and prospects, legal documentation, judgment upon market factors and, especially, a continuing relationship with the principals involved. This is the job that IFC expects to do besides making financial commitments.

This is all that I propose to say about IFC in the time available. There are plenty of gaps, so I hope you will feel sufficiently stimulated to ask questions, which I will be glad to answer.

Problems and Prospects of Economic Integration in Latin America

(Address by Donald K. Palmer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, before the annual institute of recent innovations in the structure and methods of business transactions in Latin America, March 15, 1968)

The rationale for a continental common market is simple, even though its achievement is a difficult, complicated and time-consuming business. A continental common market is a means of enabling Latin America to achieve economies of scale and escape the limitations of small national markets.

Latin American countries want to industrialize and need to industrialize. To be efficient, modern industrial plants require markets large enough to permit the economies of scale and the intra-industry specialization on which growth and efficiency depend. But the national markets in Latin America are small in numbers and in effective purchasing power. Twelve countries have populations under five million. Three countries have populations of five to ten million. And large parts of the population live in the hinterland on a subsistence basis, and are not part of the money economy.

In such narrow markets, small-scale enterprises producing light consumer goods can operate with reasonable effectiveness. But the small self-protected national market offers no scope for the development of larger-scale establishments to produce more complex consumer and capital goods.

From one point of view, Latin American economic integration can be regarded as an attempt to duplicate what has worked elsewhere in the past under different circumstances.

We remember, for example, the postwar experience in Europe where a regional approach to both aid and trade brought spectacular results, and finally was instrumental in forming the European Common Market. This is history's most ambitious and fully implemented attempt so far at regional economic cooperation among independent nations.

Such integration is not new to us. In fact we probably inspired such a concept. In 1789, we may recall a group of 13 former colonies decided to put into effect an agreement among themselves to form a common market—one that we think has contributed greatly to the development of the United States. We also remember that on the other hand, the breakup of the former Spanish American empire did not lead to similar cooperation among its various component parts but rather to a splintering into many independent states. This choice of a different path may well be a major reason why Latin America is today an underdeveloped area.

From another point of view, Latin American economic integration represents a logical follow-up to developments that have taken place in Latin America since the war. Latin America has made considerable progress—and at the same time has created major problems for itself—through following import substitution policies that relied upon highly protected markets for locally manufactured products. The Latin American states were seeking economic independence and, in pursuit of this aim, resolved to build up industries of their own. This nationalistic policy did produce new industry, but these industries were often uneconomic and able to operate only behind high tariff walls. Given the inadequacies of national markets, Latin America now finds it necessary to think of industrialization on a regional scale. The goal of such industrialization is to be able to produce competitively and to export to world markets. Initially, however, it will be necessary to continue to protect Latin American industry from more efficient producers in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, Latin America must limit the amount and duration of such protection so that eventually its industries will be able to emerge from behind their protective walls and earn the foreign exchange necessary for the region's rapid economic development.

Latin America hopes that regional policies will provide the impetus to investment and growth that nationalist policies have not provided. A continuation of recent rates of economic growth combined with the rapidly expanding labor force resulting from the postwar population explosion would surely lead to rising underemployment and political instability. Higher growth rates are thus necessary; it appears that a successful Latin American Common Market would contribute in a major way to the attainment of such higher rates.

It should be noted that economic integration in Latin America already has a substantial history. Following considerable discussion and negotiation in the 1950's, two organizations were established in 1961, the Central American Common Market (CACM) and the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA).

Of the two functioning Latin American organizations the more successful to date is the five-country Central American Common Market. Since CACM was formed in 1961 intra-regional trade has expanded spectacularly—by over 400 percent. The most interesting fact is that over half of the increase in this trade has been in industrial products.

LAFTA, created by seven countries, has been expanded since 1961 to eleven countries and now includes all of South America, except the three Guianas, plus Mexico. LAFTA's progress has not been as great as that attained by the CACM but it has certainly met reasonable expectations. Intra-LAFTA trade expanded by about 125 percent from 1961 to 1966. New flows of trade have been generated between countries which rarely traded with each other before.

At the same time these two Latin American organizations were expanding their intra-regional trade so remarkably, their trade with the rest of the world continued to grow substantially but at a slower pace. For instance, CACM trade with the rest of the world was about 60 percent higher in 1966 than in 1961 and LAFTA trade outside the region grew by 25 percent over the same period.

Against this background of success for partial integration, the Presidents of the American States met last April in Punta del Este, where the Alliance for Progress was born in 1961. At the 1967 Summit Meeting, the Latin American Presidents extended the horizon of economic integration by undertaking a commitment to create a Latin American Common Market. To quote the Presidential declaration, they agreed "to create progressively beginning in 1970 the Latin American Common Market which should be substantially in operation within a period of not more than 15 years." This would be a giant step beyond what the existing organizations are designed to accomplish.

As the Presidents envisioned it, the Latin American Common Market will be brought about by improving the existing integration systems, LAFTA and CACM, encouraging non-member Latin American states to seek access to one system or the other, and finally fusing the two systems together.

All the Latin American Presidents agreed to establish a Joint LAFTA–CACM Coordinating Committee to study and make recommendations on how to merge the systems.

The Presidents of the LAFTA countries instructed their Foreign Ministers to adopt measures:

Converting LAFTA into a common market through a system of programmed elimination of duties and non-tariff restrictions and the establishment of a common external tariff "at levels that will promote efficiency and productivity as well as the expansion of trade."

Establishing by tariff cuts or equivalent measures a margin of preference within the region for all products originating in Latin America.

Putting a standstill on new trade restrictions within the region.

The above three commitments represent the key measures necessary to establish the Latin American Common Market and thus are of special importance.

All the Presidents, including President Johnson, made a commitment to provide financial support, including:

Resources for an integration adjustment assistance fund—to help solve problems in connection with the balance of payments, industrial readjustments, and retraining of labor that might arise during the transition to a Latin American Common Market.

Additional resources for intra-regional export credits.

Mobilization of resources for industrial development.

Specific resources for CACM and LAFTA.

Why should we use U.S. aid to help carry out economic integration in Latin America? First of all, let me state that the U.S. has for some time favored the formation of regional groups provided they are outward-looking. In Europe, for example, we favored the formation of both existing economic groups. As for Latin America we believe that more rapid and effective economic development will be brought on by integration. This will strengthen our neighbors and thus enhance our own security and prosperity. Thus, U.S. assistance in the effort is an efficient use of AID funds.

There are important trade benefits to think of, too. Increased growth should increase the demand for imports, particularly of producer goods. We have already benefitted handsomely from the trade-creating effects of the European Community and the European Free Trade Association. Since almost half (43 percent) of Latin American imports come from the U.S., and since we are highly competitive in producer goods, we should benefit from the formation of the Latin American Common Market as well.

Returning to Latin America's efforts to implement the Summit Declaration, the LAFTA Foreign Ministers met at Asuncion in August of 1967. The LAFTA Permanent Executive Committee had previously agreed on draft resolutions to provide the bases for agreement by the Ministers on the important measures. In spite of this, however, the Foreign Ministers Meeting produced less than hoped for. The Foreign Ministers could agree only on guidelines for establishing subregional groups within LAFTA, approval in principle of the Andean Subregional Group and participation in a Joint Coordinating Committee with the Central American Common Market. At one point it appeared that the Foreign Ministers were going to be able to agree on most of the essential points involved in converting LAFTA into a common market. They failed on agreement, however, when one country held out for immediate elimination of non-tariff restrictions, and the "less-developed" members demanded more rapid elimination of restrictions on imports of their products than the more developed members were prepared to grant. In the end, the Foreign Ministers simply instructed the Permanent Executive Committee to continue with studies.

Following this meeting the LAFTA Ministers met jointly with the CACM Foreign Ministers to establish the Joint LAFTA-CACM Coordinating Committee.

Although the main obstacles to Latin American integration have not yet been overcome, constant effort and many meetings have been devoted to working out the details of problems and seeking tentative solutions.

The annual Inter-American Economic Social Council meeting in June of 1967 launched a series of meetings on the financial implications of integration. A meeting in Rio de Janeiro in September of 1967 agreed on a program and established two working groups. A Mexico City meeting in January of this year considered the desirability of balance of payments financing. Opinion was divided—some favored a mechanism to handle balance of payments problems going even beyond those arising out of integration and others were reluctant to even agree that a mechanism was necessary. A meeting in Washington in February considered other aspects, including industrial and labor assistance, export credits, and multinational projects.

As for the LAFTA itself, the Seventh Annual Conference, held in the fall of 1967, produced little significant results except some additions to the national lists of concessions. The meeting was unable to agree on the second part of the common list, due to be promulgated January 1, 1968, and was forced to defer action to an Extraordinary Session in July 1968. However, there has been progress in the past year within the LAFTA framework.

One important development has been the emergence of the Andean subregional group within LAFTA. In June 1967 Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela announced their intention of forming a subregional group. Bolivia has since joined them. They have established a Mixed Commission and assigned it the task of formulating the subregional program. The Commission has made substantial progress since then. The subregional treaty is currently being drafted in Bogota and may be signed in June of this year.

The Andean countries reason that their temporary subregional agreement will help them participate more fully in the Latin American Common Market. They believe that they can spur efficient industrial development within the subregion by lowering trade barriers to one another, thus effectively expanding their national markets. Because the disparity in levels of development between the six nations is not as great as in LAFTA itself, they are less apprehensive about opening their markets to their Andean neighbors than they would be if they had to open their markets to Argentina, Brazil and Mexico.

When formally established the Andean agreement will provide for more rapid trade liberalization than is presently contemplated under LAFTA. It will also establish a minimum common external tariff. Further, industrial development and trade is to be accelerated through a series of complementation agreements. One such agreement, in the petrochemical industry, has already been signed. It is now awaiting LAFTA approval.

A subregional bank, the Andean Development Corporation, will help promote integration through the financing of regional infrastructure and industrial projects. Its charter was signed in February 1968 in Bogota. The bank will be capitalized at $100 million.

In still another region of Latin America, reports indicate that Argentina and Brazil, and perhaps Paraguay and Uruguay, are considering some type of subregional arrangement. It is not clear what form this arrangement might take.

The general movement towards regional economic integration is beset with problems—a whole host of bedeviling and bedazzling problems. Perhaps it will help if you will allow me to tick them off one at a time.

As noted earlier at the Summit the Latin American Presidents outlined the steps to be taken in forming the Latin American Common Market. The first big hurdle is for the LAFTA countries to make the basic decisions necessary to convert their existing organization into a common market. Such action includes LAFTA's adoption of a programmed elimination of duties and other trade restrictions and the establishment of a common external tariff. It is the responsibility of the Foreign Ministers to reach these decisions. It is not clear, however, when the Foreign Ministers will be in a position to meet again and take these necessary steps.

A closely related problem deals with the equitable distribution of benefits. Before LAFTA members can unanimously agree to move forward on the proposals just mentioned, ways must be found to ensure that the less developed countries obtain their appropriate share of the benefits of integration. The Asunción meeting floundered largely on the demands of the least developed countries for more preferential treatment than the others were prepared to grant. I might note that LAFTA recognizes three levels of development among its members, and preferential treatment for two of these categories is designed to compensate for the wide disparity in development among Latin American countries. These demands concern both preferential schedules for tariff elimination and special assistance from any integration mechanism designed to facilitate the transition to a common market.

Another major problem the Presidents recognized at the Summit was the need for the physical integration of Latin America. They declared that the physical infrastructure of the region must be modernized and completed. In view of the amount of human and material resources needed for the task, it was deemed essential to establish priorities for the various programs.

Identification of these regional projects can be facilitated through studies financed by the Inter-American Development Bank's Pre-Investment Fund. This fund totals about $18.5 million. The IDB, which is also known as the "Bank of Integration," has earmarked $100 million per year for multinational programs. Projects which could be undertaken include the Inter-American highway network, an Inter-American telecommunications network and the multinational development of river basins. Other projects could be developed in the fields of air and water transport, electric power and pipelines.

An obstacle in the way of increased intra-Latin American trade is that Latin American businessmen are unfamiliar with trading opportunities that exist within the region. In order to explore and develop their trade in these markets, the Latin American businessmen will need to invest time, effort and capital. In the beginning such efforts may be expensive and not very productive, but as time goes by there should take place a worthwhile exchange of ideas, skills and practices among the management groups within the different countries.

One very serious though intangible problem is the fear of competition. The prevalence of uneconomic industries makes producers more than usually fearful of competition. There are, it must be admitted, powerful vested interests in protection. Moreover, there is some danger that Andean complementation agreements might encourage new investment in high-cost industries and create new barriers to a Latin American Common Market.

To overcome the objections of industrial producers, industry assistance similar to that provided in the European Economic Community is being proposed. Assistance would allow producers to modernize or convert to new lines of production.

Another problem deserving of study is the financing of the industrial buildup. While the infrastructure can be primarily financed by public capital, industry will be dependent largely upon private capital. Clearly, accelerated integration will only bring greater demands on the already short supply of domestic savings, since one of the purposes of integration is to improve the opportunities for new investment. Furthermore, the sectors in which the desired economies of scale are most dramatic are those basic industries which require large amounts of capital. Given this shortage of capital, it is thus equally clear that foreign private investment also has an important role to play in financing industrial expansion.

We also need to remain aware of the disadvantages as well as the advantages of the subregional groupings within the larger regional common market. Such groupings have to be compatible with the objectives and timetable for trade liberalization of the Latin American Common Market. If the latter timetable is not firmly established soon, it will be difficult to judge whether subregional groups meet this criteria. There is also the danger that subregional groups will create their own vested interests that will serve as obstacles to a Latin American Common Market. This would be the case if new investment is encouraged by subregional groups in industries unable to meet competition from the most industrialized Latin American countries.

If there were more time I could list other obstacles to regional economic integration, but I think those already enumerated give you a good idea of the magnitude of the problems facing Latin America in the effort to follow up on the Summit decision to create a common market. As evident from the limited progress made since the Summit, the negotiating process is going to take time. We must remember, though, that it took two years for the European Economic Community countries to move from a similar declaration of interest to agreement on the Treaty of Rome, and that the Latin Americans face many formidable obstacles which were not so important in Europe. We need to put a check on our impatience. The time for impatience is not yet.

The United States recognizes that Latin American economic integration is essentially a Latin effort. We realize that they are the ones who are going to have to make the difficult decisions and the difficult adjustments. We believe, nevertheless, that integration is not only a challenge but a tremendous opportunity for Latin America, and may be perhaps the best if not the only hope for the countries of the area to satisfy the demands and aspirations of the people of the hemisphere for a better life. For these reasons we are deeply interested in Latin America's progress towards the common market and feel that integration is an urgent and essential part of the total Alliance for Progress endeavor.

A LATIN AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN'S VIEW OF DOING BUSINESS WITH PRIVATE UNITED STATES COMPANIES

(Text of lecture given by R. A. Argueta at the annual institute on recent innovations in the structure and methods of business transactions in Latin America, Miami Beach, Fla., March 5, 1968)

Thank you Mr. Surrey for your kind introduction, I also wish to express my appreciation to the University of Miami Law Center for their kind invitation to speak to you here today. I would like to mention that the company I work with, Financiera Roble, S. A., acts primarily as a developer. To date we have been involved in the construction of housing and lately we have been involved in the planning and development of a Shopping Center complex in the city of San Salvador, El Salvador. This Shopping Center will comprise retail space, office space, apartments, medical clinics and a hotel. In our efforts to bring about our developments, I have had the opportunity of dealing with American businessmen in various fields.

I would like to give some background on my country, El Salvador, and the Central American Common Market. El Salvador is a country with a population of 3 million people and an extension of approximately 8,200 squares miles. It has a high density of population and it is also one of the smallest in this hemisphere.

We are a member of the Central American community and the Central American Common Market. Since some of the other lecturers have already referred to and covered very well the Central American Common Market, I will be brief on my remarks regarding it. I would like to confirm that in our thinking, the Central American Common Market is a success in spite of long years spent in its formation. We believe, it is at the point of no return. This is due to the fact that many of the new business ventures in the area have been brought in with the idea of dealing with the entire area and not only the country in which they are located. Also, many of the basic structures tend to make it a stronger community in the future.

To point out its growth and importance, I would like to mention that original trade has grown from 8.6 million dollars in 1950 to over 136 million dollars in 1965. It is my understanding that for 1967 the figure will be closer to or more than 170 million dollars. Nevertheless, it is my feeling that because of the particular significance that a Common Market has to the world, it may be over publicized as in many of its phases it is still in its inception.

To get to the topic of my lectures, "A Latin American Businessman's View of Doing Business with Private United States Companies", I would like to mention that since my particular field of work is rather limited, I took the liberty of consulting with other businessmen in my country to gain a better and wider interpretation of the topic. However, I am interpreting their opinions in my own way and any errors of judgment are purely my own.

It is not difficult to be overwhelmed by the quality and qualifications of the other members of the Faculty and in hearing many of the talks when referring to our area as a category "C" or developing country or even in some cases, I have heard our area referred to as a "third world", one can be inclined to take a defensive stand. I hope this will not be my case. In bringing up some subjects, I trust they will be of help for a better understanding of Latin America and in any case, I mean it to be in the sense of constructive criticism.

One point that is important is that coming from El Salvador, what I say, does not necessarily apply to all of Latin America. In fact, there is a big difference between the Central American area and South America. Even within Central America you will find that the approach to business from a Costa Rican businessman is different from a Nicaraguan, Honduran or Guatemalan.

I am speaking as a businessman which also comes from a very small economic area and therefore I would like to start by saying when dealing in our area there are certain limitations. Biggest in my mind, is the economics that relate to a small country. In dealing with some U.S. firms, it is the experience that at times they tend to equate a U.S. dollar economy to the local situation. I don't think this should be the case. It should be kept in mind that what applies, for example, in a city in the United States with a population of 500,000, does not necessarily relate to a city in our country with a similar number of inhabitants. In other words, it should be noted that a scaling down should be taken into consideration when dealing in our smaller countries. It can also be said that it becomes too expensive for Latin American businessmen to enter into a venture with U.S. companies if the same costs as in the U.S. are used. In this respect, the fact should be considered that in Latin America today there is competition from various other areas of the world. At times it appears to us that European or Japanese firms tend to be more flexible than some U.S. firms. This can be a dangerous point. We have seen examples where, by moving too slow or not having sufficient flexibility, the U.S. companies have been left out. I would like to cite the case of a Salvadorean importer, who is the distributor for a Japanese automobile manufacturer. Since the beginning of his dealing with them, several years ago, he has not seen a price list. What they do is take into account the competition, volumes and other factors and agree on the price. This is flexibility.

As far as opportunities are concerned, I think that there are many still to be found. Today the interest placed by our Government in the promotion of tourism has opened a wide field of opportunities within the tourist industry. This includes anything from the material or products used in the tourist industry where American firms can bid competitively in the sale of these items to the direct investment itself. In this last field as in the case of our country, El Salvador, special laws have been passed to encourage and provide incentives for tourist development. At present, we have a law which gives a tax break of 100% on the earnings and investment in the tourist field for five years and a 50% break on all taxes for an additional five-year period.

Besides this, there are also import duty exemptions for all products and materials not to be found in El Salvador or the Central American area to be used in these projects. Foreign capital is welcomed in this respect and I am sure you will find interest from all sectors of our community in helping you investigate any possibilities that you may wish to pursue in the tourist field.

Besides the above, we feel that one of our greatest needs at this time is the industrialization of agriculture, and in this respect, I think there is presented a wide array of possibilities for direct investment or the sale of supplies or machinery to assist in the development.

Each country in Latin America I am sure as it is in ours, has many organizations to help investors in the area. I am surprised that more advantage is not taken of this availability of information and guidance. It is provided by local private, or government organizations. There are also publications available which list the names and address of those people that can give you information and also provide information themselves with respect to new opportunities or new laws that are passed in the area.

With reference to opportunities in our countries, I have heard some importers complain that U.S. firms are sometimes slow in moving to direct manufacturing in the area. As stated previously, competition today is very active in our area from other parts of the world. I would like to state an example, where in the case of one importer who was representing a U.S. firm for quite a number of years and who for the last two or three years had been requesting the consideration for direct manufacturing in the Central American Common Market, the U.S. firm was slow in reacting to his representative's suggestion. In the meantime, firms from other countries started three manufacturing concerns producing the same item and of course, tariff barriers went up to protect these new industries and the sales of the U.S. firm's product went down. By the time the U.S. firm started considering direct manufacturing in the area, it was, of course, slightly too late and the U.S. firm suggested a solution which further aggravated the problem. They wanted to go in with one of the existing manufacturers which meant that his product's name would be tied in with somebody else's. To an importer or representative who has been selling a certain brand product for a number of years, this can come as quite a shock, his product represents a certain line and he has organized his sales course around it. In this case, the reaction from the distributors not only in our country but in the other Central American countries, was to organize into a single force, initiate their own plant and sell through their organizations. This completely destroyed in a matter of a few weeks or months the sales market which this U.S. firm had at one time completely dominated.

As far as financing is concerned, it is available to a certain extent for industry and tourism. Some of the best terms can be obtained locally. However, in other fields such as construction, financing and long-term financing for housing are extremely difficult to obtain and we would certainly like to see more of this become available as there is a tremendous need still to be developed in the housing and construction field.

Again, some U.S. firms are at times hesitant to go into an area with either a total equity position in their venture or go in on a mixed capital basis with local people. Of course, each situation has to be evaluated on its own merits and decided upon whether the previous analysis should apply and then decide. I do wish to mention that we have a saying that states a U.S. company has the "know how" and the Latin counterpart has the "know who". It might be wise to keep this in mind so that if it applies it should be taken into consideration.

Invariably, when talking to U.S. firms or some American people, the comment is made that Latin America is a hot bed of revolutions, social instability, the economic pressures that affect one crop economies, the instability of currencies, the political problems and many others. In short, too often we as Latin American businessmen feel that there is too much of a generalized concept which may not be as true today as it was at one time. I would like to point out that there are many businesses in my own country, both foreign and local, which have been established over 25, 50 or more years and they have throughout that time developed, progressed, expanded and their profits have remained very attractive. Why then, is the case that we are pointed out as being an investment's risk. I would like to say in this respect that it would be wise to talk to the many businessmen who have been doing business in Latin America for a large number of years and single out the average response from them, I think it would be favorable. I would also like to say that El Salvador has had its share and has at present its share of the typical problems that weigh heavily on Latin American countries. I earnestly trust that my comments are not taken as one of trying to ignore the many problems that exists in these areas.

More and more, we are proud to say ourselves, there is progress being made and that there is a great deal more of interest on behalf of the business community to enter into the picture and try to do something about it. There is a great deal more civic mindedness by individual business today than there has even been in the history of our country. With regards to that other long standing comment made, that these nations are not willing to help themselves, I would like to mention that in El Salvador we are very proud of a record that we have held for the year 1967. You may have heard of the International Executive Service Corps, it is also called the "Paunch Corps", it is a group of retired United States business executives who dedicate their time to counseling and working in under developed areas with their industries and miscellaneous businesses. El Salvador had the highest number of executives in the world for last year; the second in the world was Iran and we know what the difference in size and economic power is between El Salvador and Iran. I think this points out that we are more willing than ever to realize that help is required and that we are willing to accept good counsel. I had an opportunity of speaking with a number of the firms that contracted the services of International Executive Service Corps and who received the assistance of top grade executives and in 100% of the cases the reply was that they had received a great deal of benefit as a result of working with these people.

Also, one must remember certain basic facts, just as temperatures and climate is different in Latin America from the United States, so is our way of thinking. It is difficult, at times, to transmit this type of thinking and how it affects our everyday life.

This is why sometimes Latin businessmen are critical of the approach the U.S. businessmen have to business since he has a very hurried and cold approach which is natural to him. This stems from his way of life in the United States and at times it is found shocking to his Latin counterpart. Equally so, I am sure the U.S. businessman is sometimes frustrated or misinterprets the way of doing business by Latins due to different habits. But, if you are going to be dealing in Latin America it is important to try to understand that as Latins we tend to be more emotional and when entering into any type of a relationship it usually pleases the Latin American businessman to find a more warm or personal relationship with whomever he is dealing. If U.S. businessmen take the time to understand some of the Latin logic and way of thinking, he will find that the Latin businessman is a very grateful person and in his gratitude he will also be very faithful to his business transactions and to keeping in mind this particular relationship. It is my personal experience that where we have had a successful relationship with a U.S. firm that many members of our company have gone out of their way to recommend that U.S. firm to other contacts in our field in order to amplify their range of work in the area. To further project the difference in attitudes, let us consider what would happen in the U.S. if there was a coup or a revolution.

People would panic, the stockmarket would go down, etc. But if such is the case in a Latin country, sometimes people do not even pay attention to it. Business continues to operate; at the worst, there is an expectancy as to the new government's lines. This may be oversimplifying matters, but it illustrates the point that what may sound ominous to a U.S. businessman in the U.S. is not as bad seen in the local light.

Continuing on relationships, as between a Latin American firm and a U.S. firm, I believe there is a difference in dealing with a large corporation as opposed to a small company. There are good and bad sides to each one. When dealing with a large corporation one tends to feel lost and to receive an impersonal treatment. Let us say there is a salesman that travels through Central America and makes good contacts and good sales to local importers and places large orders. He returns home and from there the warm relationship he established with the local firm is taken out of his hands and placed in two or three different departments who in turn have never heard or met with the local importer and therefore, impersonality starts. This is difficult to get away from, of course, but whenever possible it should be kept in mind to continue and maintain good relationship wherever possible. A large corporation usually has their own export department and therefore when orders are placed, the handling goes smoothly. On the other hand, small companies very often have to rely on a third party to handle their export business. This is a big point made by importers in our areas, when picking out the firm that will handle your export business, care should be exercised to pick one that is responsible and knows the business. Professor Soia Mentschikoff earlier in the day in her lecture pointed out the complexity of the export markets, the shipping problems, the matter of financing exports and the many other fields involved. I believe that if your company is going to be involved in exporting, that even though it is a small firm, the person who wishes to initiate sales overseas or abroad should learn something about the business and make sure that he can supervise the firm who handles his business and therefore make sure that he is doing a good job.

I would also like to mention that whether the U.S. firm is large or small, when dealing with a Latin American business firm which as a rule are much smaller than those in the United States, one thing should be kept in mind, that is the level of the transaction and not each other, and to meet at that level. Again I would like to say that when selling or establishing connections in Latin America, salesmanship should not apply only to the products itself, but to try to gain a more personal relationship with the Latin counterpart. Although it might be just as hard as the sales job itself, in the end it will benefit both parties to a greater extent.

Although the following is not the rule but rather the exception, especially in the case of U.S. companies when establishing business in Latin America, whenever you can, try to look for local talent to assist you in your new organization. I believe firmly U.S. firms have been much better than firms of any other country in the world. I would like to cite the case of Sherwin Williams in El Salvador who when establishing their plant in the area started with a large staff of U.S. executives and after only three to four years have reduced this to just a minimum number and have replaced the U.S. executive with the Salvadorean counterpart, and they are doing a very good volume of business.

Also, one case that does not happen very often but has some significance, is the international image in trade that means something else than business to the U.S. firm. At times and in only a few cases we have found that some U.S. firms look to the international market as an image making tool rather than a real business venture. In cases like this the prosperity of the venture would generally fail and tend to inject rather a poor image of the U.S. firm when actually it may not be so. In other words, if you are going to go into an international market, set up that business as well as you can pursuing it with as much fervor as you would on a domestic basis. Markets abroad, as anybody can realize, are growing from year to year and sales, investments or any other type of participation abroad will be increasingly fruitful to those companies that take advantage of, especially the Latin American market.

In connection with those U.S. firms who come to Latin America and like to establish business with local partner, I have noticed that too many times they keep going to the same people and although these people may be the best and biggest in their individual country in which they want to start doing business, because of the references that they have or the control that they have in the particular field the U.S. firm wants to go into, it is worthy to consider also taking in a smaller firm or individuals who are starting out and who have just as much capacity to develop the business as those doing a larger volume.

In this case it might be even better to deal with a firm that has not taken on too many lines and therefore can specialize in yours. There are firms operating in Latin American countries that due to their long activity in business and reputation tend to be called on before anyone else. I have observed that at times they can take on too much and although excellent, can sometimes be limited by the amount of work or diversification of work that they are doing.

One last thing that I feel I should comment on, although not directly related to the sense of the topic on which I have spoken, I do feel should be brought out. Whenever we meet a number of American businessmen traveling throughout Latin America, one notices so many times they refer to their country in an apologetic way. They point out that their foreign policy is not doing well, U.S. business does not deal correctly, and so forth. We are an impressionable people and if a U.S. citizen makes statements to this effect, they are taken in all seriousness. Therefore, I would say that an education should be imparted to those traveling abroad, and when commenting on their country, they should do so in the best of terms or make no comment at all. I am perhaps not as qualified as many other Latin American people to make a statement in this respect, since I lived so many years in the U.S. and hold it very close to my heart, but it is important. It is surprising that when dealing with businessmen from other areas of the world, they never have this apologetic attitude and actually there is absolutely no foundation or reason for it. The United States has done more for our area, and we have a much clearer link between ourselves, therefore only one attitude I believe should be taken by U.S. citizens, and that is of pride toward their country's actions.

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BANK

(By Elting Arnold)

Our bank has really quite a complex capital structure combining elements of the World Bank, of AID to a certain extent, and to some degree the IFC. It would be disproportionate to lead you through all of this in detail and so I will summarize the capital structure very briefly.

We have an ordinary capital, derived largely from borrowing on the capital markets of the world, principally the United States, from which we make loans on so-called normal lending terms, which implies today an interest rate of 7¾%, which is up from 5½% when we started. This rate is dictated by the cost of money to us in the markets. Our borrowings are made on the basis of the callable capital, a guaranty arrangement, of which we have effectively usable at the present time about $600 million, and we are working to obtain another effective $400 million, only the U.S. subscription being usable as far as the borrowings in the capital markets go.

Then we have the Fund for Special Operations which makes, according to our Charter, loans to meet special circumstances in particular countries. Actually it has come today to be a general soft lending window with a present capital of $1.375 billion and $800 million more to be paid in over the course of this year and next year. From this Fund we make social development loans in great quantity. We also make economic loans to countries which have relatively a poor balance of payments situation, notably some of the smaller countries of Latin America.

Finally, we administer the Social Progress Trust Fund which the United States settled on the Bank a number of years ago. The Fund consists of $525 million which is now practically all loaned out, and is used today substantially only for technical assistance operations. As its name implies, the Fund is entirely in the social development field, except for agriculture where it does finance more or less social types of agricultural projects but still they are productive also.

The Bank has a small additional amount of money obtained as trust funds from non-member countries, including $40 million Canadian dollars from Canada, which is the largest amount settled on us by a non-member country.

It might interest you to know that our funded debt is about $513 million of which $335 was raised in the United States and $178 million in non-member countries through seven borrowings in six countries. We have a very active effort to raise money in Europe and elsewhere—we have obtained some in Japan. I will touch later on our new procurement policy which bears very heavily on this matter.

We have made roughly 450 loans, for a total of $2.4 billion approximately, which help to finance projects with a total expenditure of over $6 billion. These are considerable sums. They don't equal the experience of the World Bank completely but they do represent a major element in the financing in Latin American development.

Now turning more specifically to our fields of operation, the Bank is definitely interested in financing private enterprise. The greatest part of our work in this field has been done through what we call global loans—loans to development institutions.—While I don't have the precise figure in mind, my off-hand recollection is that in global loans for industry we authorized approximately $300 million, partly out of the ordinary capital but to a very considerable extent from the Fund for Special Operations, especially in the smaller countries. I believe that from this $300 million something in the nature of 2,000 or more loans have been made to local enterprises, but that figure may include some credits under our agricultural global loans, which would add another $200 million or so to our global loan activity.

The reason that we use global loans so heavily rather than making direct loans to private industry is that in Latin America, at least, it is quite difficult to find industries which wish to borrow enough per company to make it worthwhile for us to analyze the project ourselves and to take all the necessary operative steps to effectuate the loan. But we have made a substantial number of private loans and, as I say, stand ready to make more when the opportunities arise. In one or two instances we have been associated with the IFC in such loans.

At this point I might also say that we have been closely related with ADELA. In fact, one of our people was on the organizing committee when Senator Javits gave the impulse to the idea. Once ADELA came into existence our Bank did not have any further direct organizational relationship with it, but we have loaned it $10 million on the global loan basis, which it is using throughout Latin America.

I should stress here that the Bank makes only loans. It does not have IFC's authority to go into stock operations, and this is perhaps another reason we can't be quite as active in direct loans to private enterprises as we might otherwise be, but I feel there is no urge on the part of the Bank to have its Charter expanded in this respect. In my opinion, we will keep on purely in the loan field for a number of years, if not permanently. I would like to postpone my other references to private activities though, to sketch out generally the rest of our fields of operation.

As I have already indicated, we have a very large activity in the field of social development: agricultural activities, water and sewerage, housing and community development, and higher education. We were the first international institution to go heavily into financing higher education or into housing. Eximbank had pioneered water supply to some extent but there again we have taken the lead, I think, in total amounts loaned.

Another field of important activity for us is technical assistance. In this field one of the things of particular interest to you gentlemen, probably will be that in some ten countries, I would judge, we have made so-called pre-investment loans, providing funds to local development or planning organizations which they relend to build up projects which can be presented to international or other lenders, not necessarily to our Bank by any means. This is a relatively new activity and I cannot give you any appraisal of its true effectiveness, but at least something like $40 or $50 millions is outstanding in this line of work.

Another field that we have begun to stress recently is economic integration. Of course, we do primarily deal with the lending and technical assistance side of it. But at the Punta del Este meeting of the Presidents integration was stressed and this fitted in very much with the views of our Bank's President and Boards, so that we have been devoting special attention to work in that field. One subject here that may be of interest to some of you is that the Bank is engaged in managing quite an ambitious study of telecommunication systems in South America, and I mean South America, not using it to cover all of Latin America. We have some other broad studies but not so immediately important and not so directly focused on probable future lending as the telecommunication systems one is. It is really just beginning, however, so its fruit will not be felt for two or three years.

The final field which I think would be of interest to some of you is export financing. The Bank does have what is at the present time a relatively small program for financing exports of capital goods between Latin American countries. I must confess that we have had considerable trouble to hold it down to be a program of exporting capital goods. There have been attempts to try to extend it into consumer goods, and some of our members would perhaps like to see it extended to financing exports of raw materials.

But to date it has been held to financing capital goods. Of course, it is open to use of the subsidiaries of American companies located in the countries which have loans for this purpose, which are Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and several others. The Mexicans, I believe, have made the most active effective use of the program.

Now to turn to one or two more observations about our activities in the private field before I go on to some of the new developments that are mentioned at the bottom of my outline, we have found, partly through one or two sad experiences, that if we do make a direct loan to private enterprise it is highly desirable that we have a government or bank guaranty. In our early days we made some loans on mortgage and the like but our experiences have led us not to wish to do that any more. Such guarantees are not very difficult in general to arrange. Most countries have active government development banks or sufficient developments of private banks so that the necessary guarantee can be obtained, but it does put some additional burden on the potential borrower, obviously.

Another thing I should stress is that the Bank is not in a position to make loans to subsidiaries of foreign companies. The exact explanation of this would be a little lengthy; it is found in a provision in our Charter and in the view of our Board of Executive Directors. However, we are happy to lend to joint ventures between private local capital and private foreign capital. We have had several cases of this, one being the Petrosur case in Argentina in which one of the audience participated in behalf of United States interests. We would be most happy if more proposals of that sort were presented to us, I am sure.

In general, if the corporation being financed is not a "public" corporation already, we insist that the borrower assume an obligation to put some of the shares on the market, not immediately but after a reasonable time. These clauses have not yet reached the fatal date sufficiently so that I can tell you how they work in fact, but they have been included in a great majority of our direct loans to private borrowers.

Another point is that we do not finance working capital, at least directly—I am sure that sometimes our loans have a certain effect of helping in such capital. But we don't expressly or intentionally finance working capital. Normally, too, we don't finance more than 50% of the cost of a project, at least of a private project—sometimes we go higher in the social field in dealing with governments.

In the field of new activities, we are beginning to wonder if we should not break our old rule to go into the financing of tourist facilities somewhat. This has been given some impulse by the entry of our first new member, Trinidad and Tobago. Of course, tourism is extremely important in the Caribbean and, in fact, for some of the new countries there perhaps their best major source of large foreign exchange earnings.

Well now, having given you all this background I will comment on two or three questions of policy. The Bank, in all of its funds really, except the Social Progress Trust Fund, started with a policy of procurement throughout the free world. As the balance of payments problem of the United States, which is our principal contributor of capital, particularly of capital for social loans, intensified, that country began to insist more and more on restricting procurement in order to protect its balance directly and to encourage non-member countries to provide lendable resources. In the Fund for Special Operations procurement is essentially limited to the United States and to Latin America. And in the ordinary capital we have just introduced the significant new policy that I mentioned earlier, which consists of relating eligibility for procurement on the part of capital-exporting nations to contributions of resources of the Bank. It is not difficult in concept, we simply add up all the purchases that have been made under our loans in a given country of Europe and say effective January 1 that, unless you provide finance, also cumulative, equal at least to 50% of the total, we will not allow further procurement in your country under new loans—the outstanding ones are not affected. On June 30 the percentage goes up to 100%. A number of countries are now ineligible, of which France is one. France has had about $25 million of purchases and despite an announcement that we could go into the French market we have not been able to work anything out. So there are some problem cases involved in this new policy.

The point about procurement in Latin America is interesting and important also. In relation to the balance of payments the United States has restricted, as I said, all its resources in the Special Fund except for the initial amounts which were already loaned out to procurement in the United States or in the country where the project is located, and also, when the Bank finds it to be advantageous to the borrower, in other Latin American countries. In practical fact the finding of advantage is made where the other country offers a better deal in terms of price, although there isn't a great amount of such business.

Now in order to meet the balance of payments problem further we have instituted the same practice of special letters of credit that AID has. In other words, when the dollars are made available for local currency expenditure, which we do finance to a considerable degree, naturally they have to be transferred into local currency and this is normally done through the central bank. The central bank at that point is required to agree to hold the dollars for use only in the United States; this is implemented through the special letters of credit. This does assure that the amount of the dollars is used in the United States; it does not necessarily assure so-called additionality of exports from the United States.

I might say by way of aside that one effect of the very rapid increase in our capital—we started with much smaller figures that I didn't bother you with—has been to put proposals for funds for the Bank before the United States Congress almost every year, so our activities are examined rather searchingly by the Congress. Last year the Congress adopted the Selden Amendment which requires the United States Director to present a proposal for a special system of end-use audit, or as it should be properly called, end-use examination, of the Bank's activities to be carried out by three people appointed by the Board of Directors. The Bank has not yet agreed to do this, but the consideration of it is advancing rapidly, and I personally expect that it will be approved and will be announced before our forthcoming annual meeting in Bogotá, Colombia, in late April.

The only other subject that I would like to mention is the disbursement procedures, which presumably again would be of some interest to a group like this. You would find a certain similarity, I think, in general terms, to the disbursement procedures of the World Bank and Eximbank, because we studied both. In fact, our Bank had the benefit for about six years of the services of a former Export-Import Bank director, Hawthorne Arey, who is extremely well-known in the banking world and who helped us a great deal in setting up our disbursement procedures. We will make disbursement in any reasonable way, really. The borrower can pay and ask reimbursement, it can ask us to approve a purchase contract—we don't usually exactly guarantee payment but we are morally committed to pay in such a case—or it can ask us to guarantee an ordinary letter of credit which it causes to be opened. So as I say, I think anyone familiar with the procedures of the other institutions would find our procedures similar and flexible.

I believe that this is what I would like to tell you on my own initiative. If Walter says there is time, I am very happy to answer questions. If not, Walter, I can postpone any answers to the Surrey round.

TRADE ADVANTAGES AND PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COMMON MARKET

(By George L. Christopher)

The achievements of the Central American Common Market have been impressive. New industries have sprung up under the stimulus of the expanded Common Market. The Common Market is having a marked impact on the way of life in Central America. Despite a high population growth of 3% to 4% a year since 1960, until 1967 when economic activity in the area slowed down, the per capita GNP of the area increased about 6%–7% annually. Whereas in 1960 only 6.1% of the import trade of the Central American countries originated in the area, by 1966 that percentage had tripled and had risen to 18%. Central American producers can now look to a market of 13.8 million people—somewhat larger than Peru. This represents a tremendous expansion of commercial horizons over those that existed before the Common Market was established.

The principal treaty instrument of the CACM is the General Treaty of Central American Economic Integration, which was signed in Managua on December 13, 1960. This treaty largely superseded the prior Multilateral Treaty of 1958, which itself had been designed to take precedence over a patchwork of bilateral treaties negotiated during the fifties by the Central American countries as the integration movement gained momentum.

INTERNAL TARIFFS

The General Treaty stipulated a "negative" list of goods that were still to be restricted in trade within the area, whereas previous treaties had stipulated "positive" lists of good in which free trade was to be permitted. Thus the Common Market was established with the sweeping removal of trade restrictions on 95% of all goods, either upon the treaty becoming operative or within five years, which five-year period ended in June, 1966, so that today less than five percent of the items traded in the area are subject to tariff.

The privilege of free trade is conditioned by Article V of the General Treaty to the use of a special customs form certifying that the traded product originated in a member country. The executive Council, a principal organ to the CACM, is authorized to decide disputes regarding origin and is directed by the General Treaty "not to consider goods as having originated in one of the contracting states if they originate or are manufactured in a third country and are simply assembled, packed, bottled, cut or diluted in the exporter country." Provision is made for the posting of a bond for the applicable duty in cases where the origin of a product is in dispute. Proof of Central American origin has presented a continuing problem in day to day customs administration.

As to those items still traded under tariff restrictions within the Common Market, in some cases all the Common Market countries apply the restrictions. In other cases, the restrictions may be between only one or two pairs of countries. Thus, wheat remains subject to restrictions throughout Central America, while cheese is subject to restrictions only in trade between Nicaragua and Honduras.

The General Treaty has attempted to establish certain initial ground rules on the imposition of production, sales and consumption taxes on goods subject to trade among the Common Market Members. The purpose of these rules is to prevent the member countries from using internal taxes as disguised import duties.

In many respects, the Common Market is at a threshold position. There seems no doubt that clarification of the meaning of the rules intended to be imposed under the General Treaty and the better supervision of the application of those rules are needed. And the problem may well become more urgent within the next few years because Central American countries are now attempting unilaterally to derive increased revenues from excise taxes as the revenues for import duties have declined in response to the requirements of the regional development programs and are attempting to counteract a recent adverse imbalance in the balance of payments of member countries. This has become a matter for study among the Common Market Members and is likely to be a continuing problem in the years ahead.

COMMON EXTERNAL TARIFFS

Well advanced toward completion, as a counterpart to the free trade among Common Market countries, is the schedule of uniform external tariffs. Agreement has been reached on common rates on all but twenty-six of the items on the common tariff schedule of the Common Market and those items account for only 2% of the area's imports from abroad, (representing 20% to 25% by value of trade).

The actual establishment of uniform rates among the Central American countries began with the signature of the Central American Convention of the Equalization of Import Tariffs on September 1, 1959. This treaty established common rates on a large number of items and listed in an annex items on which specified uniform rates were to be reached through adjustments over a five-year period. This treaty was followed by eight protocols which added items to those on which the common rates would apply over succeeding five year periods. The five-year period has ended for the basic treaty and most protocols. Common rates will become effective under two other protocols in 1969 and two additional protocols have been negotiated but have not yet been ratified by the member countries.

Naturally, the 1959 Convention established common rates on items on which agreement was easiest. These tended to be consumer items not produced in Central America and not of great importance as sources of revenue, items produced in most member countries on which there was general agreement of the need for protection against competition from abroad and items on which national tariffs were reasonably close together.

The items on which there is not agreement reflect a number of different types of problems. In some cases it has not been possible to reconcile the interests of countries producing certain products with those which do not produce them. Thus, Guatemala grows wheat but the other countries do not. Therefore, Guatemala has sought much more protection for wheat than have the others.

Petroleum products present major problems because each country wishes to have its own refining capacity and each derives considerable revenues from taxes on sales of petroleum products. Under the stimulus of existing rate structure, each country with the exception of Honduras has its own refinery. When the proposed establishment of a refinery in Honduras is accomplished, common external rates may then be negotiated, even though prospects for the establishment of internal free trade in petroleum products are dim, each country will wish to protect its own refining capacity.

The remaining items on which common rates have not been agreed are automobiles, trucks, refrigerators, radios, other electronic equipment, and parts for all of those. It is probably that common rates will not be fixed on these until agreement is reached on the establishment of assembly industries in the area.

The present system by which the five governments agree upon a uniform import duty is slow. In the case of items not presently covered, the members can be expected to resist any changes to the present procedures which require legislative action by the members. The difficulties with this system are particularly evident in cases where uniform tariffs have been agreed to. By the time a particular rate takes effect, it may no longer be appropriate in view of the purposes for which it was sought or in view of current economic conditions. Recognizing this, in November of this past year the member countries met in Managua and recommended that there be delegated tariff adjusting authority to the CACM Economic Council within a framework of minimum and maximum limits. The proposal contemplates authority being given to alter tariff rates in order to solve problems of industrial development, commercial policy, balance of payments and consumer protection. The adjustment of tariffs for fiscal reasons would still require legislative approval from each member country. Such a system could of course represent a major improvement that could be very helpful to investors in CACM.

The principal Common Market organizations are the following:

1. The Economic Council
2. The Executive Council
3. The Permanent Secretariat for Central American Economic Integration—SIECA
4. The Central American Bank for Economic Integration—CABEI
5. The Central American Institute for Industrial Research and Technology—ICAITI
6. The Central American Committee on Economic Cooperation, and
7. The Central American Joint Planning Mission

The General Treaty provides that the Executive Council is "to direct the integration of Central American economies and coordinate the economic policy of the Contracting States." However, in practice, the Economic Council acts as the primary policy making body of the Common Market. SIECA, the Secretariat, is clearly subordinate to the Economic Council and the Executive Council, serving as the permanent secretariat for both organizations.

One might expect more confusion than progress from the separate organizations, but in practice they have worked quite closely together.

The Economic Council meets several times a year and the Executive Council meets more frequently. In practice the Executive Council does a great deal of the work preliminary to consideration of a matter by the Economic Council.

Article 26 of the General Treaty provides that if agreement cannot be reached on any differences arising in the interpretation or application of any of the clauses of the treaties, the matter is to be resolved by arbitration.

DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

I would now like to discuss the second type of activity that has gone into the development of the Common Market. The first, as I have discussed, was the creation of a free trade area by the removal of barriers to the internal trade in goods of Central American origin and by unification of the external tariffs of the five member countries.

The second type of activities—so called developmental type of activities—has been the efforts to strengthen the infrastructure of the area and to stimulate new industries and agricultural operations and the expansion of existing ones. Now that the work on the first aspect of the Common Market is almost finished, or at least substantially advanced, the members may concentrate their efforts on this second type of operation. This will involve the already active Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI), the system of integration industries, the special system for the promotion of internal production by imposing higher external tariffs and the harmonizing of investment incentives. It may also involve the creation of new treaty instruments, such as a treaty to promote the development of assembly industries in the Common Market.

INTEGRATION INDUSTRIES

The system of integration industries was adopted at an early time in the integration movement. Although its expectations were that it would provide the driving force for industrialization in Central America, its achievements to date have been limited and controversial and its future is in doubt.

This system recognized the relatively small size of the Central American Market and reflected the belief that there are industries which could be developed in the area to supply the whole or a significant part of the Common Market, but which could not produce economically on a smaller scale.

In order to encourage the development of these industries, the selected plants were to enjoy free trade for their products throughout Central America and were to be given a monopolistic position, as external goods would face common external tariffs designed to afford adequate protection to the integration industry and any competitors within the Common Market would face internal Common Market tariffs.

To date there is only one plant operating under the integration system, a tire plant in Guatemala, and interestingly enough a new tire plant, not receiving the benefits of an integration industry, has been recently established in Costa Rica. Despite the fact that the protocol designating the Guatemalan plant as an integration industry expressly provided for the designation of a second tire plant in another member country at a later date, the Firestone plant in Costa Rica chose not to seek designation for integration status.

Caustic soda and insecticide plants have been designated for integration status in Nicaragua and are expected to commence operations in 1969. A plate glass plant has been designated for Honduras in a protocol not yet ratified. Further Honduras has not ratified the protocols covering the tire, caustic soda and insecticide plants and therefore the benefits of the system are not extended to those products in Honduras.

Because of their monopolistic position, integrated industries are made subject to special requirements and restrictions. These restrictions (and the procedures that must be followed to achieve integrated industry status) are a major reason for the small number of applications filed to date. Among the requirements and restrictions are the following:

1. The protocols will require that specified percentages of the capital be offered to Central American investors. In the case of the tire plant, a majority of the firms equity capital was of Central American origin; in that case the protocol stipulated that in any future increase in equity capital, a majority of the new issue must be first offered for a period of 180 days to Central American investors. In the caustic soda and insecticides plants provision is made that 40% of the equity participation must be offered to Central American investors for a 180-day period. In the second protocol dealing with the plate glass plant Central American participation is fixed at 60%.

2. The plants must have specified minimum initial capacity so that it will be able to meet the needs of the entire Common Market. The protocols will specify that if the integration industry is unable to supply the Common Market, the Executive

Council is authorized to permit imports of sufficient quantities to meet the needs of the Common Market.

3. The Protocol on the Caustic Soda and Insecticide Plant fixes maximum prices at which the products can be sold, subject to modification by the Executive Council as a result of changes in cost and production. The selling price of tires and tubes is fixed at the "lowest list price in effect in any of the contracting countries as of December 1, 1962". A good example of the problems likely to arise is reflected in the approach taken with the tire plant. In establishing prices for the tires, SIECA examined the various prices at which imported tires were being sold. SIECA then developed a list price for some 300 sizes and styles of tires and some 15 tubes. Although this might have been a reasonable starting point, it certainly had no relationship to the cost of producing tires in Central America. The resulting problems are not aided by the fact that SIECA does not have the accounting staff to check a company's books and records to determine whether a company is making a reasonable profit, an excessive profit or no profit.

The Protocols also concern themselves with maintaining satisfactory standards of quality for the products concerned. If the standards are not met, the Executive Council is authorized to determine the measures that it should take, including the authorization of imports at special low tariff rates. In the case of the tire plant, the Common Market turned to the United States Bureau of Standards in order to determine whether quality provisions were met. How this will be determined in the future remains to be seen since the Bureau has stated that it cannot continue to test tires.

Other requirements and standards are posed, which are designed to offset the monopolistic position of an integration industry. How these will be administered and whether they will be administered in a manner to permit integration industries to operate efficiently and outside of the political arena, remains to be seen.

Equally discouraging to a new investor seeking to obtain integration status is the procedure that must be followed. An estimate of from three to five years from the time a company decides to seek integration status until, if successful, it obtains it is in line with past experience. Then of course there is also the distinct possibility that several years of negotiating and waiting might lead only to rejection.

The procedure involves an application be made to SIECA, which when satisfied that the application is adequately documented presents it to the Executive Council, which then asks for technical studies. When the Executive Council approves the application, a protocol is prepared and submitted to the Economic Council. Upon approval of the protocol by the Economic Council, it then goes to the Central American legislatures for ratification.

There have been proposals made to simplify the procedures for implementing the integration system. The proposals contemplate the prior approval in principal of industries for integration status and the hastening of the preparation of the supporting technical studies. More important the proposals have suggested that the Economic Council be authorized to designate integration industries without the necessity of legislative ratification.

It appears unlikely however that the member countries will agree to waive their rights to designate new industries. The other problem, the regulations and restrictions imposed upon integration industries, is likely to continue since it appears unlikely that a workable substitute method will be developed which will satisfy the member countries in view of the monopolistic character of the integration industries. In light of these problems, the future of the integration industry system is in doubt.

Special System. The first protocol which designated the tire, caustic soda and insecticide plants as integration industries also established a Special System status for industry. This Special System status has been viewed as a possible substitute for the system of intergration industries. The theory is that industries not existing in the Common Market may be selected to receive the benefit of increased protective tariffs at such time as plants are established in the Common Market capable of meeting at least 50% of the regional demand. SIECA, the Permanent Secretariat, is to determine when such production level is reached, and upon written notification to the member governments, the higher protection tariffs automatically are to take effect. The difference from the integrated industries system is that no legal monopolies are established since there is no limitation on the establishment of competing plants. Consequently there are no price or quality controls or other restrictions.

The initial potocol listed 7 items which are to have the benefit of this Special System. Additional products are to be added through additional protocols. Certain protective measures however are anticipated. Thus, the initial protocol provides that the Executive Council shall maintain "strict vigilance" over prices of articles covered by the Special System and when it is shown that such prices are unnecessarily high in relation to normal market prices for similar products, the Executive Council may authorize imports under the lower tariffs that would otherwise have been paid if the article had not fallen under the Special System.

Although the Special System approach is likely to be much more easier to administer than the integrated industry system, there are many important and complicated problems that are going to have to be worked out. The judgment of how adequately the Central America plants are supplying the market is one such problem. Will the market be judged on the basis of the present market or the projected market upon the imposition of the higher tariffs? Questions no doubt will also arise whether the local product is indeed the same as that being imported and whether it will be available in the same range of sizes and types.

Convention on Fiscal Incentives. Scheduled to become effective for the past several years —and once again in 1968 is predicted as the year—is the Convention on Fiscal Incentives. This Convention is thought of at the present time as a means of restricting competition among the Central American states in attracting new industries. The Convention is designed to replace the fiscal incentives laws presently in effect in the member countries.

The Convention establishes three general classifications of groups of industry:

Group A. Those industries producing industrial raw materials, capital goods, and, if using up to 50% of Central American raw materials, industries producing consumer goods, containers or semi-manufactured products.

Group B. Those industries which produce other consumer goods, containers or semi-manufactured products and which "produce important net benefits in the balance of payments and a high added value in the industrial process".

Group C. Other industries including assembling and packaging operations.

The general classifications are further divided into categories of "new" or "existing" types of industries. Under the Convention, a new producer in Group A receives the maximum benefits provided under the Convention.

A new industry is one which manufactures articles not produced in the country or produced in the country by rudimentary manufacturing methods. In the latter case the new company must fill unsatisfied demand and introduce radically different technical manufacturing processes.

In the classification of an industry as new, the Convention takes into consideration the balanced economic development of the Common Market. Thus an industry is more likely to be new in the less developed of the Common Market countries, than in the more developed Common Market countries. Under the Convention, however, the test of newness is altered after the Convention has been in force for seven years; after the seven-year point an industry will be considered to be new only if it does not exist in Central America, not whether it exists in the country in which the plant is to be built.

A company classified as new under the Group A classification will receive the following maximum benefits:

(i) Ten years' exemption from import duties on the importation of machinery and equipment.

(ii) Exemption from import duties on raw materials, semi-manufactured products and containers as follows: 100% during the first five years; 60% during the next three years; and 40% during the next two years.

(iii) Five years' exemption from import duties on fuels, not including however gasoline.

(iv) Eight years' exemption from income taxes.

(v) Ten years' exemption from property and capital taxes.

The benefits granted become progressively less as a company moves from group and from the new to existing category.

The Convention anticipates problems of monopolization by assuring new companies benefits corresponding to those possessed by an existing company. Further, existing companies are given the same benefits that may be afforded to new companies under the Convention, upon a finding of the Executive Council that competitive relationships would otherwise be adversely affected.

The procedures for obtaining benefits under the Convention involve the filing of an application with the Administrative Authority in the country in which the plant is to be constructed, publication in all member countries and the submission of the necessary economic and technical studies. The member country is authorized to issue then an agreement or decree establishing the classification for the new company, thereby affording it with the benefits contemplated by the Convention. Under Article 28 of the Convention, if a member country believes that a company in another country has been wrongly classified, a right of appeal to the Executive Council exists. The Convention gives the Executive Council the right of final determination in such a case.

The Convention has been delayed because Honduras has insisted upon the right to grant greater benefits to industries locating in Honduras. A so-called Honduran protocol has now been agreed upon which provides such greater benefits and, accordingly, the Convention is expected to become effective sometime this year.

In conclusion, of course any business activity in Central America will require consulting the local laws which continue to govern such important matters of taxation, permissible forms of corporate organization, exchange controls, rights of labor and investment incentives.

THE FOREIGN CREDIT INSURANCE ASSOCIATION INSURANCE PROGRAM

(By Paul Garrigue, Jr.)

INTRODUCTION

I would like to express my appreciation to Dean Lewis and Dean Benitez and their associates at the Law Center of the University of Miami for the privilege of being invited to give this lecture. Listening to the speeches which have been given, I have been very impressed with the excellence of this institute.

Almost everybody is aware at the present time of our country's balance of payments problems and the importance of making improvements in this situation. On New Year's day President Johnson announced an extensive program for improving the balance of payments deficit and he outlined several areas for attention, one of which was export credit insurance. Although the U.S. had a deficit in its balance of payments in 1967 of approximately 3.6 billion dollars, we have had a surplus in our balance of trade for many years. We export more than we import and this was true to the extent of a trade surplus of approximately 7 billion dollars in 1964. This surplus shrank to 3½ to 4 billion dollars (depending on the source consulted) last year and there have been some predictions of a further shrinkage for 1968.

One of the easiest and most direct ways in which the U.S. balance of payments can be improved is by an increase in exports. In 1967 total world exports were approximately 200 billion dollars with the U.S. portion of this being about 31 billion dollars. The fact that our exports in 1959 were 19 billion dollars shows the strong growth we have experienced. When the Foreign Credit Insurance Association (FCIA) program began in 1962, its purpose was to assist U.S. firms to increase their exports. Although many U.S. exporters still demand cash on the barrelhead from their foreign buyers, this cannot be recommended as an aggressive approach to increased export sales.

One nationally known manufacturer told me a few weeks ago that his company has been asked for credit terms by foreign dealers and buyers for a long period of time. He told me that these requests have been so frequent and insistent over the recent months that he feels it will not be possible to ignore these requests for much longer. This situation, rather than being an exception, is quite typical among U.S. manufacturers. In many cases a failure to give credit terms will result in a lost export sale. With the proper use of FCIA insurance, American firms can strive vigorously for more export business on a completely protected basis.

Although FCIA commenced operations just over 6 years ago, there is still a great lack of information and misinformation about this program. Some exporters have learned to use FCIA effectively but many U.S. firms have not as yet become involved with the program. Because this audience is very knowledgeable about international trade and finance, I plan to give a certain amount of information about the organization of FCIA, how it operates and how exporters can use it effectively but I would like to concentrate particularly on the problems FCIA is encountering and the progress being made.

As a brief explanation of the function of our firm in this field, Intercredit Agency, which is a division of Parker & Co. International, is an insurance broker specializing completely in FCIA insurance. Our company produces about 25% of FCIA's total volume and we are understood to handle more FCIA business than any other firm in the country. We feel that our activities are more closely aligned with the fields of international trade and finance than with insurance. Our clients export everything from airplanes, earth moving equipment and textile machinery to electronic parts, paper and hides and skins. Our function is to advise our exporter clients and assist them in every way possible to get the maximum benefit from the use of FCIA insurance. We place great emphasis upon obtaining prompt and efficient service for our clients.

Intercredit Agency was a pioneer in the field of export credit insurance in the United States. From 1958 until 1962 Intercredit Agency operated a commercial risk only export credit insurance program. Because the policy covered only the actual bankruptcy of the foreign buyer, this program had only limited success. In 1959 I spent 4 months in England studying how export credit insurance is handled in that country and I found this to be a very enlightening experience. Intercredit Agency was closely involved in the negotiations in 1961 which led to the formation of FCIA.

In 1963, for our activities in this field, we were given the President's "E" Award for contributions to the export expansion program of the United States.

HISTORY OF EXPORT CREDIT INSURANCE INTERNATIONALLY

Although this country had only limited export credit insurance facilities available until FCIA commenced operations in 1962, many of the trading nations have had good programs available for many years. The Export Credit Guarantee Department in England has operated for more than 40 years and the programs in France, Germany and Holland have also been in existence for many years. Therefore, we are forced to take a back seat in the area of experience when compared to most of the other countries which are active in world trade.

The export credit insurance program of ECDG in England is a completely governmental operation whereas in some countries there is a combination of private and governmental control and this is the way the FCIA is operated. It is natural that the private sector is not prepared to underwrite political risk losses.

Most of the programs in other countries, particularly in Europe, have had very good success in assisting their exporters. The programs operate very efficiently with prompt replies to all requests, in some cases within 48 hours of submission. A very well run operation is necessary in order to give this type of service. There is an international association of export credit insurance organizations and this is the Berne Union. Most of the major exporting nations belong to the Berne Union but at last report Japan was not a member. This group is quite informal with frequent meetings in different parts of the world. The purpose of the Berne Union is basically to attempt to keep the terms and conditions of cases approved in different countries in a generally similar mold. FCIA will frequently send a cable to one of the other member countries to check whether certain terms are being made available by that country's program. In one case, for one of our large fertilizer clients, FCIA cabled one of their European counterparts and learned that 270 day terms were being approved in that country for sales of fertilizer to Argentina. Although the normal maximum terms for this type of sale would be 180 days, FCIA immediately gave our client permission to ship on 270 day terms. The hope is that by informal discussion, members of the Berne Union will be able to avoid a race for long credit terms.

Although the U.S. is a huge exporter, exporting for this country in the past has not been an absolute necessity. Our exports are in the neighborhood of 4% of our gross national product and this is a very small percentage compared to many other nations. Because of this lack of emphasis on exporting and because companies in this country have tended to keep their exports on a cash in advance or letter of credit basis, our export credit insurance program was developed very recently. Therefore, we have a lot of catching up to do to bring our program to a point where it is equal to the programs of most other countries. However, two of our strongest points in this country have been our ingenuity and our willingness to work hard and if we can apply these two qualities to our export credit insurance program, we should soon have facilities which will be the equal of any other country.

FCIA—ITS ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION

As noted earlier, FCIA opened its doors for business in February 1962. FCIA is an association of private insurance companies which, in partnership with the Export Import Bank of Washington, an autonomous agency of the U.S. Government, provides export credit insurance for U.S. companies. When this program was being set up in 1961, the United States Government urged the private sector to take part in this program. Although there were only a few insurance companies as members of FCIA at the beginning, this number has now grown to about 70 and more companies can join at any time upon meeting certain straightforward standards. Under the regular comprehensive coverage, Eximbank assumes the full political risk and, in excess of certain limits, shares the commercial credit risk with FCIA. The policy itself speaks of the Companies paying certain losses and the Eximbank paying other losses.

There are two basic programs under FCIA and these are short term and medium term. All sales on credit terms of up to 180 days are considered short term and sales where the terms are from 181 days up to 5 and in some cases up to 7 years are considered medium term.

The products of course differ under the two programs and, generally speaking, products which are consumed rapidly come under short term coverage whereas capital goods equipment falls under medium term. Under short term the debt is evidenced by drafts or sometimes open account terms whereas under medium term the normal requirement is a promissory note with drafts being used in exceptional cases. Under short term the exporter is expected to cover all or a fair spread of his credit sales whereas medium term coverage is handled on a case by case basis.

These two programs are further divided into two types of policies. The first is the comprehensive policy which gives coverage against political risk, bankruptcy and also failure on the part of the foreign buyer to make payment. This comprehensive policy gives very broad protection and is therefore an excellent aid to financing for the exporter. The premium cost is higher on this type of policy. The rates range between 18¢ and $2.14 per hundred dollars of gross invoice value for short term and between 46¢ and $6.62 per hundred dollars of the financed portion for medium term.

The other type of policy covers only political risk. This policy was not available when FCIA began operations but it was developed sometime later in response to requests from exporters. This policy does not cover bankruptcy or the failure of the buyer to pay and there is therefore no credit evaluation of the buyer necessary. However, this policy gives seriously limited protection in many ways. For instance, a foreign buyer might become bankrupt due to a political occurrence in his country but, depending on the circumstances, this loss would probably not be covered by the policy because it would be considered a commercial risk loss. Generally speaking, the rates for political risk only coverage are about two-thirds of the comprehensive policy rates. It would appear that the political risk only policy was purposely made limited in its coverage and expensive so that it would not appeal to most exporters. At last report, comprehensive coverage is used about 10 times as frequently as political risk only coverage. One reason for this is that commercial banks are normally not prepared to give financing based on a political risk only policy.

A rate which an FCIA insured exporter pays under his policy is based on two factors. One is the ranking of the country of destination and the other is the length of credit terms extended. Originally FCIA ranked all the eligible countries of the world as A, B or C. Later a D classification was added and, under medium term, a further refinement was made and the original three groupings have been expanded to eight. These rankings are made in Washington and they are revised on a continuous basis based on the political and economic situation in each country. For instance, Argentina and Brazil were improved in the rankings within the last few months.

This area of ranking is somewhat sensitive because no country likes to think of itself as being listed as D by FCIA. The only other factor presently used in rating is the length of the credit terms which can be from a few days up to 7 years. Under the short term program FCIA gives three different rate schedules and in this way a third factor in premium development is used, but this is a relatively minor factor and it applies only to short term.

I believe that an improvement in the FCIA program would be to use some additional factors in developing the rate to be paid. Possible additional factors would be the product involved, the type of buyer and the experience of both the exporter and his field. When firms are shipping hides and skins to a large tannery or soybeans to a mill, they should not have to pay the same rates as other exporters who are shipping ball-point pens to corner drugstores or fresh fruits and vegetables to grocery stores. However, generally speaking, this is just what happens under FCIA at the present time.

FCIA premium rates have been reduced 2 or 3 times since 1962 and this has been very helpful. Many exporters, particularly under medium term, find the premium rates quite reasonable and the premium is normally passed on to the foreign buyer in many fields. However, particularly under short term in such fields as cotton, grain, pulp and coal, the premium rates are just too high. The rate may equal or surpass the profit margin of the exporter and insuring with FCIA will therefore be out of the question.

Perhaps the most important area of FCIA's operations is its underwriting department where the decisions are made whether to approve an application or to reject it. FCIA has about 65 employees overall and about 15 of these are the underwriters who make the credit judgments. FCIA could make good use of twice as many underwriters just to service the business that is coming to them now. The exporter, when he applies to FCIA, sends in different credit reports and for the larger cases financial statements as well. One underwriter makes an analysis of the case and then he takes it to a small committee meeting. The final FCIA decision is made by this committee and the exporter then has his official answer unless the case is very large or a C or D country is involved and in that case Eximbank makes a decision as to whether to approve or reverse FCIA's decision. Sometimes a case can be turned down but if it can be strengthened by the addition of a guarantor or a large increase in the down payment, an approval can then be obtained. When exporters and their representatives disagree with the decision of the underwriters, it is always possible for a discussion meeting to be arranged. Sometimes such meetings, because of additional information coming to the attention of the underwriters or new approaches being worked out, will result in a reversal of the original decision. In some instances, the foreign buyer will attend such a meeting also. This is the type of eyeball to eyeball confrontation between the foreign buyer and the underwriters which can be very useful to gaining an approval of a sale.

An exporter with a short term policy agrees to cover all or most of his eligible sales for a one year period. He has two types of limits under his policy. The discretionary limit which usually ranges between $500.00 and $15,000 means that the exporter does not need FCIA's approval of his buyer but if he suffers a loss he must justify to FCIA with credit reports obtained before shipment that he showed discretion in making the sale. If the sale is larger than the amount of the discretionary limit, the exporter applies for a special credit limit and he gives FCIA either credit information or a $10.00 fee. The approved special limit is endorsed to the policy and remains in force as long as the buyer's credit rating warrants it. The short term policyholder reports his shipments and pays premium on these shipments each month. Each year his policy is renewed on a fairly automatic basis but if his loss experience is poor, FCIA may increase his uninsured retention on the commercial risk from the normal 10% to 40 or 50%. Also, if he doesn't already have the one of the three rate schedules with the highest rates, FCIA may assign this to his policy. As a general rule of thumb, FCIA short term comprehensive insurance costs about ½ of 1% on sales. Therefore, an export volume on credit of one million dollars would mean the exporter would have to pay FCIA premium of $5,000.

A TYPICAL MEDIUM TERM CASE FOR A SALE TO LATIN AMERICA

As an example, I believe it would be useful to outline a case which is typical of the type which FCIA handles for U.S. exporters of capital goods equipment.

For the sake of discussion, the buyer might be a firm in a Latin American country which is ranked B by the FCIA. He wishes to purchase $250,000 worth of equipment from a U.S. firm on 5-year repayment terms. A normal arrangement would be for the purchaser to make a 20% cash down payment before the machinery is shipped and in many cases this would consist of 10% with order and a further 10% at the time of shipment. The Latin American buyer will use the machinery to earn income with which to repay the U.S. seller over the 5-year period. Therefore, instead of a country to country loan situation we have a completely commercial sale arranged between private companies in different countries. The buyer would sign promissory notes in a form acceptable to FCIA and these would normally provide for payment in 10 equal semi-annual installments with an interest rate of perhaps 7½%. The interest would be payable on the declining balance with each semi-annual installment. The down payment requirement can often be 15% or even 10% in countries which are sound economically and politically.

The U.S. exporter would complete an application and accompany it with mercantile credit agency and commercial bank reports and in this case, because of the size of the sale, financial statements for the most recent 3 years would be required. The exporter can purchase FCIA insurance on both a post-shipment and a pre-shipment basis. The latter would give protection against a loss brought about by a political disturbance in the buyer's country or a bankruptcy type of situation for the buyer itself before shipment could be made. This pre-shipment coverage is normally used when the equipment is being specially prepared for one buyer's particular use and when there is a considerable period of time needed for manufacture. With a preshipment loss, the equipment would still be in the hands of the exporter so the loss would usually consist of selling equipment to a different purchaser. However, if the equipment is of a very specialized nature, it might be impossible to find another buyer for it.

Upon receipt of the completed application, the FCIA underwriters would make a thorough financial analysis and evaluation of the case. Then, if the underwriters felt the buyer was a good credit risk and the terms were in order, FCIA would approve the case and issue a commitment which would be changed into a policy upon payment of the premium. In this case which we are using as an example, the down payment would be $50,000 and the financed portion would be $200,000. The rate for 5 years to a B country is $2.52 per hundred dollars of the financed portion and this would give a total premium for the 5 year period of $5,040. Coverage under medium term policies is usually for 90% of the outstanding balance but in some cases coverage will be for 80% or 70% if the country of destination is considered by FCIA to be a risky area. This is true for a number of C and D countries. The exporter is therefore exposed to between 10% and 30% of the outstanding balance. This system of an increased uninsured retention for the exporter is used by FCIA and Eximbank at least partially as a means of discouraging sales to high risk countries.

When the exporter has his FCIA policy and his signed promissory notes, he will assign this policy to a commercial bank which will buy his receivable from him. Usually, the commercial bank will finance 90% of the amount owing without recourse to the exporter and the 10% uninsured portion would be financed with recourse. In some cases it is also possible for the exporter to sell the 10% uninsured portion to the bank without recourse.

One of the advantages of this type of case for the buyer is that in one sense what he is doing is arranging to borrow money in this country at U.S. interest rates which are usually quite a bit lower than the interest rates prevailing in his country. The exporter can expect to sell his FCIA insured promisory notes to U.S. commercial banks at rates of anywhere between ¾ of 1% and 2½% above the prime rate. One of our clients has an arrangement with a commercial bank to sell all FCIA insured receivables at a rate of ½ of 1% over prime.

The cost of the FCIA premium is almost always passed on to the foreign buyer under medium term. One way this is handled is by having the buyer pay the fee along with his down payment. The other two usual ways are having the FCIA fee included as part of the price of the equipment or putting the FCIA premium in the interest rate charge. Some exporters who are using FCIA insurance will prefer to handle all their FCIA insured cases with one commercial bank whereas other firms offer these insured receivables to 2 or 3 different banks to see where the best arrangement will be available. In line with Professor Mentschikoff's remarks about commercial banks, there appears presently to be a trend of a shifting from huge banks in huge cities to somewhat smaller banks in cities such as Miami, Atlanta, Memphis, Pittsburgh and Boston for FCIA insured cases. Two of our good clients, one in Pennsylvania and one in Arkansas have shifted their international banking business from large New York City banks to banks in Pittsburgh and Memphis, respectively. I feel this is a healthy trend because its spreads international banking functions to all parts of the country.

As a rule of thumb, FCIA requires that the amount of the sale be $150,000 or more for there to be 5 year credit terms granted and from $75,000 to $149,000 for 4 year terms to be acceptable. Any case of $20,000 or more will normally warrant 3 year terms. There will sometimes be exceptional cases where this rule of thumb will not apply.

I think it can be seen that the type of sale I have just described can be a convenient and attractive arrangement for both the U.S. seller and the buyer in Latin America. When the country is sound, the buyer is well financed and the U.S. firm is familiar with FCIA coverage and commercial bank financing, cases can be handled smoothly and all parties to the arrangement will be satisfied with the sale. A U.S. machinery manufacturer who has never before given credit on an export sale can, by the use of FCIA insurance, now give terms overseas without fearing a loss and without tying up his working capital.

FCIA'S BEGINNING—SOME PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

When it opened for business in 1962 FCIA was completely unprepared to meet the needs of U.S. exporters. There were about half a dozen employees at the beginning and many exporters were eager to obtain coverage immediately. The FCIA staff has increased about tenfold since the beginning but in 1962 it was very difficult to find the right people to staff this new undertaking. There were obviously no individuals who had had experience in underwriting export credit insurance risks unless these people were found in other countries. Efforts were made to find individuals with credit, banking and world trade experience and some success was experienced. However, there was a high turnover at FCIA during its early years. FCIA people are continually exposed to exporters, bankers and insurance representatives and they are therefore in a good position to receive job offers. In retrospect it would have been preferable if FCIA had not opened their doors for business until perhaps July of 1962 so that adequate staff could have been recruited and trained in the meantime.

One of FCIA's most difficult problems at first was the failure to carefully check out each exporter who applied for a policy. Many of the original FCIA policyholders were very inexperienced in the export field and in some cases they were dishonest. Some very inexperienced firms felt that FCIA was some sort of a giveway program and one exporter, after obtaining a short term policy, sent a form letter to hundreds of foreign buyers offering them very liberal credit terms.

FCIA has worked from the beginning to give good coverage and good service to inexperienced and small exporters. However, FCIA can often service an exporter with a 10 million dollar volume just as easily as one with a $200,000 volume. Many export firms provided FCIA with small premiums but some very heavy losses due to inexperience and other factors. At the beginning of its operations FCIA had considerable difficulty coordinating with its partner Eximbank. The short term program was brand new to the staffs of both Eximbank and FCIA. The difficulty of this coordination was increased by having FCIA located in New York and Eximbank in Washington. The FCIA medium term program began in July of 1962 and the people at Eximbank were already familiar with this type of program. However, the whole field was so new to all the FCIA staff that effective coordination between New York and Washington was practically impossible.

One further problem was the lack of knowledgeable insurance brokers and agents in this field. Many of these insurance firms had very few potential policyholders for export credit insurance and it was not practical for them to become knowledgeable in this new field. Also the field proved to be a rapidly changing one and this meant that a considerable amount of keeping up to date was required to do a proper job. Furthermore, the commission income to an agent or broker is relatively low in this field when compared to other forms of insurance.

A number of the above problems have been solved since 1962. Quite a number of FCIA's staff members now have several years' experience and the new administration which took control of FCIA last July 1 has made a great improvement in morale with a consequent reduction in turnover of employees. FCIA has considerably improved itself in the area of obtaining personnel by increasing its salary levels and giving its people more authority to make decisions.

To solve another of their original problems FCIA now closely investigates new applicants for coverage. The policies are hand tailored to give inexperienced exporters very little discretion to act on their own. Also FCIA has learned that certain products have given very high losses—some of these are paper, fresh foods, auto parts and textile piece goods—and exporters in these fields are now closely controlled. As noted earlier, if an exporter has a large number of claims paid, his coverage will often be reduced from the usual 90% to 50 or 60% coverage for commercial risks and he can also be given a rate schedule with higher rates.

FCIA's coordination with Eximbank has greatly improved over the years. The underwriters at FCIA are now authorized to approve more cases without referring to Eximbank. On November 1, Reginald Denton joined the staff of FCIA as a Vice President after a background at both Eximbank and a commercial bank. His presence at FCIA has already been very helpful to the overall coordination between the two partners. FCIA's presentations to Eximbank are now much improved and this means it is only infrequently necessary for Eximbank to go back to FCIA for further information.

A few insurance brokers and agents have taken an interest in this new type of insurance and it is hoped this will happen more frequently in the future. Once an insurance representative finds that this field can be profitable to him, he will make efforts to keep himself knowledgeable.

FCIA'S MOST PRESSING PROBLEMS AT PRESENT

I think it can be seen from the foregoing that it is by no means an easy task to start from scratch and set up an export credit insurance program which will serve the needs of a country as large and diverse as ours. Truly remarkable progress has been made by FCIA since it opened its doors to receive business in early 1962. However, there are still a number of problem areas for FCIA and I believe six of these areas pose the greatest difficulties at the present time.

FCIA's present staff of approximately 65 people is still considerably too small. Due to a very heavy workload at FCIA, the underwriters are working evenings and weekends, and this situation will be aggravated by the increasing amount of business being submitted to FCIA at the present time. Commercial banks making loan request decisions which are quite similar to FCIA's evaluations have much larger staffs for a similar amount of work. The British equivalent of FCIA has a staff many times the size of FCIA, although British exports are much smaller than those of the U.S.

Another problem area for FCIA is the fact that there are inadequate sources of credit information available in the U.S. FCIA of course cannot make a proper evaluation of an application until good credit information is obtained. As noted earlier, FCIA under short term charges $10.00 per buyer to obtain credit reports. One of our clients has recently suggested that because this $10.00 cannot cover the cost of obtaining reports and keeping these reports up to date, higher charges should be used. This client has suggested a $25.00 charge for FCIA obtaining credit reports in a normal manner and $50.00 for doing this service on a special rush basis. It will often take an American exporter several weeks to obtain credit reports from his commercial banks and mercentile credit agency. This greatly slows down the progress of the case and this slowdown can lead to lost export sales. One possible way of improving this situation would be to have our embassies in foreign countries obtain information on foreign buyers for the FCIA. This would have to be done on a very efficient basis and would really mean a separate staff at each embassy to do this work. Some of the export credit insurance programs in other countries have used this system successfully.

Also, it seems to me that our banks and credit agencies could improve their service to the export community. The World Trade Directory reports of the Department of Commerce normally give good full information but usually the exporter must wait a long time between ordering and receiving these reports. These WTD reports cost $2.00 each and I know that exporters would be willing to pay more if the reports could be available promptly.

Another area of difficulty is that the exporter does not have full information about FCIA readily available to him. As previously pointed out, insurance brokers and agents have not been pursuing this coverage at all actively and there are only four FCIA area representatives outside of New York City. The Department of Commerce and Regional Export Expansion Committees have made efforts to spread the story of FCIA but so far these efforts have had little effect. Commercial banks by and large are not well informed about FCIA's different programs.

It is very important that FCIA begin to insure the really large exporters particularly in the short term field. So far most large exporters of chemicals, coal, fertilizer, cotton, and other such products do not use FCIA. The FCIA needs the premium these large exporters would produce. For the most part FCIA could service these exporters in a relatively inexpensive manner. It will not usually take an underwriter 10 times as long to decide on a $200,000 limit as on a $20,000 limit. Furthermore I feel it would be found that these large accounts would overall have very small losses.

I believe that the commercial motivation of FCIA is an important factor in obtaining efficiency and I further feel that FCIA should have more authority in its partnership with Eximbank. At the present time Eximbank keeps very close control by reviewing all cases in C and D countries and all large cases in A and B countries as well. One disadvantage of this is the slowdown in decisionmaking. FCIA approves a case and then must send it to Washington for further approval at Eximbank. For instance, if a $200,000 case has been approved for a C country, and the final figures on the sale show an increase of a few thousand dollars, this increase must be approved by not only FCIA but also Eximbank. The resulting slowdown as you can imagine is considerable.

I believe Eximbank has shown itself to be too cautious over the years. The bank may lend, guarantee and insure only when there is reasonable assurance of repayment. This requirement of course is subject to many different shades of interpretation and I believe Eximbank interprets it in a very conservative manner. Eximbank made total authorizations of 3.6 billion dollars in fiscal 1967 with about 700 million dollars of this applying to FCIA. Eximbank's main activities are really in the field of long term project and development loans. In fiscal 1967 Eximbank had total earnings of about 206 million dollars. Their main expenses were 92 million dollars for interest paid and other financial expense, 4 million dollars for operating and administrative costs (this figure is very small considering the fact that many exporters feel Eximbank's staff is not large enough to provide really fast efficient service) and a very small amount of 1½ million dollars for losses and claims paid, net of salvage. The resulting net earnings of about 108 million dollars were parceled out as 50 million dollars as a dividend payment to the U.S. Treasury and 58 million dollars was added to the reserve for contingencies and defaults bringing this reserve up to a grand total of 1 billion, 67 million dollars. It is the feeling of many exporters, bankers and others interested in world trade in this country that Eximbank's record regarding losses specifically has been much too good over the years. If Eximbank were only required to have its income exceed its combined expenses and losses over a period of years, this would perhaps be better than the present requirement.

Adjustments in premium rates could be used to assure that a profit position would be maintained over the long run.

The last main area of difficulty for the FCIA program is the paperwork battle. Ways must be found to reduce the red tape and the great number of forms which are involved with using FCIA coverage.

Minor changes under an FCIA contract consume much time and effort for both the FCIA staff and the exporter. At the present time if a short term policyholder wishes to change his terms on an approved buyer from 60 day drafts to 90 day drafts, he must fill out a full page application to request this change and it may take quite a period of time before he obtains approval. Ways must be found to simplify the accomplishment of this type of small change. It should be possible for such items as terms of sale to be expressed in a flexible way so that the exporter could agree minor changes without reference to FCIA. The paperwork battle is particularly bad for FCIA's staff because the less time an underwriter spends on requests for small changes, the more his time can be used on really productive activities, particularly making credit evaluations.

I cannot emphasize enough how very important it is for FCIA to give exporters prompt and efficient service on all matters. I believe this to be the key point in having a really successful FCIA program.

CHANGES IN PROGRESS AT FCIA—AND OTHER CHANGES WHICH ARE NEEDED

As a conclusion to my talk, I would like to discuss some changes which are now being worked on at FCIA and also some further changes which I believe would be good for the program. These changes mainly revolve around the areas which I have just outlined as FCIA's most difficult problems at present.

FCIA has made great strides in recent months in increasing and improving its staff. Three of the top five officials including Frank Boylan, the President, have joined FCIA in the last 9 months. FCIA is planning to add at least one new underwriter each month during the remainder of this year and other staff members are also being recruited. New area representatives are to be added in Miami, Chicago, Atlanta, Los Angeles and hopefully several other cities as well. A systems man has been hired by FCIA and he is spending full time searching out ways to make FCIA's methods more efficient.

Travel by the staff of FCIA has greatly increased and this has been a helpful factor. FCIA is now studying the possibility of having underwriters specialize by product because in this way the individual underwriter would become very familiar with the product itself, the normal terms of sale, the type of buyers involved and the different U.S. exporters who handle this product. I believe this idea has considerable merit and I look forward to its further development.

The procedures used by exporters to handle their FCIA policies must be simplified and improved. The idea of having a single rate under short term for all countries and all terms is under review and I hope eventually this can be accomplished. At the present time, it appears that it will soon be possible to at least have one rate for each of the four country groups under short term. As noted earlier, one of the main purposes of downgrading countries is to discourage sales to those countries. Therefore it is argued that having one overall rate on a short term policy would mean that it would be impossible for FCIA to discourage sales to a country which was having increasing economic and political problems.

I believe the FCIA program could benefit from a system of giving each exporter rates based on his own experience and/or the experience of all firms in his field. This system and use of deductibles could result in both substantial premium savings and simplified policy operation. If the insured exporter could report less frequently as well as in a less cumbersome manner, a further advantage would be gained. In some cases exporters have complained that it takes one full time employee to handle all the work involved with an FCIA short term policy. If the credit files at FCIA could be sharply increased in numbers and could be kept continuously up to date, this would make a fine contribution to the insured exporter.

I believe FCIA would be well advised to consult more frequently with exporters and their insurance representatives regarding what changes are needed under these programs. Frequently the exporter will have good new ideas to put forth and I think FCIA should use this source of information more than it does. Presently FCIA is working closely with the textile industry to learn what its special needs are. More of this type of activity with many more industries would be excellent.

As I have noted already, it is very important that the FCIA attract the major short term exporters into becoming policyholders. To do this I believe there will have to be lower premium rates and the exporter will have to be given further freedom to select which business he wishes to cover. We are now working with a large exporter who would like to cover 8 million dollars of sales in one particular C country but does not wish to cover other of his business. With the present requirements, this exporter cannot obtain a policy on this basis. I feel the underwriting decisions of FCIA will in time become more liberal as FCIA's loss experience improves. FCIA has been either in the red or close to it during its 6 years of existence. As just noted the use of deductibles, the single rate and experience rating would all be helpful factors in attracting the major short term exporter to the use of FCIA insurance.

If the large exporter were permitted to use greater discretionary authority in shipping to his foreign buyers without first requesting the approval of a limit by FCIA, this would also help. If a good portion of the grain, coal, cotton, chemical and pulp exporters in the country could be convinced that the use of export credit insurance could assist them, FCIA's volume of business would greatly increase. This greater volume would mean greater premium income and we would have a snowballing effect which would allow FCIA to use the additional income to accomplish more quickly many of the improvements now being worked on and others which are needed. The FCIA program must be merchandised more thoroughly to the export community.

This can be done by the several thousand insurance agents and brokers in this country and also by the existing and planned for area representatives of FCIA. These area representatives should work very closely with exporters, bankers and insurance representatives so that as many people as possible have full knowledge of export credit insurance. Also the Department of Commerce people should become better informed about FCIA and should help exporters learn about it. I believe that institutes such as this one together with workshops, seminars and conventions are other excellent ways of spreading the word about FCIA. I further hope that FCIA will undertake an expanded advertising program in the future.

The final area in which I would like to see changes is in the authority and participation which FCIA has in its partnership with Eximbank. I consider this an extremely important factor and I hope progress will be made. If the insurance companies which are members of FCIA can take over a bigger portion of the commercial risk section of the coverage, this will increase FCIA's income and allow FCIA to move ahead more rapidly. Of paramount importance in the FCIA program is having really fast and efficient service for the exporter. If FCIA's authority in the partnership becomes greater, then the necessity of referring decisions to Washington will be lessened and the speed of service will automatically improve. As already noted, I believe the commercial motivation of the member companies of FCIA and the brokers and agents is a key factor in moving the FCIA program ahead.

In conclusion I would like to express my admiration for both FCIA and the Export Import Bank and their staffs. I feel they deserve great credit and appreciation for the hard and effective work they do and the assistance they are giving U.S. exporters. All my remarks today are intended to be completely constructive and I hope you will accept them on that basis. FCIA has solved many of the problems it has encountered and other solutions are well underway. In its first 9 months of operation, the new administratiaon at FCIA has shown itself to be competent, inventive and vigorous and the hard work expended is beginning to show excellent results. Further progress is underway and within the near future I believe we will all have reason to be very satisfied with FCIA.

ROLE OF EXPORT-IMPORT BANK IN FINANCING U.S. EXPORTS

(By Warren W. Glick, assistant general counsel)

Since the beginning of its existence in 1934, Eximbank's primary purpose has been to assist in financing United States exports. The Import part of its name is incidental, and over the years only a few import transactions have been financed. Not being an expert in Latin America, I will only endeavor to inform you of our activities in that part of the world as part of my general statement concerning Eximbank's various programs. The Bank is an independent Government corporation whose power is derived from Congressional statute. It is run by a five-man Board of Directors appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The present Chairman is Harold F. Linder; the Vice Chairman, Walter C. Sauer. The other two directors are Elizabeth May and Tom Lilley, there being one vacancy on the Board at the present time. The Bank has a staff of about 300 people, of which about half are professionals. In general, the Bank is divided into areas comparable to those in the Department of State, but the lawyers and engineers in the Bank are not experts in any particular area but serve all the regions represented.

The basic statutory principle guiding Eximbank's financial activities is that the Board of Directors must find that there is a reasonable assurance of repayment. The Bank was not created, and has never performed, as an aid agency. It may well be that Eximbank's financing benefits the foreign purchaser and his country, but the primary purpose of Eximbank's financing is to help American exporters sell goods and services abroad. Further, Eximbank will finance only the U.S. dollar costs of United States goods of services. If credit is required for foreign goods, that credit must be obtained elsewhere. All of the West European countries and Japan have institutions roughly comparable to Eximbank in order to finance or insure exports from their respective countries.

There are three major categories of Eximbank activity. The first, and the one which involves the largest volume of Eximbank's business, is our so-called project loans. These are direct loans made to a foreign purchaser which may be private companies or Government entities. The loans are made for specific facilities, such as a power plant, steel mill, fertilizer plant, cement plant, and the like. Secondly, we have a system of guarantees which we issue directly to commercial banks which, in turn, finance American exporters; and, thirdly, we participate in an insurance program operated by the Foreign Credit Insurance Association in New York which issues insurance against loss on credit sales made by American exporters. I will not discuss the insurance program to any extent because the next speaker, Mr. Garrique, will discuss it in detail.

I would now like to give you a brief historical view of the Bank's activities. During the period from 1934 to 1939 Eximbank engaged primarily in two types of financial techniques. One was to purchase from American exporters the obligations they obtained from foreign purchasers without recourse on the American exporter. The second type was emergency trade or balance-of-payment credits. For example, in 1935 the Bank extended a $30 million credit to Brazil to assist that country in making payments on its commercial debts to American sellers. The American Foreign Trade Council represented American exporters and negotiated an agreement with the Brazilians under which Brazil issued five-year promissory notes and Eximbank gave a commitment to buy up to $27 million of these notes directly from the American exporters.

During the war years from 1939 to 1945, American sellers did not have goods in any quantity to export, and what they did have they were able to sell easily. The pressure on the Bank came from the foreign buyers—many of whom were from Latin America who had lost a large part of their normal supply of goods from Europe.

Buyers from these countries came to the Bank seeking financial assistance, probably not only because the credit was needed but in the hope that extension of the credit would carry with it the necessary allocations being made by the U.S. Government at that time. Although the Bank's activities were significantly curtailed during this period, we did make our first loan to the Volta Redonda steel complex in Brazil. We have made a number of loans to this company, aggregating more than $100 million. We also made loans to the Central Banks of Colombia, Peru, and Argentina in the amounts of $10 million, $2 million, and $20 million, respectively. At the beginning of the Marshall Plan after the war, Eximbank played a significant role in making several loans to our West European allies in an effort to stimulate European reconstruction.

Let me now give you some examples of the loans we have made to countries in Latin America over the years. In Argentina, for example, we have made a series of loans to Sociedad Mixta Siderurgia Argentina, which is a large steel mill operation. We have also made several loans for thermal power plants and, recently, a $29 million loan for the purchase of aircraft. In Brazil, Eximbank has done a substantial amount of business over the years; but, even so, there are many who think we have not been active enough. I would certainly bow to the judgment of Secretary Oliver who yesterday expressed the view that in the long run Brazil would make real progress, but I must point out that since Eximbank has an exposure in Brazil of about $700 million, it is not easy for the Board of Directors to make a finding of reasonable assurance of repayment in regard to all the requests for financing that come from Brazil. It is obviously a matter of judgment and one which our Board takes seriously. Let me also mention that in Chile in the past several years we have extended several large loans for copper mining equipment, aggregating over $100 million. You may also be interested in knowing what our total exposure is in a few of these countries.

In Argentina the Bank has a total exposure of about $300 million. In Chile we have $470 million; in Colombia $77 million; in Mexico $593 million; and, as I mentioned earlier, about $700 million in Brazil. Latin America accounts for about one-third of Eximbank's total world exposure, and this proportion is true in project loans as well as in respect of our exporter credit guarantees and insurance.

It would now be useful to delineate a little more carefully between the so-called project loans and what I have referred to as exporter credit guarantees and insurance. Although the word "project" carries with it unfortunate connotations, it should be understood that we do not mean that a project involves exceptionally long credit terms or that much bureaucratic red tape must be overcome before a loan is granted. These loans may be 7, 10, or 12 years, or any other reasonable period; but they do not involve unusually long aid-type terms. Our Board continually endeavors to keep the term as short as possible. The project loans usually involve substantial sums of money and complicated plant construction. For these reasons, Eximbank wants to negotiate a direct credit agreement with the foreign borrower. Although the American supplier may participate in the credit and may be a party to the agreement, we think the vital point is for Eximbank, as a lender, to have a direct contractual relationship with the borrower. Under these loans Eximbank makes its disbursements directly to the American manufacturer in United States dollars in the United States.

In contrast to this is our exporter credit guarantee and insurance program. These credits range from short-term, that is, up to 180 days, and perhaps one year, and medium-term, up to 5 years.

They usually involve the sale of individual pieces of equipment rather than entire plant facilities. Up until 1961, except for some agricultural commodities, Eximbank offered no assistance on short-term credit transactions. Faced with increasing competition from abroad, beginning in the late 1950's, American exporters pressed for an insurance program comparable to those available to their foreign competitors. In an effort to meet this competition Eximbank worked with American insurance companies and helped establish the Foreign Credit Insurance Association, which is made up of more than 60 casualty and surety companies. All short-term insurance is written through the Foreign Credit Insurance Association. Concerning medium-term credit transactions, there are two facilities. One is insurance, written through the Foreign Credit Insurance Association, comparable to the short-term insurance. The other is a system of guarantees issued by Eximbank directly to U.S. commercial banks which, in turn, finance the exporter without recourse. Before 1960, Eximbanks exporter credit assistance was primarily extended by purchasing the foreign obligor's notes from the American exporter. In the early 1960's, financial institutions believed that Eximbank's funds were not needed but that Eximbank's guarantee to them would be the best way to facilitate financing of U.S. exports.

Under the medium-term plan, whether it be by insurance or bank guarantee, there is usually a cash payment requirement of 10% or 20% of the contract price and a requirement that the exporter participate from 10% to 30% of the financed portion, depending on the market. I must say that most exporter participation ranges from 10% to 15%. The balance of the financed portion is financed by the commercial bank against Eximbank's guarantee or carried by the exporter under the protection of the insurance policy. In the latter case the exporter may assign the proceeds payable under the policy to a bank and thereby obtain financing.

One of the basic premises on which our guarantees and insurance are extended is that we can reasonably distinguish between the so-called political risks and commercial risks.

There were some of us who questioned whether this could be done successfully. The reason it is important for us to attempt to make the distinction is that neither the banks nor the Foreign Credit Insurance Association are prepared, in general, to assume the political risks; but they were prepared to take a portion of the commercial risks. It is obviously easy to make the distinction in the case of a private buyer who goes bankrupt, but the issue is not always so simple. There is a general feeling that if a Government purchaser or guarantor is involved and a default occurs that the default should be considered automatically a political risk, but Eximbank does not think that this conclusion should automatically follow.

For example, consider the sale of goods to a Government purchaser such as the Minister of Public Works. Would you agree that there may be some circumstances when a default by the Minister of Public Works could reasonably be considered a commercial risk? We have thought there is such a possibility, such as in the case of a dispute over the quality of the goods. Suppose the buyer is a state or province not carrying the full faith and credit of a national government. Imagine the case of a private buyer in a country in which there has been a revolt or insurrection involving hostilities for a few weeks or months, after which the buyer goes into bankruptcy. The hostilities may have had nothing to do with the buyer's business failure. Concerning the risk of inconvertibility, we have always thought the best test is the non-transfer of local currency deposited for the purpose of effecting transfer into dollars in the United States. We have encountered situations, however, in which there was no transfer because the buyer failed to comply with local regulations. We have had cases where the noncompliance was not substantial, such as the buyer's failure to submit the correct number of copies of the application for transfer.

We now see the possibility of claims developing over boycott situations. These may involve American firms who are carrying on business in Israel whose goods are being boycotted by one of the Arab countries. To the best of our knowledge the alleged boycotts have not involved Government prohibition of paying debts to the American firm, but we have encountered cases in which the buyer claims he has suffered a loss because of the boycott and has refused to make payment on goods delivered to him. I think you can see from the foregoing examples that there could be substantial grounds for disagreement regarding the cause of default in a specific case.

A more recent facility offered by Eximbank is its so-called discount program for U.S. commercial banks designed to encourage these banks to finance American exports. The program began in 1966 at a time when funds were relatively tight. One aim of the program is to assist banks in a period of illiquidity, and the second is to make funds available to banks which increase their export financing. Loans in the first category are referred to as Current Export Loans under which Eximbank would lend up to 50% of the amount of export debt obligations acquired by a bank in connection with American exports made on and after March 1, 1966. Beginning in September 1967 we offered the banks Net Increase Loans to the extent they increased their ownership of such export debt obligations over their ownership in September of the previous year. The use of the program has been modest—about $100 million in authorized loans; and we are planning a liberalization of the program. Unfortunately, I am not in a position at this time to give the details of the changes, but I can note for you some of the specific criticisms that have been made in the present plan. Some banks believe their loans should be for a term longer than one year; that Eximbank should be willing to purchase obligations in addition to making loans against them; and that perhaps our interest rates were somewhat too high to be attractive to the banks.

I would like to call your attention at this time to the recently enacted amendment to the Export-Import Bank Act which extended its life to June 30, 1973, increased its lending authority from $9 billion to $13.5 billion, and changed the name of the Bank from Export-Import Bank of Washington to Export-Import Bank of the United States. There were also a few restrictions imposed on the Bank. First, the Bank is prohibited from financing the sale of products and services to a communist country unless the President makes a determination that it is in the national interest for the Bank to engage in such financing. There has been a similar restriction on the Bank included in its Appropriation Acts since 1964. The President has made determinations under the Appropriation Act that it would be in the national interest for Eximbank to finance sales to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, and Yugoslavia. There also was a determination covering possible sales of agricultural products to Russia, but no transactions were ever entered into with Russia. The new legislation is broader in that it also applies to the sale of products which are principally for use in a communist country. Thus, Eximbank will not be able to finance the sale of machine tools to Italy which would be used for the construction of a Fiat plant in Russia. There is another amendment to the Bank's Act which prohibits us from financing transactions with a country which is engaged in armed conflict with the United States or the Government of which is furnishing goods or services to such a country. We have undertaken to determine what governments are furnishing goods to North Vietnam, and to date the prohibition would appear to apply only to the communist countries, with the exception of Yugoslavia. Thus, as of today, Eximbank is no longer able to finance transactions involving Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Russia.

In closing, I would like to refer to a portion of its report to Congress in 1935, which I think is still applicable today. At that time we stated that the role of the Bank was to make available a reasonable credit system that would supplement private financial sources, all with the aim of facilitating the sale of American exports. Since the beginning of the Bank's existence to the present day we have energetically followed this path.

THE ROLE OF THE U.S. LAWYER IN LATIN AMERICAN BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

(By Burton A. Landy, Esq.)

I. INTRODUCTION

In the hopes of channeling my remarks into something meaningful, I want to discuss three principal functions of the U.S. lawyer. First, selecting foreign counsel to work with, which is probably the most important function that he will perform. Second, locating sources of foreign law in order to communicate effectively with his foreign counterpart, and, third, selecting the form of doing business in Latin America.

The role of the U.S. lawyer in Latin American business transactions is a very challenging role—a role that will require the wearing of many hats as he weaves through the very many complicated legal, financial and political problems. He must consider two or more legal systems and two or more tax structures, and he must work with a battery of different individuals. He will be collaborating with foreign and domestic lawyers, including specialists in patent law and tax law. He will be working with foreign and domestic accountants, with bankers, with his client's own team of executives and their foreign counterparts, customs brokers, freight forwarders, public officials, and so on.

When we add the difficulties and differences encountered along the way in language, traditions and the practical ways of doing business, we have a situation that is ripe with potential chaos. I believe that it is the U.S. lawyer's role to attempt to bring some order out of this potential chaos, to serve as catalyst, to help organize and properly counsel his client.

A. Role with client

Before getting into the three specific areas that I have chosen to discuss, we might consider in general terms just what is the U.S. lawyer's role, first with his client and then with foreign counsel. The role with the client is basically to help identify the problems the client will encounter in doing business abroad, to coordinate with the various specialists that he will be dealing with and, then, very importantly, to keep current as the situation progresses and as circumstances change.

It is the U.S. lawyer's primary responsibility to make the final legal decisions, relying very heavily, of course, on the foreign counsel and his advice. There are two principal reasons for this. First, the U.S. lawyer will generally be better informed and more knowledgeable as to the client's overall operations, and, second, at least up until recently, Latin American lawyers have not traditionally filled the role of business adviser to their clients.

When we talk about the so-called business decisions and the so-called legal decisions, I find it very difficult to separate the two. I realize that some businessmen are critical about lawyers interfering too much with the making of business decisions. They would prefer that the lawyer stick to making only the legal decisions. While I am sure that this criticism may be justified in certain cases, I, nevertheless, find that there is a very narrow line separating pure business decisions from legal decisions. If the lawyer has crossed this narrow line, he has done so because of the complexities of modern day international business and because his clients have really demanded that he do so.

The U.S. client will be involved in a wide gamut of transactions. He may have an occasional trade transaction overseas without any regular representation. These transactions are rather simple and may involve drafting some documents and, perhaps, claims adjusting. When the client begins to get involved in regular trade transactions abroad through brokers, through distributors and, more actively, through subsidiaries, branches, etc., then the lawyer's role becomes more active.

Other types of transactions that the lawyer must be prepared to deal with are licensing of technology, trade marks and technical knowhow, loans and portfolio investments, joint ventures, and, finally, actual foreign manufacturing operations with or without sales organizations.

Decisions, and, basically, legal decisions, should be made only after a careful review and examination of the applicable treaties, corporate and commercial codes and laws, tax structures, customs regulations, exchange controls and import restrictions, industrial property protection, investment incentives and deterrents, labor laws, antitrust considerations, and transportation laws. Finally, and of great importance, is there an adequate legal protection in the laws, and are these legal rights enforceable as a matter of course in this jurisdiction?

B. Role with foreign counsel

In running through this broad list, it is apparent that the U.S. lawyer has a serious problem in obtaining an adequate grasp of these considerations within the limited time available to him. So, obviously, the U.S. lawyer will depend to a great extent on local counsel. His role will be somewhat of a liaison between the client and foreign counsel. He will assist foreign counsel by furnishing the necessary background, and in marshalling the facts and explaining the clients overall operations. The U.S. lawyer will rely on his foreign colleague for advice as to the local laws and the local circumstances and situation, for the final drafting of documents and, of course, for representation in court. As an intermediary, the U.S. lawyer must continuously check and weigh the information that is received, serve as an evaluator, and, then, continue on as a general watchdog of the overseas operations.

II. CHOOSING FOREIGN COUNSEL

It is obvious that the U. S. lawyer will depend heavily upon local counsel, which leads into what is probably the most important responsibility that the U. S. lawyer has: locating and retaining expert local legal counsel and representation. What are the sources for this selection, and how does he go about it? The need for it is obvious; the timing should be as soon as possible.

A. Qualifications

As to the methods of selection, I do not think there are any uniform rules. It is not always easy to select a lawyer in another city in the United States. You have many of the same considerations involved. The first objective, of course, should be to select the most appropriate lawyer for the particular job—the most appropriated lawyer because of his special qualifications, his expertise or his specialization. The lawyer in the foreign jurisdiction should not be selected just because he happens to be fluent in English; this is a great help and we find more and more lawyers in Latin America who are fluent in English. However, if that is the sole criterion for selecting them, it is a poor criterion.

Our first goal is to seek competent legal advice. If the lawyer does not speak English, we have translations and translators available, as difficult and as expensive as these may be. The first criterion should be: Is he the right lawyer with a suitable background and necesary ability for the job? Now, obviously, the appropriate lawyer who also speaks English will have the edge at the same time. Also, we should not overlook the responsibility of our U.S. colleagues to learn Spanish. Today we find many U. S. lawyers and many Latin American lawyers who are bilingual. Even where both lawyers are bilingual in English and Spanish, it is a good idea to handle correspondence in such a way so that each will write in his own language to the other. I am sure that many of us have had much difficulty in just trying to interpret what our colleagues really meant to say when he wrote to us in English, and that they have had similar problems with our letters in Spanish. It facilitates understanding, particularly when there is a bilingual counterpart, for each to write correspondence in his own language.

Whereas you should not select a lawyer merely because he speaks English, neither should you select a lawyer who alleges to have "political connections". This is usually exaggerated to begin with and, if true, his political connections may not be that good tomorrow as politics change rapidly in Latin America.

B. Sources

Now we know what we are looking for in the local counsel. How do we go about finding him? How do we go about selecting him? There are a number of sources, and I would like to mention some of them, not necessarily in their rank of importance.

1. Banks

Banks are an excellent source for locating lawyers overseas and in Latin America. A very good choice is a bank with a branch overseas. We are not limited to these banks, however, because most banks in metropolitan commercial areas do business with Latin America and have a number of corresponding banks. They can contact their correspondent bank for this assistance. Banks are sometimes a reluctant and, of course, will hedge on responsibility for providing this information. If you can prevail upon them to do so, I have found that their recommendations are quite reliable and, often, they will give you a list of three to five lawyers with some indication of their qualifications and specializations. Incidentally, the U.S. embassies abroad, in making lists of foreign lawyers, will rely very often on the banks for advice, and Martindale-Hubbell and other legal directories will also use them as a prime source of information.

2. International Law Firms

There are some U.S. law firms which have branches in Latin America, although not as many as we find in Paris or Brussels. These are obvious sources for legal representation abroad. Other law firms which do a sizable amount of work in Latin America will usually have quite reliable correspondent firms.

Occasionally, you will run across a U.S. lawyer who has migrated to one of these countries and has taken the trouble to become trained and admitted to practice in the foreign jurisdiction, and he would be an obvious good choice. Some of our colleagues have been admitted in Mexico, Peru and Argentina, but, generally, this is quite rare.

3. U.S.-Trained Latin American Lawyers

A more common and excellent source is Latin American lawyers who have trained here in the United States and who, then, returned to their countries. Many of these lawyers have taken graduate work at some of our schools, such as the University of Miami, SMU and NYU, and a number of schools that have programs for Latin American lawyers. Many of them have gone on to clerk with various U.S. law firms. These lawyers have tested ability and understanding of what the U.S. client is looking for and what his legal requirements are.

4. International Companies and Accounting Firms

U.S. companies and international accounting firms doing business in Latin America come in contact with lawyers and are good sources for recommendations.

5. Law Lists

There are certain law lists available which I personally do not find to be of great use. They are of limited use but, certainly, are available and are sources of information. The U.S. State Department, through their embassies abroad, will make lists of lawyers in the various countries. These lists are available and can be obtained by writing the Desk Officer at the Department of State for the particular country involved. Also, the Department of Commerce will assist in obtaining these lists for you. Generally, these lists are too long, often listing up to 100 lawyers. The State Department will, of course, make the caveat that they assume no responsibility for the ability or integriy of the lawyers on these lists.

Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory is a tool that is often used in the United States and, generally, is an excellent source. However, in foreign section and, particularly, in Latin America, there are very sparse listings. In the 1968 Martindale-Hubbell Directory, there are five countries in Latin America with no listings at all. The company does recognize this shortcoming and is planning to increase their listings in Latin America in the future.

6. Personal Contacts

The last source, although not scientific but, nevertheless, practical, is personal contacts. I find that being active in various bar associations and organizations, particularly the Inter-American Bar Association, affords a wonderful opportunity to meet and have a chance to evaluate lawyers in Latin America.

C. Interviews

After the preliminary screening has been done, there is no substitute for conducting a personal interview at the lawyer's office, in his country and during business hours. Such an interview at his office will enable you to get an idea of his facilities and staff. Also, a candid interview can explore possible conflicts of interests that the lawyer may have in representing other clients in that jurisdiction. You can assess his work load, whether he would be available to travel, to work evenings and weekends, and, also, discuss his fees. I do not believe that we can put the selection of counsel into the area of being a science; it is an art; it is something that requires experience. You are establishing a personal relationship, and it is something that will probably involve a different experience each time.

D. Translations

Just as you are concerned with selecting a suitable and appropriate foreign lawyer to work with, it is often necessary to locate a good, capable translator. You would probably have the same basic sources available but, principally, U.S. embassies and overseas banks. Not only must a translator be fluent in both languages, but he should have some basic knowledge of the elements of both legal systems. There is a great need for more "literate rather than literal" translations.

III. LOCATING SOURCES OF FOREIGN LAW

Once we have found local counsel to work with in Latin America, we also want to be in a position to discuss intelligently the legal matters that may arise in the foreign jurisdiction. We want to have some familiarity with his laws and his legal system; therefore, it is essential to locate sources of foreign law as soon as possible. We find a number of problems in locating sources of foreign law although they will vary from country to country. In some countries, the problems are more severe as the laws may not be readily available even in Spanish and, if available, they are not always as organized as the U.S. practitioner is used to. There are good sources, nevertheless, and we can, at least, take a preliminary reading of what the situation is before embarking upon the venture.

A. U.S. Government

Our U.S. Government has a number of sources. One of the primary sources is the Law Division of the Library of Congress. The Department of Commerce will be very helpful not only in locating sources of business information but also in assisting the lawyer who makes a specific request. This Department is charged by law to devote 60% of its time in its various field offices to the promotion of international trade. They are very willing to assist in locating sources, and they have their own publications. The Department of Labor has certain publications in the area of labor law and practice although they are not always up to date and not available in all jurisdictions. The Department of State, of course, has a number of publications, particularly dealing with the A.I.D. Program.

B. Foreign governments

Foreign governments will also have available the equivalent type information and sources. However, these sources do not form any pattern, and we cannot expect to find such information available in each country.

C. Regional and international organizations

There is a growing area of good source material in the Regional International Governmental Organizations. The World Peace Through Law Center in Geneva has established a service for locating foreign law which has been set up in cooperation with the International Law Librarians Association. The United Nations, the Latin American Free Trade Area, and the Central American Common Market are producing reports that are comprehensive and useful. The Pan American Union has been in this field a long time and has produced excellent publications which are good starting points. Principally, the Statements of Law of the particular country provide good, short resumés of the commercial laws of the country.

D. Law schools

Our law schools and, particularly, some of the major law schools have excellent libraries and publications which are of great use. Harvard has its World Tax Series; Columbia, through its Parker School of Foreign and Comparative Law, has produced certain bilateral studies.

E. Bar associations

Bar associations, such as the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and the Los Angeles Bar Association, to name a few, maintain good libraries and certain publications.

F. Bibliographies

There are a number of bibliographies and, of course, the index to foreign legal periodicals. I would like to mention, in particular, two basic reference books. First, Professor Bayitch of the University of Miami published almost ten years ago "A Guide to Inter-American Legal Studies" which has been recently revised and which is published by Oceana Press. Second, "A Lawyer's Guide to International Business Transactions", edited by Walter Surrey, is not only valuable for the basic content, but also for the bibliographies.

G. International accounting firms

International accounting firms very often have good source material. For example, Price-Waterhouse has published little pamphlets called "Information Guides for Doing Business in Various Countries". These sources answer some of the broad questions that may arise in each country.

IV. CHOOSING THE FORM OF DOING BUSINESS

The last area which I will pass through very quickly is choosing the form of doing business in Latin America. I do not believe that we need to discuss the methods of doing business where the client is not actively engaged in the overseas operations, e.g., the use of export brokers and distributors.

However, one area that requires a great deal of care and thought is the use of agents overseas. The client may be unintentionally submitting itself to doing business in a foreign jurisdiction, particularly in the consignment of goods area.

A. Branch operations

Assuming that the decision has been made to engage actively in business in Latin America, there are various possibilities and various forms for accomplishing this. One form is the foreign branch of the domestic parent. Usually, this is a form to be avoided because of the risk of exposing all the assets of the parent corporation to liability and, also, to taxability not only of all of the assets but of all of the income as well.

A common form would be a foreign branch of a U.S. subsidiary. This form is particularly useful where the U.S. subsidiary would be organized as a Western Hemisphere Trading Corporation.

Next, we have a foreign branch of a foreign base company, that is, a company that may be organized in another country and have a branch in a third country. U.S. tax laws in recent years have whittled away the former tax shelters which these companies enjoyed.

B. Foreign subsidiary

When you get to the point of organizing a foreign subsidiary, we are probably going to choose one of two forms.

1. Sociedad Anónima

One will be the corporate form, or what is closest to the U.S. type corporate form, the "Sociedad Anónima", which provides the same general considerations as U.S. corporations. Its advantages are limited liability, easy transfer of shares, diversified ownership with centralized management, and continuity of existence. The form is basically the same as in the United States although we can make some very broad generalizations.

Generally, civil corporate law in Latin America is a lot more detailed and restrictive, and we find that Articles of Incorporation and Charters are a lot more extensive than we are used to. Yet, the regulation of the corporate dealings with the public, particularly with the shareholders, is neither so detailed nor so well regulated as in the United States.

The requirement of nationality of shareholders is not as serious as it used to be, but, still, we have to keep in mind that, in general, corporate law in the civil law countries contemplates the concept of a widespread shareholding. The corporate law requires that a corporation have a minimum number of shareholders in order to maintain its corporate status. Generally, five, and up to seven, shareholders are required, and this presents the problem of having a true, wholly-owned subsidiary. The U.S. client will have to rely on having some other stockholders and, of course, there is some risk involved that the stock may fall into hostile hands.

The last generalization that I will make in this area is that the incorporation procedure is a lot more cumbersome, time consuming, and expensive than in the United States. It is not unusual to wait a period of six months for the certified copies to go through the various governmental departments. The formalities of organizing corporations are more important; notaries, registrars, official valuators, all play important parts.

2. Sociedad de Responsabilidad Limitada—Limited Liability Company

The other main form for a subsidiary is the Limited Liability Company ("Sociedad de Responsabilidad Limitada"). This is widely used, although still not available in all countries. This type of organization is suited basically for a smaller group and, particularly, an organization that is not looking to raise capital. It has the advantage of limited liability and less formal requirements to get it organized. There can be as few as two members in most of the countries, which members may be corporations owning the quotas or shares in the "Sociedad de Responsabilidad Limitada". It also has the advantage of continuity of existence and centralized management.

3. Other forms

The other forms available are really not significant. There is a wide variety of forms, including partnerships, limited and mixed (i.e., government as a partner with private enterprise), and cooperatives. Although there are a number of possibilities, they are really seldom used in a venture of any magnitude. Particularly, partnerships are avoided for the same reasons that they would not be used in the United States. The client is exposed to unlimited liability, and there are problems with continuity of the business and transferability of interests.

C. Joint ventures

The area of joint ventures with foreign participation is a growing area and is one where, probably, the real future lies for U.S. firms doing business in Latin America. The advantages are, very simply, that they can provide a source of local capital, not only for the present, but for the future as well. The venture can acquire a local identity which is important both psychologically and politically, and it may be eligible for certain investment advantages and incentives. It will enable the company to acquire local facilities, local market position, and local know-how.

There are a number of advantages, but there are some problems, such as control problems which are, likewise, present in any company where there is more than one principal owner. Management agreements can be used to alleviate this problem, but they are not always effective or enforced in practice. In a country such as Argentina, corporate law prohibits one stockholder to vote more than 10% of the outstanding shares of the company or more than 20% of the shares that are represented at a particular meeting. The use of bearer shares has helped solve some of the obvious difficulties in this area.

Care should be taken in these ventures to have arms-length dealings with the U.S. firm, particularly in the payment of royalties and valuation of invested assets.

Compensation for technology and for technical assistance may present still other problems. For example, in Brazil a director of a company is prohibited from taking part in any transaction in which he has an interest. Because of this, it might be difficult for an active member of the management of the U.S. company to be also a director in the foreign enterprise.

V. CONCLUSION

I want to conclude by emphasizing as I did at the outset that the U.S. lawyer's role in Latin American business transactions is really a challenging one. The U.S. lawyer is charged with the responsibility for bridging the gap of understanding between the two jurisdictions and with helping his client to understand the foreign point of view and the foreign way of doing business. The U.S. lawyer must choose foreign counsel to work with. He must learn as much as he can, not only about the two legal systems involved, but also about the social, political and economic circumstances that may affect the enterprise. He will assist in making legal decisions, in choosing the form of doing business, and in related problems, and he must continue on as an overall watchdog. It is an ambitious task, and I sincerely believe that the success of the client's business venture in Latin America will depend to an important degree on how well the U.S. lawyer has met this challenge and how well he has fulfilled his role.

THE 2D MARINE DIVISION ASSOCIATION

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues in the House are former U.S. marines and some, like myself, are still in the Marine Corps Reserves. But I wonder how many know about the fine work being done by the various Marine division associations whose members are mostly former marines.

An outstanding example of these associations is the 2d Marine Division Association, whose members once served or are now serving in the famous 2d Marine Division, which distinguished itself during World War II in the landing at Tarawa and the seizure of Saipan. For the past 9 years, the association has operated a scholarship program for the children of deceased marines. Since 1959, when the first scholarship award was made, this association has aided more than 40 youngsters to continue their education. Ten of these young people have since been graduated from college and are now contributing to the association to sustain the scholarship fund.

The association's scholarship fund was started by Lt. Gen. David M. Shoup, former Commandant of the Marine Corps, and Lt. Gen. Julian C. Smith, USMC, retired, who was the commanding general of the 2d Division when it landed at Tarawa. General Shoup was a regimental commander in the division during the Tarawa landing and, because of his heroic actions in that battle, won the Medal of Honor.

I would like to take this opportunity to salute the 2d Marine Division Association whose scholarship program deserves the commendation of all of us.

MALNUTRITION AND DEVELOPMENT

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, witnesses appearing before the House Education and Labor Committee which is seeking to create a Presidential Commission on Hunger have indicated that physical, mental, and social problems related to malnutrition can be found in America and are comparable to conditions found in many of the underdeveloped nations of the world.

In a country as affluent as ours, where surplus food is available, where our technology is so advanced, it is imperative that we endeavor to find answers and eliminate those factors which affect any individuals wherever they may exist.

Studies made in other countries dramatize the consequences of malnutrition and illustrate that when a man's physical and mental capacity is limited by it, all of society is hurt. I am inserting into the RECORD at this time an article, entitled "Malnutrition and National Development," by Alan D. Berg, which was published in the October 1967 issue of Foreign Affairs, which substantiates this point:

MALNUTRITION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(By Alan D. Berg)

New evidence suggesting a relationship between malnutrition and mental retardation should be cause for major policy concern in a number of world capitals. The recognition that malnourished children may emerge from childhood lacking the ability to reach their full genetic intellectual potential introduces a new and perhaps frightening note into theories of national development.

The implications are ominous. For many years we have assumed that, given educational opportunities and environmental advantages, each normally born infant has every prospect of growing up to be bright and productive. It is now suggested that malnourished children may be basically dull. The significance of this can be appreciated when we recognize that as many as two-thirds of the children of most developing countries are now suffering from some degree of malnutrition.

The relationship of malnutrition to mental growth dramatizes the issue. However, the insidious drain of malnutrition on national development takes other significant forms. Half the deaths in the developing countries occur among children under six years of age. In certain African countries, Libya for example, a mother must have five children to assure that one reaches the age of fifteen. In Northeast Brazil, 48 percent do not survive the first year of life; by the age of four, 63 percent have succumbed. In parts of Southeast Asia, 40 percent of the children die of disease in their first four years. This is a proportion of deaths not reached in the United States until the age of sixty.

The vast majority of these child deaths are attributed to infectious diseases. Yet most of these diseases are relatively minor childhood ailments. The cause of the death, we now know, is not the infection itself, but usually the malnourished condition of the child when he contracted it. In other words, malnutrition debilitates the body to such a degree that it is incapable of resisting what would otherwise be a passing infection. In a country like Ecuador, child death due to measles is more than 300 times greater (per thousand of population) than in North America. Whooping cough is still a major killer in much of the world. Similarly, such childhood diseases as chicken pox are often fatal because of the child's malnourished condition.

For a sizable portion of the survivors, malnutrition permanently retards physical growth. In many countries the average twelve-year old has the physical stature of an eight-year old in Europe and North America. Indian nutritionist Dr. C. Gopalan reports that 80 percent of preschool-aged children in the rural areas of his country suffer from malnutritional dwarfism. The effect of this on productivity and the limits it places on the individual's potential contribution to his society are obvious.

An increasing body of evidence now suggests a similar relationship between malnutrition in the early years and mental retardation. During the months of breast feeding, children from the poorest areas grow at a rate comparable to the best nourished children elsewhere. Usually after six months of age, however, when breast milk is no longer a sufficient source of protein growth is progressively retarded.

The result is an important and irretrievable loss of learning time during the most critical years of intellectual development. Further, some prominent nutritionists now suggest the damage may be irreparable (as is acknowledged in the case of physical retardation), even in the unlikely prospect that today's malnourished child eventually has access to proper nutrients. Dr. Joaquin Cravioto of Mexico, a pioneer and leading researcher in the field, says "sufficient evidence is already available to show that chances of *Permanent* damage are high."

II

What does this mean to national development? How much more productive is a properly nourished man? How much more will a man with full mental and physical capacities contribute to his society? Conversely, what are the costs to the society of malnutrition in the form of medical treatment, welfare-type relief and waste through death of those who have a limited number of productive years? What would be the cost/benefit ratio of a $10 million investment in food enrichment, for example, as compared to other forms of development expenditure, *e.g.* spending the $10 million for fertilizer or dams or roads or schools? What, in fact, is the relationship of malnutrition to development—or, more specifically, what are the economics of malnutrition?

Unfortunately, little research has been directed to these questions. The scattering of peripheral studies, however, leads to certain inferences worth noting:

1. Limited life expectancy brought about by malnutrition limits the number of productive years. Recent calculations by Dr. Eugene Campbell show that the typical worker of Southeast Brazil will—because of improved health and resulting increased average life expectancy—produce nearly five times as much during his lifetime as the average person born in nutritionally deficient Northeast Brazil. Where malnutrition reduces life expectancy, the cost to society for education and other supporting expenses through the pre-productive years becomes proportionately more costly per year of productive output.

2. Malnutrition decreases a worker's productivity. The body, weak from lack of proper nutrients, protects itself by avoiding the expenditure of energy. This results in apathy, lethargy and lack of initiative—characteristics commonly found in poorly fed groups in protein-deficient countries. In the past, this apparent sluggishness was frequently attributed to laziness, indolence or other so-called "ethnic traits." The Food and Agriculture Organization now reports that those countries with the lowest per capita daily protein (and caloric) consumption are also those with lowest productivity. An interesting demonstration of the relationship was noted during the construction of the Pan American Highway. The disappointing output of local laborers was quickly remedied with the introduction of three well-balanced daily meals. Within a few months, workers averaged an increase in concrete paving from 1.8 to 5.9 cubic yards per day.

3. Malnutrition lowers a worker's resistance to disease and, relatedly, increases his rate of absenteeism from the job. Further, accident rates are higher among those who tire quickly due to malnutrition. A study of the old East African Carrier Corps reported that those laborers who supplemented their rations with herbs and green leaves showed a lower hospitalization rate—10 percent compared to 40 percent for those who did not.

4. The medical costs necessary to treat the effects of malnutrition—either through hospitals or health centers—are many times greater than the cost of providing the necessary nutrients to prevent the malnutrition initially. One estimate, in Guatemala, is that the cost of 90 days of hospitalization for each case arising from inadequate nutrition is $600, compared to an annual cost of $7 to $10 to prevent the malnutrition in the first place.

5. Certain nutritional deficiencies, such as acute vitamin-A deficiency which results in blindness, limit opportunities for productivity. In India alone there are at least one million preventable cases of blindness attributable to this cause alone. In East Pakistan, 50,000 children every year are threatened with a possible lifetime of blindness due to their precariously low vitamin-A intake. The blind have few opportunities to contribute to society and, in one form or another, they usually become a drain on that society. Yet for a few pennies a year, this blindness could easily be prevented.

The Philippine Government is attempting to pin a cost tag on its major diseases. To arrive at a figure, it combines production loss, manpower fatality loss, cost of medical care and burial expenses. Using this calculation, total economic loss per year for beri beri, for example, is estimated to be more than 44 million pesos ($11 million). This is only for those cases reported or recognized. Probably there are many others.

The late Dr. R. R. Williams, synthesizer of thiamine, reported: "Deficiency diseases are extremely insidious in that they are sapping the vitality of Asians to an unknown degree. My conviction is that there are scores of millions, perhaps hundreds of millions, in Asia who are suffering from mild beri beri, and have done so for years, and they still do not know they have it. . . . As a drain on the vitality of many people who suppose they are well, the deficiency diseases are a tremendous handicap to the struggling millions of Asia."[1] Interestingly, due to Dr. Williams' discovery, beri beri could be significantly controlled. Experimental enrichment of rice in seven municipalities in Bataan was responsible for a 76 percent to 94 percent decline of the disease. In one year, the beri beri fatality rate fell to a tenth of what it had been.

A cursory look at some of the other literature suggests: In Newfoundland, compulsory enrichment of flour is credited with a striking 40 percent decline in infant mortality. In Madagascar, a sugar refinery is reported to have reduced the turnover rate of migrant labor from 60 percent to 6 percent by the introduction of a balanced cooked meal. In Indo-China during World War II, study of a rubber plantation showed that there was a 50 percent increase in work output after the opening of a canteen which provided a liberal diet. In Costa Rica, a public works project showed over three years an increase in work output—from 240 to 1,157 cubic meters of earth moved per man per day—primarily as a result of improved sanitation and provision of substantial meals to the laborers. Other studies in Uganda, Kenya, Brazil and the old Belgian Congo come to comparable conclusions.

Apparently, no one has computed the monetary loss to economic development caused by malnutrition, but one can be sure it is considerable. Mr. George Verghese, Information Adviser to India's Prime Minister, recently reported after a trip to drought-plagued Bihar that "It is quite common to be told that the people are lazy, indolent, stupid. Angry words, but true—and the result of malnutrition over several generations. . . The economic cost to the nation of the consequent human inefficiency has never been calculated. It must run to hundreds of *crores* of rupees [hundreds of millions of dollars] each year. . . ."

III

Although malnutrition is brought about by a number of dietary deficiencies, the most serious and challenging to scientists at the moment is the inadequacy of protein—the critical nutrient for both physical and mental growth. Protein need cannot be divorced from general food intake—but once the minimum number of calories is available to sustain life, it is the quality of the food which becomes all-important.

Dr. Aaron Altschul, the protein chemist, has calculated that more than half of the 80-odd million tons of protein consumed in the world every year is in the form of grain—not because grain is so high in protein (on the order of 10 percent) but because wheat, rice, corn and other grains are consumed in such enormous quantities. If one could somehow enhance the protein quality of this grain, considerable progress could be made in the battle against protein malnutrition.

The value of protein in foods varies widely. It depends on a series of so-called "essential amino acids"—the value of the protein being only as great as the smallest of these. Envisioning this as a bar chart, with a number of tall bars and one short one, the value of the total protein is only as great as the shortest bar. The rest is wasted. In the case of most cereal grains, this limiting amino acid is lysine.

In one of the most significant scientific discoveries of this generation, Dr. Edwin Mertz and his associates at Purdue University recently developed, through genetic selection, a strain of corn with a substantially increased lysine content. As a result, the protein value of corn can be nearly doubled—*i.e.* corn may provide a source of protein almost as good as milk. Presumably this genetic approach to protein improvement can be applied also to rice, wheat and other grains. Tests are now being conducted in several countries to see whether such application is possible. As significant as such steps may be, it must be recognized that even under the best of circumstances, the world is still a number of years away from growing a sufficient quantity of such high-protein seed to make the kind of impact required now.

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[1] Federation of American Society for Experimental Biology, *Proceedings,* n. 20, 1961 (Supplement 7: 323).

Happily, a short cut may be possible—that is, by adding nutrients synthetically. The technology now exists to incorporate amino acids such as lysine during milling or by treating the whole grain. In processed foods, the system is even simpler. In the United States and Japan, a few commercial firms are already adding lysine to breakfast cereals, drinks, breads and soups.

A number of other possibilities also are under study. Many of them are based on the notion that inexpensive oil seeds—such as peanut, cottonseed, chickpea, soybean, sesame, sunflower and cocoanut—if processed and formulated into acceptable foods, can meet a protein requirement at considerably less cost than milk. (Milk is a luxury that most people in developing countries will not be able to afford for many years.)

After the oil is extracted from these seeds, little use is made of the residue for human feeding. Yet this material, properly processed, contains up to 50 percent good quality protein suitable for the human diet—particularly if combined with other foods. The cost of oilseed protein is well under one-fourth that of dry milk, and less than a tenth that of most other animal protein. The present supply of oilseed meal alone, properly processed, would be sufficient to meet more than twice the world's total protein deficit.

This oilseed principle has been employed by a number of companies in various countries to produce a variety of commercial, low-cost, protein products. The most successful of these is Vitasoy, a soy-based Hong Kong beverage sold in a typical soft-drink bottle and given a typical soft-drink promotion. Its sales keep pace with the major international soft drinks, and it outsells all others in the Hong Kong market. In South Africa, a line of foods, including soups, candies, beverages and cereals, under the label Pronutro, has been commercially successful—multiplying its sales ten times in the past two years. And in Latin America, Incaparina—a cottonseed-based beverage patterened after the *atole*, a drink the Mayan Indians have taken for centuries—has begun after years of development (and evangelism by the Quaker Oats Company) to be accepted.

There is not a conspicuous number of such projects. There has been enough experience, however, to conclude that certain elements are essential to success: the product must be palatable; it must be inexpensive; it should be similar, if possible, to products already known; it should incorporate ingredients that are locally available (or potentially so); it must be nutritionally potent.

Although this approach offers exciting possibilities, its significance should not be viewed out of context. The claim of some food scientists that this is the answer to the protein problem is perhaps a bit optimistic—at least for the present. Although the commercialized, formulated protein food can be of significant value to the urban poor, it offers less hope to the malnourished multitudes living in nonmonetized rural areas.

Another interesting use of oilseeds in some countries could be the "toning of milk." In India, for example, the butterfat content of buffalo milk is more than double that of cow's milk. By adding additional protein, one can dilute the butterfat content and stretch the available milk supply. Toning has been accomplished in the past with non-fat dry milk—now unfortunately in short supply throughout the world. However, Indian food scientists have devised the technology to use oilseed isolate in place of powdered milk—at considerable economy.

Recently much attention has also been given to fish protein concentrate, another good and inexpensive protein suitable for infants. The development of F.P.C. has followed a rocky road—especially in the United States. However, even here the earlier esthetic objection to consuming the whole fish apparently has now been overcome. The same is true of various technical obstacles, as is reflected in the recent approval of two F.P.C. processes by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. Fish is the most underutilized conventional food source—accounting for only 1 percent of the world's total food consumption. Assuming that widespread cultural and religious taboos can be overcome, the use of fish in combatting malnutrition has great potential.

A number of other protein discoveries have been made of late—some at this point laboratory curiosties, others verging on science fiction. But their potential is too important to overlook. Receiving considerable attention is the prospect of producing edible protein by growing single-cell organisms on natural gas, petroleum, vegetable wastes or even coal. The Dutch Shell Group, for example, has found a bacterium which uses methane, a natural gas, as its sole source of energy for reproduction. These bacteria contain about 50 percent protein, and, according to U.S. nutritionist Dr. Nevin Scrimshaw: "There is little doubt that wholesome and nutritious single cell products utilizing energy from petroleum or natural gas can be developed and produced in almost unlimited quantities within a decade."[2] Some scientists are talking in terms of three to five years. Already, two million pounds of petroleum-based feed are being used to fatten cattle and poultry in a Russian research project. A similar "petroleum diet" experiment is being conducted with pigs in Nigeria.

The potential advantages are many: the relative abundance of petroleum, even in food-short countries; the independence from climatic uncertainties; the small space requirement; the need for only a few technicians; and the rapid growth rate. All these suggest the possibility of unlimited man-made protein production. Most of the world's large petroleum companies are deeply engrossed in protein projects. Some are actively collaborating with major food companies—such as the current Esso/Nestlé liaison. The president of Gulf Oil recently predicted that protein food will become a significant by-product of the oil industry.

Scientific imagination has gone further. "Milk" has been produced from water-soaked leaves. Seaweed and algae are other protein possibilities currently being examined. (A French company recently discovered an entire West African village successfully using algae as its basic protein source.) Much work remains, however, to improve palatability and to find ways of producing economically feasible products.

IV

Required changes of food habits, indispensable to the success of many of the above approaches, present an imposing obstacle. Although there is an important correlation between dietary standards and per capita income, food habits also have deep psychological roots and are associated with love, affection, warmth, self-image and social prestige. As a result, there is perhaps no aspect of personal life less flexible than one's eating pattern. Behavioral studies of Tunisian immigrants to France demonstrated that changes in their food habits occurred long after they had accepted the language and newspapers of their adopted country. Changes come hard, even among the most sophisticated elements of society. How many doctors, for example, have altered their breakfast habits—their consumption of eggs, butter, cream, sugar (and the after-breakfast cigarette) in the face of health warnings circulated in recent years? Resistance to change is even stronger in traditional societies lacking the advantages of extensive communications.

To bypass what Dr. Margaret Mead refers to as "the irrational rigidity" of inadequate diets, one might conclude that, when possible, emphasis should be placed on food fortification and the development and multiplication of new varieties of high-protein seed. Neither the color, texture nor taste of the food need be affected. Similarly, no change would be required in existing buying, cooking or eating habits.

This does not eliminate the need for other approaches or for a strong educational effort. In Africa, for example, some believe that mangoes produce jaundice. In India, one of the few foods accepted throughout the country is *dal*, very high in protein, but rarely fed to the weaning infant because of unfounded fears that it will cause digestive problems and eventual death. In this instance, the necessary protein to keep the child healthy is literally in the mother's possession. Yet *dal* typically is fed only to adults of the family—even though the protein requirements of the infant are two and one-half times greater per kilo of body weight.

In a fascinating study of changes in Israeli food habits, Dr. Sarah Bavly concluded that the most important influence in the introduction of new foods—weighed against the influence of newspapers, radio, husbands, neighbors, etc.—is the exposure of the child to nutrition education in school. Second in rank is the provision of a school lunch, even without formal nutrition instruction.

The large programs of child feeding now under way in most developing countries are themselves helping to improve standards of nutrition—but many believe they could be accomplishing more. Unfortunately, such programs frequently connote relief or charity. As a result, the food is usually provided as an end in itself, rather than to accomplish other important goals—*viz*, intentionally reorienting eating habits, incorporating nutrition education into the curriculum, encouraging the use of local commodities, and helping to establish the necessary agencies to continue a program after current sponsors no longer are involved.

In the critical role played by agriculture in economic development, primary attention is and should be given to greater farm yields. However, the need for more attention to the qualitative side of food production is becoming increasingly apparent. Provision of adequate supplies of grain staples is not enough, as has been demonstrated in Mexico, where the enormously successful campaign to increase overall food production has not resulted in significantly alleviating widespread malnutrition among children. An item on the current agenda of the U.N. Economic and Social Council implies that in agricultural planning, the nutritional needs of the population and particularly of the preschool child should be taken into account.

Finally, no discussion of increasing protein supply is appropriate without some mention of the work needed to prevent sizable protein loss to insects, rodents and mold. In India, this has been estimated at up to four million tons a year. Although there are many questions yet to be answered concerning the most effective techniques, sufficient information is already known—especially in the context of proper storage facilities and environmental control—for major steps to be taken immediately.

V

Although most of the necessary resources to combat malnutrition may be readily at hand, the solution to this problem is by no means simple. Unlike the successful program to eradicate malaria, more than a can of spray is needed to conquer this more pernicious enemy. Malnutrition is a multifaceted problem requiring a coordinatd approach. Other than in a superficial sense, this does not exist.

One of the basic difficulties is the lack of consensus among the many disciplines working in the field, and often among many of the scientists within the same discipline. Malnutrition is an interdisciplinary problem, but each discipline—nutrition, food technology, health education, marketing—tends to be a bit over-disciplined in prescribing its own solution. There is a kind of unrealistic parochialism that prevents a clear view of the aggregate problem.

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[2] "Increasing the Production and Human Use of Protein." Working Paper for U.N. Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, October 5, 1966, p. 21.

Another impediment is the gap frequently existing between the scientific community and the food industry—or stated another way, between the laboratory and the child's stomach. In essence, the difficulty is one of mutual suspicion. Food industrialists frequently regard nutritionists and food technologists as academic, ivory-towered types who lack any understanding of the problems of marketing. The premium placed on a signed journal article is generally much greater than that given for the sometimes tedious follow-through required to put these findings to use. In turn, food executives are often perceived as onerous "profiteers," or at best as "tradesmen." The result, in many countries, is a serious lack of substantive collaboration.

Still another difficulty in many protein-poor countries lies in the policy and communications gap between government and the fledgling food industry. In some nations, policies relating to licensing, pricing and food standards often cause interminable delays and frustration. The result is a severe inhibition of growth. In these countries, the percentage of earnings going into pioneering work, product development and market testing is considerably smaller than it is in countries with fewer restrictions.

Thus, while promising nutrition activities are taking place in a number of countries, the accomplishments so far fall considerably short of the need. Technologically, malnutrition *can* be overcome. The arduous and expensive task of doing it has hardly begun.

The basic fact, perhaps, is that governments which have discussed the need in principle have not faced up to the magnitude of their role. Although governments recognize that an educated populace is important for development—and hence give substantial support to educational systems—there is not yet the same awareness that a well-nourished population has comparable importance. Perhaps this lack of governmental focus on the importance of nutrition for national growth reflects only an information gap between the laboratory and the political leader that will be overcome in time. Meanwhile, the consequences for national development are increasingly clear. Without improved nutrition in the less favored two-thirds of the world, the development of human resources—and the development of the nations themselves—is sure to be retarded.

UKRAINIAN AMERICANS STAGE PROTEST

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, on April 28 the Ukrainian Americans staged a protest against the persecution by Russia of Ukrainian writers, poets, and literary critics. This persecution is directed toward eliminating the Ukrainian people as an ethnic group by retaining Ukraine under Russian domination. The majority of the persons arrested and convicted through the past years have been intellectuals from various parts of Ukraine who raised their voices for political and cultural independence.

The Ukrainians in the First District of Arizona have sent their protest to the World Assembly for Human Rights Conference which was held in Teheran, Iran, from April 22 through May 13. I applaud their action, and join with them in the desire for the cultural and political freedom of Ukraine.

IN MEMORY OF HOMER GARRISON, JR.

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, death recently claimed one of the most outstanding law-enforcement officers of this century, Col. Homer Garrison, Jr., the director of the Texas Department of Public Safety.

As the director of the DPS for some 30 years, Colonel Garrison was chiefly responsible for the advancement of law enforcement in Texas and was the architect of several innovations in law enforcement that have served as models which were later adopted by many other States.

His leadership in launching Texas' original driver licensing program and developing it is near legendary in law-enforcement circles in this country.

Colonel and Mrs. Garrison have been longtime friends of mine and I know firsthand of his dedication in civic and public endeavors outside the law-enforcement business. It was my privilege to serve with him on the board of the First Methodist Church in Austin and to be closely associated with him at a time when I was working in the Governor's office.

I can say he was a very special man with qualities far above the ordinary, including a personal magnetism and skilled leadership. He was a man of firm principles and deep understanding and a man whose service was a credit to his State and his country.

I include in the RECORD at this point an article that appeared in the May issue of the Texas Civil Defense Digest in memory of Col. Homer Garrison:

IN MEMORY: HOMER GARRISON, JR.

Colonel Homer Garrison, Jr., 66, died in Houston on May 7, 1968, after a long illness. The veteran state official and lawman had been director of the Texas Department of Public Safety since 1938.

Garrison was born in the settlement of Kickapoo in Anderson County, Texas, on July 21, 1901, the oldest of nine children. He wed Mary Nell Kilgo on June 1, 1939, and was the father of one son, Homer Garrison III, born May 29, 1942.

His mother, Mrs. Mattie Milan Garrison, resides in Lufkin, Brothers are Pitser Garrison, Lufkin; Hugh Garrison, Tyler; Jimmy Garrison, Baytown; Arthur Garrison, Tommy Garrison, and Frank Garrison. His sisters are Mrs. Elizabeth Friday of Lufkin and Mrs. Charles M. Holland.

From Angelina County surveyor to director of a far-flung law enforcement organization which is considered among the nation's best was Colonel Garrison's brilliant record.

After his graduation from Lufkin High School, he went to work in the office of his father who was district clerk in Angelina County. In 1920, he was appointed county surveyor by the district court.

Colonel Garrison received his first experience as an officer of the law when 19 years old. Art Youngblood, then sheriff of Angelina County, appointed him deputy and his rise became legendary.

In 1929, he received an appointment as a State license and weight inspector. Joining the Texas Highway Patrol when it was organized in 1930, Colonel Garrison advanced step by step through the ranks to become director of the Texas Department of Public Safety and chief of the Texas Rangers in 1938.

In 1934, at the request of the Governor of New Mexico, the Governor of Texas loaned Colonel Garrison's services to the State of New Mexico to help organize the New Mexico State Police.

During World War II, he was offered an appointment to serve on the staff of General Douglas MacArthur to reorganize and supervise the Japanese National Police System for the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department. He declined this task, stating that he would be better able to serve the advance of law enforcement, generally, by remaining in Texas and devoting his skill and knowledge to his assignment as director of the Department of Public Safety.

In 1952, he received from the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, the Distinguished Citizen Award for the State of Texas. In 1955, he was invited to spend three or four months in Ethiopia by the United States Foreign Operations Administration as advisor to the Ethiopian government on police matters.

Colonel Garrison, in 1962, was the recipient of the sixth Paul Gray Hoffman Award, conferred annually by the Automotive Safety Foundation for distinguished service in highway safety. In 1963, he received the Sigma Delta Chi National Society of Journalism Award, "An Outstanding Friend of Texas Journalism," and in 1965, the Texas Daily Newspaper Association presented their Award to him for Exemplary Cooperation with Newspapers of Texas.

In 1963, by appointment of Governor Connally, he became director of Civil Defense and Disaster Relief for the State of Texas, and chairman of the State Defense Council. That same year, the Governor also named him as director of the Governor's Highway Safety Commission.

In May of 1966, he was elected as chairman, resolutions committee, and a member of the steering committee of the Southern Region Highway Policy Committee of the Council of State Governments. In January 1967, he was appointed a member of the National Motor Vehicle Safety Advisory Council.

Colonel Garrison was honored in December of 1967 as 400 of Texas' most prominent citizens and leaders met in Waco to break ground for a new Fort Fisher museum and Texas Ranger headquarters to be built on the site of a frontier Ranger outpost.

Governor Connally, keynote speaker for the occasion, praised Colonel Garrison for his leadership in launching Texas' original driver licensing program and developing it into a model one which was later adopted by many other states.

He was also lauded for the creation and development of a firstclass police training academy, and for the building of an unparalleled communications system which handles both police and disaster communications.

The Governor also praised Colonel Garrison for his outstanding direction of the State Civil Defense and Disaster Relief program, and especially for his leadership during Hurricane Beulah.

Colonel Garrison was a member of numerous professional and civic organizations, and belonged to the Board of Stewards of the First Methodist Church in Austin.

THREE GI'S, TWO MARINES IN STATE ARE KILLED IN VIETNAM WAR

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sgt. Lionel T. Clover, Cpl. Mario F. Muse, Jr., Cpl. Joseph V. Czajkowski, Pvt. William R. Bissell, and Pvt. Franklin H. Metzker, five fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend their courage and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

THREE GI'S, TWO MARINES IN STATE ARE KILLED IN VIETNAM WAR

Five Maryland servicemen, three in the Army and two in the Marine Corps, were killed last week in Vietnam, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

The Marylanders were identified as:

Army Sgt. Lionel T. Clover, husband of Mrs. Lynda A. Clover, of Hyattsville.

Army Cpl. Mario F. Muse, Jr., son of Mario F. Muse, Sr., of 3000 Reisterstown road, Baltimore.

Army Cpl. Joseph V. Czajkowski, son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. Czajkowski, of 808 Stoll street, Baltimore.

Marine Pvt. William R. Bissell, son of Mrs. Dorothy M. Bissell, of 6507 Seventy-eighth street, Cabin John, Md.

Marine Pvt. Franklin H. Metzker, son of Mr. and Mrs. John J. Metzker, of 1317 Fifty-eighth avenue, Hillside, Md.

ON GUARD DUTY

Sergeant Clover, who was 21, was killed during an exchange of fire May 22 while he was on guard duty somewhere in Vietnam, his sister, Miss Penny Clover, said yesterday.

She said Sergeant Clover was drafted into the Army almost two years ago and had been in Vietnam since late October.

He attended Gonzaga High School in Washington and graduated from Northwestern High School in Hyattsville. Sergeant Clover had completed three semesters at the University of Maryland, where he was majoring in English, when he was drafted.

Besides his sister Penny, and his wife, he is survived by a 1-year old son, Christopher; his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Lionel A. Clover, of Hyattsville, and four other sisters, Mrs. Heather Levy, of Chevy Chase, Md.; Mrs. Mary Moran, of Alexandria, Va.; and Christine and Martha Clover, both of Hyattsville.

Corporal Czajkowski, who was 20, was killed May 22 during an attack somewhere in Vietnam, his family was told.

A 1966 graduate of Southern High School, where he was a member of the wrestling and football teams, Corporal Czajkowski enlisted in the Army in December, 1966.

EXTENDED VIET TOUR

He had been in Vietnam for a year this spring and extended his tour of duty for another six months. He returned to Vietnam Easter Monday after a 30-day leave at home, his family said.

Besides his parents, he is survived by a brother, Richard, who is a senior at Southern High School.

Private Metzker, who was 20, was killed by enemy rifle fire during an operation south of Da Nang May 17, his mother said yesterday.

WOUNDED BY TRAP

Mrs. Metzker said her son had been wounded earlier by shrapnel from a booby trap but was treated and released at a field hospital.

She said Private Metzker attended Central High School, in Hillside, where he played center on the varsity football team and was a member of the track team.

Besides his parents, he is survived by a sister, Patricia Faye Metzker, and four brothers, Gordon N., Donald L., Kenneth P. and John J. Metzker, Jr.

ENLISTED YEAR AGO

Private Muse, who was 20, was killed May 17, his father said yesterday.

Mr. Muse said his son enlisted in the Army a year ago and had been in Vietnam for about the last six months. Private Muse attended Garrison High School and joined the Job Corps, where he served in Texas, before enlisting.

Besides his father, he is survived by his mother, Mrs. Violet Muse, of Baltimore, and two brothers and two sisters.

ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 27, 1968

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, one of the happy results of the catastrophic World War I was the liberation of a number of oppressed nationalities from alien yokes, and the rebirth of new states in Europe and in Asia. The Armenian people were among these oppressed nationalities who were able to form a new state—but not without having first endured a heavy genocidal assault, and unhappily not for long even then.

The Armenians are one of the numerous peoples of the ancient world whose early history is buried in distant past. Throughout their long and turbulent history they have succeeded in maintaining their national traits and traditions. For centuries their homeland has been an arena for contending and conquering warlords. Centuries before Columbus set out to find the New World, the Armenians had lost their independence. Many of them were driven out of their homes and sought refuge in other lands. Those remaining behind suffered under the alien yoke, and for centuries they endured the despotic Turkish rule over them.

World War I brought a special tragedy; nearly all Armenians in the Ottoman empire were uprooted from their homes and done to death through wholesale massacres and starvation. However, several hundred thousand Armenians were lucky enough to escape and found refuge in the Russian part of ancient Armenia. There they joined hands with other Armenians and proclaimed Armenia's independence on May 28, 1918.

That memorable and momentous event is of immense significance to the Armenian people. It marked the rebirth of their state after the lapse of some 500 years, and it also ushered in a new era for them. At the end the Government of Armenia was recognized by the governments of leading powers, and with their aid it was struggling hard to cope with a multitude of internal and external problems. But the country was surrounded by implacable foes whose forces were too powerful. In the fall of 1920, less than 3 years after its birth, the Armenian state was attacked by the combined forces of Communist Russia and nationalist Turkey. By early December Armenia was overrun and its independence vanished.

Since then most of their homeland has become part of Turkey, while a small part is incorporated in the Soviet Union as one of its constituent republics. On the 50th anniversary of Armenian Independence Day, Armenians in the free world still cherish the ideals proclaimed on May 28, and yearn for the freedom of their homeland from its alien masters.

STATEMENT REGARDING POLISH JEWRY

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 22, 1968

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, many of my constituents in the Seventh District of Michigan are most concerned about the recent purges which have taken place within the Communist Party and the Government of Poland. The Jewish population in Poland is now living in a climate of psychological uncertainty and daily fear as to whether the old purges of the World War II era will resume again. At this time I would like to insert into the RECORD a statement regarding Polish Jewry which I received from the Flint Jewish Community Council. This statement reflects not only my opinion and the opinions of the Members of this body, but the opinions of all those concerned citizens who condemn this new wave of intimidation and terror in Poland. The text is as follows:

STATEMENT REGARDING POLISH JEWRY

Persisting reports from Poland confirm the mournful knowledge that the government of that nation and its ruling communist party have recklessly and cruelly unleashed and encouraged a new wave of terror, intimidation and persecution against Jewish citizens.

Jewish communities throughout the world are presently observing the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The tragedy of that event is compounded by the heartless slander which elements of Polish officialdom now deliberately choose to level against the memories of 3,000,000 Polish Jewish victims of the Nazi occupation. In a transparently fraudulent response to student demonstrations for more freedom, they have sought to shift blame and responsibility upon the remnant of 30,000 Jews remaining in that country.

As the controlled party press echoes charges reminiscent of the fantastic Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Jews remaining in government and in academic life, and scientists and artists, have fallen within the purge. The dignity of death is denied to those who perished and who are now appallingly characterized as "Nazi collaborators;" the status of equal citizenship is denied to those who survived and are now made suspect as "Zionists;" and to the bereaved among us and in Poland, even personal and understanding are officially denied.

In the name of common decency and humanity we cannot allow this to happen without protest. This frenzied anti-Semitism of the Polish government must not be met by silence, else we will not have learned the lesson of recent years.

Therefore: We call upon our government and its leaders to protest this expression of anti-Semitism by the Polish government.

We appeal to our government to take whatever measures are necessary to enable those who would seek to avoid this oppression to emigrate to the United States or to other nations which will receive them.

We urge our government to revoke the treaty privileges Poland now enjoys as a "favored nation" because by its present action it revives the spectre of Hitlerism and mocks the memories of millions who were its victims.

We ask our fellow citizens and all men of conscience—clergy, labor, industry, academicians—to join in our protest and add their voices to our own.

AMERICANS HAVE DIED IN VIETNAM BUT NO FLAG IS FLYING AT HALF-MAST FOR THEM

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Branch Hill Post No. 5354, concerning the lowering of the American flag at half-mast for the late Martin Luther King.

While neither subscribing to nor dissenting from the position taken by the post in their letter to me, I certainly find it difficult to understand why the American flag was lowered at half-mast for Dr. King. Of course, this resulted from an order by the administration and Members of Congress have no control over that.

The VFW Post asked that I place this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and in accordance with their wishes I hereby submit the following letter:

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Loveland, Ohio, April 30, 1968.

Hon. WILLIAM S. HARSHA,
Congressman, Sixth District, Ohio,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As adjutant of the Branch Hill VFW Post No. 5354, I was directed at the Post's last meeting to write you a letter with regard to the American flag being lowered at half-mast for Martin Luther King.

With the unanimous approval of those members present, this letter is to express our vehement indignation to our Congressman, who can place it in the Congressional Record.

For the flag to be lowered at half-mast for five days for a person who preached to his followers disobedience to laws and disregard for court injunctions, which resulted in violence across the land is a complete mockery to the thousands of servicemen who have died hero's deaths in wars involving their country.

To date, twenty thousand Americans have died in Viet Nam—many, many of them sacrificing their all for their country, but no flag is flying at half-mast for them. A two-star General was recently killed in Viet Nam, and very little was noted about his death; he devoted his life to his country and served in three wars, but no flag flew half-mast for him.

We firmly think the flag should be lowered at half-mast this very day in honor of those men dying in Viet Nam and it should remain lowered until no more Americans are dying on foreign soil.

It seems that the common "G.I." is expendable for his country with no flourish or fanfare. Whereas, the rabble rousers, communistic "leaners" and politicians are upheld by the Government and the Courts, no matter what they do.

We think it is time that justice is put back in its right perspective. Let's justify our acts and not let the minority group cloud our thinking. It's time the Government takes a firm stand and brings America back to its once strong position—away from the "wishy-washy" posture it has taken in the eyes of the *true* Americans and our various allies.

Respectfully submitted,

ALBERT KYDE.

PRAISE FOR PRESIDENT

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, on May 8, the Wichita Falls Record News carried an editorial entitled: "Praise for President." The editorial quoted and agreed with some remarks of Dr. George R. Davis, formerly pastor of the Christian Church in Wichita Falls, and presently serving in the Nation's Capital.

Dr. Davis had said that President Johnson's leadership "has brought us to a point where we may have war no more."

The editorial points out that all Presidents who have led the Nation in crucial periods of our history have come under bitter, unfair, and untruthful criticism. Lyndon Johnson has not been spared this kind of attack. In spite of it all, the President persists in his efforts for national unity and world peace. Toward those goals, he deserves the support of all Americans.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the RECORD the text of this thoughtful, reasoned editorial from the Wichita Falls Record News:

PRAISE FOR PRESIDENT

Most people of the Wichita Falls area know Dr. George R. Davis, former Christian Church pastor here, now in Washington, to respect his good judgment, intelligence and sincerity. For this reason the minister's praise of President Lyndon Johnson will have more significance.

Dr. Davis said the President's leadership "has brought us to a point where we may have war no more. The minister quoted from the Book of Timothy:"

"I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith." He added that the President hasn't finished the course but he has kept the faith in his sincere effort to bring the United States to a position of respect and dignity before the whole world.

The President, who has announced he would not be a candidate again for the presidency, must have found real comfort in the words of his pastor. As all Presidents who have led the nation during critical years, Johnson has been subjected to bitter, unfair and untruthful criticism.

Many elements of the nation's leadership which should have worked with him and cooperated in solving both domestic and military problems have rather chosen to blast the nation's chief executive with unfounded charges.

All of us join Dr. Davis in hoping President Johnson has found the way to bring us peace again and establish it permanently. At least he is trying to do so, and we have the stern conviction that Americans should support him in the effort.

If the nation does not pull itself together in a united effort, the President's task will be much more difficult. We hope those who have indulged in blind criticism, will pay attention to this minister's statement.

OMAHA JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month during a visit to the Second Congressional District of Nebraska which I have the honor of representing in the House of Representatives, I attended the Omaha Junior Chamber of Commerce annual awards banquet.

I was highly impressed by one of the young men chosen to receive that organization's Distinguished Service Award and by his acceptance speech, and I would like to share it with my colleagues.

The recipient of the award was Mr. Howard D. Vann, president of the Vann Realty Co. in Omaha. Mr. Vann has held a number of important posts in civic affairs works including the following: President of the Rotary Club of Omaha-Suburban; president of the Nebraska University Alumni Association; president of the Nebraska Epilepsy League, board of directors of the Omaha Chamber of Commerce; president of Zeta Beta Tau-Omaha Alumni; president of Omaha Junior Chamber of Commerce; president of Nebraska Junior Chamber of Commerce; and recipient of the Clayton Frost Award for being one of the five outstanding Jaycee State presidents in America.

Following is the speech by Mr. Vann at the awards banquet in Omaha:

Thank you very much Dick. President Ken, my good friend Floyd Kalber, Distinguished Head Table, ladies and gentlemen, I accept this award on behalf of the other nominees and the more than forty-five thousand young men in the city of Omaha between the ages of 21 and 36. I am extremely proud to share this year's award with Mike. When I first learned that the award was to be presented to two people, I thought that it was rather unusual, but after listening to Senator Howard Baker from Tennessee speak and say, "Even though some people say that because we have never done it before so we can't do it now, that means that now is the time to do things a little different," and after seeing the Tony Award for the best actress on Broadway being shared, and after seeing something accomplished here in Omaha that could not be accomplished hundreds of thousands of miles away in the Middle East, that is a Lebonese and a Jew sharing the same platform, I reiterate that I am very pleased to be on the same platform with Mike.

If I might ask your indulgence, I would like to direct my comments this evening to my three sons who are sitting out in the audience. I would like to explain to them the importance of not only being successful in business, but the responsibility of individual citizens to help their community and their nation.

Bill, Tom, and John, you might ask yourselves where your father has been many of the days that we could have been playing together or watching television.

Well boys, it's my firm belief and the belief of many men, such as the nominees seated in the audience tonight, that individuals . . . people . . . citizens like you and I can do a lot to improve ourselves and our nation.

Ever since you were born you have heard the word, Jaycees. This is probably the one greatest young man's organization in the world. This is where one can learn to work with all sorts of men, and where one can learn responsibility. This is where one can learn about the free enterprise system and believe it or not this is the organization that gave birth to both Big Brothers and Junior Achievement here in Omaha. This is why I think that it is so very important for every young man to have the opportunity of membership in the Jaycees.

You boys have heard of almost every possible charitable drive that has ever been conducted—YMCA, Heart Fund, UCS, United Cerebral Palsy, Arthritis Foundation, and on, and on, and on. You have heard of Rotary where friendship reigns supreme and its slogan, "Service above self," explains itself. You have heard "I like Nobby and Nixon's the One." There are the organizations that you boys have made it possible to participate in such as Boy Scouts, Little League, and Community Club. So you see, there is plenty to be done and each and every one of us has an obligation to fulfill. No one has the right to sit back and complain if he does not want to do something about it. As Teddy Roosevelt put it, "It is not the critic who counts nor the man who points out where the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to those who are actually made in the arena: Whose face is marred by dust, and sweat, and blood, who strive valiantly; who error and come again and again, who know the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause; who, at the worst if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who never met victory or defeat."

Your Dad firmly believes that the future of this country lies in the hands of our youth. Because of this, it is very important for you to have faith in people. Give people the benefit of the doubt. Let them tackle a job and accomplish it the way that they want to. You will be pleasantly surprised that they will get the job done for you.

It is important to be honest. Trust people to the fullest until they give you a reason to distrust them. And always be honest when you deal with people. Never take advantage of anyone. You will find that in the long run you will come out much better dealing fairly and squarely with everyone. If you don't tell a fib, you don't have to remember what the truth really is.

When you get old enough, set goals for yourself. Bill, you have said that you probably want to be a doctor. Tom, you will probably do something with your hands, possibly become an architect or a dentist. John, undoubtedly you will be an Indian chief. Whatever you boys choose as your life's work, always be optimistic but realistic.

The present Vice-President of the United States told me last year that if I was unhappy with Government Sponsored Programs, and I am, that the best place to change that situation was on the local level. For once, I firmly agreed with the Vice-President. We must take the opportunity of leadership!! We should expect one hundred percent effort. We cannot settle for less than one hundred percent performance.

You know, the population of the United States is about 200 million people. There are 69 million people over 65 which leaves 151 million to do the work. There are approximately 76 million people of school age, 39 million people working for the Government, and 16 million people in the Armer Forces which leaves 20 million people. There are 17,800,000 people in local Government which leaves only 2,200,000 people to do the work. There are 2 million bums in the world and 126,000 individuals in hospitals and asylums which leaves just 74,000 people. There are 73,998 people in jail which leaves just two people to do the work. That's you and me . . . and I sure wish you would get on the ball and do something, because I'm getting old and tired. So you see, it really is up to each and every one of us . . . *as individuals* . . . to do our share of the work!

This is the first time that you boys have heard me speak. Your Mother has heard me giving speeches for about ten years. So when I begin thanking people for this honor, I should start with Mom. Then there are my late parents without whose firm guidance I would not be here tonight. Then there is our good friend, Herb, for his sage advice. Then there are all my fine business associates, my foreman, my attorney, my insurance men, my accountant, and everyone's friend, my friendly banker.

Where does one start thanking the people that have worked for you in various organizations throughout the past ten years. To all our personal friends who we cherish so very much, we say thanks. To Jim Maher in California, Gale, Ken, Lee, Joe, Don, Jerry, Woody, Dick, Gary, Bob, and on, and on, and on. To all the people who have ever accepted a responsibility for doing a job, and then more important, accomplish that job, my heart felt appreciation. This award truly belongs to you.

In closing, or better yet, in pledging anew to keep our country, our state, our city, and our families beautiful, strong, law abiding, patriotic, and free, may I offer this guideline printed some twenty years ago in a national publication and repeated so many, many times by speech makers. "This is the beginning of a new day. God has given me this day to use as I will. I can waste it; or use it for good.

"When tomorrow comes, this day will be gone forever, leaving in its place something that I have traded for it. I want it to be—gain, not loss; good, not evil; success, not failure; in order that I shall not regret the price, a day of my life, I have paid for it."

PRIDE TEMPERED BY SHAME

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing on WXYZ-TV of Detroit, Mich., pointing out some of the urgent needs for better funding and support by the Federal Government for the great Smithsonian Institution.

The editorial follows:

PRIDE TEMPERED BY SHAME

Often, concern over the problems facing Detroit leads us to ignore the presence of a truly outstanding community asset.

To Channel 7 it appears that might be the case with one of the nation's most outstanding repositories of historical artifacts . . . Edison Institute . . . The Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village.

Long recognized as one of the best planned, well-maintained and reverent collections of our American technological heritage, Dearborn's Edison Institute may well have become the nation's greatest such center . . . the title falling to it by default.

It would seem natural to assume that this honor would belong to the nation's largest such historical collection . . . the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. However, through a tragic lack of maintenance . . . and apparent indifference toward the current condition of many of the displays, our national museum has become what might be termed a national disgrace.

It's Channel 7's hope that the conditions at the Smithsonian which lead us to this conclusion are soon corrected. But, more to the point locally, through our continued support, we in the Detroit area will encourage officials of the Edison Institute to insure that neglect is never permitted to so damage our own proud collection of American history.

KREBS AGAINST ASHBROOK

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it will be remembered that in August 1966, the House Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings on legislation which proposed to punish acts of assistance to enemies of the United States in time of undeclared war. These hearings, which were held in the caucus room of the Old Office Building, were the scene of much raucous and disruptive action by extreme and radical elements in which one lawyer was all but carried from the hearing room.

Shortly hereafter Allen M. Krebs and others initiated court action seeking permanent and temporary injunctive relief restraining the House committee. When the one-judge district court found that the constitutional issues raised were "not insubstantial," he granted the motion for a three-judge statutory court.

On September 11, 1967, the three-judge court handed down its decision that the constitutionality of a statute was not involved and that the House Committee on Un-American Activities received its authorization under the rules of the House of Representatives. The plaintiffs held that the committee received its authorization under a statute, the Reorganization Act of 1946, and was therefore subject to review by the courts. As no statute was involved, the three-judge court dissolved itself and sent the case back to the initial one-judge court.

Before the latter court could decide the case, the plaintiffs appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals. On May 14 of this year the court of appeals affirmed the decision of the district court. In its decision Senior Circuit Judge Prettyman not only concurred but directed that the case be dismissed. The case now goes back to the single district judge for further action.

This case is extremely important because, had the plaintiffs succeeded in establishing the jurisdiction of the courts over the operation of congressional committees, such committees could have been hamstrung by court action in the performance of their constitutional functions.

I place the two decisions referred to above, the decision of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia and the later decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, in the Record at this point:

[U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, civil action No. 2157–66]

Dr. Allen M. Krebs, et al., Plaintiffs *v.* John M. Ashbrook, et al., Defendants*

Before: Bazelon, Chief Circuit Judge, Fahy,** Circuit Judge, and Corcoran, District Judge.

ORDER

In accordance with the opinion filed herein September 11, 1967, the order of August 16, 1966, convening this three-judge District Court is vacated, the three-judge court is dissolved, and the case is remitted to District Judge Howard F. Corcoran for disposition.

Charle Fahy,
Senior Circuit Judge.
Howard F. Corcoran,
District Judge.

Dated: September 11, 1967.
Chief Circuit Judge Bazelon dissents.

[U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, civil action No. 2157–66]

Dr. Allen M. Krebs and Walter D. Teague III, on Their Own Behalf and on Behalf of all Other Persons Similarly Situated, Plaintiffs, *v.* John M. Ashbrook, John H. Buchanan, Jr., Del Clawson, Joe R. Pool, Richard H. Ichord, William M. Tuck, George F. Senner, Jr., Charles L. Weltner, Edwin E. Willis, Individually and as Chairman and Members of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives, David G. Bress, United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, Defendants.†

OPINION

Robert L. Ackerly, of Washington, D.C., William M. Kunstler, of Washington, D.C., and Lawrence Speiser, of Washington, D.C., for plaintiffs.

Harry Alexander, Joseph M. Hannon, Frank Q. Nebeker and Gil Zimmerman, Assistant United States Attorneys, for defendants.

Before Bazelon, Chief Circuit Judge, Fahy,‡ Circuit Judge, and Corcoran, District Judge.

Fahy, Circuit Judge. In its early stages this case was thought to require the convening of a three-judge District Court under the mandate of 28 U.S.C. § 2282,[1] since the complaint, in seeking injunctive relief against appellees, alleged that Rule XI of the House of Representatives, the charter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, was enacted by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 812, and was unconstitutional. The constitutional question being deemed not insubstantial, a three-judge District Court was convened under the terms of 28 U.S.C. § 2284 which prescribes the procedure for and composition of a three-judge District Court required by Section 2282. At the outset this three-judge court requested memoranda on the issue whether "this case should proceed before this specially constituted three-judge court or be remanded to a single District Judge." Both parties promptly filed memoranda, but neither raised the question whether Rule XI was an "Act of Congress." Thereafter on April 14, 1967, defendants filed a "Supplement to Motion to Dismiss . . .," urging that Rule XI is a "Rule of Procedure adopted by the House of Representatives (acting singly)." The close reexamination of the genesis and status of Rule XI, prompted by defendants' "Supplement," has led us to conclude that Rule XI is not an "Act of Congress" as that term is used in Section 2282, that the activities of defendants as to which injunctive relief is sought by plaintiffs have been and are conducted under authority of a rule of the House of Representatives rather than under the authority of an Act of Congress, and that, therefore, the case is not one that comes within the provisions of Section 2282.

Plaintiffs' Bill of Complaint alleges that the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 enacts *inter alia* Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, referred to as the charter of the Committee, and that, as thus enacted the Rule is void on its face, including its origin, the setting within which the Committee has operated in the past, and as the Rule is applied to plaintiffs, in that it violates the Constitution, in particular Article I, Section 9, Clause 3, and Article III, as well as in other respects set forth.

Title I of the Reorganization Act is the part of the Act pertinent to this case. It is entitled "Changes in Rules of Senate and House" after which follows the subtitle, "Rule-making Power of the Senate and House." The title then contains the following unusual provision:

"Sec. 101. The following sections of this title are enacted by the Congress:

"(a) As an exercise of the rule-making power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, and as such they shall be considered as part of the rules of each House, respectively, or of that House to which they specifically apply; and such rules shall supersede other rules only to the extent that they are inconsistent therewith; and

"(b) With full recognition of the constitutional right of either House to change such rules (so far as relating to the procedure in such House) at any time, in the same manner and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of such House." [60 Stat. 814]

A "Part I" then provides the "Standing Rules of the Senate," including "Standing Committees of the Senate."

A "Part 2" provides "Rules of the House of Representatives," including "Standing Committees of the House of Representatives." Under the caption "Rule X," which is the first rule set forth, it is stated, "There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:" "17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members." Rule XI provides the "Powers and Duties of Committees." In due course under this Rule comes "Committee on Un-American Activities." Its powers and duties are there set forth as follows:

"(A) Un-American activities.

"(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

"For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittees, or by any members designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member." [60 Stat. 828–29.]

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 only restates the rules pertaining to the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Committee achieved its standing committee status and first received its charter, as it presently reads, in House Resolution 5, 79th Cong., 1st Sess., 91 Cong. Rec. 10, 15 (1945). See also *Watkins* v. *United States*, 354 U.S. 178, 201–03.

We particularly note that Title 1 is headed "Changes in Rules of Senate and House," and states that it is enacted by Congress "as an exercise of the rule-making power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, and as such they shall be considered as part of the rules of each House, respectively, or of that House to which they specifically apply," with recognition of the right of either House to change the rules relating to the procedure of such House, at any time or in the same manner and to the same extent as "in the case of any other rule of such House." This conforms with the provision of Article I, Section 5 of the Constitution: "Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings . . ." In contrast, Title II of the Act also bears upon the internal affairs of Congress, but makes no provision for amendment by either House and does not purport to be "an exercise of the rule-making power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively." Its provisions are denominated "Statutory Provisions."[2]

While the House was sitting as a Committee of the Whole House to consider the 1946 Act, Congressman Monroney, the floor leader, stated:

"Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the portions of the bill from line 12, page 5, to line 13, page 24, be considered as read and printed in the Record. That portion of the bill deals exclusively with the rules of the Senate over which the House exercises no real jurisdiction, and it would expedite consideration of the bill to treat it in this manner."

There was no objection to this procedure. 92 Cong. Rec. 10061–62. The Congressman also stated, "We are not touching the Senate rules, we are changing our rules. The Senate changes its rules at the same time." *Id.*, at 10040.

Prior to the reading of Title I, Part 2 of the Bill before the Committee of the Whole House, Congressman Celler inquired:

"Would we by the provisions embodied in this bill have the right to change the rules of the next Congress despite the fact that this bill was passed by the Senate and the House?"

Congressman Monroney responded,

"No, [*sic*] It specifically recognizes the right of either House to change its rules at any time. We are merely doing it jointly for the purpose of convenience and clarification. The rules can be changed by the new Congress or by this Congress at any time." *Id*, at 10064.

It appears, therefore, that through acting jointly in the Reorganization Act each House, insofar as Title I is concerned, was acting under its own authority to establish rules for the conduct of its own business.[3]

Thus these rules of the Reorganization Act would not appear to come within the meaning of an "Act of Congress" as that expression is used in 28 U.S.C. § 2282, in contrast with, *e.g.*, the "Federal Tort Claims Act," see footnote 3, *supra*, Section 2282 is not directed to the internal administrative

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Footnotes at end of speech.

procedures of the Senate or House governing, respectively, the conduct of its own business.

The disposition of the Supreme Court not to enlarge the scope of Section 2282 readily appears in *Kennedy* v. *Mendoza-Martinez*, 372 U.S. 144, 152–55.[4] The Court recognized that there was a formal prayer for an injunction in plaintiff's amended complaint, but on the basis of stipulations entered into to "govern the course of the trial" the Court found that neither the parties nor the judge contemplated injunctive relief. Compare *Idlewild Liquor Corp.* v. *Epstein*, 370, U.S. 713. Having thus disposed of the prayer for injunctive relief, the Court stated that the declaratory relief also requested in this case did not come within Section 2282. Moreover, the Court referred to Section 2282 as having been enacted—like Section 2281 which is applicable to an attack upon state legislation—"to prevent a single federal judge from being able to paralyze totally the operation of an entire regulatory scheme, either state or federal, by issuance of a broad injunctive order," or, as stated elsewhere in the opinion, the putting out of operation of "an entire statutory scheme." 372 U.S. 154 155.[5] The kinship between Sections 2281 and 2282 also appears from the Court's reference in *Kennedy* v. *Mendoza-Martinez* to *Phillips* v. *United States*, 312 U.S. 246, 150–51. In *Phillips* it is said:

> "The history of § 266 [now § 2281] . . . , the narrowness of its original scope, the piece-meal explicit amendments which were made to it . . . , the close construction given the section in obedience to Congressional policy . . . , combine to reveal § 266 not as a measure of broad social policy to be construed with great liberality, but as an enactment technical in the strict sense of the terms and to be applied as such."

Moreover, in *Baily* v. *Patterson*, 369 U.S. 31, 33, it is said:

> "We hold that three judges are similarly not required when, as here, prior decisions make frivolous any claim that a state statute [permitting segregation of interstate transportation facilities] on its face is not unconstitutional. . . . The reasons for convening an extraordinary court are inapplicable in such cases, for the policy behind the three-judge requirement—that a single judge ought not to be empowered to invalidate a state statute under a federal claim—does not apply. The three-judge requirement is a technical one to be narrowly construed, *Phillips* v. *United States*, 312 U.S. 246, 251. The statute comes into play only when an injunction is sought 'upon the ground of the unconstitutionality' of a statute. There is no such ground when the constitutional issue present is essentially fictitious"

And in *Swift & Co.* v. *Wickham*, 382 U.S. 111, 124, 128–29 (footnote omitted):

> "[T]he admonition that § 2281 is to be viewed not as a measure of broad social policy to be construed with great liberality, but as an enactment technical in the strict sense of the term and to be applied as such, *Phillips* v. *United States*, 312 U.S. 246, 251, should be kept in mind.
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> "Although the number of three-judge determinations each year should not be exaggerated,[6] this Court's concern for efficient operation of the lower federal courts persuades us to return to the *Buder-Bransford-Case* rule, thereby conforming with the constrictive view of the three-judge jurisdiction which this Court has traditionally taken. *Ex parte Collins*, 277 U.S. 565; *Oklahoma Gas & Elec. Co.* v. *Oklahoma Packing Co.*, 292 U.S. 386; *Rorick* v. *Board of Commissioners*, 307 U.S. 208; *Phillips* v. *United States*, 312 U.S. 246."

And see *United States* v. *I.C.C.*, 337 U.S. 426, 443; *Ayrshire Corp* v. *United States*, 331 U.S. 132, 136–37; *Darlington* v. *Federal Housing Administration*, 134 F. Supp. 337, 339 (E.D.S.C.), *rev'd on other grounds*, 352 U.S. 977.

Apart from the foregoing, yet fortifying the position there taken as to the inapplicability of Section 2282, House Rule XI, under which the Committee or Subcommittee functioned in the matters material to this case, was adopted as a Rule of the House, with a legal status which does not rest upon Title I of the Reorganization Act.[6] It is a Rule of Procedure adopted by the House of Representatives (acting singly) on January 4, 1965, H. Res. 8, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., 111 Cong. Rec. 21, 25. This resolution reads:

> "*Resolved*, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-eighth Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, be, and they are hereby adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-ninth Congress."

with certain amendments the substance of which is not here material.

To the extent that the House of Representatives of the Eighty-ninth Congress "adopted" the terms of the Reorganization Act of 1946, specifically the powers of the House Un-American Activities Committee, it did so as an exercise of the authority of the House to make its own rules. The Un-American Activities Committee existed prior to the 1946 Act, first as an ad hoc and then as a permanent committee pursuant to resolutions of the House of Representatives. Since 1946, the House of Representatives for each of the eleven Congresses has passed its own rules. Acting singly, the House has also amended rules which appear in the Legislative Reorganization Act.[7] These unicameral actions by the House demonstrate its consistent interpretation of the Act of 1946, that is, the House of Representatives for each Congress still creates its own committees.

Though the Committee has stated that its authority rests upon both the Act and the rules, such statement, understandable as it is, does not constitute an analysis of the legal situation. And it is not a position advanced by the House itself or by the Congress. Indeed, it is quite inconsistent with the practice of the House. Rule XLII, the last rule of the House, provides:

> "[T]he provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, shall govern the House in all cases to which they are applicable, and in which they are not inconsistent with the standing rules and orders of the House. . . ."

Lewis Deschler, *Rules of the House of Representatives*, H.R. Doc. No. 619, 87th Cong., 2nd Sess., 499. See also H. Res. 5, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. 99 Cong. Rec. 15, 24, which for the first time incorporates the terms of the Act in Rule XLII. Moreover with the exception of the Eighty-third Congress, each Congress since 1946 has explicitly adopted "all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act." This practice indicates that each incoming House of Representatives has considered itself to be writing on a clean slate, notwithstanding the Act of 1946.

Each house of Congress may, of course, amend its own rules without consulting the other body.[8] Such an amendment is clearly not an "Act of Congress" under Section 2282. No three-judge District Court could, therefore, have jurisdiction over an action to enjoin the enforcement, operation, or execution of such an amendment. It would be anomalous to hold that an action to enjoin conduct under some sections of the present rules of the House of Representatives is within the jurisdiction of a three-judge court solely because of the fact that they were restated in the Act of 1946, whereas an action involving a subsequently amended rule would not be within the purview of Section 2282.

It is also significant that the Supreme Court has in several opinions traced the authority of the Un-American Activities Committee to resolutions of the House rather than to the 1946 Act. In *Watkins* v. *United States*, 354 U.S. 178, 201–203, the history of the Committee is set forth, and at the latter page it is said (footnote omitted):

> "On five occasions, at the beginning of sessions of Congress, it has made the authorizing resolution part of the rules of the House." [44]

Antecedents in the text and the sources in footnote 44 clearly reveal that the "it" in the above sentence is the House of Representatives alone, not the Congress. In *Barenblatt* v. *United States*, 360 U.S. 109, 115 (footnote omitted), the Court refers to the challenge to "Rule XI of the House of Representatives, Eighty-third Congress, the charter of authority of the present Committee." [5] The footnote also shows that the "charter" was a House Resolution, nothing more. And see *Gojack* v. *United States*, 384 U.S. 702, 706–707, n. 4, including the sentence:

> "It is the practice of the House to adopt its Rules—including the Rule which establishes the Un-American Activities Committee and defines the scope of its authority—at the beginning of each Congress." See, *e.g.*, 109 Cong. Rec. 14, 88th Cong. 1st Sess. (1963); 101 Cong. Rec. 11, 84th Cong., 1st Sess. (1955).

True it is that as a matter of policy when an injunction is sought there would seem to be good reason for a three-judge court to pass on a constitutional challenge to the authority of a congressional committee. But when Section 2282 was enacted there was no occasion for seeking to protect the functioning of such a committee. The problems lay elsewhere, until now. Section 2282 was directed to the problems as they existed, the putting out of operation of an Act of Congress. If a three-judge court also should as a matter of policy be required to strike down a rule of a House under which a House committee operates Congress should address its attention to this new problem.

It is quite true also, as we have suggested, see note 6, *supra*, that were Rule XI to be held unconstitutional such a holding would undermine the constitutionality of the like provisions of the Reorganization Act of 1946 should they come under attack. But this would be because of the precedential authority of the holding. To come under Section 2282, The Act of Congress or operations under it must be the direct object of the injunction sought. *Fleming* v. *Nestor*, *supra*. It is the conduct of the defendants under House Rule XI that is the object of this suit. Even if authorized by the Reorganization Act, Rule XI does not depend upon that Act, for Resolution 8 of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-ninth Congress alone was the grant of authority under which its committees were to operate.

Having concluded the case does not require a statutory three-judge District Court, there remains the problem of what we should do. Were a unanimous decision on the merits reached by the three judges, respected authority suggests they should render the decision. *Swift & Co.*, v. *Wickham*, 230 S. Supp. 398 (S.D. N.Y.). This has an advantage. An appeal from that decision could be filed both in the Supreme Court and alternatively in the Court of Appeals. If the Supreme Court should decide the case not to be one for a statutory three-judge District Court it would dismiss the appeal. Review would then be available under the alternative appeal in the Court of Appeals. *Swift & Co.* v. *Wickham*, 382 U.S. 111, 129. Or the Supreme Court could treat the appeal papers as an application to it for certiorari prior to Court of Appeals decision. *Turner* v. *City of Memphis*, 369 U.S. 350. But it is not necessary for the three judges to seek unanimity and to decide the case. In this jurisdiction the course heretofore adopted, which we now follow, is to

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Footnotes at end of speech.

dissolve the statutory three-judge court and remit the case to the District Judge to whom it was first presented, for disposition by him. *Osage Tribe of Indians* v. *Ickes*, 45 F. Supp. 179, *aff'd*, 77 U.S. App. D.C. 114, 133 F. 2d 47, *cert. denied*, 319 U.S. 750; *Marcello* v. *Kennedy*, 194 F. Supp. 748.

CHARLES FAHY,
Senior Circuit Judge.
HOWARD F. CORCORAN,
District Judge.

Dated: September 11, 1967.

FOOTNOTES

*The Court takes judicial notice of the fact that the official position of several of the defendants named at the time this complaint was filed has been changed.

**Circuit Judge Fahy became Senior Circuit Judge April 13, 1967.

†The Court takes judicial notice of the fact that the official position of several of the defendants named at the time this complaint was filed has been changed.

‡Circuit Judge Fahy became Senior Circuit Judge April 13, 1967.

[1] Section 2283 provides: "An interlocutory or permanent injunction restraining the enforcement, operation or execution of any Act of Congress for repugnance to the Constitution of the United States shall not be granted by any district court or judge thereof unless the application therefor is heard and determined by a district court of three judges under section 2284 of this title."

[2] Title II, which is designated "Miscellaneous," has three parts—"Part 1—Statutory Provisions Relating to Congressional Personnel," "Part 2—Statutory Provisions relating to Committees of Congress," and "Part 3—Provisions Relating to Capitol and Pages." 60 Stat. 834.

[3] The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 grew out of 18 months of preparation, study, and hearings by the Special Committee on the Reorganization of Congress, a joint committee of the House and Senate. 92 Cong. Rec. 10039. The reorganization of the committee system, Title I, is only a small portion of the Special Committee's proposal. The other parts of the proposal, which were also intended "to streamline" congressional operations, were adopted as an exercise of Congress' legislative authority. Title II of the Act is designated "Miscellaneous," see note 2; Title III is entitled "Regulation of Lobbying Act"; Title IV is entitled "Federal Tort Claims Act"; Title V is entitled "General Bridges Act"; and Title VI, the final title, is designated "Compensation and Retirement Pay of Members of Congress."

[4] The Supreme Court also has indicated some hesitation to read Section 2282 literally. The Court continued *Ex Parte Cogdell*, 342 U.S. 163, on its docket in order to permit the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, in which the case was also pending, to determine in the first instance whether "congressional enactments affecting only the District of Columbia" came within Section 2282. Subsequently the parties dismissed their appeal in the Court of Appeals. See, however, *Hobson* v. *Hansen*, 252 F. Supp. 4 (D.D.C.), and *Hobson* v. *Hansen*, 265 F. Supp. 902 (D.D.C.), in both of which the problem of applicability of Section 2282 was considered only in relation to the substantiality of the constitutional question, without reference to whether or not the operation of an Act of Congress was involved.

[5] The complementary nature and legislative purpose of Sections 2281 and 2282 were reaffirmed in *Zemel* v. *Rusk*, 381 U.S. 1, 7 n. 4 where *Kennedy* v. *Mendoza-Martinez*, *supra*, is quoted in length. In *Zemel* the Court held a three-judge court was properly convened and stated,

"The convening of a three-judge court in this case surely coincides with the legislative policy underlying the passage of § 2282. . . . Appellant in this case does not challenge merely a 'single, unique exercise' of the Secretary's authority, cf. *Phillips* v. *United States*, supra, at 253. On the contrary, this suit seeks to 'paralyze totally the operation of an entire regulatory scheme,' indeed, a regulatory scheme designed and administered to promote the security of the Nation."

[6] Any decision as to the constitutionality of Rule XI might be decisive on the constitutionality of the 1946 Act, but the Supreme Court has stated:

"Section 3 [now 2282] does not provide for a case where the validity of an Act of Congress is merely drawn in question, albeit that question be decided, but only for a case where there is an application for an interlocutory or permanent injunction to restrain the enforcement of an Act of Congress. . . . Had Congress intended the provision in § 3, for three judges and direct appeal, to apply whenever a question of the validity of an Act of Congress became involved, Congress would naturally have used the familiar phrase 'drawn in question,' as in the first section of the Act" [now 28 U.S.C. 2403].

Garment Workers v. *Donnelly Co.*, 304 U.S. 243, 250, quoted in part in *Flemming* v. *Nestor*, 363 U.S. 603, 607, and *Pennsylvania Pub. Util. Comm'n* v. *Pennsylvania R. Co.*, 382 U.S. 281, 282.

Here, of course, plaintiffs seek to enjoin the Committee from acting under either Rule XI or the 1946 Act, but they are not entitled to the latter relief if the Committee was operating only under its Rule.

[7] *E.g.* H. Res. 8, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., 111 Cong. Rec. 21, 25, amending portions of Rule XI pertaining to the Committee on Rules and other provisions.

[8] See *e.g.*, H. Res. 5, 88th Cong., 1st Sess. (amendment of House Rule X so as to enlarge the membership of the Committee on Rules); S. Res. 5, 86th Cong., 1st Sess. (amendment of Senate Rule XXII so as to provide for adoption of cloture by two-thirds of those Senators present and voting).

Bazelon, Chief Judge, dissenting: The majority concludes that the activities of the defendant are conducted under the authority of a rule of the House of Representatives rather than under the authority of an Act of Congress. I disagree. By incorporating Rule XI into the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 812, Congress established a dual authorization for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Committee itself has not hesitated to state that it derives its mandate from an Act of Congress as well as from rules of the House.[1] In my view, therefore, this case does involve an injunction to restrain enforcement of an Act of Congress and falls within the provisions of 28 U.S.C. 2282.[2] The fact that plaintiffs are also trying to enjoin enforcement of a rule of the House does not render § 2282 inoperative.

The majority suggests that even if defendants' activities are conducted under the authority of the Legislative Reorganization Act, that statute is not the type of Act Congress had in mind when it required the convocation of a three-judge court. Section 2282, however, speaks of "any Act of Congress," and neither Congress nor the Supreme Court has provided us with sufficient guidance to carve out exceptions to it.

Accordingly, I dissent from my brethren's view that a three-judge court lacked jurisdiction in this case.

DAVID L. BAZELON,
Chief Circuit Judge.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See, *e.g.*, House Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for the Year 1961, 145, stating that the Committee "has a statutory basis in Public Law 601—the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946—as well as in the Rules of the House of Representatives." The report also spoke of "the purpose of *Congress* in the creation of this committee" and of the "*congressional* mandate." *Ibid.* [Emphasis added.] See also House Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for the Year 1963, 123.

Every publication of the Committee begins with the recital that "The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812 . . ."

[2] I think, therefore, that it is unnecessary to decide whether there may be circumstances in which a rule of the House or Senate could be regarded as an Act of Congress for purposes of § 2282. See *Methodist Fed'n for Social Action v. Eastland*, 141 F. Supp. 729 (D.D.C. 1956), where a three-judge court took jurisdiction to decide a case challenging the validity of a Senate Concurrent Resolution. See especially opinion of Wilkin, J., dissenting on other grounds, *id.* at 736.

[In the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, No. 21,382, September Term, 1967]

DR. ALLEN M. KREBS AND WALTER D. TEAGUE, III, ON THEIR OWN BEHALF AND ON BEHALF OF ALL OTHER PERSONS SIMILARLY SITUATED, APPELLANTS *v.* JOHN M. ASHBROOK, JOHN H. BUCHANEN, JR., AND DEL CLAWSON, ET AL., APPELLEES

Appeal from the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

Before: Prettyman, Senior Circuit Judge, and Wright and Robinson, Circuit Judges.

JUDGMENT

This cause came on to be heard on the record on appeal from the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, and was argued by counsel.

On consideration thereof, and this court being in general agreement with the opinion filed by the District Court in this case, *Krebs* v. *Ashbrook*, D. D.C., 275 F. Supp. 111 (1967), it is

Ordered and Adjudged by this court that the judgment of the District Court appealed from in this cause be, and it is hereby, affirmed.

Per Curiam

Dated: May 14, 1968.

Prettyman, *Senior Circuit Judge*, concurring: I concur in the judgment of the court, but I would go further and direct either the three-judge court or the single District Judge to dismiss the complaint. As I see it, no justiciable controversy is presented by the complaint. Appellants have not been asked any questions. They allege they are threatened by reason of their knowledge of the general reputation of the House Committee. The Supreme Court has passed on the point several times,[1] as has this court.[2] *Stamler* v. *Willis*[3] is not apposite, because there the plaintiffs had been asked questions, had refused, and stood in immediate danger of prosecution.

FOOTNOTES

[1] I have in mind what the Supreme Court said in *Hutcheson v. United States*, 369 U.S. 599, 619 (1962): "Unless interrogation is met with a valid constitutional objection 'the scope of the power of [congressional] inquiry * * * is as penetrating and far-reaching as the potential power to enact and appropriate under the Constitution.' *Barenblatt* v. *United States*, [360 U.S. 109], at 111 [1959]. And it is not until the question is asked that the interrogator can know whether it will be answered or will be met with some constitutional objection. To deny the Committee the right to ask the question would be to turn an 'option of refusal' into a 'prohibition of inquiry.' 8 Wigmore, Evidence (3d ed.) § 2268 * * *. Such a restriction upon congressional investigatory powers should not be countenanced."

And from another point of view see *Ashwander* v. *TVA*, 297 U.S. 288, 347–48 (Brandeis, J., concurring), and *Massachusetts* v. *Mellon*, 262 U.S. 447, 488 (1923). See also Jaffe, *Standing to Secure Judicial Review: Public Actions*, 74 HARV. L. REV. 1265 (1961), and Note, *The Supreme Court and Standing to Sue*, 34 N.Y.U.L. REV. 141 (1959).

[2] Mins v. McCarthy, 93 U.S. App. D.C. 220, 209 F. 2d 307 (1953); Pauling v. Eastland, 109 U.S. App. D.C. 342, 345, 288 F. 2d 126, 129, *cert. denied*, 364 U.S. 900 (1960): "The separation of powers principle is one of the basic concepts of the Constitution. The courts have no power of interference, unless and until some event, such as arrest, indictment or conviction brings an actual controversy into the sphere of judicial authority. The courts cannot interfere merely upon the petition of a person potentially liable to some such event." See also Fischler v. McCarthy, 117 F. Supp. 643 (S.D.N.Y. 1954), *aff'd*, 218 F. 2d 164 (2d Cir. 1954).

[3] 371 F. 2d 413 (7th Cir. 1966).

CONGRESSMAN CLAUDE PEPPER'S HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 779, A BILL TO ESTABLISH A JOINT COMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH THE CRISIS IN OUR CITIES, RECEIVES WIDE SUPPORT

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on the agenda of our country's most urgent domestic problems, the desperate plight of our cities is second only to the Nation's frightening rate of crime. In my view, these two tower above all others in their impact upon the well-being of America today. Moreover, the misery these conditions inflict upon our citizens today will be tenfold tomorrow if we, here and now, fail to give them our most earnest and urgent attention.

I have cited crime and urban affairs as two distinct problems. In reality, they are intimately connected. The snowballing rise in crime is one of the most dangerous byproducts of our urban proliferation. Crime and urban blight walk hand in hand, seemingly reinforcing one another.

"Nothing is more fundamental to the quality of life in any area than the sense of personal security of its residents," declares the recent report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, "and nothing affects this more than crime." And since the crime rate is generally highest in the large cities, personal insecurity is increasingly a characteristic of urban living.

Individual acts of violence are horrifying enough. Mass violence, the kind of human wave criminality to which so many of our cities have been subjected in recent years, threatens to transform the quality of our national life from one of reasonable hope for progress into one of perpetual nightmare.

Granted that the causes of crime are complex and multiple. Even the most superficial examination of those causes, however, suggests, in the words of the Kerner report, that "the racial disorders of last summer, in part, reflect the failure of all levels of government—Federal and State as well as local—to come to grips with the problems of our cities."

Those problems are undeniably overwhelming. Their causes are not momentary but rather the result of the interacting developments of many decades. We are faced with huge aggregations of population concentrating in relatively small geographical areas, aggregations of a magnitude hitherto unknown in the history of man. As an outgrowth of an evolving technology and economy and a significant burst of population, there has occurred a vast migration from the countryside to the city and its environs. Our Nation was once overwhelmingly rural; today three-quarters of our people congregate in the cities and in suburbia. And that concentration continues relentlessly every day. By the year 2000 the Nation's population is expected to rise from its present 200 million to about 350 million. Most of that increase will fall upon our cities, already staggering under the onslaught of severe population pressures. What will those cities be like at the turn of the century if no concentrated effort is made to solve their problems?

What is painful today will be unbearable then.

We know some of the areas in which action is required. We know there is a need for jobs. We know there is a need for manpower training and retraining. We are aware of some of the problems in public health, housing, and recreation that must be dealt with if our cities are to be made habitable for all.

We know that our transportation systems are insufficient. We recognize the need for professionally trained and fully staffed police, fire, and other departments whose function it is to protect our cities. We know that our water and air require cleansing. We know that our welfare system needs extensive overhauling. We know, perhaps most important of all, that our educational systems must be brought to the highest pitch of enlightenment and excellence.

We know all these things, but unfortunately most of us know them only piecemeal or in the abstract. Few of us have had the opportunity to see the full extent of the plight of our cities. "I thought I really knew America," Katherine Peden, a member of the Kerner Commission, said recently about her experience with that group, "but I had never really seen the illness of our cities before. I didn't know how sick our major cities could be."

Most of us here in Congress are similarly uninformed. We do not have the opportunity to see the cities and their problems whole. Instead, we legislate haphazardly, dealing with one issue here, another there, with only a vague nation of the interrelationships that condition them all.

One of the most important obstacles to our seeing the problem whole arises from the way in which committee jurisdictions are organized in Congress. No fewer than 14 of the 21 standing committees of the House of Representatives have a hand in one or more programs affecting urban areas. Eleven of the 16 standing committees of the Senate are similarly involved. And this does not include the Small Business Committees in both Houses, the Senate Special Committee on Aging, or the Joint Economic Committee, all of which deal with aspects of urban affairs.

In our own House, the Agriculture Committee has jurisdiction over the Food Stamp Act and the Child Nutrition Act. Armed Services has a primary voice in military land conveyances to cities and in housing for military personnel. Banking and Currency holds jurisdiction over housing and urban development generally, over urban mass transportation, and over dozens of other programs vital to our cities. The Committee on the District of Columbia is, in effect, the governing body of one of the largest metropolises in the Nation. Our Committee on Education and Labor handles not only general education and labor problems, but also juvenile delinquency, vocational rehabilitation, and the Economic Opportunity Act.

The Committee on Government Operations gets into the urban act through many avenues; in recent years it has dealt with relations between the cities and the Federal Government, with water pollution, with crime, with the price of milk and bread, and with the National Commission on Urban Living. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee recently held hearings on a metropolitan water district desalting plant. Our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has jurisdiction over solid waste disposal. The Judiciary Committee deals with civil liberties and crimes. The Post Office and Civil Service Committee has jurisdiction over the economic fate of a significant number of the people who live and work in our cities.

The Public Works Committee deals with highways, water pollution, and urban redevelopment areas. Our Science and Astronautics Committee is studying environmental pollution. Veterans' loans, hospitals, and housing fall under the Veterans' Affairs Committee. The Committee on Ways and Means is involved in urban affairs in a number of ways, including urban employment and social security.

The story of Congress and its procedures for dealing with the urban crisis may be summed up in one word—chaos. Dispersion is the order of the day. Almost every committee in the House participates in the process. And no single group exists to coordinate programs, to balance one against the others, to evolve rational, comprehensive, overall plans.

Our own chaotic situation is compounded by, and contributes to, a similar dispersion of authority and program responsibility in the executive branch. It is true that the President, through the Bureau of the Budget, attempts to bring some coherency to those programs. But neither he nor we can escape the fundamental processes of our Government; as with most legislative issues, the President proposes and the Congress disposes.

Mr. Speaker, I say it is time to mount a massive assault on the ills that beset America's cities. I say the prime responsibility for that assault must lie upon the shoulders of the Federal Government. I realize that the combined effort of innumerable existing institutions—Federal, State, local, governmental, and private—will be required. We may very well need to establish entirely new and unique institutions to get the job done. We may need to adapt existing ones. But whatever we do, whichever roads we choose to travel, there can be no doubt that the role of the Federal Government will be crucial.

That role, as Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana recently put it, can be a source of inspiration, leadership, and direction. It can be a source of action—planned, balanced, and well knit.

If the Federal Government is to take the lead, Congress must take aggressive action. But where in the Congress today can we find the basis for planned, balanced, well-knit action? It does not exist.

To remedy that situation, Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a concurrent resolution to establish a Joint Committee on Urban Affairs. I see this Joint Committee formulating a comprehensive plan for legislation to deal with urban problems. I see it evolving a planned, balanced attack on the ills of our cities. I see it providing Congress with coordinated proposals for programs in education, housing, the minimum wage, health, pollution, transportation, manpower training, welfare, and a multiple of other activities.

Beyond all this, I see the Joint Committee pursuing another and equally significant problem area that Congress must eventually face but to which it has as yet paid little attention. Mr. Speaker, our boys in Vietnam will one day return. Most of them will be returning to our cities. What will they return to? What will be done to help them reintegrate themselves into civilian life? Where will their jobs and their housing come from?

Now is the time for Congress to begin thinking about those problems, to do the planning that conversion to peacetime will require. It was my great privilege as a Senator to serve on a committee charged with post-World War II planning, the Senate Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning. That committee performed an invaluable service.

We must be similarly foresighted now. When the war is over, it will be too late to accomplish all the things that must be done to avoid economic and human dislocation. We must prepare for postwar problems now, while we still have time. The Joint Committee I propose would, I fervently hope, devote some of its efforts to such planning for the cities of our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the task of saving our urban areas and of making them hospitable to our returning warriors will require relentless effort. It will demand a preponderant proportion of the Nation's resources. Even with thorough planning, the task will not be easy. Without such planning, it will be impossible. I therefore urge my colleagues to join with me in supporting the establishment of a device that will help us meet our grave responsibilities, a Joint Committee on Urban Affairs.

Mr. Speaker, I place at this point in the Record, an editorial by the Miami News, which supports this legislation:

[From the Miami (Fla.) News, May 20, 1968]

Miami's Problems Planning Plus Action Needed in Slums

If urban renewal planners want some good advice, they'll widen their conversations with the people most directly affected—the economically deprived in the city of Miami.

This was demonstrated the other evening by planners and architects who listened to comments from an audience of 500 at Culmer Center Park, in the heart of the Central Negro District.

These men and women want homes free of roaches and rats and lice.

They want their own homes.

They are tired of paying ransom to landlords who perpetuate slums in the city.

And why shouldn't these people, soon to be disposssessed for the moment by urban renewal, be entitled to sound planning and immediate help?

The same evening, in Coconut Grove, the Dade Conference on Civic Affairs gave special attention to improving conditions for Negro residents in the Grove. The listeners, most of the community's power structure, heard how Negro youths are being reached with planned recreation, interest groups and special education. A small factory even is in operation where a young man can earn pocket money while learning a trade.

The point of this all, we think, is that for too long proper planning to help our fellow man has been ignored, until now we face dangerous times. In Congress the other day, Dade Rep. Claude Pepper suggested a new massive assault on urban problems across the nation.

"Obviously many of the ideas could not be enacted until after the Vietnam war ends," said Mr. Pepper, "but planning shouldn't wait until the fighting stops."

The time for planning—and action—is now.

PUBLIC INTEREST SHOULD CAUSE NEWS MEDIA TO TONE DOWN COVERAGE OF POOR PEOPLE'S MARCH

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, anyone with an ounce of brain can read the mutterings of the leaders of the so-called poor people's march and recognize that the gathering in Washington is in the hands of a bunch of uninformed and irresponsible leaders.

In appealing for pie-in-the-sky welfare benefits at the hands of the Congress they employ insults, intimidation and threats, knowing full well what the results will be. It is nothing but a racket.

Yet the press, radio and television treat the mission of these people as being worthy of prime attention. The only thing that sustains the movement is publicity and the money the leaders are able to extract from those who are induced to take pity on them.

The tragic effect of all this has been to scare people away from Washington. News reports say there is a 20-percent drop in the inflow of traffic to the Capital City. The loss to the business community is, of course, very serious.

Based upon the violence that normally follows in the wake of such demonstrations, many would-be visitors naturally assume this is no place for them while these people are encamped here. The extraordinary attention being accorded the invasion serves to convince many people they should stay away.

If the news gathering services would give this debacle only the attention that it deserves I dare say most of the marchers would be on their way home within a week. They could then settle down and go back to work—if they really want to work.

BARRIADA LEGAL SERVICES ESTABLISHED BY ALLIANCE

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, the Alliance for Progress has inaugurated a new community development program in Panama which will provide free legal service to the residents of barriadas who cannot afford a lawyer to handle personal or community problems. The Barriada Legal Service Program will start a process which will lead to improved legal services for the poor, greater participation in development by members of the bar and Panamanian law students, and the encouragement of the people to view the legal system as a protector of their interests and not as an instrument of oppression. The program is designed to be expanded as its success is demonstrated.

I include in the Record an article announcing the establishment of the Barriada Legal Service Program which appeared in the Panama Star and Herald of May 16, 1968:

Barriada Legal Services Established by Alliance

For the first time in Panama, free legal service will be available to residents of barriadas who cannot afford a lawyer.

This will be possible because of an agreement establishing the Barriada Legal Services Program signed Wednesday by two groups working in community development under the Alliance for Progress in Panama. The agreement was signed by Rafael A. Carrizo C., Director of Panama's Office of Urban Community Development (OUCD); and Richard W. Haase, President of the Comite Pro-Panama and also President of Sears Roebuck, S.A. Both the OUCD and the Comite Pro-Panama are contributing $2500 for the legal services program.

The signing was in the office of the Director of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in Panama, Mr. James Megellas USAID works closely with the OUCD in Alliance for Progress community development projects.

The Barriada Legal Services Program is part of a community development program of the above-mentioned and other Alliance groups. It has three main purposes: 1) to provide legal advice and representation only to barriada residents unable to pay private lawyers; 2) to supplement and support the community development program in "Demonstration Barriadas" (those which are part of the Alliance for Progress Urban Community Development Program) and 3) to promote mutual respect and understanding between barriada residents and those responsible for the administration of justice.

The staff of the Barriada Legal Services Program will include two Panamanian lawyers and two law students from the University of Panama. The lawyers are Lic. Raul A. Lopez R. and Lic. Oscar E. Cevill. Lic. Lic.

Lopez is Legal Advisor to the OUCD and will have overall charge of the program. The law students are Cesar Tejedor and Francisco Zaldivar. They will work under the supervision of the two attorneys, Lic. Robert S. Barker, a U.S. Peace Corps Volunteer lawyer, also works in the legal section of OUCD.

Legal advice under this Alliance program will be for personal as well as community problems. At first, the program will be only in the Panama City barriadas of Monte Oscuro, Boca la Caja, San Cristobal, Panama Viejo, Morelos, Vista Alegre and Concepcion La Vieja. With additional personnel, Alliance officials say they hope to expand the Barriada Legal Services Program to all Panama City barriadas.

Offices of the legal services program will be in the OUCD, 2000 Via Espana in Rio Abaja. Community Development officials say, however, that they hope to soon establish field offices of the Barriada Legal Services Program in the barriadas themselves.

"THE PROBLEM OF TAX LOOPHOLES," AN ARTICLE BY PAUL H. DOUGLAS, IN THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, WINTER, 1967–68

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, as the House of Representatives today considers the issue of tax legislation, I am sure that Members will find of great interest a most significant article by one of the ablest persons ever to sit in the U.S. Senate, Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois.

Senator Douglas served in the Senate for 18 years and serves now as chairman of the National Committee on Urban Problems.

While in the Senate, Senator Douglas was a member of the important Finance Committee, where he dealt with tax legislation.

His article, "The Problem of Tax Loopholes—Or: My 18 Years in a Quandary," appears in the winter 1967–68 issue of the American Scholar.

Senator Douglas' article follows:

THE PROBLEM OF TAX LOOPHOLES—OR: MY 18 YEARS IN A QUANDARY

(By Paul H. Douglas)[1]

By the summer of 1950, the attack by the North Koreans upon South Korea had plunged us into a full-scale Asiatic war. North Korea was being egged on and equipped by Red China and Russia, and the war was another effort by the Communist bloc to take over additional territory.

President Truman and the United Nations rose to the occasion and resisted this aggression, and it became necessary to raise large additional sums of money, running into many billions of dollars.

As the new tax bills moved onto the floor of the Senate, Senator Hubert Humphrey and I became more aware of the injustices in the existing tax structure and of new abuses that were being added.

Although we were only freshmen, and were not members of the Finance Committee, we felt it our duty both to become better educated on tax matters and to work for a more just revenue system. We believed this was particularly necessary because thousands of young Americans were being killed and many more were being wounded, and we felt that here at home profiteering should be reduced to a minimum.

A tax seminar was therefore organized which was attended by some of the small liberal bloc of senators. We got public-spirited experts to coach us in these secret sessions and to conduct what was, in effect, a cram course. Then, with fast-beating hearts, we ventured out on the floor to do battle with the two shrewdest minds of the Senate, namely, Walter George and Eugene Millikin, both of whom had impressive reputations and an awe-inspiring capacity for thunderous debate. We also had to face, on some issues, Tom Connally of Texas, who loved to lash his opponents with the bullwhip of his brutal sarcasm, and who treated dissenters as though they were pre-Civil War slaves in the cotton kingdom or rambunctious horses to be subdued by lash and spur. Tom still had traces of frontier populism, but he also had a deep hatred of northern liberal Democrats, which made us fair game.

For many days we fought on a variety of issues. It seemed an unequal struggle since George, Millikin and Connally not only had the votes, but also had many years' acquaintance with the intricacies of the tax code, and were equipped with a formidable bevy of tax experts at their elbows, while we had to stand alone.

We had to learn and learn fast, and to deal on our feet with a baffling series of arguments which in retrospect were sophistical, but which at the time to many were persuasive. The press galleries were unsympathetic and our fellow senators largely hostile.

We had a rough time, but the longer the discussion went on the more convinced I became that the tax code was, in fact, permeated with favors to particular groups and individuals, and that it violated what seemed to be an elemental principle of equity, namely, that people with approximately equal net incomes should pay approximately equal taxes. Despite all the battering we received, and the loss of prestige that we suffered, both Senator Humphrey and I felt that the correctness of our positions had been maintained under fire.

So apparently did some of the experts, because there shortly appeared able articles by two eminent lawyers, namely, William L. Carey, of Northwestern and Columbia, and Stanley Surrey, then of Harvard University, that echoed our criticisms. The dean of tax lawyers, the late Randolph Paul, in public testimony also stressed many of the points we had tried to advance.

In 1955, I became chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, and with the able staff assistance of Dr. Norman Ture the Committee began to assemble evidence and take skilled testimony on many of the inequities that we had spotted. In the same year, after a long struggle, and largely because of the hammering of the columnist, Doris Fleeson. I was finally placed on the Senate Finance Committee where I served for the next eleven years until my defeat for a fourth term in 1966.

On the Finance Committee I saw the formation of tax policy at first hand and took part in the intimate discussions that attended the writing and revision of our tax laws. I continued to urge most of the reforms that Senator Humphrey and I had advocated in 1950 and 1951 and, in addition, discovered new abuses that I thought needed to be corrected. After a little while, I was joined by Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, who proved to be a strong and public-spirited colleague.

It was a tough decade. On major issues where enormous sums were at stake, we were almost always defeated, whether in committee or on the floor. But in the process we gained minor changes that reduced some of the specific injustices, so that we were never completely discouraged or frustrated.

GREAT ABUSES WITHIN OUR FEDERAL TAX SYSTEM

There were two general sets of facts that convinced me that there were great abuses within our federal tax system.

The first was that only about half of the total personal income in the country was subject to taxation, while the other half completely escaped being levied on. The basic exemption of $600 a person accounted for only a fraction of this latter amount. The remainder was income that most people believed was taxable, but that was exempted in reality by a series of devices.

Then we discovered and got the Terasury to confirm that in every year there were a considerable number of persons with annual incomes of over $500,000 who paid no taxes at all. As we gathered evidence we found this number would never fall below twenty-five and sometimes went above thirty. We also found an even greater number with huge incomes who paid less than 10 or 15 percent.

We found that the averages paid by the groups with incomes above $50,000 was only a fraction of the amount they were presumed to pay, and that the uppermost group with incomes over $250,000, who according to the schedules were presumed to pay nearly 90 percent, actually paid on the average only 25 percent or slightly less. The "effective" rate was therefore far less than the nominal rate.

All this, plus the evidence on specific "loopholes" or "truckholes" that enabled large quantities of income to slip through the tax net, still further convinced Senator Gore and me that we should expose these abuses and seek to cure them. We continued to be helped by public-spirited experts, who gave us surreptitious information, sometimes at real risk to themselves, and in particular by the ability of my former assistant, Mr. Philip Stern, who, building on some of our work and adding much of his own, produced his brilliant and witty book, *The Great Treasury Raid* (New York, 1964), which is still the classic in this field.

Out of this experience of nearly two decades I have distilled certain facts and conclusions. They show that our tax system is riddled with injustices that violate the simple principle, upon which I would think that all could agree, that people with equal net incomes should pay equal or approximately equal taxes. Whether we believe in progressive, regressive or proportional taxation, can we not all agree on this elementary principle of horizontal justice?

But this experience of nearly two decades and our relative lack of success also plunged me ever more deeply in a quandary.

A QUANDARY

When the so-called Ruml plan for withholding a basic percentage of the federal income tax from wages and salaries was adopted by Congress, it did not apply the withholding principle to interest and dividends. Such income was, on the contrary, to be reported by the recipient and the taxes were to be paid by him.

The Economic Committee hearings that I held in 1955 showed that while viruallty all of the wages and salaries were reported, there were a big volume of interest and an appreciable portion of dividends that were not. It became possible to estimate the size of this gap from the reports published by the Securities and Exchange Commission and by the Treasury. Our little liberal group in the Senate, therefore, began to advocate applying the withholding principle, or what the British term "payment at the source" to dividends and interest so that ownership would not receive any more favored treatment than employment.

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[1] Paul H. Douglas was United States Senator from Illinois for eighteen years. He serves now as chairman of the National Committee on Urban Problems.

In 1962, under President Kennedy and Secretary Dillon, the Administration adopted this provision, and the Office of Tax Analysis under Donald Lubig was most helpful in the preparation of evidence and in working out simple plans for collection. It was clear that in 1959 about a billion dollars in dividends and three billion dollars in interest were not reported, with a consequent annual loss in taxes of between $900 million and $1 billion. These unreported sums amounted to 8 percent of all dividends and 34 percent of all interest. The proportion of wages and salaries not reported in 1959 came, on the other hand, to only 3 percent. This showed the greater efficiency of the withholding method.

The Administration tax bill for 1962, therefore, contained a provision for the automatic deduction and transmission to the Treasury of 20 percent from the total sums credited to dividends and interest without specifying the individuals or their amounts, and then for the filing of claims for any excess to be made periodically by the recipients. The plan was simple and just, and was adopted by the House Ways and Means Committee and by the House itself. Senator Gore and I prepared to support it in the Senate Finance Committee and, if necessary, on the floor of the Senate itself.

We had heard rumblings of opposition, but I must admit we were not prepared for the storm that followed. Suddenly, from all over the country, but especially from Illinois, thousands of protests poured into my office. By the end of a month, I had received over sixty-five thousand such letters and other senators had received about as many. Inquiry proved that these had been stimulated by the building and loan associations, whose main national body had launched the campaign from Chicago. The banks also helped in the letter-writing blitz.

These letters showed an extraordinary misconception of the tax. A large proportion hotly attacked the requirement for withholding as the imposition of a completely new and additional tax. They apparently thought that interest either was not income or was so sacred that it should not be taxed. This very fact was in itself eloquent proof of the widespread evasion or avoidance of the tax. It was in vain that in my initial answer I pointed out to these protesters that this was not a new tax but merely a better means of collecting an existing tax that had been widely evaded and avoided, and that their confusion was indeed ample proof of an existing failure to report.

Another widely prevalent misconception was that the tax was a levy amounting to a 20 percent annual assessment on the total capital that a person owned. It was consequently attacked as part of a communist scheme to confiscate all capital. It was, of course, instead a tax on income, not on capital. Thus on $1,000 of holdings that paid 4 percent, the 20 percent tax would be levied on the $40 of interest and not on the principal of $1,000.

I then prepared a brief article summarizing the way in which the income tax has been avoided and evaded, and how simple the proposal was—namely, to withhold one-fifth of all payments of dividends and interest and send the totals to the Treasury. In the event of overwithholding, the individuals would then be able to file quarterly requests for refunds. I pointed out to all my correspondents that the basic income tax on wages and salaries had been similarly withheld for twenty years with only annual refunds and asked why interest and dividends should be given such especially favored treatment.

It was all in vain. No one was convinced. The tide of angry letters continued to pour in. Virtually every senator received thousands, and many counted their letters in the tens of thousands.

The result was inevitable. By a vote of eleven to five, the withholding provision was stricken from the bill in the Finance Committee. Then, on the floor of the Senate, when I moved to restore the clause, I was overwhelmingly defeated and mustered only twenty votes.

Here we were deserted by the Administration, which evidently decided that the struggle was useless. During the entire battle, the academic profession of economists was all but silent, so that Senator Gore and I felt that we had been allowed to die on an economic Berlin Wall without a hand ever being raised to help.

REPORTING DIVIDENDS AND INTEREST

But as sometimes happens, to deaden the impact of our argument, and perhaps to quiet the consciences of our opponents, it was provided that institutions should report to the Internal Revenue Bureau the names and addresses of all those to whom they paid dividends and interest as well as the amounts so paid to each. Then at the regional computer centers these amounts were to be combined and the total tax due from each person was to be computed and compared with that which had been paid.

This is being done. It requires far more detailed reports from the savings institutions than the simple reporting requirements of our proposal. It will collect less money because the burden of collection from the individuals is thrown back upon the Bureau of Internal Revenue. But it does lead to somewhat more careful reporting by the recipients and, according to the Treasury, it has increased collections by about $250 million a year. Thus far we have, therefore, saved the taxpayers about a billion dollars. Perhaps in time, in order to avoid the red tape that has been heaped upon them, the savings institutions may lessen their opposition and consent to withholding at the source. If they do, at least around $750 million more will be saved each year for the American people. Even now the savings will probably be greater.

What then were the real reasons for this apparently illogical opposition? I think they were the following: A very large proportion of those who had savings accounts in the banks and shares in the building and loan institutions never drew out in cash the annual interest that accumulated on their accounts but allowed it to be added automatically to their principal. Many of these savers were sufficiently naive not to realize fully that this increase in their capital holdings came from income. They seemed to think it came from spontaneous generation. The banks and building and loan associations, of course, knew what was happening, but they also realized that a large share of the growth in their savings deposits was due to the accumulation of compound interest, and they did not want to have this increment of growth diminished by the amount of the tax. They had the use of the funds of which the federal government was deprived, and they wanted to hold on to them.

I left this battle with a wry taste in my mouth, but also with the realization that it could have been worse and that to save $250 million a year for the public might not have been so bad an achievement in so imperfect a world.

THE OIL DEPLETION ALLOWANCE

The biggest and longest battle was, however, over the worst abuse of all, namely the 27½ percent depletion allowance on gas and oil. Billions of dollars are at stake here, and a little explanation of the present tax procedures in the oil industry is appropriate. The oil industry already had certain tax favors that I did not question. Of course, the deduction of operating costs from gross revenue is perfectly proper. Nor did I question the propriety of charging off the costs of the unsuccessful drillings or "dry holes" from the revenues obtained from the successful drillings when these are conducted by the same enterprise. I did not raise any objection to granting the industry the right to charge off in the first year all the "intangible" drilling and development costs. These so-called developmental costs comprise from 75 to 90 percent of the total exploratory and drilling costs and were granted the fastest of all rates of accelerated depreciation—namely, a complete write-off in the initial year. Men in the industry who were secretly in favor of my stand (and there are a few) have repeatedly assured me that this is an even more important special favor than the depletion allowance itself. But this issue was complicated since these costs could always be alleged to be operating costs and hence deductible dollar for dollar from the immediate income realized from the oil and gas.

So I determined to concentrate on the 27½ percent depletion allowance, which Hubert Humphrey and I had originally attacked in 1951 and 1952. This exempted from taxation 27½ percent of all gross income in the oil and gas industry up to 50 percent of net income, and it did this without any limitation as to the length of time for which this exemption was to continue or the ratio of the tax rebate to the original investment.

This provision had been inserted in our tax laws during the 1920's when the corporation income tax was only 14 percent of net profits, and when the total amount of the tax privilege thus conferred was not overwhelming, say, about 7 percent of the profits. But it continued to be retained after the corporate tax had risen to 52 percent and when the depletion allowance could and commonly did cut in half the taxes paid by this rich industry. Moreover, it had spawned a series of similar exemptions: sulfur had been granted a 23 percent exemption, and a number of minerals, including coal, had been allowed a 15 percent depletion grant. We had seen Tom Connally broaden this exemption by a 5 percent rate on clam and oyster shells, as well as on sand and gravel—although there was no danger of "dry holes" or unsuccessful explorations in these cases! Every mineral had come to be included.

We ultimately got the Treasury to tell us how much these exemptions amounted to, and their report was that in the late fifies and early sixties the total came to about $3½ billion annually with the Treasury losing about $1½ billion. Today it is undoubtedly much more.

Long before this, however, I had prepared a counterproposal which I tried out in committee and on the floor nearly every year.

This was to introduce a sliding scale allowance that would amount to granting the existing 27½ percent on the first million dollars of annual gross income but decreasing this to 21¼ percent on gross incomes of between one and five million dollars and then having it fall to 15 percent on all incomes over five million dollars. This would have yielded in the earlier years from $350 to $400 million a year in revenue, while in later years the gain would have been around $500 million annually. Today it would probably be still more.

I justified this differential between small and large operators on the ground that the smaller operators were not able to distribute their risks to the same degree as the big operators and companies. Their fewer drillings exposed them, therefore, to higher risks.

I must confess, however, that I also hoped that this compromise would help to split off the small operators from the huge companies and make it more possible to pass the measure. In this, I was disappointed. Although there were only two or three concerns in Illinois that had gross receipts in excess of a million dollars, nearly all of the small operators lined up behind the big companies and in bitter opposition to me. They were the dominant economic interest in one congressional district covering the southeastern section of the state. Most of them insisted that I was proposing to cut their allowance to 15 percent, although this was, of course, not the case. No explanation was effective, although finally the more knowledgeable would privately admit that while they understood that they would not be hurt, for the sake of industry solidarity they must oppose the Douglas amendment and me personally. Despite all their efforts and the oil money that came into the state in the 1954 and 1960 election campaigns, I had been able to beat off their attacks, and had even carried the oil district. Their opposition continued, however, and in the Senate I had no such luck.

Despite help from Senator Albert Gore and an honorable conservative, Senator John Williams of Delaware, we were periodically snowed under on the Finance Committee. Indeed, I sometimes suspected that the major qualification for most aspirants for membership on the Finance Committee was a secret pledge or agreement to defend the depletion allowance against all attacks. I suspected, also, that campaign funds reinforced these pledges.

THE SCIENCE OF THE ECONOMICS PROFESSION

Once again, we received little or no support from the Administration, which evidently thought the depletion allowance to be "too hot to handle." And, once again, the economics profession was largely silent, except for a few scattered voices that correctly pointed out that the tax favors led to over-investment in the industry, thus causing the average return, exclusive of tax favors, on the American investment to fall somewhat below the general average for all industry.

But there was little or no criticism from the economists of the morality of the tax advantage that helped a number of the fabulously wealthy to escape from paying any taxes whatsoever and helped many others to pay only nominal sums. There seemed to be no resentment among businesses that oil and gas companies only paid one-third to one-half the rate of taxation upon net profits paid by the main mass of American corporations. The prevailing sentiment seemed instead to be gratification that one group, at least, had been able to outwit the government and the reformers. Despite the fact that we wanted to lower the general tax rate once we had obtained greater uniformity in our tax system, and constantly stressed this point, we were about as popular among business executives as the revenue agents used to be among the mountaineers of Appalachia when they tried to put down "moonshining."

We gained a slight flicker of interest from among a few of the independents when we pointed out that the big oil companies that had concessions in Venezuela and the Persian Gulf countries were able to escape virtually all taxation by (1) successfully claiming the depletion allowance on their foreign oil (despite the fact that subsurface deposits, under Roman and national law, are the property of the state) and (2) counting as "taxes" the royalties that they paid for the extraction abroad of government-owned oil. In this way the 50 and later 75 percent payments for the extraction of the oil were not counted as an operating expense, but rather as a tax to be deducted dollar for dollar from the tax that otherwise would be paid to the United States government.

Despite all the propaganda and the pressures, there was a heroic group of senators who stood firm. Once we got as many as thirty-eight votes, but later we slumped to twenty. Calling for a rollcall vote was in a sense like marching brave troops into the valley of political death and reducing the number of public-spirited soldiers. Therefore, toward the end of the long bitter struggle, I would agree to a voice, rather than a rollcall, vote in order to shield our secret supporters. I was willing, as were my comrades, Senator William Proxmire and Senator Gore, to be marked for destruction in a cause that we believed to be in the public interest, but we did not want to drag down others to political disaster and reenact the role of Lord Raglan who sent the noble six hundred to death at Balaklava in the Crimean War.

Some of us have been effectively disposed of; more probably will be; but the issue remains. And as one who still believes (perhaps foolishly) that in a democracy no issue is settled until it is settled right, and that in the long run an educated public opinion will prevail, I remain guardedly hopeful. I am grateful to Senators Proxmire and Gore, as we all should be, for keeping the issue alive, and I pray that they may succeed where others of us have failed.

THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX

The third great abuse lies in the field of the capital gains tax. Here the profits realized from the sale of a capital asset that has been held for longer than six months are taxed, when sold, at only one-half the income tax rate, but in no case at more than 25 percent. Moreover, the amounts not taxed are not counted as "taxable income," and hence do not appear in the statistics issued by the Treasury Department. Like the murdered victims of the criminal syndicate, they, with the oil and mineral depletion allowances, are given an anonymous burial so that even the buried bodies disappear.

Philip Stern estimated in 1962 that this favored treatment shrunk the tax base by $6 billion a year and cost the Treasury $2.4 billion annually. But this is only the beginning. An even greater leakage occurs when property is bequeathed. Let us take the case of a father who buys property for $100,000 during his lifetime, which by the time of his death is worth $1 million, or $900,000 more. His son inherits the estate and a year later sells this same property for $1,100,000. He will pay a capital gains tax only on the $100,000 that has accrued during his ownership, while the $900,000 gain inherited from his father not only will go tax free but will be unrecorded. Stern estimates that from $12 to $13 billion thus escape taxation every year and that the Treasury annually loses an approximate added $2.9 billion.

It was such injustices in the capital gains system (and not such incidental absurdities as giving capital gains treatment to the raising of cattle but not to chickens and turkeys) that most outraged me.

To deal with the untaxed capital gains during a testator's lifetime, I proposed collection at the time of ultimate sale, but, of course, with a deduction or tax credit given for all inheritance taxes paid in the meantime on the property. In other words, if a total inheritance tax of $50,000 had been levied on this property, this would be deducted dollar for dollar from the tax ultimately realized on the capital gains.

And if it be objected that to tax capital gains in years of bunched income would be inequitable, I constantly made it clear that I would agree to lengthen this period to any proper degree. This would reduce the total of the super-taxes that would be paid. But such conciliatory motions were overwhelmingly defeated in committee and on the floor. At first the Kennedy Administration supported the idea of taxing the inherited capital gains, but this support faded as we approached the hour of decision, while once again the voices of the economists were for the most part mute.

THE TREATMENT OF STOCK OPTIONS

The treatment of stock options was, and is, an especially anti-social use of the capital gains principle.

It had been the custom of many corporations to give to a chosen group of executives the right to buy added quantities of stock, and for gains realized upon this to be taxed at capital gains and not at income tax rates. Very commonly this stock could be purchased at less than the market rate, thus extending the practice of the "preferred lists" that had been the common custom during the 1920's of such financial giants as the Morgan firm and Samuel Insull. If the stock fell while the option was being held, then the beneficiary was commonly freed from his option.

The plan, by creating additional claimants for the net earnings of the companies, like the preferred lists, obviously diluted the equities of the existing stockholders.

The defense given for the stock options was, of course, that they would increase the incentive of management to make profits for the companies by increasing the amount of tax-free income that they would receive. It had a side effect of concentrating executive attention upon the price of the stock rather than treating this, as I believe should be done, as merely the by-product of an efficiently managed company. It could be argued that from the companies' standpoint it would be better to make these added payments in the form of cash bonuses or percentages of the net profits, rather than from profits from the sale of added shares of stock. But this would have meant that the added income would have been taxed at ordinary, rather than at capital gains, rates. In essence the stock option plan permitted executives to become wealthier than would otherwise have been possible, and to do so in a shorter period of time. It was touted as a means of helping young executives to climb the economic ladder more rapidly, although in practice the major rewards went to those in the later afternoon of their business careers. Often as members of the boards of directors, they voted themselves these large tax-free bonuses.

Due to the valiant efforts of Senator Gore, we succeeded in ending some of the worst abuses of the stock option plans. How much we have saved by these modifications is still unknown, but I estimate that while the gains are real they are still minor.

TAX-EXEMPT BONDS

Another persistent loophole is the exemption from federal taxation of the interest on the bonds of state and local governments. This exemption was first enacted because of the fear that such a tax would be held unconstitutional by the courts, and also by a desire to make the financing of capital improvements easier for the state and local governments. That it has helped in the latter direction is shown by the fact that while high grade municipals are still much less safe than federal issues, their yield in March of 1967 was a full percentage point below the latter, namely, 3½ instead of 4½ percent. Without this tax advantage, the municipalities would probably have had to pay at least 4¾ percent interest and possibly 5 percent in order to float their loans. Since the total outstanding bonds issued by the state and local governments amount to approximately $100 billion, the total in interest that is saved for these bodies probably comes to somewhere around $1¼ to $1½ billion a year.

Such tax-free issues, however, become tax havens or sanctuaries for men and women in the upper income and tax brackets. Thus when Mrs. Horace Dodge, Sr., inherited $56 million from the estate of her husband, she immediately invested all of it in state and municipal bonds and thereby removed the entire income from her fortune from federal taxation. This is a particularly attractive tax route for those in the upper income tax brackets who do not wish to play an active role in the business world. If only the existing income from these bonds were taxed, federal receipts would be at least 50 percent on the $3½ billion that is now immune from federal taxation. This would amount to $1¾ billion. If the federal government were to pay in outright subsidy to the local governments to compensate for these lost tax benefits, this would still net at least a half billion dollars a year for the federal government. It might indeed net more since the interest rate, and hence the total interest payments on state and municipals, would rise. Assuming that the total interest could increase to $4½ billion, at an average tax rate of 50 percent, this could net $2¼ billion or a billion dollars more than the compensating subsidy. Unless some such action is taken, the amount of lost income will probably increase as retired men and women of wealth seek these privileged sanctuaries.

A particularly bad form of this tax subsidy to localities occurs when local and state bonds are floated to finance the construction costs of runaway factories from other parts of the country. In many Southern states this is a common practice, and it serves to draw employment away from the North and the Midwest. It creates unemployment in these sections of the country and makes it harder for the workmen up North to obtain wage increases. Both of these factors, then, depress the tax base in these areas and decrease the ability of those who hire them to pay taxes, at the very time that they create higher local relief and welfare costs.

On top of all this, the taxpayers of the North and West have to pay higher federal income taxes or else short-change the general welfare because of this subsidy to their southern competitors. They in effect are being asked to help finance their own economic destruction.

Thus far the massed political power of the South has been sufficiently great as to prevent the closing of even this relatively tiny loophole. In self-defense, Northern and Western states are beginning to extend similar privileges and the evil is spreading.

DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCES

The depreciation allowances on buildings are computed on the money cost of the property to the last purchaser and not on the book value of the physical structure of the building itself. Thus if a man constructs an office building at a cost of $5 million, he can take accelerated depreciation for several years and use this as a credit against the net income from that property, or any other property that he may own. At 5 percent a year, he would thus get a credit of $250,000. If his net income from the building was $200,000, this would mean that he would pay no taxes and would have an additional credit, to be carried over, of $50,000. This could go on for at least five years, when the accelerated depreciation amounting to approximately $1.7 million would have to be greatly reduced. But office buildings enhance somewhat in value during the first years of occupancy, and it would be quite possible to sell the property for $5 million or more instead of the depreciated book value of approximately $3,300,000. The original owner would pay a capital gains tax only on the $1.7 million profit made from selling at above book value, although he had used his depreciation allowance to reduce his higher regular income tax rate.

The newcomer could, however, start taking his double depreciation on his $5 million purchase price instead of on the $3.3 million of book value. This, as a matter of fact, would be an important reason why he would pay the full $5 million.

After a few years a third comer might even be willing to pay $5 million, although the $3.4 million taken for depreciation might have left but $1.6 million of the original cost of $5 million.

This process could be kept up almost interminably, with the ultimate total amounts deducted for depreciation far exceeding the original cost. This practice also puts a premium upon a frequent change of ownership, which is especially injurious in the case of tenements. We would save many hundreds of millions of dollars of taxes if depreciation were to be computed upon the book value of the building rather than upon the purchase price paid, and so that the total taken could not exceed the original cost or possibly the original cost plus replacements. It is true that double depreciation in the early years was eliminated for housing in the 1964 act, but the so-called "sum of the years" method gives substantially the same result, and the earlier provision has since been restored. Since all this is computed on the money cost of the building to the present owner, this is a stimulus to frequent changes of ownership. And this in turn leads to added neglect.

The depreciation allowance is, moreover, divorced from the performance of any major replacements or repairs. It would be better if the average depreciation rate were to be lowered from 2½ to 2 percent or less, thus assuming a life of fifty or more years, rather than forty, for the structure, and then to provide additional allowances for those major repairs and replacements to the degree that they are made subject to a maximum allowance in any one year or over a span of years. This would be a mighty stimulus for owners to keep houses in repair and would lessen the tendency for them to deteriorate.

There are many other quirks and loopholes in the taxation of commercial real estate that result in great losses of tax revenue, among them the "sell and lease back" arrangement. Here any gains will be taxed later only at capital gains rather than at income tax rates, while the rent payments can be deducted from gross profits as an operating cost. Time forbids going into all of these complexities. But as the publications of various tax services demonstrate, they are complex and, for those who practice them, lucrative.

TAX DEDUCTIONS

In 1962, the Treasury presented a mass of evidence showing excessive tax-deduction claims for travel and for entertainment. The instances presented were at once ludicrous and also, in a sense, nauseating. We were able to tighten the rules somewhat, most notably in limiting travel expenses (exclusive of actual transportation) to twice the amount allowed government employees, and at a present figure of $32.00 a day. We also restricted the deductibility of business presents to $25.00 from one person to another. But the major expenses for entertainment have been largely legalized, and the evils of an expense-account civilization are still largely unchecked.

During our consideration of one of the major tax bills a seemingly innocent provision was inserted that later turned out to be a Trojan horse. This was to exempt from taxation all future "charitable" contributions if in eight of the past ten years 90 percent of the *taxable* income had either been given to charity or paid in taxes. There were two booby traps carefully concealed within this seemingly public-spirited provision that was represented as an encouragement to private charity. I confess I was fooled by them. The first is that it is only 90 percent of the *taxable* income that is counted, and not 90 percent of the real income. By exempting capital gains income and "depletion income," which is not taxed, the proportion of income actually given away can be, and frequently is, only a small fraction of the actual real income. It is therefore especially popular among the oil barons of the Southwest.

The second joker is that by creating "personal foundations" the donor can retain control of those properties that he is apparently giving away and have the income spent in accordance with his wishes and frequently to his profit.

Congressman Wright Patman has unearthed many of the abuses perpetrated by these "foundations." And it is significant that the unlimited charitable deduction ranks alongside the depletion allowance, the fast write-off of drilling and developmental costs, and the capital gains privileges as an important reason why so many men with huge incomes pay small taxes, or none at all.

IMPUTED RENT

Men who own their homes are not taxed on the imputed income afforded by that ownership, while the renter receives no credit for the amount that he pays for shelter. A man with a $10,000 salary who lives in a $20,000 house that he owns, and for which, if he did not own it, he would have to pay another person $2,000 a year rent, really has the approximate equivalent of a $12,000 income, but he only pays on $10,000. (For convenience' sake, I am disregarding local property taxes and maintenance costs. These do decrease the tax advantage of the home owner.) His neighbor across the street who also has a salary of $10,000, but who pays $2,000 rent, is taxed on the *full* $10,000. If we were to preserve uniformity, either the first man's income should be reckoned at $12,000, as was once true in England, or his neighbor should be rated at $8,000. But to adopt this latter method would be to provide that amounts paid in rent should not be taxed as income. This exemption of rent hardly seems equitable.

But, even if justifiable, the inclusion of imputed rent in taxable income hardly seems possible in the near future.

Neither does changing the rule that a husband and wife may split their income for tax purposes. This allows taxation at a lower average rate than if the major share of the income were credited to the financial head of the family, who actually received it. While it does not cost a man and wife twice as much to live as it does a single man, it commonly does cost them more. And while the wife of a well-to-do man costs far more than the $600 of personal exemption that is allowed, nevertheless a distinct tax favor is given to the married men, as it is to homeowners. This tax advantage increases as one moves into higher and higher tax brackets, so that matrimony is relatively more blessed financially for the millionaire than for the modest members of the middle and lower economic classes. I cannot believe that the wife of a wealthy man is correspondingly so much better and more socially valuable than the wives of the financially humble.

CAN CONGRESS PROTECT THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN TAX MATTERS?

I began my senatorial career in a quandary, and when I left, the quandary was even bigger than when I started. It was this: Can and will the people under the best system of government in the world, and with an able and high-minded Congress, ever be able to protect the public interest in tax matters and enforce equal justice for all?

I must admit that the eighteen years have, on the surface, been disillusioning. We have made a few improvements during that time and may have saved a billion dollars or more a year, but the big loopholes and truckholes remain. Indeed, new ones have been opened, sometimes over our opposition and sometimes, as I have pointed out, without our knowledge. I daresay that there may be still other financial time bombs, presumably concealed in innocent-sounding verbiage, which will turn out to free still more income from taxation. The summing up that Philip Stern gave in his *The Great Treasury Raid* is substantially true today.

For a raid of its magnitude, the time (high noon) and setting (the United States Treasury, a stone's throw from the White House) showed a breath-taking boldness of design and planning. From out of nowhere, it seemed, they appeared—old people and young, rich and poor, an oil millionaire here, a factory worker there, a real estate tycoon, a working mother, several well-known movie stars, some corporation presidents, even the chairman of a powerful Congressional committee. It was a mixed lot, all right, that converged on the Treasury Building that high noon. Into the building they strolled, gloriously nonchalant. No one stopped them; not a guard looked up to question them. Quickly and quietly they found their way to the vaults; opened them noiselessly with the special passkeys each had brought with him. Like clockwork, with split-second timing, each went to his appointed spot, picked up a bag and walked out as calmly as he had entered. At the exits the guards sat motionless. At precisely 12:04 it was all over. Each of the "visitors" had vanished into thin air.

So had forty billion dollars from the United States Treasury.

Despite all our efforts, the brutal fact must be admitted. We have largely failed.

Is the fault then in the structure of our economic life, "in our stars," so to speak, or in ourselves, that so little progress has been made?

It used to be said by some that the trouble with democracy is that the ablest and best educated men and women in the country do not take part in political affairs, but that if they would only interest themselves more in public matters they would set matters right.

THE EXTREMELY ABLE INSERT THE LOOPHOLES IN THE TAX LAWS

But it has been the extremely able who have inserted these loopholes in the tax laws. The loopholes and even more, the truckholes, are defended against elimination or lessening by other extremely able men. The large hearing room of the Finance Committee seats a hundred and fifty persons. When we considered a tax bill, the room was filled with prosperous lawyers, graduates of great universities and of the top ranking law schools, whom Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Stanley Surrey once referred to in a burst of admiration as "the best minds in the country," all working to hold what they and their clients had and to enlarge it.

One major trouble with our tax system is, therefore, precisely this: that these "best minds" in the country have largely worked to make it what it is. Not more than one out of every hundred citizens actively working on a tax bill is trying to represent the general interest. And in the halls outside the hearing rooms the lobbyists are as thick as flies, while the publicity men and noisemakers are busily at work in Washington and elsewhere. In the halls of academe, erudite professors train their students in the intricacies of the tax code so that their students may succeed in the private practice of law by helping wealthy clients avoid taxes and thus beat the government of the people.

All this raises the question whether this is a fundamental weakness of our democratic system, namely, that the producing and possessing interests are compact, powerful and well-organized, while the consuming and nonpossessing classes are busy with other things, and their interests diffused; and that while the people are numerically more numerous, they are collectively weak, ignorant and unorganized. Does it follow that in a conflict between these two groups it is almost invariably the more powerful that wins?

As I watched the struggle and indeed took part in it for nearly two decades, I was struck with the similarity between it and the way the Spaniards were able to take over Mexico, Peru, and indeed all of Latin America, as narrated by William H. Prescott in his two classic histories, the *Conquest of Mexico* and *the Conquest of Peru*.

There were about thirteen million Indians in Mexico whereas there were only about five hundred Spaniards under Cortes. But the Spaniards wore armor, and they had gunpowder and powerful harquebuses, while the Indians were largely unarmed and unprotected. The Spaniards had horses, which gave them mobility, which the Indians did not have. They were, moreover, under tight discipline and moved as one, whereas the Indians were torn by internal dissension and overawed by the proud and arrogant newcomers.

So it sometimes seemed to me in these tax battles. A particular measure would mean millions to a few, but only a few cents to each of the two hundred million Americans. It was hard for the individual citizen to become informed. Even if he knew what was at stake, he was busy earning a living for his family and could not interrupt his work to defend his infinitesimal interest. Leisure, moreover, has its proper claims as well. So only a minute fraction can enlist in the common cause, and they can only do so at great risk to themselves. This in itself is a preventive to action.

James Madison saw this danger to our democracy at the very founding of our Republic and tried to develop an answer in the tenth essay of the *Federalist*. He thought he had found a partial answer to the peril in the mutual checks and balances that the divergent producing interests, called into being by a national market, would exercise upon each other.

This form of countervailing power is helpful in many fields. But I did not find it to be an adequate protection for the consumers or the small taxpayers. For producers seldom think of consumers, while those with big potential tax bills are commonly not solicitous about the other taxpayers. There is, moreover, a kind of fellow feeling among the powerful that makes it bad form for one group to balk another in a matter in which they are not themselves directly concerned.

POLITICIANS AND THE GENERAL INTEREST

Fortunately, in the history of our Republic, there have generally been some politicians who, at great risk to themselves, have defended the general interest with energy and ability. Such were George Norris of Nebraska, the two Robert LaFollettes of Wisconsin, and more recently the beloved Herbert Lehman of New York. Such, I believe, are my friends, Albert Gore of Tennessee and Bill Proxmire of Wisconsin, who have specialized in these very matters. There are many others on the national, state and local levels. Generally, these men in the past were ultimately defeated, but they lasted long enough to make an impression on their times and to win important victories. Their lives and the respect that is later accorded to them after they die is proof that there is a deep, if unexpressed, hunger, on the part of the inarticulate millions, for just such defenders.

But political battles cannot be won by solo combat. The days of the knightly tournaments celebrated by Sir Walter Scott in his *Ivanhoe* are over. Modern political struggles, like modern wars, need mass support and an adequate organizing staff if they are to be successful. Where is this support coming from?

The industrial unions, and most conspicuously the United Automobile Workers, have shown the greatest awareness of this need and have, in general, exercised a concerned interest in what may be termed the general welfare. There are various public groups with circumscribed interests that, from time to time, are also helpful. But we would be in a much stronger position if the organization of consumers, now embryonic, were more of a reality than a hope.

WHERE ARE THE CHAMPIONS OF THE PEOPLE?

When I entered public life, now nearly three decades ago, I assumed in my innocence that man's efforts at just and humane self-government constituted the highest form of secular activity, and that the state was a fitting instrumentality through which men could lead the good life. I had been proud of our national government and thought of it as a friend and not an enemy, and as something to be served and not exploited.

But it is obvious that this view is not held by a large and influential proportion of the population. As some of their frankest spokesmen have said, they seem to regard the national government as their enemy and as something malign to be hated.

I once heard an eminent public figure declare that it was a man's duty to pay the federal government as little as possible in the way of taxes. Everywhere one finds powerful groups moving in to extract special privileges from our society, and they always seem to be able to attract to their cause skilled lawyers, technical experts, economists, publicity men and public relations practitioners, who then use their brains and wiles to promote the fortunes of their employers. Meanwhile the main mass of the general public and even of the academic profession stand by as mere spectators and allow without protest the power juggernauts to conquer. They behave indeed like so many city spectators who watch crimes being committed without raising a hand to defend the victims or lifting their voices to call the police.

To me this was and is a sign of the disintegration of a society that has lost sight of its common purpose. But to others it is the smart thing to do.

This is what deepened my quandary.

The query is appropriate: where are the champions of the people? Where are the men, better and more effective than we who have tried and lost, coming from?

I do not know. But I am an optimist. I cannot believe that the people with all their weakness will allow the noble ship of democratic government to be taken over by these well-clad pirates with impeccable credentials. For if they do, there may ultimately be such disillusion with our form of government as to cause the people in frustration to abandon ship and to allow it to be taken over by a still worse group of tyrants, who will suppress our liberties and shut the gates of mercy on mankind.

PRIDE IN AMERICA

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the fine newspapers in my district, the Johnson City Press-Chronicle, carried an editorial in the issue of Tuesday, May 28, 1968, entitled "Pride in America."

In yesterday's RECORD, I inserted a news release on the formation of the Pride in America Committee headed by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, former President of the United States.

I am real pleased that this idea is catching fire throughout the country, as we all should take great pride in our country, and I am happy to make this editorial available to the readers of the RECORD:

PRIDE IN AMERICA

We are happy to note the formation of a national "Pride in America" committee. With so many people downgrading the U.S. and predicting its early demise, surely it is time for a positive note to be sounded.

With former President Eisenhower as its chairman, the new committee will seek to revive what it describes as the somewhat-dormant "pride in country and respect for and display of the American flag."

The first phase of committee activity will center around Flag Day, June 14. A nationwide campaign will be instituted to urge all citizens to display Old Glory on Flag Day and on subsequent national holidays such as July 4, Labor Day and Veterans Day.

This is a call every lover of America can heed. No complicated or chauvinistic activity is required. It is not necessary to march or demonstrate or make a lot of noise. There need be no lavish displays of any kind. Sometimes a quiet word or a simple, unobtrusive action, such as putting up a flag or breathing a silent prayer, accomplishes far more than strident speeches and showy parading.

In addition to flag displays at home and at the place of business, the "Pride in America" leaders hope citizens will acquire small (4 by 6) flags to attach to car radio antenna—and even smaller flags to pin on labels and dresses.

This is not much for us to do for our country, is it?

NO WORK, NO EAT

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Rev. Thomas G. Daum is in tune with the philosophy of grassroots America.

Reverend Daum is a very able and dedicated Baptist minister. He is currently pastor of Bush River Baptist Church, near Newberry, S.C. His sermon of the week recently appeared in the Newberry Observer. It is such an outstanding sermon and is so timely that I commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of the country:

If You Don't Work Then You Don't Eat

(By Rev. Thomas G. Daum, pastor of Bush River Baptist Church, Newberry, S.C.)

There is a theory going around in America today that before long we will all be handed out a salary of $8,000 a year. There is another theory that before long the work week will be shortened to thirty hours a week. And the third theory is that some people have the idea that they aren't going to work at all. They are just going to lie down, open their mouths and have somebody to feed them free of charge. And the bad part of some of this is that some churches are supporting this type of philosophy. Though there are men and though there are churches who might support this belief it can readily be seen that nowhere does the Bible teach this.

When Adam sinned in the garden God came to him and said, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." In other words, if you want something to eat then you'll have to work so hard for it that the sweat will run down your face.

When Paul wrote to the church at Thessalonica he found that some people were not working and this is what he said, "For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies." And in the verse above this he said, "that if any would not work, neither should he eat." Or in modern language he is simply saying this. If a man is too lazy to work then he begins to hang around and make trouble for himself and others. He becomes disorderly and sticks his nose in other people's business. And if this man is this type and if he is too lazy to work then let him starve. Some might say that I am stretching the point here in saying that a man should starve, but I believe that the law of science will tell you that if a man doesn't eat that he will starve.

There are those today who say that we must do away with all poor people, but Jesus said, "ye have the poor with you always." There are some people that you could give a million dollars to today and by this time next week they would be right back where they started. Further, let me ask this question. What is so horrible about being poor? I was raised as a poor child. I can remember eating cornbread and black-eyed peas day after day and they never killed me. I can remember when a piece of chicken looked like gold but not having it every day didn't kill me. I can remember when we had only one pair of shoes and they lasted us all year, and not having a closet full of them didn't ruin my feet. Being poor can do something for a person that being rich will never do. Of course, I have nothing against rich people. I'm all for a man who wants to get ahead but I don't believe that the Bible tells us anywhere that a man should get rich and have the luxuries of life without working for them. When I got off the bus to go to college I had $1.25 in my pocket and I didn't know where the money to work my way through was coming from but seven years later I walked out of college and the seminary with degrees that I had earned by the sweat of my brow and I was as happy as any member of my entire class. I could truthfully say that I had worked and earned those sheepskins and not a soul had given them to me. There is satisfaction and honor in work.

Abraham Lincoln once put it this way, "You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer. You cannot further the brotherhood of man by encouraging class hatred. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich. You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn. You cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves."

If a man wants a new car then that is fine but let him work for it. If he wants a new home then we are all forgetting rid of every run-down house and shack in Newberry, but let him work for it. If a man wants steak on his table every night then he is like every human being, but let him work for it. If a man wants a better world then let him go out and construct it by taking his hands and his back and building it. Then when he lies down at night he can have the good feeling way down inside that he has earned his car, his house and his bread. He can face the world straight in the eye and say that no one has given me a thing for I have earned it.

I personally do not get the picture of the Lord Jesus Christ loafing around the carpenter shop while everybody else made a living for Him. Nor do I find Him ever teaching the philosophy that a man can get something for nothing. Nor do I see Paul out asking his church members to give him a pay check unless he worked for it. He made this very clear when he once said, "Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you."

I am still of the opinion that many of our social ills could be cured tomorrow if we would work and when the job is finished find another one to do.

A 10-YEAR HOUSING CAMPAIGN

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I was heartened to learn of the action taken by the Senate in overwhelmingly voting for the passage of the President's Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

This legislation attacks the problems of our cities on a meaningful scale for the first time and I would like to commend the President for his vision in proposing it and my colleagues in the Senate for their responsible action in supporting it.

Even the most casual reader of today's headlines is aware of the troubled condition of our cities. Those of us who have studied the situation are aware also of the complexity of the problems which those cities confront. All Americans agree that those problems must be solved, that the condition of our cities must be improved.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, recognizing that there is no easy solution to the problems of our cities, contains a wide range of different programs involving both the public and private sectors on a significant scale.

It calls for a 10-year housing campaign to rid the Nation of its 6 million substandard units. It calls for assistance to new communities. It calls for expanded authorizations for the rent supplements and model cities programs.

In short it calls for a national commitment to the resolution of our urban crisis.

I urge my colleagues to support it with the same enthusiasm that it received in the Senate.

PETERS, GRIFFIN, WOODWARD, INC., FURTHER NEW YORK UNIVERSITY'S RADIO EFFORTS

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that Robert W. Bloch has brought to my attention the fact that the well-known sales representation firm of Peters, Griffin, Woodward, Inc., with its headquarters in my district, has made a gift of an FM radio transmitter to WNYU, the radio station of New York University at Washington Square, in my district.

This is service not only to education but also of a real public service nature in making available to this university the opportunity to serve the community.

The release on this fine event follows:

Peters, Griffin, Woodward, Inc., national sales representative for television stations throughout the country, has given an FM radio transmitter to New York University's radio station, WNYU. The University currently has an application for an FM frequency pending before the Federal Communications Commission.

"We are deeply grateful to Peters, Griffin, Woodward for the gift of a transmitter that would permit us to begin broadcasting almost at once upon receiving F.C.C. approval," said Dr. James M. Hester, president of NYU. "The FM station would add a new dimension to the University's efforts to serve the urban community."

At present NYU students operate a carrier current station serving the resident community at the University's centers in the Bronx and at Washington Square. Programs are broadcast in the dormitories and the student centers.

President Hester accepted the gift from H. Preston Peters, chairman of Peters, Griffin, Woodward, at the firm's headquarters, 277 Park Avenue, Manhattan. Also present were Lloyd Griffin, president, and Jones Scovern, treasurer of the firm, and Dr. Harold B. Whiteman Jr., NYU's assistant chancellor for student affairs. Mr. Griffin is a member of the WNYU Board of Advisors, of which Dr. Whiteman is chairman.

DR. GALLUP SUPPORTS POLLING DISCLOSURES

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 6, 1968

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, 48 Members of the House, on both sides of the aisle, joined me in cosponsoring a truth-in-polling bill.

Today, I received an unexpected, unsolicited but welcome, letter from the well-known pollster, Mr. George Gallup, in support of a disclosure concept. I am pleased to place this letter in the RECORD.

As I indicated in my remarks to the House on May 21, congressional hearings may well enhance, not diminish the reputation of responsible pollsters.

I believe hearings—and legislation—could reassure the public, educate us as to the methods and techniques of public opinion pollsters, and prevent possible abuses.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Dr. Gallup's letter follows:

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION,
Princeton, N.J., May 27, 1968.

Hon. LUCIEN NEDZI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN NEDZI: I saw a news report that states that you are drafting a bill for "Truth-in-Polling". Let me say that I am in complete sympathy with this effort.

As you may know, I am heading a movement to establish polling standards which in effect will provide for complete disclosure.

A number of directors of polling organizations met in Santa Barbara on May 8th and agreed to go ahead with a National Standards Group on Polling. The writing of the final document (code of ethics and standards) should be completed within the next month. A meeting is presently being scheduled for June 17th.

We believe that certain basic facts should be included in every printed or broadcast report of poll results . . . the nature of the sample, size of the sample, exact questions asked, etc. Also, we believe that a printed description of the polling methods used by each organization should be available to anyone who wishes it. This information would cover points in some detail, as in the case of the examples from the *Gallup Opinion Index* and *The Public Opinion Quarterly* which are enclosed.

Some of the worse offenders in our business are the pollsters who do "private" surveys but then make certain that the results of these surveys are leaked to the press and public.

This is one of the knotty problems with which we have to deal. If Candidate "A" has a private poll that show him well ahead of his opposition, then there is a strong temptation for his opponent to say his private poll shows the exact opposite. Obviously the public does not know what to believe, and in this situation the only conclusion is that polls are totally unreliable.

Although we have been polling the American public continuously since October, 1935, there is still a lot of misinformation about the purpose that polls serve, whether they do influence opinion, whether their techniques are in accord with scientific principles, and about many other matters. This problem of educating the public is an important one, and I must confess, one in which we have all done a rather poor job.

You may be interested in a work-book which we have put together for our own purposes which answers many questions that are frequently asked. The manuscript is being revised and updated, but it may be of some use to you in answering questions that you may have in mind. I am sending it under separate cover.

Finally, let me urge you to call on me for any help that I can provide.

Sincerely,

GEORGE GALLUP.

GOOD NEIGHBORS OF 1968

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, four of my constituents are to be honored for their public service to the community, Hubert Reynolds, Miss Edith McIntosh, Mrs. Bertha Falkowski, and Dick Wharton. Their missions have been varied, but equally important. All of them are imbued with a spirit of helpfulness to their fellowmen. They have devoted their efforts and time to helping many less fortunate than themselves, and to improve the community. I have personal knowledge of the influence for good these people have been in my congressional district and they have set an example which many other citizens might well emulate. The Cleveland Press has published a descriptive article of the activities of the four to be honored, and under leave, I include it and commend it to the reading of my colleagues who represent heavily populated districts, as it may give them guidance and ideas for their own constituents:

GOOD NEIGHBORS OF 1968: WEST SIDE, TREMONT NOMINATE FOUR

(By Mary Swindell)

The Near West Side has two official Good Neighbors. So does the Tremont Area.

Hubert Reynolds and Edith McIntosh have been selected by the West Side Civic Council as its nominees for the Good Neighbor of the Year award. Bertha Falkowski and Dick Wharton are the nominees from the Tremont Area Civic Assn.

They will be among 28 men and women from 15 area councils to be honored at the 12th neighborhood service awards dinner of the Area Councils Assn., June 6 in Higbee's Auditorium. Co-sponsor of the program, this year for the first time, is the Kiwanis Club of Cleveland.

Hubert Reynolds has been a member of the West Side Civic Council for only a year. But, according to those who nominated him: "He has demonstrated great potential in his first year of membership. Reynolds has been responsible for the upsurge in membership of the West Side Civic Council and has been very active in enrolling at least 50 new members."

Reynolds is also active in the West 58th St. Block Club. He has been a Cleveland policeman for 19 years and lives with his family at 1380 W. 58th St.

His co-nominee, Miss Edith McIntosh, according to the West Side Civic Council, is "a very hard working and deserving member of our organization."

She has been a member of the group for three years, during which time she has served as secretary, has helped in redrafting the council's constitution and has been the annual dinner chairman. She is also active in the Riverview Golden Age Club.

Miss McIntosh is retired and lives at 1745 W. 25th St.

Everybody in Tremont knows Mrs. Bertha Falkowski. And to those who know her, she is just plain Bertha.

Right now, she is TACA's historian, although she has served as president for two terms. Her associates say:

"Her impact on the community has been greatly felt, for she has inspired them to become interested in the community. She was also the first woman president of the council."

Her other activities include membership in the Scranton Elementary and Lincoln High PTA's. Mrs. Falkowski founded the Lincoln High School PTA Scholarship Fund in 1963 and still serves on the scholarship committee, even though her two sons are in medical school.

She also is active in the Community Opportunity Board, the Foster Grandparents and the ACA. She lives at 2105 Barber Ave.

Dick Wharton is a group worker at Merrick House, 1050 Starkweather Ave. and has held that post for seven years.

"Wharton," say his friends in the Tremont Area Civic Assn., "is highly regarded, respected, well-known and loved by the young people of the neighborhood. To see him stroll through the area is like seeing a Pied Piper, for he is usually followed by a long line of children."

Pied Piper Wharton also spends much of his time working with former mental patients and a group of boys from Tremont Elementary School. Wharton is the recording secretary of TACA. He is also a member of the Seventh Ward Democratic Club. He lives at 2885 W. 14th St.

HATS OFF TO EVANSVILLE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVORS

HON. ROGER H. ZION

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 28, 1968

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, my hat is off to the several Christian Endeavor Society groups that comprise the Evansville, Ind., District Union. These hardworking young men and women have recently been named first-place winners in Christian Endeavor's 1968 Christian Youth Witness program. The Evansville Union will receive the Albert H. Diebold award of $125 cash and an award plaque commemorating their fine achievement.

"How Our Young People Witnessed to 50,000 People" was the caption of the scrapbook which described the prize-winning project. To compete, the union, under the leadership of President Terry Gamblin, planned a float for Evansville's 46th Annual Fall Festival, sponsored by the West Side Nut Club. The float committee went to work in September, using as their theme "Young People—Come to Church." The float itself, done in the colors red and white, depicted a church with open doors with several youth gathered outside. A group of 50 Endeavorers representing the nine churches in the Union marched in a unit following the float, wearing Christian Endeavor hats. Cheryl Tenbarge acted as song leader. Fifty thousand spectators were on hand to watch their performance.

In a time when our young people are represented as caring little for the society in which they live, these young Christian Endeavorists are setting an example for their fellows. One could do much worse than to emulate this clean-cut fellowship of committed youth with a purpose.

LOUIS CLIFFORD

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. **VANIK**. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, Cleveland lost one of its great civic leaders in the untimely passing of Mr. Louis Clifford, city editor of the Cleveland Press for over 25 years. In spite of his difficult responsibility at the nerve center of the newspaper, he always had time for a friendly word or to discuss a difficult community problem.

About a month ago, at his invitation, I visited the Euclid Day Care Center—one of his favorite community projects, and discussed the recent amendments to the social security legislation. On the day he died, he wrote me a letter on a special community project which was in his mind.

The Cleveland Press has lost a valuable servant. The community has lost a constructive force for good—and I have lost a dear friend.

Following is a story of Louis Clifford which appeared in the Cleveland Press on May 27, 1968, followed by editorials which appeared in the Cleveland Press and in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on the same day:

[From the Cleveland Press, May 27, 1968]

There was a little of Louis Clifford in every Press story. The thing about a city editor is that he becomes a part of nearly every local newspaper story. His influence and judgment show in whether it is written, when it is written, and how it is written—and more than likely he has a hand in writing it.

So at least it was with Louis Clifford who from 1943 until his death Saturday at 61 was City Editor of The Press. It was he, more often than not, who chose the events of the community that became stories in The Press, and who chose the reporters and writers to develop them.

He did it very well indeed, with economy of action and by bringing out peak effort from the staff when it was needed. As one who often expressed admiration for such a flamboyant performer as the late A. E. M. Bergener of the old Cleveland News, a man who boisterously scolded his staff, Louie was unfailingly quiet and considerate, even when pressures were most intense.

Speaking in 1961 at the Indiana University Press Institute Seminar, Louie paid his respects to Bergener in these words: "I was on the police and the criminal courts beats most of my four years of apprenticeship under Mr. Bergener. He was a cussing, shouting, reporter—insulting, hardboiled individual for whom, despite his cussedness, I bore a tremendous amount of admiration and even a trace of affection."

It was not often that Louie revealed as much as that about himself, so it is worth noting that he was almost the exact opposite of his mentor. And after four years of such driving, in spite of the nostalgia he expressed more than three decades later, he came to The Press for his career.

Very few of today's editorial staff at The Press have any recollection of Louie as a beat reporter or rewrite man. Those who do, say he performed in these fundamentals with great skill and discrimination. He covered both police courts during the exciting lawlessness of prohibition.

When he talked at Indiana University, he spoke highly of the competitive days when *The Press* and the old *News* were eyeball to eyeball every edition every day. Such competition, he said, sharpened the staff and its product by the hour.

But he also said: "For the tremendous improvement in newspapers in the last twenty-five years I credit largely two factors: The planning, preparation, and thinking ahead that go into the daily edition output, and the wide broadening of the base of coverage."

Louie had a great deal to do with the development of a more responsive and responsible press. His contributions to modern journalism have been widely recognized.

Early in his city desk career he was a speaker at the American Press Institute at Columbia University on the training of staff. He returned later to lead a three-week seminar on municipal affairs.

For all his intense interest in the affairs of Cleveland he made only infrequent and highly selective public appearances. But quietly he accepted civic responsibility, devoting his own time and attention.

He was a member of the Euclid Charter Commission, which a few years back revamped and notably stabilized the government of that city. He was a member for several years of the Euclid-Glenville Hospital Board, during its time of greatest expansion.

The favorite professional appraisal of Louie was that no one could better spot a story and develop it than he, and no one did it with more secrecy. Even his closest city desk associates generally didn't know what he was up to.

Louie also was a sentimentalist. On a vacation five years ago, Louie came upon Rev. Father Albert Schmidt in his poverty parish of six thousand hill people at Ponce, Puerto Rico. Louie wrote a fistful of stories, raising substantial sums for the people.

Born in Wabash, Ill., Louie lived most of his life in this community. In 1924 he graduated from Cathedral Latin H. S. and entered immediately upon his newspaper career. The family home is at 22561 Edgecliff Drive, Euclid.

He was named 1965 Man of the Year by Cathedral Latin Alumni Association, receiving a scroll that called attention to his devotion to church, family, and *The Press*.

His surviving family are his wife, Pat, and three children, Dr. John E., Professor and Head of Drama at Bradley University, Peoria, Ill.; Mrs. Eugene (Donna) O'Donnell, Euclid, and Thomas S., a teacher of physics at the Grosse Point, Mich., High School. A brother, Roland, also survives.

Two weeks ago, Louie received from doctors the sad news that he had an inoperable heart disease. On December 13 he had lost his brother Robert, also a *Press* veteran, to heart disease and the word about himself shook him up.

But he returned to work at the city desk, to make up his mind what to do. The alternatives were varied. He could have retired to a life of ease, which he said was not attractive. He could have taken a less demanding assignment.

"I'll take next week off and decide what I'm going to do," he told a close friend.

He died as he was starting that vacation.

[From the Cleveland Press, May 27, 1968]

LOUIS CLIFFORD

The vital nerve center of a newspaper's editorial department is the city desk. At The Press, for 25 years, the man who ran that nerve center with an imperturbable calm was Louis Clifford.

Mr. Clifford, who died Saturday at the age of 61, was a newspaperman's newspaperman. There was no pretense about him; he was a pro.

Mr. Clifford had unerring instincts about news. He could feel where there was a story to be smoked out and what facts were needed to make the news more than routine. He knew what people should know—and what they wanted to know.

To say that he flawlessly directed coverage on the big news events of this town would be to give only one side of the man. If this paper has long been thought of as knowing and caring about what the "little guy" is thinking, Mr. Clifford must be given much of the credit for that spirit.

He was a man who was not effusive in his praise. But if he said about a story you had written, "That's a good reading piece," your day was made. He never raised his voice, yet there was no question about the firmness with which he ran the city room. A sidelong glance over his eyeglasses was enough warning to a reporter that his performance had been less than perfect.

There is no doubt about what Mr. Clifford would want his colleagues to do without him. He would want them to keep on getting the news first and getting it straight. And this, in his absence, is what we will do.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 27, 1968]

Louis Clifford, City Editor of the Cleveland Press for twenty-five years, was a keen competitor who not only kept his own reporters alert and inquisitive but played a large part in the strongly competitive spirit that has existed between Cleveland's afternoon newspaper and *The Plain Dealer*.

His death at the age of 61 takes from the Cleveland newspaper scene a real pro. He will be missed by the many newspapermen and ex-newspapermen who benefited from his guidance.

THE SURTAX FICTION

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I again want to make my position clear—that I cannot in all good conscience support the 10-percent tax surcharge or the $6 billion expenditure reduction provisions added by the conferees to the tax bill now awaiting final action by the Congress.

The administration, the banking community, and other proponents of these tax and expenditure reduction measures cite the necessity for such drastic action in view of the large budgetary deficit which may rise as high as $24 billion at the end of this current fiscal year.

At the time agreement was reached by the conferees on these provisions, it was estimated that the tax surcharge would yield $700 million in additional revenues during the fiscal year 1968 and $10.9 billion during the fiscal year 1969.

Advocates of these amendments also argue that our economy is moving ahead too rapidly, and that mounting Federal expenditures, primarily due to the Vietnam conflict, are causing inflationary pressures to build up at an unacceptable rate. They insist that approval of these provisions will act as a restraining force on aggregate demand, thereby dampening the inflationary boom which is allegedly threatening us, and bringing stability to the U.S. dollar at home and abroad.

If we will but look at current economic indicators, I believe that it can be seen that we are not now suffering from a vicious cycle of runaway inflation. Actually, statistics will bear out the fact that the price record of our country has remained one of the most stable in the world, and I do not find recent price trends too alarming. In March, the Consumer Price Index was 4 percent higher than it was 1 year ago. Wholesale prices have increased even more slowly and were 2½ percent higher than they were last year. I do not believe that these increases are significant enough to warrant enactment of these tax and expenditure provisions.

Let us think about this matter for a moment and ask ourselves: Would a tax increase prevent further price rises in such items as food, housing, or medical costs—important components of the Consumer Price Index—which such action is designed to accomplish? The answer is, of course, "No." Certainly these items are absolute necessities in our everyday life. Certainly some individuals may have to reduce their savings in order to pay for such necessities, but there certainly will be no significant cutback in consumer demand for them, nor a corresponding reduction in prices.

I do not believe that other current economic indicators support the contention that the economy is expanding at too rapid a rate. Official data published on our leading economic indicator—the gross national product—report that it has increased by $61.0 billion—from an annual rate of $766.3 billion in the first quarter of 1967 to $827.3 billion in the first quarter of 1968. This rise simply reflects in large measure the growing productivity of our national economy—it cannot be considered as a dangerous upsurge. If we allow for price changes, the gross national product grew by only 4.4 percent during this period.

Business expenditures for plant and equipment are expected to increase from $61.66 billion in 1967 to $65.23 billion in 1968. With the exception of the $1.03 billion gain made from 1966 to 1967, this represents the slowest advance reported for any previous year since 1963. And it is a well recognized fact that before a real boom in the economy can take place, there will be a strong upsurge in such capital spending.

Furthermore, about 15 percent of our vast industrial capacity is now idle. And we know that inflation poses no serious threat when the capacity utilization ratio is less than 90 percent.

Frankly, I seriously question whether our economy is strong enough to withstand a tax increase at this time. I fear that such legislation may set into motion forces which will precipitate a recession. And should the economy turn down, the Government will tend to lose revenues rather than raise the additional $10 billion next year it is seeking from this tax increase. Such legislation, therefore, would only be self-defeating.

The tax surcharge will exert the greatest hardship upon middle- and low-income families who can least afford any further addition to their tax burden.

It would simply be superimposed upon the numerous increases in tax levies which have been and are being added by State and local governing units as they seek to finance their rising costs. Last year at least half of the 50 States passed legislation imposing new taxes or increasing existing ones. And more is yet to come as State Governors seek even more tax legislation this year.

While this bill carries a termination date of June 30, 1969, for the tax surcharge, you and I know full well that once it is enacted, it will very likely be continued indefinitely. High administration sources are already indicating that such will be the case.

Neither can I support the $6 billion spending reduction authorized for fiscal year 1969 which will cut too deeply into vital domestic programs. Compounding this problem are provisions in this bill which call for a $10 billion reduction in new obligational and lending authority proposed for 1969 plus rescission of some $8 billion in spending authority approved in earlier years.

If we will but look at the latest Federal budget document, we may see that the area where this cutback can be applied is relatively small. This document reports that of the total estimated expenditures projected for the fiscal year 1969 of $186.1 billion, $71.8 billion represents expenditures for relatively uncontrollable civilian programs. This would include social security payments, veterans compensation and pension benefits, interest on the public debt, and so forth—those programs for which expenditures are already fixed by law. No cutback could be made in outlays for these activities without a basic change in legislation. If we add the estimated $26 billion which is being spent for our military efforts in Vietnam, this reduction could not be applied to approximately $98 billion of this $186 billion total. Even beyond this, some programs cannot be cut if the funds are already obligated or contracts have been entered into. So those programs which can be cut, I fear, will be slashed drastically.

And it will be domestic welfare programs which will bear the brunt of any economies taken—vital programs attempting to eradicate poverty, to provide decent housing, health and educational facilities and services, and other welfare programs.

The recent riots in our major cities testify to the urgency of supporting and enlarging rather than cutting back on those programs which will help to alleviate the pressing need of our citizens living in impoverished circumstances. Especially is this true as we face another long, hot summer, and with racial tension and unrest mounting day by day. Furthermore, our hard-pressed State and local governments are in no position to assume the financial burden of these programs should our National Government fail to meet its responsibility to our needy citizens.

The President, himself, has warned that excessive expenditure reductions will require great sacrifices and would be unwise at this time.

No, Mr. Speaker, I believe that a far better alternative to the tax surcharge and the expenditure reduction provisions of this bill lies in enactment of tax reform legislation which would close existing loopholes in our tax laws which benefit the very rich in our society.

Philip Stern, in his book, "The Great Treasury Raid," has estimated that the Federal Government loses roughly some $40 billion in revenues each year because of various loopholes in our tax laws.

A look at the latest "Statistics of Income" issued by the Internal Revenue Service reveals that 630 Federal income tax returns were filed by individuals reporting an adjusted gross income of $1 million or more during 1966. Of this number, 18 owed no taxes at all—undoubtedly due to special concessions granted under our present tax laws.

Let me just briefly mention a few of these tax loopholes which bestow special privileges upon the rich and which we should seek to have closed.

One of the most glaring of these loopholes is the 27½ percent depletion allowance deduction granted to oil and gas companies. Not only are these firms permitted to lower their tax bill by a rapid write-off of drilling, development and other costs, but our present tax laws allow these companies to deduct 27½ percent of their gross income from their oil and gas wells—as long as it does not exceed 50 percent of their taxable income from the property—before they begin to determine their Federal income tax liability.

Another tax loophole is in the area of untaxed capital gains. Our tax laws provide that property which has increased in value, upon being transferred at death from one person to another, escapes income taxation. For example, an individual may buy stock at a cost of $30,000. If at his death, it still remains in his possession, it is passed on to his heirs. By the time his beneficiary receives it, it may have appreciated to $60,000, but he, the heir, would not be subject to payment of any income tax on this gain. If he later decides to sell the stock for perhaps $70,000, he would only have to pay a capital gains tax on the $10,000 increase in the value of the stock from the time when it was transferred to him.

The unlimited charitable contribution deduction is another loophole which favors the very wealthy. The average taxpayer is now permitted to deduct up to 30 percent of his adjusted gross income for contributions made to certain nonprofit religious, educational, scientific, and similar institutions. The millionaire, however, is permitted to deduct without limit his charitable contributions if such donations plus his income tax payments during the taxable year and in 8 out of the previous 10 years have amounted to 90 percent of his taxable income. Since an individual may receive a substantial portion of his income from tax-exempt sources—for example, interest received from municipal bond holdings—he may legally escape payment of virtually any Federal income tax while his charitable contributions plus his income tax payments may amount to considerably less than 90 percent of his total income. Since this provision affects relatively few individuals, it could easily be eliminated without significantly discouraging contributions to charitable organizations.

High salaried corporation officials benefit because of the favorable tax treatment accorded stock options. Rather than receiving a raise in pay or a cash bonus, these business executives are frequently given an option to buy shares in their company at the current market price. They are frequently given 5 years in which to exercise this option. If they wait a few years, and the price of the stock rises, they are permitted to buy it at the original option price. Thus, these executives are able to realize considerable income from this source on which they pay no Federal income tax. If they should decide to sell the stock at a later date, they are only liable to the lower capital gains tax rate.

Still other inequities in our tax laws which should be corrected include those relating to multiple surtax exemptions afforded corporations, tax loss carrybacks, and preferential gift tax rates as compared with estate tax rates.

These are just a few of the tax loopholes which favor the wealthy and which only serve to shift the burden of taxation to lower income groups who are least able to bear it.

Other legislation which might be considered is the imposition of an excess profits tax on a temporary basis—for the duration of the Vietnam war—to insure that no one profits unduly because of this conflict.

These are just a few alternatives which, I believe, offer a better solution to our problem of chronic budgetary deficits.

Therefore, let us not act hastily and unwisely in approving the tax surcharge and expenditure reduction provisions of this tax bill, but let us look to some of these other alternatives which will not only remove glaring inequities which have remained on our statute books too long, but which will bring in the revenues our Government needs to finance not only our defense effort in Vietnam, but also vital domestic programs which we cannot afford to sacrifice at this time.

EDUCATION—AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, among the many problems discussed by the President's Commission on Civil Disorders was the availability of equal educational opportunities for all Americans.

Recently, Mr. Stephen J. Trachtenberg, Special Assistant to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, addressed the conference on priorities in urban education at Cornell University. His statement on our public school system raises a number of important questions. I agree with some of his views and I disagree with others, however, I am placing the full text of Mr. Trachtenberg's remarks in the RECORD at this point for the information of my colleagues:

WE MUST NOT DRAG ON THE CHAIN

(A talk by Stephen J. Trachtenberg, Special Assistant to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)

Harvard's Thomas F. Pettigrew, a leading student of race relations, calls the racial revolution in public education "a revolution with a difference." He says it "aims to join, not uproot, the society it confronts." The problems involved in this revolution are many. They embrace and cut across issues that are economic, educational, legal, social, and cultural. They are found in every region of our Nation; and they permit no easy answers; they allow no simple solutions.

The schools are at the center of this revolution precisely because they have traditionally been used by minority groups to move up in our society. The people of this country have expected the schools to absorb a continuing flow of children who are most diverse in their ethnic, linguistic, and cultural heritages, and to then transform them into Americans. Our classrooms have been reproductions of the national melting-pot.

The American school has generally distinguished itself in carrying out this function. Fifty years have elapsed since the period of the large European immigration. It is one of the justifiable boasts of our schoolmen that they and their colleagues took millions of Germans, Irish, Poles, Italians, Greeks, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians, Chinese, Japanese, and many others and turned out an equal number of Americans.

As a pragmatic people, we frequently judge our institutions by visible results. Consequently, we do not challenge the educator's claim about the Americanization of the European influx. We can see the truth of it. We know that those immigrants and their children have become "Americans" and we know that the schools are largely responsible.

Despite these accomplishments, the harsh fact remains that if we accept acculturation as a function of the school, we are forced to admit that, with regard to the Negro American, the American school in general has failed.

The Negro community remains a distinct one in America; a group whose separateness results from more than color. This is suggested by the subtle emphasis we habitually employ in referring to the American Negro rather than the Negro American. It is further confirmed by looking at any number of social indices such as median years of school completed, unemployment rates, draft rejection rates, average family income, life expectancy, crime rates—in all of which the Negro ranks poorly. If our schools—and, by extension, the taxpayers who support them—are credited for transforming Europeans into Americans, then they must share in the blame for the continued existence of a negative Negro subculture in our midst.

Why have the schools succeeded with European immigrants and failed with Negro Americans? There are at least two possible explanations. The first is the allegation that there are inherent biological differences between Negroes and other people which education cannot overcome. We all know there is no scientific evidence to support this position. There is much to refute it.

A second hypothesis is that educational opportunities for Negro Americans differ in kind or degree from those afforded other Americans. Few would deny that this is the case. Pursuing this line of reasoning some would conclude that: American education has helped prevent the Negro's entrance into the mainstream of American life by the act of segregating the Negro child in the first public social institution he encounters—the school.

Each day we are faced with more evidence that children from poor homes and from racial minorities are being doomed to continued poverty and educational deprivation. From your own personal and professional experience, you know that schools transmit a climate of aspiration, expectation, and self-esteem to students through their enrollment mix and institutional traditions. The child's perception of his school's place in the educational and community structure contributes to his relationship to school and society. A child attending a school which reflects economic and racial segregation receives an inferior academic experience. This same child also develops low aspirations and expectations for the future.

Any analysis of racial segregation in the schools must separate the problems of southern schools and northern schools.

Let us first consider the southern problem. Racial separation in the southern schools initially developed as a tradition tantamount to common law. It was later enacted into statutory law. Then in the 1890's, under its "separate but equal" guise, statutory separation was reinforced by the ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States. Only a dozen years ago, it was held to be unconstitutional by the same judicial body. Today, it remains the dominant pattern in a large area of this Nation, and it is still defended by some.

The *Brown* v. *Topeka Board of Education* decision of May 17, 1954, sets forth the basic principles of those who argue for integrated education. The Court ruled that:

"To separate them [Negroes] from others of similar age and qualification solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

In a decision handed down the following year, in 1955, the Court ordered the schools to desegregate with "all deliberate speed."

During the next decade, it was evident that the proponents of deliberation were more than holding their own against the advocates of speed. In fact, there was so little actual desegregation in the South that to talk of speed at all was to use a misnomer. By the 1959–60 school year, for example, figures of the Southern Education Reporting Service show that, in the 11 southern States, only 16 hundredths of one percent of the Negro school children were enrolled in schools with white children. This figure rose with agonizing slowness to 162 thousandths of one percent in 1960–61; to 241 thousandths of one percent in 1961–62; to 453 thousandths of one percent in 1962–63. It finally passed one percent in 1963–64, when it reached 1 and 17 hundreths percent.

At this point, the Congress of the United States, through the vehicle of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, entered the contest, largely on the side of speed. Title VI of the Act provides:

"No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

The mandate was clear for the school systems which still enforced pupil segregation: end discriminatory practices or lose eligibility for the growing array of Federal school programs. The Supreme Court had declared the maintenance of separate school systems unconstitutional; the Congress had legislated that continued allocation of Federal monies to such systems was illegal.

After the law was enacted, the struggle for enforcement ensued, and it was at this juncture that another of the desegregation catchwords appeared—"the guidelines."

There were no guidelines in effect for the first school year after the enactment of the Civil Rights Act—that is, for the school year 1964-65. And there was also little activity in compliance with the Act on the part of most of the southern school districts. Consequently, in order to aid the school districts in the spring of 1965, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, issued guidelines. These required "good faith" toward compliance in the fall of 1965. Then in March of 1966, HEW revised the guidelines for the school year 1966-67, and a warm dispute developed.

We do not have time to trace all the reactions to these regulations and guidelines and all the conversations that took place, but let me cite just a few:

In May of 1966, 18 southern Senators wrote to the President asking that he revoke the guidelines *in toto*.

On September 2, 1966, Alabama enacted a law declaring the guidelines invalid and authorizing State grants to any district losing Federal funds for non-compliance under the guidelines.

On September 29 and 30, 1966, Commissioner Howe was called before the House Committee on Rules and defended the legality of the guidelines.

In December, the Commissioner spent three more days testifying on the guidelines before the Special Subcommittee on Civil Rights of the House Committee on the Judiciary.

And finally in my list of events following the guidelines, I must mention the recent 2-1 decision handed down by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

The court was reviewing a number of desegregation cases consolidated on appeal from lower courts in Louisiana and Alabama. It recognized that school districts operating under a court-ordered desegregation plan were exempted from conforming to the HEW guidelines, and that some school districts had deliberately attempted to come under court-ordered plans, assuming that the court orders would be less stringent than the guideline requirements. The Fifth Circuit Court declared that this practice must cease, saying:

"We shall not permit the courts to be used to destroy or dilute the effectiveness of the congressional policy expressed in Title VI. There is no bonus for foot dragging."

Later, that decision was reconsidered by the full 12-judge panel of the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which reaffirmed it 8-4 in March, 1967.

All criticism of the guidelines has not come from the South or from persons advocating a slower pace. On the other side, some civil rights groups and individuals have attacked the guidelines as too permissive They deplore what they call "gradual and token desegregation" and demand instant desegregation.

Let us turn from the South to the picture in the North and West. When you cross the Mason-Dixon line, the situation becomes more clouded. The black and white delineations of a *de jure* dual school system give way to the subtler contrasts of separation-by-circumstance, or *de facto* segregation.

Two major causes of this type of segregation are: One, the traditional American conception of a neighborhood school, especially for younger children. And, two and most critical, the great influx of rural, predominantly southern Negroes into the urban centers of the north and west coupled with the massive development of suburban bedroom communities. This flood of Negroes, often with large families, to the city, which started about the time of the First World War and which is still in progress, marks perhaps the greatest internal migration of Americans since the settling of the West. Negroes went north for employment, partly in hopes of finding more acceptance, and sometimes in desperation.

This Negro "flight to the cities" has been paralleled by the white "flight to the suburbs," with the result that many of our great metropolitan areas have become black ghettoes ringed by white suburbia.

The courts, in hearing a number of cases involving *de facto* segregation over recent years, have not yet been able to arrive at any clear position, such as the *Brown* ruling on *de jure* segregation. (Although Judge Wright's decision in *Hobson* v. *Hanson* in the District of Columbia appears to rub up against some aspects of this problem.) Two cases, neither of which has been reviewed by the U.S. Supreme Court, illustrate this.

In the *Bell* case, in Gary, Indiana, the plaintiffs charged that school attendance zones had been deliberately drawn so as to result in segregation. But a Federal District Court held that the zones had been drawn on the basis of legitimate, non-racial criteria and that the school board had no affirmative duty to change them for the purpose of achieving racial balance.

However, in a 1965 controversy involving the Springfield, Massachusetts school committee, a different Federal District Court went the opposite way in a similar case and applied the broad principles set out in *Brown* to the North. The Massachusetts decision reads:

"The question is whether there is a constitutional duty to provide equal educational opportunity for all children within the system. This is not to imply that the neighborhood school policy per se is unconstitutional, but that it must be abandoned or modified where it results in segregation in fact . . ."

These two cases indicate that judicial consensus on the constitutionality of *de facto* segregation is yet to be reached.

The larger, national educational organizations are, right down the line, opposed to segregation and in favor of providing equal opportunities for all Americans. They include the American Association of School Administrators; the National School Boards Association; the American Federation of Teachers, and the National Education Association.

The Courts, the United States Congress, and the educational establishment all oppose segregation. Moreover, there is some reason to believe that more people than ever before share their views on the immorality of unequal educational opportunity. Americans tend to agree that nothing that is wrong in principle can be right in practice. Bigotry is no longer fashionable.

In the South, there has been progress in desegregation; grudging, slow, sometimes violent, but progress. Earlier I mentioned that the school year 1963-64 marked the first time that as many as one percent of the Negro school children in the 11 southern states were in desegregated schools. By 1965-66, the first year in which the effect of the HEW guidelines was felt, the percentage was 6.01. And in 1966-67, according to an Office of Education survey, this percentage climbed to 16.9. However, if in this count we excluded Negro children in schools that had only a few white children, schools that were still over 95% Negro, the percentage fell from 16.9 to 12.5. Figures for the 1967-68 school year are not yet available. The Office for Civil Rights is presently in the process of completing the analysis of the 1967-68 reports. While specific percentages cannot be identified, it is expected that the 1967-68 figures will continue to indicate a rising trend.

In other words, we could say that for each of the 14 years since the *Brown* decision, an average of a little more than one percent of the South's Negro children have been given the first opportunity for legally acceptable integrated education.

In the big cities of the North and West, we appear to be regressing. With a growing urban Negro population and the white exodus from the city, the process of segregation has actually been intensifying. This is borne out by Office of Education estimates comparing the percentages of non-white and white public school students in 21 large cities for the years 1960 and 1966.

For example, in Chicago in 1960, non-white children composed 40 percent of public enrollment. By 1966 they represented 52 percent. In Cleveland, non-white enrollment jumped from 45 to 50 percent over the same period. For Detroit, the increase was from 43 percent to 55; for Philadelphia, 47 percent to 56 percent; for St. Louis, 49 percent to 60 percent; and for Washington, D.C. 78 percent in 1960 to 90 percent in 1966.

What are the effects of segregated education on the achievement, the life, and the hope of the Negro child? As I noted earlier we judge the quality of our institutions by their results and, rightly or not, we often judge our education by the economic advantage it generates. From the Negro's point of view then—the educational system has miscarried. There are any number of economic indices which bear this out. I will not detail them, but discuss a very basic one, that of employment and unemployment.

Negro unemployment was described at the White House Conference on Civil Rights as being "of disaster proportions." The Negro unemployment rate is consistently more than twice the rate for whites. Negroes make up only about 10 percent of the work force, but they represent about 20 percent of total unemployment, and about 30 percent of the long-term unemployment.

And not only do the alumni of Negro schools have trouble getting jobs; the jobs they do get are lower on the economic scale than the jobs of whites. Professor Thomas Pettigrew gives us some startling figures on this in his *Profile of the Negro American:*

"The slow rise of Negro occupational trends during the 1950's is forcefully shown by projecting these trends into the future. At the creeping 1950 to 1960 rate of change, non-whites in the United States would not attain equal proportional representation among clerical workers until 1992, among skilled workers until 2005, among professionals until 2017, among sales workers until 2114, and among business managers and proprietors until 2730!"

Does education contribute to this state of affairs?

In the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress called for a national survey by the U.S. Commissioner of Education on the availability of equal educational opportunities. This survey was conducted under the direction of Dr. James S. Coleman of Johns Hopkins University and a large professional staff. The results were made public in July 1966.

The study disclosed that pupil achievement is strongly related to the background and aspirations of his classmates. Stated differently, the kids with whom a pupil goes to school are more important to this achievement than the particular school he attends. In the context of a predominantly segregated school system, the importance of this conclusion can scarcely be over-emphasized. Together with other findings, it indicates that more integration would raise the achievement level of the minority pupils without hurting the level of the majority.

The report itself contains no recommendations, but several commentators have used it as the basis of a variety of conclusions and plans for action.

Dr. Coleman himself, writing about the report in the summer, 1966, issue of *The Public Interest*, offered a 3-point program for action which he calls "modest, yet radical."

First, since socioeconomic factors seem to play a dominant role in determining achievement level, he suggests replacing inadequate family environment as much as possible with a comprehensive educational environment. This would be done by setting an earlier school entry age and increasing the length of the school day. Second, and even at some expense to the more historical school administrative concepts, he would effect more integration. Finally, he would strengthen the educational program of all schools.

In a *New Republic* article, a writer on educational matters, Christopher Jencks, saw the Coleman report as indicating the need for more socioeconomic integration. But, more strongly than Coleman, he viewed integration as the *sine qua non* for improving minority education. And Dr. Kenneth Clark states in his *Dark Ghetto* . . .

"The goals of integration and quality education must be sought together; they are interdependent, one is not possible without the other."

The other side of this debate is, as alluded to earlier, that segregated education can be made into quality education. This is not a new position, nor is it held only by whites. For instance, Gunnar Myrdal, the noted Swedish scholar, reported as early as 1944, in his classic *The American Dilemma:*

"Negroes are divided, too, on the issues of segregated schools. In so far as segregation means discrimination and is a badge of Negro inferiority, they are against it . . . Some Negroes, however, prefer the segregated school, even for the North, when the mixed school involves humiliation for Negro students and discrimination against Negro teachers."

Perhaps the most lucid recent statement of this argument is that of CORE leader Floyd B. McKissick, made in response to the Jencks article in *The New Republic*. McKissick is opposed to what he calls the "facile liberal equation between excellence in education and integration" and what he views as its corollary: ". . . mix Negroes with Negroes and you get stupidity." He contends that educational excellence without integration is possible, and he presents a program for the type of schools Negro communities need: schools attuned to the needs of the Negro child and his family rather than to the middle class world outside the ghetto.

A study issued in February, 1967, by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights appears to blunt the thrust of McKissick's thesis. Entitled *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, it is reported by Robert B. Semple, in the *New York Times*, "to strike at the center of the debate between those who would focus Federal resources on improving the quality of the ghetto schools and those who insist that a large share of Federal revenue be used to create integrated schools—no matter how good the ghetto schools are."

The Commission's work has received considerable attention from educators, social scientists, parents, politicians, and others interested in this dialogue.

Semple noted that the Commission "acknowledged that the quality of the school and its staff and the cultural, social and economic circumstances of the students were important influences on academic achievement." "However," he continued, "it [the Commission] concluded that racial isolation is a strong deterrent to student achievement and suggested that neither qualitative changes in the schools nor improvements in the social and economic status of Negroes generally would overcome the 'stigma' of such isolation."

Now this year we are faced with even stronger and more comprehensive evidence of the extent and the effects of this isolation, with the release of the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*. The commission links this widespread isolation principally to two factors: the practice of residential segregation and the general employment of the "neighborhood school" policy, "which transfers segregation from housing to education."

This, then, is where we stand today in the matter of segregation and the schools, and a little of how we got here. In the light of last summer's and this spring's urban crises, it becomes apparent that our nation must act. The recent legislation for open housing is a beginning. But the crucial area for action, continuing in the American tradition, is our public schools.

We can explore numerous ways that school officials may accomplish desegregation as a step toward improving education in its broadest sense for the disadvantaged. Suggested answers to the problem have filled the schoolman's literature. Some that we hear mentioned most often are:

Education parks.

Bussing proposals.

Cooperative ventures between urban and suburban school systems.

School boundary rezoning plans.

New building sites, and constructing additions to schools or creating branch schools as a road to desegregation.

The litany goes on and so does the give and take between moral commitment and reasoned self interest. The U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II, has said, "The northern parent who says upgrade the Negro schools first, then integrate has a prescription for some progress in the long run." "But," he goes on, "I think what most Negroes will say to him is that as a political reality these Negro schools are more likely to be upgraded if there are some whites in them. So let's do both, and let's do them at the same time."

Here are some questions that you may want to think about:

Do some schools in our cities get less experienced or inferior teachers?

Do some schools in our cities have a higher proportion of classes without regularly assigned teachers?

Do some schools in our cities have a greater teacher turnover?

Do some schools in our cities have a higher proportion of no-show substitutes?

Do some schools in our cities have a higher proportion of mis-assigned teachers?

Do some schools in our cities have fewer special education teachers (librarians, counselors, etc.) on either a per-student basis or on a need basis?

Is someone asking if all of our children use materials of equal quality, have equal physical facilities, and have comparable pupil-teacher ratios? These are local questions and their ultimate solutions are at the local level. This responsibility has not gone unrecognized. In 1963, for example, the California State Department of Education issued the following statement relative to *de facto* segregation:

"Persons or agencies responsible for the establishment of school attendance centers or the assignment of pupils thereto shall exert all effort to avoid and eliminate segregation of children on account of race or color."

Few answers, if any, are within reach without your understanding of these questions and without strong community support—without your support. In that respect, one of the best available sources for leadership in the city is the pool of business, industrial, and labor executives who are accustomed to plunging into problems head-on. Encouraging signs may now be seen in John Gardner's Urban Coalition and in Henry Ford's National Alliance of Businessmen.

In recent years, we have too often demonstrated a tendency to watch the city walls crumble about us without a sufficient struggle. As the potential community leadership moves into the suburbs, as others pull back from the racial issues that envelop our cities, we find the school board and its superintendent sitting out on a limb all alone, publicly basking in their new-found prominence as generals in the war on poverty and ignorance, but wondering where the troops went.

It is the businessman who employs the products of our schools; and who must be concerned when the school is unable to provide the talent he needs; who should be shaken to his shoes by the waste of brainpower and economic potential caused by poverty and segregation.

On April 4 of this year, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. May I share with you the observations of Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education, made the following day:

"Last night a great man died through violence. Who killed him really doesn't matter except that just men will agree that justice should be done.

"What matters is that America has lost a spirit and a hope. Dr. King was one of the few remaining bridges from black to white in our country. Militant he was, but he was also dedicated to peace, to God, and to freedom. Disturbing he was, but he was also committed to the values Jesus Christ would have embraced had he walked the earth in these days.

"We have lost a presence that will not be forgotten, for the truth goes marching on. His message of peace and hope and respect for all men gives each of us a new obligation to move forward in his memory to the world he foresaw."

We are going to have to learn to fight urban problems as a team of concerned American citizens—not as independent guerrilla bands of educators, legislators, clergymen, businessmen, parents, teachers, or civil rights organizations. To state it even more simply, I think educators have a great many answers at hand, if we build on the national mood of recent years to give us more support, not only financially, but by full moral commitment. Through that door lies our greatest opportunity. But as educators we must exert leadership *now*, recognizing the possibility of growing polarization between black and white Americans.

Several years ago, Hollywood produced a movie called "The Defiant Ones." It was well received in America simply as a good story, but it has won standing ovations in a number of foreign nations as a parable of the American racial dilemma. It portrayed the escape of two convicts—one Negro, one white—who were handcuffed together. After their first hours of flight, bound wrist to wrist, they began exhibiting the racial hostility which the ignorant of both races cherish. They called each other names, they fought, but finally—tied by common danger and common hope, as well as a common chain—they forged a grudging respect for each other. And when ultimately they managed to smash the links that connected them, they elected to seek their freedom together

But at one point the white man, totally exhausted, fell to the ground and told the Negro to go on by himself. The Negro turned, shook his broken shackle in the air, and said, "'Come on, get up. . . You're draggin' on the chain."

For better or worse, like it or not, Negro American and white American are bound by a common hope and a common danger. We share a large piece of real estate, and it is this piece—not England, not Ireland, not Poland, or Africa—which is our home. This chunk of land belongs to us, and if bombs incinerate it or dissension rips it, we will all share a common desegregation we never achieved in life.

You must use your wits and your wisdom to break the cords that fetter the Negro to an inferior status in American life. You must recognize that as Americans, we all wear invisible bonds that connect us with our joint past and wed us to our joint future.

Negro American and white American run together. . . Not too well, perhaps, but we've picked up speed in the past few years. And despite our regular failures and our regular falls, we must keep getting up. We must not drag on the chain.

LOEW'S THEATERS, INC., ATTEMPTS TAKEOVER OF MARYLAND FIRM

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the shocking attempt by Loew's Theaters, Inc.—a New York corporation in hotel and movie theater business—to seize control of the Commercial Credit Co. headquarters in Maryland is of grave concern to me. The Commercial Credit Co. was founded 56 years ago in Baltimore. It employs 14,000 people—2,000 in Maryland, and 7,000 of its 40,000 shareholders are Marylanders.

In contrast, Loew's Theaters, Inc., has assets one-twelfth those of the Commercial Credit Co. I am advised that it is controlled by one family owning 32 percent of its stock.

The Commercial Credit Co. has paid generous dividends to its shareholders for 44 years. In contrast, Loew's Theaters, Inc., stock has fluctuated widely. It has existed as a company for 14 years and paid its first dividend—10 cents a share—in November of last year.

This action on the part of Loew's Theaters, Inc., has serious implications and should be the object of close scrutiny by all of us. In this type of financial maneuvering, a raiding outfit borrows to secretly accumulate shares of another company in order to effect a takeover of it. The Loew's Theaters, Inc., is, in a sense, attempting to use Commercial Credit Co. dividends and profits to pay for their venture.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am enclosing a background statement giving the history of Commercial Credit and the status of the attempt of Loew's Theaters, Inc., to take over Commercial Credit. I have brought this matter to the attention of the Attorney General of the United States, the Honorable Ramsey Clark, requesting his investigation of it in the hope early and appropriate action will be taken.

BACKGROUND OF COMMERCIAL CREDIT CO.

Commercial Credit Company is a diversified financial institution with assets of more than $3 billion. Its headquarters are in Baltimore, and its nationwide operations encompass business and consumer lending, factoring, computer time-sharing and leasing, vehicle and equipment leasing, insurance, and manufacturing.

Founded in 1912, it has pioneered and developed a wide variety of financial services for businesses and individuals. These services have contributed to the growth and strength of the American economy by helping industry to supply goods and services, and by increasing the effective purchasing power of consumers so that they can buy industry's products. Two prominent examples of these services are accounts receivable financing on a non-notification basis, and installment buying of automobiles.

Over the years, Commercial Credit Company has created new plans and adapted existing services to meet the changing needs of the times. Those evolving requirements have also led to diversification of the company's operations.

Today the heart of the company continues to be financial services, but that base is supplemented and supported by insurance and manufacturing The complete line of insurance includes protection for casualty, life, health and accident, disability, credit life, and credit loss. Manufacturing encompasses the production of bearings, printing presses, valves, torsion springs, pipe fittings, heavy equipment, decorative metals, and packaged pork products.

In its 56 year history, Commercial Credit Company has become the second largest independent finance company in the nation. It employs more than 15,000 people in 26 major subsidiaries; it has 1,000 offices throughout the U.S. and Canada; it has 50,000 shareowners. It is the largest enterprise headquartered in Maryland, and employs more than 2,000 people in that state, and has 7,000 stockholders there.

If compared in size with banks, Commercial Credit Company would rank 12th among the country's largest banks in capital funds, and if subordinated capital notes were included, it would rank fifth. Reserves, available for future earnings, exceed $250 million.

One of the country's largest users of borrowed funds, Commercial Credit Company has a total debt of $2.3 billion. A recent financial magazine noted that the company's unsecured debt "is bigger than that of all but eight nations of the world."

Now this long-established institution providing services for the mainstream of the American economy is being threatened by Loew's Theatres, Inc. through Loew's announced intention to offer subordinated convertible debentures to Commercial Credit shareowners in exchange for their stock. Loew's registration statement making the offer has not yet been approved by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Loew's Theatres, Inc. operates movie theatres, hotels, and motels. Its assets are approximately one-fifteenth those of Commercial Credit Company. More than one-half of its earnings in its past fiscal year were derived not from operations, but from stock market transactions. The market price of Loew's stock has fluctuated between 10½ and 91½ in less than a year and a half. Organized in 1954, it paid its first dividend—10 cents per share—in November of last year.

The board of directors and management of Commercial Credit Company oppose the proposed offer because they do not feel that movie and hotel activity qualifies Loew's to manage a complex financial institution such as Commercial Credit Company, particularly since open, unsecured credit—a most fragile commodity—is vitally important as a continuing flow of capital.

They do not suggest that Commercial Credit shareowners exchange their status as owners of Commercial Credit Company for that of subordinated creditors of Loew's Theatres, Inc. They point out that the convertible feature of the debentures is speculative because of the wide swings in the market price of Loew's stock. They warn that dividend income would be greatly reduced if the debentures were converted.

In the meantime, the mere announcement by Loew's of its intent to make a tender offer has disproportionately inflated the market price of the stock of Commercial Credit Company, interfered with the company's normal access to the financial markets, and generally disrupted its operations.

AIKEN, S.C., ADOPTS 3D MARINE DIVISION IN VIETNAM

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the city of Aiken in my congressional district selected the 3d Marine Division in Vietnam as the unit it will support under the RSVP (Rally Support for Vietnam Personnel) program.

I commend the city of Aiken for supporting this famous fighting division. Our men in Vietnam need the support, prayers, and backing of the people back home. I commend his excellency, the mayor, and the city council of Aiken for its adoption of this great division. I commend also the charming and able Mrs. Robert McKellar, who is serving as chairman of RSVP in Aiken.

It was my great pleasure to attend the adoption ceremonies at the Municipal Auditorium in Aiken where Maj. Larry Derryberry addressed the gathering. Dr. David Palmer, of the University of South Carolina, who inaugurated this program in Columbia when they adopted the 1st Calvary, made an outstanding address and explained how RSVP operates.

Mr. Speaker, I wish every community in America would in some tangible way support our men serving overseas. It is an investment in the morale of our fighting men and in their civic action work with the people of South Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, an excellent article by Dr. Palmer appeared in the South Carolina Methodist Advocate magazine, concerning the RSVP program. I commend this splendid article to the attention of my colleagues and the people of the United States:

SOUTH CAROLINA'S RSVP ASSISTS CIVILIAN AID PROGRAM IN SOUTH VIETNAM—INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS THROUGHOUT THE STATE ARE "ADOPTING" UNITS TO HELP WAR-TORN CIVILIAN AREAS

(By David Palmer)

Tons of material from cement mixers to soap and summer clothing have been sent from the Columbia area to help American soldiers in their civic action work with the people of South Vietnam. Through a program called RSVP (Rally Support for Vietnam Personnel) some 120 different civic clubs, churches, schools, and individuals in the Greater Columbia area have helped South Vietnamese civilians.

RSVP was begun in January 1966 when I learned that citizens of Birmingham, Alabama, had "adopted" the Big Red One Infantry Division fighting in Vietnam. Approval was obtained from the Columbia City Council and the Greater Columbia Chamber of Commerce to "adopt" the 1st Air Cavalry Division.

With the help of the staff of the Greater Columbia Chamber of Commerce, letters and questionnaires were sent to the Commanding Officers of 26 units of the 1st Air Cavalry Division.

The questionnaire, prepared with the assistance of the U.S.O., included personal comfort items for the men, such as pocketbook novels and pre-sweetened kool aid; materials such as hand tools, tooth paste, soap, and summer clothing for use in helping the Vietnamese; and tape recordings, playing cards, and self-sealing envelopes which could be used by an entire unit. All Commanding Officers enthusiastically approved the RSVP program and checked and returned the questionnaires.

Civic clubs, schools, and other groups agreed to "adopt" military units and to send overseas on a regular basis items that had been marked as desired on the questionnaire. When the Columbia Jaycees sent the first shipment in August 1966 to the 15th Administration Company, the project was in full swing.

The late John Wharton, U.S. Civil Service Representative for South Carolina, coined the name RSVP and its meaning, as well as obtained 450 RSVP stickers. The stickers were placed on cars in the Greater Columbia area and were displayed on helicopters, jeeps, and other vehicles of the First Cav in Vietnam.

In November 1966, the 213th Assault Support Helicopter Company was "adopted" by several Columbia civic clubs, and today there are two helicopters in Vietnam named "Spirit of Columbia" and "RSVP" which serve as reminders to the men of the 213th that South Carolinians are supporting them. Recently three hospitals, the 2nd Surgical, 85th Evacuation, and 616th Medical, have been "adopted" by various organizations and incorporated into the RSVP program.

"CAROLINA CORNFIELDS"

Many unique items have been sent to "adopted" units. The late John Wharton spearheaded a drive to find, repair, paint, and send four cement mixers to the First Cavalry Division for use in constructing cement foundations for troop quarters. Today "Carolina Cornfields" are growing in Vietnam, thanks to the nearly 1,000 pounds of tobacco, soybean, corn, tomato, and watermelon seed sent with the help of the Coker Feed Company, U.S. Soil Conservation Department, Richland County Farm Agent Bob Bailey, and many others. The Rotary Clubs of Columbia and Cayce sent an X-Ray machine for the 15th Medical Battalion for use in treatment of South Vietnamese at their dispensary on An Khe. Norm Arnold and the Ben Arnold Company helped get 10,400 plastic utility bags for keeping personal gear dry, which "sponsors" sent to their "adopted" units.

Periodic "Mail-Ins" are held to encourage "sponsors" to send items such as nails, saws, medical supplies, washing machines, doll clothing made by patients at the South Carolina State Hospital and Crafts-Farrow State Hospital, and soap to their "adopted" units.

Reuben Grauer, from Tree of Life Temple, has sent shipments every month for over a year to his "adopted" 227th Aviation Battalion, and South Carolina Tax Commission employees have sent many cases of cigarettes and personal letters to the soldiers in the 85th Evacuation Hospital. Even the Jaycee chapter in the State Correctional Institution and students in several elementary schools in the Columbia area have been active RSVP "sponsors."

STATE HEADQUARTERS

RSVP now has a state headquarters located at 703 Saluda Avenue, Columbia, donated by the South Carolina National Bank. Many citizens bring to the headquarters paper back books, magazines, clothing, and other items to be sent to Vietnam. Both the South Carolina Jaycees and the state's American Legion have "adopted" the RSVP project as statewide programs.

This community-wide project has been endorsed by the General Assembly of South Carolina, the State's legislative delegation to Washington, General William C. Westmoreland, and General John J. Tolson, the Commanding General of the First Cav, as well as by Army Secretary Stanley Resor. Governor Robert McNair sent letters to all State governors regarding RSVP. The State of Montana has already "adopted" Vietnam, patterning their program after South Carolina's.

The Commanding Officer of the 27th Maintenance Battalion expressed the attitude of many servicemen in "adopted" units when he wrote:

"The spirit and generosity you have conveyed is indicative of the finest traditions of a patriotic citizenry toward its fighting men and our country's struggling ally. Although you are not able to see the fruits of your labors, they are many."

All South Carolinians are challenged to join the "RSVP Team" to help organize in communities throughout the State "adoptions" of military units. This is an opportunity to show our fighting men that we are behind them. For further information, please write Dr. J. David Palmer, 4101 Sandwood Drive, Columbia, S.C. 29206.

SENATE—*Monday, June 3, 1968*

The Senate met at 12 noon, and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

Rev. Edward B. Lewis, D.D., pastor, Capitol Hill Methodist Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

Dear Heavenly Father, we are reminded that You have called us to adventure in living. We are free moral creatures. You have sustained us by Your providence, chastened us by Your discipline, and redeemed us by Your love.

We pray for Your continued presence in our Nation's life as we seek peace in the world and solution to our national problems.

Give to our national and world leaders divine light in dealing with revolution and violence throughout the world. We know that through Your help there is a hope that is redemptive. May the burdens of the day increase our strength, the hindrances turn our steps from evil and all disciplines bring us closer to Your way of life for all mankind. We pray in the Master's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, May 29, 1968, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

WAIVER OF CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the legislative calendar, under rule VIII, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRIBUTE TO HELEN KELLER

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, over the weekend, and since the Senate was last in session, a very great American died. I refer to Helen Keller.

It is not necessary that I attempt to praise Helen Keller. She has won her praise and her own reward.

An individual who from childhood, almost from the time of her birth, was both blind and deaf, and at that time mute, came to be one of the great characters, not only of her generation but of all time as well. Her example in overcoming handicaps will be an inspiration, is an inspiration, and has been an inspiration to countless thousands.

She has given to the world an understanding of what it means to live in darkness. The fact that her dedicated teacher could reach her and that she could begin the learning processes is nothing less than a miracle.

So we honor Helen Keller not alone because of the great life she lived in a world of darkness and in a world of silence, unable to hear, finally mastering an ability to talk, but we honor her also because of her sterling character and her unquenchable Christian faith. She will forever be a symbol that will be inspiring and helpful to countless millions down through the ages.

I know that no words of mine can add luster to her name. Truly, she was one of the great citizens of the world, and she has proved that man is more than flesh and bones.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of measures on the calendar, beginning with Calendar No. 1139.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AUTHORIZING EXPENDITURE FROM CONTINGENT FUND OF SENATE

The resolution (S. Res. 291) authorizing expenditure from the contingent fund of the Senate was considered, and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 291

Resolved, That the Committee on Appropriations hereby is authorized to expend from the contingent fund of the Senate, during the Ninetieth Congress, $35,000, in addition to the amounts, and for the same purposes, specified in section 134(a) of the Legislative Reorganization Act, approved August 2, 1946, and S. Res. 137, agreed to July 17, 1967.

HEARINGS ON COMPETITIVE PROBLEMS IN THE DRUG INDUSTRY, PART 5

The resolution (S. Res. 292) authorizing the printing of additional copies of part 5 of Senate hearings on competitive problems in the drug industry was considered, and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 292

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business one thousand four hundred additional copies of part 5 of hearings before the committee during the Ninetieth Congress, first and second sessions, entitled "Competitive Problems in the Drug Industry."

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1158), explaining the purposes of the resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate Resolution 292 would authorize the printing for the use of the Select Committee on Small Business of 1,400 additional copies of part 5 of the hearings before the committee during the 90th Congress, first and second sessions, entitled "Competitive Problems in the Drug Industry."

The printing cost estimate, supplied by the Public Printer, is as follows:

Printing cost estimate

1,400 additional copies at $815.33 per thousand	$1,141.45

HEARINGS ON COMPETITIVE PROBLEMS IN THE DRUG INDUSTRY, PART 6

The resolution (S. Res. 294) authorizing the printing of additional copies of part 6 of Senate hearings on competitive problems in the drug industry was considered, and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 294

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business one thousand four hundred additional copies of part 6 of hearings before the committee during the Ninetieth Congress, first and second sessions, entitled "Competitive Problems in the Drug Industry".

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1159), explaining the purposes of the resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate Resolution 294 would authorize the printing for the use of the Select Committee on Small Business of 1,400 additional copies of part 6 of the hearings before the committee during the 90th Congress, first and second sessions, entitled "Competitive Problems in the Drug Industry". The estimated printing cost is $1,200.

AUTOMATIC DATA PROCESSING AND THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN

The resolution (S. Res. 295) authorizing the printing of the study entitled "Automatic Data Processing and the Small Businessman" as a Senate document was considered, and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 295

Resolved, That there be printed, with illustrations, as a Senate document a study entitled "Automatic Data Processing and the Small Businessman", prepared for the Senate Select Committee on Small Business by the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress; and that four thousand five hundred additional copies of such document be printed for the use of that committee.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1160), explaining the purposes of the resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate Resolution 295 would authorize the printing, with illustrations, as a Senate document of a study entitled "Automatic Data Processing and the Small Businessman," prepared for the Select Committee on Small Business by the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress; and provide that 4,500 additional copies of such document be printed for the use of that committee.

The printing cost estimate, supplied by the Public Printer, is as follows:

Printing cost estimate

To print as a document (1,500 copies)	$3,254.44
4,500 additional copies, at $243.94 per 1,000	1,097.73
Total estimated cost, S. Res. 295	4,352.17

PRINTING FOR COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 702) authorizing certain printing for the Committee on Veterans' Affairs was considered, and agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1163), explaining the purposes of the resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 702 would authorize the printing for the use of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs of 56,100 copies of a publication entitled "Summary of Veterans Legislation Reported, 90th Congress," and an additional 43,900 copies for the use of Members of the House of Representatives (100 per Member).

Printing cost estimate: $6,768.35.

ANTICRIME PROGRAM HEARINGS

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 614) to provide for the printing of 1,000 additional copies of anticrime program hearings was considered, and agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1162), explaining the purposes of the resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 614 would authorize the printing for the use of the House Committee on the Judiciary of 1,000 additional copies of its hearings entitled "Anti-Crime Program, Hearings Before Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 90th Congress, first session."

Printing cost estimate: $6,873.26.

VETERANS' BENEFITS CALCULATOR

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 44) authorizing the printing of additional copies of a veterans' benefits calculator was considered, and agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1161), explaining the purposes of the resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 44 would provide that after the conclusion of the second session of the 90th Congress there be printed 50,240 copies of a veterans' benefits calculator prepared by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee of which 2,000 copies would be for the use of that committee, 2,000 copies for the use of the House Committee on Finance, 37,485 copies for the use of the House of Representatives (85 per Member), and 8,755 copies for the use of the Senate (85 per Member).

Printing cost estimate: $5,838.

POLICING OF BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The bill (S. 3504) to amend section 11 of an act approved August 4, 1950, entitled "An act relating to the policing of the buildings and grounds of the Library of Congress," was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 11 of the Act of August 4, 1950 (64 Stat. 412; 2 U.S.C. 167j) is amended by—

(1) inserting therein, immediately after "SEC. 11.", the subsection designation "(a)"; and

(2) inserting at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) For the purposes of this Act, the term 'Library of Congress buildings and grounds' shall include (1) the whole or any part of any building or structure which is occupied under lease or otherwise by the Library of Congress and is subject to supervision and control by the Librarian of Congress, (2) the land upon which there is situated any building or structure which is occupied wholly by the Library of Congress, and (3) any subway or enclosed passageway connecting two or more buildings or structures occupied in whole or in part by the Library of Congress.".

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1156), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3504 would extend the present authority of the Library of Congress for policing the Library of Congress buildings to embrace the rental space it utilizes at certain other locations in Washington, D.C. The Library's present authority, expressed in the act of August 4, 1950 (64 Stat. 412; 2 U.S.C. 167–167j), does not extend beyond the streets surrounding its permanent buildings located on Capitol Hill.

The General Services Administration was requested by the Library of Congress to supply guards for the buildings leased by Library purposes at Taylor Street NW. and 214 Massachusetts Avenue NE. locations, but was advised by GSA that it was administratively and physically unable to supply guards for the purpose. Consequently, the Library of Congress has had to recruit its own special policemen to protect the staff and contents of its leased buildings. S. 3504 would grant to such special police the same authority exercised by the police guarding the permanent Library of Congress buildings.

ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR THE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

The resolution (S. Res. 296) to authorize additional funds for the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs was considered, and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 296

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is hereby authorized to expend from the contingent fund of the Senate, during the Ninetieth Congress, $10,000 in addition to the amount, and for the same purpose, specified in section 134(a) of the Legislative Reorganization Act approved August 2, 1946.

GEORGE N. PFEIFFER

The resolution (S. Res. 298) to pay a gratuity to George N. Pfeiffer was considered and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 298

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay, from the contingent fund of the Senate, to George N. Pfeiffer, widower of Helen K. Pfeiffer, an employee of the Senate at the time of her death, a sum equal to two months' compensation at the rate she was receiving by law at the time of her death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

MARIE T. MUSSELMAN

The resolution (S. Res. 299) to pay a gratuity to Marie T. Musselman was considered and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES. 299

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay, from the contingent fund of the Senate, to Marie T. Musselman, widow of William Melvin Musselman, an employee of the Architect of the Capitol assigned to duty in the Senate Office Buildings at the time of his death, a sum equal to six months' compensation at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

RETIREMENT OF SENATOR HAYDEN

The resolution (S. Res. 297) authorizing the printing as a Senate document of the tributes on the Senate floor to the Honorable CARL HAYDEN on the occasion of the announcement of his retirement from public office was considered and agreed to, as follows:

S. RES 297

Resolved, That the tributes expressed on the Senate floor by Members of the Senate to the Honorable Carl Hayden, a United States Senator from the State of Arizona and President pro tempore of the Senate, on the occasion of the announcement of his retirement from public office, be printed as a Senate document, in such format and together with such pertinent materials and illustrations as may be determined by the Joint Committee on Printing.

SEC. 2. There shall be printed and bound for the use of the Joint Committee on Printing that quantity of additional copies of such document permissible under statutory limitations.

COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 286) to employ additional clerks for the Committee on the District of Columbia which had been reported from the Committee on Rules and Administration, with an amendment, in line 2, after the word "from," strike out "May 1, 1968, to" and insert "the date of approval of this resolution through"; so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Committee on the District of Columbia is authorized from the date of approval of this resolution through January 31, 1969, to employ three additional clerical assistants, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at rates of compensation to be fixed by the chairman in accordance with the provisions of Public Law 90-57, approved July 28, 1967, as amended.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1157), explaining the purposes of the resolution.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senate Resolution 286 as referred would authorize the Committee on the District of Columbia from May 1, 1968, to January 31, 1969, to employ three additional clerical assistants, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at rates of compensation to be fixed by the chairman in accordance with the provisions of Public Law 90-57, approved July 28, 1967, as amended.

Since the commencement date of May 1, 1968, expressed in the resolution is now past, the Committee on Rules and Administration has amended Senate Resolution 286 to provide that the authorization be effective from the date of approval of the resolution by the Senate. Should that approval date be near June 1, 1968, the three additional employees would be authorized for approximately 8 months, and the total maximum salary expenditures authorized would be approximately $22,000.

CREATION OF COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I should like to know what the plans are in reference to Calendar No. 1100, Senate Resolution 13, providing for the creation of a Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. This is not a consent bill.

Mr. CURTIS. I understand.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. And it has not been scheduled for floor consideration.

Mr. CURTIS. The Senator has no report, then, on when it will be considered?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I have no report on when it will be considered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there further morning business?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED DURING ADJOURNMENT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore announced that, under the authority of the order of the Senate of May 29, 1968, the Vice President, on May 29, 1968, signed the following enrolled bills, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

H.R. 3299. An act to authorize the purchase, sale, and exchange of certain lands on the Spokane Indian Reservation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 14672. An act to amend the act of February 14, 1931, relating to the acceptance of gifts for the benefit of Indians;

H.R. 14922. An act to amend Public Law 90-60 with respect to judgment funds of the Ute Mountain Tribe;

H.R. 15224. An act to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard; and

H.R. 15271. An act to authorize the use of funds arising from a judgment in favor of the Spokane Tribe of Indians.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, and he announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts and joint resolutions:

On May 29, 1968:

S. 5. An act to safeguard the consumer in connection with the utilization of credit by requiring full disclosure of the terms and conditions of finance charges in credit transactions or in offers to extend credit; by restricting the garnishment of wages; and by creating the National Commission on Consumer Finance to study and make recommendations on the need for further regulation of the consumer finance industry; and for other purposes.

On May 30, 1968:

S.J. Res. 142. Joint resolution to provide for the reappointment of Dr. Crawford H. Greenewalt as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution;

S.J. Res. 143. Joint resolution to provide for the reappointment of Dr. Caryl P. Haskins as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution; and

S.J. Res. 144. Joint resolution to provide for the reappointment of Dr. William A. M. Burden as Citizen Regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

On May 31, 1968:

S. 68. An act for the relief of Dr. Noel O. Gonzalez;

S. 107. An act for the relief of Cita Rita Leola Ines; and

S. 2248. An act for the relief of Dr. Jose Fuentes Roca.

REPORT OF NATIONAL COMMISSION ON ARCHITECTURAL BARRIERS TO REHABILITATION OF THE HANDICAPPED—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 324)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

To the Congress of the United States:

To most Americans, a stairway poses no problem. A narrow doorway is little more than an inconvenience. But for more than 20 million of our citizens, these simple structures bar the living of a normal life.

One in every 10 Americans suffers from some disability which keeps him from using buildings designed—not cruelly, but thoughtlessly—only for the physically fit. Problems in the design of our buildings pose the greatest single obstacle to employment of the handicapped.

If we are to give the millions of handicapped Americans the opportunity to live life to the fullest, we must not put unnecessary barriers in their path.

We want our schools, libraries, office buildings, theaters, museums, stadiums and transportation systems to be accessible to all.

In 1966, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare appointed a National Commission on Architectural Barriers to Rehabilitation of the Handicapped. I am pleased now to transmit to the Congress the report of that Commission entitled "Design for All Americans."

The report shows increased awareness of the problems by State and local governments, architects, and the general public. In the past year, the General Services Administration has substantially modified its design standards to give more consideration to the handicapped.

But the report also shows that a substantial task lies ahead.

—In many cases, State laws are sadly inadequate. Some cover only State-owned buildings; others do not spell out the needed standards.

—No school of architecture gives special or continuing attention to the problem of accessibility.

In the next thirty years, more buildings will be constructed in this country than have been built in the past two hundred years. And as we go about this tremendous task, we must make sure that the needs of the handicapped are not overlooked.

I commend this Report to your attention.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *June 3, 1968.*

REPORT ON UNITED STATES-JAPAN COOPERATIVE MEDICAL SCIENCE PROGRAM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 325)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

To the Congress of the United States:

We in America are fortunate that our lives are almost completely free of the scourges of cholera, leprosy, exotic viruses, and parasitic diseases. Some of our citizens are still struck by tuberculosis and malnutrition, but we are making significant progress against them.

Yet in Asia today, millions are killed or crippled by those six diseases. They also continue to pose a serious threat to our fighting men stationed in Southeast Asia.

The U.S.-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program was begun in 1965 to find ways, through medical research, to eliminate or control those diseases.

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress today the annual report on that program. In slightly more than a year since the research efforts began

—Fifteen separate conferences dealing with specific diseases have been held in the United States and Asia.

—Contracts and grants were awarded for further intensive study of each disease.

—Additional steps were taken toward the development of a vaccine capable of conferring long-term immunity against cholera.

I believe you will find this report encouraging and enlightening, and I commend it to your attention.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *June 3, 1968.*

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 15794. An act to provide for U.S. standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 16127. An act to increase the limitation on the number of officers for the Coast Guard.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H.R. 15004) to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to extend the expiration date of certain authorities thereunder, and for other purposes, and it was signed by the Acting President pro tempore.

HOUSE BILLS REFFERRED

The following bills were each read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H.R. 15794. An act to provide for United States standards and a national inspection system for grain, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

H.R. 16127. An act to increase the limitation on the number of officers for the Coast Guard; to the Committee on Commerce.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. DOMINICK:

S. 3571. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ediltrodito Quianzon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMATHERS:

S. 3572. A bill for the relief of Dr. Renee Diez de Force;

S. 3573. A bill for the relief of Mr. Diego M. Gimenez, Jr.; and

S. 3574. A bill for the relief of Coe A. Boardman and his wife, Martha E. Boardman, and the estate of Frank J. Smith and his widow, Therese E. Smith; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JACKSON (by request):

S. 3575. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in feasibility investigations of certain water resource developments; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HANSEN (for Mr. TOWER):

S. 3576. A bill to amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 in order to provide for a fair and effective system of selecting persons for induction into the Armed Forces consistent with national security demands under such act; to the Committee on Armed Services.

(See the remarks of Mr. HANSEN when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HOLLINGS:

S. 3577. A bill to amend chapter 13 of title 38, United States Code, to provide that the death of any veteran who, at the time of his death, was entitled to disability compensation for certain service disabilities will be deemed to have resulted from service-connected causes; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 3578. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release, on behalf of the United States, a condition in a deed conveying certain lands to the South Carolina State Commission of Forestry so as to permit such Commission, subject to a certain condition, to exchange such lands; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

AMENDMENT OF MILITARY SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT OF 1967

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 in order to provide for a fair and effective system of selecting persons for induction into the Armed Forces consistent with national security demands under such act. I ask unanimous consent that a statement, prepared by the Senator from Texas, be printed in the RECORD, and that the bill be printed in the RECORD.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill and statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3576) to amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 in order to provide for a fair and effective system of selecting persons for induction into the Armed Forces consistent with national security demands under such act, introduced by Mr. HANSEN (for Mr. TOWER), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3576

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this act may be cited as the "Fair Selective Service Act of 1968".

SEC. 2. (a) Paragraph (2) of section 5 (a) of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (50 App. U.S.C. (a)) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (1) of this subsection, in meeting any national quota of men to be inducted into the Armed Forces under this act, selection of persons for induction to fill such quota shall be made from persons in the primary selection group, after the selection of delinquents and volunteers. Selection of persons for induction into the Armed Forces from the primary selection group shall be made in an impartial manner, without regard to the age of such persons, under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe."

(b) Section 5 (a) of such act is amended by adding at the end thereof a new paragraph as follows:

"(3) As used in this section, the term 'primary selection group' means persons who are liable for training and service under this act, who at the time of selection are registered and classified, and who are—

"(A) between the ages of nineteen and twenty and are not deferred, or exempted;

"(B) between the ages of nineteen and thirty-five and, on or after the effective date of the Fair Selective Service Act of 1968, were in a deferred status, but are no longer in such status; or

"(C) between the ages of twenty and twenty-six on the effective date of the Fair Selective Service Act of 1968 and are not deferred or exempted.

Unless selected for induction or unless otherwise deferred from induction, a person shall remain in the primary selection group for one year. Any person who is removed from the primary selection group because of a deferment shall again become a member of the primary selection group, if he otherwise qualifies, whenever such deferment is terminated. Nothing in this paragraph shall prohibit the President from retaining persons in the primary selection group for a period exceeding one year if the President determines such action is necessary for effective national defense."

SEC. 3. The last two sentences of section 6 (h) (1) of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 are hereby repealed.

SEC. 4. The amendments made by sections 2 and 3 of this act shall become effective ninety days after the date of enactment of this act.

The statement of Mr. TOWER is as follows:

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, as a member of the Armed Services Committee I participated in lengthy hearings just a year ago from which evolved the Selective Service Act of 1967.

In those hearings close and careful consideration was given to a number of inequities in the previous Selective Service Law, and the committee ultimately reported a bill—which the Senate approved—in which I felt a serious effort had been made to improve Selective Service.

In our work last spring we were provided the additional suggestions of the Administration and of the President's Draft Advisory Commission. I think it is not incorrect to say, also, that we were led to believe by the comments of Administration spokesmen that if Congress would leave ample flexibility to the Administration certain steps would be taken through *regulations* to accomplish some of the corrections Congress had in mind.

I am a firm believer in the need for flexibility, posed in the commander-in-chief, in the Selective Service System. It is clear that the prime responsibility of that system is not absolute fairness nor the promotion of educational and social programs, but the emergency provision to our armed services of the very best men available when needed for our national security.

Having worked with the intricacies of national security for a number of years, I am intimately aware that only the National Security Council can at all times have immediately available the information needed to make rational judgments about the demands likely to be placed on our armed services in the near future. I, therefore, agreed with the committee and the Congress in last year's bill which left major decisions on draft equitability up to the President and his National Security Council.

One of the things I believed the President and the National Security Council would do—based on clear legislative intent—was to so revise the draft regulations that men at the younger-end of the eligibility scale were taken first.

Perhaps the most distressing trouble with the draft, a trouble which was called repeatedly to my attention last spring, is the years and years of uncertainty it imposes on young men, particularly students, who cannot make career or graduate work plans with any certainty until at least after age 26.

I would like to quote, Mr. President, from the Senate Armed Services Committee report of last year as it bears on this subject:

"The sequence under which eligible persons are inducted for military service today appears elsewhere in this report. This sequence is determined administratively under the President's power to implement the law by regulations. After delinquents and volunteers for induction, persons between the ages of 19 and 26 are reached, with the oldest being selected first."

"This sequence of induction has been criticized almost unanimously by the persons who have reviewed the operation of the draft law and its administration. Among the reasons for criticism of this sequence are:

(1) it prolongs a period of uncertainty about whether a person will be inducted;

(2) it causes hardships for employers when trained employees are drafted;

(3) it increases the number of deferment applications and appeals that must be considered; and

(4) it provides older manpower for the Armed Forces than would another system.

"In his selective service message to the Congress the President has indicated his intention to issue an Executive order that would change the present sequence of induction by having the primary vulnerability to the draft exist for persons between the ages of 19 and 20.

"The committee is not opposed to reversing the current sequence of induction. The transition in reversing the sequence of induction presents some problems, however. If all those persons over the age of 20 at the time the transition is accomplished are not to receive an unfair advantage as a result of the transition, they should be subjected to the same vulnerability as the 19-year-old class. Even if those over 20 are considered along with the 19-year-olds, the number of persons over 20 is likely to be greater than the number between the ages of 19 and 20."

"Thus a preponderance of eligibles who are over 20 would tend to defeat the objective of selecting the 19-year-olds. Moreover, those older than 20 would have the advantage of a reduced vulnerability to the draft, even if they are considered on the same basis as the 19-year-olds. Many of those who would receive this advantage have been deferred as students or for occupational reasons."

That is the way things stood last spring.

The truly unfortunate thing is that we still, today, stand at exactly the same place.

A year later nothing whatsoever has been done by the Administration to correct this problem of too-lengthy draft peril for our young men. And, coupled with an Administration decision to end deferments for graduate students this failure to act on reversal of the age for primary draft vulnerability has threatened our graduate schools with a severe loss of students next fall.

I acted in good faith last spring, Mr. President, when I supported the draft revisions written by the Senate. I waited in good faith for many months for the President and the National Security Council to complete studies, talks and deliberations pending their regulation decisions.

But, after months and months of delay the Administration failed.

It failed to correct this key draft inquiry.

I regret this failure. I know thousands of American young men regret it.

And, because I value the flexibility which should be maintained in national security affairs, it is with respect that I have determined that Congress must now act to restrict that flexibility.

Since we cannot count on the Administration to do what it led us to believe it would do on this issue, I believe further legislation now is crucial.

I have, therefore, prepared—and I introduce here today—a rather tightly-drawn bill designed to override this Administration inaction.

Briefly, this bill would reverse the existing order of draft call so that induction and selection will be made primarily from 19-year-olds, instead of taking the "oldest first" from age 25 down as now practiced.

The bill, entitled the "Fair Selective Service Act of 1968," creates a "primary selection group" of time-limited vulnerability from which most draftees would come in the future. This primary selection groups consists of:

1—men between the ages of 19 and 20 who are not deferred or exempted;

2—men between the ages of 19 and 35 who on the date of enactment of this bill were deferred but become no longer deferred;

3—men between the ages of 20 and 26 who when this bill is enacted are neither deferred or exempted.

Everyone who testified before the Senate committee last year supported this age-reversal solution to many of the draft's uncertainties. Under it each young man normally would undergo *one year* of prime draft vulnerability. If he was not inducted during that year he would be free to plan his future with virtual certainty that short of all-out war he would not be needed in the armed services. Students would be deferred for undergraduate work and would, when those deferments ended, undergo their year of prime vulnerability.

Since both 19-year-olds and new college graduates would combine to make up the primary selection group in any given year there would be no danger, such as we face this year, of having all of the year's demand fall on college graduates thus stripping the graduate schools of scholars at one fell swoop.

Thus, my bill would end lengthy uncertainty and graduate-school stripping. It would provide a better, fairer, more sensible Selective Service System.

May I note that I am aware there are other changes some would like to make in the draft laws. It is clear that my bill does not attempt to be an omnibus measure. Assessing the realities of the current legislative session I cannot, candidly, say that I think there is any chance for an omnibus draft bill to pass. Therefore, I restrict my bill to this item of most vital importance. I think that such a limited draft-improvement bill can be enacted.

I urge my colleagues to give it serious consideration.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILLS

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, my name be added to the bill (S. 3569) to amend title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with respect to the use in good faith by State and local authorities of freedom of choice systems for the assignment of students to public elementary and secondary schools.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, my name be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 3570) relating to the use in good faith by State and local authorities of freedom of choice systems for the assignment of students to public elementary and secondary schools.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 74—RELATING TO THE 28TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON ALCOHOL AND ALCOHOLISM

Mr. MOSS submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 74); which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 74

Whereas, the 28th International Congress on Alcohol and Alcoholism will take place in Washington, D.C., on September 15–20, 1968; and

Whereas, this International Congress will be the first gathering of this worldwide organization in the United States in 48 years: and

Whereas, this International Congress will be the largest professional gathering in history dedicated to solving the problem of alcoholism, our country's fourth major health problem; and

Whereas, delegates from all parts of the world will be participating in this meeting; and

Whereas, the disease of alcoholism and other alcohol-related problems known no national boundaries: therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States, by concurrent resolution, recognize the importance of this conference to world health and otherwise express the hope that the conference deliberations will help alleviate the serious threat which alcoholism and alcohol-related problems pose to world health; and further, that the President of the United States be requested to issue an appropriate Executive proclamation welcoming the delegates of the International Congress to our Nation's Capital.

EXTENSION OF TAX ON THE TRANSPORTATION OF PERSONS BY AIR—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 838

Mr. BENNETT submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 16241) to extend the tax on the transportation of persons by air and to reduce the personal exemption from duty in the case of returning residents, which were referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

THE PARIS PEACE TALKS

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, disappointment caused by Hanoi's unwillingness to discuss reasonable terms in the Paris peace talks is understandable. We can hear voices already calling for a breaking off of those talks because of the North Vietnamese Government's intransigence.

William R. Frye, writing in a special report to the Sunday Star, observes that the absence of genuine negotiation at Paris is not a disaster, though it is clear that added military pressures will be needed to change North Vietnam's tune. In the meantime, the Paris confrontation remains. It keeps open the channels of communication and keeps ready the machinery for negotiations. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Frye's article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO REASONABLE COMPROMISE

(By William Frye)

PARIS.—The fundamental question which has dominated the Paris peace talks from the outset is now susceptible of an answer.

The question is: Will Hanoi let the United States disengage from Viet Nam on the basis of a reasonable compromise?

The answer is no—almost certainly not. At least, not at this stage, and probably not for the foreseeable future.

Boiled down to its essence, Hanoi's "peace" program, as outlined here over the past three weeks, consists of four steps:

1. A total cessation of American bombing and "other acts of war" against the north—with no corresponding reduction of the Communist war effort in the south.
2. A total withdrawal of allied troops from South Vietnam, with no corresponding withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces.
3. A coalition government, including Communist ministers and presumably dominated by them.
4. "Noninterference" from the outside with subsequent Communist efforts to seize complete power.

This is, of course, a program for American capitulation. The only concession it makes to American requirements is the provision for an interim coalition. Otherwise it amounts to a surrender ceremony.

Initial bargaining postures in a major negotiation are always tough. But in most cases, a party which is willing to dicker takes care to telegraph the fact in subtle nuances of wording, in avoidance of absolutes, in private hints. There has been virtually none of this from Hanoi.

The conclusion which Western observers here feel forced to reach, however reluctantly, is that in Hanoi's present state of mind, anything less than a Communist victory is simply unnegotiable.

It does not necessarily follow that W. Averell Harriman and his staff should pack up and go home. Absence of a genuine peace negotiation behind the Paris facade is a disappointment, but not necessarily a disaster.

Many in Washington opposed attempting negotiations in the first place, believing the military balance on the war fronts too unfavorable to permit a satisfactory peace. They appear to have been right.

Except that the bombing north of the 20th parallel cannot readily be resumed in the face of predictable world disapproval, the name-calling here will do little harm, and machinery for negotiations will be ready for use if circumstances ever change.

New military pressure in the south will almost certainly be required to change them. It seems inevitable that the United States will have to turn the escalation screw once again, in order to extract from Hanoi a willingness to compromise.

THE HOUSING BILL, CRIME-CONTROL BILL, AND PARIS PEACE TALKS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a transcript of questions which were asked of me during a TV interview which was filmed on May 29, 1968, and my answers thereto.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF SENATOR BYRD'S TELEVISION INTERVIEW, MAY 29, 1968

Q: Senator Byrd, you amended the Omnibus Housing bill during Senate debate. What does your amendment do?

A: Well, the bill sets up a program under which low-income families may purchase low and moderately priced housing with the federal government paying a part of the interest on the mortgage.

The bill, as it was brought to the Senate, only allowed private non-profit organizations to coordinate the construction and rehabilitation of dwellings to be offered to low-income families under the subsidy. My amendment extends to local public housing authorities the right to purchase, rehabilitate, and sell housing units to low-income families under the interest rate subsidy.

Now, in West Virginia, as of last December, there were 23 local public housing authorities, and there were over 2,150 in the United States. So here is an obvious source of talent on-going local sponsors which can produce a decided and immediate impact on a comprehensive housing program for low-income families. I think that we ought to be able to take advantage of it.

I want to provide the opportunity to low-income families as soon as possible to own their own homes and my amendment would help to expedite and accomplish this.

Q: To what do you attribute the lop-sided vote of 72–4 by which the Senate passed the Crime Control bill?

A: Well, I think the Senate acted in response to the general mood and temper of the country. I feel that the people of this country are fed up with the situation in which it is unwise and unsafe to walk the streets in many cities. I feel also that a reaction has set in against the excesses of the United States Supreme Court in recent years in dealing with criminals. The Court has, by its efforts, made it possible for many self-confessed criminals to escape punishment for their crimes altogether. The people generally resent this.

In my judgment, the Senate passed not only a good anti-crime measure, but it also delivered a severe and needed and deserved rebuke to the Supreme Court for its disregard of the rights of society which, in my judgment, are certainly superior to the rights of those who would destroy it.

Q: Senator Byrd, how do you evaluate the Paris peace talks at this point?

A: Well, thus far they have not been very fruitful, from our point of view, at least. Hanoi has been using the hiatus in bombing to reinforce her aggressive armies in the South. And she has been using the Paris talks as a forum in which to insist before the world that we are the aggressors in Vietnam.

The North Vietnamese are watching the situation on the ground in South Vietnam and they are holding fast to discussing a cessation in bombing, and that alone. At the moment they are very intractable.

Q: How long can we refrain from bombing the North in view of the enemy buildup?

A: Well, I think this depends upon the mood and temper of the American people. It depends upon the ability of General Abrams to cope with the increasing enemy buildup in the South. And, I think it also depends upon any progress or lack of progress at the Paris peace talks.

Q: Well, Senator Byrd, how long should we continue our efforts to negotiate?

A: Well, the talks have not yet reached the negotiating stage, because there have been no indications from the other side that this is a two-way street.

We have to be patient, but we have to be firm. And I think we must understand that this is that period which apparently you must always go through in dealing with the Communists.

Now I feel that we must continue to make the effort, but one thing is sure—there can be no real hope for progress until we can get away from the public forum of the public conference table.

In order to have real progress there must be private, substantive, discussions.

INTERVIEWER. Thank you, Senator Byrd.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF SOUTH LAFOURCHE HIGH SCHOOL AT GALLIANO, LA.—ADDRESS BY SENATOR ELLENDER

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, on Thursday, May 30, I delivered an address at the graduation exercises of the South Lafourche High School in Galliano, La.

First, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the program in its entirety, including the names of the graduating seniors.

There being no objection, the program was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRADUATION 1968—SOUTH LAFOURCHE HIGH SCHOOL, MAY 30, 1968, 8 P.M.

CLASS OFFICERS

President, Ann Marie Theriot.
Vice-President, Tyrone Galjour.
Secretary, Becky Waldrup.
Treasurer, Jackie Bellanger.
Reporter, Peter Terrebonne.

Motto:It matters not how long we live . . . but how!

Colors: navy and yellow.

Flower: yellow rose.

Faculty advisors: Mr. and Mrs. Roland J. Thomassie.

PROGRAM

Miss Ann Theriot, Senior Class President, Presiding.

Processional: South Lafourche High School Band, Mr. Raul Prado, Director.

Invocation: Rev. Claude Fontenot, Golden Meadow Baptist Church.

Senior address: Mr. John William Sanders.

Principal's address: Mr. George J. Hebert.

Selection: South Lafourche High School Band, Mr. Raul Prado, Director.

Commencement address: Honorable ALLEN J. ELLENDER, United States Senator.

Presentation of scholarships and awards: Mr. Easton Pitre, Assistant Principal; Mr. John Rabb, Curriculum Director.

Awarding of diplomas: Mr. I. T. Danos, Visiting Teacher, Lafourche Parish.

Class song: "The Impossible Dream," Mrs. Mary D. Rabb, Accompanist.

Benediction: Rev. R. W. Hanberry, First Baptist Church of Larose.

Recessional: South Lafourche High School Band, Mr. Raul Prado, Director.

GRADUATING CLASS

Arthur Adams
David Adams
Diana Adams
Joanette Adams
Larry Adams
Cathy Alford
Albert Allemand
Cherie Allen
Gerald Angelette
Elton Arceneaux
Charles Aupied
Ryan Autin
Charlie Bankester
Maggie Barrios
John Barton
Randall Beehn
Jackie Bellanger
Linda Bernard
Robert Bernard
Glenda Bielkiewicz
Herbert Billiot
Martha Boudreaux
Winona Boudreaux
Karen Bourg
Mike Bourg
Benny Bourgeois
Glenn Bouzigard
Brad Bouzigard
Amy Bouvier
Maureen Broussard
Melissa Broussard
Rodney Broussard
Al Bruce
Linda Bruce
Bonnie B. Bruce
Bonnie L. Bruce
Cynthia Bruce
Genevieve Bruce
Gloria Bruce
Ray Bruce
Guy Buie
Marie Burkett
Paul Callahan
Gene Callais
June Callais
Mary Callais
Ronald Callais
Susan Carskadon
Judy Champagne
Carol Charpentier
Danny Charpentier
Claudette Cheramie
Keeland Cheramie
Lola Cheramie
Maenell Cheramie
Ned Cheramie
Nell Cheramie
Ovide Cheramie
Pat Cheramie
Phyllis Cheramie
Tony Cheramie
Douglas Chiasson
Terry Chiasson
Barbara Collins
Michael Collins
Susan Collins
Vickie Collins
Jeanette Comeaux
Curtis Compeaux
Fenivick Compeaux
Peggy Creel
Carolyn Crosby
Steve Crouch
Elaine Curole
Willie Curole
Gayle Danos
Rebecca Danos
Russel Danos
Sharon Danos
Dora Dardar
Beverly Degree
Debby Diaz
Eva Diebold
Davis Doucet
Flo Doucet
Beverly Duet
Mona Duet
Marilyn Dufrene
Paul Dufrene
Sandra Dufrene
Debbie Egle
Linda Esponge
Verely Esponge
Ronnie Estay
Wayne Estay
Cheryl Evans
Emilie Eymard
Pat Eymard
Tommy Eymard
Floyd Falgout
Aaron Fanguy
Roland Felarise
Ellen Fontenot
Cathy Foret
Pat France
Paula Galjour
Susan Galjour
Tyrone Galjour
Peter Galliano
Pat Garlington
Rodney Garlington
Bonnie Gautreaux
Curtis Gisclair
Delta Gisclair
Glenn Gisclair
Jerry Gisclair
Mona Gisclair
Joel Greene
Steve Gremillion
Charlene Griffin
Curment Griffin
David Griffin
Gail Ann Griffin
Gail Marie Griffin
Ronald Griffin
Charles Griffith
Carolyn Guidroz
Clark Guidry
Dolores Guidry
Lee Anna Guidry
Norman Guidry
Philip Guidry
Ronald Guidry
Danny Gunn
Gary Hanberry
Mona Hatcher
Kathy Hebert
Mona Hebert
Lynn Howell
Steve Killion
Steve Kohls
Anna Lafont
Dolly Lafont
Larry Lafont
Paulette Lanasse
Chris Lasseigne
Mitchell Lasseigne
Earline Layus
Kathy LeBlanc
Donald Ledet
Evelyn Ledet
Mary Ledet
Susan Ledet
Steve Lazard
Audrey Lee
Donald Lefort
Wanda Lefort
Debbie Lemasters
Kathy Leonard
Debbie Louis
Pat Louviere
Al McCullough
Sharon McNeill
Lanny Malcombe
Curtis Martin
Frances Martin
Glenn Martin
James Martin
Allan Matherne
Pat Matherne
Louis Mayeur
Harriet Moore
Kenneth Naquin
Ronnie Nelson
Edward Orgeron
Gary Orgeron
Joseph Orgeron
Judy Orgeron
Wayne Orgeron
Laura Lee Owen
Vicki Pagliughi
Pauline Perrin
Franklin Picou
Alice Pierce
Clay Pierce
Curtis Pierce
Daniel Pitre
Elaine Pitre
Lenette Pitre
Morris Pitre
Pat Pitre
Paul Pitre
Ronald Pitre
Burgess Plaisance
Carl Plaisance
Elaine Plaisance
Nicky Plaisance
Robert Plaisance
Ronnie Plaisance
Susan Plaisance
Rudy Remont
Charlene Richoux
Wade Richoux
Anne Roberthon
Pat Rodrigue
Elaine Rousse
Mona Rousse
Jordan St. Pierre
Dennis Sanamo
John Sanders
Charlene Savoie
Richard Savoie
Leslie Schouest
Douglas Sevin
Tilman Sevin
Bill Smith
Paula Smith
Lloyd Songe
Lyle Souther
David Summersgill
Charles Taylor
Christine Terrebonne
Donna Terrebonne
Marlene Terrebonne
Peter Terrebonne
Roland Terrebonne
Ann Theriot
Paris Theriot
Sherry Theriot
Larry Toups
Donna Turknett
Calvin Tyler
Eddie Tyler
L. J. Vegas
Nancy Verdin
Renee Vidrine
Danny Vining
Becky Waldrup
Bobby Walker
Cindy Whitman
Cindy Wiley
Donnie Williams
Jenny Williams
Arthur Williford

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address I delivered on that occasion.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR ALLEN J. ELLENDER AT COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, SOUTH LAFOURCHE HIGH SCHOOL, GALLIANO, LA., MAY 30, 1968

Graduating Seniors, Principal Hebert, Members of the faculty, proud parents, ladies and gentlemen: I am delighted to share with you, your parents and your teachers this significant occasion, the great turning point in your lives. I know that you must be bursting with pride on achieving this first important milestone, as you set out to make your way in the world as men and women.

Sixty years ago I sat as you are sitting now, awaiting the award of my diploma. After graduation my problem was to decide which profession I was going to pursue. I boiled down the possibilities to either law or medicine. So help me, I had to flip a coin to determine whether it would be law or medicine. Law won. I became a law student at Tulane University in the fall of 1909.

You are naturally looking ahead to what the coming years will hold for you. This is the way of young people. It is to be expected of them. They are always busy growing and planning and doing things. Rarely do they have time to look to the past.

Those of us who are older and who have some years behind us are given to moments of contemplative reflection on things gone by. But not young people—they are more concerned with tomorrow. They look to the future. It is yours to do with as you will. It is yours to shape for generations to come. When the time comes that you reach the age of reflection, there will be ample time to look back and consider how well you have done.

At the moment, your main consideration is what you are going to do from here, and this is as it should be. It will not be easy, not nearly as easy as it was for generations which have preceded you. Times have changed. Securing gainful employment, rearing a happy family and carrying out the duties of good citizenship are no longer the relatively simple things they once were.

Life is so very complex now that it is difficult to cope with. It is plagued by confusion and conflict which endanger the well-being and happiness of the weak and the unwary and those who are not prepared to meet the demands of today's society.

In a sense, your job will not be as easy as it was when I was a boy. Coming to grips with the world in which we now live is indeed difficult, and I see no hope, no indications, that it will become less burdensome in the future that is yours.

Never before in our history have young people gone out into the world at a more critical time.

But, by the same token, never have the times been more challenging.

Or more opportune.

Or more promising.

Or more exciting.

Some new discovery or some remarkable advancement is made almost each day. It is difficult to really comprehend the changes that have come about in just the last 60 years, since I received my diploma, as you are today.

At the turn of the century, when the first automobile trip acros the country took 70 days, virtually all of Louisiana's roads were unimproved. Indeed, at that time, there were only 144 miles of paved highways, outside the cities, in the entire United States. Today all of Louisiana is criss-crossed with concrete highways and one can travel to every important city in the United States on hard surfaced roads.

In 1903, the Wright Brothers flew an astounding 852 feet, and eight years thereafter some brave pilot dared to fly the entire distance from St. Louis to Chicago in only one day. This week I flew from New Orleans to Washington in one hour and fifty minutes. I am now able to reach Washington, D.C., from New Orleans more quickly than I was able to travel from Houma to Baton Rouge in 1921, when I was a member of the Convention that drafted our present Constitution. Today we are shooting rockets at the moon, and sending astronauts into outer space to orbit the earth every 90 minutes at a speed of almost eighteen thousand miles per hour or 5 miles per second.

In just a few years longer than your own lifetime, we have gone from radio to television, from propeller to jet and from a bomb that could destroy an entire block to thermonuclear bombs mounted on the noses of inter-continental ballistic missiles that can annihilate all mankind as we know it today.

This is the age of scientific and mechanical advancement, the age of automation in industry and business.

You must avail yourselves of all the education and special training that you can obtain. No longer are a strong back and a willingness to work all that is necessary to find gainful employment. Industry and business demand education and special skills. The pay is better, the hours are shorter and the fringe benefits more numerous. But the jobs are more difficult to secure.

Strive for excellence and scorn mediocrity. Work hard, and avoid what appears to be short-cuts to success. More often, they are dead end streets.

"The need for self-reliance," although an old theme, is applicable during these new and trying times. You must be more careful and learn to use your own minds and reach your own conclusions than at anytime in the past. The barriers between the individual and the mass mind are rapidly being broken down, it seems to me.

Over 100 years ago one of the wisest men in our nation said that, "civilized man has built a coach, but has lost the use of his feet." I can only wonder what that thinker would say about America in 1968, the year of your commencement. Would he say that civilized man has built a modern entertainment system, but has lost his ability to read and think? Would he say that civilized man has created a technical revolution, but has forgotten for what purpose? Or would he say that we have made possible unheard of amounts of leisure time and now do not know what to do with it? Perhaps so.

In any event, I suspect that mental self-reliance is becoming harder to achieve. We have today all manner of influences telling our people how to think, how to act, what to do. There is the pervasive influence of television, which is a thief of time, and a powerful creator of the mass mind. Many of the great newspapers in our nation are biased in their reporting, in an effort to convince their readers to think along certain lines. The various forms of advertising, both open and hidden, try to get us to act and think a certain way so that we will buy a product or support a position. All of these are forms of propaganda and they come at us every day from all directions in order to turn the citizen into something he was not before. All of these boil down to a continuous pressure to "join the crowd" and follow the thinking of others.

If I am correct in this evaluation and if the ability to think for yourselves is becoming more difficult, it is also becoming more important. This is especially true for graduating seniors tonight, and for those who are to follow you. There are many ideologies current in the nation, as well as in other parts of the world, which seek to attract support from the young. Some of these are dangerous. There are many false prophets loose in the land. Demagogues have come forth who are able to base their leadership not on construction, but on destruction. We have seen student "uprisings"—and I use the word advisedly—at many of our great universities. The leaders of these tumultuous events do not seem to know what they want, but they seem able to convince others that current conditions are terrible and without any saving grace whatsoever. Those of you who know European history will recall that the battle cry of the French revolution—liberty, equality, fraternity—served to bring the aristocracy of France to the guillotine in 1789, but it was not sufficient to stabilize and govern a nation. It seems to me that we have some of the same sort of thinking prevalent today.

Why have these events come about? And I refer not only to the universities, but to many other mass movements in our society today. I may be in error, but it seems to me that some of our American citizenry is becoming more and more used to being herded about like cattle. Under the influence of television, the mass news media, propaganda of all varieties, demagogues are able to come to the fore. After the differences and sharp edges have been worn off the will and minds of individuals, it becomes easier to bend the individual mind to the will of others and submerge it into a mass mind. Hitler's Germany was the foremost practitioner of this method of operation, and the Communists have used it to their own great advantage.

There is, of course, another side to the coin. Many of these movements are begun by sincere individuals who see conditions which they believe should be changed. They turn toward agitation of various kinds in order to effect these changes. It is the task of all of us, and especially the young, to be sure that the changes that are espoused will be for the better. In other words, it is necessary to develop an extremely critical attitude toward much of what we see and hear and are told to do today. By that I mean that you should measure the appeals that are placed before you, against the framework of your own personal life and experience.

You should strive to be sure that whatever you do is what you yourself think best. Then do the best that you can. In short, you need to rely upon yourself for mental and moral guidance, and can follow others only when you are yourself convinced that you are going in the right direction.

Once you have become a part of society in your own right, of necessity you will have to take a great many things on faith. Of necessity you will have to be a "part of the crowd" merely to survive. Unless you choose to be a hermit, you will not be able to do exactly what you feel should be done or exactly what you wish to do except on occasion. Modern society requires that we all submit to a multitude of rules and regulations simply to get along with one another in relative peace and harmony. This is particularly true in urban living. On those occasions of testing, however, when your actions will make a difference in your own life and in the lives of others, will you be able to speak with your own voice and you should speak according to your own conscience.

You will find it easier to make the big decisions if you practice on the small ones. You must learn to rely upon yourself in order to develop your own capabilities. Someone once said that "there is a time in every man's education when he arrives at the conviction that imitation is suicide, that he must take himself for better or worse, and that he will never accomplish anything worthwhile unless he works at it himself."

I think that you who are going out into the world tonight, you who are at the threshhold of your beginning, will find that to fulfill your lives you must do something which will provide you with a sense of creativeness. Each of us at some point learns to measure the value of our worth by what we are building and creating. Too much of what is going on today is not creative but is destructive. For that reason, I do not believe that it will continue, but if it does somehow grow in strength, then steps must be taken by our authorities to bring this destructiveness to an end.

As I said, we all need to feel that we are creating something and something worthwhile. It does not really make a difference what it is. A housewife can create a home. A worker can create a product or perform a service that needs to be done. There are as many avenues to creativeness as there are people in this nation.

The point is that for you who are at your beginnings, it will be necessary to discover a purpose or a cause or a manner of living that will provide you with a sense of worth. By relying upon yourself, in the years ahead, you will find endeavors to absorb your attention, utilize your energy and develop your skills and abilities. By relying upon yourself, you will be able to choose those things which will help give meaning to your life and reject those that will not. Up to now your family life, your education here at South Lafourche and other day-to-day influences have served to give you this purpose. From here out, you will have to rely upon yourself and choose among competing influences based upon what you yourself think best.

I would like to close with an old familiar line from Shakespeare's Hamlet. You have doubtless heard it many times before, but in a world that renews itself almost from year to year, the truth of the past perhaps becomes more important. The quotation is: "This above all—to thine own self be true. And it must follow, as the night the day, Thou canst not then be false to any man."

Be true to yourselves and I believe that you will not be able to embarrass yourselves or your family in the years ahead. You will become a credit to your community, to your state and to your nation. You are now going out into a changing world where you will find many opportunities as well as many responsibilities. You yourselves must act to take advantage of the chances that life will place before you, and you yourselves must act to fulfill your responsibilities to yourselves and to others. I envy you graduating seniors. For you this is a beginning of a new phase in your lives and I am proud to have been able to share it with you in some small part. I know that you will bear out the faith and confidence of your parents, your teachers and myself in the years ahead.

May the good Lord protect, preserve and bless you. Choose him as your beacon light and all will be well.

FINANCING A POVERTY PROGRAM

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, our Nation is becoming increasingly aware of the tragic conditions under which the poor and underprivileged in our society live. I do not think it is possible to emphasize enough the gravity of these problems. Hunger, unemployment, and other conditions of poverty have for too long deprived millions of citizens from effective participation in American life, and it is vitally important we move with direct and more creative action in eliminating these conditions.

An editorial appearing in a recent issue of Business Week clearly points out the need for new approaches in solving these problems. I would like to direct the attention of my colleagues in the Senate to this statement and therefore ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FINANCING A POVERTY PROGRAM

Just a few years ago Michael Harrington wrote a book about "The Other America"—that is, about poor Americans, who he said were "invisible" in this rich country. The poor are still with us but they are no longer invisible; indeed, the Poor People's March on Washington (page 34) is only dramatizing what has already become the most conspicuous—and difficult—issue in American politics.

The issue is the most difficult because of the deep resistances to paying the heavy costs of bridging the gap between the many who are affluent and the far too many who live wretchedly in this country. Unless the issue is posed in that way, there is the temptation to talk a lot of pious cant about the problems of the poor.

The simple arithmetic is this: To raise the present incomes of 30-million Americans up to the poverty line of $3,000 per year for a family of four persons would cost a minimum of $11-billion. However, economists who have worked in this area consider that figure far too low for a program with any hope of really moving people out of poverty; they calculate that the annual cost of a barely adequate program would be at least $20-billion above present federal anti-poverty spending.

But such numbers are being proposed at a time when the federal budget is already in heavy deficit. The immediate fight between the White House and Congressional conservatives is over whether to cut federal expenditures by either $4-billion or $6-billion, while increasing taxes by more than $10-billion in order to reduce the fiscal 1969 budget deficit to only $8-billion or so.

Does this mean that the situation is really hopeless, and that politicians and businessmen who are simultaneously decrying poverty and preaching fiscal restraint are talking out of both sides of their mouths? In part, it does. But, more fundamentally, it means that practically no one has faced up to the hard issue of reconciling a redistribution of income toward the poor with fiscal prudence.

Fiscal restraint is required to keep this country from falling into a national and international financial catastrophe. Inflation may not seem to disturb the nation overly much while the boom is on. But when the boom busts, the pains become universally palpable. If the U.S. should elect to persist on an inflationary course, paying for all sorts of government programs by depreciating the currency, it will increasingly be driven to protectionism, governmental controls and manipulation of foreign exchange, and finally economic isolation, which will have grave political as well as economic costs.

But pointing out these financial dangers does not mean that the country should not tackle the crucial problems of domestic poverty. Nor does it mean that much larger resources cannot go to the poor without damaging the national economy.

THE THREE FUNDAMENTALS

How can this trick be worked? There is no magic, but it will involve sticking to three principles:

1. The present composition of government expenditures must be restructured to focus more resources on the people at the bottom of society. There is merit in the complaint of Mrs. Martin Luther King that "our Congress passes laws which subsidized corporation farms, oil companies, airlines, and houses for suburbia, but when it turns its attention to the poor it suddenly becomes concerned about balancing the budget." In this time of inflation, the nation does need to worry—and should worry more—about balancing the budget, but there is no reason in the world (other than pork-barrel politics) that costly programs subsidizing individuals or groups that are quite well fixed should not be cut down or out, and replaced by subsidies for those who really need help.

2. Existing programs for helping the poor need to be improved or replaced. According to government estimates, some $27-billion of federal money is already going to the poor—plus a lot of state and local money. Many of these programs, in the opinion of welfare experts, suffer from deficiencies that lock the poor into poverty—for instance, by making it impossible for a husband to stay with his family or next to impossible for a woman to get day care for her children and go out and work. Welfare's faults have been studied and restudied; we know what to do. The need is to replace study with action.

3. A growing economy can afford, and will benefit from, programs to lift people out of poverty. The so-called "fiscal dividend"—the increasing tax yield of a growing economy—will total $10-billion or more every year. We should devote a larger share of these increasing resources to creating the jobs, providing services such as education and health that will prepare people for employment, and, when necessary, maintaining the income of those who cannot work or cannot support their families with the low-paying jobs for which they can qualify.

None of this will come easily. It will involve hard thought and careful planning of where government spending is going. If we are serious licking the poverty problem in this country, we should put our money—and our private and public planning—where until now only our mouths have been.

THE CURRENT STUDENT SCENE IN AMERICA

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the credentials of Henry Steele Commager to comment upon the current student scene in America are unquestionable. He has a 45-year span of experience in the academic world. In that time, we can be sure, he has dealt with, lectured to, and sought to understand countless thousands of students. In the Sunday Star, he has offered some cogent commentary on today's student revolt. He writes:

> At its best, student revolt in America is characterized by idealism, at its worst by bad manners and violence, and almost everywhere by an exasperating combination of logic and irrationality.

But, in truth, he continues, the public reaction is also sometimes quite irrational and maybe more dangerous. The public should listen to these young adults and take some satisfaction in the fact that we do not have an indifferent generation of students. I ask unanimous consent that Henry Steele Commager's article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE VIOLENT, IDEALISTIC WORLD OF STUDENT REVOLT

(By Henry S. Commager)

The student revolt at Columbia University has sent a tremor through the academic world as well as the non-academic world. Extreme in its violence and exaggerated in its intransigence, it yet differs in degree rather than in kind from revolts sweeping half the campuses of the country, from Harvard to San Francisco State. And for all its violence it is, by comparison with student uprisings in Paris, Berlin, Rome, and Madrid, a mild affair.

At its best student revolt in America is characterized by idealism, at its worst by bad manners and violence, and almost everywhere by an exasperating combination of logic and irrationality. This is because it is directed not so much against academic as against public grievances, not against ostentatious injustices and oppression as against authority, traditionalism and complacency.

At Columbia University it takes the form, largely symbolic, of resistance to the building of a university gymnasium with facilities for Negro children in a public park—a gesture which the university itself had imagined to be one of friendship and cooperation; at Northwestern it endorses the segregation of blacks in their own dormitories—an arrangement contrary to state laws against segregation. At Wisconsin and elsewhere it is a protest against allowing military and corporation recruiters on campus; at Rochester, and scores of other universities, it is directed against the mindless acquiescence of the university in the importunate demands of the military for the exploitation of university resources and facilities.

FORCE UNJUSTIFIED

None of these issues is so intransigent that it might not yield to reason or to compromise; none certainly seems pernicious enough to justify, scarcely even to explain, the use of force. All of them have a common denominator: resentment against the readiness—indeed the eagerness—of the university to forget its traditional commitment to the great commonwealth of learning, and to enlist in and assimilate to the political and military esablishment.

Irrational as is the outburst of student discontent, the explosion of public disapproval is equally irrational and may be more dangerous. To the public, as to the academy, the student revolt is a traumatic experience, and the public reaction to it is just as emotional as is the student reaction to university malpractices.

What possess the young, their elders ask. Never, after all, was a generation so pampered. We have given them everything, parents assert—an expensive education, a four-year exemption from toil and responsibility, and even from the military, a guarantee of a privileged position in the American society and economy. And to what end?

One segment of adult society sees in the student revolt nothing but ingratitude. Another looks upon it as a rejection of law and order and morality and a surrender to irresponsibility—a wholesale license to indulge in LSD and sex. Still others darkly suspect a Communist or a Black Power conspiracy.

And everywhere there is angry resentment that the young should so shatter our dream of happy and carefree college years, our vicarious enjoyment of a youth we never had. And along with this is a sense of guilt that somehow we have forfeited the confidence of the young, that we have failed to understand what was happening underneath our eyes.

DEFINING REVOLT

Yet the student revolt is neither an expression of original sin nor the product of a conspiracy, but an over-vigorous and overdue assertion of a discontent that has been brewing for years, and that has come to a head—as many things have come to a head—with the Vietnam war.

First, it is a revolt against the anachronistic notion that the university stands in loco parentis to students who are physically, sexually, politically, and perhaps even intellectually like any other segment of adult society.

There is considerable justice in this complaint and logic in this protest. The university has persisted in the habit of acting in loco parentis long after the real justification for it has disappeared. Yet if little is to be said for the current practice, something is to be said for patience with the liquidation of that practice and the working out of some new formula. Universities do not, after all, act as parents out of sadistic instincts.

The institution of in loco parentis is an ancient one, rooted in two centuries of our own experience with students who were, indeed, children and who required parental care. Thirteen or 14 was the customary age of entrance to college in the 18th century—and after. John Adams was 13 when he entered Harvard, and Samuel Adams 14. John Jay entered King's College at 15, and Joseph Hopkinson was 13 when he enrolled in the new College of Philadelphia, while a really bright lad like John Trumbull could pass the entrance examinations to Yale at the age of seven.

Gradually during the 19th century the age of students crept upward, but colleges were not prepared to abandon the habits of generations and treat them as adults, nor were parents, who confessed a passion for the prolongation of youth unique to our own country.

BOYS AT WAR

That passion lingers on: every politician speaks of "our boys" in Vietnam, and it never seems to occur to us that if they are indeed boys they shouldn't be there, but in school.

Not only are college students kept in a state of pupillage; they are subjected to the indignity of being treated like high school pupils, hedged in for four years by requirements of courses, credits, majors and minors, attendance, examination, all of which are, in a sense, vestigial remains from the high school.

They are fobbed off with professors who do not teach, or who teach not gladly but badly.

They often are denied an effective voice—sometimes any voice—even in the conduct of their own affairs; the organization of student life, discipline, newspapers and journals, the choice of speakers, even the games they play.

STUDENT REJECTIONS

Student reaction to all this is just as irrational as university policy. Students reject the parental role of the university but they reject, with equal vigor, the intrusion of the civil authority onto the campus. They defy university limitations on their drinking habits, sexual freedom, use of drugs, or privacy, but they are outraged at the notion that in all these matters they should be subject to the same disciplines, the same laws, and the same penalties that apply to all other members of society.

Nor do most of them know what to do with student freedom when they have it. We have, in a sense, so corrupted them that they love the chains that bind them. They do not want freedom from the tyranny of courses, but more courses—courses, now, in sociology, now in the ghetto, now in Negro history, now in the Vietnamese war.

They do not want to rid themselves of examinations and credits and attendance and faculty control of their sports; instead they often demand more of all this. They want to be part of the university enterprise, even to have representatives on boards of trustees, but show little interest in the scientific and intellectual functions of the university—the library, for example, or laboratories—and little initiative in the cultivation of music and the arts.

Second, students are revolting against bigness—bigness which reduces the individual student to a computerized number, denies him access to professors or even to his fellow-students, weakens instead of strengthening his sense of individuality, and threatens to fit him into a kind of benevolent academic Brave New World. They are revolting against the university which is quite ready to take their (or their parents') money but which subjects them to inferior instruction from graduate students, which houses them in glorified barracks or, worse yet, houses some of them in fraternity and sorority houses and others in barracks—and wraps all of them in a cocoon of rules and regulations.

Here, again, some of the fault is their own making. Students could insist on good instruction—or stay away from bad. They could, but do not, clamor to be housed in cluster colleges that are somehow manageable. They could certainly do away with the inequities and anachronisms of fraternity and sorority which mirror and even exaggerate the inequities and discriminations of secular life.

Third, students are protesting against what seems to them the irrelevance of much of the education imposed upon them—education justified chiefly by tradition, or by habit, or by the convenience of professors or, still more dubious, by the supposed requirements of the business community or of a government whose standards students do not respect.

So much for the discontents that concern the students themselves, discontents with the internal character and operations of the academy. But these, though they may be most pervasive, are not the most profound.

PUBLIC WRONGS

Be it said to the credit of our students that what disturbs them most deeply are public rather than private wrongs, what chiefly alienates them from the university is not its failure as an educational institution, but as a public institution, not its intellectual miscellaneousness but its moral obtuseness.

A great many students are indeed in the fatuous phrase of their critics, alienated intellectuals, and they have much to be alienated from.

They are alienated by the spectacle of the deep inequalities in the society dedicated to equality, and they are convinced that the academy shares responsibility for creating and perpetuating these inequalities. Now they demand, with a kind of desperate impatience, that the university make up for past sins and lost time: that it admit twice as many blacks as ever before, that it provide special tutoring and social facilities for them and concede them special privileges and power.

They do not seem to realize that all this is a form of racism, nor that in their passion to do justice to the blacks they forget the many other neglected victims of our society and our economy.

They are ashamed that great urban universities have, for the most part, been content to go about their business without giving thought to their neighbors or neighborhoods, and they ask that the university abandon its isolation and its aloofness, and take an active part in slum clearance, neighborhood rehablitation, improvement of schools, legal aid and similar things.

To the argument that preoccupation with current and immediate problems will distract the university from concentration on future and general problems, they answer that the university already is using a large part of its resources on current problems—but on the wrong ones.

MILITARY ALLIANCE

For they are outraged by the readiness of the university to ally itself with the business, political, and military establishment, to train businessmen and scientists prepared to serve corporations on almost any terms, to lend their intellectual resources and their academic facilities to almost any branch of the government or the military that claims them.

They remember it was John Gardner who said "when a government agency with money to spend approaches a university, it can usually purchase any service it wants," and they quote President Wallis of the University of Rochester, to the effect that "universities have become important wheelers and dealers in affairs large and small. . . . (Their role is in danger of becoming something like that of a hotel keeper for transient scholars and projects."

Nor is it only the university as an institution that they distrust; they distrust, as well, professors who go whoring after lucrative contracts or power or prestige, who are prepared to serve almost any governmental agency in almost any capactiy, prepared even to accept limitations on secrecy in scientific research.

The readiness of the university to lend its facilities to corporations and to government has been dramatized, for students, on every campus in the land by the uncritical eagerness of universities to welcome "recruiters" on campus.

The extent to which the university has been assimilated to the business and governmental community has been dramatized on a hundred campuses by the readiness of universities to act as employment agencies for these interests.

YOUNG REMINDER

Because they are young they do not know, that in World War II every university cooperated with military and with government in every conceivable capacity, and that no one then argued the impropriety of academic participation in the Manhattan Project, in radar, in the Office of War Information, the Office of Strategic Services, or in military government, nor, for that matter, the propriety of government recruiting on campus. They should be reminded of this.

University authorities should not have to be reminded that they are not prisoners of precedent, and that there is a difference between a war which the entire community regards as involving the very survival of civilization and one which a major part of the community—certainly the academic community—regards as hateful and immoral.

Student rebellion, then, takes on a pattern quiet different from that of most rebellions with which we are familiar.

It is primarily a rebellion against conditions outside the campus—against practices which students regard as immoral: the Vietnam war with its accompaniment of napalm and concentration camps; vast expenditures for future wars at a time when the nation is starved for essential social services, the power of military-industrial-labor-university complex which seems unlimited; racial discrimination and urban decay and police brutality, the cruel waste of human and of natural resources.

In other circumstances we would call this an idealistic protest. But the methods with which it is conducted are far from idealistic.

What shall we say of these methods—the bad manners, the stridency, the destructiveness, of the student protest but that it is deplorable, and not only deplorable but absurd. Students deplore violence violently; they use the arguments not of reason but of force to persuade the university to abandon the sponsorship of force and return to the path of reason. In the name of freedom they deny freedom of speech or of conduct to the majority of their fellow students. They call impatiently on government to cultivate patience and yet they champion tolerance with brutal intolerance. They are, in short, tiresomely inconsistent.

CHANNING'S WORDS

But let us keep in mind the wise words of the Rev. William Ellery Channing about the abolitionists: "The great interests of humanity do not lose their claims on us because sometimes injudiciously maintained." Injudicious may seem what Theodore Roosevelt once called a "weasel word," but the principle is the same, and students can retort that most of the words that come from trustees and university presidents are weasel words.

Besides, those who are most vociferous in charging students with lawlessness and violence do not come into court with clean hands. Students can, and do, retort that it is their elders, and betters, who have set the examples that they now follow.

Who are you, they may fairly ask, to counsel reason and moderation? Is it reason and moderation you have displayed in your policies towards Vietnam!

Who are you to deplore violence, you who have poured more bombs on little Vietnam than were rained on either Germany or Japan during the last war?

Who are you to plead the cause of law and order, you who are even now waging a lawless war with lawless weapons, violating the Charter of the United Nations and flouting international agreements on the uses of gas and of weapons of indiscriminate destruction!

Who are you to counsel patience, you who have displayed so little patience with Communist China, and who were so impatient to plunge into Santo Domingo with your marines before there was any evidence of danger there!

Who are you to counsel judiciousness, you who launched the Bay of Pigs attack on a sovereign nation, and who were prepared to condemn the world to a nuclear war at the time of the missile crisis!

Who are you to deplore with such anguish the flouting of civil laws, you who have flouted the provisions of the 14th and 15th Amendments for a century.

Who are you to decry student intransigence about the draft you who stood idly by while one half the states of the Union openly nullified almost every civil rights act on the statute books!

Who are you to bustle about arresting draft resisters with such a show of outraged patriotism, you who failed so conspicuously to arrest Governors Barnett or Wallace when they resisted the decisions of the Supreme Court by force, and who have failed to enforce those decisions against a thousand others who defy them!

DOUBLE STANDARD

One violation of the law does not excuse others, but it is hypocritical of our society to insist on a double standard of morality—one for students, and another and very different one for government itself—and to deplore student violence as a prelude to revolution while standing idly by when local and state officials indulge themselves in open violence.

The answer to student protest and revolt is not hysteria and it is not suppression. Students have something to say—something important for all of us, and we should not deny ourselves the benefit of their protest or their advice because we do not approve of their manners.

Nor should we take refuge in that habit of bewilderment and outrage that is the professional mark of the middle-aged. Let us take reassurance, rather, from the reflection that when older and more respectable elements of society were silent, students spoke up. And let us ask ourselves whether we would rather have a generation of students too indifferent to care about the grave injustices of our society, or too timid to protest against them.

LIGHT MOMENTS IN SERIOUS SITUATIONS

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, in a time when our Nation suffers from external wars and internal stress, it is increasingly difficult to retain one's perspective and judgment. Abraham Lincoln, during the toughest part of the Civil War, observed:

> With the fearful strain that is on me night and day, if I did not laugh I should die.

It is vital, I believe, that Americans retain their unique quality to see the humorous and, indeed, even the ridiculous parts of the most serious situations.

Mr. Edwin A. Roberts, Jr., has carried the campus protest movement that presently afflicts some of our institutions of higher learning to its illogical conclusion. He has provided us with a few light moments in a situation taken very seriously by the demonstrators and perhaps even more seriously by the observers. As in most humor, there is a lesson; I leave it to the reader to derive his own benefit from this article published on the pages of the National Observer. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEVER TRUST ANYBODY OVER 13—IF THE SPIRIT OF REBELLION RUNS ITS COURSE

In an era of student protests around the globe, it was almost bound to happen. But it still took administrators and faculty by surprise when the pupils at Pine Crest Elementary School went on strike. And because we have two daughters in that educational institution, the seriousness of the youthful ferment was brought home to us in no uncertain terms.

I first learned about the uprising when my wife called the office and said: "Come home right away. The third grade at Pine Crest is picketing the principal's office, and even the kindergarten children refuse to cross the picket line."

"Where are Beth and Leslie?" I asked.

"Beth is carrying a sign that says, 'Down with fractions and demicals.' Leslie and the other first graders are throwing lollipops and bubble gum to the demonstrators."

I decided to head directly for the school, the outside of which was plastered with placards that said: "We Demand Longer Recesses," "Homework Is Oppression," "Compulsory Education Violates Our Civil Rights," "Nuts to Show-and-Tell," "End Testing Now," and "Equal Marks for All."

DRAWING THE LINE

It was impossible to get into the school building because the fifth graders had formed a solid line in front of the entrance.

"Can't this be settled by negotiation?" I asked a fifth-grade militant.

"Don't answer him," a classmate shouted. "Never trust anybody over 13."

"This is a nonviolent demonstration," a second-grader yelled. "But we won't be responsible for what happens if parents and teachers don't bow to our demands. We're going to occupy the library, the all-purpose room, and the school office until our demands are met."

The first graders wore red armbands, the second graders blue, the third graders yellow, the fourth graders brown, the fifth graders green, and the sixth graders purple. The kindergarteners had planned to wear white armbands, but none of them knew how to tie a knot so they abandoned the idea.

One teacher was in tears. "I think it all started at the Valentine's Day party we had for the first graders. We ran out of ice cream and some of the children threatened to take the matter to the streets."

Another teacher wanted firm action. "If you kids don't end this rebellion immediately the whole fifth grade will be made to stay after school."

"Fascist!" shouted a fifth grader.

A GREAT TRADITION

There was some talk among the faculty that the safety patrol should be brought in to break up the demonstration, but the more liberal teachers opposed this idea. "We have a great tradition of academic freedom here at Pine Crest, and we don't want to throw away all we stand for just because we're confronted with pupil activism. After all, these kids care about the way their school is run, and they deserve to participate in the formulation of rules and regulations."

"That's right," said another progressive teacher. "You call in the safety patrol and there will be trouble. We're desirous that the present civil disturbance be quelled without the use of force. We want no barbarism at Pine Crest."

At that moment the teacher was hit behind the ear by a well-aimed rock. "It's only a small minority that's resorting to violence," he said, rubbing the purple lump on his head. "The important thing is to attack the causes of unrest, not the symptoms."

Another rock came flying and this one hit the teacher right between the eyes. "On the other hand," he said, "an educational institution cannot be run as a democracy." Whereupon he lit out after the rock thrower, leaned him against a wall, and administered several educated smacks.

"It's against the law to inflict corporal punishment on children," wailed the lad. "That's teacher brutality."

I asked a boy who appeared to be the leader of the demonstration to explain his demands.

"There are only three goals of the pupil activists" he replied. "We want the complete elimination of homework; we want a permanent ban on testing; and we want everyone to get the same high marks. What we're trying to do is stop teacher oppression of those pupils who hate school and don't do any work. Those kids have their rights too. Also, we might demand TV sets in every classroom and special courses in how to watch television."

"But how are you going to learn anything under those conditions?" I asked.

THE NEW EDUCATION

"The demonstration itself is a learning activity. We pupils are involved. We're fighting for social justice for all kids. We refuse to accept the dreary three-R routine that other generations went along with. We want a voice in the hiring and firing of teachers, and we want to sit on all faculty meetings."

By this time I was anxious to find my own children and try to talk them out of their commitment to the demonstration. I found Beth perched on a window sill. She was telling her classmates that the kids were winning, that the next step was to begin a major protest against parents' power. "I'm sick and tired of going to bed at 8:30," she said, and the other children cheered. "Let's never go to bed again," chimed in another little girl.

Leslie, my first-grade daughter, was listening to an oration by one of her classmates. "The name 'first grade' is a humiliating title for our educational level. It's only a manifestation of the old class system that has no place in a modern society. Let's eliminate all grade numbers in the name of social justice."

Just then I saw a mobile television truck parked nearby and I could hear the TV reporter providing a commentary as his cameraman focused on the troubled scene.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

"The children, as you can see, are very well behaved," he was saying. "Although the school is now on fire, the boys who put the torch to it did not really seem angry. They were just carried away by the excitement. That car you see being overturned belongs to a fourth-grade teacher who is known for her strictness. It's the children's way of seeking redress of grievances. I think we must all agree that this younger generation has definite ideas and isn't afraid to express them."

Hours later, after negotiations between the pupil leaders and the teachers, it was decided that henceforth any teacher who raised his voice would have to stay after school, that any teacher who passed out a bad mark would be brought to the attention of the local civil-liberties league, and that any teacher who gave a test would automatically have his certificate revoked.

When I finally arrived home, I told my wife all that had happened at Pine Crest Elementary School. She could see I was depressed.

"Never mind," she said, "It's at least nice to know that our children are really getting ready for college."

EDWIN A. ROBERTS, Jr.

THE FULL OPPORTUNITY AND SOCIAL ACCOUNTING ACT

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act, introduced in the Senate last year by Senator MONDALE of Minnesota is a highly meritorious proposal. This legislation provides for the creation of a Council of Social Advisors to the President, comparable to the President's Council of Economic Advisers. It would also require the President to submit an annual social report to the Congress. The measure would also create a joint committee in Congress to scrutinize the President's social report.

There is little doubt that the domestic crisis confronting our Nation today requires new imaginative approaches and programs in order to resolve this problem. While the search for the solutions should be nationwide, Senator MONDALE's proposal will give direction to the many efforts initiated by sociologists, historians, criminologists, psychologists, and other scholars and public figures. As my eminent colleague so wisely points out:

> At present, our social goals are vague and ill defined. The legislative requirement that the Administration deliver a public social accounting should sharpen the Administration's goals and social planning. This could promote setting long range goals in, for example, education, health care, and the fight against environmental pollution, and encourage definite periodic progress toward their achievement.

Reporting on the "Social State of the Union" is a good idea. I believe that upon reading an excellently written article, published in the June 1968 issue of Trans-action, the Senate will come to the same conclusion. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article be reprinted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORTING ON THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE UNION

(By Senator WALTER F. MONDALE)

America's social goals were well stated by the writers of the Constitution: to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity." But in 1968 we see little domestic tranquillity; we see little justice for a substantial number of citizens; and for millions—poorly educated, ill-housed, or otherwise deprived—the blessings of liberty are a cruel jest.

The search for solutions to this modern dilemma leads those of us in government to turn to social research. There is increasing legislative hunger for social-science counsel. Senator Abraham Ribicoff, in major hearings on the urban crisis, called no fewer than 12 social scientists to testify. In order to improve the federal government's social-science research capability, Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma has reintroduced legislation to establish a national foundation for the social sciences. He seeks to draw the social sciences from the shadow of the National Science Foundation, thus giving them independent status and increased stature.

In government departments, a new kind of administrator is emerging. For example, Daniel P. Moynihan, former Assistant Secretary of Labor, is "one of a new breed of public servants, the social-scientist-politicos, who combine in their backgrounds both social-science training and full-time involvement in political activity." (See "Black Families and the White House," Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, *Trans-action* July/August 1966.) Another new political animal in federal departments and agencies is the systems-approach expert, who—by means of cost-effectiveness analysis and other tools—seeks to help decision-makers understand all relevant alternatives and key interactions among them by calculating costs, risks, and potential results associated with each course of action. An example of this new breed is William Gorham, formerly of the Pentagon and the RAND Corporation, and Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, who has been appointed head of the Urban Institute, a government-supported independent research center.

The development of these new types of scientist-politicians suggests a governmental institution—an arm of the executive—that can combine a knowledge of sociology, science, history, social psychology, criminology, and social economics. These new specialists can place their knowledge in a governmental context, and bring a systems approach to bear on broad social programs.

Early last year I introduced in the Senate the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act, which was cosponsored by Senators Clark, Hart, Harris, Inouye, Kennedy of Massachusetts, McCarthy, McGee, Muskie, Nelson, and Proxmire, who is chairman of the Joint Economic Committee. This legislation would draw the social scientists into the inner councils of the Administration; it would foster the use of the systems approach for an overview of the broad range of domestic social programs; and it would establish a system of social accounting to keep a constant check on our domestic social status. Furthermore, it would require a public report of this social audit.

In its statement of policy, the Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act reaffirms that "it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the federal government, consistent with the primary responsibilities of the state and local government and the private sector, to promote and encourage such conditions as will give every American the opportunity to live in decency and dignity, and to provide a clear and precise picture of whether such conditions are promoted and encouraged in such areas as health, education and training, rehabilitation, housing, vocational opportunities, the arts and humanities, and special assistance for the deprived, the abandoned, and the criminal."

To accomplish this, the legislation would:

Declare social accounting a national goal;

Establish the President's Council of Social Advisers, comparable in the social sphere to the Council of Economic Advisers in the economic area;

Require the President to submit an annual Social Report to Congress, the social counterpart to his Economic Report; and

Create a joint committee of Congress to examine the substance of the Social Report.

In his Social Report, the President is to detail "the overall progress and effectiveness of federal efforts" toward implementing the policy of the act; review state, local, and private efforts to this end; and present "current and foreseeable needs, programs, and policies and recommendations for legislation."

The three-member Council of Social Advisers, supported by a staff of experts in the social sciences and in those natural sciences concerned with man and his environment, would be empowered to "gather timely and authoritative information and statistical data" and analyze and interpret them. The Council would also appraise the various programs and activities of the federal government and develop priorities for the programs, recommending to the President the most efficient and effective way to allocate federal resources.

The model for this act is the Employment Act of 1946, which has had an indisputably favorable effect on the nation's economy. This economic progress—owing in large part to highly refined economic analysis and indicators—is a powerful argument for using social analysis and measurement.

The Council of Economic Advisers recommends measures to maintain a stable, prosperous, and expanding economy. It operates on four assumptions:

That welfare (the ultimate objective) is dependent upon the level and health of national economic activity;

That economic factors can be quantified;

That action by government can cause specific changes in the national economic conditions; and

That from analysis of economic data it is feasible to recommend specific action to achieve national economic health.

To do its job, the C.E.A. had to develop a system of economic criteria to measure the present and prospective conditions of the economy. It had to increase the expertise and the rigor of the economics discipline in order to reduce the margin of error in economic measurement. It had to develop tools of economic analysis, calling upon the entire community of economists for contributions. It had to proceed with caution so as to command the respect and acceptance of decision-makers. Finally, its recommendations and findings had to be action-oriented.

The same process is now appropriate and necessary in the social endeavors of the federal government. But we should mislead no one: This new job will be far more difficult. There should be no false hopes for instant success. For the most part, economic indicators are hard, cash-register data, and in most indices the dollar is available as a uniform measuring unit. Understandably, it is far easier to count the cash in workingman's pocket than to measure the quality of his health or education.

A true attempt to apply non-economic measures to the quality of life in America could have a revolutionary impact on government. It might be the first time that government looked at the individual to see what government programs do *to* and *for* him—in other words, to discover the effect, rather than merely to measure the effort, of government programs. For example, we know how many people take advantage of Medicare, but there are no public reports on the quality of this care. The same is true of education, criminal rehabilitation, and much of the poverty effort (although the publication of studies on the effect of Head Start has been a laudable beginning).

At present, our social goals are vague and ill defined. The legislative requirement that the Administration deliver a public social accounting should sharpen the Administration's goals and social planning. This could promote setting long-range goals in, for example, education, health care, and the fight against environmental pollution, and encourage definite periodic progress toward their achievement.

Some argue that this system of progress reports will curb innovation and experimentation. But I think we have little to fear if we use fresh, imaginative ideas. And in fact, the lack of adequate indicators can actually conceal the success of government innovations. Critics of the Job Corps, for example, attack the cost per corpsman, while the Corps' effect on the corpsman's life and potential is ignored.

Some see a danger of the indicators' being manipulated for political ends, or the goals deliberately being set so low that accomplishment will appear spectacular. Of course, our political system is, at every level, vulnerable on this score. But there are checks built into the legislation. It provides for a Joint Congressional Committee empowered to probe deeply into the substance of the Social Report—to examine and criticize the declared goals, to question the philosophy behind the various programs, and to test the adequacy of the indicators. For a demonstration of how effective this legislative tool can be, we need only refer to the transcript of the 1967 hearings of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report chaired by Senator William Proxmire.

There are also other legislative checks on the Administration. The General Accounting Office has won a strong reputation for its auditing of Administration expenditures. Senator Abraham Ribicoff has proposed that this operation be expanded by adding an Office of Legislative Evaluation charged with "evaluating the results of the social and economic programs [Congress] has enacted." The Full Opportunity Act proposes to give the Administration new evaluative and analytical equipment. Certainly Congress should be given comparable legislative tools.

The Administration, with the program-planning-budgeting system directed by the Bureau of the Budget, is already taking limited steps toward improving program evaluation and determining program priorities. And William Gorham, in his work in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, has been coordinating a panel working on a "social state of the nation report." No one can guarantee, however, that it will be a permanent institution of government.

SEARCH FOR A CONSTITUENCY

As a matter of practical politics, the passage of legislation requires a constituency. Since most laws grow out of a need that has immediacy and relevance for a sizable part of the population, most proposed legislation has a constituency highly motivated to promote its passage. But where is the constituency of legislation that looks to the future—legislation that will have profound impact, yet is currently difficult to understand and in constant danger of being misinterpreted?

To build such a constituency, we must look to the social scientists themselves. And there are other allies as well. At all leves of government social-welfare organizations and officials are concerned about the effectiveness of programs ranging from welfare to education, from city planning to health care.

The initial job in building a constituency is to bring the legislation to the attention of those for whom it has inherent interest. I have sent letters to 500 social scientists inviting their comment. Furthermore, editorials in media ranging from the *Minneapolis Star* and *Milwaukee Journal* to specialized newsletters have brought encouraging response.

The second step is persuasion, which in this case means education. Few people in policy-making positions are aware of the concept of social accounting—largely because literature on the subject is confined mostly to the academic journals.

The congressional committee is a useful educational device, particularly as an efficient information conduit to the policymakers. The Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act has been referred to the Government Operations Committee, which has sent it to Senator Harris's Subcommittee on Governmental Research. In the summer of 1967 that subcommittee held a unique one-day seminar to explore the ramifications of the proposal. Both that session, and the hearings the subcommittee held later, elicited highly illuminating views from social scientists, present and former government officials, businessmen, and journalists. Above all, the discussions buttressed the need for an institutionalized and on-going review of the state of our nation's social health, at the highest level of government as well as on the community and state levels. In great part the hearings produced more questions than answers, and exposed our ignorance rather than a wealth of information about social processes. But our country is now demanding the answers, and it is essential that we begin asking the right questions.

While the Full Opportunity Act will have a vigorous impact upon government, I believe it will have no less impact on the social sciences. There is every reason to believe that the social sciences—like economics since 1946—will be greatly stimulated by enactment of the legislation. Such legislation may prod many social scientists into devoting increased attention to social problems that have specific relevancy to government. Instead of concentrating solely on research and comment, they will become active participants in policymaking.

Are social scientists up to the task? While most who have written me believe that they are, some are less confident. One social scientist of long experience warned, "The behavioral sciences, in my judgment, are in no real position at this point to give any hard data on social problems or conditions." He added, "There are many promises and pretentions; however, when it comes to delivery, what is usually forthcoming are more requests for further research. . . . "

If social scientists have not developed the necessary sophistication to fully participate in policy determination, then they *must*—and very soon. For government at all levels is going to ask them for advice and value judgments. This responsibility is going to be thrust upon them, and I don't think they are going to refuse it.

I am encouraged by the reports sent to me by social scientists who are involved in both the planning and the evaluation phrases of future-looking projects. The work of organizations such as Resources for the Future and the Russell Sage Foundation is well known. And, of course, virtually every major university has a center or institute doing extremely ambitious research on social problems. Others, such as the Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge at the University of Michigan, are devoting their activity to ways of using scentific skills in the social as well as in the natural sciences. The book *Social Indicators* (*M.I.T.* Press, 1966), edited by Raymond Bauer, shows how researchers can frame the important questions and meet the basic requirements for social accounting.

All this suggests that some social scientists want to become activists—to convert their role from that of observer to that of participant.

THE COMMUNICATION GAP

Today, because much valuable information disappears into the academic journals, many policy-makers remain unaware of its existence. A Council of Social Advisers could probably correct this problem by providing a funnel through which the findings of social-science research would be directed to government.

Of course, government policy-makers shouldn't expect a full range of sophisticated social indicators to be developed overnight, nor should they expect evaluation and analysis that bear the stamp of certainty rather than theory. Scientific progress doesn't work this way. If I read the history of the Council of Economic Advisers correctly, it took that group many years, and experimentation by several Council chairmen, to evolve a satisfactory role in economic analysis and policy recommendation. This will be even more necessary when we are dealing with elusive social values.

Now, a word of warning: There is a history of mistrust on the part of some members of Congress toward the social sciences. This attitude is based partly on unfamiliarity, partly on poor communications between scientists and policy-makers, and partly on the fact that many Congressmen regard themselves as successful practitioners of applied social science—because they have won elections. Institutionalized channels of communication will help break down this mistrust.

Also important is the fact that policy-makers are wary of the political backlash contained in the findings of the social scientists. One dramatic example was the response of policy-makers to the Moynihan Report on the Negro family.

Finally, there are still a substantial number of people who see behavioral-science study as a trend toward the society of Orwell's 1984. They are wary of invasion of privacy in social research, and fear that data banks will make the individual increasingly vulnerable. These are legitimate concerns, often deeply felt by the social scientists themselves. These concerns demand vigilance. There must be guarantees against misuse of some of the most valuable equipment in social-science research.

But despite these difficulties, it is time to establish an alliance between policy-makers and social scientists. The alliance promises better lives and more individual opportunity through a more orderly approach to the future.

Of this need, former Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary John W. Gardner has said: "We have a great and honored tradition of stumbling into the future. In management of the present, our nation is—as nations go—fairly rational, systematic, and orderly. But when it comes to movement into the future, we are heedless and impulsive. We leap before we look. We act first and think later. We back into next year's problems by studying the solutions to last year's problems."

Bertrand de Jouvenel has written that the 20th century now has the opportunity to devise "a long-term strategy for well-being." As I read the Preamble to the Constitution, it seems to that that this was precisely the goal of the 18th century Constitutional Convention. Today, a vigorous program—backed by the collective political wisdom of the Congress and the technical expertise of the social scientists—finally offers us hope of achieving that goal.

"NEW DIRECTIONS FOR URBAN AMERICA" BY REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, much of the social and political attention in America is directed toward the urban crisis. We are faced with a multitude of unsolved human problems, crime and civil disorder, a declining urban environment, and inadequately equipped urban governments.

The Republican coordinating committee has released today another of its splendid reports. Prepared by the Task Force on the Functions of Federal, State, and Local Governments, and entitled "New Directions for Urban America," this paper directs attention to 55 far-sighted and innovative programs suggested by the Republican Party to deal with the urban crisis.

In the past 4 years, we have come face to face with the harsh reality of widespread violence and destruction. We have discovered social failure of a depth previously unrecognized. But as the report correctly points out:

> The urban crisis is more than civil disorders and unmet social needs; it is a crisis of confidence, of leadership and of human relationships that contributes to a depression of the national spirit.

The present administration has demonstrated its basic belief that the individual, and especially the individual in less fortunate circumstances, should be dependent on the Government. It has constantly sought to expand governmental control over individual lives and to impose Government solutions for human needs. This has made it easy to issue the promises of instant prosperity and to offer to solve the problems of a millennium in a decade.

The Republican Party on the other hand recognizes that—

> In a pluralistic society, no government, no administration, and no political party can effect the entire range of necessary social adjustments.

Our pledge is "that the Republican Party, in 1968 and the years ahead, will seek to provide a leadership of ideas, inspiration, and innovation to set new directions for urban America."

Citizens, voluntary and self-help organizations, and revitalized communities all utilizing the dynamism of private enterprise can build a better America. People who see progress of their own making will work to defend rather than to destroy.

A good example of misdirection is the attitude of the present administration toward low-income housing. The entire thrust of Government housing assistance programs for low-income families has been in the direction of rental housing rather than homeownership. Communities have been destroyed by urban renewal, and the low-income family has been forced to become transient. Under public housing systems, the worker who improves his job and his income is penalized by having to move.

It has taken Republican leadership to produce the constructive and commonsense alternatives. The Percy-Widnall homeownership plan, considered in part by the Senate this year, offers imaginative and constructive approaches to improving the quality of our housing and the lives of lower income families.

Mr. President, the Task Force on the Functions of Federal, State, and Local Governments has issued 55 specific recommendations designed to attack the urban crisis. The areas covered by the recommendations are: job opportunities and training, education, poverty and welfare, housing, human rights, crime and law enforcement, pollution control, transportation, government structures and procedures, and intergovernment finance.

These are positive, imaginative ideas. They provide new directions for urban America.

I ask unanimous consent that the Republican coordinating committee report be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR URBAN AMERICA

(Adopted by the Republican Coordinating Committee; May 6, 1968. Presented by the Task Force on the Functions of Federal, State, and Local Governments)

REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Presiding Officer: Ray C. Bliss, Chairman, Republican National Committee.

Former President: Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Former Presidential Nominees: Barry Goldwater (1964); Richard M. Nixon (1960); Thomas E. Dewey (1944 and 1948); Alf M. Landon (1936).

Senate Leadership: Everett M. Dirksen, Minority Leader; Thomas H. Kuchel, Minority Whip; Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Chairman, Republican Policy Committee; Margaret Chase Smith, Chairman, Republican Conference; George Murphy, Chairman, National Republican Senatorial Committee; Milton R. Young, Secretary, Republican Conference; Hugh Scott, Vice Chairman, National Republican Senatorial Committee.

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Representatives of the Republican Governors Association: John A. Love, Governor of Colorado; John A. Volpe, Governor of Massachusetts; George Romney, Governor of Michigan; Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York; Raymond P. Shafer, Governor of Pennsylvania; John H. Chafee, Governor of Rhode Island; Nils A. Boe, Governor of South Dakota; Daniel J. Evans, Governor of Washington.

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President of the Republican State Legislators Association: F. F. (Monte) Montgomery.

Robert L. L. McCormick, Staff Coordinator.

MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE'S TASK FORCE ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Robert Taft, Jr., Chairman, Member of Congress from Ohio.

Karl Mundt, Vice Chairman, United States Senator from South Dakota.

Mrs. Consuelo Northrop Bailey, Secretary of the Republican National Committee.

George C. S. Benson, President, Claremont Men's College.

Neal Blaisdell, Mayor of the City of Honolulu.

Joseph L. Budd, Republican National Committeeman for Wyoming.

Howard H. Callaway, Member of Congress from Georgia, 1965–1967.

Frank Carlson, United States Senator from Kansas.

Roger Cloud, Auditor of the State of Ohio.

William Cowger, Member of Congress from Kentucky.

Walter DeVries, Former Executive Assistant to the Governor of the State of Michigan.

Willis D. Gradison, Jr., Member of City Council, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Robert J. Huckshorn, Professor of Political Science, Florida Atlantic University.

Denison Kitchel, Attorney, Phoenix, Arizona.

Warren P. Knowles, Governor of the State of Wisconsin.

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NEW DIRECTIONS FOR URBAN AMERICA

The United States is engulfed in an urban crisis. Events in the cities over the past four years have thrust upon our nation the harsh reality of widespread violence and destruction of an intensity unexpected, and have exposed conditions of disadvantage and social failure of a depth previously unrecognized. Tragically and paradoxically, we encounter this crisis at a time when many of the normal indicators of social progress—national output, personal income, employment levels, educational attainments, technological advancement, and life expectancy—have risen to record heights.

Consequently, the urban crisis is more than civil disorders and unmet social needs; it is a crisis of confidence, of leadership and of human relationships that contributes to a depression of the national spirit. The situation demands a recognition that just as the customary indicators of progress are no longer completely valid, so also the customary responses, whether they be the establishment of one more Federal program, the appointment of another blue-ribbon study commission, or an after-the-riot plea for law and order, are woefully inadequate.

The urban crisis has occurred under the stewardship of the Democratic Administration. During the past four years, as the crisis has developed and deepened, the Administration has displayed its inability to devise effective policies and programs to deal with the situation.

The President's major action in 1967, as the full dimensions of the crisis became apparent was to appoint an Advisory Commission on Civil disorders whose report he has largely ignored. In our view, the Commission's report neglected to set any priorities among its numerous recommendations, failed to come to grips with the crucial questions of cost and financing, and could be construed as unfairly accusing all whites of practicing racism. It failed to recognize adequately the need for self-help and private and voluntary citizen action. Nevertheless, we believe the report contains much valuable information and analysis, and its recommendations are worthy of detailed attention and consideration by the President and the Congress.

In its approach to urban problems the Administration's gravest failure has been an absence of responsible, candid, and inspiring leadership for our troubled nation. We indict the Democratic leadership on three counts: (1) the reckless use of inflated promises and a resort to political sloganeering which raised many expectations that were not realized; (2) a lack of decisive action and influence in dealing with the immediate problems of lawlessness and disorder; and

(3) an unwillingness to establish a well-ordered set of priorities to meet pressing social needs and to chart the nation's future course. The record shows clearly that the Democratic Administration—its leadership and its policies—must stand accused of failure in attempting to resolve the urban crisis.

To lift the urban crisis from our land will require profound adjustments throughout out social system, involving new personal attitudes and commitments, more relevant public and private institutions, a reassignment of priorities and resources, and, above all, new national leadership to replace the "politics-as-usual" of the past four years.

In a pluralistic society, no government, no administration, and no political party can effect the entire range of necessary social adjustments. But this we pledge: that the Republican Party, in 1968 and the years ahead, will seek to provide a leadership of ideas, inspiration, and innovation to set new directions for urban America.

This paper outlines the main aspects of current urban problems, sets forth a comparison of the approaches of the Republican and Democratic Parties to these problems, and presents 55 of the principal recommendations on urban affairs made by the Republican Coordinating Committee in various position papers issued since its inception in 1965. A full listing of 123 recommendations made by the Coordinating Committee on urban problems is compiled in an appendix to this paper.

A CATALOGUE OF URBAN ILLS

The crisis of the cities encompases numerous aspects of urban living conditions, and its full extent is revealed by an array of pertinent facts and figures. The following catalogue of urban ills presents a disturbing portrait of the troubled situation confronting the nation.

1. Unsolved human problems

In the cities today, a host of fundamental human problems remain such as chronic unemployment, unequal education opportunities, racial discrimination, substandard housing, inadequate transportation services and the breakdown of family and community structures. These persistent problems yield a compound of disadvantage and discontent, contribute to lawlessness and disorder, and bear witness to the failures and inadequacies of the present Administration's policies and programs.

Despite a reduction in overall unemployment rates, substantial "hardcore" unemployment continues. Among Negroes the jobless rate is twice the national average; among young people it is more than three times as great.

Unemployment is an especially serious problem in the central cities. Among young Negro men in the cities the unemployment rate is nearly 25 percent, seven times the national rate.

Rising prices, largely the result of unsound Democratic economic policies, have reduced any gain in the urban resident's income and have diminished the value of his savings. A price increase of over six percent in just two years has worked a particular hardship on the social security recipient and others with fixed incomes, the unemployed, and the unorganized wage earner.

Great disparities in educational opportunities and achievement exist in urban areas. According to achievement tests the average minority group child in metropolitan areas is behind other children when he begins school and the gap tends to widen; he is roughly two grades behind the others at grade six; three grades behind at grade nine; and four grades behind at grade twelve.

In poverty neighborhoods of the fifteen largest cities roughly 60 percent of the tenth-grade students drop out before finishing high school; unemployment and delinquency rates among dropouts are many times greater than the national average.

Despite generally high rates of private housing construction, the goal of "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American" proclaimed in the 1949 Housing Act remains unfulfilled for millions of families. Roughly 4 million substandard housing units continue to exist in urban areas; nearly two-thirds of all minority group families today live in neighborhoods marked with unsuitable housing and urban blight.

Despite the passage of numerous civil rights laws at all levels of government, widespread discrimination or segregation continues in employment, education and housing due to uneven enforcement of existing laws and gaps in coverage. Moreover, the recent passage of Federal fair housing legislation, achieved only with wide Republican support in Congress, establishes a desirable goal but will not alone eliminate segregated housing conditions. As recognized in the legislation, leadership at local and State levels is a necessary and positive factor for achieving progress in the elimination of such discrimination. The persistence of discriminatory practices, unjustified in all forms, contributes greatly to the sense of frustration and resentment among minority groups in the cities.

The proportion of families living with no father in the home is growing, both among Negro and whites, and these families are heavily concentrated at the low end of the income scale. This breakdown of family structure leads to numerous unfortunate consequences for the children, including a sense of alienation, a lack of direction and, too often, outright delinquency.

2. Crime and civil disorder

Rising crime rates and a series of major riots and civil disorders have left a trail of victims, both Negro and white, creating an atmosphere of fear, alarm, mistrust, and apprehension all across the country.

The number of crimes committed per year has increased by 88 percent since 1960, nine times faster than the growth of population. The crime rate in large cities typically is double the national rate.

High crime rates and the need for better police protection are acute problems in the low-income districts of the central cities. One low-income neighborhood experienced a serious crime rate 35 times greater than in the high income sections of the city.

Since 1963 riots and disorders have occurred with greatly increased frequency. In 1963, five serious disorders occurred; in 1964–65, 15 serious disorders or incidents were recorded; in 1966 the number of riots and disorders increased to 43; and during 1967, 164 riots and disturbances took place in an eruption of violence that shook the nation.

This year riots and disorders occurred in over 80 cities during the period following the tragic assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

A study of 75 riots and disorders by a Senate Subcommittee revealed a toll of 83 deaths and 1,897 injuries as a result of these disturbances. Property damage estimates range from many tens of millions to hundreds of millions of dollars.

3. The declining quality of the urban environment

Beyond the unmet human needs and social disorders described above, the cities of America are characterized today by deteriorating environmental conditions which impair for all the quality of urban living.

Automobiles, factories, power plants, and heating facilities pour into the atmosphere 140 million tons of air pollutants each year, an average of 1400 pounds for each American. Scientists have correlated high levels of air pollution found in large cities with increased respiratory diseases and even death.

Once pure lakes and streams are polluted and rendered unfit for swimming and fishing because of wastes discharged from municipal sewer systems, industry, and other pollution sources. It is estimated that 64 million people—nearly one-half the entire urban population—are served, if at all, by inadequate waste treatment plants.

The failure of the Federal government to eliminate air and water pollution from its own installations and facilities sets a bad example across the country to industries and communities that are being called to join the battle against pollution.

Traffic congestion and inadequate mass transportation service cause costly, time-consuming delays and create hardships for millions of urban residents. Daily commuter round trips of two hours are not uncommon, depriving workers of leisure and family time. Inadequate bus and transit service add to the employment and mobility problems of low-income residents, only one-half of whom own automobiles.

Newer forms of pollution, often the by-product of technological advances, contribute to the declining quality of the urban environment. For example, noises from high-powered, high-speed jet aircraft, flying with increasing frequency, produce a serious annoyance for many city dwellers and at times result in property damage.

4. The inadequacies of urban government

Many big city governments are ill-equipped to respond effectively to the endless list of serious problems which they confront. The shortcomings are largely a result of weaknesses in the structure, organization, and financial capacity of the typical city government.

A fundamental problem of urban government is the inadequacy of available revenue sources. The departure of industry and middle-income families to the suburbs, and the influx of low-income residents in need of extensive governmental services, have left the large cities with an array of costly social problems; yet they lack the tax resources to pay for them. Attempting to meet the costs and to compensate for the loss in tax base, cities are forced to raise tax rates, but this simply hastens the outward flight of industry and middle-income families.

Caught in this fiscal squeeze, the cities increasingly have turned to the Federal government for financial support. But under the specialized grant-in-aid system, this assistance has been accompanied by Federal controls and administrative tangles that tend to erode home rule and impair the effectiveness of aided programs.

In recent years a number of States under Republican leadership have demonstrated a new awareness of city problems and have devoted increased resources and attention to their resolution. We believe the States can and must play an increased role in planning and in achieving coordinated solutions for urban and metropolitan problems. Often, however, neither State nor Federal aid distribution formulas adequately recognize the disparity between the financial capacity of cities and their great needs.

Another basic problem is that urban government is not one government, but many governments. The proliferation of special purpose governmental units and authorities for planning, renewal, public utilities, transportation, etc., often with independent revenue sources, fragments local government authority and disperses responsibility and accountability. This condition, further complicated by the involvement of State and Federal agencies, fosters lack of coordination and impedes comprehensive planning, particularly for metropolitan area-wide problems. By most recent count each metropolitan area contains an average of 87 units of local government or special districts. The Chicago area alone encompasses 1,060 governments and the New York area, 1,112.

A final problem is the declining level of citizen interest and participation in city government. Over the past generation the movement toward professionalization of city civil service systems has brought numerous benefits. However, a distinct disadvantage has been the centralization of city government in a largely impersonal and frequently inaccessible bureaucracy. City departments too often are staffed by those who do not identify with the problems of the lower income families. As a result many residents feel alienated from city hall, and have a low degree of confidence in its ability or willingness to deal with their problems. This is demonstrated perhaps by the low voter turnout for many city elections, estimated to average less than 30 percent.

This, then, is the condition of urban America in 1968—beset by social problems and unmet human needs, wracked by crime and rioting, exposed to an environment increasingly polluted and congested, and governed by units of authority often with neither the structure nor the financial capacity to respond effectively to the long catalog of problems.

A REPUBLICAN APPROACH TO URBAN PROBLEMS

The Republican Party believes that the urban crisis must be analyzed and approached in terms of the proper utilization of those human and institutional resources which are basic to the operation of a stable and progressive society: (1) the individual; (2) voluntary and self-help organizations; (3) the community; (4) private enterprise; (5) government; and (6) leadership. Success in dealing with the situation will depend on a careful understanding and appreciation of these six elements, and will require policies that assign to each a proper role and emphasis. The following discussion contrasts the basic approach of the Republican Party to that of the Democratic Party and presents examples of the failures of the frequently misguided Democratic approach.

1. The individual

The policies of the Democratic Party demonstrate its basic belief that the individual, especially the individual in less fortunate circumstances, *should be dependent upon the government*. From the New Deal to the Great Society this approach to the individual has been consistently propounded by the Democrats, extended to cover more and more human needs, and expanded to apply to more and more individuals.

Today this approach is enshrined in the nation's welfare system. Largely instituted in the Thirties to provide temporary relief to those in financial distress, the welfare system has grown in these times of relative affluence to cover over 9 million people at a current annual cost of more than $6 billion. Instead of a temporary relief measure, welfare has become a way of life with second and even third generations trapped in the system. By means of restrictions and investigations that invade the individual's privacy and deny him dignity, these programs emphasize the individual's dependency on government, and offer him few incentives or little hope for a better future. For millions of individuals and families in the cities today Democratic welfare policies are perpetuating rather than alleviating poverty, broken homes, and bleak idleness. In short, today's welfare system just does not work.

The Republican Party, by contrast, believes in the intrinsic dignity, of each individual. We hold that dignity is bestowed not by treating individuals as wards of the state, but by providing a climate of opportunity that builds self-reliance and independence. We believe the individual achieves fulfillment when engaged in productive employment, utilizing his abilities, expanding his talents, and adding to the economic wellbeing of society.

We, therefore, strongly favor and have consistently supported government action to improve educational opportunities, to expand job training and provide job incentives, and to remove employment barriers as the keys to providing more individuals with enlarged opportunities for self-improvement and fulfillment. The individual in turn has the responsibility for seeking and using opportunities to improve himself and his community. This approach, in combination with welfare measures to protect the individual from temporary hardship, offers a constructive and lasting solution to the problems of poverty and disadvantage in the cities.

2. Voluntary and self-help organizations

From America's earliest history individuals have joined together voluntarily to solve problems and meet needs too big for the individual. They have created associations and informal groups for the purpose of self-help rather than turning to government for handouts and controls.

Such self-help activity is particularly meaningful in our cities today, because it enables participants not only to meet their tangible needs but also to increase their self-esteem and self-reliance.

The spirit of self-help is rising in the cities of America. In numerous instances independent representative citizen organizations have been established to stimulate private self-help efforts in education, job training and orientation, family counseling, housing, small business assistance and other areas. Many observers have judged these efforts to be highly successful—frequently more successful than government controlled programs.

The Democratic Party has not fully appreciated the importance of voluntary and self-help activity and has not sufficiently encouraged the formation and strengthening of organizations dedicated to self-help principles. Too frequently, in fact, local self-help groups have been undermined by Federally directed and subsidized organizations.

The Republican Party, at the Federal, State and local level and through its individual members, pledges to stimulate and encourage voluntary and self-help organizations in the cities. We recognize that people who are producing progress of their own making are people who will work to defend and to build, rather than to destroy.

3. The community

The policies of the Democratic Party have tended to ignore the importance of intangible factors such as community stability, identity, and cohesiveness in enhancing the quality of urban living. Indeed, the concepts of neighborhood, community pride, and mutual assistance seem to have disappeared from many American cities today. This is revealed by high turnover rates in housing, by unkept property, streets, and alleys, and by the shocking indifference of bystanders to acts of violence. Three major examples show how recent Democratic policies have contributed to the waning sense of community in the cities: (1) the obsession with rental housing assistance programs for the disadvantaged; (2) the heavy-handed destruction of neighborhoods and districts through urban renewal and other government construction programs; and (3) the failure to stem the wave of crime and riots.

The entire thrust of government housing assistance programs for low income families has been in the direction of rental housing rather than homeownership. This emphasis has produced a number of undesirable effects, by fostering a large population of tenants with weak community ties and high mobility rates. Also, many of these programs penalize diligence and ambition by requiring tenants to move should they improve their economic standing. In short, the Democratic obsession with rental housing programs has contributed to the high turnover rates and the loss of community identity which characterize our cities today.

Urban renewal and other government-sponsored construction programs have had unfortunate effects on the cohesiveness of many communities. Too often these programs have destroyed entire neighborhoods, uprooting thousands of families, depriving numerous small businessmen of their livelihood, and aggravating already overcrowded conditions in other low-income neighborhoods. The number of housing units destroyed by urban renewal is roughly four times the number created; moreover, provision for relocation of those displaced has been woefully inadequate.

The effect of such policies on the structure of the community and on the outlook of the residents is far-reaching. According to studies conducted after the Newark riot, neighborhood disruption caused by government construction programs was high on the grievance list of riot area residents.

Nothing is more damaging to the health and vitality of a community than unchecked crime and rioting. The immediate effect on the victims is just one dimension; the other is the poisoned community atmosphere that lingers to breed suspicion, anxiety, and fear and to cause community residents to turn inward. The Democratic Administration has shown far too little sensitivity to this byproduct of urban violence.

The Republican Party pledges to adopt urban policies which will foster and reinforce the vital but intangible values of community pride and trust. These neglected values can be restored by shifting the emphasis for low income rental housing to homeownership programs, by respecting the cohesiveness of established neighborhoods in urban renewal and other construction programs, and by establishing more effective law enforcement programs. The goal must be to restore a sense of place, a familiarity with sights and sounds, a feeling of belonging and contributing, and an absence of hostility and tension that every human being longs for. These are the features which can make a city a truly desirable and attractive place to live.

4. The role of private enterprise

Over the past generation the Democratic Party has too often expressed and demonstrated a basic distrust and misunderstanding of the role and capabilities of private enterprise. The dominant Democratic theme equates private enterprise with selfishness and narrowness of purpose, but equates public enterprise or government with the virtues of altruism and social purpose.

The distortion inherent in this attitude can be demonstrated by listing some of the vital public purposes accomplished by private enterprise—job creation, capital investment and economic growth, higher productivity and wages, along with more leisure time. It is also revealed by some of the less noble tendencies of government, notably the persistent inability of government to reverse course or terminate unproductive activities and the endless drive for power among rival government officials. These factors invariably result in attempts at program expansion, and cause debilitating interagency conflicts at public expense without regard to social purpose.

The short-sighted Democratic attitude toward private enterprise has prevented this Administration from fully recognizing and utilizing a development of great potential significance—the harnessing of the strengths of private enterprise to the solution of public and social problems, particularly in the cities.

Largely as a result of consistent Republican urging, private enterprises and foundations in recent years have shown an awareness of the problems of the cities, and have moved to devise new and effective approaches to their solution. Across the full spectrum of urban problems private enterprise has produced or sponsored numerous innovations in job training and placement, programs of learning for disadvantaged children, low-cost housing technology, pollution abatement methods, and college student loans, to name just a few.

Thoughtful Americans are realizing that

private enterprise and independent organizations possess numerous skills and resources which are vitally important assets in the struggle against the growing urban problems. Among these are: (1) a capacity for innovation and fresh thinking; (2) an ability to mobilize community leadership and spirit; (3) an on-the-spot method of operation that cuts delays and deemphasizes publicity; (4) a capacity for hard evaluation, reassessment, and changes of objectives and policies when needed; and (5) an informal network of communications and associations which can draw together a combination of resources tailored to each problem's unique needs.

The Republican Party pledges to promote and foster the increased commitment and utilization of private enterprise in coping with the urban crisis. A basic element of this approach must be the establishment of a general climate of government that encourages widespread private participation. In this regard, the Republican Party's consistent understanding and awareness of the strengths of private enterprise, in contrast to the suspicions historically exhibited by the Democrats, is a decisive advantage.

Beyond creating a proper climate, government can promote a greater role for private enterprise in many ways. These include offering tax benefits and other incentives to channel private resources to purposes of high social priority; using and applying government regulatory powers wisely; involving private enterprise in the implementation of government programs; and consulting continually with representatives of private enterprise in planning and administering government programs. We favor a complete review of government policies and operations with these guidelines in mind.

An example of programs designed to expand participation of private enterprise is the Republican-sponsored Domestic Development Bank. Under this proposal financing would be provided on favorable terms to whites and non-whites alike for private business and commercial projects, in order to expand job opportunities in poverty areas and to stimulate local entrepreneurship.

5. *The approach to government*

The most conspicuous and unwise aspect of the Democratic approach to government is the drive for greater centralization of local public services in the hands of the Federal government. The accelerating trend toward centralization under Democratic Administrations has restricted the home-rule powers of city governments, and has reduced their ability and capacity to respond effectively and creatively to the problems they confront.

Centralization results first from the Federal government's virtual monopoly of the lucrative income tax, thereby forcing the States and local communities to rely on the less responsive and less equitable sales and property taxes; and results secondly from the unparalleled growth and proliferation of specialized Federal grant-in-aid programs, currently numbering over 400 and accounting for an annual Federal expenditure of $18 billion.

Despite the added revenues provided, the Federal grant-in-aid system ultimately weakens city governments. The system permits the Federal government to establish local priorities and to exercise detailed control over a vast array of essentially local public services. It also creates a maze of bureaucratic red tape that saps the energy of local officials, adds to delays, and reduces program effectiveness.

There are also more subtle effects. Individual grant programs are generally handled between a specialized element of the bureaucracy in Washington and a counterpart agency at the local level, completely bypassing the mayor and other elected officials. This procedure strengthens the hand of obscure city hall employees at the expense of the mayor and the residents to whom he is responsible. Also, since final authority over these programs is often lodged in the Federal Government, and with higher Federal pay scales acting as an inducement, city employees and potential new employees may be lured away to Washington.[1]

Another conspicuous deficiency of the Democratic Administration's approach to government has been its failure to recognize that sound, balanced, and healthy growth in the economy is the keystone to social progress and human betterment. The distorted performance of the economy during the past four years of Democratic mismanagement has had a number of adverse effects in urban areas. Rampant inflation, with rising prices and higher interest rates, has taken a heavy toll on the economic well-being of urban residents. These economic conditions have compounded the problems of city governments by raising the cost of public services and increasing the cost of borrowing for capital improvements. Continuation of unsound Democratic economic policies could lead to run-away inflation or a plunge into recession with dire consequences on employment levels, purchasing power, and the future hopes of city residents.

The Republican Party believes that the capability of city governments to be masters of their own houses and to solve their own problems must be restored. To this end we have consistently and repeatedly proposed a system of revenue sharing and block grants to the States with provision for the allocation of funds to local and city governments. These measures, together with a system of Federal income tax credits for State and local taxes, would greatly strengthen these governments and would lift the tired hand of the Federal government from control of local public services. We also pledge to restore soundness to the Federal government's economic policies as a means to improve the financial position of city governments.

We favor these measures in the firm belief that city governments, if structurally and financially strong, can effectively provide the leadership, sense of purpose, creativity, and responsiveness needed for the solution of their present problems.

6. *Leadership*

As we stated at the outset, the gravest failure of the present Administration's approach to urban problems has been an absence of responsible, candid, and inspiring leadership. The failure of national leadership consists, principally, of: (1) the use of inflated promises and political slogans; (2) a lack of action to deal with the immediate problems of lawlessness and disorder; and (3) an unwillingness to establish a well-ordered set of priorities.

Little doubt exists that the repetition of irresponsible promises and political slogans by the Administration in 1964 and 1965 contributed to the violence and disorder of the succeeding two summers. The rhetoric of the War on Poverty and the Great Society created the impression among the disadvantaged of the cities that their living conditions would be dramatically and rapidly improved. The deep-rooted ills of inadequate education and job training, racial discrimination, poor housing, blighted neighborhoods, and lack of transportation facilities would—according to this script—be cured overnight.

It is clear that these promises extended far beyond the reach of any performance humanly possible. As a result, expectations were raised, but not realized, and for many, a sense of betrayal occurred. This led to hostility, and for some, violent outbursts. We charge the present Administration with irresponsibility in making these inflated and politically motivated promises to the poor.

A nation in crisis demands of its President the ability to summon all the vast resources of the Office for the purpose of restoring calm and inspiring confidence in the minds of the people. As the urban crisis has developed and expanded, the President's actions have not met these standards, but have been halting, unclear, and unsteady.

An example of uncertain leadership and an apparent admission of failure is the President's public statement that the nation can expect more rioting and disorder in the cities this summer. Such statements do not resolve crises and reduce tensions; they contribute to them.

The Administration has failed to present a blueprint for the future, based on a national strategy to reconcile hostilities and to alleviate the cities' unmet social needs. The basic ingredients for such a strategy are: (1) a clarion call for an end to group hostility and discrimination, together with a strong assertion of the need for understanding and fairness; (2) the setting of hard and meaningful priorities to provide needed funds for urban problems while reducing or deferring outlays for less essential programs at home and abroad; and (3) a summoning of vision and energy from all of our leaders in order to gain popular acceptance for these measures, to establish a sense of purpose, and to lead the future course of urban America. We commend the group of Republican Members of the House of Representatives for recently pointing the way by proposing a "Human Renewal Fund" based on a specific reallocation of resources in favor of the cities.

The Republican Party pledges to provide the American people the quality of leadership needed to resolve the urban crisis and to build a better future in our cities. The three most vital elements of national leadership—and the three that the Democratic Administration has most visibly lacked—are responsibility, candor, and inspiration. We promise to restore these values to the American political scene.

A SUMMARY OF REPUBLICAN RECOMMENDATIONS

Over the past three years the Republican Coordinating Committee has issued 27 major position papers dealing with domestic affairs. Many of these statements, in part or in their entirety, have addressed the problems of urban America. In total, over 100 specific recommendations have been presented to combat the full range of urban ills.

These recommendations are presented in two sections. The first section, which follows below, contains a summary of 55 recommendations to which we wish to direct particular attention because of their relevance to the present urban crisis. The second section, presented as an appendix to the full paper, incorporates the entire list of 123 recommendations made by the Republican Coordinating Committee in previous papers, including the 55 contained in the first section.[2]

We earnestly believe that our recommendations, based upon the Republican approach to urban problems outlined in the previous section, constitute the foundation for a broadly conceived plan of action to set new directions for urban America. We commend these policies and programs to the attention of the American people.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES AND TRAINING

We recommend that Congress enact the Republican-authored Human Investment Act to grant to employers a credit against Federal income taxes toward the costs incurred in training employees or potential employees in skills in short supply. Republicans agree that the most effective technique for achieving widespread business involvement is through incentive tax credits, both for hiring the unemployed and upgrading the under-employed, and for investment in urban and rural poverty areas.

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[1] City governments are also experiencing difficulty competing for employees with private organizations, such as community action agencies, which are permitted to pay higher salaries under the terms of lucrative Federal grant programs.

[2] The selection of recommendations for inclusion in the first section is not in derogation of the others.

We recommend a National Job Opportunity Survey to include nationwide collection of data on job market conditions, unfilled jobs, developing job needs, labor supply, regional and local patterns and the skills needed to meet the demands, together with a nationwide communications system making this data available to vocational educators, counselors, placement personnel, the Armed Services, labor unions, and business enterprises.

We urge vocational educators to expand further their programs among the hard-core unemployed in urban ghettoes, and to reorient and modernize these programs to match the demands of today's job market.

We recommend that the resources of industry, labor, education and all levels of government should be mobilized to institute a program of Technological Education for the Future (TEFF). This program would offer young people up to two years of functional training in needed new skills in schools and through on-the-job training. The employer would receive a credit against his Federal income tax for part of the wages paid the enrollee.

To meet the expanded demand for skilled technicians and semi-professional personnel, and to offer the high school graduate a choice other than ending his formal education or pursuing a four-year college program, we urge the expansion and strengthening of two-year technical institutes and community college programs located near the students' homes.

EDUCATION

Early childhood education programs should, as a matter of priority and urgency, be expanded to include all 5 and 4-year olds, and perhaps 3-year olds, from impoverished neighborhoods who could benefit from this experience.

We urge that Project Head Start be administered in the Office of Education through the States, not by the Office of Economic Opportunity. We believe the program should be taken out from under the Economic Opportunity Act and funded to the full extent of its need through the new Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

We support a massive campaign against illiteracy in the United States.

As a basic principle, we believe that teachers must be accorded the professional status, pay, and prerequisites commensurate with the challenge of the assignment and with the benefits which society realizes when this assignment is successfully discharged.

We feel that recent proposals for school decentralization in a number of the larger cities are worthy of serious attention and consideration by others as possible guides for action.

We recommend that steps be taken to embark on a constructive program to provide new and expanded school facilities in the cities, equivalent to the modern and spacious plant frequently found in suburban school districts. In view of ever-rising construction costs, these efforts should proceed without delay.

We feel that Federal aid programs for elementary and secondary education should be combined into a smaller, more manageable number of grant categories, in order to provide larger amounts of aid to problems of the highest priority.

The educational goals of excellence and equality of opportunity in urban schools, to which we subscribe, apply uniformly to all American children regardless of whether they attend public or non-public schools. For this reason, Federal government aid to education should be distributed on the basis of fair and equitable treatment of all school children.

If financial aid goes only to public institutions, the existing balance could be shifted strongly toward public education. This could effectively be remedied in part by the granting of Federal income tax credits for tuition and certain other expenses in education. Financial aid programs such as this must be carefully designed, along with other needed education programs, to include significant assistance to young people from families with the greatest financial need.

We believe that no qualified student should be deprived of a college education because of economic hardship. We recommend that families be allowed tax credits for the costs of college tuition and fees.

POVERTY AND WELFARE

We recommend removal of disincentives for work. People on welfare who are working part-time should be able to retain a portion of their earnings, thus increasing their incentive to move to full-time employment.

We recommend providing work incentives for dependent youth by giving teenage children of welfare recipients a desire to become productive through minimum wage exemptions.

We urge the expansion of child care facilities to be available in each State for working mothers.

We recommend fuller involvement of the poor in the solution of their own problems, by giving them representation on the community action boards in each area.

We recommend that the Office of Economic Opportunity be responsible for Community Action Programs alone and that the other programs under the Economic Opportunity Act be returned to the individual government departments and agencies in which they logically belong.

We recommend setting realistic ceilings on the salaries of poverty employees. Salaries of poverty workers should not exceed the salaries paid persons holding comparable positions in the area.

HOUSING

We believe that opportunities for acquiring ownership of units must be enhanced. In this regard, the Percy-Widnall home ownership plan and sweat equity proposals offer imaginative and constructive approaches to improving the quality of our housing and the lives of lower-income families.

Where public housing has been accepted by local decision, local public housing officials should be encouraged to make use of the Republican-sponsored program of short term leasing of existing housing, voluntarily offered by private landlords at public housing levels.

Federal or local tax policy can be used to encourage, rather than penalize, the owner for improving his property. Such encouragement could be based on a tax credit or tax abatement approach, using as a guide the cost of the improvement or the local property tax increase. Certainly, all levels of government should study their tax laws to eliminate factors which encourage the maintenance and spread of profitable slums.

A coordinated approach to housing and urban renewal should realize that there is social benefit in retaining the neighborhood—which may be the only social institution with meaning and value for the low income urban family.

We recommend better techniques to solve the relocation problem in urban renewal. Needed are more adequate payments for moving expenses, and more equitable compensation awards and procedures where property is taken under eminent domain.

A detailed and careful study of the operations of the Federal urban renewal and slum clearance programs by Congress is urgently needed. Such a study should include in-depth hearings involving the people directly affected by the program.

HUMAN RIGHTS

We call for faithful execution of the fair housing provisions of the civil rights bill recently passed by Congress with majority Republican support. This measure, aimed at providing all persons regardless of race, color, religion or national origin with nondiscriminatory access to most sale and rental housing, should help to reduce tensions in the central cities by creating opportunities for greater economic and social mobility among minority groups.

We pledge to reduce discrimination in employment. The Administration has failed to give prompt and effective implementation to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which bans discrimination by employers and labor unions with more than one hundred members. Once again, we Republicans call upon the Democratic Administration to enforce this section of the law.

We firmly believe in the positive value of inter-cultural and interracial educational experiences for all children. Integrated schools expand the knowledge and understanding of the child, increase his awareness of others, and provide lessons of tolerance and fairness that are important assets to the individual and to society.

CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

We recommend substantial Federal financial assistance in the form of block grants be given directly to the States for crime control, and the creation of State departments of criminal justice to direct and coordinate all phases and segments of State and local crime prevention and control.

We urge enactment of the Republican proposal to create a permanent Joint Congressional Committee on Organized Crime.

We recommend that the Congress and the States enact appropriate codes of police procedures.

We urge the Federal government—through the National Institutes of Health—to increase substantially its research into causes of and cures for narcotic and drug addiction.

We call upon the Federal government to establish a model juvenile crime control system for the District of Columbia.

We recommend that Congress enact legislation to more effectively control the indiscriminate availability of firearms and to assist the States in enforcing their own firearms control laws by preventing circumvention in ways which are beyond the power of the States to control.

We urge the Federal government to establish an accelerated research program into the causes of crime and elimination of the causes of crime.

POLLUTION CONTROL

We propose a system of Federal tax benefits to industry for investments in air and water pollution control devices, so that the costs of controlling pollution will be widely shared, as well as the benefits. Congress should hold hearings and act favorably on legislation of this type.

We call for effective action rather than words to halt air and water pollution emanating from Federal installations, so that the Federal government in its own activities will be above reproach and can provide more effective leadership.

In order to promote efficiency and increased effectiveness in the operation of Federal water and sewer grant programs, we recommend transfer to the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration of all such programs now administered by four other Federal agencies.

We believe that Federal water pollution control grants should be allocated to local projects only after approval by the State as meeting an area-wide or regional pollution control plan.

We urge greater use of regional and metropolitan area agreements among States and local governments in the control of air pollution, so that solutions may be matched to the geographical pattern and wide variations of the problem, and to minimize Federal controls consistent with the approach contained in the Air Quality Act of 1967. The Federal government should offer increased financial incentives to State and local governments so encourage them more strongly to enter into regional and metropolitan area agreements.

TRANSPORTATION

We propose a system of Federal tax incentives to private transit companies for investments in new equipment and systems, as a supplement to the Federal urban mass transportation grant program. These incentives might take the form of an increased investment credit or an accelerated depreciation allowance for such outlays.

In order to establish a more balanced set of priorities within total Federal research and development outlays, we recommend an accelerated and improved research and development program for urban mass transportation with an increased funding commitment for these activities.

We propose that the present limited program of aid for urban and suburban Federal routes be expanded into a new category of Federal-aid highways to be known as the Metropolitan System. To be eligible for funds, communities in metropolitan areas would have to show that new construction was in conformity with metropolitan area-wide transportation planning.

Before a particular freeway is built, careful consideration should be given to its liabilities and to its costs. Careful attention should be given to the impact on families, neighborhoods, business enterprises and whole communities. Appropriate care should be taken to preserve places of historical and cultural interest and areas of scenic beauty.

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE AND PROCEDURES

The resolution of urban and metropolitan problems requires at the very least considerably increased coordination than generally now exists. And where it is necessary, units too small to handle effectively their share of metropolitan problems should relinquish enough of their powers to area governments to meet essential needs. In some instances a total merger of governmental units into a new or existing area-wide government may be the required answer.

Each of the States should make an active study of its constitution and laws with the aim of making whatever changes are required to facilitate metropolitan cooperation and organization.

The States should be encouraged to establish offices or departments of local government. Such agencies should help local governments in each State be more effective in meeting their responsibilities, and cooperating with nearby units.

For certain problems, governmental subdivisions within large cities or other mechanisms of citizen participation should be studied and tried.

INTER-GOVERNMENT FINANCE

We call for a reversal of the trend in the proliferation of specialized grant-in-aid programs—now estimated at well over 400—by a gradual consolidation of grants eventually into a small number of block grants.

We favor measures to allow Federal income tax credits for State and local taxes to enable State and local governments to finance their activities increasingly under their own powers. Stricter Federal expenditure control and a gradual reduction in Federal tax rates should go hand in hand with this program.

We recommend that Congress authorize and appropriate a Federal revenue sharing fund to be allocated to States and local governments with minimum restrictions and in an amount consistent with sound fiscal policy.

Under block grants and revenue sharing, the initial distribution of funds should be to the States. However, with growing urbanization in our society the pressing needs of city and other local governments must be recognized. Any final plan, therefore, must contain appropriate and enforceable provisions to ensure that State governments pass on a fair share to units of local government.

The formulas governing distribution of Federal and State aid to local governments should include equalization factors that take into account the great needs and the limited financial capacity of the cities.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a news article entitled "Republicans Want Decentralization of Urban Programs—Hit Promises," published in the Washington Post of Monday, June 3, be printed in the RECORD following the coordinating committee report.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPUBLICANS WANT DECENTRALIZATION OF URBAN PROGRAMS—HIT PROMISES

The Republican leadership called yesterday for a new approach to America's urban crisis, based on local rather than Washington control and emphasizing education and training to help end all forms of discrimination.

The aim, as set forth in a report from the Republican Coordinating Committee, would be two-fold: "to give individuals self-reliance and personal dignity" and to restore the community as a center of life.

The Committee, which brings together all top elements of the Party for consideration of policies and programs, offered its prescription as an antidote for ills which it accused the Democratic Administration of generating through lack of "responsibility, candor and inspiration."

"We indict the Democratic leadership," the report said, on three counts:

"1—The reckless use of inflated promises and resort to political sloganeering which raised many expectations that were not realized.

"2—A lack of decisive action and influence in dealing with the immediate problems of lawlessness and disorder.

"3—An unwillingness to establish a well-ordered set of priorities to meet pressing social needs and to chart the Nation's future course."

The Committee said unfulfilled promises undoubtedly contributed to violence and racial disorders that have wracked the Nation's cities.

President Johnson was rebuked for largely ignoring the findings of his Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The Commission itself came under fire because it "neglected to set any priorities among its numerous recommendations, failed to come to grips with the crucial questions of cost and financing, and could be construed as unfairly accusing all whites of practicing racism."

Charging the Democrats with failing to come through on their promises to the poor, the Committee said:

"The rhetoric of the War on Poverty and the Great Society created the impression among the disadvantaged of the cities that their living conditions would be dramatically and rapidly improved.

"It is clear that these promises extended far beyond the reach of any performance humanly possible. As a result, expectations were raised, but not realized, and for many, a sense of betrayal occurred."

The recommendations included a variety of tax incentives to private groups and businesses which "too frequently . . . have been undermined by federally directed and subsidized organizations."

Also called for were ambitious job training programs, a national job opportunity survey and a nationwide communications system to facilitate job placement, improvement and expansion of vocational education programs, a program of technological education, expansion of two-year technical institutes and community colleges, early childhood education and new and expanded ghetto school facilities.

The GOP group also called for "block grants" directly to states which would eliminate Federal participation—and control—clear down to the lowest local level.

SOVIETS HAVE PROPAGANDA FIELD DAY WITH U.S. FAILURE TO RATIFY HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, those of us who have been pushing hard for Senate ratification of the United Nations conventions on genocide, forced labor, and the political rights of women are all too aware of the propaganda advantage the Soviet Union takes of this body's failure to ratify the conventions. It is ironic indeed that a totalitarian form of government takes every opportunity to excoriate a nation founded on "liberty and justice for all" because of our failure to extend this liberty and justice, symbolically, to the world at large by ratifying the U.N. conventions.

Here's what Izvestia had to say recently regarding the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights:

> In the conditions of capitalism the declaration's basic tenets remain unfulfilled to this day. The bourgeois democracies, which serve the interests of imperialist monopolies, have turned the rights and freedoms assured by their constitutions into a farce. Thanks to the unstinted efforts of the Soviet Union . . . the U.N. has taken a series of measures aimed at restoring the independence of colonial people, the ending of all forms of racial discrimination, and (has) signed conventions condemning racism and genocide.

Every single person on the floor and in the gallery knows that this is a ludicrously false statement, but our failure to ratify human rights conventions will be continually thrown in our face by Iron Curtain propagandists until we act. How can we as representatives of a nation that almost 200 years ago was the cradle of liberty, refuse to ratify these conventions by hiding behind empty legalisms when we know that nations whose governments cannot match ours in terms of individual rights and liberties have no qualms whatsoever in becoming signatories? We have no reason to duck this issue. We have every reason to face up to it. I hope that we will act and act soon.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, is there further morning business?

The **ACTING PRESIDENT** pro tempore. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

AUTHORITY TO REAPPOINT CHAIRMAN OF JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the unfinished business.

The **ACTING PRESIDENT** pro tempore. The joint resolution will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The Bill Clerk. A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1224) to authorize the President to reappoint as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for an additional term of 1 year, the officer serving in that position on April 1, 1968.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR MILLER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the order of Wednesday, May 29, 1968, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller] is recognized for a period not to exceed 30 minutes.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

TURMOIL ON THE CAMPUS

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record two articles written by Carl Rowan, published in the Washington Evening Star on May 15 and on May 31.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 15, 1968]

It's Time To Crack Down on Campus Activists

(By Carl T. Rowan)

Minneapolis, Minn.—There was a time when young people went to college, wise only to the point of knowing that they had a lot to learn.

Today's campuses are being convulsed by a motley assortment of student "activists" who express an arrogant certainty that they need to educate their presidents, deans, faculties, and most of the rest of mankind. And to a disturbing degree, they have made the process of educating a hapless hostage to their absurdity.

After boisterous upheaval, Stanford University is to be partly run by students who, in their wisdom, have made a topless go-go girl the prime candidate for president of the student body.

The president of Oberlin College has knuckled under to pressures and barred all military recruiters from the campus. Now—on the premise that the United States is guilty of "war crimes"—Oberlin students are demanding that the college sell all its U.S. Savings Bonds and that it pull Oberlin funds out of companies that contribute directly to the military effort in Vietnam.

At Columbia, students seek to force the university to end its ties with the Institute for Defense Analysis, a consortium that does military research for the government.

And here, ceremonies to install a new president of the University of Minnesota were disrupted by a group angered mostly because police took action against a colleague who had ignored a batch of tickets for traffic violations.

This group cloaked its anger in "nobler" cause, of course, as it barred regents and scholars from entering the front door of Northrop Auditorium.

"We've been going through back doors for decades," insisted a Negro protester. "Now you all go through the back door."

People politely complied.

On campus after campus, turmoil rages over such diverse demands as a separate course in Negro history, the right of male students to entertain girls in their dormitory rooms at all hours, or the addition of a bit of color (racial, that is) to the college coaching staffs.

The preferred tactics of the activists, whether their demands are obviously just or patently ridiculous, is to virtually kidnap college administrators, seize offices or entire buildings, and otherwise bring the processes of teaching and learning to a chaotic halt.

It is clearly time for college administrators to meet and adopt some joint strategy to deal with this absurd business—and for these reasons:

1. The anarchists and nihilists, who are more interested in destroying universities and "the system" than they are in improving things, are picking off the schools one by one. Administrators, and faculties are knuckling under for fear of becoming the first institutions totally wrecked by student strikes and resignations of faculty sympathizers.

2. In this election year, the politicians are eager to get into the act, as the House has shown. Whatever institutions irresponsible and irrational students fail to wreck will be intellectually dismembered by overly righteous congressmen and their meat-ax attempts at repression.

College administrators must agree on areas where they have been wrong and unresponsive to legitimate complaints.

Administrators making bold, honest efforts to right these wrongs will carry along the great majority of students and thus isolate those bent on destruction.

When this latter group resorts to illegal, mob tactics, it ought to be agreed by every president that they are to be expelled—pronto!

Perhaps a few mushheads will say that this is treating students like juveniles. But it is merely treating immature adolescents like immature adolescents, ruffians like ruffians, and serious students and scholars like students and scholars.

It is high time somebody began to make the distinction.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 31, 1968]

(By Carl T. Rowan)

Campus Turmoil Aimed at Promoting Anarchy?

A couple of weeks ago, 23-year-old Cathy Wilkerson stood on the campus of American University here, fanning the fires of student rebellion.

Miss Wilkerson was only one of several SDS non-students who were encouraging or abetting campus revolts in May. At least partly because of the zeal of these young revolutionaries, two great spasms of violence had rocked Columbia University, resulting in 897 arrests and injuries to 216 persons.

What does it all add up to? Is it just a new "campus fad," or is it a development that merits the attention of those concerned with national security?

Some key people in the Justice Department are convinced that Columbia is only an early target in a national plan by student revolutionaries to either seize control of dozens of universities or wreck them.

FBI and other reports indicate that even as violence raged at Columbia some of the ringleaders were fanning out around the country trying to intensify conflicts on other campuses.

These reports also show that many of those doing the most haranguing on campuses are not students at all but well-organized outsiders exploiting campus grievances to further their goal of "changing American society."

One Justice Department report says that "trained agitators and subversive elements represent a hard core whose basic objective is to promote outright anarchy. There is growing evidence that this hard core is composed of many non-students. There is growing evidence, too, that there is a broad interaction involving travel from one campus to another either to instigate a student eruption or to exploit an existing student demonstration."

These reports note, for example, that one Thomas Hayden helped found the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and that he works out of Chicago for the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Hayden turned up as a key figure in the uprising at Columbia.

Government files show that Mark Rudd, most persistent of the agitators at Columbia, contacted colleges as far away as Oklahoma and California in early May informing them that a "speakers' bureau" had been set up at Columbia to send people anywhere to set in motion "rallies, actions, strikes in support of Columbia's demands, on local racism, or repression issues."

SDS had a non-student in the Roosevelt University disturbance in Chicago on May 15, another non-student agitator at the University of Delaware on May 16, and on the same day had a Columbia activist, Jeff Girth, at the University of Texas in Austin.

Miss Wilkerson admits that SDS's goals and activities are national, but she denies any master plan for college upheaval. "You can't transplant revolt from one campus to another," she told me. "The impetus has to come from the local situation. People have to feel oppressed before they will revolt."

She insists that "the FBI is trying to make SDS look subversive" but that the group only wants to "change the system and give power to the 90 percent of the people who have no economic or political control whatsoever now."

Miss Wilkerson is certainly correct in her assumption that the FBI and other elements of government distrust SDS and its motives. A current report, being carefully studied in top levels of government here, asserts that the campus riots are much more menacing than any mere reflection of "the generation gap."

"It is only the beginning of a still greater planned effort which may shake the campuses of the colleges and universities to their very foundations in the forthcoming school year if school administrators and others do not recognize the need to face up to this challenge," the report states.

Cathy Wilkerson agrees that more campus revolts are in store, not because of malevolent instigation, she says, but because college administrators "are becoming more and more repressive and oppressive."

Whatever the facts about student motivation, college administrators clearly face a grim challenge.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the May 15 article is entitled "It's Time To Crack Down on Campus Activists." Among other things, Mr. Rowan in this article states:

> There was a time when young people went to college, wise only to the point of knowing that they had a lot to learn.
>
> Today's campuses are being convulsed by a motley assortment of student "activists" who express an arrogant certainty that they need to educate their presidents, deans, faculties, and most of the rest of mankind. And to a disturbing degree, they have made the process of educating a hapless hostage to their absurdity.

Mr. President, in the second article entitled "Campus Turmoil Aimed at Promoting Anarchy?" among other thoughts expressed by Mr. Rowan, he says:

> A couple of weeks ago, 23-year-old Cathy Wilkerson stood on the campus of American University here, fanning the fires of student rebellion.
>
> Miss Wilkerson was only one of several SDS non-students who were encouraging or abetting campus revolts in May. At least partly because of the zeal of these young revolutionaries, two great spasms of violence had rocked Columbia University, resulting in 897 arrests and injuries to 216 persons.
>
> What does it all add up to? Is it just a new "campus fad," or is it a development that merits the attention of those concerned with national security?
>
> Some key people in the Justice Department are convinced that Columbia is only an early target in a national plan by student revolutionaries to either seize control of dozens of universities or wreck them.

Mr. President, I concur completely with the views expressed by Mr. Rowan. I think we have been asleep. We have been lulled into a state of security not justified by what is happening in this country. These are not dissents. They are not demands for reforms. They are the initiation of anarchy, the real purpose of the nonofficial and the revolutionary being to take over and control our revered institutions.

I repeat, it is time that law enforcement officials wake up. It is time that the heads of our educational institutions exercise their authority and prerogatives and demonstrate that the property of the public and the property of private institutions shall be held inviolate against those trying to precipiate anarchy.

Moreover, the time has come when the officials in charge of our educational institutions must exert themselves to eliminate this danger, as well as every law enforcement official in the Department of Justice and every prosecuting attorney in the Nation.

I thank the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] very much for yielding to me at this time.

THE RECORD ON INFLATION

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, it is said that the farther one is from Washington, the closer one is to reality.

I wish to discuss today the hard reality of inflation.

For too long, those in control of our Federal Government in Washington have covered up the reality of inflation. And when its existence was finally acknowledged, it has been played down with the excuse that inflation is a necessary evil to be expected at a time when we have never had it so good.

But the social tragedies spawned by the evil of inflation have not been deterred by sanguine speeches and press releases. Inflation has been exacting a terrible price from the people.

Inflation has added over $100 billion to the cost of living of our people in the past 7 years.

Inflation has shrunk the value of checking accounts of our people by $10 billion in the past 7 years.

Inflation has robbed our people of $32 billion from their savings in the past 7 years.

Inflation has reduced the value of pension fund reserves by over $17 billion in the past 7 years.

Inflation has eroded away $15 billion from the value of U.S. Government and other bonds in the past 7 years.

Inflation has eaten $13 billion from life insurance reserves in the past 7 years.

Mr. President, these costs of inflation total over $188 billion in the past 7 years—nearly $1,000 for every man, woman, and child.

And it is getting worse. Already, in the first 3 months of 1968, the American people have been hit by more than $19 billion of inflation—$10 billion in cost-of-living inflation and $9 billion loss of value of their cash-convertible assets. At this rate, inflation in 1968 will take away more purchasing power from our people than the Federal income tax.

This record constitutes a glaring indictment of the stewardship of those in control of the administration and the Congress.

It is the inevitable result of their refusal to follow a stable dollar economic policy; to follow, instead, the irresponsible paths of uncontrolled spending, no priorities in spending, guns and butter, and deliberate multi-billion-dollar budget deficits.

The record is full of statements by those in control of our Federal Government that inflation is "the most unjust and capricious form of taxation." But that is all the record shows—noble words unmatched by deeds.

One of the basic causes of the feelings of helplessness and hopelessness among large segments of our people is the ever-increasing cost of living resulting from inflation. When their dollars continue to buy less, the squeeze on family budgets becomes unbearable.

Our people see prices continuing to rise as the buying power of their money continues to shrink.

The inflationary policies of this administration and its controlled Congress have undercut most the very segment of our society which the poverty programs are supposed to be helping—the poor and underprivileged. But also deeply hurt by these policies are our younger people who are trying to finance ever-increasing costs of an education, purchase a home, maintain a young and growing family, and raise the money needed to go into business or farming; and, of course, the older Americans whose earning power is ended or greatly diminished and who rely on fixed pensions, insurance, annuities, and savings for a livelihood.

If the Federal Government is going to take away purchasing power from the people, it should be done by taxation rather than by inflation. Either way the people end up with less purchasing power, but the tax way, at least, is out in the open and usually is related to ability to pay. The inflation way is easier to cover up and its impact has no relationship to ability to stand the impact.

The evidence of the bankrupt economic policies of the present administration is abundant:

The cost-of-living index increased from 214.6 in 1960 to 247.6 in April of this year. Living costs in April were climbing at the fastest rate in 17 years.

The continued decrease in the purchasing power of our dollar from 47 cents—based on a 1939 dollar valued at 100 cents—in 1960 to 40 cents today.

The inflation-spawned increase in interest rates to the highest level since the Civil War.

The continued increase in the national debt, which has jumped from $290 billion at the end of 1960 to $350 billion as of last April 30.

The continued increase in the annual interest on this national debt, which has risen from the $9.2 billion 7 years ago to $14.4 billion.

The 7-year Federal budget deficits of more than $54 billion.

This is a tragic record. The evidence fully supports the indictment of mismanagement.

There is much talk about increases in our gross national product. These should be evaluated in light of the portion of these increases representing inflation—as distinguished from "real dollar" increases in GNP. A few years ago, 20 percent of the Nation's increased GNP consisted of inflation. By 1966, 47 percent of the increased GNP consisted of inflation. Last year, 60 percent of the increased GNP consisted of inflation.

Inflation has had a disastrous impact on the agricultural sector of our economy. In the last 7 years, farmers' costs of production have gone up over $8 billion. Net income has increased $2.9 billion, but when the inflation is shrunk out of 1967 dollars to reduce them to 1960 dollar equivalents, net agricultural income is back to where it was in 1960. Last March, the U.S. Department of Agriculture reported that inflation will take more than $1 billion from farmers' income during 1968 alone.

Inflation hurts wage earners—whether union members or not—by reducing the real income of their wages and the value of their retirement pensions. Real income of wage earners today is lower than a year ago, which means that cost-of-living inflation has more than offset wage increases. One cannot blame the wage earner for seeking more dollars in his pay envelope when all of his dollars are worth less; but this is tending to push up prices in the face of tightening competition from imports and tougher competition in our overseas markets. Our favorable balance of trade has fallen from $6.7 billion in 1964 to $3.8 billion in 1967, and this has contributed to the worsening balance-of-payments deficit, which was $3.6 billion last year. There is no indication that the favorable balance-of-trade picture is going to get better while inflation continues, and it could grow worse.

During the last 7 years, the cost of a college education has gone up over $100 a year in public colleges; still more in private colleges.

A home costing $12,000 in 1960 cost $16,500 in 1967, and higher mortgage interest rates will add considerably more.

During the last 7 years, the cost of maintaining a family of husband, wife, and two children has jumped over $900 on an average.

Our older citizens have been deeply hurt by inflation. In 1965, Congress passed a 7-percent social security pension increase—the first since 1958. In the interim, inflation reduced the value of social security pensions by $1.5 billion, and even with the 7-percent increase, pensions were not worth as much as they were in 1958. Since the 7-percent increase went into effect, inflation has taken another $2.3 billion away from the value of these pensions. The new 13-percent increase, which went into effect last February, will be rapidly destroyed if the present rate of inflation continues.

I ask unanimous consent to have included in the RECORD at this point in my remarks a table which shows how the face amount of social security pensions has been increased at various times by the Congress while, as a result of inflation, the value of these pensions has practically stood still.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE I.—SHOWING INCREASES IN SOCIAL SECURITY PENSIONS LEGISLATED BY CONGRESS IN ORDER TO ENABLE PENSIONERS TO MAINTAIN THEIR PURCHASING POWER IN VIEW OF DECLINE IN VALUE OF THE DOLLAR

[The example is a worker having a $3,000 annual income base, single at retirement and "fully covered." The 1940 year figure is for a worker retired under the 1935 act. Other figures are for a worker retired under successive acts for years indicated.]

Year	Annual pension	Purchasing power of dollar compared to 1939 dollar worth 100 cents (in cents)	Real value of pension
1940	$499. 20	99. 2	$495. 20
1950	870. 00	57. 8	502. 86
1952	930. 00	52. 3	486. 39
1954	1, 062. 00	51. 7	549. 05
1958	1, 140. 00	48. 1	548. 34
1965	1, 220. 00	44. 0	537. 00
1966	1, 220. 00	42. 7	510. 94
1967	1, 220. 00	41. 6	507. 52
April 1968	1, 367. 00	40. 4	552. 27

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, as I have been pointing out for several years, the most meaningful way to make the average person aware of what cost-of-living inflation has been doing to him is to reduce it to a sales tax equivalent. A sales tax and cost-of-living inflation have a similar impact. For example, inflation of 3 percent would cut the purchasing power of a dollar by 3 percent; and a sales tax of 3 percent would take 3 percent out of each dollar spent, with the same result—just that much less purchasing power remaining. Both are regressive in that each bears most heavily on the low-income, large-family, and fixed-income groups.

Since the Democratic administration took over the reins in 1961, along with control over both Houses of Congress, there has been an average annual cost-of-living inflation of nearly $15 billion. This has had an impact on the citizens of the various States equivalent to a sales tax ranging from 2 to 10 percent, depending on the relative personal income of each particular State. During 1967, cost-of-living inflation amounted to over $25 billion. This had an impact on the citizens of the various States equivalent to a sales tax ranging up to 18 percent, depending on the relative personal income of each particular State.

I ask unanimous consent to have included in the RECORD at this point in my remarks two tables: one showing the average yearly loss of purchasing power due to cost-of-living inflation from 1961 through 1967, allocated among the various States, with the allocated amount shown in sales tax equivalents; the other showing the same information with respect to cost-of-living inflation for 1967. Appropriate explanatory notes are also set forth in these tables.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE II.—COST OF LIVING INFLATION IN THE 50 STATES, 1961–67, UNDER ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS CONTROLLED BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Based on information provided by the President's Council of Economic Advisers, the U.S. Treasury, and the Department of Commerce, the following figures show the average extent of inflation for each of the 50 States for 1961–67, together with the amount of additional sales tax which would be required in each of these States to recoup such an amount.

State	Average yearly cost of living inflation, 1961–67	Sales tax equivalent (percent)	Type of tax
Alabama	$177, 840, 000	4. 1	General sales.
Alaska	22, 896, 000	8. 0	Retail sales.[1]
Arizona	101, 520, 000	2. 9	General sales.
Arkansas	95, 328, 000	3. 2	Do.
California	1, 626, 480, 000	4. 5	Do.
Colorado	141, 408, 000	4. 2	Do.
Connecticut	262, 224, 000	6. 3	Do.
Delaware	44, 784, 000	6. 2	Retail sales.
Florida	388, 944, 000	3. 8	General sales.
Georgia	262, 800, 000	3. 2	Do.
Hawaii	55, 872, 000	2. 1	Do.
Idaho	42, 192, 000	3. 8	Do.
Illinois	941, 472, 000	4. 6	Do.
Indiana	375, 984, 000	2. 4	Do.
Iowa	197, 568, 000	3. 4	Do.
Kansas	158, 832, 000	4. 0	Do.
Kentucky	176, 544, 000	3. 9	Do.
Louisiana	207, 648, 000	2. 8	Do.
Maine	59, 040, 000	4. 3	Do.
Maryland	293, 328, 000	6. 4	Do.
Massachusetts	438, 768, 000	10. 2	Do.
Michigan	675, 792, 000	3. 9	Do.
Minnesota	258, 480, 000	5. 6	Retail sales.[1]
Mississippi	103, 104, 000	2. 8	General sales.
Missouri	319, 536, 000	3. 7	Do.
Montana	44, 784, 000	4. 6	Retail sales.[1]
Nebraska	97, 776, 000	4. 6	Do.
Nevada	37, 296, 000	3. 1	General sales.
New Hampshire	47, 952, 000	5. 4	Retail sales.[1]
New Jersey	588, 816, 000	8. 4	General sales.
New Mexico	57, 168, 000	2. 5	Do.
New York	1, 585, 152, 000	5. 2	Do.
North Carolina	279, 504, 000	4. 1	Do.
North Dakota	36, 720, 000	4. 7	Do.
Ohio	779, 328, 000	6. 3	Do.
Oklahoma	151, 776, 000	4. 0	Do.
Oregon	141, 552, 000	5. 2	Retail sales.[1]
Pennsylvania	849, 744, 000	6. 6	General sales.
Rhode Island	67, 536, 000	6. 8	Do.
South Carolina	130, 608, 000	3. 4	Do.
South Dakota	39, 888, 000	3. 8	Do.
Tennessee	213, 984, 000	3. 4	Do.
Texas	681, 840, 000	5. 2	Do.
Utah	62, 064, 000	3. 3	Do.
Vermont	26, 784, 000	5. 0	Retail sales.[1]
Virginia	292, 176, 000	6. 7	General sales.
Washington	249, 264, 000	2. 4	Do.
West Virginia	97, 632, 000	2. 3	Do.
Wisconsin	306, 432, 000	9. 4	Do.
Wyoming	21, 888, 000	2. 7	Do.

[1] Percentages for these 8 States are based on assumption of a simple retail sales tax on lumber, building materials, hardware and farm equipment dealers; general merchandise group stores; foodstores; automotive dealers; gasoline service stations; apparel and accessory stores; furniture, home furnishings, and equipment stores; eating and drinking places; drugstores; proprietary stores; other retail stores; and nonstore retailers.

SOURCES

(1) *1961–1967 cost of living inflation.*—This was obtained from the January 1968 *Economic Indicators*, Joint Economic Committee, p. 2. "Total gross national product in 1958 prices" for 1966 was subtracted from "Total gross national product in 1958 prices" for 1967. This remainder was subtracted from the difference between "Total gross national product" for 1966 and "Total gross national product" for 1967. The remainder, $25.2 billion, represents cost of living inflation for the United States for 1967, expressed in dollars. One should bear in mind that gross national product is something of a misnomer in that it includes the sum total of *purchases* during a period by the various levels of government, personal consumption *expenditures*, and private *investment*.

Similar remainders on non-inflated GNP growth statistics, that is GNP figures all measured in 1958 prices, were subtracted from GNP growth figures in current, inflated, dollars for the years 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, and 1966. The yearly dollar value of cost of living inflation thus calculated was:

	Billion
1961	$6. 8
1962	7. 5
1963	8. 9
1964	11. 9
1965	15. 6
1966	25. 0
1967	25. 2
Total	100. 9

Thus the total amount of cost of living inflation expressed in dollars for the period 1961 to 1967 was $100.9 billion, an average of approximately $14.4 billion per year. To assign each of the fifty States its appropriate share of this inflation, the *Survey of Current Business*, April 1968, was used. Page 13, table 3, contains "Total Personal Income,' by States and Regions." Personal income for the United States was divided into each State total which gave each State a percentage, in most cases three significant figures, which represents State share of Total National Personal Income. The average cost of living inflation ($14.4 billion) was then multiplied by this percentage. The result appears under the title *Average Yearly Cost of Living Inflation, 1961–1967.*

The State percentages of National Personal Income are: Rhode Island .469%, Connecticut 1.821%, New York 11.008%, New Jersey 4.089%, Pennsylvania 5.901%, Delaware .311%, Maryland 2.037%, District of Columbia .556%, Michigan 4.693%, Ohio 5.412%, Indiana 2.611%, Illinois 6.538%, Wisconsin 2.128%, Minnesota 1.795%, Iowa 1.372%, Missouri 2.219%, North Dakota .255%, South Dakota .277%, Nebraska .679%, Kansas 1.103%, Virginia 2.029%, West Virginia .678%, Kentucky 1.226%, Tennessee 1.486%, North Carolina 1.941%, South Carolina .907%, Georgia, 1.825%, Florida 2.701%, Alabama 1.235%, Mississippi .716%, Louisiana 1.442%, Arkansas .602%, Oklahoma 1.054%, Texas 4.735%, New Mexico .397%, Arizona .705%, Montana .311%, Idaho .293%, Wyoming .152%, Colorado .982%, Utah .431%, Washington 1.731%, Oregon .983%, Nevada .259%, California 11.295%, Alaska .159%, Hawaii .388%, Maine .410%, New Hampshire .333%, Vermont .186%, Massachusetts 3.047%.

(2) *New taxes needed to recoup average 1961–1967 loss from cost of living inflation.*—This was obtained in cases where State sales and use taxes are in existence from "State Tax Collections in 1967," U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Government Finances, GF No. 16. Additional State taxes needed to recoup money lost through cost of living inflation in the average year 1961–1967 were determined as follows: "Average Yearly Cost of Living Inflation 1961–1967" multiplied by "State General Sales Tax Rate" was divided by "State General Sales Tax Collections for 1967" for each of the States. In each case, this gave the additional tax necessary to recoup money lost through this inflation.

For the eight States which had no Sales, Selective Sales, Gross Receipts or Use Taxes as of June 30, 1967, a generalization was made based on information from the *Statistical Abstract* of the United States for 1967. Page 790 of the *Abstract* lists sales for "Retail Trade Establishments by State" for the eleven groups of retail trades utilized. Dividing "Average Yearly Cost of Living Inflation 1961–1967" for each State by "Retail Sales" gave the percentage tax rate which would be necessary, if imposed on retail sales, to raise the average dollar amount of cost of living inflation incurred by that State in 1961–1967.

(3) *Accuracy.*—A degree of error is possible in the figures shown due to the law of significant figures. Retail trade statistics vary from a high of six significant figures to a low of four significant figures, while personal income statistics vary from five significant figures to three significant figures. Since average cost of living inflation for the United States for 1961–1967 is in excess of $10 billion—eleven significant figures—these statistics are useful principally as a general illustration of the awesome scope of cost of living inflation, State by State, across the nation. They do not include another $87.4 billion cost of inflation, 1961–1967, representing reduction in value of savings, demand deposits, currency, life insurance and pension fund reserves, Government and corporate bonds, due to erosion of the purchasing power of the dollar.

TABLE III.—COST OF LIVING INFLATION IN THE 50 STATES FOR 1967 UNDER ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS CONTROLLED BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Based on information provided by the President's Council of Economic Advisers, the U.S. Treasury, and the Department of Commerce, the following figures show the extent of cost of living inflation for each of the 50 States during 1967, together with the amount of additional sales tax which would be required in each of these States to recoup such an amount]

State	1967 cost of living inflation	Sales tax equivalent (percent)	Type of tax
Alabama	$311, 220, 000	7. 2	General sales.
Alaska	40, 068, 000	14. 1	Retail sales.[1]
Arizona	177, 660, 000	5. 1	General sales.
Arkansas	166, 824, 000	5. 6	Do.
California	2, 846, 340, 000	8. 0	Do.
Colorado	247, 464, 000	7. 5	Do.
Connecticut	458, 892, 000	11. 0	Do.
Delaware	78, 372, 000	10. 9	Retail sales.[1]
Florida	680, 652, 000	6. 7	General sales.
Georgia	459, 900, 000	5. 7	Do.
Hawaii	97, 776, 000	3. 7	Do.
Idaho	73, 836, 000	6. 7	Do.
Illinois	1, 647, 576, 000	8. 0	Do.
Indiana	657, 972, 000	4. 3	Do.
Iowa	345, 744, 000	6. 0	Do.
Kansas	277, 956, 000	7. 0	Do.
Kentucky	308, 952, 000	6. 8	Do.
Louisiana	363, 384, 000	4. 9	Do.
Maine	103, 320, 000	7. 5	Do.
Maryland	513, 324, 000	11. 3	Do.
Massachusetts	767, 844, 000	17. 9	Do.
Michigan	1, 182, 636, 000	6. 9	Do.
Minnesota	452, 340, 000	9. 9	Retail sales.[1]
Mississippi	180, 432, 000	4. 9	General sales.
Missouri	559, 188, 000	6. 5	Do.
Montana	78, 372, 000	8. 1	Retail sales.[1]
Nebraska	171, 108, 000	8. 1	Do.
Nevada	65, 268, 000	5. 5	General sales.
New Hampshire	83, 916, 000	9. 5	Retail sales.[1]
New Jersey	1, 030, 428, 000	14. 8	General sales.
New Mexico	100, 044, 000	4. 4	Do.
New York	2, 774, 016, 000	9. 1	Do.
North Carolina	489, 132, 000	7. 2	Do.
North Dakota	64, 260, 000	8. 2	Do.
Ohio	1, 363, 824, 000	11. 1	Do.
Oklahoma	265, 608, 000	7. 0	Do.
Oregon	247, 716, 000	9. 2	Retail sales.[1]
Pennsylvania	1, 487, 052, 000	11. 6	General sales.
Rhode Island	118, 188, 000	12. 0	Do.
South Carolina	228, 564, 000	6. 0	Do.
South Dakota	69, 804, 000	6. 7	Do.
Tennessee	374, 472, 000	5. 9	Do.
Texas	1, 193, 220, 000	9. 1	Do.
Utah	108, 612, 000	5. 8	Do.
Vermont	46, 872, 000	8. 7	Retail sales.[1]
Virginia	511, 308, 000	11. 7	General sales.
Washington	436, 212, 000	4. 3	Do.
West Virginia	170, 856, 000	4. 0	Do.
Wisconsin	536, 256, 000	16. 4	Do.
Wyoming	38, 304, 000	4. 7	Do.

[1] Percentages for these 8 States are based on assumption of a simple retail sales tax on lumber, building materials, hardware and farm equipment dealers; general merchandise group stores; food stores; automotive dealers; gasoline service stations, apparel and accessory stores; furniture, home furnishings and equipment stores; eating and drinking places; drugstores; proprietary stores; other retail stores; and nonstore retailers.

SOURCES

(1) *1967 cost of living inflation.*—This was obtained from the January 1968 *Economic Indicators*, Joint Economic Committee, p. 2. "Total gross national product in 1958 prices" for 1966 was subtracted from "Total gross national product in 1958 prices" for 1967. This remainder was subtracted from the difference between "Total gross national product" for 1966 and "Total gross national product" for 1967. The remainder, $25.2 billion, represents cost of living inflation for the United States for 1967, expressed in dollars. One should bear in mind that gross national product is something of a misnomer in that it includes the sum total of *purchases* during a period by the various levels of government, personal consumption *expenditures*, and private *investment*.

To assign each of the fifty States its appropriate share of this inflation, the *Survey of Current Business*, April 1968, was used. Page 13, table 3, contains "Total Personal Income, by States and Regions." Personal income for the United States was divided into each State total which gave each State a percentage, in most cases three significant figures, which represents State share of Total National Personal Income. This percentage was then multiplied by $25.2 billion. The total appears under the title, *1967 Cost of Living Inflation*.

The State percentages of National Personal Income are: Rhode Island .469%, Connecticut 1.821%, New York 11.008%, New Jersey 4.089%, Pennsylvania 5.901%, Delaware .311%, Maryland 2.037%, District of Columbia, .556%, Michigan 4.693%, Ohio 5.412%, Indiana 2.611%, Illinois 6.538%, Wisconsin 2.128%, Minnesota 1.795%, Iowa 1.372%, Missouri 2.219%, North Dakota .255%, South Dakota .277%, Nebraska .679%, Kansas 1.103%, Virginia 2.029%, West Virginia .678%, Kentucky 1.226%, Tennessee 1.486%, North Carolina, 1.941%, South Carolina .907%, Georgia 1.825%, Florida 2.701%, Alabama 1.235%, Mississippi .716%, Lousiana 1.442%, Arkansas .662%, Oklahoma 1.054%, Texas 4.735%, New Mexico .397%, Arizona .705%, Montana .311%, Idaho .293%, Wyoming .152%, Colorado .982%, Utah .431%, Washington 1.731%, Oregon .983%, Nevada .259%, California 11.259%, Alaska .159%, Hawaii .388%, Maine .410%, New Hampshire .333%, Vermont .186%, Massachusetts 3.047%.

(2) *New taxes to recoup 1967 loss from cost of living inflation.*—This was obtained, in cases where State sales and use taxes are in existence, from "State Tax Collections in 1967," U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Government Finances, GF No. 16. Additional State taxes needed to recoup money lost through cost of living inflation in 1967 were determined as follows: "State General Sales Tax Rate" multiplied by "Cost of Living Inflation in 1967" was divided by "State General Sales Tax Collections for 1967" for each of the States. In each case, this gave the additional tax necessary to recoup money lost through cost of living inflation.

For the eight States which had no Sales, Selective Sales, Gross Receipts or Use Taxes as of June 30, 1967, a generalization was made based on information from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1967*. Page 790 of the *Abstract* lists sales for "Retail Establishments by State" for the eleven groups of retail trades utilized. Dividing "1967 Cost of Living Inflation" for each State by Retail Sales gave the percentage tax rate which would be necessary, if imposed on retail sales, to raise the dollar amount of cost of living inflation incurred by that State in 1967.

(3) *Accuracy.*—A degree of error is possible in the figures shown due to the law of significant figures. When added up, State percentages of Total U.S. Personal Income equal 99.973 percent. The error, in other words, is .00027, well within tolerable standards. It should be noted that these figures are based on the $25.2 billion cost of living inflation for calendar year 1967 and do not include an additional $23 billion cost of inflation representing reduction in value of savings, demand deposits, currency, life insurance and pension fund reserves, government and corporate bonds due to erosion of the purchasing power of the dollar.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, these tables, based on statistics from Federal Government sources, dramatically underscore the impact of cost-of-living inflation on the people of the United States.

Only when the administration stops spending more money than it can persuade the Congress to collect from the taxpayers will this be stopped.

Only when the Congress asserts its independence from the executive branch of the Federal Government and matches its appropriations with our revenue collections will this be stopped.

With a view to showing the reach of inflation, I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the RECORD a further table which sets forth the principal areas of inflationary impact due to the declining purchasing power of our dollar.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE IV.—INFLATION RECORD [1]

[In billions]

	Total	Cost of living	Demand deposits and currency	Savings accounts, banks	Savings accounts, other	Pension fund reserves	U.S. Government securities	State and local government securities	Corporate bonds	Life insurance reserves
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
All areas:										
1961	$9. 8	$6. 8	$0. 4	$0. 4	$0. 6	$0. 5	$0. 4	$0. 2	$0. 04	$0. 5
1962	14. 2	7. 5	. 8	. 8	1. 4	1. 3	. 8	. 4	. 08	1. 1
1963	18. 7	8. 9	1. 2	1. 3	2. 1	1. 8	1. 2	. 6	. 10	1. 5
1964	19. 0	11. 9	. 8	1. 0	1. 6	1. 3	. 8	. 4	. 05	1. 1
1965	29. 2	15. 6	1. 6	1. 9	3. 1	2. 7	1. 5	. 7	. 09	2. 0
1966	49. 0	25. 0	2. 8	3. 5	5. 5	4. 9	2. 5	1. 2	. 15	3. 4
1967	48. 5	25. 2	2. 6	3. 5	5. 3	4. 7	2. 5	1. 2	. 17	3. 3
Total	188. 4	100. 9	10. 2	12. 4	19. 6	17. 2	9. 7	4. 7	. 68	12. 9
3 months 1968	19. 3	9. 9	1. 0	1. 5	2. 1	2. 0	. 9	. 5	. 07	1. 3
Total	207. 7	110. 8	11. 2	13. 9	21. 7	19. 2	10. 6	5. 2	. 75	14. 2

[1] Sources: Item (1), Economic Indicators, President's Council of Economic Advisers; items (2) through (9), Economic Division Library of Congress, based on Bureau of Labor Statistics and Federal Reserve Bulletin (February 1968).

THE POOR PEOPLE AND THE FACTS OF LIFE

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, in its lead editorial yesterday, the Washington Sunday Star commented:

No one needs to be told that the impoverishment of millions of Americans is the result of years of neglect, or that there is still a very long way to go before poverty is eliminated. But the impression so pervasive in many of the Poor People's campaign lead-

> ers' statements to the effect that the poor are starting from a zero point—that little or nothing of real consequence is now being done—is entirely fallacious.

There is much truth in that comment. To leave with the general public—indeed, the entire world, for we are being judged by other nations on the basis of the unrest now settling on this country—the impression that nothing is being done or has been done to alleviate conditions of poverty in this Nation is a disservice to those who have been concerned with the problem for so many years.

Yet, if one were to take recent statements at face value, the Federal Government, including the Congress, has been most unfeeling and unconcerned. This impression afforded great credence in the past year or so, is unfortunately gaining even greater momentum in recent weeks.

But if one were to examine the flow of Federal funds to those in need, one would find that the Federal Government has been quite concerned and has been far from indifferent. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare recently pointed out that 20 percent of our gross national product is being spent for health, education, and welfare—much directed at the poor.

Last year, a total of $21 billion was spent on programs and aids designed solely to benefit the poor. This $21 billion included $2 billion for education; $1 billion for work and training programs; $3.2 billion for health programs; $12.8 billion in cash benefit payments; and $2 billion in other social welfare and economic services.

This year, the total will go up to $24.6 billion and, in 1969, to $27.7 billion.

On a monthly average basis, Federal public assistance grants to States and localities will help provide aid for more than 8.8 million of our poorest citizens, including 4.6 million children.

Community action agencies in our Nation's urban and rural communities will not only involve the disadvantaged in self-help activities, but will provide needed services to about 9 million people.

Intensive preschool education will be provided 652,000 underprivileged children under project Headstart, a Federal program. Follow Through federal program assistance will be extended to another 89,000 children.

Some 50 or more neighborhood health centers will be in operation next year to provide comprehensive health care to the poor.

This demonstrates that the Federal Government has not been cold and indifferent to those in need. It is not to say we are doing enough, only that the Government cannot and should not be labeled as heartless and unconcerned. It is not to say that our welfare and poverty programs should not be restructured so that the great sums of money involved are spent more efficiently and effectively; this should and must be done if the lot of the poor is to be bettered and a fair and full return is to be obtained from the taxpayers' dollar.

Mr. President, the Sunday Star editorial to which I referred earlier also said:

> It is hard to tell a man who is hungry or homeless—or militant—to be patient. It is difficult to explain to such a man that it is not sufficient for the government merely to act, but that it also is necessary to act wisely. It is not easy for him to accept the fact that drastic legislative change requires time.

Then the editorial writer put his finger on the heart of the matter, the area which so few take into consideration, when he wrote:

> Yet these are the hard facts of the situation. They are the ways in which meaningful advances are achieved in our society, and they are the only ways.
>
> The patterns of progress and change now in motion justify a great deal of optimism, not discouragement, among the poor. There is assuredly a place for continued pressure on their part to expedite the process. But there also are recognizable limits to rational protest and pressure, which can be passed only at the cost of enormous waste, with tragic consequences for us all.

With deep, multibillion-dollar budget deficits of the Federal Government and the inflation and record high interest rates they spawn with particularly tragic impact on the poor and underprivileged, we are at that "recognizable limit" now. Threats or actions of more militancy, of disruptive deeds to the orderly process of government, of "burning the cities" if immediate action is not forthcoming—these will only hamper progress and produce conditions of anarchy. Such conditions must not be permitted to develop.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "The Poor People and the Facts of Life," published in the Washington Sunday Star of June 2, 1968, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Sunday Star, June 2, 1968]

THE POOR PEOPLE AND THE FACTS OF LIFE

At the White House the other day, President Johnson hailed the Senate's approval of a $2.5-billion housing bill as a step which has moved the promise of adequate housing "a little closer to reality for millions of poor people."

At approximately the same time, in the ankle-deep mud of the poor people's encampment on the Mall, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy was telling reporters almost precisely the same thing.

These parallel incidents would be worth noting if only because there have been so few expressions of this kind of accord since the Poor People's Campaign began here three weeks ago. Actually, however, the progress of the housing bill has a good deal more significance than that, for it suggests several points which the participants of the poor people's march should understand fully in terms of the goals they seek to achieve.

No one needs to be told that the impoverishment of millions of Americans is the result of years of neglect, or that there is still a very long way to go before poverty is eliminated. But the impression so pervasive in many of the campaign leaders' statements to the effect that the poor are starting from a zero point—that little or nothing of real consequence is now being done—is entirely fallacious.

The fact is, first, that proposals of substantial magnitude to alleviate the problems of the poor already are in the legislative mill. Perhaps the housing bill, which stands a good chance of passage this year, is the best case in point.

The eventual goal of this measure, oriented largely to the needs of the poor, is to replace, over the next decade, 6 million substandard dwellings—or roughly six times the volume of low-cost housing the nation has produced during the last 30 years. The bill proposes, for the first time a new federal subsidy program to help low and moderate-income families purchase their own homes. It vastly expands rental subsidies. It seeks effective financial incentives for the development of new towns, where it is hoped that many residents of urban ghettos may find not only decent housing but jobs. It attempts to swing the emphasis of federal housing programs dramatically from public effort to a greater involvement of private enterprise.

These are meaningful innovations, and they are reflected as well in pending legislative proposals in the fields of employment, health and education. Beyond the specifics of these proposals, however, something else new and different has emerged: There are signs today of a growing political will to advance these measures, and a greater determination in and out of government to find more effective substitutes for the old, inadequate ways of doing business.

On Capitol Hill, no less than 60 Republican members of the House are urging the creation of a "Human Renewal Fund." Its purpose: To curtail low-priority expenditures and to divert, this year, some $2.5 billion of the savings directly to the relief of urgent "human" problems.

Just a few weeks ago, the White House created a federally supported Urban Institute, a sort of urban "think tank" which will put to work the best talent that can be found to evaluate existing programs and to evolve new approaches to the problems of cities.

In the private sector, such groups as the Urban Coalition, headed by former HEW Secretary John Gardner, are in the process of developing their own campaigns of research and pressure in behalf of answers to social problems.

These developments, considered alone, are hardly earth-shattering in their importance. But they reflect, as a whole, an atmosphere of urgency in regard to the problems of the poor which is brand new, and immensely encouraging.

The essential strategy of the Poor People's Campaign is of course to try to step up the attack—to exploit this sense of national urgency in the hope of obtaining dramatic, immediate new gains. If there is merit in this approach, however, there also are problems. The constant, dominant danger is that the present pattern of progress may be undermined by acts of violence or irresponsibility. Senseless incidents like the encounter at the Supreme Court building last Wednesday have not helped the just cause of the poor. A continuation of such acts would inevitably have disastrous effects.

It is also high time, it seems to us, for the march leaders to begin conditioning their followers to the plain truth that the positive, discernible gains which can realistically be anticipated in the days and the weeks ahead are extremely limited.

To be sure, the marchers have won an agreement from Secretary Freeman, their primary target thus far, to increase the distribution of food surpluses to counties throughout the nation. The Agriculture Department, moreover, is a legitimate and vulnerable target of protest, for the hunger which exists in this nation in the midst of food surpluses is an intolerable anachronism which must be corrected.

The point is, however, that the real accomplishments in this area, as in others, will not be administrative concessions. They require money, in greater volume than is now available. They also require time, for the truly significant legislative advances in social reform invariably pass through evolutionary stages of legislative and public acceptance.

A recognition of this time requirement is most pertinent of all, perhaps, in terms of the proposal nearest the heart of the Poor

People's Campaign—a program of guaranteed annual income for the poor to replace and expand the traditional forms of public welfare.

This concept, advanced in a seemingly endless variety of forms, is attracting support from liberals and conservatives alike, most recently from 1,000 economists affiliated with some 125 of the nation's universities. The subject is fast becoming the dominant social issue of our time, and we wholeheartedly welcome the coming debate. The finding of more effective alternatives for the inadequacies of traditional relief programs is long overdue.

But it would be a hoax to lead anyone to believe that legislative action along these lines is imminent. The Heineman Commission, created by the President to evaluate the complexities of the various income-maintenance proposals, will not even report its findings until a year from now. No affirmative action is conceivable this year, and the prospects during 1969 also are dubious.

It is hard to tell a man who is hungry or homeless—or militant—to be patient. It is difficult to explain to such a man that it is not sufficient for the government merely to act, but that it also is necessary to act wisely. It is not easy for him to accept the fact that drastic legislative change requires time.

Yet these are the hard facts of the situation. They are the ways in which meaningful advances are achieved in our society, and they are the only ways.

The patterns of progress and change now in motion justify a great deal of optimism, not discouragement, among the poor. There is assuredly a place for continued pressure on their part to expedite the process. But there also are recognizable limits to rational protest and pressure, which can be passed only at the cost of enormous waste, with tragic consequences for us all.

The **ACTING PRESIDENT** pro tempore. Does the Senator from Iowa yield the floor

Mr. **MILLER**. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

GOVERNMENT REPORTS SHOULD NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE RELEASE

Mr. **WILLIAMS** of Delaware. Mr. President, early this year the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders—a Commission appointed by the President—issued its report on riots.

In releasing this report this Commission followed a rather unusual practice by withholding the publication of the official report 30 days and in the meantime furnished the New York Times and Bantam Books, Inc., an advance copy, whereby they were able to place on the newsstands a complete copy of the report 30 days in advance of the official report. This, in effect, gave the publisher exclusive rights to a Government publication.

Questioning the propriety of such a procedure, I submitted an inquiry to the Comptroller General, and on May 21, 1968, I received his reply wherein he criticized the procedure.

I quote an excerpt from the Comptroller General's letter:

> We do believe it inappropriate that a single private publisher should be given the economic advantage of making public the contents of a Federally financed document of wide public interest. . . .
>
> The report was released through Bantam ostensibly because the Commission felt that the significance of the report and the widespread interest in it made it unreasonable to delay release until the Government Printing Office edition could be completed. We are not aware of the basis for the Commission's determination nor do we have any basis for questioning the necessity for or reasonableness of GPO's delay. But given that circumstance including the conclusion that it was in the public interest to disseminate the report content on an immediate basis it seems, despite the absence of applicable statute, that fundamental standards of fairness and propriety require that no single publisher should have been granted a pecuniary advantage without fully offering the same opportunity to others.
>
> We believe that there should have been a public announcement of the Commission's reasons and desire for a publication of its report and full opportunity afforded to all publishers interested in meeting the Commission's requirements. If for any reason it would not have been practical to proceed in such manner, the proper alternative would have been to seek whatever solutions were possible through the Government Printing Office rather than to favor a single publisher.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my letter of March 20, as addressed to the Honorable Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States, and his reply thereto of May 21, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., March 20, 1968.

Hon. ELMER B. STAATS,
Comptroller General of the United States,
General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STAATS: The Commission appointed by the President recently issued its report on riots. The day after the report was released Bantam Books brought out the complete report for the New York Times under their copyright. Thus no newspaper or other media could reprint it until such time as the United States Government Printing Office put out its edition, when it would become public domain and could be reprinted. Until that time the New York Times and Bantam could sell it exclusively. In the meantime, however, it was on every news stand in the nation and was a best seller.

In view of the fact that Congress was in recess almost a week during this immediate period it would seem that the Government Printing Office could have produced its reprint and thereby made it available to the public with the result that any sales price would automatically revert to the United States Treasury instead of to the New York Times and the Bantam Books, which had an exclusive monopoly.

I would appreciate a report first, as to the propriety of a Commission which was appointed by the President and financed with Government funds to make available to any private publication an advance copy of its report whereby it could be printed and ready for distribution on the exact hour that its official report was released to Congress and the public. Second, would it not have been possible for the Government Printing Office to have had its report ready for prompt distribution rather than holding back several weeks in what appears to have been an effort to protect the sales of a private enterprise?

Yours sincerely,
JOHN J. WILLIAMS.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., May 21, 1968.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: By letter of March 20, 1968, you raised several issues concerning publication by New York Times and Bantam Books, Inc., under a New York Times copyright of the recent report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

You point out that the day after the report was released, Bantam brought out the complete version and that since the official United States Government Printing Office edition did not appear until some time later, Bantam was thus able to take exclusive advantage of the market in the interim.

In view of the fact that Congress was in recess almost a week during this immediate period, you suggest that the Government Printing Office could have produced its reprint and thereby made it available to the public with the result that any sales price would automatically revert to the United States Treasury instead of to New York Times-Bantam, which had exclusive monopoly.

You request a report as to the propriety of a Commission, appointed by the President and financed with Government funds, to make available to any private publication an advance copy of its report whereby it could be printed and be ready for distribution "on the exact hour" that the official report was released to the Congress and the public. And you ask whether it would not have been possible for the Government Printing Office to have had its report ready for prompt distribution rather than holding back several weeks in what appears to have been an effort to protect sales of a private enterprise.

Government Printing Office records show that representatives of the Commission and of the General Services Administration, the requisitioning agency, first met with GPO officials on November 14, 1967, and discussed the style, format, and final delivery date of the report. During the latter part of February 1968 GSA requisitioned the printing of 2,000 advance copies of the report for distribution to the President, members of the Cabinet, the Congress and the press. A letter, dated March 1, 1968, in GPO files, addressed to the Congress from the Commission, indicates the Commission did make such distribution on March 1, 1968. The letter advised that, "The release date of the report is 6:30 p.m. (E.S.T.), Saturday, March 2, 1968." The letter further stated: "Copies of the official printed version should be available in about thirty days. An inexpensive commercial edition (New York Times-Bantam) will be published next week; we have arranged to have copies sent to you." GPO officials told us that the commercial version was printed from the advance report.

Thus, GPO could and did print the advance version prior to the printing of the report by Bantam Books, Inc. However, according to GPO officials, GPO was instructed by GSA that the advance report was for official use only. In this respect, GPO officials advised it is their policy not to distribute matter for public use that has been designated by the requisitioner for official use only. Therefore, distribution was not made to the general public.

Government Printing Office records show that printing of the final or official version of the report was approved on March 29, 1968, and delivery thereof started on April 3, 1968. Based on the information we obtained during our inquiry into this matter, it appears doubtful if GPO could have accelerated the publication of the final report. For example, GPO records show that the manuscript of the final version of the report was submitted to GPO by the Commission over about a 1-month period (February 23 to March 22, 1968) and the related page proofs required numerous revisions. In this respect, the last page proofs were not returned to GPO until March 29, 1968, or about 1 month after distribution of the advance edition of the report.

You state in yout letter that because Bantam Books brought out the report under copyright, other media could not reprint it until such time as the Government Printing Office edition was released thereby placing the report content in the public domain. This is not entirely accurate. The report itself was in the public domain from the first and could have been safely reprinted by any publisher at any time notwithstanding appearance of the Bantam edition.

The Bantam edition does include pictures and an introduction by Tom Wicker, Washington Correspondent of the New York Times, which were not in the public domain. We do not believe it reasonable to conclude that those in the publishing business are not sufficiently sophisticated to have appreciated their right to publish the report itself as opposed to the pictures and introduction. As a practical matter, however, publication by another firm after Bantam's edition appeared was probably not feasible.

We do believe it inappropriate that a single private publisher should be given the economic advantage of making public the contents of a Federally financed document of wide public interest. In this connection, it has been reported that if publishers other than Bantam had been interested they would have received the same treatment as Bantam. "Washington Daily News" of March 7, 1968.

The report was released through Bantam ostensibly because the Commission felt that the significance of the report and the widespread interest in it made it unreasonable to delay release until the Government Printing Office edition could be completed. We are not aware of the basis for the Commission's determination nor do we have any basis for questioning the necessity for or reasonableness of GPO's delay. But given that circumstance including the conclusion that it was in the public interest to disseminate the report content on an immediate basis it seems, despite the absence of applicable statute, that fundamental standards of fairness and propriety require that no single publisher should have been granted a pecuniary advantage without fully offering the same opportunity to others.

We believe that there should have been a public announcement of the Commission's reasons and desire for a publication of its report and full opportunity afforded to all publishers interested in meeting the Commission's requirements. If for any reason it would not have been practical to proceed in such manner, the proper alternative would have been to seek whatever solutions were possible through the Government Printing Office rather than to favor a single publisher.

Concerning your comment as to loss of income to the United States Treasury because of lowered sales by the Government Printing Office, we would note that it is not a part of GPO's function to profit from sales of documents; and, therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that any loss of sales revenues would be largely offset by corresponding production costs which were not incurred.

In light of the nature of the questions raised, and of the public statements by Commission spokesmen which have been reported, we did not believe it would serve any useful purpose to contact members of the Commission, which is now expired, for purposes of our response.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK H. WEITZEL,
Assistant Comptroller General of the United States.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. What is the pleasure of the Senate?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, notwithstanding rule VIII, that I be permitted to speak out of order.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

IS THIS THE "RIGHT OF PETITION" OR IS IT MOB INTIMIDATION?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the Washington Post on Sunday, June 2, published an article entitled, "Visit by Poor Misses BYRD."

The article stated that "a delegation of about 200 poor people" gathered outside my home on Saturday and said that they "wanted to see the Senator." My wife informed the group that I was working at my office. She was quoted in the newspaper as saying, "You will have to take these things up with him."

The Post article further stated that Robert Fulcher, a "46-year-old man from Bluefield in BYRD's home State, served as spokesman for the delegation." Fulcher, according to the Post article, "described himself as a disabled coal miner living on a State disability pension of $46 a month."

According to the Washington Sunday Star of June 2, Fulcher, who knocked on the door of my home, was told by my wife, "My husband is at work in his office. He will be glad to see you, I am sure. He works all the time for you people. Why don't you go to see him there?"

At this point, according to the Star article, one of the marchers shouted, "I always thought fat cats took Saturdays and Sundays off."

Mr. President, my office was open all day on Friday. I conducted hearings on the District of Columbia budget during the morning and during the afternoon. I was informed in late afternoon that radio broadcasts had announced that a delegation of Appalachian whites connected with the Poor People's Campaign, would picket my home on Saturday.

On Saturday morning I came to my office to work, as I usually do when I am not out of the city. I stayed there until 5 o'clock in the afternoon. I did not leave the office for lunch.

The group from Appalachia was in the city on Friday but made no attempt that day to see me at my office. My office has reported to me that no call was received requesting an appointment for the group. My office normally does not answer the telephone after 12 o'clock noon on Saturdays. I have only a skeleton force in the office on Saturdays. But, on this particular Saturday, a skeleton force continued to answer the telephone until about 3:30 in the afternoon, after which time I personally answered the phone until 5 o'clock.

The phone was answered until 5 o'clock, just to be sure that if the group contacted the office, the visitors would find me there, waiting and willing to receive the delegation.

The demonstrators reached my home shortly before 11:30 in the morning on Saturday, I am told, and left about 20 minutes to 1 p.m. At first, they sang songs and chanted and marched. The Arlington police directed traffic and kept the demonstrators from interfering therewith as much as possible.

When Mr. Fulcher knocked at the door of my home, my wife responded; and, as I have already indicated, she informed Mr. Fulcher that I was not at home but that I was at the office. She went outside the door and told the demonstrators that I would be glad to see them at the office, whereupon they indicated that they wanted me to come to see them at my home.

Mr. Fulcher stated that the group had tried to get my address from my office but that my office would not give out the information. He had reference to my home address, of course. There is no record at my office of anyone's having called to identify himself as a Mr. Fulcher or as a member of the group to ask for my home address.

In any event, I consider one's home to be a place of privacy, and I do not consider it a fitting place to meet with delegations wishing to transact business. Certainly, no reasonable individual would think it a place to attempt to carry on a discussion with a group of 150 to 200 persons. My office is the proper place for appointments; and, in the case of delegations of this size, a committee room can usually be made available for use as a meetingplace.

Many West Virginians call upon me in delegations and as individuals to discuss pertinent matters, and they are always considerate and understanding. They are never in doubt regarding the fact that Capitol Hill is the locus of my office and the proper place to contact me.

I believe I have a reputation of being one of the hardest working Senators on the Hill, and most people know that when the Senate is in session, I am in, or in the vicinity of, the Senate Chamber, attending to my duties there, and that when the Senate is not in session, I am attending to my senatorial duties at my office or in the vicinity thereof.

Of course, I take work home at night, after I finish my work in the office, and I work often in my home until midnight or 1 o'clock in the morning, 2 o'clock in the morning, or 3 o'clock in the morning. I always work on Sundays, at the office and at home. Of course, I do not answer the telephone or see delegations on Sunday at the office, but I do work there and at home on Sundays. I cannot recall having had a Sunday that I could call my own in the past several years. I never have a Sunday that I can call my own and in which I can forget my work and get away for some rest and relaxation with my family.

I have had no parties at my home since I came to Washington 16 years ago. I give 7 days a week, working for my constituents, working for the people. I say this to indicate the diligence with which

I try to approach my duties in behalf of the people of West Virginia, some of whom are poor.

Apparently, this group did not want to see me at my office—which is the place for such meetings—but preferred, rather, to conduct a demonstration and to get the publicity therefrom, in the peace and quiet of the neighborhood area where I live. They had ample opportunity to see me on Friday and Saturday at the office, but, according to their own statements, they made no effort to seek an appointment with me at the office.

Mr. President, the accounts of the demonstration as related in the newspapers do not give the full story. If one reads the newspapers, one might properly get the impression therefrom that the demonstrators came to my home that this was a short, orderly, quiet meeting, and that the group merely sang and marched and presented a petition and went away.

But there was more to it than this.

According to neighbors and other eyewitnesses, the participants in the demonstration at my home did not in the main appear to be poor or to be elderly people. I am told that there were a few—perhaps six or eight—about 10 to 12 years old, that about a half dozen of the demonstrators appeared to be 60 years old, or in their sixties, that about 20 were in the 30- to 40-year bracket, and that the rest appeared to be between the ages of 20 and 25. Several of the participants, I am informed, were not from West Virginia. Some of them were not from Appalachia. About 40 were Negroes, the majority were whites.

I will quote neighbors and other eyewitnesses as they have since related the events to me:

> Some were from Oklahoma and Texas.
>
> Some looked prosperous.
>
> Some were children, and some were teenagers.
>
> There were quite a few young people.
>
> There were very few who were old.
>
> A man said that he was a one-man delegation from California.
>
> It was the darnedest looking bunch of people.
>
> Most of them looked well fed.
>
> Several looked to be very well dressed.
>
> The Mexican-Americans looked poor.
>
> Several of them had good looking cameras, better than I own.
>
> Many were hippie-looking, the long-hair type.

Mr. President, I do not mean to imply that the majority of the demonstrators were not from West Virginia, nor do I mean to imply that some of the demonstrators were not poor. The majority, apparently, were from West Virginia.

The demonstrators came in three chartered buses. There was one "blue" Chevrolet pickup truck carrying a Maryland license. There was a black Ford pickup truck with West Virginia license. I am informed that there was a "white Buick sedan" with West Virginia plates; a Cadillac convertible with District of Columbia plates; a foreign-made car with Richmond, Va., tags; another car, which did not appear to be a marcher's, according to my neighbors, carrying Virginia tags; a foreign-made car carrying District of Columbia license plates; a "blue" car with District of Columbia plates; and two cars with Maryland plates.

There is a possibility, of course, that one or more of these cars were those of onlookers rather than demonstrators.

Another aspect of the demonstration which does not penetrate clearly through the newspaper accounts was the aspect of rudeness on the part of the most of the demonstrators. The following are some of the comments of neighbors and other eyewitnesses:

> The big-mouthed fellow (Fulcher) and the colored man worked them into a frenzy.
>
> I am sure that your constituents down in West Virginia would be ashamed of that kind of riff-raff.
>
> The crowd included a lot of weird looking characters.
>
> They did their shouting and chanting and created quite a circus.
>
> They were loud.
>
> They were chanting and hollering.
>
> They sure were noisy.
>
> They made so much noise.
>
> The leader (Fulcher) was vicious.
>
> They were the kind of people you couldn't talk to.

Mr. President, where similar comments occur, they were made by different observers.

My wife told me it was difficult for her to communicate with the crowd. She said she told them I was at the office, that there was the proper place for delegations to meet with me, and that I would be glad to see the group and talk with them if they would go there.

At one point, when the group indicated they did not want to go to the office but wanted me to come to my home, my wife said she would call me on the telephone and relay the message. She did this, whereupon I responded by telling her to again inform the group that I was at the office and that I would be glad to see them if they wished to come to my office. She so informed the group. My wife told me that everyone seemed to be talking at once and that she had difficulty getting them to listen to her. She said they were loud and boisterous.

In this regard, one neighbor said:

> Mrs. Byrd tried to talk loud but everyone seemed to be talking, yelling, and shouting.

Another eyewitness said:

> They were all throwing questions or talking loudly.

Another observer said:

> They were loud, they all wanted to ask questions, and they didn't listen to answers.

Another person said:

> They didn't care what she (Mrs. Byrd) had to say.

One neighbor said:

> Mrs. Byrd was subjected to bullying conduct and offensive remarks.
>
> One could not but admire Mrs. Byrd for her coolness and courage and dignified bearing. It was in strong contrast to the crude, rude, and boorish conduct of the leaders of the so-called Poor People.

Another neighbor said:

> Three or four were very insulting. She (Mrs. Byrd) said, "I will be glad to listen but I can't understand what you're saying. You're all talking at once. You all just don't want to listen."

Again, with respect to Mr. Fulcher, one neighbor referred to him as follows:

> He was a loud mouth. He was typical of the group. He was the kind of example I connect with this sort of thing. He certainly did not look hungry.

Other remarks reported to me by neighbors and eyewitnesses were as follows:

> Knock the door down.
>
> We want a house like Byrd's got.
>
> We want Byrd food.
>
> We want to eat like Byrd.
>
> He doesn't know what it means to be poor.
>
> Senator Byrd won't cooperate. She (Mrs. Byrd) won't either.
>
> If he (Byrd) doesn't come, we will camp on the lawn.

My son-in-law, Mohammad Fatemi, and his wife, my older daughter, were at the house when the event occurred. My son-in-law was born in Teheran, Iran, which was ancient Persia. One of the demonstrators looked at him and said:

> How come Byrd let you in his house? You are so dark. What nationality are you?

My son-in-law responded by saying:

> Being insolent and insulting won't get you anywhere.

Mr. President (Mr. Moss in the chair), I have taken the time to round out the story concerning the demonstration at my home. I want people to know the character of these demonstrations. I want people to know the kind of treatment to which my wife was subjected as she attempted to talk and communicate with the demonstrators. I want people to know about the behavior of those people who make up these mobs which demonstrate in front of public officials' homes in an attempt apparently to harass and intimidate the occupants of those homes.

I do not say this just because it was my home. I have attempted to relate facts in order that Senators and other interested readers of the RECORD may get a true picture of what is going on in the name of the so-called Poor People's Campaign. The newspapers do not always present the entire picture. I do not say this in criticism of the news media.

I can understand that there is always a problem of newspaper space, and so forth, but the facts should be fully related. In the first place, I do not believe that private homes should be subjected to this kind of thing. In the second place, I think a permit should be required before mobs can carry on such demonstrations. Otherwise they can come at any hour of the day or night. I believe that there is justification for requiring that a permit be requested and granted before such marches and demonstrations are allowed to take place. Certainly, this would properly alert the appropriate authorities and enable them to more effectively prepare for such occurrences. This kind of thing could become a threat to the public peace.

In any event, had the group merely marched and sang and presented a petition, as people who were not present may have been led to believe, this would have been one thing; but, based on the reports which have been given to me, the conduct and mood of the group were not in keeping with common courtesy and decorum.

It is one thing for a group to present its petition in a courteous and orderly manner, with one person talking at a time, and then to listen to the response made by the person to whom the petition is submitted. But it is quite a different thing when a crowd displays the attitude and arrogance of a mob, with everyone talking at the same time and showing no inclination whatsoever to listen to what the other person has to say, even when that person happens, as was the case here, not to be the individual to whom the petition is being directed, or about whom complaints are being made or concerning whom criticism is being voiced.

In my judgment, based upon what I have heard, the people who came to my home were not truly representative of the poor people of West Virginia. I have lived among the poor people of West Virginia. I grew up among the poor people of West Virginia. I was poor before some of the demonstrators were born. I was working for the poor people before some of the demonstrators were even born.

The poor people of West Virginia, generally speaking, are respectable. They do not act the way in which that crowd acted. In my judgment, the people of West Virginia would have been ashamed to be represented by that kind of riff-raff. This is not to say that all the people in the delegation were riff-raff. There are always exceptions.

I understand that some of the people in the delegation did not want to march. They went back to the buses. But what happened? They were urged to get out of the buses and to march. They did not want to march; they wanted to sit in the buses. But they were made, by some of the others, to get out and participate.

As one onlooker, who knows my State, said to me:

> I have never seen anyone like this in West Virginia. This was not like West Virginia.

Mr. President, a petition was presented to my wife, carrying the names of various persons. One news wire report stated that the "poverty protesters unrolled a 25-foot long petition signed by 1,500 West Virginians." I counted the names. According to my count, there were 491 names and addresses of individuals from West Virginia.

I may have erred by one, two, three, or half a dozen, but in any event, approximately 500 names were on the petition with addresses in West Virginia, as well as 49 names of individuals with addresses from other States, and 35 names without addresses which would make a total, if I am correct, of something like 600 names on the petition.

Other petitions without names were given to my wife, and I shall take the time to read the petition "demands" into the RECORD. For the record, I shall state my response to each "demand."

First:

> We demand that Senator Byrd renounce racism and prejudice.

My response: I stand for equal opportunity, equal justice, equal responsibility and equal accountability under the law, regardless of race. That is not racism.

Second:

> We demand that Senator Byrd renounce his stand on the use of violence against protesters and demonstrators.

My response: I have never advocated the "use of violence" against "protesters and demonstrators." I have advocated the use of force in dealing with adult looters and arsonists, when necessary, in riots.

Third:

> We demand Senator Byrd support the Poor People's Campaign.

My response: I am sympathetic toward poor people. I grew up in poverty. I was working to help the poor long before some of those who participated in the demonstrations were born. But, I do not support the so-called Poor People's Campaign. It is a fraud.

Fourth:

> We demand Senator Byrd stop his fight to oppress welfare recipients.

My response: I have never sought to oppress deserving and qualified welfare recipients. To the contrary, I have supported increased welfare payments while pressing for the removal of welfare cheaters from the rolls. Welfare cheaters siphon away money which could go to deserving welfare recipients or which could be spent on other programs helpful to the poor.

Fifth:

> We demand Senator Byrd reverse his view that government is more important than people and that property rights are more important than human rights.

My response: I have never held government to be more important than people." I hold that our Government was instituted by and for the people; but I also hold that government has a right to survive. Its first duty is to maintain law and order, else there can be no justice. I hold that people have a duty to support and defend the government which protects them.

As to property rights, they are not separate from or independent of human rights. Property rights constitute a basic human right.

Sixth:

> We demand that Senator Byrd withdraw his proposal that Federal employees associated with civil rights activities lose their jobs.

My response: I have never proposed that Federal employees "associated with civil rights activities" lose their jobs. I have advocated, and I still advocate, barring Government employment to persons convicted of the commission of a felony in connection with a riot or other civil disorder.

Seventh:

> We demand that Senator Byrd stop his opposition to open housing.

My response: So-called open housing is all right for those who want it, if it is voluntary on their part. I am opposed to forced housing by Government compulsion. I maintain that every man has a right to buy or rent wherever he wishes, but I also submit that the owner's rights in the property he possesses are superior to the nonexistent rights of a would-be purchaser in that property, and that the owner, therefore, has a right to refuse to sell or rent based on his own good judgment. I shall continue to be opposed to "forced housing" legislation.

Eighth:

> We demand Senator Byrd support a guaranteed annual income.

My response: I neither support nor oppose a guaranteed annual income at this point. I have made no decision yet as to such a proposal. I will not be influenced by pressure tactics and efforts toward intimidation.

Ninth:

> We demand that the money Senator Byrd would use to kill in Vietnam be used to save America.

My response: Senator BYRD is not "using" any money to kill anybody anywhere. I did not send American boys to fight in Vietnam, but I will not vote to withhold money from the support of our fighting men who are there.

Tenth:

> We demand Senator Byrd renounce his membership in the Ku Klux Klan.

My response: The demonstrators are beating a dead horse, dead before many of them were born. I have no membership in the Ku Klux Klan to renounce.

Eleventh:

> We demand Senator Byrd support OEO programs and support their being in the hands of the poor.

My response: I do support some OEO programs. I am opposed to others and will continue to be as long as they are wasteful and poorly administered.

Twelfth:

> We, the people of West Virgnia, demand Senator Byrd's resignation.

My response: The people of West Virginia have elected and reelected me many times. I shall continue to fulfill my obligations to the people whom I represent and to whom I owe, in the words of Edmund Burke, not my industry only but also my judgment.

Thirteenth:

> We demand home rule for the District of Columbia.

My response: I am opposed to home rule for the District of Columbia and for good reasons. Moreover, I doubt that the poor people of West Virginia are especially concerned about home rule in the District of Columbia.

Fourteenth:

> Senator Byrd must represent his constituents.

My response: I do represent my constituents and have served them dutifully, conscientiously, and faithfully for 22 years.

Fifteenth:

> We demand that Byrd help Mingo County in their dealings with the Justice Department.

My response: I have no jurisdiction in this matter. It is a responsibility of the Justice Department to enforce the law and to determine whether a Federal law has been violated. The Justice Department has been looking at the charges and the evidence.

Sixteenth:

> Byrd caused West Virginia to be humiliated by his remarks made after the death of Martin Luther King.

My response: West Virginia has not been humiliated. My remarks are clear for all to see, and I make no apologies for them to anyone.

Seventeenth:

> Byrd should initiate laws which could prevent West Virginia and Appalachia's wealth from leaving our States.

My response: Such a law would be infeasible, impracticable, unworkable, unwise, and unconstitutional. If the authors of this proposal have in mind a severance tax on coal, et cetera, they should address themselves to the State legislature, which, incidentally, has considered the matter heretofore. There is where the jurisdiction rests, not with Congress.

Eighteenth:

> We pledge to clean up Mingo County, W. Va., and the whole of the State so Byrd never carries the State again.

My response: There have been those, from time to time, who have said—and hoped—that BYRD would not "carry" his county, or his district, or the State. This may happen some day, but I shall do my best to prevent its occurrence.

Nineteenth:

> If Byrd does not begin to represent the interests of West Virginia (instead of furthering his own ambitions) we will go into every county of the State and tell people what kind of a man he really is.

My response: I salute the man who has "ambitions." If more people had ambitions, fewer people would be on the dole in this country. My ambition is to be a good Senator, a servant worthy of his hire. Can I be blamed for this?

Twentieth:

> Byrd should support the Metcalf bill.

My response: Senator METCALF is the author of many bills.

And, finally, I read as follows:

> One Appalachian delegation demands the resignation of you, Mr. Byrd, and feels that Mr. Byrd is an unqualified racist leader. He has voted against every progressive bill presented in Congress which would have helped the people who have elected him. He should support a 100 percent of needs welfare bill. We feel Mr. Byrd does not spend enough time to even listen to the people of Appalachia or West Virginia.

Mr. President, the record refutes this. I have voted for legislation to help all of the people—old and young, white and nonwhite, Republicans and Democrats, those who elected me and those who worked and voted against me. I have supported veterans' legislation, increased social security payments, medicare, elementary and secondary education programs, food stamp legislation, minimum wage legislation, housing legislation, and lower retirement age, and so on ad infinitum.

As to my spending time to listen to the people of West Virginia, I try to visit every county in the State every year. I was not able to do it last year, when congressional adjournment did not occur until December 15. I am always willing and glad to listen, and it is my duty to listen, to those who speak with reason and who are willing to have a courteous exchange of views.

Mr. President, I have no doubt that the demonstrators will be back. I shall be glad to see them at my office, and I would expect them to call for an appointment, so that arrangements can be made for a meetingplace. I shall be glad to hear their demands. I shall listen courteously to their demands, and I shall expect that courtesy should beget courtesy, and that I might have the opportunity, if and when the time comes, to state my viewpoint, certainly to which I have a right. And I would also hope, if any group visits me, that the people will select a spokesman, and will not all attempt to speak at once, and that it will be a meeting that will be orderly and constructive. I shall make every attempt on my part to respond to their comments and their questions forthrightly, frankly, candidly, honestly, and sincerely; and I trust that they will have the courtesy to listen—a courtesy which was not accorded to my wife on Saturday when they congregated at my home in Arlington.

Mr. President, I want the record to be as clear as I can make it that I do not feel I am under any obligation to see people from other States. I do not say that I will not see them, but I hope that any delegation which visits my office will be made up of West Virginians. They are the people who elect me, and the people to whom I have to answer. I hope this will be kept in mind.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may insert in the RECORD at this point the following items:

A story from the Washington Evening Star of Saturday, June 1, entitled "Poor Pay Visit to Byrd Home."

The story which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star of June 2, and to which I have already referred, titled "Poor Polled on Stepup in Militancy."

The story to which I referred earlier, and which appeared in the Washington Sunday Post of June 2, titled "Visit by Poor Misses BYRD."

A story which appeared in the Beckley, W. Va., Post-Herald and Register of yesterday, June 2, titled "Poor People Demonstrate at Byrd Home."

A story which appeared in yesterday's Charleston, W. Va., Gazette-Mail titled "One Hundred Representing Appalachian Poor Pay Visit to BYRD, but He Isn't Home."

A memorandum that was submitted to my wife by the demonstrators, titled "Appalachian People Oppose Senator ROBERT BYRD."

The two lists of petitions which I have just read, and to which I have responded.

An item which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star of June 2, titled "Marchers to Stay on, Abernathy Tells Baptists."

A story which appeared in the Washington Post on Sunday, June 2, titled, "Marchers Level Sights on Congress."

A story which appeared in the Washington Star of Sunday, June 2, entitled, "Alabama Lawyer to Attempt to Incorporate Tent City."

A story which appears in today's Washington Post, by Paul W. Valentine, titled, "Poor People to Step up Militancy."

A story which appears in today's Washington Star titled, "Press Building Here is Target of Indian Poor."

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 1, 1968]

POOR TAKE DEMANDS TO BYRD HOME

About 100 Poor People's campaigners demonstrated at the Arlington, Va., home of Sen. Robert C. Byrd, D.-W. Va., today to present their welfare demands to the chairman of the Senate District appropriations subcommittee.

After ringing the two-story brick home on North 4th Street and chanting, "We want Byrd," the marchers knocked on the Senator's door to be told by Mrs. Byrd that he was not at home, but at work in his office.

The marchers at first seemed unconvinced, and one shouted "I always thought Fat Cats took Saturdays and Sundays off!" the group decided to head for Byrd's office, where the West Virginia Democrat was working.

The marchers were mostly whites from Appalachia.

Before starting back to the city, however, the demonstrators read a list of demands including more welfare provision, revisions in the welfare laws affecting the Appalachian region, a demand for Byrd to "stop buying votes," and to stop making what were termed public statements intended to divide people according to race.

The demonstrators then changed their minds and decided to return to the private Hawthorne School in Southwest where they have been staying.

During this week, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has concentrated on getting the demonstrators settled into their West Potomac Park encampment and grappling with its numerous physical problems yesterday, the leadership said it was ready to shift into high gear with protest activities.

Nearly 500 demonstrators marched to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare yesterday to hear from Secretary Wilbur Cohen the steps he is taking to meet campaign demands.

After a progressively noisy wait of nearly two hours, the marchers—who did not have an appointment—heard Cohen outline a number of steps being taken by his department, including ordering some 300 school districts in the South to take further specific action to desegregate.

Cohen said the school districts were being told the "freedom of choice" system of desegregation "has not produced enough progress." The Supreme Court ruled Monday that "freedom of choice" was an inadequate method of ending the dual school system.

Hosea Williams, the SCLC leader who has been traveling with the campaign's symbolic mule train from the South, arrived in Washington this week to head the mobilization for direct action.

It was disclosed yesterday that supporting "action cadres" are being organized in other cities, which can move in to replace demonstrators here in case the government attempts forcible eviction of the Resurrection City campers.

The Rev. Andrew Young said that efforts to emphasize the national aspects of the drive in "black Washington, Baltimore, Richmond, Philadelphia, Wilmington and New York" were designed "to have protection in case the crazy folks of Congress decide to run us out."

The supporting "action cadres" will be formed because it "is easy to put 3,000 in jail," he explained. If arrests begin in Washington, those arrested will be replaced by demonstrators who will move in from other cities.

PROBLEMS IN "THE CITY"

As to the problems of Resurrection City, turned into a chilly and muddy morass by rainy weather most of the last two weeks, Young admitted there was some flu and there are sewage problems.

But, he added, "If the D.C. health authorities order evacuation and we did not see signs of an epidemic, I think they would have to move us out bodily."

Young said that at this time, no demonstrations are planned for mass arrests.

Thirteen persons, mostly Spanish-speaking Americans from the Southwest encamped at the tent city, were taken to the 13th Precinct yesterday but later released without charge after an incident at the French Embassy.

Police found the 13 picketing in front of the embassy, carrying signs written in French and supporting the French workers and students. The picketers complied when police told them to move 500 feet from the building, but police found red paint on the building, including some red stars.

At the precinct station, they talked with Capt. Tilmon O'Bryant and Gerald Caplan, executive assistant to the public safety director, before being released.

Eighty Indian-American demonstrators met yesterday in two sessions, one at the Office of Education Building with representatives of various federal agencies having responsibilities for Indian affairs, and the other at the Indian Claims Commission, to discuss problems on the welfare of Indians.

Bayard Rustin, the civil rights leader, met for an hour yesterday with Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and other federal officials to seek aid in the Poor People's mass demonstration planned for June 19 in Washington.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, June 2, 1968]

Poor Polled on Step-Up of Militancy

(By Charles Conconi)

Leaders of the Poor People's Campaign yesterday planned to canvass the residents of Resurrection City to determine who is willing to go to jail, as plans were formulated for more militant demonstrations on Capitol Hill and at federal agencies this week.

At a press briefing yesterday, Hosea Williams, who heads the Southeastern Christian Leadership Conference action programs, said he is trying to learn who is "prepared to go to jail for six months . . . and who is prepared to get beat up."

Williams explained that demonstrations will become "a little more militant and more often," with Congress remaining the main target. He made reference to the law that forbids demonstrations on Capitol Hill and said, "Their law will not keep us from going up there."

CAMP DRYING OUT

The burly, bearded former truck driver and research chemist threatened that if the residents of Resurrection City are jailed for demonstrating at the Capitol, SCLC will bring in thousands from other cities to replace those in jail.

Most of the residents of the camp took advantage of the sunshine yesterday to continue constructing huts as the mud began to thicken and dry.

In the early afternoon, about 100 marchers—mostly Appalachian whites—demonstrated outside the Arlington home of Sen. Robert C. Byrd, D-W. Va., one of the most outspoken critics of the campaign.

A small group of Arlington police and Virginia state troopers stood by as the marchers sang on the sidewalk and then surrounded the Senator's home on North 4th Street.

A group of five demonstrators, led by Robert E. Fulcher of Bluefield, W.Va., walked to the door of the two-story house and rang the bell.

The Senator's wife answered and told the demonstrators that Senator Byrd was not at home. "My husband is at work in his office. He'll be glad to see you, I'm sure. He works all the time for you people. Why don't you go to see him there," she said.

The marchers at first seemed unconvinced, and one shouted, "I always thought fat cats took Saturdays and Sundays off!"

The demonstrators then threatened to go to Byrd's office, but returned to Hawthorne School, where they have been staying.

Informed of the incident at his home, Byrd said: "I'll be here all day. If they're West Virginians, and they want to see me, I'll be here."

Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes came down to the city for a visit yesterday afternoon with Mayor Walter E. Washington. Stokes was in town to address the Capital Press Club, along with Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher, also a Negro. Hatcher did not come with Stokes.

Stokes, who was recognized immediately by most of the people in the camp was asked to visit "City Hall," but said, "I've got to see my people first."

He greeted Cleveland residents and posed in front of a hut with a sign on the side reading: "Cleveland Now Says: Our Soul Brother, Carl B. Stokes." A small-framed picture of Stokes is tacked to the side of the hut.

A group of District residents from the Northwest I Redevelopment Area, near North Capitol Street, who had come down to visit Resurrection City, saw Washington and crowded around him. The residents complained that they are being moved from their homes before adequate new housing has been found for them.

Washington listened to them for a few minutes, then walked away saying: "I didn't come down here for this, you all didn't program this for me. I'll be glad to see you, but not now."

Earlier, when Williams was asked at his briefing what he meant by more militant demonstrations, he explained that as a possibility demonstrators might return to the Agriculture Department cafeteria, eat, and not pay for their meals.

Last week the group twice ate at the cafeteria there and paid one bill of nearly $300 and part of another bill.

Williams said another activity might be to go to the office of a congressman and "decide it is more comfortable up there than at this hole (the camp) and make our home in his office."

Williams, who just returned from Mississippi, where he was organizing and directing the mule-drawn wagon train that is slowing coming to Washington, made it clear that he is going to make an effort to get the generally chaotic campaign organized and working.

"Things went a little haywire due to our inexperience," Williams admitted in reference to SCLC's often stumbling attempt to handle the physical problems of running the camp.

He said there has been "too much segregation in the camp," and expressed hope that everyone connected with the campaign would be moving in by tomorrow evening.

"The women are demanding that everyone who participates in this campaign move in," Williams said as a group of residents standing nearby cheered.

During the morning, before Williams arrived, an angry group of women descended on "City Hall" to complain about the nightly absence of the campaign leaders, most of whom sleep in a midtown motel.

"I didn't came here to lie in the mud while they lie in a hotel," declared a woman from Cleveland. "We ought to go down there and get them out."

Williams said that the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, SCLC president, "will move in tomorrow if we have to evict someone else."

TOWN MEETING SLATED

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Williams said he will be conducting a closed town meeting with the residents of the camp to listen to their complaints and promised to settle food complaints and get shower facilities in working order "if we gotta buy them from Spain."

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Interior had called the meeting to try to prod the officials into improving facilities, such as garbage disposal, that might be detrimental to the health of the campers. Not apologizing discussing these problems yesterday, Williams said:

"I am not apologizing for anything that has happened. It would have happened anyway." He apparently referred to rumors of a split in the SCLC leadership now that Williams had apparently taken direction of the city from the Rev. Jesse Jackson, the camp manager, who conducted previous demonstrations.

Without mentioning Jackson by name, Williams said, "No one is being disposed of or replaced."

Abernathy, who had been out of town on speaking engagements, is expected to return today to give the baccalureate address at D.C. Teachers College.

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Visit by Poor Misses Byrd

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They arrived at about 11:30 a.m. in three buses, a pickup truck and a few automobiles outside Byrd's two-story brick home at 3741 N. 4th st. in a quiet, shaded neighborhood of North Arlington.

The Senator's wife, Erma, came to the door and said her husband was working at his office. She said that he "works 17 hours a day for you people."

One of the demonstrators called out that the Senator knew they were coming to his home. Another demanded that the Senator come to them, saying, "We're not going begging to him."

"You will have to take these things up with him," said Mrs. Byrd, going back inside.

Robert Fulcher, a heavy-set 46-year-old man from Bluefield in Byrd's home state, served as spokesman for the delegation, which he said included many persons from the Appalachian region.

"Let me tell you people in Washington," Fulcher told a curbside rally, "we apologize to you for sending Byrd down here."

Fulcher noted that Byrd, who is chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee for the District and has criticized the Poor People's Campaign, has been quoted as saying people from Appalachia were not joining the campaign.

"White people is poor and we're all walking in the same shoes together and we're all brothers and sisters together," said Fulcher, who described himself as a disabled coal miner living on a state disability pension of $46 a month.

The Poor People's delegation left at about 12:30 p.m. after the majority voted to go. Fulcher said most of the group would return to Appalachia but they and more followers would come back on June 18. A few would stay here in an "Appalachia hollow" at Resurrection City, he said.

[From the Beckley (W. Va.) Post-Herald and Register, June 2, 1968]

MARCHERS GO TO SENATOR: POOR PEOPLE DEMONSTRATE AT BYRD HOME

(By Richard Lerner)

WASHINGTON.—About 100 Appalachia whites from the Poor People's Campaign demonstrated Saturday outside the red brick suburban home of Sen. Robert C. Byrd, D-W. Va., one of the most outspoken congressional critics of their campaign.

For 30 minutes they sang on the sidewalk in front of Byrd's home in a sedate, middle-class neighborhood in Arlington, Va., in the march's first demonstration in the suburbs where many Washington officials and civil servants live.

Then disabled coal miner Robert E. Fulcher of Bluefield, W. Va. led five demonstrators to the door of Byrd's home, rang the bell and spoke to the senator's wife.

BYRD AT WORK

"My husband is at work in his office," she told Fulcher. "He'll be glad to see you, I'm sure. He works all the time for you people. Why don't you go to see him there?"

The poverty protesters unrolled a 25-foot long petition signed by 1,500 West Virginians on the front lawn.

"We, the poor people, demand our rights in our land," it started. It was printed in bold letters.

A pair of broken silver chains were laid at each end to symbolize what Fulcher termed the breakout from economic slavery that the poor sought.

A small group of Byrd's neighbors left their simple brick homes to watch. A group of Arlington police and Virginia state troopers stood by but did not intervene.

Byrd has also been critical about the march's cost to the federal government.

Meanwhile, Rep. Glenn R. Davis, R-Wis., a member of the House Appropriations Committee asked chairman George Mahon, D-Tex., to order federal agencies to report any expenditures because of the poor people. "Public funds are being used to maintain and encourage the presence of the marchers," Davis said.

Rounding out the third week of demonstrations since the poor established their poverty settlement in Resurrection City the demonstration was the first conducted by the Appalachian whites who, so far, have been living in the basement of a private Washington school. Along with a group of Mexican-Americans, the poor whites have been reluctant to move into the encampment.

Byrd began peppering the demonstration with sharp criticism in Senate speeches even before it started.

He called on the Interior Department to refuse to grant a permit for use of government property by the marchers as an encampment site. He urged President Johnson to keep federal troops in the city for the duration of the march rather than send them home after the Washington riot in early April.

Most of the marchers stayed in their hut village, still coping with the problems created by a flood of mud. A day of brilliant sunshine helped.

FEW NEGROES

The Appalachian whites drove their buses to the encampment to ask Negro demonstrators to join them, but they said the police would not let them drive into the campsite. Only a few Negroes left Resurrection City to join the whites.

Fulcher said he has been living on state compensation since hurting his back in a coal mine accident. He said the demonstration was staged to dispute Byrd's contention that his constituents were satisfied with conditions in their state and did not need help.

He angrily rejected Mrs. Byrd's suggestion that the demonstrators return to their buses and visit Byrd at his office.

"As usual, no cooperation from Sen. Byrd," he said. "No cooperation from Mrs. Byrd."

When the senator's wife repeated her suggestion, he said: "This is the way poor people have always tried to see their representatives—by crawling on their knees."

[From the Charleston (W. Va.) Sunday Gazette-Mail, June 2, 1968]

SENATOR'S OUT: 100 REPRESENTING APPALACHIAN POOR PAY VISIT TO BYRD, BUT HE ISN'T HOME

(By John W. Yago)

ARLINGTON, VA.—A group of West Virginians visiting Washington tried to pay a visit to their senator Saturday, but he wasn't home.

More than 100 members of the Appalachian contingent of the Poor People's Campaign went to the home of Sen. Robert C. Byrd in suburban Arlington to present him with a petition.

When they learned the Senator was at his office, they demonstrated in front of the house for a while and then returned to Washington.

"This is ridiculous," Robert Fulcher of Bluefield told the crowd. "A man represents people, and we can't even find him."

Fulcher said the petition was drawn up at last week's Appalachian Conference in Charleston and signed by about 1,000 people. It was a demand by the poor for their rights as citizens, he said.

The demonstration, which lasted less than an hour, was orderly. Arlington police were on hand but didn't interfere except to keep the street open to traffic and the demonstrators off the senator's grass.

When the demonstrators arrived shortly before noon, Mrs. Byrd told them her husband has gone to his office on Capitol Hill. Mrs. Byrd also indicated that she felt the senator was being unjustly criticized.

Fulcher addressed the crowd while Mrs. Byrd went inside to telephone her husband.

"We're only good to him when we vote," Fulcher said. "People begging to get in the seats of power and they get too high. They're going to have to be cut down."

Byrd has been a frequent critic of the Poor People's Campaign and last month proposed court action to prevent the poor from setting up camp in Washington.

Fulcher accused the senator of representing the campaign as a strictly Negro enterprise. "One thing they have kept away from the eyes of America is that white people are poor, too, that we are all walking in the same shoes together," he said.

The Appalachian group is about 70 per cent white. It was augmented for the demonstration by representatives of other poor groups, including Mexican-Americans and California migratory farm workers.

Speaking to the crowd in the style of an Appalachian evangelist, Fulcher said Byrd represents only the rich and is more concerned about crime in the streets than about the plight of the poor.

While this was going on, two neighborhood women hurriedly set up a table to supply ice water to the demonstrators, and a man across the street cranked up his mower and began cutting his lawn.

Mrs. Byrd returned to the front door to report that she had talked with the senator. "He takes care of delegations at the office and would be glad to see you there," she said.

This was unacceptable to the demonstrators. Some wanted to remain in the street until Byrd came home. Fulcher said he would be guided by the majority but reminded the crowd that they had planned to return to their homes today and would be back in greater force on June 18.

The majority agreed with him.

APPALACHIAN PEOPLE OPPOSE SENATOR ROBERT BYRD

(Statement prepared by and for the Appalachian People's Meeting goes to Washington group)

Are you looking for the one man in the U.S. Senate who opposes everything the poor people of America want? You don't have to go any further than Senator Robert E. Byrd of West Virginia. That's just what's going to happen on Saturday, June 1st. The people from Appalachia who came to Resurrection City this week are going to march to Senator Byrd's home in Washington.

Representatives of the other groups at Resurrection City will be marching with us. Come with us! Help us tell Senator Byrd that the poor people of America have had enough of his miserable racist record in Congress.

Senator Byrd is the man who stood up in Congress the day after Martin Luther King, Jr., was murdered and said Reverend King brought it on himself. Senator Byrd is the man who won election to Congress from the most corrupt state in Appalachia and who carried Mingo County, the most corrupt county in the United States north of Mississippi. Senator Byrd is the man who wants a bill passed to deny jobs to anyone arrested in a civil disturbance. Senator Byrd wants welfare payments reduced. Senator Byrd opposes Open Housing and the guaranteed annual income. He opposes the community action program. He wants a "get tough" policy in the cities, including shoot-to-kill during rebellions. He wants the U.S. to go all out for military victory in Viet Nam as well as in our own streets.

WHY IS SENATOR BYRD A THREAT TO EVERY POOR PERSON IN AMERICA?

Because right now he is on his way to becoming chairman of the Senate Appropriation Committee, which passes on every bill for education, housing, welfare, taxes, war—and everything else. Because he is making plans to be the next majority leader in the Senate.

Because racists are talking him up to be the candidate for Vice President.

Because he thinks poor people are communists.

Because he's a bigot.

Most of all, because he has enough power in Congress, along with other reactionaries, to block every kind of progressive legislation that would help the poor people of America.

Help us fight Senator Byrd! Come with us when we march to his house. We need your help!

Meet with us at the Appalachian Holler in Resurrection City on Saturday, June 1st, at 10 A.M.

1. We demand that Senator Byrd renounce his racism and prejudice.
2. We demand that Senator Byrd renounce his stand on use of violence against protestors and demonstrators.
3. We demand that Senator Byrd support the Poor Peoples Campaign.
4. We demand that Senator Byrd stop his fight to oppress welfare recipients.
5. We demand that Senator Byrd reverse his view that government is more important than people, and property rights more important than human rights.
6. We demand that he withdraw his proposal that federal employees associated with civil rights activities lose their jobs.
7. We demand that Sen. Byrd stop his opposition to open housing.
8. We demand that Sen. Byrd support a guaranteed annual income.
9. We demand that the money Sen. Byrd would use to kill in Vietnam be used to save in America.
10. We demand that Sen. Byrd renounce his membership in the KKK.
11. We demand that Sen. Byrd support OEO programs, and support their being in the hands of the poor.

PROBLEMS IN "THE CITY"

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But, he added, "If the D.C. health authorities order evacuation and we did not see signs of an epidemic, I think they would have to move us out bodily."

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"White people is poor and we're all walking in the same shoes together and we're all brothers and sisters together," said Fulcher, who described himself as a disabled coal miner living on a state disability pension of $46 a month.

The Poor People's delegation left at about 12:30 p.m. after the majority voted to go. Fulcher said most of the group would return to Appalachia but they and more followers would come back on June 18. A few would stay here in an "Appalachia hollow" at Resurrection City, he said.

[From the Beckley (W. Va.) Post-Herald and Register, June 2, 1968]

Marchers Go to Senator: Poor People Demonstrate At Byrd Home

(By Richard Lerner)

WASHINGTON.—About 100 Appalachia whites from the Poor People's Campaign demonstrated Saturday outside the red brick suburban home of Sen. Robert C. Byrd, D-W. Va., one of the most outspoken congressional critics of their campaign.

For 30 minutes they sang on the sidewalk in front of Byrd's home in a sedate, middle-class neighborhood in Arlington, Va., in the march's first demonstration in the suburbs where many Washington officials and civil servants live.

Then disabled coal miner Robert E. Fulcher of Bluefield, W. Va. led five demonstrators to the door of Byrd's home, rang the bell and spoke to the senator's wife.

BYRD AT WORK

"My husband is at work in his office," she told Fulcher. "He'll be glad to see you, I'm sure. He works all the time for you people. Why don't you go to see him there?"

The poverty protesters unrolled a 25-foot long petition signed by 1,500 West Virginians on the front lawn.

"We, the poor people, demand our rights in our land," it started. It was printed in bold letters.

A pair of broken silver chains were laid at each end to symbolize what Fulcher termed the breakout from economic slavery that the poor sought.

A small group of Byrd's neighbors left their simple brick homes to watch. A group of Arlington police and Virginia state troopers stood by but did not intervene.

Byrd has also been critical about the march's cost to the federal government.

Meanwhile, Rep. Glenn R. Davis, R-Wis., a member of the House Appropriations Committee asked chairman George Mahon, D-Tex., to order federal agencies to report any expenditures because of the poor people. "Public funds are being used to maintain and encourage the presence of the marchers," Davis said.

Rounding out the third week of demonstrations since the poor established their poverty settlement in Resurrection City the demonstration was the first conducted by the Appalachian whites who, so far, have been living in the basement of a private Washington school. Along with a group of Mexican-Americans, the poor whites have been reluctant to move into the encampment.

Byrd began peppering the demonstration with sharp criticism in Senate speeches even before it started.

He called on the Interior Department to refuse to grant a permit for use of government property by the marchers as an encampment site. He urged President Johnson to keep federal troops in the city for the duration of the march rather than send them home after the Washington riot in early April.

Most of the marchers stayed in their hut village, still coping with the problems created by a flood of mud. A day of brilliant sunshine helped.

FEW NEGROES

The Appalachian whites drove their buses to the encampment to ask Negro demonstrators to join them, but they said the police would not let them drive into the campsite. Only a few Negroes left Resurrection City to join the whites.

Fulcher said he has been living on state compensation since hurting his back in a coal mine accident. He said the demonstration was staged to dispute Byrd's contention that his constituents were satisfied with conditions in their state and did not need help.

He angrily rejected Mrs. Byrd's suggestion that the demonstrators return to their buses and visit Byrd at his office.

"As usual, no cooperation from Sen. Byrd," he said. "No cooperation from Mrs. Byrd."

When the senator's wife repeated her suggestion, he said: "This is the way poor people have always tried to see their representatives—by crawling on their knees."

[From the Charleston (W. Va.) Sunday Gazette-Mail, June 2, 1968]

Senator's Out: 100 Representing Appalachian Poor Pay Visit to Byrd, But He Isn't Home

(By John W. Yago)

ARLINGTON, VA.—A group of West Virginians visiting Washington tried to pay a visit to their senator Saturday, but he wasn't home.

More than 100 members of the Appalachian contingent of the Poor People's Campaign went to the home of Sen. Robert C. Byrd in suburban Arlington to present him with a petition.

When they learned the Senator was at his office, they demonstrated in front of the house for a while and then returned to Washington.

"This is ridiculous," Robert Fulcher of Bluefield told the crowd. "A man represents people, and we can't even find him."

Fulcher said the petition was drawn up at last week's Appalachian Conference in Charleston and signed by about 1,000 people. It was a demand by the poor for their rights as citizens, he said.

The demonstration, which lasted less than an hour, was orderly. Arlington police were on hand but didn't interfere except to keep the street open to traffic and the demonstrators off the senator's grass.

When the demonstrators arrived shortly before noon, Mrs. Byrd told them her husband has gone to his office on Capitol Hill. Mrs. Byrd also indicated that she felt the senator was being unjustly criticized.

Fulcher addressed the crowd while Mrs. Byrd went inside to telephone her husband.

"We're only good to him when we vote," Fulcher said. "People begging to get in the seats of power and they get too high. They're going to have to be cut down."

Byrd has been a frequent critic of the Poor People's Campaign and last month proposed court action to prevent the poor from setting up camp in Washington.

Fulcher accused the senator of representing the campaign as a strictly Negro enterprise. "One thing they have kept away from the eyes of America is that white people are poor, too, that we are all walking in the same shoes together," he said.

The Appalachian group is about 70 per cent white. It was augmented for the demonstration by representatives of other poor groups, including Mexican-Americans and California migratory farm workers.

Speaking to the crowd in the style of an Appalachian evangelist, Fulcher said Byrd represents only the rich and is more concerned about crime in the streets than about the plight of the poor.

While this was going on, two neighborhood women hurriedly set up a table to supply ice water to the demonstrators, and a man across the street cranked up his mower and began cutting his lawn.

Mrs. Byrd returned to the front door to report that she had talked with the senator. "He takes care of delegations at the office and would be glad to see you there," she said.

This was unacceptable to the demonstrators. Some wanted to remain in the street until Byrd came home. Fulcher said he would be guided by the majority but reminded the crowd that they had planned to return to their homes today and would be back in greater force on June 18.

The majority agreed with him.

Appalachian People Oppose Senator Robert Byrd

(Statement prepared by and for the Appalachian People's Meeting goes to Washington group)

Are you looking for the one man in the U.S. Senate who opposes everything the poor people of America want? You don't have to go any further than Senator Robert E. Byrd of West Virginia. That's just what's going to happen on Saturday, June 1st. The people from Appalachia who came to Resurrection City this week are going to march to Senator Byrd's home in Washington.

Representatives of the other groups at Resurrection City will be marching with us. Come with us! Help us tell Senator Byrd that the poor people of America have had enough of his miserable racist record in Congress.

Senator Byrd is the man who stood up in Congress the day after Martin Luther King, Jr., was murdered and said Reverend King brought it on himself. Senator Byrd is the man who won election to Congress from the most corrupt state in Appalachia and who carried Mingo County, the most corrupt county in the United States north of Mississippi. Senator Byrd is the man who wants a bill passed to deny jobs to anyone arrested in a civil disturbance. Senator Byrd wants welfare payments reduced. Senator Byrd opposes Open Housing and the guaranteed annual income. He opposes the community action program. He wants a "get tough" policy in the cities, including shoot-to-kill during rebellions. He wants the U.S. to go all out for military victory in Viet Nam as well as in our own streets.

WHY IS SENATOR BYRD A THREAT TO EVERY POOR PERSON IN AMERICA?

Because right now he is on his way to becoming chairman of the Senate Appropriation Committee, which passes on every bill for education, housing, welfare, taxes, war—and everything else. Because he is making plans to be the next majority leader in the Senate.

Because racists are talking him up to be the candidate for Vice President.

Because he thinks poor people are communists.

Because he's a bigot.

Most of all, because he has enough power in Congress, along with other reactionaries, to block every kind of progressive legislation that would help the poor people of America.

Help us fight Senator Byrd! Come with us when we march to his house. We need your help!

Meet with us at the Appalachian Holler in Resurrection City on Saturday, June 1st, at 10 A.M.

1. We demand that Senator Byrd renounce his racism and prejudice.
2. We demand that Senator Byrd renounce his stand on use of violence against protestors and demonstrators.
3. We demand that Senator Byrd support the Poor Peoples Campaign.
4. We demand that Senator Byrd stop his fight to oppress welfare recipients.
5. We demand that Senator Byrd reverse his view that government is more important than people, and property rights more important than human rights.
6. We demand that he withdraw his proposal that federal employees associated with civil rights activities lose their jobs.
7. We demand that Sen. Byrd stop his opposition to open housing.
8. We demand that Sen. Byrd support a guaranteed annual income.
9. We demand that the money Sen. Byrd would use to kill in Vietnam be used to save in America.
10. We demand that Sen. Byrd renounce his membership in the KKK.
11. We demand that Sen. Byrd support OEO programs, and support their being in the hands of the poor.

12. We, people of W. Va., demand Senator Byrd's resignation!
13. We demand Home Rule for D. C.
14. Byrd must represent his constituents.
15. Help Mingo County in their dealings with the Justice Department.
16. Byrd caused West Virginia to be humiliated by his remarks made after the death of Martin Luther King.
17. Byrd should initiate laws which could prevent West Virginia and Appalachia's wealth from leaving our states.
18. We pledge to clean up Mingo County, West Virginia, and the whole of the state so Byrd never carries the state again.
19. If he doesn't begin to represent the interests of West Virginia (instead of furthering his own ambitions) we will go into every county of the state and tell people what kind of a man he really is.
20. Byrd should support the Metcalf Bill.

One Appalachian delegation demands the resignation of you, Mr. Byrd, and feels that Mr. Byrd is an unqualified racist leader. He has voted against every progressive bill presented in Congress which would have helped the people who have elected him. He should support, a 100% of needs welfare bill. We feel Mr. Byrd does not spend enough time to even listen to the people of Appalachia or West Virginia.

The group also condemn's Byrd for his bigoted statement on the death of our deceased leader, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, June 2, 1968]

Marchers To Stay on, Abernathy Tells Baptists

(By Caspar Nannes)

BOSTON.—The leader of the Poor People's Campaign declared here yesterday that residents of Resurrection City will stay there until the words of their freedom anthem have been changed from "we shall overcome" to "we have overcome."

The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the American Baptists Convention in War Memorial Auditorium, "America has slammed shut the door of opportunity and justice on the poor and in so doing has denied them the right to life."

"In Resurrection City, U.S.A., we will knock nonviolently against the doors until they are opened to us," he said.

"This is not a struggle for black or poor people alone but it must be the concern of all American citizens. It is a struggle for the right of a black baby to be born and to have the right to live as long as a white baby," Abernathy said.

DENIAL OF OPPORTUNITIES

Charging that our government was pursuing a genocidal course in denying the poor opportunities given to others, Abernathy said discriminatory practices were being followed in agriculture, public education, housing, health and medical services, economic possibilities and military service.

Claiming that the U.S. is producing enough food to feed "half the starving world," Abernathy asserted farmers are being paid "not to farm, and surpluses of food are dumped into rivers while people . . . are allowed to go hungry and die of malnutrition."

He urged his audience to join with his movement in "pricking the conscience of this nation so that something creative will be done about this problem."

DR. RUTENBER ELECTED

Dr. Culbert G. Rutenber, professor of philosophy at Andover Newton Theological School, yesterday was elected president of the 1.5 million-member American Baptist Convention. He succeeds the Rev. L. Doward McBain of Phoenix, Ariz.

In what was generally interpreted as a gesture toward healing divisions that may have resulted from demands presented earlier this week by a group of Negro clergymen to the convention, the Rev. Samuel McKinney of Seattle, Wash., president of the Black Churchmen, seconded the nomination of Rutenber. One of the demands had been election of a Negro as president of the denomination, though later that demand was interpreted as being "in principle."

"Dr. Rutenber has shown his compassion and integrity for all mankind and therefore the members of the Black Churchmen seconded his nomination for president," McKinney said.

Time ran out on the convention's business session yesterday and after a brief but heated debate all remaining resolutions, save one on Selective Service and Christian Conscience, referred to the 1969 resolutions committee. Among statements deferred were those on Vietnam, the role of the United States in world affairs and the arms race.

The Selective Service statement asked that American-Baptist Churches be "sympathetic and supportive to the conscientious objector whether or not, they agree with him." But it also called upon these congregations to "aid, counsel and pray for those who in equally good conscience accept combatant military service."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 2, 1968]

Marchers Level Sights on Congress

(By Willard Clopton, Jr.)

A top leader of the Poor People's Campaign said yesterday that future protest efforts would be focused on Congress, and raised the prospect of mass arrests on Capitol Hill.

"The U.S. Congress is our main target," said Hosea Williams, the Campaign's director of mobilization.

Citing the arrest of 18 demonstrators last week outside the Longworth House Office Building under a city law barring public assemblages on the Capitol grounds, Williams said:

"That law is not going to keep us from going there. We don't mind spending six months in jail. If they arrest 3000 of us, we'll bring in 6000 and if they are arrested, we'll bring in 12,000."

For only the second time since their arrival, the residents of Resurrection City spent the whole day in camp, while a hot sun began stiffening the mud surrounding their dwellings.

Although no demonstrations were conducted by those at the camp site, about 100 Campaign participants from Appalachia, who have been staying elsewhere in Washington, staged a half-hour protest outside the Arlington home of Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W. Va.). Byrd, who has frequently criticized the Campaign, was not at home.

A tour of Resurrection City was made yesterday by Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, Archbishop of the Catholic Archdiocese of Washington.

The Most Rev. John S. Spence, Auxiliary Bishop of Washington, who accompanied the Cardinal, said the visit was made "to show our concern and so we could see the conditions for ourselves . . . and gain new insights into the human needs to which we are trying to render assistance."

The Cardinal met briefly with Williams, who told him:

"Running a city is not our business and we have been making mistakes we are trying to correct. Too many of our resources have gone into maintaining the city rather than exposing the conditions of poverty."

"I must say," the Cardinal replied, "that the people are showing great fortitude, stamina and courage in the face of all this rain."

Williams replied "we firmly believe the Lord will take care of us."

At one point, while the Cardinal was speaking with newsmen, a one-legged camp resident, unaware of the cleric's presence stood a few feet away, shouting a string of obscenities at another resident until a Campaign peace martial arrived to quiet him.

Ignoring the outburst the Cardinal said he hoped the protesters "will continue as they have and remain in the language of Dr. King, nonviolent. I think they will accomplish so much more."

Late yesterday afternoon Mayor Walter E. Washington took Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes on a tour of Resurrection City.

Stokes, here to address the Capital Press Club last night immediately sought out the Cleveland contingent. He met privately with a group of Cleveland residents for a short time in their plywood shelter, which was decorated on the outside with a picture of Stokes.

Washington, meanwhile, was beleaguered by residents of the District's Northwest. One urban renewal area who had come to Resurrection City to enlist the poor peoples' aid in their fight against relocation.

They demanded that the Mayor listen to their complaint that the Redevelopment Land Agency is moving residents out of the neighborhood faster than replacement housing is built.

Washington agreed to meet with representatives of the group, but declined to set a date.

Williams told the press that future demonstrations will be "a little more militant and a little more often." He indicated the protests could include an attempted sit-in at the Capitol and a camp-in at the White House.

He said a canvass of the campers is under way, to find out "who is ready to demonstrate, who is ready to go to jail and who is ready to get beaten."

Williams added that the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, the Campaign's leader who was on a speaking visit to Boston yesterday, will move into the camp today.

A Resurrection City resident was arrested last night by Park Police while standing with a group of people outside the shantytown at French Drive and Independence Avenue sw.

James E. Jones, 24, was charged by police with carrying a knife with a blade more than three inches long. He forfeited $25 collateral

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[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, June 2, 1968]

Alabama Lawyer To Attempt To Incorporate Tent City

(By Paul Hathaway)

A Birmingham attorney showed up yesterday at Resurrection City in blue denims and black alligator shoes and announced he would seek to incorporate the poor people's community.

Orzell Billingsley Jr., who has launched a movement in Alabama to incorporate hundreds of predominantly Negro municipalities, said he hopes to file the papers with the District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds "within the next few weeks."

"We're going to go to his office and if he tells me I can't file, I'm going to tell him I can and then I'm going to hand him the papers and leave 'cause I know I can," Billingsley said.

Billingsley was silent on what legal justification he has for incorporating a community within the District of Columbia.

"I'll explain it when the time is ready," he said with a wink.

Billingsley has already incorporated one all-Negro town of 4,000 in Alabama named Roosevelt. He has filed incorporation papers for three others.

A petition will be passed among Resurrection City residents this week, for filing with the incorporation papers, Billingsley said.

He said that after the filing a referendum will be held to determine if the residents want to be incorporated. This would be followed 30 days later by the election of a mayor and a city council.

Billingsley gives the impression of a man who is going to have a difficult time waiting for the filing date. He pictured the looks on the faces of people in the office of the Recorder of Deeds as he files his papers.

"They may be laughing when I start," he said. "But they won't by the time I'm finished. This is serious business."

He has already hired a local civil engineer, Carl D. Jones, to draw up a map to file with the papers.

Asked the benefits that accrue from incorporating a city, he replied, "Just think of the federal aid we could get. And no one, no one could come in here and tell us we're in violation of some law. Hell, when we're a city we'll make our own laws."

He said he has the backing of the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, head of the Poor People's Campaign, and other leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Hosea Williams, newly appointed city manager, lauded the plan.

"I think it's a dramatic idea," he said. "It's an act of good faith that is going to give people here an even greater sense of togetherness."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post]

Poor People To Step Up Militancy

(By Paul W. Valentine)

Poor People's Campaign demonstrators marched on the Agriculture Department again yesterday led by field operations chief Hosea Williams, who indicated that campaigners would utilize civil disobedience today.

"If the police want to use those clubs," he told a cheering crowd of about 500 marchers, "we're going to give them a chance to use them tomorrow. The picnic is over."

Raising his fists toward the Metropolitan Police surrounding the assemblage in front of Agriculture's headquarters building, the bearded Williams shouted:

"Yeah, they gonna make you beat us. I know that's your job. But as soul brothers and soul sisters, we got a job, too."

The officers, about 40 strong, stared blankly at the cheering crowd.

Although the ostensible purpose of the demonstration was to memorialize the death of a campaigner, Arthur Easton, 25, who collapsed while waiting in a cafeteria line at the Agriculture Department last Wednesday, Williams repeatedly stressed the policy of increased Campaign militancy, starting today.

"I'm telling you," he said, "that Monday we're gonna start demonstrations that folks on Capitol Hill won't be able to stand."

At another point, he said, "We are ready to bleed as long as there is a drop of blood in us."

Earlier, at the Campaign's Resurrection City, Williams told a press conference that leaders are trying to "structure" the demonstrations by dividing protesters into tightly organized "divisions" which in turn are subdivided into "caravans" and "buses."

WITHHOLDS DETAILS

He declined to give details of today's plans.

Residents of Resurrection City, still wallowing in mud from heavy rains, continued digging out yesterday. Despite the efforts of garbage collection teams, bread, fruit, opened food tins and empty milk cartons were scattered throughout the 15-acre encampment.

At least 30 fires burned in open oil drums. Smoke, black ash and the odor of rotting food hung in the air. Groups of workers sprayed disinfectant in the mud puddles scattered throughout the campsite.

As a muggy heat settled, a D.C. water truck arrived in mid-morning. Residents brushed their teeth and managed to do rudimentary bathing from the spigots on each side of the tank. There is still no running water in the camp.

A QUIET MORNING

The encampment was quiet in the morning. Several small groups of residents went in cars to area churches.

The only religious activity in the campsite occurred when a tall gaunt Indian, who declined to give his name, began preaching to a loose assembly of persons and predicted a devastating seven-year famine in America from 1974 to 1981.

He was quickly challenged by residents, most of them Negroes. The meeting developed into a shouting match in which the Indian was generally ignored and the opposing sides began arguing over the relevance of Christianity to Negroes.

"I've been waiting 346 years for Jesus," said one youth sarcastically, "and I ain't gonna wait no more."

An older man wearing a clerical collar argued that the Church was an agent of white imperialism.

CHARGES BIGOTRY

"To me, all people, black, brown, white and yellow, are the same," he said. "But the Church don't want that because that'll break up their hustle."

Challenged about his views on violence, he shouted, "I believe in nonviolence. That's why I say, brother, get you a machinegun so your neighbor will be nonviolent, too."

In the afternoon, the Agriculture Department demonstrators walked eastward on the Mall past the Washington Monument to Department headquarters at 14th Street and Independence Avenue sw.

Six "pallbearers" carrying an empty coffin symbolizing the death of Arthur Easton led the marchers. They deposited the coffin at the steps of the Department, cheered Williams' exhortations, sang freedom songs and then returned to Resurrection City in a heavy rain.

The Agriculture Department has been a target of Campaign demonstrations because of what leaders feel is mismanagement of the Nation's food surplus program.

"They throw millions of dollars worth of food in the Atlantic every year," Williams said, "while thousands of poor people go hungry. . . This Nation must be sick to take food from babies and throw it in the sea."

He said Easton was the "second casualty" of the Poor People's Campaign. The first, he said, was the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Easton collapsed last Wednesday and was dead on arrival at D.C. General Hospital. Dr. Richard Whelton, D.C. coroner, said yesterday that Easton, 25, of Philadelphia, died of diabetes and possible complications from a lung infection. He stressed there was "no positive evidence" of a contagious disease.

EDUCATION PROCESS

In an appearance yesterday on the WRC–TV program, "Dimension Washington," the Rev. James Bevel said the Poor Peoples' Campaign is a process of education for the general public about poverty in this country.

"Initially, it (the campaign) will stir up resentment," he said, "but once a relationship of confidence is built up, things will change. People will say the city didn't blow up with poor people in town. Writers will start writing about poverty and people will start examining things and say 'I didn't know there was poverty.' "

Mr. Bevel, who is in charge of nonviolent education for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said the campaign also shows that "political psychiatry will be the new revolutionary technique of the future."

When asked whether Resurrection City would be maintained in its present location beyond the June 16 deadline, Mr. Bevel said he did not know. But, he added, the Campaign would continue until the poor are helped.

"If there are laws imposed that say 'go home hungry,' we are not going to obey those laws," he said. "If there are laws that are imposed that say you cannot discuss hunger, we will not obey them."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 3, 1968]

Press Building Here Is Target of Indian Poor—Rush-Hour Protest by Marchers Aims at National Media

A contingent of Indians launched the fourth week of protest by the Poor People's Campaign today by staging a demonstration in the middle of downtown Washington, aimed at the national news media.

"Last week at the Supreme Court we sought justice," said Hank Adams, one of the leaders of the Indian group, "and today we seek truth."

Adams said the morning rush-hour protest at the National Press Club, 14th and F Streets NW, was to be nonviolent but "perhaps somewhat provocative and disruptive."

LIMITED TO 40

About 40 Indians participated, and Adams said they had asked other campaigners from Resurrection City "not be present in force."

"We're trying to offer the press a chance to prove, perhaps for the first time, that they are really interested in more than comic strips and isolated human interest stories."

The campaign yesterday took on a stronger note of militancy. Hosea Williams, a top Southern Christian Leadership Conference official and head of the "direct action" phase of the campaign, told a group of campaigners, "The picnic is over."

During a demonstration at the Department of Agriculture, Williams said:

"We are coming out of these shacks. We are ready to bleed as long as there is a drop of blood in our bodies."

Earlier yesterday, he said "Police will have a chance to use their billy clubs. We are going to plague this nation. . . . Monday we're going to start demonstrations that folks on Capitol Hill won't stand for."

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy and SCLC officials conferred into the early morning hours today with leaders of the other ethnic delegations on this week's activities.

INTERVENTION SOUGHT

The Mexican-American contingent of about 200 persons scheduled a march on the Justice Department today to protest the arrest of 13 Spanish-speaking demonstrators in Los Angeles last week.

The 13 were arrested on felony conspiracy charges in connection with a March boycott of four predominantly Mexican-American high schools in Los Angeles, United Press International reported.

Rudolpho Corky Gonzalez, a leader of the Mexican-American group, said it would demand that the Justice Department intervene in the case on grounds that the arrests violated constitutional rights of protest.

The Spanish-speaking campaigners still have not moved into the campsite on the Mall after a week of rumblings of discontent between the SCLC and the contingent. However, Abernathy was to march with them to the Justice Department, spokesman for the Mexican-Americans said.

Adams, the Indians' spokesman, alluded today to a demonstration last week at the Supreme Court when five windows were shattered as he discussed the demonstration against the news media.

"We find broken windows almost insignificant, but we are distressed that the American press sees only this and disregards the broken minds and broken treaties," Adams said.

"The Press Building looks very convenient for setting up something obstructive that probably would disrupt the activities of the press for a while," he added.

Rain, which has been almost synonymous with the campaign, continued to batter the campsite at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial yesterday.

Over half an inch of new rain once again turned the camp into a quagmire after a warm, dry Saturday had begun to harden the terrain.

An SCLC spokesman said about 1,300 meals were served last night, and apparently some 1,000 campaigners continued to stay in area churches.

About 400 to 500 campaigners marched on the Department of Agriculture yesterday, continuing what has become almost a daily activity.

The march was announced as a memorial to Arthur Easton, a 25-year-old campaigner from Philadelphia who collapsed and died there during a midweek demonstration.

MOCK COFFIN CARRIED

A mock coffin was carried by demonstrators who marched from the campsite in a chilly rain.

Police lined the two flights of low stone steps as Williams led his marchers to wooden barricades at the bottom. Behind ornamental grillwork gates, police and building guards could be seen.

"Those police out there are the products of a sick society," Williams said. "They are trained like a canine, trained to prevent us from saying . . . that we are not going to be hungry no more. . . .

"We should not have to go demonstrate at the Department of Agriculture," Williams said at a press conference before the march, "but there is hunger, disease and poverty in the United States. We are forced to because the department can do many things it is not doing."

Abernathy, SCLC successor to the slain Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., delivered a baccalaureate address to graduates of D.C. Teachers College last night, urging them to become "prophets of protest as well as lawyers and teachers."

U.S. UNREST CITED

Speaking in Departmental Auditorium, he warned, "There is a restlessness in this land, a determination of all people to secure what they are entitled to. If they can't get it through legitimate channels—I tremble to think of it—they will get it through illegitimate channels."

Abernathy, afterwards, would not comment on Williams' indication of demonstrations designed to provoke arrests but did concede that the pace of the campaign would be stepped up. Abernathy also would not comment on comments by Williams earlier in the day that the campaign had been infiltrated by hired troublemakers.

Williams told a group of camp residents, "I know darn well there are people paid to come down and start trouble." But he declined to say who he thought might be responsible, citing only the "economic conspiracy," his term for the nation's power structure.

Sen. John L. McClellan, D-Ark., yesterday reiterated his charge that Communists have tried to infiltrate the Poor People's Campaign.

NEW DATA CITED

Speaking on Metromedia's "Opinion Washington," he said he had "some additional information since I made that statement but I am not at liberty to identify it."

He added that "it came from a reliable source. Now, I do think our efforts in trying to bring this to attention and focus attention on it may have induced some greater precautions being taken than were being taken prior to that time" (of his original comment two weeks ago).

"There has been some screening out and we're glad to see that. We hope nothing happens. But at the same time, as long as it (the campaign) continues, you have the danger of potential trouble," McClellan said.

Meanwhile, on Capitol Hill today, action could come on a measure approved by the House Public Works Committee that would prohibit the campaigners use of any parkland or government-owned land in the capital after the June 16 expiration of the federal permit for Resurrection City.

A spokesman for the Public Works Committee said a rule from the Rules Committee may be sought so the bill could be brought to the House floor later in the week. There has been no indication, however, that the Senate would follow the House lead on such a prohibition. A massive protest has been set for June 19 by the SCLC.

In New York yesterday, Bayard Rustin, organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, who is coordinating the June 19 protest, issued "A Call to Americans of Goodwill."

"We march to redeem the American promise," he said.

"To abolish poverty requires a massive, nationwide and integrated effort. By themselves, the poor are neither numerous nor powerful enough to win these advances.

UNITED EFFORT URGED

"Therefore, we march together—black and white, red and brown, country people and slum dwellers, the poor and those who are not poor—because only through such a united effort can we truly overcome."

Rustin's statement called for, among other things—employment at a decent wage; a guaranteed income for those who cannot work "as a matter of right;" restoration of budget cuts for bilingual education and other poverty programs; and the institution of food distribution programs wherever severe hunger exists.

"We call upon all who share these basic commitments to join with us in this massive effort."

The symbolic mule train of the Poor People's Campaign will be brought by truck to Richmond, when it reaches Atlanta—probably by Friday, Williams said yesterday. It will resume its plodding journey to Washington from the Virginia capital with its some 100 campaigners, he said.

OTHER CAMPS PLANNED

In Chicago yesterday, the Rev. Jesse Jackson—who was "city manager of Resurrection City until late last week—said 50 "satellite" campsites would be set up around the country. He is heading this effort.

In commenting on the change of leadership in Resurrection City, Jackson said, "Dr. Abernathy asked me to come down at first and pull the city together. Now that's done and Hosea Williams, head of our direct action section, can take over.

"In the next few weeks, I will be bringing Resurrection City the support of Washington Negroes and the support of sympathetic people all along the Eastern Seaboard," Jackson said.

AUTHORITY TO REAPPOINT CHAIRMAN OF JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1224) to authorize the reappointment of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

REAPPOINTMENT OF GENERAL WHEELER AS CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF SHOULD NOT BE CONFIRMED

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, President Johnson's request for authority to nominate Gen. Earle Wheeler for an additional term of 1 year as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff should be denied. The reason given for the request is that Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, being comparatively new to his job desires the continuing advice of General Wheeler, who has served as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the entire period of our major military operations in Vietnam.

While Secretary of Defense Clifford has to date performed commendably in his high office, it is a fact that he requires the advice of a knowledgeable and able man as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I do not dispute that; no one disputes it. It is for that very reason that I am opposed to this proposed legislation, which would enable General Wheeler to continue in that capacity for another year.

The policy of escalating and expanding the civil war in South Vietnam into an American air and ground war, which he has advocated and urged over the past 4 years, has been disastrous to the United States. While the President and the Secretary of Defense should have a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in whom they have confidence, I for one cannot accept the idea that Gen. Earle Wheeler is the only general officer in our Armed Forces in whom such confidence can be placed. If his views and advice are so important to the President and the Secretary of Defense, let them provide a plush office in the Pentagon, next door and handy to that of the Secretary of Defense, or an office in the White House, where the general can be readily available to advise the President and the Secretary of Defense after his term as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff expires next July 2.

It is doubtful that there will be an end to the bloodletting in Vietnam in the immediate future. However, the negotiations presently in progress in Paris do offer some hope that we can end our involvement in the ugly civil war in South Vietnam by the end of this year. In any event, that is an objective for which we all hope and pray. Obviously, once we are freed from the Vietnam quagmire, there will be a total reexamination of our foreign policy. There is need for new thoughts and new ideas for going forward, turning away from our outmoded policies of the past. Of course, the advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff will be of vital importance to the new Chief Executive who will take office next January 20th. It would be tragic for a new President to be saddled with a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff whose advice over the past 4 years has been so discredited, and whose thinking, as revealed by his actions and public statements, is so closely tied to that military-industrial complex against which President Eisenhower warned in his farewell statement to the American people.

The present law, Mr. President, provides that a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff may not be reappointed after two terms except in time of war declared by Congress. The fact is that the United States is not engaged in a war declared by Congress. Instead, we are involved by executive action in a civil war in a small agrarian country, South Vietnam, 10,000 miles distant from our shores and of no strategic or economic importance whatever to the defense of our Nation—it never was and never will be.

It is also a fact, Mr. President, that we are now on the defensive in that war, despite an expenditure of more than $115 billion, despite the death of more than 26,000 Americans killed in combat, the wounding of more than 100,000 others in combat and the affliction of thousands of GI's with malaria, hepatitis, and other jungle diseases. Yet we are nowhere nearer victory than we were 4 years ago. This, notwithstanding the continued optimistic statements issued by General Wheeler and the other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the past 4 years. In fact, in South Vietnam we are on the defensive at the present time. The Vietcong have been able to invade Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, and to hold sections of that city for days on end and to successfully invade at the capitals and cities throughout South Vietnam almost at will.

The fact is that the Vietcong now control more than twice as much of the land area of South Vietnam than do the United States forces and the forces of the so-called army of our puppet military regime in Saigon headed by Thieu and Ky.

Throughout all of this period, Gen. Earle Wheeler has been our highest ranking military officer as these melancholy events have unfolded.

I do not assert that General Wheeler himself is entirely responsible for this turn of events or that he alone was the architect of these disastrous policies. However, I do assert that to permit him to serve for another year as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff would be a virtual confirmation by Congress of those policies and would be an abdication of congressional power.

We know from reading the horrible headlines and news articles from Saigon in today's Washington Post that the Vietcong have again invaded Saigon, and that they now hold several areas in that city. Furthermore, during the Vietcong's Tet offensive of January 31, the forces of the National Liberation Front, or the Vietcong, seized and held for many hours—and in some instances for many days—38 Provincial capitals of the 44 Provinces of South Vietnam. Finally the Vietcong, after a month of street fighting by our marines in Hue, the old capital of Vietnam, were finally driven out. However, there was damage done to our huge new Embassy in Saigon, which has the appearance of a fortress and is guarded as a fortress. The embassy cost American taxpayers $3 million.

In the Tet offensive our Embassy was breached, entered, and held by the Vietcong for some 7 hours. Fortunately, Ambassador Bunker escaped capture by hurriedly leaving his residence within the Embassy walls and hiding outside for 7 hours.

After this Vietcong Tet offensive Gen. Maxwell Taylor sounded off on "Meet the Press" as if it were a victory for the Americans and for the South Vietnamese.

This is an example of our Generals' advice that is being followed by President Johnson. Here is a report that recently appeared in Parade magazine, published throughout the country:

> Question: On Meet the Press, General Maxwell Taylor described the Tet offensive of the Viet Cong in which they successfully invaded 40 South Vietnamese cities as a net victory for us since we compelled the enemy to change his strategy. What sort of delusion is this? Was the Tet offensive really a genuine victory for us?

The answer published in Parade magazine stated:

> In many natural quarters the Tet offensive has been considered a political and psychological victory for the Vietcong. Having originally advised, along with Walter Rostow, that President Kennedy send U.S. troops to Vietnam, General Taylor may have been exercising on Meet the Press what psychologists call "Ego Reinforcement."

In other words, he had given the President bad advice and he was trying to reinforce his ego. That attitude is typical of the generals of our Joint Chiefs of Staff.

At this time, I assert that I am not uttering any criticism whatever of General Wheeler as a general officer of our Armed Forces. I hold him in high admiration as a military leader.

It is very understandable to me that in 1964 President Johnson nominated him to be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I was a Member of the Senate at that time. I regarded his appointment as an excellent appointment by our President. Along with other Senators, I voted to confirm his appointment.

Of all the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at that time, and also, I say frankly, of all the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at this time, I consider General Wheeler to be the most personable, probably the most knowledgeable, and the most likable. Certainly he was deserving of the promotion that the Senate gave to him when it confirmed his nomination as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

General Wheeler officially became the Chairman on July 6, 1964. Bear in mind, however, that our law is precise and crystal clear regarding the service of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It reads:

> The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from the officers of the regular components of the Armed Forces. He serves at the pleasure of the President for a term of two years, and may be reappointed in the same manner for one additional term. However, in time of war declared by Congress there is no limit to the number of reappointments.

That is the law of the land. It should be obeyed and followed. I reject as untenable and, in fact, as absurd the claim advanced that Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford is so new in his position as Secretary of Defense that he needs Congress to change the present law and also to violate all precedents by extending for another year the term of General Wheeler beyond his usual tenure of two terms.

Assuming that the proposed authorization is rejected by the Senate, Gen. Earle Wheeler will continue to be a general in the Armed Forces. He is a comparatively young man. He is in fine physical and mental condition. He will be available to give advice to Secretary of Defense Clifford at all times upon the request of that Cabinet officer, regardless of whether we accede to the wishes of the small group of generals and of Admiral Moorer who are the present members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Kansas for a question.

Mr. PEARSON. I thank the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. President, I noted that in his prepared remarks the Senator from Ohio referred to the existing law, which he accurately quoted, as providing a limitation of a 2-year term or two consecutive terms for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The law also provides, I believe the Senator would agree, that such limitation would not pertain in time of war.

Would not the Senator agree that that limitation was placed in the law because it was necessary to give the Commander in Chief and his associates in the Cabinet—including the Secretary of Defense—the personnel which they might need to prosecute the war? I know that the war referred to in the law is a war declared, under the Constitution, by act of Congress.

My question is this: Although there has not been a legal declaration of war, does not the Senator think that those conditions exist today, and would he not think that the spirit of the law would permit the President to send up this name and have General Wheeler reappointed for 1 more year, within the spirit of that provision of the law which waives that requirement during time of war?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. In answer to the question of the distinguished Senator from Kansas, the law states that the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff serves at the pleasure of the President for a term of 2 years, and he may be reappointed in the same manner for one additional term. The law does not merely say, "However, in time of war there is no limitation to the number of reappointments." It specifically states:

> However, in time of war declared by Congress there is no limit on the number of reappointments.

It seems to me that that language is clear and restrictive, and that, since there has not been any declaration of war by Congress—in fact, there has not been any request that Congress declare war—it is a strong argument and indication of congressional intent when the statute was enacted.

Now, Congress has a right to waive that. That is what Congress is being asked to do. But it seems to me, that in the law itself there is a strong argument that we should not extend it for another year, because there is no war declared by Congress.

In that connection, may I say that in the Joint Chiefs of Staff and in our Armed Forces—our Air Force, our Navy, our Army, and in our Marine Corps—we have some very superb generals, any one of whom the junior Senator from Ohio feels would make an excellent Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Though I served for 37 months in World War II—most of the time in the infantry—I was never really more than a civilian in uniform; so I cannot consider myself an expert on war matters.

But it seems to me that the important position of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—and I shall advert to this in more detail later on in my remarks—having been held for 4 years by General Wheeler, could well be given to another outstanding general in our Marine Corps, Army, or Air Force or to an admiral of our Navy.

Mr. President, I know and admire Defense Secretary Clark Clifford. Over the years he has had a plethora of experience as an official and as an adviser to Presidents of the United States. He is a distinguished citizen of the United States. It seems to me fantastic and absolutely unfounded and untenable to claim that Clark Clifford could better serve as Secretary of Defense were the present law to be disregarded and General Wheeler retained in his present position beyond 4 years, for another year.

In fact, if Defense Secretary Clifford desired to do so, he could readily give General Wheeler an office next to his or a desk next to his, or an office or desk in the White House, or he could give him a private telephone line to his bedroom. So, if General Wheeler's term as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff were not extended, if he were simply one of the top generals in our Armed Forces, Defense Secretary Clifford could have the outstanding services of General Wheeler, irrespective of whether the general is granted another year as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Furthermore, let us face the facts. Secretary of Defense Clifford may not serve as Secretary of Defense beyond next January 20. Regardless of whether the Democratic candidate is elected President or the Republican candidate is elected President, there is no certainty that Clark Clifford will hold the office of Secretary of Defense at any time following January 20, 1969. Therefore, to be realistic, if anyone claims it is important that the period of service of General Wheeler as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff be extended, why not extend it for 6 months instead of for a year. Of course, I am opposed to any extension whatever.

An important reason for defeating the pending measure can be readily understood when one considers the fact that President Johnson has followed the advice of the generals of our Joint Chiefs of Staff of our Armed Forces from January 1965 up to the present time, just as if that advice were sacrosanct.

The framers of our Constitution provided that civilian authority in this country should always be supreme over military authority. Had the President followed his own judgment over the past years instead of implicitly following the advice of the generals of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, certainly the United States would not be any worse off than it is at the present time in South Vietnam.

Due to their advice, President Johnson has committed 600,000 Americans to fight in a civil war in South Vietnam. More than 26,000 Americans have been killed in combat, and more than 100,000 Americans have been wounded. In addition, many lives have been lost due to bubonic plague, hepatitis, and jungle diseases. We have spent approximately $115 billion of taxpayers' money to uphold and support the militarist regime in Saigon in a civil war in South Vietnam.

Mr. President (Mr. BYRD of West Virginia in the chair), it is sickening to think how just a third of that money could have been spent in the United States to help end poverty in this country and to provide jobs and higher education for our youngsters instead of sending our youngsters over to fight in a little agrarian country of no importance to the defense of our Nation.

The Saigon regime we support is only in office due to our military might. Our prestige throughout the world, particularly in Asiatic capitals is at its lowest ebb in our history.

The undeclared war President Johnson has involved us in, by meddling in a civil war in South Vietnam, has grown into the most unpopular war the United States has ever waged. It is more unpopular than the Mexican War of 1846. As I stated recently in this Chamber, at that time a Congressman from Illinois by the name of Abraham Lincoln spoke out and voted against that war, and he was defeated for reelection to Congress as a result of it.

We in the Congress have not been afforded an opportunity to vote for or against a declaration of war, and yet we have more than half a million men involved in this civil war in South Vietnam. The end of that conflict is not in sight.

General Westmoreland earlier this year asked for 206,000 more troops. Fortunately, the President denied this number to him. Whether or not General Wheeler sanctioned that request or upheld General Westmoreland is not known to me. However, to my knowledge, no Senator has heard any statement to the contrary coming from any of the generals of our Joint Chiefs of Staff, nor from the Chairman, General Wheeler.

In our Armed Forces we have dozens and dozens, and perhaps hundreds, of outstanding generals. It would seem to me to be fitting and proper, for example—and I have mentioned this before—that a general in command of the Marine Corps should be designated as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Last January I spent nearly 3 weeks in Southeast Asia. I was in every area in South Vietnam. I was north of Danang and in the area close to Khesanh. In Khesanh and Danang I was horrified to observe that our marines were bottled up and were on the defensive. There have been approximately 88,000 marines fighting in South Vietnam. The Marine Corps of the United States is the finest trained, best equipped, and the most intelligent group of fighting men in the world. They are trained for offensive fighting, to be in the vanguard, and to lead in amphibious operations.

When I observed them north of Danang and in the area of Khesanh they were on the defensive. There were several thousand in the Khesanh area and 6,000 or 8,000 in the Danang area, and to my knowledge none of them were used in any amphibious operations in the Mekong Delta.

As a civilian, but one who has worn the uniform of his country, it would seem to me that South Vietnam would be an ideal place for our fighting marines to be on the offensive and to be used in connection with amphibious operations. However, under the command of General Westmoreland, they were on the defensive at Danang and Khesanh, and they still are. That leads me to believe it would not be a bad idea for a Marine Corps general to be the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

While I was in the area north of Danang, and in the vicinity of Khesanh, about 3 or 4 days before the Tet Lunar Holiday, General Westmoreland told me that the Communists has encircled Khesanh, and that we were encircling the encirclers. He and other generals were well pleased with themselves because they had brought some 40,000 of our Armed Forces up from the central highlands for that purpose, thus depleting that section of South Vietnam of our Armed Forces. They were brought up to encircle the encirclers, who were making so much noise at night and making known their presence in the area. What happened? It is now evident that the Vietcong never intended to try to overrun Khesanh. They showed good judgment in that respect. Instead, at the height of the lush rice harvesting season they assailed Saigon, the provincial capitals, and everywhere else in South Vietnam.

The truth is that the Vietcong-generals out-generaled General Westmoreland. Perhaps our President finally concluded that was a fact because he denied the request for 206,000 more soldiers and replaced General Westmoreland with General Abrams who is held in high regard as a result of his service in Vietnam and as a combat commander in World War II.

Mr. President, our Air Force is the most powerful in the world. We have every reason to be extremely proud of our Air Force. Why should not a general of the Air Force, such as Gen. John McConnell, or some other general, be promoted to be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of our Armed Forces instead of retaining General Wheeler, and thereby going along apparently with the same policy that we have been following with disastrous results during the past 4 years?

Mr. President, General Wheeler, on too many occasions, has spoken out publicly on the foreign policy of this Nation, which is an area definitely not in his jurisdiction nor in that of any officer of the Armed Forces of our country. General Wheeler and other generals and admirals would be well advised to give attention to their duties as leaders of the Armed Forces instead of sounding off, as some of the generals and admirals have been doing, on political and foreign policy matters.

Let me say that not long ago I was somewhat distressed to hear a general of our Armed Forces testify before the Armed Services Committee that we must have more missile power because the Soviet Union is seeking to bury us by force and violence. I heard it stated by this general that we must proceed with additional armaments and spend more billions of dollars of taxpayers' money, despite the fact that we have a superiority over the Soviet Union, all as the result of Khrushchev's warlike threat that "We will bury you."

The truth is that of all the many wisecracks of former Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev, the one which most Americans remember best is the statement, "We will bury you." Taken in the full context of Khrushchev's meaning at that time, he made it crystal clear that he did not mean war, but that he meant the wisecrack in reference to economic competition.

He said, "You say your system is best. We say our Communist system is best. Let us compete and see which is best, and we will bury you."

Frankly, following the time I heard this general state that, I could not believe he was a graduate of West Point, that I must be mistaken. So, I looked it up and found that he is a graduate of West Point, so perhaps there is something wrong with West Point. I hope not.

Now, Mr. President, I am about to conclude my remarks in support of my views that it would be better for our country and it would be better for the Armed Forces if some other outstanding general or admiral be considered for Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Mr. President, a serious erosion is taking place in the constitutional balance that supposedly places the military under civilian control and direction.

One of the most important principles written into the Constitution by our Founding Fathers, the architects of that great document, was that civilian authority should and must always be superior over military authority in this Nation. We have witnessed a serious erosion of this great doctrine in recent years. President Eisenhower warned the American people against the danger of the industrial-military complex and their power. Unfortunately, President Johnson seems to have disregarded that advice. The Department of Defense, last year, spent more than $70 billion and it will probably spend more than $80 billion this year, well over half the expenditures of the Federal Government. This is a phenomenon which did not exist in this country prior to World War II. It happens that last year we had a Defense Department appropriation bill of $70,100,000,000, which was the largest single Defense Department appropriation bill in the history of the Republic, greater by far than any single Defense Department appropriation bill in World War II. It was passed by an overwhelming margin in both Houses of the Congress. This year, the Department of Defense appropriation bill will even exceed $70,100,000,000. I mention that because it shows that the lives of millions of Americans and the existence of thousands of business concerns are dependent upon the decisions made daily by officials of the Department of Defense. It is of the utmost importance to all Americans that these decisions be made wisely and that the ultimate responsibility concerning them be under the control of civilian authority.

Finally, may I say that the decisions of the past 4 years in connection with the intervention in a civil war in South Vietnam have been proven wrong. It is definitely time for a change, and foremost among the changes that should be made, it seems to me, should be the appointment of a new Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

I strongly urge the defeat of the pending joint resolution.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, does the Senator yield the floor?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Yes; I yield the floor.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, in response to the very good statement made by my friend, the Senator from Ohio, I should like to say that occasionally I find myself slipping into the faulty habit of confusing personalities or single events with institutions. By that I mean that occasionally a decision of a Supreme Court Justice will run contrary to what I think is right and just and proper, and there is a tendency to blame the whole Supreme Court; or an officer of the State Department will do something that I deem to be foolish, and all of a sudden I condemn the whole State Department or the diplomatic policies of the country.

In like manner, a vote in Congress would indicate to some of us, on occasion, that Congress has lost escape to any avenue of good judgment.

I know that the Senator from Ohio is a strong and able and conscientious opponent of the dreadful war and agony in Vietnam. There is no question of his sincerity. I think that here, however, he has done the very same thing that the Senator from Kansas has done on other occasions.

His argument against the measure now before the Senate centers on four points: First, that the present Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has been wrong in his advice. Second, that it is against the legal requirement of the law. Third, that other men in the Armed Forces are capable of fulfilling this very responsible office. And last, that the Secretary of Defense does not need the counsel and advice of General Wheeler as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the extent that he needs to be reappointed to this post.

In response to the first criticism, I respectfully say that if the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has been wrong in his advice, all of us who have been wrong about this war, if we should suffer the penalty, would be denied further service by virtue of that mistake. I think it would apply to the same extent to the vast majority of those who serve in this body, to the vast majority of those who serve in the executive branch, and, indeed, to the vast majority of our military leaders. As I recall, Assistant Secretary of State Walt Rostow made the same agrument with reference to the Tet offensive, when he said it was of great advantage to us. So one may go up or down the ladder and find criticism about wrong advice. It seems to me that to single out this particular officer is to isolate what really lies in the House and Senate—the Congress of the United States.

The Senator from Ohio said that the law provides that the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff may be appointed for two terms, each of 2 years in duration, and he also, as the report of the committee says, states that in time of war this appointment may be extended for successive terms. There has been no declaration of war, so the legal requirement as set forth in the statute does not obtain; but I do submit, with a war which has lasted longer than any other conflict in our history, save two with casualties now exceeding 22,000 killed and 90,000 wounded, as the Senator has cited; and with the cost of the war continuing; that the spirit of the exception written into the particular statute should apply to the bill before us.

I do not deny that there are many other capable men to fulfill the office. I was a member of the Navy in World War II. I have, I suppose, a feeling of great affection for and pride in the Navy. Perhaps I would feel that the Chief of Naval Operations should serve in the position of Chairman more often. But in this instance, a man of the Army has the particular advice and experience which would be most capable of being utilized.

I do not deny that the Senator is correct in saying that if the Secretary of Defense wants the advice and counsel of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he can give them an office beside him. But the advice and experience needed are not only for the Secretary of Defense. They pertain to all the people in the military and to all the people in the civilian part of the government. I think that advice is good and accurate only when it carries the weight of the authority of the office that General Wheeler holds today.

So the arguments that, first, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has been wrong; second, that this proposal is against the legal requirement; third, that there are other capable people; and last, that the Secretary of Defense can obtain advice and counsel without this reappointment—all of these are weak arguments when one considers the national interest and what is best for the United States, the military, and all of us, especially at this stage of the war, when a new Secretary of Defense has taken office and needs the best advice he can get in these trying times.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, the able Senator from Ohio knows of my respect and affection for him. Often we agree on matters. In this case, we do not.

I have already expressed the opinion it is unfortunate that since the Defense Department was set up in 1947, there has been only one Chairman of the Joint Chiefs from the Navy, and only one Chairman from the Air Force. All the rest, ever since the act went into force, have been Army.

On the other hand, a new Secretary of Defense has been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. As we know, his job is difficult at best, and General Wheeler is his choice for this position. It seems, therefore, the least we could do would be to give this new Secretary the officer he believes would be of the most assistance to him in handling this important work. This year, counting the supplemental, defense will cost the American people over $80 billion.

Is it fair game to continue to attack the military for decisions incident to the Vietnam war? The military cannot defend themselves, because they are in the chain of command; and it is common knowledge, and so testified to before our committee, that the recommendations by the chiefs as to how the war should be conducted have been consistently disregarded by their civilian superiors. I have made a point of asking all other services whether or not Joint-Chiefs-of-Staff recommendations with respect to the handling of the war were supported by the Chairman, General Wheeler. Without reservation, they replied that was true, that the position General Wheeler recommended was the position of the Joint Chiefs until Secretary McNamara and his civilian staff overruled it.

I must say, Mr. President, inasmuch as the new and inexperienced civilian heads of the Department of Defense in recent years have consistently conducted the war against the recommendations of the Joint Chiefs, it would seem unfortunate their Chairman is now criticized for what has been going on for 3½ years.

Who made what decisions at action in Vietnam has been brought out in hearings before the Military Preparedness Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, where, under oath, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, members of the Joint Chiefs, other heads of departments and officers who had retired in protest, gave us the truth. Senators present in the Chamber today, including my fellow members on the Committee on Armed Services, know the degree to which the recommendations of the military as to how this war should be conducted have been disregarded. Furthermore, Mr. President, it was not their decision to get into this war.

So I hope the name of a great American, a personal friend, an officer who has done his best to serve his country to the best of his ability, and whose major recommendations with respect to the war have been so consistently disregarded in the past, who is wanted by the new Pentagon management to help with a war in which we have already lost over 23,000 dead and over 100,000 wounded, will not run the risk of being sullied by attacking him for events for which had no responsibility. Actually the reverse is true because whatever authority he had was disregarded by those who bear the responsibility for the failure of this war.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I hope that the Senate will give the President the authority to reappoint Gen. Earle Wheeler as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I rise to join in the remarks of the distinguished junior Senator from Kansas and the able senior Senator from Missouri. As other Senators have stated, I too have the highest regard for my good friend from the great State of Ohio [Mr. YOUNG]. I know that he is a very conscientious Senator, and I fully appreciate the reasons that he has given for the position he has taken on the pending resolution.

Mr. President, under our system of government, the President of the United States is Commander in Chief. Lyndon B. Johnson will be President until January 20, 1969. During that period of time, he needs to have, as his first military adviser, a man in whom he has full and complete confidence.

In addition, Mr. President, the President's chief civilian adviser, the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Clark Clifford, has made it very clear that he feels that General Wheeler's term should be extended for 1 year.

I think we have a duty and a responsibility to support the request of the Commander in Chief, in dealing with a special situation, which this certainly is, that the term of office be extended for 1 year.

On a personal note, I wish to say that I know General Wheeler to be indeed a man of great integrity. He is an outstanding soldier. He is a man who has demonstrated time and again that he regards seriously his responsibility to keep Congress currently informed; and we have always found him to be forthright and honest.

Mr. President, as the Senator from Missouri has so ably pointed out, I think it would be a real attack on the integrity of General Wheeler for the pending joint resolution to be rejected, thus denying him an additional 1 year in office. I believe Congress has a responsibility to support the President in his awesome duties in connection, not only with the problem in Vietnam, which is the overriding one at the moment, but with his worldwide responsibilities involved in protecting and providing adequately for the security interests of the United States of America.

I hope that the resolution will be agreed to by an overwhelming vote.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I realize how conscientious and dedicated the distinguished Senator from Ohio is in his views in regard to House Joint Resolution 1224.

As a general proposition, I fully support the 4-year limitation that has been placed on the appointment of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

But I do believe that House Joint Resolution 1224 points to an exception which should be made by Congress; so I concur in the sentiments expressed by the Senator from Missouri, the Senator from Washington, and the Senator from Kansas that it would be in the best interests of our Nation for Congress to act affirmatively on the pending resolution.

General Wheeler has served 4 years in this position. He impresses me as being an officer of unusual ability.

That in itself would not be grounds for changing the law and extending his service by an additional year; but in recent months we have had a new Secretary of Defense. He has been in office only a short time, and he has earnestly requested, as has the President of the United States, that General Wheeler be continued for 1 additional year in his capacity as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

It seems to me it is a reasonable request when one considers that we are engaged in a major war in Vietnam, we have 525,000 troops there at the present time, and we are facing explosive possibilities elsewhere in the world.

The Senate would be very wise, I feel, to follow the President's recommendation and the recommendation of the new Secretary of Defense and pass House Joint Resolution 1224 to permit the reappointment of Gen. Earle Wheeler to continue for 1 year as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The position of Secretary of Defense is a most difficult one under the best of conditions. It is especially difficult in the early months, and if Secretary of Defense Clifford feels he needs the continued assistance of General Wheeler for 1 year, I feel the Senate should consent to this request.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, in very briefly concluding my argument in support of my position on the pending joint resolution, I express my heartfelt and very sincere thanks and gratitude for the generous statements that have been made pertaining to me by four of my colleagues on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

It is very evident that mine is a minority view in that committee. But it also is very evident that there is mutual respect and affection between those of us who are serving on the Armed Services Committee and doing our utmost for our country as we see our duty.

I previously quoted the law, and should like to do so again. It reads:

> The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from the officers of the regular components of the armed forces. He serves at the pleasure of the President for a term of two years, and may be reappointed in the same manner for one additional term. However, in time of war declared by Congress there is no limit on the number of reappointments.

The present law is crystal clear. And, of course, there has been no declaration of war by Congress. Nevertheless, as was stated by the distinguished junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON], although there has been no declaration of war by Congress, this is one of the most terrible wars in which our Nation has ever been involved, and, with the exception of our War for Independence, it is probably about the longest war in which our country has ever been engaged. So, I concede that there is some validity to the argument made by the distinguished Senator from Kansas.

So that there will be no misunderstanding, may I say that I personally regard General Wheeler as an outstanding general officer of our Army. I know him. I like him. He is an honest, forthright person. In addition, I know General Wheeler to be a fine gentleman in every respect. Also, I am certain that he would be an excellent fighting, combat general. He is one of the great leaders in our Armed Forces. There is no question about that.

What I do question today, though, is not the personality or the person or the uniform, but rather the attitude, the policies, the philosophy, and the determination of the man who would occupy a high office. And I feel that the position of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is one of the most important. That position has been occupied by General Wheeler for 4 years.

The last 4 years has been an agonizing period in the history of our country. We are on the defensive in Vietnam now with respect to land operations.

I feel that we should not retain General Wheeler as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, since he has been the highest uniformed military officer throughout the unfolding of the melancholy events that have brought us to today's unhappy plight, and he bears a certain degree of responsibility for the policies pursued in Vietnam during the past 4 years. To permit him an additional year as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff would, in my opinion, be a virtual confirmation by the Congress of those policies.

There should certainly be no scapegoat. I want it definitely understood that I have a personal feeling of friendship and admiration and respect for General Wheeler. He is one of the great men in our Army.

Opposition to the pending joint resolution was also expressed in the House of Representatives. However, it was a fruitless effort there. It may also be fruitless here.

Mr. President, the assistant majority leader, who is presently on the floor of the Senate, has just talked with me. Before he talked with me, we had an understanding that I would request that the vote on the pending measure go over until tomorrow.

The assistant majority leader now has reasons that appear valid to me as to why he would like to dispose of the pending matter today.

Mr. President, I do not choose to ask for a rollcall vote on this Monday afternoon. However, as far as the junior Senator from Ohio is concerned, he is ready for a vote at the present time.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the passage of House Joint Resolution 1224.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BYRD of Virginia in the chair). There is not a sufficient second.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, and I suggest that the attaches inform Senators that a rollcall vote is about to take place.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The joint resolution is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is on its passage. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MUSKIE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF] would each vote "yea."

On this vote, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE]. If present and voting, the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "yea," and the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay."

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I announce that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senators from California [Mr. KUCHEL and Mr. MURPHY], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWERS] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. GRIFFIN], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senators from California [Mr. KUCHEL and Mr. MURPHY], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 2, as follows:

[No. 172 Leg.]

YEAS—52

Allott
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Cooper
Curtis
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Fannin
Fong
Hansen
Harris
Hart
Hickenlooper
Holland
Hollings
Hruska
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, Idaho
Mansfield
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Miller
Mondale
Moss
Mundt
Nelson
Pearson
Percy
Proxmire
Russell
Smathers
Smith
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—2

Metcalf
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—46

Aiken
Anderson
Baker
Bartlett
Brewster
Clark
Cotton
Dirksen
Dodd
Ervin
Fulbright
Gore
Griffin
Gruening
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hill
Inouye
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
Long, La.
Magnuson
McCarthy
Monroney
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Murphy
Muskie
Pastore
Pell
Prouty
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Sparkman
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Yarborough

So the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1224) was passed.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the resolution was passed be reconsidered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I am authorized to make the following statement by the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL]:

> The bill just passed by the Senate (H.J. Res. 1224) represents a formal procedure by the Congress to authorize certain action which the President could take, without authorization, "in time of war declared by Congress".
>
> We have followed this procedure only because there has been no formal declaration of war by the Congress. However, this formality should in no way be interpreted as suggesting that there has not been an informal declaration of a state of war by the

Congress through its votes on the Tonkin Gulf Resolution and subsequent appropriations activity directed at supporting the war in Vietnam—and informal declaration which precedent clearly indicates is sufficient for purposes of the Constitution.

AMENDMENT OF THE BANKRUPTCY ACT AND THE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT LAW

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, in order that we may lay before the Senate the pending business for tomorrow, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1001, S. 1316.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 1316) to amend the Bankruptcy Act and the Civil Service Retirement Law with respect to the tenure and retirement benefits of referees in bankruptcy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with amendments, on page 2, line 2, after the word "and" strike out the comma and "from and after the first day of the first pay period which begins on or after the effective date of this amendment, 7½ per centum" and insert "7½ percent"; in the second column after line 7 strike out "From and after the effective date of this amendment," and insert "After June 30, 1968."; after line 10 strike out:

(f) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of a referee in bankruptcy this section applies upon his becoming seventy-five years of age and completing five years of service, except that, as regards a referee serving on the date of the enactment of this amendment, this section applies upon his becoming seventy-five years of age and completing the term of office under which he is serving upon the effective date of this amendment.

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

(f) A referee in bankruptcy who becomes 75 years of age and completes 5 years of service shall be automatically separated from the service. The separation is effective on the last day of the month in which the referee becomes 75 years of age or completes 5 years if then over that age, and pay ends from that day. Subsections (a), (c), (d), and (e) of this section do not apply to a referee in bankruptcy.

On page 3, line 11, after "2½" strike out "per centum" and insert "percent"; and after line 15, strike out:

SEC. 6. This amendatory Act shall take effect on the first day of the first month which begins more than sixty days after the date of its approval.

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

SEC. 6. (a) The amendments made by section 2 of this Act shall become effective on the first day of the first pay period beginning on or after July 1, 1968.

(b) In the case of a referee in bankruptcy who is serving on the date of enactment of this Act, the amendment made by section 2 of this Act shall not apply until such referee has completed the term of office under which he is serving on the date of enactment of this Act.

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the third sentence of section 34a of the Bankruptcy Act (11 U.S.C. 62(a)), is amended to read as follows: "Except as otherwise provided in section 37 of this Act, each appointment and reappointment of a full-time referee shall be for a term of twelve years and each appointment and reappointment of a part-time referee shall be for a term of six years."

SEC. 2. (a) Section 8334(a) of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the word "Member," in the first sentence thereof the following: "and 7½ percent of the basic pay of each referee in bankruptcy,"

(b) Section 8334(c) of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end of the chart the following:

"Referee in bank-
ruptcy for ref- After June 30, 1968."
eree service___ 7½

SEC. 3. Section 8335 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following subsection:

"(f) A referee in bankruptcy who becomes 75 years of age and completes 5 years of service shall be automatically separated from the service. The separation is effective on the last day of the month in which the referee becomes 75 years of age or completes 5 years if then over that age, and pay ends from that day. Subsections (a), (c), (d), and (e) of this section do not apply to a referee in bankruptcy."

SEC. 4. Section 8339(c) of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting "(1)" after "(c)", renumbering items "(1)" and "(2)" to "(A)" and "(B)", respectively, and adding at the end thereof the following paragraph:

"(2) The annuity of a referee in bankruptcy retiring under this subchapter is computed under subsection (a) of this section, except that his annuity is computed, with respect to his service as a referee, by multiplying 2½ percent of his average pay by the years of that service."

SEC. 5. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, retirement benefits resulting from enactment of this Act shall be paid from the civil service retirement and disability fund.

SEC. 6 (a) The amendments made by section 2 of this Act shall become effective on the first day of the first pay period beginning on or after July 1, 1968.

(b) In the case of a referee in bankruptcy who is serving on the date of enactment of this Act, the amendment made by section 2 of this Act shall not apply until such referee has completed the term of office under which he is serving on date of enactment of this Act.

EXTENSION OF ABSENTEE REGISTRATION AND VOTING PROCEDURES TO ALL CITIZENS RESIDING ABROAD

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 2884.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2884) to amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 so as to recommend to the several States that its absentee registration and voting procedures be extended to all citizens temporarily residing abroad, which was, strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That section 101 of the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (50 U.S.C. 1451) is hereby amended by striking out paragraphs (3) and (4) and inserting in lieu thereof a new paragraph (3) as follows:

"(3) Citizens of the United States temporarily residing outside the territorial limits of the United States and the District of Columbia and their spouses and dependents when residing with or accompanying them."

SEC. 2. Section 204(b) of the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (50 U.S.C. 1464) is hereby amended by striking out subparagraphs (3) c., d., e., and f. and inserting in lieu thereof new subparagraphs (3) c., d., and e. as follows:

"c. A citizen of the United States temporarily residing outside of the territorial limits of the United States and the District of Columbia ☐
"d. A spouse or dependent of a person listed in (a) or (b) above ☐
"e. A spouse or dependent residing with or accompanying a person described in (c) above". ☐

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, S. 2884 was passed by the Senate on April 8, 1968.

The bill amends the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 by recommending to the several States that absentee registration and voting procedures be extended to all citizens temporarily residing abroad.

On May 20, 1968, the House of Representatives agreed to S. 2884 with an amendment necessitated by the enactment into positive law as part of title 50, United States Code, of the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955.

Without changing any of the text of the bill, the House amendment merely brings S. 2884 into conformity with the changes in the code.

Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Nevada.

The motion was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OF FEDERAL VOTING ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1955

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 1581.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1581) to amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (69 Stat. 584), which were, on page 2, line 14, strike out "Clauses (1) and" and insert "Clause".

On page 2, line 14, strike out "are" and insert "is".

And, on page 2, strike out lines 16 through 20, inclusive.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, S. 1581 was passed in the Senate on July 17, 1967, and in the House on May 20, 1968.

The bill amends the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 for the purpose of improving and expediting the procedures for registering and voting by members of the Armed Forces.

The House of Representatives adopted the Senate bill with one amendment which struck from the bill the requirement that the Secretary of Defense designate one day during the latter part of September in a general election year as "Armed Forces Voters Day."

The House amendment does not materially affect the bill and the Secretary of Defense may still designate a day as Armed Forces Voters Day.

Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Nevada.

The motion was agreed to.

DENNIS W. RADTKE

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on S. 2178.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 2178) for the relief of Dennis W. Radtke, which was, on page 2, line 2, strike out "in excess of 10 per centum thereof".

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives. The total amount involves only $10.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Wisconsin.

The motion was agreed to.

SENATOR GEORGE AIKEN—THE OUTSPOKEN SAGE OF THE SENATE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Parade magazine of June 2, 1968, there appeared an article, "Senator GEORGE AIKEN: The Outspoken Sage of the Senate," by Jack Anderson.

Mr. President, there are Senators and Senators' Senators. Once in a great while a Senator achieves wide recognition because of the record which he has built in his State and in this body and because he is a man whom all Members can look up to, regardless of their own political views. Such a man is the dean of the Republicans in this body, GEORGE AIKEN, of Vermont. He has proved himself, down through the years, to be one of the inspirations of this body, and, I daresay, one of the inspirations for the younger generation of this country. To me he typifies what a Senator should be—rock hard in an outlook, cased in understanding and tolerance, a man who knows how to make up his own mind and, once made, to stick to it; a man who has an awareness of the situations which confront the Nation in a period of change; a man who is willing to listen; a man who is willing to stand up and be counted.

Mr. President, I look upon GEORGE AIKEN as one of the great Senators of our generation, if not one of the great Senators in the history of the Republic.

Out of my admiration and respect for him, I ask unanimous consent that the article to which I have referred may be incorporated at this point in the RECORD. I express the hope that GEORGE AIKEN will be with us for many years to come, that we may continue to be the beneficiaries of his advice, his counsel, and his wisdom.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I would like to join the majority leader in paying my respects to one of the finest Members of this body. It has been my privilege to know GEORGE AIKEN for over a quarter century. He is a man of great character and energy, one who is always logical and constructive. I hope that we here may continue to have his advice, and the country his able and devoted service, for many years to come.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in paying my respect to Senator AIKEN, not only as a Senator from the State of Vermont, but as a Senator of the United States. He has been of great service to the Senate, the people of his State, and above all, to the people of this Nation.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I agree with the Senator from Delaware. All I can say is that they do not come any better than GEORGE AIKEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. I am sure there will be no objection if the article to which the Senator from Montana has referred is printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR GEORGE AIKEN: THE OUTSPOKEN SAGE OF THE SENATE

(By Jack Anderson)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—To repair its reputation, the Senate recently drafted a code of ethics. In the showdown voting, however, the Senate's historic reluctance to reform itself prevailed, and the new code was vented with more loopholes than a medieval fortress. Yet the senators, one by one, paid solemn lip service to the pretended reforms. At last, gnarled, gnomish Sen. George Aiken rose, the customary twinkle gone from his eyes. "I will not be a party to the perpetrating of a fraud upon the American people," he declared, "by making them think that we are trying to purify ourselves when we are really making ourselves look worse."

He stood alone when the Senate finished recording the votes, 67 to 1. But his few clipped words had an impact that belies the final count. For under his mossy exterior, there is solid granite. "Any position Aiken takes," said Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield of the Senate's senior Republican, "automatically becomes respectable, just because it's held by George Aiken."

FORTY YEARS IN POLITICS

His character has withstood the ravages of 40 years of politics. In all this time, he has served Vermont as a state legislator, lieutenant governor, governor and senator. It is a testament to his integrity that the road in front of his farm at Putney, Vt., is still unpaved.

Many of his peers would like to ignore Aiken, but they have learned they cannot. His incisive views have served as an irritant to both parties over the years, and he has seldom failed to support a Democrat when he thought the opposition was right or lambast a Republican when he believed his own party was wrong.

Like few other members of Congress, he lives on his salary. His blue suits shine. His lank red tie is a trademark. He lives in a small $150-a-month apartment near his Senate office so he can walk to work. Until she died in 1966, Beatrice Aiken, his wife for 52 years, stayed home in Putney to help keep the expenses down, waiting for Aiken's frequent visits. Lonely without her, Aiken remarried in mid-1967. His bride is Lola Pierotti, who had been his administrative assistant for many years.

Like the sugar maples near his Vermont home, Aiken imparts his wisdom in slow drops. He sits back and listens intently to the exchange of ideas in the Senate. Then he cuts through the froth of words with his sharp Yankee philosophy.

Nor has his understanding been blurred by age. Although 75, Aiken has a clear, crisp insight into the problems of today. His views are usually blunt: Here are a few of them:

On *Today's Youth*—"We have always had hippies in one form or another. I don't think kids are much worse now than they used to be. They have better educations now, but there are many without opportunities. This is where the trouble starts. They wind up blaming the system, then they try to change the system."

On *Vietnam*—"I have maintained for many months that we made a huge military commitment in that part of the world simply because we did not have the wit, the imagination or the courage to devise a political strategy to suit a political problem."

On *Civil Rights*—"If I were to wake up some morning and find, before 10 o'clock, that everyone was the same race, creed and color, people would find some other causes for prejudice by noon." He added that the militants of both races "aren't looking for solutions: they just want action."

On *The Presidency*—"As I see it, it is far more important to elect a person of integrity and ability to the presidency—one who will conscientiously perform the duties of the office as described in the Constitution—than it is to elect one on the promise that he may agree with our particular viewpoint."

Aiken has been in the Senate since 1941, but he waited until this year to issue a statement on the state of the Union. "This is a privilege I have forgone in the past," he explained, "because usually I have felt that the Union's state was not as bad as its detractors would have it, nor so good as those in office wanted to make it out to be. But this year, the state of the Union is so clearly bad that for the first time in my 27 years as a Senator I feel compelled to stand on my privilege."

Then in terse, punchy sentences, he looked at America's place in the world and rendered his verdict. "We are entering an intensely political year," he said, "and I believe the deteriorated state of politics is very much at the root of the malaise of our times. In politics, as in television, media has triumphed over matter. A man's image has become so much more important than the substance of his thoughts and ideas that we have elevated a cult of personality far above any real debate of the issues. And in this respect, we are not far apart from our ideological enemies as we would like to think we are or as we should be."

ADVICE IGNORED

He proceeded to outline concisely what he thought was wrong with President Johnson's policies. Afterward, Aiken remarked, eyes twinkling but only in half-jest, to a friend: "If Mr. Johnson did what I told him, he'd be the best President in history."

Aiken never went to college and has never pretended that he holds the world's knowledge. Still, when he believes it is time to speak, he doesn't hesitate. "Some say you shouldn't prune except at the right time of the year," he philosophizes. "I generally do it when the saw is sharp."

The Senator's rural background is always with him as he goes after the world's great issues. "Problems," he says, "are like the large rock in a farmer's field. He may hire a derrick to have it removed only to find two larger ones underneath. But, after all, problems are what make life worth living."

OPPOSITION TO INCREASED RETIREMENT BENEFITS FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, last week H.R. 16903 was approved by the House committee along with an amendment which will increase the retirement benefits of Members of Congress by 33⅓ percent above the existing law.

It is preposterous that such a proposal would even be considered at this time. Congressional approval of this proposed 33⅓-percent increase in its own retirement benefits under the circumstances existing today would be an expression of contempt for the American taxpayers.

It would be the height of fiscal irresponsibility for Congress to approve a multimillion-dollar bonus for itself at a time:

First. When we are considering the necessity of voting for a tax increase;

Second. When Congress is considering the reduction of expenditures in all areas—which reduction will automatically force the curtailment or cancellation of many otherwise meritorious projects;

Third. When our Government is confronted with a deficit of $20 billion in fiscal 1968 and a potential deficit of $28 billion in 1969—less the amount of any tax increase or expenditure reduction as approved in H.R. 15414; and

Fourth. When both our national debt and interest rates are at the highest level in the history of our country, and the stability of the American dollar is being challenged and inflation on the homefront represents a serious threat.

Not only does this bill propose to increase the retirement benefits by 33⅓ percent, but in addition it has the potential mathematical effect of increasing the retirement benefits of Members of Congress even higher in subsequent years.

Under existing law civil service retirement benefits are computed on the basis of the highest 5-year average salary. Under H.R. 16903 future benefits for Congress would be computed on the basis of the highest salary in effect at the end of retirement, which could be the salary of only 1 year or conceivably 1 month or even less.

It is true that under this bill the contributions by the Members would be raised from 7½ to 10 percent, but this increase does not offset the increased benefits.

The actuaries of the retirement division estimate that the minimum projected cost of this bill would be $14 million. The civil service retirement fund as of June 30, 1968, will have an unfunded liability of over $52 billion, and it should not be further jeopardized.

It has been rumored that rather than pass H.R. 16903, this provision may be attached as an amendment to some previously approved Senate bill, whereby it could conceivably go direct to conference without an opportunity for additional Senate committee consideration.

Foreseeing the possibility of this development I am today writing the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee urging that should such a procedure develop, our conferees reject this amendment.

If and when this proposal does reach the Senate floor it will meet a determined opposition. I am today advising the Senate leadership of my opposition to this proposal and filing a request that I be notified in advance of its consideration, whether it be in the form of a separate bill or as a part of the conference report.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 36 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, June 4, 1968, at 12 o'clock noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 3, 1968:

FEDERAL COAL MINE SAFETY BOARD OF REVIEW

George C. Trevorrow, of Maryland, to be a member of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Board of Review for a term expiring July 15, 1973 (reappointment).

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officers under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to positions of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grades as follows:

To be general

Lt. Gen. Bruce Palmer, Jr., O20117, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

To be lieutenant generals

Maj. Gen. John Edward Kelly, O20156, U.S. Army.

Maj. Gen. Richard Giles Stilwell, O21065, U.S. Army.

Maj. Gen. Walter Thomas Kerwin, Jr., O21963, Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Maj. Gen. Donald Vivian Bennett, O23001, Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

Lt. Gen. Robert Howard York, O21341, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army), to be placed on the retired list in the grade of lieutenant general under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3692.

The following-named officers under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to positions of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grades as follows:

To be general

Lt. Gen. Berton Everett Spivy, Jr., O19479, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

To be lieutenant generals

Maj. Gen. William Pelham Yarborough, O20362, U.S. Army.

Maj. Gen. John Jarvis Tolson, III, O20826, U.S. Army.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Monday, June 3, 1968*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

My Father worketh hitherto and I work.—John 5: 17.

Our Heavenly Father, returning from the memorial recess we come again to face the unending struggle to preserve and to promote the freedom which is the fruit of the faith of our fathers and which, we pray, will always be our faith.

As we share our lives in the creative endeavor to keep our country great in peace, great in war, and great in the hearts of our countrymen, may we labor diligently using all our hearts, all our heads, and all our hands. To this end strengthen Thou our hands, make serene our hearts, and put wise thoughts in our heads that our work may be well done and we may continue to be workers with Thee for good in Thy world.

O Thou who dost the vision send
 And givest each his task,
And with the task sufficient strength;
 Show us Thy will, we ask;
Give us a conscience bold and good;
 Give us a purpose true,
That it may be our highest joy,
 Our Father's work to do.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, May 29, 1968, was read and approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 16913. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 16913) entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr.

STENNIS, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HRUSKA, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. MUNDT to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill, joint and concurrent resolutions of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 444. An act to establish the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area in the States of Utah and Wyoming, and for other purposes;

S.J. Res. 106. Joint resolution regarding the status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands;

S.J. Res. 175. Joint resolution to suspend for the 1968 campaign the equal-time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 for nominees for the offices of President and Vice President; and

S. Con. Res. 73. Concurrent resolution creating a Joint Committee on Arrangements for the inauguration of the President-elect and the Vice President-elect on January 20, 1969.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to a concurrent resolution of the Senate of the following title:

S. Con. Res. 67. Concurrent resolution requesting the President to take action to insure the United States will derive maximum benefits from an expanded and intensified effort to increase the accuracy and extend the time range of weather predictions.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11308) entitled "An act to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965."

CONSENT CALENDAR

The SPEAKER. This is Consent Calendar day. The Clerk will call the first bill on the Consent Calendar.

HOOD RIVER COUNTY, OREG.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 3165) for the relief of Hood River County, Oreg.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 3165

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Hood River County, Oregon, is relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $84,841.36 representing an amount owed by such county to the United States Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, for alleged timber trespass arising out of timber sales from the land described in section 2 of this Act during the period 1946 through 1961. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this Act.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to convey, by quitclaim deed, and without monetary consideration, and within ninety days after the date on which this Act is approved, to Hood River County, Oregon, all right, title, and interest which the United States may have in and to one hundred and sixty acres of land, more or less, located in Hood River County which land is more fully described as the northwest quarter of the northeast quarter and the north half of the northwest quarter and the southeast quarter of the northwest quarter of section 9, township 1 south, range 8 east, of the Willamette Meridian.

SEC. 3. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Hood River County, Oregon, a sum of money, which shall be determined by the Secretary of Agriculture as provided in subsection (b) of this section, in full settlement of all its claims against the United States for the sale of timber by the United States Forest Service from the land described in section 2 of this Act.

(b) The Secretary of Agriculture shall determine and certify to the Secretary of the Treasury a sum of money which equals the revenue received by the United States from any sale of timber made by the United States Forest Service after January 1, 1964, from the land described in section 2 of this Act.

SEC. 4. No part of the amount appropriated in section 3 of this Act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert:

"That Hood River County, Oreg., is relieved of all liability to the United States for any amounts owed by such county to the United States for amounts claimed by the U.S. Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, for alleged timber trespass arising out of timber sales during the period 1946 through 1961, inclusive, from the land described as follows:

"One hundred and sixty acres of land, more or less, located in Hood River County which land is more fully described as the northwest quarter of the northeast quarter and the north half of the northwest quarter and the southeast quarter of the northwest quarter of section 9, township 1 south, range 8 east, of the Willamette Meridian."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

JOHN E. FOGARTY FEDERAL BUILDING

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 16629) to name the U.S. customhouse, Providence, Rhode Island, the "John E. Fogarty Building."

There being no objection, the clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 16629

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States customhouse, Providence, Rhode Island, shall, from and after the date of enactment of this Act, be known and designated as the "John E. Fogarty Building". Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, record, or other paper of the United States to such United States customhouse shall be held to be a reference to the "John E. Fogarty Building".

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 5, insert "Federal" after "Fogarty".

On page 1, line 9, insert "Federal" after "Fogarty".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to name the United States customhouse, Providence, Rhode Island, the 'John E. Fogarty Federal Building'."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, the bill, H.R. 16629, sponsored by our distinguished friend and colleague from Rhode Island [Mr. TIERNAN] provides that the U.S. customhouse building in Providnce, R.I., be named the "John E. Fogarty Federal Building" in honor of our distinguished and beloved colleague, the late John E. Fogarty.

This was the building in which John Fogarty had his office for so many years as a Representative in Congress. He was elected to the 77th and 78th Congresses and served from January 31, 1941, until his resignation on December 7, 1944, to enlist in the U.S. Navy. He was reelected to the 79th and to the 11 succeeding Congresses, serving from January 3, 1945, until his death on January 10, 1967, when he suffered a severe heart attack and died in his congressional office while waiting to go on the floor to be sworn in for a new term in the House of Representatives.

John, a great American and public servant, established one of the great records in the history of the Congress, first as a member and then as a subcommittee chairman on the Committee on Appropriations. It is impossible to evaluate the impact of John Fogarty on the cause closest to him—the support of medical research. The National Institutes of Health is today the world's most powerful and influential force for the support and conduct of medical research due in large measure to the hard work and perseverance of John E. Fogarty, who fought so well and so long for the programs it carries on. Thus, his work in the Congress is a contribution not only to the lives of all Americans but all who are beneficiaries of medical advances throughout the world. His dedication, efforts, and foresight for the betterment of the health of people throughout the world for today and future generations stand as a memorial to our beloved John E. Fogarty, who leaves a better world for his having been in it.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Public Works be discharged from further consideration of the bill (S. 3363) to designate the U.S. Customs House Building in Providence, R.I., as the "John E. Fogarty Federal Building," and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 3363

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States Customs House Building in Providence, Rhode Island, is hereby designated as the "John E. Fogarty Federal Building" in memory of the late John E. Fogarty, a distinguished Member of the United States House of Representatives from the State of Rhode Island from 1945 through 1967. Any reference to such building in any law, regulation, document, record, map, or other paper of the United States shall be deemed a reference to such building as the "John E. Fogarty Federal Building".

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GRAY

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GRAY: Strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 3363 and insert the provision of H.R. 16629, as passed, as follows:

"That the United States customhouse, Providence, Rhode Island, shall, from and after the date of enactment of this Act, be known and designated as the 'John E. Fogarty Federal Building'. Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, record, or other paper of the United States to such United States customhouse shall be held to be a reference to the 'John E. Fogarty Federal Building'."

The amendment was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 16629) was laid on the table.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. TIERNAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak on behalf of my bill H.R. 16629 which provides that the U.S. customhouse in Providence, R.I., be designated as the "John E. Fogarty Federal Building."

John Fogarty served in this Chamber for 26 years, half his lifespan. He was an uncomplicated man who from the beginning of his public life held an unshakable faith in the democratic belief that ordinary and unadorned men could govern themselves far better than a monarch or a ruling elite. It seems to me that he had the people most on his mind when he turned down a golden opportunity to be elected to the Senate in 1960. His humanitarian record attests to his success in helping to enrich and improve the life of all people, particularly in the field of health and medical resources.

John had his Rhode Island office in the U.S. customhouse building for over 22 years. The building became a part of him and in some way gained from its most famous occupant an added look of strength and character.

The renaming of this building in honor of John E. Fogarty will continue to remind all of us in Rhode Island of the great legacy he left for all Americans. On behalf of the family of Congressman Fogarty and the Rhode Island congressional delegation, I want to thank the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Public Works, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. FALLON]; and the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY], and all the members of the committee for their prompt consideration and support of this legislation.

SALARY STEP ADJUSTMENTS FOR EMPLOYEES MOVING TO AND FROM DIFFERENT PAY SYSTEMS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 15395) to provide salary step advancements and adjustments for employees moving to and from different pay systems, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 15395

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 5334 of title 5, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsections (c), (d), and (e) as subsection (d), (e), and (f) respectively; and

(2) by inserting immediately following subsection (b) the following new subsection:

"(c) An employee who, without break in service of one workday or more—

"(1) moves from a position to which this subchapter does not apply to a position to which this subchapter applies in a grade the minimum rate of which exceeds the minimum rate of the pay range from which he moves by at least the sum of two step-increases in that pay range; or

"(2) together with his position is brought under this subchapter and chapter 51 of this title, with the position being placed in a grade the minimum rate of which exceeds the minimum rate of the pay range from which he moves by at least the sum of two step-increases in that pay range;

is entitled to basic pay at the lowest rate of the grade to which he moves under subparagraph (1) or (2) of this subsection which exceeds his rate of pay immediately before his move under either of such subparagraphs by at least the sum of two step-increases in the pay range from which he moves. If there is no rate in the grade to which he moves under either of such subparagraphs which is at least the sum of two such step-increases above his rate of pay immediately before his move under either of such subparagraphs, he is entitled to—

"(A) the maximum rate of the grade to which he moves, or

"(B) a rate of basic pay equal to his rate of pay immediately before his move, if the latter rate is the higher.".

(b) Subsection (e) of such section 5334 (which, prior to the redesignations made by subsection (a) of this section, was subsection (d) of such section 5334) is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end of the first sentence thereof the following: "and is not entitled to a higher rate of basic pay under subsection (c) of this section".

SEC. 2. (a) Section 3551(a) of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"(a) The Postmaster General may appoint any person who has been employed in a civilian capacity in any branch of the United States Government or the government of the District of Columbia to any position in the postal field service and may place him in any step of the appropriate salary level of the Postal Field Service Schedule which is less than one full step above the highest basic salary which he received from the United States or the District of Columbia, unless the provisions of subsection (d) of this section are applicable.".

(b) Section 3551 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Notwithstanding any provision to the contrary in this section or section 3559 of this title, the Postmaster General may—

"(1) effect the move, without break in service of one workday or more, of an officer or employee from a position in the departmental service, or an officer or employee from a position in another department or agency in any branch of the United States Government or the government of the District of Columbia, to a position in a salary level of the Postal Field Service Schedule the minimum rate of which exceeds the minimum rate of the pay range from which the officer or employee is moved by at least the sum of two step-increases in that pay range; and

"(2) effect the move, without break in service of one workday or more, of an officer or employee in the departmental service, or an officer or employee of another department or agency in any branch of the United States Government or the government of the District of Columbia, together with his position, to the postal field service, and place such position in a salary level of the Postal Field Service Schedule the minimum rate of which exceeds the minimum rate of the pay range from which the officer or employee is moved by at least the sum of two step-increases in that pay range. An officer or employee who becomes subject to the Postal Field Service Schedule pursuant to subparagraph (1) or (2) of this subsection is entitled to basic compensation at the lowest rate of the salary level in which he is placed pursuant to such subparagraph which exceeds his rate of pay immediately before his move under such subparagraph by at least the sum of two step-increases in the pay range from which he is moved. If there is no rate in the salary level in which he is placed pursuant to such subparagraph which is at least the sum of two such step-increases above his rate of pay immediately before his move under such subparagraph, he is entitled to—

"(A) the maximum rate of the salary level in which he is placed, or

"(B) a rate of basic compensation equal to his rate of pay immediately before his move, if the latter rate is the higher.".

With the following committee amendment:

On page 3, strike out line 10 and all that follows down through the second period in line 16 on page 5 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 2. (a) Section 3551(a) of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"'(a) The Postmaster General may appoint any person who has been employed in a civilian capacity in any branch of the United States Government or the government of the District of Columbia to any position in the postal field service and may place him in any step of the appropriate salary level of the Postal Field Service Schedule which is less than one full step above the highest basic salary which he received from the United States or the District of Columbia.'

"(b) Section 3551 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"'(d) The Postmaster General may, in lieu of exercising his authority under any other provision of this section in any particular case—

"'(1) effect the move, without break in service of one workday or more, of an officer or employee from a position in the departmental service, or an officer or employee from a position in another department or agency in any branch of the U.S. Government or the government of the District of Columbia, to a position in a salary level of the Postal Field Service Schedule the minimum rate of which exceeds the minimum rate of the pay range from which the officer or employee is moved by at least the sum of two step-increases in that pay range; and

"'(2) effect the move, without break in service of one workday or more, of an officer or employee in the departmental service, or an officer or employee of another department or agency in any branch of the U.S. Government or the government of the District of Columbia, together with his position, to the postal field service, and place such position in a salary level of the Postal Field Service Schedule the minimum rate of which exceeds the minimum rate of the pay range from which the officer or employee is moved by at least the sum of two step-increases in that pay range.

An officer or employee who becomes subject to the postal field service schedule pursuant to subparagraph (1) or (2) of this subsection is entitled to basic compensation at the lowest rate of the salary level in which he is placed pursuant to such subparagraph which exceeds his rate of pay immediately before his move under such subparagraph by at least the sum of two step increases in the pay range from which he is moved. If there is no rate in the salary level in which he is placed pursuant to such subparagraph which is at least the sum of two such step increases above his rate of pay immediately before his move under such subparagraph, he is entitled to—

"'(A) the maximum rate of the salary level in which he is placed, or

"'(B) a rate of basic compensation equal to his rate of pay immediately before his move, if the latter rate is the higher.

"'(e) In the administration and operation of subsection (d) of this section—

"'(1) subparagraph (1) of such subsection does not authorize the move of any officer or employee to—

"'(A) any position subject to the Postal Field Service Schedule, the duties, responsibilities, and work requirements of which substantially involve the actual performance of—

"'(i) the collection, separation, distribution, processing, dispatch, transporting, or delivery of mail,

"'(ii) postal services at a public window of a post office, or

"'(iii) first-level supervision of employees performing duties, responsibilities, and work requirements covered by clause (i) or (ii) above, and

"'(B) any other position in a post office, unless the Postmaster General determines that no qualified employee in the postal field service serving under a career appointment at that post office is available for, and willing to accept, appointment to the position concerned; and

"'(2) subparagraph (2) of such subsection does not authorize the move of an officer or employee, together with his position, to a post office, unless the Postmaster General determines that no qualified employee in the postal field service serving under a career appointment at that post office is available for, and willing to accept, appointment to the needed position having the duties, responsibilities, and work requirements concerned.'."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. **NIX**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter on the bill just passed.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

There was no objection.

EXEMPTION OF CERTAIN VESSELS FROM COAST GUARD REQUIREMENT

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 13366) to exempt certain vessels engaged in the fishing industry from the requirements of certain laws.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13366

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4426 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (46 U.S.C. 404) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "As used herein, the phrase 'engaged in fishing as a regular business' includes cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons which are engaged exclusively in (1) the carriage of cargo to or from vessels in the fishery or a facility used or to be used in the processing or assembling of fishery products, or (2) the transportation of cannery or fishing personnel to or from operating locations."

Sec. 2. Section 1 of the Act of August 27, 1935 (46 U.S.C. 88), is amended by designating the existing section as subsection (a) and by adding a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) All cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons except those constructed after the effective date of this subsection or those converted to either of such services after five years from the effective date of this subsection are exempt from the requirements of this Act."

Sec. 3. The first proviso of section 1 of the Act of June 20, 1936 (46 U.S.C. 367), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "As used herein, the phrase 'any vessel engaged in the fishing, oystering, clamming, crabbing, or any other branch of the fishery or kelp or sponge industries' includes cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons which are engaged exclusively in (1) the carriage of cargo to or from vessels in the fishery or a facility used or to be used in the processing or assembling of fishery products, or (2) the transportation of cannery or fishery personnel to or from operating locations."

Sec. 4. The first subparagraph of section 4417a of the Revised Statutes of the United States (46 U.S.C. 391a(1)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "Notwithstanding the first sentence hereof, cannery tenders, fishing tenders or fishing vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons when engaged exclusively in the fishing industry shall be allowed to have on board inflammable or combustible cargo in bulk to the extent and upon conditions as may be required by regulations promulgated by the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating."

Sec. 5. This Act is effective upon enactment.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu there of the following:

"That section 4426 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (46 U.S.C. 404) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentences: 'As used herein, the phrase "engaged in fishing as a regular business" includes cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons used in the salmon or crab fisheries of the States of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska which are engaged exclusively in (1) the carriage of cargo to or from vessels in the fishery or a facility used or to be used in the processing or assembling of fishery products, or (2) the transportation of cannery of fishing personnel to or from operating locations. The exemption of the foregoing sentence for cannery tender or fishing tender vessels shall continue in force for five years from the effective date of this amendment.'

"Sec. 2. Section 1 of the Act of August 27, 1935 (46 U.S.C. 88), is amended by designating the existing section as subsection (a) and by adding a new subsection (b) as follows:

"'(b) All cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons used in the salmon or crab fisheries of the States of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska except those constructed after the effective date of this subsection or those converted to either of such services after five years from the effective date of this subsection are exempt from the requirements of this Act.'

"Sec. 3. The first proviso of section 1 of the Act of June 20, 1936 (46 U.S.C. 367), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentences: 'As used herein, the phrase "any vessel engaged in the fishing, oystering, clamming, crabbing, or any other branch of the fishery or kelp or sponge industries" including cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons used in the salmon or crab fisheries of the States of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska which are engaged exclusively in (1) the carriage of cargo to or from vessels in the fishery or a facility used or to be used in the processing or assembling of fishery products, and (2) the transportation of cannery or fishing personnel to or from operating locations. The exemption of the foregoing sentence for cannery tender or fishing tender vessels shall continue in force for five years from the effective date of this amendment.'

"Sec. 4. The first subparagraph of section 4417a of the Revised Statutes of the United States (46 U.S.C. 391a(1)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: 'Notwithstanding the first sentence hereof, cannery tenders, fishing tenders or fishing vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons used in the salmon or crab fisheries of the States of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska when engaged exclusively in the fishing industry shall be allowed to have on board inflammable or combustible cargo in bulk to the extent and upon conditions as may be required by regulations promulgated by the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating.'"

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. **GARMATZ**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries be discharged from further consideration of the bill S. 2047 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 2047

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 4426 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (46 U.S.C. 404) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "As used herein, the phrase 'engaged in fishing as a regular business' includes cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons which are engaged exclusively in (1) the carriage of cargo to or from vessels in the fishery or a facility used or to be used in the processing or assembling of fishery products, or (2) the transportation of cannery or fishing personnel to or from operating locations."

Sec. 2. Section 1 of the Act of August 27, 1935 (46 U.S.C. 88), is amended by designating the existing section as subsection (a) and by adding a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) All cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons except those constructed after the effective date of this subsection or those converted to either of such services after five years from the effective date of this subsection are exempt from the requirements of this Act."

Sec. 3. The first proviso of section 1 of the Act of June 20, 1936 (46 U.S.C. 367), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "As used herein, the phrase 'any vessel engaged in the fishing, oystering, clamming, crabbing, or any other branch of the fishery or kelp or sponge industries' includes cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons which are engaged exclusively in (1) the carriage of cargo to or from vessels in the fishery or a facility used or to be used in the processing or assembling of fishery products, or (2) the transportation of cannery or fishing personnel to or from operating locations."

Sec. 4. The first subparagraph of section 4417a of the Revised Statutes of the United States (46 U.S.C. 391a(1)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "Notwithstanding the first sentence hereof, cannery tenders, fishing tenders or fishing vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons when engaged exclusively in the fishing industry shall be allowed to have on board inflammable or combustible cargo in bulk to the extent and upon conditions as may be required by regulations promulgated by the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating."

Sec. 5. This Act is effective upon enactment.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GARMATZ

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Garmatz: Strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 2047 and insert in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 13366, as passed, as follows:

"That section 4426 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (46 U.S.C. 404) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentences 'As used herein, the phrase "engaged in fishing as a regular business" includes cannery tender or fishing tender vessel of not more than five hundred gross tons used in the salmon or crab fisheries of the States of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska which are engaged exclusively in (1) the carriage of cargo to or from vessels in the fishery or a facility used or to be used in the processing or assembling of fishery products, or (2) the transportation of cannery or fishing personnel to or from operating locations. The exemption of the foregoing sentence for cannery tender or fishing tender vessels shall continue in force for five years from the effective date of this amendment.'

"Sec. 2. Section 1 of the Act of August 27, 1935 (46 U.S.C. 88), is amended by designating the existing section as subsection (a) and by adding a new subsection (b) as follows:

" '(b) All cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons used in the salmon or crab fisheries of the States of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska except those constructed after the effective date of this subsection or those converted to either of such services after five years from the effective date of this subsection are exempt from the requirements of this Act.'

"Sec. 3. The first proviso of section 1 of the Act of June 20, 1936 (46 U.S.C. 367), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentences: 'As used herein, the phrase "any vessel engaged in the fishing, oystering, clamming, crabbing, or any other branch of the fishery or kelp or sponge industries" includes cannery tender or fishing tender vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons used in the salmon or crab fisheries of the States of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska which are engaged exclusively in (1) the carriage of cargo to or from vessels in the fishery or a facility used or to be used in the processing or assembling of fishery products, or (2) the transportation of cannery or fishing personnel to or from operating locations. The exemption of the foregoing sentence for cannery tender or fishing tender vessels shall continue in force for five years from the effective date of this amendment.'

"Sec. 4. The first subparagraph of section 4417a of the Revised Statutes of the United States (46 U.S.C. 391a(1)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: 'Notwithstanding the first sentence hereof, cannery tenders, fishing tenders, or fishing vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons used in the salmon or crab fisheries of the States of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska when engaged exclusively in the fishing industry shall be allowed to have on board inflammable or combustible cargo in bulk to the extent and upon conditions as may be required by regulations promulgated by the Secretary of the department in which the Coast Guard is operating.' "

The amendment was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 13366) was laid on the table.

TO REPEAL SECTION 1727 OF TITLE 18, UNITED STATES CODE, RELATING TO POSTAGE ACCOUNTING

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 17024) to repeal section 1727 of title 18, United States Code, so as to permit prosecution of postal employees for failure to remit postage due collections, under the postal embezzlement statute, section 1711 of title 18, United States Code.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 17024

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 1727 of title 18, United States Code, is hereby repealed; and

(b) The table of contents for chapter 83 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking therefrom

"1727. Postage accounting."

Sec. 2. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to affect in any way any prosecution for any offense occurring prior to the date of enactment of such Act.

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 17024. The purpose of this bill is to repeal section 1727 of title 18, United States Code, so as to permit prosecution under section 1711 of title 18 where postal employees have failed to remit their postage-due collections.

At present, when a postal employee fails to remit his postage-due collections, both section 1727 and section 1711 apply. Section 1711 says that a person found guilty of this crime "shall be fined in a sum equal to the amount or value of the money or property embezzled," or shall be "imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both; but if the amount or value thereof does not exceed $100, he shall be fined no more than $1,000 or imprisoned no more than 1 year, or both."

On the other hand, section 1727 says that the person found guilty of the same crime "shall be fined no more than $50."

Thus, the question arises as to which penalty the court might impose. This is a serious question in view of the fact that in some cases as much as $10,000 has been embezzled. Where one statute says that the court may not punish the defendant in excess of a $50 fine, and another statute says that for the same crime the court may not punish the defendant in excess of a 10-year prison sentence and/or a more severe fine, it follows that the only way that the court can obey both statutes is by imposing the lesser penalty. This principle applies in other areas of the law. For example, when a plaintiff seeks to bring a lawsuit, and finds that there are two statutes of limitation that apply, he, of course, must obey them both, the shorter as well as the longer.

Since the courts have followed this principle in postal embezzlement cases, this legislation becomes necessary. By eliminating the lower limitation, the court becomes free to impose the appropriate penalty.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

INTEREST RATES ON LOANS AND MORTGAGES

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 14796) to change the provision with respect to the maximum rate of interest permitted on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a similar Senate bill, S. 3017, be considered in lieu of the House bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to ask the distinguished gentleman from Maryland if this limitation or ceiling for interest rates is for all time to come? And if the answer is in the affirmative, will the legislation or committee then reduce the ceiling at a subsequent time should our economy stabilize and interest rates in general decline?

Mr. GARMATZ. I would say the answer is "yes."

Mr. HALL. The answer is "yes" to both questions?

Would it require additional legislation to lower the interest rate subsequently?

Mr. GARMATZ. No. The administration of the Merchant Marine Administration has the right to lower the rates if necessary.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 3017

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of American in Congress assembled, That section 1104(a)(5) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(5) shall secure bonds, notes, or other obligations bearing interest (exclusive of premium charges for insurance, and service charges, if any) at rates not to exceed such per centum per annum on the principal obligation outstanding as the Secretary of Commerce determines to be reasonable, taking into account the range of interest rates prevailing in the private market for similar loans and the risks assumed by the Department of Commerce;".

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 14796) was laid on the table.

CRAB ORCHARD NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE

The Clerk called the bill (S. 2452) to provide for the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in Illinois.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 2452

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the obtaining or retaining of exclusive jurisdiction or any other measure of legislative jurisdiction by the United States over lands or interests therein which have been or shall hereafter be acquired as part of the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in Illinois shall not be required. The Secretary of the Interior may relinquish to the State of Illinois such measure of legislative jurisdiction as he may deem desirable over any lands or interests in the said refuge that are under his immediate jurisdiction, custody, or control. Such relinquishment of jurisdiction on the part of the United States shall be indicated by filing a notice thereof in such manner as may be prescribed for this purpose by the laws of the State of Illinois, and unless and until a notice is filed in accordance with such State laws, or with the Governor if the laws of such State do not prescribe another manner, it shall be conclusively presumed that no transfer of jurisdiction pursuant to this Act has taken place, nor shall any transfer of legislative jurisdiction pursuant to this Act take place unless and until the State of Illinois has accepted jurisdiction in such manner as its laws may provide. Upon a relinquishment by the United States of all of its legislative jurisdiction over said refuge to the State of Illinois, the State thereafter shall, with respect to such area, exercise the same jurisdiction which it would have had if legislative jurisdiction over such area had never been in the United States.

SEC. 2. Any civil or criminal process, lawfully issued by competent authority of the State of Illinois or political subdivision thereof may be served and executed within any area of the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge under the exclusive, partial, or concurrent jurisdiction of the United States to the same extent and with the same effect as though such area were not subject to the legislative jurisdiction of the United States: *Provided,* That this section shall not be construed to affect the rights of authorized officers of the Federal Government or of any department or agency thereof to issue rules and regulations at any time for the purpose of preventing interference with the carrying out of Federal functions.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation. In the interest of good law enforcement and in behalf of convenience for the visitor who enjoys the fine facilities at the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge, this legislation is needed.

Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge—located in the State of Illinois—comprises approximately 43,000 acres of land over which uniform Federal and State jurisdiction does not exist. The northeastern portion of the refuge, consisting of approximately 21,000 acres of land, was formerly administered by the War Department as the Illinois ordnance plant. Exclusive legislative jurisdiction of these lands was accepted by the United States from the State in 1942. Such jurisdiction continues to be vested in the United States and cannot be relinquished except by an act of Congress.

Except for a small area of about 20 acres acquired by the Department of the Army, the remainder of the refuge area, of approximately 21,500 acres in the western half of the refuge, was acquired from 1933 to 1935 by the Resettlement Administration of the Department of Agriculture. The United States has something less than exclusive legislative jurisdiction over this area.

The act of August 5, 1947 (61 Stat. 770) transferred to the Secretary of the Interior—for administration, development, and disposition—the 43,000 acres of land, now known as the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge.

As to land in the exclusive legislative jurisdiction area, only Federal laws are applicable, and criminal laws may be enforced only by Federal authorities and in Federal courts. In the rest of the refuge—as in other refuges and most other federally owned areas—State laws not inconsistent with Federal purposes are applicable and are enforced by State authorities, supplemented by Federal laws and regulations which are enforced by Federal authorities.

Various law-enforcement problems involving both capital offenses and minor crimes have arisen out of the existence of the mixed jurisdiction of this refuge.

Some examples of the problem are: Hunting, fishing, and trapping are permitted on various parts of the refuge by Federal regulations, which in all instances require that the hunter, fisherman, or trapper comply with State laws and regulations, and State licensing requirements. However, State officials lack authority to prosecute violations occurring on the portion of the refuge subject to exclusive jurisdiction.

In 1961, an employee of one of the industries in the area was involved in an automobile accident on the portion of the refuge subject to exclusive legislative jurisdiction. Illinois State police endeavored to prosecute the employee for not having in his possession a motor vehicle operator's license. They were unsuccessful because of lack of jurisdiction.

A motor grader owned by a contractor—who was building a public highway through the portion of the refuge subject to exclusive legislative jurisdiction—was sabotaged in 1958. The State police refused to investigate because the crime occurred on an area subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States. Thus, it was necessary to call in the FBI. Such action could have been avoided had the State possessed legislative jurisdiction over the area.

There would be no additional cost to the Federal Government in the event this legislation is enacted.

In fact, it is estimated by the Department of the Interior that its enactment should result in a savings of time and manpower on the part of refuge personnel and, at times, that of other Federal law-enforcement officers.

I urge passage. Thank you.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZE COOPERATION WITH CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES TO CONTROL CERTAIN LIVESTOCK DISEASES

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 16451) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the several governments of Central America in the prevention, control, and eradication of foot-and-mouth disease or rinderpest.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 16451

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to cooperate with the several governments of Central America in carrying out operations or measures to prevent or retard, suppress, or control, or to eradicate foot-and-mouth disease or rinderpest in Central America where he deems such action necessary to protect the livestock and related industries of the United States. In performing the operations or measures herein authorized, the several governments of Central America shall be responsible for the authority necessary to carry out such operations or measures on all lands and properties in each nation and for such other facilities and means as in the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture are necessary. The measure and character of cooperation carried out under this Act on the part of the United States and on the part of the several governments of Central America, including the expenditure or use of funds appropriated pursuant to this Act, shall be such as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture. Arrangements for the cooperation authorized by this Act shall be made through and in consultation with the Secretary of State. The authority contained in this Act is in addition to and not in substitution for the authority of existing law.

SEC. 2. For purposes of this Act, funds appropriated pursuant thereto may also be used for the purchase or hire of passenger motor vehicles and aircraft, for printing and binding without regard to section 87 of the Act of January 12, 1895, or section 11 of the Act of March 1, 1919 (44 U.S.C. 111), and for the employment of civilian nationals of the several nations of Central America.

SEC. 3. The governments of Central America, for the purposes of this Act, mean the governments for those countries located between the Republic of Columbia and the Republic of Mexico.

SEC. 4. In carrying out this Act the Secretary of Agriculture is further authorized to cooperate with other public and private organizations and individuals.

SEC. 5. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LEASE AND TRANSFER OF CERTAIN TOBACCO ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 17002) to amend the tobacco marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 17002

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (b) of section 318 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1318(b)), be amended by changing the second condition to read as follows: "(2) no transfer other than by lease of an allotment or quota from a farm subject to a mortgage or other lien shall be permitted unless the transfer is agreed to by the lienholders;".

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, following "other than by" insert "annual".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR PREPARATION OF A ROLL OF PERSONS OF CALIFORNIA INDIAN DESCENT AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF CERTAIN JUDGMENT FUNDS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10911) to provide for preparation of a roll of persons of California Indian descent who are eligible to share in the distribution of certain judgment funds and for a referendum on the compromise settlement in consolidated dockets Nos. 31, 37, 80, 80–D, ond 347, Indian Claims Commission.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to interrogate one of the sponsors of this bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JOHNSON] reserves the right to object.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, first of all I would like to have one of the sponsors tell the House how much money will be available for distribution to the Indians of California.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ASPINALL. There will be available as of this time—and of course the interest is accumulating every day—$30.2 million.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. That would be the total amount available for distribution?

Mr. ASPINALL. As of this time, but the interest is accumulating on that amount daily.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. The next question is that if a roll is taken as to the number of Indians entitled to share in this distribution, approximately how many Indians would be involved? What would be the total number that the gentleman would expect to be enrolled?

Mr. ASPINALL. If my colleague will yield once again, the exact number, of course, is not known, but it is some place around 40,000.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. 40,000? This would mean that each Indian then would get around $700 on this distribution?

Mr. ASPINALL. It would be $700 plus.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Will there be any strings attached to the distribution of this money, or will it be paid out without any strings attached at all?

Mr. ASPINALL. Without any strings attached at all, as far as the per capita payment is concerned.

Of course, there may be some Indians who will not apply for some reason or other, and that amount of money, small though it might be, would remain in the Treasury.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. I have another question. Quite a number of Indians have come here to Resurrection City and I have heard them on television and the radio bemoaning the fact of the relatively raw deal that they have received, and so forth.

I have been on this committee for 3 years and it seems that large sums of money, millions of dollars, have been paid out to various Indian tribes.

Will this $29 million or $30 million satisfy the Indians of California, would you say?

Mr. ASPINALL. I would say it would not satisfy all of them. Indians are human just like all other people and it may be some of them will not be satisfied, but so far as this judgment is concerned, or so far as obtaining any judgment under the Indian Claims Commission procedure, this will have to satisfy them. They will have to have somebody, if they are not satisfied, bring another bill to the Congress and that bill will have to stand on its own and it will not be handled through the present Indian Claims Commission procedure.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Would it not be better rather than just paying money out promiscuously to them, if you established a family plan distribution like you have in some of the other bills that come before the Congress?

Mr. ASPINALL. On this particular matter the answer, of course is "No." These Indians are scattered. Some do not belong to any bands and others belong to small bands and there is no way at all to supervise such a proposition. We would have done that if it were possible.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HALL. My questions are ones of principle and involve questions of precedents rather than the wisdom of the Indian Claims Commission or the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Will this, perhaps, establish a precedent in distributing land in lieu of now worthless paper money to Indians who have a just claim?

Mr. ASPINALL. I would answer my colleague, the gentleman from Missouri, and say it could not establish any precedent. These Indians, as I have suggested, are scattered—40,000 of them—all of them except perhaps 300 or 400 are favorable to this distribution. There is no other way these Indians could receive any kind of like treatment from the Federal Government except through this judgment.

Mr. HALL. But, is there not a provision in this bill, or the amendments thereunto, or in the report, that they may receive land instead of cash money?

Mr. ASPINALL. I know of no provision in this particular bill because this is purely a money bill.

Mr. HALL. This helps my problem. I appreciate the statement and the legislative record made by the distinguished chairman. I had understood that some of the departments were questioning a precedent of land redistribution out of Federal holdings in lieu of cash in part.

Mr. ASPINALL. Not in this particular legislation.

Mr. HALL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the statement has been made that these Indians will be relatively well satisfied, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 10911

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Secretary of the Interior shall prepare a roll of persons who apply for inclusion thereon and (1) whose names or the name of an ancestor of whom appears on any of the ap-

proved rolls heretofore prepared pursuant to the Act of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat. 602) and the amendments thereto or who can establish, to satisfaction of the Secretary, descent from an Indian ancestor who resided in California on June 1, 1852, and (ii) who were born on or before and were living on the effective date of this Act.

(b) The roll so prepared shall indicate, as nearly as possible, the group or groups of Indians of California with which the ancestors of each enrollee were affiliated on June 1, 1852. If the affiliation of any of an enrollee's ancestors on that date is unknown, it shall be presumed to be the same as that of the ancestors whose affiliation is known unless there is sound reason to believe that it was not such.

(c) Application for enrollment shall be filed with the Area Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Sacramento, California, on forms prescribed for that purpose.

SEC. 2. (a) When preparation of the aforesaid roll has been completed and it has been approved by the Secretary, he shall, for the purpose of determining whether a majority of those participating therein are in favor of accepting the $29,100,000 compromise settlement approved by the Indian Claims Commission on July 20, 1964, in its consolidated dockets numbered 31, 37, 80, 80 D, and 347, conduct a referendum of all adult persons whose names appear on the roll except those whose ancestry is derived solely from one or more of the following groups: Northern Paiute, Southern Paiute, Mohave, Quecham (Yuma), Chemehuevi, Shoshone, Washoe, Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin Band of Snakes.

(b) Said referendum shall be conducted by sending, by registered or certified mail, a ballot to the last known address of each person entitled to vote in the referendum, which ballot shall be designed to indicate the respondent's approval or disapproval of the compromise settlement referred to in subsection (a) of this section and shall be returnable to the Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Sacramento, California, on or before the date thereon specified.

(c) If a majority of the votes validly cast in said referendum in favor of accepting the compromise settlement, the Secretary shall distribute to each person whose name appears on the roll prepared pursuant to the first section of this Act except those whose ancestry is derived solely from one or more of the groups set out in subsection (a) of this section an equal share of the moneys which were appropriated by the Act of October 7, 1964 (78 Stat. 1033; H. Doc. 399, Eighty eighth Congress, p. 10) in satisfaction of the judgment of the Indian Claims Commission hereinbefore referred to plus the interest earned thereon, minus attorneys fees, litigation expenses (including the reimbursement of funds expended under authority of the Acts of August 4, 1955 (69 Stat. 460) and July 14, 1960 (74 Stat. 509), a proper share of the costs of roll preparation, and such amounts as may be required to effect the distribution, provided, however, that the costs of conducting the referendum provided herein shall not be a charge against said judgment.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall distribute to each person whose name appears on the roll prepared pursuant to section 1 of this Act an equal share of the undistributed balance of the moneys appropriated in satisfaction of the judgment of the Court of Claims in the case of The Indians of California against United States (102 Court of Claims 837; 59 Stat. 94; House Document 85; Seventy-fifth Congress, page 4), plus the interest earned thereon, minus a proper share of the costs of roll preparation and such amounts as may be necessary to effect the distribution.

SEC. 4. Each share distributable to an enrollee under sections 2 and 3 of this Act shall be paid directly to the enrollee or, if he is deceased at the time of distribution, to his heirs or legatees unless the distributee is under twenty-one years of age or is otherwise under legal disability, in which case such disposition shall be made of the share as the Secretary determines will adequately protect the best interests of the distributee. Funds distributed under the provisions of this Act shall not be subject to Federal or State income taxes.

SEC. 5. The Secretary is authorized to prescribe rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this Act, which rules and regulations shall include an appropriate deadline for the filing of applications for enrollment under the first section of this Act and for the return of ballots in the referendum for which provision is made in section 2 of this Act. The determinations of the Secretary regarding eligibility for enrollment, the affiliation of an applicant's ancestors, and the shares of the cost of roll preparation to be charged to each of the two funds referred to in sections 2 and 3 of this Act shall be final. Not more than $250,000 in all shall be available under this Act for the costs of roll preparation and of the distribution of shares.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 3, through page 2, line 4, strike out all of section 1(a) and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That (a) the Secretary of the Interior shall prepare a roll of persons of Indian blood who apply for inclusion thereon and (i) whose names or the name of a lineal or collateral relative appears on any of the approved rolls heretofore prepared pursuant to the Act of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat. 602) and the amendments thereto or (ii) who can establish, to the satisfaction of the Secretary, lineal or collateral relationship to an Indian who resided in California on June 1, 1852, and (iii) who were born on or before and were living on the effective date of this Act."

On page 2, lines 8, 9, 10, and 11, strike out all of the second sentence of section 1(b) and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"If the affiliation of an enrollee's ancestors on that date is unknown, it shall be presumed to be the same as that of the ancestors' relatives whose affiliation is known unless there is sound reason to believe otherwise. Applicants whose ancestry is derived partly from one of the groups named in section 2(b) of this Act and partly from another group of Indians in California shall elect the affiliation to be shown for them on the roll."

On page 2, line 15, through page 4, line 4, strike out all of section 2 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary shall distribute to each person whose name appears on the roll prepared pursuant to the first section of this Act, except those whose ancestry is derived from one or more of the groups named in subsection (b) of this section, an equal share of the moneys which were appropriated by the Act of October 7, 1964 (78 Stat. 1033), in satisfaction of the judgment of the Indian Claims Commission in consolidated dockets numbered 31, 37, 80, 80–D, and 347, plus the interest earned thereon, minus attorney fees, litigation expenses (including the reimbursement of funds expended under authority of the Acts of July 1, 1946 (60 Stat. 348), August 4, 1955 (69 Stat. 460), and July 14, 1960 (74 Stat. 512)), a proper share of the costs of roll preparation, and such amounts as may be required to effect the distribution.

"(b) Persons whose ancestry is derived solely from one or more of the following groups and persons of mixed ancestry who elected to share, other than as heirs or legatees of enrollees, in any award granted to any of the following groups shall not share in the funds distributed pursuant to subsection (a) of this section: Northern Paiute, Southern Paiute, Mohave, Quechan (Yuma), Chemehuevi, Shoshone, Washoe, Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin Band of Snakes."

On page 4, line 5 through 14, strike out all of section 3 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 3. The Secretary shall distribute to each person whose name appears on the roll prepared pursuant to section 1 of this Act regardless of group affiliation an equal share of the undistributed balance of the moneys appropriated in satisfaction of the judgment of the Court of Claims in the case of The Indians of California against United States (102 Court of Claims 837; 59 Stat. 94), plus the interest earned thereon, including the reimbursed moneys and unexpended balances of the funds established by the Acts of July 1, 1946 (60 Stat. 348, August 4, 1955 (69 Stat. 460), and July 14, 1960 (74 Stat. 512)), minus a proper share of the costs of roll preparation and such amounts as may be necessary to effect the distribution."

On page 4, line 18, strike out "legates" and insert "legatees".

On page 5, lines 4 and 5, strike out "Act and for the return of ballots in the referendum for which provision is made in section 2 of this".

On page 5, line 10, strike out "$250,000," and insert "$325,000".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to provide for preparation of a roll of persons of California Indian descent and the distribution of certain judgment funds.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. HALEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill is to provide for the distribution among the Indians of California of the balances of two claims judgments recovered by them. One is a judgment awarded by the Indian Claims Commission in 1964. The other is a judgment awarded by the Court of Claims in 1944.

This is money that belongs to the Indians. It is not Federal money. The bill involves no cost to the United States.

The 1964 judgment was based on a stipulated agreement between the Indians and the Department of Justice. The judgment was for $29,100,000. It is on deposit in the U.S. Treasury and earns 4 percent interest per year until the money is distributed. After payment of attorney fees and litigation costs, the principal amounted to $26,491,000, and the interest amounted to $3,708,588, making a total of $30,199,588, as of May 23, 1968.

The Indians who are entitled to share in the distribution are the descendants of Indians who were living in California in 1852. This is the date on which the Government took their lands without compensation.

The bill directs the Secretary of the Interior to prepare a roll of persons who are eligible to share in the distribution, and to distribute the money in equal shares. The cost of preparing the roll and making the distribution will be paid from the judgment. This is standard procedure.

A few splinter groups of Indians in California are prosecuting separate claims against the United States. These claims are still pending in the Indian Claims Commission. The splinter groups will retain any judgments they may recover, and will not share in the distribution of this 1964 judgment.

Some individual Indians are dissatisfied with the amount of the $29,100,000 judgment, because they think they should have received more money. They have asked that a referendum be conducted to determine whether a majority are willing to "accept" the judgment. They think that if they vote to reject the judgment the case could be reopened and retried. This would not be possible. The judgment is final. It was based upon a stipulated agreement of the parties, and there is nothing for the Indians to vote on. The bill therefore makes no provision for a referendum. The only thing the bill can do is provide for a distribution of the money now in the Treasury to the credit of the Indians as a group.

The 1944 judgment was for approximately $5,000,000, and most of it has been distributed. As of May 23, 1968, the balance on deposit was $796,616, and the interest was $338,626, making a total of $1,135,243. This sum will be distributed to all Indians on the new roll to be prepared by the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I should like to address myself for a few moments to a provision of H.R. 10911 which was not included in the bill as it passed the House today, but which I believe should have been in the bill. As introduced, this bill provided for a referendum of the California Indians to approve the distribution provided by the bill.

We included this in the bill because we felt that we should, at every opportunity, provide the machinery for the beneficiaries of this legislation to exercise their privilege of voting on matters of importance to them.

Unhappily, the subcommittee which heard this measure disagreed with the proposal for a referendum and while I want to make it clear that I am not critical of the subcommittee or of its chairman, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. HALEY], I felt and still feel that the referendum provision should have been retained.

After the subcommittee took action on this bill, I took the matter with the full committee and prevailed on my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. JOHNSON], to offer an amendment restoring the referendum provision. Regrettably, again we were unsuccessful.

The question which weighed heavily on my mind as we approached the time for action on this bill was whether or not I should take my case to the floor of the House, but as I evaluated the situation I decided that this was a fight which, though worthy of the effort, could not be won. So I decided that I would agree to the bill as it came before the House.

I feel that further action on my part would be futile, and would serve only to further delay the distribution of these funds for which the Indians of California have been waiting so long. The indications we have received through the mail are that the overwhelming majority of the Indians are in favor of this legislation and for that reason, perhaps the referendum would be superfluous.

The action of the House in approving this legislation today does not, of course, prevent further action in future Congresses, but under all of the circumstances, I feel that the bill as it was presented to the House represents the best that can be achieved. The money has been approved. The judgment of the Indian Claims Commission is final and time for all appeals has long since expired. So although I have reservations about the lack of a referendum provision, I am prepared to accept the bill as it is.

LAND TRANSFER TO IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 16065) to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States conditions in deeds conveying certain lands to the State of Iowa, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 16065

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (c) of section 32 of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, as amended (7 U.S.C. 1011 (c)), the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized and directed to release on behalf of the United States with respect to lands designated pursuant to section 2 hereof, the conditions in those two deeds dated July 29, 1955, conveying lands in the counties of Monroe and Decatur in the State of Iowa to the State of Iowa acting by and through its State board of regents for the use and benefit of the agricultural experiment station of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, now Iowa State University, which require that the lands so conveyed be used for public purposes and provide for a reversion of such lands to the United States if at any time they cease to be so used.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall release the conditions referred to in the first section of this Act only with respect to lands covered by and described in an agreement or agreements entered into between the Secretary and the university in which the university, in consideration of the release of such conditions as to such lands, agrees—

(1) that all the proceeds from the sale, lease, exchange, or disposition of such lands shall be used by the university for the acquisition of lands to be held for university purposes, or for the development or improvement of any lands so acquired;

(2) that all the proceeds from the sale, lease, or other disposition of lands covered by any such agreement shall be maintained by the university in a separate fund and that the record of all transactions involving such funds shall be open to inspection by the Secretary of Agriculture.

SEC. 3. Upon application, all the undivided mineral interests of the United States in any parcel or tract of land released pursuant to this Act from the conditions as to such lands shall be conveyed to the State of Iowa for the use and benefit of Iowa State University or its successors in title by the Secretary of the Interior. In areas where the Secretary of the Interior determines that there is no active mineral development or leasing, and that the lands have no mineral value, the mineral interests covered by a single application shall be sold for a consideration of $1. In other areas the mineral interests shall be sold at the fair market value thereof as determined by the Secretary of the Interior after taking into consideration such appraisals as he deems necessary or appropriate.

SEC. 4. Each application made under the provisions of section 3 of this Act shall be accompanied by a nonrefundable deposit to be applied to the administrative costs as fixed by the Secretary of the Interior. If the conveyance is made, the applicant shall pay to the Secretary of the Interior the full administrative costs, less the deposit. If a conveyance is not made pursuant to an application filed under this Act, the deposit shall constitute full satisfaction of such administrative costs notwithstanding that the administrative costs exceed the deposit.

SEC. 5. The term "administrative costs" as used in this Act includes, in addition to other items, all costs which the Secretary of the Interior determines are included in a determination of (1) the mineral character of the land in question, and (2) the fair market value of the mineral interest.

SEC. 6. Amounts paid to the Secretary of the Interior under the provisions of this Act shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

U.S. COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS

The Clerk called the bill (S. 2634) to amend section 867(a) of title 10, United States Code, in order to establish the Court of Military Appeals as the U.S. Court of Military Appeals under article I of the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I should like to ask someone about the present terms of the judges now on this court.

Mr. PHILBIN. The judges are appointed for a period of 15 years.

Mr. GROSS. The bill, then, merely restates language already existing—a term of 15 years?

Mr. PHILBIN. That is true.

Mr. GROSS. Where are the court sessions held?

Mr. PHILBIN. The court sessions are held in the District of Columbia.

Mr. GROSS. Exclusively in the District of Columbia?

Mr. PHILBIN. Yes. It is the highest appellate court of the military services to which the members of the armed services may appeal, and it has jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to the dispensing of justice to those who are in the armed services.

Mr. GROSS. For what purpose do they travel, then, if the sessions are held in the District of Columbia?

Mr. PHILBIN. The court sits here. You are speaking about those who, like law officers, might be assigned to handle trials, courts-martial, and so forth, in other places?

As the gentleman knows, there is a judicial body that handles those trials and courts-martial under the code. The court referred to in the bill is an appellate court, such as the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Mr. GROSS. But the members of the court do not travel as do judges within a certain specified circuit?

Mr. PHILBIN. No, they do not travel. They are here in Washington as an appellate court dealing with final appeals.

Mr. GROSS. I do notice in the bill that provision is made for travel allowances.

Mr. PHILBIN. They have normal traveling allowances.

Mr. GROSS. But they do not travel?

Mr. PHILBIN. Well, they travel in a limited way. I do not believe they have extensive travel, or need extensive travel allowances. I believe they would be limited to attendance at meetings of the Judicial Council and/or the Bar Association, and similar professional meetings.

Mr. GROSS. They would be limited to what?

Mr. PHILBIN. To attendance before the judicial council, and possibly some official conventions at which judges would be expected to appear to discuss matters of interest to judges. Under Article 67 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, they meet annually with the Judge Advocates General to make a comprehensive survey of military justice operations.

According to the information I have, that would be very limited, and also involves a limited allowance. Not much expenditure for that purpose is anticipated.

Mr. GROSS. Would this bill give members of this court retirement benefits that they do not presently enjoy?

Mr. PHILBIN. They have always had retirement benefits.

Mr. GROSS. They already have them?

Mr. PHILBIN. They have. This bill would permit a retired judge to be called back on the authority of the chief judge to help work on the backlog of cases that they now have, and in that way help to dispose of the backlog that exists at the present time. That is about all the bill does.

Mr. GROSS. It does not change retirement benefits in any way?

Mr. PHILBIN. No, it does not change retirement benefits in any way, I may say to the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. These judges enjoy the same benefits as do the Federal circuit and district judges?

Mr. PHILBIN. No, the judge would come back and serve during this interim period. He is already on retirement and receiving retirement benefits, but would be getting no additional salary or emoluments of any kind as a result of his service.

Mr. GROSS. I am not talking about those who are retired. I am talking about provisions for retirement for those now active.

Do these military appeal judges have the same retirement benefits as do the district and circuit judges?

Mr. PHILBIN. No, they have less than the regular retirement benefits that the other members of the judiciary have.

Mr. GROSS. In other words, do they make a contribution to any retirement fund?

Mr. PHILBIN. They have less than the regular benefits that are received by other members of the Federal judiciary. They make contributions to the Federal civil service retirement fund.

Mr. GROSS. They have 15-year terms?

Mr. PHILBIN. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. Because the other body has refused to approve legislation giving them permanent appointments; is that correct?

Mr. PHILBIN. There was some bill pending here a few years ago to give them life tenure, but it was not passed by the Congress.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, S. 2634 is a bill that will permit retired members of the Court of Military Appeals to return at the request of the chief judge to help with the work of the court. In order to give such judges the necessary assistance each retired judge who is serving may have an assistant in a grade of not more than GS–9. With only three judges on the court there is not enough flexibility in the staff to provide a retired judge who is recalled with the necessary help. The chief judge will be responsible for the work of the assistant and when his services are no longer needed the chief judge will terminate them.

The workload of the court has increased from an average of 60 cases a month to 76 cases a month in the past year and a quarter. The current estimates are that this load will increase 25 percent more. This bill which the Senate has approved now will provide the extra flexibility which may be needed in the court. The price of this flexibility is only the price of one GS–9 or $9,000 a year per judge. I think this is reasonable and fair.

One of the other purposes of the bill is to make it abundantly clear in the law that the Court of Military Appeals is a court although it is a court established under article I of the Constitution.

The Court of Military Appeals is the highest court to which boys in our armed services can appeal to get justice.

At present it is running behind because of the very heavy workload being imposed upon it due to the war and increased military personnel.

It is estimated that there will be a 25-percent increase in the work of this court by the end of the year.

This bill will authorize the chief judge of the court to call back one retired judge to help clear up the growing backlog of work.

The retired judge will not receive compensation above his retirement benefits and the only cost to the Government will be for a law assistant for the judge at a GS–9 rate with a salary of $9,000 a year whose services will be terminated when there is no longer need for his work.

Our boys in the service are making great sacrifices for the country and for us. We owe them a great debt, and the least we can do for them is to assure them of prompt, speedy justice when their cases are before this military court of last resort.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 2634

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 867(a) (article 67(a)) of title 10, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"(a)(1) There is a United States Court of Military Appeals established under article I of the Constitution of the United States and located for administrative purposes only in the Department of Defense. The court consists of three judges appointed from civil life by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of fifteen years. The terms of office of all successors of the judges serving on the effective date of this Act shall expire fifteen years after the expiration of the terms for which their predecessors were appointed, but any judge appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of his predecessor. Not more than two of the judges of the court may be appointed from the same political party, nor is any person eligible for appointment to the court who is not a member of the bar of a Federal court or the highest court of a State. Each judge is entitled to the same salary and travel allowances as are, and from time to time may be, provided for judges of the United States Court of Appeals, and is eligible for reappointment. The President shall designate from time to time one of the judges to act as chief judge. The chief judge of the court shall have precedence and preside at any session which he attends. The other judges shall have precedence and preside according to the seniority of their commissions. Judges whose commissions bear the same date shall have precedence according to seniority in age. The court may prescribe its own rules of procedure and determine the number of judges required to constitute a quorum. A vacancy in the court does not impair the right of the remaining judges to exercise the powers of the court.

"(2) Judges of the United States Court of Military Appeals may be removed by the President, upon notice and hearing, for neglect of duty or malfeasance in office, or for mental or physical disability, but for no other cause.

"(3) If a judge of the United States Court of Military Appeals is temporarily unable to perform his duties because of illness or other disability, the President may designate a judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia to fill the office for the period of disability.

"(4) Any judge of the United States Court of Military Appeals who is receiving retired pay may become a senior judge, may occupy offices in a Federal building, may be provided with a staff assistant whose compensation shall not exceed the rate prescribed for GS–9 in the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, and, with his consent, may be called upon by the chief judge of said court to perform judicial duties with said court for any period or periods specified by such chief judge. A senior judge who is performing judicial duties pursuant to this subsection shall be paid the same compensation (in lieu of retired pay) and allowances for travel and other expenses as a judge."

SEC. 2. The United States Court of Military Appeals established under this Act is a continuation of the Court of Military Appeals as it existed prior to the effective date of this Act, and no loss of rights or powers, interruption or jurisdiction, or prejudice to matters pending in the Court of Military

Appeals before the effective date of this Act shall result. A judge of the Court of Military Appeals so serving on the day before the effective date of this Act shall, for all purposes, be a judge of the United States Court of Military Appeals under this Act.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

INCREASING THE PARTICIPATION OF LAW OFFICERS IN COURTS-MARTIAL

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 15971) to increase the participation of law officers and counsel on courts-martial, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 15971

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That chapter 47 (Uniform Code of Military Justice) of title 10, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Section 801(10) (article 1(10)) is amended by inserting the words "or special" after the word "general".

(2) Section 816 (article 16) is amended to read as follows:

"§ 816. Art. 16. Courts-martial classified

"The three kinds of courts-martial in each of the armed forces are—

"(1) general courts-martial, consisting of—

"(A) a law officer and not less than five members; or

"(B) only a law officer, if before the court is assembled the accused, knowing the identity of the law officer and after consultation with defense counsel, requests in writing a court composed only of a law officer and the law officer approved and the convening authority consents;

"(2) special courts-martial, consisting of—

"(A) not less than three members; or

"(B) a law officer and not less than three members; or

"(C) only a law officer, under the same conditions as those prescribed in clause (1)(B); and

"(3) summary courts-martial, consisting of one commissioned officer."

(3) Section 818 (article 18) is amended by adding the following sentence at the end thereof: "However, a general court-martial of the kind specified in section 816(1)(B) of this title (article 16(1)(B)) may not adjudge the penalty of death."

(4) Section 819 (article 19) is amended by striking out the last sentence and inserting the following sentence in place thereof: "A bad-conduct discharge may not be adjudged unless a complete record of the proceedings and testimony has been made and the accused was represented or afforded the opportunity to be represented at the trial by counsel having the qualifications prescribed under section 827(b) of this title (article 27(b)) unless, in time of war, counsel having such qualifications cannot be obtained on account of physical condition or military exigencies, and in such event the convening authority shall make a detailed statement, to be appended to the record, stating why such counsel could not be obtained."

(5) Section 825(c)(1) (article 25(c)(1)) is amended—

(A) by striking out "before the convening of the court," in the first sentence and inserting "before the conclusion of a session called by the law officer under section 839(a) of this title (article 39(a)) prior to trial or, in the absence of such a session, before the court is assembled for the trial of the accused," in place thereof; and

(B) by striking out "convened" in the last sentence and inserting "assembled" in place thereof.

(6) Subchapter V is amended by striking out the following item in the analysis:

"826. 26. Law officer of a general court-martial."

and inserting the following item in place thereof:

"826. 26. Law officer of a general or special court-martial."

(7) The catchline and subsection (a) of section 826 (article 26) are amended to read as follows:

"§ 826. Art. 26. Law officer of a general or special court-martial

"(a) The authority convening a general court-martial shall, and, subject to regulation of the Secretary concerned, the authority convening a special court-martial may, detail as law officer thereof a commissioned officer who is a member of the bar of a Federal court or of the highest court of a State and who is certified to be qualified for that duty by the Judge Advocate General of the armed force of which he is a member. A commissioned officer who is certified to be qualified for duty as a law officer of a general court-martial is also qualified for duty as a law officer of a single-officer or other special court-martial. A commissioned officer who is certified to be qualified for duty as a law officer of a special court-martial is qualified for duty as a law officer of any kind of special court-martial. However, no person may act as a law officer of a single-officer general court-martial unless he is specially certified to be qualified for that duty. No person is eligible to act as law officer in a case if he is the accuser or a witness for the prosecution or has acted as investigating officer or as counsel in the same case."

(8) Section 826(b) (article 26(b)) is amended by striking out the figures "839" and "39" and inserting the figures "839(b)" and "39(b)", respectively, in place thereof.

(9) Section 829 (article 29) is amended—

(A) by striking out "accused has been arraigned" in subsection (a) and inserting "court has been assembled for the trial of the accused" in place thereof;

(B) by inserting ", other than a single-officer general court-martial," after "court-martial" in the first sentence of subsection (b); and by amending the last sentence of subsection (b) to read as follows: "The trial may proceed with the new members present after the recorded evidence previously introduced before the members of the court has been read to the court in the presence of the law officer, the accused, and counsel for both sides.";

(C) by inserting ", other than a single-officer special court-martial," after "court-martial" in the first sentence of subsection (c); and by amending the last sentence of subsection (c) to read as follows: "The trial shall proceed with the new members present as if no evidence had previously been introduced at the trial, unless a verbatim record of the evidence previously introduced before the members of the court or a stipulation thereof is read to the court in the presence of the law officer, if any, the accused and counsel for both sides,"; and

(D) by adding the following new subsection at the end thereof:

"(d) If the law officer of a single-officer court-martial is unable to proceed with the trial because of physical disability, as a result of a challenge, or for other good cause, the trial shall proceed, subject to any applicable conditions of section 816 (1)(B) or (2)(C) of this title (article 16 (1)(B) or (2)(C)), after the detail of a new law officer as if no evidence had previously been introduced, unless a verbatim record of the evidence previously introduced or a stipulation thereof is read in court in the presence of the new law officer, the accused, and counsel for both sides."

(10) Section 835 (article 35) is amended by striking out the second sentence and inserting the following in place thereof: "In time of peace no person may, against his objection, be brought to trial, or be required to participate by himself or counsel in a session called by the law officer under section 839(a) of this title (article 39(a)), in a general court-martial case within a period of five days after the service of charges upon him, or in a special court-martial case within a period of three days after the service of charges upon him."

(11) Section 838(b) (article 38(b)) is amended by striking out the words "president of the court" in the last sentence and inserting the words "law officer or by the president of a court-martial without a law officer" in place thereof.

(12) Section 839 (article 39) is amended to read as follows:

"§ 839. Art. 39. Sessions

"(a) At any time after the service of charges have been referred for trial to a court-martial composed of a law officer and members, the law officer may, subject to section 835 of this title (article 35), call the court into session without the presence of the members for the purpose of—

"(1) hearing and determining motions raising defenses or objections which are capable of determination without trial of the issues raised by a plea of not guilty;

"(2) hearing and ruling upon any matter which may be ruled upon by the law officer under this chapter, whether or not the matter is appropriate for later consideration or decision by the members of the court;

"(3) if permitted by regulations of the Secretary concerned, holding the arraignment and receiving the pleas of the accused; and

"(4) performing any other procedural function which may be performed by the law officer under this chapter or under rules prescribed pursuant to section 836 of this title (article 36) and which does not require the presence of the members of the court. These proceedings shall be conducted in the presence of the accused, the defense counsel, and the trial counsel and shall be made a part of the record.

"(b) When the members of a court-martial deliberate or vote, only the members may be present. After the members of a court-martial which includes a law officer and members have finally voted on the findings, the president of the court may request the law officer and the reporter, if any, to appear before the members to put the findings in proper form, and these proceedings shall be on the record. All other proceedings, including any other consultation of the members of the court with counsel or the law officer, shall be made a part of the record and shall be in the presence of the accused, the defense counsel, the trial counsel, and, in cases in which a law officer has been detailed to the court, the law officer."

(13) Section 840 (article 40) is amended to read as follows:

"§ 840. Art. 40. Continuances

"The law officer or a court-martial without a law officer may, for reasonable cause, grant a continuance to any party for such time, and as often, as may appear to be just."

(14) Section 841(a) (article 41(a)) is amended—

(A) by amending the first sentence to read as follows: "The law officer and members of a general or special court-martial may be challenged by the accused or the trial counsel for cause stated to the court."; and

(B) by striking out the word "court" in the second sentence and inserting the words "law officer, or, if none, the court," in place thereof.

(15) Section 842(a) (article 42(a)) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) Before performing their respective duties, law officers, members of general and special courts-martial, trial counsel, assistant trial counsel, defense counsel, assistant defense counsel, reporters, and interpreters shall take an oath to perform their duties faithfully. The form of the oath, the time and place of the taking thereof, the manner of recording the same, and whether the oath shall be taken for all cases in which these duties are to be performed or for a particular case, shall be as prescribed in regulations of the Secretary concerned. These regulations may provide that an oath to perform faithfully duties as a law officer, trial counsel, assistant trial counsel, defense counsel, or assistant defense counsel may be taken at any time by any judge advocate, law specialist, or other person certified to be qualified or competent for the duty, and if such an oath is taken it need not again be taken at the time the judge advocate, law specialist, or other person is detailed to that duty."

(16) Section 845 (article 45) is amended—

(A) by striking out the words "arraigned before a court-martial" in subsection (a) and inserting the words "after arraignment" in place thereof; and

(B) by amending subsection (b) to read as follows:

"(b) A plea of guilty by the accused may not be received to any charge or specification alleging an offense for which the death penalty may be adjudged. With respect to any other charge or specification to which a plea of guilty has been made by the accused and accepted by the law officer or by a court-martial without a law officer, a finding of guilty of the charge or specification may, if permitted by regulations of the Secretary concerned, be entered immediately without vote. This finding shall constitute the finding of the court unless the plea of guilty is withdrawn prior to announcement of the sentence, in which event the proceedings shall continue as though the accused had pleaded not guilty."

(17) Section 849(a) (article 49(a)) is amended by inserting after the word "unless" the words "the law officer or court-martial without a law officer hearing the case or, if the case is not being heard,".

(18) Section 851 (article 51) is amended—

(A) by amending the first sentence of subsection (a) to read as follows: "Voting by members of a general or special court-martial on the findings and on the sentence, and by members of a court-martial without a law officer upon questions of challenge, shall be by secret written ballot.";

(B) by amending the first three sentences of subsection (b) to read as follows: "The law officer and, except for questions of challenge, the president of a court-martial without a law officer shall rule upon all questions of law and all interlocutory questions arising during the proceedings. Any such ruling made by the law officer upon any question of law or any interlocutory question other than the factual issue of mental responsibility of the accused, or by the president of a court-martial without a law officer upon any question of law other than a motion for a finding of not guilty, is final and constitutes the ruling of the court. However, the law officer or the president of a court-martial without a law officer may change his ruling at any time during the trial."

(C) by striking out the words "of a general court-martial and the president of a special court-martial shall, in the presence of the accused and counsel, instruct the court as to the elements of the offense and charge the court" in the first sentence of subsection (c) and inserting the words "and the president of a court-martial without a law officer shall, in the presence of the accused and counsel, instruct the members of the court as to the elements of the offense and charge them" in place thereof; and

(D) by adding the following new subsection at the end thereof:

"(d) Subsections (a), (b), and (c) do not apply to a single-officer court-martial. An officer who is detailed as a single-officer court-martial shall determine all questions of law and fact arising during the proceedings and, if the accused is convicted, adjudge an appropriate sentence. Such single-officer court-martial shall make a general finding and shall in addition on request find the facts specially. If an opinion or memorandum of decision is filed, it will be sufficient if the findings of fact appear therein."

(19) Section 852 (article 52) is amended—

(A) by inserting the words "as provided in section 845(b) of this title (article 45(b)) or" after the word "except" in subsection (a)(2); and

(B) by inserting immediately before the period in the first sentence of subsection (c) the word ", but a determination to reconsider a finding of guilty or to reconsider a sentence, with a view toward decreasing it, may be made by any lesser vote which indicates that the reconsideration is not opposed by the number of votes required for that finding or sentence."

(20) Section 854(a) (article 54(a)) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) Each general court-martial shall keep a separate record of the proceedings in each case brought before it, and the record shall be authenticated by the signature of the law officer. If the record cannot be authenticated by the law officer by reason of his death disability, or absence, it shall be authenticated by the signature of the trial counsel or by that of a member if the trial counsel is unable to authenticate it by reason of his death, disability, or absence. In a court-martial consisting of only a law officer the record shall be authenticated by the court reporter under the same conditions which would impose such a duty on a member under this subsection. If the proceedings have resulted in an acquittal of all charges and specifications or, if not affecting a general or flag officer, in a sentence not including discharge and not in excess of that which may otherwise be adjudged by a special court-martial, the record shall contain such matters as may be prescribed by regulations of the President."

(21)(A) Section 869 (article 69) is amended by adding the following new sentence at the end thereof: "Notwithstanding section 876 of this title (article 76), the findings or sentence, or both, in a court-martial case which has been finally reviewed, but has not been reviewed by a board of review may be vacated or modified in whole or in part, by the Judge Advocate General on the ground of newly discovered evidence, fraud on the court, lack of jurisdiction over the accused or the offense, or error prejudicial to the substantial rights of the accused."

(B) The first sentence of section 873 (article 73) is amended to read as follows: "At any time within two years after approval by the convening authority of a court-martial sentence which has been referred to a board of review the accused may petition the Judge Advocate General for a new trial on grounds of newly discovered evidence or fraud on the court."

Sec. 2. (1) Except for subsection (21) of section 1, this Act becomes effective on the first day of the tenth month following the month in which it is enacted.

(2) Subsection (21)(A) of section 1 becomes effective upon the date of enactment of this Act.

(3) Subsection (21)(B) of section 1 shall apply to all court-martial sentences approved by the convening authority on or after, or not more than two years before, the date of its enactment.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 2, delete lines 18 through 22 and substitute therefor the following:

"(3) Section 818 (article 18) is amended by adding the following sentence at the end thereof:

'However, a general court-martial of the kind specified in section 816(1)(B) of this title (article 16(1)(B)) shall not have jurisdiction to try any person for any offense for which the death penalty may be adjudged unless the case has been previously referred to trial as a non-capital case.'

On page 3, delete lines 7 through 12 and substitute therefor: "827(b) of this title (article 27(b))."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. **PHILBIN**. Mr. Speaker, this bill is designed primarily to let the law officers in courts-martial assume a larger role in the proceedings. By so doing it is expected that the court-martial proceedings will be able to be conducted more expeditiously with the law officer making necessary preliminary and post-trial decisions. By providing ample opportunity to decide questions of law in advance, the court-martial itself should proceed more expeditiously. This would mean added savings in that the officers called to sit on the courts would not have to spend their time waiting outside while the law officer makes necessary rulings. Most of the rulings will have been made in advance. This will mean that the law officer will then operate in more of a role of a trial judge.

In addition, the accused is given the opportunity of waiving trial by court-martial with the trial to be held by the law officer instead. As the language is now this provision for the waiver of trial by court-martial is as close as possible to the Federal rule of criminal procedure for the waiver of trial by jury.

The bill provides that a special court-martial may not adjudge a bad conduct discharge unless the accused is given the opportunity of being represented by a legally qualified counsel.

The bill also extends from 1 to 2 years the time within which a new trial may be granted in cases reviewed by a board of review. In those cases not reviewed by a board of review—which would generally include those tried by any court-martial not involving a punitive discharge or confinement for 1 year or more—the Judge Advocate General is given broad authority to vacate or modify the findings or sentence because of newly discovered evidence, fraud on the court, lack of jurisdiction, or error prejudicial to the substantial rights of the accused.

I think all of these matters are very decided improvements to our court-martial system.

One of the amendments to the bill would permit the accused to waive trial by a full court-martial and have the trial by the law officer alone, just as the defendant in a regular criminal case can waive trial by jury. On April 8, 1968, the Supreme Court in United States against Jackson found that part of the Federal Kidnaping Act to be unconstitutional that provided for the death penalty by the verdict of the jury. The Supreme Court ruled that this provision interfered with the right to trial by jury, since it put pressure on an accused to waive trial by jury in order to avoid the death penalty. The first amendment would avoid this problem in connection with the waiver of court-martial by an accused by not allowing waiver where the death penalty is possible.

The second amendment removes an exception so that there always will be legal counsel required to represent an accused where a bad conduct discharge may be adjudged. The bill as originally drafted provided an exception in time of war when the convening authority cannot readily have a lawyer available to represent the accused. By this amendment the exception is deleted and a lawyer must represent the accused at all times if a bad conduct discharge can be adjudged.

These amendments have been cleared with the Judge Advocate General of the Army who has also obtained the consent of the Judge Advocates General of the Navy and the Air Force.

Mr. **BENNETT**. Mr. Speaker, it has been 18 years since adoption of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which greatly improved this Nation's system of military justice. This was the outgrowth of the many bitter complaints made by service personnel who had served in the Armed Forces during World War II and against the manner of administering a system of military justice which had changed little since the Revolutionary War.

The first major revision of the Uniform Code of Military Justice was suggested in 1953, when the code committee, composed of the Judge Advocates General of the Armed Forces and the judges of the Court of Military Appeals, proposed 17 changes. Since then the code committee has continued to recommend necessary changes, and it has sought enactment of two specific measures I have sponsored in the House.

The bill which is before us at this time, H.R. 15971, is a culmination, but not a conclusion, of these many years of effort to modernize and revamp our system of military justice. Not only has the bill received the endorsement of the code committee, but it is also supported by such organizations as the American Bar Association, the Federal Bar Association, the Florida Bar, Brooklyn Bar Association, the State Bar of Georgia, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, New York County Lawyers Association, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Veterans of World War I of the United States, and the Committee on Military Justice of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

As noted in the committee report on this bill, the Department of Defense favors and urges its passage, and I am glad that the committee unanimously recommends its enactment.

I look on H.R. 15971 as on the first of many revisions that will now be made in the Uniform Code of Military Justice. I feel it is a good first step. Many revisions have been proposed which are not included in this present bill, and I want to point out that many of the proposals are in my omnibus bill H.R. 226, which I introduced on the first day of this Congress. I am hopeful the committee will be able to consider further appropriate and necessary revisions early next year.

The enactment of H.R. 15971 will permit the procedure for trials by special and general courts-martial to conform more closely with the procedure used in the United States District Courts in the trial of criminal cases. The bill will enhance the effectiveness and prestige of the law officer, and his role will more closely approximate that of a civilian trial judge.

An outstanding provision provides for attorneys for the accused in all cases where a bad conduct discharge can be awarded, which brings the military procedures more nearly in line with recent civilian court procedural changes.

The need for passage of this legislation came in part from a series of decisions by the United States Court of Military Appeals which expanded the role of the law officer and increased his responsibilities. But under present law the law officer is hampered by provisions which it is felt unnecessarily limit his authority to perform judicial functions which are customary and essential. An example of this can be seen in the fact that a law officer presently cannot pass on challenges for cause even though the reasons for the challenges may affect all members of the court. The Court of Military Appeals has asserted that under the circumstances it would be preferable if such challenges for cause were passed on by the law officer rather than the members of the court.

Maj. Gen. Kenneth J. Hodson, the Judge Advocate General of the Army, who represented the Department of Defense before the House Armed Services Committee, advised us that:

> The desirability of procedural and substantive changes contained in this legislation has become clearly evident in the conduct of criminal trials under the present rules, which have proved somewhat unwieldy and cumbersome when applied to the present day concepts of the distinction between the role of the law officer and that of the court-martial members.

As far as cost is concerned, the Department of Defense has told us enactment of H.R. 15971 will cause no apparent increase in the budgetary requirements of the various services in implementing it, and actually the legislation may save the Government money since it streamlines procedures and eliminates much time that is now wasted when, under present law, the full court is convened and then dismissed to wait outside—sometimes for a considerable period—before simple matters that under this legislation will now be attended to by only a law officer.

The support for this legislation has been almost unanimous from every quarter, and the need for its enactment is apparent. I urge my colleagues of the House to vote for the passage of H.R. 15971.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The **SPEAKER**. This concludes the call of the Consent Calendar.

ARMS TO JORDAN

Mr. **RYAN**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. **RYAN**. Mr. Speaker, it was most disturbing to read in the press last Friday that the United States is quietly rearming Jordan to her military capability level of last June and rearming her with U.S. jet fighters and other military equipment.

As we approach the first anniversary of the 6-day war, it is the height of folly for the United States to be rearming Jordan, a nation which only 1 year ago used U.S. armaments to attack Israel and since then has engaged in innumerable terroristic attacks on Israel. That outbreak of war 1 year ago should have exploded the theory that American arms shipments extend American influence to restrain the Arab States. That mistake must not be repeated.

I have sent a telegram to Secretary of State Rusk again stating my opposition to the decision to rearm Jordan.

The telegram is as follows:

> MAY 31, 1968.
>
> Hon. DEAN RUSK,
> *Secretary of State.*
>
> I am strongly opposed to apparent U.S. policy of rearming Jordan to capability level of last June, as reported in the press. U.S. arms were used in Jordan's attack on Israel. Increased Arab strength only increases risk of future attacks. I call on you to cease arms shipments to Jordan.
>
> WILLIAM F. RYAN,
> *Member of Congress.*

VOTING RIGHTS FOR 18-YEAR-OLDS

Mr. **THOMPSON** of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. **THOMPSON** of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, last week the President of the United States endorsed the proposal for 18-year-olds to have voting rights throughout the entire Nation. We in Georgia have provided this right for 18-19-, and 20-year-olds for more than two decades. Probably, I am the one Member of the House of Representatives who voted earliest under this measure, for in 1944 at the age of 19 I voted for a President of the United States, as well as local and State officeholders.

Earlier, I introduced a joint resolution—House Joint Resolution 977—a proposed constitutional amendment to extend this right to all persons throughout the United States at the age of 18.

I commend the President for this forward-looking and farsighted approach to extend voting rights to 18-year-olds. Personally, I can stand before this body and say that I took a greater interest in civic affairs and in political affairs during my senior year in high school and as an 18-year-old because I knew full well and I would be able to take part in the elective process. The youth of this country are mature enough to have a part in helping to chart the course of this Nation.

I hope my resolution, which was introduced earlier, will be the resolution selected to pass this Congress to grant 18-year-olds the right to vote, inasmuch as Georgia did pioneer voting rights for 18-year-olds and I am the member of the House who first exercised this right.

If, for political reasons, the President would prefer to have a Democrat rather than a Republican author this measure, I certainly hope he will select a Georgia Democrat, inasmuch as we in Georgia did pioneer this effort and have proven its value.

NEED FOR A BROAD SWEEP ATTACK AGAINST CRIME IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, for some time, there is and has been an obvious need for a broad sweep attack against crime in the streets of Washington, D.C. Additional police must be made available and put into the streets. This, however, is only a first step. Improvements must be made in all aspects of the law-enforcement process in the city. Gilbert Hahn, the chairman of the Republican Party in the District of Columbia, made a forthright statement last week calling for a doubling of the District police force as a prompt method for curbing crime. An enlargement of the force would have an immediate effect on stopping criminals. But Mr. Hahn also pointed out the need for improvements in the courts, in the rehabilitation and probation system and long range remedies for the root causes of crime. This is a practical, realistic approach. Legislation has been introduced by Members of Congress to improve the law-enforcement process. Other Members and myself have sponsored legislation providing for additional judges, for improvement of the juvenile court system, for relieving the Court of General Sessions of paternity and nonsupport cases which add unnecessarily to their backlog and others. These bills will all materially assist in reducing crime in the street.

Other legislation such as a bill to authorize police reserve forces which would place more patrolmen in the street merits prompt attention. The detention center and the juvenile rehabilitation facilities must be enlarged and improved. A long range lasting reduction in crime will require such a broad sweep attack.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON ROADS, COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Roads of the Committee on Public Works may be permitted to sit during general debate this afternoon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 160]

Abernethy
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Ashley
Ashmore
Bates
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Bingham
Blackburn
Blanton
Bolling
Bolton
Bow
Brasco
Brinkley
Brooks
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Cabell
Carey
Carter
Celler
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Collier
Colmer
Conyers
Corman
Cramer
Cunningham
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Dow
Dowdy
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edwards, Calif.
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fino
Flood
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Gardner
Gettys
Gilbert
Griffin
Gurney
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Harrison
Hawkins
Hays
Henderson
Herlong
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Hungate
Ichord
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Kelly
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Lennon
Lloyd
Long, La.
Lukens
McDonald, Mich.
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
May
Miller, Calif.
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Nichols
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Pickle
Podell
Pool
Pryor
Rees
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Reinecke
Resnick
Reuss
Rivers
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rosenthal
Roth
Roybal
Schadeberg
Scheuer
Selden
Stafford
Steed
Stubblefield
Taft
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Utt
Waldie
Wampler
Watkins
Whalley
Willis
Wilson, Charles H.
Wolff

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 296 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

AMENDING NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES ACT OF 1965—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 11308), to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965.

SOLUTION TO PROBLEM OF POVERTY MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, last week Mrs. Gathings and I took a tour of the New England States. It was a most enjoyable trip.

On Friday we spent the night in a thriving little city of Gorham, N.H., at a very lovely and fine motel. The lady who jointly with her husband operated the motel said to me: "Now, you know, I have an awful time getting someone who will work. What needs to be done in this country is to have people send the want ads from their newspapers to their Members of Congress."

We went on to Boston, where we spent Saturday night and Sunday morning, I happened to pick up the Boston paper and I looked for "Help Wanted" advertisements bearing in mind what that fine lady had said.

Boston is a city, Mr. Speaker, that is typical in this Nation, a fine city, a marvelous city, but we will find the same situation not only in Boston, but throughout the country in that business establishments cannot get people to take jobs that are open.

Here is the Boston Sunday Globe of June 2, 1968, and starting on page 6 and going all the way through to page 22, we find the section for "Men Wanted." There are 16 pages in this paper in which employers are crying for help. Some of these ads read as follows:

> Insurance field sales manager, production clerk, designers, checkers, draftsmen, personnel opportunities, purchasing sub-contractor, supervisor, manager, account clerk, night steward, houseman, hotel clerk, architects, structural designers, office services manager, accountant, maintenance mechanic, stock managers and assistant stock managers, salesmen, custodians, janitors, maintenance men, trainee positions, plumbers, electricians, painters, automobile casualty underwriter, unskilled men to learn pouring and checkout work, warehousemen, laborers, non-technical sales, no experience required ($175 weekly salary plus bonus and commission), woodworkers, radio mechanics, assistant to executive, cooks, and electricians. Here are some of the leads in small ads: laundry workers (salary $80 to $100 weekly), buyer, office man, foreman, warehouseman, order clerk, assistant laundry superintendent, collector, unskilled male, custodian, accounting clerk, guard, TV road man, maintenance man, remodeling carpenter and medical technician.

Another section of the Globe, section 2, consists of "Help Wanted" ads for females. There are 7 pages of opportunities for women. For the female here is a list of some of the openings:

> Nurses, key punch operators, clerical—experienced or trainee, accounts clerk, laboratory technicians, bookkeepers, assistant bookkeepers, general office, cashier, typists, secretaries, payroll accounts payable, technical typists, saleswomen, modeling, waitresses, personnel assistant, secretary to patent attorney, physical therapist, clerk typist, legal secretary, and hostesses.

The jobs are plentiful—all kinds of them.

Mr. Speaker, there is a poor people's encampment in Washington. It seems to me the answer to the march on Washington would be: Why not take some of these jobs and go to work? America is a land where all of our people, the well-to-do

and the poor alike, can get ahead by and through their own efforts—hard work. Let us keep it that way.

DESIGN FOR ALL AMERICANS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 324)

The **SPEAKER** laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

To most Americans, a stairway poses no problem. A narrow doorway is little more than an inconvenience. But for more than 20 million of our citizens, these simple structures bar the living of a normal life.

One in every ten Americans suffers from some disability which keeps him from using buildings designed—not cruelly, but thoughtlessly—only for the physically fit. Problems in the design of our buildings pose the greatest single obstacle to employment of the handicapped.

If we are to give the millions of handicapped Americans the opportunity to live life to the fullest, we must not put unnecessary barriers in their path.

We want our schools, libraries, office buildings, theaters, museums, stadiums and transportation systems to be accessible to all.

In 1966, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare appointed a National Commission on Architectural Barriers to Rehabilitation of the Handicapped. I am pleased now to transmit to the Congress the report of that Commission entitled "Design for all Americans."

The report shows increased awareness of the problems by State and local governments, architects, and the general public. In the past year, the General Services Administration has substantially modified its design standards to give more consideration to the handicapped.

But the report also shows that a substantial task lies ahead.

—In many cases, State laws are sadly inadequate. Some cover only State-owned buildings; others do not spell out the needed standards.

—No school of architecture gives special or continuing attention to the problem of accessibility.

In the next thirty years, more buildings will be constructed in this country than have been built in the past two hundred years. And as we go about this tremendous task, we must make sure that the needs of the handicapped are not overlooked.

I commend this Report to your attention.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *June 3, 1968.*

UNITED STATES-JAPAN COOPERATIVE MEDICAL SCIENCE PROGRAM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 325)

The **SPEAKER** laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

We in America are fortunate that our lives are almost completely free of the scourges of cholera, leprosy, exotic viruses, and parasitic diseases. Some of our citizens are still struck by tuberculosis and malnutrition, but we are making significant progress against them.

Yet in Asia today, millions are killed or crippled by those six diseases. They also continue to pose a serious threat to our fighting men stationed in Southeast Asia.

The U.S.-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program was begun in 1965 to find ways, through medical research, to eliminate or control those diseases.

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress today the annual report on that program. In slightly more than a year since the research efforts began

—Fifteen separate conferences dealing with specific diseases have been held in the United States and Asia.

—Contracts and grants were awarded for further intensive study of each disease.

—Additional steps were taken toward the development of a vaccine capable of conferring long-term immunity against cholera.

I believe you will find this report encouraging and enlightening, and I commend it to your attention.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *June 3, 1968.*

AMENDMENT TO TVA BRIDGE ACT

Mr. **WRIGHT**. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 8953) to amend the act of November 21, 1941 (55 Stat. 773), providing for the alteration, reconstruction, or relocation of certain highway and railroad bridges by the Tennessee Valley Authority, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 8953

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act of November 21, 1941 (55 Stat. 773), be and is hereby amended to read as follows:

"That (a) whenever, as the result of the construction of any dam, reservoir, or other improvement under the provisions of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, or amendments thereto, including any improvement of the navigable channel to accommodate the growth of navigation or changes in navigation requirements within the reservoir created by any dam in the custody of the Tennessee Valley Authority, any bridge, trestle, or other highway or railroad structure located over, upon, or across the Tennessee River or any of its navigable tributaries, including approaches, fenders, and appurtenances thereto, is endangered or otherwise adversely affected and damaged, including any interference with or impairment of its use, or, in the judgment of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, needs to be raised, widened, or otherwise altered to provide the navigation clearances required for completion of the navigable channel to be provided by such improvement, to the extent that protection, alteration, reconstruction, relocation, or replacement is necessary or proper to preserve its safety or utility or to meet the requirements of navigation or flood control, or both, the owner or owners of such bridge, trestle, or structure shall be compensated by the Tennessee Valley Authority in the sum of the reasonable actual cost of such protection, alteration, reconstruction, relocation, or replacement: *Provided,* That in arriving at the amount of such compensation the bridge owner shall be charged with a sum which shall equal the net value to the owner of any direct and special benefits accruing to the owner from any improvement or addition or betterment of the altered, reconstructed, relocated, or replaced bridge, trestle, or structure. The Tennessee Valley Authority is empowered to contract with such owner with respect to any such protection, alteration, reconstruction, relocation, or replacement, the payment of the cost thereof and its proper division, which contract may provide either for money compensation or for the performance of all or any part of the work by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

"(b) In the event of a failure to agree upon the terms and conditions of any such contract, or upon any default in the performance of any contract entered into pursuant to this Act, the bridge owner or the Tennessee Valley Authority shall have the right to bring suit to enforce its rights or for a declaration of its rights under this Act, or under any such contract, in the district court of the United States for the district in which the property in question is located. In any such proceeding the court shall apportion the total cost of the work between the Tennessee Valley Authority and the owner in accord with the provisions contained in this section. The Tennessee Valley Authority's share of the cost of any such protection, alteration, reconstruction, relocation, or replacement, under any contract made or judgment, award, or decree rendered under the provisions of this section may be paid out of any funds available for carrying out the provisions of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, as amended, and appropriations for that purpose are hereby authorized: *Provided,* That, prior to such alteration, reconstruction, or relocation of said bridges, the location and plans shall be submitted to and approved by the Secretary of Transportation in accordance with existing laws."

The **SPEAKER**. Is a second demanded?

Mr. **DON H. CLAUSEN**. Mr. Speaker, I am not opposed to the legislation, but in order that we might have debate on the bill, I demand a second.

The **SPEAKER**. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

The **SPEAKER**. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. **WRIGHT**. Mr. Speaker, the bill, as reported, would remove an overly restrictive requirement in the TVA Bridge Act of 1941. That act provides that the costs of bridge alterations, which arise from the construction of dams and navigation improvements, must be paid out of the earnings of the Tennessee Valley Authority. This bill would provide that such costs may be paid out of any funds available, including appropriations, for carrying out the provisions of the basic TVA Act. Under present law, appropriated funds cannot be used to pay the TVA's share of bridge alteration costs unless there is a judgment or award of a U.S. district court. If TVA and the bridge owner are able to reach a voluntary agreement as to the work to be done and the division of cost, the Federal share of the cost must be paid out of TVA's earnings.

However, TVA has no surplus earnings available for payment of its share of the cost. Under covenants entered into by TVA with holders of its bonds, power revenues can be used only for power system purposes. TVA's nonpower earnings, primarily receipts from sales of fertilizers, are used to help cover the costs of the fertilizer research and development program. Thus, the TVA Bridge Act, in its present form, encourages extensive and costly litigation where voluntary agreements are otherwise possible.

H.R. 8953 also clarifies the TVA Bridge Act by providing in specific terms that the act applies not only to alterations of bridges incident to new reservoir projects, but also to alterations required by realinement or other changes of the navigation channel to accommodate the growth of traffic or changes in navigation requirements within an existing reservoir created by a dam in TVA custody. This amendment restates TVA's interpretation of the act which has been upheld by the courts. However, to avoid further litigation, the committee felt it was appropriate to clarify the language of the TVA Bridge Act.

The legislation does not involve additional Federal expenditures, but rather encourages voluntary agreements where possible and discourages litigation where it serves no useful purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Flood Control, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JONES], appear in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. STAGGERS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to speak on behalf of H.R. 8953 as reported by the Committee on Public Works. The Subcommittee on Flood Control held hearings on this bill on October 31, 1967, and I can say there was no opposition to the legislation then and I know of none now.

H.R. 8953 amends the act of November 21, 1941—16 U.S.C. 831c-1—commonly known as the TVA Bridge Act, to allow TVA's share of the cost of alterations or relocations of certain bridges, whether established by voluntary agreement or action by an appropriate court, to be paid out of any funds, including appropriations, available for carrying out the provisions of the TVA Act.

The present law provides that if any bridge, trestle, or other highway or railroad structure located over, upon, or across the Tennessee River or any of its navigable tributaries is endangered or otherwise adversely affected and damaged by the construction of any Tennessee Valley Authority project, TVA may contract with the owner with respect to any protection, alteration, reconstruction, relocation, or replacement necessary and for the equitable sharing of the cost. As under the Truman-Hobbs Act—33 U.S.C. 516—the bridge owner is charged with the net value of any direct and special benefits accruing to the owner from the betterment of the altered bridge. The law now provides that where the parties are able to reach a voluntary agreement as to the work to be done and the division of cost, the Federal share of the cost must be paid out of TVA earnings.

The act further provides that where no agreement is reached as to the necessary work or apportionment of the costs, either party may submit the matter to the U.S. district court for the district in which the property is located for a declaration of the respective rights under the act and an apportionment of costs. Any judgment of the court may be satisfied out of available appropriations.

During hearings on this bill, it appeared that voluntary agreements for alteration of these bridges are not practicable since TVA has no surplus earnings available for payment of its share of the cost. Under covenants entered into by TVA with holders of its bonds, power revenues can be used only for power system purposes. TVA's nonpower earnings, primarily receipts from sales of fertilizers, are used to help cover the costs of the fertilizer research and development program. Thus, TVA has no surplus earnings available for needed alterations of bridges, and, as previously noted, can use appropriated funds only if there is litigation with the bridge owners. The provisions of H.R. 8953 will remedy this situation by allowing appropriated funds to be used where an agreement is reached. It should be noted that this will bring the TVA Bridge Act in line with the Truman-Hobbs Act where, in similar situations, the Federal share of such work is paid out of appropriations.

H.R. 9053 also clarifies the TVA Bridge Act by providing in specific terms that the act applies not only to alterations of bridges incident to new reservoir projects, but also to alterations required by realinement or other changes of the navigation channel to accommodate the growth of traffic or changes in navigation requirements within an existing reservoir created by a dam in TVA custody.

This restates TVA's interpretation of the act, as upheld by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in a 1961 decision—*Southern Railway Co.* v. *Tennessee Valley Authority*, 294 F. 2d 491. The clarification is to avoid similar litigation in the future.

The bill also amends the TVA Bridge Act to recognize the recent transfer from the Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of the Army, to the Secretary of Transportation of the general authority for approval of bridge locations and clearances on the navigable waters of the United States. This transfer was made under provisions of the Department of Transportation Act—49 U.S.C. 1655g.

The amendments proposed by H.R. 8953 are remedial in nature and do not call for increased appropriations. In fact, the major thrust of the bill is to avoid litigation in cases where TVA and bridge owners are in agreement on matters concerning bridge alterations and relocations, thereby saving the expense of such litigation.

I support this bill and urge that it be passed.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 8953, a bill to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Bridge Act.

This proposal has been before the House Public Works Committee where it was examined in great thoroughness. It has been recommended for enactment by the committee without dissenting views.

The proposed amendment is supported by all interested Members of the House who represent the TVA's geographical areas.

This is not a bill which would require monetary authorizations. It would place the TVA under the same provisions as in the general law which prevails for all other agencies throughout the country.

The bill would permit the TVA to use appropriated funds for paying its share of the cost of bridge alterations where the division of cost is obtained through voluntary agreements by the parties as well as where the cost apportionment is obtained through litigation. The existing law for TVA provides for such payment only after time-consuming and expensive litigation.

The TVA has established itself as a great and fine national institution. The benefits of its operation have been exciting and widespread.

I urge approval of this proposal to bring the bridge improvement procedures of the Tennessee Valley Authority in line with the general law which applies to other agencies through the country.

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 8953. This act would amend the act of November 21, 1941—55 Stat. 773—providing for alteration, reconstruction, or relocation of certain highways and railroad bridges by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

This legislation would amend the TVA Bridge Act to bring the practices and procedures of the TVA in line with those of the other agencies of the government in regard to replacement of bridges.

Under existing legislation, in cases where the TVA and the bridge owner come to an agreement on distribution of costs in bridge replacement cases, the TVA must pay for its share from earnings. In 1941, when the original TVA Bridge Act was passed, the TVA had earnings. Now, all the TVA's revenues are earmarked for debt retirement and payments to the treasury.

The proposal would permit the TVA to pay its share of bridge replacement costs from any funds, including appropriated funds, as other agencies do under the government's general bridge legislation. The proposal provides for no new authorizations. Any funds required would be sought under regular appropriations procedures.

Under existing law, the TVA can pay its share of bridge replacement from appropriated funds only after court litigation. In cases where agreement can be reached between parties, the proposed changes would eliminate the need for costly court litigation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. STAGGERS). The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas that the

House suspend the rules and pass the bill H.R. 8953, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the bill just passed.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

TAX INCREASE AND EXPENDITURE CUT

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, over the weekend President Johnson is reported to have stated that he would now accept the $6 billion expenditure cut which is contained in the conference report now pending. That, of course, includes the increase in taxes on the American people. Mr. Johnson also is reported to have said that if such a bill comes to his desk for signature, he would sign it and then proceed to consult with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget as to where the Federal expenditures would be cut.

Mr. Speaker, I welcome the President's basic statement. He has now broken his silence on whether or not he would accept a $6 billion cut for fiscal year 1969, but I would also observe—and I have issued a statement on Friday which I will put in the RECORD—that he is putting the cart before the horse when he says that he will wait until he signs it before he consults with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget as to where he is going to cut the expenditures. I think the House needs to be reminded—and certainly the news media and the country need to be reminded—that we have been horsing around on this question of doing something about our Federal deficit for well over 2 years.

Mr. Speaker, it has been as long ago as 2 years that as the ranking Republican on the Joint Economic Committee I stated that even if we cut expenditures along the line which I thought were absolutely essential it still would be necessary, probably, to have a tax increase in order to get at the serious problems of inflation, high interest rates, gold flow which result from the cumulative deficits.

Mr. Speaker, the Johnson administration, very cleverly, has horsed this fiscal problem around in the ensuing 18 months. Certainly, it has now avoided doing anything in fiscal 1968 to show a desire to follow fiscal responsibility. Here it is June 3. We have 27 days left before fiscal 1968 terminates. So, obviously, the President is not going to cut back anything in fiscal 1968. In fact, we know that far from cutting by $4 billion, as he said he would last August he increased expenditures over the figure he gave us in his January budget by $7 billion, an $11 billion discrepancy which means that any deficit for fiscal 1968 now is around $25 billion—the highest by far of any deficit since World War II.

Mr. Speaker, this cut that is included in the pending conference report, $6 billion, relates to fiscal 1969—not fiscal 1968. And, as I pointed out on May 14 when I took the floor of the House to explain why I could not sign the conference report, and why I was not about to sign it, unless the President spoke up, I pointed out at that time that half of fiscal 1969—6 months of fiscal 1969—will be under a different administration. The Johnson administration has only 6 months of fiscal 1969.

Mr. Speaker, because of the nature of Federal spending the expenditure and budgetary procedures and laws, the President of the United States could continue spending in the month of July, which is next month, and which is the first month of fiscal 1969, at the same level or at an increased level, even with a $6-billion expenditure cut in the law.

He could continue to do that for the month of August, he could continue to do it for the month of September and for the month of October. In fact, he could continue to do it for the month of November if he were inclined to do so. But, I would point out that this is an election year and the election would have come and gone. But he could continue to spend at a higher level for fiscal 1969 than that amount which was projected in the budget message that he sent to the Congress in January, even with the $6 billion cut.

Mr. Speaker, there have been some Members of the House who have taken the floor to express concern that by improving the expenditure cut we were, in effect, giving to the President of the United States an item veto, and as I pointed out they regrettably are accurate.

This constitutes an item veto which is granted to him unless we tie down the cuts in line items. I would even be for the item veto, if that is what it were, because we have allowed ourselves to get in such a fiscal crunch that this kind of emergency procedure becomes necessary. But what I am pointing up is that without further Presidential or congressional action no cutting of expenditure levels can be assured.

Let me also say that these arguments which have been advanced against giving the President the item veto come from the Democratic leadership and from the Democratic Members of Congress. They are the ones who are in fact saying that this Congress under its present leadership is not exercising its responsibilities and, therefore, we do not want to give the President that power in this area. What a sham.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, the correct way to proceed, of course, is for the Congress to exercise its prerogatives and responsibilities even under the present leadership, to cut back on an item-by-item basis where these expenditure cuts are going to occur.

I might add also cutback in appropriation bills—I might also add cutback in the original authorization bills. But I would make this further observation: that we have never in the Congress developed the procedures, the machinery, to create a legislative budget. We have already passed the power to set spending levels to the President. His carryover balances of unused power to spend exceed $200 billion, which is above the figure of the $186 billion expenditure level that he has given us in his budget message this January for fiscal 1969.

And already we have passed some appropriation bills. If we pass all of his requests, or even cutting requests by $20 billion, he still will have power to spend of over $400 billion. I would argue, as I have in the past, that the executive, the President, whoever he is, needs a certain amount of flexibility in deciding what will be spent for programs. If we have a breakthrough in a military weapons system he could accelerate expenditures, or if a weapons systems become obsolete we should cut back on them, and probably eliminate them. And so it is across the board in any area of expenditure, the executive ought to have a certain flexibility. But on the other hand, Congress ought to have its judgment expressed on what the total expenditure level for any given year should be in relation to our anticipated income. Our failure to do this is what creates the fiscal problem in which we find ourselves, the accumulated deficits over periods of years, and the heavy deficit that now looms before us.

Quoting the Secretary of the Treasury in his testimony before the conferees, he said that without this fiscal package which sits in the conference, the deficit for fiscal 1969 will be $31 billion. This is on top of the $25 billion deficit for this year.

So I again advise my colleagues that I would vote for a $6 billion cut, and the tax increase; I would vote for this fiscal package if the President will sit down and work out where $6 billion cuts will be made—and that means beginning right now. The time is already too late. To plan for expenditures for just next month requires work right now. And if the President waits another week or so there is nothing he can do about cutting back expenditures for July. He should be doing this cutting in consultation with the Members and the leaders of Congress on both sides now. He should have done it last week, last month. And here we sit.

Now, one final item, I have been receiving a lot of calls, and I know a lot of other Congressmen also have from various interested groups, if that is a good way to describe them, who want to see us take affirmative action on this fiscal package. Many of them are very fine bankers. The point I have made to these gentlemen—and I want to make it here publicly—they have to be just as interested in cutting expenditures as they seem to be interested in having a tax increase.

I would make this observation: Corporations do not pay taxes, really. They collect taxes. They have to pass the taxes on to the consuming public in the price they charge for their goods and services. There is only one real taxpayer in this country, or any other country, and that is the individual human being.

So it is one thing if we are talking about passing on increased taxes to the general public, which these financiers are, and it is another thing to talk about cutting back expenditures in which maybe these financiers might be interested in as the cuts relate to particular programs. And I am beginning to wonder because they have not been present in the past 2 years trying to help those of us cut back expenditures, those of us who felt that it is the total spending in our society that is in error, particularly Federal Government spending. The first place to begin to cut is where we have double-barreled deficits in our international balance of payments through overspending by the Government abroad which adds to our deficits in our domestic budget as well.

The first place to begin is to cut back troops in Europe and foreign aid. I say that as one who thinks foreign aid has an important part to play today and it is important to the United States to have good foreign aid programs—but not at the level of $5.5 billion. This level can be cut and improve the programs. The Clay Commission report, back in 1962, recommended cutting it back to around a $2 billion level. I think this would improve the program.

But again talking to these people who are so anxious to have the tax increase bill to pass—where are they when it comes to getting the Johnson administration and this Congress to cut back on the troops in Europe? Where are the Western European financiers, by the way, when it comes to our talking about pulling back troops in Europe—all of a sudden they lose interest in the fiscal problem that faces this country and our international balance of payments.

Apparently my good friends from New York begin to lose interest when it means cutting back some of our foreign aid programs—and maybe it is that they are reluctant to see public works cut back, because they have an interest in those projects; or in the space program; or the farm program; or in research and development.

All I am saying is, it is important for those who are interested in getting the tax increase bill through to help the Congress and to push the President toward a line item area for cutting.

My final observations are these—and I have made them before—the President is exhibiting gross demagoguery, and so has his administration, when every time we talk of cutting he says, Well, yes, it will have to come out of the poverty program—out of the hides of the poor.

All I can say is that this is completely unnecessary—and not that we could not spend that money more wisely—but I have listed over $15 billion of cuts that could be imposed almost immediately without even touching the poverty program and without even touching health, education, and welfare.

We need help. This Congress needs help from these pressure groups outside of the Congress, of the administration, to get to the cutting of expenses and to spell out in detail where we are going to cut $6 billion.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSS. I commend the gentleman from Missouri for having put his finger on several sensitive nerves, one of them being the foreign bankers who are now so interested in promoting a tax increase bill in this country. Of course, they would rather have taxes raised on the American people than to see American troops pulled out of their countries because they help the economies of their countries to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars.

Mr. CURTIS. The gentleman is absolutely right.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. STAGGERS). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. The date of June 12 has been set for a tentative vote on this so-called tax package. Are not the Members, I would ask the gentleman from Missouri, the Members of the House of Representatives entitled to assurance in the next few days, certainly prior to June 12, from the Democratic leadership of the House and Senate, as well as the President of the United States, that a minimum of $6 billion in spending cuts will be made and guidelines as to where we can expect these reductions?

Mr. CURTIS. The gentleman is absolutely right. We must put this line item approach into agreement and we also have to have an agreement on timing. As I say, if we toss this around until June 12, it will be too late really to make practical cuts for the first month of the fiscal year 1969; namely, July. The longer we delay on where we are going to cut, the longer you can almost say, the expenditure level for fiscal year 1969 will start out with a complete ignoring of any $6 billion cut. The entire $6 billion would actually be put in under the following administration, the following 6 months. And if this is done we will not be hitting at the inflationary forces which is the sole reason behind our doing anything.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the able gentleman for yielding.

I just wanted to ask two questions of my knowledgeable colleague. One is would he be favorable to an amendment, if one could be properly inserted in the conference report, which would forbid the President in making the so-called $6 billion spending cut, to cut anything which has heretofore been provided by the Congress in the field of health, education, poverty, and welfare?

Mr. CURTIS. Well, let me say this. Only from the standpoint that there has been demagoguery on this issue. I do think this is an area, in my own judgment, where we could spend money more wisely. But I have pointed out in relation to the $15 billion cut—not $6 billion—$15 billion cut—that I have suggested here, entirely apart from the Vietnam war, and from the poverty, health, education, and welfare areas, if this would get votes on the gentleman's side of the aisle, and we could get agreements as to where these cuts are going to be, I would do a lot of things. I happen to agree with the President's rhetoric about the seriousness of domestic inflation and our international balance of payments.

As I said during the debate on whether it would be a $4 billion or a $6 billion cut, I said that even a $6 billion cut is too little and too late. We have already taken out of the hides of the poor a 5-percent cut through inflation, and we are going to take another 5 percent this year even with the tax-expenditure package. It is greater than that, really, because inflation hits the lower income groups the most by its very nature. Inflation is a tax on consumption. It is a consumer tax, for the lower income groups 100 cents out of the dollar has to go for consumption. These people cannot invest. An investor can make some money on inflation. Why, then the poor get hit 100 percent by the tax of inflation. If that agreement would get votes on the gentleman's side of the aisle, for the expenditure cuts and tax increase, yes. But I am afraid there are those who do not quite agree with me on this matter or on other economic subjects.

Mr. PEPPER. I am pleased to hear the gentleman take that sympathetic view in relation to the problems of the people of our country.

One further question, if the gentleman will yield further.

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. The distinguished gentleman is a member of the Ways and Means Committee. Am I correct in my recollection that we have not had a tax increase in this country since 1962?

Mr. CURTIS. I do not know that we increased taxes in 1962 except to extend the excise taxes.

Mr. PEPPER. And we made a cut that is generally said to be a $20 billion cut in taxes in 1964?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, but that was on the theory—and, thank goodness, it was the theory that I advanced that prevailed—that if we lowered the rates, we would take more money from the people. It was a reduction in rates, but it was on the theory that by lowering the rates, we would increase economic activity and thus end up with more revenues. But the gentleman is correct. If we had the same rates, we would not have had the same economic growth. Nonetheless, this is true. There was a tax rate reduction in both 1962 and 1964.

Mr. PEPPER. I should like to ask this followup question, if I may: If I recall correctly, the Vietnam war has been a real burden to us since approximately 1962? It has stepped up year after year.

Mr. CURTIS. The real expenditures hit around 1965, I would say, September 1965.

Mr. PEPPER. It has been increasing as we have gone along.

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. PEPPER. I do not have the figure, but the amount we have had to expend for the war since 1962 with our spending about $30 billion a year now, must total some——

Mr. CURTIS. Around $100 billion.

Mr. PEPPER. Around $100 billion.

Mr. CURTIS. That is true.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

(At the request of Mr. Pepper, Mr. Curtis was granted 1 additional minute.)

Mr. PEPPER. We have spent about $100 billion on the war. During the war we cut $20 billion in taxes. And yet for 2 years the Chief Executive has been asking this Congress to give him a little 10-percent surtax increase, and the Congress is now saying, "We will not even give you that unless you cut spending by 6 billion." I thank the gentleman.

Mr. CURTIS. Let me say to the gentleman, people have made money on this war. Do not kid yourself. And the taxes to the Federal Government have increased as a result.

The Federal revenues have continued to go up even with these lowered tax rates, but this President cannot live even within these revenues, so I do not go along with the business of Congress not wanting to increase the rates. One reason why Chairman Mills was reluctant to press the tax increase was, as he said, if we increase the rates, we might throw the country into recession. This could be. The Federal tax rates are still too high. I would argue that in the long run we ought to be reducing our Federal tax rates even more, and we would end up with more revenue because we would expand the base.

Hereafter follows the remarks I made in the press release I referred to:

President Must Consult With Congress on Expenditure Reductions

I am pleased that President Johnson has broken his silence and said that he would sign the Conference Committee Bill providing for a 10% tax increase coupled with $6 billion in spending cuts.

However, to ensure its passage, the President must immediately consult with Congressional leaders, to determine exactly where and when the cuts will be made.

The President in his press conference last week put the cart before the horse. He said that if the tax bill passes Congress and comes to him, he would then consult with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget and determine where cuts would be made.

But it is possible that the tax bill will never get to him unless the President consults with the leaders of Congress as to where the cuts will be made.

Time is of the essence. These decisions must be made immediately. It requires time to schedule cuts and every day the President waits before consulting with Congressional leaders to determine where the cuts will be made is another day wasted in attempting to come to grips with inflation.

In order for the cuts to be effective in hitting at inflation they must begin immediately. The President has wasted so much time that fiscal 1968, which ends June 30, 1968, is gone, but inflation is upon us right now. The cuts must be made effective beginning July 1, which is less than a month from now.

THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE STAFF REPORT ON THE ARNHEITER MUTINY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Staggers). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. Gubser] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I recently informed the House of my intention to place in the Congressional Record all information I could gather which would tell a side of the so-called Arnheiter mutiny which has not been told previously.

I wish to make it clear that I am making no attempt to pass judgment upon any of the individuals involved in this case. Rather, my purpose is to serve objectivity.

Some months ago a member of the Armed Services Committee staff was designated by its chairman, the Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, to conduct a staff survey of the Arnheiter case. An exhaustive study was made and the Department of the Navy also studied the situation extensively.

The staff report has been summarized to me with these words:

> There was nothing illegal about the procedures used by the Navy in this case. Command of a ship is not a right, but a privilege to be exercised with responsibility. The best summary of the situation is contained in the letter of March 13, 1967, written to Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter by Capt. R. G. Alexander:
>
> "You must face the fact that you were, in the majority opinion, including my own, brought down by your own actions and not by faulty procedures or disloyal subordinates."
>
> This fact has been abundantly clear to those who have read the Navy files in the matter, and have not been changed by anything brought out elsewhere.
>
> The fact of the matter is that Arnheiter was assigned the dull, dirty task of patrolling an area from ten miles off shore on out to sea and to search the area by radar. Instead he mutinied and went in close to shore to try to find shore bombardment action. He was not supposed to engage in shore bombardment unless he was specifically ordered to do so; instead, he fired on the shore contrary to orders. He interfered with those who were there legitimately, once even crossing the line of fire of another ship. In order to cover up his true position, he filed false position reports.
>
> Within 20 days after he took up his position off the coast of Southeast Asia, the admiral responsible for his operations there had to send an officer to be sure that Arnheiter really understood his operational orders. It was these things, together with the reports from the commanding officers of the ships with which he had caused such interference, that were the most damaging items leading to his removal. They were also completely independent of any alleged mutiny among his junior officers. On the contrary, these indicate that Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter was himself in mutiny against the Navy's way of fighting the war in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Speaker, my desire to serve objectivity can best be accomplished, however, by inserting the complete staff report into the Record for all to judge for themselves. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I submit herewith the entire staff report with an appendix. I am hopeful that it will be carefully read by all who are concerned with this matter:

U.S. House of Representatives,
Committee on Armed Services,
Washington, D.C., March 4, 1968.

Memorandum for: Honorable L. Mendel Rivers, Chairman, Armed Services Committee.

Re: Lieutenant Commander Marcus A. Arnheiter.

On December 22, 1965, Lt. Commander M. A. Arnheiter assumed the command of a radar picket escort ship (DER), the U.S.S. *Vance*. In so doing, he achieved a privilege he had sought for a long time.

Command of a ship of the United States Navy is a high privilege, not a right. That privilege is increased whenever the ship is taken into military operations, and especially military operations which are carefully circumscribed by higher authority.

The responsibility accompanying that privilege is absolute, according to Navy Regulations, and the authority of the commanding officer is commensurate with that responsibility.

On the *Vance*, this responsibility was for about 14 officers and 150 enlisted men, living together for long periods of time in cramped quarters, as well as for the ship. In addition the responsibility was to employ the ship, its officers and crew in accordance with the operational orders.

The *Vance*, as a radar picket escort ship had two main attributes: first it was able to stay on station for extended periods of time because of its diesel engines; and second it had special radar equipment enabling it to provide air and surface surveillance. It also carried sonar equipment to provide submarine detection capability.

The mission of a radar picket escort ship is "to carry out ocean surveillance; to detect air, surface, and submarine activity; to counter sea infiltration efforts; and to operate offensively against submarines."

When the *Vance* was assigned to South Vietnam activities, its primary purpose to stay at sea using its radar to locate ships and its sonar to locate submarines which might be coming in from the sea carrying contraband to the Viet Cong.

The operation in which the *Vance* was engaged is called Market Time. Officially, operational headquarters for Market Time were in Saigon and known as CTF 115. The *Vance* was also responsible, as a picket escort, to a squadron commander for destroyer escorts located at Subic Bay, in the Philippine Islands. The Commanding Officer of the squadron was Commander Milligan. The Commander of the destroyer flotilla at Subic Bay was, at first, Rear Admiral Irvine, who was later relieved by Rear Admiral King.

The operational orders for Market Time were issued by CTF 115 in Saigon. These orders divided the coast of South Vietnam into several areas, running from the border with North Vietnam to the border with Cambodia. The *Vance* was initially assigned to an area roughly centered on Qui Nhon and over 90 miles long. This area was zoned lengthwise to provide for the radar picket escort patrols in the seaward portion and the inshore zone within 10 miles for patrol by the Navy Swift boats, Coast Guard patrol craft and Vietnamese Navy patrol craft.

The Commanding Officer of each DER, as the senior U.S. Navy officer in the area was charged with cooperating with the Vietnamese Navy and for this purpose a Vietnamese Naval liaison officer for the area was located on board his ship. This officer supplied not only interpretations but also intelligence of the local areas.

The local Coastal Surveillance Centers provided cognizance and coordination of forces afloat within each area.

The radar picket escorts were required by CTF 115 to report their position to that headquarters each midnight. In addition the operational orders required each ship to report when it moved out of its assigned area. This report was to be made to the Coastal Surveillance Center, which in turn was to relay the report to CTF 115. In line with its responsibility to keep a plot of all ships in its area, the local Coastal Surveillance Center required all ships, including the radar picket ships, to report their positions every two hours.

A group of ships separate and distinct from the Market Time ships was designated for shore bombardment (naval gunfire support). These ships reported to a separate and distinct organization in Saigon. In case any Market Time ships should ever have to engage in such operations, the rules of engagement were spelled out clearly. Such operations were either assigned in advance by headquarters of CTF 115, or were urgent for example—when the ship was fired upon or when friendly forces were fired upon. In addition the rules for stopping and boarding any ships under its surveillance operations were spelled out for Market Time ships.

The Market Time operational orders also clearly spelled out the radio communications channels the radar picket escort in a given area was to monitor at all times, and the other channels to guard when needed. An appropriate anti-submarine sonar watch was also required.

While this was the first assignment Lt. Commander Arnheiter had had on Market Time, it was not the first for the *Vance*. The *Vance* had had a prior assignment there, during which it had received the Engineering "E" Award, and was considered the ship to beat to win the coveted "E" as the outstanding ship. Its former Commanding Officer had received a commendation for the *Vance's* performance on the earlier patrol.

It was against this background that the *Vance*, commanded by Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter arrived on Market Time patrol on January 20, 1966.

Within twenty days of its arrival, the Admiral commanding CTF 115 had to send an officer to the *Vance* to be sure that the operational orders were understood because of reports that the *Vance* hadn't been complying with the rules. Commanding officers of destroyers operating near *Vance*, when they returned to Subic Bay for rest and recreation, reported to the squadron commander that the *Vance* was up to unusual actions in its patrol. A destroyer division commander also complained about the *Vance*. The parent squadron chaplain in Pearl Harbor heard from the families of some of the men on the *Vance* that there were unusual doings on board the *Vance* and that morale was getting low. The chaplain of the escort squadron to which the *Vance* was assigned made his usual rounds of all the ships in the squadron, staying two weeks on each ship. When he returned to Subic Bay, he reported to the squadron commander that the commanding officer of the *Vance* was acting in an unusual way and that morale on the ship was low. A second officer of the squadron staff, without knowing about the chaplain's report, also spent several days on the *Vance* and made the same kind of a report.

On March 29, 1966, the squadron commander consulted with the flotilla commander, Rear Admiral Irvine who was in the process of being relieved by Rear Admiral King. It was decided to send a request to the Bureau of Naval Personnel in Washington for orders removing the commanding officer of the *Vance* upon its arrival in the Philippines for a two week period of rest and recreation, pending an investigation. These telegraphic orders were received. The *Vance* arrived at Manila on March 25, and returned to Market Time under another commanding officer on April 13, 1966.

VIOLATION OF ORDERS AND REGULATIONS

During the period Lt. Commander Arnheiter was in command of the *Vance*, he violated many orders and regulations.

1. *Removal of ship from assigned area.* The *Vance*, as a radar picket ship, was assigned that portion of the patrol area three to patrol beyond 10 miles off shore. Instead during January 20 to February 8 Lt. Commander Arnheiter continuously brought his ship in close to shore looking for gunfire support missions. Although required to report to the Coastal Surveillance Center and to headquarters CTF 115 when he crossed out of his assigned area, he failed to do so.

2. *Gunfire support missions.*

a. On January 27, *Vance* locally requested gunfire support missions, and in return was asked by an air control spotter to be available for such support on an hour's notice for the next morning. When asked to furnish help by the air spotter, the *Vance* did not arrive for more than two hours, or too late.

b. Thereafter on January 28, *Vance* asked *Mason*, a destroyer which was close to shore on an assigned gunfire support mission, for permission to join in on the mission. *Vance* stayed around *Mason* seeking such an assignment from about noon to sunset.

c. On January 29, *Vance* appeared near the *Mason* and shortly began firing on the supposed site of a machine gun. *Mason* received a gunfire support mission, and requested *Vance* to move as *Vance* was fouling the *Mason's* range.

d. On January 30, *Vance* asked U.S.S. *Bache*, a destroyer, for a gunfire support mission. Although none was given, *Vance*, started firing at the shore. Officers of both the *Bache* and the *Vance* reported that the only signs of life in the area were sparks flying from bullets ricocheting on the rocks in the area. There was no fire in the area on the *Vance* or on friendly troops. *Mason* officers were worried since First Air Cavalry Division troops were in the area and in a very fluid situation. While *Mason* received friendly front line position reports, *Vance* never requested such reports.

e. On February 1, *Vance*, on its own, undertook a gunfire support mission of a building which was a religious shrine. During an orientation trip of January 21 and 22, (made with Lt. Ward of the Junk Division to show where the Viet Cong had been noted) Lt. Ward pointed out the shrine to Lt. Commander Arnheiter as being in an area where the United States did not want to have any firing as we wanted to win over the local people. During January 27 to February 10, while in that area, *Mason* reported not seeing any activity around the *Vance's* target.

f. On February 1, *Vance* asked *Mason* for a gunfire support mission. At that time, *Vance* fouled the *Mason*'s firing line. Even when warned by *Mason*, *Vance* continued to cross the line until it took up the position sought by Lt. Commander Arnheiter. *Mason* immediately ordered *Vance* to leave the area.

g. In connection with one of these incidents on February 1, the Executive Officer had to take the bridge to bring the ship around when it almost ran aground, since Lt. Commander Arnheiter was preoccupied with describing the events over the ship's intercom.

h. In performing these gunfire support missions, *Vance* was out of its assigned area offshore. It had to drop guard on some required communications channels in order to come up on the gunfire support channels. It interfered with the operations of the ships regularly assigned to the gunfire support mission since they not only had to respond to the *Vance*'s constant pleas for missions, but they also had to be vigilant as to the *Vance*'s position at all times. Primarily, though, it engaged in gunfire support missions without the prior approval of CTF 115, and without notifying CTF 115.

i. On the other hand, when Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter was asked to protect a Vietnamese Navy headquarters in case of Viet Cong attack, he went off on his own to chase three junks. This happened on the night of February 2, 1966. The local Coastal Surveillance Center asked *Vance* to protect the Vietnamese Navy Junk Headquarters inside a bay. Lt. Commander Arnheiter was told that there might be a regiment of Viet Cong in the neighborhood which was planning to overrun the headquarters. The *Vance* entered the bay, lowered its motor whale boat to act both as a spotter in case of the necessity of firing and to be a decoy. Then, finding three junks on its radar, the *Vance* steamed some ten miles north, leaving the whale boat and the headquarters unprotected for four hours.

3. *False Position Reports.* On January 28 and 29, the *Vance* sent false position reports to the local Coastal Surveillance Center. If the reports to the Coastal Surveillance Center had been accurate, they would have indicated that the *Vance* was off of its expected patrol and engaging in unauthorized gunfire support missions.

4. *Relations with Vietnamese Navy.* When the *Vance* spotted three junks in a bay area, it went in after them. The junks were beached and the men (10 on each junk) ran ashore. Lt. Commander Arnheiter ordered the Vietnamese Liaison officer to go in shore after them, and he refused. Lt. Commander Arnheiter called him and described him in writing as yellow and cowardly. The liaison officer returned to his headquarters as quickly as possible, and the Vietnamese Navy thereafter refused to send a liaison officer to the *Vance* while it was in any of three areas. When the *Vance* returned to these areas even after the change of command, it was still some time before a liaison officer was permitted to ride on her. The *Vance* had to be redeployed immediately after February 8 to a distant area so as to be able to have a liaison officer on board.

5. *Boarding of Foreign Merchantman.* On February 1, in the evening, the *Vance* challenged a foreign merchant vessel. Without waiting to get orders from CTF 115, the *Vance* had the merchantman boarded. When subsequently asked by CTF 115's Operations Officer why he had not asked orders from CTF 115, Lt. Commander Arnheiter replied that the ship was just about to go over the line into international waters, and he couldn't wait. This boarding, contrary to the operational orders, could have caused an incident with a third country.

6. *Unreported Radar Difficulties.* From January 31 until February 10, the surface radar was acting below standards, if operational at all. Although this was the main piece of equipment with which the radar patrol picket ship was to stand its patrol at sea, this failure was not reported until February 10. When the officer sent by the Admiral commanding CTF 115 came on board for a visit on February 8, the rotating screen, which had been removed, was replaced during his visit so that it would appear to be operational.

7. *False Spare Parts Report.* On February 26, *Vance* was requested by the organization that was charged with providing the *Vance's* logistics supply, for a listing of the critical spare parts on board for its diesel engines. The report transmitted did not list all of the parts, although the draft had been properly prepared by the Engineering Officer. Lt. Commander Arnheiter listed only those parts which he thought could be released without endangering the mission of the *Vance*.

8. *Failure to Maintain Proper ASW Watch.* The Operational Orders require appropriate ASW precautions at all times. Yet, shortly after Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter took command of the *Vance*, Lt. J. G. Merkel, the ASW officer, was given the additional duty of being the ship photographer. This responsibility became a full time task. And consequently he was not able to devote the time required to his ASW duties. The enlisted men under the ASW officer became so discouraged that all put in for transfer to other duty as soon as the first opportunity presented itself. Yet, Lt. Commander Arnheiter criticized the ASW officer because his men were not interested in the ship. The necessity of paying special attention to the ASW crew members was pointed out by the inspection report made of the *Vance* just after it had been released from the shipyard in Pearl Harbor in late December, 1965. This inspection report was approved by Lt. Commander Arnheiter on January 18, 1966.

* * * * *

On the basis of any of these derelictions of duty and violation of regulations, there was adequate grounds alone for questioning the desirability of having Lt. Commander

Arnheiter continue as the commanding officer of a ship.

Since much has been made publicly of the condition of the *Vance* when Lt. Commander Arnheiter took over her command, an examination of the record is worthwhile.

THE "VANCE"

When Lt. Commander Arnheiter assumed command of the *Vance*, it had just returned from its prior deployment in Southeast Asia. During this period it never missed on operational commitment because of material failure, even when the tempo of operations approached 80 percent time underway. During this deployment, the *Vance* received at least nine commendations for her operations. She also was awarded the squadron engineering "E" for FY 1965.

Following this deployment, the *Vance* underwent a short overhaul in the shipyard at Pearl Harbor. It was inspected on December 14 and 15, 1965. The inspection report dated January 5, 1966, thereafter listed the *Vance* as in excellent condition "and reflects with credit on the Commanding Officer and his crew." An administrative inspection by the Commander of the squadron to which the *Vance* was attached, also listed the ship as being in excellent condition, with ship cleanliness receiving a mark of 94 percent and General Maintenance also a mark of 94 percent. Spiritual Activities and Religious Activities was marked 100 percent. This report, dated January 7, 1966, was forwarded by Lt. Commander Arnheiter with an endorsement dated January 18, 1966.

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

There have been numerous rumors about failures of Lt. Commander Arnheiter's personal background. These have nothing to do with the reason for his relief and their effect on his career would have been mitigated if his performance and command had been satisfactory, so there is no point in covering them in detail here.

However, it is true that his record was very spotty, and that he was passed over once for promotion from Lieutenant Junior Grade to Lieutenant.

These factors merely point out that the Navy was taking a chance when it assigned Arnheiter to command.

LIEUTENANT COMMANDER ARNHEITER'S LEADERSHIP

In addition to the major command failings—that is, violations of orders—listed above, there were numerous items reported during Arnheiter's brief period aboard the *Vance* having to do with personal glorification, communicating with and judging his officers and men, improper use of funds and equipment, and effectiveness of programs. Some of these appear rather petty. Taken together, however, they reinforce the conclusion that Arnheiter was incapable of providing the leadership required of a commanding officer.

Some of these items are summarized briefly below.

A. Lt. Commander Arnheiter left the ship's postal revenues $11 short by sending his Change of Command program to over 100 people without reimbursing the ship for the postage.

B. CTF 115 did not authorize use of ship's boats as decoys and, in fact, there were specific instructions not to expose the boats, or even the ships to Viet Cong fire. Arnheiter used his boats as decoys without authorization.

C. Upon assuming command of the *Vance*, Lt. Commander Arnheiter made an inspection tour of the ship which included five minutes in one of the four engine rooms. The only other time he visited the engine rooms was another five minute tour after the stay in the shipyard for further repairs. The engineering staff was not able to obtain the necessary down time to provide proper maintenance on the engines. During the orientation cruise of January 21 and 22, Lt. Commander Arnheiter took the *Vance* one to two thousand yards off shore at a time when both engines on one shaft were out of operation and the top speed the ship could have obtained was seven knots. The area was held by Viet Cong, who at that time were quiet under a Tet truce.

D. At both Pearl Harbor and Guam, Lt. Commander Arnheiter had both polaroid and movie film purchased out of the ship's operating funds. The total was around $400. At first Lt. Commander Arnheiter's explanation was that this film was needed for intelligence purposes. However, when the Executive Officer explained that exposed film was supposed to be sent undeveloped to a designated intelligence office, Lt. Commander Arnheiter refused to so transmit the film. Instead he sent it in prepaid mailing envelopes to the mainland of the United States to be developed and delivered to his home address. Later Lt. Commander Arnheiter explained that this film was for public relations purposes—that Saigon had asked for information on Market Time operations. The operational orders of Market Time, however, clearly state that CTF 115 will provide photographic assistance for public relations purposes.

As has been pointed out, Lt. Commander Arnheiter had the ASW officer assume the role of public relations officer, a task which soon became a full time responsibility. This officer was constantly on call to take pictures, and the call "Merkel, bridge, provide" came to be well known throughout the ship.

The Navy has not received any of these pictures or film.

E. Lt. Commander Arnheiter took $950 from the ship's recreation and welfare funds (then totalling about $1300) to buy a speedboat for water skiing. Section 1241(a) of the regulations relating to Unit Recreation funds prohibit the expenditure of welfare funds for items, such as boats, which can be obtained by appropriated funds. In addition the regulations require the ship's Recreation Committee (enlisted men) to meet and pass on recommendations and then the ship's Recreation Council (officers) to meet on the recommendations. The committee never did meet on this proposal and the officers met only as they were sitting around the wardroom table. While there were times when the speedboat was used for water skiing, a machine gun was put on the bow and it was frequently for operational purposes, such as chasing junks. Evidently it was Lt. Commander Arnheiter's intention to use it as a decoy so as to make the Viet Cong show where they were hiding along the shore, thus giving the VANCE an opportunity to open up its guns against those positions. In order to accomplish this it was planned that the speedboat would carry the largest American Flag that the ship had on board.

F. Arnheiter caused much resentment from the first with a program called "All Hands Aft" on Sunday. This was a compulsory divine service for all hands who could be spared from operations. The biggest resentment came from the Catholics on board who felt that they were being forced to attend Protestant services. Lt. Commander Arnheiter has cited the services at the U.S. Naval Academy and the prayers on the opening of Congress as indicating his right to have the services. However, the U.S. Naval Academy did not require all midshipmen to attend the Protestant services, but had the Catholics and all denominations attend services of their own choosing. The opening prayers in Congress do not have compulsory attendance, and are given by clergymen of different faiths. However this one episode caused some of the men to write back to their families and, in turn, caused the officer commanding the destroyer escorts from Pearl Harbor to write to Lt. Commander Arnheiter to go easy on the services. Lt. Commander Arnheiter then turned the services into "moral guidance" sessions.

The Navy Regulations dealing with the responsibilities of the Commanding Officer, is Article 0711 "Observance of Sunday." Section 1 clearly provides:

"Divine services shall be conducted on Sunday, if possible. All assistance and encouragement shall be given to chaplains in the conduct of these services, and music shall be made available if practicable. A suitable space shall be designated and properly rigged for the occasion, and quiet shall be maintained throughout the vicinity during divine services. *The religious tendencies of individuals shall be recognized and encouraged.*"

This provision is based on Title 10, United States Code, Section 6031(b):

"The commanders of vessels and naval activities to which chaplains are attached shall cause divine service to be performed on Sunday, whenever the weather and other circumstances allow it to be done; and it is *earnestly recommended to all officers, seamen, and others in the naval service diligently to attend at every performance of the worship of Almighty God.*"

Both the statute and the regulations are very careful to *encourage* attendance at divine services and not to make the attendance compulsory. Yet this latter is precisely what Lt. Commander Arnheiter did.

The first "All Hands Aft" was held on January 2, 1966, and the program consisted of:

a. The singing of patriotic songs: "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

b. A talk by Arnheiter on the role of prayer and worships in the country's military history.

c. The singing of the hymns "O God, Our Help in Ages Past", "Faith of Our Fathers", and the Navy Hymn, "Eternal Father Strong to Save".

d. Prayer of benediction of Arnheiter.

On subsequent Sundays the services were led by Lt. Commander Arnheiter, or by another officer.

The reaction of the part of the Catholic members of the officers and crew was instantaneous and strong yet Lt. Commander Arnheiter did not waiver on his course until he received the letter from the destroyer escort commander in Pearl Harbor.

G. Shortly after he took command, Lt. Commander Arnheiter believed that he was not getting the proper response out of the officers to some of his desires, so he instituted a "Boner Box." Each evening those who were found guilty of violating some command or precept were fined 25 cents, and the money put into the box. Such fines, though minor, are still a violation of the military code. Some of the items for which fines were levied included serving green beans instead of asparagus as provided on the menu, not using a knife properly, and appearing at dinner in a sweat shirt. Later this box was supplemented by a chart in the wardroom indicating the dereliction of the officers. The money collected was used to furnish cigars to the officers (which were then free to Lt. Commander Arnheiter). The officers resented the box and chart as being childish and undignified.

H. During the stopover in Guam on the westward deployment, the *Vance* had to go alongside a pier for further repairs. While it was laid up, there was a Mess Night attended by all officers except the most junior. The orders for the Pacific Fleet called for one-third of the crew to be on the ship at all times. This was important; if fire should start, a ship in "cold iron" condition is unusually vulnerable.

The Mess Night was planned by Lt. Commander Arnheiter as a formal dinner for the officers. He set the menu with a different wine with each course. At the end of the evening, following many a suggestion from Lt. Commander Arnheiter, some of the officers tried to take the candelabra from the Officers Club to put in the wardroom of the

Vance. Lt. Commander Arnheiter didn't stop them, but, according to his own statement, went to speak to the Club Manager and only later when his officers pointed out to him that the episode had been seen, did he have the candelabras returned. However, the next morning a coffee pot of the kind Lt. Commander Arnheiter had sought for his use on the bridge happened to appear on board the ship. It was not returned.

I. Arnheiter gave candy to children on junks. But instead of paying for candy, he had the candy condemned as unfit for human consumption and then given to the children. There was also some change in entries in the books for the ship's mess, at Lt. Commander Arnheiter's order, too, which resulted in a lower payment by him of his first share in January 1966.

J. Following each of the shore bombardments that he engaged in, Lt. Commander Arnheiter sent statements to the public relations office of CTF 115 (not official reports to the commander of CTF 115) which were thought to be highly exaggerated by both his own officers and by the officers of the ships nearby that witnessed the exercises.

K. Toward the end of the three months, Lt. Commander Arnheiter had his officers prepare an 8-page recommendation for him to receive the Silver Star or the Legion of Merit for his gunfire support missions. The terms of the citation were actually the words of Lt. Commander Arnheiter, and in the opinions of the officers were grossly exaggerated.

L. After listening to the witnesses, and their attitudes, the Hearing Officer found:

"During cross-examination of witnesses LCDR Arnheiter displayed an acid, harsh, repetitious and unforgiving attitude in pursuing points—even points in his favor. His impatience was continuously obvious and he frequently interrupted the witness before the answer was well along. At least two witnesses, including the Executive Officer, testified that this was the normal way he acted during his time on *Vance*. He would not stand for anyone disagreeing with him except the Executive Officer, and then only in private."

This finding was specifically approved by the convening authority as based both on the observations of the Hearing Officer and on the record. This attitude of Lt. Commander Arnheiter is even more evident when the tapes are heard, especially in his cross-examination of the Executive Officer.

There are many other items which could be included. The outstanding and typical ones have been covered.

NAVY PROCEDURES

After the request for the relief of Lt. Commander Arnheiter went from the command at Subic Bay to the Bureau of Naval Personnel in Washington and was approved, a single officer was appointed to investigate the circumstances surrounding the relief.

Article C–7801(4) of the Bureau of Naval Personnel Manual provides for "Detachment of Officers for Cause." Subparagraph (d) thereof provides the procedures and section 2 is for the instances where speed is mandatory. It states:

"Where speed is mandatory, because of any emergency, impending extended deployment of the ship or squadron to which the officer is attached, or other urgent reason, the request for detachment may preliminarily be made by message, stating briefly the reasons and the nature of the urgency. Appropriate action will be taken, but in all cases the command must also promptly submit a detailed letter as outlined below. Final action will be taken only on the basis of this letter which, with the officer's statement, can be made a part of his official record."

In this case speed was considered mandatory. The *Vance* was about to return for an extended deployment. The apparent problems could not be allowed to continue (if they were true) with the ship in the military operations of Market Time.

In Article C–7801(4)(a) the general policy of not allowing detachments for cause is set forth but with the following exception:

"An exception to this policy might be the case of an officer whose repeated misconduct while assigned to a relatively independent, isolated area has caused considerable damage to the prestige of the Navy."

A further provision is subsection (i) of Article C–7801(4):

"*Detachment by field orders*. Where commands issue summary detachment orders for reasons of the types contemplated in this Article, substantially similar procedures should be followed in requesting that the Chief of Naval Personnel confirm such orders."

Under this provision, the local command itself had the authority to summarily detach Lt. Commander Arnheiter if it chose to exercise that power.

With the relief of Lt. Commander Arnheiter, he was temporarily assigned duty in Subic Bay pending investigation. No finding of cause was made at that time.

Although Article C-7801 does not call for a Judge Advocate General Manual investigation, the Navy utilized the provisions of Chapter VI of the Manual of the Judge Advocate General to establish an informal investigation; it also utilized Part II of the Chapter to establish an informal one-officer investigation. The officer appointed was the commander of a destroyer squadron, and the former commander of a destroyer. Article C-7801 makes no reference to any Court of Inquiry.

Immediately following the relief of Lt. Commander Arnheiter, the commander of the destroyer escort squadron, Commander Milligan, went on board the *Vance* and requested any statements, pro or con, any person on the ship might desire to make about the circumstances surrounding the relief of Lt. Commander Arnheiter. He received about 35 statements which were turned over to Captain Witter who had been named to conduct the JAG Manual investigation. These statements were, in turn, made available to Lt. Commander Arnheiter and to his counsel prior to the first session of the investigation. The hearings ran six and a half days, were recorded on tape and transcribed onto over 400 pages of single-spaced transcript. Unfortunately one of the tapes did not record and that portion of the hearing had to be reconstructed from memory by the Hearing Officer. Twenty witnesses were heard and Lt. Commander Arnheiter testified in his own behalf. All of the witnesses were subject to cross-examination not only by Lt. Commander Arnheiter's counsel, but by Lt. Commander Arnheiter himself, who used the opportunity of cross-examination to, in effect, testify at that same time. A large part of the testimony was caused by Arnheiter's repeated and lengthy attempts to go over and over matters or earlier testimony. The Hearing Officer had the opportunity to see and evaluate all who testified.

The Investigating Officer reported on April 27, making 40 findings of fact, giving 12 opinions and 4 recommendations. He recommended that the removal from command be sustained, and that Lt. Commander Arnheiter not be assigned command either ashore or afloat. The convening authority at Subic Bay reviewed the case on May 23, 1966, and in general concurred with the findings and opinions, adding some 10 findings of fact and 5 opinions. In addition it was found that Lt. Commander Arnheiter revealed a gross lack of judgment, a complete inability to command and lead people and a lack of integrity.

These findings, opinions and recommendations, then became the letter of recommendation, and was referred to Lt. Commander Arnheiter. He responded thereto with a document 4 inches thick.

On August 30, 1966, the Commander of the Cruiser-Destroyer Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet concurred in the relief from command of *Vance* but recommended that Lt. Commander Arnheiter be returned to command of another destroyer escort in his Force. All of the records were then reviewed by the Chief of Naval Personnel and, on September 9th, he determined that the detachment was to be held as being *for cause*. Since the issue of another command in the Pacific Fleet had been raised, the Chief of Naval Personnel requested that the Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet review and endorse the investigation report. At the request of the Commander in Chief, Commander Cruiser-Destroyer Force rereviewed that report and, on November 1, 1966, reaffirmed substantially his earlier conclusions. On January 20, 1967, the Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet reviewed the case and recommended that the relief should be sustained for cause and that Lt. Commander Arnheiter not be reassigned to a command. On June 29, 1967, the Chief of Naval Personnel reaffirmed his decision that Lt. Commander Arnheiter's detachment from *Vance* was *for cause*.

A careful examination of the regulations, the Manual of the Judge Advocate General and the hearings leads to the only conclusion—that Lt. Commander Arnheiter was given the opportunity to have his say as specifically provided.

In addition to all of these formal reviews, the case has been reviewed several times in the Office of the Judge Advocate General, in the Office of the Secretary of the Navy and by the Secretary of the Navy, himself. Every opportunity has been provided to be sure that the treatment afforded Lt. Commander Arnheiter was fair to him.

This Committee has instructed its staff to make a complete and thorough evaluation of the case. All of the documents on file in the Department of the Navy have been examined, and most of the tapes relating to the actual hearing have been heard. Lt. Commander Arnheiter was specifically invited to provide the committee with any facts he had not previously filed with the Navy. His 12-page reply was argumentative and did not provide any new facts.

THE ROLE OF CAPTAIN ALEXANDER

It is not known where Captain Alexander first entered into the career of Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter. It is known, however, that during the time that Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter was trying to get a command designation, Capt. Alexander was the head of the section in the Bureau of Personnel responsible for the assignment of destroyer officers. Captain Alexander wrote to Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter on August 18, 1964; telling him to be patient in seeking a destroyer command. When Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter's name was proposed for command, it came before a three-man board in the Bureau, on which Captain Alexander sat. Of the three members, only Captain Alexander voted to allow Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter to assume a command. The board's decision was overruled by the next higher authority, with the ruling that Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter might be given a command only in an emergency. When the *Vance* needed a new commanding officer to replace the man who had been on her for more than two years, it was Captain Alexander who originated the orders assigning Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter to her.

While Capt. Alexander was a staunch supporter of Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter for a long period of time, on March 13, 1967, after reviewing the entire file, he wrote to Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter the best summary of the Navy's position in existence. His letter is set forth in Appendix A. Subsequently, Captain Alexander reversed his position again to provide a passionate defense of Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter.

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions 1 through 5 from the letter of Capt. Alexander to Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter of March 13, 1967 give as good a summary of the situation as can be found:

1. ". . . Command is a high goal which exposes an officer to evaluations for which excuses and allowances are seldom acceptable. You were given your chance. . . . You failed in command and have been reevaluated by your seniors. . . . But based on my own judgment I conclude your seniors are correct."

2. "Your assignment to a command was, quite frankly, a calculated risk. I was happy to support you. After the *Vance* incident, I must ask myself, what sort of risk would reassignment to command detail? Could I support the risk now? I could not."

3. "As CO you had a responsibility to your ship to gauge the effects of your policies on your officers and men and to proceed no faster than could be done without damaging morale. I am not satisfied that your programs were intentionally sabotaged. You claim they were, and admit no responsibility for yourself. This reluctance to shoulder any blame is unacceptable. . . . And you should also ask yourself where the line lies between people being in agreement on a matter and their being in collusion . . . Whether or not there was a degree of collusion does not effect the opinions they held regarding the actions for which you were responsible nor the existence of the actions themselves."

4. "With the best of intentions you were aggressive in action. But there is a limit dictated by good judgment. An excessive zeal in the expending of ordnance is almost as unacceptable as sluggishness. The Navy can condone neither of these in its Captains. The burden of evidence appears to me to indicate that your zeal was excessive and your judgment faulty. . . . The limit of a Captain's action is established by his judgment. A Captain who goes too far in any thing displays poor judgment. Poor judgment is unacceptable."

5. "I am also reluctantly led to the conclusion that the essential facts relating to your exercise of poor judgment in Command are established. A new investigation probably would not introduce anything new on this score. Even if the procedure followed in effecting your relief had been done better, I cannot see how this crucial factor would be changed. . . . You must face the fact that you were, in the majority opinion, including my own, brought down by your own actions and not by faulty procedures or disloyal subordinates."

6. In addition I would agree with the finding of the Hearing Officer that the Executive Officer of the VANCE went above and beyond the call of duty in trying to keep the ship operating as normally as possible in the face of the problems imposed on the ship by Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter.

7. Lt. Cdr. Arnheiter used the high privilege of command, with its absolute responsibility and absolute authority, for his own personal gain.

GEORGE NORRIS,
Counsel.

APPENDIX A

MARCH 13, 1967.

Capt. MARCUS A. ARNHEITER,
c/o Commander Western Sea Frontier,
Treasure Island,
San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR MARC: The decision behind the writing of this letter has been painfully and carefully arrived at.

My problem has been to weigh your own views of your case, certain irregularities in the handling of the case, the opinions expressed by reviewing officers, and an objective view of my own based on a reading and re-reading of the full record, including the testimony. From all of this I came to the conclusion that your position is not one that I can any longer support. My opinion boils down to the following:

a. As CO you had a responsibility to your ship to gauge the effects of your policies on your officers and men and to proceed no faster than could be done without damaging morale. I am not satisfied that your programs were intentionally sabotaged. You claim they were, and admit no responsibility for yourself. This reluctance to shoulder any blame is unacceptable.

b. With the best of intentions you were aggressive in action. But there is a limit dictated by good judgment. An excessive zeal in expending ordnance is almost as unacceptable as sluggishness. The Navy can condone neither of these in its Captains. The burden of evidence appears to me to indicate that your zeal was excessive and your judgment faulty.

The other allegations against you appear not as significant to me as the above. The essence of your defense is that you were "squaring away" a poor ship and operating it aggressively. I must reluctantly conclude that in my judgment both of these were over-done. The limit of a Captain's action is established by his judgment. A Captain who goes too far in any thing displays poor judgment. Poor judgment is unacceptable.

I am also reluctantly led to the conclusion that the essential facts relating to your exercise of poor judgment in Command are established. A new investigation probably would not introduce anything new on this score. Even if the procedures followed in effecting your relief had been done better, I cannot see how this crucial factor would be changed.

Those who gave testimony unfavorable to you were in agreement about things that happened and also in agreement in their opinions of your leadership which brought about these events. Seeking to upset all of this by establishing collusion among these people will not change the facts of what happened. Remember that the Navy's decision is based on what you did as Commanding Officer, not on what your people thought about what you did. And you should also ask yourself where the line lies between people being in agreement on a matter and their being in collusion. It is a fact that some of your people were in agreement and their opinions became known outside of the Command. Whether or not there was a degree of collusion does not effect the opinions they held regarding the actions for which *you* were responsible, nor the existence of the actions themselves.

In the face of all of this, I suggest you consider whether you have reached a point beyond which you can go no further to any good effect. I do not see how anything you can do could possibly change the decision which has been reached. You are intelligent enough to recognize this. Whether you are able to submit to your intelligence is up to you to show.

Your assignment to command was, quite frankly, a calculated risk. I was happy to support you. After the Vance incident, I must ask myself, what sort of risk would reassignment to command entail? Could I support the risk now? I could not.

I have done what I can for you inside the Navy. My concern for you is well known in BuPers, and I think has helped in ensuring that your case has had a careful, searching look. The importance of adhering as closely as possible to procedures that are designed to minimize doubts in these cases is recognized with renewed clarity. But you must face that fact that you were, in the majority opinion, including my own, brought down by your own actions and not by faulty procedures or disloyal subordinates.

I realize what a hard blow this letter will give you. I want you to know that I have supported you a long way in your efforts to obtain exhonoration, and that I was prepared to go much further so long as my own doubts persisted. Specifically, I have had prepared for use a request for furlough for myself in order that I could be released from active duty obligations in order to assist you, and my intent to do so was known. I will not proceed with that step because I am now convinced that you are wrong and the Chief of Naval Personnel's decision is right.

The foregoing is doubly difficult to write because I have a high regard for many of your attributes. I would like to see them preserved for the Navy. But Command is a high goal which exposes an officer to evaluations for which excuses and allowances are seldom acceptable. You were given your chance. I am not ashamed of my support of you when that decision was made. You failed in command and have been reevaluated by your seniors. I am not ashamed of the support I have given you since then to be certain that the full story was known in the Bureau. But based on my own judgment I conclude your seniors are correct. Therefore, my support can go no further.

As a friend, I urge you to give some thought now to the future. You obviously must prepare for a new career. A part of this preparation will be to let this episode subside. If it does not subside, so that the personal anguish it causes you continues, it may undo you. Your family is entitled to the exercise of good judgment by you to ensure that this does not occur. Men who surrender honorably after a struggle has reached an intelligent limit are usually at peace with themselves. Keep your future responsibilities in mind and weigh your decision carefully.

Very sincerely,
R. G. ALEXANDER,
Captain, U.S. Navy.

THE 22D ANNIVERSARY OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on June 2, 1946, the Italian people went to the polls and voted away the bankrupt Fascist regime which has led the country astray on the road to war and devastation. The war-weary Italians yearned for a new beginning, and on that day they expressed their faith in parliamentary democracy as the form of government best suited to lead Italy on the road to recovery and peace, while guaranteeing individual freedoms and national integrity.

June 2, 1946, was indeed a new beginning. The remarkable achievements of the Italian Republic in the past 22 years have amply shown that the Italians had made the right choice.

The road was not easy. The fledgling Republic was beset with many problems—political, social, and economic. In the economic realm, everything needed to be done. In 1946, Italy suffered from the ravages of the war added to 20 years of Fascist mismanagement and incompetence. Hunger and disease were rampant. Thousands of homes were mere rubble. One-quarter of Italy's railroad tracks, one-third of its bridges, one-half of its powerplants, two-thirds of its roads were destroyed as a result of the intensive fighting which had taken place on Italian soil.

Today, 22 years later, the accomplishments are there for all to admire. With American aid, mainly through the Marshall plan, and Italian determination, Italy, handicapped by a lack of raw materials, has not only rebuilt its economy but has rendered it extremely competitive in world markets. The north has become a leading industrial center in Europe. Fiat is one of Europe's largest automobile manufacturers and the Italian electric appliance industry has outpaced all its European rivals. Italian textiles and leather goods are appreciated by consumers far beyond Italy's frontiers. The vitality of Italy's growth was illustrated during the past 2 years when Italy's economy remained immune to the stagnation which occurred in France and to the slight recession which hit Germany. Today Italy is one of the most outstanding and active members of the Common Market. This is evidenced by the fact that Italy's gross national product rose 5.7 percent in real terms last year and is forecast to increase 5 to 5.5 percent this year.

Development has been uneven. The south has traditionally lagged behind the north, but great efforts have been made to close the gap. The Cassa per il Mezzogiorno, or fund for the south, was established 15 year ago, as part of a plan to help remedy the disequilibrium between the north and the south. Aid worth more than $2 billion has already been poured into the region to help finance public works and agrarian reform, establish new industries, create vocational and technical schools. Private capital is also solicited. Industries are requested to put at least 40 percent of their new investment into the south. Much remains to be done, but the results are impressive.

These accomplishments are all the more impressive when one remembers that Italy's parliamentary regime has had to face antidemocratic opposition on two fronts. Attacks have come from the extreme right, although recent elections have shown that the monarchists and the fascists have dwindled in numbers. More threatening are the Communists, who never miss an opportunity to discredit the regime and obstruct the normal functioning of government by any devious means at their disposal. In the light of these oppositions, the Italian Republic has shown remarkable resilience and stability. Moreover, in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Italy has been and continues to be a stalwart and loyal Western ally.

Italian vitality and ingenuity have not been confined to economic development and political stability. The postwar era was also a new beginning for the arts. Twenty years of fascist rule had silenced most Italian artists and intellectuals, who found themselves either in jail or in exile.

The establishment of democratic institutions in 1946 guaranteed the freedom necessary for artistic expression. The versatility and creativity displayed by contemporary Italian artists and intellectuals have brought them worldwide acclaim. The poet Salvatore Quasimodo won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1960. The literary works of writers Cesare Pavese and Ignazio Silone have been translated into many languages. Italian movies have won many prizes in international film festivals. Rome and Florence rival Paris in the world of fashion.

True to their humanistic heritage, Italian artists and intellectuals have focused their attention on personal and social problems, problems of change and problems of stagnation with such fancy, imagination, and poignancy, that their works have achieved worldwide relevance and acceptance.

Italy, through the centuries, has maintained an advanced civilization and has served as the font of Western culture. Her legal system is a model for the West, her language is the tongue of music, and her Renaissance stands as one of man's greatest achievements. Her glorious history is reflected today in her bright and beckoning future and in the outstanding accomplishments made during the era of the Italian Republic.

Mr. Speaker, it is, therefore, with pride and admiration that I offer my congratulations to the Italian people and to their leaders, His Excellency, Giuseppe Saragat, President of the Italian Republic; His Excellency, Aldo Moro, Premier of the Italian Republic; His Excellency, Amintore Fanfani, Minister for Foreign Affairs; and his Excellency, Egidio Ortona, the Ambassador of Italy to the United States, whom I have had the pleasure of meeting and welcoming personally to the United States.

On this glad occasion, I pay tribute to the Italian people and their outstanding leaders for the achievements made during the 22-year existence of the Italian Republic, and I extend warmest best wishes to the people of that great Republic as well as to our many friends of Italian descent in my own Seventh District of Illinois, throughout the United States, and all over the world who are joining in the celebration of this anniversary.

CONGRESSMAN ANNUNZIO URGES HOUSE SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S HOUSING BILL

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, May 28, the Senate passed President Johnson's housing bill by an overwhelming vote. This action was a magnificent response to the request of the President, made last February, "that the Congress commit this Nation to a massive housing program to wipe out all substandard housing over a 10-year period."

That is an ambitious goal, but President Johnson has never hung back when it comes to meeting the demonstrated needs of the American people. And there can be no doubt that adequate housing is a pressing need for millions of our people.

The unique feature of the bill passed Tuesday is that it is geared specifically to meet the needs of families with low and moderate incomes, including the very poor. For too long, the housing needs of the poor have not received adequate attention through Federal programs. Now, that situation will be remedied.

At this point, the next action is up to the House, and I am confident that we will not be found wanting. I support, and I urge others to support, enactment of this historic bill, which will benefit so many Americans.

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON PILGRIMAGE

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in furtherance of their dedication to the promotion of national patriotism, AMVETS posts in the Department of Pennsylvania last month launched an Americanism program that will help show many young people the way to the highest standards of morality and citizenship. Conducted by AMVETS and AMVETS auxiliary in cooperation with Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, the George Washington Pilgrimage was undertaken with this stated purpose:

> To instill in the hearts and minds of tomorrow's leaders an appreciation and ardent admiration for the faith, zeal, and character of George Washington, who in the face of tremendous odds and with scant resources, was primarily responsible for wresting freedom for a nation from the impossible historic odds set up by endless generations which had lived in servitude; to trace the youth, training, character development, and growth, and acceptance of responsibility, the vision, and the emergence as a leader of this God-fearing man whose courage, humility, and determination changed the entire course of history.

The 5-day education experience was made available to a group of respected and talented citizen-leaders of the junior high school level. It traced the important aspects and environs of George Washington's life from his birthplace, boyhood home, adult home, and campaign sites of the Revolution to his emergence as first President of the United States.

Designed as a pilot project in restoring and motivating faith and character for the future from faith and accomplishments of the past, the program was so successful that AMVETS is already planning to expand in the years to follow.

America is obligated to AMVETS and to AMVETS auxiliary for this novel approach to giving the youngsters a real understanding of the remarkable life of the Father of our Country. An educational experience for youth into any personality or adventure contributing to the Nation's development would have had the warm endorsement of George Washington, who included this passage in his first annual message to Congress:

> Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of Government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the Community as in ours it is proportionately essential. To the security of a free Constitution it contributes in various ways: By convincing those who are entrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of Government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people: and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; between burthens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of Society; to discriminate the spirit of Liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy, but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the Laws.

Mr. Speaker, the present is inescapable evidence of future need for greater knowledge of the life and fervor of George Washington, and for the desire to emulate. With God's help, AMVETS will assist in accomplishing this vital mission.

Following is a list of those who participated in the program:

Aungst, Sharon
Blasy, Arsine
Burd, Theresa
Eichelberger, Lucy
Hippensteel, Cynthia
Kavanagh, Freda J.
Nolan, Barbara Ann
Porter, Joan
Riccardi, Amelia M.
Coover, Douglas
Hughes, Dennis
Hughes, Robert
Koal, Philip
Lantz, John
Lawler, Richard
Lenhart, Edgar
McCloskey, Timothy
McDonald, William
Mowday, Dennis
Riesch, Edward
Rothman, Steven
Sheeler, David
Sheppo, Douglas
Stovall, Jeffrey
Thomas, David
Turner, Michael

THIS IS AUSTERITY?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, with President Johnson demanding a 10-percent increase in Federal taxes, it is interesting to note that his new Ambassador to France, Sargent Shriver, is seeking four additional employees for the already huge Embassy staff in Paris.

His wife, a former Kennedy, is "very active," says Shriver, so he wants a bilingual person at a fancy salary to help her with her social activities.

He insists on a personal, handpicked public relations officer although other ambassadors used personnel of the U.S. Information Service for that purpose.

Shriver is also requesting an additional personal staff assistant, and an extra chauffeur although there are reported to be at least 26 car drivers in the Paris Embassy motor pool.

Secretary of State Rusk ought to acquaint Ambassador Shriver with the fact that he is no longer head of the poverty program, and that padding his new payroll is not to be tolerated.

If this is to be the pattern, there is serious doubt that the taxpayers can stand a further expansion of the Kennedy family in the Federal Government.

HUNGER IN AMERICA

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include certain letters and documents from the Secretary of Agriculture regarding food for the poor people.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, one of the things which has distinguished the United States of America from many countries of the world is our insistence on a free press. The history of the country and the history of the American press provides ample evidence of the wisdom of this policy.

Recently, however, I have detected among many of you a growing disenchantment with the press and a loss of confidence in the integrity, objectivity, accuracy, and motivation of the press. People frequently accuse the press of pandering to sensationalism. I do not share that view, but I do feel that the press—both the broadcast and print media—have become so conscious of the need to entertain people that they have let slick writing and dramatic production become more important than the truth.

All of us, I am sure, can cite numerous instances of where the press has strayed badly. I would like to cite but three. In one instance a reporter for a St. Louis newspaper stated in a dispatch that I was going to offer an amendment to a piece of legislation. I had no intention of doing so and the reporter had neither bothered to call me nor any member of my staff before printing the erroneous report.

In another, a columnst attributed to me a remark that I was telling people from my district that if they came to Washington to visit this summer, they should bring a company of troops along for protection. This was a gross distortion of comments I made in a television interview and was obviously printed to present the columnst's viewpoint without any regard for the accuracy of the report.

The last example concerns a newspaper account which appeared last week in one of the Washington newspapers. In this story, a candidate in the California primary election was said to be paying voter registrars 30 cents for every Negro they registered. The simple fact of the matter is that the voter registration rolls for the California primary election closed in April and any cub reporter should have either known this or found it out and not have printed what was obviously intended by the person quoted to discredit the candidate.

Recently, a national television network carried a documentary on hunger which from many accounts appears to have been grossly distorted. The Secretary of Agriculture, the Honorable Orville L. Freeman, has cited numerous instances where the network failed to check out material it was reporting as facts and, even worse, failed to present information it had in hand which would have given the public a more truthful picture of conditions.

I am sure that all of us know that there is pathos and drama in poverty in our country without exaggerating it and I believe the Secretary of Agriculture has demonstrated during his years in office that he takes a back seat to no man in his concern for the poor.

I would like to conclude briefly by saying that I feel that in many ways the press is failing in its mission. The press has always contended that if the public knows the facts, the Government will remain honest. I subscribe to that doctrine. My only fear is that too many members of the press are failing to give the public the facts and that in the long run both the press and the public will suffer because of this failing.

At this point I would like to place in the Record three documents dealing with the CBS documentary. First is a letter from Secretary Freeman to the president of CBS. Second is a letter from the Secretary to the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture and Labor [Mr. Perkins], and the third is a statement on hunger sent by the Secretary to the press on May 21:

Department of Agriculture,
Office of the Secretary,
Washington, May 27, 1968.

Dr. Frank Stanton,
President, Columbia Broadcasting System,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Stanton: My disappointment with CBS Reports "Hunger in America" is matched only by my indignation.

For the second time in recent months, the television industry has done a great disservice to the domestic food programs of the Department of Agriculture. But of even more importance, the industry again has done a great disservice to the poor and the hungry of this country.

When the Public Broadcast Laboratory's "Hunger-American Style" was telecast on February 25, I was privately outraged but publicly silent. I was able to excuse the superficial treatment of a complex problem by taking into account PBL's youth, its inexperience, its zealousness and its naivete.

But when I watched CBS compound the superficialities, the misinterpretations and the mistakes of fact of PBL's examination of hunger and food programs, I decided I could no longer remain silent.

"Hunger in America," bluntly and simply, was a travesty on objective reporting. It presented to millions of viewers a distorted, oversimplified and misleading picture of domestic hunger and what is being done to combat it—and it served to further disillusion, disappoint and disenchant those hungry people who now have been told that no one cares, that no one is doing much to help them. This, in turn, can only serve to increase the bitterness and the unrest that so disturbs American society today. I know that this allegation of indifference is untrue. The people of the Department of Agriculture who work so conscientiously to transform humanitarian concern for the hungry into action programs know this is untrue. And those hungry people whom we have reached and whom we have helped—within the rigid limitations of statutory and budgetary restrictions—know this is untrue.

But millions of affluent Americans—and millions of poor Americans who have not yet been reached because we have too few funds and too restrictive authorities— do *not* know this is untrue.

Because of this, Dr. Stanton, I am asking equal network time to refute the errors of fact, the misinterpretations and the misinformation that were dispersed through "Hunger in America" and to assure the hungry of this Nation that the USDA *does* care, that it *is* doing what it can for them . . . that it *wants* to do a great deal more.

I am attaching to this letter a bill of particulars citing the errors in "Hunger in America." At its request, I am filing the same bill of particulars with the House Committee on Education and Labor.

I charge CBS with shoddy journalism. The job of researching for this program was inadequate, and the shallow overview of the problems underscores the danger of beginning with a preconception, only to end with propaganda.

When your researchers first came to our Department last October, our people were delighted to cooperate. The fight to win the war on hunger—the very attempts to call public attention to domestic hunger—have been lonely pursuits, and we welcomed the prestigious interest of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The last time your researchers called upon our Department for information was nearly two months ago. So far as we are able to determine, no attempt was made to check program allegations against facts after that time.

But this is really beside the point. After five months of researching, CBS ought to have had a much broader, much deeper understanding of the problem and the efforts to solve that problem than was apparent in the documentary aired on May 21.

Nowhere in your program was there a clear explanation of the Federal-State-Local government structuring of the food programs, nor of how this structuring frequently frustrates or delays initiation of food programs.

Nowhere in your program was there an accounting of the progress made in feeding programs over the past seven years.

Nowhere in your program was there evidence of the seven-year effort of the Department of Agriculture to obtain broader authorities and increased appropriations for our programs to feed the poor and the hungry.

The tragic paradox of hunger in the midst of plenty is the prime reason I accepted the job as Secretary of Agriculture. Since the day John Kennedy swore me into his Cabinet, I have used every means at my command to resolve that paradox. Moreover, the career people who administer the food programs of the Department of Agriculture share my concern, share my determination, and have been unjustly maligned by your presentation of the Department as an inefficient and an insensitive vehicle for moving food to the hungry.

Year after year, time after time, we have gone before the Congress to plead for more funds, more authority, a more systematized program for feeding the poor. Year after year, time after time, we would have more than welcomed the support of the television industry in our efforts. Where was CBS when we were fighting this lonely battle?

But despite the seven-year delay in your expression of concern for our hungry, despite the funding and the statutory limitations under which we have had to operate we *have* made progress, Dr. Stanton, progress that professional journalistic ethics alone should have required CBS to report.

When I became Secretary of Agriculture in 1961, only 1,200 of the Nation's 3,090 counties had a food program. That program consisted of the distribution of 5 surplus commodities worth about $2.20 per person per month. Only 3½ million people were being reached.

President Kennedy's first executive order doubled the amount and increased the variety of these foods.

Direct distribution provided only nonperishable foods and could not provide the foods necessary for a balanced diet. By executive order, I established a pilot food stamp program that allowed the poor to purchase a variety of foods in grocery stores. A predecessor program of the early forties had been seriously discredited through administrative weaknesses that led to such abuses as stamp bootlegging. Fully aware of this, we administered the new pilot Food Stamp program as carefully and as efficiently as possible. The resulting absence of scandal encouraged public and Congressional confidence, and when President Johnson urged the Congress to make the Food Stamp program a permanent program in 1964, and put the full force of his energy and skills behind its passage, Congress responded favorably. Funding the first fiscal year of the permanent program came to $35.1 million. This year the program is funded at $187.5 million.

Today 2,200 counties, two-thirds of those in the country, have food programs. Some 5.9 million people, nearly double the number seven years ago, are being fed.

Those people still receiving direct distribution of commodities now get 16 different foods worth nearly four times the amount they received in 1961. Food Stamp recipients are now adding to their food dollars by a current rate of almost $17 million a month, or roughly $200 million a year, in additional food purchasing power. Food Stamp Program participants have the opportunity to purchase a much more nutritious diet than those who receive only direct distribution commodities.

In 1962, the peak year of direct commodity distribution, $253 million was spent to feed the poor. This fiscal year, $360 million is being expended in direct distribution and in food stamps, a 42-percent increase in funds.

Furthermore, over the past nine months the USDA has:

1. Began or gained commitments from local governments to begin food programs in over 250 of the 330 poorest counties.

2. Extended food assistance to another one million people.

3. Reduced the amount needed for Food Stamps to 50 cents per person per month for the poorest of the poor.

4. Cut the Food Stamp payment in half for the first month participants.

I have said before, and let me repeat again, that reaching the remainder of the Nation's poorest counties has our top priority. But if CBS's researchers had done their job, they would have known that in some of these areas local authorities simply refuse to cooperate.

Last month we initiated direct federal distribution of food in two counties where we were unable to get a commitment from local government to administer the program. This action was initiated *more than a month* before "Hunger in America" was aired. No mention was made of this, nor of the fact that we have subsequently notified 59 other counties that we will take similar action unless they move to initiate the program. In addition, we are now paying all or part of the food program administrative costs in many of the poorer counties that are cooperating.

The USDA has been using some non-professional aides, recruited from the poor to work in nutrition and to tell the poor about their rights under the Food Stamp Program, and plans to recruit and train hundreds of them within the next year.

Last week I ordered that new foods be added to those now being distributed to 3.5 million poor. These include evaporated milk, instant cereal, fruit juices, canned chicken, and scrambled egg mix. Earlier I had also directed that all allowable enrichment be made of those commodities now, or soon, to be available, particularly to increase the vitamin and iron content so lacking in the diet of the poor. These new commodities will be directed particularly to pregnant women and preschool children, a group where dietary deficiencies can leave the most serious consequences.

This, then, is what we have been able to do with what has been given us by the Congress. The Department is now working to the limits of money and authorities. It is seeking new authorities and more money to help it do a better job.

This help might well have come to us years ago had CBS viewed the problem then in proper perspective and exerted its considerable influence in the right direction.

I look forward to a favorable response to my request for equal time. In this way the true story of hunger in this land, what is being done about it, and what more can be done about it will be made known to the American public.

Sincerely,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, May 27, 1968.

Hon. CARL PERKINS,
Chairman, Education and Labor Committee, House of Representatives, Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN PERKINS: I am submitting herewith a report on "Hunger in America" which the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives directed me to prepare on May 22, 1968.

The CBS Report, "Hunger in America," prepared by Martin Carr and Don Hewitt, and broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System Network on May 21, 1968, is a biased, one-sided, dishonest presentation of a serious national problem:

1. It contains gross errors of fact that were available to CBS weeks, and in some cases months, before the program was broadcast.

2. Other facts necessary for a balanced presentation of the problem were completely ignored by the producers, although these facts were also available to them.

3. Individual cases were presented in such a manner as to convince an average viewer that they represented the norm for food aid recipients throughout the United States, which they do not.

Many have advised me against making any reply to CBS in this matter. I have been told that no public official, regardless of the merits of his case, can expect to win an argument with a powerful television network. I believe this is true.

Yet an important principle is involved. If the damaging allegations, errors in fact and suppression of known evidence extant in the recent CBS documentary are allowed to go unchallenged, our domestic food aid programs will be damaged beyond repair, and the poor whom they serve will be the losers.

And so Friday in St. Louis, at the request of the CBS-owned affiliate there, KMOX, I attempted to give a partial reply to the show. I attempted to bring forth some of the facts I discuss today. My remarks were cut and edited.

I requested the local interviewer to ask the network to run my remarks. They were not run on the network, although apparently the network was notified, as the edited interview on KMOX was followed by a comment from the network producer of the show, Martin Carr. I am renewing a request for time to reply to CBS today.

I said at the beginning that "Hunger in America" contained gross errors of fact, supression of other facts, and that individual cases were presented as being the norm for food distribution programs throughout the country. I would like to comment on these categories one at a time:

I. GROSS ERRORS OF FACT

1. CBS makes the allegation; "Surplus commodities are foods that farmers cannot

sell and nobody else wants . . . the program consists largely of dumping excesses rather than providing essentials. In April, for instance, the Department of Agriculture distributed 1,400,000 pounds of peanut butter. The program has not changed since it was conceived of in the 1930's."

First, the foods are in over-supply, but they certainly cannot be classified as food "nobody else wants." Today 16 commodities are being distributed. The same commodities are identical in content and purity to those millions of Americans buy at their local supermarkets. They are:

Dried beans, Bulgur, Butter/margarine, Cheese, Corn grits, Vitamin C-enriched mashed potatoes, Cornmeal, Flour.

Chopped meat, Nonfat dry milk, Peanut butter, Dried split peas, Raisins, Shortening/lard, Rolled wheat/oats, Rice.

These commodities provide the following percentages of full daily allowances recommended by the National Research Council: Protein, 99 percent; calcium, 127 percent; iron, 71 percent; food energy, 61 percent; Vitamin A, 38 percent; thiamine, 118 percent; riboflavin, 130 percent; Vitamin C, 30 percent.

2. The program has changed radically—and for the better—since the 1930's. To wit:

As recently as 1960 the poor received only five surplus commodities; lard, rice, flour, dry milk, and cornmeal worth $2.00 per person per month. Now they receive 16, three times that number, worth almost 4 times as much as $7.98 per person per month (as of April).

3. Other changes made in the past year include: Federal financing of direct distribution in those counties that cannot afford to finance their own programs and direct federal distribution in counties that refuse to accept federal help in financing of local programs, two so far, 59 more by July 1, 1968.

4. Further gross errors of fact include the following: CBS states that only 5 million poor people are being helped by existing federal food programs, an error of 900,000. As of March, 1968 5,900,000 were being helped, a fact available to CBS by a single phone call several weeks before the show appeared.

Similarly, the number of counties *not* having food programs is listed as 1,000 by CBS, a 40 percent error. Only 600 counties are without programs. No attempt was made on the network's part to distinguish between high-income counties, which have a relatively lesser need for food programs, and low income counties, where need is greater, and where the bulk of USDA's efforts have been concentrated.

II. THE IGNORING—OR SUPPRESSION—OF KNOWN FACTS AND INDIVIDUAL CASES PRESENTED AS GENERAL TRUTHS

I am well aware of the time limitations under which television must operate. Yet in a one-hour documentary titled "Hunger in America" one would think that two or three minutes could have been spared to point out the following actions, all of which occurred some seven months before the show's airing:

1. That the price of food stamps for persons with no income was reduced to 50 cents a person a month, with a maximum of $3.00 per family per month, regardless of family size.

2. That new food stamp families entering the program have to pay only one-half of the first month's cost.

3. That 2,280,000 needy children are receiving free or reduced price school lunches and that another 96,000—60 percent of the total, are getting free or reduced price school breakfasts.

Instead, the producers cite individual cases, without documentation, and make them appear the norm for the entire food stamp and direct distribution programs.

In its closing minutes the producers make two other highly misleading statements that deserve rebuttal. The first concerns returning Section 32 money to the Treasury:

Our food programs—in common with every other program of the federal government—operated on a finite, rather than an infinite, budget. No law authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to spend as much money as he sees fit to meet any one problem and indeed, if he did so, he would be speedily and rightfully removed from office. Section 32 monies are considered, along with every other dollar the Department spends, in the overall federal budget and charged in the budget as an expenditure. They are subject to expenditure limitations by both executive and legislative action.

The decision not to use some of the Section 32 funds was a judgment of priorities in the effort against hunger and poverty based on these factors.

The funds could not be used for Food Stamps.

Administrative problems—in many cases local resistance, which is rapidly being overcome—precluded expansion of the food program to additional counties. Section 32 money to expand the program into new counties has not been lacking.

The only way in which the Section 32 funds could have been used would have been to add to the variety of commodities being distributed in counties which had programs. While this would have been desirable, it was not judged to be crucial to the food program. This proposal was weighed during the budgetary process against the worth of and the need for other programs for the rural poor—food stamps, housing, educational assistance, manpower training, economic opportunity—all of which must be fit into a finite budget with strict dollar limits to get the best total effort against poverty.

And finally this:

The producers charge that . . . "The Department of Agriculture protects farmers, not consumers, and especially not destitute consumers."

This is a lie.

In the past 7½ years alone this Department has distributed 7.9 billion pounds of food, at a cost of $1,320,560,000 and another $279.7 million worth of bonus food stamps to needy families. My first executive order established this food stamp program, the only answer—short of establishing government-owned supermarkets in every county in the United States—to providing a balanced diet for the poor.

I—more than anyone, perhaps—know that despite all we have done, much remains to be done. I intend to spare no effort while I hold this office to do so; with compassion and within the laws of the United States.

But to say, as CBS did last Tuesday, that all the Nation's efforts to feed the hungry have failed does nothing but undermine—and may ultimately destroy—public confidence in the food programs that have done more to meet the problem of hunger in America than any other effort upon which this Nation has embarked.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Committee.

Sincerely,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary of Agriculture.

ADDENDUM/INDIVIDUAL CASES

Many individual cases are cited in the CBS documentary. The impression is given that excessive amounts of money are required to purchase food stamps. The law requires a participant to invest in food stamps an amount of money equal to what he has been spending on food. He then receives "bonus" stamps to multiply his food-purchasing power. Families with little or no income—the poorest of the poor—pay only 50 cents per person per month, with a maximum of 3 dollars a month, per family, regardless of how many are in that family.

Without a thorough impartial investigation in the field of the individual circumstances shown in the film, establishing the exact facts is impossible. But, based on the information in the film, the amounts stated by CBS are incorrect. Specifics follow:

* * * * *

Mrs. ZANDER: ". . . they (food stamps) cost $70 and I don't have it."

Mrs. Zander said she had 10 children and a husband—a 12 person household. For that number of people, the household income would have to be between $170 and $190 per month, net, to reach a food stamp purchase requirement of $70. Earlier, she said her husband made three to four dollars a day, when working. Even if he worked six days a week, this would mean less than $100 a month.

Either there is considerable income not revealed in the film, or Mrs. Zander is mistaken, based on the information and situation *reported in the film*. . . . The film also reported that Mr. Zander had not worked for 3 or 4 weeks. If that were so, the family would have been eligible for $98 worth of stamps for $3—assuming that his was the only income in the household.

* * * * *

In a fairly long commentary by Charles Kuralt describing the food stamp program, several figures were used—$25, $40, $15—as typical payments by families for food stamps.

Since the context of the Alabama sequence was of dire, rockbottom poverty, it should have been noted that people with virtually no income can get food stamps for much less these figures. Under the reduced requirements instituted last summer to help these people, a family of 8, for example, that has income up to $30 per month, can get $82 worth of food stamps for a token payment of $3. And in many areas, local public charities and groups will make this token payment for families in dire circumstances.

* * * * *

Mr. CARLILE: "I don't have the $33 every two weeks (for food stamps) . . . He (her husband) don't make over twenty—twenty-two dollars a week."

Again, as in the case of the Zanders, CBS allowed an obviously mistaken impression of the food stamp program to prevail. This was said to be a household of 16 people. In order to be charged $33 every two weeks for food stamps, income for a family of this size would have to be about $40 a week, double the amount stated in the telecast.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, May 21, 1968.

DEAR CORRESPONDENT: Recent studies of hunger and malnutrition in the United States have drawn new attention to the U.S. Department of Agriculture's food programs.

In an effort to combat misinformation and misunderstanding about these programs, the attached paper has been prepared by the Department to provide a factual background about present food programs, how they were developed and how they are being expanded and improved.

In a time when emotion frequently hampers reason and clouds understanding, I sincerely hope that members of the news media will carefully review "Food and Hunger, USA" and report its contents to the reading, viewing and listening public.

Sincerely,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary of Agriculture.

Attachment.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

FOOD—HUNGER: 1968

The years of the 60's are a decade of revolutionary change. Every area of public policy demonstrates this characteristic. The unchanging element is that change has not come fast enough. No better illustration of this explosive condition can be found than in the programs to insure better diets for low income families and for their children when they are away from home.

The vigorous effort to improve the techniques of distributing the nation's food abundance has been exceeded only by the insistence from many groups and individuals that even more needs to be done.

In the span of this decade:

The concept of family food assistance programs has shifted from distributing a few surplus food items to increasing food purchasing power through the use of food stamps; and from supplementing the families food supply to providing a more nearly adequate diet.

The administration of these food assistance efforts has changed from a passive offering to State and local government—"food is available if you are willing to distribute it"—to active encouragement, and the promise that Federal authority will intervene if necessary to make food available to families.

Yet, only as recently as 1964, when it was necessary to gain support in the Congress for passage of the Food Stamp Act, the House of Representatives was told by the Agriculture Committee that the program is voluntary and "is instituted only where the Governor, based on recommendations of the appropriate State agency, has requested the program."

The concept of child feeding programs has been enlarged from the narrow view of providing school lunches, to include school breakfasts and feeding programs for child care activities outside the school system.

These advances can be charted in legislative action. But they also must be measured in the context of victories—and battles yet to be won—to overcome the indifference, active opposition and lack of public confidence in programs; all of which affect the level of funds and the degree of State and local support necessary to transform legal authority into calories and protein.

FAMILY FOOD ASSISTANCE

In 1960, the USDA offered five food items worth at retail about $2.20 per month per person for distribution to families—lard, rice, flour, dry milk, and cornmeal. About 1,200 counties and areas distributed these foods, and participation was about 3.5 million persons in December of 1960.

The first executive order issued by President Kennedy, in January 1961, doubled the number of commodities as well as the amount of food available under the program. Unemployment in 1962 rose to nearly 7 percent. The improved food program reached into a peak 1,800 counties that year, and during one peak month over 7.5 million were served. Average participation in 1962 was 6.5 million people.

At the same time the commodity program was expanded, the Administration also began a pilot food stamp program in eight areas. This pilot effort had grown to cover 43 areas by 1964 when President Johnson requested the Congress to pass the Food Stamp Act as a permanent program to combat hunger.

In the next four years, the Food Stamp program increased more than 20-fold in the number of areas covered, and participation increased seven times over.

Currently, one or the other family food assistance programs is now available—or shortly will be—in 2,400 counties and will serve about 6.1 million persons by the close of FY 68. For comparison purposes, this table will show the progress since 1961:

Fiscal year	Areas			Participation (June) (in millions)		
	DD	FS	Total	DD	FS	Total
1960..........	1,342	0	1,342	4.3	0	4.3
1968..........	1,384	1,027	2,411	3.6	2.5	6.1

Both programs operate on the basic premise that their administration and the distribution of food and food stamps rests on a cooperative Federal-State-local structure. State and local governments are responsible for the distribution of food and food stamps, and for determining who is eligible. In the case of the Commodity Distribution program, no specific Congressional mandate exists for this procedure; it developed this way over the past three decades. However, the Food Stamp Act spells out in detail the responsibility of State and local governments, and thus limits the power of the Federal government to operate the Food Stamp program directly.

A second basic premise is that the Food Stamp program will replace the Commodity Distribution program. Stamps help the low income family get a wider and more varied selection of diet, and they utilize a single food distribution system—in this case, replacing a Governmental system for commodities with the highly efficient commercial system.

These two premises have meant that the problems of providing those who are eligible with the opportunity for food assistance are basically different for each program.

FOOD STAMPS

One critical problem with Food Stamps has been to overcome a general public attitude which prevailed in 1960 that a stamp program was unworkable. This view developed from the experiences with the depression-born food stamp activity which started in 1939. It was quietly shelved in 1943 when World War II halted unemployment and appeared to have eliminated the need for food assistance. The program was administratively cumbersome. A family had to buy stamps of one color, which could be used to buy nonsurplus food, and they received bonus stamps of another color, which could be used to buy foods which were in surplus supply. The program came under severe attack because it was ponderous, and because adequate safeguards had not been developed to prevent large scale conversion of stamps to cash. Even with all of its problems, the program helped some 4 million persons in 1941.

When the need for the program appeared to vanish, all that remained were the memories of the operating difficulties. In 1960, these memories were very strongly, and the fears which prompt them are still present today. The House Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture this year has directed that part of the increase in Food Stamp program funds should be withheld until a number of deficiencies in the program operation are corrected—deficiencies which the USDA uncovered itself and which are being corrected.

The program since 1961 has been uniquely successful; no major scandal has developed in its operation. Strong supervisory, audit and investigatory procedures are constantly underway. It is the most popular, and most sought after food assistance program; more counties always have requested the program than available funds will cover.

With the success of the Food Stamp program reflecting strong administrative control, a number of steps were taken in 1967 to improve the program and extend its coverage. The purchase requirement for the poorest of the poor was reduced from $2 a month per person to 50 cents, with a maximum of $3 per family regardless of size; the purchase requirement for new participants in their first month was cut in half, recognizing the difficulty of putting enough cash together in the same month that past grocery bills had to be paid; and, persons from low income neighborhoods were hired as program aides to work with low income families to explain the program and to create a communication link between these families and local welfare workers.

As a result of these efforts, and an intensified outreach effort conducted through community action agencies, local technical action panels and other public and private groups, participation in the Food Stamp program has increased sharply. In the current fiscal year, the budget for financing the bonus—an average $6 in additional stamps for every $10 spent by participants—was based on an expected increase of 15 percent in areas operating prior to July 1, 1967. However, by February 1968, participation in the "old" areas had increased 22 percent, and particpation in newly opened areas has been greater than past experience would indicate. The result was a budget squeeze which could have amounted to a $10 to $12 million deficit in the program. Prompt action to delay the start of a number of programs by two months, cutting administrative costs to the bone and delaying some payments into the next fiscal year, using emergency authority available under other legislation and seeking standby authority to cover additional deficits, will enable the program to continue. The other option would be to reduce the level of bonus payments, as the Food Stamp Act provides.

The suspicions about the program have not altogether been overcome, however. In 1964, when the first Food Stamp Act was passed, a three year authorization cleared the House of Representatives by a 229 to 189 margin. In 1967, when the legislation was renewed for another two years, a crippling amendment to require States to pay 20 percent of the cost—causing those States to drop out where the program is needed the most—was defeated by an 18 vote margin.

COMMODITY DISTRIBUTION

The Commodity Distribution program is to be replaced by Food Stamps, if and when the funds are provided. Until then, it can be used to fill the gap in food assistance. Currently, 16 commodities are being made available. They are:

Dried beans, Bulgur, Butter/margarine, Cheese, Corn grits, Instant potatoes.

Cornmeal, Flour, Chopped meat, Nonfat dry milk, Peanut butter, Dried split peas.

Raisins, Shortening/lard, Rolled wheat/oats, Rice.

The major problem with the Commodity Distribution program is to obtain wider use among those counties and areas which do not now provide a food assistance program.

In order to encourage local governments to use the program—there is no authority to force them to participate—the USDA in July 1967 offered a target group of 330 counties the funds necessary to pay local administrative costs. These counties are among the 1,000 with the lowest per capita income, and did not have a food assistance program at the start of fiscal 1968. Since that time, over 230 of these counties operate or will start a food assistance program—either commodity distribution or food stamps.

In addition, the USDA has indicated that, if after repeated efforts by Federal and State officials to get a county to start a program, local officials refuse to do so, then the USDA will operate a commodity distribution program independently of the local government until it is willing to assume this responsibility.

In this regard, the Congress has not prohibited direct Federal action—but neither has it authorized it.

Commodities used in this program are acquired by the USDA through price support activities of the Commodity Credit Corporation or the purchase of surplus farm commodities authorized under Section 32 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1935.

CHILD FEEDING PROGRAMS

The dramatic changes in the family food assistance programs have been accompanied by as dramatic, and substantial, change in the programs which provide food service to children when they are away from home. These include authority for:

Special financial assistance to provide free or reduced price lunches to children in schools in low income areas;

School Breakfast programs, available to all children, but giving Federal support to schools in low income areas or those attended by children traveling long distances;

Financial assistance to schools in low income areas to acquire facilities and equipment needed to operate a lunch program;

Financial assistance to States to pay the additional administrative costs of new Child Nutrition programs; and

Financial support for meals in child care activities operating outside the school system.

The only child feeding program available in 1960 was the National School Lunch program. Enacted in 1947, after a number of years as a special program conducted under general authority of Section 32 to dispose of surplus food, the Act provides:

Cash assistance to States on the basis of the previous year's participation in the School Lunch program;

Additional support in the form of food commodities acquired by the USDA.

The Act directs that meals will be served "without cost or at reduced price to children who are determined by local school authorities to be unable to pay the full cost."

This program, as with the family food assistance programs, operates through a Federal-State-local system. The physical operation is the immediate responsibility of the State education agency, which provides assistance to local school districts to establish school lunch programs based on need and attendance. Need, in this case, has been interpreted in the broad sense . . . that is. taking into account all students.

In addition, the Act requires that States match the Federal cash contribution—currently about 4.5 cents per meal—on a 3 to 1 basis.

In addition, the USDA contributes 8 cents worth per meal in commodities. However, the law has been interpreted, based on legislative history, that the child's payment for the lunch will be considered as the State's matching contribution. Only 10 States now appropriate funds for program operations.

At present, the School Lunch program is available in schools attended by 36 million children, of whom about 20 million are estimated to participate daily. The program is not available in schools attended by about 9 million children.

The cost of a lunch today averages between 50 and 55 cents, and the average charge per child is about 28 cents. The difference is made up from the Federal contribution and local funds—except where State funds are made available.

In 1962, a determined effort was made to get the States to do more to bring school lunches to children whose parents cannot afford the cost of a lunch. It met with little success. The Administration changed tactics and requested the Congress to authorize additional funds for this purpose. The Congress amended the School Lunch Act, adding Section 11, to give this authority. The Congress also spelled out specific criteria for the Department to follow in apportioning Section 11 funds among the States.

During the next three years the Department's requests for funds to operate Section 11 were rejected by the Congress. It was only in 1966, after the appropriation bill was amended successfully on the Senate floor, that funds became available.

The major expansion of the programs for child feeding came in 1966 when President Johnson proposed legislation which became the Child Nutrition Act of 1966. The proposal included a School Breakfast program, authority to assist hard pressed schools to acquire lunch facilities, a program to provide lunches for children in programs outside the school and authority to help pay State administrative costs of these programs.

The need for these programs had become increasingly apparent. The files are stuffed with reports from schools telling of the children who come each day with empty stomachs to be taught, and cannot learn because they are aware only of their hunger. Studies of the lunch program made it clear that a large proportion of children of the ghetto, particularly in elementary schools, were denied lunch because the schools could not afford the facilities. Further, the number of requests each year was growing from nonprofit agencies for assistance in providing lunch programs in day care centers and other child activity programs outside the school.

The Congress enacted President Johnson's proposal, all except the program to assist children to obtain lunches in activities outside the school. This provision was not enacted until the current session of the Congress, and then only when the Senate adopted a House bill over the objection of the Senate Agriculture committee.

In the Congress, obtaining the authority for a program is only half the battle. The other half is getting the money appropriated. The Child Nutrition program is a classic case.

CHILD NUTRITION—FUNDS REQUESTED AND APPROPRIATED

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Breakfast program	Nonfood assistance	State administration expense	Special assistance (sec. 11, NSLA)
1968				
Requested	6.5	6.0	2.3	10.0
Appropriated	3.5	.75	0	5.0
1967				
Requested	3.0	1.0	1.0	10.5
Appropriated	2.0	.75	0	2.0

The situation for fiscal 1969 appears to be no different. In the appropriations approved by the House, the funds provided are the same as in fiscal 1968, although the requests by the Administration were twice as large.

SECTION 32

In 1935, the Congress placed 30 percent of the annual customs receipts in a fund to be available to the Secretary of Agriculture to encourage greater use of agriculture's abundance than the commercial market could sustain. Since that time forward, this amendment to the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1935—Section 32—has been the target of controversy. But the controversy usually arose when the means of carrying out the legislation became confused with the purpose.

Section 32 is price support legislation, with particular emphasis on perishable commodities. Neither the law nor the legislative history then or subsequently has viewed the use of these funds in any other way.

Section 32 funds have always received close and continuing scrutiny by the Congress. The purpose is to insure that sufficient funds are available to meet emergencies caused by surpluses and low prices for commodities other than those with price supports.

Over the years, and particularly in this decade, use of these funds to feed the poor has taken on a collateral and supplemental role. For example, Section 32 is the birthplace of all the major food assistance programs. The School Lunch Program began here, as did the prototype and the current Food Stamp Program. Both programs are now funded as regular appropriation items, although the Congress does occasionally transfer Section 32 fnuds to the School Lunch Program. The Special Milk Program also started under Section 32.

The only "permanent" Section 32 activity is the Commodity Distribution Program; and this is a program which Congress has never specifically authorized. Commodity Distribution is a creature of the Executive Branch which has grown on the brief directive that the Secretary may encourage use of surplus products by giving them to needy persons.

Congress in enacting, and the Administration in requesting the Food Stamp Program clearly developed a policy that Section 32 has a limited role in feeding hungry people. The basic program for this purpose is Food Stamps.

There is practical substance to these policy concepts. Perishables, needed for any well-balanced diet cannot be handled in a system that makes deliveries once or twice a month—or even weekly. Families must pick up packages weighing well over a hundred pounds, and some weighing several hundred. Getting these bundles home is a constant problem. The variety, even at 16 commodities, is sharply limited, compared to the range of products available in grocery stores. The USDA-State-local system duplicates the commercial system, and this is needless and wasteful.

Another point which escapes public attention is that Section 32 funds, regardless of the process by which the USDA acquires them, are subject to the same budget considerations as other expenditures and that is to balance all public needs against available resources.

Assistance for equipment

Many schools—and most of them in low-income areas—are unable to provide lunches for school children because they lack the facilities and equipment for food storage, preparation and service.

In FY 1967 about 500 schools in all States, District of Columbia, Guam, and American Samoa received equipment assistance. These schools, serving some 200,000 children, received assistance valued at $711,000.

No food service had been available in 71 of these schools prior to their receiving assistance.

Operation Metropolitan

In the current school year the USDA launched a special project to improve school lunch programs in urban schools. Many of these schools are in impacted areas in large cities, in buildings so old they go back to the time when every child carried his lunch to school. Most have either no lunch facilities or what little they have is grossly inadequate.

No special funds are available for these purposes (except for equipment assistance—and this is meager). The help to schools is being carried out by giving guidance and counsel to school officials, making them aware of the need for adequate school lunches and the possibilities for improvement of the conditions existing.

Fifteen target cities were selected for this special effort, ranging from Boston to Los Angeles and from Cleveland to El Paso.

By the end of February, 184 schools having average daily attendance of about 85,000 children, were cooperating in Operation Metropolitan. More than half of the children were getting either a lunch or breakfast.

In the 15 cities selected for this initial effort, there are over 1,000 schools that have no food service of any kind.

Recent proposals

In recent weeks, a number of proposals have been made by groups seeking to change various aspects of the food assistance programs. The specific proposals, and the prospects for actions, are:

1. Use Section 32 funds to insitute food programs in the 256 counties without food

programs which the Citizens Board of Inquiry states are "areas so distressed as to warrant a presidential declaration naming them as hunger areas."

Of the 256 counties, all but 31 now have a food assistance program, or have indicated they are about to initiate one. Of the 31, all but eight are counties which the Department has already designated as eligible for special financial assistance to pay the cost of a program.

2. Provide free food stamps for persons who cannot afford to purchase them. Or, provide food commodities with Section 32 funds to those who cannot afford stamps.

The Department last year reduced the minimum price of stamps for the poorest of the poor to 50 cents a month per person, with a maximum per family of $3.00 regardless of size.

The Act requires that persons pay what they normally spend for food. In order to speed certification, this amount is determined on the basis of family income studies which show the amount spent for food at given income levels.

3. Provide more and better commodities in counties operating under Commodity Distribution programs, and institute a stepped-up program of consumer education and employ a larger number of community aides from the poor community.

We are presently expanding the commodities provided through this program, particularly to enrich the diets available to pregnant women and pre-school age children. We are raising the iron level of several commodities, and are adding an instant hot cereal, an enriched milk drink and fruit juices. We also are working with FDA to authorize the enrichment of dry milk with vitamins, and providing an instant milk powder which will be easier to use.

4. Provide free and reduced price lunches for every needy school child.

Under the National School Lunch Act, the Congress gave local school officials the responsibility for determining which students should receive free or reduced price lunches. The USDA will send to the States a proposed set of guidelines for determining eligible children, and these guidelines include procedures to insure that children are not singled out and held up to ridicule because they receive free lunches.

The USDA endorses the goal of providing every needy child with free or reduced price lunches. Requests for funds to carry out this goal have been made each year to the Congress under Section 11 of the Act. More funds have always been requested than Congress has allowed.

The USDA also will be working with State governments to get more States to provide funds to help reduce the cost of lunch programs, and direct more help to schools in low income areas.

CALL TO AMERICANS OF GOOD WILL

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Bayard Rustin, noted civil rights leader and coordinator of the June 19 march in support of the Poor People's Campaign, issued on Sunday, June 2, a "Call to Americans of good will." The statement describes the conditions which brought about the Poor People's Campaign and the objectives which the campaign seeks.

I include the text of Mr. Rustin's statement from the New York Times of June 3, 1968:

TEXT OF RUSTIN CALL FOR RALLY IN SUPPORT OF POOR

(Text of a "Call to Americans of Goodwill" issued here yesterday by Bayard Rustin, national coordinator of the Solidarity Day March June 19 in Washington in support of the Poor People's Campaign)

On June 19, thousands of concerned Americans will converge on Washington to express their support of the Poor People's Campaign.

They will be drawn from all walks of life, from all races and creeds. They are determined to abolish poverty in this land of plenty. And they are dedicated to the principles of nonviolence, integration and democracy. We call upon all who share these basic commitments to join with us in this massive effort.

WHY WE MARCH

We march to redeem the American promise.

Almost 200 years ago, the Declaration of Independence proclaimed every man's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But—

Is there a meaningful right to life when the Department of Agriculture tells us that nearly 20 million Americans are deprived of necessary nutrition because they are poor?

Is there genuine liberty when economic misery turns millions into outcasts who are so despairing that they do not even register to vote?

Is it possible to pursue happiness in the "other America" of the poor when, according to the Council of Economic Advisers, the number of "occupied dilapidated units" in the big-city slums has increased in the last four years?

Is this justice? The richest 10 per cent of the farmers and farm corporations get more than half of a multibillion dollar subsidy, while 82 per cent of the hungriest citizens are excluded from the Federal Government's basic food programs and two out of every three poor children don't even get a free school lunch.

Is this justice? One Federal program has helped over 10 million middle class and rich people to buy their own homes, while only 650,000 units of low-rent housing—usually ugly and segregated—have been built for the desperate.

Let America treat its poor children at least as well as its rich farmers.

Let America subsidize the families in the rotting tenements as least as well as those in the affluent suburbs.

Let us adopt an economic bill of rights.

This must be our goal if the American people is to be fulfilled. We must guarantee that:

Every employable citizen has the right to a meaningful job at decent wages. The poor are not lazy. In fact the vast majority toil long hours at menial, underpaid labor. Their wages must be raised. New careers must be created for them—in building decent housing for all; in raising the level of education, health and social care; in reconstructing and beautifying America. This is not makework. This is meaningful work that goes to the heart of our nation's needs.

Every citizen who cannot work be guaranteed an adequate income as a matter of right. A thousand economists of varying persuasions have called for a guaranteed annual income as morally necessary and economically sound.

We recognize that this economic bill of rights cannot be adopted overnight. And we are not blind to the conservative mood of the present Congress. But we shall not sit back and let the forces of reaction and cynicism win the day. This nation can and must take specific, tangible steps toward redeeming the American promise. We shall therefore make the following immediate demands:

I

We call upon the President and all Presidential candidates to endorse the basic principles of an economic bill of rights.

II

We demand that Congress, in this session,

1. Recommit the Federal Government to the Full Employment Act of 1946 and legislate the immediate creation of at least one million socially useful career jobs in public service.
2. Adopt the pending housing and urban development act of 1968.
3. Repeal the 90th Congress's punitive welfare restrictions, which put a freeze on the number of families eligible for welfare aid, compel mothers of preschool children to seek employment and deny assistance to unemployed fathers unless they can produce evidence of previous employment.
4. Extend to all farm workers the right—guaranteed under the National Labor Relations Act—to organize and bargain collectively.
5. Restore budget cuts for bilingual education, Head Start, summer jobs, Economic Opportunity Act, Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

III

We further call upon the President to declare a national emergency and, under his present statutory authority:

1. Institute food distribution programs wherever severe hunger exists in America.
2. Provide free food stamps to those who cannot afford to buy them.
3. Help poor farmers set up cooperatives.
4. End discrimination in the food offices of the Agriculture Department.
5. Give the poor first priority in existing health programs and create health services in isolated rural areas.
6. Include the poor in the planning and administration of Federal programs at local levels.
7. Organize maternal and child health centers in poverty areas.

To abolish poverty requires a massive, nationwide and integrated effort. By themselves, the poor are neither numerous nor powerful enough to win these advances. Therefore, we march together—black and white, red and brown, country people and slum dwellers, the poor and those who are not poor—because only through such a united effort can we truly overcome.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. TENZER (at the request of Mr. DORN), for today, on account of observance of a religious holiday.

Mr. LENNON (at the request of Mr. DORN), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. FOUNTAIN (at the request of Mr. DORN), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. WOLFF (at the request of Mr. DORN), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. KYROS (at the request of Mr. DORN), for today, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. CURTIS, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. GUBSER (at the request of Mr. BURKE of Florida), for 60 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. GRAY to extend his remarks following passage of H.R. 13523 today.

Mr. POFF prior to passage of H.R. 17024.

Mr. BENNETT and to include extraneous matter in two instances.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BURKE of Florida) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin.

Mr. QUILLEN in four instances.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania in five instances.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN in two instances.

Mr. SCHERLE in two instances.

Mr. PETTIS.

Mr. VANDER JAGT.

Mr. ASHBROOK in two instances.

Mr. RUMSFELD in two instances.

Mr. CURTIS in two instances.

Mr. POLLOCK.

Mr. WYMAN in three instances.

Mr. MICHEL in four instances.

Mr. DERWINSKI.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin in two instances.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DORN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CORMAN in five instances.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN in two instances.

Mr. POAGE in two instances.

Mr. RODINO in three instances.

Mr. LONG of Maryland in three instances.

Mr. LEGGETT.

Mr. JONES of Alabama.

Mr. OTTINGER in two instances.

Mr. CAREY.

Mr. MCCARTHY in 10 instances.

Mr. MONAGAN in two instances.

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington in two instances.

Mr. RIVERS in two instances.

Mr. TUCK in two instances.

Mr. DINGELL.

Mrs. SULLIVAN in five instances.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania.

Mr. FASCELL.

Mr. TENZER in five instances.

Mr. WHITENER in two instances.

Mr. FEIGHAN in four instances.

Mr. EDMONDSON.

Mr. FRASER in two instances.

Mr. HAGAN in two instances.

Mr. GATHINGS in two instances.

Mr. RESNICK.

SENATE BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS REFERRED

A bill and joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 444. An act to establish the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area in the States of Utah and Wyoming, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S.J. Res. 106. Joint resolution regarding the status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S.J. Res. 175. Joint resolution to suspend for the 1968 campaign the equal-time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 for nominees for the offices of President and Vice President; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly an enrolled bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 15004. An act to further amend the the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to extend the expiration date of certain authorities thereunder, and for other purposes.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on May 31, 1968 present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 3299. An act to authorize the purchase, sale, and exchange of certain lands on the Spokane Indian Reservation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 14672. An act to amend the act of February 14, 1931, relating to the acceptance of gifts for the benefit of Indians;

H.R. 14922. An act to amend Public Law 90–60 with respect to judgment funds of the Ute Mountain Tribe;

H.R. 15224. An act to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard; and

H.R. 15271. An act to authorize the use of funds arising from a judgment in favor of the Spokane Tribe of Indians.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 37 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, June 4, 1968, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1896. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, (Properties and Installations), transmitting notification of the location, nature, and estimated cost of certain facilities projects proposed to be undertaken for the Air National Guard, pursuant to the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2233a(1); to the Committee on Armed Services.

1897. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of a survey of program loan assistance to Chile, Agency for International Development, Department of State; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1898. A letter from the executive director, Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower Training, Inc., transmitting the second annual report of the joint commission, pursuant to the provisions of section 12(c), Public Law 89–178; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

1899. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders entered for certain aliens who have been found admissible to the United States, pursuant to the provisions of section 212(a)(28)(I)(ii) of the Immigration and Nationality Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1900. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in feasibility investigations of certain water resource developments; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1901. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a proposed concession contract to provide certain facilities and services in Curecanti National Recreation Area, Colo., pursuant to the provisions of the act of July 31, 1953 (67 Stat. 271), as amended by the act of July 14, 1956 (70 Stat. 543); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1902. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Power Commission, transmitting a copy of the map, "Major Natural Gas Pipelines, December 31, 1967"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture. H.R. 15562. A bill to extend the expiration date of the act of September 19, 1966 (Rept. No. 1509). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. GRAY: Committee on Public Works. H.R. 16981. A bill limiting the use for demonstration purposes of any federally owned property in the District of Columbia, requiring the posting of a bond, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1510). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey: Committee of conference. H.R. 11308. An act to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 (Rept. No. 1511). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GARDNER:

H.R. 17603. A bill to protect the freedom of choice of Federal employees in employee-management relations; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 17604. A bill to increase from $600 to $1,000 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including the exemption for a spouse, the exemption for a dependent, and the additional exemption for old age or blindness); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 17605. A bill authorizing veterans' benefits for persons who served in the local security patrol force of Guam during World War II; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. MOORHEAD:

H.R. 17606. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Commission on Negro History and Culture; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. O'KONSKI:

H.R. 17607. A bill to establish a joint underwriting association to provide fire, extended coverage, and essential property insurance in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.R. 17608. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to extend the head of household benefits to unremarried widows and widowers, and certain single other persons, who maintain their own households; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. POLLOCK:

H.R. 17609. A bill to convey to the city of Kenai, Alaska, all interests of the United States in certain land located therein; Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. RIVERS:

H.R. 17610. A bill to authorize the payment of a variable reenlistment bonus in the case of certain members of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force; to the Committee on Armed Service.

By Mr. SHRIVER:

H.R. 17611. A bill to establish a Commission on Malnutrition; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. SMITH of Iowa:

H.R. 17612. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Army to release certain use restrictions on a tract of land at Camp Dodge, Iowa, in order that such land may be used as a site for the construction of buildings or other improvements for the Iowa Law Enforcement Academy; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. UTT:

H.R. 17613. A bill to amend section 48 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the $50,000 limitation on the used property which may be used for investment credit purposes shall not apply in the case of machine tools; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. WINN:

H.R. 17614. A bill to establish a Commission on Hunger; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.J. Res. 1285. Joint resolution to provide that it be the sense of Congress that a White House Conference on Aging be called by the President of the United States in 1970 to be planned and conducted by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to assist the States in conducting similar conferences on aging prior to the White House Conference on Aging, and for related purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. SATTERFIELD:

H.J. Res. 1286. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H. Con. Res. 783. Concurrent resolution to convey to the Government of France the sense of Congress with respect to the responsibility of France in connection with the payment of its World War I debt to the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PODELL (for himself, Mr. MORGAN, Mr. BURTON of California, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. LUKENS, Mr. ST. ONGE, Mr. VANIK, Mr. BROCK, Mr. MORRIS, Mr. BELL, Mr. PELLY, Mr. WALDIE, Mr. HOLIFIELD, Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania, Mr. McDADE, Mr. DELANEY, Mr. YATES, Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia, Mr. CASEY, Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts, Mr. STRATTON, and Mr. POLLOCK):

H. Res. 1201. Resolution that it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States enter into an agreement with the Government of Israel for the sale of military planes, commonly known as Phantom jet fighters, necessary for Israel's defense to an amount which shall be adequate to provide Israel with a deterrent force capable of preventing future Arab aggression by offsetting sophisticated weapons received by the Arab States, and on order for future delivery, and to replace losses suffered by Israel in the 1967 conflict; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 17615. A bill for the relief of Adriana Ferrante; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17616. A bill for the relief of Rosa Magro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 17617. A bill for the relief of Ruggiero Gonino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BATES:

H.R. 17618. A bill for the relief of Miss Anna Ferrari; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 17619. A bill for the relief of Francesco Ambroiso; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17620. A bill for the relief of Francesco Grimaudo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17621. A bill for the relief of Antonino Mazzamuto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17622. A bill for the relief of Antonino Tarantola; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAREY:

H.R. 17623. A bill for the relief of Pnina Haibi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 17624. A bill to provide for the free entry of a peal of eight bells and fittings for use of Smith College, Northampton, Mass.; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DADDARIO:

H.R. 17625. A bill for the relief of Antonio Capasso; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17626. A bill for the relief of Wuen Yeung Hung and King Hung Luk; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17627. A bill for the relief of Michele Simonetta; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTEIN:

H.R. 17628. A bill for the relief of Pauline H. Belmonte; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17629. A bill for the relief of Zenaida C., Delco G., and Marivi Macias; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 17630. A bill for the relief of Domenico La Spisa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JACOBS:

H.R 17631. A bill for the relief of Sylva G. Brazzale and her infant son, David R. Brand; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 17632. A bill for the relief of Eftycia Katzambis Chagaris; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TEAGUE of California:

H.R. 17633. A bill for the relief of Fortunato Foronda Evangelista; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TENZER:

H.R. 17634. A bill for the relief of Amerigo Vespucci; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FEIGHAN:

H.J. Res. 1287. Joint resolution granting the status of permanent residence to Maria Mercedes Riewerts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H. Res. 1202. Resolution to refer the bill (H.R. 16609) entitled "A bill for the relief of Sea Oil & General Corp., of New York, N.Y." to the Chief Commissioner of the Court of Claims pursuant to sections 1492 and 2509 of title 28, United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

331. By Mr. FRASER: Petition of the Minnesota State Council of the Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America, relative to retirement under social security; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

332. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the Board of Supervisors of Contra Costa County, Calif., relative to public assistance payments for nonresidents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

333. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Madera, Calif., relative to public assistance payments for nonresidents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

334. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Tuolumne, Calif., relative to supporting the bill S. 2919 concerning water resources; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

335. Also, petition of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Yolo, Calif., relative to public assistance payments for nonresidents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

336. Also, petition of Mrs. Selma B. Lokitz, New York, N.Y., relative to enactment of The President's programs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

OUR 25 YEARS IN VIETNAM

HON. FRANK E. MOSS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, there is a feeling among Americans that the Vietnam problem suddenly burst upon the world scene and that we became involved in 1965. Many other myths or misconceptions exist regarding this terrible and unhappy conflict in Vietnam. Chalmers Roberts, in a revealing article published in the Washington Post of June 2, sets straight the record on Vietnam. I learned, or was reminded, of many facets of the problem which I had overlooked or forgotten. I wish that every American could review the events in Vietnam stretching back to the 1930's. I ask unanimous consent that the Roberts' article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed the RECORD, as follows:

OUR 25 YEARS IN VIETNAM

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

Like the moth for the flame, the United States has found some irresistible attraction in a faraway land long known as French

Indochina and now all too familiar as Vietnam.

This extraordinary attraction has existed for a full quarter of a century. The United States surely has been singed but its ultimate fate in that small land is not yet clear.

The story can be divided into six acts, beginning in 1943, with the latest act now being played both at the Paris conference table and on the Vietnam battlefield. Whether the sixth is the last act no man can say with certainty, but that seems the probability.

Most Americans were totally unaware of their Government's involvement on their behalf in much that has gone on. Some awoke during the second act, more began to see what was happening by the fourth. But not until the last two acts has the majority turned its eyes to that corner of Southeast Asia. Yet, in retrospect, there has been a pattern, if not a plot, in all that has happened.

Here, in capsule form, is the story of the six acts of Vietnam.

I. ROOSEVELT VERSUS DE GAULLE

Three days before he flew off to Paris this May, Ambassador W. Averell Harriman remarked in a New York speech that "I recall hearing President Roosevelt on more than one occasion state categorically that he had no intention of permitting the French to return to Indochina."

Harriman's remark is well documented by the official record. Equally well documented is the determination of Charles de Gaulle to see France return to Indochina, to which the French had gone in 1858 to create, in time, a colony comprising what today is North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

When France fell to Hitler, the white man's days in Indochina were numbered. The Vichy regime granted expansionist Japan a "pre-eminent position" in the Far East. In late 1940 Japanese troops arrived from then occupied China.

One of the French forts attacked by the Japanese was at a place known as Dong-Dang. A widely quoted American newspaper editorial of the time was captioned: "Who wants to die for dear old Dong-Dang?" The answer then in still isolationist America was clear: no one.

After Pearl Harbor, Indochina was far behind enemy lines. Not until victory over Japan began to loom did President Roosevelt begin to think about the future of the French colony. By 1943 he was making, in private, the remarks to which Harriman referred.

F.D.R.'s trusteeship idea

President Roosevelt spoke to Britain's Anthony Eden in 1943 of a future trusteeship for the colony. He told Joseph Stalin at Tehran that "after 100 years of French rule the inhabitants were worse off than they had been before . . ." Winston Churchill objected but Stalin agreed, saying that he "did not propose to have the Allies shed blood to restore Indochina, for example, to old French colonial rule . . ."

On Jan. 24, 1944, FDR wrote Secretary of State Cordell Hull that he had told the British Ambassador that "Indochina should not go back to France but that it should be administered by an international trusteeship." He added that "France has milked it for one hundred years. The people of Indochina are entitled to something better than that."

Indochina, however, was but a minute problem for the wartime President. He did little more than to put obstacles in the way of small French forces trying to make their way to the Far East via the French enclaves in India. At FDR's request, Vice President Henry Wallace told Chiang Kai-shek that FDR was offering him all of Indochina as an outright grant. In a display of wisdom, Chiang turned down the offer, saying rightly that the Indochinese were "not Chinese. They would not assimilate into the Chinese people."

FDR's approach may have been humanitarian but it certainly was cavalier and showed his scant knowledge of Southeast Asia. The President died in April, 1945, with Indochina still under Japanese control.

De Gaulle's vow

Charles de Gaulle, today the host for the Paris talks, was the wartime leader of the Free French, a role which brought him into bitter disagreements with FDR and the United States on many issues, including Indochina.

De Gaulle wrote in his memoirs that during the war Indochina "seemed like a great ship out of control," adding: "As I saw her move away into the mist, I swore that I would one day bring her in."

By 1945, with France cleared of the Nazis, de Gaulle, "aware of the hostility of the Allies—particularly the Americans—in regard to our Far Eastern position," resolved that "French blood shed on the soil of Indochina would constitute an impressive claim" to regain the colony.

FDR's death eased de Gaulle's problem. During a Washington visit in August, 1945, President Truman told him that the American Government "offers no opposition to the return of the French army and authority in Indochina."

The atomic bomb had been dropped in Japan just before de Gaulle's trip to Washington. He recorded his "bitter visions" of the bomb's meaning but quickly added that the collapse of Japan removed "the American veto which had kept us out of the Pacific. Indochina from that day became accessible to us once again."

At the wartime Tehran and Potsdam conferences, it had been agreed that, after the fighting ended, Vietnam would be occupied by Chinese Nationalist troops down to the 16th parallel, with British Commonwealth forces taking over the southern half of the peninsula.

That was in fact done for a while. And as the French returned to reassert authority, they found that Ho Chi Minh already was leading an insurrection. He seized Hanoi before the French could get there, proclaiming the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

De Gaulle worked for a French Union, with some autonomy for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and he recorded that "I intended to go to Indochina myself to settle matters . . ." He never did. In the end, negotiations between Ho and Paris were aborted by French diehards, fighting ensued and France regained control of her colony. De Gaulle retired from office in January, 1946, not to return until 1958.

The first act in Indochina was over. FDR failed in his aim. A European colony was reestablished in Asia but the auguries for its success were not good. Nationalism was the new power, with Communist Ho exploiting it.

II. HO AGAINST FRANCE PLUS EISENHOWER AND DULLES

Five months after the Japanese collapse, Bao Dai, emperor of Vietnam, wrote de Gaulle telling him to "abandon any thought" of reasserting French sovereignty, adding that if he attempted to do so "every village would become a core of resistance." But neither de Gaulle nor his successors saw the truth of that advice.

Ho's efforts to reach an accommodation with Paris was defeated by French officers in control in Indochina and by the French Communist Party in France, aided by the Soviet Union. The Communists played Paris's game against Ho in the hope that France itself would go Communist, sweeping Indochina into the Communist world without resort to war.

When Ho sent an emissary to Paris, Maurice Thorez, the French Communist, told him that he did not intend in any way "to be considered the eventual liquidator of the French positions in Indochina." French Communists did not block the Indochina war budgets in the Assembly.

But France did not go Communist. And the Indochina war escalated as Ho fought on to the climactic battle at Dienbienphu in 1954.

By December, 1950, the French were sounding alarm in Washington. At that moment, the United States was heavily engaged in Korea against both the Communist Chinese and the North Koreans.

Under Truman, a Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) arrived in Vietnam in July, 1950. But Korea had the priority and it was not until the advent of the Eisenhower Administration and the end of the Korean war that the United States became deeply involved in trying to prop up the French and save their position in Indochina, meaning essentially in what is now the two Vietnams. Why?

The United States had no economic interests in Indochina worth mentioning; its anticolonial attitude, both governmental and public, had pressed in the postwar years for the British to give up India and for the Dutch to free Indonesia. But the pressure on France was limited, halting, less than effective for too long.

Answer lies in Europe

The answer lies in American policy in Europe. What Washington did to aid Paris in Indochina was a function of its European policy and a derogation of its basic anticolonial thrust in Asia. If Paris then had been as stable as London or The Hague, there probably would have been no aid and Ho would have triumphed. Retrospectively, it appears that in larger world terms it would have made little or no difference to the United States. Washington would have been satisfied with being an offshore Pacific power, as was the general intention even to the point of withdrawing troops from Korea in 1949.

But Paris, and France, were not stable. American policy centered on rebuilding Western Europe economically with Marshall Plan aid and in creating a viable defense community through NATO. These were the years when the Communist coup succeeded in Czechoslovakia and Stalin tried to force the Western powers out of Berlin by a blockade.

Stalin died six weeks after Gen. Eisenhower's inauguration as President, setting off what was to be polycentrism in the Communist world. But that was not to be apparent for some years. Meanwhile the Korean war had alarmed the United States. When it was over, the fear was that the Communists' next thrust would come in support of Ho in Vietnam.

By late 1953, with American dollar and arms aid to the French mounting rapidly in Indochina, a Senator on a study mission to Indochina concluded his report in words that expressed the temper of the times:

> "The need to stay with it is clear because the issue for us is not Indochina alone. Nor is it just Asia. The issue in this war so many people would like to forget is the continued freedom of the non-Communist world, the containment of Communist agression, and the welfare and sceurity of our country."

The author of those words was Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.).

Berlin Conference, 1954

In the rubble of Berlin in early 1954, the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain held their first postwar conference, ostensibly to discuss the future of divided Germany and of then partially divided Austria. Nothing was accomplished on either issue.

But the French Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault, pressed the American Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, to agree to what was to become the Geneva Conference on both Korea and Indochina.

"We had to have this conference," Bidault wrote in his memoirs. "France was fighting alone and was only being given financial aid. We were fighting 7000 miles away from home and the war was costly in human lives. The war came under heavy criticism in France and in the United States. Acts of treason and sabotage were committed in France."

Dulles was tugged two ways by Bidault's plea. On the one hand he desperately wanted French ratification of what then was the keystone in American policy in Europe: the creation of the European Defense Community, under which a unified armed force would be created, submerging German arms forever in a supranational command. French ratification was needed for success.

On the other hand, Dulles wanted to keep clear of Indochina, where he could easily smell failure—which to him meant the loss of territory to the Communists. Furthermore, he did not want to have anything to do, at least directly, with the Communist Chinese, although he recognized they would have to be at Geneva, too. (Indeed, during the week he did subsequently spend at Geneva, Dulles sat stonily behind Chou En-lai, then Peking's foreign minister, without a word or a handshake between them.)

The American attitude toward China was so bitter at the time that Dulles felt impelled, on his return from the Berlin meeting, to say in a radio-TV report that he had dramatically held out until 60 minutes before adjournment to win Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov's acceptance of the Dulles demand "that I would not agree to meet with the Chinese Communists unless it was expressly agreed and put in writing that no United States recognition would be involved."

With this safeguard politically at home and in hopes that the French would accept the European Defense Community, Dulles agreed to the Geneva Conference.

The falling domino

Twenty-three days after the Berlin Conference organized the Geneva meeting, Ho's forces made their first major attack on the French fortress of Dienbienphu in western North Vietnam near the border of Laos. Ho had begun his "fight and negotiate" tactic now being repeated while today's talks go on in Paris.

Eisenhower's view of the importance of keeping Indochina out of Communist hands was essentially that expressed by Sen. Mansfield. The President wrote in his memoirs that "if Indochina fell, not only Thailand but Burma and Malaya would be threatened, with added risks to East Pakistan and South Asia as well as to all Indonesia."

It was Eisenhower who publicized what he called "the falling domino principle." He also was concerned, as he said at the time and later wrote in his memoirs, about the possible "loss of valuable deposits of tin and prodigious supplies of rubber and rice" in Southeast Asia, comments to which the North Vietnamese now in Paris have called attention in an effort to sustain a Marxist view of American actions.

Kennedy-Johnson views

American leaders were divided in 1954 on what to do about Indochina. Sen. John F. Kennedy castigated the French for not giving more ground to the non-Communist Vietnamese. Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson declared that he was "against sending American GIs into the mud and muck of Indochina on a blood-letting spree to perpetuate colonialism and white man's exploitation in Asia."

But neither was yet in power in the White House; Eisenhower was and to him came proposals for military aid to the French. From Berlin in January and February to Geneva beginning in May, "the ever-present, persistent, gnawing possibility was that of employing our ground forces in Indochina" as Eisenhower recorded it.

The crisis in Washington came in April as Ho's general, Vo Nguyen Giap, tightened his stranglehold on Dienbienphu while the world watched. In March, the French Chief of Staff had visited Washington to say that unless the United States intervened, Indochina would be lost.

On Saturday, April 3, Dulles met secretly with eight congressional leaders and told them the President wanted a joint resolution by Congress to permit him to use air and naval power in Indochina. If Indochina fell, said Dulles, the United States might be forced back to Hawaii as in World War II.

Adm. Arthur W. Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, proposed using planes from two American carriers then in the South China Sea, plus land-based aircraft from the Philippines, for a single strike to save Dienbienphu. He conceded that the three other members of the Joint Chiefs disagreed with him.

Of the legislators in that room, only two are still in Congress; Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) and Rep. John W. McCormack (D-Mass.), now the House Speaker. The other man still in power was Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson.

L. B. J.'s crucial question

It was Sen. Johnson who asked the critical question about allies in such a venture. He said he knew that the then Senate majority leader, William F. Knowland, had been saying publicly that in the Korean War up to 90 per cent of the men and the money came from the United States. The United States had become sold on the idea that that was bad. Hence in any operation in Indochina, we ought to know first who would put up the men.

Sen. Johnson asked Dulles whether he had consulted nations which might be allied in any intervention. Dulles said he had not. In the end, all eight members of Congress agreed that Dulles had better first go shopping for allies.

So Dulles did. And Gen. Giap's men moved closer and closer into the fortress at Dienbienphu. Within a week Dulles talked to diplomatic representatives in Washington of Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand and the then three Associated States of Indochina: Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. He ran into a monumental rock of opposition from the British.

The British attitude, given that of the congressional leaders, forced a shelving of immediate intervention. Instead, Dulles began planning the creation of a "united front" for "united action" in what was later to emerge as SEATO, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

While Dulles was doing this, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, in an off-the-record speech that was quickly divulged, declared in Washington on April 16 that ". . . if to avoid further Communist expansion in Asia and Indochina, we must take the risk now by putting our boys in, I think the Executive has to take the politically unpopular decision and do it."

While Eisenhower was trying to keep the Nation calm, Nixon's remarks caused alarm. A rider to a House appropriations bill was introduced requiring prior congressional approval before the President could send troops to Indochina or anywhere else. Eisenhower was prepared to veto the bill but the rider failed to pass.

Unattainable or unacceptable

In answering a press conference question, the President described his 1954 dilemma much as Lyndon Johnson might describe his 1968 dilemma. Said Eisenhower: "You are steering a course between two extremes, one of which, I would say, would be unattainable, and the other unacceptable."

The "unattainable," he said, was a completely satisfactory agreement with the Communists. The "unacceptable" was "to see the whole anti-Communist defense of that area crumble and disappear."

In Paris on April 23, three days before the Geneva Conference opened (initially on the Korean issue), Bidault pleaded with Dulles for a massive air attack, using the American carriers then stationed in the Tonkin Gulf as their successors are today. Bidault has written that he pointed out to Dulles "that he had told me and the rest of the world that the U.S. would not tolerate the advance of communism in Southeast Asia; if he wanted, he could reconcile theory with practice by helping us in Dienbienphu."

Bidault also claimed in his memoirs that Dulles asked him "if we would like the U.S. to give us two atomic bombs." This has been denied on the American side and no evidence has been presented to support Bidault's statement. Bidault wrote that his answer was that with the use of atomic bombs the garrison "would be worse off than before."

Despite last-minute efforts by Dulles and Adm. Radford, Eisenhower would not agree to intervention without allies and without congressional approval, which he never publicly asked.

Gloom at Geneva

Thus the Geneva Conference opened in a mood of deepest American gloom. Dulles disassociated himself as much as possible from what he saw as the coming disaster. Dienbienphu fell and Pierre Mendes-France became the French Premier on a promise to negotiate peace in Geneva within a month. The Anglo-American-French relationship was in a shamble.

The shooting ended in Indochina on July 21, 1954, the day after Mendes-France's self-proclaimed deadline, but from most of the French other than embittered military there were only cheers for him.

The first Indochina war, which had lasted 7½ years, was over but in such a way as to invite the second Indochina war and, most importantly, to invite American intervention.

III. DULLES AND DIEM VERSUS HO CHI MINH

Geneva ended with a cease-fire agreement between the French and the Communists and a Final Declaration of all the conferees. The former ended the fighting and provided for a political regroupment of opposing forces; the latter sketched out the political future, declaring that the agreed "military demarcation line" at the 17th parallel, which now separates North from South, was to be considered "provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary."

The Declaration also said that consultations should be held between the authorities of "the two zones" beginning on July 20, 1955, leading to "general elections" which "shall be held in July 1956 . . ."

The elections, of course, have never been held, a fact that has aroused bitter dispute as to who was to blame. What did happen was that John Foster Dulles decided to make what became South Vietnam a viable state on its own.

Saigon disassociates self

The Saigon government, of which Ngo Dinh Diem became the head two weeks before the conclusion at Geneva, disassociated itself from the agreements. Diem's representative in Geneva who did so was Tran Van Do, until recently the Foreign Minister in the current Saigon regime.

Despite Soviet pressure to back the agreements, the United States limited itself to a declaration that supported unity of Vietnam through "free elections" under United Nations supervision to assure their fairness and a statement that it would view any renewal of aggression in violation of the agreements "with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security."

The common expectation in Geneva was that the results would have the effect of getting the French out and preventing the Americans from intervening. It was presumably on this basis that Molotov and Chou En-lai convinced Ho Chi Minh to accept less than full control of Vietnam.

Although there is no direct evidence, the two key Communist leaders must also have argued that in due course South Vietnam would easily fall into Ho's control. In recent years there have been comments from Hanoi which indicate that, retrospectively, the North Vietnamese Communists believe they were sold out by the Soviets and the Chinese. Many consider this a key factor in Hanoi's evident determination not to repeat the process in any new form at the current Paris talks.

But South Vietnam did not fall as the ripe apple to Ho and the Communists. Two men worked together to prevent that: Dulles and Diem.

Something to salvage

Lt. Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster, now on the Harriman delegation in Paris and named by President Johnson to be the number two American military leader in Vietnam after Gen. William C. Westmoreland returns home, was then the top White House military aide to Eisenhower.

In a 1966 statement for the Dulles Oral History Project at Princeton, Goodpaster recalled that after the Geneva settlement "Dulles thought that it was perhaps not quite down the drain" although, said Goodpaster, "everyone else, I think, felt that it was." Dulles "felt that there might be something in this that would be worth trying to salvage, trying to sustain."

To assess the prospects, Dulles got Eisenhower to send Gen. J. Lawton Collins, suggested by Goodpaster, to South Vietnam in late 1954. Collins recalled, also for the Oral History Project, that when he was leaving Washington Dulles said to him: "Frankly, Collins, I think our chances of saving the situation there are not more than one in ten."

But some months later, after visiting Saigon himself and hearing Collins' report after the general's return to Washington, Dulles commented that it now looked more like a 50–50 chance. Added Collins: "And he was very well pleased."

Role of Diem

By now Stalin's successors in the Kremlin, and the men in Peking as well, were talking up "peaceful coexistence" between the Communist and non-Communist worlds. But Dulles remained unconvinced of any change of heart and he determined to hold the line at the 17th parallel in Vietnam as well as at the 38th parallel in Korea, the two fringes of what he considered Communist power centered in Peking and perhaps directed from Moscow.

It would take a leader in Saigon, however, to make such a holding operation work and that man was Diem. A Vietnam nationalist and a Catholic, Diem had been living in the United States since 1951, mostly at Maryknoll Seminary in Lakewood, N.J., with occasional trips to Washington to discuss Vietnam with such men as Sen. Mansfield and Rep. John F. Kennedy. He also frequently met with Francis Cardinal Spellman in New York.

Diem had wanted the post in Saigon and it had been offered to him by Emperor Bao Dai. But each time Diem demanded a total end of French control and a free hand for himself. This he finally got when he took over the government on July 7, 1954. He had, by then, powerful friends in Washington who were to sustain him in the years ahead as he fought the Communists.

Twenty-six days after the Geneva accords were signed, Eisenhower transferred aid directly to Vietnam rather than through France. But the French were unhappy with Diem and wanted someone they felt would be more amenable to protection of their economic and cultural interests in Vietnam.

Dulles balked and his associates called on Mansfield for help. The Senator stated, on returning from a Vietnam trip, that "in the event that the Diem government falls . . . the United States should consider an immediate suspension of all aid to Vietnam and the French Union forces there." The French officers in those forces were soon to leave but Diem was long to stay.

Eisenhower letter

The French reluctantly agreed to back Diem. And on Oct. 23, 1954, President Eisenhower sent a letter to Diem in response to Diem's request for aid. The President said the aid was to assist South Vietnam in "developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means." Eisenhower also expressed the hope that Diem's government would be "so responsive to the nationalist aspirations of its people, so enlightened in purpose and effective in performance, that it will be respected both at home and abroad and discourage any who might wish to impose a foreign ideology on your free people."

The letter, drafted by Kenneth Young in the State Department, is the one President Johnson has often cited to show that the current American involvement was begun by Republican President Eisenhower. Eisenhower has complained in private about this use of his letter but has never done so publicly.

By July, 1955, when the consultations for the elections in all of Vietnam were to begin under the terms of Geneva, Diem was in a strong position internally. His government has absorbed the nearly 900,000 refugees from the North, 250,000 of which had been evacuated and brought South in American naval vessels.

Diem said he was for unification and for free elections "to achieve this unity." But he was "skeptical" about holding them in the North, where "a regime of oppression" was in power. Furthermore, his government did not sign and was "not bound in any way" by the Geneva accords. Hence "nothing constructive will be done" as long as the Communists deny democratic freedoms.

The North objects, called for a renewed Geneva Conference by Moscow and Peking paid little attention. Indeed, the Soviets seemed so satisfied with the division that in 1957 they proposed admitting both Vietnams to the United Nations along with the two Koreas. But the United States opposed admission of the two Communist states.

Votes for Ho

In the wake of the first Indochina war, the probability is that, given a free election throughout all of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh would have been the winner. That Dulles probably believed this is indicated by a comment in Eisenhower's memoirs:

"I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of the fighting, possibly 80 per cent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader rather than Chief of State Bao Dai."

Diem gained support in his own country and in the United States as well. Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey declared in May 1955, when Bao Dai tried unsuccessfully to put a rein on Diem, that "Premier Diem is the best hope that we have in South Vietnam. He deserves and must have the whole-hearted support of the American Government . . ."

To Washington it looked as though Dulles was right and that economic aid and some military training help to Diem would indeed produce a viable state and result in a stable line at the 17th parallel.

Furthermore, Dulles had constructed SEATO and used it to put an umbrella of international support over South Vietnam as a "protocol state." Along with Dulles, two Senators signed on behalf of the United States. One of them was Mansfield.

U.S. problems elsewhere

The United States had greater problems elsewhere in the final Eisenhower years, notably with Nikita Khrushchev over the U-2 and the Soviet Sputnik and ICBM developments. Few other than those directly concerned paid attention to Vietnam; it all seemed to be going well.

Ho Chi Minh seemed absorbed in rebuilding the North. Despite an abortive coup, Diem seemed well in control in the South and there was talk of a "miracle" of postwar development. And there were no American battle casualties.

Yet the United States was, in fact, sliding into what was to become the second Indochina war. The U.S. understood the Communists' aim but of their plans and strategy it was woefully ignorant.

IV. KENNEDY'S INTERVENTION

The 1954 division of Vietnam was geographic but the regroupment of forces after Geneva was political. Not only did about 900,000 come South but from 90,000 to about 150,000 Communists troops including their families went North, many of them on Polish and Soviet ships.

Most importantly, as Bernard Fall has written, a small group of Ho's elite guerrillas "quietly buried its well-greased weapons, hid its portable radio transmitters and simply returned for the time being to the humdrum tasks of sowing and harvesting rice."

The relative calm in the South was short-lived. By the end of 1958, Vietcong activity had begun to stir in the South and security in the countryside became a serious problem. By 1959, the North was recuperating from the war and it was evident that unification would not come through elections. Diem grew oppressive in the face of opposition and attempted coups. It was time for the Communists to act.

Infiltration in 1959

According to an American appraisal (released in May, 1968) the Lao Dong (Communist) Party in the North decided in May, 1959, or even earlier, that the time had come "to push the armed struggle against the enemy," a sentence U.S. officials found in a captured document. Furthermore, at that time, according to the American appraisal, the "Southern part of the Communist apparatus" had "become restive" and some elements were taking action on their own initiative.

Border crossing teams were created and infiltration began by mid-1959, both across the Demilitarized Zone separating the two Vietnams and by way of Laos. Southerners who had gone North and been formed into units were now sent back. Those who had remained in the South dug up buried weapons and appeared in the form of the Vietcong.

The struggle in the South against Diem was formalized at the end of 1960 and the beginning of 1961. On Sept. 10, 1960, the Lao Dong Party adopted a resolution declaring that one of its tasks was "to liberate South Vietnam from the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen . . ." And on Jan. 29, 1961, Hanoi announced the establishment of the National Liberation Front, formed the previous December as the political arm of the insurgent Vietcong in the South.

In Kennedy's hands

All this had occurred in the final phase of the Eisenhower Administration but it was the new President, John F. Kennedy, who had to deal with it. Much that is known about Communist plans and movements, however, was unknown then and the Kennedy-Eisenhower discussion about the world's problems on the day before the

Kennedy inauguration did not touch on Vietnam. There was, however, considerable discussion of neighboring Laos, which the outgoing President considered so much the key to Southeast Asia that he said he would favor unilateral American intervention "as a last desperate hope" to deny it to the Communists.

Laos was indeed Kennedy's first critical problem in the area and he came close to intervention. In the end, at the Vienna meeting in 1961 with Nikita Khrushchev and in the subsequent Geneva Conference on Laos in 1962, Kennedy was able to put Laos aside as the adjunct to Vietnam that it clearly has been.

But shunting Laos aside did nothing about Vietnam itself. Kennedy had been struck by a Khrushchev speech about "wars of national liberation" and from this was to come great emphasis on counterinsurgency, including the rise of the Green Berets.

Grievances in south

That there were just grievances in the South against the Diem regime is beyond dispute. Critics of American policy contend, as one book puts it, that the insurrection against Diem was "Southern rooted" and that "it arose at Southern initiative in response to Southern demands." The American Government view is that, despite the grievances, the insurrection was effectively Northern inspired and directed, though using Southerners to carry it out for the first years.

The civil war view was rejected by the Kennedy Administration. By November, 1961, the new Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, was speaking of "the determined and ruthless campaign of propaganda, infiltration and subversion by the Communist regime in North Vietnam to destroy the Republic of Vietnam" in the South.

Kennedy had qualms about further involvement. Still, the weakness he had shown in the Bay of Pigs debacle in Cuba, many now feel, led him to fear another seeming retreat from communism and thus forced him to up the American ante in Vietnam.

In late 1961, two emissaries he had sent to Vietnam, Gen. Maxwell Taylor and Walt W. Rostow, came back with a recommendation for sending an American military task force of perhaps 10,000 men for self-defense and perimeter security and, if the South Vietnamese were hard pressed to act as an emergency reserve.

That report, as much as anything, let the new President to take the irreversible steps into the second Indochina, or Vietnam, war. But Kennedy stopped short of the Rostow argument for a contingency plan of retaliation against the North graduated to match the intensity of Hanoi's support of the Vietcong, as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has described it.

Johnson's tour of area

In the Kennedy era, the Americans were in Vietnam as advisers, about 16,000 of them by the time of the President's assassination. The first American soldiers was killed on Dec. 22, 1961, and by the time of Kennedy's death about 150 Americans had died in Vietnam from hostile action and other reasons.

Vice President Johnson visited Vietnam in May, 1961, and proclaimed Diem the Winston Churchill of the area, although he had some private criticisms. On his return he told Kennedy that "we must decide whether to help these countries to the best of our ability or throw in the towel in the area and pull back our defenses to San Francisco and a 'Fortress America' concept." He recommended "a major effort" to help the area, citing as critical the American word to live up to its treaties and stand by its friends.

The Taylor-Rostow mission backed the Vice Presidential view in large part. Kennedy at the time was trying to find new agreements with the Soviets but Moscow seemed in a truculent mood. The President knew that the Communist world of Stalin's day was finished; still, he worried lest an American retreat in Asia upset the world power balance.

So more military advisers were sent to Vietnam, Diem was fully backed and the United States became inextricably involved in the Second Indochina War.

The Vietcong terror campaign mounted but Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara declared on his 1962 visit that "every quantitative measurement we have shows that we're winning this war" and Rusk said the next March that the struggle was "turning an important corner."

How do we get out?

By fall, however, the innocence and self-delusion had been somewhat shattered after Diem's attack on the Buddhists. The President had evidenced his doubts in May, 1963, during a visit to the United States by Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson.

As Pearson told it in April, 1968, after leaving office, the President asked his advice about Vietnam. Pearson said the United States should "get out." The President replied, "That's a stupid answer. Everybody knows that. The question is: How do we get out?"

By this time the shape of the Communist world had changed massively from what it had been when Dulles decide in 1954 to pick up the pieces after the Geneva Conference. Ho Chi Minh remained a Communist but by 1963 it was apparent he was no simple tool of Moscow or Peking, or both, but acting largely on his own. Yet Kennedy, who saw the polycentrism of communism, could not escape Vietnam.

His last act was to help push Diem from office, in part by public criticism of his relationship with his notorious brother and sister-in-law, Ngo Dinh Nhu and Mme. Nhu. In October, the generals struck and Diem and Nhu were murdered, setting off a period of political instalibility in which a dozen governments were to come and go.

It is their war

Kennedy had said a month earlier that "in the final analysis, it is their war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it . . . All we can do is help, and we are making it very clear. But I don't agree with those who say we should withdraw. That would be a great mistake." Earlier, the President had said that he subscribed to Eisenhower's "domino" theory on the effect of the loss to the Communists of Vietnam.

Kennedy had the tiger by the tail and did not know how to let him go. There has been much speculation on what he might have done had he not been assassinated on Nov. 22, 1963, but much of it has been self-serving and all of it fruitless.

The young President's legacy was 16,000 American troops in Vietnam, some in actual combat though not formally so, a continuing American commitment and no plan of escape. Like Eisenhower, he had underestimated the enemy.

V. JOHNSON'S ESCALATION

When Lyndon Johnson moved into the White House, he remarked, as he told it later, that the United States was involved in only one war and "let's win it." And he had said, Tom Wicker has reported, that "I am not going to be the President who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went."

Like Kennedy, Johnson had accepted Eisenhower's domino theory. He saw the war in Cold War terms, although he was to come to appreciate how much the Communist world had changed since Stalin. Like Kennedy, he saw Vietnam in terms of the world power balance. And like both his predecessors, he underestimated the enemy.

Johnson inherited Kennedy's key men: Rusk, McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Rostow, Gen. Taylor and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As Kennedy had accepted advice from his elders that led to the Bay of Pigs, so Johnson accepted advice from the Kennedy holdovers.

The advisers were full of optimism and plans and they had their way as the new President concentrated on his domestic program and the coming election.

Less than two months before Kennedy's death, McNamara had returned from Vietnam to announce that "the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of U.S. training personnel." It was announced that 1000 Americans probably could be withdrawn by the end of 1963.

The 1964 campaign promises

In such a euphoric atmosphere, Johnson campaigned that fall against Barry Goldwater, asking voters to judge who should have the "finger on the button" of nuclear weapons. While Goldwater was talking about a "no win" policy in Vietnam, Johnson was saying that "we don't want to get involved" with China "and get tied down to a land war in Asia."

Johnson promised to be "very cautious and very careful." He declared that "I have not thought that we were ready for American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys," a phrase that came to haunt him. There were qualifications in many of these statements but few seemed to note them.

Once elected in a massive triumph, Johnson began to look more closely at the war. It turned out that things were a lot worse, perhaps even as bad as some of the newspaper correspondents in Saigon had been reporting.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) visited the LBJ Ranch and then commented that "we either have got to get out or take some action to help the Vietnamese. They won't help themselves. We made a great mistake in going in there but I can't figure out any way to get out without scaring the rest of the world."

Gen. Taylor, asked whether the war was being lost, replied that "the main issue is very much in doubt." He advocated strikes at infiltration routes and "the training areas" in North Vietnam.

Why no negotiations?

Many Americans and others have often pondered why the Communists did not in the winter of 1964–65 propose negotiations. The South Vietnamese army was close to breaking and American intervention was still relatively minor, about 25,000 men of all services. The North had not yet been bombed, except for the single Tonkin raid, and Saigon's regimes were in a revolving-door phase.

There are two answers. Remembering their 1954 experience, the North Vietnamese leaders were determined not to accept less than victory this time. Second, they may have thought from the President's campaign remarks that he would liquidate the war after the election. But they discovered that he had no such plan.

United Nations Secretary General U Thant tried to bring the two sides together in 1964–65 in Rangoon, Burma, but the effort aborted. In retrospect, Hanoi was prepared to come only to accept an American surrender, if Johnson would offer it, but the President had no such intention. Washington knew it would be bargaining from weakness at such a meeting and breathed a sigh of relief when it failed to come about. The stage was set for the Johnson escalation.

Plans for striking the North had long been drawn up in case they should be needed. Carriers had been moved into the South China Sea. Johnson later told newsman Charles Roberts that he had decided in October, 1964, to bomb the North. Whatever the pre-planning, the first raid came on Feb. 7, 1965, in what was called retaliation for Vietcong attacks on American installations, especially at Pleiku, where Bundy saw the bloodshed.

At the moment the new Soviet Premier, Alexei Kosygin, was in Hanoi. Khrushchev had opted out of Southeast Asia but the new leadership, probably sensing a Communist victory, wanted to be in on the triumph. The Chinese later charged that Kosygin said in Hanoi that he would help the United States "to find a way out of Vietnam." Susequent Soviet peacemaking efforts were limited by Hanoi's posture and Chinese allegations of collusion with the United States. Moscow and Peking then stepped up their aid as the major suppliers of vital arms and other material for North Vietnam.

"Retaliatory" strikes quickly became regular policy. Air attacks seemed the easier choice to prevent the collapse of the South Vietnamese. Eisenhower had agonized 11 years earlier over sending ground troops. Kennedy had sent 16,000 but tried to limit their roles. Johnson recalled Gen. Douglas MacArthur's advice to him to avoid a land war in Asia.

Hanoi adopts to strikes

The bombing did, at first, cause "great difficulties and confusion" in the North, as Hanoi's deputy chief of staff stated in a 1966 speech captured by the Americans. But, he added, "after some months we acquired experience and have strengthened our national defense forces."

The Administration denied the bombing was designed to force Hanoi to the conference table. The motives were an amalgam but that was the desirable end. It did not work. Nor did the President alter Hanoi's determination by declaring that the North was engaging in "a deeply dangerous game" by stepping up infiltration.

Because there were no quick results, pressure mounted to extend the bombing to more targets. Chairman Earle G. Wheeler of the Joint Chiefs of Staff commented in 1958 that the military differences with McNamara had been "a question of tempo. The Chiefs would have done things faster. They didn't coincide with McNamara on the conduct of the air war."

This is a view echoed by Richard Nixon in his current presidential campaign. He said last March in New Hampshire that the Johnson Administration had "wasted the Nation's military power by using it so gradually. If it had used at the start the power it is using now, the war would be over."

But Johnson, who made the decisions Wheeler ascribed to McNamara, was constrained by many factors: his recollection of Chinese intervention in Korea when American troops threatened to destroy the Communist regime in the North; advice from experts on Soviet affairs to avoid abrupt action that could force Moscow to react strongly, if only not to be outdone by Peking; the President's own tendency toward compromise between advice from hawks and doves in and out of his Administration.

The bombing failed to halt infiltration from the North or to deter the Vietcong in the South. More ground troops had to be sent.

Combat units land

The President had been granted sweeping authority, psychologically if not legally, in the August, 1964, Tokin Gulf Resolution passed by near unanimous vote of Congress. Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach was later to call the resolution "the functional equivalent" of a declaration of war and the President treated it just that way.

The bombing began in February. The Marines came ashore in March. Before sending the Army in large numbers, the President offered "unconditional discussions" in his April speech at Johns Hopkins University. But Hanoi also could read his declaration that "we will not be defeated. We will not grow tired. We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement."

Each side, in fact, wanted victory. The war was non-negotiable. By June, American troop levels were on the rise. In the fall of 1965, McNamara moved 100,000 men to Vietnam in less than four months, an action of which he was to say on retiring from the Pentagon: "It was very clear we either had to do that or accept defeat."

The odds were improved but Hanoi sent more men from the North and the Vietcong recruited more in the South. The 37-day bombing pause of December, 1965, to January, 1966, reflected doubts in Washington about the value of continued escalation as well as the growing dissent over the war. But it was fruitless; both sides still wanted victory.

In his letter to Ho Chi Minh during the pause, the President demanded an end to infiltration if he were to halt the bombing. Ho rejected the idea of reciprocity, declaring then, as his representatives at Paris continue to declare, that Hanoi would pay no price for an end to the American "aggression" against the North.

North's army enters

On the basis of captured document's prisoner interrogations and other information, the United States this May declared that "the first complete tactical unit of the North Vietnamese Army" had left the North in October, 1964, and arrived in the South in December. By this ex post facto accounting, three regiments had started moving south prior to the regular bombing of the North.

By the fall of 1965, when McNamara was moving 100,000 men to Vietnam, ten Northern regiments totaling 17,800 men were either in or on their way south. And by the end of the 37-day pause, five more regiments comprising another 10,000 men were moving south, again according to the recent American calculation.

Johnson continued to demand reciprocity for a halt in the bombing. But the formulation was gradually watered down. In private and then in public at San Antonio, Johnson sought some sign of reciprocity. But Hanoi would have none of it. Escalation continued on both sides, and the casualties mounted as well.

High point of optimism

The high point for the optimists came in the fall of 1967 and it was to last until January, 1968.

Gen. Westmoreland came home in November to tell the Nation that "whereas in 1965 the enemy was winning, today he is certainly losing." Furthermore, said Westmoreland, with the American in-country forces now approaching half a million, "we have reached an important point where the end begins to come into view." In the final phase ahead, Westmoreland added it would be possible for American units to "begin to phase down as the Vietnamese army is modernized and develops its capacity to the fullest."

While the critics were not silent, for the moment the Administration still had the upper hand. The dissenters found a champion when Sen. Eugene McCarthy in late November announced for the Presidency. But few gave him, or his anti-war platform, much of a chance. Other dissenters wished him well, but no more. Sen. Robert F. Kennedy said he was still backing the Johnson-Humphrey ticket for re-election.

VI. FIGHT AND NEGOTIATE

Exactly when Lyndon Johnson began to have the gravest doubts about the direction of the Vietnam war is not yet evident. But events were to solidify those doubts and produced the historic decision Johnson announced in his speech of March 31, 1968.

Military, political and financial problems spiraled during 1967, especially in the latter months. The climax was to come with the Communists' Tet offensive on Jan. 31, 1968.

The war in 1967 consisted of more slogging and more indecision, with heavy casualties. During the year, 11,058 Americans died in Vietnam from all causes compared to the 8,155 who had died in the previous five years of the American military involvement. American forces, with great mobility and massive firepower, could go anywhere they wished but at a cost. Yet the enemy could not be destroyed—and that was Westmoreland's objective.

The spiraling cost of the war had throw the Federal budget out of kilter, robbed domestic programs of needed funds and created worldwide doubts about the value of the dollar.

At home dissent continued to grow. The President found it close to impossible to appear in public without facing massive demonstrations.

Within the Administration, Rusk and Rostow grimly asserted that the old policy was right and needed no changes. But McNamara was disheartened. In the spring of 1967, he proposed limiting the bombing of the North to the area south of the 20th parallel but he was overruled. He publicly deprecated the effect of the bombing. In public, McNamara remained loyal to the President but by December he was out in a bizarre combined firing-and-resignation.

At the Capitol and across the Nation, dissent reached a new high by year's end. Most importantly, the President began to put new stress on negotiations, especially on the possibility of some form of agreement between the Saigon government and the Vietcong's National Liberation Front. As he did so, the Thieu-Ky government worried that the United States would try to force it into a coalition with the Communists so the Americans could leave.

Johnson went no further in public than to urge that Saigon begin talking with "members" and "representatives" of the NLF. Back in early 1966, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy had called for admitting the Communists to "a share of power and responsibility" in Saigon but Vice President Humphrey had compared that to letting a fox in the chicken coop. The Administration line was that it would not "impose" a coalition government on South Vietnam.

If frustration was rampant in Washington, Hanoi had developed a scenario for the war. A massive "winter-spring offensive" had been decided on back in mid-1967 and there was talk of 1968 as the "decisive" year. Thousands more North Vietnamese troops headed south. The NLF issued a new political platform designed to appeal to dissenters and the war-weary. New "front" organizations were created to make it easier to desert the Thieu-Ky government, which had been elected in September along with a new Assembly.

The blow came in the dark of the night on Jan. 31, 1968. It came to be known as the Tet Offensive.

The self-proclaimed Communist objective of a "general uprising" of the population and Southern army against the Saigon government, if indeed that was the true objective of Hanoi, was a failure. But Tet was not a failure. It brought the war to the cities, put the allies on the defensive and gave Communists control of more of the countryside.

Where Tet succeeded most of all was in the United States and in the mind of the President.

In Vietnam, Gen. Westmoreland's response to Tet was more of the same; he asked for 206,000 more troops for a "maximum effort." At home, the voters of New Hampshire on March 12 showed their discontent when McCarthy came within a few votes of topping the President in the New Hampshire primary.

The President's speech

The outcome of the Administration's post-Tet review was the March 31 speech. It had two key parts.

On the military side, the President rejected Westmoreland's call for still more troops. He began to throw more of the burden on South Vietnamese forces and he halted the bombing of the North above the 20th parallel, as McNamara had recommended a year earlier. In short, he moved to stabilize and begin to de-escalate.

On the political side, Johnson gave great force to these changes by announcing he would not run for re-election, in hopes of ending the national divisiveness rooted in the unpopular war.

The North Vietnamese, who apparently had been planning some peace initiative of their own, within three days accepted the President's call for a conference even though part of their country was still being bombed. This was a considerable switch of position after years of demanding an end to all bombing "and all other acts of war" against the North before any talks.

For the first time it appeared that the war might be negotiable. Both sides had moved into a "fight and negotiate" posture and each side tried to improve its military position as the Paris talks got under way in May.

EPILOGUE

Twenty-five years of American involvement in the Indo-Chinese peninsula during five Administrations began in a mood of political romanticism, became an adjunct of Cold War policies in Europe and turned into the high tide of American involvement around the world. There was no plot of "imperialism," no grand design. There was a consistency of motive: the right of people to run their own lives.

Different Presidents reacted differently but for the most part they reacted rather than planned in advance. There was never a formal declaration of war; much that was done was done in secrecy. America slid into a war it never wanted without adequate public debate about what it was doing and what might be the consequences.

The end is not yet in sight; Act VI is likely to be the finale but even that is not certain today. What is certain is that Vietnam for years to come will have a major effect on American thinking about its relationships with the rest of the world. And the way that is resolved will have an effect, perhaps a major effect, on the future of the world.

PANAMA CANAL MODERNIZATION: NOTABLE RESOLUTION BY PANAMA CANAL ZONE DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN LEGION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, one of the most gravely important questions before Congress is that of the Panama Canal; for the modernization of which identical measures are now pending in both the House and Senate: S. 3108, introduced by Senator THURMOND; H.R. 13834, by Representative FLOOD; and H.R. 14179, by myself.

These measures have aroused the interest of many employees of the Panama Canal, including experienced engineers and various canal experts in the United States.

The latest significant development in these regards was the adoption at its April 27 to 28, 1968, convention by the Department of the Panama Canal Zone of the American Legion of a notable resolution supporting the enactment of the proposed legislation.

As the indicated resolution will be helpful to all Members of the Congress in connection with the previously listed bills, I include it and the text of the bills as part of my remarks, as follows:

THE PANAMA CANAL

Whereas, under the treaty of November 18, 1903, with the Republic of Panama, the Canal Zone territory was acquired in perpetuity by the United States, the Panama Canal constructed, and subsequently maintained, operated, sanitated, protected[1] and defended[2] in one of the most forbidding areas of the world, all in fulfilment of the United States' long range commitment in the 1901 Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain and as a mandate of civilization, including the security of the Western Hemisphere; and

Whereas, full control and ownership of the Canal Zone Territory and property therein were obtained by the United States through the grant by Panama of all sovereign rights, powers, and authority over said strip and through purchase of the United States of all privately owned land and property in it from individual owners as indispensable prerequisites for assuming the responsibilities involved; and

Whereas, the total investment of the United States in the Panama Canal enterprise from 1904 through June 30, 1966, including defense, was $4,889,050,000; and

Whereas, the proposed new Panama Canal treaties, announced by the Presidents of the United States and Panama on June 26, 1967, as having been negotiated, would (1) abrogate the Treaty of 1903, (2) give Panama sovereignty over the Canal Zone, (3) make Panama a partner in the management and defense of the Panama Canal, and (4) ultimately give to Panama, without the slightest reimbursement for the investment of the United States, (a) the existing Canal and/or (b) any new Canal that may be constructed in the Canal Zone or in Panama to replace it at enormous cost to the United States; and

Whereas, the proposed new Canal treaties have aroused strong opposition in both the United States and Panama, features by (a) some 150 members of the U.S. House of Representatives introducing and supporting resolutions calling for their rejection and (b) large numbers of the Panamanian people demanding their repudiation; and

Whereas, the results are that the proposed treaties have neither been signed by the respective Executives nor transmitted to the U.S. Senate or to the Panamanian Assembly for ratification; and

Whereas, United States negotiators for the proposed treaties (1) entirely ignored the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty as regards tolls, arousing strong opposition from important foreign and domestic shipping interests that use the Panama route, and (2) wholly disregarded the 1914–22 Thomson-Urrutia Treaty between the United States and Colombia, causing the government of Colombia to assert its intention to defend its treaty rights as to the Panama Canal; and

Whereas, the resulting blocking of the indicated treaties has cleared the way for constructive action by the United States under current treaty provisions toward the major increase of capacity and operational improvement of the existing Panama Canal, now approaching saturation, in line with the program for modernization developed in the Canal organization during World War II and approved by the President Franklin D. Roosevelt, as a post-war project, known as the Terminal Lake Third Locks Plan; and

Whereas, this lake-lock proposal being an enlargement and improvement of existing facilities, requiring no additional lands, waters or authority, does not require a new treaty with Panama and would serve the best interests of the United States and Panama; and

Whereas, the expenditure of $76,357,405 on the original Third Locks Project suspended in May 1942 and an estimated expenditure of $81,257,097 on the enlargement of Gaillard Cut to provide a two-way ship channel in the summit level, scheduled for completion in 1970, together, represent substantial commitments by the United States for the modernization of the existing Canal; and

Whereas, any new treaty or treaties between the United States and Panama that would extinguish United States control and ownership of the Canal Zone and Panama Canal would inevitably result in a complete communist take over of any Isthmian Canal and the Government of Panama itself, with like takovers in other countries of Latin America; and

Whereas, The American Legion has long had the Canal problems under study and on August 31, 1967, adopted resolutions on the subject at its Annual National Convention in Boston, Massachusetts; and

Whereas, proposed legislation to provide for the modernization of the Panama Canal has been introduced in the 90th. Congress by Senator Strom Thurmond and Representatives Daniel J. Flood and John Rarick, S. 3108, H.R. 13834, and H.R. 14179, respectively; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by The American Legion Department of the Panama Canal Zone, in Department Convention assembled at France Field, Canal Zone, April 27–28, 1968;

(1) That this Department re-affirms its full support of the basic and still existing provisions of the 1903 Treaty and the continued, undiluted and indispensable sovereign control by the United States of the Canal Zone and Panama Canal; and

(2) That it supports the enactment of legislation proposed in the Thurmond-Flood-Rarick bills, 90th. Congress, S. 3108, H.R. 13834, and H.R. 14179 for the increase of capacity and the major operational improvement of the Panama Canal in accord with the principles of the Terminal Lake-Third Locks Plan; and

(3) That it urges that all further negotiations with the Republic of Panama be deferred pending action by the Congress on these measures; and

(4) That it respectfully urges the Congress to take prompt action on the pending bills; and

(5) That it requests that copies of these resolutions be furnished the National Organization of the American Legion for such action as may be required in the premises; also to such other organizations and individuals as may be desirable.

H.R. 14179

A bill to provide for the increase of capacity and the improvement of operations of the Panama Canal, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Panama Canal Modernization Act of 1968".

SEC. 2. (a) The Governor of the Canal Zone, under the supervision of the Secretary of the Army, is authorized and directed to prosecute the work necessary to increase the capacity and improve the operations of the Panama Canal through the adaptation of the Third Locks project set forth in the report of the Governor of the Panama Canal, dated February 24, 1939 (House Document Numbered 210, Seventy-sixth Congress), and authorized to be undertaken by the Act of August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409; Public Numbered 391, Seventy-sixth Congress), with usable lock dimensions of one hundred and forty feet by one thousand two hundred feet by forty-five feet, and including the following: elimination of the Pedro Miguel locks, and consolidation of all Pacific locks near Miraflores in new lock structures to correspond with the locks arrangements at Gatun, raise the summit water level to approximately ninety-two feet, and provide a summit-level lake anchorage at the Pacific end of the canal, together with such appurtenant structures, works, and facilities, and enlargements or improvements of existing channels, structures, works, and facilities, as may be deemed necessary, at a total cost not to exceed $850,000,000.

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[1] Police power.

[2] Armed forces.

(b) the provisions of the second sentence and the second paragraph of the Act of August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409; Public Numbered 391, Seventy-sixth Congress), shall apply with respect to the work authorized by subsection (a) of this section. As used in such Act the terms "Governor of the Panama Canal", "Secretary of War", and "Panama Railroad Company" shall be held and considered to refer to the "Governor of the Canal Zone", "Secretary of the Army", and "Panama Canal Company", respectively, for the purposes of this Act.

Sec. 3. (a) There is hereby established a board, to be known as the "Panama Canal Advisory and Inspection Board" (hereinafter referred to as the "Board").

(b) The Board shall be composed of five members who are citizens of the United States of America. Members of the Board shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as follows:

(1) one member from private life, experienced and skilled in private business (including engineering);

(2) two members from private life, experienced and skilled in the science of engineering;

(3) one member who is a commissioned officer of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army (retired); and

(4) one member who is a commissioned officer of the line, United States Navy (retired).

(c) The President shall designate as Chairman of the Board one of the members experienced and skilled in the science of engineering.

(d) The President shall fill each vacancy on the Board in the same manner as the original appointment.

(e) The Board shall cease to exist on that date designated by the President as the date on which its work under this Act is completed.

(f) The Chairman of the Board shall be paid basic pay at the rate provided for level II of the Executive Schedule in section 5313 of title 5, United States Code. The other members of the Board appointed from private life shall be paid basic pay at a per annum rate which is $500 less than the rate of basic pay of the Chairman. The members of the Board who are retired officers of the United States Army and the United States Navy each shall be paid at a rate of basic pay which, when added to his pay and allowances as a retired officer, will establish his total rate of pay from the United States at a per annum rate which is $500 less than the rate of basic pay of the Chairman.

(g) The Board shall appoint, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, a Secretary and such other personnel as may be necessary to carry out its functions and activities and shall fix their rates of basic pay in accordance with chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates. The Secretary and other personnel of the Board shall serve at the pleasure of the Board.

Sec. 4. (a) The Board is authorized and directed to study and review all plans and designs for the Third Locks project referred to in section 2(a) of this Act, to make on-the-site studies and inspections of the Third Locks project, and to obtain current information on all phases of planning and construction with respect to such project. The Governor of the Canal Zone shall furnish and make available to the Board at all times current information with respect to such plans, designs, and construction. No construction work shall be commenced at any stage of the Third Locks project unless the plans and designs for such work, and all changes and modifications of such plans and designs, have been submitted by the Governor of the Canal Zone to, and have had the prior approval of, the Board. The Board shall report promptly to the Governor of the Canal Zone the results of its studies and reviews of all plans and designs, including changes and modifications thereof, which have been submitted to the Board by the Governor of the Canal Zone, together with its approval or disapproval thereof, or its recommendations for changes or modifications thereof, and its reasons therefor.

(b) The Board shall submit to the President and to the Congress an annual report covering its activities and functions under this Act and the progress of the work on the Third Locks project and may submit, in its discretion, interim reports to the President and to the Congress with respect to these matters.

Sec. 5. For the purpose of conducting all studies, reviews, inquiries, and investigations deemed necessary by the Board in carrying out its functions and activities under this Act, the Board is authorized to utilize any official reports, documents, data, and papers in the possession of the United States Government and its officials; and the Board is given power to designate and authorize any member, or other personnel, of the Board, to administer oaths and affirmations, subpena witnesses, take evidence, procure information and data, and require the production of any books, papers, or other documents and records which the Board may deem relevant or material to the performance of the functions and activities of the Board. Such attendance of witnesses, and the production of documentary evidence, may be required from any place in the United States, or any territory, or any other area under the control or jurisdiction of the United States, including the Canal Zone.

Sec. 6. In carrying out its functions and activities under this Act, the Board is authorized to obtain the services of experts and consultants or organizations thereof in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, at sales not in excess of $200 per diem.

Sec. 7. Upon request of the Board, the head of any department, agency, or establishment in the executive branch of the Federal Government in authorized to detail on a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis, for such period or periods as may be agreed upon by the Board and the head of the agency, or establishment concerned, any of the personnel of such department, agency, or establishment to assist the Board in carrying out its functions and activities under this Act.

Sec. 8. The Board may use the United States mails in the same manner and upon the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the United States.

Sec. 9. The Administrator of General Services shall provide, on a reimbursable basis, such administrative support services for the Board as the Board may request.

Sec. 10. The Board may make expenditures for travel and subsistence expenses of members and personnel of the Board in accordance with chapter 57 of title 5, United States Code, for rent of quarters at the seat of government and in the Canal Zone, and for such printing and binding as the Board deems necessary to carry out effectively its functions and activities under this Act.

Sec. 11. All expenses of the Board shall be allowed and paid upon the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the Chairman of the Board or by such other member or employee of the Board as the Chairman may designate.

Sec. 12. Any provision or provisions of the indicated Act of August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409) or of any other Act inconsistent with, or opposed to, any provision or provisions of this Act, are hereby repealed and shall be of no effect.

Sec. 13. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Board each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to carry out its functions and activities under this Act.

S. 3108

A bill to provide for the increase of capacity and the improvement of operations of the Panama Canal, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Panama Canal Modernization Act of 1968".

Sec. 2. (a) The Governor of the Canal Zone, under the supervision of the Secretary of the Army, is authorized and directed to prosecute the work necessary to increase the capacity and improve the operations of the Panama Canal through the adaptation of the third locks project set forth in the report of the Governor of the Panama Canal, dated February 24, 1939 (House Document Numbered 210, Seventy-sixth Congress), and authorized to be undertaken by the Act of August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409; Public Numbered 391, Seventy-sixth Congress), with usable lock dimensions of one hundred and forty feet by one thousand two hundred feet by forty-five feet, and including the following: elimination of the Pedro Miguel locks, and consolidation of all Pacific locks near Miraflores in new lock structures to correspond with the locks arrangements at Gatun, raise the summit water level to approximately ninety-two feet, and provide a summit-level lake anchorage at the Pacific end of the canal, together with such appurtenant structures, works, and facilities, and enlargements or improvements of existing channels, structures, works, and facilities, as may be deemed necessary, at a total cost not to exceed $850,000,000.

(b) The provisions of the second sentence and the second paragraph of the Act of August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409; Public Numbered 391, Seventy-sixth Congress), shall apply with respect to the work authorized by subsection (a) of this section. As used in such Act, the terms "Governor of the Panama Canal", "Secretary of War", and "Panama Railroad Company" shall be held and considered to refer to the "Governor of the Canal Zone", "Secretary of the Army", and "Panama Canal Company", respectively, for the purposes of this Act.

Sec. 3. (a) There is hereby established a board, to be known as the "Panama Canal Advisory and Inspection Board" (hereinafter referred to as the "Board").

(b) The Board shall be composed of five members who are citizens of the United States of America. Members of the Board shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as follows:

(1) one member from private life, experienced and skilled in private business (including engineering);

(2) two members from private life, experienced and skilled in the science of engineering;

(3) one member who is a commissioned officer of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army (retired); and

(4) one member who is a commissioned officer of the line, United States Navy (retired).

(c) The President shall designate as Chairman of the Board one of the members experienced and skilled in the science of engineering.

(d) The President shall fill each vacancy on the Board in the same manner as the original appointment.

(e) The Board shall cease to exist on that date designated by the President as the date on which its work under this Act is completed.

(f) The Chairman of the Board shall be paid basic pay at the rate provided for level II of the Executive Schedule in section 5313 of title 5, United States Code. The other members of the Board appointed from private life shall be paid basic pay at a per annum rate which is $500 less than the rate of basic pay of the Chairman. The members of the Board who are retired officers of the United States Army and the United States Navy each shall be paid at a rate of basic pay which, when added to his pay and allowances as a retired officer, will establish his total rate of pay from the United States at a per annum rate which is $500 less than the rate of basic pay of the Chairman.

(g) The Board shall appoint, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, a secretary and such other personnel as may be necessary to carry out its functions and activities and shall fix their rates of basic pay in accordance with chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates. The secretary and other personnel of the Board shall serve at the pleasure of the Board.

SEC. 4. (a) The Board is authorized and directed to study and review all plans and designs for the third locks project referred to in section 2(a) of this Act, to make on-the-site studies and inspections of the third locks project, and to obtain current information on all phases of planning and construction with respect to such project. The Governor of the Canal Zone shall furnish and make available to the Board at all times current information with respect to such plans, designs, and construction. No construction work shall be commenced at any stage of the third locks project unless the plans and designs for such work, and all changes and modifications of such plans and designs, have been submitted by the Governor of the Canal Zone to, and have had the prior approval of, the Board. The Board shall report promptly to the Governor of the Canal Zone the results of its studies and reviews of all plans and designs, including changes and modifications thereof, which have been submitted to the Board by the Governor of the Canal Zone, together with its approval or disapproval thereof, or its recommendations for changes or modifications thereof, and its reasons therefor.

(b) The Board shall submit to the President and to the Congress an annual report covering its activities and functions under this Act and the progress of the work on the third locks project and may submit, in its discretion, interim reports to the President and to the Congress with respect to these matters.

SEC. 5. For the purpose of conducting all studies, reviews, inquires, and investigations deemed necessary by the Board in carrying out its functions and activities under this Act, the Board is authorized to utilize any official reports, documents, data, and papers in the possession of the United States Government and its officials; and the Board is given power to designate and authorize any member, or other personnel, of the Board, to administer oaths and affirmations, subpena witnesses, take evidence, procure information and data, and require the production of any books, papers, or other documents and records which the Board may deem relevant or material to the performance of the functions and activities of the Board. Such attendance of witnesses, and the production of documentary evidence, may be required from any place in the United States, or any territory, or any other area under the control or jurisdiction of the United States, including the Canal Zone.

SEC. 6. In carrying out its functions and activities under this Act, the Board is authorized to obtain the services of experts and consultants or organizations thereof in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, at rates not in excess of $200 per diem

SEC. 7. Upon request of the Board, the head of any department, agency, or establishment in the executive branch of the Federal Government is authorized to detail, on a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis, for such period or periods as may be agreed upon by the Board and the head of the department, agency, or establishment concerned, any of the personnel of such department, agency, or establishment to assist the Board in carrying out its functions and activities under this Act.

SEC. 8. The Board may use the United States mails in the same manner and upon the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the United States.

SEC. 9. The Administrator of General Services shall provide, on a reimbursable basis, such administrative support services for the Board as the Board may request.

SEC. 10. The Board may make expenditures for travel and subsistence expenses of members and personnel of the Board in accordance with chapter 57 of title 5, United States Code, for rent of quarters at the seat of government and in the Canal Zone, and for such printing and binding as the Board deems necessary to carry out effectively its functions and activities under this Act.

SEC. 11. All expenses of the Board shall be allowed and paid upon the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the Chairman of the Board or by such other member or employee of the Board as the Chairman may designate.

SEC. 12. Any provision or provisions of the indicated Act of August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409) or of any other Act inconsistent with, or opposed to, any provision or provisions of this Act, are hereby repealed and shall be of no effect.

SEC. 13. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Board each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to carry out its functions and activities under this Act.

H.R. 13834

A bill to provide for the increase of capacity and the improvement of operations of the Panama Canal, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Panama Canal Modernization Act of 1968".

SEC. 2. (a) The Governor of the Canal Zone, under the supervision of the Secretary of the Army, is authorized and directed to prosecute the work necessary to increase the capacity and improve the operations of the Panama Canal through the adaptation of the Third Locks project set forth in the report of the Governor of the Panama Canal, dated February 24, 1939 (House Document Numbered 210, Seventy-sixth Congress), and authorized to be undertaken by the Act of August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409; Public Numbered 391, Seventy-sixth Congress), with usable lock dimensions of one hundred and forty feet by one thousand two hundred feet by forty-five feet, and including the following: elimination of the Pedro Miguel Locks, and consolidation of all Pacific locks near Miraflores in new lock structures to correspond with the locks arrangements at Gatun, raise the summit water level to approximately ninety-two feet, and provide a summit-level lake anchorage at the Pacific end of the canal, together with such appurtenant structures, works, and facilities, and enlargements or improvements of existing channels, structures, works, and facilities, as may be deemed necessary, at a total cost not to exceed $850,000,000.

(b) The provisions of the second sentence and the second paragraph of the Act of August 11, 1939 (53 Stat. 1409; Public Numbered 391, Seventy-sixth Congress), shall apply with respect to the work authorized by subsection (a) of this section. As used in such Act, the terms "Governor of the Panama Canal", "Secretary of War", and "Panama Railroad Company" shall be held and considered to refer to the "Governor of the Canal Zone", "Secretary of the Army", and "Panama Canal Company", respectively, for the purposes of this Act.

SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby established a board, to be known as the "Panama Canal Advisory and Inspection Board" (hereinafter referred to as the "Board").

(b) The Board shall be composed of five members who are citizens of the United States of America. Members of the Board shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as follows:

(1) one member from private life, experienced and skilled in private business (including engineering);

(2) two members from private life, experienced and skilled in the science of engineering;

(3) one member who is a commissioned officer of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army (retired); and

(4) one member who is a commissioned officer of the line, United States Navy (retired).

(c) The President shall designate as Chairman of the Board one of the members experienced and skilled in the science of engineering.

(d) The President shall fill each vacancy on the Board in the same manner as the original appointment.

(e) The Board shall cease to exist on that date designated by the President as the date on which its work under this Act is completed.

(f) The Chairman of the Board shall be paid basic pay at the rate provided for level II of the Executive Schedule in section 5313 of title 5, United States Code. The other members of the Board appointed from private life shall be paid basic pay at a per annum rate which is $500 less than the rate of basic pay of the Chairman. The members of the Board who are retired officers of the United States Army and the United States Navy each shall be paid at a rate of basic pay which, when added to his pay and allowances as a retired officer, will establish his total rate of pay from the United States at a per annum rate which is $500 less than the rate of basic pay of the Chairman.

(g) The Board shall appoint, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, a Secretary and such other personnel as may be necessary to carry out its functions and activities and shall fix their rates of basic pay in accordance with chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates. The Secretary and other personnel of the Board shall serve at the pleasure of the Board.

SEC. 4. (a) The Board is authorized and directed to study and review all plans and designs for the Third Locks project referred to in section 2(a) of this Act, to make on-the-site studies and inspections of the Third Locks project, and to obtain current information on all phases of planning and construction with respect to such project. The

Governor of the Canal Zone shall furnish and make available to the Board at all times current information with respect to such plans, designs, and construction. No construction work shall be commenced at any stage of the Third Locks project unless the plans and designs for such work, and all changes and modifications of such plans and designs, have been submitted by the Governor of the Canal Zone to, and have had the prior approval of, the Board. The Board shall report promptly to the Governor of the Canal Zone the results of its studies and reviews of all plans and designs, including changes and modifications thereof, which have been submitted to the Board by the Governor of the Canal Zone, together with its approval or disapproval thereof, or its recommendations for changes or modifications thereof, and its reasons therefor.

(b) The Board shall submit to the President and to the Congress an annual report covering its activities and functions under this Act and the progress of the work on the Third Locks project and may submit, in its discretion, interim reports to the President and to the Congress with respect to these matters.

SEC. 5. For the purpose of conducting all studies, reviews, inquiries, and investigations deemed necessary by the Board in carrying out its functions and activities under this Act, the Board is authorized to utilize any official reports, documents, data, and papers in the possession of the United States Government and its officials; and the Board is given power to designate and authorize any member, or other personnel, of the Board, to administer oaths and affirmations, subpena witnesses, take evidence, procure information and data, and require the production of any books, papers, or other documents and records which the Board may deem relevant or material to the performance of the functions and activities of the Board. Such attendance of witnesses, and the production of documentary evidence, may be required from any place in the United States, or any territory, or any other area under the control or jurisdiction of the United States, including the Canal Zone.

SEC. 6. In carrying out its functions and activities under this Act, the Board is authorized to obtain the services of experts and consultants or organizations thereof in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, at rates not in excess of $200 per diem.

SEC. 7. Upon request of the Board, the head of any department, agency or establishment in the executive branch of the Federal Government is authorized to detail, on a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis, for such period or periods as may be agreed upon by the Board and the head of the department, agency, or establishment concerned, any of the personnel of such department, agency, or establishment to assist the Board in carrying out its functions and activities under this Act.

SEC. 8. The Board may use the United States mails in the same manner and upon the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the United States.

SEC. 9. The Administrator of General Services shall provide, on a reimbursable basis, such administrative support services for the Board as the Board may request.

SEC. 10. The Board may make expenditures for travel and subsistence expenses of members and personnel of the Board in accordance with chapter 57 of title 5, United States Code, for rent of quarters at the seat of government and in the Canal Zone, and for such printing and binding as the Board deems necessary to carry out effectively its functions and activities under this Act.

SEC. 11. All expenses of the Board shall be allowed and paid upon the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the Chairman of the Board or by such other member or employee of the Board as the Chairman may designate.

SEC. 12. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Board each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to carry out its functions and activities under this Act.

THE PERSECUTION OF INTELLECTUALS IN THE UKRAINE

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, one of the most steadfastly patriotic organizations in the State of North Dakota is the Ukrainian Congress Committee, headed by its very capable and effective president, Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, of Steele, N. Dak. This organization, like many groups of foreign origin, is fiercely loyal to the United States; at the same time, its members continue to battle for freedom and justice for their countrymen still in the Ukraine.

A series of mass rallies were held April 28, 1968, in North Dakota and around the country, protesting the persecution of intellectuals in the Ukraine. One such terrible instance occurred when a 15-year-old boy was sentenced to 20 years in prison merely because he was the son of a general.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks a letter I have received from Dr. Zukowsky, an editorial published in the New York Times, an article, and resolutions adopted by the North Dakota Ukrainians. These all call attention to the protests and efforts of these people to correct a terrible wrong.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE
OF AMERICA, INC., STATE BRANCH
OF NORTH DAKOTA,
Fargo, N. Dak., May 10, 1968.

Hon. MILTON R. YOUNG,
U.S. Senator, U.S. Senate Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR YOUNG: This is to advise you that on April 28, 1968 mass rallies were held throughout the United States including North Dakota protesting the persecution of intellectuals in Ukraine. For more than a year now the unconfirmed news of attack upon Ukrainian intellectuals has been filtering out of Ukraine.

A manuscript entitled "Portraits of Twenty Criminals" written by a 30-yr. old Vyacheslav M. Chormovil, a Ukrainian TV Journalist who attended the trials in his official capacity and witnessed the flagrant violation of human rights by the Soviet courts and secret police has been smuggled out of Ukraine.

Over 200 Ukrainian professors, poets, writers, scientists, and literary critics were arrested on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. These intellectuals were tried behind closed doors under Article 62 of the criminal code of the Ukrainian SSR in open defiance of the Judicial and Constitutional system. These Ukrainian intellectuals did not commit a crime since they were defending their culture and language against forced Russification imposed upon the Ukrainian people.

Those arrested are kept in slave prison camps in Mardovian Republic under conditions which defy human imagination. This real "Pogrom" of the Ukrainian intellectuals in scope and intensity surpassed the trials publicized by the Kremlin of Sinyawsky and Daniel.

Recently the International press has been providing a vast amount of documentation on the suppression of Ukrainian culture. Several factual and penetrating articles by Peter Worthington published in the Toronto Telegram; articles in the New York Leader of N.Y.; London Times in Feb. 7, 1968; New York Times and others devoted extensive coverage on the subject. There were articles that featured extensive coverage on penetrating Ukrainian injustices and suppression of freedom in manuscripts from France, Germany, and Italy. In the United States the articles on the subject appeared in the Register of Santa Ana of California; the Star Ledger of New Jersey; and in the Minot Daily News in North Dakota.

We give you this information so that it may be brought to the attention of the United States Congress on the persecution that now exists in the Ukraine.

Enclosed you will find additional informative material and Resolutions adopted at mass rallies.

We wish to point out that this material contains the names of arrested intellectuals namely, Catherina Zarytska, Odarka Husak, and Halyna Didyk, all of whom were Ukrainian Red Cross workers. They were sentenced to twenty years at hard labor.

Yury Shukhevych at the age of 15 years was sentenced to twenty years just because he was the son of a General.

Therefore, on behalf of all Americans of Ukrainian descent I urgently request that you use your position and influence on the judicial measures and the International Control through the United Nations Human Rights Division for the protection of political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights of the Ukrainian people.

Thank you in advance, I remain
Respectfully,
Dr. ANTHONY ZUKOWSKY,
President.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 10, 1968]

FERMENT IN UKRAINE

The infamous judicial frame-ups of dissident literary intellectuals in Moscow in recent years are apparently only part of a broader revival of Soviet secret police activity and ruthlessness.

That is the clear meaning of the recent revelations about the persecution of independent-minded Ukrainian intellectuals who have learned the hard way that today's KGB has forgotten none of the tricks of Stalin's old NKVD. And the Ukrainian heretics have also had to learn at high cost that slave-labor camps like those in which Solzhenitsyn's Ivan Denisovych underwent his ordeal belong to contemporary Soviet life, not merely to history.

But an important element distinguishes the Ukrainian terror campaign from that in Moscow. The secret police is hounding the Ukrainian intellectuals because of their nationalism, a sentiment which has been reborn in a generation conceived and raised under Soviet rule. A Ukrainian does not have to be very perceptive to grasp the fact that the vaunted equality of peoples in the Soviet Union is a sham.

In great Ukrainian cities like Kiev, Kharkov and Odessa, Ukrainian language and culture occupy the role of poor relations to the Russian language and culture. Moscow obviously fears that sensitivity to such affronts may make some Ukrainians reflect that if Ukraine were independent its rich natural resources, highly developed modern industry and educated population would put it on a par with nations like France and West Germany.

Outside the Communist bloc Moscow's propaganda seeks to inflame nationalism as a force against the West, cheering on Arabs against Israel, Angolans against Portugal, and Hong Kong Chinese against the British. Can there be any surprise then that intelligent non-Russians in the Soviet Union see the aptness of this anti-colonial propaganda to their own situation, problems and aspirations?

DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE

For the past three years the Soviet government has been conducting an unpublicized but nonetheless ruthless campaign of arrests, trials and convictions of Ukrainian writers, poets, journalists, professors, students and other men and women of intellect.

Unlike the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel and the recent trial of Ginzberg and Dobrovolsky in Moscow, the arrests and trials in Ukraine have never been publicly acknowledged by the Soviet government. Literally, not a word has appeared in the Soviet press about the arrests, trials and convictions and, in many cases, the relatives of the victims have not been notified officially.

And yet the extent and depth of the repression of Ukrainian intellectuals by Moscow has amounted to a veritable *pogrom*. Beginning in August, 1965, hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals have been arrested in such Ukrainian cities as Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv), Lutsk, Zhytomyr and Ternopil; a series of secret trials have subsequently been held at which Ukrainian intellectuals have received long sentences at hard labor. At these trials, all the basic processes of law have been violated or ignored by the Soviet courts and the KGB (the Soviet secret police), which body frequently has acted as accuser, prosecutor and judge. Most of those arrested are young men and women, almost all of them reared under the Soviet system, and possessing no connections with the Ukrainians outside Ukraine.

All of them have been charged with "anti-Soviet" nationalist writings, "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," and the like. In many cases, too, these Ukrainian intellectuals have been accused of glorifying the Ukrainian past, reading prerevolutionary books by Ukrainian authors banned in Ukraine, and copying and disseminating secretly speeches of Western leaders, as for example, an encyclical of Pope John XXIII and the address of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower which he delivered at the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko monument on June 27, 1964, in Washington, D.C.

None of these arrested have either been saboteurs or anti-government "wreckers." As Edward Crankshaw, the noted British Sovietologist, puts it, they discussed among themselves and among their friends, ways and means of *legally* resisting the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the continued destruction of its culture. Some of them protested against the unbridled persecution of the national minorities, notably the Jews; they accused the Soviet government of inhuman deportations of the Baltic people and the "liquidation" of such ethnic groups as the Crimean Tartars, Volga Germans, Chechen-Ingush and Karachais. They assailed the systematic influx of Russians into the Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Byelorussian and other non-Russian cities, where they occupy well-paying and preferred positions at the expense of the native non-Russian inhabitants.

The Ukrainian press in the free world has been replete with information regarding the persecution of the Ukrainian intellectuals, and in 1966 the international press broke its silence by reporting the arrest and trial of two Ukrainian poets, Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dzyuba.

By the beginning of 1968 the international press was providing a vast amount of documentation on the suppression of Ukrainian culture in Ukraine by Moscow.

Now, a *White Book* on the trials and convictions of Ukrainian intellectuals has been smuggled out of Ukraine and published in Ukrainian by the Ukrainian publication *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian World) in Paris. The book provides irrefutable proof of the veritable *pogrom* of Ukrainian intellectual life in Ukraine conducted by Moscow. Entitled, *Portraits of 20 'Criminals,'* it was written by 30-year-old *Vyacheslav M. Chornovil*, a Ukrainian TV journalist and himself a member of the Comsomol organization. In his official capacity he attended the trials of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" in Odessa, Lviv and Kiev and witnessed the flagrant violations of human rights on the part of the Soviet courts and secret police. He gathered material, made transcripts of secret trials, and collected depositions and petitions from prisoners whom he considered innocent. He then wrote official protests, demanding rectification of the injustice in Ukraine. For his pains, he was arrested and tried in Lviv, and condemned to 3 years at hard labor on November 15, 1967.

On the basis of Chornovil's manuscript, a series of articles have appeared in the world press. Several factual and penetrating articles by Peter Worthington have been published by *The Toronto Telegram*. *The New Leader* of New York in its issue of January 15, 1968 published the petition of *Svyatoslav Y. Karavansky*, which was sent to the Council of Nationalities of the USSR. On February 7, 1968, *The Times* of London carried a long article on Chornovil's revelations. *The New York Times* devoted extensive coverage to the subject on February 8 and 9, 1968, including an editorial on February 10, 1968. On February 11, 1968, *The Observer* of London featured an extensive and penetrating analysis of the Ukrainian cases by Edward Crankshaw. Also in London appeared an article by Gabriel Lorince in the February 23, 1968 issue of *New Statesman*. Penetrating articles and commentaries on the plight of the Ukrainian intellectuals appeared in *Die Welt* of Hamburg, *Die Sued-Deutsche Zeitung* of Munich, *Le Monde* of Paris and *L'Osservatore Romano* of Rome.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, working closely with the Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, has designated April 28, 1968 *as a day of protest* against the inhuman and brutal violation of human rights in Ukraine committed by Communist Russia. Mass rallies, manifestations, public meetings and gatherings will be held in all major American cities, as well as in other countries with Ukrainian populations.

Special petitions and memoranda are being prepared for submission to the International Conference on Human Rights (which will be held from April 22 to May 13, 1968 in Teheran, Iran, to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, as well as to the U.S. Government and other governments of the free world.

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Arthur J. Goldberg, in a debate in the U.N. Human Rights Commission on March 8, 1968, assailed the Soviet Union for its violations of Art. 19 of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which says:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Ironically enough, the Soviet constitution speaks eloquently on the same subject:

"In conformity with the interests of workers and for the purpose of strengthening the Socialist system of the USSR, the law guarantees: a) Freedom of speech; b) Freedom of the press; c) Freedom of assembly and meetings; d) Freedom of processions and demonstrations on the street."

Yet Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, under which Ukrainian intellectuals are being tried and convicted, inescapably oontradicts both the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Soviet constitution: it provides punishment for "agitation or propaganda for the purpose of undermining the Soivet rule . . ."

Communist Russia's violation of human rights in Ukraine constitutes also a crass negation of the sovereignty Ukraine's "enjoys" in terms of the Soviet and Ukrainian constitutions. Art. 14 of the Soviet constitution and Art. 17 of the Ukrainian SSR constitution provide the Ukrainian SSR with the right to secede from the USSR and to conduct its own life independently.

This right, like the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is treated by the Russian Communist leaders as a mere scrap of paper.

The overwhelming abundance of evidence demonstrating Communist Russia's violation of human rights in Ukraine and the vehement denial to the Ukrainian people of the right of self-determination prove that Ukraine is still a captive nation, ruled more harshly than ever by colonialist Russia, perpetrator of genocide and violator of human rights on a subhuman scale.

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted April 28, 1968, North Dakota.

(1) This year, in which the entire world is observing the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has been proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly as "International Human Rights Year," and which is to be devoted to the realization of decisions and enactments regarding human rights—we raise our voices in the defense of those fundamental human rights of Ukrainians which have been trampled upon by the Soviet Russian regime, as well as in the defense of the Ukrainian nation, enslaved by Soviet Russia and subjected by it to a process of systematic destruction.

(2) The so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in theory an independent state with a separate government, is in reality a mere colony of Russia which rules Ukraine with an iron hand, without a genuine consent of the governed. Ukraine is rigidly subordinated to the central government in Moscow; all Ukrainian ministries are controlled by the Moscow Government. The bulk of the industrial and agricultural production of Ukraine is destined to other parts of the Soviet Union or for export, to compete with the United States and the free world; Ukraine receives little in return.

(3) Despite provisions in both the Soviet and Ukrainian Constitutions for a "free exercise of religion," Communist Russian persecution of all churches in Ukraine is unmatched in ruthlessness in the history of mankind. In 1930 Moscow destroyed the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church by executing over 30 archbishops and bishops and imprisoning over 20,000 priests and monks. In 1945–46 the Moscow government destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine by imprisoning its 11 bishops and over 2,000 priests, monks and nuns. Furthermore, Moscow persistently harasses and persecutes other religious groups in Ukraine: Jews, Baptists, Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists and Moslems. It deprives over one million Ukrainian Jews of their traditional religion by closing synagogues and terrorizing worshippers.

(4) The Communist Russian regime is guilty of outright genocide in Ukraine. In the periodic man-made famines which ravaged Ukraine in 1922, 1932–33 and 1946–47 no fewer than 7,000,000 Ukrainians perished from starvation. The 1932–33 famine was organized and sustained by the Kremlin as a means to force Ukrainian farmers into collective farms. By systematic deportations as punishment for "crimes" several million Ukrainians have perished in the wilderness of Siberia.

(5) The Soviet Russian government, following in the footsteps of its predecessors,

the Russian Czars, relentlessly pursues a policy of cultural russification aimed at the creation of a "soviet man" who in essence is a Russian. Thus, the Moscow government is progressively curtailing the use of the Ukrainian language. Most schools in Ukraine are russified, including the eight universities at which most subjects are taught in Russian. Moscow has established a network of Russian schools in Ukraine, while at the same time it denies the right to set up Ukrainian schools to some 8–9 million Ukrainians living in the Russian USSR.

(6) In the last few years some voices of protest against this state of affairs have begun to be heard in Ukraine, long before the arrest of a few Russian intellectuals such as Yuli M. Daniel and Andrei Sinyavsky. These are the voices of writers, poets, journalists, professors, students and other intellectuals, all young people reared under the Soviet system and without any connections with Ukrainians in the western world. The Moscow government has reacted with its typical ruthlessness and is at this very time engaged in wholesale arrests and trials of these young Ukrainian intellectuals. They are being tried and given severe sentences for such crimes as "anti-Soviet nationalist writings," glorification of the Ukrainian past, distribution of books by pre-revolutionary Urkrainian authors now banned in Ukraine, and secret circulation of speeches of Western leaders. Since 1965 many intellectuals have been sentenced to long prison terms on such charges, among them: Vyacheslav Chorovil, a journalist; Mykhaylo Horyn, a literary critic; Ivan Kandyba, a writer; Lev Lukyanenko, a lawyer; Svyatoslav Karavansky, a poet and literary translator; Stepan Vyrun; Opanas Zalyvakha, an artist-painter, and about 200 others. One of the well-known prisoners is Yuriy Shukhevych, who was arrested in 1948 at the age of 15 and is spending his 20th year in the Soviet Russian jails. His crime: being the son of a prominent Ukrainian underground leader who was killed by the Soviets in 1950.

(7) In reality, these young intellectuals demanded and are demanding recognition and respect for the Ukrainian language and culture in Ukraine. As stated by Ivan Kandyba, one of the imprisoned, they have come to the conclusion that "for the normal development of the Ukrainian nation and its statehood, Ukraine should secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, according to Article 14 and Article 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, respectively, and should become an absolutely independent and sovereign state."

In this International Human Rights Year, we, the Ukrainians of North Dakota call the attention of enlightened public opinion to the cruel persecution of these Ukrainian intellectuals for demanding for Ukraine the very human rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Despite all declarations, human rights have meaning only if they are available equally to every man regardless of his nationality or citizenship.

We express our solidarity with the stand of the brave Ukrainian intellectuals in defense of human rights in Ukraine, and call on all fellow Minnesotans and fellow Americans who believe in human rights to join us in this solidarity.

In addition, we strongly urge the United Nations International Human Rights Conference to institute an immediate investigation of the violation of human rights by the Soviet government in Ukraine. We also appeal to the United Nations to prevail upon the Soviet Union, as a signatory to the United Nations Human Rights Declaration, to adhere to its principles and rectify the gross injustice committed against the Ukrainian people in violation of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

TAINTED MEAT—TAIN'T NECESSARILY SO

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, the National Observer in its May 20 issue contains a lengthy article which indicates that the U.S. Department of Agriculture conducted a biased survey and prepared doctored reports in order to press Congress into passing the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967.

This article by writer Joe Western was included in the Congressional Record May 28 at the request of Representative Catherine May, of Washington.

An editorial in the same issue of the Observer points out that the same fraudulent tactics could be used at any time by the Agriculture Department or any other of the powerful bureaucracies within the U.S. Government.

The unethical manipulation of the truth used by the Agriculture Department in this case can only destroy the public trust in the Government. I commend the Observer editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

A Hoax Over Meat

There is more involved than an indiscreet Government memo; there is more involved even, than the problem of adequate meat inspection. What is involved is no less than the proper functioning of the democratic process.

It is now painfully clear, from reporter Joe Western's story beginning on Page One of this newspaper, that the U. S. Department of Agriculture conducted a biased, quickie "survey" and prepared doctored reports in a high-pressure effort to push a new meat inspection law through Congress. If this were not appalling enough, officials now try to justify what they did by saying they already knew that conditions in non-Federally inspected meat plants were poor, and that they were simply complying with congressional requests for fresh "evidence."

In other words, they already knew what was good for the public; the Agriculture Department needed no new studies nor current evidence, but would supply vivid facsimilies of both if that was what Congress wanted. After all, the good end would justify the fraudulent means. Surely none would speak of a hoax.

Yet there is no other word for it. Further, the same thing can happen again, in the Agriculture Department or in any of the other, and powerful, bureaucracies that have been set up to serve, not decieive, the public.

In a democracy, the public should be able to trust its elected and appointed government officials—trust them to tell the truth, and trust them to enact and enforce the laws without bias. If these officials choose to divorce themselves from the public to lie to the public they deceive themselves as well by pretending they serve the public interest. They do no such thing.

It is now up to Congress, through its appropriate committees, to open a formal investigation into "Special Project Quick, Quiet, and Confidential"—to keep the Federal bureaucracies honest, and to show the people that their lawmakers do not like being taken in by hoaxes.

NATIONAL MARITIME POLICY

HON. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, while visiting Newport News, Va., recently, it was my pleasure to meet a young man named Dennis Lee Napier, a student at Warwick High School, who won first place in an essay contest sponsored by the Propeller Club of Newport News and who was among the national winners in a competition of the Propeller Club of the United States. It is noteworthy that this is the 13th time a student from Newport News has been a national winner of the contest.

His paper, entitled "The American Merchant Marine—Key to Defense and Trade," cogently expresses the need for a revitalization of our merchant marine. I ask unanimous consent that the essay be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

The American Merchant Marine—Key to Defense and Trade

For the United States of America, as for any industrial nation that relies on trade and commerce with foreign countries for its economic strength, the need for a strong and efficient merchant marine is of utmost importance. The United States has achieved a level of economic prominence never before reached in the history of the world. To insure the continued achievement of the United States, we must maintain a strong and efficient merchant marine, for both economic stability and for our national security and defense.

Rear Admiral Gordon McLintock recently stated, "A nation without a strong merchant marine is a one-legged athlete in today's race." The danger of relying on the shipping of foreign countries lies in the fact that we are then at the mercy of foreign competitors who could boost freight charges and drive American manufacturers out of foreign markets. For any industrial nation, this is living very dangerously.[1]

The American merchant marine is a vital part of our national defense. Often referred to as the "fourth arm of defense," the merchant marine is also "capable of serving as a naval and military auxiliary in time of war."[2] In wars against France from 1798 to 1800, against the Barbary pirates from 1783 to 1805, and against Britain in 1777 and again from 1812 to 1815, the American merchant marine proved it was a vital part of our national defense.

Many present merchant marine sailors are veterans of World War II. During the war the merchant marine again proved it was a vital part of our national defense by serving as a fighting unit. Merchant sailors fought with guns between 1941 and 1945, and 5,600 of them gave their lives in devotion to the United States.

At the present time the American merchant marine is supplying our fighting forces in Vietnam, again proving the vital part the merchant marine plays in our defense.

Unfortunately, the present condition of the American merchant marine is not as strong and efficient as it should be. "The United States should have shipping adequate to maintain its normal flow of water-borne commerce at all times"[3]—yet, in the year of 1967, United States flag ships carried only 7.9 per cent of the total United States commercial sea trade.[4] For any industrial nation, this is living dangerously.

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[1] Morril, George P., "The United States Merchant Marine," *Holiday*, 23: 64–68, September 1963.

[2] Hicks, John D., *The American Nation*, p. 589.

"The merchant marine should be composed of the best equipped, safest, and most suitable types of vessels"[5]—yet, 72 per cent of the existing merchant fleet is "composed of obsolescent, inefficient, and uneconomical ships."[6] These ships are obsolescent in the fact that they are over twenty years old—the accepted retirement time for any vessel.

In total number of ships, the United States is ranked second to Great Britain, with 3,416 ships with 21,527,349 tons. Of this total, some 9,500,000 tons of shipping are in the reserve fleet of inactive vessels. This places the United States fourth, behind Britain, Liberia, and Norway, on the list of active merchant fleets.[7]

The United States ranks even worse in building new vessels. In 1966, the United States was ranked fourteenth with only 45 vessels under construction or on order.[8]

How could this happen to the American merchant marine—the pride of the oceans only twenty years ago?

We are in this situation because our shiplines cannot compete with low wage crews on foreign ships, and our shipyards cannot produce ships as cheaply as foreign shipyards. With the prosperity that we enjoy in America, we must accept the fact that American merchant sailors and shipyard workers will expect more pay than foreign crews. The average crew on an American merchant ship receives more than three times as much pay as a foreign crew.[9]

Japan can build a ship for one-half the cost in the United States—but they pay their workers only one-third of what American workers receive. This means that American shipyards are almost twenty percent more efficient in building ships, and are not "stagnated, obsolete, and lacking in initiative."[10]

H. Lee White, a member of the President's Maritime Advisory Committee, said, "shipbuilding and shipping should be recognized for what they are—two separate industries."[11] For this reason, many politicians advocate building ships abroad. Can we sacrifice one industry for the other? Operating shipyards in the United States are just as important as an active merchant marine. No, we cannot sacrifice either industry, and we must enforce the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 concerning this matter.

How can we build a strong merchant marine? First, we must continue Government subsidies to American shiplines to keep them operating. At present, fourteen American shipping lines hold contracts with the Government for financial help in operating vessels on the essential world trade routes. In 1967, the Budget Bureau allocated $85 million to the Maritime Administration for subsidies to ship builders.

Another hope for the American merchant marine is the container cargo concept. The present cost of loading and unloading a vessel constitutes more than half the total cost of transport. Container cargoes save time in ports, allow more time at sea, prevent damage, and cost less, and the container ships can operate without Government subsidies.

Another hope for the future is the use of atomic power in ships. Edward A. Garmatz proclaimed, "The new container ships now being produced, if combined with nuclear power plants, are the answer to restoring the merchant marine."[12]

The United States must have a strong merchant marine—it is our duty to see that she has one.

MARYLAND MEDIC AND SAILOR KILLED IN ACTION

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. William E. Cassidy and PO2 Ronald Wayne Durbin, two fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend their bravery and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

MEDIC AND SAILOR KILLED IN ACTION—BALTIMORE AND CUMBERLAND MEN ON VIETNAM LIST

An Army medic from Baltimore and a Cumberland sailor who had been commanding a river assault craft have been killed in recent fighting in South Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

The Baltimore casualty was identified as Pfc. William E. Cassidy, 21, son of Francis E. Cassidy, of the 500 block Walker avenue, and Mrs. Madlyn Mullens Cassidy, of the 5800 block Halwyn avenue.

Private Cassidy was one of 28 soldiers killed May 24 during a Vietcong mortar attack near A Shau Valley.

HOME IN CUMBERLAND

The second casualty was identified as PO2 Ronald Wayne Durbin, 21, son of Walter Durbin, of the 100 block West Elder street, Cumberland, and Mrs. Mary B. Durbin, of the 300 block Decatur street, Cumberland.

Petty Officer Durbin died May 16 when his assault craft was hit by rocket, recoilless rifle and automatic-weapons fire.

A boatswain's mate, the dead sailor had been commanding the assault craft in Giong Trom district of Kien Hoa province, in the delta regions of Southern South Vietnam.

According to his mother, Private Cassidy enlisted in the Army last October. She said he wanted to complete his military service, return to college and then enter the construction business.

ST. MARY'S SCHOOL AND POLY

A native of Baltimore, the youth attended St. Mary's School and was graduated from Poly in 1964.

He then attended the University of Maryland for three years, leaving last June to go to work for an uncle in the construction business.

Mrs. Cassidy, who said her son "was always busy," said he began working as a newspaper delivery boy when he was 9.

Later, he worked part time for his uncle and ran a grocery store in the 5800 block York road when the owner went on vacation or went out of town.

ENLISTED IN OCTOBER

Private Cassidy enlisted in the Army on October 11 and, after training in Texas and Louisiana, left for Vietnam in April.

Mrs. Cassidy said she received a letter from her son last Friday, the day he was reported killed.

"He told me things were bad and that he didn't see how 'any of us will ever get out alive.' He wanted me to send him a cold drink," she said.

Besides his parents, he is survived by a brother, John L. Cassidy, and his maternal grandparents, Mrs. Merrell Mullens, of Baltimore, and Ezra E. Mullens, of Brownsville, Texas.

HIGH SCHOOL, NAVY RESERVE

Petty Officer Durbin, a native of Cumberland, was graduated in 1965 from Fort Hill High School in Cumberland.

While in high school he served in the Navy Reserve. He went on active duty shortly after graduation.

After serving aboard the U.S.S. Gainard, a destroyer based in Newport, R.I., he reenlisted in April 1967, and volunteered for river assault duty in South Vietnam.

Surviving besides his parents, are his stepmother, Mrs. Delores Durbin, and a sister, Miss Beverly Ann Durbin, both of Cumberland, and two stepsisters, Mrs. Carol Lashbrook and Mrs. Doris Wirtley, both of Cape Kennedy, Fla.

THE MULE IS BEING EXPLOITED

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, many of us in Congress have had some experience in working on farms, at least in our youth, and I am happy that I was one who had this opportunity. Mr. Pope Haley of the editorial staff of the Florida Times Union has written an excellent editorial which I think everyone should read in connection with a modern exploitation of the mule under the circumstances which we are experiencing today. The editorial, which is a classic, reads as follows:

THE MULE IS BEING EXPLOITED

For the incurable optimist who is able to find good in anything, there is some encouragement in the fact that in the current social turmoil, a minor bit-player in the drama is returning, if only briefly, to the spotlight.

The mule, foremost symbol in American folklore of the stubborn beast of burden who pretends to be much more stupid than he really is, and who will perform a prodigious amount of work if allowed to do it in his own way, is back in the news in words and pictures to a degree unequaled since the onset of mechanization on the farm and in the armed forces.

Already well on its way to join the dodo bird and the auk in the oblivion of creatures which once were but are no more, the mule is seizing the moment of social and political turmoil to be seen by millions of city-bred people old and young who never before saw one in the flesh and who wouldn't know "Gee!" from "Haw!"

Half a century ago, there were about six-million mules in the United States, most of them pulling plows and wagons on the nation's farms, but with the arrival of the gasoline tractor and electric power lines, their number plummeted. More than a decade ago, the total on farms became so inconsequential that the Agriculture Department quit counting them. The best guess now is that there are fewer than half a million left in the entire country.

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[3] Hicks, John D., *The American Nation*, p. 589.

[4] *The Americana 1967 Annual*, p. 603.

[5] Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 589.

[6] *Remarks of the Honorable Edward A. Garmatz, Chairman, House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, before the Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Newport News, Virginia, at Maritime Day Celebration May 24, 1967*, page 5.

[7] *The World Book Encyclopedia, Year Book 1966*, p. 545.

[8] "U.S. Shipbuilding: Mighty No More," *U.S. News and World Report*, 60:67, June 27, 1966.

[9] House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, "Hearings in Labor-Management Problems of the American merchant marine," pp. 946–50.

[10] Velie, Lester, "Let's Take Our Ships Out of the Bottle," *The Reader's Digest*, 90: 132–36. February, 1967.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[12] Garmatz, Edward A., *op. cit.*, p. 9.

But there is much to be learned from the nature and character of this much maligned creature, and the individual who has never attempted to bend the mule's steadfast independence to his own will has missed one of life's greatest character-building experiences.

The mule is a freak of nature, the hybrid offspring of a jackass and a mare, which has been valued as a work animal for more than 3,000 years. It is predictable only in its stubbornness and its determination to follow its own designs if it senses weakness of will in its master.

There is much truth in the old story of the farmer who, in teaching his young son the art of mule management, took a two-by-four and hit the beast soundly on the head, explaining that it was necessary "to get his attention."

But there is basic error in the current effort to exploit the mule as a "poverty symbol." It is nothing of the sort.

It is a dumb, four-legged, thick-skulled caricature of those characteristics of independence, initiative and determination which every American once honored. It is a 1,600-pound bundle of concentrated power and tenacity that pulled the settlers' wagon trains westward, that cleared the forests and pulled the stumps, that pulled the plow that broke the plains, that powered the canal boat, that helped thrust the rail lines across the continent and build the highways, and that took time out from its Paul Bunyan labors to go to war when the nation's liberty was threatened to pull the artillery and haul the ammunition.

The mule was the active partner of the pioneers who dreamed of a better world and a better life, and went to work to create it by muscle and sweat. It is completely out of place being ridden to Washington in a demonstration for a guaranteed living.

BUM RAP

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in my capacity as a member of the Agriculture Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee I have had many occasions to engage in some interesting and stimulating dialog with the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman. While I have taken him to task at times, I rise now to express my agreement with an editorial from today's issue of the Chicago Tribune. The editorial points out that Secretary Freeman is the victim of a "bum rap" from the so-called Poor People's Campaign officials and I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

BUM RAP

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman thinks he is getting a bum rap from the so-called poor people's campaign in Washington, and he is right. The Department of Agriculture is one of the government agencies the campaign leaders have singled out as warranting particular pressure to achieve their demands.

Groups under the Rev. Ralph Abernathy have called on Freeman demanding that he do something about what they call the problem of food surpluses on the one hand and starvation on the other. The secretary has promised the government will move as soon as possible between now and July to get food distribution programs started in 331 poor counties now without them. The main reason the programs have not been operating in these counties is that local officials have been resisting them.

Altogether, upward of 30 million persons, more than two-thirds of them school children, are receiving some free or subsidized food at a cost to the government of one billion dollars annually. The total includes 5.8 million persons who are getting food free thru donations or at bargain prices thru stamps. The agriculture department says these two programs soon will cover 6.1 million persons in 2,400 counties, nearly double the 1960 figure.

Freeman has been extraordinarily patient in pointing out to the campaign leaders that there are limits to which he can go in distributing food. These limits are imposed by Congress both in appropriations and in guidelines written into the law. Congress, not the Department of Agriculture, is the place to appeal for new programs.

Yet, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, one of the campaign leaders, has accused Freeman of being "incompetent and insensitive" for refusing to set up new programs that can be authorized only by Congress. To "dramatize" his point that Freeman should do more, the Rev. Mr. Jackson led about 150 persons thru the agriculture department's cafeteria line the other day and walked out on a $292.66 bill for meals.

Altho the bill was paid on demand a day later, this action by the poor people was a prime example of biting the hand that feeds them. For it is the Department of Agriculture that is supplying three meals a day free of charge to the more than 2,000 inhabitants of Resurrection City, the poor people's campsite. The Rev. Mr. Jackson, until the other day manager of Resurrection City, should be the last to call anyone "insensitive."

CURBS ON DIRECT INVESTMENTS EVENTUALLY HARM BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the May 27, 1968, issue of the Journal of Commerce has an interesting article reporting on a study just completed by the Institute of Finance of the New York University's Graduate School of Business Administration.

The study states that as much as $400 million a year in current-account earnings could be eliminated as the result of the Government curbs on direct private investment overseas. The loss in revenues is estimated at $4 billion over the next 10 years.

The authors of the study fear that implementation of the investment curbs by the United States may lead to retaliation abroad and the decline of free trade as well as of free capital movements.

Many major U.S. corporations derive a substantial share of their sales and profits from international business—a share which could decline due to curtailed investment overseas.

This article is another in the continuing series of studies showing that the Government's direct controls on U.S. business operations abroad will ultimately be self-defeating.

The article follows:

INVESTMENT CURBS SEEN COSTLY TO UNITED STATES

The United States could lose as much as $400 million a year in earnings from exports and other current-account entries on the plus side of its balance of payments as a result of curtailed investment overseas today, a study released here over the weekend says.

Warning that the U.S. may be paying a high price for balance of payments economies realized by control of capital investment abroad, the study says: "A program that either reduces direct investment or diminishes the profitability of overseas investment operations can be expected to result in an eventual slowing down in the growth of current-account receipts.

PRELIMINARY CALCULATIONS

"Our own preliminary calculations suggest that cumulative losses in the current-account sector could be substantial after eight or 10 years."

One favorable result could come if a greater proportion of U.S. direct investments go to the developing countries, the New York University study says. "U.S. direct investments have enjoyed a higher return in the form of exports and remitted earnings from less-developed areas than from Western Europe and Canada.

"Therefore, a shift of direct investment away from Western Europe and Canada toward Latin America, Asia and Africa should tend to increase current account earnings in subsequent years."

The study, prepared by the Institute of Finance of New York University's Graduate School of Business Administration is entitled "Foreign Investment, Capital Controls and the Balance of Payments." Authors are Dr. Nicholas K. Bruck of the Inter-American Development Bank and Prof. Francis A. Lees of St. John's University.

The authors conclude that, although they are unable to measure in advance, over a 10-year period the annual loss in current account earnings is likely to average about $400 million as a result of curtailed investment overseas today.

OFFSETTING DRAIN

Even today, they note, there is an offsetting drain as capital controls on direct investment have caused a shift toward greater overseas financing of direct-investment operations.

"The higher the level of interest rates overseas, the smaller the cash flow available for remittance to the U.S. These effects on cash flow are cumulative in nature."

Most important, say Dr. Bruck and Prof. Lees, is the fear that the short-term success of the program may invite retaliation and the decline of free trade as well as of free capital movements.

While controls on direct capital investment abroad have been effective—reducing the current balance of payments gap by about $800 million to $1 billion—the study holds that "the possible long-run negative effects in the current-accounts sector of the U.S. balance of payments should not be ignored."

The authors have compiled data showing that major industrial corporations in the U.S. derive a "substantial share" of their sales and profits from international business—a share which may decline ultimately due to reduced investment abroad.

They note that one-sixth of the 500 largest firms (as listed by Fortune magazine) conduct at least 25 per cent of operations overseas and more than two-fifths of the 500 firms conduct at least 10 per cent overseas.

30 PAGES OF TABLES

The study includes some 30 pages of tables on the foreign content of U.S. business operations by company and by industry.

For example, 69 per cent of Burroughs earnings originated in foreign operations and the over-all office equipment and computers industry has a foreign content of 21 per cent.

The nation's industrial sector in general has an over-all foreign involvement of about 11 per cent.

One-fourth of all U.S. manufacturing plant and equipment expenditures are made by over-seas affiliates and half of this total (about $3 billion a year recently) is financed by capital outflows from the U.S., the rest internally by the overseas unit.

"Given this significant dependence of large U.S. corporations on overseas business and given the fact that direct investments account for a major part of U.S. overseas business, the impact of direct-investment operations on the balance of payments is important," Dr. Bruck and Prof. Lees state.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO MEET THE NEEDS OF "HUNGRY" PEOPLE?

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, so many Members have inquired of me as to the status of legislation dealing with the distribution of food and aid to "hungry people" that I have felt that it might be of interest to many of my colleagues if I would insert a copy of a letter which I recently wrote to one of the Members of this House in which I reviewed this subject.

The letter is as follows:

MAY 28, 1968.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: Let me thank you for yours of the twenty-fourth, which was not delivered to me until this morning. In it you refer to the CBS report entitled "Hunger in America" and ask my advice "as to the accuracy of the report and the steps being taken to correct these distressing conditions." You did not mention it, but this TV report was but a follow-up of a written report issued some time earlier under the auspices of the United Auto Workers and entitled "Hunger U.S.A.". Both of these reports are, in my judgment, quite inaccurate and misleading.

As I see it, the basic premise in each case is political, not factual. It has always been good "politics" to talk of "feeding the needy". I believe in feeding the needy. I believe in helping all of those who need help. I believe in providing work for those who want to work, but I don't believe in feeding those who could but won't work. Most of the difference of opinion about "feeding the hungry" seems to actually revolve around the question as to who are unavoidably hungry.

That there is some hunger might be admitted for the sake of argument. That there is rather extensive malnutrition seems to be well established, but that the malnutrition exists because of inability to secure a better balanced diet does not seem to be established, and there seems to be little evidence that any substantial hunger in this country is the result of the refusal of assistance agencies, public and private, to give needed aid to those who are unable to work.

Last fall there was a great deal of talk about establishment of a third Federal food distribution system to care for what was vaguely described as some kind of "need" in the State of Mississippi. The Agriculture Committee took evidence on this question. We heard testimony from the representatives of the Department of Agriculture who stated that they had all of the authority needed to feed hungry people anywhere in the United States and, secondly, they had all of the funds they needed to achieve this objective. (See pages 5 and 6 of Serial X, 90th Congress, Hearings before the Committee on Agriculture.) In view of this unchallenged testimony, our Committee felt that we should not attempt the passage of any new legislation until new facts were presented. We have been seeking any facts which would indicate any real need for a third federally financed program of food assistance. We had not developed such evidence but before we could do more than start any comprehensive study another Committee of the House assumed jurisdiction of a similar bill and, so far as we have been able to ascertain, without any more evidence of need than we had, approved an additional food distribution system. This legislation is now known as Public Law 90-222.

About a month ago, an unofficial group sponsored by the United Auto Workers and calling themselves the "Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States" published their report in which they stated that there were 256 counties in the United States where hunger was so severe as to create an emergency situation. As Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, I have written to the Health Officer of every one of these counties. A little more than half of them have to date replied. Not one knows of any starvation and not one knows of any critical hunger that has been occasioned by inability of the victim to secure either work or relief in any one of these counties.

When questioned about the manner in which their investigation was conducted, the "Citizens' Board" admits that they made few, if any visits to any of these counties and, in most instances, they failed to even make direct contacts with anyone locally. They simply accepted some existing formulas here in Washington which they thought would indicate hunger. I don't believe this is a very factual or informative method of approaching a serious question of this kind.

Next came the CBS program, to which you made reference, entitled "Hunger in America." It seems to me that this program was deliberately calculated to avoid outright technical misstatements but was intended to convey misunderstandings to the listeners. For instance, it gave a good deal of attention to Bexar County, Texas (San Antonio). It showed a dying child but showed no connection between the death and a breakdown of our food programs, but it implied that there was such a connection. It blatantly suggested that if Bexar County had not spent so much public money on this HemisFair that the county would have money to feed these people. In the first place, Bexar County has the money to feed hungry people and does feed them. In the second place, the expenditure of the $30 million for the HemisFair has created more good jobs in San Antonio than have ever before existed in that city.

Another example of the misleading implications of this CBS program centers around the statement of a mother of a number of children that she could not plant corn to feed her children because of the government farm program. Actually, an investigation by the Department of Agriculture shows that this mother lives with her husband who works in a nearby town and with her children in a house on the edge of a small town in Alabama with approximately two acres of land surrounding it. They pay $5 per month rent for the place. She says she grows a garden. As far as the farm program is concerned, she can put the whole two acres in corn. There is no prohibition against the planting of corn in our present farm program, although it is true that the government does make payments to certain farmers for retiring acreage which has historically been planted in corn. This is not, however, compulsory, nor does it apply to this two acres as the CBS program indicated.

Since you wrote your letter Secretary Freeman has made a public statement regarding this TV program and pointed out a number of additional inaccuracies, but the Office of Economic Opportunity, the agency to which Public Law 90-222 assigned the new third food program mentioned above, obviously felt that it must take some action to at least give the appearance of meeting the supposed needs of these people. That agency, therefore, urged various counties that were listed as suffering from emergency hunger conditions to accept special grants of funds to be used by the county to feed "hungry people". Apparently this agency made little or no investigation of its own as to the actual need in the county. So far it seems to just boil down to a case of giving out some money because that looks good.

I know that such a gift was made to one of the counties I represent. I have personally talked with the County Judge of the county involved. He tells me that no request was made for this money until the Federal representatives approached the county and suggested that they would be glad to make the gift if the county would but sign the application which they had prepared. It happens that because this county was in my district I had previously written every physician in the county and inquired as to the problems of starvation and hunger. Only one physician reported any knowledge of any starvation in his whole experience of practice in the county. In this case a number of years ago there were ten small children of feeble-minded parents who were discovered and cared for, but there was definitely no breakdown of public assistance. The OEO program is clearly a duplication of existing programs.

That you may know that the United States Government, the Department of Agriculture and the Agriculture Committee of the House have not been entirely unconcerned about these matters, I would like to point out that the information I received shows that about 36½ million people in the United States, or nearly one out of five, now share in some manner in one of these programs of food distribution. The recipients reside in every State.

During this current fiscal year the Department of Agricutture estimates that it will distribute over a billion pounds of food, worth just under a billion dollars ($938,000,000 to be exact) to needy people.

School lunch programs maintained with the assistance of the Federal Government are available in schools having three-fourths of the national enrollment. An estimated 19.6 million children share in the benefits. The cost of a school lunch today averages 57.3 cents. The average maximum payment by the children in participating schools is 29.7 cents, with the difference made up by federal and local contributions. About 2,280,000 of these youngsters get meals free or at a price less than the subsidized rate, the amount of reduction varying with the different school systems. The more needy children pay nothing. The participant who gets meals free or at prices below the 29.7 cent figure are those whose parents or guardians have applied to local school authorities, certifying as to financial need. Under the program the Federal Government this year is supplying $280 million of foods, plus $160 million in cash contributions. The total Federal outlay for the school program therefore is close to half a billion dollars.

Approximately six million people are receiving assistance either through the Food Stamp Program or through direct distribution of foodstuffs. About 2,600,000 participate in the Food Stamp Programs and about 3,400,000 in the Direct Food Distribution Programs. Of the 3091 counties in the United States nearly 2400 participate in either the Food Stamp or Direct Distribution Programs. A county chooses which program it wants. It may not participate in both.

Some of the areas in which the Food Stamp Program is available include Chicago (Cook County), Illinois, with a population of 3,400,000 and 100,000 participating; Los Angeles, California with a population of 2,800,000 and 100,000 paticipating; St. Louis, Missouri with a population of 862,000 and

23,500 participating; the State of Mississippi with a population of 2,300,000 has 180,000 participants in the program. The value of donated food is estimated at $150 million with $185 million Federal contributions to the Food Stamp Program, bringing the total Federal expenditures on these two programs to $335 million.

The Department of Agriculture has submitted a request for an additional $20,000,000 to be added to the presently authorized $220,000,000. I introduced such a bill several months ago. The Senate has passed a similar bill. Our Committee has set hearings on these and all similar bills. I do not know what action the Committee will take but there has never been any disposition to refuse any funds which are shown to be needed for either the Food Stamp or any other Food Distribution program, and certainly there is no disposition to deny any group an opportunity to present its views and any facts it may have to support those views.

School breakfasts will be served to approximately 160,000 children this fiscal year. This aid will go to children in low income areas and to children who come long distances to school. The cost of the new program will be about $3.5 million this year.

Food donations to charitable institutions and summer camps involve another 1,300,000 people—almost entirely children—at an estimated cost of $23.1 million.

Finally, the School Milk Progam is available to children in schools having 90 percent of the national school enrollment. No precise estimate as to the number of children sharing this program is possible for it is utilized by children at recess and at other periods of the day and many times a child will buy milk more than once a day, but it is estimated to reach at least 17 million school children. This program makes milk available to school children at an average cost of three to four cents per half pint. The cost of the program in fiscal year 1968 is put at $104 million.

All of these expenditures are charged to the budget of the Department of Agriculture and form the basis of much undeserved criticism of "extravagent expenditures" on behalf of farmers when as a matter of fact it is clear that they are primarily a benefit of needy consumers.

I hope that this will give you some idea as to the magnitude of the work being done by the Department of Agriculture and the Agriculture Committee of the House in behalf of "hungry people".

Thanking you for your inquiry, and with best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

W. R. POAGE, *Chairman.*

TUNISIA'S NATIONAL DAY, JUNE 1

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on June 1, Tunisia celebrated its National Day. France recognized Tunisian independence on March 20, 1956, with the signing of a protocol which ended the French protectorate, and on July 25, 1957, the Tunisian Constituent Assembly voted to abolish the monarchy and to establish the Tunisian Republic. A constitution was drafted by the Assembly and promulgated on June 1, 1959.

Tunisia has not formally alined itself with the West or the East, but believes that maintaining relations with both best serves Tunisian interests. Tunisia has been a firm friend of the United States and we were recently honored with a state visit to Washington of President Bourguiba, who led his country's struggle for independence. During his visit to the United States, President Bourguiba addressed the United Nations General Assembly and outlined a proposed plan for settlement of the crisis in the Middle East. President Bourguiba is not only a great leader in his own country but he is recognized as a great and respected world leader and statesman.

It is a pleasure for me to extend best wishes and congratulations to the people of Tunisia, to her great President, and to her Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Rachid Driss, on the occasion of its National Day.

SOMETHING FOR NOTHING?

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, just how this country can have a guaranteed annual income or a negative income tax or what-have-you in the line of something for nothing in massive amounts beats me. We are in debt and going more so each passing day. Dollars cannot hold their purchasing power if government is managed so that debt is permitted to increase.

Yet the concept of the guaranteed annual income involves paying people who do not produce. True, certain portions of the present welfare system do essentially this, but not on a guaranteed basis, and with the reservation that if a job is available it must be taken. Furthermore, money to pay those who do not earn must be taken from those who do work and earn and they should have a great deal to say about it.

In the interest of seeking to better understand what are the real objectives of the "Poor Peoples' Marchers" I urge the reading of an interesting and challenging editorial appearing in the Sun City-Youngtown News-Sun of May 29, 1968:

POOR PEOPLE'S MARCH

The only concrete goal, that we can see, of the Poor People's March on Washington, is legislation to provide a minimum annual income.

It is passing strange how the march leaders claim that any pressure they exert will be nonviolent—but in the same breath they disavow responsibility for any violence which may accompany their demonstrations.

We take this as a strongly implied warning that life, limb, and property of innocent citizens will be placed in jeopardy if the marchers are denied.

The poor people have acquired allies in Congress, representatives and senators who will submit minimum annual income legislation and attempt to see it through to a successful conclusion.

Some of these backers are sincere in their belief that this is important social legislation in the best interest of the nation from a humanitarian standpoint. Others look on it as a form of tribute—buying insurance, in the same manner which merchants "bought insurance" against bombing of their establishment from rackeeters in the Prohibition Days, to prevent looting, arson, and physical violence during the long, hot summer ahead.

The program looks a lot better from the short-range viewpoint than it does from a long-range standpoint.

We only need to look at the Arab refugee camps surrounding Israel to get a glimpse of the America of the future under a guaranteed annual income program. The Arabs stay right in their camps as wards of the United Nations Relief Administration. They get their periodical dole from the U.N. They don't work. And they grow substantially in number. They constitute a never-ending parasitic society.

Perhaps it's old-fashioned to hark back to the pioneer era of the United States. But Americans traditionally have credited the perseverence, gumption, and independence of their forefathers with carving out of the wilderness the nation which ultimately was to reach the pinnacle in world leadership.

We question whether the United States can continue as a strong nation if it smothers individual incentive, and we believe that will be the natural result of a guaranteed annual income program.

We believe Congress should examine carefully all the possible ramifications of such a program, looking beyond the immediate and transitory problems of the day.

THIS FIGHT MUST GO ON

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, our dependence upon sea lines of communication has often been demonstrated, and it is a clear lesson from our Nation's history that the ability to support and protect our seaborne commerce is vital to our national interests. Nevertheless, we find ourselves today dependent upon foreign shipping for over 90 percent of our imports, as well as a large percentage of our shipments to Vietnam. Our "Fourth Arm of Defense" is suffering atrophy from the neglectful policies of recent years.

The Navy League of the United States has expressed its concern over this grave problem in an editorial in Navy magazine for May 1968, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues:

THIS FIGHT MUST GO ON

More than three years ago, President Johnson solemnly pledged to Congress and the American people a new national maritime program and policy, one which would help reverse the dangerous trend toward the virtual disappearance of U.S. flag ships from the commercial sealanes of the world. Tragically, the President has failed to deliver. Moreover, with the present session of Congress rushing toward a close and the 1968 national conventions and election campaign just ahead, no new legislation from the White House on maritime policy appears likely to be presented.

The maritime industry, labor and management, spokesmen for the United States Navy, and patriotic and defense-minded organizations, such as the Navy League, have spoken out loudly and longly for the reconstitution of the American Merchant Marine, something which needs the moral and financial support of the U.S. government. But the pleas have failed to win a positive response. Lip service, yes; action, no. It has done little good to warn that the Soviet Union has embarked on what Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations, has called an "explosive" maritime buildup. Soviet merchantmen now carry 75 per cent of the foreign trade of the USSR. U.S. flag ships, our

"Fourth Arm of Defense," move less than 8 per cent of American exports and imports.

"GOING DOWN THE DRAIN"

Vice Admiral Lawson P. Ramage, Commander, Military Sea Transportation Service, in an article in this issue of NAVY, points out that the U.S. Merchant Marine has plunged from a World War II high of 5,600 ships to fewer than 700 today. And James G. Gulick, acting Maritime Administrator, told Congress earlier this month that the Merchant Marine was in danger of "going down the drain" and that the main problem was a lack of ships. Everyone knows that there is something wrong but no one seems to be able to solve the problem of decision-making paralysis in the White House on maritime matters. It has been worse than "too little and too late," like the Federal responses to the riots, arson and looting in Detroit and Washington. It has been, for the Merchant Marine, more of a case of "no higher level of help—period." It appears clear now that the Fourth Arm of Defense will have to await the incoming administration and hope for the best from it.

But the Navy League, for its part, will not await the change at the White House in silence. The delegates representing the 41,000 members of the organization took a firm and clear cut stand in convention in Honolulu on April 26, 1968 with the adoption of the following resolution on national maritime policy:

> "Whereas the welfare of the United States and the entire Free World is solidly tied to the sea and to the untrammeled flow of trade; and
>
> "Whereas in the words of the Vice President, 'the United States must have a maritime policy if it is to remain as a maritime power,' and
>
> "Whereas a progressive and competitive posture for a modern U.S. Merchant Marine is necessary to the total sea power requirements of the United States; and would enhance the potential of the Navy-Marine Corps team to serve as a key instrument of national policy; and
>
> "Whereas the long-term prosperity of the nation is dependent upon the attainment of a competitive posture at sea and the carrying of the major portion of our own domestic and world trade in American flag ships;
>
> "Now therefore be it resolved that the Government of the United States at the earliest practicable date formulate and execute a formal, dynamic and aggressive maritime policy in furtherance of the national interest."

This is what we in the Navy League believe and this is what we will continue to fight for. We call on every uncommitted American to join us and like-minded organizations to attain this goal for the well-being of these United States, now and forever.

JOE CRUMP PROVIDES SERVICE IN "LOW DOWN"

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Joe Crump of Coopersville, Mich., is providing a valuable service by authoring a newspaper column titled "Low Down", which is an unbiased, objective report on matters in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

By circulating his report Mr. Crump is contributing to the education of the American people by providing them with details in the RECORD which they might otherwise not read.

I salute and congratulate Mr. Crump for his efforts to contribute something of value to our society.

THE DEATH OF HELEN KELLER

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, death has ended the long and distinguished career of one of the world's most noble citizens, Miss Helen Keller.

Miss Keller, who was born June 27, 1880, in Tuscumbia, Ala., which is in the district I now represent, has been an inspiration for the potentials of the handicapped the world over. Her personal victory over blindness and deafness has given hope and guidance to the afflicted of many lands.

The people of Alabama are proud to claim her as one of the State's most beloved native daughters.

For 2 years after her birth in Tuscumbia, Helen Keller led a normal life. She was then stricken with a brain fever that left her blind and deaf. No longer being able to communicate with her family she became as a savage animal, wild and unruly. For 5 years, life had no meaning to Helen until her father wrote Perkins Institution for the Blind asking for help in teaching his child.

On March 3, 1887, Anne Sullivan arrived in Tuscumbia to educate Helen. Miss Sullivan did not realize that her entire life would be devoted to teaching and being a constant companion to this child. The best description of the teacher's work can be found in the comment that Albert Einstein once made to Miss Sullivan:

> Your work has interested me more than any other achievement in modern education. You not only imparted language to Helen Keller, but you unfolded her personality; and such work has in it an element of the Super Human.

Yes, this deaf and blind child learned that through the touch of her fingers and hands that life did have meaning.

At the age of 20, Helen could read, write, and speak. Due to much work and determination, she entered Radcliffe College from which she was graduated in 1904 cum laude after mastering Greek, Latin, German, and French. This was the first time that a blind and deaf person had graduated from a college.

After college, Miss Keller became interested in helping other handicapped people. She joined many organizations to help the blind and served on the Massachusetts Commission for the Blind. She organized the great concert at the Metropolitan Opera House to raise funds for starting the American Foundation for the Blind. In 3 years, she addressed 250 meetings all over the country to help raise money. She started the Helen Keller Endowment Fund of $2 million. As counselor to the American Foundation for the Blind and the American Foundation for Overseas Blind, she has traveled both hemispheres, revitalizing programs for the handicapped everywhere and leaving behind her a trail of new schools, new printing presses, and new workshops for the blind. During World War II, she brought hope to men blinded in action. She visited them in hospitals and danced with them to prove that the ordinary pleasures of life were still within their reach. She told them:

> Look the world straight in the face, and never think of your limitations.

Through writing books and magazine articles, Miss Keller was able to support herself and Miss Sullivan. She had learned through the years to reject pity. She said:

> Pity is the chief stumbling block of the sightless.

Due to her courage, willpower, and work for the blind, Helen Keller is known throughout the world. The French made her Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. She has been received in the White House by 10 Presidents. Kings and queens of countries have honored her. Even the poets, Whittier, Holmes, Sandburg, and Robert Frost were drawn to her. Mark Twain called her "a new fragrance in the human flower."

The people of Alabama are justly proud of "Ivy Greene," the Helen Keller Shrine in Tuscumbia, Ala. Each year, thousands of Americans visit the Starmaker Playhouse's presentation of "The Miracle Worker," which is performed on the grounds during the summer months. This dramatic play tells the life story of this remarkable woman who has devoted over half her life to helping the handicapped.

Through this, and the monumental work established by Miss Keller, her story of personal triumph over adversity will continue to inspire and give hope to the afflicted.

To her family I extend my deepest sympathy.

KENAI, ALASKA

HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to clear the title of remaining Federal interest in a parcel of land at Kenai, Alaska, which is owned by the city of Kenai. I ask that the bill be referred to the appropriate committee for consideration.

The bill involves a small parcel of about 1.88 acres which was originally conveyed from the Federal Government to the State of Alaska in 1961 under the Alaska Public Works Act of 1949, as amended. The State then reconveyed the land to the city of Kenai by quitclaim deed last September. The problem which my bill would resolve is to remove a restrictive convenant which now prohibits efficient and proper use of this property.

CASEY LOWERS THE BOOM

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 29, 1968

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, while commanding the 60th Airlift Wing Command at Travis Air Force Base in my congressional district, Brig. Gen. Maurice F. Casey was recently declared by a nationally syndicated columnist as one of this country's 10 outstanding Americans for 1967.

Unfortunately, all good things usually come to an end and so it goes with General Casey, considering the Air Force announcement last week that shortly the general would be deployed to McGuire Air Force Base.

Casey has had an extremely successful tour as wing commander at Travis where he simultaneously lowered the boom for efficiency and friendship 3 years ago. Casey's objective was first to satisfy the most demanding airlift requirement in history in excellence and dispatch and secondly to make Travis Air Force Base the friendliest base on the Pacific.

He succeeded on all counts: a happy base is an efficient one and so it goes.

Over the past several years, I have had occasion to call the attention of the Secretary of the Air Force to a number of firsts for Casey and Travis Air Force Base. As a practical matter, as Casey moved into the fray to satisfy our Vietnam airlift requirements while ships had their problems, he could have been cited for excellence and record performance every month. The airlift of our time—taking cargo and men to the front, and returning battle casualties to Travis, sometimes 5 days off the frontline—is now still unfortunately going on, but due to Casey's leadership, we take this performance as a matter of course.

Casey will be missed on the Pacific; his standards of friendly excellence are hard to compete with. McGuire Air Force Base fortunately has better things to come as Casey heads east with his boom.

I reiterate a recent record I cited last year to this House:

OUTSTANDING UNIT AWARD EARNED BY THE 60TH MILITARY AIRLIFT WING, TRAVIS AIR FORCE BASE, CALIF.

(By Hon. ROBERT L. LEGGETT, of California, in the House of Representatives, Monday, January 29, 1968)

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I call the attention of the House to the third consecutive Air Force Outstanding Unit Award earned by the airmen of the 60th Military Airlift Wing, Travis Air Force Base, which is located in my district, at Fairfield, Calif.

The award is for exceptionally meritorious achievement for the period from July 1, 1966, to June 30, 1967, and is based on their unparalleled airlift support of American forces in Vietnam. For example, during the period in question, the 60th Military Airlift Wing—

Scored new levels of airlift in speeding red ball express shipments to the combat zone, transporting 28 million pounds of this high priority cargo within the year;

Responded quickly to the emergency caused by a national airline strike which stranded thousands of returning servicemen at the base between July 9 and September 11, 1966, by working around the clock to convert the entire north wing of the base passenger terminal into a stateside travel area. Using this improvised facility they helped move 54,669 stranded troops through Travis.

Played a leading role in the aeromedical evacuation of more than 17,000 patients from the Pacific during the year.

In moving outsize cargo to Southeast Asia, C–133 turboprops attained an unprecedented daily utilization rate. This feat included such critical items as huge Navy propeller shafts and Army helicopters while slashing surface delivery time.

The wing's newest C–141 squadron, the 86th, became fully combat ready a month ahead of schedule and the entire Travis-based jet fleet attained an 8-hour average utilization 60 days prior to the Military Airlift Command program schedule. The wings force of C–141 and C–133 planes consistently overflew scheduled commitments.

These are just some of the accomplishments of this fine organization. I wish to commend Brig. Gen. Maurice F. Casey and all base personnel for their continued diligence and high performance of duty in support of American Forces in Vietnam. They certainly exemplify their motto—"Friendliest and Finest."

CRIMINAL JUSTICE—THEN AND NOW

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, on April 5 and 6 I had the privilege and the pleasure of attending the annual meeting of the Virginia Trial Lawyers Association held at the Golden Triangle, Norfolk, Va., and listening to a very able and inspiring address by Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz, of the Supreme Court of New York.

The Virginia Trial Lawyers Association is composed of members of the Virginia bar whose practice leads them into the active trial of cases in the courtroom. The membership of this organization is composed entirely of lawyers who specialize in trial work.

The secretary and treasurer of this association is Prof. J. Westwood Smithers, of the T. C. Williams School of Law of the University of Richmond, and the president of the association is Mr. Don P. Bagwell, a senior member of the firm of Tuck, Bagwell, Dillard & Mapp, of Halifax, Va. The president-elect is Mr. Ralph H. Ferrell, Jr., a member of the well known and highly respected law firm of Hunton, Williams, Gay, Powell & Gibson, of Richmond, Va.

Judge Leibowitz, before ascending the bench some years ago, enjoyed a national reputation as a trial lawyer of extraordinary distinction and ability. As a member of the Supreme Court of New York, he has established himself in the esteem of the American people as an outstanding judge. In his address, Judge Leibowitz advocates a firm and resolute adherence to law enforcement, a subject which is a grave concern to all right-thinking Americans, particularly at this time when we are experiencing such a nationwide laxity of law enforcement. The Supreme Court of the United States in many of its decisions has hampered and impeded the police in their effort to suppress public mischief and to protect persons and property. In some the cities, including our Nation's Capital, the streets may be safe for the criminals, but not for the law-abiding citizens. I deprecate and deplore such a situation.

Under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the very able and forceful address of Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz, which is as follows:

CRIMINAL JUSTICE: THEN AND NOW

Mr. Levine, thank you for your flattering introduction. You may think this will help you in the courtroom by "buttering up" the Judge, but it won't do a bit of good.

Mr. President, members of this great Association of Trial Lawyers of Virginia, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your kind invitation to visit with you.

I have no prepared script. So, please forgive me if I just speak to you "off the cuff." In plain Brooklyn English.

The average non-lawyer citizen has a distorted notion of what really goes on in the courtroom. The other evening Mrs. Leibowitz was deeply absorbed with a Perry Mason play on the television screen. I just can't stomach these phony courtroom burlesques, so I went into another room where we have another set and I turned to the wrestlers. Phony they are, but at least they don't seriously pretend that they are on the up and up.

Tired of the wrestlers, I switched to the Merv Griffin show. Then at eleven on came the news. The screen was crowded with politician after politician campaigning for his party's nomination for the presidency. Each candidate was spouting on some college campus accompanied by plenty of screaming, almost what you hear from adolescents when the Beatles are performing.

Ever since I mounted the Bench I never used the gavel, but on television the judge is always armed with a gavel. Until he raps three times, nothing happens. There, the convicted murderer is standing before him about to be sentenced to the chair. Before the judge pronounces the fateful words, he pounds the gavel three times. But here comes the thrilling moment. The swinging doors to the courtroom fly open. In the entrance is an intruder who cries out, "Halt! I am the man who committed the murder." The judge says to the prisoner, "You are discharged. Bring this other man up here before me." And he immediately sentences the newcomer to the chair.

I had never seen a picture being made, so one day I visited a Hollywood studio. They escorted me to a building that resembled a huge garage. Outside on the wall an electric sign flashed the word "Silence." I entered backstage and went through a door of the set and right into the place where the play was being filmed. Where do you think I found myself? In a courtroom. Everything to a T was just so, an exact replica of the courtrooms in the old New York City General Sessions Courthouse of years ago—even to the dirty window panes and the cigarette butts that littered the floor of the spectators benches.

Ah! The lawyer! He was cross-examining the lady defendant. If her answer was not to his liking, he would turn to the jurors in the box and say, "Gentlemen, she is lying." If that ever happened in a real courtroom, the learned judge would order the bailiff to take the barrister by the seat of his pants and toss him out into the corridor, but there this Hollywood studio lawyer was pirouetting around like a belly dancer, pointing with his finger. You know. Well, they went over the act time and time again until I would recite the lines by heart. Finally, the director was satisfied and called out "Cut!" The scene was over. He came over to me on the side lines and said, "Judge, tell me, is the flag in the right place?" I replied, "The flag is just where it ought to be, to the right of the presiding judge, as he faces the audience. But, please, tell me where in hell you got this cluck of a lawyer, this kook, this oddball?"

Tonight, may I take a few minutes to picture for you some of the oddballs you and I have seen in the real courtroom, oddballs that the Hollywood studios might use to perfection.

May I present oddball number one, "Mr. Milquetoast." He expresses his gratitude to the bailiff at the door for permitting him to enter. He is always bowing and scraping. There he is with his arm across the shoulders of his opponent. Everyone is his friend. Of course, he worships the judge. "Why, your Honor knows the law better than poor me," as he curtseys by bowing from the waist. This is the "Henpecko" of the courtroom.

Here is another oddball, "The Peacock," the great "I am." His opponent is perhaps a younger man. "To save time," says the young chap, "I will concede that the exhibit you are offering in evidence is correct." The "Peacock" looks down his lordly nose. "Don't you tell me, young man, how to prove my case." This character reminds one of a curvaceous female in a Turkish bath on ladies' night, parading around to show off her fine points.

Here is a beaut: This oddball is the "Judge Baiter." He is engaged in continuous verbal fisticuffs with the man on the bench. He is driving the poor judge out of his mind trying to maintain a judicial calmness while he is struggling to cope with this hell raiser. The "Baiter" does this with malice aforethought. Perhaps, he can get the judge to lose his patience and blurt out something in anger. Ah! That's it! Point number one of his brief in the Appellate Court will be, "The Court was unfair and prejudiced against my client." This oddball doesn't realize that the customers in the jury box will later take it out on his client in the jury room.

Well, here and there you will also find a judge who, too, is an oddball. I recall an old crank who presided in one of the high criminal courts of our city. He was a bald headed gent who always wore a barber's jacket under his gown. The prosecuting witness was being questioned by the district attorney. This gent would lean over toward the witness and drink in every word that he uttered. But the moment the witness was turned over to defense counsel for cross-examination, his chair would swing around and facing the opposite wall, he would start to rock and rock. The damned chair would go, "Squeak, squeak, squeak." And oh! How nasty he was with the lawyer defending his client. The evidence was overwhelming in establishing the guilt of the accused, but the jury wound up in disagreement, eight for aquittal and four for conviction. Later, when everyone cleared out of the courtroom the twelve jurors surrounded the defense counsel in the corridor. "Your client was as guilty as hell," they chorused, "but we could not stomach what that s.o.b. did to you during the trial, and we were not going to let him ram a guilty verdict down our throats." So thereafter this judge died. A dog had bitten him. However, the dog died first. This story is the gospel truth.

Here is another oddball of the courtroom, the "Objector." All you hear is, "I object! I object! I object! The counsel is leading the witness." "I object—incompetent, irrelevant, immaterial." If you ever took these phrases away from this barrister, he would have to quit trying cases and go into the plumbing business.

Now, have you met the "Ripper" in the courtroom? This oddball tackles the six-foot cop on the stand. He gives him a rough going over. He tears him to pieces. But the little old lady that follows to the witness stand gets the same rough treatment. This fool doesn't realize that he antagonizes those jurors by these stupid tactics.

Then you will discover the chronic "Finger Pointer" and the "Table Pounder."

There is a certain inoffensive oddball, "The Gazer." Until he gets his inspiration by gazing at a particular spot on the ceiling he is dumbstruck. How handicapped he would become if the courthouse janitor would swab that sacred spot off that ceiling. "The Gazer" has a relative in the person of "The Miner." His favorite inspirational spot is somewhere on the floor.

Now meet "The Buzzer." He propounds a question and receives an answer. Bingo, he hustles over to the counsel table and goes into a huddle with his assistants. Then back again to face the witness. Then again to the table for another huddle. It brings to mind what happens after each down on the football field. Buzz! Buzz! Buzz! You certainly have seen this performer in the courtroom.

Well, here is a well known oddball. We will label him "The Fumbler." He lugs into the courtroom a bulging brief bag and an armful of law books and the table is buried by all of this paraphernalia. A certain paper is called for as evidence. Then he and his assistants start to rummage through this heap of stuff. They search and search and finally come up with a scrap of paper that has nothing to do with the problem.

Most attorneys wear eyeglasses, but there is an oddball among them whom we can describe as "The Swisher." The attorney asks the following question "What is your name?" Swish! Off come his spectacles. The witness replies and the swisher replaces his glasses to his nose. The attorney asks the following question: "Where do you reside?" Swish! Off come the specs, and so, they go on and they go off throughout his inquiry. The irritated jurors in the box wish they had available a hammer with a long handle, so they could reach over and nail the —— pair of glasses to his proboscis.

One of the oddball nuisances in the courtroom is "The Trotter." He simply cannot stand in a given place for a moment. He is all over the place, at the witness stand, over near the jury box, at the spectator's rail, at the clerk's desk, at his table—everywhere. He is just like a pony. And all the time the juror's head is swivelling about trying to focus his sight on "The Trotter."

This oddball we shall call "The Professor." His favorite words are two, "prior" and "subsequent" and it doesn't make any difference to him who is on the witness stand. For instance, he has Mr. Slobodski on the stand. He is a native of Poland and is struggling to master the simple words of the English language. Questioned by the learned counsel: "Where were you prior to the occurrence on Main Street?" Mr. Slobodski turns a blank expression to the examiner and finally stammers: "What?" The judge tries to help out. "What the lawyer is asking is where were you before the accident?" "Oh," replies Mr. Slobodski, I was by McGinty in the saloon." Then counsel proceeds: "Subsequent to the occurrence where did you proceed?" Slobodski again stammers, "What?" And the judge again must come to the rescue. "What he wants to find out is where did you go after the accident." "Oh," says the witness, "I went back to McGintys." Just clip the words "prior" and "subsequent" from the lawyer's vocabulary and he is a dead pigeon.

A word about "The Low Brow." He is the type of lawyer, for example, that pleads with the jury to "Give my client a fair shake of the dice."

Here is a pip, "The Lover Boy." He is making eyes at juror number six.

Then we have "The Orator" always reciting poetry. He is always reminded of what some famous author or political figure of long ago had said. He is enraptured by the "rock-ribbed shores of Maine" and the "Sun-kissed shores of the Rio Grande," "the storm-tossed waters of the Atlantic and the grandeur of the lofty peaks of the Rockies."

I could go on and on about some of the oddballs, few in number it is true, I have seen in my courtroom. But the champ of champs of all the oddballs is "The Bore." He drones on and on in his monotone. Every question is preceded with an "Ah, ah, ah," or an "Er, er, er." He hasn't the faintest idea what he is driving at by his (pardon the expression) cross-examination, or how to get there. So, he resorts to his old standby. He is particularly interested in time and distance, although they are meaningless in the case. Pretty soon the heavy-set man in number eight seat in the jury box goes into heavy breathing. His head slowly drops on his chest. He is in slumberland. Juror number two is gazing fitfully up at the courtroom clock. "For heaven's sake, won't one o'clock ever come so I can leave for lunch and get rid of this bore?" Another juror gazes out of the window. His attention is fixed on a cloud and he is trying to figure out whether the cloud is shaped like a horse or cow. As far as he is concerned, the trial is a million miles away. The bore reminds one of a trip across the Sahara Desert on a rainy, dreary day.

Enough tonight about the oddballs. I am confident that no lawyer of this great organization fits any of these categories.

Let us turn our attention to more serious but unpleasant business and that is the terrible crime wave that has engulfed many of the large cities of our nation and the agonizing problem of how to cope with it.

Come with me into my courtroom and witness just two of the many similar cases.

Here are three defendants, the oldest in his middle thirties. He is already a Sing Sing graduate. The two younger ones are in their teens, but both have already had contact with the police. The older one makes it a business of renting out guns and sharing in the loot that the young hoodlums collect in their stick-ups.

The complainant, the victim of this dastardly crime, is a middle aged clothing salesman, family man, with a wife and son attending medical school. This boy is the jewel of this couple. He had to cut short his career because of what happened to his dad.

On this fateful day he was on his way home from his job and had stopped his car to purchase some cigarettes. As he emerged he was accosted by the two hoods. "Boss, can you let us have a dime?" The technique is that when the victim goes to his pocket, the robbers then know where he keeps his money. As the victim reached for his pocket one of them pulled out a loaded pistol and shot the man through the head.

And so, soon after the trial had started, two attendants led this victim into the courtroom stone blind. They lifted him to the witness stand. The tragic figure about to be sworn, would have torn your heart out. And there sat the three criminals sneering and enjoying it all as if they were at a vaudeville show. Nice picture?

Next case. There is a small liquor store in a certain neighborhood in Brooklyn. The robber is driving around in his car. On the seat is a sawed-off shotgun. However, there is a policeman standing there, near the store. So he patiently drives around the vicinity until the policeman disappears. The proprietor of the store has a wife and seven children. The robber enters and raises the shotgun to his shoulder. The victim falls to his knees. He begs: "Please don't kill me. I have seven kids. Take the money in the cash register. I won't say a word." The bandit fires one blast. The shot goes astray. The man, on his knees, is still pleading. "Don't kill me. Don't kill me." He fires the second shot and blows the man's head off. Then he calmly looted the cash register and sauntered out of the store.

This wild beast in human form was convicted by the jury and was later executed in the electric chair at Sing Sing. But this was before Miranda. Lord knows how many smiliar killers are now loose because of Miranda.

In sum, the crime rate is not only sky high but the depredations have become more vicious and cannibalistic as the years go by. They call our New York City the "Fun City" a fun city, indeed. A nice "Fun City" where a woman doesn't dare to walk out into the street after sundown for fear of being raped or murdered. A "Fun City" that is rapidly turning into a jungle.

But we have our Bar Association committees and other committees and committees, and millions are spent on researchers and reports, until they literally run out of your ears. They tell us what all of us already know, namely, that today we are living in a lawless society where there is little or no respect for parents, for teachers, for the policeman on the beat, or even for the judge on the bench.

The other day, Dr. Martin Luther King was mowed down by an assassin's bullet. His body was hardly cold when Mr. Stokeley Carmichael was on television urging his "soul brothers" to arm themselves and "take to the streets." The law, somehow just can't catch up with this creature who incites people to rob, to burn, and to pillage. Why?

Behold the picture of some campuses of leading universities. There are chaplains openly urging students to violate the law and to refuse to serve when our country calls. Open rebellion and anarchy! A dean at one university promised to welcome them back to the campus after they have served terms in prison.

Never mind the law! To hell with the law! If you disagree with it.

The other evening you looked at television depicting the riot in Harlem. You saw the rioters before your eyes, burning, smashing store windows and looting. You saw them brazenly lifting out television sets, carting away loads of groceries. One woman was there pulling out a large stuffed chair from a ruined furniture store. These law breakers did it calmly, they didn't run, and many of them were chuckling as they went about their business. Standing by helpless was a group of police officers, without lifting a finger. The word had been spread to them to "cool it."

Without respect for law and order only anarchy must result and our democracy must die.

I heard a funny story. To many unthinking people the law is an ass. They tell of one Londoner saying to his friend: "Charlie, you look downhearted. What is troubling you?" His friend replied: "Why shouldn't I be down in the mouth? The upstairs maid in my house had me in paternity court. She swears that I am the father of her child. My wife, on the other hand, sued me for annulment on the ground that I am impotent. Can you beat it, I lost both cases. The law is an ass."

Let us compare some notes, now that I have referred to London. Not so long ago I sat with the head of Scotland Yard, Sir Richard Jackson, in his office. London, like New York City, has its poverty, slums and ethnic groups. It has its dope addicts and homosexuals. The population figures of both cities run about eight million inhabitants. Sir Richard pointed to the statistics of London's homicides. Over the years they numbered between thirty-five and forty per year. "Yearly, in New York City, how many homicides do you have?" Sir Richard asked with a puckish twinkle of his eye. My face must have turned red because I was embarrassed. But I had to confess the facts. "Last year New York City had about seven hundred homicides." Why this amazing difference?

Consider the interminable court proceedings that are required to even approach a final conclusion of a criminal case. You recall that it took eleven long years to bring the Chessman case to a close. By comparison, no one points an accusing finger at the fairness of the British courts of justice. If a murderer is convicted and he is sentenced to death within only a few weeks his appeal is heard by the Criminal Court of Appeals sitting en banc. After oral arguments the judges retire to deliberate. Arriving upon a conclusion they return to the bench and either affirm or reverse the conviction. If affirmed, shortly thereafter the Home Office, which is the pardoning agency, determines whether the death sentence shall be commuted to life imprisonment or the execution should be carried out. The case is closed Finis! Again, who has ever complained about the fairness of British justice? Where the calendar is jammed with criminal cases, the trial courts are confronted with another headache. In our city judges sit in one numbered part of the court during one month and are assigned to another part of the court for the following month. The criminal's case remains in the one part and he is fully aware of the system. Thus, every trick is used in order to steer the case away from the judge that the criminal considers "tough" to the judge who follows, hoping that he will then be handed the courthouse. If he doesn't succeed in "steering the case" he is ready with his numerous phony appeals and writs crying to the high heaven that his "constitutional rights" have been invaded. It will open your eyes as to what is going on if you will only read the opinion of the United States Court of Appeals Judge Leonard Moore in United States Exrel Davis vs. The Warden reported in 386 Fed. 2d 611.

Do you know that only a few years ago the prisons of New York State were crowded to the limit? Do you know that these same prisons are now being emptied? I hold in my hand the current statistics. Here is proof positive:

Sing Sing Prison, 1,850 cells with only 1,510 prisoners.

Clinton Prison, housing the most desperate, inveterate felons, 2,200 cells with only 1,373 prisoners. Every prison of the State for both male and female criminals is likewise being emptied.

Since I was admitted to the bar I have lived all these years in the criminal courts. I was defense counsel in so many of the most serious cases, including some of the most notorious denizens of the underworld, including Scarface Al Capone on a charge of murder. Since 1941, as a judge of our highest criminal court, countless felony cases have appeared before my bench for plea, trial and disposition. I have passed sentence on more than eleven thousand defendants. I believe I know the psychology of the criminal. First offenders, where the crime was not a vicious offense, have been treated with compassion and leniency. The enemy of society, however, has been packed off to a prison cell. Most of these, if not all, were psychopaths. Prisons are a failure, for they accomplish little reformation of the convict. However, while he is behind these prison walls he cannot do further harm to the defenseless people of the community. You just don't turn a tiger loose. You cage him.

Over the years we have been brain washed by the drum beaters, by the do-gooders and bleeding hearts. "Don't traumatize the poor dear by sending him to prison because he is not to blame. It is society that is at fault." So the thug and his buddies in crime just laugh up their sleeves at what are now impotent law enforcement agencies—the police, the prosecutor and the court.

Lawyers know full well that in some places it is almost impossible to get a trial in a civil case in less than four to five years because of the crowded calendars. The criminal cases, however, must be moved without delay, and so it is, as I have said, the criminal can dictate the terms of the settlement of his case, the plea he will accept, and usually the sentence he demands. Unless his terms are met, he calls for a trial—and that means clogging up the criminal calendar which cannot be tolerated unless chaos is to be the result.

If convicted, whether by plea or trial, there is usually no end to the case. There are appeals after appeals. The criminal cries out that, "Everybody done me wrong. The judge was unfair and coercive. The prosecutor reneged on his promise of a light sentence; my counsel was incompetent." These are but a few of the points he raises. There are others so bizarre that they border on Alice in Wonderland.

When his appeals are finally at an end the convict is now armed with other weapons that have become par for the course. In every prison in our State there is a well-stocked law library. There, the jailbirds are conning over the volumes, especially those dealing with petitions for coram nobis and habeas corpus. You would be amazed if you read some of these petitions, pages and pages of them, citing every decision of the State and Federal Courts, whether apposite or otherwise. In many cases the petition alleges a factual question and the court is bound to grant him a hearing and so he is transported, accompanied by prison guards, from prisons that are sometimes hundreds of miles away from the courthouse—at a considerable expense, of course, to the taxpayers. Lawyers are assigned, but if the petitioner loses, again endless appeals follow.

I had one convict before me thirteen times. On each occasion he set forth a new complaint. The other day when after a long hearing I denied his petition, and as he was being escorted back to his cell, he looked over his shoulder at me and said, "Hey, judge, I will have another one for you before the sun goes down." I have lost count of the number of his appeals that are now floating around the various appellate courts.

Ladies and gentlemen, the last blow to proper and effective law enforcement has been the Miranda decision. We have the utmost respect for the integrity and sincerity of all of the justices of our highest court. However, I feel that the majority of five in this case were in error and that the four dissenters who were violently in disagreement with the majority are in the right. What is wrong with Miranda, is most clearly set forth in the dissenting opinions. May I quote? Here in part is what Mr. Justice Harlan said:

"I believe that the decision of the Court represents poor constitutional law and entails harmful consequences for the country at large. The new rules are not designed to guard against police brutality or other unmistakably bad forms of coercion. Rather, the thrust is ultimately to discourage any confession at all. The aim, in short, is towards voluntariness in a Utopian sense. Or to take it from a different angle, voluntariness with a vengeance.

"In conclusion, nothing in the letter or the spirit of the constitution or in the precedents squares with the heavy-handed and one-sided action that is so precipitately taken by the court in the name of fulfilling the constitutional responsibilities.

"The foray which the Court takes today brings to mind the wise and far-sighted words of Mr. Justice Jackson in *Douglas* v. *Jeannette*.

" 'This Court is forever adding new stories to the temples of constitutional law, and the temples have a way of collapsing when one story too many is added.' "

Miranda lays down hard and fast rules. Let us consider some of the provisions. When a suspect is arrested the cop must immediately warn him of his rights. He must be told that he need not say a thing for if he does it may be used against him in court. He must be told that he has the right to the immediate advice of a lawyer and if he has none and is indigent, counsel will immediately be provided for him without charge.

Since this decision, it has gotten so that the cop can't say, "Boo," to the suspect. It may be that to be de rigueur the cop must carry a counselor in his police car to advise the suspect to keep his mouth shut. Confessions have been practically ruled out because of Miranda and many a serious case either stands or falls on a confession.

Here is what Mr. Justice White had to say:

"There is, in my view, every reason to believe that a good many criminal defendants who otherwise would have been convicted on what this Court has previously thought to be the most satisfactory kind of evidence will now, under this new version of the Fifth Amendment, either not be tried at all or acquitted if the state's evidence minus the confession is put to the test of litigation. In some unknown number of cases, the Court's rule will return a killer, a rapist, or other criminal to the streets and to the environment which produced him to repeat his crime whenever it pleases him. As a consequence, there will not be a gain but a loss in human dignity."

How prophetic were these words of this learned Justice. I cite two cases. Each one came before a colleague of mine who before he mounted the bench was a brilliant criminal defense attorney. I refer to Mr. Justice Michael Kern who is now one of the eminent jurists of our Supreme Court.

A little child had wet its bed. This friend of a mother pasted some tape on the little child's mouth. The child was only four years old. Then she took a broom handle and a piece of rubber hose and she beat the brains out of this poor little thing. She was arrested. Nobody claimed that any police officer had laid a hand on her when she blurted out a confession. However, she was not advised of her right to counsel. Mr. Justice Kern was compelled, because of Miranda, to dismiss the indictment, for she could not be convicted solely on her own confession—and there were no eyewitnesses to this horrible murder.

Here is another example of what Miranda has done to our criminal law. The killer stabs his wife some thirty times. He then stabs and kills the little baby in bed with her. Then he proceeds into the next bedroom and he slaughters three other children. He is arrested. There is no claim of the third degree. There is no claim that he was insane at the time of the act, for he had been examined by psychiatrists in the Kings County Hospital and was found to have been of sound mind. Again, the jurist had to dismiss the indictment and to turn him loose. He went back to Puerto Rico. The last that was heard of him was that he was having one hell of a time—free as a bird, with the blood of his wife and his five children still dripping from his hands.

When Mr. Justice Kern dismissed the indictment, here is what he said: "This is a very sad thing. It is a repulsive thing to turn this murderer loose. It makes any decent human being's blood run cold. It makes a stomach turn to have let a fiend like this out on the streets."

"Justice due to the acccused is due to the accuser also. The concept of fairness must not be strained until it is narrowed to a filament." This was said by the immortal Judge Benjamin Cardoza some years ago and so we can well understand why our people are heart sick because of what has happened to the administration of our criminal law.

I am sorry that I have detained you so long. I hope I haven't bored you. I have no complete panacea for this deplorable condition. Time will not permit me tonight to deal with detailed suggestions of how to grapple with the problem, but I urge one fundamental, basic remedy, without the programs bandied about.

Lord knows, our prime need is for men of courage and guts in Congress and in the White House, in the state capitols and in the city halls of our nation. People must wake up and not be beguiled by the vote seeking politician who mouth platitudes about law enforcement on the one hand and is at the same time catering to this group and that group for votes. In short, what this country is crying for are men, spelled with a capital M.

You lawyers have been such a wonderful, patient audience, in a spirit of appreciation for your attention to the—not very pleasant observations—may I make you a promise? If you have a case in my court of a guilty thug, I guarantee you right here and now that I will get him out for you—when his time is up.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S IMPRESSIVE RECORD IN HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, recently the Senate overwhelmingly passed the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. This milestone program—the most comprehensive housing legislation in the history of our Nation—is a fitting capstone to the efforts of our President, Lyndon Baines Johnson, to provide decent homes and lives for all Americans.

The President's dedication to this goal has been obvious and his successes numerous. Recognizing the importance of housing and urban problems, one of his first steps after becoming President was to seek legislation establishing the Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development. This was followed by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 that established, among other things, the rent supplement program to provide private housing for low-income families. In 1966 the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act launched the monumentally important model cities program that concentrates government and private efforts to rebuild whole neighborhoods socially and economically as well as physically. Now we are moving toward enactment of his latest new programs to promote homeownership among low-income families and to abolish substandard housing within the next 10 years.

Accomplishments in the field of housing during President Johnson's term of office have been impressive. In the past 4 years:

Low-rent housing approvals increased 27 percent—representing decent living quarters for an additional 654,000 low-income persons.

Under the rent supplement program, funds have been reserved to enable another 130,000 persons of low income to enjoy better housing.

Private housing for low- and moderate-income families, financed with FHA mortgage insurance assistance, increased about 2½ times.

Some 2 million families bought homes under the FHA plan—some 28 percent above the level of 4 years ago.

Approvals of specially designed housing for our older and handicapped citizens under the low-rent housing program increased by more than 1½ times, providing apartments for an additional 150,000 persons of lower income.

Approvals of specially designed housing for older and handicapped citizens under the Federal loan program increased by more than 2½ times, providing comfortable housing for 35,000 persons of modest means.

In addition, new heights have been reached in virtually every urban development program including urban renewal, urban planning, open space, neighborhood facilities, and urban mass transit.

The record of the past few years is impressive. Serious problems remain. The legislation passed by the Senate will move the Nation toward solutions to them.

NEED FOR MORE PRIVATE INITIATIVE GOVERNMENT TRAVEL PROMOTION EFFORTS INCREASING THE TRAVEL DEFICIT

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, with the House having just voted last week to increase the appropriation for the U.S. Travel Service from $3 billion to $4.5 billion for fiscal year 1969, I think a good look back at what the Government has done in fiscal 1968 in travel promotion with its funds is in order. Regrettably this look was not taken carefully enough before the budget for the USTS was voted on.

Government programs, through sheer ineptitude, are rapidly increasing the travel deficit this year. This point is all too well made in two recent editorials by Joel M. Abels in Travel Trade magazine.

The script of this scenario goes as follows:

First. Early this year the administration decided that American tourists were contributing substantially to the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit.

Second. The McKinney Travel Task Force hastily compiled a report and made a suggestion that discount cards be issued to foreign visitors to lower the cost of their trips to the United States.

Third. With the threat of the travel tax hanging over its head, the travel industry started discounting everything in order to help ward off the travel tax.

Fourth. The Visit USA program was ruined. Why? Most things being discounted had already been discounted for years on low-cost group tours of the United States. Europeans were not advised of this and they demanded discounts from rates already agreed upon. Since this could not be done, Europeans decided to wait and see. In the words of Mr. Abels:

> Since the percentage drop in Visit USA travel is even more substantial than the loss in outgoing travel, chances are that the Government's year-end balance sheet will find a bigger travel dollar gap than ever before. . . . The travel discount card has proven to be a hasty hoax indeed.

The "travel gap" thus will probably prove larger than ever this year.

The only encouraging development recently in the travel business is that the travel industry is beginning to talk about taking coordinated action in the private sector. Mr. Abels called for the travel industry to form its own working committee to formulate a plan of action.

As a result of my editorial in the April 29, 1968, issue of Travel Trade magazine calling for increased private initiative in promoting tourism to the United States, rather than relying on the U.S. Travel Service, I have had a gratifying response. The main tenor of the letters is that the travel industry itself can do a better job of promoting travel to the United States than can the Federal Government. What is needed though, many point out, is the need for greater coordination of various segments of the travel industry and putting aside of professional jealousies. One writer, James H. Hall of the East Michigan Tourist Association, suggested to me the creation of a super travel organization cutting across all facets of the travel industry with professional staff funded by the industry itself. This seems like a good idea at least as a basis for discussion.

I hope that the U.S. travel industry, which already is doing a commendable job of advertising and promoting travel to the United States will continue and redouble its efforts and not leave the field open to Government travel promotion, which as has been described before, can have disastrous results.

The editorials follow:

[From Travel Trade, May 6, 1968]

THE HASTY HOAX

(By Joel M. Abels)

The presidentially directed demand that the travel industry start bringing more visitors to American shores, and in a helluva hurry, as part of an overall effort to reduce the so-called travel dollar gap, has now backfired on the United States and on everyone who had been playing a role in Visit USA efforts, before the administration made it patriotic to do so.

The McKinney Travel Task Force which was so speedily banded together to find a fast answer to the perplexing question as to why more Americans visited Europe than did Europeans visit our own shores, was compelled to find answers at any price. Our industry was asked to overnight uncover solutions to problems which defied the laws of economics and the McKinney committee came up with dozens of ideas and suggestions. Basically the whole affairs was a sort of barter arrangement whereby the travel industry was told, with a gun at its head, that unless it proved its good will by promoting Visit USA it would lose its right to freely send American tourists abroad. In haste and in horror the industry was compelled to act.

The most immediate action called for by the whole long McKinney report was the suggestion that a discount card be issued to foreign visitors which would allow them to lower the cost of their American visit. To prove their good will individual travel industry members chipped in everything but the kitchen sink and before you knew it the discount card could give a visitor anything from a discounted hotel room to a half priced shoeshine. Everyone was willing to pay a price to ransom the freedom to sell travel to American citizens wishing to travel abroad.

In this scare environment, which incidentally is still with us since we continue to have the threat of future per diem taxes weighing over us, a monster of a card was created. This card which sounds so good and relieves so many consciences in government and in industry has become the wrecker of the Visit USA programs which had so painstakingly been established in prior years.

In the anxiety to do something, anything, a Frankenstein has been created, one which leading Visit USA operators claim has ruined sales. Why? Amid the hullaballo about the discounted hotel rooms and discounted car rentals and discounted sightseeing, someone forgot that while a discount card might prove beneficial to those few foreigners who traveled independently, these items of merchandise had been discounted for years by those in the Visit USA tour business and that already low group tour prices could not be discounted any further. But Europeans were never advised of this and the result is that they demanded discounts from both operators and hotels on rates previously agreed upon. Since this could not be done and because the discount card was so widely ballyhooed, Europeans decided to wait and see. You know what happens when people wait and see—nothing—and that is what has happened to Visit USA business—practically nothing. The 1968 Visit USA season has been ruined even more thoroughly than was the travel industry's market for Americans traveling to Europe. Since the percentage drop in Visit USA travel is even more substantial than the loss in outgoing travel, chances are that the government's year-end balance sheet will find a bigger travel dollar gap than ever before. Will this bring government after us more heavily to prevent a further outgo of Americans? I don't know, but theres' a good chance that it will.

The travel discount card has proven to be a hasty hoax indeed, a hoax for Europeans who believe that it will lower group costs within this country and a hoax to those who contributed to its creation in the hope that it would spare further governmental pressure and interference.

We would be playing a hasty hoax on ourselves if we believed that we can sit back now and not be bothered again by threats of government interference. In this election year of political indecision the travel industry would be wise to form its own working committee, not wait to be pressured into another McKinney-type task force, and to formulate a program of action, one which would be both politically expedient while at the same time productive of increased business both to and from the United States.

[From Travel Trade, May 13, 1968]

WHO'S ON FIRST

(By Joel M. Abels)

There's a hollow tin ring by now to the sound of the words Visit USA because we have all been beaten over the heads with a variety of statements telling us how important it is to the travel industry to support government efforts to bring more foreign visitors to the United States. While we may all be in favor of the idea, it is patently obvious that only carriers and tour wholesalers and a limited number of local ground operators are in any sort of a position to play an active role in the whole affair. There simply is little or no place in the Visit USA scheme of things for the average retail travel agent and everybody in the travel industry knows it.

Unfortunately, our government doesn't know this to be so and refuses to recognize that fact; and as a result we are all saddled with the burden of proving that we as an industry are patriotic and will cooperate with Visit USA efforts. If we don't, Lord knows what the President or the Congress is liable to pass in the way of legislation which would restrict our ability to send Americans outside of the Western Hemisphere. Since this is the climate of the day we must face up to it.

Last week's editorial, The Hasty Hoax, explained some of the reasons why the travel discount card for foreign visitors, conceived in panic by the President's Travel Task Force, has badly backfired and is proving ruinous to the Visit USA market. In following up on that editorial to see if any progress had been made to remove the doubts in the minds of Europeans about the credit card and the whole Visit USA effort, Travel Trade stumbled across a broad trail of inept, bumbling, clumsy, almost too incredible "redtapesmanship."

If you recall, a special Visit USA emergency meeting was held less than three weeks ago under ASTA auspices in order to draw up an industry resolution urging the U.S. Travel Service to release press notices abroad to the effect that the much publicized travel discount card did not offer discounts off already discounted special Visit USA group tour, hotel and sightseeing arrangements. The ludicrousness of having to gather 25 leading airline and tour operator executives to draft such an obvious suggestion is appalling in itself.

But—and here is the real rub—when the USTS was called to find out what action had been taken to implement the resolution and start Visit USA business moving once more, we learned that the resolution (which presumably had been drafted) had never reached USTS offices. Officials did admit however that they had read about it in Travel Trade. We then asked why, since they realized the urgency of the situation, the Travel Service hadn't simply gone ahead and released the necessary information in Europe and cleared up the mess which had been created. We were told that even if the resolution had reached them, no action could be taken because the Travel Discount Card was an idea of the President's Task Force and only that committee could tell the USTS to act one way or another on a program which the committee had introduced.

Shaking our heads in horror at this example of government ineptitude we then called ASTA headquarters to find out for ourselves if it was possible that the emergency resolution, debated and discussed for three full hours of their valuable time by 25 top executives, could somehow not have reached the proper hands at the Travel Service. Believe it or not, we were told by ASTA that this emergency resolution, discussed over two weeks before, would probably be written up and approved later this week and then submitted.

Upon hearing the Visit USA people pass the ball back and forth to the Task Force, I began wondering, "Who's on first?" and after hearing that ASTA was taking a minimum of three weeks to write a simple resolution it occurred to me that we were all playing in different ball parks. Meanwhile, the whole ball game is rapidly slipping away from all of us because Visit USA business is continuing to go down the drain, nobody is doing a darn thing about it, except to point to some other agency or group, and the only certainty is that the travel agent industry will be left holding the bag when Treasury officials uncover the sorry fact that the difference between incoming and outgoing travel receipts is greater than ever in '68.

ABOLISH OR REFORM ELECTORAL COLLEGE?

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, there has repeatedly appeared in the press speculation that no candidate this fall would receive a majority of electoral votes and consequently the 1968 presidential election would ultimately have to be decided by the House of Representatives. This has quite naturally rekindled interest in electoral college reform.

An editorial appearing in the Owosso, Mich., Argus-Press on Monday, May 20, 1968, offered its readers a particularly timely and cogent discussion of this matter and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

Because I share the concern of many about the workability of our electoral machinery today, early this session I joined in sponsoring a resolution, House Joint Resolution 1164, to amend the Constitution, which if acted upon promptly by the majority leadership could be ratified by a sufficient number of the States following the November election if necessary. It would simply provide, that each State would have as many votes in electing the President as it does Representatives, contrary to the present one-State, one-vote provision in effect since the adoption of the 12th amendment in 1804. In this way the election of the President by the House would more properly reflect the views of the people. For years I have been concerned about our archaic electoral college and, in fact, back in 1961 I sponsored legislation to have a special commission review the whole question of electoral college reform. However, the majority leadership has apparently been of the opinion that no changes are needed. It is my hope that current speculation about the possibility of the coming election being decided by the House will prod some action. The editorial follows:

Abolish or Reform Electoral College?

Nearly everyone who has written on the subject for the last 180 years or so has called for doing away with or drastically altering the Electoral College method of choosing the nations's president.

The criticism has been especially vigorous this year because of the possibility that the third-party candidacy of former Alabama Gov. George Wallace could throw the election in the House of Representatives. The wheeling and dealing that might accompany that eventuality gives some people nightmares.

There are 538 electoral votes, which is the total of the representatives and senators of the 50 states, plus three for the District of Columbia. When John Q. Public votes in November, he votes not for the presidential and vice presidential candidates of the party of his choice but for a slate of electors. The elected electors in turn meet in their respective state capitals in December and are morally—but not legally—bound to vote for the candidates they represented on the ballot.

The Constitution provides that when no candidate receives a majority (270) of the electoral votes, the House of Representatives must choose the president from the top three candidates, with each state's delegation casting one vote. (Senators vote as individuals for one of the top two vice presidential candidates.)

There are two main proposals for reform. One is to abolish the Electoral College outright and elect the president and vice president by direct vote, like every other elective federal official. The other proposal is to retain the college, but make its votes proportional to the popular vote in each state.

The Electoral College is not lacking for defenders, however, who argue that is not the unmitigated evil its opponents say it is.

For one thing, it has spared the United States from the divisive and paralyzing bane of splinter parties. The electoral system gives the candidate with the most popular votes all of a state's electoral votes, even if his popular marjority was one. (It also gives the more populous states a deservedly greater weight in the election than the less populous.)

This winner-take-all system, because it maximizes the victory of the winner in a close election, has undoubtedly served to reconcile the voters whose candidate lost.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy had a popular majority of a mere 118,000 out of 68 million popular votes, but in electoral votes he defeated Richard Nixon by 303 to 219. There have been 14 other presidents, including Abraham Lincoln, who did not receive a majority of the popular vote, yet who won decisively in the Electoral College.

Even if the president were elected by direct popular vote, there would still be the possibility, whenever there were more than two candidates, of no one receiving a majority.

The Electoral College is not ideal by any means. Yet, except for two or three elections, it has served the nation well.

If there must be a constitutional amendment, one legally binding electors to vote as the people instruct them and stating simply that the candidate receiving the most, not the majority, of the votes in the Electoral College be declared president would correct the most serious deficiencies of the system while preserving its desirable features.

A SOLDIER SPEAKS OUT

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, the serious troubles that plague our country are eloquently described in a recent letter to the editor of the San Bernardino Sun in my district in California. I wish to take this opportunity to bring this American soldier's feelings to the attention of my colleagues because of its poignancy and heart-rending mood:

My God, how can it be:

That one boy lies rotting from malnutrition and torture in a jungle prison camp in North Vietnam—and another boy spits and tramples on the flag of this country on the steps of a university of learning.

That one boy lies sightless in a U.S. Naval Hospital from Communist-inflicted face wounds—and another boy uses a Communist flag to drape himself in defiance of the laws of this country.

That one man of medicine begins his 13th straight hour standing over an operating table in pursuit of life for men serving this country—and another man of medicine implores crowds of young men to refuse to serve their country.

That one Negro holds the face of his dead white comrade in his arms and cries pitifully in a dirty mudhole in Vietnam—and another Negro screams with hate against his white brother in the streets of countless American cities.

That one boy lies in a coffin beneath the ground because he believed in duty to country—and another boy lies on a dingy cot giving blood to the enemies of his country.

That one man of God shields a wounded boy from an enemy bayonet with his body and dies—and another man of God uses his cloth as a shield to preach hate, dissension and lawlessness.

My God, how can it be?

Sgt. James R. Smith,
Third Marine Division.

Vietnam.

GEN. JIM FARLEY CELEBRATES HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on May 30, as the Nation appropriately paused to honor its dead, many Americans also took the opportunity to pay tribute to one of the country's truly great and distinguished citizens. I refer, of course, to the Honorable James A. Farley, former Postmaster General and Democratic National Chairman; confidant of Presidents, acquaintance of foreign notables and dignitaries, and friend of all mankind.

Last Thursday Jim Farley celebrated his 80th birthday—that four-score mark to which we all aspire. But unlike most who have attained that age, Jim celebrated the occasion not in leisurely retirement but as just another event in a 75-hour workweek.

No other living American has played so great and influential a role in shaping the course of this country's history over the past half century. For more than 50 years, since his election as town clerk in the rock-ribbed Republican town of Grassy Point, N.Y., Jim has given unstintingly of his time and energies in behalf of his party, his country and the common good.

Much has been written and said about Jim Farley, but I believe that one of the best tributes to this great man was contained in an editorial in the July 17, 1944 issue of the New York Enquirer shortly after his resignation as chairman of the New York Democratic State Committee:

It is not necessary to restate Jim Farley's record. It is known the length and breadth of the land. Thousands can testify to his political ability and his genius for organization. But more thousands will rate Farley eminent not so much for these attributes—for others have them—but because through the years despite hard blows, despite disappointments, despite temptations, he has held fast to the virtues of patriotism, loyalty, honesty, and has demonstrated moral integrity and spiritual qualities of the highest order.

Mr. Speaker, I am certain that every Member of this body joins with me today in acknowledging the Nation's debt to Jim Farley. The struggling youth of our country could well look to him as an example of a great American who has made it all the way from humble beginnings to the greatest heights without losing the common touch. We can take comfort in the knowledge that his wisdom is still in our midst and, hopefully, will remain with us for many years to come.

HOUSING TRIUMPH FOR PERCY

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the omnibus housing bill approved May 28 by the Senate contains, as one of its major elements, a provision which will bring homeownership within the reach of a large number of less affluent Americans who heretofore have had no hope of owning their own homes. I believe it is noteworthy that this portion of the housing bill was the creation of a man in his first term in the Senate, the distinguished junior Senator from Illinois, Charles H. Percy.

In an editorial May 31, the Chicago's American called inclusion of the homeownership program "a remarkable personal triumph" for Senator Percy. I include in the Record the text of the editorial which so aptly places the credit for this legislation where it is due:

Housing Triumph for Percy

What President Johnson called "the largest and most comprehensive housing bill in the history of our country" swept thru the Senate Tuesday and seems headed for approval in the House, where a banking subcommittee has already approved an even bigger measure. Its record in the Senate was remarkable: The omnibus housing bill is 300 pages long and carries a 5-billion-dollar price tag the next three years, but it went thru on a thumping 67-to-4 vote after only 3 days of debate.

All this seems to us very good news, indicating that the coming slashes in federal spending at least won't be made in the vital area of housing. This measure is meant to provide 1.2 million units of new or rehabilitated housing to low-income families over the next 3 years; it also provides for a wide range of less pressing but still essential needs—programs for urban renewal, mass transit, campus housing construction, and so on. The bill has been trimmed down by 2.5 billion from President Johnson's version, but the cuts were made principally by shortening its term from 5 years to 3, rather than cutting out parts of the programs.

The Senate vote on this bill is in a way a remarkable personal triumph for Sen. Charles H. Percy [R., Ill.]. One of its key provisions—perhaps the most important in the whole bill—is a program developed by Percy, federal subsidies to help poor families meet mortgage payments.

The plan works this way: A low-income homeowner would have to pay 20 per cent of his income for his mortgage, including principal, interest, and taxes. If this was not enough to meet monthly mortgage payments, the government would pay some of the interest charges—up to 99 per cent, in some cases. The effect will be to bring home ownership within the reach of vast numbers of poor families who now haven't a hope of buying a home of their own.

To originate a piece of legislation as important as this, and see it passed by such a hefty margin, is quite a feat for a freshman senator. The achievement does not dim Percy's chances for the Vice Presidential nomination.

DAY OF PRAYER

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the Northport Christian Church of Newport, Tenn., set aside Memorial Day, May 30, 1968, as a Day of Prayer and has sent out a letter which was mailed into all 50 States and 30 foreign countries.

What a wonderful thing to do, and my sincere and heartfelt congratulations to the pastor, Rev. Olin Badeaux, Mrs. Badeaux, Miss Lynn McKnight, and to the membership and friends of this church for holding this Day of Prayer services, which were conducted every hour, beginning at 12, midnight, Wednesday, and continuing through 12, midnight, Thursday—around the clock on Memorial Day.

At the invitation of the church, I attended one of the hourly Day of Prayer services—it was a most rewarding experience. I shall long remember my visit to this church, and I am honored that I was asked.

The services were not only fitting, but were very appropriate to be held on Memorial Day as we pay tribute to those who lie beneath the crosses row on row. During these troubled times, I know that it will have a great effect on the moral fiber of this country. I hope the appeal for others to do the same thing was received and carried out in the same spirit.

At this point, I would like to make the Day of Prayer letter available to the readers of the Record:

Dear Fellow Americans: These are perilous times! If we are not awakened from our indifference, history students of tomorrow will be studying about the "Rise and Fall of America"; but this is not the first time in the life of America that she has faced a crucial time.

Abraham Lincoln felt that the Civil War was a Divine Judgment visited upon this nation because of her haughtiness, pride, indifference, the rejection and deliberate forgetting of the Almighty God.

Mr. Lincoln saw a direct connection between his perilous times and the pride and sin of this nation, and declared on March 30, 1863, the only remedy—a National Day of humiliation and prayer. It was the only answer then and it is the only answer now!

In II Chronicles 7:14 we read; "If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven and will forgive their sins, and will heal their land." How do we know this is the answer? When God told Joshua to march around Jericho seven times in order to take the city he did not know how this plan could bring about victory, but in faith he did what God instructed him to do. Then God took over and completed the victory.

God has asked us to humble ourselves (to recognize that all things come from Him); to pray (talk to God and then accept His answer); seek His face (to search His Word); and turn from our wicked ways (repent of our sins—sin is anything that separates us from God.) And then, God will do His part. He will hear from heaven, forgive our sins, and heal our land. To be able to claim this promise of God, everyone of us will have to fulfill these conditions, both individually and as a nation.

Will you join with us in this plan:

1. Will you set aside Memorial Day, May 30, 1968, and spend this day in prayer for your nation and encourage members of your family to do the same.

2. Will you be responsible for seeing that there is a planned public day of prayer in your church on this day.

3. Will you ask your employer to participate in this Day of Prayer as fully as possible and permit his employees time to participate.

4. Will you use your influence as a citizen to contact local officials, school officials, newspapers, radio and TV stations and ask them to promote and participate in this Day of Prayer.

"The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." (James 5:16).

Your Friends in Christ.

Newport, Tenn.

ILLINOIS: EXPORT CAPITAL OF UNITED STATES

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as I have warned my colleagues in the past, they can expect to hear me speak out from time to time in behalf of my beloved home State of Illinois as we celebrate our 150th year of statehood this year. However, the State continues to speak for itself and really requires no persistent advocate to tell her exciting story of growth and progress.

In that regard let me report that a recent report from the U.S. Department of Commerce points out that Illinois is now the Nation's largest exporter, not merely of agricultural commodities, mind you, but the largest total exporter of all our 50 great States.

An editorial from the Peoria Journal Star, May 27 issue, tells the story in fine fashion and I include the editorial at this point in the Record:

Illinois: Export Capital of United States

Illinois is the nation's largest exporter—the largest exporter of agricultural commodities, the largest exporter of manufactured products, the largest total exporter.

This fact, pointed up once again in the latest U.S. Department of Commerce report, is significant.

It is significant because exports play a vital role in the nation's economy. In a word, we the people have the highest standard of living in the world basically because of our big edge in exporting.

It is significant to Peoria, of course, because Caterpillar is Illinois' biggest exporter—and there are a number of other large exporters in this metropolitan area. Indeed, exporting is the name of the game in Peoria.

Sometimes we overlook the vital role that exporting plays in the nation's economy, but it is crystal clear when you spell it out. Exports are:

A great source of income for American citizens and businesses.

The biggest part of our balance of payment return.

A motivation for greater innovation and diversification in industry and agriculture.

A stimulus to large scale production with lower per unit cost.

Producers of greater employment for Americans through the production, transportation, and servicing of them.

We could go on, but the point is clear: Without exports our economy would be much closer to the line and money wouldn't be as free and easy as it is today. It is the margin which puts us, relatively speaking, on Easy Street.

And this is the state and the area that is producing that margin. Illinois produces about 9 per cent of all exported manufactured products, and it grows a whopping 27 per cent of all the agricultural commodities that are exported.

Significant too, is that this aspect—exporting—is growing here by leaps and bounds. Illinois registered the fastest growth rate among the principal exporting states. Among U.S. metropolitan areas, Chicago ranked first in foreign sales of manufacturers.

It is evidence, too, of something we have long held in these editorial columns: The power of the U.S. is moving inexorably from the East Coast to the Middle West and to Illinois in particular. The New York establishment, which once regarded Midwesterners as quaint rubes, are now saying, "Better check with Illinois." It is finding that a nation's center is being superseded by a world center.

That is the significance of the export picture, pointed up once again in the U.S. Commerce Department report. Exporting is what makes our economy thrive, and Illinois is the export capital of the world.

LOWER VOTING AGE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it has long been my opinion that a progressive step in our election system would be a lowering of the voting age to 18.

In Illinois voters this fall will be asked to hold a constitutional convention. It is my hope that such a convention will be proved and that as it produces needed adjustments for the State one major change would be an 18-year-old voting clause.

Therefore, I am very pleased to note an editorial carried on Tuesday, May 21 over radio station WBBM, Chicago, as follows:

LOWER THE VOTING AGE

The U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments has an important measure before it. This is a proposal to permit all Americans to vote at age 18. Because the proposal takes the form of a constitutional amendment, it would take years for ratification of the amendment by the required three-fourths of the states. Minority Leader Everett Dirksen of Illinois is one of 46 co-sponsors of the measure.

The Constitution now leaves the question of a minimum voting age to the states. Until 1943, all states had a minimum voting age requirement of 21 years. Then Georgia lowered it to age 18 and Kentucky followed suit.

Alaska and Hawaii have set 19 and 20 year requirements in their respective states. Nationwide polls have indicated that 64% of today's voters favor a lowering of the voting age. And we also support this proposal. From the 77th to the 89th Congress, no less than 86 joint resolutions to grant voting rights to 18 year olds were introduced. In the 89th Congress alone, there were 25 such measures in the House and 2 in the Senate.

It seems to us that the time has arrived to act on this issue. We believe that today's 18 year old is better equipped to vote than at any other time in history. More is demanded, more is expected of today's 18 year old. We send our 18 year old youths to fight wars, but we deny to them the right to legally express their views with their vote. It simply does not make sense.

We believe that if Illinois voters should agree to hold a constitutional convention, one of the acts of that group should be to establish a new voting age limit. And we are convinced that the new voting age limit should start at 18 years of age.

A NEWSLETTER FROM MR. LONG OF MARYLAND

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker in my June Newsletter, I am polling my constituents to determine what they think this Government's policy on riot control should be. The maintenance of law and order is one of the most pressing responsibilities at all levels of government today, and I think the voters should have the chance to express their views on how it should be done. Under unanimous consent I insert my Newsletter in the RECORD at this point:

NEWSLETTER FROM MR. LONG OF MARYLAND, JUNE 1968

HOW TO STOP RIOTS

The next riots must be stopped. Without bloodshed. But stopped. Here's how, from experts:

Get plenty of police there, *fast*.

Organize residents to help police.

Disperse the curious and the pilferer.

Photograph looters for later arrest.

Stop the violent with tear or nausea gas.

Infiltrate agents to search out leaders.

Provide police with gas dispensers and masks, walkie-talkie radios. Never bluff!

PENNY FOR YOUR THOUGHTS—ON RIOTS

The following questions do not necessarily indicate *my* views. *Your* answers will, however, help guide legislative action, Check "Yes" or "No."

	Yes	No
1. Is the solution to riots—		
Better housing, jobs, education?	☐	☐
Guaranteed incomes for the poor?	☐	☐
2. Would you support substantially higher taxes to finance such programs?	☐	☐
3. Do you want prompter and stronger action to control riots?	☐	☐
4. Would you support higher taxes, if necessary, to finance stronger action against riots (and everyday crime)?	☐	☐

MARCH OR MENACE?

"Have you come to petition—or to threaten?" your Congressman asked the Rev. Ralph Abernathy at a recent meeting with leaders of the Poor People. "Statements such as 'We'll turn the country upside down,' especially in the context of recent riots, are losing you the sympathy of the American people. Without that public sympathy, it is difficult for Congress to help."

ATOMS FOR ABERDEEN

Aberdeen's $2.5 million nuclear reactor—a major element in the Baltimore area's growing science-industry complex—will be dedicated this month by your Congressman, who led the fight to win it for Harford County.

KEEP PORNOGRAPHY OUT OF YOUR MAIL

A new law entitles you to return pornography to your postmaster and insist that no more be sent you from the same source. Call me if you need help.

DOUBLE DEAL ON A DOUBLE BRIDGE

The people voted down the parallel Bay bridge. Agnew is going to build it anyway—and raise your toll taxes on other roads to pay for it! Working people who use the Harbor Tunnel and the Susquehanna Bridge will pay $2 million a year to finance a duplicate Bay bridge mainly for use of out-of-state vacationers on a few summer weekends. A poll just taken by WMAR-TV finds 82% of the people opposed to this.

SOMETHING WRONG? SEE LONG!

At these post offices on Saturday:

June 15, Edgewood, 10 a.m.

June 22, Perry Hall, 10 a.m.; White Marsh, 11 a.m.

	Yes	No
P.S.—Do you get my regular newsletter?	☐	☐
If not, would you like to be put on the mailing list?	☐	☐

AID SCORES SUCCESS WITH COLOMBIAN FARMERS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a successful Alliance for Progress must benefit people. Ultimately, our assistance through AID and other agencies is aimed at improving the life of the common man in Latin America.

It is reassuring then, especially when our aid programs are under attacks, to hear of the positive and productive programs generated with U.S. assistance. One such program is currently enjoying success in Colombia, a prime recipient of U.S. aid. President Carlos Lleras Restrepo and his young, energetic Director of Agrarian Reform, Enrique Penalosa, are providing the impetus for a comprehensive program based on supervised credit, which is providing help to thousands of struggling Colombian farmers.

We can point with pride to this AID-supported project. I would like to submit for publication in the RECORD an article by Joseph R. Slevin that appeared in the Baltimore Sun Saturday, May 25, 1968, in which the writer describes specific successes of this Colombian program.

The article follows:

INSIDE THE ECONOMY: DESIRE TO LEARN AIDS COLOMBIA

(By Joseph R. Slevin)

MEDELLIN, COLOMBIA, May 24.—Three years ago, Samuel Botero had one cow, an unlighted tumble-down house and a mortgaged, largely uncultivated 75-acre farm for which he had paid $900. Today, the lithe, bright-eyed Colombian has fifteen cows, a horse, a milking shed, two profitable potato crops a year, and more than an acre of fruit trees. He has repaired and electrified his house, and his farm is worth a solid $9,000.

Botero's hilly, green acres are at the side of a one-lane dirt road that winds out of El Retrio, slightly more than 30 mountainous miles from Medellin. He has done even better than the typical Colombian who operates under the dramatically successful Agrarian Reform Institute, or Incora as it is known by its Spanish initials. Incora provides credit and technical help to almost 25,000 poor farmers, and the average family triples its assets in three years.

FINANCED BY AID

Muscular Guillermo Bedoya at nearby La Ceja is another Incora success story. He was an impoverished farm laborer three years ago, but today he has 28 cows, rents a farm, is worth $6,000 and is looking for a farm to buy.

Incora is financed by loans from the Agency for International Development. It is one of the many AID projects in Colombia of which the United States can be deeply proud.

Enrique Penalosa, Incora's charismatic, hard-driving director, plans to have 50,000 supervised credit farms by 1970 and to be adding and "graduating" 10,000 farm families a year.

COMPARISON URGED

"The only way to appreciate supervised credit is to see how the families were two to three years ago and how they are now," the 38-year-old official declares. Penalosa is one of President Carlos Lleras Restrepo's bright young men. Incora was founded in 1961 but it didn't start to take off until after Lleras was inaugurated in August, 1966.

The supervised credit program is a success because Colombia's small farmers want to learn. Incora's loans make it possible for Gotero, Bedoya and the rest to get the improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, and pesticides that Penalosa's local technicians, his dedicated "development missionaries" recommend.

PROGRAM GETS TEETH

Incora expropriates land and buys it from big holders. It sells land to squatters and sharecroppers and gets them the clear titles that they must have to obtain credit. Lleras put teeth in the program two weeks ago and the prediction now is that 200,000 more campesinos will own the land they are working within another few years.

Incora has big development projects, too. It is opening up fertile, virgin lands, is playing an important role in developing Colombia's new beef cattle industry, and is just beginning to exploit the potentialities of farming along Columbia's lush, tropical coasts.

Penalosa enthusiastically forecasts that a huge 50,000-acre Atlantico project near Barranquilla will yield 200,000 tons of tomatoes a year to be processed into paste and catsup for export. He figures that 3,000 men will be needed at Atlantico, and that 20,000 jobs ultimately will be created.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 133d day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

AN INTERVIEW WITH HERBERT H. McADAMS

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, the February 1968 issue of Southern Banker featured an interview with the Honorable Herbert H. McAdams, the chairman of our Arkansas Industrial Development Commission.

The article is prefaced by a brief account of Mr. McAdams that tells in a few words some of the splendid things about this active Arkansas citizen.

Because of my own high esteem for this man and the excellent work of the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission, it is a privilege to bring this interview to the attention of the Members.

The article follows:

AN INTERVIEW WITH HERBERT H. McADAMS, CHAIRMAN AIDC

Question—Mr. McAdams, Arkansas has been extremely successful in promoting and building industry in the past few years. To what do you attribute this mainly?

Answer—The continuing industrial progress achieved in Arkansas during the past 12 months reflects the cumulative results of years of work. And this progress has been accomplished through the collective efforts of many individuals and groups.

The Arkansas Industrial Development Commission was created by Act 404 of the 1955 General Assembly to bring labor, industry and agriculture into the closest and fullest possible accord for the development of the State's resources and the furtherance of its industry. Since that time, members of the AIDC staff have presented professionally-prepared factual information to more than 30,000 important prospects. The success of this program is attested by a decade of impressive industrial growth.

This growth in industry has been a team effort. No one person can influence, to a high degree, growth of this type. The Arkansas Industrial Development Commission, however, can exert a significant influence. And with the cooperation of local communities the job can be accomplished—sometimes spectacularly.

There was a 78.4 percent increase in the number of workers since March 31, 1955. During the same period the number of employers increased only 15 percent, reflecting healthy economic expansion within the state.

Manufacturing payrolls increased from $243.7 million to $645 million since March 31, 1955, a gain of 164 percent. Value added by manufacturing rose from $585 million to $1,330 million, a boost of 127 percent.

Question—Would you give us some facts and figures on the industrial change you mention?

Answer—The Arkansas State Chamber of Commerce annual inventory of Arkansas' Industrial Growth further emphasizes the state's tremendous growth. In 1955, investment in new and expanded plants was $20.9 million. Investment by utilities for improved services was $38.2 million and estimated total outlay for industrial growth was $59.2 million. In 1966, there was an estimated total outlay of $395.3 million for industrial growth.

Since 1951, when the State Chamber conducted its first industrial growth inventory more than $2.4 billion has been programmed by private companies for new and expanded industrial facilities in Arkansas. This includes $1.4 billion for 1,082 new manufacturing and processing plants and 1,514 expansions to existing plants, plus $965.4 million programmed by major utility, transportation and communications firms for improvement and expansion of systems and services within the state.

Among manufacturing industries, the most dramatic overall growth since 1957 has been in electrical equipment and supplies. Employment is up 380.2 percent and total payrolls 472.2 percent.

In early 1967, Arkansas had 46 plants producing electrical equipment; these plants totaled 11,520, a gain of 9,121 jobs since September 1957.

In the actual number of new jobs created during the decade, manufacturers of food and kindred products led all manufacturing industry groups in payroll gains and was the third largest producer of new jobs. The payroll increase was 165 percent and the employment gain was 58.7 percent.

Thus, in both numerical and percentage gains, Arkansas' industrial growth has been outstanding. Progress in the past 12 months points up a continuing expansion of Arkansas' vigorous economy.

During this time, 43 companies announced plans to build new plants in Arkansas. These new plants have an estimated potential employment of 6,148 persons. Expansion of existing plants was announced by 62 companies, with an expected increase of 4,633 new jobs.

Question—Can you tell us something about financing of new industry in Arkansas?

Answer—Arkansas offers two 100 percent financing plans for both new and expanding industries. This financing plans for both new and expanding industries. This financing may include land, buildings, machinery, and equipment. During the term of bonds issued under these plans, title to the property is vested in the municipality or county issuing the bonds. Under new legislation, Act 173 of 1967 provides for guaranty of amortization payments of these industrial revenue bonds. Since July 1966, these flexible plans have made it possible for the issuance of bonds totaling $69,851,000 under Act 9 and $4,658,000 under Amendment 49.

These financing plans helped Arkansas show a 3.7 percent increase of 5,344 manufacturing jobs during the 12-month period ended March 31, 1967. The national gain during the identical period was 2.6 percent.

Question—What is the role of Arkansas Industrial Development Commission?

Answer—At the forefront of this industrial expansion in Arkansas, the AIDC continues to stay abreast of new and changing needs in the area development field. The Electronic Data Retrieval System has been further expanded to include automatic typing from punched cards and tapes. This system is utilized in the preparation of preliminary reports, for special promotional and informational mailings, and for presentations to industrial prospects. The Electronic Data System includes extensive information on communities and industries throughout the state

Question—We have heard a great deal about the great Arkansas River Development Project. What will its impact be on the future economy of the state?

Answer—As Arkansas looks to an unlimited future, a major project lends tremendous impact to future growth—the $1.3 billion Arkansas River Development Program. Upon its completion in 1970, this, the largest civil works undertaking ever assigned to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineer, will provide an important mid-continental artery of commerce and trade.

This program will make seaports out of river towns along the Arkansas. And the entire state will see and feel the effects of a navigable Arkansas River. In addition to obvious industrial advantages, the Arkansas River will offer increased water recreation and more tourist trade to help insure continued expansion of Arkansas' economy.

Question—What roll have the bankers of Arkansas played in these tremendous efforts?

Answer—Bankers of Arkansas have devoted unlimited time and effort to progress of the state by taking leading roles in local industrial development projects, Chambers of Commerce activities, and all other civic and economic planning. At the state level the Arkansas Bankers Association has followed a theme of economic development for Arkansas in the past three years. This theme has been brought into every program whether it be an instalment credit conference, the Bank Management Seminar at the University each year, efforts of the Public Relations Committee, or an industrial financing paper written and sponsored jointly by the University and the association.

As a result bankers of the state are keenly aware of the state's aims and goals. They are playing a great role in this undertaking.

HELEN KELLER IS DEAD; HER COURAGE REMAINS AN INSPIRATION

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, with sincere regret I call to the attention of my colleagues the death of Helen Keller of Easton, Conn. She was certainly my most courageous constituent.

Although deaf and blind, she became an American institution and was honored the world over for her accomplishments in the face of adversity.

If ever there was an era of frustration, of disillusionment, of discouragement and hardship, albeit outweighed by opportunity for wealth, education and achievement by those who would overcome the obstacles to attainment, we are a part of it. All the more reason why the indomitable spirit and unflinching courage of Helen Keller will live on as an inspiration to all who would be undaunted by problems seemingly impossible to overcome, and would rise effectively to the challenge.

Mr. Speaker, Helen Keller was especially beloved in Easton, Conn., where she had made her home for many years prior to her death. She would have been 88 years of age on June 27 and I am certain that her birth date, as well as her achievements, will long be remembered and honored in the beautiful Fairfield County area she chose to call home.

I have today read two editorials which impressed me and I would include them as part of this tribute. They are "The Helen Keller Miracle" which appeared in the Washington Post of June 3 and "Helen Keller's Vision" from the New York Times of June 3.

The editorials follow:

[From the Washington Post, June 3, 1968]

THE HELEN KELLER MIRACLE

Mark Twain's comment that "the two most interesting characters of the 19th century are Napoleon and Helen Keller" has an element of humor because the two were so different. Yet Miss Keller's conquest of the spirit was as striking in its way as the military conquests of the dashing French general. Her life was truly one of the remarkable phenomena of our time, and her death just short of the age of 88 years leaves the whole world poorer.

Miss Keller would doubtless have been a notable figure if illness had not left her blind and deaf at the age of 19 months. But her attainment of the status of eminent writer and lecturer, known throughout the world, despite these usually crippling handicaps, clearly falls into the category of the miraculous. And for this generation her achievement is the more meaningful because it was centered in the area of personal struggle and spiritual triumph.

The blind and deaf girl who found a way to express the "sweet strange things that were locked up in her heart" had an enormous appeal to the imagination. She came to reflect in a very real way the finest aspects of the American spirit. Her indomitable will was akin to the motivation behind our pioneers and empire builders. Her relentless pursuit of goals that once seemed impossible was a dramatic example of the restless questing which is characteristic of this country. Yet her courage and skills were channeled into intensely human endeavors that are well understood and appreciated by this generation. She will long be remembered not only as a remarkable individual but also as an inspiration to all those who have gigantic problems or handicaps to overcome.

In this age of disillusionment and easy surrender to hardships and discouragement, the world can ill afford to lose the shining example of Miss Keller fighting her way through every adversity to a rich and satisfying life in which she became, despite her handicaps, a source of help, comfort and strength to her generation.

[From the New York Times, June 3, 1968]

HELEN KELLER'S VISION

"I slip back many times," Helen Keller wrote of her college years. "I fall, I stand still. I run against the edge of hidden obstacles. I lose my temper and find it again, and keep it better. I trudge on, I gain a little. I feel encouraged. I get more eager and climb higher and begin to see widening horizons."

Stricken as an infant with an illness that left her blind, deaf and mute, Miss Keller became—through her unquenchable zest for life and learning—a font of strength and courage to hundreds of millions. "Love" and "joy" were her favorite words and "war" perhaps her most despised. She saw a better world for the blind and—if man would only respond to the better angles of his nature—for everyone.

NATIONAL ANTHEM FOR STUDENTS

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, Miss Camille O'Neill of Lake Worth, Fla., has been active in civic affairs in her community, and has taken a special intrest in the young people of this Nation.

She has composed a song which expresses her feelings in this endeavor and I insert it here for the benefit of others:

NATIONAL ANTHEM FOR STUDENTS

(Words and music by Camille O'Neill of Lake Worth, Fla.)

This is *our* day to mold our world
  In beauty not yet known,—
To search with faith for laws of life
  That we ride but do not own.
Each one his loving life pours out
  To leave his deathless mark
Upon our vital, glowing land
  That men may heed, and hark.
We walk, and work, and travel on,
  Our faces to the light.
We play and feast, but never cease
  To strive to reach the height.
One hand stretched out to touch the robe
  Of God, our hope, our might—
Our other hand shall lift the load
  Of those who stand in night.

MEMORIAL DAY REFLECTIONS

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, returning to Washington following Memorial Day, it is well for all of us to reflect on the true meaning of the occasion, and reflect on the application of the lessons of Memorial Day. Mayor Gil Colnot, of Lauderdale-by-the-Sea, Fla., did just that in an article in the Tribune, a weekly newspaper in central Broward County. His words are important and to the point, and I include his article at this point in the RECORD:

MEMORIAL DAY REFLECTIONS

(By Mayor Gil Colnot)

As we approach another Memorial Day, its purpose should certainly be more meaningful than ever. To the list of those who paid the supreme sacrifice, suffered lifetime wounds, or just served their Country to the best of their ability and were fortunate enough to return unscathed in the wars since 1865, we are adding daily precious names from the cream of our youth as they drop in far distant places amid stench and rubble. God knows we need these fine young men at home to help preserve the dignity and stature of this great land.

If you have passed the time away one Memorial Day after another over recent years and not thought seriously of the true meaning and the debt you owe to those who have died to preserve our freedom, please sit down and think seriously of the past as it applies to the present. Oh! yes, the trend is to forget the past and instead "go-go" with the new way of life, get hep to the modern jive, minimize the glories of the past, rebel and riot over what we think are our constitutional rights, question many of the basic truths that have been a part of our lives down through the years.

Isn't it time for us to reconsider, asking our selves if this new way of life is really so "cool?" True we have the greatest prosperity, the highest living standard, the highest wage standard, many two-three car garages, $100,000 homes, palacial yachts, million dollar churches and clubs, an automobile in nearly every home. On the contrary it is a condition that must puzzle the world when they read the cover page of Time Magazine headlining: Poverty In America—Its Cause and Extent, or when they read all the ballyhoo over our money crisis, and look at our record breaking public debt or our record of disappearing-gold.

The conditions are more prevalent and more serious than at any time in the history of our nation. If the guidance we are following, and the policies endorsed are responsible for this condition along with our apparent loss in world leadership, then isn't it time we sit down and maybe think a little about the "olden days?" Thinking about them must include recalling the terrific sacrifices of American manhood through the years in an effort to preserve exactly what we are now losing. Maybe we should get out our pencil and study some figures printed recently in a popular magazine, giving the source to be Agency for International Development. These figures show that in the 21 years between 1945 and 1966 our Government "gave" or "loaned" to a list of 136 nations to total sum exceeding 122 billions of dollars. The largest "loan or gift" went to France in an amount approaching 10 billions of dollars. (Mr. DeGaulle; how about a payment on account?)

The above figures included only the accounting through 1966, and even though our source of the dollars was by borrowing them at interest to give or loan, resulting in our current record breaking public debt, yet, we continue the same old practices. What does it take to teach us a lesson? This is further emphasized when we scan the list of 136 nations trying to find a few staunch friends of America, for we must admit our foreign friends are at an all time low.

Lest the martyrs of 1865 through 1968, slumbering in distant places after paying the supreme sacrifice for Love of Country, arise in horror to see our mess, let us Make Memorial Day a memorable day by determining to revive the Spirit of 1776—1863—1917—1942 when love of Country inspired our efforts, when Law and Order was a part of our unified effort to make certain that "This Nation Might not Perish from the Earth." Our sleeping heroes deserve a better reward for the efforts they put forth than what today's chaos in America reflects.

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER FELLOWS?

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened to learn that one of my constituents, L. C. James O. Holloway, Jr., of Newark, was recently killed in action by mortar fire in Vietnam. This valiant marine's own words express, more nobly that I possibly could, the selflessness and dedication we are proud to see and support in our fighting men. I want to share with my colleagues one of James' letters, addressed to Mr. Jerry Leopaldi, president of Local 447, IUE–AFL–CIO. The letter follows:

MARCH 19, 1968.

DEAR MR. LEOPALDI AND ASSOCIATES: This is just a couple of short lines to thank you for the transistor. I really appreciated what you are doing for me and the other fellows.

You expressed that you would like to know some of my experiences while being here. Well, I've been wounded twice and seen a lot of action. But . . . that's just a small part. What about the other fellows that won't make it home? The Marine Corps, Army, Navy and Air Force are all doing a fine job here and my opinion is that all of this will be over soon.

I am so proud to be an *American* citizen and serving in one of its forces. and till it's all over I'm expressing that *we* will all stay to keep the American people *Proud* and *Free*.

Thank you all for the enjoyment that you have brought to *me* and others. And please excuse the spelling and writing for at *Khe Sanh* you have to keep low in a fox hole. (Smile)

Sincerely yours,

JAMES O. HOLLOWAY.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Dorothy Holloway is the first member of local 447 to lose a son in Vietnam, and she is bearing her tragic loss with admirable courage and faith. I am sure every Member of the House will join in her prayer that we will soon be blessed with the peace for which he gave his life.

THE DEMO PRIMARIES

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, well, tomorrow we have the last major primary with the voters of California going to the polls to express their opinions with respect to the merits of the various candidates. Literally millions of words have been written and spoken about the spirited contest for the Democratic presidential nomination, however, an editorial appearing in today's edition of the Peoria Journal Star outlines the situation in a nutshell so to speak and under unanimous consent I submit the editorial for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

THE DEMO PRIMARIES—YOU CAN'T KILL CARCASSES

Well, for all practical purposes, the fun and games are over, now, with Oregon finished and California coming to a "climax" tomorrow.

Doubtless most of us in the press and broadcast media will have to play out the game and beat the drums over the "race" still formally in progress in California—but as a practical matter, it really doesn't make any difference now.

Kefauver ran from "outside" the organization, swept all the primaries, and never had a prayer in the convention—which chose Adlai Stevenson. Remember?

In 1960, John F. Kennedy, with only one foot in the organization, swept the primaries and the convention.

Bobby Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy have been in the Kefauver boat, and it is foolish to talk of them "killing" each other's candidacies. You can't kill carcasses.

What both have been trying to do is create life in a candidacy by "going to the people," and to do that it is necessary to come out looking like a champion, a world-beater.

The plain fact is that neither one has managed to do this.

They have both looked to be doing what they are doing—struggling for life.

And the balance of that struggle is so indecisive that it doesn't now make much difference what happens in California. It can't help either one much.

Sen. McCarthy, who can be amazingly candid about some things and amazingly crude about others. almost laid bare what his only real hope is—and the same would go for Kennedy.

He said "There is a long, hot summer ahead," and events may change some delegate votes.

Translated, this means plainly that as it stands neither of them has a prayer, but they are—should we say "hoping"?—for some dramatic and disastrous events between now and July to so thoroughly disenchant the public with this administration as to ruin Humphrey's candidacy.

But if they are counting on outside events to alter the political picture, they are overlooking a significant reality.

If that happens, they will not benefit from it.

The signs, and experience of the past, both suggest that if the American people are shaken to the core by events—they will demand more than a change of presidents. They will want to sweep out all the Democrats.

And if that happens, no Democrat can divorce himself from the people and approaches with which he has been associated so many years.

Meanwhile, in any case, Sen. McCarthy's long hot summer is going to be cut short, very abruptly, in August.

For that is when the convention meets—not next Fall.

Hot or cold . . . it will be a short summer for the candidates.

ROBERT GRUENBERG—FIRST RECIPIENT OF THE JAMES P. McGUIRE MEMORIAL AWARD SPONSORED BY THE ILLINOIS DIVISION, AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was with great pride that we learned that Robert Gruenberg, a reporter for the Chicago Daily News, has been named the first recipient of the James P. McGuire Memorial Award, established by the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. Gruenberg was selected for his "dedicated services to the highest standards of journalism and to the principles and ideals of civil liberties and human dignity."

The award is named for James P. McGuire, a Chicago Sun-Times reporter who died in 1955.

Mr. McGuire and Chicago Sun-Times reporter, Jack McPhaul received a national award from Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic society, for their efforts in establishing the innocence of a Chicago man wrongfully sent to prison for murder.

Mr. Gruenberg's citation praises his "numerous thoughtful, incisive, and influential articles on the racial unrest and civil disturbances, excessive bail, censorship, corruption in government, dissent in the society, and the problems of migratory workers."

Many of my colleagues here in the House of Representatives will remember Robert Gruenberg when he covered Congress for the Chicago's American and later returned to the Chicago Daily News.

It has been my privilege to know Bob Gruenberg for the last two decades, and I can say without any fear of contradiction that he is one individual whom we can honestly describe as a "humanitarian".

Throughout his journalistic career, Bob Gruenberg has engaged in that tireless search for truth. He is a newspaperman's newspaperman.

Gruenberg has never run from an issue, but he is one of those newspapermen who can pride himself in the fact that he has discharged his responsibility with the highest degree of dignity, honesty, fairness, justice, and has exemplified the highest spirit of fair play.

Mr. Gruenberg well recognizes the enormous power of the printed word and he has never abused that power.

He continues to be one of the most unrelenting foes of oppression and despotism. His entire life has been dedicated to the highest principles of human dignity.

Every day Robert Gruenberg demonstrates that one can be an incisive, decisive and productive reporter-writer without ever trespassing on the rights of others.

At a time when modern journalism is undergoing serious criticism for lack of objectivity and integrity, Bob Gruenberg can hold high the award given him by the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union and say to himself and to his children that he at least, has upheld the highest traditions and responsibilities of a free press.

God grant there will be many more like him.

A MEMORIAL DAY POEM

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday our Nation honored those brave Americans who have given their lives in defense of their country. Few are untouched by this sacrifice, and Rosemary Breckler, who works as a secretary for the San Fernando Valley's largest newspaper, is no exception.

Last year, while watching the daily list of Vietnam casualties grow on the bulletin board of the city room of the Van Nuys News and Green Sheet in my district in California, Miss Breckler was moved with a desire to write something to bring some solace to the hearts of the mothers, wives, and other grieved ones who came into her office with pictures of their boys who had died.

As a result, Miss Breckler, an ex-World War II WAC, wrote a Memorial Day poem—a poem of such beauty and pathos that the Valley News and Green Sheet published it and the Army's 82d Airborne Division read it at their D-day anniversary dinner and later printed it in their magazine.

Capt. Ferdinand Mendenhall, U.S. Naval Reserve, publisher of the Valley News and Green Sheet, has kindly granted permission for republication of Miss Breckler's poem, and I would like to share it with my colleagues in the House, as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY

(By Rosemary Breckler)

Mute not the bugles on this day,
  Flow full their clarion sweet call,
That all who weep to mourn a lad
  Might solace find in deep recall
Though years may flit with breezy mists
  Memory dwells forever where fighters fall.
Though names, faces, figures . . . shadowy things
  May fade with passing moons and suns,
Still tall forever stand the facts
  That cost a country cherished sons
And no ground is ever hallowed more
  Than blood-won battle runs.

An ounce of immortality may
  Be all a fighter wins but yet . . .
No one can ever say he lived in vain
  Or on him the sun will ever set!
So blow sweetly, tenderly today
  The calls to honor those we debt.

EVENING UP THE ODDS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the FBI has reported a steady increase in the intensification of Soviet-bloc espionage operations and any daily newspaper reveals a parallel increase in Communist-instigated revolutions, so-called.

Writing in the Veterans of Foreign Wars magazine, Donald J. Miller comments that in the corps of agitators, propagandists, and organizers the Communists have an advantage of something approaching 6,000 to 1.

> For each one of our training centers, they have 6,000 turning out agents trained in every skill from agitation to guerrilla attack.

He concludes with the logical statement that while we are meeting the Communists on other fronts and matching or excelling their threats with counterdefenses, we have yet to institute a Freedom Academy to counter the threats of indigenous and other Communist agents and propaganda.

The full purpose of such a Freedom Academy has been stated to be "to conduct research to develop an integrated body of operational knowledge in the political, psychological, economic, technological, and organizational areas to increase the nonmilitary capabilities of the United States and other nations in the global struggle between freedom and communism; to educate and train Government personnel and private citizens to understand and implement this body of knowledge; and, also, to provide education and training for foreign students in these areas of knowledge."

Action along these lines it to be preferred over our present course of inaction or reaction.

I include the article from the VFW magazine at this point:

ALONG THE RED FRONT

(By Donald L. Miller)

There's an old military saying that the general always needs two more cavalry units and the admiral two more frigates.

Something much more rare is needed now. We need more civilians trained to out-think, out-plan, out-maneuver and out-fight Communist agitators, propagandists, and organizers.

In this field the Communists have almost a 6,000-to-1 advantage over us. For each one of our training centers, they have 6,000 turning out agents trained in every skill from agitation to guerrilla attack.

Trybunu Ludu, a Polish Communist newspaper, noted on January 21 that "Asian, African and Latin American nations are producing more and more forces to struggle against foreign domination, against the recently intensified offensive of American imperialism."

A North Korean terrorist captured near Seoul in January was more direct. He said the North Korean Reds have 2,400 special forces trained to infiltrate, gather intelligence, assassinate, terrorize and stir up revolution.

How do they stir up revolution? They settle in a community, pick out an emotional issue, organize a few people who are sympathetic, then move into the public arena with protests, demonstrations and demands. As these grow, demonstrations become disruptions, then riots and eventually guerrilla warfare.

We have some signs of this process in the United States. Some of those involved have visited Communist capitals. Some claim training in Havana and elsewhere. One group, we know, gave instructions on making molotov cocktails just before one major urban riot.

If this much can be done here, how much more agitation, terrorism and revolt can highly trained agents do in the villages of Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America?

Soviet Communist Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev calls these agents "revolutionary detachments opposing imperialism." They're revolutionary because they don't wear uniforms; they are natives of the nations they attack, and they use the skills of inciting revolution.

While we can match the Communist world with nuclear weapons, with conventional weapons and, probably, in guerrilla warfare, we are not equipped to counter their revolutionary warfare.

We have turned this problem over to the police, the National Guard or the armed forces. They can't act until after the violence begins. The time to counter revolutionary detachments is when they start to build support—not after they have incited a riot or launched a guerrilla attack.

At only one center—the Freedom Center in Seoul, Korea—civilians are now being trained in this vital area, which might help to account for why revolutionary infiltrators are caught in Korea and are not in Southeast Asia. A measure to create a Freedom Academy in America to encompass such training is now before Congress. It would seem that such training is needed if we are to win the pacification war in Vietnam or anywhere else.

COOPERATIVE EFFORT HELPING TO BUILD NEEDED FERTILIZER PLANT IN INDIA

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Cooperative News Service of Chicago recently published a dispatch which tells how members of American cooperative organizations made it possible for cooperatives in India to begin construction of a much needed fertilizer plant:

COOPERATIVE FERTILIZER PLANT IN INDIA IS "ALL SYSTEMS GO"

Indian and U.S. cooperatives—assisted by private capital and a government guarantee—are working together to build a $119 million nitrogen fertilizer plant in India.

The project is believed to be the world's largest international business transaction by cooperatives.

It has been in development for more than two years, but because of the complex and many-sided negotiations involved, only fragments of its story have heretofore been made public.

Parties to the project are: in India, the National Cooperative Union of India, the Indian government, Indian AID (U.S. Agency for International Development) Mission, Indian Farmers Fertilizer Cooperative, and other cooperatives; and in the United States, U.S. AID in Washington, the Bank of America, and some two dozen cooperative organizations.

For one of the principal participants, the Cooperative League of the USA, Chicago, the project marks a major fruition of 13 years of joint effort with the Indians to develop and strengthen cooperatives in their country. The League has maintained an office in New Delhi since 1955.

The Indian Farmers Fertilizer Cooperative, formed to own and operate the new plant and distribute its products, was inaugurated at a ceremony in New Delhi, April 11. Donald H. Thomas, president of Cooperative Fertilizers International of Chicago, new U.S. organization brought into being because of this project, was one of the speakers.

Following this inauguration, at which Jagjivan Ram, India's prime minister for food and agriculture, was the principal speaker, Thomas and Allie C. Felder, Jr., head of the Cooperative League India office, said that the project could be described as "all systems go."

The proposed plant will produce 1,000 tons of anhydrous ammonia (83% nitrogen) per day—an estimated (depending somewhat on formulas) 800,000 tons of finished fertilizer products a year.

One pound of nitrogen is computed to produce up to 10 pounds of additional wheat or rice. Thus, on the basis of 300 days' operation, this single plant could account for more than 80 million bushels of additional wheat or rice in a year.

This would mean a 3% to 5% increase in India's total annual grain production. It also is equivalent to nearly one-third of the wheat and feed grain the United States sent to India in 1967, peak year of its shipments under the "Food for Freedom" program.

The homemade fertilizer also will represent a saving of foreign exchange for India, which imports about $400 million worth of fertilizer a year.

Of the estimated plant cost of $119 million, 10% ($12 million) is to come from the Indian cooperatives, 20% ($24 million) from the Indian government in the form of redeemable stock, 23% ($27 million) from the Indian government as a loan, and 47% ($55 million) from a loan to be obtained in the United States.

The investment is projected to pay off in 12 years. In that time the plant will, according to computations, pay $128 million in principal and interest; redeem the Indian government's $24 million in shares and pay it $12 million in dividends; save farmers $165 million in cost of fertilizers; save the country $350 million in foreign exchange, and represent a net worth of $49 million. All of this is apart from the increased value of crop production resulting from the fertilizer.

Ram said in his April 11 speech that the plant is expected to reduce fertilizer prices from current levels by 10%, 20%, and 30% in its fourth, sixth, and eighth years of operation.

The plant will be built at Kandla, a port city on the Gulf of Kutch in northeast India. Construction is expected to begin in 1969, with completion targeted in 1971.

Development of this "India fertilizer project" is a many-stranded story.

In 1953 the American International Association for Economic and Social Development (AIA)—founded by Nelson Rockefeller and active principally in Latin America—established a supervised agricultural credit project in India. The man in charge, Thomas B. Keehn, found himself working primarily with the Indian cooperatives.

In 1955 Jerry Voorhis, executive director of the Cooperative League from 1947 to 1967, made the League a partner with the AIA in the India project. Felder went to India for the League in 1956 as an agricultural credit specialist In 1961 both Keehn and AIA left India and Felder took charge of the League's India office.

In 1961 Nationwide Insurance companies of Columbus, Ohio, a League member, sent a five-man team to India to study the possibilities of further assistance to cooperatives. This group recommended fertilizer production as part of an overall cooperative development plant.

In 1964 Howard A. Cowden, president of the 1-year-old International Cooperative Development Association, visited India and, as the result of talks with Indian co-op leaders, strongly recommended a fertilizer program.

Felder, working closely with the Indian co-op leaders, Indian government, and AID Mission, developed a comprehensive plan of cooperative development. The Indian government asked the Cooperative League to send a team to study the feasibility of the cooperative part of this plan.

On September 5, 1966, this team left for India, where it worked three months, returning in December.

The team members were Howard H. Gordon, retired general manager of Southern States Cooperative, Richmond, Va.; William Mitchell, manager of the plant food department of Tennessee Farmers Cooperative at La Vergne, Tenn.; and Albert J. Soday, process engineer of Mississippi Chemical Corporation, Yazoo City, Miss. Ferris S. Owen, administrator of AID projects for the Cooperative League, recruited the men; their trip was financed by the League's overseas-assistance contract with AID.

The team found the fertilizer project feasible and recommended a go-ahead.

At that point the Cooperative League referred the project to the International Cooperative Development Association, Washington, D.C., which had been formed by U.S. cooperatives in 1963 for the express purpose of promoting international cooperative business operations. Herbert C. Fledderjohn, who had succeeded Cowden as president of the ICDA, then took the lead in developing the plan, which ICDA's board approved in January, 1967.

A dramatic and perhaps decisive moment in development of the project came on January 19 at a meeting in the Jung hotel in New Orleans. ICDA called the meeting on short notice because representaitves of most U.S. cooperatives in the fertilizer business were there for the annual meeting of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives.

Fledderjohn presided. Kenneth F. Lundberg, president of the Central Farmers Fertilizer Company, Chicago, and Owen Cooper, president of Mississippi Chemical Corporation, both ICDA member organizations, presented the plan for a cooperative fertilizer plant in India.

One after another, on a rising wave of enthusiasm, the men present expressed themselves in favor of helping Indian farmers get a fertilizer plant. They left the meeting having pledged themselves to seek from their organizations $1 million—not as invested capital expected to bring any return, but as a contribution to the costs of getting the plant going; travel to India, economic studies, and such.

In April Fledderjohn, Owen (who also had been on the 1961 Nationwide team), Lundberg, Cooper, and Gordon went to India to present the plan to the Indian cooperative and government. Felder and the India AID Mission were party to the talks.

The Indians liked what they heard, and on May 26 the government asked the ICDA, also a contractor with U.S. AID, to send a team of experts to get down to the brass tacks of plant location, type, size, and such. This team—Thomas, then an economic analyst for Central Farmers Fertilizer Company (which is owned by 22 fertilizer-producing co-ops in the United States and Canada); John Wiley, marketing specialist for Central Farmers; and Soday—worked in India six weeks in June and July.

On October 19 the Indian government formally accepted the plan, the cooperatives already having done so.

Meanwhile, on September 25 at a meeting in Washington the interested organizations had formed Cooperative Fertilizers International (CFI) to handle the U.S. side of the operation. CFI elected Thomas president and Lundberg chairman of the board. And during the summer the U.S. cooperatives had formally committed the $1 million, to be paid in four equal parts over four years.

The Agency for International Development in Washington found that, because of cutbacks in funds, it could not lend the $55 million needed to build the plant. It could, however, guarantee the loan; and on that basis a private lender was found: the Bank of America.

In April, 1968, CFI arranged for Ernest C. Davis, manager of the fertilizer plant of Central Nitrogen, Inc., at Terre Haute, Ind., to go "on loan" to India as its representative during the detailed planning and construction of the plant. He will work with Shri Paul Pothen, managing director of the plant.

Thomas, accompanied to India by O. Roy Wiebe, secretary-treasurer of Central Farmers, told his inauguration-day audience that the cooperative fertilizer plant will create "healthy competition" among plants in the private and public sectors of the industry, thereby benefiting all farmers.

In Chicago, Stanley Dreyer, president of the Cooperative League, described the India project as "a wonderful example of cooperation among cooperatives—both within this country and between the two countries."

He said the League staff is proud of the part it has been able to play and is genuinely appreciative of the support of its own board and members as well as the cooperation of other organizations.

THE ARNHEITER CASE

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, during the recent ad hoc hearings on the matter involving Lt. Comdr. Marcus A. Arnheiter, U.S. Navy, a number of high-ranking officers came forward to protest the Navy's handling of the case. They protested not out of concern for a single officer, but because of their love for the Navy and its traditions or honor and integrity.

The reaction of many of these officers was the same as that of Capt. Richard G. Alexander, U.S. Navy, when he investigated the Arnheiter matter:

> How in ---- could this happen in the United States Navy?

Captain Alexander was removed from one of the Navy's prime commands for asking this question, but he felt the principles involved were too important for him to remain silent.

Rear Adm. Daniel V. Gallery, U.S. Navy, retired, served in the U.S. Navy for 43 years, and his reaction to the Arnheiter case was virtually the same as Capt. Alexander's:

> The Navy doesn't do things like that! Or does it?

Mr. Speaker, so far the Navy still refuses to hold a court of inquiry into the Arnheiter matter. Until it holds such a hearing and gives Lt. Comdr. Arnheiter the day in court to which he is entitled, the Navy's credibility will be questionable.

At this point, I insert into the Record a letter from Rear Adm. Gallery to Secretary of the Navy Ignatius asking that the entire Arnheiter matter be brought before a court of inquiry so that the many questions that have arisen can be settled once and for all:

Oakton, Va.,
May 16, 1968.

Hon. Paul R. Ignatius,
Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir: I served in the Navy for 43 years, retiring in 1960 after 15 years in the rank of Rear Admiral. During this time, I grew to love the Navy, including even the barnacles on its bottom. On the rare occasions when we seemed to made stupid mistakes, I could usually say, "There must be some good reason—otherwise we wouldn't do it." I find that now, in the Arnheiter case and other matters associated with it, I can no longer do this.

The case itself boils down to a question of credibility, and is, in itself, relatively unimportant. It may be a tempest in a teapot, involving, perhaps, merely a possible miscarriage of justice to one individual.

The Navy's public presentation of the case has been bungled and, the credibility gap in Washington being what it is these days, it is impossible for the public to judge the case on the evidence made available to it so far.

My natural impulse in the beginning was to accept the Navy's version. When the case began getting national publicity making the Navy look bad, my first reaction was, "It's a damn lie—the Navy doesn't do things like that." I still *hope* I was right. But I now have serious doubts.

Whether Arnheiter should have been relieved or not is now a relatively minor question involving merely one officer's right to a square deal. But the Navy's handling of the case is becoming a national scandal.

The big question at issue now has become the right of a commanding officer to run his ship without taking a Gallup poll among his junior officers to see if they like the way he is doing it. There is a widespread feeling now that Arnheiter was torpedoed by a group of mutinous, disgruntled officers, and that a skipper nowadays had better be damned careful about how he treads on the toes of his junior officers trying to straighten out a ragtime ship.

It is my earnest hope that this is not true. It never was so in the Navy that I spent my life in.

However, the case of Commander Cheek, who was summarily relieved from command of the Ault because 4 disgruntled sailors wrote letters to Congressmen, adds weight to this feeling.

So does the case of Captain Alexander, who lost command of the New Jersey because he came to Arnheiter's defense and because of his unfortunate blunder in failing to give CNO a copy of his letter to you about Arnheiter. Although I feel this letter was in some respects too outspoken, I am beginning to feel the same sense of outrage that prompted it, and to understand why such a brilliant young officer as Alexander would sacrifice his career for the principles involved.

Downgrading the authority of a ship's commanding officer strikes at the very root of the traditions that made our Navy great. It may have had a lot to do with the Pueblo fiasco.

I therefore respectfully request that Arnheiter be given the formal court of inquiry or court martial which he wants. I feel that *if the Navy's position in this matter is right,* we have nothing to lose and a great deal to gain in a formal public legal hearing.

Respectfully,

D. V. Gallery,
Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy, Retired.

WISCONSIN'S BUSINESSMAN OF YEAR SPEAKS OUT ON COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Hubert R. Murphy, of Fond du Lac, Wis., recently was named Wisconsin's Small Businessman of the Year.

In his acceptance speech, Mr. Murphy gave some sound advice to small businessmen. He said the small businessman should take as active a part in his community's development as his time and energy permit. Mr. Murphy has done much to practice his credo, and the SBA award is well deserved.

I am proud of Mr. Murphy for his service and his leadership and include for the information of my colleagues a newspaper account of his speech:

Hubert Murphy at Awards Event—"Small Businessman" Winner Urges Community Action

Small businessmen were advised by Wisconsin's Small Businessman of the Year today to take an active part in their community's civic, economic and political activities—no matter how controversial they may be.

Hubert R. Murphy, Fond du Lac, gave this advice in his speech accepting the Small Business Administration's award at a luncheon at the Retlaw Motor Inn at Fond du Lac.

In fact, Murphy declared he'd like to see every community have a Ralph Nader, the young attorney "crusader who woke up the Congress and shocked the big business auto makers into much needed safety devices."

Murphy said the small businessman should take as active a part in his community's development as his time and energy permit.

"The public," said Murphy, "looks to the small businessman, as well as the large businessman, for leadership and responsibility in community growth. Besides helping in fund raising drives and civic-social functions, I believe a small businessman has a serious responsibility to help elect honest, public spirited government officials, attend council and school board meetings, and above all, to tackle the controversial questions that spring up from time to time."

Murphy cited the "fair share of these controversial question's in which he has been involved at Fond du Lac—changing from a commission city government to council-manager form, lake water versus ground water supply, school issues and city re-assessment.

Holding that the "real danger lies in being neutral" because the person who will not take a stand invites persecution from those who are assertive and determined to have their own way," Murphy declared.

"All really important questions are controversial and I believe the small businessman must tackle them if he is to secure equal treatment and survive. It seems to me there is greater risk to small businessmen in sticking to the 'status quo' just to avoid controversy, since the free, competitive enterprise system will soon cease being free and competitive."

Murphy declared that the "fight with apathy is an essential part of the revolution taking place right now in our country; the civil rights struggle, the struggle between big business and small business, the struggle for qualified public officials."

"We must tear down, build anew, accept change, work hard and take responsibility for rebuilding our economic and social life," Murphy declared.

Murphy and his partner-wife established "Edith's," a women's apparel store in 1937. The store has grown to employment of 85 persons. Murphy attributed the growth to specialization, training programs for employes, a bonus and profit sharing pension plan for employes, and advancement to supervisory positions from the ranks of the employes, rather than hiring outsiders.

NEW HAND AT PAN AM CONTROLS

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times recently carried an article on the retirement of Juan T. Trippe as chairman and chief executive officer of Pan American World Airways, and on his successor, Harold E. Gray.

Unlike many other airline executives, Mr. Gray comes into his job as a pilot—trained and experienced in the techniques of careful aircraft handling. His predecessor was similarly oriented. This tradition of concern for aircraft and passenger safety has unquestionably played a part in permitting Pan Am to amass the impressive safety record that it has.

Mr. Gray's experience is considerable, and of long standing; he was the 10th pilot hired by Pan Am in its early days, and was sitting at the controls of the first Pan Am clipper to cross the Atlantic in the summer of 1939.

I place the Times interview with Mr. Gray in the Record. The article follows:

At Pan Am, a Pioneer Replaces a Pioneer

(By Robert E. Bedingfield)

A recurring theme in comments on the executive realignments of major airlines in recent years is that the fliers and pioneers are leaving, and the businessmen are taking over.

When Harold E. Gray replaced retiring Juan Trippe 10 days ago as chairman and chief executive officer of Pan American World Airways, a pioneer replaced a pioneer—and hardly anyone noted the fact.

Mr. Gray not only flew airplanes back when the industry was emerging from the fir-and-linen stage, he designed and built them. He flew in the primitive commercial flying of the first post-World War I years—sightseeing for $5 a hop and charter jumps from Miami to Havana.

Mr. Gray is proud of his more than 40 years in aviation. He has been with Pan American since 1929, only two years after it was organized. He first became a vice president of the company in 1949 and president in 1964.

Even his own associates think of him as primarily an executive rather than a flier. This attitude reflects his temperament. When his executive duties kept him out of the cockpit so long he would have to be fully checked out each time he wanted to fly, he simply gave it up "and haven't particularly missed it at all. There are too many other interesting things to do," he said in an interview last week. An incident the day after his promotion is illustrative. The next thing to do, as Mr. Gray saw it, was to move himself into the chairman's office, and the retiring chairman's desk into an office occupied up to then by the vice president for public relations. Mr. Gray didn't send someone with a tape measure; he looked over the rooms involved and began shifting the furniture and desks by himself.

He will confess that he didn't always move in that direct left-to-right manner A native of Gutenberg, Iowa, when he first went to college, he wanted to be an engineer. One day in the spring of 1925 when he left classes at the University of Iowa where he was studying, instead of taking the short route back to his dormitory for no reason particularly he took the long route.

"It is small instances like that that show how life patterns are changed," he commented, as he was recalling his college days. He continued:

"On my walk I met a fellow student who told me he was going into the U.S. Army Flying Cadet Corps that summer at San Antonio. As soon as I reached my room I had a letter in the mail asking for an application form. So I got into this aviation business solely by walking around the block the long way."

The Army taught Mr. Gray to fly. It did not, however, graduate him from flight school. Beyond noting that he had not failed in flight training, whatever the reason, he refused to discuss it further. After a year at San Antonio, Mr Gray enrolled at the University of Detroit.

"I still had a great interest in building bridges," he said, "but now I was much more interested in building airplanes." Among his reasons for selecting Detroit was that it had a reputation then of having a good aeronautical school, "at that time one of the few in the country. Another reason was that Detroit had the advantage of being a cooperative school, where you could go to class for two weeks and work for two weeks."

While most students at the university worked at polishing auto bodies at the Packard Motor Car plant, Mr. Gray and some of his friends "were a little more ambitious to do something more rewarding." As a result, one of the first commercial jobs the head of Pan American held was in the Stinson airplane plant in Detroit.

His career as an aeronautical engineer was cut short by another pronounced Gray characteristic—he is a perfectionist. He designed six airplanes. In all six projects, according to an associate, the sponsors insisted on telling the engineer how to design the airplane. Rather than continue to argue with them, he let himself be talked into working for the Ford Motor Company as a pilot for its famous Ford Trimotor airplanes.

"Working for Ford, the pilot's salary was relatively low, as it should have been," Mr. Gray said "But every Ford customer looked to Ford to get it a pilot." He hadn't flown for Ford very long, "it was a matter of months," when Sky View Lines bought a Ford Trimotor. Mr. Gray went to work for the company at $400 a month, initially flying vacationers over Niagara Falls at $5 a flight.

It was while working for Sky View on sightseeing hops over Miami in 1928 that Mr. Gray first met the staff of the newly organized Pan American, which then was flying Fokker F–7's out of Miami and out of Key West to Cuba. Mr. Gray recalled that he took a group of people on a charter flight to Havana "and found it rather an exciting experience flying over water outside of the sight of land."

By the end of 1928, the Sky View plane needed servicing and an overhaul, and Mr. Gray flew it back to Detroit. He met some of the same people from Pan Am whom he had known in Miami. They were purchasing a plane for their new line for use between Brownsville, Tex., and Mexico City.

His Pan Am friends told him they would need a pilot for the run and asked him if he would like the job. "By then," Mr. Gray said, "I had already made up my mind that barnstorming wasn't something with a long-term future. When I heard that Pan American was planning to fly over mountains and jungles to a foreign city I couldn't resist. Several days later I was asked to report to Brownsville."

He was the 10th pilot hired by Pan American. It was shortly after going to Brownsville that he met and married his wife, the former ExaBell Sublett, a San Benito girl whose grandfather was one of the early settlers of East Texas. "He was the man who nominated Sam Houston for President of Texas," Mr. Gray said.

The Grays had two sons. Their second son, Frank, is an electronics engineer. Their older son, Lieut Commander Harold E. Gray Jr., was killed in a carrier-based air strike against a target in North Vietnam in August 1965.

In discussing Mr. Gray's Spartan philosophy, a friend told how the airline executive had been informed of the tragedy midway in a speech he was giving at Teterboro Airport in New Jersey. "He stoically finished his address without any emotion visible to us who were there," this man said.

While Mr. Trippe waited until he was 68 years old to step down in favor of Mr. Gray, his successor said he had every intention of retiring by the time he reaches 65, which will be on April 15, 1971. There are many things he is looking forward to doing when he retires, he said.

"I'd like to be creative in some form or other. There is so much creativeness needed in this world to solve the problems we have," Mr. Gray observed. He said that while he has spent 43 years in aviation, he still gets "a lot of fun out of things related to engineering. I like to do things and make things with my hands. I like to think of better ways of doing things."

PAUL BROOKS AND WORDS WE WORK WITH

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, the April 1968 issue of the Sierra Club Bulletin reprints an extremely interesting talk by Paul Brooks entitled "The Words We Work With," which is much more than an exercise in semantics.

In the most provocative and interesting ways, Mr. Brooks looks at words like "wilderness," "national park," "recreation," and "conservation" and defines these terms in a way to make Americans proud of their heritage and even more interested in preserving it.

I commend this talk to my colleagues:

THE WORDS WE WORK WITH

(By Paul Brooks)

In the last issue of *Daedalus*, the journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, there is an excellent article on the politics of conservation by Robert Patterson, a leading landscape architect and conservationist from the state of Maine. He writes: "If all the lips that serve conservationists were laid end-to-end, there would be a lot of fixed smiles, for in spite of the seriousness of our environmental problems, the conservation effort still consists largely of words." When so many wise words have already been spoken, what is to be gained by adding a few more. I should like to grasp this nettle firmly by devoting a few words to the subject of *words themselves*, as we use them in our business as conservationists.

The stock criticism of any conference is that it merely generates a lot more words, most of which the participants have already heard before, but that nothing much happens as a result. The reason for this criticism, I suppose, is that the connection between the words spoken at the conference and later concrete action may be tenuous and difficult to trace; or when it is very clear and specific, as in the case of the Wilderness Conferences and the Wilderness Act, the time lapse between the birth of the idea and its final fruition is so great that the public at large forgets where it all started.

The fact is, of course, that any action—at least in a democratic society—starts with words. It may be a flood of words from a multitude of sources, as is represented by the seemingly endless hearings required for any federal legislation. It may be a book like *Deserts on the March* by Paul Sears, or *Road to Survival* by William Vogt, or *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson, where eloquent words, backed by irrefutable scientific fact, have been used to shock us into realization of what we are doing to our environment. It may be a short magazine article. The evidence shows that words *are* effective. Even the most monolithic power-structures are sensitive to public opinion—indeed one sometimes feels that this is the only thing they *are* sensitive to.

We need words because what we are trying to do is to enlighten and inform; to change fundamental attitudes, not because they say so, but because we have the facts that will command such change on the part of any reasonable man. Our objective is to bridge the gap between an informed minority (and I am talking here specifically about conservation issues) and an uninformed majority. The people we are trying to reach—the people whose voices "count when it comes to a showdown—are neither ignorant nor thoughtless. They are intelligent, generally well-informed people who happen to be uninformed in this area. They have never thought about these matters one way or the other. For example, despite the publicity received by the Wilderness Act, how many people outside conservation circles know what it is all about, or even that it exists? How many know the difference between a national park and a national forest? Or coming down to a central issue of this conference, how many people east of the Mississippi have even heard of the North Cascades?

During the war when I was with the Office of War Information in Europe, the Government had a slogan "words are bullets." To anyone who has been exposed to the language known as "Washingtonese" or "governmentese," a Washington bureau seems a strange source for such a slogan: at the least, the slogan-writer might have used the analogy of a sawed-off shotgun. But how well off is the conservation movement itself when it comes to using words as bullets? We suffer, I think, from a severe handicap. Scarcely one of the key words we use in our business has been defined with precision. Some of them have mutually exclusive connotations, depending on the background of the person we are addressing. In short, we lack an accepted vocabulary to express a set of values which need to be presented precisely and persuasively. This is particularly serious because these values are often in fundamental contradiction to the cherished clichés of the society in which we live.

Obviously there is no easy way out of this predicament. We can't provide a glossary with every speech we make or every article we write. But I think that we can communicate more clearly if we are constantly aware of the ambiguity of the words we are using. We may know exactly what we mean by a certain term, but to assume that everyone understands us is a mistake. Perhaps by examining these words we can sharpen our outside communications and clarify our own objectives.

What are these words? A few of the commonest are "conservation," "national park," "national forest," "wilderness," and "recreation." Since this a wilderness conference, let's start with the word "wilderness."

WILDERNESS

For legal purposes it has been defined, quite eloquently, in the Wilderness Act. Yet it remains literally one of the most ambivalent words in the language; it has two contradictory meanings representing two diametrically opposed values. The Biblical meaning of wilderness, which was brought to America by our Puritan forebears, was "desert." It was a hostile environment, a last refuge for outcasts, the place into which you drove the scapegoat laden with the sins of mankind. It could be made to bloom only through man's toil. In that song familiar to some of us in the Boston area, *Fair Harvard*, the college is described as the "first flower of our wilderness." It was not a wildflower, you may be sure, that the writer had in mind. He was thinking of a cultivated spot in a surrounding desert. So deeply ingrained was this concept, that heavily forested country continued to be referred to as "desert"—going back to the original meaning of simply an unoccupied area. Wilderness was unholy ground inhabited largely by devils; noisy devils, apparently, since the stock phrase was "howling wilderness." Presumably a "wilderness conference" in those days would have been a sort of witches' sabbath.

To the frontiersman the wilderness was, of course, an adversary. Only after it had been largely subdued could the surviving fragments be enjoyed. Not till the period of the Romantic Movement in European literature, till the time of Thoreau and the transcendentalists in America, did the term itself become generally respectable.

As recently as the 1920's, when the first wilderness areas were established by the Forest Service, there was serious question as to whether the word "wilderness" would have unfortunate repercussions. Now it has gone to the other extreme and we hear about the "wilderness mystique" and the "wilderness cult." (Personally, I prefer honest devils.) The curious thing is that *both* meanings of the word continue to be used right up to the present moment. For example, in a recent speech about the dangers of pollution, President Johnson warned that our countryside might become "a wilderness of ghost towns." Some modern uses of the term are very odd indeed. A ballet put on in New York this winter was entitled "Wilderness." According to the review in *The New York Times,* it "was clearly about a beautiful girl, a man with leprosy and a slave driver"—the relationship between the three of them being somewhat confused. This sort of thing may be covered by the Mann Act, but certainly not by the Wilderness Act.

So what? Does this confusion matter? I believe it does. After all, we think in terms of words, and centuries of folklore and prejudice cannot be changed overnight. To take a parallel example, would the senseless poisoning and shooting of wolves be tolerated by the public if wolves were not still associated with evil? Wilderness, though no longer considered unholy, is still identified in many people's minds with land that is good for nothing else, with wasteland. Mining, lumbering, and grazing interests of course take this view. The Forest Service is occasionally guilty of such thinking. I trust that the National Park Service is not, though I feel sure that in some people's minds the wilderness areas of our parks are those portions not suitable for recreational development. And it is a curious fact that the White House Conference on Natural Beauty gave scarcely any consideration to the most natural and beautiful areas of all, the wilderness areas.

NATIONAL PARK

Let us turn now to another of the words we work with. The term "national park" is less than a hundred years old; unlike the word "wilderness," it does not carry with it the accumulated prejudice of centuries. Its connotations, except to such special groups as the Georgia-Pacific Lumber Company, are entirely pleasant. Yet the confusion in the meaning of the term is almost as great as in the case of wilderness; from the point of view of practical politics and administration it may be even more serious. Let me illustrate. Several years ago I was privileged to take part in an international conservation conference in Bangkok, one session of which was devoted to "national parks." We quickly realized that the American delegates understood one thing by this phrase and the Thai delegates (with one notable exception) quite another. To the latter, a park was primarily a place for rural recreation—a sort of national country club. Its administration was under the National Tourist Bureau. The first thing to do was to improve the roads, landscape the area, plant flower beds, build a restaurant and a bar and a golf course. Naturally enough. To them the term "wilderness park" would have been a contradiction in terms.

Nor is this semantic difficulty confined to the so-called "developing countries" in which the national park concept comes as a new idea. In England, for example, a national park is defined in the booklet of the Nature Conservancy as "a thinly inhabited region where the natural scenery is safeguarded for amenity and recreation." To us in America "national park" suggests something very different. But exactly what does it mean?

The word "park" has meant many things to many people. The history of such a word is the history of a concept, and its meanings grow and proliferate over the years. The more widely a concept is approved, the more likely the word itself is to be debased. "Home" and "park" are such words. The "split-level home" and the "funeral home" have now been joined by the "industrial park" that sustains the one and the "memorial park" that sustains the other. Yet if the word "park," like the word "home," didn't stand for something we believe in, there would be no cash value in exploiting it. It does, in fact, denote two different ideas, each admirable in itself, but each in conflict with the other. The fact that we have only one word for both is the source of much agony and confusion.

"Park" comes from the Old English "parrock" or "paddock"—an enclosed space of ground. In English law it originally referred to lands held by royal grant, principally as hunting reserves. It also applied to the large ornamental grounds of a country estate. By the late seventeenth century, the term was being used to describe open landscaped areas within or near cities set aside for public recreation. But not until recent times was it applied to tracts of wilderness saved by government action from private exploitation. The revolutionary idea of the national park was born in America, about a hundred years ago. The concept was new, and the old word had to be stretched to fit it. As a matter of fact, it stretched rather slowly, since the first parks were established for the sake of their "natural curiosities," rather than to save wilderness as such. Wilderness preservation was, at first, a byproduct of the national parks movement. Today it has become a principal objective. But is the public at large aware of the change?

More and more people are swarming to our national parks. What do they expect to find when they get there? What do they expect to *do* there?

RECREATION

This leads us to another key word in the conservationist's vocabulary, the word "recreation." The term is so broad as almost to defy definition. It was a lovely word to begin with meaning "re-creation," creating anew. Today it suggests anything you do when you are not working, including, according to the advertisements for retirement funds, sleeping in a hammock in Florida with a newspaper over your face. If we narrow the question down to recreation in the national parks, we can be a bit more precise. One criterion would be that the activity, whatever it is, should not alter the natural landscape. Another is that it shouldn't hog the environment for itself. For instance, speedboats and waterskiing can drive out canoes, but not vice-versa. If we want to talk in terms a businessman can understand, we can evaluate recreation in terms of consumption. The parks provide a limited space for the use of an increasing number of people. A man in an automobile consumes space many times faster than a man on foot. A speedboat at thirty miles an hour consumes ten times as much space as a canoe at three miles an hour, for the same number of hours of recreation.

If we can't define recreation, we can at least make clear what we mean by it in the context of national parks and wilderness areas. We may even claim that the forms of recreation that involve outdoor skills, scientific knowledge, artistic appreciation, and one's own muscles—as opposed to those that depend on second-hand entertainment or the internal combustion engine—come closest to the original sense of this much watered-down word.

To the uninitiated, much of our official jargon is also misleading. When the man on the street sees the words "national forest" on a map, he assumes that the area is covered with trees. When he sees the words "national monument," he has every right to visualize a granite obelisk or a bronze statue of a general on horseback. Least of all can we expect him to appreciate the technical distinctions between "roadless area," "primitive area," and "wilderness area." He is, to use a fine old English word, "jargogled."

CONSERVATION

Finally, we come face to face with that all-inclusive word that takes in everything we have been talking about; the word "conservation." Today it is an O.K. word. As Fraser Darling has written, "the idea of conservation is easy and emotionally satisfying." This is true, and it can be a source of weakness rather than of strength. To the stripminers who are murdering the Southern Appalachians, conservation is a nice hobby for old ladies in tennis shoes, but it must not be allowed to interfere with the practical business of the country, which, as Calvin Coolidge once reminded us, is business.

The word conservation inevitably suggests the word conservative. It has a negative connotation, as if our only object was preservation of the *status quo*. We know otherwise. It is a positive concept. And though the idea of conservation may be easy, the practice of conservation, as we have all learned, is very difficult indeed.

We face an obvious dilemma. Ours is a monetary society, based on private enterprise and financial profits. But the values of the wilderness conservation movement cannot be expressed in terms of dollars. Thus for many people—including the Kentucky stripminer—they do not exist. This gives an overwhelming advantage to the exploiter. The battle between two standards of value has of course been going on at least since the turn of the century. Yet one is continually struck with the endurance of the old standards. During the fight to save Hetch Hetchy, the conservationists were described as "hoggish and mushy esthetes." Today's strip miner calls them "bleeding hearts and do-gooders who don't understand the real issues." For him, the cheapest coal is the best coal no matter what its exploitation may do to the landscape. To adopt any other criterion would be to violate "the good old American free enterprise system and, frankly, I hope I never see the day that happens."

"Wilderness," "national park," "recreation," "conservation"—properly understood, these are all dynamic words. The validity of what they stand for is shown by the phenomenal growth of the conservation movement. You may remember that, by extrapolating from the present rate of growth of the Sierra Club, a recent president came up with the comforting thought that in the year two thousand and something the entire world would belong to the Sierra Club. Meanwhile, however, we have work to do. In doing it, we shall be effective in direct proportion to our understanding of the words we work with.

(NOTE.—Paul Brooks, a Director and Vice President of the Houghton Mifflin Company, is also President of Trustees for Conservation and a Director of the Sierra Club. He is author of Roadless Area (winner of a John Burroughs Medal for nature writing) and many articles published in national magazines. Among his articles, two published by Atlantic are particularly significant to conservationists: "The Plot to Drown Alaska" exposed the folly of the Rampart dam project on the Yukon, and "The Fight for America's Alps" (later condensed in Reader's Digest) helped attract support for a national park in the North Cascades. Mr. Brooks' "The Words We Work With" is adapted from a speech he made at the Seventh Biennial Northwest Wilderness Conference, held in Seattle, Washington, on March 30 and 31, 1968.)

THE 22D ANNIVERSARY OF ITALIAN REPUBLIC DAY

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, June 2, 1946, was a landmark day in Italy's modern history. For on that day an almost destitute people, in a country ravaged by war, took their destiny into their hands and in a free and fair election voted for a republican form of government. Thus, they abandoned the constitutional monarchy which had existed since 1861; more importantly, they rejected all traces of the Fascist dictatorship that ruled their country in tyranny for more than two decades.

Two months ago the Minister of the Budget reported on how Italy's economy fared in 1967. The results were even more gratifying than the most optimistic Italians had predicted.

In real terms the national income grew by 5.9 percent over the 1966 figure, as compared with the average increase of 3.9 percent for the previous 3 years. Thus, Italy's recovery from the 1964–65 recession has been more rapid and more successful than many had anticipated would be possible. Also, the Italian economy is expanding at a greater rate than that of any other country in the European Economic Community.

Of particular interest and significance is the 5.2 percent increase in agricultural production. This is the highest rate of increase experienced during any year in the past decade, and offers impressive testimony that the immense investments in agriculture made in southern Italy's depressed and underdeveloped areas have finally begun to pay economic dividends. There are indications, too, that this agricultural production growth rate will be maintained for some time to come, provided there is no repetition of the natural disasters of the kind that struck the country in November of 1966.

The 7.9 percent increase in industrial output was very largely due to a phenomenal expansion in the motor vehicle industry. About 1.4 million private cars were produced—an increase of nearly 14 percent over 1966. Trucks manufactured exceeded 103,000, or 24 percent more than the previous year's output.

Complementing increased productivity was a remarkable growth in investments, particularly in the area of direct production facilities. An immediate and salutary effect was the arrest of what had been since 1962 a slow but continuous decrease in employment. During 1967 some 223,000 new jobs were found, primarily in the highly productive industrial sectors.

And so today, 22 years since the establishment of the Republic, Italy stands strong and firm, and we salute her remarkable growth and progress in the face of continued harassment by a strong Communist minority. May she continue to thrive and prosper as one of the bastions of democracy in Europe and one of our most valued and trusted allies.

HOW TO DESTROY THE UNITED STATES IN 16 EASY LESSONS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is not often that one finds in one concise reference a summary of most of the things that are helping to destroy the United States of America. Such a reference, however, is found in the recent article by Henry J. Taylor appearing in the Rocky Mountain News of May 6, 1968.

While each American has the right of free speech to argue any point of view, short of incitement to overt acts of violent overthrow, there is no doubt but what Mr. Taylor's summary is of material truth. Each and all of the 16 points that he makes need attention and sharp revision on the American scene.

In a very real sense, Mr. Taylor's column presents a thumbnail sketch of what the elections of 1968 will offer to the American voter as alternatives for the road ahead.

The article follows:

SIXTEEN RULES FOR DESTRUCTION

(By Henry J. Taylor)

A 16-point program for the destruction of the United States:

(1) Pound home the preachment of individual rights instead of individual responsibility. Preach the sick sentimentality that condones criminality as society's fault and dismisses the individual from responsibility.

(2) Go easy on anarchy.

(3) Glorify cowardice as intellectualism and appeasement as enlightenment. Steal the liberal label and falsify the contents of the bottle.

(4) Sneer at patriotism. Teach the youth to shun the battlefield. "Be a lover—not a fighter." And if the enemy is a fighter, not a lover? The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. repeatedly stated: "The Vietnam War must be stopped and one way is to have 'peace rallies' like we have 'freedom rallies.' " But would Ho Chi Minh allow those parades in the place that is holding up the peace—Hanoi?

(5) Claim the aggressor can be bought off. The Carthaginians gave their sons and daughters to the Roman aggressor to prove and guarantee Carthage's nonaggressive intent. History means nothing?

(6) Do not require the study of American history. Two-thirds of our institutions of higher learning fail to require—require—students to study American history. One out of four of our teachers' colleges do not require any course in it; more than half do not require any preliminary knowledge of it. Yet good citizenship and progress in American ideals are admittedly impossible without an appreciation of our unique American heritage and the great sacrifices it took to establish and preserve them.

(7) Breed distrust of the military; belittle the men who have advanced in this responsible career. Make them seem ignoble and to lie about their democratic purposes long enough, and the military establishment on which a nation's security must depend becomes only a hollow shell, incompetent for a country's defense.

(8) Be patient with hippies who disrupt the universities and other established institutions. Let their protests take the form of sit-ins, lie-ins, Flag-burnings, draft-card burnings and mayhem along with missiles and stink bombs. The first business of good government is to provide safety for its citizens. Destroy this.

(9) Pound home to the population that discrimination and lack of opportunity account for all who are "underprivileged." Ignore individual capability and personal application entirely. The IQ of the American population varies from about 50 to 180. The national dropout rate for college students, reflecting both incapacity and failure to apply one's self, exceeds 50 percent.

(10) Teach all "underprivileged" that somebody else owes them a living. Preach this long enough and it is sure to create a "march of the poor" on the nation's capital, government by city-burning, government by blackmail. It is also sure to create a great many loafers who wouldn't do a day's real work under any conditions whatever. In just New York City, during history's biggest boom, 816,699 people (as of February 1968) are drawing relief, some for the second and third generations.

(11) Emphasizing the "curing" of poverty as the cure for civil disorders. The report of the President's National Advisory Commission on civil disorders found that the average rioter did hold a job, was not unemployed and was better educated than his nonrioting neighbors. It completely demolished many of the usual contentions regarding the "causes" of the looting and disorders.

(12) Sponsor unlimited Government spending. Said Lenin: "The surest way to destruction is to debauch the currency."

(13) Preach "permissiveness." If "anything goes" then, of course, everything goes. Every internal and external enemy knows the advantages of destroying a nation's standards. The rewards are as old as the Trojan horse. See that the TV, drama and movie critics, book reviewers, etc., accept the immoral as moral, the abnormal as normal, the obscene as valuable. Countries that praise the pigs in the pasture don't last very long.

(14) Infiltrate or confuse the teaching-talking-writing intelligentsia, especially those who work behind a prominent man as ghost writers.

(15) Draw the churches into politics. See that the churches gradually liquidate their influence as a spiritual power, and thus as a stabilizing force, having ministers and church leaders make the historic mistake of using the church itself as a political lever.

(16) Manipulate the news.

DUTY-FREE MAILING PRIVILEGES FOR MEMBERS OF THE UNIFORMED SERVICES

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, while we are all aware of our men fighting in Vietnam there are also American military men serving in other areas throughout the world in defense of freedom. There are more men overseas than at any time of our history except in the times of declared war and they are required to be in a high state of readiness. The performance of this duty to their country requires our servicemen to be separated from their families and loved ones for long and repeated periods.

It is my purpose at this time to inform Members of this House that unless quick and decisive action is taken by the President of the United States, our fighting men overseas, and at sea, are going to suffer an unjustified financial penalty for performing such services in defense of our country.

Briefly, Mr. Speaker, here are the circumstances of this alarming situation:

The Treasury Department is proceeding with plans to deprive our servicemen overseas, and at sea, other than those involved in the Vietnam war, of the present, very modest privilege to mail home duty-free gifts not exceeding $10 in value. I would like to explain that those serving in Vietnam have a $50 duty-free gift mailing exemption, which is not involved in the present issue.

As Members of this House well know, hundreds of thousands of our fighting men are doing duty outside the United States, other than in the Vietnam war. These dedicated men cannot defend their own interests and protect themselves from what the Treasury Department plans to do to them.

This matter is already receiving nationwide attention and protest.

As an example of the reaction against the bureaucratic indifference of the Treasury Department, I refer to the public protest by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. The VFW is recognized in this House, and throughout the Nation, as an alert, informed, and faithful spokesman for the men in service.

On May 22, 1968, VFW Commander in Chief Joseph A. Scerra, of Gardner, Mass., issued a statement protesting, on behalf of the 1,400,000 overseas combat veterans comprising the membership of the VFW, the Treasury Department's plan to deprive our overseas military personnel, other than those in the Vietnam war, of their $10 duty-free gift mailing exemption.

Commander Scerra had the facts. He knew what he was talking about. He had an exchange of correspondence with Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Joseph M. Bowman. The Treasury Department confirmed, in effect, that the Department intends to curtail the present duty-free gift mailing privilege of servicemen overseas and at sea.

Commander Scerra wrote a letter to the President of the United States, dated May 17, 1968, in which he pointedly asked:

> How much more sacrifice does our government expect from those in our armed services?

I join with the VFW in asking, also, how much more sacrifice does our Government expect from the men in our armed services?

There is one thing that we should all remember—that in planning to take away the $10 duty-free gift mailing exemption from our servicemen, the Treasury Department is lumping these gallant servicemen in the same category, as far as gift mailing from overseas is concerned, as the tourists who are traveling abroad. I submit there is a difference.

Mr. Speaker, I take this occasion to urge the executive branch of the Government, and the Treasury Department, in particular, not to take away from our fighting men their present right to send home to their loved ones a modest duty-free gift of the value of $10. When we are sending billions of dollars overseas in aid to foreign governments, when U.S. investments are still being made in tremendous amounts overseas, this proposed action by the Treasury Department against our servicemen will not have any great effect on the dollar deficit and the gold flow. It will, however, be an insult to our fighting men by a Nation which should be manifesting, instead, its gratitude.

I hope legislation to prevent this action on the part of the Treasury Department will not be necessary.

CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, a short while ago I began responding to my constituents that their Nation's Capital was not safe to visit, based upon the soaring crime rate and the uncertainties posed by the threats of "civil disobedience" by leaders of the Poor People's Campaign.

Since my original statement, I have personally been shocked by the continuing reports of the high incidence of crime in Washington, D.C.

There is almost daily verification of my position that the streets of this Capital City are not safe at the present time, and I found the report interesting that leaders of Resurrection City had advised their followers not to walk the streets alone at night.

Mr. Speaker, my reports on the crime situation here in Washington, D.C., have caused considerable comment, and in this connection, under unanimous consent, I include the following articles from Washington, D.C., newspapers and a report on my earlier remarks by Adele Ferguson in the Bremerton Sun:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post]

RIOT BOOSTS ANNUAL DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CRIME RATE

(By Alfred E. Lewis)

Somewhat warped by the reporting of 1717 burglaries during April's riot, Metropolitan Police Department crime statistics show crime rose 24.5 percent in Washington in the last 12-month period ending April 30.

The statistics, released yesterday, show 41,111 serious crimes occurred during the year. In the similar period ending April 30, 1967, 33,031 serious crimes were reported.

Robbery, which was up 37.8 per cent, showed the biggest gain. The only crime to decline was aggravated assault, dropping 7.6 per cent.

Burglary increased 29.3 per cent. A spokesman for Public Safety Director Patrick V. Murphy pointed out that even the 1717 burglaries reported in April did not take into account stores which looters raided again and again—with the looting rated as a single burglary.

There were 183 homicides reported in the year ending April 30, as opposed to 142 for the previous 12-month period, an increase of 28.9 per cent.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 3, 1968]

FIFTEEN STREET ROBBERIES REPORTED

Fifteen people were victims of holdup men who made off with loot ranging from 30 cents to $79 in the early hours before dawn yesterday, police report.

Among the victims in Northeast was Bowman Bodrick, listed at 1100 F st. ne., who told police five men approached him while he was walking in the 700 block of E st. ne. around 5:15 a.m. The men began hitting him in the face and took his wallet, containing $79, before running off.

James Seward, of 231 9th st. ne., was walking in the 600 block of 10th st. ne. around 3:30 a.m., police said, when two men asked him for cigarettes and then started hitting him in the face with a stick. They ran off with his wallet and $45. Seward was treated for bruises at Casualty Hospital.

James L. Bryson, 53, of 6200 Hillview ave., Alexandria, told police he was driving south on 7th Street nw. around 2 a.m. when four youths jumped into the car after he had stopped for a traffic light at N Street. They told him to keep driving for two blocks, made him stop, and fled with his wallet, containing $20.

A man carrying a revolver approached Sibyl Schubert of Flanders, N.J., around 3:45 a.m. while she was waiting to get gas at a service station at 6th Street and Florida Avenue ne., police said. They said the man grabbed her wallet containing $5 and ran.

Anderson Wright, 27, of 1607 Montana ave. ne., told police two hitchhikers he picked up at 30th Street and Naylor Road se. around 12:10 a.m. got out at 19th Street and Alabama Avenue se. and ran off with $43 of his money.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, June 3, 1968]

CRIME SOARS; CONGRESS DALLIES

In the District the Transit Commission has ordered the bus company to use "scrip" on night runs so the drivers won't have to carry money.

The city has been without night bus service more than two weeks because the night drivers refuse to tote cash, the result of the hold-up murder of one driver and more than 500 robberies of drivers in the last year.

In Madison, Wis., a co-ed was stabbed to death in broad daylight, another of some 40 attacks on students this year at the University of Wisconsin. Is is so bad the students have had to organize their own patrols.

In New York City, cab drivers are demanding more police protection as a result of the fourth holdup-murder of a driver in the last 17 months.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover produces evidence that while the national population has gained 10 per cent since 1960, serious crime has increased 88 per cent. The answer to the crime problem, he said, lies in "direct, positive action, not by waiting and hoping the problem will go away."

In Congress, a few key members are hassling over a tough anti-crime bill passed by the Senate but so far blocked in the House by sentimentalists who object to clarifications the bill proposes in some soft Supreme Court decisions.

The bill before Congress will not prevent or cure crime. But it would give law enforcement agencies new weapons. And it would stiffen the deterrents by hiking more penalties on criminals.

But Congress quibbles. While rapists, murderers, robbers, burglars, muggers, and hoodlums increasingly trample the public's right to safety and security.

[From the Bremerton (Wash.) Sun, May 28, 1968]

ANGRY PELLY FLAYS LEADERS OF POOR PEOPLES CAMPAIGN

An angry U.S Rep. Thomas M. Pelly today flayed the leadership of the Poor Peoples Campaign in Washington, D.C., for "increasing militancy, insult and harassment."

"The leaders of this nonviolent demonstration continue to assert that they hope they do not have to resort to civil disobedience to obtain their goals, but this statement is a contradiction," Pelly told The Sun. "There is a gradual escalation of their protest which already is resorting to unlawful civil disobedience."

Members of the campaign gathered outside the House Office Building last Thursday singing and chanting and refused police orders to move or disband. Eighteen were arrested.

Pelly said he completely defends any person's right to assemble peacefully and present a grievance "but the moves made by the Poor People's Campaign so far have been ones of increasing militancy, insult and harassment."

The protest is timed wrong, he said, coming in the wake of rioting, looting and arson so widespread that he urged any of his constituents planning to visit the capital to forget it.

"Right now it is a dangerous place to visit and it is even more a dangerous place to live," Pelly said.

"I am saddened to make this statement. This has always been a city which every American could be proud to visit. Nor am I an alarmist, but night after night the criminals burn and kill at a rate far above what could be considered in any mind as normal."

Four merchants and one bus driver have been murdered during robberies in the last 30 days, he said, causing merchants' associations to place pleas for police protection in the newspapers, and bus drivers have curtailed bus service in the capital by refusing to drive after 6:30 p.m.

Arson is a nightly affair, he said, with as many as a dozen suspicious fires each night, and criminal assault is shockingly high.

"All the while the Administration terms these acts of crime 'disturbances' and refers to the riots as connected with civil rights," Pelly said. "The fact is, however, that this is gangsterism. When bands of youths bully their way into a market or liquor store, grab what they want from the shelves and threaten to burn the store down if there is any protest from the owner, that has nothing to do with civil rights. Or when young toughs tell a merchant he has to buy a picture of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., for $100 and place it in the window or face reprisal, that is extortion, not social protest.

Added to the rising crime rate is the uncertainty of the conduct of the Poor People's Campaign marchers, he said, so persons planning visits to the capital should delay them until law and order is restored.

HELIX STUDENTS COLLECT $3,000 FOR SMALL VILLAGE

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, in these days when so many people are willing to let big Government or big business deal with the problems that beset so-called little people, it is gratifying to know that some are still willing to become involved in other people's problems on a personal basis.

Some high school youngsters in San Diego County, Calif., have given recent evidence that they care for people more than pot, for friendship more than flowers.

On their own initiative, the students of Helix High School have raised and turned over to the Peace Corps more than $3,000 to be used for the construction of a school in a small and remote South American village. The efforts of these boys and girls should not go unnoted.

The Lemon Grove Review has described their achievement in the following report of May 23:

HELIX STUDENTS COLLECT $3,000 FOR SMALL VILLAGE

Dividends that will come for years will start in the very near future. Students at Helix High School have helped students in a remote South American village by collecting some $3,000 to help them in school construction.

Of the total, some $2,000 will be used to buy the building materials and local native workers will supply the labor under a program sponsored by the Peace Corps.

"The Peace Corps school-to-school program requires a minimum of $1,000," according to Howard Hill, C.A.S.H. (Construct a School House) drive chairman.

"We were not sure we could do it in two weeks. But we're more than pleased with the response."

Strong support in the first period class carried this drive through. Highlanders sold peace symbols, bonds, and carnations. A rummage-art sale brought in $500.

"Miss Mary Garcia's first period class of 23 girls donated $310.76, or an average of more than $13 per girl," Mr. Robert Woods, ASB advisor said.

Miss Garcia's class held a swap meet, a bake sale, collected newspapers, and made and sold flowers to achieve their high percentage.

A highlight of the drive was the appearance of the Gordian Knot, a Hollywood singing group, who performed in a special assembly.

"Proceeds from this drive will be sent to the Peace Corps headquarters in Washington, D.C.," Hill said. "They will select the village where the school is to be constructed."

Money raised in addition to the $2,000 will be divided between the Red Cross and the support of an orphan.

"THE WASHINGTON MARCH: AN OPINION"

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, an editorial entitled "The Washington March: An Opinion" appeared in the North Carolina Christian Advocate of March 30, 1968.

The North Carolina Christian Advocate is the official organ of the North Carolina and Western North Carolina Conferences of the United Methodist Church. Rev. James C. Stokes is the editor of the publication.

This editorial very excellently states the views of the editor and should be read by many who are today involved in the type of action to which it refers. I make the editorial a part of my remarks at this point in the RECORD:

THE WASHINGTON MARCH: AN OPINION

Many conscientious Christians are torn by inner conflict over the so-called poor people's march on Washington. They are genuinely concerned about the plight of the nation's poor. They consider it a shame that so much poverty and deprivation exists in a nation which is as affluent as is America. They feel that positive steps should be taken to alleviate the situation.

But about the march on Washington, they have serious reservations. We must frankly place ourselves in this category, and for the following reasons.

First, we believe that this movement represents a threat to the democratic process of government. We recognize the right of citizens to protest all manner of unjust conditions, and to petition Congress and other governmental agencies about matters affecting their welfare. But the purpose of such should be to present facts, describe conditions, and to indicate the concern of the people. Protest, petition and demonstrations should, in a democracy, not develop into an overwhelming show of force, nor should they be coupled with threats of violence, veiled or otherwise. They should not bear insinuations of dire consequences, including disruption of orderly processes, disobedience of laws, and interference with the freedom and rights of others. We disapprove of the march on Washington because these elements seem to be written into its plans and strategy.

In the second place, we object because we have an obligation to be consistent, fair and unprejudiced. We would not want the American Legion, the John Birchers, The Methodist Men, the Democratic Party, or the AFL-CIO to launch such a gigantic pressure movement. Therefore, to be absolutely fair about it, we cannot approve of it being done by anybody else. We would ask those who support this march, sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, what their reaction would be if the same thing were to be staged by the Wallace-for-President group or by the DAR? If we give our approval to this march, can we consistently deny any legal and lawful organization the same right, including the privilege of building a large encampment on government property in our national capital? If it is right for the SCLC to use a massive show of force to pressure Congress into doing what it wishes, then is it not equally right for dozens of other organizations to do likewise?

We do not want government directed and controlled by an interminable parade of pressure groups marching on Washington; so to be consistent, we cannot approve of this one.

Furthermore, we see the high possibility that this rather strong-armed tactic will hurt rather than help the very condition it seeks to alleviate. People being as they are, we may well have a strong national reaction which will militate against the welfare of the poor. In the main, the segment of our people who are caught in the toils of poverty and its concurrent evils need sympathy as well as dollars. They need person to person help as well as appropriations. What will it profit a people if they even gain a few dollars more in welfare money, but lose the kind of personal concern and direct supportive relationship which is essential to their building better lives for themselves? We think the money should be appropriated within the reasonable means of the government to pay it. But we think that much, much more is needed if the deprived and depressed people are to be raised to a status of dignity. Not least among the needs is the good will and active undergirding of millions of people in thousands of communities. Actions which will lessen this kind of support are, in our opinion, ill-advised.

Then, we cannot but feel that the use of millions of dollars to bring thousands of "lobbyists" to Washington is inconsistent with the very purposes of the movement to alleviate poverty. Of course, lobbying by various organizations is a much-practiced procedure around Washington. But usually various interests are represented by one person or at most by a staff of persons.

There is already a vast amount of concern for the poor in this nation. We cannot but feel that other propaganda means, at much less cost, would have actually done more to move recalcitrant members of Congress to be sympathetic to this cause.

Finally, we exercise our right to dissent, because of the risk of violence which is involved in this whole operation. We will grant that at times a witness must be made even when there is a chance of strife and disorder breaking out. But reasonable, right-minded people should not be reckless.

Those who have planned and are carrying out this operation, we think, are taking a great chance. We are midway between an ugly series of riots, and a summer which could be hot and violent. Only last month Washington suffered some nights of terror which left scores of buildings in ashes, hundreds of stores looted, people killed, and the populace thrown into great confusion. Only the clamping down of speedy military rule restored order.

We cannot but sense, therefore, the ineptitude of this plan to set up a large encampment in Washington and to bring a million or more people into the national capital in a massive show of physical presence.

How it will all come out we cannot know at the time of this writing. As of now all things seem to be within the limits of law and order. We sincerely trust that they will stay so, and that the whole effort will produce good and constructive results.

WCKT-TV IN MIAMI PROVES PUBLIC APATHY TOWARD CRIME

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the problem of crime on our streets is one that we have all been concerned with for some time. Recent polls seem to indicate that the citizens of our Nation share this concern. However, a documentary film produced by WCKT-TV in Miami, Fla., seems to indicate that to the average man on the street crime is something for someone else to worry about; he does not want to get involved.

This outstanding program, narrated by Wayne Fariss, WCKT news commentator, is a startling portrayal of public apathy. Mr. Gene Strul, news director of the station and executive producer of the program, has written an article describing the program and its results in the March issue of the Quill and I commend it to my colleagues. I also offer my congratulations to Messrs. Fariss and Strul and the producer, Mike Silver, for bringing to the attention of the public the situation with which it must cope.

The article follows:

[From the Quill, March 1968]

WAYNE FARRIS, NARRATES "PARTNERS IN CRIME"—A TV STATION PROVES PUBLIC APATHY

(By Gene Strul[1])

MIAMI, FLA., WCKT-TV.—You and I . . . and our neighbors . . . are partners in crime.

Surprised? Indignant? Why?

Because you wouldn't smash a jewelry store window and steal the baubles on display? And you wouldn't think of lifting anything from your neighborhood retail store?

Granted if shoplifting is taboo, purse snatching and assaults on policemen are not among your fun things to do. And that after-dinner drink probably doesn't send you reeling into the street after a 10-year-old girl.

What's more you gave up thoughts of breaking into the neighbors' house for profit or sensual pleasure when you discovered her husband was a linebacker for the Green Bay Packers.

And the only time you fled the comfort of a jail cell was in a psychedelic dream. You boarded a transit bus cradling the fare in hands gripped by handcuffs. But you got out of that one because no one cared. Now that has a romantic ring.

But there's nothing romantic about crime and violence . . . or public apathy to either. Not getting involved is costing the country 27 billion dollars a year in crime loss. And who can equate physical injury and mental anguish in monetary values?

Unfortunately and despite all the brave words recorded on the subject, crime like sex is here to stay. We would like to reduce the former. But to the public its always somebody else's game. The word for it is "apathy." The question is to what extent?

With crime in an inflationary spiral, WCKT-TV news turned the candid camera lens eye on the problem—*you*. The idea was to stage all the crimes mentioned and more. The purpose—to film public reaction to what for the most part is common everyday crime, and to determine with some finality whether you and I . . . and our neighbors . . . are morally, if not legally, partners in crime.

Appropriately, we called the documentary, "Partners in Crime." Sixty minutes of surprising reaction to our phoney crimes focused international attention on Miami. Ranked third nationally in crime, Miami deserves such attention. A year ago, we were No. 2. Fortunately, some other city cared a little less about law and order.

Let there be no mistake though, crime and apathy are equally at home in your backyard as they are in ours.

WCKT's experiment in crime and apathy had the blessing, if not the immediate cooperation, of local police agencies. They feared one of our actors might get hurt. A get-involved type citizen with a taste for blood could have turned some political chiefs into Indians. And don't think some ambitious braves didn't pow wow over the prospects of raising some scalps.

But as "Partners In Crime" demonstrates there was little ground for fear. There's one thing about apathetic people—they don't get involved.

Accompanied by a plainclothes Miami police captain, A WCKT newsman smashed a jewelry store window. He grabbed some planted beads that Pocahontas wouldn't have traded Manhattan Island for with all its crime and violence.

No one interfered with the escape. A motorist trailed the getaway car but didn't phone the police. Someone recorded a license number. But it was wrong.

Our rookie thief doubled back to the scene of the crime. His hand was cut on the broken window (it cost $200 to replace, a shattering experience in itself); his pants splattered with blood. He picked up a microphone and talked to a witness.

"Can you identify the man?" he asked.

"I would recognize him anywhere," the witness responded. And he provided a description.

"Do you see him anywhere in the crowd?"

"No!"

"Well, would it help if I put on my sunglasses? You see, I was the man you saw."

This was not apathy. It was a credibility gap that eventually comes home to roost in every courtroom. A part of the vicious circle that makes crime pay.

The staged jewelry store break-in was similar to a rash of crimes that have plagued Miami stores in recent years.

We tried a series of purse snatches. In one instance, a bystander made a weak effort to chase a Negro plainclothes officer. Another called out encouragement.

"Keep going, you can make it," he suggested.

In a variation, we snared a pocketbook from the front seat of an automobile stopped for a traffic light. It's a favorite practice in Miami.

One thief virtually sped into the arms of three husky young men.

"What do you have there?" one inquired.

"A purse," answered the startled newsman.

"Okay!"

The purse snatch was a success. No two witnesses could correctly identify our thief.

A policewoman playing a purse snatch victim asked six passersby for assistance. None would phone the police. They were too busy to get involved. It happens every day.

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[1] Gene Strul has been news director of WCKT-TV since September of 1957 and his total broadcast experiences spans 20 years. His journalism career began as a sports writer for the Miami News. Among the television awards received by WCKT-TV for programs written and produced by Strul are the Peabody award in 1960, two Freedoms Foundation medals, the Green Eyeshade Award, three Florida Sigma Delta Chi awards in 1962, Scripps-Howard Foundation Award and the University of Missouri Journalism Honor Medal. He has been a member of Sigma Delta Chi since 1950.

But as in every story there's a hero. In this one, it's the supermarket bagboy. Don't attempt any flim flam in his territory. You might get run over or tackled by a nononsense teenager. A police officer and a newsman nearly did in both a purse snatch attempt and a bogus assault on an officer in an attempted stop and frisk.

Attacks on police officers, we're told, happen with surprising frequency. With a crowd of shoppers looking on, a WCKT newsman resisted arrest, knocking an officer to the ground. A bagboy gave chase, no one else cared.

Our cameras caught one husky gentleman warily watching every move of the fugitive as he loped close enough to take the bad breath test. The witness told us he saw nothing.

Shoplifting in our community is a million-dollar-a-year headache for merchants. We set up a camera in a shoe department storeroom of a large store. In a day of pilfering only one shopper reported a theft.

"I didn't want to get involved," explained another witness.

One woman shopper drew her husband's attention to a shoplifter. His reaction—"Shut your face."

Witnesses generally were not eager to talk to reporters. When they did, the contradictions to save face were alarmingly funny.

What these unwitting partners in crime failed to understand was that shoplifting losses are passed on to them in the rising price of goods.

In another demonstration, we proved how easy it is for a perfect stranger to get into your home. We used the ploy of checking television sets for radiation. A camouflaged police officer armed with a battery charger gained entrance to 11 of 12 homes, all occupied by women. Once inside, he could have robbed or raped.

We returned a week later. One woman who insisted she wouldn't let anyone into her home shamefacedly admitted that she had allowed our con man into the house. A second victim said it was a moment of weakness. The rest wouldn't talk.

When Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone, he had no idea it would be used as a burglar's tool. The conservative burglar likes to operate in an empty home.

Six of 12 phone calls to women on the pretext of giving them a financial reward for trying a fake product provided the exact hours their homes would not be occupied. The others hedged but provided sufficient information for a burglar to work with.

A majority of citizens apparently stand four square behind apathy. No better example was the handcuffed escaped prisoner who boarded a transit bus across from the Miami police station. In camera range, he paid his fare, ambled down the aisle of the crowded vehicle and sat next to an undaunted passenger.

Two stops later, the fugitive nudged his seat partner to assist him in getting off the bus. She pulled the bell cord.

"Yes, there was something unusual about the passenger, he was wearing handcuffs," said the bus driver. "I was looking for a policeman," he added. An ironic twist is that the escaped prisoner had been picked up near the city jail.

"He knew what he was doing," snapped a passenger. Who can argue with such logic?

We had created the unlikely situation of a prisoner on a bus to give the question of public apathy a real test. It got it.

Child molestation is another matter. We staged four kidnapings at different shopping centers. All involved screaming girls pulled into cars. They were 10 and 14 years old.

We filmed one phase of the action from inside a Salvation Army clothing drop where a surprised donor discovered our photographer and hurriedly departed.

Covered with clothing, our cameraman keyed on witnesses to the abductions. Several passersby paused but did nothing. One man continued to read a posted restaurant menu. Another continued inside to order his meal. Several girls gave an erroneous description of the kidnapers. But only one man would discuss what he had seen.

Coaxed from his window vantage point inside a resturant, the husky witness described the abduction in detail.

Asked why he did nothing about it, he replied, "I was eating."

Such scenes packaged in a special presentation for the NBC Huntley-Brinkley Report shocked citizens across the country.

The New York *Post* said it was a "frightening" demonstration. Columnist Hy Gardner called for more programs of revelation throughout the country.

United Press International, *Broadcasting*, *Variety*, *Backstage*, the Mutual Radio Network and others devoted an avalanche of words to "Partners In Crime."

While criminologists, sociologists, psychologists, schools, colleges and universities requested use of the program as a mirror of reality, immediate public reaction was mixed.

"The problem," said some, "is the police. They are equally apathetic."

Courtroom delays were criticized. And there were charges that "defense attorneys can bend the law . . . criminals too frequently are freed on technicalities . . . and the witness becomes the defendant."

Can any of us deny in toto the substance of such charges?

And now you are asking yourself if you would have reacted any different than your friends and neighbors.

As newsmen you might have called the police or taken meaningful notes on the criminal acts. But the bitter truth is that most of you would have done nothing.

A fair question then is what was accomplished by "Partners In Crime?"

If nothing else, the program awakened a latent public conscience.

A Fort Lauderdale couple, for instance, ignored a gunman's demand for money and called police. They recalled seeing the WCKT documentary and decided to get involved. The suspect was picked out of a lineup. He was wanted on a series of charges . . .

London Theatrical Producer Peter Cook also saw the program. He armed himself against whom he though were phoney autograph seekers and refused to let them into his hotel room. Cook said he would not forget the lesson . . .

An eye witness to a million dollar fire in Pompano Beach, Fla., credited the documentary with his decision to turn in an arson suspect . . .

And Miami police credited the documentary with inspiring usually apathetic bystanders to apprehend some jewelry store thieves.

Hopefully such reaction will proliferate. This is not to suggest that anyone face down a gun or an armed bandit. This would be foolhardy. But it is evident that when you can easily answer a need for help with a phone call to police . . . by taking down a license tag number . . . or providing detailed physical information about a suspect and you don't because you don't want to get involved, this *is* apathy.

It is true, of course, that some people just don't care what happens to other people. And few are conditioned to witness an act of violence. Even less are willing to subject themselves to bodily harm. All of which is understandable.

But if you are the don't-get-involved type . . . so is your neighbor. Unfortunately, you could also be tomorrow victim's. In fact, you have a 48 per cent greater chance of falling victim to crime than you did seven years ago, according to F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Hoover warns that "either we win the war against crime or the priceless heritage which we cherish will be destroyed."

Reporters, editors and broadcasters must therefore accept the challenge to get involved. For public action is needed. And "Partners in Crime" proved that it can be aroused. But it will take the shock treatment article, the imaginative documentary to do the job. This leaves *you* and *I* the choice of getting professionally involved or remaining "Partners In Crime."

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S REMARKS IN SIGNING THE CONSUMER CREDIT PROTECTION ACT, PUBLIC LAW 90–321

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, last Wednesday afternoon a number of us from the House of Representatives was privileged to be present in the beautiful East Room of the White House when President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Consumer Credit Protection Act passed by both Houses in final form on May 22. An invited audience of about 350, representing consumer and labor groups which had worked 8 years for the passage of Federal truth-in-lending legislation, and also representing many business organizations without whose cooperation and assistance technical provisions of the measure could not have been worked out satisfactorily, participated in this historic occasion, along with present and former Federal and State officials who had contributed to the development of the legislation.

In his remarks, the President described the occasion as "a day that most Americans have been waiting for for 8 long years." And he paid special tribute to former Senator Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois, who first proposed truth-in-lending legislation, and who devoted much of his time and energy in his last 6 years in the Senate in dramatizing and publicizing and promoting this great forward step in consumer protection.

Although the bill as finally enacted goes far beyond the original Douglas bill by including many provisions initiated in the House of Representatives, I think all of us who had any share in the development of Public Law 90–321, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, will forever acknowledge that without Paul Douglas' pioneering work and untiring leadership on this issue, no legislation could have been enacted.

The President also cited the leading roles played by the chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, the gentleman from Texas, the Honorable WRIGHT PATMAN, who has spent nearly 40 years battling for the public interest in the Congress of the United States, and Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE, of Wisconsin, who succeeded Senator Douglas as chairman of the Senate subcommittee handling truth-in-lending legislation last year, and succeeded for the first time in getting a truth-in-lending bill out of subcommittee; then proceeding to pass it through the full Senate Banking and Currency

Committee and through the Senate on a remarkable rollcall vote of 92 to 0.

President Johnson paid particular credit to the career civil servants in the Department of the Treasury who devised the actuarial tables which removed much of the controversy over the practicability of determining annual percentage rates for the finance charges on installment loans and purchases. We are all indebted to Under Secretary of the Treasury Joseph W. Barr, a former member of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, who was assigned by President Johnson to coordinate the executive department's legislative work on this legislation, and who put the best technical brains in the Treasury to work on the task of devising clear and simple tables demonstrating how the bill's disclosure requirements on installment credit could be carried out.

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AND AMBASSADOR VANCE ON PARIS TALKS

Before proceeding to his remarks on the Consumer Credit Protection Act last Wednesday, the President talked about the negotiations now going on in Paris between representatives of the United States and North Vietnam, and expressed his heartfelt hope that "we can get peace in the world." Among those present was Ambassador Cyrus Vance, who is assisting one of our greatest Americans, the Honorable W. Averell Harriman, at those talks. Ambassador Vance also spoke briefly at the White House bill signing.

Mr. Speaker, the President's remarks about the Paris talks and also those by Mr. Vance are included in the transcript of the proceedings in the East Room last Wednesday in connection with the signing of the Consumer Credit Protection Act. Under unanimous consent, I submit the White House release of the full text of President's Johnson's remarks and those of Ambassador Vance, as follows:

Remarks of the President and Ambassador Cyrus Vance Upon Signing S. 5, the Truth-in-Lending Bill, the East Room, the White House, May 29, 1968

The **President**. Mr. Vice President, Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, my beloved friend Senator Douglas, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I ask your indulgence for being late. We had a rather extended briefing on a subject that means more to all of us than any other subject, and that is how we can get peace in the world.

I have been talking to Mr. Vance since before 8:00 o'clock this morning, reviewing all the developments of the past two weeks. He is preparing to return to Paris. He has been briefing our Cabinet and evaluating for us the developments there.

I assume it is not inappropriate here to observe that back last August we searched our minds and our hearts and our principles and laid down a program which was subsequently announced in San Antonio that we were hopeful would lead to the peace table.

That program was rejected outright and we searched many other avenues and many other conferences.

On March 31st, I reached a decision that if we would take the unusual step of exercising great restraint on our own part by eliminating our offensive efforts over 90 percent of the population in North Vietnam and 78 percent of the territory, if we did that unilaterally, without expecting anything from them or asking anything from them, that might lead to the talk table where we could discuss this matter. If we could talk, that might lead to some agreement sometime.

It was an adventure. There were no guarantees involved about what it would do. But we thought it offered new hope. I didn't feel that it was a matter that could be involved in partisan-year politics or personal ambition. For that reason, I said that we will do this to try to get to the table and to convince not only everyone abroad, but everyone at home that it is no election year gimmick, I made the additional decision not to seek re-election.

We have gone part of the way. We are at the table. It took us a month to get there. Some people were not helpful to us in getting there but we are there, thank goodness.

The next question is: What do we do there? We hope we make progress. We don't know. We have not made much up to date. We can't see the future, but we are going to try. That is why we are late. Thank you for your understanding.

Today is a day that most Americans have been waiting for for eight long years. With this bill, the Consumer Credit Protection Act, we are entering an era of honesty in the marketplace.

At long last the consumer will receive the treatment he deserves when he borrows money. The buyer will be allowed to know what the seller has always known—that is, how much interest he will have to pay on a credit purchase.

This bill, I think, is an example of Government working at its best—Government responding to the growing and the changing needs of the people. Good Government does respond to change.

Here is just one example of how those needs have grown: In 1946, one year after the end of the war, consumer credit amounted to $8 billion.

This year the figure will be not $8 billion, but well over $100 billion.

Yet all during those 22 years of great growth, our laws did not grow. They have not changed at all to meet these new demands.

The old argument was that telling a man exactly how much interest he would be called upon to pay would confuse him.

Well, today we know better. We know that our consumers should be able to shop for credit as knowledgeably as they shop for groceries or merchandise.

When our parents have to borrow for their children's education or to pay medical bills, they should be told not just how much a month they will be paying, but the total debt that they are pledging themselves to sign up for.

When a housewife opens a charge account at a department store, she will not have to compute how much 1½ percent a month comes to. She will be told that the annual rate is 18 percent, and exactly how much of her total bill goes to finance charges.

When a man takes out a personal loan to pay for a new car, the finance company won't be able to say simply "$5 down and $25 a month." The buyer must be told how many months he will be paying, how much of his money pays interest and other carrying charges.

If a man falls into debt, he will not be punished by unreasonable garnishment of his salary. He will not be deprived of food for his family or money for his rent. He will not be fired out of hand.

If a householder or a small businessman falls prey to loan sharks, his body and his property will be protected from extortionists by stiff Federal penalties.

As President, I know of no single piece of legislation which is of more pressing or more personal concern to more of our consumers than this bill. This bill is truly a triumph for truth.

We are establishing today a National Commission on Consumer Finance to continue to study these problems and to make sure we don't again let our actions fall behind our needs.

I don't think any of you know how pleased I am and how happy I am to see Senator Paul Douglas, our old friend, here with us in the East Room today. He is a battle-scarred warrior with many victories and many defeats under his belt. But this is one of his proudest victories. This is his bill. He has been championing it for eight years.

This bill also belongs to many other people. It belongs to our good lady friend, that able Congresswoman from Missouri, Congresswoman Sullivan. She fought—and I say "fought"—for a strong and an effective bill when others would have settled for less. She was supported by her colleagues in the House, particularly her Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, Congressman Patman, who I am glad to welcome here today.

It is Senator Proxmire's bill, too. He recognized the needs of this Nation and he saw to it that those needs were met.

But most of all, this bill belongs to all 200 million of us—alert, aware and demanding consumers that we are.

I want to particularly thank every Member of Congress, House and Senate, for what you may have done to make this occasion possible.

I particularly want to single out one person in the Executive department, one of our much overlooked individuals, the career public servant, Mr. Cedric W. Kroll of the Treasury Department. Mr. Kroll is the Government's actuary. He is a veteran of more than 25 years of Federal service.

He and his colleagues in the Treasury's Office of Public Debt Analysis had a tough job to do before we could even begin to get a Truth-In-Lending Bill. The lenders had argued that any bill was unworkable because of the variety of credit transactions involved. They said the requirements were just too complicated to be calculated with accuracy.

Well, Mr. Kroll and his associates did not buy those arguments. They put heads together and came up with a set of interest rate tables and schedules that make disclosure of the many varieties of credit transactions relatively simple. They cracked this tough, impossible, big, technical problem that had stalled a Truth-In-Lending Bill for years.

These few men, these quiet, effective men, whom the Government is built on—men and women like them—are called bureaucrats sometimes in the heat of debate in the Congress. I call them real patriots. They were working backstage and they proved that this bill could be made to work. These men, and thousands like them, are living proof of how our Government works for the people.

We owe this bill and other good bills to our career civil servants who are always working behind the scenes to better our lives and usually doing the things for which we take the credit.

I am proud today to speak for not only our consumers and for all of our people in recognizing our debt and paying our thanks to the public servants who go unheralded, unknown, and unsung, and who make our prosperity and our security better by their careers.

But I want to again pay my compliments and salute the selflessness of Miss Betty Furness, who came here to undertake consumer leadership and who has not only undertaken it, she has provided plenty of it.

Thank you very much.

This is unusual, and I don't want to take much more of your time, but we do have another man who has given eight or nine years of his life to Federal service in many capacities—in the legislative branch of the Government, in the military branch of the Government, in the diplomatic branch of the Government—and he is one of the great public servants of our time. I want him to take the next few minutes of your time on the thing that is most in your heart—peace in the world. Cy Vance.

Ambassador VANCE. Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As a result of the speech of March 31st, and the actions announced therein, we are now at the conference table in Paris.

It took us a month to get to the conference table. How long it will take us to achieve a just and honorable peace at the conference table, we do not know.

The road ahead, I believe, will probably be long and difficult. However, we will persevere in our search for a just and honorable peace so that peace and prosperity may be brought to Southeast Asia and to the world.

Thank you, Mr. President.

GREEN POWER

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, during the last few months much has been said about black power and more emphasis is being given to "black economic power," or as I prefer to call it, "green power."

An excellent editorial on this subject was recently aired by radio station WHBL in Sheboygan, Wis.

In order to share this editorial with my colleagues, it is included here as part of my remarks:

BLACK ECONOMIC POWER

In this period of discontent, the pessimists in our society seem to be most vocal. They seem obsessed with finding the faults and weaknesses of the nation upon which they blame all our problems, including the racial situation.

We believe it is necessary to call to the attention of the fault-finders certain facts and figures that explain much of the strength of this nation.

In the area of economics, the income trend is a dramatic case in point. Consider the fact that a generation ago, only five percent of America's families had annual incomes of $5,000 or more; by 1967, more than 50 percent had incomes of $5,000 or higher.

Between 1959 and 1967, the number of families below the $5,000 mark decreased by four million; in the same period, families of $10,000 or better doubled from 17 percent of the total to 45 percent.

As for the future, Fortune Magazine estimates that by 1975 the percentage of families with annual incomes of more than $10,000 will be above 50 percent.

It should be emphasized that the trend applies to all income groups.

How is this possible? Why has this encouraging trend occurred? The answer can be found in the soundness of our free enterprise economy. Despite the restrictions and handicaps placed upon it by government during the last 30 years, our economic way of life has provided these dramatic income increases.

The success of our economic system, relates directly to the problems facing minority groups in our country today.

In recent weeks, at least one major Negro organization has come to the realization that the future of the Negro, just as the White, is tied directly to economic factors. That group is the Congress of Racial Equality, better known as CORE.

In a six-page proposal, CORE said, "We seek to harness the creative energy of private enterprise to achieve a solution of America's crisis."

"Handouts are demeaning," said the CORE proposal. "They do violence to a man, strip him of dignity, and breed in him a hatred of the total system." CORE's answer is a community development program to "draw funds from many sources and promote self-generating growth with the aim in time of ending reliance upon the taxpayer."

We strongly believe that this proposal will most quickly and effectively begin to lift the Negro out of many of his problems. Furthermore, it demonstrates a faith in our system and a desire to solve problems within the framework of a system which has worked in the past. He wants a piece of "the action," for which we cannot blame him.

Many negroes, such as those leading CORE, desire to work for the benefits of our economic way of life. A strong, free and competitive economic system has worked wonders in this country . . it can work wonders for the Negro . . it has made the United States the envy of every other nation in the world . . . and it is economic freedom that must be a part of human freedom.

The economic advancement as indicated by the income statistics we cited, can apply to all segments of our population provided they demonstrate a confidence and a willingness to help strengthen and preserve the free enterprise system.

Not the "Black Power" of violence, but "Black Economic Power," will help to solve our racial inequities.

L. CPL. ROBERT C. WILSON, U.S. MARINE CORPS, KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that one of my constituents, L. Cpl. Robert C. Wilson, U.S. Marine Corps, of Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., has died in Vietnam.

I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by inserting herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the following article:

[From the White Plains (N.Y.) Reporter Dispatch, May 24, 1968]

VIET DEATH OF MARINE IS CONFIRMED

DOBBS FERRY.—The Marine Corps has confirmed the death of a young man who has been missing in Vietnam and presumed dead for several months.

The family of Lance Cpl. Robert C. Wilson, 21, of 117 Bellair Drive, received confirmation that the youth was killed Jan. 8 in a crash of a large transport helicopter near Da Nang.

Cpl. Wilson was one of six children of Mr. and Mrs. Robert G. Wilson.

At the time of the crash, Cpl. Wilson was assigned to delivering personal effects to wounded men and was en route to Da Nang Hospital when the helicopter, with 45 aboard, crashed into a mountain peak. Before that assignment, he had seen combat action.

On Feb. 27 his family received word that he was missing and presumed dead.

His family received word today that their son was dead.

Mrs. Wilson said she received a telegram, delivered by two officers of the Marine Corps unit in New Rochelle stating that a search of the wreckage was made by military and civilian experts and all aboard the helicopter were now assumed dead.

A spokesman at the Marine Corps unit in New Rochelle said the telegram about the deaths was dated April 30.

Cpl. Wilson was a graduate of Dobbs Ferry High School and attended C. W. Post College for a year before enlisting in the Marines in September 1966. He arrived in Vietnam March 3, 1967, after completion of training at Parris Island, S.C. and Camp Lejeune, N.C.

He was the third Dobbs Ferry man to die in Vietnam.

LETTER FROM A CONSTITUENT—REVIEW OF EVENTS AND SOME SOUND ADVICE

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, it often happens that folks back home can view the spectrum of events with amazing clarity and understanding. An instance of that kind is contained in a remarkably intuitive letter written to me by Mrs. Dorothy Capps Anderson, of Del Rio, Tex.

The letter follows:

Hon. O. C. FISHER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As an average citizen, I feel there is very little that I can do concerning current events but I must say that some one needs to be heard. Indifference among Americans to the present problem is alarming. The greatest enemy of America is inside America engaged in un-American activities.

Statistics shout to high heaven about crimes and riots on our streets, the criminal code and Courts are coddling the criminal. Encouragement to subversion is unparalleled in our history. If we do not move against this wave of destruction from within—and soon, it may be too late—too late to stop the Communist menace inside America. Leaders of mobs and movements may deny any Communist influence or affiliation but their actions betray them. When we see something which looks like a mule, has ears like one, has the shape of one—it is a mule. When men act and talk like Communists—they are helping the Communist cause.

In a concern for the state of the "welfare" we have endangered the welfare of the States. No country in the world ever rewarded as many of its people for unemployment born of laziness and the realization that the federal government would feed them. No nation has ever paid so many for the practice of illegitimacy—the more births the more beans and beef by a government check. The principle "If a man does not work, neither let him eat" cannot continue to be ignored without penalty. The government has not solved the problem, it has subsidized the problems of the poor. Those who will work, those who will show initiative, are being asked to take more and more of the load as the number of the irresponsible multiplies. It is difficult to motivate men to work when they feel they can always look to the government.

The advocates of civil disobedience are endangering the security of the very country under whose protection they are allowed to act. Disobedience to any of our laws is not "civil" and no cause is so worthy as to warrant some members of society picking out the laws they dislike and disobeying them. The thief does not like laws against stealing and the murderer does not like the law against murder. This does not make the robber righteous or the killer kind. Each one becoming a law unto himself and doing what is right in his own eyes will make actions of early day American vigilantes look like child's play.

The demonstrator who shouts "police brutality" would be very quick to report his stolen car to the police. The marcher who criticizes police, would be the first to complain if his march were not police protected.

The right to debate gives no one the right to disturb. The right of dissent should not be perverted to mean the right to destroy. People are using our freedom as a cloak to cover their sins of subversion. The slogan "police brutality" is being taught to mob members so they can gain the sympathy of the public against law enforcement officials in a movement to destroy law and order in America.

The Communist party is using the poor and protestors to divide our country. Never since the days of the Civil war, has our Nation's people been so divided. We all need to stand up and be counted or lie down and be run over by the ruthless rulers of other lands.

If at any time, we can do anything for you, please let us know.

Yours very truly,

MRS. W. W. ANDERSON.

WHO MUTILATED THE DOCUMENTS?

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, June 2, the Chicago Tribune's veteran newsman Willard Edwards, dealt at length with the case of Otto F. Otepka, the State Department security officer whom the State Department tried unsuccessfully to dismiss for giving information to a Senate investigating subcommittee. Otepka seeks to be exonerated of the charges brought by State and returned to his former position in the Office of Security. For those who have not had the opportunity to follow this celebrated case closely, the Edwards' article provides a capsule treatment of this long and complex case.

For those who have followed Otepka's battle with State, the seemingly impossible attempt to wring any vestige of justice from this agency is all too familiar. The mutilation of documents aspect of the Otepka case is a good case in point.

It will be remembered that State originally charged Otepka with 13 specific counts, charges 4 through 11 having to do with the declassification and mutilation of documents. Charges 5, 7, 9, and 11 begin with this statement:

> You have been responsible for the mutilation of a classified document in violation of 18 U.S.C. 2071.

Then, in each of the charges, the State Department identifies each document and procedes in each charge with this statement:

> Specifically: On June 18, 1963, a Xeroxed copy of the tops and bottoms of the pages of the aforementioned document was retrieved from your burn bag. This burn bag was obtained from the Mail Room in accordance with the procedure outlined above. These tops and bottoms which were cut from a Xeroxed copy of the ——— document have been matched with a complete copy for identification purposes.

The next paragraph of each of the four above-cited charges reads:

> The act of cutting the classification indicators from a document "mutilates" that document within the meaning of 18 U.S.C. 2071. Exhibit D is a statement from Messrs. Shea, Belisle and Rosetti, attesting to the fact that they have identified these clippings as having come from the classified document referred to above.

It would appear from the wording of charges that the State Department had a pretty good case against Otepka. But what happened? Just before Otepka's hearing before State got underway, that agency dropped these charges against Otepka. For some reason the possibility of perhaps convicting Otepka of a Federal offense, which calls for a fine of $2,000 and a jail sentence of up to 3 years or both, somehow lost its urgency. Otepka denied that he had anything to do with the mutilation of documents and welcomed the opportunity to cross-examine at least 11 persons at the hearings. After State dropped these charges, Otepka's opportunity to question these people was eliminated.

Later, when Otepka appealed the State Department decision to the Civil Service Commission, he requested that the mutilation charges be reviewed by the Commission and the above-mentioned people be made to appear in connection with the mutilations. The Commission denied his request, and the actual perpetuators of the offense have still not been apprehended.

Perhaps it is not too late to catch the culprits. The statute of limitations on offenses under 18 U.S.C. 2071 is a period of 5 years. As the wording in the charges mentions the date of June 18, 1963, as being the date when the mutilated documents were retrieved from the burn bags, the 5-year period has not as yet expired.

Of course, State's strategy is clear. They are stalling until the statute of limitations runs out, thus preventing prosecution of the actual violators. They are doing the very same thing with regard to the perjury charges connected with the case, which charges also have a statute of limitation of 5 years.

I intend to inquire of State what has been done to apprehend those responsible for this violation of a Federal statute. If Otepka is guilty, he should not be allowed to go free. In the same vein, if the State Department clique is guilty, they should be made to face the charges.

One thing is clear: if these violations are not cleared up shortly, the American people must make the Otepka case a campaign issue in this presidential election year.

I include the article entitled, "Otepka Presses Fight To Regain State Department Post," by Willard Edwards, in the RECORD at this point:

OTEPKA PRESSES FIGHT TO REGAIN STATE DEPARTMENT POST

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, June 1—Otto F. Otepka looked up with a smile from the swarm of legal papers and books he was perusing. He was engaged in a familiar practice, the drafting of a memorandum for his attorney as the basis or his latest appeal in a battle for reinstatement as the state department's chief security officer.

That struggle for vindication now is in its fifth year and seems fated to continue for additional years. Rep. John N. Erlenborn [R., Ill.] today voiced a suspicion widely held in Congress that "Otepka's troubles will continue at least a year until we get a new President and a new secretary of state next year."

Otepka's troubles actually began more than seven years ago, in December, 1960, when he was summoned to a private meeting with two members of the incoming Kennedy cabinet. They were Secretary of State-designate Dean Rusk and Attorney General-designate Robert F. Kennedy. Hostilities brewed at that conference, when Otepka resisted pressures to relax security regulations, continue to this day.

LINES IN FACE

The intervening years have put some lines in Otepka's face and some gray in his hair. Heavy legal expenses have plunged him into debt. But he has no thought of quitting a struggle against federal harassment which some have compared to the circumstances of the infamous Dreyfus case which shook France at the turn of the century. Twelve years passed before Dreyfus won exoneration.

Some friends of Otepka have urged him to accept the partial victory he won last December when Rusk vacated the original order dismissing him from office, entered in November, 1963, and substituted a demotion in grade, a reprimand and an order barring him from security duties.

Otepka conceded that he sometimes had thought of giving up. His legal costs thus far have totaled $26,000, most of them supplied thru contributions to the American Defense funds headed by James M. Stewart, 391 N. Walnut st., Wood Dale, Ill. But Otepka has been obliged to borrow $7,000 from a relative. The demotion is costing him $6,160 a year in income and he is at present on a leave-without-pay basis.

"I CAN'T QUIT"

"But I can't quit," he said. "Thousands of people have supported me and contributed to my fight. I would be betraying them and both Congress and all government employees if I gave up. There's just one issue involved—the right of federal workers to give information to congress when they see wrongdoing in their departments."

He had just finished a study of the latest finding against him and found it full of errors and omissions. This was the ruling of James Masterson, chief, appeals examining office, Civil Service commission, rejecting Otepka's petition for vacation of Rusk's demotion and reprimand order.

Otepka and his attorney, Roger Robb, who has just won a $75,000 libel judgment for Barry Goldwater, will file a formal appeal from Masterson's findings to the board of appeals and review of the Civil Service commission.

CITES 2 MEN

"Why has the commission shied away from investigating the strange immunity to prosecution of John F. Reilly and David Belisle, two of the principal instigators of wrongful actions against me?" asked Otepka.

Reilly and Belisle, director and deputy director of the office of security, state department, were exposed as principals in the vendetta against Otepka. Reilly, forced to resign for having testified falsely, was quickly employed by the Federal Communications commission at a high salary. Belisle was transferred to a high post in the American embassy in Bonn. The justice department ignored suggestions by the Senate internal security subcommittee that their conduct be examined.

In their appeal, Otepka and his lawyer will strongly attack Masterson's finding that a Presidential directive takes precedence over an act of Congress. Otepka contended he was within his rights in furnishing information to the Senate subcommittee under a law guaranteeing "the right of employes to furnish information to either house of Congress or to a committee or member thereof." Masterson decreed that an order by President Truman in 1948, forbidding employes to give Congress information about the loyalty of government workers' overrode the law.

LINKS TO RUSK

Otepka is resigned to the fact that he will never be restored to duty as a security officer as long as Rusk remains in office.

"The secretary of state might have ignored my case if I had given information to the Senate subcommittee on persons in whom he had no special interest," he said. "But that information did involve good friends of his and he was undoubtedly incensed that the documents I produced, making a liar out of Reilly, contained adverse information on these good friends."

Otepka had served the government since 1936 and was deputy director, office of security, in 1960 when there was a change of administration. His efficiency ratings had been uniformly high and complimentary and the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles gave him a meritorious service award for "outstanding performance."

PEAK OF CAREER

He was at the peak of his career when summoned to the fateful meeting with Rusk and Robert Kennedy in December, 1960. They wanted him to ease the security requirements for a number of prospective state department appointments. He insisted upon full field investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the case of all appointments to the rank of assistant secretary or higher. One of those temporarily barred by Otepka's stand was Walt W. Rostow, now special assistant to President Johnson on national security affairs.

By early 1962, Otepka had become aware that Rusk had granted 152 security "waivers" to high-ranking department personnel, compared to five such waivers during eight years of the Eisenhower administration. He strenuously objected to these and other security decisions.

On Jan. 20, 1962, his office was abolished and he was downgraded to chief of the evaluation division. Early in 1963, his telephone was tapped, he was put under surveillance, locked out of his office, and placed in isolation. On Nov. 5, 1963, he was fired for conduct unbecoming a state department officer.

APPEALS FOR HEARING

Otepka appealed for a hearing before the state department panel set up for that purpose but more than four years passed before he got it. Ten of the 13 charges against him then were dropped but after a long and exhaustive hearing, conducted in secret over Otepka's protests, he was found guilty of having delivered "two memoranda and an investigative report" to the Senate subcommittee.

No attention was paid to Otepka's defense—that he had delivered this evidence only when called upon to prove that he had not lied in sharply disputing statements made by his superiors. On Dec. 9, 1967, Rusk set aside Otepka's discharge but directed that he be "severally reprimanded," reduced in grade, and forever barred from security duties. This is the decision, upheld by a Civil Service commission examiner after another secret hearing, which Otepka is now seeking to reverse.

On Oct. 31, 1963, just before Otepka was fired, the full Senate internal security subcommittee formally advised Rusk that "we would consider it a great tragedy if the services of this exceptionally able and experienced security officer were lost to the United States government on the basis of alleged technical violations growing out of his cooperation with this subcommittee."

On Jan. 6, 1968, the same subcommittee officially labeled Otepka as "a dedicated and loyal patriot who has suffered extraordinary, calculated harassment because he attempted conscientiously to carry out the national security program." This verdict was based on an inquiry lasting four years which required a million words of testimony.

VIETNAM WAR CLAIMS FOUR FROM MARYLAND

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pvt. William R. Bissell, Sgt. Antoni B. Purwin, Sp4c. Reid T. Stylers, and Sp4c. Benjamin N. Goldberg, four fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend their bravery and honor their memory, by including the following article in the RECORD:

VIET WAR CLAIMS FOUR FROM STATE—MONTGOMERY MARINE, THREE GI'S FROM CITY ARE KILLED

A Montgomery county marine and two Baltimore soldiers have been killed in Vietnam, and another Baltimore soldier has died in a Texas military hospital of burns received in Vietnamese action, the Department of Defense has announced.

The Maryland servicemen were:

Marine Pvt. William R. Bissell, 19, son of Mrs. Dorothy M. Bissell, of 6507 Seventy-eighth street, Cabin John, Md.

Army Sgt. Antoni B. Purwin, 22, son of Alexander Purwin, of 26 South Durham street.

Spec. 4 Reid T. Styers, 24, son of Mrs. Anna S. Saunders, of 5326 Wright avenue.

Spec. 4 Benjamin N. Goldberg, 37, brother of Mrs. Florence Coplan, of 2423 Lightfoot drive.

Private Bissell, a native of Cabin John, was a graduate of the Walt Whitman High School, in Bethesda, Md. While there, he was a member of the school's baseball team.

Employed at Decatur Press, in Bethesda, he also served with the Cabin John Volunteer Fire Company and in 1966 was awarded a trophy as being one of the "top men" in the company.

Enlisting in the Marine Corps in August, he took his basic training at Parris Island, S.C. and advanced training at Camp Lejeune, N.C. Attached to the 1st Marine Division, he shipped out from San Francisco January 27 with a rifle platoon of the 27th Marine regiment, according to his mother.

Private Bissell was killed May 22, in the Da Nang area, his mother said. Death was attributed to hostile rifle fire.

NATIVE OF POLAND

Besides his mother he is survived by his father, Walter J. Bissell, of 6 Throne road, Cabin John, and two sisters, Miss Carolyn Bissell and Miss Judy Holt Bissell.

Sergeant Purwin, a native of Poland, came to the United States in 1961 and attended the Patterson Park High School. He also attended a night school which specializes in English instruction.

He enlisted in the Army three years ago and trained at Fort Bragg, N.C. as a paratrooper. He left for South Vietnam with the 82d Airborne Division.

SEVERE BURNS

The family was notified by the Army that Sergeant Purwin was killed May 13 somewhere in South Vietnam but the Army has not released the details of his death.

He is survived by his father, a brother, Edmund K. Purwin, of Baltimore, and a sister, Mrs. Marie Martin, who recently returned to Poland.

Specialist Styers, a Baltimore native, was called up from the reserves and arrived in Vietnam September 13, 1967.

His mother said he was an artilleryman stationed with Battery A, 3rd Battalion, 13th Artillery Brigade.

She said he was burned over 60 per cent of his body on May 9 and died of an infection May 26 at Brooks General Hospital, San Antonio, Texas.

"He wrote that he'd like to have some soft drinks and that Vietnam was an unpleasant place," Mrs. Saunders said.

Besides his mother, Specialist Styers is survived by two half-brothers, Spec. 4 Thomas Saunders, with the Army in Germany, and Philip M. Saunders, of the home address; and a grandfather, David Styers, of Berkely Springs, W. Va.

A 15-YEAR VETERAN

Specialist Goldberg, a native of New York who came to Baltimore in 1935, was a veteran of 15 years in the Army.

He was killed by hostile fire May 15. He had been in Vietnam since January 12 with the 1st Division.

Specialist Goldberg was a veteran of the Korean War and had been frequently decorated during his military career.

Besides his sister, he is survived by two other sisters, Miss Lilliam Goldberg, of Baltimore and Mrs. Ida Haven, of Albuquerque, N.W., and a brother, Sam, of Baltimore.

Services will be held at 2 P.M. tomorrow at the Levinson funeral establishment, 6010 Reisterstown road.

DISILLUSION AND THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 3, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to call the attention of the House to the second of what may be a series of editorials appearing in the Peoria Journal Star discussing the serious shortcomings of our electoral college system and the great need for revamping the system. The latest editorial, "Disillusion and Electoral College," appeared in the May 23 edition of the Peoria Journal Star and I include it at this point in the RECORD:

DISILLUSION AND ELECTORAL COLLEGE

(By C. L. Dancey)

Chances are that a lot of young people who are now out enthusiastically working their heads off for various presidential candidates in the primaries are going to be shocked, disillusioned, and bitter when the conventions meet.

Their reaction then is apt to be that it is a dirty, crooked, and evil system for selecting a candidate, when the big state political chieftains sit down and figure it out for themselves—and the actual primary voting results are apt to become, once again, something of a joke.

If they examine the system closer, however, they'll find it isn't that bad. It has its merits.

The people who really make the key decisions at the convention will be interested in results. Their motives will be to pick the best candidate with the best chance to win.

They will look at primary votes, and they will look at political polls, but from long experience they will not stop there.

They will analyze them far beyond the mere total results. They will look at circumstances, splits, and choices. They will study them in the light of probable events to come and probable reactions.

Then, they will try to pick a man who can win in a general election in the fall.

That is not the same thing as trying to pick a man who can win in a party election in the spring.

The requirements, the voting segments and the circumstances are different, much different!

So, it isn't such a stupid system after all.

Indeed, a straight primary in the spring might be less effective for the parties and for the people of the U.S. It might be more stupid, because the conditions of a primary are far different than those which involve the whole electorate—and spring developments are not always the same as fall. Durability of popularity depending on its base is important.

And they will look at where the tilt is that makes some districts much more important than others.

That is the unequal element that is dirty, dishonest and evil.

But that is not their fault. That is a fact of life that they have to deal with.

The fact of life is the Electoral College system.

It makes hairline victory in key big states more important than "decisive" support in others, regardless of the numbers.

It grossly distorts the value of voters in a more shocking violation of the "one-man one-vote" principle than those the Supreme Court has "corrected."

The Supreme Court cannot correct this one.

It requires a Constitutional Amendment.

The time has long come when all our eager "crusaders" took up that massive distortion of democracy and the "cause" of getting it fixed.

But most of them are strangely silent on this obvious and basic evil.

Why?

Because they have long been using the special advantages of this cheating system for their other "causes" which center precisely where the dice are loaded by the Electoral College—in the big cities of states with big totals.

They can exploit the fact that if a big city provides a slight tilt in its big state, it becomes more important than twice its number of voters not so strategically located for Electoral College purposes!

There is an evil for which there is no excuse.

It ought to be attacked.

It ought to be fixed.

And where, oh where, are all our saintly reformers on this one?

And where, for goodness sakes, are all the state legislators, congressmen, and senators representing all of us in all the districts being rooked by the Electoral College system?

All downstate and suburban legislators, for starters, right here in Illinois!

And who could oppose reform if it were pushed?

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Tuesday, June 4, 1968*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit ye like men, be strong.—1 Corinthians 16: 13.

O Thou whose light follows us all our ways, amid the tumult of these trying times we bow a moment at the altar of faith and freedom to listen to Thy still, small voice which speaks forever to our human hearts.

Give to us a real consciousness of Thy presence as we live through these hours that in doing Thy will, in serving our country, and in ministering to our people we may have abounding courage, abundant wisdom, and abiding faith.

Upon all Members of Congress who carry heavy burdens through these decisive and disturbing days grant a double measure of Thy strengthening spirit. As we determine our decisions and as we make our moves may we keep our minds clear and our hearts clean. By the power of Thy spirit may we meet great needs with great deeds, and match lofty professions with lively practices. Thus may we march forward to a better city, a better nation, and a better world.

In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a joint and concurrent resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H.J. Res. 1224. Joint resolution to authorize the President to reappoint as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for an additional term of 1 year, the officer serving in that position on April 1, 1968;

H. Con. Res. 44. Concurrent resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of a veterans' benefits calculator;

H. Con. Res. 614. Concurrent resolution to provide for the printing of 1,000 additional copies of anticrime program hearings; and

H. Con. Res. 702. Concurrent resolution authorizing certain printing for the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1581. An act to amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (69 Stat. 584);

S. 2178. An act for the relief of Dennis W. Radtke; and

S. 2884. An act to amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 so as to recommend to the several States that its absentee registration and voting procedures be extended to all citizens temporarily residing abroad.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 3504. An act to amend section 11 of an act approved August 4, 1950, entitled "An act relating to the policing of the buildings and grounds of the Library of Congress."

THE CONFERENCE REPORT ON THE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE CONTROL ACT OF 1968

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, next week the House, and through us the Nation, faces a crucial vote on the conference report on the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968. The legislative road that has brought us to this final crucial vote has been a long one. But we are now at the point where we must face the final question—Will the House support the conference report on this bill?

My position on this final question is clear: I am for this conference report. I am supporting it completely as it is. I urge the House to support it completely as it is.

The legislative road has been a long one because this measure covers both taxes and expenditures—matters of vital concern to this House and matters on which differences of opinion always exist. But the lengthy legislative consideration has given this body and all concerned the opportunity to express and weigh these various views. The issues and all the possible answers have been fully explored and debated.

The conference report embodies the solutions that have been forged through this lengthy consideration. Naturally each of us will not see his views fully reflected in that report. Some of us may want less expenditure control, some more. Some may want a lower surcharge; some may want tax reform measures as a part of this bill. But I submit that these are no longer the issues.

The one clear issue now before us is whether we are resolved to move decisively to protect the economic and financial stability of the United States.

We are no longer debating the means and methods of achieving that protection. We have had those debates. Out of them has come this conference report with its solutions of how best to assure that protection. Under our legislative procedures and traditions, the only practical way to move now and to move decisively is to approve that report.

So I repeat, realistically the only issue now before us is the goal itself—the fiscal responsibility of the United States.

Under these circumstances, a failure to support the conference report is unthinkable.

For failure of that report would mean—for the Nation:

To bring the risk of financial and economic chaos to the United States;

To reject responsibility in the management of our fiscal affairs and to substitute instead a swollen budget deficit and the reckless acceptance of an unsustainable and dangerous economic pace;

To expose our economy to intolerable inflationary pressures, to strain our financial markets, to send our interest rate structure to fantastic heights, and to bring on a monetary crunch that could halt our growth and even bring a subsequent bust; and

To risk a full-scale international crisis that can start with speculation against the dollar, run through a flight from the dollar, and end here at home with rising unemployment and again even an economic bust.

Failure of that report would mean—for the individual:

To have him pay higher and higher prices;

To have him pay higher and higher interest rates, and thus take buying a home out of his reach, and take credit for his small business or his farm out of reach; and

To drain away the buying power of the poor and the elderly and all who live on fixed incomes.

Just the other day we voted on whether the expenditure reduction under this bill should be $4 or $6 billion, and the House defeated the $4 billion reduction. That was a proper question at this time and I supported the $4 billion choice.

But today it is no longer a proper question. We would no longer be serving our country well by letting this difference of $2 billion—in a budget of $186 billion—blind us to the realities of the situation and keep us from protecting the dollar here at home and abroad and thereby protecting our economic wellbeing.

The country wants an answer now to its fiscal problems and now is the time to give that answer.

On May 30 the President said, and I quote:

> So the only choice remaining now is whether the need for a tax increase is so urgent that we must accept the $6 billion reduction.
>
> I believe that the need for a tax increase is that urgent. I believe that the national interest requires the tax increase as soon as possible.
>
> Therefore, if the Congress will vote for the conference report containing the tax increase and the $6 billion expenditure cut, I shall approve it.

And then he added—and I want to stress these words:

> I urge the Congress to adopt the conference report at as early a date as possible, and give me the opportunity to sign the measure.

The Congress must now give its answer. My answer is to support the conference report and to urge my colleagues to vote for that report.

WHAT IS OUR WAR STRATEGY?

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, a great many people are wondering just what is America's war strategy. Are we trying to win the war? Or are we simply trying to get out of Vietnam on the best terms the Communists will give us? The present picture is a disturbing one. We are now negotiating in Paris, and every concession made thus far has been by the United States. The President offered to stop the bombing of North Vietnam and to negotiate in return for restraints by the North Vietnamese in their war efforts in South Vietnam. Instead of restraint, they have poured thousands of fresh troops and supplies southward into the fighting. American casualties are topping 500 per week. Certainly there has been no restraint by the North Vietnamese. The only concession they have made is to come to the conference table in Paris and to denounce us.

We have always fought defensively in Vietnam. We have confined our aircraft to limited targets. We have refused to invade North Vietnam. Now we have limited our bombing to areas south of the 19th parallel. Wars are not won by defensive tactics. The very fact that we are negotiating without any concessions from the Communists is an admission of weakness to the rest of the world. This does not help us anywhere.

The American people will not willingly continue to accept this state of affairs. If there is not a better prospect of a meaningful solution at the conference table within a very short time, U.S. forces should be freed to win the war in Vietnam by whatever tactics are necessary and with whatever weapons are available.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON ROADS, COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, TO SIT TODAY AND BALANCE OF WEEK

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Roads of the Committee on Public Works may sit during general debate today and during the balance of the week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

THE TAX SURCHARGE AND BUDGET REDUCTION

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I was very concerned to hear the majority leader take the floor of the House and try to reduce this complicated fiscal problem subject to the action of the House of Representatives as one of responsibility or irresponsibility. I regret that the majority leader chose to use the 1-minute rule in which he did not have time to yield to anyone to challenge some of the statements he was making.

Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the Members of the House that twice now and, as late as yesterday, I have taken a special order in order to afford other Members to discuss at some depth some of the complicated problems involved in this fiscal matter, at which time there was an opportunity to yield to those who disagree.

Let me say to the distinguished majority leader that the responsibility or irresponsibility lies with the leadership of the House of Representatives and of the other body and lies with the leadership at the White House, or I would say the lack of leadership. There is where the responsibility lies.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me at that point?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. I believe my friend from Missouri has misunderstood my remarks. I did not pinpoint or direct my remarks to a particular branch of the Government as being the one that bears this responsibility.

Mr. CURTIS. But the words are there and they will be there for everyone to read. The record is also there to be read and it represents a failure on the part of the administration to face up to this fiscal responsibility. The record has been made; it is there for anyone to read. It is now time for the President of the United States to spell out the line items which are going to be cut.

Because 6 months of fiscal 1969 is not under his administration, and the first month of fiscal 1969, namely, July, requires action now in spelling out where the cuts are going to be made, otherwise July is going to continue at the same or increased expenditure levels. That is where the sham is. And the President of the United States can clear it up, and so can the leadership of the House, and apparently they are not about to.

POOR PEOPLE'S MARCHERS STONE THE SUPREME COURT BUILDING

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, I was interested in reading in the paper last Friday where a group of the so-called poor people marchers had marched on the Supreme Court and had stoned the building. Mr. Speaker, it just goes to show that they are not all bad.

I would also say that after a few more decisions similar to those that have recently been rendered, such as the one yesterday that will, in fact, do away with capital punishment, and others that have in effect put handcuffs on the police while freeing confessed murderers, rapists, and robbers. All they would have to do is give a little notice in advance and people would come from all over the country to join them. When one sees what the Court has done to the Constitution and its effect on this country it tempts me to join them.

PROPOSED CUTS IN EXPENDITURES ARE A PIG IN A POKE

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, the majority leader has asked the Members to buy a pig in a poke, and has not let us know what the pig looks like.

It appears to me, Mr. Speaker, that if he has not answered the question as to who is going to do the cutting, when they are going to cut, and what they are going to cut, that this would be irresponsible legislation at this time. We are spending over $2 billion a year to maintain ineffective troops in Europe. We are wasting more than $2 billion in foreign aid. We have expanded research programs by about $3 billion that are not producing anything that could not be done better by tax supporting industry. Our space program is spending probably $1.5 billion more than is actually required.

Federal personnel are in tremendous oversupply. We could reduce the cost of Federal bureaucrats by at least $2 billion a year. We are paying some farmers millions of dollars a year not to grow products. We could reduce subsidies by $2 billion a year. When the interest on all this borrowing is over a billion dollars—it would seem irresponsible to buy this sort of a pig right now.

This Member is not at all impressed by a President who says that if you give him $10 billion more, he is going to cut out $6 billion of it.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON TAX INCREASE AND EXPENDITURE CUT

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I was impressed by the remarks of the majority leader regarding the responsibility of standing up and being counted on the tax conference report when it is presented to the House.

I recall when we had a tax reduction bill some years ago, that I did not feel that a tax reduction was in order and I voted against it.

My opponents expressed the complaint that I was not concerned about reducing taxes but I felt at that time and I have been vindicated since that with the great expenditures of Government that we could ill-afford a tax reduction.

I notice that when we had the resolution up here last week with regard to the $4 billion cut, that a large number of our colleagues on the Democratic side of the aisle all voted for the $4 billion reduction.

I am going to be very interested to see how they are going to vote when the conference report comes up with the $6 billion reduction. I am of the opinion that a large number of the delegations from the large cities are going to vote in opposition to this, and that is why I called the resolution that was called up last week, "Operation Get Off the Hook."

So far as I am personally concerned, it is my intention not to vote on the first go-around because I want to find out how some of these people are going to vote who over the years have voted "yea" on every appropriation and authorization bill and then complained year after year that we have not been spending enough.

So we will find out then where they are going to be when the roll is called on this conference report. My prediction is that unless a lot of the big city Members do not vote for this conference report, many of us will have to decide not to vote for it either on our side of the aisle because the responsibility, I think, lies over there—the problem was created over there—and it is your responsibility to do something about it and not look for Republican votes to get you off the hook.

Many of us have been warning over the years that we were headed for this fiscal mess. Our warnings have gone unheeded. It will be interesting to see how many of the Members who have voted for the high dollar on every bill will "bite the bullet" and support the conference report. My advice is not to expect too much Republican support unless the Democrats from the big cities support it.

INCOME TAX INCREASE

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to be of assistance to any of my colleagues who may be seeking Federal funds during this period of budgetary restraint—and to suggest to you the urgency of the passage of the income tax increase.

You see, Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that the administration needs this tax increase very desperately to buy support for the Vice President in his bid for the Democratic nomination for President of the United States.

I am certain, Mr. Speaker, that the taxpayers will deluge the Members of this body with mail urging passage of the tax increase when they see how valuable this extra money will be to the administration in buying support and votes for its favorites.

To shed more light on the matter, I quote a June 1 article from the Cincinnati Enquirer for my colleagues:

Hensley on Humphrey Mayor's Committee—Lynn Street Project Wins U.S. Funds

(By Ron Schoolmeester)

Covington Mayor Claude E. Hensley's agreement to lend his name to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey's campaign literature is suspected of having handed the Northern Kentucky city a long-awaited $313,000 Federal grant to finalize plans for a senior citizens apartment building in its Lynn Street Urban Renewal Project.

Announcement of the reservation of funds was made at about 9:30 a.m. by Donald Hummel, pro-Humphrey assistant director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington, D.C.

Such announcements are traditionally made by Fourth District U.S. Congressman M. Gene Snyder (R., Jeffersontown) or one of Kentucky's two Republican senators.

But it was not until later Friday afternoon that Snyder and Sen. John Sherman Cooper, both believed to have been unaware of Hummel's previous action, broke the not-so-surprising news that Covington's redevelopment project had received Federal blessing.

A $2.87 million Federal grant for construction of the 17-story apartment building was approved last July. Covington officials have been waiting since then for the $313,000 needed for demolition, relocation and land acquisition in the 3.22 acre tract on the city's Eastside.

Hensley talked with Vice President Humphrey on the telephone about a week ago in an effort to accelerate approval of the stalled Federal monies.

Later, the mayor received a call from Neal Peterson, special assistant to the vice president. Peterson agreed to help the city, but only under certain circumstances.

Leading among the provisions were that Hensley would publicly endorse Mr. Humphrey for the Presidency and would permit his name to appear on the vice president's "National Mayors for Humphrey" campaign literature.

A life-long Democrat, Hensley agreed and announced his support of Humphrey immediately after Friday's revelation.

"It was Mr. Humphrey who broke the ice for us on this project," declared Hensley, who returned about three weeks ago from Washington after conferring with Representative Snyder, Sen. Cooper and Sen. Thruston B. Morton about the funds delay.

"I am convinced that Mr. Humphrey is the best Presidential candidate, and will help him in any way I can," the mayor continued.

Humphrey faces stiff opposition for the Democratic nomination from his former Minnesota colleague in the U.S. Senate, Eugene McCarthy, and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of New York by way of Massachusetts.

Meanwhile, Fred Donsback, Covington urban renewal official, said that the city will hold a public hearing on the project about August 15. Construction is expected to begin sometime after March 1, 1969.

The area—bounded by Madison Avenue, 11th Street, Scott Street and Lynn Street—includes 16 parcels of land occupied by 17 families, eight families, and five businesses. City officials anticipate no difficulties in acquiring the land.

"We are now in the process of setting up official appraisers and attorneys to enable us to purchase the property," Hensley said.

Covington city commissioners have scheduled a special public meeting for next Tuesday night to eliminate any further delay in the project.

FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

There was no objection.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I was out in my district in western Nebraska this weekend and I learned a startling fact from one who I think is a reliable source, one of our most able judges, in regard to the operation of the food stamp program.

It seems that married college students whose cash income is quite low are applying to the welfare office for food stamps and are receiving them. I do not know how widespread this policy is throughout the country, but I understand that the Committee on Education and Labor is currently holding hearings with regard to the extension of the food stamp program. I would urge this committee to check into the matter very carefully, because undoubtedly this is a misuse of the program.

FOLLOWING THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, I have been listening to the remarks during 1-minute speeches of Members on the other side of the aisle in relation to the tax increase. I am always amazed at the ability of some Members to pack into 60 short seconds some of the most arrant nonsense that I have ever heard.

I heard the gentleman from Michigan say that he is not going to vote on the first call of the roll, but he is going to be swayed by what the Democrats from the big cities do.

I want to congratulate the gentleman for having the wisdom to recognize our leadership, and I hope this will be a harbinger of things to come with regard to his votes in the future.

I agree that it would be well if the President would specify where the cuts would come. I hope when he says that we should "bite the bullet," he means we should cut some of the great defense spending. But I will say that every cent the President can spend must first be appropriated by this Congress. We have appropriated this money, and when we talk about irresponsibility, I think we ought to consider that we might be irresponsible for appropriating the money and then asking the President to protect us from our own actions.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. Perhaps you could put at ease the mind of the gentleman from Michigan if you would care to tell him how you intend to vote on this issue.

Mr. JOELSON. If he will tell me right now that he will vote the way I intend to vote, I will tell him.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOELSON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CEDERBERG. If you will put up 50 percent of the Democratic study group for this conference report, I will vote for it.

Mr. JOELSON. I will say that that is a response that is not an answer.

I yield back the balance of my time.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs may sit during general debate this afternoon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

CREATING A JOINT COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT AND THE VICE-PRESIDENT-ELECT ON JANUARY 20, 1969

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I call up Senate Concurrent Resolution 73 and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the Senate concurrent resolution, as follows:

S. Con. Res. 73

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That a joint committee consisting of three Senators and three Representatives, to be appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, respectively, is authorized to make the necessary arrangements for the inauguration of the President-elect and Vice-President-elect of the United States on the 20th day of January 1969.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The Senate concurrent resolution was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF JOINT COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT AND THE VICE-PRESIDENT-ELECT ON JANUARY 20, 1969

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 73, 90th Congress, the Chair appoints as Members of the Joint Committee to make the necessary arrangements for the inauguration of the President-elect and the Vice-President-elect of the United States on the 20th day of January 1969 the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. McCormack, Mr. Albert, and Mr. Gerald R. Ford.

NOTICE OF MOTION TO SEND CRIME BILL TO CONFERENCE

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader when, if he does know, the conference report on the crime bill will come before the House.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary has just advised us that on tomorrow he will move, on instructions of his committee, to send this bill to conference.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

PRIVATE CALENDAR

The SPEAKER. This is Private Calendar day. The Clerk will call the individual bills on the Private Calendar.

VISITACION ENRIQUEZ MAYPA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4386) for the relief of Visitacion Enriquez Maypa.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

ARTHUR JEROME OLINGER, A MINOR

The Clerk called the bill (S. 155) for the relief of Arthur Jerome Olinger, a minor, by his next friend, his father, George Henry Olinger, and George Henry Olinger, individually.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

DWAYNE C. COX AND WILLIAM D. MARTIN

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2281) for the relief of Dwayne C. Cox and William D. Martin.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

E. L. TOWNLEY

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11381) for the relief of E. L. Townley.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

JOSEPH W. HARRIS

The Clerk called the resolution (H. Res. 991) to refer the bill (H.R. 14109) entitled "A bill for the relief of Joseph W. Harris," to the Chief Commissioner of the Court of Claims pursuant to sections 1492 and 2509 of title 28, United States Code, as amended.

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

CERTAIN EMPLOYEES OF THE NAVAL WEAPONS CENTER, CONCORD, CALIF.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2282) for the relief of certain employees of the Naval Weapons Center, Concord, Calif.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

INDIVIDUALS EMPLOYED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY AT FORT SAM HOUSTON, TEX.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10327) for the relief of Louis J. Falardeau, Irva G. Franger, Betty Klemcke, Wineta L. Welburn, and Emma L. McNeil, all individuals employed by the Department of the Army at Fort Sam Houston, Tex.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

LAURENCE BLOOM

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1608) for the relief of Laurence Bloom.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

HORACE H. EASTERDAY

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2758) for the relief of Horace H. Easterday.

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

JOSEPH H. BONDUKI

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4939) for the relief of Joseph H. Bonduki.

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

WASSON COAL MINING CORP.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12539) to confer jurisdiction on the U.S. Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment on the claim of the Wasson Coal Mining Corp. against the United States.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

MRS. RUTH BRUNNER

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12894) for the relief of Mrs. Ruth Brunner.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

ROBERT J. BEAS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 15633) for the relief of Robert J. Beas.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

RACHEL STIMPSON

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1527) for the relief of Rachel Stimpson.

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

HUBERT ASHE

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 4404) for the relief of Hubert Ashe.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

REFERENCE OF H.R. 1761, FOR THE RELIEF OF MR. AND MRS. RALPH J. MESSINA, SR., AND JOHN H. FITZGERALD

The Clerk called the resolution (H. Res. 1111) to refer the bill (H.R. 1761) entitled "A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph J. Messina, Sr., and John H. FitzGerald," to the Chief Commissioner of the Court of Claims pursuant to sections 1492 and 2509 of title 28, United States Code.

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

CHARLES BERNSTEIN

The Clerk called the bill (S. 321) for the relief of Charles Bernstein.

Mr. **TALCOTT**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

CUBAN TRUCK & EQUIPMENT CO.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6321) for the relief of the Cuban Truck & Equipment Co., its heirs and assigns.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

REMCO INDUSTRIES, INC.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10417) for the relief of Remco Industries, Inc.

Mr. **GROSS**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

MARTINA ZUBIRI GARCIA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 1648) for the relief of Martina Zubiri Garcia.

Mr. **CONTE**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

ENRICO DeMONTE

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2046) for the relief of Enrico DeMonte.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

AMALIA P. MONTERO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5959) for the relief of Amalia P. Montero.

Mr. **HALL**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The **SPEAKER**. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

MARY JANE ORLOSKI

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6655) for the relief of Mary Jane Orloski.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6655

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Mary Jane Orloski, of Rockville, Maryland, is hereby relieved of all liability for repayment to the United States of the sum of $1,847.20, representing overpayments of salary which she received as an employee of the National Bureau of Standards, for the period from June 21, 1964, through August 9, 1966, such overpayments having been made as a result of administrative error in determining the rate of basic compensation to which the said Mary Jane Orloski was entitled when she was transferred from Walter Reed as a mechanical engineer to the National Bureau of Standards as a technical writer, effective June 21, 1964. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, full credit shall be given for the amount for which liability is relieved by this Act.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated to the said Mary Jane Orloski, the sum of any amounts received or withheld from her on account of the overpayments referred to in the first section of this Act. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 8, strike "August 9, 1966" and insert "July 30, 1966".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

JOSEFINA POLICAR ABUTAN FULIAR

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2478) for the relief of Josefina Policar Abutan Fuliar.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 2478

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of sections 203(a)(1) and 204 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Josefina Policar Abutan Fuliar shall be held and considered to be the natural-born alien daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Fuliar, citizens of the United States: *Provided,* That the natural parents or brothers or sisters of the beneficiary shall not, by virtue of such relationship, be accorded any right, privilege, or status under the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MARIA BALLUARDO FRASCA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5029) for the relief of Maria Balluardo Frasca.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 5029

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Maria Balluardo Frasca may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in her behalf by Mr. and Mrs. Giovanni Frasca, citizens of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 8 at the end of the bill, change the period to a colon and add the following: "*Provided,* That the brothers or sisters of the beneficiary shall not, by virtue of such relationship, be accorded any right, privilege, or status under the Immigration and Nationality Act."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LEE OK JA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6673) for the relief of Lee Ok Ja.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6673

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Lee Ok Ja may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in her behalf by June Nelson, a citizen of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, lines 5 and 6, strike out the language "upon approval of" and substitute in lieu thereof the word "and".

On page 1, line 7, after "United States," insert the words "may be approved".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RICARDO SIGUANCIA ROSARIO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11322) for the relief of Ricardo Siguancia Rosario.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11322

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Ricardo Siguancia Rosario shall be held and considered to be a bona fide nonimmigrant under the provisions of section 101(a)(15)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Ricardo Siguancia Rosario may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in his behalf of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Rosario, a citizen of the United States and a lawfully resident alien of the United States, respectively, pursuant to section 204 of the Act."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SUNG NAN LEE

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12071) for the relief of Sung Nan Lee.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 12071

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Sung Nan Lee may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in her behalf by Mr. and Mrs. Frederick W. Uthe, citizens of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 8, at the end of the bill add the following sentence:

"Section 204(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, relating to the number of petitions which may be approved, shall be inapplicable in this case."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DEMETROULA GEORGIADES

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12378) for the relief of Demetroula Georgiades.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12378

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Demetroula Georgiades (formerly known as Demetroula Demetropoulos) may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in her behalf by Sophia *and* Nicholas G. Georgiades, a lawfully resident alien and a citizen of the United States, respectively, pursuant to section 204 of the Act.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 7, after the name "Sophia" insert the word "and".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

KU EUN YONG

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12850) for the relief of Ku Eun Yong.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12850

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act. Ku Eun Yong may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in her behalf by Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Cobb, citizens of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CHOI SUNG JOO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 13863) for the relief of Choi Sung Joo.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13863

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Choi Sung Joo may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in his behalf by Mr. and Mrs. Gerard J. Byrne, citizens of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the Act. Section 204(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, relating to the number of petitions which may be approved, shall be inapplicable in this case.

ANGELIKI GIANNAKOU

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 13912) for the relief of Angeliki Giannakou.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13912

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Angeliki Giannakou may be classified as a child within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of the Act, upon approval of a petition filed in her behalf by Miss Dorothy E. Hughes, a citizen of the United States, pursuant to section 204 of the said Act, subject to all the conditions in that section relating to orphans: *Provided,* That the brothers or sisters of the said Angeliki Giannakou shall not, by virtue of such relationship, be accorded any right, privilege, or status under the Immigration and Nationality Act.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 6, strike out the language "upon approval of" and substitute in lieu thereof the word "and".

On page 1, line 7, after the language "the United States," insert the words "may be approved."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FRANK KLEINERMAN

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2654) for the relief of Frank Kleinerman.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

DONALD D. LAMBERT

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2695) for the relief of Donald D. Lambert.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 2695

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Donald D. Lambert, of West Yarmouth, Massachusetts, is hereby relieved of all liability for repayment to the United States of the sum of $2,172.62, representing an overpayment of retired pay from the date of his discharge from the temporary retired list of the United States Marine Corps on November 30, 1963, until December 31, 1965, due to the fact that the disbursing officer was not notified of his discharge. In the audit and settlement of accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, full credit shall be given for the amount for which liability is relieved by this Act.

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the said Donald D. Lambert, the sum of any amounts withheld from on account of the overpayments referred to in the first section of this Act. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MUTUAL BENEFIT FOUNDATION

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 2976) for the relief of the Mutual Benefit Foundation.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

JAMES M. YATES

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 3681) for the relief of James M. Yates.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 3681

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That James M. Yates of Saint Louis, Missouri, a member of the United States Army, is hereby relieved of all liability to refund the United States the sum of $238.50, representing the amount of certain overpayments of compensation made to the said James M. Yates in the commutation of subsistence during his training under the Reserve Officers Training Corps program. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying and disbursing officer of the United States full credit shall be given for the amount for which liability is relieved by this Act.

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to James M. Yates, Saint Louis, Missouri, the sum certified to the Secretary of the Treasury by the Secretary of the Army as the sum of amounts paid to the United States by the said James M. Yates, or withheld from amounts otherwise due him from the United States, by reason of the liability referred to in the first section of this Act. No part of the amount appropriated in this section shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of service rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LT. COMDR. WILLIAM W. GENTRY

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5815) for the relief of Lt. Comdr. William W. Gentry.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 5815

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Lieutenant Commander William W. Gentry, United States Navy, retired, of Springfield, Virginia, is relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $4,643.10, representing the total amount of overpayments of retired pay received by the said William W. Gentry, during the period beginning November 24, 1965, and ending October 23, 1966, while he was employed by the ConstrucTech Corporation of Springfield, Virginia, and that concern was engaged in certain contract work for the United States. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this section.

Sec. 2. (a). The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated to the said William W. Gentry, an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by him, or withheld from sums otherwise due him, with respect to the indebtedness to the United States specified in the first section of this Act.

(b) No part of the amount appropriated in subsection (a) of this section in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provision of this subsection shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, lines 6 & 7, strike "overpayments of retired pay received by the said William W. Gentry, during the period" and insert "retired pay which the said William W. Gentry was not entitled to receive during the period".

On page 2, line 6, after "William W. Gentry", insert "the amount certified to him by the Secretary of the Navy as".

On page 2, line 12, strike "in excess of 10 per centum thereof".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CLIFTON R. KINDT

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 5818) for the relief of Clifton R. Kindt.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 5818

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Civil Service Retirement Act, Clifton R. Kindt, an employee of the Veterans' Administration, at Hines, Illinois, shall be held and considered to have been carried on the rolls of the Veterans' Administration as an employee in a leave-without-pay status, while receiving benefits under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, from October 31, 1933, until his return to duty as an employee of the Veterans' Administration on March 3, 1941.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, after line 10, add:

"SEC. 2. Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (g) of section 8348 or any other provision of law, benefits payable by reason of the enactment of this Act shall be paid from the Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PETER BALINAS AND LEE BALINAS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6195) for the relief of Peter Balinas and Lee Balinas.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6195

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding the provisions of section 3010 of title 38, United States Code, or any statute of limitations, the application filed on or about November 7, 1966, in behalf of Peter Balinas and Lee Balinas for benefits or compensation under the veterans' benefits provisions of title 38 of the United States Code as the surviving children of the late Peter T. (Pedro) Balinas (XC 3 345 947) who died October 1, 1965, shall be held and considered to have been filed with the Veterans' Administration within one year of his death.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HENRY GIBSON

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 8087) for the relief of Henry Gibson.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 8087

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Henry Gibson is hereby relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $1,978, the amount of over payments of basic pay between March 8, 1963, and September 10, 1964, *$1,993.33,* resulting from an account recomputation based on an erroneous statement of service.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Henry Gibson, an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by him, or withheld from sums otherwise due him, in complete or partial satisfaction of the liability to the United States specified in the first section. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, lines 4, 5, and 6, strike "$1,978, the amount of overpayments of basic pay between March 8, 1963, and September 10, 1964," and insert "$1,993.33, the amount of net overpayments of basic pay from July 1, 1949, to June 30, 1962, inclusive,".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MAJ. HOLLIS O. HALL

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 8809) for the relief of Maj. Hollis O. Hall.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 8809

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Major Hollis O. Hall (United States Air Force, serial numbered FR 25913) of Holloman Air Force Base, New Mexico, is relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $3,036.70, representing the overpayment of active duty pay received by the said Major Hollis O. Hall during the period beginning June 25, 1951, and ending September 10, 1965, inclusive, as a result of administrative error in the crediting for pay purposes, of service by him as a midshipman in the United States Navy during the period beginning August 6, 1947, and ending April 14, 1949. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this section.

SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the said Major Hollis O. Hall an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by him, or withheld from sums otherwise due him, with respect to the indebtedness to the United States specified in the first section of this Act.

(b) No part of the amount appropriated in subsection (a) of this section in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this subsection shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 6, strike $3,036.70" and insert "$2,524.70, inclusive".

On page 1, lines 8 and 9, strike "September 10, 1965" and insert "August 16, 1962, inclusive".

On page 2, line 13, strike "in excess of 10 per centum thereof".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

E. CHRISTIAN DES MARETS, SR.

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 9089) for the relief of E. Christian Des Marets, Sr.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 9089

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That E. Christian Des Marets, Senior, of Covina, California, is relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $824.95, representing amounts owing to the United States by reason of the shipment in 1956 from Burtonwood Air Force Base, England, to Fort MacArthur, San Pedro, California, of his household goods that exceeded the weight limit of such goods which would be transported without cost to him by the United States under his United States Air Force travel orders even though representatives of the United States Air Force informed him before he left England that his household goods were within such weight limit. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this Act.

SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the said E. Christian Des Marets, Senior, an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by him, or withheld from sums otherwise due him, with respect to the indebtedness to the United States specified in the first section of this Act.

(b) No part of the amount appropriated in subsection (a) of this section in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 5, strike "$824.95" and insert "$805.61".

On page 2, lines 6 through 12, strike all after "SEC. 2. (a)" and insert:

"The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the said E. Christian Des Marets, Senior, in full settlement of all his claims arising out of his payments to the United States Air Force toward the cost of shipment in 1956 of his household goods that exceeded the weight limit referred to in the first section of this Act, in the amount of $426.39 with respect to the shipment from Burtonwood Air Force Base, England, to Fort MacArthur, San Pedro, California."

On page 2, line 14, strike "in excess of 10 per centum thereof".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MRS. CLAUDETTE C. DONAHUE

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10321) for the relief of Mrs. Claudette C. Donahue.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

WILLIAM W. HIEBERT

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 13160) for the relief of William W. Hiebert.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13160

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That William W. Hiebert, of Alexandria, Virginia, is hereby relieved of all liability for repayment to the United States of the sum of $149 representing overpayments of salary which he received as an employee of the General Services Administration for the period from February 10, 1967, through June 10, 1967, as the result of administrative error. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, full credit shall be given for the amount for which liability is relieved by this Act.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the said William W. Hiebert the sum of any amounts received or withheld from him on account of the overpayments referred to in the first section of this Act. No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 5, strike "$149" and insert "$149.04".

On page 1, line 7, strike "February 10" and insert "February 12".

On page 1, line 8, strike "June 10" and insert "June 6".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LT. (JG.) HERBERT F. SWANSON, AND OTHERS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 14079) for the relief of Lts. (jg.) Herbert F. Swanson, John C. Markowicz, John T. Cox, George T. Ankrum, and Gerald E. Sheldon.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 14079

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That each of the following-named officers are relieved of liability to the United States in the amount set opposite their respective names, representing overpayments of Navy salary received due to an administrative error and through no fault of the individual officers during the period beginning July 3, 1967, and ending September 7, 1967, while serving aboard a United States submarine:

Lieutenant (junior grade) Herbert F. Swanson	$304. 17
Lieutenant (junior grade) John C. Markowicz	270. 83
Lieutenant (junior grade) John T. Cox	270. 83
Lieutenant (junior grade) George T. Ankrum	346. 67
Lieutenant (junior grade) Gerald E. Sheldon	325. 00

In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this section.

SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to any of the officers named in section 1 of this Act an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by the officer, or withheld from sums otherwise due the individual officer, with respect to the indebtedness to the United States specified in the first section of this Act.

(b) No part of the amount appropriated in subsection (a) of this section shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this subsection shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 2, line 1, strike "September 7, 1967" and insert "October 2, 1967."

On page 2, line 2, after "Lieutenant (junior grade) Gerald E. Sheldon $325.00" insert:

"Lieutenant Crispin W. Thiessen, U.S. Navy	495. 00
Lieutenant Thomas Wesley McClure, U.S. Navy	540. 00
Lieutenant (junior grade) James Jay Evans, U.S. Navy	417. 50
Lieutenant (junior grade) Frederick Morgan Berthrong, U.S. Navy	329. 17".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "For the relief of Lt. (jg.) Herbert F. Swanson, and others."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LYDIA M. PARSLEY

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 14167) for the relief of Lydia M. Parsley.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 14167

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Lydia M. Parsley, of Brownsdale, Minnesota, is relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $3,927.09, an amount claimed to be due by the Post Office Department for revenue deficiencies resulting from errors in postage on 78 permit imprint mailings at the post office at Brownsdale, Minnesota, at which she is the postmaster, in the period from May 24, 1961, through November 14, 1962.

SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Lydia M. Parsley an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by her, or withheld from sums otherwise due her, with respect to the indebtedness to the United States specified in the first section of this Act.

(b) No part of the amount appropriated in subsection (a) of this section shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this subsection shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CAROLINE G. JUNGHANS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 16037) for the relief of Caroline G. Junghans.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 16037

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding the limitations contained in section 33 of the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended (50 App. U.S.C. 33), with respect to the filing of claims and the institution of suits for the return of property or any interest therein pursuant to section 9 or 32 of such Act (50 App. U.S.C. 9 or 32), Caroline G. Junghans, a United States citizen residing in West Germany, may, within six months after the enactment of this Act, file a claim for the return of certain property; namely, her interest under item 7 of the will of Fritz Glogauer, deceased, the title to her interest having been acquired by the United States under the Trading With the Enemy Act by vesting order numbered 4907 of the Office of Alien Property; and that claim shall be considered on its merits in accordance with the remaining provisions of that Act: *Provided*, That if no such return is made within a period of sixty days after the filing of such claim, the said Caroline G. Junghans shall be entitled, within one year of the expiration of such period, to institute suit pursuant to section 9 of such Act (50 App. U.S.C. 9), for the return of such property.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HARVEY E. WARD

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 16283) for the relief of Harvey E. Ward.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 16283

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress hereby consents, for the purposes of the eighth clause of section 9 of article I of the Constitution of the United States, to the acceptance by Harvey E. Ward, United States Coast Guard, retired, of Taipei, Taiwan, from the State of Tasmania, Commonwealth of Australia, of the office and emoluments of teacher in the department of education in such State during the calendar years 1960 through 1964.

SEC. 2. Said Harvey E. Ward is relieved of any liability to the United States which the Comptroller General (in the decision numbered B–154213) held arose from his receipt of United States Coast Guard retired pay in violation of the eighth clause of section 9 of article I of the Constitution. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officer of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this Act.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the said Harvey E. Ward an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by him, or withheld from sums otherwise due him, with respect to the liability to the United States specified in section 2 of this Act. No part of the amount appropriated in this section shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. RODOLFO EDUARDO BUSTAMANTE Y ARRIOLA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 6323) for the relief of Dr. Rodolfo Eduardo Bustamante y Arriola.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 6323

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Rodolfo Eduardo Bustamante y Arriola shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of September 12, 1962.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, lines 6 and 7, strike out the date "September 12, 1962." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "September 20, 1962."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. RAMON AIXALA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 7047) for the relief of Dr. Ramon Aixala.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 7047

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Ramón Aixalá shall be held and considered to be lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of July 18, 1961.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, strike out the date "July 18, 1961." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "October 13 1962."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. EULOGIO MANUEL CALDERIN PAZOS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 7900) for the relief of Dr. Eulogio Manuel Calderin Pazos.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 7900

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Dr. Eulogio Manuel Calderin Pazos shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of July 24, 1962.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 3, after the word "That" insert the following: ", for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act,".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. FRANCISCO DOMINGUEZ LOPEZ

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 7901) for the relief of Dr. Francisco Dominguez Lopez.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 7901

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Doctor Francisco Domínguez López shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of May 24, 1961.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 3, after the word "That" insert the following: ", for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act,".

On page 1, line 5, at the end of the bill, strike out the date "May 24, 1961." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "May 19, 1961".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. MIGUEL A. SANTOS-BUCH

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 7902) for the relief of Dr. Miguel A. Santos-Buch.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 7902

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Doctor Miguel A. Santos-Buch shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of May 29, 1961.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 3, after the word "That" insert the following: ", for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act,"

On page 1, line 5, strike out the date "May 29, 1961." and substitute the date "May 24, 1961."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. GUILLERMO SARDINAS PEREZ

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 8816) for the relief of Dr. Guillermo Sardinas Perez.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 8816

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Guillermo Sardiñas Pérez shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of December 6, 1960.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, strike out the date "December 6, 1960." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "September 26, 1960.".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

KAP RAI KIM AND YOUNG NAM KIM

The Clerk called the bill (S. 2585) for the relief of Kap Rai Kim and Young Nam Kim.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 2585

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, section 204(c), relating to the number of petitions which may be approved in behalf of adopted children, shall be inapplicable in the case of petitions filed in behalf of Kap Rai Kim and Young Nam Kim by the Reverend and Mrs. Elwood John Culp, citizens of the United States: *Provided,* That no brothers or sisters of the beneficiaries shall thereafter, by virtue of such relationship, be accorded any right, privilege, or status under the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. ANGELA ZABARTE FANDINO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 10457) for the relief of Dr. Angela Zabarte Fandino.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 10457

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Angela Zabarte Fandino shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of February 16, 1962.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. ELISEO E. PUIG

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11591) for the relief of Dr. Eliseo E. Puig.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11591

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Eliseo E. Puig shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of August 20, 1962.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, strike out the date "August 20, 1962," and substitute in lieu thereof the date "August 21, 1962".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. ORLANDO FAJARDO VARGAS

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11592) for the relief of Dr. Orlando Fajardo Vargas.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11592

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Orlando Fajardo Vargas shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of February 11, 1963.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, strike out the date "February 11, 1963." and substitute the date "February 9, 1963.".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. JOSÉ R. GUERRA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11593) for the relief of Dr. José R. Guerra.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11593

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor José R. Guerra shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of August 25, 1961.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, strike out the date "August 25, 1961." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "August 29, 1961.".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FAITH M. LEWIS KOCHENDORFER AND OTHERS

The Clerk called the resolution (H. Res. 1177) for the relief of Faith M. Lewis Kochendorfer and others.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

DR. CONRADO GONZALES-NUNEZ

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11787) for the relief of Dr. Conrado Gonzales-Nunez.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11787

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Conrado Gonzales-Nunez shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of September 16, 1961.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, strike out the date "September 16, 1961." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "September 12, 1961.".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. HUGO ALFONSO FERRARA COLLAZO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 11091) for the relief of Dr. Hugo Alfonso Ferrara Collazo.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 11901

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Hugo Alfonso Ferrara Collazo shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of November 9, 1961, upon payment of the required visa fee.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, after the date "November 9, 1961" change the comma to a period and strike out the remainder of the bill.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. ROBERTO DE LA CARIDAD MIQUEL

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12116) for the relief of Dr. Roberto de la Caridad Miquel.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12116

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Roberto de la Caridad Miquel shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of September 8, 1961, upon payment of the required visa fee.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, after the date "September 8, 1961," change the comma to a period and strike out the remainder of the bill.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. RODRIGO VICTOR DE VALLE

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 12419) for the relief of Dr. Rodrigo Victor de Valle.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 12419

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the

purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Rodrigo Victor de Valle shall be held and considered to have complied with the provisions of section 316 of that act as they relate to residence and physical presence.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 5, after the words "considered to have" strike out the remainder of the bill and substitute in lieu thereof the following: "been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of January 25, 1963."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. MARIA DEL CARMEN ORTIZ Y GOMEZ

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 9022) for the relief of Dr. Maria del Carmen Ortiz y Gomez.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 9022

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Maria del Carmen Ortiz y Gomez shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of August 4, 1961.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. SANTIAGO JOSE MANUEL RAMON BIENVENIDO ROIG Y GARCIA

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 13154) for the relief of Dr. Santiago Jose Manuel Ramon Bienvenido Roig y Garcia.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13154

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Santiago Jose Manuel Ramon Bienvenido Roig y Garcia shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of December 4, 1962.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 7, strike out the date "December 4, 1962." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "December 5, 1962."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. ISAAC COHEN

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 13353) for the relief of Dr. Isaac Cohen.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13353

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Isaac Cohen shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of November 5, 1960.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. ANTONIO MATIAS RUBIO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 13469) for the relief of Dr. Antonio Matias Rubio.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13469

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Antonio Matias Rubio shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of April 14, 1961, upon payment of the required visa fee.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, after the date "April 14, 1961" change the comma to a period and strike out the remainder of the bill.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. LUIS NARCISO GONZALEZ Y FLEITES

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 13577) for the relief of Dr. Luis Narciso Gonzalez y Fleites.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13577

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Doctor Luis Narciso Gonzalez y Fleites shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of February 12, 1961, upon payment of the required visa fee.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, after the date, "February 12, 1961", change the comma to a period and strike out the remainder of the bill.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AYDEE CORDERO

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 13650) for the relief of Aydee Cordero.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 13650

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Aydee Cordero shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States as of February 11, 1963.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, lines 5 and 6, strike out the date "February 11, 1963." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "February 12, 1963.".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. ROGELIO GIRALDO VIDAL-LOPEZ

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 14017) for the relief of Dr. Rogelio Giraldo Vidal-Lopez.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 14017

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Rogelio Giraldo Vidal-Lopez shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of November 17, 1961.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, strike out the date "November 17, 1961." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "November 18, 1961."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. FRANCISCO E. LAURRAURI-LAURRAURI

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 14238) for the relief of Dr. Francisco E. Laurrauri-Laurrauri.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 14238

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Francisco E. Laurrauri-Laurrauri shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of November 5, 1961.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. PEDRO BAUDILIO NAPOLES (FERNANDEZ)

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 14324) for the relief of Dr. Pedro Baudilio Napoles (Fernandez).

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 14324

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Pedro Baudilio Napoles (Fernandez) shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of February 19, 1962.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. TOMAS RICARDO ARMSTRONG-MARTINEZ

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 14751) for the relief of Dr. Tomas Ricardo Armstrong-Martinez.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 14751

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Tomas Ricardo Armstrong-Martinez shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of August 21, 1961.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, lines 6 and 7, strike out the date "August 21, 1961." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "August 21, 1960.".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DR. MIGUEL ANGEL PONCE DE LEON

The Clerk called the bill (H.R. 15840) for the relief of Dr. Miguel Angel Ponce De Leon.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 15840

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Miguel Angel Ponce De Leon shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of July 7, 1961.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, strike out the date "July 7, 1961." and substitute in lieu thereof the date "July 6, 1961.".

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the further call of the Private Calendar be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

MARTINA ZUBIRI GARCIA

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to return for immediate consideration to Private Calendar No. 423, the bill (H.R. 1648) for the relief of Martina Zubiri Garcia.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 1648

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Martina Zubiri Garcia, Joint United States Military Group—Military Assistance Advisory Group, Spain, is relieved of liability to the United States in the amount of $1,806.96, representing the total amount of living quarters allowance paid to her by the Department of the Army during the period of October 13, 1963, through April 9, 1965, as a result of erroneous payment without fault on her part. In the audit and settlement of the accounts of any certifying or disbursing officers of the United States, credit shall be given for amounts for which liability is relieved by this section.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the said Martini Zubiri Garcia, an amount equal to the aggregate of the amounts paid by her, or withheld from sums otherwise due her, on account of the liability to the United States referred to in the first section of this Act. No part of the amount appropriated in this section shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding $1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, lines 5 and 6, strike "$1,806.96" and insert "$1,817.13".

On page 1, line 7, after "paid to her by the" insert "Department of the Air Force and".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF PERIOD DURING WHICH CERTAIN EMPLOYMENT SECURITY ADMINISTRATION ACCOUNT FUNDS MAY BE USED FOR CERTAIN STATE EXPENSES

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 272) to extend the period during which amounts transferred from the employment security administration account in the unemployment trust fund to State accounts may be used by the States for payment of expenses of administration, which was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I do so so that I may yield to the chairman of the committee to explain briefly what the bill is.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 272 is to extend for an additional 5 years the period during which States may obligate, for administrative purposes, certain funds transferred from excess Federal unemployment tax collections. The bill was reported unanimously by your committee. The administration has indicated that it supports the bill.

In 1954 the Social Security Act was amended by the Reed Act to provide that the excess of Federal unemployment tax collections over the amount needed for loans and for administrative expenses be transferred to State unemployment accounts in the unemployment trust fund. The law permits the transferred funds to be used for employment security administrative expenses, under certain conditions including requirements that the money be specifically appropriated by the State legislature and be obligated within a limited period after the date on which it was transferred to the State's account. This period was originally set at 5 years and extended to 10 years in 1963. After this period, the money becomes part of the State's reserve for benefit payments only.

In 1954, when the provision for these transfers was enacted, it was anticipated on the basis of past experience that funds would be transferred to the States almost every year. Since then, however, several developments or changes have occurred, such as the demands that were made on the loan fund and the creation of the employment security administration account which must be built up to a prescribed level before funds can be credited to the States. As a result of these and other developments, funds were credited to the States only in 3 calendar years, 1956, 1957, and 1958. No additional transfers are anticipated in the foreseeable future.

The funds that have been transferred under this authority have been used by the States primarily to buy the necessary land and construct buildings for use in operating the employment security program. Thirty-four States have used the money for land and buildings.

By using the transferred funds for buildings, States have been able to obtain more satisfactory facilities than would otherwise have been possible. Because these funds spent for building construction can be repaid from current grants for rental, they become available again to construct additional buildings, but only within the period specified. After amortization through the rental grants, the State employment security agency gets the space rent free and Federal grants with respect to such space are made only for its operation and maintenance.

In 1963, when the 5-year period for the administrative use of these funds had expired for 1956 and 1957 transfers and was about to expire for those of 1958, the period was extended to 10 years. The effect of this bill would be to increase the period to 15 years after funds were transferred.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, as the chairman has said, the bill was reported out unanimously.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 272, a bill to extend for an additional 5-year period the time in which the States may obligate certain excess Federal unemployment tax collections for administrative purposes.

In 1954, the so-called Reed Act was enacted to insure that Federal unemployment tax receipts would not be used for general Federal programs, but would be earmarked for unemployment compensation benefits and administrative expenses. The Federal portion of the unemployment tax not needed for administrative expenses, for loans, or certain other purposes, was to be returned to the States. The States were permitted to use these funds for administrative purposes. The funds have been primarily used to buy land and construct buildings for use in the employment security program.

To date, funds have been credited for return to the States in only 3 calendar years, 1956, 1957, and 1958. No additional transfers are anticipated in the foreseeable future. The present bill would merely extend for 5 additional years the time within which amounts already credited to the States under this legislation may be obligated for administrative purposes.

This bill extends a method of financing a part of our employment security program that experience has shown to be both useful and effective. I urge all of my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 272

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 903(c)(2) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C., sec. 1103(c)(2)) is amended—

(1) by striking out "nine preceding fiscal years," in subparagraph (D) of the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "fourteen preceding fiscal years,";

(2) by striking out "such ten fiscal years" in subparagraph (D) of the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "such fifteen fiscal years"; and

(3) by striking out "ninth preceding fiscal year" in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "fourteenth preceding fiscal year".

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DUTIABLE STATUS OF ALUMINUM HYDROXIDE AND OXIDE, CALCINED BAUXITE, AND BAUXITE ORE

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 7735) to make permanent the existing suspensions of duty on aluminum oxide when imported for use in producing aluminum, on calcined bauxite, and on bauxite ore, which was reported favorably by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not, but do so solely for the purpose of yielding to the chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas to explain briefly what this bill is.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. Speaker, as reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of H.R. 7735 is to provide for the permanent duty-free treatment of calcined bauxite, bauxite ore and aluminum hydroxide and oxide. The duties on calcined bauxite, bauxite ore and on aluminum oxide—alumina—when imported for use in producing aluminum, have been suspended since 1956. The current suspension of duties will expire on July 15, 1968.

Alumina is a product used for the production of aluminum primarily but is also used in the manufacture of abrasives, refractories and aluminum chemicals. Bauxite ore is a mineral used in the production of alumina as well as abrasives, chemicals, refractories and miscellaneous products. Your committee is advised that domestic commercial deposits of bauxite are small and that U.S. production of bauxite now accounts for less than 15 percent of domestic requirements. Your committee is further informed that as demand increases, the United States will continue to be largely dependent upon foreign sources for aluminum raw materials.

In its report on the pending bill, the Department of Labor advised the Committee on Ways and Means that—

> Since the duty suspension has been in effect for several years, it is unlikely that continued duty-free entry for these products would threaten domestic employment, and presumably, it would have the effect of avoiding an increase in the producer's cost of finished aluminum products which could be expected to accompany the reimposition of the duties.

In view of this and the experience gained under duty suspensions since 1956, your committee is convinced that the permanent suspension of duty on aluminum hydroxide and oxide and on calcined bauxite and bauxite ore as provided by the bill, as amended, is warranted.

Favorable reports on this legislation were received from the Departments of State, Treasury, Interior, Labor, and Commerce.

Your committee is unanimous in recommending enactment of this legislation.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Is bauxite produced in Rhodesia and South Africa? Do we get bauxite from those countries?

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLS. I am not certain that we get any bauxite from those areas. I do have before me a table prepared by the U.S. Tariff Commission which indicates that most of what we bring into the United States comes from Jamaica, Surinam, the Dominican Republic, Ghana, and Haiti. That which comes from all other sources combined through Customs is a small amount compared to that which comes from the countries I have named.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I only wanted to observe that I shall be interested in all these bills dealing with the exportation, but particularly the importation of minerals, because apparently we are getting ready, with the Paris peace talks going on and our running out of a war to fight, apparently we are getting ready under any circumstances to join in a war, if there is a war, in an effort to subjugate the Rhodesians and perhaps the South Africans and perhaps the Portugese in Mozambique. So I am going to be interested in these bills as they come along to find out what part they may play in the apparent drive to get ourselves committed to a conflict somewhere else in the world where more American blood can be shed.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. CURTIS. I would say to the gentleman from Iowa that he is well advised to watch this. I am personally concerned, too, in examining these bills because there is more war and peace wrapped up in these trade matters than, I regret to say, most people realize.

Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 7735, a bill providing for the permanent duty-free treatment of calcined bauxite, bauxite ore, and alumina.

The duty of these products has been suspended under legislation periodically reenacted since 1956, and the results have been salutary. Alumina is used primarily in the production of aluminum, but is also used in the manufacture of abrasives, refractories, and aluminum chemicals. Bauxite is used in the production of alumina as well as abrasives, chemicals, refractories, and miscellaneous products. The committee was advised that the domestic supply of bauxite is very small. The Interior Department also advised the commiteee that the continued suspension of duties on both bauxite and alumina had not adversely affected domestic production.

The committee received favorable reports from the Departments of State, Treasury, Interior, Labor, and Commerce. The committee unanimously recommended enactment of this legislation.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) subpart C of part 2 of schedule 4 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) is amended by striking out item 417.12 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

“	Hydroxide and oxide (alumina):		
417.12	Aluminum oxide (alumina) when imported for use in producing aluminum	Free	0.5¢ per lb.
417.13	Other	0.25¢ per lb.	0.5¢ per lb. ”

(b) Item 521.17 (relating to bauxite, calcined) of such Schedules is amended by striking out "55 cents per ton" and inserting in lieu thereof "Free".

(c) Item 601.06 (relating to bauxite ore) of such Schedules is amended by striking out "50 cents per ton" and inserting in lieu thereof "Free".

(d) Items 907.15 (relating to aluminum oxide (alumina) when imported for use in producing aluminum), 909.30 (relating to bauxite, calcined), and 911.05 (relating to bauxite ore) of such Schedules are repealed.

SEC. 2. The first section of the Act shall apply only with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after December 31, 1967.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"That (a) the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) are amended as follows:

"(1) Item 417.12 (relating to aluminum, hydroxide and oxide (aluminum)) is amended by striking out '0.22¢ per lb.' and inserting in lieu thereof 'Free'.

"(2) Item 521.17 (relating to bauxite, calcined) is amended by striking out '44¢ per ton' and inserting in lieu thereof 'Free'.

"(3) Item 601.06 (relating to bauxite ore) is amended by striking out '40¢ per ton' and inserting in lieu thereof 'Free'.

"(4) Items 907.15 (relating to aluminum oxide (alumina) when imported for use in producing aluminum), 909.30 (relating to bauxite, calcined), and 911.05 (relating to bauxite ore) are repealed.

"(b) The rates of duty for items 417.12, 521.17, and 601.06 in rate column numbered 1 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States, as amended by subsection (a), shall (1) be treated as not having the status of statutory provisions enacted by the Congress, but as having been proclaimed by the President as being required or appropriate to carrying out foreign trade agreements to which the United States is a party, and (2) superseded the staged rates of duty provided for such items in Annex III to Proclamation 3822, dated December 16, 1967 (32 Fed. Reg., No. 244, part II, p. 19037).

"SEC. 2. The first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption after July 15, 1968."

Mr. MILLS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with and that it be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill relating to the dutiable status of aluminum hydroxide and oxide, calcined bauxite, and bauxite ore."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF TEMPORARY DUTY SUSPENSION ON CERTAIN CLASSIFICATIONS OF YARN OF SILK

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 15798) to extend for an additional temporary period the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of yarn of silk, which bill was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—I do so for the purpose of yielding to the chairman.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 15798, as amended, is to continue for 2 years, until the close of November 7, 1970, the existing suspension of duty on certain classifications of spun silk yarns. The duties on these spun silk yarns have been suspended since September 8, 1959. The original suspension of duty was made in order to enable domestic producers of fine yarn fabrics to import fine silk yarns free of duty in order to make it more economical to produce fine yarn fabrics in competition with imported similar fabrics.

Your committee believes that the same reasons that justified the original suspension of duty justify the continuation of the suspension.

There has been no objection to the continuation of the suspension of duty until November 7, 1970, and your committee is unanimous in recommending enactment of this legislation.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri.

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 15798, a bill extending for an additional temporary period the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of silk yarn.

Since September of 1959, the duties on spun silk yarn covered by this bill have been suspended for 3-year periods periodically reenacted by legislation. The suspension of duties was intended to enable domestic producers to import fine silk yarn duty free in order to make it more economical to produce fine yarn fabrics that compete with imported items.

It is my understanding that the reasons justifying the original suspension still prevail, and no objection to the continuation of this suspension has been brought to the committee's attention. The committee unanimously recommended this legislation.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 15798, to extend for an additional temporary period the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of yarn of silk, introduced by myself and by Congressman HERLONG, is important to American industry and to American workmen. It would extend for 2 years, or until November 7, 1970, the existing temporary suspension of duties on certain yarns wholly of noncontinuous silk fibers classifiable under items 905.30 and 905.31 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States.

No objection has been raised to this legislation, and the Department of the Treasury has stated by letter to the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee that it would have no objections to the enactment of the bill.

The yarns covered are of two principal types: standard spun-silk—schappe—yarn and silk-noil—bourrette—yarn. Standard or schappe spun-silk yarns are used for making sewing thread, decorative stripings of fine worsteds, lacing cord and for cartridge bags, and, in combination with other fibers, certain types of necktie fabrics, shirtings, dress and suiting fabrics, upholstery and drapery materials. The silk-noil type of yarn is made from shorter length. The chief use is in the weaving of silk cartridge cloth for powder bags for large-caliber ordnance.

The suspension of the duty was made in order to enable domestic producers of fine-yarn fabrics to import fine silk yarns free of duty and thus to make it more economical to produce fine-yarn fabrics in competition with imported similar fabrics.

Failure to renew the suspension from duties would result in severe hardship to certain sections of the U.S. textile industry. Particularly at this time, it also should be noted that extension of the duty-free treatment will have no unfavorable effect on the balance of payments. On the contrary, import duties, by raising the cost of silk yarns to domestic weavers, would make it impossible for them to compete, thereby increasing the quantity of silk fabrics imported from abroad. This would affect unfavorably the payments situation. Obviously, American industry and American workmen will benefit from the enactment of the legislation and will be penalized if it is not enacted.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 15798

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subpart B of part 1 of the appendix to title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 (Tariff Schedules of the United States; 28 F.R., part II, page 432, Aug. 17, 1963; U.S.C., 1202) is amended (1) by striking out the termination date applicable to items 905.30 and 905.31, namely, 11/7/68 and (2) by inserting in lieu thereof, the termination date "11/7/71".

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"That effective with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption after November 7, 1968, items 905.30 and 905.31 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. sec. 1202) are each amended by striking out '11/7/68' and inserting in lieu thereof '11/7/70'."

Mr. MILLS (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with further reading of the amendment and that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF TEMPORARY DUTY SUSPENSION ON ELECTRODES FOR USE IN PRODUCING ALUMINUM

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 17104) to extend until July 15, 1970, the suspension of duty on electrodes for use in producing aluminum, which bill was unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—I do so for the purpose of yielding to the chairman of the committee for a brief explanation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of H.R. 17104, as amended, is to continue until the close of July 15, 1969, the existing suspension of duties on electrodes for use in producing aluminum. The duty on electrodes imported for use in producing aluminum was first suspended from October 7, 1965, until July 15, 1966, under Public Law 89-241. The duty was further suspended until July 15, 1968, by Public Law 89-434. Your committee believes that the same reasons that justified the original suspension of duty justify the continuation of the suspension.

Your committee is informed that the electrodes of the type covered by the bill usually are manufactured by aluminum companies themselves at the site where they are to be used in the electrolysis of alumina into aluminum. These electrodes generally of carbon or graphite are consumed in great quantities in the electrolysis process. Your committee is informed that a small aluminum plant has been importing electrodes under the current duty suspension due to an insufficient volume of aluminum production to permit its own efficient manufacture of electrodes. Your committee is further informed that the company is now planning to produce its own electrodes. In view of this development, the committee amended the bill to provide for a 1-year extension of the existing duty suspension rather than the 2 years provided in H.R. 17104, as originally introduced.

Your committee believes that an extension of the suspension of duty on electrodes imported for use in producing aluminum for a 1-year period as provided in the bill, as amended, is warranted.

Your committee is unanimous in recommending enactment of this legislation.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 17104, a bill extending until July 15, 1970, the suspension of duty on electrodes for use in producing aluminum.

Electrodes of the type covered by the bill are used in great quantity in the electrolysis process by which aluminum is produced. Aluminum companies generally manufacture these electrodes at the site where aluminum production takes place. However, electrodes have been imported where an insufficient volume of aluminum production makes on-site manufacture inefficient. This situation will continue to be a problem for at least 1 year, so the committee has recommended extending the duty-free treatment for a 1-year period.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 17104

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the matter appearing in the effective period column for item 909.25 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C., sec. 1202, item 909.25) is amended by striking out "7/15/68" and inserting in lieu thereof "7/15/70."

SEC. 2. The amendment made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption, after July 15, 1968.

With the following committee amendment:

On page 1, line 6, strike out "'7/15/70'" and insert "'7/15/69'".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to extend until July 15, 1969, the suspension of duty on electrodes for use in producing aluminum."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORTS

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight tonight to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 161]

Abernethy
Andrews, Ala.
Ashley
Ashmore
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Bingham
Blackburn
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Mich.
Burton, Calif.
Carter
Cohelan
Colmer
Conyers
Corman
Cunningham
Dawson
Diggs
Dowdy
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Farbstein
Fisher
Fraser
Gardner
Gettys
Gilbert
Griffin
Hagan
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harrison
Hawkins
Hays
Heckler, Mass.
Herlong
Holifield
Holland
Jones, Ala.
Kuykendall
Leggett
Long, La.
Lukens
McCloskey
McMillan
Mailliard
Miller, Calif.
Minish
Minshall
Monagan
Montgomery
Murphy, Ill.
Nichols
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Pepper
Pike
Pool
Rees
Reifel
Resnick
Rivers
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
Scheuer
Selden
Springer
Steiger, Wis.
Utt
Waldie
Whalley
Widnall
Wilson, Charles H.
Wylie

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). On this rollcall 349 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT EXTENSION

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1193 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1193

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 17268) to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950, and for other purposes. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1193 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of H.R. 17268 to amend and extend the Defense Production Act.

H.R. 17268 extends the Defense Production Act, which otherwise would expire on June 30 of this year, to June 30, 1970. Also, the bill amends the act by requiring the Comptroller General to develop and recommend within 1 year uniform standards of accounting for all negotiated prime contract and subcontract defense procurements in excess of $100,000 so that production costs and profits by individual order can be determined.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1193 in order that H.R. 17268 may be considered.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] has ably stated, House Resolution 1193 makes in order for consideration H.R. 17268 under an open rule with 1 hour of general debate.

The purpose of the bill is to extend the Defense Production Act which is set to expire as of June 30, 1968, for a period of 2 years, through June 30, 1970. The bill also requires the Comptroller General to develop within 1 year a system of uniform accounting procedures to be used in all negotiated prime contracts and defense subcontracts for procurements in excess of $100,000.

The Defense Production Act must be extended to continue a number of necessary production tools needed to insure the essential state of preparedness in any future emergency the Nation may be required to face.

Among the authorities contained in the act are those which:

First, authorize the allocation of materials for defense purposes;

Second, permit companies to cooperate voluntarily in meeting defense production needs without running afoul of antitrust laws;

Third, authorize the establishment of priorities of production for defense contracts; and

Fourth, guarantee loans to defense contracts to meet needed production levels.

The act also requires producers of a number of basic items—steel, aluminum, copper, and so forth—to set aside certain percentages of their production for defense orders.

These standby authorities are obviously needed in times of national emergency. This bill will keep them available.

The bill also amends the Defense Production Act by requiring that within 1 year the Comptroller General is to set up a system of uniform accounting procedures so that profiteering on defense and space contracts will be easier to spot. Such procedures will have to be used by all prime contract and defense subcontract holders whose sales to the Government exceed $100,000 annually.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] has filed additional views supporting the bill but wishing that the bill actually instituted a system of uniform accounting procedures—as the bill as introduced did. He points to all the good work the Renegotiation Board has done and believes such uniform procedures will improve its operation.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of the rule. I have no further requests for time, but I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 17268) to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950, and for other purposes.

The **SPEAKER.** The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 17268, with Mr. BOLAND in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BROCK] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, H.R. 17268 extends the Defense Production Act of 1950, as amended, until June 30, 1970. The present act would expire on June 30, of this year. H.R. 17268 would also amend the act by requiring the Comptroller General of the United States to develop and recommend within 1 year uniform standards of accounting for all negotiated prime contract and subcontract defense procurements in excess of $100,000 from which production costs and profits by individual order can be determined.

The original bill, H.R. 15683, to renew the Defense Production Act of 1950, as amended, had hearings before the full Banking and Currency Committee on April 10, and 11, 1968. Subsequent to the hearings a clean bill, H.R. 17268, was introduced. This bill incorporated the provisions contained in the original bill, H.R. 15683.

The Defense Production Act has authorized for many years programs that are essential to our national security. These programs both enable the Government to maintain a state of preparedness to meet future national emergencies, and, at the same time, to deal with current problems created by the strain on our economy caused by the Vietnam conflict. The present act includes Presidential power to establish priorities for production under defense contracts, to allocate basic materials for defense purposes, to guarantee loans to defense contractors who need working capital or equipment for new defense production, and lending and procurement authority to expand productive capacity for needed defense articles. In addition, the Defense Production Act provides for the establishment and maintenance of effective reserve of personnel that would be capable of augmenting the supply of executive talent available to the Government in case of a national emergency.

These existing programs are of vital importance to our national security, especially at times like these when there is a certain strain on our economy due to the large increase in military procurement necessary to support our fighting men in Vietnam.

Your committee heard as one witness during hearings on April 10 and 11, Adm. Hyman Rickover, deputy commander for nuclear propulsion for the U.S. Navy and Director of the Division of Naval Reactors, Atomic Energy Commission. Admiral Rickover discussed some of the serious problems of defense procurement as they affect the proper operation of the Defense Production Act. Because of the problems outlined by Admiral Rickover and the apparent ineffectiveness of section 707 of the Defense Production Act, the committee adopted an amendment to the Defense Production Act. Section 707 of the Defense Production Act states that contractors should not discriminate against priority-rated defense orders "by charging prices or by imposing different terms or conditions for such orders or contracts than for other generally comparable orders or contracts, or in any other manner." The amendment adopted by the committee would try to make this statement of policy already in the law more effective by giving the Government a clearer basis on which to judge whether it is being discriminated against. The amendment would require the Comptroller General to develop and recommend within 1 year uniform standards of accounting which would provide the Government with production costs and profits by individual order for all negotiated prime contract and subcontract defense procurements of more than $100,000. This amendment would provide a small step in the direction of curbing alleged discrimination against the Federal Government in the procurement of vitally needed defense materials and services and would enable the Government to judge whether exorbitant profits are being realized on some defense contracts, as has been charged.

When the GAO reports on its recommended system of uniform accounting, the Banking and Currency Committee will carefully review its findings and consider further amendments to the Defense Production Act if warranted. The committee feels that this is a reasonable and perhaps even an overly cautious solution to an extremely serious problem.

This is important legislation on which prompt action is needed because the Defense Production Act expires on the 30th of this month. I urge passage of this bill.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GUBSER. I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding. I have asked him to yield for the purpose of seeking clarification regarding language on page 5 of the report. First, Mr. Chairman, I believe that there is a typographical error in that line 9 has been mistakenly duplicated. Beginning on line 7 the report would properly read when corrected:

> Each contractor or subcontractor must certify that the price specified in the contract or subcontract is no higher, on a per unit basis, than the price that the contractor or subcontractor charges to any other purchaser similarly situated—

And so forth. Is that correct, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes. That is correct.

Mr. GUBSER. And on that same subject, if the gentleman will be kind enough to yield further, I engaged in a colloquy with the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. MILLS], when we recently considered the Renegotiation Act. If you will remember, there was a similar provision there regarding the most-favored-customer problem as it pertained to standard catalog items. In that colloquy we established rather clearly, that a contractor would be allowed, if this were his normal procedure in business, to offer a quantity discount and that the unit price in that quantity discount could be lower than the price offered the Government for an order quantity of one. I would like to ask the the distinguished chairman if the wording of this report means that lower unit price would be allowable under a quantity discount situation?

Mr. PATMAN. The lowest price to the Government. Yes, I would.

Mr. GUBSER. The determination would be made on the lowest price for a similar quantity?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes. Based on difference in production cost, sales, and delivery.

Mr. GUBSER. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. ICHORD. I appreciate the distinguished gentleman yielding.

The legislation under consideration touches upon a subject which concerns me greatly, of course there are other statutes bearing on this problem as well as numerous Armed Forces procurement regulations implementing the various statutes on the books. As chairman of the House Armed Services subcommittee investigating matters concerning the M-16 rifle, I have run into a situation which I think should be pointed out to the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency because of the language contained in section 718. As I understand the present law or, at least, as I interpret it, in all negotiated contracts the contracting service involved still has to take into consideration price. In the recent two M-16 procurement contracts that were arwarded by the Army, the contracts were apparently awarded solely on the basis of production capability and price considerations were completely ignored. As a matter of fact, the Army advised the competitors not to submit the prices before the contracts were awarded. For this reason I have not only criticized the callous disregard for the taxpayers but have stated that the procedures and awards are prima facie illegal. The subcommittee is now awaiting a GAO decision as to legality.

I do observe that section 718 does not specifically provide that price should be taken into consideration.

Mr. PATMAN. If the gentleman from Missouri will notice, this bill, section 2, does not involve the sale of any products for defense or for other purposes. It only involves a study by the General Accounting Office, to be received within 1 year, to come up with standard tables and uniform practices that should be adopted by all Government contractors, or at least be considered. We went as far as the committee was willing to go in that direction. We recognize that there are other committees that have direct authority over these matters. But we have some responsibility in this area, because the Joint Committee on Defense Production itself is a watchdog committee. Therefore, it is appropriate that we make suggestions for improvements in the sale or purchase of defense production, and the determination of costs and profits.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that answers the question of the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, then there is nothing in this language that will permit negotiated contracts to be awarded without taking the prices into consideration?

Mr. PATMAN. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, this is, with one exception, a fairly standard renewal of an existing law which is necessary under our emergency requirements for defense production. The bill continues the authority to establish priorities on defense contracts, to allocate materials, to guarantee loans providing for the purchase and procurement of defense items, and to provide an exemption from the antitrust laws where required in order to achieve the needs of our national defense.

Mr. Chairman, the only significant change in this bill is the area which provides for a study of uniform accounting standards by the General Accounting Office within the next year. We had testimony which was presented before the committee which raised some question as to the ability of the administration to assure that the Government was being protected in the procurement of these items. In fact, it was thought by the committee that the questions which were raised were sufficient to seek a solution after extensive study. Therefore we authorized this study to be made by the General Accounting Office, in consultation with the Bureau of the Budget. We did not feel it was proper at this particular time to institute the requirement of uniform standards since they would be faced with the problem of formulating such uniform standards within a very short period of time. However, within a year the committee will hold hearings to establish such legislation as may be necessary.

Mr. Chairman, the minority position is in consonance with that of the majority in full support of this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I do not have any further requests for time.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. GUBSER].

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, I have requested this time because I feel obligated to address a few remarks to the last section of the bill which I interpret and which the committee counsel interprets as doing nothing more than authorizing a study and requesting a recommendation from the General Accounting Office and the Bureau of the Budget for legislation which would result in mandatory uniform accounting procedures in the defense industry and also those industries which contract with NASA—the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Nevertheless, and despite the fact that this is only a study, I do feel that it is in order for me to point out some rather dangerous aspects as to what is eventually contemplated; namely, uniform accounting systems.

I raise four points. First of all, I seriously question this is properly within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Banking and Currency. It is only there for one reason. Originally the Defense Production Act concerned such items as wage and price controls and certain loans which are guaranteed by the Federal Reserve Board. Most of those provisions are no longer in the act. This just happens to be one part of the act which is left over, and which I believe properly belongs within the jurisdiction of the Hardy subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services.

Second, I believe to impose uniform accounting procedures upon industry is based upon an assumption that all defense contractors are profiteers and crooks and guilty of gouging the Government. This just is not true.

The Logistics Management Institute recently completed a study entitled "Defense Industry Profit Review," which was made under contract with the Department of Defense. The revelations of this report are startling. Based upon statistically valid procedures, Logistics Management Institute found and so informed the Defense Department that the average profit as a percent of capital investment of high and medium volume companies has been lower for the past 5 years on their defense business than on their commercial business. The trend of profits on defense business has been downward since 1958 while commercial profits have steadily trended upward.

The LMI report showed that net profit on total capital investment was 6.9 percent on defense business in 1966. The corresponding ratio for defense contractors' commercial business was 10.8 percent and for companies in an FTC-SEC sample 12.4 percent.

From a high in 1958 of 10.2 percent profit on total capital investment, defense profit sunk to 6.9 percent in 1966.

At the same time profit as a percentage of total capital investment on the commercial business of defense contractors ranged from a low of 4.7 percent in 1961 to a high of 11.6 percent in 1965 and stood at 10.8 percent in 1966.

Over the same period the defense business ratio of profit to sales declined from 2.7 percent in 1958 to 2.4 percent in 1966. In contrast, the commercial business of both defense firms and the FTC–SEC companies showed increases in profit on sales. The first group showed increases from 3.4 percent in 1958 to 5 percent in 1966 and the second group increased from 3.6 percent in 1958 to 5.5 percent in 1966.

The LMI report states further:

> Discussions with defense contractors reveal that most of them plan to increase their commercial business as a percent of their total business. They intend to change their commercial/defense business mix primarily by concentrating growth efforts on nondefense business.

Defense contractors explain their reasons as follows: "Because commercial business is generally less competitive, there is a greater profit potential in that type of business."

This, I submit, Mr. Chairman, is not good for the national defense, and I submit that imposing uniform accounting procedures on all businesses is one more harassment, one more added cost of doing business, and one more reason to concentrate on commercial rather than defense business.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 additional minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. GUBSER].

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUBSER. I yield to my colleague from Kansas.

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I generally want to concur in what the gentleman in the well has just stated.

I am fearful that if we start moving toward the establishment of uniform accounting procedures for Government contractors, or any contractor, for that matter, you are going to find that you may be increasing the cost of materials purchased by the Defense Department, rather than lowering them.

As a former financial vice president of a steel foundry, I was intimately acquainted with working for the Government, and I know that if you start insisting on standard accounting procedures you are going to lose the interest of an awful lot of small and medium-sized concerns in even bidding on Government work.

It is not that they have anything to hide; but cost accounting systems vary so, that Government attempts to standardize these systems in order for a concern to bid on defense work may force out the number of bidders—thereby possibly increasing costs in the long run.

Of course, this provision applies only to negotiated contracts and the establishment of uniform accounting procedures for a negotiated contract. Even there you are going to find you may be having a fewer number of manufacturers interested in even working with the Government on negotiated contracts if you insist upon uniform accounting procedures.

Mr. GUBSER. I thank the gentleman.

To add further emphasis to the point he has just made: Just a few weeks ago we passed the Minshall bill which extends the Truth in Negotiation Act so that the Department of Defense will have post audit rights to and audit negotiated contracts after their performance on actual cost figures. Of course, these must be revealed in the manner required by the General Accounting Office.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUBSER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Chairman, I was very much interested in the figures you gave before and in the statement given by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MIZE].

However, one of the points of difference that we have is upon what are these figures based? I think this is the immediate purpose of this legislation then to find some uniform method of determining what the profits are and what the costs are. Unfortunately, because of the wide variety of accounting systems in practice, we do not get the true information on the costs and profits involved.

Mr. GUBSER. I can speak only with respect to the Department of Defense since it is a field that I have some experience with, being a member of the Hardy subcommittee. We have jurisdiction of the Truth in Negotiations Act and we have yet to hear a complaint from the Department of Defense regarding accounting procedures.

The only complaint I have heard from the General Accounting Office is they have trouble getting industry to reveal certain figures and that industry has felt that the law did not cover those specific instances. This is the reason for the Minshall bill, which extended the act and made crystal clear what information had to be revealed.

Neither the Department of Defense nor the General Accounting Office has ever said a word about the inadequacy of accounting procedures.

The only person in the Department of Defense who said one word about it is Rear Admiral Hyman Rickover. I know he is an expert on submarines but he is not an expert in the field of defense accounting.

Mr. WOLFF. All we are trying to do is to get a study to find out whether these conditions do exist.

Mr. GUBSER. I am not going to argue with the gentleman. The point is, and to conclude again, this would be harassment of business. This would be adding to the cost of what Department of Defense must buy.

As my last point let me say that it is impractical to impose uniform accounting procedures because the accountants of this Nation themselves have been asked to come up with uniform accounting procedures. They, the experts, have agreed that they cannot agree.

So how are we going to ask the General Accounting Office to impose something upon the business community of this Nation when the experts in this field cannot agree themselves on what it ought to be. I do not think this is necessary and I sincerely hope that when the year's study is complete it will prove what is apparent to me at this moment—that this is impractical, unnecessary, and an unjust and an undue harassment of the defense industry, which in the long run will work against the national interest.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ].

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, my intentions were to wait until we arrived today at the amendment stage in order to offer an amendment. I am not in agreement with the wishy-washy, weak-kneed, scandalous language that was finally adopted in this bill, which merely requests that the Comptroller shall come in with a suggested recommendation—for what? A recommendation as to a truthful, minimum accountability on the part of those who are doing over $45 billion worth of defense production business with the taxpayers of the United States. I am literally surprised, amazed and astounded that the gentlemen on the other side were to come up and even object to this watered-down, weak-kneed version, when the whole question here confronting us now, not only in Congress but in the whole country, is whether or not we are going to be so apathetic and so callous as to dispense with even the formalities of accountability with the people who are not only earning a profit, but are earning increments of profit that are unconscionable at this very minute, and for which this Congress cannot give a truthful or responsible and honest accounting to the American people. We have had various and sundry committees and subcommittees come in, having discovered scandalous and outrageous profiteering—and that is the only word we can use—crass, callous, war profiteering, while men are dying on behalf of the country.

But this Congress is very sensitive about the gentlemen that my predecessor speaker was mentioning. They might suffer some discomfort if they have to give an accurate accountability as to the margin of their profits and their costs. Obviously he has not read not only Admiral Rickover's testimony, but the testimony of the Joint Economic Committee, the Subcommittees on Appropriations that cover the procurement processes, and a host of other committees that have discovered unconscionable profiteering at this time.

I say that any of us who presumes to be a Representative and a Member of the American Congress who, at this critical time, lets this kind of wishy-washy, weak-kneed legislation slip by without raising the main issue that is confronting us, I believe that is a Member of this Congress who has been shoddy in discharging his responsibilities at this time.

There is no question that there is profiteering going on. I believe we owe it to ourselves to confront it. Since when is it a burden to develop a system of accountability that would give us an accurate figure as to profits and as to costs, so that the taxpayer can gage whether or not he is getting service rendered, production rendered for the cost that he is paying? I believe that if we are given a chance to develop in the amendatory process the reasons for a strong amendment, that will set up in the procurement processes a rigorous and uniform system of accountability, the average Member of this Congress will admit to the need to action.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN].

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to associate myself with the remarks and the position of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ]. I, too, heard the testimony of Admiral Rickover and was impressed by the arguments he made for the kind of amendment proposed here. This is the first time that I can remember, during the 16 years I have served in the House, that we have had an opportunity to vote on this issue of assuring uniform accounting practices in connection with negotiated defense contracts. We all know what abuses have taken place. Let us stop those abuses, by giving the Comptroller General the authority to issue rules regulations after he makes the necessary studies and develops uniform accounting standards for negotiated contracts.

Instead, the bill as reported calls upon the Comptroller General to devise such standards and then come back to Congress in a year to ask for legislation to enable him to place those standards in effect. And all of the furious lobbying we have had on this issue this year can then be repeated next year in an attempt to keep those standards from being adopted.

As one whose business background was in the field of accounting, Mr. Chairman, I can assure you that the techniques are available to business to conform to any reasonable accounting requirements. Businessmen themselves know down to the fraction of a percentage point what their profits or losses are on individual items, or on contracts of any size; but they also know how to disguise those profits very effectively when it suits the corporation's purposes to do so. I am surprised that anyone would object to having the Government of the United States know exactly what it is paying for in connection with negotiated defense contracts of $100,000 or more.

The gentleman from California [Mr. GUBSER] mentioned that he is a member of the Hardy subcommittee that has worked on defense expenditures for many years. All I can say in response is that in these past 16 years, during which they have brought before us numerous instances of abuses in defense procurement, I cannot remember any corrective legislation such as this to stop and prevent these abuses. It is well that we have a committee in the House which searches out these abuses when they can be found, but the best way to handle this problem, it seems to me, is to foreclose this method of committing abuses by adopting the strong language proposed by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ]. Therefore, I join in opposing the committee amendment, which should be defeated so that we then restore the original language on lines 15 and 16 on page 2 of the bill.

The committee amendment certainly could not be based on any fear that the Comptroller General is not competent to devise suitable standards to meet this problem. The concern seems to be instead to make sure those standards are not invoked once they are devised.

On May 22, the House and Senate both unanimously passed a Truth in Lending Act as title I of the Consumer Credit Protection Act, to require lenders and merchants extending credit to use uniform accounting procedures in disclosing the cost of credit to consumers. Suppose we had merely called upon the Federal Reserve Board to devise such standards but then come back to Congress in a year to obtain additional legislation authorizing it to place the standards in effect. That would have given the opposition another opportunity to try to kill the whole idea. We did not do that on truth in lending; we should not do it now on this bill.

I would be deeply disappointed if a Congress which was willing to assure the full truth to borrowers and buyers on the costs of consumer credit would now refuse to assure to the Federal Government the full truth on the profits made on negotiated defense contracts.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I want to express my vigorous support for Congressman HENRY B. GONZALEZ' proposed amendment to H.R. 17268, the bill to extend the Defense Production Act. Aimed at putting an end to profiteering in the defense industry, Mr. GONZALEZ' amendment demands that firms holding contracts or subcontracts in excess of $100,000 use uniform accounting standards in reporting data to the Federal Government. Such uniform standards, Mr. Chairman, would give the Government a yardstick by which it could accurately measure production costs and profits. The standards would stop the duplicity and deceit some contractors use in their accounting procedures to mask profits from the Government.

H.R. 17628, as it stands now, merely calls for a study leading to the creation of uniform accounting standards. The bill—it originally sought the immediate enactment of uniform accounting standards, but was stripped of its provision in committee—directs the General Accounting Office to carry out an investigation of uniform standards and to report its recommendations within 1 year to the Senate and House Committees on Banking and Currency.

We must not countenance this delay. A set of uniform accounting standards—the tool the Federal Government must have to stop profiteering—is needed now.

The Government currently has no way of determining the precise costs and profits involved in defense contracts. Only two forms of contracts—incentive contracts and cost-plus contracts—give procurement personnel the authority to investigate a contractor's estimates of his costs beyond the pre-award stage. Even the Truth in Negotiations Act does not grant the Government enough power to challenge a contractor's judgment about the various contingencies in his cost estimates. Only the factual pricing data, the data upon which a contractor loosely based his estimates, is subject to certification.

Many people inside and outside the Government assume that the Renegotiation Board has sufficient legal powers to determine the precise costs and precise profits in defense contracts. This impression, however, is largely unfounded. Many contractors within the Renegotiation Board's legal purview are allowed to use any "generally accepted accounting practice." Contractors, as a result, can use whatever accounting device they feel necessary to maximize costs and mask profits.

Congressman GONZALEZ has cited portions of the testimony that Adm. Hyman Rickover gave before the Committee on Banking and Currency—testimony that makes clear the need for uniform accounting standards:

> Profit is only a part of the real income to a company * * * large additional profits on defense work can be hidden as costs just by the way overhead is charged * * * how component parts are priced, or how intracompany profits are handled * * *. Thus, profit statistics are meaningless unless measured in accordance with a uniform standard * * * the Renegotiation Act and the Truth in Negotiations Act * * * are based on the presumption that the Government can readily determine supplier costs. The Government can't * * * the Government encounters such a wide variety of complex accounting systems that it is virtually impossible to know how much profit a supplier makes in producing it—without spending months reconstructing a supplier's books.

Mr. GONZALEZ' amendment would eliminate—and eliminate now—the biased accounting procedures that unscrupulous contractors use to deceive the Government.

I strongly urge the passage of this amendment.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that either side has requests for more time. I ask that the Clerk read.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further requests for time, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 17268

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 717a) of the Defense Production Act of 1950 is amended by striking out "June 30, 1968" in the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1970".

SEC. 2. Section 702 of the Defense Production Act of 1950 is amended by adding at the end:

"(f) The term 'defense contractor' means any person who enters into a contract with the United States for the production of material or the performance of services for national defense."

SEC. 3. Title VII of the Defense Production Act of 1950 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"SEC. 718. (a) Any defense contractor acting under a contract calling for the payment of, or under which he is paid, an aggregate amount not less than $100,000 shall make to the contracting agency one or more reports, in accordance with the regulations of the President, certified by the proprietor, or by a partner or officer, of the contractor, as may be appropriate, setting forth the following information:

"(1) The contractor's costs and profits under the contract based on the uniform accounting standards promulgated pursuant to section 719 of this Act.

"(2) The delivery performance of the contractor's suppliers as it affects the contractor's fulfillment of the contract requirements.

"(3) In the case of any contract to fulfill a rated defense order, the priority actually accorded work on the contract within the contractor's organization.

"(b) The President shall transmit annually to the Congress, and for public dissemination, a summary of the reports submitted by defense contractors to contracting agencies pursuant to subsection (a). The report of the President under this subsection shall also set forth all instances in which priority assistance requested by an agency was refused by another agency or in which a contractor refused to comply with the provisions of this Act, setting forth in each instance the reasons for such refusal.

"SEC. 719. The Comptroller General shall develop uniform accounting standards to be applied to all negotiated prime contract and subcontract defense procurements in excess of $100,000. These uniform accounting standards shall include standards from which an accurate showing of production costs and profits by individual order can be determined. The Comptroller General shall consult with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget in the development of such uniform accounting standards, and shall, promulgate rules and regulations in implementation thereof not later than one year after the date of enactment of this section."

Mr. PATMAN (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the first committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, line 6, of the reported bill, strike "SEC. 2." and all that follows down through line 3 on page 2.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not use the 5 minutes. However, in defense of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARDY] and his very hardworking subcommittee, I must rebut the question which has been raised about legislation having to do with defense procurement which has been reported to the floor of this House by that committee.

I would like to point out that the Truth in Negotiations Act, which is probably the most decisive tool the Defense Department has ever had with respect to this matter, was reported by the Hardy subcommittee.

Further, the recently passed Minshall bill, which extends the Truth in Negotiations Act, is also a product of that committee.

In response to the words uttered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ], I would like to raise this point. In saying that profiteering exists today at a time when more legislation has been given to the Defense Department to control profiteering than ever before, and when it is admitted by the just retired Secretary of Defense that the profit motive is essential if we are going to have a defense industry, I would say, much to my regret as a Republican, that the gentleman from Texas has delivered one of the most stinging indictments of Democratic administration of the Defense Department that I have ever heard on the floor of this House.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, if there is any indictment, it should be against every responsible official in and out of Government and the public in general, including the Congress—as I said earlier, more particularly the Congress, because in the case of the Renegotiation Board, it has been the Congress and not the executive branch that has watered it down, that has liquidated the Board, to all intents and purposes, and practically dismantled it.

It was not until this year that the House acted and recently passed the bill that extended the Board for 3 years instead of 2—but not much more.

The gentleman talks about two diverse things. The gentleman says this is a stinging attack on a partisan basis of the Democratic Party and the administration. This question of profiteering, I will have the gentleman know, is bipartisan. Greed always is.

We may have had "crime, corruption, and Korea" in 1952. But we ended up with "Sherman Adams and vicuna coats and a few other things, because corruption also turns out to be bipartisan.

If the gentleman wants to get down to partisan issues, in the committee there was a straight Republican vote, with one exception, when the original version of this bill was diluted—if that is what the gentleman wants to call partisanship. The original bill was defeated in committee by 14 Republicans and three Democrats.

I have not chosen to look at this as a partisan matter. I have preferred to consider this as one of those things that happens in a country generally that is busy and obsessed with its workaday business and which depends upon its Government and its servants of all parties to keep the people informed and to give them some modicum of leadership as to needs that are pressing the country today.

This Congress has permitted a situation to creep into its national existence which was not true 5 or 6 or 7 years ago, but Congress has failed to act in a way that is concomitant with what has happened. In other words, the history of our country has been that in World War II and in Korea—and even during and after the Spanish-American War—there was action taken by the Congress in order to curb profiteering.

There has not been a war in history recorded in which we have not had the unconscionable leech and profiteer. But this is the first time in the history of our country the Congress has not been sensitive to the immediate need.

The procurement for Vietnam has now outpeaked Korea, by more than $6 billion. We have in procurement alone in excess of $45 billion.

I heard a lot of pious sentiments here about the soundness of the dollar and about the danger to fiscal integrity. Where is the sensitivity of the same voices about accountability? If I were to preach so piously about soundness of the dollar I believe in order to be consistent, at least, let alone honest, I would be greatly disturbed about this inconsistency.

Essentially this is what we are confronted with today. I do not believe anybody so intends it. Certainly if there is anybody who assumes this is an insult to his integrity, he takes that gratuitously.

My plea has been simple and based on the fact that we do not have even the modicum, the minimal of safeguards at this time, when our procurement has outpeaked Korea, as we had during Korea and during World War II.

In the case of the Renegotiation Board, in the case of the Truth in Negotiations Act, and in the case of this Defense Production Act we have only a fragmentation of policy. There is nobody in or out of the Government who can assure us as a matter of truth and fact that can be readily established exactly to what extent the American taxpayer is paying excessive prices.

Nobody is talking about the proper profit motive. No voice has been raised about whether this is an attack on private initiative or capitalism or what have you. It is nonsense to have that kind of scare tactic. Nobody voices an objection to anyone doing business, in or out of the Government, making a reasonable and conscientious profit. We intend that that should be.

In fact, ever since the days of Secretary Forrestal the law has been so shaped that the industry doing business with the Government will even be rewarded for promptness in carrying out its contracts, for efficiency in carrying out its contracts, and in a host of other ways.

So, I say that it is not fair to us as individual Americans and it is not fair to us as collective Members of Congress to let this slipshod, jerry-built system continue without some frontal assault and some attempt made to correct it. If we do not do it now we shall miss our opportunity.

We in Congress can never look at ourselves honestly and straightforwardly without wincing if we fail today to act to put a stop to these shameful conditions.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I am sorry other commitments made it impossible for me to be here to hear all this debate. The part I have heard leads me to make an observation.

I am completely in accord with the objective of the gentleman's amendment. However, I read it for the first time this morning. I can see that it would present some problems of administration. I am not a bit sure it would be a workable approach to the objective which the gentleman from Texas has in mind.

countability that would give us an accurate figure as to profits and as to costs, so that the taxpayer can gage whether or not he is getting service rendered, production rendered for the cost that he is paying? I believe that if we are given a chance to develop in the amendatory process the reasons for a strong amendment, that will set up in the procurement processes a rigorous and uniform system of accountability, the average Member of this Congress will admit to the need to action.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Missouri [Mrs. SULLIVAN].

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to associate myself with the remarks and the position of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ]. I, too, heard the testimony of Admiral Rickover and was impressed by the arguments he made for the kind of amendment proposed here. This is the first time that I can remember, during the 16 years I have served in the House, that we have had an opportunity to vote on this issue of assuring uniform accounting practices in connection with negotiated defense contracts. We all know what abuses have taken place. Let us stop those abuses, by giving the Comptroller General the authority to issue rules regulations after he makes the necessary studies and develops uniform accounting standards for negotiated contracts.

Instead, the bill as reported calls upon the Comptroller General to devise such standards and then come back to Congress in a year to ask for legislation to enable him to place those standards in effect. And all of the furious lobbying we have had on this issue this year can then be repeated next year in an attempt to keep those standards from being adopted.

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The gentleman from California [Mr. GUBSER] mentioned that he is a member of the Hardy subcommittee that has worked on defense expenditures for many years. All I can say in response is that in these past 16 years, during which they have brought before us numerous instances of abuses in defense procurement, I cannot remember any corrective legislation such as this to stop and prevent these abuses. It is well that we have a committee in the House which searches out these abuses when they can be found, but the best way to handle this problem, it seems to me, is to foreclose this method of committing abuses by adopting the strong language proposed by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ]. Therefore, I join in opposing the committee amendment, which should be defeated so that we then restore the original language on lines 15 and 16 on page 2 of the bill.

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Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, I want to express my vigorous support for Congressman HENRY B. GONZALEZ' proposed amendment to H.R. 17268, the bill to extend the Defense Production Act. Aimed at putting an end to profiteering in the defense industry, Mr. GONZALEZ' amendment demands that firms holding contracts or subcontracts in excess of $100,000 use uniform accounting standards in reporting data to the Federal Government. Such uniform standards, Mr. Chairman, would give the Government a yardstick by which it could accurately measure production costs and profits. The standards would stop the duplicity and deceit some contractors use in their accounting procedures to mask profits from the Government.

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Mr. GONZALEZ' amendment would eliminate—and eliminate now—the biased accounting procedures that unscrupulous contractors use to deceive the Government.

I strongly urge the passage of this amendment.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that either side has requests for more time. I ask that the Clerk read.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further requests for time, the Clerk will read.

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"SEC. 718. (a) Any defense contractor acting under a contract calling for the payment of, or under which he is paid, an aggregate amount not less than $100,000 shall make to the contracting agency one or more reports, in accordance with the regulations of the President, certified by the proprietor, or by a partner or officer, of the contractor, as may be appropriate, setting forth the following information:

"(1) The contractor's costs and profits under the contract based on the uniform accounting standards promulgated pursuant to section 719 of this Act.

"(2) The delivery performance of the contractor's suppliers as it affects the contractor's fulfillment of the contract requirements.

"(3) In the case of any contract to fulfill a rated defense order, the priority actually accorded work on the contract within the contractor's organization.

"(b) The President shall transmit annually to the Congress, and for public dissemination, a summary of the reports submitted by defense contractors to contracting agencies pursuant to subsection (a). The report of the President under this subsection shall also set forth all instances in which priority assistance requested by an agency was refused by another agency or in which a contractor refused to comply with the provisions of this Act, setting forth in each instance the reasons for such refusal.

"SEC. 719. The Comptroller General shall develop uniform accounting standards to be applied to all negotiated prime contract and subcontract defense procurements in excess of $100,000. These uniform accounting standards shall include standards from which an accurate showing of production costs and profits by individual order can be determined. The Comptroller General shall consult with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget in the development of such uniform accounting standards, and shall, promulgate rules and regulations in implementation thereof not later than one year after the date of enactment of this section."

Mr. PATMAN (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the first committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, line 6, of the reported bill, strike "SEC. 2." and all that follows down through line 3 on page 2.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not use the 5 minutes. However, in defense of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HARDY] and his very hardworking subcommittee, I must rebut the question which has been raised about legislation having to do with defense procurement which has been reported to the floor of this House by that committee.

I would like to point out that the Truth in Negotiations Act, which is probably the most decisive tool the Defense Department has ever had with respect to this matter, was reported by the Hardy subcommittee.

Further, the recently passed Minshall bill, which extends the Truth in Negotiations Act, is also a product of that committee.

In response to the words uttered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ], I would like to raise this point. In saying that profiteering exists today at a time when more legislation has been given to the Defense Department to control profiteering than ever before, and when it is admitted by the just retired Secretary of Defense that the profit motive is essential if we are going to have a defense industry, I would say, much to my regret as a Republican, that the gentleman from Texas has delivered one of the most stinging indictments of Democratic administration of the Defense Department that I have ever heard on the floor of this House.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, if there is any indictment, it should be against every responsible official in and out of Government and the public in general, including the Congress—as I said earlier, more particularly the Congress, because in the case of the Renegotiation Board, it has been the Congress and not the executive branch that has watered it down, that has liquidated the Board, to all intents and purposes, and practically dismantled it.

It was not until this year that the House acted and recently passed the bill that extended the Board for 3 years instead of 2—but not much more.

The gentleman talks about two diverse things. The gentleman says this is a stinging attack on a partisan basis of the Democratic Party and the administration. This question of profiteering, I will have the gentleman know, is bipartisan. Greed always is.

We may have had "crime, corruption, and Korea" in 1952. But we ended up with "Sherman Adams and vicuna coats and a few other things, because corruption also turns out to be bipartisan.

If the gentleman wants to get down to partisan issues, in the committee there was a straight Republican vote, with one exception, when the original version of this bill was diluted—if that is what the gentleman wants to call partisanship. The original bill was defeated in committee by 14 Republicans and three Democrats.

I have not chosen to look at this as a partisan matter. I have preferred to consider this as one of those things that happens in a country generally that is busy and obsessed with its workaday business and which depends upon its Government and its servants of all parties to keep the people informed and to give them some modicum of leadership as to needs that are pressing the country today.

This Congress has permitted a situation to creep into its national existence which was not true 5 or 6 or 7 years ago, but Congress has failed to act in a way that is concomitant with what has happened. In other words, the history of our country has been that in World War II and in Korea—and even during and after the Spanish-American War—there was action taken by the Congress in order to curb profiteering.

There has not been a war in history recorded in which we have not had the unconscionable leech and profiteer. But this is the first time in the history of our country the Congress has not been sensitive to the immediate need.

The procurement for Vietnam has now outpeaked Korea, by more than $6 billion. We have in procurement alone in excess of $45 billion.

I heard a lot of pious sentiments here about the soundness of the dollar and about the danger to fiscal integrity. Where is the sensitivity of the same voices about accountability? If I were to preach so piously about soundness of the dollar I believe in order to be consistent, at least, let alone honest, I would be greatly disturbed about this inconsistency.

Essentially this is what we are confronted with today. I do not believe anybody so intends it. Certainly if there is anybody who assumes this is an insult to his integrity, he takes that gratuitously.

My plea has been simple and based on the fact that we do not have even the modicum, the minimal of safeguards at this time, when our procurement has outpeaked Korea, as we had during Korea and during World War II.

In the case of the Renegotiation Board, in the case of the Truth in Negotiations Act, and in the case of this Defense Production Act we have only a fragmentation of policy. There is nobody in or out of the Government who can assure us as a matter of truth and fact that can be readily established exactly to what extent the American taxpayer is paying excessive prices.

Nobody is talking about the proper profit motive. No voice has been raised about whether this is an attack on private initiative or capitalism or what have you. It is nonsense to have that kind of scare tactic. Nobody voices an objection to anyone doing business, in or out of the Government, making a reasonable and conscientious profit. We intend that that should be.

In fact, ever since the days of Secretary Forrestal the law has been so shaped that the industry doing business with the Government will even be rewarded for promptness in carrying out its contracts, for efficiency in carrying out its contracts, and in a host of other ways.

So, I say that it is not fair to us as individual Americans and it is not fair to us as collective Members of Congress to let this slipshod, jerry-built system continue without some frontal assault and some attempt made to correct it. If we do not do it now we shall miss our opportunity.

We in Congress can never look at ourselves honestly and straightforwardly without wincing if we fail today to act to put a stop to these shameful conditions.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I am sorry other commitments made it impossible for me to be here to hear all this debate. The part I have heard leads me to make an observation.

I am completely in accord with the objective of the gentleman's amendment. However, I read it for the first time this morning. I can see that it would present some problems of administration. I am not a bit sure it would be a workable approach to the objective which the gentleman from Texas has in mind.

This is a problem which my subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services has had before it. It is a problem with which I have been familiar during all the 22 years I have been in the Congress. I do not want to minimize the seriousness of it for a moment, and I certainly want to agree with the gentleman from Texas in his observation that the business of overcharging the Government is by no means a partisan proposition. It is something that transcends any party lines, and I suppose it is a weakness of human beings.

I would hope that this amendment as it is now framed—and unfortunately I do not have a substitute which would accomplish the objectives—would not become a part of the law, because I think it would be extremely difficult to administer. I am afraid its purposes would not be accomplished at all. This is a matter that has been continually before the Committee on Armed Services and is one to which I have given a great deal of attention. We have tried from time to time to strengthen the Procurement Act. I think it more appropriately belongs in the Committee on Armed Services than the Committee on Banking and Currency, but I am not too concerned with that as long as we can accomplish our objective. It is true that this thing has sort of grown in a patchwork fashion, but as I view this amendment, it would be but another patch added to the patches we already have. I do not believe it would accomplish the desired objective, and therefore I hope it will not become law.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, line 4, of the reported bill, strike "3" and insert "2".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, line 6, of the reported bill, strike "sections" and insert "section".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, line 7, of the reported bill, strike "Sec. 718." and all that follows down through line 6 on page 3.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GONZALEZ

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment to the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to the committee amendment offered by Mr. Gonzalez: Strike out section 718 and insert in lieu thereof:

"Sec. 718. The Comptroller General shall develop uniform accounting standards to be applied to all negotiated prime contract and subcontract defense procurements in excess of $100,000. These uniform accounting standards shall include standards from which an accurate showing of production costs and profits by individual order can be determined. The Comptroller General shall consult with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget in the development of such uniform accounting standards, and shall promulgate rules and regulations in implementation thereof not later than one year after the date of enactment of this section."

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Sixty-four Members are present, not a quorum. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 162]

Abernethy
Andrews, Ala.
Ashmore
Baring
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Bevill
Bingham
Blackburn
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Carter
Cohelan
Colmer
Conyers
Corman
Cunningham
Dawson
Diggs
Dorn
Dowdy
Dwyer
Edwards, Calif.
Evins, Tenn.
Farbstein
Fisher
Fraser
Gardner
Gettys
Gibbons
Gilbert
Griffin
Hagan
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Harrison
Hawkins
Hays
Herlong
Holifield
Holland
Irwin
Jones, Ala.
Kuykendall
Leggett
Long, La.
Lukens
McCloskey
McDade
McMillan
Machen
Marsh
Miller, Calif.
Minish
Minshall
Monagan
Montgomery
Murphy, Ill.
Nichols
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Pepper
Pool
Rees
Reifel
Resnick
Rivers
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
Scheuer
Selden
Steiger, Wis.
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Utt
Waldie
Widnall
Wilson, Charles H.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. Albert) having assumed the chair, Mr. Boland, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H.R. 17268, and finding itself without a quorum, he had directed the roll to be called, when 347 Members responded to their names, a quorum, and he submitted herewith the names of the absentees to be spread upon the Journal.

The Committee resumed its sitting.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment, from line 7 of page 2 through line 6 of page 3, striking out section 718.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 3, line 7, strike out "719" and insert "718".

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HARDY. If this committee amendment is rejected, would it then be in order to move to strike section 719?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that the committee amendment is to strike "719."

Mr. HARDY. I understand that. I am talking about all of the language of the section 719.

The CHAIRMAN. As soon as the committee amendments to this section are disposed of, the Chair intends to recognize the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] in support of his amendment.

Mr. HARDY. I understand that situation. The point I was trying to determine is if the Chair can advise me under what circumstances it would be possible to offer an amendment, at this point, to strike out all of the language from line 7 to the end of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be in order as soon as the committee amendments are disposed of.

Mr. HARDY. That being the case, Mr. Chairman, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HARDY. What is the situation with respect to the recognition which has already been granted to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez]?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas has not been recognized. The amendment of the gentleman from Texas was read at the desk, but he has not been recognized as yet. As soon as the committee amendments are disposed of, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez] will be recognized in support of his amendment.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HARDY. I understand the situation, and I do not want to deprive the gentleman from Texas of an opportunity to present his amendment at all. The problem, however, is a question of being able to move to strike this entire language.

The parliamentary inquiry which I am trying to address to the Chair is to advise me as to what the procedure would be in order to be able to move to strike this entire language at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman state his parliamentary inquiry again?

Mr. HARDY. It is, in view of the fact that the committee amendment on line 7 has not been agreed to, and I presume that is the situation, that it has not been agreed to——

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. HARDY. Prior to the recognition of the gentleman from Texas, presumably the gentleman from Texas was not in order to be recognized until after this has been agreed to. Is that correct?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. HARDY. That being the case, Mr. Chairman, my question is whether or not there is an opportunity at this time to offer an amendment to strike out all of the language from line 7 through line 20 and, if so, what the procedure would be.

The CHAIRMAN. After the committee amendments are disposed of a motion to strike out all of section 718 would be in order.

Mr. HARDY. Then, Mr. Chairman, do I understand from the Chair's ruling that the gentleman from Texas [Mr.

GONZALEZ], would not necessarily be recognized further? I do not want to be in the position of causing that, Mr. Chairman.

The **CHAIRMAN**. That is within the discretion of the Chair, which Member he recognizes whenever more than one Member seeks recognition.

Mr. **GUBSER**. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. Would the Chair kindly state the pending unanimous-consent request to which I reserved my objection?

The **CHAIRMAN**. The pending question is agreeing to the committee amendment on page 3, line 7.

Mr. **GUBSER**. Which is only striking section 719?

The **CHAIRMAN**. Which is only striking 719 and inserting 718.

Mr. **GUBSER**. Then, may I inquire further—and I hope that the Chair has not already explained this and I have missed it—what is the status of the Gonzalez amendment to the committee amendment? Is it pending at this time?

The **CHAIRMAN**. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] has been read. The gentleman has not been recognized as yet in support of his amendment.

Mr. **GUBSER**. Do I understand, then, that the pending unanimous-consent request is to adopt the committee amendment prior to the consideration of the Gonzalez amendment to the committee amendment?

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentleman is correct. And the following committee amendments to the section as well.

Mr. **GUBSER**. Mr. Chairman, I have no idea whether I am on sound ground, but simply for purpose of clarifying what appears to me is a muddled parliamentary situation, I object and make the point of order that consideration of the committee amendment is not in order until such time as we have considered the Gonzalez amendment to the committee amendment.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The Chair will state that the amendment of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] is not in order until the committee amendment has been disposed of.

Without objection, the committee amendment is agreed to. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 3, line 15, strike out "promulgate rules and regulations in implementation thereof".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 3, line 17, after "section" insert ", recommend such legislation as he may deem appropriate to permit the promulgation of rules and regulations in implementation of the standards developed under this section".

Mr. **HARDY**. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. Would it be in order at this point to offer a substitute for the committee amendment to strike out the entire language beginning at line 7 through line 20?

The **CHAIRMAN**. Not until we have disposed of the committee amendment.

Mr. **HARDY**. Mr. Chairman, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. **HARDY**. Will the committee amendment—is it not in order to offer a substitute for the committee amendment?

The **CHAIRMAN**. After we dispose of the pending committee amendment a motion to strike out the section would be in order.

Mr. **HARDY**. Mr. Chairman, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. **HARDY**. Would it be in order for me to offer an amendment as a substitude for the committee amendment beginning on line 7, page 3, to strike out all of the language from line 7 through line 20?

The **CHAIRMAN**. The only amendment pending is the language which appears in lines 17 through 20.

Mr. **HARDY**. That is correct. But as a substitute for that, would it be in order for me to offer an amendment to strike out everything from line 7 through 20 on page 3?

The **CHAIRMAN**. It is not in order.

Mr. **HARDY**. I thank the Chairman.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GONZALEZ

Mr. **GONZALEZ**. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to the committee amendment offered by Mr. GONZALEZ: Strike out section 718 and insert in lieu thereof:

"SEC. 718. The Comptroller General shall develop uniform accounting standards to be applied to all negotiated prime contract and subcontract defense procurements in excess of $100,000. These uniform accounting standards shall include standards from which an accurate showing of production costs and profits by individual order can be determined. The Comptroller General shall consult with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget in the development of such uniform accounting standards, and shall promulgate rules and regulations in implementation thereof not later than one year after the date of enactment of this section."

Mr. **GONZALEZ**. Mr. Chairman, this amendment was defeated in the committee, and I refer to this fact because the gentleman from California made a partisan issue out of this debate this afternoon. This amendment was defeated by a strange Republican vote of 14 Members and three Democrats against and it carried by some four votes.

Mr. Chairman, since the gentleman from California has made this a strictly partisan issue, I would like to say in answer to that there is nothing partisan about profiteering, there is nothing partisan about corruption, there is nothing partisan about renegotiation in my opinion. This is a bipartisan question which is confronting the Members of the Congress.

It is my opinion that if there has ever been a clearcut issue this is it. Is this Congress going to be insensitive to a clearly established need? When I say that I am not referring to a clearly established need that I individually make; on the contrary, it has been a clearly established fact by study of the matter by subcommittee after subcommittee and by the Joint Economic Committee. And, what is the Joint Economic Committee? It is an ad hoc committee that Congress set up to do these very things and report to the Nation upon what is going on and who is buying what on a bicameral basis. We have had one brave man who has the temerity to come to the Congress and testify and who has given testimony after testimony. He is Admiral Rickover. He has also appeared before the Committee on Appropriations. We can go to the people in a pious manner and tell them that we are going to cut costs by $6 billion, and we can say this because the dollar is threatened and because the economy compels it.

At the same time that we are listed on record as overlooking $47 billion in procurement in which one watchdog agency, the Renegotiation Board, between 1945 and 1953 recovered in excess of $11 billion to the taxpayer. This Congress stripped that Board—not the administration, whether it was Republican or Democrat. It was this Congress that offered amendments to strengthen all the Board, opposed by the gentleman from California who is opposing this one.

The amendment does one simple thing—and I say simple, because that is exactly what it is, there is nothing complicated about it except for those who resist it, who would like to obfuscate the real issues—this amendment says you shall have a uniform standard of accounting so as to establish costs and profits in the procurement of goods and services by the Government in defense.

Is this $5 million or $2 million? No, it is over $45 million, over $47 million. And one agency, the Renegotiation Board alone, has recovered within the last year in excess of $50 million, even though it has no staff, even though it has been dismantled by the Congress, even though we are still insensitive to the need.

I do not believe there is one of us in Congress who cannot honestly and clearly go to the people and say, "We had a chance to do something about profiteering, we had a chance to do something about these unconscionable men who are willing to make an improper profit, and did nothing."

No one is against proper profits. We all are committed to the system which is unique in America. But of all the legitimate concerns, there is not one concern in the United States that is not willing to abide by a fair and honest and uniform system of accountability. I know of no reputable corporation that is against an honest, fair, and uniform method of accountability.

Mr. **VANIK**. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **GONZALEZ**. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. **VANIK**. Mr. Chairman, I want to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Texas, the Honorable HENRY B. GONZALEZ.

I heartily concur in the amendment he has submitted for our consideration. It seems to me that it would be no great burden on our defense producers to comply with uniform methods of accounting which could be developed by the GAO in cooperation with the Bureau of the Budget. This is the only way in which the real cost of military hardware and material can be determined. Uniform accounting procedures prepared by the GAO could also be brought into conformity with the tax reporting procedures established by the Internal Revenue Service and utilized by the Renegotiation Board.

The defense producer is entitled to a fair profit on what he manufactures or produces for the Government. By the same token, the American taxpayer is entitled to a fair deal. He is entitled to a full dollar's value for every defense dollar spent. There is nothing in this amendment which should offend the sense of integrity of any defense producer. I heartily support the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, now that defense procurement expenditures are running between $40 and $50 billion, it is absolutely essential that everything possible be done to insure an orderly Government procurement policy.

On May 27, the House debated and passed a bill to extend the life and authority of the Renegotiation Board. The Board, which consists of five members, is designed to examine all contracts let by the Defense Department and several other Government agencies which are larger than $1 million to see that the contractor is not making an excessive profit.

I supported successful motions in the Committee on Ways and Means to extend the life of the Board for more than 2 years and to close certain "commercial exemption" loopholes in the Board's coverage.

I also sponsored a motion to reduce the floor or size of contracts which the Board can examine from $1 million to half a million dollars. Although this motion failed in committee, I raised the issue again on the floor of the House where it received considerable but not majority, support. I am hopeful that the Senate Finance Committee and the other body will support a reduction in the Board's floor so that more accurate and comprehensive coverage can be given to the examination of defense procurement contracts.

In conclusion, particularly since these efforts to amend the Renegotiation Act did not succeed, it is highly important that this uniform accounting amendment to the Defense Production Act of 1950 be enacted.

Mr. GONZALEZ. I thank the gentleman for his comments.

In short, the need is clear, the need is imperative. We cannot sit back and say that because a Subcommittee on Government Administration, or on House Administration, or the Subcommittee on Appropriations, the subcommittee in the Committee on Banking and Currency, has discovered that there are some things wrong, we cannot sit back and piously say "Well, let us make a study." We have already had more than one study.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

(On request of Mrs. SULLIVAN, and by unanimous consent, Mr. GONZALEZ was allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, I thank the distinguished gentlewoman from Missouri. I do not believe I can fully utilize the additional 5 minutes, because the need here is not for words and excess verbiage, the need here is for action.

The action is simple. The amendment is clear. All it says is that the defense production and procurement system in prime contracts—in prime contracts of $100,000 or more—you shall have a system of uniform accountability.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that my colleagues will consider this amendment very seriously and vote in the affirmative for it.

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GONZALEZ. I yield to the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I rise in support of the amendment presented by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ.]

The recent awarding of the M-16 second source procurement contract to General Motors, as you know, has raised serious legal and economic questions. The gravity of these questions leads me to call to your attention the continued and indefensible failure of the Army to justify its actions in this important matter.

The Army today informed me of a third delay in responding to the legal objections I raised to acceptance of the General Motors contract before the House Committee on Armed Services on May 15. When a clearly reliable contractor offers comparable services at a $20 million savings to the Government, as did the Maremont Corp., such prolonged silence by the Army seems extraordinary.

In addition to arousing fundamental legal doubts, the ignoring of so substantial a savings represents a complete disregard of taxpayers' money. When production itself progresses in the midst of basic unanswered questions, such delay is inexcusable. It seems incomprehensible that the Army not only entered into the contract on questionable legal grounds, but also continues production while withholding any justification for its apparently arbitrary decision.

The Army's decision to delay for the third time, a response to the grave legal and economic questions raised here in the Congress concerning the award of the M-16 to General Motors is an inexcusable violation of the public interest. Each day of continued silence on their part deepens the doubt of the Army's right to ignore the substantially less expensive and fully comparable contract offer of the Maremont Corp. to supply the Army with the needed rifles.

How can they continue to blatantly ignore answering for the unnecessary expenditure of $20 million of taxpayers' money with no attempt to justify the legality of the contract? All information made available to me and to the House Armed Services Subcommittee leads to the inevitable conclusion that the M-16 contract, as awarded, is illegal. Since when does the procurement procedure of the Army permit totally ignoring cost considerations? It has now taken the Army more than 2 weeks to inform the Congress that it will take 2 more weeks to answer this fundamental question. This, quite simply, is not good enough.

On behalf of my constituents, the Maremont Corp., and the American taxpayer, I object to the Army's utter disregard of their responsibilities and their continued stalling tactics.

It would seem to me if the General Accounting Office had available to it the kind of powers contained in the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Texas, then we could assure that the taxpayers' money would be more fully safeguarded and that similar "M-16 incidents" might be prevented.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GONZALEZ. I yield to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ECKHARDT. I thank the gentleman for yielding and I thank the gentleman for his service to his country in offering this amendment. I support it and I wish to associate myself entirely with his remarks.

Mr. GONZALEZ. I thank my colleague very much.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this out of the emotional plane for just a couple of minutes and point out some things about this amendment and what it would imply.

The gentleman from Texas says that this Congress dismantled the Renegotiation Board. I would like to know in what specific instance, how and where and when? I have taken no action to reduce the ability of this Government to protect itself from the abuses he mentions. I do not think there is a Member of this body who does not feel very deeply concerned about protecting the taxpayer from abuse.

It was not this Congress that dismantled the Renegotiation Board. It is this administration which refuses to enforce the powers it has.

If you want to stop excess profits, you do it by competitive bids. That is where this administration has flagrantly abused the American taxpayer, by depending upon negotiation rather than competition.

You cannot pass this amendment and expect any relief for the gentleman from Maine. It would not address itself to that problem. That problem would have been solved by competent management in the Pentagon.

I fully agree that it was a shameful award. This amendment does nothing to correct that. The gentleman from Texas would have us impose, without proper congressional process, without any regard to the legislative process whatsoever, a so-called uniform accounting standard upon all defense establishments and defense industries of this Nation.

Let me just point out a couple of thoughts to you. I would guess that we buy at least a half million different items—probably several million—for the defense of this Nation. If that is the case, and they are all different, and they are all manufactured by a different process, or are not even items at all but simply services, I am not sure that you can have a provision for a uniform standard for all. The probabilities are that you will have 500,000 specific uniform standards. That is about as "uniform" as a bowl of mush.

I would imagine there are 5,000 plus industries supplying this Defense Establishment with $45 billion worth of goods and services each year. We might have 5,000 different uniform standards. I do not think that is very uniform either. What the committee has requested in this bill is a direction to the GAO, in consultation with the Bureau of the Budget, to do a thorough study of the problem, and to recommend ways and means of combatting the problem.

But we do not abdicate our legislative responsibility to see that those standards and those rules and regulations are within the framework of this competitive system. We do not have that confidence in the GAO. We simply feel it is within our responsibility to review and hold hearings on the impact of these regulations and then to take what action our responsibilities require us to take.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROCK. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GONZALEZ. The gentleman obviously has not been conversant with the facts with respect to the time-negotiated contracts in excess of $45 billion that he was speaking of, otherwise he would not mention the total number of firms that he did.

The question I want to ask is with reference to whether this Congress has or has not acted on this matter. I believe the gentleman was present when we made an effort to strengthen the Renegotiation Board. Is it not true that at that time the gentleman resisted those amendments?

Mr. BROCK. I am not sure of the action to which the gentleman refers.

Mr. GONZALEZ. It was during the recent Ways and Means Committee action on the extension of the Renegotiation Board Act.

Mr. BROCK. No. The gentleman is not correct. I was not present, apparently, at the Ways and Means Committee hearing. Nor have I at any time attempted to hamper the effectiveness of the Renegotiation Board.

Mr. GONZALEZ. No. I refer to the House action on the Ways and Means Committee presentation for an extension of the Renegotiation Board. I thought the gentleman was present. If he was not, then I think he missed a very important portion of the debate which has a direct bearing on this question, because at that time the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee indicated strongly that it was this act to which this type of amendment should be offered. That is why we offered it.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROCK. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GUBSER. I think the point should be made that during the debate to which the gentleman from Texas refers it was pointed out that 87 percent of this $47 billion of which he speaks is contracted by negotiated fixed prices. Many of these contracts include incentive clauses, which means that the price can be adjusted downward after performance of the contract by a review of the actual cost data.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. BROCK was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. BROCK. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GUBSER. To continue, an incentive clause requires that a price can be adjusted downward after the contract has been performed upon the basis of cost figures which are actual figures in being. This is certainly all the protection in the world that the taxpayer needs without adding this extra accounting cost, which is going to be considerable and which will reduce the tax liability of the companies involved by at least 48 percent but which will add to the cost of the item being procured due to the extra administrative cost.

Mr. BROCK. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to summarize, if I may, very briefly. The only difference between the gentleman's amendment and what we have in the committee bill is this: Both require a study to be made to determine the ability to achieve a uniform accounting standard for industry by whatever method is necessary to protect the American taxpayer. The difference lies in this very simple thing: The gentleman would empower the General Accounting Office to impose these standards as soon as they have achieved their evaluation, or their study. Conversely, our bill requires that they report their recommendations to the Congress so that we can have hearings, exercise our legislative responsibility, allow those on the other side to be heard, and that we then exercise our legislative responsibility to write the kind of legislation that will do a job. That is what the committee bill does. It does not permit Congress to abdicate or delegate its responsibility.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, I shall not take 5 minutes. I merely wished to make this observation, as I did earlier in the debate: I am in complete accord with the objectives the gentleman from Texas has in mind. But I do not think his approach to them will solve the problem at all. In fact, I think as between the language of his amendment and the language the committee has submitted the committee language is much to be preferred. So, Mr. Chairman, I hope that the amendment of the gentleman from Texas will be defeated.

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HARDY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. CABELL. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I rise to associate myself with his remarks with reference to the more desirable features of the committee amendment as opposed to the amendment offered by my very good friend and colleague from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ].

I would also like to take issue with the statement that this is a partisan issue. This is not a partisan issue. I do not think partisanship has any place in this.

Mr. HARDY. The gentleman is absolutely correct on that point.

Mr. CABELL. I think our legislative processes are being sidetracked when we come out with a procedure as outlined in the amendment of the gentleman from Texas, because there would be no further legislative hearings and no further debate.

It gives untold power to the General Accounting Office in setting up and promulgating these rules. I sincerely hope the amendment offered by my colleague from Texas will be defeated and that we will accept the wording of the committee amendment, which provides for proper study and for proper hearings and for due process of our legislative system.

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. Chairman, I want to make one further observation. In connection with the language which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] has proposed, I had a member of my staff contact the General Accounting Office this morning. While I do not have an official pronouncement according to my information, GAO does not consider the language of the amendment offered by the gentleman would be productive of the objective which he seeks. As I understand it, the General Accounting Office considers it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to administer.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, therefore, that the amendment of the gentleman from Texas will be defeated.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas, I was impressed with the words of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BROCK], when he pointed out quite clearly that if the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas is adopted, this House will be passing its legislative responsibility to the General Accounting Office and the Bureau of the Budget. They will be writing the law.

Article I of the Constitution says that the legislative branch of the Government shall consist of two Houses, the House of Representatives and the Senate. Yet, the Gonzalez amendment would be saying in effect that this House will sign a legislative blank check and the General Accounting Office and the Bureau of the Budget will be writing the law—not the Members of Congress.

One other point I think we ought to consider before we vote on this amendment. Let us not presume that simply because someone engages in defense industry, he is automatically a profiteer and a crook. In this Nation innocence is presumed until guilt is proven. Honesty is not confined to government. I recall the case of Billy Sol Estes and I recall the case of Bobby Baker.

Today's figures, if we want really to studiously look at them, do not show this alarming profiteering that the gentleman from Texas speaks of. In fact, they show just the opposite: that defense profits are going down, to the point where Secretary of Defense McNamara became so alarmed that he promulgated armed services regulation 3.808–1, which says—I paraphrase it—low profits in defense industry are forcing people out of the business and we must do something to improve profits so we can attract people back into the industry. That is a paraphrase, but an honest one, which is part of the Armed Forces procurement regulations promulgated by Secretary McNamara.

One last point. Let us stop and think for a moment about what accounting really is. Accounting is more than the rigid old double-entry bookkeeping system, where we have a journal and a ledger, a trial balance, and so forth. Accounting is much more than that today. Accounting is a management tool.

This is a private enterprise system and management ought to be able to use the tools which enable it to do a better job in the private enterprise system. Some companies have one type of cost accounting and others have another type, because it suits their particular needs and helps them do a better job of management. But now, in the private enterprise system, if this amendment is adopted, we will be saying that only the Government knows proper accounting procedure, and that every private industry must be told how to do its accounting. At the very least we will be forcing private industries to keep at least one more set of books than it presently does. We will be forcing an unnecessary expense upon them.

Under existing accounting procedures, industry must be able to satisfy the Internal Revenue Service—and they do it. In addition, they must be able to satisfy the requirements of the Renegotiation Board if they are in defense industry which is renegotiable—and they do it. Additionally, they must be able to satisfy the very explicit and very stringent requirements of the Truth in Negotiation Act—and they do it.

Now this amendment would tell one government agency: You have the power to make law. We in Congress consider ourselves incompetent for that purpose. You write the law. You impose upon this private enterprise system the accounting practices that it shall follow.

This will not be a private enterprise system if we do this, and we will not have defense contractors around who are willing to put up with such harassment and such unnecessary added costs in this day of shrinking defense profits.

This is a very bad amendment, one of the worst conceivable. I urge the Members to vote it down.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GUBSER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Is the gentleman aware that some 15 years ago, by law, the agencies and departments of our Federal Government were required to have approved accounting systems approved by the General Accounting Office, and that today, some 15 years later, less than half of the agencies and departments of our own Federal Government have had their accounting systems approved by the General Accounting Office?

I would think an amendment like this, with the General Accounting Office in a position to dictate to private industry what sort of accounting practices private industry should have certainly flies in the face of the experience we have had with our own agencies and departments.

Mr. GUBSER. Imposing a strict, unyielding provision of law such as this on private industry is certainly not the hallmark of a free and democratic society. We should keep private enterprise private and free.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Gonzalez].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Gonzalez) there were—ayes 41, noes 61.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. Gonzalez and Mr. Brock.

The Committee again divided, and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 51, noes 86.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Boland, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 17268) to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 1193, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. GUBSER

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. GUBSER. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mr. Gubser moves to recommit the bill H.R. 17268 to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill just passed and to include any relevant extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE EMPLOYEES NEED PROTECTION AND NEED IT NOW

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, could this House operate tomorrow with no Congressional Record, no Daily Digest, no bills printed, none of the vital documents provided us by the loyal Government Printing Office employees? I think not.

A wildcat strike of GPO employees may come at any hour. The unions are not threatening to strike, Mr. Speaker. They are too high level to make threats and they are fully aware that striking against the Federal Government is illegal. Yet on the other hand their members, the employees, cannot continue to face the muggings, yokings, beatings, stabbings, and robbings they are sustaining in their travel to and from work.

The chairman of the Council of Organized Crafts, GPO, Mr. Donald Taylor, representing 5,000 craftsmen and 13 crafts, was called to meet on Friday with Safety Director Murphy, Mayor Washington, and others, after repeated pleas to the White House from GPO employees. He was promised more police would be assigned to the area, but within hours after the meeting another GPO employee was assaulted and robbed of his billfold. Ironically, while Mr. Taylor was assisting the employee, his wife was being threatened by an anonymous telephone caller that "her husband would get it next" if he continued to demand protection. A few hours later, a second employee got in his car and was forced to drive at gunpoint over Memorial Bridge into Virginia where he was robbed.

Mr. Speaker, we have been promised 1,000 more police, but the GPO employees cannot wait for them to be recruited and trained. They are employees of the Congress. If it takes Federal troops then we must demand that Federal troops be brought into Washington and kept here until permanent protection can be provided them.

We need Federal troops in Washington today, not only to protect our own Federal employees, who have so courageously faced danger daily to serve us, but also the busdrivers, cabdrivers, small businessmen, and countless individuals whose employment forces them to be on the streets of this city during the evening hours.

How long must the people of this city live in constant fear for their lives? How long must they watch the overtaxed policemen of this city running from place to place to accompany protesters while leaving them virtually unguarded in their jobs and their homes? Mr. Speaker, the Metropolitan Police Department is one of the finest police departments in any city in the Nation. But no department of its size could handle the situation in this Nation's Capital without help—Federal help—men in uniform to augment their forces.

Mr. Speaker, we congratulate the drivers of our city buses for their bravery in returning to the streets tonight. They, too, have received promises from the District government of more police protection. But can it be provided? I think not, Mr. Speaker. I think the only way law and order can be restored to this city is by bringing Federal troops into the city to ride every bus, stand at or near every bus stop, and on street corners in the crime-infested areas until the police department can be brought up to strength and can guarantee protection to those who walk the streets of the Nation's Capital.

Mr. Speaker, I plan to ask consent to insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the RECORD today a copy of a statement I have received from Mr. Donald Taylor, of the Columbia Typographical Union, as well as a statement of Mr. Virgil West, a linotype machinist at GPO who was kidnapped and robbed upon leaving his employment Saturday morning, June 1, 1968.

SUPREME COURT DECISION ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court announced yesterday on the question of capital punishment may well be the "last straw" insofar as those of us who have tried to restrain ourselves from criticizing the Court, are concerned.

The effect of the Court's decision is to carry into judicial decree something which has become far too prevalent in other aspects of our society, and that is to allow the minority to control the majority, which is exactly the reverse of how our Founding Fathers envisioned our society.

As I read this decision, it will mean virtually the end of capital punishment in the United States unless this Congress or the States themselves can devise a way to eliminate the requirement for unanimous verdicts by juries. For, in its obvious application, the Court's decision makes unanimous decisions in capital punishment cases practically impossible.

The citizens of the various States, through their elected representatives in the various legislatures of the several States, have decreed that capital punishment shall be imposed on those convicted of various crimes. Prosecuting officers, in order to obtain juries that will carry out the will of society, have traditionally excused from jury service those who state that even though they may be convinced that the person is guilty of the crime for which the people through their legislators have set the capital penalty, they will not carry out the will of society.

The will of society obviously cannot be carried out if the prosecuting attorney is required to accept on a jury persons who are opposed to the law he is trying to enforce. Yet, this is what the latest decree of the Court will require. The prosecuting officer is told to accept a jury that is stacked against ever obtaining a unanimous verdict imposing capital punishment.

Look further into the ramifications of this decision. Through the back-door route of judicial decree, the Court has imposed upon this entire Nation and all the courts thereof the minority views of those who oppose capital punishment. Time and again the question of outlawing capital punishment has been raised in the several States and rejected. Obviously, the majority of the people in the Nation feel that capital punishment is necessary as the penalty for certain crimes and as a determent for the commission of the crime by others in the future. And the people have decreed in their wisdom that capital punishment should remain in force.

This decision of the Court, however, means that the will of the people in the many States will be denied. It is ironic, too, that this will be the effect of the decision even though the Court carefully skirted declaring that it was outlawing capital punishment. As the dissenting opinion stated, if the Court intended to prohibit capital punishment, then it should say so and mince no words.

Mr. Speaker, decisions of this sort which go entirely beyond the intended jurisdiction of the Court have brought our society to the point that the people are fast losing respect for the highest judicial body in our Nation. The preponderant opinion in this country is that this Court has turned its back on its duty of protecting society by its overzealousness in protecting what it feels are the rights of criminals.

This decision, I predict, will lower the opinion of the Court in the eyes of the people even more. Law enforcement and prosecuting officers throughout the Nation today will throw up their hands in exasperation at this latest judicial fiat because it will fit like a pair of handcuffs when they attempt to enforce the laws requiring capital punishment.

RESULTS OF OPINION POLL IN FOURTH DISTRICT OF INDIANA

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, the anxiety and concern over the course the Federal Government is taking are clearly manifest in the results of the opinion poll I have taken in the Fourth District of Indiana.

My constituency is composed of solid Americans who believe in their country and its greatness. But they are confused and troubled about the serious problems that remain unsolved. Furthermore, they are questioning the policies which have us involved in a war that is taking such a heavy toll in lives and taxes without any apparent solution. They are worried about the Federal debt and the fact that our Nation is in such a financial muddle that the dollar is threatened although Federal expenditures continue virtually unchecked.

One of the gravest issues facing the people is increasing crime and the rioting and lawlessness in our cities.

It was with some of these questions in mind that I decided it was vital that I again conduct an opinion poll of my constituents. In their quick response to the questionnaire, their deep concern, their frustration and desire for positive action was evident. By their opinions, they indicated that they felt it imperative that certain steps be taken immediately by the executive and legislative branches of our Government to bring order out of chaos and restore the basic concepts of government that have been essentials of our growth, freedom, and prosperity.

I am confident that the results of the poll will be of interest to my colleagues. Therefore, I am publishing the results in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I might add that it appears that when all the results are in, more than 20,000 constituents will have responded to the poll. Many not only marked the ballots but took the time to write a letter to amplify their views.

The results of the poll follow:

RESULTS OF PUBLIC OPINION POLL OF FOURTH INDIANA DISTRICT (CONDUCTED BY E. ROSS ADAIR, MEMBER OF CONGRESS)

[In percent]

Questions		Yes	No	Undecided
1. Do you favor the President's proposed surtax on certain income?		25	68	7
2. Do you favor the President's proposed tax on travel abroad?		45	48	7
3. Do you feel that Federal spending should be reduced, rather than increasing taxes?		91	5	4
4. Do you feel that the decisions of the Supreme Court in recent years have				
(a) Helped the "war on crime"	4			
(b) Hindered enforcement of our laws	85			
(c) Had no effect	6			
Undecided	5			
5. As regards Vietnam, which selection most clearly approximates your views?				
(a) Increase our military and diplomatic pressure to try and resolve the conflict	63			
(b) Deescalation of the war	25			
(c) Maintain our present course	7			
Undecided	5			
6. Do you feel that our present laws regarding subversion and the activities of the Communist Party of the United States need to be strengthened?		88	9	3
7. What do you feel is the solution to summer riots in our cities?				
(a) More vigorous law enforcement	82			
(b) More Federal aid to our cities	5			
(c) More civil rights legislation	5			
Undecided	8			
8. Do you feel that President Johnson and Secretary Freeman are solving the present farm problem?		3	85	12

BITING THE BULLET

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, it is a sorry state of affairs when fiscal policy during a national financial crisis has become a sort of tug-of-war between the President and the Congress. But, that is the way it is. And, now the matter comes to a head. Now, the Members of the House must vote either for or against a tax increase and, at the same time, for or against a $6 billion cut in spending. We cannot vote for one and against the other; or vote against one and for the other.

I want to say, having carefully studied this issue, I intend to "bite the bullet." There seems to be no alternative at this late date.

A lot of us warned that the Johnson-Humphrey "guns and butter" policy was wrong and in the end would cause a major depression, which is what the economists say we are headed for unless stern measures, such as a tax increase and expenditure cut, are taken to curb inflation.

I have said for years that the best way to increase Government revenues is to cut Federal taxes. Taxes are too high now. Lower taxes accelerate business activity and produce more income and prosperity in which the Government participates.

But, with the cost of living rising and spiralling inflation, a tax cut is no answer now. We are in a crisis because of enormous deficits and overspending by the Government. If the Government had reduced its level of domestic spending during the past few years, as some of us advocated, the situation would be different. As things are, we face a further and bigger deficit.

There is only one answer. Government spending must be reduced, and, unfortunately, at the same time a part of the tax cut, passed by Congress in 1964 must be restored.

In the meanwhile, I want to make two things clear. First, the 10-percent increase in the price level of goods and services since mid-1964 is not something that resulted entirely from Vietnam. Only about half of the increase in Federal expenditures between mid-1965 and mid-1968 are attributable to the war.

Despite the war, the administration has stepped up its efforts to stimulate the economy instead of coming to grips with the reality of the the inflation it was causing.

The second point I want to make is that Federal expenditure reductions of $6 billion can be made without cutting programs for health, education, and the poor. But, we cannot curb spending to this extent if we keep troops in Europe at the present strength, or if we continue foreign aid at its present level, or if we fail to deaccelerate our space program. Also, I think defense spending can be cut.

Finally, while deflationary measures, such as a tax increase and less Federal spending are needed to curb inflation or at least hold it down, let us remember that a rubberstamp, free-spending Democrat Congress got the country into this mess. If many of us had had our way, the crisis in which the Nation finds itself today would never have occurred.

It serves little purpose to say, "I told you so." Rather, I do suggest that the voters evaluate the records of their Members of Congress. Especially, I would urge the careful evaluation of Congressmen who consistently supported overspending and now fail to support President Johnson's plea for a tax increase and expenditure curb. The voters should deal with that kind of politics that puts the national interest in second place.

I know the country is in trouble, and I will, as I said, "bite the bullet," but I do not feel kindly in supporting the administraton, if the liberal spenders whose policies brought on inflation will not stand up and be counted with me, even if it is an election year.

AMENDMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT OF 1965

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today two bills to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 in order to remove inequities which have become apparent since the revised law was put into effect.

The first bill, already introduced by Chairman CELLER and by Senator EDWARD KENNEDY in the other body, would perfect a number of reforms initiated in the 1965 legislation and would open the way for a general review of many of the policies now in operation.

The bill would make a number of amendments to strengthen the objective of uniting families, which I have long believed to be one of the major purposes of our immigration policy. In particular, section 18 of the bill attempts to clean up the backlog in fifth preference—brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens—accumulated under the old national origins quota system. The section provides for the issuance of special immigrant visas to applicants whose petition for admission was filed prior to December 1, 1965, the effective date of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.

This provision is intended specifically to clear up the backlog under the fifth-preference Italian quota. There are currently over 100,000 approved fifth-preference petitions of Italian brothers and sisters on file, and it is estimated that issuance of visas for all these petitions would result in the entrance of some 250,000 to 300,000 relatives of American citizens of Italian extraction.

Under the new worldwide quota system which goes into effect on July 1 of this year, visas will be issued to those whose petitions were filed first, with a numerical limitation of 20,000 per country. Thus, by clearing up this backlog of Italian petitions which have been on file for some time, section 18 will therefore make visa numbers available to nationals of other European countries under the fifth preference in the nearer future.

The second bill, which has already been introduced in the House, would further benefit prospective immigrants from northern and western European countries which have already experienced an unintended decline in the number of immigrants able to enter the United States under the 1965 act. By emphasizing the immigration of entire families, the 1965 act has unintentionally resulted in a reduction in the number of other immigrants who may enter, and those affected have principally been from those European countries which have historically contributed so many immigrants to this land.

One of the hardest hit nations has been Ireland. Ireland's annual quota was 17,756, which it did not fully use. In average years about 7,000 Irish immigrated to the United States. Already, because of the labor certificates and other requirements of the 1965 act, immigration has dropped to 1,809 visas issued in Dublin in 1967. After July 1, 1968, it is estimated that only 500 to 1,000 Irish will be able to enter the United States yearly.

Clearly, this was never the intention of the Congress. When the 1965 amendments were considered, the State Department estimated that Irish immigration would be about 5,200 annually.

The bill I am introducing—which would also benefit the Scandanavian countries, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland and others—would permit immigration from these nations without returning to a quota system and without injury to those countries benefiting from the new law.

The bill provides that any nation whose immigration has dropped below 75 percent of its yearly average during the 10-year base period 1956–65 will be allotted additional places in excess of the worldwide quota to bring its total up to 75 percent of the base period average annual immigration.

In no case would a single country's immigrants exceed 10,000, and the bill further requires that 30 percent of the additional visas be made available to sixth-preference immigrants—skilled and unskilled laborers in short supply. It would be my hope that this provision will help to relieve the problems faced by many small businessmen who have been waiting for some time for the services of immigrants whose qualifications are in short supply in the United States.

Under the bill, Ireland would be able to send about 5,300 immigrants and since the number of nations affected by the bill is small, it is estimated that the total number of additional visas would not exceed 20,000 to 30,000 above the worldwide quota.

Mr. Speaker, I know that the Judiciary Committee has been considering a number of aspects of the 1965 Immigration Act and I would hope that these particular matters will receive the committee's careful attention in the near future.

VIVA LA FRANCE

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Charles de Gaulle has again demonstrated proven military leadership and shown the world that he is first, last, and foremost a Frenchman.

The Communist conspiracy had obviously scheduled France for an all-out effort and if nothing more General de Gaulle has demonstrated that a little willpower and the courage of patriotism can stop the threat of any Communist takeover.

The probable result of France's triumph—respect and leadership with other nations as well as the reawakening of the French people.

His former manipulated world image as a Communist will most probably now be distorted by the ultraleft to picture him as a "Nazi." After all, he dared speak out and take a stand against communism.

While there are some areas of disagreement, I laud the gallant general for his courage and devotion to his country and people.

As a representative of the State of Louisiana where our society is enriched with a proud French heritage, I join in proclaiming. "Long live the Republic. Viva la France."

Mr. Speaker, I insert General de Gaulle's speech of May 30, 1968, and the UPI release of May 30, as follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY GEN. CHARLES DE GAULLE, PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, BROADCAST OVER FRENCH RADIO ON THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1968

Frenchwomen, Frenchmen: Being the custodian of the national and republican legitimacy, I have examined, for the last twenty-four hours, all the eventualities that, without exception, would enable me to maintain it. I have made my resolutions. In the present circumstances, I shall not withdraw. I have a mandate from the people. I shall fulfill it. I shall not change the Premier, whose worth, strength and ability deserve the tribute of all. He will propose to me the changes that will seem useful to him in the composition of the Government.

I am dissolving the National Assembly today.

I have proposed to the country a referendum that gave the citizens the opportunity to prescribe a profound reform of our economy and our university system and at the same time to say whether or not they retained their confidence in me by the only path acceptable, that of democracy. I note that the present situation makes it materially impossible to proceed with this. That is why I shall postpone the date.

As for the legislative elections, they will take place within the time period provided by the Constitution, unless some intend to muzzle the French people as a whole by preventing them from expressing themselves at the same time that they are being prevented from living, by the same means that the students are being prevented from studying, the teachers from teaching, the workers from working. These means are the intimidation, the intoxication and the tyranny exercised by groups organized long in advance for that purpose, and by a party that is a totalitarian enterprise, even if it already has rivals in this respect.

If, then, this state of force continues, I shall have to take, in order to maintain the Republic and according to the Constitution, other paths than the immediate polling of the country. In any case, everywhere and immediately, civic action must be organized. This must be done to help the Government first of all, then, locally, the Prefects, who have become or become again Commissioners of the Republic, in their task which consists of ensuring as much as possible the existence of the population and of preventing subversion at any time and in every place.

France is indeed threatened by dictatorship. Some want to force her to resign herself to a power that would impose itself in national despair, a power that would then obviously be mainly that of the conqueror, that is, of totalitarian communism. Naturally, to begin, it would be colored with a deceptive appearance, by using the ambition and the hatred of shelved politicians. After which, these people would carry no more than their own weight, which would not be great.

Well, no. The Republic will not abdicate. The people will collect themselves. Progress, independence and peace will prevail, along with liberty.

Long live the Republic!

Long live France!

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 30, 1968]

ONE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLAR U.S. CREDIT GIVEN TO PROTECT FRANC

The United States went to the aid of the troubled French franc today, but throughout Europe worried bankers said they could no longer take the risk of buying French currency.

The U.S. Federal Reserve Bank granted France a $100 million credit to help the franc over a crisis brought on by current political turmoil.

In Switzerland, the Bank for International Settlements, which stepped in Tuesday to help the franc as it had to aid the British pound in pre-devaluation difficulty, withdrew its support.

The franc, said bankers who make up the BIS, had become "practically unsalable."

Only yesterday, the BIS, a kind of clearing house for the world's great central banks, had offered to exchange unlimited amounts of U.S. dollars for French francs turned in by Swiss banks.

"We do not know where things will go but we are very harassed," one banker said.

In Italy, West Germany, the Netherlands and other European nations, banks simply stopped all transactions in French francs. Franc quotations disappeared from many foreign currency listings.

Italian and German banks made one concession—they offered to buy small numbers of francs to help tourists stranded with nothing else in their pockets. The rate of exchange was predicably lower.

In London, by contrast, franc transactions went on, apparently as usual. The London quotation for francs remained a low 11.88 against the pound, but trading was nearly normal.

Paris financial sources said the U.S. credit was granted to France under an agreement guaranteeing that France—or any other nation receiving such help—would be obliged to reciprocate were the dollar or pound to be placed again in jeopardy.

The same sources also said the franc was solid despite a heavy run on it abroad by speculators and by the closing of most French banks by striking workers. The buffeting given the franc is similar to that suffered by the U.S. dollar in the 1967–68 international gold rush.

[From the Washington Daily News, May 29, 1968]

REDS MARCH—DE G GOES TO RETREAT—FRENCH CRISIS DEEPENS

PARIS, May 29.—President Charles de Gaulle stormed out of Paris today to the seclusion of his country home and there was mounting speculation he may resign tomorrow as the only way to solve the political and economic crisis plunging France toward bankruptcy.

The communist-led General Confederation of Labor called millions of striking workers out in public demonstrations today to demand higher wages—and to demand that Gen. de Gaulle end his strongman Fifth Republic.

Students again howled their protests against the Gaullist regime and fiery left-wing student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit slipped back into France and pledged he would lead the students in a revolution to "destroy capitalism and establish true socialism."

LOSING HEAVILY

The nation remained in the grip of paralysis with 10 million workers on strike and other millions unable to work. Officials in the Finance Ministry estimated the strike was costing the nation $1 billion a week of its gross national product. Already France was dipping into its $6 billion gold and dollar reserves that had been so carefully hoarded by Gen. de Gaulle.

Yesterday, Francois Mitterand, leader of the combined leftist forces, called on the 77-year-old Gen. de Gaulle to step down and call off the June 16 referendum he has scheduled as a vote of confidence. Mr. Mitterand threw his hat in the ring as a successor, heading a "popular front" government including the communists.

Gen. de Gaulle's authority appeared to be crumbling from hour to hour and there were reports he would call off the referendum in what could be a humiliating defeat. It appeared his government was losing its grip as surely as the discredited Fourth Republic did almost 10 years ago.

No reason was given for Gen. de Gaulle's sudden departure. He left by helicopter for his home at Colombey-les Deux-Eglises in eastern France 90 minutes after cancelling a cabinet meeting without warning.

The Elysee Palace said the cabinet session would take place tomorrow afternoon and that Gen. de Gaulle would return in time to preside.

Radio Europe No. 1 and Radio Luxembourg, two independent stations, both speculated he may quit as he has before at time of crisis.

If Gen. de Gaulle should resign, he would be replaced temporarily by Senate President Gaston Monnerville, 71, a Negro from French Guiana. It would be Mr. Monnerville's job to organize elections for a new president in not less than 20 or more than 35 days after the resignation.

Mr. Monnerville has been one of Gen. de Gaulle's bitterest political opponents since 1962.

Prime Minister Georges Pompidou is striving to keep the regime from collapsing. He is bargaining endlessly with workers and government employes in a desperate effort to get them back to work.

He is handing out raises ranging from 10 to 35 per cent, but every time he thinks he has made a deal with union leaders, the workers tell them to go back and demand more. And the regime already has granted more than industry can afford without a rise in prices and a loss of competitiveness.

The workers, quite simply, saw the government back down before rioting students, then before the strike wave. So they are holding out in hope of even better wages and hours and, in some cases, an end to capitalism.

Mr. Pompidou has been reduced to "asking" that workers decide on his offers by secret ballot so they will not be intimidated by militants. He is warning that the standard of living will suffer if wages rise faster than productivity.

These are sensible points, but they are not being heard in this climate: The working class discovering its strength and the political jackals smelling the blood of the old lion in the presidential palace.

The union leaders, especially communists, started out after bread-and-butter issues while many young workers wanted a new society. Now it appears the leaders have learned from their troops and also seek to overthrow the government.

GENERAL ACCEPTANCE CORP. AND GOVERNMENT

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, ever since I first entered public life I have tried to encourage maximum participation in the many facets of public policymaking from the private sectors of our Nation.

It is my conviction every franchised citizen should exercise his voice and his vote in the best interests of his Nation, his State, his community, and himself. Not only does he have the right to be heard in the affairs of the public, but also he has a very definite responsibility to participate.

In the past, I have observed with distubing regularity efforts by some employers in the private sector to discourage their employees from engaging in community, civic, or governmental affairs. Whenever possible, I have urged reevaluation of such policies because they are totally inconsistent with the basic principles of our democratic society.

This week, a statement of policy issued by the General Acceptance Corp., based in my congressional district, came to my attention. Because it is an extraordinarily positive policy which recognizes fully the importance of responsible citizen participation in public affairs, I am pleased to be able to bring this policy to the attention of my colleagues.

It includes both a statement of GAC's resolve to fulfill its role as a corporate citizen, by Mr. S. H. Wills, president and chairman of the board, and a policy statement encouraging employee activity:

PUBLIC RELATIONS POLICY

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The employees of the GAC Corporation and its subsidiaries should express informed interest and actively participate in public affairs. In doing so, they will assist in fulfilling the objectives of keeping our Nation strong and our social and our economic institutions viable. GAC employees are urged to seek out those cultural, governmental, or community service activities suited to their particular talents, interests, and preferences.

In addition, the Corporation encourages all employees to support the political parties of their choice with their time and talents and whenever possible, to take an active part in the bi-partisan processes of government in the communities where they live. This should include:

1. Registering with a lawful political party.
2. Informing one's self on issues and candidates.
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The Corporation believes that if all employees inform themselves of the major public issues and problems at the National, State, and local levels, they will be able to participate more effectively as individuals in civic, business and political affairs.

STATEMENT OF S. H. WILLS, PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

There has long been a need for business people to speak out and act in support of their convictions. By the same token, sound business policies for this Corporation can be developed only with a full understanding of the influence that various other interests exert at the Federal, State, and local levels. With these realities in mind, we recognize one of the basic requirements of a true democracy is that all of its components be articulate in their own best interests, consistent with the best interests of our society as a whole.

Therefore, with a strong desire for GAC to portray a positive business image, dedicated to fostering the principles of the free enterprise system and Constitutional government, the Corporation intends to participate actively in significant public relations and civic affairs programs. The Corporation has an obligation to respond to unfavorable and unsound political, social, and economic stimuli on behalf of its owner-shareholders, its employees, its customers and its neighbors.

In the following policy statement we urge each employee, as a private citizen, to assume this essential role, as GAC intends as a corporate citizen.

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It is evident that the policies developed during the past 7 years in Washington need a transfusion of new ideas that will be responsive to the economic needs of our farmers and rural America. We must not forget these polices led to a drop of $1.9 billion in realized net farm income this past year and threatens to perpetuate the condition.

We need a change in Washington that will result in the immediate reversal of these deplorable conditions and I would be less than candid to suggest any other course than to get to the root of the problem by changing the leadership that has brought rural America so far down the road to ruin.

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There was no objection.

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, on May 22—National Maritime Day, 1968—the distinguished chairman of our Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries wrote to the President pointing up the needs of the American maritime industry and concluding that only he, the President of the United States, could right the neglect and wrong our merchant marine has felt for so many years.

To the gentleman from Maryland, I say, "Lots of luck." Two years ago on a similar occasion—National Maritime Day, 1966—I addressed an open letter to the President, expressing a similar alarm over the deterioration of our maritime posture and suggesting certain areas for immediate action. Unfortunately, my expression of concern apparently fell upon deaf ears. For the sake of the American merchant marine, I only hope my colleague fares better than I.

The full text of my open letter to L. B. J. on Maritime Day, 1966 and the letter of the chairman of our Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee to the President follows:

Committee on
Merchant Marine and Fisheries,
Washington, D.C., May 22, 1968.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President: Only as a last resort do I write you, knowing full well your preoccupation with many vital matters of national concern. Few can appreciate more than you the responsibilities of the Congress in effectuating and/or initiating programs and policies of our government. Certainly, I cannot add to your knowledge anything on the essentiality of creating cooperative attitudes and relationships between the White House and the Congress.

In recent days, I personally, as Chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and my colleagues, have been treated to a rare indignity which we collectively feel has been most offensive.

On April 23, 1968, our Committee commenced hearings on legislation to formulate, modify and improve our merchant marine through a national policy. We recognized that it was impossible to delay much longer initiating mechanisms to rectify the many things wrong with our maritime industry.

We invited the Secretary of Commerce, in whose department the Maritime Administration operates, to appear. In response, I was advised that all transportation functions were placed by you in charge of the Secretary of Transportation. This, in spite of the fact that the Congress in approving the creation of the Department of Transportation, specifically excluded from that department maritime functions.

Moreover, this year the House agreed to establish an independent Maritime Administration outside of any specific established government department.

For the Secretary of Commerce, with maritime authority under him, to decline our invitation and, in fact, delegate it to the Secretary of Transportation who has been denied such custody, creates confusion for all of us and, even worse, denotes a total rejection of the expressed will of Congress.

We all realize that our merchant marine program is largely contingent upon the scope of Federal appropriations therefor. While we are in the midst of prolonged and basic hearings on this vital subject, we were kept unaware of the Administration's thinking on the amount of appropriations that might be requested in the future. Instead, we learned of the Administration's point of view in this regard from the public press on May 9. On that day, the Baltimore Sun reported, and Secretary Boyd has confirmed the reliability of that report, to the effect that if the Administration is required to seek reductions in Federal expenditures, one of the vehicles chosen would in effect decimate even the very limited appropriations earlier requested.

This, Mr. President, is the equivalent of ending new merchant construction for at least a full year, perhaps longer. This step was apparently taken within the Administration without prior consultation with responsible Congressional leaders of your own Party. You can, I am sure, appreciate my shock, not only at the substantive suggestion but at being advised thereof by the press.

Last fall, Mr. President, you indicated to me and others of the House and Senate your desire to move forward with an improved modernized merchant marine in light of its present decrepit state. You recognized maritime industry's vital trade and defense role which will continue to be demanded of it and which demands it has always met in the past.

That need continues at this very moment but no progress is as yet in sight. Instead, we are treated to a few examples of lack of concern—perhaps even worse.

In these critical times, it is essential that positive and constructive declarations on our merchant marine come from you as our national leader. This is a pressing need. We in Congress can then seek to legislate your maritime wishes. We must not, however, be placed in a position of being both slighted and ignored. The Administration's spokesman at the departmental level must not be the head of an agency who has been denied this authority by the Congress itself.

Hopefully, it is not already too late, but I fear only you can right the neglect and wrong our merchant marine has felt for too many years.

Sincerely,

Edward A. Garmatz,
Chairman.

An Open Letter to L. B. J. on Maritime Day

For more than a year now, I have been prodding agencies of the Executive, attempting to stir them into taking constructive action on the problems of the American Merchant Marine. I have made public speeches. I have spoken on the floor of the House. I have appeared before Congressional Committees. I have communicated with the Maritime Administrator, the Under-Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, the Secretary of Commerce, various members of the Department of Defense, and yes, even the Secretary of Defense himself. I stand before you this evening, feeling like a 20th Century Paul Revere whose cries of alarm have fallen upon deaf ears.

Let us not, therefore, delude ourselves any further. You know and I know there is but one man today who can remedy the current inadequacies of the government's role in maritime affairs. That one man is the President of the United States. For no matter how arduously Congress may labor to bring about a constructive maritime program, success or failure is wholly dependent upon Executive implementation. Therefore, this evening I will make my presentation to you in the form of an open letter to the President of the United States.

"Dear Mr. President: It seems appropriate that, since you have set aside this day, May 23, 1966, for the 34th annual celebration of National Maritime Day, I should address you on this occasion, expressing my sincere and profound personal concern over the ever-deepening crisis developing in the American Merchant Marine. I unfortunately find little cause for celebration on this festive occasion, since it is my personal belief as a private citizen, as a Naval officer, and as a Member of Congress that, because of the present attitude of the federal government, the American merchant marine today is being steered along a course to disaster. If we hope to preserve the American merchant marine as a useful and effective national asset, we must come to grips with its problems without further delay. Conditions have been allowed to deteriorate to such an extent that now, Mr. President, you and you alone can rescue the American Merchant Marine from the arena of endless academic debate.

"We have endured patiently at least five years of extensive study of the ills of the American Merchant Marine by various groups sponsored by the Executive. Each group has published its respective recommendations. None have been disposed of, either through Congressional or Administrative action. To the contrary, each and every study has served only to provide additional material for debate over alternative courses of action which may be taken to revitalize the industry. With more than 80% of our present merchant fleet reaching the end of its economic life within the next five years, we can no longer afford further pursuit of this dilatory and most unprofitable course.

"We had hoped that the 'new' maritime policy which you promised in your State of the Union Message in January 1965 would resolve this conflict. However, more than sixteen months have now elapsed, and we still have no new maritime policy. Instead, we have two additional and conflicting reports on what should be done. We have received also a bill to create a new Department of Transportation, in which the Maritime Administration will be submerged much in the same manner it now is within the Department of Commerce. None of these events has served to abate the conflict. Rather they have served to increase its severity, raising further doubt over the role of the government in maritime affairs and the future course of the American Merchant Marine.

"So confused has this matter become that today we are unable even to get agreement on the existing condition of the merchant marine, much less on a new policy. We have, for example, the Maritime Administrator stating that, and I quote: 'Our present fleet is, for the most part, physically obsolete.' The Deputy Maritime Administrator states, and I quote: '. . . I, for one, fail to find that our merchant marine is in a disastrous situation.' Finally, we have the Secretary of Defense, to whom a considerable amount of responsibility for the industry appears to have been abdicated contrary to existing law, stating that the American Merchant Marine is 'adequate.' Yet high-ranking professional Naval officers frequently have stated that it is *not* adequate.

"Mr. President, this current confusion is the combined leftist forces, called on the 77-year-old Gen. de Gaulle to step down and call off the June 16 referendum he has scheduled as a vote of confidence. Mr. Mitterand threw his hat in the ring as a successor, heading a "popular front" government including the communists.

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This, Mr. President, is the equivalent of ending new merchant construction for at least a full year, perhaps longer. This step was apparently taken within the Administration without prior consultation with responsible Congressional leaders of your own Party. You can, I am sure, appreciate my shock, not only at the substantive suggestion but at being advised thereof by the press.

Last fall, Mr. President, you indicated to me and others of the House and Senate your desire to move forward with an improved modernized merchant marine in light of its present decrepit state. You recognized maritime industry's vital trade and defense role which will continue to be demanded of it and which demands it has always met in the past.

That need continues at this very moment but no progress is as yet in sight. Instead, we are treated to a few examples of lack of concern—perhaps even worse.

In these critical times, it is essential that positive and constructive declarations on our merchant marine come from you as our national leader. This is a pressing need. We in Congress can then seek to legislate your maritime wishes. We must not, however, be placed in a position of being both slighted and ignored. The Administration's spokesman at the departmental level must not be the head of an agency who has been denied this authority by the Congress itself.

Hopefully, it is not already too late, but I fear only you can right the neglect and wrong our merchant marine has felt for too many years.

Sincerely,
EDWARD A. GARMATZ,
Chairman.

AN OPEN LETTER TO L. B. J. ON MARITIME DAY

For more than a year now, I have been prodding agencies of the Executive, attempting to stir them into taking constructive action on the problems of the American Merchant Marine. I have made public speeches. I have spoken on the floor of the House. I have appeared before Congressional Committees. I have communicated with the Maritime Administrator, the Under-Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, the Secretary of Commerce, various members of the Department of Defense, and yes, even the Secretary of Defense himself. I stand before you this evening, feeling like a 20th Century Paul Revere whose cries of alarm have fallen upon deaf ears.

Let us not, therefore, delude ourselves any further. You know and I know there is but one man today who can remedy the current inadequacies of the government's role in maritime affairs. That one man is the President of the United States. For no matter how arduously Congress may labor to bring about a constructive maritime program, success or failure is wholly dependent upon Executive implementation. Therefore, this evening I will make my presentation to you in the form of an open letter to the President of the United States.

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It seems appropriate that, since you have set aside this day, May 23, 1966, for the 34th annual celebration of National Maritime Day, I should address you on this occasion, expressing my sincere and profound personal concern over the ever-deepening crisis developing in the American Merchant Marine. I unfortunately find little cause for celebration on this festive occasion, since it is my personal belief as a private citizen, as a Naval officer, and as a Member of Congress that, because of the present attitude of the federal government, the American merchant marine today is being steered along a course to disaster. If we hope to preserve the American merchant marine as a useful and effective national asset, we must come to grips with its problems without further delay. Conditions have been allowed to deteriorate to such an extent that now, Mr. President, you and you alone can rescue the American Merchant Marine from the arena of endless academic debate.

"We have endured patiently at least five years of extensive study of the ills of the American Merchant Marine by various groups sponsored by the Executive. Each group has published its respective recommendations. None have been disposed of, either through Congressional or Administrative action. To the contrary, each and every study has served only to provide additional material for debate over alternative courses of action which may be taken to revitalize the industry. With more than 80% of our present merchant fleet reaching the end of its economic life within the next five years, we can no longer afford further pursuit of this dilatory and most unprofitable course.

"We had hoped that the 'new' maritime policy which you promised in your State of the Union Message in January 1965 would resolve this conflict. However, more than sixteen months have now elapsed, and we still have no new maritime policy. Instead, we have two additional and conflicting reports on what should be done. We have received also a bill to create a new Department of Transportation, in which the Maritime Administration will be submerged much in the same manner it now is within the Department of Commerce. None of these events has served to abate the conflict. Rather they have served to increase its severity, raising further doubt over the role of the government in maritime affairs and the future course of the American Merchant Marine.

"So confused has this matter become that today we are unable even to get agreement on the existing condition of the merchant marine, much less on a new policy. We have, for example, the Maritime Administrator stating that, and I quote: 'Our present fleet is, for the most part, physically obsolete.' The Deputy Maritime Administrator states, and I quote: '. . . I, for one, fail to find that our merchant marine is in a disastrous situation.' Finally, we have the Secretary of Defense, to whom a considerable amount of responsibility for the industry appears to have been abdicated contrary to existing law, stating that the American Merchant Marine is 'adequate.' Yet high-ranking professional Naval officers frequently have stated that it is *not* adequate.

"Mr. President, this current confusion is simply a manifestation of my worst fears entertained in 1961 when the Maritime Administration was placed within the Department of Commerce. In a word, we are bankrupt—bankrupt in federal maritime leadership; and because of it we find ourselves in this present deplorable state of affairs. Only you, Mr. President, can bring some semblance of order out of this chaos.

"I respectfully suggest that there are answers to the current problems facing the American Merchant Marine. The situation is not incapable of solution, but we must get on with a realistic ship construction program.

"In your proclamation setting aside this day as National Maritime Day, you stated that, and I quote: '. . . we will continue to need ships—fast, modern descendants of the famous "Clippers"—to carry our products to the far corners of the earth.' I fear that under existing conditions these ships will never be constructed. The subsidized ship replacement program today is more than 90 ships behind schedule. Yet the Congress has before it your budget request for fiscal year 1967, which will allow the construction of only 9 to 11 ships. I respectfully suggest that this level of federal expenditures for ship construction is totally inadequate. We are, for example, scrapping ships from our National Defense Reserve Fleet at ten times the rate of construction provided for under this current request.

"I believe you will find upon examination of budget requests over the last several years that the allocation of our national resources to maritime affairs is becoming progressively smaller, while the problems of the industry are getting progressively larger and larger. Even compared with last year's inadequate federal budget for ship construction, this year's request represents a substantial reduction, a cut of about one-third in both dollars and numbers of ships. It is one-half the amount of federal funds requested for ship construction in fiscal 1959 at a time when the total federal budget was only about 60% of that being requested today. Clearly, this is indicative of a shocking de-emphasis of the role of the federal government in maritime affairs.

"This budgetary privation can have but one inevitable result, and that is to postpone to some future date the time when we shall have to allocate a substantially greater amount of federal funds to overcome this ever-mounting deficit. A realistic and ongoing subsidized ship replacement program may require that the current level of federal expenditures in ship construction be doubled or even tripled above current levels.

"You also stated in your Maritime Day proclamation that, quote: '. . . we will continue to need ships . . . [to] return with the raw materials essential to our national prosperity,' and to transport, quote: '. . . surplus commodities to many of the underdeveloped countries.' Unless we take prompt and effective action, we will not have the necessary ships to accomplish either of these aims.

"Bulk trade represents approximately 80% of our total water-borne commerce, yet today American-flag ships engaged in this trade carry less than 5%. So deficient have we become in this type of ship capability that I have serious doubts whether we have sufficient American-flag ships today to carry even 25% of this year's aid cargoes referred to in your proclamation, much less the statutory requirement of 50%.

"We must put to sea a competitive fleet of bulk carriers, and we must set out to do this now. Too long has this segment of the maritime industry been made to wait, hat in hand, for the perfection of an administrative program under existing statutory authority. The only realistic course of action now open to us is to follow the example set by Mr. Truman in 1950 and use the provisions of Title VII of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Under this Title, these ships can be constructed for the government's account, placed under charter for operation, and ultimately sold by competitive bids to American-flag operators. It is to my mind the only plausible course left to inaugurate a meaningful program to correct in a reasonable time an alarming gap in national capability.

"Non-subsidized American-flag operators must be provided also the ability to accumulate funds for the construction of future replacement ships. This can be accomplished by the simple expedient of amending the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, and extending to these operators the same privilege now afforded subsidized operators of depositing earnings into tax-deferred reserve funds. Several bills now are pending before the Congress to accomplish this end. Successful enactment, however, is greatly dependent upon a change in attitude in those agencies of the Executive which have opposed similar measures in the past.

"Significant benefits would flow directly from a ship construction program of this magnitude. First, it would represent a commitment by the government to live up to its responsibilities to the American Merchant Marine. This, in turn, would restore some measure of confidence in the future, which would bring about the necessary climate to inject stability into maritime labor relations and permit both management and labor to make maximum contributions to long-range programs to improve productivity and efficiency.

"There also would be a more profitable investment of the taxpayer's dollar in the form of more ships for dollars invested. This could be accomplished through multiple ship construction providing a potential saving of about one-half million dollars per ship. Combined with some degree of standardization in vessel design this potential cost saving might even be doubled.

"Our National Defense Reserve Fleet also would benefit from this program. Presently, through a combination of apparent neglect and natural deterioration, the responsive capability of this fleet is today severely limited. We now are paying the price for our folly in permitting this to come to pass. The average reactivation cost to prepare these ships for service in Viet Nam is running about $1½ million each. Five years from now, the cost will be astronomical, and it is doubtful even then whether we will be able to obtain the caliber of ships required to meet our national needs. An effective ship construction program would result in the opportunity to place in our Reserve Fleet some of the better traded-in vessels. With adequate preservation and a periodic ship repair program, we could be assured of future availability of the reserve shipping capacity which our nation requires.

"I would contemplate, of course, that the construction of these ships would be accomplished in American shipyards. I sharply disagree with your Maritime Administrator, who has said repeatedly that, and I qoute: 'We may very well end up sinking our fleet in the name of preserving our shipyards.' The truth of the matter is that in recent years we have not held forth the promise to American shipyards of a ship construction program of sufficient magnitude to supply any real incentive. We should, at the very least, provide them with an opportunity to meet this challenge and not close the door prematurely in their face. Moreover, in light of the current position of our balance-of-payments and the drain upon our gold reserves, it is to me totally inconsistent to, on the one hand, request American business to reduce expenditures abroad, and at the same time have an officer of the Executive promote, both here and abroad, the construction of American ships in foreign yards.

"Mr. President, I recognize that the suggested programs will not be without increased cost to the government. However, we cannot afford to continue this shopping around in the bargain-basement. Soviet Russia has recognized this fact and is, even today, spending hard currency to build up her maritime power. It is incongruous to me that we should become so preoccupied in our competition with communist nations in other areas, yet totally ignore this direct challenge for control of the seas.

"Your Maritime Administrator has stated before our Committee that the reason such programs have not already been inaugurated is because there is, and I quote: 'No money.' I, for one, know of no request that has been made in recent years for additional money from the Congress for merchant ship construction. I cannot believe a nation which is approaching a Gross National Product exceeding $700 billion cannot afford to underwrite the cost of a reasonable promotional program for a strong American Merchant Marine. To the contrary, from the standpoint of national security, I would think that we cannot help but face up to this cost.

"This is not merely a matter of budget cost, but rather a question of what the country receives in return for its tax dollar. If, for example, we can afford to spend $5 billion a year in space efforts without any assurance whatsoever of a return on our investment, then the expenditure of one-tenth of that amount in the construction of a modern merchant marine holding forth the promise of a tangible return is equally deserving of support. I would further venture to say that an investment in the maritime industry would withstand any cost-benefit ratio test. As a matter of fact, your own Maritime Administrator has himself noted, and I quote: '. . . there are substantial domestic economic benefits from the merchant marine. The maritime industry, including the merchant portion of the shipbuilding industry, generates about $1.5 billion in Gross National Products and pays about $75 million in federal and local taxes. In addition, the 100,000 maritime employees pay about $80 million in personal income taxes. The provision of shipping services by U.S.-flag ships conserves about $800 million of our dollar exchange each year, thus aiding our balance of payments position.'

"I would like to bring to your attention also, Mr. President, the fact that the funds needed to finance such a maritime promotional program need not constitute wholly additional expenditures by the government. The Department of Defense is proposing to construct from 20 to 40 Fast Deployment Logistics ships at a cost of $40 million each. This represents a potential expenditure of between $800 million and $1.5 billion. Under this proposal, the federal government would bear the total cost of both constructing and manning these ships. Frankly, I have very grave doubts that this would constitute an efficient use of either capital or of manpower, especially when a more profitable investment mechanism is available.

"Your Secretary of Defense has repeatedly stated that he is interested in 'getting more back for the buck.' If this be so, then I would respectfully suggest that you have him explore the possibility of investing these federal funds under the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, or in the proposal currently being formulated by the Committee of American Steamship Lines. Under either approach, the government would not bear the total cost but rather would share the cost with private industry. Certainly, such proposals warrant serious consideration if only for the fact that they hold forth the promise of a greater return from the investment of the taxpayer's dollar.

"Mr. President, my proposals are neither revolutionary nor are they inclusive of all the actions which might be taken to cure our maritime ills. They would, however, constitute a constructive step toward ending the current impasse. They would transpose words into deeds, assuring the continuation of what you yourself referred to in your proclamation as the '. . . long tradition of essential service to the American economy and defense,' by the American merchant marine. All we require is your support, and I am sure most members of Congress, both of your Party and of mine, would welcome the chance to move our merchant marine forward.

"To sum up—I suggest that we immediately:

"(1) Double our present ship replacement program, to head off impending block obsolescence in the liner fleet;

"(2) Inaugurate a government ship construction program under Title VII of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, and provide new tax deferments to overcome our alarming deficiency in bulk carriers;

"(3) Reaffirm the government's role in maritime affairs and restore confidence to the industry;

"(4) Establish a more favorable climate in maritime labor relations, setting the stage for technological advances in ship design and providing career incentive to American maritime personnel; and

"(5) Up-grade our National Defense Reserve Fleet, and thereby assure its continued availability in times of national emergency.

"Mr. President, I recognize that you are preoccupied with many pressing matters such as our commitment in Viet Nam. But, let me remind you that the prosecution of that limited war in Southeast Asia would not be possible without the American Merchant Marine. For, as you yourself have said, and I quote: '. . . our ships are necessary to insure continuous supply of the military material that helps to prevent or defeat aggression by any country.' I fear that the day is not too far off when you will no longer be able to rely upon the American Merchant Marine to respond to such demands. We may, in fact, see just how overtaxed our shipping capability is if the current British seamen's strike continues for any appreciable period of time. For so dependent have we become upon the shipping capacity of foreign nations that we would be sorely pressed if at any time these services were to be denied to us.

"In conclusion, let me call to your attention the theme for this National Maritime Day of 1966—'American Ships Chart America's Future.' If our country's future does sail with American ships, then we urgently need a strong and competent navigator, and I respectfully request, sir, that you take hold of this situation, reconcile the conflict within the government, and get us back on course. You and only you, Mr. President, can do it."

HOUSE SCHOLAR'S GALLERY: BRIEF STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF HOUSE RESOLUTION 587

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, materials presented in college and university government courses all too often pass over lightly the functions of the Congress in our political system. As a result, many students neither have an opportunity to understand fully—or appreciate properly—the workings of the House and the Senate. In short, through no fault of their teachers, they do not always get an accurate picture of the critically important role of the elected legislature.

In recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in Congress among scholars who spend long periods of time observing at firsthand the activities of Members, the committees, congressional party organizations and leadership, and floor action. A large number of textbooks and journal articles have been produced by such scholars in the past decade, and these have provided substantially improved descriptions of congressional organization and operation, at the same time focusing attention on the value of the freely elected legislature in a democratic society.

I know that many of my colleagues are familiar with the works of some of these outstanding political scientists—Richard Fenno at Rochester, Robert Peabody of Johns Hopkins, Nelson Polsby at the University of California, Charles Jones at the University of Arizona, John Wahlke and Samuel Patterson of the University of Iowa, Lewis Froman at the University of California at Irvine, Randall Ripley and James Robinson of Ohio State, to name but a few.

I also know that most Members have recognized the importance to the Congress of the work of these scholarly observers and have given generously of their time for interviews, have made arrangements for placement of interns, and have assisted scholars in gaining access to documentary materials they require. But in at least one area, we have been remiss.

Mr. Speaker, I refer to the lack of facilities for scholars in the gallery, facilities which are essential if students of the House are to gain adequate insights into the operation of the rules and the meaning of activity on the House floor.

In House Resolution 578 I propose to make such facilities available, by setting aside a portion of the House gallery for the use of scholars. At present, those who wish to observe floor action systematically do so from the sections open to the general public, subject to the rules that apply there. This means that scholars cannot take notes—a privilege which we have long since extended to representatives of the press—and it also means that, during the peak tourist season, scholars are rotated out of the gallery after only a few minutes.

House Resolution 578 is designed to give our scholars an opportunity to study the House at work, an opportunity that I submit will pay off in the preparation of even more adequate books and articles about the Congress—and, eventually, in improved understanding of and appreciation for the legislative process among succeeding generations of students.

Moreover, the provisions of this resolution will provide for a closer liaison between the Congress and the academic community. We need to develop and maintain contacts with scholars, to remain abreast of the new techniques and methods of scholarship, to tap the expertise of the intellectual community so that we can better equip ourselves for the task of securing—and processing—the vast quantities of information we require to do our jobs.

The resolution which I am commending to your attention today is simple and straightforward. No authorization of expenditure, no use of tax money, is envisioned under its terms. This resolution simply sets aside 12 seats in a portion of the House gallery for the use of scholars. Supervision of this House scholar's gallery will be maintained by a standing committee of scholars, chosen by—and subject to the direction and control—of the Speaker. The relevant section of the resolution states:

> (b) The supervision of the portion of the gallery of the House of Representatives set aside under this clause for scholars shall be vested in a standing committee of scholars which shall be selected by the Speaker, in consultation with the American Political Science Association, and which shall be subject to his direction and control.

To limit use of the scholar's gallery to those who are clearly interested in the legislative process, the resolution provides the following guidelines:

> (c) For purposes of this clause, the term "scholar" means a scholar who is actively engaged in a research project that includes a study of the House of Representatives as an integral and substantial part of the project, and who is (1) a full-time faculty member of an accredited institution of higher learning, (2) pursuing independent postdoctoral research, or (3) preparing a doctoral dissertation to be submitted to an accredited institution.

While House Resolution 578 is only a first step toward our development of new contacts with the academic community, I am convinced it is an important step. Initially, the Standing Committee of Scholars will be occupied with supervision of the gallery and accreditation of scholars to it, but eventually I believe that this committee can serve as a clearinghouse, where Members of this House can go for information and advice as to the availability of experts they wish to consult in various fields.

Mr. Speaker, since I first introduced this resolution, on June 15, 1967, I have received letters from some of the Nation's outstanding students of Congress; all who have contacted me have expressed enthusiastic support for my proposal for a House scholar's gallery, and I would like to include some of their letters in my remarks at this point:

The Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md., February 13, 1968.

Hon. Fred Schwengel,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Representative Schwengel: I write to support H. Res. 578 and companion resolutions which would set aside twelve seats in the gallery of the House of Representatives for scholars of Congress. These seats would greatly assist students of the House of Representatives in their observation and assessment of the roles of the members and the organization, operations and policy outcomes. The role of Congress and its relationships to other governmental agencies and persons are frequently misunderstood. Better informed research and commentary about Congress and the way it works will contribute substantially to the preservation and improvement of our representative institutions.

Under the present rules of the House and Senate, sustained observation and note-taking are all but prohibited. Students of Congress share the public galleries with tourists and other interested citizens. On momentous occasions such as the opening of Congress, floor fights over the rules, and critical votes on important legislation, it is all but impossible to obtain admission. In the public galleries, particularly on the Senate side, the observer may be rotated out after fifteen minutes of viewing. No note-taking is allowed, except to members of the press in their press galleries. The political scientist must wait until he leaves the gallery before he records his impressions. Unlike the reporter, the scholar does not benefit from Senators who climb upstairs to the press gallery for "backgrounders," nor can he conveniently buttonhole members in the Speaker's lobby, just off the floor of the House of Representatives. Thus, his job of observation, interviewing, recording, and analysis is further complicated. The establishment of a scholar's gallery would help to overcome a number of these limitations.

H. Res. 578 is thoughtfully conceived and skillfully drafted. Under its provisions the Speaker of the House of Representatives would prescribe the regulations. Supervision of the portion of the gallery set aside would be vested in a standing committee of scholars selected by the Speaker in consultation with the American Political Science Association. Scholars would be limited to those persons engaged in the study of the House of Representatives who are full-time faculty members of accredited institutions of higher learning, those pursuing independent postdoctoral research, or graduate students preparing doctoral dissertations.

Alternatively, perhaps a portion of the press gallery, itself, could be open to professional scholars. This would enhance the mutually profitable interaction between journalists and political scientists which has been characteristic of such endeavors as the American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship program.

Please let me know if I can be of further assistance in securing the passage of this resolution.

Sincerely,

ROBERT L. PEABODY,
Associate Director, the American Political Science Association Study of Congress.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
Columbus, Ohio, January 19, 1968.

Hon. FRED SCHWENGEL,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCHWENGEL: I am heartily in accord with both the general purposes and the specific provisions of H. Res. 578, which would create a twelve-seat gallery for scholars studying the House of Representatives.

I have spent most of the last five years studying the House, particularly the activities of the party leaders in it. It was extremely frustrating, when observing an important floor debate, to be rotated out of the gallery with the tourists and miss much of the activity while waiting in line for another seat. Your proposal would prevent such frustrations and would guarantee a continuity of observation that, in the long run, should help allow political scientists and other scholars to write more knowingly and intelligently about the House.

You have my best wishes and full support as you endeavor to amend Rule XXXIV by your resolution.

Sincerely,

RANDALL B. RIPLEY,
Associate Professor.

Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that we can act on House Resolution 578 this session. The costs of doing so are nil; the benefits to the Congress, the academic community and the public generally are potentially very substantial.

A copy of the resolution follows:

H. RES. 578

Whereas freely elected legislatures are vitally important in maintaining the values, the institutions, and the processes of our democratic society;

Whereas scholars in the past decade have become increasingly interested in the organization, the operation, and the functions of the Congress of the United States;

Whereas publication of scholarly research contributes substantially to teaching and to public understanding of and appreciation for the role of the Congress in the American system: Therefore be it

Resolved, That rule XXXIV of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"4. (a) Such portion of the gallery of the House of Representatives as may be necessary to accommodate up to twelve scholars shall be set aside for their use, and such scholars shall be admitted thereto under such regulations as the Speaker may from time to time prescribe.

"(b) The supervision of the portion of the gallery of the House of Representatives set aside under this clause for scholars shall be vested in a standing committee of scholars which shall be selected by the Speaker, in consultation with the American Political Science Association, and which shall be subject to his direction and control.

"(c) For purposes of this clause, the term 'scholar' means a scholar who is actively engaged in a research project that includes a study of the House of Representatives as an integral and substantial part of the project, and who is (1) a full-time faculty member of an accredited institution of higher learning, (2) pursuing independent postdoctoral research, or (3) preparing a doctoral dissertation to be submitted to an accredited institution of higher learning."

CRISIS IN WORLD STRATEGY: EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF U.S. GOVERNMENT, IGNORING THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CONGRESS, SUPPORTS U.N. RESOLUTION ESCALATING WAR AGAINST RHODESIA

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, testifying before a joint meeting of the Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate on May 3, 1951, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur made this significant statement:

> If the United States doesn't bring the Korean War to a decisive and victorious end, she will have to accept all of the consequences of a disastrous defeat. (*Testimony of General Douglas MacArthur*, May 3–5, 1951, Hour-Glass Publishers, Post Office Box 443, River Station, Paterson, New Jersey, 07524, p. 55.)

Prior to his testimony, which should be studied by every Member of the Congress, General MacArthur, when addressing a joint meeting of the Congress, emphasized these key points: First, that the Communist threat is a global one; second, that its advance in one sector threatens the destruction of every other sector; and third, that we cannot appease or otherwise surrender to communism in Asia without undermining our efforts to halt its advance in Europe.

Our leaders, unfortunately, failed to follow his advice with consequences clearly foreseen. In the Western Hemisphere, we have an activist Soviet satellite in Cuba almost in swimming distance from the United States and, aided and abetted by elements within the executive branch of our own Government, a movement that would inevitably give control over the strategic Panama Canal to Communist power.

In the Far East, we are fighting another no-win war in Vietnam and are threatened with a renewal of that unfinished Korean war.

In the Near East, the free world has lost control of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea route to the Indian Ocean; and Egypt's possession of this canal vividly shows the inability of a weak, backward nation to operate, maintain, and defend this great interoceanic waterway.

In strategic Southern Africa, the Government of the United States has participated in the harrassment of friendly little Rhodesia in compliance with requests from the United Nations Organization, which body, because of the large number of Negro African states in its membership, is invariably oriented against the United States; and of all things, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assisted by West Point faculty, has prepared a general staff type of war plan for waging war against South Africa and the overthrow of its government. At the least, the Carnegie Endowment estimates that between 19,000 and 30,000 of the intervening forces would be killed and wounded. "Apartheid and United Nations Collective Measures," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, U.N. Plaza at 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017, page 150. See my remarks, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 8, page 10432; volume 113, part 8, page 10545; volume 113, part 10, page 13140.

Mr. Speaker, as in Korea and Vietnam, the Carnegie Endowment's estimate of casualties for the planned aggression against South Africa would undoubtedly be our own sons. Certainly, the time has long since passed when the Congress should investigate fully what has been going on in the executive branch and the Carnegie Endowment as regards the conduct of U.S. foreign policy, especially as it relates to Southern Africa.

What could possibly be a reasonable explanation for the adoption of African policies that are hostile to the best interests of the United States and of Western civilization itself?

Can it be that vote-seeking politicians in our Government are appeasing the extremist demands of some 40 Negro African governments in order to appeal to Negro voting blocs in the large cities of the United States? There can be no other valid explanation for the executive branch, ignoring the Constitution of our country and the Congress, to commit our country to foreign policies of such anti-white racist character.

In these general connections, I would invite attention to a statement of mine in the House of Representatives: "Crisis in World Strategy: An Appraisal" in the daily RECORD of April 18, 1967, page A1879. Also for those seeking the basic causes of what has been transpiring throughout the world, I would invite attention to Lothrop Stoddard's prophetic 1923 book, "The Revolt Against Civilization," recently reprinted in paper back edition by the Freeland Products Co., 3233 Conti Street, New Orleans, La. 70119. In this book, written soon after the Russian Revolution of 1917, Stoddard exposes the nature of the destructive forces in communism, which to the executive branch of our Government are nonexistent.

The latest developments as regards Southern Africa are a highly pertinent recent statement by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and two notable broadcasts by Fulton Lewis III.

In the first, former Secretary Acheson reveals that the United States has become a member of the "international conspiracy hatched by Great Britain to destroy Rhodesia. Moreover, the current situation in Africa is also used to augment the dangerous race tensions now prevalent in the United States. The full text of Mr. Acheson's speech before a section of the American Bar Association will be found at the conclusion of my remarks.

In the other two, Fulton Lewis admirably summarizes the problem facing Rhodesia as a result of the indicated action of the United Nations, exposes the hypocrisy in the executive branch of our Government in supporting the U.N. resolution, and suggests what should be done in the way of protests by our citizens to meet the current situation.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Constitution of the United States specifically prescribes that only the Congress can declare war, the recent resolution by the United Nations declares that all of its members, including the United States, are bound to undertake an aggressive war against Rhodesia, if that step is deemed necessary by the United Nations.

Arthur Goldberg, the administration's chosen representative to the United Nations, lent his authoritative voice in unqualified support of the United Nations policy in dealing with Rhodesia, which country seeks independence from Colonialism and a despotic mother country just as our American forebearers sought and achieved our independence from the British Crown. Rhodesia presents no threat to world security. The blatant charges of the U.N. declaration is utterly without foundation. It is merely serving as a backdoor to involve the United States in an aggressive war with South Africa—the Communist desired second front.

Thus, through our U.N. membership we are striving to help a feeble and rapidly deteriorating British Socialist government in getting its African chestnuts out of the fire. At the same time Great Britain adds to the frightful toll of American youth in the Vietnam war by openly and seemingly with the assent of our executive branch, joins the Soviet in supplying the brutal forces of communism with munitions and other war materials to sustain Red forces now killing and wounding our soldiers and sailors in Southeast Asia.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I repeat what I previously stated. The time is long past when the Congress must conduct a full and complete inquiry into the conduct of our foreign policy. This should include an investigation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the extent of United Nations policies and dictates superceding lawful delegated authority in our U.S. Government.

The previously indicated papers are quoted as parts of my remarks:

[From the Top of the News with Fulton Lewis III, week of May 27–May 31, 1968]

(Thursday, May 30, 1968, Washington, D.C.)

EXTREME UN COUNCIL VOTE

The United Nations Security Council voted unanimously last night to impose total economic sanctions against the rebellious African nation of Rhodesia. It was the most sweeping decision of its kind in the history of the world organization. Under the adopted resolution; the UN ordered an end to all exports and imports to and from Rhodesia with the exception of medical supplies, books and news and educational materials. In addition, it imposed a ban on all airline service to or from the country, and prohibited any further monetary payments to, or investments in, Rhodesia by outsiders, including payments which may be owed that nation.

The action was far more severe than a previous step taken by the Security Council in December of 1966. The earlier sanctions were selective, and were aimed at trying to cripple and ultimately topple Rhodesia's government by curtailing the country's key exports. The new measure is designed to stop all trade and it goes so far as to prohibit world nations from even maintaining diplomatic or travel communications with the African country.

As expected, U.S. Ambassador *Arthur Goldberg* not only voted for the resolution but offered words of praise for it. He said it is consistent with American policy and expressed the hope that the new UN action will hasten the advent of a representative government in Rhodesia.

Today, I spoke with representatives of the Rhodesian government of *Ian Smith*. They conceded that the new and stiffer sanctions will undoubtedly cause more problems in their country, but none which cannot be overcome. In short, the spokesmen expressed their determination that Rhodesia will survive the new onslaught just as it survived the old.

There are several aspects of the latest UN action which justify close examination. The first, and perhaps the most important, is that again the Security Council has conducted its trial and decreed its judgment without the defendant having an opportunity to speak in his own behalf. Article 32 of the United Nations Charter provides that "any state which is not a member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute." There has been no such invitation in the case of Rhodesia, even though Prime Minister Ian Smith has appealed on a number of occasions for an opportunity to present his defense. The ruling by Secretary General *U Thant* was that the legal status of Rhodesia was that of a non-self government territory of Great Britain and therefore the provisions of article 32 did not apply. If that is the Secretary-General's point of view, it raises two other important questions. Chapter I, Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the Charter provides unequivocally that the United Nations shall not intervene in matters which are within the internal jurisdiction of any nation. So if the Secretary General's position is that Rhodesia shall not be permitted to speak in its own defense since it is still a British territory, then last night's resolution is clearly illegal, since the United Nations is forbidden to interfere in a domestic British dispute.

A second question is one of consistency. Two years ago U Thant himself took the position that non-members should be invited to present their position before the UN when it is debating measures which might affect them in some way. His statement on that occasion was with reference to Communist China, and the Secretary-General said: "Of course my attitude regarding Security Council involvement is guided by one single consideration: If the Security Council has to take any action on any dispute, the first prerequisite is that it must be in a position to hear both sides of the question. This is a must."

That professed doctrine of fair play was obviously intended to apply to a Communist nation, but not to Rhodesia. Unfortunately, the Johnson Administration has played along in this game of hypocrisy by denying Prime Minister Smith a visa which would have enabled him to accept a speaking engagement this spring at the *University of Virginia*. We, too, are apparently afraid to practice what we preach in the arena of free speech.

It is also interesting, I think, to take a close look at the Security Council membership itself, since it has acted as both the judge and jury in the case of Rhodesia. And remember, the crimes with which that African nation has been accused, and now found guilty, are that it has illegally declared its independence from the British Crown. It has not operated on a one-man, one-vote basis, and is a threat to world peace.

One of the Security Council judges was Great Britain which, itself, has been guilty of serious denial of rights to its citizens. In one of the more racist rulings to come out of London, the British government just this year decreed a ban on any further immigration of colored persons coming in from Kenya, where they had been denied a right to earn a living. More than a million coloreds of Asian, African and West Indian ancestry were denied entry, even though they were British citizens.

Another judge of Rhodesia last night was Algeria, which operates under a ruthless dictatorship. Still another was Ethiopia, which is, of course, a monarchy where the people have virtually no voice in governmental affairs. Another was India which continues to permit vicious persecution and denial of rights to millions of so-called "untouchables," people who, because of ancestry, are relegated to a permanent life of poverty and hunger. Still another judge was the Communist nation of Hungary which not only denies its citizens—all of them—the right to vote, but which just 12 years ago brutally suppressed an attempt by the people to claim their right to self-determination. Another judge was the Soviet Union, where the doctrine of "one-man, one-vote" is unheard of. Somehow, by the UN's strange set of standards, the Soviets are NOT considered to be a threat to world peace but Rhodesia is.

Another judge, of course, was the United States itself. It is true that we do operate on a so-called "one-man, one-vote" system, or at least we are supposed to under a recent decree of the Supreme Court. But, in all fairness, it is truly difficult for us to profess a complete lack of racial discrimination. The peculiar thing, and this may surprise you, is that for all of the bad things you may hear about Rhodesia there is a greater non-white representation in its government on a percentage and on a per-capita basis than there is right here in the United States.

The contention that Rhodesia is a threat to world peace is very obviously ridiculous. That country has never threatened anyone. Its only desire is to be left alone. The UN's suggestion that Rhodesia IS a threat is purely legalistic. That claim must be made before the Security Council can pass the resolutions that it has passed regarding Rhodesia. Chapter VII, Article 39, of the UN Charter provides: "The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security."

The Council was therefore forced to make the fantastic ruling regarding Rhodesia—that it is a threat to world peace—and in order to justify imposing its powers under the following sections.

Article 41 provides: "The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions and it may call upon the members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations." That, of course, is the Article that was invoked by the Council last night.

Let me read further, though, because IF Article 41 does not succeed in accomplishing its objective of toppling the Ian Smith government, the United Nations, and the United States, will be called upon to take the next step, which is outlined in Article 42:

"Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of members of the United Nations."

In short, Article 42 provides for the use of military force.

A number of members of our Congress in recent months have complained over the fact that the Administration has somehow gotten this nation involved in a series of commitments all over the world without Congressional approval. These complaints have been levelled specifically at the current problem of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. In the UN resolution which was adopted last night, we see the foundation for another possible Vietnam of the future. And here again the Johnson Administration has gotten the nation committed to a course of action which the Congress and indeed the American people may not want to take. I truly doubt if many Americans are interested in having their sons committed to battle as part of a United Nations army trying to overthrow the government of Rhodesia.

And yet that is a real possibility in view of last night's Security Council resolution, which the Johnson administration supported. On this Memorial Day, when we honor those sons and relatives who have already lost their lives on the world's battlefield, you might take a minute and write your Congressman to express your views on the prospects of still another war.

I'll discuss this issue further tomorrow evening because, as I have said on many previous broadcasts, this is a very, very serious question.

(Friday, May 31, 1968, Washington, D.C.)

RHODESIA DEFENDED BY DEAN ACHESON

There has still been no official reaction from Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith to Wednesday night's action by the United Nations Security Council ordering across-the-board sanctions against his country. There was a comment today, however, from South Africa's government. Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller reaffirmed South Africa's refusal to become involved in any anti-Rhodesian actions. That is important because, without South Africa's full cooperation, the latest UN sanctions are likely to be completely ineffective.

The basis of those sanctions, as I discussed last evening, is the Security Council's contention that Rhodesia is a "threat to world peace." That contention is rather imaginative, but it is sheer nonsense. Rhodesia has threatened no one. It has cautiously refrained from making any gestures which might be interpreted as aggressive. It has asked only to be left alone in peace to solve its own problems.

The sanctions resolution which was adopted was pressed by the government of Great Britain, which is angry—and perhaps understandably so. The Crown likes to have the privilege of doling out independence to its colonies at its own discretion, whenever it feels so moved. It resents Rhodesia's unilateral decision to withdraw from the Empire without permission just as much as it resented our own departure nearly 200 years ago. The Declarations of Independence by Thomas Jefferson and Ian Smith were both equally "illegal" insofar as British law is concerned. This no one denies. But since when does an act of internal dissent, or revolution, or, if you prefer, "civil disobedience," become a proper subject of international interference and punishment? Remember, according to the United Nation's reasoning, which is supported by the Johnson Administration, the current dispute between Great Britain and Rhodesia is strictly internal. It is a non-violent civil war. And yet, somehow, in this instance, we justify not only our own interference but the interference of the entire world against this drive for independence. Under this logic, I would remind you, had the United Nations been in existence two centuries ago, you and I would still be using pounds instead of dollars as currency. The world organization would have lashed out at the use of slaves on the American continent. It would have condemned the colonists' brutal treatment of the native Indians. It would have complained over the fact that the colonies had initiated a minority white control and that neither slaves nor Indians were permitted a voice in governmental affairs. In short, the Security Council would have branded the 13 American colonies a "threat to world peace," denied Jefferson an opportunity to speak in their defense, and then clamped down tight economic and travel sanctions against the colonists. If these failed, the UN would have escalated its action to include the use of military forces to help the British suppress the revolution.

We can all thank God that there was no United Nations, and no Lyndon Johnson or Arthur Goldberg, around when our forefathers were making their bid for freedom. It is saddening, however, today to see the American people standing by idly letting their government reach the unbelievable heights of hypocrisy of attempting to profess such innocence and self-righteousness as to actually persecute another people whose only crime is that they are doing precisely the same acts which were responsible for our own birth.

As I mentioned last evening, the only possible way the United Nations, under its Charter, could take the action it has taken against Rhodesia was to arbitrarily declare that country to be a "threat to world peace." That decision was made by a vote of the 15 members of the Security Council under the powers granted to it in Article 39. That is a necessary step before the Council could invoke the economic sanctions provided for in Article 41, or the actual military force called for under Article 42 of the Charter.

The defendant in this case was accused and found guilty of being "a threat to world peace" with no trial. He was not permitted to speak in his own defense, or even to be present at the procedures. And yet the sentence that was handed down was death by starvation, and if that doesn't work—death by a firing squad. That is the very best the Security Council could come up with in the way of justice and it is little wonder that the Soviet Union and Communist Hungary played along gleefully. That is the kind of "trial" they understand. The unbelievable thing is that our own representative, Ambassador Goldberg, participated to the hilt in these Star Chamber procedures. He not only did not walk out in disgust, but he supported every action that was taken. And those actions, I remind you again, could ultimately involve the use of United Nations troops, including American soldiers, in a war on the African continent.

This sort of thing can go on and on. If the United Nations, and the Johnson Administration, get by with this one, there is no telling what the future may hold. Rhodesia has been declared a threat to world peace. The only argument advanced to support this imaginative out preposterous contention is that white-controlled Rhodesia has incurred the wrath and anger of its black-controlled neighbors. The fact of the matter is that Zambia and Tanzania and Kenya and the other militant black nations in Africa are enraged at Rhodesia. Their fury, however, stems from envy. Rhodesia has been able to achieve the internal peace and prosperity which they have dreamed of, and instead of trying to copy Rhodesia's plan of progress, they have sought to destroy it and thus end the embarrassment to themselves. Through some strange logic, the United Nations has weighed this situation and has found Rhodesia to be the villain.

Pursuing this course, the Security Council might well decide that Israel is a threat to world peace, since it too is productive and prosperous and since it too has incurred the anger of its Arab neighbors. Further to the north, the Communist nations of Eastern Europe have only recently met in Moscow to consider their common contempt for the new government in neighboring Czechoslovakia. In Communist jargon, the new Czech regime has been branded deviationist, anti-democratic, illegal, and a threat to the Soviet empire. In view of the UN Security Council's action this week against Rhodesia, it would seem logical for the Soviet Union to resist the temptation to send troops and tanks into Czechoslovakia as it did to "reform" the deviationists in Hungary 12 years ago. Instead, Moscow could appeal to the Security Council to stop Czechoslovakia's breach of the peace. If it were consistent, the Johnson Administration, I imagine, would jump at the opportunity of supporting the Soviet resolution, to use United Nations economic sanctions, and perhaps even troops, to bring the rebel Czech regime in tow.

All of this sounds like fantasy, but it is consistent with the fantastic decree which was issued by the United Nations Security Council two nights ago. And speaking of consistency, I would expect to hear loud voices of protest from the Congress over this latest anti-Rhodesian action. Senators *Fulbright*, *McCarthy* and *Kennedy* and company have long criticized the Johnson Administration's failure to get Congressional approval of policies regarding war and peace. Well, in this case, the President has single-handedly authorized a commitment on the part of this nation which does constitute an act of warfare, and which could ultimately involve the use of American troops in battle.

Others on the left who have previously condemned U.S. involvement in the internal affairs of foreign nations like Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, I would expect to raise sharp protests now condemning this new interference on our part in an internal dispute between Britain and Rhodesia. Those who have spoken out against colonialism and imperialism on the part of Free World nations, I would expect to demand independence for the Rhodesian colony.

From conservatives, the protests should be even louder. For decades they have voiced a fear that the United Nations might ultimately be able to supersede our Constitution. Well, here is perfect proof that that, indeed, is the case. Article I, Section 8, paragraph 3 of the U.S. Constitution provides that Congress shall regulate all foreign trade. And yet, on January 5th, 1967, it was the President who issued an executive order forbidding Americans from engaging in trade with Rhodesia. He did so claiming the authority of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, which gives the President the power, "notwithstanding the provisions of any other law," to apply such sanctions as the Security Council may decree. These may involve the prohibition of economic relations between American citizens and any foreign nation, and may include the prohibition of travel, and any means of communication, with any country.

The same section of our Constitution provides that the Congress alone shall have the power to declare war, and yet here again it has been the President who has just this week authorized the commitment of this nation to an act by the UN Security Council which constitutes an act of war against Rhodesia, and which might well involve the use of American military forces in the not-too-distant future.

The Constitution and the Connally reservation which was intended to preserve this nation's autonomy are very obviously being ignored, and it appears that the power of the Executive is rapidly growing out of control in this nation. This fact was recognized a week ago today by a very prominent American. Former Secretary of State *Dean Acheson*, speaking before the American Bar Association's International Law Division here in Washington, made an eloquent statement. In view of the fact that it came from him, I think it deserves to be repeated.

"Those of whom I complain are not the peddlers of spurious panaceas of peace, not those who are overimpressed with the role of international law, but those who would impose upon states—in the name of law—their own subjective conceptions of justice. As is so often the case with the righteous, deeply convinced of the righteousness of their cause, their impulse is to snatch the knotted cord from the hand of God and deal out murderous blows. These blows are usually directed against the weak by the strong. This process also furnishes the figleaf of legal responsibility to cover otherwise naked aggression. Such support was given to the actions of the United Nations Security Council in calling for economic sanctions against Rhodesia and to the attacks on the World Court's decision dismissing the complaint in the Southwest Africa case.

". . . It will surprise some of my fellow citizens . . . to be told that the United States is today engaged in an international conspiracy instigated by Britain and blessed by the United Nations to overthrow the government of a country that has done us no harm and threatens no one. This is barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle. The charge that Britain brings against the Rhodesians is the one that George III once brought against Americans and sought unsuccessfully to enforce by arms. It is that the colonies felt it necessary, as Mr. Jefferson put it, "to dissolve the political bands which [had] connected them with another [people], and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitled them.'

". . . How fortunate were the American colonies in 1776 that there was no United Nations confronting them. I need hardly remind you that our Constitution had nothing to say about adult universal suffrage but did have a few pregnant paragraphs continuing the institution of slavery."

Dean Acheson concluded his comments with these few sentences: "Contemplating the possibilities, I am moved to salute the shade of Senator Tom Connally and thank him for his reservation which, at the time, I regretted, providing that our acceptance of the World Court's jurisdiction should not apply to disputes with regard to matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States, and, he added, as determined by the United States. One of the troubles of the troubled age in which we live is that too many people are trying to achieve harmony of interest, by forcing everyone to harmonize with them. Conscience used to be an inner voice of self-discipline. Now it is a clarion urge to discipline others. It took a long time to develop the international precept that peace would be furthered by governments having respect for each other's autonomy. That should apply to them acting in concert. And this is the notion embedded in Paragraph 7, of Article 2, of the United Nations Charter. Whatever mistakes they have otherwise made, the draftsmen of the Charter at least did not intend to open the way to endless conflict through unbridled impulses to reform. The new romantic impulse is to overthrow that wise inhibition in favor of a compulsion to re-shape the world to fit all sorts of shared subjectivities. Another thought also occurs. Perhaps if the meek are to inherit the earth they might consider adding a clause to the litany. It could follow the passage, 'From all blindness of heart, from pride, vain glory and hypocrisy, from envy, hatred and malice and all uncharitableness,' and would add, 'and from the United Nations Charter as distorted by professors of international law, Good Lord, deliver us.' "

So spoke Dean Acheson, the former Secretary of State, last week. May I add my own "Amen."

Address to the International and Comparative Law Section of the American Bar Association by the Honorable Dean Acheson, Former U.S. Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., May 24, 1968

This is not the first time that I have undertaken to do what Mr. Truman used to call "stir up the animals" with the International Bar. Five years ago I was bold enough to scold a meeting of this sort about what I call the arrogance that international law seems to instill into its addicts. To be sure, law in general instills this in lawyers in general. One can be tolerantly amused at the veneration which craftsmen in any craft have for the materials of their craft. The cobbler murmurs that there is nothing like leather, but he is too modest to envision as man's highest earthly condition the Rule of Leather. Yet the lawyer does not blush to proclaim it to be the Rule of Law. As he describes it, the rule of law seems to be governance by disembodied principle without the intervention of human hand or voice. Even his own and not unimportant role at the bar and on the bench, the lawyer turns into the mere voice of the oracle inspired by the Law Principle itself. This miracle finds its most mystical expression in the doctrine of Natural Law which makes it the efflux of the universe flowing forth from the Godhead itself. The disciple of Natural Law seemed to Justice Holmes like the knight of romance to whom it was not enough that you agreed that his lady was a very nice girl. If you did not admit that she was the best that God ever made or could ever make, you must fight. Ordinary lawyers, who work around the temple of Apollo feeding the oracle questions, most of which are loaded, arguing with it and among themselves, "cussing" its pronouncements that go against them, take a more earthy view of law. When a former Justice (as he was then) Charles Evans Hughes, bluntly and perhaps too delphically said that the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is, the lawyers were not too shocked, although they pretended that they were.

Those who devote themselves to international relations in foreign offices at what is disparagingly called "the working level" are understandably and wisely reticent about the role of law. This, however, is not true of academicians who write about it and who teach it. Undeterred by the discipline of adversary procedure or by the test of judgment in contested application, motivated by the highest principles and often spurred by a gift of imaginative rhetoric, some of them recall Disraeli's description of Gladstone as "intoxicated by the exuberance of his own verbosity". I hasten to add that it was the Bar Association *en masse* and not the International and Comparative Law Section of it that voiced the most elusive of all slogans "World peace through world law."

Those of whom I complain are not the peddlers of spurious panaceas for peace, not those who are overimpressed with the role of international law, but those who would impose upon states in the name of law their own subjective conceptions of justice. As is so often the case with the righteous, deeply convinced of the righteousness of their cause, their impulse is to "snatch the knotted cord from the hand of God and deal out murderous blows." These blows are usually directed against the weak by suborning the subjectivities of the strong. This process also furnishes the figleaf of legal respectability to cover otherwise naked aggression.

Such support was given to the actions of the United Nations Security Council in calling for economic sanctions against Rhodesia and to the attacks on the World Court's decision dismissing the complaint in the Southwest Africa case. The viciousness of substituting subjective conceptions of justice for law in these instances is that in both cases it provides means for collective aggression, in both degrades international adjudication, and in both departs from the basic conception of international law. This is that it is inter *national*, between sovereign states, based upon accepted practices and agreements of sovereigns. In this latter respect it differs basically from the law taught by the international lawyers' other academic colleagues. To strike at this conception of agreed limitations on sovereignty is to strike at confidence in judicial honesty and restraint, which alone can lead to the slow development of international law from its primitive state.

It will surprise some of my fellow citizens, though hardly anybody here, to be told that the United States is today engaged in an international conspiracy, instigated by Britain and blessed by the United Nations, to overthrow the government of a country that has done us no harm and threatens no one. This is barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle.

The Charge that Britain brings against the Rhodesians is the one that George III once brought against Americans and sought unsuccessfully to enforce by arms. It was that the Colonies felt it necessary, as Mr. Jefferson put it, "to dissolve the political bands which (had) connected them with another (people), and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them". However, two academics writing in the American Journal of International Law have taken quite a different view:

They say, "In the most fundamental sense, the assertion of independence at a time and by means which the authoritative organs of the international community had decided would precipitate a threat to the peace of the surrounding region and the world was an act of irresponsibility in violation of the most basic policies of the Charter for the maintenance of international order." Where authorities differ so widely, inquiry and judgment are indicated.

In the first place, was independence so broad a step for Rhodesia to take? While Britain had asserted sovereignty over the Rhodesian countryside since the latter part of the last century when Cecil Rhodes started to develop it, Whitehall had never administered government there, nor provided funds or forces for its defense. All this had been done locally, first under the British South Africa Company chartered to Cecil Rhodes and his associates and after 1923 under the Constitution of that date, established after the electorate had voted for self-government and against incorporation in the Union of South Africa. In fact, so self-governing was Rhodesia that between 1935 and 1953 (the beginning of the Federation) the Rhodesian Prime Minister sat as an equal in the meetings of Prime Ministers, first of the Empire and then of the Commonwealth. The Prime Minister of the Federation (with Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia) took his place until its dissolution in 1964. Thereafter the Prime Ministers of her two associates, then independent states, sat with them. But Rhodesia was excluded because of this dispute which had then arisen.

Turning to this dispute and to the circumstances of the Rhodesian assertion of its independence, the country had had since the beginning of its history, an electorate based on male suffrage later extended to women with modest literacy and property requirements. These requirements are those adopted in this and other countries during early stages of representative government by a people among whom education was the exception rather than the rule and experience, cultural or otherwise, was unequal. When white settlement began in 1890, Rhodesia was sparsely populated by a very primitive people. The great bulk of its present population, white and black, has immigrated since then, attracted by opportunity and security of life and property available there. The Rhodesian Constitutional Commission was well aware of this situation.

"The Shona," it said, "and the Ndebele and the Europeans were all in turn (im)migrants, conquerors and settlers. All now know no other home. Thus they have established for themselves and their successors the right to remain in this country in perpetuity, a right which they have every expectation of exercising. . . . For the(se) reasons . . . Rhodesia is the permanent and rightful home of peoples of different origins and backgrounds and does not belong to one race or one ethnic group alone."

Now what did the Commission see as the end of this matter? The progressive extension of the franchise but not majority rule. "For a time", it said, "which cannot be measured by clock or calendar Europeans would exercise the more authoritative voice at national government level and Africans would have a voice that must be allowed increasing, but not limitless power." The ultimate solution recommended was based on racial parity of representation as most likely to produce immediate and long-term confidence and stability. Now this was not everyone's cup of tea; neither was it everyone's business; nor was it apartheid. It was a matter relating solely to the internal affairs of Rhodesia, in which the United Nations by its Charter was forbidden to meddle, and to the political relation between Rhodesia and the United Kingdom. When the latter sought to impose a majority rule, in time measured by the calendar, Rhodesia severed the bands that bound them.

It was this act and Rhodesia's assumption among the powers of the earth, of the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitled her which the General Assembly and the Security Council said created a situation that threatened the peace. While Rhodesia threatened no one, the idea that her independence, "if continued in time," would disturb the peace because, apparently, someone would attempt to terminate it, because of disapproval of Rhodesia's long-established internal legislation regarding suffrage. The General Assembly spelled this out in its resolution of November 5, 1965 when it, and I quote from the resolution, "reaffirm(ed) the right of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence", the very thing which was now threatening the peace, "and recogniz(ed) the legitimacy of their struggle for the enjoyment of their rights". Now what sort of rights?—"their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." And the resolution went on that the "United Nations solemnly warned the present authorities in Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in its capacity as administering power, that the United Nations will oppose any declaration of independence which is not based on universal adult suffrage."

How fortunate were the American colonies in 1776 that there was no United Nations confronting them. I need hardly remind you that our Constitution had nothing to say about adult universal suffrage but did have a few pregnant paragraphs continuing the institution of slavery.

Of course, no one in the United Nations really believed that Britain, which had been handing out independence in wholesale lots, would fight Rhodesia, or that any African state would take on such a prickly job. Perhaps I might pause for a moment to remind you of the present situation. As everybody knew, this blockade of Rhodesia has not worked. Therefore, Her Majesty's government, in accordance with that universal principle, which seems to instigate all fanatics, that one must redouble efforts on finding oneself on the wrong road, has asked the United Nations to extend the blockade and our African friends have raised their cry that the British should come out of the bushes and gain enough courage to fight Rhodesia by arms. Now the point that I am making here is that this highly theoretical and imaginative threat to the peace was not posed by Rhodesia but was posed against Rhodesia. From this premise only the most Humpty-Dumpty reasoning could move to the conclusion that Rhodesia should be punished by international action aimed at overthrowing her government and ending her independence. This reasoning, however, has been supplied by academic authority. It is hardly less curious, yet here it is:

"In the contemporary intensely interdependent world", they say, "peoples interact not merely through the modalities of collaborative or combative operations", simple English—basic English, "but also through shared subjectivities, not merely through the physical movements of goods and services or exercises with armaments, but also through communications in which they simply take each other into account. Much more important," they go on, "than the physical movements are the communications which people make to each other. In the case of Rhodesia, the other African peoples have regarded themselves as affected by the authoritarian and racist policies of the Rhodesian elites."

In simpler and nonpejorative terms, they don't like Rhodesia's elective system. Subjectivity means the quality or condition of viewing things exclusively through the medium of one's own mind and individuality; the condition of being absorbed in one's own personal feelings, thoughts and concerns. It means also personal bias, emotional predisposition, the substitution of perception for reality. The authors may mean any or all of these senses. But the point is that what we have here is the idea that law is only the mirror of the beholder's emotional condition at the moment.

Consider a situation which wounds shared subjectivities of a wholly different nature and ones with which we may be less in sympathy. Within the month the nations of Eastern Europe have met in Moscow to consider their shared dislike of what they regard as the deviationist, anti-democratic and indeed bourgeois policies of the Czechoslovakian elite in permitting a modicum of personal liberty in that country. Rumour even carries reports of Soviet troop movements near the Czech border. Now suppose that instead of repeating its armed interventionist tactics in Hungary in 1956, the Soviet Union should appeal to the Security Council to stop this Czech breech of the peace by assault on shared subjectivities on Communist states. I suppose that the authors would expect to direct us all to cease building bridges to the East and instead to refurbish our embargoes against trade with the renegade Communist state.

Consider too our own parlous condition in the face of this doctrine. Does any country in the world so widely offend the shared subjectivities of others as we do? Ask General de Gaulle, ask Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse Tsung, Mrs. Gandhi, Castro, the Arabs. Even the South Vietnamese are not too clear about this. And what about our own subjectivities? Should our own brainchild, the United Nations, expound on what we have done to theirs? Somehow this romantic interpretation of the Charter does not make it read like the last best hope for peace on earth.

Nevertheless, ridiculous as it appears on analysis, much as it recalls Cicero's observation that there is nothing so absurd but some philosopher has said it, the fact remains that it rationalizes an attempt to overthrow a government that has done us no harm and threatens no harm to any state. Is participation in such an assault desirable foreign policy? Is this cabal what Mr. Hull thought was being prepared at Dumbarton Oaks, or the Senate almost unanimously ratified?

Of course clever men will attempt to use any instrument to accomplish indirectly what they cannot do directly. But we should have known better than to agree to it, had we not been bemused by substituting ideas that appeared to us as ethical for the plain engagements of sovereign states. In the Charter the subscribing sovereigns undertook not to use force as an instrument of policy in their international relations. By a process which cannot be dignified as reasoning, force applied against another state has now been equated with the failure to adopt internationally the principle of universal suffrage, plus the egalitarian doctrine of equal weighted votes as announced by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Baker* v. *Carr*. And this—mark you!—is only the first application of that new doctrine of international lawyers—the sovereign equality of shared subjectivities.

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One of the troubles of the troubled age in which we live is that too many people are trying to achieve harmony of interest by forcing everyone to harmonize with them. Conscience used to be an inner voice of self-discipline; now it is a clarion urge to discipline others. It took a long time to develop the international precept that peace would be furthered by governments having respect for each others' autonomy. That should apply to them acting in concert. And this is the notion embedded in Paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter. Whatever mistakes they have otherwise made, the draftsmen of the Charter at least did not intend to open the way to endless conflict through unbridled impulses to reform. The new romantic impulse is to overthrow that wise inhibition in favour of a compulsion to re-shape the world to fit all sorts of shared subjectivities.

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I value in equal degree the privilege of being identified through this award with the many other individuals who have helped to advance the vital programs which this nation is pursuing in space.

No aspect of my career has brought greater satisfaction than my relationship with our astronauts and technicians as well as the managers of major space projects, both in the military and in NASA. And I am pleased to see at this function so many of the people whose knowledge and ability have contributed to our team effort in this field of endeavor.

I am more and more convinced that on the human side of the equation this team relationship, resulting from our common interest and experience, is a key requisite for success. In fact, it may one day be recognized as the single most important asset in our entire space program. For this reason, I wish to draw special attention to some of the dividends of our teamwork that have benefited both the civilian and military segments of space activity. It is this foundation for continuing progress that underlies my confident outlook toward several Air Force space objectives that I will touch on later in my remarks.

The more than 110 major agreements that spell out the working arrangement for joint NASA, DOD and Air Force operations are clearly essential. But these agreements cannot by themselves assure the effective meshing of our activities. Far more important is the professional rapport that enables us to resolve informally the day-to-day problems which no amount of advance planning can anticipate. A matter of particular pride to the Air Force is the fact that through our interface with NASA we have provided extensive support for the Gemini program, including launch, range and recovery operations and assistance with related research and technology.

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Looking now at some of our military objectives, I think it is well to reaffirm the non-aggressive intent of all our operations in the space medium. On the other hand, we do want to insure that no potentially hostile nation develops an offensive capability against which we have no defense. That is why we place such great importance on our systems that are already in operation for the purpose of detecting, cataloging and to the extent possible, evaluating the space vehicles launched by other countries.

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In assessing the significance of this tactical communications program, we should keep in mind that at the level of conventional conflict, the problems of command and control are far more diverse and extensive than at the strategic level. The reason for this is that our tactical forces are more numerous and their roles and missions more varied. It is not enough for this nation to have adequate military force levels. In order to support a national strategy of conflict management, our forces must be directed with speed and precision. This represents a practical and compelling requirement which our progress with communications satellities can be expected to fulfill.

Coming now to our most promising and complex space effort, the Manned Orbiting Laboratory, we find two reliable indications of our prospects for achieving in the near future a significant improvement of military capabilities in this expanded medium of operations. One indication is provided by the very nature of MOL's broad-gauged objective as being that of developing, operating and evaluating highly specialized military equipment that will benefit from man's presence in the spacecraft. In imparting momentum to this program, we have successfully test fired the first stage engine of the MOL's Titan IIIM booster. And we have completed the mockup and structural test assemblies of the laboratory and experimental modules. We now have 14 aerospace research pilots in training for MOL operations and expect to launch a two-man crew in 1971.

A somewhat broader, but perhaps even more important indication of the favorable outlook for the MOL program is provided by several additional and meaningful examples of the NASA-Air Force team relationship. Throughout the MOL program, we have worked closely with NASA in selecting the proper configuration for the basic components. We also have taken full advantage of the technology derived from NASA space tenance of international order." Where authorities differ so widely, inquiry and judgment are indicated.

In the first place, was independence so broad a step for Rhodesia to take? While Britain had asserted sovereignty over the Rhodesian countryside since the latter part of the last century when Cecil Rhodes started to develop it, Whitehall had never administered government there, nor provided funds or forces for its defense. All this had been done locally, first under the British South Africa Company chartered to Cecil Rhodes and his associates and after 1923 under the Constitution of that date, established after the electorate had voted for self-government and against incorporation in the Union of South Africa. In fact, so self-governing was Rhodesia that between 1935 and 1953 (the beginning of the Federation) the Rhodesian Prime Minister sat as an equal in the meetings of Prime Ministers, first of the Empire and then of the Commonwealth. The Prime Minister of the Federation (with Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia) took his place until its dissolution in 1964. Thereafter the Prime Ministers of her two associates, then independent states, sat with them. But Rhodesia was excluded because of this dispute which had then arisen.

Turning to this dispute and to the circumstances of the Rhodesian assertion of its independence, the country had had since the beginning of its history, an electorate based on male suffrage later extended to women with modest literacy and property requirements. These requirements are those adopted in this and other countries during early stages of representative government by a people among whom education was the exception rather than the rule and experience, cultural or otherwise, was unequal. When white settlement began in 1890, Rhodesia was sparsely populated by a very primitive people. The great bulk of its present population, white and black, has immigrated since then, attracted by opportunity and security of life and property available there. The Rhodesian Constitutional Commission was well aware of this situation.

"The Shona," it said, "and the Ndebele and the Europeans were all in turn (im)migrants, conquerors and settlers. All now know no other home. Thus they have established for themselves and their successors the right to remain in this country in perpetuity, a right which they have every expectation of exercising. . . . For the(se) reasons . . . Rhodesia is the permanent and rightful home of peoples of different origins and backgrounds and does not belong to one race or one ethnic group alone."

Now what did the Commission see as the end of this matter? The progressive extension of the franchise but not majority rule. "For a time", it said, "which cannot be measured by clock or calendar Europeans would exercise the more authoritative voice at national government level and Africans would have a voice that must be allowed increasing, but not limitless power." The ultimate solution recommended was based on racial parity of representation as most likely to produce immediate and long-term confidence and stability. Now this was not everyone's cup of tea; neither was it everyone's business; nor was it apartheid. It was a matter relating solely to the internal affairs of Rhodesia, in which the United Nations by its Charter was forbidden to meddle, and to the political relation between Rhodesia and the United Kingdom. When the latter sought to impose a majority rule, in time measured by the calendar, Rhodesia severed the bands that bound them.

It was this act and Rhodesia's assumption among the powers of the earth, of the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitled her which the General Assembly and the Security Council said created a situation that threatened the peace. While Rhodesia threatened no one, the idea that her independence, "if continued in time," would disturb the peace because, apparently, someone would attempt to terminate it, because of disapproval of Rhodesia's long-established internal legislation regarding suffrage. The General Assembly spelled this out in its resolution of November 5, 1965 when it, and I quote from the resolution, "reaffirm(ed) the right of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence", the very thing which was now threatening the peace, "and recogniz(ed) the legitimacy of their struggle for the enjoyment of their rights". Now what sort of rights?—"their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." And the resolution went on that the "United Nations solemnly warned the present authorities in Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in its capacity as administering power, that the United Nations will oppose any declaration of independence which is not based on universal adult suffrage."

How fortunate were the American colonies in 1776 that there was no United Nations confronting them. I need hardly remind you that our Constitution had nothing to say about adult universal suffrage but did have a few pregnant paragraphs continuing the institution of slavery.

Of course, no one in the United Nations really believed that Britain, which had been handing out independence in wholesale lots, would fight Rhodesia, or that any African state would take on such a prickly job. Perhaps I might pause for a moment to remind you of the present situation. As everybody knew, this blockade of Rhodesia has not worked. Therefore, Her Majesty's government, in accordance with that universal principle, which seems to instigate all fanatics, that one must redouble efforts on finding oneself on the wrong road, has asked the United Nations to extend the blockade and our African friends have raised their cry that the British should come out of the bushes and gain enough courage to fight Rhodesia by arms. Now the point that I am making here is that this highly theoretical and imaginative threat to the peace was not posed by Rhodesia but was posed against Rhodesia. From this premise only the most Humpty-Dumpty reasoning could move to the conclusion that Rhodesia should be punished by international action aimed at overthrowing her government and ending her independence. This reasoning, however, has been supplied by academic authority. It is hardly less curious, yet here it is:

"In the contemporary intensely interdependent world", they say, "peoples interact not merely through the modalities of collaborative or combative operations", simple English—basic English, "but also through shared subjectivities, not merely through the physical movements of goods and services or exercises with armaments, but also through communications in which they simply take each other into account. Much more important," they go on, "than the physical movements are the communications which people make to each other. In the case of Rhodesia, the other African peoples have regarded themselves as affected by the authoritarian and racist policies of the Rhodesian elites."

In simpler and nonpejorative terms, they don't like Rhodesia's elective system. Subjectivity means the quality or condition of viewing things exclusively through the medium of one's own mind and individuality; the condition of being absorbed in one's own personal feelings, thoughts and concerns. It means also personal bias, emotional predisposition, the substitution of perception for reality. The authors may mean any or all of these senses. But the point is that what we have here is the idea that law is only the mirror of the beholder's emotional condition at the moment.

Consider a situation which wounds shared subjectivities of a wholly different nature and ones with which we may be less in sympathy. Within the month the nations of Eastern Europe have met in Moscow to consider their shared dislike of what they regard as the deviationist, anti-democratic and indeed bourgeois policies of the Czechoslovakian elite in permitting a modicum of personal liberty in that country. Rumour even carries reports of Soviet troop movements near the Czech border. Now suppose that instead of repeating its armed interventionist tactics in Hungary in 1956, the Soviet Union should appeal to the Security Council to stop this Czech breech of the peace by assault on shared subjectivities on Communist states. I suppose that the authors would expect to direct us all to cease building bridges to the East and instead to refurbish our embargoes against trade with the renegade Communist state.

Consider too our own parlous condition in the face of this doctrine. Does any country in the world so widely offend the shared subjectivities of others as we do? Ask General de Gaulle, ask Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse Tsung, Mrs. Gandhi, Castro, the Arabs. Even the South Vietnamese are not too clear about this. And what about our own subjectivities? Should our own brainchild, the United Nations, expound on what we have done to theirs? Somehow this romantic interpretation of the Charter does not make it read like the last best hope for peace on earth.

Nevertheless, ridiculous as it appears on analysis, much as it recalls Cicero's observation that there is nothing so absurd but some philosopher has said it, the fact remains that it rationalizes an attempt to overthrow a government that has done us no harm and threatens no harm to any state. Is participation in such an assault desirable foreign policy? Is this cabal what Mr. Hull thought was being prepared at Dumbarton Oaks, or the Senate almost unanimously ratified?

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A somewhat broader, but perhaps even more important indication of the favorable outlook for the MOL program is provided by several additional and meaningful examples of the NASA-Air Force team relationship. Throughout the MOL program, we have worked closely with NASA in selecting the proper configuration for the basic components. We also have taken full advantage of the technology derived from NASA space programs in a series of steps that produced a saving in funds as well as increased confidence in proven hardware and techniques. Further, we have concluded that the same basic system technology and experience gained in developing the attitude control system and fuel cells for Apollo can be used for related purposes in the MOL.

These are but a few of the many indications that could be cited to illustrate the growing maturity of our space technology as an asset that has enormous economic, political and military potential. I am confident that I share with all of you the conviction that this technology can be nutured and applied most effectively within the highly creative environment of our free society. Therein we see the promise and the challenge of the future. And knowing as I do the integrity and competence of those to whom we look for the planning and support of our national space program in all its aspects, I am also confident that our survival and continued progress are assured.

In conclusion, and with acknowledgment to all who have contributed to Air Force achievements in space, I again wish to express my deepest appreciation for the honor accorded me by the award of the General Thomas D. White USAF Space Trophy.

THE HONORABLE LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the very gracious lady who represents the Third Congressional District of Missouri, the Honorable LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, was honored recently by the St. Louis Bicentennial Civic Improvement Corporation for her contributions toward the realization of low-income family homeownership.

As a result of her sponsorship of the 221(h) program in the 1966 Housing Act, significant Federal assistance has been made available to Bicentennial and other nonprofit sponsors of low-income homeownership projects.

It has been my distinct personal pleasure to have joined Mrs. SULLIVAN on several projects of mutual concern, including the food stamp program and the Gateway Arch project. She has always worked diligently and effectively toward her objective. The latest example, and certainly the greatest success to date during her distinguished career, is the Truth-in-Lending Act which President Johnson recently signed into law.

Because of this remarkable woman's efforts, it is appropriate that she has been recognized as one of the most effective legislators in Congress.

As a further attestment to this recognition, I would like to include in the RECORD the May 27 article in the St. Louis Post Dispatch complementing our able colleague, LEONOR K. SULLIVAN:

SHE IS ARCH SUPPORTER OF POOR

(By Ellen Schlafly)

Mrs. Leonor K. Sullivan spends more than 10 hours a day doing "Housework," but has little time to dust and scour her small apartment near Washington.

What she calls housework are the committee meetings, legislation drafting and other responsibilities of being a member of the House of Representatives from the Third Congressional District in Missouri.

A sweet-smelling bouquet of peonies and irises on the Democrat's desk was dwarfed by a stack of file folders and letters. "I get anywhere from 100 to 300 letters a day," she said in an interview in Washington last week, "and I read every one."

Mrs. Sullivan, the only woman to have served in Congress from Missouri, was honored here Saturday for her legislative efforts in two areas.

She was among dignitaries on the Speaker's platform at the dedication of the Arch which is in her district. In 1953, Mrs. Sullivan introduced a bill authorizing the building of the Arch; the $17,250,000 authorized by Congress had been appropriated by 1965 and she has worked since then to get federal money to complete the memorial.

And she was the honoree at a benefit dinner for the Bicentennial Civic Improvement Corp.

"Her legislative efforts are responsible for the success of our program on the scale it is today," said D. Jerry McGlynn, executive director of the home-ownership program.

BCIC is a nonprofit corporation organized by religious, political and civic leaders about three years ago. It buys and rehabilitates homes in the Mullanphy district of north-central St. Louis and then makes them available to low-income families.

"If we can make them homeowners, we can make them responsible citizens," Mrs. Sullivan said.

She was sitting in her office in the Rayburn building, a few hundred yards from the Capitol. Her aqua knit dress almost matched the color of her eyes. Table and floor lamps, numerous plants and choice photographs from her 16 years in the House added to the living room atmosphere.

"When I first read about BCIC program in 1965, I thought it was wonderful. No government was involved," she said, keeping her eyes directed at her listener. "It was helping people to help themselves."

The area, bordering the Pruitt-Igoe housing project, was not in her district, but she began searching for federal funds to help the program. It was started in 1963 by the Rev. Joseph M. Kohler, former assistant pastor of St. Bridget of Erin Catholic Church and Richard B. Woods, who operated a small home renovation business.

Housing authorities had told Mrs. Sullivan that no funds were available for such a scheme but, "less than eight months later I included a provision in the administration's housing bill of 1966."

She explained that she garnered support from both Republicans and Democrats she served with on the subcommittee on housing by telling them that the program was already working and already a success.

"Through the Federal Housing Administration, $20,000,000 was allocated to nonprofit corporations like BCIC," Mrs. Sullivan said. "We're now asking for $50,000,000."

St. Louis was first, but more than 60 cities have used these funds for low-income, homeownership programs. The money provides for 100 per cent Federal Housing Administration financing of loans to homeowners. Interest rates and monthly payments are low.

"We would be scraping for every penny if it weren't for federal help," McGlynn said.

To date, more than 80 houses have been bought, renovated and made available for ownership.

Contributions from the dinner, $50 a plate, will go to BCIC. Stan Musial was general dinner chairman. Senator Stuart Symington (Dem.), Mo., spoke to the more than 500 guests in the Khorassan Room of the Chase-Park Plaza Hotel.

One of the 11 women members in the House, Mrs. Sullivan will be campaigning for re-election in the fall. She is the widow of John B. Sullivan who died in 1951 when serving his fourth term in the House.

Because she loved politics and Washington and "had to earn a living," she decided to run for the seat he had left vacant.

"I was scared silly," she admitted, "but serving in Congress has been an exhilarating experience."

Mrs. Sullivan said that the ideas for all the legislation she has introduced came from letters from constituents. She represents about 440,000 persons. Her district contains almost all of central and south St. Louis.

Letters in 1952 from the Consumer Federation of St. Louis led to her interest in consumers' problems. As chairman of the house subcommittee on consumer affairs, she guided the so-called truth-in-lending bill through the House.

"I've worked for this for eight years," she said. "There has never been so much opposition to a bill; but it has been rewarding," she said of its passage.

A few blocks from her office is Resurrection City, the plywood tent encampment of the Poor People's March.

"I could just weep when I see them," she said of the participants, "but this march cannot achieve their goals because they are asking the impossible. There is no plan. The idea must be spelled out in specific details. No one has to sell me on the fact that there is poverty."

She is the author of the food stamp law, which distributes surplus agricultural commodities to the needy through grocery stores.

Mrs. Sullivan, whose hobby is knitting and hooking rugs, "because I can talk while I do it," is modest about awards she has received.

"I didn't finish college but here is an honorary doctorate of laws from Lindenwood College," she said, pointing to a framed diploma on the wall.

Although she graciously accepted a silver plate from the BCIC Saturday night as a tangible testimonial to her efforts, Mrs. Sullivan said that, "whenever people are involved, it's rewarding."

ROLE OF THE CARPENTERS' UNION IN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York.

There was no objection.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, it was my privilege to attend a banquet sponsored by local 12 of the Carpenters' Union, in Syracuse, N.Y., at which they honored 139 members of the local who had celebrated 25 years of membership. It was a particular pleasure for me, because so many of the members of local 12 and many of the honored guests that evening have been close personal friends of mine over the years.

Last week, Father Richard McKeon, S.J., who is one of the acknowledged leaders in the fields of industrial relations and labor-management negotiations, devoted his entire weekly column in the Catholic Sun to that banquet and to a brief history of the Carpenters' Union's role in the American labor movement.

In a very real sense, the progress of the Carpenters' Union has been inextricably bound up in the progress of our American society. I commend this excellent piece to all my colleagues:

TRIBUTE TO THE CARPENTERS

(By Father McKeon)

On May 17, 1968, I was happy and honored to attend the service award banquet of Carpenters Local Union No. 12 which was held "in honor of and dedicated to those of us who have passed the 25 year mark in continuity of membership with devotion to both the union and the construction industry." Those with 25 years numbered 139.

Prominent citizens paid tribute to these veterans and thanked them for their contribution to the community. This writer was privileged to give the main address. After thanking the veterans for their loyalty to union ideals, he then portrayed how unionism was an important factor in American life.

However, in the program there was a brief history of the carpenters union which intrigued me deeply. I shall comment on some of its fascinating story for history is a stern teacher.

The Pilgrims who were seeking a new life in the new world were anxious to enjoy liberty. But they had rigid ideas about certain things. Thus in 1630 the law of Massachusetts stated:

"Carpenters, joiners, etc., shall not take above two shillings a day nor any man shall give more under pain of a fairly heavy fine."

About 100 years later the seeds of true unionism were sown in Philadelphia where in 1724 was organized the "Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia." Members were both master and journeymen carpenters. What was a basic objective? It was "to adopt such a system of measurement and prices that everyone concerned may have the value of his money and every working man the worth of his labor."

"The Company's 'Book of Prices' became and remained the standard in the building industry until about 1860. Members were not allowed to accept less than the established scale, or to work with non-members under pain of expulsion." It is surprising to discover that the Company provided sickness and death benefits, and assistance to unemployed members.

In 1770 the Carpenters' Company erected their own building. It still stands—a monument linked with American history. Trouble was brewing in the colonies. England was not treating these subjects justly. Grievances were mounting up. In September, 1774, delegates from the several colonies came to Philadelphia to discuss these grievances and to petition England to settle them fairly. "On September 5, 1774, the first meeting of the Continental Congress convened in Carpenters' Hall. There they began the deliberations that resulted in the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776." During the War of the Revolution the hall was a rallying point for our patriotic forefathers.

In the same city in 1791 the carpenters went on strike for shorter hours and won. They had been working from sunrise to sundown for 5 shillings a day. The union demanded a uniform workday from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. the year through and one hour for lunch. How did they succeed? When the employers refused to meet with them "the journeymen house carpenters desire to announce that . . . they propose to work for the public direct for 25 per cent below the rates formerly charged." They won.

Although the carpenters had been dreaming about an eight-hour day, it was not till 1882 that they set the nine-hour day as a more realistic goal. In fact seven locals did gain the eight-hour day and others the nine-hour. And so the carpenters were foremost in keeping the goal of shorter working hours before our people.

The carpenters were also strong advocates of a national labor organization. They supported the beginning of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor in 1881. When this failed, they helped to reorganize the unions into the American Federation of Labor in 1886. Under the dynamic leadership of Samuel Gompers there was steady growth despite tremendous obstacles.

Organized labor owes a great debt of gratitude to the carpenters for their efforts to lessen hours of work. In 1886 they could report 12 cities with the eight-hour day and 25 cities with the nine-hour day. Eleven cities were working shorter hours on Saturdays. And so "the principle of the eight-hour day emerged as a rallying point for all labor, and the Carpenters became known as the eight-hour organization."

In 1889 at Boston the delegates of the AFL selected the Carpenters as the best prepared union to spearhead the movement for the eight-hour day. The Carpenters accepted the challenge. A street fight began which meant sacrifice and money. Employers fought back hard. The press was hostile. The public fell for anti-union propaganda. But the Carpenters fought on and soon "more than 23,000 carpenters in 36 cities gained the eight-hour day and some 32,000 more in 234 cities gained the nine-hour day."

Americans who now enjoy the 40-hour week should be conscious of the great fight waged by organized labor to secure the same. They should be duly grateful. And to the Carpenters should go the finest tribute of all for leading the way to this desired goal.

RAISING PERSONAL EXEMPTION FOR INCOME TAX

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CULVER). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the years 1948 and 1968 have a number of things in common. They are both election years. A bitter war was raging in Vietnam both these years. And the personal exemption from the Federal income tax has not changed a bit, either. It is still $600 just as it was in 1948.

Of course, a great many other things are not the same as they were in 1948. Probably nothing has advanced quite so steadily and inexorably with the passage of these 20 years as the cost of living.

Department of Labor statistics reveal unmistakably that in 1948, $600 represented a percentage of family earnings exempted from tax that was more than twice as high as the percentage exempted today.

In 1948, the median family made $3,031, and each $600 exemption represented 19 percent of that yearly income. Today, the same family earns $7,436, and that same $600 exemption amounts to only 8½ percent.

Of course, it is true that today's family has greater earning power than its counterpart of 1948. Nonetheless, much of this differential has been the product of a harsh, cruel inflation that has depreciated the value of the dollar more than 30 percent since 1948.

The policy behind the exemption was to let the taxpayer earn enough money tax free to pay the basic necessities for himself and his dependents. But we are all agreed, I think, that one cannot adequately feed, clothe, and house a child today for $600 a year. It might have been possible in 1948, but certainly not in 1968, and, therefore, the exemption should be raised.

To fulfill this need, I am today introducing a bill that would amend the Internal Revenue Code to raise the personal exemption deduction to $1,000. That would include the exemptions for the taxpayer, his spouse, and any other dependents, as well as the additional exemptions for old age and blindness.

I feel that this would go a long way toward relieving the pressure of inflation, and give a tax break to low- and middle-class taxpayers right where it is most needed.

At first glace, it might seem as though this will cost the Treasury a lot of money just at the time when Congress is being asked to enact a 10-percent surtax. But this bill is not inconsistent, because it is being offered in the context of a system of tax reform which I introduced earlier this session, and which would close tax loopholes to net the Treasury a minimum of $5 billion in additional revenues. The money saved by closing these escape hatches in the tax laws will more than pay for this sorely needed adjustment in the exemption.

I consider it a glaring inequity that many very affluent persons should have the advantage of all sorts of loopholes—in some notorious instances, escaping taxation entirely—while hardworking people of modest means must struggle along with an exemption that is long outdated and totally inadequate.

I earnestly urge every Member of this House to give this measure his full support.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. PEPPER (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. HAGAN (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for June 3 and 4, on account of official business.

Mr. PIRNIE (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for June 5, on account of official business.

Mr. HALL (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for June 5, on account of official business.

Mr. CORMAN, for today, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. BURKE of Florida) to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. HALPERN, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. HALPERN, for 10 minutes, on June 5.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. Burleson in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Everett and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Conte in two instances.

Mr. Mills to extend his remarks on the four bills from the Committee on Ways and Means today.

Mr. Don H. Clausen and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Burke of Florida) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin.
Mr. Minshall in three instances.
Mr. Gubser in two instances.
Mr. Ashbrook in two instances.
Mr. Snyder.
Mr. Morse of Massachusetts in three instances.
Mr. Scherle.
Mr. Gude.
Mr. Schwengel.
Mr. Don H. Clausen in two instances.
Mr. Quie in five instances.
Mr. Bray in two instances.
Mr. Wyman in two instances.
Mr. Quillen in two instances.
Mr. Burke of Florida.
Mr. Brotzman.
Mr. Broyhill of Virginia.
Mr. Wydler.
Mr. Mathias of Maryland in two instances.
Mr. Price of Texas.
Mr. Berry.
Mr. Pollock.
Mr. Mathias of California.
Mr. McClory.
Mr. Keith.
Mr. Bush.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Podell) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania.
Mr. Burke of Massachusetts.
Mr. Rarick in six instances.
Mr. Pucinski in 12 instances.
Mr. Morris of New Mexico in two instances.
Mr. Nichols.
Mr. Resnick.
Mr. Murphy of New York in three instances.
Mr. Hanna.
Mr. Minish.
Mr. Ronan in two instances.
Mr. Podell in three instances.
Mr. Pepper in two instances.
Mr. Edwards of California in two instances.
Mr. Tuck in three instances.
Mr. Eilberg.
Mr. Ottinger.
Mr. Brown of California.
Mr. Vigorito.
Mr. Gonzalez in three instances.
Mrs. Kelly.
Mr. Cabell.
Mr. Abbitt.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 3504. An act to amend section 11 of an Act approved August 4, 1950, entitled "An act relating to the policing of the buildings and grounds of the Library of Congress"; to the Committee on House Administration.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a joint resolution of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.J. Res. 1224. Joint resolution to authorize the President to reappoint as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for an additional term of 1 year, the officer serving in that position on April 1, 1968.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The **SPEAKER** announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1581. An act to amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (69 Stat. 584);

S. 2178. An act for the relief of Dennis W. Radtke;

S. 2452. An act to provide for the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in Illinois;

S. 2634. An act to amend section 867 (a) of title 10, United States Code, in order to establish the Court of Military Appeals as the U.S. Court of Military Appeals under article I of the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes;

S. 2884. An act to amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 so as to recommend to the several States that its absentee registration and voting procedures be extended to all citizens temporarily residing abroad; and

S. 3017. An act to change the provision with respect to the maximum rate of interest permitted on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on June 3, 1968, present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 15004. An act to further amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to extend the expiration date of certain authorities thereunder, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, June 5, 1968, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1903. A letter from the Assistant to the Commissioner, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to establish a basic property insurance placement plan and joint underwriting association to improve the availability of basic insurance protection for residential and business properties against fire and other perils through the cooperative efforts of the District of Columbia and the private property insurance industry, to authorize the District of Columbia to assume a portion of insurance losses resulting from riots and other civil disorders, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1904. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the opportunity to improve U.S. balance of payments through an increased agricultural barter program, Departments of Agriculture, State, and the Treasury, and the Bureau of the Budget; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1905. A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the need to increase competition in procurements of anthracite coal by the U.S. Army for use in Europe; to the Committee on Government Operations.

1906. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting reports concerning visa petitions approved according the beneficiaries of such petitions third and sixth preference classification, pursuant to the provisions of section 204(d) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1907. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders entered in cases in which the authority contained in section 212(d)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act was exercised in behalf of such aliens, pursuant to the provisions of section 212(d)(6) of the act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1908. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Installations and Logistics), transmitting a proposal to transfer the submarine *Cabrilla* (AGSS–288) to the U.S. Submarine Veterans World War II, Texas, Inc., pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 7308(c); to the Committee on Armed Services.

1909. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders suspending deportation together with a list of persons involved, pursuant to section 244(a)(2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1910. A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, transmitting copies of orders suspending deportation together with a list of the persons involved, pursuant to section 244(a)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1911. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the development of the Eisenhower National Historic Site at Gettysburg, Pa., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1912. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay judgments in favor of the Seminole Tribe of Oklahoma in dockets Nos. 150 and 248 of the Indian Claims Commission, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

1913. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting a copy the Department's cost ascertainment report for fiscal year 1967, pursuant to the provisions of 39 U.S.C. 2331; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HAYS: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H.R. 16903. A bill to provide certain increases in annuities payable from the Foreign Service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1512). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. GRAY: Committee on Public Works. H.R. 16358. A bill authorizing the trustees of the National Gallery of Art to construct a building or buildings on the cite bounded by Fourth Street, Pennsylvania Avenue, Third Street, and Madison Drive NW., in the District of Columbia, and making provision for the maintenance thereof; with amendment (Rept. No. 1513). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. GRAY: Committee on Public Works. S. 2484. An act to authorize the extension of the additional Senate Office Building site (Rept. No. 1514). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. FEIGHAN: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 15651. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to facilitate the entry of foreign tourists into the United States, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1515). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 1203. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 3400, a bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize aircraft noise abatement regulations, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1516). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. YOUNG: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 1204. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 16162, a bill to enable the Export-Import Bank of the United States to approve extension of certain loans, guarantees, and insurance in connection with exports from the United States in order to improve the balance of payments and foster the long-term commercial interests of the United States (Rept. No. 1517). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SISK: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 1205. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 17267, a bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to remove persons from Federal employment who engage in unlawful acts connected with riots or civil disorders, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1518). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 17635. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to regulate the hours of employment and safeguard the health of females employed in the District of Columbia," approved February 24, 1914; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 17636. A bill to amend the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FISHER:

H.R. 17637. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize an Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. KING of New York:

H.R. 17638. A bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to limit the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial censuses of population, unemployment, and housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 17639. A bill to encourage the growth of international trade on a fair and equitable basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.R. 17640. A bill authorizing the Secretary of the Army to make a study of maintaining a channel in the Back River, Md.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. QUILLEN:

H.R. 17641. A bill to amend the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to the rate of duty on whole skins of mink, whether or not dressed; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. REID of New York:

H.R. 17642. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17643. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to make additional immigrant visas available for immigrants from certain foreign countries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 17644. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code to prohibit the assignment of a member of an armed force to combat area duty if relatives of such member died while serving in the Armed Forces in Vietnam; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ABBITT:

H.R. 17645. A bill limiting the use for demonstration purposes of any federally owned property in the District of Columbia, requiring the posting of a bond, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (for himself, Mr. CORMAN, and Mr. TIERNAN):

H.R. 17646. A bill to establish a Commission on Hunger; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. DIGGS:

H.R. 17647. A bill to establish a basic property insurance placement plan and joint underwriting association to improve the availability of basic insurance protection for residential and business properties against fire and other perils through the cooperative efforts of the District of Columbia and the private property insurance industry, to authorize the District of Columbia to assume a portion of insurance losses resulting from riots and other civil disorders, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.R. 17648. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase the amount of outside earnings permitted without deductions from benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McCARTHY:

H.R. 17649. A bill proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for the direct election of the President and the Vice President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORRIS (for himself and Mr. WALKER):

H.R. 17650. A bill to declare that certain federally owned lands are held by the United States in trust for the Indians of the Pueblo of Laguna; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PATMAN (for himself, Mr. BARRETT, Mrs. SULLIVAN, Mr. REUSS, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. MINISH, Mr. HANNA, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. REES, Mr. WOLFF, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. FRIEDEL, and Mr. PEPPER):

H.R. 17651. A bill to assist in the provision of housing for low and moderate income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 17652. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. HARDY (for himself, Mr. ABBITT, Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia, Mr. POFF, Mr. TUCK, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. MARSH, Mr. SATTERFIELD, Mr. WAMPLER, and Mr. SCOTT):

H.R. 17653. A bill to revise certain taxing authority of the State of Virginia with respect to Washington National Airport; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. DENT:

H.J. Res. 1288. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim annually the period October 1 through October 7 as "National Better Recordkeeping Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.J. Res. 1289. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim annually the first Sunday in May as "Chaplains' Sunday"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OTTINGER:

H.J. Res. 1290. Joint resolution to suspend for the 1968 campaign the equal-time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 for nominees for the offices of President and Vice President; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 1291. Joint resolution extending greetings and felicitations to Muhlenberg College in the city of Allentown, Pa., on the centennial of its naming; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 17654. A bill for the relief of Kheng Hoon Ng, also known as Yu Chu Sun Ng; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 17655. A bill for the relief of the survivors of Police Officers John Nagle and Anthony Perri; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 17656. A bill for the relief of Giovanni Recupito; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17657. A bill for the relief of Antonino Rubino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 17658. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Rosario Rodriguez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KARSTEN:

H.R. 17659. A bill for the relief of Drs. Suresh B. and Aruna S. Patel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEE:

H.R. 17660. A bill for the relief of Dr. Claudio G. Alvino and his wife, Anna Maria Alvino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H.R. 17661. A bill for the relief of Roufan J. Balich; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McCLORY:

H.R. 17662. A bill for the relief of Luisa Vignocchi and Ugo Guido Vignocchi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORSE:

H.R. 17663. A bill for the relief of Mr. Owen Rogers and Mrs. Joyce Rogers; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PELLY:

H.R. 17664. A bill for the relief of Michio

Kobayashi and Hisako Ohata Kobayashi, his wife; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17665. A bill for the relief of Bernardita C. Perena; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 17666. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Rosa Zimmerman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REES:

H.R. 17667. A bill for the relief of Mr. Pao Ro Chen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17668. A bill for the relief of Miss Visitacion V. Hernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROGERS of Colorado:

H.R. 17669. A bill for the relief of Motek Rodzynek; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RONAN:

H.R. 17670. A bill for the relief of Zaven O. Kodjayan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17671. A bill for the relief of Mike George Spanoudakis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE—*Tuesday, June 4, 1968*

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Rev. Edward B. Lewis, D.D., pastor, Capitol Hill United Methodist Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

Dear God of all goodness, we are reminded of the positive part of living when we bow for a moment of prayer.

In this time of history when we are prone to major on the negative, we need the thought of the power of the basic goodness which is given to life as its sure foundation.

Help us to have the spirit to minister and not expect to be ministered unto. Quicken in us an awareness of human need. Teach us to forget ourselves in service to others. Give us the will to pay the personal spiritual price for the peace we seek.

May we share our abundance with the hungry, open doors of opportunity to the poor, and extend the hand of friendship to the lonely and confused.

Give us the grace to be wise stewards of good things that have been entrusted unto us.

We pray in the name of our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, June 3, 1968, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of A. Everette MacIntyre, of Virginia, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the following bills of the Senate:

S. 2452. An act to provide for the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in Illinois;

S. 2634. An act to amend section 867(a) of title 10, United States Code, in order to establish the Court of Military Appeals as the U.S. Court of Military Appeals under article I of the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes; and

S. 3017. An act to change the provision with respect to the maximum rate of interest permitted on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2047) to exempt certain vessels engaged in the fishing industry from the requirements of certain laws, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3363) to designate the U.S. Customs House Building in Providence, R.I., as the "John E. Fogarty Federal Building," with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 3165. An act for the relief of Hood River County, Oreg.;

H.R. 8953. An act to amend the act of November 21, 1941 (55 Stat. 773), providing for the alteration, reconstruction, or relocation of certain highway and railroad bridges by the Tennessee Valley Authority;

H.R. 10911. An act to provide for preparation of a roll of persons of California Indian descent and the distribution of certain judgment funds;

H.R. 15395. An act to provide salary step advancements and adjustments for employees moving to and from different pay systems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 15971. An act to increase the participation of law officers and counsel on courts martial, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16065. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States conditions in deeds conveying certain lands to the State of Iowa, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16451. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the several governments of Central America in the prevention, control, and eradication of foot-and-mouth disease or rinderpest;

H.R. 17002. An act to amend the tobacco marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938; and

H.R. 17024. An act to repeal section 1727 of title 18, United States Code, so as to permit prosecution of postal employees for failure to remit postage due collections, under the postal embezzlement statute, section 1711 of title 18, United States Code.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated.

H.R. 3165. An act for the relief of Hood River County, Oreg.; and

H.R. 17024. An act to repeal section 1727 of title 18, United States Code, so as to permit prosecution of postal employees for failure to remit postage due collections, under the postal embezzlement statute, section 1711 of title 18, United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 8953. An act to amend the act of November 21, 1941 (55 Stat. 773), providing for the alteration, reconstruction, or relocation of certain highway and railroad bridges by the Tennessee Valley Authority; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 10911. An act to provide for preparation of a roll of persons of California Indian descent and the distribution of certain judgment funds; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 15395. An act to provide salary step advancements and adjustments for employees moving to and from different pay systems, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 15971. An act to increase the participation of law officers and counsel on courts-martial, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 16065. An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States conditions in deeds conveying certain lands to the State of Iowa, and for other purposes;

H.R. 16451. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the several governments of Central America in the prevention, control, and eradication of foot-and-mouth disease or rinderpest; and

H.R. 17002. An act to amend the tobacco marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TRANSPORTATION PERFORMED BY AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1136, S. 752.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 752) to amend section 203(b)(5) of the Interstate Commerce Act to clarify this exemption with respect to transportation performed by agricultural cooperative associations for nonmembers.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That at the end of section 203(b)(5) of the Interstate Commerce Act delete the semicolon and add the following language: ", but any interstate transportation performed by such a cooperative association or federation of cooperative associations for nonmembers who are neither farmers, cooperative associations, nor federations thereof for compensation, except transportation otherwise exempt under this part, shall be limited to that which is incidental to its primary transportation operation and necessary for its effective performance and shall in no event exceed 15 per centum of its total interstate transportation services in any fiscal year, measured in terms of tonnage: *Provided*, That, for the purposes hereof, notwithstanding any other provision of law, transportation performed for or on behalf of the United States or any agency or instrumentality thereof shall be deemed to be transportation performed for a nonmember: *Provided further*, That any such cooperative association or federation which performs interstate transportation for nonmembers who are neither farmers, cooperative associations, nor federations thereof, except transportation otherwise exempt under this part, shall notify the Commission of its intent to perform such transportation prior to the commencement thereof: *And provided further*, That in no event shall any such cooperative association or federation which is required hereunder to give notice to the Commission transport interstate for compensation in any fiscal year of such association or federation a quantity of property for nonmembers which, measured in terms of tonnage, exceeds the total quantity of property transported interstate for itself and its members in such fiscal year."

SEC. 2. Section 220 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, is further amended by adding the following immediately after subsection (f):

"(g) The Commission or its duly authorized special agents, accountants, or examiners shall, during normal business hours, have access to and authority, under its order, to inspect, examine, and copy any and all accounts, books, records, memorandums, correspondence, and other documents pertaining to motor vehicle transportation of a cooperative association or federation of cooperative associations which is required to give notice to the Commission pursuant to the provisions of section 203(b)(5) of this part: *Provided, however*, That the Commission shall have no authority to prescribe the form of any accounts, records, or memorandums to be maintained by a cooperative association or federation of cooperative associations."

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, the bill, S. 752, which was ordered reported unanimously by the Senate Commerce Committee, would further the objectives of our national transportation policy and strengthen our Nation's common carrier system by enabling the ICC to act more effectively against illegal haulers pretending to be bona fide farm cooperatives, and by restricting and clarifying the agricultural cooperative transportation exemption.

S. 752 contains two sections. The first section proposes to amend section 203(b)(5) of the Interstate Commerce Act to limit the agricultural cooperative transportation exemption, and to require agricultural cooperatives to notify the ICC before transporting "general freight." Section 2 of S. 752 proposes to amend section 220 of the Interstate Commerce Act to grant the Commission specific authority to examine the books and records of such cooperatives.

In the last Congress, Public Law 89–170 was enacted to amend the Interstate Commerce Act to provide the Commission with better tools to eliminate illegal carriers from the highways. This legislation provided for cooperative State and Federal enforcement agreements, civil forfeiture penalties, and increased penalties for violations of the Interstate Commerce Act.

After the enactment of this legislation, in the first session of the 89th Congress, the Surface Transportation Subcommittee began considering legislation recommended by the ICC to enable the Commission to proceed against illegal operators pretending to be legitimate farm services operating under the agricultural cooperative transportation exemption.

Surface Transportation Subcommittee hearings were held on the ICC's proposal in the 89th Congress, and on a revised ICC legislative recommendation on July 24, 25, and 26, 1967, in this Congress.

The Surface Transportation Subcommittee recommended to the full committee a somewhat different bill than the proposal suggested by the Commission. The subcommittee's approach with certain amendments suggested by the Department of Agriculture was favorably reported by the full committee. The version of S. 752 as reported is acceptable to the Department of Agriculture and to the major farm groups testifying—the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, American Farm Bureau Federation, and the National Grange. The reported version of S. 752 is also acceptable to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the American Trucking Associations and the Association of American Railroads.

The bill as reported requires a cooperative to notify the Commission before beginning to transport general freight, authorizes the Commission to inspect the books and records of such cooperatives, and clarifies and limits the agricultural cooperative transportation exemption. The exemption limit proposed in the bill is that for-hire transportation performed by a cooperative or federation of such cooperatives for nonmembers who are neither farmers, cooperative associations, nor federations thereof and excepting agricultural products which are exempted from other provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act, shall be limited to: First, transportation which is incidental to the cooperative's primary transportation operation and necessary for its effective performance; and second, transportation which in no event exceeds 15 percent of the cooperative's total interstate transportation services in any fiscal year, measured in terms of tonnage.

The proposed bill is acceptable to both the farm community and the transportation industry. The revised scope of this limitation, notice, and inspection of books and records provisions will provide a workable means whereby the Commission can identify and proceed against illegal operators masquerading as legitimate exempt cooperative transportation operations. At the same time the revised scope of this limitation will enable bona fide agricultural cooperatives to continue to provide farm services without substantially affecting our national common carrier system.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill to amend sections 203(b)(5) and 220 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, and for other purposes."

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LAUSCHE in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. MANSFIELD (for Mr. FULBRIGHT), from the Committee on Foreign Relations, without amendment:

H.R. 16911. An act to provide for U.S. participation in the facility based on special drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1164).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. THURMOND, from the Committee on Armed Services:

Gen. Harold Keith Johnson, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army), to be placed on the retired list in the grade of general; and

Gen. William Childs Westmoreland, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army), for appointment as Chief of Staff, U.S. Army.

By Mr. CANNON, from the Committee on Armed Services:

Ernest Louis Massad, of Oklahoma, to be Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs.

By Mr. BYRD of Virginia, from the Committee on Armed Services:

Vice Adm. Waldemar F. A. Wendt, U.S. Navy, for commands and other duties determined by the President, for appointment to the grade of admiral while so serving.

By Mr. MANSFIELD (for Mr. FULBRIGHT), from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported favorably, with reservations:

Executive J, 90th Congress, first session,

Tax Convention with Brazil; Executive N, 90th Congress, first session, Tax Convention with France; and Executive D, 89th Congress, first session, Tax Convention with the Philippines (Exec. Rept. No. 5).

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. FANNIN:

S. 3579. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to increase the number of congressional alternates authorized to be nominated for each vacancy at the Military, Naval, and Air Force Academies; to the Committee on Armed Services.

(See the remarks of Mr. Fannin when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BOGGS:

S. 3580. A bill for the relief of Dr. Abid Mohiuddin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MANSFIELD:

S. 3581. A bill for the relief of James Glen Ramsay; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MANSFIELD (for himself and Mr. Metcalf):

S. 3582. A bill to amend section 122 of title 23, United States Code, to authorize use of Federal-aid secondary system funds in retirement of certain bonds; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. METCALF:

S. 3583. A bill to extend the provisions of certain laws relating to housing and urban development to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 3584. A bill for the relief of Pao Fen Lee, Hang Kwun Sze; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. Metcalf when he introduced the first above-mentioned bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. PERCY:

S. 3585. A bill for the relief of Myong-Sok Chu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JACKSON (by request):

S. 3586. A bill to provide for the settlement of certain land claims of Alaska natives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Jackson when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JORDAN of Idaho:

S. 3587. A bill for the relief of Benedicto Inchausti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARTLETT:

S. 3588. A bill to amend the 1964 amendments to the Alaska Omnibus Act; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Bartlett when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BAYH:

S. 3589. A bill to provide that the highway known as U.S. Highway No. 41 between Chicago, Ill., and Evansville, Ind., shall be designated as part of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways; to the Committee on Public Works.

(See the remarks of Mr. Bayh when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

S. 3579—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL ALTERNATES AUTHORIZED TO BE NOMINATED FOR VACANCIES IN THE MILITARY, NAVAL, AND AIR FORCE ACADEMIES

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to increase the number of congressional alternates authorized to be nominated for vacancies at the service academies.

This bill would increase from six to 10 the number of candidates a Member of Congress may nominate to each vacancy he has at the Naval, Military, and Air Force Academies. As a member of the Board of Visitors, I can affirm that the passage of this legislation is badly needed in view of increasing candidate recruitment problems faced by the service academies. The increased number of candidates which would result from this bill, or H.R. 13593 recently passed by the House, would contribute to the solution of this problem and help assure an adequate number of qualified candidates each year.

Mr. President, I am hopeful that this much needed legislation will receive prompt action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Nelson in the chair). The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3579) to amend title 10, United States Code, to increase the number of congressional alternates authorized to be nominated for each vacancy at the Military, Naval, and Air Force Academies, introduced by Mr. Fannin, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

S. 3583—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO EXTENSION TO THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS CERTAIN FEDERAL HOUSING LAWS

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to extend the provisions of certain laws relating to housing and urban development to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Mr. President, the intent of the proposed amendments is to extend to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands certain of the Federal housing laws including the loan guarantee provisions of the housing act. At the present time the act does not apply in the trust territory. Adequate and safe housing is a serious lack in all of the major islands of this vast area. Financial assistance is needed if any substantial improvement is to be made.

A recent census was taken in the trust territory which reported approximately 14,000 housing units throughout the islands. Of this total, only 858 had concrete walls and only 247 had concrete roofs. Almost 5,000 had thatch roofs and more than 2,000 had thatch walls. In view of the humid climate of the area and its location within the typhoon belt of the Pacific, this kind of housing falls far short of the minimum standards sought by the Micronesians.

The proposed amendments seek to make available guarantee support for private individuals who wish to replace or to improve their dwellings, to assist in overcoming the urbanized congestion which is growing in the several district centers and, in the event of natural disaster such as the recent typhoon which swept Saipan, to assist in replacing damaged or destroyed private housing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3583) to extend the provisions of certain laws relating to housing and urban development to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, introduced by Mr. Metcalf, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 3586—INTRODUCTION OF ALASKA NATIVE LAND CLAIMS LEGISLATION

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I introduce, by request, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide for the settlement of certain land claims of Alaska natives, and for other purposes. This measure was transmitted by the Department of the Interior on April 30, 1968, and I am introducing it at the Department's request.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Department's letter transmitting the legislation, the bill and a short explanation of the bill's major provisions be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill, letter, and explanation will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 3586) to provide for the settlement of certain land claims of Alaska natives, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Jackson, by request, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 3586

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1968".

DEFINITIONS

Sec. 2. For the purposes of this Act, the term—

(a) "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior;

(b) "Native" means an Alaska Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut of at least one-fourth degree Alaska Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut blood, or a combination thereof; and

(c) "Native group" means any tribe, band, clan, village, community, or association in Alaska composed of twenty-five or more eligible Natives and approved by the Secretary.

DECLARATION OF POLICY

Sec. 3. Congress finds and declares that there is an immediate need for a fair and just settlement of all claims by Natives of Alaska by providing (a) a grant to each Native group of title to their village sites that are now being used by said group and to additional lands in the vicinity of the villages that will be needed for reasonable community expansion to fulfill future economic and social requirements, (b) a reasonable payment to Native groups for the purpose of enhancing the present and future welfare of the Natives in Alaska, and (c) provision for Native hunting, fishing, trapping, and berry picking, within Federal lands not granted to the Native groups; and that it is the purpose of this Act to provide such a settlement.

DECLARATION OF SETTLEMENT

Sec. 4. The provisions of this Act shall be regarded as full and final settlement of any and all claims against the United States based upon aboriginal right, title, use, or occupancy of lands in Alaska by Natives or arising under the Act of May 17, 1884 (23 Stat. 24), or the Act of June 6, 1900 (31 Stat. 321), including claims pending before the Indian Claims Commission by previous authorization of Congress and not finalized by said Commission on the date of enactment of this Act.

GRANT OF LANDS

SEC. 5. (a) Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Secretary, upon his own initiative and without application, is authorized to grant, in trust, to each Native group, subject to valid existing rights and if not withdrawn for purposes unrelated to Native use or the administration of Native affairs, (1) title to the village site or sites now occupied by such group, and (2) title to such additional lands in the vicinity of such site or sites which, in his judgment, would contribute significantly to the reasonable community expansion to fulfill future economic and social requirements, taking into account such factors as population, economic resources of said group, traditional way of life of said group, and the nature and value of the land proposed to be granted: *Provided*, That, at any time during the term of the trust, the Secretary, upon application of the Native group and upon the approval by him of a land use plan submitted by said group, shall terminate the trust for all or any part of the lands granted under this subsection to said group. Such grant may include a grant of title to noncontiguous lands being used and occupied by such Natives for burial grounds, airfields, water supply, hunting and fishing camps, and dock or boat-launching sites that are not withdrawn for other purposes. In the case of Native villages in locations where there are not sufficient additional lands in Federal ownership to permit the Secretary to make the grant of additional lands contemplated by this subsection, the Secretary may convey other lands in lieu thereof but subject to the same conditions and limitations that apply to conveyances of land within the vicinity of a village.

(b) In no case may the grant of land to a Native group under this section exceed fifty thousand acres.

(c) The provisions of this section shall not apply to Native groups who are beneficiaries of the judgment recovered by the Tlingit and Haida Indians in Court of Claims Docket No. 47,900.

RESERVATIONS AND RESERVES

SEC. 6. (a) The areas of lands and waters heretofore reserved and set aside by Executive or Secretarial order for the use of the Native groups of Akutan, Diomede, Karluk, Unalakleet, Venetie, and Wales shall be granted in trust to said groups. To the extent such areas are smaller than the areas of land that could be granted to each group under the terms of section 5 of this Act, additional lands may be granted to the group, in trust, by the Secretary: *Provided*, That the total grant shall not exceed fifty thousand acres.

(b) The various reserves set aside by Executive or Secretarial order for Native use or for administration of Native affairs, including those created under authority of the Act of May 31, 1938 (52 Stat. 593), shall be revoked, subject to any valid existing rights of any non-Natives, by the grant of title in trust by the Secretary of up to fifty thousand acres of land now covered by such order to the Native group using or occupying said lands on the date of enactment of this Act.

(c) At any time during the term of the trust covering lands granted under this section, the Secretary, upon application of a Native group and upon the approval by him of a land use plan submitted by said group, shall terminate the trust for all or any part of the lands granted to said groups.

(d) The grant of lands under this section now covered by an Executive or Secretarial order shall include the underlying mineral deposits.

INTERIM ADMINISTRATION UNDER PUBLIC LAND LAWS

SEC. 7. (a) As soon as possible after the effective date of this Act, the Secretary shall, subject to valid existing rights, withdraw from all forms of appropriation under any of the public land laws, including without limitation selection by the State of Alaska under the Statehood Act of July 7, 1958 (72 Stat. 339), any lands which he believes may be subject to a grant to a Native group pursuant to this Act, but not to exceed a total of 20 million acres. Such withdrawals shall be revoked as rapidly as grants to Native groups permit. A State selection of lands that are withdrawn shall not be approved, regardless of whether the selection was initiated before or after the withdrawal, until the withdrawal is revoked.

(b) A Native claim based on use and occupancy of unwithdrawn land shall not be the basis for the rejection of State selections or other applications or claims under the public land laws.

(c) Either before withdrawing lands under this section or before granting a patent pursuant to this Act, the Secretary shall consult with the Secretary of Defense with respect to the effect of the withdrawal or grant on the security of the United States.

(d) Nothing in this Act shall affect the rights of Natives as citizens to acquire public lands of the United States under the Native Allotment Act of May 17, 1906 (34 Stat. 197), as amended (48 U.S.C. 357), or the provisions of other applicable statutes.

(e) Lands granted pursuant to this Act shall, so long as they remain not subject to State or local taxes on real estate, continue to be regarded as public lands for the purpose of computing the Federal share of any highway project pursuant to title 23 of the United States Code, as amended and supplemented.

(f) Any lands granted in fee or in trust under this Act shall be subject to the right of the Secretary to issue and enforce for the protection of migratory birds regulations in accordance with the provisions of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act, as amended.

(g) The Secretary is authorized to make any grant of land under this Act subject to easements for any public use, benefit, or purpose, including easements for the administration and utilization of any Federal lands.

(h) Prior to conveyance of land under this Act, the Secretary shall have its exterior boundaries surveyed. This requirement for survey shall be satisfied without continuous marking of the line, but by establishment of monuments along all the boundaries, except meander courses, by electronic measurement or other means, at intervals of not more than six thousand feet, or by extension of the rectangular system of surveys over the areas conveyed. Conveyances of surveyed lands shall be in accordance with the plats of survey, and those for unsurveyed lands shall, following survey, be so conformed.

TRUSTS

SEC. 8. (a) Title to land granted under this Act to a Native group in trust shall be held by the United States in trust, acting through the Secretary as trustee. The term of a trust established by, or pursuant to, this section shall not exceed twenty-five years from the date of any grant made under this Act, and when the trust terminates it shall be liquidated in accordance with the terms of the trust instrument or as prescribed by the Secretary, if there is no trust instrument, or as prescribed in sections 5 and 6 of this Act. Whenever a distribution of capital or income of the trust is made to the Native group, the finding of the Secretary as to the qualified recipients shall be final and conclusive.

(b) The Secretary, as trustee, under this Act shall have the powers and duties set forth in the deed of trust, including without limitation, subdivision, management, and disposal by sale, lease, or other method, of the lands or interests therein, except the mineral interests in lands granted under section 5 of this Act, investment and reinvestment of the proceeds, and distribution of income or capital of the trust to the Native group and he shall not be subject to the laws of Alaska governing the execution of trusts. In the disposal of any tract of land under the trust, the trustee shall give a right of first refusal to the occupant thereof. The title to land conveyed by the trustee to a Native shall be subject to the provisions of section 1 of the Act of May 25, 1926 (44 Stat. 692; 48 U.S.C. 355a), with respect to lands conveyed to Natives in townsites established under section 11 of the Act of March 3, 1891 (26 Stat. 1099; 48 U.S.C. 355), as supplemented by the Act of February 26, 1948 (62 Stat. 35; 48 U.S.C. 355e). The trustee may convey without compensation to private religious, charitable, or educational institutions or organizations the land occupied by buildings of facilities owned by them on the date the trust is established, where such buildings or facilities are situated within the boundaries of the land to be granted pursuant to this Act.

MINERALS

SEC. 9. Subject to valid existing rights of any non-Native, the Secretary upon granting in trust or in fee any lands under section 5 of this Act to a Native group shall grant to the Corporation established by section 10 of this Act title to all mineral deposits in said lands together with the right to mine and remove the same under leases issued by said Corporation. Said Corporation shall hold such minerals in trust for the benefit of each Native group having the surface lands and shall administer the trust in accordance with the applicable provisions of this Act and the laws of Alaska governing the execution of trust. All revenues received by the Corporation in the administration of such trust shall be shared equally each year with the Native group that has title to the lands from which such receipts were derived. Whenever the trust terminates by reason of the dissolution of said Corporation or by subsequent Act of Congress, the Secretary shall convey title to such mineral deposits, subject to valid existing rights, to the Native group having title to the surface lands.

NATIVE ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT CORPORATION

SEC. 10. (a) There shall be established a single nonprofit statewide Native Economic Improvement Corporation, hereinafter referred to as the "Corporation," for the purpose of promoting economic opportunity for the benefit of the Natives and their descendants in Alaska. The Corporation shall be organized as approved by the Secretary under the laws of the State of Alaska. The Board of Directors of the Corporation shall be elected by the Natives in Alaska on a basis, determined by the Secretary, which will assure adequate representation of all such Natives and their descendants. The Board shall appoint a manager of the Corporation and such other officers as the Board deems desirable to serve at the Board's pleasure, and shall fix their compensation. It shall be the responsibility of the manager to carry out the Corporation's functions in a businesslike manner consistent with the provisions of this Act and the policies and directives of the Board. The manager shall select the Corporation's agents and employees, define their duties, and fix their compensation.

(b) The Corporation, in accordance with such standards as the Commission established by this Act may from time to time prescribe, may, among other things:

(1) Initiate and coordinate the preparation of long-range overall economic development

programs for the Natives and their descendants;

(2) Foster surveys and studies to provide data required for the preparation of specific plans and programs of development;

(3) Promote private investment in enterprises or activities which will improve the economic status of Natives and their descendants;

(4) Develop, establish, operate, and maintain various business enterprises or invest in such enterprises to develop, improve, and utilize skills and capabilities of the Natives and their descendants;

(5) Make loans to Natives and their descendants in Alaska on reasonable terms and conditions to finance plant construction, reconstruction, conversion, or expansion, the acquisition of equipment, facilities, machinery, supplies, or materials, and for any other purpose that will promote effectively economic development for the Natives and their descendants in Alaska, where financial assistance applied for is not otherwise available on reasonable terms;

(6) Make grants to one or more Native groups for the development and operation and maintenance of projects which will promote the welfare of the Natives and their descendants; and

(7) Lease competitively, in accordance with sound conservation principles and practices, the minerals held in trust by the Corporation.

(c) The Corporation shall not be regarded as an instrumentality of the United States for any purpose and the United States shall not be responsible for the Corporation's actions or debts. The members of the Board, the manager, and the other officers, agents, and employees of the Corporation shall not be regarded as Federal employees for any purpose.

(d) The Corporation shall at all times maintain complete and accurate books of account and records which shall be reviewed by said Commission periodically. The Commission shall periodically report to the Congress, through the Secretary and the President, but at not less than three-year intervals on the activities and financial condition of the Corporation.

TAXATION

SEC. 11. So long as the lands granted to a Native group by this Act and the minerals granted to the Corporation are held by such group or by a Native or his descendants or by the Corporation in fee or in trust, such land and minerals shall not be subject to State or local taxes upon real estate. Rents, issues, profits, royalties, and other revenues or proceeds derived from such lands by a Native or his descendant or a non-Native shall be subject to Federal and State or local tax laws. Payments made under this Act or under any State statute to the Corporation shall not be taxed to the Corporation. Leasehold or other interests in such lands held by non-Natives may be taxed as provided by State law. No part of any per capital distribution made by a Native group of any or all of the funds granted to said group under section 14 of this Act or of any or all of the mineral revenues paid to said group by the Corporation under section 9 of this Act shall be subject to Federal or State income tax. The Corporation shall be organized and operated in a manner which will enable such Corporation to qualify for tax exemption under section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

ENROLLMENT

SEC. 12. The Secretary shall prepare a roll of Natives, and he shall prepare a roster of Native groups eligible to receive any grant under this Act. Such roll and roster shall be determined as of the date of this Act. Rolls of Natives and descendants eligible to vote in any election held pursuant to this Act may be prepared by the Secretary from time to time. Before any such roster or roll is finally approved by the Secretary, it shall be published in such manner as he shall find to be practicable and effective, and an opportunity shall be given to lodge protests thereto. The Secretary's findings shall be conclusive. Each Native shall be afforded an opportunity to be enrolled in the city, town, or village in which or nearest which he resides or in the city, town, or village from which an ancestor came, under regulations issued by the Secretary.

ABORIGINAL USE

SEC. 13. The Secretary may permit the Natives of Alaska to use for fifty years or less from the date of this Act exclusively for hunting, fishing, trapping, and berrypicking purposes any land in Alaska that is owned by the United States, in accordance with applicable State and Federal laws and regulations and with the concurrence of the head of the agency administering such land. Any patents or leases hereafter issued for such lands pursuant to the Alaska Statehood Act, or the public land, mining, or mineral leasing laws, shall contain a reservation to the United States of the right to issue for nonexclusive hunting, fishing, trapping, and berrypicking purposes, permits for up to fifty years from the date of this Act.

GRANT

SEC. 14. (a) In lieu of according the Natives any right to recover compensation for the extinguishment of aboriginal title, there is authorized to be appropriated and deposited in a special account in the United States Treasury to the credit of the Natives such sums as may be necessary to make a grant to each Native group (1) in an amount computed on the basis of $3,000 for each Native in said group, except that, in the case of any Tlingit and Haida Natives in said group, there shall be deducted their pro rata share, after attorneys' fees and litigation expenses, of the money judgment awarded to them in Court of Claims docket numbered 47,900, or (2) in the amount of $180 million, whichever is the lesser sum. One-third of the grant shall be deposited into the special account during fiscal year 1971 and the remainder deposited into the account in equal amounts in each of the succeeding four fiscal years and shall earn interest in the amount of 4 percent per annum.

(b) Each year the Secretary shall apportion 90 percent of the funds then in the special account among the Native groups in Alaska. The apportionment shall be in the ratio that the number of Natives in each Native group bears to all of the Natives. The funds apportioned among each Native group may be advanced, expended, invested, or reinvested for any purpose that is authorized by the governing organization of the Native group and that is approved by the Commission established by this Act. Each year the remaining funds then in the special account shall be credited to the Corporation and such funds, together with all other revenues available to the Corporation, may be expended by the Corporation, in accordance with an annual budget prepared by the Corporation and approved by said Commission.

(c) Before apportioning any money under the provisions of subsection (b) of this section to the Native groups composed of Tlingit and Haida Natives who participated in or received benefits from, the judgment awarded to the Tlingit and Haida Natives in Court of Claims docket numbered 47,900, the Secretary shall deduct the pro rata share, after the deduction of attorneys' fees and litigation expenses, of said money judgment.

METLAKAHTLA INDIANS

SEC. 15. The provisions of this Act shall not apply to the Native groups of Metlakahtla Indians in the Annette Island Reservation but such groups shall be eligible to receive any benefits the Corporation may provide.

ALASKA NATIVE COMMISSION

SEC. 16. In order to assist the Secretary in the administration of this Act, the President may appoint an Alaska Native Commission of not to exceed three members who shall serve at the pleasure of the President. A majority of the members shall have been residents of Alaska for one or more years preceding appointment. The Commission shall be located without the Department of the Interior and shall have the duties and powers prescribed in this Act and such other duties and powers as the Secretary may from time to time delegate. The Secretary shall also prescribe the compensation to be paid to the members and provide for payment of Commission expenses, including employment of necessary personnel. The Secretary may utilize, with or without reimbursement, personnel and facilities of the Department of the Interior to assist the Commission in carrying out its functions.

NATIONAL FOREST LANDS

SEC. 17. The Native groups shall qualify as communities within the meaning of section 6(a) of the Alaska Statehood Act.

APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 18. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary such sums as may be necessary to defray the costs of the planning, subdivision, survey, management, and disposal of lands under this Act, either directly by the Secretary or by contract, and to pay the expenses of the Commission established by this Act, and to carry out functions authorized by this Act. Such sums shall be available until expended.

(b) There is authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary such sums as may be necessary to pay all reasonable attorneys' fees and expenses actually incurred by any Native or Native group, as determined by the Secretary, in connection with any claims pending at the date of enactment of this Act before the Indian Claims Commission, which have been terminated by reason of section 4 of this Act.

(c) At the beginning of each Congress the Secretary shall report to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate the grants made under this Act and an estimate of the time needed to complete the grants. The reporting may be discontinued when the grants are substantially completed.

REPEAL

SEC. 19. Section 3 of the Act of May 25, 1926 (44 Stat. 630; 48 U.S.C. 355c) is hereby repealed.

The letter and explanation, presented by Mr. JACKSON, are as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., April 30, 1968.

Hon. HENRY M. JACKSON,
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Since transmitting legislation to the Congress last June to settle the claims of Alaska Natives which was introduced as S. 1964, a new bill (S. 2906) prepared by the Governor of Alaska's Task Force on Native Land Claims was introduced. That bill, in our opinion, represents significant progress toward reaching agreement among the interested parties on the principles for an equitable settlement of the long-standing problem.

The early resolution of this matter would be of inestimable significance not only to the Alaska Natives who make up about 25 percent of the State's civilian population, but also to all citizens of the State.

We believe that this issue is one of the most important Indian matters before the 90th Congress. President Johnson in his message "The Forgotten American" urged "prompt action on legislation to:

"Give the native people of Alaska title to the lands they occupy and need to sustain their villages.

"Give them rights to use additional lands and water for hunting, trapping and fishing to maintain their traditional way of life, if they so choose.

"Award them compensation commensurate with the value of any lands taken from them."

Enclosed is a proposed bill which carries out the three principles outlined by the President. We urge its early enactment in lieu of S. 1964 or S. 2906.

The Act of May 17, 1884 (23 Stat. 24), providing a civil government for the Territory of Alaska, declared that the Natives "shall not be disturbed in the possession of any lands actually in their use and occupation or now claimed by them, but the terms and conditions under which such persons may acquire title to such lands is reserved for future legislation by Congress." A similar provision is contained in the Act of June 6, 1900 (31 Stat. 321), which provided a civil government for Alaska.

In the absence of Congressional action, the Natives cannot be given full title to the lands they have traditionally used and occupied. Moreover, since the Natives have a Federal guarantee that they shall not be disturbed in their use and occupation of lands, we do not feel that we can allow lands to be patented to the State under the land selection provisions of the Alaska Statehood Act, July 7, 1958 (72 Stat. 339), in the face of the Natives' claims that they have traditionally been using and occupying such lands. To allow these lands to pass into other ownership would pre-empt from Congress the power to exercise its right and obligation to decide this issue, and would deny the Alaska Natives an opportunity to acquire title to lands which in many instances, it is generally admitted, they have openly and continuously used and occupied from a period that antedated the purchase of Alaska by the United States.

When Congress recognizes an aboriginal title, as it did in the Act of June 19, 1935 (49 Stat. 388), with respect to the claims of the Tlingit and Haida Indians to compensation for the expropriation by the United States of lands in southeastern Alaska, and for failure of the United States to protect their property rights from usurpation by non-Indians, the Natives acquire a compensable ownership interest in the land that is protected by the due-process clause of the Constitution.

The extent to which aboriginal or Indian title is to be recognized is exclusively a policy matter for Congressional determination. In the past, Congress has repeatedly shown great respect for aboriginal title and has dealt most generously with the Indian people. Once the Congress recognizes the Government's obligations to pay just compensation for Indian title, the courts have consistently held that the applicable standard of valuation, in the absence of a statutory provision to the contrary, is the same as if the Indians held the property in fee simple ownership.

We have long grappled with the problem of providing a fair and equitable settlement to the Natives' land claims. We have come to realize, however, that there is no easy solution that is equitable to all. A number of proposals have been made in the past. They have, however, met considerable opposition from the various interested parties.

While S. 1964 and S. 2906 generally adhere to the principles set out by the President, we believe that they have some basic shortcomings. Upon further consideration, we now believe that the proposal (S. 1964) to grant jurisdiction to the United States Court of Claims to adjudicate a general claim on behalf of all Natives of Alaska and to render judgment based on the market value of the Natives' aboriginal title as of March 30, 1867, the date of purchase of Alaska by the United States, does not now offer the best approach to the problem. Moreover, because of the length of time involved in judicial proceedings to determine the extent of Indian title and its value, and the difficulties attendant to obtaining the detailed factual information upon which to base such a determination with respect to the vast area of the State of Alaska, we no longer recommend judicial determination of Native claims. It is our position that after weighing the equities involved and the data available, the Congress can arrive at a just solution to this complex problem.

S. 2906, on the other hand, while providing for a more generous settlement, is objectionable in three major aspects.

First, in our opinion the grant of 40 million acres to the Natives is much greater than is required to give them title to the lands they need for village expansion. The purpose of a land settlement of this magnitude is clearly to allow the Natives to select land primarily for investment purposes. While we recognize the need of the Natives for resources that will provide continuing income to facilitate their transition to a wage-oriented society, we believe this need can be met far more equitably by providing ready cash.

Second, we believe that the land selection provisions of S. 2906 are far too cumbersome and complicated. The legislation should provide a workable, speedy, and simple mechanism for granting to each Native group a sufficient amount of land to meet its needs.

S. 2906 would not be speedy. On the contrary, it would let the selection process drag on for 25 years.

Also, we continue to advocate the basic land grant provisions contained in S. 1964. They would grant to the various groups the village sites they occupy, and additional lands within the environs of those sites that will contribute significantly to the livelihood of the Natives. The maximum acreage for any group would be 50,000 acres, which should be adequate to meet the Natives' needs, both present and future.

In addition, we do not believe that there is any need for an adjudication of Native claims by a Commission. While we support the need for a Commission, its role should be directed to monitoring the use of the funds available to the villages and Native corporation. Native representation on such a Commission would clearly be desirable, but we do not believe that the legislation should provide for its control by the Natives as in S. 2906. The President should be free to choose the best people available.

Further, we are opposed to the provision in S. 2906 which would require a Federal agency to justify to the Commission that its lands are needed for public purposes, and to any provisions authorizing a grant of various wildlife and recreational reservations. We also oppose the provision related to National forests. The needs of the Native groups bounded by National forest lands can be met from the 400,000 acres of such lands allowed the State under section 6(a) of the Alaska Statehood Act.

Third, we believe that an open-ended provision for utilizing Outer Continental Shelf revenues would not be in the best interest of the Natives or the Nation. If Alaskan OCS receipts do not live up to expectations, such a mechanism as outlined in S. 2906 might result in the Natives obtaining less than adequate compensation, leaving Congress with the possibility of facing the issue again in the future. On the other hand, if the Shelf proves to be a bountiful producer, the revenues to the Natives might far exceed any reasonable relationship to the Natives' claims. It is our opinion that a more definite and more equitable solution would be to grant the Natives a fixed cash settlement, based on the value of the lands taken from them as recommended in the President's message on Indians.

In the absence of lengthy and costly litigation it is impossible to determine the precise value of the Natives' claims.

The economic needs of Alaska's Natives are unquestioned. Native housing is generally considered to be the most primitive and dilapidated of any occupied by native people in the United States. Income is lower and unemployment higher than among Indians anywhere. Increased acculturation, the absence of employment opportunities, and the ever-decreasing availability of subsistence opportunities have contributed to a growing dependence on welfare. Exposure to the white man's way of life has generated in the Native needs he had never known, without adequate means for their satisfaction.

In the valuation process there are a number of variables:

(1) The extent of the Natives' aboriginal title.

(2) The date or dates as of which the valuation should be made.

(3) The actual value of the lands on those dates.

A rough approximation of value can be derived from the Tlingit and Haida award of the Court of Claims. The Court held that the Indians had established aboriginal Indian title to virtually the entire Alaskan archipelago by their exclusive use and occupancy of that area from time immemorial. Based on the standards adopted by the Court of Claims, it is possible that the various Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut groups could establish aboriginal title to practically all of the remaining area of Alaska, roughly 350 million acres. This land would be worth over $150 million at the Tlingit and Haida valuation which averaged 43 cents an acre.

We believe that in line with the principles outlined by the President that a settlement involving up to 50,000 acres per village that will total some 8 to 10 million acres, plus the payment of $3,000 per person or $180 million, whichever is the lesser, is an equitable and just settlement for these claims. In addition, we are aware that the State of Alaska has recently passed legislation providing for payment to the Natives annually of 5 percent of the revenues derived from lands selected by the State under the Alaska Statehood Act, up to a maximum of $50 million. While we are concerned that this action has been made contingent upon this Department's lifting the "freeze" on the patenting of State selections that conflict with Native claims, we are very pleased that the State has evidenced a desire to join with the Federal Government in contributing to an equitable resolution of this problem. It is our hope that the State will see fit to amend its legislation to provide that a larger portion of its annual contributions be channeled to the Native Economic Improvement Corporation proposed in our bill in order that it may be used for projects that will provide continuing income to Alaska's Natives.

Accordingly, the enclosed proposed bill, we believe, would adequately provide an equitable settlement to the Natives.

Also, enclosed is a brief explanation of its major provisions.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that this legislative proposal is in accord with the President's program.

Sincerely yours,

STEWART L. UDALL,
Secretary of the Interior.

BRIEF EXPLANATION OF MAJOR PROVISIONS OF PROPOSED ALASKA NATIVE CLAIMS SETTLEMENT ACT OF 1968

1. The proposal would provide that the benefits accruing under legislation to the Native groups shall be in full and final settlement of any and all claims based on aboriginal use, etc., or arising under an 1884 and 1900 statute. This settlement would include claims now pending before the Indian Claims Commission under other Acts of Congress but not finalized by the Commission on the date of enactment. The proposal authorizes appropriations to pay reasonable attorney fees and expenses in connection with these claims.

2. The proposal would define Native groups

to mean tribes, bands, clans, villages, communities, or associations in Alaska composed of 25 or more Natives and approved by the Secretary.

3. The proposal would authorize the making of a grant in trust to each Native group of unwithdrawn land or village sites and additional lands for future economic and social well-being. The maximum grant to any Native group would be 50,000 acres. At any time during the term of the trust the Secretary upon application of the group and approval by him of a land use plan shall terminate the trust for all or part of the lands granted for the benefit of the said group. The land grant may include title and trust to noncontiguous lands being used and occupied by the Natives for various purposes such as burial grounds, air fields, water supply, and hunting and fishing camps. In any case where the Native villages are located in an area where there are not sufficient additional Federal lands to permit the contemplated grant, the Secretary may convey other lands which would be subject to the same conditions.

4. The land grant proposal would not apply to Native groups who are beneficiaries of the Tlingit and Haida award in the Court of Claims.

5. Lands and waters previously reserved for the use of six named Native groups shall be held in trust by the United States for their benefit for a 25-year period at the end of which time the trust may be liquidated. In addition, at any time during the term of that trust, such groups may apply for the termination of the trust upon approval by the Secretary of a land use plan submitted by them. The 50,000-acre limitation does not apply to these six groups, except, to the extent that such areas are smaller than areas that could be conveyed generally by grant and lands in the immediate vicinity of these areas are available, additional lands may be granted up to the 50,000-acre limitation.

6. The various reservations set aside by Executive order or Secretarial order for Native use shall be revoked by the grant of title under section 6 of this proposal.

7. The proposal provides for withdrawal by the Secretary from all forms of authorization under public land laws any lands which he believes may be subject to a grant to a Native group under this proposal, but the total withdrawal shall not exceed 20 million acres. The withdrawal must be revoked as quickly as possible if the grants are made and the State selection of lands withdrawn shall not be approved until the withdrawal is finally revoked.

8. Lands granted under this proposal that continue to remain not subject to State or local taxes on real estate shall be regarded as public lands for the purposes of the Federal Aid Highway Act.

9. Land granted in trust, except the underlying minerals, to a Native group shall be held by the Secretary of the Interior as trustee. The maximum term of the trust shall be 25 years and when the trust terminates it shall be liquidated in accordance with a trust instrument or if there is not any, as prescribed by the Secretary or as prescribed in sections 5 and 6 of the proposal. The Secretary acting as trustee would have all the powers set forth in the deed of trust, including the right of disposal of the land except the mineral interest.

10. The proposal would grant the underlying mineral interest in lands granted under this legislation in trust or in fee to a Native group to the Native Economic Improvement Corporation established by this proposal, together with the right to mine and remove such minerals under lease. The Corporation would hold the minerals in trust for the benefit of each group and would administer and manage the trust in accordance with the applicable provisions of the proposal. If the trust is terminated by reason of dissolution of the Corporation or by subsequent Act of Congress, the Secretary shall convey the minerals in fee to the appropriate Native group.

11. The proposal would establish a single nonprofit statewide Native Economic Improvement Corporation designed to promote the economic opportunities of the Natives and their descendants in Alaska. The Corporation would be organized under the laws of Alaska and shall be composed of directors elected by the Natives in Alaska in a manner that would assure adequate representation of all of the Natives and their descendants. The directors would appoint a manager of the Corporation and he would be responsible to carry out the Corporation's functions in a business-like manner. The Corporation would, among other things, promote private investment, foster surveys and studies for programs of improvement and development, develop, establish, and operate various business enterprises, invest in business enterprises, make long-term, low-interest loans to Natives in Alaska or Native groups, make grants to the Native groups for publicly sponsored projects which would benefit the entire group and lease on a competitive basis the minerals held in trust by the Corporation. In the case of mineral receipts, the Corporation would have available to it one-half of the total receipts and would distribute the other half to the Native groups having title to the surface lands in which the minerals were developed. The Corporation would not be a Federal instrumentality for any purpose. The Corporation must maintain complete and accurate books and records and would be generally supervised by the Alaska Native Commission established by this proposal.

12. The proposal provides for the establishment by the Secretary of a roster of Native groups and a roll of Natives and their descendants eligible to vote in any election held pursuant to this proposal.

13. The proposal would authorize the Secretary to permit, in accordance with applicable Federal and State laws and with the consent of the administering agency, Natives of Alaska to use public lands in Alaska for 50 years or less exclusively for hunting, fishing, trapping, and berrypicking. In the case of any lands that are patented or leased pursuant to the Alaska Statehood Act or any other public land laws such lands shall contain a reservation to the United States of the right to issue such a permit for nonexclusive hunting, fishing, trapping, and berrypicking purposes for up to 50 years from the date of enactment of this proposal.

14. The proposal would grant to the Natives a sum of money which would be established in one of two ways: (1) it could be computed on the basis of $3,000 for each Native in a Native group, except that, in the case of any Tlingit and Haida Natives in the group, their share of the money judgment would be deducted, or (2) the payment would be a lump sum not to exceed $180 million, whichever is the lesser. The payments would be made into a special account in the Treasury for the benefit of the Native groups and the $180 million is the maximum amount of the payment. Each year the Secretary would apportion 90 percent of the payment in the account to the Native groups to be used by them in any manner that is authorized by their governing body and is approved by the Alaska Native Commission. The remaining sum in the account would be distributed to the Corporation. These payments would be made over a 5-year period beginning in fiscal year 1971.

15. The proposal would authorize the establishment of an Alaska Native Commission composed of 3 members appointed by the President and the majority of whom shall be residents of Alaska for one year or more preceding appointment. The Commission shall be located within the Department of the Interior and shall have duties as established by this proposal and other duties the Secretary may delegate.

16. The proposal provides for appropriations to carry out the provisions of this legislation.

S. 3588—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO ALASKA'S DISASTER URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I am today introducing, for appropriate reference, a bill which would correct an inequity which has inadvertently developed in handling funds authorized by the 1964 amendments to the Alaska Omnibus Act, Public Law 88–451. Those amendments authorized the appropriation of $25 million for urban renewal projects in those communities of Alaska involved in the reconstruction and redevelopment made necessary by the earthquake of March 27, 1964. Property damage and loss was extensive. The need for Federal aid was urgent, and the Congress responded promptly and generously.

The authorization expired on June 30, 1967. The law contained a provision, however, that obligations incurred prior to the expiration date would be honored even after that date.

The entire emergency fund authorized by Public Law 88–451 was obligated or committed before June 30, 1967. Thereafter, additional money became available under the regular urban renewal authorizations, and financing for several of the previously authorized projects was authorized from that source. The result was a reduction of approximately $851,000 in the funds previously committed. Although these funds have been released from the purpose for which they were originally committed and might otherwise be available for expenditure, they cannot be because of the technical requirement imposed by the June 30, 1967 deadline.

I am informed by the Alaska State Housing Authority, Mr. President, that this money can be used to help pay the cost of eight disaster urban renewal projects already underway in Anchorage, Kodiak, Seward, Valdez, Seldovia and Cordova. All of these projects were authorized under Public Law 88–451, before the June 30, 1967 deadline, but some will not be completed until mid-1970. Rapidly changing economic conditions and high acquisition cost awards by the Alaska courts have increased project costs beyond the amounts obligated a year ago. Since there is money from the original $25 million disaster fund still available, I see no reason for its not being used to help meet the increased costs of these disaster projects.

The bill I am introducing today will involve no additional cost to the Federal Government. It merely permits the use of money already appropriated which otherwise would be returned to the general fund. It is money which well can be used within the purposes of the 1964 legislation. I urge prompt enactment of this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3588) to amend the 1964 amendments to the Alaska Omnibus Act, introduced by Mr. BARTLETT, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 3589—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO DESIGNATE U.S. HIGHWAY 41 IN INDIANA AS PART OF THE INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM

Mr. **BAYH**. Mr. President, I am introducing, for appropriate reference, a bill which would designate U.S. Highway 41 in Indiana between Chicago, Ill., and Evansville, Ind., as part of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways. Although portions of this highly traveled, key route have been converted to a divided, four-lane system approaching freeway standards, the bulk of it is still a narrow, two-lane road which is noted for its very high accident rate and for long delays in the movement of traffic.

Mr. President, the present U.S. 41 through Indiana is one of the major north-south corridors followed by much of the motor vehicle traffic between Chicago and Kentucky, Tennessee and other Southern States. It is the shortest, most direct route for those traveling from Nashville and other cities to the metropolitan area of Chicago. In addition to Evansville, a city of approximately 150,000 population on the Indiana-Kentucky border, U.S. 41 also services the major cities of Terre Haute and Vincennes, plus many smaller communities on or near the right of way.

Both Evansville and Terre Haute are heavily industrialized cities. Large quantities of products manufactured or processed there or in nearby communities are carried by motor truck to Chicago. In addition it is a rich farming area from which flows a constant stream of agricultural goods. When combined with the heavy commercial and tourist traffic moving interstate between Illinois or Northern Indiana and points south of the Ohio River, the present highway has long proved to be a major bottleneck.

Mr. President, the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways was first authorized in 1944, but it was not until Congress in 1956 provided for Federal payment of 90 percent of the basic cost that the program began in earnest. In the last 12 years great progress has been made toward the construction of this magnificent network of travel arteries. Approximately 26,000 miles, or nearly two-thirds, of the authorized 41,000 miles system has been completed and is open for use, and excellent progress has been made on the planning, engineering and building of much of the rest. There can be no doubt that the Interstate System has been a direct factor in helping to prevent countless accidents and in saving many injuries and lives. Likewise, it has served to speed up the movement of people and goods and has resulted in sizable savings in fuel and repair costs.

Bills now under consideration would extend for 2 years the completion of the Interstate System and would increase basic authorization for appropriations for this purpose. A number of measures have been proposed which would boost the total mileage for the Interstate System, bring particular highways within its scope, and establish a new program with 75 percent Federal contributions to improve the Federal-aid primary system. These and other proposals should receive careful consideration by Congress so that proper planning for the continued development of our vital highway needs can proceed in the near future.

Mr. President, U.S. 41 in Indiana should be given high priority among those highways which will be evaluated for possible inclusion in the Interstate System. Year after year it has proven to be one of the most dangerous roads to travel in my State. During the year 1967 alone there were 49 persons killed on the 281 miles of its length from border to border. That is an average of one death per year for each 5.73 miles. It is time to stop this needless slaughter of our citizens. As an illustration of the life-saving advantages derived from modern throughways, let me point out that nine times as many motorists were killed last year on our primary road system than on the completed sections of interstate highways, although the latter handled about one-third as much traffic as the former. As a matter of fact, there were 33 fewer casualties incurred on the 635 miles of interstate in use last year than there were on the 531 miles of two of Indiana's old primary roads, U.S. 41 and U.S. 31. As one of the vital links between major metropolitan areas and as a direct North-South route, U.S. 41 between Illinois and Kentucky ranks among the highways most in need of reconstruction. In view of the fact that the fatality rate on modern interstate throughways in Indiana is four times less than that on our wornout, inadequate two-lane roads, I strongly believe that the time has come when every effort must be made to eliminate these death traps. Mr. President, I urge that this bill receive prompt and favorable considerable.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3589) to provide that the highway known as U.S. Highway No. 41 between Chicago, Ill., and Evansville, Ind., shall be designated as part of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, introduced by Mr. BAYH, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

EXTENSION OF CERTAIN LOANS, GUARANTEES, AND INSURANCE IN CONNECTION WITH EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 839

Mr. **TOWER**. Mr. President, on May 14, I stated in the RECORD my reasons for supporting S. 3218. I would reemphasize now that in my opinion, the provisions of the bill would not make a soft-money institution of the Export-Import Bank. I believe that the passage of the bill will be an important legislative step toward assisting our balance-of-payments problem.

There is no need for the Export-Import Bank to turn to so-called soft-money operations under the terms of S. 3218. However, to further establish the assurance that soft-money terms will not be used by the Bank in assisting developing countries, I am submitting an amendment to S. 3218, and ask that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The amendment will be received and printed, and will lie on the table, and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 839) is as follows:

> On page 3, beginning with "except" in line 18, strike out all through line 21 and insert the following: "except as to the standard of reasonable assurance of repayment required under section 2(b)(1) of that act, all loans, guarantees, and insurance extended hereunder shall be subject to the provisions of that Act and to the policies of the Bank with respect to terms of repayment, interest rates, fees, and premiums applicable to loans, guarantees, and insurance extended under that act."

Mr. **TOWER**. The amendment, similar to one incorporated in the House bill, H.R. 16162, in committee, would require the Bank to continue its previous policy with respect to terms of repayment, interest rates, fees and premiums applicable to loans, guarantees and insurance under the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 as amended.

Throughout the Bank's existence, the interest rates charged have been determined by the cost of money to the Bank. Terms and other conditions of the Bank's participation have been fixed primarily upon consideration of the obsolescence of the equipment financed or due to competitive conditions in Europe.

These policy guides need not be changed by the enactment of S. 3218.

The congressional mandate in the basic act requiring "reasonable assurance of repayment" restrains the Bank from an opportunity to finance substantial exports to emerging developing countries and to countries in which Eximbank commitments are so high that the Board is reluctant to make additional loans at the present time.

In neither of these instances, however, would changing of rates, terms, or conditions affect the Board's determination of assistance because buyers, with few exceptions, have no way of making purchases under financial arrangements in Europe which would differ to any marked degree from present Eximbank terms.

Mr. President, let us review for a moment the existing conditions faced by the Bank and by some of the emerging developing countries.

Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, and possibly Indonesia present economic conditions whereby the Bank Board may find it difficult to make a current determination that additional assistance by the Bank in those countries would have "reasonable assurance of repayment." But, economic improvement is being brought about at a fast pace.

We find substantial free enterprise investments moving into these countries, particularly in Korea. American banks are active in those countries on a cautious note. European countries are active and permitting large numbers of loans.

A new look by the Eximbank Board at the expanding economic conditions of these countries might well bring forth additional Bank participation, despite existing commitments which were based on the basic requirements of "reasonable assurance of repayment."

Let us look at some countries where

Eximbank commitments are currently very high. Examples are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and several others.

Eximbank has financed exports to these countries over a period of many years, and the Bank Board today may rightfully feel that it has reached a limit in its financing under the congressional mandate of "reasonable assurance of repayment."

However, there are many instances in these countries where an additional loan would have a good prospect of repayment. One of our airframe manufacturers, for example, has an order in Brazil for the sale of six aircraft which could be consumated with Eximbank financing. Another U.S. exporter has an order for substantial machinery in Chile which could be completed if Eximbank does the financing.

It is natural that the Bank Board, with millions of dollars on the books in these two countries, would hesitate to make further commitments.

In these cases, the Bank might well make the judgment that "there is a good prospect of repayment," but not a judgment of "assurance" of repayment.

Again, I point out, Mr. President, that there is no need for the Bank to soften its terms and interest rates on a competitive basis.

It may also be pointed out that the Bank has various divisions, such as an engineering division, a group of economists and financial experts, and each loan is subject to the appraisal and evaluation of these technical groups. This economic feasibility and financial evaluation would also apply to loans under S. 3218.

Finally, all prospective actions under S. 3218 by the Bank would be carefully scrutinized by the Advisory Committee incorporated in the proposed legislation.

Mr. President, I believe that the adoption of my amendment would negate a good portion of the objection to S. 3218.

CORPORATION FARM HEARINGS CONTINUE IN UPPER MIDWEST

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, the Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business will hold the second in a series of hearings on the effects of corporation farming on small business and on the economic and social structure of rural America beginning at 9 a.m. on Monday, June 10, 1968, in the Eau Claire County Board Room, 731 Oxford Avenue, Eau Claire, Wis.

Our hearings 2 weeks ago in Omaha documented the fact that large congolmerate corporations and other absentee interests are acquiring vast tracts of agricultural land across the Great Plains once owned and farmed by family farmers. Testimony asserted that water resources are being depleted by massive irrigated farming operations. Witnesses asserted that rural communities and businesses are suffering and family farmers are being pushed off the land.

Now we want to explore the implications of corporation farming in the upper Midwest and will hear testimony from businessmen and bankers as well as farmers and rural residents from Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas.

It is a very real possibility that corporate ownership of the land could lead to corporate control over our country's food production with food prices to consumers dictated by syndicates rather than being determined by competition.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEARINGS ON PRETRIAL RELEASE

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN] chairman of the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, I wish to announce that the subcommittee will hold hearings on July 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, and 25 on the operation of the pretrial release system in Federal courts in room 2228, New Senate Office Building. These hearings will be the first of a series designed to conduct a comprehensive study of the administration of the Bail Reform Act of 1966 and related laws and procedural rules, and to consider legislative changes and operational improvements to the act to facilitate the administration of the act in the light of experience gathered during the 2 years the act has been in effect.

Mr. President, the purpose of the Bail Reform Act of 1966 was to revise bail practices in Federal courts to assure that no accused persons, regardless of financial status, should be detained pending their appearance in court to answer criminal charges, to testify, or pending appeal, when detention would serve neither the ends of justice nor the public interest. Studies prior to 1966 by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights and other public and private agencies and individuals had demonstrated that the Federal bail system was characterized by an undue reliance on money bail set in an amount based largely upon the crime charged rather than in an amount which would reasonably assure the appearance of the defendant in court. These studies starkly documented the grave consequences of pretrial detention for the alarmingly large numbers of persons who were unable to post even nominal money bail.

In addition to being forced to undergo the psychological and physical deprivations of jail life while still untried and presumed innocent, many defendants lost their jobs and were unable to provide for their families, were unable to assist in the preparation of their defense, and were thus more apt to be convicted and punished than were released persons. Added to these minus factors was the great cost to the public of pretrial detention of large numbers of defendants. On the other side of the coin, the studies showed that overreliance on money bail resulted in a failure to take into account the most reliable indicia of likelihood of return for trial—the personal circumstances and background of the defendant. For many defendants, the risk of financial loss proved to be no deterrent to flight, whereas character and community ties of many others were in most cases sufficient to assure their reappearance in court. Experimental bail projects in large cities, including New York, Philadelphia, and the District of Columbia, proved in practice that a careful inquiry into the facts concerning defendants' character and community ties would enable the courts to release large numbers of defendants without bail with no increased risk of flight to avoid trial.

The Bail Reform Act of 1966 established as Federal law the two primary principles that evolved from these studies—that pretrial custody should be minimized by releasing as many persons pending trial as possible upon the least restrictive conditions appropriate under the circumstances, and that financial status should be irrelevant in the pretrial release decision.

The act requires that any noncapital defendant be released pending trial upon personal recognizance or unsecured bond unless the facts bearing on his character, circumstances, and community roots indicate that his release should be conditioned in some fashion to assure his reappearance in court. In the latter case, the judicial officer may employ a series of release conditions, depending upon individual circumstances, ranging from release in the informal custody of a responsible person or organization to release only during working hours. The conditions of release are arranged in priorities so as to relegate money bail to a position of last resort and, even then, an unsecured bond coupled with a refundable 10 percent cash deposit is preferred. Defendants in capital cases and convicted defendants awaiting appeal may be detained outright under the act if the evidence suggests that application of the release provisions would entail a risk of public harm or flight.

Mr. President, there is little question that, during the 2 years since its enactment, the Bail Reform Act has proved to be a great step forward in Federal criminal procedural reform. Greater numbers of defendants have been able to secure their release pending trial with all the attendant benefits to the defendants and the public, and with no increase in the flight rate. There is also little question that, notwithstanding these improvements, the act has not fully accomplished the purposes for which it was designed, particularly in the District of Columbia, the only Federal jurisdiction where the courts are required to handle a large volume of trials for ordinary crimes of violence. Soon after its implementation in the District of Columbia, the act became the subject of much criticism by judges, lawyers, and law enforcement officers, who felt that its mandatory release provisions required the release of many dangerous defendants who previously could have been detained by the sub rosa expedient of setting high money bail.

As proof of the folly of such practices, these critics pointed to the alarming incidence of crimes committed by persons released under the act pending trial. It was suggested by some persons that the act be repealed and by others that it at least be amended to permit judges to take the defendant's alleged dangerousness to the community into consideration in setting release conditions. Many responsible persons suggested that the act be amended to authorize the outright detention of defendants considered to represent a high risk of further criminal conduct.

Responding to this criticism of the act, the Judicial Council of the District of Columbia Circuit last November appointed a committee to study the operation of the act in the District of Columbia and to recommend any legislative or administrative changes deemed necessary. The committee, under the chairmanship of U.S. District Court Judge George L. Hart, Jr., included representatives of virtually every segment of the law-enforcement establishment in the District of Columbia. After 6 months of careful study the committee published its excellent report last month and it was approved by the Judicial Conference at its meeting on May 23. The same week, the American Bar Association Project on Minimum Standards for Criminal Justice had released a tentative draft of proposed "Standards Relating to Pretrial Release" based upon a 3-year study by a distinguished national committee of judges, law-enforcement officials, law professors, and practicing attorneys.

Both of these reports wholeheartedly endorsed the basic premises and purposes of the Bail Reform Act. The Judicial Council Committee report stated:

> It must be patent to all that the Bail Reform Act is designed to carry out the theory, the spirit and the express and implied provisions of the Eighth Amendment's proscription against excessive bail, the Judiciary Act of 1789 and Rule 46(c) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. The Act is a great step forward in that it insures the carrying out of the basic law on bail which has been ignored so long.

The committee concluded that the failure of the act to fully accomplish its designed purposes in the District of Columbia was due primarily to the fact that "in practice the act has not been administered with maximum undertanding and effectiveness in this jurisdiction" and the fact that "there has been little consistency in the application and operation of the act." The committee's recommendations, therefore, deal primarily with "administrative, operational improvements," although some legislative changes are recommended. The conclusions and recommendations of the American Bar Association Project closely parallel those of the Judicial Council Committee.

The Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights will use the conclusions and recommendations of these committees as the starting point for its study. It will also consider some of the specific legislative proposals that have already been introduced in both Houses of the Congress. Like the Judicial Council Committee, the subcommittee will start with the premise that the Bail Reform Act is basically sound and that the need is for a more efficient and effective use of the range of pretrial release conditions authorized by the act.

The subcommittee will seek to devise means of encouraging judges to make more thoughtful use of the release restrictions authorized by the act as a means of controlling the activities of released persons and thus reducing the criminal activity of those on bail. It will consider recommendations for better methods of securing and verifying background information necessary for a rational bail determination, for providing sanctions for violation of release conditions to make them more effective, and for increased cooperation among the various agencies and individuals involved in the operation of the pretrial release system.

The subcommittee will give careful attention to recommendations for amendments to the act to authorize judicial officers to consider the alleged danger to the community posed by a defendant in considering what conditions of release to impose or, indeed, whether to detain him. It has been recommended by the Judicial Council Committee and others that judicial officers be given such authority in all cases or at least during the existence of a civil disturbance such as the recent riots in the District of Columbia. Careful attention will be given by the subcommittee to the very sensitive constitutional and practical problems posed by any provision for partial or complete denial of pretrial release based not upon conviction for a crime already committed, but upon the alleged predictability of future criminal conduct.

In considering the question of detention, either in the first instance or upon rearrest for further crime or violation of conditions of release, the subcommittee will give special consideration to the requirement for expedited trial of detained persons. It will seek means of assuring that any detention authority is dependent upon the speedy trial of detained persons with a view to keeping time in custody to an absolute minimum. It will also inquire into the relationship between the length of delay in trial and the commission of further crimes by those who are released. The ultimate goal of the subcommittee's study will be to recommend legislative and administrative changes necessary to revise the Federal pretrial release system to assure the pretrial release of as many persons as possible upon conditions appropriate to minimize the likelihood of flight or further criminal conduct, while authorizing the absolute minimum pretrial detention power consistent with public safety coupled with the assurance of prompt trial of detained persons.

Invited witnesses for this first series of hearings will include members of the Judicial Council and the American Bar Association committees, representatives of all law enforcement and correctional agencies in the District of Columbia and other Federal jurisdictions, representatives of the Vera Institute bail project in New York and similar projects, law professors and practicing attorneys. It is the subcommittee's intention to hear from the broadest spectrum of opinion possible upon which to base recommendations and additional legislation.

SENATOR McGOVERN FINDS WASTE IN DEFENSE SPENDING

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, on numerous occasions I have spoken out denouncing wasteful Defense Department procurement practices that have cost taxpayers billions of dollars in recent years. In particular, I urged compliance instead of lipservice by Defense Department officials with the 1962 Truth-in-Negotiating Act, and have introduced legislation which would strengthen the Renegotiation Board to enable it to perform effectively the function for which it was created—to act as an alert Government sentry against war profiteering.

Unfortunately, waste in defense spending continues. Perhaps the most flagrant recent example was the awarding of contracts for the M-16 rifle by officials of the Department of Defense. In the past, Colt Industries was permitted to make a profit of 1,400 percent on resale of manufacturing rights and in royalties and production guarantees on this weapon. Now, officials of the Defense Department have utterly disregarded competitive bidding for secondary sources for production and procurement of the M-16 rifle. Contracts were awarded to two firms which came to $55 million and $42 million respectively in expenditure of taxpayers' money. This, despite the fact that another firm equally capable of doing the same job submitted a bid of $36 million. This is just one item of many in which hundreds of millions of dollars have been wasted by Defense Department procurement officials.

Mr. President, the distinguished junior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN] has long been one of the strongest advocates in the U.S. Senate for stricter procurement policies in the Defense Department. Senator McGOVERN recently wrote an excellent article entitled "McGOVERN Finds Waste in Defense Spending," which appears in the June issue of the Great Plains Observer, a magazine published in Madison, S. Dak. In his article he clearly and concisely points out the present intolerable state of affairs in the military procurement program. I commend our colleague's article to the attention of all Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

McGOVERN FINDS WASTE IN DEFENSE SPENDING

South Dakota's Sen. George McGovern, who has tangled repeatedly with the Pentagon on Vietnam policy, has challenged the military's top brass on another front: weapons procurement.

In a second Senate speech on the subject in mid-May, McGovern traced the history of the awarding of contracts for the new Army M-16 rifle, pointed out that the U.S. taxpayers are giving General Motors $316 per rifle and Colt Industries, Inc. $104 each for the same rifles, and suggested that "something is drastically wrong in the Pentagon's procurement policies."

The South Dakota Democrat's investigation followed publication of a United Press International story which noted that Harrington and Richardson Co., Worcester, Mass., had been awarded a contract of $15 million to turn out 60,000 of the new rifles, and GM had been given a contract of $19 million for the same number of identical rifles.

McGovern asked why. And in pursuing his inquiry, he found that the discrepancy was only a small segment of the puzzle.

The chain of events concerning the M-16, as reported to the Senate by McGovern:

Colt had for some years held the proprietary rights to the M-16, and produced the light-weight rifles—designed to replace the standard M-1 rifle of World War Two and Korea—for $104 each. In 1964, Colt offered to sell proprietary rights to the government under a plan which would have cost the taxpayers $600,000. The Pentagon declined. Then in 1967, the U.S. purchased those rights—for $4.5 million.

The U.S. wanted proprietary rights, said Dr.

Robert Brooks, Assistant Secretary of the Army, to insure a solid source of supply, possibly when more than one supplier was available. Furthermore, Dr. Brooks said, "we also anticipate there will be a saving, of course, from the competitive procurement as established."

Then the contracts were let—and under the Pentagon's "competitive procurement," taxpayers wound up paying two to three times as much per rifle as they did when Colt was sole supplier. And Dr. Brooks himself shot down the argument that a secondary source of supply was needed to meet an immediate demand, stating "we could obtain the rifle through a straight expansion of Colts somewhat sooner than by the establishment of a second source."

"It appears that once the error was made," Sen. McGovern told the Senate, "the Pentagon decided that it had to compound it by actually developing the secondary source using some form of inverted reasoning to conclude that a failure to make use of the proprietary rights would have amounted to a waste of $4.5 million."

But the eyebrow-raising doesn't end with that decision.

Total contracts awarded to GM and Harrington and Richardson for 240,000 rifles came to $55 million and $42 million, respectively. One of four firms judged technically capable of doing the same job was Maremont Corp. of Saco, Maine; its bid for the same work was $36 million. It was turned down.

Why?

The Pentagon, in answer, listed such factors as the number of college grads on Maremont's payroll, and the age of Maremont's production equipment.

"I suppose there is some perceptible relationship between the educational attainment of a company's employes and its productive abilities," Sen. McGovern said. "I cannot see, however, how it could conceivably make a difference of some $19 million in the price we are willing to pay for 240,000 rifles.

"The age of Maremont's existing equipment is even less relevant, since 100 per cent of the facilities for producing the M–16 are to be supplied by the Defense Department."

The Army, McGovern said, told Maremont it has more confidence in GM and H & R—despite the fact that GM had never made a rifle in its corporate life, and Maremont has built over 100,000 M–60 machineguns, as sole supplier of that weapon for the Defense Department. "Certainly its reliability has been well established," McGovern said.

An Army spokesman's answer to the issue was that the taxpayer needn't worry, the "Renegotiations Board" will step in and correct the situation if it turns out the gunmakers are making a killing beyond the "normal" profit off of weapons. However, McGovern pointed out, the powers of the Renegotiations Board—which can change terms of a contract in cases of excess profiteering—has been stripped of much of its powers since it was established during the Korean War.

"I have no doubt that the questions I am raising would be widely welcomed were they directed to the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Agriculture, or virtually any other agency of the government. I think it is time for a similar standard to be applied in the case of military procurement . . .

"Far from contributing to our security, wasteful defense expenditures undermine our national strength. The funds that we do appropriate are less effective than they should be, and the dollars wasted are diverted from more pressing needs.

"I consider these questions to be profoundly serious, not only because they suggest waste of the nation's financial resources, but also because they have a direct bearing on the combat and defense capabilities of the young men we have committed to battle in Vietnam," McGovern said.

"I have sharply differed with the policies that have involved American forces in that tragic conflict. But I regard our responsibility to supply them with the best possible equipment and support as a most urgent and demanding duty, to say nothing of the economic considerations involved.

"If preference for a particular weapon's supplier or a desire to cover past mistakes has interfered with that obligation, then we are faced with an intolerable state of affairs in the military procurement program . . ."

SAIGON—CENTER OF CORRUPTION

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, it is no secret that for a long time I have been opposed to the quantitative way this war is being fought, with heavy shackles on our airpower and seapower, at the same time the capacity of both these services is consistently denigrated, not only by former members of this administration, but also by various candidates for office.

Some of these people apparently want to continue pressing forward in this ground war, one of us for one of them in the Asian jungles, their rifles at least as good as ours, their knowledge of the terrain incomparably superior, their expertise in guerrilla warfare.

Others want to retreat to some form of holding action, continue the killing and the heavy cost, in effect agree to an indefinite stalemate.

More and more the average citizen has the right to ask, "What is any true definition of victory in Vietnam? We know what we have lost and are losing, but what do we win if we win?"

In this connection, in the Saturday Evening Post of June 1, there is an article entitled "Our Own Worst Enemy: A First-Hand Report on the Corruption That Is Sabotaging Our Effort in Vietnam."

I personally have seen these black markets but a few steps from the American Embassy, with needed but unavailable field boots, nevertheless for sale in said markets at much higher prices.

Inasmuch as we are operating as "guests of the South Vietnamese Government," the clearing up of this corruption is not a problem for the United States, rather a problem for the Government of South Vietnam; and the fact that over the years that Government has been able to do little about it, casts grave doubts as to whether it is a Government that should continue to merit this degree of support, support which has already cost the lives of over 700 young men from my own State.

From the article in question, I ask unanimous consent to include the first section at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the section was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post, June 1, 1968]

OUR OWN WORST ENEMY

(By William J. Lederer)

"Without American money, guns, food, medicine and supplies, we of the National Liberation Front would have a hard time surviving. . . ." (Maj. Pham Van-linh, logistics officer for the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong)—in an interview in Saigon, June 1967.)

Every government we have helped into power in Vietnam has been inadequate; and all of them have been rejected by the Vietnamese people. First it was the French; next Ngo Dinh Diem; and then, after a period of coups and counter-coups, the military junta headed by General Thieu and Marshal Ky.

One of the measures of inadequacy is the degree of governmental corruption. I am speaking of excessive corruption, not the accepted Asian practice of reasonable "cumshaw" for services rendered, which grew from a tradition of low salaries for government officials. Vietnam corruption has gone far beyond the traditional. It has, for example, become the usual method of acquiring government positions and the usual reason for wanting them—from top to bottom, from cop to high-ranking general or province chief.

My first experience with the Vietnamese black market occurred in Saigon. I told the Army public-relations officer at JUSPAO (Joint United States Public Affairs Office) that I planned to go out with the troops, and asked where I could buy jungle fatigues and jungle boots.

"We have lots of goodies for reporters if they have the right papers," he said, handing me an authorization to buy Army uniforms.

A friend took me, on the back of his scooter, to the big PX in the Cholon district. Outside the compound, with its sandbags and U.S. armed guards, was a place for customers to park their vehicles. As the vehicles were parked, small Vietnamese boys ran up, their hands outstretched, demanding "watch-your-Jeep [or scooter] money." They wanted money to stop "someone" from cutting ignition wires or letting air from tires.

I angrily told a PX officer about the situation. He replied, "The street is Vietnamese territory. We are guests in this country. We have no jurisdiction over anything that happens in the street.

Those kids can sell stolen PX merchandise out there, and we can't touch them. Only the Vietnamese police can do anything. We are guests in this country—and that's the way General Westmoreland has ordered it.

I made the obvious remark that it was a strange way to treat guests who were dying by the thousands to protect their hosts.

The major shrugged and said, "This is their country. We are fighting and dying in combat because we have permission from the Vietnamese to be on those battlefields. Parking scooters on their streets is something else."

A sergeant took me to the uniform shop, but when I gave the clerk my authorization, he shook his head. "We haven't had fatigues or jungle boots for months."

"When are you expecting them?"

He held up his hands and shrugged.

My friend and I returned to the street, mended the cut ignition wire on the scooter, and returned to JUSPAO. There I told the public-relations officer that the store did not have jungle uniforms. He laughed and said that I would have to find them where he and his men did—on the black market. "They may charge you a couple of bucks more, but the gear is always available and in all the sizes anybody could want."

I walked down the street past the USO and the flower markets and the sidewalk restaurants. It took about five minutes. And there was the "Little Black Market" (the name implying that there were bigger places elsewhere).

Stalls crowded and leaned against each other, as in any Oriental bazaar. Hundreds of customers milled about, pushing and inspecting the merchandise. Among them were four U.S. Army noncommissioned officers, one Army captain, and a U.S. Navy yeoman. Four Vietnamese policemen stood about, keeping order.

In the stalls were all the most desirable items from the PX.

I noted transistor radios, blankets, toasters, electric blenders, watches, clocks, pens, cigarettes, tobacco, shirts, television sets, cameras, film, toilet articles, patent medicines, shirts, lingerie, socks, and a variety of the best-advertised American liquors, as well as cans of just about every kind of food available in the Army commissary.

I asked a Vietnamese official if it were not against the law to sell merchandise stolen from the PX. He replied that it was, but that there was no proof this merchandise was stolen. I pointed out that almost every item still carried the PX label, and that the PX was most certainly the only local importer of them.

"That is true," he said, "but in this country, for goods to be declared stolen, we must catch someone in the act of stealing them. One must be very careful in making charges. Perhaps the 'PX' stamped on that bottle of brandy is a brand name, is that not so?"

I continued up and down the stalls looking for uniforms and jungle boots. There were none visible. Then one of the black-market operators came up and, speaking in English, asked me what I wanted. When I told her, she said, "All complete uniform. Everything. Helmet. Pants. Boots. Shirt. Everything. Forty-eight hundred piasters or thirty dollars. You want?"

"I want to see them."

"You buy them if they all new and right size?"

"Yes, of course I will. Do I pay you now?"

The woman turned to a boy, spoke to him in Vietnamese and gave him a piece of paper. "Go with boy. Pay when you get clothes."

The boy took me several blocks along the street and into a store that had copper pots in the window. The boy went to an old man who was clacking an abacus. Without speaking, the old man led me out the back of the store, across a yard, into an alley which stank of rotten vegetables, and then up two flights of equally smelly dark stairs into the loft of another building.

The place looked like a U.S. Army ammunition depot. Everything seemed to be painted brown and to smell of oil or fresh paint. Equipment was arranged in orderly rows, and printed price tags hung from everything. Automatic rifles were $250. A heavy mortar was priced at $400. There were about 1,000 American rifles of different kinds standing neatly in racks. M-16's cost $80. On one side of the loft were uniforms of all services, including the U.S. Air Force. There was even U.S. Navy diving equipment.

The old man inquired as to my size, and then brought me the uniform and the boots I wanted.

Later that evening I talked about the black market to an old friend whom I shall call Tran Trong Hoc (and of whom I'll speak more later). He said, "What you saw is nothing. Go down to the waterfront some day and see how the big operators work. The whole South Vietnamese Government is involved."

"Any Americans?"

"Plenty are becoming millionaires—exactly as happened when the U.S. Army occupied Japan and Germany. You can be sure of this, because illicit dealings in Vietnam total about ten billion dollars a year—all in American goods and moneys. This could not exist without American collusion. It would be impossible."

I did not answer.

"We'll go to the waterfront in a few days," said Tran Trong Hoc, "and watch the big operations. We have to plan it well. If we are not careful, neither of us will be alive to tell what we saw."

AMENDMENT OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT—BILL PLACED ON THE TABLE

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Calendar No. 560, S. 1314, to amend section 303(b) of the Interstate Commerce Act to modernize certain restrictions upon the application and scope of the exemption provided therein, be indefinitely postponed and placed on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

VOTING AGE SHOULD BE LOWERED TO 18

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, the Congress should without delay act affirmatively on President Johnson's forthright call for lowering the voting age to 18 years. I am hopeful that the Committee on the Judiciary will soon report favorably Senate Joint Resolution 8, the proposed constitutional amendment introduced by the distinguished majority leader, to enable 18 year olds to vote in all elections.

Frankly, I personally believe that a constitutional amendment is not necessary for this purpose and that the voting age in Federal elections could be lowered through regular legislative process. It is my view that the precedent set in abolishing the poll tax and literacy requirements in Federal elections indicates that such action by the Congress would be upheld by the courts. Certainly, the attempt should be made without further delay and thereby enable millions of Americans who are 18, 19, and 20 years of age to vote in the forthcoming November elections.

Today, young men and women 18 years old are better educated and better informed citizens than were those with college degrees 25 years ago. I wholeheartedly agree with President Johnson's statement last week that this generation of young people is the best ever—that they are healthier, quicker of mind and better trained than their predecessors. Also, that there is a moral energy in this generation that exceeds any of previous generations.

Four States—Georgia, Kentucky, Alaska, and Hawaii—permit voting by citizens before they attain the age of 21. It is high time that the rest of the Nation follows suit. There is no reason for assuming that 18, 19, and 20 year olds are not capable of casting a responsible vote. More of those young people have completed high school and more are attending college than ever before in our history. They are clearly as capable as other Americans in the effective use of the franchise.

Over the years I have met with hundreds of groups of college students and high school students and other young people. I know that today they are better informed than many others in our society. Their interest in public affairs and their potential for public service at home and abroad has been clearly shown through their participation in the Peace Corps, VISTA, and through the active part that millions of young Americans have played in the political events of recent years.

What reason can be given for considering an American old enough to fight in Vietnam—or anywhere else, for that matter—but not old enough to vote for those who determine where and when he shall fight? Certainly if a young man of 18, 19, or 20 years of age is old enough to fight and die for his country, he is old enough to have a voice in the selection of those who govern the Nation and whose decisions affect his very life.

Mr. President, lowering the voting age to 18 will also tend to bring about more effective and responsible government in the future as it will provide a more equitable balance in the electorate. As the number of older voters increases due to longer life expectancy, a corresponding increase in the number of young voters will help provide a more balanced approach in the general political outlook of the men and women of our Nation.

In the midst of great ferment in our colleges and universities, we must reiterate our faith in our youth and in the ability of the great majority of them to cope with the problems which beset our society and affect the welfare of our Nation. I urge immediate enactment of legislation to lower the voting age in Federal elections to 18 years of age; or at the very least the approval of the proposed constitutional amendment to accomplish this.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE CONSERVATION YEARBOOK SERIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I invite attention to a vital service being performed for the American public by the Department of the Interior—one that, in addition, is more than paying its own way. I refer to Interior's conservation yearbook series of which this year's book is entitled "Man: An Endangered Species?" This publication is the fourth of Interior's annual efforts to arouse and engage the American people on behalf of their own environment. The message it contains is literally of life-and-death importance. It is compellingly presented, and it is a sales document. "Man: An Endangered Species?" is sold for $1.50 by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402. Sales of all four yearbooks have far exceeded the cost of their preparation and printing. The Seattle Times, in its lead editorial of Sunday, May 19, pays glowing tribute to the importance of this yearbook. I ask that the editorial comment be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PRODUCTION, SPEED AT ANY PRICE: BUT WE NEGLECT PEOPLE

This year's annual report by the United States Department of the Interior deserves much more than the cursory notice usually accorded such documents before they disappear into the obscurity of the federal archives.

The publication is the hardest-hitting report of its kind to appear since 1964, when a privately published book by Peter Blake—"God's Own Junkyard"—warned of the "planned deterioration of America's landscape."

In Blake's book, a cynical observer remarked that "the national purpose of this country from the beginning has been to let everyone make as much money as he possibly can. If they found oil under St. Patrick's Cathedral, they would put a derrick smack in the center of the nave and nobody would give the matter a second thought."

A similar theme is pursued in the new Interior Department report, but it goes even further, suggesting that the continued mindless ruination of the environment now has placed human beings themselves in danger of extinction.

Pleading for more intensive efforts to curb pollution, to preserve open spaces and to attack the "diminishing quality and creeping vulgarity and ugliness of the environment," the report calls upon Americans to control their "unbridled technology."

Interior Secretary Udall said there is an "insidious logic that implies that production, speed, novelty, progress at any price must come first and people second." Udall suggests that the race for superproductivity has made the "gross national product our Holy Grail." In so doing, we often ignore the "little things" that add joy to everyday living.

There ought to be, Udall observed, a "tranquillity index, a cleanliness index and a privacy index" as well as statistics on such things as steel production, automobile output and housing starts.

Conservation programs to date, the report continued, largely are "apologies to the past." While Americans earnestly support such limited enterprises as saving the whooping cranes, they fail to notice their own growing eligibility for the title, "endangered species."

It is a scathing indictment, very nearly every word of which happens to be true.

OUR TOO BIG FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—ADDRESS BY SENATOR HOLLAND

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, last Friday, at Sea Island, Ga., the distinguished senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] delivered an address to the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern States Industrial Council.

Our able colleague and learned champion of sound government and fiscal responsibility discussed an issue vital to every citizen of the United States, and especially important to our State and local governments. Senator HOLLAND views with justifiable alarm the decline of State sovereignty and the trend toward an all-powerful, centralized state in which the creation of more and more socialistic programs have almost become the order of the day. In his most eloquent and forceful address, he issued a call—in which I wholeheartedly join—for the restoration of Federal-State relations as envisioned and intended by the Constitution, and for restoration of "the old-fashioned American idea that personal ambition and the willingness to work are virtues."

The concern expressed by Senator HOLLAND in discussing these and many other serious social and economic problems facing our country today is shared by millions of Americans—a majority of our citizens, I believe—including myself.

The Senator from Florida is to be commended for his splendid appraisal of these State and national problems. In my judgment, he has wisely pointed the direction for their solution. I ask unanimous consent that the text of his speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR TOO BIG FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

(By U.S. Senator SPESSARD L. HOLLAND before the annual meeting of the board of directors, Southern States Industrial Council, Sea Island, Ga., May 31, 1968)

I am glad to be here today with my kind of folks—you directors and associates of the Southern States Industrial Council.

It is also a pleasure to be once again in the great State of Georgia where my father, Benjamin Franklin Holland, was born and fought and shed his blood in the defense of Atlanta; where he lived until he migrated to Florida in 1882. While I have a very warm spot in my heart for this state, received my academic degree at Old Emory College, and am now honored to be a Trustee Emeritus of Emory University after many years as an active Trustee, I must say that I am pleased that my father saw fit to relocate in Florida. For Florida, my native state, has treated me wonderfully well.

I could not visit Georgia without mentioning two of my beloved colleagues in the Senate—Senators Dick Russell and Herman Talmadge—with whom I see eye-to-eye on most of the important issues which come before us in the Senate. They possess a world of wisdom and practical knowledge so necessary to assist us in playing our part in shaping the destiny of our nation. They are a great credit to Georgia and are patriotic servants of our nation—they epitomize the motto of this Empire State: "Wisdom, Justice and Moderation."

I wish to talk to you today about a subject which I am certain is deep in the minds of all of us—that is, the constant erosion of our constitutional dual sovereignty form of government and the move towards an all-powerful, centralized, socialistic state. I am sure you know what a socialist is—he is an unsuccessful person who figures his last chance to get something for himself is to take part of what you have. My subject, therefore, is "Our Too Big Federal Government."

It would be trite these days to talk about the Vietnam War and our too-many foreign commitments, along with our heavy load in giving aid to many less fortunate, undeveloped nations. But I mention these subjects in passing, because they create a sizable part of the overload which makes our federal government and our federal budget too big. It would be trite, also, to mention the huge burden of domestic welfare programs, many of them socialistic, which our federal government has assumed, the mass of ill-considered civil rights legislation with all of its enforcement provisions and personnel, relating to schools, so-called fair employment controls, anti-discrimination voting controls, and many other features. It might be of interest to discuss the new fields of necessary federal activities such as aviation, space, atomic energy, radio, television, oceanographic exploration, and others. But I simply mention all of these as a background for stating that our federal government has grown so big that it has become grossly extravagant.

As a long-time member of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, I long ago realized that it is simply impossible for any human mind in the legislative branch to grasp all the implications of our swollen governmental machinery and to appropriate for it with that careful prudence and economy which we earnestly desire. And it is equally impossible for a human mind in the executive department, whether the President or any of the top officials of our huge agencies, to plan well and spend efficiently and economically the astronomical sums which they handle.

These difficulties exist and they will have to be faced and overcome separately and, I fear, over a long period of time. I hope and trust that American ingenuity will find many ways to accomplish savings and I shall expect many of these programs to be reduced and simplified and some of them to be eliminated.

In my remarks today, however, I shall discuss some of those many activities now pending which are being promoted by ultra-liberals and which would add further to the federal burdens and make more impossible the job of carefully reorganizing the massive national overload and bringing it back to sane proportions. Such a group as yourselves can do much in combatting these pending efforts and these new trends to further complicate our government and further pile up unbearable loads on the already over-burdened federal structure.

Among these ultra-liberal efforts which I hope you will oppose vigorously are several which are pushed by power-hungry leaders of the labor movement and which, if accomplished, would add greatly to the difficulties of industry and do violence to the public interest. I am sure you all remember the active efforts which have been made several times in recent years to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which is the section permitting any state to adopt for itself, the so-called "right-to-work" provision. Some 19 states have acted to adopt this provision and still have it in force. Twice in the last three years such a drive has been stopped in the Senate by our defeating the efforts to impose cloture. But that does not mean that the subject is dead and we hear constant talk of the renewal of the effort to repeal Section 14(b). We will surely face such an attempt again in the near future and in the meantime there is a flank movement under way, related directly to federal employees, which I call to your attention and which is nothing more nor less than a "foot-in-the-door" approach to another try at repealing Section 14(b).

In 1962 President Kennedy issued an Executive Order permitting federal employees to join or refuse to join a union. A Labor Management Review Commission, appointed by President Johnson, has recently recommended changes in that Executive Order requiring federal employees to join a union and to pay union dues and assessments. Recognizing this effort for what it is, Senator Bennett of Utah has recently introduced S. 3483, of which legislation I am a co-sponsor, to protect the freedom of choice of federal employees to join a union or to refuse to join and in the case they decide not to join, to protect them against the payment of union dues or assessments. I think it is unnecessary to point out that if federal employees are denied the right-to-work provision or the freedom of choice now guaranteed to them by the 1962 Order of President Kennedy this would be a logical approach to the repeal of Section 14(b) so that other employees generally could be deprived of the benefit of the right-to-work laws of the several states. I hope that your organization will be quite alert on this matter and will strongly support the bill of Senator Bennett to assure complete freedom of choice to federal employees as to whether they shall join an employees union or refuse to do so.

Another measure now pending called the

"Equal Employment Opportunities Enforcement Act", proposes to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 so as to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission the right to issue cease and desist orders. This legislation was favorably reported by the Labor Subcommittee to the full Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare which has reported it to the Senate as S. 3465. I do not think I need tell you how arbitrary a handling of this important question may be expected if the very Commission which is investigating employment practices in the effort to prevent discrimination in employment were given the power to issue cease and desist orders just as a United States Court, after adequate proof in which the complained-against party would have every right to be heard, were taking the action. I am sure you already know that the United States Chamber of Commerce and other groups which are interested in assuring employers fair treatment are strongly opposing this proposed legislation and I hope you will join in opposing it.

Yet another measure now pending before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senate Bill No. 8, proposes to place all agricultural employees under the National Labor Relations Board. This is a measure which has the strong opposition of all agricultural groups, particularly those which are producing perishable fruit and vegetable crops. I am sure that you can realize the disaster that would threaten many agricultural producing industries if agricultural labor had the right not only to organize in unions, but to have all of the advantages of resorting to NLRB. I shall not belabor this question, but to my mind, there could be nothing more unfair to agriculture, which has already had its labor placed under the provisions of the Wage and Hour Act, and which must operate under the constant uncertainties of weather and changing market conditions, than to now provide that it would have to be prepared at all times to meet hazards of strikes and the complaints of every sort filed with the NLRB and to comply with the dictation of NLRB. I hope that you will throw the weight of your organization very strongly against the adoption of this proposed, hurtful, legislation.

Aside from the field of labor legislation, yet another proposal now pending in the Congress is that to guarantee an annual income to all citizens. The recently-functioning Labor Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders included, among its recommendations, the setting up of a national system of guaranteed income. Immediately after the filing of the report of that Committee, a bill was presented, known as H.R. 17331, now pending in a House Committee, which would provide a comprehensive maintenance income system for all Americans. As an example, taken from the supporting statement of the author of that bill on the Floor of the House of Representatives, a family of four with no outside income would be guaranteed $2004 per year. A family of four with outside income of $1000 per year would receive $1500 in benefits, or a total of $2500. A family of four with outside income of $2000 would receive $1000 in benefits, or a total of $3000. And a family of four with outside income of $3000 per year would receive $500 in benefits, or a total of $3500. If such a family has an annual income of $4000 it would receive no government supplement. The bill does not explain the logic of its approach to guaranteed income of different amounts to different families of four, but it does make it very clear that it feels that the government's duty is to guarantee what is called a minimum income to every American individual and to every American family. I do not know what has happened to the old fashioned American idea that personal ambition and the willingness to work are virtues. I hardly think I need say to you that I strongly hope you will oppose all legislation of this type. I fear we will see many more bills of this nature introduced in the two Houses of Congress.

Still another domestic problem which is already bad, but promises to be worse, stems from the unfortunate one-man one-vote decision of the United States Supreme Court. By this decision the Supreme Court read into the 14th Amendment of the Constitution, which was adopted under questionable circumstances 100 years ago, a meaning that was not attributed to it in the Congressional debates at the time and which would have completely prevented its adoption if such a meaning had been understood. Following this one-man one-vote decision, the courts have greatly disturbed the distribution of members of both the House and Senate of many state legislatures by reapportioning them approximately on a population basis. This ignores the fact that counties were formed long years ago with distinct interests and with their governing bodies elected on a county basis. Under these new reapportionments, county lines have been disregarded, common interests of counties and regions have been ignored and every rule of convenience has been cast to the winds.

My favorite horrible example of what these new legislative reapportionments have done is to point to the fact that the federal courts, in reapportioning the Florida Senate, saw fit to bracket Monroe County, of which Key West is the county seat, with Broward County, of which Fort Lauderdale is the county seat, and Collier County, a sparsely settled West Coast County, as a Senatorial District with four Senators. There is practically no similarity of interest among the three counties, and the county seats of Monroe and Broward are 190 miles apart with no highway access from one to the other except through the populous county of Dade, meaning metropolitan Miami. The population of Broward is so much greater than that of Monroe and Collier that all four members of the State Senate elected to represent this new, misshapen district, have come from Broward County and none from Monroe or Collier. Other instances in our state and in many other states illustrate the ridiculous results which have been perpetrated under the application of the one-man one-vote rule.

A sizeable majority of the United States Senate has sought to correct this situation by referring to the states a constitutional amendment known as the Dirksen amendment under which each state must base the apportionment of one of its legislative houses strictly upon population, but may, if it so decides, base the other upon any other principles which it prefers. We have not been able to get a two-thirds vote in the Senate to submit this proposed constitutional amendment, but the effort will continue, and meantime, evidences of dissatisfaction with the application of the one-man one-vote rule have multiplied from one end of the nation to the other. In many places in following this strictly nosecounting basis multi-county, multi-member districts have been set up with one large county bracketed with several small ones. The result has deprived numerous small counties of any direct representation in both Houses of the legislature. I am sure that the effort to correct this great mistake will continue and I hope you will actively help to correct it.

Still another field in which the ultra-liberals are trying to reduce the constitutional power of the states by taking away their control of the election machinery and the qualification of their voters, is presented by the drive to control the election of the President and Vice President by popular vote throughout the nation. Of course, the Electoral College, as set up under the Constitution, has substantial defects which can and should be cured, but I feel strongly that at least its basic provision must be preserved, which gives to each state a weight in Presidential elections based not only upon its population, as reflected by the number of its representatives in the House, but also upon its statehood, as reflected in its two members in the Senate. This was an important compromise between the small states and the large ones in the original Constitutional Convention and it still constitutes an important provision which must be safeguarded if our dual sovereignty system of government is to survive. The general public must be made to realize that the direct election of the President would downgrade the weight of over 30 states. It would diminish the power and thus harmfully affect all states which have populations below the national average. Further it would place 8 states in the unenviable position of having less weight in Presidential elections than the District of Columbia since each of these 8 states has a population less than that of the District of Columbia.

I cannot conceive of any of the smaller states approving the proposed amendment for the direct election of the President, and yet the ultra-liberals continue to press towards that end. Even now, they are proposing a uniform 18 year limit for voters in all states which is nothing more nor less than a large step towards what they really want, which is, the direct election of the President.

I was impressed by an editorial on this subject a few days ago in the Washington Post which is the town crier in Washington for all ultra-liberal movements. I think it is worthwhile to quote from that editorial briefly so that there may be no doubt in your minds as to where the ultra-liberals are trying to take us. After discussing with approval the 18 year old voting age amendment, the Washington Post says, and I quote:

"But age is only one of the voter qualifications that ought to be uniform throughout the country. The most useful amendment in this area would be one specifying fully who could vote in federal elections or authorizing Congress to do so. Such an amendment might also provide for federal supervision of Congressional and Presidential elections . . . Federal qualifications and federal supervision will be the more important if the country should approve direct election of the President as we surmise it soon will . . . Perhaps the safest course would be to let Congress fix the voting age and other voter qualifications."

The sad fact is that many of our ultra-liberals are obsessed with the idea that all wisdom and all virtue is vested in a huge, centralized, national government and that the sooner the states are made subject to such a government, the better it will be for the nation. I disagree so completely with this philosophy that I am asking you to form ranks with the other conservatives of the nation, regardless of party and regardless of region, as an unbeatable phalanx to prevent the success of this movement which, if successful, would emasculate our dual sovereignty system of government and make of our country a completely different and a much weaker nation.

May I next call your attention to a field in which I think it is necessary for conservative patriots of both parties to take a stand to prevent our nation from being weakened by hurtful strikes or work stoppages in industries that are vital to our national welfare.

We have a cooling-off period which is provided in the Taft-Hartley law and which has been helpful to the nation in many cases, but it does not give the complete assurance that vital industries will continue. Furthermore, there are some necessary industries which are not affected by that law but are controlled by even weaker provisions of the Railway Labor Act such as the railroads and the airlines. In my judgment, we must have stronger legislation which will protect both the economy of our nation and our national security against shut-downs in the vital industries which, by their stoppage, would soon bring complete national collapse. That it is possible to correct this situation was clearly shown during our railway labor crisis in 1967 when in a third attempt Congress, by legislation, forced the railroads and the recalcitrant railway unions to settle their differences. We finally placed in our third act on this question a provision tantamount to compulsory arbitration. You will recall that Congress did this only after many of the railroads had ceased to operate and we did it only on an ad hoc basis applicable to that particular situation. But it forced a settlement and the trains began to run again.

In my judgment it is now necessary that we pass permanent legislation covering all of the vital industries and guaranteeing the nation against any stoppage of any vital industry. We cannot pass strong general legislation on this subject without the vigorous support of citizens, generally, from all parts of the nation who realize that not only our national economy, but even our national security may be threatened almost over-night if we longer refuse to pass strict legislation on this subject. I hope you will give your unlimited support to the passage of such strong general legislation.

There are many other troublous matters which I could discuss, but I shall simply mention them: The Vietnam War—Our too-far extended foreign commitments—Our balance of payments problems—Our deep fiscal difficulties—The problems of our poor—The riots in the cities. These problems are known to each of you. I think most of them are in the process of being solved and that the solutions will continue towards greater perfection. I hear much these days about the need to give greater federal aid in solving the problems of the poor, including education, training, health and welfare payments. The Congress has been moving in the direction of a solution to these problems for several years and I feel sure that they will be solved in the course of time. For instance, relative to federal aid to the poor, our total action in that field has jumped from a cost of $9.5 billion in 1960 to $12.5 billion in 1963; to $21.1 billion in 1967; to $24.6 billion in 1968; and for the fiscal year ahead, 1969, the estimated amount will be $27.7 billion. These programs have increased almost 300% in the short space of eight years. These programs should be perfected and made more efficient now rather than enlarged and that is what Congress is trying to do.

It would be useless here to go further in mentioning the heavy problems which confront us and which call for the activity and support of good citizens in every region in order that they may be solved. I want to end my statement on a more optimistic note. I hope that our whole nation is recovering from its lethargy, awakening from its binge and steadying itself for a sounder and more stable future. Whether that proves to be true will be shown in the elections of this fall and in the performance of this and the next Congress.

At this time I merely want to say that in my judgment most of the rest of the nation is beginning to realize, and much of it has already realized, that the greatest bastion of strength in our nation is the conservatism and stability of the South. I hear this theme discussed every day by Senators from other parts of the country. I think the nation, generally, realizes that the prosperity of the entire South from Virginia to Texas is resulting from the more conservative philosophy that dominates this whole area. Taxes, generally, are more reasonable than elsewhere; the growth of business is more pronounced and more stable; the attitude of the working force is more reasonable; and the demands of the minorities are, generally speaking, more nearly in accord with the public good. In the matter of racial controversy it has become very clear that those conflicts have been largely transferred to the great cities of the north and west and that relative peace prevails throughout the Southland. In the matter of labor-industry relations it is equally clear that most of the Southern labor force will not follow radical and unreasonable leadership. In the matter of continuing the membership in Congress of our Senators and Representatives until their experience and seniority enable them to better serve their states and also the whole nation, there is a real contrast between our Southern practice and that which seems to prevail in most other parts of the nation. For the most part, the South is following the point of view of grand old Sam Rayburn who always said the sound rule to follow was "pick 'em young, pick 'em honest and keep 'em there."

The longer I serve in the Congress, the prouder I am of the South and its stability and the more jealous I am of its reputation for insisting on stable government at home on doing its best to accomplish stable government at the federal level. It is not necessary for me to tell you about the great advantages possessed by our region—the fertile lands—the abundant waters—the attractive and varied weather patterns—the sweeping forests and the wide variety of crops—the reliability of our work force—the proven attractiveness of investment from elsewhere both in money and in living manpower—the enormous oil and mineral wealth which we are producing—our tremendous participation in maritime and other commerce—our closeness to Latin America—and the great human and natural resources existing here. All these assets and many others in my judgment will continue to make the Southland an ever more important portion of our nation clothed with ever greater potentiality and obligation to serve the nation as a whole. I am sure that each of you is animated with intense pride in our region and complete understanding of our increasing responsibility to the nation as a whole.

In my judgment, there has never been a time when we have been challenged to so great a task in endeavoring to move forward soundly in solving the national problems which loom so large and of which today I have mentioned only a portion.

In closing my remarks here and expressing my appreciation to you for inviting me to come and visit with you, may I say that I keenly feel that the whole South has both a challenge and a potentiality to serve the nation which is greater than that being offered now to any other portion of our great nation. It is my hope and prayer that we may supremely live up to that challenge and to that great opportunity.

THE LAW DAY PROJECT: LESSON IN DEMOCRACY

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, on May 1, 1968, ninth grade "citizens" of Hill Junior High School, in Denver, Colo., lived under the People's Democratic Republic of Tirainia. The program, in observance of Law Day, was designed to let the students experience regimented life under a dictatorship and was the first of its kind in the United States.

The day highlighted the prevailing philosophy in totalitarian countries that "the state is supreme." Political discussions except in "glorification of the state" were banned; in addition, religious discussions, creative writing, art, and music not previously approved by the authorities were also prohibited for the day. Freedom of assembly was also denied.

An election slate of government officers was offered to the students, but only the names of government selected persons were included on the ballot. Flags and armbands bearing the national insignia of Tirainia were required and a militaristic atmosphere prevailed in the classrooms. Arrests were made for failure to mark ballots in the rigged election, criticism of the state, religious discussion, and for failure to possess identification cards.

Three trials were held before a "Three Judge People's Court" and were based on legal principles generally prevailing in totalitarian countries.

The day ended with a stirring Law Day speech delivered by District Judge Sherman G. Finesilver of Denver. His remarks pointed out the duties and privileges of U.S. citizenship and pinpointed the differences between law in the United States with its constitutional guaranties and legal proceedings under totalitarian regimes.

Judge Finesilver, State chairman of the Bar Association Committee, was the principal organizer of the Law Day program. The project was sponsored by the American Citizenship Committee of the Colorado Bar Association in cooperation with the faculty and students of Hill Junior High School.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Judge Finesilver's speech be printed in the Record at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

To Violate the Law Is To Trample on the Blood of Our Father

(Speech by Judge Sherman Finesilver)

Today we have lived under an atmosphere where the State is supreme, and the rights of the people are meaningless. Our every action was dictated by the State.

We enjoyed no freedom of expression . . . no freedom to create or write . . . we were prevented from peaceful assembly or even discussing politics or government . . . even our reading material was restricted. Yes, we were regimented in every phase of living . . . the air we breathed was not free. We even observed the overthrow of our elected officials without the voice of the majority being heard, and without the guaranty of free elections.

We observed three trials for "vicious crimes against the State," and we saw how insignificant liberty and freedom are under a totalitarian State.

We saw that there was no public trial . . . there was no jury trial . . . the right of the accused to be faced by his accuser was prohibited.

The judges were biased and prejudiced in favor of the State and they merely promoted the attitudes and beliefs that the State encouraged . . . they operated at the whim of the State.

Of greatest importance is the fact that the accused was presumed to be guilty and he had to prove his innocence.

We can't really say that the accused in the three trials were given any semblance of a fair and just trial or that due process of law prevailed.

In contrast in the United States we are clothed with the strongest beacon of justice—the presumption of innocence unless guilt is proven beyond a reasonable doubt and through legal and just means. As Americans we have the priceless protections afforded by the Bill of Rights—the first ten Amendments to the Constitution. As Americans we know that the roots of American law are set forth in the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights—documents unparalleled in the world. This means that every American citizen is protected by law.

The individual liberties guaranteed us by law under the Constitution distinguish our free society from all other systems of law, particularly those practiced by the totalitarian nations.

One must remember that our rights under the law include:

1—The right to be free from arbitrary search or arrest; 2—The right to seek educational and economic opportunity; 3—The right to choose public officers in free elections; 4—The right to own property; 5—The right of free speech, press and assembly; 6—The right to attend the church of your choice, 7—The right to have legal counsel of your choice and a prompt trial if accused of a crime, and 8—The right to be represented by competent counsel in the event of indigency.

Under our system it is the function of the judge to see that the rights of the individual on trial are protected and to guaranty him a fair trial in every manner. The judge is wholly independent of other branches of government—legislative and executive—and is responsible only to a higher court for his decision.

Our system emphasizes individual rights, and refuses to convict a man upon improper evidence.

This day—Law Day, 1968, is one where we reflect on our respect for law and duties owed to our country, and should be a day of deep reflection on our precious freedoms.

The underlying purpose of this day is to strengthen a nation dedicated to liberty and justice—a nation in which its citizens may live an abundant life, developing to the fullest their indivdual opportunities for success and rendering a corresponding service to their country.

American citizenship is a precious privilege in this troubled world—it is sought my many, rendered to few, and treasured by people in the far reaches of the earth.

We do not have to be military leaders to show courage . . . every day we have the opportunity as ordinary Americans to perform in extraordinary ways to the best advantage of our country . . . we have the opportunity daily to show our love to our country through loyalty and respect . . . the nation cannot survive without great numbers of good dedicated Americans.

However, along with the rights we enjoy as free citizens of our great Republic, there are certain responsibilities we have as a consequence.

Perhaps it is necessary to point out some of these today on the 10th anniversary of Law Day. These are:

1—The duty to obey the laws; 2—The duty to inform yourself on issues of government and community welfare; 3—The duty to vote in election; 4—The duty to serve on juries if called; 5—The duty to serve and defend your country; 6—The duty to assist agencies of law enforcement, and 7—The duty to practice and teach the principles of good citizenship in your home, in school and in the community.

In Indianapolis only last week, I read a plaque erected to President Abraham Lincoln, who in Indiana on February 11, 1861, made this statement on his way to assume the presidency of the United States:

"I appeal to you to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians—not with office seekers, but with you is the question, 'Shall the Union and shall the liberty of this country be preserved to the latest generation?'"

He later said:

"There is even now something of an ill omen among us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country, the gross disposition to substitute wild and furious passions in lieu of the sober judgment of courts. As the patriots of '76 did to support the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, property, and honor; let every American remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear down the charter of his own and his children's liberty."

Let us heed the words of President Lincoln and pledge that we will not "trample on the blood of our father and tear down the charter of our children's liberty." Let us today pledge that we will never bring disgrace to our country by any act of dishonesty, disloyalty, or violence. We will fight for the ideals and sacred things of our country. We will revere and obey our laws and do our best to encourage others to respect and revere these laws. We will strive to make our country greater, more useful, more abundant than it was transmitted to us, and we will add our efforts to the American dream by being loyal, honorable and responsible and in no way detract from the high heritage we are privileged to enjoy."

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, I can think of no more dramatic method to give our young people an idea of what democracy is all about than to demonstrate what the absence of freedom really means. This unique experience gave the students of Hill Junior High School an unforgettable taste of totalitarianism and I believe this project could serve as a model for similar programs throughout the country. I commend Judge Sherman Finesilver and the members of the Colorado Bar Association for their efforts in helping to develop greater citizenship, leadership, and motivation in our young people.

CONNECTICUT SALUTE TO ARMED FORCES IN VIETNAM

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to a proclamation issued by Gov. John Dempsey, of Connecticut, setting aside Sunday, July 7, 1968, as a day of prayer for our Armed Forces in Vietnam and for peace throughout the world.

The Governor's proclamation has been given the support of patriotic organizations and citizens throughout the State.

I believe this is an observance in which all patriotic Americans can properly join.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Governor Dempsey's declaration be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the declaration was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SALUTE TO ARMED FORCES IN VIETNAM, JULY 7, 1968

(By His Excellency John Dempsey, Governor, State of Connecticut)

Today in Viet Nam thousands of men in the armed forces of the United States are striving to oppose the spread of the forces of Communism.

It is important that these men, who are far from home and exposed constantly to the hazards of war, know that we are mindful of the great sacrifices they are making in our behalf.

In Stratford and other Connecticut communities many of our fellow-citizens are participating in an organized effort to offer prayers for our armed forces in Viet Nam and for peace throughout the world.

The day designated for a Salute to Armed Forces in Viet Nam is Sunday, July 7, 1968.

This is an observance which serves to bring deserved recognition to our fighting men in Viet Nam. I am pleased to join in the Salute and to call it to the attention of the people of Connecticut.

JOHN DEMPSEY,
Governor.

HORATIO ALGER VISITS ALASKA

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, not only is Alaska separated physically from the rest of the continental United States but there also is an isolation in the minds of our citizens. Almost 10 years after Alaska was admitted to statehood, there are still people who conceive of it as a foreign country. Perhaps more than any other State, it is thought of in stereotypes. It is that vast arctic wilderness covered with ice the year round. Or it is the place which hardly sees daylight during the winter. It is cold beyond human endurance. It is the home of the Alaska King Crab, perhaps more well known than the State from which it derives its name.

Indeed, Alaska is all of these things. As with most stereotypes, however, those about Alaska are only partly true. Few people know, for example, that Alaska is one of the fastest growing and most promising of our 50 States. Not many more people knew that Alaska enjoys spring, summer, and fall days comparable in magnificence to those found anywhere else in the United States. The breathtaking beauty of the State has yet to be discovered by those millions of tourists who travel the length and breadth of these United States but who somehow have not yet made it to Alaska.

Alaska is a State of grandeur and wonders. Alaska means miracles to those who know it and love it. Alaska is America's new frontier, promising almost beyond imagination, beckoning the creative free spirit. It also beckons those interested in investing in the future of the State. And in increasing numbers, both are arriving in the State. No one has been disappointed yet. Alaska has been paying off with huge dividends to all of those who have been daring enough to stake their claims there.

An article published in the June 10 issue of U.S. News & World Report tells something of the miracle which has been occurring in Alaska since statehood in 1959. It is a success story unsurpassed. I commend it to Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOW ALASKA STARTS TO "OPEN UP" ON ITS OWN

Times are changing in the 49th State. Everything is hustle and bustle as investment funds for development pour in. New industries are emerging. More people are settling on a new frontier. Japan is helping in the build-up. Cost of living is high, but so are wages.

Alaska, after 100 years of near neglect, suddenly is offering brighter prospects to Americans looking for a frontier with a future.

Once regarded mainly as a defense outpost and source of a few products such as gold and seafood, the 49th State now is moving ahead on a broad economic front. The payoff from a big increase in investment, principally in oil, fisheries and timber, is beginning.

A 10-year telescope. The potential for a lengthening list of resources needed by the

U.S., especially minerals, is increasingly evident. And Alaska no longer is waiting for help from Washington. It is going ahead on its own.

"We are 70 years behind the Russians in opening up Arctica," says Governor Walter Hickel. "We intend to telescope time and open our Arctic within the next 10 years."

Some new developments:

A "winter trail" is being pushed from the railhead of the Alaska Railroad at Fairbanks across the Yukon River, into the rich oil and gas areas to the north and mineral areas to the west. It is planned as a future railroad route.

The trail, a rough route over frozen terrain, will open to tracked vehicles in winter a huge area previously accessible only by air. It will be impassable in the warm months because the tundra over which it is to be laid is too soft then.

In southeast Alaska, winter service on a State-owned ferry system has been extended to Puget Sound to connect the State to the "lower 48," as Alaskans call the other continental States. This is Alaska's "marine highway," built and extended at a cost of 38.5 million dollars.

A modern ferry fleet of four ships is expected to speed migration to Alaska, encourage tourism and lower transportation costs. Alaska now has a population estimated at 275,000.

Two cents an acre. The U.S. paid a little less than 2 cents an acre for Alaska's 375 million acres when it bought the huge area for 7.2 million dollars in 1867.

Since then, it has cost billions to make a small part of that land usable, and it will cost billions more to develop its huge resources. Nobody knows what Alaska is worth, but those who are committing their lives and money are convinced it is worth whatever it costs. Among the investments are these:

The U.S. has spent billions to make Alaska, so close to Russia, a defense bastion. Still more is to be spent in the future.

More than 1 billion has been spent so far by the oil and gas industry for exploration, development and production. This year, 18 oil companies are starting an $800,000 survey in the Gulf of Alaska, the first step in bidding for offshore oil and gas leases when these are offered. Other projects are under way.

More than 220 millions has been spent or committed by Japan, including 75 millions for a share in ammonium-fertilizer and liquid-gas plants, and 41 millions toward oil and gas exploration and development.

More than 350 millions in federal funds provided for reconstruction in Alaska following the Good Friday, 1964, earthquake. This money, plus other funds, served as the catalyst that brought a new surge of growth to Alaska.

The last frontier. "The thing that makes Alaska go is that the people who come here want to be here; they like it," says a close observer of the State. For most of them who stay, "Alaska is the land that dreams are made of." For others, who don't stay, "It is pure hell."

Wayne Ostendorf, manager of the Northern Commercial Companys Anchorage outlet, largest in its chain of 32 stores in Alaska, says:

"More young people are coming because Alaska is the land of opportunity. It has the challenges that other States don't offer any more. Those who have the pioneer spirit and want a different, not soft, way of life find that about the only place left to develop in the U.S. is Alaska."

Donald Schmiege, a research biologist for the National Forest Service in Juneau, sold his home, boat and beach property there in 1966, then taught for a year at the University of Wisconsin. He recalls:

"Last summer, looking for a new place to live, we decided to investigate a job offer in Washington, D.C. We didn't get halfway across the country before my wife was ready to come back to Alaska. Then, the children decided that they were, too."

Now, the Schmieges have bought a lot at the edge of the national forest near Juneau for $6,500 and have built a new home.

"It's the people, scenery, no pollution or traffic, the chance to do things together as a family," Mr. Schmiege says.

Mrs. Allan Neidhold, of Fairbanks, observes:

"There's a period in winter when you ask yourself? What am I doing here? Your husband is out trying to start the car. The children have frostbitten hands. But then come spring and summer and lightness, and the autumn is gorgeous and you know why you are here."

Changing way of life. An expanding, year-round job base is inducing more people to work and live in Alaska. There's a gradual shift away from the sharp, seasonal swings in employment that leave the State with 8 to 12 per cent unemployment. In some inland communities, winter joblessness has been 40 to 60 per cent.

In the city of Kenai, construction of an 8.5-million-dollar shopping center went on during the winter of 1967–68. So did building of a hospital, a motel expansion and a recreation center. Two years ago, the city didn't issue any building permits in winter.

The accelerating boom in oil and gas is providing more year-round jobs and taxes. The average of 1,163 jobs in the industry in 1965 has increased to more than 2,000 now. Eleven drilling platforms are operating in Cook Inlet, near Anchorage. Two more will start next year and eventually 40 will be working "before Cook Inlet is drilled out," says a petroleum engineer.

State royalties from oil production more than tripled in 1967. Production from 78 wells neared 170,000 barrels a day at the start of 1968, for a $41,000-a-day State royalty.

Alaska now leads the U.S. in per-well output in oil and gas. Some industry leaders predict that it will be the third-largest oil and gas-producing State by 1980. Also, Alaska's oil is highly marketable because it contains less than one quarter of 1 per cent of sulphur—compared with 2 per cent for most crudes—an important consideration in a pollution-conscious society.

To the north. Arctic Alaska may one day provide additional oil and gas. The U.S. Navy has spent 45 million dollars drilling 75 wells in the Umiat area, 200 miles southeast of Barrow, where it is estimated there are 100 million barrels of oil reserves and some gas.

Private companies also are exploring the area during the seven months of winter freeze, working from a caterpillar train complete with living quarters, supplies and shops.

Big production per well continues with new discoveries, including one of 7,600 barrels a day in March. Another company completed in December what is Alaska's largest single producing well, with an output of 10,000 barrels a day.

Aside from the weather, high labor costs in Alaska mean that any discovery has to be much bigger than any in the "lower 48" to be profitable.

Extension of the Alaska Railroad to the north is being pressed by Governor Hickel to open up "the largest area in the world without ground transportation." It would run from Dunbar, near Fairbanks, to the oil-and-gas areas in the north and the Kobuk area, known to be rich in copper and other minerals. In the extreme northwest, some 82 billion tons of coal wait to be claimed in the Kukpowruk River basin. Cost of the rail extension would be an estimated 150 million dollars.

The State is spending $750,000 for its NORTH Commission [Northern Operations of Rail Transportation and Highways], authorized by the legislature last year, for initial land surveys now under way and aerial surveys to be completed by mid-1968.

The hope is that the Federal Government will lend the money for construction; perhaps even make land grants such as those given to railroads a century ago.

Fish and timber. Fisheries also are becoming the basis for more year-round jobs. Kodiak, rebuilt since near-total destruction by the 1964 earthquake, is enjoying new prosperity. One estimate is that, with modern methods and facilities, Alaska could pack 5 to 6 million cases of salmon a year, 200 million pounds of king crab, 500 million pounds of shrimp and 2 billion pounds of perch and cod.

About 32 per cent of Alaska's labor force of 92,000 people now find work in the fishing industry.

Alaska's timber industry is being developed, with much of its exports going to Japan. Billions of board feet of timber are available for cutting in the Tongass National Forest in the southeast.

The Statehood Act gave Alaska the right to choose 104 million acres over 25 years to help develop its economy. To date, 18 million acres have been selected and secure land title acquired for 7 million acres. It is these lands that the State offers for sale or lease for specified uses: resource exploration and development, homes, business, agriculture or recreation. There is a limit of 640 acres for sale to one individual.

Land prices vary widely, from $100 an acre for scrub property near Anchorage to $8,000 an acre for land sold by the city of Kenai for approved purposes. Farmland in the Matanuska Valley goes for $375 an acre and up.

The aborigines. Native claims of "aboriginal possession" of 290 million of Alaska's 375 million acres led Secretary of Interior Stuart Udall to put a freeze—with a few exceptions—on disposal of federal lands in December, 1966. The natives are asking full title for the lands they claim and compensation for lands taken from the claimed areas.

Alaska's natives, like the State itself, are in transition from a primitive to a modern society. The 55,000 Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts make up 20 per cent of Alaska's 275,000 people. Many live in abject poverty. Training programs now are being instituted to help the natives get jobs and draw them into the cash economy. Some firms which have hired Eskimo and Indian workers say that they are more than satisfied with the results.

The tax problem. High taxes are a major burden in Alaska, complains John Dugan, a real estate developer in Juneau:

"One of the big things stifling Alaska is the borough system. It means three levels that can bond—city, borough and State."

Before the borough outside Juneau's city limits was organized, Mr. Dugan paid $355 in taxes on his home. Now the bill is $565.

In addition, he says:

"We pay a 4 percent sales tax on everything—groceries, rent and services, but not on doctor or hospital bills. People with the most kids have to pay the most tax."

Because of Alaska's huge size, its small population, small work force and small tax base, the State has the lowest bond rating of the 50 States.

Small-size agriculture adds to local problems. Alaska grows less than 8 per cent of the food it consumes. Farm products are mainly milk and meat.

At most, some 2 million acres are suitable for agriculture; only 40 per cent of that is tillable, with the rest usable only for pasture. Main farming areas are the Matanuska Valley north of Anchorage, the Tanana Valley and the Kenai Peninsula.

With up to 20 hours of daylight in summer, vegetables grow to record size, such as a 62½-pound cabbage grown in the Matanuska

Valley. But the growing season is short—about 100 frost-free days.

Hamburgers, $1.65. The high cost of living is a handicap to Alaskan development. A market basket of 40 basic foods last September cost $16.81 in Seattle and $29.73 in Nome.

In Anchorage, haircuts are $3.50 and a shoeshine is $1. A hamburger sandwich at a hotel coffee shop in Juneau is $1.65.

In Kenai, "It costs $24 a square foot to build," says John Morris, a Western Airlines station agent. Biologist Schmiege, in Juneau, says: "I had $20,000 invested in my new house before I even bought any lumber."

Autos are an expensive necessity. Although regular gasoline is 51.9 cents a gallon in Kenai and $1 in Nome, engines are left running while their drivers are shopping or visiting in winter so that they won't freeze up. Tires freeze flat at 40 degrees below zero.

High utility rates and long, cold winters make for staggering bills—more than $100 a month for a typical Fairbanks family.

The price spread between Alaska and the "lower 48" is getting less as transportation improves and competition grows.

The gap used to be 30 per cent; now it is down to about 20 per cent and still dropping.

High incomes offset high prices for some Alaskans. Auto dealer Robert Kron in Anchorage says a good salesman can make $20,000 a year or more.

In the same city, Dr. Asa Martin says that a doctor can earn $30,000 to $40,000 a year. City Manager William Harrison in Kenai—with 30,000 population—is paid $19,600 and is getting a $2,000 raise.

The basic rate for construction labor is $5.47 an hour, plus 80 cents in "fringes." Welders and pipefitters get $7.10. Most construction men work up to 10 hours a day, six days a week, so overtime pay mounts up.

At a chemical complex being built near Kenai, construction workers can make more than $18,000 a year.

Despite the problems, most Alaskans see great hope for the future. Says Dr. William Wood, president of the University of Alaska:

"This is an exhilarating place to live. The spirit of the people has been fantastic. The element of complaint just doesn't exist.

"To us, it would be a horrible existence if life were just one soft pad—if you didn't have something that excites you to do, to reach for."

COMMUNIST POLAND'S TRADE STATUS WITH THE UNITED STATES

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, for the last 8 years, the Communist government of Poland has enjoyed most-favored-nation trade status with this country, giving it special privileges and benefits not available to many other countries. This trade advantage was given to Poland in 1960 in the hope that it would be an incentive for Poland to assert greater independence from the Soviet Union.

There is no question that Poland has benefited handsomely from these trade concessions. In 1959, the year before most-favored-nation treatment was extended to it, Poland's exports to the United States were about $31 million, and her imports from us were nearly $75 million. That amounted to a trade deficit of $43 million for Poland.

By 1967, however, Poland's exports to the United States had almost tripled to $91 million, while its imports from us declined to $61 million. Thus, the trade deficit of 8 years ago has been converted to a substantial surplus of $30 million for Poland. Needless to say, this Polish trade surplus has been at the expense of the U.S. balance-of-payments position.

Mr. President, I would have no objection to continuing this trade arrangement with Poland were there any evidence that it was having the desired effect of making Poland more independent of the Soviet Union, and of halting its shipment of military supplies to North Vietnam.

Today, Poland is the only country with most-favored-nation status which is sending arms to North Vietnam. Poland is second only to the Soviet Union among East European Communist countries in the number of ships it sends through the port of Haiphong each month.

Last year, an Associated Press report quoted Mr. Zenon Kliszko, a member of the Polish Communist Party, Politburo, as saying to the North Vietnamese:

> We are glad the Polish guns are bringing concrete results to you in your fight. We are giving and we will continue to give material, political, and military aid.

There is growing evidence of Polish anti-Semitism. Scarcely 25 years have gone by since nearly 3 million Polish Jews were exterminated in the concentration camps and gas chambers of the Third Reich. Today, the remaining few thousand Jews in Poland—probably not more than 25,000—are again the target of official repressions.

In 1964, the President used the discretion given him under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to determine that the continuation of Poland's most-favored-nation status was in the national interest.

I submit that in the 4 years since that determination was made, conditions have changed and we now find Poland assisting our enemy in North Vietnam and embarked upon a program of anti-Semitism against its Jewish minority. I call upon the President to review this matter taking into account developments in Poland since 1964, and to tell the Congress why Poland's most-favored-nation trade status should be continued.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of a resolution adopted by the Board of Governors of the B'nai B'rith at a meeting in Washington, D.C., on May 11–13, 1968.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF B'NAI B'RITH MEETING MAY 11–13, 1968, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Faced with a demand from the Polish people for more freedom and independence, the Polish government has responded with brutal force and shameful fabrications, combining police clubs and political anti-Semitism to defeat the freedom movement. Borrowing from the notorious tactic of the Russian Czars, the government has played on anti-Semitic prejudices and scapegoated the Jew to deflect attention from its own weaknesses. The student demonstrations and the protests, it has falsely said, were a Zionist plot.

Since anti-Semitism is condemned by Communist ideology and by world opinion, the Polish government has pretended that its target is Zionists, not Jews. No one is deceived. Even the Communist press in other countries, notably Czechoslovakia, has condemned the Polish government's tactics.

Poland is one of the dwindling number of countries in Eastern Europe that slavishly follows the Soviet Union's lead. After the Six-Day War in the Middle East, the Soviet Union severed diplomatic relations with Israel and intensified its program of vilification of Israel and Zionists. Dutifully, Poland followed the Moscow line. Now it has exceeded its teacher in its harsh discrimination against Jews in government and in the universities.

In 1958, Congress authorized the President to extend the most-favored-nation tariff benefit to Yugoslavia and Poland, whose governments were then moving away from Soviet domination and were seeking closer relations with the West. Poland continues as one of only two nations of East Europe that enjoys the privilege of its exports entering the United States at the lowest duties imposed by the tariff act. Ironically, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, substantially independent and genuinely seeking better relations with the West, have not been granted this economic advantage.

In view of the Polish government's encouragement of anti-Semitism and hostility to the West, B'nai B'rith calls upon the President of the United States to declare that the conditions which led to granting most-favored-nation benefits to Poland no longer exist, and that therefore this preferential status be rescinded.

A systematic, government-organized campaign of anti-Semitism can no longer be regarded as simply a matter of domestic concern. Our generation knows too well the ultimate cost in lives and civilized standards. The governments of the world must speak out against this reactionary menace.

A HALFWAY HOUSE CAN MAKE REHABILITATION WORK

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, our prisons, detention homes, correctional institutions, and reformatories do not always live up to their high sounding names.

All too frequently, the facts show, the opposite is true. They are notoriously known among penologists as the "finishing" school for the amateur criminal, and for providing the first "professional" instruction for the beginning criminal.

Government is slowly recognizing this, and I hope will do something about it in the not too distant future.

Because of the lack of "reform" in reform schools, and the lack of "correction" in correctional institutions, the halfway house concept has developed.

The idea is simple enough. It helps prisoners, male and female, addict and burglar, who have spent long periods of time in the confinement of a prison to adapt himself to the rigors and self-discipline of life as a free man.

It eases the pain of adjustment from the precise, ordered life of an institution to the much more difficult life of a free man where the person does things because they should be done, rather than because they must be done.

Ideally conceived, the halfway house convict who has become an automaton in prison and with very humane treatment makes him over again into a human being. It helps him adjust.

There are far too few of these halfway houses. There is far too little interest in what happens to the thousands of people each year who are released from prisons and returned to society.

Such is not the case in Hartford, Conn., however. There is a difference in Hartford. There are people who care. There is the Watkinson House, a half-

way station to help prisoners through those first, dangerous 90 days of freedom after prison.

The story of Watkinson House, its executive director, Ralph Cheyney and the important job it is doing in making former prisoners into useful citizens is told in the May 1968 edition of Connecticut Life, a newspaper supplement published in West Hartford, Conn.

Halfway houses fill a gap in the reformation process now largely ignored by government. And government fails in reforming and correcting prisoners to the extent it does not see that the prisoner is blended back into community life with a minimum of problems.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article on the Watkinson Half Way House—"A humane idea helping men over the shoals between prison and freedom"—be printed in the Record.

I commend it to the attention of Senators. It is a subject which this Congress and the next will be required to consider. I hope that when it is considered here, Congress will take the same humane approach as that taken by those who support Watkinson House.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HALF WAY HOUSE—A HUMANE IDEA HELPS MEN OVER THE SHOALS BETWEEN PRISON AND FREEDOM

Today, at this moment, there are 3,095 criminals locked up in Connecticut prisons. Sooner or later 99% will be free, and back in town, somewhere. Even lifers, after 25 years, become eligible for parole. Every year the state prison at Somers releases 500 men. When they hit the street all any expert is certain of is that prison has changed them. There is a good chance that change is not an improvement.

As it sets him free, the state gives each prisoner a 90-day prerelease briefing on how to make it outside, and a parting word: "Everything is not going to be rosy." The state gives him also one set of work clothes complete with underwear, gloves and shoes, packed in a cardboard suitcase tied with a string.

He is dressed, by the state, in a suit, white shirt and tie, and, black Navy shoes that are, he is convinced, the give-away, telling the world these clothes are the uniform of an ex-convict. Gloomily he suspects that everyone who sees him *knows.*

"I had $45 when I got out. The first day I bought a $35 pair of shoes. Those state shoes were like a sickness to me. I had to get rid of them. At the prison they ought to prepare us for these feelings. I was sick for clothes of my own. I see that now. But I couldn't help myself."

He comes down from prison, usually to a city since he is, as most convicts are, a city boy. He probably has $35 in cash—$20 the state gives every man as he is released and perhaps $15 saved from prison earnings. He has the promise of a job, but he won't get his first paycheck for two weeks. He must pay his room rent in advance.

He eats, he travels to work, he needs toothpaste. The phone is a dime; the laundromat a quarter. Maybe he has a beer. His money is all gone. Another week's rent is due. He can starve. Or he can borrow money, maybe, from his new employer or his parole officer. Or he can steal. Three-quarters of all the men who are returned to prison go back within the first 90 days.

If he's in Hartford there is one difference. He can go to the Watkinson House, a "halfway" station where he can stay for nothing, or possibly work his way, until he has some money. When he can pay the charges for board and room are scaled to his income—$14 plus 10% of his take-home pay. He can stay as long as he needs to; the longest stay was a little over a year. The shortest, says Executive Director Ralph Cheyney, "was the time it took to come in the front door and beat it out the back." The halfway house purpose was to shelter ex-convicts during their first, dangerous, 90 days of freedom. Two months is the usual stay.

In 1966 Watkinson House won the right to open its doors to its first ex-convicts, against whose coming the neighbors had fought four bitter years.

The first residents may have seemed timidly chosen. Gung-ho reformers, none of whom lived in the neighborhood, criticized Cheyney's cautious selection of "nice" ex-convicts, and especially of "safe" ex-convicts who didn't really need a halfway house. The first year, in deference to a nervous neighborhood, there were restrictions against accepting some kinds of ex-convicts.

From that careful beginning the halfway house with a practical courage gradually included men whose crimes were sufficiently terrifying, though not to the Cheyney family. Ralph, his British wife, Gloria, and their sons Alexander 4, Roland 2, and the new baby Allan, live in the house with the men, who seem to find in their daily association with the family, especially the children, a warmth that makes Watkinson House more like a home, and less like an institution. They are impressed that this family calmly accepts them.

At dinner, one night this spring, there were at the table the Cheyney family, a woman guest, one murderer, one bank robber, a man whose crime was a sex violation. And on the other side of the table sat a group who had been convicted (and served their time for) breaking and entering, stealing cars, assault and battery, and one forger.

After almost two years, and 110 resident ex-convicts, the neighbors' fears of a crime wave on Irving Street were not realized. No rapes, no robberies. The property values didn't even go down. One resident of Watkinson House did get involved in a mugging—some other guy mugged *him.*

The principal consideration in accepting a new man is not his crime but how much this halfway house may be able to help him.

Watkinson House can hold only 12 men at a time. Its director picks his own, constantly changing, dozens. They may be fresh out of prison or fresh out of luck—men who have been making it on their own for as long as a year, then lose their jobs, get sick, or for some reason need help. They turn to the halfway house for time to pull their lives together.

Some residents come from state jails, and other correctional institutions. This month, under a new prerelease program, a few carefully screened federal prisoners work in the community and return at night to Watkinson House. Only these residents are subjected to curfews, sign-outs and bed-checks.

For everybody else there are only three restrictions: no drinking, no girls in the bedrooms and no smoking in bed.

On Tuesdays chess experts come over to teach, and play, chess. Once in awhile Trinity College boys drive up and take the men bowling.

On Wednesdays, a few directors and friends of Watkinson House bring along their wives and join the men in an evening of playreading, and after the readings, in the "pretty heated discussions" which the men say is the part they like best. They've read Cyrano, an Inge play, and lately "Only the Valiant" a play about Connecticut State Prison. The men thought it was a faithful portrayal of prison life.

Something else (besides money) an ex-convict is often short of is a social life, especially if he's been a long time away from home. Watkinson House tries to relieve this shortage too—developing recreational and social skills. President of the Board, Attorney John Berman sees this as "an area where we are falling down. I'm happy about the play-readings, chess lessons and the few people who drop in from time to time. We need men who can stop by and visit, who can find common interests with the residents. Even to take them out to a bar for a drink and talk. We've got to give the men who are living at Watkinson House enough influence of people who are law-abiding." Because there are old friends who welcome ex-cons back in town:

"The people they had associated with, as criminals, in the past, would wait for them to come out. Perhaps the guy coming out had been a pusher; the users were waiting. Or he was a user and the pusher was waiting. And thieves. They run in packs. They need each other. And it goes like that. When you get back on the street, they are waiting."

Most of the people they loved, were *not* waiting. It is estimated that more than 50% of the wives of convicts divorce their husband while he is in prison, probably mostly on the legal ground of "intolerable cruelty." (Conviction of a crime is automatic grounds for divorce only in cases of life imprisonment or specific sex offenses.) Nobody cares to guess how many other wives without the formality of divorce abandon their marriages just the same.

Ralph Cheyney says he tries to help men re-unite with their wives and families. "But our batting average hasn't been very good. We do reach out, not only in the marriages but in trying to get our younger men back with their familes. It's not unusual for me to call up and say, "Look, your brother is here. Why don't you come and see him?" Almost half the men at Watkinson House failed to receive a single Christmas card or letter addressed to them.

If a man should lose, or more probably, quit the job he took when he was released from prison, he can move in (if there's room) at Watkinson House. Ralph Cheyney will help him find another job or direct him to someone who can (like the Connecticut Prison Association who last year got jobs for 1,058 people paroled from state institutions). He has personally placed ex-convicts in jobs honestly good enough for their talents. That is a circumstance a great many men who have been in prison say they have rarely experienced:

"This job was supposed to go for $70 a week. As soon as they heard I was an ex-con the guy dropped it down to $55 because he knew he could do it. All a person could do if he wants the job is say 'yeah, I'll take it at $55, and hang his head. And, oh beautiful! He's doing me a favor."

Ralph Cheyney, who works a 100-hour week, spent 2,000 hours in one year counselling residents and their families. "These men have problems," he says, "I try to be available to them."

He also conducts weekly group counselling sessions. The men in the group changed the name of the game from "group therapy" to "group meeting" and voted out the tape recorder on the grounds that it made them feel as though they were back in prison. Cheyney persists all the same. "Maybe the men don't like it but we ought to keep trying. We might just hit with one or two of the 12 who are sitting there."

The counselling done at Watkinson House can't and doesn't try to repair the damages of a lifetime. (Nor does it take the place of the parole officers who, even with their present case loads of 50 men each, are nevertheless the principal source of guidance for all Connecticut parolees, including those who live at the halfway house.) For a couple of months residents get a little practical help, a little counsel, a little time to adjust to a freedom that finds him ill at ease on the phone, irrationally terrified to cross the street, in traffic, plagued by a constant fear he is on the wrong bus.

Cheyney measures his program's effectiveness in numbers: "Only one-tenth of the 110 residents were returned to prison while they were living at the halfway house." And he measures Watkinson House also in words: "The man comes out with a higher image of himself than when he came in. We have given him a growth experience."

As for the residents themselves, some men have, after a short stay, left the halfway house, unchanged and unimpressed, putting down Ralph Cheyney as "just another Big Brother running an orphan asylum for adults." Others have been helped, and have been grateful:

"Cheyney and his family and the staff cared about me, in spite of my record, and they weren't afraid of me. They went down with me to my first job, coaching me and bolstering me up. They encouraged me to start saving, to visit a psychiatrist, to go to night school, and to be open with myself. I began to feel less confused and scared.

But even to those who make it, society still looks like the enemy:

"What happens, a person comes out . . . regardless of whether he's been rehabilitated or not, the most important thing is that society has not been rehabilitated. He's in a system where people are against him. They have to make sure that he does not jeopardize their businesses, their possessions, or their lives. People shun him. Any guy who comes out of a prison into this society and can rehabilitate himself, this is a phenomenal accomplishment. It takes a guy with tremendous discipline. He has to condition himself, if he's going to be successful, not to give a damn."

Half Way House makes a uniquely effective contribution to the rehabilitation of society, says its 36-year-old President Berman. "As a private organization, we are able to be much more of a conscience and make the community much more aware of the convict's problems. If we were a state organization, people could feel the state was taking care of the job."

Racing around from group to group, Ralph Cheyney spent more of his time this past year rehabilitating society—with speeches, community relations, public relations and community education—than on all the rest of his job put together. (In addition to Cheyney, Watkinson House—on a budget of $42,000 a year—is staffed by one full-time assistant Joe Becton, two relief supervisors, a part-time secretary and a part-time cook.)

If one halfway house, in one city, sheltering one dozen ex-convicts, is a good thing, should there be more? Yes, says John Berman. "It may be that the new State Department of Corrections might ask us to become a part. I don't think I'd favor that. I feel being private we are able to do new things a state organization couldn't do. Maybe the Community Chest will help us . . . We ought to have halfway houses in New Haven and Bridgeport, and halfway-in houses as well." Cheyney adds, "When an entire community was fearful of the program, this small agency stood firm and held its ground. That's the value and the role of a private agency . . . to pave the way."

FEDERAL SPENDING AND THE NEED TO REDUCE IT

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, Costilla County is located in the San Luis Valley. It is high, protected by mountains to the east and south, has a low rainfall, is the oldest settled town in Colorado, and has beautiful scenery and dignified, courteous, pleasant people.

The editor of the Costilla County Free Press is well known and highly respected, and he reflects his thoughts in a clear, frank manner. In the March 29 editorial, he discusses Federal spending and the urgent need to reduce it. In his May 3 editorial, he discusses the same situation again. Because I believe that these editorials reflect the great, good sense of a majority of our citizens, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Costilla County (Colo.) Free Press, Mar. 29, 1968]

An April 15th Reminder

When the typical American family talks about buying a new car, building a home—or any other major expenditure—the head of the house usually asks some searching questions.

Can we afford it? Do we have the money, or will we borrow?

The average American family doesn't buy on impulse . . . we can't indulge our desires without regard to our pocketbooks. We must of necessity choose wisely.

But there is something we all buy each year with very little choice and with questionable satisfaction. It's the package presented every year in the federal budget—a package we pay for dearly with our taxes.

Today the federal government seems preoccupied with the issue of consumer protection. It wants to be sure our package of breakfast food is full and plainly marked; it wants us to be fully aware of the cost of borrowing money.

Right now, when many of us are having to think about borrowing to pay our taxes on April 15, we might well wish that our benevolent Uncle Sam would worry less about the size and weight of our breakfast food package and show more concern about our plight as harried taxpayers.

When the Administration in Washington last summer proposed a surtax to help reduce large and persistent federal deficits, many economists and businessmen pointed out that a sharp slash in government spending would be a better solution. The government continues to face a critical balance-of-payments situation, growing inflation, and interest rates at century-high levels.

A substantial cut in federal spending would help solve all these problems and of course help all of us as individual taxpayers.

Do your legislators in Washington know how you feel about excessive federal spending? It costs just six cents to express your views.

[From the Costilla County (Colo.) Free Press, May 3, 1968]

Hard To Understand

Income tax time (April 15) has come and gone. Money collected by Uncle Sam hasn't been sufficent to pay all his bills; $20 billion deficit will be added to the national debt, which already is greater than that of all the other nations combined. There are a number of things which taxpayers would want to ask Uncle "Is this money really necessary". Or we might want to bring up this subject:

You allow taxpaying parents only $600 a year to feed, clothe, house and educate a youngster. Yet to feed, clothe, house and educate a youngster in your Federal Government Job Corps you spend from $7,000 to $11,000, depending on whether he sticks around or becomes a dropout.

Either we're allowing you too much, Uncle, or you are not allowing us enough. And, to carry this a bit farther, under your Cuban refugee program you reach the conclusion that minimal upkeep for a child requires $1,200 a year, and if the child is attending school an extra $1,000 a year. It looks like you're shortchanging the homefolks.

In the confining and austere environs of a Federal prison, you have somehow discovered that it costs—to maintain one person, with no frills, no luxuries, and no borrowing Dad's car—$2,300 a year. How do you find that Mom and Dad can do much more than that for one-fourth that amount?

Also, Uncle, your VISTA program, Volunteers in Service to America, spent $3.1 million this last year to turn out only 202 trainees. That works out to maintaining and training one youth for one year at a cost of $15,000.

We might also want to point out to Uncle that, with all of our present unprecedented prosperity, he is spending per year $2.9 billion more for relief than during the depth of the Depression of the '30's. Could it be, Uncle, that you are a bit extravagant?

Actually, of course, the cost of feeding, clothing, housing and educating large numbers of people should be less, not more, per person than it is for two or three persons.

Maybe few people know it, but Uncle gives the mother of an illegitimate child $800 a year for upkeep, under the Aid to Dependent Children program, while permitting parents of a legitimate child only a $600 tax deduction.

Uncle, which is the correct figure?

HANOI'S FIGHTING BARS UNLIMITED TALKS

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, North Vietnam's determination to keep on pressing its attacks against South Vietnam have had the effect of limiting the hope for any substantive negotiations in Paris. It is clear, however, as Crosby Noyes points out in a column published in the Evening Star of June 1, that the losses Hanoi is taking on the battlefields of South Vietnam cannot be sustained indefinitely, even if the talks in Hanoi can be. What this means, of course, is that we must continue to meet the military situation in Vietnam, maintaining the pressure on our adversary to settle down to serious negotiations for a settlement that will insure firm guarantees to prevent renewed warfare.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Hanoi's Fighting Limits Bar Unlimited Talks

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

Geneva.—The widespread impression of observers in Paris that the leaders in Hanoi may be prepared for talks of virtually indefinite duration has some puzzling implications in the light of the military situation in Vietnam.

It is perfectly true, of course, that the Communists are in no hurry at this point to move out of the phase of pure propaganda to the substantive problems involved in a settlement. Undoubtedly, they are waiting for developments in the war and in the American election campaign which they hope will be favorable to them.

This seems likely to rule out any real progress for some time to come—perhaps until after the American political conventions in August, perhaps even until after the election in November if a candidate whom they consider congenial to them should be nominated.

At the same time, however, the talks in Paris are an integral part of the Communists' military operations in Vietnam. And there is at least some reason to believe that those military operations have been planned on a fairly restricted and limited time table.

The evidence is that we are at the beginning of a long hot summer in Vietnam. Gen. William Westmoreland and his chief subordinates are firmly convinced that the recent offensive against Saigon is only the first round of a series of spectacular stabs which the enemy is preparing to launch in the months to come.

The next major effort is expected in the Central Highlands. After that, in all probability, the northern provinces will come under pressure again, with the main thrust perhaps directed against the city of Hue. And in due course, when he has had time to regroup and replace his losses, the enemy may well take another swipe at the capital.

These attacks, it is constantly emphasized in Saigon, have been planned exclusively for their political effect. In terms of military significance, they promise to be quite literally suicidal from the Communists' point of view. The willingness of the leaders in Hanoi to take casualties at a continuing rate of up to 10 to 1, purely for the sake of the headlines they will produce, is the clearest possible proof that a political victory is the real and, indeed, the only hope the Communists have.

But it is also quite clear that this kind of suicidal effort, unlike the talks in Paris, cannot be sustained indefinitely. The fact that Hanoi today is replacing troops in South Vietnam with boys as young as 15, with as little as two weeks of training, is reasonable evidence that the manpower situation in North Vietnam has reached a critical stage. And quite apart from the evidence, the Communists themselves at this point are advertising the fact that the war has reached its final climactic phase.

It would seem, therefore, that the talks in Paris and the military effort in Vietnam are both closely tied to the American political timetable. The logical assumption is that the Communist leaders came to Paris believing that a political victory, in the wake of President Johnson's withdrawal, was clearly in sight. Their objective, within the next three to six months, will be to nail down that victory, whatever the military cost may be.

This, however, does not answer the question of what will happen in Vietnam or in Paris if the expectations of the Communist leaders turn out to be mistaken. What Hanoi will do if the American electorate fails to cave in on schedule and elects an administration firmly committed to seeing the war through makes an interesting subject for speculation.

What is likely to happen in Vietnam is not really much in doubt.

If the prospect of an early political victory goes up in smoke, the whole point of Hanoi's climactic military effort will go with it. Fanatical as they may be, the North Vietnamese leaders would certainly not be interested in continuing a ruinous and futile military exercise on anything like the present scale. A drastic reduction of the Communist military effort—perhaps down to the level of scattered guerilla operations—would be almost inevitable.

But before this happens, things may start to move rather rapidly in Paris, assuming that the talks are still going on. If the Communists, in fact, are willing to make any settlement at all short of total victory, they will try to do it before any significant slackening of the military tempo in Vietnam takes place.

There is also some reason to believe that they would press for a settlement of some kind rather than let the war fizzle out. For one thing, any settlement would certainly include a provision for the early withdrawal of American military forces from Vietnam, leaving Hanoi in a position to renew the war when the time is more propitious.

The aim of the allies, of course, will be to insure against this by the firmest possible international guarantees to a settlement. And this should be possible—provided always that we have not lost our nerve and thrown in our hand in the meantime.

MURDER IS MOSTLY A "FAMILY AFFAIR," AUTHOR SAYS

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I agree with Miami Beach Police Chief Rocky Pomerance that the arguments for extremely tight control over gun sales are sound and that the way to lower the murder and mayhem rate is to lower it at the gun counter, prior to the point of purchase.

Chief Pomerance's views were published in an article in the Miami Beach, Fla., Sun, May 8, 1968, in a first-class discussion of the firearms problem by Ted Crail.

Mr. Crail handily dismisses the tired, worn out arguments of those who oppose firearms laws for both practical and philosophical reasons. He gets down to the heart of the matter, and that is who kills whom and why. Mr. Crail observes:

> We bump each other off at an astounding rate, often for astoundingly inconsequential reasons; around every murder victim there are concentric rings of other sufferers—the family of the victim, the family of the murderer, the insurance company which pays the policy, the taxpayer who keeps up the prison.

Most of the victims in shootings are close relatives or friends. A study now being conducted by the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee in 130 cities across the Nation proves this beyond all question.

It also proves that most of those who kill with a gun have a record of crime and instability.

Mr. Crail made this observation:

> Few murderers ever get around to strangers. As a matter of fact, the figures are alarming—murder is very much a family affair. Take New York city: Husbands, wives and common-law mates are running neck and neck as the quickest shots on the block.

And that old bugaboo about having a gun for home protection is neatly filed away by Mr. Crail with the observation that—

> It is important to remember that few burglars and few rapists are felled by eagle-eye marksmen wearing pajamas and a look of righteous anger. It's mostly wives, girl friends, boy friends, husbands, nephews, uncles, aunts, mothers-in-law, brothers, sisters, daughters, sons, common-law scamps and interfering inlaws who get gunned down in the hallways.

Mr. President, Congress has yet to enact any new Federal firearms laws. On May 23, the Senate approved such legislation as title IV of the Safe Streets Act, S. 917. The matter is still to be passed upon by both the House and the Senate before it goes to the President for signature.

I commend this article to the attention of Senators as they prepare to cast their final vote on the firearms matter, and ask unanimous consent this entire article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Handy Gun, Handy Victims

(By Ted Crail)

(Note.—Few murderers ever get around to strangers. As a matter of fact—the figures are alarming—murder is very much a family affair. Take New York husbands, wives and common-law mates are running neck and neck as the quickest shots on the block.)

If you could always tell who is likely to use a gun—and why, and when, and how well—well, then there would be no problem with guns, would there?

But you can't tell.

You couldn't possibly have told about Philip John Donovan. He was 24 years old, handsome as a lady's prayer. Almost four years ago, hundreds of curious and horrified residents of South Shore watched from a distance and tried to read in the handsome face of Philip John Donovan just what a gun had meant to him and why.

For Donovan it meant a wrecked life; for desk clerk B. Richard Stubbs of the Bolivar Hotel at 740 Ocean Drive it had meant the very end of life. Stubbs was an absolute stranger to Donovan. Yet Donovan had killed him.

It all happened in an instant and an arresting officer claimed that Donovan had said —just minutes later, as police quickly chased him into a trap—"I did it. I'm sorry. You guys work fast. Don't you feel sorry for me?"

The morning after Donovan was caught police walked him on a trail of blood—his own. Hundreds watched, gathering the import of the scene as a whisper passed through the crowd ("He's the murderer!"). At the Life Bar the night before, he had whipped out a gun and pulled a spur-of-the-moment robbery Then he had dashed on through two hotels, killing Stubbs at the Bolivar. He fled to the beach and was quickly captured. As Donovan—with policemen all around to guard him—retraced the murderous steps he had taken, a kind of disbelief could be seen on the faces of that mob of troubled people watching the terrible pantomime.

So this was what a murderer looked like! So much like the son of any one of them.

Murder, as it happens, is sufficiently a part of daily life that Donovan is almost forgotten here. The reasons why he had "broken bad," as policemen sometimes put it—well, those were mysterious though it was easy to see a certain neurotic pattern in his life. It seemed to go back to feelings about his family.

The intriguing question is not so much why Philip Donovan broke bad—so many boys do, don't they?—as what would have happened if there had been no gun to whip out. Would there have been an erratic robbery by an erratic young man? Would an erratic murder have followed the erratic robbery? Or would it all have ended differently somehow? Would Stubbs be alive today if the gun was not so readily a part of the American environment?

To gun-haters, the answer is obvious; to gun-lovers, the answer is just as obvious—but not the same. Both groups have oversimplified to a large extent.

Miami Beach Police Chief Rocky Pomerance believes that the arguments for extremly tight control over gun sales are sound. He says that most top law enforcement men around the country believe that the significant way to lower the murder and mayhem rate is to lower it at the gun counter, prior to point-of-purchase.

Most of the arguments on both sides of this subject are tired out from over-use. There are both practical objections ("How do I defend myself against bandits?") and philosophical objections ("Wouldn't the mass of men be subject to the dictatorship of a minority?") to taking weapons away from the common man. But there are also practical and philosophical objections to not doing it—we bump each other off at an astounding rate, often for astoundingly inconsequential reasons; around every murder victim there are concentric rings of other sufferers—the family of the victim, the family of the murderer, the insurance company which pays the policy, the taxpayer who keeps up the prison. It's all been gone over before. Nobody seems to change position though the gun-sellers are getting more cautious and incidents like the assassination of Martin Luther King cause a momentary swelling in the ranks of ban-the-gun advocates.

Perhaps the most overlooked fact in the whole controversy over guns is this: murder is a family affair.

It may be chilling to think of it this way but if you live in an emotional household—and most people do—to put a gun in your house may be to put it within reach of your murderer. Worse, it may make a murderer out of someone who otherwise would be nothing worse than a pop-off with a quick-flaring, quick-dying temper. Worse still, that pop-off who will do time for murder—it could well be you.

You don't think so?

It's curious that, the closer you look at any homicide, the more it goes back to the home. Even that complete stranger-shooting-stranger encounter between Philip Donovan and B. Richard Stubbs had its origins not in some chance events in Miami Beach but in feelings of antagonism generated years before. Detectives were sure of this when Donovan, after his arrest, did a highly significant thing—of no particular use in court but of great use in understanding human nature. He called his mother to tell her about the murder.

It is stretching a point, however, to call the Donovan case another chapter out of the family casebook. This was as remote from the home as murder ever gets.

In the typical case, murder meets the description from Rocky Pomerance; husband or wife or boy-friend or girl-friend will "have a fight, it gets emotional, they look around for a weapon—if there's no weapon, it may result in the throwing of something but with a gun handy—once you squeeze that, the remorse is considerably extended." A professional view. Here are the figures:

Nationwide, 82 percent of all murders occur within families or between people who know each other. The criminal plugging a boy at a gas station—that's rare. Common: a sudden ferocious encounter between two people who embraced each other the day before and would, without a gun handy, embrace each other again 24 hours later.

The gun can make the difference.

Even in New York, that city of strangers, 72.8 per cent of the 746 murders which occurred there last year were, as the New York Post's Anthony Mancini pointed out, the work of murderers with a deep personal connection with the victim. There is a fascinating break-down on this. Part of it:

Thirty-two girl-friends were killed by boy-friends.

Thirty-one wives were killed by husbands.

Twenty-two husbands were killed by wives.

Twenty-one common-law wives were killed by common-law husbands.

Eighteen boy-friends were killed by girl-friends.

Eighteen daughters were killed by fathers.

Seventeen daughters were killed by mothers.

Sixteen sons were killed by fathers.

Twelve sons were killed by mothers.

Eleven common-law husbands were killed by common-law wives.

Four fathers were killed by sons.

Two brothers were killed by brothers.

Two uncles were killed by nephews.

Two aunts were killed by nephews.

Two cousins were killed by cousins.

Two mothers-in-law were killed by sons-in-law.

Two brothers-in-law were killed by brothers-in-law.

Two daughters were killed by both parents.

Two nephews were killed by an uncle.

One son was killed by both parents.

One mother was killed by a son.

One grandmother was killed by a grandson.

One daughter-in-law was killed by a father-in-law.

Put all that on a chart and you'll find it demonstrates the proposition that murder is always nearest from those who are supposed to be dearest. To live with the hot-tempered is one thing; to put a gun within reach is another.

Depending on temperament, the person reading these figures will make many deductions. The most common probably is: "It can't happen to me." That's why so many murder victims die with a look of surprise on their face.

It will not be easy—given the current mood of this country—to get or to keep a ban on weapons. Certainly it will not be easy to police any such law; it can be easily subverted—guns can be shipped from anywhere, the hood will probably be able to order anything up to a submachinegun and find contraband artists who will get it for him.

But "to order" requires premeditation. Delay and difficulty of any kind would stop the majority of murders before they start. Like suicide, it is often the act of a moment; to be regretted for a lifetime.

Few murders come from sufficient motive; they merely originate with sufficient anger. These statistics on murder clearly show that access is everything. The murderer, when his dander is up, finds a handy victim when he has a handy weapon. How combat it then? By making the weapon less handy. It's the only step that will count.

An officer says he doubts that any strong move in the direction of total gun prohibition can be accomplished right now. "And that," he said, "is because the question has been somewhat confused with a new fear in this country—fear of rioting conditions and so forth."

There is a form of gun prohibition, however, which you can indulge in tomorrow: you can prohibit guns in your own household.

If this seems dangerous, it is important to remember that few burglars and few rapists are felled by eagle-eye marksmen wearing pajamas and a look of righteous anger. It's mostly wives, girl-friends, boy-friends, husbands, nephews, uncles, aunts, mothers-in-law, brothers, sisters, daughters, sons, common-law scamps and interfering in-laws who get gunned down in the hallways.

On this point, the figures are absolutely devastating. You might say deadly.

COMMENCEMENT AT IN-PLANT HIGH SCHOOL

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, last year I brought to the attention of my colleagues a remarkable program wherein adults may complete their high school education through classes held at the factory before and after work shifts.

This year it was my pleasure to be the commencement speaker at the "In-Plant High School" at Western Electric in Indianapolis. Speeches made by the new graduates during those ceremonies demonstrate better than anything an outside observer might say the merit of this program which is now being copied elsewhere by enlightened management. I ask unanimous consent that those two speeches appear in the Record.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

In-Plant High School Graduation Ceremonies

(Class address, by Blanche Robinson, May 27, 1968)

It is a pleasure for me to speak for the class today.

I'd like to thank Western Electric for starting the In-Plant High School. And I'd like to thank the teachers for coming out here to teach us when they could have been home with their families.

The teachers say they would rather teach us than our children because we try harder. They also realize that we go to school because we want to learn. Some of the children don't care whether they learn or not. If they only knew what is before them!

I thought about going back to school long before they started the school here at the plant. But, I knew I couldn't go to Tech evening school and work, too. Even after they had the school here for more than a year, I waited before I enrolled.

You may wonder why an older person like me would want to go back to school. But, when your children come in with home work and you can't help them, you know it's time for you to do something about it.

Then, you think . . . Oh, I just can't go to school!

I've found that you can do about anything you put your mind to. It isn't easy to go to school for three hours after you've already worked eight hours. But, believe me, it's well worth the time.

Completing high school gives you confidence. Before, I wouldn't take part in any activities. Now, for example, I teach Sunday School . . . and I really love it.

I know I couldn't have done any of this without God's help. And my family has been a great help . . . doing the housework and encouraging me. We all worked together, and without their help, I couldn't have finished high school.

Now, I want to go to college and take some business courses. Truly, this is a day I have looked forward to for a long time, and I know all my fellow classmates feel the same way.

This is one of the happiest days of my life!

In-Plant High School Graduation Ceremonies

(Class address, by Richard Hagan, May 27, 1968)

As the world looks to America today, what do they see? A nation progressively moving forward, or a nation in digression? On every hand there is destruction and violence, burning, looting, killing, and even cold blooded, premeditated murder. Can education save our nation?

In the wake of violence and strife that is tearing at the very heart of our nation, it is my belief that through various fields of education our nation can become what it was founded for: freedom and justice for all. Why do we continue to carry the yoke of hatred, greed and strife that our forefathers sought to leave on distant shores? I believe we have failed to educate ourselves about the bigotry our forbearers tried to leave behind.

Education in the field of religion has been by-passed for our desires for material gain. We have forgotten the God our forefathers came to this land to worship. Yes, our churches have large memberships, but do we worship God with our hearts?

With the love of God in our hearts we will love our fellow man, and will no longer wish to burn down his home, loot his store, lynch or shoot him in ambush. Through faith in God's word, our churches can give us this love which will cause us to love our neighbor as ourselves.

Education in the field of Social Studies will help us understand our fellow man, his problems, and why his behavior is peculiar to ours. This will help us communicate with a deeper understanding, thus tearing down the barriers of greed and strife between races and nationalities. It will also bridge the generation gap between us and our children, which is widening with every succeeding generation.

Education in the field of agriculture and livestock production will make it possible to feed thousands of undernourished in our land at a minimum cost.

Education in the field of conservation will give ourselves and our children a greater abundance of natural resources. This will give us a higher standard of living, thus raising the social and economic standards for those who are trapped in the ghettos of our cities. I believe the most effective war on poverty is through a useful education.

Education in the field of medicine can free us from dread diseases that cause birth defects, cripples our children and forces people to quit work at a young age. Through medical technology, overcrowded hospitals could become a thing of the past.

Our forefathers came to this land to escape the evils of greed and strife, so why should we recreate those same problems in the twentieth century?

Because knowledge brings understanding and overcomes bias and prejudice, each one of us should do all we can to promote and extend our educational facilities through our legislative rights and, if possible, with dollars, to see that all the people in this great land are given equal opportunity, as their God given heritage, to become educated, law abiding, and God fearing citizens.

Let us, through education, give a better nation to a better generation.

MOUNTAIN MINI-SAFARI

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, West Virginia is noted for the beauty of its rivers and mountains, and, therefore, I am pleased to note in the outdoors section of this morning's Washington Post an article about Mr. Frank Harmison of Berkeley Springs, W. Va., who operates a float trip down the Cacapon River.

These float trips are a good way to see the river and the surrounding countryside.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, entitled "Guided Float Trips Set Up for Cacapon," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GUIDED FLOAT TRIPS SET UP FOR CACAPON

(By LeRoy Whitman)

BERKELEY SPRINGS, W. VA.—Frank Harmison, managing editor of the county's weekly newspaper, has cleaned out his desk and is laying the groundwork for devoting full time to what always has been his first love and his hobby—the outdoors.

Harmison will open for business on June 15 under the title "Mountain Mini-Safari." His operations will embrace taking visitors on float trips down the Cacapon and Potomac Rivers, serving as a guide for hunting, night fishing or hiking, scenic or historic tours, or virtually any outdoor activity. Main emphasis will be on adventure and passenger participation.

Last year the Coolfont Recreation organization here operated float trips for their guests. Both the Potomac and Cacapon Rivers flow through heavily-wooded mountains alive with wildlife and wild flowers.

The float trips were popular, but handling them became an involved operation. It required trucks to put boats into the water and to take them out miles away. It tied up trained personnel needed at busy Coolfont. So this year they decided to drop them.

Mountainous scenery, wildlife, wild forests, wild flowers and wild rivers, being principal attractions of this area, the Chamber of Commerce wanted float and outdoor trips available to prospective visitors and looked around for some means of getting them in operation this year.

Just at this time, Harmison was having a problem of his own. His health seemed to be failing for no apparent cause. Finally a specialist gave him a thorough overhauling.

"There's nothing physically wrong with you," the Doc said. "All you need is to get away from that desk."

Harmison float trips and the outdoors fit together like bacon and eggs. When the Chamber of Commerce found he was interested, they offered their moral support in recommending his Mountain Mini-Safari trips to tourists.

Now he is busy getting together the boats and trucks he wants, and what help he will need.

He plans to operate four float trips a week. They will run an average of four miles, will leave at 9 a.m. and conclude about 2 p.m. or 3 p.m., with several stops along the way.

Where the floats will be held will depend upon the weather and the condition of the water. One favorite on the Cacapon will be from the low water bridge at Rock Ford rd. to the point where the Cacapon flows into the Potomac. Another will be along the Potomac from the Cacapon to Hancock, Md.

Harmison was born in this area and and has fished, hunted and tramped over most of it and knows the people along the way.

A visitor, of course, would be free to make his own float trips. But it requires a vehicle to carry the boat to the starting point and another to take it out down stream. Also, much of the shorelines are private lands and their owners look askance at strangers with trucks and boats running across it. These are problems Harmison can solve.

He can be reached by mail at Berkeley Springs, W. Va. 25411, or by phone at (304) 258–2524.

GUNS, CIVIL UNREST DISCUSSED BY CONNECTICUT LIFE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the Senate passed a milestone of sorts when during the first few weeks of May it debated for the first time in 30 years the need for new Federal firearms laws that would effectively keep guns out of the hands of criminals and others who are likely to misuse them during these times of domestic crisis.

It was August of 1963 when I introduced the first comprehensive bill in modern times to control the flourishing mail-order firearms trade.

I predicted then that the Senate would approve the legislation by an overwhelming majority at its first opportunity.

I made that prediction because I believed that the American people were sick of the mounting violence in the streets, and of its shoot-em reflection in our news and entertainment media.

I did not know then that it would take 5 years to get a sane firearms control bill to the floor of the Senate.

But had I known I would not have relented in pushing for its passage.

And as I predicted, given the chance to vote on it, the Senate approved it by a substantial margin.

I said the Senate would reflect public opinion, and it did.

At the time I introduced that first piece of firearms legislation, August 2, 1963, I mistakenly believed I had the support and confidence of the firearms industry, the sportsmen's groups, and the National Rifle Association.

At that time, I was convinced they, too, saw the need to keep guns out of the hands of known criminals and those who were clearly potential criminals and assassins.

My mistake, of course, was apparent a matter of weeks after the legislation was introduced. The bill, S. 1975, which took almost 18 months to write and refine, was landed on with both feet by the "gun lobby."

The documented research on the need for the legislation was ridiculed as "inadequate and inconclusive." Editors of sports magazines, editors who knew better, told their readers the sole aim of the law was to disarm legitimate sportsmen.

All this was particularly disappointing to me, in view of the fact that just a matter of days prior to the introduction of the original mail-order gun bill, we concluded a productive series of meetings with representatives of the firearms industry, representatives of sports organizations, editors, writers, collectors, and the National Rifle Association.

I was confident in my mind that I had their support for legislation that would help disarm the criminal and at the same time in no way interfere with the pursuit of shooting sports.

I was confident that we had a common interest in curbing the ever-growing number of gun crimes being committed each year, and on the runaway number of guns of all descriptions—including military ordnance—then finding its way into the hands of killers, robbers, teenagers, political extremists, and the insane.

I believed that as men of good will we could and would find common ground in our mutuality of purpose to pass a law that was in the public interest, that the public was clearly demanding, and that would protect the sportsmen's interests.

I was wrong.

We could not count on the gun industry, nor the sportsmen's groups, nor the editors, nor the antique gun collectors, nor the conservationists.

After the gun lobby finished working over the officers of these assorted organizations—most of whom do not seek the advice of their members in formulating policy—they all spoke with the same tongue.

As a group, the officers of these organizations misrepresented the feelings of millions of legitimate sportsmen by parroting the mouthings of the gunrunners.

It was impossible to tell the conservationist from the gunrunner, the legitimate hunter from the paid lobbyist.

I did not know 5 years ago that a group of firearms manufacturers and related businesses formed the National Shooting Sports Foundation for the specific purpose of opposing firearms laws.

And oppose firearms laws it did.

The NSSF let nothing stand in its way, including the truth. Most of its time and effort was spent in distortion, misrepresentation, and subversion of the truth. The remainder was expended decoying the public away from the hard facts of 18,000 firearms deaths a year and another 80,000 or so wounded and maimed.

They wanted those 100,000 firearms victims forgotten, as so many clay pigeons after the annual shooting match.

In the end, commonsense prevailed on behalf of the public good.

The first rewrite of the Federal firearms laws in 30 years is contained in title IV of the Safe Streets Act, S. 917.

Attempts to have it stricken from the law were soundly defeated. And when the Safe Streets Act cleared the Senate at 9:20 p.m. May 23, 1968—almost 5 years after the legislative battle began—it was approved by a vote of 72 to 4.

Mr. President, bringing this vitally needed legislation this far has not been easy. The gun lobby, through its distortion and outright lies, has seen to it that I have been bitterly criticized in public.

I have been accused alternately of being a friend and enemy of the gun industry and the sportsmen.

However, as time wore on, it was more and more encouraging to find that all the people were not being fooled by the gun lobby. In my own State, Connecticut, thought of as the home of the American firearms industry, many have come to support the need for workable, sane firearms laws.

I have included in the RECORD the endorsements and approvals of many outstanding public officials, newspapers, and organizations.

The May 1968 edition of Connecticut Life, a newspaper supplement edited by Bice Clemow, published by the West Hartford, Conn., News, and widely distributed throughout Connecticut, contained some thoughts by Mr. Clemow on the firearms industry and the need for the firearms laws for which I have been fighting.

Mr. Clemow sharpened the focus of this conflict when he said:

> By chance the major figure that has emerged in Federal efforts at gun sale regulation—particularly the indiscriminate sale by mail-order—is that of Senator Thomas J. Dodd. The powerful gun lobby blanches apoplectic at the mention of him, and on the other side he is accused of letting his efforts get watered down into a weak bill now before Congress.
>
> The gun lobby, which has genuinely intimidated the nation's lawmakers by avalanches of mail, thinks that licensing guns would have no effect on people who want to use them for criminal and riotous sallies. They argue that of the 18,000 or so civilians who will be killed by guns this year, more than 2,000 deaths will be accidental, another 10,000 suicidal and only 6,000 homicidal.
>
> The fact keeps intruding on our objectivity that anybody who buys a gun contemplates the circumstances under which he or she actually would use it.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entire column, entitled "Editor's View," from which I have quoted, be included in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The same issue of Connecticut Life contains a thoughtful article on the gun in our society. It is entitled "The Gun's Many Faces: Disorder in the Streets Triggers New Drive for Firearms Control as Sportsmen's Lobby Digs In."

As Congress continues its consideration of the Safe Streets Act, and of title IV of it dealing with firearms, I commend these articles to the thoughtful attention of my colleagues.

Many of the thoughts and ideas contained in these articles I believe, Mr. President, reflect the opinion of Americans "back home" across this Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that both articles be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDITOR'S VIEW

(By Bill Clemow)

This month's story on guns, which we started thinking about last fall, grew like sugar crystals in a super-saturated solution—branching in every dimension. Particularly in Connecticut the gun has been a many-faceted instrument. A source of manufacturing skills and dollars, and a source of pleasure for hunters and target-shooters, the gun also has been here as elsewhere the crutch for the criminal element. As the level of violence rises in both the world and our own neighborhoods—between not only nations but between people—the gun is an historic symbol of the sheriff's final word in doing his job. In our gathering of data it became clear that more and more individuals have come to want this final word in their own hands, to be exercised at their own option. There are 45 million gun owners in this country, and there will be 2.5 million guns made this year, with retail sales for guns and ammunition running $350,000,000. The use of all these firearms, in both sports and self-defense, is carefully covered by the law and the arguments now center on whether and how the purchase of guns shall be controlled, for what purpose and with what effect. By chance the major figure that has emerged in federal efforts at gun sale regulation—particularly the indiscriminate sale by mail-order—is that of a Connecticut Senator, Thomas J. Dodd. The powerful gun lobby blanches apoplectic at the mention of him, and on the other side he is accused of letting his efforts get watered down into a weak bill now before the Congress.

The gun lobby, which genuinely has intimidated the nation's lawmakers by avalanches of mail, thinks that licensing guns would have no effect on people who want to use them for criminal and riotous sallies. They argue that of the 18,000 or so civilians who will be killed by guns this year, more than 2,000 deaths will be accidental, another 10,000 suicidal and only 6,000 homicidal.

The fact keeps intruding on our objectivity that anybody who buys a gun contemplates the circumstances under which he or she actually would use it. A handful fancies them for collector's items, perhaps two percent will use them on targets, and maybe half the gun owners will be tracking elusive wild game sometime. But that leaves a civilian arsenal which, in the tense racial relationships that have developed in the cities, does not make the authorities rest any easier. We have talked with police chiefs in major cities, and in some of the suburbs where many fear the civil malaise will spread, and it is clear that upon the chiefs' philosophy and performance the role of the gun as arbiter in civil disagreement will depend. The emerging nations of this land—the ghettoes—can be born in non-violence and Connecticut police are generally committed to helping preserve conditions under which whites and blacks can arrive at an American accommodation.

If there are hot places this summer, they are more likely to be cooled by exotic measures than by gunpowder. Chemical Mace, which the Smith & Wesson subsidiary that makes it·conceives as a more effective alternate to the policeman's billy-club or "mace" is in $2.84 spray cans as part of many a policeman's kit. There are other gases, sprays, foams, skidding compounds, noises. We even read of one anti-riot experiment with a subsonic noise which can't be heard or traced yet resonates the human viscera and activates the large colon.

So, as I said, a look at guns circa 1968 took us down some amazing galleries which will perhaps perplex you as much as they did us.

THE GUN'S MANY FACES—DISORDER IN THE STREETS TRIGGERS NEW DRIVE FOR FIREARMS CONTROL AS SPORTSMEN'S LOBBY DIGS IN

In peaceful little Coventry (pop. 8320) where Nathan Hale was a boy, Negro Charles White stood before a town meeting this April and asked matter-of-factly why the police budget had included riot equipment—guns, Chemical Mace and such.

"Apparently," said White, this was to "ward off a 'long hot summer' in Coventry," set among the low, rolling hills of east central Connecticut.

"The townpeople should know," he went on, "that there are 11 Negroes living in Coventry, three of them under six years of age, and five of them who have lived here over 30 years."

Then he added, "I don't mean to be funny, and some of you will laugh, but with this $8000 for riot equipment, it would be cheaper to build a fence around us."

Coventry would forego Mace, the Board of Finance decided, but in virtually every major city of the state the exotic spray that scrambles people's senses would be standard equipment. (Its inventor is working on a spinning gas grenade that will hop around so it can't be intercepted and thrown back at police, and a projectile for gassing a fleeing man.) Frustrated by the time lag it takes to mount effective remedial programs for the ghetto conditions which spawn violence, the state's cities—and many of its individual citizens—were assessing and acquiring armament, offensive and defensive, more appropriate to the battlefield.[1]

Across Connecticut, which *The New Yorker* magazine currently notes is "sometimes referred to as 'the arsenal of America' " because so many arms manufacturers have plants here, the prospect of disorder got increasingly more than conversational attention. When small city and suburban police chiefs got together a sure question was whether disruption would become a core city export.[2]

No body has an answer to that, but police departments in the four major cities, where the vast majority of the state's poor are huddled, have been reorganizing and retraining in the light of last summer's hot nights and the restiveness that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King.

The coming summer issue was not so much over equipment for suppressing civil disorders, but the attitude and timing of any indicated police action. Both the State Police and the National Guard are going through riot control training, based on last summer's events and ordered, in the case of the Guard, by the Department of Defense. The State Police have two "task forces," North and South, of men from the regular complement. Most of the National Guardsmen in the state (6,200) have had some training for domestic deployment.

The training, according to Acting Chief of Connecticut National Guard, Col. Thomas F. Leonard, is "not new—we're just spending more time on it. We would only be committed in the event local and state police were unable to control things. We don't take sides in any disturbance—racial, Vietnam protest or whatever. We might be used in many ways but sometimes just our arrival on the scene is enough." But the Guard in this state has never been called out for a civil disturbance.

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[1] When the State Bond Commission this month approved $1,400,000 for 57 summer projects to help disadvantaged citizens in 11 cities. State Community Affairs Commissioner LeRoy Jones called it "an appropriate thrust."

[2] The state's hospital leaders, gathered last month to hear accounts of hospital chaos in the nation's cities during last summer's riots, concluded they too are ill-prepared to handle what might happen in a big civil disorder or natural disaster.

Lt. Colonel Leslie Williams, executive officer of the State Police, describes a transition in training methods: "At first the manuals envisioned large mobs, and talked about wedge formation to break up threatening crowds. Now the emphasis is on containing hit and run tactics. We concentrate on confrontation and increased patrol activity.

Col. Williams tells his men "You must tailor your actions to meet events. There are times when the better part of valor is discretion." He tells of an incident, the day after Dr. King's death, when two young ladies were knocked down, he feels deliberately by Negro girls let out from a high school annex next to the barracks. "Ten years ago," he says, "we would all have been out chasing them. This time we decided to take the mood of the day into account and we did nothing. Is this right or wrong? No one can tell, but at that time it seemed the best thing to do."

The "best thing to do" is often the emergency judgment of an elected leader, but the professional policemen of the state hope that their pre-planning will eliminate the necessity for hasty decisions after trouble breaks out. In the final squeeze, a city's response to disorder rests on the instincts and capabilities of the police chief, and between the four major Connecticut cities with ghetto concentrations this is a wide range.

In Bridgeport, the only one of the big four cities of the state which has not had headline civil strife (less than $400 damage the week of Dr. King's death), firm, paternal Police Superintendent Joseph Walsh makes no bones about it: there should be no political control in riot control. The fourth night after King's death Bridgeport did have one incident of "young kids raising halleujah," as Walsh put it. "As soon as they step out of line we lock them up."

He credits some of Bridgeport's pacific record with a cooperative community attitude and considerable police training in community relations. But mainly he feels it's because "we have a no nonsense police department." He follows the approach of Philadelphia Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo who has kept his city out of the riot column by meeting disorder with "absolute force." He argues that a hard line is the only way, so he is training anti-sniper squads to shoot from helicopters. Says Rizzo of the coming summer, "We may have a riot but it will be the shortest in history."

Bridgeport's 404 policemen (10 of them Negro) have helmets, riot batons, Chemical Mace. "We increased our communications through three radio wave lengths," Supt. Walsh says, "Walkie talkies we have . . . gas masks, tear gas." His technique calls for speedy arrest of looters. "The average policeman is not the type to shoot anybody anyway. If the police are present and properly deployed these things will not happen. You'll find many of these people are teenagers not out because of a civil rights protest but because the opportunity is there to loot and commit acts of vandalism."

Hartford Chief John J. Kerrigan, who has had to wrestle with three potentially explosive disturbances, two last summer and one after the King death, assesses that his city "is much further ahead than it was this time last year . . . There has been a lot of community effort in housing and employment." Chief Kerrigan has bought no new armored cars, liquid "banana peel" or any other of the sophisticated riot arsenal. "In a city of this size it would only complicate things."

But the calm, slow-talking Hartford chief is nonetheless worried about a 10 percent vacancy rate in his department (360 against a needed strength of 400) and says that "it can't be the money . . . our new pay plan is the best in the state."

Waterbury Superintendent Joseph Guilfoile surveying the scene from his dark, Victorian cubicle, doesn't have Chief Kerrigan's worry. He has enough men and equipment, and feels that his Waterbury constituency will keep its cool.

New Haven's Chief James F. Ahern, whose force has without bloodshed arrested more people in the last few years' civil disturbances than any other place in the U.S. except Newark, Watts, Detroit, Harlem and Selma, isn't anticipating trouble. Without beefing up manpower or arsenal, Chief Ahern counts on heavy and constant patrols, plus quick arrests, to dampen violence and avoid gunplay. More than "a flimsy reason" is required to get his okeh on a hand gun permit.

Since last year the major New Haven step-up has been between police and neighborhood groups, including the militant organizations. Neighborhood police stations in two predominantly Negro areas, coupled with "neighborhood police aides"—youths who cannot become policemen but do certain police-related jobs—have made New Haven police more peacefully visible and informal.

Among none of the big city chiefs is there an advocate of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's shoot-the-looter policy, and very little talk about shooting at all. In the state's capital, for instance, there have been many Molotov cocktails tossed during the three civil disturbances, but not a shot fired.

Since Dr. King's murder, however, police across the state record a sharp rise in retail sales of personal weapons, particularly to women. A recent national poll indicates that just over half the American homes own a gun. Gun owners, asked if they would use their weapon to shoot another in case of a riot, said yes by 51%, a rise from 29% since last August.

An article headed "Pocket Pistol Potency" in a current national gun magazinne leads off this quaint colloquial way: "If you keep a bureau gun to keep belligerents away from the old homestead, if crime in the streets has caused you to stash a bit of ballast in your wife's handbag, if you're a cop off duty or an undercover sleuth making like a bad guy, it's a good bet that you've got a pocket pistol."

Police across the state caution against hasty conclusions that gun sale increases are tied directly to civil restiveness. In Bridgeport, where some 2,000 guns have been bought the past 18 months, the sales are up 50 percent, but most of the buyers are members of gun clubs—and women. Superintendent Walsh doesn't see any harm in a woman having a pistol "if it gives her ease of mind" but adds that a woman with a gun in her home should "know how to use it safely."[3]

Increases in gun sales, even though many are for sporting uses, have triggered new concern by police and new efforts to curb them.

In its marvelously microscopic style, *The New Yorker's* April 20 account of the futile legislative efforts to get federal control over firearms sale, or even ban mail-order shipments, ran through 100 pages. A short version is its first two sentences: "Nothing renders Congress less capable of action than the need for it. The more urgent the need, the more controversy it creates, the greater is the danger for any member who takes a stand."

Since only seven states (including Connecticut) now require a permit to buy a pistol, and only one prohibits their sale, and since no state requires a permit to buy a rifle or shotgun, the paranoid reaction to any sort of regulation is understandable.[3] Understandable despite the fact that 71 percent of the people asked in a national poll said they would like the sale of guns strictly controlled.

In the six years since the Senate Juvenile Delinquency subcommittee documented a traffic in mail-order guns among youngsters, "Dodd" has become the worst four-letter word in the gun-toters vocabulary. Although Drew Pearson has written that Connecticut Senator Thomas Dodd "has had a disturbing, documented habit of consorting with the people he is investigating, then permitting the investigation to peter out," Pearson does concede that since his censure Senator Dodd has been more aggressively pushing the gun control bills.

The National Rifle Association, principal vehicle of the target-shooting fraternly, has returned the fire. At its meeting in Boston last month, the new president of the 960,000 member NRA labelled those who refuse to support the NRA's "drive for sensible and practical gun legislation"[4] as "gun bearers for the (Ted) Kennedys and the Dodds."

But the shot which six days before had taken the life of Martin Luther King may have put some life in the Dodd bill, watered down as it has gotten to be (exempting rifles and shot-guns and providing for state option). By a slim 9–7 the Senate Judiciary Committee has voted to let the Dodd gun bill go to the Senate floor for debate, for the first time in 30 years. There it will meet bitter opposition, particularly from Western and Southern law-makers. U.S. Rep. John D. Dingell, Michigan Democrat, told the Boston meeting of NRA that highly restrictive gun control laws do not reduce crime and attacked the "gross misstatement, false statistics and deceitful tactics used to push gun control measures . . ."

NRA's new president, Harold W. Glassen of Lansing, added that "the availability of firearms would seem to have a deterrent effect on crime—rather than the prohibition." If he was talking in any part about the deterrent effect of armed vigilantes who have appeared to help quell riots, Connecticut police say uniformly and firmly, "No thanks."

They echo Col. Rex Applegate, whom *Esquire* calls the "von Clausewitz of today's war in the streets," when he points out that the need for gas and other exotic devices make anti-riot techniques "highly specialized skills." Bridgeport's Superintendent Walsh vows he'd never use a vigilante or any other kind of citizen group. "It gets out of control. If we can't handle it we can call in the State Police and the National Guard." About vigilante citizens groups, the Guard's Col. Leonard adds, "We have no requirements for them in our plans, and they would have no standing as far as we're concerned. We certainly wouldn't be interested."

The rise in gun sales is of more than political consequences to Connecticut. Whatever its purpose—sporting, military, protective or even criminal—any American-made gun has a 90 percent chance of coming from within a 65-mile circle around Connecticut's capital. That has been the case for a century and a half. From the times when you had to hunt to eat meat, Yankee craftsmanship concentrated much of its care on making guns, and a good deal of the modern interchangeable parts production technique owes its inspiration to precision gun manufacturing.

Between the colonial and civil wars there were 25 arms manufacturers and 50 gunsmiths in tiny Connecticut. Though today there are fewer than 30 ordnance manufacturers in Connecticut (nine making guns) they turn out a whopping $200,000,000 worth of shipments. In February of this year there were 13,340 Connecticut workers making ordnance at an average $140.61 a week. There were 10,300 in 1967 and only 8,631 in 1966.

Though not the first armsmaker, Hartford's native Samuel Colt, more than any other, put Connecticut on the world gun map. When he was a seven-year-old problem, somebody presented him with a flint-lock horse-pistol that whetted his appetite. A few years later he was kicked out of school for concocting and firing powder. He hated it at 16 when his father, in some despair, shipped him off to sea, but managed to carve in wood the model of the first automatic repeating pistol.

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[3] Pistol permits can be held up by local police chiefs, many of whom are trying to slow down the hand-gun sales to people whose purposes don't seem to be sporting. Bridgeport has had a 100% increase in requests for permits to carry pistols since the first of the year. Applicants can appeal to the State Pistol Permit Board which has recently overruled the Waterbury chief twice. Present federal statutes prohibit only shipment of guns or ammunition to anybody known or reasonably believed to be a criminal or a "fugitive from justice."

[4] One NRA idea: Ship guns by registered mail, delivered only to the addressee, and the receipt recorded with the police.

At 22 he founded his fabulous company, soon was travelling the world to sell guns for the world's wars—if possible, to both sides. His name became a synonym for firearms and his industrial pace-setting plants turned out 319,000 revolvers in the first three years of the Civil War. Colt died in 1862 at 48. Now widely diversified, Colt Industries is a $300,000,000 a year giant which has already produced 730,000 of the light, efficient and much-argued M16 army rifles, most of them now being carried in Southeast Asia. Colt will be turning them out at 50,000 a month by June next year.

Many other ordnance names, with their home base in Connecticut, are internationally known. The second big name, Winchester Repeaing Arms Co., was established just before the Civil War, in World War I turned out 600,000 rifles.

On his wall in the center of "gun country," amidst an extraordinary display of guns used in Connecticut crimes, Hartford's Det. Sgt. Walter S. Perkins, has a sign: "The only Courage possessed by most Criminals."

But to be fair, the gun evokes a variety of other images among millions of Americans whose "right to bear arms" often boggles foreign visitors trying to reconcile America's lawlessness with its freedom. To the 66,680 men and women who carry a Connecticut hunting license the image is of autumn woods and wary game. These hunters are stirred by the opening salute in Maj. Gen. J. S. Hatcher's introduction to "The Rifle in America." It reads: "To every redblooded American the rifle is a weapon with a deep and romantic appeal."

To 17-year-old Candy Mottram and her friends on the Stratford Police Athletic League girls' rifle team, as well as to the other 3,200 members of the Connecticut State Rifle and Revolver Association, the gun is a friendly piece of precision sporting equipment, used only with appropriate gear under the most elaborate safety regulations. To half of them it would never occur to use a gun even for hunting animals.

When 500 of them gather at Wallingford's 54-acre Blue Trail Range, operated by former gun-sight maker Charles Lyman, as they did for the first match of the hig bore league late last month, riots are not even in their glossary. Their NRA indoctrination guides their conviction that "only people, not guns, shoot people," and they seem genuinely perplexed why their friend Eddie May could be so misinformed as to say that if he were in the Senate (for which he hopes to run this fall) he'd vote for Tom Dodd's bill.

These sportsmen, from every conceivable walk and circumstance (Stamford's artistic-tempered Virginia Williams, one of the world's crack shots, is a nurse), spend $100 to $500 on their sleek guns, often refine them with palm rests and hook butt-plates, always care for them like jewels. They recruit others annually to their passion, and some like Ronald Moley, a Stanley Works production planner in New Britain and a member of the Bell City Rifle Club, have been at it since their dads took them along target shooting at 12.[5] At 29, Ron Moley is a mild, single, devotee who eats and sleeps guns, has put 25 out of 25 shots into a seven inch bulls-eye at the 200-yard Blue Trail Range.

There is no way for anybody to do any better than that, but Ron Moley is humble about it. He and the gun just "had a good day," which consists of weather, gun conditioning and how Ron feels when he lies down for the prone firing. If the first five practice shots go well (they aren't counted) the rest may be in there—prone, kneeling and standing. He isn't thinking about the Dodd bill. All he hears—and that muted through the heavy plastic ear muffs that protect his tympanic membrane—is the battlefield sound barrage.

Not far from where Ron Moley was firing a whole different group of sportsmen fire away at Blue Trail targets with hand guns (under 12'' barrel). If they got their pistols in Connecticut they had to file an application with state and local police, wait seven days while their police record, if any, is checked. By the day they come to the range, wives, children, the lot. They visit and compare notes over a hot dog, much in the manner of an outing at a golf driving range.

Most all are members of the state association, with headquarters in Glenbrook, where Manufacturer Ed Condon is the president. With rifles, shot-guns and pistols they travel from parts of New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and all over Connecticut, for the state association is one of the nation's biggest. At indoor police ranges, scores of private clubs they spend the winter waiting for the outdoor days that culminate in 20 competition matches from April through October.

For them it is indeed a sport—demanding and rewarding. No par golfer gets more kick out of his score than Ron Moley did out of his perfect 250 at Blue Trail.

Meanwhile, back at riot headquarters . . .

OUR 25 YEARS IN VIETNAM

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, our 25 years in Vietnam were well chronicled on Sunday by Chalmers Roberts, of the Washington Post. Mr. Roberts has gone back to 1943 to trace the U.S. involvement in Indochina to the present stage of simultaneous fighting and negotiation—a stage he says may be the final one. But that is not certain, Roberts adds. What is certain is that Vietnam will have, for years to come, a major effect on American thinking, and that the final outcome in Vietnam will have a major effect, as well, on the shape of the world we will face for the next 25 years and more.

It is well that we recall now the past conditions and developments which led to our involvement in the Vietnam war. Mr. Roberts has, for the most part, presented them very well in what is, by newspaper standards, a lengthy article. It is, in fact, quite brief.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR 25 YEARS IN VIETNAM

(By Chalmers M. Roberts)

Like the moth for the flame, the United States has found some irresistible attraction in a faraway land long known as French Indochina and now all too familiar as Vietnam.

This extraordinary attraction has existed for a full quarter of a century. The United States surely has been singed but its ultimate fate in that small land is not yet clear.

The story can be divided into six acts, beginning in 1943, with the latest act now being played both at the Paris conference table and on the Vietnam battlefield. Whether the sixth is the last act no man can say with certainty, but that seems the probability.

Most Americans were totally unaware of their Government's involvement on their behalf in much that has gone on. Some awoke during the second act, more began to see what was happening by the fourth. But not until the last two acts has the majority turned its eyes to that corner of Southeast Asia. Yet, in retrospect, there has been a pattern, if not a plot, in all that has happened.

Here, in capsule form, is the story of the six acts of Vietnam.

I. ROOSEVELT VERSUS DE GAULLE

Three days before he flew off to Paris this May, Ambassador W. Averell Harriman remarked in a New York speech that "I recall hearing President Roosevelt on more than one occasion state categorically that he had no intention of permitting the French to return to Indochina."

Harriman's remark is well documented by the official record. Equally well documented is the determination of Charles de Gaulle to see France return to Indochina, to which the French had gone in 1858 to create, in time, a colony comprising what today is North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

When France fell to Hitler, the white man's days in Indochina were numbered. The Vichy regime granted expansionist Japan a "pre-eminent position" in the Far East. In late 1940, Japanese troops arrived from then occupied China.

One of the French forts attacked by the Japanese was at a place known as Dong-Dang. A widely quoted American newspaper editorial of the time was captioned: "Who wants to die for dear old Dong-Dang?" The answer then in still isolationist American was clear: no one.

After Pearl Harbor, Indochina was far behind enemy lines. Not until victory over Japan began to loom did President Roosevelt begin to think about the future of the French colony. By 1943 he was making, in private, the remarks to which Harriman referred.

F. D. R.'s trusteeship idea

President Roosevelt spoke to Britain's Anthony Eden in 1943 of a future trusteeship for the colony. He told Joseph Stalin at Tehran that "after 100 years of French rule the inhabitants were worse off than they had been before . . ." Winston Churchill objected but Stalin agreed, saying that he "did not propose to have the Allies shed blood to restore Indochina, for example, to old French colonial rule . . ."

On Jan. 24, 1944, FDR wrote Secretary of State Cordell Hull that he had told the British Ambassador that "Indochina should not go back to France but that it should be administered by an international trusteeship." He added that "France has milked it for one hundred years. The people of Indochina are entitled to something better than that."

Indochina, however, was but a minute problem for the wartime President. He did little more than to put obstacles in the way of small French forces trying to make their way to the Far East via the French enclaves in India. At FDR's request, Vice President Henry Wallace told Chiang Kai-shek that FDR was offering him all of Indochina as an outright grant. In a display of wisdom, Chiang turned down the offer, saying rightly that the Indochinese were "not Chinese. They would not assimilate into the Chinese people."

FDR's approach may have been humanitarian but it certainly was cavalier and showed his scant knowledge of Southeast Asia. The President died in April, 1945, with Indochina still under Japanese control.

De Gaulle's vow

Charles de Gaulle, today the host for the Paris talks, was the wartime leader of the

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[5] Many Connecticut towns have ordinances against possession or use of air-guns and pellet rifles. "These can be deadly and dangerous weapons," says Capt. Pethick of the State Police. "Someone was killed by one and people lose eyes all the time."

Free French, a role which brought him into bitter disagreements with FDR and the United States on many issues, including Indochina.

De Gaulle wrote in his memoirs that during the war Indochina "seemed like a great ship out of control," adding: "As I saw her move away into the mist, I swore to myself that I would one day bring her in."

By 1945, with France cleared of the Nazis, de Gaulle, "aware of the hostility of the Allies—particularly the Americans—in regard to our Far Eastern position," resolved that "French blood shed on the soil of Indochina would constitute an impressive claim" to regain the colony.

FDR's death eased de Gaulle's problem. During a Washington visit in August, 1945, President Truman told him that the American Government "offers no opposition to the return of the French army and authority in Indochina."

The atomic bomb had been dropped in Japan just before de Gaulle's trip to Washington. He recorded his "bitter visions" of the bomb's meaning but quickly added that the collapse of Japan removed "the American veto which had kept us out of the Pacific. Indochina from that day became accessible to us once again."

At the wartime Tehran and Potsdam conferences, it had been agreed that, after the fighting ended, Vietnam would be occupied by Chinese Nationalist troops down to the 16th parallel, with British Commonwealth forces taking over the southern half of the peninsula.

That was in fact done for a while. And as the French returned to reassert authority, they found that Ho Chi Minh already was leading an insurrection. He seized Hanoi before the French could get there, proclaiming the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

De Gaulle worked for a French Union, with some autonomy for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and he recorded that "I intended to go to Indochina myself to settle matters . . ." He never did. In the end, negotiations between Ho and Paris were aborted by French diehards, fighting ensued and France regained control or her colony. De Gaulle retired from office in January, 1946, not to return until 1958.

The first act in Indochina was over. FDR failed in his aim. A European colony was reestablished in Asia but the auguries for its success were not good. Nationalism was the new power, with Communist Ho exploiting it.

II. HO VERSUS FRANCE PLUS EISENHOWER AND DULLES

Five months after the Japanese collapse, Bao Dai, emperor of Vietnam, wrote de Gaulle telling him to "abandon any thought" of reasserting French sovereignty, adding that if he attempted to do so "every village would become a core of resistance." But neither de Gaulle nor his successors saw the truth of that advice.

Ho's efforts to reach an accommodation with Paris was defeated by French officers in control in Indochina and by the French Communist Party in France, aided by the Soviet Union. The Communists played Paris' game against Ho in the hope that France itself would go Communist, sweeping Indochina into the Communist world without resort to war.

When Ho sent an emissary to Paris, Maurice Thorez, the French Communist, told him that he did not intend in any way "to be considered the eventual liquidator of the French positions in Indochina." French Communists did not block the Indochina war budgets in the Assembly.

But France did not go Communist. And the Indochina war escalated as Ho fought on to the climactic battle at Dienbienphu in 1954.

By December, 1950, the French were sounding alarm in Washington. At that moment, the United States was heavily engaged in Korea against both the Communist Chinese and the North Koreans.

Under Truman, a Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) arrived in Vietnam in July, 1950. But Korea had the priority and it was not until the advent of the Eisenhower Administration and the end of the Korean war that the United States became deeply involved in trying to prop up the French and save their position in Indochina, meaning essentially in what is now the two Vietnams. Why?

The United States had no economic interests in Indochina worth mentioning; its anticolonial attitude, both governmental and public, had pressed in the postwar years for the British to give up India and for the Dutch to free Indonesia. But the pressure on France was limited, halting, less than effective for too long.

Answer lies in Europe

The answer lies in American policy in Europe. What Washington did to aid Paris in Indochina was a function of its European policy and a derogation of its basic anticolonial thrust in Asia. If Paris then had been as stable as London or The Hague, there probably would have been no aid and Ho would have triumphed. Retrospectively, it appears that in larger world terms it would have made little or no difference to the United States. Washington would have been satisfied with being an offshore Pacific power, as was the general intention even to the point of withdrawing troops from Korea in 1949.

But Paris, and France, were not stable. American policy centered on rebuilding Western Europe economically with Marshall Plan aid and in creating a viable defense community through NATO. These were the years when the Communist coup succeeded in Czechoslovakia and Stalin tried to force the Western powers out of Berlin by a blockade.

Stalin died six weeks after Gen. Eisenhower's inauguration as President, setting off what was to be polycentrism in the Communist world. But that was not to be apparent for some years. Meanwhile the Korean war had alarmed the United States. When it was over, the fear was that the Communists' next thrust would come in support of Ho in Vietnam.

By late 1953, with American dollar and arms aid to the French mounting rapidly in Indochina, a Senator on a study mission to Indochina concluded his report in words that expressed the temper of the times:

"The need to stay with it is clear because the issue for us is not Indochina alone. Nor is it just Asia. The issue in this war so many people would like to forget is the continued freedom of the non-Communist world, the containment of Communist aggression, and the welfare and security of our country."

The author of those words was Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.).

Berlin Conference, 1954

In the rubble of Berlin in early 1954, the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain held their first postwar conference, ostensibly to discuss the future of divided Germany and of then partially divided Austria. Nothing was accomplished on either issue.

But the French Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault, pressed the American Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, to agree to what was to become the Geneva Conference on both Korea and Indochina.

"We had to have this conference," Bidault wrote in his memoirs. "France was fighting alone and was only being given financial aid. We were fighting 7000 miles away from home and the war was costly in human lives. The war came under heavy criticism in France and in the United States. Acts of treason and sabotage were committed in France."

Dulles was tugged two ways by Bidault's plea. On the one hand he desperately wanted French ratification of what then was the keystone in American policy in Europe: the creation of the European Defense Community, under which a unified armed force would be created, submerging German arms forever in a supranational command. French ratification was needed for success.

On the other hand, Dulles wanted to keep clear of Indochina, where he could easily smell failure—which to him meant the loss of territory to the Communists. Furthermore, he did not want to have anything to do, at least directly, with the Communist Chinese, although he recognized they would have to be at Geneva too. (Indeed, during the week he did subsequently spend at Geneva, Dulles sat stonily behind Chou En-lai, then Peking's foreign minister, without a word or a handshake between them.)

The American attitude toward China was so bitter at the time that Dulles felt impelled, on his return from the Berlin meeting, to say in a radio-TV report that he had dramatically held out until 60 minutes before adjournment to win Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov's acceptance of the Dulles demand "that I would not agree to meet with the Chinese Communists unless it was expressly agreed and put in writing that no United States recognition would be involved."

With this safeguard politically at home and in hopes that the French would accept the European Defense Community, Dulles agreed to the Geneva Conference.

The falling domino

Twenty-three days after the Berlin Conference organized the Geneva meeting, Ho's forces made their first major attack on the French fortress of Dienbienphu in western North Vietnam near the border of Laos. Ho had begun his "fight and negotiate" tactic now being repeated while today's talks go on in Paris.

Eisenhower's view of the importance of keeping Indochina out of Communist hands was essentially that expressed by Sen. Mansfield. The President wrote in his memoirs that "if Indochina fell, not only Thailand but Burma and Malaya would be threatened, with added risks to East Pakistan and South Asia as well as to all Indonesia."

It was Eisenhower who publicized what he called "the falling domino principle." He also was concerned, as he said at the time and later wrote in his memoirs, about the possible "loss of valuable deposits of tin and prodigious supplies of rubber and rice" in Southeast Asia, comments to which the North Vietnamese now in Paris have called attention in an effort to sustain a Marxist view of American actions.

Kennedy-Johnson views

American leaders were divided in 1954 on what to do about Indochina. Sen. John F. Kennedy castigated the French for not giving more ground to the non-Communist Vietnamese. Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson declared that he was "against sending American GIs into the mud and muck of Indochina on a blood-letting spree to perpetuate colonialism and white man's exploitation in Asia."

But neither was yet in power in the White House; Eisenhower was and to him came proposals for military aid to the French. From Berlin in January and February to Geneva beginning in May, "the ever-present, persistent, gnawing possibility was that of employing our ground forces in Indochina" as Eisenhower recorded it.

The crisis in Washington came in April as Ho's general, Vo Nguyen Giap, tightened his stranglehold on Dienbienphu while the world watched. In March, the French Chief of Staff had visited Washington to say that unless the United States intervened, Indochina would be lost.

On Saturday, April 3, Dulles met secretly with eight congressional leaders and told them the President wanted a joint resolution by Congress to permit him to use air and naval power in Indochina. If Indochina fell, said Dulles, the United States might be forced back to Hawaii as in World War II.

Adm. Arthur W. Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, proposed using planes from two American carriers then in the South China Sea, plus land-based aircraft from the Philippines, for a single strike to save Dienbienphu. He conceded that the three other members of the Joint Chiefs disagreed with him.

Of the legislators in that room, only two are still in Congress; Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) and Rep. John W. McCormack (D-Mass.), now the House Speaker. The other man still in power was Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson.

L. B. J.'s crucial question

It was Sen. Johnson who asked the critical question about allies in such a venture. He said he knew that the then Senate majority leader, William F. Knowland, had been saying publicly that in the Korean War up to 90 per cent of the men and the money come from the United States. The United States had become sold on the idea that that was bad. Hence in any operation in Inchochina, we ought to know first who would put up the men. Sen. Johnson asked Dulles whether he had consulted nations which might be allied in any intervention. Dulles said he had not. In the end, all eight members of Congress agreed that Dulles had better first go shopping for allies.

So Dulles did. And Gen. Giap's men moved closer and closer into the fortress at Dienbienphu. Within a week Dulles talked to diplomatic representatives in Washington of Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand and the then three Associated States of Indochina: Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. He ran into a monumental rock of opposition from the British.

The British attitude, given that of the congressional leaders, forced a shelving of immediate intervention. Instead, Dulles began planning the creation of a "united front" for "united action" in what was later to emerge as SEATO, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

While Dulles was doing this, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, in an off-the-record speech that was quickly divulged, declared in Washington on April 16 that ". . . if to avoid further Communist expansion in Asia and Indochina, we must take the risk now by putting our boys in, I think the Executive has to take the politically unpopular decision and do it."

While Eisenhower was trying to keep the Nation calm, Nixon's remarks caused alarm. A rider to a House appropriations bill was introduced requiring prior congressional approval before the President could send toops to Indochina or anywhere else. Eisenhower was prepared to veto the bill but the rider failed to pass.

Unattainable or unacceptable

In answering a press conference question, the President described his 1954 dilemma much as Lyndon Johnson might describe his 1968 dilemma. Said Eisenhower: "You are steering a course between two extremes, one of which, I would say, would be unattainable, and the other unacceptable."

The "unattainable," he said, was a completely satisfactory agreement with the Communists. The "unacceptable" was "to see the whole anti-Communist defense of that area crumble and disappear."

In Paris on April 23, three days before the Geneva Conference opened (initially on the Korean issue), Bidault pleaded with Dulles for a massive air attack, using the American carriers then stationed in the Tonkin Gulf as their successors are today. Bidault has written that he pointed out to Dulles "that he had told me and the rest of the world that the U.S. would not tolerate the advance of communism in Southeast Asia; if he wanted, he could reconcile theory with practice by helping us in Dienbienphu."

Bidault also claimed in his memoirs that Dulles asked him "if we would like the U.S. to give us two atomic bombs." This has been denied on the American side and no evidence has been presented to support Bidault's statement. Bidault wrote that his answer was that with the use of atomic bombs the garrison "would be worse off than before."

Despite last-minute efforts by Dulles and Adm. Radford, Eisenhower would not agree to intervention without allies and without congressional approval, which he never publicly asked.

Gloom at Geneva

Thus the Geneva Conference opened in a mood of deepest American gloom. Dulles dissociated himself as much as possible from what he saw as the coming disaster. Dienbienphu fell and Pierre Mendes-France became the French Premier on a promise to negotiate peace in Geneva within a month. The Anglo-American-French relationship was in a shambles.

The shooting ended in Indochina on July 21, 1954, the day after Mendes-France's self-proclaimed deadline, but from most of the French other than embittered military there were only cheers for him.

The first Indochina war, which had lasted 7½ years, was over but in such a way as to invite the second Indochina war and, most importantly, to invite American intervention.

III. DULLES AND DIEM VERSUS HO CHI MINH

Geneva ended with a cease-fire agreement between the French and the Communists and a Final Declaration of all the conferees. The former ended the fighting and provided for a political regroupment of opposing forces; the latter sketched out the political future, declaring that the agreed "military demarcation line" at the 17th parallel, which now separates North from South, was to be considered "provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary."

The Declaration also said that consultations should be held between the authorities of "the two zones" beginning on July 20, 1955, leading to "general elections" which "shall be held in July, 1956. . ."

The elections, of course, have never been held, a fact that has aroused bitter dispute as to who was to blame. What did happen was that John Foster Dulles decided to make what became South Vietnam a viable state on its own.

Saigon disassociates self

The Saigon government, of which Ngo Dinh Diem became the head two weeks before the conclusion at Geneva, disassociated itself from the agreements. Diem's representative in Geneva who did so was Tran Van Do, until recently the Foreign Minister in the current Saigon regime.

Despite Soviet pressure to back the agreements, the United States limited itself to a declaration that supported unity of Vietnam through "free elections" under United Nations supervision to assure their fairness and a statement that it would view any renewal of aggression in violation of the agreements "with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security."

The common expectation in Geneva was that the results would have the effect of getting the French out and preventing the Americans from intervening. It was presumably on this basis that Molotov and Chou En-lai convinced Ho Chi Minh to accept less than full control of Vietnam.

Although there is no direct evidence, the two key Communist leaders must also have argued that in due course South Vietnam would easily fall into Ho's control. In recent years there have been comments from Hanoi which indicate that retrospectively, the North Vietnamese Communists believe they were sold out by the Soviets and the Chinese. Many consider this a key factor in Hanoi's evident determination not to repeat the process in any new form at the current Paris talks.

But South Vietnam did not fall as the ripe apple to Ho and the Communists. Two men worked together to prevent that: Dulles and Diem.

Something to salvage

Lt. Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster, now on the Harriman delegation in Paris and named by President Johnson to be the number two American military leader in Vietnam after Gen. William C. Westmoreland returns home, was then the top White House military aide to Eisenhower.

In a 1966 statement for the Dulles Oral History Project at Princeton, Goodpaster recalled that after the Geneva settlement "Dulles thought that it was perhaps not quite down the drain" although, said Goodpaster, "everyone else, I think, felt that it was." Dulles "felt that there might be something in this that would be worth trying to salvage, trying to sustain."

To assess the prospects, Dulles got Eisenhower to send Gen. J. Lawton Collins, suggested by Goodpaster, to South Vietnam in late 1954. Collins recalled, also for the Oral History Project, that when he was leaving Washington Dulles said to him: "Frankly, Collins, I think our chances of saving the situation there are not more than one in ten."

But some months later, after visiting Saigon himself and hearing Collins' report after the general's return to Washington, Dulles commented that now looked more like a 50–50 chance. Added Collins: "And he was very well pleased."

Role of Diem

By now Stalin's successors in the Kremlin, and the men in Peking as well, were talking up "peaceful coexistence" between the Communist and non-Communist worlds. But Dulles remained unconvinced of any change of heart and he determined to hold the line at the 17th parallel in Vietnam as well as at the 38th parallel in Korea, the two fringes of what he considered Communist power centered in Peking and perhaps directed from Moscow.

It would take a leader in Saigon, however, to make such a holding operation work and that man was Diem. A Vietnam nationalist and a Catholic, Diem had been living in the United States since 1951, mostly at Maryknoll Seminary in Lakewood, N.J., with occassional trips to Washington to discuss Vietnam with such men as Sen. Mansfield and Rep. John F. Kennedy. He also frequently met with Francis Cardinal Spellman in New York.

Diem had wanted the post in Saigon and it had been offered to him by Emperor Bao Dai. But each time Diem demanded a total end of French control and a free hand for himself. This he finally got when he took over the government on July 7, 1954. He had, by then, powerful friends in Washington who were to sustain him in the years ahead as he fought the Communists.

Twenty-six days after the Geneva accords were signed, Eisenhower transferred aid directly to Vietnam rather than through France. But the French were unhappy with Diem and wanted someone they felt would be more amendable to protection of their economic and cultural interests in Vietnam.

Dulles balked and his associates called on Mansfield for help. The Senator stated, on returning from a Vietnam trip, that "in the event that the Diem government falls . . . the United States should consider an immediate suspension of all aid to Vietnam and the French Union forces there." The French officers in those forces were soon to leave but Diem was long to stay.

Eisenhower letter

The French reluctantly agreed to back Diem. And on Oct. 23, 1954, President Eisenhower sent a letter to Diem in response to Diem's request for aid. The President said the aid was to assist South Vietnam in "developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means." Eisenhower also expressed the hope that Diem's government would be "so responsive to the nationalist aspirations of its people, so enlightened in purpose and effective in performance, that it will be respected both at home and abroad and discourage any who might wish to impose a foreign ideology on your free people."

The letter, drafted by Kenneth Young in the State Department, is the one President Johnson has often cited to show that the current American involvement was begun by Republican President Eisenhower. Eisenhower has complained in private about this use of his letter but has never done so publicly.

By July, 1955, when the consultations for the elections in all of Vietnam were to begin under the terms of Geneva, Diem was in a strong position internally. His government has absorbed the nearly 900,000 refugees from the North, 250,000 of which has been evacuated and brought South in American naval vessels.

Diem said he was for unification and for free elections "to achieve this unity." But he was "skeptical" about holding them in the North, where "a regime of oppression" was in power. Furthermore, his government did not sign and was "not bound in any way" by the Geneva accords. Hence "nothing constructive will be done "as long as the Communists deny democratic freedoms.

The North objected, called for a renewed Geneva Conference but Moscow and Peking paid little attention. Indeed, the Soviets seemed so satisfied with the division that in 1957 they proposed admitting both Vietnams to the United Nations along with the two Koreans. But the United States opposed admission of the two Communist states.

Votes for Ho

In the wake of the first Indochina war, the probability is that, given a free election throughout all of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh would have been the winner. That Dulles probably believed this is indicated by a comment in Eisenhower's memoirs:

"I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of the fighting, possibly 80 per cent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader rather than Chief of State Bao Dai."

Diem gained support in his own country and in the United States as well. Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey declared in May, 1955, when Bao Dai tried unsuccessfully to put a rein on Diem, that "Premier Diem is the best hope that we have in South Vietnam. He deserves and must have the wholehearted support of the American Government . . ."

To Washington it looked as though Dulles was right and that economic aid and some military training help to Diem would indeed produce a viable state and result in a stable line at the 17th parallel.

Furthermore, Dulles had constructed SEATO and used it to put an umbrella of international support over South Vietnam as a "protocol state." Along with Dulles, two Senators signed on behalf of the United States. One of them was Mansfield.

U.S. problems elsewhere

The United States had greater problems elsewhere in the final Eisenhower years, notably with Nikita Khrushchev over the U–2 and the Soviet Sputnik and ICBM developments. Few other than those directly concerned paid attention to Vietnam; it all seemed to be going well.

Ho Chi Minh seemed absorbed in rebuilding the North. Despite an abortive coup, Diem seemed well in control in the South and there was talk of a "miracle" of postwar development. And there were no American battle casualties.

Yet the United States was, in fact, sliding into what was to become the second Indochina war. The U.S. understood the Communists' aim but of their plans and strategy it was woefully ignorant.

IV. KENNEDY'S INTERVENTION

The 1954 division of Vietnam was geographic but the regroupment of forces after Geneva was political. Not only did about 900,000 come South but from 90,000 to about 150,000 Communists troops including their families went North, many of them on Polish and Soviet ships.

Most importantly, as Bernard Fall has written, a small group of Ho's elite guerrillas "quietly buried its well-greased weapons, hid its portable radio transmitters and simply returned for the time being to the humdrum tasks of sowing and harvesting rice."

The relative calm in the South was short-lived. By the end of 1958, Vietcong activity had begun to stir in the South and security in the countryside became a serious problem. By 1959, the North was recuperating from the war and it was evident that unification would not come through elections. Diem grew oppressive in the face of opposition and attempted coups. It was time for the Communists to act.

Infiltration in 1959

According to an American appraisal (released in May, 1968) the Lao Dong (Communist) Party in the North decided in May, 1959, or even earlier, that the time had come "to push the armed struggle against the enemy," a sentence U.S. officials found in a captured document. Furthermore, at that time, according to the American appraisal, the "Southern part of the Communist apparatus" had "become restive" and some elements were taking action on their own initiative.

Border crossing teams were created and infiltration began by mid-1959, both across the Demilitarized Zone separating the two Vietnams and by way of Laos. Southerners who had gone North and been formed into units were now sent back. Those who had remained in the South dug up buried weapons and appeared in the form of the Vietcong.

The struggle in the South against Diem was formalized at the end of 1960 and the beginning of 1961. On Sept. 10, 1960, the Lao Dong Party adopted a resolution declaring that one of its tasks was "to liberate South Vietnam from the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen . . ." And on Jan. 29, 1961, Hanoi announced the establishment of the National Liberation Front, formed the previous December as the political arm of the insurgent Vietcong in the South.

In Kennedy's hands

All this had occurred in the final phase of the Eisenhower Administration but it was the new President, John F. Kennedy, who had to deal with it. Much that is known about Communist plans and movements, however, was unknown then and the Kennedy-Eisenhower discussion about the world's problems on the days before the Kennedy inauguration did not touch on Vietnam. There was, however, considerable discussion of neighboring Laos, which the outgoing President considered so much the key to Southeast Asia that he said he would favor unilateral American intervention "as a last desperate hope" to deny it to the Communists.

Laos was indeed Kennedy's first critical problem in the area and he came close to intervention. In the end, at the Vienna meeting in 1961 with Nikita Khrushchev and in the subsequent Geneva Conference on Laos in 1962, Kennedy was able to put Laos aside as the adjunct to Vietnam that it clearly has been.

But shunting Laos aside did nothing about Vietnam itself. Kennedy had been struck by a Khrushchev speech about "wars of national liberation" and from this was to come great emphasis on counterinsurgency, including the rise of the Green Berets.

Grievances in south

That there were just grievances in the South against the Diem regime is beyond dispute. Critics of American policy contend, as one book puts it, that the insurrection against Diem was "Southern rooted" and that "it arose at Southern initiative in response to Southern demands." The American Government view is that, despite the grievances, the insurrection was effectively Northern inspired and directed, though using Southerners to carry it out for the first years.

The civil war view was rejected by the Kennedy Administration. By November, 1961, the new Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, was speaking of "the determined and ruthless campaign of propaganda, infiltration and subversion by the Communist regime in North Vietnam to destroy the Republic of Vietnam" in the South.

Kennedy had qualms about further involvement. Still, the weakness he had shown in the Bay of Pigs debacle in Cuba, many now feel, led him to fear another seeming retreat from communism and thus forced him to up the American ante in Vietnam.

In late 1961, two emissaries he had sent to Vietnam, Gen. Maxwell Taylor and Walt W. Rostow, came back with a recommendation for sending an American military task force of perhaps 10,000 men for self-defense and perimeter security and, if the South Vietnamese were hard pressed, to act as an emergency reserve.

That report, as much as anything, led the new President to take the irreversible steps into the second Indochina, or Vietnam, war. But Kennedy stopped short of the Rostow argument for a contingency plan of retaliation against the North graduated to match the intensity of Hanoi's support of the Vietcong, as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has described it.

Johnson's tour of area

In the Kennedy era, the Americans were in Vietnam as advisers, about 16,000 of them by the time of the President's assassination. The first American soldier was killed on Dec. 22, 1961, and by the time of Kennedy's death about 150 Americans had died in Vietnam from hostile action and other reasons.

Vice President Johnson visited Vietnam in May, 1961, and proclaimed Diem the Winston Churchill of the area, although he had some private criticisms. On his return he told Kennedy that "we must decide whether to help these countries to the best of our ability or throw in the towel in the area and pull back our defenses to San Francisco and 'Fortress America' concept." He recommended "a major effort" to help the area, citing as critical the American word to live up to its treaties and stand by its friends.

The Taylor-Rostow mission backed the Vice Presidential view in large part. Kennedy at the time was trying to find new agreements with the Soviets but Moscow seemed in a truculent mood. The President knew that the Communist world of Stalin's day was finished; still, he worried lest an American retreat in Asia upset the world power balance.

So more military advisers were sent to Vietnam, Diem was fully backed and the United States became inextricably involved in the Second Indochina War.

The Vietcong terror campaign mounted but Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara declared on his 1962 visit that "every quantitative measurement we have shows that we're winning this war" and Rusk said the next March that the struggle was "turning an important corner."

How do we get out?

By fall, however, the innocence and self-delusion had been somewhat shattered after Diem's attack on the Buddhists. The President had evidenced his doubts in May, 1963, during a visit to the United States by Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson.

As Pearson told it in April, 1968, after leaving office, the President asked his advice about Vietnam. Pearson said the United States should "get out." The President replied, "That's a stupid answer. Everybody knows that. The question is: How do we get out?"

By this time the shape of the Communist world had changed massively from what it had been when Dulles decided in 1954 to pick up the pieces after the Geneva Conference. Ho Chi Minh remained a Communist but by 1963 it was apparent he was no simple tool of Moscow or Peking, or both, but acting largely on his own. Yet Kennedy, who saw the polycentrism of communism, could not escape Vietnam.

His last act was to help push Diem from office, in part by public criticism of his relationship with his notorious brother and sister-in-law, Ngo Dinh Nhu and Mme. Nhu. In October, the generals struck and Diem and Nhu were murdered, setting off a period of political instability in which a dozen governments were to come and go.

It is their war

Kennedy had said a month earlier that "in the final analysis, it is their war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it . . . All we can do is help, and we are making it very clear. But I don't agree with those who say we should withdraw. That would be a great mistake." Earlier, the President had said that he subscribed to Eisenhower's "domino" theory on the effect of the loss to the Communists of Vietnam.

Kennedy had the tiger by the tail and did not know how to let him go. There has been much speculation on what he might have done had he not been assassinated on Nov. 22, 1963, but much of it has been self-serving and all of it fruitless.

The young President's legacy was 16,000 American troops in Vietnam, some in actual combat though not formally so, a continuing American commitment and no plan of escape. Like Eisenhower, he had underestimated the enemy.

V. JOHNSON'S ESCALATION

When Lyndon Johnson moved into the White House, he remarked, as he told it later, that the United States was involved in only one war and "let's win it." And he had said, Tom Wicker has reported, that "I am not going to be the President who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went."

Like Kennedy, Johnson had accepted Eisenhower's domino theory. He saw the war in Cold War terms, although he was to come to appreciate how much the Communist world had changed since Stalin. Like Kennedy, he saw Vietnam in terms of the world power balance. And like both his predecessors, he underestimated the enemy.

Johnson inherited Kennedy's key men: Rusk, McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Rostow, Gen. Taylor and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As Kennedy had accepted advice from the elders that led to the Bay of Pigs, so Jonhson accepted advice from the Kennedy holdovers.

The advisers were full of optimism and plans and they had their way as the new President concentrated on his domestic program and the coming election.

Less than two months before Kennedy's death, McNamara had returned from Vietnam to announce that "the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of U.S. training personnel." It was announced that 1000 Americans probably could be withdrawn by the end of 1963.

Campaign promises of 1964

In such a euphoric atmosphere, Johnson campaigned that fall against Barry Goldwater, asking voters to judge who should have the "finger on the button" of nuclear weapons. While Goldwater was talking about a "no win" policy in Vietnam, Johnson was saying that "we don't want to get involved" with China "and get tied down to a land war in Asia."

Johnson promised to be "very cautious and very careful." He declared that "I have not thought that we were ready for American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys," a phrase that came to haunt him. There were qualifications in many of these statements but few seemed to note them.

Once elected in a massive triumph, Johnson began to look more closely at the war. It turned out that things were a lot worse, perhaps even as bad as some of the newspaper correspondents in Saigon had been reporting.

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) visited the LBJ Ranch and then commented that "we either have got to get out or take some action to help the Vietnamese. They won't help themselves. We made a great mistake in going in there but I can't figure out any way to get out without scaring the rest of the world."

Gen. Taylor, asked whether the war was being lost, replied that "the main issue is very much in doubt." He advocated strikes at infiltration routes and "the training areas" in North Vietnam.

Why no negotiations?

Many Americans and others have often pondered why the Communists did not in the winter of 1964–65 propose negotiations. The South Vietnamese army was close to breaking and American intervention was still relatively minor, about 25,000 men of all services. The North had not yet been bombed, except for the single Tonkin raid, and Saigon's regimes were in a revolving-door phase.

There are two answers. Remembering their 1954 experience, the North Vietnamese leaders were determined not to accept less than victory this time. Second, they may have thought from the President's campaign remarks that he would liquidate the war after the election. But they discovered that he had no such plan.

United Nations Secretary General U Thant tried to bring the two sides together in 1964–65 in Rangoon, Burma, but the effort aborted. In retrospect, Hanoi was prepared to come only to accept an American surrender, if Johnson would offer it, but the President had no such intention. Washington knew it would be bargaining from weakness at such a meeting and breathed a sigh of relief when it failed to come about. The stage was set for the Johnson escalation.

Plans for striking the North had long been drawn up in case they should be needed. Carriers had been moved into the South China Sea. Johnson later told newsman Charles Roberts that he had decided in October, 1964, to bomb the North. Whatever the pre-planning, the first raid came on Feb. 7, 1965, in what was called retaliation for Vietcong attacks on American installations, especially at Pleiku, where Bundy saw the bloodshed.

At the moment the new Soviet Premier, Alexei Kosygin, was in Hanoi. Khrushchev had opted out the Southeast Asia but the new leadership, probably sensing a Communist victory, wanted to be in on the triumph. The Chinese later charged that Kosygin said in Hanoi that he would help the United States "to find a way out of Vietnam." Subsequent Soviet peacemaking efforts were limited by Hanoi's posture and Chinese allegations of collusion with the United States. Moscow and Peking then stepped up their aid as the major suppliers of vital arms and other material for North Vietnam.

"Retaliatory" strikes quickly became regular policy. Air attacks seemed the easier choice to prevent the collapse of the South Vietnamese. Eisenhower had agonized 11 years earlier over sending ground troops. Kennedy had sent 16,000 but tried to limit their roles. Johnson recalled Gen. Douglas MacArthur's advice to him to avoid a land war in Asia.

Hanoi adapts to strikes

The bombing did, at first, cause "great difficulties and confusion" in the North, as Hanoi's deputy chief of staff stated in a 1966 speech captured by the Americans. But, he added, "after some months we acquired experience and have strengthened our national defense forces."

The Administration denied the bombing was designed to force Hanoi to the conference table. The motives were an amalgam but that was the desirable end. It did not work. Nor did the President alter Hanoi's determination by declaring that the North was engaging in "a deeply dangerous game" by stepping up infiltration.

Because there were no quick results, pressure mounted to extend the bombing to more targets. Chairman Earle G. Wheeler of the Joint Chiefs of Staff commented in 1958 that the military differences with McNamara had been "a question of tempo. The Chiefs would have done things faster. They didn't coincide with McNamara on the conduct of the air war."

This is a view echoed by Richard Nixon in his current presidential campaign. He said last March in New Hampshire that the Johnson Administration had "wasted the Nation's military power by using it so gradually. If it had used at the start the power it is using now, the war would be over."

But Johnson, who made the decisions Wheeler ascribed to McNamara, was constrained by many factors: his recollection of Chinese intervention in Korea when American troops threatened to destroy the Communist regime in the North; advice from experts on Soviet affairs to avoid abrupt action that could force Moscow to react strongly, if only not to be outdone by Peking; the President's own tendency toward compromise between advice from hawks and doves in and out of his Administration.

The bombing failed to halt infiltration from the North or to deter the Vietcong in the South. More ground troops had to be sent.

Combat units land

The President had been granted sweeping authority, psychologically if not legally, in the August, 1964, Tonkin Gulf Resolution passed by near unanimous vote of Congress. Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach was later to call the resolution "the functional equivalent" of a declaration of war and the President treated it just that way.

The bombing began in February. The Marines came ashore in March. Before sending the Army in large numbers, the President offered "unconditional discussions" in his April speech at Johns Hopkins University. But Hanoi also could read his declaration that "we will not be defeated. We will not grow tired. We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement."

Each side, in fact, wanted victory. The war was non-negotiable. By June, American troop levels were on the rise. In the fall of 1965, McNamara moved 100,000 men to Vietnam in less than four months, an action of which he was to say on retiring from the Pentagon: "It was very clear we either had to do that or accept defeat."

The odds were improved but Hanoi sent more men from the North and the Vietcong recruited more in the South. The 37-day bombing pause of December, 1965, to January, 1966, reflected doubts in Washington about the value of continued escalation as well as the growing dissent over the war. But it was fruitless; both sides still wanted victory.

In his letter to Ho Chi Minh during the pause, the President demanded an end to infiltration if he were to halt the bombing. Ho rejected the idea of reciprocity, declaring then, as his representatives at Paris continue to declare, that Hanoi would pay no price for an end to the American "aggression" against the North.

North's army enters

On the basis of captured documents, prisoner interrogations and other information, the United States this May declared that "the first complete tactical unit of the North Vietnamese Army" had left the North in October, 1964, and arrived in the South in December. By this ex-post facto accounting, three regiments had started moving south prior to the regular bombing of the North.

By the fall of 1965, when McNamara was moving 100,000 men to Vietnam, ten Northern regiments totaling 17,800 men were either in or on their way south. And by the end of the 37-day pause, five more regiments comprising another 10,000 men were moving south, again according to the recent American calculation.

Johnson continued to demand reciprocity for a halt in the bombing. But the formulation was gradually watered down. In private and then in public at San Antonio, Johnson sought some sign of reciprocity. But Hanoi would have none of it. Escalation continued on both sides, and the casualties mounted as well.

High point of optimism

The high point for the optimists came in the fall of 1967 and it was to last until January, 1968.

Gen. Westmoreland came home in November to tell the Nation that "whereas in 1965 the enemy winning, today he is certainly losing." Furthermore, said Westmoreland, with the American in-country forces now approaching half a million, "we have reached an important point where the end begins to come into view." In the final phase ahead, Westmoreland added it would be possible for American units to "begin to phase down as the Vietnamese army is modernized and develops its capacity to the fullest."

While the critics were not silent, for the moment the Administration still had the upper hand. The dissenters found a champion when Sen. Eugene McCarthy in late November announced for the Presidency. But few gave him or his anti-war platform, much of a chance. Other dissenters wished him well, but no more. Sen. Robert F. Kennedy said he was still backing the Johnson-Humphrey ticket for re-election.

VI. FIGHT AND NEGOTIATE

Exactly when Lyndon Johnson began to have the gravest doubts about the direction of the Vietnam war is not yet evident. But events were to solidify those doubts and produced the historic decision Johnson announced in his speech of March 31, 1968.

Military, political and financial problems spiraled during 1967, especially in the latter months. The climax was to come with the Communists' Tet offensive on Jan. 31, 1968.

The war in 1967 consisted of more slogging and more indecision, with heavy casualties. During the year, 11,058 Americans died in Vietnam from all causes compared to the 8,155 who had died in the previous five years of the American military involvement. American forces, with great mobility and massive firepower, could go anywhere they wished but at a cost. Yet the enemy could not be destroyed—and that was Westmoreland's objective.

The spiraling cost of the war had thrown the Federal budget out of kilter, robbed domestic programs of needed funds and created worldwide doubts about the value of the dollar.

At home dissent continued to grow. The President found it close to impossible to appear in public without facing massive demonstrations.

Within the Administration, Rusk and Rostow grimly asserted that the old policy was right and needed no changes. But McNamara was disheartened. In the spring of 1967, he proposed limiting the bombing of the North to the area south of the 20th parallel but he was overruled. He publicly deprecated the effect of the bombing. In public, McNamara remained loyal to the President but by December he was out in a bizarre combined firing-and-resignation.

At the Capitol and across the Nation, dissent reached a new high by year's end. Most importantly, the President began to put new stress on negotiations, especially on the possibility of some form of agreement between the Saigon government and the Vietcong's National Liberation Front. As he did so, the Thieu-Ky government worried that the United States would try to force it into a coalition with the Communists so the Americans could leave.

Johnson went no further in public than to urge that Saigon begin talking with "members" and "representatives" of the NLF. Back in early 1966, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy had called for admitting the Communists to "a share of power and responsibility" in Saigon but Vice President Humphrey had compared that to letting a fox in the chicken coop. The Administration line was that it would not "impose" a coalition government on South Vietnam.

If frustration was rampant in Washington, Hanoi had developed a scenario for the war. A massive "winter-spring offensive" had been decided on back in mid-1967 and there was talk of 1968 as the "decisive" year. Thousands more North Vietnamese troops headed south. The NLF issued a new political platform designed to appeal to dissenters and the war-weary. New "front" organizations were created to make it easier to desert the Thieu-Ky government, which had been elected in September along with a new Assembly.

The blow came in the dark of the night on Jan. 31, 1968. It came to be known as the Tet Offensive.

The self-proclaimed Communist objective of a "general uprising" of the population and Southern army against the Saigon government, if indeed that was the true objective of Hanoi, was a failure. But Tet was not a failure. It brought the war to the cities, put the allies on the defensive and gave Communists control of more of the countryside.

Where Tet succeeded most of all was in the United States and in the mind of the President.

In Vietnam, Gen. Westmoreland's response to Tet was more of the same; he asked for 206,000 more troops for a "maximum effort." At home, the voters of New Hampshire on March 12 showed their discontent when McCarthy came within a few votes of topping the President in the New Hampshire primary.

The President's speech

The outcome of the Administration's post-Tet review was the March 31 speech. It had two key parts.

On the military side, the President rejected Westmoreland's call for still more troops. He began to throw more of the burden on South Vietnamese forces and he halted the bombing of the North above the 20th parallel, as McNamara had recommended a year earlier. In short, he moved to stabilize and begin to de-escalate.

On the political side, Johnson gave great force to these changes by announcing he would not run for re-election, in hopes of ending the national divisiveness rooted in the unpopular war.

The North Vietnamese, who apparently had been planning some peace initiative of their own, within three days accepted the President's call for a conference even though part of their country was still being bombed. This was a considerable switch of position after years of demanding an end to all bombing "and all other acts of war" against the North before any talks.

For the first time it appeared that the war might be negotiable. Both sides had moved into a "fight and negotiate" posture and each side tried to improve its military position as the Paris talks got under way in May.

EPILOGUE

Twenty-five years of American involvement in the Indochinese peninsula during five Administrations began in a mood of political romanticism, because an adjunct of Cold War policies in Europe and turned into the high tide of American involvement around the world. There was no plot of "imperialism," no grand design. There was a consistency of motive: the right of people to run their own lives.

Different Presidents reacted differently but for the most part they reacted rather than planned in advance. There was never a formal declaration of war; much that was done was done in secrecy. America slid into a war it never wanted without adequate public debate about what it was doing and what might be the consequences.

The end is not yet in sight; Act VI is likely to be the finale but even that is not certain today. What is certain is that Vietnam for years to come will have a major effect on American thinking about its relationships with the rest of the world. And the way that is resolved will have an effect, perhaps a major effect, on the future of the world.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY—FUTURE PRESIDENT OF OUR COUNTRY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an item which appeared in the Charleston, W. Va., Gazette-Mail of Sunday, June 2, 1968, entitled "Happy HUBERT's Politics of Joy." It is an interesting article concerning an outstanding American, the Vice President of the United States—and future President of our country—HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

There being no objection, the item was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

HAPPY HUBERT'S POLITICS OF JOY

(By Saul Pett)

(NOTE.—HUBERT HUMPHREY, the No. 2 man in the White House, has set his sights on the Top Job. What made him decide to run for the presidency? Where does he fit into the Democratic picture? AP Special Correspondent Saul Pett traveled with Humphrey on the campaign trail for this personal look at a man who seems to be having the best time of his life running for president of the United States.)

EN ROUTE WITH HUBERT HUMPHREY.—Walking down a drab hotel corridor in Omaha, after another strenuous day of campaigning, the Vice President of the United States suddenly clapped his hands and sang out, to no one in particular:

"I feel good! Yes, sir, I feel good! I haven't felt this good in years!"

What he felt good about, Hubert Humphrey explained later, was that he was finally told, after years of being in business with his father, that soon he would be running the firm.

He had given up hope of having a crack at it, but now he does, a real solid shot. And nobody could be happier than Hubert Humphrey, freed from the parental nest, now in full wing and flying like a songbird in the race to become President of the United States.

"My goodness, it's good to see you!" he exclaimed to an airport crowd, large or small, ecstatic or dead. And arms akimbo, high freckled dome gleaming, blue eyes popping with light even on gray days, he invites them to share with him the "politics of joy," to soar with him in what John Adams described as "the spirit of public happiness . . . the joy of American citizenship" involved in discussing and participating in public events.

"It's exciting to be an American: . . . Do I love to come here! . . . It's fun to be a Democrat; on our worst days we have more fun than Republicans! . . . America is not sick! It is growing and changing and groping for answers but it is alive! . . . We can do anything! The impossible dream is always being fulfilled in this country!"

So says this uncommon common man, who feels and lives between exclamation marks, this most upbeat of candidates, this old-fashioned spellbinder with the master's degree, this barefoot boy from South Dakota with the monogrammed shirts, this old-line liberal who helped pass much of the nation's social legislation and is now scorned by many liberals as a "company man," his happy salesman with the compelling, if not always contagious spirit.

"I speak of the politics of hope, of a new democracy for all! . . . You don't have to tear the party apart or the country down to build yourself up! . . . Let's plan ahead and not relive yesterday . . . I am an organization man and proud of it. I run on the record of the Kennedy-Johnson administration and the Johnson-Humphrey administration. But we're going to build on it, not rest on it!

". . . Let's stop talking about black power or white power and talk about people power! . . . Responsibility excludes deliberate divisiveness . . . Let's turn protest into progress! . . . I don't say we shouldn't talk about what's wrong in America. But let's give equal time to what's right in America! . . . You're as old as your fears, as young as your competence, as old as your doubts, as young as your hopes! . . ."

So says Hubert Humphrey, an instinctive politician of 57, ever conscious of Robert Kennedy, who is 42. Hubert Humphrey who senses a public hunger for good news among the bad, who walks the classic tightrope of the heir of the incumbent administration, with one eye on its admirers and the other on its critics.

If, among the Democratic candidates Robert Kennedy reminds you of an intense boy prosecutor and Gene McCarthy of a detached philosophy professor, Hubert Humphrey compels the vision of a happy oldtime drummer, like and well-liked, who sails into town with a shine on his shoes, a smile on his face and a sample case full of notions. Trouble in River City? Sure, there's trouble in River City, folks, but it can all be fixed.

Selling unity or trombones, progress or motherhood, social idealism or the power of positive thinking, Hubert Humphrey remains eternally the happy salesman. Give him an order and he's happy. Don't give him an order and he's still happy. But try to stop him from giving his spiel and you'll surely wipe out that smile and tie him up with a double hernia.

This man, as every schoolboy must know by now, loves to talk, loves the contest, loves to campaign, loves to feel a rapport with his audience. Although he is capable of short eloquent speeches with substance and polish, he generally emerges in this campaign as far less sophisticated than Kennedy and less intellectual than McCarthy. He acknowledges the nation's problems in race, poverty, education, housing and welfare but so far he has deliberatedly avoided specific solutions.

As of now, he apparently doesn't need to. He is the front-runner. Kennedy is getting the frenzied crowds, McCarthy is getting the approving murmurs of the intellectuals and Humphrey is quietly collecting the people who count most before the convention, the delegates.

He can be as folksy as a backyard barbecue.

In Rawling, Wyo.: "I want to thank you good people of Wyoming for sending Gale McGee to the United States Senate. And I want to thank Lorraine for marrying him."

In Denver: "I want you to know that Muriel is fine and getting out of the hospital soon. I know she's better because she's getting sassy again and giving me orders."

And like Kansas in August.

In Rawlins: "I've seen such wonderful children today. Children are God's testament to the future."

In Lansing, Mich.: "We talk about getting a bigger bang out of every dollar we spend for the hardware of defense. It is now time for efficiency and humanity in the heart-ware department."

No single example of his rhetoric typifies Hubert Humphrey in the preconvention campaign of 1968. Perhaps the one that comes closest is the "few informal remarks" he delivered to Nebraska Democrats over breakfast in Omaha. He said he wouldn't talk long because of a sore throat. He talked 40 minutes, all ad lib. Since he wasn't on the Nebraska primary ballot, he said, he wouldn't presume to tell the audience how to vote. Then, suddenly, he was painting a picture of a modern jet liner about to take off.

He talked of the storm warnings and turbulence ahead. He described the vulnerable look of a white-haired old lady boarding the plane. Also the vulnerable look of a young boy alone. And then the captain, a man with "a little gray at the temples," comes through the plane and the apprehensive passengers feel safer because they know that "if this plane has to go through a storm, this pilot and his experienced crew have flown through 1,000 storms. Now, we're going through some storms today . . ."

And, with the plane still warming up Hubert Humphrey talked of the storm of social change and he talked of the ship of state and he talked about changing horses in midstream and just about the time it looked like he would sink in a swamp of mixed metaphors, he saw the light through the forest and rushed forward and saved the day:

"Now the pilot has said he doesn't want to fly any more. Might I say, don't throw out the copilot!"

Away from the platform, away from the shrill, extroverted demands of politics, there is a quieter Hubert Humphrey, a thoughtful man with a refreshing perspective about himself and public life. This emerged during a reflective conversation on his campaign plane.

"Issues aside, why do you want to be president? What is the pull of the job?"

The Vice President answered slowly after a long pause. "I had to ask myself that after the President made his announcement and to be quite honest about it, I didnt' know. I sort of felt I ought to seek the nomination because I was the Vice President and did represent. the administration and because there were a number of people who looked to me to do so."

"Surely, you had thought about it before March 31?"

"Oh, yes. Then I thought also, well this may be my one great chance. I'm at a period of my life where I'm vigorous, alive and, I hope, alert, where my experience is, maybe, at its blossom. I felt maybe I was better equipped not to take on the job. But you don't really hunger for it."

"Perhaps not hunger."

"No. no, you don't do that. It is a culmination. There is this built-in momentum in politics. It's like a magnet drawing you, if you're involved at this level of political life. You sort of feel that this is what you are moving toward. This is the ultimate, the climax, the center of the story of your political life.

"To be honest about it, I had often thought before what would happen if anything happened to the President—whether or not I was really up to it, whether I had prepared myself adequately. And I really did try during these three-and-a-half years to go through a training course, if there is such a thing, which I doubt. There is some preparatory work and I went through that.

"I had really, in the past year, more or less resolved that I most likely would not be a candidate for president in '72. I felt that if I were to become president it would be one of two ways. Either the president would not run in '68, which he had indicated to me many times and which I never believed. Secondly that it would come because of disability on the part of the President. And both of these I sort of pushed aside, you know, as unrealistic."

"Why had you canceled out 1972?"

"Several reasons. One is that after you are vice president for eight years, you're sort of worked out, worked over. You're the inheritor of so much of what has gone on before that you would have a very difficult time liberating yourself to be your own independent man. Then, I would have been 61. And I thought that the American people might feel it's all right to have a president of 61 but a candidate of that age, particularly with younger men available, might not seem exactly what they want.

"And I thought, there was no use in breaking your heart. You know, really, this is such a big thing that you've got to be sure of yourself, that you have the stamina to take it. I wasn't at all sure that in 1972, after the self-imposed discipline of eight years in the vice presidency, if that should have been my lot, with all the anonymity you have to have, the subservience that is required, that you'd be either emotionally or physically ready to do it."

"Harry Truman used to describe the presidency as a jail. Do you?"

"No. I think there is great dignity to it, a kind of beauty to it. With all its duties and responsibilities and discipline, I believe that a man can have a life of personal fulfillment. I would hope, if I were elected, to be a president that could move with the people some. I know how difficult it is, I know the dangers to the president's physical well-being in this country.

"But I also believe this is a chance you have to take. For one's own mental, political, emotional health, you have to get around the country. I have to. Really, in politics, what's most important is your spirit."

"I noticed in that Omaha hotel you were saying aloud, but as if to yourself, how good you felt. What prompted that?"

"I was doing what I want to do."

"You feel sort of liberated?"

"Yes. I'm out on my own, so to speak, not repudiating my family but on my own. I'm like the young man that has come of age. It's like being in business with your father, and finally dad says, look, you're going to run the business, and you sort of take on a new personality. I never ever wanted to humiliate my father or hurt him. I don't want to hurt the President. I feel a great genuine affection for him. I don't want to do anything that would cause him embarrassment or undue worry. But by the same token, I now am like the man that has gone off to college. You know, I mean, it's my day."

"You really like campaigning, don't you?"

"Yes, I like campaigning. It's got its burdens and weariness but I like it. It gives me a chance to meet many people and express my ideas and test myself against many imponderables every day. Some days you do well, some you don't. Some days you go back to your room and say, 'Oh, why did I louse that up?' Some days you say, 'I hit the ball out of the park.' You know when you do and you know when you don't and you don't need anyone to tell you. To do well, you have to have great confidence in yourself and your message. As Satchel Paige would say, your juices have to be running."

"Your juices seem to run more often than anybody I know."

"They don't always but . . . I must say, if I have any quality which can commend itself, I do believe in what I say. I just cannot get up before an audience and sell them something I don't believe in. I sometimes believe in it so much it becomes redundant. Maybe I am overly zealous about getting my message across but it isn't because I just want to say it. It's because I want them to believe it. But a fellow has his weaknesses and one of mine is nobody enjoys it more than I do."

"Getting back to the big job, you've seen the presidency and its burdens close up. Do you ever find yourself asking yourself during the night, who am I to seek it?"

"Of course. That's why it took me time to make up my mind. But somebody has to do the job. And you have to evaluate whether or not you think you are as well prepared for it as the other fellow. Plus, you have views, convictions and where better can you fulfill those convictions than in the presidency?

"I think that every public position is essentially a position of an educator as well as action. You're persuading, you're conditioning, you're educating and the greatest educator in America should be the president. It is a tremendous challenge and because it is, it becomes all the more interesting to you. Every part of you is challenged."

"I suppose that's part of the pull of the job."

"I'm sure it is. It's almost like, why would a man want to be an astronaut? Well, why not? If you've flown a plane, why not try space? If you've been in outer space, why not go to the moon? Particularly if you think you can handle it.

"I have seen the President make awesome decisions. That's an awfully difficult thing. It is even somewhat terrifying to watch. But somebody has to do it and I think maybe that I can do it as well as the next fellow and maybe a little better or I wouldn't be seeking the office.

"This isn't a contest between perfection and imperfection. It's a contest between imperfect men. It really is. We're—none of us has all the qualities a great nation ought to have all the time. It's a question of whether we have enough of the qualities that can add up to be a positive force in the life of the nation.

"And I guess, maybe, a man sort of immodestly assesses them and says, 'Well, here's the other man, here's another man, here's another man, here's another, here am I. Now how does it stack up?' Well, you check it out and, of course, you can always come to the decision that you're the one."

"Wouldn't it be horrible to conclude there's another man better than you are?"

"Particularly in midstream."

The Vice President was laughing now. A campaign aide came forward to remind him he was going to take a nap before the next stop.

"I am not going to take a nap," said Hubert Humphrey. "I'm having a good time!"

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there further morning business? If there is no further morning business, morning business is concluded.

AMENDMENT OF THE BANKRUPTCY ACT AND THE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT LAW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The BILL CLERK. A bill (S. 1316) to amend the Bankruptcy Act and the civil service retirement law with respect to the tenure and retirement benefits of referees in bankruptcy.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, we now have under consideration S. 1316, dealing with the retirement program with respect to the tenure and retirement benefits for referees in bankruptcy.

The bill affects roughly 220 individuals, 179 full-time referees and 40 part-time referees.

The bill does three things, in essence. It lengthens the term of the 179 full-time referees from 6 to 12 years and provides compulsory retirement at age 75. Second, it provides more liberal retirement for referees. The provisions are similar to those for retirement in the legislative branch. And, third, it increases the employee and Government contributions into the retirement fund from 6½ to 7½ percent by both employee and employing Government agency.

It is estimated that after this bill becomes fully operative, it will cost the Government approximately $42,000 a year. It will not become operative until the present terms expire, which are now 6-year terms. After that period the rates of contribution will increase from 6½ to 7½ percent.

That, in essence, is the bill.

Why is the bill necessary? First of all, let me say that the Judicial Conference has been laboring on this question for several years. Because of the growth of bankruptcy and because of the importance of bankruptcy, it is felt that better, more qualified men will be attracted to the bankruptcy area.

Many people regard a referee as an inferior officer, but he is a judicial officer. He has the powers of a judicial officer. As a matter of fact, his qualifications and his oath of office are comparable to those of any Federal judicial officer. He must have learning and training and wide experience in law. So, from many aspects and for many purposes, a referee in bankruptcy is actually a judge in bankruptcy.

Consider the millions of dollars involved in property that are handled by a referee. That money affects the lives of many people and many corporations in their dealings with various sections of the Bankruptcy Act. Some of the issues are more complicated than many of those handled by district judges.

So here is an attempt to try to upgrade the bankruptcy area.

What are we talking about? At the end of World War II—at the end of 1946—there were 10,196 bankruptcy cases pending in the various courts in the land. At the end of last year, 1967, there were 208,329 cases pending. In other words, the bankruptcy load has increased twentyfold. So you can see how this affects the life of a nation and why it is necessary to have men of quality acting as referees or, as some would like to call them, judges in bankruptcy.

One of the problems we face is to induce good men with legal training to enter this branch of service. The practice has shown that only those who have had many years of legal experience and practice, and after they have reached the age of 40 or 45, become referees in bankruptcy. This background and experience is needed.

If we were to apply the retirement rules that exist at present, most of these men, starting at the age of 45 or 40, would have to serve another 41 years and 11 months—almost 42 years—before they could receive maximum retirement benefits, or 80 percent of their salaries. That means a man of 45 would have to serve until he retired at the age of 87. I am sure no one wants that. That is the law as it is today.

We tried to take care of that aspect and made retirement compulsory at age 75 and shortened the period so that, in 32 years, under the new formula, an individual could retire with the maximum amount, 80 percent of his salary.

That is the gist of the argument—that we have to upgrade these people and put them on a better and a comparable footing with that of judges.

To those who say this will cost some money, let me say there is a catchup period until the time when they will pay 7.5 percent. There is a catchup period. But bear in mind that our Federal judges receive $30,000 a year in the district courts and, I believe, $32,000 a year in the circuit courts, as against $22,500 for the referees. Bear in mind that a Federal judge pays nothing toward his retirement benefits. When he retires, after 10 years of service, at age 70, he retires at full pay. He makes no contribution to the retirement system. He may retire after 15 years of service at age 65. So we are dealing with a judicial officer just as we are with a Federal judge. Yet we are giving him none of the comparable benefits.

This bill is endorsed, as I say, by the Judicial Conference. As a matter of fact, they drew the original draft. I am sure I do not have to explain to this body who the Judicial Conference is. It is supported by the National Bankruptcy Conference, the American Bar Association, and, I believe, the American Judicature Society, many of our State and local bars, and has widespread support throughout the legal community.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I wish to offer an amendment to the pending bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON in the chair). The committee amendments have not been agreed to yet. They would have to be acted on before an amendment could be offered.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, before we entertain this amendment, I ask that the committee amendments be agreed to and that the bill as thus amended be considered as original text for the purpose of amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, the committee amendments are agreed to and the bill is considered as original text for the purpose of amendment.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I wish this amendment to be pending, and will discuss it later, after the distinguished Senator has completed his statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Kansas will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. It is proposed to strike the language commencing on page 1, line 10, down to and including line 7 on page 2; and to strike the language beginning on page 3, line 3, down to and including line 15 on page 3.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, at the present time I merely wish to state that the amendment strikes out the retirement provisions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc?

Mr. CARLSON. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from North Dakota may proceed.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, referees in bankruptcy are judges of the bankruptcy courts and are presently under the regular civil service retirement law which requires over 40 years of service to reach maximum retirement benefits. To find persons of necessary experience and judicial temperament appointees are usually 40 to 45 years of age and cannot attain length of service to attain satisfactory retirement under present law. This bill would enable a referee to realize maximum annuity benefit in 32 years instead of 41 years.

To attract top-quality men for these judicial positions and to persuade them to relinquish a good law practice the Government must provide adequate compensation, security of tenure, and better retirement. The present maximum salary of a full-time referee is $22,500 a year and the term of office 6 years. This bill would correct the retirement and tenure situations and enable the course to attract and hold top quality lawyers for these important judicial positions. Referees take the same oath and should have the same qualifications as Federal judges who have lifetime tenure, higher salaries, and retirement on full compensation.

Mr. President, I submit that this bill will, in a large measure, through lengthening the terms and through improving the retirement system, attract better men to this area of law, which is growing every day.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair, until not later than 1:45 p.m. today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate reassembled at 1 o'clock and 42 minutes p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. GORE in the chair).

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 6 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ECONOMIC INDICATORS SHOW SLOWDOWN IN APRIL

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, this morning two distinguished economists appeared before our Joint Economic Committee, both of whom made remarks on the outlook for the economy. Economics Prof. Lester C. Thurow of Harvard University pointed out that virtually every econometric model shows—if you program into it the tax increase and the expenditure reduction which are now pending in the House of Representatives and appear almost sure to pass—that we will have a recession in 1969. Dr. Gerhard Colm, chief economist, National Planning Association, one of the most distinguished economists in the Nation, says the proposed increase in taxes and reduction in spending will result in an increase in unemployment, next year, of from 500,000 to 1 million additional persons.

I also point out that the business cycle developments during the past month have changed the situation dramatically from what it was in March. The figures for April, which have just become available, show that of the 21 available series of lending indicators, only six series were pointing up in April, compared to 16 series in March. In other words, whereas in March the indicators indicated we were passing into an expansionary period in our economy, in April, the most recent month for which figures are available, the indications are the economy is already contracting, already moving downhill, even before the Senate passes fiscal legislation, that is, an increase in taxes and a cut in expenditures, which is bound to push the economy down faster and farther.

I ask unanimous consent that a table indicating these changes and a letter of transmittal explaining the changes be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the table and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE,
May 31, 1968.

MEMORANDUM

To: Senator WILLIAM PROXMIRE.
From: John R. Stark.
Subject: Summary of economic indicators.

Attached is a summary table from the May issue of *Business Cycle Developments* containing the data on leading indicators for the month of April.

Of the 21 available series on leading indicators, 6 series were pointing up in April compared to 16 series in March. Among the series which showed declines were the following:

Average work week: 40.4 hours in April compared to 40.7 in March.

Nonagricultural placements—all industries: Down 8 percent from March to April.

New orders, durable goods industries: Down 2.6 percent in April compared to March, which was up 5.2 percent from February.

Contracts and orders, plant and equipment: Down 6.1 percent in April after rising 5.0 percent in March.

New building permits, private housing: Down 5.8 percent in April after rising 1.2 percent in March and 23.5 percent in February.

Industrial materials prices: Down 1.8 percent in April after climbing 0.6 percent in March.

Ratio, price to unit labor cost, manufacturing: Down 0.3 percent in April after rising 0.3 percent in the previous month.

The series which increased were the following:

New orders, machine and equipment industries: Up 4.6 percent in April and 2.7 percent in March.

Private, nonfarm housing starts: Up 8.3 percent in April, down 2.1 percent in March, and up 4.8 percent in February.

Buying policy, production materials, commitments of 60 days or longer: Up 6.2 percent in April and 4.9 percent in March.

Stock prices, 500 common stocks: Up 7.4 percent.

Change in U.S. money supply: Up 2.64 percent.

Among the major coincident and lagging indicators, the following changes occurred for the month of April:

Employees in nonagricultural establishments: Up 0.2 percent.

Unemployment rate: 3.5 percent in April, down slightly from 3.6 percent in March.

Industrial production: Unchanged.

Personal income: Up 0.5 percent in April after rising 1.1 percent in March and 1.3 percent in February.

Sales of retail stores: Down 1.7 percent in April, after rising 2.7 percent in March.

Labor cost per unit of output, manufacturing: Up 0.5 percent in April.

Commercial and industrial loans outstanding: Up 3.1 percent.

The Labor Department's recent release on prices for the month of April shows an increase for the Consumer Price Index of 0.3 percent over March—4.0 percent above the April 1967 level. From March to April, nondurables rose 0.3 percent (food and beverages at home, 0.6 percent; apparel and accessories, 0.6 percent; and household furnishings and supplies, 0.6 percent), durable goods, 0.2 percent and consumer services, 0.3 percent (medical care services prices 0.5 percent).

The Wholesale Price Index rose 0.1 percent in April and another 0.1 percent in May. Prices of industrial commodities were up 0.2 percent in April, but down 0.2 percent in May. Significant price declines occurred in primary copper and copper-based products reflecting the strike settlement. Iron and steel scrap prices also declined. It is interesting to note that the decline in industrial prices from April to May was the first since June 1964.

BASIC DATA—CHANGES OVER 4 LATEST MONTHS

Series	Comparative measures					Current performance						
	Average percent change [1] [2]			Duration (months)		Basic data [8]				Percent change [2]		
	April 1967 to date (with sign) [3]	April 1967 to date (without sign) [4]	1953 to 1967 (without sign) [4] [5]	Average [6]	Current direction [7]	Unit of measure	February 1968	March 1968	April 1968	January to February 1968	February to March 1968	March to April 1968
LEADING INDICATORS												
I. Employment and unemployment												
Marginal employment adjustments:												
1. Average workweek, production workers, manufacturing.[9]	0	0.5	0.5	2.2	1	Hours	40.7	40.7	[10] 40.4	+1.2	0	−0.7
30. Nonagricultural placements, all industries.	−.3	3.1	2.1	2.0	1	Thousands	479	494	[10] 455	−3.8	+3.1	−7.9
2. Accession rate, manufacturing	−.3	4.5	4.6	2.2	1	Per 100 employees	4.5	[10] 4.0	([11])	0	−11.1	([11])
5. Average weekly initial claims, State unemployment insurance (inverted).[2]	+2.3	6.5	5.3	1.7	1	Thousands	199	188	190	+7.0	+5.5	−1.1
3. Layoff rate, manufacturing (inverted) [2]	+.1	11.0	9.4	2.1	1	Per 100 employees	[12] 1.4	[10] 1.3	([11])	-	+7.1	([11])
III. Fixed capital investment												
Formation of business enterprises:												
38. Index of net business formation [9]	+.8	1.1	.8	2.9	1	1957-59=100	114.5	113.6	([11])	+.9	−.8	([11])
13. New business incorporations	+.7	3.6	2.5	1.8	1	Number	18,014	17,974	([11])	+4.6	−.2	([11])
New investment commitments:												
6. New orders, durable goods industries [9]	+1.2	3.4	3.6	1.8	1	Billion dollars	[12] 24.83	[12] 26.11	[10] 25.42	+.2	+5.2	−2.6
94. Construction contracts, value	+.8	6.7	6.4	1.6	1	1957-59=100	156	176	146	−1.9	+12.8	−17.0
10. Contracts and orders, plant and equipment.[9]	+.4	4.2	4.6	1.8	1	Billion dollars	[12] 5.62	[12] 5.90	[10] 5.54	−4.7	+5.0	−6.1
11. New capital appropriations, manufacturing.[13]	−1.5	3.0	9.3	9.2	6	do	[10] 5.57			−4.1		
24. New orders, machinery and equipment industries.	+.8	3.6	4.1	1.9	2	do	[12] 4.49	[12] 4.61	[10] 4.82	−7.8	+2.7	+4.6
9. Construction contracts, commercial and industrial buildings.	−1.1	8.0	8.5	1.5	1	Million square feet floor space.	61.39	66.61	47.09	−4.8	+8.5	−29.3
7. Private nonfarm housing starts	+3.6	8.0	7.2	1.6	1	Annual rate, thousands	[12] 1,499	[12] 1,468	[10] 1,590	+4.8	−2.1	+8.3
29. New building permits, private housing [9]	+2.4	7.1	3.9	1.9	1	1957-59=100	120.0	[12] 121.4	[10] 114.4	+23.5	+1.2	−5.8
IV. Inventories and inventory investment												
Inventory investment and purchasing:												
21. Change in business inventories, all industries.[13] [14]	+.7	5.1	2.6	5.3	3	Annual rate, billion dollars	[12] +2.7			−6.5		
31. Change in book value, manufacturing and trade inventories.[9] [14]	−.1	5.7	3.8	1.5	3	do	[12] +3.4	[10] +2.3	([11])	−3.8	−1.1	([11])
37. Purchased materials, percent reporting higher inventories.	+2.9	5.3	6.5	2.4	3	Percent	53	52	51	−3.6	−1.9	−1.9
20. Change in book value, manufacturers' inventories of materials and supplies.[14]	−.2	1.2	1.5	1.6	2	Annual rate, billion dollars	[12] −.2	[10] −0.7	([11])	−.5	−.5	([11])
26. Buying policy, prod. materials, commitments 60 days or longer.[15]	+.3	4.3	5.0	1.8	2	Percent	61	64	68	−4.7	+4.9	+6.2
32. Vendor performance, percent reporting slower deliveries.[17]	+2.6	5.8	7.4	3.1	2	do	55	54	52	+10.0	−1.8	−3.7
25. Change in unfilled orders, durable goods industries.[14]	+.05	.75	.50	1.7	1	Billion dollars	[12] +.18	[12] +.94	[10] +.51	+.64	+.76	−.43
V. Prices, costs, and profits												
Sensitive commodity prices:												
23. Industrial materials prices [9] [15]	−0.1	0.7	1.3	2.6	1	1957-59=100	99.5	100.1	98.3	−0.3	+0.6	−1.8
Stock prices:												
19. Stock prices, 500 common stocks [9] [15]	+.5	2.3	2.5	2.4	1	1941-43=10	90.75	89.09	95.67	−4.5	−1.8	+7.4
Profits and profit margins:												
16. Corporate profits after taxes [9] [13]	+4.0	4.0	5.2	9.2	9	Annual rate, billion dollars	[10] 52.2			+4.2		
22. Ratio, profits to income originating, corporate, all industries [13]	+1.7	2.8	4.1	7.6	6	Percent	[10] 12.5			+2.5		
18. Profits per dollar of sales, manufacturing [13]	+1.2	2.5	5.6	7.9	3	Cents	([11])			([11])		
17. Ratio, price to unit labor cost, manufacturing.[9]	−.1	.5	.6	2.5	1	1957-59=100	[12] 99.2	[12] 99.5	[10] 99.2	−.4	+.3	−.3
VI. Money and credit												
Flows of money and credit:												
98. Change in money supply and time deposits.[1]	−.04	3.00	2.49	1.5	1	Annual rate, percent	+4.20	+8.16	[10] +5.16	+1.20	+3.96	−3.00
85. Change in U.S. money supply [14]	+.94	4.88	2.89	1.4	2	do	0.00	+5.88	[10] +8.52	−6.60	+5.88	+2.64
33. Change in mortgage debt [14]	+.58	2.56	1.34	1.5	1	Annual rate, billion dollars	+19.20	[10] +17.96	([11])	+.71	−1.24	([11])
113. Change in consumer installment debt [9] [14]	+.38	.78	.86	1.6	3	do	+6.79	+6.79	([11])	+2.01	0	([11])
112. Change in business loans [14]	+.87	9.27	2.77	1.6	2	do	−2.28	+4.07	[10] +19.64	−14.81	+6.35	+15.57
110. Total private borrowing [13]	+2.8	12.7	11.0	6.7	3	Annual rate, million dollars	[10] 65,564			−14.8		
Credit difficulties:												
14. Liabilities of business failures (inverted [2])	−2.8	22.0	19.6	1.5	4	Million dollars	81.06	80.46	80.43	+30.5	+.7	0
39. Delinquency rate, installment loans, 30 days and over (inverted [2]).	+4.3	6.4	2.7	5.2	2	Percent	1.51		([11])	+13.2		([11])
ROUGHLY COINCIDENT INDICATORS												
I. Employment and unemployment												
Job vacancies:												
301. Nonagricultural job openings unfilled	+.4	2.1	3.1	3.7	4	Thousands	360	368	[10] 370	+1.1	+2.2	+.5
46. Help-wanted advertising	+.4	3.2	3.0	3.0	1	1957-59=100	193	[12] 202	[10] 188	+4.9	+4.7	−6.9

Footnotes at end of table.

BASIC DATA—CHANGES OVER 4 LATEST MONTHS—Continued

Series	Comparative measures					Current performance						
	Average percent change [1] [2]			Duration (months)		Basic data [8]				Percent change [2]		
	April 1967 to date (with sign) [3]	April 1967 to date (without sign) [4]	1953 to 1967 (without sign) [4] [5]	Average [6]	Current direction [7]	Unit of measure	February 1968	March 1968	April 1968	January to February 1968	February to March 1968	March to April 1968
ROUGHLY COINCIDENT INDICATORS—Con.												
Comprehensive employment:												
511. Man-hours in nonagricultural establishments.	+.2	.6	.4	2.8	2	Annual rate, billion man-hours.	[12] 135.26	[12] 135.00	[10] 134.78	+1.7	−.2	−.2
41. Employees in nonagricultural establishments.[9]	+.3	.3	.3	4.9	7	Thousands	67,712	[12] 67,813	[10] 67,921	+.9	+.1	+.2
42. Total nonagricultural employment	+.2	.3	.4	2.2	1	do	71,604	71,788	71,656	+.6	+.3	−.2
Comprehensive unemployment:												
43 Unemployment rate, total (inverted [2]) [9]	+.3	4.3	3.8	2.7	2	Percent	3.7	3.6	3.5	−5.7	+2.7	+2.8
45. Average weekly insured unemployment rate, State (inverted [2]).	+1.7	4.3	4.2	5.0	2	do	2.3	2.2	2.1	0	+4.3	+4.5
40. Unemployment rate, married males (inverted [2]).	+1.8	4.7	5.9	3.4	1	do	1.7	1.7	1.5	−6.2	0	+11.8
II. Production, income, consumption, and trade												
Comprehensive production:												
49. GNP in current dollars [13]	+2.2	2.2	1.5	19.3	87	Annual rate, billion dollars	[12] 826.7			+2.4		
50. GNP in 1958 dollars [13]	+1.2	1.2	1.2	10.2	12	do	689.7			+1.5		
47. Industrial production [9]	+.3	.6	1.0	3.5	3	1957–59=100	[12] 161.9	[12] 162.7	[10] 162.7	+.4	+.5	0
Comprehensive income:												
52. Personal income [9]	+.7	.7	.5	5.3	30	Annual rate, billion dollars	[12] 659.4	[12] 666.5	[10] 670.1	+1.3	+1.1	+.5
53. Wages, salaries in mining, manufacturing, construction.	+.6	.8	.8	2.9	3	do	173.9	[12] 174.5	[10] 175.2	+2.1	+.3	+.4
Comprehensive consumption and trade:												
816. Manufacturing and trade sales [9]	+.8	1.1	1.0	2.3	5	Million dollars	[12] 92,595	[10] 94,327	([11])	+.1	+1.9	([11])
57. Final sales [13]	+2.1	2.1	1.4	34.8	120	Annual rate, billion dollars	[12] 824.0			+3.2		
54. Sales of retail stores [9]	+.5	1.3	.9	2.2	1	Million dollars	[12] 27,399	[12] 28,129	[10] 27,640	+1.2	+2.7	−1.7
III. Fixed capital investment												
Backlog of investment commitments:												
96. Unfilled orders, durable goods industries	+.7	.8	1.4	5.7	3	Billion dollars	[12] 79.32	[12] 80.26	[10] 80.77	+.2	+1.2	+.6
97. Backlog of capital appropriations, manufacturing.[16]	+.3	.7	5.4	12.4	6	do		[10] 20.53			−.4	
V. Prices, costs, and profits												
Comprehensive wholesale prices:												
55. Wholesale prices, industrial commodities [15]	+.2	.2	.2	4.1	46	1957–59=100	108.3	108.6	108.8	+.5	+.3	+.2
58. Wholesale prices, manufactured goods [15]	+.2	.2	.2	3.3	12	do	108.6	108.9	109.0	+.5	+.3	+.1
VI. Money and credit												
Bank reserves:												
93. Free reserves [14] (inverted [2]) [15]	50	99	93	2.1	3	Million dollars	[12] +38	[12] −315	[10] −420	+106	+353	+105
Money market interest rates:												
114. Treasury bill rate [15]	+3.0	5.1	6.4	2.6	2	Percent	4.97	5.14	5.36	−2.2	+3.4	+4.3
116. Corporate bond yields [15]	+1.7	2.6	1.8	2.7	1	do	6.57	6.80	6.79	0	+3.5	−.1
115. Treasury bond yields [15]	+1.4	2.6	1.7	2.8	1	do	5.16	5.39	5.28	−.4	+4.5	−2.0
117. Municipal bond yields [15]	+1.6	3.0	2.5	2.6	1	do	4.31	4.54	4.34	+.5	+5.3	−4.4
LAGGING INDICATORS												
I. Employment and unemployment												
Long-duration unemployment:												
502. Unemployment rate, persons unemployed 15 weeks and over (inverted [2]) [9]	+1.4	1.4	6.3	4.1	18	Percent	0.6	0.6	0.5	0	0	+16.7
III. Fixed capital investment												
Investment expenditures:												
61. Business expenditures, new plan and equipment [9] [13]	+1.8	2.4	3.1	17.4	6	Annual rate, billion dollars	[17] 64.80			+3.3		
505. Machinery and equipment sales and business construction expenditures	+.8	1.6	1.8	1.9	1	do	[12] 72.25	[10] 73.17	([11])	−1.3	+1.3	([11])
IV. Inventories and inventory investment												
Inventories:												
71. Book value, manufacturing and trade inventories [9]	+.3	.4	.5	6.8	9	Billion dollars	[12] 141.62	[10] 141.81	([11])	+.2	+.1	([11])
65. Book value, manufacturers inventories of finished goods	+.4	.7	.6	3.6	5	do	[12] 27.85	[10] 28.06	([11])	+.5	+.8	([11])
V. Prices, costs, and profits												
Unit labor costs:												
68. Labor cost (current dollars) per unit of gross product (1958 dollars), nonfin. corp.[13]	+1.0	1.0	.9	9.2	27	Dollars	[10] 0.734			+1.2		
62. Labor cost per unit of output, manufacturing.[9]	+.4	.5	.6	2.5	1	1957–59=100	[12] 109.5	[12] 109.4	[10] 109.9	+.9	−.1	+.5
VI. Money and credit												
Outstanding debt:												
66. Consumer installment debt	+.5	.5	.8	13.5	82	Million dollars	77,853	78,419	([11])	+.7	+.7	([11])
72. Commercial and industrial loans outstanding.[9]	+.7	1.2	1.0	3.7	2	do	65,450	65,789	[10] 67,844	−.1	+.5	+3.1
Interest rates on business loans and mortgages:												
67. Bank rates on short-term business loans.[9] [13] [15]	+2.3	2.3	2.2	7.9	6	Percent	6.36			+6.7		
118. Mortgage yields, residential [15]	+.8	.9	.6	10.6	2	do	6.78	6.83	6.94	−.4	+.7	+1.6

Footnotes at end of table.

CXIV——1005—Part 12

BASIC DATA—CHANGES OVER 4 LATEST MONTHS—Continued

Series	Comparative measures					Current performance						
	Average percent change[1] [2]			Duration (months)		Basic data[8]				Percent change[2]		
	April 1967 to date (with sign)[3]	April 1967 to date (without sign)[4]	1953 to 1967 (without sign)[4] [5]	Average[6]	Current direction[7]	Unit of measure	February 1968	March 1968	April 1968	January to February 1968	February to March 1968	March to April 1968
SERIES UNCLASSIFIED BY CYCLICAL TIMING												
V. Prices, costs, and profits												
Comprehensive retail prices:												
81. Consumer prices[15]	+.3	.3	.2	4.2	32	1957-59=100	119.0	119.5	119.9	+.3	+.4	+.3
VII. Foreign trade and payments												
89. U.S. balance of payments:[13] [14]												
a. Liquidity balance basis	−16	846	308	5.1	3	Million dollars	[10] −600			+1,245		
b. Official settlement basis	+104	1,221	573	5.6	3	do	[10] −520			+700		
88. Merchandise trade balance[14]	−15.0	133.1	57.7	1.6	1	do	+171.2	−157.7	+248.0	+1.9	−328.9	+405.7
86. Exports, excluding military aid	+1.0	6.0	3.6	1.8	1	do	2,773.1	2,454.7	2,888.5	−.4	−11.5	+17.7
861. Export orders, durables excluding motor vehicles[15]	+3.0	13.0	12.6	1.4	1	do	[12] 982	[10] 941	([11])	+12.0	−4.2	([11])
862. Export orders, nonelectrical machinery	+2.9	7.6	6.4	1.6	2	1957-59=100	260	[10] 280	([11])	+20.9	+7.7	([11])
87. General imports	+1.5	3.1	2.9	1.8	2	Million dollars	2,601.9	2,612.4	2,640.5	−.5	+.4	+1.1
VIII. Federal Government activities												
95. Federal surplus (+) or deficit (−), national income and product accounts.[13] [14]	+1.3	1.3	2.6	6.7	9	Annual rate billion dollars	[10] −10.7	......	......	0	......	......
951. Federal receipts, national, income and product accounts.[13]	+3.7	3.7	2.5	10.4	9	do	[10] 164.9	......	......	+4.8	......	......
952. Federal expenditures national income and product.[13]	+2.6	2.6	2.1	11.8	39	do	[12] 175.6	......	......	+4.6	......	......
101. National defense purchases, current dollars[13]	+1.9	1.9	2.3	.3	36	do	[12] 76.7	......	......	+3.4	......	......
91. Defense Department obligations, total	+.9	11.6	13.6	1.4	1	Million dollars	7,615	6,208	([11])	+8.3	−18.5	([11])
90. Defense Department obligation, procurement	+4.7	24.8	26.2	1.4	1	do	2,865	1,985	([11])	+21.4	−30.7	([11])
99. New orders, defense products industries	+4.5	20.2	21.4	1.6	1	Billion dollars	[12] 3.77	[12] 5.20	[10] 4.28	+13.2	+37.9	−17.7
92. Military contract awards in United States	+1.7	10.6	20.9	1.5	1	Million dollars	3,445	3,124	([11])	+19.3	−9.3	([11])
SERIES UNCLASSIFIED BY CYCLICAL TIMING AND ECONOMIC PROCESS												
850. Ratio, output to capacity, manufacturing[13]	−.3	.6	2.2	8.7	3	Percent	[10] 84.1	......	......	−.4	......	......
851. Ratio, inventories to sales, manufacturing, trade.	−.5	.9	1.0	2.8	5	Ratio	[12] 1.53	[10] 1.50	([11])	0	−2.0	([11])
852. Ratio, unfilled orders to shipments, manufacturers' durable goods.	−.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	1	do	3.58	[12] 3.54	[10] 3.61	+1.4	−1.1	+2.0
853. Ratio, production of business equipment to consumer goods.	−.4	1.1	.9	2.8	3	1957-59=100	[12] 119.9	[12] 118.8	[10] 118.6	−1.1	−.9	−.2
854. Ratio, personal saving to disposable personal income.[13]	−.1	7.9	8.5	4.7	3	Ratio	[12] 0.066	......	......	−12.0	......	......
855. Ratio, nonagricultural job openings unfilled to persons unemployed.	+1.1	4.8	5.5	3.3	2	do	0.122	0.129	[10] 0.137	−5.4	+5.7	+6.2
856. Ratio, average earnings to consumer prices	+.1	.3	.4	2.4	1	1957-59=100	[12] 116.6	117.3	[10] 116.8	−.3	+.6	−.4
857. Vacancy rate, total rental housing[13] [15]	−5.5	7.0	3.8	6.3	3	Percent	([11])	......	......	([11])	......	......

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[1] Average percent changes are based on month-to-month (or quarter-to-quarter) percent changes for the specified periods.

[2] To facilitate interpretations of cyclical movements, those series that usually fall when general business activity rises and rise when business falls are inverted so that rises are shown as declines and declines as rises (see series 3, 5, 14, 39, 40, 43, 45, 93, and 502). Percent changes are computed in the usual way but the signs are reversed. See footnote 10 for other "change" qualifications.

[3] Average computed with regard to sign.

[4] Average computed without regard to sign.

[5] The period varies among the series; however, for most series, the period covered is 1953-67.

[6] Average number of consecutive monthly changes in the same direction (see the explanation for "the average duration of run" in app. C).

[7] Duration of the current direction of change (see the sign of the latest entry in "Current percent change" columns) measured in months. When there is no change between 2 consecutive values the direction is assumed to be the same as that of the preceding period.

[8] Series are seasonally adjusted except for those series, indicated by footnote 15, that appear to contain no seasonal movement. See additional basic data and notes in table 2.

[9] Series included in the 1966 NBER "short list" of indicators.

[10] Preliminary.

[11] Not available.

[12] Revised.

[13] Quarterly series; figures are placed in the middle month of quarter.

[14] Since basic data for this series are expressed in plus or minus amounts, the changes are month-to-month (or quarter-to-quarter) differences expressed in the same unit of measure as the basic data, rather than in percentages.

[15] Not seasonally adjusted.

[16] End-of-quarter series; figures are placed in the last month of quarter.

[17] Anticipated.

COMPREHENSIVE INVESTIGATION OF DEFENSE PROCUREMENT PRACTICES IS LONG OVERDUE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Congress and its investigative units have been turning up cases of waste, inefficiency, mismanagement, and excessive profits in the defense procurement program with greater frequency. The latest example of questionable defense procurement policy and practice concerns a series of contracts awarded by the Navy to the Westinghouse Electric Corp. The profits realized on these contracts were so excessive that, after an investigation by the General Accounting Office, the Government decided to withhold nearly $4 million of the contract price. The GAO found that the profits, which Westinghouse had stated would be about 10 percent of the contract price, actually ran to about 40 percent. Subsequent to the GAO investigation, the Navy auditors concluded that the profits were actually about 60 percent.

Westinghouse, however, has insisted that it is legally entitled to full payment, despite the fact that the profits on these multimillion-dollar contracts amount to around 60 percent. The company has been arguing for payment of the amounts withheld and, apparently, these payments may soon be made.

This latest case, once again, demonstrates the weaknesses in the defense procurement program. Certainly no one could contend that a 60-percent profit on a defense contract is reasonable. Yet, these high profits do not seem to be uncommon. The Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee, of which I am chairman, found similar instances of excessive profits and mismanagement of the defense procurement program in two sets of hearings held last year. The Subcommittee on Economy in Government has already indicated its intent to hold further hearings into the defense procurement this year. I believe a full and comprehensive investigation of defense procurement management practices and policy is long overdue, and I am hopeful that we can make a start toward uncovering the reasons for the frequency of abuses in this important and mammoth program in the hearings which we will formally announce in the near future.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article concerning the Westinghouse case entitled "Pentagon Moving To Pay Profit Called Excessive," written by John W. Finney, and published in the New York Times of June 2, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PENTAGON MOVING TO PAY PROFIT CALLED EXCESSIVE—AUDIT UNIT SAYS WESTINGHOUSE IS ENTITLED TO PAYMENT—CALLS THE NAVY AT FAULT

(By John W. Finney)

WASHINGTON, June 1.—The Defense Department is proposing to pay the Westinghouse Electric Corporation nearly $4-million that auditors of the Navy and General Accounting Office contend represents excessive profits on nuclear submarine contracts.

The Defense Contract Audit Agency does not contest that Westinghouse may have made more profit than expected on the contracts. But the agency, the department's "watchdog" on military contracts, argues the Navy was at fault in approving the contracts if they called for undue profits, and that Westinghouse was entitled to the money.

The case, expected to be decided shortly by the Defense Department, was described in general terms in recent Congressional testimony by Vice Adm. Hyman G. Rickover. He called it an example of how defense contractors were able to take advantage of the government.

While the admiral did not identify the contractor, defense officials acknowledged that the case involved Westinghouse contracts entered into 10 years ago for reactor pumps for atomic submarines.

Charles H. Weaver, Westinghouse vice president for government affairs, declined comment on the matter because it was "not appropriate" to discuss a case pending before the contract audit agency.

As described by Admiral Rickover and General Accounting Office reports, this is how the case developed:

Westinghouse was given a general cost-plus-fixed-fee contract to construct reactor power plants for nuclear submarines. It was also given authority to enter into negotiated fixed-price subcontracts for components with the injunction that it was to exercise "due care" that reasonable prices be charged on the subcontracts.

Under this authority, Westinghouse's Plant Apparatus Division awarded two contracts to Westinghouse's Atomic Equipment Division—one of $8,700,360 for 84 pumps, the other for $3,961,000 for 35 pumps.

The Navy consented to the subcontracts but requested cost breakdowns to help establish the reasonableness of these prices. Westinghouse then submitted cost breakdowns indicating that the prices included about a 10 per cent profit.

But on checking the subcontracts in 1962, the General Accounting Office concluded that the profits actually ran to about 40 per cent and that the government had been overcharged about $3-million. Navy auditors concluded that the profits ran to about 60 per cent and that the Government was being overcharged nearly $4-million.

The General Accounting Office recommended that the extra money not be paid on the ground that Westinghouse had not exercised "due care" in determining the reasonableness of the prices on the subcontracts. Navy auditors concurred, and also said that Westinghouse had submitted false and misleading breakdowns.

At one point, the case was referred to the Justice Department, which reportedly agreed that the charges were excessive but contended it would be difficult to prove fraud. As a result, the case was referred back to the Navy with a recommendation that administrative action be taken.

On the basis of these findings and recommendations, the Navy decided in 1964 to withhold payment of nearly $4-million to Westinghouse to recover the excess profits. Westinghouse appealed this decision in 1965, and eventually the appeal was turned over to the Defense Contract Audit Agency, which was established in 1965.

NAVY VIEW UPHELD

Initially, the agency's regional office in Philadelphia, the one responsible for auditing the contracts, issued a preliminary decision upholding the Navy in disallowing the $4-million. In June, 1967, Westinghouse made a further appeal to the agency's headquarters. The agency then conducted a new audit that is leading to a conclusion supporting the Westinghouse claim.

William B. Petty, director of the agency, said in an interview that his office had not made "any final decision." But, according to Admiral Rickover, the agency is favorably considering a recommendation by its Philadelphia office, which has changed management since 1965, that the $4-million be paid Westinghouse.

The argument advanced by Westinghouse and now apparently accepted by the audit agency, according to Admiral Rickover, is that the Navy closely supervised Westinghouse's operations, consented to the use of the fixed-price subcontracts, and was therefore at fault for the high profits. As for the Westinghouse breakdowns showing a 10 per cent profit. Westinghouse and the agency's Philadelphia office argue that the breakdowns "served no real purpose."

WINS 4-YEAR BATTLE

"There is no question in my mind that the Government will ultimately have to pay the $4-million," Admiral Rickover told the House Banking Committee.

"This case," he said, "is a good example that, no matter what the circumstances, if a contractor persists long enough, he usually wins his case. The Government is simply not organized and staffed adequately to take care of the Government's interests."

Admiral Rickover, meanwhile, has apparently won a four-year battle with the Defense Department and Navy over excess profits that he contended the Navy was paying Westinghouse and the General Electric Company to work at two laboratories owned by the Atomic Energy Commission.

In his testimony before the House committee, the admiral renewed his complaint that the Navy was paying the two companies $400,000 more a year than was the commission for equivalent work at the two laboratories.

In a recent letter to Senator Thomas J. McIntyre, Democrat of New Hampshire, who had inquired about reports in the New York Times about the Rickover complaints, J. M. Malloy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Procurements, said that the Navy was taking action to bring its fees to the two companies in line with the fees paid by the commission.

HUMAN RIGHTS NEED MORE THAN MERE RECOGNITION

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the special meeting of the U.N. General Assembly will be convened later this year to formally commemorate Human Rights Day. On that occasion special United Nations stamps will be issued and special programs highlighting the worldwide battle for human rights will be conducted.

Our country's role should not be limited to perfunctory and well-meaning acknowledgment. We should, instead, make clear our firm and determined approval through Senate ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on Genocide, Political Rights of Women, Forced Labor, and Freedom of Association.

The ratification of these treaties would represent a clear indication on the part of this country that we are stanchly cooperating to advance the course of humanity throughout the world. I feel it is desirable and most necessary during this International Human Rights Year, to take these treaties out of the Foreign Relations Committee and give them our complete endorsement. I again ask the Senate to vote its approval of these treaties and thus give credence to this country's commitment to the fight for the dignity of mankind.

AMENDMENT OF THE BANKRUPTCY ACT AND THE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT LAW

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1316) to amend the Bankruptcy Act and the civil service retirement law with respect to the tenure and retirement benefits of referees in bankruptcy.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment now pending at the desk.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I shall speak very briefly. I wish to state first that it is very difficult for me to oppose any bill or any proposal of the distinguished Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK]. He is not only a good personal friend of mine, but a fellow member of the Civil Service Committee.

The section my amendment would strike from the bill deals with the civil service retirement of referees in bankruptcy.

My first objection, of course, is that the matter has not been considered by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which is the committee that deals with civil service retirement. Second, I think Congress should give serious consideration to the position taken by the Civil Service Commission itself, as found in the committee report beginning on page 6. The Commission emphatically opposes this legislation unless there are several changes made.

For example, the Commission points out that sections 2 and 4 of the bill—the sections which my amendment would strike—would amend sections 8334(a) and 8339(c) of title 5 of the United States Code, to provide for referees—keep this in mind, now—higher contributions and a more generous annuity formula than are applicable to employees generally.

One would gather from that statement that referees would contribute a larger amount than regular Civil Service employees. But the facts of the matter are that this would be truly an over-generous addition to the cost to the Government of the Civil Service retirement for referees.

The report to the committee of the chairman of the Civil Service Commission continues as follows:

> In addition to the direct increase in the annuity computation formula, the bill indirectly makes available another benefit. The retirement law now provides that when an employee has performed sufficient service to entitle him to the maximum annuity (41 years and 11 months if the salary is $5,000 or more), all deductions withheld during subsequent service, plus 3 percent compound interest, are applied toward any deposit due

for service during which deductions were not currently withheld or for the repayment of a refund of deductions previously received. Any balance not so required is deemed to be voluntary contributions, which may be paid in cash at retirement or used to purchase additional annuity. In effect, the employee ceases to contribute to the cost of his regular annuity when he has served nearly 42 years.

There are several other phases of this that I should read. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an excerpt from the report be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMENDMENTS

1. On page 2, beginning with the comma on line 2, strike out through "7½ per centum" in line 4, and insert in lieu thereof "7½ percent".

2. On page 2, between lines 7 and 8, strike out "From and after the effective date of this amendment." and insert in lieu thereof "After June 30, 1968.".

3. On page 2, strike out lines 11 through 18 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(f) A referee in bankruptcy who becomes 75 years of age and completes 5 years of service shall be automatically separated from the service. The separation is effective on the last day of the month in which the referee becomes 75 years of age or completes 5 years if then over that age, and pay ends from that day. Subsections (a), (c), (d), and (e) of this section do not apply to a referee in bankruptcy."

4. On page 3, line 6, strike out "per centum" and insert in lieu thereof "percent".

5. On page 3, strike out lines 11 through 13 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 6. (a) The amendments made by section 2 of this Act shall become effective on the first day of the first pay period beginning on or after July 1, 1968.

"(b) In the case of a referee in bankruptcy who is serving on the date of enactment of this Act, the amendment made by section 2 of this Act shall not apply until such referee has completed the term of office under which he is serving on the date of enactment of this Act."

PURPOSE OF AMENDMENTS

The purpose of the amendments is to make technical changes in the bill to carry out recommendations of the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the bill as amended is to provide more adequate tenure and retirement benefits for referees in bankruptcy.

STATEMENT

The bill introduced by the Honorable Quentin N. Burdick, was the subject of a subcommittee hearing on April 3, 1967.

In its favorable report on the bill, the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts said:

"This bill was originally drafted at the direction of the Judicial Conference of the United States in 1959 by a special subcommittee of the Bankruptcy Committee of the Conference. The subcommittee was composed of District Judge Edward Weinfeld of the southern district of New York, Chairman, Chief Judge Bailey Aldrich of the first circuit, and Circuit Judge Albert V. Bryan of the fourth circuit. The subcommittee had the benefit of the recommendations of Messrs. Robert J. Myers and John P. Jones of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mrs. Charles A. Horsky, then chairman of the National Bankruptcy Conference, Reginald W. McDuffee, referee in bankruptcy at Savannah, Ga., president of the National Conference of Referees in Bankruptcy, Elmore Whitehurst, Dallas, Tex., editor of the Conference Journal, and Ronald L. Walker, referee in bankruptcy at Los Angeles, Calif.

"S. 1316 provides (1) that the term of office of a full-time referee shall be increased from 6 years to 12 years and the term of office of a part-time referee to remain at 6 years as at present. Section 1 of S. 1316 amends section 34a of the Bankruptcy Act to increase the term of office of a full-time referee to 12 years.

"Section 2 provides a more liberal retirement plan for referees, in general comparable to the retirement benefits now provided for Members of Congress based on a contribution of 7½ percent of the base pay to be made by the employee and a matching 7½-percent contribution by the employing agency and providing a benefit rate of 2½ percent per year. This section would amend subsections (a) and (c) of section 8334 of title 5, United States Code. It would also amend subsection (c) of section 8339 of title 5, United States Code, to provide for computation of referees' service by multiplying 2½ percent of the 'high-five' average salary by the years of such service.

"Section 3 imposes a compulsory retirement age of 75 years under certain conditions. This section would amend section 8335 of title 5, United States Code, so as to require compulsory retirement of a referee upon reaching the age of 75 years and completing the term of office under which he is serving upon the effective date of this amendment.

"Section 5 of S. 1316 provides that notwithstanding any other provision of law, retirement benefits resulting from enactment of this act shall be paid from the civil service retirement and disability fund.

"Section 6 of S. 1316 provides that the amendments shall take effect on the first day of the first month which begins more than 60 days after the enactment of the bill.

"Referees in bankruptcy are judicial officers and are paid salaries ranging up to $22,500 a year for full-time service and $11,000 a year for part-time service. They are called upon to decide complex issues of law and fact in cases which may involve millions of dollars and the property rights of many people. In this connection it should be noted that in the fiscal year 1967, the 212 referees in office received a total of 208,329 cases, including corporate arrangements, real estate arrangement, corporate reorganization proceedings, and straight bankruptcy asset cases. We believe that it is most important to attract to these positions the best qualified members of the legal profession.

"Referees by reason of their judicial function must be persons of mature age and judgment, with enough experience in the law to have attained both judicial capacity and judicial temperament. It is obvious that the average lawyer will not have attained these attributes much under the age of 40 to 45 years. At the present time only 7 percent of the referees holding office are under 40 years of age.

"Moreover, nearly two-thirds of the referees in office have no previous Federal Government service which would count toward retirement. Upon accepting appointment, a full-time referee must give up his law practice entirely, and upon retirement is prohibited from reentering the practice of bankruptcy law. The latter restriction is severe but necessary considering the professional ethics involved.

"In contrast to the situation of the referee in bankruptcy, the average career civil servant enters the service at an early age, often directly from high school or college. The average civil service employee has an opportunity to earn a fully adequate retirement while the referee in bankruptcy has little chance to do so because of his insecurity of tenure and the mature age at which he can expect to meet the prerequisites of judicial service. Federal judges, on the other hand, may retire on full pay at age 70 after 10 years of service and they hold office 'during good behavior.' In other words, they have lifetime appointments.

"It is the view of the Judicial Conference that there should be a compulsory retirement for referees at age 75, the point at which most professional people have passed their more productive years. This seems equitable and in the best interests of the service provided referees can at the same time be given a more adequate retirement plan similar to that now provided for Members of Congress.

"This bill has the support of the National Bankruptcy Conference, the American Judicature Society, the National Conference of Referees in Bankruptcy, and many State and local Bar Associations. We earnestly recommend the favorable consideration of S. 1316."

The Department of Justice has advised the committee that whether or not the bill should be enacted involves policy consideration as to which the Department of Justice makes no recommendations.

The U.S. Civil Service Commission does not recommend the bill.

Attached and made a part of this report are (1) a letter dated March 29, 1967, from the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, (2) a letter dated December 1, 1967, from the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, (3) a letter dated April 17, 1967, from the U.S. Civil Service Commission, and (4) a letter dated June 19, 1967, from the U.S. Department of Justice.

"ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE
OF THE U.S. COURTS,
"Washington, D.C., March 29, 1967.

"Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
"Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary,
"U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

"DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your letter of March 21, 1967, inquiring about the bill, S. 1316, 90th Congress, to amend the Bankruptcy Act and the civil service retirement law with respect to the tenure and retirement benefits of referees in bankruptcy.

"The proposals contained in S. 1316, in substance, are the same as the proposals contained in H.R. 2556, 88th Congress, which the Judicial Conference of the United States approved at its March 1963 meeting and reaffirmed at its September 1963 meeting. Moreover, in general, the proposals are the same as approved by the Conference at its March 1960 meeting, and embodied in H.R. 5341, 87th Congress which was approved by the Conference at its March 1961 meeting, and reaffirmed at its September 1961, March 1962, and September 1962 meetings. Accordingly, I should like to advise you that the Judicial Conference of the United States approves and recommends the proposals contained in S. 1316.

"Sincerely yours,

"WILLIAM E. FOLEY,
"Deputy Director."

"ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE
OF THE U.S. COURTS,
"Washington, D.C., December 1, 1967.

"Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
"U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

"DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: This letter is in response to a telephone request of Mr. Rosenberger for a concise summary of the objectives of S. 1316, to amend the Bankruptcy Act and the civil service retirement law with respect to the tenure and retirement benefits of referees in bankruptcy.

"This bill was originally drafted at the direction of the Judicial Conference of the United States in 1959 by a special subcommittee of the Bankruptcy Committee of the Conference. The subcommittee was composed of District Judge Edward Weinfeld of the southern district of New York, Chairman, Chief Judge Bailey Aldrich of the first circuit, and Circuit Judge Albert V. Bryan of the fourth circuit. The subcommittee had the benefit of the recommendations of

Messrs. Robert J. Myers and John P. Jones of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Charles A. Horsky, then chairman of the National Bankruptcy Conference, Reginald W. McDuffee, referee in bankruptcy at Savannah, Ga., president of the National Conference of Referees in Bankruptcy, Elmore Whitehurst, Dallas, Tex., editor of the Conference Journal, and Ronald L. Walker, referee in bankruptcy at Los Angeles, Calif.

"S. 1316 provides (1) that the term of office of a full-time referee shall be increased from 6 years to 12 years and the term of office of a part-time referee to remain at 6 years as at present. Section 1 of S. 1316 amends section 34a of the Bankruptcy Act to increase the term of office of a full-time referee to 12 years.

"Section 2 provides a more liberal retirement plan for referees, in general comparable to the retirement benefits now provided for Members of Congress based on a contribution of 7½ percent of the base pay to be made by the employee and a matching 7½ percent contribution by the employing agency and providing a benefit rate of 2½ percent per year. This section would amend subsections (a) and (c) of section 8334 of title 5, United States Code. It would also amend subsection (c) of section 8339 of title 5, United States Code, to provide for computation of referees' service by multiplying 2½ percent of the 'high-five' average salary by the years of such service.

"Section 3 imposes a compulsory retirement age of 75 years under certain conditions. This section would amend section 8335 of title 5, United States Code, so as to require compulsory retirement of a referee upon reaching the age of 75 years and completing the term of office under which he is serving upon the effective date of this amendment.

"Section 4 of S. 1316 provides that notwithstanding any other provision of law, retirement benefits resulting from enactment of this act shall be paid from the civil service retirement and disability fund.

"Section 6 of S. 1316 provides that the amendments shall take effect on the first day of the first month which begins more than 60 days after the enactment of the bill.

"Referees in bankruptcy are judicial officers and are paid salaries ranging up to $22,500 a year for full-time service and $11,000 a year for part-time service. They are called upon to decide complex issues of law and fact in cases which may involve millions of dollars and the property rights of many people. In this connection it should be noted that in the fiscal year 1967, the 212 referees in office received a total of 208,329 cases, including corporate arrangements, real estate arrangements, corporate reorganization proceedings, and straight bankruptcy asset cases. We believe that it is most important to attract to these positions the best qualified members of the legal profession.

"Referees by reason of their judicial function must be persons of mature age and judgment, with enough experience in the law to have attained both judicial capacity and judicial temperament. It is obvious that the average lawyer will not have attained these attributes much under the age of 40 or 45 years. At the present time only 7 percent of the referees holding office are under 40 years of age.

"Moreover, nearly two-thirds of the referees in office have no previous Federal Government service which would count toward retirement. Upon accepting appointment, a fulltime referee must give up his law practice entirely, and upon retirement is prohibited from reentering the practice of bankruptcy law. The latter restriction is severe but necessary considering the professional ethics involved.

"In contrast to the situation of the referee in bankruptcy, the average career civil servant enters the service at an early age, often directly from high school or college. The average civil service employee has an opportunity to earn a fully adequate retirement while the referee in bankruptcy has little chance to do so because of his insecurity of tenure and the mature age at which he can expect to meet the prerequisites of judicial service. Federal judges, on the other hand, may retire on full pay at age 70 after 10 years of service and they hold office 'during good behavior.' In other words, they have lifetime appointments.

"It is the view of the Judicial Conference that there should be a compulsory retirement for referees at age 75, the point at which most professional people have passed their more productive years. This seems equitable and in the best interests of the service provided referees can at the same time be given a more adequate retirement plan similar to that now provided for Members of Congress.

"This bill has the support of the National Bankruptcy Conference, the American Judicature Society, the National Conference of Referees in Bankruptcy, and many State and local Bar associations. We earnestly recommend the favorable consideration of S. 1316.

"Sincerely yours,

"WILLIAM E. FOLEY,
"Deputy Director."

"U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
"Washington, D.C. April 17, 1968.

"Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND
"Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate.

"DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This refers further to your request for Commission report on S. 1316, a bill to amend the Bankruptcy Act and the civil service retirement law with respect to the tenure and retirement benefits of referees in bankruptcy.

"Section 1 of the bill would amend section 34a of the Bankruptcy Act to lengthen the present 6-year terms of office for full-time referees in bankruptcy. Under this amendment, the terms of office for full-time and part-time referees would be fixed at 12 years and 6 years, respectively, under each appointment and reappointment. We would not oppose this change.

"Sections 2 and 4 of the bill would amend sections 8334(a) and 8339(c) of title 5, United States Code to provide for referees higher contributions and a more generous annuity formula than are applicable to employees generally. The deduction rate for referees would be increased prospectively from 6½ to 7½ percent (same rate as for Members of Congress), and correspondingly higher matching amounts would be contributed by the employing agency. In lieu of the present annuity formula which provide 1½ percent of the highest 5-year average salary per year of service for the first 5 years, plus 1¾ percent per year for the second 5 years, plus 2 percent per year for years in excess of 10, each year of referee service (both past and future) would count at 2½ percent. In effect, 2½ percent would replace 1½ percent, 1¾ percent, and 2 percent—in that order—so that if referee service totaled at least 10 years, any other service would be counted at 2 percent. The maximum annuity would remain at 80 percent of average salary.

"In addition to the direct increase in the annuity computation formula, the bill indirectly makes available another benefit. The retirement law now provides that when an employee has performed sufficient service to entitle him to the maximum annuity (41 years and 11 months if the salary is $5,000 or more), all deductions withheld during subsequent service, plus 3 percent compound interest, are applied toward any deposit due for service during which deductions were not currently withheld or for the repayment of a refund of deductions previously received. Any balance not so required is deemed to be voluntary contributions, which may be paid in cash at retirement or used to purchase additional annuity. In effect, the employee ceases to contribute to the cost of his regular annuity when he has served nearly 42 years.

"The 2½-percent annuity formula would reduce to 32 years the time required to reach the 80-percent maximum. For those referees who now have over 32 but less than 42 years of such service, the annuity to which presently entitled would be increased to 80 percent; in addition; 'excess' deductions would be established on past service in excess of 32 years, and would continue on all future service. Such referees would, in effect, contribute nothing to the cost of their liberalized benefits. Those with less than 32 years would reach the maximum 10 years sooner, and thereafter, in effect, no longer contribute. And finally, any referees who now have served over 42 years would not have their annuities increased, but their 'excess' deductions under present law would be increased by deductions withheld during 10 additional years of prior service, and all future deductions at the higher rate would be 'excess'.

"Prospectively raising the deduction and deposit rate for referee service by 1 percent would defray only a fraction of the cost of the increased annuities resulting from the 2½-percent benefit formula. The level annual cost of the benefit liberalization proposed is estimated to be about 5 to 6 percent of the total salaries of all referees. If the matching principle apparently contemplated were to be followed, an increase of 2½ to 3 percent of salary in the contribution rate payable by both referees and the employing agency would be required to finance the higher annuities.

"Section 3 of the bill would amend the civil service retirement law to add a compulsory age retirement provision for referees. The retirement law requires the automatic separation of employees in general at or after age 70 with at least 15 years of service. Certain exceptions to this requirement are incorporated in the law, one of which exceptions covers employees in the judicial branch appointed to hold office for a term of years. Referees fall in this category and are not now subject to any automatic separation requirement. The bill would prospectively provide for the automatic separation of referees at or after age 75 with at least 5 years of service. Referees serving on date of enactment of this provision would be exempt from its operation until completion of their current terms. This change is not objectionable.

"Section 5 of the bill authorizes use of the civil service retirement and disability fund to pay the retirement benefits resulting from its enactment.

"Section 6 specifies the bill's effective date as the first day of the first month which begins more than sixty days after its date of enactment.

"The Commission cannot concur in the creation of this special computation plan for referees. No justification is evident for singling them out to receive a materially higher benefit than allowable under the retirement law to all other officers and employees in the executive and judicial branches of the United States. Discrimination resulting from such enactment would undoubtedly be noted and the precedent so established cited by other officer and employee groups seeking similar treatment. It is therefore urged that the provisions contained in sections 2 and 4 be deleted from the bill.

"The Commission accordingly recommends that favorable consideration not be given S. 1316 in its present form. If amended as suggested, however, by deletion of sections 2 and 4, the Commission would offer no objection to its other provisions which limit appointments of full-time referees and part-time referees to 12 years and 6 years, respectively, and impose a mandatory retirement age of 75.

"If further consideration is to be given to section 2-5 of the bill, certain technical amendments are necessary to conform the sections to the style of title 5 of the United States Code, enacted into positive law by Public Law 89-554. For example, the style of title 5 does not permit the use, in the text thereof, of such phrases as 'which begins on or after the effective date of this amendment.' Such an effective date provision should appear in a separate section of the bill. The Commission will be happy to furnish such technical assistance in this regard as may be requested.

"The Bureau of the Budget advises that from the standpoint of the administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this report.

"By direction of the Commission:

"Sincerely yours,

"JOHN W. MACY, Jr.,
"Chairman."

"U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
"Washington, D.C., June 19, 1967.

"Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
"Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

"DEAR SENATOR: This is in response to your request for the views of the Department of Justice on S. 1316, a bill to amend the Bankruptcy Act and the civil service retirement law with respect to the tenure and retirement benefits of referees in bankruptcy.

"The bill would increase the terms of appointments and reappointments of full-time referees in bankruptcy from 6 to 12 years. The terms of part-time referees would continue to be 6 years. Retirement deductions would be increased from 6½ to 7½ percent and annuities would be increased by the use of the 2½-percent formula now applicable to legislative employees instead of the lower rate now used for referees and Government employees generally. A new subsection numbered (f) would be added to section 8335 of title 5, United States Code, to provide for mandatory retirement upon reaching 75 years of age and completion of at least 5 years of service. For those serving on the date of enactment, the completion of their terms would be substituted for the 5-year requirement.

"Whether or not this legislation should be enacted involves policy considerations as to which the Department of Justice makes no recommendation.

"The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection to the submission of this report from the standpoint of the administration's program.

"Sincerely,

"RAMSEY CLARK,
"Attorney General."

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CARLSON. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I support the position of the Senator from Kansas. In addition, it should be pointed out that under the existing law it takes 41 years and a fraction of service for a referee to receive the maximum amount of annuity to which he would be entitled. But as a result of the formula under this bill, if he served 40 years not only would he get a substantial increase in his pension rights but he would also collect retroactively a refund on the payments made for the preceding 8 years. Once this formula is adopted he would reach the maximum after 32 years of service. Not only would he get the refund of future payments, but he could collect a retroactive refund on all payments made in the preceding 8 years. This refund would be in addition to the increase in his benefits.

The fund is already $50 billion out of balance. Certainly this is not the time in which to pass a bonus for this small group of employees.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CARLSON. I yield.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, will my able friend, the Senator from Kansas, acknowledge that the section requiring retirement at age 75 is a reasonable requirement?

Mr. CARLSON. The present civil service requirement I believe requires that a person retire at the age of 70. This would give a man an additional 5 years.

Mr. BURDICK. The Senator would consider that age 70 would be reasonable?

Mr. CARLSON. Yes, I would.

Mr. BURDICK. The record shows conclusively that a referee does not have the understanding or the qualifications to be a referee until he is about the age of 40 to 45.

Mr. CARLSON. That is correct.

Mr. BURDICK. In order to get his maximum benefits—80 percent of his salary—under the present system, one who is 45 years of age would have to live and work until the age of 87. If we reduce the retirement age to 75, we would have to increase the annuity. We cannot have it both ways. That is why we have asked for an increase in the annuity.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I will yield in a moment. I want to pursue the second question before I yield.

The Senator says that there is an additional benefit for those who serve the 42 years in that they get their contributions plus 3 percent.

How many people are we talking about? With reference to people who start serving as referees at age 45 and serve for 42 years, how many are still living at age 87? We have a record here showing three people at the ages of 84, 87, and 89. They should not be there in most cases.

When we are talking about extra benefits, we are talking about an infinitesimal sum. Further, we are dealing only with 217 people. And the bankruptcy courts are loaded. Their caseload has increased twentyfold since 1946.

Mr. CARLSON. My distinguished colleague knows how we have battled in the Post Office and Civil Service Committee to protect the civil service retirement fund.

On occasion after occasion, we have opposed the inclusion of many groups. Many people have been brought into civil service retirement who have some connection with the Government. We have opposed it.

We propose here to open up the field to a new group.

Mr. BURDICK. We have to do something to attract people from the legal profession. This position requires men of experience and skill. We will not get highly qualified people who are willing to leave their law practices if the position is not made more attractive than at present. We cannot require them to retire at age 75 when they start later in life. We either have to retire them later or increase the annuity, one or the other.

Mr. CARLSON. Or increase the salaries.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I am surprised at the statement that a man is not qualified for the position until he reaches the age of 45—and I do not know how many referees are between the ages of 40 and 45, but I point out that 7 percent of them are below the age of 40.

Are we being told that 7 percent of the referees are unqualified and not fit to hold office. If so, why were they appointed?

Mr. BURDICK. I did not say they were not qualified. I said that is the age limit.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Perhaps we should change the practice. I agree fully that those who are over 80 should be retired. Reappointments near that age are wholly unjustified and should not have been made.

Mr. BURDICK. To require retirement at age 75, we would have to increase the annuity. Otherwise, a man would have to work to age 80 before he would qualify for 80 percent of his salary.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Since when do we have to retire every public servant at 80 percent of his salary to get rid of him? If a man has been working in private practice until he reaches the age of 50 he should have been able to set something aside. Otherwise, I would say that the man may not be qualified for the job.

Certainly, we should not be required to put everybody on the pension roll at 80 percent of his salary just because he holds public office—not even if he is a Member of Congress.

Mr. BURDICK. We are talking about select people that have a great reponsibility in this country. Millions of dollars are being handled in the bankruptcy courts.

Last year the bankruptcy courts handled over 208,000 cases. In 1946, they handled about 10,000 cases.

This is an important position. Many of our people are affected by what happens in these courts and by the amount of money handled by these referees. These are not ordinary men. Some of them have as much judicial experience as judges, and we give judges retirement at full pay for life at age 70 after 10 years of service.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The Senator is not trying to say that these referees all have judicial experience, is he? In fact, some of them have had very little experience in court practice.

I do not want to get personal and name any of them, but I could name some who have not had much experience.

Mr. BURDICK. The men are experienced men.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. But they are not such a select bunch.

Mr. BURDICK. We are only dealing with 217 people, and the impact on the fund will be only minimal.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I have no quarrel with the referees in bankruptcy. I contend that they are a very qualified group who are serving our constituency and people very well. However, I do contend that it is poor policy to come in and attempt to put a new group on civil service retirement without having the matter come before the committee for hearings. It might be that we would want to do this after hearings have been held. We have on many other occasions held hearings when people tried to get included in the civil service retirement program. We have opposed it.

I think this is a very inopportune time, with all of the disturbances that we have in the schools and colleges, to begin to expand the civil service retirement program.

The first thing we know, we will have a bill over here—as has been reported in the newspapers—to increase our own civil service retirement. I will oppose it. I have consistently done so.

I think that now is the wrong time to do it. I sincerely hope that this provision will be stricken from the bill.

I would be pleased to have the Civil Service Committee meet and consider this matter if our chairman concurs.

I hope the provision is stricken from the bill.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, this is not only my bill. This measure was proposed by the Judicial Conference. It has the support of the American Bar Association, the National Bankruptcy Conference, the American Judicature Society, the National Conference of Referees in Bankruptcy, and many State and local bar associations.

We have to do something to attract better men to this portion of the judiciary.

If we agree to the pending amendment, we will not be doing this, because we will be requiring a man to take office and serve under the present retirement system and retire at age 75 and get 50 to 60 percent of the benefits. If the amendment is agreed to, it will kill the bill.

We should make some start in upgrading these referees, who have increasing responsibilities. Over the last 20 years their workload has increased twentyfold. This is important to our country.

Second, the impact upon the fund would be minimal. We are dealing only with 220 people, 40 of whom are on a part-time basis.

I ask that the amendment be defeated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Hart in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Kansas. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio (after having voted in the affirmative). On this vote I have a pair with the distinguished Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss]. If he were present, he would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Anderson], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. Gruening], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Hill], and the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. Inouye] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Harris], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Hartke], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Jordan], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Long], the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. McCarthy], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGovern], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], the Senator from Utah [Mr. Moss], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pell], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Ribicoff], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Sparkman], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Yarborough] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New York [Mr. Kennedy], and the Senator from Washington [Mr. Magnuson] would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore] is paired with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse]. If present and voting, the Senator from Rhode Island would vote "yea," and the Senator from Oregon would vote "nay."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], and the Senator from California [Mr. Murphy] are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits], the Senators from California [Mr. Kuchel and Mr. Murphy], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 27, as follows:

[No. 173 Leg.]

YEAS—42

Aiken
Allott
Baker
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Byrd, Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dominick
Fannin
Fong
Gore
Griffin
Hansen
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Hruska
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Mansfield
McClellan
Metcalf
Miller
Monroney
Mundt
Pearson
Percy
Prouty
Russell
Smathers
Smith
Stennis
Symington
Thurmond
Tower
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—27

Bartlett
Bayh
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Church
Clark
Cooper
Dodd
Eastland
Ellender
Hart
Holland
Hollings
Jackson
Long, La.
McGee
McIntyre
Mondale
Muskie
Nelson
Proxmire
Randolph
Spong
Talmadge
Tydings
Williams, N.J.

PRESENT AND GIVING A LIVE PAIR, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—1

Young of Ohio, for.

NOT VOTING—30

Anderson
Brooke
Ervin
Fulbright
Gruening
Harris
Hartke
Hayden
Hill
Inouye
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Magnuson
McCarthy
McGovern
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Murphy
Pastore
Pell
Ribicoff
Scott
Sparkman
Yarborough

So Mr. Carlson's amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If no amendment is to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, is a motion to recommit in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Such a motion is in order.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, I move that the bill be committed to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service with instructions to report back in 10 days.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from North Dakota. [Putting the question.]

Mr. DIRKSEN and **Mr. ALLOTT** addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, is this a motion to send this bill to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The bill was reported by the Committee on the Judiciary. There ought to be an assignment of a reason here. A motion to recommit is debatable. The Senator from North Dakota should undertake to tell the Senate why the designation is to be changed and the bill sent to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Mr. BURDICK. Because Senators on the side of the aisle of the Senator from Illinois indicated it should be done.

Mr. DIRKSEN. That does not make any difference. The Administrative Office of the Courts insisted the referees are judicial officers. If that is true this matter properly belongs in the Committee on the Judiciary. An effort was made to place a statement on the desk of each Senator this morning. The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, on the other hand, takes the position that these are administrative officers.

Now, if they are judicial officers this matter should go back to the Committee on the Judiciary, if anybody wants to commit it; otherwise it can go to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Mr. BURDICK. It makes no difference.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I shall vote against a motion to send the bill to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in view of the fact that the Administrative Office of the Courts has taken that position. They sought to affirm their position and it was set forth in a memorandum given to me in connection with the bill.

I do not want to see a misreference of this bill under a motion to recommit.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, we have had the matter of preferential treatment of all Government employees in the various classes of Government service before us many times for discussion. We have tried to treat Government employees, because they are generally long-term employees, under civil service, and with a guaranteed tenure, with long periods of credit for retirement. For that reason, we have consistently refused to increase any particular or specific class of Government employee at higher rates of credit for retirement than is given the general category of employees.

Efforts have been made constantly to increase it from 2 to 2½ percent of their attained salary for special groups of employees, for various and sundry reasons, but we have held to the fact that the 2½ percent which is in the congressional retirement program and has been since the Monroney Act of 1946 is a consideration because of the average short tenure of congressional service of the fixed pay status of congressional service, and because the lack of accredited time that goes with many.

I do not wish to say that we are on uncertain service, because we all hope our service will be of long tenure, but once we break this line of 2½ percent per year of our salary, we will then have it asked for by every category in Government. Thus, I do not believe that we can limit this to a few referees of bankruptcy if we give it to them.

The next step will be that all the vast numbers, and some of them run into the hundreds of thousands in their unions, will aggressively seek this.

I need not remind the Senate of the deficit we now have in the funds reserved and put aside in the trust funds for the Federal retirement program.

I invite the attention of the Senate to the fact that when this becomes a question of keeping it on a cash-flow basis on congressional retirement programs, we will find it has always operated in the black.

One reason is that Members of Congress do not like to retire unless they have to, so that we do not have early retirement problems, or desire to retire when we are over 65. I happen to be over 65 years of age, and I have no desire to retire. I do not think many other Senators do, either.

For that reason, we are in a different category. But our books balance. There is no deficit on our books. For that reason, we will make the mistake of a lifetime to reopen this. The Senate has spoken with decision in regard to the Carlson amendment. Many Senators who would have voted with the Senator did not receive the explanation that a "yea" vote was to strike the provision that was in the bill that begins, for the first time, to expand this into other categories of government. For that reason, I doubt the wisdom of recommitting the bill to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, because that is the only thing in the bill that pertains to our jurisdiction.

The Senate at large has spoken. We might as well go ahead and pass the legislation.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I wish to state that I appreciate very much the remarks of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. I knew that would be his position. I had no desire to offer any amendment to the bill affecting referees in bankruptcy but I felt this did affect the committee. Its positions have been generally agreed upon in committee on the inclusion of people not, as I would say, other than administrative people. I think it would have been a tragic error for us to start opening up such a fund for this group already $50 billion in the red.

Mr. MONRONEY. I thank my distinguished colleague. He is the ranking minority member on the committee and has consistently maintained that position, and has done so through the years.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw the motion to recommit to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has that privilege as a matter of right. Does the Senator withdraw the motion?

Mr. BURDICK. Yes. I withdraw it.

I move to recommit the bill to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from North Dakota.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from North Dakota to recommit the bill to the Committee on the Judiciary.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], and the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], and the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] would each vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and the Senator from California [Mr. MURPHY] are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. BROOKE], the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the Senators from California [Mr. KUCHEL and Mr. MURPHY], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 62, nays 9, as follows:

[No. 174 Leg.]

YEAS—62

Aiken
Allott
Baker
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Bible
Boggs
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ellender
Fannin
Fong
Gore
Hansen
Hart
Hatfield
Hickenlooper
Holland
Hollings
Hruska
Jackson
Jordan, Idaho
Long, La.
Mansfield
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
Metcalf
Miller
Mondale
Mundt
Muskie
Nelson
Pearson
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Smathers
Smith
Spong
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—9

Brewster
Cooper
Cotton
Griffin
Lausche
McIntyre
Monroney
Russell
Stennis

NOT VOTING—29

Anderson
Brooke
Ervin
Fulbright
Gruening
Harris
Hartke
Hayden
Hill
Inouye
Javits
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kennedy, N.Y.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
Magnuson
McCarthy
Montoya
Morse
Morton
Moss
Murphy
Pastore
Pell
Ribicoff
Scott
Sparkman
Yarborough

So the motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on the Judiciary was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, there will be no further votes today. I am trying to work out with the distinguished Senator the possibility of voting on treaties in the next day or so, but for today there will be no further voting.

PROPOSED AUTHORIZATION FOR EXPORT-IMPORT BANK TO USE ITS LENDING AUTHORITY FOR CERTAIN LOANS, GUARANTEES, AND INSURANCE

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I note from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this morning that S. 3218 will be before the Senate this week. I would like to comment on S. 3218 today.

Mr. President, S. 3218 would authorize the Export-Import Bank to use $500 million of its lending authority for loans, guarantees and insurance of export transactions which, in the judgment of the Directors of the Bank, "do not meet the test of reasonable assurance of repayment."

This requirement—reasonable assurance of repayment—has been a basic part of the Bank's charter since 1945.

The setting aside of this requirement is sought in an effort to improve our Nation's balance of payments.

While S. 3218 limits the amount of commitments under the new program to $500 million, it nevertheless makes it possible for as much as $2 billion in gross commitments to be outstanding without meeting the tests of "reasonable assurance of repayment."

The bill provides further that any losses under the program would be borne by the Bank up to an aggregate amount of $100 million.

But losses which exceed that amount would be borne by the Treasury. The bill authorizes to be appropriated such amounts as may be required to cover any losses incurred by the Bank exceeding the $100 million figure.

The bill also provides that all guarantees and insurance issued by the Bank should be considered contingent obligations backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. Government.

S. 3218 is a sharp—and I believe radical—departure from the statutory charter of the Bank which provides that the Bank's export assistance be limited to those export transactions which offer "reasonable assurance of repayment."

It seems to me, Mr. President, that this legislation is unwise.

The United States is facing a financial crisis. The Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board has so stated and so has the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

The President himself, his Secretary of the Treasury, his Budget Director, and virtually all other administration officials have been demanding a 10-percent increase in taxes. They feel the Government should dip deeper into the pockets of the American wage earner and extract 10 percent more money to operate the Government.

Even if this is done, we will end the current fiscal year on June 30 with a deficit of $20 billion; even if the 10-percent tax increase is enacted, we face a deficit of $15 billion next year.

Yet, S. 3218 seeks to drastically liberalize the Export-Import Bank regulations so that American tax dollars can be used to the extent of $2 billion to guarantee or insure transactions even though there is no "reasonable assurance" of repayment.

Another aspect of this concerns me.

If loans can be made without "reasonable assurance of repayment" does not this open up the possibility of such loans being made on a political basis?

The proposed drastic liberalization of the Export-Import Bank Act is done in the name of improving the balance-of-payments position of our Government. That is a worthy objective. But the best way to tackle the balance-of-payments problem is by controlling inflation in this country, in which Government spending is the major factor.

I think it is important that this country make every reasonable effort to increase its export trade. The loans and guarantees authorized by this legislation, however, would adversely affect our balance of payments if they are not repaid. And, of course, the chances of their not being repaid are much greater than the normal loans made by the Bank.

Last August, the Senate expanded the Bank's lending authority by $4.5 billion, to a new ceiling of $13.5 billion, because of the significant increases in new trade opportunities which were becoming available in Common Market countries and elsewhere as a result of the Kennedy round negotiations. Presumably, these transactions qualify under existing lending rules.

I quote from the 1967 report of the Banking and Currency Committee:

> During the past year, the Bank has experienced a very substantial increase in its business, and its annual authorizations are believed likely to continue at a relatively high level . . . in view of the Kennedy round results, the proposed new ceiling of $13.5 billion might be reached well before the time originally anticipated by the Bank in preparing its request.

It would appear, therefore, that there is likely to be more applications which qualify under the Bank's traditional lending criteria than can be accommodated under the ceiling of $13.5 billion.

Why, with all the sound transactions, should up to $2 billion of the Bank's money be diverted to marginal transactions which carry with them a high risk of default?

There is nothing in the bill which requires the Bank to give priority to low-risk transactions and neither is there a requirement that the Bank establish priorities among the high-risk transactions it finances so that those which offer the best assurances of repayment are considered first.

As a businessman and as one who through the years has been an exporter, I strongly favor trade between the nations of the world.

I support the Export-Import Bank. Through the years, it has been well managed, and I commend its management.

But I feel it is a mistake to change the basic requirement of the Export-Import Bank Act; namely, that the Bank's export assistance should be limited to those transactions which offer "reasonable assurance of repayment." It is already the bank of last resort for many exporters.

The Bank derives its funds from the American taxpayer.

To authorize it to make loans where there is no reasonable assurance of repayment seems to me to be unwise. Hundreds of businesses could spring up overnight to take advantage of this bonanza. And how would the bank draw the line—unless it drew it along the lines of political pressure?

This is a matter of policy involving vast sums of U.S. tax dollars.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. What is the will of the Senate?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider Executive J, 90th Congress, first session; Executive N, 90th Congress, first session; and Executive D, 89th Congress, first session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TAX CONVENTIONS WITH BRAZIL, EXECUTIVE J, 90TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION; FRANCE, EXECUTIVE N, 90TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION; AND THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES, EXECUTIVE D, 89TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the following conventions and protocols, which were read the second time, as follows:

Convention Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United States of Brazil for the Avoidance of Double Taxation With Respect to Taxes on Income

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United States of Brazil desiring to conclude a convention for the avoidance of double taxation with respect to taxes on income,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

Taxes covered

(1) The taxes which are the subject of the present Convention are:

(a) In the case of the United States of Brazil, all taxes covered by the Federal Income Tax Law applicable to individual taxpayers and legal persons which may result from the application of Brazilian Income Tax regulations, except for the tax imposed under Article 295 (tax on activities of minor importance) and Article 299 (excess remittance tax) of the Brazilian Income Tax Regulations consolidated by Decree No. 58,400 of May 10th, 1966 (hereinafter called "Brazilian tax").

(b) In the case of the United States of America, the Federal income tax, including

surtax, but not including the taxes imposed under section 531 (improperly accumulated earnings tax) and section 541 (personal holding company tax) of the Internal Revenue Code (hereinafter called "United States tax").

(2) The present Convention shall also apply to taxes substantially similar to those covered by paragraph (1) of this Article which are subsequently imposed in addition to, or in place of, existing taxes.

(3) For the purpose of Article 6, this Convention shall also apply to taxes of every kind, and those imposed at the national, state, or local level.

ARTICLE 2

General definitions

(1) In the present Convention, unless the context otherwise requires:

(a) The term "Brazil" means the United States of Brazil;

(b) The term "United States" means the United States of America, and when used in a geographical sense means the States thereof and the District of Columbia;

(c) The terms "one of the Contracting States" and "the other Contracting State" mean Brazil or the United States as the context requires;

(d) The term "tax" means Brazilian tax or United States tax as the context requires;

(e) The term "person" comprises an individual, a corporation and any other body of individuals or persons;

(f) The term "corporation" or "company" means any body corporate, association or joint stock company or other entity which is treated as a body corporate for tax purposes;

(g) The term "United States corporation" or "corporation of the United States" means a corporation which is created or organized under the laws of the United States or any State thereof or the District of Columbia;

(h) The term "Brazilian corporation" or "corporation of Brazil" means a company, as defined in subparagraph (1)(f) of this Article, created or organized under the laws of Brazil and maintaining its administrative headquarters in Brazil;

(i) The term "resident of one of the Contracting States" means an individual who is a resident of that Contracting State for purposes of the tax of that Contracting State and includes an individual acting as a partner or fiduciary to the extent that the income derived by such individual in that capacity is taxed as the income of a resident;

(j) The terms "resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States" and "resident or corporation of the other Contracting State" mean a resident or corporation of Brazil or a resident or corporation of the United States, as the context requires;

(k) The term "competent authority" means:

(i) in Brazil, the Minister of Finance or his authorized representatives;

(ii) in the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate.

(l) The term "State" means any national State, whether or not one of the Contracting States.

(2) As regards the application of the present Convention by a Contracting State, any term not otherwise defined shall, unless the context otherwise requires, have the meaning which it has under the laws of that Contracting State relating to the taxes which are the subject of the present Convention.

ARTICLE 3

General rules of taxation

(1) A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States shall be taxable by the other Contracting State only on income derived from sources within that other Contracting State. For this purpose, the rules set forth in Article 5 shall be applied to determine the source of income.

(2) A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States may be taxed by the other Contracting State on income taxable under paragraph (1) only in accordance with the limitations set forth in the present Convention. Any income to which the provisions of the present Convention are not expressly applicable shall be taxable by each of the Contracting States in accordance with its own law. The provisions of the present Convention shall not be construed to restrict in any manner any exclusion, exemption, deduction, credit or other allowance now or hereafter accorded (a) by the laws of one of the Contracting States in the determination of the tax imposed by that State or (b) by any other agreement between the Contracting States.

(3) Except as provided in paragraph (4) of this Article, a Contracting State may tax an individual who is a citizen or resident of that Contracting State (whether or not such person is also a resident of the other Contracting State) or a corporation of that Contracting State as if the present Convention had not come into effect.

(4) The provisions of paragraph (3) shall not affect—

(a) the benefits conferred by a Contracting State under Articles 4 (Relief from Double Taxation) and 6 (Nondiscrimination);

(b) the benefits conferred by the United States under Articles 7 (Investment Credit) and 22 (Deduction for Charitable Contributions); and

(c) the benefits conferred by a Contracting State under Articles 18 (Teachers), 19 (Students and Trainees), 20 (Governmental Salaries), and 21 (Rules Applicable to Personal Income Articles) upon individuals, other than citizens of, or individuals having immigrant status, in that Contracting State.

ARTICLE 4

Relief from double taxation

Double taxation shall be avoided in the following manner:

(1) The United States shall allow to a citizen, resident or corporation of the United States as a credit against its tax specified in subparagraph (1)(b) of Article 1 the appropriate amount of taxes paid to Brazil and, in the case of a United States corporation owning at least 10 percent of the voting power of a corporation resident in Brazil, shall allow credit for the appropriate amount of taxes paid to Brazil by the corporation paying such dividends with respect to the profits out of which such dividends are paid. Such appropriate amount shall be based upon the amount of tax paid to Brazil but shall not exceed that proportion of the United States tax which net income from sources within Brazil bears to the entire net income. For the purpose of applying the United States credit in relation to taxes paid to Brazil, the rules set forth in Article 5 shall be applied to determine the source of income.

(2) Brazil shall allow to a resident or corporation of Brazil as a credit against its tax specified in subparagraph (1)(a) of Article 1 the appropriate amount of taxes paid to the United States and, in the case of a corporation of Brazil owning at least 10 percent of the voting power of a United States corporation, shall allow credit for the appropriate amount of taxes paid to the United States by the corporation paying the dividends with respect to the profits out of which such dividends are paid. Such appropriate amount shall be based on the amount of tax paid to the United States but shall not exceed that proportion of Brazilian tax which net income from sources within the United States bears to the entire net income subject to Brazilian tax. For the purpose of applying the Brazilian credit in relation to taxes paid to the United States, the rules set forth in Article 5 shall be applied to determine the source of income.

ARTICLE 5

Source of income

For purposes of Articles 3 and 4:

(1)(a) Except as provided in subparagraph (b)—

(i) dividends paid by a corporation of one of the Contracting States shall be treated as income from sources within that Contracting State; and

(ii) dividends paid by any other corporation shall be treated as income from sources outside that Contracting State.

(b) Dividends paid by any corporation shall be treated as income from sources within a State if such corporation—

(i) had a permanent establishment in that State, and

(ii) derived more than 85 percent of its gross income from sources within that State for a three-year period ending with the close of its taxable year preceding the declaration of such dividends (or for such portion of that period as the corporation has been in existence).

(2)(a) Except, as provided in subparagraph (b), interest paid by a Contracting State, including any local government thereof, or by a resident or corporation of that Contracting State shall be treated as income from sources within that Contracting State; and interest paid by any other person shall be treated as income from sources outside that Contracting State.

(b) Interest paid by a resident or corporation of any State with a permanent establishment in another State directly out of the funds of such permanent establishment on indebtedness incurred for the sole use of, or on banking deposits made with, such permanent establishment shall be treated as income from sources within the State in which such permanent establishment is located.

(3) Royalties paid by a president or corporation of one of the Contracting States for the use of, or the right to use, property described in paragraph (2) of Article 14 in such State shall be treated as income from sources within such State.

(4) Income from real property (including gains derived from the sale of such property, but not including interest from mortgages or bonds secured by real property) and royalties from the operation of mines, quarries, or other natural resources shall be treated as income from sources within the State in which such property is located.

(5) Income from the rental of tangible personal (movable) property shall be treated as income from sources within the country in which such property is located.

(6) Income received by an individual for his performance of personal services (either as an employee or in an independent capacity) or for furnishing the personal services of another person and income received by a corporation for furnishing the personal services of its employees or others shall be treated as income from sources within the State in which such services are performed. If services are performed partly within and partly outside a State, income from the performance or furnishing of such services shall be treated as income from sources partly within and partly outside that State. Compensation for personal services (including private pensions and annuities paid in respect of such services) performed aboard ships or aircraft operated by a resident or corporation of a Contracting State and registered in that Contracting State shall be treated as income from sources within that Contracting State, if rendered by a member of the regular complement of the ship or aircraft.

(7) Income from the purchase and sale of personal (movable) property shall be treated as income from sources within the State in which such property is sold.

(8) In the case of income earned by a person from the sale of personal property produced in whole or in part by such person in one State and sold in another State, that portion of the income attributable to production shall be treated as income from sources in the State in which such property was produced while that portion attributable to the act of sale shall be treated as income

from sources in the State in which such property was sold.

(9) Industrial and commercial profits which are attributable to a permanent establishment situated in one of the Contracting States, including income dealt with in Articles 12, 13, 14 or 15 which is effectively connected with such permanent establishment, shall be treated as income from sources within such Contracting State. For the purposes of this Convention, to determine whether income is effectively connected with a permanent establishment, the factors taken into account shall include whether the income is derived from assets used in or held for use in the conduct of such trade or business, or the activities of such trade or business were a material factor in the realization of the income. In determining whether an asset is used in or held for use in the conduct of such trade or business or whether the activities of such trade or business were a material factor in realizing an item of income, due regard shall be given to whether or not such asset or such income was accounted for through such trade or business.

(10) The source of any item of income to which the provisions of this Article are not expressly applicable shall be determined by each of the Contracting States in accordance with its own law.

ARTICLE 6

Nondiscrimination

(1) A national of one of the Contracting States who is a resident of the other Contracting State shall not be subjected in that other Contracting State to more burdensome taxes than is a national of that other Contracting State who is resident therein.

(2) A permanent establishment which a national or corporation of one of the Contracting States has in the other Contracting State shall not be subject in that other Contracting State to more burdensome taxes than is a national or corporation of that other Contracting State carrying on the same activities. This paragraph shall not be construed as obliging either Contracting State to grant to nationals of the other Contracting State who are not residents of the former Contracting State any personal allowances or deductions which are by its law available only to residents of that former Contracting State.

(3) A corporation of one of the Contracting States, the capital of which is wholly or partly owned by one or more nationals or corporations of the other Contracting State, shall not be subjected in the former Contracting State to more burdensome taxes than is a corporation of the former Contracting State, the capitol of which is wholly owned by one or more nationals or corporations of that former Contracting State.

ARTICLE 7

Investment credit

(1) The United States shall allow to an eligible investor in an eligible corporation against the taxes specified in subparagraph (1)(b) of Article 1, a credit for investment in Brazil. The credit allowed to an eligible investor shall be based on 7 percent of the appropriate amount of the qualified property placed in service by the eligible corporation during such corporation's taxable year, for use exclusively in Brazil in a qualified trade or business. The purpose of this provision is to extend to investment in Brazil the investment credit allowable for investment in the United States. Qualified property shall include, in general, tangible depreciable property which is either personal property or is used as an integral part of industrial, transportation, communication or other such similar processes, or as a research or storage facility therefor (but not including a building and its structural components). However, in no event shall the amount of the credit exceed the lesser of—

(a) 7 percent of the eligible investor's net new investment in the eligible corporation; or

(b) the amount of United States property acquired by the eligible corporation, during its taxable year in which it placed in service the property for which a credit is allowed, or during the preceding taxable year, and attributed to the eligible investor.

(2) In determining an eligible investor's net new investment in an eligible corporation, there shall be taken into account—

(a) any property transferred by the eligible investor to the eligible corporation as a contribution to capital or in exchange for stock or indebtedness of the eligible corporation, but only to the extent that such property does not represent, directly or indirectly, funds borrowed within Brazil;

(b) the eligible investor's allocable share of creditable reinvested earnings of the eligible corporation;

(c) an appropriate amount with respect to the exhaustion of property placed in service by the eligible corporation for which a credit had previously been allowed under this Article;

(d) the amount of property withdrawn by the eligible investor from the eligible corporation in the taxable year, the preceding taxable year, and the three subsequent taxable years.

(3) For purposes of this Article—

(a) the term "eligible investor" means a resident of the United States or a United States corporation which owns, or is a member of a group of United States residents or corporations which owns, at least 25 percent of the total combined voting power of the stock of an eligible corporation.

(b) the term "eligible corporation" means a United States corporation or a Brazilian corporation if, for its taxable year, it derives at least 80 percent of its gross income, if any, from, and at least 80 percent of its assets (including assets located outside Brazil) are used or held for use in connection with, one or more of the qualified trades or businesses described in subparagraph (c).

(c) the term "qualified trade or business" means, unless otherwise agreed by the competent authorities of the Contracting States, any trade or business conducted within Brazil, and consisting of:

(i) the manufacture or production of personal property (not including the extraction of any mineral, ore, oil or gas, or any processing which does not involve a substantial transformation thereof, but not excluding smelting or refining) or the processing of agricultural or horticultural products or commodities (including but not limited to livestock, poultry, fur-bearing animals or any kind of fish);

(ii) the catching or taking of any kind of fish;

(iii) the marketing of agricultural or horticultural products or commodities (including but not limited to livestock, poultry, fur-bearing animals or any kind of fish);

(iv) the marketing of goods and merchandise to the general public through one or more retail establishments, unless the business consists primarily of the distribution of goods or merchandise manufactured or produced outside Brazil by a person who is a related person with respect to the eligible corporation;

(v) the operation of hotels and related facilities;

(vi) the transportation within Brazil of passengers and/or freight;

(vii) the performance of services rendered as an incident of a trade or business described in (i) through (vi); or

(viii) the performance within Brazil of services utilized either within Brazil or within a less developed country if the services are industrial, financial, technical, scientific, engineering or architectural in nature. The preceding sentence shall not apply if the services are performed for any person who is a related person with respect to the eligible corporation and if the payments made in consideration of such services are not reasonable in amount or are contingent either in whole or in part on the sales, productivity, or profits of the person for whom these services are performed; and

(ix) any other trade or business agreed upon by the competent authorities of both Contracting States.

(d) the term "creditable reinvested earnings" means an amount equal to one-half of the earnings and profits of the eligible corporation for its taxable year, reduced by the amount of any dividends it distributed during such year.

(e) the term "withdrawal" means—

(i) a distribution made by an eligible corporation (or by another corporation conducting in Brazil a trade or business similar or related to a trade or business conducted by the eligible corporation) to the eligible investor (or to a related person) which either—

(A) is not out of earnings and profits;

(B) is in excess of 50 percent of the earnings and profits for the year of distribution; or

(C) is in cancellation or redemption of the stock of the eligible corporation;

(ii) the payment by an eligible corporation of an indebtedness to the eligible investors; and

(iii) the sale or other disposition by the eligible investor of stock or indebtedness of the eligible corporation.

(f) the term "United States property" means any tangible property which has been manufactured, constructed, produced, grown, extracted or created in the United States and thereafter continuously used, if at all, only in the United States.

(4)(a) If the credit allowed for investment in the United States is modified, amended, suspended or terminated, the comparable provisions of this Article shall accordingly be modified, amended, suspended or terminated to the extent necessary to keep this Article consistent with the credit allowed for investment in the United States. The United States shall notify Brazil through diplomatic channels of any such modification, amendment, suspension or termination.

(b) If Brazil considers that any modification or amendment of the credit, as a result of subparagraph (a), materially and adversely affects the credit allowed under this Article, it may, by giving notice to the United States through diplomatic channels, treat such modification or amendment as a suspension of the credit for purposes of subparagraph (6)(b) of Article 30. In such case the Contracting States shall consult together. At any time prior to such consultation, and until such time as a supplementary agreement is reached by the Contracting States, the United States may, by notice given to Brazil through diplomatic channels, suspend the application of Article 7.

(5) The credit provided in paragraph (1) shall be subject to such regulations as are prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States or his delegate, after consultation with the competent authority of Brazil, to effectuate the provisions of this Article and to further define and determine the terms, conditions and amounts referred to herein.

ARTICLE 8

Business profits

(1) A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States shall be exempt from tax in the other Contracting State with respect to its industrial or commercial profits if that resident or corporation has no permanent establishment in that other Contracting State. If a resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States has a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State, tax may be imposed by such other Contracting State on all industrial or commercial profits

of that resident or corporation which are (a) attributable to the permanent establishment or (b) derived from sources within such other State from sales of goods or merchandise of the same kind as those sold, or from other business transactions of the same kind as those effected, through the permanent establishment.

(2) For purposes of paragraph (1)(a) of this Article, there shall in each Contracting State be attributed to a permanent establishment the industrial or commercial profits which would be attributable to such permanent establishment if such permanent establishment were an independent entity engaged in the same or similar activities under the same or similar conditions and dealing wholly independently with the resident of which it is a permanent establishment.

(3) In determining the industrial or commercial profits of an enterprise of one of the Contracting States which are taxable in the territory of the other Contracting State in accordance with paragraphs (1) and (2), there shall be allowed as deductions all expenses (including executive and general administrative expenses) which would be deductible if the permanent establishment were an independent enterprise and which are reasonably connected with the profits so taxable.

(4) No profits shall be deemed to be derived merely by reason of the purchase of goods or merchandise by that permanent establishment, or by the resident or corporation of which it is a permanent establishment, for the account of that resident or corporation.

(5) The term "industrial or commercial profits" means income derived from the active conduct of a trade or business. It includes profits from manufacturing, mercantile, agricultural, fishing, from transportation, communication or extractive activities, from the rental of tangible personal (movable) property, from the furnishing by an individual of the personal services of another person and from the furnishing by a corporation of the personal services of its employees, or others. It also includes income dealt with in Article 12 (dividends and profits), Article 13 (interest), Article 14 (royalties), or Article 15 (real property and natural resource income), but only if the right or property giving rise to such income is effectively connected with a permanent establishment which the recipient, being a resident or corporation of one Contracting State, has in the other Contracting State. It does not include income received by an individual for his performance of personal services (either as an employee or in an independent capacity).

ARTICLE 9

Definition of permanent establishment

(1) The term "permanent establishment" means a fixed place of business through which a resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States engages in trade or business.

(2) The term "a fixed place of business" includes, but is not limited to, an office; a store or other sales outlet; a workshop; a factory; a warehouse; a mine, quarry or other place of extraction of natural resources; a building, construction or installation site.

(3) Notwithstanding paragraph (1) of this Article, a permanent establishment shall not include a fixed place of business used only for one or more of the following activities:

(a) for the processing by another person, whether related or unrelated under arrangements or condition which are or would be made between independent persons, of goods or merchandise belonging to the resident or corporation;

(b) for the purchase, under arrangements or conditions which are or would be made between independent persons, of goods or merchandise for the account of the resident or corporation;

(c) for the storage and/or the delivery of goods belonging to the resident or corporation, other than goods or merchandise;

(i) held for sale by such resident or corporation in a store or other sales outlet; or

(ii) purchased and resold in that Contracting State by the resident or corporation, or by an independent agent or agents for or on behalf of the resident or corporation;

(d) for the collection of information for the resident or corporation;

(e) for advertising, the conduct of scientific research, the display of goods or merchandise, or the supply of information if such activities have a preparatory and auxiliary character in the trade or business of the resident or corporation;

(f) for construction, assembly, or installation projects if the site or facilities are used for such purpose for less than six months.

(4) Even if a resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States does not have a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State under paragraphs (1)–(3) of this Article, nevertheless he shall be deemed to have a permanent establishment in the latter State if he engages in trade or business in that State through an agent who—

(a) has an authority to conclude contracts in the name of that resident or corporation and regularly exercises that authority in the latter State unless the exercise of his authority is limited to the purchase of goods or merchandise; or

(b) maintains in the latter State a stock of goods or merchandise belonging to that resident or corporation from which he regularly makes deliveries.

(5) Notwithstanding paragraph (4) of this Article, a resident or corporation of a Contracting State shall not be deemed to have a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State merely because it uses the services in that State of a bona fide broker, general commission agent, forwarding agent, custodian or other agent of independent status acting in the ordinary course of his business.

(6) The fact that a corporation of one of the Contracting States controls or is controlled by or is under common control with (a) a corporation of the other Contracting State or (b) a corporation which engages in trade or business in that Contracting State (whether through a permanent establishment or otherwise), shall not be taken into account in determining whether the activities or fixed place of business of either corporation constitutes a permanent establishment of the other corporation.

(7) A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States shall be deemed to have a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State if that resident or corporation provides the services in the latter State of public entertainers referred to in paragraph (4), Article 17.

(8) If a resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States has a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State at any time during the taxable year, it shall be considered to have a permanent establishment in that other Contracting State for the entire taxable year.

ARTICLE 10

Ships and aircraft

(1) Notwithstanding paragraph (2) of Article 8, income which a resident or corporation of the United States derives from the operation in international traffic of ships or aircraft registered in the United States shall be exempt from tax by Brazil.

(2) Notwithstanding paragraph (2) of Article 8, income which a resident or corporation of Brazil derives from the operation in international traffic of ships or aircraft registered in Brazil shall be exempt from tax by the United States.

ARTICLE 11

Related persons

(1) Where a resident or corporation of a State deriving industrial or commercial profits in one of the Contracting States and any other person are related and where such realted persons make arrangements or impose conditions between themselves which are different from those which would be made between independent persons, then any income which would, but for those arrangements or conditions, have accrued to such resident or corporation but, by reason of those arrangements or conditions, has not so accrued, may be included in the income of such resident or corporation for purposes of the present Convention and taxed by that Contracting State accordingly.

(2)(a) A person other than a corporation is related to a corporation if such person participates directly or indirectly, in the management, control or capital of the corporation.

(b) A corporation is related to another corporation if either participates directly or indirectly in the management, control or capital of the other, or if any person, or persons participate directly or indirectly in the management, control or capital of both corporations.

ARTICLE 12

Dividends and branch profits

(1) Dividends paid by a company resident in one of the Contracting States to a resident or corporation of the other Contracting State may be taxed by both Contracting States.

(2) For purposes of this Article:

(a) In the case of Brazil, the term "dividends" means income from shares, "jouissance" shares or "jouissance" rights, mining shares, founders' shares or other rights, not being debt-claims, participating in profits, as well as income from other corporate rights assimilated to income from shares, including all other forms of distribution of profits made by any type of company or individual enterprise situated in Brazil.

(b) The term "dividends" in the case of the United States includes any item which under the law of the United States is treated as a distribution out of earnings and profits.

(3) The rate of the withholding tax imposed by Brazil on dividends paid by a corporation of Brazil to a corporation of the United States shall not exceed 20 percent, if—

(a) During the part of the paying corporation's taxable year which precedes the date of payment of the dividend and during the whole of its prior taxable year (if any), at least 10 percent of the outstanding shares of the voting stock of the paying corporation was owned by the recipient corporation, and

(b) Not more than 25 percent of the gross income of the paying corporation for such prior taxable year (if any) consisted of interest and dividends (other than interest derived in the conduct of a banking, insurance or financing business and dividends or interest received from subsidiary corporations, 50 percent or more of the outstanding shares of the voting stock of which was owned by the paying corporation at the time such dividends or interest were received).

(4) The rate of the withholding tax imposed by Brazil on profits of a Brazilian branch of a United States corporation shall not exceed the rate described in paragraph (3).

(5) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs (3) and (4) of this Article, the rate of withholding tax on dividends and on branch profits may be increased to the same extent as any reduction below 28 percent in the rate of tax on business profits normally

applicable to all industrial or commercial profits of corporations in Brazil.

(6) Dividends paid by a corporation of one of the Contracting States to a person other than a resident or corporation of the other Contracting State (and in the case of a dividend paid by a Brazilian corporation, to a person other than a citizen of the United States) shall be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State. This paragraph shall not apply if—

(a) Such dividends are treated as income from sources within that other Contracting State under subparagraph (1)(b) of Article 5, or

(b) The recipient of the dividends has a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State and such dividends are effectively connected with such permanent establishment.

ARTICLE 13

Interest

(1) Interest derived from sources within one of the Contracting States by a resident or corporation of the other Contracting State may be taxed by both Contracting States.

(2) Interest received by the Government of one of the Contracting States or any agency or instrumentality wholly owned by that Government shall be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State.

(3) The tax imposed by Brazil on interest received from sources within Brazil by a resident or corporation of the United States which is a bank or other financial institution shall not exceed 15 percent of the amount paid. This paragraph shall not apply if the recipient of such interest has a permanent establishment in Brazil. In such case, such interest shall be treated as industrial or commercial profits attributable to such permanent establishment and the provisions of Article 8 shall apply thereto.

(4) The term "interest" as used in this Article means income from Government securities, bonds or debentures, whether or not secured by mortgage and whether or not carrying a right to participate in profits, and debt-claims of every kind as well as all other income assimilated to income from money lent by the taxation law of the State in which the income arises.

(5) Where, owing to a special relationship between the payer and the recipient or between both of them and some other person, the amount of the interest paid, having regard to the debt claim for which it is paid, exceeds the amount which would have been agreed upon by the payer and the recipient in the absence of such relationship, the provisions of paragraph (3) of this Article shall apply only to the last-mentioned amount. In that case, the excess part of the payments shall remain taxable according to the law of each Contracting State, due regard being had to the other provisions of this Convention.

(6) Interest paid by a corporation of one of the Contracting States to a person other than a resident or corporation of the other Contracting State (and, in the case of interest paid by a Brazilian corporation, other than a citizen of the United States) shall be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State. This paragraph shall not apply if—

(a) such interest is treated as income from sources within that other Contracting State under subparagraph (2)(b) of Article 5, or

(b) the recipient of the interest has a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State and such interest is effectively connected with such permanent establishment.

ARTICLE 14

Royalties

(1) The tax imposed by one of the Contracting States on royalties derived from sources within that Contracting State by a resident or corporation of the other Contracting State shall not exceed 15 percent of the gross amount thereof. This paragraph shall not apply if the recipient of such royalties has a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State. In such case, such royalties shall be treated as industrial or commercial profits attributable to such permanent establishment and the provisions of Article 8 shall apply thereto.

(2) For the purpose of paragraph (1) of this Article, the term "royalties" means any royalties, rentals or other amounts paid as consideration for the use of, or the right to use—

(a) copyrights, artistic or scientific works, patents, designs, plans, secret processes or formulae, or other like property or rights;

(b) information concerning industrial or scientific knowledge, experience, or skill; or

(c) trademarks related to any of the items specified in subparagraph (a) or (b).

(3) The provisions of paragraphs (1) and (2) of this Article shall not apply to any royalties, rentals or other amounts paid:

(a) in respect of the operation of mines, quarries or other natural resources; and

(b) as consideration for the use of, or the right to use, motion picture films, films or tapes for radio, television broadcasting, or other like property or rights.

(4) Where any royalty exceeds a fair and reasonable consideration in respect of the rights for which it is paid, the provisions of the present Article shall apply only to so much of the royalty as represents such fair and reasonable consideration in accordance with the provisions of the tax legislation of the Contracting State from which the royalty is derived. Where, owing to a special relationship between the payer and the recipient or between both of them and some other person, the amount of the royalties paid, having regard to the use, right or information for which they are paid, exceeds the amount which would have been agreed upon by the payer and the recipient in the absence of such relationship, the provisions of this Article shall apply only to the last-mentioned amount. In both cases, the excess part of the payments shall remain taxable according to the law of each Contracting State, due regard being had to the other provisions of this Convention.

ARTICLE 15

Income from real property

A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States subject to tax in the other Contracting State on income from real property, including gains derived from the sale or exchange of such property, or on royalties in respect of the operation of mines, quarries, or other natural resources may elect for any taxable year to compute that tax on such income on a net basis as if such resident or corporation were engaged in trade or business in that other Contracting State.

ARTICLE 16

Investment or holding companies

A corporation of one of the Contracting States deriving dividends, interest or royalties from sources within the other Contracting State shall not be entitled to the benefits of Article 12, Article 13, or Article 14 if (a) by reason of special measures granting tax benefits to investment or holding companies the tax imposed on such corporation by the former Contracting State with respect to such dividends, interest or royalties is substantially less than the tax generally imposed by such Contracting State on corporate profits, and (b) 25 percent or more of the capital of such corporation is held of record or is otherwise determined, after consultation between the competent authorities of the Contracting States, to be owned, directly or indirectly, by one or more persons who are not individual residents of the former Contracting States (or, if residents of Brazil, are citizens of the United States).

ARTICLE 17

Income from personal services

(1) An individual who is a resident of one of the Contracting States shall be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State with respect to income from personal services if—

(a) he is present within the latter Contracting State for a period or periods not exceeding in the aggregate 183 days during the taxable year; and either

(b) in the case of employment income—

(i) such individual is an employee of a resident or corporation of a State other than the latter Contracting State (or of a permanent establishment of a resident or corporation of the latter Contracting State located outside the latter Contracting State); and

(ii) such income is not deducted as such in computing the profits of a permanent establishment in the latter Contracting State which are subject to tax in that State; or

(c) such income does not exceed $4,000 or its equivalent in Brazilian cruzeiros.

(2) Compensation received by any individual for personal services performed aboard ships or aircraft operated by a resident or corporation of a Contracting State and registered in such Contracting State shall, subject to paragraph (3) of Article 3, be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State, if the services are rendered by a member of the regular complement of the ship or aircraft.

(3) For purposes of paragraph (1), the term "income from personal services" includes employment and income earned by an individual from the performance of personal services in an independent capacity. The term "employment income" includes income from services performed by officers and directors of corporations, but does not include income from personal services performed by partners, which shall be treated as income from the performance of services in an independent capacity.

(4) Income derived by a public entertainer, theatre, motion picture or television artist, musician or athlete from his personal activities as such, even though otherwise exempt under paragraph (1) of this Article, shall not be exempt if such income exceeds $100 or its equivalent in Brazilian cruzeiros, for each day such person is present in the other Contracting State.

ARTICLE 18

Teachers

(1) An individual who is a resident of one of the Contracting States at the beginning of his visit to the other Contracting State and who, at the invitation of the Government of the other Contracting State or of a university or other accredited educational institution situated in the other Contracting State, visits the latter Contracting State for the primary purpose of teaching or engaging in research, or both, at a university or other accredited educational institution shall be exempt from tax by the latter Contracting State on his income from personal services for teaching or research at such educational institution, or at other such institutions, for a period not exceeding two years from the date of his arrival in the latter Contracting State.

(2) This Article shall not apply to income from research if such research is undertaken not in the public interest but primarily for the private benefit of a specific person or persons.

ARTICLE 19

Students and trainees

(1) (a) An individual who is a resident of one of the Contracting States at the beginning of his visit to the other Contracting State and who is temporarily present in the other Contracting State for the primary purpose of—

(i) studying at a university or other accredited educational institution in that other Contracting State;

(ii) securing training required to qualify him to practice a profession or a professional specialty; or

(iii) studying or doing research as a recipient of a grant, allowance, or award from a governmental, religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational organization, shall be exempt from tax by that other Contracting State with respect to—

(A) gifts from abroad for the purposes of his maintenance, education, study, research or training;

(B) the grant, allowance, award; and

(C) income from personal services performed in the other Contracting State in an amount not in excess of $2,000 or its equivalent in Brazilian cruzeiros for any taxable year; or, if such individual is securing training required to qualify him to practice a profession or a professional specialty, not in excess of $5,000 or its equivalent in Brazilian cruzeiros for any taxable year.

(b) The benefits under this paragraph shall only extend for such period of time as may be reasonably or customarily required to effectuate the purpose of the visit, but in no event shall any individual have the benefits of this paragraph for more than five taxable years.

(2) A resident of one of the Contracting States who is present in the other Contracting State for a period not exceeding one year, as an employee of, or under contract with, a resident or corporation of the former State, for the primary purpose of—

(i) acquiring technical, professional, or business experience from a person other than that resident or corporation of the former State or a corporation 50 percent or more of the voting stock of which is owned by that corporation of the former State; or

(ii) studying at a university or other accredited educational institution in that other Contracting State;

shall be exempt from tax by that other Contracting State with respect to his income from personal services performed in the other Contracting State for that period in an amount not in excess of $5,000 or its equivalent in Brazilian cruzeiros.

(3) A resident of one of the Contracting States who is present in the other Contracting State for a period not exceeding one year, as a participant in a program sponsored by the Government of the other Contracting State, for the primary purpose of training, research or study, shall be exempt from tax by that other State with respect to his income from personal services performed in that other Contracting State and received in respect of such training, research, or study in an amount not in excess of $10,000 or its equivalent in Brazilian cruzeiros.

ARTICLE 20

Governmental salaries

Wages, salaries, and similar compensation, and pensions, annuities, or similar benefits paid by, or from public funds of, one of the Contracting States or the political subdivisions thereof to an individual who is a national of that Contracting State for services rendered to that Contracting State or to any of its political subdivisions in the discharge of governmental functions shall be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State.

ARTICLE 21

Rules applicable to personal income articles

(1) Articles 17, 18, 19 and 20 shall apply to reimbursed travel expenses, but such expenses shall not be taken into account in computing the maximum amount of exemptions specified in Articles 17 and 19.

(2) An individual who qualifies for benefits under more than one of the provisions of Articles 17, 18, 19 and 20 may apply that provision most favorable to him, but he shall not be entitled to the benefits of more than one provision in any taxable year.

ARTICLE 22

Deduction for charitable contributions

In the computation of taxable income under the United States income tax, a deduction shall be allowed to citizens and residents of the United States and to United States corporations for contributions to any organization created or organized under the laws of Brazil which constitutes a nonprofit organization exempt from tax for purposes of the income tax laws of Brazil if—

(a) such contributions are used entirely within Brazil and

(b) the recipient organization has qualified as an exempt organization under subsection 501(c)(3) of the United States Internal Revenue Code.

Such deduction shall not exceed an amount which would be allowable under the United States Internal Revenue Code if such organization were created or organized under the laws of the United States and if such contributions were used within the United States.

ARTICLE 23

Pensions and annuities

(1) Private pensions and private life annuities paid to individuals who are residents of one of the Contracting States shall be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State.

(2) The term "life annuities", as used in this Article, means a stated sum paid periodically at stated times during life, or during a specified number of years, under an obligation to make the payments in return for adequate and full consideration.

(3) The term "pension", as used in this Article, means periodic payments made after retirement or death in consideration for, or by way of compensation for injuries received in connection with, past employment.

ARTICLE 24

Consultation

(1) The competent authorities of the Contracting States may communicate with each other directly for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of the present Convention. Should any difficulty or doubt arise as to the interpretation or application of the present Convention, or its relationship to conventions between one of the Contracting States and any other State, the competent authorities shall endeavour to settle the question as quickly as possible by mutual agreement.

(2) In particular, the competent authorities of the Contracting States may consult together to endeavour to agree—

(a) to the same application of the source rules set forth in Article 5 to particular items of income;

(b) to the same attribution of industrial or commercial profits to a resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States and to its permanent establishment situated in the other Contracting State; or

(c) to the same allocation of income between a resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States and any related person, provided for in Article 11.

In the event that the competent authorities reach such an agreement, taxes shall be imposed on such income and refund or credit of taxes shall be allowed by the Contracting States in accordance with such agreement.

ARTICLE 25

Exchange of information

(1) The competent authority of one of the Contracting States shall exchange such information with the competent authority of the other Contracting State as is pertinent to carrying out the provisions of the present Convention or preventing fraud or fiscal evasion in relation to the taxes which are the subject of the present Convention.

(2) The competent authority of the Contracting State to which a request for information is made shall not exchange information unless that information would be available under the taxation laws and administrative procedures of that State if the tax of the other State, to which the request for information relates, were the tax of the former State and were being imposed by that State.

(3) Any information exchanged shall be treated as secret but may be disclosed to persons (including a court or administrative body) concerned with assessment, collection, enforcement or prosecution with respect to the taxes which are the subject of the present Convention.

(4) No information shall be exchanged which would disclose any trade, business, industrial, or professional secret.

ARTICLE 26

Assistance in collection

(1) Each of the Contracting States shall endeavour to collect such taxes imposed by the other Contracting State as will ensure that any exemption or reduced rate of tax granted under the present Convention by the other State shall not be enjoyed by persons not entitled to such benefits. The Contracting State making such collections shall be responsible to the other Contracting State for the sums thus collected. The competent authority of each of the Contracting States shall consult with the competent authority of the other Contracting State for the purpose of cooperating with and advising that other Contracting State in respect of any action taken by it within the former Contracting State to collect its tax.

(2) In no case shall the provisions of this Article be construed so as to impose upon either of the Contracting States the obligation to carry out administrative measures at variance with the regulations and practices of the Contracting State endeavouring to collect the tax or which would be contrary to that State's sovereignty, security or public policy.

ARTICLE 27

Taxpayer claims

A taxpayer shall be entitled to present his case to the Contracting State of which he is a citizen or resident, or, if the taxpayer is a corporation of one of the Contracting States, to that State, if he considers that the action of the other Contracting State has resulted, or will result for him in taxation contrary to the provisions of this Convention. Should the taxpayer's claim be considered to have merit by the competent authority of the Contracting State to which the claim is made, it shall endeavour to come to an agreement with the competent authority of the other Contracting State with a view to the avoidance of taxation contrary to the provisions of the Convention.

ARTICLE 28

Exchange of legal information

(1) The competent authorities of the Contracting States shall notify each other of any amendments of the tax laws referred to in Article 1(1) and of the adoption of any taxes referred to in Article 1(2) by transmitting the texts of any amendments or new statutes at least once a year.

(2) The competent authorities of the Contracting States shall exchange the texts of all published material interpreting the present Convention under the laws of the respective States, whether in the form of regulations, rulings or judicial decisions.

(3) For the purpose of mutual assistance in the development and maintenance of sound fiscal policies and tax administration, the competent authorities of the Contracting States may, on the initiative of either, consult together and make such arrangements as may be mutually acceptable, including exchanges of personnel and of technical memoranda and studies.

(4) The texts transmitted under this Article shall be in the language of the transmitting State.

ARTICLE 29

Diplomatic and consular officers

The provisions of the Convention shall not prejudice the tax privileges enjoyed by diplomatic or consular officers by virtue of general rules of international law or the provisions of special agreements.

ARTICLE 30

Effective dates and ratification

(1) The present Convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification exchanged at Washington as soon as possible.

(2) After the exchange of instruments of ratification, the present Convention shall have effect for taxable years beginning on or after the first day of January of the year following the exchange of instruments of ratification.

(3) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (2) of this Article—

(a) Paragraph (8) of Article 5 shall have effect only after the competent authorities of both Contracting States have established mutually acceptable rules for implementation of such paragraph.

(b) Article 7 shall have effect with respect to property placed in service and net new investments made on or after January 1, 1968.

(c) Articles 12, 13 and 14 shall have effect with respect to amounts paid on or after January 1, 1969.

(4) The present Convention shall continue in effect indefinitely, but it may be terminated by either of the Contracting States at any time after three years from the first day of January referred to in paragraph (2) of this Article, provided that at least six months' prior notice of termination has been given through diplomatic channels. In such event, the present Convention shall cease to be effective for taxable years beginning on or after the first day of January next following the expiration of the six-month period.

(5) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (4) of this Article and upon six months' prior notice to be given through diplomatic channels—

(a) paragraph (8) of Article 5, and any rules established for the implementation of such paragraph by agreement of the competent authorities of both Contracting States, may be terminated by either Contracting State at any time.

(b) the benefits provided under Articles 7 or 22 may be terminated by the United States at any time after three years from the date specified in paragraph (2) of this Article.

(c) the provisions of paragraphs (3) and (4) of Article 12, paragraph (3) of Article 13, and paragraph (1) of Article 14 may be terminated by Brazil at any time after three years from the date specified in paragraph (2) of this Article.

(6) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs (4) and (5) of this Article, the provisions of paragraphs (3) and (4) of Article 12, paragraph (3) of Article 13, and paragraph (1) of Article 14 may, by notice given by Brazil to the United States through diplomatic channels, be—

(a) terminated by Brazil at any time after the date on which the credit provided by Article 7 is terminated pursuant to paragraph (4) thereof; or

(b) suspended by Brazil at any time after the date, and for the period, of any suspension of the credit provided by Article 7 pursuant to paragraph (4) thereof.

(7) Any termination or suspension under paragraphs (5) or (6) shall not prejudice benefits available with respect to transactions entered into prior to such termination.

In witness whereof, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention.

Done at Rio de Janeiro, in duplicate, in the English and Portuguese languages, both texts equally authentic, this 13th day of March one thousand nine hundred and sixty seven.

For the Government of the United States of America:

[SEAL]
John Tuthill

For the Government of the United States of Brazil:

[SEAL]
Juracy Magalhesães
Octavio Bulhões

Convention Between the United States of America and the French Republic With Respect to Taxes on Income and Property

The President of the United States of America and the President of the French Republic, desiring to conclude a Convention for the avoidance of double taxation of income and the prevention of fiscal evasion, have appointed for that purpose as their respective Plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America: The Honorable Charles E. Bohlen, Ambassador of the United States of America in Paris, and

The President of the French Republic: Mr. Hervé Alphand, Ambassador of France, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ARTICLE 1

Taxes covered

(1) The taxes which are the subject of the present Convention are:

(a) In the case of the United States, the Federal income tax, including surtax, imposed by the Internal Revenue Code and

(b) In the case of France:

(i) the income tax on the income of physical persons, the complementary tax, the corporation tax, including any withholding tax, prepayment (precompte) or advance payment with respect to the aforesaid taxes, and

(ii) the tax on Stock Exchange transactions.

(2) The Convention shall also apply to any documentary taxes on sales or transfers of shares or certificates of stock or bonds which are subsequently imposed.

(3) The Convention shall also apply to any identical or substantially similar taxes which are subsequently imposed in addition to, or in place of, the existing taxes.

(4) For the purpose of Article 24 (Nondiscrimination), this Convention shall also apply to taxes of every kind and to those imposed at the national, State and local level.

ARTICLE 2

General definitions

(1) In this Convention, unless the context otherwise requires:

(a) The term "United States of America" means the United States of America and when used in the geographical sense means the States thereof and the District of Columbia. The term "France" when used in a geographical sense means Metropolitan France and the Overseas departments (Guadeloupe, Guyane, Martinique, and Reunion).

(b) The terms "a Contracting State" and "the other Contracting State" means the United States or France, as the context requires.

(c) The term "person" comprises an individual or a corporation, or any other body of individuals or persons.

(d) (i) The term "United States corporation" or "corporation of the United States" means a corporation, or any entity treated as a corporation for United States tax purposes, which is created or organized under the laws of the United States or any State thereof or the District of Columbia; and

(ii) The term "French corporation" or "corporation of France" means any body corporate or any entity which is treated as a body corporate under French tax law, which is resident within France for French tax purposes.

(e) The term "competent authority" means:

(i) In the case of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate, and

(ii) In the case of France, the Minister of Economy and Finance or his delegate.

(2) As regards the application of the Convention by a Contracting State any term not otherwise defined shall, unless the context otherwise requires, have the meaning which it has under the laws of that Contracting State relating to the taxes which are the subject of the Convention.

ARTICLE 3

Fiscal domicile

(1) The term "resident of France" means:

(a) A French corporation, and

(b) Any person (other than a body corporate or any entity which under French law is treated as a body corporate) who is resident in France for purposes of its tax.

(2) The term "resident of the United States" means:

(a) A United States corporation, and

(b) Any person (other than a corporation or an entity treated under United States law as a corporation) who is resident in the United States for purposes of its tax, but in the case of a person acting as a partner or fiduciary only to the extent that the income derived by such person in that capacity is taxed as the income of a resident.

(3) An individual who is a resident in both Contracting States shall be deemed a resident of that Contracting State in which he maintains his permanent home. If he has a permanent home in both Contracting States or in neither of the Contracting States, he shall be deemed a resident of that Contracting State with which his personal and economic relations are closest (center of vital interests). If the Contracting State in which he has his center of vital interests cannot be determined, he shall be deemed a resident of that Contracting State in which he has an habitual abode. If he has an habitual abode in both Contracting States or in neither of the Contracting States, the competent authorities of the Contracting States shall settle the question by mutual agreement. For purposes of this Article, a permanent home is the place in which an individual dwells with his family. An individual who is deemed to be a resident of one Contracting State and not a resident of the other Contracting State by reason of the provisions of this paragraph shall be deemed a resident only of the former State for all purposes of this Convention (including Article 22).

ARTICLE 4

Permanent establishment

(1) For the purposes of this Convention, the term "permanent establishment" means a fixed place of business through which a resident of one of the Contracting States engages in industrial or commercial activity.

(2) The term "permanent establishment" shall include especially:

(a) A seat of management;

(b) A branch;

(c) An office;

(d) A factory;

(e) A workshop;

(f) A warehouse;

(g) A mine, quarry, or other place of extraction of natural resources;

(h) A building site or construction or assembly project which exists for more than twelve months.

(3) Notwithstanding paragraph (1) of this Article, a permanent establishment shall not include a fixed place of business used only for one or more of the following activities:

(a) The use of facilities for the purpose of storage, display, or delivery of goods or merchandise belonging to the resident;

(b) The maintenance of a stock of goods or merchandise belonging to the resident for the purpose of storage, display, or delivery;

(c) The maintenance of a stock of goods or merchandise belonging to the residence for the purpose of processing by another person;

(d) The maintenance of a fixed place of business for the purpose of purchasing goods or merchandise, or for collecting information, for the resident;

(e) The maintenance of a fixed place of business for the purpose of advertising, for the supply of information, for scientific research, or for similar activities which have a preparatory or auxiliary character, for the resident.

(4) A person acting in a Contracting State on behalf of a resident of the other Contracting States—other than an agent of an independent status to whom paragraph (5) applies—shall be deemed to be a permanent establishment in the first-mentioned State if such person:

(a) Has, and habitually exercises in that State, an authority to conclude contracts in the name of that resident, unless the exercise of such authority is limited to the purchase of goods or merchandise for that resident, or

(b) Maintains substantial equipment or machinery within the first-mentioned State for a period of twelve months or more.

(5) A resident of a Contracting State shall not be deemed to have a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State merely because such resident carries on business in that other State through a broker, general commission agent, or any other agent of an independent status, where such persons are acting in the ordinary course of their business.

(6) The fact that a resident of one of the Contracting States is a related person, as defined in Article 8 of this Convention, with respect to a resident of the other Contracting State or with respect to a person which engages in industrial or commercial activity in that other Contracting State (whether through a permanent establishment or otherwise) shall not be taken into account in determining whether that resident of the first Contracting State has a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State.

(7) An insurance company of one of the Contracting States shall be considered as having a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State if, through a representative other than one described in paragraph (5), such company receives premiums from or insures risks in the territory of that other Contracting State.

ARTICLE 5

Income from real property

(1) Income from real property and royalties in respect of the operations of mines, quarries, or other natural resources (not including interest on debts secured by mortgages or other encumbrances on such real property or royalty interests but including gains derived from the sale or exchange of such property or the right giving rise to such royalties) shall be taxable by the Contracting State in which such property, mines, quarries, or other natural resources are situated.

(2) The provisions of paragraph (1) shall apply to income derived from the usufruct, direct use, letting, or use in any other form of real property.

(3) A resident of one of the Contracting States subject to tax in the other Contracting State on income from real property or on royalties referred to in this Article may elect for any taxable year to be subject to such other State's tax on such income as if such resident were engaged in business in the other Contracting State.

ARTICLE 6

Business profits

(1) Industrial or commercial profits of a resident of one of the Contracting States shall be taxable only in that State unless such resident is engaged in industrial or commercial activity in the other Contracting State through a permanent establishment situated therein. If such resident is so engaged, tax may be imposed by such other State on the industrial or commercial profits of such residents but only on so much of them as are attributable to the permanent establishment.

(2) Where a resident of a Contracting State carries on business in the other Contracting State through a permanent establishment situated therein, there shall in each Contracting State be attributed to that permanent establishment the industrial or commercial profits which would be attributable to such permanent establishment if such permanent establishment were an independent entity engaged in the same or similar activities under the same or similar conditions and dealing at arm's length with the resident of which it is a permanent establishment.

(3) In the determination of the profits of a permanent establishment, there shall be allowed as deductions expenses which are reasonably connected with such profits including executive and general administrative expenses, whether incurred in the State in which the permanent establishment is situated or elsewhere.

(4) No profits shall be attributed to a permanent establishment merely by reason of the purchase of goods or merchandise by that permanent establishment, or by the resident of which it is a permanent establishment, for the account of that resident.

(5) The term "industrial or commercial profits of a resident" includes income derived from manufacturing, mercantile, agricultural, fishing, or mining activities, from the operation of ships or aircraft, from the furnishing of personal services, from the rental of tangible personal property, and from insurance activities and rents or royalties derived from motion picture films, films or tapes of radio or television broadcasting. It also includes income derived from real property and natural resources and dividends, interest, royalties (as defined in paragraphs (3) and (4) of Article 11), and capital gains but only if the right or property giving rise to such income, dividends, interest, royalties, or capital gains is effectively connected with a permanent establishment which the recipient, being a resident of one Contracting State, has in the other Contracting State. It does not include income received by an individual as compensation for personal services either as an employee or in an independent capacity.

ARTICLE 7

Shipping and air transport

Notwithstanding Article 6, income which a resident of one of the Contracting States derives from the operation in international traffic of ships or aircraft registered in that Contracting State shall be taxable only in that Contracting State.

ARTICLE 8

Related persons

(1) Where a resident of a Contracting State and a resident of the other Contracting State are related and where such related persons make arrangements or impose conditions between themselves which are different from those which would be made between independent persons, then any income which would, but for those arrangements or conditions, have accrued to the resident of the first Contracting State but, by reason of those arrangements or conditions, has not so accrued, may be included in the income of the resident of the first Contracting State for purposes of the present Convention and taxed accordingly.

(2) (a) A person other than a corporation is related to a corporation if such person participates directly or indirectly in the management, control, or capital of the corporation.

(b) A corporation is related to another corporation if either participates directly or indirectly in the management, control, or capital of the other, or if any person or persons participate directly or indirectly in the management, control, or capital of both corporations.

ARTICLE 9

Dividends

(1) Dividends derived from sources within a Contracting State by a resident of the other Contracting State may be taxed in that other State.

(2) Dividends derived from sources within a Contracting State by a resident of the other Contracting State may also be taxed by the former Contracting State but the tax imposed on such dividends shall not exceed—

(a) 15 percent of the amount actually distributed; or

(b) When the recipient is a corporation, 5 percent of the amount actually distributed if—

(i) During the part of the paying corporation's taxable year which precedes the date of payment of the dividend and during the whole of its prior taxable year (if any), at least ten percent of the outstanding shares of the voting stock of the paying corporation was owned by the recipient corporation, and

(ii) Not more than 25 percent of the gross income of the paying corporation for such prior taxable year (if any) consisted of interest and dividends (other than interest derived in the conduct of a banking, insurance, or financing business and dividends or interest received from subsidiary corporations, 50 percent or more of the outstanding shares of the voting stock of which was owned by the paying corporation at the time such dividends or interest were received).

(3) Paragraph (2) of this Article and, in the case of dividends derived by a resident of France, paragraph (1) of this Article, shall not apply if the recipient of the dividends has a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State and the shares with respect to which the dividends are paid are effectively connected with the permanent establishment. In such a case, the provisions of Article 6 shall apply.

(4) (a) Except as provided in subparagraph (b) dividends paid by a corporation of one of the Contracting States shall be treated as income from sources within that Contracting State, and dividends paid by any other corporation shall be treated as income from sources outside that Contracting State.

(b) Dividends paid by a corporation other than a United States corporation shall be treated as dividends from sources within the United States if such corporation had a permanent establishment in the United States and more than 80 percent of its gross income was taxable to such permanent establishment for a three-year period ending with the close of its taxable year preceding the declaration of such dividends (or for such portion of that period as the corporation has been in existence).

(5) When the prepayment (precompte) is levied on dividends paid by a French corporation to a resident of the United States, such resident shall be entitled to the refund of that prepayment, subject to deduction of the withholding tax with respect to the refunded amount in accordance with paragraph (2) of this Article.

ARTICLE 10

Interest

(1) Interest derived from sources within one Contracting State by a resident of the other Contracting State may be taxed in that other State.

(2) Interest on bonds, notes, debentures, or any other form of indebtedness from sources within the United States and paid to a resident of France may also be taxed by the United States at a rate not in excess of 10 percent of the amount paid.

(3) Interest on bonds, notes, debentures, or any other form of indebtedness from sources within France and paid to a resident of the United States may also be taxed by France at a rate not in excess of 10 percent of the amount paid except that interest on bonds issued before January 1, 1965, may be taxed at a rate not in excess of 12 percent of the amount paid.

(4) Paragraphs (2) and (3) of this Article and, in the case of interest derived by a resident of France, paragraph (1) of this Article, shall not apply if the recipient of the interest, being a resident of one of the Contracting States, has a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State and the indebtedness giving rise to the interest is effectively connected to such permanent establishment. In such a case, the provisions of Article 6 shall apply.

(5) The term "interest" as used in this Article means income from Government securities, bonds, or debentures, whether or not secured by mortgage and whether or not carrying a right to participate in profits, and debt-claims of every kind as well as all other income assimilated to income from money lent by the taxation law of the State in which the income has its source.

(6) Interest shall be deemed to be from sources within a Contracting State when the payer is that State itself, a political subdivision, a local authority, or a resident of that State. Where, however, the person paying the interest, whether he is a resident of a Contracting State or not, has in a Contracting State a permanent establishment in connection with which the indebtedness on which the interest is paid was incurred, and such interest is borne by such permanent establishment, then such interest shall be deemed to be from sources within the Contracting State in which the permanent establishment is situated.

(7) Where, owing to a special relationship between the payer and the recipient or between both of them and some other person, the amount of the interest paid, having regard to the debt claim for which it is paid, exceeds the amount which would have been agreed upon by the payer and the recipient in the absence of such relationship, the provisions of this Article shall apply only to the last-mentioned amount. In that case, the excess part of the payments shall remain taxable according to the laws of each Contracting State, due regard being had to the other provisions of this Convention.

(8) Interest received by one of the Contracting States, or by an instrumentality of that State not subject to income tax by such State, shall be exempt in the State in which such interest has its source.

ARTICLE 11

Royalties

(1) Royalties derived from sources within one Contracting State by a resident of the other Contracting State may be taxed in that other State.

(2) Except as provided in paragraph (3), royalties derived from sources within a Contracting State by a resident of the other Contracting State may also be taxed by the former Contracting State but the tax imposed on such royalties shall not exceed 5 percent of the gross amount paid.

(3) Royalties derived from copyrights of literary, artistic, or scientific works (including gain from the sale or exchange of property giving rise to such royalties) by a resident of one Contracting State shall be taxable only in that Contracting State.

(4) The term "royalties" as used in paragraph (1) of this Article means—

(a) Any royalties, rentals, or other amounts paid as consideration for the use of, or the right to use, patents, designs or models, plans, secret processes or formulae, trademarks, or other like property or rights, or for knowledge, experience, or skill (know-how), and

(b) Gains derived from the sale or exchange of any such right or property, if payment of the amounts realized on such sale or exchange is contingent, in whole or in part, on the productivity, use or disposition of such right or property. If the amounts derived from the sale or exchange of any such right or property are not so contingent, the provisions of Article 12 shall apply.

(5) Paragraphs (2) and (3) of this Article, and, in the case of royalties derived by a resident of France, paragraph (1) of this Article, shall not apply if the recipient of the royalty being a resident of one of the Contracting States, has in the other Contracting State a permanent establishment and the right or property giving rise to the royalties is effectively connected with such permanent establishment. In such a case, the provisions of Article 6 shall apply.

(6) Royalties paid for the use of, or the right to use, property described in paragraph (4) in a State shall be treated as income from sources within that State.

(7) Where, owing to a special relationship between the prayer and the recipient, or between both of them and some other person, the amount of the royalties paid exceeds the amount which would have been agreed upon by the payer and the recipient in the absence of such relationship, the provisions of this Article shall only apply to the last-mentioned amount. In that case, the excess part of the payments shall remain taxable according to the laws of each Contracting State, due regard being had to the other provisions of this Convention.

ARTICLE 12

Capital gains

(1) A resident of one of the Contracting States shall be taxable only in that State on gains from the sale or exchange of capital assets.

(2) Paragraph (1) of this Article shall not apply if—

(a) The gain is received by a resident of one of the Contracting States and arises out of the sale or exchange of property described in Article 5 (income from real property) located within the other Contracting State or of the sale or exchange of shares or comparable interests in a real property cooperative or of a corporation whose assets consist principally of such property.

(b) The recipient of the gain, being a resident of one of the Contracting States, has a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State and the property giving rise to the gain is effectively connected with such permanent establishment, or

(c) The recipient of the gain, being an individual resident of one of the Contracting States—

(i) Maintains a fixed base in the other Contracting State and the property giving rise to such gain is effectively connected to such fixed base, or

(ii) Is present in the other Contracting State for a period or periods exceeding in the aggregate 183 days during the taxable year.

(3) In the case of gains described in paragraph (2)(b), the provisions of Article 6 shall apply.

ARTICLE 13

Branch profits

(1)(a) Dividends paid by a French corporation to a person other than a citizen, resident, or corporation of the United States shall be exempt from tax by the United States unless such French corporation had a permanent establishment in the United States and more than 80 percent of its gross income was taxable to such permanent establishment for a 3-year period ending with the close of its taxable year preceding the declaration of such dividends (or for such portion of that period as the corporation has been in existence).

(b) The United States may impose its personal holding company tax and accumulated earnings tax as if this Convention had not come into effect. However:

(i) A French corporation shall be exempt from the United States personal holding company tax in any taxable year if all of its stock is owned by one or more individual residents of France in their individual capacities for that entire year.

(ii) A French corporation shall be exempt from the United States accumulated earnings tax in any taxable year unless such corporation is engaged in trade or business in the United States through a permanent establishment at any time during such year.

(2)(a) A United States corporation which maintains a permanent establishment in France shall remain subject therein to the withholding tax in accordance with provisions of French internal law but—

(i) The base on which such tax shall be levied will be reduced by $\frac{1}{3}$ and

(ii) The rate of such tax shall not exceed 15 percent.

(b) Profits realized by a French permanent establishment of a United States corporation and incorporated in its capital shall not be subject in France to the "droit d'apport majoré".

ARTICLE 14

Independent personal services

(1) Income derived by a resident of a Contracting State in respect of independent activities shall be taxable only in that State unless such activities were performed in the other Contracting State. Income in respect of independent activities performed within such other State may be taxed by such other State.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (1), income derived by a resident of a Contracting State in respect of independent activities performed in the other Contracting State shall not be taxable in such other State if:

(a) The recipient is present in the other State for a period or periods not exceeding in the aggregate 183 days in the fiscal year concerned, and

(b) The recipient does not maintain a fixed base in the other State for a period or periods exceeding in the aggregate 183 days in such year.

(3) The term "independent activities" means all the activities—other than commercial, industrial, or agricultural activities—carried on on his own account independently by a person who receives the proceeds or bears the losses arising from these activities.

ARTICLE 15

Dependent personal services

(1) Salaries, wages, and other similar remuneration paid to a resident of a Contracting State for labor or personal services shall be taxable only in that State unless such labor or personal services were performed in the other Contracting State. Remuneration received for labor or personal services performed within such other State may be taxed by such other State.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (1), remuneration derived by a resident of a Contracting State in respect of an employment exercised in the other Contracting State shall not be taxable in such other State if:

(a) The recipient is present in the other State for a period or periods not exceeding in the aggregate 183 days in the fiscal year concerned,

(b) The remuneration is paid by, or on behalf of, an employer who is not a resident of the other State, and

(c) The remuneration is not borne by a permanent establishment which the employer has in the other State.

(3) Remuneration received by an individual for personal services performed aboard ships or aircraft registered in one of the Con-

tracting States and operated by a resident of that Contracting State shall be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State, if such individual is a member of the regular complement of the ship or aircraft.

ARTICLE 16

Government functions

(1) Remuneration, including pensions, paid by, or out of funds created by, a Contracting State or a political subdivision or a local authority thereof to any individual who is national of that State in respect of services rendered to that State or a subdivision or local authority thereof in the discharge of functions of a governmental nature shall be taxable only in that Contracting State.

(2) The provisions of Articles 15, 19, and 20 shall apply to remuneration or pensions in respect of services rendered in connection with any industrial or commercial activity carried on by one of the Contracting States or a political subdivision or a local authority thereof.

(3) In the case of an individual who is a national of both Contracting States, the provisions of Article 22, paragraph (4), shall apply to remuneration described in paragraph (1) but such remuneration shall be treated as income from sources within the Contracting State from which such individual receives such remuneration.

ARTICLE 17

Teachers

(1) An individual who is a resident of one of the Contracting States at the beginning of his visit to the other Contracting State and who, at the invitation of the Government of the other Contracting State or of a university or other accredited educational institution situated in the other Contracting State visits the latter Contracting State for the primary purpose of teaching or engaging in research, or both at a university or other accredited institution shall be exempt from tax by the latter Contracting State on his income from personal services for teaching or research at such educational institution, or at other such institutions, for a period not exceeding 2 years from the date of his arrival in the latter Contracting State.

(2) This Article shall not apply to income from research if such research is undertaken not in the public interest but primarily for the private benefit of a specific person or persons.

ARTICLE 18

Students and Trainees

(1) (a) An individual who is a resident of one of the Contracting States at the beginning of his visit to the other Contracting State and who is temporarily present in the other Contracting State for the primary purpose of—

(i) Studying at a university or other accredited educational institution in that other Contracting State, or

(ii) Securing training required to qualify him to practice a profession or professional speciality, or

(iii) Studying or doing research as a recipient of a grant, allowance, or award from a governmental, religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational organization,

shall be exempt from tax by that other Contracting State with respect to amounts described in subparagraph (b).

(b) The amounts referred to in subparagraph (a) include—

(i) Gifts from abroad for the purposes of his maintenance, education, study, research, or training;

(ii) The grant, allowance, or award; and

(iii) Income from personal services performed in the other Contracting State in an amount not in excess of $2,000 or its equivalent in francs for any taxable year.

(c) The benefits under this paragraph shall only extend for such period of time as may be reasonably or customarily required to effectuate the purpose of the visit, but in no event shall any individual have the benefits of this Article and Article 17 for more than a total of five taxable years.

(2) A resident of one of the Contracting States who is present in the other Contracting State as an employee of, or under contract with, a resident of the former State, for the primary purpose of—

(a) Acquiring technical, professional, or business experience from a person other than that resident of the former State or a corporation 50 percent or more of the voting stock of which is owned by that resident of the former State, or

(b) Studying at a university or other accredited educational institution in that other Contracting State,

shall be exempt from tax by that other Contracting State for one taxable year with respect to his income from personal services in an amount not in excess of $5,000 or its equivalent in francs.

ARTICLE 19

Private pensions and annuities

(1) Except as provided in Article 16, pensions and other similar remuneration paid to a resident of a Contracting State in consideration of past employment shall be taxable only in that Contracting State.

(2) Alimony and annuities paid to a resident of a Contracting State shall be taxable only in that Contracting State.

(3) The term "annuities," as used in this Article, means a stated sum paid periodically at stated times during life, or during a specified number of years, under an obligation to make the payments in return for adequate and full consideration (other than services rendered).

(4) The term "pensions," as used in this Article, means periodic payments made after retirement in consideration for, or by way of compensation for injuries received in connection with, past employment.

ARTICLE 20

Social security payments

Social security payments (whether representing employee or employer contributions or accretions thereto) paid by one of the Contracting States to an individual who is a resident of the other Contracting State shall be taxable only in the former Contracting State.

ARTICLE 21

Rules applicable to personal income articles

(1) Articles 14 through 18 shall apply to reimbursed travel expenses, but such expenses shall not be taken into account in computing the maximum amount of exemptions specified in Article 18.

(2) An individual who qualifies for benefits under more than one of the provisions of Articles 14 through 18 may apply that provision most favorable to him, but shall not be entitled to the benefits of more than one provision in any taxable year.

ARTICLE 22

General rules of taxation

(1) Any income from sources within a Contracting State to which the provisions of the present Convention are not expressly applicable shall be taxable by such Contracting State in accordance with its own law.

(2) A resident of one of the Contracting States shall be taxed by the other Contracting State only on—

(a) Commercial or industrial profits attributable to a permanent establishment located in that other Contracting State, and

(b) Income from sources within that other Contracting State,

in accordance with the limitations set forth in the present Convention.

(3) The provisions of the present Convention shall not be construed to restrict in any manner any exclusion, exemption, deduction, credit, or other allowance now or hereafter accorded—

(a) By the laws of one of the Contracting States in the determination of the tax imposed by the State, or

(b) By any other agreement between the Contracting States.

(4) (a) The United States may tax its citizens and residents as if the present Convention had not come into effect.

(i) This provision shall not affect the rules laid down in Article 20 (Social Security Payments), Article 23 (Relief from Double Taxation), and Article 24 (Nondiscrimination).

(ii) This provision shall not affect the rules laid down in Articles 17, 18, and 21 (Students, Teachers, Rules applicable thereto) when applicable to individuals who are not citizens of the United States and who do not have immigrant status in the United States.

(iii) This provision shall not affect the rules laid down in Articles 16 and 21 (Government Functions, Rules applicable thereto) when they apply to:

an individual who is not a citizen of the United States and who does not have immigrant status in the United States;

an individual who, having immigrant status in the United States, has elected to claim the benefits of these articles; in that case, such person must agree that any calendar year or portion of a calendar year for which Articles 16 and 21 apply shall not be counted as a period during which he has resided or has been physically present in the United States in the calculation of periods of residence or presence in the United States required for naturalization pursuant to the immigration and nationality laws of the United States.

(b) Subject to the provisions of Article 23, France may tax its residents who are public entertainers, such as theatre, motion picture, radio or television artists, musicians and athletes, on income described in Articles 14 and 15 (Personal Service Income) which is derived from activities, or services performed, in the United States.

(5) Any transaction in which an order for the purchase, sale or exchange of stocks, securities or commodities originates in one of the Contracting States and is executed through a stock or commodities exchange in the other State shall be exempt by the former State from stamp or like tax otherwise arising with respect to such transaction.

ARTICLE 23

Relief from double taxation

Double taxation of income shall be avoided in the following manner:

(1) The United States shall allow to a citizen, resident, or corporation of the United States as a credit against its tax specified in paragraph (1) of Article 1 the appropriate amount of income taxes paid to France. Such appropriate amount shall be based upon the amount of French tax paid but shall not exceed that portion of the United States tax which net income from sources within France bears to the entire net income.

(2) In the case of France:

(a) Income other than that mentioned in paragraph (b) below shall be exempt from the French taxes mentioned in paragraph (1) of Article 1 while the income is, by reason of the Convention, taxable in the United States.

(b) As regards income taxable in both Contracting States in accordance with the provisions of this Convention, France shall allow to a resident of France receiving such income from United States sources a tax credit corresponding to the amount of tax levied in the United States. Such tax credit, not exceeding the amount of French tax levied on such income, shall be allowed against taxes mentioned in paragraph (1)(b)(i) of Article 1 of this Convention, in the bases of which such income is included.

(c) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs (a) and (b), French tax may be computed on income chargeable in France by virtue of this Convention at the rate appropriate to the total of the income chargeable in accordance with French law.

(3) A resident of a Contracting State who maintains one or several abodes in the territory of the other Contracting State shall not be subject in that other State to an income tax according to an "imputed" income based on the rental value of that or those abodes.

ARTICLE 24

Nondiscrimination

(1) A citizen of one of the Contracting States who is a resident of the other Contracting State shall not be subjected in that other Contracting State to more burdensome taxes than is a citizen of that other Contracting State who is a resident thereof.

(2) The taxation on a permanent establishment which a resident of a Contracting State has in the other Contracting State shall not be less favorably levied in that other State than the taxation levied on a resident of that other State carrying on the same activities. This provision shall not be construed as obliging a Contracting State to grant to residents of the other Contracting State any personal allowances, reliefs, and reductions for taxation purposes on account of civil status or family responsibilities which it grants to its own residents. The provisions of this paragragh shall not be construed to prevent the application of the provisions of Article 13 (Branch Profits) of the Convention nor to prevent the United States from imposing a comparable tax burden on the income of a permanent establishment maintained by a resident of France in the United States.

(3) A corporation of a Contracting State, the capital of which is wholly or partially owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by one or more residents of the other Contracting State, shall not be subjected in the first-mentioned Contracting State to any taxation or any requirement connected therewith which is other or more burdensome than the taxation and connected requirements to which a corporation of that first-mentioned Contracting State carrying on the same activities, the capital of which is wholly owned by one or more residents of that first-mentioned State, is or may be subjected.

ARTICLE 25

Mutual agreement procedure

(1) Where a resident of a Contracting State considers that the actions of one or both of the Contracting States result or will result for him in taxation not in accordance with this Convention, he may, notwithstanding the remedies provided by the national laws of those States, present his case to the competent authority of the Contracting State of which he is a resident.

(2) The competent authorities of the Contracting States shall endeavor to resolve by mutual agreement any difficulties or doubts arising as to the application of the Convention. In particular, the competent authorities of the Contracting States may consult together to endeavor to agree:

(a) To the same attribution of industrial or commercial profits to a resident of one of the Contracting States and its permanent establishment situated in the other Contracting State;

(b) To the same allocation of income between a resident of one of the Contracting States and any related person, provided for in Article 8; or

(c) To the same determination of the source of particular items of income.

(3) The competent authorities of the Contracting States may communicate with each other directly for the purpose of reaching an agreement in the sense of the preceding paragraphs. When it seems advisable for the purpose of reaching agreement, the competent authorities may meet together for an oral exchange of opinions.

(4) In the event that the competent authorities reach such an agreement, taxes shall be imposed on such income, and refund or credit of taxes shall be allowed, by the Contracting States in accordance with such agreement.

ARTICLE 26

Exchange of information

(1) The competent authorities of the Contracting States shall exchange such information as is pertinent to carrying out the provisions of this Convention or preventing fraud or fiscal evasion in relation to the taxes which are the subject of this Convention. Any information so exchanged shall be treated as secret and shall not be disclosed to any persons other than those (including a court or administrative body) concerned with assessment, collection, enforcement, or prosecution in respect of the taxes which are the subject of the Convention.

(2) In no case shall the provisions of paragraph (1) be construed so as to impose on one of the Contracting States the obligation:

(a) To carry out administrative measures at variance with the laws or the administrative practice of that or the other Contracting State;

(b) To supply particulars which are not obtainable under the laws or in the normal course of the administration of that or of the other Contracting State;

(c) To supply information which would disclose any trade, business, industrial, commercial, or professional secret or trade process, or information, the disclosure of which would be contrary to public policy (ordre public).

(3) The exchange of information shall be either on a routine basis or on request with reference to particular cases. The competent authorities of the Contracting States shall agree on the list of information which shall be furnished on a routine basis.

ARTICLE 27

Assistance in collection

(1) The two Contracting States undertake to lend assistance and support to each other in the collection of the taxes to which the present Convention relates, together with interest, costs, and additions to the taxes and fines not being of a penal character according to the laws of the State requested, in the cases where the taxes are definitively due according to the laws of the State making the application.

(2) In the case of an application for enforcement of taxes, revenue claims of each of the Contracting States which have been finally determined will be accepted for enforcement by the State to which application is made and collected in that State in accordance with the laws applicable to the enforcement and collection of its own taxes.

(3) The application will be accompanied by such documents as are required by the laws of the State making the application to establish that the taxes have been finally determined.

(4) If the revenue claim has not been finally determined, the State to which application is made will take such measures of conservancy (including measures with respect to transfer of property of nonresident aliens) as are authorized by its laws for the enforcement of its own taxes.

(5) The assistance provided for in this Article shall not be accorded with respect to citizens, corporations, or other entities of the State to which application is made.

ARTICLE 28

Diplomatic and consular officers

Nothing in the present Convention shall affect the fiscal privileges of diplomatic or consular officials under the general rules of international law or under the provisions of special agreements.

ARTICLE 29

Territorial extension

(1) This Convention may be extended, either in its entirety or with any necessary modifications, to the Overseas Territories of the French Republic which impose taxes substantially similar in character to those to which the Convention applies. Any such extension shall take effect from such date and subject to such modifications and conditions, as may be specified and agreed between the Contracting States in notes to be exchanged through diplomatic channels or in any other manner in accordance with their constitutional procedure.

(2) At any time after the expiration of a period of 1 year from the effective date of an extension made by virtue of paragraph (1) either of the Contracting States may by a written notice of termination given to the other Contracting State through diplomatic channels, terminate the application of the provisions in respect to any territory to which such application has been extended, in which case the provisions shall cease to be applicable to such territory on and after the first day of January following the date of such notice; provided, however, that this shall not affect the continued application of such provisions to the United States, to France, or to any other territory to which such provisions apply and which is not named in the notice of termination.

(3) Unless otherwise agreed by both Contracting States, the termination of the Convention by one of the Contracting States under Article 32 shall also terminate the application of the Convention to any territory to which it has been extended under this Article.

ARTICLE 30

Exchange of official information

(1) The competent authorities of the Contracting States shall notify each other of any amendments of the tax laws referred to in Article 1(1) and of the adoption of any taxes referred to in Article 1(2) by transmitting the texts of any amendments or new statutes at least once a year.

(2) The competent authorities of the Contracting States shall exchange the texts of all published material interpreting the present Convention under their respective laws, whether in the form of regulations, rulings, or judicial decisions.

(3) Where, by reason of any change made in the taxation laws of one of the Contracting States, it seems advisable to adjust some provisions of this Convention without affecting its general principles, the necessary adjustments may be agreed between the Contracting States by notes to be exchanged through diplomatic channels or in any other manner in accordance with their respective constitutional procedure.

ARTICLE 31

Entry into force

(1) This Convention shall be ratified and instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Washington. It shall enter into force one month after the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification. Its provisions shall for the first time have effect:

(a) In the case of France:

(i) As respects withholding taxes, to any proceeds payable and transactions completed on or after the date on which this Convention enters into force;

(ii) As respects other income taxes, to taxes which are levied for the assessment year 1967; and

(iii) As respects the tax on stock exchange transactions, the date on which this Convention enters into force.

(b) In the case of the United States:

(i) As respects the rate of withholding tax, to amounts received on or after the date on which this Convention enters into force;

(ii) As respects other income taxes, to taxable years beginning on or after January 1, 1967.

(2) Upon the coming into effect of this Convention, there shall terminate:

(a) The Convention of July 25, 1939, relating to income and other taxes

(b) The Convention of October 18, 1946, the supplementary Protocol of May 17, 1948, and the Convention of June 22, 1956, insofar as they concern taxes on income, on capital and tax on stock exchange transactions.

The provisions of those Conventions and of that Protocol will cease to have effect from the date on which the corresponding provisions of the present Convention shall for the first time have effect according to the subparagraph (1) above-mentioned.

ARTICLE 32

Termination

This Convention shall remain in force until denounced by one of the Contracting States. Either Contracting State may denounce the Convention, through diplomatic channels, by giving notice of termination at least 6 months before the end of any calendar year after the year 1969. In such event, the Convention shall cease to have effect:

(1) In the case of France:

(a) As respects withholding taxes, on January 1 of the year following the year in which notice is given.

(b) As respects other income taxes, for any year of assessment beginning on or after January 1 of the year next following the year in which notice is given; and

(c) As respects the tax on stock exchange transactions, for any transactions occurring on or after January 1 of the year following the year in which notice is given.

(2) In the case of the United States:

(a) As respects withholding taxes, on January 1 of the year following the year in which notice is given;

(b) As respects other income taxes, for any taxable year beginning on or after January 1 of the year following the year in which notice is given; and

(c) As respects taxes referred to in paragraph (2) of Article 1, for any transactions occurring on or after January 1 of the year following the year in which notice is given.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention.

Done at Paris in duplicate, in the English and French languages, each text being equally authentic, this 28th day of July, 1967.

For the President of the United States of America:

[SEAL] CHARLES E. BOHLEN

For the President of the French Republic:

[SEAL] HERVÉ ALPHAND

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES FOR THE AVOIDANCE OF DOUBLE TAXATION AND THE PREVENTION OF FISCAL EVASION WITH RESPECT TO TAXES ON INCOME

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, desiring to conclude a convention for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income, have appointed for that purpose their respective Plenipotentiaries:

The Government of the United States of America:

Dean Rusk, Secretary of State of the United State of America,

The Government of the Republic of the Philippines:

Mauro Mendez, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, and

Rufino G. Hechanova, Secretary of Finance of the Republic of the Philippines,

who, having communicated to each other their respective powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ARTICLE 1

Taxes covered

(1) The taxes which are the subject of the present Convention are:

(a) In the case of the United States, the Federal income tax, including surtax, imposed by Subtitle A of the Internal Revenue Code (but not including the tax on improperly accumulated earnings or the personal holding company tax).

(b) In the case of the Philippines, the income tax imposed by Title II of the National Internal Revenue Code (but not including the tax on improperly accumulated earnings or the personal holding company tax).

(2) The present Convention shall also apply to taxes substantially similar to those covered by paragraph (1) of this Article which are subsequently imposed in addition to, or in place of, existing taxes.

(3) For the purpose of Article 6, this Convention shall also apply to taxes of every kind, and to those imposed at the national, state, or local level.

ARTICLE 2

General definitions

(1) In the present Convention, unless the context otherwise requires:

(a) The term "United States" means the United States of America, and when used in a geographical sense means the States thereof, the District of Columbia, and Wake Island;

(b) The term "Philippines" means the Republic of the Philippines, and when used in a geographical sense means the territories comprising the Philippines;

(c) The terms "one of the Contracting States" and "the other Contracting State" mean the United States or the Philippines, as the context requires;

(d) The term "person" comprises an individual, a corporation and any other body of individuals or persons;

(e) The term "corporation" means any body corporate, association or joint stock company or other entity which is treated as a body corporate for tax purposes;

(f) The term "United States corporation" means a corporation created or organized under the laws of the United States or of any State thereof or the District of Columbia;

(g) The term "Philippine corporation" means a corporation created or organized under the laws of the Philippines;

(h) The terms "resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States" and "resident or corporation of the other Contracting State" means a resident or corporation of the United States or a resident or corporation of the Philippines, as the context requires;

(i) The term "competent authority" means:

(1) in the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate;

(2) in the Philippines, the Secretary of Finance or his delegate.

(2) As regards the application of the present Convention by a Contracting State, any term not otherwise defined shall, unless the context otherwise requires, have the meaning which it has under the laws of that Contracting State relating to the taxes which are the subject of the present Convention.

ARTICLE 3

General rules of taxation

(1) A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States shall be taxable by the other Contracting State only on income derived from sources within that other Contracting State.

(2) A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States shall be taxed by the other Contracting State on income taxable under paragraph (1) in accordance with the limitations set forth in the present Convention. Any income to which the provisions of the present Convention are not expressly applicable shall be taxable by each of the Contracting States in accordance with its own law. The provisions of the present Convention shall not be construed to restrict in any manner any exclusion, exemption, deduction, credit or other allowance now or hereafter accorded (a) by the laws of one of the Contracting States in the determintaion of the tax imposed by that State or (b) by any other agreement between the Contracting States.

(3) Except as provided in paragraph (4), a Contracting State may tax an individual who is a citizen or resident of that Contracting State (whether or not such person is also a resident of the other Contracting State) or a corporation of that Contracting State (whether or not also a corporaion of the other Contracting State) as if the present Convention had not come into effect.

(4) The provisions of paragraph (3) shall not affect—

(a) the benefits conferred by a Contracting State under Articles 4 and 6;

(b) the benefits conferred by the Untied States under Article 18; and

(c) the benefits conferred by a Contracting State under Articles 14, 15, 16 and 17 upon individuals other than citizens of, or individuals having immigrant status in, that Contracting State.

ARTICLE 4

Relief from double taxation

Double taxation of income shall be avoided in the following manner:

(1) The United States shall allow as a credit against its tax specified in subparagraph (1)(a) of Article 1 the appropriate amount of taxes paid to the Philippines. Such appropriate amount shall be based upon the full amount of tax paid to the Philippines, and such credit shall, in other respects, be allowed in accordance with the applicable revenue laws of the United States. It is agreed for this purpose that the Philippine tax specified in subparagraph (1)(b) of Article 1 shall be considered to be an income tax, and that by virtue of the provisions of paragraph (2) of this Article the Philippines satisfies the similar credit requirement prescribed by section 901(b)(3), Internal Revenue Code of 1954, with respect to taxes paid to the Philippines.

(2) The Philippines shall allow to a resident or corporation of the Philippines as a credit against its tax specified in subparagraph (1)(b) of Article 1 the appropriate amount of taxes paid to the United States. Such appropriate amount shall be based upon the full amount of tax paid to the United States, and such credit shall, in other respects, be allowed in accordance with the revenue laws of the Philippines. It is agreed for this purpose that the United States tax specified in subparagraph (1)(a) of Article 1 shall be considered to be an income tax and that by virtue of the provisions of paragraph (1) of this Article the United States satisfies the similar credit requirement prescribed by section 30(c)(3)(B), National Internal Revenue Code, with respect to taxes paid to the United States.

ARTICLE 5

Source of income

For purposes of Article 3 and 4:

(1) Income from the performance of personal services (including private pensions and annuities paid in respect of such services) or the furnishing of personal services shall be treated as income from sources within the State in which such services are performed. Compensation for personal services performed aboard ships or aircraft operated by a resident or corporation of a Contracting State and, in the case of the United States, registered in the United States (including private pensions and annuities paid in respect of such services) shall be treated as

income from sources within that Contracting State, if rendered by a member of the regular complement of the ship or aircraft.

(2) The source of any item of income to which the provisions of this Article are not expressly applicable shall be determined by each of the Contracting States in accordance with its own law.

ARTICLE 6

Nondiscrimination

(1) A citizen of one of the Contracting States who is a resident of the other Contracting State shall not be subjected in that other Contracting State to more burdensome taxes than is a citizen of that other Contracting State who is resident therein.

(2) A permanent establishment which a citizen or corporation of one of the Contracting States has in the other Contracting State shall not be subject in that other Contracting State to more burdensome taxes than is a citizen or corporation of that other Contracting State carrying on the same activities. This paragraph shall not be construed as obliging either Contracting State to grant to citizens of the other Contracting State who are not residents of the former Contracting State any personal allowances or deductions which are by its law available only to residents of that former Contracting State.

(3) A corporation of one of the Contracting States, the capital of which is wholly or partly owned by one or more citizens or corporations of the other Contracting State, shall not be subjected in the former Contracting State to more burdensome taxes than is a corporation of the former Contracting State, the capital of which is wholly-owned by one or more citizens or corporations of that former Contracting State.

ARTICLE 7

Business profits

(1) A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States shall be subject to tax in the other Contracting State with respect to its industrial or commercial profits only if that resident or corporation has a permanent establishment in that other Contracting State.

(2) In the imposition of such tax—

(a) there shall be allowed as deductions ordinary and necessary expenses, wherever incurred, which are allocable, to the reasonable satisfaction of the competent authority of that Contracting State, to income from sources within that Contracting State; and

(b) no profits shall be deemed to be derived from sources within that Contracting State merely by reason of the purchase of goods or merchandise.

(3) For purposes of paragraph (1) the term "industrial or commercial profits" means income derived from the active conduct of a trade or business. It includes profits from manufacturing, mercantile, agricultural, fishing and mining activities, and from the furnishing of personal services. It does not include income from the performance of personal services, dividends, interest, royalties, income from the rental of personal property, income from real property, insurance premiums, or gains derived from the sale or exchange of capital assets.

ARTICLE 8

Definition of permanent establishment

(1) The term "permanent establishment" means a fixed place of business through which a resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States engages in trade or business.

(2) The term "a fixed place of business" includes, but is not limited to, a branch; an office; a store or other sales outlet; a workshop; a factory; a warehouse; a mine, quarry or other place of extraction of natural resources; a building site, or construction or installation site, which exists for more than three months.

(3) The term "permanent establishment" shall not be deemed to include any one or more of the following:

(a) facilities used for the purpose of storage, display or delivery of goods or merchandise belonging to the resident or corporation;

(b) the maintenance of a stock of goods or merchandise belonging to the resident or corporation for the purpose of storage, display and/or delivery;

(c) the maintenance of a stock of goods or merchandise belonging to the resident or corporation for processing by another person;

(d) a fixed place of business maintained for the purpose of purchasing goods or merchandise, and/or for the collection of information, for the resident or corporation;

(e) a fixed place of business maintained for the purpose of advertising, for the supply of information, for scientific research, or for similar activities which have a preparatory or auxiliary character, for the resident or corporation.

(4) Even if a resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States does not have a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State under paragraphs (1)–(3) of this Article, nevertheless he shall be deemed to have a permanent establishment in the latter State if he engages in trade or business in that State through an agent who—

(a) has a authority to conclude contracts in the name of that resident or corporation and regularly exercises that authority in the latter State unless the exercise of the authority is limited to the purchase of goods or merchandise;

(b) regularly secures orders in the latter State for that resident or corporation; or

(c) maintains in the latter State a stock of goods or merchandise belonging to that resident or corporation from which he regularly makes deliveries or fills orders.

(5) Notwithstanding paragraph (4) of this Article, a resident or corporation of a Contracting State shall not be deemed to have a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State merely because it uses the services in that State of a bona fide broker, general commission agent, forwarding agent, indentor or other agent of independent status acting in the ordinary course of its business. For this purpose, an agent shall not be considered to be an agent of independent status if it acts as an agent exclusive or almost exclusively for the resident or corporation (or for that resident or corporation and any other person controlling, controlled by, or under common control with that resident or corporation) and carries on any of the activities described in paragraph (4) of this Article.

(6) The fact that a corporation of one of the Contracting States controls or is controlled by or is under common control with (a) a corporation of the other Contracting State or (b) a corporation which engages in trade or business in that other Contracting State (whether through a permanent establishment or otherwise) shall not be taken into account in determining whether the activities or fixed place of business of either corporation constitutes a permanent establishment of the other corporation.

(7) A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States shall be deemed to have a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State if that resident or corporation provides the services in the latter State of public entertainers referred to in Article 13, paragraph (3).

(8) If a resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States has a permanent establishment in the other Contracting State at any time during the taxable year, it shall be considered to have a permanent establishment in that other Contracting State for the entire taxable year.

ARTICLE 9

Related persons

(1) Where a resident or corporation of a State deriving commercial and industrial profits in one of the Contracting States and any other person are related and where such related persons make arrangements or impose conditions between themselves which are different from those which would be made between independent persons, then any income which would, but for those arrangements or conditions, have accrued to such resident or corporation but, by reason of those arrangements or conditions, has not so accrued, may be included in the income of such resident or corporation for purposes of the present Convention and taxed by that Contracting State accordingly.

(2) (a) A person other than a corporation is related to a corporation if such person participates directly or indirectly in the management, control or capital of the corporation.

(b) A corporation is related to another corporation if either participates directly or indirectly in the management, control, or capital of the other, or if any person or persons participate directly or indirectly in the management, control or capital of both corporations.

ARTICLE 10

Interest

Interest received by the Government of one of the Contracting States or any agency or instrumentality wholly owned by that Government shall be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State.

ARTICLE 11

Income from real property

A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States subject to tax in the other Contracting State on income from the rental of buildings or from real property which is improved with buildings, including gains derived from the sale or exchange of such property, or on royalties in respect of the operation of mines, quarries, or other natural resources may elect for any taxable year to compute that tax on such income on a net basis.

ARTICLE 12

Gains upon transfers to controlled corporations

A resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States shall be exempt from tax in the other Contracting State with respect to gain realized upon the transfer of property to a corporation in exchange for stock in such corporation—

(1) If immediately thereafter such resident or corporation, or such person together with any other persons making similar transfers as part of the same transaction, owns stock of such corporation possessing at least 80 percent of the total combined voting power of all classes of stock entitled to vote and at least 80 percent of the total number of shares of all other classes of stock of the corporation; and

(2) Where the transferee corporation is a Philippine corporation, if the property is transferred and recorded on the books of account of the corporation at a value not exceeding the value at which such property was recorded on the books of account of the transferor.

ARTICLE 13

Income from personal services

(1) An individual who is a resident of one of the Contracting States shall be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State with respect to income from personal services if—

(a) he is present within the latter Conracting State for a period or periods not exceeding in the aggregate 90 days during the taxable year, and

(b) such income is not deducted in computing the profits of a permanent establishment of a resident or corporation of the former Contracting State subject to tax in latter Contracting State, and

(c) in the case of employment income, the services are performed as an employee of a resident or corporation of the former Contracting State, and

(d) the aggregate amount of such income does not exceed $3,000 (or its equivalent in Pesos).

(2) For purposes of paragraph (1) of this Article, the term "income from personal services" includes employment income and income earned by an individual from the performance of personal services in an independent capacity. The term "employment income" includes income from services performed by officers and directors of corporations. Income from personal services performed by partners shall generally be treated as income from the performance of services in an independent capacity, but a salary or other fixed amount paid by a partnership to an active partner shall be considered income from employment by the partnership, if similar payments are not made to inactive partners.

(3) Notwithstanding paragraph (1) of this Article, the income from personal services of public entertainers, such as athletes, musicians and actors, from their activities as such, may be taxed in the Contracting State in which the services are performed if such income exceeds either $100 (or its equivalent in Pesos) for each day the individual is present in the latter Contracting State or an aggregate amount of $3,000 (or its equivalent in Pesos).

(4) Compensation received by any individual for personal services performed aboard ships or aircraft operated by a resident or corporation of a Contracting State (and, in the case of the United States, registered in the United States) shall, subject to paragraph (3) of Article 3 be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State, if the services are rendered by a member of the regular complement of the ship or aircraft.

ARTICLE 14

Teachers

An individual who is a resident of one of the Contracting States at the beginning of his visit to the other Contracting State and who, at the invitation of the Government of the other Contracting State or of a university or other accredited educational institution situated in the other Contracting State, visits the latter Contracting State for the purpose of teaching or engaging in research, or both, at a university or other accredited educational institution shall be exempt from tax by the latter Contracting State on his income from personal services for teaching or research at such educational institution, or at other such institutions, for a period not exceeding two years from the date of his arrival in the latter Contracting State.

ARTICLE 15

Students and trainees

(1) (a) An individual who is a resident of one of the Contracting States at the beginning of his visit to the other Contracting State and who is temporarily present in the other Contracting State for the primary purpose of—

(i) studying at a university or other accredited educational institution in that other Contracting State,

(ii) securing training required to qualify him to practice a profession or professional specialty, or

(iii) studying or doing research as a recipient of a grant, allowance, or award from a governmental, religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational organization,

shall be exempt from tax by that other Contracting State with respect to—

(A) gifts from abroad for the purposes of his maintenance, education, study, research or training;

(B) the grant, allowance, or award; and

(C) income from personal services performed in the other Contracting State in an amount not in excess of $2,000 or its equivalent in Pesos for any taxable year; or, if such individual is securing training necessary for qualification in a medical profession or medical specialty, including any physician, medical technologist, nurse, pharmacist or other person under the Exchange Visitors Program, not in excess of $5,000 or its equivalent in Pesos for any taxable year.

(b) The benefits under this paragraph shall only extend for such period of time as may be reasonably or customarily required to effectuate the purpose of the visit, but in no event shall any individual have the benefits of this paragraph for more than five taxable years.

(2) A resident of one of the Contracting States who is present in the other Contracting State for a period not exceeding one year, as an employee of, or under contract with, a resident or corporation of the former States, for the primary purpose of—

(i) acquiring technical, professional, or business experience from a person other than that resident or corporation of the former Contracting State, or

(ii) studying at a university or other accredited educational institution in that other Contracting State,

shall be exempt from tax by that other Contracting State with respect to his income from personal services performed in the other Contracting State for that period in an amount not in excess of $5,000 or its equivalent in Pesos.

(3) A resident of one of the Contracting States who is present in the other Contracting State for a period not exceeding one year, as a participant in a program sponsored by the Government of the other Contracting State, for the primary purpose of training, research, or study shall be exempt from tax by that other State with respect to his income from personal services performed in that other Contracting State and received in respect of such training, research, or study in an amount not in excess of $10,000 or its equivalent in Pesos.

ARTICLE 16

Governmental salaries

Wages, salaries, and similar compensation, and pensions, annuities, or similar benefits paid by, or directly out of public funds of, one of the Contracting States or the political subdivisions thereof to an individual who is a national of that Contracting State for services rendered to that Contracting State or to any of its political subdivisions in the discharge of governmental functions shall be exempt from tax by the other Contracting State.

ARTICLE 17

Rules applicable to personal service articles

(1) For purposes of Articles 13, 14, 15 and 16, reimbursed travel expenses shall be considered to be income from personal services or compensation, but shall not be taken into account in computing the maximum amount of exemptions specified in Articles 13 and 15.

(2) An individual who qualifies for benefits under more than one of the provisions of Articles 13, 14 and 15 may select the application of that provision most favorable to him, but he shall not be entitled to the benefits of more than one provision in any taxable year.

ARTICLE 18

Deduction for charitable contributions

In the computation of taxable income under the United States income tax, a deduction shall be allowed to citizens and residents of the United States and United States corporations for contributions to any organization created or organized under the laws of the Philippines which constitute a nonprofit organization under section 27(e) of the National Internal Revenue Code of the Philippines if—

(a) such contributions are used entirely within the Philippines and

(b) the recipient organization has qualified as a tax-exempt organization under subsection 501(c)(3) of the United States Internal Revenue Code.

Such deductions shall not, however, exceed an amount which would have been allowable under the United States Internal Revenue Code if such organization had been created or organized under the laws of the United States and if such contributions were used within the United States.

ARTICLE 19

Consultation and taxpayer claims

(1) The competent authorities of the Contracting States may communicate with each other directly for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of the present Convention. Should any difficulty or doubt arise as to the interpretation or application of the present Convention, or its relationship to conventions between one of the Contracting States and any other State, the competent authorities shall endeavor to settle the question as quickly as possible by mutual agreement.

(2) The competent authorities may consult together for the purpose of considering the amendment of this Convention to add provisions dealing with such matters affecting income taxation and not covered in this Convention as may be deemed appropriate.

(3) In particular, the competent authorities of the Contracting States may consult together to endeavor to agree—

(a) to the same apportionment of industrial or commercial profits between a resident or corporation of one of the Contracting States and its permanent establishment situated in the other Contracting State; or

(b) to the same allocation of income between a resident or corporation and a related person, dealt with in Article 9,

and to appropriate procedures for effectuating such apportionment or allocation.

(4) A taxpayer shall be entitled to present his case to the Contracting State of which he is a citizen or resident, or, if the taxpayer is a corporation of one of the Contracting States, to that State, if he considers that the action of the other Contracting State has resulted, or will result for him in taxation contrary to the provisions of the Convention. Should the taxpayer's claim be considered to have merit by the competent authority of the Contracting State to which the claim is made, it shall endeavor to come to an agreement with the competent authority of the other Contracting State with a view to the avoidance of taxation contrary to the provisions of the Convention.

ARTICLE 20

Exchange of information

(1) The competent authorities of the Contracting States shall exchange such information as is necessary for the carrying out of this Convention and of the domestic laws of the Contracting States concerning taxes covered by this Convention insofar as the taxation thereunder is in accordance with this Convention. Any information so exchanged shall be treated as secret and shall not be disclosed to any persons or authorities other than those concerned with the assessment, collection or enforcement of the taxes which are the subject of this Convention (including a court or administrative body).

(2) In no case shall the provisions of paragraph (1) be construed so as to impose on one of the Contracting States the obligation:

(a) to carry out administrative measures at variance with the laws or administrative practices of that Contracting State or the other Contracting State;

(b) to supply particulars which are not obtainable under the laws of, or in the normal course of administration in, that Contracting State or the other Contracting State; or

(c) to supply information which would disclose any trade, business, industrial, commercial or professional secret or trade process, or information, the disclosure of which would be contrary to its public policy.

ARTICLE 21

Assistance in collection

(1) Each of the Contracting States shall endeavor to collect such taxes imposed by the other Contracting State as will ensure that any exemption granted under the present Convention by the other State shall not be enjoyed by persons not entitled to such benefits. The Contracting State making such collections shall be responsible to the other Contracting State for the sums thus collected.

(2) In no case shall the provisions of this Article be construed so as to impose upon either of the Contracting State the obligation to carry out administrative measures at variance with the regulations and practices of the Contracting State endeavoring to collect the tax or which would be contrary to that State's sovereignty, security or public policy.

ARTICLE 22

Exchange of legal information

(1) The competent authorities of the Contracting States shall notify each other of any amendments of the tax laws referred to in Article 1, paragraph (1), and of the adoption of any taxes referred to in Article 1, paragraph (2), by transmitting the texts of any amendments or new statutes at least once a year.

(2) The competent authorities of the Contracting States shall exchange the texts of all published material interpreting the present Convention under the laws of the respective States, whether in the form of regulations, rulings or judicial decisions.

ARTICLE 23

Effective dates and ratification

(1) The present Convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification exchanged at Manila as soon as possible.

(2) After the exchange of instruments of ratification, the present Convention shall have effect with respect to taxable years beginning on or after the first day of January of the year following that in which such exchange takes place.

(3) The present Convention shall continue in effect indefinitely, but it may be terminated by either of the Contracting States, on the initiative of the competent authority of that State, at any time after five years from the date specified in paragraph (2) of this Article, provided that at least six months' prior notice of termination has been given. In such event, the present Convention shall cease to be effective with respect to taxable years beginning on or after the first day of January next following the expiration of the six-month period.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention.

DONE at Washington, in duplicate, this fifth day of October, 1964.

For the Government of the United States of America:
DEAN RUSK
For the Government of the Republic of the Philippines:
M MENDEZ
RUFINO G. HECHANOVA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the tax conventions with Brazil, France, and the Philippines are designed to eliminate double taxation, and to establish procedures for mutual assistance in the administration of income taxes. Public hearings were held on each of these conventions: In the case of Brazil, on October 5, 1967; and in the case of France and the Philippines, on April 30, 1968. They were considered by the Committee on Foreign Relations in executive session on several occasions, and last week they were ordered reported, with reservations.

The Tax Convention with Brazil was signed on March 13, 1967, and transmitted to the Senate on April 21, 1967. It is the first income tax convention with a South American country. As is the case in other such conventions to which the United States is a party, its primary purpose is to eliminate double taxation resulting from the taxation of the same item or items of income by both countries, and to establish procedures for mutual assistance in the administration of income taxes.

The Committee on Foreign Relations approved the treaty with Brazil subject to two reservations. One reservation deals with article 7, relating to a 7-percent tax credit for American investments in Brazil, and the other deals with article 22, relating to tax deductions for charitable contributions to qualifying organizations located in Brazil.

As submitted by the administration, the Tax Convention with Brazil contains certain provisions—article 7—not contained in any other U.S. tax treaty now in force.

Pursuant to these provisions, an American resident or corporation—as defined in article 7—would be allowed to claim a 7-percent tax credit for investments made in Brazil on or after January 1, 1968, under conditions similar to those under which a taxpayer can receive a 7-percent domestic tax credit for investments in the United States. These provisions are unilateral in that they apply only to investments in Brazil by American residents or corporations. They do not apply to investments by Brazilian citizens in the United States. In exchange for the investment credit provisions, however, Brazil agreed to certain reductions in its taxes on Brazilian investment income. These reductions may be suspended by Brazil during the period the investment credit is not in effect.

According to its report, the Committee on Foreign Relations is of the opinion that, at the present time, it would not be in the best interests of the United States to encourage investments abroad by this device. Accordingly, it recommends that the following reservation be approved by the Senate:

> Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (3)(b) of article 30 of the convention, article 7 of the convention, which relates to investment credit, shall become effective for the United States only after an exchange of notes between the Contracting States, establishing the effective date of such article, has been approved by the Senate in accordance with the procedure set forth in article II, section 2, of the Constitution of the United States. Until such effective date, a suspension of the investment credit shall be deemed to be in effect within the meaning of paragraph (4) of article 7 and paragraph 6(b) of article 30.

The effect of this reservation is to defer Senate approval of the investment tax credit provision of the Brazil convention—article 7. In this connection, if in the future the executive branch wishes to propose that a tax credit be allowed for investments by Americans in Brazil, it may do so by entering into an exchange of notes with the Government of Brazil and submitting such exchange of notes to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification. In other words, the reservation does not preclude the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Senate from giving further consideration to the concept of extending a tax credit for American investments in Brazil.

Article 22 of the proposed Brazilian convention would allow an American citizen, resident, or corporation to receive a tax deduction for contributions to Brazilian charities if: First, the contributions are used entirely within Brazil; and, second, the recipient Brazilian organization has qualified as a charitable organization under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

The only other U.S. tax treaty now in force which contains a similar provision is the treaty with Canada, and the Committee on Foreign Relations states that it does not believe that the practice of allowing tax deductions to Americans for contributions to organizations in foreign countries should be expanded by the tax treaty process. It recommends, therefore, that the Senate approve the following reservation:

> The Government of the United States of America does not accept Article 22 of the convention relating to deductions for charitable contributions.

I should add, the convention with Brazil contains a number of provisions found in many other income tax treaties presently in force in areas other than Latin America. These deal with such matters as the definition of a permanent establishment for tax purposes, taxes on dividends and branch profits, as well as taxes on interest and royalties, and income from real property and from personal services. In addition, the convention covers the tax treatment of teachers, students and trainees, governmental salaries, and pensions and annuities. It also contains several administrative provisions which are designed to assist both countries in carrying out the provisions of the convention.

The Tax Convention with France was signed at Paris on July 28, 1967, and transmitted to the Senate on October 3, 1967. Upon entry into force, it will replace the existing income tax convention of July 25, 1939, and—insofar as they concern taxes on income, capital and stock exchange transactions—the double taxation convention of October 18, 1946, the supplementary protocol of May 17, 1948, and the supplementary convention of June 22, 1956.

It is my understanding that the convention was made necessary by fundamental changes in 1965 in the French income tax structure, and it reflects changes made in U.S. law by the Foreign Investors Tax Act of 1966. It also reflects developments in recent years in standardizing international tax relationships as a result of the work of the Fiscal Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—OECD.

The Committee on Foreign Relations has recommended that the Senate approve a reservation dealing with articles 29(1) and 30(3) of the French convention. Article 29(1), which relates to territorial extension, provides that the convention may be extended, either in its entirety or with any necessary modifications, to the overseas territories of France. This extension may be accomplished through an exchange of notes or in any other manner in accordance with the constitutional procedure of France and the United States.

Article 30(3), relating to an exchange of information, states that if any changes are made in the tax laws of either France or the United States and it seems advisable to make adjustments in the provisions of the convention, such adjustments may be agreed upon through an exchange of notes or in accordance with the constitutional procedure of the respective countries.

In the committee's view, neither an extension of the provisions of the convention to the overseas territories of France nor the adjustment of certain provisions of the convention to changes in the tax laws of this country should be done without the advice and consent of the Senate. Accordingly, the committee recommends that the convention with France be approved with the following reservation:

> The extension of this convention to the Overseas Territories of the French Republic, referred to in Article 29(1), and the adjustments in the provisions of this convention, referred to in Article 30(3), shall become effective for the United States only in accordance with the procedure set forth in Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States.

The Tax Convention with the Philippines, which is the third convention under consideration, was signed at Washington on October 15, 1964, and transmitted to the Senate on July 29, 1965.

It differs in a number of substantive respects from existing income tax conventions with industrialized countries in that it contains some provisions not found in other conventions and omits some that are in other U.S. treaties. It does not apply to State and local taxes except to provide—in article 6—that neither the United States nor the Philippines will discriminate in imposing such taxes on the citizens or corporations of the other country.

The convention contains a provision—in article 8—which represents a departure from the definition of "permanent establishment" found in other tax treaties.

Generally, a resident or corporation of one country is deemed to have a permanent establishment in the other country if it engages in trade or business in that country through an agent who first, has and regularly exercises an authority in that country to conclude contracts in its name; or, second, maintains a stock of goods or merchandise from which it regularly makes deliveries or fills orders. Article 8 of the convention adds another situation which will give rise to a permanent establishment; namely, an agent who regularly secures orders for the resident or corporation. In addition, article 8 modifies the general rule that the use of an independent agent does not give rise to a permanent establishment by providing that an agent who acts exclusively or almost exclusively for a resident or corporation will not be considered to be of independent status.

It is the inclusion of these two provisions which constitutes a departure from the permanent establishment definition in other treaties now in effect.

The Committee on Foreign Relations has recommended that the Senate approve a reservation dealing with article 18 of the convention, which would permit U.S. residents to receive a deduction for contributions to nonprofit organizations in the Philippines if those contributions are used within the Philippines and if the organization is one that has qualified under the internal revenue code as a tax-exempt organization. The reservation to this article is identical to the reservation to the Brazil treaty dealing with the same subject. It reads as follows:

> The Government of the United States of America does not accept Article 18 of the convention relating to deductions for charitable contributions.

Mr. President, the Committee on Foreign Relations recommends that the Senate give its advice and consent to the conventions with Brazil, France, and the Philippines, subject to the reservations which I have discussed.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, the conventions will be considered as having passed through all of their various parliamentary stages up to and including the point of consideration of the resolutions of ratification, which will be read for the information of the Senate.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES OF BRAZIL

Resolved (*two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein*), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the convention between the United States of America and the United States of Brazil for the avoidance of double taxation with respect to taxes on income, signed at Rio de Janeiro on March 13, 1967, subject to the following reservations:

1. "Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (3)(b) of article 30 of the convention, article 7 of the convention, which relates to investment credit, shall become effective for the United States only after an exchange of notes between the Contracting States, establishing the effective date of such article, has been approved by the Senate in accordance with the procedure set forth in article II, section 2, of the Constitution of the United States. Until such effective date, a suspension of the investment credit shall be deemed to be in effect within the meaning of paragraph (4) of article 7 and paragraph 6(b) of article 30."

2. "The Government of the United States of America does not accept article 22 of the convention relating to deductions for charitable contributions."

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

Resolved (*two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein*), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the convention between the United States of America and the French Republic with respect to taxes on income, signed at Paris on July 28, 1967, subject to the following reservation:

"The extension of this convention to the Overseas Territories of the French Republic, referred to in article 29, and the adjustments in the provisions of this convention, referred to in article 30(3), shall become effective for the United States only in accordance with the procedure set forth in article II, section 2, of the Constitution of the United States."

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

Resolved (*two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein*), That the Senate advise and consent to ratification of the convention between the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income, signed at Washington on October 5, 1964, subject to the following reservation:

"The Government of the United States of America does not accept article 18 of the convention relating to deductions for charitable contributions."

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, these conventions have been approved not only by the Committee on Foreign Relations, but have also been considered and approved by the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The question is on agreeing en bloc to the reservations to the resolutions of ratification.

The reservations were agreed to en bloc.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, lest anyone get any idea that this is a matter that we are just bringing up on the spur of the moment, if need be, we will vote on the reservations at our next meeting. I am sure that will meet with the approval of the Senate because of the protective safeguards provided therein.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the votes on the treaties—and there will be three votes—take place beginning at 12 o'clock noon Thursday next.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement, subsequently reduced to writing, is as follows:

Ordered, That at 12 noon on Thursday, June 6, 1968, the Senate proceed to vote on the resolution of ratification to the Tax Convention with Brazil (Ex. J, 90th Cong., first sess.); to be followed by a vote on the resolution of ratification to the Tax Convention with France (Ex. N, 90th Cong., first sess.), and then by a vote on the resolution of ratification to the Tax Convention with the Philippines (Ex. D, 89th Cong., first sess.).

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to the consideration of legislative business.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **MANSFIELD**. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY NEXT AT 11 A.M.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock Thursday morning next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, following disposition of the conventions, it is the intention of the leadership to bring up H.R. 16911, the so-called special drawing rights, which measure was reported unanimously from the Committee on Foreign Relations.

ADJOURNMENT TO THURSDAY AT 11 A.M.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate today, I move under the order previously entered, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock Thursday morning next.

Before any action is taken on my motion, I urge that the committees make use of the extra time.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 57 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Thursday, June 6, 1968, at 11 a.m.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate June 4, 1968:

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

A. Everette MacIntyre, of Virginia, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the term of 7 years from September 26, 1968 (reappointment).

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE 15TH UNIVERSAL COTTON STANDARDS CONFERENCE

HON. ROBERT A. EVERETT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the U.S. Department of Agriculture for a job well done in successfully conducting the recent 15th Universal Cotton Standards Conference in Memphis, Tenn.

As many of you probably know, the purpose of the conference, which is held every 3 years by USDA's Consumer and Marketing Service, is to approve key sets of the universal cotton standards for American upland cotton. The conference is held under terms of the Universal Cotton Standards Agreement, which was put into effect in 1923, and now includes 13 signatory cotton associations located in Belgium, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Delegates from these associations, as well as representatives from the U.S. cotton industry—including ginners, producers, shippers, and manufacturers—were at the meeting.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that these conferences—this is the 15th—are outstanding examples of international cooperation and teamwork to be observed anywhere.

Moreover, the universal cotton standards for American upland cotton are the first international standards to be adopted and put into use in trading between nations.

The Codex Alimentarius, sponsored by the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, is now working toward world standards for food, but I must say that the cotton people are about 45 years ahead of them.

The 1968 conference went very smoothly and 100 key sets of standards—each set made up of 15 boxes of samples representing the physical grades of American upland cotton—were approved in only 2 days. This was possible, of course, only because of the many months of hard work performed by the C. & M.S. Cotton Division in advance of the conference.

Preparation for the conference began last fall, when the Cotton Division purchased bales of cotton suitable for preparing the 100 key sets of the standards. Then, in January, special classing experts were brought into Memphis from all across the Cotton Belt to make special adjustments in the key copies so they would match the previous set of standards, approved at the 1965 conference, as closely as possible.

By using the universal standards, cotton merchants and manufacturers in Japan, India, England, Germany, or any other country can state exactly what quality of cotton they want to buy and know that the seller understands their specifications. Middling white cotton means the same thing to each of them, because each understands and uses this previously agreed upon standard to describe this particular quality of cotton.

Much of the success of this standards program has been due to the meticulous care exercised by the Consumer and Marketing Service in reproducing the thousands of standards that are distributed throughout the world each year.

I would like to add my congratulations to the many others received at the recently concluded conference for a job well done.

"JOB FAIR" IN HOUSTON—POSITIVE ACTION BY BUSINESSMEN AND YOUTH

HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the businessmen and municipal employers of Houston, Tex., are to be congratulated for the farsighted arrangements to employ city youths during the upcoming summer months. Billed as the second annual Job Fair, recruiters and agents for over 300 companies met at the Houston Coliseum and interviewed ghetto kids for summer jobs. The companies represented offered the city youth over 3,200 jobs. In 2 days of interviews, 2,300 Houston youths landed jobs. An estimated three-quarters of the applicants were Negroes and a vast majority were poor children from the ghetto.

Such endeavors as these are positive examples of what businessmen and concerned citizens in large urban centers can do to utilize the productive talents of our Nation's youth. We all benefit from such constructive alliances between business leaders and young people to help alleviate some of the economic problems in our Nation. I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "The Job Fair," published in Newsweek for May 27, 1968, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EMPLOYMENT: THE JOB FAIR

Armstrong Ulysses, a 19-year-old high-school senior in Houston, tore into a big lunch last week—club sandwich, peach cobbler, milk shake and a sundae. He was celebrating, and with reason. He had just snagged a $3.76-an-hour summer job as night warehouseman for Red Ball Motor Freight. "I figured it would pay something like $1.60 to $2," he bubbled. "But when he said $3.76, my eyes like to pop out of my head."

"He" was a Red Ball recruiter, who with agents for 346 other employers was interviewing ghetto kids for summer jobs at Houston's Coliseum. It was the city's second "job fair," an attempt to head off trouble of the kind that shook predominantly Negro Texas Southern University last spring and awakened the city to the fact that many of its 350,000 Negroes were without jobs.

At the first fair last year, nearly 1,000 youths got jobs with 216 companies, despite a late midsummer start. But this year, everything was different. Planning began months ago when a committee of municipal employees and businessmen made bold and repeated contacts with almost all the city's business firms, urging them to set aside summer jobs for ghetto kids or create jobs if necessary, at the minimum ratio of one for every 100 employees. If jobs weren't available, companies were pressed into donating up to $768—average pay for a summer—so a kid could work in a hospital or other organization that couldn't afford the salary.

PUBLICITY

Ghetto schools were canvassed for job-seekers, who completed applications listing the skills and financial conditions of their families. (Officials stipulated that an applicant's family must not have an annual income exceeding $3,200, the Federal government's official poverty figure.) A publicity campaign was launched, including a television promotion the night before the fair opened. Off the Coliseum floor (where pro basketball and hockey teams play) a room was stuffed with twenty rows of picnic tables for interviewing.

The effort paid off—with the kind of bigness Texas likes. Scrubbed and shining, a total of 7,994 kids showed up at the two-day fair. Employers were there with a whopping 3,250 jobs—most in $1.40- to $1.80-an-hour service categories. Applicants milled around the interviewing tables, sipping free Cokes, hopping between employers, chatting, laughing. They were shrewd enough to duck 85-cent-an-hour kitchen helper jobs until the very last. But there were wistful sighs over the $3.76 Red Ball jobs (the company handed out twenty such positions). A girl beamed about the salesclerk job she just landed with Montgomery Ward: "I'm really going to like it. I only wish there were more jobs so that everyone could be as happy as I am."

SNAGS

Along the way, there were snags. About 1,500 applicants were turned away either because they were too young, too old or had dropped out of school. The fair wasn't intended for dropouts—one way, officials reasoned, of encouraging kids to stay in school. About 450 jobs went unfilled. They required youths 18 to 22, who, because they were draft prospects or were already working, turned out in small numbers.

But when it was all over, weary officials pronounced the fair a success. They estimated that 75 per cent of the applicants were Negroes and that the vast majority of those were poor kids from ghettos. Businesses that couldn't supply jobs coughed up $70,000—enough for about 90 jobs in hospitals or recreation areas. And everyone was pleased with the fair's most important statistic: in a scant 48 hours, 2,319 kids had landed jobs that they probably wouldn't have gotten otherwise. The total is expected to hit 3,000 by early summer, when several hundred post-fair jobs crop up.

CAMPING PERMIT ON THE MALL

HON. OMAR BURLESON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, Members of the House may be interested in the following letter I received from Mrs. Jeanette Duncan of Brownwood, Tex., in which she inquires about a camping permit on the Mall here in Washington, the place now occupied by the so-called Resurrection City.

The letter follows:

BROWNWOOD, TEX.,
May 15, 1968.

Attention: Permit Department.
Re request for camping permit.
DIRECTOR,
National Park Service
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: For two summers now my children have wanted to visit in our national capital, but due to expensive accommodations it has always been beyond our finances. I was delighted to learn that you are now issuing camping permits for the area near the Lincoln and Washington Memorials bordering the Reflecting Pools. This will enable us to finally make our long awaited and hoped for trip to Washington, D.C. We enjoy camping out, and I believe we can borrow a tent from the Boy Scout troop at our church now that campsites are available and so convenient to downtown Washington.

I feel sure that you will want to be fair and impartial about this matter and will not discriminate against me because of my race (white). My party will be much smaller than the one that is currently arriving, and I can promise you that we will cause no trouble or disturbances whatsoever, as I am a strict believer in non-violence. Therefore, no troops will be needed for official duty; however, if you've got a single captain or major around who is not doing anything, it sure would be nice to have a guide.

Actually, I feel that my financial situation would justify my participation in the Poor People's March, but since many of us must work in order to pay the ever increasing social security and income taxes to provide the welfare programs demanded by these people who will not work, it will be impossible for me to get there in time to see Washington and be fed and housed at someone else's expense. I am a schoolteacher (with less than five year's experience), divorced, and the sole support of two children and myself. If you will check the pay for beginning teachers in Texas, you will see that it is not much above the $3,000 poverty level. Therefore, I am sure that you can understand that the only way I could possibly afford a trip like this would be for us to be able to camp out.

I understand that the permit you have recently issued expires at 8:00 P.M. on June 16th, and I will not be able to come till the first week in August, so there should be no conflict in regard to timing. I would like to have a permit for the period of August 3–10, 1968. Anything in the area currently designated as "Resurrection City" will be just fine, and I know we will enjoy being so convenient to all the sights, especially the Capitol.

I would appreciate your arranging this and letting me hear from you at your earliest convenience so that I can make further plans. I feel it is high time some consideration is given to the wishes of the average, hard-working, law-abiding, tax-paying citizen for a change. I am sending copies of this letter to our two Texas senators and some of our congressmen, asking their help in seeing this matter through. I'm sure they would be anxious to see that none of their constituents are discriminated against because of race, color, or creed.

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,
MRS. JEANETTE DUNCAN.

CONSUMER FEDERATION OF AMERICA—VOICE FOR THE CONSUMER

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I commend the Consumer Federation of America on the resolutions adopted at its first annual meeting last month and congratulate the federation on the opening of its Washington office at 1012 14th Street, NW. Mrs. Erma Angevine is the executive director of this young organization, about which I am convinced we will hear a great deal from now on.

Consumer Federation of America—CFA—was proposed at the meeting of Consumer Assembly, sponsored by the National Consumers League, AFL–CIO, and about 30 other organizations, in Washington last November. Consumer Assembly brought together representatives from the many local, State, and national consumer interest groups.

CFA now coordinates the work of about 56 of these consumer groups and will act as legal and research arm for the consumer movement, to represent before Congress and Federal agencies matters of consumer importance. It will also serve as a clearinghouse for consumer information.

The federation promises, I believe, to be the needed unifying force in the growing consumer movement.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the resolutions adopted by Consumer Federation of America at its first annual meeting last month. The preamble outlines its purpose and enumerates the many areas in which more effective consumer protection is required.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE 1968 CONSUMER FEDERATION OF AMERICA—RESOLUTIONS PREAMBLE

Mindful that as we organize the Consumer Federation of America we are creating a force unique in our country's history, we resolve that the energy we mobilize through this new instrument shall be directed to achieve intelligent solutions for the consumer problems of all people.

Everyone is a consumer and the people's business is all-inclusive. But the particular problems which are the concern of the Consumer Federation of America, being specific, provide focus for our efforts. In order to include everyone our approach is necessarily non-partisan, and membership is open to all bona fide consumer organizations willing to associate with our program and work for the objectives we set for ourselves now and hereafter.

We pledge the efforts of Consumer Federation of America to assist local and state consumer organizations in building membership wherever possible, in providing information on state and local issues, and in assisting in consumer education.

Since correction of consumer complaints must sometimes take place through legislation to be secured in the political arena, the Federation will neither blunt its efforts nor dilute its effectiveness through a slavish refusal to use its strength where it will count.

The stakes go beyond protection from the quick buck artist unconcerned with consumer welfare, and has to do with a careful balancing of the right in a free economy to make money, against an ordering of priorities for all consumers that affect decisively the quality of life for everyone. Since the latter concern, important as it is, has been without an effective spokesman, it is to fill this need in the continuing debates of our democracy that the Consumer Federation of America addresses itself.

It is the purpose of the Consumer Federation of America to encourage development of such consumer-owned institutions, to secure the passage of such state and federal legislation and to work in all other practical ways for conditions in our country which will enable all people to meet their needs for all kinds of goods and services—especially those people whose needs are at present least adequately met.

Among such needs are:

Credit at reasonable fully-known, interest rates, and opportunity to save in and borrow from institutions of their own.

Good homes in good neighborhoods at costs middle and lower income families can afford.

High quality medical care, preventive as well as curative.

Good quality food at fair prices in full, understandable measure.

Adequate, fairly-priced insurance.

Electricity and other utility services at lowest practicable cost and in full reliable supply in both rural and urban areas.

Fertilizer feed, petroleum products and other agricultural in-puts of known quality and fair cost.

Full and useful education for all young people, taught by well-paid and adequate teaching staffs.

Employment at socially significant work for all family bread-winners.

This will be the ongoing business of the Consumer Federation of America until these needs have been met for all our people.

Therefore, be it resolved that the Consumer Federation of America reaffirms its support of the principles embodied in the following legislation to provide—

Full Consumer Credit Protection.

Electric Power Reliability.

Natural Gas Pipeline Safety.

Radiation Control for Health and Safety.

Fish and Poultry Inspection.

Auto Insurance Study and Investigation.

Deceptive Sales Regulation.

Effective Federal regulation of garnishment.

Establishment of a Federal Drug Compendium.

Door-to-Door Sales Regulation.

Effective Guarantees and Warranties.

Inter-governmental Utility Consumers Counsel.

National Info-Tag.

Investigation of Cost of Medical Care.

Investigation of Cost of Drugs.

Effective Consumer Representation at all Levels of Government.

Strengthened Air and Water Pollution Controls.

Protection of the Interest of the American people in their own natural resources with specific reference to oil shale deposits, and sites for development of hydroelectric power; and in the results of publicly financed research, development and construction with special reference to nuclear power.

Ways to strengthen and make more effective the anti-trust and anti-monopoly actions of all pertinent agencies of the federal and state governments.

Consumers and Electricity

Whereas, the cost of electricity is a significant factor in the budget of all consumers, and availability of an abundant and reliable supply of inexpensive electric power helps improve the standard of living of all

Whereas, electricity is a necessity in modern industrial society and is supplied under monopoly conditions, and both these facts make necessary full opportunity for public scrutiny of the charges and actions of utilities in supplying this service because most consumers cannot "shop around" in making power purchases, and

Whereas, the flow-through to consumers of cost reductions made possible by new technology and techniques can result in substantial benefits to electric users, e.g., a drop of 1/10 of a cent per kilowatt-hour would represent an annual savings for consumers of about $1.3 billion in 1968;

Now, therefore, be it resolved: That the Consumer Federation of America supports legislation which will insure that all consumers will have a chance to realize the benefits of nuclear power, urges creation of consumers' counsels at the Federal and State level to protect the interest of consumers in electric utility matters, endorses publicly-owned power projects as a means of creating a "yardstick of competition" to measure the cost of electricity, and backs efforts of the Federal Power Commission and others to insure increased reliability of our power supply and urges the Congress to effectuate the "Recapture Clause" of the 50 year licenses on Federal Hydro sites.

Electric Power Reliability

Whereas, the electric consumer of the United States is entitled to reliable and continuous electric service at fair rates, and

Whereas, legislation is pending (in S. 1934 and others) to provide federal standards to insure reliability and prevent massive power blackouts such as those which darkened the New England states in 1965 and parts of the Missouri Basin in 1966, and

Whereas, the Investor-Owned Utility companies have opposed this legislation, and through a device which they purport to be a "National Electric Reliability Council" are attempting to subvert the purposes of S. 1934 and

Whereas, significant segments of the public and consumer owned electric systems have been excluded from this so-called "reliability council" of the power companies, and

Whereas, the consumers who are owners and members of their own electric systems are entitled to share in any reliability planning,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Consumer Federation of America oppose the subterfuge and the affront by the Investor-owned Utilities against true electric reliability in the total national interest, and

Be it further resolved, that CFA support legislation which would accomplish the purposes sought by S. 1934 and protect the interest of utility consumers everywhere.

Uniform Consumer Credit Code

Whereas, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, has drafted a Uniform Consumer Credit Code, which purports to regulate nearly all consumer credit transactions and establish rates of charge; and

Whereas, the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, will be meeting in session in August 1968 for the purpose of finally adopting this credit code and there is great likelihood that the proposed draft will be adopted and promptly recommended to the legislatures of the several states for enactment, and

Whereas, the proposed code will in most instances establish credit charges far in excess of rates prevailing throughout the United States and also bestow the dignity of the law upon many credit practices which currently are repugnant to the consumer and should have been banned long ago from the market place, and

Whereas, the total outstanding consumer debt is constantly rising in every state and such higher rates and unconscionable practices proposed by the Uniform Consumer Credit Code will adversely affect virtually every citizen-consumer and unjustly burden many families already forced to rely upon credit to survive from day to day; and

Whereas, we view with alarm the possible deletorious effect upon consumers of some of the provisions in the proposed code; now therefore be it.

Resolved, that the delegates of the Consumer Federation of America, assembled in first annual session, on the 28th day of April in the year 1968, call upon the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws to postpone adoption of the draft proposal known as the Uniform Consumer Credit Code until Consumer Groups have had ample opportunity to present their recommendations; and be it further

Resolved. that the Consumer Federation of America transmit a copy of this resolution to all member organizations to alert them as to the threat of this proposed code in its present form to all consumer debtors and installment purchasers in their respective states and urge such organizations to contact the Commissioners representing their states for the purpose of making the consumer interest known.

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO THE FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, in February of this year I mailed questionnaires to my constituents in the First District of Massachusetts which I am proud to represent in the Congress of the United States.

My questionnaire covered a wide range of subjects from Vietnam to taxes and crime in the streets. I was able to reach households in one-third of the State, and the results have been extremely helpful to me.

The returns which I have received indicated not only an active interest in the topics covered, but also approval of my method of sampling public opinion. I was pleased and grateful that more than 8,000 persons took the time to reply, and in a great many cases my constituents expanded their views in letters dealing in detail with specific problems facing my congressional district and our country.

The results of my questionnaire have now been tabulated and analyzed, and I now insert the results in the RECORD.

I am taking this action so my colleagues in the House and the general public can also be informed on how my constituents feel about the issues I have covered in my questionnaire.

It is my intention to send these results to my district in a forthcoming newsletter so that my constituents, State and local legislators, educators, historians, students, and others, can know the opinions and feelings of their fellow citizens on the urgent and pressing affairs of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I have found widespread approval of this method of direct contact with my constituents. And only through such contact can I know their feelings and thus represent them more effectively.

My questionnaire has afforded the people of my district the opportunity to express themselves at a particularly crucial time in our history. I would like to publicly congratulate them and to encourage them to continue the interest they have evidenced thus far.

Mr. Speaker, a presentation of the results of my questionnaire follows:

1. Which of the following explanations for our involvement in the war in Vietnam do you approve:

To prevent the spread of communism	3,775
To protect the security of the United States	2,628
There is no valid reason for our presence	2,523
To protect the people of South Vietnam from alien rule	1,778
To contain China	1,103

It is American aggression	555
None of the above	370
Total responses	8,145

2. Which of the following courses of action in Vietnam would you recommend?

Step up military pressures	2,784
Gradually reduce military activities and withdraw troops	2,426
Stop the bombing of North Vietnam	1,278
Immediately withdraw U.S. troops	1,029
None of the above	529
Hold military activities at present level	527
Total responses	8,144

3. Do you favor enactment of the administration's tax proposals which would mean a 10-percent increase on the amount now paid in income taxes by individuals and corporations?

Yes	2,551
No	3,751
Undecided	1,817
Total responses	8,146

4. Do you believe that a tax increase must be accompanied by a further reduction in government spending in order to be effective?

Yes	5,261
No	950
Undecided	1,946
Total responses	8,144

5. Would you support increased Government expenditures for domestic programs while paying for the war in Asia?

Yes	1,567
No	4,611
Undecided	1,946
Total responses	8,145

6. Regardless of your answer to the above questions, given today's circumstances, in which areas (if any), of Government spending would you impose reductions?

Space programs	3,857
Public works	2,298
Poverty program	2,070
Urban rebuilding programs	1,919
Defense	1,522
Aid to education	861
Foreign aid	650
Water and air pollution	591
No reduction	344
Total responses	8,145

7. Which of the following policies do you favor with respect to our relations with Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe?

Increased nonmilitary trade and other reciprocal steps toward closer relations	5,670
A policy of minimum contact and relations with these countries	1,639
Neither of the above	309
Total responses	8,142

8. Legislation passed by the House of Representatives proposes to fight the rising rate of crime in this country by providing Federal grants to State and local governments for the development of programs to improve police, court, and correctional systems. Do you feel this is an effective way for the Federal Government to fight crime?

Yes	3,434
No	840
Undecided	3,809
Total responses	8,145

9. What is your opinion regarding laws pertaining to privately owned arms, such as rifles, shotguns, pistols, and revolvers?

Present laws are not adequate for protection of the public	5,206
Present laws are adequate for protection of the public	2,318
Total responses	8,145

10. If your answer to 9 above was that present laws are not adequate, please indicate any of the following additions to the law which you favor.

Prohibit purchase of such weapons through the mails	4,747
Require that all persons owning such weapons be required to register them with State or local authorities	4,468
Other	211
Total responses	8,144

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON PROVES HIMSELF AS CREATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE LEADER DURING PERIOD OF MANY PROBLEMS

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, there are constructive achievements to be credited to the administration of President Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Editorial comment is not always complimentary to our Chief Executive, but increasingly President Johnson has been given credit for worthwhile contributions in the public interest.

An assessment of President Johnson's record has recently been lauded by the Christian Science Monitor. The editorial of April 20, 1968, states:

> L. B. J. set a record of social innovation that equals, if it does not surpass, that of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include in the Extensions of Remarks the editorial in full, "L. B. J. in History."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD at this point.

L. B. J. IN HISTORY

It must be soothing to President Johnson to see his prestige polls on the rise once again, and to discover at long last that he is commended by President de Gaulle, by the British press, and even by public opinion in draft-haven Sweden.

Thus quickly has opinion veered, as the President renounced a further term of office and launched the prospect of Vietnam peace by restricting American bombing of the North. With the mental blocks of partisan politics and a nagging war partially removed, Americans, and indeed people in far-off lands, are remembering that the Johnson years in the White House have been times of big accomplishment as well as sharp controversy.

President Johnson might also recall that not everyone, everywhere, opposed American policy in Vietnam. Certainly the Conservatives in Britain did not (nor did Prime Minister Harold Wilson). The West Germans were not generally hostile. And a whole string of countries in Asia either openly approved (Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Formosa, Singapore) or gave guarded assent (Burma, India, Japan). Those glib phrases about the "whole world" being opposed to American policy in Vietnam were never accurate.

But it is on the domestic front that the Johnson record is strongest. To begin with, these were the years that were free of economic recession. The tax cut proposed by President Kennedy was pushed through Congress under President Johnson. After the tax slash of $23.8 billion, there came a rise in total national output from $605.8 billion annually to the current $826 billion, though a portion of this reflects inflationary price trends.

President Johnson did more than any other president to bring about passage of strong civil-rights legislation. He further launched a Great Society program that was intended to boost living standards, rehabilitate cities, ensure equality among all citizens. The $30-billion-a-year drain of Vietnam, with the President's attention focused on the war, allowed the drive to seep out of the "Great Society" effort.

Still, a great deal in the way of social legislating came to pass. Billions in federal aid went to schools and colleges. Medicare for persons over 65 and medicaid for the "medically indigent" were launched. The Office of Economic Opportunity was set up as command post for the "war on poverty." Urban renewal money was quadrupled. Attacks on air and river pollution were begun. Two new Cabinet departments—Housing and Urban Development—and Transportation—were established.

On the other side, there are numerous liabilities on the Johnson ledger: unbalanced budgets, credibility gaps, sprawling bureaucracies, inflation. And the President has had much less influence with Congress since the Democratic election reverses of 1966. But LBJ set a record of social innovation that equals, if it does not surpass, that of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

A TRIBUTE IN THE NEWS TO A DOCTOR OF MEDICINE

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Henry G. Hadley is 74 years old. During the recent disturbances in the District of Columbia, Dr. Hadley ministered to injured riot victims, at the same time continuing his practice of making night calls to patients in their homes. Tuesday night last week, Dr. Hadley was attacked, robbed, and severely beaten while making such a call.

The account of this in last Thursday's Washington Post is a testimony to this man's courage and devotion to the oath of his profession. The Post reports that Dr. Hadley—within minutes after the brutal attack and robbery—insisted on returning to his patient with needed medicine.

The American people rarely have a problem obtaining the worst news about most anyone or anything, but the story of Dr. Hadley's courageous actions during the unfortunate crime committed is an inspiring reminder of a nobler heritage.

My family and I have been privileged, for more than a score of years, to have the care of two physicians with similar ideals and character—Dr. A. Magruder MacDonald here in Washington, and Dr. Carson L. Oglesbee, in Muskogee, Okla. It is a wonderful feeling to know the dedication of such men who willingly forgo their own comfort and safety for the care of their patients.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer once wrote:

> If men can be found who revolt against the spirit of thoughtlessness, and who are personalities sound enough and profound enough to let the ideals of ethical progress radiate from them as a force, there will start an activity of the spirit which will be strong enough to evoke a new mental and spiritual disposition in mankind.

Dr. Henry G. Hadley is such a man.

The article from the Washington Post follows:

STREET THUGS FELL DOCTOR ON SICK CALL

(By Alfred E. Lewis)

Dr. Henry G. Hadley, 74-year-old founder of the Southwest Washington hospital that bears his name, was robbed of $200 Tuesday night and severely beaten by a gang of young street thugs.

The street attack felled the physician in the 1400 block of Fairmount st. nw., about 10:30 p.m. in the midst of one of the frequent night sick calls he has made without incident for nearly half a century here.

The physician's wife said her husband had gone across town from his home at 4631 Nichols ave. sw., to the edge of the riot-wrecked Northwest Washington area to minister to a patient who had been in an auto accident.

He parked his car about 50 yards from the patient's home, but at the patient's bedside discovered he had left some medicine he needed in the car. Leaving his medical bag with the patient, Dr. Hadley was returning to his car when one teen-aged youth confronted him and another grabbed him from behind throwing him to the sidewalk.

"I was yelling for help all the time," Mrs. Hadley said her husband told her, "and when I saw three or four big youngsters running toward us, I thought we had them licked."

The new arrivals, however, turned out to be reinforcements for the thieves and began kicking him in the head and tearing his clothes as they emptied his pockets. In a few moments he was left lying bleeding from a head cut and semiconscious on the street. Someone called police and when they arrived, Dr. Hadley insisted on returning to his patient with the medicine he had gone to get.

Mrs. Hadley, who accompanied her husband to Hadley Memorial Hospital for first aid and then to their home nearby, said police recovered her husband's glasses but could not find his hearing aid. Both were dislodged in the struggle.

"I have tried to get him to cut down on these house calls," Mrs. Hadley said, "especially at night. I have also tried to get him to carry less money around with him. But he keeps saying he's so well known among the poorer people in this town, that nobody would want to hurt him."

Dr. Hadley himself dismissed his experience, saying "These youngsters would have beaten their own mothers, if they thought she was carrying something of value. All they wanted was the money. They had nothing against me."

Dr. Hadley, police recalled, was one of the city's few private physicians who ventured forth during the civil disturbances last month to minister where he could to the injured. In fair times and foul, he's been where's needed and Tuesday night's experience probably won't interrupt his schedule, one policeman predicted.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF SOUTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY FAVORING IMPORT QUOTAS ON EVAPORATED AND CONDENSED MILK

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, many persons in this country are concerned with the situation in the domestic evaporated and condensed milk industry as a result of competition from imported products. In South Carolina many jobs are provided for our citizens in evaporated and condensed milk processing plants. These jobs are threatened by the refusal of the administration to impose quotas on foreign imports which compete unfairly because of the cheap labor and lower standards in production facilities that are often found in other nations.

The South Carolina General Assembly has passed a concurrent resolution urging the Secretary of Agriculture to declare an emergency situation to exist in order to impose reasonable import quotas upon foreign evaporated and condensed milk.

Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS] and myself, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

A concurrent resolution to urge the Secretary of Agriculture to declare an emergency situation to exist with regard to evaporated and condensed milk and take action to establish import quotas

Whereas, substantially all milk products are protected from unfair competition from foreign imports by Federal import quotas; and

Whereas, evaporated and condensed milk processing plants in this State provide an industry saving market for excess fluid milk and provide jobs for many of our citizens; and

Whereas, recent Federal action eliminating import quotas on evaporated and condensed milk has exposed this segment of the milk industry to massive and possibly destructive competition from foreign imports because of cheap labor and lower standards in production facilities; and

Whereas, any substantial reduction in the market for domestic producers resulting from a flood of cheap imported products would require increased Federal purchases to maintain milk prices. Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

That the General Assembly by this resolution directed to the Secretary of Agriculture does urge the Secretary of Agriculture, the Honorable Orville Freeman, to declare an emergency situation to exist which requires the immediate imposition of reasonable import quotas upon foreign evaporated and condensed milk.

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be forwarded to each member of the South Carolina Congressional Delegation, to Secretary Freeman, and to the President of the United States.

Attest:

INEZ WATSON,
Clerk of the House.

POSSIBLE STRIKE AT THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I advised the Members of this House of the possibility of a wildcat strike by employees of the Government Printing Office, not being urged by union leadership but being dictated by fear on the part of the employees of their safety in traveling to and from work.

At this point in the RECORD I include the full text of a statement made by Mr. Donald Taylor, of the Columbia Typographical Union, concerning the situation at GPO, as well as a statement of a victim of kidnaping and robbery this past Saturday, Mr. Virgil West, a linotype machinist at GPO.

The statements read as follows:

COLUMBIA TYPOGRAPHICAL
UNION NO. 101,
Washington, D.C., June 1, 1968.

At the request of President Johnson, Mayor Walter Washington along with other City officials including Public Safety Director Patrick Murphy and Police Chief John Layton met with Vice President Donald C. Taylor of the Typographical Union for a two hour session in the Mayor's office yesterday afternoon concerning the safety of the GPO employees while going to and from work.

According to Mr. Taylor, who is Acting President of the Printer's Union, the 5,000 craftsmen of the 13 crafts employed at the Government Printing Office have united in an effort to obtain safe streets to enable their members to travel to and from work without fear from assault, robbery, etc. The Union has petitioned Members of Congress as well as the White House for assistance as they feel that a wildcat strike is a real possibility if crime committed against their members is not brought to a halt. This would, in effect, stop publication of the Congressional Record and other printing for the Congress.

It was brought out in the meeting that the GPO is losing printers faster than the Public Printer can recruit them, even though he is advertising Nation-wide for additional printers. In a questionnaire sent to former employees of the GPO, 50% listed that conditions in Washington, D.C. (and not the GPO itself) was their reason for resigning.

In answer to a question from the Mayor, it was brought out by Mr. Taylor that it was definitely not a racial problem as approximately one-third of the victims were Negroes. He also brought out that Public Printer James L. Harrison failed in his bid to have a new GPO built at Bolling Field due to City pressure for low-cost housing, then failed again for a proposed site at the National Training School site for the same reason. Both sites would have provided "protected" parking for GPO's employees. Only the top officials have parking furnished to them by the GPO now. Presently, the Public Printer is fighting to have the GPO moved to nearby Prince Georges County. However, Mayor Washington has come out against moving the GPO from the District, stating that he felt that employees who did not own cars would have difficulty in reaching the new plant which would be located at the intersection of the Beltway and Annapolis Freeway, which is approximately 4 miles from the District. However, Mr. Taylor pointed out that it would take 5 years to build and move into a new plant and by that time the proposed subway system could have their proposed station built at that point. There are already tracks running out there on PRR's line. The fact that parking conditions as well as crime are bad in their present location and the fact that it seems we are unable to move leaves the future for the GPO employees pretty dark.

However, it appears that some progress was made in the Mayor's office as all concerned felt the meeting was productive and that there were many areas of agreement, such as an urgent need for a 2,000 car parking lot adjacent the GPO, and that steps would be taken to try and solve this problem immediately. There were other areas of agreement, but the Union Officer declined to elaborate as it involved police matters which he felt should not be publicized. However, within a few hours after this meeting yesterday, another GPO employee Mr. Joseph Urban of Bethesda, Md., was assaulted and robbed of his billfold containing $5 while going to work on the night shift.

Ironically, while Vice President Taylor of the Printer's Union was assisting Mr. Urban, Mr. Taylor's wife received a phone call threatening "that her husband would get it next, if he continued with the problems that others should handle." The Union Officer discounted it as a prank, however, it upset his wife to the point of her calling Officials involved.

DONALD TAYLOR,
Acting President.

STATEMENT OF VIRGIL WEST, LINOTYPE MACHINIST

On Saturday morning, June 1, 1968, at 3:35 a.m., after leaving from work, I got in my car which was parked on H Street between North Capitol and 1st Street, NW. I got the car started and started to drive home. When a voice in the back seat said, "Keep straight ahead. I have a gun in your back." I did exactly as he told me. We went over the Memorial Bridge and that is about the only place I remember as I was instructed to take various turns and back roads that I was not familiar with or had ever been over before, when he ordered me to stop he told me to hand over my wallet. I asked him to take the money but please give me my wallet back with all my cards, license, registration card, etc., which he did.

I never at any time saw the man or pistol but felt the cold metal on the back of my neck continuously (and still feel it). By side glance only did I recognize him to be a negro with a brown hat and tan jacket. I could not identify him if he were to come and speak to me now.

I was tired and exhausted after a full nights work and the excitement of the ordeal of the past 45 minutes or so and did not report it thinking from past experience "what's the use anyway". They won't or can't do anything about it. Thinking if they do catch him it would be more trouble to me and cost me more time in lost work, and money than it would him even if he were prosecuted before the court. After seriously thinking this over, I decided to make the above statement in hopes that it might encourage my co-workers to be more alert when approaching their autos.

VIRGIL WEST.

CIVIL ENGINEERING IN THE FUTURE

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, there has recently come to my attention an address by Thomas M. Lowe, Jr., vice president of a consulting engineers firm in Atlanta, that was delivered recently to a group of students and engineers at West Virginia Polytechnic Institute in Montgomery, W. Va.

Mr. Lowe entitled his address "Civil Engineering in the Future," but it might well have been entitled "The Future of America." He discussed in eloquent and forceful terms some of the drastic social and economic changes that are taking place in the United States today, as well as the role of civil engineering in the resolution of the critical problems that confront our country today and those that are to come in the years ahead. Mr. Lowe is to be commended for his insight and understanding. I commend his address to the attention of the Senate, and ask that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIVIL ENGINEERING IN THE FUTURE

One of the most fascinating things about the future is its uncertainty. Predictions regarding these uncertainities are especially hazardous in the face of present day unrest, dissatisfaction, discontent, mistrust, violence, crime and a revulsive contempt for almost everything from the accepted to the sacred. Hopefully this tirade applies to a relatively small segment of our population, nevertheless it brings up the question—how many bad apples does it take to make a bad barrel? The answer depends on how the apple barrel is handled. The resolution of this question may determine the status of "Civil Engineering in the Future".

All prior civilizations have risen and fallen, most of them through violence. Nothing in recorded history justifies us in believing that our present civilization is indestructible. I am prepared to believe that history may not only repeat itself, but that it may do so at jet or orbital speed. Unless we can shift the emphasis from the common man to the uncommon man, I predict a dreary future for the human race. The great benefactors of mankind, while too numerous and controversial to mention here, constitute an insignificant figure when expressed as a percentage of the total. When measured in terms of their impact on human progress, they probably have made for us the difference between the Stone Age and the Space Age.

We are now on the verge of creating a world so complex and involved as to confuse, confound, and frustrate the average individual. If present trends persist this condition will engulf an ever increasing percentage of our people. Unless we stem the tide of moral decay and re-establish the dignity and self reliance of the individual, chaos is inevitable. Some seem to think that in numbers there is safety and immunity. Present trends indicate if enough people are involved in a crime or an outrage, all sense of individual responsibility approaches the vanishing point. This is a dangerous philosophy for an individual, much less a nation.

The engineers definitely are not in control. Don't quote me but there may be a big civil engineering job coming up—that of rebuilding civilization. Bobo may be getting ready to play with matches again, or Nero may be tuning his fiddle for another concert, or history may be preparing to repeat.

A comparison of the great depression of the 30's with the unprecedented prosperity of the 60's is a sad reflection indeed. We reacted magnificently in the face of adversity and deprivation, but have put on a rather poor show in the midst of plenty. Democracy is on trial. Have we given it a fair chance? What will the judgment of history be? Can it survive the onslaughts of the growing ranks of the selfish, the arrogant and the unintelligent? What is the politician doing in this hour of decision? What are we doing?

I hope you will forgive me for this digression but let's hope that it will at least remind the engineers that not all the answers are to be found on the slide rule or by substitution in a formula.

In the preparation for the following remarks I concluded that a brief review of the history of Civil Engineering might help to point the way to the future.

The art of engineering originated with the Military. Its success was so significant that applications to civil works soon sprang up. Hence the name "civil" engineer. They were instrumental in promoting most of the early civilizations and there is abundant evidence of their valuable contributions to the welfare of the people. After many centuries of ups and downs, the civil engineers with notable assists from mathematicians, astronomers, and scientists laid the foundation for the application of these sciences to the orderly development of useful construction. This story is well told in the "Ancient Engineers" by L. Sprague DeCamp. It is a fascinating, factual account of engineers from the dawn of history to about the seventeenth century. I commend this book to you. In addition to its historical value, it contains delightful sidelights on the foibles and frailty of humanity, plus some enjoyable wit. The 18th and 19th centuries witnessed the accelerated emergence of the engineer as a leader in the march of civilization.

In 1852, the American Society of Civil Engineers was founded by a small group of engineers in New York City. In 1953, I attended the first Centennial Celebration of this important event in the history of civil engineering. About one hundred notable society members contributed articles to the 1953 Centennial Volume of the Transactions. This volume is one of my most prized books and I recommend it to you as a splendid history of civil engineering during the last half of the 19th and first half of the 20th Century. The period from 1952 to date eloquently speaks for itself. The civil engineer has at last firmly established his position in modern society.

Numbered among the outstanding civil engineering achievements since 1952 are: The Interstate Highway System, Urban Freeway Systems, The St. Lawrence Seaway, numerous monumental Skyscrapers, Sports Arenas, Coliseums, Airports, Bridges, Tunnels, Subways, Water Supply and Recreational Facilities, Sea Terminals and a host of other projects.

Now for a guess at what the future holds for the civil engineer. At this point my crystal ball gets a little fuzzy. We need to pause and take stock of who we are, where we are going, what we have, what can be done with it, and whom we can get to help us.

By far the most important and valuable item in our heritage chest is the Base of Scientific Knowledge which can either enhance or destroy our civilization. John King, the lowliest manual laborer in our midst today, is far more of a king than King John of a few centuries ago. He has more going for him and more potential back of him.

As a people we have shown tremendous dynamic power. We still have great latent power but its direction is wavering. What we need is an outbreak of common sense of epidemic proportions. This should clear the air and pave the way for a resumption of our march to a greater tomorrow. In this march the civil engineers will have to come to grips with the growing problems of environmental engineering, pollution of air and water, sewage and waste treatment plants, smog and solid wastes disposal, as well as a host of other highly complex and involved problems.

Transportation, especially in the urban areas, is critical and getting worse. The intelligent solution of decentralization has been widely rejected. Other solutions in the field of civil engineering should provide civil engineers with a challenge for several decades.

Water has always been a problem and bids fair to becoming critical in many areas. California is now in the midst of a mammoth program to store and transport to the south some of the surplus water of the northern part of the state. This is a long range multi-billion dollar project. Presently tagged with a 100 billion dollar estimated cost is a scheme to store and export the vast surplus of water in southern Alaska and western Canada, all the way to the southwestern part of the United States, Texas, and northern Mexico and even to the Great Lakes Region. There is little danger of running out of work on this job.

The oceans are the last great frontiers on this planet. If properly managed they may produce food for the teeming millions predicted in the not too distant future. Superficial explorations indicate that they contain vast sources of valuable petroleum and minerals. Their depths are viewed as a refuge when thermo-nuclear war breaks out. Whole submerged cities are envisioned as survival areas. Science fiction is being converted into stark reality before our very eyes. Anything the imagination can conceive, the mind of a man may eventually contrive. The world is becoming so complicated and involved that the traditional consultant will give way to the highly sophisticated, computerized efforts of design teams. I am now making a careful study of the Duck Bill Platypus and the Dodo Bird with the view of joining their ranks. Obsolescence is a way of life—no one is immune. The fundamental law of nature is adapt or die. There is no reprieve. The engineers will have a lot of adapting to do, especially the older group.

NEGOTIATIONS: HOPES VERSUS REALITIES

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, I believe that most of our colleagues are familiar with the good work being done by the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam. This is a nonprofit, nonpartisan group of concerned citizens who seek peace with freedom in Vietnam. It was founded in October 1967 by private citizens, including former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower and former Senator Paul H. Douglas.

All three of these statesmen and others on the committee have contributed a great deal to a clearer understanding of our objectives in Vietnam. For the benefit of my colleagues, I am inserting a copy of their latest policy statement, "Negotiations: Hopes Versus Realities." This was prepared by a special committee of 14 members including General Eisenhower, who participated in the drafting up to just before his recent illness. I think that it gives a clear and concise picture of the present Paris negotiations, and should be read by all of our colleagues.

NEGOTIATIONS: HOPES VERSUS REALITIES

(Statement of the Special Committee on Negotiations of the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam)

The United States welcomes negotiations which offer a hope of peace with freedom and honor in Vietnam—a responsible and durable settlement of this long, bloody and costly war. But negotiations are merely a beginning to an end. And the end is not yet in sight.

The road to a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam is likely to be long and hard. It is likely to twist and turn and take agonizing detours. And we face the unhappy prospect of continued bloodshed. A cease-fire is more likely to come at the end than at the beginning of a negotiating process.

We should not be discouraged or deceived by rhetoric. It is not how Hanoi says something; it is what it says . . . and, more importantly, does.

Negotiations will be desirable if they lead to a mutual de-escalation of the conflict, and if they advance the prospect of achieving our minimum objectives. They will be dangerous and undesirable if they develop into a long drawn-out sequence of meaningless round-table discussions while our fighting men continue to pay, under conditions made more difficult by our restraint, a high daily toll of death and disability.

Negotiations will be insupportable if Hanoi escalates its military effort in the face of the reduction in ours. We must bear in mind that once negotiations begin, the pressure to continue them will be infinitely more insistent on us than on them. We are highly responsive to domestic and to world opinion; Hanoi is far less responsive to both.

OUR OBJECTIVES

Our minimum objectives in Vietnam must be kept clear and we must state them repeatedly and with precision. We seek the independence of South Vietnam and its freedom from attack. Nothing could be simpler or clearer than that.

The South Vietnamese either freely choose their own government or they do not.

The aggression from the North either ends or it does not.

The North either takes over the South or it does not.

With this series of alternatives, it will not be difficult to know whether, and to what extent, we have succeeded or failed.

NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE

There is no necessary equation between negotiations and peace. Negotiations are not an end in themselves—they are only a possible means to an end.

Regretfully, our Committee feels obliged to express its fear that many American citizens have been misled both by supporters and opponents of our commitment in Vietnam to place too high a value on negotiations or on "talks" in themselves—and to expect too much, too soon.

Americans think of negotiations as the road to peace but there is unmistakable evidence that Ho Chi Minh thinks of negotiations as another way to fight a war—in effect, as another weapons system. Too many Americans think the question is fight or negotiate. The enemy, on the other hand, has developed a consistent policy of fight and negotiate.

Hanoi's Deputy Chief of Staff, General Vinh, starkly enunciated this policy in a speech to the Fourth Congress of the Viet Cong: "We will take advantage of the opportunity offered by the negotiations to step up further our military attacks . . . the decisive factor lies on the battlefield. In fighting while negotiating, the side which fights more strongly will compel the adversary to accept its conditions."

PANMUNJOM EXPERIENCE

Our experience at Panmunjom is eloquent testimony to the enemy strategy and a clear warning to us. While Korean negotiations dragged on for two years[1]—with an enemy record of duplicity, deceit and deliberately abrogated agreements—we suffered 62,000 additional casualties with almost 13,000 dead. And there is yet no true peace in Korea.

We must adopt a realistic attitude toward negotiations, not allowing our hopes and our expectations to outrun harsh realities. Negotiations will be neither valuable nor productive unless both sides feel that it is in their interest to end the conflict and negotiate a settlement of the issues. Even though our military progress has been considerable, we cannot expect to win at the conference table what we have not won on the battlefield. Equally, we must avoid losing at the conference table what we have fought so hard, and given so much, to protect.

AMERICAN RESOLUTION

The pattern of negotiations will reflect the military, economic and political strength of the opposing forces in Vietnam. One of the greatest of these strengths is resolution—the determination to see the struggle through—and the communication of that determination to the enemy. We would be foolish to expect Hanoi to negotiate a mutually satisfactory settlement of the war if their leaders believe that the resolution of the United States and South Vietnam is failing. Thus, one of the greatest threats to successful negotiations is that Hanoi may under-estimate America's resolve.

We must unceasingly make it clear to Hanoi that we do not seek nor will we accept a camouflaged surrender which would inevitably result in the United States "writing off" Southeast Asia for the foreseeable future. We could survive such a catastrophe—but our citizenry should be clear that the whole security system, which has maintained peace and freedom for the past generation, would be eroded—if not destroyed—by an American retreat from our commitments in Southeast Asia. We would become a relatively isolated and less influential nation. Further, our withdrawal would be followed by the massacre of hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese who have stood by our side. On moral grounds alone, this cannot be permitted.

TIME AND COST

Our opponents view the conflict as being fought in two principal areas—time and cost. They appear convinced that both factors are now working in their favor.

Time

America appears impatient to end the war. We think in terms of weeks and months. Hanoi thinks in terms of years and decades.[2]

Cost

We appear unwilling to pay the continuing costs of the conflict. They appear resigned to their proportionately far heavier costs, particularly in human casualties. To us an American life is above price; the enemy spends lives as we spend dollars.

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[1] The opening session of the truce negotiations was held on July 10, 1951. The Armistice was reached on July 27, 1953. The delegates held 159 plenary sessions, 26 at Kaesong and 133 at Panmunjom. The three subdelegations held 179 additional meetings. The Staff and Liaison officers met 427 times. In all, there were 765 meetings. The various sessions and meeting were recessed 20 times, once for 199 days. 966 hours were spent in face-to-face negotiations with the Communists. The transcript of the Armistice Conference comprises 3 bound volumes, each an inch and one-half thick. The records pertaining to the negotiations occupy 52 library boxes totaling 17 cubic feet.

[2] Mao Tse-tung long ago gave us, in his own words, a capsule definition of our opponents' consistent strategy:

"Enemies advance, we retreat

"Enemies halt, we harass

"Enemies tire, we attack

"Enemies retreat, we pursue."

The tactics vary; the strategy remains the same.

John K. Fairbank, America's noted Asian scholar, has said: "Ho Chi Minh and his colleagues are committed to permanent revolutionary struggle rather than to an interlude of war terminated by formal peace."

In both areas—time and cost—impatience may indeed be our deadliest enemy.

If this is a reasonable analysis, the chances for productive negotiations would not appear to be substantial at this time. Hanoi's willingness to engage in genuine negotiations is, in our judgment, inversely related to their estimate of their military-political progress.

Nevertheless, America and its allies should painstakingly explore, for a reasonable time, every possible avenue of securing an honorable resolution of the conflict.

PEACE WITH FREEDOM

One cannot over-emphasize what we do not seek in Vietnam; we do not seek the surrender of North Vietnam or to destroy it or its people. Rather, we seek freedom for South Vietnam and an end of the aggression directed from the North. We fight for peace with freedom and honor.

We hope to see a South Vietnam which is free, united, independent, politically stable and economically expanding. To the degree that these longer range goals are attained, we will have achieved our "victory."

"Instant" victory is, unfortunately, not available to us on the battlefield or at the negotiating table. In both arenas, we must beware of impatience, disillusionment, and extremist and simplistic answers to complex problems. Particularly, if negotiations should break down, we must re-survey our position and weigh carefully the danger of over-reacting and of sharply escalating our military effort in search of a quick victory." Winning in Vietnam at the expense of losing our position in the world would be a Pyrrhic triumph.

America has, by its unilateral de-escalation of the conflict, demonstrated to the world our devotion to peace. It would now seem both prudent and warranted for us not to make further concessions without reciprocal, although not necessarily simultaneous, acts from the other side.

Mutual de-escalation is by definition a two-way street. Hanoi cannot always take and never give; always demand everything and never concede anything. A sequence of unilateral concessions by us, not reciprocated by Hanoi, would be the road to surrender.

COALITION GOVERNMENT

We believe there is one thing that the United States should not do. We should not exert pressure on South Vietnam to accept a coalition government.

Any representation of the National Liberation Front in the political structure of South Vietnam should occur as a result of a free political choice expressed by the South Vietnamese themselves. All citizens of South Vietnam can fully participate in the democratic process—on a one man-one vote basis—without the foreign imposition of a coalition government. History is replete with examples of Communist takeovers of governments by obtaining control of key ministries such as defense, justice, police and propaganda. Indeed, Czechoslovakia is only now emerging from twenty years of totalitarianism following a "coalition government."

A WORLD IN CONFLICT

Finally, America must not expect too much to flow from a resolution of the conflict in Vietnam. We live in a world of great antipathetic historical forces. There is no early prospect for world peace in the traditional sense. There is conflict in today's world and conflict—political, economic or even military—will unquestionably continue at various levels and in various places for the foreseeable future.

Our basic continuing objective is to hold such conflict within the bounds that permit the survival of mankind. That is why we adhere to our generous and farsighted policy—the willingness to fight a limited conflict, with limited means, at limited risk for limited objectives.

The success or failure of that policy may well be decisive in shaping not only the destiny of South Vietnam and of Southeast Asia but of the entire world.

Omar N. Bradley, Lucius D. Clay, James B. Conant, Paul H. Douglas, Roscoe Drummond, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John W. Hanes, Jr., Mary P. Lord, Archbishop Lucey, Franz Michael, Ithiel de Sola Pool, Leverett Saltonstall, Henry P. Van Dusen, Eugene P. Wigner.

ESSAY CONTEST CONDUCTED BY ROTARY CLUB OF WICHITA FALLS, TEX.

HON. JOHN G. TOWER

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the Rotary Club of Wichita Falls, my hometown, recently conducted its "Americanism" essay contest among seniors in our city's high schools. Five young Texans were selected as winners from their respective schools.

I believe that the words of these young people will be of interest and inspiration to other Members of the Senate and to all patriotic Americans. I therefore ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the essays were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT AMERICANISM MEANS TO ME

(By Joe Vinson, Hirschi High School)

I am a young man just over eighteen years of age. Like all young men of this age, I think a great deal about our country and its commitments, especially military commitments. After a great deal of thought I came to the conclusion that I would indeed fight whenever and wherever I was needed in the service of my country. Many people would describe this decision as one of patriotism or nationalism or even refer to it sarcastically as heroism. I much prefer to describe it as an act of Americanism. This is what Americanism means to me; a combination of pride, love, devotion, and the willingness to serve one's country in any capacity of which one is capable. (The Armed Forces, although important, do not represent the only battlefield upon which a person can fight for their country.)

Pride is a feeling that is useless unless it is coupled with sincerity. A person who is sincere is indeed a proud person. Our country and its heritage is something for which every true American can feel a deep and sincere pride. To be able to stand up and proclaim to all the world that you are an American is a privilege far too great to be taken lightly. Whenever an individual is at a sporting event and the National Anthem is played and the Stars and Stripes are run up to the top of the flag pole and he feels a slight swell of the breast and a lump in his throat, then that individual is experiencing one of the most enjoyable emotions in life: pride in his country.

Love is an emotion similar to pride but different in the fact that it goes much deeper. Love for one's country is one of the deepest emotions that a person is capable of feeling. Little more can be said about this emotion; (either you have it or you do not), there is no in between. If indeed one loves their country, there will be little doubt of this in his own mind.

Devotion is the most difficult characteristic of Americanism. This is predominately due to the fact that to be devoted to one's country, one must be prepared to stand beside her under any and all conditions. What is best for the nation as a whole must be the interest nearest the heart of the individual at all times. There must be a willingness to work for the conditions which will better the country to which one is devoted. Continual complaining, not constructive criticism, with no action to right the conditions is of no value whatsoever. A truly devoted person will do his best to better conditions within his country while at the same time proclaiming to the world at large that he stands behind her in whatever action she takes.

The last characteristic of Americanism is a direct result of the three previous characteristics; pride, love, and devotion. To be willing to serve one's country one must be proud, devoted, and feel a deep and sincere love for that country. The willingness to serve is one of the things that made this country the greatest nation in this universe. The willingness to fight and to die for one's country is one of the most important characteristics of Americanism.

At the very beginning of this paper I said that Americanism to me was a combination of pride, love, devotion, and willingness to serve. There is little doubt that other people will have different opinions. However, this is what Americanism means to me.

WHAT AMERICANISM MEANS TO ME

(By John A. Grenspun, Notre Dame High School)

In the middle of nothing, a distant shore marks the boundary. Within, a great, massive, moving body of azure water stretches, flexes. A million grasping waves reach out, lapping sandy beaches. No driftwood is left alone in aimless oblivion. The water is drink for the thirsty, food for the hungry. This is the grand oasis, America. I have been here, have indulged; now, I am satisfied. This is America. This is mine.

What is America? What does being an American mean to me? I have found that being an American involves the ability to receive an honored way of life; then, simply, to live it. America is what I have and how I respond to what I have been given.

I have love and hate. My neighbor and I speak harsh words. Misguided fears and twisted prejudices cast a shadow of malice between us. But this is America, land of brotherhood and understanding. Across the barrier our hands clasp again; hate turns to love.

I have hope and despair. American dreams are shattered in seconds time. I am tempted to lash out at the motherland that bore me. But the overbearing hope, which is America to me, rebuilds those dreams and makes them real again.

I have faith and distrust. Often times I am confused and misled by false prophets who herald Americanism while actually hindering the very growth of that proud heritage. In such cases I can refer only to the principles upon which this nation was founded. Here the faith of our nation truly lies. This faith I will never lose.

I have war and peace. The conscience of my nation is troubled and shaken when it sends its sons to fight and die in far off battlefields. But the conscience of a nation is justified in fighting wars to liberate justice from tyranny and freedom from enslavement. So we have the peace of mind and spirit that comes to a nation that kills to stop the killing and dies to stop the dying. This also America has given to me.

America has given me other things, too. I have a sense of dedicated responsibility, the righteous duty imparted to every citizen who bears the most honorable of all titles—American. This, the responsibility to live by and for the heritage inherited by every American citizen. This, the duty to spread our heritage to peoples of other lands where freedom and justice for all exists only in visions, not in reality.

I have two very wonderful parents who have raised three children the best way they know possible—the American way. For this I am proud and thankful. For a nation is just as strong and unified as the families that populate it. As the family goes, so goes the nation. In America, it goes well.

The sun shines. The waves are gentle, the water is calm. America, you have made me what I am. I am, now and forever, yours.

WHAT AMERICANISM MEANS TO ME

(By Ladonna Hainline, S. H. Rider High School)

"The Star Spangled Banner" rings out from the shiny instruments of a brass band marching smartly down the main street of a small town while the cheering, flag-waving crowd welcomes home a long awaited boy-soldier-hero. Joy pervades the atmosphere and a mother's heart is filled with pride and a secure peace. Elsewhere, a melancholy bugle mourning the Taps melody is punctuated by five guns firing in rapid succession. The American flag is reverently folded and received by a silent, proud mother. Grief is shown in the eyes of downcast mourners as the precious coffin lowers into the waiting earth.

Americanism is a heartfelt sensation experienced by all Americans—to some it is more personal than others. Sometimes it is taken for granted as an inherent right. It is easy to watch a flag being raised and allow a lump to occupy the throat with fierce pride when no sacrifice is required, but that is not Americanism, only security.

Americanism is patriotism and strength to stand behind our forefathers' democratic convictions at all times, not just when it is convenient. It is the determination to preserve our heritage. Our way of life is often thought to be an established fact written in history books that will stand forever true. This is a fallacy; our heritage was left to us to protect and nurture.

Americanism is a sense of pride, but not just pride. Sacrifice, awareness, and temperance are coupled with it. Since the Revolutionary War, Americans have sacrificed their most precious possessions—their sons, husbands, brothers, and lovers. This was shown in the first and second World Wars, the Korean conflict, and now Vietnam. When the cause was just, America could be counted on for support. Our country was aware of the need to remain united under one indivisible front. This has never been an easy task. There have been times when it would have been more convenient to follow a policy of noninvolvement in the face of another country's aggression. Instead, regardless of the displeasure an act might entail, the justice and determination so much a part of Americanism has overcome the temptation to rest on our laurels and let the world follow a disastrous course.

Where Americanism is concerned, no generation gap exists. Americanism is not encumbered by age or sex barriers. The younger generation falls in step with the older generation to insure their future. All have the opportunity to make history come alive and steer it toward the common goal of freedom; both generations share the burdens and pleasures of the American dream.

Americanism means many things. It is strength, pride, courage, determination, sacrifice, justice, and patriotism; but above all it is reality. Intangible and abstract, but within reach of those who seek it and appreciate it, Americanism is manifested in various ways—at celebrations or funerals, in peace or during war. It is not reserved only for times when America is favored by world opinion, but throughout troubled and trying times. Americanism is the end result of our ancestors' struggle for a cherished way of life.

WHAT AMERICANISM MEANS TO ME

(By Paulette Williams, Booker T. Washington High School)

To me, Americanism means the continued flow of good character, devotion of free men to the ideas of the United States of America, and consideration for the welfare of others. There are men so brave who die day after day only because their hearts and souls are instilled with strong support for this nation's traditions, customs, and beliefs. Men and women who remain at home reveal their devotion to America as they exercise those rights granted them in the Constitution of the United States of America; such that the same rights of their fellow citizens are not infringed upon. While Americanism includes respect for the rights of others, it also includes such things as respect for the laws of the United States of America, respect for its flag, and devotion to its ideas.

The historical background of America marks the foundation of what Americanism means to me. Several centuries after Christopher Columbus discovered America, the Puritans settled here in colonies seeking religious, economic, and political freedom and opportunity. Despite the many hardships, toils, and dangers of the colonists, they grew to be the united people of the United States of America. Years later great American men drew up the Supreme Law of the Land, which was the Constitution of the United States of America. This law states the justified rights and responsibilities of each American citizen. Other American documents such as the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights were formulated. Through the historical years of America, I see Americanism as freedom and opportunity determined by responsible men.

One of the most wonderful ways in which Americanism has been revealed to me is by the young American soldiers in Vietnam. These young men, who fight our enemy day after day, are thinking of their homeland. The fighting men in Vietnam are fighting for this country because they cherish its customs and ideas. In order that we maintain our great methods of living, such patriotic men are in combat with those who present threats to this land. It is therefore visual to me that Americanism is being exercised by our brave men who are fighting in Vietnam.

Americanism is also characterized by being concerned with the welfare of others. America has shown its good character by helping other countries. For years, since World War II, the United States has so generously supplied goods in grants and loans to underdeveloped nations. Most of these nations lacked education, good health, food, and military strength. With economic and military aid from the United States, many of these nations have improved tremendously. Today, India and the Republic of China have improved their living conditions. The people of Africa are doing much better in their development of their natural resources. These are just a few international relations which suggest to me that Americanism means being concerned with the welfare of others.

Americanism, to me, includes such things as showing good character, respect and devotion to the ideas of America, and consideration for the welfare of others. What Americanism means to me is best described in these words taken from the American Creed:

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country, to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies."

This is what Americanism means to me.

WHAT AMERICANISM MEANS TO ME

(By Nancey Carol Kohutek, Wichita Falls High School)

To be an American is the greatest experience possible. Every door of opportunity and every potentiality of life is open to each American from his birth throughout his entire life. Regretfully, Americans have begun to lose the vitality and enthusiasm of their heritage as their Americanism wanes. Americanism—what a magical word! It exceeds the realm of most words in that it encompasses emotions, dreams, and challenges.

Emotions are felt by everyone. Many actions are direct results of emotions alone. An over-dose of emotionalism can be ineffective and unrealistic, but emotionalism in the right proportion is an absolute necessity to a well-rounded, dedicated American. Pride, of course, is the first mark of Americanism in an individual. Only through a proud heritage has America become the leading country of the world, and only through strong, proud Americans will it remain a pillar of freedom and a symbol of justice. Pride, though, is superficial unless it is reinforced by an unfaltering, unequivocal love for America. Such a love overcomes injustice and criticism. It is true yet flexible. This emotion coupled with pride is the essence of Americanism, the foundation for a safe, growing country.

Americanism is much more than emotional, however. It is idealistic. Dreams emerge from the knowledge of a country where people rise from the lowest plane in life to ascend the throne of success and independence. Dreams for a better life for everyone are soon to develop in the minds of Americans. Eventually, youthful dreams become mature dreams for a better world and a happier life. These hopes, for they represent more than dreams, only continue because they are plausible and substantial in the realm of Americanism. These dreams can only be realized, though, if the challenges they create are met and successfully resolved.

Life for an American is full of challenges, but the idealism of loyal Americans increases the challenges for the present and the future. As always, there are world and political challenges but more pressing than those problems are domestic and personal challenges. Many people are involved in programs such as Head Start, Youth Corps, and various other training programs. They are meeting the challenges on the domestic field today. This is a sign of Americanism in action. Perhaps the greatest need today, though, is personal commitment. Every American must decide for himself that America is his country, a land of challenges and a land that needs the work of strong, capable people. This is realistic Americanism.

Thus, emotions, dreams, and challenges are involved in the mystical world of Americanism. It is a patient, thoughtful, exciting world that holds life and all its beauty within the reach of all Americans who will but take advantage of his birthright and background. Americanism is quite a word and quite an obligation!

OIL IMPORT CONTROL PROGRAM COSTS LESS THAN SUPPOSED

HON. OMAR BURLESON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. Clyde LaMotte, editor of the Oil and Gas Journal, run as a feature article in the Dallas Morning News, set the record straight on a recent editorial in the Washington Post regarding foreign oil imports:

OIL IMPORT CONTROL PROGRAM COSTS LESS THAN SUPPOSED

(By Clyde LaMotte)

WASHINGTON.—What does the oil import control program cost the public?

The Washington Post, one of the nation's most influential newspapers, claimed in a recent editorial that the cost to the U.S. public is "several billions of dollars a year" in higher prices for petroleum products.

To anyone at all familiar with the program, the Post statement is patently inaccurate and misleading.

The Post did not explain how it arrived at such a total. But it is obvious that it could be done only by eliminating all or most of the current domestic production and replacing it with lower cost Middle East crude oil.

The figure generally used as the difference between the cost of domestic crude and of Middle East crude delivered here is $1.25 a barrel (3 cents a gallon). Thus, if all domestic production—amounting to about 3.2 billion barrels annually—were shut down to increase imports, the maximum "saving" in cost to the public would be about $4 billion a year.

However, and the Post did not bother to mention this, there are many offsetting factors which change the "cost" picture greatly.

For example, Interior announced recently it had received high bids amounting to $602 million in the May 21 offshore Texas lease sale. This, the agency reported, brought to $1.7 billion the amount the Federal government has received on three offshore lease sales during the past 12 months.

Obviously, if domestic production were not allowed, there would be no offshore lease sales. So the $4 billion "cost" figure is automatically reduced by $1.7 billion, leaving $2.3 billion.

In addition to the bonus money for leases, the Federal government receives rentals and one sixth of all the productions from an offshore lease. This is already amounting to many millions of dollars annually.

The Federal government also gets additional millions from leases and rentals of onshore public lands. This, too, would be lost if domestic production were halted.

State governments would lose several hundreds of millions of dollars annually which they now collect in oil and gas severance taxes.

State and federal governments would lose taxes on the income of producers, royalty owners and the 300,000 persons now employed in the exploration and production end of the industry.

Many inland refiners, having no access to foreign oil, would go out of business because, even if they were allowed to use domestic crude they could not compete with the importing companies using cheaper crude oil.

Also, because about 40 per cent of the nation's natural gas supply is produced in conjunction with oil, the shutting down of oil production would mean a loss of that much natural gas from the market. This would tend to force the price of natural gas upward to the public if, indeed, enough gas were available to meet consumer needs.

The balance of payments problem would be worsened by the purchase of an additional 3.2 billion barrels of oil abroad, and companies would step up their investments overseas in order to meet the increased demand.

The Gross National Product total would be reduced by almost $10 billion by the loss of sales of domestic crude oil and natural gas.

All in all, then, it is obvious that the cost of "many billions of dollars" is far too high. At best, the direct and immediate net cost could hardly be more than $1 billion and might well be considerably less.

A figure of $1 billion a year, when applied to 3.2 billion barrels of oil would amount to a little over 31¢ a barrel—less than 1 cent a gallon. If the average motorist uses 700 gallons of gasoline a year, his "saving" by using foreign oil would be a little over $5 a year.

Even this saving would quickly disappear if foreign producing nations hiked their price of crude oil to serve a captive U.S. market, a very likely development.

Nevertheless, government oil officials take the view that there is at least an immediate, short-range cost resulting from the import program, although they do not put a price tag on it.

They justify the extra cost on the grounds of national security, pointing out that a strong, healthy domestic petroleum industry is essential. Congress and three different administrations have approved this approach.

But even though this has been explained time and again during the 9-year life of the program, the Washington Post specifically and the eastern press generally still haven't gotten the message.

The Post, in its editorial, said that "if the object of the policy is to enlarge domestic petroleum reserves in the event of an emergency, why not import much more of the low priced crude from the Persian Gulf?

Evidently the Post has already forgotten about the Middle East crisis of last year which stopped the flow of 10 million barrels daily of oil from that region. This resulted in price increases of about 3 cents a gallon in Europe, which gets more than half of its oil from that source. But there was no increase of that sort in this country which, because of the import control program, receives only about 3 per cent of its oil from the Middle East. Nor was this nation's war effort adversely affected.

THE CHRISTIAN'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE STATE—SERMON BY REV. WINFIELD D. SMITH

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the relationship of the individual to the state and its laws has long been a question of great concern to religious leaders. On May 5, in the Episcopal Church of the Incarnation, Gaffney, S.C., the Reverend Winfield D. Smith delivered a fine sermon entitled "The Christian's Relationship to the State."

The Reverend Mr. Smith points out four reasons why Christians feel a moral obligation to obey the law. First, God has provided civilized government for our own good. Second, the state exists to maintain what is right and to put down what is wrong. Third, the state represents the authority of God on earth. Fourth, without obedience the state will cease to function. The Reverend Smith concludes by stating:

> Take your place beside your local police and your elected representatives to secure and promote peace, temperance and morality, honesty and truthfulness, and justice.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the sermon be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHRISTIAN'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE STATE

(I Peter 2: 11, Romans 13: 1–6)

(Sermon by Rev. Winfield D. Smith, in the Episcopal Church of the Incarnation, Gaffney, S.C., May 5, 1968)

A portion of the Epistle for the Day reads:

"Submit yourselves to every human institution for the sake of the Lord, whether to the Sovereign as supreme, or to the governor as his deputy for the punishment of criminals and the commendation of those who do right. For it is the will of God that by your good conduct you should put ignorance and stupidity to silence."

The Apostle Peter wrote these words to small scattered groups of Christians living in the alien lands of Asia Minor. His letter is entitled: "The Calling of a Christian" in the New English Bible from which this translation is taken.

Shortly after Peter wrote this letter, Nero became ruler of Rome. It was Nero, you recall, who tried to wipe out Christianity, who subjected the first Christians to terrible persecution. Christians were an unlicensed cult, in the eyes of the State they were considered to be an off-shoot of Judaism. Then, too, Nero may have used Christians as a scapegoat for his own madness. They were, nonetheless, persecuted because they preferred to worship Jesus Christ as God, rather than Caesar. Some of them were bathed in oil, crucified, and set afire on posts to light the dark streets at night; some were wrapped in nets and thrown to wild animals to be clawed and pummeled to death. Yet, in spite of this fearful and oppressive state under which they would soon have to live, they were encouraged by Peter and instructed by Paul to submit to every human institution for the sake of the Lord. And, as a result, there isn't a shred of evidence anywhere that Christians were at anytime defiant toward civil authority, or rebellious, or lawless in their conduct toward the state, even Nero's. Instead, there are letters remaining written between provincial governors and Roman authorities which comment on the good conduct of the Christians brought to trial before them. They could find them guilty of no wrongdoing whatever except their unswerving commitment to worship Jesus Christ rather than Caesar. And, the Christians having chosen not to worship Caesar, and this being a capital crime, they were led off willingly and uncomplainingly to death.

Now, this relationship of a Christian to the State is an age old problem. The first Christians of the Apostle Peter's day had to wrestle with it. People down through the centuries have had to face it. And, today, you and I have to answer it.

For there is resistance, rebellion, and defiance abroad in our land. You and I have to explore this age old problem and arrive at some solution that we can live with. Being Christian, we have to begin with the teaching of Jesus and its application made by the New Testament saints, Peter and Paul. They had a larger knowledge of the One God and Father of us all; they had a clearer insight to Jesus' revelation of God's will than any or all Christians who have followed them. They would have been replaced during the past twenty critical centuries, if they had not understood the will of God for us in this important area.

These two great apostles believed that the "powers that be are ordained of God" (Romans 13); and that human institutions function most effectively when the people submit to them. It is a singular truth in the Judeo-Christian religions that God is in control of history, rather than men. "For there is no power but of God", Paul said to the Romans. And, this is one of the reasons that we should be careful to submit to every human institution; it is for the Lord's sake.

This morning, I want to zero in on one of these human institutions: the civil government.

I want to tell you four reasons why you and I must be obedient to the state

And, the *first* reason is this: God has provided civil government for our own good.

Now, this *is not to say* that dictators are provided by God. He permits them. Dictators are men who may have been called originally by God; but, of their own free will, they have misused their power and have used their office for evil rather for good. Many a warped personality in our time has claimed power by force and set himself up as a kind of god.

But, it *is to say that* government is the law of God. That is, "order is heaven's first law," as someone has said. Consider the first chapter of Genesis, for example.

God created this orderly, perfectly governed universe, which we take so much for granted, out of utter chaos. This universe can be understood by the simplest child in terms of the regular and dependable seasons of the year. The sun never fails to rise in the morning and set in the evening. We can calculate the time of sunrise and sunset in seconds for years ahead because we can depend on the universe to be orderly and regular. Spring follows winter; then comes summer and fall, with unchanging regularity which we can count on to survive.

Similarly, a society must have government. Without civil government, there would be chaos and anarchy. And, where there is no government in society, there is no security, no certainty of progress toward better things.

Therefore, God has provided in His Creation that there be human institutions with authority and leaders to rule with authority, so that there will not be chaos among men. Paul wrote: "the existing authorities are instituted by God."

The *second* reason why you and I must be obedient to the state is that the state exists to maintain what is right and to put down what is wrong. Or, as the Epistle says it: "for the punishment of criminals and the commendation of those who do right."

Civil government is necessary for the protection of life and property and for the keeping down of crime. And, how you and I feel toward the government will be determined by how effectively those in authority use their power for this purpose.

So, the rioter and the looter who disrespects authority and disregards property, and all others who wilfully defy the law, are actually being disobedient to God. The Law says: "Thou shalt not steal."

It is the responsibility, then, of those in authority to punish criminals as well as to commend those who do right. If the state upholds the right and puts down the wrong, it is being an obedient agent of God. If it does not do this, then, it is being disobedient to the Divine order, and the result is chaos, and a new government.

The *third* reason why you and I should be obedient to the state is that its leaders represent the authority of God on earth. Holy Scripture calls them the "ministers of God." That is, they fulfill a Divine vocation. And, like the priests in the Temple of old, they must be supported as servants of God. So, we gladly pay our taxes for good government. We submit to their authority because we recognize that all of them, whether they be presidents, cabinet officers, senators, representatives, judges, magistrates, jurymen, police,—they all serve by the authority of God.

It remains for the rest of us to accept the role of servant to this authority, not only because it is the prudent thing to do for the benefit of the common good, but because it is a matter of conscience placed on our hearts by God.

In a free society, such as ours, more than any other form of government, it seems to me, elected officials are called, cultivated, and groomed for office by God Himself for the special purpose of working out God's will for the world.

You remember the story of Joseph in the Old Testament. He was a spoiled child with a coat of many colors given him by an indulgent father; but, God led Joseph through one trial after another in Egypt and finally elevated him to be the savior of His starving people back in Canaan. It's a familiar story duplicated many times over in the history of man.

God calls leaders to positions of authority and requires us to be His obedient subjects. He expects us to honor and respect those in authority not because they are men in high office but because God's work can be discerned in their human efforts.

Our Church asks that every child learn the Ten Commandments by heart before he is confirmed. We rehearsed them today as we are instructed to do at least once monthly. The Fifth Commandment, the only Commandment with a promise, states: "Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

The Church explains this Commandment, on page 288, of The Book of Common Prayer, to mean: "To love, honor, and help my father and mother: To honor and obey the civil authority: To submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters: And to order myself in that lowliness and reverence which becometh a servant of God."

And, the Church's teaching hasn't gone out of date, either. It's been neglected.

The *fourth* reason why you and I should be obedient to the state is that without our obedience it could not function. Government would give place to anarchy just as Universities must close, unless authority placed in them is exercised as well as recognized.

God has appointed the law. Therefore, every Christian must uphold the law with an obedient and submissive spirit.

Now, this does not in any way mean to deny the right of conscience to protest against unjust actions of human institutions, nor to replace leaders in positions of authority when they abuse their powers. Yet, on the other hand, this does not permit the perverse and irresponsible defiance of authority so rampant in our nation today.

No law has the right to force any man's conscience. If any authority tries to enforce a law that sins against morality—that is, requires you to do what you know to be immoral—then, resistance to such a law is permissible at all costs. Nowhere does the Bible teach passive acceptance and non-resistance to immoral laws.

However, this is most important. Resistance to lawful authority must always be the last resort. Anyone who wishes to resist the authority of any human institution must be very careful that he is absolutely right. Otherwise, if he is not right, he will be setting up his own individual and personal judgment as the law of God.

We must continue to regard, and teach our children to have this regard, that subordination, rule, subjection, and loyalty are all part of the Divine order imposed upon all of us by the Lord God for the common good of us all.

Therefore, the Christian will always cooperate with the governing authorities. Take your place beside your local police and your elected representatives to secure and promote peace, temperance and morality, honesty and truthfulness, and justice.

For all of these things are necessary to our local and national well being. Government would be easy if every person serving there were a Christian; and, it would be good, if every Christian would realize his duties with respect to human institutions.

A good Christian can never be a bad subject; and, with piety in office, there can never be bad authority. Amen.

NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL SUPPORTS PERU AID CUTOFF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, as everyone in this Chamber knows, I have been deeply concerned about the sale of sophisticated weapons to less-developed countries who do not need them and cannot afford to waste their precious limited resources on these weapons of war. Recently the State Department put into effect for the first time, amendments which I sponsored, and cut off $37.5 million in development loans which had been programed for Peru during fiscal 1968. This action was taken in response to Peru's purchase of over $20 million worth of supersonic jet fighters from France.

An editorial in today's New York Times supports this action. In stating that "it is unreasonable to expect U.S. taxpayers to underwrite, directly or indirectly, Peru's military whims," the Times repeats one of the major reasons why I sponsored and fought for the adoption of these amendments.

Under unanimous consent I insert the full editorial at this point in the Record:

Direct arms aid is not the only vehicle through which the United States may become involved in undesirable weapons buildup. Sometimes nations receiving American economic assistance take advantage of this windfall to divert scarce domestic resources to military purchases.

To discourage this practice, Congress last year amended the foreign-aid appropriations bill to require a cut in economic assistance equal to the amount a developing nation spent on advanced weapons. This provision has led recently to the withholding of $37.5-million in development loans from Peru, which has ordered more than $20-million worth of supersonic jet fighter planes from France.

The Peruvians, as might be expected, are momentarily irate. Speaking caustically in an interview the other day, Premier Raul Ferrero Rebagliati said the United States would never be able to dictate policy to Peru.

Fair enough. But after passions have cooled, thoughtful Peruvians may come to realize that it is unreasonable to expect United States taxpayers to underwrite, directly or indirectly, Peru's military whims. This is especially true as long as Peru remains unwilling to tax adequately those of her own people who can afford it.

COOPERATIVE SUCCESS IN INDIA

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, several years of joint effort by cooperatives in India and the United States and the Governments of the two countries are resulting in a great new fertilizer in India. This is a success story upon which other enterprises can be based.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article about this project prepared by the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., which is located at 1012 14th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Cooperative Fertilizer Plant in India Is "All Systems Go"

Indian and U.S. cooperatives—assisted by private capital and a government guarantee—are working together to build a $119 million nitrogen fertilizer plant in India.

The project is believed to be the world's largest international business transaction by cooperatives.

It has been in development for more than two years, but because of the complex and many-sided negotiations involved, only fragments of its story have heretofore been made public.

Parties to the project are: in India, the National Cooperative Union of India, the Indian government, Indian AID (U.S. Agency for International Development) Mission, Indian Farmers Fertilizer Cooperative, and other cooperatives; and in the United States, U.S. AID in Washington, the Bank of America, and some two dozen cooperative organizations.

For one of the principal participants, the Cooperative League of the USA, Chicago, the project marks a major fruition of 13 years of joint effort with the Indians to develop and strengthen cooperatives in their country. The League has maintained an office in New Delhi since 1955.

The Indian Farmers Fertilizer Cooperative, formed to own and operate the new plant and distribute its products, was inaugurated at a ceremony in New Delhi, April 11. Donald H. Thomas, president of Cooperative Fertilizers International of Chicago, new U.S. organization brought into being because of this project, was one of the speakers.

Following this inauguration, at which Jagjivan Ram, India's prime minister for food and agriculture, was the principal speaker, Thomas and Allie C. Felder, Jr., head of the Cooperative League India office, said that the project could be described as "all systems go."

The proposed plant will produce 1,000 tons of anhydrous ammonia (83% nitrogen) per day—an estimated (depending somewhat on formulas) 800,000 tons of finished fertilizer products a year.

One pound of nitrogen is computed to produce up to 10 pounds of additional wheat or rice. Thus, on the basis of 300 days' operation, this single plant could account for more than 80 million bushels of additional wheat or rice in a year.

This would mean a 3% to 5% increase in India's total annual grain production. It also is equivalent to nearly one-third of the wheat and feed grain the United States sent to India in 1967, peak year of its shipments under the "Food for Freedom" program.

The homemade fertilizer also will represent a saving of foreign exchange for India, which imports about $400 million worth of fertilizer a year.

Of the estimated plant cost of $119 million, 10% ($12 million) is to come from the Indian cooperatives, 20% ($24 million) from the Indian government in the form of redeemable stock, 23% ($27 million) from the Indian government as a loan, and 47% ($55 million) from a loan to be obtained in the United States.

The investment is projected to pay off in 12 years. In that time the plant will, according to computations, pay $128 million in principal and interest; redeem the Indian government's $24 million in shares and pay it $12 million in dividends; save farmers $165 million in cost of fertilizers; save the country $350 million in foreign exchange, and represent a net worth of $49 million. All of this is apart from the increased value of crop production resulting from the fertilizer.

Ram said in his April 11 speech that the plant is expected to reduce fertilizer prices from current levels by 10%, 20%, and 30% in its fourth, sixth, and eighth years of operation.

The plant will be built at Kandla, a port city on the Gulf of Kutch in northeast India. Construction is expected to begin in 1969, with completion targeted in 1971.

Development of this "India fertilizer project" is a many-stranded story.

In 1953 the American International Association for Economic and Social Development (AIA)—founded by Nelson Rockefeller and active principally in Latin America—established a supervised agricultural credit project in India. The man in charge, Thomas B. Keehn, found himself working primarily with the Indian cooperatives.

In 1955 Jerry Voorhis, executive director of the Cooperative League from 1947 to 1967, made the League a partner with the AIA in the India project. Felder went to India for the League in 1956 as an agricultural credit specialist. In 1961 both Keehn and AIA left India and Felder took charge of the League's India office.

In 1961 Nationwide Insurance companies of Columbus, Ohio, a League member, sent a five-man team to India to study the possibilities of further assistance to cooperatives. This group recommended fertilizer production as part of an overall cooperative development plan.

In 1964 Howard A. Cowden, president of the 1-year-old International Cooperative Development Association, visited India and, as the result of talks with Indian co-op leaders, strongly recommended a fertilizer program.

Felder, working closely with the Indian co-op leaders, Indian government, and AID Mission, developed a comprehensive plan of cooperative development. The Indian government asked the Cooperative League to send a team to study the feasibility of the cooperative part of this plan.

On September 5, 1966, this team left for India, where it worked three months, returning in December,

The team members were Howard H. Gordon, retired general manager of Southern States Cooperative, Richmond, Va.; William Mitchell, manager of the plant food department of Tennessee Farmers Cooperative at LaVergne, Tenn.; and Albert J. Soday, process engineer of Mississippi Chemical Corporation, Yazoo City, Miss. Ferris S. Owen, administrator of AID projects for the Cooperative League, recruited the men; their trip was financed by the League's overseas-assistance contract with AID.

The team found the fertilizer project feasible and recommended a go-ahead.

At that point the Cooperative League referred the project to the International Cooperative Development Association, Washington, D.C., which had been formed by U.S. cooperatives in 1963 for the express purpose of promoting international cooperative business operations. Herbert C. Fledderjohn, who had succeeded Cowden as president of the ICDA, then took the lead in developing the plan, which ICDA's board approved in January, 1967.

A dramatic and perhaps decisive moment in development of the project came on January 19 at a meeting in the Jung hotel in New Orleans. ICDA called the meeting on short notice because representatives of most U.S. cooperatives in the fertilizer business were there for the annual meeting of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives.

Fledderjohn presided. Kenneth F. Lundberg, president of the Central Farmers Fertilizer Company, Chicago, and Owen Cooper, president of Mississippi Chemical Corporation, both ICDA member organizations, presented the plan for a cooperative fertilizer plant in India.

One after another, on a rising wave of enthusiasm, the men present expressed themselves in favor of helping Indian farmers get a fertilizer plant. They left the meeting having pledged themselves to seek from their organizations $1 million—not as invested capital expected to bring any return, but as a contribution to the costs of getting the plant going; travel to India, economic studies, and such.

In April Fledderjohn, Owen (who also had been on the 1961 Nationwide team), Lundberg, Cooper, and Gordon went to India to present the plan to the Indian cooperative and government. Felder and the India AID Mission were party to the talks.

The Indians liked what they heard, and on May 26 the government asked the ICDA, also a contractor with U.S. AID, to send a team of experts to get down to the brass tacks of plant location, type, size, and such. This team—Thomas, then an economic analyst for Central Farmers Fertilizer Company (which is owned by 22 fertilizer-producing co-ops in the United States and Canada); John Wiley, marketing specialist for Central Farmers; and Soday—worked in India six weeks in June and July.

On October 19 the Indian government formally accepted the plan, the cooperatives already having done so.

Meanwhile, on September 25 at a meeting in Washington the interested organizations had formed Cooperative Fertilizers International (CFI) to handle the U.S. side of the operation. CFI elected Thomas president and Lundberg chairman of the board. And during the summer the U.S. cooperatives had formally committed the $1 million, to be paid in four equal parts over four years.

The Agency for International Development in Washington found that, because of cutbacks in funds, it could not lend the $55 million needed to build the plant. It could, however, guarantee the loan; and on that basis a private lender was found: the Bank of America.

In April, 1968, CFI arranged for Ernest C. Davis, manager of the fertilizer plant of Central Nitrogen, Inc., at Terre Haute, Ind., to go "on loan" to India as its representative during the detailed planning and construction of the plant. He will work with Shri Paul Pothen, managing director of the plant.

Thomas, accompanied to India by O. Roy Wiebe, secretary-treasurer of Central Farmers, told his inauguration-day audience that the cooperative fertilizer plant will create "healthy competition" among plants in the private and public sectors of the industry, thereby benefiting all farmers.

In Chicago, Stanley Dreyer, president of the Cooperative League, described the India project as a wonderful example of cooperation among cooperatives—both within this country and between the two countries.

He said the League staff is proud of the part it has been able to play and is genuinely appreciative of the support of its own board and members as well as the cooperation of other organizations.

ZANZIBAR—AFRICA'S FIRST CUBA

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the oppressed and captive black peoples of Communist-overrun Zanzibar can get no relief or action for their human rights from the people at the U.N.—a typical U.N. double standard.

It seems the Red-black bloc is only interested in attacking white people and not in aiding black people. Human rights at the United Nations must only mean "hate the whites."

Or perhaps the Communist bases for Russia, Cuba, and China in Zanzibar enslaving the black inhabitants are tolerated by the U.N. because they are part of a U.N. military invasion scheme—the Cuba of Africa.

I include several chapters from the book, "Zanzibar, Africa's First Cuba," and a letter from Ahmed Seif Kharusi, leader of the Zanzibar Organization, 68

Hudson Road, Southsea, Hampshire, England, as follows:

LIFE UNDER THE NEW COLONIALISTS

Since the appeal of the revolutionary regime was blatantly anti-Arab, recruitment into the present civil service depends on colour and not merit. Former Arab or Indian state employees have been thrown out of work; had their pensions cancelled and property seized. Some have been exiled. All these were Zanzibaris either by birth of naturalisation. The authorities have announced that they will allocate places in schools in proportion to the numbers of the various races in Zanzibar. In other words racial origin, rather than ability, has become the new criteria in education.

Land confiscated by the new regime has been handed over to the collective farms. These under Chinese administration have proved to be failures and the standard of living and amount of food available has declined steadily since "liberation."

The government itself consists of the Revolutionary Council which is unelected. It meets in secret and, therefore, its deliberations are not known. The only party allowed is the ASP as the UMMA party dissolved itself. Commenting on how this Commonwealth "government" conducts itself, Richard Beeston of the *Daily Telegraph*[1] noted:

"This Council is the biggest stumbling block to establishing law and order on the island. The Central Government (on the mainland) has tried unsuccessfully to buy out the Council with a lump sum payment to each of its members. But many of them are reluctant to give up their positions of power and are afraid that once they lose their status they may be punished for crimes they have committed against civil population.

"Some of the members of the Council are moderate men but Zanzibar appears at present to be dominated by an extremist wing—the hard-core drunken thugs and gunmen who overthrew the Sultan's regime. These men were responsible for the recent waves of arrests, beatings-up and executions and the establishment of an illegal 'People's Liberation Army Court' which last week passed out five death sentences.

"Crimes continue to be perpetrated by members of the Revolutionary Council. These include floggings, rape, robbery and seizure of houses and private cars. Mr. Karume, who is himself a moderate is proving powerless to control his Revolutionary Council and although he enjoys considerable personal popularity, there have lately been signs that his grip is slipping."

The *Guardian* of 29 October 1966 carried a report from its correspondent in Dar-es-Salaam which revealed that:

"Under a decree published in Zanzibar today (28 October), the island authorities have set up a secret court to try political offenders—those detained in preventive detention and persons accused of theft or damage to Government property.

"No accused person will be allowed an advocate in the special court which is limited to 14 members under a decree signed by Mr. Karume, President of Zanzibar and Vice-President of Tanzania. The Court will lay down its own practice and procedure and will not be bound by the criminal procedure decree under which trials are normally heard on the island or by any other law.

"It will have power to pass death sentences and appeals against its decisions will go only to Mr. Karume. The Court has been legalised retroactively to 1 May, apparently to cover sentences imposed by the island's ruling Revolutionary Council."

Commenting on the rule of law in Zanzibar, the International Commission of Jurists observed:

"In April of the same year (1964) Tanganyika and Zanzibar united to form the United Republic of Tanzania with Julius Nyerere as President and Sheikh Karume as First Vice-President of the United Republic and President of Zanzibar. Little has in practice been done on the Zanzibar side to implement the Union as yet. Tanganyikans still do not, for example, have a free access to Zanzibar, and entry permits issued by the Minister of Home Affairs in Dar-es-Salaam are not necessarily accepted by the immigration authorities in Zanzibar. The Union, therefore, has apparently done little to modify developments in Zanzibar, or to open it up for outside visitors.

"In May 1965 a new constitution for the ASP was adopted with the approval of the Revolutionary Council. Under this constitution the Party is the supreme authority in the country, over and above the Revolutionary Council, and Ministers are responsible not to the Government but to the Party whose servants they are.

"The results of these innovations is to place the ASP in a position of supremacy unrivalled by that of any other single party. The whole governmental machine is built on and around the Party, and there appears to be no organ through which the voice of the citizen can be heard other than the Party institutions. The Party has not only been made the sole party: it has been consecrated as the organ of government, with power to dictate to the Revolutionary Council.

"Preventive detention was introduced by a decree published on 2 March 1964 by provisions which do not provide the safeguards considered necessary, even in a state of emergency, to ensure that the power of preventive detention is not abused. A detention order may be made by the President, for example, where it is deemed necessary to prevent any person from acting in a manner prejudicial to the defense and security of public order. The making of an order is entirely at the President's discretion, for his opinion that it is necessary is not open to any form of challenge: no order made under the decree can be questioned by any court, and orders can be made for an indefinite period of time.

"These sweeping powers were not taken merely for the period of unrest following the revolution, but appear to have been retained as part of the permanent legislation of Zanzibar . . . nine ministers in the former government are still in detention. Periodic efforts to secure their release have been in vain . . . The present number of detainees cannot be ascertained with certainty, though further arrests are reported to have been made for the last three years.

"On two occasions in November 1964 and May 1966, reports reached the outside world of waves of arrests following the discovery of plots to organise a counter-revolution. In each case allegations of wholesale arrests, interrogation and ill-treatment were made, allegations which it is impossible to substantiate or disprove in view of the Government's continued rigid censorship and refusal of entry to foreign correspondents. After the November 1964 arrests five men were sentenced to death and others to terms of five or ten years' imprisonment on charges of subversion arising out of an alleged ZNP plot . . . After the May 1966 arrests, five people were said to have been shot by government forces in Zanzibar and another five to have been buried alive on Pemba, but no confirmation of these reports has been possible.

"The almost complete silence which has been drawn over the events in Zanzibar since the revolution makes any valid assessment of the true situation there impossible. Certain conclusions can nevertheless be drawn from the meagre information available. In the first place it is indefensible that, over three years after the revolution, there should be no means by which the population can participate in the affairs of their country. Not even lip-service is paid to the principle of representative government. Legislative power vested in the Revolutionary Council as an interim measure by a decree of March 1964, the legislative powers law, continues to be exercised by presidential decree. Representation of Zanzibar in the parliament of the United Republic continues to be by appointed members. It is time that the government of Zanzibar gave urgent attention to the re-introduction of representative institutions which will permit the people as a whole to have a voice in the running of their country and to express their views on what is done in their name and on their behalf.

"A second measure which the government of Zanzibar would be well advised to undertake would be the re-opening of its territory to foreign visitors and in particular to representatives of the press. The absence of reliable information about developments on the island for so long has inevitably given rise to rumours, some of which are probably more harmful to Zanzibar than the truth. Constructive criticism, the exposure of injustice and abuses, and comparison with other countries, as well as a true appreciation of achievements, can, and if accepted in the right spirit, often do have a beneficial effect upon a government anxious to promote the welfare of its people within the social structure it has chosen, and it is to be hoped that there are no reasons why the government of Zanzibar should continue to shield itself from such influences."[2]

A spy mania still prevails in both Zanzibar and Pemba. Those who are known not to approve of the regime's policies are put into forced labour camps, and sometimes tortured. The number of political prisoners is estimated to be 2,000.

Such drastic policies have created chronic economic dislocation as has occurred in Cuba. Nationalised factories are producing less than before 1964; foreign currency is not available; even civil servants are not being paid and domestic consumer needs cannot be met. In the spring of 1966 food riots were reported to have taken place in both Zanzibar and Pemba. Today food is both expensive and scarce. The large number of citizens unemployed are starving.

On 22 April 1964, without the consent of the people, a "union" between Tanganyika and Zanzibar was announced and Tanzania was created. While it was hailed as an example of African unity and the constitution of Tanganyika was said to apply to Zanzibar as well, in fact, President Nyerere's rule is not implemented on the island. The Union is proving unworkable because the revolutionary regime on the island insist on behaving like a fully fledged sovereign state and are committed to a revolutionary foreign policy. The Zanzibar authorities have been known to conclude commercial treaties with Soviet bloc states without even notifying Dar-es-Salaam. At one stage Tanganyika recognised West Germany and Zanzibar East Germany. In 1965 elections were held in Tanganyika for the National Assembly but none were held in Zanzibar. All the ministries in Dar are duplicated in Zanzibar.

The *Economist* of 22 April 1967 commenting on this "union" stated:

"Customs Barriers between the mainland and the island are to be removed before the next financial year begins in July. Immigration is not yet controlled by the union government (Tanganyika), nor is there any sign that it will be in the foreseeable future: Zanzibar's 32-man Revolutionary Council, which acts as executive and legislature, still fears a counter-coup, and many people who are welcome on the mainland are *persona non grata* in the islands.

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[1] The Daily Telegraph. London. 23 November 1964.

[2] Bulletin. The International Commission of Jurists. June 1967. pp 39–44.

"As the two countries become more and more integrated, the Revolutionary Council, in turn, becomes more superfluous. Its members are fully aware that the final threat to their position lies in a democratically run election. Most islanders would like a general election to coincide with that of the mainland in 1970. The Revolutionary Council would not. Mr. Nyerere will not force them to hold a general election in 1970 unless he feels that the island's security demands it. Even if he does, it is a question whether he could prevent rigging. A merger of the two ruling parties is another necessary step towards integration, but it is not being given priority yet."

Some authorities in the West felt that this "union" would result in President Nyerere establishing control over the island and hence Communist influence would be curtailed. In his *Communism in Africa*[3], Fritz Schatten noted such optimism when he reported:

"Colin Legum commented on this sensational development in the London *Observer*, 26 April 1964, and with particular reference to Babu's position wrote as follows:

" 'The decision by President Nyerere and President Karume to merge Tanganyika and Zanzibar into a new union is as revolutionary an act as last January's *coup* which brought the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council to power.

" 'Everything now depends on the ability of these two leaders to hold their disparate countries together against the challenge of extreme leftists.

" 'The struggle is not between moderates and militants, but between two sets of militants—the one committed to genuine non-alignment, and the other using non-alignment as a facade to orientate Zanzibar in a Communist direction.

" 'The conflict has been at the heart of the power struggle inside Zanzibar from the start of the revolution'.

"And pointing to Babu's position, Legum wrote:

" 'Babu's strength came in large measure from his own superb abilities as an effective revolutionary leader. This gave him a clear advantage over the slow, unsure, defensive Karume.

" 'But his natural capacity for leadership was heavily reinforced by two other circumstances. The first was the financial and moral support given to the revolution after its success by the Communist countries: by the Russians no less than the Chinese. Chinese finance went not only to the Government but to Babu's group in a separate account. This gave him both prestige and financial resources.

" 'The second circumstance was the equivocal attitudes shown by the western countries to the revolution. Babu exploited this fully to represent the British and the Americans as the enemies of the revolution.'

"Only the future can tell how this fusion of the two countries will evolve and whether Western fears that it will open up new opportunities on the mainland for the Communist element in Zanzibar will materialise."

Today the worst fears of the West have indeed materialised and the island is in the hands of the Communist extremists.

The official weekly news sheet *Kweupe* of 22 April 1967 recorded an interview with Karume in which he said to *Pravda's* correspondent on the occasion of the 50th anniversary year of the Bolshevik coup in Russia of 1917 that the people of Zanzibar shared in the glory of the October Revolution. "We Tanzanians" he continued "of Zanzibar origin greatly value Lenin's struggles and will strive to keep them alive in these countries of ours. . . . We the people of Zanzibar are moulding our government on the pattern of the Russian Government." Karume ended the interview by expressing the hope that the relations between the two countries would become even more friendly.

The extent of Communist control over the island is complete. The Council of Ministers consists of 10 people of whom 6 are pro-Chinese, 3 pro-Soviet and one non-Communist. The Revolutionary Council consists of 22 people of whom 15 are pro-Chinese, 4 pro-Russian, and 3 are non-Communists. The majority of the members of these two governing bodies are barely literate and terror rather than reason is their chosen instrument of government.

Many wishful-thinkers in the West have put their trust in President Nyerere's allegedly pro-Western sentiments. In February 1967 he nationalised the banks and the *Sunday Times* of 19 February 1967 observed:

"Some observers see the events of the last two weeks as a triumph for the Chinese-inspired Zanzibar Communist, Commerce Minister Mohamed Babu. There have been several Chinese overtones in the whole affair.

"It is significant that the ruling TANU Party's 500,000-strong Youth League which embraces most active males aged six to 40, has been renamed the 'Green Guards'. And there are plenty of books on Mao's thoughts on bookstalls".

While the Old Colonialists never had more than 200 administrators on the island in the past, today the New Colonialists have installed 600 Chinese, 190 East Germans, 100 Russians and some Bulgarians.

Chinese

A 150 strong Chinese military mission trains the People's Liberation Army and their camps are situated at Migombani and Chukwani. Apart from training Zanzibaris in military matters, revolutionaries from other African states receive instruction in guerrilla warfare and subversion and trainees are compelled to study Communist ideology and the writing of Mao Tse-tung.

In an article entitled "Peking's Military Infiltration of Africa" in *Chinese Communist Affairs*,[4] the author reports that:

"According to a Central News Agency dispatch from Hongkong on 24 April 1965, Peking has recently signed with Tanzania a secret ammunition accord with the provision that the Chinese Reds would supply the Tanzanians with light weapons and equipment for training military and guerrilla personnel.

"According to an article 'Peking's Plots in Tanzania' appearing in *Study of Chinese Affairs* of 30 April 1965 (Vol. 8 No. 4) published by the Intelligence Bureau of the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of China, Peking's military assistance to Tanzania included the following:

"1. The dispatch of a military mission and 300 training personnel to Tanzania, to take up the planning, organisation, and training of Tanzania's national defence army and militiamen, and also the training of guerilla forces from other African areas.

"2. The establishment of a training base on Pemba Island. This base is also called the 'liberation bureau'.

"3. The supply of light weapons, which are mostly shipped to Tanzania by boat. Once the Chinese Communists planned to use Ceylon as a mid-way station for this sea transportation.

"4. The establishment of a directing organisation in the Red Chinese 'embassy' in Dar-es-Salaam, capital of Tanzania."

The remainder of the Chinese advisers on the island are concerned with agriculture on the collective farms, state trading organisations and an import-export monopoly, *Bizanje*, which went bankrupt in May 1966. They also carry out extensive political propaganda in the rural areas. A very large number of the Chinese speak Swahili and they are, therefore, more easily understood by the ordinary people.

In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* of 4 August 1967 Mr. Muhamed bin Abdulla reported that:

"A large number of Chinese women have been transported to Zanzibar for the sole purpose of marrying them to the local people. This export of human beings is to demonstrate Chinese goodwill and to foster blood relationships between China and Africa."

East Germans

Germans from the Soviet Zone run Zanzibar's radio station, the ministries of finance, education and health. They also administer state trading concerns which were confiscated from the Indian shopkeepers. The result of a two-year slum clearance programme begun in 1964 has been the raising of a large part of Zanzibar town and the erection of 150 badly built flats designed for European and not African weather. East Germany cannot afford to supply more building materials and what is available is allotted to building permanent homes for their own advisers. Their attempts to teach Zanzibar engineers and technicians have floundered on the fact that neither they speak German nor the Germans English or Swahili. Naturally all religious programmes on the radio have been banned and propaganda on Communist ideology has been substituted in its place. The following letter was received from Zanzibar on 30 July 1967.

"Ever since the 'revolution' we, the people of Zanzibar, have been plunged into poverty, starvation and misery. The natives of Zanzibar are being most harshly treated. We are daily abused and forced to work in labour gangs. We are told we are engaged in nation building programmes, but Zanzibar has been ruined in every respect. We are both economically and educationally poorer than we have ever been. We have lost most of our young and able qualified men since the so called 'revolution'.

"We are ruled by foreign atheists (Communists) who abuse our religion as well as ourselves. They ask us, Where is your God? Why doesn't He help you now in your suffering?

"We are tired of this slavery but we are helpless and there is nothing we can do about it. All you believers and brother Muslims come to our aid and rid us of this evil doctrine. We Islamic believers of Zanzibar are heartbroken to see a death blow being struck at the very foundations of ethics and morality. These alien atheists are dedicated to undermining the beliefs of Zanzibaris as well as those of the people of neighbouring countries.

"Are there no international organisations which concern themselves with the well-being of other humans? If there are then it is high time that they should look into the situation in Zanzibar and help us. It would be of no avail if the representatives of any organisation should come to Zanzibar without being able to assess the misery of the people freely.

"The Western tourists and reporters are not allowed to see how the masses really suffer. We die of starvation and we are compelled to work long days without food or pay at the end of it.

"All you believers in Islam ought to know that our religion is at stake. It is your duty to help your brother Muslims. All you believers in God must realise that this evil canker eats at the very soul of human beings. It is not directed against a particular religion but against all religions in general."

The East Germans have introduced a system of informers in every government department to check on the political reliability of employees, and they provide officers for the secret police.

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[3] Fritz Schatten. Communism in Africa. G. Allen and Unwin, 1966 pp. 214–215.

[4] Ting Kuang Hua. "Peking's Military Infiltration of Africa", Chinese Communist Affairs. April 1966. Vol. 2. No. 2. p. 32.

Increasing evidence is becoming available of a clash between the Chinese on the one hand and the East Germans and Russians on the other. The Chinese live by themselves without African servants; do their own washing and ironing and spend all their time working in the country whereas the European Communists tend to work in the cities; dress well; have servants and patronise the bars and hotels. The *Standard* of 6 May 1967 of Dar-es-Salaam reported that President Nyerere stated when touring a Chinese agricultural project that he "admired the simple conditions in which the 37 Chinese experts lived. Especially when one considers what other experts would have demanded before taking on such a project."

Sino-East German relationships started to go sour in July 1966 when the East Germans founded the People's Bank of Zanzibar with £800,000 provided by the Chinese for other purposes. This was strongly resented by the Chinese. Because 97 per cent of the population is Muslim, the East Germans carry favour with Zanzibaris by propagating information on the persecution of Muslims in China's north western territories. This kind of inter-Communist squabbling is reported to be having an adverse effect on such economic development as there is on the island.

Russians

The Soviets have overall control of the defence of the island, and they have their own training camp for the People's Liberation Army at Mtoni. They also control the harbour and scrutinise all imports and exports. The Russians are quite prepared to stay in the background and let the East Germans advance their cause. While Babu is the protege of the Chinese, Abdulla Hanga, former Vice-President of the island, is the most pro-Russian of the present members of the National Assembly, besides which one of his wives is Russian.

The size of the army at 5,000 men is quite disproportionate to the total population of 300,000. Its main role seems to be internal security, but undoubtedly some of its members operate on the mainland in various guerrilla warfare roles. Its uniforms are Cuban-style, and its weapons a mixture of Soviet, Chinese and Czechoslovak. It is anybody's guess why such a tiny island needs field guns and anti-aircraft guns as well as armoured personnel carriers (a picture of one is shown on the cover) especially when one remembers that the Old Colonialists did not have any army at all! While the men and NCOs are trained locally, officers go for higher military training to Cuba, the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe. Many of the instructors are Cuban. This People's Liberation Army is quite separate from the army of Tanganyika on the mainland which is Sandhurst-trained, British equipped and with some Canadian signal officers and so Western-orientated that a Chinese military mission to that country left after a short period. A large number of weapons from Zanzibar crossed over to equip the rebel forces of Antoine Gizenga in the Congo and some were intercepted in Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. Many have appeared in Mozambique.

Commenting on the Trojan Horse nature of the People's Liberation Army, Ian Colvin who visited the island reported in the *Sunday Telegraph* of 30 January 1966:

"It is an army within an army. For its Chinese, Russian and East German weapons are more modern and more plentiful than those of Nyerere's Tanzanian units on the mainland. Russian and East German training officers live a segregated life in Zanzibar.

"Why so many armoured cars and field guns should be concentrated in Zanzibar for an army of 1,200 is a riddle. Nominally these troops come under the Defence Ministry in Dar-es-Salaam. Actually they are controlled by Sheik Abeid Karume, Vice-President of Tanzania and virtual ruler of Zanzibar.

The first aim of these New Colonialists from the Communist bloc was to destroy the fabric of a free society. A free press and any form of organised opposition was suppressed. All non-Communist books have been burnt and propaganda publications put in their place. Cinemas no longer show Western films. Chinese and Eastern bloc propaganda films have been substituted. All radios have been confiscated and one-channel loudspeakers have been installed in public places. A strict censorship is imposed on all incoming mail and all outgoing documents are carefully examined. Citizens of the town of Zanzibar are not allowed to move outside the three mile radius without a permit. No one can come into or leave the island without a permit—even to Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of Tanzania! Westerners, and particularly journalists, are discouraged from paying visits. Formerly free Zanzibar is now a closed society. The only welcome strangers are members of the African "liberation" movements who plan to subvert or overthrow the government in their homelands.

The general situation in the island in the summer of 1967 is that the few remaining freedoms have been taken away from the citizens. After normal hours of work, they are forced to do 'voluntary service' till late at night for no additional pay. This includes both sexes, young and old. Girls called up for paramilitary service have to live in camps with men which results in immorality. No parent is allowed to complain or object. The *Sunday Telegraph* of 19 March 1967 reported that three young nuns in Tanzania had been called up for a two-year period. "During national service they will be expected to live in camps with men, abandon their starched black and white habits for near mini khaki skirts and do bayonet and arms training."

As is customary in totalitarian states, power corrupts. Recently news has been received of a wave of raping in the island of girls between the ages of 6 and 7 which started at the beginning of May. Many of those concerned had to be taken to hospital. Karume has merely announced that anybody found talking about this matter will be severely punished.

In accordance with the custom in other Communist countries, the citizens are compelled to attend mass rallies organised by the regime. The *Reporter* of 4 November 1966 of Nairobi carried an eye witness report of such an event :

"I took up a position near the Law Courts (in Zanzibar) to watch the demonstration. It came headed by a group of people in white kanzus jumping and chanting. Every house and shop was locked. The leaders were followed by a couple of Youth Wingers, dressed in green shirts with blue berets. They carried a huge banner in English 'Let Our Glorious Revolution Go Forward'. Then came goose-stepping girls, dressed in green and blue. Then a platoon of infantry. Then a banner carrying 'Drive the Whites from Rhodesia'—this in Swahili.

"Then came the unfortunate populace being driven from behind by youth-wingers. When a gap was formed, because some of the people were too old to keep up with the leaders, they were made to break into a run. An old woman stood watching. I had seen her arrive. She was very, very old and very, very lame. A youth-winger, knee high to a half-pint pot, wearing sergeant's stripes, went up to the old lady. He spoke to her and pointed to the throng of shambling people. She pointed to her leg. She pleaded. It was of no avail, she was smartly cuffed and then dragged and made to march.

"Some youngsters, varying in age from 8–12 were playing a game of football on the green at the road junction. They were not even interested in the marchers. They were enjoying their game. A gang of youth-wingers set about them. Some escaped and cocked a snook, but others were forced to march.

"At this stage I was spotted by one of the youth-wingers. He came to me and ordered me to march. I told him I was English, and that I had no intention of marching. 'March', he roared, and brandished his stick. 'Make me' I invited—and he courageously set off in chase of a boy of six, and caught him. The police flanked the procession. A policeman stood at the junction of the road. They did nothing to prevent the youth-wingers activities."

Needless-to-say no private property is respected. *The Times* of January 18, 1967 carried a Reuter report from Zanzibar which stated that:

"The Zanzibar Government today announced confiscation of three more plantations—two belonging to Arabs and one to an Indian in the north of the island. More than 500 coconut, fruit, clove, and other plantations have been taken over in the past two years under a Government land reform scheme. Many of them have been split into small plots, which become the property of peasant families.

"A Zanzibar decree passed in 1964 allows confiscation of property without compensation where it is considered in the national interest."

The following letter was written on 28 May 1967 and smuggled out of Zanzibar. The name of the writer cannot be revealed because of the possibility of reprisals against members of his family who are still on the island:

"Conditions are getting worse everyday. Every fortnight in our island of Tumbatu 90 people are taken across to the main island of Zanzibar and are forced to do a hard day's labour, without being given food and they are not paid for their labour. When they are returned to their homes they have no food to feed their families.

"The people of Zanzibar are no longer masters of their destiny. They are deprived of all the amenities of the state. Zanzibar today is ruled by foreigners. All government offices are manned by Communists from the mainland of Tanganyika and other foreigners. Unemployment has risen sharply. Recently a delegation of Zanzibaris went to President Karume to complain about this state of affairs. They begged to be employed even in the most menial jobs so that they could earn a living, but the President told them that it was these foreigners who organized and carried out the coup of 1964 and therefore, they must now rule the country. They were told that they could go and till the land or go fishing. However when they pointed out that they were not even given the facilities to do either; they were forcibly ejected from the President's office. They were beaten up with rifle butts. They were then warned that any further complaints of this nature from them could lead to their imprisonment.

"Innocent people are still being arbitrarily arrested. These arrests take place at night. The arrests are organised and led by the East Germans. The victims are awakened at night and are not even given the opportunity to change from their night garments. They are blind-folded so that they may not recognise their captors nor can they know where they are being taken to. The relatives of such victims must not complain nor can they ask of their whereabout or the reason for their arrest. Attempts to find what has befallen such victims could lead one into jail also. Rumours abound that some of them have since died of torture. Among those suspected of having died from torture are Mohammed Amour Mohamed Barwani, Saleh Ali Master, Saleh Saadallah (ex-Minister of the current regime) etc. No one seems to know their whereabouts and the authorities would not let their relatives know.

"We are fed up with this terrorist regime. No one seems to care what happens to us. We are treated far worse than animals in our own homeland. How long must we endure this inhuman treatment? Will no one help?"

Almost all imports of manufactured goods now come from the Sino-Soviet bloc and persons seeking higher education, either technical or university, are obliged to study in the bloc. Graduates from Western universities are distrusted. Party and government personnel receive higher instruction in political, administrative, police and intelligence matters in institutions in the various countries of the bloc including Cuba.

Soviet merchant ships and trawlers engaged in surveillance and espionage throughout the Indian Ocean use the harbour at Zanzibar as their base.

For external purposes the Communists skillfully use Karume, the nominal head of the government, as a patriotic facade. In fact, Babu is probably the most useful indigenous politician as an agent of the New Colonialists.

Appendices I and II on pages 30 and 38 contain two statements by Zanzibaris who have escaped from their homeland on conditions in the island.

THE LESSONS FOR FREE AFRICA

How does all this affect the rest of Africa?

To the tragic example of Ghana, on the West coast, can now be added Zanzibar, on the East, as an example of a nation taken over by the New Colonialists. The only difference being that in the former the army was able to stop the rot before it was too late.

Apportioning blame seldom achieves much, but with the wisdom of hindsight, it would appear that the freely elected Zanzibar Government which attained independence from the British was overconfident. It saw the Old Colonialists as its main enemy and underestimated the power, ruthlessness and effectiveness of the New Colonialists from the East.

The newly elected government through over-cautiousness lest it be accused of neo-colonialist tendencies did not sign a defense treaty with Britain. It relied wholly on the police force which was largely dominated by mainland Africans. They have paid dearly for such unwise notions for if the members of the cabinet are still alive, they are languishing in prison today.

With the example of the Congo for all to see, the Zanzibar leaders should have been more alert; more certain who were their friends and who their real enemies and more alive to the need for effective internal security against Communist-backed rebels. A number of well-meaning but ignorant people in certain African states hailed the Zanzibar "revolution" as a victory in the struggle against "neo-colonialism." But Zanzibar today, is itself a threat to their own security. The imperialist nature of the regime in Zanzibar is made quite clear in the following publication which is produced in Communist Albania called, *Revolution in Africa*[5] which stated:

"Zanzibar stands out as a shinning example of how quickly and satisfactorily the revolution can develop and mature when well-trained Communists control the undisciplined united-front rabble.

"A small cadre of Chinese-trained activists led by Muhamed Babu was able to organise and control a popular nationalist movement and to lead the united-front to a glorious victory over the Arab forces of imperialism and reaction.

"Babu and the enlightened cadres are now poised to capture control of the united front in Tanzania just as they did in Zanzibar. Then the revolution will spread to Kenya and Uganda. Nationalist reactionaries such as Nyerere, Kenyatta and Obote who tried to speak out of both sides of their mouths at the same time will suffer the fate of Jamshid, the former Sultan of Zanzibar, and his stooge Shamte/Muhsin government. It is imperative that if Marxist-Leninists are to achieve victory in all East Africa that they must first gain control of the united front as Mao has taught. We are too few alone. Then we have the upper hand, and we know how to deal with the deceivers of the people, the imperialists' tools, Nyerere, Kenyatta and Obote. Their personal aggrandisement will not be forgotten. The oppression of the people will be avenged."

The terrible struggle between a world half-free and half-Communist is not a white man's problem. It is not a distant affair in Europe. It is not restricted to the United States and the Soviet Union but it is a desperately serious threat to the freedom and independence of the nations of Africa, Asia, and South America. As the Indians found out to their cost, all talk of neutralism is laughable. One is either Communist or anti-Communist. No one can contract out of the Cold War. Such a view is childish. Tibet tried to and she is a tragic victim of rape by the New Colonialists. Africa has not rid itself of the Old Colonialists merely to substitute in their place the new tyranny of the New Colonialists.

Africans of all races would do well to heed the advice offered in a letter written by an exiled Zanzibari, Haroun Bin Ishaka, which was published in the *Reporter* of Nairobi of 7 October 1966 which read in part:

"The chauvinistic clique which has amassed enormous power for itself (in Zanzibar) vacillates in policy between outright fascism and left wing Communism, which Lenin aptly dubbed 'an infantile disorder'.

"It is a shame that Russia, China and the German Democratic Republic have allowed their names to be associated with such banality . . . .

"Tyranny is bad, whoever practices it. It is high time that all enlightened Africans and others joined in a mighty crusade for freedom of the individual and human rights. How right was Dr. Azikiwe when he said: 'If independence means the substitution of indigenous tyranny for alien rule then those who struggle for independence have not only desecrated the cause of freedom but have betrayed their people.' "

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

As in Cuba, one thing is certain about Zanzibar and that is that the New Colonialists will use it as a base from which to try and subvert neighbouring territories. They will train revolutionaries to overthrow their elected governments. Evidence of this has already been found in Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. Were the army mutinies in those countries in 1964 just mutinies?

If lasting peace is to return to East Africa it will only occur when Zanzibar regains her freedom and that Communist base for subversion there is eliminated as has happened in Ghana. What makes it all the more difficult is that while Nkrumah's army was trained in Britain and loyal to the cause of freedom, in Zanzibar there is no potentially counter-revolutionary military force which could overthrow the revolutionary regime. It would be irresponsible to incite unarmed civilians to rise against the Chinese and Soviet equipped People's Liberation Army for they would just get massacred. There seems, therefore, to be little hope of the internal revolt. What is needed is for all true freedom-loving nations, and especially the neighbouring African States, to give full moral and material support to the people of Zanzibar and rid them of their oppressors. There must not be any repetition of a Bay of Pigs type episode, and there must be an absolute determination to go through to complete victory in overthrowing the present terrorist regime. Its Communist backers must be sent packing.

If this is not done, there will be no peace in East Africa and the influence of the New Colonialists will spread.

When this has been achieved, a report similar to *Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa* (Ministry of Information, Accra, 1966) must be published and circulated throughout the other states of Africa showing how the New Colonialists operate, and it must recommend steps that should be taken to ensure that precious independence so recently gained from the Old Colonialists does not fall into the hands of the New Colonialists.

Appeal to Humanity: Zanzibar is Still Under a Reign of Terror

Zanzibar Organization,
Hampshire, England.

We, Zanzibaris of all races and creed, are extremely perturbed at the conspiracy of silence, regarding the deplorable conditions still existing in the police state of Zanzibar. We therefore, appeal to each and every one of you once again for your active support in condemning openly the violations of our Fundamental Human Rights, and Freedoms (embodied in Article 1 Paragraph 3 of the United Nations Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

We appeal to you in the name of Justice and Human Dignity to help us individually and collectively to bring pressure to bear upon the United Nations to intervene on behalf of Zanzibar immediately to:

1. Stop the continued reign of terror.
2. Release political and other detainees, or insist on their being given a fair trial.
3. Stop forced labour on the pretext of voluntary labour (Kujitolea).
4. Stop immediately continuing arbitrary floggings, arrests and detention of innocent and law-abiding citizens.
5. Stop racial discrimination especially in education, employment and participation in the government.
6. End violation of our basic human rights and freedoms in particular, to restore freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of speech, the right of free elections, the right to a fair trial and the freedom of the press.
7. Stop certain powers sending arms to Zanzibar, making it a centre of subversion against friendly neighbouring countries and violating our country's sovereignty and independence and interfering directly in the internal affairs of African states contrary to the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter.

In particular, we appeal to all freedom loving nations to help us in our struggle to restore the rule of law, civil liberties and multi-party democracy in our country.

We demand that the popular will of our people should be the basis of the authority of our government and that it should be expressed by free elections in accordance with Paragraph 3 of Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Ahmed Seif Kharusi.

IDEAS OF CONVERTING COAL INTO GASOLINE AND OTHER PETROLEUMLIKE DERIVATIVES START TO LOOK PRACTICAL AFTER 7-YEAR SPURT OF RESEARCH AIDED BY GOVERNMENT—PROSPECTS LURE OILMEN INTO COAL BUSINESS, MAGAZINE REPORTS

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I was the sponsor during World War II years of coal-to-synthetic liquid fuels research and development legislation when a Member of the House of Representatives. Senator Joseph O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, was the chief sponsor in this body. I was gratified to read an article in the June 1, 1968, issue of Business Week magazine under the heading, "Putting a Coal Tiger in Your Tank."

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[5] Revolution in Africa "The Application of Mao's Precepts on Popular Revolution" Tirana, Albania, March, 1965.

It has always been a matter of regret to me that the Randolph-O'Mahoney Synthetic Liquid Fuels Act of 1944—Public Law 78-290—was not reauthorized and further funded during the Eisenhower administration and that there was a research and development gap until the Coal Research Act of 1960—Public Law 86-599—provided ways and means for renewal of research and development in the field of coal to gasoline and other petroleumlike derivatives.

The article in Business Week is an encouraging summary of developments and forecasts that indicate clearly how valid and vital was the action by the 86th Congress in authorizing the establishment of the Office of Coal Research in the Department of the Interior. It has been a source of much gratification that the present Senators from West Virginia were among the vigorous supporters and original cosponsors of the progressive legislation which spawned the successful coal research program of the 1960's. If that program had been more adequately funded during the past half dozen years, I truly believe that some of the important research and development projects described or referred to in the recent article as being on the horizon, might be productive realities today, rather than hopes for the future.

Coal does indeed have a real and vital part to perform in the future of this country. This great industry must not be stifled. It should be encouraged to advance to meet its potentials and its responsibilities in the interest of fulfilling future missions of broader scope in the fuels and energy field when other sources may be less plentiful in an industrial society with a growing fuels and energy requirement. Meanwhile, an even stronger and more accelerated effort should be made in air pollution control research to develop new pollution abatement technology in the burning and processing of coal and other forms of fuel and energy.

Coal mining, it must be remembered, is not an industrial procedure that can be controlled by the manipulation of values and other control devices. A still-productive coal mine closed is a coal mine destroyed forever, with huge investments wasted and much of the coal therein unreachable for both technical and safety reasons.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the article from Business Week magazine to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUTTING A COAL TIGER IN YOUR TANK—IDEAS FOR CONVERTING COAL INTO GASOLINE AND OTHER PETROLEUMLIKE DERIVATIVES START TO LOOK PRACTICAL AFTER A 7-YEAR SPURT OF GOVERNMENT-AIDED RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT—PROSPECT LURES OILMEN INTO COAL BUSINESS

Since the late 1920s, when the Germans built the first commercial plant to turn Ruhr coal into oil and gasoline, coal conversion has been technically feasible. The big stumbling block has been the cost.

Gasoline produced from coal in the U.S. would have cost two to three times as much as that produced from crude oil.

In the last four years, however, U.S. companies have been quietly intensifying their research on coal conversion. R&D has reached the point where conversion now begins to look practical. And nearly every major oil company has acquired coal lands or a coal-producing subsidiary.

Coal deals

In just the past month, for example, Standard Oil Co. (Ohio) acquired Old Ben Coal Corp. of Illinois, Shell Oil Co. won exploratory rights to Crow Indian lands in Montana, and Atlantic Richfield Co. took a one-year option to buy Little Bear Coal Co. of Colorado.

Why the rising interest in coal conversion? The most important reason is that the U.S. is rapidly running out of oil reserves. At the present depletion rate, known oil reserves will only last until the 1980s, according to the Bureau of Mines. Known coal reserves, by contrast, could last until 2280 or so.

Other reasons for the growing interest in coal as a source of gasoline and oil include:

Coal's new status as a profitable fuel for electric utilities.

Improved technology in areas of chemistry similar to coal conversion.

The attempt of some oil companies to get into all forms of energy production, and the fear of others of staying out.

For many years, investing in coal was simply "a question of how long you could keep your capital tied up," says Gulf Oil Corp. President B. R. Dorsey. Today, most estimates give new gasoline-from-coal techniques eight to 10 years to reach the market.

Federal fuel

The speedup in coal research has been powered largely by the Interior Dept.'s Office of Coal Research. OCR was formed in 1961 to do for coal what George Washington Carver did for the peanut.

"OCR has played a damned important role" in stimulating coal conversion research, says Dr. C. W. Montgomery, chief scientist at Gulf Research & Development Co.

"It's been a great factor in accelerating the trend," adds Edwin T. Layng, executive vice-president of Hydrocarbon Research, Inc.

OCR-sponsored R&D projects have slashed the production cost of gasoline-from-coal to within a penny or two of the 10¢-to-12¢-per-gallon range needed to compete with gasoline from pumped oil. What's more, OCR has also spurred research to convert coal to a number of other salable products such as natural gas, sulfur, fly ash, diesel oil, and basic materials for making plastics.

Research projects on all this work—totaling about $40-million in the last seven years—have been farmed out by OCR to such companies as Westinghouse Electric Corp., the Consolidation Coal Co. subsidiary of Continental Oil Co., Melpar, Inc., FMC Corp., and Skeist Laboratories, Inc.

Spark plug

The instigator of most OCR coal-conversion research projects has been Neal Cochran, director of utilization at OCR.

Cochran, 51, envisions giant coal-to-gasoline refineries (such as the one diagramed above) rising next to coal mines in Wyoming, Montana, West Virginia, and Kentucky. The giant plants would produce gasoline, crude oil, fuel oil, natural gas, sulfur, and a special type of low-pollutant coal.

The cost of building such an integrated plant—combining many of the ideas now being checked out—would be about $300-million, Cochran estimates, only slightly more than a simple coal-to-gasoline refinery.

Powerful attraction

Cochran believes that integrated plants would have the additional economic advantage of being able to turn out more than enough cheap electric power to satisfy their own needs. Revenues could be boosted by selling surplus power to other manufacturers, such as chemical producers and metal processors, attracted to set up shop nearby.

There are doubters, however, especially when it comes to the idea of generating cheap, salable electric power from coal conversion. Moreover, natural gas from coal might be marketable only in the East, where the cost of pipeline gas is relatively high.

On the other hand, the sales potential of synthetic fuel oil and low-ash coal is affirmed by a growing number of researchers. Such coal conversion by-products, they agree, would not be dependent for success on the local cost of electric power and natural gas, or sales of building products.

FATTENING UP THE FUEL

All coal-to-gasoline conversion processes developed so far are basically similar. Coal is high in carbon molecules, low in hydrogen molecules, crude oil is the opposite. Thus, hydrogen has to be added to the coal, at high temperatures and pressures.

OCR's contributions to the technology have been to find new ways to reduce heat requirements, pressure demands (by some 80%), and the amount of hydrogen needed.

Dual process

In Cochran's giant refinery, the coal would first be prepared for hydrogenation—either by crushing and gasification or by dissolving and heating. This dual arrangement, he claims, would make refinery design flexible enough to fit both Eastern bituminous coal, which gasifies fairly easily, or Western lignite coal, which dissolves better.

In one part of the refinery, dissolved coal would be put into solution with an oily coal extract, and filtered through a rotating drum to remove sulfur and other inorganic materials. The purified coal solution then would be put through a flash evaporation step, and the residue would be hydrogenated or sold as low-ash coal.

Meanwhile, in the other part of the refinery, crushed and gasified coal would go through a multiple-stage distillation. (Such a process has been developed and tested on bench-scale by FMC Corp.)

Adding hydrogen

Gradual heating would be required to prevent hydrogen atoms in the coal slurry from breaking away; additional hydrogen might have to be added in this step. But Cochran thinks the distillation process is eminently practical.

By-products of the char obtained from the distillation process—carbon monoxide and hydrogen—could be combined in a gas plant with derivatives of the condensation phase—carbon dioxide, methane, and hydrogen sulfide. These would yield salable sulfur and natural gas, plus hydrogen.

The Institute of Gas Technology has been concentrating on this part of the operation.

On way to gas pump

Hydrogen produced in this manner would be piped to a hydro-treating plant, where it would be swirled around in a reactor called an ebullating bed (developed by Hydrocarbon Research) with primitive crude from the distillation unit. A zinc chloride catalyst, developed by Consolidation Coal, might be used at this point to ease the conversion of primitive crude to gasoline, thereby reducing the hydrogen requirement.

Power for the entire operation would be provided either by burning carbon monoxide from the gasifier operation or char, the residue of distillation.

A TIME OF TESTING

How soon such an integrated coal-to-gasoline plant may go into operation is a matter of debate. So far, only one OCR research project—Consolidation Coal's operation at Cresap, W. Va.—has reached the operating pilot-plant stage. Most other OCR-sponsored research has only been verified in the laboratory.

Furthermore, coal conversion has had quite a few false starts in the U.S. Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) brought a coal-to-gas process to this country from Germany, only to drop it after the East Texas oil strike of 1930.

Union Carbide Corp. and Koppers Co., Inc., undertook coal hydrogenation to produce petrochemicals after World War II, when another oil drought was predicted. When the oil shortage did not materialize, support for both projects evaporated.

Most oil companies have gone through periods of great excitement about coal-conversion ideas. Gulf at one time even had a project to turn petroleum into coal.

Rival products

Another cloud is the threat of competition from oil shale and tar sands. Shale is in roughly the same research position as coal, but tar sand refineries—owned by Sun Oil Co. and by a consortium of Gulf, Cities Service Co., Jersey Standard, and Richfield—are already pumping oil to the U.S. from Canada.

Still, estimated reserves of oil shale and tar sands are "not even close" to those of coal, according to Robert F. Mansfield, section supervisor of Gulf's R&D Petroleum Economics Section. Coal reserves exceed those of tar sands by 10 to 1, says Mansfield; Hydrocarbon Research's Laying puts the ratio at 9 to 1. But both men agree that a major discovery of tar sands in the U.S.—though unlikely—would set back coal-conversion work.

Oilmen undaunted

Such worries apparently are not hindering the coal-oriented plans of oil companies. Humble Oil & Refining Co. is now operating its own coal-conversion pilot plant at Baytown, Tex., and has bought out most of the coal lands in southern Illinois, Atlantic Richfield and Hydrocarbon Research have agreed to build a pilot plant jointly, if OCR funds come through. And Gulf is looking into treatment of coal prior to the refinery operation for possible economies.

Thus, the Office of Coal Research has really done just about all it set out to do. When it began investigating coal conversion in 1961, most coal companies were small, family-owned operations. Only a few, such as Consolidation and Pittsburg & Midway Coal Mining Co. now a Gulf subsidiary, were doing any research to lift coal out of the doldrums. Even for these companies, the cost of a full-scale commercial coal-to-gasoline research program would have been out of the question.

Confidence

Today, however, many coal companies are owned by big oil companies that can afford substantial R&D budgets. If the economics of coal conversion looks attractive enough to them, there is every reason to believe they will move ahead and build production facilities. Thus, even if Congress cuts OCR's research budget, most observers feel that coal conversion work won't be halted again.

A good example of how coal companies are beginning to think in terms of a future pegged to oil and gas sales was seen recently when the National Coal Assn. came out against increased oil imports for chemical companies. And the day may not be far off when a senator from West Virginia or Wyoming rises on the Senate floor to defend the oil-depletion allowance.

Says one Washington coal lobbyist: "When an oilman calls now, we write down his name."

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a report to the people of the 12th District of Massachusetts:

WASHINGTON REPORT, JUNE 1968

(By Congressman HASTINGS KEITH, 12th District of Massachusetts)

LOAVES AND FISHES

Americans were shocked by the news that hunger and malnutrition exist in our own country—to the extent that some babies suffer mental damage and shortened lives from their meager diets. The child below is one of the many which a CBS report says may suffer life-long injury from malnutrition.

This tragedy is world-wide. Of the 3.4 billion people in the world, 2.2 billion are underfed; 600 million are physically ill from hunger. In our own city of New Bedford, however, a start has been made in tapping the incredibly abundant but virtually unexploited food resources of the sea to aid the underfed here and abroad.

Alpine Marine Protein Industries has gone into full production of "fish flour" for human consumption—a tasteless, high protein powder made from whole fish. Scientists and governments the world over have recognized its potential for bringing life-saving nutrition to millions of people.

Real credit for the success of this program belongs to former Sens. Saltonstall and Douglas and to the news media who recognized the potential in FPC. I am proud of course of the role which our office played too.

RESURRECTION CITY

Less than a mile from the Capitol sprawl hundreds of wooden tent-like structures—Resurrection City, home of the Poor People's Campaign.

The Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Dr. King's successor as leader of the march, explained to me and some of my colleagues the goals of the 3000 poor people. Jobs, decent housing, and education are the legitimate aims of the Campaign—and every participant is committed to peacefully petitioning Congress and the Administration for help in achieving those aims.

Bigger and costlier government programs are not the answer—as even the liberals are admitting today, our country cannot be run from Washington. State and local governments, as well as private industry, must be encouraged and stimulated to provide jobs, better education, and decent low-cost housing.

As long as the poor people uphold their commitment to non-violence, they are welcome in Washington. Legislation to meet their needs is even now pending before Congress.

DOUBLE BARRELED CRISIS—A PROPOSED SOLUTION

Interest rates are at their highest level since the civil war—and the taxpayer is paying $15 billion annually in interest alone on the public debt. Inflation is eating up the buying power of the dollar, and continues to soar. Since 1960, the Federal government has spent $57 billion more than it has taken in. We must put our fiscal house in order.

On the other hand, millions of Americans live in abject poverty—our cities are powderkegs of unrest and discontent—jobs, education, and decent housing are essential to any efforts to help the poor. Such programs cost money—even if, as I believe it must be, private industry is mobilized to provide the capital and know how.

To reconcile these outwardly conflicting crises, I've joined more than 70 Republican colleagues in calling for a program of human renewal—and drastic cuts in non-essentials such as highway beautification, civilian space programs, and the SST. Through such deferrals of non-essentials, we would pare the budget $6.6 billion—and immediately redirect $2.5 billion of that savings toward meeting urgent human needs. The graph below illustrates our proposed allocation of additional Human Renewal Funds.

[In millions]

Urban reserve fund (to be allocated)	$1,000
Vocational education	250
Housing	250
Pollution control	250
Crime	100
Rural revitalization	100
District of Columbia	50
Jobs	500

GOOD NEWS FOR THE CONSUMER

The Consumer Credit Protection Act has been signed into law—and now American consumers will know exactly how much it costs to purchase credit and borrow money. The truth-in-lending measure marks another milestone in the government's effort to protect the consumer in the complex arena of buying, selling, and advertising.

ON A RELATED SUBJECT

Massachusetts' difficulties with auto insurance are shared by drivers nationwide—cancelled policies, soaring rates, and delays in processing claims are all too prevalent. A comprehensive study of the auto insurance industry has just been authorized—and we hope to find out what's wrong and how to correct it.

CONCERNED CONSTITUENTS

During my first office hours at Weymouth Town Hall (to be held every Monday but the third of each month from 7–9 p.m.) Nick Santacroce and four Weymouth High students dropped by to discuss urgent social problems. Next to me is Brian McGroarty, and seated are Ellen Rennie, Betsy Abdy, and Bill Murphy.

MERCHANT MARINE—SINKING FAST

America's merchant fleet and her shipbuilding industries have a long and proud fighting tradition. Now, however, they are battling for their life against the strangest enemy of all: their own government.

The Johnson Administration has proposed drastic cuts in the number of ships to be added to our dwindling merchant fleet. A massive building program is needed to keep up with the drop-out rate of over-age ships in our fleet. The President's decision could thus scuttle what is left of our merchant marine, at a time when the Soviets are building their own fleet at a feverish pace.

The Administration proposal to allow building of US ships in foreign yards also endangers our shipbuilding industry—and the jobs of hundreds of employees at the Fore River yard in Quincy. The loss of business to our own industry would mean millions of dollars flowing overseas, and could deprive our country of the essential shipbuilding capacity needed in wartime.

The Congress is solidly opposed to such a policy of retreat. America's worldwide posture in commerce and defense is at stake, and we must not allow the seas around us to be dominated by other nations.

GUSHER IN THE WRONG PLACE

This spring tourists on San Juan's resort beaches were forced to scramble ashore as millions of gallons of oil flooded in from an Esso tanker. The ship struck a reef in San Juan harbor, and US authorities were faced with their first major oil pollution disaster.

I visited the scene of the wreck to see how the Coast Guard's cleanup plans worked, and to see if new laws were needed to ensure fast action against the pollution. I reported to the House Public Works Committee that every shore town in Massachusetts was vulnerable to similar accidents, and recommended new anti-pollution legislation.

Action is now nearly complete on a program to make polluters strictly liable for oil damage, and to provide fast cleanup action. This protection is vital to all towns whose beaches are in danger from tanker-caused pollution.

AND THE RETURNS CAME

For a time we thought the deluge of poll returns would never end; the mountain was growing, not shrinking! We finally slit the last envelope, and sent the questionnaires to be tabulated. The results, and my comments as I revealed them to my House colleagues, are at the bottom of the page.

Hardly had the questionnaire left the press when the President announced his decision not to seek re-election and his new efforts toward a negotiated peace. As if that didn't complicate interpretation of the returns enough, before a week had passed we witnessed the tragic assassination of Dr. King and the ensuing outbreak of violence in our nation's cities. As a result, over 500 letters of further clarification accompanied the polls—adding to my understanding of how 12th District residents feel about the major issues.

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 27, 1968]

"QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

"Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker the people of the 12th District of Massachusetts have given an enthusiastic response to a poll on the vital issues we are currently facing at home and abroad. We have just completed tabulating the answers to my questionnaire from some 10,000 citizens of the communities I have the privilege to represent.

"This response is to me a reminder of the fact that we do indeed have government by the people. While in the final analysis, we all recognize that as elected Representatives of the people we must make the final decisions on how to vote on the various measures brought before us, questionnaires are undoubtedly one of the most valuable channels of direct communication between the Representative and the people.

"The opinions of my constituents on all 12 issues are contained in the complete report attached below.

"I urge other Members of Congress to adopt this practice in order to better communicate with the people they serve.

"RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE TO CITIZENS OF THE 12TH DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

	Yes	No	Unknown
1. Do you approve of the President's conduct of the Vietnam war?	29.1	54.5	8.7
2. In North Vietnam, do you favor (a) intensified U.S. air attacks; (b) a bombing halt; or (c) maintaining air attacks at the present level? (a) 37.1 (b) 35.8 (c) 17.1			
3. Should the United States continue to trade with nations that are aiding North Vietnam?	17.3	68.4	6.8
4. Do you believe the American people are receiving sufficient information from the Government on vital foreign and domestic issues to allow them to vote intelligently?	21.1	64.0	7.4
5. Do you support the administration's proposed increase in taxes?	35.6	50.2	6.8
6. Do you believe that Federal spending on domestic programs should be reduced?	48.9	38.6	4.8
7. Should industries which install equipment to reduce air and water pollution be granted tax credits by the Federal Government to offset part of the expense involved?	59.8	26.7	5.7
8. Do you favor returning a percentage of the tax money collected by the Federal Government to State and local governments to be used as they see fit?	49.9	32.5	9.7
9. Do you favor Federal legislation to celebrate Memorial Day, George Washington's Birthday, and Veteran's Day on Monday each year?	50.0	39.6	3.5
10. Do you favor my Marine Sanctuaries Act, which would prohibit drilling or exploring for oil in certain fishing and recreation zones of our seas?	80.3	7.0	5.5
11. Do you approve making Plymouth Rock (and 10 or 15 adjacent acres) into a national memorial park?	64.4	19.4	8.7
12. Do you support the administration's proposal to tax travel overseas?	38.1	50.2	4.5"

EXTENSION OF THE REED ACT

HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 272 would extend for an additional period of 5 years the time which States may obligate, for administrative purposes, certain funds transferred from excess Federal unemployment tax collections.

These transferred funds have been used by the States primarily to buy necessary land and construct buildings for use in the employment security program under prior authority provided in the so-called Reed Act.

Alaska is one of 17 States which has not yet built buildings under the Reed Act. However, during the recently concluded session of the Alaska State Legislature, the legislature appropriated $45,000 to enable the Alaska State Department of Labor to erect buildings in the more remote areas of the State where the employment service would be able to reach a larger segment of the Alaskan population needing employment service.

It is anticipated that the extension of the existing authority, as proposed by the provisions of H.R. 272, would permit the State of Alaska to build two badly needed employment service buildings. One will be built at Bethel—a center of native population—and another at Glennallen.

The State has advised me that in connection with the Bethel building, approval already has been secured from the Federal Government for payment of rent for the period of time required to amortize the cost of construction. This rental money will revert back to the unemployment trust fund if H.R. 272 is not passed. In the event that H.R. 272 is enacted, the rental money received from the Bethel facility would revert to a revolving fund, whereby additional buildings may be built.

Another factor which should be considered in the event H.R. 272 is enacted would be the availability of additional funds during the next 5 years for similar construction in Alaska.

I have been informed that in the spring of 1967 all State employment security administrators were polled by the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies to determine whether or not they favored H.R. 272. Of the jurisdictions eligible to vote, 51 voted to support H.R. 272. Puerto Rico disqualified itself from voting, because it has no Reed Act funds.

Since this legislation is extremely beneficial to assist Alaska in serving more effectively the rural areas of the State, I strongly support H.R. 272. No appropriation of any additional Federal funds is required.

I AM AMERICA

HON. ROBERT B. (BOB) MATHIAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD three outstanding essays by students of Compton Junior High School in Bakersfield, Calif. Two of these essays have already won awards, and the third is certainly as meritorious. I am sure that you will find them interesting, both because of what they have to say and because of the excellent way they are written.

The essays follow:

I AM AMERICA

(By Carol Smith)

(NOTE.—This essay won first place in the American Legion Auxiliary Essay Contest this year.)

I am America. My arms embrace 3,615,211 square miles of freedom and equality. My plains produce scores of provisions and necessities for my people. My mountains encompass vast and beauteous areas, rich with forests, housing an abundance of natural resources. Is this reason enough to stand with head high and chest swelled, because one is an American?

In my past are events which shook the world, events which long will remain first and foremost in the minds of not only Americans, but of people all over the world. Is this a heritage to be proud of?

Yes! On distant continents, in past ages, unrest dwelt in the hearts of men. Because of this, they explored uncharted regions, searching for a foundation upon which to build a country which all the world would come to place upon a pedestal. It would serve as an example of the coveted freedoms of which so many are deprived.

When my infant shores were settled by colonists, the settlers believed they would then be free to govern themselves. But, when they found that this was not true, they revolted, determined to make theirs the symbol of equality, such as the world had never known.

I am renowned throughout the world as a nation which guarantees equal rights to all men. For this reason, hundreds of thousands of people come to me each year, with hopes of a new and better life. I pray that I have been, and always will be, able to fulfill their hopes and dreams.

Thus, it is a union of these people that seek my shores, and these who have been born here, that they have made, and are still making me a symbol of all that men strive to achieve. During persecutions, during wars with alien forces, and during civil war these men have stood by me, fighting to keep what our forefathers died to obtain—the right of every man to have a say in how his life is to be run, and the chance, given to all, to become whatever they may.

From my soil have come these men and courage and valor, the like of which no country has ever borne. It was these men who lived, fought, and died to make me what I am today. To quote a phrase from Frances

Scott Key, "the land of the free, and the home of the brave." I am America!

TAMMI

(By Leah Ogden)

(NOTE.—This story won a Certificate of Merit for National Achievement in Creative Writing, by Scholastic Magazines.)

There is one main corral at the Dale-Mar Ranch. Standing at the top of the hill that overlooks the stable, you can see the dozen or so horses that are patiently standing behind its bars.

All but one: Tammi. Her glossy white coat gleams with health as it stands out against the nondescript browns and blacks of the other horses. "Tammi's Banner," as the stable hands have nicknamed her glorious tail, fans out in the brisk breeze that blows westerly. Her forelock blows in her eyes, and, she gives her head a defiant little toss, you catch your breath. You know this is beauty unequalled by any other.

She struts out in front of the other mares as if to say, "Look at me!!" Her youthfulness makes her playful and she snakes out her long neck to teasingly nip Dusty, the yearling sorrel colt.

You must get to her. Racing down the hill you feel the sharp sting of cold air as it hits your face. Slowing down, you take a deep breath, and the sweet smell of hay fills your nostrils.

You know exactly where her tack is. Reaching a long arm, you give the bridle a practiced glance and find it perfect. Again you run. You know you shouldn't; you'll startle the other horses, especially Mick. The temperamental old mare has never liked you anyway, and, as you pass her stall, she snorts. But you have no time for her now. Tammi is waiting.

Reaching the corral, your eyes immediately pick out Tammi. She has seen you, and her small delicate ears are raised in anticipation. Her impish brown eyes meet yours for a second, and, with a nicker of greeting, she trots forward. Her small Arabian head is stretched over the bars, and she waits for the treat she knows you have for her. Laughing, you stretch out your palm that holds the surprise. Soft lips reach delicately out to nibble the carrot, and your hand brushes her velvet nose.

Suddenly, Victory, the black gelding, flashes his nose over the gate. He nudges your hand, and Tammi squeals with rage. Reeling, she gives him a sharp kick that infuriates him. You stand outside frozen, and then move in to steady the mare. At your touch she quiets, and you lead her to the mounting block. Her dancing hooves tap out a staccato on the blacktop, as you swing up on her bareback. She crabsteps to the left, and gives you a little rear. You know she just wants to go, so you set off at a brisk trot that soon becomes a canter as you reach the trail. It is still early; you know you won't be back till noon. Tammi's rocking motion is soothing, and the beat on the turf is rhythmical. She's your horse now, and forever to come.

STRENGTH OF CHARACTER

(By Kate Steiner)

"I would rather die having spoken after my manner, than to speak in your manner and live."

I interpret this phrase quoted from Socrates to mean that each individual should have enough strength of character to be courageous enough to stand up for what he believes. Socrates stated that he would rather die than to go along with others who believe in something that is wrong.

Nearly 2,000 years ago, people known as martyrs died rather than to deny that they were followers of Christ. These people had strength of character enough to stand up for what is right, even if doing so meant death to them.

In today's society, I think there is even more of a responsibility to do what is right and not what would be "just for kicks." Young people today need to show more character. If more teenagers would stand up to wrong and then have the guts to say, "No," to what they deep down feel is wrong, then there would be fewer dope addicts, car accidents, motorcycle accidents and the like.

When teen-agers realize that speeding is wrong and smoking and drinking will only harm them, when they can say, "No," then maybe they can get the freedom they "holler" for so much. For then they will have grown up, and the older generation will be able to trust them.

MEMORIAL DAY MESSAGE, 1968, BAY VILLAGE, OHIO, BY THE REVEREND JOHN W. OERTER

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor to share the platform at Memorial Day ceremonies in Bay Village, Ohio, which I represent, with the distinguished pastor of the Bay Presbyterian Church, the Reverend John W. Oerter.

His message was so timely, and so beautifully expressed, that I would like to share it with my colleagues in the Congress. The Reverend Mr. Oerter's words have deep significance for all Americans, and I am pleased to make them a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY MESSAGE, 1968, BAY VILLAGE, OHIO

(By the Reverend John W. Oerter, Bay Presbyterian Church)

Two questions are appropriate for us to ask ourselves on this occasion: Why do we go through this annual ceremony, and what will come of it?

Does a little marching, do a few speeches, make us feel we have somehow done a patriotic duty? Are we trying to express our thanks to those who can no longer hear us? Are we trying to reduce our guilt that we are alive when some our age are gone because they gave themselves for our freedom? Perhaps a few cling to the futile hope that the day's oratory will somehow generate significant momentum toward peace. It is possible that we are here to gain some new dedication to those high and elusive ideals to which this nation is theoretically committed. That's what a great President tried to do when he stood in a cemetery at Gettysburg. We need to do this because we can so easily become submerged in our private plans, partly because we feel there is so little we can do that will be felt in the great movements of the world community.

One-hundred and ninety-two years ago the shots were fired which announced with staccatto authority that the colonies intended to be a nation. Since that year our nation has been tested by seven wars and is now slogging through an undeclared war which has divided our people as no other ever has. Our nation has been tested by depression and fantastic prosperity, by tensions between labor and management, and political parties which have often accused each other of treason. It has continued to grow until it is the wonder of the modern world, admired, envied and feared by other nations.

Now we face tests as crucial as any we have ever faced. It is still necessary for us to prove that we are dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. We are groping for a guideline for a mission. We are powerful, but partly paralyzed by indecision concerning our role in the life of the world.

These times are something like those in which our nation was born, according to the description of Charles Dickens in introducing *The Tale of Two Cities*. "It was the best of times; it was the worst of times. It was the age of wisdom; it was the age of foolishness. It was the epoch of belief; it was the epoch of incredulity. It was the season of light; it was the season of darkness. It was the spring of hope; it was the winter of despair. We had everything before us; we had nothing before us."

Today we are threatened, not only by an atomic holocaust, but by worldwide restlessness which breaks out in protests that always are in danger of moving to anarchy. All of this without the strength which used to come from commonly held beliefs.

At the same time never has greater hope for a good life seemed more plausible. If modern technology and the power of the atom could be used for desalinization of sea water, for example, the ancient dream of the prophet could come true. "The desert shall blossom with the rose . . ." Not only the rose, but corn and cabbage, beets and broccoli, beans and bananas to feed the starving of the world.

Why aren't we doing this at a faster and more dramatic pace? We haven't found out how to live at peace and in the spirit of mutual generosity. The problem is not with the atom, but with the Adam. Man needs to be redeemed. This is a day for each of us to examine our basic commitments. Let each of us ask himself, "Do I have a religion or philosophy by which I can live creatively and for which I would die if necessary?

There are enough confused people in the world, enough doubters, enough cynics who indulge in the fantasy that they can live a selfish life of comfort while the rest of the world goes down the drain. We need believers, passionate believers. If you have such a religion or philosophy then live it out in all areas of life. If you don't have such a religion or philosophy, waste no time in looking for one.

This rededication of ourselves to the cause of peace and freedom with justice is—it seems to me—a worthy tribute to those whom we salute today.

THEY SERVED AND WERE SERVED

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in launching a program last year to provide our returning veterans with maximum employment assistance, President Johnson said:

> These veterans have served their country well. It is only right that their country serve them as well.

In communities across the country, those men and women who have served America so ably in the Armed Forces are getting a wide range of assistance from veterans employment representatives.

Through the aid of their Government, these returning veterans are being placed in jobs, receiving counseling, and being referred to training or educational programs.

There have been many success stories—like the disabled logger who became a logging supply salesman or the amputee catskinner who became a leatherworker. And there are many others.

To illustrate the invaluable employment assistance being rendered to these valiant Americans, I include an article from the Employment Service Review, "They Served and Were Served," into the RECORD, as follows:

THEY SERVED AND WERE SERVED

(By Stanley N. Foged)

"I guess I broke my pick."

That was the comment of a convalescing disabled veteran in the Portland, Oreg., Veterans Administration Hospital to a local office Veterans Employment Representative during one of the VER's regular hospital visits.

This veteran was talking about not being able to go back to his job of many years as a logger. The spinal fusion he had undergone just about disqualified him for any job in a logging camp.

The VER, Frank Walley, Jr., of the Portland Adult Opportunity Center, talked further with this patient, who soon showed he had a few good ideas on jobs he knew he could do and of some he wasn't so sure he could handle.

Out of this experience grew an idea, then a plan—the convalescence period, just before discharge from the hospital, would be an excellent time for disabled patients to think about and make plans for their future jobs.

And so, with the cooperation of the Social Service, Volunteer Service, and Psychological Service units and with the approval of the hospital administration, the first "Job Finding Techniques Training Session" was organized.

Each session is attended by six or eight patients under the guidance of Mr. Waller. Appropriate experts from the hospital and the Employment Service are called in as required. The patients are encouraged to express themselves and to converse on their mutual experiences and problems so that all can benefit. The main purpose of the group leader is to answer questions, help, guide, and stimulate discussion.

This program is now in full swing at the Portland VA Hospital. Popularity of the sessions has been responsible for increasing their frequency from once to twice a month, and plans are being made to add more sessions. Followup inquiries to the more than 100 veteran participants brought unanimous agreement that the sessions were helpful in preparing the patients for their subsequent job hunts. And there are success stories, too: The logger who became a logging supply salesman, the disabled truckdriver who took a job as a truck dispatcher, the amputee catskinner who became a leatherworker, and many more.

Not all veterans who need assistance are disabled. Howard W. West, State VER for Illinois, tells of a 27-year-old American Indian veteran who came to a Chicago Day Labor Office for a job so he could buy the tools he needed to take a better, skilled job. He was referred to the local VER, who learned that the young man could not purchase the needed tools on time, because he had no established credit. The VER contacted the Uptown Indian Center of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Cook County Department of Public Aid, all without results. A call to the credit manager of Sears, Roebuck & Co. was successful. The young man was sent there for an interview and was granted $200 credit to buy the tools and equipment, and the company gave him several articles free of charge. With his tools, the young Indian was then placed with the Mack Truck Co., where he is now employed.

Women veterans, although not in such vast numbers as the men, are given equal treatment by the Veterans Employment Service. State VER Robert E. Fecteau of Maine relates this case: A young female veteran was contacted by the local office during the veteran's followup program. When she came into the local office, she was quite dejected because she had failed to find a job as a telephone operator. She felt she was well qualified because of her 3 years' experience in this work in the Army. She had, on her own, made quite a few applications and visits throughout the community in an effort to get a job, but with no success. The area had but a limited number of opportunities in this field of work, but the local VER decided to try some job development for the young lady. He called the local hospital, and the personnel director agreed to interview the girl—a week later she went to work there as a switchboard operator.

Also in Maine, a small upholstery shop is being successfully operated by a 50-year-old handicapped veteran, largely through efforts of the Employment Service and cooperation of other Government agencies. Seemingly, this man had just about everything going against him. He had received a medical discharge from the service in 1942, and is certified 30 percent disabled on the basis of neurosis by the Veterans Administration. He was a rehabilitated alcoholic who had been under psychiatric treatment for 2 years, with medical treatment for 2 years prior to that. So it was with great doubt that he was enrolled in an MDTA course for upholstering. But he completed the 24 weeks of training, and before long had set himself up in business with a $500 loan from a credit union. But, since the business was on the second floor, in a poor building in a poor part of town, underfinanced and understocked, and lacked a truck for pickup and delivery, by the end of 6 months it was nearly on the rocks. Several contacts were made with other agencies, with no results, and finally the local bank was approached for a loan to finance the new business. The bank said no, and this refusal opened the way for a request for assistance from the Small Business Administration. In less than 2 months a loan of $2,500 was delivered in person by an SBA representative. The business was saved, is now in a ground floor shop in a better location, and is flourishing.

In Pennsylvania, Joseph F. Welsh, State VER, reports this case among others: After 24 years with the same company, a World War II Purple Heart veteran found himself out of a job when the company transferred the entire activity to a distant city. This veteran had considerable self-confidence. He had been a senior insurance clerk and felt capable of stepping into a similar job without difficulty. However, he was just under the magic age of 45, when many companies hesitate to hire; his arm, while not disabled, did have restricted movement because of the shell fragment wounds he had received in service. So, with these problems, the placement people in the Clerical and Professional Office had much difficulty in locating a job for him.

Finally, it was decided that the veteran should take an MDTA course as a data processing technician, lasting a year. He finished this training in the upper 10 percent of his class and was eventually placed with Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., subject to passing a physical examination. The examination turned up a heretofore unsuspected hernia. Inasmuch as the position would require much walking and standing, such a defect would be disqualifying. The company proposed that, if the veteran had the hernia corrected by surgery, he could start to work after being released from the hospital. The veteran did this and was eventually put to work as a computer program trainee, opening up an entire new field of work for him.

HE CAME TO SAY "THANKS"

A veteran in North Dakota has returned to the local VER twice, not to get a job, but to say "Thanks." W. M. Williamson, North Dakota State VER, tells the story of this grateful young veteran: He finished the eighth grade in a one-room rural school when nearly 16, and the only job he could get was as a farm laborer. He was a steady and conscientious worker who wanted to do better, but he was never able to break out, still earning only $200 a month. When he turned 21, he was married and still struggling at $1.26 an hour. Then he was drafted into the Army, where he became a lineman, climbing poles and stringing wire in Vietnam. Three days after his discharge from service he came into the local office. He needed a job, but he knew his limited education was a handicap. However, he wanted something better for his family. He wanted to be a lineman again, but he thought that here, too, they wanted only high school graduates. The local VER arranged for an interview at the local power company for a possible job as apprentice lineman, and the young veteran was hired—in a job with a future and a living wage.

Two North Dakota boys were started on their training to become journeyman carpenters through the efforts of the local office VER in the Grand Forks office of the Employment Service. Randall was a high school dropout with only limited work experience in unskilled occupations. While in the Army, he passed his General Education Development test and was trained as a wireman. He felt his only possibility of a future was in this area of work, but there were no openings. David had worked as a baker prior to his Army service. In the Army he was trained as a clerk. Neither of these jobs appealed to him. Both men came to the local office in Grand Forks, where they were counseled and tested, and informed of the various types of training available to them. Both chose apprenticeship training in carpentry, although Randall was reluctant until he was assured he would not be the only beginner of his age group in the class. Three weeks following the start of the training, the local VER visited the class. He found both veterans happy with their choice of work, and the instructors assured him that both were good students and would make competent carpenters.

It happened in Birmingham, and James C. Gates, the Alabama VER, tells of the impatient young Negro Vietnam veteran who came in expecting to criticize, but who a month later was all praise for the activities of the Youth Opportunity Center and his new job. He came to the local office on November 3, 1967 to file for a job and to find out about his servicemen's compensation privileges. After his claim for compensation was taken care of, he was interviewed by the local VER, who, on learning the veteran had been a medical corpsman, suggested referral to a number of local hospitals. He went first to the local VA hospital where he filled out an application as a nurse's assistant. This took up most of the day, and still there was no job. He went home and wrote a letter of complaint to the Department of Labor, criticizing the lack of information available. He didn't realize that possible jobs had to be searched out, developed. In a few days, the Youth Opportunity Center called him in for further counseling and gave him the General Aptitude Test Battery. Then an opening was developed at the University of Alabama Hospital as a nurse's assistant. He was referred, and on December 4 started work there. The hospital personnel officer suggested he take advantage of in-service and academic training available at the University Center. Later, this doubting, impatient veteran had a chance to praise the YOC and his new job as one of five YOC youths speaking before the chamber of commerce.

TRAINEES AND THEN PARTNERS

A recent news letter from the Colorado Department of Employment reveals a success story in which a 36-year-old veteran of the Air Force in Korea and a 45-year-old World War II veteran were helped by MDTA training in coin-machine repair, and became partners in business. They visited the local

Employment Service office in Greeley, saying they would like to attend the 24-week course in coin-machine repair in Denver, but they couldn't afford the tuition costs. After investigation, Joseph F. Evanoski, State VER for Colorado, was able to enter them in the course under MDTA in January 1967. Later, they inquired about possibly buying the school, and the owner was willing to sell. They formed a corporation and after some months were proprietors of the school. In the next few months, they were able to double their business and now have plans for further expansion. The coin-machine repair field is expanding rapidly and many now in the field are ready for retirement. The school now has students from 10 States and Canada, and has received job orders from as far away as Saigon, Guam, South Africa, and Alaska. These two men were transformed from insecure, middle-aged workers to men with a good productive future through a combination of the Employment Service, MDTA, and their own desires to achieve a secure future.

Part-time work can be helpful, too, as is shown in this story related by Walter S. Carlson, State VER for Minnesota. Steve, a 21-year-old just released from the Marines, had a service occupation as a closed circuit television operator and technician. His arrival at the local office coincided with a discussion in the psychology department of the St. Cloud VA Hospital concerning the need for just such a closed-circuit TV system operator and technician in that department. Steve was sent for an interview with Dr. Gordon Henley and was hired to start work the next day. He works 20 hours or more a week, and since January he has been attending St. Cloud State College.

The foregoing are only a few representative cases from around the country. Veterans come in daily to the local VER's for assistance in getting jobs. Some get jobs, others need further counseling, and still others require training or additonal education to make them employable. There is no average case; some are able bodied, others are disabled—physically or mentally or both. They vary in age from 17 to 60. But whoever the individual is, the local VER gives the services that are needed and gains the cooperation of other local, State, and Federal agencies for whatever services are available. Sometimes, it may seem there is a bit of a Houdini in each local VER—it all helps.

RICHARD ROVERE'S ARTICLE ONE OF FINEST PIECES ON VIETNAM

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to submit for the reading of my colleagues one of the finest pieces on Vietnam which I have seen in a long time. The essay is by Richard Rovere and is entitled "Reflections: Half Out of Our Tree."

Mr. Rovere reviews our role in the Pacific since before World War II and on through the Korean war to our present efforts in Vietnam. While relating our present commitment to those we have engaged in in the past, he looks at what a precipitous withdrawal would mean in terms of the world's balance of power and our role in tomorrow's world. It seems to me that the American people must give great consideration to Vietnam in the context of our long-term history as well as to the immediate burdens it imposes.

Finally, Mr. Rovere questions how much longer the American people will support the efforts required by Vietnam and by our role as leader of the free world.

Mr. Rovere's demanding and brilliant article from the October 28, 1967, issue of the New Yorker, follows:

REFLECTIONS: HALF OUT OF OUR TREE

"This is not 1948; L. B. J. is not Harry Truman; and Vietnam is not Korea."—From an editorial in the New Republic, September 30, 1967.

So say the liberal doves—or at least some among them who were adult and articulate in 1948 and 1950 and who must somehow square past and present. The younger dissidents need not trouble their minds or their consciences about what went on in the Dark Ages, but those over thirty-five or forty must in one way or another confront certain moral, political, and intellectual problems created for them by the views they held two decades ago. Consistency may be a mean virtue, but many people prize it highly and go to remarkable lengths to show others and themselves that they possess it.

It is always easier to deny than to establish the validity of any given historical analogy. If history really repeated itself, its study would be at once boring and terrifying. But analogy can have a limited validity and can, like metaphor, yield and enrich insights. Moreover, where a denial is so flat and emphatic, it is advisable to take a close, hard look. Why should anyone insist that "this is not 1948"? People are capable of keeping track of the years without assistance. Why bring up 1948 instead of 1964 or 1952—or, for that matter, 1776? Why not say that Lyndon Johnson isn't Calvin Coolidge or the Shah of Iran, and that the war in Vietnam isn't the Mexican War or the Wars of the Roses? Clearly, the two years, the two men, and the two sets of events that are mentioned together have, or appear to have, something in common. There is, as it happens, one quite striking way in which Presidential politics today very much resembles the Presidential politics of 1948. Then, as now, many liberal Democrats wished very much to be rid of a liberal Democratic President. Though in the end most of them probably voted for Harry Truman against Thomas E. Dewey, a few supported that year's "peace" candidate—Henry A. Wallace, who had recently resigned the editorship of the *New Republic*—and others, early in the year, had made strenuous efforts to get the Democratic Party to dump Truman and name as its candidate the then Chief of Staff of the United States Army, Dwight D. Eisenhower. (Improbable as it sounds, General Eisenhower might be described as the Robert Kennedy of 1948. General Eisenhower declined to become involved, although it is said that when he was approached on this matter by some leaders of Americans for Democratic Action, his response was that he would consider accepting the Democratic nomination if he could get the Republican one as well.) True, the motives of the 1948 liberals were quite different from those that spur today's liberals into disowning Johnson and contemplating support for a conservative Republican, provided he is less of a hawk than the President. The dump-Truman people did not hate the then President, they merely scorned him and feared that the Democratic Party could not win with him; what the dump-Johnson people fear is precisely the opposite—a Democratic victory that would keep the despised incumbent in office. The dump-Truman people, like everyone else, believed the opinion polls, and they didn't want to be stuck with a loser; the dump-Johnson liberals, also with an eye on the polls, don't want to be stuck with a winner.

"LBJ is not Harry Truman." In many ways, the two men are as different as John F. Kennedy and William Howard Taft. Johnson is a consummate politician; Truman was only a persevering one. Truman was as artless as Johnson is artful. Truman was generally candid, and Johnson seems a compulsive dissembler. One could go on. Truman's foreign policy was widely admired and more often than not was successful, but in domestic policy he never got anywhere; Johnson has done quite well with domestic policy, but his foreign policy may lead us all to disaster. Still, Johnson in late 1967 has more in common with Truman in 1948 than the hostility of some of the same liberals. Both were once Democratic senators and Vice-Presidents. Each took office upon the death of a beloved predecessor. Johnson, like Truman, has never been a child of the Establishment. From the Eastern liberals' point of view, both came from the wrong, or South, side of the tracks. Both had meager, or at least unfashionable, schooling. Both have rather coarse manners and offend by indelicacy of speech. (Liberals, I have no doubt, consider themselves large-minded people, concerned with principles, not personalities. Some are large-minded, others not. If Kennedy had lived, he might at some point have called a halt to the escalation he began. He might even have found a way to get us out of Vietnam altogether. If he had lived and, as seems to me entirely possible, found no better solution than Johnson's, then, of course, he would have faced today much the kind of opposition that Johnson faces. But I cannot help believing that it would have been somewhat less widespread and more restrained against a Commander-in-Chief who was a Harvard man with uncommon wit, intellectual poise, a passion for excellence, and gallantry of manner. Kennedy just might have managed to run a slightly more tasteful and elegant war.) But the relevant thing is that Johnson is, as Truman was, a liberal Democratic President of the United States in serious trouble on almost every front.

Though Truman failed where Johnson has more or less succeeded, and vice versa, their policies are very similar, causing them to make the same enemies. Truman astonished everyone—including, I have always believed, himself—by winning in 1948, and the liberals, some of whom now seem to have forgotten that they ever opposed him, were gratified at being spared a Dewey Administration. A year and a half later, we were at war in Korea. There was some opposition to our intervention, but most of it came from isolationists, like Joseph P. Kennedy and Herbert Hoover. Little of it came from the liberals. Wayne Morse, J. William Fulbright, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and J. Kenneth Galbraith all had the public ear in those days, but none of these men were critical of our involvement—and neither, it may be well to say, was I, who now share with them a disapproval of our Vietnam policy. They were in varying degrees enthusiastic in their support of the Korean war, even when General MacArthur, with the full backing of his American superiors and with a special mandate from the United Nations General Assembly, escalated the war by invading North Korea—a step that is held by most historians to have brought the Chinese into the war. (It was believed by some at the time that the real cause of the Chinese belligerence in Korea was our support of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa. Before our armies went north, there had been quite explicit—though, of course, ignored—announcements of a Chinese intention of intervening.) There was, to be sure, severe criticism, largely led by liberals, of MacArthur's subsequent politicking for further escalation, but that came after, not before, Administration policy had led to a greatly widened war. MacArthur's original move north—surely analogous to an invasion of North Vietnam today—was regarded as an altogether legitimate pursuit of altogether legitimate war aims.

"Vietnam is not Korea." They are two thousand miles apart and considerably different in climate, terrain, and demography.

Both, however, are relatively small and underdeveloped Asian countries partitioned into a Communist North and a non-Communist South by international agreements in the making of which they had no voice. Both abut China, both are peninsular, and both have long histories of colonial occupation and oppression. Each has been the site of large-scale warfare, with the United States in each case intervening to assist the anti-Communist government of the Southern region, and with China assisting—on a very large scale in Korea and on what is still a small scale in Vietnam—the Communist regime in the North. There are other parallels and, of course, many divergencies. Of the latter, all but one—the very different relationships of Korea in 1950 and Vietnam today to Soviet and Chinese power—seem to me to bear only tangentially on the soundness of our present policy and the consistency of liberal thinking. In any consideration of these matters, we must, I think, begin with the incontrovertible fact that the two countries are on the same continent. In both cases, United States policy toward Asia has been at issue. This has been the key to the thinking of one American liberal, Walter Lippmann, who would have no difficulty in finding in the public record proof positive of his own consistency. Long before we became involved in the Korean war, Lippmann was arguing that this country had no business whatever deploying its troops on the mainland of Asia. At the time of Korea, he said that we should be involved, if at all, only as a sea and air power, and he has been saying the same thing about Vietnam for several years. In this, he is only invoking an established (though perhaps today disestablished) American doctrine, and, as a matter of fact, that doctrine was briefly in force even after President Truman and his advisers had committed us to the defense of South Korea on June 25, 1950.

Though it tends to be forgotten now, those who—in Blair House, on that important date—agreed that we ought to intervene had in mind giving the South Koreans only such support as our Navy and Air Force could supply. And for three days that was all we gave. It was not until President Truman was personally assured that General MacArthur, who had been up to then a leading member of the Lippmann school (he had once said that anyone who advocated the use of our ground forces in Asia "ought to have his head examined"), had changed his mind that he assented to the historic shift in policy. In Vietnam we have again tested the wisdom of the doctrine abandoned seventeen years ago, and to some its continuing essential soundness has again been demonstrated. But a much larger question is whether we have any business entering any Asian wars with any kind of American power. It is difficult to see how anyone could maintain that it was morally right to enter the one Asian war in 1950 and is morally wrong to be in the other one today. A more valid argument can be offered on the ground that what makes the one intervention defensible and the other indefensible is that in the interval between the two wars what we once called "international Communism" has been shown to be nonexistent. What in 1950 appeared to be "monolithic" is now revealed as "polycentric." This is an enormously important and highly relevant development, but it does not really alter the basic question of what our role in Asia should be. Even if no Communist powers had been involved in either case, or if the ally of one Northern regime had been Communist and the ally of the other had been anti-Communist, it would still be necessary to decide how much responsibility this country should assume for a balance of power in Asia.

Do we, as a people, have any morally or politically legitimate concern with the political order in Asia? If we say no—or say perhaps, but not to the point of using force—then we simply have to ask ourselves what on earth we were doing in Korea seventeen years ago, and even what we were fighting the Japanese about twenty-five years ago. (It will not do to say that they attacked us at Pearl Harbor. That would not have happened if our foreign policy had not seemed a threat to theirs.) For, beyond all the talk about Fascism and imperialism and Communism and democracy and self-determination, the basic reality is that, for bad reasons or good, the United States has increasingly, through most of this century, been throwing its weight around in Asia to create or maintain a political order that several American governments have decided is best for the United States and possibly best for Asia. I happen to think we would all be far better off if this decision had never been taken by anyone, but it was taken—and not by Lyndon Johnson in late 1963 or early 1964. The balance of power—that is what our three Asian wars have been about, and we might as well state the rest of this proposition, which is that this is what all foreign policy is and almost always has been about. If we ask ourselves why we shouldn't leave the balance of power in Asia to the Asians, we might as well reopen the question of whether we have, or ever had, any business messing about with the balance of power in Europe or anywhere else in the world or the cosmos. I can think of several quite compelling arguments for having different European and Asian policies, but I cannot see how the war in Vietnam can be regarded as some new and lamentable departure from established policy. Rather, it appears to me an application of established policy that has miscarried so dreadfully that we must begin examining not just the case at hand but the whole works. If this is where our foreign policy lands us, then we had better settle among ourselves whether the policy is, or ever was, any good, and even whether we ought to have any foreign policy at all.

For most liberals, the real clincher is that, as they see it now, in Korea we opposed an act of clear and premeditated aggression carried out by an army crossing an international boundary and seeking to annex by force the territory on the other side, whereas in Vietnam we are interfering in what is essentially a civil war, with the forces we oppose consisting of indigenous rebels. There is something in this, but, in my view, very little, and nothing, certainly, to destroy the strength of the analogy. In Korea, it was plainly a matter of troops from the North marching into the South. The people in the Southern war zones seemed to feel very little sympathy for the invaders, whereas in Vietnam the Vietcong guerrillas and, possibly to a lesser extent, the regulars from the North have a good deal of support. But this hardly demonstrates that one is a civil war and the other was not. Koreans fought Koreans in Korea, as Vietnamese are fighting Vietnamese in Vietnam. In each case, the issue was control of the Southern territory and unification of the country. In each case, the contested area has been part of the homeland of people with a more or less common history. Indeed, one can argue that the partition of Vietnam into Northern and Southern regions has greater historical justification than the similar partition of Korea. Many historians maintain that the cultural and political differences between North and South in Vietnam are large and ancient ones, difficult to resolve under one government. "By 1620," according to John T. McAlister, Jr., a Princeton authority on Southeast Asia, writing in *World Politics* for January, 1967, "the system had succumbed to regional pressures, and Vietnam had become divided into two warring states, literally separated by a wall built across the width of the country at the eighteenth parallel near the town of Dong Hoi, north of Hué." This seventeenth-century anti-infiltration barrier, McAlister goes on, was "constructed by the leaders of the southern faction, the Nguyen family, [and] rose to a height of eighteen feet. . . .[In] 1672 it proved strong enough to withstand a major military test by the northern faction under the generalship of the Trinh family."

Korea had known partitions since 108 B.C. Nevertheless, Edwin O. Reischauer writes that it "is a more homogeneous national unit than are most of the countries of South Asia." As for the "boundary" at the Thirty-eighth Parallel in Korea, though it had been proposed as a line of demarcation between Russian and Japanese spheres of influence following the war in 1905, the State Department used to describe it as a "fortuitous line resulting from the exigencies of war." Secretary of State James Byrnes had in 1947 called it "a military convenience." In any event, Americans should be the last people to say that a civil war is not a civil war when it is primarily regional in character or can more or less accurately be described as a War Between the States.

In his forthcoming "Memoirs: 1925–1950," George F. Kennan, who was director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff until late in 1949, writes of Korea, "This was, finally, a civil conflict, not an international one; and the term 'aggression' in the usual international sense was as misplaced here as it was to be later in the case of Vietnam." Kennan nevertheless approved our intervention—indeed, thought it an inescapable duty. Until the end of the war, Korea had been a Japanese colony. We accepted the Japanese surrender in the Southern zone. But in 1950, he says, "There was as yet no peace treaty with Japan to define [Korea's] future status. We had accepted the responsibilities of military occupation in South Korea, and the fact that we had withdrawn our own combat forces did not mean, in the continued absence of a Japanese peace treaty, that these responsibilities were terminated. We had a perfect right to intervene, on the basis of our position as occupying power, to assure the preservation of order in this territory." Here is a distinction between the two wars that is also an important difference.

Kennan—who, incidentally, opposed the bombing of North Korea, as today he opposes the bombing of North Vietnam—felt that we should have gone ahead in Korea without bringing in the United Nations, whose involvement, as he saw it, itself became a cause of heightened tensions. Most of today's older doves, however, maintain that the backing of the U.N. gave the earlier war the legitimacy that the present one lacks. Few things about the situation in which we now find ourselves should give us more concern than the fact that today we clearly do not enjoy the good opinion of much of mankind. But if the truth is to be told, we didn't enjoy it in the early fifties, either. The U.N. support was largely illusory and came about through dumb luck. The Russians had absentmindedly—and providentially, from our point of view—boycotted the U.N. Security Council, and were thus unable to veto the resolution of support. Had there been a Russian veto, the United States would have gone ahead without U.N. support. We were already in the war.

Furthermore, the Security Council resolution was something less than an unequivocal call to arms. It called for a cease-fire and asked U.N. members to "render every assistance" in bringing one to pass. In a book on the war published in 1951 (originally issued as "The General and the President" and reissued in 1965 as "The MacArthur Controversy"), Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and I wrote, "By putting the broadest possible construction on this, the President was able to say that his decision was in furtherance of United Nations policy. This claim gave rise to a wrangle that still goes on in law schools." Though Dean Rusk is no doubt right in saying that "the proportion of non-United States forces in South Vietnam is greater than [that of] non-United States forces in Korea," we did have a good deal more approval in 1950 than we have in 1967. But most of it came in the form of talk. Even those nations, like England, that gave us some military assistance were scared stiff that we might lead them into a world war, and kept beseeching us to get out of Korea on the best terms we could—which, in the end, was what we did.

The Communist nations and the radical parties everywhere accused us, as they do today, of conducting an imperialist crusade. If the war in Vietnam is in some sense "imperialist," as so many Americans have come to believe, so was the war in Korea. In any event, the ultimate soundness of a policy is not to be determined by who supports it and who does not. This is particularly the case when, as in the U.N., the count is of nation states. The fact that a majority of General Assembly members has regularly opposed the admission of mainland China does not lend any moral or political force to the wisdom of mainland China's exclusion. The fact that the Organization of American States voted overwhelmingly support, *ex post facto*, of the American intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965 has never been regarded as an acceptable sanction for the dispatch of troops.

In Korea, as in Vietnam, our intervention was undertaken on the President's initiative. War was never declared by Congress. Truman lacked even as questionable a mandate as the one that Congress gave Johnson in the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Dean Rusk can lecture congressmen today about our obligations under the SEATO treaty, but the treaty had not even been thought of in Dean Acheson's day. Yet I pick up an anti-war manifesto signed by many people who to my certain knowledge favored the Korean intervention and find them saying that because "Congress has not declared a war, as required by the Constitution," the war in Vietnam is "un-Constitutional and illegal." For my part, I would be happy if the Supreme Court ruled the war un-Constitutional next Monday morning.

But I cannot imagine a theory of the war or of the Constitution that would hold our presence in Vietnam to be in violation of our fundamental law and would not require the same judgment on our earlier presence in Korea. Nor can I see that it would make much difference if Congress did declare the existence of a state of war or if the Supreme Court certified the carnage as Constitutional. Can any legislature turn an unjust cause into a just one by an observance of due process? Slavery was "Constitutional" until it was smashed in a war of dubious Constitutionality. The signers of this anti-war manifesto were brought together by, they say, a common desire to assist young men in avoiding conscription. A worthy purpose it may well be, but the draft is legal; the Selective Service Act has been in force for twenty-seven years, and the Supreme Court has yet to strike it down. Such sticklers for law might consider turning themselves in for sedition and conspiracy. I find the names of some of them also attached to an appeal calling upon other citizens to join them and Henry David Thoreau—part of whose "Civil Disobedience" is used as the manifesto for this particular group—in withholding from the Internal Revenue Service that part of their taxes which, by their calculations, "is being used to finance the war." The income-tax laws are at least as legal and Constitutional as Selective Service. Thoreau didn't want to help pay for the Mexican War, which may have been, as he passionately believed it was, immoral, but it was certainly not illegal or un-Constitutional. Anyway, a "legal" war is a legal fiction.

The rhetoric of politics is always opportunistic. But war, which debases all discourse, makes it worse. The opportunism of the doves is no more to be censured than that of anyone else. If I could stop the war by talking, I would not mind talking nonsense or telling a few lies. I have brought up the whole question of the Korea-Vietnam analogy because I think it is important for all of us to see that there have been some profound changes in *us* as well as in the world in the last two decades. To begin with, I think, the mere passage of time has had its effect. In 1950, with a great war only five years behind us, we had, as a people, the zeal and energy of crusaders. There was then little dissent—and, compared with today, little cause for dissent—from the proposition that militarized Communism threatened the peace and stability of the world and that it was up to us, newly emerged as a superpower, to turn back its sorties with whatever force was called for. We did so, and I have no doubt that if the circumstances that had obtained in the late forties or early fifties were to obtain at present in Vietnam, most of today's doves would support our role in Vietnam with at least as much vigor as they supported our role in Korea. But the *New Republic* is in a way profoundly right in insisting that things aren't the same.

Much has happened in the Communist world that requires us to rethink our positions, but even if this were not so we could not look upon Vietnam today as we once looked upon Korea. Our crusading zeal has ebbed; affluence, much of it spent on education, has been accompanied by a heightened sophistication about the world and its affairs, a spreading skepticism and disenchantment, and, in the middle class, a new and rather strange hedonism that particularly and peculiarly affects the young.

We are not, I think, a more attractive people than we were—rather, the contrary—but we are in many ways less self-righteous. Both the best and the worst spirits among us are turning inward more than they were before, given more to seeking individual grace and salvation—the consequences being, on the one hand, an admirable willingness to work and sacrifice on behalf of the disadvantaged and, on the other hand, a less admirable self-indulgence that increases the demand for everything from drugs to yachts and sports cars, from unrestricted sexual license to the right to behave as obnoxiously and irresponsibly as one's underdeveloped conscience may dictate. The difference between the two periods was well stated by Richard F. Babcock, a Chicago attorney, in a letter written early last year to an influential newspaper columnist. After describing what seemed to him the parallels between Korea and Vietnam, he wrote:

"There is, then, little difference, morally, strategically, or politically, between Korea in 1950 and Vietnam in 1966. Yet the first was and still is regarded as a demonstration of American moral stamina at its best, the latter as a moral and strategic aberration.

"The difference, I suspect, is that we are at 1966 and not 1950. There is, for example, a temporal relation between the domestic civil-rights struggle and Vietnam. The student who protests both racial discrimination and Vietnam is not irresponsible in his motivations—he is consistent. We are in an era of incredible affluence and, consequently, of sensitive national conscience in matters not only domestic but foreign. We are a generation away from World War II. Korea had no Watts. Korea was, however, only five years from Nuremberg and at the doorstep of McCarthy.

"This historical setting, it seems to me, is the key. And if so, it suggests that responsible critics do a disservice to the country when they fail to point out that Vietnam suffers not from a failure to come up to a moral or strategic imperative but that it takes place at a time when America is in a period of self-appraisal absent in 1950."

It is often said that the prevalence of television has done much to change us, particularly in our ways of responding to such phenomena as war, racial injustice, and violence, and to the personalities of public men. It would be surprising if this were not to some extent so. The war in Vietnam is close to the center of the national consciousness because of the ease with which we can "follow" it—"live," or almost. Because of television, it is impossible to be unaware of, and hence indifferent to, the war, as the people of the European colonial powers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were largely unaware of the prolonged and costly campaigns—many of them much like the war in Vietnam—being carried on by their armies and navies in distant parts of the world.

I also think it likely that, as some people believe, the daily cocktail-time spectacle of death and atrocity (I sat down to dinner a few evenings ago just as C.B.S. was showing some American troops cutting the ears off Vietcong corpses as souvenirs of the combat) has contributed to the spreading revulsion and to anti-war sentiment. To argue this case, however, it would seem necessary to explain how it happens that a people with an enormous appetite for violence on television, in movies, and in highbrow as much as in low- and middlebrow literature may be repelled by a few minutes a day of the real thing, which is very often less sickening than the simulated variety.

This would be no problem for Norman Mailer or H. Rap Brown, each of whom tells us that we are and always have been a violent people and that the televised war in Vietnam satisfies our lust for violence and serves as a graduate school in murder for our young men. I reject this view. Despite our lynchings, gang wars, race riots, and casual military undertaking, I do not think our people are particularly given to violence. They are human beings and have their share of human weaknesses, of which a lust for violence has always been one. If violence is as American as apple pie, it is also as French as *quiche Lorraine*. There have been as many attempts on the life of Charles de Gaulle as on the lives of all the American Presidents put together. It may be that our assassins are better shots or that the French Sûreté is smarter than our Secret Service. In any case, I have been in many parts of the world where violence, organized and unorganized, is far more easily provoked than as a rule it is here, and far more a part of everyday existence.

I do not know why our popular culture is so hung up on violence and sadism. I think it may have less to do with the need for violence than with the third-rateness of the culture and with the kind of talent that turns out all this awful stuff. That is to say, a partial explanation may be that violence, like sentimentality, lends itself to easy exploitation. A stupid or lazy dramatist can save himself a lot of hard work by writing scenes in which the action consists of people maiming one another. An exchange of gunfire can be more easily and convincingly dramatized than a clash of human wills. And, of course, people go for it—but not just Americans.

Ours is a culture largely manufactured for export, and the very worst of it is a smash hit all over the world. But just as the carnality of our popular culture does not prove that we are more libidinous than others, its emphasis on violence does not prove that we are more brutish than others. Furthermore, there is to be observed an almost complete disjuncture between the violence of Vietnam and the violence of our cinematic and electronic fantasies. Although war movies like "The Dirty Dozen" are big at the box office, the most topical of wars, Vietnam, has yet to be the subject of a motion picture.

This, we are told, on excellent authority, is not because the producers are reluctant to exploit it. The subject has been deliberately avoided, it seems, for reasons rather like those behind the avoidance—at least, until recently—of the subject of sodomy and miscegenation. It would offend the audience, or a good part of it, and in acknowledgment of this fact—presumably established by the usual surveys of the market—the major producers have agreed among themselves to lay off. Even as heady a matching of star and subject as John Wayne and the Army Special Forces has had difficulty attracting the capital needed for a picture to be called "The Green Berets." If, à la Norman Mailer, President Johnson is only John Wayne in the White House, he may be more vulnerable than we know.

As a nation among nations, as a force in the world, we may be behaving more chauvinistically today than we have ever behaved in the past. This almost has to be true, because our power is so immense that any ugly display of it makes an impression commensurate with its magnitude. But among us, as a people, chauvinism and jingoism have been declining steadily since the First World War. Although Hitler's Germany was more detestable than Kaiser Wilhelm's, there was less Hun-hating in the Second World War than in the First. What was "liberty cabbage" in 1918 was sauerkraut in 1945. There was not much flag-waving in the Second World War, and still less in the Korean war. But now we seem to have made a really radical break with the past.

This is the first war of the century of which it is true that opposition to it is not only widespread but fashionable. It is the first in connection with which it seems is downright bad taste to invoke patriotism; while the Korean war was still in progress, theatres were showing such movies about it as "A Yank in Korea," "Korea Patrol," "Glory Brigade," "Battle Circus," and "Mission Over Korea." In the two wars before this one, there was a conspicuous shortage of martial airs; and now, for the first time, popular songs of bitter protest, such as Joan Baez's "Saigon Bride" and Pete Seeger's "Waste Deep in the Big Muddy," are part of the popular culture.

If we could gauge a nation's penchant for violence by its official rhetoric and its popular culture, China would stand first in both categories. In the rhetoric department, we would rank far down the list and in popular culture perhaps second or third, though it is not to be forgotten that many others consume our product exactly as we do. Some Chinese are behaving very strangely these days, but I do not for a moment believe they are an abnormally violent people, and I am not so sure their leaders are more violent than ours. They just talk rougher and beat more people up. The medium is not the message. The message I get from my eyes and ears is that, because of this war and certain attendant miseries, kookiness of every sort is alarmingly on the rise.

At the same time, if it's a sign of one's sanity to be against the war, and a sign of relative sanity to prefer a limited war to the world's last great shoot-out, we are in better shape than many of us know. Consider the extraordinary extent of the opposition to this war—over forty per cent of the American people now, with the number increasing each month—and, perhaps equally notable, the distate for it among those who do not oppose it. Nothing like this has been known in this century. Ordinarily, in this and most other modern states, opposition to war evaporates once the decision to wage it has been taken, once the killing has begun.

When the bugles sound and the colors are unfurled, almost everyone becomes a patriot of the Stephen Decatur, or my-country-right-or-wrong, persuasion. Such patriots seem very scarce today, and they speak softly, if at all. In the Senate there are a handful of screaming eagles, but mostly there are old-school politicians—like Senator Russell, of Georgia—who explain in patient, weary voices that we have to get on with the war because, regardless of the merits of the enterprise, we are in it and have committed our troops and our honor to it. Here is a terse description of the extraordinary state of affairs in the United States Senate today—a summary, by C.B.S., of a mid-October survey it conducted:

"On Vietnam, the U.S. Senate is advising more and consenting less. In the C.B.S. News survey, nearly half the senators responding said they disapproved the conduct of the war. Open support for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution dropped dramatically. Eighteen senators wanted the bombing of North Vietnam completely stopped.

"We talked with 95 senators. Eight of them refused to participate, 87 responding to the questions on the conduct of the war. Three years ago, President Johnson took a survey of his own. It was called the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, supporting his authority to do anything necessary in Southeast Asia. Eighty-eight approved then, two did not. Today, only 34 are prepared to publicly support a Tonkin Resolution without reservation or change. Fifteen refused to comment, and where two voted against it in 1964, 20 would now vote no.

"On Vietnam today, 42 senators disapprove the Administration's conduct of the war. Thirty-two approve. Eleven would not commit themselves, including the Senate's Minority Leader, Everett Dirksen. His 'no comment' follows strong defense of the President on the floor. Disapproval takes two directions. Fifteen are dissatisfied because they want more military action to end the war. Twenty-seven want less, in the form of bombing pauses or de-escalations.

"Most senators feel their constituents think as they do, 46 reporting the folks at home disapprove the handling of the war, 22 reporting constituent approval. They notice a recent change in their public's opinion, too. Thirty-three of the senators say their people have shifted, and 28 of them say it is in the direction of wanting less military action.

"On bombing policy, the Senate goes in all directions. Eighteen want bombing of the North completely stopped. Twenty-one say it should be increased, to include more lucrative targets. Twenty-four go along with whatever the President or the military want to do, and 12 suggest less bombing or a pause.

"The sleeper question of the survey turned out to be the last one, asking if the senators favored direct negotiations with the Vietcong. There was more agreement on this than anything else. Forty-six senators said yes. Sixteen said no to direct talks with the guerrilla front. One of them wanted a military victory so complete as to have no Vietcong to negotiate with.

"Many answers to the CBS News survey were qualified, justifying the opinion of several senators that polls never really satisfy with a full measurement of attitudes, but three things do emerge: a crumbling of the solid front support given three years ago with the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, an infectious restlessness in the Senate and among its constituents with the progress of the war, and a growing impatience with a long twilight struggle where victories do not decide, and the end cannot be seen."

Whether or not they mean it, the leaders of the Administration miss no opportunity to wring their hands and insist that it is peace, and not victory, they seek, and that they are ready at any time to sit down with anyone anywhere, and so on. ("I would depart today for any mutually convenient spot," Rusk said, "if I could meet a representative of North Vietnam with whom I could discuss peace in Southeast Asia.") *Do* they mean it? Who knows? If they don't mean it, why are they saying it? If they didn't talk so much, the credibility gap might narrow. But they go on. Week after week, the Secretary of Defense, the master of the greatest war machine in history, seems to be trying to signal to us, his countrymen, that the damned thing isn't working, that the bombing is pointless, that it should be stopped. Does he speak for the President? Evidently not, but he still has the job. As for the President, speaking of mankind's behavior in this century, he said earlier this month, in Williamsburg, Virginia, "We can take no pride in the fact that we have fought each other like animals." He added that it "is really an insult to the animals, who live together in more harmony than human beings seem to be able to do." After some generalizations on other failures of statesmanship, he said, "Shame on the world and shame on its leaders." Those who support the war, like those who oppose it, appeal not to the patriotic heart but to the bleeding one. This is without precedent.

Consider, also, the attitudes toward civilian deaths, and casualties, and the general human suffering brought by the war to the Vietnamese, North and South. These, too, are without known precedent. Whether this war is like or unlike any earlier one, it resembles all modern wars in that noncombatants are killed, the innocent suffer greatly, and there is much cruel and needless destruction. In Korea, we bombed and shelled villages, killed countless women and children. No Senate committees pestered the generals to learn how many civilians had been killed or what steps were being taken to avoid the slaughter of the innocents. *C'est la guerre*.

We killed a great many civilians in the Second World War. If they were Germans or Japanese, it served them right. (Hiroshima produced some immediate revulsion, but it was the newness and hideousness of the weapon employed that affected us, who had been little moved by wider killing with mere TNT.) If they were Italians or Frenchmen, we thought of their deaths as gallant sacrifices they made happily for the liberation of their soil. To be sure, civilized people have always felt that noncombatants should be spared to the greatest extent consistent with military needs, but until now there was no doubt in anyone's mind that the military needs—provided, of course, they were our own—should be the first consideration. Any sense of outrage over atrocities and dead civilians was directed at the enemy. Now, for the first time, the conscience of a large part of the nation has been aroused by agonies for which our own forces are responsible.

All wars are brutalizing, and perhaps in the random violence of the past few years (not merely the riots—not even so much the riots as the murders and assassinations) we are paying part of the price for sanctioned murder in the name of anti-Communism, self-determination, and democracy. But what seems already clear—from the size of the anti-war movements, from the muting of the eagles, from the outrage over atrocities and civilian losses—is that there is building up in this country a powerful sentiment not simply against the war in Vietnam but against war itself, not simply against bombing in Vietnam but against bombing anywhere at any time for any reason, not simply against the slaughter of innocents in an unjust conflict but also against the slaughter of those who may be far from innocent in a just conflict. The youthful protesters would probably acknowledge this without hesitation, only asking themselves why anyone should labor the point so heavily. (Some would no doubt go further, and say that they oppose not only the wars this government runs but everything else it does.)

Their elders, thinking of a past they find it necessary to be true to, cannot turn pacifist overnight. They must distinguish between this war and the wars they have supported in the past—up to and including the war in the Middle East a few months ago. But in fact our present war is different mainly in that it seems endless and hopeless.

Is it possible for us to come through this experience, if we come through at all, as a pacifist nation? I suppose not. "Pacifist nation" seems a contradiction in terms. If all of us, or most of us, were pacifists, we would have little reason to be a nation. Defense is the fundamental raison d'être for the modern state. And if a pacifist nation didn't come apart at the seams, some nonpacifist nation would tear it apart. It seems to me, though, that if the war goes on and if opposition to it continues to increase at the present rate, there will in time be a testing of this whole proposition. No government that is not totalitarian can go on indefinitely fighting a hard war that its people hate. Something has to give. Either the government yields to the popular will or it becomes oppressive and stifles the protest by terror. Thus far, there is no sign that our government has faced the question. With very few exceptions, as far as the anti-war movement is concerned, police power has been used sparingly and in the interests of domestic tranquillity.

Few other governments, even when they were not at war, would be as restrained as this one has been in dealing with protest movements, including violent ones. It seems to me that this is in part because we are waging the Vietnam war with an essentially professional military force. Its morale is said to be high and not to be much affected by what is going on here. This state of affairs cannot last indefinitely. Morale will be affected, and then the test will be made. I cannot figure the odds on the outcome. On the one hand, repression is the safest, surest, cheapest course for any government to take. I can imagine the coming to power of an American de Gaulle, or even of someone a lot more authoritarian than de Gaulle. Much of the troublemaking in the months and years ahead will be the work of Negroes, and I can even imagine the imposition of a kind of American apartheid—at least in the North, where Negroes live in ghettos that are easily sealed off.

If there should be the will to do it, it could be done quite "legally" and "Constitutionally." There are enough smart lawyers around to figure out how. On the other hand, there is unprecedented opposition to the war inside the odious "power structure" itself. There is much opposition in Congress and in every department of the federal government. The governors of large states and the mayors of great cities—among them the Mayor of New York—are opposed to the war. The Supreme Court, which was such a bastion of liberty in the McCarthy years, would make things as hard as possible for all the smart lawyers. The government could, of course, ignore, or even abolish, the Supreme Court. But the Court is not the only American institution that has proved quite resilient in periods of stress.

The churches, the press, the universities—all are centers of dissent. It could prove to be crucial that the American middle class—as despicable as the Establishment in the minds of the young and alienated—is also a center of dissent. The proletariat may not be willing to call off strikes or accept pay cuts because of the war, but it offers little support to the protest movements. If we are now undertaking, or are about to undertake, a radical alteration in values, support for it will come not from the workers but from an unproclaimed, and even unwanted, alliance between relatively affluent whites, of whom I happen to be one, and what Daniel P. Moynihan calls the "underclass," consisting mainly of unemployed Negroes, many of whom want to kill me.

I want American democracy to survive. It is in many ways a fraud. It is not keeping its promises to the American Negroes. It has abused them and many other people. It has very little aesthetic or intellectual appeal. But under it there is at least a hope of redemption. Things do get done here that don't get done under other systems. But it now seems clear to me that if American democracy does survive it will be something quite different from what we have known. I find it hard at this stage to see how a victory for democracy will not also be a victory for pacifism.

Those who will lead the struggle are, whether they acknowledge it or not, renouncing war as an instrument of policy. They may insist that of course they would fight the enemy at the gates, or perhaps take arms against a new Hitler if one should arise. But the wars of the future—at least, those that would have any ideological content—are not going to be like the wars of the past. India and Pakistan or India and China may fight over bits and pieces of territory, but the Soviet Union and the United States are agreed on the need for common efforts to cool it when such disputes get hot. Most future wars are apt to be like the war in Vietnam—wars that will be called by their instigators "wars of national liberation." The Soviet Union, as Nikita Khrushchev long ago informed us, will support them. From its point of view, they are irresistible.

They cost next to nothing and drive us Americans out of our minds. But if we survive as anything like a free society, we will not be entering them. I simply cannot imagine this country, under any President chosen in a free election, taking on another Vietnam. If this is so, it may be good news. But it means that we won't have much in the way of a foreign policy. We will draw back from all difficult situations. We will leave the field to those who have not renounced war.

I hold a kind of Tolstoyan view of history, and believe that it is hardly ever possible to determine the real truth about how and why we got from here to there. Since I find it extremely difficult to uncover my own motives, I hesitate to deal with those of other people, and I positively despair at the thought of ever being really sure about what has moved whole nations and whole generations of mankind. No explanation of the causes and origins of any war—of any large happening in history—can ever be for me much more than a plausible one, a reasonable hypothesis. But if we cannot answer the "how" and "why" questions with anything like certitude, we can answer a good many of the "what" ones, and this sometimes enables us to eliminate at least some of the suggested "how"s and "why"s. In regard to Vietnam, I feel confident in isolating certain noncauses and non-origins. We did not go into Vietnam spoiling for a war. It was not the American attitude at the Geneva Conference in 1954 that made what everyone now speaks of as the "Geneva agreements" unworkable.

A far more likely thesis is that they proved unworkable because the Russians gave the French (and the South Vietnamese) better terms than they needed to, in the expectation that the French would on this account decide not to enter the proposed European Defense Community. However that may be, those so-called agreements were not a diplomatic settlement of any kind but simply a document setting forth the terms of a cease-fire. To quote John McAlister again:

"There were only three documents signed at Geneva, and only four signatories were involved: France, the royal governments of Laos and Cambodia, and the Vietminh. [The Vietminh was an army, not a government. What we think of as the South Vietnamese, or anti-Communist Vietnamese, were never consulted.] These agreements were not treaties and they were not formally ratified by any government by any process. They were simply agreements between the opposing military commands to stop the fighting in Indo-China and to take measures to prevent the fighting from being resumed. Some confusion has resulted because the 'Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference,' which 'noted' the key provisions of the various cease-fire agreements, seemed to emanate from all nine conference participants. However, this 'Final Declaration' was not signed by *any* of the participants. It was yet another cold-war device to mask the lack of consensus among the major powers—an 'unsigned treaty'."

We have sinned greatly and frequently since 1954, but not always in the ways that we think we have. We did not go into Vietnam hoping for a war; after all, we had just passed up a splendid opportunity to join the fighting with our then friends the French at our side. But we were not taken altogether by surprise at discovering that nothing really had been settled by Geneva. Two-fifths of our aid in the early days was military, but something beyond this figure persuades me that we were after something a bit more decent than the opening of a new firing range. The non-Communist state that came into being as a consequence of the Geneva Conference looked to our foreign-aid people as if it might actually work, as if it might turn out to be a nice, prosperous, well-behaved little democracy. In the bright light of hindsight, this seems a ridiculous dream. And what may have been ridiculous about it was not that people like the Emperor Bao Dai and Ngo Dinh Diem would never let it happen, but, rather, that Ho Chi Minh would never let it happen.

We are always being told what awful people we have supported in Saigon while all along there has existed the alternative of supporting the Vietnamese Thomas Jefferson, Ho Chi Minh, and having him on our side. Ho sounds a lot more attractive than most of the types we have lately been dealing with, and it might have been very smart of us back before 1950, say, to try to strike up some sort of deal with him. And Ho could not have been much interested in us in the early fifties (and anyway think of what McCarthy would have said), and Diem then did not have, or was concealing, his cloven hoof. Diem never seemed a Thomas Jefferson, or even a Lyndon Johnson, but he looked no worse than our man in Korea, Syngman Rhee. And one can at least advance the hypothesis that our troubles have grown not out of Diem's "failure" and ours to create a good society in South Vietnam but out of a certain amount of early success, or, if not that, out of Ho's fear that we might somehow succeed someday. It could also be that he was not unmindful of the possibilities for looting.

The Americans had put a good many desirable things—including a lot of expensive and well-made weaponry—in South Vietnam, and if he could knock over the government without too much difficulty they would all be his.

Senator Fulbright has been saying for years that foreign aid is dangerous, because it can lead to war. I think he is right. We invest money and, more important, hope in a country, and when some thugs threaten to wreck the country and dash its hopes and ours we are tempted to police the place.

Some of the most promising governments in Africa are likely to go to pieces because the leaders of less hopeful neighboring states either can't stand the thought that the people across the way are going to make it or feel that neighbors ought to share and share alike. In the late fifties and early sixties, many Americans who had no appetite for war and no thought that there would be one urged that we give Saigon enough military assistance to put down the Vietcong and enable the government at least to stand on its feet and have enough time and energy to make something of itself.

They should have known better. But there was no reason then to think of the difficulties with the Vietcong as having much to do with the balance of power in Asia. Indeed—and here, perhaps, is another important difference between this war and Korea—it seems to have been our intervention on a large scale that gave the war a real balance-of-power meaning. In the early sixties, when Laos was a more troublesome place than Vietnam, the Russians were looking the other way. In that period, too, the "domino theory" was generally discredited. There may then have been a chance for a President to reappraise—agonizingly, of course—the whole affair and order a phase-out. Vietnam was still an obscure place, and with us no longer involved it would have been still more obscure.

I speak of a time when Kennedy was alive. He could probably have de-escalated, but instead he escalated. If he had lived, and if he had beaten Goldwater or some other Republican in 1964, he might have altered his strategy at some later point. But he died, and Johnson pursued his policy with a vengeance, thereby, in my view, giving the domino theory a strange validity it had earlier lacked: *The dominoes might fall in a certain way because we set them up that way.* If we had got out of Vietnam five years ago, the balance of power in Asia might have been affected only insignificantly and imperceptibly. If we got out tomorrow, the consequences might be very serious indeed. We have painted ourselves in.

Until early in 1965, I felt that our role in Vietnam was defensible. The rulers of the country seemed an untrustworthy lot, but that did not appear a good reason for turning the place over to the Vietcong. Knowing that a developing nation cannot possibly manage war and reform at the same time without assistance, I felt that our assistance in putting down an insurgency was helpful. The fact that the insurgents were natives did not bother me; so were their antagonists, and I have never believed that civil wars are somehow more virtuous and rational than wars of any other kind.

From my point of view, the operations of the Vietcong were, and still are, every bit as irrational as I now believe ours are. They don't seem to mind destroying their country any more than we do. I can understand why some Americans should be indifferent to the fate of Vietnam—to a certain degree, and to my own dismay, I am coming to feel that way myself—but I cannot understand why any Vietnamese should be indifferent to it. I wish Johnson would swallow his pride, whatever the consequences, but it seems to me it is positively idiotic for Ho Chi Minh not to take Johnson and Rusk at their word and, if what they are saying is all a bluff, call it. Why not set a place and a date, and see whether Rusk shows up? Everybody knows that unless American forces stay in Vietnam for the rest of history the Vietcong are going to have their triumphs anyway; if they negotiated us out of there tomorrow on any terms at all, the country would be theirs before long. (Tran Van Dinh, a former South Vietnamese diplomat, at odds with the Saigon regime, has speculated that this very knowledge may be a reason for Ho's not negotiating.

Our departure would create a vacuum that would for a time be filled by the Vietcong but would ultimately be vulnerable to Chinese pressure. Tran Van Dinh believes that one of the last things Ho really wants is a complete American pullout.) If the Vietcong can remain as strong as they seem to be with all the Americans chasing them around the country, they should have no trouble at all seizing power after they sat down and told us enough lies about the future to make it impossible for us not to agree to get out.

The American people love to be lied to at peace conferences, and if that happened in this instance the guerrilla could put away his shooting irons, turn respectable, run for office, and run the country. General Ky could get a job with Pan American World Airways or just loll about on the Riviera, where he would be an authentic part of the scene and would find a lot of his old friends as well as many new ones.

Nothing so agreeable is going to happen. It is up to us to make the first move. Until recently, I felt that the best first move would be a relatively small one—small but visible: not necessarily putting an end to the bombing but announcing a plan for scaling it down. I know Air Force officers who wouldn't object to this. Why, it may be asked, should they, since the targets are mostly gone anyway? But many other Air Force people would not object to something of the sort being done for political reasons even if they had strategic reservations. I did not think such a move would be of the least help in "bringing Hanoi to the conference table," but I thought that almost any deescalation would put an end to our scaring everyone else about our intentions, particularly toward the Chinese, and would help prepare us for the inevitable. In time, Johnson or some other President may begin a phased withdrawal in that way.

But I now fear that it will soon be too late—by which I mean too late to undo the damage to us. And it is we ourselves in this moment of history that we must think of before we think of anyone or anything else. This is a terrible thing to feel compelled to say. Edwin Reischauer, in his "Beyond Vietnam: The United States and Asia," argues that of the three options he thinks we have—escalation and a likely war with China, complete withdrawal as soon as possible, and plodding along on our present bloody and repugnant course—the last is the least disastrous and hence the most acceptable. Reischauer, who was until recently our Ambassador in Japan, is a fine scholar and humanist who has great respect and affection for the people of Asia, among whom he lived and studied for many years before John F. Kennedy persuaded him to leave scholarship for diplomacy.

He is no hawk, no imperialist, no warrior of any kind. He thinks we were crazy ever to get into this and crazy to have let it reach this point. But what he fears most of all is that if we abandon this undertaking now, we will tell ourselves that Asia is impossible, that we should never again have anything to do with it, and will abandon not only Vietnam but all of Asia, with the likely exception of Japan. I share his fear. We might treat Asia as we treated Europe after 1918.

We must ask ourselves right now whether that wouldn't be a pretty good idea. From some points of view, it might be an excellent idea. If our foreign policy in Asia produces such a monstrosity as the Vietnam war, why not get out? But, as Reischauer sees it, and as I would like to see it, our foreign policy in Asia is more than just the war in Vietnam. Most of Asia needs our help desperately, and we can perhaps use a good deal of Asian help in growing up. I want to go on having an American presence in Asia, because I don't want people to starve to death if we can prevent it, and I don't want Asians to despise my children and grandchildren and plot to destroy them.

Anyway, the thing wouldn't work. In recent years, a good many people have urged the dismantling of NATO, on the ground that it is no longer needed and that what is sometimes called "the European system" can work on its own. Whenever such proposals were brought to the attention of George Ball, the former Under-Secretary of State, and a dedicated Europeanist, he would ask their sponsors if they remembered what had happened to "The European system" in 1914 and in 1939. Things may have changed in Europe lately, but there has never been anything anyone could call "the Asian system," capable of settling what diplomats call "regional" problems—usually meaning wars.

Even if China managed to contain itself, which doesn't seem very likely, there would still be a good deal of unpleasantness between India and Pakistan. Making their own nuclear weapons might seem more important to them than it does now. And there would be unpleasantness elsewhere in Southeast Asia. And who knows whether some of Japan's long-range planners might not start casting a speculative eye on the "power vacuums" we would be creating?

Until very recently, these considerations put me in substantial agreement with Reischauer that perhaps Johnson's way offers fewer dangers than any of the others. But now I think we have reached—or are just about to reach—a point at which the argument no longer holds water. For one thing, if we continue much longer we may pull out of Asia whether we win, lose, or draw in Vietnam. It happens to be the view of our people that they don't want their kids to be killed so that Asians can go on eating. Most of them would see no logic in saying there is a necessary connection between starvation in India and Americans getting shot in Vietnam, but even if the logic were self-evident they would reject it.

Beyond all that, however, we seem as incapable as the South Vietnamese of running a war—or, at any rate, *this* war—and doing anything worthwhile at the same time. Congress insists on cutting our decent programs elsewhere in the world—to say nothing of those in this country—almost to the point of absurdity. In a literal sense, it is finding a way to make the wretched of the earth foot the bill for Vietnam. This isn't its intention, and as a nation we are still more generous than most, yet not only are innocent people dying in Vietnam but, because of the dollars-and-cents cost of the war, they are dying in Africa.

The war in Vietnam is heading too many of us for the loony bin. People who could once talk sensibly about politics are becoming unhinged and disoriented by it. Some are really thinking seriously of running Ronald Reagan for President. A young man who used to be a provocative analyst now screwily and oracularly proclaims that "morality, like politics, starts at the barrel of a gun." This is printed in a local high-brow journal, and it takes a professor from California to remind this well-educated ex-humanist, now evidently en route to some kind of New Left Fascism, that politics *ends* at the barrel of a gun. Not long ago, a highly intelligent and attractive young Negro spokesman for a radical organization said that he couldn't see any reason anyone should write a book about poverty—he was talking of Michael Harrington's "The Other America"—because anyone who was really poor and had lived in a ghetto knew all there was to know about it anyway. He said he himself could tell it like it is, but thought a book about it was a waste of anyone's time.

The land is filling up with cranks and zanies—some well intentioned, some vicious. It can be contended that Vietnam is not the only cause of goofing off, of alienation. Of course it isn't. But it provides the occasion, and it heightens the degree. And so it seems to me that if we stay on in Vietnam we will render ourselves incapable of being of much help to Asians or anyone else. We will need all the help we can get ourselves. If Ronald Reagan became President, I'd say by all means let's not have a foreign policy.

I want us to get out, and then try to recover our sanity, so that we may face the consequences. Some of them cause me almost no concern. The spread of Communism bothers me very little. It may be bad in some places and not so bad in others, but we can live with it just about anywhere—even ninety miles from Key West. Once, it was, or seemed to be, a world movement, and it was surely a brutally expansionist one. But its adventures in expansionism blunted its threat as a world movement. By 1948, when Tito broke with Stalin, it should have been clear that ideology was no match for nationalism—at least in Europe.

When China broke with Russia, it was obvious that the same thing went for Asia. Perhaps if we had borne in mind the history of earlier religious movements we could have seen all this fifty years ago. But we didn't see it, and neither, of course, did they. At any rate, we now know that the mere circumstance that a piece of real estate falls under Communist control doesn't constitute a threat to our existence, and doesn't even mean there is no more hope for the people involved. Nor, with things as they are, can my first concern be with the indisputable fact that by pulling out we would be breaking our pledge not only to the Vietnamese but to the Thais and others to whom what would follow might be quite painful. We are going to get out sooner or later anyway, and when we do we will not go back in, so, no matter what happens in the near future, they are going to have to work out their relations with China without much support from us. But some of the consequences of withdrawal disturb me greatly.

By and large, I think that most of American foreign policy for the last thirty years has been admirable. I want us to continue to be part of the world and to use our considerable talents for the benefit of all mankind. I suspect that if we get out of Vietnam we won't have much left in the way of a foreign policy And, most of all, I fear what will happen right here if we withdraw. Theodore C. Sorensen writes that since Khrushchev could admit a mistake in the missile crisis five years ago, and Kennedy could acknowledge one at the Bay of Pigs a year before that, Lyndon Johnson ought to be able to do the same thing now. Here are two analogies that do not work at all. The missile crisis was over in a few days, the Bay of Pigs in a few hours.

No Russian soldiers died in the missile crisis, no American ones at the Bay of Pigs. It would take greater magnanimity and a greater dedication to the truth than we have any right to expect of any politician on earth for Lyndon Johnson to say that this whole bloody business is a mistake, and was from the start. He just cannot and will not do it. If he did, he would throw this country into worse turmoil than it has known at any time since the Civil War. Could he pull out and either say nothing or tell some lies? Could he possibly use Senator Aiken's ploy and announce that we had achieved our ends in Vietnam and were withdrawing?

Perhaps, but there would still be turmoil. There will be turmoil whether we stay or go, and I dread it. But, between the two, I have less fear of the consequences of withdrawal than of those of perseverance.

This war is intolerable What does it mean to say that? Not much—talk is cheap. I haven't a clue as to how we can get out, and I have never much liked the idea of proposing without knowing of a means of disposing. I don't think we can write our way out, and I doubt very much if we can demonstrate our way out. But out is where I want us to be, and I don't know what a man can do except say what he thinks and feels.

RICHARD H. ROVERE.

GROWING INTERNATIONAL INTEREST IN THE METRIC SYSTEM

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, growing international interest in the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures is reflected in the summer 1968 edition of American Scientist.

This respected scientific journal has reprinted a pamphlet prepared by the Royal Society of London to encourage the use of metric symbols in scientific writing.

I am pleased to bring this concise and clear description of metric system symbols to the attention of my colleagues. The article is a further indication of the growing popularity of the metric system. Also, it provides added reason for passage of H.R. 3136, which is the bill authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to make a study of the advantages and possible disadvantages of increased use of the metric system in the United States.

The material follows:

METRICATION IN SCIENTIFIC JOURNALS

(By the Royal Society Conference of Editors)

(NOTE.—The Royal Society (London) has, in various fields, been taking a leading part in promoting the adoption of the metric (SI) system of units in the United Kingdom. The Council of the Royal Society, at a meeting in January 1968, decided that the Society's own journals should henceforth require the use of SI units as far as possible. A pamphlet has been prepared by the Conference of Editors and issued to the Fellows of the Society with a statement that the Royal Society will welcome its reproduction in whole or in part as desired.

(For the information of American scientists we present here the pamphlet as received and inform our readers that copies may be obtained from the Executive Secretary, the Royal Society, 6 Carlton House Terrace, London, S.W. 1, Bulk orders, £2 per 100.—HUGH TAYLOR.)

The Royal Society Conference of Editors, after considering the role scientific journals can play in connexion with the Government's policy of promoting the general adoption of the metric system in the U.K., makes two main recommendations:

1. That the system of units known as SI should be adopted in all scientific and technical journals.

2. That, in order to keep to a minimum the difficulties that will inevitably arise during the period of transition, the change-over should be effected as quickly as possible.

SI (which is the abbreviation in many languages for Système International d'Unités) is an extension and refinement of the traditional metric system. It embodies features which make it logically superior to any other system as well as practically more convenient: it is rational, coherent, and comprehensive. The purpose of this leaflet is to provide a brief account of SI; it has been prepared in the hope that it will be useful to authors in a wide range of subjects and also that in many instances it will obviate the need for editors to produce their own notes.

The metric system which had spread to several countries in the aftermath of the French Revolution, began to be adopted in scientific work in the U.K. in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Its use extended more and more widely, although a few branches of science remain where Imperial Units have continued to predominate. It is fortunate that now that the time has come to discard completely the time-honoured native units (which are not without their advantages), there is to hand a fully developed International System to take their place. Over the years much thought has been given to extending and improving the metric system until finally, in 1960, the Conférence Générale des Poids et Mesures, the body responsible for maintaining standards of measurements (of which the U.K. is an active participant), formally approved SI. Already nearly thirty countries have decided to make it the only legally accepted system and it is clearly destined to become the universal currency of science and commerce. In many spheres in the U.K. (schools, universities, industry) the adoption of SI is being actively encouraged. The Conference of Editors is anxious that the journals devoted to science and engineering should seize the opportunity of playing a crucial role in helping to end the confusion and wastefulness (both mental and material) resulting from the present multiplicity of units.

The main features of SI are as follows:

1. There are six basic units (see below) the metre and kilogramme taking the place of the centimetre and gramme of the old metric system.

2. The unit of force, the newton (kg m s^{-2} is independent of the Earth's gravitation, and the often confusing introduction, in some branches of science and technology, of g into equations is no longer necessary.

3. The unit of energy in all forms is the joule (newton × metre), and of power the joule per second (watt); thus the variously defined calories, together with the kilowatt hour, the B.t.u. and the horsepower are all superseded.

4. "Electrostatic" and "electromagnetic" units are replaced by SI electrical units.

5. Multiples of units are normally to be restricted to steps of a thousand and similarly fractions to steps of a thousandth.

Lists are appended of the basic SI units, of some derived SI units, of compatible units, and also examples of units which run counter to SI, the use of which is accordingly to be actively discouraged. Also listed are the names and symbols of the prefixes representing numerical factors: these are both convenient in obviating the need to write large numbers of zeros or in some instances high powers of 10, and also helpful in establishing familiarity with the numerical framework of modern science. It will be noted that the recommended prefixes are limited to $10^{\pm 31}$.

The rate of the change-over towards complete metrication will vary from journal to journal, depending on the subjects covered and the extent to which the metric system already holds sway. In certain branches of science and engineering editors may decide to proceed to their target along the following route (with equivalent values given in parentheses):

$$\underset{\text{(stage I)}}{\text{non-metric (SI)}} \rightarrow \underset{\text{(stage II)}}{\text{SI (non-metric)}} \rightarrow \underset{\text{(stage III)}}{\text{SI}}$$

In some branches full metrication will have to wait upon the installation of metric machinery and equipment. (Where measurements are expressed in the form of instrument readings they should be so recorded and a conversion factor quoted.)

In many journals, on the other hand, change-over to SI units can be achieved in one step, and the experience of some editors and authors where changes have already been introduced is that such changes are more readily accepted than would have been supposed before their introduction.

Whatever the particular circumstances, it is hoped that editors will play a positive part in encouraging their authors to adopt the International System of Units. When it becomes fully established in all disciplines the advantages will be enormous.

BASIC SI UNITS

Physical quantity	Name of unit	Symbol for unit [1]
Length	Metre	m
Mass	Kilogramme	kg
Time	Second	s
Electric current	Ampere	A
Thermodynamic temperature.	Degree Kelvin	°K
Luminous intensity	Candela	cd

[1] Symbols for units do not take a plural form.

SUPPLEMENTARY UNITS [2]

Physical quantity	Name of unit	Symbol for unit
Plane angle	Radian	rad
Solid angle	Steradian	sr

[2] These units are dimensionless.

DERIVED SI UNITS WITH SPECIAL NAMES

Physical quantity	Name of unit	Symbol for unit	Definition of unit
Energy	Joule	J	kg m^{2}s^{-2}
Force	Newton	N	kg m s^{-2}=J m^{-1}
Power	Watt	W	kg m^2 s^{-3}=J s^{-1}
Electric charge	Coulomb	C	A s
Electric potential difference	Volt	V	kg m^{2}s^{-3} A^{-1}=J A^{-1} s^{-1}
Electric resistance	Ohm	Ω	kg m^2 s^{-3} A^{-2}=VA^{-1}
Electric capacitance	Farad	F	A^2 s^4 kg^{-1} m^{-2}=A s V^{-1}
Magnetic flux	Weber	Wb	kg m^{2}s^{-2} A^{-1}=V s
Inductance	Henry	H	kg m^2 s^{-2} A^{-2}=V s A^{-1}
Magnetic flux density	Tesla	T	kg s^{-2} A^{-1}=V s m^{-2}
Luminous flux	Lumen	lm	cd sr
Illumination	Lux	lx	cd sr m^{-2}
Frequency	Hertz	Hz	cycle per second
Customary temperature, t	Degree Celsius	°C	$t/°\mathrm{C}=T/°\mathrm{K}-273.15$

FRACTIONS AND MULTIPLES

Fraction	Prefix	Symbol	Multiple	Prefix	Symbol
*10^{-1}	Deci	d	10	Deka	da
*10^{-2}	Centi	c	10^2	Hecto	h
10^{-3}	Milli	m	10^3	Kilo	k
10^{-6}	Micro	μ	10^6	Mega	M
10^{-9}	Nano	n	10^9	Giga	G
10^{-12}	Pico	p	10^{12}	Terr	T
10^{-15}	Femto	f			
10^{-18}	Atto	a			

*To be restricted to instances where there is a strongly felt need, such as may be experienced in the early days of metrication in favour of the centimetre as the unit of length in certain biological measurements.

Compound prefixes should not be used, e.g., 10^{-9} metre is represented by—

1 nm, *not* 1 m$_\mu$m

The attaching of a prefix to a unit in effect constitutes a new unit, e.g.—

$$1\ \mathrm{km}^2=1\ (\mathrm{km})^2=10^6\mathrm{m}^2$$
$$\textit{not}\ 1\ \mathrm{k}(\mathrm{m}^2)=10^3\mathrm{m}^2$$

Where possible any numerical prefix should appear in the numerator of an expression.

EXAMPLES OF OTHER DERIVED SI UNITS

Physical quantity	SI unit	Symbol for unit
Area	Square metre	m^2
Volume	Cubic metre	m^3
Density	Kilogramme per cubic metre.	kg m^{-3}
Velocity	Metre per second	m s^{-1}
Angular velocity	Radian per second	rad s^{-1}
Acceleration	Metre per second squared.	m s^{-2}
Pressure	Newton per square metre.	N m^{-2}
Kinematic viscosity, diffusion coefficient.	Square metre per second.	m^2 s^{-1}
Dynamic viscosity	Newton second per square metre.	N s m^{-2}
Electric field strength.	Volt per metre	V m^{-1}
Magnetic field strength.	Ampere per metre	A m^{-1}
Luminance	Candela per square metre.	cd m^{-2}

UNITS TO BE ALLOWED IN CONJUNCTION WITH SI

Physical quantity	Name of unit	Symbol for unit	Definition of unit
Length	Parsec	pc	30.87 × 10^{15} m
Area	Barn	b	10^{-28} m^2
	Hectare	ha	10^4 m^2
Volume	Litre	l	10^{-3} m^3 = dm^3
Pressure	Bar	bar	10^5 N m^{-2}
Mass	Tonne	t	10^3 kg = Mg
Kinematic viscosity, diffusion coefficient.	Stokes	St	10^{-4} m^2 s^{-1}
Dynamic viscosity	Poise	P	10^{-1} kg m^{-1} s^{-1}
Magnetic flux density (magnetic induction)	Gauss	G	10^{-4} T
Radioactivity	Curie	Ci	37 × 10^9 s^{-1}
Energy	Electron-volt	eV	1.6021 × 10^{-16} J

The common units of time (e.g., hour, year) will persist, and also, in appropriate contexts, the angular degree.

Until such time as a new name may be adopted for the kilogramme as the basic unit of mass, the gramme will often be used, both as an elementary unit (to avoid the absurdity of mkg) and in association with numerical prefixes, e.g., μg.

EXAMPLES OF UNITS CONTRARY TO SI, WITH THEIR EQUIVALENTS*

Physical quantity	Unit	Equivalent
Length	Ångström	10^{-10} m
	Inch	0.0254 m
	Foot	0.3048 m
	Yard	0.9144 m
	Mile	1.609 34 km
	Nautical mile	1.853 8 km
Area	Square inch	645.16 mm^2
	Square foot	0.092 903 m^2
	Square yard	0.836 127 m^2
	Square mile	2.589 99 km^2
Volume	Cubic inch	1.638 71 × 10^{-5} m^3
	Cubic foot	0.028 316 8 m^3
	U.K. gallon	0.004 546 092 m^3
Mass	Pound	0.453 592 37 kg
	Slug	14.593 9 kg
Density	Pound/cubic inch	2.767 99 × 10^4 kgm^{-3}
	Pound/cubic foot	16.0185 kg m^{-3}
Force	Dyne	10^{-5} N
	Poundal	0.138 255 N
	Pound-force	4.448 22 N
	Kilogramme-force	9.806 65 N
Pressure	Atmosphere	101.325 kN m^{-2}
	Torr	133.322 N m^{-2}
	Pound (f)/sq. in.	6894.76 N m^{-2}
Energy	Erg	10^{-7} J
	Calorie (I.T.)	4.1868 J
	Calorie (15 °C)	4.1855 J
	Calorie (thermochemical)	4.184 J
	B.t.u	1055.06 J
	Foot poundal	0.042 140 1J
	Foot pound (f)	1.355 82 J
Power	Horse power	745.700 W
Temperature	Degree Rankine	$\frac{5}{9}$ °K
	Degree Fahrenheit	$t/°\mathrm{F}=\frac{9}{5}T/°\mathrm{C}+32$

*Fuller lists are to be found in the National Physical Laboratory's "Changing to the Metric System" (Anderton & Brigg). London: H.M.S.O. (1966).

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES AT NOTRE DAME COLLEGE OF STATEN ISLAND

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, June 3, I was honored to participate in the 34th annual commencement exercises at Notre Dame College of Staten Island. Notre Dame is one of the finest colleges on the eastern seaboard, and the young ladies who graduated this year can be proud of their accomplishments at this fine school. The commencement address was delivered by the Honorable Malcolm Wilson, Lieutenant Governor of the State of New York. I feel his remarks are particularly enlightening, and I include the text of his speech for the benefit of my colleagues. Also, I include the list of graduates from the Notre Dame College class of 1968:

REMARKS OF LT. GOV. MALCOLM WILSON AT ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT OF NOTRE DAME COLLEGE OF STATEN ISLAND, JUNE 3, 1968

First of all I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to Sister Rita Donahue, your president, for the privilege she has awarded me of sharing with you the joy and significance of this occasion.

As you young women of the class of '68 receive your diplomas—your accolade for having completed four years of training in this fine Catholic institution of learning—you have earned the congratulations of all of us here, and we offer them to you in unstinted measure. No one receives a college diploma unless that one has cooperated in full with those who made it possible. But I am sure that each one of you has in mind that in being awarded your diploma you are the recipient of a privilege and that every privilege which we are accorded in life connotes a corresponding obligation.

I do not refer now to an obligation to the parents and others whose cooperation made possible your attendance here. If obligation there be in that regard, it is recorded in your hearts—and from there it will be repaid. I speak rather of your obligation to God who gave you the minds to assimilate and to benefit from the education which you have received.

Your parents after all—especially your fathers—have provided for you the finest in education because it was their joy to do so. No man, I suppose—and I speak from experience—does anything in life that is easier than to give to a daughter. The only time we fathers are in difficulty is when it comes to saying "No", (as I suppose all of you young ladies are well aware!). I imagine that from the moment when Eve presented Adam with their first daughter, God knew what to expect from him and has been tolerant with us ever since. For we temporal fathers indulge ourselves in the folly of love, but when God who is infinitely wiser gives generously, as He has to you, He expects in His justice a fair accounting.

The period of history in which you graduate is challenging and exciting; if we lose our objectivity in assessing it, it could well be terrifying. The last quarter of a century has seen greater advances in the scientific field than were dreamt of in the preceding thousand years. The tempo of our times has accelerated to such a degree that it is literally impossible to keep pace with it. The tremors of revolution are stirring this globe of ours—revolution social, political and religious. People, particularly young people the world over are tossing aside the pat answers that have satisfied the generations before them and are seeking new answers to age-old questions. They question even the normal traditions that have safe-guarded personal values. They want to revise and re-think the whole universe.

How are you to cope with the problems that confront you? You are modern young women and a part of your time. I suggest the ultimate answer is to be found in the one basic truth that is by now a part of the very core of your being. It is part of the eternal plan and you know that it will remain forever unchanged. No matter through what spaces man may soar—no matter what far planets he may eventually reach—he was created for a threefold purpose: to know God, to love Him and to serve Him. It is as simple as that. It is a *fact*—as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be.

But do not think that anyone minimizes the pressures that will be exerted upon you to question even that truth. God is not dead—nor is the devil, for you remember that he is reputed to have won the robe of Christ when lots were cast for it; and being ever a consummate actor, he can don any disguise and fool even the most wary of us at times. And make no mistake: in the world today he has surrounded himself with many willing—and I suppose, at times, even unwilling apprentices.

A basic indication of the well-educated human being, one who has truly attained maturity, is the extent to which he or she is self-disciplined. The day is past when any of you here would need or expect the props of discipline which were offered to you by wise parents or by the fine faculty that has surrounded you up to now. You are mature young women who are capable of making your own decisions in answer to the multiple problems that you will face. But it will require a full measure of strength and self-discipline to maintain your own standards and ideals in a world that is bent on destroying them.

Some of you who have received your degrees today have already chosen the field where you feel you can best serve God. Sisters, I congratulate you! I can think of no time in the history of the church when the call to a woman to dedicate herself wholly to Him has presented such a magnificent challenge. More and more in the next few years will you young sisters be called upon to carry your apostolate to the whole secular community in which you live, rather than confining yourselves to the small area enclosed by the walls of the religious communities of which you are a part. What a fertile field you will find from which to garner souls for God!

To you other young women may I point out that your choice in life is as varied as your individual talents. You are surrounded on all sides by doors, anyone of which you may choose as the portal through which you will step into the adult world. There are the doors of marriage, the law, science, politics, journalism, medicine, the arts—almost limitless are the opportunities presented to a woman graduated from a fine college today. But I wish you would have one thing firmly in mind. No matter what field you choose to make your life's work, never in any of them will you be entering a man's world—because there is no such thing.

This is a world of men and women, and no matter how emancipated you have become, whatever goals you set for yourselves, whatever obligations you voluntarily assume, you, all of you, religious and lay alike, bear first and foremost the responsibility placed upon you by God: That of being a woman. For woman, it is said, was created to be the balance wheel for man; each by nature complements the other, and this is true no matter what field they share. Man is aggressive and woman accomplishes her end with greater gentleness; man declares war and to woman falls the role of arbiter and peacemaker; man is by nature in great measure an egotist, but a woman understands in some intuitive way that she grows no smaller in stature by building up those around her and helping them to develop their full potential.

We men do not ask that you young women be warriors. That role we have traditionally reserved for ourselves, perhaps because it is a plan of nature, or perhaps because it is the easier one. To woman falls the harder and infinitely more important role of guardian and disseminator of spiritual strength. By the plan of creation it is in the heart of woman that God has implanted the seeds of strength and comfort that are to flower and support his universe. When to that plan of the creator, as old as time, we add the complete development of fine minds and characters through modern Catholic education, we arrive at you, the graduating class of today, each of you bearing on her shoulders heavily it is true, but not too heavily, a responsibility from which there must be no turning away.

I would like to leave one more thought with you on this occasion which marks the termination of one complete phase of your lives. Consider seriously the fact that woman is by nature the home-maker. I am not now paraphrasing the old adage "Woman's Place Is in the Home" nor am I disparaging that sentiment, except insofar as I do not feel that any of us today has the right to light the fire on his or her own hearth, draw the blinds, gather loved ones around and say "Here We Are Sheltered and Safe"—not while in the dark beyond those blinds and beyond the reach of the heath-fire's warmth, so many millions of homeless, cold and frightened people are crying out for help.

Home, you know, has a second definition even in the dictionary. It is a "place to rest in and be safe". There is your role as home-makers—home-makers for the world, not only for those near and dear to you. Let it be your responsibility to make the world a "place to rest in and be safe". Let it be yours to do by holding fast to and spreading your own spiritual strength and moral courage to those around you—whether your own husbands and children—other's children that you may teach—or those who surround you in whatever profession or field you may choose for your life's work.

If the educated Catholic woman will make that her chief goal in life, then surely some day—probably we who are so proud of you today will not live to see it; possibly not even you will—but some day the jubilant cry must go up from a mankind freed at last from the crippling vise of materialistic force and moral weakness "Lord, I do fear Thou hast made the world too beautiful this year!"

CLASS OF 1968

Kathleen Marie Hansen, Valedictorian, Bachelor of Science in Education (cum laude)—Honor Key.

Barbara Chorman, Salutatorian, Bachelor of Arts (cum laude)—Honor Key.

Patricia Plankey, Bachelor of Arts (cum laude)—Honor Key.

Colleen Elizabeth Crosson, Bachelor of Science in Education (cum laude)—Honor Key.

Kathleen Mary Krank, Bachelor of Arts (cum laude)—Honor Key.

Mary Donlon, Bachelor of Arts (cum laude)—Honor Key.

Noreen MacEvoy, C.N.D., Bachelor of Arts (cum laude)—Honor Key.

Suzette Ann Sherry, Bachelor of Arts (cum laude)—Honor Key.

Janet Kathryn Schrieber, Bachelor of Arts (cum laude)—Honor Key.

Claudia Hart, Bachelor of Science in Education, Student President.

Jennifer Maureen Abbott, Bachelor of Arts.

Marianne Adamenas, Bachelor of Arts.

Susan Aery, C.N.D., Bachelor of Arts.

Patricia Ann Ahern, Bachelor of Arts.

Grace L. Altomari, Bachelor of Arts.

Madeline Elizabeth Ambry, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Janet Linda Augustine, Bachelor of Arts.

Beatrice Baker, C.N.D., Bachelor of Science in Education.

Kathleen Margaret Barry, Bachelor of Arts.

Diana Florence Baumlin, Bachelor of Arts.

Stanis Marusak Beck, Bachelor of Arts.

Dolores Karen Belby, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Loretta Bober, Bachelor of Arts.

Rose Michelle Boccasino, Bachelor of Arts.

Jo-Ann Bongiovanni, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Carol Lillian Caccese, Bachelor of Arts.

Ellenanne B. Caldwell, Bachelor of Arts.

Linda A. Campbell, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Patricia K. Campbell, Bachelor of Arts.

Rena Ann Campomenosi, Bachelor of Arts.

Sandra E. Cangiano, Bachelor of Arts.

Elaine T. Capelli, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Kathleen Maura Carmody, Bachelor of Arts.

Yolanda Ann Clemente, Bachelor of Arts.

Mary Elizabeth Clooney, Bachelor of Arts.

Mary Margaret Coggin, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Janis C. Craviso, Bachelor of Arts.

Noreen Theresa Crowe, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Ann Marie Cunningham, Bachelor of Arts.

Linda Ann Dadswell, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Joyce Ann D'Amico, Bachelor of Arts.

Margaret Patricia Dawley, Bachelor of Arts.

Eileen Dokus, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Barbara Lynn Donovan, C.N.D., Bachelor of Science in Education.

Maureen C. Donovan, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Margaret Catherine Driscoll, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Margaret Mary Duffy, Bachelor of Arts.

Carol Essig, Bachelor of Arts.

Barbara Jean Fink, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Annmarie Flanagan, Bachelor of Arts.

Patricia Anne Franzonello, Bachelor of Arts.

Mary Elizabeth Gallagher, Bachelor of Arts.

Linda Rose Gallo, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Barbara Gehshan, Bachelor of Arts.

Pauline Grassi, Bachelor of Arts.

Doreen Lynne Gregory, Bachelor of Arts.

Susan M. Haggerty, Bachelor of Arts.

Maryann Hedaa, C.N.D., Bachelor of Arts.

Margaret Mary Hennelly, Bachelor of Arts.

Helen V. Hickey, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Rosemary Teresa Javaruski, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Karen Eileen Johansen, Bachelor of Arts.

Clare Mary Johnson, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Carol Anne Kalowsky, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Kathleen Agnes Kelleher, Bachelor of Arts.

Sharon Ann Kelly, Bachelor of Arts.

Virginia Rose Kempf, Bachelor of Arts.

Mary Alice Kenney, Bachelor of Arts.

Elizabeth Mary Kocot, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Mary Geraldine Kohoot, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Tatiana Kramarev, Bachelor of Arts.

Donna Lynn Lancos, Bachelor of Arts.

Monica Landry, C.N.D., Bachelor of Arts.

Lorraine Larrivee, C.N.D., Bachelor of Science in Education.

Barbara Marie Lawaska, Bachelor of Arts.

Carol Ann Lawlor, Bachelor of Science in Education—Honor Key.

Eileen Cecilia Ledzion, Bachelor of Arts.

Mary Ann Lemieux, C.N.D., Bachelor of Science in Education.

Monica Leonard, C.N.D., Bachelor of Science in Education.

Karen Marie Leonhardt, Bachelor of Arts.

Sally Longo, C.N.D., Bachelor of Science in Education.

Eileen Maguire, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Frances Maguire, Bachelor of Arts.

Darleen Mayo, C.N.D., Bachelor of Science in Education.

Mary Elizabeth McAuliffe, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Jeanne A. McCarthy, Bachelor of Science in Education.

Patricia Anne McElligott, Bachelor of Arts.

Eleanor D. McGuire, Bachelor of Arts.
Ruth Ann Meehan, Bachelor of Arts.
Leonora Marie Megna, Bachelor of Arts.
Mary Elizabeth Monahan, Bachelor of Arts.
Carol Patricia Moran, Bachelor of Arts.
Mary Ellen Mullin, Bachelor of Arts—Honor Key.
Ellen Murphy, C.N.D., Bachelor of Arts.
Mary Ellen Murphy, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Maureen Ann Murphy, Bachelor of Arts.
Susan Murphy, Bachelor of Arts.
Dorothy Marie Nelson, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Patricia Joan Norman, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Mario Nowicki, Bachelor of Arts—Honor Key.
Rosemarie O'Rourke, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Patricia M. Pattison, Bachelor of Arts.
Kathleen Elizabeth Pearson, Bachelor of Arts.
Carol A. Pender, Bachelor of Arts.
Maria Antoinetta Penna, Bachelor of Arts.
Mary Dianne Peters, Bachelor of Arts.
Sally Plunket, Bachelor of Arts.
Judith Anne Poje, Bachelor of Arts.
Consuelo Irene Polanco, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Ann Powell, Bachelor of Arts.
Augusta Victoria Pumilia, Bachelor of Arts.
Patricia Ellen Quinlan, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Kathleen Patricia Reilly, Bachelor of Arts.
Patricia L. Reilly, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Marion Adele Rozger, Bachelor of Arts.
Elena Marie Sarnelle, Bachelor of Arts.
Ursula Elizabeth Schwarz, Bachelor of Arts.
Carolyn Ruth Sienicki, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Pauline Clara Simmen, Bachelor of Arts.
Mary Jane Singler; Bachelor of Arts.
Barbara A. B. Smith, Bachelor of Arts.
Dorothy Marie Smith, Bachelor of Arts.
Joan Marie Smith, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Roberta Sollazzo, Bachelor of Arts.
Ann Marie Strileckis, C.N.D., Bachelor of Science in Education.
Elizabeth Sullivan, C.N.D., Bachelor of Science in Education.
Norma Sullivan, Bachelor of Arts.
Mary Ellen Kathleen Tobin, Bachelor of Arts.
Susan Patricia Traks, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Patricia Ann Tuite, Bachelor of Arts.
Marie Anne Uffelmann, C.N.D., Bachelor of Arts.
Mariann Tiboni Verhey, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Grace A. Walsh, Bachelor of Arts.
Carol Ann Wittmann, Bachelor of Science in Education.
Anna Zanca, Bachelor of Science in Education.

THE FEDERAL TAX SYSTEM—CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I invite the attention of the Members to a recent address by the very able Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Tax Policy, Stanley S. Surrey, before the Boston Economic Club.

His address, entitled "The Federal Tax System—Current Activities and Future Possibilities," not only describes current tax legislative matters being examined by the Congress, but touches upon a great number of items being talked about and studied by the business and academic communities, as well as within the Federal Government.

In particular I would like to draw attention to those portions of his remarks dealing with the role the tax system plays in the social fabric of today's society. Mr. Surrey discusses many of the subjects we have debated here and have been reading about in many journals for some time. It is a thought-provoking talk about the very real world of taxes, written in clear, lucid lanaguage.

The speech deserves the prompt attention of all Members of Congress.

The speech follows:

THE FEDERAL TAX SYSTEM—CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

(Remarks by the Honorable Stanley S. Surrey, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, before the Boston Economic Club, Boston, Mass., May 15, 1968)

Major changes in the Federal tax system have now become an annual experience. That system is so directly involved in our domestic and international activities that the constant changes in those activities and concerns are reflected in alternations of our tax structure. Sometimes the tax changes that take place in a given year are the result of events that develop during that year and require a prompt tax response. Sometimes—perhaps more often—the changes are the culmination of considerations and forces that began to gather several, perhaps many, years in the past. As a consequence, a survey of the Federal tax scene requires not only a description of current legislative activities but also an examination of current discussions and studies that may lead to legislative involvement in the future.

CURRENT LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

The major activity in Federal tax legislation in 1968 is the emerging tax increase bill. One should really refer to the time span of that bill as 1967–1968 because the surcharge proposal has been before the Congress since last August. The tax increase proposal has had a tortuous journey and the Secretary of the Treasury throughout has had to play many roles. At times he has been a tax Candide, seeing progress in this procedural move or that statement by a legislator when all else saw only set back. At times he has sorrowfully been a tax Cassandra, as crises recurred in the international markets and gold filled the headlines. And at many another time he has been the ambulance surgeon on the emergency call or even a Dr. Christiaan Barnard—always able to detect a pulse or heartbeat when all others had put away their stethoscopes.

There are certainly many interesting facets of that journéy. For one, the forecasting that underlay the recommendation for a tax increase was on target throughout. The economic pace of the economy was clearly foretold—a pause in the first part of 1967, a rise in the second half that would, in the absence of a tax increase, amount to an accelerated rate of growth that would be too rapid for our economic health. The domestic and international consequences that would accompany the unacceptable deficit position obtaining without a tax increase were also accurately foretold—rises in interest rates, an inflationary trend in prices, a setback to our trade surplus because of increased imports, a severely weakened balance of payments position, and attacks on the dollar in the international monetary field. The actual proving out of such a forecast is itself somewhat of a rare event where the forecast is the basis for policy action designed to affect the events forecast—to prevent too steep a rise or to brake a fall—and thus prevent prediction from becoming history. And so when a forecast calling for policy change has become actuality, then policy moves have gone astray—in this case through the passage of time. The enactment of the tax increase will start us on the journey away from all these dangerous instabilities to a more secure position at home and abroad.

Nor was the need for a tax increase a special phenomenon of the new economies or a matter of so-called fine tuning. Indeed, it was in response to a traditional reason for a tax increase—the need for revenues to meet rising expenditures of Government caused by our involvement in hostilities. The United States, ever since the ill-advised tax increase in the Depression, has not required an increaase in income taxes except in a time of hostilities, for it is only in such a period that Government expenditures have outrun revenues. Thus, in one sense the surcharge proposal was a classic textbook case for a tax increase.

But the textbooks would have missed some other facets of the fiscal scene. One of these has been the desire of the Congress and the Committees charged with revenue policy—especially the Ways and Means Committee—and on whom falls the task of increasing taxes, to achieve a coordination between Congressional consideration of appropriations and expenditures and Congressional consideration of tax policy. The annual, and often biannual and even triannual bouts with the limit on the public debt had not proven to be an effective instrument of coordination, though they did pave the way to a much improved substantive format for the Federal Budget and refinements in the concept of Budget surplus or deficit. The need for a tax increase was soon seen as apparently offering a much stronger instrument, and this attitude gradually grew in intensity and scope. As a result, the tax increase proposal became the device to achieve last year a reduction in fiscal year 1968 "controllable" expenditures (over $4 billion), and now under the Conference Report a reduction in fiscal year 1969 expenditures ($6 billion), a cut back in proposed new obligational authority for fiscal year 1969 ($10 billion), and a reexamination of carryover obligational authority ($8 billion). The gradual development of these expenditure changes was accompanied by an increasing degree of interchange between the Tax Committees and the Appropriations Committees, especially on the House side. This procedural change, growing as it did out of a whole variety of tentative actions and shifting goals as the new terrain was explored, proved a time-consuming process. And we are still left with the speculations as to what these developments may portend.

We can be hopeful, I believe, that the time involved in enacting the tax surcharge proposal will not be characteristic of the response to future needed changes in the level of taxes. There are too many particular connotations respecting this proposal—the varying attitudes to Vietnam hostilities for one—to make that time span a precedent. And hence, for example, any need to reduce taxes promptly in a Post-Vietnam period to maintain full employment should not have to face a similar time span.

Another interesting facet is that the format of the tax increase was really never a subject of controversy. As a result of careful study of this matter in 1966, culminating in the Hearings of the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy of the Joint Economic Committee—a study and Hearing which the Administration had urged in preparation for the possible tax increase—the country had available a considerable amount of analysis and data on the shape of a tax increase, including the recommendation of that Subcommittee for the surcharge form. The tax proposal reflected this background, and involved three essential aspects: an income tax surcharge form for both individuals and corporations; a shielding of those in the lowest brackets from the increase; and a temporary design for the increase. To a degree that is unusual in tax legislation, the initial proposal is reflected in the final version essentially without change.

The economic effect of the tax increase will be heightened by two recent developments in our tax structure—graduated withholding on wage and salary earners, and developments leading to a complete system of current tax payments for corporations. The former came in 1966, and the latter was built up by legislation in 1964 and 1966 and now by the corporate acceleration provisions in the current bill. The temporary tax increase will thus be immediately reflected in tax payments based on current levels of income and profits, so that those incomes and profits will at once bear the restraining effect of the increase.

While our balance of payments problems are reflected in the tax increase bill, they are also the occasion for other 1968 legislative activity still unfolding. For one, the foreign travel bill is now in the Senate, with the 5 percent travel tax extended to overseas air transportation and a tightening of customs measures. There is still the need further to dampen tourist expenditures abroad. While foreign travel has its undoubted advantages for both individual families and the nation, still a family must budget for its outlays and so must the nation budget its international expenditures to the foreign exchange available. In the trade field, attention now shifts to the Hearings before the Ways and Means Committee scheduled for June 4.

FUTURE EVENTS

Let us turn to the matter of future events in the tax field—or more properly current discussions, studies, developments, or what you will—that are likely to bring about legislative involvement at some point. I use the word involvement" advisedly and broadly—it ranges from active Congressional consideration producing legislative enactment to a Congressional decision not to take any action despite the call for consideration from this or that quarter. For I must emphasize that I am here describing and not predicting—and the area of description extends beyond government attitudes to business and labor discussion, academic interests, current research, and so on.

Tax reform

There is a recognized need for a major effort for further tax reform. The pending tax bill calls for the President to submit proposals for a comprehensive reform" this year. The consideration of tax reform has been held off by the deliberations over the tax bill. The operational aspects of tax legislation permit only one train to be on the main track at a given time, and so tax reform has been waiting in the railway yards for the main track to clear.

There is much to do in tax revision and many ideas have already been expressed, some in speeches by Treasury officials, some in speeches by legislators. The Treasury, for example, has called attention to the need to revise the rules relating to the transfer of property by death or gift, so as to achieve a more equitable estate and gift tax system with less tax distortion in family dispositions of property and a rational income tax treatment of appreciated assets so transferred. It has among other matters also stressed the need to eliminate corporate multiple surtax exemptions; to achieve a rational rearrangement of the tax treatment of the elderly; and to eliminate abuses in the area of private foundations and tax-exempt organizations generally. (It is an interesting commentary—should I say insight—on the foundation scene that *Fortune* magazine in its recent article on "America's Centimillionaires" includes in its estimates of an individual's wealth the holdings of "foundations established by the individuals or their spouses.")

Chairman Long of the Finance Committee, in a recent speech, also mentioned a proposal he had earlier suggested, and which has, in one form or another, been introduced in bills by other legislators, that of a "minimum tax" to be applied to an expanded income base including various forms of income now excluded from coverage of the regular tax. He has also suggested maximum effective tax rates applied to the same expanded base. Chairman Mills has spoken of the need for steps designed to reduce the complexity of various facets of the measure of taxable net income. Others have focused on aspects of the tax law that enable people of large wealth to pay little income tax, and even in some cases to escape payment entirely. The Treasury has spoken of tax reform as involving a combination of revenue-raising and revenue-losing measures, so that on net balance there would be no significant overall budgetary effect. A number of Congressmen have viewed reform only from the revenue-raising, "closing of loopholes" aspect.

Some matters that were on various lists are already on the legislative scene, for tax reform must be a constant process and all developments cannot wait on major efforts for revision. Thus, the pending bill contains a provision setting a ceiling on tax-exempt industrial development bonds, thereby preventing them from swamping the regular tax-exempt bond market and from making private corporate bonds an archaic instrument.

The Secretary of Labor has submitted to the Congress proposals for revision of the structure of private pension plans involving a minimum standard of vesting, standards for the funding of benefits, and a system of plan termination protection. The measure is aptly entitled the "Pension Benefits Security Act of 1968"—for it deals with assuring a worker that years of labor in a company having a pension plan will bring him a vested benefit on retirement even though events cause him to leave that company before retirement age, and that there will be funds on hand for the payment of that benefit. This program is based on recommendations by an interagency staff committee, including Treasury Department participation, which were made after extensive consultations with informed groups regarding prior proposals. The Treasury fully supports this program. It also believes that its formulation as a measure outside the tax laws is a recognition of the importance of these matters in the whole context of employer-employee relations, a point of view that had been stressed by employer groups in criticizing prior proposals as not properly a part of the tax system.

As a substantive matter, I cannot see how one can quarrel with the basic goals of the Labor Department proposal. There is persuasive and saddening testimony to the hardship that can result from a lack of vesting in the many letters we and other Government agencies receive from individuals who, after working years for an employer, suddenly find they have lost their pension accruals because of a change in job or even a lay off. Aside even from the inequity of this result, the simple fact is that these individuals must now face retirement without the pension they expected. There is no way for them to retrace their steps and make other financial arrangements. For them, the private pension system is a failure and a mockery. And the expectation of the pension may well have affected their spending decisions while employed under the plan. In a country in which only half of the employees (aged 30 to 50) who have been with an employer for 10 years will be with that same employer in the next 10 years, this high degree of labor mobility requires that the vesting of benefits be an integral part of the private pension system. The Labor Department proposals will thus enable the private pension plan system to achieve the vital and beneficial role for which it was designed.

Poverty and taxes

The tax system is a part of the social fabric of our nation. As such it will be affected by changes in that fabric and must be responsive to those changes, consistent with performance of its function of supplying government revenues fairly and effectively. Significant events, violent and non-violent, are daily focusing the nation's attention on great poverty within our affluent society. The effects of this poverty and its growing subculture should—one hopes—appeal to our consciences and our capacity to move forward intelligently rather than to our fears. How will the tax system be involved in this appeal?

The tax system must play an essential role in enabling fiscal policy to fulfill the tasks of providing a full employment economy with as few destabilizing turns up or down as possible. Such an economy by itself will not eliminate poverty or solve our urban crisis, but without it all solutions to those ills will fail. The problems are so immense that only with the full use of our potential resources will we be in a position to achieve success in overcoming them. Consequently, we must build on our limited experience of managing a full employment economy, improve our forecasting techniques, but more importantly, achieve the flexible procedures and postures that permit a sufficiently prompt response to the measures that the forecasts require.

Against a background of full employment, what is the relevance of our attack on poverty to the tax system? There is first the direct matter of the payment of a tax itself. Our present Federal income tax does reach below the poverty level, especially for single persons and married couples with no dependents. The President has said that as fiscal conditions permit this should be corrected, and the burden of income tax payments lifted from those in poverty. In keeping with this view, as I stated earlier, the 10 percent surcharge does not apply to the lowest income brackets.

Assuming that step to be an accepted policy goal, the scholars have turned to other taxes paid by the poor and in this regard are critically examining the Social Security payroll taxes. They point out that the employee tax is applied to the first dollar of wages without regard for family size and is proportional to wages covered, all in contrast to the income tax. As a consequence the present employee payroll tax is higher than the income tax for about 25 percent of the people paying Social Security tax. Moreover, this is wholly apart from the question of the incidence of the employer tax, which most economists believe also to fall on wages. Of course the benefits of the Social Security system are paid in a progressive manner. But the scholars are questioning whether the present poor should be called on to pay taxes to provide benefits for the currently retired, or for their own benefits in the future. Any significant increase in Social Security benefits is thus likely to involve the Congress in a consideration of the impact of Social Security taxes below the poverty level.

Somewhat similar concerns could well play a part in any Congressional consideration of suggested changes looking to greater use of indirect taxation in the Federal tax structure. Legislation in recent years has involved an extensive cutback of Federal excise taxes, leaving this type of taxation largely to States and cities and strengthening the role of the income tax in the Federal structure. This concentration on the income tax at the Federal level has brought its fiscal policy benefits, for the United States has shaped that tax into a measure that can be promptly responsive to our fiscal needs, unlike the income tax structures in most countries. And we are steadily improving the equity of the tax. In some business—and academic—circles, consideration is being given to adding a mass sales tax at the Federal level, be it a retail sales tax similar to our State taxes or a value-added tax which would have the same economic effect. The thought generally is to substitute this for a part of the corporate tax. Others have asserted this would shift the burden of the tax dollars involved from corporations and their shareholders to the consumer, and thus to the poor to the extent of their share in consumption. In their view a sales tax is clearly more regressive than an income tax, and while measures perhaps can be considered to lessen the regressivity of the sales tax, those measures would complicate its administration. They would thus contend such a move to a sales tax at the Federal level would be inconsistent with efforts to relieve the poor of their income tax burdens. Congress may perhaps find itself at some later date involved in this debate which, again, is still pretty much confined to research circles and some business groups.

Poverty and tax expenditures

Another facet of the attacks on poverty and the urban crisis is the realization that all levels of Government will be required to spend increasingly larger sums on social programs. This being so, the broad questions to be answered are the nature of these expenditures and the amounts to be spent. The relationship of the latter question to the tax system is clear, but even the first question has a direct bearing on the tax structure. For many of the suggested expenditures have a tax connotation.

There has been considerable academic interest and increasing business interest in our whole public assistance or welfare system. As an illustration, the recent "Report from the Steering Committee of the Arden House Conference on Public Welfare" states that:

"The present system of public assistance does not work well. It covers only 8-million of the 30-million Americans living in poverty. It is demeaning, inefficient, inadequate, and has so many disincentives built into it that it encourages continued dependency.

"It should be replaced with an income maintenance system, possibly a negative income tax, which would bring all 30-million Americans up to at least the official Federal poverty line. Such a system should contain strong incentives to work, try to contain regional cost of living differentials, and be administered by the Internal Revenue Service to provide greater administrative efficiency and effectiveness than now exists."

Other groups or individuals have also called for an income maintenance system, as a complement to or perhaps as an evolution of an improved welfare system. The President's Committee on Income Maintenance is now considering this whole subject.

Essentially an income maintenance system is an expenditure program, even when it has the name and design of a negative income tax. For a negative income tax calls for payments to people below a designated level of need. The payments by the Government decrease as the individuals' incomes come closer to that level. Once they reach that level and the individuals become taxpayers, they have passed from the negative tax stage (payments of money *to* them) to the positive or traditional income tax stage (payments of tax *by* them). The degree of association to the traditional income tax depends on the relationship of the level of need, below which payments are made by Government, to the levels (determined by personal exemptions and the minimum standard deduction) governing positive income tax payments; the extent to which the "negative income" (the amount by which actual income falls below the level of need) is measured by concepts and definitions of income now used in the income tax; and the extent of participation by the Internal Revenue Service in the administration of the payments to the individuals.

Intense exploration of the income maintenance line of approach—how would it be administered and effectuated, what is the effect on incentives to work, what is the relationship to welfare programs—will clearly be helpful to the Congress when it comes to consider such proposals. The need for intense exploration is increased by the fact that there are competitors for the large expenditure dollars involved in that line of approach. One competitor, for example, has the general name of "tax sharing" to cover a variety of measures by which Federal tax revenues would be allocated in the large, with as few restrictions as possible, to States and (or?) local governments. Under this approach, one proposal is to automatically allocate a percentage of the Federal individual income tax base each year to State and local governments. Other proposals operate indirectly by providing for a substantial credit against Federal individual income tax liabilities for State income taxes (and perhaps other forms of State tax) thereby permitting the States to use and raise these taxes since their impact will be borne by Federal revenues to the extent of the credit.

In addition to the competitor of tax sharing, there is the competitor of direct Federal expenditures for specific purposes, such as slum clearance, urban transportation, manpower training, rental housing, health services, education, pollution control and so on—the whole range of present programs and those pressing to get on the existing list.

However the priorities come out, expenditure programs require funds. Whichever route or combination of routes is chosen, the quantitative impact on budget policy and on tax policy is obvious. The sums involved are very large, but so are the resources of the United States. Each year our growth at full employment increases our total Federal revenues, including the trust fund taxes, by $12 billion—an asset which underscores the vital need to remain a full employment economy. Hopefully, the Post-Vietnam climate will permit defense expenditures to drop to lower levels, thereby releasing budget space so to speak to these domestic areas. We will have to carefully weigh the balance to be struck between the levels of Federal tax burden, and thus the consequent amount of Federal expenditures, and the income of the private sector. This balance between private sector and public sector will involve many considerations—the combination of profit incentives, savings and consumer demand needed to achieve a continuing full-employment economy; the degree to which the private sector can effectively participate in solving our urban crisis and other social problems; the degree and rate at which Federal funds can be wisely spent.

In making these decisions we should keep in mind that taxes absorb a smaller portion of gross national product in the United States than in any other industrialized country with the exception of Japan and Switzerland—in 1966 it was 28.9 percent of GNP in the United States compared to, for example, 38.6 percent in France, 34.8 percent in Germany, and 31.3 percent in the United Kingdom. We rank about twelfth among the industrialized countries. (This is not the place to consider whether there is a clear association between the level of taxes and the rate of growth in these economies—a recent study concluded that the data permit no clear-cut support or refutation of any deductive argument one chooses to pronounce about that relationship. And thinking back to the earlier discussion on sales taxes and poverty, there is the same lack of data on the relationship between the proportion of direct and indirect taxes and growth rates. While many in the Untied States are fond of pointing to the greater proportion of indirect taxes in European economies and saying we should emulate them, there is just as much cause on grounds of economic growth (and more on grounds of equity) to say they should emulate us). But an interesting statistic not usually considered is that, with defense expenditures excluded, the United States spends considerably less of its tax revenues on domestic programs than do those countries.

We cannot measure the welfare of the American people by the smallness of the taxes that they pay. At the present time they would be treated ill if we were to hold taxes down and forgo the 10 percent surcharge but leave them with accelerating inflation, climbing interest rates, an unstable boom, and a weakening of our international economic and financial position. And in the future they will be badly served if we were to press for lower and lower tax burdens but leave our country with the unfairness and ills of poverty and with the urban neglect and other social blights that we see today.

Expenditures and efficiency—and tax incentives

Any sober appraisal of our needs in the future will certainly enforce the view that there is no room for wastage and inefficiency in our expenditure programs. Our resources are very large but not so large that they can be spent wastefully. Expenditure control in the sense of a careful appraisal of the costs and benefits of alternative programs must be a constant feature of our budget policy. And we must clearly learn more about techniques to measure the costs and benefits of social programs to enable us to apply such expenditure control wisely.

A significant part of expenditure control must be a willingness to openly recognize the amounts being expended by Government, and not to bury amounts by disguising them. The Federal Government can expend funds in many ways—through direct grants, through guarantees, through loans, through interest subsidies, and through tax incentives and preferences. Unless the Federal cost is identified no matter what the route, then there will inevitably be a drive to use the route that keeps the cost hidden.

The interest expressed in some quarters today for tax incentives to cure social problems can dangerously weaken our ability both to control Federal expenditures and to make them efficient, in addition to the damage it would do to our tax structure.

We of course do have tax subsidies presently existing in our tax laws. I have elsewhere observed that through deliberate departures from accepted concepts of net income and through various special exemptions, deductions and credits, our tax system does operate to affect the private economy in ways that are usually accomplished by expenditures—in effect to produce an expenditure system described in tax language. I call these items "tax expenditures," and indicated that the amounts spent—i.e., the tax revenue lost—through these tax expenditure programs should be set forth in a meaningful way in the Federal Budget. We would thereby be able clearly to see what are the total Federal funds going to the various activities affected, and not just the amounts shown in the Budget as direct appropriations and expenditures. For these tax expenditures can be classified along customary budgetary lines: assistance to business, natural resources, agriculture, aid to the elderly, medical assistance, aid to charitable institutions, and so on. Moreover, the amounts involved are quite large, reaching in several of these areas into the billions.

Since the tax expenditure programs are imbedded in the revenue side of the Budget and their cost is not disclosed, they go essentially unexamined for long periods, in contrast with direct expenditures. Their efficiency, in the sense of benefits obtained for Government and the public as compared with amounts expended, is thus not compelled to meet the rigid tests we are now developing and applying to direct Budget expenditures. They are not affected by Congressional efforts to obtain "expenditure reduction"—they are outside the scope of the $6 billion reduction in the pending tax bill. They thus fall in the class of the uncontrollable expenditures of Government. I doubt that any of these special tax treatments could stand the scrutiny of careful program analysis, and I doubt that if these were direct expenditure programs we would tolerate for very long the inefficiencies that such program analysis would reveal.

Moreover, these inefficiencies have serious ramifications apart from the Budget. They have caused some activities, such as building construction and ownership for example, in many cases to be engaged in solely on an *after-tax* basis. But a business in which the *before-tax* profit is low or meaningless and which becomes attractive only because special tax treatment for that business makes the *after-tax* profit quite attractive must surely give us pause as to the justification for the tax incentive and the way it is provided. Especially is this so since the after-tax profit is attractive only for those who have income from other activities sufficient to permit full utilization of those special benefits. In large part this situation compounds our problems in the housing field, for it is difficult to achieve efficient use of direct Government assistance for high priority housing programs when the funds represented by special tax treatment continue to subsidize a whole variety of other building activities. There is irony in proposed programs to promote private housing for the poor and low income groups by providing tax benefits that would enable doctors and lawyers and other investors to become tax millionaires through these benefits. We should be able to do better than that in our use of Government funds, even in solving social problems.

This does not mean that private enterprise should not participate in social programs and earn a proper profit. Indeed, as many in business themselves feel, the best way for business to participate is through the profit motive. Nor of course does this mean that Government should avoid participation in these social programs. There is no inconsistency between the participation of business functioning as business—to earn a profit—and Government functioning as Government to obtain those business services which private consumers cannot themselves obtain. Government spends huge sums for defense materials and services and business participates as business in supplying the items sought. Our space program functions in the same manner. Neither requires a tax incentive to obtain the participation of business. If we do not grant tax credits to those who build space capsules when we need them, or planes, or guns, or other weapons, why must we grant tax credits to companies to provide the manpower training we need, or build the plants in the distressed areas, or build the houses we want? Why should business falter and forget its traditions and functions when it comes to its role in meeting our social goals? Why should it cease to stress fair profits and recompense as the basis of its participation and instead stress tax incentives?

We are entering into an era in which Government will be seeking to purchase new types of goods and services from the business community—in manpower training, in housing, in urban development, and so on. There is no reason why Government and business should not seek to utilize and adapt for these fields the experience and techniques developed in achieving successful purchasing programs in defense, space and other areas of Government procurement. The President's recommendations on hard core unemployment follow this path. Moreover, other techniques can be devised. If a Government subsidy in the form of a grant is needed in connection with a project on which there is no direct Government procurement, then companies bidding on the project can state the subsidy they think necessary and the contract can go to the bidder who needs the lowest subsidy.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted to describe some of the current events that could well affect the legislative involvement in the tax field in the years ahead. As in any other field concerning Government, issues are difficult to resolve and the solutions hard to shape. We clearly need all the data and analysis that can be made available to assist in meeting these problems. We in the Treasury do our best to prepare for the future and to see that information will be at hard when the legislative involvement occurs. But our resources are few indeed and our knowledge and wisdom have their limits.

The task of preparation is thus a task for all who have a concern for the wise solution and who have experience, information and insight to contribute to that solution. Among the great resources of our country is its diversity of talent and experience in so many sectors and institutions—business, labor government, academic, foundations, social organizations, and many more—and the ability through so many avenues of calm interchange to explore and compare our knowledge. And so there is hope that in the tax field, as elsewhere, working together we will achieve the wisest solutions that our collective knowledge can provide.

NATION'S BUSINESS MAGAZINE REPORTS ON WHAT THE VOTERS WANT NOW

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the very highly respected magazine, Nation's Business, in its June 1968 edition, carries an excellent article on what constituents are telling their Congressmen.

I should like to place in the RECORD today the report on a visit made to my district by Nation's Business editor, Vernon Louviere, who spent several days with me as I met with my constituents and got their reactions to the current mood of America.

I believe Mr. Louviere has done an excellent job in reporting the mood of the people in my district, whom I believe represent an excellent cross-section of America.

I am most pleased that my district was singled out by Nation's Business, and would like to share with my colleagues this excellent report by Mr. Louviere, which follows:

CONGRESSMEN AT HOME: WHAT THEY SAY AND HEAR

What are Congressmen saying to their constituents when they go back home?

What are constituents saying to Congressmen?

As riots flare in the cities, costs climb, political campaigns heat up, what is the mood of the people?

Are they openly upset? Concerned? Hopeful everything will work out in the end?

The problems of the cities differ in some respect from the problems of the nation's rural areas. But the major issues that confront the nation as spring turns into summer affect all.

To find out what Congressmen are saying to the people on a trip back home—and what people are saying to Congressmen—Nation's Business editors Wilbur Martin and Vernon Louviere followed Rep. Robert B. (Bob) Mathias, a freshman Republican from a predominantly agricultural California area, and Rep. Roman C. Pucinski, a Democrat from Chicago.

Each week in Chicago four-and-a-half blocks of residential area change hands with whites moving out and Negroes moving in.

Some of this is caused by "blockbusting." Some by the steady pressures for living space brought on by the inexorable influx of Negroes into Chicago from the South.

Many of these displaced white people are moving into the suburbs. But some—those who cling to city living—manage to find housing in other parts of Chicago.

Over the past few years many of these white displaced families have settled in a pleasant, middle-class section of Northwest Chicago near the suburban community of Norridge.

This area encompasses the Eleventh Congressional District of Democratic Rep. Roman C. Pucinski who is now campaigning for a sixth term in office.

Ethnically, the Eleventh Congressional District is a microcosmic melting pot with almost equal numbers of Poles, Jews, Irish, Germans and Scandinavians. It has no Negroes.

On April 10, for the first time in his 10 years in Congress, Rep. Pucinski voted against civil rights legislation. He voted against the open housing bill.

That vote was taken right after the riots, looting and arson struck Chicago and scores of cities across the country.

Before this latest outbreak of racial violence Mr. Pucinski's constituents almost unanimously regarded the war in Viet Nam as the major unsettling issue in this country. Today, they are primarily worried about the race problem.

Congressman Pucinski, a reporter for the Chicago Sun-Times for 20 years, has a good feel for what his voters are thinking. He talks to them constantly. He spends every weekend in Chicago. His office on Milwaukee Avenue is always open.

A Nation's Business editor spent some time with the Congressman recently in Chicago to try to capture the mood of his voters. It was apparent many of them are disturbed. But riots and war are not the only things. They are also unhappy with inflation, high taxes, demonstrations on college campuses and the jet noise from nearby O'Hara International airport.

VICTIM OF RIOTS

Robert J. Klein called at the Congressman's office on a Saturday morning. He knew what the riots were all about. His men's clothing store on West Madison Street, in the heart of the ghetto, was picked clean of merchandise and then set to flame. He lost everything.

"I don't feel I am a victim of the area but a victim of the times," Mr. Klein said in an interview later. He was not particularly bitter. "I don't think I can go back now. I just don't feel that the city government or the federal government gives a damn if I go back."

In the wake of the paralyzing blizzard in Chicago in 1967 there was some looting on the West Side. It was a signal that something was wrong. Mr. Klein and a group of neighborhood merchants called a meeting.

"I said perhaps we were at fault, that we were not taking enough interest in the area," he recalled. "If we were really interested in staying there we would have to devote more of our time to the neighborhood. We'd have to get interested in its politics."

The merchants organized baseball and basketball teams for the ghetto Negroes. A start was being made.

"I know now it was not enough," Mr. Klein says today. "Because we were white businessmen we were the first to be attacked."

He believes the assault in his area might have been blunted had the city acted differently.

Marshall High School, a block from his store was ordered to remain open the day after Dr. King's death.

After a series of incidents in the school, classes were dismissed at 10 o'clock on that Friday morning and some 7,000 youngsters poured out into the neighborhood.

The trouble began with these youngsters. First, rocks hurled through display windows. Then the looting.

"Some of these kids came in and helped me board up the windows," Mr. Klein explained. "They were not all bad. But the situation soon got out of hand. The police were not equipped to handle what happened and they soon lost control of the mob."

On Milwaukee avenue, strolling through the business district, Congressman Pucinski talked with other voters.

They did not share Mr. Klein's experience but they share some of his feelings.

Mrs. Grant Dace Jr., a housewife, was somewhat typical. She said:

"The racial problem is our most difficult problem. It causes us the most unrest. I think everybody—at least most of the people I know—are trying to be fair but we feel we are being taken advantage of."

DRAFT CARD BURNERS

Mrs. Dace, who is married to a photolithographer, can't understand why protesters have so much freedom in this country. Especially draft card burners.

Inflation and high taxes bother her, too. "A salary hardly goes anywhere any more," she complained. "I know there's so much waste in government. Everybody knows this. But what can you do."

In a Woolworth variety store Mr. Pucinski introduced himself to the manager, James E. Otto. Mr. Otto is a hard-liner, both on the war and the race issue.

"As far as I am concerned when you have riots and looting you should meet force with force. People must abide by the law. The only thing some of these people understand is force. I agree with Daley (Chicago Mayor Richard Daley who said police should kill arsonists and maim looters). He was completely justified. We can't tolerate this kind of lawlessness."

Mr. Otto on the war: "I strongly feel we shouldn't back down and let aggression take over in Asia. On the other hand, I regret we got involved there in the first place."

Although he prefers not to pay higher federal taxes, he believes they are needed to curb inflation. At the same time, though, he'd like to see the government tighten up on spending before calling for more tax revenues.

Miss Annette Risoff, a young nursing instructor at Chicago City College, believes the wave of demonstrations led by youthful Americans—in behalf of civil rights, in opposition to the military draft and in defiance of university authority—is hurting the country deeply.

"Free speech is good but it's gone to extremes where these people are now openly defying the country," she asserted. "Maybe its the state of the world today and these kids feel they better make the most of life while they can. But I'm more inclined to believe it's a reflection of the radical thinking of their parents."

"Yes," she said, "this racial unrest is disturbing. You certainly become aware of these things as they come closer to home. I have friends with young children in school and this busing of outside students into our area concerns them. But I have to say equal rights have not been granted the Negro. I think when they have more civil rights the situation will improve."

Henry Gorr, manager of Rothschild's men's store, has been in the area 27 years. He is convinced the recent riots could have been averted and he is a strong advocate of a massive education and training program for Negroes to ward off trouble in the future.

"But I have to say, if you're too easy on these people they'll walk all over you. Mayor Daley was three or four days too late with his tough talk. This could have been eliminated. A lot of it was sheer temptation and the rioters—mostly teenagers—took advantage of the situation."

As far as Mr. Gorr is concerned the time is now to stop marches and demonstrations of any kind in this country.

"I don't think these marches and demonstrations are any good any more," he emphasizes. "They just don't prove a thing and they've got to be stopped."

In Mr. Gorr's view inflation is getting out of hand. As a businessman, he says, he has seen the upward spiral of wages and goods continue unabated with no end in sight.

"The war is part of the blame but the government is at fault, too," he points out. "We've spread out too far. Some of this government spending has got to be cut out. Take these poverty programs. Most of them are just waste. I think somebody ought to grab the bulls by the horns and shake them up good."

In another part of his district Rep. Pucinski dropped in on an old friend, Mel Cieslik, owner of Mel's Mens Shop, Inc., to pick up some new shirts.

Mr. Cieslik was vehement on the subject of rioting and looting. He has no hesitancy about cracking down hard on people who break the law during racial disturbances. As he put it:

"We need stronger enforcement of the law. They have handcuffed our police. The Supreme Court is all wrong. Yes, these people have to be educated but the first thing is to teach them that the laws have to be obeyed.

"I can't understand it. They protect doctors, lawyers and even clergymen, but who protects the businessman? Some of my friends were wiped out in this last riot. They can't even buy insurance to cover their losses."

Outside, Mr. Pucinski talked with Tom Kereluk, a 19-year-old student at De Paul University. At his age, the military draft loomed larger than the threat of racial trouble.

He told the Congressman, "I'm really worried about the draft. I think I should be given an opportunity to finish school. Sure, I believe in serving my country. But not in Viet Nam."

Politically, young Kereluk said, he leans toward Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of New York for President—"He's a little closer to our generation."

THE POLICEMAN'S VIEW

Police Officer Gerald Mead, assigned to the Milwaukee avenue business district, believes the police have done a good job in quelling riots but they need help.

"I say bring in the federal troops at the first sign of trouble," he asserted.

Mrs. Darlene Starr, a school teacher, says she believes the trend is toward more—not less—segregated housing in Chicago as white resistence stiffens in the wake of race trouble. According to Mrs. Starr, the quality of education in Chicago is being sacrificed as more and more Negro teachers are brought in from the south. They do not have the proper qualifications and training, she says, but they are accepted anyway.

"I am convinced that if we remain weak in our approach to the racial trouble it will get worse," Mrs. Starr noted. "I have seen it in my own school. A white student will be suspended for breaking the rules but a Negro student is forgiven. The gap between whites and Negroes is widening."

Mr. Klein, whose store was burned out on West Madison St., told NATION'S BUSINESS the lines of communication between ghetto Negroes and police, firemen and the political community practically don't exist.

"On the entire West Side," he reported, "there are only two black aldermen and one of these was put in by the machine. The whole area has been gerrymandered to the point these people don't have a voice.

"I went back into the area after the riots and some people told me they even saw the police looting. One policeman, I am told, went up to a store they were about to loot and told one of the looters, 'The first color TV is mine.' Some policemen who were seen walking out with merchandise said they were taking it downtown to put in a warehouse for safekeeping. The Negroes just didn't believe it."

Mr. Klein, who spent 20 years on West Madison and opened his own business four years ago, at first thought he might return to the area and try to re-establish his business. He said he felt if he took on a Negro partner this might afford him a form of insurance against future trouble.

"But I've changed my mind," he said. "I'm not going back. I don't think it will work. We didn't expect this trouble after escaping it last year. We were wrong. My fire insurance was dropped last January and I had to take out substandard insurance."

COOL TO OPEN HOUSING

Mr. Pucinski was on solid ground with his voters when he opposed the open occupancy section of the civil rights bill. There is grave concern in his district not only among those who were displaced by Negroes in other sections of the city but among those residents who have lived there all their lives.

"My people feel," he says, "that once open housing becomes law the next step will be government subsidies to build integrated housing in their neighborhoods."

Actually, Mr. Pucinski voted for the civil rights bill when it first reached the floor of the House. In the Senate, however, the open occupancy amendment was tacked on by Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen of Illinois and this Congressman Pucinski opposed when the bill returned to the House.

He said at the time he felt open occupancy would bring an unprecedented degree of federal involvement and control into every local community of America.

"It will expose every homeowner in this country to the prospect of unprecedented harassment by both the federal government and those who seek to continue the turmoil in this country," he told the House.

TAX HIKE UNPOPULAR

In Mr. Pucinski's district there is an understandable resistance to the proposal to increase federal taxes. Residents of the area have just been subjected to substantial hikes in both their real estate and sales taxes.

The Congressman's mail reflects the same views of those with whom he talks in his district.

"We are, as most of our neighbors, against open housing and it is a crime that a homeowner cannot do with his own property that which he desires," a young housewife writes. "Pretty soon why not get out the chariots and whips and go down the streets of Rome and say give us all you have."

Says another housewife, "When 10 or 15 percent of the people of this nation can close down most of our nation's schools, businesses, places of entertainment, because the 85 or 90 percent are in fear of their lives and homes, something better be done. You've tried billions of dollars in aid, new homes, education, giving them our homes, our churches, our neighborhoods, yes, and our tax money. Are you going to give them our very lives?"

The reaction to a tax increase, however, ranks high among the issues they write about.

"A point has now been reached which is insufferable; especially when we realize that much of this money is being deliberately wasted," says one taxpayer. "Less government and more responsibility by our government officials could easily reduce the burden of the taxpayer by over 50 percent."

In a recent interview with *The Chicago Daily News*, Mr. Pucinski said, "If representative government has any meaning a Congressman has to respond to his constituents. He has a responsibility to lead as well, but where do you draw the line?"

This didn't sit well with one of Mr. Pucinski's constituents, a housewife, who fired back this answer:

"Submission to a definite wrong because it might be easier to agree with your constituents means nothing to me except a lack of personal integrity and lack of any desire or ability to lead."

IN MEMORY OF A DEPARTED FRIEND

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, last week I was deeply moved by the privilege to present an award and testimonial to Mrs. Ethel Fein, in memory and in honor of her late, beloved husband, George Fein.

Those of us who were privileged to know George Fein know how keenly and deeply his family and his friends suffer from the loss of his life. His philanthropic instincts are known to all those who knew him, particularly those whose lives were in great measure enriched by his generosity—the homeless, the sick, the young in need of education, the elderly in need of solace and comfort, and the deprived seeking a fair opportunity for a creative life. A wonderful husband and father, George Fein looked upon every human being as a member of his family.

A vice president and trustee of the East Midwood Temple, he was deeply dedicated to Judaism and to the cause of Israel. He was an active leader in Jewish Federation of Philanthropics, the United Jewish Appeal and in many other areas of human need, to which he selflessly dedicated his time, his energies, and his spiritual leadership.

There is very little we can say or do to ease the pain and suffering of his wife, his children, Jerome, Sheldon, and Franklyn, and of his friends and family over their tragic loss. To them I can offer only the solace of his memory and compassion enshrined in the hearts of those whose lives were touched by George Fein.

PRESIDENT EXPRESSES FAITH IN OUR YOUTH

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's speech last weekend at commencement exercises at Texas Christian University was an outstanding commentary on the youth of this Nation.

The President made two excellent points about our young people, points with which I am in wholehearted agreement.

First, he observed that this generation of young people is the best we have ever had—bright, well-trained, and keenly aware of their moral responsibilities.

And, second, the President expressed his faith in these young people's willingness and ability to carry forward the efforts of this Nation to achieve its great destiny.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to have the President's speech appear in the RECORD, and I would like to call attention to his proposal to establish a program to bring outstanding college juniors into Washington each year for direct discussions with the leaders of the Government. I wish him well in this effort, and he can count on my full support.

The remarks of the President follow:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISE AT TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY, FORT WORTH, TEX.

Dr. Moudy, and other students, any political speaker who comes to a college campus today does so at his own risk. I want to make it very clear at the beginning—I come here tonight not as a politician but as a student.

Just like you, I am here to get my degree. I am honored to appear here with seven others who will receive honorary degrees tonight. Perhaps my degree means more to me than it does to them. I am the only one who is a college dropout—from the electoral college, that is.

Dr. Moudy, I appreciate your Doctor of Laws Degree for another reason, too. As someone who has spent the better part of his life doctoring laws, it is nice to finally have a license.

So I appreciate it and I am delighted to be welcomed into the fraternity of educated men.

I may even apply for a Fulbright Scholarship, although I am not very hopeful of my chances. So I can come to TCU without paying homage to its great quarterbacks like Sammy Baugh and Davy O'Brien. Fort Worth is known as the home of great quarterbacks. So is the national capitol, Washington. The only difference is that your quarterbacks play on Saturday and ours do their work on Monday mornings.

We meet here tonight at a time when the American universities are at the center of rapid change and the center of heated controversy.

Perhaps this is a good time to reflect on the nature of change in America—on affirmations and discontent among our young people and on your opportunity to share in the on-going discovery of our country.

It is an unchanging habit of commencement orators to talk about change. The speakers who tell their audiences this year that times are changing, however, should not be accused of dealing with platitudes. For America—and the world—are altering themselves at a dizzying speed. The citizen, the student and the public servant may find it difficult to fathom the nature and the meaning of all of this change.

But all of us can feel it happening. All of us are stirred by it. All of us are sometimes elated—and sometimes disturbed by it.

A stranger to America might well wonder how a people so active and so successful can be so troubled.

Why do we take so little comfort in the undeniable triumphs of the past few years? Why do we scarcely seem to notice how far we have come—and in how short a time—toward solving problems that have plagued our democracy for generations?

In these past three years, a stranger might point out, America has brought the franchise to almost a million citizens who had been systematically denied the right to vote.

In this Administration alone, the nation's economy—and our common efforts to conquer want—have lifted more than eight million citizens up from poverty, created more than seven million new jobs; cut unemployment to the lowest level in fifteen years; and increased the real income of the average American, after taxes, by more than 20%.

In a few years, the Congress has broken the deadlock of years and pioneered new programs in health, in education, in consumer protection, in conservation, in civil rights. Your own Senator Yarborough and Tiger Teague and others have supported the leadership in this field.

Yet for all this accomplishment, the American people are anything but satisfied. We are, as countless orators and observers remind us, a restless nation.

Why? Part of the answer lies, I believe, in the very progress we have made. For a nation—as for an individual—success brings its own problems and raises its own vexing questions.

More than a century ago, a shrewd French visitor to our shores made this observation:

"The sufferings that are endured patiently, as being inevitable, become intolerable—at the moment it appears that there might be an escape. Reform, then, only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive, and now all the more unbearable. The suffering, it is true, has been reduced—but one's sensitivities have become more acute."

Certainly our sensitivities have become more acute. We are today more keenly aware of lingering poverty amid our growing wealth—of public squalor amid private luxury. Our people, especially our younger people, are more impatient than ever with "what still remains oppressive"—with racial injustice, urban decay, outworn institutions, bitterness and war between nations.

By almost every measure, we have moved closer—much closer to solving our problems. But although some of the solutions are in sight, many of them remain frustratingly beyond our reach. With all our advances in computer technology, we are still unable to set a precise date for the arrival of equality, the advent of peace, the curing of old ills and the healing of old wounds.

As President Kennedy put it, we are destined—all of us—"to live out most, if not all, of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

How should we face that uncertainty? Will we master an uncertain age, or let it overwhelm us?

Have we the strength, the tolerance, the vitality—and the faith—to weather the "burden and the heat of the day"?

Much depends on the answer your generation gives. And sometimes, that is not encouraging.

Today, as in every time in our history, there are those who doubt the power of our democracy to make early and significant progress.

There are extremists whose aim is to rule—or to wreck. They speak only in slogans, sometimes they are deaf—deaf to reasoned reply. They are chiefly united in the certainty with which they advance their views—and in the vehemence with which they mock the views of others.

Theirs is not the spirit of liberty—which Judge Learned Hand once defined as "the spirit which is not too sure that it is right."

Thomas Jefferson, the drafter of the Declaration of Independence, the philosopher of individual liberty and the defender of individual conscience, wrote a kinsman in 1808 that public men,

"should from all student disputants keep aloof, as you would from the infected subjects of yellow fever or pestilence. Consider yourself, when with them, as among the patients of Bedlam, needing medical more than moral counsel. Be a listener only, keep within yourself the habit of silence, especially on politics. In the fevered state of our country, no good can ever result from any attempt to set one of these fiery zealots to rights, either in fact or principle. They are determined as to the facts they will believe, and the opinions on which they will act. Get by them, therefore, as you would by an angry bull; it is not for the man of sense to dispute the road with such an animal."

I might point out that Thomas Jefferson wrote this during the last year of his Presidency.

It would be interesting to compare his views with those privately expressed by several modern presidents in recent weeks.

But my purpose, this evening, is to talk about change—and those who glorify violence as a form of political action are really the best friends the status quo ever had. They provoke a powerful conservative reaction among millions of people. They inspire, among many people, a blind allegiance to things as they are—even when those things ought to be changed.

But though they are great in volume, these young totalitarians of opinion are few in number among America's graduating classes this Spring.

For almost forty years—since I was graduated from a small college down in San Marcos—I have been observing the quality of each year's crop of university graduates. I must speak to you frankly, and without any attempt at flattering: I believe that this generation of young college people is the best I have ever seen.

Healthier, as you would expect. Quicker of mind, and better trained.

But beyond those things—which could be, after all, only the results of affluence and evolution—there is a moral energy in this generation that exceeds any I have ever seen before.

Even that may stem in part from historical circumstance. Most of those who are graduating from college now have had a degree of leisure, in which to contemplate the society around them. Most have had a measure of confidence in their ability to secure a prosperous place in that society. And so they have been spared the pressure of meeting society's demands—of shaping themselves to be acceptable to a very restricted job market.

However it has come about, they have had an opportunity to look at their country—at its institutions, its people, its promise, and its performance.

You have had a chance to feel the force of change in modern life—even if you—like the rest of us—cannot entirely comprehend it. You have already experienced the impersonality of modern institutions—that affords you a degree of privacy, while it sometimes deprives you of a sense that you count.

You know that your chances for long and prosperous lives have never been better.

Your life expectancy is far from what the graduate was of yesteryear. But you wonder whether you will continue to live side by side with desperate want, ugliness and with racial animosity.

You know that your country is the most powerful nation on earth. But you wonder how its power, and its idealism, may help to bring peace to a tormented world.

These are not new concerns. What is new is the desire of the young college graduates today to ask the right questions—and the desire of your country to try to find the right answers.

Here are some of the questions I hope you will ask—and then I hope you will take part in answering them:

How can the quality of education be improved—not only in ghetto classrooms, but throughout the nation's educational system, from pre-school to graduate school? From Head Start to adult education?

How can education be improved?

What are the best means of helping our poor to lead more secure and productive lives?

How can good medical care be provided at reasonable cost to every citizen in our land?

How can the transportation of people be made safer, swifter, less frustrating, more efficient?

How can we take advantage of technological change, and the economy of massive enterprises, without submerging the individual?

How can we best help the people of underdevelop world in their struggle against poverty?

How can we help the world—and help ourselves—find rational solutions to conflict, and end the threat of a nuclear war?

These are formidable qeustions. You may feel ill-equipped to deal with them. I assure you that I do.

But they must be answered, if conditions in our country and the world are to change—in a manner that will serve man, and not master him.

And it is your generation that must answer them.

You must begin now—in industry, in government, in universities, in politics, in private life—to examine the alternatives, to seek the programs, the politicians, and the public support for progressive change.

I believe that leaders in government can contribute to the education of this college generation. I should like to see outstanding leaders from the junior classes in the colleges all over America come to Washington each year, for direct discussions with government leaders on these key issues of our times that we must find the answers to. I would like to see them spend, without losing credit, a month to six weeks in Washington each Spring—deepening their understanding of the problems and prospects we face.

I have called, at present, upon the White House fellows—young citizens who have served a year at the highest levels of our government—to develop a plan for accomplishing this, and to submit their plan to me in the early Fall.

It is a time to widen the opportunities for excellence. It is a time to widen the opportunities for service in public affairs. I have tried to do this in a number of ways:

Through VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America, where young men and women help those who need it most;

Through the White House Fellows program;

Through the recognition of Presidential scholars from every State in the Union;

And, not least, through going out to college campuses and finding and using the best young talent available for service in our government.

Now, I believe we should extend the range of young people's participation in public life. I believe we should move forward—now—to grant the vote to 18-year-olds.

Several states have already done so. A majority of the people and many in Congress approve the idea. The great majority of young people in America have demonstrated their maturity; their desire to participate; their zeal for service.

But we can do more than open the door to participation for our chosen few. I think there is a basic and fundamental need to open our political system to the participation of the many.

I strongly believe, therefore, that the time is already here for this Nation to recognize and to grant the right to vote to 18-year-olds. We have everything to gain by extending to these young people the most precious right and responsibility of citizenship—the right to vote.

I leave you, this evening, in faith: faith in you; faith in our institutions; faith in our country; faith in your capacity to change our country for the better.

My faith is built on what young people have achieved, in these past few years; on their bravery and steadfastness in battle; on their idealism and perseverance in the cause of social justice.

It is built, as well, on the country itself: on its ability to move out of apathy and bigotry, toward dignity for all of its people; on its steady assumption of responsibility in the world.

I know the future will be often perilous and frustrating. The past, you know, has been that way, too. But what we have accomplished in these years—and what you are tonight—tells me that we have only begun to achieve the greatness that is our destiny.

Good night, and God bless you all.

NATIONAL MARITIME DAY

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable George H. Hearn, Vice Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, recently gave a speech at Rockefeller Plaza in New York City as part of a ceremony commemorating National Maritime Day.

Mr. Hearn is well qualified to speak about our maritime industry, and his address was especially pertinent to our maritime problems today.

I include the text of his remarks for the benefit of my colleagues:

NATIONAL MARITIME DAY

(Remarks of Vice Chairman George H. Hearn, of the Federal Maritime Commission, at Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, commemorating National Maritime Day, May 22, 1968)

It is a distinct pleasure for me to appear here on National Maritime Day, celebrated during World Trade Week, in the greatest port in the world to commemorate the 149th Anniversary of one of the great maritime feats. A maritime accomplishment by the United States was the first trans-Atlantic navigation by the SS/Savannah on May 22, 1819. It was the early beginning of a long list of American firsts on the high seas and I think, while celebrating National Maritime Day and commemorating that great American maritime accomplishment, we might all think of ways to foster the American Merchant Marine.

As Vice Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, I am a regulator, and do not have the statutory responsibility for the promotional aspects of the American Merchant Marine. However, every United States citizen, including every government employee privileged to serve America, should be interested in our Merchant Marine becoming the greatest mode of international trade. With that background I speak to you here today and address myself to the issues, hopefully to contribute to keeping America great by spreading an awareness that a Great America requires a strong and economical Merchant Marine.

We as a maritime nation, with the Atlantic, Pacific, Gulf Coasts, and Great Lakes, must realize that international trade, and the merchant fleet that makes it possible, is the ingredient that brought this nation to prominence throughout the world in the latter part of the 19th century. This desire for maritime initiative coupled with "Yankee Ingenuity" resulting in the knack to build better ships and larger fleets is a feeling that must return to all Americans. Now, during this World Trade Week we have a wonderful opportunity to impress upon all America the need for increasing foreign trade in American vessels as not only a way to make American economy stronger, but as a deterrent to our gold flow and balance of payments problem.

As I have said, the United States Merchant Marine has played a vital role in the attainment by our country of its position in world affairs. The merchant marine industry and the men who plow the seas on merchant ships have performed their role nobly throughout our nation's history. There can be no doubt of this nor that the transportation of persons and goods provides an indispensable link for the economic, social, cultural, and political functions of the world community. In the early days of our country's history when communications media were for history when communications media were far short of today's Telstar satellite, efficient water transportation was essential. The 1960's have brought far flung places on the globe in to almost immediate contact through new electronic and other devices. Travel, also, is now at a much more rapid rate than ever imaginable. Nonetheless, waterborne transportation services no longer provide the only means of communication and cannot match the speed of current communications systems. Despite this lag ocean transportation must make every endeavor to improve its services to meet the often cited "shrinking" of the world. In other words our waterborne transportation must not lag behind other important technological developments.

Rapid changes in our economy and in the world trade community, and the continually fluctuating military and political situations as to which our nation has made commitments, demand an effective and strong American merchant marine industry. For many years now the storm warnings have been up; but despite the developing crises our merchant marine, though nobly performing within its means, has not grown or developed sufficiently to meet the obligations which it must assume.

One area in which the merchant marine can and has played an important role is that of the United States balance of payments problem. We all are familiar with the serious nature of our balance of payments deficit and of the various developments and events concerning this which have occurred of late. Little is known, however, although much is assumed, as to the contribution of our merchant marine to the net improvement in the foreign exchange position of the United States and dollar retention by this country. According to the latest figures our balance of payments deficit for the first quarter of 1968 was 600 million dollars. This is a substantial reduction of the deficit of the last quarter of 1967 which was 1.84 billion dollars. In reflecting on these figures we must realize that an important part of the balance of payments computation is provided by the transportation sector of our economy. Within that sector is included international ocean shipping operations, and it is thus that we must consider the impact on the transportation sector of our merchant shipping.

In the years 1964–1966, our merchant fleet contributed about 2.2 billion dollars to our balance of payments. That is to say that as to the transportation sector, the balance of payments would have suffered a loss of approximately that amount if the services performed by our flag fleet had been performed by foreign owned and operated vessels. It is easy to see that a loss of such magnitude would have catastrophic economic consequences for our country. When we consider these facts we must also consider that the current percentage of U.S. foreign waterborne commerce carried by American flag ships is only 4.5%. This compares with the over 7% which our flag ships carried only a year ago. It is not determinable at present what impact this reduction will have on our balance of payments; but it can readily be seen that a decrease of better than 2½% in the carriage by American ships of our foreign commerce will have substantial consequences for our balance of payments.

The reasons for this decline are varied and numerous, and, in fact, too much so to be fully gone into here. I would like, however, to comment on two points. One way in which the cargo carryings of American ships could be improved is by adhering to the slogan "Ship American." Of course you know that according to the cargo preference laws of the United States, a certain percentage of government sponsored cargo must be carried in American bottoms. The private sector of our economy is not so restricted. While I do not suggest any such restriction, I strongly favor any action taken by exporters to ship their goods on American ships to the maximum extent possible. This goal is not easy of attainment at this time for several important reasons. Our commitment in Southeast Asia has required the diversion of much cargo space to military needs. In addition, the present condition of our merchant fleet leaves much to be desired with regard to availability of tonnage and suitability of service.

This leads me to the other point. The changes in transportation technology which have occurred in recent years have been very rapid, and perhaps even too rapid. Carriers, shippers, and others involved in the transportation industry have not yet fully realized the import of these technological changes, and their implementation has been, in some instances, retarded or misdirected. This has been due to excessive zealousness in the use of new transportation systems without full analysis of their consequences, by a failure of shipping interests to update their thinking at a rate commensurate with the growth of shipping techniques, and by other factors. The innovations in transportation offer a new avenue for American businessmen and potential exporters to enter foreign markets. But this potential will not be fully achieved until innovations in thinking and practice match the innovations in techniques.

It is thus easy to forecast the consequences of a further percentage decrease in the amount of our foreign waterborne commerce carried by American flag ships. It is also not difficult to hypothesize the even greater improvement in our balance of payments deficit in the first quarter of 1968 had the percentage of American flag cargo carryings not fallen to its present low ebb.

Many proposals have been put forward by shipping interests with a view toward improving the situation. While it is not for us to pass judgment on any of them here, I cannot over emphasize, and you I am sure do not underestimate, the pressing need for action in this vital area of our economy.

I wish to make one further point: that is, in regard to the international overtones in the matter of promoting our merchant marine. Again I must say that all promotional authority *per se* has been removed from the jurisdiction of the Federal Maritime Commission. In fact, the Commission acts without regard to flag; and we are constantly alert to the danger of discriminatory practices.

At the same time, I am a concerned American citizen, as is each of you; and I am aware of the vital role the Merchant Marine plays in our economy. I cannot, therefore, entirely divorce myself from the task of promoting our merchant industry. Without a strong merchant fleet manned by highly skilled crews, our economy will surely founder, and our status as a leading force in the free world will be on the rocks. Consequently, we must all work together to keep our Merchant Marine at an even keel and as a bulwark of our economy.

ALLIANCE FOR URBAN PROGRESS

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, early this May, Secretary Robert C. Weaver, of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, told the annual dinner meeting of the Greater Lawrence, Mass., Chamber of Commerce:

> Top priority in our domestic programs must be to give to the poor and alienated American a greater share of the Nation's abundance.

Until we find ways of doing this, the Secretary pointed out, the poor will remain alienated and America divided.

Secretary Weaver, the man charged with devising and administering programs that must offer solutions to the Nation's urban ills, went on to say that the new interest of business and industry in solving urban problems and social ills may be the most important development in this field. Businessmen no longer say "the business of business is business. Today the top level of business leaders are calling for involvement," he asserted. "This concert of action—by the private sector, and by Federal and local government—is the only viable means to solving the human and physical problems of urban areas."

I would like to point out that the proposed Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 goes further than any previous legislation in involving the private sector in rebuilding American cities and it deserves our most serious attention. I think all Members of the House should have the opportunity to read the Secretary's remarks:

AN ALLIANCE FOR URBAN PROGRESS

(Address by Robert C. Weaver, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development, annual dinner meeting Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce, Andover, Mass., May 7, 1968)

As you have all read, President Johnson recently asked those of us in his Cabinet to remain outside the political arena during these somewhat political days. The President feels, and I think a good many Americans of all political parties agree with him, that we must devote a good deal of hard work in the next few months to unifying our people.

The President put it this way: "We have won too much, we have come too far, and we have opened too many doors of opportunity, for these things now to be lost in a divided country where brother is separated from brother."

Conciliation and unity, the end of divisiveness—these are essentials in this year in our great Nation.

And as I look over this audience tonight, I see here the ingredients for a good deal of unity.

Now I don't want to lead you on. I imagine that if you turned a detective loose on my background, he might come up with the astonishing fact that I am a Democrat.

But I am here tonight as the result of an invitation which came from the Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce by way of Congressman Brad Morse.

And I have a strong suspicion that if that same detective were turned loose hereabouts, he might come up with the amazing fact that Congressman Morse is a Republican.

I suspect as I look over this audience tonight that we are, as the boys from Madison Avenue would say, a pretty mixed lot politically-wise. And I do apologize for putting it that way.

Not only are we a mixed audience politically, but I would guess the people gathered here tonight represent a broad cross-section of interests and activities in the five communities that make up this Chamber of Commerce. City officials, businessmen, representatives of local public agencies—and a good many others—are in this room.

We are here together—and I was specifically asked to speak tonight—because we are all heavily involved in the problems and potentialities of our cities. We are here to talk about how life can be made better for the people of all five cities in the Greater Lawrence Chamber of Commerce, and for the people of the suburbs in this metropolitan complex.

We have a common bond, Congressman Morse and I, because we both support the necessary Federal programs which we believe can alleviate many of the serious problems of our urban areas. It is a bond that unifies us all in this room. And I must say that it is a great pleasure to be non-political in such good company.

I would like to make it very clear, however, that my non-partisanship extends only to politics. I am very partisan in what I think is needed to help our urban people. And I do not believe we can afford for one moment to slow the momentum we have gained in meeting urban problems, just because this is a political year.

I think you must agree, for the Lawrence area has its share of those problems. You have urban blight and you have slums. You have unemployment and underemployment. You have very poor people in the Lawrence area. I am sure they feel alienated from most of us who are attending this banquet. They are the have-nots, and we are the haves. Until we find a way of giving them a much better share of this Nation's abundance—and an increased share of our respect—they will remain alienated.

We must face this fact candidly and realistically if we are to bring about the reconciliation we want among Americans.

As you know, we are having a poor people's march on Washington this summer. The vanguard of this group met with members of the Cabinet and with the Congress last week. I met with them, as did several other Cabinet members who deal with domestic affairs.

With the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King and riots that followed so close behind us, there is a danger that we might oversimplify about who is involved and why.

In the first place, this is not simply a confrontation of black and white Americans. American Indians are there, and Mexican-Americans. They feel a discrimination as strong as any Negro.

White Americans from Appalachia are there, and they feel a discrimination as strong as any Negro.

They are the poor. It would be dishonest to say they are not made up primarily of minority groups. It is a fact of life in this Nation today that it is these groups which have suffered most from economic deprivation, and from lack of access to the opportunities accessible to the majority of Americans.

But I think it is important we keep in mind that what is being discussed here is poverty, first and foremost.

I am making a strong point of this, because I feel with many others that a priority must be given to the disadvantaged in our national and local programs. If we are to end alienation and bring about unity, then we must give first priority to the poor American. We must redress the balance between the haves and the have-nots, and this must be the first order of business.

I am not alone when I say these things. One of the most striking developments of the past several years has been the increased involvement of business and industry in local and urban affair and with social concerns. It was only a short time ago that someone could stand up here and say, "The business of business is business," and most people would have nodded in agreement.

But what do we hear from the top level of businessman today?

Let me give you a few quotations.

". . . Business has an obligation to help create a viable environment in which citizens of depressed areas can learn to be capitalists in a capitalistic society." That was Edward G. Uhl, President of Fairchild-Hiller Corporation.

". . . The most important domestic problem today is obtaining full citizenship—all rights and responsibilities—for every American . . ." That was Edgar F. Kaiser, Chairman of the Board of Kaiser Industries.

"We have a national commitment, shared by public and private leaders as well, to erase our slums and give all city dwellers equal and rewarding opportunities for clean, healthy and productive living." That was Gerald L. Phillippe, Chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company.

". . . In the enormously complex communities of modern life, we face great social tasks in which we in business are bound to be involved. I simply say we should enlist instead of being drafted. If we are not a lively part of our communities as citizens I do not see how we can know them as we should, and if we do not know them we can hardly serve them well." That was Frederick R. Kappel, former Chairman of the Board of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

And, finally: "The National Chamber hopes businessmen and business organizations throughout the country can extend the hand of help and cooperation on community problems, and—most important—can do so with other groups making up communities . . ." That was from Allan Shivers, immediate past President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Sentiments of this kind have come from a great number of business leaders in addition to those whom I have quoted. They have come from organizations representing every facet of the free enterprise system. I believe that for the first time in our recent history, Americans of every background and all political alinements are in close concert about the fact that *something* must be done.

The question is what, and how we go about it.

Again, I do not believe we should oversimplify. As is usually the case in a diverse and strongly-opinionated citizenry, there are those who speak out as strong advocates of a special group.

There are those who feel the Federal Government should take the greatest responsibility, and those who argue just as ardently against big government and for the private sector.

There are those who advocate purely local solutions, and those who argue just as strongly that national problems require national solutions.

My own position is that we need them all.

I do not say this only to keep peace in our diverse American family.

Let me illustrate by using some examples of what we are doing in the Federal Government to solve urban and housing problems—which are, after all, my immediate concern.

We must have far more housing for the poor. That is obvious. At least 20 million Americans live in bad housing.

So the President in his requests to Congress—and to the building industry—called this year for a ten-year housing program which will substantially eradicate substandard housing in this Nation. This would mean the construction of 26 million homes and apartments in the next decade. Of this number, six million would be built or rehabilitated through various forms of Federal assistance.

A number of programs would be used, most of which are familiar to this audience: public housing, rent supplement housing, low- and moderate-income rental housing, and elderly housing.

In addition, there is a new proposal for a substantial low-income home ownership program. Under this plan, Federal assistance would be provided to make up the difference between 20 percent of family income and the cost of the mortgage on a modest home. Payments would apply to the interest, with the Federal subsidy covering all but one percent of the interest on the mortgage if necessary.

Another new idea is one which would lead to a far greater involvement of the private sector. There would be a program of National Housing Partnerships in which industrial and financial firms would join together to pool their investments and spread their risks over a large number of projects. There are tax incentives, and there is the opportunity to use the best private management talent and the most advanced methods to construct low-income housing.

We are even using the private sector far more effectively in the public housing program, a program which only a few years ago was looked upon as close to socialistic by many business and industry leaders.

Today we have the Turnkey process in public housing, so that we are asking private enterprise not only to see whether it can build units faster and cheaper, but also whether it can take over the management of this housing, and, finally, whether we can move toward ownership of public housing by the tenants.

Just last month we announced a new policy in our growing research and development program. We are asking that a prime contractor be chosen to work out a variety of low-cost, experimental housing projects in as many as 20 of our Model Cities. This would entail bringing together a variety of expert knowledge—in design, in construction techniques, in management, in knowledge of special local building conditions. We are, in short, looking forward to the time when we can call for a massive effort on the part of the American business community, with the help of government and the academic community, to mount a truly significant attack on the problems of building and rehabilitating homes for the poor.

We are also trying to increase our contacts with the private sector through a new Office of Business Participation, opened last February. We have brought General B. A. Schriever, former Commander of the Air Force Systems, into this office as a consultant. This office will provide information and conseling to private companies interested in housing and urban affairs. It is our contact with and advisor to industry.

As you know, it is not only in housing that we have a strong and continuing relationship with the private sector. The urban renewal process depends on a close working relationship not only between Federal and local governments, but, in the final analysis, on the private sector to do most of the rebuilding and rehabilitating of both private and business structures. You know about that because you have just completed an urban renewal project here, and have two others in the works.

The Model Cities Program will call upon all elements of the community if it is to be successful. This is the complete urban partnership. It depends on local planning and the use of innovative local ideas. It calls for the use of a number of Federal programs—in housing, in education, in welfare, in manpower training, in health—and for supplemental Federal funds to carry out local ideas. It will require the heavy involvement of the private sector, not only in the practical matters of investment and physical rebuilding, but in giving management help and in planning. This city is now preparing an application for a planning grant under this program.

These programs—and a number of others either proposed or existing in the Federal arsenal—clearly call for a community of effort and involvement. They are, I believe, symbolic of the new feeling which is abroad in this land—that we must work in concert if we are to solve our urgent human problems of poverty, and if we are to upgrade our large and small cities.

SUMMARY

Top priority in our domestic programs must be to give the poor and alienated American a greater share of the Nation's abundance. We must give him an increased share of respect. Until we find ways of doing these things, the poor will remain alienated. There is a changed climate in this country, so that business leaders are also calling for greater involvement in social concerns. They are calling on their people to involve themselves in local affairs, to support civil rights activities, to take a strong interest in urban matters. It is only by a concert of action—by the private sector, and by Federal and local government—that we will solve the human and physical problems of our urban areas.

BROTZMAN URGES EAST SLOPE WATER DEVELOPMENT

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, it has been only lately that this Nation, as a whole, has faced up to the fact that its water resources are limited, and that it is not only possible but probable that our industrial, agricultural, and domestic thirst will exhaust our supply of water, as we now know it.

In my great State, Colorado, and the other States of the Southwest, the limitations of water supplies has been recognized for decades. Small wars have been fought over the possession of irrigation water. Great court battles have been fought between States over water allocations. The States have been wracked, at times, by arguments between the urban and rural interests over who should have the precious water in times of drought.

Last month, Mr. Speaker, this body debated one of the landmark bills in the history of comprehensive water planning—the Colorado River Basin projects bill. It was my privilege to join with Members of both parties from Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and California in securing sufficient support for the bill that it passed without substantial opposition.

This bill not only will benefit all of the States of the Southwest United States, but the Nation as a whole will realize tremendous dividends. It would require pages to enumerate these national benefits, but I will mention two which are of towering importance.

The development of vast deposits of oil shale now seems assured, due to the availability of water for industrial and domestic requirements; this will guarantee the Nation several centuries of plentiful carbon fuel and petrochemical byproducts.

And vast new recreational areas will be developed, thanks to reservoirs which will be built, and roads which will be opened. The Nation has few more pressing requirements, insofar as its pursuit of a life of comfort and dignity for all of its citizens is concerned.

But important as the Colorado River Basin projects are, they concern only a portion of the water resources of the West. This legislation had a direct bearing on the watersheds which ultimately channel into the Gulf of California. Meanwhile, other great river systems—some of them highly developed, some relatively undeveloped—must receive the attention of Congress in the years to come if we are to keep ahead of our great national thirst for water.

Colorado has a direct interest in perhaps more of the river system development programs than any other State in the Union for, despite the semiarid nature of our most populous areas, the high country of Colorado is the mother of not only the Colorado River but also the Rio Grande, the Arkansas, and both the North and South Platte Rivers.

In the years to come, Mr. Speaker, the South Platte River will come to the attention of Congress many times, and I will be seeking support for projects which, in my district, are just as important as were the Colorado River Basin projects.

So that the Members may have some background on the South Platte River Basin and some of the projects which we will be bringing to the floor for authorization and funding, I will now present a brief status report.

The South Platte River and its tributaries are the bringers of both life and death in my district. No doubt all of the Members are familiar with the terrible floods which devastated the South Platte River in 1965. The death toll was greater than that of the recent Washington riots, and the property damage exceeded Washington's by 30 times. We are well along the way to controlling the flood potential of the South Platte and its principal tributaries. The Chatfield project, located in my district, upstream from Denver, is underway and enjoys a high priority among the Nation's flood control projects. The Mount Carbon project, located on Bear Creek in my district upstream from its junction with the South Platte, is awaiting authorization—hopefully as part of the Public Works Committee's omnibus flood control bill.

However, important as all of these lifesaving projects are to the future of Colorado, I am today addressing most of my attention to the lifegiving aspect of the South Platte River. For it is going to require the full resources of State and local governments in Colorado, as well as that of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, to make the substantial water supply of the South Platte River and its tributaries—and perhaps even augmentation from other basins—to meet the water requirements of the next two decades in northern Colorado.

The development of the water resources of the South Platte River on the northeastern plains of Colorado is moving forward satisfactorily. This was evidenced last week when my colleague from the Fourth District of Colorado [Mr. ASPINALL] introduced—and I cosponsored—a bill for authorization of the Narrows unit of the South Platte River. This project, which has been under active study for a number of years, will have the primary purpose of impounding the waters of the South Platte during surplus-runoff years for later use. It will also afford a measure of flood protection for the communities along the South Platte into Nebraska.

Now that the Narrows unit is moving ahead, I plan to ask my colleagues from Colorado to join with me in securing authorizing legislation for a feasibility study for yet another South Platte River Basin water conservation unit—a broadly drawn set of proposals referred to by the Bureau of Reclamation as the Front Range unit.

Basically, the Front Range unit study would consider the feasibility of constructing reservoirs and other facilities which would increase the supply of water for domestic and industrial use for such cities as Boulder, Longmont, Loveland, Fort Collins, Greeley, Estes Park, Broomfield, Lafayette, and Louisville, Colo.

A number of possible reservoir projects on Boulder, the St. Vrain Creeks and the Cache la Poudre River would be examined. Augmentation possibilities, improved reuse techniques, and techniques for cutting losses from seepage and evaporation in existing and proposed reservoirs and canals, would be examined.

Flood control benefits to be derived—while a secondary consideration—would be defined.

The water supply problems facing these communities is severe.

For example, despite extensive and expensive water supply facilities installed over the years by the two principal cities of Boulder County—Boulder and Longmont—the Bureau of Reclamation says their water requirements are assured for no more than 15 years. And 15 years is a very short span in the context of city planning.

And the Bureau of Reclamation indicates that three of the smaller communities of Boulder County—primarily Broomfield, Lafayette, and Louisville—wil probably need additional water within 10 to 15 years.

Mr. Speaker, I think the final paragraph of the conclusions in a reconnaissance report released by the Bureau of Reclamation last year summarizes the situation with unusual terseness and clarity. The report said:

> The reconnaissance investigation of water resource developments in the St. Vrain Creek basin revals that full development in the St. Vrain Creek basin, coupled with water resource development plans for the Cache la Poudre River . . . will not suffice to meet the increasing demands of Boulder, Longmont, Ft. Collins, Estes Park, and Loveland. It is apparent that full utilization of Eastern Slope sources, complemented by additional sources from outside the basin, will be needed to serve demands by 1995.

The report then recommended that:

> Feasibility studies be initiated at the earliest possible date to determine the most economical source of water to supply the needs of these Eastern Slope communities directed toward determining the most economic and desirable order of development to keep pace with water needs.

The next move, Mr. Speaker, will be up to Congress. It is my hope that we can assist the dynamic and growing communities of my district and adjacent areas by authorizing the feasibility study which is so urgently needed.

IN MEMORIAM—LURLEEN BURNS WALLACE

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, in the days since the death of Gov. Lurleen B. Wallace, much has been said of her courage, her humility, and her understanding. Alabama's poet laureate, Bert Henderson, has recently expressed the feelings of all Alabamians in his poem "In Memoriam: Lurleen Burns Wallace."

In tribute to our late Governor, I insert in the RECORD Mr. Henderson's eulogy:

IN MEMORIAM—LURLEEN BURNS WALLACE

Words are futile that would eulogize
The greatness of a spirit that no more
Will walk among her people—she who bore
The duties of her office with a wise
And understanding heart. With fortitude
She faced adversity, always to give
Unselfishly, that those she loved might live
Unfettered lives. Forever she imbued
The people of her state with loyalty
To their own heritage—the right of choice.
Proud, yet humble, she became the voice
Of all her subjects. Immortality
Will be her crown, her banner faith and love
In those she served—a deathless monument
In countless hearts—her life a sacrament
Of what she was and what she sought to
prove.
Words are futile things, yet we would keep
Her memory sacred until we, too shall sleep.

MEMORIAL DAY MESSAGE

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, the people of the town of Virgilina and its environs have for many years held Memorial Day exercises at the Old Union Church Cemetery near Virgilina on the last Sunday in May. These services have always attracted wide attention and large gatherings.

The town of Virgilina, located in Halifax County, Va., and in Granville County, N.C., is situated on the Virginia-North Carolina State line, from whence it derives its name. It is a picturesque and beautiful community inhabited by stalwart citizens of determined character who believe in a firm adherence to the time-honored truths and virtues.

The last Memorial Day exercises were held on Sunday, May 26, 1968, and was sponsored by the Union United Church of Christ, of which the Reverend Mack Welch is pastor, and by the Florence Avenue Baptist Church, of which the Reverend Clarence Bishop is pastor. The sponsors also included the Honorable M. A. Goode, mayor, and members of the Town Council of Virgilina, the Woman's Club of that town, and the American Legion and the American Legion auxiliary, and others.

Through the influence and efforts of Hon. W. L. Gregory, one of the leading and most beloved citizens of southside Virginia, and his nephews, Messrs. Charles and Gregory Poole, of Raleigh, N.C., these groups were enabled to secure Mr. Carl Goerch, of Raleigh, as the Memorial Day speaker.

Mr. Goerch is a widely known and highly respected citizen of North Carolina. His sterling qualities of character are known and appreciated throughout the Old North State, as well as throughout parts of the surrounding States, including southside Virginia. A publisher and a radio commentator, he is an able and entertaining speaker who holds the undivided attention of his audiences. Carl Goerch has read much and traveled widely. He has a storehouse of knowledge and information, with the ability to express himself in such a way as to impart and share the same with his hearers.

On the occasion hereinabove referred to, Mr. Goerch brought an unusually fine and appropriate message, which, under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the Extensions of Remarks of the RECORD, I include as follows:

> To "turn over in one's grave" is an expressive figure of speech. As such, I believe it has a special significance with reference to our relatives and friends who are buried across the road from us here. Particularly is this true when they consider what a mess we have made of things in general.
>
> We honor them for their sturdy citizenship, for their respect of authority, for discipline in their homes, for their energy and determination in the face of adversity, for their willingness to do an honest day's work for an honest dollar, their practice of thrift, and their belief in other fundamentals that have been such important factors in the progress and development of our country.
>
> When they survey conditions as they exist today and see what we have done with the noble heritage they left us, I can well appreciate their sorrow, shock and disappointment.
>
> We brag about the progress and development we have made in recent years. We have the highest standard of living of any country in the world: more modern homes, fine clothing, more automobiles, better educational facilities, and many other wonderful assets. On the other hand, we have more juvenile delinquency than any other nation. Also more sex crimes and homicides.
>
> Found on our news-stands is the most nauseatingly filthy literature imaginable, and the same might be said of the sensational stuff that is played up in our newspapers and reaches us on T. V. and radio programs. Regardless of how we hate to admit it, it is a self-evident fact that our standard of morals has never been as low as it is at the present time.
>
> We have lost control of our young people, as is evidenced by what recently happened in Columbia, Duke and other institutions of higher learning in the nation. If such occurrences as these had taken place during the days of our forebears, the persons responsible for them would have been kicked out so fast it would have made their heads swim.
>
> Parents no longer seem to be able to control their children. Discipline has largely disappeared from our public schools. In the so-called good old days, if a boy broke one of the rules of behavior, the teacher gave him a sound thrashing. And if the boy's father found out about it later on, do you know what would happen to this same boy?
>
> Correct!
>
> There has been a distinct change in our attitude toward life in general. I like to look back to the days when man considered himself master of his own fate, when his success or failure depended upon his own efforts, when he saved up for possible periods of adversity, when he was proud to do an honest day's work for an honest dollar, and when he was glad and willing to look after the welfare of his aged and infirm parents.
>
> The attitude of so many folks today seems to be to do just as little work as they can get by with. We've lost the incentive, the urge, the push that our fathers had before us. And you know, when you take everything into consideration, I believe that work is the grand cure for most of the maladies, ailments and miseries in the world today.
>
> One of the latest developments in an effort to improve economic conditions is the so-called poverty program. I mention this not from a political angle but as an example of our attitude toward existing conditions.
>
> Let me tell you about a personal experience.
>
> The kick-off to President Johnson's poverty program took place in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, where the stage was set for his visit at the home of a tenant farmer. I was present when this took place. The TV antenna was taken down, the children were told to wear their poorest clothing, the whole house was in some disorder. All this typified real, honest-to-goodness poverty. The President made a speech, during the course of which he said:
>
> "I have seen a family of 10 whose existence hangs on the thread of the food-stamp program, the poverty program, nine acres of tobacco and ten of cotton. I don't think it is a mark of God's will that they are poor. They are poor but honest. They are poor because they never got a decent break. They could never break out of poverty's grip. Our war on poverty will give them a chance, and we intend to win that war, because our objective is total victory."

Let me repeat one of those sentences: "The reason these people are poor is because they never got a decent break."

That's just not so. They were poor at that time because they made no effort to better their condition. I checked up on this same family six months ago. They had moved to an adjoining county, they still continue receiving welfare assistance, and their economic status has not shown one iota of improvement.

My friends, you just naturally cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves. I wonder if we're ever going to learn that.

Now don't get me wrong. There really are people who are poor but honest. There are people who have had to cope with misfortunes of various kinds, there are people who never had a decent break, but I don't believe they are in the majority. I've always contended that any able-bodied man can always get a job if he really wants one. It may not be what he wants, but it will be sufficient to provide him and his family with the necessities of life.

Compare our way of life with that of our forebears and I believe you'll agree that we are getting soft. We haven't got the grit, the determination, the courage, or the endurance that they had. Success in life depends on the obstacles one has to overcome. It is the difficulties confronting us that help make us strong.

Mr. S. B. Coley of Raleigh, who passed away recently, was president of the Durham Life Insurance Company. His son, Hal, became a member of the organization. Someone asked Mr. S. B. how Hal was coming along.

"Oh, I reckon he's doing all right, but I ain't expecting too much of him because he ain't had the opportunities I had."

And someone in the group, knowing something of the old gentleman's background, asked him, "What do you mean by that?"

"Well, I'll tell you. I was born out in the Harrican' section of Wake County. My folks were mighty poor. I had to work from the time I was able to hold a hoe or a shovel. I never finished grammar school, and on Saturdays I often worked eighteen hours in a country store. Then two of my friends and I started an insurance company, and many days I worked all around the clock. On a number of occasions I thought we would have to give up. But we kept on struggling, and finally we made the grade, and you can see what we are today."

And then he added: "Now with Hal it was different. He went to high school and to a summer camp. He spent four years in college, and had his own automobile. He also took a trip to Europe. So you see, I can't expect too much of him, because he hasn't had the opportunities I had."

No, I can't go along with the poverty program for individuals in our country, and I can't go along with the poverty program for nations, otherwise known as foreign aid.

During the last eight or nine years, Mrs. Goerch and I have visited 52 foreign countries. We learned something about foreign aid. It was supposed to be delivered free to the poor people in various countries, but don't think for a moment that the politicians didn't make a little something out of it. The poor folks had to contribute a so-called "tax" before they were given any aid.

We were in Bombay, India, having dinner with a textile-mill owner by the name of Amersey. The topic of foreign aid came up, and here's what he had to say:

"Mr. Goerch, India is the largest individual recipient of foreign aid from your country, but if your people could just see how this aid is wasted, misappropriated and misspent, I know they would raise their hands in holy horror. There is only one man in your high governmental circles who has raised his voice in protest, but apparently no one pays him any mind."

Naturally, I asked him to whom he referred. His answer, "Senator Byrd of Virginia."

Our slump in morals has been due to a gradual letting down of the bars. And, as a result of this, no wonder that people are running wild, just as cattle will run wild when given an opportunity to do so.

A group of Methodist leaders met recently and decided to tone down their attitude of general condemnation toward liquor. A group of Episcopal clergymen in New York said that in some instances homosexuality might be permissive and condoned. Other religious leaders have subscribed to views which would never have been tolerated by those whose memory we honor today. And how long has it been since you have heard a clergymen urge strict observance of the Sabbath?

What is the solution to all this? As I see it, the solution rests with going back to the fundamentals that were in vogue in years gone by. Back to the fundamentals which helped make this country great. Such fundamentals as willingness to work, respect for authority, self reliance, practice of thrift, and old-time religious precepts.

Speaking of religion, our preacher said the other Sunday that what this world needs as badly as anything else to bring about a restoration of peace and harmony is for Christians to get converted to Christianity. And he added, "Too many people are willing to use the Sermon on the Mount as a flag to sail under, but too few are ready to use it as a rudder to steer by."

Have I been painting a dark picture? Perhaps I have, but don't get me wrong. There is still plenty of good in the world. So far as our young people are concerned, we have thousands of clean young folks, for every hippie you see. For every crackbrain in college we have scores of conservative instructors. Then, too, there are numerous good books, magazines and T.V. and radio programs. There are many loyal church members, and there are many happy homes. And also there are many folks who work hard and take pride in their work.

However, life in some respects might be compared to a barrel of apples. All the apples may be good with the exception of three or four—and this small number can ruin the entire barrel. That's something we've got to guard against. We can't afford to close our eyes to things that are undermining our way of life. Trying to deceive ourselves is like the little colored boy who was reading the inscriptions on tombstones in a cemetery. He came to one which said, "Not dead, but sleeping." The lad shook his head and said somewhat disdainfully "Shucks; he ain't foolin' nobody 'cept hisself."

Yes, we've got to be on our guard in connection with what's going on. That's true, even though we may hate to admit some of the things I have mentioned.

Memorial services like this should inspire us to rededicate our lives to Americanism in its finer aspects; rededicate ourselves to the ideals that these departed folks believed in and were ready to fight for.

I don't know whether my talk here today should be taken in the nature of being a sermon or not, but if you want to classify it in that category, I would like to wind up with this as a benediction:

"And finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report—if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things."

As a man thinketh, so is he. What a grand thing it would be if more folks would regulate their lives by thinking on these things. It would do much to help relieve the chaotic conditions that are so prevalent today throughout the land.

And we could forget that figure of speech about people turning over in their graves and substitute therefor the more consoling thought—rest in peace.

NEIGHBORHOOD ACTION CRUSADES

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, as last summer wore on, with its sporadic outbreaks of violence in cities across the Nation, a number of my Republican colleagues and I called upon the President to make possible neighborhood action crusades, groups of local volunteers in our ghetto neighborhoods who would provide leadership and communication to prevent violent outbreaks.

These colleagues and I, together with gentlemen from the other side of the aisle, introduced a joint resolution to provide the impetus for these voluntary crusades. To date, I regret to say, no action has been forthcoming. With a tense situation remaining in a number of our cities, and summer coming on again, I think it is high time we dust off this simple but effective approach.

And it is effective. Something very much like it was used last August in my own city of Houston. It worked very well in stopping a wave of firebombings. Houston Mayor Louis Welch submitted the following information to the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee in November 1967:

> The Mayor's Office has organized a "block watcher" program to deter fire bombing—this step was taken in mid August after Molotov cocktails had been thrown from passing cars at various stores in Houston, mostly establisments owned by white people in Negro neighborhoods. Through using volunteers from the Harris County Community Action Association and various civic and neighborhood groups, Negroes were organized into a "block watcher" effort made up of approximately 300 persons. These Negroes were assigned to specified areas of the city and were given instructions on what to do in case they spotted anyone attempting to start a fire.
>
> A total of 20 fires had been started in 36 hours preceding the formation of the "block watcher" program. After the organization was set up, only one additional fire was reported and attributed to arson. The "block watcher" program remains in effect in case it is needed in the future.

Later in his testimony before the subcommittee, Mayor Welch said:

> The point I wish to emphasize here is that there are people in the Negro community, including some militants, who can be of considerable service in acute situations if communications have been maintained with them. After the night of the service station incident, we had 20 firebombings to follow in the next 36 hours. Dr. Blair Justice of my staff proposed a "block watcher" network in Negro neighborhoods, where Molotov cocktails were being thrown at stores owned by white persons. Through volunteers from the community action association, civic clubs, neighborhood groups, and high school coaching staffs, some 300 Negroes took stations in the field. Only one firebombing occurred the first night the block watchers were on duty and only one the next. After that there were no more firebombings.

The Houston Post of April 6, 1968, reported that the Harris County Community Action Association is hard at work recruiting about 500 local residents in Houston to serve as "block watchers."

HCCAA'S "BLOCK WATCHERS" MOBILIZED IN POOR AREAS

The Harris County Community Action Association mobilized approximately 500 "block watchers" Friday in predominantly Negro areas.

"We hope the block watchers will be as effective as they were last year in contributing to quiet atmosphere in the city," HCCAA Deputy Director Hartsell Gray said.

"The block watchers," Gray said, "'are volunteers who cooperate with city officials to protect lives and property in the poverty areas in which they live."

The volunteers are supervised by HCCAA officials, he said. Block watchers operate in their neighborhoods at night to report suspicious activity.

Mayor Louie Welch and his aide, Dr. Blair Justice, praised the HCCAA officials last August for their leadership in organizing the civic-minded volunteers.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Congress and the President ought to recognize the great potential of this relatively simple program and facilitate its adoption and use throughout the country. The time to do so is now.

TAX RESOLUTION

HON. THOMAS G. MORRIS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MORRIS of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, the New Mexico Department of Development recently passed a resolution concerning the tax exemption of interest paid on bonds issued by States for industrial development purposes. For the benefit of my colleagues, I am inserting a copy of that resolution in the RECORD at this point:

RESOLUTION BY THE NEW MEXICO DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT AND NEW MEXICO DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT ADVISORY BOARD

Whereas, the U.S. Treasury Department has by recently announced ruling arbitrarily overturned the long-standing exemption of interest paid on bonds issued by states and their subdivisions of government for industrial development purposes, effective as of March 15, 1968; and

Whereas, New Mexico is one of the many states which in recent years has enjoyed a respectable industrial growth due very largely to investment funds made possible by such exemption of interest on industrial bonds from federal income taxes, whose industrial progress is now seriously threatened by such arbitrary action on the part of the Treasury Department; and

Whereas, said action is in direct conflict with the expressed policy of the present Administration in Washington, to increase jobs and payrolls and reduce the number of "hard-core" unemployables, the accomplishment of which desirable objective depends in substantial degree upon availability of investment funds with which to finance new and expanding industries; and

Whereas, the aforesaid Treasury Department action will also result in reduced, rather than greater, federal tax revenues, in that the aggregate of federal tax revenues to be received, directly or indirectly, from increased payrolls and related economic activity made possible by the proscribed type of industrial bond financing will exceed by far the increase in revenues accruing from the taxability of such interest; and

Whereas, a further effect of such action to be foreseen as private capital is thus forced out of industrial bond investments, is a much greater dependence upon federal funds with which to finance industrial projects, with decisions affecting the progress of our cities and towns being made in Washington instead of being made locally; and

Whereas, such action by the U.S. Treasury Department in overturning long-standing administrative interpretation of the law, represents an invasion of the power of Congress solely to make such a vital and important decision, and should not be allowed to stand unchallenged, Now therefore be it

1. Resolved, that the aforesaid action by the U.S. Treasury Department should be, and it is hereby, deplored and condemned and should be reversed by action of Congress.

2. Resolved, that the effect of such action on the State of New Mexico, and particularly upon the smaller cities and towns in this state, will be most harmful and injurious, rendering much more difficult our problem of cooperating with the Federal Government in increasing job opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed in this area.

3. That copies of this Resolution be distributed to all members of Congress from New Mexico, including the U.S. Senators from New Mexico, to the President of the United States, his Secretary of the Treasury, and to the officers of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

Dated this 17th day of April, 1968, at Santa Fe, New Mexico.

JAMES O. ROBERSON,
Director, New Mexico Department of Development.

A VFW POST HONORS PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY POLICEMAN AND FIREMAN

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, this year members of Post 8950 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, of 9800 Telegraph Road, Lanham, Md., held a Day of Honor for policemen and firemen of Prince Georges County. A citation as the VFW policeman of the year was presented to Sgt. Vernon J. Herath, of the Oxon Hill substation. A citation for VFW fireman of the year was presented to Thomas G. Daly of the Tuxedo-Cheverly Volunteer Fire Company. Both citations honored these men for their outstanding and dedicated public service to the citizens of Prince Georges County.

This program was so successful that I believe it should be considered by other groups around the Nation to demonstrate our support for our firemen and policemen who more and more are the unsung heroes of our society. I think it is very commendable that Post 8950 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars has taken the lead in this regard and I urge other groups around the country to consider holding similar days of honor for their dedicated policemen and firemen.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON SPEAKS IN TEXAS

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, last week, during his visit to Texas, President Johnson spoke at the Will Rogers Memorial Center in Fort Worth. He talked about some of the accomplishments of his administration—particularly in the fields of education, employment, economic prosperity, and medical care. He related these achievements to the support he has been given by so many of the men who represent Texas in the Halls of the Congress.

In particular, he singled out Congressmen JIM WRIGHT and "TIGER" TEAGUE, two outstanding members of the Texas delegation.

Of JIM WRIGHT, the President said:

And JIM WRIGHT is a winner for one reason: Because he is always on the people's side.

Of "TIGER" TEAGUE, the President said:

He came to Austin before he came to Washington to talk to me about what he wanted to do in Washington. He has been doing it ever since—a very good job for all the people.

I can state without hesitation that these sentiments are widely shared by Texans who have come to know JIM WRIGHT and "TIGER" TEAGUE. I insert the President's remarks in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE JIM WRIGHT CONGRESSIONAL CLUB, WILL ROGERS MEMORIAL CENTER, FORT WORTH, TEX.

Congressman and Mrs. Wright, Congressman Teague and other members of the Delegation, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, distinguished clergy, guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am so happy to see so many familiar faces here this afternoon.

This is a great treat for me, to come back to Fort Worth.

When I saw my dear friend of many, many decades here at the head table—Raymond Buck—it reminded me of the good old days when I use to be in politics.

Looking around at all of you happy people, and all of you happy politicians, I can only think of one thing to say right now. That is, I would rather be "Wright"—than President.

I especially wanted to be here this afternoon to lend my support to Jim Wright and "Tiger" Teague in their campaigns. They face a very tough race this year, as all of us do.

One of my staff, a young man from Harvard, somewhat unfamiliar with these parts, told me that Jim Wright and "Tiger" Teague are both running against the same opponent—a man with a very odd name: Unopposed.

I called in one of my staff and asked him what he knew about this man. He laughed and said, "Mr. President, you have been gone much too long. That is unopposed."

Actually, I have something in common with both Jim and "Tiger": We are all three running unopposed. They are running for the Congress, and I am running for the ranch.

As you may know, I am going to be at TCU later tonight to receive a degree. I hope this will come in handy when I resume my teaching career.

But I could not pass up this party. I am going to be a resident of Texas again after January. As I told Senator and Mrs. Yarborough coming down, and as every Texan already knows, it is mighty good to have some friends in Washington.

It is particularly good to have a friend who is a winner. The one and only time that Jim Wright ever had any competition in a primary he wound up with only 92 percent of the vote.

He carried every one of his 153 precincts and in two of them—I never could quite understand this—the opposition received no votes at all.

That is my idea of a winner. And Jim Wright is a winner for one reason: Because he is always on the people's side. No one knows this better than I do.

Jim and I have been on the same team in Washington for a good many years. We stood together for Texas and America on Capitol Hill.

During the past five years, when the showdowns for progress came in the Congress, there are none who have been of more help to me than the members of the Texas Delegation.

With Senator Yarborough in the Senate—he wouldn't want to admit this publicly, maybe—there is no Senator who has a finer voting record in helping the Johnson Administration do what they think is best for all the people of this country.

And "Tiger" Teague, Graham Purcell, "Chick" Kazen, Earl Cabell—and the other Congressmen—I don't know how many of them came down here, though we had several on the plane—have all been very generous and very helpful to me.

I broke "Tiger" in before he came to Washington. He came to Austin before he came to Washington to talk to me about what he wanted to do in Washington.

He has been doing it ever since—a very good job for all the people.

Tonight, somewhere in this City, there is a boy from a poor family who has made it to college. He is just one of a million and a half young Americans who would not have had this chance five years ago, but who can now pursue a college education because the leaders of the Texas Delegation, who sit at this table, and their colleagues in Congress, have seen to it that their government is interested in that young man.

Tonight there is a man with a job—a man who was out of work five years ago. He is only one of 7 million new workers who have found employment since 1963.

And for the entire labor force, which is 75.5 million strong today, our paychecks are bigger, our retirement is more secure, our working conditions are better.

For employers and businessmen, the past seven years, the last 87 months, in fact, have had no parallel in all of American history.

Seven straight, uninterrupted years of prosperity without a single dip, recession, depression or whatnot.

Tonight, there is an old couple who can face their golden years with a new serenity and a new security. If they get sick, they are no longer a burden to their children or their son-in-law. They have earned the dignity of independence—because almost 20 million elderly families are tonight covered by Medicare, by a program which did not exist five years ago, but which these men helped us to pass.

Once these all were visions—just visions, just dreams. But to the boy in college, to the couple in retirement, to the worker on the job, to the businessman in his shop, they are actualities and realities today.

Other visions have been made reality, too. Other dreams have come true, too: The child of the slum, who can not get a head start and an equal chance in life; the 5.5 million Americans who no longer live in poverty.

In health, in elementary and secondary education, equal justice, in conservation, in recreation, in farm and rural programs, in every area where government can help people, we are levelling old problems and we are building new hopes.

Before I left Washington this afternoon, I signed into law the Consumer Credit Protection Act. That brings truth to the lending market for every purchaser in America.

Jim Wright, "Tiger" Teague, Ralph Yarborough, Earl Cabell and "Chick" Kazen—all these Congressmen at this table helped pass that measure which helps every American.

To Congressman Purcell and all the others I mentioned, I want to say we owe each of you a debt of thanks and gratitude.

Proud? Yes, we are proud. But satified? No. Never. This is a world of change, and we want to change. We want to improve with every change. We want to become better. We want to become richer. We want to become more powerful. We want to conquer our ancient enemies of disease, ignorance and poverty.

We want the world where every man can be free, be equal, and not be burdened with these ancient enemies.

In eight months, I will come back home to be a teacher and a private citizen again. But good men, like those in the Texas Delegation at this table, will remain in Washington, working to give substance to your dreams—working to carry on the unfinished business of America.

I know there are many of you in this group who are here on rainchecks four years old. I was sorry to disappoint you then. But remember, four years ago my subject would have been promises.

Tonight I have been able to talk about performances.

There was a little lady from the Temperance Union who once called upon a great government leader, a Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill, to make her complaint.

She said, "Mr. Prime Minister, I am told that during the war, you have drunk enough brandy, if it were poured out in this room, to come up to here (indicating) on all of us standing."

Mr. Churchill looked at her, listened attentively, looked at the floor, looked at the ceiling, and said, "My dear little lady, so much we have done; so much we have yet to do."

There is so much that we have done in this country. All of us live better than our fathers and our grandfathers, those who made it possible for us to enjoy our liberty and freedom.

But there is so much yet for all of us to do.

If we can only arrest our impatience, if we can only keep our eye on the ball, if we can only love instead of hate, if we can only unite instead of divide, if we can only apply all of our energies and our talents to constructive endeavors, there is a better world over yonder for all of us.

To the good, progressive, generous people of Fort Worth, I want to thank you for the quality of your Congressmen and your Delegation.

More than that, I want to thank you for the strength and comfort that your friendship has given me through the years.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 134th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

"OPEN HOUSING" AGGRESSION DELAYED

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the emergency passage and signing into law the controversial open housing bill, as a memorial to the U.N. International Year of Human Rights, has been followed by a controlled silence.

Robert Weaver, head "block-buster" speaking at an open-housing conference in Atlanta, Ga., explains his outfit will not go into compulsory full gear until after January 1, 1969. In this way there would be nothing to stir up the people against those Congressmen who voted for the law until after the election.

But his little-publicized threat against free men was clear: For those "who insist upon being the last to recognize not only the morality but the legality of equal opportunity in housing, HUD intends to pursue that responsibility as vigorously as it can."

Mr. Speaker, I include the Housing and Urban Development Secretary's comments from the Atlanta Constitution for May 30 following my remarks:

OPEN HOUSING IS PEOPLE PROBLEM, CONFEREES HERE AGREE

(By Alex Coffin)

Housing for the poor and minority groups involves problems of money, vacant land, laws, jobs and education, but it ends up being a people problem—more than 800 persons at a metropolitan open housing conference agreed here Wednesday.

"Even if we come up with all the answers to the problems, how do we inspire our neighbors to accept them?" Charles (Chuck) Jackson, a Model Cities neighborhood worker, asked during an afternoon panel dicussion.

The all-day conference at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel featured speeches by Robert C. Weaver, secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, as well as workshops and a panel discussion.

A follow-up workshop is set next month and Noyes Collinson of the American Friends Service Committee told of nine neighborhood fair housing organizations already in existence with another on the way. The neighborhood organizations, most of which have sprung up in recent months, are in such areas as Ansley Park, Garden Hills and Druid Hills.

At an afternoon press conference, Weaver said that the best answer to discrimination seems to be "to change the rules of the game . . . to work with the institutions first and then let the people adjust themselves to the institutions."

In his remarks at the dinner, Weaver said, "Between now and next January, when the law moves into its first major phase, there is a unique opportunity for voluntary compliance that will not come again. We expect—and certainly hope for—a significant amount of voluntary acceptance before next January."

But, Weaver went on, for those "who insist upon being the last to recognize not only the morality but the legality of equal opportunity in housing," . . . HUD intends to pursue that responsibility as vigorously as it can."

The secretary added that the law is not enough to solve the housing problems of the nation. The responsibility remains, he said, "to press with unprecedented vigor for complementary legislation which will greatly augment the supply of low- and moderate-income housing . . . We cannot afford to do less in this hour of national travail."

Prior to Weaver's remarks, those at the dinner passed a resolution calling on metropolitan governments around Atlanta to pass the "workable programs" required before the federal government will approve low-income housing projects.

Cecil Alexander, chairman of Mayor Allen's Housing Resources Committee and a co-chairman of the conference with Benjamin Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College, closed the dinner session by saying that "this is only the beginning. . . . There are those outside this room who need to be convinced.

The morning panel discussion was climaxed by the Rev. Sam Williams, chairman of the Community Relations Commission, persistently questioning J. Marion Crain, president of the Atlanta Real Estate Board.

Crain said real estate men "are very unhappy about the new federal open housing law. It will affect our left hip pockets, our families and our friends . . . But we are good Americans . . . and we are going to obey the law!"

Williams then asked Crain if the National Association of Real Estate Board discriminates. "We represent the sellers. We go by their instructions," Crain answered.

Williams asked if a Negro could join the NARB and Crain said not now, but the law requires the barrier to drop after Jan. 1, 1969.

Williams then said to Crain that, "It's simply not so to say that a Negro can buy a house anywhere he wants if he has the money."

Crain's comment that led to this discussion was that "anyone can buy anywhere he pleases if someone wants to sell to you."

Earlier, Leon Eplan, vice president of Eric Hill Associates, had presented a background for the conference, which was dedicated to the late Dr. Martin Luther King and the late Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan, and sponsored by 61 metropolitan organizations and agencies.

Eplan said that Atlanta's "extensive housing inequalities" have resulted from "federal policies, local policies, economic repression and personal prejudice."

Middle class neighborhoods "must be opened to middle class blacks," he said. Eplan praised those interested enough to attend, but criticized the lack of involvement in the problem by churches, garden clubs, real estate associations, political parties and banks.

Speaking of the legalities of the law, attorney Lewis Cenker explained how it goes into effect by stages with 80 percent of the nation's housing to be effected by 1970.

In answer to a question, Cenker said that the law doesn't prevent, as some fear, rejections of renters or buyers on grounds other than racial, religious or nationality.

After Crain complained that the law works hardships on sellers, buyers and real estate men "unless they follow the law 100 per cent," Negro Alderman Q. V. Williamson, president of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers, Inc., said, "Mr. Crain tells us the law is difficult. It is only difficult for the homeowner who wants to discriminate."

During the morning session, Donald Hollowell, regional director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, tied in the problems of housing to those of jobs and noted that the big industrial parks are being located in suburban areas—away from the central core where the Negro ghettos exist.

Speaking late in the morning, Dr. Jack L. Preiss of Duke University labeled as myths the notions that property values drop when Negroes move into an area, that white and black persons can't live together in a viable existence and that public housing will solve all the problems of the poor who need housing.

At the luncheon, Jenkins spoke on the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, on which he served. He said that "the only way to control a riot is to prevent it" and that that responsibility rests on local police departments with the full support of all citizens, white and black.

During afternoon workshops, the need for a metropolitan open housing organization was cited as well as revision of building codes, more involvement by business and smaller public housing projects.

The workshop participants also called for local fair housing ordinances and laws, a permanent fair housing organization, encouragement of whites to move into Negro areas, a housing information and service center.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, at present the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is reviewing the criteria it set up some time ago as a standard for control of sulfur dioxide in the air around us. The criteria, coupled with an opinion by HEW that a hazard to health results when the ambient air contains more than one-tenth of 1 part per million sulfur oxides on a 24-hour basis, drew bitter attack from some scientific circles. The reevaluation was undertaken under a provision of the Clean Air Act of 1967.

The Department's review is expected to be completed some time this year. It is to be hoped that the results, arrived at with the assistance of a 15-member air quality criteria advisory committee drawn from the ranks of industry, engineering, and scientific research, will be practical and realistic, as well as providing a pacesetter for helping clean up air pollution.

The stakes in this race are high. Everyone wants clean air—an atmosphere kept as free as possible from offensive and health-destroying pollutants. But no one wants to see industry forced to grind to a halt, nor blackouts in our metropolitan areas, nor an economy injured by too stringent regulation of air conservation applied unwisely and too soon.

This is what could occur should the authorities insist on immediate application of controls based on the earlier criteria for air purity devised by HEW. It has been proposed in a number of areas, acting under the impetus of the original criteria, to limit the use of coal, burned as fuel to produce more than half of our electrical power, to a sulfur content of no more than 1 percent—or even less.

As the coal industry knows, as the U.S. Bureau of Mines knows, and as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should know, there just is not enough coal available with such a low sulfur content to go around. Practically all of the low sulfur coal that is mined has been allocated to metallurgical use and for export under long-term contracts. There are substitute fuels for coal, but these too do not abound in sufficient quantity with low sulfur content to meet the needs of powerplants and other industry.

Application of ordinances decreeing use of only low sulfur fuels thus appears out of the question. However, there are ways to reduce the emissions of sulfur oxides from powerplant stacks caused by combustion of coal and, thus, maintain good air quality. The coal and power industry themselves, along with such arms of the Federal Government as the Bureau of Mines and the Office of Coal Research, have been studying this problem for years. Both Government and private industry feel that they have a number of possible solutions—which already have been proven technically and need now proof only of economic feasibility.

These processes, along with a general review of the overall problem of sulfur oxides in the air about us, are discussed in detail in an excellent report published recently by the National Coal Policy Conference, Inc. In nontechnical language, the report describes more than a dozen processes tested in this country and abroad which have the best possibility of success.

The report declares that emission of sulfur oxides into the air can be controlled, but greatly stepped-up research and development is necessary to determine that the control systems are economical and do not force costs of fossil fuel burning out of competition with nuclear powerplants. Time and money are needed to carry out the experimental projects. But the battle can be won, the report declares.

The title of this report is "Research Must Meet the Demand for Clean Air and Abundant Fuels." It has been distributed, I understand, to each Member of the Congress. I hope it will be read and given full consideration by each Member.

I do not come from a bituminous coal mining area myself, but am fully aware of the importance of bituminous coal to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and to the entire Nation. In this age of expanding energy needs, coal must not be hampered in the role of supplying these needs.

The Federal Power Commission estimates that the demand for electrical power doubles every decade. It is predicted that by the year 2000, the total demand for electricity will be seven times what it was in 1965. Coal currently supplies more than half the fuel used in electric power production and, as America's most abundant natural resource, it is expected to be a major source of powerplant fuel for many years to come.

As yet, nuclear powerplants have produced no palpable proof that they can compete economically with coal-fueled powerplants. And this despite the fact that our Government has spent more than $2 billion in fostering atomic research and development. The Atomic Energy Commission has yet to come up with a finding of "practical value" in the operation of any atomic plant. In this connection, I would like to urge anew that congressional action be taken on a resolution I have introduced in cooperation with 27 other House Members to establish a select commission to undertake a comprehensive review of the Federal Government's role in the atomic energy development program.

More than a score of years have gone by since the passage of legislation setting up the nuclear development program. It is time that we take a new look at the whole matter and decide where we are going from here, particularly in view of the tremendous expenditure of funds for this program at a time when our Nation is in fiscal difficulties.

In discussing coal's role in the campaign for cleaner air, I would like to call attention to the fact that the industry is cooperating with the HEW's National Center for Air Pollution Control campaign to reduce sulfur dioxide even though it has not demonstrated that SO_2 is harmful to humans and animals in the portions normally found in the air around us. Numerous scientists, engineers, and physicians have disputed the argument that sulfur dioxide in ordinary portions is the big bugaboo that it has in some quarters been painted up to be.

One of Britain's prime authorities in the field, Dr. P. J. Lawther, director of air pollution research at St. Bartholomew's Hospital Medical College in London, has stated flatly that concentrations of less than two parts per million of sulfur dioxide in the ambient air are not dangerous, even to ill persons, and that he himself has inhaled experimentally as much as 30 parts per million for a brief period with no deleterious effects.

Dr. Eric J. Cassell, of the Cornell University Medical College, has reported that numerous studies, using men and animals as experimental subjects, have failed to provide evidence that sulfur dioxide alone, at levels anywhere near those found in urban atmospheres, has any adverse effect on men.

Dr. William O. Negherbon, staff biologist for Hazelton Laboratories, at Falls Church, Va., has said that in his opinion the complex natures of air pollution "seems to render a preoccupation with the sulfur oxides unduly simplistic."

Concerning air pollution and sulfur oxides, the Bank of New York Letter for August 1967, had this to say:

> Our discussions with these (air pollution experts) people lead us to believe that the problems of cleaning up our air are far more numerous and complex than most Americans realize. Having considered all factors, we see a risk that the present HEW recommendations on the sulfur content of fuels may actually impede progress toward cleaner air.

Despite all these opinions from experts and researchers throwing doubt upon the hazards posed by sulfur oxides, the coal industry nevertheless has cooperated in every way with clean air proponents adhering to the notion, real or fancied, that sulfur dioxide even in small amounts is harmful and must be greatly reduced.

The industry does, however, request more time to continue its and the Government's research into ways of eliminating SO_2 from stack gases and into the possibilities for removing inorganic sulfur from coal before the coal is burned as powerhouse fuel.

Involved in this research are the Bureau of Mines, with its alkalized alumina process, regarded as one of the best possibilities for removing sulfur oxides from stack gases; the Office of Coal Research, which has let numerous coal research contracts to private industrial firms; and numerous private companies acting either on their own or cooperatively through Bituminous Coal Research, Inc., an affiliate of the National Coal Association. Private research involves efforts by individual coal companies, electric utilities, and engineering firms.

As the NCPC booklet points out, three projects to remove sulfur dioxide from flue gases have advanced far enough for their sponsors to proclaim they are ready to be marketed.

The Monsanto Co., with a catalytic oxidation process, is operating a demonstration plant with the Metropolitan Edison Co. at the latter's Portland, Pa., station on the upper Delaware River. The process removes 90 percent of the sulfur dioxide from flue gases and produces sulfuric acids, which can be sold commercially.

Wellman-Lord, Inc., of Lakeland, Fla., utilizing a chemical scrubbing process, has operated successfully a pilot plant at a Tampa Electric Co. plant unit, removing more than 90 percent of the SO_2 from the flue gases. The company says it is ready now to install a full-sized unit on a large commercial powerplant. Sulfur and sulfuric acid are byproducts.

Combustion Engineering, Inc., of Windsor, Conn., has offered its dolomite injection-wet scrubbing process on a commercial basis with guaranteed results in removal of sulfur dioxide from stack gases and production of sulfuric acid. The firm is installing a full-scale device at Union Electric's coal-fired Meramec generating station at St. Louis and is planning an even larger unit for installation at the Kansas Power & Light Co.'s Lawrence station.

These and other experimental projects—including the much-talked-about alkalized alumina process of the U.S. Bureau of Mines—have shown apparently that great reduction in sulfur dioxide emissions from stacks is technically feasible. What remains to be demonstrated conclusively, however, is whether they are feasible from an economic standpoint. Here, further testing and further expenditure of funds—with both industry and government cooperating—is needed.

In reporting out Senate bill 780 last year—which later was enacted as the Clean Air Act of 1967—the House Commerce Committee, on which I have the honor to serve, declared:

> Research is the key to effective air pollution control.

In providing a rounded picture of the research work that has been done and pointing up what remains to be done to beat this problem, the National Coal Policy Conference has done a monumental job in publishing its booklet, "Research Must Meet the Demand for Clean Air and Abundant Fuels." The booklet will serve as a guide in this field for Members of Congress, Government agencies, private business and utilities, air pollution control officials around the Nation, and the general public.

LETTERS FROM VIETNAM

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in these trying times throughout our land, we have those in our society who feel it is the order of the day to openly defy all facets of responsibility to our country, as well as those who take pride in burning our country's flag, or in talking treason and anarchy.

Yet, despite all of the turmoil brought upon by our discontents, it is indeed a feeling of great pride to know that the majority of our young people are not the participants of the order to destroy our Nation.

Yet, we are often saddened when we take cognizance of the casualty lists as they are released with respect to our fighting men in Vietnam. It is also most heartbreaking to receive requests as a Congressman from our young men who are fighting in Vietnam to find that it is sometimes too late to aid in the fulfillment of such a request.

Recently, I received a request from a young soldier wherein he asked a question as to the return to combat of those who had previously received two Purple Hearts. He had not received the Purple Heart himself and his letter was not intended to keep him from combat, but was instead for his fellow soldiers who had been previously wounded, and were the recipients of two Purple Hearts, but were by reason of change of policy returned to combat.

However, it is not a Congressman who makes the policy concerning the assignment of personnel in battle, since this is the direct responsibility of the commanders in the field, or carried out by the commanders through orders from the corps or Army levels.

I am also aware of the fact that there are times when Purple Hearts are awarded for minor injuries directly resulting from incidents wherein one is engaged with the enemy, but it seems to me that those in a combat area who have been under fire, and had twice received the Purple Heart, should be entitled to consideration sufficient to station them in a rear echelon area.

In this regard, then, I have brought this problem to the attention of the Department of Defense for their consideration and with the hope that perhaps they will make a reappraisal of their present policy.

Unfortunately the young soldier who first brought this to my attention by his letter never did get the chance to receive my reply, since his letter was received in my office this month, along with another letter from one of his buddies. The soldier's letter is as follows:

> DEAR SIR: It is not without some hesitation that I write to you, for I realize how bur-

dened you must be with the many problems and decisions which lay before you. Among these, I am sure, is Vietnam.

There is, among those fighting this war, a very basic and real problem. I am speaking specifically of a segment of the 90,000 men (of some 525,000) who are directly involved with fighting the enemy.

These men are here to fulfill a commitment, of which many know little, but for which all fight gallantly. These are men who have been torn from their families, trained as soldiers, shipped to foreign soil and thrust into armed combat. They have been forced to watch their comrades die terrible deaths. These very men, both living and dead, are the legacy of what America and Democracy stand for.

It is difficult enough that a combat soldier must face each tomorrow with fear, that he must be harassed and unnerved by enemy fire, he must also face a similar antagonism from those who lead him.

I am speaking specifically of an incident which has recently arisen in the 9th Infantry Division. It had been division policy to release a man from combat duty after receiving two Purple Hearts, I.E. was wounded twice in battle. This policy has been revoked and a man must serve his full term in the field, unless he is maimed or permanently disabled. Since the new policy was set forth, morale and Esprit De Corps has been at an all time low. Men have the feeling and rightfully so, that the upper echelon of command has little or no regard for their welfare.

I have fought beside many of these men and feel they are receiving cruel and unjust treatment, treatment not deserving to one who has shed his blood for his country.

It appears that this situation cannot be remedied from within the military. It is for this reason that I write to you. Anything you might be able to do to alleviate this situation would be greatly appreciated by the men who are affected.

I thank you for your time and pray that God may guide you in the many decisions you face in guiding our troubled nation.

Respectfully,

(Name withheld).

The above letter had reached my office along with the other letter which reads:

DEAR SIR: The letter you have now read has been written by a man who was very close to me and his men of his platoon. You see, Sir, this man is now missing in action. Along with him were four other good men.

So I feel it is my duty to make sure this letter is mailed to you. And I hope with all my heart that you will try and help on the subject Rich has made.

This is all I have to say sir. And me and many others are hoping that something can be done.

Thank you for your time and patience.

Respectfully,

(Name withheld).

The parents of the first young man were notified by the Army that their son was reported dead on May 2. He had drowned while a passenger on an amphibious PT boat which suffered a direct hit by hostile enemy fire.

I commend these letters to you since I was indeed touched by the earnestness of these two young men, who while serving in a faraway land under enemy fire, were sufficiently interested in their fellow man to write, in the hope that they could correct what appeared to them, to be a wrong being done our soldiers serving in combat while in Vietnam.

I am hopeful that the condition above referred to can, and will be changed, by future Army policy.

VIETNAM: AN INDIAN VIEW

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, it is useful to see our situation in Vietnam from the viewpoint of other countries, especially when those countries are basically friendly to us, and when they represent an Asian perspective.

The Indian and Foreign Review, an official publication of the Indian Government, recently reprinted two articles from the distinguished Indian newspaper, the Indian Express, under the title "Lessons of Vietnam Tragedy."

The importance of Asian leadership is a theme of both articles. When we hear once again that we are about to win the war in Vietnam during a week when Saigon undergoes another siege, these articles suggest how we might have gone so far wrong to find ourselves facing such an apparent contradiction. They suggest, simply, that despite our "commitment" in Southeast Asia, we understand very little about our role there.

The articles follow:

LESSONS OF VIETNAM TRAGEDY

The Indian Express (February 14) featured an article by Mr. Shiv Shastri on the tragic fight in Vietnam. The article said:

"That the USA has suffered severe reverses in Vietnam is both astonishing and understandable. It is astonishing because the military power it has employed in Vietnam has been far superior to that of its opponent. Let us look at some figures. American soldiers fighting in Vietnam number more than half a million. In addition there is a locally recruited army of over 600,000 men. This means a total military manpower of over a million. With the abundance of American technology, along with what has been called President Johnson's propensity to 'overkill,' the maintenance costs are high. Since last year, they have mounted to 26 billion dollars yearly.

"As against such an abundance of military power the Vietnamese guerrillas present a picture of paucity. According to figures given by the U.S. Government, the total strength of the guerrillas was 6,000 between 1954–60. The numbers started increasing after 1960. They reached the figure of 30,000 in 1963 consisting of 10,000 regulars and 20,000 'irregulars.'

"A sharp increase was recorded after the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964. The total number of guerrillas now shot up to 80,000.

"On February 7, 1965, the U.S. Government commenced its bombings of North Vietnam. Far from being cowed down, the guerrillas increase in strength and numbers.

"By August, 1966, they numbered 110,000 regulars and 40,000 so called 'infiltrators.' In an August 25, 1966, briefing at the White House, Secretary McNamara indicated a 'cumulative 1961–66 total' of 71,000 'confirmed infiltrators.'

"Such is the position according to American 'guess-estimates.' They show an increase of resistance after each 'escalation' in the use of American power. This makes nonsense of the official American position that the USA is in Vietnam to defend a part of it against 'aggression' from the other. It must not be forgotten that if the USA commenced its bombings of the North in 1965 it was already bombing the South. It has therefore bombed both the North and the South to defend the one against the other. This is a species of 'compelled defence.'

"The human drama that lies behind a statistical presentation of facts does not reveal the suffering and the pathos that accompanies it. It is well known that American efforts to destroy the hideouts of the guerrillas have included the use of napalm, the destruction of 'all life' in target areas—a process described as 'defoliation,' the employment of the so-called 'nerve gas' and the rendering of water and edibles unfit for consumption.

"Let us look at the quantum of American power employed to destroy Vietnamese resistance. The Secretary of Defence, Mr. McNamara, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 20, 1966, that 250,000 tons of aerial ordnance had been expended in 1965. The amount earmarked for 1966 was 638,000 tons. This approximates to 48 per cent of all the bombs used against the Nazis in Germany and Nazi-controlled Europe by the USA in World War II.

"Let us look at it another way. At the height of the London 'blitz,' 200 German bombers dropped 1 ton of bombs each every night for sixty nights. At the rate of the 1966 bombing plan, no less than 1,772 tons of bombs a day have been dropped on Vietnam. This is more than eight times the maximum the Luftwaffe dropped on Britain. The rate for 1967 would obviously be greater.

"In spite of this murderous rate of destruction, the NLF was able, in its recent offensive, to bring American power to a standstill.

"Where does such reckless courage come from? The answer to this question takes us back to the fundamentals of the question. The magnitude of the resistance comes from a sense of outrage and desperation in which the common man seems to share. I would venture to suggest that the million strong force of the USA is fighting not the 200,000 odd guerrillas but a whole nation. The more the USA punishes its inhabitants, the more unified they become.

"If you look at the situation from the Vietnamese point of view—and that point of view is certainly not to be ignored—the people of Vietnam are fighting to shed the yoke of colonialism. They fought against French rule and won in 1954. Then, instead of the terms of the Geneva Agreements being implemented, the Americans stepped in and propped up the southern zone of Vietnam into an 'independent State.'

"If the Americans had allowed the people of South Vietnam free choice as respects their government, even a divided Vietnam could have become stable. But the Americans wanted a complaisant government. And a complaisant government means a corrupt government. When you add to this the American obsession with communism, you not only have a corrupt government but a government that rules by terror.

"The odd thing is that what American policy seeks to curb in Vietnam is precisely that which has been created by that policy. In a rather perceptive passage, James Eliot Cross (Conflict in the Shadows) says: 'The Government (of South Vietnam) locks itself into a standpat position of fighting to defend all the inequities which gave the rebellion its first impetus.'

"Confronted with what is called a 'credibility gap' as respects its Vietnam policy, the US Government refers to the need for checkmating 'international communism.' This adds to the credibility gap. For, were the US Government sincerely fighting communism alone, it would not be giving economic assistance to Yugoslavia and now Rumania and, above all, it would not be signing all kinds of treaties with the USSR—on space, nuclear proliferation and so on.

"Another argument points to the danger of Mao's aggressive expansionism and the containing role played by US power in South Vietnam. Were some wisdom displayed in the execution of such a role, the USA would find countries like India on its side. But you can not checkmate the spread of Chinese power by destroying the very leadership that would resist it most effectively—which is precisely what President Johnson has been doing so far.

"The conclusion is unavoidable that the means chosen by the US Government to make its presence felt in Asia are repugnant to the self-respect of Asia. Man is not a machine to be manipulated by statistics of fire power or unrelated application of concepts like 'counterinsurgency.' He has a soul and an urge to dignity which he will assert like anybody else.

"The USA has now two choices—to repeat its old mistakes or to take the hydrogen bomb out of its pocket and learn to live with the world on an equal basis. The first means further war effort in Vietnam and the possible use of nuclear weapons—even if they are called 'tactical' to begin with.

Such a course will create new Vietnams and will not exclude the sprawling masses of South Asia. The USA of course can destroy everybody including itself to 'assert its rights.' That would be silly, would it not?"

Writing in the Indian Express (February 2) Mr. Frank Moraes said:

"Nature, they say, abhors a vacuum. So does Man. The tendency of both is to try fill it up. Militarily it would be premature for the Viet Cong to claim that victory is theirs in South Vietnam. But politically and psychologically they have struck the Americans a resounding blow. Its echoes reverberate throughout Asia.

"The Americans might not have lost the war. But they have lost what in Asia is far more important. They have lost face.

"Europe first lost face when little Japan toppled the Russian Colossus in 1905. Some sixty years later Asia watches as North Vietnam in the role of David takes on the American Goliath. Whatever the military outcome, the New World politically and psychologically has lost face to the Old.

"The vacuum thereby created is far more serious and enduring than the temporary void which a military defeat generates. In the long analysis human values count for more than national strength.

"What is happening in Vietnam will alter and affect men's minds and perspectives far more than the obliteration of Hitler did in 1945. Its dimensions are global and intercontinental. They are also unfortunately inter-racial.

"By their precipitate action in Vietnam, the Americans have unwittingly brought Europe face to face with Asia, and in the process have confronted the Old World with the New.

"That Russia which was humbled sixty years ago by the Japanese should now provide the main warhead for Hanoi's rocket against the Americans is also symbolic of the traumatic change in values over the years. Today the Soviet Union presents a new phenomenon to the world—that of Euro-Asia, with one foot astride Europe and another reaching towards Asia. The Warsaw Pact and the Tashkent Declaration are two faces of the same coin.

"Is the land of the Tsars, now of the proletariat, earmarked to fill the latest vacuum in Asia?

"Territorially Russia lies athwart Europe and Asia, and from the days of the Tsars its political tentacles have tended to reach out towards Asia. China, another Colossus, bars its path on a vital flank. Viewed superficially, the struggle for influence over Asia seems to lie between Soviet Russia and Communist China—both of them territorial giants and both of them Communist.

"The question which arises—whether Asia is now doomed and destined to go Red—does not necessarily postulate a simple answer based on a choice between two alternatives. For the battle for power over Asia is not limited to two contending Communist dinosaurs nor indeed to the polarized pulls of the Marxist and non-Marxist worlds. Asia itself enters into the calculus.

"For the achievement of North Vietnam proves that given the tools an Asian country can do the job. Japan demonstrated it sixty years ago, but in her case the tools were her own. That over half a century later another Asian country has to rely on foreign hardware to achieve the same miracle exposes the widening, pitiless, material gap between the Western and non-Western worlds.

"North Vietnam's startling success projects another fact. A vacuum in Asia need not be compulsively filled by a foreign body. Asia is capable of filling it itself. The present inherent weakness of Asia undoubtedly owes much to its own doing, to its sins of commission and omission. But the calculated policies of the West, based on selective aid, have contributed not a little to that end. Many Asian countries will draw the obvious moral and set about putting their houses right. Japan did it. North Vietnam is on the way to doing it. Why not the rest of Asia?"

A TRIBUTE TO MONSIGNOR BURKE

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, at the 42d annual outstanding service presentation by the Essex Council of the Boy Scouts of America, Council President Fred S. Tarbox honored the distinguished service of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Burke, J.C.D., pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Lawrence, Mass.

In his parish, the monsignor has the largest number of Cub Scouts and Boy Scouts in the council, and an active Catholic youth organization of over a thousand members. Mr. Tarbox presented Monsignor Burke with a plaque in tribute to his dedicated and generous service to boyhood. His address, "A Tribute to Monsignor Burke," is an eloquent testimony to the monsignor's unselfishness and devotion to today's youth, and I am privileged to be able to present it here for the attention of my colleagues:

A TRIBUTE TO MONSIGNOR BURKE

In a world torn with strife, bogged down with inaction and problemed from within it's refreshing to have your discipleship a part of our community.

Quoting from the Gospel according to John, Jesus appears to his Disciples and in speaking to Simon Peter asks him, "Simon Peter, do you love me?" and Peter replied, "Yes Lord you know that I love you." Jesus said to him, "Feed my lambs." A second time he said to him, "Simon son of John, Do you love me?" Peter replied, "Of course, Lord, I love you." Jesus said, "Tend my sheep." Finally, the third time he asked Simon Peter, "Do you love me," and although Peter was grieved, he replied, "Lord, you know everything, you know I love you." Jesus said, "Feed my sheep."

Monsignor Burke you are tending and feeding our lambs and sheep. You are answering our Lord's request. You are doing good and great things with action, you are a "Do-er" and your "Golden Deeds," in so many ways, help our young and old. You are not out making apologies for America—You are encouraging, nourishing and enriching the lives of so many young boys and girls. You are providing leadership to many young boys and girls. You are providing leadership to many young boys in Lawrence. You are sponsoring and making available "Scouting" for all our boys and these boys' lives are being oriented toward good citizenship. These boys are learning the Scout Law and oath and they will make fine Americans because you care.

I've been thrilled to see you here at the Greater Lawrence Regional Vocational Technical High School, late at night when a dance was in progress—just checking on the well being of our youth. Your warm body and Christ like attitude gives all of us courage. You represent a youth movement of your own. You are a great man and Christ's own disciple.

North Essex Council Boy Scouts of America is proud to present this plaque for all you have done and for all your assistance.

May God Bless you now and always.

THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP CZECH PEOPLE

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I receive copies of letters written to the Palo Alto Times by Mr. Julius Epstein of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University, in my congressional district.

A letter by Mr. Epstein which recently appeared in the Palo Alto Times raises some very interesting points regarding the type of assistance which we could give to the Czech people in their desire to democratize within a Communist regime.

The letter follows:

THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP CZECH PEOPLE

EDITOR OF THE TIMES:

Since there can be no doubt that the events in Czechoslovakia indicate the most important and most hopeful development within the East European Communist bloc outside the Soviet Union proper, the question arises what the American government is going to do to encourage the Czech people in their admirable and immensely courageous struggle for "democratization within a Communist regime."

Two things should and could be done immediately: to return the paltry $20 million in gold held by our government since 1945 and the offering of a new kind of Marshall plan to the new regime in Prague. As we remember well, Stalin forced Jan Masaryk to reject the American Marshall plan aid offered in 1948.

Secondly, and even more important, would be the offer to the Czech "liberals" who are now in power in Prague the conclusion of an American-Czech Cultural Exchange Agreement.

The Soviet government could not denounce the Czechs as "lackeys of imperialist Wall Street" since such cultural exchange agreements existed between the USSR and the U.S. for the last 10 years.

Whereas the value of the cultural exchange agreements between the USSR and the U.S. can reasonably be questioned, no doubt exists about the usefulness of a similar U.S.-Czech agreement. In this case, both countries would certainly be the true beneficiaries of such an agreement. The agreement should provide the intensive exchanges of scholars, students and artists—from symphony orchestras to jazz bands as well as art exhibitions, theatrical groups and plain tourists—and all this on a rather broad and generous basis.

It stands to reason that the present Czech regime under Dubcek's leadership would never try to infiltrate Communist agents into the U.S. as the Soviet government repeatedly did when it sent its ballets and circuses to the United States, not to mention its diplomats at the United Nations.

A cultural exchange agreement between the United States and the new Czechoslovakia would be of immense importance in cementing a real friendship between the peoples of the two countries. The final results of such policy of a genuine rapprochement between the two peoples cannot even be guessed at present time.

May I express the hope that there is somebody in the White House as well as in the Department of State with enough imagination to tackle the task, to use a current slogan, "right now!"

JULIUS EPSTEIN.

PALO ALTO.

FORMATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently a group of air traffic controllers throughout the United States formed a much needed organization, which hereafter will be known as the Professional Air Traffic Controllers.

I am very pleased to see the air traffic controllers establish this organization which will provide a unified voice to deal with their many problems.

Few Americans realize what a tremendously important role the traffic controllers at a major airport play in keeping the airlines operating and maintaining the highest standards of safety in the control of airway traffic.

I was pleased to see a large contingent from Chicago's O'Hare Field Tower participate in the formation of this much needed organization.

The traffic control operators at O'Hare Field are probably the most unique group of workers in this country. I do not know of anyone who works under heavier pressure than the men in the O'Hare Tower and the Aurora Control Center—the world's busiest airport.

These men handle more than 2,500 operations a day at O'Hare and at certain times they have four or five runways going at one time. It borders on the incredible that these human beings can perform their duties with such precision and excellence.

Too long have the needs of these men been lost in the mainstream of demands by all the employees of the Federal Government when, indeed, these particular workers' problems and needs are unique and apart from any other group of Federal employees.

PATCO will give these men a unified voice to bring a higher standard of respect and remuneration for their high dedication to duty and better working conditions.

I am today including in the RECORD a speech by Attorney F. Lee Bailey, delivered recently at the Americana Hotel in New York City when this organization was first founded.

Mr. Bailey has put into proper perspective the work of these human computers who keep this Nation's biggest transportation system functioning with the least amount of interruptions, other than those created by weather conditions which are beyond their control.

Attorney Bailey's speech follows:

Mr. F. LEE BAILEY. Thank you very kindly, not only for your reception, but for coming. I hope that in my youth I have the good sense to avoid attempting to compete with Red Baron (Mr. Arthur Godfrey) sitting over on my left. I too recognize the beauties that are in this room but I will not attempt to supervene his comment on them, because I am sure it can't be bested.

I shall not keep you long, most of you are executives of one type or another and I think that the message can be short and sweet and yet clear.

The reason for asking you to join us this evening and to come around where personal contact was possible was simply this: there are all kinds of communication in the United States; the telephone is nice, telegrams are nice, magazines are nice, but there is nothing like a face-to-face confrontation. We do not settle disputes at remote distances or through the impersonal medium of a narrative statement that cannot be questioned or contravened.

The Professional Air Traffic Controllers organization which was indeed launched six weeks ago was not more than an idea, but it was such an overwhelming idea that it is literally sweeping the profession and will continue to do so.

Statistically it is provable beyond any shadow of a doubt. There is a great deal of unrest among Controllers. It is justified by the circumstances and they are going to move. I was very happy when I was originally asked to consul with them about the formation of an organization that they did not approach the matter from a rable-rousing, union point of view wherein they could get what they wanted simply because they wanted it and because everybody else was getting it.

They spoke first of their responsibility, and their responsibilities are not only extreme but they are exclusive. By the same token, so is their control.

The word "air traffic control" has now become an integral part of commerce and life in the United States and it will not diminish.

If a long time ago when the many of you among us tonight used to fly, the low frequency range was our only salvation. In the hope that we could distinguish an "A" signal from an "N", the controller merely stood by and listened to where we said we thought we were and he hoped that we were right so that the other guys reporting a different position wouldn't run into us. But times have changed. The duties of the pilot have not gone down, but up. He is a man of integrity and he has great respect, justifiably so. In the United States he is an exciting individual who can do something that most of the citizens can't do: he can fly an airplane. But he knows, as I know, because I do it many, many hours every month, that from the time we light the engines and get on ground control until the time we reach our destination and turn off the switch from ground control, that we are directed by somebody to make every single move.

That somebody is particularly a man who is not very old. He has a background, we hope, as a controller in the military—this is where most of them come from. There is a thought that many are pilots; some are, many are not. He has the responsibility and the only responsibility for making sure that we don't run into one another, and as we view the New York traffic situation today or Chicago, if you like, or Los Angeles, or many of the other high density zones, that responsibility is becoming overwhelming to the point where it can rip human minds apart.

Now, we all know the consequence of a mistake on the part of the controller. We ask of him mental strain that we would not accept. We put at least two experienced qualified men in the cockpit of every large airplane that is complex and difficult to fly, where mistakes are never forgiven, only recorded in twisted metal, but in between the take-off and the landing we are given some respite. We can drink a cup of coffee, we have an auto pilot to help us out and we are allowed to generally relax.

The controller will sit for two, four, six or even eight hours on his scope taking hand-offs and putting them on the ground at the rate of 30 at any given time, which is not only unreasonable but it could become something more than that.

It is not the purpose of this organization to try to create any state of panic to accomplish its ends. It does not contend that danger runs rampant through the system, but it does accept and it will discharge the responsibility to announce what the conditions are.

This is not a responsibility that can be excepted, as has been demonstrated by the upper echelons of the bureaucracy known as the FAA.

The only people who know when an airplane is safe to fly or unsafe is the pilot, the man who controls, not the presidents of the companies who own the airplane. And by the same token, the only people who know whether or not the system can accommodate the traffic that is thrust into it or whether it must reject some to attain a margin of safety to which we, as pilots and passengers, are entitled are the people who are working every day on what we call "the boards."

The boards are the radarscopes with the flight strips sitting next to them where airplanes are moved from New York to Chicago to Miami or anywhere across the country.

This is not to suggest that the Organization is interested only in the high density zones; a controller is a controller and if he is not a good man, it is small consolation to tell the widow that it was a Piper Cub accident, not a 707. Small airports with control towers need the same level of efficiency because emergencies are never programmed, they always happen out of turn.

The controllers say that they are in trouble; they have evidence that they are in trouble. They have called this meeting to explain to you what their troubles are, to get your reactions as representatives of other areas of the aviation industry and more than that to get your cooperation.

They are the sole experts in that area which involves the radarscopes, and the visual aids that they have from the tower, in order to guarantee you safe passage wherever you must go.

By the same token, you in your various fields are the sole experts to complement that function wherein together hopefully on each occasion a successful passage is made.

The key to the theme of this Organization is posted behind me. We will very shortly have in print for those who were unable to attend that have interest, a national magazine called the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Journal, for the first issue at least. This is a proposed cover and probably very close to the final result, but the thing that you see there and the thing that you see hanging behind me is symbolic of what is involved; that is to say, an airplane in flight is a partnership between a group in the cockpit and a group on the ground, and the failure of either can result in disaster. It need not and should not, but we are approaching the breaking point in many areas.

The air traffic control is our diminishing lot; the government is not able to hire new men who have the necessary youth, vigor, intelligence, ability, and this is a job of high skill and resilience—the key to an air traffic controller—because without resilience he'll pull off his head-phones and throw them through the radar scope and run out screaming and wind up in Bellevue. He must be able to take pressure in tremendous amounts or he cannot do his job. There is no rule or law or directive from the FAA, which directs how many planes may arrive at a given point at a given time. They arrive spontaneously because they chose to go there. It does not appear that there is going to be such a rule tomorrow. At any time he may suddenly be hit with 30 targets he didn't intend to have and his responsibility is to get them down because we know from Isaac Newton that every airplane that takes off is going to come down. Our hope is that it will land on its rubber.

The reason for recruitment being as bad as it is has been recently demonstrated by a panic program to get more controllers in areas where they are dropping like flies; that is to say, far more than half or those who are hired for one reason or another are not satisfactory. They quit because they don't like the job, it is not attractive to them or they are not qualified and, therefore, forced out.

But some are not forced out. The controllers upon whom your lives depend and who are represented here tonight not only from New York but from all over the United States, the top controllers called GS-12s and some 13s, the ones who assume the ultimate responsibility of the minute-to-minute action that cannot be supervened by any other authority, who being administrators are no longer qualified to operate what we have called the "Board," will tell you and tell you very frankly that incompetent help is being seated beside them, and that although now they maintain the margin of safety, tomorrow that incompetent help will be taking over and that's not good enough.

They will also say that although there can be no excuse for giving less than the best, because we who have airplanes have only the best equipment and know what's at stake, they have far less than the best and they have equipment which is not adequate to meet the needs of the job that they have to do.

The reason that they don't have better equipment is because nobody apparently has had the impetus to make sure that they get it. It's available, the manufacturers know how to make it; what's available is at least three times as good as what is in operation, but it has not been installed.

Now, Congress is like any other body; I assume it has to oil the wheel that squeaks the loudest. This wheel is going to squeak. There are two alternatives, and one is to wait until the trouble is so serious that a crisis has been invited and has arrived. This is not in my judgment the manner in which a professional organization ought to act. They have the same duties to the moving American public that a doctor has to medicine and patients and that a lawyer has to society. They should forecast trouble if they can see it; if they do see it, they will mention it, and they are going to try to do something about it.

Their position is also this, and I think justifiably so, and I throw these ideas out because we very much want to hear from anybody who disagrees with them.

We cannot do very much without a firm liaison between the professional pilots, pilots of general aviation, the people who make the airplanes that plow through the system and they, by the way, are far superior—having in mind what is available—to the equipment on the ground that is intended to prevent them from meeting unexpectedly at altitudes unknown.

I have been to Atlanta. At Atlanta they have a system, although they say down there they would like to see it improved and the desire for improvement is healthy, it is so far beyond what a pilot coming into New York has for his insurance policy that I think it to be a disgraceful situation.

A common IFR room is being created in New York where all of the Kennedy, LaGuardia and Newark approach controls will move together in the hope that they can rescue one another where now separation of frequencies might prevent communication in time. Unfortunately, the equipment that will be installed in that room is not what is available. As a matter of fact, it is, in any instance, poorer than what is now operating.

A controller must look at a scope and he must view a number of targets. They all look alike unless he has asked one to identify himself, at least all within his area, and he must remember, simply through the forcing of will and memory, to imprint momentarily the identity, the altitude, and hopefully the heading and perhaps the speed of every unknown little blip that makes its way across the screen.

To watch a control tower and to accomplish this in an hour of peak traffic at Kennedy Airport where there are circling above 50 airplanes all demanding to land, asking to be put in sequence, and to remember everything that he sees is to gain new respect for the capacity of the human mind, but there is not need to abuse it so badly.

The controller now will tell you that at 40 years of age he feels he is on a sharp downgrade and that his career or his useful life has just about run its course, at least in the highest of pressure areas.

In Atlanta as one watches the scope a little tag follows along and says, "This is American 243, he is flying at 2000 feet, his ground speed is 340 knots," and his heading you can figure out. And the mental strain that is lifted thereby is fantastic.

The New York area is perhaps an apt example because it is the closest to great difficulty.

There are 2500 movements on the average day from three major New York airports and you know what they are.

The airspace that is available to handle each of them has become minimal.

To the northeast, to the north, the northwest, the west, south and southwest, all the air is gone. Politicians have spent much time arguing about where they should put another major jet port. None of them have bothered to contact the controllers who would be told that they would have to operate that jet port.

The controllers have decided that it is their responsibility to give advice and strong recommendations in this area, and if there is going to be another jet port, and there isn't time to build one any more because the controllers will not accept the annual increase in traffic at its present rate for in so doing they cannot guarantee the safety of those who enter the system, they have taken a very firm position that they will not tolerate any increases which represent a hazard.

A corollary to that is that either the traffic will halt—and I don't believe that any more than you do. If only 10 to 15 per cent of the American public has flown, the generation coming along is going to kick that up to 90. Air traffic will increase, not decrease. But it cannot increase here this way any more. It would take a number of years to put up a major new port, there isn't time to do that, it is time to open another one, and I use this only as an example, because this is not a New York club, it is involved with air traffic throughout the country and will become more and more involved in the months to come. I fully expect that within a very few months it will be the most solid and unified voice of Air Traffic Control that the United States has ever seen.

You can't put an airport in a place where you don't have air through which to fly airplanes to get in and out.

If New York has to have another one at the moment, there is one that is built that could handle all of the overseas traffic and alleviate rather simply the load that is placed on Kennedy and the other major terminals and it is sitting on the end of Long Island.

If somebody proposed to build another one without asking the Controllers whether or not it is feasible to use it, they may be wasting a lot of money. By the same token, probably because nobody ever thought of it, nobody ever came to a Controllers' group and said: "Is this practical with 18 runways going in different directions", how would you try to solve this problem?

Well, after you tried to get a 90-knot airplane out in front far enough of a 707, when you can point them both towards the outer marker, and not have one overrun the other and rule out the calculations and opportunities for mistakes involved, you begin to figure out that it will be nice to have two runways, one for 90 knots and one for 150 and those two will handle anything that is built in the United States or imported into it today; but nobody has asked, and from now on they will not have to ask, we will see that they are informed.

The Air Traffic Controllers feel, and again I think justifiably so, that in order to get the best men they must elevate their standards entirely. I do not mean by small increments such as unions visualize when they seek improvements in fringe benefits or income. I mean with one solid jump. They do not feel, and I do not feel as an attorney, that they can do this within the agency. They will in the near future approach Congress. They will ask for a new law. It will create a new Air Traffic Controller—although a grandfather clause certainly must cover those who are now in the business, because if they were all to walk out, the United States would be closed for business.

I can assure you that the Air Traffic Controller in the future should go to a college where air traffic control is taught. It is a complex business and the one that can be learned in part in the classroom.

The Air Traffic Controller should be a pilot. He is now reaching right into the cockpit, dictating headings, speed, altitude and coming up with lost airplanes from time to time. The only hope to get that airplane on the ground is that he can through his radio transmission dictate the moment by moment movement of the controls and get back from the pilot, panicked though he may be, enough information from the instrument panel to find out where he is and put him on the ground. That is the responsibility the Controllers are anxious to accept. At the moment, their opportunity to do so is sharply limited.

They feel, and I think the pilots feel, because I have talked with many of them, that hours that controllers spend in the cockpit cannot help but make them better qualified to do the jobs that they have to do, and more important, to make the decisions they must make in which the pilot cannot participate.

We all know that when holding at 6,000 feet over Colt's neck in the soup we haven't got the slightest power as pilots to avoid a collision with anything, but the controller has, and he is the one who sees that collision is avoided, and if it is not done and we are at our final altitude, the responsibility must be his, and fault, if there is failure. It is possible for an Air Traffic Controller to fly today, if he wants to give three weeks notice to go through a long batch of red tape, use his trip for a legitimate purpose in the judgment of some bureaucrat and not take too many each year.

An Air Traffic Controller ought, with the consent of the airline or other airplanes involved, whether it be a Biz jet, a corporate airplane or a private airplane, to fly anywhere anybody will have him simply to accumulate the hours and wisdom.

I have never seen an airline pilot that resented a controller in the jump-seat.

Quite to the contrary, it is heartening to fly over New York City at 2 or 3 in the morning to listen to the airplane pilot talking to the controllers about things that may be trivial, but at least to indicate one to the other the tremendous respect that runs between them.

I have never seen an airline that objected to carrying the extra 175 pounds in a 50-ton airplane, that is required to give a seat to a controller, and I think that they should fly anywhere any time that is feasible for those who would carry them to permit it—that they should log those hours and that they should have a minimum standard so that just like pilots they must spend some time in order to know the difference between a gyro horizon and a manifold pressure gauge.

This information is useful to them when they ask one airliner to slow down or a small plane to speed up and maintain 160 knots, a decision critical to the entire pattern on the radarscope and of great moment to the pilot who stalls out at 159.

Now, by raising these qualifications, they are going to have to raise the attraction to become a controller.

Most of them are, of course, dedicated men and they say, "Yes, you know things aren't too good, but I wouldn't be happy if I weren't controlling aircraft."

On the other hand, it is not simply to increase personal status but an observation that things are getting very, very tight.

I suppose because of the initial acceleration of the kickoff of this Organization, which you might assume is a matter of business logic, appeal to a group that was ripe for something and had spent too many years hoping, but getting nothing seeing progress slowed down, that the initial conscription rate which has been at the major facilities we have so far seen, being New York, Washington, Chicago, Miami, Minneapolis, Los Angeles and last night Cleveland running 85 per cent, is a strong endorsement that the ideas advanced by the initial group which caused the formation of this Organization are attractive to all and they are behind it and they will stay behind it.

Our desire to cooperate with everybody in the industry is perfectly sincere. There have been rumors I know, because I have gotten them in the feed-back—and it is fortunate, thank goodness, that I have an investigative Bureau—that this is a Teamster front, that it is an attempt by Castro to take over the United States, and they are the things that business men after too many Martinis are apt to listen to with an attentive ear when they should be laughing; but it is no more than we have said it is: Air Traffic Controllers, and only Air Traffic Controllers, I don't mean the supervisors who check them in and out, I don't mean the people who learn the business some day, but this organization is the voice of the men who do the controlling and for them there is no substitute.

Now, we know that there are problems and controversies which arise between the views of the professional pilots who know that only so many movements can be tolerated in a day in a given airport, and feel that those movements should be dedicated to the airplane that moves the most people at one time—and the representatives of general aviation who feel that there should be maintain unfettered the rights of a citizen to take his own plane and land at any airport that he needs to go to for business or otherwise; and certainly right in the middle of this controversy sits the Controller. They have said to me, "If you give me the concrete and the equipment we will land every plane that wants to come in." But they don't have the concrete and the equipment. The lines of communication must be kept open; there is no way any more to have aviation in the United States without a controller hooked into it 50 per cent of the time, 60 per cent of the time, and when it is IFR, 100 per cent of the time. And we are very hopeful that we will get substantial cooperation, and we extend it to everybody that we have invited here tonight.

We are also very hopeful that the aims of the organization will be correctly reported. It would be possible—do not think that this possibility is not viewed or understood—it would be possible to bring a tremendous pressure to accomplish these ends in panicky fashion.

The gentlemen that I represent do not choose to take that route, and if they did, I am satisfied that I would not choose to represent them.

One slow down in the New York area, and a slow down is defined as following FAA regulations, with the spacing required by those regulations, would cut the traffic in the New York area down to 60 per cent of its level.

It has been done by renegade movements, by discontented controllers in Los Angeles, in Chicago and in New York and its effects are disastrous, and that is not the answer. It is a demonstration much as Martin Luther King's march into Washington with many of the people who are dissatisfied. It is not the method of this group.

But, on the other hand, they have made it very clear among them, and I think that their position cannot be attacked, that *they* are the ones who will report; this is enough, this is as far as we can go.

If New York is to continue to expand, or Chicago, somebody will put in the three dimensional radar that is available. Somebody will furnish good and alert young men who can become controllers because this select group cannot be reamed out of society as we ream our juries out.

They are a select group just as pilots are, and that will be done by making reasonable working conditions at attractive salaries to people—who will not go otherwise—because Air Traffic Control has something to offer.

As of the moment, everybody in New York is on a six-day work week. Pilots are limited to 80 hours flying, and I think wisely so. I fly 80 hours a month, and if I did nothing else I suppose that would be a month's work.

But we do not know because no one has ever run an intelligent and well-documented psychological study of whether or not there is a safety limit as to the work of controllers at which point efficiency begins to give way to fatigue. Perhaps a 48-hour week is feasible and perhaps it is not. We will accomplish such a study on our own and we will pay for it and then we will rely on it.

These are some of the things that we will report to the Congress when we ask for a sweeping change in the Law.

There is a maximum in aircraft instructions and you pilots know it well.

Some people can fly Piper cubs, some people can fly light twins, some people can fly the Lear jets and some people can fly 707s. Presumptively some day we will have people who can fly the SST, but at a given level some pilots drop off, not because they don't know aviation, not because they don't know what the controls look like and feel like, but because they can no longer keep up with the airplane. It moves too fast and their ability to think, reason and decide begins to fall behind the movement of the machine.

We see it happen all the time trying to transition people from light aircraft into a Lear jet, as I have to do.

There is no such thing as being "with" an airplane.

You are ahead of it or you are behind it, and when you are behind it, the only communication that will be useful will be with the life insurance representative, the attorney who has your will and the funeral director.

It perhaps would be unfair to say, because it could be misinterpreted by the public and hurt aviation generally, which the controllers have absolutely no desire to do—but to the contrary, that we are behind the system—that we are perilously close to being even with it in certain areas and being even with it is a fiction that means you can handle everything but the emergency; and we should handle the emergencies and handle them well.

I put to you an example: Some time ago Eastern Airlines and Trans World met unfortunately at the same place at the same time and the usual result occurred. TWA lost half a wing and through some highly skillful heroics on the part of its pilot, landed successfully; and Eastern landed in a wooded area, fortunately, and unfortunately some people did not get out of it.

One of the airplanes apparently, and I do not attempt to evaluate the accident report which is on file, was not at the right altitude, and it is possible to say that no controller can be held responsible for that as long as the tape shows that he achieved with his instructions the desired separation. But is this really the answer? I think it is not.

The controller relies today exclusively on what the pilot tells him as to its altitude and then he must remember it and when he sees two targets cross, he must rely on his memory that they are separated vertically, although not horizontally.

We have had pilots, and we know about it, reporting 10,000 feet off their attitude by misreading altimeters. The controller usually is helpless to disagree with that or check the error, but if our controller back during that accident had had the equipment that he could now have, if somebody had put it in, he would have seen, no matter what the pilot thought he heard, that two airplanes both indicating on the scope the same altitude were about to have an unhappy encounter and could have prevented that.

I think that every accident of that size that can be prevented—or even two Piper cubs—is worth whatever investment is necessary. I realize that the War in Vietnam is important and that we must contribute substantial funds for it, but as long as the people who run the country are among the 10 per cent who fly, and so long as American citizens are given some sort of assurance that when they enter an airplane and feel it leave the runway they know it will get back down safely, there is no excuse whatsoever for going second best in the business of air traffic control.

The equipment now used is second best. The controllers coming in to replace the ones who have formed this Organization are second best, and that is the way we are pointed at the moment. If any of you should see in the future that the Controllers have said not only to authorities but also publicly, "This airport will not have more than X landings per hour period", you will know that at least the message was laid down this evening here in New York. That will not be an effort to demonstrate. It is an undesirable result for everybody. It is not in some areas very far away.

It is the responsibility and the duty of every controller to stop before we have gone too far and he will do so.

If someone directs him to accept five more airplanes per hour than he says he can handle, and that is his decision alone, just as the pilot holds the decision as to what speed he will use over the fence or on climb out, then the name of the man will be properly emblazoned, and whether or not the order is followed if a crash occurs, that name will be reported infamously in history.

I rather think that however powerful superior representatives of agencies or other areas from whence directives come may be, it is unlikely that that order will ever be given, whether or not it may be obeyed.

We hope very much because being good fellows and realistic Americans, we will, of course, reopen the bar immediately after this short meeting is over, that we hear from everybody that is interested in air traffic control and I know that you would not be here unless you were.

We will make available to all of you the first issue without even your having to ask for the copy of our Journal. We hope, and it must go to press within thirty days, because it is the vehicle by means of which we will initially inform all of these people in outlying areas that we cannot directly visit what this organization is, what its aims are and what its limits are and the nature of its professional level.

We hope that you will look through it, and we also hope to have by then the ideas of the aviation industry, the professional pilots, the general aviation, the Air Transport Association, indeed everyone who has any concern with this, and especially those in the Congress who must shoulder the ultimate responsibility of deciding what will be done to remedy a situation that is in trouble now.

At any time I hope that any of you will ask for meetings, discussions—we can dig committees out of the Air Traffic Controllers that you never heard of. As I said, they are resilient, they have shown me—because they have exhausted me in the process—working twenty-eight hours a day, that means that they are sleeping coming up with an idea. But this is an immediate thing; it isn't an idea for a future great society of Air Traffic Controllers. it is intended to be a steam-roller and will remedy a situation that threatens to crop up faster than it can be handled. To the extent that their responsibility is involved, they have assumed it and they will implement it. if I may borrow a term that I hate from Govermental Memoranda: They need your help in doing so just as you need theirs.

When the time comes to put a bill into the Congress we will furnish evidence describing the form of testimony that I have told you tonight. I am very hopeful that most of you who are professionally involved in aviation from any avenue are in agreement, because somebody is going to call upon you to support or contradict that testimony.

There isn't a man here who doesn't owe his life at one time or another to an Air Traffic Controller, and we hope when the time comes you will remember that fact and not let them down.

The best assurance you have in addition to the superiority of your machinery and the skills upon which you rely is the direction which you receive at a time when your vision is limited to about three feet; that is the distance between the pilot and the instrument panel.

We want to thank you all very much for coming.

PFC. JEFFREY SEGAL, U.S. ARMY, KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that one of my constituents, Pfc. Jeffrey B. Segal, U.S. Army, of Carmel, N.Y., died last month in Vietnam.

I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by inserting herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the following article from the White Plains, N.Y., Reporter Dispatch, May 31, 1968:

PFC. JEFFREY SEGAL IS KILLED IN VIETNAM

CARMEL.—A Carmel High School senior, Mrs. Theresa A. Segal, 53 Gleneida Ave., has been notified by the Department of the Army that the soldier she married last November was killed in action in Vietnam on May 21.

While attending school in Carmel the 18-year-old girl has been residing with her mother, Mrs. Ralph Balzano.

Pfc. Jeffrey B. Segal, 20, Co. "C," 1st Bn, 6th Inf., Americal Division, fell before enemy machine gun fire during action in the Central area of the Vietnamese Republic according to the Army authorities. Notification to the widow, and to the soldier's mother, Mrs. William J. Murphy, a summer resident at Lake Carmel was made Saturday evening by Capt. Richard Clarke of the U.S. Army Garrison at West Point.

The soldier's military records indicate he graduated from DeWitt Clinton High School in New York, that he was inducted into the service from New York City and that his father is deceased.

Pending arrival of the soldier's remains in this country, members of the family are planning funeral services in the city; a memorial service at St. James the Apostle R.C. Church in Carmel with interment at St. Lawrence O'Toole Cemetery in Brewster.

NATURAL GAS PIPELINE SAFETY BILL

HON. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a recent event which—if it was not so tragedy laden—would be comical. As it stands, it is a matter of the greatest irony, especially as the House of Representatives will shortly be considering a weakened and watered-down version of the natural gas pipeline safety bill.

Last weekend I was shocked to pick up the newspapers and read that at the recent annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Gas Association, the Equitable Gas Co. of Pittsburgh received an industry safety award only a few months after five of its employees were killed in a natural gas explosion and shortly after it was named as a defendant in a $1.5 million suit arising from another fatal gas explosion last November.

This award to the Equitable Gas Co. for "achieving an outstanding on-the-job safety record" shows that the natural gas industry does not know what constitutes safety and that it feels that deaths, in small numbers, are an acceptable byproduct of their industry.

It is certainly ironic after five members of an Equitable Gas crew were fatally injured in a January 1968 blast at Ingram, a Pittsburgh suburb, and after the loss of life in another explosion in Washington County last November, that the company could be praised by the Pennsylvania Gas Association for being one of the six safest natural gas companies in the State.

If this is considered to be a safety-conscious company by the gas industry then the industry is admitting it has a very poor concept of what the word means. This points out why the House of Representatives must not buckle under to the strong and subtle industry lobby which has succeeded in diluting the natural gas pipeline safety bill in the House. We must band together and make every effort to strengthen it by amendments on the floor.

The original pipeline safety bill as passed by the Senate was an excellent piece of legislation. It had the approval of the President, the Secretary of Transportation, and Miss Betty Furness, the President's adviser on consumer problems. The bill as reported out by the House committee was so weakened by the natural gas industry special interest lobbyists that it no longer has the approval of the administration.

I hope all my colleagues will band together when the bill does come up so that we can strengthen and return it to its original respectable form.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA SCOTTISH HIGHLANDERS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the University of Iowa Scottish Highlanders have long been a part of the campus scene at Iowa City. They have performed before thousands of people at football games, on trips in this country and abroad.

Recently they centered the competition at the Kansas Highland Festival and did very well.

The student newspaper at the University of Iowa, the Daily Iowan, tells about the Highlanders' accomplishments at Kansas City:

HIGHLANDERS MARCH AWAY WITH HONORS AT FESTIVAL

The University Scottish Highlanders marched away with a number of honors at the Kansas City Highland Festival, it was announced Tuesday by Al McIvor, director of the all-girl bagpipe band.

Forty-two members of the band competed in the Highland Games held May 18 and 19 in Kansas City. Pipe bands from throughout the U.S. and Canada and more than 10,000 spectators attended the event.

Honors went to Barbara Brewer, A4, Clarinda, who placed first in drum major competition, and Bonnie Luzius, A3, Fairview Park, Ohio, who received a first, a second and two third places in dancing competition. Miss Luzius competed with a sprained ankle.

The group also fielded an eight-member minature band which received a rank of 7 out of 10 competing units, McIvor said. This was the first time the coeds had ever marched in miniature band form.

The Highlanders were the only girls to enter competition. Miss Brewer, who has led the group for four years, found her reception in the drum major competition rather cool. "I was the only girl in the seven contestants," she remarked, adding that "one man asked me if I was really going through with it and another told me that if I was really going to compete I better 'strengthen my bloody bonnet'.

"The men were all very military-like," she recalls, "and didn't even smile. They put me in the middle of the line so the judges couldn't see me." But Miss Brewer had the last laugh.

Members of the miniature band were pipers Cynthia MacLaren, A2, Hickman, Ky.; Cynthia Waddell, A1, Marysville, Mich.; Terry Seaton, A3, Seaton, Ill.; Margo Lawson, A2, Raleigh, N.C.; and Pam Klocksiem, A4, Rockwell City. The two snare drummers were Marcia Nice, A3, Sterling, Ill. and Mary Murphy, A1, Ida Grove, Karen Rummells, A3, West Branch was bass drummer.

The Kansas City Highland Games were sponsored by the St. Andrew Society, an international Scottish organization.

COURTS OF CHANGE AND REVOLUTION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the rulings of the Federal courts in recent weeks would indicate not only that the judges can not read the law or Constitution but that they do not even know what they are doing—a theoretical jurisprudence without any direction.

Who ever heard of judges striking down "freedom of choice" because someone failed to exercise his freedom? Can freedom be made mandatory and still be freedom? Sounds like Castro's voluntary slave labor cane cutters.

Landlords lose control of their own property if an eviction is charged as retaliatory.

And State courts must tax their people with the additional expense of jury trials in misdemeanor cases if, as the judges feel, "a possible penalty is a serious crime?"

What constitutional laws or concepts could have expelled this imagination.

But Mr. Warren and his ivory-tower circle—possibly oblivious to the crime and revolution about us—take no action for law and order to retain sanity.

We can but deduce they know what they are doing and desire more violence and chaos in our land.

If the tenants have a free hand against retaliatory landlords—then free people must react against retaliatory judges.

And now the murdered victim is to be refused a fair trial by the State, being forced to accept objectors to the death penalty on the jury. The law is being eroded backward to where the individual need mete out justice or justice is denied.

How much longer do they think the American public will allow unelected judges to free the guilty and punish the innocent—judges in solemn black robes executing civilization.

I include news articles from the Evening Star for May 27 and May 29, 1968, the Times-Picayune of New Orleans for May 25, and the Evening Star for May 18 and 19, and June 3, 1968, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 27, 1968]

SUPREME COURT CURBS FREE-CHOICE SCHOOLS

The Supreme Court held today that so-called "freedom of choice" school plans are inadequate methods for desegregation where another reasonably available means will accomplish it more effectively.

Although the tribunal stopped short of prohibiting such plans altogether, the decision set out a new, stepped-up command for effective public school desegregation efforts in Southern states.

"The burden on a school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work and promises realistically to work now," Justice William J. Brennan Jr. said in the unanimous opinion.

"Although the general experience under 'freedom of choice' to date has been such as to indicate its ineffectiveness as a tool of desegregation, there may well be instances in which it can serve as an effective device," Brennan said.

"On the other hand," he said, "if there are reasonably available other ways, such for illustration as zoning, promising speedier conversion to a unitary, nonracial school system, 'freedom of choice' must be held unacceptable."

The new school desegregation guideline, announced 14 years after the high court's historic 1954 school decision, was set forth in a packet of opinions in cases from New Kent County, Va.; Gould, Ark., and Jackson, Tenn.

In New Kent County, a rural area in eastern Virginia, one of the only two schools still is all Negro. The other has 519 white pupils and 115 Negroes.

"In other words, the school system remains a dual system," Brennan said.

Brennan said school officials must try a more effective method.

He said that drawing a line across a county, assigning pupils on one side of the county to one school and those on the other side of the county to the other facility, would achieve a "unitary, nonracial system . . . with a minimum of administrative difficulty."

The school board's obligation, Brennan said, is to formulate a new plan which promises realistically "to convert promptly to a system without a 'white' school and a 'Negro' school, but just schools."

In Gould, Ark., 304 white and 71 Negro students attend one school complex under a "freedom of choice" plan while all the rest of the county's Negro students attend a second, all Negro complex.

Brennan, in this decision, also called for development of some other plan, such as a zoning approach, to promptly achieve a unitary, nonracial system.

The Jackson, Tenn., case dealt with a "free transfer" school plan that the high court held operated like the two "freedom of choice" plans and was inadequate as a desegregation tool.

Brennan did not indicate what degree of integration would satisfy the court's new desegregation requirement.

In the New Kent County and Gould rulings, however, the facts of the cases made it clear that an acceptable plan must do more than move a comparatively small percentage of Negro students to a formerly all white school, while still leaving their former school all Negro.

The approach taken by the justices today is substantially what they were asked to do two months ago by the Justice Department and the NAACP legal defense fund during oral arguments in the three cases.

Both groups stopped short of condemning "freedom of choice" plans outright, but urged that school boards be placed under a duty to fashion plans that would effectively bring about an end to racially identifiable schools.

Today's decision will require a reassessment in many Southern localities that have included "freedom of choice" plans to insure continued federal school aid.

The court announced these other actions today:

INDIANS

The right of Indians to avoid state game laws under old treaty provisions was upheld in one case, while in another the court declared that state conservation laws should apply to Indians along with other state citizens.

In the first case, the court affirmed 6–2 a Court of Claims decision that the Menomi-
due for the loss of these rights.
nee Tribe in Wisconsin continues to have termination of an 1854 treaty. The court denied the Indians' claims they said were unlimited hunting and fishing rights despite

In the other case, involving two other tribes, Justice William O. Douglas wrote a 9–0 opinion holding that the Indians' right to fish is subject to Wisconsin conservation laws "reasonable and necessary for the preservation of the fishery."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 29, 1968]

MADDOX LOWERS FLAG IN PROTEST

ATLANTA.—Gov. Lester Maddox draped the U.S. Constitution in black and lowered flags to half-staff yesterday to protest the U.S. Supreme Court's latest school desegregation ruling.

"This is another attack by the U.S. Supreme Court that is bringing violence, death, communism and the welfare state that is destroying our country," Maddox said in an irate speech in front of a flagpole on the lawn of the state capitol.

The Supreme Court on Monday curbed the use of freedom-of-choice desegregation plans that are widely used in the South.

[From the New Orleans (La.) Times-Picayune, May 25, 1968]

ANY REASON WHY ATTORNEY GENERAL CAN'T AVOID COURT TIEUP?

The U.S. Supreme Court last Monday remanded to Louisiana a "simple battery" case with the stipulation that it must be tried by jury (rather than by a judge, as this was) because an offense carrying a possible penalty of two years in jail was a "serious crime" and not a "petty offense."

Attorney General Jack P. F. Gremillion averred that the decision would slow the criminal courts of the state "to a standstill." We believe he is largely correct—unless prompt legislative action is taken to relieve the condition. Some of the work of the courts would continue since some small percentage of these cases provide for relative small penalties of less than six months or a year. Some few defendants who have the option of a jury trial might waive it. But since most so-called "misdemeanor" cases call for sentences with maximums of a year or more, the criminal courts processes certainly would be largely paralyzed. Obviously that would be a tragic state of affairs, especially in this time of an upsurging crime incidence.

But we believe that Attorney General Gremillion, with the cooperation of the Legislature, now in meeting, can avert the courts tie-up. His office would have to work with diligence and haste, but what is wrong with these in an emergency situation?

After reading the full court decision, it strikes us that the following course offers a way out:

1. Make minor revisions in about 50 sections of the criminal code to reduce the maximum jail sentences for misdemeanors to six months, or at any rate, less than a year.

2. Rewrite the five-man jury article (for felonies not necessarily punishable at hard labor) to require that misdemeanor cases where the penalty is more than six months shall be tried by such a jury. (That would seem to meet requirements in the few types of serious misdemeanors for which it was desirable to retain maximum sentence of more than the six months.)

We believe the attorney general should, after studying the decision text, consider the practicability of such a course of simple rewriting.

The taxpayers should not be called on to stand the expense of a special legislative session to adjust the criminal code, if that can be done by prompt action now.

The bills should be presented by Tuesday night's deadline for introductions. If they cannot be presented by that time, they can be admitted a little later with the consent of a two-thirds vote of each house of the Legislature.

Without drawing any clear border between serious and petty crimes, the court said that any offense subject to a maximum penalty of two years in jail was a jury case under the requirements of the Constitution. It prescribed no firm guidelines but did comment "that there appear only two instances, aside from the Louisiana scheme, in which the state denies jury trial for a crime punishable by imprisonment for longer than six months." It added that the federal maximum for nonjury trial is six months. The court did not frown on the use of the five-man jury as Louisiana uses it, though it did mention that only two states employed it.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 18, 1968]

Retaliatory Evictions Illegal, U.S. Court of Appeals Says

(By William Basham)

The U.S. Court of Appeals, in a split decision yesterday, forbade retaliatory evictions of tenants who report housing code violations.

Sidestepping constitutional issues, the majority held that the tenant's right to complain of housing violations without fear of eviction is implied in the District's housing codes. The court ordered a new trial for a woman who was not allowed to try to prove in a lower court that her eviction stemmed from her housing complaints.

The opinion, a major decision in landlord-tenant relations, said that "while the landlord may evict for any legal reason or for no reason at all, he is not, we hold, free to evict in retaliation for his tenant's report of housing code violations to the authorities.

"As a matter of statutory construction and for reasons of public policy, such an eviction cannot be permitted."

The ruling was written by Judge J. Skelly Wright, with Judge Carl McGowan concurring in part. Judge John A. Danaher dissented.

DECISION HAILED

Many low-income tenants have complained that they face retaliatory evictions if they report housing code violations to the District government. A spokesman for the Neighborhood Legal Service Project, hailing the decision, said tenants evicted after complaining to the housing office can now press this argument in court.

The case decided by the court began three years ago when Mrs. Yvonne Edwards claimed that her lease on a rented home at 770 Irving St. NW was terminated by her landlord because she reported housing violations on the property to the District's Department of Licenses and Inspections.

In the lower courts, Mrs. Edwards was not given the right to introduce evidence to try to show that her landlord, Nathan Habib, was retaliating. The lower courts held that under the housing code, Habib did not have to give a reason for eviction under the 30-day rental agreement.

Her attorney, Brian M. Olmstead of the Neighborhood Legal Services Project, argued that retaliatory evictions violate a tenant's 1st Amendment right to petition his government. But the appeals court said it did not have to address itself to that question.

RIGHT APPLIED

The appellate court wrote that Congress did not intend the right to petition to be stifled when it approved the District's housing codes. The court said the right was implied, and ordered a new trial for Mrs. Edwards in the Court of General Sessions with instructions to permit evidence on the question of whether the eviction was retaliatory.

Wright further commented: "In light of the appalling condition and shortage of housing in Washington, the expense of moving, the inequality of bargaining power between tenant and landlord and the social and economic importance of assuring at least minimum standards in housing conditions, we do not hesitate to declare that retaliatory evictions cannot be tolerated."

In his dissent, Judge Danaher condemned practices such as retaliatory evictions, but said that the majority went too far in outlining the court's power over a landlord's property.

Danaher said that if legal standards bearing on this type of complaint are too vague, Congress, rather than the courts, should provide legislation to correct the problem.

He cited a message to Congress last March by President Johnson, who recommended legislation "to prevent retaliatory evictions by landlords in the District."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, May 19, 1968]

ABA To Get Plea To Back High Court

The American Bar Association's Board of Governors will be asked this week to go to bat against proposed congressional restrictions on the Supreme Court.

The 21-man executive group is to meet here tomorrow, the day before the Senate is scheduled to vote on a five-part section of the Johnson administration's crime bill that would cut into the courts effort to extend constitutional rights.

Over the years the ABA has opposed attempts to limit jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The controversial section, chiefly the work of Sens. John L. McClellan, D-Ark., and Sam J. Ervin, D-N.C., represents the most serious effort in years to cut down the court and roll back its decisions.

Last month, ABA President Earl Morris wrote Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield and the members of the judiciary committee that the council of the ABA's section on criminal law had decided to oppose the proposed amendments and to ask the board of governors to go along.

The amendments, in the main, would take away the Supreme Court's authority to upset confessions accepted as valid by state courts, abolish federal habeas corpus jurisdiction over local criminal convictions and reverse Supreme Court decisions limiting use of confessions and police lineup identifications.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 3, 1968]

Justices Strike Down "Hanging Jury" Systems—High Court Also Gives Some Immunity to Teachers Who Criticize Officials

(By Dana Bullen)

The Supreme Court ruled today that the death penalty may not be imposed by juries that exclude persons possessing general objections or religious scruples against capital punishment.

"Whatever else might be said of capital punishment, it is at least clear that its imposition by a 'hanging jury' cannot be squared by the Constitution." Justice Potter Stewart said in an opinion for the court.

The opinion overturned the conviction and death penalty of a man convicted in the 1960 slaying of a Chicago, Ill. policeman. Three justices dissented.

In a second decision on a separate subject, the court held today that teachers in public schools have a limited immunity from discharge for making public statements critical of school authorities or their activities.

This ruling, delivered by Justice Thurgood Marshall, overturned an Illinois Supreme Court decision upholding the dismissal of a Lockport, Ill., teacher who wrote a letter to a newspaper accusing school officials of putting athletics and field equipment ahead of teachers' salaries and academic excellence.

A NARROW ISSUE

The opinion in the death penalty case leaves room for states to exclude persons with a fixed view against capital punishment.

It also did not deal with possible challenges of jurors who state that reservations about the death penalty would prevent them from deciding impartially the issue of guilt or innocence.

The narrower question decided by the justices thus represents only a limited inroad on the death penalty rather than a broad scale attack on capital punishment or the methods by which it is imposed.

Stewart said in the majority opinion that data before the court was too tentative and fragmentary to show that jurors not opposed to the death penalty tend to favor the prosecution in the determination of guilt.

Despite this, Stewart said, the practice followed in the Chicago case of William C. Witherspoon "fell woefully short" of the impartiality guaranteed defendants in criminal cases by the Constitution.

At the time of Witherspoon's trial in Chicago, state law provided that jurors could be removed if they said they had "conscientious scruples against capital punishment, or that (they are) opposed to the same."

In this way, Stewart said, the prosecution was afforded unlimited opportunity to exclude jurors who "might hesitate" to return a verdict of death.

In Witherspoon's case, nearly half of the prospective jurors were stricken for this reason. The jury that was finally empaneled convicted Witherspoon and sentenced him to death.

"In a nation less than half of whose people believe in the death penalty, Stewart said," a jury composed exclusively of such people cannot speak for the community.

"Culled of all who harbor doubts about the wisdom of capital punishment—of all who would be reluctant to pronounce the extreme penalty—such a jury can speak only for a distinct and dwindling minority," he said.

"In its quest for a jury capable of imposing the death penalty, the state produced uncommonly willing to condemn a man to die."

In a dissenting opinion, Justices Hugo L. Black, John Marshall Harlan and Byron R. White flatly rejected Stewart's contention that the Illinois practice had "stacked the deck" against Witherspoon.

"With all due deference, it seems to me that one might much more appropriately charge that this court has today written the law in such a way that the states are being forced to try their murder cases with biased juries," Black said.

"If this court is to hold capital punishment unconstitutional I think it should do so forthrightly, not by making it impossible for states to get juries that will enforce the death penalty," he said.

THE TEACHER CASE

In the decision in the Illinois teacher discharge case, Marshall indicated that there could be situations in which discharge of a teacher for statements critical of school officials might be justified.

"The problem in any case is to arrive at a balance between the interests of the teacher as a citizen, in commenting upon matters of public concern, and the interest of the state as an employer in promoting the efficiency of the public services it performs through its employees," Marshall said.

The opinion—from which White dissented in part—said "it is essential" that teachers be able to speak out freely on matters of public interest without fear of retaliatory dismissal.

In the Lockport case, the court said that the teacher involved, Marvin L. Pickering, had a sufficiently distant working relationship with the school officials be criticized so as to permit him to speak without interfering with the relationship.

In a closer working relationship, or under other circumstances involving possible impairment of school operations, Marshall indicated, a teacher's right to speak out might be less broad.

REPORT TO CONSTITUENTS

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following report to my constituents:

MEMO

FEDERAL SPENDING . . . Those of us who have urged restraint in government spending recognize that it is not the instant road to popularity. The easy way is to spend government money freely; then nobody has to be told that they can't have the federal funds they've been waiting for—for a sewer, a hospital, a loan, a grant, or what have you. The hard way is to vote to keep spending within reasonable bounds—which means that everybody cannot have everything they want all at the same time. The easy way—the way which seems to please the most people—is unfortunately the one which eventually hurts the most people. This is not to say that there are not government needs which must be met; there are and the meeting of them is a costly business which can be accomplished only with a sound, stable and productive economy. The ultimate result of federal spending without regard to the deficits created is to so weaken the economy that either drastic steps must be taken to cure its ills or it collapses into disaster.

COST . . . Furthermore, any responsible congressman, in voting on spending measures, ought to keep in mind that he is not spending his own money, that the government can only give away what it first takes in through taxes from its citizens and that taxes, no matter how devised, come largely out of the hide of John Q. Average Citizen. The price of big spending is big taxes, cutting heavily into take-home pay. When the big spending outraces big taxes to produce big deficits, the price is even higher. It is called "inflation" a fancy word for "I don't know what happened to last week's pay check."

INFLATION . . . Inflation is here—now. It is here simply because the Administration in power—for the last eight years—has pursued a policy of trying to please everybody while spending the nation billions of dollars into debt each year. (You name it; there's a federal program to start it, stop it, speed it or spread it.) As a result, prices are already going up at a rate of over 4 percent a year. People are paying 7–8 percent in our area for home mortgages—when they can find a lender. In the inflation now going on, and in that to come, everyone will suffer from a squeeze on their incomes. The poor will suffer the most because they must spend the biggest percentage of their incomes on pure necessities. The price of the big spending spree will be paid by everyone—first, in high prices for everything, and second in high taxes (paid directly or passed on).

WHAT FOLLOWS . . . But this is not all. Inflation spirals, feeds upon itself, as wages go up to match price increases which go up because of wage increases, etc., etc. The danger is something even worse than high prices; the danger is economic collapse. To quote an economist (See *Memo*, 4/30/68). "there is a danger of a recession caused by a tardy and unduly severe application of the brakes; or, in the absence of adequate restraint, there is a danger that the inflation will accelerate, in which case it will be followed by a recession from natural causes." A recession, of either type, coming on top of our international monetary difficulties and gold loss, could spell disaster.

POSITION . . . Exorbitant federal spending, in the long run, harms even those who think they benefit from it the most. It endangers the welfare of every citizen, weakens our economy and threatens the future of the nation by bringing on the evils and consequences of inflation. That's why I opposed the kind of spending which created the situation confronting us right now. It is why I have insisted that any tax increase must be accompanied by a sizeable spending cut.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CALENDAR FOR JUNE

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, during the month of June as more sightseers come to Washington, D.C., to see the beauty of our Nation's Capitol, it is known that the National Gallery can be a restful and exciting visit. Therefore, I call to the attention of my colleagues and the American people the schedule of events for the month of June at the National Gallery of Art:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART—CALENDAR OF EVENTS, JUNE 1968

Special exhibition: *Paintings from the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York*, continues on view through July 21 in the ground floor galleries. A catalogue for the exhibition is available with 21 color plates and 121 black and white illustrations. $4.00 postpaid.

Concerts: The 25th annual American Music Festival directed by Richard Bales concludes on June 2 with a performance of his composition *The Republic* by the National Gallery Orchestra with chorus and soloists. Also ending, for the summer, is the current season of weekly concerts, with a final performance on Sunday, June 30. All concerts begin at 8 p.m. in the East Garden Court.

Daily films: *The National Gallery of Art* (52 min.): Weekdays, 2:00 p.m., Sundays, 1:00 p.m. *The American Vision* (35 min.): Weekdays, 4:00 p.m. *Art in the Western World* (30 min.): Weekdays, 7:00 p.m. Each film is in full color and deals with art in the collections of the National Gallery. Auditorium.

Recorded tours: *The Director's Tour*. A 45-minute tour of 20 National Gallery masterpieces selected and described by John Walker, Director. The portable tape units rent for 25¢ for one person, 35¢ for two. Available in English, French, Spanish, and German.

Tour of Selected Galleries. A discussion of works of art in 28 galleries. Talks in each room, which may be taken in any order, last approximately 15 minutes. The small radio receiving sets rent for 25¢.

New color postcards: Blake, *The Great Red Dragon and the Woman Clothed with the Sun;* Chase, *Chrysanthemums;* Courbet, *La Grotte de la Loue;* Duccio, *Nativity with the Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel;* Homer, *Right and Left;* Kalf, *Still Life;* Ryder, *Siegfried and the Rhine Maidens;* Stubbs, *Colonel Pocklington with His Sisters;* Circle of Verrocchio (possibly Leonardo), *Madonna and Child with a Pomegranate*. 5¢ each postpaid.

Gallery hours: Weekdays, 10:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. Sundays, 12 noon to 10:00 p.m. Admission is free to the Gallery and to all scheduled exhibitions and programs.

Cafeteria hours: Weekdays, Luncheon 11:00 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.; Snack Service 2:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.; Dinner 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. Sundays, Dinner 12 noon to 7:30 p.m.

MONDAY, MAY 27, THROUGH SUNDAY, JUNE 2

Painting of the week: Master of the Saint Bartholomew Altar. *The Baptism of Christ* (Samuel H. Kress Collection), Gallery 35A, Tues., Wed., Fri., and Sat. 12 and 2; Sun. 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: *20th-Century European Paintings from Albright-Knox* (to be repeated June 25–30), central gallery, Tues., Wed., Fri. and Sat. 1; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Mon. through Sat. 11 and 3; Thurs. (Memorial Day) 1; Sun. 5.

Sunday lecture: *Surrealism, Belgian Fantastic Art, Homage to René Magritte. Guest Speaker:* Marcel van Jole, Professor of Aesthetics, Antwerp, Belgium, Lecture Hall 4.

Sunday concert: 25th American Music Festival: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, *Conductor*, with Chorus and Soloists. East Garden Court 8.

MONDAY, JUNE 3, THROUGH SUNDAY, JUNE 9

Painting of the week: Franco-Flemish School, Early XV Century. *Profile Portrait of a Lady* (Andrew Mellon Collection), Gallery 39, Tues. through Sat. 12 and 2; Sun. 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: *20th-Century American Paintings from Albright-Knox* (to be repeated June 18–23), Central Gallery, Tues. through Sat. 1; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Mon. through Sat. 11 and 3; Sun. 5.

Sunday lecture: *Folk Elements in Contemporary Realist and Non-Objective Art. Guest Speaker:* Paul M. Laporte, Professor of Art History, Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles. Lecture Hall 4.

Sunday concert: William Brown, *Tenor;* Reynaldo Reyes, *Pianist*. East Garden Court 8.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office or telephoned to 737–4215, ext. 272.

MONDAY, JUNE 10, THROUGH SUNDAY, JUNE 16

Painting of the week: Ingres. *Madame Moitessier* (Samuel H. Kress Collection), Gallery 56, Tues. through Sat. 12 and 2; Sun. 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: *19th-Century French Paintings from Albright-Knox* (repeated from May 21–26), Central Gallery, Tues. through Sat. 1; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Mon. through Sat. 11 and 3; Sun. 5.

Sunday lecture: *Light in Painting. Guest Speaker:* René Huyghe, Kress Professor in Residence, National Gallery of Art, Lecture Hall, 4.

Sunday concert: Zaidee Dufallo, *Pianist*. East Garden Court, 8.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery Staff, are broadcast by Station WGMS–AM (570) and FM (103.5).

MONDAY, JUNE 17, THROUGH SUNDAY, JUNE 23

Painting of the week: Rembrandt. *Portrait of a Lady with an Ostrich-Feather Fan* (Widener Collection), Gallery 45. Tues. through Sat. 12 and 2; Sun. 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: *20th-Century American Paintings from Albright-Knox* (repeated from June 4–9), Central Gallery, Tues. through Sat. 1; Sunday 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda, Mon. through Sat. 11 and 3; Sun. 5.

Sunday lecture: *Botticelli, Leonardo, and the Arts of Frustration. Speaker:* Raymond S. Stites, Assistant to the Director, for Educational Services, National Gallery of Art, Lecture Hall, 4.

Sunday concert: To be announced. East Garden Court, 8.

MONDAY, JUNE 24, THROUGH SUNDAY, JUNE 30

Painting of the week: Florentine School. *Apollo and Marsyas* (Samuel H. Kress Collection), Gallery 13; Tues. through Sat. 12 and 2; Sun. 3:30 and 6.

Tour of the week: *20th-Century European Paintings from Albright-Knox* (repeated from May 28–June 2); Central Gallery, Tues. through Sat. 1; Sun. 2.30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection.* Rotunda, Mon. through Sat. 11 and 3; Sun. 5.

Sunday lecture: *The Baroque Aspects of the Film. Guest Speaker:* Bernard Hanson, Director, Liberal Arts Department, Philadelphia College of Art, Philadelphia. Lecture Hall 4.

Sunday concert: To be announced. East Garden Court 8.

L. B. J. RANKS HIGH AS CONSERVATIONIST

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article appearing in the Kansas City Star of Sunday, April 21, 1968, praising the labors and efforts of President Lyndon Baines Johnson as a conservationist.

Americans in this and coming generations will have great reason to thank our distinguished President for his splendid efforts to make this a better and a more viable Nation in which to live through preservation of our natural resources.

The editorial follows:

L. B. J. RANKS HIGH AS CONSERVATIONIST

Lyndon B. Johnson's roots go deep into the soil of Texas. He has always loved the land and gained strength from it. Therefore, it is not surprising that his White House years have been studded with major accomplishments in the field of conservation.

Many far-reaching programs have been advanced by the President and most of them have been written into law. Among the high points are the Land and Water Conservation fund, the Highway Beautification act, the Wilderness act, the Wild River bill and the proposal for a Redwood National park.

All of these programs are designed to improve the American environment and to preserve a larger portion of this continent for future generations to enjoy. In order to gain increased public support for his proposals, the President called the White House Conference on Natural Beauty in May of 1965.

At the conclusion, he assembled the delegates in the East Room of the White House and read them a special message, detailing some of his ambitious plans. It was an historic document.

When he had finished, the President laid aside his text and began to speak informally. His words were a moving tribute to the land and what it meant to him.

"I remember," he began, "when I was a very young man, a boy who walked through the sand—hot sand—up to see my grandfather—a child of 5 or 6. I would cross the dusty field and walk along the banks of the river . . .

"And those hills, and those fields, that river was the only world that I really had in those years. So I did not know how much more beautiful it was than that of many other boys, for I could not imagine anything else from sky to sky. Yet the sight and the feel of that country somehow or other burned itself into my mind.

"We were not a wealthy family, but this was my rich inheritance. All my life I have drawn strength, and something more, from those Texas hills. Sometimes, in the highest councils of the nation, in this house, I sit back and I can almost feel that rough, unyielding, sticky clay soil between my fingers and it stirs memories that often give me comfort and sometimes gives me a pretty firm purpose.

"But not all the boys in America had the privilege to grow up in a wide and open country. We can give them something and we are going to.

"We can let each of them feel a little of what the first settlers must have felt, unbelieving before the endless majesty of our great land. Thus, they too, will reach for the wonders of our future, reinforced by the treasured values of our past."

That rare insight, probably better than anything else, explains Lyndon Johnson's dream for a more beautiful America.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT OF THE SUPREME COURT

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the omnibus crime control bill is on your desk and I must say that it is a matter of great concern to me that the bill as it came back from the Senate is very different from the good bill that passed this House. A most perceptive article was written by Mr. Herbert Mitgang of the editorial board of the New York Times. It appeared in the Monday Times, May 27, 1968, and most persuasively presents the dangers to our country and our traditional concepts of justice if this bill passes in its present form.

The article referred to follows:

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT OF THE SUPREME COURT

(By Herbert Mitgang)

The clashing elements in Congress and warring philosophies of government have emerged in classic form during the consideration of the administration's omnibus crime control bill. The bill's evolution serves as a case history of evolving views on the relationship of the cities to the Federal Government and of political alliances to preserve rigid state authority. It also provides a measure of the contrasting attitudes toward the rebellious mood in the country.

As originally conceived, this bill was designed to assist state and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime and increasing the effectiveness and fairness of law enforcement and criminal justice. There was proper concern for the safety of persons in the neighborhoods and in homes during a time of rising crime. But in the background, there was an awareness of the dangers of unchecked rioting.

DIRECT GRANTS TO CITIES

The Administration-supported bill was approved almost intact by the House last year. It's main provision included grants—$100 million the first year, $300 million the second—by the United States Attorney General to states and cities for improving anti-crime programs and police departments. The point was that, since law enforcement is primarily a local responsibility, direct grants to the cities would bypass state machinery and strike at the core of the crime problem.

MORE ORDER THAN LAW

When the bill reached the Senate, three controversial titles were added that reflected tougher views on order and weaker views on law. Furthermore, political considerations became apparent that mauled the original aims of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, even though some useful provisions were approved.

The grants to local communities—Title I—must now go for the most part through the state houses. In the opinion of the Attorney General and many city law-enforcement agencies, such bloc grants would inevitably be a step removed from where the real action is. The concept of Federal grants is still retained, but the funds may not be used to best advantage in some states where political differences exist between governors and mayors.

On eavesdropping and wiretapping—Title III—the Senate bill goes a long way toward encouraging governmental invasion of privacy. Snooping for a wide variety of comparatively minor crimes is authorized. Most shocking is the fact that Federal, state and local law enforcement agencies would be permitted to engage in these practices, for brief periods without even a court order. Taps and bugs could become standard procedure for any low level prosecutor. If anything is the hallmark of a police state, it is the citizen's inability to speak freely at home, in the office and even in the street.

RIFLE LOBBY VICTORY

When it came to controlling interstate shipment of firearms—Title IV—the Senate banned the mail order sales of hand guns. This must be considered a partial victory for law enforcement. But long guns—rifles and shotguns—were omitted, a total victory for the rifle lobby.

The most complex and controversial Senate amendment—Title II—is a deliberate attempt to undermine the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. All voluntary confessions and eyewitness identifications—regardless of whether a suspect has been informed of his rights to counsel—would be admitted in Federal trials. Evidence could be admitted even if there was unreasonable delay between the time of arrest and arraignment.

TARGET: THE WARREN COURT

This title does more than strike at Constitutional safeguards of due process. The target here is really the Warren court, which has had the audacity to defend the Bill of Rights. In a larger sense, it is an attack on the system of checks and balances. When the House and Senate get together on the final version of the bill, the titles on the authority of the Supreme Court and on the invasion of privacy will demand changes that preserve the judicial branch.

"There is no liberty if the power of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive powers," Montesquieu wrote in "The Spirit of the Laws" before our constitution. And it was underscored by Alexander Hamilton in "The Federalist," when he wrote that checks and balances "can be preserved in practice no other way than through the medium of courts of justice."

SO FULL A FLOOD

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith for the consideration of my colleagues and for the readers of the RECORD "So Full a Flood." This statement, which I feel is very appropriate to our time, is being distributed by the Fathers of the Oratory, Post Office Box 1326, Lexington, Ky., 40501, and I have obtained their permission, through Father Francis E. Nugent, superior, to include this copyrighted material in the RECORD:

SO FULL A FLOOD

Shall we ever see again so full a flood of hypocrisy as that in which the land has lain awash in the last weeks?

As the savages made funeral pyres out of parts of a hundred cities, a craven clergy dutifully responded to the latest rubrics handed down from The Great Birdcage, D.C., and eulogized the deceased as though he had been Saint Stephen just done in by the Jews.

They called him a great Christian, he who denied the Divinity of Christ and His Virgin Birth.

They called him a man of honour, he who Mr. J. Edgar Hoover described as "the most notorious liar in the country."

They called him a great patriot, he who was a notorious collaborator with known Communists and a preacher of revolution.

They even called him a saint. I suggest they do not know the meaning of the word.

And all their flags they flew at half mast.

I remember no flags flown at half mast for the abandoned boys of the Pueblo.

I remember no flags flown at half mast for the massacred boys of the Liberty.

I remember no flags flown at half mast for the thousands of betrayed boys who gasped their last in the mud of a Vietnam war they were not permitted to win.

I remember no flags flown at half mast for the dozens of brave policemen who have been slain by black revolutionaries.

But I shall always remember the unspeakable hypocrisy with which both politician and priest have betrayed their country these last days in this sometime land of the free, sometime home of the brave.

MISS RUTH SIEBRANDS NAMED SOUTH DAKOTA'S SMALL BUSINESSWOMAN OF THE YEAR

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend my congratulations to Miss Ruth Siebrands of Redfield, S. Dak., who was named South Dakota's Small Businesswoman of the Year by the SBA last week.

The stated purposes of the Small Business Administration are to aid, counsel, assist, and protect the interests of small business concerns. Through business loans, the SBA has helped thousands of firms get started, expand and prosper. Miss Siebrands is a fine example of the program's many successes.

Ruth Siebrands is the administrator of the James Valley Nursing and Convalescent Home in Redfield. Through SBA loans to the Redfield Rest Home Development Corp., she instigated construction of a 56-bed nursing home which has since had a 30-bed addition. The home now has 56 employees, including 11 registered nurses and two activity directors.

In addition to performing a valuable social service to the community, the home has been successful financially. Its bills are current, the first bank-SBA loan is prepaid well in advance, and the second loan is prepaid beyond 1970.

Again, my congratulations to Miss Siebrands for her outstanding achievement.

ARNHEITER CASE FACTS DISTORTED

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. William T. Generous, Jr., was the operations officer on the U.S.S. *Vance*, which figures so prominently in the well-publicized Arnheiter case.

Recently I announced to the House that I would place material in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which presented the views of the junior officers aboard the *Vance* who, if one believes press stories and other sources of information, constituted a group of people strongly resembling beatniks and mutineers.

My constituent, Mr. Generous, recently wrote a letter to the editor of the Palo Alto Times which does present some information regarding his side of the story. The letter follows:

[From the Palo Alto Times, May 21, 1968]

ARNHEITER CASE FACTS DISTORTED

EDITOR OF THE TIMES:

I have just finished reading James J. Kilpatrick's column in your May 15 issue, and it, like the other products of the Arnheiter propaganda machine, is a monumental collection of distortions and untruths. The level of Mr. Kilpatrick's journalistic standards is evidenced by the fact that in the National Review for March 26, 1968, he gave me a physical description and a personality analysis in depth without ever having seen or talked to me. I wonder where he gets his information?

One look at the present column will tell. He says that "no one" from the Navy "turned up at Congressman Resnick's hearings." Of course not; Mr. Resnick, as the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Rural Development, has little jurisdiction in naval matters, and he tacitly admitted as much by turning the "hearing" over to Mr. Arnheiter's personal lawyer, Mr. Marvin Lewis, who reportedly conducted most of the questioning. No wonder they arrived at pro-Arnheiter conclusions! The House Armed Services Committee (HASC) does have jurisdiction, however, and an exhaustive staff study completed only a few days before had found that, "During the period Lt. Commander Arnheiter was in command of the Vance, he violated many orders and regulations."

To return to Kilpatrick, the "evidence . . . that Arnheiter inherited a sloppy ship manned by an undisciplined crew" comes largely from a former seaman who despite his extraordinarily high native intelligence was unable to adapt to Navy life and was separated from the service with a general discharge for that reason. That man was on board Vance two full years before Mr. Arnheiter arrived in December 1965. He was not, therefore, a member of the crew that was awarded at least nine commendations during the eight months before that (six of them spent in Vietnam waters), a "Meritorious Conduct Ashore Award" six months before, a Navy Unit Commendation nomination six weeks before, and an Operational Readiness grade in the mid-90's six days before. The Vance, according to official Navy records, was "the ship to beat" for squadron honors at the moment Mr. Arnheiter came aboard.

By way of contrast, the HASC report indicates that Mr. Arnheiter's previous record "was very spotty," and that "the Navy was taking a chance when it assigned (him) to command." As for what Mr. Kilpatrick calls his "obsessive love of fighting naval traditions," the same report shows that it was "obsessive" to the point where he ignored his assigned mission off the Vietnam coast to go into prohibited areas where he might shoot, filed false position reports, to conceal this, interfered with other ships that were supposed to be firing, and then finally fired at "enemy" targets that no one but Mr. Arnheiter ever saw.

The "bewildering array of malicious charges, cooked up by rebellious junior officers" also exists only in Mr. Arnheiter's mind. Official Navy records show that the reports that triggered his relief came not from the junior officers, but from such people as the COs and commodores of the ships interfered with as mentioned above, from the Vietnamese navy, from the U.S. commands ashore in Vietnam, etc. The discontent of the junior officers, who found themselves disgusted and unwilling accomplices in these irregularities (and many others) was nowhere in evidence until they were asked to testify at the investigation that followed the relief. (Incidentally, that testimony was given in only seven days, and although he had a full year in which to gather support and rebut it, Mr. Arnheiter was unable to overturn the evidence given at that time.) In fact, it was discovered that "it was only through the efforts of the ship's officers that the morale of the crew remained as high as it did," and that the officers "served their commanding officer to the best of their ability, under the circumstances," which were very trying, indeed.

The Times has been as conscientious in covering the affair as any other newspaper in the country, but now that the Navy has released the official records, I, as one who has been widely and untruthfully branded as the "ringleader" of this fictitious conspiracy, recommend you take another long, hard look at it. I think you'll find it a fraud.

WILLIAM T. GENEROUS, Jr.

Mountain View.

SALE OF OIL AND GAS LEASES FOR OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF LANDS

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, 2 weeks ago we had the Interior appropriations bill before us.

At that time I stated to you and Members of this House that the bill was largely self-sustaining.

I am in receipt of a letter from Boyd L. Rasmussen, Director of the Bureau of Land Management, which is as follows and in which I believe the Members will be interested:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT,
Washington, D.C., May 28, 1986.

Hon. JULIA B. HANSEN,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. HANSEN: On May 21 in New Orleans, Louisiana, we held a sale of oil and gas leases for Outer Continental Shelf lands off the coast of Texas.

Given below for your information, are the preliminary results of this sale as we have them to date:

Total of all bids	$1, 607, 193, 714. 28
Total of high bids	$602, 485, 716. 88
Number of tracts offered	169
Number of tracts bid	141
Highest bid on single tract	$43, 787, 520. 00

Successful bidder was the Texaco Oil Company. Though not a record high, this bid is exceeded only by the combine of Gulf, Texaco, Mobil and Union Oil Companies whose bid was $61,418,000 during the February sale in California.

This sale now places our estimated FY 1968 total receipts at about $1.4 billion of which about $1.3 billion will be deposited in the General Fund of the U.S. Treasury.

As additional information about the sale becomes available, we will inform you of the significant items. We trust that this information is helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Boyd L. Rasmussen,
Director.

IF A ROCK FALLS ON AN EGG

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to an editorial of the Mental Health Newsletter of the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare. Written by Dr. David J. Vail, the department's director of medical services, the editorial calls attention to the folly of "stop and go" funding of Federal categorical aids. Dr. Vail deplores the uncertainty of funding which handicaps so many State-Federal joint efforts. For years I have sought to change Federal aid from categorical grants to block grants. I am convinced that block grants would end many of the difficulties cited in the following editorial titled, "Let's Do It Right":

Let's Do It Right

The editorial in the November–December 1967 issue of the Mental Health Newsletter contained this statement:

"We ask . . . for an effective national government, that solves problems. We ask not solicitude, nor even necessarily benevolence, but at least a straight deal: honesty, stability, and lawful adherence to the Constitution."

In one of the Sherlock Holmes stories, the giveaway clue was the fact that the house watchdog did not bark. And so with the above statement: it is not remarkable in itself; its significance is that no one has challenged it.

While it apparently is not necessary to defend the statement, it appears appropriate to elaborate it. The questions of honesty and lawful adherence to the Constitution are being better and more appropriately debated elsewhere.

What about stability? In one sense we cannot complain of a Constitution which has endured for almost two hundred years. As citizens of the world's oldest living republic we should be proud of the stability of our national government.

But in another sense, at the level of the line tacticians in state and local governments, we have every reason to complain and be concerned. For the federal government is now and increasingly woven into the fabric of other levels of government and the vicissitudes of funding and of changes in laws and regulations at the federal level have a terrific impact locally.

For example, P.L. 89–313, an amendment to the Primary and Secondary Education Act of 1966, provided funds for education programs for handicapped children in institutions. These were most welcome in Minnesota state institutions for the mentally retarded and mentally ill, where they were put to use in establishing numerous patient learning programs with an emphasis in special education activities in small groups. Thus children who had been living under conditions of severe emotional deprivation could begin to enjoy personal relationships and were coming alive. But in the second year of the program the funds were drastically reduced, which meant that over a third of the education activities were wiped out. It would have been less cruel not to have started them in the first place. The capper to this tragic story is the January 5, 1968 memo from the Office of Education, which contains this astonishing statement: "P.L. 89-313 funds will no longer be subject to reduction because of limited appropriations. This not only results in added funds but in considerably more stability since participants can now anticipate reliably the level of funding from one year to the next." What is amazing here is the spectacle of the mighty U.S. government—the mightiest government of all time—having to assure and persuade its clients that it can be trusted.

Another example is the tomfoolery surrounding the mental health services grants under Section 314d of P.L. 89–749. The exact amount available to Minnesota for the fiscal year 1967–68 was not known until mid-January 1968, almost seven months after the fiscal year had started. During this time we were advised of half a dozen different possible spending levels. The result was a total inability to plan for proper use of the funds. Now the states are caught in the effect of a new ruling which reduces the proper use of funds for state program administration; in Minnesota at least this will have the effect of reducing the grant and will create severe administrative mischief. It has almost come to the point where one must play on margin, and plan on using federal funds for nickel-and-dime projects that won't cause serious repercussions when the funding collapses. We would almost be better off without the stupid grants; but life isn't that simple, for the public expects the state and local government operator to get every penny of federal money that is available.

But the big, institutionalized programs like education, health, and welfare are bastions of security compared to off-beat agencies like OEO. For example, the Foster Grandparent Project in Minnesota, sponsored by OEO, is literally living from hand to mouth, and is forced to borrow from private banks to keep going between sporadic grants from Washington.

One could go on and on. The word these days is "creative federalism" and "partnership." But the partnership is often like that of the egg and the rock in the Turkish proverb: "If a rock falls on an egg, it's too bad for the egg. But if the egg falls on the rock, it's too bad for the egg."

The problem goes much deeper than just the malaise of state and local bureaucracies. It goes to our values as a people. For if we look at what is stable in the long-run pattern of federal spending, the answer is chilling: item number one is money that pays for past, present and future wars.

The problem goes to the division between executive and legislative branches. When they clash, as occurred in the fall of 1967, it is the programs and the countless recipients of the programs who suffer.

The problem also goes to the lack of a comprehensive policy of national planning. No industrialist or merchant in his right mind would run his business the way we allow our government to operate, lurching from crisis to crisis and making it up as it goes along.

This nation is, as sailors would say, in irons. This refers to the situation when a boat in trying to come about from one tack to another gets caught dead into the wind. The spars shudder and the boat slips backward; control is lost. It is a time of extreme danger.

Can we get out of irons? Can we come of age as a people, and move onto a course, a program, of problem-solving? Are we ready for a comprehensive policy of national planning? Planning: "intelligent cooperation with the inevitable." The answer will no doubt be determined in this year of ordeal and decision.

FORMAL DEDICATION OF THE CUMMINGS BROTHERS POST NO. 1436

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I was indeed proud to be a participant in the dedication of the new memorial building of the Cummings Brothers Post No. 1436 of the American Legion, at 4516 Avenue D, Brooklyn, N.Y., on March 31, 1968. This dedication marked the culmination for a planned permanent memorial to the valor of Joseph and John Cummings. I now have the privilege of bringing to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives three speeches which were made on the occasion of the dedication by Mr. Louis E. Drago, national executive committeeman of the American Legion; Mr. William F. Kennion, Jr., commander of the Cummings Brothers Post; and Mr. S. Michael Oliva, Kings County commander of the American Legion.

The speeches follow:

Address Given by Louis E. Drago, National Executive Committeeman, American Legion, at the Formal Dedication of Cummings Brothers Post No. 1436, New Building, March 31, 1968

Few things could give me a National Officer greater pleasure than to speak on this occasion.

We are met to-day to dedicate a new building for the American Legion.

The rich heritage of the American Legion is not gained merely by meetings in these Legion Halls, or even by attaining greater affluence and material prestige in the community. But rather by living up to the purposes of the American Legion, for God and Country—Service to Community, State and Nation, by living in a brotherly spirit among our neighbors with open minds and sensitive spirits, seeking to relate ourselves to the world in which we live, to our fellow-man and to God.

From this day, this American Legion building will have as a living part of its community, the names of two brothers, two American heroes, to whom our new building is dedicated; Joseph and John Cummings.

I hope and trust that this beautiful building is an investment in the future, and to wager our faith in the coming generation.

And so, on behalf of the National Organization of the American Legion, I join in this dedication for commemoration which is so necessary in these trying times to combat the unpatriotic, disloyal, immoral and lawless breed who would destroy our great work that of perpetuating the American Way of Life.

Cummings Brothers Post No. 1436 while having great confidence in the Almighty, nevertheless seem to believe too, that the good Lord helps those who help themselves.

Consequently, this Legion Hall is the cumulative fruition of the innumerable and dedicated hours of work by its members who believe in the American Legion and its great principles.

In this day of battle between light and darkness, let us all resolve to strengthen our Faith in the American Legion, in our beautiful country; that we shall preserve, protect and defend our inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, not only for ourselves but for all mankind.

To-day we live in a world of the juvenile gang and the juvenile delinquent. Yet this strange and sad world is also part of our life to-day, and must be dealt with.

We are waking up to the fact that many of the young people of America are estranged—estranged from their families, churches, and schools, and at war with society.

In place of the adjusted youth of the past—who had a clearly established place in his family and in his community from earliest childhood—we have the young rebel—the outsider—the child enemy of adult society. We read of inexplicable murders and acts of violence taking place among youngsters in our cities, we hear of thefts and crimes in suburban areas, we see skidmarks of recklessness on our highways, and watch the mounting toll of injury and death in the traffic accidents of teen-agers.

We are shocked by statistics that reveal the high percentages of drug addicts and criminal records among young people.

What causes these conditions is another story and has no place here to-day; but mass media, disdain for hard work and achievement.

The many false standards that have crept into our social attitudes, are contributing causes of these conditions.

Up to now, we have been a complacent people, reposing in our belief that we are unsurpassable in all things, technologically, in wealth and in power. But to-day we are face to face with dread possibilities—destruction from within and destruction from without. The Communists have surpassed us on many things, and our foundations at home are crumbling from human termite attacks.

We must return to those simple virtues of hard work, responsibility, and self-sacrifice that underlie most of our achievements.

This means a quickening of our patriotism, a regeneration of our national spirit, and a rebirth of responsibility. No more business as usual or pleasure as usual—by the policy of letting George do the hard things while we go on enjoying our own selfish pastimes.

Let us enshrine once more in our hearts and in public life, those old bed-rock virtues which made our nation great. America needs our help, all we can give her, and she will repay us, everyone, to the full and overflowing.

ADDRESS AND INTRODUCTIONS BY WILLIAM F. KENNION JR., COMMANDER, CUMMINGS BROTHERS POST NO. 1436, AMERICAN LEGION, AT THE FORMAL DEDICATION OF NEW BUILDING, MARCH 31, 1968

Thank you Bill for your very kind introduction.

Reverend clergy, members of Cummings family, National Executive Committeeman, the Honorable Lou Drago, County Commander Mike Oliva and Staff, County Chairlady Mrs. Gloria Billington and Staff, distinguished guests, fellow legionnaires and ladies of the Auxiliary, and Gold Star Mothers;

Of the twenty previous Cummings Brothers Post Commanders, who all served with great distinction, I am most pleased and honored to be the one to act as your host today and welcome you all to our formal dedication.

This has been quite a year for our Post, having one of our own past Commanders attain the high office of County Commander and despite the enormous task of renovating our building we have been very active in all of the American Legion programs, particularly Child Welfare and Americanism.

We reached our membership quota of 207 prior to March 15th the beginning of the 50th year of the American Legion and before the County Convention time I predict an all time high to exceed 250.

All of these, climaxed by the completion of our new building which we are all proud of and very pleased with, a befitting memorial to our Standard Bearers, Joseph and John Cummings.

As your host, I have the pleasure of presenting to you our distinguished guests, all of whom have served our Community and the American Legion with great distinction. We have invited them because we of Cummings Brothers Post like them, we like what they stand for and we like the job they are doing.

May I present to you the Pastor of Little Flower who was so generous in permitting us to celebrate our beautiful memorial mass this morning in his church, the Reverend Father James Smyth.

The County Chaplain of the American Legion, Reverend Alfred Thompson.

National Executive Committeeman of the American Legion, Mr. Louis Drago who we shall hear from later.

Our own contribution to the success this year of the Kings County American Legion, one who held practically every office of this Post and who was Post Commander at the time I joined Cummings Brothers, our own County Commander, Mike Oliva.

Mike's very competent "Aid" and another member of Cummings Brothers Post who served as Commander and who we all love and respect for his continuous efforts so much so that we bestowed a life membership on him, John Cincotta.

The "work horse" of Kings County American Legion, the man every Post is deeply greatful to, particularly Cummings Brothers, County Adjutant Steve Sanzillo.

One of Cummings Brothers very best friends and Past County Commander, presently our Second District Vice Commander, Al Caccamo.

Our very capable Chief Division Commander of Kings County, Jim Werner.

Every successful venture generally owes most of its success to a woman. We, in Kings County are no different and here she is, County Chairlady of the Kings County Auxiliary, Mrs. Gloria Billington.

Our very good friend and County Judge Advocate the Honorable Judge Kopff.

We are very proud and pleased to have with us Past County Commanders; George Gaffney, Ed Rhatigan and Jack Friedman.

Our next guest is very close to the hearts of the members of Cummings Brothers because of his tremendous contributions of time, effort and money to the youth of Brooklyn. The Youth Center in Brownsville is a living and lasting testimony to this and is only one of his many accomplishments. Our guest speaker today and Chief Executive Officer of the Borough of Brooklyn, the Honorable Abe Stark.

Our very capable and charming Congresswoman, 12th District, Mrs. Edna F. Kelly. It was certainly gratifying to read that despite the "stacked deck" this year, Edna will be right in the fight for us.

Another member of Cummings Brothers Post who makes me feel proud that I belong, our State Senator, 17th District, Jerry Bloom.

The man who is considered to be Cummings Brothers' greatest benefactor, since, any time we need outside help regardless of the nature of the problem he is there ready and willing, and in every case we have racked up a satisfactory conclusion because of his efforts, State Assemblyman, 43rd District, George Cinotta.

The Community and Cummings Brothers are deeply grateful to our next guest, City Councilman, 23rd District, Harry Maze.

The great spirit of reciprocity existing between the American Legion and the Jewish War Veterans is largely due to our very dear friend and County Commander of the Jewish War Veterans, Joseph W. Flatow.

The American Legion, as you all know is dedicated to the service of the Community, State and Nation. Our next guest fosters this great principle, our own Post Executive Committeeman and President of the Community Action Committee, Mr. Patrick Joseph Curran.

Another great community leader and friend of Cummings Brothers Post, President of the Hyde Park Association, Mr. Vincent Gallagher.

The next guest is very dear to me and my great Post. This Community is most fortunate to have in its confines the Great La Salle Council of the Knights of Columbus which like the American Legion is dedicated to the principles of God and Country. I am very proud to be a member of this great council and it gives me great pleasure to present my Grand Knight, Mr. Wally More.

We are also very pleased to have with us today the District Leader of the Civic Republican Club, Mr. Danny Camoia.

I am also proud to present the Past President of the Robert Jordan Conservative Club, present President of The Little Flower Little League and member of Cummings Brothers Post, Mr. John Olquist.

The next group of Guests are very special guests to us and have contributed the most possible to the success of America's freedom story, the lives of their sons. Our most recent Gold Star Mothers of this Community, Mrs. Eileen Jordan, Mrs. Margaret Furlong, Mrs. Oliver Reilly and family and Mrs. Kenneth Gibbons and family.

To climax the introductions today may I present to you members of a very proud and honorable family:

Mr. and Mrs. James Cummings.
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Cummings.
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Cummings.
Mr. Raymond Cummings.

The four surviving brothers of Joseph and John, and the sisters:

Mrs. Charles B. Connors and family, and Mrs. Alice Shine, who because of distance (California) could not be with us.

We also have Aunt Mary and Aunt Charlotte with us.

Our own Ladies Auxiliary President of Cummings Brothers Unit and wife of Thomas Cummings, Therese.

I apologize deeply to any distinguished guest who was kind enough to be with us today and who I may have overlooked in my introductions. I shall now turn the meeting over to our County Commander, Mike Oliva.

ADDRESS GIVEN BY S. MICHAEL OLIVA, COUNTY COMMANDER, KINGS COUNTY AMERICAN LEGION, AT THE FORMAL DEDICATION OF CUMMINGS BROTHERS POST'S NEW BUILDING, MARCH 31, 1968

Mr. Chairman, Bill Young, Reverend Clergy, the Cummings Family, My Post Commander, William Kennion, National Executive Committeeman of the American Legion, The Honorable Louis E. Drago, The Honorable Abe Stark, President of the Borough of Brooklyn, Distinguished Guests, Fellow Legionnaires, Members of the American Legion Auxiliary of Kings County, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Friends:

It is my privilege to appear before you this day and to participate in this building dedication.

Our Post has set aside a day each year to honor our departed Comrades and, in addition, to honor Joseph and John Cummings, our Standard Bearers, who made the supreme sacrifice in order that we may continue to enjoy the principles of Justice, Freedom and Democracy.

We pause momentarily to reflect on the deeds accomplished by these two men, whose names we honor and respect.

Joseph Cummings enlisted in the U.S. Army on April 21, 1941 and was assigned to the 454th Ordnance Company. In the fall, his unit left for the Philippines and arrived at Manila on November 27, 1941, as the dark clouds of war formed on the horizon.

The treacherous Japanese attack followed and Joe fought all through the historic Battle of Bataan, in which he was wounded and captured by the enemy. He was in the infamous "Death March" and died at Camp McDonnell as a Prisoner of War on August 4, 1942.

John Cummings at 17 enlisted in the Marine Corps on November 27, 1943, and was assigned to the 24th Regiment as a Machine Gunner. He engaged the enemy on Saipan and on February 20, 1945 died in action on the Black Sand of Iwo Jima.

Both of these stalwart men were interested in the field of athletic and youth programs. Both were former employees of the Brooklyn Baseball Club.

In furthering the interests of our Standard Bearers, this Post has fostered many athletic events and sponsored youth programs and activities.

We have devoted our time, money and efforts in supporting numerous teams in the fields of Baseball, Football, Track and other sports.

Through our participation on the Post level and County level, we of Cummings Brothers Post have carried out the many programs formulated by the American Legion and to which we are dedicated.

Our activities in the Americanism program have earned us the Department of New York Americanism Plaque, of which we are extremely proud.

In the area of Child Welfare, Cummings Brothers Post has won first place on the County and Department levels and in addition, recognition on the National level.

Our Post, in its inception, was small, not only in the number of members, but also in funds.

However, our members have always been enthusiastic and dedicated, who believe in the principles and programs of the American Legion.

Our sponsorship of the numerous activities has brought our Post to a position of influence and prestige, which it now enjoys, not only in the neighborhood, but in the County, City and State.

Today we are assembled here for still another purpose. That purpose is to create a Perpetual Testimonial to the memory of our Standard Bearers Joseph and John Cummings and to all men who gave their lives to safeguard the principles upon which our Country was founded. These principles are clearly set forth in the Constitution of the United States and the Preamble of the American Legion.

In addition thereto, this building represents the realization of lifes' ambitions of the members of the Cummings Brothers Post.

I am extremely proud to have been chosen to participate in these dedication ceremonies and to address you this day, not only as the County Commander of Kings County, to which office you were instrumental in electing me, but as a member and former Officer of this Post.

May this edifice stand as a living monument to the two Cummings Brothers and to all other Veterans who gave their lives for this country so that Democracy can live, and to those members of this Post, both living and dead, who devoted their energies to aid our youth, our elders and our brother veterans, so as to make their lives happier.

In conclusion, let us not not forget our love for God and Country and may we continue to serve the Community, State and Nation.

A CONSTITUENT LOOKS AT THE GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME PROPOSAL

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, questionnaires and polls taken by Members of Congress have a common objective—to find out what constituents are thinking and how they want their Representative to vote on key issues. In response to a recent poll of mine in the First Congressional District of New Hampshire, many citizens took the time to write me at some length concerning subjects referred to in the poll and other problems as well.

One of the chief domestic challenges Congress faces is how to legislate constructively in helping poor people in this prosperous Nation. On this subject I am inserting in the RECORD, with her permission, a most interesting and constructive letter from Mrs. Edna G. Walker of Manchester, N.H. Where to draw the so-called poverty line is difficult and her thinking goes directly to the problem.

The letter follows:

MANCHESTER, N.H.,
May 18, 1968.

LOUIS C. WYMAN,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WYMAN: Thank you for the enclosed card. I have answered the questions and while some of them require more than just a no or yes answer, I guess the card generally reflects my ideas. I do not feel qualified to sound off too much on Vietnam, but let me say that I am not a pacifist and I do not believe in pacification, I am old enough to remember the Englishman with the umbrella that was going to "have peace in our time" when dealing with Hitler.

I am not given much to writing letters and this is the first letter that I have ever written to any public office in any form, but I feel so strongly about the so called Civil Rights and riots that I must make my voice heard, however weak it may be.

First let me congratulate you. I read in the paper that you supported an amendment that would deny Federal funds to rioting students. Good for you.

Second, let me say, that when I use the pronoun "we" that I reflect, more or less, the general ideas of friends and neighbors probably 50 more or less. This is in just casual conversation, I have not taken any poll And let me say also that if I refer to myself, I am not in any way complaining or asking for help in any way whatsoever, it is just facts and figures.

I believe in equal rights; equal rights to vote, equal rights to work and equal rights to live anywhere one can afford and will maintain neighborhood standards. But I do not believe in privilege. I know plenty of mothers that work, work to support small children, work to send their children to college. Why should any one group feel they have a right to demand support? They complain on the TV that they are treated like second rate citizens, well as far as I am concerned any able bodied person that accepts welfare for more than a short time when down on their luck is a second rate citizen.

Are they serious when they demand a guaranteed annual wage? One leader quoted a figure of $3,000 for a single person and $6,000 for a family of four.

I never made as much as $3,000 in any one year in my life, and I mean that I worked for 30 years, 50 weeks a year for about 25 of the 30 years, the other 5 years having less time on account of my health. I am going to be 59 this summer and have had to retire on account of a back ailment. It took me 19 months to have my Social Security pension granted, and that is for something that I paid taxes on all those many years, and now I have an annual wage of just under $1,300 a year. And they want an annual wage, for what?

I live in a quiet well-kept neighborhood and we all own our own houses. My brother and I live in houses side by side, and we got them by buying a pile of boards and a keg of nails and going to it. If we want the house painted we buy a can of paint and start pushing a brush, etc. This goes for nearly everyone in the neighborhood, the women too. My friend across the street is 66 and she does all of her own painting inside and out and works rather than draw her Social Security. My sister-in-law works, and for the most part paints her own house inside and out and keeps up the yard, and by the way, she is quite lame, one leg is about 5 inches shorter than the other. So you can see that all these pitiful pictures on TV and in magazines of tumble down shacks and garbage littered yards fall on rather deaf ears as far as we are concerned. Oh yes, I almost forgot, most of us can't afford too many commercial clothes, we cannot afford them, if want a new dress we get out the sewing machine. We are not freaks, we represent the large majority across the length and breadth of the land.

The "poor" need help, help to help themselves, but first let every able bodied person get up and pick up. If the "poor" spent as much energy and money fixing up their homes as they have spent and will spend on marching to Washington, they would have a lot more. If they spent as much energy fighting rats as they spend on rioting, the poor rats would be no more. We would all have rats if we did not take care, yes even here.

In case you have read this far, I just wanted to say I hope somebody that can be heard will raise a voice of protest and not buckle under to political blackmail, for that is all it is.

Very truly yours,

EDNA G. WALKER.

P.S.—In case you think that I am substandard as far as wages, I am only average, some did a little better and some a little worse. Of course some had the strength to work overtime, which I could never do. If you don't know that the women office workers in New Hampshire are not very well paid, you should know it. Of course, bear in mind that I had to stop working in 1966 which was before the last two minimum wage increases.

EGW.

WHAT ARE THE POOR PEOPLE FOR AND AGAINST?

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it would be absurd to think that the poor camped in Resurrection City, so-called, think of the American flag as a "rag on a stick," or would eliminate the "God versus devil philosophy of Judeo-Christian tradition," or further "reorient" the police, presumably away from law enforcement even further; or believe that all public officials, liberal or conservative, are Fascists.

To believe this would be absurd. But to attribute these beliefs to a leader of the poor people's campaign would not be too far afield. Unfortunately, by following such men as the irreverent James Bevel, the poor are lending the weight of their names and numbers to statements such as these. For these were part of Bevel's statements of the campaign's aims.

Until a full treatment of his statement is available, I offer an eye opening column by Chicago Tribune staff writer, Willard Edwards. This column appeared in the June 4 edition.

CAPITOL VIEWS

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, June 3.—The Capitol hill forum had been provided by Sen. Percy [R., Ill.] but the Rev. James Bevel of Chicago gave a contemptuous brush-off to his host [who was mercifully absent] in a long harangue.

"I indorsed Percy for the Senate in Illinois," he remarked. "But only because he was running against an old man [Ex-Sen. Douglas] and I don't have much confidence in old men."

Bevel, it developed, had no confidence at all in any American official in authority. He lumped them all as "fascists," including both conservatives and liberals in this category. It didn't matter who was President, he said, because the capitalist system was defunct and "economic class warfare" had arrived. Loyalty to country was an out-dated concept when that country was waging an unjust war in Viet Nam.

"I feel no responsibility to a nation-state," he remarked. "I represent conscious energy which is a universal phenomenon. As a result, I don't get too excited when I see a rag on a stick which is called a flag."

A transcript of Bevel's remarks is under study in Congress. Delivered May 21, they were far more unguarded than other statements he has since made in public. He did not know they were being recorded. The congressional staff assistants who assembled to hear him at Percy's suggestion agreed that they were hearing a theme taken from the utopian phases of the philosophy of Karl Marx. They so reported to members of Congress who confessed themselves deeply disturbed.

Bevel is a high-ranking leader in the poor people's campaign, now in its fourth week in Washington. He is in charge of maintaining discipline among the demonstrators. Thus far, despite some broken windows in the Supreme court building and a few arrests, the demonstrations have been generally mild and restrained.

SPEAKS WITH DEADLY SERIOUSNESS

But Bevel's statement of the campaign's aims has served to keep uneasiness at a peak in Congress. He impressed his listeners with a sense of his deadly seriousness in calling for a complete reshaping of the American system of government.

"He speaks quietly and does not aim for emotionalism like [the Rev. Ralph D.] Abernathy," one aid reported to his senator. "I think we are kidding ourselves if we think that we are just dealing with misguided radicals. This man, for all his cover-alls and Castro-type beard, was intelligent, articulate and calculating."

Despite passionate denials by leaders of the campaign that Communists have infiltrated its ranks, Bevel preached a straight Marxist line. Ironically, he lost his temper only when he referred to Rep. Albert W. Watson [R., S.C.], who took the House floor recently to reveal what he claimed was evidence that Communists helped plan the march on Washington.

Bevel mentioned Watson so often that some listeners regarded it as significant. Bevel's wife is the former Diane Nash, a former civil rights leader in Tennessee, whose passport was revoked after she and three other women made an unauthorized trip to communist North Viet Nam. On their return, the women accused the United States of atrocities and lauded Ho Chi Minh.

Bevel told the staff aids that the Washington march was "a great human theatrical drama enacted to educate the people." In this great play, senators and congressmen, police, apathetic citizens, and poor people were actors.

SOME SCENES WILL BE VIOLENT

"You people got to understand what we mean by non-violence is not just some people marching peaceably in a parade," he said. "We mean the whole restructuring of our inter-relationships.

"Some of the scenes will be violent. If there's violence, we won't worry about it. We will come back and re-educate.

"Our goals are to eliminate all disciplinary relationships. We do not believe in a parent making a kid conform to a certain norm. That is a violent relationship. We want to eliminate it.

"The wealth must be re-distributed and the means of production turned over to the people. Money is a product of militarization. Armaments must be eliminated. The police must be re-oriented. The God versus devil philosophy of Judeo-Christian tradition must be eliminated.

"Personally, capitalism is intellectually incompatible with me. Why should I compete for things that are mine?"

He left a deeply troubled audience, many of them convinced that Bevel's "great human theatrical drama" will have a violent climax.

EDITORIAL THAT CONCERNS ALL AMERICANS

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Bob Watson, general manager of KGNC–TV and radio in Amarillo, Tex., presented an excellent editorial on May 5. I insert the following in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because I feel the editorial touches on something that should be of concern to all Americans.

The editorial follows:

KGNC EDITORIAL

(By Bob Watson)

In this troubled world of ours today, subject to sudden and sometimes shocking change, there has been perhaps no change more dismaying than that in the smaller world of academe, the environment of our universities and colleges, a minority of whose students seem somehow to have determined that they and not the academic authorities should control these institutions which are supported by someone else . . . *quite* someone else.

The newest manifestation of this anarchist trend is the so-called sit-in, in its most recent major instance embellished additionally by the seizure or restraint of hostages and by the vandalism of the office of the president at a revered university of the Ivy League. "Sit-in" is a mild way indeed to describe the forcible occupation by a small minority of the student body of key buildings and the exclusion of the right-thinking majority from classes, plus interim wanton destruction and damage amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars.

It seems strange to us that these students involve themselves deliberately in an unlawful situation and then act surprised and outraged when the University at long last timidly moves to protect itself. It's as if these minority students were saying "we have rights—but no one else has."

Blossoming anarchists were encouraged and condoned, as too often before, in advanced stages of the latest sit-in, by a small segment of faculty members, and even some of these had to be removed forcibly. These more mature and presumably more responsible people are more guilty than undergraduate and graduate students. It is time for guilt to be punished by expulsion of law-defying students and discharge of abetting teachers. For responsibility again to rule the classrooms and the dormitories whose halls of ivy during recent years have become infested with the creeping growth of poison ivy instead.

MAPLE HEIGHTS HIGH MUSTANGS ARE OHIO WRESTLING CHAMPIONS

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I salute the Mustangs of Maple Heights, Ohio, High School. For the third consecutive year they have won the Ohio wrestling championship. It is the seventh time in the last 13 years that our Maple Heights mat team has captured first place in State competition.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I place in the RECORD an article from the outstanding newspaper which serves this community, the Maple Heights Press, and a commendatory resolution adopted by Mayor Lisy and the Maple Heights City Council:

THIRD STRAIGHT YEAR—STATE CHAMPS AGAIN

(By Bob Nozar)

No! Beaver Creek didn't win it. Parma Valley Forge and Toledo St. Francis finished second and third respectively but they weren't tops either. Upper Arlington with four boys in the tourney scored only two points. Martins Ferry, also with four qualifiers wasn't much higher.

So who is the number one mat team in the state? None other than the Maple Heights Mustangs, under the coaching of Mike Milkovich. Yes sir, for the third year in a row, and the seventh time in the last 13 years Maple Heights is the Ohio State Wrestling Champions.

Maple scored 44 points to Valley Forge's 38 for its first place finish. The crowd at St. John Arena was divided into two groups. It was the people from Maple, and the people against the Mustangs. The anti-Maple crowd had nothing to cheer about Friday as the

Mustangs pulled all five of their state qualifiers through to the semi-finals.

Tom Milkovich took his second consecutive state crown in the action at 112 pounds. He won it last year at 103. Tom scored a pin in the first round Friday as he flattened Bill Seipel in 4:37. Later on in the day he defeated Bill Walter of Lakewood 12-2.

In the semi-finals Saturday afternoon Tom took on Walker Stevenson of Sandusky Perkins. In the first period Tom had a takedown, but Stevenson escaped. In the second frame Stevenson got a reverse, which was followed by an escape by Milkovich which left the match at three all after two periods. But in the third Tom turned on the steam, and got an escape, a takedown, and two near-pins for a 12-3 win.

In the championship bout Tom took on John Meros of Euclid in a repeat of their district final. Tom won again as he got two takedowns, and a reverse for the 6-2 victory.

Lon Hicks at 120 won his two matches Friday as he rolled up a 12-1 win over George Zollinger of Toledo DeVilbis, and then trounced Randy Breit of Marlinton 11-3.

In the semi's Lon met Bob Mason of Parma and scored the first takedown, but Mason escaped and got a takedown of his own. In the second period Lon got a reverse which was followed by a Mason escape leaving the score at 4-4. Mason got two more points in the third period with a reverse to give him a 6-4 win. Mason was eventually the state champ.

In a consolation round bout Lon defeated Wayne Hardy of Huron 7-3. He took third place in the state with a 4-2 decision of Frank Yoo of Eastlake North. Lon had a takedown and a reverse in that one.

Tom Barrett scored a 3–2 win over Leroy Noyd in his opening match Friday. Tom got a late reverse to wrap up a 9–6 decision of Derek Bartlett of Huron in the quarter final match.

Then Saturday afternoon he met Bob Lade of Valley Forge. In that one Barrett got the first takedown and rode Lade out. Lade got an escape and a penalty point in the third period to tie the score. Late in the match Lade was on his back, but no points were awarded to Barrett. In the overtime that followed Lade got the only escape for a 1–0 win. He won the state crown that evening.

In consolations Tom beat Bob Johnson of Dayton Meadowdale 5–3.

Then in the finals of the consolation rounds he beat what was left of Beaver Creek, Logan Martinez, 3–1. He had an escape and a penalty point, along with riding time for his third place finish.

That win wrapped up the state crown for the Mustangs.

At 133 Bill Black breezed through his class for the state championship. In his first bout he beat Bill Fisher of Toledo Rogers 10–1. Then later on that day he pinned Larry Branson of Lorain in 2:53.

On Saturday he beat Don Akerman of Martins Ferry 13–3.

Then in the championship finals he beat Bob Tschool of Toledo St. Francis. Bill had three takedowns, a predicament, and an escape for a 9–3 win.

Derek Bekeny also won his first two matches beating Rick Greene of Columbus DeSalles 7–5, and then decisoning Bruce Witzke of Strongsville 5–2.

Saturday afternoon he lost an overtime referee's decision to the future state champ Dennis Toffler of St. Francis. The score was 1–1 at the end of the overtime. It was a spilt decision, with the referee and one judge voting for Toffler, and the other judge voting for Bekeny.

Derek lost a close match to the third place finisher Bruce Hrycyk of Copley in a consolation round bout.

Paul E. Landis the Commissioner of the O.H.S.A.A. awarded the first place trophy to Coach Mike Milkovich and his crew amidst the cheers of the Mustang followers.

RESOLUTION 1968–47

A resolution commending the Maple Heights High School wrestling team, its coaches, and the administrative officers of the Maple Heights city school system, upon the attainment of the third consecutive Ohio State wrestling championship for the 1967–1968 season

Whereas, the 1967–1968 Wrestling Team of Maple Heights High School was proclaimed Ohio State Wrestling Champion for the third consecutive year in Columbus, Ohio, on February 24, 1968, in competition with teams representing high schools throughout the State of Ohio, and

Whereas, this Council recognizes that such achievement is the result of steady application of exercise, practice, and training while maintaining scholastic studies, and that such achievement of necessity reflects the inspirational leadership of the team's coaches, Mr. Michael Milkovich, Mr. Patrick J. Palumbo and Mr. William Barrett, and the Athletic Director Mr. T. Donovan Wylie, and

Whereas, this Council further recognizes that even though two of the members of the team were individual titlists, the season's record is a team product, and accordingly this Council desires to commend all of the team members and the Coaches on behalf of itself, the Administrative and Judicial Departments of and for Maple Heights, and the citizens of Maple Heights, and

Whereas, on behalf of the same agencies and individuals, this Council desires further to express its commendation to the representatives and of the Maple Heights City School District for their cooperation in assisting the Coaches and members of the Wrestling Team in carrying out the wrestling program while first providing and requiring compliance with educational standards.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Council of the City of Maple Heights, State of Ohio:

SECTION 1. On Behalf of the City of Maple Heights, the Council and the Administrative and Judicial Departments of and for the City of Maple Heights, and the people of the City of Maple Heights, do herewith express their commendation and congratulations to the Coaches and students of the Maple Heights High School Wrestling Team for the honor and recognition accorded this City through their efforts as hereinbefore expressed.

Be it further resolved, that the Clerk of Council be and he is hereby authorized and directed to forward certified copies of this Resolution to the following persons: Mr. Harry Salisbury, Superintendent of Schools; Mr. Michael Milkovich, Head Coach; Mr. William T. Barrett and Mr. Patrick J. Palumbo, Assistant Coaches; Mr. Charles Pickens, Principal, Maple Heights High School; Mr. T. Donovan Wylie, Athletic Director.

MEMBERS OF THE 1967–68 WRESTLING TEAM

Thomas Barrett, Derek Bekeny, William Black, John Blank, Pat Bowen, Conrad Calander, Frank Cikach, Lon Hicks, Mark Hicks, Dale Hlavin, Jim Jedlicka, John Morrell, Thomas Milkovich, Cliff Radi, and Louis Churney, Manager.

SECTION 2. This Resolution shall take effect immediately.

Passed March 6, 1968.

ROBERT J. LOUGH,
President of Council.
EMIL J. LISY, Jr.,
Mayor.

Attest:

JOHN J. WETZELL,
Clerk of Council.

THE AGE OF EFFLUENCE

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, while benefits of our increasingly industrialized and technological society are vast, so are the problems. It is becoming clear and more and more urgent to realize that as we have made great gains for the good of mankind, we are also in dire danger of destroying the very source of our wealth. Despite magnificent technological achievements in space, our air and water are unfit for consumption or recreation.

The degree of environmental pollution that has occurred in our Nation is alarming, and is increasing. It cannot continue. Yet we cannot expect to be effective in halting this trend while we continue to use archaic and uncoordinated methods to solve such complex problems as exist in our urban areas. The methods of problem solving must keep pace with the problems.

In 1966, I introduced a bill, now H.R. 20, to create a Commission on Public Management to study the application of technology—the comprehensive approach that systems analysis can offer—to find effective solutions to the vastly complicated public problems which include housing, transportation, and education, as well as the problem of pollution. A systems approach would involve a computer analysis of the total environment. As the editorial comments from Time magazine of May 10 points out well, only then can cities adequately and effectively make the necessary cost-benefit choices and balance the system. They will be able to get a complete picture of the problem and the alternative solutions—and the advantages and disadvantages in each one—to take action best suited to the problems and the facilities at hand.

I urge my colleagues to take to heart the seriousness of the situation and give their consideration to the urgency for new concepts of problem solving. The Time article is an excellent commentary on this critical issue, and I commend it for careful reading.

The article follows:

THE AGE OF EFFLUENCE

What ever happened to America the Beautiful? While quite a bit of it is still visible, the recurring question reflects rising and spreading frustration over the nation's increasingly dirty air, filthy streets and malodorous rivers—the relentless degradations of a once virgin continent. This man-made pollution is bad enough in itself, but it reflects something even worse: a dangerous illusion that technological man can build bigger and bigger industrial societies with little regard for the iron laws of nature.

The problem is much bigger than the U.S. The whole industrialized world is getting polluted, and emerging nations are unlikely to slow their own development in the interest of clearer air and cleaner water. The fantastic effluence of affluence is overwhelming natural decay—the vital process that balances life in the natural world. All living things produce toxic wastes, including their own corpses.

But whereas nature efficiently decays—and thus reuses—the wastes of other creatures, man alone produces huge quantities of synthetic materials that almost totally resist natural decay. And more and more such waste is poisonous to man's fellow creatures, to say nothing of himself.

Man has tended to ignore the fact that he is utterly dependent on the biosphere: a vast web of interacting processes and organisms that form the rhythmic cycles and food chains in which one part of the living environment feeds on another. The biosphere is no immutable feature of the earth. Roughly 400 million years ago, terrestial life consisted of some primitive organisms that consumed oxygen as fast as green plants manufactured it. Only by some primeval accident were the greedy organisms buried in sedimentary rock (as the source of crude oil, for example), thus permitting the atmosphere to become enriched to a life-sustaining mix of 20% oxygen, plus nitrogen, argon, carbon dioxide and water vapor. With miraculous precision, the mix was then maintained by plants, animals and bacteria, which used and returned the gases at equal rates. About 70% of the earth's oxygen is thus produced by ocean phytoplankton: passively floating plants. All this modulated temperatures, curbed floods and nutured man a mere 1,000,000 or so years ago.

To primitive man, nature was so harsh and powerful that he deeply respected and even worshiped it. He did the environment very little damage. But technological man, master of the atom and soon the moon, is so aware of his strength that he is unaware of his weakness—the fact that his pressure on nature may provoke revenge. Although sensational cries of impending doom have overstated the case, modern man has reached the stage where he must recognize that real dangers exist. Indeed, many scholars of the biosphere are now seriously concerned that human pollution may trigger some ecological disaster.

CONSUMING NOTHING

For one thing, the impact of human pollutants on nature can be vastly amplified by food chains, the serial process by which weak creatures are typically eaten by stronger ones in ascending order. The most closely studied example is the effect of pesticides, which have sharply improved farm crops but also caused spectacular kills of fish and wildlife. In the Canadian province of New Brunswick, for example, the application of only one-half pound of DDT per acre of forest to control the spruce budworm has twice wiped out almost an entire year's production of young salmon in the Miramichi River. In this process, rain washes the DDT off the ground and into the plankton of lakes and streams. Fish eat the DDT-tainted plankton; the pesticide becomes concentrated in their bodies, and the original dose ultimately reaches multifold strength in fish-eating birds, which then often die or stop reproducing. DDT is almost certainly to blame for the alarming decrease in New England's once flourishing peregrine falcons, northern red-shouldered hawks and black-crowned night herons.

In the polluting sense, man is the dirtiest animal, and he must learn that he can no longer afford to vent smoke casually into the sky and sewage into rivers as he did in an earlier day, when vast reserves of pure air and water easily diluted the pollutants. The earth is basically a closed system with a waste-disposal process that clearly has limits. The winds that ventilate earth are only six miles high; toxic garbage can kill the tiny organisms that normally clean rivers. Today, industrial America is straining the limits.

One massively important factor is that the U.S. consumer actually consumes nothing; he merely uses things, and though he burns, buries, grinds or flushes his wastes, the material survives in some form, and technology adds to its longevity. The tin can used to rust away; now comes the immortal aluminum can, which may outlast the Pyramids. Each year, the U.S. produces 48 billion cans, plus 28 billion long-lived bottles and jars. Paced by hardy plastic containers, the average American's annual output of 1,600 lbs. of solid waste is rising by more than 4% a year. Disposal already costs $3 billion a year.

All this effluence is infinitely multiplied in big cities—and 70% of Americans live on only 10% of the country's total land area. Every day, New York City dumps 200 million gallons of raw sewage into the Hudson River. Each square mile of Manhattan produces 375,000 lbs. of waste a day; the capital cost of incinerating that 1-sq.-mi.-output is $1.87 million, and 30% of the residue drifts in the air as fly ash until it settles on the citizens.

The sheer bulk of big cities slows the cleansing winds, at the same time, rising city heat helps to create thermal inversions (warm air above cold) that can trap smog for days—a crisis that in 1963 killed 400 New Yorkers. Cars complete the deadly picture. While U.S. chimneys belch 100,000 tons of sulfur dioxide every day, 90 million motor vehicles add 230,000 tons of carbon monoxide (52% of smog) and other lethal gases, which then form ozone and peroxyacetyl nitrate that kill or stunt many plants, ranging from orchids to oranges. Tetraethyl lead in auto exhausts affects human nerves, increasing irritability and decreasing normal brain function. Like any metal poison, lead is fatal if enough is ingested. In the auto's 70-year history, the average American's lead content has risen an estimated 125-fold, to near maximum tolerance levels. Arctic glaciers now contain wind-wafted lead.

AIR, WATER AND THE SEWER

By the year 2000, an estimated 90% of Americans will live in urban areas and drive perhaps twice as many cars as they do now. The hope is that Detroit will have long since designed exhaust-free electric or steam motors. Another hope is nuclear power to generate electricity in place of smoggy "fossil fuels" (oil, coal), but even with 50% nuclear power, U.S. energy needs will so increase by 2000 that fossil-fuel use may quadruple. Moreover, nuclear plants emit pollution: not only radioactive wastes, which must be buried, but also extremely hot water that has to go somewhere and can become a serious threat to marine life.

Industry already devours water on a vast scale—600,000 gal. to make one ton of synthetic rubber, for example—and the resultant hot water releases the dissolved oxygen in rivers and lakes. This kills the oxygen-dependent bacteria that degrade sewage. Meanwhile, the country's ever-mounting sewage is causing other oxygen-robbing process. By 1980, these burdens may well dangerously deplete the oxygen in all 22 U.S. river basins. The first massive warning is what happened to Lake Erie, where overwhelming sewage from Detroit and other cities cut the oxygen content of most of the lake's center to zero, turning a once magnificently productive inland sea into a sink where life is catastrophically diminished. With state and federal aid, the cities that turned Erie's tributaries into open sewers are now taking steps to police the pollution, and if all goes well, Erie may be restored to reasonable life in five or ten years.

But the problem goes on. Though one-third of U.S. sewage systems are below health standards, improving them may also kill lakes. The problem is that treated sewage contains nitrate and phosphate, fertilizing substances widely used in agriculture that make things worse in overfertilized lakes. Though nitrate is normally harmless in the body, intestinal bacteria can turn it into nitrite, a compound that hinders hemoglobin from transporting oxygen to the tissues, causing labored breathing and even suffocation.

THE SYSTEMS APPROACH

It seems undeniable that some disaster may be lurking in all this, but laymen hardly know which scientists to believe. As a result of fossil-fuel burning, for example, carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen about 14% since 1860. According to Ecologist Lamont C. Cole, man is thus reducing the rate of oxygen regeneration, and Cole envisions a crisis in which the amount of oxygen on earth might disastrously decline. Other scientists fret that rising carbon dioxide will prevent heat from escaping into space. They foresee a hotter earth that could melt the polar icecaps, raise oceans as much as 400 ft., and drown many cities. Still other scientists forecast a colder earth (the recent trend) because man is blocking sunlight with ever more dust, smog and jet contrails. The cold promises more rain and hail, even a possible cut in world food. Whatever the theories may be, it is an established fact that three poisons now flood the landscapes: smog, pesticides, nuclear fallout.

Finding effective antidotes will take a lot more alertness to ecological consequences. What cities sorely need is a systems approach to pollution: a computer analysis of everything that a total environment—greater Los Angeles, for example—is taking in and giving out via air, land, water. Only then can cities make cost-benefit choices and balance the system. Equally vital are economic incentives, such as taxing specific pollutants so that factories stop using them. Since local governments may be loath to levy effluence charges, fearing loss of industry, the obvious need is regional cooperation, such as interstate river-basin authorities to enforce scientific water use. Germany's Ruhr River is ably governed this way. A shining U.S. example is the eight-state Ohio River Valley Water Sanitation Commission, which persuaded 3,000 cities and industries to spend $1 billion diverting 99% of their effluent to sewage plants.

Similar "air shed" action is starting between some smog-bound states and is considered preferable to federally imposed air standards, which might not fit local climate conditions. Still, far greater federal action—especially money—is urgently needed to help cities build all kinds of waste-treating facilities. In fact, the Secretary of the Interior really ought to be the Secretary of the Environment. To unify federal leadership, he might well be given charge of the maze of rival federal agencies that now absurdly nibble only at their own slice of the pollution mess.

One of the prime goals in attacking pollution ought to be a vast shrinkage of the human impact on other creatures. The war on insects, for example, might actually go a lot better without chemical pesticides that kill the pests' natural enemies, such as birds. One of the best strategies is to nurture the enemies so they can attack the pests; more insect-resistant crops can also be developed. Florida eliminated the screw-worm fly not by spraying but by sterilizing hordes of the male flies, then liberating them to produce infertile eggs. A still newer method is the use of sex attractants to lure male insects into traps and thus to their death.

Above all, man should strive to parallel natural decay by recycling—reusing as much waste as possible. Resalvaging already keeps 80% of all mined copper in circulation. But U.S. city incinerators now destroy about 3,000,000 metric tons of other valuable metals a year; magnetic extractors could save the metal and reduce incineration by 10%. The packaging industry could do a profound service by switching to materials that rot—fast.

The perfect container for mankind is the edible ice-cream cone. How about a beer container that is something like a pretzel? Or the soft-drink bottle that, when placed in the refrigerator, turns into a kind of tasty artificial ice? Soft drinks could also come in frozen form, as popsicles with edible sticks.

To cut air pollution, a Japanese process can be used to convert fly ash into cinder blocks. Since the market is too small for commercial success, public subsidies would make sense; recovering waste at the source is almost always cheaper than cleanup later. There are some real prospects of profit in reconstituting other waste. Take sulfur, for example, which is in short supply around the world. While 26 million tons are mined a year, smokestacks belch 28 million tons of wasted sulfur dioxide, which could easily be trapped in the stack and converted to sulfuric acid or even fertilizer. Standard Oil of California is already profitably recovering the refinery sulfur waste that pollutes streams.

To reduce smog over cities, one of the most visible and worst forms of pollution, smog-causing power plants might be eliminated from densely populated areas. Why not generate electricity at the fuel source—distant oil or coal fields—and then wire it to cities? On the other hand, industrialization must not be taken to distant places that can be better used for other purposes. Industrializing Appalachia, for example, would smogify a naturally hazy region that settlers aptly named the Smokies. The right business for Appalachia is recreation; federal money could spur a really sizable tourist industry.

Sometimes pollution can even help recreation. In flat northeastern Illinois, for instance, the handsomest recreation area will soon be Du Page County's fast-rising 118-ft. hill and 65-acre lake—artfully built on garbage fill. One form of pollution could even enhance—rather than spoil—water sports. Much of the nation's coastline is too cold for swimming, if marine life can be protected why not use nuclear plant heat to warm the water? Or even create underwater national parks for scuba campers?

IN HARMONY WITH NATURE

Ideally, every city should be a closed loop, like a space capsule in which astronauts reconstitute even their own waste. This concept is at the base of the federally aided "Experimental City" being planned by Geophysicist Athelstan Spilhaus, president of Philadelphia's Franklin Institute, who dreams of solving the pollution problem by dispersing millions of Americans into brand-new cities limited to perhaps 250,000 people on 2,500 acres of now vacant land. The pilot city, to be built by a quasi-public corporation, will try everything from reusable buildings to underground factories and horizontal elevators to eliminate air-burning cars and buses. The goal is a completely recycled, noise-free, pure-air city surrounded by as many as 40,000 acres of insulating open countryside. "We need urban dispersal," says Spilhaus, "not urban renewal."

In the search for solutions, there is no point in attempting to take nature back to its pristine purity. The approach must look forward. There is no question that just as technology has polluted the country, it can also depollute it. The real question is whether enough citizens want action. The biggest need is for ordinary people to learn something about ecology, a humbling as well as fascinating way of viewing reality, that ought to get more attention in schools and colleges. The trouble with modern man is that he tends to yawn at the news that pesticides are threatening remote penguins or pelicans; perhaps he could do with some of the humility toward animals that St. Francis tried to graft onto Christianity. The false assumption that nature exists only to serve man is at the root of an ecological crisis that ranges from the lowly litterbug to the lunacy of nuclear proliferation. At this hour, mans only choice is to live in harmony with nature, not conquer it.

OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune, in an excellent editorial on occupational education, has made a meaningful contribution toward the current dialog on preparing young people for gainful employment.

I recommend this editorial to my colleagues for a better understanding of how junior colleges can play a key role in developing a post secondary system of education which will compliment training programs started by youngsters in lower grades to develop marketable skills.

I have said time and again that the basis for our effort to eliminate poverty in America and to prevent phenomena like the Poor People's Campaign in Washington is to develop a system of education in this Nation where every single American youngster will develop a marketable skill in his elementary and secondary education process. The Chicago Tribune's emphasis on postsecondary education fortifies the arguments for a greater emphasis in occupational education.

The Chicago Tribune editorial follows:

EDUCATING FOR JOBS

The Illinois State Chamber of Commerce has just published a survey entitled "Occupational Education in Illinois Public Junior Colleges." This useful brochure spells out in here-and-now terms what our state's rapidly growing junior college system is offering [and has planned for the near future] in terminal courses of study aimed at specific job markets. The showing is extensive, with tremendous potential for further growth. There are 101 different programs listed, from accounting to X-ray technician, from air conditioning to welding. In Illinois there are 34 public junior colleges in being, with more due to open next fall.

Economy and convenience are probably the ideas that junior colleges suggest to most people. Those are powerful considerations, especially for young people with means too limited to permit leaving home or paying high tuitions. But occupational education—qualifying people to hold jobs that call for less than a college degree but more than a high school diploma—is probably the biggest idea involving the junior colleges.

The chamber of commerce states three uses of its new publication—to inform employers of sources of new trained personnel; to inform employers of job-related curricula to which they can direct present employes; and to direct attention to gaps in existing curricula, gaps which business initiative might help fill. It all boils down to matching qualified people with job opportunities. Anything that does that helps not only the businesses and employes directly involved, but everyone.

Junior colleges do such matching. Without neglecting the preparation of students to transfer successfully to four-year colleges elsewhere, junior colleges should and no doubt will give high priority to occupational education. Their most distinctive and probably most useful contribution is and will be in that kind of teaching.

ANOTHER DR. GODDARD NEEDED

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, upon learning of the resignation of Dr. James L. Goddard, I wrote a letter to the President expressing our disappointment and at the same time recommending for his consideration the appointment of Dr. Herbert Ley, Director of the Bureau of Medicine.

I include my letter in the RECORD at this point and following my letter I insert an editorial from the Fullerton, Calif., Tribune in the RECORD. This editorial expresses the sentiments of many in the medical field regarding Dr. Goddard's work. He will be sorely missed by his colleagues in the Food and Drug Administration as well as by those who worked with him outside the Administration.

The above-mentioned follows:

MAY 22, 1968.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We learned with a regret we feel sure will be shared by all well informed citizens of the resignation of Dr. Goddard. That worthy gentleman has served with a distinction that ranks with the most dedicated of a long line of outstanding public servants but beyond that with a courage and dedication matched by only a few.

Dr. Goddard's tenure in office has highlighted the importance of the Food and Drug Administration and its critical position in safeguarding the health and lives of our citizenry. The great record he has established needs to be continued, I am sure you will agree.

May we strongly and sincerely support by our voice and office the recommendation of Dr. Herbert Ley as a new leader with the Goddard spirit. We are informed that Dr. Goddard himself has indicated his support for Dr. Ley and I am sure you are impressed by such confidence far above any such feeling I could hope to inspire.

The public needs and looks for our continued best efforts and closest surveillance in this vital field of government activity. We know you will give the selection of the new Administrator your sober and considered study. We thank you for your kind attention and patience.

Very respectfully,
RICHARD T. HANNA,
Member of Congress.

[From the Fullerton, Calif., Tribune, May 23, 1968]

ANOTHER DR. GODDARD NEEDED

It is unfortunate for the country, and for the American people, that Dr. James L. Goddard could not see his way clear to remain as commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration.

He has been the strongest, most conscientious and most dedicated chief since the late

Harvey W. Wiley, the "father" and first head of the FDA.

Dr. Goddard correctly interpreted the responsibility of his post as being to safeguard the health of the people to the fullest extent possible. When the inevitable conflicts with vested interests, notably the pharmaceutical manufacturers, occurred, Dr. Goddard stood up and was counted on the side of the public. He put into effect recommendations of the Kefauver Committee, and subsequent congressional investigative bodies, to apply stronger standards in the testing and marketing of new drugs and in measuring the efficacy and safety of others already being dispensed to the public.

Countless lives were saved because of these measures, for looseness and abuse were far too prevalent before Dr. Goddard assumed his office. The tragedies stemming from use of Thalidomide, a tranquilizer that resulted in deformities to unborn children, serve as one example of negligent practices in the department.

We are all in Dr. Goddard's debt. While we deeply regret his decision to return to private life, we wish him well in whatever endeavors he may undertake.

Unanswered at this point is the question of a successor to head the Food and Drug Administration. Because of the extreme importance of the office of commissioner, who must rule on matters of life and death and resist all efforts to exploit the public for monetary gain, the White House should not settle for less than the best-qualified person, a man of caliber comparable to that of Dr. Goddard.

We believe there is such a man in the department's Bureau of Medicine—its director, Dr. Herbert Ley.

We strongly urge his appointment and hope that members of Congress and others who may have influence with the administration will exert it in Dr. Ley's behalf.

TO THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, Memorial Day, May 30, 1968, has a special significance, as we all know, due to the war in Vietnam and the great crisis we face in America and throughout the world. It is refreshing to pick up a newspaper, as I did the Sevier County News Record, published on Memorial Day, and read such a moving tribute to the Unknown Soldier.

The tribute was written by James R. Howard, a 17-year-old senior in the Granite High School in Salt Lake City, Utah, who was among the students chosen to visit Washington, D.C., in January 1968, to observe the work of the U.S. Government. Their visit was sponsored by the William Randolph Hearst Foundation for Youth. After visiting the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, James wrote this tribute which we feel is a remarkable revelation of a depth of perceptive patriotism that is exemplary of true Americanism.

It was carried on the front page of this fine newspaper and the words speak out clearly, as follows:

You lie in your cold grave—triumphant in death because you defeated tyranny, peaceful in death because you died a free man.
And I wonder what tribute can I pay to you—a patriot who loved freedom and country enough to forfeit life and name on a foreign battlefield?
I would thank you—but words of thanks cannot penetrate the grave.
I would weep for you—but tears can neither stir your silent body nor warm your still heart.
I would laugh for you but laughter would disintegrate against the walls of your joyless tomb.
I would comfort you as a brother—but brotherhood cannot surmount the obstacle of eternity.
I would show you the free land you helped to save—but your vision is blocked by the curtain of death.
So I will offer you the one tribute which makes your death meaningful and my life worthwhile. I will honor your memory by pledging myself to the perpetuation of those ideals for which you fought and died—the defense of freedom, the love of liberty, and a peaceful future.
Thus will your death enrich my life, thus will my actions honor your unknown name.

—JAMES R. HOWARD.

IMPROVED STREET LIGHTING DETERS CRIME

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, life in my own community is encapsulated in fear for life, limb, and property because of the rising incidence of crime. This is true of communities throughout the Nation. Improved street lighting can serve as an effective deterrent to crime by eliminating the dark and the shadows which provide cover and concealment for the criminal element. The Flatbush Chamber of Commerce in my district has taken leadership in programs to improve municipal street lighting systems. As a guide to other civic organizations, I am calling attention to the text of a resolution on this subject adopted by the Flatbush Chamber of Commerce and addressed to responsible officials of New York City. The text of the resolution follows:

We are very much distressed to read the latest report issued by the Police Department on the increase of major crimes. In our city, in fact throughout the state, the problem of crime prevention and enforcement of law are becoming more and more exacting.

The members of the Board of Directors, after an extensive study, respectfully want to present for your consideration, some changes in our street lighting system to improve street conditions, to illuminate the dark area where crime is most likely to be rampant at night.

The present city law requires outside lights at each entrance to large buildings, but these lights do not extend further than the immediate entrance. There are at present many areas of one and two family homes that do not come under this category. We believe that lights deter crime. The thug, the robber, the rapist, shrink from the glare of bright street lights. Thefts of motor vehicles showed the highest rate increase.

The present street lighting system consists, in most instances, of 30 foot high street lighting standards, usually 120 to 160 feet on centers, complete with a bracket arm assembly to support a mercury vapor type luminaire. Nothing but spill light is available for the sidewalk area adjoining the street, with the result that most streets in the city are dark and dismal, creating an atmosphere ideal for muggers and rapists.

To correct this hazardous condition, we are outlining the following three ideas for your consideration to improve our lighting system:

(a) Equip each of the present street lighting standards with an additional bracket arm assembly and luminaire, similar to the one presently installed and located on poles 180 degrees from the present luminaire. This additional luminaire will provide adequate illumination for the sidewalk area directly under and on either side of the street lighting standard.

(b) Equip each of the present street lighting standards with twin mercury vapor floodlight assemblies mounted on top of the pole. These pole mounted floodlights should, of necessity, be placed back to back with their floodlight beams directed towards and parallel to the sidewalk below to provide the required illumination. This scheme is presently being utilized by the Street Lighting Division of the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity of the City of New York to illuminate public schools and Park Department playgrounds that adjoin city streets.

(c) Change the distribution of illumination of the present street lighting luminaires to a distribution, which will redirect some of the light from the luminaire to the adjoining sidewalk and at the same time provide illumination for the street. This change in type of distribution can be accomplished by a simple adjustment of the adjustable lamp socket within the luminaire, without necessity of replacing the refractor lens. It is true that the amount of illumination in the street will be reduced, and it is for this reason we strongly recommend that, if at all possible, the present 400-watt luminaires be replaced with their 1,000-watt companion versions. This proposed 1,000-watt luminaire will provide adequate illumination for the street as well as the adjoining sidewalks.

It is our feeling that scheme (c) is the most beneficial as well as the most economical of the three ideas proposed. However, due to the fact that certain locations of the city require the selection of various lighting equipment, we leave this matter to the best judgment of our city engineers to improve the present performance of our street lighting system.

We ask your response to this expression of our observation, approved by the unanimous vote of our Board of Directors, and hope you can give us some indication of what steps, if any, you advise will be taken on your part to cure this unsatisfactory condition and improve the street lighting system.

A TIME FOR CONFIDENCE, NOT WORRY

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, in view of all of the black pictures painted recently of the state of our national economy which have led to the pushing of the panic button demonstrated most recently by the actions of the conference committee in tying the proposed surtax to a $6 billion reduction in the President's current budget, I felt that an article written by Prof. J. Philip

Wernette deserves our most serious consideration and study.

Professor Wernette feels that the U.S. economy is strong and is critical of many of the "scare statements" we have been reading. He feels that the budget deficit is bad, but that it is not of crisis proportions. Inflation resulting from the present economic situation is not good, but "the harm done by it is grossly exaggerated."

He also points out that the surtax would have an impact in controlling this inflation, but not the impact it is credited with having. In fact, he sees a possible danger in the actions we are now contemplating, stating:

> "Reducing both deficits—budgetary and in the balance of payments—may be desirable; but actions to accomplish these goals are quite as likely to retard American prosperity as to preserve it.

Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point, I include the article, which was carried in the Los Angeles Times, on May 29, 1968. Professor Wernette is an economist in the Graduate School of Business Administration at the University of Michigan and editor of the Michigan Business Review. His books include "The Future of American Prosperity" and "Government and Business."

The article follows:

A TIME FOR CONFIDENCE, NOT WORRY

(By J. Philip Wernette)

The American people are being bombarded with scare statements about the balance of payments and the gold crisis, warning that the U.S. economy is in bad shape and unless quick corrective action is taken disaster threatens.

In fact, the American economy is in excellent shape and is getting better right along.

Here are some of these statements:

A European international banker says, "What you have is a severe dollar hemorrhage and it could bleed you to death." He does not go on to explain how a nation can be bled to death, but he makes it sound bad.

A noted columnist states, "This gold outflow, if continued, could shatter our economy." One can understand what it means to shatter a glass, but what does the term "shatter our economy" mean?

A staff correspondent for a noted newspaper writes, "When the gold crisis subsides, there will remain one overriding question: Will the United States, the greatest world power, have the strength and courage to put its economic house in order? That house is in disorder now." The writer did not go on to explain the forms of disorder—perhaps because he would have found it hard or impossible to do so.

"A sound dollar is vital to the defense of our country; and ours is shaky." No; a strong economy is vital; and ours is strong.

LOOK AT TRUE INDICATORS

What are the facts? What are the measures of the strength and soundness of a nation's economy? There are several, and the United States scores well on all of them.

1. Productivity (as commonly measured by output per manhour) is high and rising.
2. Employment is high and rising and unemployment is at a relatively low level.
3. The real gross national product (streams of goods and services produced by the American people) is at an all-time high and is rising.
4. Capital investment is at an all-time high and is rising.
5. The state of technology and business management skill and enterprise are also at all-time high levels and are rising.
6. Average real family incomes are in the same happy condition.

The foregoing are the key measures and they indicate that the performance of the American economy is the best of any nation in the world.

In the face of this evidence, what conditions lend support to the scare statements about the economy being in disorder?

One is that the commodity price level is at an all-time high and is rising. This rise is inflation, which is not good; but the harm done by it is grossly exaggerated.

Another is the fact that the budget of the federal government is unbalanced and is showing the largest deficit ever registered in peace time. That deficit is about one-fortieth of the gross national product. By contrast, in 1944, during World War II, the deficit was more than one-fifth of the gross national product. That condition, of course, was nothing to evoke enthusiasim, but on the other hand, it did not seem to generate the fearful statements that today's relatively much smaller deficit does.

The other factors that disturb the worried observers are the interrelated ones of the deficit in our international balance of payments and the gold outflow. Our monetary gold stock has gone down in the last 10 years from $23 billion to $10 billion. Since we do not have an unlimited supply, the danger is that we may run out or be forced to suspend gold payments before our stock is entirely exhausted.

It is because of this condition that foreigners have urged or have even demanded that the United States take steps to improve its balance of payments position. The step most commonly urged is moving nearer toward a balance in the federal budget—a move which is approved by foreign central bankers either because of its believed innate virtue or because of its believed effect on inflation in the United States and on our balance of payments. The reasoning is that by restraining the rise in aggregate demand, inflation would be checked and exports stimulated, and, by reducing American markets, imports would be reduced.

The price of this kind of policy probably would be increased unemployment. Furthermore, these conditions would be hurtful to the very foreign countries whose experts are urging them, would probably lead to retaliatory actions, and might not affect the balance of payments very much.

In an address before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington on April 19, William McChesney Martin, Jr., the highly respected chairman of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System, said:

"The nation is in the midst of the worst financial crisis since 1931. In 1931, the problem was deflation. Today, it is inflation and equally intolerable . . .

"I hope I am not being too emotional about our situation, but we are faced with an intolerable budget deficit and also an intolerable deficit in our international balance of payments.

"Both have to be corrected over the next few years or the United States is going to face either an uncontrollable recession or an uncontrollable inflation. We ought to get to work on these problems immediately."

In evaluating any public speech by Chairman Martin, it is wise to bear in mind that this honorable and patriotic man, by virtue of his position, is required to make certain positive statements. He must assert in the strongest terms the American determination to honor its gold obligations, not to increase the mint price of gold, and to achieve a proper balance of payments.

Moreover, in order to lend substance to this statement of determination, he must refer to the steps considered to be necessary and to indicate why failure to take these steps and to achieve these goals would be extremely harmful to the American economy.

If he does not make such statements, foreigners might interpret his stand as being less than reassuring and thereupon withdraw more monetary gold. In short, his statements are a protection for our gold stock.

When, however, his statements are subjected to economic analysis, neither facts nor reasoning support them. Our economic situation today is not at all comparable to our situation in 1931 and any suggestion that, unless the steps Martin recommends are taken, the sequence of events in the next few years in our country will resemble those that followed 1931 is completely wrong. Such inaction would not lead to an uncontrollable recession; indeed, it is doubtful that it would lead to even a small recession.

Nor, if they are not taken, do we face an uncontrollable inflation. The impact of the pending surtax on inflation in the United States is being grossly exaggerated. It will not make the difference between no inflation and an uncontrollable inflation. In fact, in the next year, it probably would make the difference between a 4% inflation and a 3% inflation.

OTHER NOTABLE LACKS

It may also be noted that Chairman Martin said nothing about the expansionary monetary policy followed by the Federal Reserve System last year, when the Fed permitted the fastest expansion of the national money stock since World War II—at a rate very considerably in excess of our normal growth needs and probably a more expansionary force than the rise in federal expenditures during the same period.

The case for scrutinizing federal expenditures was made in a calm and sensible fashion last autumn by House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills, when he observed that, wholly apart from the present problems, it is time for us to take a hard look at the size of the federal government and its role in our lives.

Reducing both deficits—budgetary and in the balance of payments—may be desirable; but actions to accomplish these goals are quite as likely to retard American prosperity as to preserve it.

The fact is that every significant indicator shows that the American economy is strong. Employment, industrial production, the real gross national product, and our standard of living—every one is at an all-time high. Moreover, the outlook for continued growth is favorable.

The strength of the American economy depends on what goes on within our borders, not on what goes out across them and what is going on within our borders is strong and getting stronger. This is a time for justified confidence, not for worrisome fear.

ITALIAN NATIONAL DAY

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor to join in saluting the citizens of Italy on the happy occasion of Italian National Day. There is reason for pride and satisfaction in the unprecedented progress made by the Italian Republic since its birth 22 years ago.

On June 2, 1946, the people of Italy held their first election following World War II and voted to replace their monarchy with a republican form of government.

Italy thus began the difficult road back to cultural and political importance in the world. Her land was ravaged by the war and threatened by an expanding and well-organized Communist Party eager to subvert the country. Nevertheless, since that time Italy has undergone a second renaissance. A modern industrial sector has been established, democratic institutions have taken firm root, a stable government has prevailed, the underdeveloped south is being brought into the mainstream of Italian life, and Italy serves as a loyal and strong link in the Atlantic Alliance.

Italy's prosperity is due to the vigor and determination of the Italian people. With an early boost from the United States, they have worked hard to bring their country to its present state of economic and political well-being.

Of course, the vigor and determination of the citizens of Italy come as no surprise to Americans. We have been enriched beyond measure by the immigration of millions of Italians to our shores throughout our history. From pre-Revolutionary times to the present day, the industry, vitality, and artistry of Italian-Americans have contributed greatly to our national life. On behalf of Americans of Italian descent and of all Americans I am proud to extend best wishes for continued growth and prosperity to the people of Italy on this their Republic's 22d anniversary.

COLUMNIST SYLVIA PORTER ANALYZES THE NEW CONSUMER CREDIT PROTECTION ACT

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the Members of the House of Representatives an excellent article in the Washington Star and in the many other newspapers which carry this outstanding feature, by Sylvia Porter, columnist on economic issues for the Publishers-Hall syndicate, on Public Law 90–321, the Consumer Credit Protection Act signed last Wednesday by President Johnson.

Miss Porter points to the many far-reaching provisions of the law on disclosure of finance charges, on garnishment, on loan-sharking, on second mortgage rackets, and on the title of the law creating the National Commission on Consumer Finance.

But she also points with sharp clarity to some of the compromises which had to be made in the House bill in getting the final version of the legislation through conference. We should all be aware of the shortcomings as well as of the strengths of the new law. As I told Miss Porter when she was preparing this column, the new law—far reaching as it is—is no cure-all for all of the ills of the marketplace; it is only a good beginning.

The article referred to is as follows:

[From the Washington Star, June 3, 1968]

Truth in Lending Law Is Hailed

(By Sylvia Porter)

The Consumer Credit Protection Act signed last week by President Johnson is one of the most important of all consumer protection laws.

The law will, for the first time, force lenders to disclose, both in dollars and in yearly percentages, the actual cost of borrowing money. Thus it will compel lenders to provide borrowers with means of comparing a variety of terms. It will reveal, beginning July 1, 1969, that many "6 percent" auto loans actually are double that rate; that a monthly credit charge of 1½ percent adds up to 18 percent a year; that in some cases, small loans by consumer loan companies are costing 30 percent a year.

But there are other less publicized, little noticed aspects of the new law which may equal or dwarf its interest disclosure provisions in their importance to consumers.

1. The law, for example, will prohibit garnishment of wages up to $48 a week and also will prohibit employers from automatically firing an employe whose wages have been garnished for the first time.

This provision could be a crippling blow to the vicious credit peddler who lends to the poorest risks not on the basis of their ability to repay but because the borrower's wages are garnishable. It also could save thousands of borrowers from personal bankruptcy resulting directly from the current medieval wage garnishment procedures.

2. The law also will forbid loan sharks from charging interest rates exceeding 45 percent a year and also will forbid them from collecting their debts by violent means. Loan sharking business, dominated by organized crime, in which interest rates of 1,000 percent or more a year are often charged. It's estimated that loan sharks today are bilking the poor of $350,000,000 a year. The significance of the nation's first Federal crackdown on this magnitude of usury can hardly be exaggerated.

3. The law clamps down on unscrupulous home repair racketeers who lure homeowners into unwittingly signing second mortgages on their homes, while they think they are signing ordinary installment loan contracts. It does this by providing for a three-day "cooling off" period during which the homeowner may back out of a deal and by requiring home repair firms to explain clearly what's involved in a second mortgage.

4. Finally, the law provides for a new National Commission on Consumer Finance which, in the words of Rep. Wright Patman, D-Tex., chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, "may well be the greatest accomplishment of the bill." The Commission will probe every aspect of consumer credit in the United States today and surely will make recommendations for further legislation.

Tough as the landmark Truth in Lending law is, pressure already is building up to make it even tougher, through future amendments.

Still exempt from Federal control are the installment lenders who get around the high interest rate problem simply by doubling the prices on goods being sold to the poor or who pile on every manner of special finance charge when they draw up a loan contract. Lenders still do not have to spell out the total dollar cost of a first mortgage to a homebuyer, even though this cost sometimes equals the cost of the home itself. Department stores and other retailers still do not have to spell out yearly interest rates on charge account balances of $35 or less if the credit charge is 50c or less a month, even though this can amount to a yearly interest rate of 17 per cent.

The protection for which former Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois fought so hard and long is at last law. But says Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan, D-Mo., the law-maker who brought it to fruition in its current tough form, "It is no cure-all for all the ills of the marketplace. It's only a good beginning."

MEMORIAL DAY OBSERVANCE ADDRESS

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Memorial Day, May 30, 1968, Alfred F. Caccamo, the second district vice commander of the American Legion, gave a Memorial Day observance address to Brooklyn Post 500 of the American Legion. I thought Mr. Caccamo's speech was particularly significant, and I include the text of that speech for the benefit of my colleagues:

Memorial Day Observance Address of Alfred F. Caccamo, May 30, 1968

This is Memorial Day 1968, a patriotic holiday in the United States. A holiday marked traditionally by parades—memorial services—and decorating of graves with flowers and flags.

This is Memorial Day 1968, dedicated to the memory of the dead of all wars, a day we honor the soldiers and sailors and a day we honor the memory of all those who have died.

This is Memorial Day 1968, first observed officially one hundred years ago today on May 30, 1868 by order of General John A. Logan, Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic. This memorable order which gave the greatest momentum for establishing a national holiday in tribute to this Nation's heroic dead.

Mr. Toastmaster, Commander, distinguished guests on the Dais, officers and members of the Brooklyn 500 Post, Members of the Auxiliary, my fellow legionnaires and friends.

I am honored to have this opportunity to talk to you on this day Brooklyn 500 Post conducts memorial services for all who have answered the final call.

Memorial services are of special significance to the American Legion and its members who served and proudly so in all the major wars of our time. While born in war, the American Legion, largest of all veteran's organizations, labors for peace. An honorable and durable peace for all America.

As we salute the hero dead of all wars and honor all others who held to mould American character apart from military service, I want to tell you about some of the fundamental principles of the American Legion.

We believe these principals are sound. They should live in the hearts of all Americans. For in the final analysis it is hard to distinguish between the true goals of the American Legion and those of America.

Preservation of the rich American heritage for which we fought is a goal to which the American Legion is dedicated. We realize, of course that this goal is impossible unless the people of America are convinced of the value of that heritage.

We believe it necessary for all of us—to remind ourselves constantly of the ancient values upon which our government and entire way of life are founded.

Freedom does not perpetuate itself, but has to be won anew by each generation. This means that every generation must be always prepared to place upon the altar of freedom the sacrifices that freedom demands. What we are is good. But it will only be that way as long as we are free.

Patriotism is a basic ideal of the American Legion. Love of country, we believe, is a virtue, and one that must be visable demonstrated. Since the flag is a symbol of our nation, we believe that visable respect must be shown it. The flag stands for all that is good and noble about our rich heritage. When we respect it, we are indicating to the world that we revere our heritage and love the country that has given it to us.

The American Legion hates war. But we believe the best way to avoid war is to be prepared militarily and morally. And—through public opinion, let the world know that we Americans today are just as willing to fight for our freedoms today as were our heroes past. Willingness to bear ams in defense of our country is a prime responsibility of citizenship. This cannot be denied, it cannot be shirked when the occasion demands.

War is fearful and costly in terms of human suffering and material losses. But it is also true that life without freedom is meaningless and in the end not worth living.

History teaches the bitter lesson that the nation that would not fight for its freedom soon lost it. Nation's character and identity are lost when freedom is lost.

What we Americans decide to do today, about our country and about the world in which we live may well decide not only *how* but *whether* the youth of America will live tomorrow.

Today—our most urgent requirement is national unity. Demonstrations, criticism, and arguments that cast doubt on our motives and tear down our national spirit have no place in the discussion of problems we face. All of us recognize the inalienable right of every citizen to petition and to peaceable demonstrate on behalf of the cause which he supports. We also recognize the difference between rights and riots. It is identical to the difference between liberty and license, and the right to protest does not give license to engage in campaigns, demonstrations or even arguments that lend aid and comfort to the very enemy who today is killing our fighting men in a bloody war halfway around the world. The time has passed when it was useful to argue whether, and to what extent, we should have become involved in Vietnam. *We are there.* Thousands of our men have made the supreme sacrifice and thousands more have been wounded . . . some of them marked for life by the scars of the conflict. This is no "limited" war to them. Having committed American military men to battle, the American Government and every citizen of our United States is totally committed to their full support. Vietnam is a test of both our power and our strength of national purpose and determination. The battle is therefore being fought inside the United States as much as on the battlefields of Vietnam.

There are lessons to be learned from history and we should have learned by now that appeasement of aggression leads only to further aggression. Those who would have us pull out of Vietnam have forgotten the lesson of Munich. We had better remember that lesson, for to abandon the conflict in Vietnam can only bring another confrontation with communism at another time and in another place.

Our job as Americans, each of us, is to see that our hope never darkens, that our Nation will stand great and strong and generous . . . able to offer a helping hand to all who need it. Just as we have done since World War II.

In closing remember we must all work together for God and country and in doing so, we will be keeping faith with all the heroes in our Nation's past.

Comrades and friends, on this Memorial Day let us pledge ourselves anew to patriotic service. Let us make ourselves the friend and brother, son and father, of those who will not see their own again in mortal flesh. Let us grasp with fearless hands the flag so nobly borne before, and, like those others, plant it always on the battlements of righteousness.

Thank you.

JAPAN BOYCOTTS THE STATE OF ISRAEL

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that I find it necessary to bring to the attention of my colleagues a distasteful situation which seems to be intensifying with each passing month; namely, the economic boycott of the State of Israel by Japan.

Three reactions strike me immediately.

The first is the distaste that a major maritime and trading nation should find it necessary to bow to the pressure of the Arab boycott against the State of Israel.

The second is the uselessness of the Japanese decision, inasmuch as the other maritime and trading nations of the world which have refused to bow to international blackmail are still buying Arab oil; and it appears to be the fear of this source which has been the determining factor in the Japanese acquiescence in obeying the Arab dictum neither to buy from Israel nor sell her that which she wishes to buy.

The third is the brutal hypocrisy of a Japan trading with United States and Nationalist China the same time it is trading with Red China; trading with both North and South Korea at the same time; the hypocrisy of a nation screaming loudly for free and unrestricted international trade turning against little Israel.

All these facts and many more are present in a report issued by the Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith. I consider the 25-page report too lengthy for insertion in its entirety, but I recommend the reading of it to any of my colleagues who are interested in international fairplay.

Israel is anxious to trade with Japan; they are a natural combination with Israel ready to supply such raw materials as phosphates, alkali, cement, diamonds, and so forth, in addition to varied foodstuffs.

Israel is an eager market for Japan's electrical and automotive goods, finished and knocked down machinery and consumer products.

Israel had also negotiated with the Kawasaki Dockyard Co., of Kobe, to build for its merchant fleet a 100,000-ton oil tanker. In a letter to Zim Israel Navigation Co., the prospective purchaser, the Japanese builder stated:

> One of the Kawasaki Group Company has a business transaction with the U.A.R. which fact was not made known to us at the time of our early negotiation with you for this deal.
>
> However, this fact has been recently put before us at a consultation meeting of the Kawasaki Group and at that meeting the said company has strongly made his appeal to us that we discontinue this particular business for Israel.
>
> Under the above circumstances, we, all of a sudden, are compelled to put forward this declination to you with a thousand pities and this matter will trouble our conscience for your very kind assistance made in negotiating this deal to date.
>
> Please understand our position and accept our deep apology for this unhappy situation.
>
> Taking this opportunity, we wish to add that this action has no bearing with the Japanese government and we never received their instruction nor suggestion and the decision made by us is purely based on our discretion.

Mr. Speaker, there is a letter from the Shiba Electric Co., Ltd., of Tokyo, to an Israel importer who wished to buy closed circuit television.

The letter states simply that—

> To our regret, we wish to refrain from quoting the article, because our company have closely dealt with Arabic countries.

There are other letters as well.

Trade between the two nations is not completely nil, but it is descending to a point where it will be soon. In 1966, Israel exported $13.5 million in goods to Japan—but of this $12 million was diamonds alone. The remaining $1.5 million in other goods represents a decline from $5.7 million during the previous year.

The position of the Congress is quite clear. In a 1965 amendment to the export control bill of 1949, the Congress went on record as opposing "restrictive trade practices or boycotts by foreign countries against other countries friendly to the United States."

This is a classic example of what the Congress opposes.

It much be remembered that the United States is Japan's best customer. In 1966, the United States absorbed $2.969 billion worth of Japanese imports. The United States has a unbalanced trade with Japan, with Japan getting the advantage; and this advantage is growing annually.

I think the time has come for the Congress of the United States, for the people of the United States, and the businessmen of the United States to tell the Government and industrialists of Japan that we mean what we say and we say what we mean.

STEEL IMPORT CONTROLS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means began hearings today on the important issue of the balance of trade between the United States and foreign nations.

These hearings, according to the committee, will be comprehensive and will consider the whole pattern of tariff and trade proposals which have been made over recent months.

Included is the very important issue of the increasing influx of foreign steel into the United States.

I introduced legislation—H.R. 14295—last fall to provide for orderly trade in iron ore, iron, and steel mill products. This measure has wide support, as evidenced by the large amount of mail which I have received before and since I sponsored the legislation.

Two weeks ago, the Lackawanna Chamber of Commerce adopted the following resolution which refers to H.R. 13543. I also cosponsored that measure, but my H.R. 14295 represents a refinement of the earlier bill.

The resolution referred to follows:

LACKAWANNA RESOLUTION

Whereas the Lackawanna Chamber of Commerce is a businessman's organization in the Steel City of the Great Lakes—Lackawanna, New York; and

Whereas the commercial health of our community is directly dependent upon full employment of our citizens, many of whom are employed at the Bethlehem Steel Corporation's Lackawanna Plant, situated within our Corporate limits; and

Whereas the Lackawanna Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors are convinced that the rapidly increasing use of foreign made steel in this country is becoming a depressant to needed improvements and expansion of our domestic steel industry; and

Whereas the unchecked increase, in future years, of foreign steel imports may well decrease the demand for domestic steel and thereby reduce the employment of American labor in American steel mills

Now therefore be it resolved, That the Lackawanna Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors petition the New York State Senators and the area Congressmen to move and pass S. 2537 and H.R. 13543 respectively and that a copy of this resolution be furnished each legislator signifying the very strong feelings of the petitioners.

Unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Lackawanna Chamber of Commerce held May 22, 1968.

MODERNIZING MEDICAL CARE

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I was honored twice during May with invitations to address groups of doctors and medical educators.

Although each meeting was devoted, in part, to the new advances in the technology of medical education, I chose to consider some of the broader issues of medical care and the responsibilities of the medical schools for changing our medical care system.

Because these speeches aroused strong feelings about our medical care system—I am still answering letters of praise and criticism about them—I am including the texts which I hope will interest my colleagues as we prepare to face the difficult task of the proper Federal response to the serious shortcomings in our medical care system.

SPEECH BEFORE THE AMERICAN FEDERATION FOR CLINICAL RESEARCH, ATLANTIC CITY, MAY 4, 1968

A layman should be reverent before the dramatic communications changes described today which may soon make medicine more efficient and more effective. But I'm not.

Medicine is for people and by people and it won't be improved from its present sorry state in this country until we do something about the people running it.

I am not proposing to shock you with a populist speech from your proper attention to the new electronics. But I do not think you should return to your universities and your medical schools without refreshing your human response to the unfair, discriminatory and over-rated system of American medicine which so awkwardly today faces its responsibilities to a society to which it is so essentially alien.

I talk to many people, and listen to even more, about your profession and its practice. I find no one who is happy with it and few who even make a good defense of it.

I'm not speaking of the poor, the ignorant, and victims of discrimination. They never had any happy experience with doctors. I am speaking of representatives of the middle class, whom I represent in Congress and whom you serve, directly or indirectly.

Americans have been educated to accept their doctors and their medical services as the best in the world. Obvious discrepancies between this institutional advertising and one's personal experiences were usually dismissed as exceptions. There was until recently an isolation from comparisons with other countries which is now shattered by the frequency with which doctors themselves discuss our persistently inferior ratings in the crucial health indices: infant mortality, maternal mortality, and life expectancy.

America ranks 21st among nations in life expectancy at birth for males. We are behind such nations as Malta, France and Spain, and significantly farther behind such medically-advanced countries as Denmark, Netherlands, and Sweden.

Our infant mortality rate is 18th among countries reported by the World Health Organization. Statistically, we could save over 40,000 young lives a year if we matched the health record of the Netherlands.

These national averages, by their statistical nature, smother an even more damaging indictment: our medical services for the poor, for the Negro, and for the rural residents are much *below* these mediocre national averages.

These great social and geographical disparities mean that metropolitan middle-class residents, disturbed and annoyed by overcrowded waiting rooms, delayed medical appointments, assembly line examining and diagnosis techniques and treatment are relatively *well-off* compared to the simple lack of doctors and basic medical facilities endured by the urban poor and by almost any rural residential group.

The President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty just reported that "We have failed miserably to protect the health of low-income people in rural areas. The health service they get is not only inadequate in extent but seriously deficient in quality. It is badly organized, under-financed, rarely related to the needs of the individual or the family".

That commission's jurisdiction was limited to the rural poor; its comment on your profession applies here to a far wider group.

For among non-whites throughout the country, the picture is indeed bleak. Maternal mortality, related directly, of course, to pre-natal care, is *four* times as high for non-whites as for whites. Infant mortality is an equally dismal prospect for black babies. Over 40 out of every 1000 non-white babies dies before the age of 12 months, compared to about 21 white infants.

How does the richest nation in the history of the world tolerate these conditions? The Medical Establishment, represented by the private practice of doctor-oriented medicine and walking hand-in-hand with the research-oriented federal government, is only somewhat and sometimes concerned about these problems.

President Milford O. Rouse, of the American Medical Association, said at his inauguration last June:

"We are faced with many problems and many challenges. We are faced with the concept of health care as a right rather than a privilege.

"Several major steps have already been taken by the federal government in providing health and medical care for large segments of the population. Other steps have been proposed. These we must continue to oppose.

"What is our philosophy? It is the faith in private enterprise. We can, therefore, concentrate our attention on the single obligation to protect the American way of life. That way can be described in one word: Capitalism."

He concluded, "The United States (has) a quality of health care unsurpassed anywhere."

Private enterprise, in Dr. Rouse's context, suggests health service should center around the private practitioner of medicine. I believe that health service must be oriented to the patient. Our criteria of good medical services should be not the self-defensive statements of the AMA President, but the accepted medical indices, like infant and maternal mortality and life expectancy. And when these indices show serious deficiencies of medical care, as they unquestionably do now, the answer is not "more of the same," but rather a complete and thoughtful evaluation of our national medical services.

It is in this context that I see, with many distinguished doctors and medical enducators, a crisis in America's medical services. And it will not do to dismiss Dr. Rouse as an atypical American doctor. I am really not concerned about Dr. Rouse but only about the climate in American medicine which produces him. One does not become President of the AMA without reflecting accurately the convictions of many of its 215,000 members.

If we admit that the situation in medical services is serious today, how prepared are you men, who will lead academic medicine for the next 20 or 30 years, to revise the present system?

Are you ready, for example, to admit that much of the private practitioner's time today is wasted, whether measured in terms of directing his attention to those really needing his skilled services within his middle class practice or by the standards of infant and maternal mortality I have mentioned, which show that the poor and the ignorant simply fail, by the system you work in and reinforce, to get the minimum medical care they deserve?

American medicine is today a middle class service institution run by well-to-do doctors for their own convenience and profit. This is a minority view, which is certainly not typical of my Congressional colleagues, but it will become more prevalent in the future.

To see these problems from a different perspective, imagine a discussion two hundred years ago about the state of American education.

Imagine a system of education characterized by private teachers, working for fee-for-service, in their own offices and other purely private institutions.

Imagine: little interest or activity by the government directed to improving the education system.

Imagine: no credence for the belief that education is not only a right of the citizen but a primary responsibility of government.

And, finally, imagine: grossly inadequate performance of the educational system, as indicated by wide illiteracy, ignorance of public issues, and governmental distrust of public opinion.

Mid-eighteenth century America was actually like this. Change medicine for education, and this sketch becomes an accurate view of how 20th Century America practices private medicine.

What then happened to private education in America? Well, it still exists at some of your schools and at a relatively few primary and secondary schools, but the last 200 years has seen the construction of the American public education system.

Do you think private teachers in America in 1768 could imagine public schools as a right? Can doctors today imagine public medical care as a right? My guess is that

American medicine will undergo a change as fundamental as that experienced by American education. It will take about 20 years.

How can you—the leaders of academic medicine—accept this challenge and prepare a proper response? How can Congress and the rest of the federal government anticipate this change, encourage its development, and yet retain the essential nature of medicine as a system for the best exercise of those essentially personal judgments, made in privacy, of humans about the health needs of other humans?

I suggest that one important goal for your medical schools is to take *more* responsibility for revising the medical educational system than you have ever been inclined to take.

How well are you and your schools prepared to train new kinds of doctors and new kinds of doctors assistants? How important is preventive medicine in your schools today? How many of you have worked to free your colleagues who are pediatricians or obstetricians or orthopedists from the drugery of their work which takes so much of their time, uses so little of their training, and wastes so much of their medical talents?

You are all aware of the work of Drs. Stead in Duke University and Niebauer in San Francisco and Lewis in Kansas City. Each of these medical educators is trying, in different ways, to train medical assistants to remove some of this drugery.

Each of them is 20 years *behind* his time in this training compared to other countries. By present rates of progress, these men are 20 years *ahead* of your own interest in paramedical personnel.

Each of these is trying to answer the questions:

"Do you need a doctor to take your blood pressure?"

"Can a bright college graduate be taught to take a complete medical history and to give a thorough physical examination?"

"What happens to the medical knowledge of an Army 'medic' when he is discharged?"

These and other similar questions raise one of the most striking questions in American medicine today: How much medical talent are we wasting?

To put the problem in terms of the doctors themselves, let's ask—Is it sensible to train a pediatrician for four years in college, four years in medical school and four years graduate medical training, and then use him for tasks a good junior college graduate can do?

Dr. Bergman's study[1] in the State of Washington showed that pediatricians, especially for the middle and upper classes, have become the "arbiter in the American scene of such things as infant feeding, clothing, elimination, child-rearing practices and the differential diagnosis and treatment of common infectious diseases."

The authors of this study noted that "pediatricians spend most of their time dealing with children who are not ill or have only minor illnesses and who, they may feel, do not require their special talents". The result is intellectual disenchantment, a well-known and serious problem for pediatricians.

We have tens of thousands of babies dying each year because their mothers had poor care or no medical care at all before delivery. Yet, nearby, we have pediatricians serving the middle class who are bored with their work because it could be done by others with much less training.

I am well aware of the problems we face in creating new assistants for today's physician. These problems can be grouped as follows:

I. Acceptance by doctors.
II. Acceptance by patients.
III. Accreditation and licensing.
IV. Training facilities and methods.
V. Federal encouragement.

Dr. Joseph Stokes, a former dean of the University of California Medical School, has proposed a new graduate degree of "Medical Practice" to prepare one kind of physicians assistant. With four years of post-college medical training (including a one year "apprenticeship" instead of three-five years post-graduate training required for doctors presently), this Medical Practitioner could work principally on salary, either in a hospital or a doctor's office. He would earn more than nurses ($12,000 to $15,000) but less than doctors. He "would actually spend 75 to 80 percent of his time performing services now performed by physicians (routine physical examinations, well-child care, operating room assistance and normal deliveries of babies) while 20 to 25 percent of his time would go to carry out tasks now done by certain nurses".[2]

On patient acceptance, Dr. Stokes concludes:

"Success or failure for such a program would almost certainly rest with the public. It is clear that society is not willing to accept anything but the best where health is concerned. As customers we may be willing to deal with a salesgirl rather than with the department store manager when buying stockings, but for any illness we have thought it best to start at the top. In reality, medical care has much in common with service industries. Each need of each patient should seek its own level of competence. The physician should be allowed to restrict his personal involvement to that for which his superb training uniquely qualifies him. Only in this way will he be able to assume the team leadership role which, as yet, he has been neither willing nor able to accept."

To succeed, a new "Medical Practice" degree would need the following send off:

(1) Agreement by 4-6 medical schools on a curriculum, entrance requirements and simultaneous starting dates.

(2) Accreditation and licensing of the first graduates of these schools in some major populous states—like New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, etc.

(3) Clear understanding by all—including licensing authorities—that practitioners will work within professional guidelines established by physicians who remain legally and in the public's view, as "the ultimate agent of society".

In each of these steps, the medical educators will play a crucial role.

One problem today is that no one knows how to train a physician's assistant. No one knew 30 years ago how to train a television technician either. We need more pilot programs of the kind Duke University and a few other institutions are attempting.

Yet the Duke program[3] was financed by a private foundation, partly because neither state nor federal funds were available for a non-degree program but also because there is considerable opposition among the conservative doctors which state and federal agencies deal with on many other medical programs and who are strongly opposed to Dr. Stead's experiment.

Another interesting pilot program for doctor's assistants was carried out in Kansas City using nurses who were given greater responsibilities for patient care.[4]

This program was significant particularly because it focused on patient acceptance of a doctor-substitute.

Clinical patients were divided into two groups—control and experimental. The control group continued to see doctors in the medical clinic. The experimental group saw nurses as the primary source of medical care. All patients were adults with chronic illnesses.

No special training was given the nurses who were, however, willing and very able volunteers for the program.

Here is the striking result of a survey of patient attitudes before and after the 12 month program:

"The majority of patients, at the start, held rather strong opinions about having physicians perform most of the functions associated with medical care . . . patients had many complaints and made frequent use of clinic facilities.

" . . . a year later retesting of the control group revealed no changes. In the experimental group several significant changes were evident. The nurse was accepted as a primary source of care. There was increased adherence to appointed schedules and better utilization of time . . . The overall cost of the program was lower. The experimental group shifted their preference in favor of the nurse as a provider of many of the services formerly reserved for the physician. The quality of care and patient satisfaction with care were high in the experimental group."[5]

Imagine how much better clinical care could be given by specially trained physician's assistants with the credentials, experience, and pride of other professions.

The desperate shortage of health manpower, and the need for new approaches to the traditional medical team, renders these few pilot programs inexcusably inadequate.

And the blame can be divided between the federal government and the medical profession. In any group of human beings most will prefer the status quo. Any disruption of the comfortable complacent and self-justifying present is dangerous.

Most doctors *don't* think they need a new kind of assistant. Most can not imagine a non-doctor doing things *they* now do. But a few "heroes" arise in any group of 200,000 members. And the medical profession has produced, in these pilot plans, and in the "maverick" medical organization, its share of heroes.

The sad chapter of this story is the lack of response by the federal government to these pleas for change.

The federal government has never been a leader in social legislation either within the American context, or compared to other countries. Congress particularly tends to respond with new social legislation only when a problem in health or welfare or education is clearly defined and only after private, local and state alternative actions are demonstrably insufficient.

The same pattern is true in the federal response to training physician's assistants. No one knows how far we could have come today if the Executive Branch had lead in a thorough exploration of the whole field of health care, and particularly in freeing the present system from almost exclusive dependency on an underpowered and inefficient use of an inadequate number of doctors.

Today, the Steads, and the Niebauers and the Stokes of American medicine are still finding their way with foundation money, half-hearted federal support, and general skepticism of their medical colleagues.

The federal response, as might be expected, is at least as far behind these leaders as you are. The federal record in stimulating innovation in medical care is a sorry one.

I am working, in those limited ways available to a single Congressman, to hurry this response. You could make an even larger contribution by showing the federal government that you are ready and willing to follow the leaders in the medical schools and not those in the American Medical Association.

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[1] "Time-Motion Study of Practicing Pediatricians", *Pediatrics*, August, 1966.

[2] "A New Profession Within Medicine?", *Saturday Review*, December 3, 1966.

[3] "The Duke Plan for Physician's Assistants", by Dr. Eugene A. Stead, Jr., *Medical Times*, January 1967.

[4] "Nurse, Clinics, and Ambulatory Patient Care", by Charles E. Lewis, M.D., and Barbara A. Resnik, R.N., *New England Journal of Medicine*, December 7, 1967.

[5] Lewis, Resnik, *op. cit.*

You can demonstrate, specifically, that physician's assistants should be training today in the medical schools of this country. The medical schools have the knowledge, the faculty and the prestige necessary to commit to the difficult task of deciding which specialties can benefit first and most from physician's assistants.

You have the influence over state accrediting and licensing authorities necessary to get physician's assistants accepted. And you have the knowledge to know where and how, and with what limits, these assistants could be used.

Let me close by saying that Congress *is* becoming aware of the relation between poverty and medical care. We hear more often from doctors, among others, that the sick get poorer and the poor, sicker. With the present momentum behind our belated commitment to the poor, we could not ignore even if we wanted to, the medical needs of America's forgotten man—the poor, black who causes no riots, who commits no crime, whose only desires are a decent home, a meaningful job, and education to perform it properly.

This forgotten man has been remembered today.

When Shakespeare wrote:

"The miserable have no other medicine. But only hope," he wrote for us.

Let us fulfill that hope together.

Keynote Address Before the Hartford Foundation Conference on Media Research and Medical Teaching, N.Y.U. School of Medicine, May 16, 1968

Medical communication is our theme today. We have seen and heard of many coming marvels of technology, most of which I'll never understand. But I want to talk to you, not about the new technology but about a much older and much more difficult problem of communications:

How does one group in society tell its story and its problem to the public without demeaning its cause or forsaking its integrity? How, specifically, can the medical profession, including its educators, tell the country how desperately serious are today's problems of sustaining and expanding medical education?

After some six years in Congress, you can be sure I am not easily shocked by anything. But I am genuinely and deeply shocked by the possibility that 12 to 15 of this country's medical schools may go out of business in a year or two from lack of funds.

I am shocked, and distressed, that a country that can give General Motors $20 Million extra to speed up rifle production cannot find a quarter of that amount to keep the have-not medical schools alive.

I am distressed that when Congress authorizes $90 million for institutional aid to medical schools, the Administration asks for only $76 million.

And I am as aware as you are, that the fiscal blackmail which may force further budget reductions in order to pass a tax increase, may well fall again on this scanty $76 million for institutional grants.

But more than exposing our deficiencies in Washington, which I am sure are well known to all of you, I'd like to consider yours also.

I would like to know why, for example, the medical educators have not realistically appraised the problem of the dozen financially weak medical schools, and said: Lets meet and plan a program to communicate this problem to the country. Let us set an example of honesty by listing these have-not schools, by explaining how they got that way, and what we see as solutions.

This is not a difficult story to tell. And, more important, it is not a one-sided story of Federal righteousness, on one side, and educational mismanagement, on the other. Rather, the poorest dozen medical schools, who are in real danger of collapse without emergency resuscitation, got that way during a decade when the Federal government was raising its medical research budget from $400 million to $1.4 billion each year. Much of this money went to the medical schools and some of it goes to the very schools which reel closer and closer to disaster.

But this money, as you well know, does not make a medical school rich. In fact, Federal research funds *cost* a school part of its own budget in most cases. So the rich schools became poorer, and the poor ones became poorer, but the rich ones survive, because of endowments and wealthy alumni.

You could tell this story better than I, but you haven't done it. You could name a dozen have-not medical schools today. So could I.

Together we could, and should, direct the attention of my colleagues in Congress and yours in these needy medical schools to these facts:

If we lose one of these medical schools—and we may well lose more than one—it will cost $40–$50 million in start-up costs for a replacement medical school. It will cost about $2.5 million each year for that new school just for minimum operating costs. And it will be ten years, and $75 million later, before the first graduates of that school go into practice.

Meanwhile, during that planning and start up period which takes a decade, one thousand doctors will never be graduated from the school that died. And the 800,000 people they would serve will either go without medical care or become a burden on the limited number of doctors we have.

This is a decade when we finally begin to realize that our medical care system is over-rated, discriminatory and unfair in many ways. Yet we stand unprepared and unorganized to prevent the loss of a dozen over worked medical schools and it is these schools, and you, the educators, who must give us both the answers to our medical care problems and the health manpower to apply them.

I have been critical of our medical care system. I think we must all reexamine many of the premises of today's care system: the sanctity of the private practice of medicine, the devotion to fee-for-service compensation, the reluctance to direct medical services except by the narrower economics of supply and demand, and the live-if-you-can medical treatment given the poor, the ignorant and the Negro.

But I am ready to translate this indictment of shortcomings into support for the efforts the medical school make to save their sister institutions. I am ready to help save the system in order to improve it.

I am ready to help educate my colleagues in Congress and my constituents in this City with these facts:

For what we spend on one fighter-bomber, lost over Vietnam, we can sustain the hard-core of the have-not medical schools.

For the $2.3 million health program in Laos sponsored by our foreign aid program, we could keep five of *our* medical schools alive for a year.

And for the $761,000 we spend on contraceptives in Thailand's share of our foreign medical aid, we could keep Creighton and New York Medical College going for another school year.

How does the richest nation in this world tolerate this situation? The same way we tolerate the poor around us and the crumbling cities in which we live.

Beyond the emergency programs we need during this Congress for the Meharry's and the Marquettes, we need a vastly increased Federal program to create new medical schools and to staff them with new teachers of science and clinical skills.

These new medical schools need not require completely new building complexes for our medical schools have an average of over three hospital affiliations each. At least 50 of the over 300 teaching hospitals can be detached from their present affiliations to serve as nuclei of new medical schools.

In addition, if every existing medical school expanded its enrollment by five percent we would have almost 400 additional medical graduates a year—the output of nearly four average medical schools. Such expansion involves a minimum of new construction funds and a much faster way of making new doctors.

We must also increase the number of teaching hospitals to bring the benefits of university medical standards to the widest number of our citizens. There is no reason why medical schools cannot extend their affiliation to hospitals hundreds of miles away, considering the ease of transportation and communication today. This radiation of medical competence and performance must be accelerated by expanded federal assistance programs to both the medical schools and to upgrade their potential teaching hospitals.

I have proposed basic science faculty fellowships and clinical teaching grants to staff the new medical schools and to expand enrollment at existing schools.

The present research support of medical college personnel by the federal government is helping to creat *research* faculty members for tomorrow's medical schools. We must also provide an increased flow of *clinical teachers* of medicine if we are to insure quality medical education for the new and existing schools. To do this, we should encourage specialists on the staffs of leading voluntary institutions to teach medical students in the crucial clinical third and fourth years of medical education.

The total cost of a clinical grant program would be about $60 million a year. It would provide 1,000 clinical instructors, 1,000 part-time clinical teachers, and 1,000 full-time clinical teachers.

Basic Science Faculty Fellowships would help create the 4,000 additional MD's and PhD's needed to teach in the new medical schools. Five hundred of these teaching candidates would enter the fellowship program each year under full federal grants. Acceptance of the fellowship would pledge the fellows to serve as basic science teachers in a medical school for a specified period following their training.

Another important area to be explored is the creation of new types of health professionals.

There is considerable ferment in the medical profession concerning a new class of doctors' assistants who can relieve them of much of the burden of routine tasks. They would work under close superivsion of physicans. Several exciting experiments in training and using such workers have already been conducted with very impressive results.

The federal government, which should lead in encouraging such imaginative uses of new health workers has done just the opposite. It has answered calls for imagination with inertia. For fear of opposition among organized medicine, it has felt safer in doing nothing. For lack of clear legislative mandate, it turns away medicine's own plans to explore the new health assistants.

Communications technology has vast import in manpower training. Media such as films, videotapes, and television systems and computers can vastly extend the didactic output of the single academician . . . immensely relevant when one considers that in 1967 the ratio between teacher and clinical medical student had become 1.2 teachers for every student. This is an unaffordable luxury.

But the broader communications between doctor and the public, between medicine and the Federal government, and between the medical schools and the Congressmen who represent these schools in their districts, remain my principal concern today.

Fifteen Congressmen, on the floor of the House of Representatives, could explain easily . . . more easily than I have attempted to do . . . how the death of their medical schools will affect their communities. The rest of us can explain and amplify the national concern.

The pork-barrel is always in poor repute. But the Congress continues to respond to the concern of a Congressman about his district. My concern is that these Congressmen don't know the real danger and therefore can't respond properly to it.

My message to you today is that unless the Congress leads in the reconsideration of medical school support, and unless it does it soon, we may be talking here next year about how we can *replace* the darkened schools.

I do not want to make that speech next year.

THEATER FOR THE FORGOTTEN—A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Theater for the Forgotten, an organization located in my district, seems to be the only program in the country providing professional entertainment for prisoners and also the opportunity, by participation, for constructive rehabilitative involvement.

My colleagues who have supported the program for the arts and humanities because of its great potential for the cultural life of this country, will recognize that those who are incarcerated will hunger all the more for the opportunity to view a theater program and partake in such a performance. The therapy involved can be of great benefit in helping to restore the individuals involved for return to society.

I have asked Barry H. Garfinkel, Esq., of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, Esqs., in my district, to prepare a short statement about this endeavor which is financed by tax-deductible public contributions.

I know my colleagues will be interested in this, as well as in the New York Times' coverage, one of the many newspaper references to Theater for the Forgotten, and the laudatory letter from New York City Commissioner of Correction George F. McGrath:

THEATER FOR THE FORGOTTEN

HISTORY

Theatre for the Forgotten is a 1967, New York State chartered non-profit corporation. Endorsed by New York City and State correction officials, the project has been supported by individual contributions and grants from the J. M. Kaplan Fund and the New York Foundation. The City has provided the 15-member company with a temporary rehearsal building at a rental of $1 a month. Actors' Equity Association has allowed Theatre for the Forgotten to use professional performers without compensating them.

Productions have been brought to Riker's Island, Hart's Island, the Bronx House of Detention for Men and the Women's House of Detention. Although the basic company is composed of professional performers and technicians, prisoners are used also. This is the only program in the country providing both professional entertainment to the prisoners and the opportunity for constructive rehabilitative involvement. During the past season, Theatre for the Forgotten performed to approximately 6,000 prisoners. One hundred inmates of Riker's Island and the Women's House of Detention actively participated as actors and technicians.

Plays presented include:

"Hello Out There"—Saroyan.

"Lou Gehrig Did Not Die of Cancer"—Jason Miller.

"The Advocate"—Robert Noah.

"The Case of the Crushed Petunias"—Tennessee Williams.

"Here We Are"—Dorothy Parker.

"Impromptu"—Tad Mosel.

"The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet"—Shaw.

PURPOSE OF EXPANDED PROGRAM

To provide paid employment for ex-convicts and a means to reinforce the rehabilitative study program by creating a "bridge to society";

To stimulate the use of theatre as a rehabilitative tool and encourage the development of prison drama groups;

To increase touring capacities and reach statewide prison audiences.

THE PROGRAM

Theatre for the Forgotten is an important cultural enrichment program for the prisons. It provides audiences with an excellent source of professional entertainment; it allows interested prisoners to explore their own potential and receive training. The skills and disciplines acquired by the better motivated prisoners may lead to career opportunities and advancement in theatre and related fields.

APPRENTICE PROJECT

An apprentice program for ex-convicts would allow them to continue their studies, while being salaried. Two former prisoners, introduced to Theatre for the Forgotten through the Riker's Island program, have been working with the company as volunteers, since their release.

The project bridges their return to society by providing a positive alternative to a return to former patterns of behavior and unsatisfactory relationships. Working as apprentices they would serve as actors, technicians, designers and administrative assistants. Learning by working, they would become professional.

RIKER'S ISLAND RESIDENT COMPANY

Prison officials have indicated that a permanent professional company at Riker's Island is needed. The communication between prisoners and Theatre for the Forgotten staff members enables the company to effectively teach and personally influence the prisoners.

The company of seven (a Director, Stage Manager, Lighting Designer, Scenic Designer and three Actors) would work with 100 prisoners in workshop and production to provide a constructive, therapeutic study program for the enrollees and entertainment for an audience of 3,500. The most promising, and interested, of the students would be referred to the Apprentice Project after their release.

EXPANDED TOURING PROGRAM

Funding would enable Theatre for the Forgotten to salary the artists and technicians participating in the program. The company have had to support themselves and the project by working at other jobs. Consequently, rehearsals, performances, and the teaching of prisoners, have been sandwiched into limited time periods.

A company of seven professions and five apprentices would prepare a new production every six weeks and return regularly to all participating institutions. The program in New York City could be expanded to include residences sponsored by the New York State Division for Youth and the State Narcotics Control Commission. They would also act as consultants to the prisons so that they could institute their own resident work-study programs.

PROJECTED PROGRAM

1968–69 season

Apprentice Project—Five paid Apprentices working full-time with the professional touring company in workshop and on productions.

Riker's Island Resident Company—Seven full-time artists and technicians working in workshop and on productions with only Riker's Island inmates.

Touring Company—A new production would be mounted every six weeks to be toured in the New York City prisons, Narcotics and Division for Youth centers; the company would also perform at Riker's Island.

In addition to the in-prison tours, the apprentices and professionals could make public presentations. The sale of tickets at these performances would help support the project, as well as educate the public to the value of the program.

1969–70 season

Apprentice Project—Five new apprentices would be added to the program.

Riker's Island Resident Company—Expansion of the project as determined by the prison and company needs.

Touring Company—Two companies would be formed made up of the professionals and the experienced apprentices.

The Tour would be expanded to include prisons throughout New York State.

Budgets (One Year)

Administrative budget	$29,510
Apprentice project/one touring company	92,725
Riker's Island resident company	60,381
Total	182,616

[From the New York Times, Oct. 15, 1967]

RIKERS' INMATES TURN INTO ACTORS—PLAY AGAINST INJUSTICE IS PERFORMED BY PRISONERS

(By J. Anthony Lukas)

When the lights went on after the first act of "The Advocate" Monday night, a heavyset man in the first row rose quickly and lumbered backstage to examine a ring of keys used to unlock Bartolomeo Vanzetti's cell.

"Theatrical realism is fine," said Jim Thomas, "but those keys looked a little too real."

Mr. Thomas' concern was understandable. He is the warden of the New York City Correctional Institution for Men and the play was being presented in the institution's auditorium on Rikers Island. The man who played Vanzetti's guard—like 22 of the other actors—was a prisoner.

The play, presented at the prison Monday through Friday, made both theatrical and penal history; this is believed to be the first time professional actor and prisoners had combined efforts in a theatrical production.

From City Correction Commissioner George F. McGrath, who authorized the unusual venture, down to the guards and prisoners on Rikers Island, everyone associated with the project was eager to see that nothing went wrong.

ONE WATCH STOLEN

Except for a stop watch stolen from the prop manager's cupboard, a sprained ankle suffered by the stage manager when his foot caught under a piece of scenery and a power failure on Wednesday, nothing did go wrong. In fact, things went so well that prison officials have invited the producers to return again soon for another production.

The producers are the Theatre for the Forgotten, Inc., a group of young professional actors who got together last spring to tour penal institutions.

Its first productions—a pair of one-act plays—were presented last June at Rikers Island and at the Women's House of Detention. But in both cases the cast and the production crew were fully professional.

The reaction at Rikers Island, where many of the prisoners had never seen a play before, was so enthusiastic that the producers decided to try involving the prisoners in their next production.

Moreover, they chose a play with which the prisoners could identify but which was hardly calculated to enchant prison authorities: "The Advocate," a play by Robert Noah about the Sacco-Vanzetti trial of the twenties.

The play argues that Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a shoemaker, and Nicola Sacco, a fish peddler, were not guilty of the South Braintree payroll robbery and murder for which they were executed in 1927 and that their conviction and execution resulted largely from prejudice against them as anarchists.

Commissioner McGrath, who attended Monday's performance, said he had not wasted much thought about this.

"I realized that the prisoners might tend to sympathize with Sacco and Vanzetti and therefore be critical of the system which sent them to their deaths, but that's perfectly O.K. We all know that there are injustices. They're thinking people and they can make up their minds."

The audience at Monday night's performance—about 600 adolescents (16 to 21) from the Rikers Island Reformatory—clearly did sympathize with the prisoners. They cheered when Sacco, as played by one of the group's founders, Akila Couloumbis, spat at his guard.

When Sacco and Vanzetti's lawyer asked: "Do they have to trace their ancestry back to the God damned Mayflower?", the prisoners cheered and laughed and one Negro boy chortled with glee "the God Damned Mayflower!"

Steve R., a tall, quiet prisoner, said, "some parts of it I didn't like. Like that scene where the lawyer accused the Italian fellow of lying. I don't like my lawyer to call me a liar. I want him to believe me and then decide what he wants to tell the court. He shouldn't call me a liar."

However, the greatest impact has been made on the 23 inmate-actors and the roughly equal number of inmate-stage hands.

Originally, there were only a few parts that could have been assigned to prisoners but John Sillings, the director; Mr. Coloumbis, a 35-year-old actor and part-time taxi driver, and the co-founder, a 28-year-old actress named Beverley Rich wrote about 23 extra parts into the play—extra guards, wardens, newspaper reporters, spectators—so all the inmates who wanted to act could do so.

OFFICE OF THE
COMMISSIONER OF CORRECTION,
New York, N.Y., March 12, 1968.

Mr. AKILA COULOUMBIS,
President, Theater for the Forgotten,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. COULOUMBIS: On behalf of the New York City Department of Correction, may I again express our profound gratitude to you and your fellow members of the Theater for the Forgotten for the excellent volunteer dramatic productions presented in our various correctional institutions this season.

Especially germane to our aims in Correctional Rehabilitation has been the involvement of inmates in the various preparatory, technical, and performance phases of the repertory theater sponsored by your Theater for the Forgotten Workshop. We especially appreciate your generous contributions of time and talent in thus encouraging active participation of our prisoners in your fine presentations of superior dramatic works.

Your plays have brought great enjoyment to both Staff and inmates. For the latter, however, perhaps the greatest enjoyment lies in the thought that, by bringing this bit of the outside community to them inside the prison walls, you demonstrate that after all they are not forgotten. Please also extend my personal thanks to the Vice-President of your organization, Miss Beverly Rich, for her untiring creative efforts on behalf of this project, and to each individual member of your versatile company of actors, writers, directors, and lighting and stage technicians.

With every good wish for your continued success.

Sincerely yours,
GEORGE F. MCGRATH,
Commissioner.

ONLY 14 MORE DAYS TO GO

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 3, I inserted remarks concerning the issue of the mutilation of documents in the now famous Otto Otepka case. Briefly, the State Department accused Otepka of mutilating various documents which is a Federal offense under title 18, United States Code, section 2071. Otepka denied the charge and sought to have this issue aired before the Civil Service Commission with a view to exposing the actual perpetrators. The Commission ruled that only the first three charges made by State against Otepka—these did not include the mutilation charges—would be subject to review by CSC.

It is indeed ironic that the mutilation offense has been allowed to go unresolved for almost 5 years now. In fact, June 18 of this month, as I understand the case, will mark the end of 5 years, within which time the violators can be prosecuted. After this date, the 5-year statute of limitations will have expired and those responsible can no longer be tried. Only 14 more days to go.

From my acquaintance with the mutilation aspects of the Otepka case, all evidence points to a complete fraud on the part of State Department officials. The FBI was called in on the case in July 1963, and if the evidence pointed to Otepka as the offender, why were not charges referred to the Justice Department for prosecution? Why were these charge dropped just before the hearings got underway in late 1967, when Otepka would have an opportunity to question certain persons who were close to the case? Why is Otepka so anxious to fumigate this whole issue by means of an investigation?

Is it any wonder that hundreds of editorials and articles throughout the country have been written protesting the State Department role in this case. The Cincinnati Enquirer on May 28 ran an editorial which, I think, is typical of the resentment which has been generated by the Otepka case. I insert the editorial, "The Otepka Drama Thickens," in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer, May 28, 1968]

THE OTEPKA DRAMA THICKENS

One of these years, it is devoutly to be hoped, the public of the United States will be able to follow the ugly tracery of the State Department's seeming vendetta against one of its top security officers—Otto F. Otepka.

We say "years," because years it may be. The Civil Service Commission has just upheld the demotion of Mr. Otepka to a sort of card-shuffling routine job that was, quite frankly, given him to prevent his great talent as a security officer from being put to good use.

At the present time, it is just about as difficult for Communists to get into the United States as it is for salmon to go back to the headwaters of the Columbia River—and a fish ladder was built alongside the dam for their special convenience.

Mr Otepka's talent was rated very high in Washington until he began to inquire into the procedure of giving automatic clearance on an emergency or temporary basis to State Department personnel and others. It was his suggestion that such people should be checked later, as a matter of security, that started his downfall. When it was demonstrated that one of the opponents of a recheck was doing a bit of lying, the old State Department esprit de corps was challenged—and Mr. Otepka took it on the chin. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee talked to Mr. Otepka (who said "Hello" first is really immaterial) and that did it. He was suspended and relieved of his duties, for "giving security information" to this high senatorial committee.

Later he was fired, then rehired in an obscure administrative job. He appealed, and the Civil Service Committee has just confirmed the demotion. He now may appeal his case to the commission's Board of Appeals and Review.

The record has to be straightened out by this or a subsequent administration. From the outset of the matter, the State Department's attitude on the security matter has been very redolent of the old joke: "Ain't nobody here but us chickens."

WAR PROMOTED BY U.N. IMPERIALISTS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, parroting the racist "antiwhite" line of the Red-black power bloc, the United Nations continues its revolutionary conspiracy to attack and blockade peaceful free nations that do not succumb to its power politicians—the U.N. feudal state of forced colonialism.

Sounding like the Kerner report, in this year of international human rights celebrations, the U.N. dictated a role of aggression to all countries to author and prosecute organizations "disseminating propaganda for nazism, the police of apartheid, and other forms of racial intolerance."

By its own resolve, the U.N. Economic and Social Council indicted itself. No organization in the world has proven more racist and Nazi dictator-like than the U.N. and its Red tribal leaders.

This must go down in history as a tremendous vote of confidence—a victory for Rhodesia and Prime Minister Ian Smith. They must present a nonviolent threat to the Bolshevik takeover apparatus.

And what did the representatives of our great U.S. Government do? We abstained.

There is only one thing worse than having no vote and that is having a vote but lacking the courage to cast it. Why should the United States remain in the U.N. if we are not going to participate or vote? Merely to pay dues?

And the poor British who introduced the resolution and then abstained in voting do not seem aware that these same Red-black fiends of the U.N. have already started the movement to overthrow the English language as a "racist" language. Anti-American—anti-English appears the fancy of the hour.

Under unanimous consent I submit the AP and UPI releases of May 30 and June 1 for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

[From the Atlanta Constitution, May 30, 1968]

U.N. BEGINS RHODESIA TRADE BAN

UNITED NATIONS (UPI).—The Security Council Wednesday night unanimously imposed a total trade ban on white minority-ruled Rhodesia. It was the first such step in United Nations history.

The 15-member council gave its backing to a compromise resolution imposing a complete trade embargo on Rhodesia with the exception of medicines, news material and educational materials.

The resolution recommends that governments discourage emigration to Rhodesia and close down any remaining consulates there.

NO INVESTING

It bans all investments in Rhodesia and payments to the Salisbury regime of Premier Ian Smith with the exception of humanitarian needs, such as pensions.

The 5½-page resolution was drawn up in weeks of behind-the-scenes talks between British Ambassador Lord Caradon and the five Afro-Asian members of the council.

It calls on governments to prevent their airlines from flying to Rhodesia or to link up with any other airline operating out of the southern Africa country that declared independence from Britain in November 1965. London never has recognized Smith's government.

The resolution calls for a ban on travel abroad by holders of Rhodesian passports, regardless of their date of issue. The ban was applicable especially to those persons suspected of promoting the cause of what the United Nations has termed the "illegal" regime of Smith.

DEMANDS DROPPED

The five Afro-Asian nations—Algeria, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan and Senegal—had dropped their long-standing demands for the use of force by Britain or the United Nations to topple Smith.

They also withdrew demands to have Portugal and South Africa singled out as the two main countries which had continued trading with Rhodesia despite the imposition of partial mandatory sanctions 18 months ago.

Despite the partial sanctions, Rhodesia claimed it was weathering the crackdown well, particularly with help from neighboring white-ruled South Africa's "open-door" policy.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Morning Advocate, June 1, 1968]

U.N. COUNCIL URGES ACTION AGAINST RACISM

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (AP).—The U.N. Economic and Social Council recommended Friday night that the General Assembly call upon all countries to outlaw and prosecute organizations "disseminating propaganda for Nazism, the policy of apartheid and other forms of racial intolerance."

The council acted by a vote of 25–0 with the United States and Britain abstaining. The action stemmed from a debate in the council's social committee in which speakers condemned South African apartheid, or racial segregation, and described the West German National Democratic Party as neo-Nazi. The party has denied such charges.

Ending its 25-day, 44th semiannual session, the council also recommended that the assembly adopt a resolution calling upon countries to break off all relations with South Africa and Rhodesia, Britain's former African colony ruled by a white minority government.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 30, 1968]

U.N. COUNCIL VOTES TIGHT BAN ON RHODESIA

UNITED NATIONS (UPI).—Backers of a U.N. trade ban that would cripple the economy of white-ruled Rhodesia if enforced began today the formidable task of making it work.

The ban, approved yesterday by the Security Council, must win the support of a substantial number of national legislative bodies before it can have any effect on Rhodesia. Diplomatic observers said the support would be slow in coming from many nations, notably Portugal and South Africa.

The Security Council action calls for U.N. member nations to end all imports and exports with Rhodesia except for medicine, news and educational materials; to bar Rhodesian passport holders from their borders; to sever all air links with Rhodesia and to halt all investment in the Rhodesian economy.

The resolution, sponsored by Britain, and passed unanimously, calls on all members to report by Aug. 1, 1968, on what they have done about applying the ban.

Britain sought the worldwide boycott as a means of toppling the regime of Premier Ian Smith who declared his nation independent of British colonial rule in 1965.

The break came over British plans for giving Rhodesia's black majority control of the government and eventual independence.

THE 120TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co. of Chicago has published an excellent advertisement recognizing the 120th anniversary of the Chicago Board of Trade.

This advertisement underscores a firm conviction, as stated by Mr. James D. Walsh, vice president of the Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co., that the entire agricultural economy of the United States would slow down considerably if the Chicago Board of Trade and similar exchanges in Minneapolis and Kansas City did not provide the facilities for dealing in commodities.

At the conclusion of this ad I am inserting a letter from Mr. Walsh, which I think dramatically describes the impact of the Chicago Board of Trade on our Nation's entire economy.

I am sure my colleagues will read with interest the information provided by the Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co. of Chicago.

The ad and Mr. Walsh's letter follow:

KARL MARX AND THE CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE HAVE ONLY ONE THING IN COMMON

The year. 1848.

It was the year Karl Marx published the Communist Manifesto.

It was also the year the Chicago Board of Trade was founded. But that's where the similarity ends.

Karl Marx went on to do as much as he could to destroy the market economy. The Chicago Board of Trade was formed to make the market economy work even better.

And it's done just that.

For 120 years now, the Chicago Board of Trade has offered a competitive, open market for our basic commodities.

By doing so, this organization has helped the farmer plan his crop. The food processor plan his production. The consumer plan his budget.

So Happy 120th Anniversary, today, Chicago Board of Trade from your neighbor across the street. Your neighbor, who also feels pretty strongly about our market economy.

CONTINENTAL ILLINOIS NATIONAL BANK & TRUST CO. OF CHICAGO.

CONTINENTAL ILLINOIS NATIONAL BANK & TRUST CO. OF CHICAGO,
Chicago, Ill., May 27, 1968.

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PUCINSKI: Perhaps you might be interested in seeing a reprint of our advertisement recognizing the 120th anniversary of the Chicago Board of Trade. The ad underscores a firm conviction of ours, which is that the entire agricultural economy of the country would slow down considerably if the Chicago Board of Trade and similar exchanges in Kansas City and Minneapolis did not provide the facilities for a country elevator operator, grain merchant, processor, or exporter to hedge the cost of his inventory and his forward purchases and sales. Certainly, inventory accumulation would be at a much lower rate. If such futures markets did not exist, a similar hedging or price insuring mechanism would necessarily evolve, or the flow of grain from the farmer to the ultimate consumer would be seriously affected.

One facet of the importance of a vital grain industry should be noted: In 1967 Illinois sold over two and one-half billion dollars worth of goods overseas and ranked as the nation's number-one exporting state. Three-quarters of a billion dollars of that total came from agricultural exports—10 per cent of the approximatley eight-billion-dollar total of all U.S. agricultural exports. This kind of aggressive export marketing is important to our unfavorable balance of payments position.

You are of course familiar with these facts and their relevance to the economy and our national interest, but they are well worth re-emphasizing in the light of many legislative decisions you are called upon to make during a session. Thank you for your continuing vigilance.

Sincerely,

JAMES D. WALSH.

THE TRADE EXPANSION ACT IS NECESSARY

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 4, 1968

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, in proposing the Trade Expansion Act of 1968, President Johnson has asked for the basic tools to, first, insure that our trade relations with other countries will be strengthened on a rational, cooperative basis; second, achieve the full promise of the Kennedy round trade negotiation for American exporters and consumers; and, third, insure that any burdens arising from our trade policies do not fall unfairly on any one segment of the population.

For three decades the United States has successfully led the world toward an increasingly open and liberal trade system. The future of the U.S. economy is intimately tied to our own trade policies and those of our major trading partners. Our progressive trading relations have become the lifeblood of the pattern of interdependence which has developed among the industrialized countries and particularly in the partnership between the United States and Europe.

European countries are in the process of developing a unified market that may one day approach, if not equal, that of the United States. The European Common Market is already the world's largest trading unit. Its completion this summer will open the prospect of a rapidly growing single market for U.S. products. Our steady adherence to constructive policies are of vital importance if we are to take advantage of these opportunities.

In the Kennedy round, the United States, Europe, Japan, Canada, and other major trading countries gave convincing evidence that they were more than ever united by the bonds of international trade. We must now reaffirm our commitment to trade expansion and to the policies that will keep our trade relations on an even keel.

The Trade Expansion Act of 1968 will accomplish their objectives and I urge support for this vital bill.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Wednesday, June 5, 1968*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rabbi Kurt L. Metzger, Temple B'nai Israel, Olean, N.Y., offered the following prayer:

It hath been shown thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee; to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.—Micah 6: 8.

Our God, creator and ruler of all men, we pray Thee this day for our Nation that with Thy gracious help and our concerted efforts all hatred and malice, all indifference to the suffering of others, all narrow exclusiveness and selfish greed may speedily cease in our land.

Grant that the spirit of justice and love for our fellowmen, cooperation in service, and self-sacrifice for the welfare of all may ever increase among our people. In this hour of shock over the wounding of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY we beseech Thee to bestow upon him complete recovery from his injuries and to restore him to our country and to his family in renewed health and vigor. Cause, O God, the evils of violence to cease from the earth and the spirit of brotherhood and understanding to enter the minds and hearts of all men.

We also pray for ourselves that Thy hand forge us into tools for the service of our country. Help us to be among those who are willing to sweep away oppression and wrong, to uplift the weak and to give to every man, regardless of color or creed, the opportunity of a full life to be lived for Thy glory and for the service of mankind. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 752. An act to amend sections 203(b)(5) and 220 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, and for other purposes.

SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT].

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the cruel shooting down of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY has shocked the world and brought to all decent people heartfelt sympathy for him and his wonderful family. Some will probably say that this outrageous crime was the result of a divisive and troubled society. I do not know. Certainly this assault was due to the fact that a demented person had a loaded gun which he had no business having. Making America safe has become a major responsibility of every right-thinking person in our land.

I applaud President Johnson's plan to provide Secret Service protection to presidential candidates much as I regret that in our country, renowned for assuring free expression and movement to all, it should be necessary to protect those who campaign for this high public office, as well as those who hold it.

Our hearts go out to the Kennedy family, one of the most dynamic families of this generation and a family that has been the victim of so many tragedies that their burden seems at times to be unbearable.

I pray for Senator KENNEDY's recovery and for the courage and comfort of his family during their ordeal, as well as for all others who were shot during his attempted assassination.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I want to join the distinguished majority leader in his expression of prayer for Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, for the Senator's family and for the Nation.

It is typical of Senator KENNEDY that among the last words he spoke before he was cut down by the assailant's bullets were spoken so movingly and eloquently:

> We are a great country. We are an unselfish people. We are a compassionate country.

These words—words that sum up Senator KENNEDY's profound and abiding faith in the United States—are the same as those often spoken by our late beloved President John F. Kennedy and repeated by Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY.

The adjectives great, unselfish, and compassionate are the hallmarks of the Kennedy family itself as well as of the Nation. The Kennedys have given these attributes in abundance to the United States. They have, indeed, given of their lives and fortune to keep this country great.

As the majority leader has indicated, the Kennedy family is magnanimous and magnificent. Few families have borne such dreadful tragedy and still continued to give their brilliance, industry, and talent to the public service of the United States.

I know the great sorrow and shock that wells in this House of Representatives today—on both sides of the political aisle.

As one who is close to the Kennedy family, I extend my deep sympathy to them in this hour of sorrow.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the country is shocked at what happened in the early morning hours of this morning in the brutal and evil assault upon one of our most distinguished Americans and outstanding legislators.

I join with the majority leader in his remarks. We all hope and pray that God will look with favor upon Senator KENNEDY and bring about a complete recovery.

Every Member of this body is joined in extending to Senator and Mrs. Kennedy and children, and the Senator's parents and other loved ones, our deep feelings of sympathy and regret for the unexpected action that took place resulting in serious injuries to Senator KENNEDY. What has happened is all the more dramatic following the tragic death of the Senator's late brother, President John F. Kennedy. At that time I made the immediate observation, "My God, what are we coming to?" And that same observation applies to the evil, vicious, and dastardly assault upon Senator ROBERT KENNEDY.

Deeper than that, there is respect for law and order. There is involved in the assault a deeper implication confronting the people of our country. The people of our country should be shocked and awakened into a realization that one evil mind, one criminal mind, one distorted mind can assault and kill and that there are among us—a marked minority, it is true—who are intent upon arrogant and defiant action in relation to the institutions of our Government that we all love. The great majority of the American people should awaken and realize the meaning and significance of such actions not only on the part of individuals but on the part of other defiant organized minorities. It is one thing to petition for changes in the law in accordance with the Constitution. It is another thing to use violence and force and to engage in actions that constitute defiance of the law.

I have maintained the position, which I shall maintain as long as I hold the office that I occupy, applicable throughout the country, but particularly so to defiance of the law in connection with the Capitol Grounds, that, first, I will not stand for defiance of the law; second, I expect the law enforcement agencies and police officers to enforce the law; and, third, and very importantly, I will back them up in the performance of their duties.

The American people must realize that while the man who wears the uniform of police officers, or similar officers are performing their duties, we have got to maintain respect for them, because without law and order, without men having the courage to perform their duties to carry out and enforce the law, chaos will result. Where defiance of the law exists and is successul, law ceases, whether in the country, in the city, or in the community. Defiance of the law must be resisted and must be met with firmness, and one of the important things that we must do is to see to it that the men who enforce the law are respected, and the men who enforce the law have the knowledge that when they perform their duties and carry out the law in the interest of our people, they are not going to become the defendants.

If we only pause to think and realize what has happened, we can learn much. The great majority of the people of America—98 to 99 percent—are law abiding. If public opinion is aroused in support of law and order against defiance of the law, then America will have benefited. But, on the other hand, this great American legislator has been visited with a vicious assault. All we can do is to remember him in our prayers and extend to him, to Mrs. Kennedy, and their loved ones our deep feelings of sympathy.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, in this tragic atmosphere I am grateful that the distinguished majority leader has yielded to me.

The assault, the attack, the attempted assassination of Senator KENNEDY was shocking and terrible. My first impulse, Mr. Speaker, was to call it unbelievable in America—but unfortunately it is all too believable in our country today.

I, all of us in this Chamber and all Americans pray for the full and rapid recovery of Senator KENNEDY. We pray for his family in this hour of need. All of us as well pray for those who were also wounded at the time Senator KENNEDY was attacked. It seems to me, however, that we should also pray for America.

Surely there are things that we must do in this legislative body to help avoid a recurrence of such an incident such as the immediate approval of the anticrime bill which has been approved in differing versions by both the House and Senate. I agree with the distinguished majority leader that it is absolutely necessary in the light of what has transpired that protection be given to those candidates who are seeking the highest office in our land. Public peace and safety for all individuals and the public as a whole must be our primary concern.

Let me add, I feel in the light of what transpired at the time of the assassination of President Kennedy, the suspect reportedly in custody must be zealously protected while the most thorough investigation and prosecution of this tragedy are undertaken and carried forward. Perhaps we can uncover what evil forces and horrible hatreds are attacking the very foundations of our Nation.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished majority whip.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I associate myself with the remarks made by the distinguished gentleman who have preceded me.

What has happened within the 24 hours is totally repulsive to all Americans and totally foreign to everything associated with our form of government.

I recall, as many Members do, when violence came to this very Chamber some years ago. At that time a group came into the galleries and began shooting at Members and people who work on the floor. After that many suggestions were made, and one of them was that we glass enclose the gallery where visitors come and so protect ourselves against those who were demented or fostering anarchy or who wanted to destroy this institution. We promptly rejected such suggestions because we knew they were totally foreign to this open democratic institution.

I join with the minority leader in praying for my country. If we have come to a time when one cannot seek public office—whatever office it may be, the lowest or the highest office in the land—without fearing for his life, this indeed is a most dastardly threat to our great country.

I join in the words of admonition of our Speaker, that we enforce the law, that we promote respect for law and order, that we give support to our police officials, and that we act wherever action is needed to obliterate these threats of anarchy in our country, from wherever they arise.

I extend my deepest sympathy to the Kennedy family, to the wonderful wife and children of Senator KENNEDY, to all his family, his brother and sisters, and mother and father.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, there are no words to describe the depth of shock and disbelief and distress we now experience because of the unspeakable assault upon the life of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, the junior Senator from my State.

More than ever we are made aware that no effort must be spared to prevent acts of violence such as that which laid the Senator low and which shake the very fiber and the heart and the soul of America.

Our prayers indeed go out for the speedy recovery of the Senator.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, may the good Lord whom he loves and serves so well spare the life of the junior Senator from New York, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. His family and his fellow men need him as never before to lead us in the search for peace and tranquillity all over the world. If God wills it, the wanton act which struck Senator KENNEDY will not stop his cause nor halt his quest.

I have had the great privilege of knowing Senator KENNEDY and his family throughout his public life. He has been a personal friend to me. I grieve with his family and his friends in this hour of sorrow, and yet I know him well enough to be reminded that he would be the last to abide tears and pathos, even with his life in the balance.

Just before he was wounded, Senator KENNEDY had put forth a call for compassion and an end to divisions in our land. We must, therefore, seek the compassionate way to deal with all the problems of humanity which he so clearly identified in the course of his great commitment to the public service and the common welfare. In this time of compassion, however, let us also devote ourselves to the clear-cut need to do something firm and forthwith about the restoration of order in our society. In the interest of order and domestic tranquility, there must be no further delay in bringing to swift enactment the legislation to control crime and drive terror from the hearts of our citizens. In the process of this enactment, let us resolve that we will place under clear and positive control the mail-order and other widespread marketing of firearms of all types. Our police we must arm and prepare and train to rid ourselves of the assassins who are at large in every community in our land. Anarchy and the use of force against constituted authority must be driven into the open and destroyed. Most of all, it must be purged from the hearts and minds of men by the only antidote, the true antidote, which Senator KENNEDY has used so wisely and selflessly. This antidote, of course, is the love of mankind, each for his brother, particularly those who are in hunger, misery, and victimized by hate.

Let us pray that Senator KENNEDY will have a swift and full recovery, and while we pray let us be about his work so that we may be worthy of his sacrifice.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, our Nation prays for the life and the health of Senator KENNEDY.

An assault of this nature is in truth an assault upon our society.

There is little that any of us can do in moments of personal tragedy. Perhaps the overwhelming feeling of every individual is one of helplessness.

I would urge, however, that the Congress consider immediate enactment of legislation to provide what help we can, what protection we can, through the Secret Service, to major candidates for the nomination and candidates for the Presidency. I urged such action after the tragedy of November 1963. I have had a bill to provide Secret Service protection of major candidates for the Presidency since that time. I believe it is fitting and important that Congress take such action with dispatch.

There is no guarantee that anyone, that any police officer or Secret Service man, can give protection which is final and perfect. Certainly we must do everything in our power to provide what protection can be given to major distinguished spokesmen for our parties who are candidates for nomination for President and the official candidates after they are nominated.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY].

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound regret that I join with my colleagues in extending to the Kennedy family my sorrow over the attempted assassination of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY.

Mr. Speaker, how much more has to happen before we in this House endeavor to protect the rights of the individual? Crime has had its day. Law and order must be restored. The fiber of our people and the fabric of our society, the power and the resolve of our Nation are being severely tested at home and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, you cannot have progress without some semblance of order. You cannot have freedom without responsibility. You cannot achieve a better society by destroying society itself and the law, which is the foundation of our freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I bowed my head in shame when Dr. Martin Luther King died, and I bowed my head in shame that our Nation would kill two leaders in a single period of 5 years. I bow my head in shame at what happened last night.

Nevertheless, the House must assume its responsibility. The answer, Mr. Speaker, is not, "My God, what are we coming to." Prayer is wonderful and prayer is an answer to many things, but God also helps those who help themselves. The issue today is for the Congress to enact an effective Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act without further delay.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN].

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, this morning all of us were shocked by the tragic news of the attempted assassination of the junior Senator from New York, ROBERT KENNEDY, at the height of his primary victory celebration in California. Like all Americans, Mr. Speaker, I am stunned by the abhorrent and dastard act.

It is ironic that a warped, twisted mind, as the perpetrator must have, could affect the course of history and change the course of countless of millions of lives here and abroad. Such was the case with the assassination of the late President Kennedy, and now conceivably, in the instance of his brother. We can only speculate at this time what this will mean to the country and beyond.

While we can only assume the perpetrator is of crazed state of mind, we must be ever more mindful of the atmosphere of unrest, disruption, and divisiveness in this country. There is an obvious loss of values, too much portrayal of violence and lack of respect for law and order. This atmosphere is bound to have its effect with certain mentalities and reflect itself in many ways, including political violence. This latest crime, which has resounded throughout the world, blatantly points to the blatant need to search for answers and to take realistic, meaningful steps.

Let us pray that the factors responsible for such heinous crimes can be eliminated and that man can live in peace with his fellowman in this world.

Our hearts go out to Mrs. Kennedy, to the children and to the other members of the Kennedy family and we pray for the Senator's early and full recovery.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman, and I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON].

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate my remarks with those who have preceded me and particularly with those of our Speaker. This terrible tragedy is, as the distinguished minority leader [Mr. GERALD FORD] so aptly put it, a reflection on us as a people and as a nation. It is absolutely imperative that extremely stringent gun control legislation be enacted; that we do everything possible to deprive the irresponsible elements of our society of the weapons with which these dastardly acts are done. It is particularly important, too, that we support the efforts of the law enforcement people, the police and others, throughout the land, so that tragedies such as this cannot take place again.

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply moved as are the people whom I have the honor to represent in the Congress of the United States by this terrible tragedy. It affects me particularly on a personal basis because of the close association which I have had during the past with Senator ROBERT KENNEDY.

Mr. Speaker, I extend my deepest sympathy and condolences to Senator KENNEDY's family, and I am sure that the people whom I represent join me in extending their deepest sympathy and prayer for a speedy recovery of Senator KENNEDY.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. LAIRD. I thank the distinguished majority leader for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, our prayers are with Senator ROBERT KENNEDY and his family today after the tragic act which occurred early this morning.

Mr. Speaker, our free society is threatened. Progress requires order. Freedom demands responsibility. Respect for law and order in this country requires and demands that we meet our legislative responsibilities.

This Congress can show its responsibility by our prompt action upon pending legislation to improve law enforcement which we have before this second session of the 90th Congress.

If we do otherwise we would not be fulfilling our responsibilities to the country as Members of this House of Representatives. We in the legislative branch can act expeditiously and we can ask the executive branch as well as the judicial branch to follow up on their responsibility in restoring respect for law and order in America. We must preserve this free society. The opportunity is ours and we should act promptly.

Mr. Speaker, I again extend my prayers and deepest sympathy to Senator KENNEDY and the Kennedy family.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of our distinguished Speaker who put this crime against Senator KENNEDY into proper perspective when he called for the utmost respect for law and order. But it occurs to me that most of the speakers who have spoken on this subject have concluded that the individual who committed this horrible act must have been of a sick mind. Certainly it would take a person of unsound mind to commit this type of crime. The young man being held by police has stated he hates wealthy people and hated Senator Kennedy because he was rich. Obviously this young assassin has a sick mind.

Mr. Speaker, the Institute of Mental Health tells us that 3 out of every 10 Americans suffer from some type of emotional disturbance.

It appears to me that this Nation faces the problem of dealing effectively with this situation which involves the mental health of its citizens. Unless this Congress and this Nation commits itself to a meaningful program of dealing effectively with this problem of mental health, we as a nation shall continue to be faced with the bizarre prospect that our Government can be changed by the bullet of one sick individual instead of the ballots of a free populace. The crime against Senator KENNEDY is a national tragedy.

Mr. Speaker, I extend to Mrs. Kennedy

and the Kennedy family my deepest sympathy.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the attempted assassination of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY this morning was a horrible and revolting act of anarchy. The prayers of every Member of this body on behalf of the Senator and his family are for his speedy and complete recovery.

It is appalling that the quest for public office in the United States of America should have to come to involve a substantial risk of death by violence. It must be recognized that this sort of thing is the direct consequence of years of permissiveness that have characterized the last decade in America at home, in the schools, and more particularly, in decision after decision from the United States Supreme Court.

Last night, here in the District of Columbia, two officers of the U.S. Marine Corps, seated in a restaurant in Georgetown were brutally and senselessly murdered. One of their companions, a girl, was shot in the back. Apparently it is getting so you can not even sit in a public place and have a sandwich without being shot. Yet there are still some in this body as well as in the other that urge every time there is violence that the misunderstood punks should be given another million dollars.

Mr. Speaker, the vast majority of Americans are law-abiding citizens who want to be protected in their homes and in their property. This is their constitutional as well as their moral right. They are outraged by the blatant crimes. They realize that crime has reached a point in the United States where a crackdown must take place and take place now.

If recourse to anarchy is permitted to continue in America, everybody's freedom will be lost. No one's home will be secure. No one's life will be free from brutal assault and possible death, and no one's job will be able to withstand the pressures of criminal "persuasion." It is the solemn obligation of all Americans to now dedicate themselves to the preservation of law and order in the United States without reservation.

In this cause the courts should help, in particular the Supreme Court of the United States. We have this day before us a Criminal Law Enforcement Assistance Act which, despite its imperfections, deserves support. Starting today—and it should have long ago—the Attorney General of the United States should throw the book at every deliberate Federal law violator in the land. The courts should impose firm, swift, impartial justice—by sentencing in direct proportion to the severity of the crime and by requiring bail in like vein. Lawyers, while giving clients every protection, should disdain and refrain from obstructionist tactics and procedures.

Local law enforcement officials deserve and should have the full support of their communities. Those who spit upon the police, who kick and claw at them and decry the uniform of the public protector ought to receive in full measure the contempt and wrath of the law-abiding citizenry of this land. The Supreme Court of the United States ought now to reconsider and review its decisions in the field of criminal law enforcement that have so greatly beclouded and confused those dedicated officers and men who try day and night to maintain law and order against great odds and with substantial danger to life and limb.

Likewise, the Court should review such ridiculous decisions as those holding themselves incapable of declaring obscene, material that is palpably obscene in the view of any rational human being—palpably calculated to deprave and corrupt the morals of anyone reading or viewing it. Illict traffic in narcotics and drugs should be cracked down on hard, and officers should be allowed a greater latitude of search and seizure of such contraband that is now the case under present decisions.

The great crusade of 1968 is law and order in America. This crusade deserves the enlistment of every concerned American. It must have the best in laws from this Congress, the most diligent in law enforcement from the Department of Justice, and the several State attorneys general, and back up instead of back down from the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished majority leader for yielding.

Words cannot express the Nation's shock and horror at the wanton shooting of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of New York. We can only pray for his full recovery and hope that his indomitable spirit will see him through this ordeal.

I join the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives and the distinguished majority leader in prayers for his full recovery and express to his family, to Mrs. Kennedy and their children, my deepest sympathy. I have valued his friendship and am grieved beyond words.

Mr. Speaker, ROBERT KENNEDY was struck down in the very act of participating in a process fundamental to a democratic society—competition for high public office.

What is to become of our democratic form of government if candidates for office, civil rights leaders, and Presidents of the United States continue to risk assassination when they seek a dialog with the people?

What is to become of our democratic form of government if those who dare to dissent risk physical annihilation?

Can a society remain free if its derangement requires intensive security precautions for its leaders more characteristic of a dictatorship?

We face the unprecedented challenge of preserving our Nation from lawlessness without resort to the tactics of a police state.

Our society must purge itself of its sickness. We must act to make the United States the kind of society that will no longer produce so many alienated people, be they deranged persons or organized extremists.

At the same time we must act to make law enforcement more effective and humane without compromising civil liberties. How can we postpone any longer strict controls on guns and lethal weapons? The possession of handguns and rifles should be subject to rigid regulation and licensing.

Unless we confront the crisis now, we may ultimately face the impossible choice between anarchy and a police state. Let us put aside the hatreds and discords which have torn the fabric of our society, embrace the brotherhood of man and reorient our society to insure its future integrity.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I, too, am shocked by the attempt upon the life of Senator KENNEDY early this morning, but I am equally shocked by the wanton slaying of two Marine officers at about the same time this morning in the District of Columbia. I am equally shocked by the wanton murder of an 18-year-old high school boy last Sunday morning in the District of Columbia and by the senseless slaying of a bus driver a few days ago in the District. All of this is a pattern of lawlessness and criminality that has made this a sick Nation.

Mr. Speaker, this is the day to take up the crime bill and pass it without further loss of time.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the President spoke for us all when he stated that this shooting was too horrible for words. Our prayers are with Mrs. Kennedy and the family. We are hoping against hope for a speedy and full recovery for Senator KENNEDY.

Assassinations, shootings, assaults, and violent acts are consuming this Nation in an unspeakable horror. If there ever was a time when decent, law-abiding Americans deserve protection and justice, it is now. This country cannot go on allowing its leaders to be cut down by crazed fanatics fired by irrational hate. Nor can it go on allowing crime in the streets to inject fear and despair in the hearts of victimized neighbors and citizens. The time to launch a full-scale war against crime and violence is now. Human life and liberty are so much more precious, more valued, and sacred than any cause for taking the law into one's own hands. We are reaching the point where the seams of our democracy are being stretched beyond endurance—unless we act now to protect our leaders and citizens, and wipe out the hate and lawlessness and violence that is so evident in the land today. How many more must fall before we really wake up to what is happening to the fabric of American society?

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my voice to those who have expressed shock at the events early this morning in Los Angeles.

Once again, a bullet laden with hate, with insanity, and with sickness has found its way into the body of an American public servant. Men and women of every political persuasion who believe in Government by the ballot box have shared the brunt of Senator KENNEDY's wound.

When will the scum of this Nation learn that political ideas and beliefs no matter what their origin or bent, cannot be erased by a 2-cent piece of lead.

I join all of my colleagues in praying for our Senator's prompt and complete recovery.

Mr. Speaker, this morning's shameful atrocity once again points up the need for protecting Federal officials. During the 89th Congress, I offered a bill that would bring under the protection of Federal criminal statutes, Members of the Senate, the House, and the President's Cabinet. During the last Congress, we did adopt legislation making it a Federal crime to kill or assault a President or Vice President.

I am today offering legislation which would take two major steps toward broadening this protection:

First, it would extend to Members of the House and Senate and to Cabinet Members the protection of Federal laws against murder and manslaughter; and

Second, it would broaden the protection of Federal law for all Federal officials now covered in title 18, section 1114, including Congressmen, Senators, Members of the President's Cabinet and others to include a prohibition against all attempts on their lives, successful or not.

Mr. Speaker, I realize that every jurisdiction in the United States provides stiff penalties for such attacks on any human being. But apparently, the wave of lawlessness and extremist violence that is festering in our country has not been discouraged by these statutes operating alone. If we have come to the tragic point where the threat of Federal investigation and prosecution must be employed to help protect Federal officials, then we must provide the laws to bring this additional threat into being.

I feel that the bill I am introducing goes hand in hand with the President's decision today to provide Secret Service protection to major candidates for the Presidency. There is no reason why public servants, and aspiring public servants should not be protected from demented attempts on their lives by the most stringent laws and measures at the disposal of this Government. Until America awakens from this nightmare of fear and disorder—which has now extended for too many years—a crackdown of precaution, prosecution, and punishment must be undertaken to protect law-abiding citizens. I believe this bill is at least one essential step in this direction.

Mr. Speaker, as a backdrop to our frantic but necessary moves to prevent such a tragedy from again repeating itself, my colleague in the New York delegation to the U.S. Congress lies unconscious a continent away. His family, which has already made great sacrifice to make possible his service to this Nation, now faces a horrible and senseless sacrifice. My very deepest sympathy goes out to the Senator's wife and his fine children, to his father and mother and others dear to him. This is an hour of trial for America and for democratic government, but it is the Kennedy's who are undergoing the most painful trial today. May their loved one, and our colleague be permitted to recover and return to the active and vital role he has played in the life of America.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, in the cruel assassination attempt on the life of Senator KENNEDY, a dangerous new dimension has been added to American political life. A depraved minority of one can destroy the dreams of millions.

We pray for the Senator's speedy and full recovery.

We must also write laws to insure the safety of all American people from the man among us with a gun.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, may I commend you for your forthright, timely, and superb statement to this House expressing your determination to uphold law and order and to support and respect those law officers under your jurisdiction.

The shocking and tragic attempt on the life of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY jeopardizes American leadership of the free world. This incredible and unbelievable attempt on the life of a presidential candidate and U.S. Senator points up the need for positive action in this country at the local, State, and National level against crime, lawlessness, and mental illness. Law and order must be preserved. We must launch a campaign throughout this Nation to respect and honor law enforcement and indeed, everyone wearing a uniform, whether in the streets or on foreign soil under the flag of our country. We must launch a campaign to respect candidates for office and yes, Mr. Speaker, those already in public office.

By tearing down the high office of President and our national Representatives, the climate can be created in this country for assassination, and disrespect for all constituted authority. Democracy, to exist, must be restrained and disciplined. We cannot suggest to other nations how to become more democratic unless we first establish in this country law and order so that our people can be protected in the streets, in their homes, and our candidates for public office, can be free from harassment, intimidation, and violence.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come to consider the passage of legislation which will prohibit guns being sent to madmen, criminals, and juvenile delinquents across State lines. The safe streets and anticrime bill should be passed without a moment's delay.

The great Kennedy family has suffered many tragedies. I hope and fervently pray that Senator KENNEDY will have a full and swift recovery.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, may I advise all Members that I am going to ask for general leave when all Members who desire to speak at this time have spoken.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with the other Members today who have expressed their sympathy to the Kennedy family. Those of us, who have been close to the Senator who want to express our personal feelings find it very difficult, because our words are so inadequate.

Mr. Speaker, we all hope for the speedy recovery of the Senator, so that he can continue his leadership to change and enlighten our society which he was doing at the moment when he was struck down. I would remind the Members who have stressed only repression that Senator KENNEDY had just concluded a statement to the American people pointing out that we must communicate with all of our people; that we must provide methods and systems within the political system so that all of our people know they can communicate and participate in America, to produce the changes in direction we need to improve our Nation.

This has been his message. This has been his life.

Since 1963 we have had at least three men struck down who tried to accomplish that. We should be listening to their message.

This is part of our job. It is part of what we are here to do. I hope we will think long and deep on his words, on what has happened and what is happening in America.

I, too, am a believer in law, and order. This we must have. We must also have law and order with justice, and justice must apply equally to all our people. We need the changes urged by Senator KENNEDY so we can begin to move from an era of violence to an era in America where everyone participates freely in the political system and the law applies equally to all of our people and where the law is supported by all of our people because it operates with fairness and justice to all.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCCULLOCH].

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and horrified when I heard that an attempt had been made on the life of Senator KENNEDY last night and that two of his companions had been wounded in that assault.

Mr. Speaker, if the person who perpetrated this terrible crime has not been surely apprehended, I urge national, State, and local law enforcement agencies to use every facility at their respective commands, to track down the perpetrator of this crime.

Mr. Speaker, I think the time has long since come when we must give law enforcement officers the weapons with which they can effectively fight crime wherever it occurs. The time is now, Mr. Speaker.

Senator KENNEDY has my very best

wishes for a speedy and a complete recovery.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LONG].

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the attempted assassination of Senator KENNEDY is a dreadful thing to happen to a fine man, a great family, and to our country.

No longer can these assassinations be shrugged off as isolated phenomena. A pattern has emerged which calls for a massive national effort to return this country to sanity.

What are the factors underlying this pattern of violence?

First are the tremendous upheavour society is now undergoing—upheavals which have given rise to what Eric Hoffer calls, "The Ordeal of Change." Changes unleash great passions—passions over which reason must wage a desperate struggle to reassert control.

Second, our open society offers great opportunity for the individual—but opportunity for both good and evil.

A third factor is the nonstop violence that saturates our lives. Who can read his newspaper, listen to his radio, or watch TV or his neighborhood movie without having death and destruction thrust upon him?

A fourth factor is the omnipresence of instruments of destruction. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the freedom to bear arms is clashing head-on with the freedom of each of us—busdriver or President—to live out his life without wondering each morning whether he might be stricken down that day by a thug, a drugged teenager, or a madman.

A final factor promoting violence may be the passions ignited by the often incendiary appeals made by national figures to gain a following for their ambitions or ideas.

I should hope that for the rest of this presidential campaign, every candidate for political office would emphasize—by word and deed—our very real basis for national unity.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD].

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, no man can feel other than the most profound shock and grief at the events of last evening. I join all Americans in prayers for the recovery of Senator KENNEDY and all those injured, and in expressing my deepest sympathies to their families.

Our sense of disbelief must be compounded by a realization that this event is a tragic illustration of the state of our society. After the shock follows a human tendency to seek to assess blame. It would be easy to credit this act as simply that of a demented person. Conversely, it might be easy to attempt to broadly assign responsibility to those in positions of leadership throughout our society—academic, business, religious, journalistic, and governmental—for having presided over the descent of our society to this unhealthy point.

Hopefully in this tragedy some light will be cast on the responsibility of each citizen of this society, in his own way, to contribute to the quality of American life. For unless each of us examines what we are contributing to making ours a better, a more rational, a more humane society—unless each of us reviews the priorities we have established in our lives and asks the question as to whether we are participating to the fullest in a thoughtful and constructive manner—unless we recognize that if things are not as we would wish, it is within our power and is, in fact, our duty, to work toward making them better, not through violence but within the framework of a civilized society—unless there is a reawakening of the role each of us must play if we as a people are to achieve our best hopes for this country, then we will have missed the urgent message of the day.

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I too join with those who have expressed their great sorrow about the tragic event that has occurred. I do believe, however, that while one person pulled the trigger, many others contribute to the total climate where such things are more likely to occur. There is a continuing character assassination attack upon Government officials and a preaching of distrust against the Government. The Congress should also be more positive and constructive in meeting problems relating to crime and the protection of public officials and persons generally.

It was only a few days ago that, on a Justice Department appropriation bill, a motion to recommit passed by a vote of about 2 to 1 that denied the Justice Department and law enforcement agencies the support and additional personnel they requested to fight crime. Some who talk the loudest about crime and blame law enforcement officials, vote against providing them with the needed tools.

It was only a few months before the assassination of President Kennedy that the Secret Service asked for some additional personnel to protect the Vice President and the White House and the request was ridiculed by some Members here on the floor of the House.

I believe it is time to quit pointing at the Supreme Court as a substitute for doing something positive in this House, and it is time to move deliberately and constructively and for us to have less division and more good will.

Senator KENNEDY exposed himself to great risk in order to participate in our great democratic process and for the causes he supported. There is really no way to adequately express the sorrow that I feel that such a violent act has been visited upon Senator KENNEDY and I know I speak for everyone that I am privileged to represent in Iowa when I express my heartfelt sympathy to his family.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. JACOBS].

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, when you think about the history of assassination—Lincoln, Kennedy, Evers, King, and now KENNEDY again—how can you escape the conclusion that the most dangerous thing on this earth today is to preach love and kindliness.

I am thankful for men like Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, who are unafraid to face danger for the sake of peace on earth, kindness and gentleness in our own Nation, and for the proposition that no matter what the controversy is, there is always a better way of settling things than violence.

I would say this to the House as we begin to consider the crime legislation today: Remember that after everything is said that can be said, the fact remains that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. And all the king's horses and all the king's policemen, as I understand this tragedy, might well not have prevented it. I just believe that it is much easier to keep a man from being a maniac than to keep a maniac from killing a man.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MORTON].

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, the attempt on Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's life marks a low point in the American profile. In countries dominated by dictatorial governments, where freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, and the basic rights of individuals are subordinated or nonexistent, it is understandable that on occasion emotions can reach a point which results in violence. But here, where free speech and free political choice are the hard core of our system of government, an assassination or attempt of it portrays an illness among us which has progressed to alarming proportions. Its symptoms are the rapid development of crime and wholesale disrespect for law and order.

We have before us at this moment the toughest anticrime legislative proposal we have seen in many years. I hope we have the sense to pass it, and more than this, I hope the administration will have the courage to carry out the intent of Congress.

I, for one, am sick and tired of sympathetic apologies for the lot of the criminal. The hope for peace in the world is through the application of courage and power, within the framework of justice. This same formula applies to the establishment of law and order at home.

I am determined more than ever to bring to the American people a better understanding of the issues which should be their deep concern. I am determined also to move the actions of this Congress toward the establishment of a government which will earn the respect of American citizens and for which in no way will I have to apologize.

It is only through the establishment of a dynamic, renewed sense of individual responsibility that we can restore throughout this land a set of values which has eroded to the point where a U.S. Senator and candidate for the Presidency was struck down.

I plead with every American citizen to look into his conscience, to examine his own determination, and to ask of himself this question, "As a citizen of the United States, am I doing my part and shouldering my responsibility to preserve this country under a system of laws?"

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. McCarthy].

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, as you observed earlier, last night's tragedy was the work of an evil mind, a criminal mind. A continuing tragedy in our society is the fact that persons with evil and criminal minds have no difficulty whatsoever in obtaining deadly weapons. The gun that was apparently used in the assassination attempt was one that I remember as a boy you could order from a coupon on the back of any comic book—an Iver Johnson .22 caliber revolver.

After President Kennedy's assassination there was a great wave of revulsion. We said, "We must have strong gun control legislation." Nothing happened.

Nothing happened, mainly because one determined lobby, headed by the National Rifle Association, prevented the enactment of legislation favored by over 70 percent of the people in the United States—and more than that in my district.

I think we should seize on the revulsion and outrage over this latest terrible attempt at assassination and pass a strong gun control bill. I think the minimum is in the bill that was sent over from the other body.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, no words can express my personal grief, nor that of my constituency, at the attempted assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. For many years Senator Kennedy made Hyannis Port his home—and he has continued to spend his all-too-few leisure hours on Cape Cod.

Every reasonable man and woman throughout the world is shocked by the warped thinking that perpetrated this tragedy. The would-be assassin, for reasons that must be brought to light, attempted to silence one who was campaigning valiantly to help find solutions to the problems facing our Nation today. Senator Robert F. Kennedy, like his brother, Jack, has the extraordinary devotion to his country that prompted him to expose himself, willingly, to risks and danger.

Mr. Speaker, we all hope and pray that Senator Robert F. Kennedy will recover speedily and completely. At the same time, we must dedicate ourselves anew to tracking down and obliterating the virulent cancer of hate that is eating away at America—that same cancer that took the life of former President Kennedy as well as that of Dr. Martin Luther King. Better laws, and stricter enforcement of those and existing laws, are indeed necessary—but the American spirit must rise above the hate that threatens the very principles for which men like Senator Kennedy risk their lives.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, like all my colleagues here on the floor of the House today, I am appalled and shocked over the tragedy which has befallen Senator Robert Kennedy. This is indeed a black day in the annals of American history.

It is ironic that this man, like his brother before him, dedicated himself to the improvement of his society, only to be assaulted by some demented creature of that society.

Bob Kennedy is a brave man. The events which have occurred so far today show that rather conclusively. He has the will and the tenacity to hang on. We are all praying fervently for his prompt and total recovery. We are praying that his family and close friends will have the patience to bear up during these trying days. We are praying that this country, still reeling from the senseless murders of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, will be able to avoid further ruptures.

Bob Kennedy is my friend. I have the greatest admiration and respect for the manner in which he has always dedicated himself to the principles and causes in which he believes.

Mr. Speaker, every American has a stake in the peaceful discussion and resolution of those great issues now before us. Let us rededicate and recommit ourselves to those peaceful ways, lest the fabric of this society be rent beyond repair.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, it was with utter dismay and a heavy heart that I learned this morning of the senseless and brutal shooting of our beloved colleague from New York, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. I find it beyond human comprehension.

How long are we going to tolerate the breakdown of law and order in this country? How long are we to allow the fury and passion of hatred to run loose and unchecked, bringing disaster wherever it goes? We are fast arriving at the point where chaos and violence are the hallmarks of modern society.

Somehow, we in the Congress must come to grips with this ever-increasing societal disease. Radical and meaningful changes are in order so that crime—and all it entails—is reduced and eradicated. If we do not face this issue now, we are tempting fate as well as the future of our democratic system of government.

Senator Robert Kennedy is a brilliant and compassionate man, and I ask all to pray for his recovery and for the continued strength of his courageous wife and children.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, there are no words to describe the shock and grief resulting from the wanton and senseless assassination attempt on the life of Senator Robert Kennedy.

At this time our hearts go out to his family. Our prayers are for his full and rapid recovery. This is the least we can do. For many it is the most we can do and it seems so painfully inadequate.

Senator Kennedy's valuable life hangs in balance. His loss would be a great loss to the Nation and peace-loving peoples of the world.

Robert F. Kennedy has served his country faithfully and well. Whether one is his antagonist or protagonist there is no denying Senator Kennedy, through his public service, to which he has dedicated his adult life has worked courageously and effectively to make this a better Nation.

He has been forceful and his forcefulness has won him many admirers as well as the political enmity of others. Yet he has always concerned himself with the task which he felt must be accomplished. He has shown a special concern for the individual in society, particularly the deprived individual who has been denied the opportunity to participate in and partake of the mainstream of American life and its fruit of plenty.

Very few men in our Nation's history have compiled the record of public service that attends the biography of Robert Kennedy. Few men have had the privilege of serving their country in the many important tasks which he has undertaken and completed.

At the very moment he was struck down Senator Kennedy was engaged in the pursuit of the office of President of the United States, the most important and noble public office in the world today. His quest of that office led to the charge by some that his motivation was personal ambition. Yet I know of no finer ambition than to offer one's talents and abilities in the service of his fellow countrymen as President of the United States.

The personal tragedy heretofore suffered by the Kennedy family has now been compounded by this terrible act, enlarging it almost beyond comprehension.

No, words will not suffice to express the tragic sorrow which this terrible deed has provoked. But as we offer our prayers for his full recovery let us remember, antagonist and protagonist alike, that Robert F. Kennedy is a full and true man, a man of positive conviction, profound concern for his fellow man, great personal integrity, proven ability and possesses a deeply dedicated commitment to the progress of our Nation.

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, there is no adequate way to describe the shock and sadness here and throughout the Nation over the attempted assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

The tragedy which has befallen him and his family, not just in Los Angeles this morning but in the past several years, has brought upon all of us an awareness of conditions that are not right with our country.

Senator Kennedy is an able, sincere, dedicated American, liberal, progressive, and courageous. The manner in which he was gunned down manifests the horror of violence and the sickness which threatens the very fabric of our free society.

At this time, many thoughts are standing still in an agonized waiting period concerning the life of Senator Kennedy.

I join with my colleagues in extending to his family our prayerful good wishes.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, this is a moment when time moves heavily from second to second, when thinking people are heartsick with the burden of human violence, ignorance, and guilt, when all morality, all reason, and all justice are outraged by an act of absolute evil.

ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY was a strong and fearless advocate for millions of Americans, and for people throughout the world he was a symbol of democracy. His voice has now been stilled by the bullets of a psychotic assailant.

As Senator KENNEDY lies unconscious we wait and pray, all of us linked with his single heartbeat. We pray for this fine, vigorous, young man, for his wife and children, for his parents and relatives who have lived once before through the terror of assassination and martyrdom, and we pray that all men will join in a sacred resolve that the conditions which infect and distort society will no longer be tolerated.

May God give Congress the strength and the wisdom to heal the social wounds of our Nation. May He be merciful and spare our colleague, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, who is needed by America.

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, stunned shock and disbelief were universally shared by persons of good will when it was announced to us that a demented tool of hate had shot Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY shortly past midnight this morning. Despite the assassination of his brother in 1963, Senator KENNEDY took to the open roads and the crowds in competition for the presidential nomination of his party which is in the national interest. He knew surely that lunatics remain at large, and he must be accounted brave. On behalf of the citizens of the congressional district which I serve, I express the prayer for his complete recovery and extend solace to his family in this time of travail.

The shooting of Senator KENNEDY is an event of shock and sorrow, and it also demands an analysis of the circumstances in which the event can happen in this free country.

Extremism of all kinds and shades has become rampant in this country. Simple solutions to intricate problems, nostrums and patent medicines for serious social ills, intemperate attacks from the right and from the left—are all increasing in volume as thoughtful and temperate citizens worry, but do little. This extremism triggers the irresponsible emotions of the unbalanced and the demented. It is time for citizens in increasing numbers to give vocal support to the rule of reason and the rule of law.

Otherwise those who for personal gain or twisted sense of self-importance purvey suspicion, hate, and intolerance and who use half-truths to deliberately distort and misrepresent will continue to rouse and influence the unsuspecting decent citizen and create a climate within which unbalanced persons such as the one who shot Senator KENNEDY will proliferate.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the tragic shooting of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY emphasizes the crying need for a restoration of law and order in America.

The lawlessness and violence so prevalent in America today must be halted. If our Nation is to survive, criminals must be apprehended and prosecuted with the full impact of the law.

In the vicious and heartless shooting of Senator KENNEDY, the entire Nation is stunned with horror and grieves for the Kennedy family.

I am hopeful that the Congress and all public officials, sustained by overwhelming popular support, will take immediate and decisive steps to restore obedience to and respect for the law.

Among such steps, it seems to me, is the immediate passage of the anticrime legislation now pending in the U.S. House of Representatives. Without effective police protection backed by citizen cooperation with our law-enforcement agencies, without an atmosphere of safety and security on our streets, without order in our cities and throughout our land, all our civil rights and freedoms become meaningless.

Until our people and our Government provide the basic essentials for civilized life—law and order—there can be no pursuit of happiness for Americans. Let us hope that the brutal and senseless attack on a U.S. Senator may provide great impetus to our quest for law and order.

It is my hope and prayer that Senator KENNEDY will enjoy a full and speedy return to good health.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply shocked and horrified at the attempted assassination of Senator KENNEDY early this morning. Mrs. Kennedy and the Kennedy family have my profound sympathy at the senseless tragedy which has befallen them, and Senator KENNEDY has my prayers for recovery.

This tragedy is abhorred by all Americans of good faith, and its points up the urgency for measures to halt the wave of lawlessness which is striking at the very warp and woof of our civilization. It is up to the Congress to provide now the legislation which is necessary to control the lawless element which has grown rampant in this country.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, the senseless shooting of Senator KENNEDY should cause all Americans to question if we really live in the land of the free.

This horrible episode is another black chapter in American history, another personal tragedy in the Kennedy family, and a national tragedy which defies description.

This senseless criminal act should finally impress upon some the need for renewed emphasis on law and order across the land. Crime and violence is our No. 1 domestic problem, and if we are to have a free society in America, those who would take the law in their own hands must be dealt with justly, but swiftly and effectively.

In my opinion, in recent years there has been too much concern for the criminal and too little concern for the innocent victim. The pendulum has swung too far and the time for action, on all fronts, is long past due.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer my hope and the hope of all of the people of the 14th District of New Jersey for a speedy recovery for Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, of New York.

Like all Americans I was stunned and shocked by the awful events which occurred last night in Los Angeles. Words do not suffice to describe my feelings about this horrible attack upon the junior Senator from New York.

My heart goes out to Ethel Kennedy and her 10 children during this critical time. I pray that this loving father and husband will soon be restored to his wonderful family.

Mrs. Daniels joins with me in extending our heartfelt sorrow to Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy who have known so much heartbreak during their life together. If any parents should be spared further grief it is the Ambassador and his lovely wife.

Mr. Speaker, out of this catastrophe has come a lesson for all Americans. By their poise and quiet dignity the Kennedy family have once again shown their courage and their ability to bear up under great sorrow. This fine family has set an example for all of the rest of us.

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I join with my fellow Americans and others throughout the world in praying for the recovery of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY. Words cannot soothe the feelings of the Kennedy family at a moment like this.

The Nation once again is stunned and horrified by the experience of a sudden act of brutality and violence. This morning while I prayed for the Senator I also prayed for our Nation which is suffering from a malaise unlike any we have known before.

The bitterness—the hatred which is dividing us as a people is producing a disease in the minds of some which threatens to destroy our very existence.

If our democratic system is to survive, we must rededicate ourselves to the treatment of the root causes of this illness before it is too late.

There are many things which we must do. High on this priority list is the passage of effective gun control legislation calling for regulation of the manufacture and sale of guns. We must also give attention to the need for research, treatment, and care in the field of mental illness.

We require the massing of our brains and resources to solve the problems of the hungry poor, the unemployed, and underemployed, the poorly housed, and the sick.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, my prayers are for the full and prompt recovery of our able and distinguished Senator KENNEDY, for his family, and for such a returned health of spirit and mind throughout the world that such events will be impossible. Again we have a tragic illustration of the need for more adequate gun control and anticrime legislation and I hope that Congress will proceed to accomplish this without further delay.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, the horror viewed on our television sets out of Los Angeles this morning carries an obvious and immediate message—Congress must move to end the easy availability of firearms.

Strong gun control legislation is urgently needed as a start in putting an end to the cycle of tragedy which we Americans have been witnessing in recent years.

At times I think that as a Nation we are on the verge of madness. How else can we explain the rash of attempts against the lives of our public figures, the turmoil and bloodshed in our cities?

It appears that as long as any child, any psychotic, or any criminal can obtain and carry a gun, our society remains unsafe.

Looking ahead, I wonder what our upcoming presidential election campaign will be like. Can our candidates afford to expose themselves to voters, if they have reason to fear an open season on the prominent? Or will they have to spend the duration of the campaign hiding in closely guarded television studios, shielded from both the voting public and the extremist lunatics in our midst?

How much longer can we tolerate these madmen who threaten the very foundations of our country by nullifying, with their bullets, the decisions of the electorate?

More than 34 million of our fellow citizens elected John F. Kennedy President in 1960; yet they were shortly overruled, in effect, by a single gunman.

Now ROBERT F. KENNEDY, fresh from the greatest triumph of his own campaign for the Presidency, has been cut down by a demented individual apparently seething with hatred and contempt for the democratic process as we have always understood it in California and the United States.

How long will this go on, Mr. Speaker? Has political assassination become a part of the American way of life? We must act, and act now, to keep deadly weapons out of the hands of the arch-criminals who hate our country so much.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the sickening and senseless shooting of Senator KENNEDY brings to the surface again the deplorable strain of violence and division which troubles Americans in this difficult year and time in which we live. All of us ought to pause and ask ourselves what has gone wrong with our country. With all their troubles in the world and at home, the British have not had a political shooting or killing of which I am aware in the last century. British policemen walk the streets unarmed. Shootings of this kind are almost unknown in the other advanced nations we claim to lead. Yet, in less than 5 years, a kind and brilliant John Kennedy has been gunned down as he rode with his wife through a public street; Martin Luther King, who lived and preached nonviolence, has been shot from cowardly ambush; angry and violent men have looted and burned some of our major cities; and now ROBERT KENNEDY who had a rare gentleness, compassion, and understanding for the poor and the oppressed of the world—and who is such a symbol of hope to so many of them—has been assaulted by yet another armed and irrational man.

And as all this happens, gun sales mount to record levels, fear and hatred escalate even more. Once again, as after the assassination of President Kennedy, I expect Congress will be swamped by telegrams and letters from gun fanatics who see—as a threat to the Constitution—any action to control in any way the sale and use of guns. I have little sympathy for these arguments and I think the Congress has no excuse for further delay in dealing with this issue. Demented or violent people of the kind I have described have no right I am willing to recognize to purchase or own any kind of firearms.

I have endorsed no one in the Democratic presidential campaign to this point, but I can say without qualification that the shooting of Senator KENNEDY was not only an outrageous and insane act, but one which sought to rob our country of a potentially great leader. As the campaign has progressed, I have been struck by two things:

First, that ROBERT KENNEDY had a unique potential with the poor and minority groups to bind up some of the wounds inflicted on our society in recent years. There are unfortunately few white men to whom the black Americans will listen, but he was one of them.

Second, I have noted with alarm that people of other nations view with considerable distress what they consider certain dangerous and wreckless aspects of our foreign policy. Senator KENNEDY, perhaps more than any other American, was one leader who could command attention and respect from the people of other nations in trying to bridge the serious differences that threaten peace. To lose these potentials for leadership would be a tragedy of immeasurable proportions.

My sympathies go out to that exceptional lady, Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her children, to the other members of this outstanding family, and especially to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy who have known death and heartbreak as few parents have.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, last night the American people went to bed, hoping that this morning would give added clues as to who is the leading candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency of the United States.

The primary election in California was to have been one of the significant barometers on the fate of candidates in that race.

But, Americans woke up in shock and disbelief. The shocking news was that Senator ROBERT KENNEDY was shot by an assailant and was undergoing surgery.

Whether one agrees with the philosophy expounded by Senator KENNEDY or not, the tragedy is one that has shocked all the people of our country, regardless of political party affiliation.

Mr. Speaker, what is this country coming to? How much longer are we going to permit such actions upon our citizens, whether they be public figures or ordinary citizens in our American society?

I hope that the Congress take immediate steps to enact a strict crime bill, one which will include the prohibition on the sale of hand weapons in interstate commerce.

I am sure that this henious crime will not go unpunished. But one can see that the weeks of active and hard campaigning for an office can well be terminated by a fanatical mind or by an activist opposed to the philosophy of an individual candidate for public office. The weeks of campaigning can well be ended by a single shot from a weapon carried by a person set to do harm.

Mr. Speaker, I am heartened by the late reports that Senator KENNEDY has survived surgery and that there is no apparent brain damage. But how soon the Senator can return to the campaign trail, if at all, can only be determined by the will of a Higher Being as to the progress of the Senator's recovery.

I extend to the entire Kennedy family my most sincere and deepest sympathy during these most tragic hours and I pray that Senator KENNEDY will fully recover from this dastardly attack.

This cowardly attack is not America's way of expressing itself against a candidate. We have the ballot box which we are free to use in making our desires known, and we should use it. The way in which the elimination of a candidate was attempted early this morning is horrifying.

This incident should be thoroughly investigated and no effort should be spared concerning the motives behind it, and what individuals or groups may have had a hand in this attack.

Emotional as we are at this time, let us deliberate with calmness and take such action as we can to prevent further actions of this sort.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, the tragedy in Los Angeles is further proof that the society in which we are living is desperately ill. We pride ourselves in thinking ours is the greatest Nation on earth, yet a public official is no longer safe when appearing in public.

Every responsible American is now asking one question—What can we do?—and the answer to that will not come easily.

At this sad hour the thoughts and prayers of all loyal Americans are with the Kennedy family.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I join with the Nation in praying for the recovery of the Senator. At this time in our state of shock that another public figure has been the victim of a crime of violence, we must not lose sight of the fact that the incidents of major crime are rising at an unprecedented rate.

It is high time the courts reappraised their "capital punishment" decisions of this past week—it is high time that courts begin giving the same protection to the victims as to the criminals—it is high time that local and Federal officials give the law-enforcement agencies all the tools and sanctions necessary to curb the chaotic conditions that we find in the streets today.

Leniency toward criminals has bred the conditions that have caused the rapid escalation of major crimes.

Between 1944 and 1967 crime has increased 367 percent while population has increased only 44.6 percent. Crime has outstripped the population increase 8 to 1. The sharpest 1-year increase was in 1967—last year. When the courts get tough on criminals—and the officials allow the police to get tough on criminals and quit listening to the "brutality" cries—the atmosphere for law and order will be much better.

I expect we will hear more of the "collective guilty" theory. I do not buy this and I do not think the American people do.

Let us all join in prayer for the Senator's recovery and at the same time get this country's leadership moving toward law and order.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, the attempted murder of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY shocks the sensibilities of every American and the entire civilized world. I am aghast at this latest instance of violence in our Nation and my most heartfelt sympathies go out to Senator KENNEDY's family.

This tragedy is the result of growing lawlessness and disrespect for established authority. If our society is to survive, we must regain our national sanity and return immediately to obedience and respect for the law and duly constituted authority.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the heart of America goes out to the tragedy-ridden Kennedy family. It is shocking that further trial should be visited on them in the form of more violence by a would-be assassin. It is equally shocking that uncurbed violence can strike anywhere almost at will in this country. If ever there was a clear message which must be heeded, it is that America should stop coddling criminals.

In the meantime, every right-thinking citizen shares the grief of this troubled family which has had much more than its share of misfortune. My own sympathies are extended together with my prayers for a full recovery for Senator KENNEDY.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, a gun shot breaks into a festive occasion, and once more a citizen of these United and supposedly benevolent States lies fighting for his life. It happens every day. The fact that this time it happened to a conspicuous member of a conspicuous family which has spent a large part of its intelligence and energy in public service is incidental, if not accidental. It is as insupportable as it is unbelievable, no matter to whom it happens. This time it happened to a man who had every right to aspire to the highest office in the land, and who was at the moment engaged in prosecuting his campaign for selection to that office. His assailant had no charge of grievous injustice or oppression to bring against the victim. So far as is evident at the present, it was an act of pure malice. A disordered mind may have been back of it, but certainly nothing that could be branded as reason by even the bitterest of malcontents.

The tragedy points only too directly to an almost criminal negligence on the part of this Congress. We have been warned that it is folly in its extremest degree to permit lethal weapons to come into the hands of cranks and mental aberrants of all kinds, as well as the hands of criminals. Gun laws have been proposed and allowed to die somewhere along the road to enactment. One or more of those laws is now gathering dust in some pigeonhole. It must be brought out and put into effect. And then we must call loud and clear for its vigorous enforcement.

Pending such an act of sanity and good judgment, it may be worthwhile to say that we already have in effect State and Federal legislation which would substantially reduce the manslaughter which daily reddens our streets, our place of business, and even our homes. An editorial recently broadcast over network WABC–TV suggests that New York State, and presumably other States, use its existing records on felons and psychos—and make those identities available to gun dealers by electronic communication. The editorial apparently assumes the dealers to be reputable dealers, but there is presumably some equally effective way to reach, legally, dealers who are neither reputable nor ethical.

For the moment, Mr. Speaker, there seems nothing further that we can do except to say to all the respected and useful members of the Kennedy clan that we share their suffering and grief, so far as that is possible, and that we offer to the Senator himself our best hopes and our most fervent prayers for his speedy recovery.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the whole world was shocked to learn of the attempted assassination of the able and distinguished Senator from New York, Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

The hopes and prayers of all God-fearing people are with Senator KENNEDY for his full recovery.

I extend my sympathy to the entire Kennedy family, especially to his wife and children.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, all the world was shocked this morning on learning of the deadly assault on Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. Once again all Americans are revolted by a cowardly attack on one of their great leaders.

Senator KENNEDY was in the act of courageously pursuing his political objectives in presenting the issues as he defined them—not just to the people of California, but to the people of the United States. He was in the process of exercising the great freedom of expression and thought and voice that is a cherished guarantee of all Americans. Because of a difference of opinion, or for some distorted reason, the assailant tried to take his life.

All of us lose when an attack such as this is made. All of us should resolve that in our own way we will make every effort to stamp out violence and crime from the American scene.

Just 2 weeks ago, in a speech on the need for firearms legislation, I pointed out that the situation was so tense that the FBI had cautioned presidential candidates to be on their guard against extremists who may try to assassinate them.

The shooting of Senator KENNEDY may or may not have been prevented by strong firearms legislation—but the chance that it would have been prevented, or the chance that even one of the 6,500 Americans killed each year by firearms would be prevented, is reason enough to pass such legislation.

I join all Americans in expressing to Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy, his children, and his parents our very deep prayer for his rapid and full recovery.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, the assault on Senator ROBERT KENNEDY is shocking and tragic almost beyond belief. These are indeed times that try men's souls. And, indeed, these are times when we should search our souls. We can offer prayers for the Senator and sympathy for his family, which of course we do.

But surely we must do more. For senseless violence and shocking crime is not confined to the mighty, although it is true that when they are struck down, the impact may seem more sharply focused and the tragedy more dramatic. The fact is that violence and disrespect for the law have reached proportions that cry aloud for redress.

Surely our prayers and sympathy for the Senator and his family will be more meaningful if they are matched by a resolve and determination to frontally assault the root causes of the evil.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the shock of the assassination attempt on Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's life early this morning has penetrated deeply into the hearts and minds of every decent person in this country and throughout the world. We wonder with horror how, once again, such a thing could happen to us.

We do not have any details yet, and so we cannot point an accusing finger at any one person and any one group, or know the reason for this malevolent act. But, we do know that the thin veneer of decency in human beings apparently can be scraped off very easily—to the point that an evil act such as this can be perpetrated upon another of our Nation's leading citizens.

The forces of hate and violence must be dispelled in our society. We must find a way to make words such as decency, love, freedom, and democracy have real meaning to every person.

I hope for the termination of hate and violence in our society with the same intensity that I hope for the full recovery of Senator KENNEDY. We must have a country where every man can walk and work unafraid and unmolested.

Mrs. Corman and I extend our heartfelt sorrow to the Senator's family, and we pray that the hours ahead will bring the good news of his complete recovery.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who desire to do so may extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in the RECORD on the terrible tragedy which occurred earlier today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to

the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS TO HAVE UNTIL MIDNIGHT, JUNE 7, TO FILE A PRIVILEGED REPORT ON SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL FOR 1968

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations may have until midnight, Friday, June 7, to file a privileged report on the second supplemental appropriation bill for 1968.

Mr. JONAS reserved all points of order on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, it is hoped it will be possible for the bill to be on the floor on Tuesday next June 11.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I believe there is unanimity in deploring the dastardly attempt to take the life of the junior Senator from New York. I join with others in the prayer he will enjoy a complete recovery.

It is regrettable we do not have the same unanimity in recognizing the need for attempting to correct the conditions which have brought about the increasing return of lawlessness, including violence, which has been rampant over the past several months.

I am referring particularly to the attitude of those in high places—in the executive, in the judicial, and in the legislative branches of our Government—where we apparently have been more interested in protecting and justifying the lawless actions of those who riot, kill, burn, steal, and rape than in protecting the innocent.

We do not need more laws. We need the determination to enforce the laws that are already on the books.

I cannot in these brief remarks set forth all of the incidents which are so well known by all of us, but I would cite the disgusting conduct of the chief law enforcement officer of this Nation, the Attorney General, who, yesterday in capitulating to the demands of anarchists, permitted not the 20 representatives from the so-called Resurrection City that he had originally agreed to hear but 100 representatives, who took over his office and made illegal threats and demands as he passively submitted to this abuse, without calling into action the law enforcement officers who were readily available.

The Attorney General listened submissively to the threats of increased violence. I do not know if he was acting under directions of the President in permitting this mob to take over his office, but I do recall that many months ago the President did permit the late Martin Luther King to inform him that his group would obey those laws of which they approved and would violate those laws with which they did not agree, and that the President did not discourage the threats that were made at that time. This was notice to the world that the President could be intimidated and that he would yield to the illegal demands of other groups, thereby losing not only the respect but inviting the accelerated increase in crime and violence, by the lawless element of this Nation.

There is a need for return to law enforcement by all the departments of the Government, and this new direction should start at the White House, with direction to the Department of Justice to get on the side of the people who respect law and order.

REPUBLICAN URBAN AFFAIRS TASK FORCE HEARINGS ON MAJOR PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE URBAN AREAS

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Senator CHARLES H. PERCY will testify before the House Republican urban affairs task force on Thursday, June 6, at 12 o'clock noon in room H-202 in the Capitol. This will be the 10th in a series of task force hearings on major problems confronting the urban areas.

Senator PERCY, a recognized proponent of involving the private sector in meeting our Nation's housing needs through his proposed National Home-Ownership Foundation, will address the task force on our Nation's housing needs. Additionally he will present his views on involving the private sector in programs to meet other urban problems.

I am very proud of the record established by the House Republican urban affairs task force in seeking the advice of these several experts on the urban crisis. Among the experts testifying before the task force have been New York City Mayor John Lindsay, the executive directors of the League of Cities, Patrick Healey; the National Association of Counties, Bernard Hillenbrand; the U.S. Conference of Mayors, John Gunther; and Dr. Thomas Matthew, of the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization.

These public hearings have produced invaluable information for the continuing dialog on one of our Nation's foremost problems. In speaking for the Republican urban affairs task force, I wish to say we are glad to be a part of this constructive dialog.

ENFORCEMENT OF CRIME LAWS

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I am moved to take the floor to commend my colleague from Missouri [Mr. JONES] for what I think is a splendid statement. I think it is about time this were underlined. We do not need more laws. We need enforcement of the laws that are on the books. Let me illustrate specifically. We have the Federal Firearms Act and the National Firearms Act. If these acts were properly enforced, the assassination of President Kennedy and the assassination of Martin Luther King could never have occurred. This will probably prove to be the case in the attempted assassination of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, as well.

Our Committee on Ways and Means held hearings on this matter 2 years ago. We had the Attorney General of the United States come before us with examples of guns being sold across our borders to criminals, this is against these laws. I think 40 were sold by one operator in Maryland which were shipped to criminals in the District of Columbia. I asked the Attorney General then whether they had revoked the Federal license that this gun dealer in Maryland had. They had not done that. Had they carried out the law requiring this gun dealer to keep a list by name and address of those to whom he sold the guns? They did not check on that. Did they require these people to identify themselves so that they could not use fictitious names? They had not done that. They had done nothing. To this very day the Attorney General of the United States is not enforcing these laws, nor is the Department of the Treasury, which has a part of this jurisdiction for the enforcement of these laws, enforcing them.

Mr. Speaker, under permission to revise and extend my remarks I will put some further details in, but let me say that this is what we need—a little law enforcement of the acts that we have on the books today, particularly by people in high positions.

In this context it is important to bear in mind that we have had firearms legislation on our Federal statute books for the past 30 years. The history of the firearms legislation began with the National Firearms Act of 1934, which was enacted to curb the flow of machineguns, sawed-off shotguns, and other nonsporting weapons to the gangsters who flourished in that period. In 1938 the Federal Firearms Act was enacted. This legislation was more comprehensive than the original National Firearms Act in that it included provisions for the regulation of interstate transportation of all varieties of firearms. Both of these acts provide for enforcement by the Secretary of the Treasury under licensing and fees provisions under sections 5801–5862 of the Internal Revenue Code.

The House Ways and Means Committee, of which I am a member, considers all legislation dealing with amendments to the Internal Revenue Code. Consequently, in 1965 when the Johnson administration sought to amend these provisions dealing with firearms regulation, the proposed revisions came before the Ways and Means Committee. I held the view then, and do now, that we may need to revise and improve the existing Federal statutes regulating firearms importation, sales, and shipments. However, I was interested in first hearing testimony on the adequacy or inadequacy of the existing laws from those responsible for administering and enforcing the present laws. During the public hearings before the committee in July of 1965 I was shocked at the inadequate preparation and study of this important matter of firearms sales made by the executive department witnesses who testified at that time. These officials were the then Attorney General Katzenbach and Commissioner Cohen of the Internal Revenue Service. Both the Attorney General and the Commissioner, in urging new legislation, pointed out that an investigation revealed that 40 percent of the firearms sold by a hardware store in Maryland which had a Federal license to sell firearms, were sold to convicted criminals in the District of Columbia. I asked both witnesses whether or not the license which had been issued to the hardware store had been revoked. It had not been. I then asked what regulations the Treasury Department had issued to enforce the present law which requires all licensed dealers to keep permanent records of firearms sales and also forbids sales to convicts or even persons under indictment for a crime.

I was distressed to find out that there were no requirements by regulation. Not even the apparently obvious one of requiring that a purchaser of firearms produce identification to show that he is not using a fictitious name, and that the seller check with the police department to see whether the prospective purchaser had a criminal record. The Attorney General and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue obtained their original data that 40 percent of the sales of a particular store were to convicts in the District of Columbia by checking with the District of Columbia Police Department. It seems obvious that a regulation requiring a similar check by a store owner would have stopped the sales in the first place. So, incidentally, would this kind of enforcement have caught up with Oswald, who assassinated President Kennedy, when he sought to purchase a gun by mail from a federally licensed dealer, as well as the assassinator of Martin Luther King, inasmuch as it appears that he purchased a gun not under his own name but under an alias.

The testimony of the Attorney General and the Commissioner revealed how inadequately the present laws have been enforced, even after the assassination of President Kennedy. It is tragic that the news media failed to report these facts to the people when they were adduced in open public hearings. The people need to understand where our laws need improvement, and where the administration of the laws need improvement. These are two distinct matters, the first under the jurisdiction of the Congress, the second of the President.

In the summer of 1965 the Ways and Means Committee asked the administration to give a full report on its present methods of administering the existing laws on firearms regulations. To this date the administration has not done so. Instead it sought to bypass the Ways and Means Committee by including new gun control legislation in an unrelated bill which was before the House Judiciary Committee. The House Judiciary Committee has been considering this overall legislation but has not yet reported a bill to the House.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 163]

Andrews, Ala.
Arends
Bates
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Calif.
Carter
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Culver
Dawson
Dickinson
Dowdy
Edwards, Calif.
Evans, Colo.
Fisher
Ford, William D.
Fuqua
Gardner
Gettys
Gilbert
Green, Oreg.
Griffin
Hagan
Hall
Halleck
Hardy
Harrison
Hawkins
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Ichord
Karsten
Leggett
McMillan
Machen
Mailliard
May
Mayne
Miller, Calif.
Murphy, Ill.
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Pirnie
Price, Ill.
Rees
Resnick
Rivers
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
Scheuer
Selden
Stratton
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Utt
Vigorito
Waldie
Wilson, Charles H.

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 366 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

AMENDING THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES ACT OF 1965—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 11308) to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

The conference report and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. NO. 1511)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11308) to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"SECTION 1. Section 3(f) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 is amended to read as follows:

" '(f) The term "workshop" means an activity the primary purpose of which is to encourage the artistic development or enjoyment of amateur, student, or other nonprofessional participants, or to promote scholarship and teaching among the participants.'

"SEC. 2. (a) Section 5(c) and section 5(f) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

" '(c) The Chairman, with the advice of the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities and the National Council on the Arts, is authorized to establish and carry out a program of contracts with, or grants-in-aid to, groups or, in appropriate cases, individuals of exceptional talent engaged in or concerned with the arts, for the purpose of enabling them to provide or support in the United States—

" '(1) productions which have substantial artistic and cultural significance, giving emphasis to American creativity and the maintenance and encouragement of professional excellence;

" '(2) productions, meeting professional standards or standards of authenticity, irrespective of origin, which are of significant merit and which, without such assistance, would otherwise be unavailable to our citizens in many areas of the country;

" '(3) projects that will encourage and assist artists and enable them to achieve standards of professional excellence;

" '(4) workshops that will encourage and develop the appreciation and enjoyment of the arts by our citizens;

" '(5) other relevant projects, including surveys, research, and planning in the arts.'

" '(f) The total amount of any grant to any group pursuant to subsection (c) of this section shall not exceed 50 per centum of the total cost of such project or production, except that not more than 20 per centum of the funds allotted by the National Endowment for the Arts for the purposes of subsection (c) for any fiscal year may be available for grants and contracts in that fiscal year without regard to such limitation.'

"(b) Section 5(j) and section 5(k) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended by inserting after the words 'or individual' wherever they appear in such subsections the following: 'of exceptional talent'.

"SEC. 3. Section 5(h)(3) and section 5(h)(5) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

" '(3) Funds appropriated to carry out the purpose of this section 5(h) for any fiscal year shall be equally allotted among the States.'

" '(5) All amounts allotted under paragraph (3) for a fiscal year which are not granted to a State during such year shall be available at the end of such year to the National Endowment for the Arts for the purpose of carrying out section 5(c).'

"SEC. 4. Section 6(b) and section 8(f) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

" '(b) The National Council on the Arts shall, in addition to performing any of the duties and responsibilities prescribed by the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964, (1) advise the Chairman with respect to policies, programs, and procedures for carrying out his functions, duties, or responsibilities pursuant to the provisions of this Act, and (2) review applications for financial assistance made under this Act and make recommendations thereon to the Chairman. The Chairman shall not approve or disapprove any such application until he has received the recommendation of the Council on such application, unless the Council fails to make a recommendation thereon within a reasonable time. In the case of any application involving $10,000 or less the Chairman may approve or disapprove such request if such action is taken pursuant to the terms of a delegation of authority from the Council to the Chairman, and provided that each such action by the Chairman shall be reviewed by the Council.'

"'(f) The Council shall (1) advise the Chairman with respect to policies, programs, and procedures for carrying out his functions, and (2) shall review applications for financial support and make recommendations thereon to the Chairman. The Chairman shall not approve or disapprove any such application until he has received the recommendation of the Council on such application, unless the Council fails to make a recommendation thereon within a reasonable time. In the case of any application involving $10,000 or less, the Chairman may approve or disapprove such request if such action is taken pursuant to the terms of a delegation of authority from the Council to the Chairman, and provided that each such action by the Chairman shall be reviewed by the Council.'

"SEC. 5. Section 10 of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 is amended by:

"(a) repealing paragraphs (2) and (3) of subsection (a) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"'(2) in the discretion of the Chairman of an Endowment, after receiving the recommendation of the National Council of that Endowment, to receive money, and other property donated, bequeathed, or devised to that Endowment with or without a condition or restriction, including a condition that the Chairman use other funds of that Endowment for the purposes of the gift; and to use, sell, or otherwise dispose of such property for the purpose of carrying out sections 5(c) and 7(c) and the functions transferred by section 6(a) of this Act;'

"(b) redesignating paragraphs '(4)', '(5)', '(6),' '(7)', and '(8),' as paragraphs '(3)', '(4)', '(5)', '(6)', and '(7)'.

"(c) amending the text following subsection (a)(8) to read as follows:

"'In any case in which any money or other property is donated, bequeathed, or devised to the Foundation (A) without designation of the Endowment for the benefit of which such property is intended, and (B) without condition or restriction other than that it be used for the purposes of the Foundation, such property shall be deemed to have been donated, bequeathed, or devised in equal shares to each Endowment and each Chairman of an Endowment shall have authority to receive such property. In any case in which any money or other property is donated, bequeathed, or devised to the Foundation with a condition or restriction, such property shall be deemed to have been donated, bequeathed, or devised to that Endowment whose function it is to carry out the purpose or purposes described or referred to by the terms of such condition or restriction, and each Chairman of an Endowment shall have authority to receive such property. For the purposes of the preceding sentence, if one or more of the purposes of such a condition or restriction is covered by the functions of both Endowments, or if some of the purposes of such a condition or restriction are covered by the functions of one Endowment and other of the purposes of such a condition or restriction are covered by the functions of the other Endowment, the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities shall determine an equitable manner for distribution between each of the Endowments of the property so donated, bequeathed, or devised. For the purposes of the income tax, gift tax, and estate tax laws of the United States, any money or other property donated, bequeathed, or devised to the Foundation or one of its Endowments and received by the Chairman of an Endowment pursuant to authority derived under this subsection shall be deemed to have been donated, bequeathed, or devised to or for the use of the United States.'

"SEC. 6. Section 11 of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 is amended by—

"(a) amending subsection (a) to read as follows:

"'(a) For the purpose of carrying out section 5(c) and the functions transferred by section 6(a) of this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the National Endowment for the Arts $6,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $6,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970; for the purpose of carrying out section 7(c) of this Act there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the National Endowment for the Humanities $8,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $9,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970. In addition, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the National Endowment for the Arts for the purposes of section 5(h) the sum of $2,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and $2,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970. Sums appropriated under the authority of this subsection shall remain available until expended. For each subsequent fiscal year such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law to carry out the provisions of this subsection.'

"(b) amending subsection (b) to read as follows:

"'(b) In addition to the sums authorized by subsection (a), there is authorized to be appropriated to each Endowment an amount equal to the total of amounts received by that Endowment under section 10(a)(2) of this Act, except that the amount so appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and the amount so appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, shall not aggregate more than $13,500,000. Amounts appropriated to an Endowment under this subsection shall remain available until expended. For each subsequent fiscal year such sums may be appropriated as the Congress may hereafter authorize by law to carry out the provisions of this subsection.'

"(c) repealing subsection (c).

"(d) redesignating subsections '(d)' and '(e)' as subsections '(c)' and '(d)'.

"SEC. 7. Section 3(a) and section 3(b) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 are amended to read as follows:

"'(a) The term "humanities" includes, but is not limited to, the study of the following: language, both modern and classical; linguistics; literature; history; jurisprudence; philosophy; archeology; the history, criticism, theory, and practice of the arts; those aspects of the social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods; and the study and application of the humanities to the human environment.

"'(b) The term "the arts" includes, but is not limited to, music (instrumental and vocal), dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture and allied fields, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, tape and sound recording, the arts related to the presentation, performance, execution, and exhibition of such major art forms, and the study and application of the arts to the human environment.'"

And the Senate agree to the same.

Carl D. Perkins,
Frank Thompson, Jr.
Hugh L. Carey,
James Scheuer,
John Brademas,
William H. Ayres,
Chas. Goodell,
John M. Ashbrook,
Ogden Reid,
Managers on the Part of the House.
Claiborne Pell,
Ralph W. Yarborough,
Harrison A. Williams, Jr.,
J. K. Javits,
George L. Murphy,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

Statement

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11308) to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The Senate struck out all of the House bill after the enacting clause and inserted a substitute amendment. The committee of conference has agreed to a substitute for both the House bill and the Senate amendment. Except for technical, clarifying, and conforming changes, the following statement explains the differences between the House bill and the substitute agreed to in conference.

The House bill removed the authority contained in existing law for the National Endowment for the Arts to make grants to individuals. The Senate amendment retained provisions of existing law in this respect and thus continued to permit grants to individuals. The conference substitute permits grants to be made to individuals, but limited to those "of exceptional talent."

The House bill amended sections 6(b) and 8(f) of existing law to permit the Chairmen of the respective Endowments to approve or disapprove grant applications without a Council recommendation in the case of any application involving $10,000 or less, provided such action was taken pursuant to a delegation of authority from the Council to the Chairman, and provided that each such action is reported to the Council. The Senate amendment contained similar authority, but only in the case of applications involving $5,000 or less, and provided that each such action is reviewed by the Council. The conference substitute retained the House figure of $10,000, and retained the Senate language requiring that each such action be reviewed by the Council.

The House bill authorized appropriations for fiscal year 1969 only. The Senate amendment authorized appropriations for fiscal year 1969 and fiscal year 1970. The conference substitute authorizes appropriations for both fiscal year 1969 and fiscal year 1970.

The House bill authorized the appropriation to the National Endowment for the Arts for the purpose of carrying out section 5(c) and the functions transferred by section 6(a) of $5,100,000 for fiscal year 1969. As indicated above, it authorized no appropriation for these purposes for fiscal year 1970. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation to the National Endowment for the Arts for the purpose of carrying out section 5(c) and the functions transferred by section 6(a) of $6 million for fiscal year 1969. The Senate amendment also authorized $6.5 million for these purposes for the fiscal year 1970. The conference substitute authorizes the appropriation to the National Endowment for the

Arts for the purposes of sections 5(c) and 6(a) of $6 million for the fiscal year 1969 and $6.5 million for the fiscal year 1970.

The House bill authorized the appropriation to the National Endowment for the Humanities for the purpose of carrying out section 7(c) of $4.1 million for fiscal year 1969. As indicated above, it authorized no appropriation for these purposes for fiscal year 1970. The Senate amendment authorized the appropriation to the National Endowment for the Humanities for the purpose of carrying out section 7(c) of $8 million for fiscal year 1969 and $9 million for fiscal year 1970. The Conference substitute authorizes the appropriation to the National Endowment for the Humanities for the purposes of section 7(c) of $8 million for fiscal year 1969 and $9 million for fiscal year 1970.

The House bill did not authorize the appropriation of funds for the purpose of supporting State arts programs under section 5(h) for fiscal year 1970. The Senate amendment authorized $2.5 million for this purpose for fiscal year 1970. The conference substitute adopted the Senate Provision on this point. In this connection, the conferees urge the National Endowment for the Arts to give sympathetic consideration to support of worthy State arts projects if the funds appropriated to carry out the purpose of section 5(h) prove inadequate to support such worthy projects.

The House bill authorized the appropriation to each Endowment of an amount equal to the total of amounts received by that Endowment under section 10(a)(2) of the Act. The Senate amendment provided a similar authorization, except that the amount appropriated to each Endowment for these purposes could not exceed $3,250,000 for fiscal year 1969, and $3,500,000 for fiscal year 1970. The conference substitute authorized the appropriation to each Endowment of an amount equal to the total of amounts received by that Endowment under section 10(a)(2) of the Act, except that the aggregate of the amounts so appropriated for fiscal year 1969 and for the fiscal year 1970 shall not be more than $13,500,000.

The Senate amendment added to the definition of "humanities" in existing law the words "the study and application of the humanities to the human environment". The Senate amendment also added to the definition of "the arts" in existing law the words "the study and application of the arts to the human environment". The House bill contained no comparable provisions. The House recedes.

Carl D. Perkins,
Frank Thompson, Jr.,
Hugh L. Carey,
James Scheuer,
John Brademas,
William H. Ayres,
Charles Goodell,
John M. Ashbrook,
Ogden Reid,
Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers be considered as read.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Jersey is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge House approval of the conference report on H.R. 11308, a bill to extend the life of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities for 2 fiscal years. Aside from technical and some rather minor differences between the bill passed by the House and that passed by the other body, the main substantive difference between the two versions of the bill was the respective authorizations.

The bill passed by the House authorized the apppropriation of funds for the Foundation for fiscal year 1969 only. This authorization totaled $11.2 million, plus funds to match private gifts and necessary administrative funds. The other body's version authorized the appropriation of funds for fiscal year 1969 and fiscal year 1970. For fiscal 1969, its bill authorized $22.5 million plus necessary administrative funds.

For fiscal year 1970, it authorized $25 million plus administrative funds. The conference report would authorize for fiscal year 1969, $16 million plus funds to match private gifts and necessary administrative funds; for fiscal year 1970, the conference report authorizes the appropriation of $18 million plus funds to match private gifts and necessary administrative funds. Under the conference report, the aggregate of funds appropriated to match private gifts for these next 2 fiscal years cannot exceed $13.5 million.

In my opinion, this conference report should be approved. It does not authorize as much as the President's budget request, but it represents a compromise which will permit the continuation of the Foundation's important work. I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the help given in connection with this conference by my distinguished colleagues, the chairman of our committee, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Perkins]; the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Brademas], the ranking minority member of the committee, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ayres], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook], and my friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Reid]. These members made constructive suggestions, and it was a genuine pleasure to serve with them on the conference. I think the success of this conference is reflected in the fact that all conferees signed the report.

Mr. Speaker, let us take a moment on this horribly tragic day to look at where we are as a people. Do we understand what goes on about us, and why? This is what this legislation is all about—induces perspective, interpreting events—and the nature and purpose of our society. Yes, Mr. Speaker, the beautiful things, too.

In conclusion, I urge the House to approve this conference report. Its approval will be a necessary step in continuing the important work of the Foundation.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I yield to my friend from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Let me see if my figures are correct as to what happened, dollarwise, in the conference.

Do I correctly understand that the authorization for the arts endowment for 1969 is up $900,000 over the bill as approved by the House by a vote of 261 to 130?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. The gentleman is correct. It is $6 million.

Mr. GROSS. Then, because of the 2-year authorization under the conference report, the authorization is up another $6.5 million for 1970; is that correct?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. I do not know from what figure the gentleman starts, but the total authorization is $18 million for fiscal year 1970. It breaks down as follows: for general arts, $6.5 million; for the humanities, $9 million; for State arts programs, $2.5 million. That is a total of $18 million.

Mr. GROSS. And the humanities for 1969 is up $3.9 million, or almost $4 million. And the humanities for 1970 is $9 million.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Authorized at $9 million.

Mr. GROSS. Up $9 million because of the 2-year program.

For State arts, for 1790, it is not up $2.5 million, but would have $2.5 million authorized for the 1970 program.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. The gentleman is correct; as distinguished from $2 million for 1969, it is $2.5 million for 1970.

Mr. GROSS. So what is the total figure for fiscal year 1969? That is up how much? About $5 million? $4.8 million?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Approximately, yes.

Mr. GROSS. Yes, and this at a time we are confronted with a financial crisis and called upon for increased taxes of $10 billion or $12 billion?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. GROSS. And striving to cut $6 billion off the budget, or some such figure?

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Yes.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook].

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this conference report. I was a member of the conference committee, and I would attest to the statements which were made by the gentleman from New Jersey.

I believe it is fair to say that this new Advisory Council has read the temper of the Congress and recognizes that at least on the House side there is not a predisposition to spend a great deal of money in this particular area.

Many of the complaints that have been made by myself and others regarding expenditures in the past undoubtedly will receive careful consideration from those who are administering these funds.

It might be well, I think, to recount just what has happened regarding the appropriations for the Foundations. When this bill was enacted in 1965 there was $10 million for both the arts and humanities allocated. The Committee on Appropriations in its wisdom appropriated only $11.2 million of the $20 million authorized. The Committee on Education and Labor of the House voted out a bill which totaled $55 million for the first year and $80 million for the second year or a total of $135 million. Most of us felt that this was far and away too much for a new agency or a new Advisory Council. Therefore, I offered an amendment on the floor to reduce the authorization back to the level of that amount appropriated by the House Committee on Appropriations; namely, $11.2 million.

In other words, there was a cut involved from the first year of $55 million back to $11.2 million. I think we all recognize that this is a very substantial cut.

In meeting with the Members of the Senate, your House conferees yielded to the extent of $4.8 million. The sum of $11.2 million was contained in the motion that passed the House by almost a 2-to-1 vote. Also included is an open-ended authorization for matching gifts and grants that might come from the private sector. The Senate, strangely enough, took a little more conservative outlook on this than did the House. The Senate wanted this amount pinned down so that instead of being an open-ended authorization, we ended up with a figure of $3.25 million for both the arts and humanities for the first year and $3.5 million for the arts and humanities for the second year. In dollar amounts, therefore, the authorization looks like it was increased more substantially over the House version than was actually the case. I point this out so that Members on this side of the aisle will recognize that the $3.5 million does not actually represent an increase but represents a specifically tied-down figure where we on our side in our wisdom had voted open-ended authorizations on this particular section of the bill.

I happen to believe, Mr. Speaker, that the bill we ended up with is a reasonable bill. Possibly it will be argued that we should not have added $4.8 million at a time of great financial stress in our country. I think these arguments are sound. However, it seems to me as a person who has not been overly friendly to this type of bill that we should pass it. In 1965 I opposed it. In 1968, following the amending of it, I voted for the bill out of a conviction that the money is needed for encouragement in this vital area. If nothing else, this bill should be passed for equity's sake.

I have many colleges in my district. I am near the giant complex of Ohio State University. It seems to me that we in this Congress recognize the heavy hand of Government, usually full of dollars, goes into our universities in those areas where we have research, development, and defense-oriented areas of the educational community. Almost any professor or any doctor or anyone in the academic community that can relate their work to the Defense Establishment, to the Military Establishment, has many Federal financial pipelines at their disposal. I would be the last to recommend that simply because one group is getting money that some other group get money, also. I think that is not the point here.

But, it is my opinion that out of fairness and with encouragement to this sector, it makes sense to at least make a reasonable effort to assist those in the arts and humanities communities who are not in the defense or military complex. It is my opinion that we do that in this bill and I recommend that we accept the conference report.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRADEMAS].

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I also rise to urge approval of the conference report on H.R. 11308.

As stated by the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON], who has championed so eloquently and effectively this legislation since its inception, the conference report authorizes appropriations with which to continue the essential work of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. All of those concerned with support of the arts and humanities should be pleased with the authorized figures.

The amount of authorization proposed in the conference report will, as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] pointed out, permit a modest expansion of the Foundation's programs, and it is also realistic in terms of the total Federal budget.

In addition to the agreement reached on the authorization by the conferees, three other disagreements between the respective versions of the bill were successfully resolved.

The other body receded from its position and accepted with an explanatory phrase the House-passed language limiting the authority of the National Endowment for the Arts to award grants to individuals.

The House and the other body both receded and agreed to a compromise respecting the authority of the Chairman of each endowment to make grants without a Council recommendation.

The House accepted the changes in the definition of the "arts" and the "humanities" which were in the bill of the other body.

Mr. Speaker, I think it significant that this conference report was signed by every conferee. In my judgment it is a fair and constructive compromise and I believe the House should approve the conference report and I urge the Members to do so.

Mr. Speaker, I would be remiss if I did not take this opportunity to congratulate the members of the conference committee on the House side, and in particular the two gentlemen from Ohio [Mr. AYRES and Mr. ASHBROOK] upon their very constructive contributions to producing a good and comprehensive bill. In my opinion what the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] has just said, with respect to the great disparity between the amounts of Federal moneys that are coming into colleges and universities in his district in the field of defense and the amounts for the arts and humanities is an eloquent summary of at least one of the major reasons why this legislation needs to have our continued support.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. SCHERLE].

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that I cannot join with my colleagues in requesting the adoption of the conference report which is pending before us here this afternoon.

Mr. Speaker, during the month of February of this year during the debate on the bill H.R. 11308, the House amended the arts and humanities authorization in three important aspects: First, the authorization was limited to 1 year rather than 2, giving the Congress an additional opportunity to evaluate the progress and needs of this relatively new program.

Second, the House reduced the authorization of the House Education and Labor Committee from $55 million to $11.7 million, thereby reflecting the Nation's very clearly economic situation.

Third, the House eliminated the authority under the original section which permitted the Foundation to make grants to individuals. This amendment was added because experience made clear that the process was subject to much potential abuse.

Mr. Speaker, the conference report which is now pending before us provides for the sum of $34 million over the next 2 years as compared to the House authorization of $11.2 million for 1 year, while over the past 2½ years, since it was founded, the Arts and Humanities Foundation has spent $23 million.

Ten million dollars of that is being spent by the Foundation in this current fiscal year. The conference report would call for an average of 70-percent increase during each of the next 2 years. The House version of this bill, which was approved by a 2-to-1 margin last February, would authorize a little over a 10-percent increase in the next fiscal year over the current fiscal year.

There has been a steady deterioration in the economic condition of this country since the House version of this bill was passed. We find ourselves confronted with urgent supplemental appropriation bills, cancellation of the planned excise tax reduction, request for a 10-percent surcharge, speedups in corporate tax collections, and many other clear indications that this Government has been spending way beyond our means. It is difficult for me to understand how this House can accept a conference report which would authorize expenditures of 70 percent more per year for the next 2 years over what that agency is now presently spending.

This is particularly difficult to understand in light of this body's recent decision in rejecting a proposal to cut the overall budget by $4 billion, leaving the strong indication that this Congress will settle for nothing less than a $6 billion cut in expenditures.

Now is the time to begin making budget cuts. This is a good place to start. Rejection of the conference report would be a big step toward achieving this goal.

The issue before this House is not the value of the arts and humanities program. We all favor these programs. We are not asking that they be eliminated, they will be continued.

If we are to achieve meaningful cuts in Government spending, it will be necessary to cut Government programs that various Members of Congress might dislike; however, if we are to exercise a sound fiscal policy we must take the initiative and courage that our responsibility demands.

As a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, I will offer a motion to recommit with instructions, and ask that the House maintain its original position.

This bill passed with an $11.2 million authorization last February by a vote of 261 to 131. This was quite significant and quite indicative of the House and the way it feels because of our present economic situation.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERLE. I will be happy to yield to my distinguished colleague from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend my colleague from Iowa for his statement, and point out to the Members of the House that when this authorization bill was originally before the House the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Mahon], said this—and I would like to quote, in part, from his speech:

> I do not believe the Members of this House are willing to continue the program (Arts and Humanities) unless it is drastically reduced from the level proposed in the pending bill. So it seems to me that the better part of wisdom is to bring this bill down, with Democrats and Republicans working together here, down to not more than the current year level.

My friend from Iowa says that this bill in conference was increased some 70 percent; is that correct?

Mr. SCHERLE. Seventy percent; that is correct.

Mr. GROSS. I suggest that the Members of the House take serious note of what has transpired in the conference by way of this unbelievable increase, coming as it does when the Nation faces a financial crisis.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). The time of the gentleman from Iowa has expired.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Scherle].

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERLE. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I believe the gentleman from Iowa would want the House to be completely clear on this matter. In counting the increase the gentleman in the well is counting the amount that was put in in conference for matching grants, even though when it went from the House to the conference we had that open ended; is that correct?

Mr. SCHERLE. To give the Members an example of what these matching grants amount to, in the first fiscal year 1966, the matching funds only amounted to $34,308.28.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The gentleman from Iowa will admit, though——

Mr. SCHERLE. I do not believe the matching funds really amount to much. The amount speaks for itself.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The gentleman is counting the $6.5 million in matching funds, is he not, whether it is ever used or not, the gentleman is counting it?

Mr. SCHERLE. The recommendation from the conference committee is 70 percent over the total authorization recommended by the House. The House, when it passed this authorization last February, only authorized a 10-percent increase over that which was being spent in the current fiscal year to $11.2 million.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You are right, but do not forget to add, I say to the gentleman from Iowa, the $10 million plus open ended authorizations which is now reflected and cut down to $6½ million.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERLE. I yield to my learned colleague from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Since the gentleman from Ohio wants the record clear concerning this bill, I think it ought to show that when the original bill was before the House the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Gibbons] offered an amendment to cut the authorization by 35 percent. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ashbrook] said that was not enough and offered an amendment cutting it still further. His amendment was adopted. The gentleman from Ohio was a member of the conference committee that increased the cost of the bill and I am surprised to hear the gentleman take any exception to the statement of the gentleman from Iowa that the bill has been very substantially increased.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERLE. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I thought I made it perfectly clear that we had increased the amount in conference.

I am just questioning the gentleman's statement in saying how much it was increased, because he is counting the exact dollars to be matched against open ended authorizations when the bill left this floor and you cannot really count that as an increase.

Mr. SCHERLE. The increase is 70 percent over the 10 percent that the House recommended.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report of the arts and humanities bill, H.R. 11308. I am proud to have supported this legislation from its very inception and I am proud of the support that many members of the Republican Party continue to give it now.

Despite the bipartisan nature of this support, after the House original action this year, carping and partisan criticism of the action was heard from some within the agency attempting to blame the reduction in the vast increases proposed by the House committee to a manageable and passable figure. Let us hope with the passage of this bill today, and hopefully with its funding later by the Appropriations Committee, we will hear no more of this type of comment which could jeopardize a most valuable program.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, a point of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Albert). The gentleman will state the point of order.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I make a point of order against the motion to recommit on the ground that the other body has already acted.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The point of order is sustained.

The question is on the conference report.

The question was taken, and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 194, nays 166, not voting 73, as follows:

[Roll No. 164]

YEAS—194

Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Ashbrook
Aspinall
Ayres
Barrett
Battin
Biester
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Utah
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Cahill
Carey
Celler
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Conable
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Daddario
Daniels
de la Garza
Dellenback
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Dulski
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Esch
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Goodell
Gray
Griffiths
Gude
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Horton
Howard
Hungate
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jones, Ala.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Kyros
Long, Md.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McDonald, Mich.
McFall
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mailliard
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
Meeds
Minish
Mink
Mize
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Mosher
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Podell
Pryor
Pucinski
Quie
Railsback
Reifel
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Ruppe
Ryan
St. Onge
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Shriver
Sisk
Skubitz
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Stephens
Taft
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Walker
Wampler
Whalen
Widnall
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—166

Abbitt
Abernethy
Anderson, Ill.
Ashley
Ashmore
Baring
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Blackburn
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Bush
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Collier
Colmer
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
Delaney
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dole
Downing
Duncan
Edwards, Ala.
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Everett
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Galifianakis
Gathings
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Haley
Hansen, Idaho
Harsha
Harvey
Henderson
Herlong
Hosmer
Hull
Hunt
Hutchinson
Jarman
Jonas
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Kazen
Keith
King, N.Y.
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
McClure
McCulloch
McEwen
Macdonald, Mass.
Mahon
Marsh
Martin
May
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minshall
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Morton
Natcher
Nichols
Pelly
Pettis
Pike
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Tex.
Quillen
Randall
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Riegle
Roberts
Rogers, Fla.
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scott
Shipley
Sikes
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Waggonner
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING—73

Andrews, Ala.
Arends
Bates
Belcher
Bell
Berry
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Calif.
Carter
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Conte
Culver
Dawson
Dickinson
Dowdy
Edwards, Calif.
Evans, Colo.
Fisher
Flood
Fuqua
Gardner
Gettys
Gilbert
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Hagan
Hall
Halleck
Hardy
Harrison
Hawkins
Hébert
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Ichord
Karsten
Landrum
Leggett
McDade
McMillan
Mayne
Miller, Calif.
Murphy, Ill.
Nelsen
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Pirnie
Price, Ill.
Purcell
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Rivers
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
Scheuer
Selden
Stratton
Teague, Tex.
Utt
Vander Jagt
Vigorito
Waldie
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.

So the conference report was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mrs. Green of Oregon for, with Mr. Hall against.

Mr. Charles H. Wilson for, with Mr. Berry against.

Mr. Hawkins for, with Mr. Harrison against.

Mr. Reid of New York for, with Mr. Andrews of Alabama against.

Mr. Roybal for, with Mr. Utt against.

Mr. Culver for, with Mr. Bob Wilson against.

Mr. Edwards of California for, with Mr. Hagan against.

Mr. Rooney of New York for, with Mr. Belcher against.

Mr. St Germain for, with Mr. Del Clawson against.

Mr. Leggett for, with Mr. Dowdy against.

Mr. Brown of California for, with Mr. O'Neal of Georgia against.

Mr. Flood for, with Mr. Passman against.

Mr. Holifield for, with Mr. Fisher against.

Mr. Rees for, with Mr. Gardner against.

Mr. Cohelan for, with Mr. Dickinson against.

Mr. Burton of California for, with Mr. Carter against.

Mr. Miller of California for, with Mr. Griffin against.

Mr. Waldie for, with Mr. Purcell against.

Mr. Price of Illinois for, with Mr. Fuqua against.

Mr. Gilbert for, with Mr. Ichord against.

Mr. Olsen for, with Mr. Landrum against.

Mr. Dawson for, with Mr. Teague of Texas against.

Mr. Scheuer for, with Mr. Hébert against.

Until further notice:

Mr. McMillan with Mr. Arends.

Mr. Rivers with Mr. Bates.

Mr. Hardy with Mr. Halleck.

Mr. Selden with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Stratton with Mr. Conte.

Mr. Green of Pennsylvania with Mrs. Bolton.

Mr. Holland with Mr. McDade.

Mr. Vigorito with Mr. Nelsen.

Mr. Hicks with Mr. Bell.

Mr. Karsten with Mr. Pirnie.

Mr. O'Hara of Illinois with Mr. Vander Jagt.

Mr. Resnick with Mr. Mayne.

Messrs. DUNCAN, BRAY, COLLIER, and ASHLEY changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the conference report just agreed to, amending the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

ADDITIONAL CIRCUIT JUDGESHIPS

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1179 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 1179

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 2349) to provide for the appointment of additional circuit judges. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Bolling] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. Smith] and pending that I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Those Members who listened to the reading of the resolution know that it is an open rule with 1 hour of general debate, providing for the consideration of S. 2349. I know of no objection to the resolution, and in fact I have heard of none to the bill it makes in order.

Therefore I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 1179 provides for an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for the consideration of S. 2349 for additional circuit judgeships.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the bill is to provide for the creation of additional circuit judgeships in circuit courts where the heavy case load requires more manpower.

The bill generally adopts the recommendations of the Judicial Conference which met in September 1967. These recommendations followed a thorough study of the caseload of all the circuit courts of the United States. The recommendations also included one that the four temporary judgeships already approved for the fifth circuit should be permanent. The bill does this.

The committee conducted its own study of the situation and agreed with the findings and recommendations of the Judicial Conference. In addition, it has included in the bill one additional judgeship for the sixth circuit. Its findings for each affected circuit are detailed in the report.

Those circuits that will be provided with additional judgeships are: the third circuit, one; the fifth circuit, two; the ninth circuit, four; the 10th circuit, one.

The Department of Justice supports the bill as does the Bureau of the Budget. There is no cost estimate per judgeship created contained in the report. There are no minority views.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no objection to the rule, and I urge the adoption of the rule.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker. I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 2349) to provide for the appointment of additional circuit judges.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, S. 2349, with Mr. UDALL in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ROGERS] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCCULLOCH] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. ROGERS].

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of S. 2349 is to establish additional circuit court judgeships throughout the United States where the need for such additional appellate judicial manpower has been found to be most urgent.

I might point out that this bill creates one additional circuit judge in the third, sixth, and tenth circuits. It creates two additional circuit judges in the fifth circuit and four additional circuit judgeships for the ninth circuit.

In addition, it makes permanent four existing temporary judgeships in the fifth circuit.

This bill embodies recommendations made by the Judicial Conference of the United States at its March and September 1967 meetings. These recommendations are the result of a comprehensive study of the workload of the courts of appeals conducted by the Committees on Judicial Statistics and Court Administration of the Judicial Conference.

Hearings were held on the measure before the Senate Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery.

The bill, S. 2349, was approved by the other body on November 17 of last year without objection. In addition to the Judicial Conference of the United States, the bill has the support of the Department of Justice and the American Bar Association.

Mr. Chairman, in the last 5 years there has been a marked and significant increase of almost 70 percent in the amount of appeals filed in the U.S. courts of appeals. The trend continues into the present fiscal year. For example, the total number of cases docked in the first half of fiscal 1968 constituted an 18.3 percent increase compared with the number of appeals docketed during the same period in fiscal 1967. Although the total number of appeals filed has progressively risen, the number of terminations per judgeship also has risen. The statistics show that in 1960 there were 55 dispositions per judgeship compared to 76 dispositions per judgeship in 1966. While the output per judgeship has steadily climbed, there has been no time since 1960 when the number of terminations has kept pace with the number of filings. It is now estimated that the future business of the courts of appeals will reflect a continuing increase in the number of appeals filed.

S. 2349, as amended, is necessary to avert—and in the case of the fifth circuit to alleviate—a crisis situation. In evaluating the need for additional circuit judgeships at the present time the committee considered the following factors, among others:

First, caseload per judgeship;

Second, the backlog or number of cases pending at the end of a fiscal year;

Third, the trend of any case filings for the future;

Fourth, the percentage of work attributed to visiting judges; and

Fifth, the median time for disposition of a case measured from the time of filing to final disposition.

The committee report—House Report No. 1356—examined each of these factors in each of the courts of appeals affected by the bill. On the basis of the criteria used to evaluate additional judgeship need, the committee was convinced that there is an urgent need for additional manpower in the sixth circuit. Accordingly, the committee has amended S. 2349 to authorize the creation of one additional judgeship in the sixth circuit.

Mr. Chairman, the number of new judgeships established and the territorial composition of the various circuits affected by S. 2349 are as follows:

Third circuit: Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Virgin Islands. The bill, as amended, adds one permanent judgeship, making the number of judges for the Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, nine.

Fifth circuit: Alabama, Canal Zone, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. The bill, as amended, makes permanent four temporary judgeships created by Public Law 89-372 and adds two additional permanent judgeships, making the number of judges for the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, 15.

Sixth circuit: Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, and Tennessee. The bill, as amended, adds one permanent judgeship, making the number of judges for the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, nine.

Ninth circuit: Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam, and Hawaii. The bill, as amended, adds four permanent judgeships, making the number of judges for the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, 13.

Tenth circuit: Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, and Wyoming. The bill, as amended, adds one permanent judgeship, making the number of judges for the Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit, seven.

No serious student of effective judicial management will contend that progressive enlargement of our courts of appeals is a final answer. Other ways of spreading the caseload burden and increasing the number of dispositions per judgeship without impairing the quality of appellate deliberation and decision must be found. A variety of innovative techniques should be considered. For example, adoption of rules to reduce the number of hearings on motions; new methods of reviewing applications for post-conviction relief; and establishment of systems for prescreening appeals in advance of argument. I am confident that the various judicial councils and the Judicial Conference of the United States are presently devoting themselves to the study of these as well as many other proposals to better manage the increasing volume of appellate litigation.

S. 2349, as amended by the committee, is designed to meet critical, immediate judicial manpower needs in five courts of appeals. Overcrowded dockets, heavy reliance on visiting judges to handle current filings, serious delays in disposition of pending cases as well as burgeoning caseloads make the needs of these circuits critical today. The additional judicial manpower provided by S. 2349 is essential to preserve our system of justice in the Federal courts.

I urge my colleagues to support S. 2349, as amended.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for yielding. How many new circuit judgeships would this measure create? As I understand, it is limited to circuit judges.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. The gentleman is correct. Three additional judges would be assigned to the third, sixth, and tenth circuits, then two more in the fifth circuit, which makes five, and four additional judgeships for the ninth circuit, making nine altogether.

Mr. GROSS. What I am trying to get clear is how many new judgeships, and how many temporary judgeships does the legislation make permanent?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. This legislation will create nine new judgeships and will make four existing temporary judgeships permanent.

Mr. GROSS. For a total of 13 new and permanent circuit judgeships?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Four are now temporary, and we are not creating them. We are actually creating nine new judgeships. The four that you mentioned that we are making permanent are now in service. They exist, and we are creating only nine.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman have any estimate of the cost of this bill?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Yes. The actual cost as estimated would be approximately $77,000 the first year per judge, and then afterward an annual recurring cost of $63,500.

Mr. GROSS. Multiplied by 13?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. By nine.

Mr. GROSS. By nine?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. GROSS. Why the heavy beefing up in the fifth circuit?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. The situation is critical there because of the size of the fifth circuit. If I may point out to the gentleman, the fifth circuit comprises the States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and the Canal Zone. That means that you start at El Paso, Tex., and go quite a ways east to cover that territory. I need not remind the gentleman that there is a large amount of litigation and appeals in that area.

Mr. GROSS. For what reason?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. For the reason that people are filing lawsuits, and appealing lower court decisions. I do not know why individuals will file lawsuits or why they do not. The fact remains that they file them, and this circuit has been overworked and overloaded.

Mr. GROSS. There must be some reason for the unusual number of cases in that circuit.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. As I tried to point out, there is a heavy number of appeals in that particular circuit.

If I may, I should like to direct the gentleman's attention to page 4 of the report.

> 2. FIFTH CIRCUIT
>
> This circuit received two additional judges in 1961, and four temporary positions were created in 1966, making a total of 13 judgeships. The total caseload per judgeship is 80 as compared with the national average of 74, and the refined caseload per judgeship is 69 as compared with the national average of 62.

Why they have more lawsuits down in that area, you are in as good a position as I to know.

Mr. GROSS. What is a "refined caseload"?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. That eliminates so-called prisoner applications, petitions for writs of habeas corpus, and things of that sort. If you wish, you can turn to page 3 of the report and you will observe the following statement:

> 1. Caseload per judgeship: This can be measured in two ways. The raw figure is the total of cases per judgeship that are docketed in the court. In many circuits, a substantial portion of the docket will be comprised of prisoner applications for postconviction relief. The method of screening and disposing of these applications varies widely among the circuits, and therefore tends to distort the comparative value of measuring the total caseload per judgeship. A more accurate comparison is obtained by calculating the caseload per judgeship without including prisoner applications for postconviction relief.

Mr. GROSS. Would I be correct in assuming that a "refined caseload" is the difference between a "raw caseload" and "a more accurate comparison?" Would that be a refined caseload?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Whether refined or whether raw, there are many cases.

Mr. GROSS. Would the gentleman be good enough to tell me why an additional circuit judge in the 10th judicial circuit?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. That happens to be in my district, the 10th circuit.

Mr. GROSS. Yes.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. It includes also New Mexico and Utah and Colorado, Wyoming and Kansas and Oklahoma. We have a big backlog and a big caseload in that area.

Mr. GROSS. Would one of the reasons be that there has been serious feuding between three Federal district judges in that circuit, and the caseloads piled up because of the feuding between these judges? The gentleman knows I have been interested in this for a long, long time.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I have been interested in it too. But the fact that there may be a disagreement between the circuit judges and the district judges I do not believe has any relationship to the question of the need for an extra judge for that circuit.

Mr. GROSS. I am not a lawyer, as is the gentleman, and the gentleman has had experience with the courts which I have not had, but when cases were taken away from one of these judges, and the Judicial Council attempted to set itself up as an arbiter in this feud, cases have piled up.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. May I say to the gentleman, I think the judges did not have any right to take the cases away from the district judge, and I so expressed myself at that time. As I see it, this bill does not have to do with that situation. It is concerned with the need for an extra judge for the 10th circuit.

Mr. GROSS. So the best answer I can get as to why there is need for an additional circuit judge in the 10th circuit is because it happens to be the circuit in which the gentleman resides?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. That is not correct. It is because our caseload is higher in comparison with the other caseloads. If the gentleman wants to read from the report, on page 6, he will find this:

> The committee believes that an additional judge is needed in the 10th Circuit at this time to permit the circuit to hold its own in the face of rising caseloads. In fiscal 1967 there were 100 appeals per judgeship commenced in this circuit as compared with the national average of 90.

So the fact that I may be a member of the Judiciary Committee has nothing whatever to do with it. The facts speak for themselves.

Mr. GROSS. I accept the gentleman's answer.

However, going back to the 10th circuit and the feuding between the three district judges, can it reasonably be expected the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives will at some reasonably early date take some definitive action with respect to that situation?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the chairman of the committee for an adequate answer on that.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I will say to the gentleman from Iowa, the Judiciary Committee has taken suitable action. I have here now a complete and comprehensive report on the very matter to which the gentleman has referred. Every member of the Judiciary Committee yesterday morning received a copy of this report, covering in minute detail all the facts and circumstances of the matter the gentleman raised some time ago.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman say a report will be available?

Mr. CELLER. The report is still confidential, but it may be made public in a very short while.

Mr. GROSS. It will be printed and made available to the Members?

Mr. CELLER. Very shortly, I hope, yes, sir.

Mr. GROSS. It will be made available to the Members of the House at a reasonably early date?

Mr. CELLER. After the Judiciary Committee as a whole goes over this report and evaluates it, every member of the Judiciary Committee will make his findings and recommendations, and the gentleman, I am quite sure, will be very comforted with what he will see.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman for his response that the report will be made available.

I have one further question with respect to these additional judges. The cost figure which the gentleman from Colorado gave me does not include in any way the costs of providing office and courtroom space for these judges or does it?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. May I point out to the gentleman, in most instances in most circuits there is headquarters space. Particularly in my own area the headquarters happens to be at Denver, and there is adequate space, so far as the 10th circuit is concerned. All they need to have is an office, because they already have facilities. I am sure that is true throughout the other circuits, because they have their headquarters established.

Mr. GROSS. So there will be no call upon the Congress which the gentleman can foresee now for additional capital costs to take care of the operation of the courts which these judges will serve; is that correct?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

May I ask one more question. Does the gentleman have any idea how many of these new judges will be Republicans?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I am sure the gentleman recognizes I have nothing whatsoever to do with their appointment.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. SCOTT. I should like to ask the gentleman, inasmuch as this refers only to circuit court judges, since we hear a whole lot about the backlog in our trial courts, what plans, if any, the committee has with respect to district court judges; and also, as a corollary, is the backlog in the appellate courts worse than it is in the trial courts?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. It is bad in both instances.

The Judicial Conference has a policy of considering every four years the caseload and the need for additional judicial manpower. They are making a study of district court judges at the present time. We anticipate they will come forward with recommendations sometime soon.

Mr. SCOTT. Am I to understand and is the House to understand that the committee is acting upon the recommendation of the Judicial Conference rather than using as a basis its own investigation of the matter?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. May I respond by saying the Judicial Conference does make a study. In addition to that study we make a comparison to try to convince ourselves of the need or the necessity for following the recommendation which may be made by the Judicial Conference. That results in cooperation. They supply us with information, and we are thus in a better position to arrive at an independent conclusion as to whether there is a need for an additional district judge or circuit judge.

Mr. SCOTT. Is it true that actually

the committee bill does recommend everything the Judicial Conference has recommended, plus one additional circuit judge?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. When would the gentleman expect that a matter with regard to district court judges might come before the House?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. The next such comprehensive survey will take place in August of this year, by the appropriate committee of the Judicial Conference, according to the report we received yesterday from the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts.

Mr. SCOTT. Then the gentleman would assume it would be during the next Congress?

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. That is correct.

Mr. SCOTT. And we will have some Republicans on the bench. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of S. 2349, a bill to provide for additional Federal circuit judges. One of the most pressing problems facing the Judiciary Committee is how to help the Federal courts to maintain high standards of efficiency in their efforts to administer justice. As the chairman has so eloquently pointed out, the inexorably rising tide of litigation threatens not only the efficiency of the courts, but often threatens actually to engulf the judiciary. Along with the many problems of the "population explosion," there has been a "litigation explosion"—particularly at the appellate level. The statistics of increased caseloads in our various circuits is astonishing. The first half of the present fiscal year witnessed an 18.3-percent increase over the same period last year in total cases docketed.

The increases in workload on our Federal judiciary has been of continuing concern to the Judiciary Committee. In the first session of the 90th Congress, you will recall, our committee brought to the floor legislation to establish the Federal Judicial Center. It subsequently became law. That institution will operate within the judicial branch under the direction of the Federal judiciary to study and recommend new and innovative methods to deal with the operations of the courts. But nothing can cope effectively with the ever-increasing numbers of cases docketed except providing for additional essential manpower—more judges.

Ever mindful of our high duty as legislators, we scrutinized very closely the recommendations of the Judicial Conference and the judicial councils of the circuits to assess the need for additional judges. Consequently, we are proposing nine new judges in five of the 10 Federal circuits and are giving permanent status to four temporary judges in the fifth circuit.

One of the new judgeships authorized by the committee bill is in the sixth circuit. As Ohio is one of the four States comprising the sixth circuit, Mr. MCCULLOCH, our distinguished ranking member is particularly familiar with the needs there. The astonishing increases in the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals docket are seen in the following statistics:

Total appeals docketed in 1960—306, in 1967—657;

Backlog of cases in 1960—203, in 1967—429.

In each instance, the increase has more than doubled since 1960. The problem has reached such proportions that outside judicial help was necessary. In 1967, approximately 19 percent of the workload was handled by visiting judges. In addition to that assistance, district judges were required to sit with the court. One of the two senior circuit judges, Judge Lester Cecil, has been sitting full time with the court, but has indicated that he cannot continue in a full time capacity beyond this year. Thus, it is the plight of the sixth circuit which requires our attention by authorizing one additional circuit judgeship.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we simply must heed the call for help from our overburdened Federal appellate judiciary and provide them with the necessary manpower so as to upgrade the administration of justice in our Federal court structure.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN].

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support S. 2349, as amended. I especially endorse the committee amendment which takes cognizance of the judicial manpower needs of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

As the Members of the House recognize, the sixth circuit comprises the States of Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, and Tennessee. The dramatic rise in appellate business in the sixth circuit is best demonstrated by the following statement made in the Shaffroth study of the caseload of the U.S. Courts of Appeals:

> Nowhere has the sudden and dramatic increase in the caseload of the Courts of Appeals been better illustrated than in the Sixth Circuit.

As I understand it, the findings of the Shaffroth study formed the basis of the recommendations of the Judicial Conference.

Finally, I note that while in fiscal 1967 there were 687 terminations in the sixth circuit, in the first 10 months of fiscal 1968 alone there were 651 terminations; 676 cases were pending on April 30, 1968.

Mr. Chairman, there is an urgent need for additional judicial manpower in the sixth circuit today. I support the bill with the committee amendment and urge my colleagues to approve the measure.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Idaho [Mr. MCCLURE].

Mr. MCCLURE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me. I would like to call attention to the fact that I, along with others have sponsored H.R. 13570. The gentleman who now occupies the chair as the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL] has sponsored identical legislation dealing with the ninth circuit, which is identical with the provisions of this bill which deal with the ninth circuit.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this legislation.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MCCLURE. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, the Committee on the Judiciary has benefited greatly as the result of the work and the efforts of the distinguished gentleman from Idaho [Mr. MCCLURE] and the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL], and we have also benefited by contributions from other Members of the House in the development of this legislation.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of this bill. In the ninth circuit, our judges' caseload has risen 372 in fiscal 1961 to 824 at the beginning of fiscal 1968. The median disposition time is over 9 months. The old addage, justice delayed is justice denied is not absolutely sound, but it is true enough that we should not tolerate such delays now, and increased delays in the future if we have any way to avoid them. The increase in judicial talent in this circuit is long overdue. If passage of this bill is denied, the average man will have one additional reason for feeling that our system of government is not working well. We have enough troubles in other areas of government. Let us make more perfect those areas of our government that are easily reached and solved. Let us pass this legislation.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Chairman, I vigorously support the bill before us this afternoon to provide for the appointment of additional circuit judges.

The great need for additional judgeships is obvious to anyone who is at all familiar with the recent reports of various surveys made under the jurisdiction of the Judicial Conference of the United States. These reports clearly conclude that whatever other steps might be taken to increase the output of the courts of appeals, the new judgeships, as included in the bill before us, are necessary to avert a crisis situation. In September 1964, the Judicial Conference adopted a policy of making comprehensive surveys of the business of the circuits and the districts every 4 years. The first of such regular surveys was then conducted, making the next such survey due sometime in 1968. It is abundantly clear that we cannot wait until a general study is made during this year, but that we must take action now. To delay any longer would seriously impair the administration of justice in these circuits.

I am familiar with the dire need for additional judgeships in my home State of California, which is included in the ninth circuit.

Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to mention a few statistics. The bill before us today would increase circuit judgeships in the Ninth District by four, bringing the total for the circuit to 13. The ninth circuit has not been given additional judgeships since 1954. The total caseload per judgeship is considerably higher than the national average—88 as compared with the national average of 74. About 29 percent of the court's output in fiscal 1967 was produced by visiting judges—an indication of the heavy caseload carried by the ninth circuit judges. The backlog has risen from 372 cases in fiscal 1961 to 824 cases at the beginning of fiscal 1968, and the median disposition time is slightly more than 9 months. Let me also mention that 17 cases on the docket have been under submission for more than 3 months, and of this number, four have been held for more than a year.

I am sure that I need not point out how very beneficial to California's situation four additional judgeships would be.

While the bill, S. 2349, would increase this bench to 13 permanent judges in the ninth circuit, we in the committee are convinced that this is a manageable number. The circuit includes Guam, Alaska, Arizona, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington, besides California. I would suggest that in my home State, the most populous State in the Nation, and with its constantly increasing population growth, the need for these additional judgeships in the ninth circuit is undeniable.

Although I am, of course, more familiar with the needs of the ninth circuit, I must add that the reports of the surveys clearly indicate that the need for additional judges in the other circuits is as great as that in the ninth.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that the House will act favorably on this measure today, and send S. 2349 to the White House for the President's signature.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, the bill which we have under consideration, S. 2349, is a tremendous step forward in meeting the very pressing needs of the Federal judiciary.

Both in the House Judiciary Committee and its Senate counterpart a well-documented case has been made for the creation of these new Federal circuit judgeships.

Not only will the bill ease the heavy workload of the courts but it will also insure a more reasonable time between conviction and appeal thus expediting and assuring justice.

It is particularly pleasing to note that our House Judiciary Committee has seen the necessity for amending S. 2349 to provide one additional judgeship for the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The need for this additional judgeship is pressing. In fact there is actually a need for two judgeships for the sixth circuit.

The case for the second judgeship is lucidly stated in a resolution recently passed by the Tennessee Bar Association and I include the text of that resolution in the RECORD at this point:

RESOLUTION OF TENNESSEE BAR ASSOCIATION URGING TWO ADDITIONAL CIRCUIT JUDGESHIPS FOR THE U.S. COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SIXTH CIRCUIT

Whereas, a mounting number of appeals are perfected each year from the United States District Courts of Tennessee to the United States Court of Appeals of the Sixth Circuit. The prompt hearing and disposition of appeals are matters of much concern to Tennessee lawyers and litigants; and

Whereas, the annual volume of appeals from the four States of the Sixth Circuit has more than doubled during the past four years and the backlog of pending cases has quadrupled since 1959. Following his study of this Court under the direction of the Judicial Conference of the United States, the Honorable Will Shafroth reported on December 22, 1966: "Nowhere has the sudden and dramatic increase in the caseload of the Courts of Appeals been better illustrated than in the Sixth Circuit." During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, the court terminated 687 cases, by far the largest number in its history. During the same year 717 new appeals were filed. The report of the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts for the six month period during December 31, 1967, shows an increase of 122 per cent in filings as compared to the same six month period in 1966. Present filings indicate 800 or more appeals during 1968; and

Whereas, the backlog of pending cases in said court as of December 31, 1967, was 712, an all-time high. As of June 30, 1967, the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts reported that the median time interval from filing to disposition of cases disposed of after hearing on submission is 14.4 months in the Sixth Circuit, which is the longest time interval in any of the Circuits; and

Whereas, during 1968 the number of full-time judges will be reduced from nine to eight, because the Honorable Lester L. Cecil of Dayton, Ohio, a seventy-five year old retired Judge who has continued to work full-time since retirement, has announced that he will discontinue sitting on the court before the end of the current year; and

Whereas, the eight Senators from Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee have joined in sponsoring S. 2905, to provide for the appointment of two additional circuit judges to said court; and there is now pending before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives S. 2349, previously passed by the Senate, which would create four new circuit judgeships for the Ninth Circuit, two for the Fifth Circuit, and one each for the Third and Ninth Circuits.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Board of Governors of the Tennessee Bar Association that we hereby endorse S. 2905 and urge its enactment into law. In the alternative, if S. 2349 is considered by the House of Representatives during the present session of Congress, we urge that this bill be amended so as to provide two additional circuit judges for the Court of Appeals of the Sixth Circuit.

Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be furnished to each of the eight Senators sponsoring S. 2905, to each member of the House of Representatives from Tennessee, and to each member of the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Adopted this April 13, 1968.

B. B. GULLETT, *President.*
CHARLES L. CORNELIUS, Jr.,
Secretary.

Mr. Chairman, I realize that the additional judgeship was not possible in this bill and I do want to express my appreciation to the committee for the one judgeship it has included along with my hope that consideration can be given to an addition in the very near future.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of S. 2349, to provide for the creation of additional circuit court judgeships throughout the United States where the need for such additional appellate judicial manpower has been found to be most urgent.

This Senate-passed bill embodies the recommendations of the Judicial Conference of the United States made at its March 30–31, 1967, meeting and reiterated at its September 21–22, 1967, meeting. These recommendations follow a comprehensive study of the workload of the courts of appeals conducted by the Committee on Judicial Statistics. On the basis of recommendations made by the Committee on Judicial Statistics and the Committee on Court Administration, the Conference in March 1967, recommended the creation of eight additional circuit judgeships for the courts of appeals, one each in the third and 10th circuits, two additional judgeships in the fifth circuit, and four additional in the ninth circuit.

During the first session of this Congress, I was pleased to cosponsor a bill, H.R. 14363, which provided for the appointment of four additional circuit judges for the ninth circuit. Since 1954, the ninth judicial circuit, which includes California along with eight other States, has handled a skyrocketing number of cases. Throughout the past 13 years, however, nine judges have continued to handle the load, despite the 75-percent increase in volume of matters brought before them.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I wish to again express my strong support for this most important legislation.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time. I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. All time having expired, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

S. 2349

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, one additional circuit judge for the third circuit, two additional circuit judges for the fifth circuit, four additional circuit judges for the ninth circuit, and one additional circuit judge for the tenth circuit.

SEC. 2. Section 1(c) of the Act of March 18, 1966 (80 Stat. 75), pertaining to the appointment of four additional circuit judges for the fifth circuit is hereby amended in part by deleting the final sentence, providing, "The first four vacancies occurring in the office of circuit judge in said circuit shall not be filled." These judgeships are hereby made permanent and the present incumbents of such judgeships shall henceforth hold their offices under section 44 of title 28, United States Code, as amended by this Act.

SEC. 3. In order that the table contained in section 44(a) of title 28 of the United States Code will reflect the changes made by sections 1 and 2 in the number of circuit judges for said circuits, such table is amended to read as follows with respect to said circuits:

"Circuits:	*Number of judges*
* * * *	*
Third	Nine
* * * *	*
Fifth	Fifteen
* * * *	*
Ninth	Thirteen
Tenth	Seven"

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read, printed in the RECORD, and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the first committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, line 6, before the word "four" insert "one additional circuit judge for the sixth circuit,".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, in the table following line 10, after the line reading

"Fifth -------------------------- Fifteen",

insert a line reading

"Sixth --------------------------- Nine".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, reference was made at an earlier time by me to a letter written under date of May 2, 1968, to the Honorable WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH from the chief judge of the sixth circuit, Judge Paul C. Weick, with chambers in Akron, Ohio. I deem that letter to be of sufficient importance that all Members of the House may have the opportunity to be apprised of its contents.

The letter reads as follows:

U.S. COURT OF APPEALS,
FOR THE SIXTH CIRCUIT,
Akron, Ohio, May 2, 1968.

Hon. WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH,
Member of Congress,
Rayburn Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MCCULLOCH: Confirming my telephone conversation with you of yesterday, I enclose herewith copy of Resolution adopted by the Judicial Council of the Sixth Circuit on December 11, 1967, which resolution contains statistical information up to that date concerning the need of the Sixth Circuit for additional judges.

On page 2 of the resolution I have brought up to date the figures to indicate that in fiscal 1968, to April 30, 1968, 633 cases have already been filed, and 651 cases have been terminated. There were 676 cases pending on April 30, 1968.

You will note that in fiscal 1967 we terminated 687 cases; and in ten months of fiscal 1968 we have terminated 651 cases. The backlog of 676 cases indicates that if no more cases were filed, it would take up an entire year to clear up the pending docket. However, the Shaffroth report which was filed estimates that in fiscal 1969 we will have 796 cases filed; and in 1970 864 cases will be filed. We are running ahead of the estimated figures. Our Clerk indicates that this year we will have around eight hundred new cases filed.

We have eight active Judges on our Court at the present time, and two Senior Judges. The Shaffroth report indicates that up until the date of that report about 15% of the court sittings of our court were by District Judges. We have arranged for this in an effort to keep up with the number of filings. With the help of District Judges and our two Senior Judges, we have certainly had the equivalent of ten judges sitting in our court and we have been unable to keep up with the work. It would seem apparent, therefore, that we need more than eight Judges.

Senior Circuit Judge Lester L. Cecil up to the present time has been a full time Judge on our Court, but he has indicated to us that commencing in December, 1968, he will no longer sit with us, although he does hope to handle some paper work on submitted matters. Senior Judge Thomas F. McAllister sits with us only a small portion of the time. Judge Anthony J. Celebrezze is of the view that the needs of our Court are pressing.

Of course if our needs are not met, we will simply fall farther behind in the work. Part of our trouble stems from the fact that in 1961, when the Omnibus Bill was passed, most of the Circuits secured additional judges, but no additional judge was provided for the Sixth Circuit, although the number of District Judges was increased by nearly 30% and this substantially increased the number of appeals filed in our Court.

We were also set back at the time of the retirement of Judge Shackelford Miller, in August, 1965, and his death a few months later, which created a vacancy and this vacancy was not filled until June of 1967, when Judge Bert T. Combs was sworn in.

As you probably know, eight United States Senators from the states of Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennesseee, have joined in a bill to create two additional judgeships for our court, which bill is known as S2905. We understand it is pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

We want you to know that each of the Judges of our Court appreciates the interest which you have shown in matters affecting the federal judiciary and we will be grateful for anything you can do to help us secure additional judge-power.

Thanking you, and with kind regards, I remain

Sincerely,

PAUL C. WEICK,
Chief Judge.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

To further evidence the need of the sixth circuit for additional judges, I would like to inform the members of the Committee that I have heard along the same lines as the letter from the chief judge which was just read, from Circuit Judge Clifford P. O'Sullivan in that circuit, pointing out the urgency of additional manpower in their panel of judges.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I thank the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I yield to the distinguished ranking member of the minority on the House Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCCULLOCH].

Mr. McCULLOCH. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to state to the members of the Committee that the sixth circuit is made up of the States of Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, and Tennessee, in the great industrial heartland of America.

In addition, in the last 10 or 15 years, we have become a maritime circuit by reason of the completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Over the period of years I am sure the record will show that no circuit has disposed of as heavy a caseload as has been disposed of in the sixth circuit.

And, by the way, I should like to say to the Committee that the Honorable Anthony J. Celebrezze mentioned in the letter is the former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and he is carrying his full share of the workload in the sixth circuit at this time. In a recent conversation in Cleveland with Judge Celebreeze, he impressed me with the urgent need for an additional circuit judge.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

(On request of Mr. RHODES of Arizona, and by unanimous consent, Mr. MACGREGOR was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MACGREGOR. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I would like to express my appreciation to the great Committee on the Judiciary for bringing this bill out, which among other things provides for four very badly needed judges for the ninth circuit.

The ninth circuit, as the gentleman from Minnesota knows, is made up of the States of Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Hawaii, and Guam.

It is a wide circuit, a circuit that treats the changes over an area that is rapidly growing and rapidly developing. The ninth circuit court is presided over by the Honorable Richard Chambers, a judge whose home is in Tucson, Ariz., the hometown of the present occupant of the chair, my colleague, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL]. The honorable judge has expressed to me from time to time, as I am sure he has expressed to my colleagues from Arizona, the very definite need for additional judges in the ninth circuit.

I again wish to compliment the gentleman from Minnesota and the members of the Committee on the Judiciary for providing this very badly needed legislation.

Mr. MACGREGOR. I thank the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT) having assumed the chair, Mr. UDALL, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (S. 2349), to provide for the appointment of additional circuit judges, pursuant to House Resolution 1179, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken, and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 357; nays 12, answered "present" 2, not voting 62, as follows:

[Roll No. 165]

YEAS—357

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Ayres
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Betts
Biester
Bingham
Blackburn
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Diggs
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Downing
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Griffiths
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harsha
Harvey
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, Md.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
May
Meeds
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Waggonner
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—12

Ashbrook
Bennett
Bevill
Colmer
Davis, Wis.
Dulski
Edwards, Ala.
Gross
Hall
Jones, N.C.
Long, La.
O'Konski
Rarick

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2

Dent
Matsunaga

NOT VOTING—62

Andrews, Ala.
Bell
Berry
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Calif.
Carter
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Conte
Culver
Dawson
Dowdy
Edwards, Calif.
Evans, Colo.
Flood
Fuqua
Gardner
Gettys
Gilbert
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Hanna
Hansen, Wash.
Harrison
Hathaway
Hawkins
Herlong
Holifield
Holland
Joelson
Karsten
Leggett
McDade
McMillan
Mayne
Miller, Calif.
Murphy, Ill.
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Pepper
Purcell
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
Scheuer
Selden
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, N.J.
Tunney
Utt
Vander Jagt
Vigorito
Waldie
Wilson, Charles H.

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania with Mr. Bow.
Mr. Herlong with Mr. Carter.
Mr. McMillan with Mr. Harrison.
Mrs. Hansen of Washington with Mrs. Bolton.
Mr. Passman with Mr. Gardner.
Mr. Flood with Mr. Conte.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Berry.
Mr. Green of Pennsylvania with Mr. McDade.
Mr. Holifield with Mr. Del Clawson.
Mr. St Germain with Mr. Bell.
Mr. Selden with Mr. Mayne.
Mr. Pepper with Mr. Reid of New York.
Mr. O'Neal of Georgia with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Vander Jagt.
Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Joelson.
Mr. Burton of California with Mr. Dawson.
Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Culver.
Mr. Cohelan with Mr. Dowdy.
Mr. Edwards of California with Mr. Evans of Colorado.
Mr. Fuqua with Mr. Gettys.
Mr. Gilbert with Mr. Griffin.
Mr. Hanna with Mr. Hathaway.
Mr. Hawkins with Mr. Holland.
Mr. Karsten with Mr. Leggett.
Mr. Murphy of Illinois with Mr. Olsen.
Mr. O'Hara of Illinois with Mr. Rees.
Mr. Purcell with Mr. Resnick.
Mr. Roybal with Mr. Scheuer.
Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Charles H. Wilson.
Mr. Thompson of New Jersey with Mr. Waldie.
Mr. Tunney with Mr. Vigorito.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their own remarks and include extraneous matter on the bill, S. 2349, just passed.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 4 OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1968

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Subcommittee No. 4 of the Committee on the Judiciary be permitted to sit during general debate, Thursday, June 6, 1968.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORTS

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules may have until midnight to file certain privileged reports.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS ACT

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to rule XX of the Rules of the House and at the direction of the Committee on the Judiciary, I move to take from the Speaker's table the bill, H.R. 5037, to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law-enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes, with a Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and ask for a conference with the Senate.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. CELLER moves to take from the Speaker's table the bill, H.R. 5037, with a Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and ask for a conference with the Senate.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield one-half of that time to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCCULLOCH] and I now yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Senate approved an illusory statute purportedly designed to control and prevent crime in this Nation. In its present form, this measure is a cruel hoax on citizens for whom crime and the fear of crime are facts of life.

My entire public career has been devoted to combating, controlling, and preventing the rise of crime. I do not falter in that commitment. However, the measure adopted by the Senate can in no sense be considered, as it stands now, an effective crime preventative or deterrent. It is built on false premises. Its promises are illusory. It is destructive of the tenets of our liberty.

As President Johnson noted last year, crime "creates a climate in which a people makes choices not out of confidence but out of fear."

The bill which the Senate has approved ironically and dramatically illustrates this thesis.

Unfortunately, at the present time our Nation is encapsulated in fear. We have heard that to him who fears everything rustles—and when fears enters—reason departs.

This bill was adopted through fear. It is a very cumbersome and very comprehensive bill. I wonder how many Members of the House have read the report of the bill, accompanying the bill? It contains 284 pages. I do not think any of you have read the report. I venture the assertion that none of you gentlemen have read the bill itself. We passed a bill with 25 pages. The Senate bill contains 109 pages.

I am not going through all the titles of the bill. There are quite a number of titles. I shall merely address myself to two titles, title III, and title II.

Title III of the bill approved by the Senate authorizes a wide-ranging, legalized system of electronic surveillance. It is a complicated, highly technical statute which sanctions invasions of the privacy of our citizens. It legalizes wiretapping and eavesdropping and all manner of electronic snooping. It utterly disregards the confidential relationship between man and wife, between priest and a confesser, between doctor and patient, between lawyer and client.

If we are now to adopt the court-ordered system of wiretapping and eavesdropping—and I do not say we should not; we might well do it, but with proper safeguards, which are woefully absent from this bill—it seems to me that at a minimum it should conform to traditional search and seizure safeguards.

In the words of the distinguished Association of the Bar of the City of New York:

> The measure adopted by the Senate is "badly drafted," "probably unconstitutional," and would legitimize the most pervasive invasion of privacy yet seriously proposed.

Electronic surveillance such as that authorized by this title is a very assault on our way of life. It represents one step toward the fulfillment of the prophecy of Orwell's "1984" that:

> Every sound you made was overheard, and, excepting darkness, every movement scrutinized.

Indeed, you would never have any privacy in your private life if you pass this title.

What about the now famous or infamous title II? It would add two new sections to title 18 of the United States Code.

These sections would modify present law in several principal respects. I believe they are vulnerable to serious constitutional and policy objections, and they should not be cavalierly accepted, as you intend, I think, to accept them today. They should be gravely and carefully scrutinized. They merit the most careful attention of the House conferees, and I have asked that the House conferees that are appointed to do that very thing.

Section 3501 addresses itself to the admissibility of confessions.

Section 3502 deals with the admissibility of eyewitness testimony in the Federal courts. As approved by the Senate—and this is very significant, ladies and gentlemen—title II is silent with respect to the admissibility of such testimony or evidence in State cases. It applies only to Federal cases, not to the State courts. Paradoxically, the State courts apparently will continue to be subject to the decisions of the Supreme Court in Miranda against Arizona regarding interrogation, as well as the decision of the Court in United States against Wade and Stovall against Denno regarding eyewitness testimony.

Apparently the main purpose of title II is to overrule the decisions of the Miranda and the Wade cases with respect to Federal trials. Apparently the other body says that what will protect the public in Federal courts need not apply to State courts. You try to justify that. I cannot justify it.

Title II as now written provides that eyewitness testimony shall be admissible in the Federal courts regardless of the underlying circumstances.

It would put the Congress on record that the criminally accused are not entitled to due process of law during a lineup. In the Wade decision, the Supreme Court discussed at length the very grave potential for prejudice and miscarriage of justice inherent in lineup procedures. The Wade opinion offers workable guidelines for achieving a reasonable accommodation between the needs of law enforcement and the constitutional rights of the accused, but so far as I am aware no study has been made whatsoever of the impact of the Wade case on law enforcement. Certainly there is no empirical evidence that the Wade decision has hampered law enforcement.

Let me emphasize, before we toss aside fundamental rights of the accused, we should act on some rational basis. A general dissatisfaction with the Supreme Court is no basis for striking out blindly. The Supreme Court said a pretrial lineup, where the defendant is exhibited to identifying witnesses, is a critical stage of a criminal prosecution and the defendant is entitled to the assistance of counsel if he seeks it. Otherwise, it is not due process. Do not fault the Court. The Court acted sincerely. Fault the Constitution, not the Court, if we are dissatisfied with those decisions.

The Court said without certain guidelines the proceedings called the line-up violated the defendant's constitutional rights. By title II we rub out those safeguards. What will happen if we adopt title II? We would lay down a procedure already declared unconstitutional, which the court would again—again—declare unconstitutional. Nothing would be added to law enforcement in our Nation, and we would have but our labor for our pains.

In Mallory against the United States, the Court held that if an arrested person is not taken before a magistrate "without unnecessary delay" as required by rule 5(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, any confession obtained during the period of delay is inadmissible evidence in a Federal court.

The procedure requirements that have evolved from Mallory and Miranda safeguard constitutional rights of due process.

Title II would turn the clock backward to the day before Mallory and Miranda and make "voluntariness" the sole test as to the validity of a confession. This would undo the rigidity of the rules calling for prompt arraignment, for plain warnings, for advice as to rights, and for entitlement as to counsel. But title II does not establish new clear guidelines. It enumerates five factors every trial judge must consider in weighing the procedures followed by a police officer who arrested and questioned a suspect. In place of clear, definite guidelines enunciated by the Court, title II leaves a vacuum which ultimately places an almost insuperable burden on the police officer, who must guess correctly to sesure a valid confession.

Apparently, title II again only applies to Federal courts, with a paradoxical result that State courts will remain subject to restrictive rules regarding confessions and eyewitness testimony. Such a disparate application of due process of constitutional rights at least should give us pause—even to those who oppose the decisions of Miranda and Mallory and Wade—before we require acceptance of title II as written in toto.

Finally, my good friends, the protection of individual rights, especially an accused individual, is the cornerstone of our system of justice.

The Bill of Rights embodies that protection. It was born out of the history of travail and suffering inflicted upon individuals by absolute monarches and bigoted and cruel leaders.

History should be our teacher; and those who fail to recognize the mistakes of history will only live them all over again. You are going to live them all over again if you accept this title II.

The Supreme Court has laid down the course of conduct for the police to follow, a constitutional course. You lay down another course. You prescribe another process by title II. Both are antithetical. Both cannot exist.

Who decides which is right, the Congress or the court? Many of you may say, "The Congress can decide." Well, the Congress cannot decide under our Constitution. The Supreme Court is the constitutional court. The Congress cannot be the winner in that regard. In such a contest, in such a constitutional hassle, the

Supreme Court is the supreme arbiter, because its decisions on constitutional questions become the supreme law of the land. Mr. Speaker, I attach to my remarks a detailed analysis of proposed sections 3501 and 3502 of title II and a memorandum from the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, which demonstrate the serious constitutional and policy objections to these sections:

DETAILED ANALYSIS OF TITLE II

Title II of H.R. 5037, as approved by the Senate, would add two new sections to Title 18 U.S.C. (3501, 3502). These sections would modify present law in several principal respects. As described in the following paragraphs, they are vulnerable to serious constitutional and policy objections.

A. CONFESSIONS—THE REPEAL OF MIRANDA

Section 3501(a) of the bill makes voluntariness the sole criterion of the admissibility of a confession in a Federal Court.

According to the provisions of subsections (a) and (b) of Section 3501, the procedure in Federal courts will be as follows:

A preliminary determination of the voluntariness of a confession will be made by the trial judge, outside the presence of the jury. Sec. 3501(a).

In making his preliminary determination, the trial judge will be required to consider all the circumstances surrounding the confession, including the following specified factors, none of which is to be conclusive on the issue of voluntariness, Sec. 3501(b):

Delay between arrest and arraignment of the defendant.

Whether the defendant knew the nature of his offense.

Whether the defendant was aware or advised of his right to silence or that anything he said might be used against him.

Whether the defendant was advised of his right to counsel.

Whether the defendant had the assistance of counsel during his interrogation and confession.

If the trial judge makes a preliminary determination that a confession was voluntary, he must admit the confession in evidence. Sec. 3501(a). The jury must then hear the relevant evidence on the issue of voluntariness and determine the weight to be accorded the confession. Sec. 3501(a).

Sections 3501 (a) and (b) are squarely in conflict with the Supreme Court's decision in *Miranda* v. *Arizona*, 384 U.S. 436 (1966), and will almost certainly be held unconstitutional. In *Miranda*, the Supreme Court held unequivocally that a confession obtained from a defendant during custodial police interrogation could not constitutionally be used in evidence against the defendant unless the following specific procedural safeguards were followed, based on the defendant's privilege against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment:

The defendant must be advised that he has a right to remain silent and that anything he says may be used against him.

The defendant must be advised that he has the right to consult with a lawyer and to have the lawyer with him during the interrogation.

The defendant must be advised that if he cannot afford a lawyer, a lawyer will be appointed for him.

Although the case also held that a suspect could waive these rights, the Court stated that a heavy burden of proof rests on the prosecution to demonstrate that the waiver was knowing and intelligent.

The Court emphasized in *Miranda* that the procedural safeguards established in the case are in addition to the traditional voluntariness test. Since section 3501 specifically dispenses with these safeguards and in lieu thereof establishes voluntariness as the sole test of the admissibility of a confession, the section is obviously contrary to the Constitution.

The Supreme Court made clear in the *Miranda* opinion that its holding was firmly grounded on a constitutional basis that no legislature could overrule. In both the briefs and oral arguments in the case, the Court was specifically requested to withhold decision until legislative bodies had a chance to act upon the issue. The court replied.

"Congress and the States are free to develop their own safeguards for the privilege, so long as they are fully as effective as those described [in the Court's holding] in informing accused persons of their right of silence and in affording a continuous opportunity to exercise it. In any event, however, the issues presented are of constitutional dimensions and must be determined by the courts. The admissibility of a statement in the face of a claim that it was obtained in violation of the defendant's constitutional rights is an issue the resolution of which has long since been undertaken by this Court. . . . Judicial solutions to problems of constitutional dimension have evolved decade by decade. As courts have been presented with the need to enforce constitutional rights, they have found means of doing so. That was our responsibility when *Escobedo* was before us and it is our responsibility today. *Where rights secured by the Constitution are involved, there can be no rule making or legislation which would abrogate them.*" (Emphasis added.) 384 U.S., at 490–491.

The Court's invitation in *Miranda* for legislatures to adopt "other fully effective means" to protect suspects in the free exercise of their constitutional rights offers no solace to the proponents of Section 3501. The provisions of that section can hardly be characterized as "other fully effective means," since the means chosen by the section are manifestly less effective than the safeguards announced in *Miranda*.

Moreover, even though Congress has broad general power under the Constitution to enact procedural rules governing the admissibility of evidence in Federal Courts, nothing in the Constitution gives Congress the power to adopt procedural rules that override specific decisions of the Supreme Court interpreting the fundamental requirements of the Constitution. Simply put, Congress has the power only to expand, not to contract or abrogate these basic guarantees.

The fault in the *Miranda* decision, if any, lies not with the Supreme Court, but with the Fifth Amendment itself. In the words of the Fifth Amendment, no person "shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." At the very heart of the privilege against self-incrimination lies one of the fundamental principles of our system of criminal justice, that the Government must produce evidence against an individual by its own independent labors, rather than by the cruel simple expedient of compelling it from his own mouth. *Chambers* v. *Florida*, 309 U.S. 227, 235–238 (1940). As Sir James Fitzjames Stephen commented almost a century ago on the use of interrogation by law enforcement officers,

"There is a great deal of laziness in it. It is far pleasanter to sit comfortably in the shade rubbing red pepper into a poor devil's eyes than to go about in the sun hunting up evidence." 1 Stephen, *A History of the Criminal Law in England*, 442 (1883).

In *Miranda* the Supreme Court breathed life into the privilege as applied to police interrogation. The basic thrust of the Court's decision was to place the poor and inexperienced suspect on an equal footing with the wealthy and most sophisticated suspect by informing all suspects of their constitutional right to silence and assuring them of a continuous opportunity to exercise it.

As Justice Walter Schaefer of the Supreme Court of Illinois, one of our most distinguished jurists, has eloquently stated, the quality of a nation's civilization can be largely measured by the methods it uses in the enforcement of its criminal law. See Schaefer, "Federalism and State Criminal Procedure," 70 Harv. L. Rev. 1, 26 (1956). To allow the Government in the administration of justice to take advantage of the ignorance or indigence of an accused would violate the most elementary principles of our constitutional jurisprudence.

Forty years ago, Justice Brandeis forcefully answered the recurrent argument that the needs of law enforcement outweigh the rights of the individual. In *Olmstead* v. *United States*, he said,

"Decency, security and liberty alike demand that government officials shall be subjected to the same rules of conduct that are commands to the citizen. In a government of laws, existence of the government will be imperiled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our Government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the Government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy. To declare that in the administration of the criminal law the end justifies the means . . . would bring terrible retribution. Against that pernicious doctrine this Court should resolutely set its face." 277 U.S. 438, 485 (1928) (dissenting opinion).

Contrary to the suggestion of the proponents of Title II, it can hardly be said with authority that the *Miranda* decision has seriously hampered law enforcement. Essentially the same warnings required by the Supreme Court in *Miranda* were being used by the FBI fourteen years before the decision in that case. As Chief Justice Warren stated in delivering the opinion of the Court in *Miranda:*

"Over the years the Federal Bureau of Investigation has compiled an exemplary record of effective law enforcement while advising any suspect or arrested person, at the outset of an interview, that he is not required to make a statement, that any statement may be used against him in court, that the individual may obtain the services of an attorney of his own choice and, more recently, that he has a right to free counsel if he is unable to pay . . . [T]he present pattern of warnings and respect for the rights of the individual followed as a practice by the FBI is consistent with the procedure which we delineate today." 384 U.S. at 483–484.

Equally important, each of the two major field studies published to date on the impact of *Miranda* on law enforcement has concluded that the impact has been small and that the decision has had little effect on police practices or the clearance of crime. What is by far the most comprehensive of these studies was conducted by the student editors of the Yale Law Journal and faculty members of the Yale Law School. See "Interrogations in New Haven: The Impact of Miranda," 76 Yale L.J. 1519 (1967). Over a period of three months, the Yale investigators observed every stationhouse interrogation undertaken by the New Haven police force. One of the basic conclusions reached by the study was that interrogation of suspects by police was unnecessary in the overwhelming majority (87%) of the cases observed, since the police had already obtained enough evidence against a suspect at the time of his arrest to assure his conviction. In the typical case, either the police already had enough evidence to convict a suspect without interrogation, or they did not even have enough evidence to arrest him in the first place.

The second major study of the impact of *Miranda* was a statistical survey by two law professors at the University of Pittsburgh Law School. See Seeburger and Wettick," *"Miranda in Pittsburgh—A Statistical Study,'* 29 U. Pittsburgh L.R. 1 (1967). Using files made available by the Pittsburgh Detective Bureau, the authors found that the incidence of confessions declined by almost 20% in the period following the *Miranda* decision. But—and this is the crucial finding of the study—the decline in the incidence of confessions was accompanied by no substantial decline in the arrest rate, the conviction rate, the rate of crime clearance, or the court backlog.

The Yale and Pittsburgh studies point up the crucial defect in many of the studies relied upon by the proponents of Title II to support the provisions of Section 3501. It is not enough to study the impact of *Miranda* on law enforcement by the crude measure of the incidence of confessions. The real impact can be determined only by measuring the effect on convictions and crime clearance. By this scale, the only true scale, the much-ballyhooed deleterious impact of *Miranda* on law enforcement has been extremely small, if not illusory.

Indeed, *Miranda* itself and its three companion cases[1] present graphic examples of the overstatement of the "need" for confessions in law enforcement. In each case, law enforcement officers had developed substantial other evidence against the defendants before conducting the interrogations held invalid by the Supreme Court. Thus, Miranda, Vignera, and Westover had been identified by eye-witnesses. Marked bills from the robbed bank had been found in Westover's car. Articles stolen from several robbery victims had been found in Stewart's home.

The overstatement of the "need" for confessions becomes even more obvious when the subsequent history of the four *Miranda* defendants is considered. Miranda himself was convicted in Arizona in February 1967 on the same two counts of kidnapping and rape with which he was originally charged, and received the same sentence of concurrent prison terms of 20–30 years on each count. Vignera pleaded guilty in New York to an indictment charging a lesser robbery offense, and was sentenced to a prison term of 7½–10 years. Westover was convicted in February 1967 on the same two counts of bank robbery, and received the same sentence of consecutive 15-year prison terms on each count. Stewart has not yet been retried on the original charges of robbery and murder, for which he was convicted and sentenced to death. However, a motion to suppress evidence in the case was denied in November 1967; after several continuances, the trial has been set for May 1968.

One spectre raised by the committee majority must be laid to rest. The suggestion is made that the harmful effect on *Miranda* will be compounded as the lower Federal courts expand its doctrine and extend its interpretation. Nearly two years of judicial experience under *Miranda* in the Federal courts of appeals have proved this suggestion false. The trend of cases to date shows a strong reluctance by the Federal courts to apply the requirements of *Miranda* except in obvious instances of formal custodial interrogation. If anything, the definition of custodial interrogation in *Miranda* as "questioning initiated by law enforcement officers after a person has been taken into custody or otherwise deprived of his freedom in any significant way" is receiving a highly restrictive interpretation. See, for example, *O'Toole* v. *Scarfati*, 386 F. 2d 168 (1st Cir. 1967) (statement to prosecutor by city official given chance to explain deficiencies held admissible); *United States* v. *Adler*, 380 F. 2d 917 (2nd Cir. 1967) (volunteered statements to FBI agent examining books of suspect's corporation held admissible); *United States* v. *Gibson*, 4th Cir. (March 1, 1968) (discussion of stolen car by defendant after State police officer asked him to step outside held admissible); *Yates* v. *United States*, 384 F. 2d 586 (5th Cir. 1968) (statements made to hotel manager holding suspect in conversation pending arrival of FBI held admissible); *United States* v. *Agy*, 374 F. 2d 94 (6th Cir. 1967) (incriminating reply to question asked by alcohol tax agent held admissible); *United States* v. *Holmes*, 387 F. 2d 781 (7th Cir. 1968) (statement to Selective Service clerk held admissible); *Frohmann* v. *United States*, 380 F. 2d 832 (8th Cir. 1967) (statement to internal revenue agent making criminal investigation held admissible); *Williams* v. *United States*, 381 F. 2d 20 (9th Cir. 1967) (false statements to border-crossing guards held admissible); *Mares* v. *United States*, 383 F. 2d 811 (10th Cir. 19767) (statements to FBI by suspect free to leave held admissible); *Allen* v. *United States*, D. C. Cir. (January 25, 1968) (statement made during detention after failure to produce auto registration held admissible).

B. CONFESSIONS—THE REPEAL OF MALLORY

Section 3501(c) of the bill specifies that a confession shall not be inadmissible in evidence in a Federal court solely because of delay between the arrest and arraignment of the defendant.

Subsection (c) is obviously intended to repeal the decision of the Supreme Court in *Mallory* v. *United States*, 354 U.S. 449 (1957). In *Mallory*, the Court held that if an arrested person is not taken before a magistrate or other judicial officer "without unnecessary delay," as required by Rule 5(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, any confession obtained during the period of delay is inadmissible in evidence in a Federal court.

Section 3501(c) will inevitably encourage prolonged incarceration and interrogation of suspects, without opportunity to consult with friends, family, or counsel. Section 3501(c) expands the time limit to six hours during which interrogation may take place. the Present District of of Columbia Crime Act provides a maximum three-hour period for interrogation after which a person may be released without charge and without an arrest record.

Rules prohibiting unnecessary delay between arrest and arraignment are based on sound law enforcement policy. Prompt arraignment of arrested persons is necessary in a free society which values the fair administration of criminal justice. Prolonged incarceration and interrogation of suspects, without giving them the opportunity to consult with friends, family or counsel, must be condemned. Yet, it is precisely such incarceration and interrogation that are countenanced by the bill. In effect, Section 3501(c) would leave the "without unnecessary delay" provision of Rule 5(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure as a rule without a meaningful remedy.

C. EYEWITNESS TESTIMONY—THE REPEAL OF WADE

Section 3502 of title II makes eyewitness testimony that a defendant participated in a crime admissible in evidence in any Federal court.

Section 3502 is squarely in conflict with the Supreme Court's decisions in *United States* v. *Wade*, 388 U.S. 218 (1967), *Gilbert* v. *California*, 388 U.S. 263 (1967), and *Stovall* v. *Denno*, 388 U.S. 293 (1967). In *Wade* and *Gilbert*, the Supreme Court held that a pretrial lineup at which a defendant is exhibited to identifying witnesses is a critical stage of a criminal prosecution, and that the defendant is constitutionally entitled to the assistance of counsel at the lineup. In *Stovall*, the Court held that, even though the *Wade* decision was not to be applied retroactively,[2] lineups in pending cases must still satisfy the requirements of the Due Process Clause.

For essentially the same reasons above, Section 3502 will almost certainly be held unconstitutional. The section dispenses with the procedural safeguards established in *Wade* for police lineups and is therefore in clear conflict with the requirements of the Constitution announced by the Supreme Court. In addition, Section 3502 does not even attempt to establish effective alternative safeguards for lineups in lieu of the requirements of *Wade*. Instead, the section is a blanket provision making eyewitness testimony admissible in all circumstances, whether or not even the most fundamental and time-honored requirements of due process have been met in the identification, let alone the requirements of the right to counsel under the Sixth Amendment.

One expert authority quoted by the Supreme Court has given graphic examples of cases in which grossly unfair lineups were conducted.

"In a Canadian case . . . the defendant had been picked out of a line-up of six men, of which he was the only Oriental. In other cases, a blackhaired suspect was placed in a group of light-haired persons, tall suspects have been made to stand with short non-suspects, and in a case where the perpetrator of a crime was known to be a youth, a suspect under twenty was placed in a line-up with five other persons, all of whom were over forty." Wall, *Eyewitness Identification in Criminal Cases* 53.

In these circumstances, therefore, we believe that precipitous legislative action overruling *Wade* would be not only unconstitutional, but unwise and highly premature as well.

[From the Legislative Reference Service,
May 27, 1968]

Constitutionality of the New Title 18 U.S.C. 3501 To Be Added by H.R. 5037 as Passed by the Senate

The new section 3501 to be added to Title 18 U.S.C. by section 701 of Title II of H.R. 5037 deals with admissibility of confessions in criminal prosecutions by the United States or the District of Columbia. It would require the admission into evidence in such prosecutions of any confession which is voluntarily given. It would direct the trial judge, in determining voluntariness, to take into account all the circumstances surrounding the confession including time between arrest and arraignment, whether the defendant knew of the nature of the offense with which he was charged or of which he was suspected, whether defendant was informed or knew that he was not required to make a statement and that any he did make might be used against him, whether the defendant has been advised of his right to assistance of counsel and whether he was without the assistance of counsel when questioned or when giving such confession. Perhaps the most significant provision is that which states:

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[1] In the *Miranda* opinion, the Supreme Court actually decided four separate cases—*Miranda* v. *Arizona*, *Vignera* v. *New York*, *Westover* v. *United States*, and *California* v. *Stewart*. See 384 U.S. 436 (1966).

[2] Decisions like *Stovall* indicate that, contrary to the suggestions of the proponents of Title II, the Supreme Court is in fact highly sensitive to the problems and needs of law enforcement. In a series of recent constitutional decisions, the Court has moved gradually to a position of almost completely prospective application of new constitutional principles. The Court has explicitly stated that it attaches "overriding significance" to such factors as the reliance by law enforcement officers on the prior law, and the severe burden on law enforcement and administration of justice if the new principles are to be applied retroactively to grant new trials to defendants already convicted under the prior law. See *Linkletter* v. *Walker*, 381 U.S. 618 (1965); *Tehan* v. *Shott*, 382 U.S. 406 (1966); *Johnson* v. *New Jersey*, 384 U.S. 719 (1966) and *Stovall* v. *Denno*, 388 U.S. 293 (1967).

"The presence or absence of any of the above mentioned factors to be taken into consideration by the judge need not be conclusive on the issue of voluntariness of the confession."

The report of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. S. Rept. No. 1097, makes it quite clear that the purpose of the proposed legislation is to avoid the results reached by the Supreme Court in *Miranda* v. *Arizona*, 384 U.S. 436 (1966). It would seem that, to the extent that this section permits the courts to admit into evidence confessions obtained in the absence of any one of the safeguards held by the court in *Miranda* to be indispensable to protect the right of the accused not to be compelled to be a witness against himself, the provisions of Title II might well be held unconstitutional. It is axiomatic that a right guaranteed against infringement by the United States, cannot be extinguished by a mere act of Congress. To extinguish such a right requires nothing less than an amendment to the Constitution.

Perhaps the most important fact on which this conclusion of law hinges is that the Court in *Miranda* did hold that each of the safeguards it set forth was indeed a constitutionally indispensable condition to the admissibility of a confession. Because there is some language by the Court inviting alternative action by legislatures, that language, as well as the language of the holding, should be examined carefully to determine whether the provisions of Title II might not be a valid response to the Court's invitation.

Although the opinion of the majority in *Miranda* occupies 60 pages, the Court was good enough to capsulize its holdings:

"Our holding will be spelled out with some specificity in the pages which follow but briefly stated it is this: the prosecution may not use statements, whether exculpatory or inculpatory, stemming from custodial interrogation of the defendant unless it demonstrates the use of procedural safeguards effective to secure the privilege against self-incrimination. By custodial interrogation, we mean questioning initiated by law enforcement officers after a person has been taken into custody or otherwise deprived of his freedom of action in any significant way. As for the procedural safeguards to be employed, *unless other fully effective means are devised to inform accused persons of their right of silence and to assure a continuous opportunity to exercise it, the following measures are required.* Prior to any questioning, the person must be warned that he has a right to remain silent, that any statement he does make may be used as evidence against him, and that he has a right to the presence of an attorney, either retained or appointed. The defendant may waive effectuation of these rights, provided the waiver is made voluntarily, knowingly and intelligently. If, however, he indicates in any manner and at any stage of the process that he wishes to consult with an attorney before speaking there can be no questioning. Likewise, if the individual is alone and indicates in any manner that he does not wish to be interrogated, the police may not question him. The mere fact that he may have answered some questions or volunteered some statements on his own does not deprive him of the right to refrain from answering any further inquiries until he has consulted with an attorney and thereafter consents to be questioned." 384 U.S. 436, 444–45. [emphasis added]

Later in its opinion the Court expanded on its suggestion in the paragraph above that there might be "other fully effective means" to safeguard the rights of an accused. It stated:

"We have already pointed out that the Constitution does not require any specific code of procedures for protecting the privilege against self-incrimination during custodial interrogation. *Congress and the States are free to develop their own safeguards for the privilege, so long as they are fully as effective as those described above in informing accused persons of their right of silence and in affording a continuous opportunity to exercise it. In any event, however, the issues presented are of constitutional dimensions and must be determined by the courts. The admissibility of a statement in the face of a claim that it was obtained in violation of the defendant's constitutional rights is an issue the resolution of which has long since been undertaken by this Court.* See *Hopt* v. *Utah*. 110 U.S. 574 (1884). Judicial solutions to problems of constitutional dimension have evolved decade by decade. As courts have been presented with the need to enforce constitutional rights, they have found means of doing so. That was our responsibility when *Escobedo* was before us and it is our responsibility today. *Where rights secured by the Constitution are involved, there can be no rule making or legislation which would abrogate them.*" 384 U.S. 436, 490–491. [emphasis added]

It would seem quite clear that 18 U.S.C. § 3501, to be added by § 701 of Title II, since it would permit the introduction into evidence of a confession even if the accused were not informed of his right to remain silent, or that any statement he made might be used against him, or that he had a right to counsel, is legislation which would abrogate the constitutional rights found to exist in *Miranda* and would therefore seem to be invalid. Can a statute which, although it requires the courts to consider all of the *Miranda* guidelines, permits them to admit confessions as voluntary in the absence of any of them, be said to provide "other fully effective means" of securing the constitutional rights of accused persons? This is the essential question. Only if it is answered in the affirmative, can the statute satisfy the requirements laid down by *Miranda*.

VINCENT A. DOYLE,
Legislative Attorney.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. I notice, in reviewing the report, that Judge Holtzoff and other judges are reported as saying Congress has the right to act in these matters. I thought the Congress could speak.

Mr. CELLER. Not on the constitutional matters I have discussed here.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. In view of the continued violence and the increased crime rate in this country, does the gentleman not believe it is time to enact a strong, vigorous anticrime bill?

Mr. CELLER. I want a vigorous, strong anticrime bill within the four squares of the Constitution, and we can get one within the four squares of the Constitution after careful scrutiny and that is why I want this bill to go to conference, so that we can work it out and weed out those provisions which are unconstitutional.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. CELLER. I would say that this bill is bursting at the seams with unconstitutional provisions.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. We studied this matter at great length. We passed a crime bill earlier. Although the bill passed by a large vote, some people said then it was a hoax on the American people.

Mr. CELLER. That crime bill had one title. This has something like 11 titles. We passed a very simple bill.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. They called the other bill a simple bill.

Mr. CELLER. Just a minute. We passed a very simple bill, but the other body has a very peculiar habit. They look upon the bills we pass like they were Christmas trees on which they can add anything they wish, relevant or irrelevant. That is what has been done here. It has been done too often. The practice must soon stop.

So they have added on to the bill we passed, which is a good bill, so many different titles. It is against those titles I inveigh.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. CELLER. I will yield in just a minute.

Finally I want to say, ladies and gentlemen, you cannot be the winners in this contest, because the Supreme Court will throw out as unconstitutional title II.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Now will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. Just a minute, please.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. There is a separability clause in the bill.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The House will be in order.

Mr. CELLER. I do not want to be impolite to the gentleman. I will be glad to respond, if he will give me an opportunity to finish.

I say, finally, that in this constitutional contest the Congress cannot be the winner. The Supreme Court will undoubtedly declare the very provisions of title II unconstitutional.

You have two remedies, neither of which you will assume. You could impeach the Justices, if you wished to get new Justices. I do not think you will do that. I doubt very much you would succeed in doing that.

Second, you could pack the Court. President Roosevelt unsuccessfully tried that. As a member of the Judiciary Committee I opposed the packing of the Court.

I incurred the ill will of President Roosevelt for many years. I do not think you would do that. So those two remedies are barred. What are your other remedies? There are none. So, my good friends, there is no doubt that this title II and several other titles will not hold water and will be declared unconstitutional.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me briefly?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. COLMER. First permit me to say—and let me say I do not intend to chastise my friend—that he is making the same argument here today for sending this matter to conference that I and others were making on another bill not too long ago, to wit, the civil rights bill. I thought that bill should follow the orderly procedure of going to conference since all of these matters that had been added were new. My position is the same today. I do not think we can legislate on the basis of expediency.

We have somewhat the same situation here today so far as personal tragedies are concerned as we had on that occasion. However, let me say my main purpose in rising here is—and I thank the gentleman for yielding to me—that the gentleman has been quoted by the press as saying in substance that he would rather have no bill than to have the bill that the Senate passed. Now, as one who wants to follow the orderly procedure and send this matter to conference, I want to ask the gentleman to advise the House not so much whether he said that or not but what he proposes to do in the way of expediting the conference when this matter goes there.

I will finish with this statement: Bearing in mind that the Committee on Rules has granted a rule that would do what some people here and what a great many people here want to do; namely, to take this bill that the Senate passed from the Speaker's table and send it to conference with no further consideration by this House, I say that is not orderly procedure, but, if the gentleman who will be chairman of the conferees and who would have great power, as he always has, and who is so very vocal and articulate—if that is going to be his position, then I might want to change my opinion about what I propose to do.

Mr. CELLER. The gentleman propounds three questions. The question of the gentleman from Mississippi seems to convey the impression that I have been inconsistent and that I have been inconsistent in the sense that I was saying on this occasion that I would ask we go to conference, whereas on the civil rights bill I asked that we proceed and not go to conference. As to that I will reply as Churchill replied: I would rather be right than consistent.

Secondly, as to the expedition of the conference, I would be only one of the conferees. There would be, I think, nine conferees on the House side. I do not know how many conferees there would be on the Senate side. As far as I am concerned, I have no disposition to prolong unduly this situation. I would expedite as best I could the consideration of the bill so that we would get back promptly a report from the conference.

As to the rule, I understand that the Committee on Rules has adopted a resolution which provides that the House would recede and concur.

I take it that the gentleman from Mississippi will not offer that resolution unless and until the motion I made will be voted down.

Mr. COLMER. Let me repeat what I said to the gentleman a moment ago. I believe in orderly procedure. I voted against the resolution in the committee this afternoon to take the bill from the Speaker's table and agree to the Senate amendments because I did not think that was the orderly procedure, just as I did not think it was the orderly procedure in the civil rights bill when so many new matters were injected into that legislation. But what I wanted to know from the gentleman—and I thought the Members of the House would be entitled to know—whether the statement that was attributed to the gentleman by the press was going to be his conduct in the conference, or whether the gentleman would endeavor and would so advise the House now that if it were sent to conference he would endeavor to have it expedited regardless of his personal views as soon as possible?

Mr. CELLER. I think I have answered the gentleman's question by saying that I would expedite the conference.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. SCOTT. The gentleman from New York referred to two alternatives where under certain circumstances the Congress of the United States could prevail over the Supreme Court. Is there not a third alternative under which the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court would be limited?

Mr. CELLER. I did not quite get that last portion of the gentleman's question.

Mr. SCOTT. Is it not possible for the Congress to limit the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court?

Mr. CELLER. I think it is possible for the Congress to do a great many things, but when it comes to a constitutional question I doubt very much whether the Congress can overrule the Supreme Court on a constitutional question.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me at this point?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, it pains me a great deal to disagree with my chairman. I have served under him on the Committee on the Judiciary for 20 years and I think he will testify to the fact that when it comes to run the committee I recognize only one boss, and his name is MANNY CELLER. I have defended him on the floor of the House.

I do not know about all of these other decisions which the gentleman mentioned but with reference to the Mallory decision, some years ago there was a special little subcommittee appointed to review the Supreme Court decisions. I was chairman of that special committee. Not once or twice, but three times 10 years ago—about 10 years ago or 12 years ago—this House during the period between 2 years upon three separate occasions did what the gentleman claims the House has done in the Mallory decision, and that is to try to trim it down.

Mr. Speaker, I say it pains me to disagree with my chairman, but I must do so on this occasion.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The question which I desire to propound to the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary is this:

If title II were dropped from this bill, the authorities in Los Angeles would have to release the man they are now holding for the assault against Senator KENNEDY?

Mr. CELLER. I did not quite get the gentleman's question.

Mr. PUCINSKI. The question is if title II were to be dropped from this bill and the old rule would prevail, am I correct in understanding that the authorities in Los Angeles would have to release the man they are now holding for the assault upon Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, because they do not have a confession?

Mr. CELLER. I would not know all of the facts about that.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. CORMAN. In response to the question of the gentleman from Illinois, nothing could be further from the truth than a "yes" to the gentleman's question. I can assure the gentleman that the Los Angeles law-enforcement agencies can and will comply with the U.S. Constitution and the Supreme Court requirements.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANDERSON].

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, is there anyone in this Chamber this afternoon that notwithstanding the colloquy which just took place between the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary and the chairman of my committee, the Committee on Rules, doubts for a minute the implacable opposition of the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary to the crime control bill which passed the Senate on the 23d of May?

Is there anyone in this Chamber who does not in his heart believe that the chairman will not use his not inconsiderable powers to affect the outcome of that conference, and either emasculate that bill in its entirety or perhaps even kill it? That was the statement he made on the 24th of May of this year, which was reported in the press. I stand before you this afternoon to ask you to vote down his motion to send this bill to conference, and I do so for the reason that at 3 o'clock this afternoon, by a vote of 10 to 5, a bipartisan vote in the House Committee on Rules, they reported out a resolution which I had offered to the effect that we adopt the identical procedures that the House employed on the 10th day of April of this year with regard to the civil rights bill; that we take from the Speaker's table the House bill 5037, which passed here in August of 1967, that we accept the Senate amendments thereto, and that we send this bill to the President for signature.

Mr. Speaker, there is a man who lies gravely—and perhaps mortally—wounded in Good Samaritan Hospital in Los Angeles this afternoon, and I am told that he was fond of quoting these lines from Yeats:

> Things fall apart, the center cannot hold,
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.

That almost seems to describe the situation that took place not only in Los Angeles, but took place in Georgetown here in our own city yesterday evening, and seems to describe the fact that in 1967—in 1967 we saw the greatest rate of increase in crime in this country since we began keeping crime statistics. Yet there are those who tell us we have the time and the leisure to send this bill to possible death in a conference committee.

I do not feel that is the mood of this House, and it certainly was not the mood of the U.S. Senate on the 23d of May when it overwhelmingly voted, 72 to 4, to adopt the provisions of this legislation.

There are those who suggest that we must not pass this bill because of title II; that because of title II we will be making an assault, an attack on the judiciary. I suggest, ladies and gentlemen, that that is a red herring that is being thrust across the trail of our deliberations; that the provisions of that title, time after time, have been adopted by this House, as was pointed out by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS]. And the real confrontation will take place not between the legislative and the judicial branches of this Government, the real confrontation is going to take place between the American people and this Congress if we do not enact into law just as speedily as we can the bill which was passed by this House and amended by the Senate of the United States.

I would suggest that the hour has grown very late indeed, and that the American people are asking when are we going to begin to redress the imbalance that exists today between the rights of the accused and the rights of society in general.

I believe that we ought, as the Representatives of the people in this Chamber, give some indication this afternoon that we preceive very clearly that the very fabric of American society is being torn and mangled amidst the mounting violence of our times. We cannot dismiss these conditions with the kind of legalistic arguments that have been employed here by the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary this afternoon.

He was my bold and, yes, my gallant leader when just 2 months ago he stood before this same Chamber and told this House:

> Do not be preoccupied with procedure, but proceed to the business at hand, and adopt this legislation.

He was referring then to the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

I have the word of the distinguished ranking member of the House Committee on the Judiciary—the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCULLOCH], and I spoke those very words to the House Committee on Rules this afternoon—that he could wish for nothing more than that this House with bold and meaningful action this very afternoon adopt a position which would make it possible for us on the morrow to adopt a resolution accepting the Senate amendments, and send the crime control bill to the White House.

Mr. Speaker, time after time, the President has reminded us that the Safe Streets Act should be enacted without delay.

He was very emphatic in his January 17, 1968, state of the Union message in clearly enunciating that—

> There is no more urgent business before this Congress than to pass the Safe Streets Act this year.

On June 21, 1967, the President addressed the members of the National Emergency Committee of the National Council on Crime and laid it on the line when he stated:

> I hope the time for talking is coming to an end and the time for doing is starting.

In a San Antonio statement on December 11, 1967, in commenting on the increase in crime, the President described procrastination over the Safe Streets Act with these words:

> The delay has been costly to the American people. I urge that it not be continued. Once again, I urgently recommend passage of the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act as soon as possible.

Again, at the signing of the bill to establish the Federal Judicial Center on December 20, 1967, the President stated:

> The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act should be a first order of business of the new session. If any single piece of legislation is urgently needed, this is it.

A few days later when he signed the District of Columbia crime bill into law on December 27, 1967, the President said:

> This measure (Safe Streets and Crime Control Act) demands the most urgent attention of the Congress upon its return.

Then not very long after his state of the Union message in January of 1968 when he placed such primary emphasis on the Safe Streets Act, in fact, on February 5, 1968, the President again said:

> I think that one of the most important bills that the Congress will have to face up to this coming year will be the safe streets bill.

On February 12, 1968, his patience appearing to wear thin, the President was quoted as saying:

> Now I have urged the Congress to do what it could do to supplement the work of the local and State governments in this country. I am asking them to do this year what I hoped they would do last year on the plan we worked up the year before: That is to act—act—on legislation that we think is needed in this country.

That was from his discussion of Federal law enforcement and crime prevention programs, and he proceeded to renew his urgent request to the Congress for immediate passage of the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act, in a message to Congress to insure public safety.

And so it goes—there were others that I shall not mention at this time.

You gentlemen know that I have not always agreed with the President of the United States, but I think in this instance the President has been right when he has repeatedly called upon this Congress for immediate action—immediate action—and those are the words he used on the crime bill which he proposed.

If you will listen to the arguments that are offered, by the distinguished members of the House Committee on the Judiciary, this afternoon from the Republican side of the aisle, you will perceive that the arguments that have been raised by the chairman as to unconstitutionality and as to the invalidity of title II of this bill are not shared by others who equally revere the Constitution of our land.

Let me close with one brief quotation from one of the distinguished jurists of our land, Learned Hand, who said this:

> Our dangers do not lie in too little tenderness to the accused. Our procedure has been always haunted by the ghost of the innocent man convicted. It is an unreal dream. What we need to fear is the archaic formalism and the watery sentiment that obstructs, delays, and defeats the prosecution of crime.

Gentlemen, let no watery sentiment inhibit the judgment we make this afternoon.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, I find myself in a position that is not pleasant to me.

I have had 20 years of experience with the able chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House and almost without exception, on major legislative proposals, we stood together. So today I regret I am on the opposite side of this question.

As the gentleman from Illinois said, I advised him and requested him to state to the Committee on Rules that I wished a resolution would be adopted in that committee bringing the matter to the floor of the House tomorrow or as soon thereafter as possible.

In the last 7 years, while this Nation's population was increasing some 10 percent, the crime rate was soaring 88 percent. And during the past year, while the population increased 1 percent, the crime rate jumped 16 percent.

The citizen walks the streets at night in fear. Yes, the citizen who goes to work and pays his taxes finds that it is not safe to use the parks and playgrounds that his tax money has provided.

The reason for this fear is obvious. There occurs in our Nation a murder every 48 minutes, a forcible rape every 21 minutes, a robbery every 3½ minutes, an aggravated assault every 2 minutes, an auto theft every 57 seconds, a larceny every 35 seconds, and a burglary every 23 seconds.

A nation so plagued cannot long endure. The preservation of law and order is the first purpose of government. Every citizen is entitled to protection of his person and his property. The citizen who obeys the law is entitled to have the laws enforced.

A government that fails in so fundamental a task is not a government at all. What was the law of the constitution and the statutes becomes the law of the jungle.

Thus, it is imperative that we act and that we act without delay.

It is said in some circles that the crime bill will not solve the problem because poverty causes crime, and this bill does not fight poverty. I find that argument unpersuasive. In fact, as the poverty level has declined in this country, the crime rate has increased.

Rather, it is crime that causes crime. Seven out of every eight criminals enjoy the fruits of their crimes with impunity. With odds like that, the criminal is free to prey on the public.

I believe that if those odds were changed, crime would decrease. This bill is designed to change those odds. It gives to both police and prosecutor new tools to apprehend and convict the criminal.

Of course, no bill over 100 pages long can be perfect. The bill has its deficiencies. But it will serve as a beginning in our task, a task too long delayed even at this date.

Two months ago we were faced with a similar decision on the civil rights bill. At that time, I stood here in the well and asked that we agree with the Senate version. Again for the sake of certainty, I urge that we take the same approach. On balance, this is good legislation. It is long overdue.

Victor Hugo put it well:

> There is one thing stronger than all the armies in the world: and that is an idea whose time has come.

That time has come.

Mr. Speaker, since we have four able speakers following me, I will not consume any more time. I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this time.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. POFF].

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I shall be brief because I think the House understands what is involved here.

I said last Wednesday I felt that to go to conference on this bill would be the equivalent of going to a stalemate or to an emasculation—either would be a tragedy.

I say this, Mr. Speaker, because differences on the 11 titles of this bill are too great. Convictions are too strongly and deeply held. Emotions are too volatile to permit easy accord in the short 21-day period of a conference. I would like to make it plain that notwithstanding what the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary has surmised, I have read the Senate bill, I have read it carefully. I have underscored its operative language and I have analyzed pertinent, critical clauses, words, and phrases.

This bill is no perfect piece of legislative craftsmanship. Indeed, it contains many imperfections. Yet I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that those imperfections are such as can readily be cured by separate legislative enactment after this bill has been laid on the President's desk. I suggest, too, Mr. Speaker, that the need is so indisputable and the wishes of the people so plainly articulated that this House dare not risk the wrath of the people by failing to adopt meaningful, effective legislation, and to do so promptly. The only way to do so promptly is to vote down the motion to go to conference and then proceed to adopt the rule which has been reported by the Rules Committee today to take the bill from the Speaker's table and to recede and concur in the Senate amendments. I most strongly urge that course of action.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POFF. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to concur with the gentleman and merely point out, as the gentleman has said, that if there are some shortcomings in the Senate bill, if there are areas within which we may legislate—and I am sure there are with regard to the Supreme Court decisions—then what would happen? The fate of the bill if it goes to conference is already clear by the fact that we have had no legislation out of the Judiciary Committee within the areas the Supreme Court left and within which we could legislate and do something about the crime situation in this country.

Mr. POFF. I thank the gentleman for his penetrating remarks.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I now yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL].

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Speaker, I would, I think in general, subscribe to the expression by the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee that orderly procedure would ordinarily suggest a conference. But I believe, as I am sure you do, that there are always exceptions to general rules, and I can recall just a couple of months ago when orderly procedure would have recommended to me that I vote to send the civil rights bill to conference, but I concluded that it was more important to have a civil rights bill than it was to follow orderly procedure and not have a civil rights bill.

I think the same can be said of the crime bill. The country needed a civil rights bill and we did, in my judgment, the right thing by accepting the Senate version of that bill. The country needs a crime bill today, and we will be doing the right thing if we defeat the motion of the gentleman from New York so that a crime bill may become a reality.

Someone said, alluding to the tragedy in California, that this bill might prevent the prosecution of Senator KENNEDY's assailant. I was delighted to hear that unwise statement corrected of record. But let me say this, if there is one man in the United States who would want this crime bill passed, it is the distinguished Senator from New York, who is now in critical condition in California, because it was he, more than any other man in the U.S. Senate, who pointed the way to control organized crime in the United States. We must give the police departments of this country the mechanisms and the scientific apparatus to control and detect crime. Wiretapping under proper and constitutional controls by the court is, in my judgment, essential to that end.

Let me say pragmatically that while I, as Members probably will recall, supported a bloc grant amendment, which is title I, and while the Senate version does not satisfy me, I will accept it. It is not what I had hoped for.

Title II, I concede, has its shortcomings, and there are those who can say with honesty that they believe it to be unconstitutional. But let me say this: If this bill goes to conference, we can be sure that title II will be in it when the conference is completed. I have only to suggest that the chairman of the Judiciary Committee has indicated that he would abide by the instructions given by the House to the conferees. I am advised that the gentleman from Florida, if such a motion would be approved—sending this to conference—would insist on such an instruction. So the question of the constitutionality of it is immaterial. It will be in there anyway, and then it will be up to the Supreme Court, as properly it should be, to make a determination concerning its constitutionality.

If this bill goes to conference, there will be no bloc grants. There will be no wiretapping. There probably will be no gun control. I recognize there are many in this House who believe the gun control provision goes too far. I know there are some who believe the gun control provision does not go far enough. But I suggest to all that the need is present, the danger is great, and while in technical terms we may disagree with some of the provisions of this bill, it will be, I believe, a signal and symbol to the country that the Congress of the United States is alert to the needs of the country and that we are going to do the job that must be done.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACGREGOR].

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, 2 months ago this House did not follow the normal procedures in adopting the Senate version of a sweeping civil rights bill. At that time, I was happy to speak in favor of the need for unusual procedures. I felt the Senate civil rights bill was an important step forward for America, and I stood in this Chamber and said we must have the Senate civil rights bill, and we did. Today we have an opportunity to do the same thing with respect to the omnibus crime control bill passed by the U.S. Senate and, Mr. Speaker, I take the same position today as I took 2 months ago.

Circumstances and conditions indicate that it is time once again that we depart from the usual practice of going to conference, that we recede and concur in the Senate amendments, and send the omnibus crime control bill to the White House for the President's signature.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, I join many of my friends in having reservations about certain of the provisions of the Senate-passed bill. It has a great many new provisions and new titles. We have Members of the House Committee on the Judiciary, in addition to myself, who are unhappy with certain titles of the Senate-passed bill. They do not have opportunity to speak today. My colleague the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK] and my colleague the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BIESTER] have worked very hard to develop an effective piece of legislation dealing with the use of weapons by persons in connection with criminal actions. They have made monumental legislative contributions. They are not entirely happy with title IV of the Senate bill, as I am not happy with it.

I worked with the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. CAHILL] in July and August of 1967, to develop the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act passed by this House on August 8, 1967. I am not completely happy with title I of the Senate bill, which makes material changes in the bill which we passed 10 months ago; but, Mr. Speaker, I am willing for the present to approve certain provisions that I would like to see changed or perfected or improved upon in the near future, because I feel today—as I did 2 months ago when I said the civil rights bill should not be sent to conference but should be adopted—that this omnibus crime control bill should be accepted.

Mr. Speaker, the hour is late. We in this body have waited 10 long months for the Senate to act on the bill that we adopted on August 8, 1967, the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act.

Now this bill is back before us, and we have an opportunity to act here and now to move to the White House for the President's signature a bill which, imperfect in many respects though it may be, I am satisfied will make a meaningful contribution toward dealing with the tremendous problems that present themselves in this country today in the field of crime, in the field of violent civil disorder, by the attitude of permissiveness and selective disobedience of law which permeates so many levels of our society and which contributes to the causation of deeds such as the shocking crime which occurred in Los Angeles late last night.

Let us, Mr. Speaker, vote down this motion so as to pave the way for the adoption by this House of the Anderson resolution and for the acceptance by the President—of the omnibus crime control bill developed by the U.S. Senate.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MATHIAS].

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I was not in the House on August 8 of last year when the House adopted the Law Enforcement Act of 1967. That was the day my father died. So I do not know what the mood of the House was on that day.

But I had been present for the debate which preceded the passage of the bill, and I know we were approaching the problem of crime in America in a sober and serious mood, determined to reverse an ugly danger that threatened America.

From August 8 of last year until the present time is 10 months—10 months of unexplained and unjustified delay, without action. This is a blot on the record of the Congress.

Today our mood is very, very different. We meet with at least part of our attention diverted to the clicking of the ticker tapes in the Speaker's Lobby. There is an emotion in the House today amounting to a passion that is not going to be frustrated, and is not going to be denied. I believe the gentleman from Illinois is right in his assessment of the mood of the House.

I pray, and I am sure every Member of this House without exception prays, that the distinguished Senator from New York will live and regain his strength and vigor.

But I think it should be clear that we act today not for one man only but for the thousands who have suffered injury or fear of injury. The backdrop of the scene today is not just the Ambassador Hotel. It is the streets of American cities from coast to coast.

And the time for which we act is not last night only but is the past 5, 6, or 7 years. This is not a problem which has arisen overnight.

Take any month you want in recent years, right here in the Nation's Capital.

In September 1966 there was a 41.9-percent increase in crime over September 1965. In October 1966 there was a 29-percent increase over October 1965. Take any page of the calendar you want and you will find the same sorry record.

What I am saying is that we have to act here with a wisdom that transcends any single case. We need a wisdom and we need a resolution and we need a determination which the Congress has seldom been called upon to exercise in the history of the Republic.

I agree with the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary that this bill has many, many flaws in it. If this bill were to go to conference, some of these flaws might be removed. I do not think in the mood of the House that this course is likely to be chosen. So I just want to say this to the House: If we adopt this bill, if we recede and agree to the Senate amendments, then we must act promptly and positively to cure the defects. We must resolve that this House is going to stay in session up to and including November 5, until we have adopted the kind of anticrime legislation and the kind of law-enforcement legislation which meets the constitutional tests that the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary has correctly set forth, and which will guarantee some success in our effort to reverse the trends that have been building up in 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, and 1968.

I think we fool ourselves if we think that this bill alone is going to do it. Let us resolve that a job which has only barely begun will be completed before this Congress finally adjourns sine die. This is but a bare scratching of the surface. I predict that the passage of this bill alone will not reverse the statistics. There is a big job yet to be done.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me briefly?

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. I yield briefly to the gentleman.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. I think it is important to point out for repetition and emphasis that this bill has been endorsed by such organizations as the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Association of Attorneys General, the National Council on Crime, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the National Sheriffs Association, and the National League of Cities, among others. The bill must have some merit to have received these endorsements, and it has been considered by the the House and Senate.

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. I thank the gentleman.

Now I yield to the gentleman from Illinois, who is a member of the committee.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I want to join in the gentleman from Maryland's very important and very convincing statements.

Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote to concur in the Senate amendments to the omnibus crime control bill, H.R. 5037. My decision is based on the need for immediate action in the fight against crime.

During the House's consideration of this bill last year, I was proud to take an active part in the debates. I offered an amendment to establish a National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice to conduct and encourage programs of research—and thus to develop improved devices, techniques, and procedures for combating crime.

While the Senate version of the National Institute is different from that approved by the House, I hasten to point out that the authority in the Senate amendment is broader in some respects than the bill as passed by the House.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, the amendment which I offered—and which was adopted by the House provided comprehensive programs of regional training for our Nation's law enforcement officers. The Senate version modifies the authorization for training—and places most of the training program under the control of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I am hopeful that this decision will result in producing better trained law enforcement personnel—and start our Nation on the road to obedience to and respect for the law.

Mr. Speaker, those titles to the bill now before us relating to limited wiretap authority, gun control, and confessions and identifications are highly desirable. I support those titles as necessary elements in a meaningful attack on crime.

Mr. Speaker, the violence and disorder which is rampant in our land, require that the Congress should take decisive action against the law violators. That action should be taken today in voting against sending the bill H.R. 5037 to conference, and in favor of a motion to be offered tomorrow by my colleague from Illinois [Mr. ANDERSON], to recede and concur in the Senate amendments.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to our distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD], the remaining time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Michigan is recognized for 6 minutes.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, if there were any doubt whatsoever that the Celler motion should be defeated today and the Anderson resolution I hope approved tomorrow, it should have been dispelled by the tone and the content of the earlier remarks by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

The gentleman from New York said that the Congress cannot be the winner in a confrontation with the Supreme Court. I refuse to concede, Mr. Speaker, that the elected representatives of the American people cannot be the winner in a confrontation with the U.S. Supreme Court. To admit that is to admit that the American people cannot control the U.S. Supreme Court. I think the American people today must have some control and jurisdiction over the judiciary of the Federal Government. The people of America—not the courts—are the ultimate authority in America.

So I was deeply disturbed by what the gentleman from New York said. It made me very apprehensive. And then I was even more concerned when I listened to the gentleman talk about the substance of the bill that came from the other body. Also I was deeply concerned when I heard the gentleman from New York indicate that time was not of the essence in the approval of this vital crime bill.

Mr. Speaker, last August this body passed a meaningful crime bill. The bill that came from the White House and the House Committee on the Judiciary needed vast improvements. We worked our will on the floor of the House and made those significant improvements especially by including bloc grants and the requirements of coordinated State plans.

The bill has been over in the other body in the committee and on the floor and fortunately they have significantly improved our version of the bill. The other body added some substance in the area of wiretapping legislation. They added some other substantive improvements that I think ought to be the law. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCulloch] and others on this side of the aisle worked long and hard in trying to get some wiretapping legislation out of the House Judiciary Committee but they have been unsuccessful in doing so. This may be our last chance.

I say this to you both from a substantive point of view and from the point of view of time. We ought to defeat the Celler motion and approve the Anderson resolution. We may lose the substance of a good bill if we send it to conference. I know for sure that if we send it to conference we will lose time and time is of the essence.

So I plead with the Members of the House to reject the Celler motion in order that we may approve the Anderson resolution which will be under consideration on tomorrow, I hope.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the distinguished minority whip.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I trust this afternoon the House will heed the many, many statements that have been made here urging the defeat of the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Celler]. As the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Anderson] has so ably and forcefully said, "Now is the time to act."

Mr. Speaker, at a time when the whole world is under stress and strain, at a time when crime runs rampant all over the world and when it is rampant in our own country we can only meet this grave problem, if we act courageously this afternoon and vote down the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Celler], and then on tomorrow follow up such action by voting for the rule granted today on the recommendation of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Anderson]. Let us accept the proposal of the Committee on Rules and proceed forthwith to concur in the Senate amendment. Crime control is a matter of great urgency. Time is of the essence. Our people look to us for immediate and firm action. Our people want freedom from crime and freedom from fear.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, may I summarize and conclude by saying that if the issue is a confrontation between the Supreme Court and the Congress of the United States and indirectly the American people, let this vote today be the battleground. And, certainly, if the issue is a matter of substance and time—and I think it is when we look at the rising crime rates, the riots in our cities, the tragedy which just occurred last night, and the behavior of some at our various universities, then let this vote today and the one tomorrow be the battleground for the people and the elected Representatives who believe in law and order.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, it should not be forgotten in dealing with these points that the Constitution of the United States in article III, section 1, specifically gives to the Congress of the United States on the matter of appellate jurisdiction over the Supreme Court and the policies as to law with such exceptions as Congress shall make, and let no one doubt the constitutional authority of the Congress of the United States to act in the appellate jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate the distinguished minority leader and to agree with him.

The Constitution of the United States, this Constitution of ours, provides for three equal and coordinated branches of government. The first branch which is provided for in the Constitution is that of the legislative or Congress of the United States as representative of the people. Next is the executive and last is the Supreme Court. If the Congress is to be subservient to the Supreme Court, it would not be equal.

Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court in 35 cases has put rights of the criminal under new-found interpretations ahead of the rights of the general public long established, and in 10 instances has restricted the ability of policemen to discharge their duties.

Mr. Speaker, the breakdown in law enforcement is directly traceable to the Court. I say that we would be derelict in our duty if we as Representatives of the people did not declare once and for all time the equality of this Congress of the United States with the Supreme Court of the United States and put the Court in its place. Unless we do, we are going to lose our country.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCulloch] has expired.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. Celler] has 3 minutes remaining.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Waggonner].

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary has said that this body is acting today out of fear, and I would agree that we are. But we are acting out of fear of the fact that if we do not follow this procedure we will not get a crime bill to try to combat the crime wave which sweeps this country, and if we do get one, by going to conference, the provisions which have been brought in by the Senate to curb the Supreme Court will be so watered down they will be meaningless and the gun law section will be so terrible none of us can accept it.

Let us vote down this motion and take just a feeble step toward curbing the Supreme Court.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from California [Mr. Corman].

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the motion offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Celler].

The safe streets bill presently before the House must be enacted this year if we are to make any headway in our fight against crime. But we must look carefully at the bill, as amended in the Senate, for many additional titles were added by that body when it acted on the House-passed H.R. 5037.

If it is the duty of the House to draft legislation, then we are obliged to do so in a manner which incorporates language that is clear and concise—language that law-enforcement officers and prosecutors can understand and apply intelligently. And we are certainly obliged to pass legislation that we believe to be constitutional so as to avoid a deluge of litigation.

Mr. Speaker, let me call your attention to title II of the bill, as amended in the Senate. The language of this title attempts to abolish the rights and safeguards established in the famed Miranda case. Its sponsors hoped to reduce crime and aid law enforcement by the addition of this title in the bill, but by its very nature it poses the great danger of reducing the effectiveness of law enforcement and it may increase the incidence of crime. Title II enumerates five factors every trial judge must consider in weighing the procedures followed by a police officer who arrested and questioned a suspect. The police officer must, in effect, first ask himself some difficult questions and find the correct answers to them before he can interrogate a criminal. The prosecutor, the trial judge, and the appellate court must each review many possibilities before a decision is reached whether or not to prosecute, to convict, or to sustain prison sentences for each and every offender. The penalty of a wrong guess by a policeman on the street can be very serious. It may force the prosecutor to accept a plea to a minor charge for a major offense, or to risk an acquittal, or to increase the chances of a reversed conviction. It may also release a dangerous criminal offender at too early a date.

Perhaps some of the Supreme Court's rules governing criminal cases could be advantageously changed for better rules. But, one thing is certain. The present rules are clear and precise, and they provide a safe and secure procedure to obtain lawful evidence, valid convictions, and the prosecutor's success on appeal. They are comprehensible and enforceable.

We cannot turn back the clock to restore the test of voluntariness to determine the validity of confessions. We are too intensely concerned with crime and criminal procedures for that. We now have a tough Supreme Court rule to give us a chance to make some headway in our fight against crime .We cannot impose upon our police officers a more difficult job than they now have. Title II of this bill will create havoc. It will perplex our police, dismay our prosecutors, flood the already overburdened criminal courts, and it will permit a field day for defense lawyers. If we include title II as it is now written, we may be on our way to increasing crime in our Nation rather than using the provisions of H.R. 5037 to diminish crime. We would be irresponsible and derelict in our duty if we accepted title II without the careful scrutiny that a conference committee would give to it.

Mr. Speaker, let me say one word about the wiretapping title of the Senate-passed bill. The Senate version of the wiretapping provisions goes well beyond that which has been recommended, in that it will permit wiretapping without a court order. Where this device would be of little use, it is authorized. Yet, wiretapping is prohibited in other areas where it might be necessary and helpful. The wiretapping title of this bill could certainly gain from the scrutiny that would be given to it by a conference committee.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot urge too strongly that H.R. 5037 be sent to conference. There is too much at stake—the risk is far too serious—for us to fail to give to our country the strongest and clearest crime control bill we can write. Above all, we cannot afford to have a crime-prevention bill tied up in litigation to test its constitutionality. We do not have the time for such delays in today's world.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER].

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I urge immediate approval of H.R. 5037. No useful purpose would be served by sending this legislation to conference.

I realize that some of the Senate amendments are not agreeable to some of our colleagues. As a matter of fact, there are some provisions of the bill as passed by the Senate which do not entirely satisfy me. The total package, however, contains more good than bad legislation. It would be a tragedy if the good should fall by the wayside because of the opposition of some of the conferees who may be appointed to the conference committee.

The people of the Nation are gravely concerned about the incidence of crime. They are demanding that the Congress meet its responsibility by providing legislation which will get at the roots of the problem.

Recent contacts with people in my own congressional district convince me that they will not be satisfied until the Congress has brought order out of the chaos created by many of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions. The Senate amendments to H.R. 5037 would have that effect upon some of the unfortunate decisions of the Court.

The concern about crime in our Nation is not limited to any geographical area. In conversations with colleagues from every section of the United States, I am convinced that their people have the same strong desire for improved law enforcement which I find in North Carolina. It is a national problem which must be met by positive action.

Those who vote to send the bill to conference will, I am confident, find that they have disappointed the law-abiding citizens of their own States. Tenuous contentions in defense of a vote to send the bill to conference will be met with an attitude of nonacceptance by their people.

The gravity of the crime situation is vividly set forth in a report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice under title "The Challenge Of Crime in a Free Society". The report states:

> What, then, is America's experience with crime and how has this experience shaped the Nation's way of living? A new insight into these two questions is furnished by the Commission's National Survey of Criminal Victims. In this survey, the first of its kind conducted on such a scope 10,000 representative American households were asked about their experiences with crime, whether they reported those experiences to the police, and how those experiences affected their lives.
>
> An important finding of the survey is that for the Nation as a whole there is far more crime than ever is reported. Burglaries occur about three times more often than they are reported to police. Aggravated assaults and larcenies over $50 occur twice as often as they are reported. There are 50 percent more robberies than are reported. In some areas, only one-tenth of the total number of certain kinds of crimes are reported to the police. Seventy-four percent of the neighborhood commercial establishments surveyed do not report to police the thefts committed by their employees.
>
> The existence of crime, the talk about crime, the reports of crime, and the fear of crime have eroded the basic quality of life of many Americans. A Commission study conducted in high crime areas of two large cities found that:
>
> Forty-three percent of the respondents say they stay off the streets at night because of their fear of crime.
>
> Thirty-five percent say they do not speak to strangers any more because of their fear of crime.
>
> Twenty-one percent say they use cars and cabs at night because of their fear of crime.
>
> Twenty percent say they would like to move to another neighborhood because of their fear of crime.
>
> The findings of the Commission's national survey generally support those of the local surveys. One-third of a representative sample of all Americans say it is unsafe to walk alone at night in their neighborhoods. Slightly more than one-third say they keep firearms in the house for protection against criminals. Twenty-eight percent say they keep watchdogs for the same reason.

Mr. Speaker, let us face up to the responsibility which is ours. Let us immediately enact into law the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, with the Senate amendments, to the end that the people of our Nation may know that the House of Representatives is willing to take positive steps to get at the crime problem.

Americans cannot take comfort in the view that crime is the vice of a handful of people. This view is totally inaccurate. The President's Commission reports that 40 percent of all male children now living in the United States will be arrested for a nontraffic offense during their life.

An independent survey of 1,700 persons found that 91 percent of the sample admitted they had committed acts which they might have received jail or prison sentences. The magnitude of the problem exceeds the ability of law enforcement agencies unless the courts play their proper role in meeting the problem.

The legislation now before us will remove some of the roadblocks to good law enforcement created by ill-advised court decisions and will guarantee to the people that the courts in the future will operate within a framework of statutory law which will more nearly meet the needs of today.

I urge your support of the proposition that this Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act should be immediately approved and sent to the White House for the President's signature.

America is demanding relief from the criminal. This bill will be of value in providing that relief.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] has one-half minute remaining.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield half a minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS].

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is essential for this Congress to enact title II of the Senate amendments to the crime bill, because it is the first step to reverse the actions of the Supreme Court of the United States in favoring the criminals, and also is the first significant step of the Congress to do something to protect the American public.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against the motion offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER]. If the motion should carry I shall seek recognition to move to instruct the conferees to agree to title II of the Senate amendments.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I believe we have delayed for too long already, in acting to check the tide of crime and lawlessness in our country.

I was a strong supporter of the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act when it passed the House last August, and I deeply regret the fact that Congress adjourned last year without finalizing action on this measure.

While some of the Senate's additions to the bill may present constitutional questions, the overall effect of the Senate's amendments to our bill will surely be to strengthen the hand of law enforcement. This added strength is urgently needed today.

I oppose the further delay that would be inherent in a conference on this bill.

Let us proceed to pass the Senate bill. The country needs action on this urgent matter, and the bill before us will make that action possible.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I support an anticrime bill and would fully intend to vote for the measure produced by a conference committee. However, this is obviously not the issue before us at the present time.

In the recently passed civil rights bill and again this afternoon we find ourselves restricted from offering amendments and even discussing the details of the bill. Thus we are setting precedent that will arise again and again, which is contrary to sound legislative procedure.

I deplore as much as anyone here in the House the shooting of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY. I believe that a stronger gun control measure should be written into this crime bill.

As Members of the House we find ourselves voting on a legislative package produced by the other body that bears little resemblance to the House bill. If we are to maintain a truly effective, progressive legislative procedure we should not make major legislative decisions under emotion or any form of duress.

If this were the last day of the session and sending a bill to conference would be a vehicle to pigeonhole it, I would certainly vote otherwise but we do have time to produce a sound bill from the House Committee or from Conference and we need not set another precedent contrary to the calmness and objectivity that should prevail in the world's most powerful legislative body.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the question here today before this House is not what the Supreme Court might or might not do, the question is our responsibility to the American people. The situation is urgent. We have an opportunity today to vote down this motion of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] to send the bill to conference where we all know that it will be emasculated, weakened, and watered down.

If we reject the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER], we can on tomorrow make the direct motion to concur in the amendments of the other body and thus give to the American people a crime bill with some teeth in it—the best that we can possibly get this year.

Mr. Speaker, make no mistake about it, the American people are terribly concerned about the increase in crime, mob violence, campus sit-ins, demonstrations, and those who preach arson and the violent overthrow of our Government. Law and order must be maintained in this country. Our law-enforcement officials need the equipment and the means to enforce the law. They need the confidence and respect of the Congress. This crime bill must not be delayed further. We must pass this bill and reassure the American people. It is past time to halt the stealing, rioting, violent demonstrations, and destruction of private property. This bill will not accomplish all of this, but it is a step in the right direction. It will aid our local and State law-enforcement officials to cope with the grave and growing national emergency. Unless we act and act promptly, chaos and anarchy can become the order of the day.

Mr. Speaker, with all of the earnestness and sincerity at my command, I urge the House to reject the motion of my distinguished colleague from New York City and vote no so that tomorrow we can pass the safe streets and anticrime bill.

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues in urging that this House defeat the motion of the chairman of the Judiciary Committee and subsequently vote overwhelmingly to accept the Senate version of the omnibus crime bill. The tragic shooting of Senator KENNEDY and other citizens in California, coupled with the equally tragic shooting of three marine officers here in the District of Columbia last night, demonstratively indicate the sickness that is within our Nation. There is almost total disregard and disrespect for law and order and it is no wonder when many of our so-called leaders preach civil disobedience, when one can view the television set and watch citizens of this country loot, burn, and destroy property of others with almost impunity, that there is little respect for our laws.

The paramount domestic issue facing our country is law and order and the protection of our law-abiding citizens. The Supreme Court has become overly preoccupied with the rights of the criminal to the neglect of the rights of law-abiding citizens and the omnibus crime bill as passed by the Senate will correct this neglect.

There is nothing unconstitutional about title II notwithstanding the remarks of the distinguished chairman. Title III of this bill prohibits electronic surveillance by anybody except duly constituted law-enforcing officials, and they can only employ these devices after proper application to the courts, and under the strictest guidelines. The principles set forth in our laws dealing with search and seizure are maintained in this provision of the bill.

The Miranda and Mallory decisions have handcuffed our law-enforcement officials to such an extent that admitted criminals are permitted to roam at large and prey upon our law-abiding citizens. Is there any wonder that we have had a breakdown in law and order and an almost total disrespect for it. If this Nation is to survive—yes, Mr. Speaker, the question is so serious that, if this Nation is to survive, then law and order must prevail. There are admittedly some imperfections in this legislation and parts of the bill that I do not approve, particularly that section dealing with handguns. I have always been opposed to Federal legislation dealing with the rights of the individual to purchase firearms. It has been my belief that such legislation infringes upon the rights of law-abiding citizens and has little or no effect upon the criminal because, if the criminal is going to violate the law, he is not the least bit concerned with whether he breaks it a second time by illegally obtaining a firearm. However, I feel that, if this bill should go to conference that a much more stringent and reprehensible gun law would be adopted, one with which I could not live with under any circumstances. But while I dislike, as I have said, Mr. Speaker, that provision dealing with handguns, I am so concerned with what we might have to live with if the matter should go to conference that I am willing to accept it under those circumstances. Any imperfections can be corrected by subsequent legislation as can any clarifications that are needed, but the welfare of this Nation dictates that effective, forceful legislation dealing with crime and the control of crime must pass forthwith.

The citizens of our country are looking to the Congress for relief. It is our responsibility to provide them with such relief as effectively and as quickly as possible. Time is of the essence. So, again, Mr. Speaker, I urge the House to vote down the Celler motion and accept the Senate bill as written.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I oppose the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] and I urge the House to reject this motion.

During a time of lawlessness, crime and widespread disregard for law and constituted authority, it is imperative that the House of Representatives reject this motion to show that Congress welcomes a confrontation with those who seemingly favor the criminal at the expense of society and law-abiding citizens.

The position that the Congress of the United States could not prevail in such a confrontation is not tenable.

We are witnessing a breakdown of law and order throughout our land. Our people are crying out for some tangible sign that at least our branch of the Federal Government is concerned about this wave of lawlessness which is engulfing America.

Mr. Speaker, there have been no less than 35 decisions which have established "new found rights" for confessed and proven criminals. This vote today gives the House of Representatives an opportunity to speak out for law and order and against this engulfing wave of crime and lawlessness.

I sincerely regret the tragic incident that took place in Los Angeles this very morning. Yet, I feel that the attitude of protecting criminals may have directly contributed to this unprovoked shooting.

When courts and others, who are charged with law enforcement and promoting public safety, encourage lawlessness and demonstrations which are violent or approach violence, it is conceivable that individuals with deviated personalities are encouraged to crime, including murder, because they feel that the courts may be on their side and will find some excuse to set aside a conviction.

The bill which this motion seeks to send to conference is not perfect, but its passage by Congress will restore faith in legislative processes and give hope that this era of lawlessness will be replaced by a restoration of respect for law enforcement and a return to an acknowledgment that the protection of the public and public safety is the primary objective of responsible government.

I urge rejection of the pending motion.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, there is both good and bad in the bill which we are debating. The language correcting some of the policies laid down by the Supreme Court is the most important that has been brought to the House in many months on this subject. In fact, it is the only language which has cleared the Senate which offers any hope of correcting the extremely damaging actions of the Supreme Court. It would be poor policy indeed to take a chance on losing this restrictive language, and I fully believe that we would lose the Senate language on the Supreme Court if this bill were to go to conference.

There are other sections which the Senate added which constitute a definite improvement to the bill which was passed by the House. In fact, I would be reluctant to risk the loss of the bill in its entirety for it offers badly needed promise of restrictions on crime, and crime is so rampant in this country.

There is a section which I consider is not sound language and which in its administration could prove very objectionable. This is the antigun language which was added in the Senate. This language is ambiguous and there is no assurance that in its interpretation more would not be read into the provisos than ever was intended by the sponsors. Some of it is unduly restrictive. The section badly needs clarification to prevent oppressive and unnecessary actions against law-abiding owners of weapons.

Nevertheless, I am certain that the Nation wants some restrictions against weapons in the hands of criminals or mentally incompetent or irresponsible persons. Added to this will be a new wave of hysteria by the ragged fringe who will seek to take advantage of any opportunity for oppressive legislation which would ban all individually owned weapons. To reject the gun restrictions which are carried in this bill could result in something worse. If, however, this language is accepted in a later action by the House, it is important that the Ways and Means Committee, where such legislation properly should be considered, be requested to report clarifying language which will remove the ambiguity and the most objectionable features which are contained in the bill now before us.

I think my colleagues in the House will be interested in knowing that I have discussed this matter with the National Rifle Association and with other organizations dedicated to the proper interests of law-abiding sportsmen and the reasoning which I have advanced is concurred in by them. They recognize the objectionable features in the firearms legislation now before us and they strongly urge clarification and improvement at the earliest possible date. But they also recognize a need for a measure which will help to curb crime in our Nation. As a result, they interpose no objection under present circumstances to the adoption of this language by the House.

Consequently, I shall vote against sending this bill to conference and I urge at the proper time that the Senate version of the bill be accepted in full.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of the matter under discussion.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] has expired. All time has expired.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER].

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 60, nays 318, not voting 55, as follows:

[Roll No. 166]

YEAS—60

Adams
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Bingham
Blatnik
Bolling
Byrne, Pa.
Celler
Clark
Colmer
Conyers
Corman
Curtis
Dellenback
Dent
Derwinski
Diggs
Dingell
Dow
Eckhardt
Evans, Colo.
Farbstein
Feighan
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Gallagher
Gonzalez
Green, Oreg.
Hays
Helstoski
Irwin
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kupferman
Long, Md.
Matsunaga
Mink
Moorhead
Morgan
Morse, Mass.
Moss
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
Ottinger
Podell
Reuss
Rogers, Colo.
Rosenthal
Ryan
Saylor
Scheuer
Schwengel
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Udall
Yates

NAYS—318

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Boggs
Boland
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Casey
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Delaney
Denney
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon
Fascell
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Galifianakis
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Griffiths
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy
Harsha
Harvey
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Hicks
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Jacobs
Jarman
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
May
Meeds
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Morris, N. Mex.
Morton
Mosher
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Konski
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Rivers
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Ullman
an Deerlin
Vanik
Waggonner
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING—55

Andrews, Ala.
Bell
Berry
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Burton, Calif.
Carter
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Conte
Culver
Dawson
Dowdy
Edwards, Calif.
Fuqua
Gardner
Gettys
Gilbert
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Harrison
Hathaway
Hawkins
Herlong
Holifield
Holland
Joelson
Karsten
Leggett
McDade
McMillan
Mayne
Miller, Calif.
Moore
Murphy, Ill.
O'Hara, Ill.
Olsen
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Purcell
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
Selden
Tunney
Utt
Vander Jagt
Vigorito
Waldie
Wilson, Charles H.

So the motion was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs.

On this vote:

Mr. Joelson for, with Mr. Hathaway against.

Mr. Burton of California for, with Mr. St Germain against.

Mr. Murphy of Illinois for, with Mr. Del Clawson against.

Mr. Resnick for, with Mr. Vigorito against.

Mr. Edwards of California for, with Mr. Passman against.

Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts for, with Mr. Fuqua against.

Mr. Roybal for, with Mr. McDade against.

Mr. Brown of California for, with Mr. Moore against.

Mr. Hawkins for, with Mr. Bow against.

Mr. Dawson for, with Mr. Miller of California against.

Mr. O'Hara of Illinois for, with Mr. Rees against.

Mr. Gilbert for, with Mr. Andrews of Alabama against.

Mr. Holland for, with Mrs. Bolton against.

Mr. Green of Pennsylvania for, with Mr. Herlong against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Rooney of New York with Mr. Bell.
Mr. Culver with Mr. Carter.
Mr. Dowdy with Mr. Berry.
Mr. Holifield with Mr. Conte.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Gardner.
Mr. Karsten with Mr. Harrison.
Mr. Leggett with Mr. Mayne.
Mr. Olsen with Mr. Reid of New York.
Mr. McMillan with Mr. Utt.
Mr. Cohelan with Mr. Vander Jagt.
Mr. Selden with Mr. Griffin.
Mr. O'Neal of Georgia with Mr. Purcell.
Mr. Tunney with Mr. Charles H. Wilson.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this time for the purpose of inquiring of the distinguished majority leader the program for the remainder of today and the schedule for tomorrow.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT].

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in response to the inquiry of the distinguished minority leader, we do not plan to go on with any further legislation today. Tomorrow the first order of business will be H.R. 16027, service-connected compensation increase for veterans, under suspension of the rules. That will be followed by H.R. 16162, extension of certain loans by the Export-Import Bank, which in turn will be followed by S. 974, land conveyance, Glendale, Ariz.

That in turn will be followed by the resolution on the crime bill, the resolution which the Committee on Rules is reporting today.

I assume that the resolution will be last, although it may be next to last.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. If the gentleman from Oklahoma will permit a further inquiry—is my information correct that H.R. 16363, the poultry bill, and H.R. 17267, the bill involving Federal employees, will not come up this week?

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman is correct; they are off for this week.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Both of these bills will not come up this week?

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman is correct.

I might add the reason I was not exactly specific on which bill would come up first as between S. 974 and the crime bill resolution is that we do intend to bring the crime bill resolution up at about 3 o'clock.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I have one further question of the gentleman from Oklahoma: S. 1028, the Federal employment conditions for former employees of agricultural county committees, will that be coming up this week?

Mr. ALBERT. I do not believe that we will get to that this week as far as I know at the present time.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I thank the distinguished majority leader.

WIRETAPPING AND ELECTRONIC LISTENING DEVICES

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remark, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, for the past months I have been deeply concerned about our skyrocketing crime rate in the United States. The permissive attitude toward criminals and lawbreakers has ballooned like a huge cancer in this country. As a former special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and as a practicing small town lawyer for 17 years, I have been keenly aware of inequities in our criminal law system. I have seen the pendulum swing over the past few years strongly toward the lawbreaker and away from law-enforcement agencies. Some of this trend has been justified to correct centuries-old injustices. But the pendulum has swung far too wide in favor of the law violators. The common criminal is the beneficiary of many 5 to 4 Supreme Court decisions, and law enforcement in many instances has been made difficult and in some cases impossible.

One area has been my special concern. This is in the field of wiretapping and electronic listening devices. I have been shocked at the insistence of the Johnson administration that the use of these devices should be authorized, with no protection whatsoever to the individual, and be authorized in cases involving national security. This prevents the use of this valuable law-enforcement tool in battling organized crime, and in fighting major felonies.

Since we are in a desperate fight against organized crime, and one which we obviously have been losing, and because of the geometric increase in major felonies in this country, I firmly believe that the use of electronic listening devices should be authorized in these cases also.

However, to protect the rights of the individual, I feel that no use of these devices should be authorized without strict protection. I have, therefore, been advocating that before electronic listening devices can be used by law officers, a showing must be made before a court similar to that which must be made before obtaining a search warrant. Criminal and civil penalties should be provided against law officers violating these requirements.

This will not result in an unreasonable invasion of private rights. Search has been authorized under limited circumstances for many years. Wiretapping can be authorized under much the same rules, with no real violence to individual rights.

In my study of these problems, I thought it would be helpful to have the collective views of a substantial number of men actually engaged in enforcing our criminal laws and prosecuting on a day-to-day basis.

For this purpose, I sent a questionnaire to the approximate 1,950 members of the National District Attorneys Association in the classification of State attorneys general, district attorneys, and assistant district attorneys. Over 50 percent, 1,058, responded to my questionnaire.

The results of the answers to this questionnaire by the men who actually are engaged in prosecutions in this country lend strong support to the conclusions I have drawn.

Ninety-four percent favor the use of listening devices under court supervision in cases involving national security, organized crime, and major felonies. Eighty percent of those who responded felt that the use of such devices would be useful in fighting crime in their jurisdictions. Only 7 percent felt that the use of these devices should be limited to cases involving national security. Ninety-three percent confirmed that the rights of individuals could be properly safeguarded by court supervision.

Mr. Speaker, the Johnson administration has taken the soft line once again in this battle to the death with crime. It wants the use of listening devices only in cases involving national security, but it is not interested in any protection of the rights of individuals in such cases. It is clear to me that rights of the individual to privacy must have reasonable protection in all cases, and that the great national emergency in crime in this country justifies, and cries out for, the use of these devices also in cases involving organized crime, and in cases of major felonies.

You can be certain that the Mafia and other elements of organized crime constantly use the most sophisticated tools available. The hands of our law enforcement agencies should not be tied.

Here are just a few of the sample remarks returned with my questionnaire:

> You cannot fight a major fire with a water pistol. This is what law officers now have to use against crime. The result is apparent.
>
> I believe wiretapping is essential to combat organized crime in metropolitan areas. To deny this tool to law enforcement is to invite the gangsters to operate unrestrained and with almost no possibility of being apprehended.
>
> Wiretapping is vital for effective detection and prosecution of criminal dynasties which are infiltrating and hooking into the guts of our legitimate economic life with present immunity.
>
> Technological advances should not be made available to the criminal alone. Law enforcement should be able to take advantage of new means and methods of discovering and prosecuting crime, one of our major national problems. Court supervision, in the same manner as is now applied to search warrants, would provide protection against abuse.

Complete returns, and a breakdown based on the population of the jurisdictions involved follow:

	Percent		Actual number	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Do you favor the use of wiretapping and electronic listening devices under court supervision in cases involving national security, organized crime, and major felonies?	94	6	995	63
2. Do you feel that the use of such devices would be an effective tool in fighting crime in your jurisdiction?	80	20	842	210
3. Do you favor permitting wiretapping and electronic listening devices only in cases involving national security, but forbidding them in cases involving organized crime and major felonies?	7	93	72	978
4. Do you feel that court supervision of the use of wiretapping and electronic listening devices can properly safeguard the rights of individuals?	93	7	987	70

BREAKDOWN OF RESULTS BY JURISDICTION POPULATION

	Less than 50,000 (434)				Between 50,000 and 250,000 (326)				Between 250,000 and 500,000 (118)				Between 500,000 and 1,000,000 (101)				Between 1,000,000 and 1,750,000 (43)				Over 1,750,000 (36)			
	Percent		Actual number		Percent		Actual number		Percent		Actual number		Percent		Actual number		Percent		Actual number		Percent		Actual number	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Question 1	95	5	412	22	94	6	308	12	92	8	109	9	95	5	96	5	91	9	39	4	86	14	31	5
Question 2	67	33	288	140	87	13	282	42	88	12	104	14	95	5	96	5	95	5	40	2	89	11	32	4
Question 3	6	94	25	404	7	93	23	302	9	91	11	107	7	93	7	94	7	93	3	39	11	89	4	32
Question 4	94	6	408	24	95	5	310	16	90	10	106	12	95	5	95	6	85	15	36	6	86	14	31	5

JOB FAIR

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, for the second year the city of Houston, under the leadership of the Honorable Louie Welch, mayor, sponsored a program called Job Fair, to provide summer employment for its disadvantaged youth. This is a unique civic effort to solve a problem by uniting the resources within the community. Houston industries provide the majority of jobs for Job Fair, and there is a corollary program which seeks to find the funds to underwrite the salaries of a portion of these underprivileged youths for work in nonprofitmaking organizations.

This program is aimed at finding work for students who plan to continue their education and whose continued studies might be in doubt due to financial difficulties. Thus it makes their education possible as well as providing training and job responsibility.

This year, at the request of the officials running Job Fair, a private organization, Forward Action, Inc., sponsored by me, cooperated with the effort. Forward Action, Inc., was originally designed to help young people between the ages of 16 and 22 who are residents of my congressional district find summer employment. Last year we placed over 100 young Negro students in summer jobs. The goal this year is 300.

The May 24, 1968, release of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity reported the following:

> Houston, a city which can claim a share of the credit for establishment of the National Alliance of Businessmen, had its second annual Job Fair on May 15–16. More than 3,000 poor youth were hired on-the-spot for summer jobs, 2,700 of them in private industry. More than 1,300 were hired through last year's pioneering Job Fair.
>
> It was after Houston's successful 1967 effort that Vice President Humphrey proposed a special Job Fair program in the nation's 50 largest cities for summer 1968. President Johnson broadened that proposal by establishing the National Alliance of Businessmen to provide 200,000 summer 1968 youth jobs and 500,000 jobs for the hard-core unemployed by 1971.
>
> About 570 businesses hired youth at this year's Fair. Applications for jobs and job offers will continue to be taken. Mayor Louie Welch hopes to repeat the successful follow-up efforts to the 1967 Job Fair, which produced 400 additional jobs. The Mayor kept his offices open until midnight the day before the Fair to take last-minute job pledges from business.
>
> Also in Houston . . . The Harris County Community Action Agency's $750,000 summer program includes 650 jobs for youth, 75 college student tutors to work with dropouts, recreation activities in 40 city parks, free camping for 800, and an arts program which includes free tickets for city concerts provided by the Houston Society for the Performing Arts. Houston's schools will have a $500,000 summer program at 34 schools for about 60,000. About 300 youth jobs will be provided by the program.

The kind of citizen dedication that made Job Fair such an outstanding success is exemplified by P. H. Robinson, president of Houston Lighting & Power Co., who, in his capacity as chairman of the Houston National Alliance of Businessmen, devoted 100 percent of his time to this effort.

This kind of private and civic action at the local level is proof of the desire of the people of Houston to solve our unemployment and education problems at the level at which they occur. I think the success of these two Houston programs—separately and jointly—can well lead the way to similar programs in other parts of the country.

PRIVATE BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF GEORGE W. HARDIN

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill today for the relief of George W. Hardin, of Greeneville, Tenn.

In his long lifetime, Mr. Hardin, a distinguished senior citizen of my district, has seen aviation develop and progress from its primitive beginnings to the conquest of the skies by jet aircraft and the penetration of space by manned rockets.

During that same productive lifetime, Mr. Hardin made his own contribution to aviation's progress, a contribution which he patented and which his Government used. I regret that I must add that it was a contribution to aviation's progress for which he has never been compensated.

My bill attempts to reimburse him in some small measure for the expenditure of years of assiduous and inspired effort, for the expenses of his research, and for the expenses incurred in traveling often from Tennessee to his Nation's Capital for the purpose of patenting his invention and testifying at hearings held by committees of this House.

My bill would also justify his faith, held for years in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, that his Government would someday recognize him for his valuable innovation in aircraft-airship design. In a sense, that recognition was accorded him when his Government gave his pioneering conception practical application.

More formal recognition than simple expropriation of his ideas is now to be found in the bill which I have today introduced for his relief. May I understate the case as simply as I can by saying that such relief is long overdue.

My bill recites that George W. Hardin, of Greeneville, Tenn., invented a combination airship-aircraft for which a patent was granted by the United States on April 8, 1930. An improvement patent was granted on February 27, 1934. His patented invention demonstrated the feasibility of a method by which airships—not airplanes—might become airborne despite their being heavier than air. Airships had previously been made airborne by inflation with lighter-than-air gas such as helium, whose natural buoyancy lifted a ship off of the ground before its power system was employed. Mr. Hardin's invention combined the takeoff thrust of an airplane with the buoyancy of an airship.

His invention did much more. It demonstrated the feasibility of multistage aircraft which could be separated in flight, a principle that is an integral part of modern aerospace technology.

Our Government also used the methods he invented and patented to increase the range of our Armed Forces' airships by increasing their fuel load.

The year of Mr. Hardin's first patent, 1930, seems a long time ago, but it was a busy and exciting year in aviation history. By recalling some of that history, we can see why it was that Mr. Hardin was busy at the business of attempting to obtain patent protection for his pioneer work in the midst of all the exciting advances in aviation that were then being made here and abroad.

In January of that year, the world's first full scale wind tunnel was begun at the Langley Memorial Aeronautical Laboratory. In February, the Naval Aircraft Factory was authorized to begin building the first workable model of retractable landing gear. In April, the American Interplanetary Society, later the American Rocket Society, was founded in New York City. Also in April, the Air Corps set a world record for altitude formation flying when 19 planes reached a height of 30,000 feet. In Germany, the German Army Ordnance Office, after reviewing the work of the American Robert Goddard, decided to establish a rocket program and to equip the artillery proving ground at Kummersdorff for military missile development. In December, here in the United States, the sound-locator acoustic system for detection of aircraft in flight was developed. The Sperry Gyroscope Co. developed the "Gyro Horizon." In Britain, Frank Whittle, a Royal Air Force officer, obtained British patents for the turbojet engine. And George Hardin patented his "detachable-combination-aircraft."

It is Mr. Hardin's contention that, "Whenever two or more aircraft units are joined together in sustained flight, each unit serving as a member when in operation and each unit having continued flight capability upon the disconnection of the other, the principle involved is based upon the Hardin patents dealing with 'detachable-combination-aircraft.'"

On December 9, 1930, a bill (H.R. 14819) was introduced in the House of Representatives by my predecessor, the Honorable B. Carroll Reece, of Tennessee, asking that a sum be appropriated to be used by any agency designated by the War Department for investigation of Mr. Hardin's patented detachable-combination-aircraft.

Hearings were held not long after the introduction of Mr. Reece's bill by Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on Military Affairs at which Mr. Hardin testified on the theory and operating possibilities of his invention. Using a model for demonstration purposes, he explained his invention's flight characteristics. At these hearings a representative of the Army told the inventor and the subcommittee that the craft could never become airborne. For substantiation, he used a report on Mr. Hardin's work by the Air Corps. But between these hearings and two hearings on the same subject held by the full Military Affairs Committee in 1935 and 1936, the Army proved that such a takeoff was possible, using one of its nonrigid airships that had been equipped with landing gear.

There is always someone around to chant the well known lyrics of that famous song called "It Can't Be Done." The Army officer who told Mr. Hardin in 1931 that "It can't be done" thereby joined a distinguished company; some of our most eminent wiseacres have said the same thing at different times about different inventions or projects. The Library of Congress has collected their deathless remarks in a study called "Erroneous Predictions and Negative Comments Concerning Exploration, Territorial Expansion, and Scientific and Technological Development."

A transcript of the hearings held in 1931 cannot be located. There is nothing surprising in that; transcripts were often not made in those days. There is no doubt whatever that the hearings were held; there is newspaper commentary about them, correspondence relating to them, and CONGRESSIONAL RECORD references to them.

A story in the New York Times of February 7, 1931, with a February 6 dateline, reported that:

> The House Military (Affairs) Committee heard a description of (his invention) from * * * George W. Hardin, Superintendent of Education of Greene County, Tenn. His idea is to attach an airplane body with two motors to the bottom of a small dirigible. In case of motor trouble, he said the airplane could be detached and the dirigible, containing the passengers and pilot, could operate separately. A bill to provide $50,000 with which the Army would experiment with the device has been introduced by Representative Reece of Tennessee.

The Johnson City Press Chronicle reported, on February 10, 1931, the reaction of Senator Cordell Hull:

> If this gentleman, and he is a leading and well known citizen in East Tennessee, Mr. Hardin, is half-way right in his view that this machine would have a speed of 100 miles an hour, or anything around 100 miles an hour, it does seem to me this is entitled to a real testing out by the Government, if by nobody else. Of course, we all know, with their wonderful capacities and fine qualities, how utterly inert so many people are in our departments. They let the most wonderful things be taken by other countries; very often they slip right through their fingers. So this, having received a basic patent, and, to a layman, on its face being so clearly a most useful proposition, if it has speed, why it would be a wonderful thing to this country, or to any other country, to develop it.

At page 7 of the June 26, 1935, hearings of the House Committee on Military Affairs on a bill introduced by the late John Dingell when he was a Member of Congress from Michigan, we find this testimony of Mr. Hardin's:

> It was my privilege to appear before this committee once before this time, approximately 4 years ago. Of course, at that time I did not have any technical support. Since that time I have carried on my research and experimentation, and have made great improvements in the art, and today men highly skilled in the art of heavier-than-air and lighter-than-air craft are backing this project. My reason for mentioning this (is that) at the former hearing I was confronted with a certain technical authority of high rank from one of the departments, who made the positive statement and contended urgently that the craft as proposed here would not be able to take off from the ground, much less (a)light . . . It was my positive contention at that time that this argument was unfounded and would not hold. I gave my reasons at that time why it would be possible to get such a ship in the air having to rely greatly on dynamic lift. This was the main argument brought against the combination at that time, and because such a contention challenged the ship's ability to take the air, it presented an almost unsurmountable barrier, but I am happy to announce to you today that this contention has been eliminated by the actual construction and operation of an airship equipped with an airplane landing gear and leaving the ground heavier than air.

The transcript of the two hearings that we do have reflect much expert testimony which I shall not review here.

One prong of Mr. Hardin's invention was used by the Army and Navy Air Forces during World War II. This particular part of the Hardin aeronautical art, dealt with the fact of taking small airships off of the ground heavier than air or in other words using the airplane principle. This enabled the airships to greatly extend their range or to carry a much heavier payload. This was the very thing that the Army Air Corps engineers said could not be done. This one feature, alone, of the Hardin invention was of tremendous value to the U.S. Government during World War II.

During the 1935 hearings before the House Committee on Military Affairs, he said in part, "When it is placed in the air the critics will hail it as a great turning point in aeronautical history." Again, during the same hearing, he said, "You are developing a new art and going into a field, that will be of a great service in a military way."

My file on this matter is a foot thick. The documentation to be found there of Mr. Hardin's contention has convinced me of its validity. It would convince other Members of this body. Mr. Hardin should be compensated; it is my hope, as it is his, that members of the Judiciary Committee may be moved by reason and by compassion to report out my bill for Mr. Hardin's relief.

At this point in the RECORD, I would like for the readers of the RECORD to have the language of my measure:

> Whereas George W. Hardin of Greenville, Tennessee, invented a combination airship-aircraft for which patent number 1754211 was granted by the United States on April 8, 1930, and an improvement patent, number 1949304, was granted by the United States on February 27, 1934, and
>
> Whereas such invention demonstrated the feasibility of a method by which airships might become airborne although such airships were heavier than air, and
>
> Whereas such invention demonstrated the feasibility of multistage aircraft which could be separated in flight, and
>
> Whereas the United States Government used such invention and method to increase greatly the range of airships used by the Armed Forces by increasing the amount of fuel carrier on such airships, and
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> Whereas the United States space program depends upon the use of multistage rockets which require the separation in flight of the various stages, as covered under such patents, and
>
> Whereas the United States has never compensated George W. Hardin for the use of such devices or methods covered under such patents: Now, therefore,
>
> *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to George W. Hardin of Greenville, Tennessee, the sum of $100,000.00 in full settlement of all his claims against the United States for

the infringement by the United States prior to the date of the enactment of this Act of patents numbered 1754211 and 1949304.

INCREASED COMPENSATION FOR DISABLED VETERANS—H.R. 16027

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore (Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HALPERN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. **HALPERN**. Mr. Speaker, this House soon will be given the opportunity to do justice to thousands of veterans who bravely bear the permanent scars of their military service. H.R. 16027, which we will have before us tomorrow, would provide an across-the-board increase in the rates of compensation payable to veterans for service-connected disabilities.

As a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee and a sponsor of identical legislation, I wish to stress that this bill is long overdue. Our veterans, who are depending on these payments to offset the loss of their earning power due to disability, are still being compensated as if nothing has changed since December of 1965.

In fact, as we know, the cost of living has risen 8.3 percent according to Bureau of Labor Statistics. H.R. 16027 would adjust the compensation rates to keep pace with this increase in the cost of living, and, in addition, would provide a flat $100 per month increase for veterans with 100-percent disability.

The bill increases the nine disability rates, of 10-percent disability through 90-percent disability, by approximately that same percentage—8.3. For example, the monthly rate for 10-percent disability would rise from $21 to $23. The 90-percent disability rate would rise from $209 to $226.

Section 314, United States Code, title 38, provides additional amounts for specific service-connected anatomical losses and physical disorders in addition to the disability percentage rates. For instance, if a veteran has lost a hand or foot, or lost his sight, or has incurred a hearing or speech disorder, he receives $47 monthly for each such loss in addition to the disability rate which, as we see, presently ranges from $21 to $209. However, section 314 now limits the entire monthly compensation entitlement to $600. This bill would increase that limit to $700. By this measure, higher compensation would not be paid for the specific losses, but the veterans most severely disabled on the battlefield would receive compensation for losses which are presently noncompensable only because of the monetary limit.

In the same manner, H.R. 16027 increases the limit of compensation of veterans who are bedridden, in need of regular attendance, or independent upon prosthetic appliances.

We have recently adjusted the veterans pension and social security payments to the increased cost of living. Rising living costs affect most harshly persons of limited incomes. Certainly then, we owe the same obligation to those citizens who must suffer and endure limited earning capacity for the very reason of their physical, bodily disability suffered while serving their country.

I earnestly urge every one of my colleagues to give this measure his unqualified support.

MULTI-CAREER COMPETENCE

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. **STAGGERS**. Mr. Speaker, a conspicuous example of outstanding ability in a variety of situations and callings is found in the person of a distinguished former Member of this body. It is Mrs. Elizabeth Kee, mother of the Honorable JAMES KEE, Representative from the Fifth Congressional District of West Virginia. For 20 years she was a capable wife and mother, while her husband, the late John Kee, represented the Fifth District in Congress. At his death in 1952, she was selected to succeed him, and served in the 83d through the 88th Congress. Many of us know her with affection and esteem as a useful and informed public servant. In 1965 she retired—for a well-earned rest, we supposed. But now we find her engaged in an entirely new career. The paper which she prepared for a conference of her associates, and which I ask to have printed in the RECORD, gives assurance that she retains the verve and good judgment which characterized her activities in the House. We congratulate her on finding a new outlet for her exuberant energy, and we wish her full success and happiness in this new contribution to the well-being of her many friends and acquaintances. The paper follows:

WHY USE A REALTOR

(By Elizabeth Kee of Roane Realty, Inc.)

A Realtor is the instrumentality through which a property owner who wants to sell has the greatest amount of success.

The Realtor takes as his guide the Golden Rule—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them". He accepts this standard as his rule of life and pledges himself to observe its spirit to the fullest extent in all of his activities. A Realtor can never depart from this ideal or from the injunctions of the Code of Ethics of the County, State and National Boards of Realtors of which he is a member. He is thoroughly professional in his field.

When a seller employs a Realtor to sell his property, he receives good, sound, professional advice with individualized attention. Therefore, the seller-broker relationship is a very important thing. It is one that gives the best possible service to the property owner.

The term "Realtor" means competence, fair dealing and high integrity. When a property owner who wishes to sell engages the services of a Realtor who is in the Multiple Listing Service he not only has the dedicated service of his Realtor but the cooperation of all other brokers in the service, together with their affiliates, and this gives wide publicity to the property which is for sale.

The Realtor saves time, effort and headaches for the seller. He screens the prospects and saves the owner from the curious who have no intention of buying but are just looking around for the fun of it, and taking up time unnecessarily.

A Realtor is qualified to guide the seller at every step of the way in securing a qualified buyer, and advising with reference to the many questions that arise before a sale is completed. He helps avoid the many pitfalls that may arise in closing a transaction.

A Realtor has a superior degree of professional skill, and his ethical conduct in the real estate business is one of the best services to be obtained for the protection of the seller. He is in constant touch with the market, knows the trends in buying, knows the most recent price levels. He has a carefully screened list of prospective buyers who are seriously in the market for a home. He knows the financial status of the buyer he brings, as well as the buyer's needs and desires. He will present only those who are able and wililng to buy, and at a time when it is convenient for the owner to have the property shown.

A Realtor will direct the seller to the best transaction. He has the knowledge and contacts to help the buyer find the money needed to buy, and he knows how to give practical advice on obtaining the best mortgage on the most favorable conditions.

A "For Sale By Owner" sign leaves the door wide open to all types of people. An owner must be prepared to receive all comers and cope with a multitude of unforeseen problems. The Realtor has the experience to unmask the insincere offer and turn it away before it does any harm, or puts the owner to a lot of trouble. He will qualify his prospects in advance and allow only those who are definitely well qualified prospective buyers to inspect property which is for sale.

A Realtor's familiarity with the market is the most reliable route to the best possible price obtainable, on terms acceptable to the owner. His technical skill, business experience, list of prospects, contacts with financing institutions, and his professional reputation are all at the disposal of the owner to help him realize the most satisfying sale of his most important asset—his property.

The professional way is the best way to market property. Just as one goes to a doctor or a lawyer for medical or legal aid, so will one want to go to a Realtor for professional assistance in selling property. The Realtor way is the wise way.

CAN WE DISPENSE WITH RESEARCH?

Mr. **DADDARIO**. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. **DADDARIO**. Mr. Speaker, today's events have shown—in the most tragic fashion—how desperately our society needs new knowledge and understanding which can only be supplied through research into both the national and social sciences.

We must learn what makes us behave as we do. We must uncover the biological and environmental sources of criminal behavior, of mental disorders, of mass disruptions, of dangerous aimless living, and of spiritual decline.

Until we put far greater effort in this area than we have lately shown a willingness to do, we are, I believe, courting disaster.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point in the RECORD an address I had planned to deliver to the House today—and which I believe to be very much in point:

Mr. Speaker, the great French philosopher, Andre Gide, once opened a lecture with these words:

"All this has been said before—but, since nobody listened, it must be said again."

I have a somewhat eerie feeling that I am standing in Gide's shoes. This is distressing since the lesson which apparently must be re-taught is so crucial to all of us—certainly to our well-being, possibly to our survival.

The lesson is not complicated, but it is very fundamental. It can be stated briefly as a kind of syllogism.

1. America is faced today with tortuous new physical, social, economic and security problems. (Which is hardly news.)

2. These problems and conditions will be neither removed nor resolved without new tools, new methods, new approaches.

3. Since we do not have the necessary tools, methods or approaches, we must develop them—and there is only one way to do that: Research!

Research and people who have been adequately trained to do it.

I do not believe this premise can be challenged on any logical basis. What is more, I had assumed, perhaps naively, that the principle was widely accepted throughout the government of the United States. So it is not without a degree of personal anguish that I have seen the 1969 budget of the National Science Foundation cut by 20 percent. Even more important than the intrinsic effects of such reductions is the fact that they will neither help our fiscal situation to any significant degree nor aid in the solution of the critical problems which crowd our national calendar.

For the Foundation is the only instrument in the entire Federal structure whose sole mission is to supply the substance without which all our endeavors must fail—knowledge.

Does this kind of thing make sense?

Doesn't this conjure up Poor Richard's homily with reference to being "penny-wise and pound-foolish?"

Does anyone really think that we are going to win our battles with congested cities, crime, unemployment, decaying environments, and so on without improved science and technology, natural and social, judiciously applied?

It has never been more obvious that the dilemmas we have labeled as "Vietnam," "the ghettos," "pollution," "poverty," "diminishing resources," etc., are not going to go away just by pouring out money and good will. We must have both, of course, but all the money and brotherhood in the world isn't going to cure anything if we don't know what to do with it.

The burdens of the cities will not go away even if we flatten them and rebuild from scratch. The tensions of unemployment are not going to disappear if we tried to guarantee every living soul a nonpoverty income. The dangers of a deteriorating environment will not be erased merely by passing laws to curb smoke or regulate the dumping of garbage.

We must know more—much more than we now do—in order to cope with these things on any kind of a basis that is other than makeshift and temporary. More physical knowledge. More social knowledge. More economic creativity. And the political determination to use them well.

We must learn how to break up the concentrations of people. We must help foster a sense of purpose. We must educate better. We must find new sources of energy, new modes of trade and transportation. We must understand the ecology of our planet and learn to live within its limitations.

At present, these goals exceed our capabilities. And time is growing short.

This last point is a key one.

The most competent testimony which our Science Committee has been able to elicit from the forecasters indicates that we have not less than 30 nor more than 70 years to reverse the destructive trends which a sprawling acquisitive humanity has created for itself. After that it will be too late. Too late to stem the human tide. Too late to control the eradication of resources. Too late to halt the pollution of Earth. Too late for anything except to witness the gradual sinking of our standard of living and the erosion of personal liberty.

Think about that for a minute. The year 2000 is not very far away—nor is 2040. Can we afford to leave everything to the next generation? In my judgment, no. Now is the crucial moment.

I understand, along with my colleagues, the necessity for economy in times such as these—the dangers of inflation—and the fact that it is impossible to economize without drawing agonized protests from those who find their funds reduced or cut off. That cannot be avoided.

And I am not here to make a special plea for the National Science Foundation budget. I simply use it as a case in point. The Foundation can and should take its fiscal lumps along with everybody else.

What I deplore is the irrational and sometimes emotional budgetary attack upon certain endeavors of government simply because they are not aimed at producing a specified, tangible product. It is clear that basic scientific research has been placed, at least temporarily, in this category. The Foundation's budget, for example, was cut twice as deeply as the budget of any other independent agency—and we still hear the brand of argument which, inaccurately and inelegantly, maintains that one thing the country can always do without is "giving away the taxpayer's dough to the eggheads."

Such thinking, it seems to me, is not even Neanderthal; it is pure Piltdown. Fortunately, it is on the wane, and we can reasonably hope that it will soon disappear entirely.

Meanwhile, I am convinced that our tendency in times of economic stress to jump on research as the vulnerable part of the Federal budget results mainly from thoughtlessness—not from any real antipathy or disenchantment with basic science itself.

While this is an important point, it does not mitigate the damage we are doing to ourselves by slashing research funds. This is particularly serious in view of the administrative cutbacks in basic research funds being made by the so-called mission-oriented agencies.

Congress intended, when it set up the National Science Foundation, to create an agency which would assure the smooth flow of support for basic research—which could act as a balance wheel and take up the slack when other departments or agencies, for whatever reason, reduced their support in the area. Yet today, at a time when retrenchment is taking place throughout government, when even such clearly proven, valuable research entities as the Office of Naval Research are struggling to keep their heads above water—we now display our wisdom by cutting NSF's budget to a point nearly 20 percent below what it was four years ago.

Suppose we take a closer look at what is going on.

When the Budget of the United States for fiscal 1969 was sent to the Congress, it carried a table described as "budget reductions"—or "cuts below the 1968 program level"—which totalled $1.63 billion.

On checking the table carefully, however, one discovers that $563 million—35 percent—came from research and development or research facilities.

I suggest that this is a very disturbing proportion.

Now look at the obligations for support of academic science by individual agencies. Almost all of these are dropping, probably more than available figures indicate. Our latest information shows only the differences between fiscal '66 and '67, but already the major science-minded agencies show the decline. The Defense Department is down 6 percent; NIH is down 3 percent; NASA is down 8.5 percent; etc. Keep in mind that this includes academic research in general, not all of which is basic. The latter is normally cut at a greater rate than applied research.

Moreover, while we don't yet know the extent, we do know that support for academic science in 1968 is taking an even sharper drop from the 1967 rate.

Another point.

For the past several years, members of this body, and the Senate as well, have been very concerned about the geographical distribution of Federal R&D funds. Many have felt that too great a concentration was evolving, that there were too few "centers of excellence" throughout the country except in the coastal regions, that the rich institutions were getting richer while the poor got poorer.

No Federal agency has done a better job of trying to ameliorate this condition than the National Science Foundation. Its institutional science programs have been designedly stepped up in order to help ease the problem. In 1965 these programs accounted for 9.2 percent of NSF's total obligations. In 1966 they went to 11.1 percent. In 1967 to 11.5 percent. In 1968 to 13.3 percent. Yet, because of squeezes now put on the Foundation, the 1969 figure is $16 million below 1968—down about 19 percent from that year. And this does not take into account the drastic reductions made by the House when it acted on the Foundation's 1969 appropriations.

I am sure there is no need to spell out further the effects of such reductions.

Then, too, there is the matter of support for research in the social and behavioral sciences. Just the other day we read reports that the $34 million which the Defense Department has earmarked in this area for 1969 is in grave jeopardy. It may be eliminated. But this not a novelty. Most agencies which have interests in the behavioral sciences are being forced to curb them—in spite of the fact that many of the most serious problems facing the nation are social and behavioral ones about which we have very little fundamental knowledge.

The National Science Foundation could help with this difficulty if we would let it. But its total budget in the social sciences for 1969 is only $18 million, and if the House appropriations cut stands we can be sure the eventual figure will be lowered by a considerable margin.

All this—to say nothing of what possible havoc in R&D may result from the $4-to-$6 billion-reduced ceiling on overall 1969 obligational authority which Congress is presently contemplating.

If we persist in this course we will be flying in the face not only of all our most expert advice, but of our own demonstrated experience as well.

Have we forgotten so soon the lessons of the Manhattan Project which resulted in the Atomic Energy Act of 1946?

Let me recount briefly.

It is common knowledge that had the United States not developed the atomic bomb, the history of World War II most certainly would have contained a number of additional and probably very painful chapters. The pros and cons of nuclear weapons are not in point here, since they would have been developed by someone, some time, in any case. What is in point is the immense value and power which has accrued to the United States through its timely development of atomic energy.

But how were we able to do it?

Not from our own bag of tricks—because we did not have any! No one in this country had done enough wondering, enough dreaming, enough theorizing, enough experimenting to know where to begin.

We did it by borrowing the fundamental knowledge from abroad. We could do it because a Bavarian named Albert Einstein had developed some equations describing the nature of matter and energy—because a Dane named Niels Bohr devised some experiments to prove out the equations—because a German named Lise Meitner correctly interpreted the results of the experiments—and because an Italian named Enrico Fermi was then able to devise formulas leading to atomic chain-reactions.

They helped us—but mostly because they didn't like Hitler; and it should never be forgotten that their original work was not motivated by a desire for A-bombs or nuclear power. They were simply doing basic research. They wanted to find out how things work, what makes our universe tick. They were curious.

And this must nearly always be the sequence: first the theory, then the proof, then the development, finally the application. We seldom reach the latter until the former is in hand. It is true that occasionally we stumble on some very useful technological application without knowing exactly how it works. But we are never able to carry the concept very far or realize its full potential until a fundamental understanding of the process has been acquired.

That is what basic research is all about. And that is what, in our frenzy to find apparent solutions to what seem to be immediate urgent problems, we are about to let go down the drain.

This brings me to what I think is the crux of our modern dilemma—the ability to select rational priorities.

In this day of instant and almost universal communication, of unequaled crowding, of enormous economic pressures, of minimal requirements for physical labor and hence maximum free time, of unbridled materialism and of constant, organized "protesting"—whether right or wrong—it is easy to become stampeded and to attempt to cure the symptoms before the cause is understood.

In many ways, it seems to me, this is happening or is about to happen.

One can say that our cities are a disgraceful mess and must be cleaned up, that jobs must be supplied for our "hard core" unemployed, that more and more available housing must be provided the poor and minority groups, that our balance of payments flow must be reversed, that a financial crisis threatens and must be avoided by various fiscal manipulations, that our "students" are going overboard in their protests and must be better handled, that our industrial economy is deaf to the plight of the environment, that Vietnam no longer makes sense and must somehow be terminated.

With most of these citations, I agree; and I believe it is the responsibility of modern government to help assuage them.

But I am also convinced of two things.

First, we do not now have enough answers or the proper methods for attacking such problems on an all-out basis. Obviously, we should make a beginning, and rapidly—but as I have pointed out, much research remains to be done. If we must rely only on the knowledge which is available up to now, our efforts are likely to be crowned with disillusion and bankruptcy.

Second, we should begin to realize that great as these problems are they may not be the most crucial ones. If our arable land continues to disappear under man-made structures, if our atmosphere begins to lose its stability, if our widespread toxics invade the oceans as they have the lakes and streams, if the great rain-forests go on falling before the voracious mechanized axes of industry—then those things we now describe as urgent are not apt to make much difference. A job isn't worth much if there is no food to buy. A house is not worth much if there is no air to breathe. Favorable world bank balances are not worth much if there is nothing left to trade. And nobody, north or south, is going to want to stay in Vietnam if, like the once magnificent Tigris valley, it is transformed from a garden to a desert.

This is what I mean by the need for a system of determining rational priorities.

U.S. military expenditures in Vietnam are running in excess of $70 million a day. Yet the American program designed to help meet what is clearly one of the most pressing needs of our age—international ecological understanding—is being funded at the rate of a few hundred thousand dollars a year, and then only by passing the hat among a dozen Federal agencies for whatever they can spare. Now NSF, the only Federal agency capable of maintaining an effective national level of basic research—without which we shall not have what Churchill called "the tools to do the job"—finds itself getting a double-dunking at the hands of the budgeteers.

It is hardly reasonable to expect that Federal support for research and development could continue indefinitely to accelerate as it did in the 15 years from 1950 to 1965.

These were indeed golden years for science and technology. Not only did Federal support increase from a few hundred million dollars a year to $16 billion—but private industry, the foundations, the universities and other non-profits made similar efforts. The results were more than rewarding and profitable. They were exciting; they lifted the spirit; they opened vistas for the future that no one had imagined.

And they made the United States the undisputed new leader in the world not only in technology and engineering, but in all science, basic and applied. In that short period the blue ribbon of knowledge shifted from the Old World to the New. Our concern is that it should not once again shift back.

It is quite impossible even to estimate what this has meant for our country. I could cite endless examples of practical values that have come to us from this burst of scientific effort—in terms of dollars, consumer goods, jobs, education and the like. They are truly enormous. But I think perhaps the greatest unsung benefits has been the intangible one of our image in the eyes of the rest of the world. To the doubters who have not spent time abroad, I would say: go and listen; for you cannot detect the admiration, the envy and the emulation from here.

No one denies that the United States' world image is tarnished in spots. But the overall reflection is a bright one, and much of the luster has come from our scientific endeavors, our academic strength, and the resulting economic attainment.

Nonetheless, we have long known that we could not keep the rate of increase of our support for science at the level of the late 50's and early 60's—even without the costs of a war added to the national budget.

The danger now is not that the rate of increase has dropped but that the present economy psychosis with which many of us seem afflicted will drop the support for basic research below the normal cost-of-living increases necessary merely to keep research standards at their current level. If this happens, we will be in serious trouble—internally and relatively to the rest of the world. Believe me, Western Europe, Russia, Japan and China are not standing still.

In summary, let me reiterate my belief that the troubles which basic science sees for itself are largely temporary and economically induced.

At the same time it seems to me essential that we policy-makers not forget the lessons of the past on the importance of being in the van of fundamental science. Time is too compressed these days for us to fall into the trap expressed by the bit of doggerel:

God and the Doctor we alike adore
On the brink of dissaster, but not before.

When the chips are down we are not going to pull any applied rabbits from the scientific hat without knowing the basic tricks. And we would all be terribly distressed, I am quite sure, if we thought that some future historian should write of our generation—

Sic transit scientia—and America with it.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW—SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN W. R. POAGE BEFORE CORN REFINERS' ASSOCIATION, INC.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include a speech by Congressman W. R. POAGE, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD a copy of a speech by the Honorable W. R. POAGE, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, entitled "Enforcement of the Law," which was delivered last night and which, in view of the incidents of the past 2 days, is most apropos:

ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW

Mr. Chairman, most of the members of the Corn Refiners' Association are law-abiding citizens—but not all of our citizens are law-abiding. Indeed, in recent years the tendency to ignore the law has grown at a terrifying rate. There has been an increase of more than 80% in the number of crimes of violence reported during the past ten years, and I am sure that if the crimes which have been ignored on certain college campuses had been included that the figures would be even more impressive.

I realize that "Crime" and "Law Enforcement" are not subjects with which Corn Refiners are especially concerned, but on one thing at least all of you will agree, as do the overwhelming majority of Americans, and that is that if our country is to remain free and great, we must enforce the law—all the law. I have, therefore, felt that I should talk today on the subject of Enforcement of the Law.

There are some groups in our country who seem committed to breaking down the law or in distorting all reason in the enforcement of the law so as to make a mockery of all efforts to punish the guilty. In my judgment, these self-righteous judges and professors are but moving our country very rapidly toward mob law. Mob law is no substitute for Court House justice, but justice denied or long delayed under the guise of paying tribute to some new found principle of "freedom of expression," or even in the name of "the right to petition" may very well invite a return of mob law and all its attendant injustice. I would hate very much to see us return to the "Lynch Law" of the Western frontier or the "River Bottom Courts" of the Old South. Possibly in our present urban society it would be "Back Alley Jurisprudence" but regardless of the name, and regardless of the reason any long continued failure of the courts to convict even a reasonable percent of the perpetrators of crimes is always followed by some type of extra legal justice.

That there has, indeed, been a serious breakdown in law enforcement needs no argument or statistics. Right here in this great city it is often unsafe for grown men to be on the streets at night, and women are stabbed at noon while praying in a church, or visitors are attacked and robbed in broad daylight on the very steps of the Nation's Capitol. Certainly, the situation is not yet so bad in some of our smaller cities and towns but there is too much—far too much—disregard for law in every section of the country, and most of it lacks even the economic justification which the old time thief always offered. The horse thief or the cattle rustler of the frontier days could at least plead that he needed transportation or that he was trying to "get a start" in the cow business. The modern "thrill killer" or purse snatcher can generally offer no better excuse than that he wanted a "kick" either direct or through the purchase of "pot" or other drugs, and many of those who burned and looted in Washington last month were holding and are still holding good government jobs. Apparently they took "sick leave" to do a little robbing while the police were under orders not to interfere.

This breakdown of law and order is not a phenomenon confined to any one segment of our country. It is not confined to Detroit or to Mississippi. It is not confined to our colored or to our white citizens. It is not, as so many like to suggest, a problem just of the ignorant or of the slum dweller, or of the self-described "poor people" who marched into Washington by car, bus, and airplane.

Nor is it only a problem of the "hippies" or the intellectuals or of the college graduates—although there is clearly too large a percentage of college educated people who participate in these violations of the law and, for one, I think there is far less excuse for what has been happening on the campuses of the University of California, of Howard University, and of Columbia University than there is for the senseless and totally inexcusable violence which has erupted in the slums of Los Angeles. Surely the university student, who is enjoying both a good education and in most cases all of the physical comforts of life, has a greater obligation to set a good example than has the uneducated occupant of some disease infested slum area.

But, whenever we find citizens assuming for themselves the right to decide what laws they will obey and violating those which they decide are "bad," we have anarchy, and anarchy is *always*—"always" I said—followed by dictatorship. Anarchy can only exist long enough for the strong to assume control. It will always happen—the weak—the needy—the oppressed—will quickly lose all influence and all hope. The irony of this thing is that those who have the most to lose—those who most need the protection of the law—are in the forefront of the destruction of all law—for let it be very clear that there is no such thing as law enforcement where only those laws which the individuals look upon as "good" are obeyed. Law enforcement is indivisible—you either enforce all laws or soon you will be enforcing no laws.

Everyone, exept the uneducated and the overeducated—and apparently the Supreme Court of the United States—knows these fundamentals of human behavior. All ordinary people know that it is possible to obtain freedom only "under law"—and through the impartial enforcement of all law. I am happy to pay public tribute to the great group of peace officers over our country. The great mass of them are doing a fine and conscientious job made unduly difficult by some of those who should be most helpful. I, therefore, want to give deserved recognition to our peace officers. I know of no faster way of wiping out the last vestige of law enforcement than to continue the present practice of prosecuting those peace officers who are forced to use a maximum of force to stop a dangerous criminal.

The American founding fathers knew quite well that even a government selected by a majority of the people could destroy the rights of the individual just as truly as the government of King George III. They, therefore, sought to limit the fields of governmental activity, but surely they intended to offer no comfort to those who took the law in their own hands—and that, my friends, is the burden of my indictment of our modern scofflaws. No man has the right to ignore even what he considers to be a wicked or unjust law. His recourse is to seek to change the law in the regular or Constitutional manner, and this seems to me to be one of the glaring weaknesses of the present Supreme Court's insistence that that body has the right to promulgate rules of behavior which its members consider to be in keeping with the conditions and the needs of the times. In effect, the Court has claimed for itself the right to decide what laws are "good," and what changes should be made from time to time.

As I understand our form of government, neither the Supreme Court nor the Executive has any such right. Only the Legislative Branch has the right to determine what rules will be given the force of law. The Constitution has not been changed. If a procedure was constitutional 75 years ago, it is still constitutional. Of course, there will be individual cases where the Court may properly find that its members erred in years past, but it cannot be that the members of the Court could have been correct in the past and that a different interpretation is now justified.

Certainly our Constitution needs change from time to time, but as the founding fathers suggested, those changes should be made in the manner agreed upon at the time of the adoption. On the other hand, strongly as I believe that the Court has been usurping legislative powers, I do not feel that the remedy lies in asking the Legislative Branch to usurp Judicial powers. Too often we hear the cry "Impeach Earl Warren." I think those who advocate this course do not realize that the power of impeachment was intended to correct immoral acts rather than to punish political philosophies with which the Legislative Branch does not agree. I would not, therefore, be a party to impeaching Mr. Warren or anyone else without evidence of moral turpitude, and I certainly bring no such charge against any member of our Judiciary.

I do, however, think it is unfortunately true that a great many people are deterred from crime only by the certainty, and possibly to some degree by the severity, or prompt punishment. I would not strike down any of the devices of the law which have been built up over the years to make sure no innocent man may be punished, but I do object to those decisions and requirements of our present Supreme Court which add nothing to the protection of the innocent but simply make it difficult or impossible to arrest and to convict the guilty. I submit that until all our efforts are directed at a determination of the facts that we can have neither justice for the accused nor security for the masses of our people. I am afraid that in our proper zeal to protect the rights of the accused, we may have overlooked the basis and the purpose of all criminal law—and that is to protect the public and society from lawless acts. In other words, the State does not seek vengeance (vengeance is mine saith the Lord) but rather it seeks to make it clear that crime does not pay—and thus prevent further crime, either at the hands of the accused or of some other person.

May I, at this point, digress just long enough to mention three specific aspects of the present crime wave.

The first peculiar aspect is the reluctance and even refusal of so many of our citizens to help cooperate with law enforcement officials. Of course, in our early days most of our law enforcement was dependent on citizen cooperation. That is still true in many sections which have not enjoyed a full understanding of the "New Thought." In some of the less sophisticated areas we still rely on the sheriff's posse. Certainly, if an officer on the streets of Sonora, Texas or of Moab, Utah were to call for help, I am confident that he would get it from at least most of those within sound of his voice, but if an officer were to call for help in Washington, D.C., or Cleveland, Ohio he better hope that some fellow officer is within hearing distance.

There are too many instances of crowds of *cowardly* civilians allowing crimes to be committed in their presence without any effort whatever to stop the criminals. In many instances the onlookers would not even call the police. Here in Washington it seems to be standard procedure for the riders on a late bus to sleep through a hold-up or even murder of the bus driver.

The second aspect of the present wave of lawlessness possibly grows out of the attitude I have just mentioned. It is the prominence of violence—so called "crime on our streets"—the unlawful use of force. Bands of human jackals are running loose in most of our large cities. They are generally the type who can only understand the use of force—the certainty of harsh punishment. I think that our easy parole practices have given them much encouragement, and certainly they have been greatly encouraged by the constantly increasing limitations our courts are imposing on the peace officers who would arrest and punish them. Surely these limitations reached a climax here in Washington when the police were required to stand by and passively watch looters carry off millions of dollars worth of stolen goods. As I see it, it is far better to have no law enforcement officials around when crimes are being committed than to deny them the right to use all the force necessary to stop open looting.

The third group which lends color, although not respectability, to our present era is composed of the so-called "Peaceniks." I have a feeling that most of these are just cowards who are still afraid to join the wolf gangs who attack old ladies on the streets. They are the group who are more likely to get their excitement by the use of dope—they are the type who like to cover their lack of patriotism with some kind of cloak of organized respectability. They delight in camouflaging their disobedience of the law with such words as "non-violent," "the right of dissent," and the like. They are the maggots who make their home with, and get their living from, the dregs of society, and yet all too many of our educational institutions and of our self-professed educators give a degree of sympathy and a reflection of the respectability to these unshaven vermin. These groups are dangerous because they so often open the door for more vigorous enemies of our government.

One of the most fundamental attributes of any government is the right and power to protect itself from those who would destroy it either from within or from without. As a Member of Congress I have repeatedly taken the oath to defend the United States from "all enemies, foreign or domestic," and yet our high court strikes down the Acts of Congress and of our States which require certain government employees to swear that they are not members of the party committed to destruction of our form of government. Why should any citizen, particularly any teacher of our youth, object to affirming his support for our country by his open repudiation of the Communist philosophy?

The President has asked, and both Houses have approved, the appropriation of $100,000,000 of Federal money to "train" local law enforcement officials. I commend the President's interest. I voted for his request for all the funds he feels will be helpful, but in all frankness I think it is clear that it will not be possible to restore respect for law and order solely by expenditure of funds—no matter how generous. The very limited restraints imposed by the Senate on the Supreme Court will do much more good. I am for the training but I think it is clear that what most local officials need is some encouragement in using ingenuity in detecting and punishing crime. They need the support of the courts and of our Department of Justice. Given this support, I believe that we can enjoy an era in which all our citizens will live under the full and equal protection of our laws. Without it no amount of money will buy this "domestic tranquility."

But above and beyond the courts, the basic responsibility for law enforcement still rests with the homes of America. It cannot be shifted to the schools, the church, or the government. Certainly these instruments of society play a large part in the attitude of each generation and certainly if our government makes it its basic purpose to protect the criminal rather than the law abiding element, then it is going to be extremely hard for our parents to impress upon their children the vital necessity of obeying all laws as the prerequisite of their own protection. Again, let me repeat, it is not the strong who need the law, it is the weak. And very few of those who are today challenging enforcement of laws they dislike could in the absence of law enjoy anything like the degree of freedom which is theirs today.

Let me, therefore, leave you with this thought. No one ever makes his rights secure by ignoring the rights of his neighbor, and no one ever increases his own wealth by destroying the property of his neighbor or his community, and finally, no group can merely by calling it a "peaceful demonstration" change a riot into a picnic party. Nor can one, even the Supreme Court of the United States, justify looting and shooting by calling it an "expression of free speech." If you and I are to be free and secure in our freedom, we must be able to know the law, to read it in plain language and we must obey it as written—all of the laws, whether we like them or not, and we must require all others to obey—no matter how much force that requires.

MSGR. THOMAS J. DRISCOLL

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, in the formative years of a young boy's life, when his mind, his attitudes and his values are being molded, there are three persons who play critical and enduring roles—his father, his teacher, and his clergyman.

In the case of most young Catholic boys, the clergyman is his parish priest. The priest's bearing, his intellect and humanity are sensed, and hopefully, emulated, by the young.

There is a priest in St. Patrick's parish in Syracuse, N.Y., who, over the past 53 years, has had an influence on the young far beyond the normal. His name is Thomas J. Driscoll and today on the eve of his retirement, he is a monsignor with 30 years of completely unselfish work behind him in St. Patrick's parish.

No accolade can speak more eloquently of this man than the fact that today in the city of Syracuse a preponderance of the community leaders are former parishioners. Monsignor Driscoll was able to take the young men of the families in his predominantly Irish parish and instill in them a sense of potential achievement, which has today resulted in 26 sons of the parish serving in the priesthood. The number of community leaders who are current or former parishioners is far out of proportion to the size of the parish.

For his dedication, his beneficial and spiritual influence we hail the dignity and devotion of this beloved priest.

But, Mr. Speaker, Monsignor Driscoll has been more than a parish priest. He himself has been a community leader. In a very real sense the goals and the rules of conduct which he laid before his flock over the years were the same goals and rules he applied to his own life. It is realistic to say that he is both a teacher and a model. Few men have the capacity to teach the noble virtues; fewer still are able to live them. Monsignor Driscoll, my pastor, my spiritual mentor, and my friend, exemplifies the ability to do both.

This Sunday evening hundreds of his present and former parishioners will gather together to pay homage to this man who has played such a vital role in all our lives.

I pray that God will keep him in our midst for many years to come so that those of us who have leaned upon him for strength may still have the benefit of his wisdom and counsel.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON PRAISES WILBUR COHEN

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, Wilbur Cohen was sworn in as the new Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Mr. Cohen's character and ability are well known in Washington, for he has been in the thick of battle on behalf of social legislation for 35 years.

As chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, I have had many opportunities to observe Mr. Cohen in action, and I have been impressed with both his efficiency and his humanity. At the ceremony in the White House, President Johnson referred to his new Cabinet officer in these words:

> He knows the need to raise the national spirit. He knows the need to win new victories in new ways against disease and ignorance and poverty. He knows how urgent it is to erase the old indignities and to do it now, to end the old inequalities and to do it now, and to replace neglect with opportunity and to do it now.

I concur with the President's judgment, and with permission I insert the full text of the President's remarks in the Record:

Remarks of the President at the Swearing in Ceremony of Wilbur Cohen, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, May 16, 1968

The President. Secretary Cohen and family, Mr. Vice President, Members of the Cabinet, ladies and gentlemen, distinguished members of Congress:

One thing I have always noticed about Wilbur Cohen is that he never does anything without a reason. Usually I can figure out what he is up to. But for the life of me, I just couldn't understand why he chose the man he did to administer the oath of office this morning.

In any discussion of our social history, two landmark laws deserve very special mention, Social Security and Medical Care. Each was passed after very long and searching debate in the Congress. Each looked at one time or another like it was a very lost cause.

Each is a monument to the compassion and the enlightenment of the American nation and each bears the indelible mark of one man—Wilbur Cohen.

If there is any man in America whose record and whose devotion to public service qualifies him for high office, it is Wilbur Cohen. I am glad that I had a chance to participate in that decision that brought him to the highest office in his field.

He has been a planner, he has been an architect, he has been a builder, and he has been a repairman on every major piece of social legislation in the last 35 years.

He hasn't minded being a private in the rear ranks and now he is a general in the front ranks. But he will be doing the same things.

During the early years of the long battle for health insurance Wilbur wasn't always the best loved leader in the land, at least in the medical society meetings.

After one earnest speech before a medical society, I am told a doctor came up and offered to provide Wilbur personally with free medical care. In fact he volunteered to make a no-cost incision—from here all the way over to here. He said he could economize by not using anesthesia.

But Wilbur kept on working and as we meet here today, more than 19½ million Americans are getting the benefits of Medicare and the benefits of his long hours, his patience and his understanding and his devotion to his country.

Today the reformers would do well, I think, if they would just take Wilbur Cohen's life and study it. In a time when we are hearing so much about power, black power, white power, green power and student power, perhaps someone should do an analysis of another kind of power—"Wilbur Power".

You might define is as "Wilbur Power" with something added. Certainly it is the power of optimism over pessimism. Certainly it is the power of involvement over indifference. It is the power of reason over rhetoric. It is the power of the patient, persistent reformer over the noisy zealot. I have found that it is power that gets the job done.

Wilbur Cohen knows that you cannot move a nation from an ivory tower. But he has also learned that you can't move a nation with a bulldozer.

It took more than 20 years to achieve Medicare and this man's determination and his skill in the agonizing art of turning dreams into law worked the miracle when lesser men could only stamp their feet in frustration.

A friend once said that Wilbur feels every person in the country who is at home alone, who is sick, is his personal responsibility.

But we did not come here for this ceremony simply to praise Wilbur's past record, great as that is. Wilbur Cohen is taking the oath of office today because I believe that he knows the needs of our country.

He knows the need to raise the national spirit. He knows the need to win new victories in new ways against disease and ignorance and poverty. He knows how urgent it is to erase the old indignities and to do it now, to end the old inequalities and to do it now, and to replace neglect with opportunity and to do it now.

Our future is filled with unfinished business, but it is rich with hope and with a great deal of opportunity, too.

So, Wilbur, we welcome you, knowing that any man who marries a redhead from Texas is a man who really loves challenges.

(The oath was administered to Secretary Cohen.)

Mr. Speaker, we do not have to be told these days that we live in critical times. The street scenes of Saigon and Washington, D.C., brought right into our living rooms on our television sets, are vivid reminders. We are in the midst of a period that demands hard decisions: in the Congress, in the White House, at the polls, at the negotiating table in Paris, in every community—in short, in the mind of each and every American.

To make correct decisions, we who are in politics like to say: "Let's look at the record." That is what I want to do today. I want you to join me in looking at a part of the record that very often is overlooked in the heat of crisis. It is the record of performance by what President Johnson has called "the Department of the people."

The "Department of the people" is how the President describes the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I want to report to you today about HEW and about the people it serves.

These are the Nation's people: the young and the old, the sick and the healthy who could and should be healthier, the poor, the uneducated and undereducated, the handicapped—people who aspire to, and deserve, a better life. HEW's mission is to give these people that opportunity. It is a mission so broad that it has been described as nothing less than to improve the quality of all American life.

This is no exaggeration. Health, Education, and Welfare's new Secretary, Wilbur J. Cohen, who has been associated with the Department for more than 30 years, looked back over that association recently and said in a letter to the more than 100,000 employees of Health, Education, and Welfare:

> I've seen (HEW) grow from a small agency with a limited technical mission into one that is at the very heart of the great social programs of our day, that is involved in some of the most important and most controversial issues facing the American people, that touches the lives of every individual in the United States.

We estimate, for instance, that there are today more than 26 million people in the Nation who are, by the standards we have set, poverty-stricken. HEW has the fundamental responsibility for helping these people. Federal programs that provide assistance to the poor, including social security benefits that keep about 10 million people above the level of poverty, will amount to nearly $25 billion this year—and HEW administers two-thirds of that total.

But HEW's mission is not limited to the poor. Both Mr. Cohen and his predecessor, John W. Gardner, have emphasized that HEW's job is to strive toward the elimination of all conditions that stunt human growth or impair human dignity. It is a large mandate, but one that is undeniably relevant for these times.

To enable HEW to carry out its mission, the Congress has enacted over the past few years a body of law that had been described as "the most significant burst of social legislation in 35 years. The only comparable period in this century was the initial shock wave of legislation provided by the Congress to pull the Nation out of the great depression.

The effect of our recent legislation upon HEW was made strikingly clear last year. In November, the White House staff prepared a report for the President listing 40 pieces of "landmark legislation" enacted by the Congress in the last 4 years. Of the 40 that were singled out for their "overriding importance in meeting the most urgent priorities of the 1960's," 17—or nearly half—could be described as legislative "assignments" handed to HEW by the Congress.

The result is that HEW has the responsibility for more expenditures than any other Department in the Federal Government save one—the Department of Defense.

The total American investment in health, education, and welfare last year—public and private, organizational and individual—was an estimated $146 billion—about 19 percent of our gross national product. Of that total, two-thirds, or about $100 billion, were public expenditures—Federal, State, and local. Of the $100 billion, $54 billion—well over half—were Federal dollars. And of the Federal share, HEW was responsible for about $2 of every $3—more than $37 million.

HEW's current budget is an estimated $42 billion—nearly double what it was just 4 years ago. The greatest share of that is in monthly social security checks and expenditures from HEW's social security trust funds. But nearly $14 billion of that total go to finance the many other programs that the administration has asked for and Congress has established.

HEW, however, spends only a small share of its budget directly. More than 90 cents of every HEW program dollar goes to others for direct spending—a State or local agency, a university or college, a nonprofit research institution.

In my State of Kentucky, for instance, HEW will obligate this year an estimated $105 million for health, education, social service, and rehabilitation programs. Another estimated $419 million in trust fund payments will be disbursed for social security and medicare. And nearly $100 million more in Federal funds from HEW will help the State meet its welfare and medicaid needs. All told, that's about $625 million in Kentucky alone.

HEW's sharing of expenditures with others is a dollars-and-cents application of President Johnson's doctrine of "creative federalism." The President recognizes, as we in Congress do, that the job to be done in this Nation is too big for the Federal Government to do alone. Not only must our local communities and our States bear their fair share of financial responsibility, but the private sector, particularly business and industry, must ante up, too.

That is what HEW's funds seek in part to do: to get the States, the local communities and the private sector of our economy to ante up. That 90 cents of the HEW dollar cannot begin to carry the entire burden of meeting our needs in health, education and welfare. Much of it is "seed money."

How well is HEW planting the seed? Or, to get back to my earlier remarks, how is HEW faring as the "Department of the people?"

To begin to get some answers to these questions, let us look first at the cornerstone of most of our social legislation in this century—the Social Security Act. As crucial as that legislation was to the future of this Nation when it was enacted in 1935, probably no act of this Congress has come to be taken so much for granted.

Every month, some 24 million Americans—one of every eight of us—receives a social security check from HEW.

Today, 94 of every 100 Americans in the working population of the United States is engaged in employment that is covered by HEW's social security system. The total protection provided by social security is equivalent to all the private life insurance now in force in the Nation: $940 billion.

That is more money than a lot of us can understand—but the social security check in 24 million pockets and purses each month provides a solid feeling that needs no explanation.

That solid feeling gained some additional weight in March, when the new social security amendments, which this Congress enacted last year, went into effect. The amendments provided the biggest single dollar increase in total cash benefits in the 33-year history of the social security program.

Next year will be the first full calendar year of benefits under these amendments. In that 1 year, payments to recipients will have risen by about $3.7 billion—a 16-percent increase. In just the last 4 years, social security benefits have risen 23 percent to an estimated total this year of nearly $27 billion. And in that same period, the number of Americans receiving a monthly check has jumped by nearly one-third: from 18.6 to 24 million persons.

The 1967 Social Security Amendments alone are responsible for moving an estimated 1 million people above the level of poverty. All told, as I reported earlier, Secretary Cohen has estimated that social security benefits keep 10 million Americans out of poverty. It is no wonder that he has described the social security program as "the biggest antipoverty program in the United States."

At the same time, HEW welfare funds provide public assistance to nearly a third of the 26 million Americans who remain in poverty. And while Secretary Cohen, as a member of a special Presidential Commission, seeks ways to overhaul the entire welfare system, HEW tries to operate as effectively as it can within the present structure.

Recently, for instance, HEW began to set in motion an emergency program of public welfare that would eliminate some of the present redtape involved in obtaining assistance and would help needy people without the stigma that is usually attached to welfare. This program, also authorized by Congress in the 1967 Social Security Amendments, provides for federally supported 30-day emergency payments to individuals and families without extended investigations.

In another direction, HEW has provided funds to support attempts to bring city welfare services out of the main office "downtown" and into special neighborhood store-front offices in the inner city where the poor reside.

One of the obvious solutions to the welfare problem, of course, is jobs. President Johnson recognized this by proposing to the Congress this year the largest manpower program in the Nation's history: $2.1 billion to train and provide jobs in the next 3 years for the 500,000 men and women in this country who constitute the hard-core unemployed.

HEW already is massively engaged in the vital task of job training. On four fronts, these are the major achievements to date:

The work experience and training program is aimed directly at those on the welfare rolls. Nearly 200,000 people who have been receiving public assistance have been enrolled. The result has been striking: nearly 115,500 of these have completed sufficient training to move ahead into jobs for which they are receiving an average wage of $267 a month—75 percent more than their average AFDC payments—$152—had been.

HEW's basic education program recognizes that for many, job training begins with the ABC's: a total of 666,000 people have participated over the last 3 years; 400,000 are participating this year alone—a 900-percent increase since 1965, which was the first year of the program.

Under the manpower development and training program, operated jointly by the Department of Labor—which selects the trainees—and HEW—which is responsible for the training—some 789,000 persons have been trained for employment over the last 6 years at a cost of more than $1 billion. At present, a half of million persons are being trained in 600 different occupations. The program has tripled in size in the last 4 years.

HEW's varied vocation education programs together constitute the most massive effort in the job training area—some 10 million Americans have participated since 1965. Nearly 1,100 vocational education schools have been built or are under construction with funds provided by the Vocational Education Act of 1963. Enrollment in these programs has risen 78 percent since 1963—from 3.3 million to more than 7 million today.

These programs constitute an effort to provide the Nation's disadvantaged with something a good deal more substantial and beneficial than a dole—they are opening the door to the dignity of self-support for millions of Americans who want, instead of a handout, a helping hand.

HEW's hand is also reaching out to two other significant segments of the Nation's populace: its young and its aging. Together, these constitute nearly half of our total population.

Federal programs for the Nation's children and youth—nearly all of which are administered by HEW—provided an estimated $11.8 billion in services and benefits last year. This included $6 billion for education and training, $3.4 billion in cash benefits under social security and public assistance, $1.2 billion for health programs, $600 million for food and nutrition, and $300 million for rehabilitation. The total has more than doubled in just 4 years.

It has been estimated that 90 percent of the Nation's 51 million school children are reaping the benefits of the historic Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed by Congress in 1965. Some 9 million disadvantaged children in more than 18,000 school districts throughout the country have been helped by nearly $3 billion in Elementary and Secondary Education Act projects and programs.

This law, administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education, is indeed, as President Johnson has called it, "the bedrock of all our efforts to help America's schools."

Elementary and Secondary Education Act represents only a few of the more than 80 programs supported by the Office of Education under an annual budget of $4 billion—an amount that has tripled in the last 4 years. Through the careful administration of these funds, one in every five American college students is receiving Federal aid to continue his education and one of every four American colleges and universities has received a Federal loan or grant to help build and improve its facilities.

New ground, meanwhile, is being broken. The 2,000 members of the Teacher Corps are reaching 100,000 of the Nation's neediest children. And the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is giving particularly high priority to innovative programs that will provide early education for children. Special emphasis is being placed on the development of day care centers that will introduce children to the values of education at the preschool age. This program is one step toward the ultimate achievement of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare goal—15 years of publicly supported education for every American youngster.

HEW's support and services for children cut across almost the entire length and breadth of the Department's more than 250 programs, but two particularly tragic problems are receiving special concern. One of these is this Nation's shockingly high rate of infant mortality. Although we are the most affluent country in the world, 14 other nations had lower infant death rates as recently as 1965; 25 babies in every 1,000 live births in the United States died before they reached 1 year of age.

The comprehensive maternal and child care programs of HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service are beginning to correct this distressing situation. The number of infants receiving service under these programs has increased nearly 15 percent since 1963 to almost 700,000 children in 1966—the last year for which accurate figures are available. Some 200,000 mothers in 54 low-income areas have received care through these programs in the last 4 years. It is estimated that about one-half of the expectant mothers in all the low-income families in the Nation are receiving care under these programs.

As a result of these determined efforts, the United States last year had its lowest death rate among babies since 1933—the first year that reliable national statistics became available. The infant mortality rate has dropped 12.3 percent in just 4 years. HEW's goal, however, remains nothing less than to provide every needy mother and infant with comprehensive health care by the 1970's.

In the meantime, HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service is beginning to come to terms with another human tragedy: the unwanted baby. There is a close association between poverty, illness, and large families. Low-income families preferring small families have lacked the knowledge of, and access to, family planning services. A study last year showed that among 8.2 million low-income women, there were 451,000 unwanted pregnancies.

To meet this situation, Congress has recognized by statute and authorized voluntary family planning services. Secretary Cohen has called this one of the most significant steps taken by the Congress last year. As a result, SRS was able to provide an estimated 225,000 women with such services last year and expects to reach a total of 325,000 this year.

The jump from family planning and children's services to the problems of our senior citizens and our aged may seem too wide to bridge with one step—but HEW manages that, too. Its foster grandparent program provides one link. Each foster grandparent is a person over 60 who may supplement a low income by devoting special attention to one or two needy youngsters. It is a small program—about 4,000 foster grandparents are helping 8,000 children—but it is an example of imaginative thinking—and it has doubled in size in 2 years.

HEW's main support for the aging, of course, is the social security program. Of all those in the Nation who had reached 65 years of age by the end of last year, 90 percent were receiving social security benefits or were eligible to receive such benefits when they or their spouses retire.

The most significant new development in programs for the Nation's older citizens is medicare. This system of health insurance now provides protection for 19.6 million persons aged 65 or over—nearly every American in that age group. About 18.5 million of these have chosen also to enroll in medicare's voluntary medical insurance program. By the end of this past February, nearly 7.8 million persons had benefited from the medicare program. Nearly $4.5 billion has been paid out in hospital benefits and another $1.5 billion in medical insurance benefits have been provided. The total of benefits under medicare for the current year will be an estimated $3.2 billion.

Among the most important developments in this program has been its general acceptance by members of the medical profession who had been among the strongest opponents to its creation. To Secretary Cohen, who has been described as the "father of medicare" for his work in designing and supporting the program, this must be a reward in itself.

In his state of the Union address,

President Johnson reported that medicare and medicaid—which will help pay the health bills of more than 7 million needy persons this year—combined with other health programs enacted by Congress to bring better health to more than 25 million Americans last year.

The health of the American people is HEW's third major responsibility—and it is not by mere happenstance that it comes first in HEW's name. Health expenditures in the United States—public and private—amount to nearly $50 billion a year. HEW's Public Health Service reports that 94 million Americans have one or more chronic ailments.

In the last 3 years, the Congress has enacted nearly 30 new health measures. HEW's budget for health has tripled in the last 4 years. The aim of this huge investment is to put every American within access of the best health facilities available.

One of the Public Health Service's major programs is the construction of new hospital and health facilities. Under the Hill-Burton Act, an estimated 140,000 beds have been added to the Nation's hospitals and nursing homes in the last 4 years.

But facilities remain idle without the manpower to use them. To meet the urgent need for trained manpower, PHS programs helped to train nearly 200,000 doctors, dentists, nurses, laboratory technicians and other health workers last year. More than 850 medical, dental and nursing schools have been able to enlarge their capacity or to improve their instruction through Federal funds administered by PHS.

Supporting the Nation's health efforts is a program of research, conducted and administered mainly through HEW's National Institutes of Health, which has grown from $1 billion investment in 1963 to nearly $1.5 billion this year—a 50-percent increase.

Such research has paid off in easily demonstrable dividends. It led, for instance, to the development of a measles vaccination; the incidence of measles has since been cut dramatically through the vaccination of 20,000,000 youngsters. It is expected that in the near future, this disease will be altogether eliminated.

The recent achievement at Stanford University, where a biologically active substance was synthesized, bringing us as close as we have come yet to the artificial creation of life, was supported by NIH funds. And Federal support provided a significant share of the research behind the heart transplants—a new medical wizardry that is fast becoming a habit.

Heart disease, cancer, and stroke are the Nation's three major killers. Together they accounted for two-thirds of all the deaths in the United States last year. Research is one of our weapons against them; easily accessible diagnosis and treatment centers are another. The Public Health Service's regional medical programs are aimed at placing such centers in each of 54 regions of the Nation. This year, $54 million in Federal funds is being invested into the planning and early development of these centers.

Meanwhile, Federal support for a national heart disease control program helped to establish 150 additional coronary care units last year, bringing the total of these units to 350. It is estimated that they will reduce the national death rate from acute heart attacks by 14 percent.

A similar program is aimed at cervical cancer, which kills 10,000 American women each year—all of whom could be saved through early detection and treatment. The PHS's cancer-control program, together with the American Academy of General Practice, has launched a detection program under which more than 750,000 women have been examined for this disease thus far,

Mental illness costs the Nation an estimated $20 billion a year through losses in earnings, low productivity and other income sources. About half the Nation's beds still are occupied by mental patients.

The development of comprehensive community health programs, together with new drugs and methods of treatment—all supported by HEW funds—has reduced the population of State and county medical institutions by 16 percent in 4 years. More than 250 federally supported community mental health centers are making their services available to an estimated 41 million Americans.

HEW must also contend with some of the newer hazards of life in the 20th-century America. This year, for instance, we will dump an estimated 143 million tons of pollutants into the air we breathe and we will produce another 165 million tons of solid waste. Air pollution costs each man, woman, and child in the Nation about $65 apiece each year—in paying for the illnesses it causes and in attempting to guard against it.

Currently, the Public Health Service has been able to invoke air pollution control authority in sufficient areas of the country to protect some 20 million people—a solid beginning for an immense task. In addition, HEW has been able to evolve air pollution standards for automobiles and light trucks that will cut in half the noxious fumes that emerge from such vehicles and about 60 percent of our air pollution comes from transportation sources.

Finally, HEW, through its Food and Drug Administration, is responsible for insuring the cleanliness and safety of more than 280 billion pounds of food consumed annually by our 200 million citizens. Roughly 25 cents of every consumer dollar is spent on products who safety and efficacy must be assured by FDA. Last year, FDA recalled nearly 900 food and drug products from the market because of their deficiencies.

This, then, is a panoramic view of "the department of the people—a massive, sprawling conglomerate of programs and services that is striving—and managing—often amid crises, sometimes amid apathy—to bring a better quality of life to every American.

HEW's problems are the Nation's problems: a growing population; a migration of people from rural areas that already has 70 percent of our population living in our cities; the paradox of poverty amid plenty; soaring medical costs; inadequate schools—and with it all, rising expectations.

Secretary Cohen said recently—

> HEW programs have not eliminated all the problems they were designed to attack—but some inroads are being made—through Social Security, Medicare, family planning, education, and health services. Certainly these problems will not be solved overnight. Many will take a generation. But we must continue.

ASSUMPTION PREP COMMENCEMENT

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the body of the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein remarks which I made at the commencement exercises at Assumption Prep School in Worcester, Mass., on June 1.

The commencement program was very thoughtfully arranged and very impressively conducted, and I am very proud and honored indeed to have been a part of it.

In these days of upset and restlessness, when the young, as well as everyone else, is affected by disturbing conditions around them in the country and the world, it was most refreshing to observe this Assumption graduating class of so many outstanding, fine-appearing, bright, intelligent young American boys, who made such deep favorable impressions upon everyone who had the opportunity to see them.

For me, this occasion was very inspiring. It also confirmed the view that I have expressed many times before that the present generation of young people in this country, is one of the finest, one of the brightest, one of the best informed and dedicated of any we have ever had.

There is nothing wrong with our young people, but, like all of us, they are bound to be affected by the things around them, the influences in their lives, the complexities of existence in the modern world and the confusion, bewilderment, and disorder that are found in so many places.

I have great confidence in these fine young people, both boys and girls. Most of them are very well trained; very well aware of their responsibilities; very deeply committed to the preservation of the fundamental values of this Nation and its institutions that have made us at once the greatest, most prosperous, and most powerful of all nations in history.

As I pointed out, under our system we can change what needs to be changed, and we can retain what ought to be retained to insure our freedoms and to avoid the fate of so many nations, which have traded their birthright for a mess of pottage, and have bartered their freedoms on the auction blocks of weakness, appeasement, and surrender to those elements who know not what they do but fanatically press for destruction of the existing order of freedom.

I want to express my warm, sincere, deeply felt appreciation to the very distinguished headmaster and fathers of Assumption and to the fine young graduates and their parents for the opportunity given me to share in their outstanding commencement program.

I also include as part of my remarks a news account of the exercises, the commencement program and list of graduates, and the most eloquent, concluding remarks of the Reverend Vincent R. Dolbec, A.A., which are so appropriate to the occasion and which ended the exercises on precisely the right note of dignity, inspiration, and spiritual devotion.

The material referred to follows:

Remarks in Part of Congressman Philip J. Philbin, Commencement Exercises, Assumption Preparatory School, June 1, 1968

My dear Father, our great and beloved Bishop, Reverend Fathers, and members of the clergy, distinguished guests, members of the Graduating Class and their parents, and friends and fellow-Americans, it is a great honor, privilege and pleasure for me to join you today for these very impressive, meaningful commencement exercises.

Assumption Prep is one of the great schools of its kind in the nation. It is founded on the rock of faith and spirituality. It has an extraordinary record of achievement. Its leadership is comprised of some of our most illustrious educators. Its faculty is made up of gifted teachers, who are recognized specialists in their fields. Its curriculum is one of depth, breadth, and richness that is admirably adapted to the modern world in which we live.

In my remarks, I do not wish to hand out unsolicited advice, or to pontificate, on truth and principle, because your parents have given you the same advice I would give you as a parent, and the good Fathers and your teachers here have pontificated in ways that I could not even hope to match.

First, let me congratulate each and every one of you upon your graduation. It is an accomplishment of which you, your parents, your friends, your well-wishers can justly be proud. You have done outstanding work.

But actually it is just the beginning. The wide world opens before you. Boundless opportunities of a promising, successful future await the impact of your aspiration, energy and ability.

You are the beneficiaries of a noble tradition. You are blessed by Providence with the favored destiny of being raised and educated in this great, free country of ours—the most powerful, the richest, the most advanced, the most prosperous, and the happiest democracy that the sun has ever shone upon.

It has been your happy privilege and good fortune to be sons and graduates of this superb institution, Assumption Prep, which is steeped in such an abundance of patriotism, idealism, spirituality, genuine American culture and the wonderful French tradition and esprit.

You have been fortunate enough to live in an atmosphere of tolerance and toleration where men and women are judged for what they are, what they achieve, what they strive for, and the quality and purpose of their lives, and not alone for the circumstances of their birth, their religion, their race, their national origin, or their station in life.

As years go by, you will place higher and higher value upon the tolerant, spiritual, religious and moral principles which form the sound foundation of your training.

I know that, as you meet with your teachers officially for the last time, your hearts are filled with deepest gratitude for all they have done for you in so many different ways, and this will serve to bring into focus as an inspiring force in your lives, the many unparallel advantages and benefits you have enjoyed under their leadership as students of Assumption Prep.

There is another very important group here today, to whom, I am sure, you realize you owe an undefinable debt for your present success.

I could never adequately emphasize to you members of the graduating class the truly immeasurable value of the love, devotion, loyalty, and in all so many instances, the real sacrifice, which your loving parents have displayed in furthering your interests and welfare, without which this very happy result probably would never have materialized precisely as it has.

Your parents, to be sure, are totally unconscious of any particular debt of gratitude that may have accrued.

They seek no encomiums. They are patient and long-suffering, as all parents are and have to be, but I think that I can speak for your parents, when I say that what they have done, they have done gladly, willingly, eagerly and proudly. They seek no reward or commendation of any sort, save your continued goodness of character, renewed devotion to duty, and future contributions in the form of good living, good works, and constructive activity by you graduates for and in behalf of yourselves and your families, your communities, your nation, and your Creator. They will be with you in all your aims and work.

Opportunity is beckoning. It knocks on your door. It may knock but once. It is up to you to embrace it.

It is up to you to remember your noble heritage, to treasure and sustain your high ideals, and let nothing swerve you from them. We will all be pulling for you in your every undertaking.

Some of you will go out into the realistic, practical every-day world of work. Some of you will go to higher institutions of learning, to seek further training for higher fields of endeavor.

But all of you will have to face the same essential problem—how can you fulfill your highest destiny, how can you meet the responsibilities you have as educated people in this fast-moving, rapidly-changing restless, atomic, jet-space age.

Today you are finishing perhaps the happiest, but at once a most vital and important period of your lives. You have made a fine start here. You have recorded a significant accomplishment in your High School work. By your training and character, you are well equipped for the future.

If you have the will, ambition, and determination, you can go on to even finer achievements, not only to serve your own aims, but also to serve the nation and humanity, to the tasks which face every one of us today, more than ever before, in this volatile world of change, upset, unreasoning rebellion and unbridled radicalism, directed against all existing institutions, including God and country.

Remember this, that if you courageously persevere in your aims, you can reach most any goal you set, and you can make your own meaningful contribution.

Whatever that contribution is, make sure that it is your very best. Make sure that it represents the very best effort of which you are capable.

Make sure that it is sincere and earnest and conscientious. Make sure that you work seriously at the tasks at hand.

Make sure that you are doing your full part to keep this country free and great and true to its principles and ideals.

Make sure that you are not taken in by the oily promises of impractical reformers and their grotesque professions and activities.

One is wise who learns from his own mistakes. He is a genius who learns from the mistakes of others.

Keep in mind that democracy can be destroyed by the non-participation of the average citizen and the activity of minority pressure groups.

The nation and the world are faced by many grave, difficult problems of surpassing magnitude and challenge. Your generation will necessarily have to play a large part in solving them. They cannot be solved without your help.

Peace with security and freedom in our day, an honorable peace for all nations as well as our own, must continue to be our unceasing concern and mission until peace in Vietnam and elsewhere—a real universal peace is established in the world. God grant that day may soon be at hand.

You and those who work with you to build up the security, glory, strength and mission of this great country and protect it from the vulgarians and the barbarians who are now trying to destroy it, will be the real leaders of the future.

What kind of a future—slave or free? Upon you the nation will depend for its freedom and security. To you and other young Americans this nation and the world will look for guidance and inspiration in the struggle for peace and democracy and standards of decency and justice.

It will be your major task and duty to preserve and protect our freedoms, the independence and rights of the individual, our proud American religious and political heritage from those who are preaching poisonous class hatred and seeking and working by force, deception and stealth, the destruction of individual liberty and the enslavement of man.

Remember that this nation is not a static organism. To stand still is to retrogress. We must work for a dynamic, forward-looking, forward-moving democracy adjusted to modern times and the jet-space age in this country and the world. We must accept our full responsibility to our own people and to humanity.

At the same time, we cannot ignore or discard the solid, constructive values of the past and the present.

Above all, we must cherish and guard the deep spiritual values of wholesome home and family life, which are the enduring basis of any worthwhile, democratic, free government like ours, predicated on the essential prerequisites of law and order.

Do not be led astray, or swerved, from your chosen course, by current, despotic doctrines as old as Methuselah or the Corn laws of Rome that there is any easy road to personal success, governmental stability, or national prosperity.

A nation, like an individual, must zealously protect its freedoms and nourish its spirit of enterprise, or like many great nations of history it will crumble through soft living, inertia, moral decay, and spiritual degeneration into the dust of oblivion.

Let me re-emphasize—be true to yourselves and the ideals you have learned in your own homes, in your churches, and in this great school.

Stand by your principles and your convictions.

Though you live in a much different world, live in matters of principle like your fathers and mothers have tried to live—loyal to God and country, loyal to every worthy institution, loyal to your friends, and attuned to the needs and demands of the modern world of your times.

Strive to advance yourselves, and live not by selfishness, or vanity, or materialism.

"To thine own self be true, and it must follow as the night the day, Thou canst not then be false to any man" is something to remember, if you place beside it "Love thy neighbor as thyself" and the injunction of the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you."

And when you are right, fear no one but God, because the truth will make you free, and freedom will make you strong in spirit and in good deeds.

It is always a source of sadness to do accustomed, cherished things for the last time. It always tugs at the heart to leave dear friends—the young and the old. But time waits for no one. You must move forward—always forward—to the broader opportunities and achievements of the future.

You part today, but you will be together again I know, together in these fine, warm friendships you have formed here, together in the spirit of these noble teachings and ideals, together in the company of all those who strive to keep our faith high in America and all she stands for—the eternal faith, which by the blood and sacrifice of her sons we have sworn to uphold to the end.

Let me again congratulate you, your parents, and teachers and Assumption Prep upon this great, memorable day in your lives, so full of deep meaning for them and for you, and for our country as well.

And let me wish you all the very best of health, success, prosperity and happiness in the future whatever your chosen way of life. Try to remember in the time to come, whether in storm or in sunshine, these words which symbolize so well and so beautifully the spirit which animates Assumption Prep, "Every day some nobler deed."

Concluding Remarks of the Reverend Vincent R. Dolbec, A.A., Headmaster, Assumption Prep School

The one idea I wish to leave with you is this: the dignity that clothes the tiniest particle of time which enters our consciousness. By the mere fact that it is known, it becomes susceptible of perfection and even of beauty. Were we accomplished artists and if daily time were the material we worked with, we would be able to find this beauty in the smallest instants of our lives. We have an inkling of this when we think of our childhood, that long-ago time when we still had no personal history because nothing had yet happened—or, rather, because everything that happened was to us an event.

To qualify as a master, we must remain an apprentice to the end of our days and secretly relearn what we teach and believe we know.

A certain slowness of pace is needed to savor life. Yet if we live ever so little in conformity with our own moral nature, if we do not fall into the contamination, if vanity or the dissociation of pride, then to allow the present moment to have its full value, to compose out of spiritual memories a new present that prepares for an even better one, and through the poetry of the past to move toward the truth of the future—this is at once the seed and the fruit of human wisdom.

Time is necessary to build an eternal, spiritual person. In a word, time is the place of spiritual growth. To become what one is, to be what one has—or better still, to have what one is: this is the problem put to us all.

The significance of time is that it allows us to resolve this problem. The supreme mission of the time spent at Assumption Prep School is to prepare for a vision of life that is Christ-entered, Christ-like. This time then has become a place in which something mysterious occurs, the place of an action that engages eternity.

Commencement Program, Assumption Prep School, June 1, 1968

Concelebration of the Eucharist: Principal Celebrant, Reverend Vincent R. Dolbec, A.A., Headmaster.

Homily: His Excellency Bernard J. Flanagan, D.D., Bishop of Worcester.

Academic procession.

Salutatory address: Robert J. Carbonneau.

Conferring of diplomas.

Valedictory address: Craig R. Preston.

Commencement address: The Honorable Philip J. Philbin, United States Representative.

Closing words: Reverend Vincent R. Dolbec, A.A., Headmaster.

Graduates

Mark S. Abusamra; Ronald J. Allbach; Nishan M. Baljian, *cum laude;* Edward J. Barry, *cum laude;* Marc A. Beaudoin, *magna cum laude;* Steven A. Belauskas; David L. Beriau, *magna cum laude;* John M. Bolton; Gary C. Bousquet; William F. Brunetti; Martin L. Byrd; Robert J. Carbonneau, *summa cum laude;* Michael K. Carroll, *cum laude;* Richard W. Casey; Walter J. Casey Jr.; David L. Cataldo; Michel J. Caurant, *cum laude;* John V. Chandley; W. John Chuplis; Michael D. Clifford, *magna cum laude;* Marc R. Collard, *magna cum laude;* Patrick D. Costello; Denis R. Cournoyer; Robert T. Cronin; Walter J. Cunningham; Robert C. DelSignore Jr., *cum laude;* Denis A. Demblowski, *magna cum laude;* Philip L. Descheneaux.

Jack E. Desens, *cum laude;* John J. DeVries; Stephen P. Diguette, *cum laude;* Ronald L. Dupont; Timothy A. Emhoff, *magna cum laude;* Edward E. Fegreus Jr.; Robert R. Fournier, *cum laude;* Joseph E. Fraczek; Gerard B. Frawley; William J. Frawley III; Joseph E. Gadbois, *cum laude;* Paul F. Giza; Richard A. Gobin; Bruce E. Goodro; David H. Granger, *magna cum laude;* Robert W. Granger Jr., *cum laude;* Gregory P. Grimes, *cum laude;* John R. Hahn, *magna cum laude;* Stephen G. Haran; Peter G. Hargreaves, *cum laude;* Thomas V. Healey Jr., *cum laude;* Raymond L. Hebert, *cum laude;* Thomas B. Hobbes; James J. Karpawich, *cum laude;* Robert W. Jones.

Sung Cherl Kim, *magna cum laude;* Joseph A. King; Edmund J. Komalski, *magna cum laude;* John W. Kurkulonis Jr.; Marc B. Lachance; John M. Lamont; Steven B. Lamontagne; Paul J. Laverty, *cum laude;* Paul R. Lefrancois; Henry C. LeMaitre; John M. Lemire; Kevin Luukko; Timothy P. Mackin; James N. Maillett; Robert T. Manning; Joseph M. Marble; Mark A. Martin; Rachier O. Mbeche; Kevin T. McGuire; John M. McKeogh; Daniel E. Mercier, *cum laude;* Peter P. Michaud, *magna cum laude;* Richard F. Mirabile; Martin L. Morrissey; Daniel P. Moynihan; William J. Murray Jr.; James S. Nicas; John P. O'Hara.

George V. Palermo; Roger J. Pare, *cum laude;* Robert F. Plotczyk; Ralph A. Pollone; Craig R. Preston, *summa cum laude;* Paul G. Prunier, *magna cum laude;* Gerald C. Ryan; Paul G. St. Onge, *cum laude;* Mariano Santiago Jr., *cum laude;* Stephen F. Santom; Louis S. Seligowski; William F. Shea III; Charles B. Sullivan Jr.; Gerald P. Sullivan; Stephen A. Sylvestro, *cum laude;* Stephen C. Szabo; Arnope A. Tantuvanich, *cum laude;* Phillip E. Tetreault; David B. VanBenschoten, *magna cum laude;* Marc VanVooren; Burt L. Vigil; Adam C. Walmus, *magna cum laude;* Stephen C. Warner; Gerard B. Wegemer, *magna cum laude;* James T. Wilson.

[From the Worcester (Mass.) Gazette, June 1, 1968]

Graduates Hear Philbin at Assumption Preparatory

(By Florence R. Niles)

U.S. Rep. Philip J. Philbin, D-Clinton, told Assumption Preparatory School graduates today that the freedom and security of the nation depends on them.

To you and other young Americans this nation and the world will look for guidance and inspiration in the struggle for peace and democracy and standards of decency and justice," he said.

He urged the graduates to "stand by your principles and your convictions" and to be true to themselves and the ideals they have learned at home, in church and "in this great school."

Philbin delivered the main address this morning at the school's 60th commencement exercises.

One hundred and six students were graduated, the largest in the school's history. Of these, 39 were graduated with honors and 25 will attend college on scholarship.

VALEDICTORY

The valedictory address was delivered by Craig R. Preston, son of Mr. and Mrs. William H. Preston of 152 Hayden Row St., Hopkinton. Preston was graduated summa cum laude.

Philbin told the students that their graduation from Assumption Prep "is just the beginning.

"Boundless opportunities of a promising, successful future await the impact of your aspiration, energy and ability.

"Opportunity is beckoning. It knocks on your door. It may knock but once. It is up to you to embrace it."

HIGHEST DESTINY

He told the graduates that they will all have to face the same essential problem:

"How can you fulfill your highest destiny, how can you meet the responsibilities you have as educated people in this fast-moving, rapidly-changing restless, atomic, jet-space age?"

Philbin told the students that by their "training and character, you are well equipped for the future.

"If you have the will, ambition, and determination, you can go on to even finer achievements, not only to serve your own aims, but also to serve the nation and humanity, to the tasks which face every one of us today, more than ever before, in this volatile world of change, upset, unreasoning rebellion and unbridled radicalism, directed against all existing institutions, including God and country."

BEST EFFORT

Philbin urged the graduates to make sure that whatever their contribution it is "the very best effort of which you are capable."

He said "one is wise who learns from his own mistakes. He is a genius who learns from the mistakes of others."

He warned the students "that democracy can be destroyed by the non-participation of the average citizen and the activity of minority pressure groups.

The real leaders of the future, he said, will be those persons who "build up the security, glory, strength and mission of this great country and protect it from the vulgarians and the barbarians who are now trying to destroy it."

He urged the graduates to "work for a dynamic, forward-looking, forward-moving democracy adjusted to modern times and the jet-space age in this country and the world."

TO PROVIDE SECRET SERVICE PROTECTION TO CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, this afternoon I have introduced legislation to provide Secret Service protection to candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. This legislation also makes it a Federal crime to make an attempt on, or take the life, of candidates for President or Vice President.

The bill is reasonably simple in its construction. First, the legislation amends the section of title 18 of the United States Code dealing with Secret Service protection. The Secretary of the Treasury, as head of the Secret Service, may provide Secret Service protection to candidates of major political parties whom he designates. The period of protection is also designated by the Secretary. The Secretary will publish the names of individuals designated in the Federal Register. These individuals may decline Secret Service protection.

The second section of my bill amends the portion of the United States Code dealing with Federal crimes such as Presidential assassination, kidnaping, and so forth. Assault or attempted assassination of any candidate for whom Secret Service protection has been authorized becomes a Federal crime with the same penalties prescribed in the section of the code dealing with the assassination of an incumbent President or Vice President. This would give Federal law-enforcement agencies, rather than local law-enforcement agencies, immediate jurisdiction in the case of such a tragic event. The need for this section is underscored by the events that culminated in the death of Lee Harvey Oswald while under local police protection in 1963.

A copy of my bill is attached.

H.R. 17690

A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to provide Secret Service protection to major political party candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the first sentence of section 3056 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting immediately after "unless such protection is declined;" the following: "protect, for such period as the Secretary of the Treasury designates, the person of a candidate for the office of President of the United States or the office of Vice President of the United States, unless such protection is declined;".

(b) Section 3056 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new sentences: "For purposes of this section, the term 'candidate for the office of President of the United States or the office of Vice President of the United States' means any individual—

"(1) who has been determined by the Secretary of the Treasury to be a bona fide candidate for the nomination of a major political party (as designated by the Secretary of the Treasury) to be its candidate for the office of President of the United States or the office of Vice President of the United States; or

"(2) who has been nominated by a major political party (as designated by the Secretary of the Treasury) to be its candidate for either of those offices.

The Secretary shall publish in the Federal Register the name of any person he determines under paragraph (1) to be a bona fide candidate and the name of the major political parties he designates under paragraph (1) or (2)."

Sec. 2. (a) Section 1751(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking out ", or any" and inserting in lieu thereof ", any", and

(2) by inserting immediately before "shall be punished" the following: "or any candidate for the office of President of the United States or the office of Vice President of the United States for whom protection by the Secret Service is authorized under section 3056,".

(b) Section 1751(f) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding the following new sentence at the end: "The term 'candidate for the office of President of the United States or the office of Vice President of the United States' as used in subsection (a) of this section has the same meaning as is given that term by section 3056."

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. CARTER (at the request of Mr. NATCHER), for May 20 through June 7, on account of sickness.

Mr. TUNNEY, for June 6 and 7, on account of business in the district.

Mr. HATHAWAY (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of illness in the family.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to Mr. STAGGERS (at the request of Mr. EILBERG), for 10 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Extensions of Remarks of the RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. ROUSH and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. PHILBIN in four instances

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GOODLING) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. STANTON.
Mr. RHODES of Arizona in six instances.
Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia.
Mr. ASHBROOK in two instances.
Mr. GUBSER.
Mr. MICHEL in two instances.
Mr. SHRIVER.
Mr. GOODLING.
Mr. SPRINGER.
Mr. SCHWENGEL.
Mr. FINDLEY in two instances.
Mr. ADAIR.
Mr. SCHERLE.
Mr. DUNCAN.
Mr. CUNNINGHAM in two instances.
Mr. CONABLE.
Mr. SAYLOR.
Mr. WYMAN in two instances.
Mr. BROOMFIELD.
Mr. ROUDEBUSH.
Mr. RUMSFELD in two instances.
Mr. ROBISON.
Mr. CURTIS.
Mr. LIPSCOMB.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. EILBERG) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BRADEMAS in six instances.
Mr. RESNICK.
Mr. PODELL in two instances.
Mr. MOORHEAD in two instances.
Mr. FRASER in two instances.
Mr. BROWN of California.
Mrs. KELLY in two instances.
Mr. GALLAGHER.
Mr. BEVILL.
Mr. PATTEN.
Mr. HELSTOSKI.
Mr. DENT.
Mr. NIX.
Mr. RARICK in four instances.
Mr. DELANEY.
Mr. DOWNING.
Mr. EVINS of Tennessee in four instances.
Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts.
Mr. TUCK in two instances.
Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.
Mr. ROSENTHAL in two instances.
Mr. WHITENER in two instances.
Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania.
Mr. SHIPLEY.
Mr. KYROS in two instances.
Mr. FOUNTAIN in two instances.
Mr. FULTON of Tennessee in two instances.
Mr. RYAN in three instances.
Mr. ROGERS of Florida in five instances.
Mr. EDMONDSON.
Mr. WOLFF.
Mr. ANNUNZIO in three instances.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 752. An act to amend sections 203(b)(5) and 220 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 37 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, June 6, 1968, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

1914. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Assistant to the Commissioner, District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the District of Columbia Income and Franchise Tax Act of 1947, as heretofore amended, so as to provide that taxable income for District income tax purposes and net income for District franchise tax purposes shall conform as closely as possible to Federal taxable income, and for other purposes, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. MORGAN: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H.R. 15087. A bill to authorize the further amendment of the Peace Corps Act (Rept. No. 1519). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. CAREY: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 7329. A bill to provide for the popular election of the Government of Guam, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1521). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. CAREY: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. S. 450. An act to provide for the popular election of the Governor of the Virgin Islands, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 1522). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. COLMER: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 1208. A resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 16981, a bill limiting the use for demonstration purposes of any federally owned property in the District of Columbia, requiring the posting of a bond, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1523). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SISK: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 1197. Resolution to provide for agreeing to the Senate amendment to the bill (H.R. 5037) to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1524). Referred to the House Calendar.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture. H.R. 17320. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to grant an easement over certain lands to the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Co. (Rept. No. 1520). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BEVILL:

H.R. 17672. A bill prohibiting the use for demonstration purposes of any federally owned property in the District of Columbia, requiring the posting of a bond, creating a Joint Committee on Grievances, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BLANTON:

H.R. 17673. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. COLLIER:

H.R. 17674. A bill to provide for the orderly expansion of trade in manufactured products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H.R. 17675. A bill to encourage the growth of international trade on a fair and equitable basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GOODELL:

H.R. 17676. A bill to authorize the U.S. Secret Service to protect the persons of the candidates for nomination and the nominees of the two major political parties for President and Vice President of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17677. A bill to authorize the U.S. Secret Service to protect the persons of the nominees of the two major political parties for President and Vice President of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HORTON:

H.R. 17678. A bill to provide for the greater protection of the members of the President's Cabinet, Members of the U.S. Senate, and Members of the U.S. House of Representatives; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JACOBS:

H.R. 17679. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to provide Secret Service protection to any person within the United States who is the subject of national controversy of sufficient intensity to pose a danger to such person's life; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KARTH:

H.R. 17680. A bill to amend the Securities Act of 1933 to exempt therefrom certain securities issued by public bodies; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mrs. KELLY:

H.R. 17681. A bill to provide rental and cooperative housing for low- and moderate-income families; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. DANIELS (for himself, Mr. HENDERSON, Mr. HANLEY, Mr. POOL, Mr. BROYHILL of North Carolina, Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania, and Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia):

H.R. 17682. A bill to amend subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, relating to civil service retirement, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. ERLENBORN (for himself, Mr. REUSS, Mr. HORTON, Mr. VANDER JAGT, Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia, and Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts):

H.R. 17683. A bill providing for the establishment of a Commission on Federal Budget Priorities and Expenditure Policy; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. MORRIS:

H.R. 17684. A bill to amend the act of August 9, 1955, to authorize longer term leases of Indian lands on the pueblos of Cochiti, Pojoaque, Tesuque, and Zuni, in New Mexico; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MOSS (for himself, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. COHELAN, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON, and Mr. WALDIE):

H.R. 17685. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 with respect to the definition of "supplemental air transportation," and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 17686. A bill to amend section 702 of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H.R. 17687. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act to provide for increase in benefits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 17688. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 so as to increase the amount of the annuities payable thereunder to widows and widowers; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 17689. A bill to establish a Commission on Hunger; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. RUPPE:

H.R. 17690. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to provide Secret Service protection to major political party candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland:

H. Con. Res. 784. Concurrent resolution to authorize the printing of the pamphlet "The American Creed" as a House document; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. DINGELL (for himself, Mr. RAILSBACK, Mr. SIKES, Mr. SAYLOR, Mr. CASEY, Mr. CABELL, and Mr. POLLOCK):

H. Res. 1206. Resolution providing for agreeing to the Senate amendment to the bill (H.R. 5037) to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes, with amendments; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 1207. Resolution providing for agreeing to the Senate amendment to the bill (H.R. 5037) to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes, with amendments; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAMS:

H.R. 17691. A bill for the relief of William Orvle Bryans, his wife Bridget Mary Bryans, and their minor children, Glynda Jane Merrill Bryans, Gemma Kathleen Bryans, and Garren Richard Bryans; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 17692. A bill for the relief of Ignazio Bono, Rosetta Caterina DiPiazza Bono, and Santina Bono; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAREY:

H.R. 17693. A bill for the relief of Domenico Acquista; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17694. A bill for the relief of Soltan Illovits and his wife, Magdalena Illovits; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17695. A bill for the relief of Luigi Malvone and his minor son, Vincenzo Malvone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17696. A bill for the relief of Pasquale Antonio Petagine; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 17697. A bill for the relief of Anne Berthe Calon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGAN:

H.R. 17698. A bill for the relief of Donald W. Wotring; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING of California:

H.R. 17699. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Avelina Bilazon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KUPFERMAN:

H.R. 17700. A bill for the relief of Josephina Hurtado Gomez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MESKILL:

H.R. 17701. A bill for the relief of Mark and Michael Myszka; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. MINK:

H.R. 17702. A bill for the relief of Hiroshi Higashionna; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PETTIS:

H.R. 17703. A bill for the relief of Hooshang (Hushang) Tohidloo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. QUILLEN:

H.R. 17704. A bill for the relief of George W. Hardin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TIERNAN:

H.R. 17705. A bill for the relief of Maria Neves Sousa; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

PATRIOTISM

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, representing a concerned and patriotic constituency of nearly 500,000 citizens, I have the opportunity of meeting frequently with outstanding Americans, young and old. No meeting and no celebration has ever offered me more inspiration nor given me more pride in our youth than Patriotic Youth Day in Loudon, Tenn., on May 18. This school and its fine faculty and student body have received applause from persons in all walks of life and from throughout the Nation.

The Patriotic Youth Day is very deserving of recognition in the pages of the RECORD. Thus, I insert in the Extensions of Remarks an inspiring talk called "Patriotism" by U.S. Army Maj. James R. Lowe, who is serving at Redstone Arsenal, Ala., but is from Loudon; a letter from Capt. K. M. Gardner, U.S. Marine Corps, Vietnam; an editorial from the May 22, Knoxville Journal; and articles from the Lenoir City News-Banner of May 16, the Loudon County Herald of May 23, and the Sunday, May 19, Knoxville News-Sentinel, all of which describe and pay tribute to this big demonstration of patriotism:

PATRIOTISM

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished guests and my fellow Tennesseans, I am quite honored to be asked to address you today on the subject of patriotism. The subject of patriotism is very dear to me and one which I find easy to talk about. The mere idea of having a patriotic youth day is outstanding but being able to carry through with this idea and creating such an outstanding program is highly commendable. I feel confident that your efforts will not go unnoticed.

I don't believe you could have found a more fitting location to accept patriotism than right here in Loudon, Tennessee. For Tennesseans have always embodied the principles of patriotism, both by word and by deed. The words "The Volunteer State" recognize the outward expression of patriotism by Tennesseans throughout the history of this great State.

In addition, Loudon County has contributed much to the full meaning of patriotism. I personally know this to be true because it was here that I first became fully committed to the principles on which this country was founded. I am proud to say that this basic foundation has endured over these many years.

As a young person, I attended no special programs or classes devoted solely to patriotism. The ideas of patriotism were formed slowly in my day to day activities, experiences and personal contacts with the good people of Loudon County. I can recall very vividly sitting in the Loudon Grammar School and listening to songs being played over the public address system. Those same songs are quite old now and they don't appear in the list of top songs anymore but I have never forgotten those words. Songs such as "It's a grand old flag, it's a high flying flag and forever in peace may it wave. It's the emblem of, the land I love, the home of the free and the brave." Or how about that other World War I song which reflected the mood and spirit of a great nation engaged in a war thousands of miles away "Over there, over there. Send the word over there. That the Yanks are coming and they won't be back til its over over there".

These songs clearly depicted the spirit of patriotism which existed at that time and emphasized the dedication and determination of the American people who were united in a common struggle. One tragedy of modern day is that our song writers have failed to capture this same spirit of patriotism and thus create similar songs for our day and time. There is a lot of discussion today that old fashioned patriotism is dead. Some say that our young people today don't have the same patriotic spirit as in days past. These people who say this are very, very wrong. As you know the big test of patriotism is on the battlefield. America's current struggle is in South Vietnam and it is there that the young people of this country are displaying the greatest love and loyal support of their country. The same valor, the same determination and the same spirit of patriotism which was once demonstrated by their forefathers in years past is now being shown in the jungles and swamps of SE Asia.

One example of this and one which made a deep impression upon me occurred when I was on an airplane flying from Chu Lai to DaNang in South Vietnam. A large number of marines got on board the airplane and I noticed one young man (not much older than most of you) who was acting as a squad leader. He had been given the responsibility to lead a number of men under him. His men were also young but they recognized this young man as their leader. When they got on, and the plane was about to take off, some of the men started to light up a cigarette. This young squad leader motioned for them to put the cigarettes out because the plane had not taken off. His men didn't question his order or his authority and out went the cigarettes. As the plane became airborne, the young squad leader gave permission to smoke. He also obtained some water and some cups and passed these around to his men. As the plane made its final approach to DaNang, he gave the word to stop smoking. As the plane landed, he saw to it that his men had all their equipment and they slowly filed out. They didn't know where they were going or what they would do when they got there but these young Americans' example reflects the job being done by all the young people in South Vietnam. They don't want to be there just as their fathers didn't want to be in North Africa or Guadacanal but there is a job to be done and they are doing it. And they try to tell me that patriotism is dead!!!

How can you, as young people, demonstrate and practice patriotism? What can you and I do to become more patriotic Americans. I would like to give you five basic actions which I consider essential in fostering the cause of patriotism.

1. Continue your education. Only by being a well-informed and knowledgeable citizen can you really appreciate the values of patriotism. Use your education to learn about the history of the United States and the men and women who have led this country and have contributed so much to its past. Use your education to understand the tests and trials and problems which this country has faced and solved over the years. By doing this, the meaning of patriotism should become more evident to you.

2. Become involved with your local, county, state and national affairs. As *concerned* citizens, you should be interested in what is taking place around you. As *informed* citizens, you can contribute much to the continued progress of government at all levels. Only by becoming involved with the affairs of government, can you demonstrate a deep faith in the country in which you live and work.

3. Support law and order. Law and order are the cornerstones and guiding principles of America. Law and order are essential to the continued success and greatness of this country. Without law and order, this country will degenerate into complete and total chaos. Demonstrate your faith in America by supporting the cause of law and order.

4. Respect the American flag. The flag is a tangible symbol which represents every principle this country stands for. Pay the just honor to the American flag whenever and where ever you can. Be proud to display and pay respect to the American flag.

5. Render respect to the national anthem. There is nothing more discouraging than to see citizens, American citizens, talking, eating or walking around while the national anthem is being played. This anthem only played on certain occasions so there is no reason why proper respect cannot be rendered. Demonstrate your faith in America by respecting its national song.

By carrying out these five actions I have mentioned, you will develop a sense of patriotism which will endure throughout your life. You will develop a love for this country which will not fail you even during periods of national crises or personal hardships. This is the degree to which every American citizen should be committed to the principles of patriotism.

You really want to know how to get the feeling of patriotism? Do you want to know how to develop a memory of America's past which cannot easily be erased? The way to do it is to walk, as I have walked, through the American cemeteries at Normandy, France and Anzio, Italy. The rows of markers attest to the fact that Americans have been truly committed to the cause of patriotism. The men and women laid to rest paid the supreme price for their love of country. They were never able to return to the shores of the country for which they fought and died. It is unfortunate that the last voice of pariotism for these men and women had to be stilled at places such as Normandy or Anzio but Americans must always be prepared to defend their ideas and principles on the field of battle.

There are no simple slogans or mottos which reflect true patriotism. It is not easy to condense the entire question of patriotism into one simple or easy-to-remember phrase or sentence. But in trying to do this, I remembered a phrase which was used quite frequently in Germany and aired over the Armed Forces Network. This particular phrase was used to remind American servicemen of their responsibility while stationed on a foreign soil. This phrase has a deep challenge to every American and I think it can serve as the single guiding principle of every individual here today. Living up to the goal outlined in this phrase should be the dedicated aim of every American citizen. I hope that you will hear and understand the full meaning of this phrase and will use it in your day to day activities. You will be a better citizen and America will be a better country. The phrase is "I am an American. As I go, so goes America". The phrase places a tremendous burden and responsibility on each individual who attempts to abide by it. Are you willing to take your stand? Are you willing to commit yourself to saying and believing "I am an American. As I go, so goes America".

Thank you very much.

To: The Interact Club, Loudon High School, Loudon, Tenn.

From: Capt. K. M. Gardner 083996 USMC, Air Support Radar Team "Delta" Marine Air Support Squadron-Two, Headquarters Co., Fourth Marine Regiment, Third Marine Division.

DEAR STUDENTS: I received a letter from Mr. & Mrs. W. G. House on 28 April which had enclosed a copy of your bulletin proclaiming 18 May as Patriotic Youth Day.

I read your bulletin with a great deal of pride and with satisfaction that the folks at home are joining together in such a demonstration of Patriotism. May your enthusiasm for all that has made America great spread out from Loudon all through our wonderful country and touch the hearts and minds of those who find nothing but fault in all that America strives to do.

I made a point to inform my men of what you are doing and they have expressed appreciation for your actions.

We feel that we are not only fighting for the freedom and independence of the South Vietnamese people, but also for each man, woman, and child in those wonderful United States. Those ideals of freedom, justice, and equality are the dream of men the world over. No country has come so close to providing those ideals as has America. One day all of America will throw off the yoke of prejudice and bigotry and be truly a united people in a united cause for justice and freedom.

Traditions are strong in our country. Some are good, some are bad. We must rid ourselves of unworthy tradition and nurture and encourage the growth of those traditions that have made our country strong.

Pride in America and in her aims and ideals is an attribute we must never lose. Go anywhere in the world, keep your head high, look any man in the eye, and say with justified pride, "I am an American".

We, in Vietnam, are proud of the job we are doing for America. We will bear our responsibilities until the task is finished. In pursuing the aims of our country, no distinction has been made between the white, black, yellow or red men. We are joined together in the common cause. We all have the same American blood in our veins. No matter the color of a man's skin, he still bleeds the same American red blood.

Your endeavors for 18 May have set you apart from those who do not believe in the great spirit of America. Show that American spirit through the flag. Not just on holidays—every day! Show that in Loudon, Tenn. the great American spirit is alive and thriving. Sing the National Anthem and thrill to its sound and hear its words. Make that American spirit live!

I've seen that spirit alive and strong where ever American men go. Bunkers, foxholes, jungle huts, all over Vietnam hold American flags planted there by men with devotion to their country and pride in their hearts. Many have paid the ultimate price bringing honor to that flag. Their country's final tribute is to drape that flag with its fifty shining stars over the hearts of her men. Every day, men are dying for this just cause and in keeping with that American spirit that you are showing.

Thank you, from all of us, for what you are doing. God bless you.

Most sincerely,

KENNETH M. GARDNER,
Captain USMC.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal, May 22, 1968]

SALUTE TO LOUDON HIGH

A salute to Loudon High School for its successful staging of the first Patriotic Youth Day last Saturday, an event attended by hundreds of high schoolers from other East Tennessee counties.

The "day" was cosponsored by the Loudon Rotary Club and the Interact Club of Loudon High, centering around the thought that today's youth, for the most part, are responsible citizens rather than apathetic and unconcerned "hippies."

In an era in which a vicious and vocal minority of citizens are attempting to make patriotism a dirty word, these young people in their celebration were proclaiming that, despite the fact there are things wrong with our society, there are also many things—most, we believe—which are good and right.

It is a fact frequently ignored by Americans highly critical of their own country that, of all the nations on the globe, this is the one in which an earnest effort is being made to change the conditions which are wrong and to uphold principles which are right. The United States of America, under the guns of so much abuse from its own citizens—much of it Communist inspired—is still a nation which deserves the fealty and support of its people.

It was this idea that prompted the patriotic celebration in Loudon and it was heartening to find that the event was well attended and enthusiastically received.

[From the Lenoir City (Tenn.) News-Banner, May 16, 1968]

PATRIOTIC YOUTH DAY IS SATURDAY

The first annual Patriotic Youth Day is scheduled for Loudon Saturday and will feature speeches, singing, bands, dancing, arts, talent shows, parades, fireworks and many other events.

Sponsored and initiated by the Loudon High School Interact Club, the event promises the attendance of several thousand high school students from area schools, as well as wide participation by adults.

Bus loads of students are coming from Everett, Greenback, Oak Ridge, Charleston, Midway, Lenoir City, TMI, Sevier County and others, it was reported this week.

The purpose of the event, a spokesman said, is to have young people of high school age give a demonstration of patriotism through a wide variety of events.

Activities are scheduled to begin at 9 a.m. on the Courthouse lawn in Loudon, with singing groups preceding a parade of high school bands, military equipment and other units to the new Loudon High School.

At the football field, the U.S. Naval Band from Memphis will play and the Rev. Mc. Coy Franklin, State American Legion Commander Ivo Sanders, Congressman John Duncan, Historian Dr. Ruth Stephens and Maj. Bob Lowe of Loudon will speak.

A chicken barbecue lunch is planned for noon.

Events ranging from athletic events to fashion shows are scheduled for the afternoon and Saturday night, Johnny Perkle of WNOX will present a show in the auditorium. At 8:45 Gerald Cole of Cole's A&W will give a fireworks display and the function will be climaxed by a dance from 9 p.m. to midnight in the gymnasium.

[From the Loudon County (Tenn.) Herald, May 23, 1968]

PATRIOTIC YOUTH DAY SUCCESS, EVERETT WINS SCHOOL TROPHY

Patriotic Youth Day 1968 held in Loudon last Saturday achieved its primary goal of getting attention from the surrounding area, the state, and the nation. Despite an early morning flurry of thunder showers, some 2,000 students from 11 high schools turned out to participate in the day designed to let the nation know that in the grass-roots areas such as Loudon, Patriotism is still in the hearts and minds of its young people.

Some of the attention drawn by the day was the announcement by Congressman John Duncan, who cancelled another engagement to attend, that he was going to address his fellow congressmen and tell them of the events which took place in Loudon on May 18. Dr. Ruth Stevens, Knoxville TV personality, the principal speaker, said she planned to devote one day of her television show to Patriotic Youth Day. The Interact Club of Loudon High School sponsors of Youth Day received a letter from the White House commending the show of love of country. Army Major Bob Lowe, of Loudon, stationed in Huntsville, Ala., read a letter from another Loudon serviceman, Capt. Kenneth Gardner, who is in Vietnam. Capt. Gardner had told his men of the planned events in Loudon and his men had expressed thanks to the young people of Loudon for this show of faith in them.

Dr. F. G. Appleton, who about a year ago first mentioned the idea of such a day, said he was overwhelmed by the attitude of the young people and with the overall success of the day. He said that Patriotic Youth Day was probably the first such undertaking of its type by a high school in the United States and that with the publicity the event in Loudon was receiving, he was certain that the idea would spread and grow to new proportions.

Students from Greenback, TMI, Sevierville, Halls, Chaleston, Everett, Oak Ridge, Lenoir City, Walland, Bradley Central, Lanier, and Loudon participated.

The entire day's activities were not just speeches and more speeches, but during the afternoon the students competed with each other in events ranging from track to field events, to group singing, fashions, skits, crafts, and art. All events were judged on a point system and ribbons were given in four places in each event. Points received by each school in the 22 competitive events were tabulated and the winning school received a large trophy valued at more than $200 from the Food Products Division of Union Carbide.

Everett High School of Maryville won the trophy with 75 points with Loudon second with 58 points. Greenback placed third with 38 points. Other schools and the points they scored in the competition are Sevierville 18, TMI 13, Charleston 12, Oak Ridge 4, Bradley Central 4, Lenoir City 3, Halls 2, and Walland 2.

The trophy was presented to the spirited Everett delegation in the afternoon assembly. Sammy Williams, a Loudon native, who teaches at Everett, accepted the trophy for the school.

The rain during the early morning cut down on the size of the parade but the units that braved the moisture marched in review just as planned. The morning assembly was moved into the gymnasium.

During the morning program, Major Lowe, son of Mrs. E. A. Lowe, received a standing ovation after he spoke. During his talk Major Lowe listed five musts if today's youth want to demonstrate their patriotism; continue their education, which includes history so that tomorrow can be judged by the past; become involved in local, state, and national government so young people can be aware; support law and order; respect the American flag and fly it, and render respect for our National anthem.

Dr. Stevens urged the students to dedicate themselves to finding a way to bridge a wide gap—that of destructive weapons on one hand to lack of worldwide justice in the form of international peace on the other. She explained America was fighting in Vietnam because the Government believes it best to fight the Communists there instead of here.

The retired U-T history professor was loudly applauded when she said, "I don't believe this generation is represented by the lazy, unwashed hippie."

Food was provided by the Lions Club, Womans Club, Crewettes and Band Boosters Clubs for the event.

Following dinner the students danced until 11:30 p.m. in the gymnasium to the music of a well known band from Kentucky.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) News-Sentinel, May 19, 1968]

ACCENT ON AMERICANISM: LOUDON YOUTHS HOLD PATRIOTISM RALLY

(By Willard Yarbrough)

LOUDON, May 18—The Poor People would have marched around the town and the hippies would have hated it.

Saturday many hundreds of high school youths accentuated Americanism so that it reached all the way to Vietnam—where U.S. servicemen sent a message of thanks for patriotism that breathes on at home.

Patriotic Youth Day was described as the first such high-school-sponsored event in American history.

And as said that noted history scholar, Knoxville's Dr. Ruth Stephens, present for the occasion, "If this generation and those that follow don't falter in patriotism, then America shall never fall as did Rome."

FROM 12 COUNTIES

The rally, which attracted high schoolers from a dozen East Tennessee counties and top public and civil leaders, was conceived and promoted by the Rotarians' Interact Club at Loudon County High. The stated purpose:

"To inspire everyone with a greater patriotic zeal to appreciate the American way of life, and to give unity and support to our effort to resist the loss of freedom throughout the world."

Adult sponsors said they hoped the demonstration would ignite other communities and evolve into a massive movement, replacing the bad of dissenters with the good of doers—at least in the headlines.

DUNCAN TO TELL CONGRESS

U.S. Rep. John Duncan said he would tell his congressional colleagues about the significant day. State Legion Commander Ivo Sanders of Loudon County said 48,000 Tennessee Legionnaires sent both greetings and congratulations. Ex-Rotary Club President Robert L. Anderson of Loudon said students should take back home "to your friends and your parents your enthusiastic feeling for your country."

But it happened that two hometown Marines—one back home from Huntsville, Ala., and the other in Vietnam—delivered the Gettysburg Address. Maj James R. (Bob) Lowe received a standing ovation—both on his own address and upon his reading a letter from Capt. Kenneth M. Gardner.

Wrote Capt. Gardner: "May what you are doing spread throughout the country. I have told my men what you are doing, that in Loudon you are showing that the great American spirit is alive and thriving. Patriotism is not dead."

Maj. Lowe listed five "musts" if today's youth want to demonstrate their patriotism: Continue their education, which includes history so that tomorrow can be judged by the past; become involved in local, state and national government so young people can be aware; support law and order "without which there would be chaos"; respect the American Flag and display it, and render respect for our National Anthem.

His admonition was an old refrain once blared to troops in Germany: "I am an American. As I go, so goes America."

Heavy rains that turned Loudon streets into creeks did not dampen enthusiastic spirits, although the weather did get things an hour off schedule. A parade, involving the Naval Air Technical Training Center Band from Memphis, waited until the deluge stopped. A miniature Statue of Liberty and one of the Liberty Bell graced the Loudon plaza across from the courthouse. Merchants and homes flew the Flag.

PRINCIPAL ENTHUSIASTIC

Major events, however, occurred at Loudon High where Principal William S. Napier was an enthusiastic participant and co-sponsor. The day started with Rev. McCoy Franklin, Madisonville Presbyterian, giving thanks to America—"the greatest country in the land" and prayerfully reminding, "The nation that forgets God shall be cut off."

How did Patriotic Youth Day get started?

Dr. George Appleton and Ham Carey, Rotarians, called on Principal Napier, whose school already had 21 male students in the Interact Club, and advanced the idea of a patriotic demonstration. LHS students made talks at 64 area high school assemblies and urged participation Saturday. Three hundred Everett High School students pledged to attend and another Blount County School, Lanier High, was the first to respond.

'LIGHT THE TORCH'

"We have tried to light the torch," said Rotarian Appleton. "We hope that torch will not flicker here, but spread throughout America. We have so much that it should live on, and only coming generations can safeguard America and her ideals against her enemies."

Dr. Stephens, the main speaker, urged the thousand students on hand to dedicate themselves to finding a way to bridge a wide gap—that of destructive weapons on one hand to lack of worldwide justice in the form of international peace on the other. She explained America was fighting in Vietnam because the Government believes it best to fight the Communists there instead of here.

The retired U-T professor current Knoxville television commentator was loudly applauded when she said, "I don't believe this generation is represented by the lazy, unwashed hippie!"

Everett High School of Maryville received a trophy, donated by Union Carbide's Loudon plant, for the winning skit.

With sponsoring Women's Club, Lions, Rotarians, Loudon Rescue Squad's Crewettes and the Band Boosters' representatives looking on, the visiting youngsters danced at the high school Saturday night to a Loudon, Ky., band. The community had raised around $1000 to underwrite the day's costs but figured it got $1 million in value received.

GARY, IND.: A CITY IN CHAOS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, because many of our colleagues have indicated an interest in the so-called progressive problems in Gary, Ind., a midwestern city under the throes of reconstruction, I include several news clippings from Gary and surrounding newspapers, as follows:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Mar. 3, 1968]

GARY MERCHANTS TO BAND TOGETHER IN SELF-PROTECTION

GARY.—Business men who attended the recent emergency meeting for a safer city tentatively decided they should look out for Gary business men alone.

Called by Gary merchant Hy Weiss, the business men gathered in wake of a recent wave of shootings and robberies in downtown and Midtown stores, and the murder of downtown merchant Bernard Rosenberg, owner of the Quality Furniture store, 826 Broadway.

Weiss received what appeared to be unanimous support when he said that one of the business men's goals should be to work for defeat of incumbent candidate John McKenna, Lake county Criminal court judge, calling him indirectly responsible for Gary's crime rate because, they allege, "he is lax on criminals."

GIVES GROUP NAME

Weiss explained that for want of a better name, a committee of business men should be formed calling themselves citizens for a safer Gary. The emergency session he told the gathering, should be considered the committee's initial meeting.

After electing Jack Zemel (Esquire Men's store, 1536 Broadway) chairman, Merrillville business man William Collins asked if the committee intended to consider the safety of merchants on Gary's perimeter, who also have been victimized recently "tho not as violently."

In the argument that followed, it was decided that because Gary is more involved in the crime wave, the committee would have enough of a job gaining a greater degree of safety on Gary streets without worrying about outlying communities.

"Perhaps it would be better if outlying communities would work out their own plans," said Zemel. "That does not mean that the Gary committee would not try to work closely with other communities in making the county's streets safer."

NOT JUST MERCHANTS

He added that the business men should not consider the committee exclusively a merchant's organization, because "the emergency we face in Gary involves the city's economic future and therefore every family in the city."

The gathering conceded that its main worry for the present would be how to get the committee "off the ground" and structured to enlist the support of other civic organizations to dump McKenna and back Mayor Richard Hatcher and police chief James Hilton in whatever crime stopping program they felt necessary.

Collins said Ross township merchants would have no alternative but to organize a "committee of vigilance" for their own protection.

MAY ARM SELVES

"We might consider that it's necessary to arm ourselves," said Collins. "And we would enlist the support of local law enforcement agents to circulate photos and descriptions of known and wanted thieves and killers in the area so that we could recognize them if they come into our stores."

Collins said he did not envision this vigilante committee in the popular notion as a free wheeling, gun-toting western citizens posse.

"We would simply be vigilant, and keep our eyes open so as not to be surprised by bandits and killers," he explained.

Hilton appeared in the meeting, assuring the gathering that the police department is working on plans and methods of fighting Gary's street crime problem.

These included motor cycle patrols and men on the beat to "saturate" the business community with men.

Hilton wants a shoplifter squad of policewomen to work as clerks in stores, and more female clerical help in the police department to release men for duty.

CHIEF OFFERS OPINION

Asked if he believed Gary business men should arm themselves, Hilton said, "You have to figure that Bernard Rosenberg might not have been shot had he not tried to use his gun." Councilman Cleo Wesson told the gathering that he believes the city council will stand behind whatever action the mayor, police chief and the business men decide upon.

He said that includes backing the mayor's request for extra funds to pay off-duty policemen time-and-a-half for working overtime on foot beats in the downtown area for four hours a day after their normal shifts end.

He called for the committee to stay together even after the crisis in Gary ends, saying, "We should have been doing this for years, instead of waiting for the situation to deteriorate before acting."

[From the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune, March 1968]

Police Attack: Gary War on Crime in Streets

(Editor's Note.—How bad in fact is the crime situation on Gary streets? Can people safely shop in Gary stores? What specific steps are being taken by the police and other authorities to protect law-abiding citizens?

(The Post-Tribune begins today a series of three articles delineating the extent of the problem and measures being taken to combat it. This series is being published not to point the finger of blame, but to help the people of this area understand the problem, and to indicate what is being done about it and how every one of us can help to overcome it.)

(By Derwood Haines)

Crime in the streets—now the biggest single concern of the American public—will be combated in Gary.

Police Chief James Hilton, who has said this numerous times in the past several weeks, is taking strong measures to back up these words.

Hilton has made short-range moves immediately aimed at reducing the number of robberies, burglaries, purse snatchings and other such crimes.

And, he has called for long-range measures he feels will allow the police department to combat fully Gary's problem of crime in its streets.

The problem—crystallized last month by the shooting death of downtown merchant Bernard Rosenberg during a stickup—has reached the acute stage.

Two business districts—Midtown and Tolleston—are being strangled by crime. There are visible indications that drastic measures are needed to head off the same fate in the Downtown district.

Hilton's initial move was to assign his entire task force to the districts that are considered high crime areas—supplementing existing police patrols in those districts.

"Their presence," Hilton said, "will prevent a good deal of crime, as well as expedite solution of those crimes that can't be prevented."

The task force squad, hand-picked by Hilton, will be in uniform and will carry police department photos of every known criminal in the city.

The men patrol in pairs—on foot—for lengthy periods of time and during that time they are instructed to make periodic visits to stores and other businesses in the area.

Soon the police department will have 13 more patrolmen assigned to street patrols.

But, first these recruits must finish six weeks of training.

These additional policemen mean more areas will be patrolled more frequently, and that more foot patrols can be assigned.

Besides that, the department has ordered 27 more cars, which will allow making patrol districts smaller.

"We're moving ahead on this problem," Hilton said. "When we get the additional squad cars and a full complement of personnel, we can fully combat street crimes here."

Last year's crime statistics revealed the vastness of the problem of Gary's crime in the streets.

Gary was victimized by an average of three robberies a day in 1967.

Burglaries were being pulled off at a rate of more than five a day. The two types of crimes account for almost a half million dollars in losses. And that isn't counting 332 shopliftings and 174 purse snatchings.

These criminal actions have threatened the Gary business community. A large portion of the city is already considered a high risk area by insurance companies, and the downtown is fighting the same problem.

Evening hour shoppers have been staying away from the downtown area, doing their buying during the day. Saturday has returned as a big shopping day.

"I don't get any evening trade at all—people are afraid to come downtown after dark," one merchant said.

Similar comments come from businessmen in Midtown and Tolleston, hurt by crime and its side effects.

Ben Rosen, owner of the House of Leisure, 650 Broadway, says that the current pace of robberies, burglaries, shopliftings and purse snatchings must be stopped or the existence of the downtown shopping area will be threatened.

Last year, there were 932 robberies of some kind in Gary. Losses totaled $168,248.43.

Of the robbery total, 535 were on the streets or in the alleys, and 78 service stations, five chain stores, 27 homes, one bank and 286 other commercial establishments were robbed.

Weapons were in use in 667 of these crimes.

Street robberies—armed and strongarm (mugging)—accounted for $60,564.74 in losses and the 27 homerobbery victims lost a total of $38,558.63. Other robberies netted a total of $59,125.38.

Police recovered $7,003.72 of the total robbery haul. They also cleared up 246 robbery cases with the arrests of 151 persons who were subsequently charged with the crimes.

Home burglary victims lost a total of $291,752.72 in 1967 while commercial establishments lost $162,192.29 in merchandise taken during breakins.

Police recovered $19,076.76 worth of the loot taken in residential burglaries and $10,754.41 worth of loot from non-residential breakins.

And murder goes hand-in-hand with these crimes.

Late last month, 49-year-old Bernard Rosenberg, owner of Quality Furniture, 862 Broadway, was fatally shot during a holdup at his store. Insurance agent Larry Rosenbaum, 28, of 551 Ridgelawn, Crown Point, was stabbed to death last Sept. 14 in a gangway robbery near 1240 Adams St.

Two years ago, Gary jeweler, Irwin Liberman, 55, was killed in a holdup at Liberman's Jewelry, 650 Broadway.

Suspects have been charged with the Rosenberg and Rosenbaum robbery-slayings. The Liberman murder remains unsolved.

Holdup and strongarm robbery-connected injuries have been numerous.

Policeman Allen Musick was accidentally shot in the shoulder by another officer while the two lawmen were apprehending three robbery suspects last month.

In December, 60-year-old Stanley Buczkowski, 1924 W. 24th Ave., was critically wounded when shot while trying to foil a stickup at The Pub, a liquor store and tavern at 1492 Grant St.

And, in April of 1967, Henry Higman, 404 Jackson St., a 78-year-old World War I veteran, was gunned down while trying to ward off a gunman at Arts' Bakery, 2200 W. 10th Ave. Both men recovered.

On numerous occasions this year, violence has erupted during holdups as victims and bandits shot it out.

In the stickup in which Buczkowski was shot, a suspect, Douglas William Davidson, 36, with addresses at 3743 Block Ave. and 3801 Pulaski St., East Chicago, was wounded, apparently when hit by one of five shots fired by a private detective at the scene.

There was an exchange of gunfire in the incident in which Musick was wounded.

Recently, four employes were slugged with a sawed off shotgun as a quartet of gunmen held up Perfection Furniture, 2137 Broadway.

Seldom do the robbers work alone. Holdup teams range up to five persons.

And girls even got in on the act—using small caliber guns in two holdups in December. Four women were later charged as armed robbers.

Numerous muggings in the Central District demanded a crackdown and Police Chief James Hilton's Task Force provided one strongarm robber the surprise of a lifetime when he tried to work his trade on a plainclothes man.

The patrolman rammed a .38-caliber in the mugger's face after the would-be robber demanded his wallet.

One of the more spectacular robberies this year came in mid-January when two young men held up seven city bus passengers and got $551.60 in loot, several credit cards and a train ticket to Rock Hill, Mo.

City bus drivers, cab drivers, deliverymen and insurance agents have frequently been the victims of highway robberies or muggings.

Bus stickups became so frequent at one point this year that policemen were assigned to man the buses after dark. The move was effective; the bus problems ceased.

[From the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune, March 1968]

Security, Insurance: Crime-Hit Firms Drained of Profit as Costs Rocket

(Editor's Note.—This is the second in a three-part series questioning how bad in fact is the crime situation on Gary streets? Can people safely shop in Gary stores? What specific steps are being taken by the police and other authorities to protect law-abiding citizens?

(The Post-Tribune attempts in this series to delineate the extent of the problem and measures being taken to combat it. This series is being published not to point the finger of blame, but to help the people of this area understand the problem and to indicate what is being done about it and how every one of us can help to overcome it.)

(By Derwood Haines)

"There must be really effective crime prevention here."

That is the consensus of merchants, law enforcement agencies and citizens alike who say crime in the streets must be curbed if Gary is to retain a healthy business community.

Police Chief James Hilton has taken certain measures against such crimes and has called for others he feels are necessary to combat the problem on a short-range basis.

And, citizens' groups have pledged support of the moves necessary to curb street crimes.

Hilton will go before the City Council—along with a large number of supporting citizens—tonight to request time and half-time for policemen for an additional four hours a day, and for civilian employees to do bookkeeping and desk jobs so policemen now doing these jobs can be released for street duty.

Long range plans call for:

A "store front" police headquarters setup that allows police centers to be located in business and neighborhood areas.

A Police Cadet Corps.

"The temporary measures," Hilton explained, "will enable us to get our long-range programs in action."

Most prominent of the newly formed anti-crime groups in the city is the Citizens For a Safer Gary committee, with Moses A. Dilts as temporary chairman.

That group has pledged to support the administration in its anti-crime campaign.

And, a Chamber of Commerce-urged "Radio

Watch" has been established to aid police in the fight against crime.

Eighteen private companies have already volunteered 540 drivers and radio-equipped vehicles as the "eyes and ears for police throughout the city." The drivers' dispatchers will report to police on a special "hot line" any criminal activities or suspicious act they spot.

It's almost like adding that many prowl cars to the city's force.

The actions are necessary because the high crime rate has an octopus-like effect on the business life of this city. The tentacles spread out to draw in other businesses than those directly hit by the criminals.

Holdup, burglary and other theft losses reflect only a small portion of the cost Gary pays for rampant crime.

Even more costly are losses in trade, security and insurance.

"The people are afraid to come downtown," is a common assertion among businessmen in that area. It's true in other areas, too.

Crime is blamed for the drop off in evening trade.

And, to protect against daytime holdups and nighttime breakins, merchants are paying high costs for sophisticated alarm systems and security agents.

LRC Liquors, 2054 Grant St., pays $7,000 annually for security agents.

"Holdups were putting me out of business," owner Lonnie Coleman said.

Besides a security agent in the store from 8 a.m. to 1 or 2 a.m.—depending on the season's legal closing hour—the store also has a burglary alarm system to protect against breakins during the hours it's closed.

"I couldn't stay in business here otherwise," Coleman said.

He was held up four times in two years before hiring security agents.

This practice is widespread in Gary, as merchants must take on the extra overhead to protect their investments.

Carriere Cleaners, 1688 W. 15th Ave., robbed 10 times and burglarized five times in a 15-month period, revealed another problem that is common among frequently robbed establishments.

"Three employes quit because of holdups, and some competent help is afraid to work in the store," owner John Carriere said.

Other businesses, especially in the Tolleston and Midtown areas, have this problem.

Besides losing employes, Carriere estimated that holdups cost him about $150 a week in trade, since customers are reluctant to deal with places that are held up frequently.

Tolleston Dairy, 2300 W. 15th Ave., is another example of costly security practices that draw heavily from the profits.

The business, now a neighborhood grocery and dairy products plant, is a maze of locks.

"Working here is like being the turnkey in a prison—everywhere you go you have to lock or unlock a door," is the way one employe described it.

"The girls in front (the store section) are afraid all the time," said owner Anthony Ensaloca.

What used to be one of the finest dairy bars in the city is gone from the location because of a crime-connected problem.

Juvenile thefts and acts of vandalism caused the dairy bar to close.

Besides the mazes of locks that protect the money intake, the establishment has also installed an alarm system at a cost of $1,200. It was plagued with breakins prior to that installation.

A more sophisticated alarm system that includes a push button signal for holdups has been installed at the Tolleston Drug Store, 1900 W. 11th Ave.

"It's too damned much money to put into a business this size," the owner said.

He also employs a security agent on a part-time basis.

A few stores in the Midtown area sought a solution that wouldn't involve the increased security overhead. That was to lock their doors during business hours and admit only known customers, of persons who were alone.

Lake County Furniture Store, 2172 Broadway, continues this practice. A store spokesman admitted this procedure cuts down on walk-in trade, since would-be customers find the door barred and with no one in sight on the inside at times they leave.

Across the street, Chicago Metropolitan Mutual Assurance Co., 2169 Broadway, has a similar practice whenever the cashier-clerk is alone in the office.

The door is opened only for known persons.

Besides that, a shatter-proof glass partition has been installed to protect the cashier in the event of a holdup.

Perfection Furniture, 2137 Broadway, used to have a "closed door" policy, but terminated it.

"I can't stay in business with doors locked," said the owner.

A holdup team two weeks ago apparently didn't know that Perfection had re-opened the front door.

They barged through a rear entrance—slugging several employes and robbing two of them—to rob the store of an undetermined amount of money.

But these places, along with the other businesses in their areas, are up against another tough problem—insurance.

"In high crime areas," James Lazerwitz, of Lazerwitz Insurance Agency, explained, "insurance companies look at it as a losing proposition. Nobody wants to write a losing proposition."

He added that the frequency of crime-connected losses and the difficulty of getting insurance in some areas is inflicting losses on businessmen.

Quite often, merchants absorb robbery and theft losses rather than report them to insurance companies for fear of insurance costs skyrocketing to a prohibitive point, Lazerwitz said.

Gary's theft-type insurance coverage rate is already the second highest in the state. Only Indianapolis' rate is higher.

Insurance company officials also revealed that "high risk" companies already handle most of the insurance coverage in Midtown and Tolleston, and that downtown is fast approaching the high risk label.

Obtaining crime insurance is a problem throughout the entire city, insurance agencies spokesmen add.

The larger stores can stand larger and more numerous losses, because their insurance premiums are large enough to cover these losses.

But, Lazerwitz explained, eventually large and small business suffer equally in terms of insurance rate growth.

"Where a business can't get enough insurance coverage, it can't afford to stay in business," he asserted.

This, of course, includes the insurance agencies here. If their cost becomes prohibitive, then the lack of policies will force them to close shop.

"There must be real effective crime prevention here in order to allow insurance companies to place business and allow merchants to retain coverage," local insurance agents agree.

[From the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune, March 1968]

EARNING THE FEES?—LAX JUSTICE GIVES THIEVES THE TIME FOR MORE CRIME

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the last in a three-part series questioning how bad in fact is the crime situation on Gary Streets? Can people safely shop in Gary stores? What specific steps are being taken by the police and other authorities to protect law-abiding citizens?

(The Post-Tribune attempts in this series to delineate the extent of the problem and measures being taken to combat it. This series is being published not to point the finger of blame, but to help the people of the area understand the problem and to indicate what is being done about it and how every one of us can help to overcome it.)

(By Derwood Haines)

Policemen and civilians alike maintains that laxity in the handling of criminals and their court cases is the greatest single contributing factor to crime in Gary.

"Generally, you can figure on two or three (Lake Criminal Court) continuances in every case, and most defendants are allowed to plead guilty to a lesser crime," said one detective on the Gary police force.

He was talking about armed robbery suspects who were initially charged with that crime, allowed to plead guilty to a lesser offense, and then given what he termed lenient sentences from the court.

"We have had cases pending for five months," the detective continued. "And, we learn in a roundabout way that the cases are continued because the attorney (for the armed robbery suspect) hasn't got his money."

"The only way a holdup man, in this situation, can get money for attorney and bond fees is more holdups," the veteran investigator asserted.

This detective and his partner were also critical of probation and parole practices in Indiana, and said stricter practices would help immensely in solving the problem of robberies and other theft-type crimes that have shoved two areas of the city into a high insurance risk category and are threatening to do likewise to downtown.

"In many cases, a criminal on parole will go to City Court on a misdemeanor and be convicted, but his parole is never revoked. We get a lot of repeaters," they revealed.

Another police problem is public apathy or fear.

Victims are many times afraid to cooperate for fear of retaliation and some don't want to lose time from their jobs it takes to identify suspects and testify against them in court, police say.

"But, we've never had a case where a holdup man has retaliated against a cooperating witness or victim," the veteran investigators said.

The two officers were skeptical of gaining any sharp decrease in theft-type crimes here.

"When you lock up one gang, another pops up," is their outlook.

Generally, this happens because it's rare for an entire gang to be arrested at one time. So, those who remain at large recruit new gang members and go about the holdups, burglaries and the like that cost city merchants nearly a half million dollar a year in losses. Higher insurance rates—sometimes cancellations—loss of trade and the expense of security measures are costly side effects.

The recovery of crime-connected losses is extremely low, because the thieves "blow their haul" in a day or so, according to police.

To confirm that arresting any one gang doesn't necessarily spell a decrease in street crimes, detectives point out that in the latter part of 1967, ten armed robbery suspects were jailed. The crimes didn't decrease.

Armed robbery investigators have concluded that the man they seek, after such a crime, is usually in his late 20s, unemployed, less than high school educated and with a previous police record.

Merchants from throughout the entire city are greatly concerned about the crime problems that are threatening many of their business existences.

At its initial meeting, Citizens For a Safer Gary's first concern was laxity in the courts.

One of the first suggested courses of action was to oppose the re-election of Lake Criminal Court Judge John McKenna. The committee has since declared itself politically non-partisan.

Earlier, Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher had called for a meeting with McKenna and City Court Judge Richard Kaplan to discuss what he termed "an emergency crisis" in the crime problem of Gary.

As with the citizen group, Hatcher was critical of the number of instances where persons with criminal records have been freed in new cases or received what he called "a slap on the wrist" from the court.

"We have to have cooperation from the judiciary to secure the city," Hatcher said.

The three officials, along with Lake County Prosecutor Henry Kowalczyk, Gary Police Chief James Hilton and three local businessmen, have conferred.

Some results were agreement on special attention by the Criminal Court and prosecutor's office to cases involving crimes of violence, especially in Gary; a liaison committee to work on solutions to the growth of these crimes and a weapons registration ordinance.

Hilton also has been working to overcome what he considers another big stumbling block for police—U.S. Supreme Court rulings.

The police chief said he has two members of the staff of Northwestern University's Law School working with his department to teach patrolmen how to "make a case," in other words, make an arrest and draw up the charges in such a way as to bring conviction—rather than release on technicalities.

Along this line, Hilton said decisions come quickly from the top court, changing long-standing police habits. He gives as examples two decisions this week restricting police lineups, a method used to have victims identify suspects.

Hilton said the latest rulings even limit a lineup as to size—maximum and minimum number of persons.

The chief says the professors are proving invaluable.

The chief talks frankly about crime on Gary's streets. He admits crime increased during the first two months of his regime. He says, however, the increase exactly parallels the national rate increase and is not peculiar to Gary.

What is more cheerful is the chief's prediction about this month—March. He says crime is down significantly the first two weeks, and he is sure it will show a marked decrease for the month.

Hilton has been drumming up support for his programs around the city. Only this week a downtown civic club took note of his work.

Gary Kiwanis Club issued a resolution congratulating Hilton and the Police Department for its "more effective law enforcement program."

[From the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune, Feb. 18, 1968]

BODYGUARD FORCE IS CUT: HATCHER REMAINS CONCERNED OVER HIS SAFETY

(By John Stowell)

GARY.—Richard G. Hatcher's force of volunteer bodyguards has been reduced recently to 60—100 below its peak. But the only Negro mayor in Indiana still has worries about his physical safety.

Apprehension that racial extremists might object violently to a Negro as head of the city administration has receded.

However, the soft-spoken, 34-year-old Hatcher says, "I think we have to be careful" with "the criminal and political element" hit by his drive against crime, vice and civic corruption.

"They'd kill him," asserts Charles H. Ware, a Teamsters Union organizer who formed the force of bodyguards when Hatcher was running for office last year.

Gary is a rough and ready steel town of 180,000 more than 55 per cent Negro, where gambling and prostitution have long been practiced more or less openly.

PROMISES CLEANUP

Hatcher, an attorney and a nondrinking, nonsmoking churchgoer, was elected mayor last Nov. 7 on a platform promising a big scale cleanup.

Hatcher has fulfilled his pledge that his administration would be multi-racial. His administrative assistant, fire chief and city attorney are Negroes. The police chief, planning director and city engineer are white. As civil defense director he appointed the first Latin American to head a city department here.

Hatcher ordered police guards on city buses, which had suffered 31 holdups in 11 months. He created a 12-man task force to clamp down on vice.

As chief of the 276-man police force Hatcher appointed James Hilton, a department veteran who had headed the narcotics squad for 12 years.

HIS PRESENCE BRINGS SHUTDOWN

Hilton, 41, and the father of 10, said of the mayor:

"The biggest thing we have going for us is him. The very fact that we have him in office shut down some places. Normally, when a new administration comes in, there's a period of inactivity, a wait-and-see period."

Hatcher often munches on a hot dog or hamburger at his desk for lunch and gets most of his work done in the evening after the building is closed.

"I want to get out of this office. Get out on the streets and see the people and hear their problems," he says, jabbing with a chrome-plated letter opener for emphasis.

To help them, he is pressing Washington for assistance from the Justice, Commerce and Labor Departments; the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; the Department of Housing and Urban Development; the Office of Economic Opportunity which handles the antipoverty program; and other agencies.

"We're determined to get all we can." Hatcher says.

SEES GARY DOLLARS

"We believe there are dollars in Washington with 'Gary' written all over them."

The mayor is aware that being a Negro has helped him to enlist the aid of federal government. "Obviously," he says, "there is more than the usual interest in Gary and Cleveland." (Carl Stokes, another Negro, was elected mayor of Cleveland last November.)

"Cleveland and Gary may be an indication of what's to come," Hatcher says, "People in Washington hope these first experiences will be good experiences, setting a good standard."

BUMISM AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, in this day and age when we have all types of slogans, bumper stickers, buttons, window stickers, promoting causes and programs running the gamut from the ludicrous to the worthy, I suggest that we add one more to the "worthy" category. It reads, "Raise, up, yes; prop up, no."

This is taken from an excellent column by the nationally syndicated columnist, Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and he has other observations which certainly provide food for thought for those of us in the Congress who are called upon to deliberate on the merits of the many programs and policies which are presented in the hope of providing assistance to those who are truly in need. I insert the article at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Wisconsin State Journal, May 26, 1968]

BUMISM AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

We hear a lot these days about the "hard-core" unemployed.

It has become a political cliche. Candidates try to out-bewail each other that the hard core exists. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy demands 2 million immediate jobs for the hard core. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is campaigning to get industry to open up places for the hard core. Walter Reuther insists on a guaranteed job or guaranteed income for every American.

Out of all this fervor and fever there arises an image—the eager, undereducated, ill-skilled, deprived man reaching desperately for a chance which a callous society has denied him. It is a pathetic picture. Unfortunately, it isn't the whole picture.

There are, indeed, men whose only skills have been rendered obsolete by the march of technology. Elevator operators are no longer wanted and no one is looking for hod carriers. The man behind the mule is in excess supply. Clearly, here are subjects for retraining.

There are men, particularly, Negroes, who bumped against closed doors—lily-white labor unions and employers with sizable race prejudices. Clearly, here are doors that must be opened.

And there are always unemployables—people too old to learn new skills, people too stupid to follow directions, people of uncertain health. Society must keep them, and some form of early pension might prove cheaper than elaborate relief systems .

But let's not overlook the bums.

The trouble is that practically no one will admit any more that bums exist. It isn't considered polite.

Politicians find good mileage in denying that anyone's sad estate is his own fault.

Eminent sociologists work tirelessly to find alibis for all human failure.

Preachers are long on sermons about the innate goodness of perpetual panhandlers.

To admit that there are such things as bums destroys the popular business of blaming self-supporting taxpayers for all the national ills.

Yet bumism—the business of not working if you don't absolutely have to work—is one of the most human of all failures.

From time immemorial two things have impelled men to get out of bed and start their labors—the carrot and the stick.

Highly motivated, ambitious, or conscientious men are carrot people. They are impelled forward by greed or altruism or ambition or the thirst for self-fulfillment. They are the big-doers.

Much more common are the stick men. Always, these have been goaded forward by autocratic tribal chiefs, slave drivers, hard-nosed bosses, and nagging wives. They contribute to dynamic societies only under the fear of eviction and starvation.

In the easy lands where you can build a rush hut in 30 minutes and get the women to plant the yams, stick men dance a lot and contribute very little. Such societies don't amount to much except in the eyes of Rousseauian sentimentalists who profess to see great virtues in primitive living.

The trouble is that in America today, for the first time in human history, the bum is not only pretty well provided for but copiously wept over. On every hand people of culture and intelligence are thinking up excuses for his nonperformance. A lot of starry-eyed carrot people simply don't understand stick people. They can't imagine why people would behave like bums if they haven't been crushed by something.

The bum loves all this solicitude. He reaches eagerly for any rationale for non-doing. And he begins to voice demands which have no end to escalation and which must be provided, of course, by people who do get out of bed, even on cold mornings, to feed the chickens or punch the clock.

Bums are everywhere and proliferating. In New York City there are more than 750,000 on some form of public assistance. These are not all pathetic victims of circumstances. In Washington last month convention luncheons had to limit the tickets sold because enough waiters couldn't be hired. Yet the Washington relief load is skyrocketing. Oklahoma's largest lumber mill has women running fork lifts. The hills of that particular county are full of able-bodied male reliefers. In Appalachia healthy men sit, waiting for jobs to come to them.

Employers seeking to hire the "hard core" will uncover some rough diamonds. This will be wonderful. But people who dropped out of high school to stand outside the saloons pitching pennies at the sidewalk cracks are not top bets. And no company can maintain much morale among its competent workers if the payroll is too much loaded with bums. Raise up, yes. Prop up, no.

We'll soon have to admit that there are some people so prone—they could drown in 6 inches of water.

THE FRENCH CRISIS

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, Charles de Gaulle apparently has once more surmounted a deep-seated and virulent crisis. While trouble and difficulty remain, the peak hopefully has passed.

The superb manner in which he used silence, words, and action is a comfort and inspiration to people everywhere who look with hope and confidence to democratic free institutions.

The French President acted throughout the crisis clearly within the legal powers of his office.

I place in the Record at this point an excellent commentary on De Gaulle by the eminent journalist, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, together with the text of De Gaulle's radio address of May 30:

De Gaulle Acts Within Law To Repel Illegal Rioters

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

Charles de Gaulle's decision to enforce law and order against rowdy students and workmen illegally occupying factories and other places of business may conceivably remind other democratic authorities of their duty to the people who elected them.

This writer finds much to criticize in the General's policy abroad and royal ways at home. The fact remains that the "presidential" constitution which he is upholding was adopted by popular referendum on September 28, 1958. De Gaulle himself became President by popular vote on December 21, 1958 and again on December 19, 1965. There is no evidence that he has overstepped his constitutional powers and twice the French people have by referendum confirmed specific policies which he laid before them.

In a democracy, legitimacy is confirmed by popular vote. Democracy knows no other. President Charles de Gaulle is entirely correct in calling upon the French armed forces, if necessary, to suppress what can only be called illegal acts by students and commy-inspired workers.

GOVERNMENT BY BLACKMAIL NOT JUSTIFIED

Nothing in the French constitution gives either group any right to seek advantages for themselves or choose the government by blackmail, rioting, sabotage ond forceful occupation of others' property.

In this sense, what happens before and at the coming French election on June 17—if such an election is held—will test the democracy of the French people.

Are or are not the French capable of ruling themselves or do they favor government by putsch and coup d'etat? This has nothing—I repeat, nothing—to do with the desirability of the educational reforms desired by students or of the higher pay for less work so clamorously demanded by labor organizations.

Political democracy does not require economic equality. All it requires is freedom to vote for the candidates of one's choice. Economic equality is an aim of socialism and has, outside of some Israeli kibbutzim, been applied nowhere.

Certainly not in the Soviet Union, Red China or other "socialist" countries. Britain has had political democracy for well over a century without economic or social equality.

DO LEADERS HAVE COURAGE?

Therefore, the issue in France today, and in all other democracies where minorities are being encouraged to obtain what they want by rioting, looting and arson, is simple:

Do the democratically elected leaders have the courage and conviction to enforce existing laws precisely as written?

Charles de Gaulle apparently has. What he is saying to the discontented French is simple: "Prove in an honest election that the majority of French voters want what you want. Put me in a minority and you will have a new policy and, if I choose to resign, a new President. Meanwhile you can negotiate peaceably with the government for those benefits to which you think you are entitled. But first get out of the universities, get out of the factories and post offices, let the shops and the railroads and the radio and TV function normally—or else! For I shall uphold the law by all necessary means including armed force."

As I write, union leaders are grumbling that they will not evacuate the factories, etc., until they get what they want, election or no election. If so, civil war seems all but certain.

But if, without civil war, Big Charley saves France from communism and fascism and compels French dissenters to express their discontent by legal means over, his example may be contagious. Leaders in other democracies may muster up the wisdom and courage to do likewise.

But meanwhile what a contract between De Gaulle and the American President who bade his police and soldiers stand by while malcontents and criminals rioted, looted and burned in our nation's capital!

Address Delivered by General Charles de Gaulle, President of the French Republic, Broadcast Over French Radio, May 30, 1968

Frenchwomen, Frenchmen, being the custodian of the national and republican legitimacy, I have examined, for the last twenty-four hours, all the eventualities that, without exception, would enable me to maintain it. I have made my resolutions. In the present circumstances, I shall not withdraw. I have a mandate from the people. I shall fulfill it. I shall not change the Premier, whose worth, strength and ability deserve the tribute of all. He will propose to me the changes that will seem useful to him in the composition of the Government.

I am dissolving the National Assembly today.

I have proposed to the country a referendum that gave the citizens the opportunity to prescribe a profound reform of our economy and our university system and at the same time to say whether or not they retained their confidence in me by the only path acceptable, that of democracy. I note that the present situation makes it materially impossible to proceed with this. That is why I shall postpone the date.

As for the legislative elections, they will take place within the time period provided by the Constitution, unless some intend to muzzle the French people as a whole by preventing them from expressing themselves at the same time that they are being prevented from living, by the same means that the students are being prevented from studying, the teachers from teaching, the workers from working. These means are the intimidation, the intoxication and the tyranny exercised by groups organized long in advance for that purpose, and by a party that is a totalitarian enterprise, even if it already has rivals in this respect.

If, then, this state of force continues, I shall have to take, in order to maintain the Republic and according to the Constitution, other paths than the immediate polling of the country. In any case, everywhere and immediately, civic action must be organized. This must be done to help the Government first of all, then, locally, the Prefects, who have become or become again Commissioners of the Republic, in their task which consists of ensuring as much as possible the existence of the population and of preventing subversion at any time and in every place.

France is indeed threatened by dictatorship. Some want to force her to resign herself to a power that would impose itself in national despair, a power that would then obviously be mainly that of the conqueror, that is, of totalitarian communism. Naturally, to begin, it would be colored with a deceptive appearance, by using the ambition and the hatred of shelved politicians. After which, these people would carry no more than their own weight, which would not be great.

Well, no. The Republic will not abdicate. The people will collect themselves. Progress, independence and peace will prevail, along with liberty.

Long live the Republic!
Long live France!

COMPULSORY UNION MEMBERSHIP RULED ILLEGAL

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I recently pointed out the all-out push that many union leaders are currently exercising to bring about a forced unionism in Government civil service.

The magazine, Postmaster Advocate, in its June 1968 issue indicated that Government legal officers have ruled this requirement illegal. This is gratifying but it points to the need for congressional vigilance to any effort to legalize this forced unionism of our civil servants.

The article states:

Compulsory Union Membership Ruled Illegal

Government legal officers have ruled that any requirement that federal employees join unions or pay the equivalent of union dues to hold their jobs would be violation of civil service laws.

This view has been transmitted to members of the President's review committee on the government's labor-management program.

Employee leaders have asked, where unions have exclusive recognition rights to represent all the employees in a unit, that all workers be required to become members of the union or at least pay the equivalent of union dues. This would be a condition of their employment.

However, federal legal officers, asked for their opinion, hold that such a system would be contrary to civil service merit laws and regulations.

ADDRESS OF DAVID ROCKEFELLER BEFORE BELGIAN-AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS

HON. BARBER B. CONABLE, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, in the coming days we face a decision in the House on the long-debated proposals for a 10-percent surtax and a cutback in Government spending. Mr. David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank and one of the most respected leaders of the financial and banking community, recently discussed the significance of these proposals and other steps to improve the Nation's fiscal health. His views are probably typical of those American leaders who work closely with our economy and the Nation's financial resources. So that my colleagues in the House may be acquainted with these views, I am submitting Mr. Rockefeller's address for printing in the RECORD. I do not agree with all the attitudes presented. but I believe the address merits our consideration. The address was delivered May 27 in Brussels before the Belgian-American Associations.

The address follows:

REMARKS BY DAVID ROCKEFELLER, PRESIDENT, CHASE MANHATTAN BANK, BEFORE BELGIAN-AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS, BRUSSELS, MAY 27, 1968

Frank Mason tells me that the most respected local "expert" on the American dollar is the last fellow to have arrived in Brussels from the States!

By that somewhat exacting definition, I'm afraid I must disavow any claim to expertise because I left New York for Europe almost a week ago.

In fact, the picture is changing so rapidly that the only thing I'd be willing to bet on is that Congress has still not passed a tax increase!

Nevertheless, I thought that I might best live up to our bank's slogan—"You have a friend at Chase Manhattan"—by trying to put the American economic situation into some reasonable perspective.

You hear and read a great deal these days about what has been called "the crisis of the dollar"—the dollar which is both the vehicle and symbol of U.S. economic strength.

In the most immediate sense, this crisis is a test of American financial management. But it is much more than that. Quite simply, it boils down to whether the United States, as a nation, has the will and capacity to face up to the burdens of leadership in a world of turmoil.

I need not emphasize to this audience—in the capital city of the great experiment of the Common Market, in a country that is utterly dependent on foreign trade and benefits from foreign investment—that the answer to that question is of more than parochial American interest.

The outward symptoms of crisis have been plain enough. Speculation in the gold markets and emergency meetings of central bankers have been front-page news. U.S. travelers in Europe were faced one weekend in March with even more direct evidence of doubts about the dollar. They suddenly found the cashing of dollar checks for foreign currency could no longer be taken for granted.

Happily, that episode was short-lived. The big wave of gold speculation subsided, even though there have been flurries since then. Our technical defenses against speculation have been bolstered by the agreement of central bankers to insulate stocks of gold from private markets. Important steps have also been taken toward creating a new supplement to gold for use in official reserves, thus strengthening the international monetary system for the longer pull.

These achievements in dealing with the emergency and laying the foundation for future evolution of the monetary system are no small tribute to the intelligence, courage, and cooperative spirit of financial officials on both sides of the Atlantic. However, it would be a grave mistake to think that new monetary arrangements by themselves can treat the underlying causes of malaise. The fundamental factors eroding the strength of the dollar are still present.

Within the U.S., prices are increasing at the most rapid rate since the early stages of the Korean War. After three years of sharply rising military and civilian spending, definitive steps have not yet been taken to close an enormous and still growing budget deficit—a deficit estimated at more than $20 billion even before allowing for extra Vietnam costs. The whole burden of restraint has fallen once again on monetary policy at the risk of severe distortions in the credit markets and in the economy, similar to those seen in 1966.

As a direct result of internal inflationary pressures, imports are surging higher and the basic competitive position of American industry is being impaired. Even after allowing for special adverse factors now behind us, the recent decline in our foreign trade surplus has been quite precipitous. When account is taken of the goods given away through the foreign aid program, our export surplus has vanished entirely.

With this element of strength gone, our chronic balance of payments deficit, instead of yielding to the series of special emergency measures taken in recent years, actually increased last year to the largest figure since 1960. With the help of the new measures imposed by President Johnson on New Year's Day, that deficit was narrowed to an annual rate of less than $2.5 billion in the first quarter. But the targets set in the President's January program may already be beyond reach.

Why, you may ask, have these adverse trends so far evoked no effective response?

The explanation lies partly, I suspect, in the tendency of Americans—with a long heritage of a vast and relatively self-contained continental market—to look upon these as rather special and technical problems, far removed from other critical issues of public policy or the concerns of the average citizen.

There is still a disposition to regard inflation as an inevitable and tolerable cost of full employment, and to view the payments deficit as a minor nuisance in a mammoth economy.

Certainly in an $800 billion economy, with total transactions with foreigners adding up to some $100 billion, an imbalance of payments of $2 billion or even $3 or $4 billion in a single year should not be cause for alarm. But of course the plain fact is that we have not had deficits for merely a single year, or for two or three years, but for almost two decades. Our annual deficits have by now accumulated to $27½ billion just since 1957. Settling those deficits has already cost us half our gold, and increased our liquid indebtedness to foreign central banks and treasuries to about $16 billion.

Americans have been slow to appreciate that the dollar is no longer merely a domestic currency. They have been slow to realize the full implications of what you see every day in your use of the dollar as the vehicle for conducting much of your trade and as a store of international purchasing power.

Foreign countries have long held a sizable portion of their official reserves—roughly a third at present—in the form of dollars. The dollar has now also become the main stock in trade of the international money and capital markets, including the more than $15 billion borrowed and lent outside this country in the so-called Eurodollar market.

All this elaborate fabric rests on confidence in the United States as a strong and disciplined nation.

Confidence that the value of the dollar will be maintained in the exchange markets.

Confidence that dollars can be used to buy goods and services in the vast American market at reasonably stable prices.

Confidence that the U.S. government will not restrict the free use of dollars overseas.

This confidence must rest, fundamentally, on our ability to pay our way abroad—by borrowing or by sales of gold if necessary in the short-run, but ultimately by maintaining a strong competitive position in international markets. But we can maintain neither our credit nor our competitive position without responsible economic discipline.

This is precisely what has been lacking for more than two years. This is why confidence in the United States and in the dollar has been eroding. Should doubts about our willingness to act responsibly crystallize into strong convictions, the risks to world trade and prosperity are plain.

It is illusory to imagine that these risks can be avoided by our attempting to eliminate the deficit through direct controls. We have already traveled some distance down that road in the area of foreign investment. As a purely emergency device, I would acknowledge the need for these controls as a means of buying time before more fundamental measures—which, unfortunately, are yet to be taken—can become effective.

At present, our income from past investment far exceeds new outflows of direct investment. But if restrictions on capital outflows are maintained for an extended period, such controls can be most harmful. Reduced flows of foreign investment today will certainly reduce profits tomorrow, and thus depress future return flows of income.

Nor do I believe the U.S. could expect any better results from controls on imports by means of quotas or a special surcharge. This is a game that others can play as well—perhaps even more successfully than we—and the whole of economic history points up the dangers of retaliation.

Even if a case could be made that controls would narrow the statistical deficit in our payments, such controls would offer no real or lasting solution. After all, we do not seek a strong balance of payments as an end in itself, but rather as a prerequisite to shouldering the burdens and responsibilities of world leadership.

On the whole, I believe we Americans can take pride in the leadership we have provided throughout the postwar period toward liberalization of trade and investment flows. The success of that effort is reflected in a doubling of world trade in the past decade. We have seen an enormous growth in productivity and output made possible by liberal trading practices, by the rapid spread of advanced technology and management techniques, and by the more effective flow and use of capital on a worldwide scale.

But future success is not something we can take for granted, as the four-year struggle leading up to the Kennedy Round and the persistence of non-tariff barriers demonstrate. Right now pressures are strong to enact new protectionist measures, even as application and acceleration of the Kennedy Round tariff cuts hang in the balance. These pressures so far have been successfully resisted, and I hope that will continue to be the case. For it takes no great exercise of the imagination to conclude that if the United States, goaded by balance of payments pressures, retreats into restrictionism, all forward momentum will be lost.

I believe it is also becoming apparent to Americans that we have, perhaps unconsciously, drifted into a position in which the problems of the dollar are beginning to undermine our defense posture and even our freedom of action in foreign policy.

Take the current example of our involvement in Vietnam. This costs us some $1.5 billion a year in foreign exchange. Those costs have clearly been a factor in the developing crisis atmosphere, but only because they come on top of an already persistent and sizable deficit.

We now hear talk that ending that conflict is the way to solve our financial problems. But surely that would be to put the cart before the horse for a country with any pretense to world leadership. The point is not the specific merits of our Vietnam policy. Rather, it is that, in the kind of world in which we live, the U.S. must be prepared to shoulder this kind of financial burden when necessary in defense of freedom.

What this amounts to is that the problems of the dollar have been pushed down far too low on our scale of national priorities. The irony is that, in the process, we have weakened our ability to deal effectively with those other issues that have been much higher on the list.

The rising sense of frustration over our financial problems is reflected in the growing appeal of a radical change in the monetary system. If we are in a bind from a loss of gold, goes one refrain, why not increase its price and at least buy a little more time? Or why not cease paying out gold, and let the dollar depreciate in the exchange markets of the world?

Upon analysis, these proposals turn out to be less of a "solution" than an abdication of responsibility. To permit the exchange value of the dollar to fluctuate freely, for instance, would be to pull the props out from under all those international trading and financial arrangements to which I referred earlier, and put nothing in their place. It would be no easier to carry the burdens of our troops abroad or the aid program with a depreciating currency, and we would have removed one of our key defenses against domestic inflation.

The proposal to increase the price of gold reminds one of the last desperate attempt of the losing poker player to stay in the game by revaluing the chips.

How could the U.S. justify refusing to do what needs to be done and trying to buy time by breaking faith with all the holders of dollars who have accepted our repeated pledge to maintain the $35 price? Of course, other countries would be forced to follow and devalue their own currencies, so a higher gold price would achieve little or nothing in terms of restoring equilibrium in our external payments. Nor would it restrain domestic inflation. Instead, it would certainly be taken as a symbol of our unwillingness to deal with these problems.

Moreover, in the process of trying to buy time for ourselves, we would sink the prospect of achieving controlled and orderly additions to world monetary reserves along the lines of the Stockholm agreement reached only a short time ago. Instead of opening a bright new chapter in monetary development after years of patient negotiation, we would simply emphasize anew the role of gold with all its rigidities and costs.

In rejecting these pseudo-solutions, I can offer no easy path out of our present problem. We cannot expect to accomplish the things we have to without paying the bill. And it is precisely this, it seems to me, that we have been trying to do.

We failed to increase taxes or exert strong controls on spending in 1965 or 1966 when Vietnam expenditures were just building momentum. However understandable in the light of economic and military uncertainties, that was a decision for which we have paid a heavy penalty. Even now, after almost three years of accelerating expenditures, the question of a tax increase is still pending.

Nevertheless, there is growing evidence that the urgent need for fiscal action is now widely recognized. Legislation has been prepared combining a 10% tax increase with a $6 billion cutback in spending. This has not been easy, for even those who agree on the need for restraint differ on the form. But as the showdown draws near, I trust that the Congress will not be found wanting in courage despite the unpopularity of such a move in a major election year.

I do not want to leave you with the impression that this fiscal measure can do the job alone, even if it is passed in the near future.

It will not substitute for restraint on the growth of private credit, which in excessive volume could fuel inflation as surely as the Federal deficit or wage increases that outstrip productivity gains. Even less can it substitute—especially at this late date—for other measures to reduce the balance of payments deficit more directly.

Given the urgency of correcting our foreign deficit, I am not satisfied that we are right in carrying so much of the burden of the defense of Europe—particularly so much of the cost as measured in foreign exchange. I am not satisfied that we have yet done all we can to remove foreign non-tariff barriers to U.S. exports. I am not satisfied that our export promotion programs or export credit facilities have reached the degree of effectiveness the situation demands. Nor am I satisfied that our tax and regulatory authorities have fully opened their minds to examining all the ways in which changes in present laws and rulings might encourage inflows of foreign funds, or improve the competitive position of our industry. Nor am I convinced that the surplus countries of Europe have fully faced up to their own responsibilities in easing the adjustment process.

But in the end, responsible fiscal and monetary policies in the U.S. itself must be at the heart of the defense of the dollar. Only by these means can we eliminate the excess demand that is spilling over into price increases and imports. Only by these means can we eliminate the distortions and pressures in the credit markets and the economy that have helped to slow the rise in productivity and impair our basic competitive position. Only by sticking to these policies for the long pull can we meet the challenges at home, and simultaneously lay the base for the growing surplus in foreign trade that must be the hallmark of a healthy balance of payments.

I would emphasize that the United States enjoys some great strengths unmatched by any other country. It has an enormously productive, rich economy, with immense growth potential. There is no meaningful sense in which it "can't afford" the material costs of resisting aggression in Vietnam, or the costs of an effective foreign aid program, or the most urgent costs of meeting the urban crisis.

By taking the needed fiscal action, we can set a new course. We can demonstrate that we have the will and the capacity to manage our affairs responsibly. In so doing, we will be well on the way to restoring the confidence in the dollar which is indispensable to our role of world leadership and to the prosperity of the Atlantic Community.

I personally am confident that despite all the obstacles, the Congress and the country will face up to the problem and do what they believe is right.

JUDGE'S VIEW OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RIOT POINTED

HON. BASIL L. WHITENER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Evening Star of today has a very interesting column by David Lawrence. This writer deals with the experience of Judge Alfred Burka, a judge of the courts of the District of Columbia, in trying cases arising out of the recent riots and looting in our Nation's Capitol.

Judge Burka is properly concerned about the laxness in law enforcement at the time of the outbreak of the riots. Had there been a firm policy of arrest and meeting force with force at the onset of the riots we would have seen restraint to the damaging of property and injuring of persons here. And, some of those caught up in the crime binge would not have been in the courts, if we are to believe their statements to Judge Burka.

Judge Burka has rendered a great service in eliciting this additional proof that timidity in the enforcement of laws against violence is a poor policy. Mr. Lawrence has equally served the public interest by making the information available to the people of the Nation through his syndicated column.

I make the column a part of my remarks at this point:

JUDGE'S VIEW OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RIOT POINTED

(By David Lawrence)

There is a lesson for every city in the country in the comment made by Judge Alfred Burka of the Court of General Sessions in Washington when he sentenced several persons who had engaged in rioting or looting here in April. The judge pointed the finger of blame at city officials for their failure to order the police to arrest rioters and to announce in unequivocal words that looters and arsonists would be severely punished.

"I have questioned several police officers," Judge Burka said, "and there is no doubt in my mind they operated with implicit or implied orders not to make arrests."

The judge insisted that there appeared to be no efforts to publicize beforehand the fact that looters would be arrested and prosecuted. He declared that the prisoners he had questioned admitted that they had no fear of arrest when they engaged in unlawful acts.

All of the group of seven defendants had records of steady employment and salaries of $100 or more a week, with one exception. Three earned more than $160 weekly. Most of them had no previous involvement with the law.

Judge Burka said that "people we were depending upon to uphold law in the District were involved in the disorder and very few of them were caught." He asked Nathaniel Dodds, 51, one of the defendants:

"Would you have gone (with the looters) if you had been warned that looters would be arrested or shot?"

"No sir," Dodds replied. "People told me the police weren't arresting anybody, and I thought it was all right, since everybody else was doing it." He added that he saw "lots of police around, but nobody was being arrested."

For some time there have been rumors that the Washington police were told not to make arrests or to shoot at anybody seen looting. In Chicago, Mayor Daley has warned that the police have orders to shoot those engaged in lawbreaking if they do not desist and submit to arrest.

Many of the disorders can be anticipated. "Demonstrations" are previously announced, and incitement to violence has been a frequent occurrence. Yet authorities in very few of the cities have issued warnings that persons engaged in rioting or looting or vandalism will be arrested and punished. Apparently a wave of propaganda has swept the country that the police are engaging in "brutality" if they attempt to use force to stop rioters, arsonists and looters.

Some of the difficulty arises because the Supreme Court of the United States, in a number of decisions, has upheld the right of "demonstrations" as coming under "free speech," and only recently has made it plain that this does not permit all violations of law. Clearly there is need for publicity, particularly in the areas threatened by disturbances, so that the population generally will be fully aware that the police will not hesitate to arrest persons who participate in disorders and incite others to break the law.

In some cities where riots have occurred, many of the lawbreakers were not arrested. Police chiefs have been restrained in their actions in the hope that the leaders of the "demonstrations" would themselves be able to quiet down the disorderly ones. Judge Burka, in criticizing Washington officials, said:

"It is an indictment of the constituted authority of the District of Columbia that apparently no effort was made to instruct the public that looting would be punished by arrest and prosecution. I only hope the public will be notified that swift and appropriate action will be taken in the event of any future recurrence of this (riot) activity."

Because Washington is the capital of the United States and is supposed to set an example to the nation, the experience of Judge Burka in interrogating prisoners and discovering that they did not expect to be arrested will be an eye-opener to the country. For while this city has a council form of government, the appointees are responsible to Congress and the President of the United States. Undoubtedly the issue will be raised in the coming national campaign as to whether the Democratic administration has been fulfilling its responsibilities to preserve law and order in the nation's capital.

INDUSTRY HELPS COMBAT POLLUTION

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the June 3, 1968, edition of Chicago's American has properly acknowledged the contributions of the Inland Steel Co. in helping to prevent further pollution of waterways in the Chicago area.

All too often, industries are portrayed only as the pollution culprits, and the efforts of business and industry to combat pollution are given little attention. Thus, the American performed a public service by pointing to the contributions of Inland Steel.

The American editorial follows:

INLAND STEEL'S GENEROUS ACT

Inland Steel Company has made a notable contribution toward cleaning up Lake Michigan—two contributions, in fact. On Friday, Inland announced changes in plans for a landfill project at its Indiana Harbor works; the principal change is that the area to be filled in will be enclosed by a steel bulkhead filled with stone or slag, instead of loose rubble. That will avert seepage of fine material from within the bulkhead or from the landfill operation behind it, and will keep the water in that area substantially cleaner.

Better still, Inland announced on the same day that it was offering the landfill area to the army corps of engineers as a dumping site. That will give the engineers a place to dump one million cubic yards of polluted material dredged from the Indiana harbor and canal—material that might otherwise have to be dumped directly into Lake Michigan, adding seriously to lake contamination. [Incidentally, this is the second year in a row that Inland has provided an offshore disposal area for the engineers.]

Dredge spoil is not the best landfill material; for one thing, it takes a long time to dry out and solidify. Inland's decision to accept this drawback in the public interest is a generous gesture, and we think deserves a particularly grateful bow.

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Members of the House an article that appeared in the Boston Evening Globe on June 1, 1968, and written by the famed news columnist, William J. Eaton, about our distinguished and esteemed chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from Arkansas, the Honorable WILBUR D. MILLS.

Our well-liked chairman is highly respected by all Members of this legislative body because of many reasons. His knowledge of the legislation considered by the powerful committee wherein he presides and the expertise exercised by the chairman has earned for him the wide acclamation of all who have observed him.

He has always given unstintly of his time and efforts to perfect the bills he brings to the floor of the House.

WILBUR MILLS loves his country and serves in a highly dedicated and devoted manner. The people of our Nation are fortunate to have the services of such a great American.

Serving on the House Ways and Means Committee under his leadership has been most rewarding. His fairness as a presiding officer of this most important committee cannot be excelled.

The article follows:

KING OF THE HILL, BUT NO HILLBILLY

(By William J. Eaton)

WASHINGTON.—Wilbur D. Mills, the Arkansas congressman who is a special target of the poor people's campaign, is the picture of prosperity.

He may represent the Ozark Mountain folk but no one could mistake him for a hillbilly.

Mills, who just turned 59, is always impeccably tailored and groomed. His black hair, graying at the temples, is slicked down and parted just a shade to the left of center. Plastic-framed glasses set off a full, even jowly face.

He puffs pencil-thin cigars through a filtered holder. His voice is deep and powerful, surprisingly so for a man who stands only 5 feet 8 inches tall.

Mills is stocky—weighing about 180 pounds.

The chairman of the House Ways and Means committee is a major influence on laws affecting taxes, Social Security, unemployment compensation, world trade and welfare programs. He is widely regarded as the most powerful individual in either the House or Senate and most observers credit him with blocking President Johnson's surtax proposal for nearly a year.

Although the President is furious about Mills' attitude, it is Mills' support of new restrictions on welfare payments that has drawn fire from the poor people's campaign.

George Wiley, head of a national welfare rights organization, has ordered "nonviolent surveillance" of Mills to back up demands for hearings on the measure that is scheduled to take effect July 1.

Twice this week, demonstrators have assembled outside the rather dowdy, old-fashioned apartment building on upper Connecticut av., in northwest Washington where Mills lives with his wife, Polly.

MEETS TWICE WITH DEMONSTRATORS

On the first visit, Mills wasn't there. He had taken his wife to dinner. A second time, apparently, the demonstrators found their target at home.

Mills has met twice, once with a delegation of three and again with Wiley and eight women who received aid to families with dependent children. They protested that new restrictions would end payments for some youngsters whose fathers have deserted them. Other provisions would force mothers to work instead of raising their children, the delegations said.

Although Mills listened, he's not about to meet Wiley's demands for hearings on the new provisions. As a result, the surveillance-harassment will continue and may extend to Mills' home in Kensett, Ark., his home town.

When Mills was growing up, he has related, he used to play a game called "House of Representatives." If he could not be the presiding officer, he refused to play.

His father was the owner of a general store and later invested in a bank, prospering enough to send Wilbur to Methodist-affiliated Hendrix College and later to Harvard Law School during the depths of the Depression.

In 1938, Wilbur won election to Congress from a district consisting mainly of poultry and rice farmers and residents of market towns. He was named to the important Ways and Means Committee in 1942 and became chairman early in 1958.

RARELY JOINS CAPITAL SOCIAL LIFE

Shortly after he came to Washington, Mills followed the advice of an elder and stopped riding the party circuit. He rarely joins the capital's abundant social life—and some congressmen cannot recall ever meeting him at an evening affair.

Instead, Mills tends to committee business. He has the reputation of listening to every witness, no matter how boring or unimportant, and once picked out 100 technical flaws in a tax bill sent to Congress by the late President John F. Kennedy.

A major asset is his inscrutability. Reporters who cover taxes have formed a "Mills-watching society" to try to interpret his mystic comments, or no comments.

At times, however, he makes no effort to hide his views. This has been true in the fight with the White House over the surtax. Mills said early and often that Federal spending was too high, the government was trying to do too much and major cuts were essential before the tax increase could pass.

His reputation as a tax expert is so good that Democratic leaders shudder at the thought of trying to get a tax measure through the House without his support.

RARELY LOSES, SUFFERS WHEN HE DOES

He is almost brutal in debate, cutting down opponents with a straightforward, simple and overwhelming presentation of facts and opinion. On the rare occasions when he's lost, Mills suffers.

"I think he would like to pass all his legislation by unanimous consent," said one Capitol Hill veteran.

Although Mills avoids a back-slapping manner, he is cordial toward his House colleagues. They often are deferential toward him, reflecting his very real power and experience.

"I've never seen him lose his cool," a liberal Democrat says of the controversial chairman. Mills likes to "take off the sharp corners" of a bill during protracted committee hearings before he brings it to a vote.

He won another victory this week when the House effectively supported a $6 billion cut in Federal spending instead of a $4 billion reduction favored by the President and liberal Democrats.

His encounter with the poor people's campaign, however, may last even longer and prove more troublesome to the suave and savvy sphinx from Arkansas.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS ENGINEERING DEAN EVERITT RETIRES

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, in November 1968, Dr. William L. Everitt, the dean of engineering at the University of Illinois, will retire after a long and successful career. He joined the university in 1944, and became dean of the College of Engineering in 1949. During his tenure as dean he has provided leadership which has made the college one of the leading engineering schools in the world.

In the recently published Cartter report of the American Council on Education, the college was ranked along with four other colleges which were rated as "distinguished" educational institutions in engineering. In a survey of 164 educational institutions by Industrial Research magazine, the college was ranked third in the Nation. For more than a decade the annual reports of the American Society for Engineering Education have consistently shown the College of Engineering to be among the top three in the Nation in both the number of doctor of philosophy degrees awarded and the volume of engineering college research.

Prof. Daniel C. Drucker, of Brown University, has been appointed by the University of Illinois Board of Trustees to succeed Dr. Everitt as dean of the College of Engineering. Dr. Drucker has been at Brown since 1947. He was chairman of the division of engineering from 1953 to 1959, and chairman of the physical science council from 1961 to 1963. He now is professor of engineering and L. Herbert Ballou University Professor.

Dean Everitt has achieved eminence for his work in industry, Government, private consulting, and higher education. He has served on countless Government and military panels and committees. He has been president of the Associated Midwest Universities, the Institute of Radio Engineers, the American Society for Engineering Education, and the Engineers' Council for Professional Development. He has held high positions with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, the Engineering College Administrative Council, and the Commission on Engineering Education.

He has written numerous books and articles and has been the editor of a series of electrical engineering texts for many years. He was a founding member of the National Academy of Engineering, and was recently elected to the ASEE Hall of Fame. For his many achievements in engineering and in higher education he has received eight honorary degrees and countless medals and awards.

Dr. Everitt was born in Baltimore, Md., on April 14, 1900. Following service during the First World War as a private in the Marine Corps, he entered Cornell University from which he was graduated in 1922 with a degree in electrical engineering. He received a master of science degree from the University of Michigan in 1926 and a doctor of philosophy degree from Ohio State in 1933.

During the early 1920's Dr. Everitt taught at both Cornell and Michigan before going in 1926 to Ohio State where he stayed 18 years and became a full professor of electrical engineering. During World War II he was director of the operational research staff in the Army Signal Corps, earning the War Department's Exceptionally Meritorious Civilian Award. While still affiliated with the Army, Dr. Everitt was appointed head of the Department of Electrical Engineering at the University of Illinois. He held this position until he became dean of the college.

Dean Everitt retires with a very full career behind him, and an equally full one ahead of him. He will continue to work with various governmental groups, to serve on committees dealing with the problems of higher education, to consult for industrial companies, and to edit and write technical articles and books. Perhaps the most notable evidence of his splendid reputation is his recent appointment as Chairman of the National Academy of Engineering's Committee on Telecommunications. In this capacity he will work with 15 other eminent engineers in producing, for the President's Task Force on Communications Policy and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, a blueprint for what communications can and should be by 1980.

By all standards of measurement, Dean Everitt has contributed a great deal to the concepts and philosophies of higher education in engineering and science. These contributions have added strength and economic potential to Illinois and to the Nation.

VA PROGRAMS SHOULD BE EXEMPT FROM SPENDING CUTS

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, judging from the remarks of Members who have discussed the merits of the tax bill in recent days, considerable confusion exists as to what the conference report on the bill provides with respect to spending reductions. Much concern has rightfully been voiced as to the result of the $6 billion spending cut on the programs of the Veterans' Administration. On last Wednesday the House received assurances from the distinguished chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee as to the intentions of the conference statement concerning reductions in Veterans' Administration personnel. Unfortunately, we have not had the advantage of looking at the language of the conference report, although we have had the opportunity to address ourselves to it in advance of its final preparation. Confusion exists, of course, because we must debate without full knowledge of the language of the report, and so we can only estimate the result.

We have been assured that the conference report will exempt VA programs from the $6 billion spending cut. But there remains the necessity of insuring that a proposed reduction of personnel on a Government-wide basis will not have a disastrous and unintentioned effect upon programs of the Veterans' Administration.

It is apparently the intention of the conferees that there be reductions in Government personnel back to the levels existing on June 30, 1966. I think such a reduction is a wise and necessary move. We must be careful, however, to insure that the impact of the reductions are evenly shared by all Government agencies. In order to effect such a reduction it is apparently the intention that the June 30, 1966, employment level will be reached by not filling one out of every four employment vacancies as they occur. Again, this is satisfactory provided all agencies of the Government share equally in job reductions. It is a fact, however, that unless the conferees make clear that job reductions are to be shared on an equal basis throughout the Government the major impact of personnel reductions will be felt by the Veterans' Administration. And in the Veterans' Administration the personnel cuts would fall mainly on the VA hospital and medical system. The Veterans' Administration can absorb its proper share of job reductions required by the Congress. But if the VA must absorb a disproportionate share of personnel reductions it will result in the closing of many VA hospital wards and hospitals.

The Veterans' Administration employs 150,462 persons. By its very nature the VA hospital system has a greater attrition rate than is found elsewhere in the agency and throughout the Government. If the Veterans' Administration is limited to fulfilling only three of every four vacancies until such time as the governmentwide employment levels of June 30, 1966, are reached, the effect will be a 16- to 17-percent reduction in VA personnel. Other Government agencies would average only a very small percentage reduction in personnel. Thus, the Veterans' Administration will have to absorb personnel cuts that should rightfully be made in other agencies of the Government.

The brunt of this disastrous reduction of personnel will fall upon the Veterans' Administration hospital and medical system. The magnitude of the personnel cuts would force the closing of hospitals and hospital wards and would seriously affect the quality of care in those facilities remaining open. We do not believe that anyone in the Congress wishes to see such reductions at a time when we must provide the very finest hospital and medical care for all of our veterans. The distinguished chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee has detailed the result of the hospital closings and cutbacks in medical care resulting from the unequal reduction of personnel.

If there be any doubt that the Bureau of the Budget, acting for the administration, would permit the weight of personnel reductions to fall upon the VA with a consequent closing of hospitals, I remind my colleagues that it was only 3 years ago that the same Bureau of the Budget attempted a meat-ax approach to the Veterans' Administration hospital program. The attempts made at that time to close 32 VA facilities including 15 hospitals were defeated. But I have no doubt that the Bureau of the Budget would seize the opportunity presented by the type of language in the conference report which I have referred to sharply cut back this vital veterans program.

As I have previously indicated, our colleague, the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, has stated that it is not his intention that VA personnel be reduced below the June 30, 1966, level. I do think it is necessary to spell out this personnel limitation most carefully. Congress cannot leave this matter to the discretion of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget. The report of the conferees must clearly state that the overall objectives of personnel reduction in the Government must be shared equally by all agencies. To insure that the Veterans' Administration hospital and medical program will not be disproportionately affected, I think it necessary that the conference report include specific language insuring that Veterans' Administration personnel will not be reduced below the June 30, 1966, level. This precautionary language is necessary if we are to fulfill our obligation to those men who have served our Nation.

IMPERSONAL LAWS MAKE FOUNDATIONS

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, recently an article appeared in the Daily Press newspaper entitled "Impersonal Laws Make Foundations," written by Mr. Ernest Cuneo.

This is an exceptionally well-written article which sets forth some of the truths which I think might be interesting to my colleagues. I place the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Newport News (Va.) Daily Press, May 23, 1968]

IMPERSONAL LAWS MAKE FOUNDATIONS

(By Ernest Cuneo)

WASHINGTON (Nana).—There was once a nice little jurist in France known as the good judge of Chateau-Thierry. He drew a curtain over the laws and decided cases from his heart. As he was a very good man, everyone was happy—for a time.

As his decisions piled up, however, matters in the community slowed down. The reason became increasingly apparent. While everyone liked him far better than they liked the laws of France, everyone knew what the laws of France would be a month hence but no one knew exactly what would be in the good man's heart the next day. The unfortunate truth therefore is that the certainty of an impersonal law, impersonally and impartially administered, is a far firmer foundation than the heart of a judge, however noble it may be in its intent.

For the past eight years, the Department of Justice and some of the leading courts of the land have conducted an experiment similar to that of the good judge of Chateau-Thierry with equally lofty intent and with equally disastrous result.

Perhaps this may be due to the necessity in a highly complex society of each man performing his function and his function alone. Thus, it may be assumed that when a wounded American soldier is carried into a forward field hospital, both the surgeon and the chaplain are equally moved by the sight of their countryman in deep distress. But if the surgeon forgets his function so far as to administer to the man spiritually and the chaplain attempts to render assistance medically, the man is likely to die.

It is frightful law therefore to . . . excuse a thousand thefts because they are committed by a thousand people. Further, it is immoral to pass off failure to perform a duty in a play to the grandstand as a humanitarian act.

Certainly, as the mayor of New York declared, life is more important than property. He had scarcely issued this statement however before it was exploited. The library of Columbia University, one of the greatest in the history of civilization, was occupied by irresponsible hoodlums. Magnificent Avery is considered and without parallel to be the finest architectural library in the world. The toil and care of over two centuries has gone into the 4 million volumes in the heart of the disturbance, including the Gutenberg Bible, the first use of printing by the human race. Life indeed is more important than property but there is a vast difference between a kid running away with a sports coat and a wild and irresponsible group imperilling great treasures. No one suggests their lives should be forfeit but the laws of New York provide severe penalties for this type of malicious mischief.

The police have ousted the youths after a week of occupation during which the President of the University's office was ransacked. Actually a Rembrandt had to be rescued from the office.

Remaining in danger however are the law of New York. Not only the nation but the world is on notice that one of the world's great cathedrals of learning has suffered outrage.

All this is against the peace and dignity of the people of New York. The mayor is the chief magistrate of the city. Like the good judge of Chateau-Thierry, the mayor of New York is a man of character. Under his protection, to name but barest few are the Metropolitan, Frick, Morgan Whitney and Guggenheim Museums, to say nothing of the New York Public Library, as magnificent and beloved as the Library of Congress.

Life indeed is more important than property but the life of a civilization counts also for something.

A conflagration such as has occurred in a hundred cities, had it taken place in Columbia's Libraries would have put the civilized world in mourning.

HOUSE REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON H.R. 17267—TO REMOVE PERSONS FROM FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT WHO ENGAGE IN RIOTS AND CIVIL DISORDERS

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the House Republican Policy Committee supports H.R. 17267. This bill provides for the removal of Federal or District of Columbia employees convicted of committing an unlawful act which is related to a riot or a civil disorder.

There must be an end to riot and disorder in this country. The November 1967 report of the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations reflected that riots in 76 American cities resulted in 130 deaths, 3,623 injuries, 28,932 arrests and caused an estimated $714.8 million in property damage and economic loss. Riots during 1968 already have increased these alarming statistics. As the President's Commission on Civil Disorders observed:

> Individuals cannot be permitted to endanger the public peace and safety and public officials have a duty to make it clear that all just and necessary means to protect both will be used.

The Federal Government has the right to expect and the duty to insist that its employees obey the law and set an example for the rest of the community as responsible citizens. Certainly, participation by Federal employees in riots and civil disorders cannot be condoned or explained away.

Under the present law, persons who engage in unlawful acts related to riots or civil disorders may or may not be disqualified for Federal employment. Disqualification for such acts is administered at the discretion of the Civil Service Commission. H.R. 17267 would eliminate the discretionary authority of the Civil Service Commission. It would make conviction for committing an unlawful act that is directly or indirectly related to a riot or a civil disorder, a specific statutory cause for dismissal and disqualification from employment in the Federal Government or the District of Columbia for a period of 5 years.

Employment by the Federal Government is a privilege that entails certain obligations. Those who enjoy this special status must be prepared to maintain a high standard of conduct. The enactment of this legislation will serve as timely notice that the Federal Government will not tolerate in its employment nor will it be a haven for those who engage in riots and civil disorders—and those who do renounce all claim to the privilege of Government service.

SUPPORT FOR HOUSING BILL

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the proposed housing bill now being considered by the House Banking and Currency Committee contains new programs of great promise and hope for low- and moderate-income families who want to become homeowners.

I have looked forward to voting for a comprehensive housing program with attractive and realistic innovations for years, because I have long believed that adequate housing is one of America's most pressing domestic needs.

Title I of the housing proposal is particularly appealing—offering a dramatic breakthrough for low- and moderate-income families who dream of homeownership, but who have been unable to achieve it.

Under this title, the Federal Government would pay all interest costs exceeding 1 percent on the purchase of homes by such families. The buyer would pay 20 percent of his income to the monthly mortgage.

But this is not the only reason I support this bill, Mr. Speaker. Another reason is extension and improvement of programs like: urban planning and renewal; "open space," water and sewer development grants; rent supplements; home rehabilitation; mass transit development; model cities; and several other important ones.

Although limited funds hamper the model cities program, it offers a fine chance for the old cities of America to rebuild themselves—not only physically, but to improve socially, by providing greater hope for the disadvantaged—in housing, employment, education, health, recreation, and other essential areas. Mr. Speaker, this housing bill must be passed—for the disadvantaged and for America.

NEWSLETTER

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, my mail and other communications from my constituents in the 10th Congressional District is reflecting ever-increasing concern on the part of many citizens about the many and complex problems facing our Nation today.

In an effort to provide those I represent with my position regarding the most pressing of these problems, I am mailing to all registered voters in my district a newsletter concerning Vietnam, crime and civil disorder, the economic situation, welfare problems, and other matters.

Mr. Speaker, with unanimous permission, I include in this RECORD the text of this newsletter:

As we pass the midpoint of the second session of the 90th Congress, I find there is more expression of worry and concern about our nation from the people of the Tenth District of Virginia than at any time in my sixteen years of service. The mail, personal visits, telephone calls, telegrams and other communications have been so numerous concerning the Vietnam War, the economic situation, and rioting and civil disorder, that I felt it not only desirable but essential that I communicate with you in an effort to give you a summary of these matters.

The shock waves of recent events have made a shambles of the old order. In the wake of the ensuing debris, emotions have flared, facts have been distorted, and perspectives have become warped. It becomes difficult at such times to always know what the issues are and where those in positions of trust stand in relation to them.

I have always tried to speak out honestly and with directness on all issues as they have arisen. I will continue to do so without guile, without hesitancy, and without fear. It is in that spirit, during this troubled hour, that this report is sent to you.

VIETNAM

At this writing our negotiators are meeting in Paris with the North Vietnamese. I pray for their success and hope, with all Americans, that an honorable peace can thus be secured. I have no desire to say or do anything that may injure the chances for obtaining such a settlement. I earnestly join those who urge restraint in debating this question.

I think it important, however, to sternly remind the Administration of the terrible price its policy of "gradualism" has forced to pay in the lives and maiming of so many American boys. No matter how well intentioned, this policy has produced the horrendous total of more than one hundred thousand American casualties, bitterly divided our nation, and strained our friendships and alliances abroad to the breaking point.

Since the lives and safety of many thousands more are still at stake, I think it just and necessary to demand that those in power insure against pursuit of the same disastrous policies that have gradually escalated this conflict into our fourth largest war. This is particularly true since we now have entered into negotiations with the communists. We should remember that we sustained our heaviest Korean casualties after peace talks had begun.

This policy of gradualism as pursued in Vietnam was designed to prevent intensification of the war, but resulted in the exact opposite. It virtually assured the enemy that he controlled the initiative. It assured the enemy that whatever action he took, the United States would respond only with comparable force. Escalation was carefully restrained and gradual. Each escalation was followed by a pause during which time the communists could regroup and replenish their arsenal. Far from destroying the enemy's capacity to make war, this policy of gradualism permitted him to increase his war capacity.

The prosecution of the war by the civilians in this Administration can at best be characterized as hesitant and indecisive. The unchallengeable military might of the United States has been effectively shackled by a fourth rate military power. Credibility in America's will and ability to deter communist aggression has evaporated.

Similarly, our non-military goals of pacification have been equally elusive. The recent TET offensive mounted and sustained by the Cong was a severe blow. Whereas this offensive was of a little apparent strategic importance in a military sense, it pointed up serious deficiencies in our efforts to prepare the South Vietnamese people for a complete takeover of their country and its defenses. Any honorable solution, in my opinion, must guard against a takeover of the South Vietnamese nation by military force. If we are to eventually extricate our own forces from this nation we must have first inculcated in these people the desire to defend their country and their way of life against tyranny from without. It would appear we still have a long way to go in attaining this goal.

It is therefore evident that our policies and aims in Vietnam must be painfully scrutinized and re-evaluated. Foremost there must be a concern for the safety and well being of our own fighting men and their allies. Nothing should be done, particularly in a unilateral way, to jeopardize their position. Regardless of what transpires at the negotiating tables, I feel we must return to those basic premises in our security policy which have served us and the cause of peace so well in the past. These are basically:

Our defense posture must confront an enemy with a clearly unacceptable risk; otherwise it invites political opportunism and aggression.

Our policies in the course of a conflict must not allow an enemy to control the level and nature of the U.S. military response, or allow him to disengage at will; otherwise they invite a continuing escalation of the conflict.

Our policies must not publicly proclaim that America will withhold any element of her might to prevent or repel aggression; otherwise they strip this nation of those military and diplomatic options indispensable to the attainment of her national goals, the success of her foreign policies, and her influence for peace.

Finally, we must continue in our resolve to prevent world communism from engulfing the free world. However, we must also conclude that we cannot do so alone. We must impress upon free men everywhere that we cannot and will not police the entire world. We must convince them that they must carry their share; that freedom is precious, but that it demands the heavy cost of preparedness and constant vigilance. We must see that there are no more Vietnam wars and with the help and counsel of determined free world allies so can it be.

CRIME AND CIVIL DISORDER

Webster defines anarchy as: "The State of society where there is no law or supreme power; a state of political disorder." America, which has for nearly two centuries been a Nation of law and order now finds outbreaks of anarchy in its cities and on its campuses. Personal anarchy, the commission of crimes against the individual, is growing at an astounding rate—up 88 per cent since 1960.

Where did it all begin? It started when the courts of the land began to infringe on the rights of society in general to over-protect the rights of the lawbreaker. Law enforcement has been hamstrung by court decisions which prevent investigative arrest, use of electronic equipment and in general have made crime an easier and more successful venture.

But the kind of crime that now challenges the authority of our laws came about through the permissive leaders of Government who tolerated mass violation of State, local and national laws done in the name of civil rights. The first "freedom marchers" took over a State highway. Marches progressed to demonstrations at public institutions—sit-ins, lie-ins and other disorders designed to disrupt the functions of Government. Demonstrations gave way to rioting—which deteriorated into looting and arson—and a complete break-down of law and order until sufficient military force was brought in to restore authority.

It has become popular to cry that Congress hasn't been responsive in the field of civil rights—yet more civil rights legislation has been passed during the past decade than ever before. More fields have been covered, more agencies set up to enforce these laws. Yet, civil disturbances have shown rapid growth during this time of legislative progress.

The most recent civil rights bill, rushed through after the death of the Reverend Martin Luther King, cannot be called one of the shining hours of this Congress. The Senate debated the bill sent them by the House of Representatives for six weeks of tugging and hauling on the floor of that Chamber. They added over forty pages of amendments alone to what had been about a six page bill. But the House of Representatives was given only one hour to debate what was virtually a new forty page bill before it was rammed through on a wave of emotionalism.

The open housing section of this bill introduced for the first time the interference of the Federal Government with private property. It is an extension of Federal power I do not believe is warranted. Our Constitution established the right to own property, and the right "to own" means the right "to dispose of" property. It was a case of depriving the majority of rights in an ill-conceived, hastily constructed effort to put a civil rights act on the books.

The moral issues involved were handled in an immoral manner. Congress established the dangerous precedent of enacting law under duress and pressure. Those who preached that riot and insurrection are the way to lobby Congress were bolstered in their beliefs by this bill which was passed in a fit of parliamentary hysteria unbecoming to responsible Members who were elected on their pledges to exercise judgment and observe sound and practical legislative process.

The bill did have one valuable amendment, which I had introduced first a year ago. It gives the Government the power to deal with riot-rousers who enter the District of Columbia with the purpose of causing civil unrest. When Stokely Carmichael, early in the Washington riots, urged his black power followers to "go get your guns" he was attempting to create a reign of violence. He is now under investigation by the Attorney General's office—and I must say a rather half-hearted investigation, although the evidence dug up by the FBI is clear and complete.

It is important to national order that those who stir up riots be dealt with firmly. We cannot exist as a country if people are allowed to make arbitrary decisions on which laws they will obey and which they will break. Equality carries with it responsibility. Lawbreaking must be treated as crime, or there will be no limit to the excesses and excuses devised for breaking down the legal structure of our civilization.

Congress is now under seige by the "Poor People's March." This is a form of dignified anarchy. Federal laws against camping in the District have been waived. Regulations prohibiting demonstrations on Capitol Hill have been violated. Behind the surface calm lurks the constant threat of violence by leaders of the camp-in.

They are demanding that Congress set up a $4,000 guaranteed wage without working, liberalization of welfare (although the guaranteed wage supposedly eliminates poverty and makes welfare unnecessary) and the creation of three million new jobs. This demand for Federal make-work would double the present Federal work force which is nearing three million.

Their "solution" to poverty is an enlargement and continuation of the present systems which have created what the President termed 30 million living on inadequate incomes. I am firmly convinced that private enterprise must step into the gap. We must have a program to upgrade skills, to train workers where the productive jobs are, in industry and business. Any latter day WPA would be doomed to the same failure that plagued the programs of the 1930's. As a Nation we should have the intelligence to realize that handouts are not a hand up. A floor on income is a ceiling on opportunity. Free enterprise offers us the path out of poverty.

THE GREAT FISCAL DEBATE

You have been told that a tax increase is needed to meet what the Governor of the Federal Reserve Board described as the "worst financial crisis since 1931".

You have been told that a tax increase is needed to meet the threat of inflation.

You have been told that a tax increase is essential to improve our balance of payments and to preserve the integrity of the dollar abroad.

I think that all the claims that have been made—and all the cries of alarm—in an effort to stampede Congress into raising taxes have served to divert attention from the real issue.

We are today called upon to meet a fiscal emergency brought about by an "expenditure explosion". We cannot meet that emergency by just increasing taxes. That would be adding more fuel to the fire.

During the past 4 years the administration and the Congress have proceeded on the assumption that there was no deficiency in our society which the Federal purse and the heavy hand of Federal regulation could not cure. We have seen each piece of legislation beget more legislation—each new expenditure by the Federal Government beget other expenditures.

Nothing in the President's budget message for fiscal 1969 would indicate that the Nation is facing a crisis. The 1969 budget message began with the premise that everything that was done—and every dollar that was spent—in fiscal 1968 was both desirable and necessary. The 1969 budget proposed to spend more, not less.

At the Federal level, expenditures have increased by $68 billion between fiscal 1965 and fiscal 1969. Only $30 billion of that increase is attributable to the national defense. Interest on the public debt has gone up $4 billion. The remainder of $34 billion represents an increase in expenditures for social welfare—and about half of that amount is reflected in various programs which require some degree of matching by the state or local community.

Our problem is not one of inadequate revenues but excessive government spending. A tax increase by itself will just give the government that much more to spend.

The administration argues that the 10% surtax only takes back about half of the tax reduction that the Congress enacted in 1964. Not only is this inaccurate—it ignores the fact that if there was any slack, that slack has already been taken up at the local level by local taxes.

At all levels of government, we are facing the problem of determining priorities. The demands on government are so great that there simply is not enough revenue available—and not enough can be generated through additional taxes—to do everything that might be desirable. We must limit ourselves to what is necessary—and even within that framework to what must be done today and defer what can be put off until a later date.

For almost a year now, the President and the Congress have been deadlocked on this issue. Now it looks as if the impasse has been broken. There will be a vote on a tax increase coupled with a substantial cutback in expenditures. The failure of the administration earlier to accept a reasonable compromise was wholly irresponsible. I believe that control over expenditures is so essential that I will support this package, although I am reluctant to vote for increased taxes.

I think, however, that we were very fortunate. The intuition of the American people—their good common sense—has been a more constructive force towards the stabilization of our economy than any proposed tax increase.

The proposed 10% surtax on an annual basis would raise about $10 billion. While the great tax debate has been going on, the American people have accumulated savings of almost $50 billion. Personal savings in relation to disposable incomes are about $20 billion more than was anticipated when the economists first started crying "wolf". We don't need a tax increase to dampen consumer spending. The consumer is saving his money.

I certainly admit that the situation might be different if—instead of saving at a rate which was greatly in excess of normal—the consumer was spending at an excessive rate. But whether we enact a tax increase or not, that decision rests with the consumer.

We have today a classic example of what can happen in a free society. As the government accelerated its spending, the citizen tightened his belt. While the government was running up a deficit of more than $20 billion, the citizen has increased his savings to offset that deficit. The economic argument in support of a tax increase completely ignores this element.

Certainly, we are faced with inflationary pressures in our economy. Up until now, however, there is no indication that these pressures are attributable to excessive demand—or the inability of the productive capacity to meet existing demand. I know of no shortage of industrial or consumer goods.

I think we must recognize that increases in the cost of living are an inevitable result of changes in our society. In the past few years, there has been an increasing growth in the demand for services—not goods. In the service industry, increases in productivity are difficult to achieve. In an affluent society there is a shortage of labor in those fields, whether we are talking about the medical profession, or the servicing of the many conveniences offered by industry.

A tax increase will not meet this problem. It will not produce any more doctors, nurses, or medical technicians. It will not increase the productivity of the plumber or home appliance repairman. It will not make it any less likely that the home owner will need those services. About the only thing you can say is that with a tax increase the home owner might decide to save the amount of the tax and do the job himself.

Finally, we come to the argument that has most often been stressed of late—that a tax increase is essential to meet the threat to the dollar in the international money markets. Some say that the tax increase will give "confidence" to the foreign bankers. Others even go so far as to say it will reduce imports and therefore improve our balance of payments.

A tax increase might provide some temporary assurance to the foreign bankers. Unless there is an improvement in our balance of payments, that assurance will be very short-lived. The tax increase certainly will not have any appreciable effect on imports, and may well reduce our exports by increasing our costs.

The plight of the dollar results from an accumulation of deficits in our balance of payments over a period of 20 years. More than a tax increase will be needed if we are to reverse that trend.

At the close of World War II, the United States had most of the free-world's gold reserves and its industrial resources were intact. During the period that followed, the United States adopted a policy designed to encourage a deficit in its balance of payments through both aid and trade in order to rebuild the resources of the European Community and Japan. The slogan was "trade not aid".

While the United States was removing trade barriers, protective measures adopted by the European Community and Japan were tolerated in line with the basic policy of running a payments deficit. That attitude should have been abandoned, with the rebuilding of Europe, at about the time of the Korean War. However, the United States has been reluctant to adopt retaliatory policies. Instead, we elected to offer further concessions—and to pursue negotiations—in an effort to induce other industrial nations to follow our example.

I disagree with those who would hail these efforts as having met with great success. Our negotiators have succeeded in reducing tariffs—which was the major form of restriction on imports into the United States. After more than 10 years of negotiation, however, they have met with no success in removing other trade barriers directed largely against exports from the United States.

American industry is the acknowledged leader of the world in the production of consumer goods. Yet, the United States finds itself more and more in the position of exporting capital goods and importing consumer goods. These same countries—such as the Common Market and Japan—which are exporting consumer goods to the United States—are very reluctant to permit American industry to export consumer goods from the United States for consumption in their domestic markets.

The crisis in our balance of payments affords the opportunity—and imposes the need—that we examine the trade policies of these industrial nations. No longer is the United States in a position to afford free entry of the products of the Common Market and Japan without insisting upon true reciprocity. And, if we look to the fruitless negotiations of the past 10 years, we must realize that reciprocity cannot be attained unilaterally.

Instead of offering the other cheek, we must do unto Europe and Japan—in trade—as Europe and Japan do unto us. It is time that we changed our policy with respect to our trade relations with the rest of the world—and until we do that—our balance of payments will continue to deteriorate.

We must also be prepared to reexamine our commitments abroad both in terms of aid and in the maintenance of our forces in Europe. If the European Community does not feel that those forces are essential—and is not willing to neutralize the effect on our balance of payments—those forces should be brought back to the United States. I say this because for the last several years the Congress has been told that these costs were being offset by commitments which reduced the adverse effect on the balance of payments. It is now clear that the United Kingdom is no longer in a position to meet those commitments—and West Germany shows little inclination to do so.

THE WELFARE PROBLEM

During the past 10 years, there has been a tremendous growth in the number of families receiving aid under the Aid For Dependent Children Program (AFDC). The program has grown from 646,000 families with 2.4 million recipients to 1.2 million families with 5 million recipients.

We were told that this rate of growth will continue unless constructive and concerted action was taken to get at the causes of misfortune rather than continue the policy of meeting the marginal needs of the less fortunate. While most Americans may think of the social services as something to be relied on in the case of tragedy or emergency, for many others it has become a way of life.

In evaluating the problem, we should recognize at the outset that AFDC does not embrace a homogeneous group whose need for assistance stems from the same basic cause. It is really three programs under one name.

The program was adopted initially to provide temporary assistance in the case of catastrophy or misfortune. No one questions the need to extend aid to a family faced with the sudden death or disability of the primary wage earner, or perhaps the temporary loss of a job by that wage earner.

In some areas, AFDC also serves as a program of unemployment compensation for seasonal workers. While this may not have been the intention of the Congress, I do not know that this causes any widespread concern. For both this group and the families temporarily beset by misfortune, we are talking about assistance for a limited period, whether it be for a few months or a few years.

On the other hand, when we come to the group receiving aid because there never was a wage earner in the family, and there never will be, it is a different story. For this group, welfare had become a way of life. The increasing number and proportion of households in which there never had been—and never would be—a wage earner called for more than a token increase in the monthly subsistence allowance.

What is the solution? If there is a solution, it lies in a greater effort towards reducing the incidence of welfare and towards providing the means and incentives for self-help.

A means must be found to provide the education, training, and motivation for this group to be assimilated into the labor market—and break the reliance on aid as a way of life. That is what we tried to accomplish in the Social Security Amendments of 1967. We sought to provide the "tools" to assist those capable of achieving self-support so that they could be brought back into the mainstream of American life.

When I look back on the history of the AFDC program, the conviction grows that constructive action both by the Congress and the welfare agencies was long overdue. The initial legislation providing for federal matching for children deprived of parental support was enacted more than 30 years ago. Up until 1960, the only change in the program consisted of periodic legislation increasing the federal matching payment and extending eligibility. It was not until 1962 that community work and training programs were authorized with federal funds. Needless to say, only 12 states took advantage of the 1962 work and training authority. In recognition of this, we attempted in the 1967 Act to reorient the AFDC program in order to place greater emphasis on work training and rehabilitation.

The first series of amendments were designed to encourage and make possible the employment of adults in AFDC families. Three provisions are aimed at this purpose—the establishment of a work incentive program, a requirement that states furnish day-care services and other social services, and a requirement that states exempt a portion of the recipient's income.

The second series of amendments set up new protections for the children in AFDC families—a comprehensive plan of social services for each AFDC child, requirements for the referral of cases of child abuse or neglect to appropriate law-enforcement agencies and courts, provision for protective payments and vendor payments where appropriate, federal payments for foster care, assistance in locating deserting fathers, better enforcement of child-support laws, a temporary emergency assistance to families, and a more definitive and uniform program for the children of unemployed fathers.

A third series of amendments were designed to deal with the rising incidence of illegitimate births—a large factor contributing to the expanding AFDC rolls.

It was our intention that those who could be trained for gainful employment—without running the risk of neglect for their children—should be encouraged—even with some degree of compulsion—to take this training. Much of this had been permissible under the 1962 amendments. Yet, very little had been accomplished. The added pressure was needed to make certain that the states provided the opportunity and that the individuals took advantage of that opportunity.

In order to accomplish this, first, the Act provides that a qualified individual will be denied cash assistance if he or she refuses to participate in a work training program, and secondly, the Act provides a statutory limit in the federal participation for those receiving aid on account of the absence of a parent—the so-called "freeze".

I would be the first to admit that the Act is not perfect. With more experience, we may well find that further changes will be required to better accomplish our objectives. But that is a matter of detail. The real significance of the changes is not in the details of the Act itself but in the fact that the Act is a reflection of widespread dissatisfaction with these programs as they exist today. The Act reflects a resolve on the part of the Congress that the welfare programs must be productive of more than just another bumper crop of welfare babies.

We have let this problem grow on us for more than 20 years, and I would not be so foolish to believe that the Congress has suddenly found the solution. But unless we are willing to work toward that end—and put forth our best efforts—we will never find a solution.

We must all recognize that our welfare concepts may be in a state of transition. At no time—certainly since the early 1930's—has there been so much discussion concerning the problem of the poor. We must recognize that there are large groups in our society who—either through no fault of their own—or otherwise—have been left behind. There are some who would argue that the fault lies in part at least with our welfare programs.

Certainly, the basic concept—the puritan ethic—that no other incentive was needed to inspire the recipient of aid to become self-supporting—has proven false. An ever-increasing large number have been perfectly willing to accept welfare as a way of life, and to direct their efforts primarily toward attaining greater benefits.

Our expenditures for social welfare at all levels of government have increased from less than $4 billion in fiscal 1929—when our population was 122 million to more than $100 billion in fiscal 1967—when our population has reached 200 million. We are spending almost 15% of the gross national product on social welfare. About half of that amount goes to retirees. About one-third goes for elementary and secondary education. The rest is spent for a variety of services, including welfare programs for those who could and should be trained to become self-sufficient. These expenditures have increased more than tenfold since World War II. This rate of escalation must be contained.

We do not have the resources—and even if we did the American people are not willing to allocate an ever-increasing amount of those resources to provide this "way of life" for an increasingly large segment of the adult population capable of self-support. It is not only a matter of resources, it is a matter of willingness on the part of the people.

On the other hand, I think that we can get the support from an overwhelming majority of the people for a constructive approach, an approach designed to provide the education and skills needed by any member of our society to become self-supporting.

The foregoing statements, of necessity, had to be brief and could only scratch the surface of these grave problems. There are also many more problems of varying import that have confronted the 90th Congress which time and space prohibit discussing here. I do feel it important, however, to mention a significant local problem which affects the lives of all of us in the National Capitol area.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TEACHER, POLICE, AND FIREMEN'S SALARY INCREASE

The President recently signed into law two legislative proposals increasing the salaries of District of Columbia teachers, policemen, and firemen. This law places the Nation's Capital near the top of the list of all major cities in compensating these key employees. I was the principal sponsor of the teacher's salary act which provides for a minimum starting wage of seven thousand dollars per year for a beginning teacher and commensurate increases for experienced teachers, principals, and other members of the school system. I feel strongly that the teaching profession must be adequately compensated and made attractive enough to not only keep our talented professionals in the schools but successfully compete for the able young men and women that our colleges and universities are producing.

The teacher and the school can do more to mold the character of our children than any single influence other than the home. Where there are large numbers of underprivileged children and products of broken homes, the role of the teacher becomes paramount in shaping the child. The District of Columbia school system is inundated with many such cases and the task of the teacher here is extremely demanding. The new salary provisions hopefully, will assist in obtaining the best teachers available for the District of Columbia schools.

I co-sponsored the pay bill for the Police and Fire Departments of the District of Columbia and am gratified that it has now become law. The new Act provides for an eight thousand dollar starting salary for young policemen and firemen.

In the wake of record lawlessness and crime in the Nation's Capital, it is essential to provide maximum incentives to our hazardous duty employees in the police and fire-fighting occupations. Recruiting has been a major problem facing these arms of the city government and I feel this new salary scale will greatly assist us in solving this staffing problem so vital to the health and safety of Washington.

LONG ARM

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to note the positions some bureaucrats take on issues of the day. I was particularly amused at the recent statement made by Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education. During the past several years, Mr. Howe has had a peculiar desire to "meddle" in the affairs of our local school systems. But if it suits Mr. Howe's purpose, it seems that he can switch to a completely opposite position.

Speaking recently of a proposal which would withhold Federal funds from students engaging in destructive campus demonstrations, Mr. Howe sees the matter from an altogether different position.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a brief editorial from the Gadsden Times which describes, accurately I believe, Mr. Howe's wishy-washy tactics:

LONG ARM

Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education, was speaking the other day of a proposal brought up in the House of Representatives which could withhold federal funds from students engaging in the destructive type of campus demonstration.

To most minds, the proposal sounds reasonable enough. It seems folly for taxpayers to finance the students who deface the buildings which must be restored very likely at public expense.

Howe sees the matter differently.

"Why should the federal government reach its long arm into what is, strictly speaking, purely a campus affair?" he inquires.

It would seem that if it is not "reaching out its long arm" when it lends the money, the government would be reaching even less to withhold it when the students prove more interested in demonstration than in education.

Besides, when did Harold Howe II become such an advocate of restraint in this business of the government's tendency to reach its long arm into matters of education?

REMEMBER "PUEBLO?"

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, it has been 4 months since the *Pueblo* was pirated and seized on the high seas in open waters by the North Koreans. So far, the American people have waited impatiently for the administration to obtain the release of the crew and the ship.

Why the delay?

When can we expect the leadership and the Commander in Chief to take the necessary steps to rebuke this Communist aggression?

Time has not erased the seizure of the ship from the minds of most Americans. They "remember the *Pueblo.*"

An editorial on the *Pueblo* incident appeared recently in the Huntington, Ind., Herald-Press. I thought my colleagues would find it of interest. The editorial follows:

REMEMBER "PUEBLO"?

Date: Thursday, May 23, 1968. Four months ago today, on January 23, the USS Pueblo was seized in international waters off Wonsan by North Korean Communist forces. Crew and ship were taken to a North Korean port and today, four months later, are still held.

The above paragraph stands, word for word except for change of date to one month later, as it stood on the same date one, two and three months ago. The question can now be asked: Does anyone remember the Pueblo? It is largely a rhetorical question. Few do, and from all visible evidence these do not include our leaders in Washington.

It is easy to forget the Pueblo amid the distraction of the times. Not much is heard of the Pueblo or its men. One crewman is known to have died since the kidnaping. What were said to be some of the captives were brought before a microphone. They may or may not have been the speakers they were said to be. A few parents have received letters supposed to be from their sons held for international ransom. Accounts of such letters represented the parents as doubting, because of the vocabulary and phraseology, whether their sons wrote them.

For the rest there is silence, either from North Korea or from Washington. But there is plenty else to attract attention. War still goes on in Vietnam, while truce talks in Paris hold American fighters under wraps while failing similarly to restrict North Viets. There is a lot of election talk. Bobby Kennedy is winning primaries, Hubert Humphrey is winning delegates, Nelson Rockefeller is still trying to slow down Richard Nixon, and there is much more campaigning to come. Besides, the baseball season is underway and summer vacations are ahead. Our leaders are lost in a maze of false premises. They fear that to stand upright in the Pueblo case would jeopardize negotiation with the North Viets, when the record of contacts with communists shows that toleration of the Pueblo aggression, has the opposite effect of encouraging the enemy to persist in Vietnam.

Wish there was a way of getting through to the men of the Pueblo today that a few still remember.

CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON PASSENGER TRAIN DISCONTINUANCES

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission announced over the weekend that the Commission had requested the appropriate committees of the Congress to conduct hearings on the adequacy of intercity railroad passenger service.

On December 15, 1967, I joined in sponsoring a resolution (H. Res. 1011) which authorized and directed the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the relationship between the decline in railroad passenger service and the discontinuance of railway mail contracts and the resulting effects of such actions on the overall transportation system in the United States.

There is a great deal of concern in many communities and among many citizens throughout the Nation over the growing disappearance of passenger train service. Last month in the Fourth Congressional District of Kansas several passenger trains, including the famous Santa Fe Chief, made their final runs.

Declining passenger revenues and loss of mail contracts have figured prominently in the decisions to discontinue many passenger trains.

We cannot afford to ignore this trend or pass it off as "a sign of the times."

In his statement on May 31, 1968, ICC Chairman Paul J. Tierney stated:

> the multitude of problems confronting rail passenger operations makes it clear that remedies now available . . . can serve only a limited purpose.

He continued:

> If a new national policy in this area is to be formulated by Congress and be successfully implemented, it will require forceful and imaginative long-range planning, research, and development by the railroads; authorities in local, regional, state and Federal governments; and concerned members or groups of the general public.

Mr. Speaker, in keeping with the recommendation of the Interstate Commerce Commission and with the intent of the resolution introduced in the House last December, I would urge that congressional hearings on this vital matter be scheduled at the earliest possible time.

MEMORIAL DAY, 1968

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, for the second time in 101 years the Memorial Day exercises in Gettysburg National Cemetery were marred by a downpour.

It can now be said the weatherman in Gettysburg is nonpartisan. At the former exercise where he failed to cooperate the speaker was a member of the Republican Party. This year the Vice President of the United States delivered the address under most difficult circumstances. While he spoke the lightning flashed, thunder roared, and the rain descended.

While the exercises were curtailed, I submit for the RECORD the opening and closing prayers and the address by the Vice President:

The 101st Memorial Day Exercises, Gettysburg, Pa.

INVOCATION DELIVERED BY REV. ALPHONSE T. MARCINCAVAGE, PASTOR, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER CHURCH, GETTYSBURG, PA., MAY 30, 1968, AT THE NATIONAL CEMETERY

O almighty and eternal God, Father of both the living and the dead, we humbly confess that without You we can do nothing. Bountifully have You blessed our great Land over the years and for these blessings we come to You in a spirit of thanksgiving.

We come to these hallowed and consecrated grounds to salute our heroic war dead, the men and women who fought so gallantly and died so unselfishly to keep this Land one Nation under God with liberty and justice for all. May they find in Your presence light, happiness and peace. For all our fighting men throughout the world, we invoke Your special blessing and protection.

Father, we pray for our Country, our President and Vice President, the Congress, our state and local governments that they might be wise and just servants of all the people. We ask for Your wisdom for the rulers of the world that they might be successful in their efforts to bring a just and lasting peace and maintain human freedom in accordance with the dignity of man. We kindly ask You to inflame with the fire of Your love the hearts and minds of the leaders of all nations that they might strive in a spirit of dedication to alleviate the hunger and poverty which abound in the world today. Heavenly Father help us to find ways promptly and speedily to remedy the civil strife, the unrest, the racial prejudices and the other social ills and injustices which exist in our Land and in the world.

O God, our refuge and our strength, please look with favor upon Your people as they pray to You and grant that what we ask for in faith, we may receive in full measure through Christ, Your Son and our Lord. Amen.

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS

The true presiding spirit here today is the spirit of youth.

Years alone are not a true measure of youth . . . for a person or a country. We are as old as our despairs, and as young as our hopes—as old as our fears, and as young as our faith—as old as the doubts we harbor, and as young as the ideals we sustain.

The young, though, are the particular constituents and the custodians of youth.

They ask on Memorial Day—and have the right of ask, in the name of their members we honor here:

What in the meaning of man or the sense of civilization ever requires or even warrants the pitting of youth against youth in a trial by mortal human combat of the controversies between nations?

What are nations except for their youth?

What blindness hides the suicidal fact of the arbitrament of war?

We try to answer:

That war is thrust upon us . . . that we act not in conquest or in hate, but for freedom and for peace.

That our reverence for life sometimes requires us to stand against those who would deny others the right to live—even at the risk of death.

That we have built a nation from this sacrifice . . . a good nation . . . a young nation . . . and thus we honor what we have taken.

That a mother . . . a father . . . knows most cruelly of all when a young man dies.

Yet the answering has none of the authority of the question, none of the finality of the sacrifice.

The answer must stand on the bitter experience of the ages that whenever people have rested on the strength of their ideals alone they have fallen before those others who exert the unprincipled force of their arms.

The answer stands too, and its integrity is tested, by the absolute priority that is given the unrelenting pursuit of a better answer.

Youth asks then, further—not only the why of war—but, if it is the decree of history and the default of centuries . . . whether it is right that it be invoked by fathers when it must be fought by sons denied any part in the calling of it.

We do not help the young to hold their youth by withholding responsibility from them.

We rely from necessity upon youth's bravery. We will rely from wisdom upon its closer inheritance of the beliefs we were born with.

The promise of peace lies in the constant testing of the reasons for war against youth's unquenchable faith . . . its hope and good heart . . . its hate of war . . . its fierce insistence that war does not need to be, and that peace has to be.

There is the hope that peace will eventually emerge . . . perhaps now sooner than we think . . . as the alloy of history's sobering experience and youth's unconquerable spirit.

And our rededication to the principle of peace will speak most eloquently of our love of life.

These are in truth, as Lincoln put them, our profferings and our purposes:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

May youth make our words its deed.

CLOSING PRAYER BY REV. W. LEE LAWHEAD, PASTOR, TRINITY UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, GETTYSBURG

Eternal God of our Fathers, we thank you for the privilege of meeting on this hallowed day of sacred memory in this free nation to honor the noble dead and to rededicate ourselves as individuals and as a nation to You. On this day of remembrance, let us be so moved by the example of the past that the "faith of our fathers" may be our faith, and their cause of faith and freedom be our cause.

Our intercessions rise for our nation, our President and Vice-President, and for ourselves, that the tragic sacrifices of war here remembered may not end in the disillusionment of our hopes and the despair of generations to come. Give us a long view of our work. Convert all destructive forces. Crush every tyranny. Condemn each injustice. Reconcile all conflicting interests to Your will. Then may our Memorial Days be filled with memories of faith and hope and love and peace, and not the heroics of battle.

Grant us courage in the struggle for justice and peace, and to the end that the peace of Christ rules the hearts of men—help us to beat swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks, that nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall we learn war any more.

Challenge us that the tired, the poor, and the huddled masses may yet breathe free, granting that our demonstrations not be the burning of draft cards and flags and the destruction of buildings and property, but rather demonstrations of a strong faith in You and sincere devotion to Your will—rising above party and personality, beyond time and circumstance, for the peace of the world.

It's been a good day here, Lord: grant that tomorrow will bring greater light in our darkness and greater strength in our weakness. Use us as instruments of peace and reconciliation—as individuals and as a nation—and worthy to live in so momentous a time.

And now, Lord, move us forth in peace, granting that we may be of good courage . . . holding fast to that which is good . . . rendering to no man evil for evil . . . strengthening the fainthearted, supporting the weak, and helping the afflicted . . . honoring all men . . . loving and serving You, rejoicing in the power of Your Spirit. And may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, Your love, and the fellowship of Your Spirit be with us. Amen.

MURDERERS SAVED BY SUPREME COURT

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I am not a lawyer but it just does not seem to me to be good commonsense for the highest court in the land to use the results of a public opinion poll as a major factor in arriving at a decision on a vital and important case before the Court.

I am inclined to agree with the sentiments set forth in an editorial from the

Chicago Tribune today and include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

MURDERERS SAVED BY SUPREME COURT

The United States Supreme court again has invaded the legislative functions of government, handing down a decision which, in effect, abolishes the death penalty in all states. The decision, made in the case of William Witherspoon, killer of a Chicago policeman, applies retroactively to 435 other persons now under death sentences in the United States. Among them is Richard Speck, the killer of eight student nurses.

For many years it has been standard practice in capital punishment cases to exclude all prospective jurors who said they had scruples against imposing the death penalty. This practice was upheld several times by the Supreme Court. Seventy-five years ago the court held:

"A juror who has conscientious scruples on any subject, which prevent him from standing indifferent between the government and the accused, and from trying the case according to the law and evidence, is not an impartial juror."

This ruling has now been placed in the ash can by the Supreme Court, which held that the state of Illinois "stacked the deck" against Witherspoon by excluding prospective jurors opposed to the death penalty. The court based its reasoning on the theory that "in a nation less than half of whose people believe in the death penalty, a jury composed exclusively of such people cannot speak for the community."

An astonishing footnote in the opinion explains that this statement is based on a 1966 public opinion poll which showed that 42 per cent of the people favored capital punishment for convicted murderers, 47 per cent opposed it, and 11 per cent were undecided.

All public opinion polls are based on a small sampling of the population. But now we have the highest court in the land making a decision on the basis of what 47 per cent of a small group of people told a pollster. We have no recollection of a more ridiculous line of reasoning by any court, high or low.

Justice Hugo L. Black joined with Justice John Marshall Harlan and Justice Byron R. White in a strong dissent. Justice Black said:

"I think this charge [that Illinois had 'stacked the deck' against Witherspoon] is completely without support in the record. The opinion affirming this conviction for a unanimous Illinois Supreme court was written by Justice Walter Schaefer, a judge nationally recognized as a protector of the constitutional rights of defendants charged with crime. It seems particularly unfortunate to me that this court feels called upon to charge that Justice Schaefer and his associates would let a man go to his death after the trial court had contrived a 'hanging jury' and, in this court's language, 'stacked the deck' to bring about the death sentence for petitioner.

"With all due deference, it seems to me that one might much more appropriately charge that this court has today written the law in such a way that the states are being forced to try their murder cases with biased juries. If this court is to hold capital punishment unconstitutional, I think it should do so forthrightly, not by making it impossible for states to get juries that will enforce the death penalty."

The Supreme court's practice of writing new laws and striking down laws that it considers "unreasonable" has already caused many miscarriages of justice. The latest decision will cause more.

There are signs that Congress has had enough of this practice. The crime control bill recently passed by the Senate includes a provision which is intended to overturn the Supreme court's decisions on the rights of criminal suspects in the Mallory, Miranda, and Wade cases. The Senate deleted from the bill another section which would have limited the power of the Supreme court to review a defendant's claim that a state court had violated his constitutional rights.

The decision in the Witherspoon case should encourage the House to reconsider the deleted section. The Supreme court needs a rebuke. It also needs some new members who will recognize the rights of society as well as the rights of criminals.

WOULD INVOKE CURFEW ON UNSOUND RIOT CURBS

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my opposition to a bill that has been carried on the whip notice for later this week, H.R. 17267. This bill results from a feeling of panic that has risen in the country as the result of the civil disturbances. The problem it seeks to solve is based on a fear of Federal workers joining in civil disturbances. This bill was reported out of the full Committee on Post Office and Civil Service without hearings, without discussion in the Manpower Subcommittee and without meaningful discussion in the full committee. It is a bill that is going to be brought to the House floor without factual support.

This bill is the result of newspaper stories concerning the civil disturbance in Washington, D.C., which stated that hundreds of civil service employees were arrested during the course of the riot. After an investigation by the U.S. Civil Service Commission, it seems that there were 7,300 arrests and of these arrests, 1,129 were for felonies. It has now been verified that only 31 Federal employees were arrested for felonies. Seven of these cases have been dismissed and four were found to have nothing to do with riots or disturbances for a remainder of only 20. Twenty cases pending out of 1,129. This is a far cry from the sensationalism that reported hundreds of Federal employees being arrested. A felony arrest percentage of less than 2 percent in a city like Washington, D.C., where the Federal Government is by far the largest single employer, is not a large problem. These facts were not presented to the committee because of its speedy action in executive session. Action was taken on the basis of early reports on the disturbances.

If there had been testimony, the committee would have learned that the Civil Service Commission is already empowered to dismiss and bar Federal employees for up to 3 years for felony convictions.

As a result of action without reflection, this bill's language is not definable, nor are there procedures set out for the application of the bill. The bill is unconstitutional because of its vagueness and its lack of standards. While there is no constitutional right on a citizen's part to a job, on the other hand there is no constitutional right on Government's part to arbitrarily bar citizens from Government employment and take away rights to effective adverse action proceedings granted in another part of the United States Code (*Wieman* v. *Updegraff*, 344 U.S. 183).

For example, this bill would cause the discharge and barring of future employment to any Federal employee who is convicted of an unlawful act, that is, "directly or indirectly related to a riot or civil disorder." The use of the words "directly or indirectly" must mean any act that someone thinks may have something to do with a riot, since an indirect connection or relationship to a riot can cover almost any case. There are no standards then for the relationship between an act and a riot or civil disorder.

Who will determine what acts are related to what disturbances? The bill does not give us an answer, but the report states that the usual procedures involving adverse actions will be applied—Civil Service Regulations and subchapters I and II of chapter 75, title 5, United States Code. This means that, initially, any superior or personnel officer can initiate charges based on the conviction of an unlawful act. The purpose of adverse action procedures is to provide a hearing and a defense for employees—a day in court. But since the connection between an unlawful act such as speeding and riot can, in fact, be any connection or relationship, the employee would have no defense. He need only be accused. The language was written in such a broad fashion that there can be no defense.

There is the remaining question of who should decide that a riot has taken place. The definition of riot as included by reference in this bill means an assembly of more than three persons where an act of violence occurs or where a threat of violence occurs. This is a broad definition. May individual supervisors, or personnel officers decide that a riot has occurred? We do not know. It would be possible for a loud neighborhood argument to be classified as a riot by a supervisor or other interested official.

This bill is not capable of uniform enforcement because almost any supervisor can initiate charges, the relationship between rioting and the unlawful act will remain unclear and the application of the term "riot and civil disorder" may be applied so broadly by unknown persons that employees will not be able to defend themselves against charges brought in adverse action proceedings. In effect, then rights given in one section of the United States Code will be taken away by a vague statute. This is a violation of due process under the fifth amendment of the Constitution on the basis of vagueness. In the cases of *Cramp* v. *Board of Public Instruction* (368 U.S. 278) and *Wieman* v. *Updegraff* (344 U.S. 183) State loyalty oaths which had to be taken by State employees were held unconstitutional. The Court held that employees may not be barred from State employment by unfair and unconstitutional criteria. The loyalty oaths were held to be unconstitutional because they were vague, used such terminology as direct and indirect, and lumped those whose association may have been ignorant with those whose actions were deliberate. This bill penalizes those who are connected with a riot by official action long after a riot or disturbance and can bind anyone, since any relationship between a misdemeanor and a riot will serve as a basis for a bar to Government employment for 5 years. It is the task of the courts to punish, not personnel departments.

A similar amendment was introduced in the Senate and added to the Senate version of the omnibus crime bill. It is a better amendment because it is restricted to felonies. The Civil Service Commission has regulations which are referred to in the minority report which apply a bar against applicants for employment who are convicted of a felony. This bar is applied in a case-by-case basis and the determining factor is the rehabilitation shown by the applicant.

This bill would apply severe penalties to persons arrested for curfew violations involving $25 fines. In most of these cases persons so charged forfeited their $25 collateral. If all 6,000 misdemeanor cases result in trials, the District of Columbia court system would collapse. Every case would become a serious case. This is the unintended result of this hastily drawn bill. This is a bill without legislative history. Its meaning is unconstitutionally vague. If ever there was a time for reflection by the Congress, it is now in this troubled summer. If ever a bill should be rejected, this one should.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to insert in the RECORD a letter I received from the Civil Service Commission on this subject and a Civil Service news release dated May 22, 1968, containing a speech by Mr. Macy, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, as follows:

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., May 24, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT N. C. NIX,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. NIX: As requested in your letter of May 21, 1968, I furnish the following information in answer to the questions you have asked about H.R. 17267, relating to Federal employees or applicants involved in unlawful acts connected with riots or civil disorders.

As a preliminary to my specific answers, I believe you will find much that is relevant and informative in the attached copy of Chairman Macy's address at the Tom C. Clark Award Luncheon on May 22, 1968. His views on Federal employees taking part in civil disorders begin on page 5. I think you will find his comments on page 7 about the inadvisability of over-reacting particularly pertinent.

As indicated by Chairman Macy, agencies have ample authority under existing regulations to discharge employees who are found guilty of crimes related to the riots. Specific references to the applicable regulations are given below.

Part 735 of the Civil Service Regulations deals with Employee Responsibilities and Conduct. It requires every agency to issue regulations governing ethical and other conduct and responsibilities of employees. It makes mandatory the inclusion of a provision that employees shall not engage in criminal, infamous, dishonest, immoral, or notoriously disgraceful conduct, or other conduct prejudicial to the Government. Agency regulations must further provide that violation of the regulations by an employee may be cause for appropriate disciplinary action. All such disciplinary actions must be effected in accordance with any applicable laws, Executive orders, and regulations.

Part 752 of the Civil Service Regulations, titled Adverse Actions by Agencies, prescribes the procedures to be followed in discharging employees for such cause as will promote the efficiency of the service. Procedural requirements include notice of proposed action with reasons specifically and in detail, reasonable time to answer notice of agency decision, and right of appeal. The reasons for discharge are those listed in Part 731.201 of the regulations. Among these is the disqualification "Criminal, infamous, dishonest, immoral, or notoriously disgraceful conduct." The disqualifications in Part 731 apply both to applicants and to employees.

Under Part 731.301 appointments in the competitive service are subject to investigation by the Commission. The Commission may order removals during the first year of service. This condition expires automatically at the end of one year from date of appointment except in cases involving intentional false statement or deception or fraud in examination or appointment.

There is no automatic bar against the employment of an applicant or retention an appointee who has been convicted of a crime. In its decisions the Commission considers each case on an individual basis. This has been our policy over the years. It is particularly relevant to our actions in rehabilitated offender cases in furtherance of the President's objective of providing legitimate employment opportunities to persons with past records of criminal convictions. Under this policy the Commisison and appointing officers take into account such matters as the nature and seriousness of the offense, the circumstances under which it occurred, how long ago it occurred, whether or not it was an isolated or repeated incident, the age of the person at the time it was committed, social conditions which may have helped contribute to the offense, any evidence of rehabilitation, and the kind of positon for which he is applying. Each applicant is treated as an individual in considering all the relevant issues that apply in his particular case in arriving at an employment decision.

When the Commission takes an adverse action it also decides whether the circumstances warrant debarment. We apply a bar when the nature and seriousness of the disqualification indicates that it will be necessary for the person to demonstrate rehabilitation before he can again be considered. Debarment is for a period of one, two, or a maximum of three years, depending upon relative seriousness. The effect of debarment is that the person may not compete in civil service examinations or accept appointment in the competitive service for the stated period.

Concerning the arrests of Federal employees during the recent disturbances in Washington, the Commission has worked in close cooperation with the Metropolitan Police Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. If the arrested person claimed to be a Federal employee or if his fingerprint record indicated he might be a current employee, we immediately checked our investigative records and the locator records maintained in St. Louis by the National Personnel Records Center. When these checks indicated the individual appeared to be a current Federal employee, we furnished the facts at once to the employing agency. This is because the agency has the responsibility for taking action after the first year of service.

On the basis of our findings thus far, we have concluded that press accounts grossly exaggerated the number of Federal employees involved and erroneously implied that many were responsible employees of higher grades. Of the thousands of arrests made in the District of Columbia, our inquiries disclosed that only 31 involved Federal employees. All are in low grade positions. While it is regrettable that any Government employee was arrested, the very limited amount of involvement in criminal acts here speaks well for the quality of the Federal work force.

We have also followed up to learn of the court actions being taken on these 31 cases. Our most recent inquiry disclosed as follows: 12 cases shown as "continued" for varying reasons; 8 cases being "held for Grand Jury"; 7 cases "Nolle Prossed", "no papers", or "dismissed"; 4 cases included in the original total of 31 have been determined to involve arrests not related to the riots.

We advise employing agencies to treat cases arising from the recent disorders the same as they have always treated cases involving arrest or conviction of Federal employees. Usually they await the decision of a court, to avoid precipitous action based solely on the fact of arrest. In addition, where there is a conviction, the nature and seriousness of the offense are taken into consideration.

I believe the existing authority for dismissal is sufficient and that the proposed H.R. 17267 is unnecessary. The bill has the further drawback that it would impose its penalty indiscriminately without regard to the relative seriousness of the circumstances in a given case, with no latitude for modifying the penalty to fit the offense.

Sincerely yours,
KIMBELL JOHNSON,
Director.

A CITIZEN'S RIGHT: AN EMPLOYEE'S RESPONSIBILITIES

(Address by Chairman John W. Macy, Jr., U.S. Civil Service Commission, at the Tom C. Clark award luncheon sponsored by the District of Columbia chapter of the Federal Bar Association, at the National Lawyers Club, Washington, D.C., May 22, 1968)

Mr. Chairman, Justice Clark, distinguished guests, friends, I am deeply honored to take part once again in this significant annual event. The honor is doubly appreciated since a mere layman has been invited to speak in the company of the Government's most outstanding and most eloquent attorneys.

I have always had a high regard for this award, the distinguished lawyer and judge after whom it is named, and the talented and dedicated Government attorneys who have been its recipients. Last year this regard was raised to new heights when the selection panel decided to honor the Commission's own General Counsel, Lou Pellerzi.

But, little did I realize the subsequent price the employing agency head pays when one of his lawyers wins the honor! This lustrous recognition gave Lou Pellerzi such high professional exposure that within a year he was packing up the award and moving it along with his considerable talents to the service of Ramsey Clark and the Justice Department. We were most fortunate in being able to work out an exchange whereby we obtained an excellent replacement in the person of Tony Mondello. But I confess in those days when we first learned of Lou's pending departure we wished a number of times that we had kept him and his talents hidden under a bushel. But who can hide anything from the Attorney General?

In all seriousness, I heartily endorse the purpose of the Tom C. Clark Award. I strongly support the spirit of competition it engenders and the excellence it brings to the fore. I salute Ralph Spritzer, the 1968 winner we honor today. I know my sentiments are shared by others inside and outside of Government. And I congratulate Ramsey Clark for his astute judgment in picking off last year's winner to serve as Assistant Attorney General for Administration and in already having this year's winner on his legal ball club.

Your invitation gave me open license to speak today on a topic of my choice. I intend to surprise you. I will *not* use that license to talk yet another time to an FBA assemblage about the wondrous promise of legal career service with a Government-wide scope. You have heard my advocacy often enough.

My topic today is one of equal urgency and relevance to the Federal manager, the Federal attorney, and the Federal employee. I am sufficiently emboldened to attempt to draw that very delicate line between a public employee's rights as a citizen and his responsibilities as a Federal employee.

More specifically, I want to discuss the new forms of dissent and protest which have been demonstrated recently by Federal employees, and the opportunities that may exist now to develop new patterns of participation which can hopefully have constructive effects.

Dissent and protest have played a strong role in shaping the American tradition. They are basic conditions available to citizens in a free society. Our history is replete with examples of citizen dissent. They range from the acts that led to the Nation's creation through those which produced its Civil War. They are reflected in the suffrage, labor, and civil rights movements. In a more contemporary form, they are revealed in the drugstore sit-ins, Freedom rides, Marches on Selma and Washington, the March on the Pentagon, the takeover of colleges by students, and the very present Poor People's March on Washington.

We can reflect on this half-minute history of dissent and, by and large, agree that the reactions have generated forces of change or reform. We might take strong issue against some specific forms of dissent, but we can generally agree that dissent has prompted political and social progress in many areas.

Yet some recent events have been without precedent and have been received with mixed reactions. Public employees—Federal employeees—have engaged in dissent, and they have caught both the Government and the public by surprise.

We have long been accustomed to public expressions of dissent by Federal employees which are related to their jobs or working conditions. And the Government, as an employer, has responded with legislative and executive actions to improve these conditions through pay policy, union recognition, the promotion system, and the appeals process.

We have righted the balance where it seemed to be off center in such matters as protection of employees' privacy, protection against coercion, and provision of substantial due process in actions affecting employees.

But these factors have no relation to such expressions of dissent as took place recently when a group of Federal workers drafted, circulated, signed, and published a petition opposing national policy on the Vietnam conflict. The phone calls heated up the wires and the mailbag bulged at the Civil Service Commission. From one side we were asked: "Why don't you fire these dissidents?" From the other side: "Don't you dare lay a hand on these conscientious people for exercising their constitutional rights!"

The reason for the surprise—as well as the response this activity drew from many people—is not too difficult to find. Anyone who has served in the Government for any length of time knows that it is long standing custom among Federal employees to abstain from public expression of disagreement with Government policy. And, frankly, most people in Government feel the same sense of obligation to their Government employer that they would feel toward a private employer. Some obviously do not.

Again we come to the need for balance. The Federal employee is a full citizen and entitled to express his views—publicly if this is his choice; however, he cannot proceed blindly down this path in perfect immunity. He is responsible for his actions, like any citizen. He does indeed have special obligations connected with his own role in his agency's programs, when these come into question. And he must keep his private activities strictly apart from his use of official time or Government property. Last, but not least, he needs to be aware of any special regulations which may bear on his participation.

A good many Government lawyers have been examining the fine print closely in the past few weeks, in search of answers to questions we never expected to have raised.

At the same time the policy mills have been grinding, but not quite in the traditional "slow, but exceeding fine" style.

We have responded to questions from members of the public, the press, Congress, agencies, and employees that, as a general rule, a Federal employee, like any other citizen, has the right to express his opinion on national policy; and that he may do so by signing a petition or by participating in an orderly assembly or demonstration.

We have pointed out that in applying the general rule it is essential to understand that employees of the Federal Government have duties and obligations toward the Government as their employer; that these duties and obligations are sometimes over and above those ordinarily owed an employer outside of Government.

There are instances in the relationship of the employee to the Government as employer which may require restraint. For example, some Federal employees have official duties that require them to recommend policies dealing with the problems in Southeast Asia. Others have duties that require them to explain those policies, or responsibilities that require them to support operations based on those policies. Employees who occupy positions such as these are under a positive obligation to carry out the policies fixed by those charged with that duty. It would be incompatible with their responsibilities if such employees were to make public their criticism of the policies that their jobs require them to explain or implement. Their value would be impaired.

And it seems patently unfair to remain in such employment while using against the Government information which you obtain only because you hold an official position. I think there comes a time when simple decency requires you to leave the Government if you wish publicly to be critical of its policies.

Moreover, the Government, like any employer, has the obligation, to see that its operations are carried out efficiently and effectively. If the conduct of one of its employees is shown to have interfered with the efficiency of the service, then law, regulation, and custom authorize the Government to take corrective action.

Some agencies have regulations that recognize the fact that the Government can be adversely affected in its capacity as an employer by certain public statements of its employees. For example, the Department of State requires employees to obtain the specific permission of a department official before the employee is allowed to use his name in any publication dealing with foreign policy. Under the same regulation, AID Administrator Gaud denied employees of his agency permission to have their names appear in connection with the peace petition.

There are some restrictions regarding the time and place that a petition may be signed or circulated. It may not properly be done during working hours, and it may not be done on Government property without the consent of the agency concerned.

So, stripped to bare essentials, the Constitution grants the Federal employee certain basic rights in the area of self-expression. The perimeters within which those rights can be exercised are defined by law, custom, good taste, and regulations, paramount of which is the Governmentwide regulation on Ethics and Conduct, which the Commission administers under authority granted by Executive order. The broad Ethics and Conduct regulations that we administer set *minimum* standards; agencies prescribe additional standards which are appropriate to the particular functions and activities of the agency, consistent with law, of course.

To summarize the outcome of the peace petition activity, I am not aware of any disciplinary action either meted out or contemplated against the participants. The matter appears to have run its course without either violation of employee rights or damage to the Federal establishment.

But what has it done to the public's concept of a professional career service, objectively carrying out policies and programs of the administration in power, regardless of party or other private affiliations? This remains to be seen.

CIVIL DISORDERS

For an entirely different order and scale of dissent or unrest, let us examine the arrests of Federal employees for taking part in the civil disorders following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

I have discussed the peace petition matter in rather academic terms. The matter of Federal employees being arrested for criminal behavior during a civil disorder is a matter of far greater consequence, for neither social mores nor public laws nor the Constitution exempt the individual from the consequences of his behavior when, in the expression of his dissent, he breaks the law.

Let me make it absolutely clear that nothing I say here should in any way be interpreted as condonement of criminal behavior by Federal employees. With this established, I would like to clarify a mistaken impression that a lot of people still have.

Right after the disorders that followed Dr. King's assassination, news reports indicated that hundreds of Federal employees had been arrested in the disorders. I can now report, categorically, that these early reports were grossly exaggerated. We have been working very closely with the FBI to ascertain the actual number of Federal employees arrested, and according to the latest information available to me there were about 30 Federal employees in the District of Columbia who were arrested for serious crimes during the disorders. Weighed against a total work force the size of the Federal Government, this appears a small number, although it is regrettable that even *one* was arrested.

It is doubtful whether the facts ever caught up with the exaggerations of Federal employee involvement in the disorders, and the first reports understandably set off a clamor among Members of Congress, among others, and resulted in swift introduction of punitive legislation.

There are ample provisions for appropriate action in current law and regulation for these few employees. The case of any employee who committed a criminal act during the recent disturbances should be treated as would any other case involving criminal conduct by a Federal employee.

Civil Service regulations provide that agencies may take adverse action against an employee "for such cause as will promote the efficiency of the service." Sustaining this principle, the regulations forbid employees to engage in "criminal, infamous, dishonest, immoral, or notoriously disgraceful conduct, or other conduct prejudicial to the Government." It is quite clear that the suitability standards which apply to applicants and employees alike permit the agencies to take adverse action in the face of criminal conduct.

We pointed out to agency managers that there were a number of arrests reported for relatively minor infractions, such as unintentional and technical violation of curfew.

which may not warrant adverse action. We advised them not to act precipitously against employees solely on the basis of arrests, but rather, to make individual determinations based upon firm evidence of criminal conduct, such as convictions.

It is our belief that these guidelines provide fully for protection of the public interest, without any arbitrary infringement upon anyone's rights. I am opposed to the imposition of additional rigid penalties for entire classes of offenses of differing gravity, merely because they are related to a civil disorder.

POOR PEOPLE'S MARCH

In recent days, the Civil Service Commission has again been called upon for guidance, this time related to Federal employee participation in the "Poor People's March."

The principles we have set forth have been consistent with those we spelled out in the instances I have already mentioned. As a general rule, Federal employees are free to participate in the Poor People's March without an adverse effect upon their Government employment. But again, there are qualifications that need to be carefully considered in connection with the general rule.

If the march should be directed against some particular agency of Government in such a way as to constitute public criticism of the agency or its programs, Federal employees, and particularly employees of that agency, should not participate. This is especially advisable if the employee occupies a position in which his official duties require him to recommend or directly support the policies or operations being criticized. For such an employee publicly to criticize the policies which it is his duty to make, administer, and support, would compromise his value as an employee.

And again we have stressed that the employee is responsible for his conduct. If a disturbance breaks out or an event becomes disorderly to the point where violations of the law occur, and if the facts establish improper conduct on the part of the employee, he can be disciplined. The discipline, depending on the gravity of the offense, could go as far as removal from the service. The fact that his behavior ensued from what was expected to be an orderly demonstration would be no excuse.

We have further reiterated our view that Federal agency facilities should ordinarily not be used to promote the Poor People's March or any other similar event. And, of course, official time may not be used for participating in a private capacity. Annual leave—that is, vacation time—may be granted on the same basis as it is granted for other purposes, that is, when the employees can be spared without undue interruption of the agency's work.

These guidelines make provision, in other words, for any contingency that we can foresee—and answer any questions that have been put to us at this point.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

In terms of the involvement of Federal employees, what conclusions may we draw from these three recent situations? And of more consequence, what steps can we take to accommodate the employee's entitlement to equity and Government's entitlement to good order and discipline in the work force?

The first conclusion I draw is that this is clearly the era of restiveness, the age of the activist, and all the world is the arena for dissent. The ice has been broken by these examples I have cited, and I think we had better learn to *expect* further expressions of dissent by public employees in their private capacities but on public issues.

Second, I believe we have already demonstrated the wisdom of thinking the issues through rather than over-reacting to these new conditions with emotion or panic. It may sometimes seem all too convenient to over-correct, but sometimes the medicine is more deadly than the original illness.

Third, I believe that the world is simply too full of issues that could become the topic of dissent for us to even attempt to develop detailed directions or guidelines designed to cover each and every situation. Each situation needs to be judged on the basis of actual facts against basic principles of law and policy.

Fourth, and easily the most significant, I conclude that we must be absolutely scrupulous in abiding by the law, and that the law is our great ally in these troubled times.

MEEHAN DECISION

On the one hand, the law can set some outer limits and provide some useful guidance through its interpretation by the courts. Certainly the recent *Meehan* decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia was in this category. It did not simply, as the first news stories proclaimed, curb Federal workers' freedom of speech.

The Boston *Herald Traveler* editorialized perceptively that "the Court's ruling has not disturbed their (Government employees') freedom of conscience, but it has denied them freedom from the consequence of their actions."

The fact that the court has found in this case—involving an incident that took place during the riots in the Canal Zone in 1964—that there are *some* limits on freedom of expression by Federal employees in *some* circumstances should disturb no one. Perhaps what really triggered union reaction and threats to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court was the manner in which the decision was played up in the papers, rather than the decision itself.

Personally, I am optimistic that the informed and concerned lawyer in Government, together with the informed and concerned manager, can continue to find sensible solutions, consistent with law, to the complex problems of employee rights—employee obligations in the Federal service.

At the same time I think we need to deal with the implications of dissent in constructive ways. Are our institutions and processes so cut-and-dried and lustreless that the innovative Federal employee feels he needs to go outside the established framework in order to find expression for creative ideas? Does the environment we create have a stifling effect on the activists and innovators who are now working in Government? How can the idealism and sense of urgency evidenced by the dissenters be channeled into the Government's agenda of critical actions?

I would hope that every manager would think about these questions and shape his own constructive answers. The questions need to be answered by all of us as perhaps the most important aspect of our reaction to dissent. In this time of change we have seen many men march to different drummers and tattoos than in the past. And the Federal work force cannot be deaf to the tunes of our times, because it is representative of our whole population and carries the future hope and aspirations of that population.

If I gauge it correctly, the yeast in the dough of dissent and protest is the individual's desire to count for something—to explore his full potential as a human being. Not all men share this desire at the moment, and large numbers of our people seem more apathetic than is wise or safe. But the leavening process has begun, and the stirrings are being felt in large groupings of minorities and in the disadvantaged.

Society can gain or lose from the expenditure of this boundless energy. Used for ill purposes, it can result in destructive civil disorders. Properly employed, it can assure us a better future.

Our society in general needs new patterns of participation, to attract all those who have felt stifled in the past and to make possible the constructive use of their abilities and personal attributes. This, in part, is the meaning of the current unrest which is besetting our Nation. In this endeavor to find new patterns of participation, in employment and in private life, I would like to see the Federal Government a pacesetter. If we work at it diligently and imaginatively, we can do it.

FEDERAL PROCUREMENT CONFERENCE

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, since Federal procurement is a prominent factor in today's economic environment, I have extended an invitation to the various manufacturers and business firms in my congressional district to attend a business opportunity-Federal procurment conference this coming Friday, June 7, 1968, at Indiana, Pa.

I have issued an appeal to the interested enterprises to become familiar with Government procurement policies. I do hope interest will be shown by a good attendance and that the information gathered will be helpful to the economic growth of the five-county area of which I represent.

I include the invitation and description of the conference as a part of my remarks:

AN OPEN INVITATION TO BUSINESS FIRMS

Practically every business—large or small—deals in some way with a government agency. To assist both business and government in such operations and to emphasize industrial resources and advantages, I am sponsoring—in cooperation with the various Chambers of Commerce in my District—a business opportunity-Federal procurement conference as described on the attached sheet.

Officials of the Atomic Energy Commission, Department of Commerce, Department of Defense, Federal Aviation Administration, General Services Administration, Government Printing Office, Department of Interior, Department of Labor, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Post Office Department, Small Business Administration and Veterans Administration will advise and counsel those from Cambria, Indiana, Armstrong, Clarion and Jefferson counties who are interested in obtaining defense and other government contracts. Several prime contractors and others have been invited to be present in an effort to assist you and others to become familiar with the Federal contracting process.

I cordially invite you and/or your associate to attend this unique Conference which will be held at the Rustic Lodge (located on Route 286 just out of Indiana) beginning at 8:30 A.M., on Friday, June 7, 1968. Following a "dutch treat" luncheon, the entire counseling procedure should be concluded by 3:00 P.M.

In view of the fact that considerable planning is involved and representatives of twelve agencies will be on hand to advise how you can do business more effectively with the Federal government, I need to receive some advance indication as to how many are interested and will attend. Therefore, you or your representatives should fill out the attached form and return same to me immediately.

Please circle June 7th on your calendar now, and make every effort to attend. If you have any questions in the interim, please feel free to write or call on me. I will look forward to seeing you on that date.

Sincerely,

JOHN P. SAYLOR,
Your Congressman.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY/FEDERAL PROCUREMENT CONFERENCE

What it is.—A Business Opportunity/Federal Procurement Conference provides an opportunity for businessmen to meet with procurement specialists from Federal civilians and military agencies, Federal prime contractors, state and local government purchasing agencies, and other business concerns. Procurement specialists counsel businessmen on (1) the Federal procurement and contracting process; (2) aids and services of government to business; and (3) opportunities in the purchasing programs of Federal, state and local agencies, prime contractors, and occasionally large private business concerns. Conferences are sponsored by Members of Congress, state or city government agencies, or regional, state or local business promotion groups.

What its purpose is.—(1) To locate additional production sources and broaden the procurement base for Federal buying agencies; (2) to stimulate local, regional, and national economic growth, national security, and cost reduction; (3) to locate underutilized production capacity; (4) to help prevent or eliminate pockets of underemployment; (5) to assist small business concerns; and (6) to promote improved relationships between Federal and local governments.

How it works.—Person-to-person counseling between buyers and sellers is the principal feature, with emphasis on opportunities for businessmen, such as: Federal, state, and local buying programs, subcontracting, other buyer and seller information, commercial contacts between businessmen, and aids and services of the government to business. Speeches, discussion panels, and similar spectator-type presentations to the entire conference are held to a minimum. Movies and special seminars may be presented to those interested, in a separate room concurrently with counseling.

Who the buyers are.—(1) The Department of Defense, Army, Navy, Air Force, and Defense Supply Agency, which together awarded over $34 billion in procurement contracts for supplies and services to American business firms in fiscal year 1966; (2) Federal civilian agencies such as the Atomic Energy Commission, General Services Administration, and National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which together with other Federal civilian agencies awarded over $9 billion in procurement contracts to American business firms in the same year; (3) Federal prime contractors; (4) state and local government purchasing agencies; and (5) other business concerns invited by the sponsor.

Who the sellers are.—Visitors to the conference are businesmen who come in response to published notices or invitations by the sponsor, representing concerns which desire to do business with the purchasing agencies.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE "MOST SOUGHT AFTER LAWYER IN VIETNAM"

HON. J. EDWARD ROUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, a few years ago a bright young man joined my staff for the summer months as a political intern. His name was Franklin Cleckley. He was a graduate of Anderson College and was at that time planning a legal career. Everything about this young man indicated that he would be successful. He was intelligent, personable, and possessed an unusual knack of getting immediately to the heart of any problem. My confidence was well placed. The article which follows was taken from the Indiana University Witness, the official publication of the Indiana University Law School Alumni Association. I share Indiana University's pride in Frank and predict that this is only the beginning of an outstanding career for this outstanding young man.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE "MOST SOUGHT AFTER LAWYER IN VIETNAM"

An Indiana University law alumnus, who earned the title "most sought after Navy lawyer in the war zone" during his one-year tour of duty in Vietnam, has been awarded the United States Navy's Achievement Award.

Lt. Franklin D. Cleckley of Huntington, W. Va., who received the Doctor of Jurisprudence degree from I.U. in 1965, was also the only Negro military lawyer in Vietnam during his 1966–67 tour of duty in Saigon.

He was presented the award in a recent ceremony at the Newport Naval Base, R.I., where he is now stationed. In the citation, the Navy said that Lt. Cleckley "became the most requested Navy lawyer in all of Vietnam, representing persons in the Air Force, Army, and Marine Corps, as well as the Navy."

The 27-year-old lawyer, now an instructor at Newport's Naval Justice School, talked about his Vietnam duty in an interview after the ceremony.

Lt. Cleckley, who handled about 30 court martial trials in Vietnam, winning acquittals in 13, and 17 other legal officers in Vietnam handled court martials as close as possible to the areas in which the people involved were stationed, he said.

The purpose was to limit, as much as possible, the transporting of witnesses and key persons involved. But nearness to combat had dangers.

One trial of a larceny case had to be dropped after a Viet Cong mortar attack which killed the complainant and two witnesses, he said.

The legal process was also slowed somewhat by the jungle war, which required shuttling of legal personnel over the countryside by air when aircraft was available.

The war, Lt. Cleckley thinks, for the most part eliminated the color barriers Negroes have to deal with in this country.

"It's a matter time," he said. "People over there didn't have a lot of time to think about prejudice. The only thing that matters is if you can shoot VC."

He said his experience was that Negroes in Vietnam had a chance equal to that of whites of getting fair legal treatment.

The most satisfying case was that of a Marine corporal who had been awarded the Bronze Star who refused to return to combat as a platoon leader saying that he was "sick of killing Viet Cong."

Charges were brought against the corporal, who felt that as Negro, he was being asked to compromise his standards, Lt. Cleckley said.

He was able to convince the Marines to drop their charges, and the corporal to return to combat, saying that he had a legal and moral obligation to do so.

Lt. Cleckley is scheduled to get out of the Navy in September. He plans to work on a master's degree at Harvard Law School where he has been offered a fellowship.

THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 135th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

AREA CENTERS MOBILIZE POVERTY WAR

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, the Portland regional opportunity program was recently the subject of a series of feature articles in Maine's Portland Press Herald. Seldom does such an agency receive such a clear-sighted and unambiguous reportorial treatment. Because one article in particular so clearly and vividly presents an accurate picture of this agency's activity and efforts, I insert it in the RECORD, as follows:

NEWS ANALYSIS: AREA CENTERS MOBILIZE POVERTY WAR—III

(By William H. Williamson)

Take a walk through Portland's Bayside West, the worst slum in the city. Then drive through some of Cumberland County's out-of-the-way rural shack clusters. What you'll see is all the desolation and hopelessness of deeply entrenched poverty.

On the surface, these sights haven't changed much, if at all, since the advent of the county's War on Poverty. And there is a strong temptation to conclude from this that the antipoverty troops haven't gained an inch in the struggle.

But that is a valid temptation only if you assess the success or failure of the antipoverty effort to date in terms of the number of poor who have been lifted out of poverty. Not everybody does.

Those who do, and the number includes some community leaders, elected officials and a good many men on the street, argue that $1.1 million in federal antipoverty spending here should have produced tangible changes and improvements in the area's socio-economic picture.

To the men actually directing the war, the antipoverty officials themselves, this type of criticism is not only premature, but misses the point.

To them, the whole concept of the war on poverty is based upon a single, difficult to attain, foundation. Their basic job, they feel, is mobilization of the poor into a united, articulate and vigorous power structure, dedicated to a change for the better in their lives and the lives of their children.

Until this happens, no amount of money, cooperation between social service agencies, model cities programs or the like are going to have any lasting effect upon the roots and causes of poverty, the poverty warriors believe.

What the antipoverty officials are really saying is that the poor must eventually wrest control of the war from the middle class, and must do so through what boils down to political organization.

This attitude is bound to create friction. Those who for years have operated the existing social agencies aren't overly happy at the prospect of taking a back seat to anybody, including the poor.

Local governments, too, are uneasy over the idea of giving up part of the policy making power to an organized, vocal constituency of the poor.

And while it never worked very well, there is considerable comfort in the traditional method of ministering to the poor through welfare and social service agencies set up and run by predominantly middle class people.

This then, is the dilemma—the conflict of philosophies that has in many ways held back the war on poverty. It is the basic reason behind congressional reluctance to finance a full-scale war, antipoverty leaders claim. In a sense, current disagreement over the poverty war is the age old struggle between the old and the new.

If you ascribe to the idea that mobilization of the poor is the prerequisite for a successful poverty war, the fact that long lists of previously unemployed, poverty stricken individuals who are now gainfully employed haven't materialized doesn't especially bother you at this stage of the game.

To be sure, in the past three years the Neighborhood Youth Corps has had considerable tangible success in guiding disadvantaged youth toward productive lives.

And Project Head Start has demonstrated its worth in giving poor preschoolers a needed boost, to enable them to compete with more fortunate youngsters when they reach school.

But the heart of the poverty struggle, in the minds of local community action officials, is found in a highly sensitive component known as Neighborhood Centers.

Over a year ago, the Portland Regional Opportunity Program (PROP) applied to the federal government for money to establish about 20 urban and rural centers, to be located in poor areas.

After the usual several-month federal waiting period, the application came back, only partially approved. The number of centers had been cut heavily.

With what the federal government allotted, however, PROP has established six neighborhood centers, three in Portland and three in rural Cumberland County. One of the in-town centers, on Oxford Street in Bayside West, is barely operative, however.

It is the neighborhood center which serves as the focal point for mobilization of the poor. One of the prime objectives of the program is to identify the center in the minds of the poor, as their outlet for expression and organized action.

It is the role of the neighborhood center as a catalyst for community action through organization of the poor, that upsets most advocates of the status quo.

In order to fulfill this goal, the center must also act as a referral point, to channel the poor to existing social welfare agencies. By doing so, it both establishes the immediate value of its presence, and can exert pressure on the agencies to improve the services they provide.

And more and more, the available community services are coming to the centers, instead of the other way around.

For example, such activities as the long organized well-baby clinics are going to send teams to the centers so that area residents can bring their children directly there, rather than to City Hall.

The Pine Tree Legal Association—which provides free legal aid to the poor (in noncriminal matters)—staffs both the Danforth and India Street centers.

Plans are in the work for Child and Family Services to staff at least one of the centers, and a representative from the Youth Opportunity Center will operate in the centers.

Adult education, such as typing, basic English and math, is being offered in the two Portland centers, and a tutorial program for young children, taught by dropouts, has been instituted.

The centers are also utilized as places for social activities. Teen-agers have Friday night dances there, and on India Street, elderly men have a social club at the center.

The centers have organized mothers' groups, primarily concerned with public education, which are a direct step toward mobilization.

In fact, the mothers sought, and won, the right to participate in a school department planning session dealing with Title I federal school money—aimed at improving education for the disadvantaged.

This request was greeted less than happily in the school department, and one official declared it was "mob rule, and carrying democracy too far!"

The "mob" turned out to be two women, selected by the group.

In order to motivate the poor to make use of the centers, "out reach" workers, recruited from the poor, are being trained. These workers have the job of acquainting residents with the centers, and selling them on their benefits and opportunities.

When all is said and done, if you agree with the theory that makes organization of the poor the top priority task facing antipoverty officials, there is reason to believe that Cumberland County's poverty war is moving fairly well.

In order to believe in this theory, it's necessary to have a rather pessimistic feeling about the willingness of established power structures to do much about poverty. If that willingness were present, the argument goes, poverty in the U.S. would have been wiped out years ago.

If this is the case, then obviously the "mobilization theory" is sound. If only the poor are really willing to do anything about poverty, then they must weld themselves into a group with sufficient power to affect change.

The future of the poverty war here, and elsewhere, seems to hinge on two things. They are the ability of the poor to mobilize and make their weight felt, and the willingness of established power to let them. The whole process could be stopped rather quickly, for example, by discontinuing Federal antipoverty spending.

But if that were to happen, an almost totally unacceptable concept would have to be accepted, that the richest nation in the world is really two nations, one rich and one poor.

INCOME MAINTENANCE

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I can recall few innovative concepts which have gained support as widely as the idea of income maintenance. Support for income maintenance seems to transcend traditional boundaries of liberal or conservative. As the sponsor of the first income maintenance bill, H.R. 17331, I am looking forward to hearings later this summer before the Joint Economic Committee and the findings of the Heineman Commission.

Last week, 1,000 academic economists, led by John Kenneth Galbraith and James Tobin, issued a statement endorsing the idea. I include the editorial from the Washington Post of May 29 entitled "Income Guarantees," as follows:

INCOME GUARANTEES

The endorsement of a system of income guarantees and supplements by 1000 academic economists reflects the rising national support for underpinning the incomes of the poor. This sentiment springs in part from a widespread dissatisfaction with the administration of direct relief and in part from a sharpening awareness of the plight of the very poor.

But while the support for the idea of income supplements is rising, there is still much disagreement on how to reconcile this concept with a work-oriented and reward-motivated society. The costs of various plans are formidable—ranging from $8 billion to $40 billion, depending on the level of income that is to be supplied.

It is quite clear that such a Federal program for the unemployable would not cost much more than already is being spent for the expensively administered direct relief programs. It is likely that it would be acceptable, psychologically and politically, as applied to that one third of the Nation's poor that is employed at wages that do not yield acceptable incomes. The idea of giving a guaranteed income to those who are employable but not working is more difficult to reconcile with existing mores. Linking payments of this group to tasks performed in job-training or useful public works might diminish objections on this score.

President Johnson, in his 1967 economic message, said he intended to establish a commission to look into the guaranteed income. Early in 1968 he appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Ben W. Heineman of Chicago to examine all forms of income maintenance. It has not yet reported and it is too late to hope that any plan could gain Congressional acceptance in this Administration. In the absence of such a plan, Congress seems unlikely to accept the recommendations of the thousand economists and "adopt this year a national system of income guarantees and supplements." But such a study should be a first undertaking of a new Administration. A competent commission study is needed, not only to choose from the alternative schemes of negative income tax and income subsidies. It is needed to persuade the country that a Twentieth Century version of the guaranteed income will not involve the calamitous consequences of England's Speenhamland experiments in 1795 when a fifth of England's workers were getting direct grants, to the impoverishment of ordinary rate-payers. Malthus condemned these grants for "creating the poor they assisted."

The fatal defects of that plea were not inherent in the idea and can be avoided by better techniques. But only a thorough and exhaustive examination of the issues involved can bring about a revision of widely held views on work motivation and on alteration of opinions shaped by the forms described in Tawney's great work on "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism." The Cambridge economists are right to see the matter as an urgent one, but they probably are wrong to think that such a transformation of national opinion can be brought about in the few months remaining to this Administration.

HOUSE SHOULD ACT QUICKLY ON THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, on May 28, the Senate passed the most comprehensive housing bill in the history of our Nation and moved us closer to the goal, as stated by President Johnson, of abolishing substandard housing within the next decade.

In his message on the cities last February, the President made clear—that we must act positively to cope with the growing crisis of our cities—that we must produce much more low- and moderate-priced housing and rebuild our urban areas.

His message set forth a comprehensive set of new and expanded programs for accomplishing these goals. They include new homeownership and rental housing programs for low- and moderate-income families, several efforts designed to involve private enterprise in the increased production of housing in the low- and medium-price range, aid for developers of new communities and a program to make insurance available to businessmen in older, higher risk neighborhoods. He also proposed expansion of the urban renewal, public housing, model cities, and rent supplement programs.

Mr. Speaker, all of these proposals are now embodied in S. 3497 as passed by the Senate. The same programs are pending before the House. I urge all of my colleagues to join me in pressing for the earliest possible action on these vital programs.

ADDRESS BY DR. HENRY KLEIN

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. Henry Klein, president of the American College Admissions Center in Philadelphia, gave a wonderful speech to the members of the Junto, a learned group established by Benjamin Franklin in 1726 and reestablished in Philadelphia in 1940. I am proud that this center—one of four of its kind in the United States—is located in Philadelphia. It does a tremendous job in helping young people throughout the eastern section of the country get into college. Dr. Klein's speech received a tremendous ovation, and I would like to share these thoughts with my colleagues.

The speech follows:

We—and the citizens we represent—are relying too much upon massive funds and super-organizations to do our work for us. When the hunt is on, we now first reach for the elephant gun—even though we're aiming for a mouse.

I would like to tell a brief story of how a handful of civic-minded people from my City of Philadelphia were introduced to a problem, took aim on it, solved it quickly—without calling for help from Washington.

The problem was no small one. It is one which all of us now face. It is the problem of helping deprived Negro students take the giant's step to higher education, to college.

Of our country's six million college students working toward their bachelor's degrees, 95 percent are white. President Kennedy told this Congress on February 23, 1963: "The Negro baby born in America today—regardless of the section or State in which he is born—has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day; one-third as much chance of completing college . . ."

Let me take this problem down into one inner-city high school. Gratz High School in Philadelphia has 900 graduating seniors, 99 percent of whom are Negro. Two years ago only 18 graduates went on to college. This year 100 will go.

One of the factors accounting for this incredible leap forward is its new principal, Marcus Foster, who has been able to raise morale and high expectations.

But another factor in this astounding college-bound phenomenon has been the injection of a Philadelphia-based service which works in this field.

The American College Admissions Center is a nonprofit college applicant clearinghouse which brings together students who are seeking college entrance and more than 560 colleges which are currently seeking qualified students.

On hearing about the efforts being made at Gratz High School to turn more students toward higher education, the Board of the American College Admissions Center volunteered its services. Waiving its usual $20 registration fee for these students—who could not afford it—the Center prepared academic summaries of the Gratz students and sent them to its 560 participating colleges.

The colleges were warned that these students would need massive financial aid up to full tuition, room and board—even the application fee.

Within two weeks, each student had received an average of 20 invitations to apply to colleges all over the country, some even within commuting distance of their homes.

Within these two weeks, these students had transformed their feeling of rejection and dejection to a feeling of being wanted and encouraged to take this step upward to higher education.

Imagine the repercussions that went through this entire high school and its 4,000 other students when these college acceptance letters started to arrive! Imagine what effect it has had on the younger students in the 11th and 10th grades—and their parents—who had never believed that college was within their grasp! Imagine the renewed interest and motivation that is now pulsating in these classrooms!

What the American College Admissions Center has just accomplished for these special students, as an extreme illustration, it has done for 10,000 other students in the past six years.

Starting out as a regional organization, the Center now serves students from every state, foreign countries, and U.S. servicemen overseas who are planning their higher education when they are discharged.

So that you may know more about this unusual organization, I request that this brief description of the American College Admissions Center written by its president, Dr. Henry Klein, be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

OPENING THE DOORS TO COLLEGE

Despite the headlines of "closing college doors," surveys each year reveal between 25,000 and 50,000 vacant chairs in accredited colleges throughout the country.

When the total number of college applicants is compared to the total number of college facilities, there is room for all.

The apparent shortage is a statistical illusion created by the unfortunate phenomenon of 50 percent of all students applying to only 7 percent of all 2,200 colleges. These "magnetic" institutions—which therefore must reject four or five students for every one accepted—are usually the largest or best known, but not necessarily the best choice for the average student.

"Somewhere in the nation there is a college for every qualified high school graduate with a purpose," states the Association for Higher Education.

"The problem of admissions is the hesitancy of parents or applicants to consider the good but less well-known institutions which in the case of some students are as well or better adjusted to their individual needs," says Dr. Francis Keppel, former U.S. Commissioner of Education.

The cruel paradox—colleges with vacancies, seeking students who seek colleges—is caused by a lack of information about each other.

HOW THE CENTER WORKS

The American College Admissions Center, now in its sixth year, has brought together hundreds of colleges and thousands of students who otherwise would not have found each other.

The Center prepares a summary of the student's academic background from information supplied on the Student Registration Form and on his official transcript sent by his school. (This "profile" contains, if all information is provided: name, address, phone, high school, class rank, curriculum, grade average, College Board, Merit, ACT and other achievement and psychological test scores, extra-curricular activities, educational and career goals, and counselor recommendation.)

The student's summary is then mailed to all colleges which participate with the Center. They include more than 560 colleges, universities and junior colleges in the Eastern one-third of the U.S. and represent every available type of higher education. They are selected from the U.S. Office of Education Directory of Higher Education. They register with the Center voluntarily to enlarge their range of applicants and agree to review the credentials of Center registrants as potentials students. All seek their share of average-ability as well as high-ability students.

The admissions directors study these credentials and write directly to the students whom they wish to encourage to apply. While an invitation to apply is no automatic guarantee of admission, if pursued it usually results in acceptance.

RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

Annual follow-up surveys of past registrants demonstrate:

Between 99 percent and 100 percent of all registrants receive invitations to apply to colleges, some with financial aid.

About 75 percent of the students receive between 10 and 60 invitations. Another 30 percent receive between 61 and 200 bids. The average student receives 50 invitations. The number of invitations generally rises with the student's academic record and potential.

Finally, about 95 percent of the students enroll in college. The remaining students decline an average of 50 invitations for personal, non-academic reasons such as marriage, military service or employment.

The typical registrant at the Center fairly well matches the average student in College Board scores. Registrants use the Center for different reasons: some have been rejected by several colleges; some have been accepted at a college but seek a greater variety of possible acceptances; some have been dismissed from college for low academic standing but may succeed in a less competitive atmosphere; some wish to transfer after graduation from a two-year college to a four-year institution.

Servicemen both overseas and at U.S. bases who wish to start communication with colleges before their discharge use the Center to save time and cost of multiple correspondence to individual institutions. U.S. students attending high schools abroad and foreign students use the Center for similar advantages.

FEATURES OF THIS CENTER

1. It is America's largest nonprofit admissions center in number of participating colleges and universities. While the number increases each year the Center currently services more than one of every three Eastern colleges, and approximately one of every four colleges in the entire country. This results in the generous amount of invitations received by registrants.

2. The Eastern one-third of the nation produces the most college admissions activity. This area contains nearly three-quarters of the country's colleges and high school graduates. Consequently, 97 percent of the

Center's associated colleges and universities are in this region. Students who prefer this location are especially well served. In addition, colleges and students located elsewhere also use the Center advantageously.

3. The Center does not charge colleges for its service, operating on registration fees and philanthropic foundation grants. The Center is therefore independent of favoring its participating colleges over any other institutions.

4. So that no student is deprived of the usefulness of the Center for lack of funds, a counselor may petition the Center to reduce or waive the registration fee for a student who can demonstrate inability to pay. The Center reserves the right to limit the reasonable number of such registrations from any one school or agency.

The American College Admissions Center has demonstrated that admission to college need not be a traumatic series of shock waves for students and parents as rejection letters arrive. It further proves that both students and colleges are best served by an efficient clearinghouse device, rather than the typical student's hit-and-miss efforts.

In Great Britain the Universities Central Council on Admissions processes all admissions to all universities in the United Kingdom—with great efficiency and satisfaction to all.

What is being done on a mandatory basis in Great Britain is being done on a voluntary basis in this country by the American College Admissions Center. This is the American Way.

THE ARNHEITER CASE

HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, during the past few days, one of my esteemed colleagues from California has been inserting in the RECORD material which he says will, "tell a side of the so-called Arnheiter mutiny which has not been told previously."

This material includes a staff study conducted by the House Armed Services Committee, which purports to represent "an exhaustive review of the Arnheiter case." This "exhaustive review" was nothing more than a rereading of testimony the credibility and objectivity of which has already been challenged innumerable times by some of the Navy's own high-ranking officers.

The "review" was conducted behind closed doors, without eliciting any new testimony or calling any witnesses. In fact, it was conducted without the knowledge of the parties involved. And it is just one more example of how far the Navy will go to perpetuate a bad decision rather than admit to the possibility of error.

My distinguished colleague from California also included in the RECORD a letter from William T. Generous, Jr., a former officer on the U.S.S. *Vance*, who laments the fact that the ad hoc hearings which were conducted on the Arnheiter case, and the material which has appeared in the press omits his side of the story.

I would like to remind Mr. Generous that he was formally invited to testify at these hearings and to present his side not only to me and my colleagues, but to the press as well. However, he gracefully declined that invitation.

Mr. Speaker, the main point in the Arnheiter case is, and has been, whether or not the Navy ignored its own established procedures in removing Lieutenant Commander Arnheiter from command of the U.S.S. *Vance*, and in doing so denied Arnheiter the day in court to which he was entitled. Enough doubt has been raised as to the Navy's handling of the case to warrant a complete, open investigation.

Yesterday, a letter was sent to Secretary of the Navy Paul R. Ignatius, which was signed by me and 85 of my colleagues. That letter urges that a court of inquiry be convened as quickly as possible. I sincerely urge my distinguished colleague from California who has expressed concern that only one side of the case has been told, and all of my other colleagues who have not as yet joined in writing the Navy, to write to Secretary Ignatius urging that this court of inquiry be held. It is the only way that both sides of the story can be told—to the satisfaction of the parties involved and to the satisfaction of the American people.

U.N. HYPOCRISY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the United Nation's War Council controlled by the unapportioned votes of Red-black power has called upon its subservient subjects to escalate the war against the peaceful Government of Rhodesia.

Attempting to exert power the U.N. does not have, it becomes at most a fright committee of extremists—Fascist in nature—which seeks to destroy all not in agreement with its racist policies in the interest of establishing by bloodshed, if need be, a U.N. doctrine of colonialism.

While making noises like a titular ruler of all mankind it first urges all vengeance against Rhodesia and yet in paragraph 13 of its declaration it urges "moral and material assistance to the people of South Rhodesia in their struggle to achieve their freedom and independence."

Do the quasi-intellectuals at the U.N. not know that the people of Rhodesia have their freedom and independence? The Rhodesians have thrown off the yoke of colonialism by England and are free and independent just as we in the United States of America.

Sheer hypocrisy. The U.N. is wrong and their purported action far more illegal than the execution of legally tried and convicted murderers.

Mr. Speaker, I include the highly controversial draft resolution of the U.N. Security Council dated May 28, 1968, so that all our colleagues may read for themselves the ridiculous mutterings of this ridiculous front of the international conspiracy, as follows:

DRAFT RESOLUTION

The Security Council,

Recalling and reaffirming its resolutions 216 (1965) of 12 November 1965, 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965, 221 (1966) of 9 April 1966, and 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966,

Taking note of resolution 2262 (XXII) adopted by the General Assembly on 3 November 1967,

Noting with great concern that the measures taken so far have failed to bring the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia to an end,

Reaffirming that, to the extent not superseded in this resolution, the measures provided for in resolutions 217 (1965) of 20 November 1965, and 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966, as well as those initiated by Member States in implementation of those resolutions, shall continue in effect,

Gravely concerned that the measures taken by the Security Council have not been complied with by all States and that some States, contrary to resolution 232 (1966) of the Security Council and to their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, have failed to prevent trade with the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

Condemning the recent executions carried out by the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia which have flagrantly affronted the conscience of mankind and have been universally condemned.

Affirming the primary responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to achieve self-determination and independence, and in particular their responsibility for dealing with the prevailing situation,

Recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Southern Rhodesia to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV),

Reaffirming its determination that the present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

1. *Condemns* all measures of political repression, including arrests, detentions, trials and executions which violate fundamental freedoms and rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia, and calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom to take all possible measures to put an end to such actions;

2. *Calls upon* the United Kingdom as the administering Power in the discharge of its responsibility to take urgently all effective measures to bring to an end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, and enable the people to secure the enjoyment of their rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

3. *Decides* that, in furtherance of the objective of ending the rebellion, all States Members of the United Nations shall prevent:

(*a*) The import into their territories of all commodities and products originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution (whether or not the commodities or products are for consumption or processing in their territories, whether or not they are imported in bond and whether or not any special legal status with respect to the import of goods is enjoyed by the port or other place where they are imported or stored);

(*b*) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which would promote or are calculated to promote the export of any commodities or products from Southern Rhodesia; and any dealings by their nationals or in their territories in any commodities or products originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution, including in particular any transfer of funds to Southern

Rhodesia for the purposes of such activities or dealings;

(*c*) The shipment in vessels or aircraft of their registration or under charter to their nationals, or the carriage (whether or not in bond) by land transport facilities across their territories of any commodities or products originating in Southern Rhodesia and exported therefrom after the date of this resolution;

(*d*) The sale or supply by their nationals or from their territories of any commodities or products (whether or not originating in their territories, but not including supplies intended strictly for medical purposes, educational equipment and material for use in schools and other educational institutions, publications, news material and, in special humanitarian circumstances, food-stuffs) to any person or body in Southern Rhodesia or to any other person or body for the purpose of any business carried on in or operated from Southern Rhodesia, and any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote such sale or supply;

(*e*) The shipment in vessels or aircraft of their registration, or under charter to their nationals, or the carriage (whether or not in bond) by land transport facilities across their territories of any such commodities or products which are consigned to any person or body in Southern Rhodesia, or to any other person or body for the purposes of any business carried on in or operated from Southern Rhodesia;

4. *Decides* that all States Members of the United Nations shall not make available to the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia or to any commercial, industrial or public utility undertaking, including tourist enterprises, in Southern Rhodesia any funds for investment or any other financial or economic resources and shall prevent their nationals and any persons within their territories for making available to the régime or to any such undertaking any such funds or resources and from remitting any other funds to persons or bodies within Southern Rhodesia except payments exclusively for pensions or for strictly medical, humanitarian or educational purpose or for the provision of news material and in special humanitarian circumstances, food-stuffs;

5. *Decides* that all States Members of the United Nations shall:

(*a*) Prevent the entry into their territories, save on exceptional humanitarian grounds, of any person traveling on a Southern Rhodesian passport, regardless of its date of issue, or on a purported passport issued by or on behalf of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia; and

(*b*) Take all possible measures to prevent the entry into their territories of persons whom they have reason to believe to be ordinarily resident in Southern Rhodesia and whom they have reason to believe to have furthered or encouraged, or to be likely to further or encourage, the unlawful actions of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia or any activities which are calculated to evade any measure decided upon in this resolution or resolution 232 (1966) of 16 December 1966;

6. *Decides* that all States Members of the United Nations shall prevent airline companies constituted in their territories and aircraft of their registration or under charter to their nationals from operating to or from Southern Rhodesia and from linking up with any airline company constituted or aircraft registered in Southern Rhodesia;

7. *Decides* that all States Members of the United Nations shall give effect to the decisions set out in operative paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6 of this resolution notwithstanding any contract entered into or license granted before the date of this resolution;

8. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to take all possible measures to prevent activities by their nationals and persons in their territories promoting, assisting or encouraging emigration to Southern Rhodesia, with a view to stopping such emigration;

9. *Requests* all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to take all possible further action under Article 41 of the Charter to deal with the situation in Southern Rhodesia, not excluding any of the measures provided in that Article;

10. *Emphasizes* the need for the withdrawal of all consular and trade representation in Southern Rhodesia, in addition to the provisions of operative paragraph 6 of resolution 217 (1965);

11. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations to carry out these decisions of the Security Council in accordance with Article 25 of the United Nations Charter and reminds them that failure or refusal by any one of them to do so would constitute a violation of that Article;

12. *Deplores* the attitude of States that have not complied with their obligations under Article 25 of the Charter, and censures in particular those States which have persisted in trading with the illegal régime in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council, and which have given active assistance to the régime;

13. *Urges* all States Members of the United Nations to render moral and material assistance to the people of Southern Rhodesia in their struggle to achieve their freedom and independence;

14. *Urges,* having regard to the principles stated in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, States not Members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;

15. *Requests* States Members of the United Nations, the United Nations Organization, the specialized agencies, and other international organizations in the United Nations system to extend assistance to Zambia as a matter of priority with a view to helping her solve such special economic problems as she may be confronted with arising from the carrying out of these decisions of the Security Council;

16. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations, and in particular those with primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, to assist effectively in the implementation of the measures called for by the present resolution;

17. *Considers* that the United Kingdom as the administering Power should ensure that no settlement is reached without taking into account the views of the people of Southern Rhodesia, and in particular the political parties favouring majority rule, and that it is acceptable to the people of Southern Rhodesia as a whole;

18. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to report to the Secretary-General by 1 August 1968 on measures taken to implement the present resolution;

19. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the implementation of this resolution, the first report to be made not later than 1 September 1968;

20. *Decides* to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, a committee of the Security Council to undertake the following tasks and to report to it with its observations:

(*a*) To examine such reports on the implementation of the present resolutions as are submitted by the Secretary-General;

(*b*) To seek from any States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies such further information regarding the trade of that State (including information regarding the commodities and products exempted from the prohibition contained in operative paragraph 3(*d*) above) or regarding any activities by any nationals of that State or in its territories that may constitute an evasion of the measures decided upon in this resolution as it may consider necessary for the proper discharge of its duty to report to the Security Council;

21. *Requests* the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to give maximum assistance to the committee, and to provide the committee with any information which it may receive in order that the measures envisaged in this resolution and resolution 232 (1966) may be rendered fully effective;

22. *Calls upon* all States Members of the United Nations, or of the specialized agencies, as well as the specialized agencies themselves, to supply such further information as may be sought by the Committee in pursuance of this resolution;

23. *Decides* to maintain this item on its agenda for further action as appropriate in the light of developments.

AMBASSADOR KENNAN'S REMARKS AT WILLIAMSBURG

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, on June 1, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, Mr. George Kennan, delivered the annual Prelude to Independence address. Whether one agrees on each and every point of Mr. Kennan's or not does not detract from the fact that his speech is a timely and perceptive one, discussing as it does some of the most disturbing domestic problems. For this reason I include the text of his remarks to be inserted in the Record at this point:

Prelude to Independence, Williamsburg, Va., June 1, 1968

My pleasure at being here on this occasion, and being able to contribute to it in a modest way, is second, I am sure, to that of no one here present. I am one of those people to whom history—and particularly history that has entered into our own tradition and the culture—means a great deal. And I naturally cannot stand in this place and feel the curious sort of physical proximity that one does feel, here, to men who contributed so greatly to that tradition, and not have a sense both of excitement and of reverence. One would so like to be able to feel that the political principles laid down here a hundred and ninety-two years ago were still the secure anchor of our civilization—that we could still confidently use them as points of reference and orientation in the treatment of our great contemporary problems—that the attachment of our people to them was still firm and unshakeable. And yet, when one lets one's thoughts roam beyond these pleasant and beautiful precincts—to the great troubled America of 1968 that lies outside, as we have known it and seen it in recent weeks and months, the contrast between this early model and the reality of American life today is so tremendous that one is oppressed by all sorts of doubts and questions. One is constrained to raise, in particular, the painful question as to whether the principles by which these men lived, and which they embodied in the Virginia Bill of Rights and Constitution, were really ones of universal validity, as they hoped, or whether these principles presupposed, for their effectiveness, the acceptance of a very specific cultural and ethical and even religious heritage—and not just the detached intellectual acceptance of it, as one might accept a new and strange thought, but a species of actual membership in it, of being a part of it, by virtue of birth and breeding, by the spirit and the discipline of the home.

We of subsequent American generations have obviously proceeded on the basis of the first of these propositions. We have assumed that these principles were ones of an innate universal validity—that they required no special cultural or religious inheritance to become truly effective as guides for the political conduct of a society. We have shown no hesitation, over these intervening two hundred years, in throwing our country open to the immigration of great masses of people reared in quite different climates of political and ethical principle. We have done this in the confidence that our traditions were so sound, so universal in their validity, and the institutions flowing from them of such strength, that we could easily afford this liberality. The spirit of the Virginia Bill of Rights was expected to spread through some inherent power of its own to all who set foot on these shores and proceeded to make their home here, regardless of whether these people had any share in the cultural and philosophic soil out of which these traditions and institutions had grown.

And it is not, incidentally, just in relation to the development of our society as a whole that we have been guided by this light-hearted faith in the assimilative powers of our national tradition. It has often struck me that we have manifested the same confidence in our attitude to the development of our major cities. It has seemingly never occurred to us that these great urban areas, the nerve centers of our civilization, the gathering and distributing points of our cultural and administrative and economic strength, might also be limited in their capacity for the assimilation of people to whom their traditions and arrangements of self-government were strange. We seemed often to forget that it was precisely in relation to the city that the very word "citizen" had its original meanings; that a city, to be successful, had also to be a community; that the effective living together of great masses of people within the narrow confines of a single urban area presupposed a community of understanding with relation to political institutions and principles. Without a qualm we permitted, in the early decades of this century, the entire residential patterns and community structure of our great cities to be disrupted and disintegrated, the central districts to be blighted and to be drained of people of education and influence and responsibility—all of this as a result primarily of the sudden switch to the private automobile as the prevailing mode of transportation; and then, with an equal absence of qualm, we permitted these blighted central districts to be colonized by huge masses of impoverished and poorly-educated people from remote rural environments—people largely devoid of understanding for the institutions of urban self-government by which they were now supposed to be living—and people for whom, in the districts to which they were being permitted to move, there were obviously no adequate prospects of employment and no adequate residential, educational or cultural facilities. Never, but literally never—down to the present day, never—does it seem to have occurred to us that perhaps there were limits to the absorbent capacity of our great urban communities, and that perhaps it was the business of governmental authority to see that these limits were not over-stepped.

Please do not misunderstand me. In mentioning this extravagant faith we have shown in the assimilative qualities of our political tradition, I am not meaning to draw any value judgements. I know of no absolutes in the quality of human beings anywhere. I do not believe in the inferiority or the superiority of any racial or ethnic or national group anywhere in the world. But people can be different, without being inferior; and differences can be important; and it is this that we, I think, tend to ignore.

I do not mean to disparage or depreciate the progress actually made over the decades in the way of assimilation of our tradition by people to whom it was not native. On the contrary, what has been accomplished in this respect, it seems to me to have been little short of miraculous. And in many instances, I know, the spirit of the Virginia Bill of Rights and Constitution has been better understood, more highly valued, and more reverently cultivated, by persons born outside the English-speaking world than it has by many whose ancestors were among the heirs to the British cultural and political tradition. But one of our national failings, it seems to me, is a tendency to overwork success of any kind; and in this instance, too, to say that we have accomplished much does not preclude the possibility that we have attempted to accomplish too much.

I am well aware, of course, that if there has been a serious dilution of the ideological inspiration that flowed from this colonial capital nearly two hundred years ago, it has been a dilution that has taken place partly within the souls and minds of those of us who belong to the old-American element. We have taken the enduring power of this inspiration for granted with regard to ourselves as well as to others. We have shown little recognition of the need for preserving and cultivating it even in the rules and habits of our own lives; in the cultivation of religious faith; in the rearing of our children; in the structuring of our communities. If these ideals have been betrayed, the betrayal is certainly one that has taken place partly within ourselves.

My point, therefore, is neither that there has been no assimilation at all, nor that the weakening of understanding for the founding principles of our society is something that has come only by the reckless admission of unassimilated elements to our midst. My point is simply that we have played fast and loose generally with our national tradition, taking very little care to see that its philosophic and ethical foundations were adequately communicated to the millions of strangers admitted to our body politic, taking equally little pains to see that these foundations retained their vitality in our own habits and outlooks. And the result is that we have today a society that has come a long way indeed—an alarmingly long way—from what those Virginia forefathers thought they were creating in the way of a body politic when they drafted their memorable documents, a society in which the endurance and validity of the things they cared for is now very gravely jeopardized.

You all know what I have in mind when I use these strong words. I doubt that there can be any of us present whose senses have not been repeatedly sickened over these recent months by the spectacle of angry, disorderly people: milling about, screaming, shouting other people down, brawling with the police or with equally violent opponents, obstructing other people in their normal pursuits—and all this ostensibly in the effort to achieve one objective or another not by the devices of persuasion, not through the orderly processes of appointed authority and procedure, but through the devices of intimidation and blackmail. It will be clear to all of us that this style of political action, far from having anything to do with that "firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality and virtue" which the Virginia Bill of Rights demanded, is in the most direct and flagrant conflict with the whole spirit of the document. It represents a frame of mind that can lead, if the entire previous experience of mankind is to be credited, only to demagoguery and dictatorship. The predilection for this style of political action, while by no means restricted to these two groups alone, has been particularly marked, as we all know, in two sectors of our society where we can least afford to tolerate a lack of respect and understanding for our traditions: namely, in the urban negro communities whose collaboration is going to be essential if our great cities are to retain their vitality, and among the student population of our great urban universities—among people, that is, on whose intellectual and civic capacities our national future is going to depend in the most intimate way. The damage done just in these two sectors of our society alone, and not just the physical damage but even more the social and spiritual disorientation that invariably attends mass disorders of every sort, has already attained extremely serious dimensions. Along with all this, and not unconnected with it, there has gone a persistent and continuing growth in a crime rate that is already appallingly high and, more disturbing still, a recent increase in the private purchase of firearms, made possible by the incredible laxity of existing legislation—a development that has the most sinister implications for the state of mind now beginning to develop among great numbers of our fellow citizens.

Now, all this is bad enough in itself. But its gravity has been multiplied, as I see it, by the hesitancy, the feebleness, and the ineffectiveness of many of the responses on the part of established authority. One is forced to the conclusion that the confusions of mind which these disorders reflect are ones from which not even those people are immune whose responsibility it is to see that the dignity and good order of our public life are maintained.

Now, obviously, we are faced today with two urgent tasks. The first is to bring this situation under control. Surely only the most fatuous optimist could believe that we have already done that. Which of our cities is safe from a repetition, over this coming summer, of the scenes that have disgraced the streets of a number of them over the course of the past year? Surely, if there has been any excess here, it has been an excess of tolerance towards such things as arson, looting, sniping and the malicious harrassment of police and firemen endeavoring to perform their duty. Such things cannot be justified by any cause or any grievance. They are not conducive to the alleviation of any cause or any grievance. They carry with them a great and real danger of provoking forms of counterlawlessness even more ugly and menacing than themselves. They are contagious in the sense that they conduce to the undermining of confidence in orderly procedure, and to the deterioration of standards of political action across the country. In no other country in the world would they have been treated with the lenience that has been shown in our great cities. In the face of the provocation given, I find the charges of police brutality simply ludicrous. The police, too, are only human. Whoever deliberately obstructs the exercise of public authority and then resists arrest, is not only provoking violence but necessitating it; and he should know what to expect.

The same is true of the resort to violence and obstruction by students on university campuses. Every university administration has no doubt its deficiencies. It would be surprising if the administration of Columbia University, in particular, had been without them. But no such deficiencies could conceivably justify what took place on that campus a few weeks ago. What gives rise to concern is not that the administration of the university ultimately invoked the help of the police to restore its control over its own buildings—it would have been remiss in its duty had it failed to do so. What gives rise to concern is that the measure was not taken more promptly; that a considerable portion of the faculty chose to support these student rioters, and their trouble-making friends from outside, in illegal and indefensible actions; and that even now, a month after the first of the disorders, the leaders of all this lawlessness and indecency should still be clamoring for continued enrollment and recognition as students.

Universities are there for purposes of education. They are not supposed to be exercises in political democracy. The term "democracy" refers to the procedures of government and defines the relationship between the individual citizen and those who hold the ultimate power of disposal over his person and his property; it has no proper application to the administration of the education process. Universities cannot fulfill their true educational function other than in an atmosphere of respect for the authority of both teacher and institution. It would be better that they be closed entirely than that they attempt to function under conditions in which that respect is absent.

The American student of this day and age has the finest educational facilities ever offered to any students at any time and at any place in world history. For the actual costs of what is offered to him at these places he does not, on the average, pay even the half. The rest is given him by that very American society—that American "Establishment", if you will—for which the student-activist professes such contempt. It is the student who is under obligation to the university and its sponsors, not vice versa. Higher education is not an absolute right, nor is the enjoyment of it devoid of responsibilities. In an age when there are far more applicants for enrollment in our leading institutions than these institutions can handle, there is no reason why anyone should be tolerated as a student on one of these campuses who is not prepared to give the university his respect and whose presence and activity there are disruptive of the educational progress of other students. The demand of students for influence, in particular, on the financial affairs of the university—a field of activity for which they have neither expertise nor the legal responsibility—can only be classified as a gross impertinence.

In a sense, then, in each case—that of the big-city ghettoes and that of the college campus—there has been a real and dangerous discrepancy between the seriousness of the provocation given and the firmness of the response offered by appointed authority; and a good deal more will have to be shown in the way of decisiveness and resolution and faith in our own values if decency and decorum are to be restored to the American scene. This, in itself, is going to call for a major national effort.

And it is, of course, not enough. There is the further task of identifying and correcting the various forms of confusion and distress that have led to this sort of behavior. For this, the restoration of order is not a substitute but only a prerequisite; and we will be very foolish if we do not attack both problems simultaneously. But the second one—the correction and identification of the causes of all this trouble—is even greater in its dimensions than the first; for these causes strike deeply into the most sacred habits, and the most ingrained assumptions, of our society. They amount, in their entirety, to a real illness of our civilization. And in the attempt to get at them and cure them, we have not—as I see it—even scratched the surface.

To identify the causes of radical student unrest, for example, you would have to go back into questions of the home environment, of grade school and high school education. And you would even have to beard in his den, and drag out into the open, that sacred cat of American custom which consigns so enormous a share of the educational influence over our children to people, namely the television advertisers, who have no proper educational interest or responsibility.

And to get at the causes and remedies of the situation that prevails in the Negro ghettoes I think you would have to go even deeper. You would have to begin, it seems to me, by removing from the public discussion of this problem the wholesale imputations of mass guilt and mass innocence that have been permitted to pervade it in this recent period. This is a problem with deep historical roots. It was not created by the generation of Americans now alive; it was only inherited by them. There have been many people of good will on both sides who have never failed to make the effort to improve things within the limits of their own modest possibilities. I think I speak for many others when I say that I am a little tired of being told how endlessly guilty I am with relation to this situation; and inclined to doubt the usefulness of any public discussion conducted against such emotional imputations and assumptions. The first requirement of a useful discussion here would be the recognition of the truly tragic and deep-seated nature of the problem.

But beyond that, if we were really to come to terms with this problem we would have to ask, I think, questions more searching and painful than any I have yet seen publicly discussed. We would have to ask, for example, whether it really does any good to try to raise living standards among these masses of recent arrivals in the great cities unless you can simultaneously raise similar standards among those who remained behind in the places they came from, or unless you can impose some artificial restriction on a further migration to the cities. And you would have to ask, I think, whether we can any longer afford not to relate our political arrangements to the realities of race: whether, that is, political and administrative lines should not be redrawn in many instances to make it possible for negroes, wherever they want to do this, to face the duties and problems of citizenship as a community, and precisely as a racial community, and not as individuals trying to relate to other individuals whom they neither understand nor trust. I am not speaking of any form of compulsion. I am not suggesting that negroes should be excluded from other forms of political identification, if they prefer them. But I do not see that progress can be made in an atmosphere where the white majority is accused of arrogance and callousness if it denies special privileges and concessions, and of an unacceptable paternalism if it extends them. The American negro, I suspect, will find his dignity only when he seeks it as a member of a negro community, not as an individual; and I think we will soon have to take account of this fact.

Now obviously, these problems cut deep. The adjustments they call for are major adjustments. They will demand, if they are to be successfully met, all that we can give them in the way of energy and imagination and material investment. And they are of great urgency. They will not brook much more delay. Unless we tackle them soon, and other related problems as well, and tackle them with many times the seriousness and scope of endeavor that we have shown to date, they can easily get wholly out of hand, and the damage to our body politic can assume catastrophic dimensions. And it is this, the magnitude and urgency of the tasks that we face in the ordering of our domestic life, that brings me now to the burden of the thought I wish primarily to state to you today. It is simply this: that a nation in such a state of internal disarray—a nation faced with domestic tasks of such magnitude, cannot afford the luxury of extravagant excursions, whether of altruism or of military adventure, into the world beyond its borders: it has no choice but to prune its external involvements to the bone, to cure itself of all dreams of being more to others than it is to itself, and to adjust the objectives of its foreign policy to a realistic assessment of its own capabilities.

Now let me elaborate.

I do not want to talk about Vietnam. Of course, it is little short of fantastic that a country facing such domestic problems as we now face, and one that stands virtually on the brink of a major international financial humiliation, should be continuing to pour its substance, to the tune of a full fourth of its budget and more than a half a million of its young men, into a military adventure on the other side of the world, in an area to which its vital interests are only remotely related. But that is an old argument. This is not the time to renew it. A further escalation of this conflict has, I hope, now become politically unthinkable; and negotiations looking to its ultimate liquidation are now in progress. I cannot regard these negotiations with any great measure of optimism. The procedures we are following are not the ones I would have thought most promising in the interests of an early liquidation of the conflict. But the negotiations are being conducted by men of great experience and ability, in whom I have the highest personal confidence. I would not like to say anything here that would complicate their tasks. I will only say that the successful liquidation of this involvement is a prerequisite to any successful national policy over the coming four years, whether at home or abroad.

When this liquidation is finally effected, and when we are able to turn our full attention to other parts of the world and to take stock of what has been happening to our world position during the period of our preoccupation with Southeast Asia, we will be dismayed, I think, to find how much Vietnam has cost us in terms of the confidence and respect of world opinion. Let us not argue over the degree in which this loss of esteem and prestige is deserved. Our political adversaries have naturally been only too happy to take advantage of a situation that played so beautifully into the hands of their favored propaganda charges against us. The fact is that we are going to find a distressingly large part of the world public either inclined to the belief that we are some species of blood-thirsty militarists and imperialists or at least shaken in a prior impression that we were not. In these circumstances, almost any very active policy on our part, whether we conceive it as one of altruism or as an assertion of power, will be almost bound to be misinterpreted. To certain forms of hostility and suspicion and skepticism about one's motives, there is only one dignified and effective response: Withdrawal, abstention and a dignified silence. Only by a long period of restraint and detachment toward the affairs of other countries and continents, will it be possible for us to correct the misinterpretations concerning the spirit and purposes of our nation to which the Vietnam involvement has given rise.

And this forebearance will have to be supported by the quality of our effort here at home. Whoever has looked closely at international affairs knows that the way in which nations really commend themselves to the respect and confidence of others is not primarily through their words or even primarily through their external actions, but rather through the tone and quality of their domestic life. It is not only between individuals that the power of example is greater than the power of precept. This is also true among nations. And until we in this country have restored the quality of our domestic life to a level where we can exhibit it to the rest of the world without shame or apology, we will not get very far in advancing our prestige either by talking at people in other countries, or by dispensing aid and technical advice to them, or by force of arms. There is a crying disparity between the elaborateness of our present efforts to influence other peoples by our physical presence and our activities of one sort or another in their midst, and the abundant evidence of our failures here at home. What sort of guides to industrialization are we who have not learned how to industrialize ourselves without depleting our resources and despoiling the natural beauty and healthfulness of our country? What sort of guides are we to urban development who cannot prevent the deterioration of life in our own great cities? What sort of educators are we who cannot win and retain the confidence and respect of our own students? A prerequisite of our coming to terms successfully with our international environment is that we should first come to terms with ourselves.

I do not mean to overdo this thought. We will only be confusing ourselves if we try to define our foreign policy of this coming period by relating it to such shopworn and outdated terms as "isolationism". Obviously, our present situation has little similarity to that which we enjoyed in the last century. Even in a post-Vietnam world, there will be a number of problems and responsibilities to which we shall have to give most serious attention.

There is, for example, the problem of Europe, and particularly Germany. The special responsibilities we have assumed with relation to these areas, and the intimate nature of our interests there, oblige us to take a continuing interest in the unfolding of events in that part of the world.

Beyond that we have the two great latent crises of the Middle East and the southern part of Africa. One of these is an urgent crisis, the other a slow one; but both are tragic ones, without visible solution today, and both are full of danger. Here, our task will be not to attempt to solve the respective problems at once, for no outside force can do that; and it will not be to take sides in these bitter conflicts, because they are not our quarrels and we do not have the answers in our pocket, but to shape our conduct in such a way as to help prevent both of them from becoming threats to world peace.

We shall also be confronted, once the Vietnam involvement is over, with the task of shaping some sort of a stable relationship to mainland China. Here, too, great patience, detachment and forebearance will obviously be necessary. Chinese feelings towards us are violent, neurotic and ill-informed in a degree for which it is hard to find a parallel in recent diplomatic history. These feelings are not going to be corrected in a single day, or even a single year. And even when and if the general atmosphere is improved, we are still going to have to contend with those ingrained characteristics of official Chinese mentality—the xenophobia, the exaggerated pretensions, the anxious preoccupation with the externals of prestige—that have complicated China's relations with the West even in happier times.

Finally, there is the great and terrible danger presented by the present cultivation of nuclear weapons by at least five powers, and the rapid proliferation of the ability to cultivate them into still other hands. There is the question whether the present relative balance of power in weapons of this nature is not being undermined by new technological developments and uncertainties; and there is the wider question, which now presents itself on the basis of twenty-five years of experience, as to whether the basing of our defense posture on weapons of this nature has really added to our security, or detracted from it.

With these, and other, questions, we shall have to occupy ourselves, and in the most serious way, even in a post-Vietnam world.

But none of this precludes us from carrying out in the coming period an extensive reorientation of our national policy: away from the ambitious dreams and extravagant efforts of recent years, and in the direction of a new determination and concentration of efforts in the ordering of our domestic affairs. The world has changed very greatly over what it was 20 years ago. Neither the hopes nor the fears that have inspired our policy over the intervening years have full validity today. Communism is not what it was in 1948, nor is western Europe, nor are we. At many points, in Europe and elsewhere, where we have become accustomed to regarding our own presence and attention as essential to stability, others can now do without us. Not all of them are going to find it as pleasant as they thought they would when Yankee really goes home; but Yankee, as I see it, has no choice; and many of them may gain from the denial of America's favors a respect for what America has to offer which the extravagant extension of these favors was never able to produce.

I began these observations with some reflections on the principles of government that were enunciated and established by the members of the Virginia Convention on this site, in the eventful spring and early summer of 1776. I, personally, remain profoundly convinced that these principles retain their potential validity as the foundations of our political system and as guides to the spirit and quality of our national life. Any America that departed basically from them would not be an America in which I should like to live. It is still not too late, I think, to restore them to the place they ought to have in our consciousness and our behavior. If we can make even in a general way the adjustments I have suggested: if we can cure ourselves, that is, of exaggerated notions of what we can mean to others at this stage in our history; if we can stop the squandering of our resources on external undertakings that may feed our national vanity but do little to justify it; if we can apply to the ordering of our own affairs and to the cleansing and curing of our sick society those resources of energy and courage and idealism and physical substance which we have been pouring into our external involvements; and if, above all, we can contrive to place once more at the foundation of our personal lives and of the breeding and education of our children that discipline of individual conduct and that understanding for first principles which were once assumed to be the essential basis of any successful self-government—if we can do these things, then I see no reason why we should not be able to make once more of this American society something that the members of the Virginia Convention, were it possible for them to come among us once again, could view without the feeling that their efforts had been in vain and their principles betrayed.

GEORGE F. KENNAN.

REED ACT EXTENSION

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House considered and passed by a voice vote the extension of the Reed Act. On the basis of the experience I have had as a member of the Texas Employment Commission, I would like to say why I supported the bill.

During the years 1956, 1957, and 1958, considerable amounts of Federal money, not then required for cash payments to individuals, were transferred to the State unemployment account of the unemployment trust fund. Changes in the law since those years has cut off the probability of further transfers, but there still remains some portion of these funds yet to be utilized by the State unemployment agencies.

This money can be used by the States for administrative purposes so long as the expenditure is specifically approved by the State legislature, and the expenditure is made within the statutory time period. This legislation extends this period for an additional 5 years.

As a matter of practice, States have utilized these funds to acquire land and construct buildings needed in the administration of the unemployment programs. Without this assistance, the States would not be able to have the necessary facilities to do their work efficiently, and most of the States unemployment funds would be exhausted in matching the Federal assistance to individuals.

Mr. Speaker, the purposes of this bill are necessary and laudable. I support my colleagues in its passage.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend was the scene of a jubilant national celebration in Italy as a proud people marked the 22d anniversary of the Italian Republic. Twenty-two years is a relatively insignificant period of time in the history of a nation which has contributed for centuries to man's civilization, culture, and intellectual development. However, for the contemporary population of that part of the world which served as the nucleus of the Roman Empire and the cradle of the Renaissance, June 2 marked a national renaissance of intense significance. On June 2, 1946, the Italian people marshaled in a new era in the history of their Nation. On that date they went to the polls to establish a parliamentary democratic republic to replace the Fascist system—the system, dissonant with their historic tradition, which had led them to war and devastation.

To implement the decision made at the polls and to insure the stability of their new form of government was no easy task for the Italian people. In the immediate postwar period, Italy was a nation of economic, social, and political disarray. Destruction and chaos prevailed, with the economy severely crippled and the people victims of hunger and disease. A real and dangerous threat to the survival of democracy existed in the large and well-organized Communist Party prepared to instantly seize the reigns of government if the possibility arose. The Italian people resisted the programs and politics of the Communists. With economic assistance from the United States and the combined wealth of the energies and aspirations of the Italian people, the Italian Republic was able to survive the critical postwar period, to engage in successful reconstruction, to address itself to the social needs of the people, and to achieve greater political stability.

The past 22 years, due to the determination and vitality of the Italian people, have brought Italy increasingly to prosperity. Today Italy ranks No. 8 among the world's industrial nations. The amount of usable farmland has been doubled through the introduction of new irrigation systems. The Government has in recent years begun the second phase of a policy to improve the economy of predominantly agricultural southern Italy, where poverty persists. The first phase began in 1950 with the establishment of the "Cassa per il Mezzogiorno" or fund for the south and concentrated on agricultural improvements. The second phase which began in 1965 is a stepped-up program to encourage the industrialization of the south.

Italian accomplishments in the postwar era have not been limited to the economic realm. The freedom of expression enjoyed by the Italian people since the establishment of the republic has led to a resurgence of Italian leadership and creativity in the arts—especially in literature, films, and fashion.

On the 22d anniversary of the Italian Republic, we wish to compliment the Italian people on their achievements, reaffirm our warm friendship, and wish them even greater prosperity in the years ahead.

A DEPARTED FRIEND AND CIVIC LEADER

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with heartfelt sadness that I ask for leave to say a few words about a dear friend and beloved civic leader, who passed away in the prime of life at 41 years of age, Emanuel Sandman, a lifelong resident of my district.

A veteran of 4 years' service in our Armed Forces during World War II, he was an active member of the Jewish War Veterans ready at all times to extend a helping hand to those returning from service in Vietnam. For 11 years, he served as chairman of the Cub Scouts, Pack No. 435, inculcating in the youngsters that spirit of civic responsibility which is the essence of the Scouting program and which guided Emanuel Sandman throughout his life.

His interest in children knew no bounds. He was chairman of the Knights of Pythias camp program for poor children. He devoted much of his time and energy to Boy Scout Pack No. 440, compromised of blind youngsters. His leadership and inspiration sparked the formation of Little League baseball teams in our community.

Emanuel Sandman leaves a devoted wife, June, and five wonderful children: Russell, Terry, Robyn, Brett, and Stacey. He also leaves the memory of a great, humanitarian spirit, which will forever enrich his family, his friends, and his neighbors.

BLACKBIRD LEGISLATION

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the subject of blackbird legislation has been of great interest to the Members of this body.

I am pleased to submit a letter in this respect which reviews the progress made in the eradication of blackbirds, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
FISH AND WILDLIFE SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., May 31, 1968.

Hon. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. HANSEN: In accordance with instructions contained in House Report No. 206, Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations bill, 1968, we submit the following progress report on the blackbird control program for the period January through March 1968. An identical letter is being sent to the Honorable Carl Hayden, Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate.

Blackbird control activities during the past quarter have centered on completing 1967 assessments of corn damage in Ohio, controlling birds at roosting sites, field baiting at staging areas near blackbird roosts, and extension work.

Based on estimates from 14 counties, the projected redwing blackbird damage to field corn in Ohio ran between $3 million and $3.5 million in 1967. Losses ranged from $1,000 in Perry County to $255,000 in Sandusky County. Erie, Ottawa, and Logan Counties had damage in every field surveyed. Damage was consideraly below that in 1966, possibly because of the increased number of sample fields and survey counties, coupled with a wider dispersal of damage. Many landowners contacted during the survey noted that the number of birds seen during the year was less, but the distribution was wider. Assessments must be made annually to follow trends in damage and its distribution.

Control activities were conducted with wetting agents at roosting sites and with toxic baits at staging areas near roosts. Wetting agents have been applied to three blackbird roosts in Ohio, one in Tennessee, and one in Georgia. Experience gained in these tests has resulted in greatly improved operational procedures to be followed next winter in achieving significant reductions of blackbirds.

Attempts were made to reduce numbers of birds through field baiting with Compound DRC–1339 after blackbirds reappeared in Ohio during early March. Staging areas near five roosts were baited with DRC–1339-treated cracked corn. Bait was well accepted at each site. We feel that this method of reduction shows some promise if used in an operational manner. But because of potential hazards to game birds (mainly quail, pheasants, ducks, and doves), this material must be used only by trained personnel; and to be effective, more areas must be treated than is now possible with the available work force.

Over 150 blackbirds roosts have been located in Ohio in cooperation with County Agricultural Agents. This information will prove valuable in blackbird control activities this year. A map indicating the locations to which Ohio depredating blackbirds migrate during the winter months is attached for your information.

Extension-type activities have been used widely during the quarter. Four news articles have been prepared and given wide distribution through news outlets of the Ohio Department of Agriculture and Ohio Agricultural Extension Service. These articles have brought favorable comments about the program throughout the State. Magazine articles concerning blackbird problems have been prepared for the *Farm Quarterly, American Fruit Grower,* and the *Michigan Farmer.* Six radio tapes and a television show were prepared during the quarter. Talks dealing with blackbirds were given to six farm groups, and interviews were given to reporters from three newspapers. A brochure explaining the use of the blackbird decoy trap was prepared and distributed to fruit growers in Ohio and Michigan.

Blackbird nesting surveys will be made in Ohio and Michigan during May, with the objective of learning the effect of low-volume applications of parathion on blackbird nesting success in alfalfa fields. Parathion applications will be made by agriculturalists to control alfalfa weevils.

Field baiting with DRC–1339 at staging areas was completed in April. Avitrol-treated grain (a distress-producing chemical) is being considered for application to an area of 150 square miles in Monroe County, Michigan, and to an area of equal size in Muskingum County, Ohio. Extension activities will continue as in past quarters. Planning sessions are now under way to develop the details of the program for this summer and next winter.

If we can provide more information, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,
ABRAM V. TUNISON,
Acting Director.

SUSPENSION OF "EQUAL TIME" PROVISION FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the date is now June 5. In exactly 5 months, the electorate of our Nation will be going to the polls to elect a President and Vice President of the United States.

That electorate is entitled to every bit of information possible to allow it to vote intelligently.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues of the House to press for expeditious action on Senate Joint Resolution 175, already passed by the other body. Enactment of this resolution would suspend the equal-time requirements of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 as far as the nominees for President and Vice President are concerned.

I do not argue with the wisdom of those who enacted this law 34 years ago, but at the same time I question whether they foresaw the day when almost the entire population of the Nation—and much of the rest of the world too—would be able to watch and hear simultaneously the candidates for the highest offices this Nation can offer.

All of us who are campaigners know the high—even prohibitive—cost of television time. It has been the highest single cost of national elections. The major networks have been challenged on this issue—and they have answered the challenge by offering free, public service time to the major candidates.

But they are reluctant—and I can appreciate their reluctance—to make this same, prime time available on the same basis to the minority, splinter party candidates.

I do not challenge the right of anyone to run for these high offices; in fact, I will fight with all my might for their right. But politics is a realistic profession and I doubt if anyone will disagree that the next President of the United States will be the choice of one of the major parties.

The public is entitled to hear and see these candidates debate the issues as often as possible; to compare their positions; to compare the men; and then make its choice at the polls.

This section was suspended in 1960 and the principal candidates had the opportunity to utilize many millions of dollars worth of free time to lay their cases before the American electorate. The section was not suspended in 1964 and this time was not at the disposal of the candidates.

In the interest of the widest possible dissemination of information to the public, I ask my colleagues to act with all possible haste so that planning may be begun at the earliest possible date for the period beginning August 31, 1968.

A TRIBUTE TO ALDERMAN THOMAS J. CASEY

HON. DANIEL J. RONAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. RONAN. Mr. Speaker, recently the Austin Youth Community Committee honored its 1968 Man of the Year. This year's recipient is my close personal friend and a longtime leader of the Austin community, Alderman Thomas J. Casey.

We, who have worked with Tom and the youth committee over the years, were greatly pleased to see him given the recognition he has earned for his many fine contributions to the youth of Austin. In behalf of the committee, Dr. James F. Greco, a member of the board of directors of the Austin Youth Community Committee, paid tribute to Alderman Casey and under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert his speech in the RECORD at this point:

A TRIBUTE TO ALDERMAN THOMAS J. CASEY

(By Dr. James F. Greco)

On behalf of the Austin Youth Community Committee, I have the distinct privilege of paying tribute tonight to a great man—Alderman Thomas J. Casey.

Mr. Casey is A.Y.C.C.'s 1968 choice for its "Man of the Year" award. Announcement of his selection came to him in December of 1967 when he was hospitalized for a serious illness. There was considerable doubt in his mind that he would be around when the award was to be made. Despite this doubt, he characteristically agreed to lend his good name to a worthy cause—that of furthering the work which would benefit Austin area youth.

During his long residence in Austin, Tom Casey has contributed his time, money, and energy to the betterment of the Austin community. Sacrifice has been the key note in his capacity as a public servant. He has, on many occasions, deprived himself of the material goods life offers to help people he felt were in genuine need. Service before self has been his unspoken motto. His life has been a testament to the universal idea of human love. His people always knew he cared; they knew they could count on him. He has used his position of influence strictly as a springboard to serve others.

Except for a few close friends and associates, no one knows of the courage Tom Casey has exhibited through his long illness. He has literally fought his way back to health, and the battle has not been an easy one. His presence here tonight is a living monument to his victory in that battle, and should serve as an example to people of all ages.

Austin's own Alvina Schmidt has lent her talents to the creation of the portrait which you will see unveiled here tonight. That strength of character and concern for humanity which typify Tom Casey have been ably captured by this perceptive artist. We are proud to present it to him now with the heartfelt thanks of a grateful community.

DEPENDENT RETARDED CHILDREN OF MILITARY PERSONNEL MUST BE TREATED LIKE OTHER CHILDREN OF THEIR GROUP

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the present dependents of personnel on active duty in the armed services for more than 30 days who are moderately or severely mentally retarded, or who have some serious physical handicap, are entitled to diagnosis, inpatient, outpatient, and home treatment, training, rehabilitation, and special education, and institutional care in designated facilities with respect to their retardation or handicap. Everyone is agreed that the inclusion of these benefits is desirable.

However, it is regrettable and deplorable to recognize the fact that, under current laws, the death or retirement of the active duty serviceman disqualifies his dependents from these benefits. That is a palpable injustice and an anachronism that must be rectified.

It is clear to me, and I am sure to very many others—an overwhelming number of people in the country—that this is a gap that must be closed.

Another need in this program is adequate provision for care for the well child, which should include coverage for periodic physical examinations and immunizations not now provided, except for dependents about to be sent out of the United States. Obviously, the immunization program is of great importance and cannot be and must not be overlooked.

Another thing that is complained about by the Council on Pediatric Practice is that under the program durable medical equipment must be rented rather than purchased which would be more economical.

I have felt that the present act, Public Law 89–614, should have been broadened and must be broadened now to include, not only these dependents, but to provide adequate, family therapy requiring the inclusion of the father—and both parents whenever possible—in the therapeutic situation.

I completely agree with the council that these, and all necessary changes and amendments, should be made as soon as possible to guarantee military dependents equal opportunity for comprehensive medical care enjoyed by these children in other sectors of our society.

CONCERN OF THE SUBURBS FOR THE URBAN CRISIS

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, my mail in the last 2 months has been unusually heavy and has reflected an overriding concern with our domestic issues. The message I am getting from my constituents is that these varied problems must be dealt with by Congress in the immediate future. The views of my constituency are indicative of the national mood of concern and the sense of urgency surrounding these issues.

My mail reflects two issues: on one hand, a deep fear over crime, violence, and civil disorder; on the other, a grave concern over the problems of poverty, hunger, and despair. In many instances, these are related problems. Immediate measures to insure protection from violence are being taken and followed closely. In addition, long-range anticrime programs are underway. The overall picture must be dealt with by working on the root causes if our society is to become a healthy and peaceful one. Our present war on poverty is woefully ineffective. It has not reached the people and serious efforts must be made to revamp the system and resolve this crisis immediately.

I would like to submit to Congress two petitions from my district which show the concern of a number of citizens of my suburban district with the plight of the poor in the cities and in the rural areas as well as with the problem of eliminating violence and alienation in our society. It is significant that even those who are not directly affected by poverty are aware of it, as indicated by the first petition from the Petworth Methodist Church and signed by 108 citizens of Montgomery County, Md. The second petition signed by 363 residents of Kensington, Md., also reflect this concern. Such letters require a constructive response from Congress by immediate action. We in Congress bear a great responsibility for solving these problems as well as a duty to reaffirm our faith in the justice and durability of the American system and its ability to resolve the problems of all American citizens. The petitions follow:

A PETITION TO CONGRESS, PETWORTH METHODIST CHURCH, WESLEY INSTITUTE OF URBAN MINISTRY, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 22, 1968

In the midst of this turmoil we pause to address our thoughts and our anguish toward

Congress. Like others in our National City, we have been living through this crisis, moment by moment, doing the best we can. We are fearful of what it means to us personally, but even more fearful of what it may mean to our beloved city and our beloved nation. Most of our neighbors and the administrators, policemen, and soldiers responsible for our safety have acted with the highest standards of humanity and civic responsibility. Thousands have done the work of violence and destruction, but hundreds of thousands have borne the sad harvest with dismay.

What has happened to us? People who loot and destroy are sick people. So also are those who can respond to these things only with hatred and repression. The deep irrationality of violence in this situation as a response to the death of Dr. Martin Luther King should tell us that there are deeper causes. Those causes have been set forth with great intellectual care and honesty by the Kerner Commission report, and we pray that the Congress will give renewed attention to that significant document.

The implications are, to us at least, quite clear: We cannot deal with irrational forces of human alienation and human inadequacy and human suffering by moralizing or by repression. There will be no peace in our city or in our land until we create the conditions of peace and human fulfillment.

The urgent needs for housing, education, jobs, income, and residential desegregation are well known to all of us. These are objective needs, and the meeting of these needs will have objective, constructive results. More important, the meeting of these needs will symbolize for the alienated the hope and future of America. It will symbolize for them their acceptance by America and their stake in America.

Some will, with shallow logic, argue that America ought not to reward violence. But the removal of the conditions of disease is not to reward disease but rather to invest in health. Some will choose the dead end of repression and neglect, little realizing that thereby they choose the harvest of evil which their children and their children's children will inherit. Let us, rather, in this moment of sadness, respond in the spirit of Martin Luther King who had a dream for America which was big enough to include the good of all Americans and through them the good of all mankind.

(NOTE.—Signatures not printed in RECORD.)

A PETITION FROM CONCERNED CITIZENS OF KENSINGTON, MD., TO THE HONORABLE GILBERT GUDE

The problem of poverty is everyone's problem. The deterioration of the cities is everyone's problem.

We the undersigned urge you to support the poor people's campaign and particularly their legislative programs. By so doing we will enable them to live constructively and contribute towards the American way of life.

(NOTE.—Signatures not printed in RECORD.)

LIKE IT IS, BABY—I

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest newspaper series I can recall appeared recently in the Minneapolis Star. The series, in five tabular-sized, four-page sections, was entitled "Poverty in Minneapolis: Like It Is, Baby."

As the newspaper explained at the start of the series, the Star "examines the daily life of an actual Minneapolis poor family and investigates popular ideas about the poverty problem in this city."

The material in the articles has urgent meaning, not only to Minneapolis but to every other American city. The meaning of the material has been given added urgency by the Poor People's Campaign, which has focused national attention on the woes of the underfed and the underprivileged.

This series, Mr. Speaker, has been prepared with poignance, honesty, and compassion by two young reporters for the Star, Maurice Hobbs and David Nimmer. Illustrations for their articles were drawn by the newspaper's artist, Dave Matheny.

In the belief that this series contains information that is significant to every Member of Congress—and to every citizen of urban America—I intend to place excerpts in the RECORD over the next 10 days. The first article in the first section of the series follows:

WHITE AND BLACK

(By Maurice Hobbs)

I'm sitting at a new desk, smoking a good cigar and typing on a new typewriter, trying to tell another comfortable, well-fed man what it's like to be poor in this city.

Maybe the comfort is what makes it difficult.

I should take an old typewriter and sit on the dirty, sagging porch of that graying duplex near Plymouth Av. There I could see the littered, hump-backed street and breathe the dust from the almost grassless front yard, and it would all get into my story.

When I first stepped onto that porch, some six weeks ago now, the house looked abandoned except for a couple of old bicycles lying on the floor. I pushed at the doorbell and—surprise—it rang.

"Who's there?" a womans voice called. "Come in."

New linoleum had been laid over the small entryway floor, but in the living room, patches of decaying floor boards showed through holes worn in much older material. At the far end of the room, the linoleum trailed away into colorless tatters.

WOMAN WITH A PUZZLE

The dining room didn't have even these shreds of linoleum to hind the floor. In that room sat the woman, 215 pounds, Negro, wearing a house dress, looking just-out-of-bed, resting in a red, plastic covered, wobbly, chrome-legged chair at a kitchen table.

She was working a TV Guide crossword puzzle, a pocket dictionary ready on the table next to the ash tray. Ground into the aluminum tray were the ashes from the long, filter-tipped mentholated cigarettes she smoked.

I sat down, and offered a suggestion for 17 Across in her puzzle: Ian, Fleming's first name.

She seemed open, friendly, likeable.

I wished we could just talk about any thing—the weather or her children or whatever else offered itself—but not about this run-down house, or her stingy AFDC grant, or riots, or why some whites hate blacks and vice-versa.

But that was the job—to put together this report, a look at what it's like to be poor in Minneapolis. What it's like to live on welfare, in a shabby house, with never enough money. What it's like to walk on Plymouth Av. where plywood scar tissue still shows from last summer's wounds.

NO ANSWER IN FACTS

We could put together all the facts, tell the reader that this percentage of people is unemployed, that children from homes in the poor neighborhoods don't get the same push into school or the jobs that keep the rest of us going.

But figures don't say why, and they don't take one real, living, breathing person and say: "This is where it's at. This is where poverty hurts."

This was the real person, and she knows where poverty hurts.

She answered my questions frankly, as freely as she could, and I told her we wouldn't use her name or those of her relatives and friends. She will simply be Mrs. Smith, mother of an 11-year-old daughter we'll call Marie and a baby boy we'll call Allen.

We tried some quick, easy facts first.

She had come up from Hooks, Tex., in 1956 when others in her family did. Fourteen years old, she was pregnant then with Marie.

She married a Minneapolis man soon after she arrived. Before she was 16 she was divorced, and before she was 20 she was on AFDC (Aid to Families With Dependent Children). Allen was born last July. Now 25, she is again pregnant and expects her third child in September.

We'd gotten that far when the front door opened and in walked a tall, heavy Negro woman, a man who looked small next to her, and two boys, one 4 years old, the other 5.

The woman sat down with us at that dining room table that belonged in the kitchen, the table that's the center of the house. (I was to visit her more than a dozen times in the following days, and she was sitting there whenever I arrived, whether she was alone or with friends or sisters or aunts.)

The man who had just come in sat on a shabby, red-and-black couch that leaked stuffing at the seams. He took off his right shoe and stocking and began to dab at a bunion near his little toe with the glass rod from a mercurochrome bottle.

WHO WERE THEY?

The children pressed up against the table, staring at me, wondering, I suppose, who I was, as I wondered who all these people were.

Not until I asked did Mrs. Smith introduce us. They were her sister and brother-in-law, and their two children.

The interview started over and soon I was asking about the paper and paint peeling away from a pipe running from floor to ceiling in a corner of the room. Why didn't the landlord fix it?

"He won't do nothing," said Mrs. Smith. "He too cheap."

The two sisters pointed at the painted lemon-yellow, grimy walls.

"He bought this paint," said Mrs. Smith. "But it's water paint. It come off when you wash it."

And he hasn't rid the house of pests—the rats, ants and cockroaches.

EATING THE POISON

The landlord did put some traps in the basement but, the women said, the rats weren't stopped. The women said he also had spread some rat poison.

"They eat that poison and think nothing of it,' added the sister.

About that time the front door opened again.

It was seldom locked, and Mrs. Smith seldom went to the door to greet visitors. People would knock and come in, or just turn the handle and walk in, or they would ring the bell and she'd shout, "Come in."

At my home, we lock our doors, being properly warned about burglars and rapists—or worrying maybe about the neighbors just walking in. But here was Mrs. Smith, in a neighborhood most middle-class citizens avoid because they've heard the stories about how much crime there is, and it didn't seem to worry her.

Of course, there was nothing much in the house to steal. One television set doesn't work, and the little portable that sits on top of it might just as well not work. Its picture is so dark the viewer can only guess about what's there. It's two years old, hasn't been repaired in that time, and was second-hand when Mrs. Smith bought it.

HE SHUFFLES OUT AGAIN

So her door simply opened and in shuffled an old man, white, in need of a shave. He came to the table, said, "It's all right," and shuffled out again, closing the door behind him.

No one else seemed to notice him.

"What was that all about?" I blurted.

He was the landlord, owner of half a dozen other properties like Mrs. Smith's home—and all recognizable by that ugly, lemon-yellow water paint on the walls. (Where did he ever get a buy like that? A lifetime supply of paint.)

He had just taken over Mrs. Smith's gas bill.

(On that pleasant, sunny, 60-degree day the radiators were going full blast and no windows were open. Mrs. Smith likes to keep the house at 85 degrees, which takes a lot of gas.)

Well, that was a generous offer, I thought—for him to take over the bill. Of course it was only the current bill, not a pressing $132 back bill that had the gas company threatening to shut her off.

(A welfare department official pointed out later that Mrs. Smith's monthly rent went up from $80 to $105 to include the gas bill, which runs around $17 a month, or maybe a little more during the heating season.

(So the landlord will get that extra $25 a month all summer, and something extra most of the winter. So maybe he'll buy more lemon-yellow water paint.)

The talk about money brought up the AFDC payment. It was $241 a month until the rent went up to $105. Now it's $252. Last month, rent and back bills took so much that Mrs. Smith had only $8 left three days after the check came—$8 to feed and care for a family of three for nearly a month.

"I ain't got enough to pay on bills," said Mrs. Smith.

And she got down to the subject of social workers. "They should know you need more money. The kids are getting older. I'm gonna need more money."

THEN A MAN ENTERS

About then a heavy-set Negro man walked in the back door, carrying Allen, the 8-month-old, and a paper bag full of groceries. The women and the man joked about how fine Allen looked in a little jacket and cap that anywhere else would have gone into the Goodwill bag, and maybe had once.

"I'd better be going," said the man, and out the door he went.

"That's Allen's daddy," I was told when I asked. The two had been out for the morning together, an occasional treat, because the man, who at least had given Allen his middle name if not his last, doesn't come around every day.

It was getting on toward lunch time and I was tired of asking questions. I needed a break from that ugly house with its grubby walls.

But what kind of break does she ever get from that house? What did she do in a day? I asked her once, later.

"I gets up at 6:30, clean up, wash the dishes, get Marie off to school, then I sits with him (Allen) until about 11. Then I goes to the grocery store and has lunch and sits with him some more. I makes supper and watches TV. It's the same thing every day."

PRETTY DAYS IN THE PARK

Sometimes, she said, her sister and brother-in-law come by, and they play cards, 500 rummy, or dominoes.

"I walks over to the park on pretty days and sits and smokes and looks." (Lovell Square is a small park near her home.)

Sometimes she goes to her sister's or aunt's or mother's house, again to play cards or dominoes or do crossword puzzles, sometimes to drink beer or "a little whiskey." She likes to fish, and the fish help out when the budget won't buy all the food she needs.

But that's no social life, I thought. Doesn't she go to movies or dances, or doesn't Allen's daddy take her out sometimes? She used to go out, she said, but she drank too much and didn't like the feeling of losing control. "Now I don't have enough money to go places."

Now, if there's enough money, Marie might go to a movie.

But not Mrs. Smith. She stays in that drab, dark, decaying house, or visits with someone else in another one like it, or sits in a park and looks at others like them.

THE GUNS IN THE NIGHT

She wants to get out of this neighborhood. The kids fight too much, the people across the street get drunk and fire off guns in the night, it's too far for Marie to walk to Hay School, she wants a decent place to live in. But the public housing projects are full, Mrs. Smith doesn't have the money to rent a better place, or to keep it up if she did. She's stuck.

But I wasn't. Every day I could drive away from that house and neighborhood, back to the office where everything is clean, polished, shiny and new. Or later, to my own comfortable home.

If I couldn't forget the way Mrs. Smith lived, at least I didn't need to live that way myself.

SERVICE TO EDUCATION

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, at the end of the school year a distinguished educator in Iowa's First District is retiring. A. A. Johnson is putting down the reins of the school system at Muscatine after serving 31 years as superintendent of the Muscatine school system.

A number of tributes have been paid already to Mr. Johnson. None was finer than the editorial which appeared in the Muscatine Journal on Friday, May 31.

The editorial follows:

SERVICE TO EDUCATION

Muscatine school superintendent, A. A. Johnson has devoted a lifetime to the education of young people. His work and his attitudes have had an influence upon thousands of the young men and women in Muscatine for several generations.

Supt. Johnson is now retiring after 37 years of service to education in Muscatine, first as assistant principal of the high school and as superintendent since 1937.

Tributes are being freely given this week by a grateful community. Supt. Johnson and his wife were guests of honor Tuesday evening at the annual banquet of the Muscatine Teachers' Association. They will be honored Sunday, from 2:30 to 4:30 p.m., at a public reception at West Junior High school. Former students and other friends are invited to attend the "open house" at any time during those hours.

The tributes have not been all one-sided however, Supt. Johnson responded at the banquet Tuesday with praise for the city. "I have had a job I love, wonderful co-workers, appreciative students, and townspeople who are friendly and cooperative. This has been a fine time in my life, and I couldn't have found a city where the people are more friendly." Johnson said Muscatine has been blessed with "courageous teachers who have compassion and understanding for boys and girls;" and with school board members who are genuinely interested in the improvement of education.

Muscatine has grown since 1937, and Supt. Johnson has been capable of growing with the community. There were 3,286 school pupils in 1937, compared with 6,304 in 1968. Faculty members have grown from 122 teachers to 297. Special education and special services have also been greatly expanded.

New buildings have been added, including the high school in 1939; Franklin, Garfield, Grant and Madison schools in 1955; West Junior high and McKinley in 1961, and the Muscatine Community College in 1962. Supt. Johnson had an active role in the development of all these schools. The Colorado and Mulberry schools, constructed in 1964 by the former Area Six district, and the Montpelier school, built in 1966, have also now become a part of the Muscatine community school district.

By his example, and through his tireless efforts, Supt. Johnson has achieved a remarkable record of service to education. His role of leadership will long be remembered and appreciated in Muscatine.

BLACK POWER REACHES A MIDWEST CAMPUS

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, last week I received a letter from Mr. Frank Samuels, a constituent of mine from Burton, Ohio, who is currently residing in Washington, calling my attention to an article which recently appeared in the Washington Post describing Hiram College's Alliance for Black Consciousness. I am privileged to represent this fine liberal arts college and laud their unique effort to achieve racial understanding. It is this kind of approach that is crucial to resolving tensions and creating the harmony for which we all strive. I commend Mr. Samuels' letter and the article by Edward P. Morgan to my colleagues' attention, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
May 28, 1968.

Hon. WILLIAM STANTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN STANTON: You saw, I'm sure, the attached article by Edward P. Morgan which appeared on the Washington Post's editorial page some weeks ago. I bring it to your attention again because I think that the activities at Hiram College demonstrate the importance of what one might call "constructive groping."

We all recognize that a memorial service for Dr. King or six-day discussions of black culture are not solutions to vexing social problems. But these things do represent the efforts of individuals and an institution to understand themselves and others a little better. In their search for understanding, Hiram's students and faculty will occasionally seem fumbling and crude, as we all do. But their efforts are motivated, I believe, by sensitivity and intelligence, and represent a commitment to grope together toward something more just and more human.

At a time when students and adults are often estranged, I am particularly pleased that all levels of the College recognize such a commitment. The open forum after Dr. King's assassination went on until three o'clock the next morning. Its active participants were not only concerned and grieved students but their counterparts in the faculty, including the President of the College. This kind of shared involvement leads to no easy resolution to the contemporary conflict between questing youth and self-assured maturity or between white authority and black power. It does, however, teach those who share, and I am proud that Hiram College is teaching itself. Perhaps it can teach others by its example.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK E. SAMUEL, Jr.,
Chairman, Hiram College Washington Area Alumni.

BLACK POWER REACHES A MIDWEST CAMPUS

(By Edward P. Morgan)

HIRAM, OHIO.—Out here in the rolling, green countryside beyond Chagrin Falls, 35 miles east of industrial Cleveland, black power has come to the campus of Hiram College, an institution founded 118 years ago as a Christian academy where James A. Garfield, 20th President of the United States, once studied, later taught.

Black power arrived here almost unnoticed, but with an intense determination that may provide a more revolutionary course in education—if it takes—than anything on the formal curriculum. Hiram has 1100 students, including 33 Negroes, double last year's black enrollment.

This tiny ethnic minority felt totally lost—there are no Negroes on Hiram's faculty—until one evening last December when some black students held what might be called a verse-in. They read black poetry, discussed Afro-American culture. Out of this grew ABC—Hiram's Alliance for Black Consciousness.

"This coming together gave us a sense of identity which we never felt as individuals," one organizer said. There is little hostility between blacks and whites on the Hiram campus but mixing as student equals is a completely new experience for nearly everybody (including teachers) and real understanding is so thin that the old master-servant reflex emerges to strain emotions on both sides.

After Martin Luther King's murder, there was a college memorial service and an open forum. There, a Washington, D.C. sophomore told a visitor later, "bigotry, fraud, but most of all love was experienced among blacks and whites. Hiram, like a number of other colleges, has awakened to the reality of what's really happening."

ABC has hastened this awakening. Last week, with faculty and student body participating, the Black Consciousness group arranged and led a six-day program billed as "Insight to Blackness." An exhibit of Afro-American art was borrowed from Cleveland's Karamu House. Sociologist Albert J. McQueen of Oberlin College spoke on black culture. Black history, the black man's roles in entertainment, literature, politics and salvaging the slums were discussed by experts. Few colleges or universities in the land have been exposed to such intensive discussions of Negro problems.

Afterwards, an undergraduate from Cleveland said she thought the program had helped everybody, especially the whites—"who simply didn't know anything about us until we came here. Some seemed to regard us like playthings, as if we were dolls. They were surprised when we turned out to be human."

A freshman from Jamestown, New York, said adjustment was rough but he had ceased spending his time "explaining that we are not animals. We have a serious purpose. We are here to learn."

A graduate from a Quaker prep school in Washington explained the tortured dilemma of the awakening young Negro, fighting for identity. "If you come from an all-Negro school your education is inferior," he said. "If you've gone to an all-white school with token integration you've been brainwashed."

He keeps his Hiram sociology class in some turmoil by challenging the instructor on such observations as the "natural" instability of the Negro family. He said another professor refused to discuss James Baldwin's writings because Baldwin's background involved homosexuality.

The ABC group wants Negroes on the faculty and more emphasis on black culture and the black man's place in history. One black student candidly told a dean, "There just isn't any faculty member here I can turn to for advice because I can't get through to them. They don't really understand my problems."

Hiram President Elmer Jagow is looking for qualified Negro teachers. "We nearly had one to head our music department," he said, "but he took a better offer."

Black professors and their families *themselves* face difficulties in the semi-isolated, white community of Hiram.

But the black power of ABC may teach the community and the college a lot. After the King memorial service, the D.C. sophomore wrote a friend: "I am angry, yet I pity those whites and blacks that are suffering from the neurosis of hate. We must all work together to summon up enough courage to criticize this American system."

HOW NOT TO PROTECT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, Americans remember the television pictures of looters carrying away chairs and radios and what-have-you from the stores of the Nation's Capital during the April riots. They also remember the shock at observing police officers watching the goings on and making no attempt to arrest the looters. This they realized uneasily was not law enforcement, it was abdication of responsibility to protect lives and property. Why?

The distinguished columnist David Lawrence in his column in today's Washington Star provides the answer from none other than a judge of the court of general sessions in the District of Columbia. The answer is revealing as well as deplorable. Apparently the officers had been instructed by superiors not to make arrests.

Those responsible for this failure to preserve law and order in the Nation's Capital should now be identified and removed from office. Those above them bearing ultimate responsibility for such a policy should be severely censured if not removed themselves.

As Mr. Lawrence says, such a state of affairs "will be an eye-opener to the country." I urge the reading of his dismaying revelation:

JUDGE'S VIEW OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RIOT POINTED

(By David Lawrence)

There is a lesson for every city in the country in the comment made by Judge Alfred Burka of the Court of General Sessions in Washington when he sentenced several persons who had engaged in rioting or looting here in April. The judge pointed the finger of blame at city officials for their failure to order the police to arrest rioters and to announce in unequivocal words that looters and arsonists would be severely punished.

"I have questioned several police officers," Judge Burka said, "and there is no doubt in my mind they operated with implicit or implied orders not to make arrests."

The judge insisted that there appeared to be no efforts to publicize beforehand the fact that looters would be arrested and prosecuted. He declared that the prisoners he had questioned admitted that they had no fear of arrest when they engaged in unlawful acts.

All of the group of seven defendants had records of steady employment and salaries of $100 or more a week, with one exception. Three earned more than $160 weekly. Most of them had no previous involvement with the law.

Judge Burka said that "people we were depending upon to uphold the law in the District were involved in the disorder and very few of them were caught." He asked Nathaniel Dodds, 51, one the defendants:

"Would you have gone (with the looters) if you had been warned that looters would be arrested or shot?"

"No sir," Dodds replied. "People told me the police weren't arresting anybody, and I thought it was all right, since everybody else was doing it." He added that he saw "lots of police around, but nobody was being arrested."

For some time there have been rumors that the Washington police were told not to make arrests or to shoot at anybody seen looting. In Chicago, Mayor Daley has warned that the police have orders to shoot those engaged in lawbreaking if they do not desist and submit to arrest.

Many of the disorders can be anticipated. "Demonstrations" are previously announced, and incitement to violence has been a frequent occurrence. Yet authorities in very few of the cities have issued warnings that persons engaged in rioting or looting or vandalism will be arrested and punished. Apparently a wave of propaganda has swept the country that the police are engaging in "brutality" if they attempt to use force to stop rioters, arsonists and looters.

Some of the difficulty arises because the Supreme Court of the United States, in a number of decisions, has upheld the right of "demonstrations" as coming under "free speech," and only recently has made it plain that this does not permit all violations of law. Clearly there is need for publicity, particularly in the areas threatened by disturbances, so that the population generally will be fully aware that the police will not hesitate to arrest persons who participate in disorders and incite others to break the law.

In some cities where riots have occurred, many of the lawbreakers were not arrested. Police chiefs have been restrained in their actions in the hope that the leaders of the "demonstrations" would themselves be able to quiet down the disorderly ones. Judge Burka, in criticizing Washington officials, said:

"It is an indictment of the constituted authority of the District of Columbia that apparently no effort was made to instruct the public that looting would be punished by arrest and prosecution. I only hope the public will be notified that swift and appropriate action will be taken in the event of any future recurrence of this (riot) activity."

Because Washington is the capital of the United States and is supposed to set an example to the nation, the experience of Judge Burka in interrogating prisoners and discovering that they did not expect to be arrested will be an eye-opener to the country. For while this city has a council form of government, the appointees are responsible to Congress and the President of the United States. Undoubtedly the issue will be raised in the coming national campaign as to whether the Democratic administration has been fulfilling its responsibilties to preserve law and order in the nation's capital.

JIM FARLEY AT 80

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, on May 30 one of America's most distinguished public servants and a beloved elder statesman celebrated his 80th birthday. I refer to the Honorable James A. Farley, a self-made man who rose from humble beginnings to become one of our greatest political leaders, the confidant of Presidents and other heads of state, and is now chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp.

I take this opportunity to join Jim's great multitude of friends in congratulating him on reaching this significant milestone, and to wish him many, many more years of health and happiness.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a most interesting address he recently delivered at the dedication of a new wing of the E. O. Rose Library, Stony Point, N.Y., together with two articles highlighting his outstanding career, which appeared in the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle and the Van Nuys Valley News:

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES A. FARLEY, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, THE COCA-COLA EXPORT CORP. AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW WING OF THE E. O. ROSE LIBRARY, STONY POINT, N.Y., SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1968

Mr. Townsend, Mr. Kennedy, Congressman Dow, Judge Skahen, Supervisor Gruen, Justice Clark, Mr. Lindsell, Members of the Religious, Ladies and Gentlemen: I want to thank Kenneth Townsend most sincerely for his very generous introduction. To say that I am happy to be here is, I know, a trite expression but I use it in all the sincerity at my command. I am glad to be back in Stony Point and in the company of those who are present. It is impossible for me to mention the names of so many old friends who are here but I am particularly delighted to see Mrs. Friend Smith, Georgena Springstead, Tom Keenan, Howard Jersey, members of the Conklin, Allison and Clark families, also many other families too numerous to mention.

I shall ever be grateful to the families mentioned because they and almost every family in the Town of Stony Point were kind, considerate and helpful to me during the years I sought public office when I was elected Town Clerk 4 times, Supervisor twice and on the two occasions when I was a candidate for Member of the Assembly. And whatever success I achieved in public life or in business could be attributed to the support and encouragement I received from the residents of Stony Point, in those never to be forgotten days of my early political activities. They made it possible for me to move up the political ladder and in the business world.

I am very happy to also see some of the descendants of many old friends who have long since passed on to their reward.

I knew Mr. E. O. Rose for whom the Library was named and which was made possible by his generosity. He was one of the two or three outstanding merchants in the Town of Stony Point. I had many conversations with him at the Stony Point Social Club, then located in the Red Mens Hall about 100 yards west of where the Library is located.

I congratulate Irving Kennedy and the members of the Library Committee and others who worked with him in bringing about the construction and completion of this fine addition to the Library. The books within its walls will afford much pleasure and education to those who will have the opportunity to read them. They contain the works of many prominent and renowed writers.

I was happy to present to the Library some of my books, which I hope will be a worthwhile contribution. Among them are the biographies of many American Presidents and other famous Americans who, in their own field made a great contribution to their country.

We are here to dedicate one of the precious treasures of this world—a fine library. I say this because a fine library contains the products of that which is the world's greatest treasure—the mind of man. A library is the storehouse of what men and women have thought and felt and discovered throughout the ages and what they are thinking and feeling and discovering now. It is the link which binds the past with the present and the future, the work of the minds of scholars, present, past, and future, perfect and imperfect.

Great books do not spring from something accidental in the great men who wrote them. They are the expressions of their hearts and their minds; of their very lives. The purpose of a library, in very brief, is to transmit to generation after generation what was good and true and beautiful of the past, linking it with what is the same in the present. In this glorious country of ours, we have known much progress, and we take legitimate pride in the civilization and the democracy which are ours and which we, like our forefathers, have sworn to preserve. Our pledge is motivated by the grand example which is spread out before us in the libraries of the land, where we learn what the great Americans of the past have been.

My duties have given me many opportunities for human contact with people of all classes and in all conditions of life. Hence, a library to me is first and foremost a human thing pulsating with the emotions of the men and women who have transferred their deepest thoughts to the children of their minds, the books which remain with us, though they, the authors, have departed.

A brief example may clarify my meaning. One day a little boy and his father were walking on the seashore when the boy found a little shell and held it to his ear. Suddenly he heard sounds—strange, low, melodious sounds, as if the shell were remembering and repeating to itself the murmurs and the life of its ocean home. The little boy's face filled with wonder as he listened. Here in the little shell apparently was the voice of another world, and he listened with delight to its mystery and music. Then came his father, explaining that the boy had heard nothing strange; that the pearly curves of the shell simply caught a multitude of sounds too faint for human ears and filled the glimmering hollows with the murmur of innumerable echoes. It was not a new world, but only the unnoticed harmony of the old that had aroused the boy's wonder.

Some such experience as this awaits those who will listen, as it were, to the voices of a library. Let some little song appeal to the ear, or a noble book to the heart, and for the moment at least we discover a new world, a world so different from our own that it seems a place of dreams and magic. To enter and enjoy this new world, to love good books is to live intimately with the great minds of the world, for behind every book is a man; behind the man is the race; and behind the race are the natural and social environments whose influence is unconsciously reflected. In a word, we become in truth a member of the great human family and a citizen of the world. Gradually, we awaken to the fact that whether as an individual or a people, we form only part of one great family of God, and the rights and the privileges we enjoy we are ready to vindicate for others. We come to realize the truth of what is written in the preamble of our Constitution, that "all men are created equal and gifted by the Creator with inalienable rights among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

To show the value of a library, you might recall that in the destruction of a library in the past ages, the records of practically a whole civilization was lost.

In the days of Cleopatra, there was a great city in Egypt called Alexandria, and there the rulers of the world had built a wonderful library in which were gathered the works of all the famous authors of the Greek and Roman world. When Julius Caesar conquered Egypt, his soldiers accidentally set fire to this luxurious capital. A section of the city burned to the ground and with the destruction of the Alexandrian library, many masterpieces of ancient literature were lost forever. If Alexandria had not burned on that fatal night of Caesar's victory, the literature of the ancient world would have been preserved for us in that vanished city beside the Nile. With Alexandria, there perished for us practically a whole civilization and all we have of it are the grinning figures of the silent desert.

Now, it has been by observation that most people wish to live as fully as they can in the span of life which is given to them. But think what a limited existence we should have were it not for books. Think what little experience we should really have were we confined to the times in which we are obliged to move. How much of the world can we really experience in a lifetime? How many people in America have seen the United States? For every soldier who visits the ends of the earth and brushes close to death in desperate situations, there are thousands who stay at home and pass their days in the humdrum routine of a workday world, obliged to do so for one reason or another. Yet no one of us need be denied the joy of travel and the zest of adventure. Books can transport us beyond the barriers of time and enable us to relive the life of vanished ages. James Russell Lowell said this about the ability to read: "It revives for us, without miracle, the age of wonder, endowing us with shoes of swiftness and the cap of darkness, so that we walk invisible like fern seed and witness unharmed the plague of Athens or Florence or London; accompany Caesar on his marches, or look in on Catiline in council with his fellow conspirators or take our place with Cicero as he "uncovers the conspiracy."

How long will most of us live? At the most a brief 70-odd years, and we can only be at one place at a time. But a book, like a magic carpet, can take us wherever we care to go. As we grow more and more familiar with our library, visits there become more and more like the meeting place of old friends. We can be members of Sam Johnson's club and hear the autocratic old doctor laying down the law to the wits of his time; we can stand at the side of Carlyle and, with him as our guide, view the mighty drama of the French Revolution and listen to the quaint and charming discourse of Charles Lamb.

How many people do you know and what sort are they? One hundred, two hundred, three hundred? Not that many—well, surely, not that many intimately. And who are they? Americans, like ourselves, who live in the same sort of houses, eat the same food, wear the same clothes, think the same thoughts, and live much the same lives as our own. But in books we meet hundreds of people with whom our daily lives would never bring us face to face. We can talk to heads of States, inventors, scholars, men of politics, and men of science. We can meet the very rich and the very poor. We can even meet evil characters who teach us to be on our guard lest the forces of evil in the world engulf us also. Certainly a book is the safest place to study the darker side of life. It brings us a realization that the light of a good life is all the more brilliant because of the darkness that surrounds it.

Our intellectual growth will be in proportion to the number of great minds with whom we come in contact who open before us thoughts of which we ourselves would be incapable. Indeed, finding our own ideas well worded in books, we get a grip upon them which we have never had before. Often we think as we read, "That is what I have always thought", but 9 times out of 10, we merely had a vague notion and get a real power over the idea only when we see it adequately expressed. In real life, too, we see so often only the outside of things. We see a person's actions, not the motives and causes behind them. A novelist, for instance, lays before us the hidden springs of the conduct of his characters, and thus, we may very well learn to consider the possible causes of the strange actions in which we see people indulge. We likewise, in real life, get only a partial view of anything. We see what a man does today but not the whole course of his life, which has led up to the act. Books unroll before us the whole story of a life and give us not only a deeper but also a broader view. Our own life, moreover, is too near to us, and we are too involved in it for us to judge it impersonally; but we can study objectively a character like ourselves in a book, and may come to see our own motives and behavior in a new light.

Books expand our experience geographically, historically, socially, emotionally, and intellectually. They enable us to escape from the cramping limitations of our own selves into the larger world. We catch a glimpse of the ideals which we have set before ourselves actually worked out in the lives of others; we catch a glimpse of that distant country to which we all tend and the knowledge of God, Who is our last end.

This ceremony today is sacred. We dedicate another treasure of the world, we light, as it were, another powerful lamp of learning. May its beams of knowledge and love shine into the minds of all who come within its radius, to the much-needed realization in this our day and age that all men are brothers. May it light the paths of loyal Americans in the pursuit of justice and peace and truth.

Good luck and God bless you.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Sunday Examiner and Chronicle, May 26, 1968]

MR. DEMOCRAT—AT 80, A KEEN EYE ON POLITICS

(By James L. Kilgallen)

NEW YORK.—The presidential race is in full swing and nobody is more interested in it than the elder statesman of the Democratic Party who celebrates his 80th birthday next Thursday.

James A. Farley said he "feels fine" and is looking forward to attending the Democratic convention in Chicago.

"It will be my twelfth convention," he remarked.

Then Mr. Democrat explained another enthusiasm:

"I'm for Humphrey. He's the logical man to succeed President Johnson."

STILL HAS TOUCH

From the beginning of the interview, it was clear that his 28 years as a corporation executive (he is chairman of the board of Coca-Cola Export Corp.) have not impaired his political touch.

The mastermind of Franklin D. Roosevelt's first two campaigns for the presidency noted that politics has "changed tremendously" in recent years and that the biggest change has been brought about by television.

"TV gives the candidates complete exposure," he said. "This has been helpful to some candidates, detrimental to others. The personality and 'image' have become important factors in vote-getting."

"Today radio and TV reporters interview candidates all along the campaign trail and the public gets a fine chance to size them up from what they say and how they act.

"Greeting crowds and hand-shaking around the country always have helped the candidates. They must be careful not to slight people along the way. But the party organization and leaders must cooperate in (1) getting the citizens to register and (2) getting them out to the polls on election day."

Farley foresees the possibility that this year U.S. political conventions will have to be streamlined if they want to obtain maximum coverage.

HIGH SPOTS

"The political parties may have to arrange to spot the most dramatic happenings for the TV's night audiences," he said.

I asked Farley, who is famous for his phenomenal memory, to name the high spots of his own political career. He listed them thoughtfully:

"My election as chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee in 1930.

"My election in 1932 as chairman of the Democratic National Committee following FDR's nomination.

"My appointment as Postmaster General in 1933.

"Election night in 1936 when my prophecy was confirmed that Roosevelt would carry every state but Maine and Vermont.

"Sitting under the platform at the 1940 convention in Chicago—with tears in my eyes—when my name was presented in nomination for the Presidency. This was when I was opposing Mr. Roosevelt's running for a third term. I was not a candidate and knew there was no chance that I would be nominated. It gave delegates a chance to vote for Vice President John N. Garner, another third term opponent, whose name also had been placed in nomination."

NO COLLEGE

Farley, who never attended college because he had to go to work to support his mother after his father had died, added one more "high spot."

"I shall always be grateful to the 24 colleges that honored me with a degree," he said. "But I don't know of any honor from the field of education that gives me a more genuine sense of fulfillment than when the North Rockland Junior High School was named for me at Stony Point, N.Y., where I was born and raised."

Farley said the men who had "most impressed" him during his political career were Al Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Vice President Garner, President Truman, Sen. Carter Glass, and Lyndon B. Johnson—whom he first met in 1934.

Asked for his views on pre-convention primaries, he replied:

"Primaries can be very important to the candidates. The primaries enable them to show their strength by discussing the issues and to become better known. Party leaders are impressed by the primary returns."

VIEW ON POLLS

On public opinion polls he said:

"These polls have demonstrated they are reasonably accurate and of interest to the public, though they sometimes are off several points in their figures. The polls never caught up with the switch in favor of Truman in the 1948 election."

Farley appears to be in excellent physical condition. He lives in the Waldorf Towers and walks to his office daily.

Farley's wife, Elizabeth, died Jan. 14, 1955. But his married son, two married daughters and his 10 grandchildren will be with him on his birthday.

[From the Valley News, Van Nuys, Calif., May 19, 1968]

JAMES A. FARLEY—A GREAT AMERICAN

Former postmaster-general of the United States, James A. Farley, one of .the finest men America has ever produced, becomes an octogenerian on May 30. Blessings to you, Jim!

The hardest-working and most astonishingly successful politician in American life, genial Jim Farley was born to humble beginnings of "poor but honest" parents in Grassy Point, N.Y., in 1888.

His forbears emigrated from Ireland in the 1840s—immigrants who sought refuge in America due to the devastating potato famine which ravaged the old country.

Jim's father died when the boy was 10 years old. Mrs. Farley was left with the support of five small children. To do his share, Jim sold newspapers, ran errands, did whatever odd jobs were necessary to earn nickels and dimes to help his economically poor family out.

He also worked in the brickyards for 92 cents a day while still a young lad.

America was built by men like Jim Farley—self-reliant, hardworking individualists who made their own way in life.

He could have become a professional baseball player but instead chose a political career starting as a town clerk and moving up the ladder until he became chairman of the Democratic National Committee in 1932.

He was a close friend of the late Governor of New York, Alfred E. Smith, and an even closer friend and associate of former President Franklin D. Roosevelt who credited Jim Farley for his smashing election victories in 1932 and 1936.

Farley has not merely been a great political leader and a very successful businessman. Although he has received many honors from foreign countries and countless numbers of honorary degrees, this does not tell the entire story.

LOVED BY ENEMIES

Jim Farley is a beloved individual. Although his political efforts helped defeat former President Herbert Hoover in 1932, they remained firm friends until Mr. Hoover's death.

Jim is as beloved by his political enemies as he is loved by his political friends. He has never forgotten a friend or held malice against an enemy. A gentleman in the truest sense of the world, it is a great honor for me to be able to call him my friend.

I salute you Jim on your 80th birthday. May the good Lord grant you many more years of good health and great happiness!

FRANKLIN H. WILLIAMS

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, on past occasions I have placed articles in the

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD from newspapers published in Ghana which attest to the fine work which has been done by my constituent, the Honorable Franklin H. Williams, who has now retired as Ambassador to Ghana.

The fine things said about Mr. Williams continue, even after he has retired from foreign service to do very important work in the field of civil rights and minority problems. In a recent issue of the Legion Observer that publication summarized Mr. Williams' work and was highly complimentary. I am pleased to include this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

MR. FRANKLIN HALL WILLIAMS

After serving for just over two years in his first and only diplomatic post overseas, Mr. Franklin Hall Williams, ex-U.S. Ambassador to Ghana since 1966, left us on the 2nd of May. He left on retirement from the foreign service of his country—at least for the time being—and is now returning to work in an area in which he has made notable contributions before, namely civil rights and minority problems in the United States. However, since in America the struggle is not for survival but for success, and the national socio-economic philosophy practically demands a constant upward mobility among the best-equipped in the population, there is no reason to suppose, but every reason to believe, that if a call to higher service in the diplomatic field should come again to the retiring ambassador later on, he would return to it.

If he should do so, there is the equal certainty that he will bring to his next diplomatic appointment even greater qualifications and accomplishments than he has already displayed before us these past two years-plus, for Mr. Williams would have added more to his great experience of operations on a high scale and at world standards. And his natural charm, suavity and style will, of course, always be there to assure the success of his competence.

The civil rights and minorities problem—in its urban, research, relief, and public relations aspects—which Mr. Williams is now going to work upon from his base in Columbia University, certainly stands to lose nothing but to gain much from this highly sophisticated functionary. Here his career as an N.A.A.C.P. counsel in California for many years, as well as his UN alternate-ambassadorship for the United States just prior to his Ghana appointment, must be recalled with the proper respect and appreciation. It is thus no wonder to reflect that Mr. Williams made by far the greatest impact upon Ghana of any U.S. ambassador before him. For one thing, he undoubtedly left behind much greater Ghana-American friendship than he had met.

Franklin Williams made many friends in Ghana, not just in the diplomatic sense but, much more significantly, on the personal level. And this was not done mostly on the good spirits engendered and sustained by innumerable "dine, drink, and dance" parties but, to a considerable extent, on Mr. Williams' genuine personal concern for the best interests of the Ghanaian people—indeed the African people, in whom he claims part of his ancestry. The many farewell manifestations in his honour were only part proof of this. If, as in the case of the Abbott Affair, Mr. Williams appeared to some of us to be at the same time plugging too hard for the acceptance of the agreement by us, this was probably because as an American he could see no very radical modifications or qualifications to the bare laissez-faire principles of private enterprise, managerial supremacy, and the profit motive. But he also believed that, given political sanctions—which Ghana as a sovereign state could always invoke and apply—a private company would have no power to run away again with the economic destiny of this country, especially a private company which was to have been only half of a partnership—with our Government.

We have no wish to re-open painful past issues here, nor at this time of parting to remember that some of us had our doubts about the wholesale validity of Mr. Williams' position on this one matter. We have too much else, of pleasantness and mutual understanding, to think about when we remember Franklin Hall Williams. To him and to his wife Shirley, and their two children, we now wish continued success, and happiness in service.

A WELL-DESERVED TRIBUTE

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, last night along with some of my colleagues, I had the pleasure of having dinner at the White House with the President of the United States honoring the President of Costa Rica. I was very pleased to find in the Evening Star an editorial entitled, "Costa Rican Visitor," which I will present for the RECORD at this time:

COSTA RICAN VISITOR

Washington will render the usual honors for a foreign chief of state upon the arrival here today of Costa Rica's President Jose Joaquin Trejos. But a special sort of emotional greeting is deserved by the chief executive of the purest democracy in the Western Hemisphere.

Costa Rica is the only nation in the Americas which spares its 3 million citizens the expense and political threat of an army. Costa Rica also has more teachers than it has policemen.

If Costa Rica has one big flaw, it is that the nation traditionally tries to do more for the welfare of its people than it can safely afford. This causes the Central American republic economic problems with world bankers that can be solved only by finding new sources of national income or cutting back on high-priced social welfare programs.

But Costa Rica spends no money making trouble for its neighbors, nothing on an expensive arsenal and unneeded armed forces, and its politicians have learned with the people to respect the will of the electorate.

In San Jose, the capital that basks in perpetual spring, Costa Rica's presidents are more accessible to the people than the sales manager of a department store. Thus, democracy is practiced every day by the ins as well as the outs, and is not used merely as a meaningless word.

The United States has made it official policy to reserve its special friendship for democratic nations like Costa Rica. President and Mrs. Johnson will demonstrate this sentiment this week to President Trejos and Clarita Fonseca de Trejos.

Mr. Speaker, Costa Rica is a Republic in Central America that stands closest to a true democracy than any nation that I visited in my many journeys both in and out of Congress to many countries in every area of this world.

I was particularly impressed with the democratic attitude of all the people from the President to the workers in the sugarcane fields and coffee plantations. It has been said many times that cleanliness is next to Godliness; if this be true then the people of Costa Rica are indeed blessed, because they are a clean living people who believe that sanitation and cleanliness are two of the first requisites of a decent way of life. In the face of our many problems today in this country, the acknowledged malnutrition, the filth and stench of our ghettoes, it might be a good thing if our Nation would take a look at the conditions in a place like Costa Rica.

Aside from the fact that I have great respect for the President and official family of the Republic, those whom I have known and those whom I have just met, I have a great respect also for their adherence to the true principles of a democracy. Friendliness and the good will of the peoples of Costa Rica to the peoples of the United States is best attested by the fact that while it has little to give except its honor, it pledged that honor and its resources to the United States by being the first nation to join the United States in its declaration of war against the Japanese aggressors. The relationship between our nations is the kind of relationship that we have hoped, and still hope, will prevail between all the nations of the world. It is a relationship, friendship, cooperation, and mutual help and assistance when either of the countries is in need.

As a Member of Congress and a citizen of this great Nation, I salute President Jose Joaquin Trejos and my personal friend for many years, a member of the President's Cabinet, Manuel Jiminez and the delegation of Costa Rican officials visiting our country at this time. I wish to compliment the Evening Star for its very friendly tribute to our Central American neighbor, the Republic of Costa Rica.

HELP FOR INDIVIDUAL FLOOD VICTIMS SUFFERING PROPERTY LOSS

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, present Federal law provides reimbursement to municipalities and public bodies whose property is destroyed by disastrous floods, but unfortunately, no similar benefits are available to individuals who sustain property loss. In many cases the homes, business establishments, and personal belongings of individuals are lost in flood disasters, but there are no benefits or reimbursements legally available to these individuals from Federal sources.

Some few years ago at the time of the disastrous floods that struck the Northeast with unprecedented fury, I worked over a long period of time as chairman of the Massachusetts Congressional Delegation Flood Control Committee.

We were able to get effective results throughout our State and Nation. Appropriate flood control projects were voted by the Congress. Assistance was arranged for farmers, small business people, and additional grants of food and foodstuffs were arranged and our Federal mechanisms for coping with floods were generally strengthened.

However, there are still two areas that are not properly covered: One is the proper reimbursement to individuals who suffer losses in floods, and the other is the provision of insurance for these individuals, and all others as well.

I am urging the appropriate committees of the Congress to take action as early as possible on these matters and hope we may have good results.

The law should be amended to provide substantial help for individuals and put them on a parity with other flood sufferers.

VIETNAM VETS: FUTURE EMPLOYMENT

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit for inclusion in the Record an editorial from the May 31, 1968, issue of the Oakland Tribune, Oakland, Calif.

It discusses the need for a greater effort in the matter of providing jobs for veterans returning from Vietnam and calls on the Government, commerce, and industry to direct more attention to this matter.

The editorial is a timely one and I commend it to the attention of the Congress:

Vietnam Vets: Future Employment

Because of the well-heralded frustrations and bitterness of the hard-core unemployed, this nation is now spending billions in an unprecedented effort to provide them job training and job opportunities.

This effort is unquestionably necessary and justifiable. But in our preoccupation with tending to the needs of the nation's poor, we have forgotten that another group of citizens must have priority attention.

We are speaking of our nation's returning Vietnam veterans—young men who have spent two, and three and four years risking their lives for this country while others at home rioted, looted and burned draft cards.

The transition from war to peace has always been recognized as a difficult one for the returning veteran. In other times it has been awarded top national priority. The plight of the returning Vietnam era veteran must also have top billing in finding employment.

Indeed, a Vietnam GI Bill has been provided; the President has issued an executive order exempting returning veterans from taking competitive examinations for federal employment at the five lowest civil service levels; and federal and state employment services are engaged in special efforts to locate and counsel job-seeking Vietnam veterans.

But, when compared with vast civilian manpower programs, the total effort in behalf of Vietnam veterans appears to be receiving only secondary attention.

Unless a greater effort is made by both government and the private sector of the economy, the growing problem of providing jobs for veterans could become a critical one—particularly in our own state.

One year ago the Defense Department estimated that between July 1, 1967, and June 30, 1968, 750,000 veterans would return to the labor market nationally, 65,000 of them to California.

Local Department of Labor officials now say the California figure instead will be almost double that prediction—somewhere around 120,000 men. The reason advanced is that a high percentage of returning veterans are separated from the service in California and simply elect to remain in the state.

Should the Paris peace talks eventually prove fruitful, it's estimated that the resulting demobilization would release 900,000 servicemen into civilian life over an 18-month period.

These young men—most of them, statistically, in their early 20's and more than 80 per cent with a high school education or better—deserve far more from their nation than to return from the sacrifices and turmoil of the battlefield merely to a more frustrating and embittering social turmoil at home.

They have already demonstrated their first-class citizenship; they are entitled to nothing less than first-class treatment.

We suggest that it is high time the task of providing job training and job opportunities for returning Vietnam veterans receive the attention, energies and priorities of government, commerce and industry.

OKLAHOMA DEMOCRATS APPRECIATE PRESIDENT JOHNSON

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the Oklahoma Democrat is a magazine published by the Oklahoma Democratic Central Committee. In a recent issue, there was a column written by Mr. William G. Kerr, committee chairman, which summed up the feelings of many people in Oklahoma toward President Johnson, and, I am sure, the feelings of many other people throughout the country.

I will quote a couple of sentences from the article.

> We are grateful to you Mr. President. . . . Your programs have been aimed at those who needed them, not those who had the power to get them.

What Bill Kerr was saying was that Lyndon B. Johnson has been the President of all Americans, not just the few.

I insert the column by Mr. Kerr in the Record:

The Chairman Speaks

(By William G. Kerr)

Thank you Mr. President, we hope you know how many people out here feel that way. Some of them are old friends like those who organized clubs for you in 1959. Others are new friends who have admired the style and determination a fellow southwesterner brought to the Presidency. Most are just strangers who are living in better homes, enjoying better health, receiving or seeing their children receive better educations and who know that your administration has in many ways helped to make all this possible.

We are proud of you Mr. President and take great pleasure in referring to Oklahoma as "Johnson Country". Not everybody here likes that but maybe they don't remember the visits, political and personal, you have made here so often over the years. There are plenty of us who are willing to stand by that name and watch as time shows the meaning of the claim. To tell the truth "Johnson Country" stretches from coast to coast, you have always been a President for all Americans, but we feel a little something special because you talk our kind of talk, just the same now as when you first became the most important man in the world.

We are grateful to you Mr. President. You have worked harder than you should have and been an example to government leaders at all levels. Your programs have been aimed at those who needed them, not those who had the power to get them. Your family has been a blessing to all of us and we appreciate having been able to know them.

If it should be that you all are going to come home next year we will understand why. You have been gone a long time. Whatever the future brings it will be better because a man and his family helped make it so. That is the way America works.

Thank you Mr. President, for being our President.

PITTSBURGH GROUP SOLVES CITY'S INDUSTRIAL LAND SHORTAGE

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, one of the great problems facing my home city of Pittsburgh in recent years has been a shortage of land suitable for the industrial development the city has long depended on for its growth and vitality.

In recent years, however, the Regional Industrial Development Corp. of southwestern Pennsylvania, has transformed 700 acres of underutilized land into a glittering industrial park.

The park already has 17 plants worth $20 million, and the Regional Industrial Development Corp. envisions an ultimate investment of over $50 million in the park. This investment will yield 5,000 jobs for Pittsburgh residents and assure the continued growth of the Renaissance city I am proud to represent.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert an article about the Regional Industrial Development Corp. park at this point in the Record:

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post-Gazette, Apr. 22, 1968]

Regional Industrial Development Corp. Park: Believe It

(By Jack Markowitz)

The phrase "industrial park" often opens its own credibility gap. A row of industrial buildings stretched along a railroad track—what's "park-like" about that?

RIDC Industrial Park, however, is a park of a different color. Like green. There really are trees, fields, hills, ravines, curving drives and the kind of elbow room that, while it might not exactly beckon a man back to nature barefoot, doesn't insult the word "park."

The 700-acre spread which extends northward from Papercraft Corp.'s vast plant on the Allegheny River toward the residential frontiers of Fox Chapel and O'Hara Township is a shade over three years old.

And it's filling up ahead of schedule—17 buildings, costing about $20 million, and comprising 24 companies with a total job population of about 3,800.

Hiram Milton, president of the non-profit Regional Industrial Development Corp., foresees ultimate investment of over $50 million and 5,000 weekly paychecks blooming out on the meadows.

PATTERN TO FOLLOW

He's hopeful, too, that the park pattern will be picked up by other developers and community groups in this nine-county region—and "chances are good" that RIDC will develop other industrial parks on its own. Two sites are now being studied to that end.

What RIDC Park has accomplished so far is not to return a profit ("we're still pouring money into it") but to provide the region with "a land bank, a supply of land we can deliver."

Formerly, the RIDC group was in the frustrating bind of getting good industrial prospects and then having to squire them around from property to property in hopes of finding a feasible plant site.

Since getting off the ground, land prices at RIDC Park have moved upward from about $20,000 an acre to nearly $24,000—there's no public giveaway—and Milton believes they will go even higher for tracts adjacent to one of the park's great traffic assets, an interchange on the Allegheny Valley Expressway.

Prospective motel developers also want in near the interchange.

Brooks Robinson, RIDC vice president and director of development, took a visitor over the park's rolling, bustling acreage the other day—and it's a trip that should be taken by more Pittsburghers who envision industry in crowded, ugly buildings landscaped only by rusty metal scrap piles out in the yard.

The new factories are mostly low and long, with brick and glass facades—modern and Colonial, if you please—with parking areas and truck loading docks in the rear, lawns in front and gooseneck light poles along the winding roads, flowering trees on the hills.

Just as in certain neighborhoods, you can't build any old way. Brick walls represent one minimum standard (flaky corrugated metal is out) and the aim is to assure companies that their property values will hold up over the years.

"We build the first five years of expansion into every project," said Robinson. A one-acre factory, say, is placed on a three-acre tract, so that it can grow at least 50 per cent without wiping out too much open space.

One plant already has been expanded, Goerz Optical Systems Division; the vast new headquarters of Thrift Drug Co. is building toward completion along Alpha Drive; a road is being paved alongside Bacharach Instrument Division, amid other construction activity a-plenty. Anti-noise note: the plants, which are air-conditioned, emit no loud industrial clangor to the outside.

TOWNHOUSE APPROACH

The park's tenants are a diversified lot.

Sauereisen Cements Co. which moved in from an obsolete six-floor feed store in Sharpsburg, makes specialty cements to fill the handles of silverware, to coat waffle irons and provide acid-resistant mortar on the floors of breweries and chimneys of steel plants.

At the "townhouse," a U-shaped factory and office building divided into 2,500-square-foot units for small or new companies, William J. Happel's Power Control Corp. is turning out electronic control devices for industry.

He's a one-time Westinghouse Electric engineering manager who spun-off his own business; but his old company also has a new plant in RIDC Park, and PPG Industries has a fiberglass research lab there. The variety impresses.

It's hard not to get the message: this is the way it ought to be done.

MEMORIAL DAY IN LAWRENCE-CEDARHURST

HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, this year I had the privilege of addressing those who joined in the celebration of Memorial Day in the neighboring villages of Lawrence and Cedarhurst, Long Island. The Lawrence-Cedarhurst Post No. 339, American Legion, which sponsored the celebration, did an excellent job.

As a resident of Lawrence, it was a pleasure to join with my friends and neighbors in this day of tribute to those who fought and died to preserve our freedom.

The units which participated in the parade and the program for the Memorial Day ceremonies follow:

UNIT

Position 1: Color Guard and Firing Squad (courtesy of Inwood Post 1582 VFW).

Position 2: Legionnaires, Lawrence Cedarhurst Post 339, American Legion.

Position 3: Open vehicles—Disabled Veterans.

Position 4: L-C Fire Department and Band, L-C Fire Department Juniors, L-C Fire Department Auxiliary, L-C Fire Department Equipment.

Position 5: Jewish War Veterans—P.F.C. Murray Block Post 770.

Position 6: VFW Ladies Auxiliary, Cedarhurst, N.Y.

Position 7: Unaffiliated veterans.

Position 8: Nassau County Mounted Guard.

Position 9: Boy Scouts—Troop 20, Cedarhurst, N.Y., Drum and Bugle Corps.

Position 10: Cub Scouts—Pack 111, Cedarhurst, N.Y.

Position 11: Cub Scouts—Pack 115, Cedarhurst, N.Y.

Position 12: Girl Scouts.

Position 13: Brownies.

Position 14: 4–H Clubs.

Position 15: Lawrence High School Band.

Position 16: Meadowmere Park Fire Department and equipment.

Position 17: Police Auxiliary and equipment.

Position 18: Police Boys Club of Inwood—Drum and Bugle Corps.

Position 19: Little League.

Position 20: Beautiful Bike Contest—entrants.

REVIEWING STAND PROGRAM

At 10:55 A..M.—Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag led by Scout Keith Axelrod of Troop 20, Cedarhurst, N.Y. which is sponsored by Lawrence-Cedarhurst Post 339, American Legion.

At 11:00 A.M.—Two minutes of silence will be observed in memory of our departed comrades who gave their lives in the service of our great nation. May their memory never be dimmed by those who would discredit our flag and subvert the principles of our Democracy.

At 11:05 A.M.—National Anthem: Helen McKeown, member of faculty No. 5 School Cedarhurst, N.Y.

Invocation: Rabbi Edward T. Sandrow, Temple Beth El, Cedarhurst, N.Y., Chaplain Emeritus, Lawrence-Cedarhurst Post No. 339, American Legion.

Children's Choir, No. 5 School under the direction of Miss McKeown, will offer two choral selections.

Commander Charles G. Heine will introduce the Official Guests.

Miss McKeown and the Children's Choir will offer three additional selections for your entertainment.

Principal Speaker: Hon. HERBERT TENZER, Member of Congress, Fifth Congressional District, esteemed member of this community, and our good friend.

Benediction: Rabbi Joel Zion, Temple Israel, Lawrence, N.Y.

Conclusion by Commander Heine.

Mr. Speaker, in my remarks, I stressed the importance of broadening the definition of patriotism to include not only the defense of freedom abroad but also the defense of freedom and equal opportunity at home.

I am placing the full text of my remarks in the RECORD at this point:

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS BY HON. HERBERT TENZER, LAWRENCE-CEDARHURST, MAY 30, 1968

We are gathered today—as free men—to honor those who fought and died to preserve our freedom.

We honor the dead for the precious gifts they have bequeathed to us—the heritage of democratic liberty and the opportunity to realize our personal destinies free from the dictates of tyrants and oppressors.

These ceremonies are part of our national tradition.

When I was a young lad I remember Memorial Day Parades with heroes of the Civil War—and the Spanish American War in the front line of march.

Now most of them are gone—they no longer march in memory of their fallen comrades in arms.

In those days war seemed remote as we watched the passing parade.

Today Veterans of World War I—World War II—the Korean and the Vietnam Wars have taken their places in the line of march.

Today—*Memorial Day is tragically our own*.

As the preliminary discussions in Paris continue, I pray to Almighty God—Creator of all men—that he bless the memory of the departed.

That he bless their dear ones gathered here today—and that he strengthen the hands of our negotiators in Paris so that war in Vietnam may be brought to an early end and that peace be restored to that part of the world.

Just as we remember the bravest and courage of those who died in service of their country, we should also remember that the pursuit of peace is in the proudest tradition of our democracy.

Patriotism is one of the elements which has made our nation great.

Today we should pause to add a new dimension to the meaning of the word.

In addition to performing our patriotic duty of honoring those who died abroad in defense of our freedom—and while we stand saluting our beloved flag, we should pledge to rededicate ourselves to *the defense of freedom at home*.

By so doing, we will be adding new significance and meaning to patriotism.

The new meaning of *patriotism* must include an understanding that those who seek *freedom at home* must be helped to achieve their goals.

Patriotism goes beyond saluting the flag and remembering the dead.

Patriotism means the creation of a better America for all Americans.

It means the defense of the right to peaceful protest and the right to present grievances.

Patriotism is helping those who do not yet have equal opportunity in our land of freedom.

It means giving help to those who seek employment—who do not receive equal education—who do not live in decent housing who are denied the right to compete on an equal basis with their fellow Americans.

Patriotism is the courage to defend those who are oppressed while they seek the same freedom the others enjoy.

Patriotism required us to acknowledge that fact that we are all children of one God and the recognition *that justice is color-blind*.

Our patriotism can be demonstrated in many ways—but saluting the flag alone is not enough.

This ceremony honoring those who fought for our freedom is not enough.

We can best demonstrate our patriotism through group effort to ensure freedom for a greater number of Americans.

That is precisely what those whom we honor today—fought and died for.

Today more than 3,000 Americans are gathered in "resurrection city" in a poor people's march.

These Americans are showing their *patriotism* by seeking freedom for the underprivileged of America.

Yes—this is patriotism too—a brand of patriotism which merits our support with every ounce of strength and energy at our command.

Unless ~~we~~ respond to the cry for justice from ~~those~~ who are still deprived—we will be placing *our own* freedom in jeopardy.

Whenever the rights or the freedom of a single American are threatened, the rights and freedom of all Americans are endangered.

When we recognize this we will join in the most patriotic crusade this nation has ever witnessed—a crusade to bring freedom, justice and equal opportunity, to every corner of this nation and to every American.

These ceremonies provide us with an opportunity to review our own patriotic deeds during the past year.

As we gather in communities throughout the land—We enjoy a life of opportunity and freedom.

Our families seem to be secure—but are we really secure in a world torn by conflict, war and when we live in a society ready to explode with inter-racial hatreds and civil disorder.

The answer is clearly *No*.

Ours is not a perfect society—but we can strive to improve ourselves and the conditions under which we live. Within a stone's throw of where we stand—there are disadvantaged people—our neighbors.

Only last week in one of our weekly newspapers there was an appeal for assistance for a man with eight children who had just lost his wife—not a resident of Inwood—but of Lawrence—Not a negro family, but a white family.

These people need our help—to help train them for better jobs, to help provide better housing—and to make them members of a society better equipped to contribute to the new crusade of patriotism.

The new crusade of patriotism will be a drive to provide *equal education to all*.

To clothe the naked, feed the hungry and heal the sick in our land.

The new crusade of patriotism will place the war on poverty on the same level as the past wars to defend our freedom. The one must not be allowed to stand on a higher pedestal than the other.

The battles for freedom—wherever they are fought—are a part of one struggle.

In recent years contests on far flung battlefields and the 1968 war on ignorance, disease, poverty, hunger and oppression at home—have the same end—freedom for all mankind.

The men we honor today are part of American's past and must never be forgotten—but let us make sure that on Memorial Days in the future we shall also remember men like President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King who died for freedom at home.

I want to express my appreciation to Commander Charles G. Heine and 1st Vice Commander Joseph Breitstone, co-chairman of the parade committee, for their kind invitation to participate in these meaningful ceremonies, and to all who took part in making the event such a successful demonstration of unity in our midst.

PHI ALPHA DELTA "INNS OF COURT" PROGRAM

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, since the fall of 1966 Phi Alpha Delta, the Nation's largest legal fraternity, has sponsored a very promising program to enhance the etiquette, ethic, and professional conduct of lawyers. Patterned after the English Inns of Court tradition, the PAD Inns of Court effort is a constructive attempt to promote awareness of the highest standards of courtroom ethics, principles and customs among both law students and practicing attorneys.

The PAD program was begun in Washington under the leadership of Judge Warren E. Burger of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit; Robert E. Redding, supreme justice of Phi Alpha Delta; and Fred Warren Bennett, national chairman of the program.

Recently this endeavor was outlined in articles in the March 1968 issue of the American Bar Association Journal and in the January 1968 issue of Judicature, the journal of the American Judicature Society. I include these articles in the RECORD at this point, and commend them to my colleagues, as follows:

[From the American Bar Association Journal, March 1968]

PHI ALPHA DELTA INNS OF COURT

(By Robert E. Redding)

The Phi Alpha Delta Law Fraternity, the nation's largest legal fraternity with more than one hundred law school student chapters, has embarked on a precedent-making program designed to enhance the professional conduct, etiquette and ethics of lawyers. Phi Alpha Delta has developed a program patterned after the Inns of Court of England, in which barristers get their training.

For centuries in England those who aspired to be trial lawyers have attended the Inns of Court, and at their meals they have received not only vitamins but also the distilled experience of the best barristers and judges of England, who act as readers or lecturers. From these men the aspiring barristers acquire a knowledge of the customs and traditions of the law and lawyers, including rules of etiquette, decorum and ethics. Many persons have commented on the lack of this kind of training in the United States. The law schools that offer courses on professional responsibility neglect the matters of courtroom conduct and decorum. Bar associations bypass it, and the courts are too busy clearing crowded dockets to teach lawyers the basic rules of conduct.

The founder of the program is Judge Warren E. Burger of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, a member of the fraternity. In April, 1966, Judge Burger spoke of the need for a program dealing with professional conduct, etiquette and ethics, and tentative plans for the program were developed during the summer of 1966. The program began in Washington, D.C., in the fall of 1966, largely due to the efforts of Judge Burger; Dan Halpin, District Justice of Phi Alpha Delta; and Fred Warren Bennett, current national chairman of the Inns of Court program.

The program's basic purposes are:

1. To facilitate a growing awareness of the needs of a lawyer to practice professional conduct of the highest order in legal proceedings—both in court and out of court;

2. To bring about a greater emphasis on the need for training in the law schools in the area of proper courtroom conduct and decorum;

3. To encourage law students and young lawyers to take an interest in this program so that they can obtain knowledge and practical experience in courtroom training;

4. To contribute to a higher level of esteem for the legal profession in the mind of the general public.

5. To encourage all Phi Alpha Delta active and alumni chapters to adopt and implement such a program; and

6. To bring the legal fraternity into a closer relationship with other professional organizations within the legal profession.

During the 1966–67 academic year, four seminar programs were held, attended by both student and alumni members of Phi Alpha Delta. The programs consisted of lectures followed by questions from the audience and answers from the speakers. Two outstanding speakers and a moderator were used for three programs; the last featured one speaker and a moderator.

The first program was held on October 28, 1966. Edward Bennett Williams, a criminal trial lawyer in Washington, D.C., and a member of Phi Alpha Delta, and Samuel Dash, Director of the Institute of Criminal Law at Georgetown University, author of the book, *The Eavesdroppers*, were the speakers. Phi Alpha Delta member John J. Sirica, Judge of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, was the moderator. Mr. Williams and Mr. Dash discussed "The Professional Responsibilities of the Defense Lawyer in a Criminal Case".

The second program, held on January 6, 1967, featured Judge William B. Bryant of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, the defense attorney in the landmark case of *Mallory* v. *United States*, 354 U.S. 449 (1957), and Thomas Flannery, former Assistant United States Attorney in Washington, D.C., now a partner in a Washington, D.C., law firm, as the speakers. Senior Judge Richmond B. Keech of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, also a member of Phi Alpha Delta, was the moderator. Judge Bryant and Mr. Flannery spoke on "Problems of Trial Preparation in a Criminal Case—Covering Relations with Defendant, Opposing Counsel, Witnesses and Law Enforcement Agencies".

The third program was held on March 10. Myron Ehrlich, a criminal trial lawyer in Washington, D.C., and Francis L. Casey, a trial lawyer in the torts field—and a partner in a Washington, D.C., firm, were the speakers. The moderator was James E. Starrs, professor of law at the George Washington University Law School. Mr. Ehrlich and Mr. Casey discussed "The Lawyer in Court".

The last program for the 1966–67 academic year was held on April 14. Jack G. Day, a criminal trial lawyer from Cleveland, Ohio, and the President of the National Association of Defense Lawyers in Criminal Cases, was the speaker, and Mr. Dash was the moderator. Mr. Day lectured on "The Overall Responsibility of the Defense Lawyer in a Criminal Case".

Judges in Washington regard the Phi Alpha Delta Inns of Court program as offering substantial benefits to the younger lawyers and law students. The lectures, by placing emphasis on courtroom conduct, etiquette and ethics, have helped to bridge the gap between the law school case method approach and actual trial practice.

Convinced of the values to be derived from this experiment, Phi Alpha Delta officials are planning to establish the Inns of Court program in selected cities throughout the United States——Los Angeles, Houston, Kansas City, Chicago, Philadelphia and New York. In addition, a national advisory council for the program has been formed so that leading members of the fraternity, the Bench and Bar can participate in the program on a nationwide advisory basis.

[From Judicature, January 1968]

PHI ALPHA DELTA SPONSORS INNS OF COURT PROGRAM

The Phi Alpha Delta Law Fraternity, the nation's largest professional legal fraternity, has embarked upon a precedent-making program designed to enhance the manners and etiquette of lawyers. Patterned after the Inns of Court of England, the programs is named the PAD Inns of Court—a Program To Establish and Maintain High Standards of Professional Conduct, Etiquette, and Ethics.

The program was initiated in the academic year 1966–67 in Washington, D.C., by Judge Warren E. Burger of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, an honorary member of the Fraternity. He was aided by Robert E. Redding, Supreme Justice of Phi Alpha Delta; Dan Halpin, District Justice of Phi Alpha Delta; and Fred Warren Bennett, current National Chairman of the Inns of Court program. Justice Redding described the program as a response to "the need . . . to bridge the gap between the academic field and the application in practice of what the law student has learned."

Four seminar meetings, attended by both student and alumni members of the Fraternity at local law schools and their wives, were held in the first academic year. The program formed consisted of a moderator and one or two speakers who lectured and afterward answered questions from the audience. At the first meeting, Edward Bennett Williams, criminal trial lawyer of Washington, D.C., and Samuel Dash, director of the Institute of Criminal Law at Georgetown University, discussed "The Professional Responsibilities of the Defense Lawyer in a Criminal Case." Subsequent programs included leading members of the judiciary and bar as participants.

The PAD Inns of Court is very similar to the British system whereby all barristers receive training in the customs and traditions of the law and lawyers, including rules of etiquette, decorum and ethics. Inns of Court training, resulting in conduct producing less friction among barristers and less time wasted on irrelevant matters, is believed by some to contribute to the efficiency of the British legal system.

Judge Burger spoke of the need for this kind of program in the United States: "Many people have commented and written on the lack of this kind of training for lawyers in America. The law schools do not attempt to train students in matters of conduct and decorum: the bar associations have neglected it, and the courts are seemingly too busy clearing crowded dockets to teach lawyers the basic rules of conduct." Participant Samuel Dash added: "Indeed, unless such programs with the purposes you outline are developed throughout the country, the lawyer's role in the administration of criminal justice will continue to be greatly misunderstood by the profession and the public, which can only lead to a devastating loss of public confidence in our trust and responsibility."

In the future, the PAD Inns of Court programs will expand from criminal law into other fields such as domestic relations, tort law, commercial law, and the responsibilities of the government attorney. The Fraternity is also planning to establish the program in other cities, such as Los Angeles, Houston, Kansas City, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York. In addition, a National Advisory Council for the program, consisting of Justice Tom C. Clark, Judge Warren E. Burger, Congressman Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Edward Bennett Williams, and Wex S. Malone, current president of the Association of American Law Schools, has been organized to facilitate nationwide participation by the Fraternity, the bench, and the bar.

CHICAGO PURPLE HEART CRUISE A TRIBUTE TO IRV KUPCINET

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, no newspaperman in Chicago is more respected or admired than Irv Kupcinet, columnist for the Chicago Sun-Times.

I have known Irv for a long, long time and while he is one of the great newspapermen of this country, he is also a truly warm and generous human being.

Irv Kupcinet is once again proving that he has more of a feeling for people than seeing their names appear in print. Tomorrow June 6, the 24th annual Purple Heart cruise is being held in Chicago. This yearly event, which was started by "Kup" in 1945, is a daylong boatride for some 600 veterans and GI's from Chicago area Veterans' Administration hospitals and training bases. The cruise was originally organized as a means of showing hospitalized veterans that they are not being forgotten and has continued as an expression of appreciation and remembrance. The money for the cruise is made possible by donations from donors of readers of Kup's column, which he has written since 1935. In addition, Chicago area manufacturers and distributors donate refreshments for the cruise.

Other cities conduct similar affairs for veterans, including cruises, but I believe that it was Irv Kupcinet who first came up with the idea of the boatride and this unique approach to showing appreciation to veterans is in keeping with the uniqueness of Irv Kupcinet, who was born in Chicago in 1912, began his newspaper career at the high school level at Chicago's Harrison High, and then went on to Northwestern University. He graduated from the Universty of North Dakota in 1934 and was selected for the college all star football team in 1935. He played pro football with the Philadelphia Eagles that same year, but his football career was cut short by a shoulder injury during his first season.

He joined the Chicago Times in 1935 as a sportswriter and 8 years later, he originated Kup's Column, which has been in print ever since.

In 1951 Kup went on TV with an interview show via the CBS outlet, WBBM–TV. "The Chicago Story" showcased local and national celebrities and was cited as an outstanding public service show. In January 1957, Kup joined NBC's "America After Dark" to emcee the Chicago pickups. In February 1959, he returned to WBBM as moderator of "At Random.' Kup also handles the color commentary on the Chicago Bears football broadcasts via WBN radio.

In 1960, the Jewish National Fund selected Kup as Man of the Year. He also received the Variety Club's Man of the Year honor as well as an Emmy award as "best contributor to local TV." In 1961, he was awarded a local Emmy as Television Man of the Year and another for "At Random" as "best entertainment program."

"Kup's Show," now in its 9th year and conducted on ABC every Saturday night has won nine Emmy awards and won the George Foster Peabody Award for excellence in 1967. Midwest Sports Special which Kup produced also won a 1964–65 local Emmy.

Kup is on the boards of Rabida, United Cerebral Palsy, and the American Cancer Foundation.

Mr. Speaker, some day it is my hope that a cruise can be held to honor Irv Kupcient for his generosity and kindness, particularly toward our Nation's veterans. Unfortunately, there is no ship in the world big enough to hold all of the friends and admirers of Irv Kupcinet.

AIR FORCE ACADEMY SCHOLARSHIP HONORS MICHIGAN VIETNAM HERO

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, regardless of which side we take in the debate over our involvement in Vietnam, we can agree, I think, that the degree of personal sacrifice, dedication, and bravery displayed by so many outstanding young Americans equals that of any past generation of American fighting men.

Unhappily, the recognition of that dedication and sacrifice too often has been neglected because of our great national preoccupation with the basic morality and commitment of our involvement in Vietnam.

That is why I was so pleased to learn recently that such recognition has been extended in a very meaningful way to one of the most dedicated and heroic of our fighting men, Lt. Karl W. Richter of Holly, Mich.

Lieutenant Richter, whom I had the honor and privilege of nominating to the Air Force Academy, was killed last August on his 198th combat mission in Vietnam.

At the time of his death, Lieutenant Richter had flown more combat missions than any other pilot in the war.

In addition to many other decorations, he was posthumously awarded the Air Force Cross in February.

Just last week plans were announced to commemorate the life of this fine young man with the establishment of a memorial scholarship in his name at the U.S. Air Force Academy.

The scholarship was established by the nonprofit Falcon Foundation and the Republic Aviation Division of Fairchild Hiller Corp.

It will provide a year's preparatory study for qualified young men desiring to enter the Air Force Academy.

I can think of no finer tribute to this young man's memory and no finer reminder to us all of the sacrifice he made so unselfishly.

"CONGRESS SEEKS A SYSTEMS APPROACH"—AN ARTICLE BY ROBERT L. CHARTRAND, "DATAMATION," MAY 1968

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most valuable members of the staff of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress is Mr. Robert L. Chartrand, information sciences specialist there.

A political scientist with several years' experience in systems technology, he is the author of general studies for Congress covering the application of data processing and systems techniques to public problems and congressional operations.

I insert in the Record an excellent article by Mr. Chartrand in the May 1968 issue of "Datamation" entitled, "Congress Seeks a Systems Approach":

CONGRESS SEEKS A SYSTEMS APPROACH

(By Robert L. Chartrand)

The United States has achieved and sustained its position as a great power in a changing world because of its bountiful resources, the ingenuity and industry of the citizenry, and its utilization of the significant technological advances of the past few decades.

The impact of technological change has been felt in all sectors of society—business, commerce, government, and the academic world—and a pattern of continual adjustment has been necessary on the part of management, labor, and the consumers. The responsibility of governing the nation necessarily is a cause for concern on the part of the leadership within the federal government. In striving to cope with a new set of problems generated by an ever-growing and complex society with a high degree of population mobility, the nation's leaders not only must ensure national security but also must make every attempt to provide a rising standard of living.

In the years following the Second World War the decision-makers and planners have faced the indisputable fact that while this country is more richly endowed than any other in history, its resources are not unlimited. Therefore, those who govern must determine how to preserve our heritage while still responding to the needs of society. The problems of the 1960 decade demand an expertise that must be at the same time diversified and detailed. The challenge of our times is set forth in the recent report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress:

> Our problem is to marshal the needed technologies, some of which are known and some not yet known. If we are to clean up our environment, enhance human personality, enrich leisure time, make work humanly creative, and restore our natural resources, we shall need inventiveness in the democratic decision making process as well as in the needed technologies.[1]

With the development of new devices and associated techniques, those in authority have called for a re-examination of the role of technology in solving the crucial problems in the public domain. Air and water pollution control, transportation planning, solid waste disposal, natural resources preservation, and urban renewal and expansion are among the problems forcing federal, state, and local planners to seek new methodology.

A realization has evolved at all levels of responsibility that one essential facet of management planning is the structuring of salient information so that relationships are identifiable, and thus meaningful. Gradually, government agencies and private corporations have incorporated carefully planned procedures for delineating goals and programs. The "systems approach," initiated early in the century by Frederick W. Taylor in his concept of "scientific management," now has become an accepted part of management's mode of operation.

The techniques associated with systems analysis and operations research, and such "tools" as automatic data processing (adp), have achieved acceptance in the federal government, particularly in the executive branch. Today, the legislative branch is beginning to perceive the value of the systems approach, both in terms of its daily operations and in connection with the formulation of creative legislative solutions to many of the problems facing society.

THE SYSTEMS APPROACH

The wartime emphasis on sharply compressed development of new weapons systems was translated successfully into tangible results through a combination of the use of operations research techniques, unlimited financial and material resources, and the creation of a new group of uniquely oriented scientific manpower. In the post-war years, new organizations such as the RAND Corp. came into being and functioned effectively in assisting federal planners conduct complex studies, primarily of defense-oriented problems.

Systems analysis achieved formal recognition as an integral part of federal management during the Kennedy Administration. Charles J. Hitch, formerly of RAND, was chosen Comptroller of the Department of Defense (DOD) and was responsible for injecting the use of systematic quantitative analysis into the mainstream of Pentagon planning. The new concept of operation within DOD was called the Planning-Programming-Budgeting System (PPBS), and was considered to be so effective that late in 1965 President Johnson directed the Bureau of the Budget to implement the system in all executive departments and establishments. Executive commitment to the PPBS concept was reinforced in a late-1966 Presidential memorandum to the heads of departments and agencies, informing the recipients that they must:

Train and recruit the necessary staff.

Subject objectives, programs, costs, and accomplishments to systematic and continuous review.

Search for new ana more effective ways of accomplishing objectives.

Relate analysis explicitly to budget requests so that those requests follow from and support comprehensive and well-thought-out agency plans.[2]

Specific directions regarding procedures to be followed in implementing PPBS were set forth in supplementary documentation, which identified two forms as being essential to the success of the system: the Program and Financial Plan, and the Program Memorandum. The Program and Financial Plan provides a listing of program outputs (i.e., "services" or "equipment") and program inputs, which are denoted as items of cost or related financial data. The Program Memorandum contains detailed narrative and statistical data on each program identified in the Program and Financial Plan, and is issued on an annual basis.

An adjunct to the introduction of innovative procedures and techniques into federal operations has been the growing use of adp equipment. The June 30, 1967, computer inventory indicates 3,000 units while procurement and operating expenses for fiscal 1967 approximated $1.2 billion.[3] Since virtually all adp capability resides within the executive branch, the lack of comparable tools and techniques to support the legislative branch has led to the first stages of corrective action by the Congress.

CONGRESS IN OUR TIME

The demands upon the Congressman of today are legion. He must be a veritable Everyman, cognizant of several dozen major and minor issues of key significance to the nation as a whole, his party, the political unit which he represents, and the various elements of his constituency. He must master and work within the intricacies of a framework founded nearly 200 years ago, and yet be attuned to the personalities and procedures of the present. His handling of information must be well timed, highly selective, and reflect the constraints of protocol and pragmatism. In commenting upon this distinctive milieu, Dr. Charles R. Dechert points out that:

> . . . the Congress as a corporate body within the governmental structure is essentially an information processing and decision system, characterized by an extremely complex internal network of channels and filters, with some flux in membership and communications nodes.[4]

As the population of the United States increases, and the problems which accompany this growth are reflected in legislation, it may be useful to recall the mounting pressures upon the individual Congressman. For example, in the days of our nation's beginning, a member of the House of Representatives would be elected by a constituency averaging 33,000 persons; today's Representative comes from a district averaging 460,000 constituents. The volume of legislation which must be dealt with is of awe-inspiring proportions: during the first session of the 90th Congress (1967), more than 20,000 public and private bills and resolutions were introduced in the two chambers.

Each Congressman serves as a member of several committees and subcommittees, spending hours considering agenda items and hearing testimony. In addition, he is called to the chamber floor for quorum calls, yea and nay calls, and division, teller, and voice votes by the hundred.

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[1] National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. Technology and the American Economy, v. 1. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., February 1966, p. xiii.

[2] Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget. Memorandum from the President to the heads of departments and agencies on the government-wide planning, programming, and budgeting system, November 21, 1966. In weekly compilation of Presidential documents, v. 2, n. 46, November 21, 1966. p. 1705–1706.

[3] Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget. Statement of Philip S. Hughes, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, before the House Committee on Government Operations, Subcommittee on Government Activities, on data processing management in government. Washington. July 18, 1967. p. 8.

[4] Dechert, Charles R. Availability of information for Congressional operations. In Congress: the first branch of government. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1966, p. 168.

The contemporary Congressman has every incentive to discover new ways to function more effectively. He and his limited staff are hard pressed to collect, filter, assimilate, and recall the pertinent information which will help answer a given problem. The dilemma of the overworked Congressional staff is not easily solved, for in addition to supporting the member in legislative matters, there is a heavy load of constituent-related work. Correspondence from constituents may run as high as several thousands of letters a day. The office staff also must screen large numbers of telephone calls and play host to many visitors.

So numerous are the requests for information that the Congressional office must utilize all possible resources. In many instances, requests will be relayed to the appropriate executive branch agency; on other occasions, support will be obtained from the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, or perhaps some group from the private sector (e.g., universities or lobbyist organizations). With all of these pressures upon them, many Congressmen are commencing to examine seriously the potential of the systems approach in handling some of their legislative and administrative problems.

COMPUTER SUPPORTER FOR THE CONGRESS

Within the past two years, there has been discernible interest on the part of Congressional members in the application of information technology to various aspects of legislative functioning. Consideration of this approach was addressed by the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, under the leadership of Senator A. S. Mike Monroney and Representative Ray J. Madden. A number of specific recommendations designed to modernize the organization, operations, and support capabilities of the Congress was prepared. Among these, as embodied in the Legislative Reorganization Act which has passed the Senate and now is being considered by the House of Representatives, is a provision for the creation of a computer facility to support the Congress.

Other sections related to the use of systems technology established the responsibility for the continuing study of adp for Congress with the proposed Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, and called for the development of a standardized information and data processing system for budgetary and fiscal data for use by all federal agencies.

In addition to the provisions found in the Legislative Reorganization Act, a series of bills have been introduced by a bi-partisan group of House members calling for the establishment of an adp facility which would support exclusively the Congress. Representative Robert McClory, who introduced the first bill for such a facility late in the 89th Congress, repeatedly has urged his colleagues to consider realistically the need for improved information handling by Congressional elements.

Congressional awareness of its information problems has led some of the members to discuss common problems with outside groups such as the American Political Science Association, and to request surveys and studies of the information problem. In a report prepared for general distribution to the Congress entitled "Automatic Data Processing for the Congress," several priority applications where adp could be useful were identified and discussed;[5] Fig. 1 presents a listing of the candidate task areas. In some instances, the Congress as a whole might benefit; in other cases, the functioning committee or individual Congressman would be the chief beneficiary. Included for consideration were: a current schedule of committee hearings and meetings, summary information on issues up for vote, an automated index-catalog of Congressional documents, histories of committee action, the content and status of pending legislation, and an adp-oriented Selective Dissemination of Information (SDI) system to retrieve key subject matter information and materials which would be responsive to the requirements of the member or committee.

FIGURE 1

Candidate applications for congressional use of adp and the systems approach

Legislative Functioning

Status of pending legislation.
Current schedule of committee and subcommittee activity.
Authorization and appropriations data.
Topical research information and statistical data.
Computer-oriented index of Congressional documents.
Pre-vote information on major issues.
Post-vote analytical information.
Information on federal contract awards.

Administrative Functioning

Histories of committee and subcommittee activity.
Lobbyist activity information.
Constituent interest file.
Constituent correspondence file.
Congressional payroll accounts.
Current Congressional telephone book.

Initial steps now are being taken to provide enhanced support to the Congress. The Legislative Reference Service has designed a computer-centered system which allows entering identifying and synoptic information on bills and resolutions introduced in both chambers of the Congress via keyboard terminals to a remote computer. Also, selected bibliographic data are being placed on magnetic tape for the future generation of lists of selected references.

Information technology today is able to allow the operational implementation of certain needed improvements. The decision as to when and where systems technology is to be applied resides, appropriately, with the Congress itself.

LEGISLATING A SYSTEMS APPROACH

The United States Congress has moved to position itself to better address the many problems now facing our civilization. Age-old questions are being asked, but with a new urgency. On what projects should we spend federal funds? How much needs to be spent? What should be the scheduling for these expenditures? The society which for the past generation has empowered its representatives to place overwhelming emphasis on defense, space, and nuclear energy developmental projects now is demanding that increased attention be given to the new series of problems which touch the daily lives of all citizens.

Organizations and establishments in the private and public sectors have begun to review their ability to meet the new challenges. Realistic plans for urban renewal and expansion, environmental pollution control, precision design of transportation networks, and other problems are achievable only after intensive, imaginative planning.

Among the first members of the Congress to consider the possible advantages of using the systems approach in the new problem areas was Senator Gaylord Nelson. In his Scientific Manpower Utilization Act, he stressed the need to mobilize the scientific and engineering manpower of the nation and to employ systems analysis and engineering in support of these scarce skilled groups. Senator Nelson also called upon state and local governments and private enterprise to apply their resources to the fight against these specters of disaster:

> Nothing short of a massive effort by industry and government at every level will solve this problem. This can be done only after a total analysis of the problem and development of an overall program of action.[6]

The need to forge a strong business-government action group also is championed by Representative F. Bradford Morse. Both in the 89th and 90th Congresses he has served as spokesman for a group of nearly 50 House Republicans calling for the establishment of a National Commission on Public Management. Similar legislation has been introduced in the upper chamber by Senator Hugh Scott and more than a dozen colleagues. The Morse-Scott approach concentrates upon the need for further study of the applicability of systems technology to civil problems. Representative Morse believes that:

> We are on the threshold of an entirely new approach to the solution of these public problems. Long-standing relationships between government and business will, of necessity, have to be exerted through the evolution, testing, and full utilization of more forceful, imaginative techniques and devices.[7]

As the result of discussions between Senator Nelson, Senator Scott and Representative Morse, efforts are underway to merge the grants-in-aid approach of Senator Nelson—wherein a state office or university receives funds for the development of a pilot project—with the Morse-Scott proposal.

Other Congressional activity reflects the alternative ways in which systems technology may be applied, including the use of systems analysis and PPBS techniques in organizing federal research and operational efforts in pollution abatement. Another development involved the projected study of how adp and systems procedures might be applied to the administration of the courts of the United States; this was contained in the Federal Judicial Center legislation. Thus, the areas in which Congress is beginning to see the desirability of including direct provision or recommended consideration for the use of systems tools and techniques are increasing in number.

The solution to many of our problems will not be reached without a considerable struggle, and we must scrutinize most thoroughly how our national resources are to be distributed between the defense-space-nuclear power programs and the new areas demanding attention. President Kennedy's concern over the existing imbalance in spending and manpower prompted him to caution the nation that:

> . . . in the course of meeting specific challenges so brilliantly, we have paid a price by sharply limiting the scarce scientific and engineering resources available to the civilian sector of the economy.

Positive corrective action is taking place within the legislative branch as the policy makers there, together with the leadership of the executive branch, strive to apply the nation's resources to the problems of the age.

SUMMARY

The Congress gradually is charting a course which may allow it to function more effectively in relieving the pressures and solving the problems created by an expanding, urbanized society. Positive action has been initiated to consider the ways in which systems management and planning, operations research and analysis, econometrics, simulation and modeling, and automatic data processing devices and techniques might be applied to assist the Congressman as he fulfills these roles:

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[5] Chartrand, Robert L. Automatic data processing for the Congress. In U.S. Congress. Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress. Organization of Congress. Hearings before the Joint Committee, Part 15, Appendix. (89th Cong., 2nd sess., 1966). p. 2313–2317.

[6] U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Special Subcommittee on the Utilization of Scientific Manpower. Scientific manpower utilization, 1965–66. Hearings before the Special Subcommittee (89th Cong., 1st sess., November 18, 1965). p. 16. [Remarks by Senator Gaylord Nelson].

[7] Morse, F. Bradford. Private responsibility for public management. In Harvard Business Review, v. 45, n. 2, March/April 1967, p. 7.

As a legislator, responsible for studying, debating, and making decisions regarding issues of national and international scope;

As a representative of his district or state, with prime responsibility for its welfare, relationship to other governmental units, and the legislation concerning its people; and

As an ombudsman of sorts, looked to by each individual constituent as the point of contact for assistance in any one of a thousand forms.

The burdens imposed by these roles are causing increasing numbers of Congressmen to ask what may be done *now* to alleviate the problem of "too much to do and too little time or staff." The systems approach does not represent a complete solution to the dilemmas faced either by the Congress or by society at large. The complexities of our civilization are causing the nation's leadership to reassess the political and technological systems which comprise and affect our government. In support of this objective, the systems approach can constitute a powerful mechanism to be used by the decision-makers who are responsible for the welfare of the nation.

STUDENT REPORTERS IN VIETNAM—X

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, Lee Dembart is one of two students sent to Vietnam by the Phoenix, student newspaper of Queens College, to report the war. His dispatches have been among the most professional examples of reporting that I have seen.

In his latest article, he describes the confusion on goals in our war efforts and especially the vital differences between the American and the South Vietnamese views of the conflict.

The article follows:

(By Lee Dembart)

SAIGON.—In a recent article in *Harper's* magazine, Pulitzer-prize winning correspondent David Halberstam noted, "I have never been a dove or a hawk—few reporters who have spent any length of time here are."

I wish I had read that before I agreed to be the dove in this project.

For every day that I am here I discover I know less than I did the day before. The war now seems to me to be neither right nor wrong, just nor unjust, defendable nor attackable, winnable nor loseable. In short, there is enough material here to justify any preconceived view and enough counter material to prove it wrong. Maybe that's why there's so much confusion about what's going on in Vietnam.

Many of the factors I thought were extremely important I discovered are insignificant. And many of the factors I had never even thought about I discovered are the crucial issues of the conflict. I will try to discuss some of them in this report.

But before coming to the more substantive matters, a few words about the press corps, I think, are in order. There is widespread dissatisfaction among students and others in the United States with the coverage of the Vietnam war provided by the mass media. While I cannot claim to have made any contribution to changing the situation, I believe now more firmly than ever that the really salient facts about U.S. presence here do go largely unreported.

The press by and large makes no attempt to distinguish crucial issues from reports of military encounters, casualty figures, and U.S. government statements. This is a major and significant failing and accounts for much of the misinformation about the war that is so widespread.

It happens for a variety of reasons, and, like most unfortunate aspects of American culture, no one person or organization can be blamed. The news media in Vietnam all have a very commercial function to perform—whether it be to sell detergents or automobiles—and the result, as in so many other things, is that they must cater to the lowest common denominator of American society.

If you're working in television, for example, you have to produce visual stories—film footage. A story that doesn't have any film with it may get a sentence or two in passing on the half-hour network news show, but it cannot aspire to much more than that. Unfortunately, analytical pieces do not make good television.

What does make good television is combat. And the networks sometimes go to rather extraordinary lengths to get film of men fighting, or, to be more accurate, men shooting. For television news here, as elsewhere, has a certain element of madeupness to it. Daniel Boorstin's analysis of the pseudo-event applies to coverage of the Vietnam war.

Despite all of television's resources, and despite the fact that each of the three networks sends film from Vietnam seven days a week, how much of what comes across the flickering tube bears remembering? Outside of Morley's Safer's report from Cam Ne three years ago (where a soldier fired up a village with his cigarette lighter), little if any television film deserves saving an hour after it's appeared on the screen.

The wire services—AP and UPI—deserve even lower grades for their work in Vietnam. At least television admits that its business is entertainment. The wire services claim theirs is information, though there's little informative that comes from the thousands of words they put out of Vietnam every day.

Military action, planes downed, pilots recovered, Pat Nugent, ships arriving on station—you name it and the wires will cover it. What they usually don't cover, though, is anything that has to do with the Vietnamese government ("Americans don't care about that," they say), or with the political and economic developments spurred by the American Embassy ("Too difficult to explain").

The result is that you can read a year's worth of wire copy from Vietnam and still not have the slightest idea what's going on. Yet since most newspapers carry little more than wire service reports about the war, that's all that most Americans ever get to read.

There are a few top-notch people here. Robert Shaplen of *The New Yorker* is undeniably the most knowledgeable person about Vietnam in the country. He is followed closely by Denis Warner of *The Reporter*. If one were to read all of the dispatches of these two men, he would know more about what's happening in Vietnam—and why—than anyone in the White House, the State Department, or the Pentagon.

For more day-to-day coverage of the war, the people to read are Peter Kann in *The Wall Street Journal* and Beverly Deepe in *The Christian Science Monitor*. I tend to think that if the rest of the 600-odd correspondents here would go home, the world's knowledge would suffer not in the least.

More important than how the war is being reported is how the war is going and what the prospects are for the future.

Let me say at the outset that I haven't the faintest idea what the United States should do. At a time when there is at least one plan for every advisor and one more for every academician, I have no suggestions. Three months here have served more to confuse than to enlighten me. I am grateful for the confusion.

In the past 90 days I have flown more than 7,000 miles throughout Vietnam visiting places as far north as Hue and as far south as Ca Mau. I have talked with soldiers, civilians, district officials, province advisors, and American and Vietnamese government leaders. The result has been a bevy of contradicting analyses and predictions. What's more, the facts support most of them.

I have made a few discoveries, though, and the first of them is that the United States government feels no compunction to tell the truth. It has yet to realize that there is no logical connection between the war being right and the war proceeding smoothly. One could be the case without the other being the case, though the government refuses to admit that.

Because the war is right, it says, all facets of it must be positive. All military actions must be victories, the pacification program must be a smashing success, and Vietcong activities must be failures. And if the facts do not come out that way, so much the worse for the facts.

Government information officers are public relations men, and, like all public relations men, their dedication is to portraying their client in the best possible light. And if that portrayal bears little resemblance to reality, well, so what?

Which is not to say that all government officials are unaware of the public relations attitude that is forced on them or that they approve of it. In the April issue of *The Atlantic*, James C. Thomson Jr., one of the architects of United States Vietnam policy from 1961–66, observed, "As the Vietnam controversy escalated at home, there developed *a preoccupation with Vietnam public relations as opposed to Vietnam policy-making*." (Italics Thomson's.)

It is a serious problem, because the United States government is qualitatively different from General Motors and Standard Oil and the NAACP. These are all private organizations with private interests and little responsibility to the community at large. But the government is responsible to all of us, and it would be encouraging if it began to act that way.

Lest I be misunderstood, I should point out that I have no reason to complain personally about my treatment here. Except for one or two unfortunate incidents that involved particular individuals, military and civilian officials alike have gone out of their way to help me.

Whenever I wanted to go somewhere I was able to get there, and whenever I wanted to see something in particular, arrangements were always made. Far from there being any attempt to keep me from seeing things I wanted to see, there were always helicopters, escorts, and information provided when I asked for them.

What I am complaining about is the United States government's insistence on saying the war is going well regardless of what the facts show and everybody here knows.

A case in point—and probably the most flagrant example in recent days—is the pacification program. Ambassador Robert Komer, who was sent to Vietnam as President Johnson's personal emissary, held a press conference recently and told reporters, "The bulk of our pacification assets are intact. We're moving increasingly back into the countryside. In effect, we've sort of absorbed the Tet setback and we're on a recovery curve."

I have yet to speak with any American advisor in the field who agrees with that assessment. To be sure, pacification teams are moving back into the hamlets, but as Komer himself pointed out in another part of his press conference, "The chief damage is psychological rather than physical."

And you don't overcome psychological damage simply by moving the Revolutionary Development teams back into the hamlets.

More to the point, while Komer paints a rosy picture of the pacification program, his representatives in the provinces are far from optimistic. It is especially frustrating because it is Komer, and not the province-based advisors, who reports back to Washington.

The major question remains, of course, what about the war? And it is this question I have no answer for. Whatever the results of United States actions here—and the results have been some of the most horrifying sights I have ever seen—at least our motives are more or less honorable.

American presence here is not spurred either by economic interest or by a desire to colonize the country, though all evidence points to the fact that South Vietnam will remain tremendously dependent on us long after the war ends.

Not that motives justify actions, but let us not forget that the other side is performing its share of atrocities as well; the Vietcong is not a pleasant band of agrarian reformers being tortured and killed by American imperialists. One of the problems of leadership in this country has been the Vietcong's habit of kidnapping and murdering village and district officials loyal to the government. At least the United States is not guilty of that—except, perhaps, in the case of Ngo Dinh Diem.

Besides which, I fail to see the connection between the brutality of a war and its rightness. Unless one adopts a complete pacifist position—which I am not willing to do—it becomes impossible to argue from the fact that the war is horrible to the conclusion that the war is wrong. Not that I would deny either of the two claims. But I do deny that there is a logical connection between the two.

I realize at this point that I am becoming clinical and seemingly very cold. The sight of American and Vietnamese battle dead is not a pleasant one, especially when the cadavers are not zipped up in body bags and laid out in neat rows, but are strewn about, frozen in agonized pain, coated with blood, and beginning to decompose in the tropical heat. I can sympathize with those who would look on such a scene and shout, "Stop this war at all costs!" I can sympathize, but I find it difficult to agree, even when I remind myself, "There but for the grace of God . . ."

There must be some way to talk about war that is neither antiseptic nor irrationally emotional. But I have not found it.

I have personally seen too much suffering and agony and destruction and death to put them out of my mind in talking and thinking about the war. But I have also observed, both here and in the United States, what happens to reason when all one can think of is the brutality and killing. (For example, "LBJ, LBJ, How many kids did you kill today?")

There are many theories about the war and many proposed solutions. They can all be defended and they can all be attacked. And one of the prime reasons for the confusion has been a lack of clarity about exactly what our goals here are. Is this a war to save South Vietnam, or is this a war to stop the yellow peril, China? Now it's one, and now it's the other.

If the United States were seriously committed to the defense of South Vietnam for its own sake and to enabling the South Vietnamese to establish their own government free of pressure from those who would seek to take it over by armed force, I would be tempted to say the war is justifiable, though I am not convinced it is justifiable to the extent of $30 billion and 10,000 lives a year.

But no one here believes the official rhetoric; no matter whom you talk to, the final justification for the war is the United States interest in containing Red China. Hence our frustration at the insistence of the South Vietnamese that they play a major role in determining policy. From the American point of view, this war has nothing whatever to do with the South Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese, for their part, find our attitude particularly difficult to understand. For the war here was going on for 20 years before the massive intervention of American combat troops in 1965. We usually forget that. From the American standpoint it is an American war. And from the Vietnamese standpoint it is a Vietnamese war.

All of the solutions proposed so far deal with extricating the United States and achieving American goals. No major plan has yet to come to grips with the future of the Vietnamese or with insuring their safety following an eventual American withdrawal. As such, the Vietnamese are rightly concerned about the prospect of being "abandoned" by the Allies.

They also have considerable justification for their fear of a coalition government. While coalition might be a neat solution as far as the Americans are concerned—it would end the fighting for a while and permit an American withdrawal without any loss of face—the long-range prospects of a coalition government are far from encouraging to the South Vietnamese.

For as one Vietnamese official pointed out to me some weeks ago, the history of coalitions involving Communist parties has hardly shown that they result in stable governments.

Either the Communists take over complete control, as they did in Czechoslovakia, or they effectively withdraw from the government, as they have done in Laos.

This line of reasoning has been echoed by several American officials I have spoken to. The consensus here is that a coalition government involving the NLF would be a temporary solution at best, and that a coalition government that did not include the NLF would be no solution at all.

As Foreign Minister Tran Van Do told me two weeks ago, "The word 'coalition government' is not well understood. You cannot accept a political party in the government with armed forces behind it. It's impossible. I agree with you that the NLF is a political group, but you cannot accept them in the government in a country where they have powerful armed forces."

Of course, rejecting NLF participation in the government effectively disenfranchises a large number of South Vietnamese from representation in Saigon. For the Communists do enjoy widespread political support in many areas of the country, although it is impossible to judge how much of that support is due to coercion and how much is due to actual agreement with the NLF position.

But it does seem fair for the Saigon government to say that it will not allow into the government any group bent on destroying it. Should the Vietcong achieve such overwhelming support that the government could not keep them out of power, there would be a serious question about who the legitimate government is anyway. If such a question exists now, it should be clear that whoever the rightful government of South Vietnam is, it is not the National Liberation Front.

(The question, by the way, is far from academic. During Tet, when the Vietcong came within an ace of capturing some government facilities, many Americans asked what would have happened if the Communists had taken over the capital. The United States is here ostensibly at the invitation of the government of South Vietnam, and if that government were to fall, the United States would be in the sticky position of having either to get out or declare war on the new government.)

One of the continuing debates about the war in Vietnam is whether it is a civil war or a war of aggression. Those who maintain it is a civil war claim that the 1954 temporary demarcation line—the DMZ—is a political fiction, and that since Vietnam, North and South, is really one country, the matter is an internal affair.

Those who hold the present situation is due to aggression from the North claim that North and South Vietnam are two distinct countries with the North attempting forcibly to take over the South.

I do not know of any issue that is less significant in deciding either what is happening in Vietnam or what ought to be done about it. The facts seem clear enough: what began as infiltration and subversion from the North has become full scale military support from Hanoi for the forces seeking to overthrow the government in Saigon. And that military support includes the presence of regular North Vietnamese units throughout the I Corps Tactical Zone and, to a less extent, in the II Corps Tactical Zone.

Only last week a highly placed United States military source reported that 70 percent of the regular, fulltime Vietcong combat troops are now North Vietnamese regulars.

The question whether North Vietnam is a separate country—and hence whether this is a civil war or a war of aggression—is practically irrelevant.

For even if it is decided that this is a civil war involving Vietnamese, there is no reason why the United States—or anyone else—cannot come to the aid of one side or the other.

At this point it can hardly be debated that since 1956, when the Geneva-mandated elections failed to take place and Hanoi was denied the opportunity of taking over control of the entire country, the North Vietnamese have been attempting to gain that control by other than political means.

The successes they have achieved testify to the failure of the succession of governments in Saigon, from Ngo Dinh Diem to the present Thieu-Ky regime. Even Buddhist leader Thich Nhat Hanh admits in his book, *Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire*, that the majority of South Vietnamese people would have been willing to support Diem if he had made any attempt to improve conditions in the countryside.

But when Diem and those who followed him did not, the door was left open for the Communists to assume control of the rural areas of Vietnam, filling the vacuum left by the government. The Vietcong still maintains that control throughout large regions of the country.

And what is the American response to Communist control of a village? Level it.

The result has been an increasing separation between Saigon and the provinces, a separation which the pacification program, representing the government, has so far been unable to bridge.

Only since the Tet offensive has the government, spurred by USAID, made any significant attempt to bring the provincial people closer to it. As Komer explained at his press conference, "We're emphasizing show-the-flag operations to push territorial security forces back into the countryside." But the charge of "too little and too late" can very easily be made.

In addition to providing minimum security for the outlying areas, the government, with the help of the Americans, is also attempting to keep open the major roads linking Saigon with the provinces. And it is achieving a reasonable amount of success.

The importance of keeping the roads open is twofold. First, it is visible proof of the government's presence, and second and more important, it enables the farmer to get his produce to the city while at the same time allowing manufactured goods to move from the city to the provinces.

One of the most important roads in the country is National Highway 4, linking Ca Mau, in the southern part of the Mekong Delta, with Saigon, by way of Can Tho, the Delta's major city.

The Mekong Delta is one of the most fertile rice-producing areas in the world, so if the government intends to feed its people, it must keep Route 4 open. According to U.S. government sources, traffic on the road is normal as far south as Can Tho (about 110 miles from Saigon), but is still well below normal south of Can Tho. A number of incidents are reported along the road every night, although recently they have tailed off.

In the absence of more reliable and detailed information (I have not been to the Delta in more than a month), it seems safe to conclude that the Route 4 is being kept open, though probably at high cost to the government in terms of the number of troops tied up.

The other major road in the country is National Highway 1, which runs west to east from the Cambodian border, through Saigon to the coast and then north along the coast to the DMZ. Last Sunday I rode 60 miles by car west along Highway 1 without incident, though several Vietnamese peasants who we asked told us the VC controlled the area by night. Truck traffic along the road was generally heavy.

If the government can continue to keep the roads relatively secure, that alone will be a major achievement which should add to its prestige and support in the provinces.

What about the American involvement here? As I have tried to indicate, the American goals are distinctly different from the Vietnamese goals, though the two sets often are blended into one with very confusing results. And as I have also tried to indicate, the major American goal deals not with the Vietnamese at all, but with the Chinese.

For the United States is only now beginning to move out of its John Foster Dulles approach to world affairs, particularly to Southeast Asia. And the Dulles approach is based almost totally on the well-known, often simplified, and highly dubious domino theory.

The trouble with the domino theory now is that one can't get any reliable, objective assessment of it. One set of experts, who have committed themselves to favoring the war, says the domino theory does apply that is, if Vietnam "falls," it will be followed inevitably by Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Japan, and so on.

Another set of experts, who have committed themselves to opposing the war, says the domino theory does not apply. They base their argument on the fact that a unique series of circumstances came together in Vietnam enabling the Communists to make significant headway here.

But, they claim, those circumstances are not duplicated anywhere else in Asia, making it highly unlikely that a "war of national liberation" would be as successful elsewhere as it has been here.

This position has been very clearly spelled out in detail recently in two lengthy articles, the first by Takashi Oka in the March 23 *New Republic* ("What the South Vietnamese Want"), and the second by Donald Zagoria in the April 21 *New York Times* ("The Domino Theory—Does It Stand Up?").

I mention these two articles not because I agree with them or endorse their position, but because together they offer the sharpest attacks on the domino theory yet advanced. Whether they are in fact correct, I cannot judge.

The problem here is not whether the domino theory is right or wrong, though it certainly would be helpful if we could know, but rather that we have no way of determining whether it is right or wrong. Those who favor the war say it is an accurate prediction of the future—and hence we must stop the Communists now—and those who oppose the war say it is not an accurate prediction of the future—and hence we are wasting time, money, and human resources in the defense of Vietnam.

What cannot be denied is that there has been increasing rebel activity against the established governments in Laos, Cambodia, and Northern Thailand. I say "rebel" activity rather than "Communist" activity because, except in the case of Laos, there is no clear evidence that Communists rather than nationalists are behind any of the activity.

The force of nationalism, which at the moment is the dominant force in Southeast Asia, is one which the United States has never learned to deal with sensibly, always mistaking it for Communist-led or Communist-inspired trouble making.

In fact, a very good case can be made for the argument that many Vietnamese who have since become Vietcong started out simply as nationalists, but were forced by the French, then by Diem, and finally by the United States to become Communists, the Communists being the only organized anti-foreign movement in the country.

The domino theory accounts for none of these unique elements or for anything other than a monolithic Communist scheme to take over the world. As such it must be considered highly doubtful when applied to pluralistic problems in pluralistic cultures. And the wisdom of United States presence in Vietnam, which rests on that theory, is similarly undermined.

Even conceding that the domino theory is correct, though (and there is no conclusive evidence that it is not correct), there is still another important question about what United States military presence here is doing to stop the falling dominoes.

I think in the long run it is doing very little. For better or worse, the hundreds of thousands of American solders here are turning this country into a nation of beggars. One is constantly badgered by Vietnamese who either want money or food or are offering you a taxi ride or a cyclo ride or a woman or black market money changing.

Soon after I first arrived I complained to a friend of mine who had been here awhile that I thought the Vietnamese were very arrogant.

"Yes," he said. "Americans don't like to be treated the way they treat everyone else."

At first I didn't understand what he was saying. But later, after I had observed American-Vietnamese relationships, it became all too clear. Americans for the most part are cultural imperialists, as the Peace Corps would say. We are very culturally intolerant. We are annoyed when people cannot speak English, and ignore the fact that the burden is on us to learn the language of the country where "we are the guests."

We want everyone to talk like Americans, act like Americans, dress like Americans, and think like Americans. The difficulty is that the Vietnamese have their own ideas about how society ought to be run and structured, and in many cases they don't coincide with ours. But we force our culture on them nevertheless.

One of the most disturbing consequences of the American presence in Vietnam is the tremendous pressure to Americanize everything. It is bad enough that the military must create a little America wherever it goes, but these American enclaves spill over into the culture at large, and are quickly destroying it.

A young Vietnamese I know was explaining the use of certain words of respect in the Vietnamese language one day recently.

To the Vietnamese, he said, age is to be respected, so if you want to show respect for a lady, you call her "ba," which is the name for on older woman, as opposed to "co," which is how you address a younger woman. "Ba" is a very respectful word, while "co" is reserved for someone you know well.

But as a result of the American influence, he continued, where youth is respected, the Vietnamese have become very confused about whether to call a lady "ba" or "co," and the words are quickly losing their meaning.

Among soldiers, the strangeness of Vietnamese culture leads not to interest but to distrust. American soldiers refer to their Vietnamese allies as "gooks" and "slopes," and make no attempt to hide their dislike for the Vietnamese and their country. They talk to Vietnamese in a special kind of pidgin English that includes such phrases as "numbah one" (which means good) and "numbah ten" (which means bad) and "boocoo" (from the French, meaning many or much) and "dinky dau" (which means crazy). And the Vietnamese echo this strange talk.

Whatever progress the pacification program might make toward winning hearts and minds, it is more than outweighed by the damage that American soldiers do. There is not the slightest concern on the part of the military toward orienting soldiers to their new surroundings or teaching them even the most rudimentary do's and don'ts of Vietnamese culture.

It is not surprising, because the dislike of Vietnamese and their country extends as high up the chain of command as one wants to look.

I should add in this regard that I have met a number of GIs who do show a very human concern and understanding of this problem. There are many who are involved in civic action projects. But they are overwhelmingly in the minority.

The overall picture in Vietnam is not a promising one from the United States point of view. We are only now beginning to realize that the methods which have worked so well in industry—money and know-how—do not work well in solving human problems, whether those problems are poverty, civil rights, or the war in Vietnam.

Americans are characterized by a great naivete which tells them that all that is necessary to solve a problem is an idea and plenty of money. Unfortunately, problems are not so easily solved.

And continued frustration in Vietnam has led increasingly to more money and more troops and more dead and less success. When it became clear that our policy was not working well, our solution was to intensify it, not to scrap it and work out a new plan.

If the South Vietnamese are willing to fight, they have a legitimate cause in keeping the Communists from taking over control of their country. The now well documented mass executions of more than 1,000 people in Hue should sober those who favor a Communist takeover in Vietnam.

But I remain unconvinced that any of this is the United States' business, one way or the other. True, we do not always need selfish interests to justify our actions, but the cost to the United States has now become so great, and the priorities dictate so many other concerns that our energies should be devoted to, that it becomes difficult to offer any justification for American presence here.

I repeat once again that I have no suggestions for what policy should be adopted or how it should be carried out. This war is a muddled business at best, a misadventure, a mistake whose consequences we can only guess. But at the same time one is hard pressed to suggest any way out.

What is important is that we not allow either hysteria or blind patriotism to color our perceptions and keep us from finding a solution. I regret that I have nothing more profound to offer.

In the three months that I have spent here I have developed a great affection for this country and its people. I sympathize with their desire to end the war, but I also sympathize with the need for ending the war in a way that insures they will be able to choose their own future, chart their own course, and make their own decisions. I have no idea how that can be accomplished.

I conclude three months here with a tremendous sense of frustration—brought about both by the complexity of the problem and my own lack of understanding.

I am often reminded of a comment made by a fictional person, Thomas Fowler, the narrator of Graham Greene's *The Quiet American*. Speaking of himself and the rest of the Saigon press corps in the closing days of the Indochinese War, Fowler remarked, "My fellow journalists called themselves correspondents; I preferred the title of reporter. I wrote what I saw; I took no action—even an opinion is a kind of action."

NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS INFILTRATE LAOS: YET U.S. CRITICS IGNORE HANOI'S ESCALATION OF THEIR SIDE OF WAR

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, a statement by the Prime Minister of Laos to the National Assembly of that country has been brought to my attention. Prince Souvanna Phouma speaking on May 30 made a matter of official record the continued perfidious attack upon his country by troops of North Vietnam, despite the agreements of 1962.

Here there can be no confusion. The North Vietnamese are not Laotian. The line that separates the two countries cannot but be described as an international boundary. Here the aggression is clear.

Here the North Vietnamese cannot use the terms "sovereign and independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam," "all of Vietnam," "the great rear area," and so forth, to obscure their aggressive intent and to perpetrate the kind of hoax they still try to get away with in South Vietnam.

Here the aggressive, expansionist, imperialistic—if you will—character of the North Vietnamese Communist state and party is made clear.

As this brave statement on the part of the Laotian Prime Minister has received far less attention than it deserves, I place it at this point in the RECORD:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE SOUVANNA PHOUMA, PRIME MINISTER, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF LAOS BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON MAY 30, 1968

Members of the Assembly, now that the National Assembly is resuming its work, the Government wishes to submit to you for consideration, and possibly criticism, the record of its activities, carried out in the midst of problems with which you are well acquainted, since they affect the very lives of most of your constituencies. Moreover, the Government is responding in this way to the will of the people, who wish to know periodically where the affairs of the nation stand. Where, better than here and now, could a dialogue between the representatives of the people and the Government take place?

Our problems, need I say, are the product of war. For years, we have been suffering from external aggression. The Hanoi Government, betraying international public opinion and repudiating its signature, has violated every agreement that it has signed, in order to interfere in our internal affairs and support a rebellion which was insignificant at the outset and even today would not amount to much if North Viet-Nam did not support it militarily. Politically speaking, the Neo Lao Hak Sat is not a national movement. It owes its survival solely to the battalions of the Hanoi Government.

Thus, our problems have been created, enlarged, and kept in being by this aggression and subversion, which has imposed on us the crushing burden of an army of more than 60,000 men, including, among the youngest and most able-bodied of our people, men taken from our towns and cities but principally from the countryside, from their family fields which, without them, will surely go to ruin. This situation has now brought us nearly 600,000 refugees, who fled the communist areas, leaving everything behind them to escape the dictatorship of the Neo Lao Hak Sat. It has also caused our country to become a busy transit route for North Vietnamese troops on their way to South Viet-Nam. All this did not prevent North Viet-Nam from stating recently—and immediately afterwards the Neo Lao Hak Sat did the same—that our assertions are false and deceitful. North Viet-Nam denies the evidence. It chooses to ignore the prisoners, the deserters, the dead soldiers in uniform, the reports of the International Control Commission, the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and the statements of thousands of refugees. It denies everything outright in order to conceal its aggression and preserve Communist truth.

Members of the Assembly, these are the conditions under which the Government has been working for years, as you know better than anyone else. Thus, although I expect the inevitable criticisms, which are the normal prerogative of the Parliament, yet nothing can prevent me from thinking that in this Assembly, whose President was for long, and at very difficult times too, a man grappling with obstruction by the executive—nothing, I say, can prevent me from thinking that basically we take an identical view of the problems facing a government, any government, in exceptional circumstances. The word "miracle" is a prophet's word. It is also a gambler's word. It is not a word to be used by a head of government. We must consider affairs of state—that is, human affairs, seriously and objectively.

Our whole national problem consists, in the first place of resisting foreign aggression by every means. That is what we are doing. Secondly, it means developing our economy at the same time, with the aid of our friends abroad, according to a plan carefully drawn up by our Ministries, in which a choice of priorities is essential; for no one can have everything and do everything all at once.

Thus it is that we have sought to develop what first can be developed in this essentially agricultural country, so as to preserve our foreign-exchange position and make certain that our people are fed. Rice is the basic food. Once, we exported it. Today, because the Neo Lao Hak Sat and its friends are laying waste our countryside, we must import it. That is their idea of a prosperous Laos. Nevertheless, we are doing everything necessary to find a solution to this number one problem. Therefore, we have, together with our foreign friends, been studying possibilities for two annual harvests. Tests have been very encouraging, thanks to efficient irrigation, the selection of hardy and special strains, and the advice of highly competent experts. We have been able to expand pilot areas from 300 to 1,400 hectares in two years. This experiment is full of promise. We are going to apply it on a vast scale in every sector possible in the Kingdom. But I venture to draw your attention to the fact that farming is not easy, that it depends more than any other industry upon the weather; it requires peasant support of reforms, which is not always easy to obtain; and so forth. In short, we must be patient in this field.

Rice is not the only resource from the soil of Laos. Our forests supply good wood. The demand for it is constantly increasing. without neglecting to safeguard our forest patrimony, we sold during the year 1967–68 a million dollars worth of wood. Other products will soon be processed here in this country thanks to friendly assistance. The cotton, for example, that is found practically everywhere in Laos, will shortly be processed. This will be the start of small-scale industrialization in this field which holds great promise and which will form an adjunct to everything that is being done and that is being prepared on the pilot experimental farms, where excellent results have already been obtained. Diversification of our agricultural and forest products—this is the program that has been set in motion and to which successive governments must give their attention for many more years.

However, in this age, the needs of agriculture cannot be met by human labor alone, and the peasant must be assisted in mastering the water from the sky in all its forms. He must also be helped to transport that water. In short, another powerful, concentrated force must be added to the natural endeavors of man. The dam at Nam Ngum will be that powerful force. Certainly the project cannot be accomplished overnight. But it is now entering a more rapid phase. The contracts have just been awarded. In a few years the dam will make it possible to irrigate vast areas. The electric power it will supply will be distributed in our countryside. It will even go to a friendly neighboring country to aid in its development, thereby showing the peaceful nature of our projects and our work. We have other jobs under way and other projects: for example, a cement plant in the Thalat Region. A study is being done. For example, the construction of modern slaughterhouses in Vientiane, Savannakhet, and Pakse from which places will come shipments of inspected and refrigerated meats for domestic and foreign consumption. For example, the construction of a hydroelectric plant at Selabam and, in the near future, at Kiou Muok, etc.

Need I also speak to you of the construction and opening of the Luang Prabang secondary school? Need I tell you that one will be built in Pakse next year, that the Institute of Law and Public Administration and the School of Medicine have been modernized, the foundations for a new Ministry of National Education building laid, that more and more students have been admitted to our schools? Need I remind you that we recently took over the Operation Brotherhood Hospital staffs, that we have undertaken the construction of a new hospital at Vang Vieng, the improvement of the one at Paksane, the construction of a military hospital at Vientiane, and a new operating room at the Luang Prabang Hospital? Need I call to your attention the work being done on Highway 13, the improving of the streets in Vientiane, in Luang Prabang, and in other provinces, the construction of information centers, and the building for the national radio in Vientiane?

Perhaps I should also speak of the reorganization of the Ministry of Defense, of the training of government employees for a future role in civil defense, of the military service law, of re-forestation. of aid to refugees and disabled veterans. But I think that would go beyond the scope of this statement. If the Assembly so desires, a general debate can begin during which the Ministers of the Royal Government will give you all the desired explanations.

But before concluding I should like to take up one important point which I know you are very concerned about. I speak of the financial problem. The Minister of Finance has very valiantly faced a complex and difficult situation. Complex and difficult because, although to a certain degree we have control over our receipts and our expenditures, economic facts do not always obey assemblies and governments. The recent fluctuation of the gold market in Laos is an obvious example. The reasons are many. They lie outside our country and are subject to the capricious laws of fear, of confidence and of interest. Thus, one of our principal sources of income escapes our control and our estimates. The outstanding fact is that given the war situation which permits neither foreign nor domestic investment, because capital does not venture onto uncertain ground, we can only limit our ambitions and try to maintain prices while avoiding inflation and excessive expenditures, and while making the maximum number of reductions in public expenditures. There lies the heart of the problem for the finances of Laos. We cannot hope to produce, that is to say have receipts, when out of a population of three million, there are only seven to eight hundred thousand persons in the labor force to develop a rather vast country. Besides which, a good part of these people are engaged in unproductive tasks such as war, the administration, the police, subversion, etc. Only peace can bring production, investments, the creation of jobs, foreign capital, in short, wealth to this country. I submit the fundamental facts of the financial problem to you for reflection. Moreover, this is roughly the analysis by the International Monetary Fund, which recommends partial remedies while recognizing the important progress achieved by our Minsiter of Finance with the stabilization program.

Gentlemen, I venture to say that the results attained by the Administration is posiitive. The Government has done its very best to defend the national territory, to insure a continuity and a stability which are now more necessary than ever before.

We have tried to show to the nations that manifest good will toward the Kingdom the image of a responsible people in the face of foreign aggression, subversion and a series of unexpected natural disasters. At the United Nations, in Australia, in Japan, and in other countries, we have defended the cause of the Lao nation and we can say without boasting that our plea has been understood and that these countries have helped us in every possible way. However the Lao question is far from being settled. You have been following the conversations in Paris. They are extremely difficult.

The Hanoi Government pretends that the Lao question is totally unrelated to the events in Viet-Nam, whereas it is part of the same problem, since there are North Vietnamese troops in Laos supporting the Neo Lao Hak Sat. We must wait until reason and good sense illuminate these discussions. We will make our voice heard when that becomes necessary. In the meantime, faced with the very great dangers which still threaten us, we must think of the sacred national unity and not of petty, minor quarrels. Our august and venerated Sovereign has already reminded us of this many times. As respectful sons, let us obey the will of the Father of the Nation.

A PLAN TO ESTABLISH LOW-INCOME CO-OP HOUSING

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege to serve as a member of the House Republican urban affairs task force during this Congress. The Republican urban affairs task force has already conducted nine hearings on various phases of urban problems. The hearings have been most productive and rewarding to me as a Member of Congress since they have illuminated my thinking on the urban crisis.

The crisis in urban housing ranks among the most critical of our problems. The Republican urban affairs task force has addressed itself to the housing crisis on several occasions. Unfortunately though, time has not permitted us to pursue every phase of this crisis.

One individual who has outlined a very imaginative proposal for low-income cooperative housing, though not appearing before the urban affairs task force, is Mr. Bernard W. Gilbard, of Forest Hills, N.Y. I am pleased to enclose an outline of Mr. Gilbard's idea which merits the thoughtful attention of every Member of Congress:

A PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LOW INCOME COOPERATIVE HOUSING

I. ROOT CAUSES OF HOUSING BLIGHT

Millions of dollars have been spent in the past 25 years in New York City for urban renewal and rehabilitation, and yet the housing available per person according to U.S. Census Reports has not increased. The housing blight has continued to spread until now almost 25% of the land area in New York City is succumbing to deterioration and decay. The real estate tax on almost 2 billion dollars worth of assessed real estate is unpaid as of June 30, 1967, according to The New York City Record. These buildings stand in the shadow of in rem foreclosure by the City and abandonment by the owners.

Until now it has been impossible to provide low cost housing other than by subsidized public housing. This type of housing is, of course, not self-sustaining.

Further, as more low cost public housing has been constructed, it has drained tenants from private tenements in the neighborhoods in question, thus creating a fluid rental market and a downward spiral of rents in those buildings located in neighborhoods in the final stages of deterioration.

The loss of rental income in tenement buildings has forced sound buildings to become deteriorated, and deteriorated buildings to become dilapidated. Existing private buildings have been devastated and destroyed at a faster rate than they can be replaced by subsidized housing. Private tenements under present conditions cannot compete with subsidized public housing.

As the process continues, private ownership is being driven from the market. In its place we have more and more subsidized housing which will perpetually require support from public funds. It should be noted that approximately 20% of the gross rent roll in a private tenement building represents a source of revenue to the city through taxation.

The answer obviously does not lie in more subsidized housing alone. The solution to the problem must be to find a way to maintain the present housing stock while we proceed to build the needed additional housing supply.

Society must protect its buildings as it does its "orphan children". The willful conduct of either tenant or landlord should not be allowed to destroy what is a basic need of the community.

It is painfully clear that the solution to the housing problem has become much more perplexing and arduous in the last few years. The disease has become virulent. The approach has evidently been wrong. A way must be found to make an existing structure stable and self-sustaining. It is imperative that we examine and understand the basic problems involved in maintaining a tenement building.

Thirty-five percent of the gross rent roll, on an average, in a tenement building is used for equity financing. From this amount comes the money to pay interest and amortization on the mortgage, Federal, State and City Income Taxes and a profit, if any, to the owner.

Most tenement buildings are burdened with short term mortgages and high amortization (which means payment of the principal on the mortgage). If the amortization is higher than the depreciation on the building, which it often is, then there is a "paper profit", and an income tax must be paid although there may have been absolutely no cash profit to the owner.

Amortization on a marginal building is of dubious value since, when the mortgage is fully paid, the building may then itself be of dubious value because of lack of marketability. This type of amortization is not at all like amortization on a sound building, in a stable area, with a long-life expectancy, since paper profits may very likely materialize into real profits upon the sale of a sound building when the mortgage has been fully paid.

In addition, the owner of a tenement building usually computes his return on "cash flow," which may be regarded as his monthly wages drawn from the building. The lack of such return, and the illusory value of amortization on a marginal building would completely remove the owner's incentive.

In unstable and deteriorating areas, where the future existence of the building is in jeopardy, it is doubtful that an owner will invest the funds necessary for improvements and betterments. Yet, improvements must be made in older buildings as the need arises or the building will die. No matter how available the funds, no matter how low the interest, rehabilitation will not be undertaken unless the owner feels his investment is secure.

Experience has shown that unrealistic and harsh code enforcement alone without any effort to improve and stabilize the neighborhood will not succeed. Strict code enforcement may make operation of the building more precarious, but it won't compel an owner to throw good money after bad. It might even succeed in hastening the blight as the owner finds his equity wiped out as the cost of operation of the building increases. The owner's umbilical cord to the building is his equity interest. If his financial interest in the building is destroyed, he has no reason to continue operation. As a sound building is caught up in the current of advancing blight, vandalism increases, maintenance becomes poor, and an intense rivalry between landlord and tenant begins to manifest itself. Willful destruction increases the operating cost and hastens the building into decline.

To approach the problem only after the building is dead will allow the disease to spread at a greatly increased cost of rehabilitation. If decline and devastation continues at their present rate, there is no solution.

The proposal now under consideration for co-operative ownership by tenants is an attempt to solve the many problems from a management approach.

II. THE PROPOSED REMEDY

The plan as conceived will begin with buildings which are still sound and viable. We shall attempt, by proper management and control, to sustain a healthy building through a long and enduring life. Good and sound tenement buildings can be purchased under present conditions at a fraction of their replacement value. Where necessary, appropriate rehabilitation will be undertaken to provide an adequate physical plant.

The plan will not require the tenant owner in the proposed co-operative to make any down payment. Neither will it involve any substantial increase over the rent which the owner is already paying. The building will be purchased by a trust foundation, or non-profit corporation, which will arrange the purchase price, co-operative organization and long-term, professional management. Tenant co-operative ownership will be based, unless other devices prove more feasible, on 20 years, 6% self-liquidating mortgages placed by participating banks and insured by the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) for 97% of the full market value of the structure. The 3% equity interest will represent approximately the security originally deposited by the tenants on their apartments.

The mortgage to purchase the building, placed by the participating bank, will be assumed by the co-operative and guaranteed by the building. In stable areas, a few short years ago, banks were providing mortgages to corporations whose sole asset was the building alone, and without federal insurance. It is of the utmost importance to understand that as long as the monthly carrying charges are paid by the tenant co-operative owners, the mortgage is secure.

The lack of a substantial down payment by the tenant co-operatives will be more than offset by the various safeguards provided under this program, as discussed in detail below, in Section III.

The trust corporation, pursuant to contract, will purchase the interest of the former owner and arrange for payment of existing mortgages. It will also restructure the financing on the building. Thus, to a great extent, it will eliminate the tax on paper profits and the payment of federal, state and city income taxes. Professional management will replace the well-intentioned but incompetent property owner who is not sophisticated enough to handle the immense problems involved in the operation of the multiple dwelling. This will also remove the unscrupulous and depredating operator who fails to make essential repairs, pay real estate taxes and assume basic responsibilities.

Also, as a result of the vested self-interest of the tenant-owner, incentives would now exist to reduce vandalism and willful destruction.

As the equity interest of the tenant owner develops, there will be a reduced rate of mobility, since a person who owns his own apartment and has a financial interest in the building is much more likely to be steady and conscientious. This will also control the downward spiral of rents which is inherent in a fluid rental market.

As indicated above, given the present situation of nonmarketability in certain areas, good and sound buildings can be purchased for approximately 25% of their replacement value. As a consequence, desirable housing in the $18 a room per month range can be currently provided.

As it evolves, the plan will also provide professional management and maintenance services. It is, of course, cheaper to operate efficiently than inefficiently. As a large number of buildings are included in the program, proper legal, accounting and repair services can be provided.

The plan would also provide a full time competent superintendent with additional porters as required to service several buildings in close proximity. Even a building on fashionable Fifth Avenue would soon become deteriorated if it were to operate for any length of time with only part-time or "work-out" superintendents.

Thus, one of the key features of the proposed plan is sound building management and maintenance.

III. TENANT RESPONSIBILITY

The by-laws of the co-operative organization will contain a tenant owner responsibility clause. Under such a clause, tenants would be obligated to make, or pay for, designated repairs in their own apartments. (Certain repairs, such as normal wear and tear, would be the responsibility of the co-operative.) Periodic inspections would be made by the management organization, and upon failure of a tenant to make repairs or to order repairs, the management organization itself would make the repairs. The tenant owner would then receive a bill for the cost of the repairs. Arrears would be accrued. When the arrears accrued beyond an established maximum figure (e.g. $300), which would be set high enough to establish a pattern of willful lack of cooperation over a period of time, the tenant owner would be evicted for breach of his contract.

On the other hand, if a tenant were sincerely interested in remaining in the tenant co-operative, he would be given an opportunity to participate in the work required for the maintenance of the building, and he would be paid for services rendered. These payments would be credited against his arrears. In this way, he would have an opportunity to become part of the day-to-day operation of the building, and would also be given an insight into the problems involved in maintaining a co-operative dwelling.

Thus, under this plan, responsible tenants would be encouraged and even aided in their participation in the life of the co-operative. Irresponsible elements would be weeded out, and evicted, within a relatively short time, and a search would be made for responsible replacements. If the plan succeeded in creating a residential building of value, this would provide a strong incentive to attract back into the area a stable and responsible element which would support and foster further local rehabilitation, which could lead to better schools, the creation of day care centers, participation in athletic and cultural activities, and would create greater markets for area merchants and new businesses.

This, in turn, would encourage long-term improvements by the tenant co-operators and thus inspire similar plans and improvements in the vicinity and neighboring communities.

The plan envisions, and, given the areas in which the program must function, is based upon the participation of welfare recipients. A meeting has already been held with representatives of the New York City Department of Welfare, by whom the plan was enthusiastically received. Although no actual commitments have been made at this point, the Welfare officials have indicated that there would be few obstacles to the participation in this type of tenant co-operative program by welfare recipients.

The question also arises as to where an outside prospective tenant owner would obtain the necessary funds to purchase an apartment. A possible solution is that the loan might be provided and arranged by the tenant co-operative so that the prospective participant could pay the necessary amount over a period of several years as a surcharge to his monthly carrying charges. The money paid to the person selling his interest in the tenant co-operative could be borrowed based upon the increased equity of the co-operative as a result of the reduction of the original mortgage. The surrender value of the apartment would be somewhat less than the paid amortization in order to provide an increased equity and financial stability in the co-operative. However, it is not intended—nor would it be in the public interest—to encourage the repeated sale of apartments, thus burdening the building with speculative sales and additional loans.

If the plan is sound, then the building would become self-sustaining, real estate taxes could be paid, and a participating interest could be created for the tenant owners with substantial personal income tax savings as an important inducement.

This proposal is the only positive approach that has yet evolved and it must be given an opportunity to prove its merit. If a tenement building cannot be made to function under this plan, with all of its advantages, there is little hope that private tenements can continue to operate in deteriorating areas without a public subsidy.

Respectfully submitted,

BERNARD W. GILBARD.

A PLEA FOR JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the American Committee on Africa has issued a statement on the 8-year detention of a political prisoner in the Republic of South Africa. The prisoner, Robert Sobukwe, is only one of thousands in South Africa, where it is a crime to oppose apartheid, the forced separation of races. The committee statement concludes by urging Americans to write South Africa and call for Mr. Sobukwe's release from the island where he remains, in effect, a lifetime prisoner. The statement follows:

ACT NOW FOR ROBERT SOBUKWE'S RELEASE

South Africa has only one admitted political prisoner, among all the thousands imprisoned for offenses against the state—Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. His sentence expired on May 3, 1963, and every year since, the all-white Parliament of South Africa has faced a peculiar legislative task: detaining Mr. Sobukwe, who has already served nearly three times his original sentence, without further charges or recourse to the courts. Such is the nature of South African justice.

BACKGROUND

In 1960, the Pan Africanist Congress launched a campaign against the oppressive and omnipresent pass law system in South Africa, a system which enables the state to physically control Africans and constantly remind them of their third-class status within South African society. One tragic result of this anti-pass campaign, the brutal shooting of 67 Africans at the police station in Sharpeville, is well-known. A new wave of Government repression followed. Numerous African nationalist leaders were imprisoned and the major African political parties, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress, were banned. The President of the PAC, a 36-year-old linguistics professor named Robert Sobukwe, was among those imprisoned. Sobukwe was charged with inciting people to support the pass campaign. In May 1960 he received a prison sentence of three years.

THE SOBUKWE CLAUSE

Two days before Sobukwe's sentence expired, the South African Parliament passed a section of the General Law Amendment Act which was subsequently called the "Sobukwe Clause."[1] This clause, which amended the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, states that the South African Minister of Justice can prohibit the release of a prisoner, convicted under certain South African "security" laws, if he feels that the person, upon release, would be likely to further the achievement of any of the statutory objectives of Communism.[2] According to the amendment, the power of the Minister of Justice to detain a prisoner must be renewed every 12 months by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament. Thus, every year since 1963, before the possible expiration of the clause on June 30, Parliament has faithfully renewed the law which keeps Sobukwe in custody. In another section of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963, Parliament passed the infamous 90-day detention law whereby a person can be held for interrogation purposes and then rearrested immediately for repeatable 90-day terms.

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[1] General Law Amendment Acts are annual laws which amend previous Acts.

[2] The Suppression of Communism Act (1950) defines a communist as "a person who professes to be a communist or who, after having been given a reasonable opportunity of making such representations as he con-

THIS SIDE OF ETERNITY ON ROBBEN ISLAND

After the passage of the "Sobukwe Clause" in 1963, Robert Sobukwe was transferred to Robben Island where he remains today, serving what amounts to a life sentence. The Minister of Justice has consistently refused appeals to release Sobukwe, and former Minister of Justice, now Prime Minister Vorster, justified his continued detention on the grounds that Mr. Sobukwe had undergone "no change of heart" during his imprisonment and had "not given up his intention to overthrow the Government." Vorster even admitted that Sobukwe would be held in custody "up to this side of eternity." In 1964, Mrs. Veronica Sobukwe asked that her husband be released on the condition that he leave South Africa on an exit visa. "What could he do then?" she asked. "You would be surprised," was Vorster's reply. The present Minister of Justice, P. C. Pelser, commented in response to a question by Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive Party M.P.: "This is a case of prevention being better than cure. We are detaining Robert Sobukwe on Robben Island because he cannot escape from there. . . . We do not regard him as a prisoner; we regard and treat him as a detainee. . . . I cannot tell the honorable member (Mrs. Suzman) at this stage that under these or those circumstances I shall be prepared to release him." (Debates, June 12, 13, 1967)

The Sobukwe case is just one in thousands. Of the other non-criminal prisoners in South African jails and on Robben Island, the Minister of Justice says: "They have been tried, convicted, and sentenced by courts of competent jurisdiction in respect of serious crimes against the public safety and security of the state." Opposing apartheid is a serious crime.

Because Sobukwe's case is more visible, and its questionable legality requires parliamentary action each year, it offers an opportunity to protest against the denial of human rights in South Africa, and some possibility of helping the prisoner. The South African Parliament must act again before June 30 if Sobukwe is to be kept in detention. South Africa has shown that it is not always immune to external pressure, most recently in the waiver of expected death sentences for any of the South West African nationalist defendants in February. We therefore urge you to call for the release of Robert Sobukwe by June 30 when his last "legislative sentence" expires, and to protest the detention of the many thousands whose only crime has been to challenge the racism of a police state.

Write Now To: The Minister of Justice and of Prisons, Mr. P. C. Pelser, House of Assembly, Cape Town, South Africa.

A TRIBUTE TO WALTER H. ANNENBERG

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure today to participate in the program at the Samuel S. Fels Junior High School in my congressional district, the Fourth District of Pennsylvania, honoring a great American, Walter H. Annenberg, editor and publisher of one of America's greatest newspapers, the Philadelphia Inquirer. He was the recipient of the Samuel S. Fels Medal award, which is awarded each year to that American who best represents true philanthropy.

At this morning's ceremonies which were attended not only by Mr. Annenberg; the mayor of Philadelphia, the Honorable James H. J. Tate; and the Honorable Richardson Dilworth, president of the Philadelphia Board of Public Education, and many other distinguished citizens, Mr. Annenberg characteristically and modestly wished the program to be changed to reflect the great tragedy which occurred early this morning—the shooting of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY.

He wished that we would make the respect for the rights of others the theme of our program. Arriving at the stage platform, however, and realizing the tremendous audience present including not only schoolchildren but parents and other interested citizens, those of us on the platform realized everyone here was present to pay tribute to Mr. Annenberg.

We assured Mr. Annenberg that we would pay attention to his theme this afternoon on the floor of the House when the crime bill comes up.

It is my extreme pleasure to submit herewith the comments that I made this morning:

> It is indeed a pleasure for me to be here today at the Fels Junior High School for the occasion of the presentation of the Fels Medal to Walter H. Annenberg.
>
> The coupling of the names of "Fels" and "Annenberg" is most fitting when one traces the history of these two famous names in Philadelphia and the impact they have had on the city and the nation.
>
> Samuel Fels started with nothing—nothing but an idea, energy and determination. From this he built a huge industrial complex known throughout the world and the profits derived gave honor and glory to the name through philanthropic contributions to science, education and humanity.
>
> Moses L. Annenberg, father of our honoree today, started also without the material means, but with equal determination and fortitude.
>
> He turned to a different field—communications. With brains, sweat and courage he took a financially distressed newspaper and converted it to a giant of journalism. Many of his profits, too, went to philanthropy, much of it anonymous.
>
> In 1942 he bequeathed his mantle to his son, Walter. Walter Annenberg might have sat idly by, satisfied with the accomplishments of the preceding generation—but he did not.
>
> He explored new and untried fields of communications—in radio and television and magazine publishing—winning unbelievable success.
>
> But success cannot be measured in money—only in what is done with money. And Annenberg money resulted in untold services to mankind—as evidenced, for example, in such projects as the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg Hall at Temple University, the Annenberg pavilion at Mount Sinai Hospital and the unprecedented gift to the people of Israel when that nation stood in fear of economic collapse.
>
> The trustees of the Fels Award Committee have chosen wisely. I join them in honoring a great Philadelphian.

THE WELLSPRINGS OF ANARCHY

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the lead editorial in the Wall Street Journal of June 3 cites basic reasons why anarchy on our campuses, in our cities, and elsewhere in our country have assumed proportions undreamed of a comparatively short time ago. Quoting Prof. Will Herberg of Drew University, the editorial emphasizes our moral decline, a factor only too rarely mentioned in the various analyses of our present tumultous crisis:

> Violations of moral standards there has always been aplenty in every age, but until modern times the standards themselves were not questioned; or, more accurately, it was never questioned that there were such standards. This was taken for granted by the very ones who violated them, who, therefore, even in their violation, paid tribute to their authority.

Commenting on the role that relativism has played in our present state of affairs, the Journal states:

> We would add, however, that relativism has also been preached, implicitly or explicitly, by politicians and opinion-molders for a generation or more. The nation is getting a full dose of it now: The work ethic is being derided, the successful man reviled precisely for his success, the loafer applauded. In any event, in an atmosphere of relativism, moral standards perforce suffer, and we have the permissiveness which erupts violently in so many areas of contemporary life.

The Journal editorial reaffirms the necessity for a return to the principle of individual responsibility. If one's responsibility is not motivated by belief in a Divine Being, then at least he can observe the laws of society through a sense of self-preservation. As he concedes, for instance, the right of property ownership to his neighbor, he must rely on the responsibility of that same neighbor to reserve him the same right.

The above-cited editorial from the Wall Street Journal is worthy of our consideration in these troubled times, and for this reason I include it in the RECORD at this point:

THE WELLSPRINGS OF ANARCHY

> Viewing the signs of incipient anarchy on campus and in city, in our own country and abroad, an unhappy citizen can only wonder how things got this way; what are the causes? While we do not presume to have anything like complete answers, there is no lack of clues to man's present predicament.

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siders necessary, is deemed by the Governor-General . . . to be a communist on the ground that he is advocating . . . any of the objects of communism." A communist is thus anyone who aims at "bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change in the country by unlawful acts" or anyone who has encouraged a feeling of hostility between blacks and whites in South Africa. In practice, the Suppression of Communism Act is a political instrument used to identify and prosecute the opponents of apartheid.

It is true that most other ages have known similar troubles, often far worse. Student rebelliousness is as old as the university. Rioters have wreaked destruction throughout history. Sexual license has characterized a number of other periods. The potential for violence, it seems, lies deep in human nature. So today's ills can easily be exaggerated.

Yet something special, if not historically unique, marks the temper of our times.

A generation ago it would have been hardly conceivable that students would not only indulge in pranks but seek to destroy their schools if they are not allowed to run them; though such students do not represent the majority, their capacity for chaos is considerable. Similarly, that people should go around demanding that the Government support them. Or that so much credence should be placed in the proposition that society, not the individual, is responsible for individual misbehavior.

Essentially, then, the problem is a moral one in the broad usage of that term. As Professor Will Herberg of Drew University puts it, the phenomenon is not merely the widespread violation of accepted moral standards but the repudiation of those standards themselves.

Writing in the Intercollegiate Review, Dr. Herberg comments: "Violation of moral standards there has always been aplenty in every age, but until modern times the standards themselves were not questioned; or, more accurately, it was never questioned that there were such standards: This was taken for granted by the very ones who violated them, who, therefore, even in their violation, paid tribute to their authority.

"In the modern world, for the first time, at least on a mass scale, the very possibility of such standards has been thrown into question, and with it all essential distinctions between right and wrong. Today's culture comes very close to becoming a non-moral, normless culture."

This change, as well as the actual symptoms of it visible on every side, helps account for that "unhinged" feeling many people talk of, the feeling that the underpinnings of society are coming unstuck and that it is hard to believe in anything—in Yeats' words: "Things fall apart; the center cannot hold; Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world."

But what accounts for the change?

For one possible answer, Dr. Herberg cites the growth of the technological spirit. "Human problems are increasingly seen as technological problems, to be dealt with by adjustment and manipulation; the test is always how it satisfies desires or enlarges power, not conformity to a truth beyond man's control."

And, as these columns too have argued, he stresses the rise of relativism, the decline of belief in absolute values or truths. To an extent it is an understandable development; the scientific explosion, in particular, was bound to cause doubt about religious and humanistic conceptions previously accepted as immutable.

We would add, however, that relativism has also been preached, implicitly or explicitly, by politicians and opinion-molders for a generation or more. The nation is getting a full dose of it now: The work ethic is being derided, the successful man reviled precisely for his success, the loafer applauded. In any event, in an atmosphere of relativism, moral standards perforce suffer, and we have the permissiveness which erupts violently in so many areas of contemporary life.

Since these trends are fairly fundamental, Dr. Herberg, for his part, is not optimistic that they will be halted or reversed any time soon. Certainly so-called situational ethics offers scant hope—the notion that behavior is justified if it proceeds from the individual's genuine, authentic inward motivations, or, in the vulgar hippie phrase, doing your own thing. It is simply relativism run wild; Hitler, after all, was doing his own thing.

Without ourselves waxing unduly optimistic, it seems possible that the very excesses of mood and conduct bred by the prevailing moral confusion could in turn, and in time, breed their antidote. How it might happen we have no idea, but just as the decline in standards manifestly has occurred, so a reaffirmation could somehow come about.

At the least, in the meantime, those in a position to influence opinion might put the emphasis on personal responsibility instead of, as many do, abetting irresponsibility. If the normless character of the age has been to some extent an inevitable development, society still need not lose all control of itself unless it chooses to. We as a nation had better face up to the implications of spreading anarchy.

YOUTH CORPS HELPS SLASH DROPOUT RATE

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, in this Nation where education is fast becoming the primary prerequisite for success, it is a tragic fact that the boys and girls most likely to drop out of school are those who most need education in order to rise out of poverty and other disadvantages.

These unfortunate youngsters, lacking even a high school diploma in a land where educational levels are skyrocketing, stand little chance of a happy, comfortable life. Instead, they face a never-ending struggle for an economic foothold in a world that is passing them by.

Fortunately, however, the distressing dropout problem among disadvantaged youngsters is being greatly reduced through one of our most successful antipoverty programs, the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Studies conducted in four cities by the Department of Labor show that this program, which provides job opportunities for poverty-level youngsters 14 and over, is drastically cutting the dropout rate among its enrollees.

In order that all Americans may examine more fully the achievements of the Youth Corps in cutting dropout rates, I insert an article from the AFL-CIO News on the Neighborhood Youth Corps at this point in the RECORD:

YOUTH CORPS HELPS SLASH DROPOUT RATE

Neighborhood Youth Corps in-school programs have slashed dropout rates in four major cities—Cleveland, Minneapolis, Washington, D.C. and Pittsburgh, the Labor Dept. reported.

The programs provide part-time jobs in libraries, schools and other public buildings for poverty-level boys and girls 14 and up. The young people also receive counseling and other supportive services.

These were figures on studies conducted in the four cities, as released by the department's Bureau of Work-Training Programs:

In Cleveland, the dropout rate among enrollees in an NYC program in 13 inner-city schools was 3.1 percent for the 1966–67 school year, compared to a rate of 14.5 percent for non-NYC students in the same schools.

In Minneapolis, also in the 1966–67 year, the dropout rate among students in 11 high schools in an NYC program was 4 percent, while the schools' overall dropout rate was 15 percent.

In Washington, D.C., a sampling of NYC students found that fewer than 2 percent of them dropped out of school during the 1966–67 school year. The overall dropout rate in the same schools was nearly 2 percent.

In Pittsburgh, where a study was made during the 1965–66 school year, the dropout rate among NYC enrollees in 16 high schools was 4.2 percent, compared with an 8.4 percent dropout rate for non-NYC students.

"COMING OF AGE IN 1976"—AN ARTICLE BY WALTER I. POZEN, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO MAGAZINE

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD a most interesting article by Walter I. Pozen, former assistant to the Secretary of the Interior from 1961 to 1967, concerning the political leadership our country can expect in the era 1976, 200 years since the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Pozen gives particular attention to the very large increase in the percentage of young people in the American population by that time.

The article is contained in the March 1968 issue of the University of Chicago magazine, and follows:

COMING OF AGE IN 1976

(By Walter I. Pozen[1])

At America's birth the assemblage of men who led the fight for independence, then for the Constitution, was undoubtedly as great as any seen on earth since the time of Pericles.

Most of them were terribly young in 1776, the time of the Declaration of Independence: John Adams was 41; Aaron Burr was 20; Alexander Hamilton was 19; Thomas Jefferson was 33; James Madison was 25; James Monroe was 18; Thomas Paine was 39; George Washington was 44. (Benjamin Franklin is the only representative of significance of another generation; he was 70.) Add thirteen years to get their ages at the time the Constitution was ratified in 1789; virtually all were still very young men, indeed! In their time, the great public issues had to do primarily with matters of quality, one might say: the qualities of freedom and independence, the quality of individual rights, the quality of the government. Intangibles!

By the time the United States Centennial rolled around in 1876, the great public issues included more matters of quantity than of quality. Tangibles! Matters of land policy, of railroad expansion, of voice communication by telephone, of vanishing frontier, of finance (and graft), of big business running amok, of labor starting to assert itself (for more money and fewer hours). The

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[1] Walter I. Pozen, AB'53, JD'56, is a resident partner in the Washington, D.C. law firm of Stroock & Stroock & Lavan. He was Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior from 1961 to 1967. He is co-author, with J. H. Cerf, of Strategy for the Sixties. He is a member of the Alumni Association's National Cabinet. This article is the text of his remarks at the Owl & Serpent dinner, held during the 1967 Reunion.

Civil War had been fought, but the human issue of that struggle was soon lost to the Westward movement and to industrialization.

By the time the nation celebrates its bicentennial in 1976, however, the pendulum will have returned to issues of quality. And—as at the beginning—the nation will quite literally be in the hands of youth: eighty percent of our population will be under twenty-six years old.

This huge and youthful population will have only a history-book acquaintance with the last of the quantity issues that were the overwhelmingly large part of New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier, and Great Society programs. To be sure, there was American involvement in quality issues during the aforesaid administrations—issues like the establishment of the United Nations and civil rights. Yet, there is no denying that, from 1932 on, aside from the winning of World War II, the UN Charter fight, and the struggle for civil rights, the country's mind was generally attuned to a staggering range of quantity (tangible) matters: wages, hours, housing, transportation, inflation, school construction (Bricks and mortar were, and still are, emphasized. The discussion of what is or might be taught is a relatively dormant dialogue.), foreign aid (The Peace Corps became a quality intrusion in what otherwise had been and is an annual debate as to "how much," not "what kind."), medicare and health legislation and related subjects (But nobody was ready to do more than spend money. We would print a "danger" warning on packs of cigarettes, but would not outlaw them even as we upped appropriations for the National Cancer Institute from about $1 million in 1945 to better than $100 million annually.), social security (But no training for leisure.), Food for Peace (But at home, the continued manufacture and consumption of the rich diet that has given Americans more arteriosclerosis and atherosclerosis than elsewhere on earth.), highways (But more concern for the cloverleaf than the clover.).

It is only since the start of the Sixties that matters of quality have crept into the national consciousness and confronted all men of conscience. These matters—or issues—of quality are and will be the bread-and-butter political issues with which our population will increasingly concern itself as it grows larger and younger. In 1976 our youth will think not of OASI or the Fair Labor Standards Act. It will, rather, think of environmental, educational, ecological, ethereal questions. For the mind of the country will be on becoming more human, not more profitable. The new issues which are under discussion, and which will be the vital issues in 1976, are conservation in the largest sense—water pollution, air pollution, the city, urban planning (for in 1976 seventy-five percent of our people will be living on less than one percent of our land base), education, (not how much, but for what), and so on.

The adult experienced with street-corner politics will have no intimate knowledge of the street-corner apple stand. The word "depression" will have psychological or psychiatric—not economic—significance. The forty-hour work week will be as unknown to the adult in 1976 as the "seven-twelves" of the Myron Taylor era of steel-making is to the United Steelworker since the Federal Government began to take a look at wages and hours under the interstate commerce clause.

In government, it is possible there will be fewer "Task Forces." But far more—and far more complicated—tasks will have evolved. Analysis will be computerized, and creativity more humanized. The issues will—overall—be more subtle than substantive. The quality of living will be more on men's minds than the standard of living (using criteria still employed as of 1966, e.g., the cost of a pound of potatoes, of a gallon of gas, of medical services, etc.).

John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson initiated rather bold measures having to do with the quality of the environment. But, as the passage of legislation is an annual affair in the Congress, the long look ahead to the so-close-it-looks-bigger-and-bigger year of 1976, that long look is more frenzied than fruitful. The planter in Washington is still more interested in the harvest he can display in time for election than in the fertility of the future (in politics, a decade is an enormously distant future) and the abundance of aspiration.

What all this boils down to is that there will be a major, broad, new spectrum analysis and emphasis in domestic politics in the next decade. But this is currently only sensed, at best, and not realized to the point of immediate reaction and action by the powers that be in Washington.

No, Washington, though partially aware, is also partially asleep. No, the university, historically the breeding ground of sweeping new societal urges, is much too grounded in foundation and government-supported research projects, or with industrial assignments under contract. In recent years, only ten percent of the PhD's in mathematics turned out by Massachusetts Institute of Technology went into teaching; the others were snapped up by industry. Neither whimsy nor naivete should permit us to think that the "thinkers" in industry, either, are devoting themselves to matters of environment. The tensor light has replaced the midnight oil, no doubt, but the papers of industry on which it sheds its illumination have to do—more often than not—with profit and product, not people or purpose.

Who is going to travel forward a scant ten years and consider the issues on which the people(youthful and yearning) will vote, on which they will elect leaders as young and dynamic and as concerned with "quality" as were that Periclean assemblage that gave us life in a yesterday so near that one's grandfather's grandfather might have been there? He who does this now may, indeed, probably will, lead the country in 1976.

ZANZIBAR MURDERS CONDONED BY UNITED NATIONS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 5, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, it is strange indeed for the Red-black bloc vote of the U.N. to completely ignore humanity suffering in Zanzibar under the dictatorship of a minority Red regime.

All attention appears focused against peaceful Rhodesia whose greatest misfortune appears her strategic location near South Africa.

Falsified charges and rumors over the legal execution of convicted murderers make flimsy charges when bestial murders and cannibalism reign in Zanzibar.

Or is the Zanzibar plot an agreed escalation of aggressive colonialism by the U.N.?

Mr. Speaker, yesterday I had inserted portions of A.S. Kharusi's book, "Zanzibar: The First African Cuba" in the Record. I now insert various letters made available to illustrate the wanton brutality and violence in Zanzibar today—and known by, but tolerated by the Secretary General of the notorious U.N., in the Record:

May 22, 1966.

Dear Mr. Kharusi: Thank you for your letter of the 21st May, which Miss Joyce has asked me to acknowledge on her behalf.

We are most grateful for the additional information you are able to give us, and Miss Joyce will write to you personally about the matter as soon as she is able to.

Yours sincerely,

Don Esslemont.

May 18, 1968.

Dear Mr. FitzGerald, (Secretary, Monday Club): Thank you very much for your letter of 17th inst. with a copy from the Amnesty International.

I am enclosing copies of my recent correspondence with Amnesty International and some other materials that would enlighten you more about the present situation in Zanzibar.

However much the Amnesty would try to defend Nyerere, but his actions prove beyond doubt that he has played a great part in bringing the most despicable tragedy in Zanzibar resulting to the present evils. This acute shortage of food in the country has been going on for nearly a year now, yet Nyerere has done and is doing nothing to save the situation. In fact, he prays that conditions in the islands should be intolerable so that Zanzibaris who move to the mainland and get employed may have confidence in him. You can make out how selfish he is.

Yours sincerely,

A. S. Kharusi.

March 8, 1968.

Secretary-General,
United Nations Organization,
New York.

Dear Sir: The executions of three human beings (regardless of their colour, creed or nationality) in Rhodesia on 6th March have caused protests from different parts of the world.

It is not my intention to comment on the legality and illegality of the Rhodesian regime or the defiance of the reprieve granted by the Queen. One thing is indisputable: these executed persons have undergone a trial in the Courts of Law and sentences passed against them. But when we come to the victims of executions in Zanzibar we find none of them has ever been tried. By the sheer whim of the tyrannical authorities a number of innocent law-abiding citizens were murdered in cold blood while praying to God in their Holy places; others, without allowing the process of law to take its course, have been ordered to dig their own graves and *buried* alive. Up to this moment, in that forgotten island, murders are committed with impunity by those in power, and yet nobody has ever raised a voice of protest.

Let us be consistent and fair to all in our policies.

I do not expect even an acknowledgement from you as is the case with all my previous correspondence, but I shall not cease to bring to your notice all the atrocities and injustices perpetrated by the present tyrannical regime on helpless Zanzibaris.

Yours sincerely,

A. S. Kharusi,
Leader, Z.O.

April 17, 1968.

Right Honorable Sir Douglas-Home,
House of Commons,
London S.W. 1

Dear Sir Alec: I am taking the opportunity of writing to you about the dangerous developments which have taken place in Zanzibar since the violent overthrow of the legally elected Government in January, 1964.

In January a Communist-inspired and financed revolution occurred in Zanzibar resulting in the brutal murder of thousands of innocent citizens. Before the so-called revolution Zanzibar was a democratic State. Britain had bequethed to the country a constitution enshrining all the fundamental rights of man. This model constitution was thrown overboard by the usurpers of legality and constitutional Government. My country has today become a Police State where injustice has triumphed over justice and tyranny over freedom.

The country is run by thugs who have no respect for the dignity of man. Murders are being committed with impunity and arbitrary arrests are very common. Only in the mid-March a hundred innocent people were arrested while saying their prayers. Freedom of association, movement and speech is ridiculed as a hangover of the decadent Western Capitalism. Any form of criticism of the regime is anathema.

The economy of the country is in ruins. All properties have been confiscated without any compensation. The new managers of the economy are ignorant and as a consequence business life has grinded to a halt. People are starving and a number of them have died as a result of mal-nutrition.

Sir, I have written to many people about the plight of the people in Zanzibar and I have been disheartened by the indifference shown by many of them. It is true that Zanzibar is a small country but surely its people deserve sympathy and help to alleviate their intolerable sufferings since the overthrow of the legal Government.

The 'revolution' has not only ushered in a reign of fear but also Communism. It is only a well-known fact that Communism is firmly entrenched in Zanzibar and that the country is now being used as a base of subversion for East and Central Africa. There are hundreds of Red Chinese and East Europeans in Zanzibar ostensibly as technicians. In reality, however, they are agents of subversion, meant for the neighbouring countries. They train guerrilla fighters. In fact the Communists now have my country tightly under their grip: which country will be the next to go in that part of the world? Potentially the whole of East and Central Africa will fall under Communism if something is not done immediately about the Godless menace.

As far as the Communists are concerned the offensive is on. Will the West not accept the challenge? If the Western Powers continue to remain indifferent about the events in Zanzibar, the whole of East and Central Africa will in due course become Communist. Zanzibar is the progenitor of the present ills in East Africa and nothing short of complete restoration of democracy in my country will reverse the unhealthy trends in that part of the world.

Sir, I appeal to you in the name of humanity and justice to use your influence to help the down-trodden people of Zanzibar.

I enclosed hereto a copy of my pamphlet and some other materials so as to enable you to have a true picture of the situation in my country.

Yours sincerely,
A. S. KHARUSI,
Leader, Z.O.

MAY 3, 1968.

Miss STELLA JOYCE,
Head of Investigation Department,
Amnesty International, London.

DEAR MISS JOYCE: I need not add anything to the contents of the attached letter as to the deplorable situation existing in Zanzibar. Ironically, only last week Karume, the so-called President of Zanzibar, announced that it would take 50 years before a separate elected executive and legislature could be set up in the islands. In other words, the helpless people of Zanzibar are to remain under the present tyrannical and totalitarian regime for half a century before they could choose the government they like.

Once again I have to request you to let me know how far you have gone on the question of the release of the former Ministers. I hope and pray that your plans to get them released and go to live abroad have not been abandoned. I beseech you to enlighten me.

According to my sources of information, Sheikh Ali Muhsin has been moved from Dodema to Mwanza. I wonder whether you know anything about this. If so, what is the reason?

Anxiously awaiting your early reply,
Yours sincerely,
AHMED SEIF KHARUSI,
Leader, Z.O.

(A letter on the similar lines I have written to the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva.)

MAY 15, 1968.

DEAR MR. KHARUSI: Thank you very much again for your most useful information and the details of the arrests which took place in Zanzibar in March.

The Group which has adopted Barwani, one of the prisoners arrested earlier this year, tells me that you have informed them of his release. This is very good news. Do you know how many were released? I may say that I am most impressed by your ability to get information direct from the islands.

I believe I told you that eventually I saw the Tanzania Residual Mission representatives in London and discussed the question of the imprisoned Cabinet Ministers. I am quite convinced that they are genuine in saying that the Government wishes to release them and is only prevented from doing so by the Government's internal difficulty vis-a-vis Zanzibar. I understand that two are now in fact at liberty, but the Tanzanian authorities are most anxious that this should not be published for reasons which I am sure you understand. I am afraid I have no idea why Sheikh Ali Muhsin has been transferred to Mwanza, but I will try to find out.

Yours sincerely,
STELLA JOYCE.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS,
Geneva, May 14, 1968.

DEAR MR. KHARUSI: Thank you for your letter of the 3rd May 1968 and enclosures.

News from Zanzibar continues to disturb the International Commission of Jurists very deeply, and I can only repeat my assurance that if we see an opportunity of taking any useful action we shall not hesitate to do so.

Yours sincerely,
HILARY A. CARTWRIGHT,
Legal Officer.

MAY 18, 1968.

DEAR MISS JOYCE: Very many thanks for your letter of 15th May.

I know of no other releases except that of Muhsin Mohamed Barwani. I very well know of more arbitrary arrests and of hundreds of innocent people still languishing in prison since 1964.

I don't believe at all that Nyerere has any intention to release the former Ministers. When he determined to get Athman Sherif out of prison he defied all the protests and objections from the Zanzibar tyrannical authorities in spite of the fact that Athman had been imprisoned in Zanzibar. If you want to know more of this case I'm willing to come to your office at any time convenient for you. The reason for Nyerere's hesitancy to free these Ministers is well-known—FEAR. He dares not test the popularity of the members of the Cabinet of the legally elected Government. Moreover, he is guilty-conscious. (Refer to the copy of my article of 10th May to the Newsweek.)

You remember that you were once made to believe that one of the Ministers—Juma Aley—was out of jail while it was not true. So, it is very probable that the two members of the Cabinet whom you were informed to be at liberty are still languishing in prison. Please don't put your trust to people who shed crocodile's tears.

Miss Joyce, my point is that why don't you insist upon your old suggestion of getting the Ministers out of the country on the event of their release?

Yours sincerely,
A. S. KHARUSI.

May 21, 1968.

DEAR MISS JOYCE: According to my recent report Dr. A. A. E. Baalawy has been moved from Mtwara prison to Dar-es-Salaam's. Reason is unknown. It is also confirmed that Sh. Ali Muhsin has been transferred to Mwara's prison. Probably these two are the Cabinet members you were told to be 'at liberty'.

The following is a report which appeared in the Reporter issue of 17th May—published in Nairobi:—

"*Detainee's Suicide:* Having allegedly insulted the wife of a Zanzibar minister, a 24-year-old male nurse in indefinite detention under the island's Presidential decree, was in the V. J. Lenin hospital having treatment under guard, according to reports recently received in Dar-es-Salaam.

Ali Mzee Mhaliya was apparently detained six months ago.

Two weeks ago he asked his guard at the hospital for a drink of water. The guard left the room to get one. Ali jumped from the second floor window. He died instantly."

I have a different story of this case. It is said that the minister was running after a private citizen's wife. When the husband came to know of his wife's unfaithfulness he divorced her. She then remained as the minister's mistress. Later, Ali Mzee Mhaliya had an affair with the mistress. For this he had to be thrown into a torture-cell whose result was his admission into hospital absolutely unconscious. When he was able to stand on his feet he preferred to commit suicide to facing the tortures again.

This is only an example out of a thousand other injustices perpetrated by the present regime.

Yours sincerely,
A. S. KHARUSI.

(Similar letter I have written to the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, and have also passed to the Reporter the other story of the case of the victim as related above.)

TERROR IN ZANZIBAR

The following is a letter dated Jan. 29th, 1968, written by a Zanzibari who recently escaped from Zanzibar and has been given asylum in the Middle East.

"Conditions in Zanzibar defy description. Never in the history of Islamic States have people been subjected to so much suppression and privation as they are at present in Zanzibar.

"In Pemba the hardships are even greater. The country is being run by an army which is ruthless and does what it pleases. The Regional Commissioner, who is the political administrator, is powerless to curb the excesses of the army. These thugs often break into the houses of people, beat them till they are unconscious and take the women and children. Nobody is spared—not even the old.

"Oh! Brothers, a great calamity has befallen us—a tragedy far worse than that experienced by the victims of fascism in the last great war!

"The following is just a short list of innocent people who have been beaten and tortured by the Army recently in Pemba and later thrown into prison:

"Muhamed bin Suleiman Mbaruk Mawli, Hilala bin Seif Mawli, Salim Muhamed Mbaruk, Salim Muhamed Salim, Salim Saateni, Suleiman bin Juma Mazrui, Khalfan bin Khamis Kharusi.

"Some of the above named are over 70 years of age.

"The people in Pemba are worse off than those in Zanzibar, because despicable punishments are inflicted upon them without attracting any form of publicity. At least in Zanzibar there are foreign embassies and as a result news manages to filter out through various international channels.

"WORSE IN PEMBA

"The people in Pemba are hunted as they were pigs. They dare not sleep in their houses. Many at night go out and sleep in the forests. By doing so, they enjoy temporary safety from the indiscriminate attacks on their persons by the Army.

"Under the guise of voluntary service, young and old people are forced to go and work in the country. Sheikh Suleiman bin Said Maskery, a very respectable old man of 76, is one of the victims. They toil the whole day under the hot sun without any break or food. Many collapse as a result of exhaustion and some die.

"Food is very scarce in Pemba and even if one has money there is nothing to be bought in the shops. It is even impossible to buy the white sheet which is used for wrapping the dead. People are therefore buried in their ordinary clothes.

"'Every one in the country seems to be suffering from T.B. they are pale, thin and undernourished. People are forced to eat anything they can get hold of; it is quite usual to see a family boiling grass and eating it.

"Many people have fled the country but there are still many more who cannot get out. They have big families and cannot leave them behind; also they have no money to pay for their fares.

"Please do not think I have exaggerated anything that I have written. What I have said is the truth in every detail, and I beg of you to do everything to help our brothers back home. Zanzibaris want peace and justice—surely this is not too much to ask for?"

(The above has appeared in the Rhodesia and World Report of March 8, 1968.)

MOST DISTURBING DETAILS OF THE WORSENING SITUATION IN ZANZIBAR—A FEW EXAMPLES OF WHICH WE GIVE BELOW

1. *Near Starvation:* "As if it isn't enough that the innocent prisoners have to endure inhumane torture and the masses the dreadful strain of tension that exists through fear, now there is the added problem of a very serious shortage of food, which is leading to starvation—a thing which has never been known in Zanzibar even during the war years. This scarcity can be comprehended when one takes note of the price range of such every day commodities as salt now being sold at 4/- per pound and tea at 7/- per pound when they are available in the state shop. The black market prices for these same items can be anything up to 25/-. These exorbitant prices are prohibitive when one considers the mass unemployment and the destitute families whose properties have been confiscated.

2. *Additional Shortages:* "Expectant mothers who have either financial means or perhaps relatives in Dar-es-Salaam or Mombasa, to assist them, endeavour to smuggle napkins and such baby necessities as they are able to acquire three months before the birth of their child. As for the less fortunate—they have to make do with any cloths or rags they can lay their hands on. It must be remembered that all commodities are rationed and one has to queue for them. Nor is it uncommon for one to queue at the state shop from 7 in the morning until 7 in the evening and yet still go away empty handed."

Indoctrination: On the question of indoctrination she had this to say: "Even in the hospitals large portraits of Mao Tse Tung are hung in the wards and patients who in the agony of pain pray to God for relief are forced to pray to Mao; they are told "do not call on your God who does not exist, call to Mao; he is your saviour." This incidentally is my personal experience while I was a patient. I wished to God then that I should either die or be discharged immediately rather than submit to this blasphemy."

Reporters: Fleeting visits by Press reporters cannot reveal the harsh realities and the suffering of the people. Over and above that the vast majority of the people are too scared to give a true picture of the situation. The best way I feel for the truth to be known, is the creation of an International Commission of Inquiry to be sent to Zanzibar with powers to move freely, interview whom they like, in secrecy. This alone would throw light on the current situation."

Appeal: "I am not alone when I appeal to the people of the free world to come to the aid of my ailing nation and countrymen. Zanzibar is but the thin end of the wedge and if not rescued the rot will spread. There is a Swahili proverb which says "if you do not kill the snake in the grass, it will poison all the people walking through the field."

(The above account has been published in Rhodesia and World Report of April 1968.)

WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND,
May 6, 1968.

DEAR MR. KHARUSI: Thank you very much for sending me your booklet on Zanzibar which I found most interesting. I hope it will open people's eyes to the truth as it should. To help in this connection I have sent the following letter to 8 papers:

Zanzibar

A British Customs Officer has received disciplinary action for supporting, from a sense of patriotic duty, the speech of Mr. Enoch Powell. However, as far as is known, no action has been taken regarding an offense of far greater magnitude. In September, 1963, a British Police Officer in Zanzibar reported to the British Official who was still in charge of internal security on the imminence of the Communist coup which took place in January, 1964, causing the deaths of over 10,000. Some British Official, either in Zanzibar or London, caused this warning to be disregarded and the bloody coup, which could have been prevented, was allowed to take place. Surely, an enquiry should have been held to establish responsibility for this criminal negligence with such dire consequences. Ultimate responsibility must lie with the then Prime Minister, Mr. Harold MacMillan, who should ponder on it as he relaxes in comfort while so many unfortunates in Zanzibar and Pemba are living under an actual reign of terror. Men are being buried alive!

Food shortage is even more acute now than ever before. You will appreciate the seriousness of this when we tell you what food commodities are not available. Beans, peas, lentils, rice, millet, wheat, maize meal, white flour, sugar, salt, tea, matches, tinned milk (with the exception of Twecco, for which you will join the queue for two days from morning to evening and return home empty-handed). Soap for bathing as well as washing has become a great luxury.

You can imagine what the conditions would be in Pemba which is completely cut off from the rest of the world. The transport system will also come to standstill since petrol and bicycle tyres are getting scarce every day.

There is a lot we could tell you, but you know the dangers of writing a letter such as this. Were it to be found by the authorities the penalty would be execution in front of a firing squad. We hope to live until we liberate our country from these villains.

Zanzibar is now completely under Red Chinese domination. There are thousands of Chinese already resident here as experts of one type or another and therefore the Russians and their satellites are completely overwhelmed by the sheer weight of numbers. Furthermore, there has been a marked increase of Chinese personnel in the mainland.

N.B. All the above-mentioned people arrested as from 15.3.68 have been released on 7th April, 1968. But thousands of other innocent citizens are still languishing in jail since 1964, and it is feared that a number of them are no longer alive.

MARCH 20, 1968.

HIS HOLINESS THE POPE,
The Vatican, Italy:

Your Holiness, I am taking the liberty of writing to you about the plight and sufferings of my fellow-countrymen in Zanzibar since the so-called revolution of January, 1964.

Zanzibar, Your Holiness, before the "revolution" of 1964 was a free country with a democratic Constitution enshrining all the fundamental rights of man. Its Government was freely elected by universal adult suffrage and nobody could be imprisoned without the due process of the law. This country of freedom, however, we overnight turned into a concentration camp in which injustice has triumphed over justice and tyranny over freedom.

On 12th January, 1964, a ruthless "revolution" which was inspired and financed by foreign powers overthrew the legally elected Government. Thousands of innocent citizens were butchered and rendered homeless.

Zanzibar, Your Holiness, is today a Police State and its people live in great fear. The usurpers of Constitutional Government have no respect for the dignity of man. Murders are today committed with impunity and arbitrary arrests have now become a permanent feature of the Zanzibar scene. Freedom of association, movement, speech and free elections are now denied to the people of Zanzibar. A Godless Communist ideology has been imposed upon the people and as a consequence freedom of worship is denied to the citizens. Properties have been confiscated without compensation and their owners have been left with no means of sustaining themselves and their families. There is mass unemployment and acute shortage of foodstuffs.

Your Holiness, I have read with great interest your recent intervention for clemency on behalf of the condemned Rhodesian Africans. Dare I hope for similar intervention on your part on behalf of my unfortunate countrymen back in Zanzibar?

I beg of you in the name of God and humanity to do everything in your power to alleviate the intolerable sufferings of the people of Zanzibar. I have no doubt, Your Holiness, that your holy office can bring weight to bear on the Zanzibar authorities to right the many grievances of my people.

I have the honour to be, Your Holiness, Your Holiness, obedient servant,

AHMED SEIF KHARUSI,
Leader, Z.O.

"Any one who is interested in the revealing story of Zanzibar should write to Mr. Ahmed Seif Kharusi, Zanzibar Organization, 3C Hudson Road, Southsea, Hampshire, England."

The following are the 8 papers—they have all published letters of mine in the past:—N.Z. Truth, New Zealand; Illustrated London News, London; Sunday Times, Johannesburg, S. Africa; Natal Mercury, Durban, S. Africa; The Citizen, Salisbury, Rhodesia; Time & Tide, London; Dundee Courier, Dundee, Scotland; Yorkshire Post, Leeds, Yorkshire.

I hope they will help to draw attention to the plight of your compatriots. Good luck.

Yours very sincerely,

PETER C. HIGHAM.

THE FOLLOWING LETTER WAS SMUGGLED OUT OF ZANZIBAR AND REACHED US ON APRIL 25, 1968

Please bear with us the monotonous regularity with which we shower you with our complaints regarding the unbearable situation. Nothing has changed to alleviate our suffering and oppression, but in fact things are getting worse.

There are, however, quite a lot of disturbing events that have taken place which we feel should be brought to the public notice. Once again a number of innocent people have been either thrown out of work, imprisoned, or both, without any explanation or reasons. What is more interesting is that you will notice that some of these were ardent supporters of the Afro-Shirazi Party at one time, but have since been disillusioned. e.g. Jaha Ubwa, Mdungi Usi and Kaamis Masoud who were regional commissioners and supporters of the regime have been dismissed from office: the first two were imprisoned and nobody knows of their whereabout. Abdul Latif who was a Co-operative Officer and later Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce has also been sacked. The pretext given for the dismissal of the last two is that they had been negligent in their work and that they have caused deficit in government budget and shortage of food. How two people can cause such chaos is still a mystery to us.

On 15.3.68 the following have also been arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned—Ahmed Himid Mbaye, Pathology Laboratory Officer; Muhamed Said Shinun, Veterinary Assistant; Seyyid Ahmed Abbas, a mason; Zubeir Rijal B.Sc., Assistant Principal, Lumumba College; Bwanakheri Hassan, Student, Forodha Mchanga School; Sheikh Zubeir, Office-messenger, C.G.A.; Mfaume Ahmada, Office-messenger, Agriculture; Sheikh Mdahoma and four others.

They were all arrested while praying to their Lord for peace and prosperity, and it was alleged that they were praying for the downfall of the government. On 24.3.68 they were brought to Haile Selassie School Hall where a number of religious leaders and their students were also ordered to attend. The President, Karume, then addressed the prisoners and others present, saying that "the prisoners belonged to a group which has its associates in Dubai, Dar-es-Salaam and Mombasa, and were praying for the downfall of the government. We shall get hold of all of them and parade them before you."

Soon after this incident the Revolutionary Council met/ on 27th /and a number of religious leaders and their students were arrested. Amongst them are Seyyid Omar Abdulla, graduate of London School of Oriental Studies, Seyyid Shibly, a pilgrim returning from Mecca, his brother, Seyyid Ali, Seyyid Ahmed bin Hassan who is over 75 years of age, and Ali Omar Mzee, a school teacher.

The arrests of the religious leaders did not take us by surprise since we knew that this was coming. On the Idd El-Haj—the day of the Muslims commemorate the day of Pilgrimage—all the mosques were ordered to be closed and the people forced to congregate at the A.S.P. Head-Quarters and say their prayers there. We knew then that it was only a matter of time before the religious leaders would be interned. It would not surprise us at all to see a decree prohibiting all forms of religious activities and closing all places of worship. Religious belief in this part of the world, and Zanzibar in particular, is the strongest obstacle to the spread of Communist dogmas.

DIPLOMATIC BOMBSHELL

From every direction the federal army of Nigeria has gradually been closing in on the 8 million rebel Ibo tribesmen in the breakaway state of Biafra. Outnumbered, outgunned and all but cut off from the rest of the world, the Biafrans seemed to have little reason to hope that their eleven-month old rebellion could last much longer. Then, suddenly, the beleaguered little state won its first open ally when Tanzania formally announced that it had recognized Biafra as an "independent sovereign entity." Ibo towns-people danced in the streets and cheered their bearded leader, Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu. And last week a local newspaper headlined the news: "Christ is Risen—Biafra on Top."

Actually, Biafran officials had had inklings that a Tanzanian announcement would come on May 30, the anniversary of the state's declaration of independence. For months Biafran representatives had been actively at work trying to convince Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere that theirs was a just cause. At last, Nyerere, a humanitarian who has been deeply upset by the slaughter of tens of thousands of Ibos, agreed. "Secession was declared because the Ibo people felt it to be their only defense against extermination," Nyerere maintained. "You cannot kill thousands of people and keep killing more in the name of unity."

Reaction: In Nigeria's capital of Lagos, officials angrily denounced Nyerere's move as "a declaration of war." In short order, Nigeria recalled its envoys from Tanzania and warned that if Nyerere sent a representative to Biafra, "we will treat him like a rebel." Later in the week, however, Lagos changed its tune, presumably because of rumors that the Ivory Coast and Senegal might follow Tanzania's example and recognize the secessionist regime. Obviously concerned that this could drag out the war, Lagos announced that it was ready "any day" to start preliminary peace talks without preconditions.

Many experts on Africa saw this sign of conciliation on the part of Lagos is a tacit admission that Nyerere's diplomatic-bombshell had dramatically altered the political situation. Indeed, Nyerere's move flew in the face of a basic doctrine of the Organization of African Unity—namely, that none of its member states would recognize breakaway regime lest this lead to the Balkanization of the continent. Anticipating criticism from the OAU, Nyerere's party newspaper, The Nationalist, firmly declared: "Tanzania believes African unity is no certificate to kill."

ZANZIBAR ORGANIZATION

MAY 10, 1968.

THE EDITOR,
Newsweek,
New York.

DEAR SIR: In describing President Nyerere as "a humanitarian who has been deeply upset by the slaughter of tens of thousands of Ibos" (International, Newsweek, April 29) you have totally misjudged this wily African dictator who has been adopting double standards throughout his political career. It is certainly time the world knew the real Nyerere. It was this very man who, in connivance with Communist agents, engineered, financed, and armed the bloody coup that overthrew the legally elected Government of Zanzibar in January 1964. He was clever enough to include a small band of Cuban-trained opportunists in carrying out his most cherished plan. That was the bloodiest and most ruthless coup in Africa, besides being utterly meaningless. Over 11,000 innocent people were massacred in a matter of two days. Nyerere did all that in the name of African unity. In less than four months after the coup a union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar was declared without consulting the peoples of the two countries. The slaughter of thousands of Zanzibaris meant nothing to this "humanitarian" as long as unity was achieved, but in Nigeria, "you cannot kill thousands of people and keep killing more in the name of Unity." And whereas in Zanzibar thousands of corpses of pregnant women and children lay festering on their beloved soil for the sake of Nyerere's African unity, in Nigeria "Tanzania believes African unity is no certificate to kill."

The Zanzibaris have not only been massacred, hacked, and maimed, but thousands of them have been thrown into jails, and up to this day, over four years after the coup, there are a number of totally innocent men and women who are still languishing in Nyerere's jails. Among these are the Ministers of the elected Government of Zanzibar. The more unfortunate ones have been confined in the torture cells of the dreaded Secret Police on the island of Zanzibar. Some of these have gone stark mad through extreme physical and mental tortures, and it is feared that they might have of late been physically eliminated.

With the exception of the ruling clique which is naturally well fed and clad, the Zanzibaris are dying a slow death through starvation and hunger, for even salt, the cheapest commodity on God's earth, is not in the shops. Nyerere knows all this very well, but, in the name of African unity, he condones it.

We, of course, are appalled and saddened by the war of attrition that is dragging on in Nigeria, and we would like to see it stopped immediately, and the combatants come to a conference table to resolve their differences; but Nyerere, in view of the foregoing, should be the last person to moralise on the issue. Perhaps President Nyerere would like to consider an old Swahili adage, "Nyani haoni kundule" (A baboon can hardly see its hindquarters).

The Zanzibar people have not at any one moment been consulted on the issue of union with Tanganyika. It was imposed on them. The Zanzibar people demand a return to democratic rule, to their freedom and independence. If Nyerere truly believes in democracy, and if he is a real humanitarian, he should let the people of Zanzibar have a referendum on the issue of union, have free elections to decide their own future. But first of all *he must release all Zanzibari Ministers and hundreds of other innocent people* languishing in his jails today. That is a challenge, and let Nyerere prove his humanitarianism by accepting it. If he doesn't take up this gauntlet, then let him run it, for he shall then be no more than the ruthless hypocrite that he is.

Yours sincerely,
AHMED SEIF KHARUSI,
Leader, Z.O.

ZANZIBAR

The First Vice-President, Mr. Karume, makes the point in an interview published today to mark Union Day, that a country is in a state of revolution until it has achieved all its objectives. Thus, Zanzibar, four years after the uprising which deposed the Sultan and the Arab minority government, is still in a state of revolution.

There have been in this period some major achievements, such as the distribution of land and the improvement of social services, but much remains to be done. At the same time, there are certain things the island rulers have perpetrated in the name of revolutionary progress which do not bear too close a scrutiny.

The infamous mosque murders upon which no apparent action has been taken, and the continued, unjustified and unnecessary detention of the former Zanzibar Cabinet clearly must be chalked up on the debit side. So, also, must Mr. Karume's pronouncement that it will be 50 years before people are elected to an independent executive and legislature on the island and that there should be no further integration with the mainland.

Today, the Revolutionary Council still runs Zanzibar encroaching on the functions of the Judiciary as well as the executive and legislature.

It is not a democratically-elected body and, although the members may claim to represent the masses, they have no mandate to do so. Their popularity has never been tested. Indeed, to reject one system of minority rule and replace it with a council of men who are not freely elected and who can use their power without challenge can hardly be described as true revolutionary progress.

It may well be the case that many of these men are unwilling to face the public for fear that at the polls they, too, would be rejected. But it would be wise of them to remember the means by which they came to power.

They alone did not win the revolution. Victory was achieved by the people—the same people who, surely, are entitled to a say in their own government through the universal method of the ballot box.

ZANZIBAR'S IRON-FISTED REGIME

(By a special correspondent recently in Tanzania, including Zanzibar)

It is common these days when Tanzanians answer questions about the progress of their country to find them add the qualification: "Of course, this applies to the mainland, not Zanzibar." That this should be so, just four years after the revolution which overthrew the Sultan's Government, and the establishment of the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar is, to say the least, a sad reflection on the current situation in the islands.

For, while on the mainland there is complete freedom of movement, free elections and the freedom of the Press, none of these yet applies in Zanzibar and its twin island of Pemba. Indeed, the Revolutionary Council made it clear last week that there will be no free elections for 50 years. The reason for this repression, of course, is not difficult to understand; it stems from fear—fear that one day the tables might be turned and the Council leaders might themselves be facing the wrong end of a gun.

Harsh and autocratic rule, political and often personal revenge, have produced a large and ever-growing number of enemies of the regime. Many persecuted islanders have escaped to the mainland in outrigger canoe and, while they can accept the bloodshed which was part of the revolution and admit that the killings have stopped, they deplore the continuing lack of freedom and justice four years afterwards. They will point out that the former Zanzibar Cabinet is still in prison on the mainland, that most of the former leaders were massacred, and that thousands of the "enemy"—exploiting Asians and Arabs—have left the islands of their own free will for the Gulf States, India or Pakistan, where their families originated in some cases centuries ago.

Why then, they ask, does the Revolutionary Council deem it necessary to act in the way it does? Indeed, why does President Julius Nyerere permit such an unhappy situation to exist in his United Republic?

The diagnosis is fairly simple, if the treatment and cure are not. Take the legal standing of the Revolutionary Council as a starting point. Under the interim constitution—which remains in force until agreement is reached on one for the union—the Council is responsible for the internal self-government of the islands. President Nyerere, although elected President of the United Republic in a poll which covered Zanzibar as well as the mainland, is not directly concerned with the day-to-day administration which comes under the Council headed by Union First Vice-President—and Zanzibar "President"—Sheikh Abeid Karume.

But what is more important is President Nyerere's attitude to the question of integration. While he can and does fly over from his capital Dar-es-Salaam—a mere 20-minute trip—to sort out major blunders such as the setting up of the secret courts, he has no intention of forcing the Zanzibaris into the Union any faster than they wish to go. In fact, he could now exert greater pressure in this direction whereas in the early days it would have resulted in the break-up of what was a very brittle Union indeed. But last week Sheikh Karume made it clear he wants no further integration with Tanzania.

The President, however, has stated that the Union should come naturally "as the will of the people." He points to other unions, most of which took many years to crystalise, and maintains that his own is going ahead slowly but surely. And his view is justified in a review of the public services in particular. The recent birth of the East African Economic Community has assisted, with Zanzibar now sharing in common services with the mainland, Kenya and Uganda. These services include airports, harbours, ports and telecommunications and customs. The police forces of the mainland and the islands are well integrated although the Zanzibar contingent of the Tanzania People's Defense Force could hardly be regarded as a definite part of the mainland army. The banks, foreign exchange control, hotels and a number of other ventures are working harmoniously.

But, even allowing for the handing out of small farms to peasant farmers from the confiscated Arab estates, the Revolutionary Council is not popular—and this is the major source of trouble. If the councillors went to the polls tomorrow it is unlikely that more than two or three would be elected in a free vote. This is the reason that elections were not allowed in the islands to coincide with these 18 months ago on the mainland.

Moves to encourage the Council to dissolve itself and to encourage its members to accept a variety of official posts or receive handsome pensions, have apparently been rejected. The members clearly do not wish to give up the power which they have enjoyed for the past four years—a power very much to the liking of the Left-wing group which is estimated to form roughly one-third of the 32-strong Council.

They are backed in their aims by the East Germans and Chinese who have dominated the islands ever since they established diplomatic links immediately after the revolution. Many observers blame the lethargy or hesitancy of the British and Americans to recognize the new Zanzibar regime early in 1964 as being mainly responsible for the present state of affairs in the islands. They comment (with some truth) that the Zanzibaris have changed one set of colonial masters for another, and that the new ones rarely smile, rarely have contact with the man in the street, rarely even exchange greetings. And anyone who knows the real warmth of the islander realizes just how "foreign" the new masters must be.

Unhappily, as the Union grows in strength, the Revolutionary Council is bound to become more stubborn, more inclined to place obstacles in the way of integration. Most observers agree "things will get worse before they get better."

At the same time, as the mainlanders shrug their shoulders at the mention of Zanzibar, official and private financial affairs are at their lowest ebb. Every other shop or business in the main street is increasingly depressing.

While the peasant farmers are happy enough maintaining themselves and their families from the fertile soil, in the town unemployment is rising, particularly among the Asian community, and food queues are a new sight caused by the inefficiency of the State trading organization.

As the pockets and stomachs of the people feel the pinch, there lies the danger of further strife in the islands. As one young African said the other day after arriving on the mainland: "Apart from President Nyerere, the people of Zanzibar still haven't got the leaders they want, and they haven't got freedom of speech and movement. Unless the Revolutionary Council sees sense soon, they may well be bloodshed."

And that just about sums up the situation. Short of a revolt, no one is likely to make the first move. But if a revolt takes place, it will be a bloody business, for the Revolutionary Council is firmly entrenched with the backing of the East Germans and Chinese and the support of the 700-strong communist-trained army in the islands. Nevertheless, the writing is clearly on the wall.

April 29, 1968.

The Editor,
The Sunday Observer, London E.C. 4.

Dear Sir: I have read with interest the article "Why we recognized Biafra" by President Nyerere in your issue of 28th. 1968.

Amongst other things the President said "We in this country (i.e. Tanzania—and to be more exact, Tanganyika) believe that unity is vital for the future of Africa. But it must be a unity which is freely determined upon by the people." If this is one of the reasons which have made Nyerere to recognize Biafra, may I ask him whether the Union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika (however flimsy it is) has ever been determined by the people of Zanzibar?

Precepts speak louder than words.

Yours sincerely,
Ahmed Seif Kharusi,
Leader, Z.O.

April 25, 1968.

The Editor,
The Reporter, Nairobi, Kenya.

Dear Sir: The recent detention and subsequent release of 24 people in Zanzibar reported in your issue of 19th April demonstrates again the bigotry and maglomania of the present non-elected rulers of those unfortunate islands.

Mr. Karume and his Revolutionary Council accused the detainees who are not, incidentally, all members of the Z.N.P., of having held a private religious ceremony praying for the downfall of the government. This is a travesty of the truth, because "Burdai" has traditionally always been performed in private houses as opposed to being held in mosques, and moreover the purpose of these recitals is to pray for human understanding and world peace and not for the overthrow of governments.

We are told that the 24 people broke a decree by holding a religious meeting in a private house. Surely the right people to adjudicate on such a matter are the Law-Courts, and not the legislators themselves. There is always a danger of a miscarriage of justice when the law-givers themselves become judges. This is exactly what has happened in Zanzibar.

For Mr. Karume to say that the accused would not have arisen suspicion had they held the religious meeting in a mosque—let us remind him that four years ago six people were brutally murdered in a mosque whilst praying to their Lord. Has he already forgotten about it as he has conveniently forgotten the public inquiry which he had then promised and which has up to this very minute not yet met?

Sir, Mr. Karume and his friends cannot fool the world about what is going on in Zanzibar. Since the overthrow of the legally elected government the country has been turned into a Police State where injustice has triumphed over justice and tyranny over freedom. No amount of pious accusations will alter this fact. If Mr. Karume has the interest of Zanzibaris at heart let him hold free and impartial elections now!

Yours sincerely,
Ahmed Seif Kharusi.

SENATE—*Thursday, June 6, 1968*

The Senate met at 11 a.m., and was called to order by the Vice President.

Rev. Edward B. Lewis, D.D., pastor, Capitol Hill United Methodist Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

Dear Lord and Father of all people who mourn, we bow as a nation before Thee this sad day. One of our national leaders and a worthy Member of this U.S. Senate has been slain by an assassin's gun.

We are numb because we did not believe it could happen in this Nation we love so much. We are a country of all backgrounds, free to voice different opinions and convictions. Our brother, highly esteemed by so many, spoke his convictions so effectively seeking the Nation's highest office. Because of extremism, O God, he is now the victim of a sick mind and spirit. We find we are a part of that sickness. Tragedy upon tragedy is being written as our contemporary history. Have mercy upon us, O God. Forgive us. Guide us. Give to us a sense of divine directions in our confusion.

We thank Thee, O God, for ROBERT F. KENNEDY. We place him in Thy tender care. His was a life of deep religious faith, a life of untold loyalty and sacrifice of service to his country, a life of devotion to family. Give peace beyond human understanding to his soul. We are grateful that our spirits can hear the voice of God when we are deaf to the voice of men.

Give strength and comfort to his faithful wife, Ethel. Be with her today in divine strength in meeting the crushing demands upon her. Bless her children. Be with the Kennedy family, the mother, father, sisters, and brother in compassion and love.

Forgive us for the spirit of violence, hostility of heart, extremism and lawlessness among the people of our country and the world which causes hours like this.

Be the eternal guide to our President, this Senate, and other leaders during a dark and sad period. Through our sincere penitence help us to see how, where, and why we are facing this shocking moment.

We remember the word of God spoken through the Apostle Paul, "We are afflicted in every way, but not crushed; perplexed, but not driven to despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; struck down, but not destroyed."

Help us to learn through this, another human sacrifice, that the way of understanding, respect, decency, and love must govern our paths. We pray in the name of our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, June 4, 1968, be dispensed with.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE SUBMITTED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the order of the Senate of March 16, 1967,

Mr. MONRONEY, from the Committee on Appropriations reported favorably, with amendments, on June 5, 1968, the bill (H.R. 16489) making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, and submitted a report (No. 1165) thereon, which was printed.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENTS TO TREASURY, POST OFFICE, AND EXECUTIVE OFFICE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1969

AMENDMENT NO. 840

Pursuant to the order of the Senate of March 16, 1967,

Mr. MONRONEY, on June 5, 1968, submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 16489) making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Department, the Executive Office of the President, and certain Independent Agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, the following amendment; namely, page 6, after line 17, insert the following:

"For necessary expenses for the operation of the United States Secret Service, including purchase (not to exceed one hundred and seventy-one for police-type use which may exceed by $300 each the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, of which one hundred and twenty-nine are for replacement only), and hire of passenger motor vehicles, hire of aircraft, services as authorized by title 5, United States Code, section 3109, purchase, repair, and cleaning of uniforms, and, in addition, to other duties now provided by law, the protection of persons who are determined by the Secretary of the Treasury from time to time as being major Presidential or Vice Presidential candidates who should receive such protection (unless the candidate has declined such protection), after consultation with an advisory committee consisting of the majority leader of the Senate, the minority leader of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the minority leader of the House of Representatives, and one additional Member selected by the members of such committee; $21,300,000, of which $400,000 shall be immediately available.

"Hereafter, when requested by the Director of the Secret Service, Federal departments and agencies, unless such authority be revoked by the President, shall assist the Secret Service in the performance of its protective duties under title 18, United States Code, section 3056 and the preceding paragraph."

Mr. MONRONEY also submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 16489, making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

AMENDMENT NO. 841

Pursuant to the order of the Senate of March 16, 1967,

Mr. MUNDT on June 5, 1968, submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 16489) making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Department, the Executive Office of the President, and certain Independent Agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, the following amendment; namely, page 16, after line 16, insert the following:

"SEC. 502. Section 5(b) of the Act entitled 'An Act creating a Commission to be known as the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography', approved October 3, 1967 (Public Law 90-100), is amended by striking out 'January 31, 1970' and inserting in lieu thereof 'July 31, 1970'."

Mr. MUNDT also submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 16489, supra, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

(For text of amendment referred to, see the foregoing notice.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed without amendment, the bill (S. 2585) for the relief of Kap Rai Kim and Young Nam Kim.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 73) creating a Joint Committee on Arrangements for the Inauguration of the President-Elect and the Vice-President-Elect on January 20, 1969.

The message further announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2349) to provide for the appointment of additional circuit judges, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 11308) to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 272. An act to extend the period during which amounts transferred from the employment security administration account in the unemployment trust fund to

State accounts may be used by the States for payment of expenses of administration;

H.R. 1648. An act for the relief of Martina Zubiri Garcia;

H.R. 2478. An act for the relief of Josefina Policar Abutan Fuliar;

H.R. 2695. An act for the relief of Donald D. Lambert;

H.R. 3681. An act for the relief of James M. Yates;

H.R. 5029. An act for the relief of Maria Balluardo Frasca;

H.R. 5815. An act for the relief of Lt. Comdr. William W. Gentry;

H.R. 5818. An act for the relief of Clifton R. Kindt;

H.R. 6195. An act for the relief of Peter Balinas and Lee Balinas;

H.R. 6323. An act for the relief of Dr. Rodolfo Eduardo Bustamante y Arriola;

H.R. 6655. An act for the relief of Mary Jane Orloski;

H.R. 6673. An act for the relief of Lee Ok Ja;

H.R. 7047. An act for the relief of Dr. Ramon Aixala;

H.R. 7735. An act relating to the dutiable status of aluminum hydroxide and oxide, calcined bauxite, and bauxite ore;

H.R. 7900. An act for the relief of Dr. Eulogio Manuel Calderin Pazos;

H.R. 7901. An act for the relief of Dr. Francisco Dominguez Lopez;

H.R. 7902. An act for the relief of Dr. Miguel A. Santos-Buch;

H.R. 8087. An act for the relief of Henry Gibson;

H.R. 8809. An act for the relief of Maj. Hollis O. Hall;

H.R. 8816. An act for the relief of Dr. Guillermo Sardinas Perez;

H.R. 9022. An act for the relief of Dr. Maria del Carmen Ortiz y Gomez;

H.R. 9089. An act for the relief of E. Christian Des Marets, Sr.;

H.R. 10457. An act for the relief of Dr. Angela Zabarte Fandino;

H.R. 11322. An act for the relief of Ricardo Siguancia Rosario;

H.R. 11591. An act for the relief of Dr. Eliseo E. Puig;

H.R. 11592. An act for the relief of Dr. Orlando Fajardo Vargas;

H.R. 11593. An act for the relief of Dr. Jose R. Guerra;

H.R. 11787. An act for the relief of Dr. Conrado Gonzales-Nunez;

H.R. 11901. An act for the relief of Dr. Hugo Alfonso Ferrara Collazo;

H.R. 12071. An act for the relief of Sung Nan Lee;

H.R. 12116. An act for the relief of Dr. Roberto de la Caridad Miguel;

H.R. 12378. An act for the relief of Demetroula Georgiades;

H.R. 12419. An act for the relief of Dr. Rodrigo Victor de Valle;

H.R. 12850. An act for the relief of Ku Eun Yong;

H.R. 13154. An act for the relief of Dr. Santiago Jose Manuel Ramon Bienvenido Roig y Garcia;

H.R. 13160. An act for the relief of William W. Hiebert;

H.R. 13353. An act for the relief of Dr. Isaac Cohen;

H.R. 13469. An act for the relief of Dr. Antonio Matias Rubio;

H.R. 13577. An act for the relief of Dr. Luis Narciso Gonzalez y Fleites;

H.R. 13650. An act for the relief of Aydee Cordero;

H.R. 13863. An act for the relief of Choi Sung Joo;

H.R. 13912. An act for the relief of Angeliki Giannakou;

H.R. 14017. An act for the relief of Dr. Rogelio Giraldo Vidal-Lopez;

H.R. 14079. An act for the relief of Lt. (junior grade) Herbert F. Swanson, and others;

H.R. 14167. An act for the relief of Lydia M. Parsley;

H.R. 14238. An act for the relief of Dr. Francisco E. Laurrauri-Laurrauri;

H.R. 14324. An act for the relief of Dr. Pedro Baudilio Napoles (Fernandez);

H.R. 14751. An act for the relief of Dr. Tomas Ricardo Armstrong-Martinez;

H.R. 15798. An act to extend for an additional temporary period the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of yarn of silk;

H.R. 15840. An act for the relief of Dr. Miguel Angel Ponce De Leon;

H.R. 16037. An act for the relief of Caroline G. Junghans;

H.R. 16283. An act for the relief of Harvey E. Ward;

H.R. 17104. An act to extend until July 15, 1969, the suspension of duty on electrodes for use in producing aluminum; and

H.R. 17268. An act to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 1581. An act to amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (69 Stat. 584);

S. 2178. An act for the relief of Dennis W. Radtke;

S. 2452. An act to provide for the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in Illinois;

S. 2634. An act to amend section 867(a) of title 10, United States Code, in order to establish the Court of Military Appeals as the U.S. Court of Military Appeals under article I of the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes;

S. 2884. An act to amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 so as to recommend to the several States that its absentee registration and voting procedures be extended to all citizens temporarily residing abroad;

S. 3017. An act to change the provision with respect to the maximum rate of interest permitted on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936; and

H.J. Res. 1224. Joint resolution to authorize the President to reappoint as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for an additional term of 1 year, the officer serving in that position on April 1, 1968.

The message informed the Senate that, pursuant to the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 73, 90th Congress, the Speaker had appointed as members of the Joint Committee to Make the Necessary Arrangements for the Inauguration of the President-Elect and the Vice President-Elect of the United States on the 20th Day of January 1969, the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. McCORMACK, Mr. ALBERT, and Mr. GERALD R. FORD.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H.R. 272. An act to extend the period during which amounts transferred from the employment security administration account in the unemployment trust fund to State accounts may be used by the States for payment of expenses of administration;

H.R. 7735. An act relating to the dutiable status of aluminum hydroxide and oxide, calcined bauxite, and bauxite ore;

H.R. 15798. An act to extend for an additional temporary period the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of yarn of silk; and

H.R. 17104. An act to extend until July 15, 1969, the suspension of duty on electrodes for use in producing aluminum; to the Committee on Finance.

H.R. 1648. An act for the relief of Martina Zubiri Garcia;

H.R. 2478. An act for the relief of Josefina Policar Abutan Fuliar;

H.R. 2695. An act for the relief of Donald D. Lambert;

H.R. 3681. An act for the relief of James M. Yates;

H.R. 5029. An act for the relief of Maria Balluardo Frasca;

H.R. 5815. An act for the relief of Lt. Comdr. William W. Gentry;

H.R. 5818. An act for the relief of Clifton R. Kindt;

H.R. 6195. An act for the relief of Peter Balinas and Lee Balinas;

H.R. 6323. An act for the relief of Dr. Rudolfo Eduardo Bustomante y Arriola;

H.R. 6655. An act for the relief of Mary Jane Orloski;

H.R. 6673. An act for the relief of Lee Ok Ja;

H.R. 7047. An act for the relief of Dr. Ramon Aixala;

H.R. 7900. An act for the relief of Dr. Eulogio Manuel Calderin Pazos;

H.R. 7901. An act for the relief of Dr. Francisco Dominguez Lopez;

H.R. 7902. An act for the relief of Dr. Miguel A. Santos-Buch;

H.R. 8087. An act for the relief of Henry Gibson;

H.R. 8809. An act for the relief of Maj. Hollis O. Hall;

H.R. 8816. An act for the relief of Dr. Guillermo Sardinas Perez;

H.R. 9022. An act for the relief of Dr. Maria del Carmen Ortiz y Gomez;

H.R. 9089. An act for the relief of E. Christian Des Marets, Sr.;

H.R. 10457. An act for the relief of Dr. Angela Zabarte Fandino;

H.R. 11322. An act for the relief of Ricardo Siguancia Rosario;

H.R. 11591. An act for the relief of Dr. Eliseo E. Puig;

H.R. 11592. An act for the relief of Dr. Orlando Fajardo Vargas;

H.R. 11593. An act for the relief of Dr. Jose R. Guerra;

H.R. 11787. An act for the relief of Dr. Conrado Gonzales-Nunez;

H.R. 11901. An act for the relief of Dr. Hugo Alfonso Ferrara Collazo;

H.R. 12071. An act for the relief of Sung Nan Lee;

H.R. 12116. An act for the relief of Dr. Roberto de la Caridad Miguel;

H.R. 12378. An act for the relief of Demetroula Georgiades;

H.R. 12419. An act for the relief of Dr. Rodrigo Victor de Valle;

H.R. 12850. An act for the relief of Ku Eun Yong;

H.R. 13160. An act for the relief of William W. Hiebert;

H.R. 13353. An act for the relief of Dr. Isaac Cohen;

H.R. 13469. An act for the relief of Dr. Antonio Matias Rubio;

H.R. 13577. An act for the relief of Dr. Luis Narciso Gonzalez y Fleites;

H.R. 13650. An act for the relief of Aydee Cordero;

H.R. 13863. An act for the relief of Choi Sung Joo;

H.R. 14017. An act for the relief of Dr. Rogelio Giraldo Vidal-Lopez;

H.R. 14079. An act for the relief of Lt. (junior grade) Herbert F. Swanson, and others;

H.R. 14167. An act for the relief of Lydia M. Parsley;

H.R. 14238. An act for the relief of Dr. Francisco E. Laurrauri-Laurrauri;

H.R. 14324. An act for the relief of Dr. Pedro Baudilio Napoles (Fernandez);

H.R. 14751. An act for the relief of Dr. Tomas Ricardo Armstrong-Martinez;

H.R. 15840. An act for the relief of Dr. Miguel Angel Ponce De Leon;

H.R. 16037. An act for the relief of Caroline G. Junghans; and

H.R. 16283. An act for the relief of Harvey E. Ward; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17268. An act to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements be limited to 3 minutes during the period for the transaction of routine morning business which will end at 12 o'clock.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEATH OF SENATOR KENNEDY OF NEW YORK

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished minority leader and myself, I send to the desk a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 300) was considered and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

S. Res. 300

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Honorable Robert F. Kennedy, late a Senator from the State of New York.

Resolved, That a committee of Senators join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the assassination of our late colleague, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, marked the passing from the living scene of a man of courage, dedication, integrity, and patriotism.

Senator Kennedy was one who recognized the problems of the present and sought to find solutions for them in a manner which would bring the people of this country together, unify us as a nation, and prepare us for the ordeals which lie ahead.

I grieve for my country and for the Kennedys—all of them.

I grieve in a personal sense for this man's passing, and I grieve in a national sense because I wonder what is wrong that there can be a killing not of just a Robert Kennedy but also a President Kennedy, a Medgar Evers, a Martin Luther King, Jr., a Lt. William G. King, Jr., USMC, of Orlando, Fla., a Lt. Thaddeus Lesnick, U.S. Marine Corps, of Fishtail, Mont., a small ranching town in my State, and a Thomas Williams of the District of Columbia.

We have a lot of questions to ask ourselves; a lot of answers to find, and not too much time to do it. The very best will be expected of all of us to see us through the travail of our domestic and foreign difficulties, and we cannot afford not to measure up.

What does it take to awaken us from our deep sleep? What in the name of God has happened to us?

Are we so blind that we cannot see?

Are we so deaf that we cannot hear?

Are we so dumb that we cannot understand?

Are we so filled with hatred that we cannot love and appreciate one another?

Are we so immersed in ourselves that we cannot live with one another in peace and amity?

Are we so violent that we fail to comprehend the basic tenets and needs of a democracy?

Have we lost our appreciation of the old values while creating nothing new and worthwhile?

Are we too sorry for ourselves; too involved with our materialism; too far away from the spiritual values of our heritage; and too wrapped up in our self-esteem?

How do we learn? How do we mature as a nation? How do we overcome the divisiveness which marks our country in this hour of trouble?

We can learn by recognizing and living up to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; by recognizing that we are a government of laws and not of men; and by punishing those who flout the Constitution and the laws made thereunder and by protecting those who live by them.

The killing of all of these men from Massachusetts, from New York, from Mississippi, from Georgia, from Florida, from Montana, my own State and my own constituent, and from the District of Columbia was totally callous. Criminals who perpetrate these crimes must and will be called to account or otherwise the law has no meaning, responsibility, no credit, and anarchy will become the norm of our society.

We cannot recall the lives of any of the human beings whom I mentioned. We can, however, learn from what has taken place and attempt to find out the causes, seek the cures, and do what we can to bring an end to the disrespect, irresponsibility, and outright contempt for life and law which is so prevalent today.

Yesterday, I had a conference with the distinguished minority leader, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], at which time I discussed with him our jointly introducing a resolution setting up a select committee to inquire into the pathology of political and social violence which plagues the Nation. We were agreed on the need for such an inquiry, and yesterday evening spent an hour at the White House discussing the matter with the President of the United States. Out of that conference came total agreement between the President and the leadership that a single bipartisan commission was urgently needed, should be appointed, and would represent the best approach in seeking answers to the pressing national problems of political and social violence.

The President has acted swiftly in this hour of national tragedy, having already announced his appointments to the proposed Commission. On the recommendation of the leadership, he has designated from the Senate the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Hart] and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Hruska] to serve as members. They have our full confidence and support in the profound task which falls to them.

Mrs. Mansfield, our daughter Anne, and I extend to Ethel Kennedy and the children, to Senator Kennedy and his sisters, and to the parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, our deepest sympathy and condolence in their hour of distress and sorrow. We offer our prayers for our deceased colleague and beloved friend. May his soul rest in peace.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, in time of great national sorrow—and we are in such a time—we can take some solace in the vitality of democratic institutions. Our Nation will remain strong so long as brave, capable men seek our highest offices and hold those offices with distinction.

For this reason, I support without reservation the measure before the Senate at this moment. Its purpose is so simple. We legislate today to take every possible precaution so that our Presidents, past, present, and future, are never taken from us because our Government failed to provide them with maximum protection.

I might say parenthetically, Mr. President, that what we see by way of physical political assassination does not tell the whole story. There was given to us in some confidence the number of threats that have been made on the lives of Presidents now and before, and it is an astonishing number. In fact, it is almost unbelievable in a free country.

Only 5 years ago, we suffered the loss of our President by an assassin's bullet. Today, we mourn the brutal slaying of a man who aspired to that high office.

It was a cruel bit of fate that Robert Francis Kennedy should live through one assassination in his time and obviously not live through the second.

Each day the life of the present President is placed in danger. And we continue to honor and esteem our two former Presidents—Dwight Eisenhower who, as I recall, is 78 years of age, and Harry Truman, who is, as I recall, 84 years of age—and the former First Lady, Mrs. John F. Kennedy, who need and are entitled to protection from this Government. It is so little that this great Republic can do for them.

Ten years ago, during the administration of a Republican President, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives said in the course of a floor debate, "Once a President, always a President."

Mr. President, I subscribe to that. Once a man has served his nation in that most exacting office of all, he is our President for as long as he lives. Dwight Eisenhower and Harry Truman are still "Mr. President" to me.

I want our Presidents to have every protection this Government can provide them. I do not want to risk another national tragedy because we have failed to put all the personnel and resources needed behind the task of protecting them. I want each department to be in constant liaison with the Secret Service. And I want the Director of the Secret Service to be able to call upon our personnel and facilities—and without having to think twice about it—to see that the assistance is available at all times.

We had one incident out in my State where the Secret Service borrowed personnel from another agency of Government and they found themselves on the receiving end of legal action before they got through.

Perhaps we are able to do so at this time. But there should be no question about it—no failing because of proper legislative foundation. So let us make the record clear today by the passage of the measure before us.

The distinguished majority leader and I spent quite a little time last night with not only the President, but also with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Secretary of Defense, and the Attorney General. We finally agreed upon those who should serve on this Commission and take a look at this picture and see what can be done. The Commission will have as its Chairman a very distinguished academician, Milton Eisenhower. Everybody knows him. He has been the president of several universities, and later the president of Johns Hopkins University, which has a rather international flavor. He has been one of the great servants in the Government.

The other members of the Commission are: Archbishop Terence Cooke, of New York, a very distinguished cleric; former Ambassador Patricia Harris; Eric Hoffer, the philosopher; Judge Leon Higginbotham, of New York, who has a great reputation as a distinguished judge; Senator HART, of Michigan; Senator HRUSKA, of Nebraska; Representative HALE BOGGS, of Louisiana; Representative WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio; and Albert E. Jenner, of Chicago, who served as counsel to the Warren Commission, and who is a very able lawyer, indeed.

Mr. President, I think that this Commission, properly implemented with staff and the necessary funds, can do a great and timely work, and it ought to be done now, because already, if one has examined the morning press, he will note that there are Soviet authorities who are already referring to us as a sick nation. We are not a sick nation. These minorities do not make us sick, but we better ascertain what the motivation is and then apply the remedy.

John Wilkes Booth had a motive when he killed Abraham Lincoln. He thought it would end the Civil War to remove the leader. A disappointed office seeker assassinated McKinley, and Garfield was assassinated. The assassins thought it proved something. There were motives there. The motive in the death of the late John Fitzgerald Kennedy has never been conclusively established.

The man who has now perpetrated violence in California speaks as an excellent conversationalist; and his diary is in the hands of authorities, and there are some rather fantastic entries, but there has not been indicated what motive was behind this heinous act. We better find out what those motives are, and then, of course, the remedy can be applied.

Never was there any time in the history of this country when there has been so much fever and tumult. When they think that these violent acts and a violent way of life prove something, frankly, they prove exactly nothing.

I hope this commission can move into action swiftly and implement itself with whatever it needs and give us a quick report. It is a distinguished commission indeed, and I salute and applaud the President for undertaking this effort.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, the assassination of our late colleague, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, illustrates most tragically the spirit of hate, lawlessness, and complete disregard for the rights and convictions of others which has captured the minds of too many of our people. As a result, additional laws will be promptly passed and I hope they will be strictly enforced. Today, the House of Representatives will probably pass the Senate omnibus crime bill which a large majority in the Senate feel will assure stronger law enforcement.

I hope we may have a firmer determination to enforce the law on the part of Federal, State, and local officials, including the courts. But it is very clear that there must be also a change within the hearts and minds of individual citizens supporting and, indeed, demanding stronger law enforcement and at the same time giving more tolerant recognition to the rights of others to hold and express different convictions from our own, so long as those convictions are within the law. A personal dedication of all Americans to the cause of better law enforcement, coupled with more tolerant recognition of the lawful rights of others would be the finest possible memorial to Senator KENNEDY.

In the meantime, Mrs. Holland and I join all decent Americans in mourning the death of Senator KENNEDY and expressing our deep sympathy for his widow, the children and the other members of the Kennedy family who have had to bear much more than their share of personal grief and tragedy.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, the Nation and the Senate mourns the tragic passing of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, and Mrs. Talmadge joins me in extending deep sympathy to the Kennedy family.

Senator KENNEDY, struck down in his prime by an assassin's bullet, was the victim of a kind of insanity that has taken hold of this great land. Sick and vicious minds have been at work. They would abandon civilized conduct and settle differences between men and issues by the sword. I can find no compassion or understanding in my heart for such bestiality. It must be expunged from our society.

It is my prayer that all the people of our country will heed the call for law and order and for the restoration of social sanity that has been issued by the Congress and the President. It is my further hope that all our people of all races and political persuasions will unite in the common purpose of advancing the welfare, well-being, and prosperity of each and every citizen of this country.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, at a time of tragedy in my own family, no two persons were more sensitive and understanding than Ethel and BOB KENNEDY. Each of them contacted members of the family. They were especially kind and understanding to my daughter Sharon, whom they befriended and helped.

On the anniversary of the passage of 1 year from the death of my daughter Valerie, BOB KENNEDY handwrote me a deeply moving letter and handed it to me in this Chamber. It was an uncommonly gracious gesture, but one which typified the man.

I know of no man who felt more deeply the misfortunes of others, especially the plight of the needy in this country and throughout the world, than ROBERT KENNEDY. No man devoted himself more to helping them, despite the personal malignment directed against him because of his efforts to lighten their burdens.

This century has been a bloody one. Many millions have died in combat. Millions of others have died in concentration camps. Nuclear weapons have been developed and employed. In America, some of the best among us have been felled by assassins. Human life has been squandered.

Thus, the record of the 20th century to some seems increasingly atrocious. Despite the spread of education, particularly in the industrial nations; despite great advances in the arts and sciences; despite the diversion of greater resources than ever before to the study of human behavior, the level of violence has risen.

The problem is acute both at home and abroad. The problem is, how do we lower the level of violence and raise the level of understanding and cooperation among men and nations?

The first order of business is to stop the shooting. At home we require and deserve much stricter gun laws and strong but fair law enforcement. Abroad we have a responsibility to find a formula for ending the war in Vietnam.

If we persevere in taking every step we can toward peace abroad, peace can be won abroad. Here at home, let us rededicate ourselves to rooting out the bias that exists in our hearts and strike it down with logic. Let us teach our children that brotherhood and justice must be practiced every day of our lives. Let love guide us in our relationships with each other and with all men.

If we live our lives this way, and if we adopt such policies as a Nation, peace, order, and truth will be advanced in the world, and brotherhood and justice may yet be achieved. We cannot shrink from such efforts. Nor can we give up on ourselves or neglect our responsibility to do what must be done. No man had a keener awareness of this responsibility than ROBERT KENNEDY. Individually and collectively, let us resolve to make ourselves, our Nation, and the world more rational, more tolerant, more compassionate, and more acceptable in the eyes of God and all just men.

Mr. President, there is much that remains to be done by both bodies of this legislature. But America cannot just say to Congress, "What are you going to do about these problems and challenges?" For each American must dedicate himself to doing something about them.

Respect for order and a sense of decency must begin within the family. It must begin with the community, the municipality, and the State before the Federal Government can act in a significant way.

Every American can say to himself, "I will find someone in this country less fortunate than I. I am not going to leave their fate to others. I myself am going to do something to help someone else, so that justice and dignity will belong to all men, so that the American dream can be a dream not just for some Americans but for all Americans, and so that this American dream can, once again—in our time—be a symbol of light and hope for all the people of the world."

ROBERT KENNEDY deeply believed in the American dream, and by his death, America has lost more than she can afford to lose. Today, our hearts go out to all the Kennedys, whose own personal losses have been exceeded only by what they have given the Nation.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, in this land of shock and sorrow it is fitting that here in the Senate we should pause in tribute to our fallen colleague, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. For here was centered the words and work of a great American who now belongs to the ages

To our prayers we shall add praise for the goals of human good that this brave young man sought—and our promise that his cause has not died with him.

It was in the nature of ROBERT KENNEDY to have causes—to be concerned. He held the power of place—but was at home with the humble. He was a man of wealth—but his concern was for the poor.

He was a lawyer who had held the high office of Attorney General of the United States—and his clients were the penniless and the friendless.

He was a fond father whose children shared the podium with him in his hours of high decision—and underprivileged children shared his heart in every waking moment.

He was a son of a dedicated family which has served America well and suffered so much. He was a devoted brother—one of three who have brought great honor to this Senate.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY was a Senator from the State of New York but his real constituency was the entire world of the underprivileged.

His years were given to demanding tasks—but he remained young—and now God has chosen that he shall be a youth for all eternity.

He had an appeal to youth—and as we watched their response, and clear good nature—and evident affection for the America of Senator KENNEDY's dreams and determination—we felt a sense of relief from the violence that has been too often in the streets of our cities.

Surely, we felt a sense of mature values that must make our America secure.

Senator KENNEDY had an appeal to youth who served him on his staff with a dedicated zeal—far beyond the call of duty. He and his workers were our Senate neighbors. Across the hall and through their open doors, we enjoyed their youth and enthusiasm—just as we sense and share their overpowering sadness in this lonely hour.

For the act of a madman in distant Los Angeles will leave its scars on many, many young lives whose days seem to change from destiny to despair.

Senator KENNEDY worked for the sanctity of the home—and he died by the hand of a son of a broken home.

Senator KENNEDY spoke against violence. "What has violence ever gained?" he asked—and he died by violence.

In the hour of the tragic death of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Senator KENNEDY delivered at Cleveland what might be his own eulogy when he said:

> No martyr's cause has ever been stilled by the assassin's bullet.

Beyond any words we may utter in the Senate today—that must be our work for all days.

Even as we speak a plane is making its sad journey across the peaceful skies of the America ROBERT KENNEDY loved—for which he labored—for which he died.

The mortal remains of ROBERT KENNEDY make their way from sea to shining sea—to the requiem in the cathedral of his faith—then to journey to this city—by these very buildings—to come to rest by his brother's side—in Arlington—the immortal altar of Americanism.

To his beloved wife and children—to all the stricken family—too often steeped in tragedy—we offer our humble human consolation that they shall be remembered in our prayers—and we offer the solemn promise that their loved ones shall not be forgotten in our purposes.

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, we grieve today with the loss of our colleague ROBERT KENNEDY and for a family that has experienced so much tragedy and for a Nation once again enduring the shock and self-analysis that come with the assassin's bullet.

Perhaps laws can be strengthened—and perhaps facts can be brought to public attention by commission inquiry. Nevertheless, it seems more compelling to me that all Americans examine their hearts and their minds. Never in our history, even during the tragedy of civil war, has there been evidence of so many angry people and so much divisiveness as has been manifest in America during the past few years. Never before have Americans appeared more intolerant of the views of others.

This tragic death, regardless of the motive of the assassin, has implications that strike at the very roots of our Nation. For what meaning have freedom of speech and all of the other inalienable rights guaranteed by our Constitution if violence, lawlessness, and hatred continue as prominent features of our society?

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, Senator KENNEDY was not only a Senate colleague but a personal friend. Years ago, we had attended law school together.

Now, as a result of this tragedy, a part of the canvass of his life is left white, never to be painted in. In his struggle to play what he thought to be his part in the American political scene, he was not so much pushed by the plans of the past as pulled by the hopes of the future.

I find my own sense of loss to be great—not really measurable at all.

And the cost and loss to our national spirit is likewise not subject to measurement, but we must know that our democratic processes are somehow diminished.

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, if America is blessed, she is blessed not only with the quality of her institutions, but with the quality of the men who guide her destiny.

Such a man was ROBERT KENNEDY.

Like his brother before him, he stood tall and gave his whole spirit and being to his fellow countrymen.

And now he has given his life.

Life asked much of ROBERT KENNEDY. It gave him a wonderful family, a keen and inquisitive mind, and an important role to play in his Nation's affairs. But it also took much. It took his brother, John; it must have sapped his energy many times when he was attacked and criticized; and, now, it has demanded the supreme sacrifice.

For ROBERT KENNEDY, the fight is now over. But the battle goes on. And, if there is a single consolation in his tragic death, it is this: that the world was touched by this man while he lived.

His concern and dedication for his fellow man leaves this cold and cruel world just a little warmer. And his memory, during the dark days ahead, will provide a beacon to light the path before us.

His life, as Shakespeare wrote:

Was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, we are all saddened by the news of the death of Senator KENNEDY of New York. The shameful and senseless murder of ROBERT F. KENNEDY is a blow to our Nation and to our democratic processes. The Senate of the United States has lost an effective and strong and dynamic Member.

Mrs. Byrd and I want to extend our sympathy to his family, his wife and his children, his brother TED, his aged father and mother, and to all to whom he was close and dear.

The Kennedy family, which has given three sons to the service of the Nation, has been called upon to suffer and to endure more than any family should.

I join my colleagues and people everywhere in denouncing the madness of the act which took his life and expressing my own personal sorrow at the needless thing that has happened.

I am sobered by the thought that our republican form of government cannot continue to function if candidates for public office or holders of public office cannot safely go among the people to discuss issues and to comment upon the affairs of state.

If we have come to the point in our overpermissive society at which twisted minds are to be allowed to equate violence and killing with dissent and go unpunished for their acts, then our Nation cannot endure. Yet, that is the impression that is being created so often in so many places as the perpetrators of violence and murder have escaped the consequences of their crimes.

The Nation is aroused today by the emotional horror of Senator KENNEDY's violent death, but this will subside, and assassination and murder and violence will strike us again, unless some fundamental changes are made in the philosophy of our courts and in the moral apathy of our people and in the hearts of our people.

I call for a return to a basic principle upon which any civilized country must, in the final analysis, rest—the rule of law. Homes can inculcate in our children a regard for the sanctity of human life. Churches can teach that they must not kill. Schools can teach that a civilized nation must be based on law and order. But it remains for the Government to bring these principles alive, to enforce the laws, and maintain and preserve order.

The vicious and despicable slaying of President Kennedy is part of a degrading drama of disrespect for social order that America has allowed to unfold before the world. This drama will not be brought to an end—the simple fact is that we may expect more and more persons to give way to the dark impulses in their minds—unless society reasserts its rightful authority to protect not just the rights of criminals and those who are antisocial, but the rights of all.

The Senate and the Nation mourn today for Senator KENNEDY. Let us go forward from this moment with new determination that the desecration of American life that we have permitted to spread so widely among us will be rooted from our midst.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY was a voice of conscience in the Senate, and from that forum he worked to stir the conscience of the Nation in domestic and foreign affairs, where the Nation's conscience needed stirring most. He sought to arouse the Nation, for the poor at home, and for peace in all the world. Now he is gone; the Nation should heed his counsel.

I have worked closely with ROBERT KENNEDY in the Senate where we served together on the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. He was the epitome of honor and courage. He was kind and courageous, brave, and vigilant, and unswerving in his crusade against corruption and injustice.

It has been one of my greatest privileges in the Senate to serve on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare with all three of the Kennedy brothers, John Fitzgerald, ROBERT, and EDWARD, and to work closely with all of them on that committee, not as mere Senate colleagues, but as friends.

No other family in America has given more generously to the Nation in this generation than the Kennedys. Three of their four sons have given their lives in their country's service. No other family in America was more patriotic or brilliant. Assassins have cut down two of America's most gifted sons of this generation, early in their brilliant careers.

In mourning for ROBERT KENNEDY and his family, America must mourn for herself, for the crimes that have cut away from our Nation two of our greatest. Mrs. Yarborough and I, with overflowing hearts, are filled to the brim with sympathy for the family which has placed its son, brother, husband, and father upon its country's altar. May a Merciful God safeguard the Kennedys where the Nation failed to safeguard them.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, violence, reflecting the intolerance and prejudice all too common among us, has struck down another member of one of America's greatest families.

The tragedy visited another time on one family is exceeded only by the great loss our Nation suffers in his death.

Many of us may not agree with the specific solutions Senator KENNEDY proposed for healing America's festering sores. But none of us can exceed the commitment to that task made by Senator KENNEDY.

To those millions of men who represent America's important minorities, he stood as a symbol of interracial concern. To those with little but hope left, he stood as a strong anchor of faith. To the poor and uneducated, he stood as a continuing inspiration, assuring them of better days ahead.

It matters little that some of us would propose different solutions to improve our society and the lives of our citizens.

What does matter is that violence has struck down a dedicated exponent of his own convictions.

What does matter is that we have not yet matured in America so as to see the wisdom in hearing all who love this country and recognizing the possibility of others being right.

Let us all dedicate our lives to the proposition that we can disagree without resorting to violence; that we can perfect our society by acting in an orderly, lawful way.

The promise that is America and the fulfillment of the American dream can be achieved in no other fashion.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, I am certain that I speak for all the citizens of North Dakota when I say the shocking death of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY has caused anguish and deep sorrow in all of us.

That this young man should be struck down while attempting to become President of these United States is completely unbelievable. It is also unbelievable that enough intolerance exists in some men to commit such an outrageous act. This cruel deed by a hate-filled and twisted mind has stilled the voice of one of our great public leaders.

This act proves there is too much hate and intolerance in this country; and we must do something about it soon or it will consume us. We cannot chastise the 200 million citizens of this country for the act of one vicious killer. But, we can improve the climate that will permit us to live in harmony.

Our sorrow today is for the Kennedy family, which has already felt so much deep tragedy, including the loss of two other sons in service to this Nation.

My sorrow also is for this country, for all Americans know that we have lost a capable, energetic, righteous man. And I have lost a beloved colleague and friend.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I believe the service of the Kennedy brothers in the U.S. Senate has been unique. No other American family has given to this body three Senators. John Kennedy served on our Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; EDWARD KENNEDY serves on the same committee; and the late ROBERT KENNEDY also served on that committee. I shall ever be grateful that I could serve on it with the three of them.

I think the service of the three Kennedy brothers on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has been genuinely indicative of the compassion of these good and great gentlemen—the tragic passing of one of whom we formally mourn in this Chamber during these poignant minutes of remembrance.

The Kennedys have been very close to the people of West Virginia. That was true also of the Roosevelts, President Franklin Roosevelt and later his sons. I often think how remarkable it is that such families, and strong personalities within those families, from positions of power and affluence, would and did come into our hills and were able to understand the yearnings of our people. Senator ROBERT KENNEDY and his brothers never wavered in their support of legislation and advocacy of programs which were designed to help the State of West Virginia and the fine people who live there.

So I return to my earlier thought, that the Kennedy brothers were not assigned to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; each, by personal preference, asked to be a member of that committee. Of course, there are reasons why men serve on committees. The high purposes that are to be attained by the work on the subcommittees in particular fields have their special appeals. That is understandable. But on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, ROBERT KENNEDY was a member of our Subcommittees on Labor, on Employment, and Manpower, and Poverty, and on Education.

You know, we are inclined often to speak thoughtlessly. I remember a dear friend of mine who told me, "Never speak evil of a person. Write it. Write it on the sands near the water's edge."

There are many people who, perhaps thoughtlessly stressed the impulsiveness of ROBERT KENNEDY, stressed perhaps the elements of apparent hurry which characterized his movements in speech and in walk and in approach to life itself. But the impulsiveness—which is not bad in itself—was overshadowed by the compassion and by the perseverance of the man.

I recall a witness who some members of the Labor Subcommittee—perhaps I was included in the list—felt was taking too much of our time in spreading on the record the opinions he held on pending legislation.

There was an air of, "Let us get this over." Then, very quietly, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY—let some of us who were on the subcommittee remember now—leaned into the microphone and looked down and said, "This is a fellow citizen of ours, and he has a story to tell. I want to hear it."

And this was enough to cause us to realize that we did need to hear and we did need to be patient.

I think few people realize how patient ROBERT KENNEDY really was and, perhaps even more important, how thoughtful he was.

I remember in 1965 when we had legislation pending in the Senate to create our Appalachian Regional Development Commission for those States that thrust themselves across the crest of the Appalachian Mountains.

During the debate, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY came to me, as the manager of the bill, and said: "There are certain counties in New York State that are identified with this region. Their characteristics are the characteristics of counties in States like Pennsylvania and Kentucky and West Virginia and others. I hope they can be included."

There was a difference of opinion in the Senate, understandably, about the possible acceptance of such an amendment. And there were good reasons for the positions taken on one side or the other. However, we accepted his viewpoint and we incorporated those counties into the measure, and the legislation came into being with New York counties added to the area.

That is not the reason I tell the story. That night I had delivered to me in my office a personally written note—the type of personally written note that Senator PERCY has referred to—from ROBERT KENNEDY, thanking me for what I had done.

I went one afternoon, a few months ago, to the National Airport, when the plane—the *Caroline*—used by John Kennedy in his campaign for the Presidency in 1960, now stilled in flight, was to be turned over to the National Air and Space Museum in the Smithsonian Institution. That evening, there came another personally written note thanking me for having been present for the ceremonies.

These little notes are part of my files and I mention them here today not because I wish to unduly attach myself personally to an associate in a time of tragedy or of remembrance of that person. But I feel that we come to know and respect a man because of the contacts that we have had with that person.

Mr. President, I conclude by moving to another thought which is even more vital.

We were considering legislation in the Senate not so very many days ago to attempt to bring about a stoppage of the traffic in guns by mail order—long guns, shotguns, handguns—guns that gun down people in the streets, guns that bring tragic death.

Senator ROBERT KENNEDY said that legislation of this type was necessary, and I would like to ask my colleagues to listen, not to me, but to those words of his, I now repeat:

> Such legislation—

He emphasized—

> would save hundreds of lives in this country and spare thousands of families all across this land the grief and heartbreak that may come from the loss of a husband, a son, a brother, or a friend. It is time—

Said Senator ROBERT KENNEDY—

> that we wipe the stain of violence from our land.

Now he is victim of the violence he abhorred—and which he wanted so much to be banished from this earth.

Yes, my colleagues, he spoke correctly. We mourn the loss of a husband, the loss of a father, the loss of a son, the loss of a brother, the loss of a friend.

ROBERT KENNEDY was all of these.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the assassination of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY is a terrible, terrible tragedy. Many basic political values in our country are also being assassinated by extremists who are taking the law into their own hands and violating many constitutional guarantees and basic human rights.

The most meaningful monument we could build to the memory of Senator KENNEDY and to his statesmanship would be for Congress to lead the Nation back to the enforcement and practice of government by law, both domestic and international.

Senator KENNEDY was a man of great courage; he dared to stand up for the right as he saw the right.

I know of no literary quotation that better describes his intellectual courage than the famous quotation from the speech of Carl Schurz delivered on October 17, 1899, under the heading "Anti-Imperialistic Congress."

He said:

> Our country, right or wrong. When right, to be kept right; when wrong, to be put right.

Mr. President, Senator KENNEDY, in his recent speeches across the country delivered in his campaign for the presidential nomination of his party, spoke many times about the need for national unity. He expressed some of his views as to the reasons for the lack of national unity. He spoke out against violence in our country, and he spoke out against violence in the world.

Mr. President, in my eulogy today to Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, I pay tribute to his leadership in the field of foreign policy. He recognized the great disunity in our country caused by the war in Asia. He certainly manifested his view over and over again that we must change our course in that war in order to have unity at home. Mr. President there can be no denial of the fact that millions and millions of Americans do not support that war. They know we should not be killing American boys in that war. There is no question in my mind of the cause-to-effect relationship between our participation in the Vietnam war and some of the violence here at home.

Therefore, Mr. President, I state that we can best pay tribute to the statesmanship of this great man if we, in the Congress, join forces in bringing about a discontinuance of that war. The Congress and the administration must bring our foreign policy in Asia back within the framework of international law. I think it most appropriate that we give renewed consideration in our Government to the resolution that the Senate passed by a vote of 82 to 0, calling upon the President to submit the settlement of the Vietnam war to the jurisdiction of the Security Council of the United Nations. Senator KENNEDY voted for it and supported it. I believe Senator KENNEDY's foreign policy statesmanship will go down in history, and there will be emblazoned on his record the position he took in opposition to many of our war policies in Asia. His is a record of opposition to the resort to the jungle law of military might for the settlement of disputes among nations.

He stood out courageously for the substitution of the rules and peacekeeping procedures of international law for the rule of the military law. He sought to correct a wrong war policy of our Government.

Mrs. Morse joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy and prayers for God's comfort to Senator KENNEDY's wife, Ethel, and their wonderful children, Senator KENNEDY's mother and father, Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, and all the other members of the Kennedy family.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in mourning the death of ROBERT KENNEDY.

I first knew John Kennedy in 1949. I got to know ROBERT KENNEDY in 1956, with our advocacy of John Kennedy for the Vice Presidency. Between 1956 and 1960, it became obvious to me that no man was closer or could be closer to John Kennedy than ROBERT KENNEDY.

I recall vividly the memory of the 4 years from 1956 through 1960 leading to the nomination and election of John Kennedy.

In November 1960, after the election, I was the first man whom John Kennedy asked to visit with him in Palm Beach. We discussed his coming administration, and he said to me:

> ABE, you were the first man who thought I could be the President of the United States. Would you like to be Attorney General in my Cabinet?

I said:

> Mr. President, I know there has been a lot in the newspapers about this, but if I have my choice, I would prefer to be Secretary of Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

He replied:

> Who do you think should be considered for Attorney General?

I said:

> Mr. President, ROBERT KENNEDY is the man you should appoint.

He then asked me:

> Do you think this Nation would take my brother for Attorney General?

I replied:

> Mr. President, you are brothers. I have observed both of you intimately during the past 4 years, and it is very apparent to me that emotionally, viscerally, and intellectually you react alike. I have watched both of you in times of crisis; and every time a crisis has entered into your life, you automatically turned to BOBBY. You will be faced with many crises as President of the United States, and the man that you are going to turn to automatically is ROBERT KENNEDY. The worst thing that could happen for both of you and the Nation is to have BOBBY always coming in through the back door. It becomes important that, if he is to be your adviser, he must come in through the front door; and if this is to be the case, I believe that he should be your Attorney General.

President Kennedy again expressed skepticism about the advisability of this, but later told me that he had made the decision to appoint Robert Kennedy as Attorney General.

As soon as the administration of John Kennedy was formed and got moving, Robert Kennedy was always the closest to John Kennedy. In any crisis that developed or in any basic policy, either domestic or foreign, Robert Kennedy was involved.

Now, it was not Robert Kennedy interfering with other members of the Cabinet or the administration. He was always most circumspect to make sure that he respected the position and the jurisdiction of every member of the Kennedy administration. However, when it came to basic policy, Robert Kennedy was involved—thoughtful, considerate, and wise.

Then came the tragic death of President Kennedy, and for a period Robert Kennedy was a man searching to rediscover his own soul. He was bereft, beside himself, and did not quite know where he fitted into our society.

I talked with Robert Kennedy when he was considering running for the U.S. Senate. I was in the U.S. Senate.

He did not believe that the Senate would be a place for him. He thought the movement of the Senate, the pace of the Senate, might be too slow for a man of such vigor and activity. I replied that I thought, personally, from my experience in all phases of Government, that the U.S. Senate was without question the greatest place in Government and the body that could give a man great opportunity for service.

He ran for the U.S. Senate, and he became a Senator from the State of New York. He entered into his duties with dedication and understanding. He served on my Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, and we undertook a number of actions, first in the field of traffic safety, then in the crisis of the cities. He discussed with me the problems of rising health costs, a subject upon which we embarked this year.

One found in Robert Kennedy a man of deep commitment and deep passion for the great problems and issues facing this country. Contrary to what most people believe about Robert Kennedy, he was a shy, reserved man. It was very difficult to know and understand Robert Kennedy. He was not an outgoing man. While the pictures and television viewing of his campaigning would give the attitude of a vigorous man, always outgoing, Robert Kennedy was not an outgoing man. Basically, he was more on the introvert than the extrovert side.

I have watched with dismay the self-flagellation that this country has undertaken during the past 48 hours. We are not a sick society, Mr. President. Keep in mind that the society that housed the assassin also housed the victim, and 200 million Americans cannot be blamed for the gun and the triggering of the shot that killed Robert Kennedy.

Robert Kennedy understood that this society has many problems and that this society must correct these problems. He devoted his life, his energies, and his efforts to make sure that we have justice, equality, and to correct the injustices we have.

Robert Kennedy had a particular appeal to and love for young people because he recognized that the future of our Nation is in the young people of America. Robert Kennedy also understood and had faith that this is a wholesome generation, irrespective of the minority that caused all the turmoil and trouble.

Mr. President, so that Robert Kennedy should not have died in vain, this is an opportunity for all of society, and not only the legislative branch, but also every individual to make a dedication to the principles in which Robert Kennedy believed.

My feeling is that the death of Robert Kennedy might lead to a basic catharsis in the entire structure of our society. Candidates for the presidency, both Democratic and Republican, will address themselves to the basic problems and issues which Robert Kennedy pointed out needed doing in this country. I believe that both presidential candidates will commit their respective parties to constructive actions at home and abroad.

I believe that every candidate for the Senate and for the House of Representatives in 1968 owes a duty to the people of this Nation to give them leadership. Every candidate for the Senate and for the House of Representatives owes a duty to come forth with a constructive program and basic philosophy, and not merely to be negative and carping.

This is a great Nation. The promise of this Nation is still ahead of it and not in the past. The greatest achievement we can make as Senators is not merely to stand on the floor of the Senate and talk about one of our colleagues who has died. If he is not to have died in vain, we should have the resolution to carry forward those beliefs and ideals of what he believed America could be. This is a great country, not a sick country. Let us get down to the business of the country. Let us not talk about the weaknesses of the few but recognize the strength of the many.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, this is a tragic day for the family of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, for the U.S. Senate, and for the Nation.

A brave and dedicated young man, only 42 years old, has been struck down by an assassin, as was his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy.

The horror of this new tragedy overwhelms us and renders words inadequate. Our minds rebel at accepting the fact that Senator Robert F. Kennedy has been robbed of his life by a gunman.

Robert F. Kennedy, who cared so deeply for his Nation and for his fellowman, is gone, and we who served with him in this Chamber are diminished by his loss.

Our hearts go out to his wife and children, and to his parents, who have borne so much tragedy.

I feel a deep sense of personal loss, for I have known Bobby Kennedy from the time he was a very young man until this hour of his untimely death. I have seen him grow, not only as a member of a remarkable family, but as an individual in his own right.

I first met Robert F. Kennedy in 1947 when his older brother, Jack, invited me to visit the family compound at Hyannis Port.

I have seen him grow from that young man to a Senator, an individual standing in his own right and contributing much to his Nation.

But I can also recall his unselfish labor in behalf of his brother's campaign, the totality of effort, the affirmation and dedication which he brought to the causes in which he believed.

And that made an indelible impression on me, one which I will forever carry with me.

Perhaps as a contemporary of John F. Kennedy, I was closer in friendship and spirit to Bobby's older brother, but Bobby Kennedy also had great qualities of his own and the tragedy which has struck him down on the threshhold of what could have been his moment of greatest service is an overpowering one.

The Kennedy family has borne so much loss, that one wonders how they can bear so much pain. However, to those who know the family and the individuals within it, it is a family that wants to live—and does live—in the forefront of life's battles.

If there has to be a single outstanding characteristic of this family it is their active peerless courage.

Bobby Kennedy had this family attribute in full measure. He was ready to make any sacrifice for the causes in which he believed and for his Nation.

A columnist suggested recently that it was impossible for Robert F. Kennedy to ignore a dare.

It was a perceptive observation, for Bobby Kennedy was a person who carried within him that urge to compete, that drive to win, wherever or whatever the fray.

That spirit was not one of recklessness, it was one of courage. He had within him the passion to stand up for his beliefs, to act according to his views.

Robert Kennedy was a special kind of American, a young leader, of great promise. And he will be sorely missed.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, this is a day of sadness for the Senate and for the country.

We have all suffered a grievous loss in the assassination of the late Senator from New York, Robert F. Kennedy.

His youthfulness somehow made the Senate a more youthful and vital body.

His intelligence and wit made the Senate a livelier place.

His passionate championship of the underprivileged and the oppressed enlarged our humanity by helping to focus our attention on the inequities that still exist in our society.

His crusading zeal inspired the enthusiasm of millions of young people throughout the country.

And now this life has been cut short, this light has been extinguished. And the entire Nation mourns.

Our hearts are filled with compassion for the Senator's family, especially for his parents and for his wife and 10 children he leaves behind. And our sympathy is compounded by the knowledge of the almost incredible series of tragedies that have been visited on this distinguished family.

Of the four Kennedy sons, three have now given their lives in the service of their country. Joseph Kennedy, Jr., killed in World War II. President John F. Kennedy less than 5 years ago was cut down by an assassin's bullet. And now another assassin has taken the life of our friend and colleague, Robert F. Kennedy.

Words, therefore, become completely inadequate to express the sympathy we all feel for the Kennedy family in this new bereavement, superimposed on the terrible bereavements of the past. All one can say is that our hearts go out to them.

There is one commentary I would like to add in closing.

Pious condolences over the assassination of an American President or an African-American leader or over the assassination of Senator Kennedy, will no longer suffice. If our country is not to be regarded by the rest of the world as a nation of murderers and assassins, we must take the most energetic action to put an end to the conditions that today make America a land of murder and violence.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I am too stunned and saddened to speak at length this morning. The murder of Senator Robert F. Kennedy falls like a heavy cross upon our land. My sympathy, deeply felt, goes out to his loved ones, to his stricken wife Ethel, his many children, his parents, his brother Ted, to his sisters, to Mrs. John F. Kennedy, and to all members of his gallant family.

I grieve also for my country, and pray for some future day when the gravest dangers will no longer beset those men in our public life who stand most firmly against hate, want, and fear in America.

May the life of Robert F. Kennedy strengthen the resolve of each of us to serve our country as he did, with courage, candor, and commitment. And may God deliver us the day when men of peace who search for justice can walk safely in our midst.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the murder of Senator Robert Kennedy is an awful, senseless tragedy—and one more reflection of the spots of violence and sickness that blot our Nation. It is just as much a tragedy for our country, to which Senator Kennedy had so much to give and to which he had already given so much, as it is to his family. The best memorial we can give him is a resolve to take the steps on so many fronts, at home and abroad, that can cure our condition.

My wife and I are deeply grieved and extend all our love and sympathy to his wife and brother and family.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I join my colleagues and fellow Americans in the expression of grief and shock at the tragic act which has claimed the life of one of our Nation's great public figures, Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

Every citizen must deplore and guard against this ugly kind of violence which has entered our political life. Our shock and disbelief must now cause us to resolve, once and for all, to rid our Nation of the hate, bitterness, and divisiveness which tears at our national purpose and weakens our unity.

I fully support the action of President Johnson in summoning a commission of learned men from this body and other communities across the Nation to study the intolerable menace of assassination and violence which has become too frequent an occurence to be ignored.

My heart goes out to the family of Senator Kennedy whose capacity to survive tragedy is a source of inspiration not only in the United States but abroad.

While the story of Robert F. Kennedy ended today at the moment of his greatest political victory, his message will not be lost to the American people. His life was a dedication to public service and to the uplifting of the disadvantaged and oppressed. His courage and unselfish conviction to oppose injustice, poverty, and ignorance which he never hesitated to identify, brought new hope to millions of Americans and inspired free men everywhere. In these humane contributions, he has left his family and his country with a rich and unforgettable legacy.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the death by assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy has left us all with a deep sense of shock and grief. But we are also experiencing the stark realization that, while character assassination in politics has almost become an accepted course of action, we cannot be deluded by its "harmlessness." The line between character assassination and political assassination is almost indistinguishable. The price of either is too high. It behooves Americans everywhere, therefore, as voters and constituents, to raise the level of expectations from those who would serve in public life.

We are experiencing today a rising sense of anger because of what the death of this remarkable young leader symbolizes and what it may portend. These feelings mix with the sorrow that we share and the compassion that we have for the Kennedy family, which has been struck once more by unspeakable tragedy, by a sorrow transcended only by the measure of service they have given this country.

For those of us outside that magnificent family, the message is clear that we must rise up to our highest level of rational behavior, to the level of public conduct which Bob Kennedy and his family have established as a guideline for leadership. This means that we not act out of a fit of anger or grope for quick solutions to the problem that must be solved in the hearts of Americans.

It is understandable that we hear new calls for gun legislation, or demands that we pass restrictive immigration laws because Senator Kennedy's assassin was a foreigner. But if we do this, we will only deceive ourselves, even though there might be gratification for some who could point to specific legislation.

But we are thinking about and talking about political assassination and the hazards of leadership in our country. They are very real. Political assassination has become too real. In recent years and days it has claimed Robert F. Kennedy and his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy. It has claimed Dr. Martin Luther King. It has claimed Medgar Evers. And it has claimed Malcolm X and George Lincoln Rockwell, who were not greatly admired by many perhaps, but whose deaths also illustrate the frightening ease of political assassination.

This tendency reflects the evil virus of extremism injected into our body politic, first by the right wing and more lately by the so-called new left. The one describes a President as a "traitor" or a "comsymp" and the other denounces a President as a "murderer." On one side the poisonous vernacular of extremism demands "Impeach Earl Warren" and on the other it spits out "Hell no, we won't go." One brand of extremism can call a Martin Luther King "nigger," while another cries back, "Burn, baby, burn."

Political assasination differs from other crimes, but this atmosphere is also engendered by forces which affect the broader problem of crime and lawlessness in America. As child psychiatrist Robert Coles put it in Trans-Action magazine recently, those senseless killers Bonnie and Clyde become "us" if we pay attention to what the social critics are saying about our society today. The Neilsen ratings reflect this, too, for violence gets an audience and the media can be depended upon to go where the audience is. We must begin to demand from the media a higher level of entertainment, as well as a higher quality of news reporting which places less emphasis on the extremes and upon bloodletting, real or verbal, and more stress on the significant and substantive events that take place every day of our lives.

In politics, too, we must all learn to disagree without being disagreeable and quit demanding that candidates hit hard, low and often in order to excite their audiences. For all these factors have helped bring to the surface the kind of nut who will kill because law and order are too slow a process for him. Draft-card burners, campus rioters, those who throw molotov cocktails in the ghettos of our cities, and those who sit behind a typewriter or a microphone to produce the mood these people operate from are equally guilty of helping to foment disrespect for law and disregard for order and for their fellow men.

It is easy to point a finger at Congress, or at the State legislatures, and say "Pass a law." But that misses the point. What we have to do to come to grips with this problem is to begin with ourselves as individuals, and with our neighbors and our own communities. We must demand a higher level of conduct and forswear name calling, fear, suspicion, and distrust. We must acquire a deeper sense of tolerance and understanding of the other fellow's point of view and take to heart President Johnson's warning:

> There is never—never—any justification for the violence that tears at the fabric of our national life.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, we are all shocked by the tragic death of Robert Kennedy, and I join Senators today in expressing the deepest sympathy to the members of his family.

On the same day, two marine officers were killed in the Nation's Capital in an unprovoked incident.

The prevailing spirit of lawlessness which we see developing in our country has got to be stopped, and it can be stopped only by strict enforcement of the laws. The time is long past due when we should let it be known that those who would violate our laws are going to be punished.

These senseless killings have got to be stopped.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, it is a sad and tragic day for the American people when a man must place his life in serious danger to run for the Presidency of our country, but obviously that day has arrived

We are a people who believe in making political choices with a ballot, not with a bullet, but now a horrible act of madness has robbed us of the opportunity to do so.

Our entire Nation—in fact, the entire world—and the Kennedy family have suffered a terrible loss—a loss that will never be forgotten.

Nothing can stop the assassin's bullet once it has been fired. Now we must try to keep the assassin away from his next target. We must unite the country in a massive fight against all criminal violence; and we must demand the respect of all for the laws of our land.

It is fitting to say a few words about Senator ROBERT KENNEDY and the Kennedy family. ROBERT KENNEDY could have chosen to lead a long, happy, and untroubled life. He chose, instead, to strive for the betterment of his country, and his vehicle was politics. Into American politics he breathed a creative energy that is legendary in its own time.

ROBERT KENNEDY's politics always combined the most noble goals with the determination to see them realized. He spoke often and eloquently of the need to improve our society, especially of the need to bring justice and economic opportunity to those segments of our society where sadly they are lacking. This year, his convictions led him into the presidential arena, because "America," he said, "can do better."

The Kennedy family has always taken seriously the need to "do better," and for many years the United States has been the beneficiary of its sense of responsibility. Many of us remember the wartime valor of Joseph Kennedy, Jr.; nobody can forget how President Kennedy uplifted our aspirations; the vision, candor, and courage of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY are a part of our lives.

American politics will not be the same without ROBERT KENNEDY, just as they were changed unalterably by the death of President Kennedy. We can draw some consolation, however, from the membership in the Senate of EDWARD KENNEDY, and I fervently hope that his intelligent voice will continue to be heard throughout America for decades to come.

The Kennedy family has contributed as much to its country and sacrificed as much for it as any other in American history. The shooting in Los Angeles and the death of my colleague ROBERT KENNEDY emphasizes the greatness of this contribution and the tragedy of each sacrifice. To this great family, once again I express my sorrow and extend my sympathy.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Nation is saddened today.

The Senate is saddened.

No longer will the desk directly in front of me be occupied by Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, of New York.

Senator KENNEDY was gunned down by an assassin's bullet.

He will be missed in the Senate and in the Nation. His colleagues one and all recognized him as a man of ability and a political leader of unusual talent.

He sought to serve his fellow man according to the dictates of his heart.

He was struck down in the prime of life, yet his experience in Government was of many years duration—having served in both the executive branch as a Cabinet officer and in the legislative branch as a Senator.

I have communicated to Mrs. Kennedy and her children my deepest and heartfelt sympathy. The Kennedy family is in my thoughts and prayers and those of Mrs. Byrd.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, shock and grief are not translatable into words. But I know I speak for the people of Michigan as I add my voice to the eloquent tributes being paid in this Chamber to our late colleague.

Senator ROBERT KENNEDY was no stranger to Michigan. The people of my State knew and admired the Senator from New York—as they did his brother, the late President of the United States.

As we mourn his passing and honor his memory, I speak with a heavy heart as one who had the opportunity to work closely with Senator KENNEDY over a number of years in Congress.

Our relationship dates back to the days of the McClellan committee hearings, which preceded the enactment of the Landrum-Griffin law in 1959. He was chief counsel of that committee, and I was serving then as a Member of the House of Representatives.

Our friendship was renewed and strengthened after I came to the U.S. Senate in May 1966.

For the past 2 years, we sat next to each other and worked closely as members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. We shared a distinction: He was the most junior of the Democratic members of the committee, and I am the most junior Republican. Though our politics were different—and we sometimes differed in our approach to problem solving—we enjoyed a relationship which always included understanding, cooperation, and respect.

Senator KENNEDY's quick intelligence and quiet courage, his warm compassion and keen sense of humor, will always be remembered by those who had the opportunity to work with him in matters great and small.

Mr. President, the Senate, the Nation, and the world will miss ROBERT KENNEDY.

My heart goes out to the Kennedy family which has known so much tragedy. On behalf of the people of Michigan, Mrs. Griffin, and myself, I extend our deepest sympathy.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, it is almost incomprehensible that today, less than 5 years since this body paid tribute to our fallen President John F. Kennedy, we should be mourning the tragic and untimely death of his younger brother, our friend and colleague, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, slain in much the same dastardly manner, at the hands of a cowardly gunman.

This latest tragedy is so horrifying it seems almost like a nightmare. Yet, stunned and shocked though we all are, we know we shall not waken to find this is just a bad dream. The breath of life has indeed been snuffed out of a young man, a young father, a young son, a young leader in Government, and this Chamber will never more be graced by his presence.

It is here that he fought some of his most important legislative battles, sometimes winning, sometimes losing, but always persistent in the pursuit of what he believed to be right. It is here that he showed his true mettle and his real capabilities in the legislative arena.

Having known ROBERT KENNEDY when he was Attorney General of the United States and having worked with him in the Senate, I was greatly impressed with his ability, with his innate decency, and with his compassion for the poor and less fortunate. Brilliant, vigorous, dynamic, courageous, adventurous, dedicated, idealistic, humane, ROBERT KENNEDY exuded the vitality and the spirit of America.

In a day when many seek escape from the pressing problems tormenting America, ROBERT KENNEDY never wavered in his efforts to overcome these problems, always giving an extra measure of devotion to duty. Born to material wealth, ROBERT KENNEDY could have existed in indolent ease, but like his brother Jack, he chose instead to dedicate his life to serving his countrymen.

It would have been thoroughly understandable if, after President Kennedy's assassination, ROBERT KENNEDY in grief and in bitterness had left Government service. But he was never a quitter, and so he remained in public life striving toward the goals so eloquently espoused by President Kennedy and adding a new dimension to modern American political history.

Our hearts go out to his wife, Ethel, to his children, and to the members of his family on whom so much anguish has already been inflicted. We can only hope they derive some comfort from these expressions of esteem, respect, and affection for their beloved BOBBY, whose memory we honor today.

Mrs. Fong joins me in extending our prayers and deepest sympathy to the Kennedys at this time of excruciating sorrow.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the death of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY robs America of its clearest and strongest voice for compassion and concern for the victims of poverty and discrimination. No man in public life was more deeply or uncompromisingly concerned with the struggle for justice for the hungry and the oppressed. He was their champion, and what a fighting champion he was.

He was deeply admired and respected by many of his fellow Senators. But I would be less than frank if I did not concede that he had many who opposed him and disagreed deeply with him. Throughout America no one was more loved and more hated. BOBBY KENNEDY was as much distinguished by his enemies as by his friends.

It was characteristic of BOB KENNEDY that his last words were to express concern for others in his group who had been shot. He was a noble and gallant man.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, once again a tragic, senseless, and brutal assassination has darkened the spirit of our troubled land. Once again a young and brilliant statesman has been cut down at the acme of his greatness. Only tears are eloquent enough to speak of the death of ROBERT KENNEDY; words are insufficient.

Surely now we must summon the courage to look deep into the soul of America to find out what is wrong. What has bred the hatred and violence that has marked and marred our progress as a nation in recent years? What can we do to heal this sickness and bring peace to our families, to our streets, and to our society?

Some things we know we must do. We must move on, much farther than the timid steps of Congress, to curb the menace of the gun. We must call a halt to the progressive brutalization of ourselves and our children through the incessant displays of violence and death on television and motion pictures. We must press ahead toward the goal of social and economic justice for all Americans. That, more than anything else, was ROBERT KENNEDY's mission in public life.

No nation, no matter how rich or powerful, can call itself a civilized State where the rule of law has been replaced by the rule of terror, where assassination determines politics and fear stalks the streets. Our people cry out for peace—peace in our homes and cities, peace across the world. We who serve the people must strive with unremitting efforts to bring them that deeply yearned for peace.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, a small bouquet of pink rosebuds, widow's lace, and fern now rests upon the lonely and vacant desk to my right. It bespeaks the melancholy nature of this day.

The death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY is a shattering tragedy for each of us and for our country. No expression can convey the feeling and sympathy Mrs. Harris and I have for Mrs. Kennedy, the children, and the family at this sad, sad time.

Senator KENNEDY daily lived with enormous personal burdens of duty and moral commitment which caused him, with incomparable courage to take upon himself the cloak of the alienated, the despised and dispossessed and to become their voice.

Those of us who survive him will never again be the same, though we must take heart and seek renewed purpose from the lessons and ideals of his life.

Appropriate now for him and those who worked closely with him in this body and in other endeavors are the words he loved from Shakespeare's "King Henry V":

This story shall the good man teach his
son;
And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But, we in it shall be remembered;
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition:
And gentlemen in England now a-bed,
Shall think themselves accursed they were
not here,
And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any
speaks
That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's
day.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter addressed to the Vice President of the United States expressing the sorrow of the German Bundestag at the death of Senator KENNEDY, and signed by the president of that legislative body.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

GERMAN EMBASSY,
Washington, D.C., June 6, 1968.

The VICE PRESIDENT,
The Capitol,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: The President of the German Bundestag has asked me to transmit to you in your capacity as President of the United States Senate the following message of condolence of the German Bundestag:

"Tiefbewegt spreche ich Ihnen, Herr Präsident, und dem Senat der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika die aufrichtige Anteilnahme des Deutschen Bundestags aus zu dem überaus schmerzlichen und tragischen Verlust, den Sie und die Vereinigten Staaten durch den Tod von Senator Robert Kennedy erlitten haben. Der Deutsche Bundestag trauert mit Ihnen um eine groBe Hoffnung Ihres Landes. Er gedenkt in herzlicher Anteilnahme auch der zweifach schwer geprüften Familie Kennedy.

"Ihr aufrichtig ergebener

"GERSTENMAIER,
"Präsident des Deutschen Bundestags."

The English translation reads as follows:

"Deeply moved, I express to you, Mr. President, and to the Senate of the United States of America, the sincere participation of the German Bundestag in the painful and tragic loss which you and the United States have suffered through the death of Senator Robert Kennedy. The German Bundestag is in mourning with you over a great hope of your country. It also is thinking with heartfelt sympathy of the again so severely tried Kennedy family.

"Very sincerely yours,

"GERSTENMAIER,
"President of the German Bundestag."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared for delivery by the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], who is necessarily absent today.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BIBLE

The passing of Senator Robert F. Kennedy is a tragic loss to the country. His death is a personal loss to the District of Columbia Committee, on which he served, and to the residents of the District of Columbia, in whose interest he worked.

Senator Kennedy devoted himself to improving the way of life for citizens living in the Nation's Capital. As a member of the District Committee, he consistently supported legislation to provide better medical care for more people through expanded hospital facilities and public health programs.

Senator Kennedy went out into the community to see for himself the deplorable conditions under which many people have to live within sight of the Capitol. He was a co-sponsor of legislation to improve the shameful situation, and to stop abuses of the poor by some of the landlords.

Robert Kennedy was well known for his love of children. He was a strong supporter of programs to help children in Washington to rise from the slums and to become productive members of society. Senator Kennedy favored legislation to improve the quality of education for the youngest children just starting school through the young adults graduating from high schools and colleges in Washington. He was a guiding force behind examinations of public assistance in Washington, especially as it pertained to children, and helped to secure Senate approval of plans to provide adequate day care service and foster home care for dependent children. Also, he was interested in recreational facilities, and helped to establish recreation areas in which children could play.

Robert Kennedy championed home rule for the District of Columbia, and he supported each step on the road toward achieving the goal of true representational democracy in the Capital City.

Senator Kennedy worked for the people of Washington, and they in turn loved and respected him.

The Committee will miss his contributions. The District of Columbia will miss his presence.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, I join Senators in expressing my great sorrow at the passing of our colleague from the State of New York and with them offer my heartfelt sympathy to his widow and family.

His loss is great to his family and State; but the force of his personality and the vigor of his advocacy of the ideals in which he believed made him well known throughout the Nation and the world, and his loss is therefore much greater. His children, cruelly deprived of their father, can always know that by his life he enriched the lives of all of us.

In my contact with Senator KENNEDY, I always found him to be cordial and friendly. On several occasions when he had an interest in matters in Delaware, he was most understanding and thoughtful. I consider it a great privilege to have known him and to have served with him in this body.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, twice in 2 months bullets have been fired that have sounded to the farthest corners of the earth. The first, fired last April 4, brought an end to the earthly life of Martin Luther King. The second exploded just yesterday morning. It ended the brilliant career of ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY, U.S. Senator, candidate for the Nation's highest office, dedicated citizen and patriot, and outstanding leader. Both, young men, have been savagely destroyed in the prime of their lives.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and now ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY—all dead, all victims of assassins' bullets. So many before them. How many to follow? Mr. President, I am overcome with grief. I mourn. I mourn for Robert Kennedy, for his wife and young children, for his family so beset by tragedy time and time again. I mourn for the Nation, constantly recoiling under a wave of violence which threatens to envelop it.

Violence fills the air. Violent death ever threatens to end the lives of any of us. Our leaders have become easy prey to madmen. Private citizens are consumed by fear. They fear being in their homes. They fear being on the streets. Emblazoned across the daily headlines of our newspapers is news of murders, rapes, burglaries. Countless numbers of lives are snuffed out in the time it takes to bat an eye.

How does one react to tragedy twice visited upon a nation in such short time? The horror, the revulsion, one initially experiences eventually gives way to more refined emotional reaction. Emotion and intellect merge, groping for understanding. Somehow the enormity of these brutal acts must be reduced to human comprehension. We must hunt for causes and seek reasons. We look for culprits—scapegoats, if you will. We search for ways to lessen the guilt we all feel, to lessen the pain and anguish. We want desperately to console the bereaved family, to lessen their grief. We want to reassure the Nation. And from it all, we look for some hope, some sign that good can come from evil, some indication that all is not lost.

I have searched the depths of my soul, Mr. President, but have found no answers. I do not know what I can do. My remorse is too great. In some less emotional moment, farther removed from this catastrophe, we can judge better what can be done to bring hope from the despair which overwhelms us.

I pray for the soul of Robert Francis Kennedy, Mr. President. I pray that the bereaved family and friends may find comfort. I pray for the Nation.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I join Senators in paying tribute to our departed friend, Robert F. Kennedy.

The Nation and the world are stunned and in mourning today over the wounding and subsequent death of Senator Kennedy. My heartfelt sympathy and prayers are extended to his courageous wife and family. They bear the greatest loss, rewarded, in part perhaps, by the knowledge that he made a great contribution in the service of his country.

Mr. President, his every expressed thought showed concern and consideration for his family, his nation and his fellowman.

It was my privilege to travel with him in connection with the Subcommittee on Indian Education. He was the chairman of the subcommittee and devoted much effort in field hearings around the country seeking worthwhile solutions to problems in this area. His dedicated work and compassionate consideration of the problems of our Indian youth were an inspiration to all who participated in this activity. His goal in this endeavor was to help these unfortunate first Americans to rise above their poverty and deprivation. Already his efforts have produced tangible results that will multiply because he was willing to give the time and leadership necessary to this program.

A side of Senator Kennedy perhaps little known or appreciated was his wit and humor, which were a rich blend of subtlety and mirth. Senator Kennedy often surprised those around him with a sense of humor that was so subtle as to be overlooked in public.

His contributions to the Government of the United States will be lasting.

He leaves a shining and exemplary record of public service, and above all, I think, a dedication and devotion to public service found among few men no matter what their rank or station. His unselfishness in private life was well known to those about him, and while many may disagree with his approach to some of the problems of our times, none can say that he did not give everything he had to the task at hand.

His passing is a great loss to the Nation. I mourn his death, as do all Americans of good will, and pray that from this tragedy may arise an understanding and basis of communication that will unite our Nation as never before.

Just one thought comes to mind at this moment, Mr. President. It is a saying often expressed in many ways, but one which I think particularly suits the tragic timing of Senator Kennedy's passing in the heat of the battle and the bloom of life, cut down we think by the bullet of a foreign assassin.

> Whom the gods love die young—no matter when they die.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, it is with profound regret that I join Senators in expressing sorrow over the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. It can be said that the assassination of Senator Kennedy was the deed of one irrational man—a misguided extremist. The same could be said of the murder of his brother, the late, great President John F. Kennedy, and of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. That is a valid explanation insofar as it goes, but it does not absolve our society from some responsibility for these tragic events. The truth must be faced that these insane acts are in some way attributable to the dangerous tensions and the deep stresses that have afflicted our Nation in recent years.

Let us hope that the senseless assassination of Senator Kennedy will result in a dedication by all Americans to eradicate the devisiveness that threatens to alienate one American from another and a renewal of the bright promise of America.

Mr. President, violence and crime are increasingly rampant throughout the Nation. We Americans need God's help. The watered-down gun-control bill recently passed in the Senate is inadequate. We in the Congress have responsibility to enact into law more effective gun control legislation to minimize the danger of bloodshed, violence and death contributed to by the present unrestricted and insane traffic in firearms.

I extend my sympathy to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her children and to all members of the Kennedy family who have known death and heartbreak as few families have. They have lost a husband, father, son, and brother. The Nation has lost one of its finest sons and a leader of great promise.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, for whom do we mourn?

Not only for the Kennedy family, but for the American people, for a Nation in which unreasoning violence has claimed all of us among its victims.

How do we honor this man?

As he was concerned for the need of social change, we must here and now begin a new foundation of social and economic hope and opportunity. We can honor him only by returning to the unfinished business of America—national unity, respect for life, and for the human aspirations of those less fortunate in our common heritage.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, Justice Holmes once said:

> As life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time, at peril of being judged not to have lived.

Robert Kennedy lived the action and passion of our time. He died in action. He spent his life; he gave his life in highest service to his country and to his fellow man. To those ignored he gave attention; to those in despair he gave hope; to those in need he gave help. To citizens blind to the fate of their fellow man he presented the discomforting specter of the other America. He gave himself.

Bob Kennedy, my friend, is dead. But the challenge of a newer world he pursued so selflessly remains. Let us be equal to that challenge.

In the long roll of history it will be marked for Bob Kennedy, as it was for his brother John: "There was a man." We will not soon forget these men or their compassion. As Pericles said centuries ago:

> Heroes have the whole earth for their tomb; and in lands far from their own—where the column with its epitaph declares it—there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart.

God have mercy upon the soul of Robert Kennedy. God have mercy upon his family. God have mercy upon us all.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, all of us in the Chamber today feel understandably compelled to express our grief and our horror.

Our grief and horror, I know, is of the same measure as that felt by every citizen of the Nation—so we say nothing new of revealing.

By the same token, no words we can utter will be of much comfort to a family overburdened with grief.

Yet we do it—I suppose because we feel to a very small degree relieved by pouring our sorrow and shock into a common pool.

In Senator Robert Kennedy, we have lost a fine talent, a keen intellect and a compassionate leader. We grieve with his family, a family that has already endured so much.

After that, all other words seem hollow and repetitive. I am deeply depressed. We all are. We are anxious about a society in which this could happen.

And if there is any comfort we can offer the family, it would be to express our unanimous resolve that we will devote ourselves to what will be a complicated and difficult task—the task of reducing and eliminating the chance of its happening again.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I wish to express my profound sadness on the passing of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. I often vigorously disagreed with him on major issues that confront our people and, on occasion, engaged him in debate.

He was a worthy adversary—a man of considerable intellect and talent. I have always believed that responsible dissent and disagreement are healthy manifestations of a free country.

I am outraged when the advocate of any political point of view in this country is killed by the senseless and cowardly means of assassination. Senator KENNEDY had a view of government and its role in American life that it was certainly his right—indeed his duty—to advocate. I am profoundly sorry that this outstanding public servant is no longer with us.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the whole Nation mourns the death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. To indict the American people for the murder of this great man is to be false to his memory. Millions loved him; others who did not agree with him admired and respected him. His courage, his intelligence, his energy, but above all his sympathy and compassion for the poor, the distressed, the deprived, and the underprivileged, captured the hearts of Americans everywhere. Senator KENNEDY had endeared himself to the miners of western Montana and the farmers of our eastern prairies just as he was loved by the people of his own State of New York.

The senseless act of a sick man has deprived America of a dynamic leader, a thoughtful and innovative student of government. The loss of his leadership will be felt for many years ahead. Mrs. Metcalf and I extend our heartfelt sympathy to Senator KENNEDY's family and express our sorrow at the death of our friend.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am overwhelmed by sadness at the death of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY. His assassination is an act of barbarism that does violence to the whole meaning of America.

I grieve for Senator KENNEDY's family. But I grieve equally for a nation that chooses its leaders under the rule of law and then loses its leaders under the wrath of violence.

In less than 5 years, three Americans who espoused progress in our Nation have been shot down by fanatics who intruded their own warped wills upon our constitutional processes.

I commend the House of Representatives for acting promptly to pass the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act which earlier passed the Senate. I am a cosponsor of that legislation. It provides new controls of hand guns and offers additional measures to fight crime in America.

But we need to do much more. Every American who has lost a family member because of the brutal act of a criminal suffers equally with the survivors of this latest assassination. We as a society do not provide the basic protection against assaults upon life and limb which daily add to the grim statistics of death and mayhem.

We need to get at the root causes of crime in America. We must work harder to prevent crime. And we need to stiffen and speed up the procedures to try and punish those who violate our laws.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, my sympathy and my prayers are with the members of Senator KENNEDY's family. Our ranks are lessened today; our Nation, diminished. The tragedy which has taken from us one of our most dedicated public servants is a senseless and shameful example of the madness which is defiling our country. It is my fervent hope that this act of violence which has numbed us all shall serve to renew, to intensify our efforts to seek out those ways by which our Nation can be returned to the peaceful pursuit of its destiny, a pursuit uncorrupted by the outrages to man's dignity which have become so increasingly frequent.

Let us rededicate ourselves to this endeavor. May the memory of our fallen colleague serve as an inspiration in our search for those answers which will help to erase violence from our land.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, this is a day of profound grief and sorrow for each of us as we mourn the tragic death of a beloved colleague and friend.

It is a day when we seek to marshall all our spiritual resources as we pray for ROBERT KENNEDY and his loved ones, and for our country.

It is a day for grave contemplation of those shortcomings of our society and ourselves which can generate such violent and terrible consequences.

It is a day of foreboding, and disquiet, and uneasiness as we face the uncertainties which tomorrow may bring.

Above all, it is a day to pray for the wisdom, the understanding, the patience, and the will to do what must be done to make our country a just and peaceful place, where each of us is a neighbor to all others.

It is clear that there is much work to be done to deal with grievances, to eliminate inequities, to build a society governed by laws which dispense justice as well as maintain order.

ROBERT KENNEDY was identified in the eyes and hearts and minds of human beings around the globe with a burning desire to do what he could to eradicate injustice. It was for this purpose that he turned to the democratic political process which he understood so well.

As we mourn him—all of us—let us dedicate ourselves to that same process to do effectively the work that must be done—applying reason, balanced judgment, tolerance, and determination to that end.

There is no more appropriate way, Mr. President, to pay tribute to this unusual man of great talent and deep compassion.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, for 15 of his 42 years I was privileged to know ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY as his friend, associate, and colleague.

He was a man of dogged determination, giant capacity, and great courage.

His life was devoted to serving his country, and in those few years he made an imprint which will last. He took up the mantle of leadership at a tragic time and carried on to bring new inspiration and purpose to the lives of millions of Americans.

He had personal wealth, but his greatest concern was for those not so fortunate. He spoke and acted forcefully on behalf of those who have not shared fairly in the fruits of our country, socially or economically.

ROBERT KENNEDY was a man with great love for his family. Love for each other was manifest in the family life of all the Kennedys. His wife, Ethel, and the children were a part of all he did, and he was a part of all they did. The Kennedys were constantly together around the country and around the world.

The Kennedy family is an inspiration and example for all Americans. In this time of renewed tragedy, our hearts and our sympathies go out to them.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I mourn with all Senators this morning—indeed I mourn with all America and all the world the passing of ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

My mind rebels at acceptance of such a great tragedy, and I am haunted by memories of 4 years ago when in the same brutal and senseless manner President John F. Kennedy was torn from our midst.

ROBERT KENNEDY was a brilliant, dedicated, active, and uncommonly promising leader. At the peak of his promise and in a moment of triumph he was cut down.

How my heart aches for Ethel and their children—and how I wish that I could bring comfort to them.

How I mourn for TEDDY and Joan. TEDDY and BOBBY were so close. A great void will exist for our colleague who remains in this Chamber.

How my sympathy goes out to father Joseph P. Kennedy and mother Rose Kennedy who have suffered such grievous sorrows and tragedies with their brilliant and vital family.

And to all the sisters and their families, the in-laws, and especially the nieces and nephews goes my sympathy. BOBBY had a special relationship with young people. His river trip last summer was an outing of young folks, as were all of his outings.

On this sad day I offer a prayer for ROBERT F. KENNEDY and his loved ones.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, our thoughts today are with Mrs. Robert Kennedy, with the children, and with all the Kennedy family, struck by the tragedy of this latest crushing blow.

I did not know Senator KENNEDY as well as I knew his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy, but thinking of his work in the Senate and public life, one concern of Senator KENNEDY stands out clearly—his concern for the disadvantaged, the underprivileged, those with unequal and little opportunity—the poor, from whatever cause.

His work expressed his compassion and sense of justice. Perhaps our best tribute will be paid, if the Congress and the country move quickly toward the accomplishment of his ideal—an equal chance in life—equal justice and equality for all our citizens.

Much has been said about violence in our country—and it grows from many roots. Perhaps this tragedy will arouse our country to the study of its causes and their removal. Many have spoken of the devotion of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY and his wife and family to their church and to religious belief. We may hope that their example may be followed, and exert a healing influence in our troubled country.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, I am grief stricken for the Kennedy family. I am heartsick for my country. Violence breeds violence. Unless we set our faces sternly and relentlessly against violence and disorder by anybody, anywhere, in any form, the Nation will shortly become something I do not want to live to see.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I cannot express how profoundly and deeply I am grieved by Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY's death.

Senator KENNEDY and I were next to each other in Senate seniority. We sat next to each other in the back row created for freshman Senators in 1965. We stood together on most of the issues which came before this body.

While the tragedy of the death of a friend and a colleague is quite enough in itself, the country has also suffered a serious blow in the brutal slaying of Senator KENNEDY.

Senator KENNEDY was a magnificent leader. He met all the standards of leadership—devotion to the real issues of the Nation, the courage and determination to take the best positions in the face of opposition, the ability to gather support in this body and in the Nation for the causes he supported, the faith in our system which enabled him to move on in the face of personal tragedies—and remained optimistic in spite of the problems he helped to identify and bring to the attention of the national conscience.

There are never enough men like ROBERT KENNEDY in our Nation. The violence and senselessness of his death are a deep shock to the very structure of the American system of government.

For it has now been proved beyond doubt that no man may run for high office or pursue high causes without serious risk to his very life. Among all the categories of lawlessness, violence, and intolerance, there is no more terrible arrogance and intolerance than that of a man who is determined to decide issues by force and by death.

If it is now in fact true that a free expression of one's opinion—whatever that opinion might be—places his life in the hands of those who disagree, then the country is in danger of losing its heritage and its claim to moral leadership.

I offer my sympathy and shared grief and that of my family to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her children, to Senator EDWARD KENNEDY and his family, to all of the Kennedy family, and to all of those who deeply admired and respected ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

We have all suffered a great personal loss. And America has suffered as well by the loss of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, another light has gone out of our lives.

I remember the overwhelming feeling of loss that my wife and I shared with the Nation in 1963 when John Kennedy was taken from us.

I remember our sense of profound relief when, after we had gone down together in a plane in Massachusetts in 1964, we learned in our own hospital beds that EDWARD KENNEDY would recover.

I suppose we believed then that the tragedy with which the Kennedy family had lived for a generation had ended, and that only the blessings they had reaped through the unstinting public service would remain.

And now, this.

What can any of us say that would somehow ease the pain being endured by Mrs. Robert Kennedy, by her children, and by the entire Kennedy family? Only that we will try, with every fiber of our beings, to emulate the sterling example that this family has given us—the desire and willingness to serve our Nation, a manifest concern for the suffering of humanity, a deep and abiding belief that our Nation, with God's help, can become a torch that will light the way of the world toward lasting peace.

These are the things that ROBERT KENNEDY believed. If we work to fashion these ideals into reality, then he will not have lived or died in vain.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I was sorry and grieved this morning to learn of the death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of New York. Senator KENNEDY's office adjoins mine in the Senate Office Building, and I had occasion to see him frequently as we both went about our work in the Nation's Capital. I have sent a message to Mrs. Kennedy and to Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, expressing to them my deepest sympathy at their loss, and I have requested that my condolences be extended to other members of the family. That this prominent family has suffered yet another great tragedy touches all of us deeply. I hope and pray that each of us will assume a personal responsibility to address ourselves to restoration of peace in our land.

The Nation and the world are shocked by this tragic event, and our thoughts at this time are especially with Mrs. Kennedy and her children in the loss of this husband and father. It is indeed a sad day for all Americans.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, we mourn most deeply today the death of our colleague Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of New York. I wish to convey from the floor of the Senate my sympathy and condolences to the Senator's widow and children and to every one of the members of the Senator's family during this time of great grief and sorrow. It is a time, of course, of grief and sorrow and mourning for all America. And it is a time, too, when all of us are filled with revulsion at the monstrousness of the assassination and the apparently growing pervasiveness of hate and bitterness and brutality and materialism in our country.

I pray, Mr. President, for a new national commitment to the spiritual values of the Prince of Peace.

There is much to be done in this Chamber and throughout all the other chambers of government in the United States to bring sense and decency and justice to all of our land, true enough. But the long-range solution to the problems which beset us, in my judgment, must include an awareness and a commitment to the sanctity of human life and to the power of God to heal the soul.

The murder of Senator KENNEDY brought on another nightmare for many of us, and we were witness once more—once more too often—to the scenes of past political murders and also past riots in the streets, disturbances in our universities, the killing in Vietnam, and the numerous murders of ordinary citizens. We observe rage and hate. The land is a tumult. What can we learn and indeed what will we learn from these many acts which range from violent to barbaric? What is the solution or a part of the solution, for our society? What course should we follow? In short, where shall we go?

I believe that no lasting solution will be set forth here or elsewhere merely by political oratory or by repressive measures to "keep people in line." Of course we must maintain law and order. Of course we must do our utmost to attain domestic tranquility. Of course we must labor in the Halls of the Congress and in all of our citizens groups to advance the social welfare of our countrymen and erase some of the breeding places for violence, bitterness, and hatred. Of course we must do these things, and we will do them. But all of these legislative changes and institutional changes alone will not provide the fundamental answer.

Mr. President, I believe the answer we seek will be found in a spiritual revolution in America. A revolution of the spirit will be a revolution waged not with instruments of destruction, not with guns and knives and rocks and bombs, but a revolution which employs the instruments of Divine love to conquer hate. This revolution will seek to transform man into a creature who will be spiritually fulfilled rather than spiritually empty and spiritually starved. This kind of spiritual revoluton will bring forth man's true relevance and importance as a human personality to God and to his fellow man.

We have many of the trappings of a rich society today; but we also have many of the trappings of a country which suffers poverty of the spirit.

Mr. President, I pray that we shall carry forward the very best which Senator ROBERT KENNEDY brought to this country; and that we shall cleanse ourselves of the disease of hate and shall bring forth once more the right, the good and the true which will bring us peace and happiness when we practice the commandment to "love thy neighbor."

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, once again the Nation has been shaken by a cruel, senseless murder of an outstanding public figure. And, once again, the Kennedy family is the victim of a shocking tragedy.

Our thoughts and prayers are with the Kennedy family at this tragic time.

The natural reaction is to try and lash out in bereaved anger in an effort to fix the blame. This is no time for a bereaved Nation to search guiltily for a scapegoat, rather, we need to realize that reason and compassion is needed to end this era of violence.

We are in the midst of a national mood that has permitted vocal dissidents to practice the philosophy that the end justifies the means—a philosophy that says we need not obey the laws with which we disagree. The result has been that violence has infected and jeopardized our very way of life.

I would again like to remind our people of the words of President Abraham Lincoln when he said:

> Let every American remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear down the charter of his children's liberty.

We have seen enough of violence and tearing down. In the memory of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, let us reaffirm our moral integrity and begin once again to build our Nation.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, this is another sad day for the U.S. Senate, the Nation, and the entire world. In the tragic assassination of our distinguished colleague, Senator Robert Kennedy, we have lost a highly respected and brilliant leader.

I have had the privilege and honor of serving with three Kennedy brothers. Like all other Members of the U.S. Senate, I had a great respect and admiration for the late President Kennedy and his brothers, Robert and Edward. This is truly one of America's most remarkable families. They are brilliant, personable, witty, and just naturally great leaders. They have the fine qualities that command the greatest esteem, affection, and loyalty of people all over the world.

Tragedy has hit this family many times. They have borne far more than their share of misfortune and tragedy. I feel a deep sense of personal loss, as I have always felt very close to Robert Kennedy and all of his family. I extend my heartfelt sympathy to Ethel Kennedy and all of the Kennedy family.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I join Senators in paying tribute to our departed colleague, Robert F. Kennedy of New York. It was with profound sorrow that I learned of his death this morning.

This was a dynamic young man who came our way, brimming with vitality, life, and accomplishments. You might say that Government service was virtually his whole life, first as the son of an American Ambassador, then as a staff member on the Hill, later at the Justice Department, and most recently as a Senator from New York.

He had a tremendous capacity for work and perseverance. History undoubtedly will devote a great deal of space to Robert F. Kennedy, and I am sure he will deserve it. Certainly each time that he participated in Senate debates and was addressed as the "distinguished Senator from New York," the description went far beyond the formalities dictated by Senate practice. He had a distinguished career—but one that was cut far short of what might have been.

This tragic end to a young and vigorous life is a deep loss to America. I hope that we can eventually look back at his death as the turning point after which we began to return to a sense of justice and personal responsibility in this country—a sense that has long been missing.

Personally, Mr. President, I feel that the country and the Senate have paused far too many times lately to pay tribute to a fallen leader cut down by an assassin's bullet.

Mrs. Bennett and I in this sad hour have extended our deepest sympathy to the Kennedy family—a family which has already known far too much sorrow and tragedy.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, at a time like this I am at a loss for words.

I have known Bobby Kennedy for a long time.

It was my privilege to work with him when he was a Senate employee, when he served as Attorney General, and when he became a U.S. Senator from New York.

Robert Kennedy was a powerful influence for good in the field of National Government.

Whether one agreed with him or not on the issues of the day, all persons agreed that he kept both Congress and the executive branch of the Government on their toes and a bit more anxious to meet the public needs.

As for his wife, Ethel, and his children, we do not have to say that they have our full sympathy. They can and will be eternally proud of their husband and father. The legacy he leaves them will always be a source of pride and honor.

If there were words adequate to express our sorrow, I would hunt for them, but I realize now that such a search would indeed be futile.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, it is with a heavy heart and a great feeling of personal loss that I rise to pay tribute to the memory of the late junior Senator from New York. Mrs. Prouty joins me in deepest sympathy to his widow, his children, and members of the Kennedy family. My sorrow is hard to express. It is not easy for me to translate into words the tears in my eyes, the lump in my throat, the pain in my heart when I think of the passing of Robert F. Kennedy.

For me, perhaps, it can best be expressed in the simple phrase "He was my friend." This man—born and raised in New England—was a man of vision. Robert Kennedy dreamed great dreams—not so much for himself as for his nation and her people.

While the means of achieving his dreams may be contested by men of good faith, the ideals and goals he held for America's future are those shared by all our citizens. Now he is gone, and we shall never know the magnitude of the contributions he might have made toward fulfilling the destiny of the United States.

Our personal grief expressed here today is symbolic of the grief of our Nation—and, yes, the grief of freedom-loving peoples throughout the world. As we pass through this chapter of the American tragedy, we must draw together in unity and rededicate ourselves to the task of finding ways to accomplish the American dream.

Son, brother, father, friend; as each, Robert F. Kennedy seemed to have one goal: Excellence, the pursuit of which was his measure as a man. A man so deserving of our silent grief and our private tears.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, this is one of those rare moments in the history of the Senate when all conflicts of political philosophy and sectional interest, all personal ambitions and animosities are swept away by a tragedy so unbearable and incomprehensible as to bind us together in mutual grief at the loss of our young colleague, felled at the height of his career and in the prime of his life.

The story of how a father and his sons, descendents of Irish immigrants, swiftly rose by their talent and industry to claim a place in our young Nation's history, is in itself symbolic of the American dream. Their rejection of the leisurely life which wealth assured, for a total commitment to their Nation's service, and to the ideas and ideals in which they believe, recalls to mind the words of Theodore Roosevelt:

> Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat.

As I contemplate this tragedy, I am overwhelmed with the striking and prophetic similarity between the Kennedys of Massachusetts and the Lamars of Mississippi, whom his brother so deeply admired.

Our late President, John F. Kennedy, writing of the Lamars of Mississippi in his book "Profiles in Courage," quoted the following line from Washington correspondent, William Preston Johnson:

> The fatal dowry of genius was on that house . . . A rollcall in his father's home was an impressive experience; for Lucius Lamar's uncles included Mirabeau Bonaparte, whose charge at San Jacinto broke the Mexican line and made him the second President of the Texas Republic; Jefferson Jackson, Thomas Randolph, and Lavoisier Le Grand, indicating in the christener a changing interest from history to politics and from politics to chemistry.

Our late President recounted how the tragic and violent events of the Civil War deprived Mississippi of the talented leadership of the Lamar family, as violence has now deprived the Nation of the talent of these sons of a famous Massachusetts family.

As stated by John F. Kennedy in his book:

> Among the ruling families of the South "the spilling of the wine" was especially heavy.

He recalled how Lamar's youngest brother, "supposedly the most brilliant, Jefferson Mirabeau, was killed as he leaped his horse over the enemy's breastworks at Crampton's Gap," and his cousin John fell near him, and how Lamar's other brother, "Thompson Bird, colonel of the 5th Florida, was killed in the fighting at Petersburg."

How could a young Senator from Massachusetts named John Fitzgerald Kennedy feel such moving admiration for the sons of a Mississippi family that rode with and fought valiantly for the Army of the Confederacy?

Because, while the interest, the ideas, and ideals that divide us are many, there is a universal creed that binds together in mutual admiration those men in every state and nation, of every political persuasion, who in the words of Theodore Roosevelt "dare mighty things."

Perhaps this creed is best summed up in the words of the poet, Sir Henry Newbolt:

To count the life of battle good
  And dear the land that gave you birth,
And clearer yet the brotherhood
  That binds the brave of all the earth

While none of us can find the words to adequately express to the Kennedy family the loss we so deeply feel, I would like to conclude with the words Abraham Lincoln expressed to a mother in Massachusetts who had lost two sons fighting for the Union:

> I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, seldom, if ever, has tragedy of such similarity struck at a single American family, in the manner so sadly repeated in the tragic shooting of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY so soon after the equally tragic and senseless assassination of his President brother, John F. Kennedy. These events give us all cause to ponder and reflect upon the tenor of our times and the inadequate security provisions for our public officials as we deeply mourn the loss of a friend and colleague.

As a member of the Senate committee which gave BOBBY KENNEDY his first job on Capitol Hill in 1953, I have watched his exciting and fast-moving public career with far more than usual interest. It was when Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin was chairman of our Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee, on which I then served, as now, as ranking Republican member, that I first met BOBBY KENNEDY. Joe came to me one day with the suggestion that our subcommittee engage the services of then comparatively unknown, BOBBY KENNEDY, as an assistant counsel of our committee which at that time was comprised of four Republican and three Democratic Senators as follows: Joseph R. McCarthy, chairman; KARL E. MUNDT, EVERETT DIRKSEN, Charles E. Potter, JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, HENRY M. JACKSON, and STUART SYMINGTON. After meeting BOBBY and having a brief interview with him I thoroughly approved of Joe's suggestion.

With the exception of a few intermittent leaves of absence for travel or political activities, BOBBY KENNEDY served our committee until September 13, 1959, when he resigned to campaign for his brother in the presidential campaign ending in November of 1960. He served our committee well under both Republican and Democratic chairmen, as JOHN MCCLELLAN reappointed him and made him chief counsel after he moved into the committee chairmanship. He dedicated his efforts primarily to anti-Communist activities and to the disclosure of organized crime and racketeering as related to organized labor.

Later, as Attorney General and as a Member of this body, BOBBY KENNEDY continued to display the same energy, dedication to duty and his points of view, and native abilities which carried him so high in the councils of his party and made him a national figure. Words have really never been built adequately to describe the shocking, senseless, and saddening murder of this young man so full of life, ambition, energy, and high purpose at the very crest of his career.

To have him cut down in the midst of the celebration of his greatest personal triumph in the simultaneous primary victories he won that day in California and in my home State of South Dakota adds even more to the sorrow of this great tragedy. Mrs. Mundt joins me in extending our great sympathy to his wife, Ethel, to his family, and children, and to his parents who have already suffered more than their fair measure of sorrow and tragedy.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], who is necessarily absent today, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared by him.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORDS FOR A SPRING DAY

A bright sun shines, tree leaves are glowingly green, a new life stirs our old earth, and a surging, promising existence has come to an end. Robert F. Kennedy, Senator from the State of New York, has been struck down by the hand of an assassin, just as his greathearted brother, President Kennedy, was. We again must bear the brunt of sorrow, disgrace and shame before the entire world and all humanity.

Once more a grieving widow with children will follow a bier to a martyr's grave. Once more will the drums roll. Again, we shall hear the funeral music. Still again, an open grave will yawn to receive one of America's noblest souls.

Mr. President, my heart is sore within me for our Country. Truly, we have lost one of our soaring spirits. A heart which bled for the oppressed and downtrodden. A man who felt so deeply for those society had no compassion for, that he placed himself in the forefront of their struggle to attain our American promise. For this he was struck down in mid-flight.

President Kennedy was assassinated toward the end of his term in the late fall. His brother was stricken down in the midst of this troubled but lushly beautiful spring. Death can mean many things to many people. To some, it is an end. To others, it is a beginning.

I choose to look upon it as a start for our country, rather than a finish. I choose to regard it as an impetus for the dreams Robert F. Kennedy had for this republic. His existence, career in the national life of our Country, and personal goals symbolize his belief in those dreams. It is my feeling that he embodied a significant portion of the noblest elements of the American ideal.

We must not allow his death to be separated from what he died for. His passing must serve this republic as an affirmation rather than a denial of the rights of man and the reason for being of this nation.

We were founded upon a belief in the dignity of the individual. Senator Kennedy reaffirmed this truth by his life and death. It is for this society, imperfect as it is, to echo this reaffirmation and make it real to those who look to us for hope and accomplishment.

I speak not of the world now. It is for the soul of this nation that we must struggle. A death grapple looms ahead of us, perhaps immediately. A society has a spirit as surely as a man does. Robert Kennedy's spirit was in tune with that of all mankind.

He was a humanist among us . . . almost a Renaissance individual. His interests and ideas were generously wide. Although he could have secluded himself from his responsibilities to society, he did not. Like Franklin Delano Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, he turned his back upon a life devoid of social duty and plunged back into the turmoil of American life, determined to illuminate and purge the darkest corners of our land.

He held up a torch of intellectual illumination and social responsibility. A finger of accusation was directed at society, following it unerringly wherever it sought to elude that pointing finger. None of us could return to a life of comfort in our homes without being reminded by him that we owed it to ourselves, our society and beliefs to set right what we had suffered to go wrong around us.

Now his fight is done. But we can make real what his sacrifice has left undone. Let his torch of illumination and idealism be taken up by compassionate hands. Let us see him to his rest with sorrow and understanding. Then let us turn as one person to the unfinished work that remains.

Let us see to it that all Americans share fully in our dream. Let us search our individual consciences and act accordingly.

A nation looks to us. We have it within our power to act and do what must be done. In days to come and challenges that will present themselves face to face with us, let us act according to dictates of conscience and intellect rather than pettiness and partisanship.

Humanity and compassion transcend desire for personal glory and bitterness. The most fitting tribute to Senator Kennedy and thinking he represented will be this type of contribution.

But now we must grope for words. Yet they fail us. Let us then seek eloquence from our own rich past. Senator Kennedy loved poetry and used it often. There is a verse by one of America's noblest spirits that perhaps says better than we can what his death and life symbolize.

Walt Whitman said:

"When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd, And the great star early droop'd in the western sky in the night, I mourn'd, and yet shall mourn with ever-returning spring."

And then he wrote a few words that perhaps best symbolize what Senator Kennedy left to us as a legacy:

"No really great song can ever attain full purport till long after the death of its singer—till it has accrued and incorporated the many passions, many joys and sorrows, it has itself aroused."

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, the fanatical shooting of Senator KENNEDY is a sad, tragic, and dangerous commentary of our time. The loss of great moral values and sanity in the last one-third of the 20th century must be corrected at all levels and by all citizens.

I regret that medical science—which Senator KENNEDY, and his late brother President Kennedy, did so much to bring to its present state of excellence—could not avoid this tragedy.

This senseless act of violence makes it clear to every American that it is in the public interest to provide protection to major candidates who are daily exposed to the hazards and risks of national political campaigns.

The great loss to the Nation and world in Senator KENNEDY's death will be realized far more as time moves on and this tragic evidence of violence becomes history. His vigor and dedication and quality of leadership inevitably marked him to, at some time, succeed his brother as our Nation's Chief Executive.

My deepest sympathy is with his entire family on this third visitation of tragedy. The deaths of all three sons were deaths in action for America's safety, future, and progress.

No words can truly express our shock at the tragic death of our colleague, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, notwithstanding the precedents and protocol of the Senate, that the distinguished Vice President, who is now occupying the chair, may be permitted to address some brief comments to the Senate at this time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair in his function as President of the Senate would like to make a very brief statement of respect and affection on the life and memory of our late, departed colleague, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

This is a day of national sorrow and personal grief.

A valiant, brave, and good man, a gifted colleague to every Member of this body, and a personal friend of many, has been taken from us.

We have lost a great American, a man whose deep concern, compassion, conscience, and commitment have inspired all of us in this Chamber—as well as millions of fellow Americans and countless other men and women throughout the world.

Mrs. Humphrey and I feel a sense of profound personal loss. Our hearts go out to Senator KENNEDY's dear wife, Ethel, and her loving family of dear children. Also to the Kennedy family which has known tragedy beyond human endurance.

As has been said—and well said—Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY was an uncommon man, with uncommon faith in the ultimate worth of American democracy and its processes. He underwrote his faith with a life of vigorous action, and was taken from us by an irrational act of hatred while doing the most sacred work of a free man; namely, the work of public policy and public affairs.

It is now the obligation of all of us, in our sorrow and pain, to realize the society of human and individual justice which Senator KENNEDY sought. For the high purposes to which we have dedicated our Nation cannot longer survive except in the reality of freedom and justice.

May our Nation find the strength, the faith, and the wisdom to dispel the forces of unreason and hate—of extremism and violence—from our midst. May it find a way to replace them with the love of man and the love of God.

May Divine Providence bring comfort to those who sorrow.

May Divine Providence forgive us our transgressions.

I wish to thank the Senate for indulging the Chair in this rather unusual procedure. It is one which I wanted very much to have the privilege of being given.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be stated by the clerk.

The bill clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 301) as follows:

S. RES. 301

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate the actual and necessary expenses incurred by the committee appointed to arrange for and attend the funeral of the Honorable ROBERT F. KENNEDY, late a Senator from the State of New York, on vouchers to be approved by the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, it is my sad duty, as the colleague of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of New York, to ask the Senate to adopt the resolution which I have submitted.

Mr. President, in the years since Senator KENNEDY first became my colleague, he became my friend, and I feel the loss which we have all suffered—which our country and the world have suffered—very deeply and very personally.

I feel, from many, many, many contacts and conversations with Senator KENNEDY, that he, too, felt that there was an illness affecting us, which drove people to violence as a substitute for reason and debate because they were impatient with these processes. And yet in his own life, he passionately believed in these processes. He became the magnet for tremendous, clamoring crowds because many people felt that his was the voice which could lead to action through reason.

I feel that he would want the tragedy of violence which caused him to pass from this world to be burned into the conscience of all of us in the United States, so that we may again repair with confidence to the constitutional processes in which he believed so very, very deeply. I feel that he would hope that all of those who, out of excess zealousness and other misguided attitudes, might think there are shorter cuts to action would have been appalled and dissuaded by this tragedy—a tragedy that snuffed out the life of one so gifted and vital and effective.

Senator KENNEDY had a passion for the integrity and quality of our society and a passion for justice especially for the underprivileged, the oppressed, and the young. He carried this feeling out not only in New York but in the United States and all over the world, as witness his famous trip to the Union of South Africa.

This insistent dedication of his inspired us all. It had a profound impact upon me and all the rest of us with whom he served. It had, and will have, a profound impact on our time.

I sought out him particularly with regard to legislation on which we worked in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, as well as in activities of a state character. For example, I joined him, as did Mayor Lindsay, as he carried out a particularly noble and worthwhile plan with respect to one of the most difficult slum areas in the United States, the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, N.Y.

Senator KENNEDY's passion for these causes and his inspiration will live on, in my judgment, for many generations, for whom it will remain a guiding light.

I could not close, Mr. President, without expressing the profound personal loss and sadness which my wife and I feel, and our deep sympathy for Ethel Kennedy, for the children, for TED KENNEDY, another of our colleagues, and for the whole Kennedy family.

Mr. President, I hope that the Senate will act affirmatively on the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 301) was agreed to.

FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, arrangements have been made or are being made for Senators on both sides of the aisle—and their wives, if they desire—to go to New York to attend the funeral services at St. Patrick's Cathedral at 10 o'clock Saturday morning. That transportation will be by air.

It is also contemplated that a railroad car will be set aside for Senators and their wives who may accompany them to join the KENNEDY funeral cortege on the way from New York to Union Station in Washington.

Cars will be at Union Station for those who arrive by train and also for those who find themselves unable to go to New York. If Senators meet the train on its arrival or be at the Capitol steps, transportation will be furnished.

If there are any questions about the session today, earlier this morning I discussed the matter with several members of the Kennedy family. They felt that what we are doing today is what we should do. This is what Senator ROBERT KENNEDY would have wanted done.

When we get through with our business today, we will adjourn out of respect for the memory of our late, highly respected, and beloved colleague, and we will not meet tomorrow as a further mark of respect to his memory. We will probably meet around 12 o'clock on Monday next.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the Senate will now go into executive session to consider the three tax conventions with Brazil, France, and the Philippines.

TAX CONVENTIONS WITH BRAZIL, EXECUTIVE J, 90TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION; FRANCE, EXECUTIVE N., 90TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION; AND THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES, EXECUTIVE D, 89TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the three conventions—a separate vote on each.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

TAX CONVENTION WITH BRAZIL

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the order of June 4, 1968, as modified, the Senate will now proceed to vote on the resolution of ratification, as amended by two reservations, of Executive J, 90th Congress, first session, relative to the ratification of the Tax Convention with Brazil.

The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. JORDAN] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] is absent because of the tragic death of his brother.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT]; the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. HARRIS], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] would each vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] would each vote "yea."

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 78, nays 0, as follows:

[No. 175 Ex.]

YEAS—78

Aiken
Allott
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Eastland
Ellender
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Morse
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smathers
Smith
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—21

Anderson
Baker
Bible
Dominick
Ervin
Fulbright
Gore
Harris
Hollings
Inouye
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Miller
Montoya
Russell
Sparkman
Williams, N.J.
Young, Ohio

The VICE PRESIDENT. Two-thirds of the Senators present having voted in the affirmative, the resolution of ratification, as amended by the reservations, is agreed to.

TAX CONVENTION WITH FRANCE

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the previous order, the Senate will now vote on the resolution of ratification, with a reservation, of Executive N, 90th Congress, first session, relative to a Tax Convention with France, Treaty No. 2. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] is absent because of the tragic death of his brother.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG], are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. YOUNG], and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], would each vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] would each vote "yea."

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 78, nays 0, as follows:

[No. 176 Ex.]

YEAS—78

Aiken
Allott
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Eastland
Ellender
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Morse
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smith
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—21

Anderson
Baker
Bible
Dominick
Ervin
Fulbright
Gore
Hollings
Inouye
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Miller
Montoya
Russell
Smathers
Sparkman
Williams, N.J.
Young, Ohio

The VICE PRESIDENT. Two-thirds of the Senators present and voting having voted in the affirmative, the resolution of ratification, with a reservation, is agreed to.

EXECUTIVE D (89TH CONG., 1ST SESS.) TAX CONVENTION WITH THE PHILIPPINES

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution of ratification, with a reservation, of Executive D, 89th Congress, first session, the tax convention with the Republic of the Philippines. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] is absent because of the tragic death of his brother.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], the Senator from New

Jersey [Mr. Williams], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Anderson], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Bible], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Ervin], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Hollings], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Jordan], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Kennedy], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Montoya], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young] would each vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Baker], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick], the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Baker], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Dominick], the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Miller] would each vote "yea."

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 79, nays 0, as follows:

[No. 177 Ex.]

YEAS—79

Aiken
Allott
Bartlett
Bayh
Bennett
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Dodd
Eastland
Ellender
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, Idaho
Lausche
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Morse
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smathers
Smith
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—20

Anderson
Baker
Bible
Dominick
Ervin
Fulbright
Gore
Hollings
Inouye
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kuchel
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Miller
Montoya
Russell
Sparkman
Williams, N.J.
Young, Ohio

The VICE PRESIDENT. On this vote the yeas are 79 and the nays are 0. Two-thirds of the Senators present and voting having voted in the affirmative, the resolution of ratification, as amended by the reservation, is agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the ratification of these conventions.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair, pursuant to the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 73, 90th Congress, appoints the Senator from Montana [Mr. Mansfield], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Jordan] to the Joint Committee on Arrangements for the Inauguration of the President-elect and the Vice-President-elect on January 20, 1969.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1968

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that House Joint Resolution 1268, which appears on the calendar under "Subjects on the Table," be referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

I am made to understand that there are certain emergency items that have to do with social security that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare wants very much to have considered. There are also certain Senate legislative items that need to be considered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, may I say first that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Pastore] has been extraordinarily understanding of our deadlock in conference on a supplemental appropriations bill in which these items are incorporated. Second, I, too, have been apprised of the desirability of bringing this measure into committee so that whatever is added may be added and that I may move to add items that I feel need to be added in order to give balance to the measure.

The measure will then be brought back to the Senate, and the Senate will express its will. I think this is an orderly way in which to do it.

Mr. President, I have no objection.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

TREASURY, POST OFFICE, AND EXECUTIVE OFFICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1153, H.R. 16489.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be stated by title.

The Legislative Clerk. A bill (H.R. 16489) making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendments to the pending bill, H.R. 16489, be considered and agreed to en bloc—with the exception of the amendment beginning on line 19 of page 9 and ending on line 3 of page 10, and the amendment beginning on line 6 and ending on line 7 of page 10—and that the bill as thus amended be regarded for the purpose of amendment as original text, provided that no point of order shall be considered to have been waived by reason of agreement to the order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oklahoma? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The amendments agreed to en bloc are as follows:

On page 2, line 10, after the word "expenses", strike out "$7,688,000" and insert "$7,668,000".

On page 3, line 1, after the word "operation", insert "and"; and, in the same line, after the word "of", insert "one".

On page 4, line 15, after the word "Commissioner", strike out $21,700,000" and insert "$21,630,000".

On page 5, after line 20, strike out:

"For necessary expenses for the operation of the United States Secret Service, including purchase (not to exceed one hundred and seventy-one for police type use which may exceed by $300 each the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, of which one hundred and twenty-nine are for replacement only), and hire of passenger motor vehicles, services as authorized by title 5, United States Code, section 3109, and purchase, repair, and cleaning of uniforms; $19,300,000."

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

"For necessary expenses for the operation of the United States Secret Service, including purchase (not to exceed one hundred and seventy-one for police-type use which may exceed by $300 each the general purchase price limitation for the current fiscal year, of which one hundred and twenty-nine are for replacement only), and hire of passenger motor vehicles, hire of aircraft, services as authorized by section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, purchase, repair, and cleaning of uniforms, and, in addition, to other duties now provided by law the protection of persons who are determined by the Secretary of the Treasury from time to time as being major presidential or vice-presidential candidates who should receive such protection (unless the candidate has declined such protection), after consultation with an advisory committee consisting of the majority leader of the Senate, the minority leader of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the minority leader of the House of Representatives, and one additional member selected by the members of such committee; $21,300,000, of which $400,000 shall be immediately available.

"Hereafter, when requested by the Director of the Secret Service, Federal departments and agencies, unless such authority be revoked by the President, shall assist the Secret Service in the performance of its protective duties under section 3056 of title 18, United States Code, and the preceding paragraph."

On page 7, line 9, after the word "facilities", strike out "$1,000,000" and insert "$800,000".

On page 9, line 7, after "3109", strike out "$34,000,000" and insert "$35,000,000".

On page 16, line 16, after "(78 Stat. 615)", strike out "$125,000" and insert "$250,000".

On page 17, line 6, after the word "vehicles", strike out "$225,000" and insert "$643,000"; and, in the same line, after the word "until", strike out "June 30, 1970" and insert "July 31, 1970".

On page 17, after line 17, strike out:

"Sec. 502. Money appropriated in this Act shall be available for expenditure in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969 only to the extent that expenditure thereof shall not result in the aggregate expenditure of Federal funds by all agencies provided for herein beyond $7,461,423,000, including the expenditure of postal receipts."

And, in lieu thereof, insert:

"SEC. 502. Section 5(b) of the Act entitled 'An Act creating a commission to be known as the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography', approved October 3, 1967 (Public Law 90–100), is amended by striking out 'January 31, 1970' and inserting in lieu thereof 'July 31, 1970'."

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I shall later move that the committee amendment beginning on line 19 of page 9 and ending on line 3 of page 10 and the committee amendment beginning on line 6 and ending on line 7 of page 10 be rejected. I will explain the bill and will then make my motion to strike this language and the reason why the committee believes it advisable to speed the passage of the pending measure without going to conference at that time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state them individually.

Mr. MONRONEY. Yes.

Mr. President, the Committee on Appropriations has authorized me to present to the Senate its report on the pending bill, H.R. 16489, making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for fiscal year 1969.

Senators will find on their desks printed copies of the bill and the committee report, together with copies of the hearings, and I will now present to the Senate a brief summary of what is contained in the bill in the way of increases and decreases.

The bill which is recommended to the Senate provides new budget obligational authority in the amount of $1,781,053,000. This amount consists of definite appropriations in the amount of $1,030,877,000 and indefinite appropriations in the amount of $750,176,000. The grand total of titles I, III, and IV—new budget obligational authority—and title II—authorizations out of the postal fund—is in the amount of $8,158,877,000. This amount is an increase of $3,253,000 over the House allowance, $613,236,000 over the 1968 appropriation and $178,832,000 under the estimates for fiscal 1969.

In connection with the Post Office Department only one change was made from the House bill as regards additional funds. The committee increased the item, "Research, development, and engineering," by $1 million, thus allowing a total of $35 million for the Bureau of Research and Engineering. The committee felt that this will help to advance and accelerate the research and development programs now being undertaken by that Bureau.

This is perhaps the only way in which we can move forward to deliver more mail with less cost and less manpower. Our committee was very strongly of the opinion that this was the best way in which to arrive at long-range economies in handling this fast and ever-growing load on the post office system.

The overall postal department allowance provides for approximately 20,300 additional new employees for 1969 over 1968 to cope with the ever-increasing mail volume estimated to be around 84 billion pieces in 1969. The committee has included language in the bill to provide the department with a 5-percent transfer authority between appropriations.

This is done at the informal request of the House. We hope to have it accepted by the House without conference. I will offer an amendment to strike this section from the bill.

No changes were made to the House bill under title III of the bill. Items under this title deal in the main with the Executive Office of the President.

These items were carefully studied and heard, and we believe the cost is at a bedrock bottom.

Under title IV—independent agencies—the committee recommends an increase of $125,000 for the Administrative Conference of the United States. This will give the Conference their full budget request of $250,000 which had been reduced by half by the House. The committee was informed that the Conference is now fully organized and ready to undertake its assigned duties.

Another addition, under this title, to the House bill, was made to the New Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. The committee has restored $418,000 cut by the House and, as recommended, the bill contains the budget estimate of $643,000 for this Commission. The head of this Commission has now been appointed and he needs the funds to move ahead on contracting for research on special problems and to organize and fully staff the Commission. Because there has been a delay of over 6 months in the establishment of the Commission, the committee has also added language which would extend the life of the Commission to July 31, 1970.

Under title I—Treasury Department—the committee has recommended three relatively small cuts under the Budget estimates and under the appropriations voted by the House. Twenty thousand dollars was cut from the Office of the Secretary, thus allowing $7,668,000 for activities under this head for 1969. As explained in the report this cut is made to strike out funds for the two fellowships requested. While the committee does not oppose the fellowship program, it was felt that in this year of stringent budgeting this item could be put over for another year. The same reasoning applied to a cut of $70,000 in the $21,700,000 voted by the House for salaries and expenses for the Internal Revenue Service. Let me emphasize that this is not a cut in either the compliance activities or the revenue accounting and processing item. Under the House bill and the bill before the Senate, approximately 1,550 additional new employees have been funded for 1969 over 1968. The slight reduction imposed represents a cut of 10 positions in the Washington headquarters which after the cut results in their having 30 more positions than in 1968.

The final cut was made to the request for funds for the construction of outdoor firing ranges at Beltsville, Md. The budget estimate of $1 million was reduced $200,000 by the committee thus allowing a total of $800,000 for this purpose. These will be very modern and have the capability of training our law-enforcement agencies, not only the Secret Service, but also the Capitol Police, the immigration inspectors, and many other Government law-enforcement agencies, as well.

While it is believed that construction of outdoor firing ranges should go forward to accommodate the Secret Service and all other Treasury Department law-enforcement agencies with modern, up-to-date facilities, it was the sense of the committee that $800,000 was sufficient to commence construction of the project.

The last item deals with section 502 of the bill as passed the House. This section contained language imposing an overall expenditure limitation of not to exceed $7,461,423,000. The Senate committee has deleted this language in its entirety. Witnesses testified that the language could be characterized either as being meaningless on the one hand or unworkable on the other.

Mr. President, this is a brief summary of what is contained in the bill. A more detailed explanation will be found in the committee report which is on the desks of the Senators. In presenting this report I wish to thank the members of the subcommittee who attended the meetings and rendered able assistance in the formulation of this bill—particularly, the distinguished senior Senator from Colorado, who was most helpful in writing up this bill, as well as the ranking minority member, Senator CASE. The subcommittee and full committee unanimously agreed upon this bill when it was reported yesterday.

I now come to a most significant item in this bill. Approximately 2 weeks ago, the President discussed with me the possibility of extending Secret Service protection to the major presidential and vice-presidential candidates during this election year. I indicated to him my willingness to consider this item, out of order, and to talk to other members of my subcommittee about it. The President promptly made available to the subcommittee, the officials of the Treasury Department, and the head of the Secret Service, to explain this provision thoroughly.

On May 27, the subcommittee met in executive session to consider this matter and to take testimony from these officials. After hearing the testimony, it was decided to include language to authorize this protection and to provide the additional funds to the Secret Service in the amount of $2 million for this purpose.

The language in the bill has been cleared with the appropriate members of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, the House Appropriations Committee, as well as the leaders of both Houses. No objection has been raised to making this language a part of the current appropriation bill.

Mr. President, it is most important and urgent, in the operation of the U.S. Secret Service, that its appropriation be increased from $19,300,000 to $21,300,000, of which $400,000 shall be immediately available.

I may say that $500,000 of this appropriation is also to be held back in contingency reserve, to be used as necessary; because the work that the Secret Service and other Government agencies must achieve and the time and hours and expenses they must incur are unascertainable on a definite basis at this time, because it embraces work that has never been done before.

However, in the light of the tragic events of the past week, we should realize that this is of greatest and utmost urgency, because it threatens the very keystone of our governmental structure, and that is the proper selection, by democratic means—and that means exposure to all the citizens of the United States, if possible—of the person of the candidate. These tragic events have shown that this is a hazardous undertaking today, and we must not ignore our responsibilities for the men who offer themselves for these major positions.

The committee recommends that the Secret Service be specifically authorized, in addition to its other duties now provided by law, to protect major presidential or vice-presidential candidates. No words can express our shock at the tragic death of our colleague, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. This senseless act of violence makes it clear to the committee—and to every American—that it is in the public interest to provide protection to major candidates who are daily exposed to the hazards and risks of national political campaigns.

May I say, as I read the newspapers carefully with respect to this tragedy, that it might not have been prevented, but there would have been a great chance that his security would be enormously increased had the provisions of the bill we are now considering provided Senator KENNEDY with the services not only of the Secret Service but also, as the bill provides, the helping hand to the Secret Service of the narcotics agents, the FBI, the immigration inspectors, and other law-enforcement branches.

As I read the accounts, the tragedy occurred in the exit going through the hallway to the kitchen. I know the Secret Service and the FBI well enough that if that was the planned exit for the Senator, there would have been surveillance of that particular point. In many instances, with mob scenes, there is no way in which that safety can be assured, but danger can be materially lessened by the presence on duty of these men and, if necessary, the presence on duty of military detachments; because this lessens to a great degree—it will not prevent, but will lessen—the exposure to abnormal dangers that this week has shown that the men who campaign for high office may be subject to.

Mr. President, I am happy to yield to the distinguished Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. First, Mr. President, let me say that I join with the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] in his views, as he has expressed them, as he expressed them in the committee. I believe this is a most salutary provision, and it is just heartbreaking that we should not have thought of it sooner. I thoroughly agree with the Senator because I, too, have some experience with these security procedures, having been attorney general of my own State.

I thoroughly agree with the Senator that it is inconceivable that Senator KENNEDY would even have been led through such a passage, with the advance routing which the Secret Service always works out. So I thoroughly agree.

Now, we had two problems in committee. I believe we have dealt with them both decently, and I would not dream of interrupting the Senator——

Mr. MONRONEY. I am happy to yield, because I desire to clear up this matter. I believe it is an important point in the discussion. I believe we have achieved an end and guarantee the methods sought to achieve that end by the distinguished Senator from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Two points arose that have troubled us, Mr. President. The first point was already incorporated in the provision which Senator MONRONEY had presented, and that was the question of who is a major candidate and is he a candidate before he is a nominee—that is, designated by a convention.

The understanding of the legislative history should be clear that by the use of the words "major presidential candidate" we mean one who has not yet been nominated by his party convention, and we mean one who the decider—in this particular instance, as carried in the provision—in consultation—and the consultation is extremely important—with the leadership in the House and Senate, will have decided that so-and-so is a major presidential candidate. He might even be a sectional candidate.

We spoke of former Governor Wallace in that regard. He, too, could be within that definition of a major presidential candidate.

Mr. MONRONEY. The Senator is correct. And there may be other major candidates before we move forward with the final election, if they have some degree of interstate prominence as shown by opinion polls or in some other way. I would feel certain they could have this protection.

I do not think we dare reach down to people who run for publicity only, as in the cases of some of those who have appeared before various committees demanding equal time on network programs because major candidates were so provided.

This is not an unworkable problem nor is it an unsolvable problem. We have protected the selection by guaranteeing that there will be a nonpartisan commission of the highest level that could make the final decision after the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, who is the titular head of the Secret Service.

(At this point, Mr. McGOVERN assumed the chair.)

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. It is very important that this matter be made clear, because the language which is contained at page 6, line 15, and thereafter indicates rather general language which would seem to give the complete determination of the question to the Secretary of the Treasury. However, I am satisfied, having locked the matter in with the legislative history which the Senator from Oklahoma and I are now making, and considering the sensitivity and seriousness of the matter, that it will be administered in that way.

I notice the Senator used the word "commission." That is what we have in mind, although the legislation at page 6 on line 19 uses the term "advisory committee."

I am satisfied, considering the sensitivity and solemnity of what is being done, and with this legislative history, that it will be administered as the Senator and I and the committee have in mind.

Mr. MONRONEY. I am sure the Senator is correct. I am sure the language on page 6, line 15 to line 19 where it provides, "the protection of persons who are determined by the Secretary of the Treasury from time to time as being major presidential or vice presidential candidates who should receive such protection—unless the candidate has declined such protection—after consultation with an advisory committee" will be applicable after consultation with an advisory committee, and this shows the intent of the law that they are to have a great part in designating the persons who will have protection.

Certainly, I feel they will lean on the side of security. Certainly, in the case which the Senator mentioned, the former Governor of Alabama would be entitled to such protection. The other area was by polls, or publicity, or by general judgment of people who have lived in the field of presidential elections for a long time.

I believe we have done about as well as we could do. Time is fleeting. We felt this matter had to be underway, and tomorrow is too late. Last week would have been most helpful but we did have time to work out, after we had executive hearings, the settlement of committee jurisdiction which the distinguished Senator, who is a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, knows is a tremendous hurdle. After time in consultation we cleared this matter with the chairmen of the Committee on the Judiciary of both Houses and their members.

We cleared the matter in many other ways and we carefully considered the testimony.

I hope it will be understood that we did have executive sessions because the publicity on lack of protection for these men who are not guarded by the Secret Service caused in itself a tragedy. We have been working quietly and both the minority and the majority side cooperated in presenting this bill today.

We have stricken out some things we would have liked to have in the measure, because the House of Representatives might have held it up and made it necessary to go to conference. We recognize the emergency and we feel, in striking the amendment which the committee added, we will have acceptance by the House, thereby making it unnecessary to go through another period of delay.

I would like to see this bill passed by the Senate today, agreed to by the House, and signed by the President this evening. I know the President wants to get that done, too.

Mr. JAVITS. There was one other consideration in our minds which has not been fully expressed. When a candidate is a Governor, generally, he has the protection of his State police organization.

When he is not a Governor he does not have even that but depends on his private resources and his own organization.

So many of us thought that Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, who suffered so tragically, allowed himself to be exposed too much, but this is now tragic history and we are trying to prevent for the future what the tragic history of the past has taught us.

However, the candidate who is not a Governor will have a form of safeguard which is not only in his interest but also in the national interest.

I wish to ask the Senator if he would not agree with me, and it should be a part of the legislative history, that we do not look with favor on the "daring do" of declining this protection, and we also fervently hope that every candidate will accept it as being in the national interest if he aspires to be President of the United States.

Mr. MONRONEY. I could not agree more. I would say, indeed so. The Senator is absolutely right.

In my judgment, having participated in many presidential campaigns by presidential candidates, those who would not accept protection, or vice-presidential candidates who would not accept protection would be questioned on their judgment to occupy the highest office in the world.

For that reason, I think it would be a matter that would be accepted by his party; and if he were an independent, by those men who advise him, and perhaps some men who might want this "daring-do" spirit which the Senator has suggested, might be unduly exposing themselves when they do not have to.

Mr. JAVITS. I thought it essential that we at least indicate our feeling on the subject.

The final question which concerned me, and which proved to be of concern to other Members also, is the rather broad grant of authority to the Director of the Secret Service.

It will be noted at page 7, lines 1 through 6, that the Director of the Secret Service has the authority, and the word used is "shall" to require other Federal departments and agencies, which would naturally include the national defense forces of the United States, to "assist the Secret Service in the performance of its protective duties."

While we recognize the protective duties are limited to protect major presidential candidates chosen by a combined form of authority which the Senator from Oklahoma has described, we did realize, when dealing with such a sensitive matter—and this is a vast grant of power—the Director of the Secret Service could technically justify an enormous control over the Armed Forces and other sensitive agencies and departments of the United States.

On the other hand, we wanted to be very careful that there was the assistance which these other agencies and departments could bring.

The Senator from Oklahoma has properly described that, so that, as a result, we are including the words "unless such authority be revoked by the President of the United States"—that is in lines 2 and 3. I suggested—and the committee adopted—language relating to assistance by other agencies to the Secret Service which provides that the Director of the Secret Service should have the power to obtain this assistance, "unless such authority be revoked by the President of the United States." It seems to me altogether proper that the President should possess residual power to modify or revoke authority granted to the Director of the Secret Service, if there is good and sufficient cause to do so.

However, I did not, and I do not intend the language to have the effect of involving the President of the United States in the daily operating decisions of the Secret Service in carrying out this particular authority. I realize that the assistance of other Federal departments and agencies should be on a continuous basis. I know that emergency situations—such as the terrible tragedy we have just had—require prompt action at the operating level. Under any circumstances, the Director of the Secret Service should not feel obligated to obtain advance clearance from the President before requesting assistance. He should protect those persons for whom the Secret Service has protective responsibility with the full cooperation of other agencies of the Government.

The purpose of my language which is incorporated in the bill—with full cooperation and the desire of the Senator from Oklahoma, because there is no adversary attitude here at all—is to provide a means for periodic review by the President of the manner in which this authority has been exercised to guard against any abuse or usurpation of responsibility. The decisions themselves should be made by the career official having this responsibility—that is, the Secret Service Director. It is much more preferable that this authority—in which all Americans of all parties have a stake—be exercised at the operating level rather than by the President or by a presidentially appointed official.

On this basis, I feel my language will in no way inhibit the Secret Service and other Federal agencies from the effective performance of these critical duties.

I would most respectfully ask the Senator from Oklahoma whether he concurs with this understanding and interpretation.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I am happy to concur with the distinguished senior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and with the distinguished senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], who participated in helping to make this paragraph effective yet safe in its purposes.

The reason the original draft of the bill turned over to the Director of the Secret Service the right to invoke aid from other Government law-enforcement agencies, including the military, was to relieve the President of any responsibility or liability for too much, too little, or no protection at all of presidential or vice-presidential candidates of other parties. We all know the scurrilous attacks which have been made in the past, oftentimes on events that were inevitable, which sought to blame the President of the United States. We wanted this under a career civil service officer, to manage the protection of Presidents, Vice Presidents, and other persons entitled to protection and the candidates for President and Vice President, so that no one could charge that one political faith or another was receiving better protection.

The Senator now comes in with an amendment that gives us, shall we say, the best of both worlds. We have civil service protection and we have operation on a day-by-day scheduling, and the men needed, at times, when needed. But we provide against any excess abuse of power or, in that matter, an excessive negligence of security, by permitting the Chief Officer of the United States to reclaim or restrain or advise when the overall picture is unsatisfactory.

It would be unthinkable for us to put the President in the position of chief of the FBI or chief of the Secret Service. I think we get the best of both worlds in this. I think it would be most effective. I am grateful to the Senator from New York and the Senator from Colorado for their great contribution in this matter.

Mr. JAVITS. Let me say in that regard that when I broached the idea to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], he immediately saw the point and worked out the language which is here contained. He found the same receptivity from the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], my colleague on the committee, and from the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY] himself, who went to great pains to help us. We knew this could brook no delay and we had to work it out. I thank my colleague from Colorado very deeply for his graciousness in every way in working out the language, and even in yielding to me to propose the basic language which he had himself been instrumental in working out.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. May I ask the Senator from Oklahoma if my understanding is correct that a vice-presidential candidate, as used in this legislation, means one who has been nominated for the position of Vice President?

Mr. MONRONEY. This protects both the candidate who has been nominated, and before the nomination. If he is an announced vice-presidential candidate of stature of more than local interest, he would be entitled to request it. If found to be a major candidate by the Secretary of the Treasury and this committee, he would be entitled to have the same degree of protection. If he is not campaigning, I would say he would have little chance of getting it because who knows, we might have 100 vice-presidential candidates in this Chamber and one never knows when the lightning might strike, but this would not be a burden at all unless they were accepted the same as a presidential candidate seriously interested and actively campaigning for that particular office—there are only two offices, of course, President and Vice President.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. If an individual is an active candidate for the position of Vice President, he would then come under the terms of this legislation; is that not correct?

Mr. MONRONEY. If he were a major candidate, yes. The committee would try to rule out the insignificant. He does not have to be active but he would have to be an announced candidate and he would have to be recognized by the Secretary of the Treasury and the bipartisan committee which we have set up as being a major vice-presidential candidate.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. The Senator's reply clarifies the point I was interested in. As I see it, then, a major candidate for Vice President, seeking the nomination, would be covered under this legislation the same as a major candidate seeking the presidential nomination?

Mr. MONRONEY. That is correct.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, in this connection, I commend the President of the United States for his prompt action early Wednesday morning in directing that a protective U.S. Secret Service detail be placed with each presidential candidate and his family and that the FBI assist with supplying manpower if necessary to supplement the Secret Service details. While there was no specific authorization for this action, this was no time to ponder legalities. It is, however, exceedingly important that the Congress support the President's action by providing a legal foundation for this continuing protection.

The bill provides authority for protection of persons who are determined by the Secretary of the Treasury as being major presidential and vice-presidential candidates after consultation with an advisory committee consisting of the majority leader of the Senate, the minority leader of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the minority leader of the House of Representatives and one additional member selected by the members of such committees. It is contemplated that protection will be provided for all major candidates for President until after the selection of nominees at the major political conventions. The major nominees for President and Vice President will then be protected until election of the successful candidates for the office of President and Vice President.

This bill also gives us the opportunity to remedy a serious deficiency in existing law. It provides that, when requested by the Director of the Secret Service, other Federal departments and agencies shall assist the Secret Service in the performance of its statutory protective duties and those additional duties established by this bill.

The protection of the President of the United States and the other persons entitled to protection is a governmentwide responsibility. While primary responsibility rests with the U.S. Secret Service, the personnel and facilities of every agency must be available.

The Government became painfully aware of the need for improving this coordination after the assassination of President Kennedy. The Warren Commission stressed the absolute necessity of continuous assistance to the Secret Service in the exercise of its protective duties.

The personnel and facilities of Federal departments and agencies are made available as requested by the Secret Service. However, no legislative basis exists for the provision of this assistance. This lack of specific statutory authority has been an impediment to the making of more formal arrangements with various departments for continuing and permanent assistance.

This omission has become of such concern to me that I asked my staff to study this problem and give me background information on the need for better governmentwide coordination. Let me give you the results of that study.

I

Protective functions for our Presidents have grown increasingly difficult through the years so that many agencies must provide assistance to the Secret Service.

We live in a shrinking globe of rapidly expanding travel by those who serve and have served us as Presidents of our country. The job of protecting them has become far more difficult.

The Warren Commission summarized the problem in this language:

> Whatever their purpose, Presidential journeys have greatly enlarged and complicated the task of protecting the President. The Secret Service *and Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies which cooperate with it*, have been confronted in recent years with increasingly difficult problems, created by the greater exposure of the President during his travels and the greater diversity of the audiences he must face in a world torn by conflicting ideologies. (p. 427) (Emphasis added.)

Clearly, the frequency of presidential travel will not abate. And turmoil—both abroad and at home—will place maximum demands on protective and security forces.

Moreover, the number of persons to be protected has also increased.

Congress has provided specific statutory authority to the Secret Service to protect the President and his family, the President-elect, and the Vice President at his request.

Congress has extended protection to others next in line of succession to the Presidency, the Vice-President-elect, and a former President for a reasonable period after he leaves office.

Congress has extended the protection to include a former President and his wife during his lifetime, and the widow and minor children of a former President for a period of 4 years after he leaves or dies in office.

Congress has extended the period of protection for Mrs. John F. Kennedy and her children through 1969.

Now this bill extends needed protection to major presidential and vice-presidential candidates during the presidential campaign.

Of course, we want to provide adequate protection to our Presidents and those other persons whose contribution to this Nation has been so substantial. But it has become increasingly clear that the increasing complexities of providing this protection requires the resources of many agencies.

II

The Warren Commission concluded that there had been inadequate liaison between the Secret Service and other Government agencies in the performance of protective duties.

The Warren Commission conducted the most exhaustive investigation in our history on the problems of presidential protection. One of its primary missions was to determine any means by which the quality of that protection could be improved.

The Commission left no doubt as to its views. At page 459 of its report, we find this conclusion:

> The protection of the President is in a real sense a Government-wide responsibility which must necessarily be assumed by the Department of State, the FBI, the CIA, and the military intelligence agencies as well as the Secret Service . . .
>
> The Commission is convinced of the necessity of better coordination and direction of the activities of *all existing agencies of government* which are in a position to, and do, furnish information and services related to the security of the President . . .

The Warren Commission felt so strongly about the Government-wide nature of protective duties that it proposed a more formal coordinating mechanism. Thus, the Commission's recommendations included the following:

> 1. A committee of Cabinet members including the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General, or the National Security Council, should be assigned the responsibility of reviewing and overseeing the protective activities of the Secret Service and the other Federal agencies that assist in safeguarding the President. Once given this responsibility, such a committee would insure that the *maximum resources of the Federal Government are fully engaged in the task for protecting the President*, and would provide guidance in defining the general nature of domestic and foreign dangers to Presidential security.
>
> * * * * *
>
> 8. Even with an increase in Secret Service personnel, *the protection of the President will continue to require the resources and cooperation of many Federal agencies*. The Commission recommends that these agencies, specifically the FBI, continue the practice as it has developed, particularly since the assassination, of assisting the Secret Service upon request by providing personnel or other aid, and that there be a closer association and liaison between the Secret Service and all Federal agencies.

III

The President's Committee on the Warren Report determined that there must be continuing assistance to the Secret Service in its performance of protective duties.

On September 27, 1964, President Johnson designated the Secretary of the Treasury, Douglas Dillon, the Attorney General, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, the Director of the CIA, John McCone, and the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, McGeorge Bundy, to act as a committee to study the Warren Commission Report and make recommendations concerning Presidential protective functions.

When the Committee reported, it expressed this view:

> Because our country is so large and complex, no one organization can, by itself, hope

to provide protection for the Presidents. Protection must be a cooperative effort among Federal, State and local law enforcement and intelligence agencies.

The Committee concurred with the Warren Commission that better liaison between the Secret Service and other departments and agencies was needed. It recommended the negotiation of written agreements formalizing agency responsibilities.

IV

In the absence of express legislative authority, personnel of other Federal departments and agencies could be held personally liable for acts performed in assisting the Secret Service.

The right of Federal employees other than Secret Service agents to participate in the protection of the President has already been subjected to legal challenge. In *Scherer* v. *Brennan*, 375 F. 2d 609 (7th Circuit 1967), agents of the alcohol and tobacco tax division of the Internal Revenue Service were sued for damages as a result of their assisting the Secret Service with presidential protective duties.

Relying on evidence that the Secretary of the Treasury had authorized other agencies of the Treasury Department to assist the Secret Service in carrying out its protective assignments, the court held in that particular case that the Internal Revenue agents were immune from suit because their actions were within the scope of their official duties.

As indicated in the Scherer decision, the Secretary of the Treasury has requested other Treasury enforcement agencies to assist the Secret Service in the performance of its protective functions under the authority contained in Reorganization Plan No. 26 of 1950, which authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to delegate his functions to any officer or employee of the Treasury Department. Reorganization Plan No. 26, however, does not authorize delegations by the Secretary of the Treasury to outside departments and agencies.

This immunity may not extend protection to employees of other departments and agencies. Indeed, the court's findings may by inference limit immunity from prosecution to Treasury department employees.

V

The present practice is for other Federal departments and agencies to assist the Secret Service. However, lack of specific authority inhibits formal agreements needed to insure continuous and permanent cooperation.

Of course, all Federal agencies have customarily provided assistance to the Secret Service. Indeed, it is inconceivable that any department would neglect or refuse to cooperate in a matter relating to Presidential protection.

However, the assistance to the Secret Service contemplated by the Warren Commission and the President's Committee is not merely informal, intermittent coordination. Instead, it is a continuing understanding. The Commission said:

> The Service should negotiate a memorandum of understanding with each agency that has been assisting it and from which it can expect to need help in the future.

Despite a general willingness to assist, departments are naturally reluctant to formalize an understanding for which there is no express authority. The language of this bill would provide that authority.

The request for assistance would come from the Director of the Secret Service. It is most desirable that this request come from a career official with the operating responsibility. The President is given stand-by power to revoke this authority in the rare and unlikely event that the authority was seriously abused or the responsibility was arrogantly usurped. I hope and I doubt that this residual power would ever need to be exercised.

We must not delay in providing the basis for this governmentwide coordination and cooperation. It should be noted that the President's action of yesterday included a call for FBI assistance to the Secret Service. In future years, the authority should never be lacking for the Secret Service to call upon the personnel and facilities of any Federal agency for intelligence gathering, medical, transportation, communications, or such other assistance as the Service may need to protect the Presidents.

Mr. President, the Senate is considering this measure at a time when each of us grieves at the tragic death of a man who would have been covered by its provisions. Each of us laments—and yet realizes fully well—the need for this authority.

Mr. President, we need to protect our Presidents. We need to protect other men who will be facing the dangers of maniacs, excitable individuals, who are stirred by violence, many organized by people whose loyalty to the United States and its ideals is questionable. Yet our leaders from both parties, or even three parties, will have to face multitudes who are aroused and inflamed by spectacular scenes, perhaps of rioting in the streets and fires; aroused, inflamed, and perhaps unbalanced by the harangues of the demagogs, who seem to be entitled—although U.S. Senators are not—to nationwide television, if they are giving trouble enough to the peace and tranquillity of the United States.

Mr. President, this is a time for action. When the debate is finished, I shall ask for a yea-and-nay vote on the Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill. It contains important provisions that may save the life of a future President or a future Vice President. The time is later than we think.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I have listened to the discourse and conversation about the bill. I attended, I think, every session of the hearings held on the bill. I congratulate the Senator from Oklahoma on the fine work he has done.

I wish to clear up one matter, because statements have been made over the news media today about the action taken here concerning the Secret Service. Speaking for myself, the first time any request was conveyed to me about the matter was at the executive session of the committee on May 27, when Secretary Fowler appeared, and the committee took immediate action thereafter. I assured the President on two different occasions of my complete cooperation and help in the matter.

This is a relatively good bill. We have made some good cuts. The House has previously made some drastic cuts in the bill. I sincerely hope that the bill will be passed speedily.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The first committee amendment that has not been considered will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 9, line 19, after the word "*Provided*,", insert "That not to exceed 5 per centum of any appropriation available to the Post Office Department for the current fiscal year may be transferred, with the approval of the Bureau of the Budget, to any other such appropriation or appropriations; but no appropriation shall thereby be increased by more than 5 per centum and the appropriation 'Administration and Regional Operation' shall not be increased by more than $1,000,000 as a result of such transfers:".

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, this amendment relates to the 5-percent transferability.

The Senate has maintained the position that more flexibility should be allowed the Postmaster General, to enable him to transfer up to 5 percent, wherever the heavy weight of the work or the overload of the Department occurs. This is mainly because he cannot determine exactly the number of pieces of mail that will be handled—whether it be 83 billion or 84 billion pieces. However, the House feels strongly about this. As I said earlier, I am hopeful that we can avoid going to conference and can send the bill to the President for signature tonight. Therefore, I move that the language be stricken. Although the language is a committee amendment, I urge, in the light of the current emergency, that the amendment be rejected by the Senate.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I wholeheartedly concur in the request. I think we should take the action suggested.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 9, line 19.

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The next committee amendment that has not been considered will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 10, line 6, after the word "transferred", insert "in addition to the appropriation transfers otherwise authorized in this Act and".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 10, line 6.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oklahoma yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I am happy to yield.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. On page 12, under the heading "Postal Public Buildings," I notice an item for $50 million. I understand that this item is for expenses necessary in connection with site acquisition, design, construction, and acquisition of postal buildings.

I realize that this is the same amount as was appropriated last year and that it is also about $38 million below the budget request. Nevertheless, while the bill has been before the House and the Senate, it has practically been agreed that a $6 billion cut in spending will be made next year. I am wondering if this is not a place where we can start to cut by postponing the construction of some new post office buildings. I realize that when a building has been burned it is not possible to postpone the construction of a new building. Even though the construction that is proposed may be meritorious, is this the time to begin a program for the construction of new post office buildings, when we are going to have to make some reductions otherwise.

Mr. MONRONEY. If the Senator will look on page 16 of the report, he will see that the budget estimate, in what was supposed to have been a tight budget, was $88,252,000. The House of Representatives cut that amount to $50 million, which was a cut of $38,252,000. The Post Office Department appealed that cut, and we maintained and sustained the $38 million reduction. So the amount has already been cut far below the budget request; and I think the Senator will find this is about a minimum figure, if we are to be able to move. This amount is for the entire Nation. The most effective way to increase efficiency is through adequate buildings and the elimination of overcrowded, antiquated postal work rooms.

I think we have to plan ahead. No industry in the world, including A.T. & T., Chrysler, or Ford, would think of not having some kind of a program. We have cut the request by more than 33⅓ percent. I do not think there are any other accounts which have been cut below the budget to that extent.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the Senator speaks of the figure having been cut by 33⅓ percent, but they still end up with what they got last year. Technically, the administration could have asked for $150 million, and we could have cut it two-thirds with the same result. The point is, it is still the amount received last year.

There is a question in the minds of many of us. Can we continue to build all these new buildings at a time when we are financing a full-scale war?

Since this 1969 budget was submitted, the Senate has approved a proposal which would reduce expenditures in fiscal 1969 by $6 billion. This is now in conference, awaiting action next week by the House of Representatives. This proposal would also reduce the obligational authority requested in this so-called "tight" budget for fiscal 1969 by $10 billion.

If we are going to make any such reduction we will have to establish a set of priorities somewhere. If Congress does not establish the priorities, if we do not make some effort to do it ourselves, then we are turning all authority over to the President. I believe this is one item we could strike out at this time and still have a good bill left.

On behalf of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] and myself, I send to the desk an amendment, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

> On page 12, beginning with line 1, strike out all down to and including line 19.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the purpose of this amendment is simply to eliminate this section which would provide $50 million for the construction and planning of new post offices.

I am not debating the merits of any one of the proposed post offices. If a post office building is burned then it has to be replaced, but replacing buildings in areas where we can have another year of service, at least, out of the present facilities is another matter. I see no useful purpose to be served by trying to be selective. Perhaps if we had had more time on this bill we could be more selective and strike out certain projects. But we do not have time to evaluate them; and I believe, in the interests of speedy action on the bill, the Senate might very well agree to this amendment.

I say to the Senator from Oklahoma that that does not mean we will not get speedy action if the amendment is not accepted. As far as I am concerned, we can limit the debate on this amendment to a very short period, because it is just a simple matter of procedure: Do we or do we not want to hold up construction of some of these new post office buildings at this particular time?

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I should like to address a question to the Senator from Delaware. Did he mean to strike out the title of this portion of the bill? His amendment would do it.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I was seeking to strike the section. It should be through line 17.

Mr. ALLOTT. We do get to keep the title, then?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I will let the Senator keep that much, yes.

I ask that my amendment be modified to make it read "down to and including line 17."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is so modified.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I join with the Senator from Delaware in offering this amendment, for the same reasons he has stated. For the last 2 or 3 months, we have had continuing debate upon the fiscal and monetary problems of this country. We recall the heated debate over the gold cover. It was agreed then that it was necessary that action be taken, but that no permanent effect on our fiscal or monetary situation would be achieved unless Congress itself, as well as the administration—and I must speak for Congress—show the will and resolution to take the necessary action, both as to taxes and to the reduction of expenditures.

We followed the gold cover bill with a tax bill. Due largely to the efforts of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], the Senate agreed to the version of the bill which they had presented in the Committee on Finance. Now, after weeks of discussion, the Senate bill has been approved, by the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, and the President of the United States has indicated his approval.

But the bill, if finally approved by the House, and by the President, will not become effective unless the reduction of $6 billion in expenditures is made by the Congress.

I serve on the Committee on Public Works. We have the preliminary function of approving through authorization bills many physical improvements in the country—highways, Corps of Engineers projects, and public buildings.

We are at war, a costly war, and there are many human needs in this country. There are problems and needs of much greater priority than public works. A short time ago, when there came to our committee a request for the authorization of more than $600 million of new buildings for the benefit of many agencies of the United States, I voted against it, and suggested that work on those buildings could at least be deferred for a year or 2 years, until we could manage, or begin to manage the cost of the war in Vietnam and our domestic war on poverty. We cannot do much unless one can get our fiscal house in order.

My reason for cosponsoring the amendment then, is similar to that which I voiced in the Committee on Public Works: that I believe we can defer buildings.

This calls for some personal sacrifices on our part, because our States receive advantages from public works projects. We help secure the projects, and they are helpful. But I believe we can make no significant attack upon the problem of deficits, balance of payments, and the monetary problems of our country unless we are willing to make sacrifices ourselves, bearing on our own States. None of us can cut a program which deals with another Senator's State and, when it comes to our own, say, "No; we will have to vote for this, because it will affect a public work or public building in my State." I believe we have to make the cuts across the board.

This item, while it is not a large item in relation to the billions provided in the bill, is a good test of our willingness to give effect to the priorities which are much more important, and our willingness to cut across the board, projects without affecting our interests, and our own States.

So I raise my voice in support of this effort of the Senator from Delaware, consistent with his continuing efforts, but more important than ever this year, to defer—which is about all it would amount to—an expenditure of $50 million on post office buildings.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Kentucky for his support.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a time limitation of 10 minutes, 5 minutes to be under the control of the senior Senator from Delaware and 5 minutes to be under my control.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I, too, am in favor of economy. I, too, am anxious to keep the budget balanced. I do not believe any committee has done as much to balance its own budget as has the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

We brought in $1 billion worth of new revenue on the carriage of postage alone by raising the inadequate rates and improving service at the same time. There is $1 billion there.

However, we keep talking about building. We are not talking about major construction here. We are talking about the site acquisitions and design money mostly under the amount provided in the House measure. With the exception of two projects, there is not a nickel in here for buildings. The $38 million that they appealed to have put back in would have taken care of that. We cut it out.

We will spend $50 million mostly to acquire sites and for design. Does anybody think that real estate will be cheaper a year from now? The figures show that the cost of real estate is escalating 5 percent a year. The sites that we must have for post offices are highly desirable.

We must be selective. We cannot build the type of post office we want very easily.

Does anyone think there will not be an increase in the volume of postage carried each year? The amount of postage being carried is escalating. We have an estimated deficiency of 5.3 million square feet between existing and operational requirements. We will have to handle an increase of 13.4 billion pieces of mail after move-in date.

This is to obtain the sites cheaper than we can get them for next year and meet the designs necessary in order to permit the replacement of some 18 existing split operations with centralized facilities in one post office and replace current facilities that are between 26 and 83 years old.

Mr. President, I yield such time as he may need to the distinguished Senator from Colorado, the most informed man on our committee on these matters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I am reminded when I listen to the distinguished senior Senator from Delaware of the old saying of the school teacher:

> I gazed and stared in wonder direct that one small head could contain all he knew.

I am sympathetic with many of the ideas of the Senator from Delaware and in particular with respect to economy. However, let me say that our committee has worked hard and long, and I only wish that sometime before an appropriations committee has spent weeks and months in working on a bill, the Senator would give us advice of a different type than a last-minute attempt to cut a bill.

We never heard a word from him during the months that the bill was under consideration by the committee.

The Senator from Oklahoma has expressed it very well. There is no major construction in here despite what was said.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] sincerely says, and I believe, that we have all got to give up. This is true.

If we look at page 410 of the hearings, we will not find any items there for Colorado or Oklahoma.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ALLOTT. I yield.

Mr. CASE. There is none for New Jersey.

Mr. ALLOTT. And there are none for New Jersey. We do have to take care of the mail, and the increased revenue has gone a long way toward this.

I hope that the amendment is rejected. I do not think there is justification for it. It is not a question of extravagance on the part of the committee.

We have to do our job, and we do it on the basis of much testimony and much hard work.

This is the best opinion and estimate of the committee.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, as the ranking minority member of the subcommittee—although, for the purposes of the pending bill, the Senator from Colorado has been carrying the laboring or—I want to say that the chairman of the committee and the Senator from Colorado are absolutely right. There is no major construction here. There is money for site, design, and supervision of existing construction.

We cannot without, I think, great loss to the operation cut any more than the House and the Senate committees have recommended.

I hope that the amendment will be rejected.

I would like very much to be able to vote for the amendment myself because the Senator from Delaware provides a very useful spur for economy in important ways. I think I must say, however, that this time it would be a mistake to do so.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I read what is provided in the bill.

On page 12, it reads:

> For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary in connection with site acquisition, design, construction, and acquisition of postal buildings pursuant to the Public Buildings Act of 1959 (73 Stat. 479), as amended, $50,000,000, . . .

This does not say anything about financing existing post offices. It is true that the committee has done a fair job in cutting back some of these other appropriations below the budget request. I point out, however, another weakness in the pending bill. The bill does not make any provision, as I understand it, for the increase in salaries which automatically goes into effect the first of July. That increase in salaries will require supplemental appropriations.

So, to that extent, when we speak of a reduction below the budget request, it certainly is not a true picture. That amount is going to have to be funded unless the committee plans to postpone the increase, and I would question that.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, any funding would be before the Appropriations Committee with respect to every department. I do not think we want particularly to infer that the Post Office Department is trying to hide anything from the Senator from Delaware.

We will still be below the going cost. Any additional increase would require supplemental appropriations.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That is the point. Most of the reductions made by the committee will be covered later by supplementals.

The argument is made here that if we do not acquire these sites now it will cost more to do so later. That is a poor argument.

The reason that we have 5-percent inflation is because the Government of the United States continues to spend money like a drunken sailor. It will not balance the budget. We are operating today at a deficit of approximately $2 billion a month.

If we proceed on that basis we might just as well tell everybody in America to stop buying Government bonds and to stop putting money in savings banks and instead to put it in other equities because the American dollar will be valueless tomorrow.

The Senator's wife could use this same argument for a new hat or a new dress.

Mr. President, the American dollar will be valueless tomorrow only because Congress will have failed to discharge its responsibility to cut back on some of this spending. There is nothing new in the approach to postpone such new construction projects.

In World War II we had a moratorium by an agreement between the Executive and the Congress on the construction of new public works projects unless they were certified as absolutely essential to the national interest.

At the outbreak of the Korean war President Truman issued an Executive order freezing public works projects unless they were certified as essential to the national defense.

I have repeatedly requested that such an order be issued by the executive branch following the outbreak of the war in Vietnam. It has not been forthcoming.

Since the President would not take this action I have suggested on repeated occasions in Congress that such an order should be written into law.

Today, this is what this amendment proposes. It would place a moratorium on the erection of new post office buildings until such time as we have the money to pay for them or the war in Vietnam is over.

Why should we not be specific and outline where these cuts be made? Or are we going to insist on voting for all of these proposals and then pass the buck to the White House, asking the President to make the cuts? We, too, have a responsibility.

Mr. President, in the conference committee report on the tax bill which will be before the Senate in the next few weeks——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired. All time has expired.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I yielded myself 3 of my 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has used all his 5 minutes.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 1 minute to conclude.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, would the distinguished Senator allow me to ask for 1 minute, also?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, the question here is, Do we want to make these reductions in Congress or do we want to pass the full responsibility to the White House? By this amendment we would be saving $50 million in fiscal 1969.

It is said that this bill provides only $1.7 billion. When this bill is passed we will be approving $20-some-odd billion, $14.5 billion which we cannot touch by reduction, since it is needed to pay the interest on the national debt. This is automatically approved and must be paid.

We would likewise be authorizing the use of $6.377 billion of revenue that is anticipated from the postal receipts.

So what we are asking for is a reduction in the appropriation for the Post Office Department of $50 million on expenditures or a reduction of $50 million in a bill which all together provides for expenditures of $22 billion to $23 billion.

One reason why interest rates are continually spiraling upward is the fact that the Government of the United States is draining the money market, trying to borrow the money to finance the deficits it is creating.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished senior Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, not many Members of the Senate are present in the Chamber at the moment, but I believe we all should be aware, and all Members of the Senate who have to vote on the amendment should be aware, of what the adoption of this amendment would mean.

Many of us have been very concerned about the situation that was discussed earlier in this matter, with relation to the Secret Service people. The President has taken on behalf of himself an action to protect those people who are now running for office. His action is not covered by law, and we have done everything we can to cover his action by law.

If this amendment is adopted, it would simply mean that this matter would go to conference and that this bill would not go to the President's desk this afternoon.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I will yield on the time of the Senator from Delaware.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware has no time remaining.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I ask unanimous consent that I may have 1 additional minute.

Mr. MONRONEY. On the condition that we, on this side, have 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. The point I desire to make is that there are six other Senate amendments already approved in this bill. These are in addition to this amendment. There is no reason why we cannot act on it today.

This bill was reported only last night. The committee report was not here until an hour or 2 ago. We are operating under a highly unusual procedure by allowing this matter to be acted upon today before Members have had an opportunity to study the reports.

We are not trying to delay action on the Secret Service matter. I have supported that provision. We gave unanimous consent to consideration of this bill so that it could be acted upon. We certainly do not have to approve an extra $50 million for new construction sites in order to get action today. To say that the approval of this amendment would delay action on the proposal to protect presidential candidates is an idle threat.

Furthermore, the President, by Executive order issued yesterday, has already given instructions to the Secret Service to give protection to all presidential candidates and their families.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TYDINGS in the chair). The Senator from Colorado has 1 minute remaining.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I repeat my statement. If this provision is eliminated from the bill, it will go to conference, and the bill will not go to the President's desk today. I say that unequivocally. It will not go to the President's desk today.

If the Senator from Delaware is advocating that we downgrade and do away with the postal service, let him do it. This service is constantly increasing by 5 percent a year, and we have to make plans—just ordinary plans. This is not a boondoggle. It is not a pork barrel. It is not a building program. It is making plans for sites and acquisitions to keep up with the increasing load, with the exception of two construction projects.

I urge the Senate to reject the amendment of the Senator from Delaware.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has expired.

Mr. MONRONEY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Delaware. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], is absent because of the tragic death of his brother.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minesota [Mr. McCARTHY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], would each vote "Nay."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] are necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER] is paired with the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK]. If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee would vote "yea," and the Senator from Colorado would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] is paired with the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER]. If present and voting, the Senator from California would vote "yea," and the Senator from Iowa would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 26, nays 50, as follows:

[No. 178 Leg.]

YEAS—26

Boggs
Brooke
Byrd, Va.
Church
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Fannin
Griffin
Hansen
Hatfield
Jordan, Idaho
Mansfield
Mondale
Morton
Murphy
Nelson
Pearson
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Scott
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, Del.

NAYS—50

Aiken
Allott
Bartlett
Bennett
Brewster
Burdick
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Clark
Ellender
Fong
Gruening
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jackson
Javits
Long, La.
Magnuson
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Monroney
Morse
Moss
Mundt
Muskie
Pastore
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Randolph
Smith
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Williams, N.J.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—23

Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bible
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ervin
Fulbright
Gore
Hollings
Inouye
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Miller
Montoya
Russell
Smathers
Sparkman

So the amendment of Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware was rejected.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment was rejected be reconsidered.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I associate myself with the distinguished chairman, the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], and my distinguished colleagues in supporting the language of this bill to provide badly needed authority to the Secret Service and other Federal agencies in the performance of Presidential protective duties.

When I came to this body 11 years ago, I did not realize that we would face the day when protection of presidential candidates had become a necessity. I pray the tragic forces which require us to take this action may soon vanish from America. But the President wisely determined that not another day should pass without protection for candidates for our Nation's highest office. Now we must provide the funds and legal foundation for his action.

We must also recognize the truth that the protection of our President has become a Government-wide responsibility. The Secret Service alone cannot do the job. The Warren Commission in the tragic aftermath of President Kennedy's assassination told us emphatically that more and better coordination was needed—that the Secret Service must utilize all the resources of the Federal Government in the proper exercise of protective duties.

The language of this bill fills the gap. It provides that assistance shall be provided by any agency upon the request of the Director of the Secret Service. He can act quickly and decisively in time of emergency or unusual need. Even in normal times, he can establish the type of continuing liaison which is necessary to provide maximum security.

I take note of the fact that this protection will also be available to three Americans for whom this Nation has great and lasting affection—President Eisenhower, President Truman, and Mrs. John F. Kennedy. This is as it should be. I know that every Member of this body—and every American—would want these persons to have every protection a grateful Government can provide.

I deplore the tragic circumstances which have called these needs to our attention. But they should inspire us to move promptly.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I support the action the Senate considers today in this tragic and sobering time to remedy the gaps in existing authority for the protection of our Presidents.

We deplore the circumstances which compel the extension of protection to major presidential candidates. But we cannot ignore the ugly violence that surrounds us. Those who offer themselves for our Nation's highest office must not be required to offer their life in the process—as one has this very day. They must be able to present their case to the electorate with all the safety it is possible to provide.

Perhaps it will not be enough protection. But we dare not give them any less.

We must also close a loophole which has existed far too long. While it is the practice of other departments and agencies of the Federal Government to provide assistance to the Secret Service, no legislative basis exists for this practice. This statutory omission has already resulted in one lawsuit against a Government employee who was assisting the Secret Service in presidential protection. It impedes the kind of regular, continuous, coordination the job demands. The language of this bill would make it clear that there was authority—indeed, an obligation—on the part of other agencies to provide assistance as requested by the Director of the Secret Service.

Let me also call attention to the fact that others than our current President require protection. President Eisenhower—who is presently undergoing medical treatment—President Truman, and that gallant lady, Mrs. John F. Kennedy, are entitled to every protection which this Government has to offer. And now we see the pressing need to extend protection to those who present their candidacy for President.

I hope the day will never come when the safety of our Presidents is jeopardized by absence of medical assistance, inadequate communications, lack of transportation facilities, or any other governmental resource needed by the Secret Service to provide maximum security for these persons.

The report of the Warren Commission and the President's task force on that report chaired by Secretary Douglas Dillon found that complete and continuous coordination of all Federal agencies was needed to provide this protection.

We owe our Presidents—and those who aspire to that great office—every possible help. This bill will move us forward in meeting that obligation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there are no further amendments to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on passage of the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is: Shall the bill pass?

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] is absent because of the tragic death of his brother.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. MONTOYA], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE] would each vote "yea."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] are necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BAKER], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 77, nays 0, as follows:

[No. 179 Leg.]

YEAS—77

Aiken
Allott
Bartlett
Bennett
Boggs
Brewster
Brooke
Burdick
Byrd, Va.
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Carlson
Case
Church
Clark
Cooper
Cotton
Curtis
Dirksen
Ellender
Fannin
Fong
Griffin
Gruening
Hansen
Harris
Hart
Hartke
Hatfield
Hayden
Hickenlooper
Hill
Holland
Hruska
Jackson
Javits
Jordan, Idaho
Long, La.
Magnuson
Mansfield
McClellan
McGee
McGovern
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mondale
Monroney
Morse
Morton
Moss
Mundt
Murphy
Muskie
Nelson
Pastore
Pearson
Pell
Percy
Prouty
Proxmire
Randolph
Ribicoff
Scott
Smathers
Smith
Spong
Stennis
Symington
Talmadge
Thurmond
Tower
Tydings
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Yarborough
Young, N. Dak.
Young, Ohio

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—22

Anderson
Baker
Bayh
Bible
Dodd
Dominick
Eastland
Ervin
Fulbright
Gore
Hollings
Inouye
Jordan, N.C.
Kennedy, Mass.
Kuchel
Lausche
Long, Mo.
McCarthy
Miller
Montoya
Russell
Sparkman

So the bill (H.R. 16489) was passed.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and request a conference with the House of Representatives on the disagreeing votes thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. MONRONEY, Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. CASE, Mr.

Mundt, and Mr. Carlson conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Monroney], the very able chairman of the Treasury-Post Office and Executive Office Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, has again demonstrated his outstanding ability by bringing to the Senate a measure given overwhelming—indeed, unanimous—approval. He performed the task with characteristic persuasiveness, with great dedication.

Joining Senator Monroney in steering the bill quickly and expertly through the subcommittee and committee and then on the floor was the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. Allott], the ranking minority member of the subcommittee. His willing and helpful assistance was indispensable to the achievement of such a magnificent success.

This measure, of course, contained the authorization for Secret Service protection of presidential and vice presidential candidates. Senator Monroney, Senator Allott, and the other members of the subcommittee and committee are to be praised for their cooperation in bringing about swift and immediate action to give the Secret Service this necessary legal basis.

The Senators from Delaware [Mr. Williams], New York [Mr. Javits], and others gave us the benefit of their highly thoughtful views and are to be commended for their participation.

The entire Senate is to be commended for the manner in which the bill was swiftly, but thoughtfully, acted upon.

SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS ACT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 1152, H.R. 16911.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The Legislative Clerk. H.R. 16911, to provide for U.S. participation in the facility based on special drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an excerpt from the report (No. 1164), explaining the purposes and the background of the bill as well as the operation of the special drawing rights plan reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PURPOSE

Section 5 of the Bretton Woods Agreements Act requires that neither the President nor any person or agency shall, on behalf of the United States, accept any amendment of the articles of agreement of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) without prior approval of Congress. H.R. 16911 gives the President authority to accept the pending single—though extensive—amendment to the articles of the IMF (*a*) establishing a facility based on Special Drawing Rights in the Fund, and (*b*) giving effect to certain modifications in the existing rules and practices of the Fund. The bill also authorizes U.S. participation in the Special Drawing Account to be established by the amendment within the IMF. Furthermore, H.R. 16911 makes provision for the United States to accept the obligations that result from such participation in the Special Account.

BACKGROUND

As a great trading nation, the United States has a particular stake in the efficient operation of the international monetary system. Our imports and exports together total some $60 billion—more than any other country's—and account for 15 percent of the world total. American business over the years has acquired in excess of $55 billion in overseas investments. In large measure such figures representing a great expansion of world trade and investment, have been a testimonial to the system established at Bretton Woods in 1945. The growth of monetary reserves until quite recently has been adequate to finance the needs of an expanding world economy.

However, to an increasing extent dollar reserves have been the principal source of reserve growth, while gold and foreign exchange other than dollars have contributed less significantly to such growth. From the beginning of 1950 through 1967 international dollar reserves increased by about $15 billion, and other foreign exchange reserves by roughly $3 billion. While in the period 1950 to 1964, inclusive, gold reserves increased by about $8 billion to a total of $43 billion, in recent years gold has made no contribution to reserve growth. During the 3 years 1964–66 there was virtually no increase in the gold stocks; in 1967 gold reserves fell by about $1.6 billion.

A situation was created in which (*a*) gold could not be relied upon for needed increases in reserve growth, (*b*) the United States could not continue to contribute to such reserve growth through further heavy balance-of-payments deficits, and (*c*) any effort to try to deal with the problem by raising the price of gold was opposed by strong majority sentiment internationally, basically for the reasons maintained by William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, in a speech printed on pages 62–67 of the committee hearing record. In such a situation and without a means by which monetary reserves can grow with the growth of the world economy, nations may be expected to take restrictive measures to gain reserves primarily by reducing the reserve position of other countries. They would raise interest rates and apply restraints of various kinds on capital movements or upon the movement of goods. Other countries would respond with similar defensive measures leading to a cumulative escalation of restrictions on international trade, adversely affecting both domestic growth and the world economy.

Over the last several years it became increasingly clear that a fundamental disequilibrium threatened the monetary system, and that a new reserve asset—a supplement to gold and foreign exchange—was needed to sustain international liquidity. Special Drawing Rights (SDR) within the IMF will provide that method whereby reserves can increase to meet the requirements of the world economy. Preliminary agreement on the SDR facility promises to remove a shadow hanging over the monetary system owing to the lack of assurance of adequate reserve growth in the future. It thus contributes to the maintenance of long-term stability in the official gold price. SDR acquisitions will provide a means by which the United States will be able to rebuild its reserve position once the heavy payments drain has been halted.

The prospective ability of nations to add to reserves through SDR's also was an important contribution to the success of the recent Washington meeting of the London gold pool countries. Because of the drain on monetary gold stocks caused by excessive speculation in gold, those countries on March 17 generally agreed not to sell gold to the private market, nor did they believe it necessary to buy from the market in view of the anticipated establishment of the SDR facility.

The agreement on Special Drawing Rights has been carefully worked out over a 5-year period. The years 1963–65 were devoted to preliminary technical studies by the "Group of Ten" industrial countries[1] and the IMF. After those studies were concluded in the summer of 1965, President Johnson authorized Secretary Fowler to initiate government-to-government negotiations. Three years of intensive and complicated discussions followed. In 1966 agreement on basic points was achieved in the Group of Ten. In a second stage of negotiations, highlighted by four joint meetings between the Executive Directors of the IMF and the Deputies of the Group of Ten, an Outline Plan for SDR's was drafted; this was approved by the Board of Governors of the Fund at the September 1967 annual IMF meeting in Rio de Janeiro.

Finally, the detailed amendment to the articles of agreement of the Fund implementing the SDR facility was negotiated by the IMF Executive Directors over the subsequent 6 months, culminating in the Stockholm meeting which gave tentative approval to the completed scheme.

Throughout the 3 years of negotiations, committees and individual Members of Congress were kept informed of progress in the talks and were consulted on the development of the U.S. position. In this last regard, the Subcommittee on International Exchange and Payments of the Joint Economic Committee proposed guidelines for international monetary reform in 1965 and again in 1967. The congressional support for these negotiations has been strongly nonpartisan. From 1965 through 1968, both the majority and minority of the Joint Economic Committee agreed—in their reports on the President's Annual Economic Report—on the importance of achieving a plan for the creation of a new international monetary reserve asset.

OPERATION OF THE SDR PLAN

Special Drawing Rights will have the same characteristic that makes any form of money usable as a medium of exchange and a valuable asset; namely, the agreement of participating national governments that this special type of international legal tender is acceptable in settlement of transactions among themselves. In this respect, SDR's are little different from gold, dollars or other convertible foreign exchange and will be used in much the same manner with respect to international transactions. However, SDR's will not be issued as paper money and will not be issued to private individuals or companies. They will be book entries in special accounts of the International Monetary Fund. Each of the 107 members of the IMF will have a separate account for its allocations and other acquisitions of SDR's, much as an individual has a checking account in a bank. SDR's will be denominated in units of account equal to $1 in gold at the official price and will have a gold value guarantee, but such units will not be directly redeemable in gold.

Creation of an issue of Special Drawing Rights involves a process in which the IMF Managing Director will generally be responsible for initiating a proposal to that effect. Before making such a proposal, however, the Managing Director must satisfy himself through extensive consultations that there is a definite requirement for supplemental reserves which would be consistent with a number of special criteria. He would also make a recommendation which would cover a 5-year period of annual creation and allocation of SDR's. Such a proposal, after being accepted by majority vote of the IMF Executive Directors, would only take effect if approved by 85 percent of the weighted votes of the Fund Governors. Distribution of the SDR's would then be made on the basis of each Fund member's percentage of the overall current quotas within the IMF, and on condition that a particular member did not vote for the decision and notified the Fund that it did not wish an allocation. On this basis the United States which has 24.45 percent of the total Fund quotas (and 21.8 percent of the voting power), would receive about 245 million SDR's in any annual creation of one billion by the IMF if all members were participants—or 1,225 million SDR's over the 5-year period.

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[1] Belgium, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States.

SDR's mainly will be employed within the monetary system for the same purpose and in the same way as gold; that is, by selling them to obtain convertible currencies in order to maintain the value of a member's currency exchange rate. In such a process the country using its SDR's normally because of payments difficulties, will ask the Fund to designate a recipient member (one normally with strong payments and reserve positions), and to debit its SDR account and credit the SDR account of the nation which is making convertible currency available. However, there is also another way of employing SDR's which does not involve the designation process. A member can make an arrangement to use its SDR's to purchase its own currency from another country holding it in surplus, provided the latter agrees to the arrangement. This would permit the United States, for example, to acquire dollars held by a foreign country by using Special Drawing Right units, in much the same way as it uses gold or convertible foreign currencies.

Because the Managing Director of the IMF has played a key role in the SDR negotiations, and will continue to occupy a central position, his views are of particular weight in describing how the new system would operate. Thus his concrete example of how SDR transactions might take place, although already widely quoted, is worth reproducing once again at this point:

"Let us suppose that, at some time in the future, drawing rights equivalent to a total of $1 billion a year are created by vote of the Board of Governors. If we assume that a given country A has a quota amounting to 1 percent of total Fund quotas, the Fund will accordingly credit to country A in the special drawing account an amount of SDR's equal to $10 million. Country A could add these to its reserves as it would be entitled to use them without question in case of need.

"Suppose, now, that country A does want to use them. In order to do so, it would have to convert them into a usable currency. It would therefore ask the Fund into what currencies it could convert an amount of SDR's equivalent to, say, $5 million. The Fund would at any given time have a list of participating Fund members whose balance-of-payments and reserve positions were regarded as reasonably satisfactory. From this list the Fund would select appropriate countries to be designated. Since the amount involved in my illustration is small, we may reasonably assume that the Fund would select, say, two countries: Germany and Italy, for instance. In this event, the Fund would notify Germany and Italy that it was crediting their special drawing account with the equivalent of $2.5 million each in SDR's and that they should place to the credit of country A in the books of their central banks a corresponding amount of deutsche marks and lire (or any other convertible currencies that Germany or Italy may own). At the same time the Fund would debit the special reserve account of country A an amount of SDR's equivalent to $5 million.

"As a result of these transactions, $5 million of SDR's in country A's reserves would be replaced by $5 million of currencies which it could then spend; and the reserves of Germany and Italy would increase, at least initially, by $2.5 million each owing to the receipt of additional SDR's.

"Country A would be charged a moderate rate of interest (perhaps 1½ percent) on the SDR's which it had used; and Germany and Italy would be paid interest at the same rate. The value of the additional SDR's held by Germany and Italy, like the value of those allocated to them by the Fund, would be guaranteed in terms of gold.

"As long as country A used less than 70 percent of the SDR's which had been allocated to it by the Fund (and in my illustration it would be using only 50 percent), no repayment (or reconstitution) would have to take place. In due time, as its payments position strengthened again, it would no doubt be called on itself to provide currency in return for SDR's and so would tend to restore its holdings of SDR's. But if over a period of time its average utilization of all the SDR's which had been allocated to it by the Fund did exceed 70 percent, the excess would have to be repaid.

"I might mention, to round off my illustration, that Germany and Italy would be obligated to receive additional SDR's—including the $2.5 million equivalent in my example—only up to a point where they were holding twice the amount allocated to them by the Fund."

To put the SDR plan described above into effect three steps must be taken by IMF member countries. In the first place, the amendment to the articles of agreement must be approved by Governors exercising a majority of the total voting power in the Fund (this step has been accomplished). Secondly, the amendment must then be accepted by at least 65 IMF members exercising a minimum of 80 percent of the total voting power. Finally, IMF members with 75 percent of the total quotas must deposit instruments with the Fund signifying that they have complied with all the requirements of their domestic laws and can carry out the obligations of participation in the SDR facility.

The Special Drawing Rights plan has no expiration date but there are certain safeguards and limitations relating to U.S. participation. Most important, decisions to create SDR reserves cannot be taken if the United States is opposed. Moreover, section 6 of the bill, described in more detail below, puts a limit on U.S. participation without further authority from Congress. This limit is reached when allocations of SDR's to the United States are equal to the U.S. quota in the Fund, which currently is $5,160 million. Such an allocation figure should not be confused with the obligation of members of the plan—when in strong payments and reserve status—to purchase SDR's from other countries to the limit of three times the member's quota. It should also be noted that the United States and other members can withdraw from the Special Drawing Account by submitting notice to the Fund. The withdrawal is effective upon Fund receipt of the notice.

COMMITTEE ACTION

In a message to the Congress of April 30, 1968, entitled "Strengthening the International Monetary System," the President strongly supported the current proposal and urged early action. On May 2 there was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to give effect to the President's recommendation. An NAC special report favoring such action was received by the committee on the same date from Secretary Fowler in his capacity as Chairman of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies. On May 2, 1968, Senator Fulbright, by request, introduced S. 3423, an identical bill to H.R. 16911, to provide for U.S. participation in the facility based on Special Drawing Rights. However, the House of Representatives passed its companion bill on May 10, 1968, and H.R. 16911 was thereupon referred to the Foreign Relations Committee.

The committee held a public hearing on H.R. 16911 on May 13, receiving supporting testimony during the morning from Secretary of the Treasury Fowler, who was accompanied by Mr. J. Dewey Daane, member of the Federal Reserve Board, Frederic L. Deming, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, and William Dale, U.S. Executive Director in the IMF. During the afternoon session Mr. W. B. Hicks, representing the Liberty Lobby, and Mr. George A. Eddy, a private citizen, spoke in opposition to the bill. The hearing record was kept open for a week in order to receive written testimony from those who might have different views from those expressed at the formal hearing.

H.R. 16911 was placed on the committee agenda for action at a meeting on May 24, and again on May 27. At the executive session on the latter date the committee, without objection, ordered the bill reported favorably without amendment.

During the discussion within the committee, members emphatically voiced their continuing concern with the persistent balance-of-payments deficit position of the United States, and particularly with reference to the costs of the war in Vietnam. They noted that H.R. 16911 was not a measure which in itself would bring about improvement in the U.S. balance of payments, although there might be beneficial indirect effects at a later date. They strongly urged greater discipline and urgency on the part of the administration in dealing with the payments deficits. At the same time, they gave equally strong support to the view that the Special Drawing Rights plan should be implemented without delay.

(The following sections of this report are of a more technical and detailed character, and are not necessary to a general understanding of the SDR plan.)

CHANGES IN PRESENT IMF RULES AND PRACTICES

The amendment to the Fund articles, in addition to establishing the Special Drawing Rights facility, also makes a number of changes in the existing rules and practices of the Fund. Several of the changes represent codifications of existing practice or provide for technical improvements in the Fund's operations. In this category are improvements in the legal status of the gold tranche, payments of interest on super gold tranche positions, modification in the rules on repayments and service charges, and the reaffirmation of the temporary character of the use of the Fund's resources.

Another category involves changes in voting majorities. The amendment provides that an 85-percent majority will apply to general increases in quotas and conditions associated with paying quota increases, uniform proportionate changes in par values, and waiver of maintenance of value of the Fund's assets in the event of such a change. In addition, a Board of Governors Committee on Interpretation has been established to hear appeals from decisions of the Executive Directors on interpretation of the Fund articles. Decisions of the Committee can be overruled by an 85-percent vote of the full Board of Governors.

The modifications in the provisions on uniform proportionate changes in par values are a useful development. They give the United States, and the EEC countries acting together, a veto on a change in the price of gold. By making it more difficult to accomplish such a change it demonstrates the intention of the members of the Fund to maintain the present price of gold at $35 an ounce.

The other changes in voting majorities, particularly with respect to quota increases, reflect the desire of the EEC countries to strengthen their voice in the Fund. The 85-percent voting majority requirement for certain major decisions would give the EEC countries, with over 16 percent of the total vote, a veto power over these decisions, provided they act together. The participation of most of the major surplus countries of Europe is essential for the successful operation of the Fund. The recognition of their increased economic strength in the new voting majority requirement is a reflection of the reality of the need for their participation in important decisions.

SECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE LEGISLATION

In order to participate in the Special Drawing Account, the United States must deposit an instrument with the Fund stating that it undertakes all of the commitments of a participant in the Special Drawing Account in accordance with its law and that it has taken all steps necessary to enable it to carry out all of these undertakings. (To make the facility operational, such instruments must be deposited by members with 75 percent of the total Fund quotas.)

The primary commitment is the ability to accept Special Drawing Rights from other participants and pay a convertible currency in return—for the United States this would be dollars. Participants must have authority to accept Special Drawing Rights in amounts equal to three times their net cumulative allocations (art. XXV, sec. 4). The United States must also be prepared to pay charges on its use of its allocations of Special Drawing Rights (arts. XXVI, XXX, and XXXI), and pay such assessments as the Fund may make as the U.S. pro rata share of the administrative expenses of running the Special Drawing Account (art. XXVI, sec 4).

Section 3 of H.R. 16911 authorizes the assumption of these responsibilities. It provides that Special Drawing Rights allocated to, or acquired by, the United States will be deposited in and administered as part of the resources of the Exchange Stabilization Fund established by section 10 of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934, as amended (31 U.S.C. 822a).

Section 3(b) of the bill also allocates the proceeds of the use of Special Drawing Rights to the Exchange Stabilization Fund. Accordingly, this section imposes a corresponding responsibility on the Exchange Stabilization Fund to provide dollars against Special Drawing Rights when they are presented to the United States for acceptance. The commitment to provide currency against Special Drawing Rights is the touchstone of what makes Special Drawing Rights a valuable reserve asset. The United States must have domestic procedures that will give unquestioned assurance of our ability to meet this commitment.

Purchases of gold are similar in nature to purchases of Special Drawing Rights. When the United States buys gold, it pays dollars in return. Thus, in a sense, our acceptance procedures for gold are the same as those for Special Drawing Rights—the payment of dollars against the receipt of an asset. For gold, the domestic arrangements that assure that the United States can always supply dollars is the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to issue gold certificates, against an equal amount of gold holdings, to the Federal Reserve Banks in return for dollars (sec. 14, Gold Reserve Act, as amended, 31 U.S.C. 405b). When gold is sold, the resulting dollars are used to redeem the gold certificates which had previously been issued against the gold that was sold.

Section 4 of the bill utilizes a similar procedure by giving the Secretary of the Treasury authority to issue Special Drawing Right certificates to the Federal Reserve banks in amounts equal to any Special Drawing Rights held by the United States. The Federal Reserve banks would credit the account of the Exchange Stabilization Fund with a dollar deposit in an amount equal to the value of the Special Drawing Right certificate. Special Drawing Right certificates would be issued and remain outstanding only for the purposes of financing the acquisition of Special Drawing Rights or financing exchange stabilization operations. Under this provision, dollar balances obtained by the Exchange Stabilization Fund through the issuance of Special Drawing Right certificates to the Federal Reserve banks could not be used for domestic purposes such as deposits in commercial banks or acquisition in the open market of U.S. Government obligations.

Section 4(a) provides that the amount of Special Drawing Right certificates issued and outstanding shall at no time exceed the value of the Special Drawing Rights held against the Special Drawing Right certificates. Thus, dollars resulting from the sale of Special Drawing Rights against which a certificate had been issued would be used under section 4(b) to redeem an equivalent amount of Special Drawing Right certificates.

The above financing method provides absolute assurance that the United States can meet its acceptance commitment.

Although acceptance commitments must be honored in order to make the Special Drawing Right facility work, they are not a burden on the United States. Acceptance of Special Drawing Rights against dollars involves an exchange of assets. In return for one asset—dollars—the United States will obtain a highly valuable international reserve asset—Special Drawing Rights—that it can use to meet problems arising from a balance-of-payments deficit or a decline in reserves. Because these transactions are exchanges of assets, they will have no effect on budget receipts or expenditures. Similarly, U.S. participation in the Special Drawing Account will involve no increase in new obligational authority.

Section 5 makes a number of amendments in the Federal Reserve Act to allow the Federal Reserve banks to hold Special Drawing Right certificates.

Subsection 5(a) amends the third sentence of the second paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 412), to allow the deposit of Special Drawing Right certificates as collateral security for Federal Reserve notes.

The first sentence of the fifth paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 415), is further amended by subsection 5(b) to allow Federal Reserve banks to reduce their liability for outstanding Federal Reserve notes by depositing Special Drawing Right certificates with the Federal Reserve agent.

Subsection (c) amends the seventh paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 417), by providing that Special Drawing Right certificates, like gold certificates, shall be held in the joint custody of the Federal Reserve agent and the Federal Reserve banks.

Subsection (d) amends the 15th paragraph of section 16 of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended (12 U.S.C. 467), by allowing Special Drawing Right certificates, like gold certificates to be deposited with the Treasury.

The Exchange Stabilization Fund, in subsection 3(b), is given the responsibility for paying charges on use of U.S. net cumulative allocations, and assessments pursuant to article XXVI, section 4, Article XXVI, section 3, provides that the rate of charges on Special Drawing Rights will be 1½ percent, although this rate may be changed within the limits of 1 to 2 percent, by simple majority, and can be moved outside these limits if a wider range is decided on for remuneration on super gold tranche positions under article V, section 9, as amended by the proposed amendment. Assessments may be made pro rata in proportion to net cumulative allocations to pay the administrative expenses of the Special Drawing Account. In most cases, charges and assessments are payable in Special Drawing Rights, although in certain circumstances charges in connection with liquidation might have to be paid in currency. Normally, it would be expected that the Exchange Stabilization Fund would reserve some of its holdings of Special Drawing Rights to pay charges and assessments.

Subsection 3(b) also provides that payments of interest to the United States on holdings of Special Drawing Rights in excess of U.S. net cumulative allocations would be deposited in and administered as part of the Exchange Stabilization Fund. The interest rate will be the same as the rate of charges described above. Interest earnings while the United States is holding Special Drawing Rights in excess of net cumulative allocations (which are paid in Special Drawing Rights) will provide a source of funds for paying charges when the United States is using its net cumulative allocations.

Article XXVII(b) provides that no tax of any kind shall be levied on Special Drawing Rights or on operations or transactions in Special Drawing Rights. The privileges and immunities of the Fund were given force and effect in the United States under section 11 of the Bretton Woods Agreements Act, as amended (22 U.S.C. 286h). Section 7 of the bill would follow this precedent by giving article XXVII(b) full force and effect in the United States, its territories and possessions upon U.S. participation in the Special Drawing Account.

Paragraph 3 of part I of the Executive Director's report to the Board of Governors of April 1968, notes (p. 6) two ways in which participants can meet their acceptance obligations: (1) By obtaining authority to accept the rights and responsibilities that go with Special Drawing Rights allocations up to a minimum amount of 50 percent of their quotas, and (2) by treating Special Drawing Rights in the same way as official holdings of gold and foreign exchange, which are usually subject to no legal ceiling, thus obviating any need for further legislative action. Section 6 would authorize U.S. participation in allocations up to an amount equal to the U.S. Fund quota of $5,160 million and the U.S. Governor could not vote for allocations to the United States exceeding this amount. By placing a ceiling on the amount of Special Drawing Rights that may be allocated to the United States, provision is made for a congressional review of the experience with the Special Drawing Rights. But, by giving an authorization that is larger than the minimum suggested by the Fund, the United States would be indicating a more positive attitude toward Special Drawing Rights as a reserve asset than would be the case if the minimum acceptable participation authority were adopted.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to give my full support to the pending bill, H.R. 16911, which provides for U.S. participation in the facility based on special drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund and for other purposes. This measure was approved without objection and without amendment by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Monday, May 27. It passed the House of Representatives on May 10 by a vote of 236 in favor and only 15 opposed following unanimous approval by the House Banking and Currency Committee.

There are only two ways of describing the nature and effects of the plan to create special drawing rights within the

IMF: one way is painfully short and oversimplified, the other is just as painfully lengthy and complicated. I am choosing to err on the side of brevity because more than ample descriptive material is provided by the printed hearings and the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations which are on Senators' desks.

Quite simply, the decision to create special drawing rights was taken by the international community of nations in response to a situation in which they faced the likelihood that there would be a shortage of international reserves. This could lead to a reduction in world trade with consequent repercussions on the domestic economies of most IMF members. For under current conditions of inadequate growth in reserves of both gold and foreign exchange, an effort by one country to correct its balance-of-payments deficit and replenish its reserve position must result in drawing down the reserves of one or more other countries. This condition can only lead to what is usually described as beggar-my-neighbor economic and financial policies.

To be explicit, this situation arises if the United States takes the needed strenuous measures to reduce its payments deficits, since at present this means drawing down the surpluses of the other industrialized nations, largely those of Europe.

By virtue of the projected plan to create special drawing rights within the International Monetary Fund, completely additional reserves will be deliberately created and distributed among participants in the scheme in agreed proportions. These so-called SDR's will exist only on paper—from whence comes the nickname of "paper gold"—but each unit will have a value equivalent to one dollar's worth of gold. They will be deposit entries on the books of the Fund which will be issued only to governments and exchanged only among governments which participate. The "backing" of the SDR's rests entirely on the solemn commitments of the participants to accept them, and on their knowledge that they can be transferred in return for convertible currency. However, the obligation to accept SDR's in exchange for convertible currency is entirely dependent upon the acceptor having a strong payments or reserve position. It normally will be up to the IMF to determine the countries to be chosen to receive SDR's which a country in deficit position might wish to exchange for other reserves.

In participating in this SDR plan the Fund countries will be creating a highly flexible and expandable reserve system which will be at the service of the participating countries—in contradiction from the current position in which countries are at the mercy of a rigid and restrictive gold exchange system. At the same time, such a high degree of unanimity is required in order to create an allocation of SDR's—normally on an annual basis for a 5-year period—that any inflationary threat or comparable difficulty is avoided.

The plan to create special drawing rights in itself is not designed to bring relief to the U.S. adverse balance-of-payments position. Indeed, so long as we continue to run our current rate of deficit it is unlikely that the Fund members will agree to vote in favor of an allocation of SDR's. On the other hand, when we do start achieving real success with our efforts to remedy the payments problem, we and other nations will have the assurance that our program will not result in damage to the payments and reserve positions of the countries now in surplus. It is hard to overestimate the stimulus to international trade which is likely to result from the confidence created by such a plan to maintain adequate liquidity on a global basis.

During the 89th Congress, the Committee on Foreign Relations in its report No. 196 of May 1965 stated its recognition:

> That the Fund over a period of nearly 20 years has been a vitally important source of monetary strength and leadership, and that it continues to be an indispensable instrument contributing to the economic growth and health of its member nations.

The committee then went on to recommend that the International Monetary Fund and particularly the other industrialized countries, in addition to the United States, should take an urgent approach to the requirement for an improved new international monetary system. Moreover, it was stated forcefully that strenuous efforts should be made to overcome the balance-of-payments deficits being experienced by the United States. The measure before us today to a large extent responds to the sound advice offered by the Foreign Relations Committee 3 years ago.

I must add that this is a measure which has secured a remarkable degree of strong and bipartisan support both within the Congress and within the business and financial community in this country. Mr. President, I urge the Senate to act favorable on H.R. 16911.

Mr. **PROXMIRE**. Mr. President, I strongly support H.R. 16911 as one of the most significant and far-reaching legislative proposals for the United States and for the free world which we have had before us in many years. It is important that Congress at this session authorize the President to accept the amendment to the articles of agreement of the International Monetary Fund and to participate in the new facility for special drawing rights. Events in recent months have demonstrated clearly the necessity of the long and arduous international negotiations which have culminated so successfully in the special drawing rights plan. The United States has played a leading part in these negotiations and their success justifies a conviction that the international monetary system can be strengthened for the years ahead through multilateral cooperation and action, by building upon the fundamental principles which we have supported since the end of the Second World War. Expert testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, of which I am chairman, has repeatedly emphasized the need for reforming our international monetary system. The same evidence has been presented to the Committee on Banking and Currency, of which I am the ranking majority member.

Approval of the special drawing rights amendment now would help greatly in cutting down the risks of instability. Failure to act now would seriously disturb the international monetary system and have sharp and adverse effects upon financial markets throughout the free world. The world needs assurance now that a supplementary international reserve asset will be created. Without special drawing rights there is a danger that reserves cannot expand sufficiently to permit the sound growth of international trade and investment which has contributed so greatly to rising standards of living throughout the world in the past 20 years.

International reserves now consist largely of gold and foreign exchange, including substantial amounts of dollars, but the free world's reserve needs can no longer be satisfied by reliance primarily on these assets. Over the past 2 years there has been no addition to world monetary gold holdings. Industrial uses, hoarding, and speculative demands have taken all the world's production. And in the 4 months preceding the decision on March 17 on the part of the authorities of the gold pool countries to stop selling gold to the free market, it is estimated that world monetary gold reserves fell by about $3 billion. Our dependence upon gold as an element of growth in the monetary system had in fact been diminishing, before March 17. Since that decision, further additions of gold to the world's monetary reserves are not part of plans and expectations for the future. The plan for special drawing rights makes it feasible not to rely on new gold as a part of future additions to global reserves.

The major element of growth in international reserves in recent years has been the U.S. dollar. Foreign countries now hold $18 billion in their reserves representing about 25 percent of total world reserves. However, the growth of world reserves has been closely linked to deficits in the U.S. balance of payments, which have weakened the international position of the dollar. The United States must get its international accounts into balance and curtail sharply the net outflow of dollars to the rest of the world. The plan for special drawing rights has been designed specifically to assure that the world's need for reserve growth will be met adequately, and in a manner which will strengthen the monetary system, when the pressure of deficits on the dollar is reduced.

Special drawing rights will be created by conscious, deliberate and collective decisions of the participating members of the International Monetary Fund, and the arrangement is open to all members of the Fund. The procedures will assure wide support for their creation, with final responsibility for decisions resting in the Board of Governors of the Fund. Special drawing rights will be accepted, held, and used only by monetary authorities, who will be committed to pay convertible currency in exchange for them in transactions on official account. This commitment to accept them in return for convertible currency provides the assurance that they will be a valuable reserve asset usable without question when needed.

The special drawing rights plan is not a plan to solve the U.S. balance-of-payments problems. Nor will it solve all international monetary problems. It points to the way in which the international monetary system can further develop, within which the dollar—strengthened as it must be through our efforts to achieve equilibrium in our external payments—can continue to perform a leading role as a reserve and transactions currency.

Special drawing rights are to be essentially book entries in the special drawing account of the Fund, and transfers will ordinarily be made by debiting the special drawing account of the user and crediting that of the receiver, as the latter country pays convertible currency to the country using special drawing rights. SDR will be denominated in units of account equivalent to the gold value of the dollar, and holdings of special drawing rights in amounts greater than those allocated to a country will bear interest at a rate of 1½ percent per annum. By comparison, gold is a dormant asset, earns no interest, and is expensive to hold. Dollars, on the other hand, earn at present far more than 1½ percent. The special drawing right, thus, is not—and is not meant to be—precisely the same as either gold or the dollar. It is a new asset designed to be able to stand on its own feet as a first-class reserve asset alongside gold and dollars.

Participants are committed to accept special drawing rights in transfers from others up to an amount double their cumulative allocations, so that total holdings of countries in strong payments positions may reach 300 percent of their allocations. And if they so desire they may also accept more than these amounts.

A few basic principles have been agreed upon under which the Fund will guide the transfer of special drawing rights from countries needing to use reserves to those with strong balance of payments or reserve positions. Countries needing to use reserves can at any point make use of any amount of the special drawing rights they hold. Over a 5-year period, however, a participant's average use of special drawing rights may not exceed 70 percent of its average allocations. This requirement for "reconstitution" is not onerous and represents a reasonable guideline for use of the new reserve asset, particularly in the early years of operations.

Very importantly, special drawing rights will provide the United States with an opportunity to rebuild our reserve position which has been weakened as the result of our balance-of-payments deficits. On the basis of present quotas in the International Monetary Fund, the United States would receive about 25 percent of each allocation of special drawing rights. They will be usable very much in the manner of traditional reserve assets in transfers between monetary authorities. The United States will use them in much the same way we use gold, though the hope of U.S. policy is that distributions of special drawing rights can be retained so as gradually to increase the level of U.S. reserves.

The legislation authorizes the United States to participate in this new facility, acting through the Exchange Stabilization Fund of the U.S. Treasury, the instrument through which we conduct gold transactions with foreign monetary authorities. Domestic financing would be provided by operations between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve in a manner analogous to the financing of gold movements. The legislation authorizes the U.S. Governor of the Fund to participate in decisions to create special drawing rights up to the point where allocations to the United States would reach the equivalent of $5,160 million, the present amount of our Fund quota. This authority is adequate to enable the United States to participate fully in this new facility, while it preserves the principle of later congressional review at such time as larger authority needs to be sought.

The amendment to the articles of agreement also makes certain modifications of the provisions under which the Fund has operated over the past 21 years. Three such changes are relatively significant. First, decisions by the Fund involving a general increase in quotas—for financial participation in the Fund's regular operations—are to be raised from 80 percent of the weighted vote to 85 percent. This change would mean that the EEC countries, if they acted together, as well as the United States, could prevent a general increase in quotas. This recognizes the greater economic strength and importance of the European Economic Community as well as its greater responsibility for the smooth functioning of the international monetary system. Second, a decision of the Fund to effect a uniform proportionate change in par values—that is to say, a change in the price of gold—would in the future require a majority of 85 percent, instead of the present simple majority. This is a welcome development since it makes more difficult a change in the price of gold. Third, a new procedure is to be introduced in the method by which the Fund makes formal interpretations of its own constitutional provisions. This is to be done by a committee of the Fund's governors, which will review interpretations decided upon by the executive directors of the Fund, and whose decisions will be final unless overturned by an 85 percent weighted vote of the full Board of Governors.

The proposed amendment, the first changes to be made in the articles of agreement since the Fund's inception, is strongly in the interest of the United States. Its acceptance now is the single most important step that can be taken to adapt the international monetary system to changing conditions and to strengthen it for the years ahead. It is important that the United States demonstrate its leadership by accepting the amendment and by certifying its readiness to participate in the Fund's special drawing rights facility. I therefore urge prompt passage of S. 3423.

Mr. President, some questions regarding special drawing rights have been raised, in a recent article in Fortune, by Mr. Eugene Birnbaum, now with the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, and formerly an economist with the International Monetary Fund and the Department of Commerce. Mr. Birnbaum objects to the special drawing rights amendment on several counts, and charges that the special drawing right "will shift monetary power still further toward Europe and away from the United States." He suggests instead a system of automatic drawing rights on the International Monetary Fund, along the lines originally envisaged at Bretton Woods, coupled with the abandonment of the present form of gold convertibility in favor of a system of supporting the dollar by borrowing foreign currencies through the Fund. Threats of discrimination in trade would be made against countries that refuse to lend their currency to the Fund for this purpose, under the so-called "scarce currency clause" in the Fund articles. He even hints at the possibility of an increase in the price of gold through a uniform change in par values in the Fund. Finally, he would do away with all the selective measures taken by the United States since 1959 to correct its balance-of-payments position, apparently relying entirely upon discrimination against surplus countries for any adjustment of international imbalances.

Mr. Birnbaum's suggestions lie in the realm of fantasy rather than real practical application. During the course of 20 years experience, the Fund has moved away from the concept of an automatic right to draw foreign currency to finance a deficit. It has limited automaticity to the first "tranche"—a segment of drawing rights equal to 25 percent of quota. Subsequent drawings on the Fund by a deficit country fall in the "conditional tranches," which means that the Fund reviews the policies being followed by the drawing country with a view to agreeing with the country on a program of policies designed to eliminate the balance-of-payments deficit. These conditional and non-automatic credit facilities have become widely accepted by the Fund membership as a constructive contribution to maintaining the stability and effective functioning of the system of par values. The special drawing rights amendment recognizes the general support for this policy and establishes a legal basis for the distinction between automatic drawing rights and conditional credit facilities.

The amendment thus clearly establishes two different functions for the Fund. One, a new function, is to provide drawing rights that can be used without question when a country needs to use reserves, and that therefore may be included in a country's reserves. The second and older function, now to be given specific and clear legal status, could continue to provide additional credit facilities, in conjunction with assistance to countries in formulating effective programs and policies to correct balance-of-payments deficits. Having both these functions equips the Fund to perform a more useful service to the world than would be the case under the single automatic drawing system favored by Mr. Birnbaum.

Moreover, it would be quite unrealistic to attempt to turn back the clock and overthrow the evolution of 20 years of experience in developing Fund policies with respect to the use of Fund resources.

There would be no support whatever for such a course on the part of European members of the Fund, and it is by no means certain that the Birnbaum proposal would find favor even among the developing countries.

Mr. Birnbaum's emphasis on the use of the "scarce currency" clause to threaten surplus countries with trade discrimination appears to be his main reliance in trying to reduce the "monetary power" of the European surplus countries, relative to the United States. When the United States was in an extremely strong position for a few years after the Second World War, the scarce currency clause was not invoked, although there was a good deal of trade discrimination practiced against the United States by countries that were short of dollars. With the ending of the dollar shortage, this discrimination against the United States on currency grounds has largely faded away, being replaced by other trade problems associated with the European Common Market and other factors.

There is therefore no precedent in the Fund for application of the scarce currency clause. It is, however, reasonably clear that an attempt to apply the scarce currency clause in the Fund would lead to difficult and controversial discussions in the Fund Board. If any decision authorizing discrimination against the European surplus countries were to be pushed, against strong resistance by the European countries, the result could be seriously damaging to the Fund's ability to function as a useful international institution. Application of sanctions in the form of trade discrimination tends to be regarded as a form of economic warfare, and would require a very high preponderance of support in the Fund to have any chance of success. Even under such unlikely conditions of a very high majority support, retaliatory trade measures and withdrawal of cooperation in Fund credit operations might well occur on the part of any country subjected to such trade discrimination. For these reasons the use of this clause may not be an effective means of inducing countries to lend their currencies to the Fund for the purpose of financing a U.S. deficit, as implied in the Birnbaum thesis.

While it is desirable to urge and encourage the surplus countries to assume a larger share of the responsibility for adjusting international imbalance, there would be no acceptance of the Birnbaum thesis that the United States should undertake no selective measures to bring its balance of payments into adjustment. These selective measures are necessary, even with the adoption of fiscal and monetary policies that will provide the fundamental basis for correction of the persistent deficit in our balance of payments. There is no useful basis for international cooperation in the implied Birnbaum suggestion that the United States should be able to invest freely abroad without concern as to the amount of dollars paid out to the rest of the world, and finance a resulting persistent deficit by endless drawings of foreign currencies from the Fund.

Mr. President, in view of the coming vote on H.R. 16911, a bill regarding U.S. participation in special drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund, I draw to the attention of the Senate a very vigorous article by Dr. E. M. Bernstein in Wednesday's Washington Post, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD.

The Joint Economic Committee has rightly given strong endorsement to the SDR plan. Dr. Bernstein has been a long protagonist of international monetary reform, and testified in favor of SDR's before Mr. REUSS' subcommittee on November 22, 1967. The concluding section of Dr. Bernstein's newspaper article is a neat rationale for the SDR plan.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, June 5, 1968]

WORLD MONETARY SYSTEM SEEN NEEDING SDR's

(By Edward M. Bernstein)

(NOTE.—Dr. Bernstein was one of the key figures at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference. He was the first research director of the IMF, is a consultant to the Treasury, and widely renowned as an expert on international finance. He presently heads EMB, Ltd. research economists in Washington.)

It is the history of institutions that each generation uses them in the light of its needs. That is entirely proper. Of course, there are dissenters calling on the world to return to the true faith, undiluted by new heresies. Mr. Eugene Birnbaum, once a member of the research staff of the International Monetary Fund, has assumed this role. He says, that the temple of the Lord built at Bretton Woods is being defiled. Our salvation is to go back to the faith of the founding fathers. Unfortunately, his interpretation of Bretton Woods would be completely strange to the founding fathers.

Mr. Birnbaum believes that the Fund was intended to participate in the settlement of all balance of payments deficits and surpluses, with deficit countries drawing from the Fund the currencies of the surplus countries. Drawings by deficit countries on the Fund, he says, were intended to be automatic within the quota limitations.

AUTOMATICITY AGREEMENT

In fact this is not so. The minutes of the meetings of the U.S. technical experts with those of other countries show that the only degree of automaticity the United States accepted was that a country should not be declared ineligible to use the resources of the Fund before it had received net credit of 25 per cent of its quota.

Beyond that, the United States suggested that the Fund could be allowed to enter into standby agreements with its members which would give them assured drawing rights of a stated amount. This idea was later adopted as a policy by the Fund and is now one of its standard techniques for drawings.

Automaticity of drawing rights to the full extent of a member's quota would be impossible. One of the exercises undertaken by the U.S. technical experts was to measure the liquidity of the Fund—that is, its capacity to provide resources for drawings. The liquidity was measured by the amount of gold and dollars held by the Fund as a ratio of the drawing rights of all members except the United States. A ratio of about 50 per cent was regarded as reasonable, precisely because drawings on the Fund were not automatic. Otherwise, the Fund would have had to have a liquidity ratio of nearly 100 per cent during the early postwar years.

LACK OF LIQUIDITY

It was long apparent that the liquidity of the Fund would not be sufficient in the event of a crisis. At a seminar at Harvard in October 1958, I said: "It is desirable, and even necessary, that the Fund have assured access to additional resources to deal with any contingency that may arise . . ."

In January 1962, at the urging of Treasury Secretary Dillon, the Fund entered into the General Arrangements to Borrow (GAB) with ten countries (the Group of Ten) under which they undertook to lend the Fund a total of up to $6 billion if this became necessary to deal with a crisis in the international monetary system.

Mr. Birnbaum regards the Group of Ten as "an exclusive club for high-income countries, leaving the Fund with its bail-out operations for the weak sisters." In fact, the GAB is designed to make it possible for the Fund to finance massive borrowings by members with large quotas, so that its business would not be confined to bailing out the smaller countries. Without the GAB, the Fund could not have helped Britain to the extent it did during the sterling crisis.

Mr. Birnbaum holds that the United States should have financed more of its deficit by drawings on the Fund. The United States has been doing that for some years. What Mr. Birnbaum has in mind is large-scale purchases of European currencies to finance the major part of the U.S. deficit. Obviously, this would have required activation of all the borrowing power of the Fund under the GAB, and even then the Fund could have financed only a small part of the U.S. deficit of the past 10 years. More important, the United States would long ago have had to repay the Fund and this it could only have done by using its gold reserves.

Mr. Birnbaum seems to think that after the United States had used up its quota to finance its deficit (and exhausted the Fund's holdings of European currencies), the Fund would have been willing to declare a scarcity of these currencies. Mr. Birnbaum does not understand the scarce currency provisions of the Fund Agreement.

FUND PROCEDURES

It is naive to think that the Fund would declare 10 European currencies scarce because the United States has a persistent deficit in its balance of payments. Before any currency is declared scarce, the Fund must make a report and that report could not be favorable to a country whose imports increased by 45 per cent between 1964 and 1967. The Fund would be more likely to recommend higher taxes and control of capital outflow by the United States than to declare the currencies of all the surplus countries scarce.

The truth is that drawings on the Fund can be used only to meet temporary deficits that can be reversed in two or three years. Reserve credit alone, even very large credits from the Fund, cannot provide the confidence that is essential for a system of fixed gold parities. The availability of reserve credit gives assurance that a country can meet temporary payments difficulties. However, the use of reserve credit creates an obligation to repay in a more or less limited time, and countries will be reluctant to depend too much on reserve credit. For these reasons it is important for countries to have their own monetary reserves; and it is important to have an adequate growth of monetary reserves.

That is the purpose of the Special Drawing Rights. These are fiduciary reserves and they involve a transfer of real resources for SDRs that must ultimately be reversed or reimbursed in some other way. But they are not the result of credit operations and they do not create an obligation for repayment by a specific date. Even the provision for reconstituting 30 per cent of the allocations of SDRs is basically for the purpose of compelling the use of other reserves along with SDRs.

FINAL RESERVE ASSET

The fact is that SDRs are a final reserve asset which no foreign exchange, not even the dollar, can be. In this respect the SDRs resemble gold and that is why there is nothing wrong in calling them paper gold.

Responsible officials have repeatedly said that the SDR's cannot relieve us of the burden of restoring our balance of payments or of the necessity of following policies that are essential for monetary stability.

"The SDR experiment is detrimental, Mr. Birnbaum says, "because it will shift international monetary power even more toward Europe." Power in the monetary sphere is the consequence of the payments position of a country, of its reserves and of its economic wealth and economic strength. You cannot create power by an international agreement; you can only assign responsibility.

One of the weaknesses of the international monetary system is that the surplus countries of continental Europe have not accepted financial responsibility to match their financial power. The Amendment to the Fund Agreement gives them more responsibility than they had, but not more than they should have.

If all of the Common Market countries were to vote as a bloc they could veto an increase in Fund quota. As a practical matter they always could make any increases in quotas ineffective by merely refusing to accept an increase in their own quotas—a provision of the Bretton Woods Agreement. Without more of their currencies, an increase in quotas would be meaningless because the Fund would not be able to finance larger drawings.

The international monetary system has gone through an evolution that has now made it possible to provide adequate reserves for the world economy without being affected by the uncertainties of gold production, gold hoarding, and gold speculation. The SDRs are an essential step in this evolution. I am confident that they will provide more reserves, and in the form of true reserve assets, than could possibly have been provided in the form of reserve credit through increases in Fund quotas. Our immediate objective should be to activate the SDRs.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I want to record my vigorous and wholehearted support for the pending bill to provide for U.S. participation in the facility based on special drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund. In my opinion, passage of this legislation is essential to the orderly expansion of world trade, to the economic growth of the participating nations and to the stability of the dollar. Indeed, the only reservation I have is that the plan to create SDR's essentially is a conservative measure which falls short of what I believe should be achieved in improving the world monetary system and providing sufficient international liquidity.

At the same time, I have nothing but praise for those American officials who participated in the joint effort to negotiate a scheme almost certainly as ambitious as any plan could be which had to be made acceptable to a minimum of 65 member-nations in the IMF. Treasury Secretary Fowler and Federal Reserve Chairman Martin head the list of those who have represented the United States in a very long and arduous negotiating process. But special mention should also be made of Under Secretary of the Treasury Frederick Deming, Federal Reserve Governor J. Dewey Daane and the U.S. Executive Director in the Fund, William Dale; these gentlemen carried out in an exemplary way for many months the daily task of hammering out answers to a host of tough questions. Beyond that, additional confidence in the handling of these negotiations was generated in our country by the formation in July 1965 of the Advisory Committee on International Monetary Arrangements under the chairmanship of former Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon, and with the participation of eight of the most prominent economists and financiers in American life. And let us not forget that this plan represents roughly 5 years of intensive thought and effort by a great number of experts from other countries, as well as the United States.

A second point I wish to make concerns the unusually extensive and profound interest shown by the U.S. Congress in this subject, dating back to the first moves to reform the monetary system. I have long taken a close personal interest in these matters, both as the former chairman of the International Finance Subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, and currently as a member of the Economic and Social Policy and the International Organization Affairs Subcommittees of the Foreign Relations Committee. Indeed, when the Congress acted in 1965 to accept increased quotas in the IMF I took the occasion to add supplemental views to emphasize my agreement with the Committee report and to go further, stating as forcefully as I could the need to push urgently for a strengthening of the international monetary system.

We certainly were not alone in our advocacy of this cause in the Congress—quite the contrary. The House Banking and Currency Committee in April of 1965 was urging the administration in the same direction. Most important, the Joint Economic Committee—with a special contribution being made by its Subcommittee on International Exchange and Payments—in August of the same year set forth guidelines which were employed in helping develop the U.S. position in the negotiations for the SDR plan. Contact has been maintained with such congressional units and individuals at various times during the lengthy talks, and particularly before the outline plan was approved at the Rio de Janerio meeting last September.

Throughout this whole process the attitude on all sides has been one of nonpartisanship. This was illustrated in the House by the overwhelmingly favorable vote of 236 to 15 on the pending bill. Here in the Senate it is highly significant that the first testimony favorable to H.R. 16911 printed in the Foreign Relations Committee hearing record came from Senator BENNETT, of Utah, ranking Republican member of the Banking and Currency Committee. And I should add my appreciation of the fact that the chairman of that committee, the distinguished junior Senator from Alabama, is also the ranking Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee; this continues the fortunate association between the two committees formerly maintained by the junior Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. President, I believe the only measurable opposition to this bill comes from those who have a financial or ideological stake in trying to reestablish the once paramount position of gold in the world monetary system. We surely had our fill of such advice back in the Great Depression, and will not again turn to the alchemists for guidance.

In keeping with the bipartisan spirit which has marked the progress of H.R. 16911 to date, I will close by quoting some of the remarks of former Treasury Secretary Dillon, who stated:

> I have no hesitation in saying that the agreement that has been reached on Special Drawing Rights is a monumental step forward of the greatest significance. It removes a serious threat to the Free World's ability to continue the remarkable prosperity of the last twenty years. . . .
>
> With the establishment of SDR's the Free World will no longer be dependent on insufficient supplies of newly mined gold and haphazard deficits in the U.S. balance of payments for the needed growth in reserves. It will now be possible to manage the required growth in world reserves in an orderly and sensible fashion by international decisions supported by . . . nearly all major countries. . . .
>
> . . . Our own future is inextricably bound up with the health of the world's economy. Since the continued economic growth of the Free World is dependent upon the successful conclusion of the SDR arrangement, its prompt ratification is directly in our own interest, in the interest of all the people of the United States.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, as one who has fought for many years for international monetary reform as a ranking Republican member of the Joint Economic Committee and as a member of the U.S. delegation when the IMF Board approved the SDR agreement in September 1967 in Rio de Janeiro. I am pleased to support enactment of this bill which would provide for U.S. participation in the facility based on special drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund.

While the SDR's may not be the perfect solution for the ills of the system it represents the first concrete step toward the establishment of a system which is based on a rational, systematic creation of international reserves. The world economy has suffered from the existing system long after it became obvious that existing reserves were not going to be adequate especially the gold component.

I do not think it is necessary for me to summarize my position on the question of international monetary reform here. That is a matter of record. The devaluation of the pound, the gold rush and questions with regards to the confidence in the dollar abroad have clearly shown that the international monetary system had to be reformed.

It is essential that the SDR's be activated at the earliest opportunity so that expanding economic growth may be accommodated around the world and to prevent protectionist and restrictive measures that could come from any future shortage of international reserves.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the Foreign Relations Committee has reported the special drawing rights proposal without opposition. Since this committee has the responsibility of dealing with international political developments and since the SDR's may fall into such a category, I will honor the committee's decision by voting favorably. However, as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee and the International Finance Subcommittee, I must record the reservation which I have regarding the so-called paper gold and the present dilemma confronting the dollar and the world monetary system.

Developments over the last 7 or 8 months have made it painfully clear that the U.S. dollar and the global monetary system are in their deepest crisis since the early thirties.

Since the British pound sterling devaluation in November 1967, confidence in the dollar has been severely shaken. It was expected that the sterling devaluation would temporarily upset the world's exchanges, but few expected that the devaluation would create such violent reactions against the dollar—disrupting the very foundation of the world monetary system.

The great debate as to how the world's monetary system should be repaired somehow seems to be overlooking the basic underlying causes of the system's difficulties.

It is most interesting to observe the collective reactions of our country's official financial experts to this present situation. Instead of casting blame on a record of reckless fiscal and monetary practices, we find a growing desire to doubt the system itself. I must challenge such attempts to misplace the responsibility.

I believe the gold standard has proven to be the strongest and most equitable international monetary system in the history of the world. Unfortunately, because this country's monetary managers have disregarded built-in disciplines of the system, we now find ourselves in a critical financial situation.

The acceleration of the dollar's immediate difficulties began during 1964 when the administration attempted to turn a booming economy into what some observers now term as a "super boom." The 1964 tax cut, coupled with relatively easy credit practices, placed an undue strain on the economy.

Three subsequent moves from early 1965 until the pound devaluation in November of 1967 exerted tremendous pressures on the dollar and the international monetary system.

First. In 1965, with Vietnam war costs rapidly escalating, the administration chose to expand rather than to curtail its domestic spending. Cash outlays increased at an annual rate of over $45 billion—domestic spending accounting for roughly 50 percent of the enormous increases.

Second. Federal deficits contributed $20 billion more to an already boiling economy setting off the worst round of price inflation experienced in years.

Finally. In 1967, the Nation underwent a credit expansion resulting in an increase of 15 percent in the Nation's money and credit supply.

These accelerating inflationary pressures at home have triggered alarming difficulties in our balance of payments. The self-reinforcing wage and price spiral automatically discourages exports and increases imports.

In the past, foreign financial circles were hesitant to question the stability of the dollar as long as we managed to maintain a surplus status in the U.S. trade balances. However, the United States has experienced a sharp deterioration in this particular account which began gradually during the later part of 1964. In that year, this Nation's trade surplus reached almost $7 billion, the highest level since 1947. But, from 1964 to 1967, U.S. exports expanded by a modest 14 percent while U.S. imports sky rocketed 37 percent—the commercial trade surplus fell to less than $4.5 billion.

Furthermore, in the first quarter of this year, imports ran at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of $32 billion, and annual exports at a rate of $31 billion—only a $1 billion surplus. Also it must be pointed out that during March of this year this country experienced a trade deficit, not surplus, of $157.7 million—the first month trade deficit in 5 years.

Recently, Barron's, the highly respected national business and financial newspaper, carried an article projecting a 1968 "commercial" trade deficit for the United States in excess of $1 billion.

Barron's went on to say:

> Such a development would come as a considerable shock to the international financial community whose confidence in the dollar has been supported by the fact that the U.S. has consistently shown export surpluses.

By overheating an already booming economy, the dollar is being hurt in two ways—imports are sucked in at a tremendous clip while higher prices are causing losses of markets for U.S. exports.

Devaluation of the pound acted as the catalyst that finally set off an explosive round of worldwide monetary speculation. The events that followed have been hectic to say the least.

The United States and the various gold pool countries provided over $3 billion in gold to meet the demands. In the process, Congress was called upon to pass legislation to remove the 25-percent gold backing of the dollar—this move, according to the Treasury Department, would demonstrate to the world that the United States was prepared to defend the dollar to its last ounce of metal reserves, thereby discouraging further speculation. This measure did barely pass in both Houses of Congress—but within hours after passage, the "gold rush" had become so frantic that the President of the United States was compelled to call the British Prime Minister and ask him to suspend trading in the London Gold Market for an indefinite period until the crisis could be resolved.

That weekend the finance ministers of the various European nations flew into Washington to discuss the critical situation with Treasury Secretary Fowler and other monetary officials. The meeting resulted in the creation of the "two-tiered" gold system whereby the present gold price of $35 an ounce would be maintained by all nations in their official dealings with each other; but with a free gold market also permitted for all other transactions in gold.

Meanwhile, the U.S. gold reserves have continued to decline. Since the establishment of the two-priced system in mid-March, we have lost another quarter of a billion dollars worth of gold.

Secretary of the Treasury Fowler recently advised us that the two-tiered system would last for decades. Under Secretary Frederick Deming outdid Fowler by predicting that it would last "till hell freezes over." I beg to differ with the Secretary and the Under Secretary—never has the world's monetary system been so exposed. Never before has there been a barometer of our actions so open to the public—so reactive to the forces of the marketplace.

It seems obvious to most veteran financial observers that as the free market price of gold rises, dollar convertibility becomes questionable. And as the price of the free market gold rises, the confidence in the dollar as a unit falls.

Drastic pressure was placed on the dollar as the free gold price reached the $40 level—with many economists believing that a $45 price would bring about a forced dollar devaluation. Negative developments in the war, further rioting in our cities, unfavorable news in U.S. fiscal circles—virtually any bad news could set off another flurry of speculation that would drive the "free" market price to and past the $45 danger level.

Another factor that threatens to disrupt the two-priced system is South Africa's policy of not selling its gold production on the "free" market. The South Africans supply almost 80 percent of the non-Communist world's demand for gold. Many believe it is only a matter of weeks before the "free" market will be unable to meet both the industrial and speculative demands for gold. I have been advised that South Africa will be able to continue this policy for at least 5 months before substantially suffering in their balance of payments.

The proposed creation of a new reserve asset called "special drawing rights" or "paper gold" received renewed interest at a meeting of financial ministers in Stockholm shortly after the March gold panic.

Special drawing rights are proposed as a vehicle to increase world liquidity for the purpose of expanding international trade and ultimately reduce the need for gold in the global monetary system. The SDR's or "paper gold" now seem to be presented at times as a blank check with which nations may meet their commitments. The implication has been that the SDR's will circulate as freely as gold. The fact is, central banks are willing to accumulate gold in unlimited quantities, whereas they insist on the right to limit their commitment to accept "paper gold." The agreement imposes a limit of twice the amount of their initial allocation. In other words, if a country is allocated $50 million in "paper gold" by the International Monetary Fund, it need not accept more "paper gold" from other nations in excess of $100 million.

Consider the amount the SDR's represent. The United States will be entitled to 24.6 percent of the total International Monetary Fund quota. If, as expected, $1 billion is authorized for the fund, then the United States will have roughly $245 million worth of "paper gold." If the decision were to activate $2 billion in SDR's, then the United States would have approximately $490 million in "paper gold." Neither figure is sufficient when viewed in the environment of a commercial balance-of-payments deficit of $157.7 million which the United States experienced during March alone.

Another consideration is the timing for the introduction of the special drawing rights—activation would result only after the United States and the United Kingdom have firmly established equilibrium in balance of payments and/or when a de facto condition of world illiquidity is imminent. Concerning the first qualification, we have already considered the U.S. dilemma in this area of balance of payments. Regarding the second SDR condition, a lack of liquidity, I believe the real problem is a lack of confidence in the reserve currency units, the pound and the dollar. This situation will not be altered by the introduction of special drawing rights.

Those who have placed a great deal of confidence in the special drawing rights may be in for a sizable disappointment. The new medium of exchange has received considerable praise by its proponents but more especially by the U.S Treasury Department. But, lest we forget, no monetary instrument is any stronger than the currency it represents.

The SDR's are tied to gold, expressed in terms of gold, and will only be issued to the various members of the IMF in relation to the amount of gold they have previously deposited with the IMF.

Fortune magazine states in its June issue that we can supplement gold as an international reserve asset, but we cannot supplant it. The structure of the present international monetary system is built upon gold—gold is mentioned explicitly in 10 of the 20 International Monetary Fund's articles of agreement, and in three of the five appended schedules to that agreement.

To say the least we have a long and tedious period ahead before the special drawing rights even begin to function as initially planned. Already the United States has had to make a major concession to the Common Market countries allowing them a powerful veto right over ordinary International Monetary Fund quota increases. This development has shifted world monetary power still further toward Europe and away from the United States.

I am afraid that we have engaged in the game of semantics to create a status quo at the expense of fundamental backing.

In conclusion, Mr. President, mistakes, then, have led to the present situation; lack of understanding has given it greater proportions; and avoidance of responsibility is resulting in crisis. The true question is whether or not responsible men will accept their obligations, define the problem, and come to action; or whether they will be forced to crisis action from the exposure to undue pressure of the two-priced gold system and its effects on confidence in the dollar. We will fail if we do not have the courage to accept responsibility. We will succeed if we understand what results inaction brings. Proposals such as the special drawing rights are in no way a substitute for effective monetary and fiscal policies. We can no longer substitute words for action. Any action that attempts to buy time must pay something for that time. The payment is deterioration of the system's basic fundamentals. Will the problem be settled in the marketplace or will the administration attempt to accomplish an organized and understood solution?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 16911) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION AUTHORIZATION ACT, 1969

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate turn to the consideration of Calendar No. 1119, H.R. 15856. I do this so that the bill may be the pending business on Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 15856) to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration:

(a) For "Research and deveolpment," for the following programs:

(1) Apollo, $2,025,000,000;
(2) Apollo applications, $350,000,000;
(3) Advanced missions, $2,500,000;
(4) Physics and astronomy, $136,900,000;
(5) Lunar and planetary exploration, $92,300,000;
(6) Bioscience, $39,300,000;
(7) Space applications, $98,700,000;
(8) Launch vehicle procurement, $117,700,000;
(9) Sustaining university program, $9,000,000;
(10) Space vehicle systems, $31,800,000;
(11) Electronics systems, $35,500,000;
(12) Human factor systems, $19,700,000;
(13) Basic research, $21,000,000;
(14) Space power and electric propulsion systems, $42,300,000;
(15) Nuclear rockets, $55,000,000;
(16) Chemical propulsion, $30,200,000;
(17) Aeronautical vehicles, $74,900,000;
(18) Tracking and data acquisition, $289,800,000;
(19) Technology utilization, $3,800,000.

(b) For "Construction of facilities," including land acquisitions, as follows:

(1) Ames Research Center, Moffett Field, California, $386,000;
(2) John F. Kennedy Space Center, NASA, Kennedy Space Center, Florida, $12,109,000;
(3) Manned Spacecraft Center, Houston, Texas, $1,500,000;
(4) Michoud Assembly Facility, New Orleans and Slidell, Louisiana, $400,000;
(5) Wallops Station, Wallops Island, Virginia, $500,000;
(6) Various locations, $23,705,000;
(7) Facility planning and design not otherwise provided for, $1,000,000.

(c) For "Administrative operations," $635,560,000.

(d) Appropriations for "Research and development" may be used (1) for any items of a capital nature (other than acquisition of land) which may be required for the performance of research and development contracts, and (2) for grants to nonprofit institutions of higher education, or to nonprofit organizations whose primary purpose is the conduct of scientific research, for purchase or construction of additional research facilities; and title to such facilities shall be vested in the United States unless the Administrator determines that the national program of aeronautical and space activities will best be served by vesting title in any such grantee institution or organization. Each such grant shall be made under such conditions as the Administrator shall determine to be required to insure that the United States will receive therefrom benefit adequate to justify the making of that grant. None of the funds appropriated for "Research and development" pursuant to this Act may be used for construction of any major facility, the estimated cost of which, including collateral equipment, exceeds $250,000, unless the Administrator or his designee has notified the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate and the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences of the Senate of the nature, location, and estimated cost of such facility.

(e) When so specified in an appropriation Act, (1) any amount appropriated for "Research and development" or for "Construction of facilities" may remain available without fiscal year limitation, and (2) maintenance and operation of facilities, and support services contracts may be entered into under the "Administrative operations" appropriation for periods not in excess of twelve months beginning at any time during the fiscal year.

(f) Appropriations made pursuant to subsection 1(c) may be used, but not to exceed $35,000, for scientific consultations or extraordinary expenses upon the approval or authority of the Administrator and his determination shall be final and conclusive upon the accounting officers of the Government.

(g) No part of the funds appropriated pursuant to subsection 1(c) for maintenance, repairs, alterations, and minor construction shall be used for the construction of any new facility the estimated cost of which, including collateral equipment, exceeds $100,000.

SEC. 2. Authorization is hereby granted whereby any of the amounts prescribed in paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), and (6) of subsection 1(b) may, in the discretion of the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, be varied upward 5 per centum to meet unusual cost variations, but the total cost of all work authorized under such paragraphs shall not exceed the total of the amounts specified in such paragraphs.

SEC. 3. Not to exceed one-half of 1 per centum of the funds appropriated pursuant to subsection 1(a) hereof may be transferred to the "Construction of facilities" appropriations, and, when so transferred, together with $10,000,000 of the funds appropriated pursuant to subsection 1(b) hereof (other than funds appropriated pursuant to paragraph (7) of such subsection) shall be available for expenditure to construct, expand, or modify laboratories and other installations at any location (including locations specified in subsection 1(b)), if (1) the Administrator determines such action to be necessary because of changes in the national program of aeronautical and space activities or new scientific or engineering developments, and (2) he determines that deferral of such action until the enactment of the next authorization Act would be inconsistent with the interest of the Nation in aeronautical and space activities. The funds so made available may be expended to acquire, construct, convert, rehabilitate, or install permanent or temporary public works, including land acquisition, site preparation, appurtenances, utilities, and equipment. No portion of such sums may be obligated for expenditure or expended to construct, expand, or modify laboratories and other installations unless (A) a period of thirty days has passed after the Administrator or his designee has transmited to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the President of the Senate and to the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the House of Representatives and to the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences of the Senate a written report containing a full and complete statement concerning (1) the nature of such construction, expansion, or modification, (2) the cost thereof including the cost of any real estate action pertaining thereto, and (3) the reason why such construction, expansion, or modification is necessary in the national interest, or (B) each such committee before the expiration of such period has transmitted to the Administrator written notice to the effect that such committee has no objection to the proposed action.

SEC. 4. Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act—

(1) no amount appropriated pursuant to this Act may be used for any program deleted by the Congress from requests as originally made to either the House Committee on Science and Astronautics or the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences,

(2) no amount appropriated pursuant to this Act may be used for any program in excess of the amount actually authorized for that particular program by sections 1(a) and 1(c), and

(3) no amount appropriated pursuant to this Act may be used for any program which has not been presented to or requested of either such committee,

unless (A) a period of thirty days has passed after the receipt by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate and each such committee of notice given by the Administrator or his designee containing a full and complete statement of the action proposed to be taken and the facts and circumstances relied upon in support of such proposed action, or (B) each such committee before the expiration of such period has transmitted to the Administrator written notice to the effect that such committee has no objection to the proposed action.

SEC. 5. (a) No part of the funds appropriated pursuant to this Act shall be available for the payment of any salary of an individual convicted by any Federal, State, or local court of competent jurisdiction of—

(1) inciting a riot or civil disorder;

(2) organizing, promoting, encouraging, or participating in a riot or civil disorder;

(3) aiding or abetting any person in committing any offense specified in clause (1) or (2); or

(4) any offense determined by the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to have been committed in furtherance of, or while participating in, a riot or civil disorder;

if the offense for which he is convicted is a felony. Any such individual holding a position in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on the date his conviction becomes final shall be removed from such position.

(b) For the purposes of this section, "felony" means any offense for which imprisonment is authorized for a term exceeding one year.

(c) The provisions of subsection (a) shall apply only with respect to acts referred to in clauses (1)–(4) which are committed after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 6. It is the sense of the Congress that it is in the national interest that consideration be given to geographical distribution of Federal research funds whenever feasible, and that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration should explore ways and means of distributing its research and development funds whenever feasible.

SEC. 7. This Act may be cited as the "National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act, 1969."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there will be no debate or discussion on the NASA authorization bill, which is now the pending business, until Monday next.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1968

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next, June 10.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, and he announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts and joint resolution:

On June 4, 1968:

S. 126. An act for the relief of Pedro Antonio Julio Sanchez;

S. 561. An act to authorize the appropriation of funds for Cape Hatteras National Seashore;

S. 1040. An act for the relief of certain employees of the Department of the Navy;

S. 2409. An act for the relief of the estate of Josiah K. Lilly; and

S.J. Res. 168. Joint resolution to authorize the temporary funding of the Emergency Credit Revolving Fund.

On June 5, 1968:

S. 233. An act for the relief of Chester E. Davis; and

S. 1052. An act for the relief of Nicholas S. Cvetan, U.S. Air Force (retired).

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

Report of Overobligation of an Appropriation

A letter from the Administrator, Veterans' Administration, reporting, pursuant to law a violation which involved the appropriation 3660160 medical care, VA, for fiscal year 1966; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Report on Strategic and Critical Materials Stockpiling Program

A letter from the Director, Office of Emergency Planning, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, the semiannual report to the Congress on the strategic and critical materials stockpiling program for the period July 1 to December 31, 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Report of Proposed Air National Guard Facilities Projects

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of certain facilities projects proposed to be undertaken for the Air National Guard (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

Proposed Transfer of Submarine "Cambrilla" to U.S. Submarine Veterans World War II–Texas, Inc.

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Installations and Logistics, transmitting, pursuant to law, a notice of the proposed transfer by the Navy of the submarine *Cabrilla* (AGSS0288) to the U.S. Submarine Veterans World War II–Texas, Inc. (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Armed Services.

Report on Department of Defense Procurement From Small and Other Business Firms

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics) transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Department of Defense procurement from small and other business firms for July 1967–March 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Reports of Comptroller General

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the opportunity to improve U.S. balance of payments through an increased agricultural barter program, Department of Agriculture, Department of State, Department of the Treasury, Bureau of the Budget, dated May 29, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the need to increase competition in procurements of anthracite coal by the U.S. Army for use in Europe, dated June 4, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

Padre Island National Seashore in the State of Texas

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the appropriation of funds for Padre Island National Seashore in the State of Texas, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Disposition of Funds Appropriated To Pay Judgments in Favor of the Seminole Tribe of Oklahoma

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the disposition of funds appropriated to pay judgments in favor of the Seminole Tribe of Oklahoma in dockets Nos. 150 and 248 of the Indian Claims Commission, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Feasibility Investigations of Certain Water Resource Developments

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to engage in feasibility investigations of certain water resource developments (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Third Preference and Sixth Preference Classifications for Certain Aliens

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, reports relating to third preference and sixth preference and classifications for certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Admission Into the United States of Certain Defector Aliens

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders entered granting admission into the United States of certain defector aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Temporary Admission Into the United States of Certain Aliens

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders entered granting temporary admission into the United States of certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Suspension of Deportation of Certain Aliens

Two letters from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders suspending deportation of certain aliens, together with a statement of facts and pertinent provisions of law pertaining to each alien, and the reasons for ordering such suspension (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Report of Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, Inc.

A letter from the Executive Director, Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, Inc., the second annual report of the Joint Commission, covering the period April 1, 1967 through March 31, 1968 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Report of Postmaster General

A letter from the Postmaster General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a cost ascertainment report for the fiscal year 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDING OFFICER:

A resolution adopted by the board of supervisors, Madera County, Calif., praying for the enactment of legislation relating to the liberalization of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Finance.

A resolution adopted by the board of supervisors, Yolo County, Calif., praying for the enactment of legislation relating to the liberalization of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Finance.

The resolution of Clifford Yerks, Jr., of New York, N.Y., praying for the enactment of House bill 11308, relating to the National Endowment for the Arts; ordered to lie on the table.

A resolution adopted by the Virginia Grand Lodge of the Order of Sons of Italy in America, relating to Presidential appointments; ordered to lie on the table.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. TALMADGE, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, without amendment:

H.R. 16674. An act to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act and the Farm Credit Act of 1933, as amended, to improve the capitalization of Federal intermediate credit banks and production credit associations, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1166).

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. ELLENDER:

S. 3590. A bill to provide permanent legislation for maintaining farm income, stabilizing prices, and assuring adequate supplies of agricultural commodities; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See the remarks of Mr. Ellender when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CARLSON:

S. 3591. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to compensate dealers for the amount of Federal excise tax paid on gasoline lost by leakage or spillage; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 3592. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ali A. K. Mebed; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JACKSON (by request):

S. 3593. A bill to designate the Mount Baldy Wilderness, the Pine Mountain Wilderness, and the Sycamore Canyon Wilderness within certain national forests in the State of Arizona; and

S. 3594. A bill to designate certain lands in the Island Bay, Cedar Keys, Passage Key National Wildlife Refuges in Florida, the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge in Georgia, and certain lands in the Petrified Forest National Park in Arizona as wilderness; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(See the remarks of Mr. Jackson when he introduced the above bills, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. McGOVERN:

S. 3595. A bill for the relief of Miguel Apaza; and

S. 3596. A bill for the relief of Lawrence W. Brink; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

S. 3597. A bill for the relief of Yip Muk Kan, Chung Sit Chow, Pong Chun Siu, and Chan Siu Sin;

S. 3598. A bill for the relief of Stefanos Kampas; and

S. 3599. A bill for the relief of Dr. Camilo C. Balacuit, Jr., and his wife, Norma P. Balacuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAGNUSON (by request):

S. 3600. A bill to repeal the laws authorizing limitation of shipowners' liability for personal injury or death;

S. 3601. A bill to amend the last sentence of section 201(b) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, and for other purposes;

S. 3602. A bill to limit the liability of shipowners, and for other purposes; and

S. 3603. A bill to amend section 502 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, relating to construction-differential subsidies; to the Committee on Commerce.

(See the remarks of Mr. Magnuson when he introduced the first three above-mentioned bills, which appear under separate headings.)

S. 3590—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO BE KNOWN AS THE "AGRICULTURAL ACT OF 1968"—NOTICE OF HEARINGS

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I introduce a bill which extends the 1965 Food and Agriculture Act for 4 years except that title I, which authorizes a class I base plan for milk is extended on a permanent basis. The bill also includes title II of S. 2973, the so-called Farm Bargaining Act. A number of very minor changes are made in the 1965 act.

The Committee on Agriculture and Forestry also wishes to announce that hearings will be held on the Proposed Agricultural Act of 1968 beginning June 24, 1968.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Record at this point a short explanation of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the explanation will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 3590) to provide permanent legislation for maintaining farm income, stabilizing prices, and assuring adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, introduced by Mr. Ellender, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The explanation, presented by Mr. Ellender, is as follows:

Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry—Staff Explanation of the Proposed Agricultural Act of 1968

This bill would—

(1) extend the authority for Class I milk base plans permanently;

(2) extend the other provisions of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 for four years, with minor amendments;

(3) amend the marketing order law in a number of respects, including provision for collective bargaining.

DEVELOPMENT OF BILL

The Committee held hearings on April 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, and 24 on the Farm Program and Farm Bargaining. All witnesses who desired to be heard, including the Department of Agriculture, were heard. All proposals were considered carefully and the proposed Agricultural Act of 1968 was developed from those which appeared to have general support and constitute substantial improvement of the program.

TITLE-BY-TITLE OUTLINE

Title I extends authority for Class I *milk* base plans without change.

Title II extends the current *feed grain* program; permits payments in cash, as well as kind, and provides for cancellation of payment in kind certificates held by Commodity Credit Corporation on September 30, 1968.

Title III extends the current *cotton* program (including authority for transfer of allotments), but amends it—

(1) to permit farms that participate in the diversion program but plant no cotton to divert up to 35 percent of their original allotments and lease the balance;

(2) to permit transfer of that part of the allotment apportioned to the farm from the national acreage reserve;

(3) to repeal the requirement for filing allotment transfers between June 1 and December 31;

(4) to give the Secretary discretion as to the amount of export market acreage within the 250,000 acre maximum (rather than

have it fixed by statute in relation to carryover reduction); and

(5) to permit a producer having export market acreage to export other cotton in lieu of that grown on his farm.

Title IV extends the current *wheat* program with the following changes:

(1) To conform to the method of computing county projected yields, farm projected yields would be computed on a five-year (instead of three-year) base.

(2) The cost of certificates to processors could be increased above 75 cents by the amount by which the parity price increased over the parity price as of July 1, 1969.

(3) The support price announced as early as May 1 would not be subject to change because of difference between the actual July 1 parity price and that estimated by the Secretary.

Title V extends the National *Wool* Act of 1954 without change.

Title VI extends the *Cropland Adjustment Program* with changes—

(1) permitting payment of expenses to members of the Advisory Board on Wildlife; and

(2) permitting the Secretary unilaterally and after ample public notice to terminate future cropland adjustment contracts when such action is in the public interest.

Title VII extends the provision requiring a *rice* diversion program whenever the national acreage allotment is less than that for 1965.

Title VIII contains *miscellaneous* provisions—

(1) extending authority to lease tobacco allotments;

(2) restricting the reduction in State or county projected yields from year to year to not more than 5 percent; and

(3) extending the current exemption of peanuts for boiling from marketing quotas.

Title IX makes a number of *amendments of the marketing order law*. It is identical to title II of S. 2973, except for division into sections, insertion of section headings, and exception of cotton, wheat, corn, grain sorghums, barley, rye, oats, rice, forest products, soybeans, tobacco, and peanuts, and their products from collective bargaining provisions. It would—

(1) extend marketing order authority to any agricultural commodity or product thereof (except a canned or frozen product), and exempt any commodity or product from current exceptions and processor or other approval requirements, if the Secretary determines by referendum that a majority of the affected producers approve such extension;

(2) provide that where a milk marketing order provides a "method for fixing" minimum prices, that method will be by collective bargaining;

(3) provide for regulation of commodities other than milk by "species, or other classification" as well as "grade, size, or quality";

(4) authorize orders for commodities other than milk providing for establishing by collective bargaining minimum prices, terms and conditions (including above-parity prices);

(5) provide for producer allotments;

(6) provide for producer advisory committees; and

(7) provide for assessments against producers in the case of orders providing for bargaining or producer allotments.

S. 3593 AND S. 3594—INTRODUCTION OF BILLS RELATING TO WILDERNESS LEGISLATION

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, by request, I introduce, for appropriate reference, two bills recommended to Congress by President Johnson to designate eight new areas as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System.

One of these bills would designate the Mount Baldy Wilderness, the Pine Mountain Wilderness, and the Sycamore Canyon Wilderness in certain national forests in the State of Arizona.

The other proposal would designate certain lands under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior in Island Bay, Cedar Keys, and Passage Key National Wildlife Refuges in Florida, the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge in Georgia, and the Petrified Forest National Park, as part of the wilderness system.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bills will be received and appropriately referred.

The bills, introduced by Mr. Jackson, by request, were received, read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, as follows:

S. 3593. A bill to designate the Mount Baldy Wilderness, the Pine Mountain Wilderness, and the Sycamore Canyon Wilderness within certain National Forests in the State of Arizona; and

S. 3594. A bill to designate certain lands in the Island Bay, Cedar Keys, Passage Key National Wildlife Refuges in Florida, the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge in Georgia, and certain lands in the Petrified Forest National Park in Arizona as wilderness.

S. 3600—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO REPEAL LAWS AUTHORIZING LIMITATION OF SHIPOWNERS' LIABILITY FOR PERSONAL INJURY OR DEATH

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I introduce, at the request of the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Transportation, a bill to repeal the laws authorizing limitation of shipowners' liability for personal injury or death.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks the letter to the Vice President from the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Transportation transmitting his proposed legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and without objection, the letter will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 3600) to repeal the laws authorizing limitation of shipowners' liability for personal injury or death, introduced by Mr. Magnuson, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The letter, presented by Mr. Magnuson, is as follows:

The Secretary of Transportation,
Washington, D.C., December 14, 1967.

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey,
President of the Senate,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Vice President: We submit for the consideration of the Congress, a bill "To repeal the laws authorizing limitation of shipowners' liability for personal injury or death."

Under existing law shipowners can limit their liability for injury or death to passengers, crew members and other persons or for loss of or damage to cargo if the act causing such injury, death, loss or damage occurred without the privity or knowledge of the owner. The amount to which such owners can limit their liability under existing law is the value of the vessel after the incident plus pending revenue, but if in the case of a seagoing vessel the portion of this amount applicable to personal injury and death losses is less than 60 dollars per ton of the ship's tonnage, such portion must be increased to equal 60 dollars per ton of the ship's tonnage.

The attached draft bill would repeal the provisions of existing law which permit shipowners to limit their liability for the death and injury of passengers, crew members and other persons, while leaving in effect the existing liability limits for loss or damage to cargo. This will remove existing inequities and bring maritime liability into the mainstream of the prevailing liability policies of the United States.

Specifically, the draft bill would delete subsection 183(b) of title 46, United States Code, which is the subsection providing the 60 dollar per ton limit of liability of the owner of a seagoing vessel for personal injury or death. Subsection 183(a) would be amended to provide that the general limitation provisions apply only in the case of damage to or loss of cargo. Subsections (c), (d), and (e) of section 183 would be deleted since they refer exclusively to the limitation for personal injury and death in subsection 183(b), which is to be deleted.

Subsection 183(f) presently qualifies the meaning of "sea-going vessel" as it is used in sections 183(b), 183(c), 183(d), 183(e), and 183 b. Since section 183 (b)–(e) would be deleted by this draft bill, the substance of section 183(f) would be transferred to section 183 b, to which exclusively it would apply, and is denominated section 183 b (d).

Finally, 46 U.S.C. 189, which provides for a proration of liability among several owners of a vessel, would be amended to reflect that an individual shipowner's liability with respect to injury or loss of life would be unlimited.

During the 19th Century, the maritime industry was still a hazardous one and had become extremely competitive. As a fledgling industry most operations were marginal and the loss of one vessel without some low liability limit could very well spell ruin for most shipowners. At that time, insurance as a means of spreading the risk had not developed sufficiently to meet the then existing hazards. As a result, many maritime nations permitted a vessel owner to limit his liability to his investment in a particular vessel and voyage. American courts refused to permit comparable limitations in the absence of a statute. These rulings were felt to place the American vessel owner at a disadvantage compared to his foreign counterpart. This situation prompted Congressional action in 1851.

The 1851 legislation limited the vessel owner's liability for all damage, including personal injuries and death, to the value of the vessel after the incident plus any freight that was pending. The economic loss of passengers was not really taken into consideration in this legislation, the purpose of which was to provide economic protection to the maritime industry.

It was not until 1934 and the S.S. MORRO CASTLE disaster that the patent inequities and harshness of the original limitation was brought to the public's attention. In that disaster, the vessel was gutted by fire and 134 people were killed. The vessel owner established a limitation of $20,000 the value of the burned hull. Had the hull been a total loss, the vessel owner would have been absolved from all liability at the expense of the injured and surviving dependents of those killed. Congress reacted to this situation by enacting the 1935 amendments to the limitation legislation in order to provide for a more equitable balancing of passenger-industry interests.

The 1935 amendments, among other things, provided for a minimum liability equal to $60.00 per ton multiplied by the tonnage of the vessel. While the statute applied to "any seagoing vessel," the 1936 amendments, among other things, specified that "any seagoing vessel" did not "include pleasure yachts, tugs, towboats, towing vessels, tank vessels, fishing vessels or their tenders, self-propelled lighters, nondescript self-propelled vessels, canal boats, scows, car floats, barges, lighters, or nondescript non-self-propelled vessels, even though the same may be seagoing vessels within the meaning of such term as used in section 188" of title 46. Section 188 was enacted in 1886 and extended the coverage of the original limitation statute to inland waters.

The 1935 amendments applicable to personal injuries provided little additional protection. If a vessel of 5,000 tons were totally destroyed and 100 passengers were killed and injured, there would be only $300,000 available to meet the resulting claims, or an average of $3,000 per person, under existing law.

In 1965, this fact situation materialized with the sinking of the *Yarmouth Castle*. As of April 1, 1966, there were approximately ten million dollars in filed claims, which have increased to approximately sixty million dollars in 1967. While the ultimate recovery is usually lower than that contained in the initial filing, the figures illustrate the disparity between the economic and emotional loss resulting from a maritime catastrophe and the maximum limit of the shipowner's liability.

Such results are impossible to justify especially since the past rationale for a limitation, a fledgling maritime industry and a developing insurance industry, no longer exists. The maritime industry today is well established. It is also a less hazardous industry and insurance can be effectively utilized to spread the risks which remain.

Unlimited liability usually applies to pleasure craft owners because these owners are on board and control the operations of their vessels. However, certain courts have devised a very narrow concept of control and have applied the limitation to pleasure craft accidents. In the latter instances or where the owner is not aboard, the value of the vessel after the incident has been applied as the maximum limit of the owner's liability.

This application of the limitation legislation is primarily the result of its piecemeal development. In 1886, as previously mentioned, the original legislation was extended to inland shipping as well as seagoing vessels. The 1936 amendments, however, providing for the $60 per ton minimum fund were specifically limited to "seagoing vessels," which by the same amendment excluded many types of craft. As a result, the excluded vessels remained subject to the original limitation which was the value of the vessel after the incident. What originally had some rational foundation when applied to commercial enterprises during their formative years can now be an opportunity to avoid responsibility when applied to pleasure craft. Our increasing concern is accentuated by the high accident rate for pleasure craft. For example, in 1966 over 4.3, thousand boating accidents resulted in 1,318 deaths and 1,555 injuries.

The proposed legislation would do away with these anomalies and would bring maritime liability more in line with the existing public policy relating to personal injuries. For example, a minority of the states have statutory wrongful death limitations. Recent years have seen the repeal of such statutes in some states and the courts are moving in the direction of restrictive application of these statutes. The existing federal wrongful death statutes contain no limitations and are premised upon proving one's actual damage. Personal injuries and death, with the exception of international air accidents, are subject to no limitation. By virtue of an agreement modifying the widely adopted Warsaw Convention of 1929, international air carriers are the only carriers other than maritime carriers privileged to limit their liability. That limit, however, is relatively high compared to maritime limits ($75,000 per person, or $58,000 exclusive of legal fees and costs), and the air carriers' liability is absolute. This is a far cry from the maritime situation where the passenger must still prove negligence in order to recover.

In addition, the existing limitation is inconsistent, in one sense, with the financial responsibility laws applicable to American and foreign ocean passenger carriers. In 1966, P.L. 89–777 was enacted which provides that any passenger carrier embarking passengers at United States ports and having accommodations for fifty or more passengers must establish its financial responsibility in the following amounts: $20,000 for each passenger accommodation up to and including five hundred; plus $15,000 for each additional passenger accommodation between five hundred and one and one thousand; plus $10,000 for each additional passenger accommodation between one thousand and one and one thousand five hundred; plus $5,000 for each passenger accommodation in excess of one thousand five hundred.

But with the presently applicable liability limits, the amount of financial responsibility may very well exceed a shipowner's liability. The proposed legislation would also have the effect of removing this inconsistency.

In view of the prevailing public policy regarding the liability of a common carrier to its passengers and the fact that the traditional reasons for a limitation are no longer present, the Departments of Commerce and Transportation recommend enactment of the proposed legislation here submitted.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that submission of this proposed legislation is consistent with the Administration's objectives.

Sincerely yours,

ALAN S. BOYD,
Secretary of Transportation.
HOWARD J. SAMUELS,
Acting Secretary of Commerce.

S. 3601—INTRODUCTION OF BILL TO AMEND SECTION 201(b) OF MERCHANT MARINE ACT, 1936, RELATING TO EMPLOYMENT OF SPECIALISTS BY THE MARITIME ADMINISTRATION

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I introduce, at the request of the Secretary of Commerce, a bill to amend the last sentence of section 201(b) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, and for other purposes.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD the letter from the Secretary of Commerce to the Vice President transmitting the proposed legislation and the accompanying statement of purposes and provisions which explains the changes this bill would make in existing law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the letter and statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3601) to amend the last sentence of section 201(b) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MAGNUSON, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The letter and statement, presented by Mr. MAGNUSON, are as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., May 10, 1968.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
President of the Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Submitted herewith are four copies of a draft bill "To amend the last sentence of section 201(b) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, and for other purposes." The accompanying statement of purposes and provisions explains the changes the draft bill would make in existing law and the need for enactment of the bill.

We have been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this legislation to the Congress from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

C. R. SMITH,
Secretary of Commerce.

STATEMENT OF THE PURPOSES AND PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT BILL TO AMEND SECTION 201(b) OF THE MERCHANT MARINE ACT, 1936

The last sentence of section 201(b) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, provides that it shall be unlawful for any employee of the United States Maritime Commission to be in the employ of any other person, firm, or corporation, or to have any pecuniary relationship with any carrier by water, shipbuilder, contractor or other person with whom the United States Maritime Commission may do business.

Reorganization Plan No. 21 of 1950 abolished the United States Maritime Commission, created the Federal Maritime Board, created the Maritime Administration as an agency within the Department of Commerce, divided the promotional responsibilities of the former United States Maritime Commission between the Federal Maritime Board and the Department of Commerce and gave the regulatory responsibilities of the former United States Maritime Commission to the Federal Maritime Board. Reorganization Plan No. 21 of 1950 provided that the last sentence of section 201(b) should apply to the officers and employees of the Federal Maritime Board and of the Maritime Administration.

Reorganization Plan No. 7 of 1961 abolished the Federal Maritime Board, created the Federal Maritime Commission, gave the promotional functions of the former Federal Maritime Board to the Department of Commerce and gave the regulatory functions of the former Federal Maritime Board to the Federal Maritime Commission. Reorganization Plan No. 7 of 1961 applied to last sentence of section 201(b) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to the officers and employees of the Maritime Administration and of the Federal Maritime Commission.

The provisions of the last sentence of section 201(b) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, are more stringent than the conflict of interest statute which is applicable to officers and employees of the Executive Branch in general (chapter 11, title 18 U.S.C.), and this additional stringency in some cases interferes with the efficient operation of the Maritime Administration. Under the restrictions of the last sentence of section 201(b), the Maritime Administration is unable to obtain temporary, part-time, or intermittent services of specialists presently employed in the maritime industry or employed by other firms with whom the Maritime Administration may do business. In addition under the restrictions of section 201(b), Maritime Administration is unable through temporary employment in the maritime industry to obtain highly desirable martime knowledge and experience that would be directly related to their official duties. Chapter 11 of title 18, United States Code does not prohibit such employment.

Legislative relief is needed to permit the Maritime Administration to obtain the services of specialists when needed, and to permit selected Maritime Administration employees to obtain greater or additional experience in the Maritime field and thus to update and improve their knowledge, ability and qualifications. Specific examples of the problems raised by the last sentence of Section 201(b) and the need for additional outside experience are set forth below:

a. An individual is employed as a part-time law clerk in an admiralty law firm which represents shipping companies doing business with the Maritime Administration. His services were needed on a temporary part-time basis to teach a course in admiralty law at the Merchant Marine Academy. He was, of course, not willing to sever his connections with the admiralty law firm, his primary employer, to accept temporary intermittent employment. It was determined that his employment was prohibited under section 201(b) of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936.

b. An Associate Professor of the Department of Nautical Science, U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, teaches navigation, astronomy and seamanship. He has a Chief Mate's license and last sailed in 1952. He recognizes the need to update his sea experience, most of which was obtained during and after World War II, and he applied for permission to sail as Chief Mate aboard subsidized ships for about nine months in 1964 in order to gain experience on modern ships on which new practices and equipment exist and, to raise his license. Had it been possible to approve his request, he would have been able to revise his course presentation and the additional service would have enabled this teacher to maintain and improve his qualifications in his specialized field. Additionally, the Master's license which he would have acquired would have raised the general level of technical qualifications of the Academy's Department of Nautical Science. This faculty member has a Master's degree. At the time the faculty member made his request, he did not have a commitment for employment with any steamship company. His request was for permission to seek such employment. However, there was no doubt that he would have been successful due to the shortage of licensed seagoing officers. Furthermore, it is sometimes desirable to hire younger members with lower licenses and advance them to higher ranking positions, as circumstances warrant, as their qualifications increase. The only way the desired sea service experience can be upgraded is to return to sea.

c. Another example is an Assistant Professor of Nautical Science who teaches Cargo Handling. He already has his Master's license. In 1963, he requested permission to seek employment in port, aboard vessels with the latest cargo handling devices. Had it been possible to approve this request, it would have enabled the Academy to have one officer with first hand experience in the new hydraulic hatches and it would have enabled the faculty member to become familiar with the latest practice and equipment in Cargo Handling, thereby increasing his value as a teacher of Cargo Handling. Even though this faculty member last sailed as recently as 1956, he believed that his experience was rapidly becoming stale. This was a correct evaluation and it applies even more so to the older officers and employees of the Academy, many of whom have not sailed for 20 years. There is no substitute for first hand, current experience and it is our opinion that certain officers and employees should be given the opportunity to return to sea periodically.

d. A Marine Surveyor, GS-11, in one of the Coast Districts was initially recruited as a Trainee in the college recruiting program. His sea career had advanced his licensed rating to First Assistant Engineer. In order to improve his technical knowledge and at the same time enable him to qualify for a Chief Engineer's license which would materially enhance his effectiveness in day-to-day contacts on the job, he requsted one year's leave to accept a seagoing position with a steamship company. This was denied since it was in violation of section 201(b) of the Merchant Marine Act. The identical situation prevailed when a Ship Operations Assistant, GS-11, requested leave to accept a sea position to observe current cargo-loading methods with latest gear, shipboard sailing and working conditions, and at the same time to upgrade his license to Master. This, too, was denied.

e. Another employee who sought permission to return to sea to upgrade his experience was an Operations Specialist. His duties include: advice and assistance to vessel owners and operators in delivery and redelivery requirements; study, analysis and development of comparative cost data on various operations of subsidized lines; direction of the installation, maintenance and use of radiological monitoring equipment and ABC washdown gear; training of marine personnel in the operation of radar and gyrocompass equipment, etc. He was one of the first licensed volunteers (Deck Officer) for the NS SAVANNAH assignment. The employee is a graduate of the New York State Maritime Academy and served as an instructor there, as well as at Kings Point during World War II. He was a Naval Officer during this latter period. He has sailed under various ratings up to and including that of 2nd Mate and has been licensed by the Coast Guard as a Chief Mate since 1938. His shoreside experience includes employment as Marine, Port and Stevedore Superintendents, Assistant Wharf Superintendent, Marine Representative and Travelling Stevedore. Returning to sea, even briefly, would have aided this employee in his attempt to remain abreast of current developments in the merchant marine field. As Ship Operations Specialist, the need of staying current in this field is apparent, especially in this period when automation is scheduled, at least in part, on all newly constructed vessels.

f. In 1957 another faculty member, then a teacher of Advanced Steam Engineering with a Chief Engineer's license, desired to upgrade his experience on modern propulsion systems. This faculty member had previously obtained a Bachelor's degree in Mechanical Engineering from Cooper Union and desired to increase his practical knowledge of marine engineering. However, the restrictions of Section 201(b) prevented him from going to sea while on the rolls of the Academy. Therefore, as he was then on active administrative duty as an enrollee in the U.S. Maritime Service, he requested and obtained a release to inactive duty, the equivalent of separation, and accepted employment as a Marine Engineer with Sinclair Oil Company on its tankers. This experience helped him to become one of our best teachers of steam engineering. There is no doubt that the Academy and the Government gained by his action. However, this faculty member now has one year less creditable service, which will reduce his retirement benefits. Should an employee become disabled while not employed by the government, he would not be eligible for civil service disability retirement and in the event of his death his dependents would not be eligible for a survivor annuity.

The last sentence of section 201(b) applies to employees of the Federal Maritime Commission as well as to employees of the Maritime Administration. The draft bill would repeal it only insofar as Maritime Administration employees are concerned. It would still apply to employees of the Federal Maritime Commission.

S. 3602—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO SHIPOWNERS' LIABILITY FOR PERSONAL INJURY OR DEATH

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I introduce, at the request of the Pacific American Steamship Association, for appropriate reference, a bill to limit the liability of shipowners, and for other purposes.

This bill relates to the same subject matter as another bill I have introduced today at the request of the Secretary of Transportation and the Secretary of Commerce. The measure which I am now introducing by request is identical to S. 2314 of the 87th Congress as ordered reported by the Committee on Commerce. In contrast to the bill introduced at the request of the administration this measure would not repeal limitation of liability, but would preserve limitation of shipowner liability but at a higher level of indemnification to cargo, passenger, and crew than obtains in the present law (46 U.S.C. 183, et seq.).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3602) to limit the liability of shipowners, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. MAGNUSON, by request, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

SENATE RESOLUTION 300—RESOLUTION RELATING TO DEATH OF THE HONORABLE ROBERT F. KENNEDY

Mr. MANSFIELD (for himself and Mr. DIRKSEN) submitted a resolution (S. Res. 300) relating to the death of the Honorable ROBERT F. KENNEDY, late a Senator from the State of New York, which was considered and agreed to.

(See reference to the above resolution when submitted by Mr. MANSFIELD, which appears under a separate heading.)

SENATE RESOLUTION 301—RESOLUTION TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR FUNERAL EXPENSES OF ROBERT F. KENNEDY

Mr. JAVITS submitted a resolution (S. Res. 301) to provide funds for funeral expenses of ROBERT F. KENNEDY, which was considered and agreed to.

(See reference to the above resolution when submitted by Mr. JAVITS, which appears under a separate heading.)

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS TO NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 842

Mr. CURTIS (for himself, Mr. CANNON, Mrs. SMITH, Mr. HICKENLOOPER and Mr. JORDAN of Idaho) submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (H.R. 15856) to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 843 THROUGH 845

Mr. PROXMIRE submitted three amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 15856, supra, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, June 6, 1968, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 1581. An act to amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 (69 Stat. 584);

S. 2178. An act for the relief of Dennis W. Radtke;

S. 2452. An act to provide for the adjustment of the legislative jurisdiction exercised by the United States over lands within the Crab Orchard National Wildlife Refuge in Illinois;

S. 2634. An act to amend section 867(a) of title 10, United States Code, in order to establish the Court of Military Appeals as the U.S. Court of Military Appeals under article I of the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes;

S. 2585. An act for the relief of Kap Rai Kim and Young Nam Kim;

S. 2884. An act to amend the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 so as to recommend to the several States that its absentee registration and voting procedures be extended to all citizens temporarily residing abroad; and

S. 3017. An act to change the provision with respect to the maximum rate of interest permitted on loans and mortgages insured under title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936.

SUPPORT FOR THE EISENHOWER COMMISSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, last night, the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen] and I met with President Johnson at the White House before his address to the Nation.

Senator Dirksen and I are in complete agreement that the single, bipartisan Commission appointed by the President is urgently needed and represents the best answer to this pressing national problem.

President Johnson is to be commended on the excellent makeup of this Commission.

This is a bipartisan Commission; a biracial Commission, and an interreligious Commission, composed of distinguished Americans who possess the best possible credentials for this important task.

The great tragedy that has befallen the Nation with the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy testifies to the urgent need to discover why sick souls in the dark corners of our society have taken from us some of our most vibrant, brilliant leaders. Senator Kennedy, President Kennedy, Martin Luther King, three radiant lights that illuminated what was best in our country, and each extinguished in his prime of life by sick, irrational individuals.

President Johnson was right when he said last night that 200 million Americans did not kill Robert Kennedy. I do not believe that we, the people, taken en masse, are anything less than law-abiding, concerned citizens.

Yet we have produced a society in which lawlessness and violence, inequities and injustice occur all too frequently.

It is simply not enough to shed tears over this brutal and senseless killing. Nor is it enough to admit that our society has helped to produce the kind of atmosphere in which these terrible assassinations occur.

We must come to grips with this problem. We must try to discover the answers to what produces the kind of senseless hatred that has struck down three of our greatest leaders.

This is the enormous task placed on the shoulders of the Eisenhower Commission. Its members are drawn from the fields of education, religion, writing, and public life, including Members and former Members of Congress. They include Dr. Milton Eisenhower, as Chairman; Archbishop Terence Cooke, of New York; former Ambassador Patricia Harris; Eric Hoffer; Albert Jenner; Senators Hart and Hruska; Representatives Hale Boggs and William McCulloch; and Judge Leon Higginbotham.

These brilliant minds will focus on the heart of our Nation's problem with violence and killing. We can expect no miracles from the Eisenhower Commission. But we do believe it will probe more deeply than ever before into the problem of violence in our society. We do believe it will help to point the way to corrective steps in the future.

That, in my judgment, is reason enough for hope—and for our prayers for its success.

READER'S DIGEST SUPPRESSES BOOK

Mr. HART. Mr. President, within the past 2 years there have been dozens of mergers in the book publishing industry. Small publishers have merged with large ones, large publishers have merged with magazine and broadcasting companies and companies dealing in printed communications have merged with large electronic companies and diversified manufacturing firms.

Almost without exception, each of the mergers is accompanied by the assurance that the merger will have "no effect on the acquired company's editorial policies." Occasionally it is suggested that the merger will give the publishing house the resources to be even more fearless and free in the projects it undertakes. Despite the tone of these press releases, the uneasy feeling that the independence of the acquired publishing house has been lessened—that it may on occasion be more of a house organ than a free voice—has remained in many minds.

Mr. President, the New York Times of June 2 carried an article entitled "Reader's Digest Suppresses Book: Work Critical of Advertising Dropped by Publishing Unit," written by Henry Raymont. The article reports that Reader's Digest, which recently purchased Funk & Wagnalls, a publishing house, ordered Funk & Wagnalls not to release a book critical of the advertising industry, even though the book already had been printed and, in fact, reviewed in the trade press. Reader's Digest management said the book was canceled because it did not jibe with company philosophy.

Obviously the fears of the fearful—and I include myself—are not without foundation.

Some may say I am still boxing shadows—that one dark spot does not mean the whole fruit is bad. That is true. However most must agree that the possibility of judging subjects not on their literary value but in the light of the best image of a parent corporation is present in all such situations.

The fact that we can point to one example now where a book judged to be of value on one standard was quashed on the other does not mean it is the only time this has happened. After all, editorial decisions by nature are seldom exposed to public view.

The whole area is ticklish. But it seems to me that we should all share a concern that the increasing takeover of independent publishing houses by conglomerates may be eroding the independence of the press we value so highly.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 2, 1968]

Reader's Digest Suppresses Book—Work Critical of Advertising Dropped by Publishing Unit

(By Henry Raymont)

For the first time since their merger two and a half years ago, the Reader's Digest Association has ordered Funk & Wagnalls not to publish a book, even though it has already been publicized and 5,000 copies have been printed.

The book is "The Permissible Lie," a critical study of the advertising business, by Samm Sinclair Baker. It had been scheduled for publication Wednesday.

Mr. Baker, a former advertising executive and author of several books, said yesterday he was advised last week that the publishing plans had been canceled.

He said the corporate management of the Reader's Digest Association had overruled his editors at Funk & Wagnalls because it had found the book to be "contrary to the best interests" of its mass-circulation magazine, The Reader's Digest.

"I was told that The Reader's Digest believes that advertising is good for business and that business is good for the country," Mr. Baker added. "The implication was that it was almost an unpatriotic book."

PRECEDENT IS SEEN

Perry H. Knowlton, Mr. Baker's literary agent, said yesterday: "This cancellation, a few weeks before publication, is probably the first instance of such censorship in book publishing history."

Hobart Lewis, president of the Reader's Digest Association, said at his home in Pleasantville, N.Y., that the book was withdrawn because "it doesn't jibe with the philosophy of the Reader's Digest." He said he did not feel called upon to explain that philosophy.

But Mr. Lewis rejected any suggestion that the decision constituted literary censorship. He said that no attempt had been made to prevent Mr. Baker from giving the book to another publisher.

"We have not taken back the author's advance and we have given him the plates of the book," Mr. Lewis said. "I assume and hope he will publish it elsewhere. The book simply did not meet our standards and I reject any suggestion that this was censorship."

Mr. Knowlton, president of Collins-Knowlton-Wing, Inc., one of the country's leading literary agencies, said six other publishers had already expressed interest in the book and that he did not foresee any difficulty in getting it published.

THREAT TO INDEPENDENCE

"But that is hardly the point," he added. "This action would seem to me to jeopardize a major argument in defense of the recent trend of publishing mergers—that the small publishing houses acquired by the big communications empires will retain their editorial independence."

Mr. Knowlton was alluding to repeated assurances by big corporations that they intended to respect the editorial autonomy of any independent publishing house they acquired. The most recent case was that of Time, Inc., when it purchased Little, Brown of Boston.

A case often cited in the book trade to illustrate continued editorial independence after a merger is the publication by Random House of Fred Friendly's "Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control," a critical book about the television industry. Random House is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Radio Corporation of America, which also owns the National Broadcasting Company.

The Reader's Digest Association acquired the 88-year-old Funk & Wagnalls Company in December, 1965, for an undisclosed sum. Since the merger, the reference book publishing company has expanded its nonfiction books to include such authors as Jim Bishop and Arthur Krock. It also publishes the Reader's Digest anthologies.

EMBARRASSING SURPRISE

The cancellation of Mr. Baker's book came as an embarrassing surprise to Funk & Wagnalls editors. One executive of the company conceded that attacks on the book by prepublication reviews in several advertising trade journals played a role in the decision.

George Blagowidow, general manager of Funk & Wagnalls, said the reviews were "among the many elements that led to this decision."

Sherman Baker, a senior editor who was in charge of developing the company's nonfiction list until his retirement last year, called the cancellation of the book "a scandalous affair."

The author of "The Permissible Lie" now in his mid-60's, is a former president of Donahue & Coe, an advertising agency. His previous books include "Your Key to Creative Thinking" (Harper & Rowe); "Casebook of Successful Ideas for Advertising and Selling" (Doubleday), two books on gardening and two mystery novels. He lives in Mamaroneck, N.Y., with his wife, Natalie, an artist and teacher. Their son, S. Jeffrey Baker, is an editor at St. Martin's Press.

THE NEED FOR ADDITIONAL DISASTER RELIEF LEGISLATION

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, devastating major disasters have already struck widely scattered areas of the Nation this year. Many communities and families have suffered great losses because of tornados, hurricanes, and floods. One can predict with confidence that other similar tragedies will befall our people in the months and years ahead.

Fortunately, Congress nearly two decades ago acted to provide significant assistance to help restore public facilities and utilities which have been destroyed by major disasters. In the private sector, however, until 1966 Federal aid was extended only by special enactments from time to time for particular areas on a retroactive basis. In the latter years, Public Law 89–769 among other things made available long-term, low-interest loans for the repair and reconstruction of private homes and businesses which become damaged or demolished in major disasters.

Mr. President, I do not believe that this kind of aid is enough. During the hearings on the two disaster relief bills which I introduced, too many examples of individuals incurring losses which have swept away their life savings and left them impoverished became evident for me to rest complacently in the belief that our task was finished. In the name of humanity I urge that we provide for our own fellow Americans who, through no fault of their own, have been subjected to totally unexpected and undeserved injuries and damages, the same kind of relief which the American people have extended time and again to disaster sufferers overseas.

A good example of the problem I am referring to was pointed out by the New York Times in two articles on June 2 and 3, describing the great losses incurred in recent flooding in New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that certain excerpts from these two articles be printed in the RECORD. I call particular attention to the plight of several residents who have lost their homes, furnishings, and personal possessions and are confronted with overwhelming obstacles in seeking permanent aid. Note also that Mayor Edward Sisco, of Wayne, pointed out that most homeowners were not able to carry expensive riders on their insurance policies which would have provided coverage against floods.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 2, 1968]

JOHNSON TO WEIGH JERSEY FLOOD AID—TELLS HUGHES PLEA WILL BE STUDIED—GOVERNOR FLIES OVER AREA AS RIVERS FALL

NEWARK, June 1.—President Johnson said today that he would give "careful consideration" to Gov. Richard J. Hughes' request for Federal aid to the six flood-ravaged counties of Northern New Jersey.

But homeowners in the region, who were pumping water out of basements and discarding soaked furniture today, complained loudly that they would never see any of the money.

Under existing law, Federal assistance is provided only to municipalities and businesses in the forms of grants and loans. There is no provision for aiding the owners of private homes.

"The individual homeowner just loses out on this," Governor Hughes said after a two-hour helicopter flight over the area, "and it is a tragic thing."

The Governor said that "unfortunately" the House of Representatives in Washington had not yet acted on a Senate-passed bill that would make aid available to people whose houses were damaged by disasters.

Mr. Hughes requested the Federal aid after flooding on the Passaic and Pompton Rivers forced 2,000 people to flee their homes. Six deaths, including those of five children, were attributed to the floods.

In a telegram to Governor Hughes, President Johnson said that "I'm distressed to hear of the flood emergency and hope that the situation will improve rapidly." The message was released by the State Commissioner for Conservation and Development, Robert A. Roe.

MANY RETURN TO HOMES

Evacuated families continued to return to their homes, some to begin the massive job of cleanup and repair, others simply to inspect the damage and reassure themselves that their houses were still intact.

Mrs. Barbara Fitzgerald stood in bare feet in the gymnasium of Wayne Valley High School, where she, her four children and her husband have been sleeping on cots for three days. She had just returned from wading through knee-deep water to her house in Wayne.

"I don't know what we'll do," she said. "The floors are all buckled. The heating system's gone."

She said that clothing and furniture had been ruined when muddy water swirled into the ground floor of the building. Her husband, she said, earns only $185 every two weeks.

"I think I'll write Governor Hughes and ask him how I'll pay for this," she added angrily.

In West Paterson, Mrs. Magdaline Verrilli stood like a ship captain on the front steps of her neat brick house, surrounded by water.

"We haven't left," she said proudly.

Six streams of water from three pumps poured out of a basement door.

"Two thousand dollars damage," she shouted to an onlooker across the muddy gulf. "It was worse than this in '45 and they didn't do anything. They made a lot of promises then, too."

[From the New York Times, June 3, 1968]

FLOODS IN JERSEY COST $140 MILLION—FEDERAL ESTIMATE COVERS SIX STRICKEN COUNTIES

TRENTON, June 3.—The Federal Government estimated today that floods had caused $140-million worth of damage in six counties of northern New Jersey, according to the State Commissioner of Conservation and Development.

The Commissioner, Robert A. Roe, said the figure had been presented by the Federal Office of Emergency Planning and the Small Business Administration at a meeting here with state officials, but the Federal agencies made no statement on the proceeding.

The meeting, which Gov. Richard J. Hughes attended, was called by the White House after the Governor had requested that the President declare the region a disaster area so that grants and low-interest loans can be given to victims.

That request will be acted upon, Mr. Roe said, at a second meeting next Monday, after there is more detailed investigation by various Federal agencies in cooperation with their counterparts in the state.

The State Legislature, meanwhile, approved and sent to the Governor a $5-million emergency-aid bill designed to repair public facilities, which Mr. Roe said accounted for $10-million of the $140-million estimate.

The remaining $130-million in damage was suffered by private businesses and private homeowners. The figure includes only structural damage to houses, not items such as furniture and clothing.

RED CROSS PROVIDES FOOD

Mr. Roe said the Red Cross was providing food in stricken areas and was considering the possibility of distributing blankets and clothing to residents whose possessions were destroyed by muddy water.

The flood waters, which began with six to seven inches of rain last Wednesday, were considered the worst in the state since 1903. Two thousand people were evacuated, factories were closed and eight persons, including seven children, were killed.

Among the eight were two boys, one 12 years old and one 13, whose canoe went over a dam on the Pompton River Saturday evening. Seach operations continued today without success, and they were presumed to have drowned.

Mr. Roe also said that he would soon present to towns in the region a proposal for a $500-million flood-control program.

LOANS UP TO $25,000

Homeowners may receive Federal aid if the President declares the region a disaster area. In that event, the Small Business Administration can provide loans up to $25,000 for structural damage, at a rate of 3 per cent for 30 years, and businesses would get $100,000 loans under the same terms.

Otherwise, most homeowners have no way to collect for damages suffered during the flood. Most insurance policies in the region, according to Mayor Edward Sisco of Wayne, do not cover floods unless they have expensive riders which, he said, "most people in this area cannot afford."

Any grants from Washington for public utilities must be matched by the state or a local community.

PATRIOTISM STILL SEEN

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, patriotism has often been said to be out of order, or passé, in our present age. However, love of country has endured the attacks of critics down through the ages. Men often feel inspired to return respect, love, and devotion to a land which has nurtured and sheltered them, standing as a fortress between anarchy and individual liberty.

Recently I was greatly touched by the account printed in one of the Arizona papers, the Tucson Daily Citizen, concerning one man's personal efforts to honor his country on Memorial Day. Margaret Kuehlthau, staff writer for the Citizen, has chronicled the efforts of Mr. Herbert A. Samuels, 88, formerly of Chicago, now a resident of Tucson. Mr. Samuels became concerned as he saw display of the American colors falling into disuse on national holidays. He undertook to stimulate display of the American flag on proper holidays. Soon, several of his neighbors joined him in the effort, and the result is remarkable.

Mr. President, so that Mr. Samuels' efforts may receive wider circulation, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Tucson Daily Citizen, May 30, 1968]

TUCSONIAN PUSHES FLAG PROJECT AT 88

(By Margaret Kuehlthau)

Herbert A. Samuels, 88, is a man of action.

Concerned because so few homes display the American flag on Memorial Day, he decided to do something about the situation—starting on the block where he lives.

Samuels, 4633 E. 17th St., purchased at cost 24 flags, size 3 x 5 feet, and sold them to his neighbors.

Then he enlisted the aid of Roswell Merrill; who lives directly across the street. Merrill attached to his neighbors' homes the brackets needed to hold the flags.

Today, thanks to the initiative of an 88-year-old man, flags were flying from almost all the homes in the block.

"It's the least we can do for our country and our servicemen," believes Samuels, a former Chicago court bailiff who moved to Tucson 14 years ago.

"Whether it is selling the idea of flags to a neighborhood or driving to Chicago at the age of 90, it all comes to this—You have to have it in your heart to want to do these things."

Reading about current city riots brings back memories to Samuels who "did riot duty in Chicago in 1908, serving with a cavalry unit."

At the age of 19 in 1903, he joined "The Dandy First," the 131st Infantry, 33rd Division, in Illinois. At first, he was a color guard. Later he became a member of the First Illinois Cavalry which he described as "the first squadron of cavalry in this country."

"Up to that time I'd never been on a horse," he said. "But why walk when you can ride?"

He has deep sympathy, he says, for people fighting for their rights.

"When people are in trouble, don't beat them down. Lift them up," is the advice of the man who says he "is 88 years young—not 88 years old."

Right now he is counting the days until he reaches 90. To observe the occasion he plans to drive his automobile to Chicago.

"I'm so healthy no one would believe me when I went to a doctor for a check-up when I first came to Tucson," he said. "I had to send back home for a birth certificate to prove I was 74 years old."

ECONOMIC INDICATORS POINT TO CONTINUED EASING OF PRESSURE FROM DEFENSE SECTOR

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the selected economic indicators for the defense sector in the first quarter of 1968 demonstrate a continued slackening in the pressure on the economy from this source.

Military prime contract awards in the first quarter were $95 million, or 9.2 percent, below the level in the fourth quarter of 1967, continuing the decline in these contracts from the third quarter of 1967. The total drop since the third quarter was $1.5 billion or 13.7 percent.

Gross obligations incurred fell by $719 million, to a level 3.7 percent below that of the fourth quarter of 1967, the third straight quarterly decline; the total decrease in these obligations since the second quarter of 1967 was $5.3 billion or about 22.2 percent.

Both prime contracts and gross obligations tend to be leading indicators of the impact of the defense sector on the rest of the economy, and the indicators demonstrate a continued contraction of this impact.

Net defense expenditures rose about 4.7 percent in the first quarter of 1968. These expenditures, however, tend to be a lagging indicator of the effect of defense spending on the economy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the May report of the Department of Defense on selected economic indicators be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SELECTED DEFENSE DEPARTMENT ECONOMIC INDICATORS

[Dollars in millions; manpower in thousands; quarters by calendar year]

	1966				1967							1968				
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	IV	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	I	Apr.
I. Military prime contract awards:																
Aircraft	$1,945	$2,989	$2,696	$2,262	$2,102	$3,049	$2,513	$1,249	$578	$805	$2,632	$442	$530	$574	$1,546	$834
Missile and space systems	1,040	987	1,314	861	1,230	1,166	1,580	323	429	316	1,068	348	470	393	1,211	327
Ships	355	491	876	239	679	407	417	153	147	110	410	109	79	236	424	79
Weapons and ammunition	555	1,486	692	940	818	1,769	1,104	454	451	439	1,344	226	416	383	1,025	423
Electronic and communications equipment	918	1,574	666	915	971	1,848	816	272	247	305	824	359	264	248	871	336
Other hard goods	843	1,842	660	1,029	915	1,564	785	252	153	248	653	246	348	306	900	314
Soft goods	709	922	1,078	989	638	652	1,056	175	118	198	491	437	140	202	779	219
Construction	207	392	198	150	232	626	232	56	44	113	213	61	53	67	181	39
All other	1,406	1,963	2,356	1,639	1,605	1,987	2,335	522	486	649	1,657	457	470	534	1,461	519
Total (excluding work outside United States)	7,978	12,646	10,536	9,024	9,190	13,068	10,838	3,456	2,653	3,183	9,292	2,685	2,770	2,943	8,398	3,090
Total seasonally adjusted	8,703	10,144	10,716	10,149	10,171	10,667	10,961	3,665	3,308	3,479	10,413	2,887	3,445	3,124	9,456	3,488
Work outside United States	521	1,195	856	672	453	834	891	193	117	145	455	288	139	134	561	157
II. Gross obligations incurred:																
Operations	8,326	9,604	10,426	9,702	10,229	11,435	11,224	3,776	3,374	3,663	10,812	3,798	3,435	3,487	10,721	....
Procurement	4,374	8,539	5,368	5,276	5,113	8,948	6,154	2,699	1,717	1,876	6,292	1,784	1,865	2,003	5,652	....
Other	2,429	3,470	3,453	2,230	2,519	3,510	3,420	860	665	669	2,194	863	792	553	2,206	....
Total	15,129	21,613	19,247	17,208	17,861	23,893	20,798	7,335	5,755	6,208	19,298	6,445	6,092	6,043	18,579	....
III. Gross unpaid obligations outstanding:																
Operations	3,828	3,777	4,792	5,024	4,644	4,513	5,267	5,270	5,050	5,150	5,150	5,127	5,127	4,975	4,975	....
Procurement	18,023	22,119	22,736	23,173	22,780	25,248	24,925	25,423	24,982	24,856	24,856	24,197	24,024	24,127	24,127	....
Other	5,625	5,942	8,026	7,253	6,996	7,506	7,971	7,854	7,609	7,360	7,360	7,329	7,303	7,038	7,038	....
Total	27,476	31,838	35,554	35,450	34,420	37,267	38,163	38,547	37,641	37,366	37,366	36,653	36,454	36,140	36,140	....
IV. Net expenditures:																
Operations	7,689	9,076	8,968	9,087	10,002	10,731	10,001	3,641	3,456	3,397	10,494	3,550	3,273	3,416	10,239	....
Procurement	3,651	3,886	4,392	4,264	5,074	5,282	6,060	2,005	1,890	1,704	5,598	2,274	1,913	1,680	5,867	....
Other	2,757	2,647	2,484	3,092	3,160	2,001	3,047	790	847	724	2,363	1,153	1,032	1,025	3,210	....
Total	14,097	15,609	15,844	16,443	18,236	18,014	19,108	6,436	6,194	5,825	18,455	6,977	6,218	6,121	19,316	....

SELECTED DEFENSE DEPARTMENT ECONOMIC INDICATORS—Continued

[Dollars in millions; manpower in thousands; quarters by calendar year]

	1966 I	II	III	IV	1967 I	II	III	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	IV	1968 Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	I	Apr.
V. DOD personal compensation:																
Military	$3,181	$3,249	$3,551	$3,606	$3,624	$3,646	$3,842	$1,264	$1,297	$1,411	$3,972	$1,338	$1,339	$1,338	$4,014	
Civilian	1,937	2,015	2,105	2,135	2,170	2,248	2,271	773	772	787	2,332	828	774	773	2,375	[1] $774
Total	5,118	5,264	5,656	5,741	5,794	5,894	6,113	2,037	2,069	2,198	6,304	2,166	2,113	2,111	6,389	
VI. Outstanding payments:																
Advance payments	66	79	90	83	92	80	110				134				128	
Progress payments	4,402	4,346	4,750	5,461	5,981	6,765	7,179				7,491				7,681	
Total	4,468	4,425	4,840	5,544	6,073	6,845	7,289				7,625				7,809	
VII. Strength (manpower):																
Military	2,969	3,094	3,229	3,334	3,371	3,377	3,412	3,416	3,412	3,398	3,398	3,427	3,440	3,467	3,467	
Civilian	1,088	1,138	1,184	1,230	1,268	1,303	1,274	1,277	1,277	1,271	1,271	1,267	1,265	1,266	1,266	[1] 1,267

[1] Preliminary.

Note: Open spaces for indicators other than No. VI indicate information not available at time of publication. Indicator No. VI information available only on a quarterly basis. Totals may not add due to rounding.

WESTERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE ENDORSES WATER RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, at its May 1968, annual meeting, the Western Governors' Conference adopted a number of resolutions which should be of particular interest to Congress.

I have already called the attention of the Senate to the resolution on water quality standards which was adopted by that conference.

In addition, the conference adopted a resolution in support of S. 2919 as introduced by the Senator from California [Mr. Kuchel] and as cosponsored by a number of western Senators. Excellent field hearings were held on this legislation this spring, and I am hopeful that similar hearings can be scheduled before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in Washington.

I invite the attention of the Senate to Resolution VIII of the Western Governors' Conference on the subject of water rights legislation and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

Further, the Western Governors' Conference adopted a resolution on mined land reclamation. This was also the subject of hearings before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. I ask unanimous consent that this resolution also be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

VIII. Water Rights Legislation

Whereas federal legislation has not yet been enacted for the protection of water rights acquired under state laws, nor to preserve the historic authority of the states to control the acquisition and administration of water rights within their respective borders; and

Whereas federal court decisions threatening such rights and undermining such authority continue in effect; and

Whereas extensive committee hearings have been held by the Congress during the last several years with respect to water rights legislation;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the 1968 Annual Meeting of the Western Governors' Conference in Honolulu, Hawaii urges the earliest possible enactment of legislation that (1) will state clearly that the federal government shall not be deemed to have acquired or reserved any water rights as a result of the reservation or withdrawal of public land; (2) will require compliance with state water laws by all federal agencies, licensees, or project beneficiaries; and (3) will safeguard adequately all water rights established under state laws against the action of federal agencies and their licensees; and

Be it further resolved that the Western Governors' Conference supports S. 2919 as an appropriate and necessary first action to achieve the desired purpose of this resolution.

VII. Mined Land Reclamation

Whereas the problem of mined land reclamation should be approached with full realization that where surface disturbance is unavoidable, mining operations must be conducted in such a manner as to provide adequate protection to the public and to other resource values on mineral lands; and

Whereas widely diverse topography, climate, economic conditions and esthetic standards require a precision of remedy which cannot be attained by uniform national regulations for mined land reclamation;

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the 1968 Annual Meeting of the Western Governors' Conference in Honolulu, Hawaii that:

1. Adequate state legislation be enacted for regulation of mined land reclamation;

2. The states be urged to ratify the Interstate Mining Compact; and

3. The Congress be urged to avoid uniform national regulations or preemption of state activities in the field of mined land reclamation.

L. S. AYRES & CO. PROGRAM TO IMPROVE RACE RELATIONS AND PROMOTE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I am pleased to invite attention to a new seven-point program which has been instituted recently by the L. S. Ayres & Co., of Indianapolis, Ind., which is designed to improve race relations in the communities in which it operates and to promote equal opportunity for the employment and advancement of persons in lower-income and disadvantaged groups. The fact that this large enterprise, which owns facilities in a number of Indiana cities and hires hundreds of employees for positions of varied responsibilities and diverse skills, has voluntarily adopted this forward-looking policy is indeed encouraging.

L. S. Ayres & Co. is now actively seeking recruits for its staff in the core centers of poverty. It has eliminated pre-employment testing of the "intelligence quotient" type which often in the past served to disqualify many persons lacking sufficient formal education and training. Special attention is now being paid to the hopes and aspirations of its employees, and a concentrated in-service training program is being offered through a contract with the board for fundamental education. Unfavorably police records in themselves no longer are enough to automatically bar a candidate from a position with L. S. Ayres & Co.; instead, the nature of the charge, whether it resulted in a conviction, and other mitigating circumstances are now being carefully evaluated. Effort has been made also to improve communications with the Negro community, and the company has started doing business with the members of the National Business League in Indianapolis.

The features of this program were well described in some detail by Daniel F. Evans, president of L. S. Ayres & Co., in an address to a group of Negro ministers. Because of the national significance of this precedent-setting action, and because others may wish to emulate it, I ask unanimous consent that the full report by Mr. Evans, along with a brief press release announcing the beginning of the new in-store educational program, be printed in the Record. It seems to me that the leaders of this highly imaginative and sensitive plan deserve to be congratulated for their pioneering efforts to advance race relationships and to institute more equitable personnel practices.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

The L. S. Ayres & Co. Report to the Negro Ministers Breakfast, April 23, 1968

My associates and I are flattered by your attendance, for yours are the busy schedules of men under pressure. Today the role of leadership, which has historically been yours is characterized by awesome tones. We sense some of the urgency which leads or pushes you each and every day. Perhaps it was this common empathy which prompted a few of you to ask, "What is Ayres doing?" We invited you to meet with us today in order that we might give you our report.

Let me first make some introductory remarks that are as important as anything else I may say. In the first place, we gratefully acknowledge your particular and vital role.

You are respected. You are responsible. You are in a position to communicate. You are educated. You are articulate. All of this means leadership, and we are mightly glad to see it in your hands.

In the second place we recognize the seriousness and the urgency of improving the fortunes of the Negro, and this of course includes the encouragment of good race relations in this metropolitan area. Nothing less than civilization as we know it is at stake. The root cause of the illness gripping our cities is not so much violence, as it is a streak of injustice that stains the American system. It is easy to become concerned about damaged property and loss of life, but as Margaret Mead says, we are raising a maimed generation. I do not know what the consequence of all this violence and death is on the lives of the young and the very young, nor do I understand this inclination to violence. I do know, however, that our company is searching for answers, not for targets of criticism or blame.

In the third place we want no praise for what we should be doing anyway. We are not in a boastful mood, rather we are in a humble mood. Finally whatever we do and whatever we stand for can be improved by your criticism. We want and need your guidance and suggestion. We expect to make mistakes, but we also expect to keep trying.

What then is our program.

Let me read to you a section of a talk I made last month to approximately 600 supervisors of our company. These men and women came from all over the state and from both our Ayres and Ayr-Way stores.

"The company is pledging an increasing share of its resources, its energy and its influence toward the improving of race relations within the cities where it has stores, and especially within Indianapolis. Throughout the company's history it has participated in programs designed to contribute to the community's well being. But as Mr. Ayres pointed out, 'Participation is not enough. Progress is not keeping pace with needs. Events are driving our races farther apart, and we need innovators and business leadership which is willing to do more than its share.'

"I believe that the past several months demonstrate that federal programs will not solve local problems and that local government needs sustained help from business and industry. In the short haul at least, each city will succeed or fail essentially on its own efforts."

We at Ayres feel a most pressing problem is the economic base of the Negro; and since we are in a position to do something about it, this becomes our particular contribution at this time.

Over the years we have been blessed with many loyal and sincere Negro employees. Some of these are salespeople, cashiers, seamstresses, markers, clericals, PBX operators, keypunch operators. However, too many remain on entry level jobs. Therefore, in our downtown store and our Hillside service center we are interviewing all entry level employees. Later this same thing will be done in all stores. The purpose is to inquire about the aspirations, the hopes, and perhaps the dreams of these people. We believe that this should be done as a dialogue, for working together we are in a better position to ascertain promotability and to help where special training is needed.

Secondly, our personnel specialists have been hiring new employees from the city's centers of poverty, that is the actual neighborhoods of hard core unemployment. So far we have found employment for about 50 men and women. A few have failed, but what is far more important, others have succeeded and are useful, productive employees.

Thirdly, we have eliminated the use of pre-employment testing. Here I am referring to the aptitude or IQ test. Of course if an applicant claims to be a keypunch operator, she will obviously need to demonstrate certain skill, but tests as they were traditionally thought of have been abandoned. This then puts the burden on the first line supervisor who is obligated to help the new employee succeed or to patiently work with him in order that he may be able to recommend him for a job he can fill.

Recently one of our checking supervisors complained to me, "They send me someone who doesn't know what one sixth of a dozen is." My response was "Does he want to work? Is he at work on time each day?" This leads me to the fourth part of our program, training in fundamental education. Sometime ago I served as training director and at that time said, "Business can't be expected to teach English and arithmetic," but I was wrong. Now, through the Board For Fundamental Education, we are doing just that. Classes have started for twenty employees, both Negro and Caucasian, covering basic skills. It costs us $300 per person, but we believe it will be well worth it, both in more productive employees and also, we think, happier citizens. We are the second business in the city to offer this training and the first in our industry in this area. We are anxious that it succeed.

Fifth, our customary attitude of reluctance concerning publicity is also undergoing change. You have pointed out to us a need for reporting to the Negro community those special things that are of interest to them.

You have also helped us to understand the need for visibility, that we may better convince the disappointed or the discouraged that jobs, promotable type jobs are available, and are obviously being filled by Negroes. We appreciated your help in teaching us this, for the value of this to your leadership, for instance, had not been understood by us. During the last few months for example we have made a number of appointments of qualified Negroes to important and visible jobs. These include a buyer, two assistant buyers, three departmental sales managers, an area supervisor in an Ayr-Way store, a deliveryman, a beauty operator, a salesman in women's shoes, an advertising artist, a model, a private secretary to a divisional executive, a number of cashiers at Ayr-Way stores, the coordinator of all Ayres' garden shops, and others less notable.

Sixth is another important change, for we have revised our thinking on police records. Traditionally, a record, any record barred a man or woman from employment. It now depends entirely on what the record says. Was there a conviction? What was the nature of the record involved? Judgment is now applied. This is not the easy way, but it is the fair way. Here, again, all experiences are not successful, but it does open new doors of hope for some.

Lastly, we have learned recently about the Indianapolis Chapter of the National Business League. We are making a start at doing business with its members. You are undoubtedly familiar with its purposes, which include the expansion and improvement of individual business, the assisting of Negroes in their consideration of opportunities which exist in the business field and bridging the gap between the disadvantaged and the affluent business community. It seems obvious that the immediate and helpful way to do this is for firms like ours simply to do business with members of this League. They prosper. They in turn create jobs, sometimes for the unemployable. Thus we communicate; we bridge the gap.

This then is our report. We thought we were doing well in the past. Today we are doing more, and we still don't seem to be doing enough. It is our hope that others will do likewise.

We must recognize that there may be gaps between policy and execution. We will make mistakes, and here is where we need you. If you know we are off base, tip us off. A single comment by one of you opened our eyes to a situation that needed correction. Your help was appreciated.

Finally, let me candidly admit that progress is not inevitable, but if you and we insist on being the audience—then who will be the author and the actors. To our great fortune this is not a morally neutral community. There is a bias in favor of righteousness. You as ministers have helped create this bias. It is a constructive force that you can and do channel. We are convinced that righteousness will win over all.

All too often this is more often a matter of faith than of evidence. With your help and with the help of the members of your congregations and that of other well intentioned citizens, we hope to add to the evidence.

NEWS FROM L. S. AYRES & CO., OF INDIANA

Daniel F. Evans, President of L. S. Ayres and Company, announced today that the company has retained the services of the Board For Fundamental Education to provide an in-store program of additional education for Ayres and Ayr-Way employees. The first two classes of twenty employees started on Tuesday, April 23 in the Employees' Cafeteria. Sessions will be for two hours, three nights a week, over a twenty week period.

Assisting employees with limited formal education to improve their skills and become more readily promotable, is a new venture for Ayres. Major technological changes in retailing have brought about the need for increased academic skills in mathematics and communication. It is expected that this additional training will make the employees more efficient in their present jobs and more promotable to a higher category.

The Board For Fundamental Education, a privately endowed nationally recognized organization, will provide the instruction. They have had many years of experience in designing, instituting and conducting programs to benefit the undereducated. It is believed that Ayres is the first retail organization in this area to work with the Board to benefit their employees in this type of program.

CITIES INDICATE TRENDS

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, often it is hard to put contemporary events correctly into proper perspective. We stand so close to some problems that we cannot see their real shape and impact because we are so affected by the current and immediate aspects of these events.

Mr. William R. Mathews, of the Arizona Daily Star, Tucson, Ariz., has, I believe, made some cogent and incisive observations on the current crisis in the cities. He points out that the incidence of violence is high in cities throughout the world. He further notes some of the problems that may overtake us if we do not increase our awareness as well as our intention to cope with them. These problems are not all related to poverty, but in some cases simply are the result of increasing numbers of people packed into smaller and smaller personal space.

Mr. President, because Congress is called upon to enact legislation that will affect these cities in the future, and so that Members of Congress may have the benefit of Mr. Mathews' editorial, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Cities Will Make History

(By William R. Mathews)

As wars, revolutions, rebellions and riots break out in nearly every nook and corner in the world, it would be accurate to say that modern civilization is moving into an era of violence in these cities, which paralyzes nations themselves in their duty to maintain law and order. That this violence has originated in the cities throughout the world suggests that there must be an underlying common cause.

Go where you will, tensions are snapping; students riot with a nihilistic destructive fervor; labor leaders find it more and more difficult to restrain their members. So it is with cultural leaders who are now confronted with violent racial conflicts.

City, provincial and national governments everywhere are plagued with these demands for more of this, and more of that, now, not later. That these demands would take years to meet is completely ignored or angrily brushed aside by mobs. The great tragedy is that this failure to meet demands foments riotous destruction at a time when only vastly increased productivity power can bring about what the riot leaders ask.

As one who has seen most of the world during the past 20 years, I have seen this great movement take place. Everywhere it is marked by outstanding net increases in population growth, which more food and better health protection has promoted. This happens at a time when there is relatively little new land anywhere to farm, and also at a time when increasing mechanization of agriculture displaces a former peasantry, and sends those people into the cities.

France is a spectacular case of the displacement of its former peasantry by machinery. These people have swollen the population of every one of its larger cities as they have searched for a way to sustain themselves. This is happening in many of the great cities of the world, from Tehran, Madrid, Lisbon, Rome to Caracas, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, Bogota, Lima, Mexico City and countless others. In some of these places the population of the countries is doubling every 20 years. Most of that increase goes into the cities.

Here in the United States we have seen this take place in a milder form. We have been most fortunate in our great land area and our natural resources. Our city, state and national governments have been able to handle the situation, despite the numerous riots, with commendable ability. In contrast, in the crowded areas of the world, the consumption of wealth by the increasing population exceeds its total production. Governments are desperate as they seek to alleviate this big problem in its many forms. As the population growth continues, the situation will get worse not better.

A new political note is being struck as the people in numerous countries call for a better form of government to take over from ones that failed to meet their demands. This is exactly what is happening in France today. The demands of the workers and students, with violence and sit-ins in the factories, are paralyzing France's productive power and its semi-parliamentary government. The workers are calling for a new form of government. It will probably evolve during the next few years. Such a government will find it will have to exercise autocratic power if it is to meet the demands of the people.

Even in Britain there is growing talk in responsible quarters of how the parliamentary system is becoming obsolete. The charge is that it has failed to answer that question of increasing national production sufficiently to pay for what it buys. The implication in this kind of talk is that there must be a new form of government that will do the necessary job, even though it may be an autocratic one yielding supreme powers.

In fact, there is some such talk going on in the United States among intellectuals, whose goal seems to be a government by the best minds that will have vast powers to plan and execute economic and political programs to meet the needs of our people. They plan to dispense with a Senate but to use a House of Representatives, all of whose members will be elected simultaneously with the president. State governments will become provinces and mere administrative agencies for the central government in Washington. Such is the thinking that the growth of cities everywhere has promoted.

The cities have become the dominating centers of political power because their masses can be organized as a political force more easily than the scattered people of the rural areas.

Life in the cities is quickly sensitive. When life and death are at stage, or merely threatened, some agency must act, because that most elemental motive of survival will, in desperation, cause many people to think and act alike. If a responsible agency does not exist, leaders will come forward to create one. The widely expanded role of government in social welfare reflects a response to meet this need.

The increasing complexity and widening scope of government activity thus represents to a large extent a reaction of the people of the cities to their ever-increasing interdependency. Standards of personal and political morality have been affected by this change. Much of the life of the cities is impersonal. Neighbors do not know neighbors, and there is little neighborhood responsibility. Churches play a lesser role compared to what they did in the past.

When people live several layers deep in apartment houses and housing projects, family life is affected. Recreation for children becomes a serious public duty that more and more the cities have to shoulder. It is more difficult to bring up a family in the city than in the rural areas, because children have greater difficulties and temptations to overcome.

It is much easier to hide among the masses of the city. The lazy can loaf with less chance of being detected. Criminals can ply their trade with greater ease, because it is easier to hide their identity. The corrupt can steal and dodge responsibility, while the immoral can cover up their derelictions with less chance of being discovered. The virtues of honesty, integrity, decency, self-reliance, industry and generosity suffer, and political conduct sinks to lower levels.

The future expansion of city life will intensify the quest for food, and for the many raw materials that are as vital to the industrial system of life of city people as food is for the alimentary system. We can thus foresee, growing out of the needs of this phase of modern life, more militant political movements of rapidly expanding proportions nearly everywhere in the world as well as in the United States.

What happens in France during the next three years can set an historical precedent.

AMERICAN RATIFICATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES IS LONG OVERDUE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the ratification of the Human Rights Conventions on Forced Labor, Genocide, Political Rights of Women, and Freedom of Association is undeniably a legislative responsibility.

President Johnson, in his proclamation on the Human Rights Year, gave strong emphasis to the fact that ratification of these treaties has been delayed much too long. He stated:

> The principles they embody are part of our national heritage. The rights and freedoms they proclaim are those which America defended . . . and fights to defend . . . around the world. It is my continuing hope that the United States Senate will ratify these conventions.

I also share the view of U.N. Ambassador and former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg that—

> Each of these conventions coincides very closely with the expressed principles and values of the United States. . . . And each is concerned with the eradication of abuses that could and that have, at times, become sources of bitter differences among nations. . . .

Our delay in ratifying these treaties is a costly anachronism.

Open debate, followed by a vote, is our most desirable course of action.

I strongly support the immediate ratification of the remaining human rights conventions as a clear indication of this Nation's leadership in the field of human rights.

NEBRASKA RURAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION ESSAY CONTEST WINNERS

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, the Nebraska Rural Electric Association has sponsored a youth tour to Washington for a number of years. The group is made up of boys and girls who have been the winners of essay contests sponsored by their individual Nebraska rural power systems in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.

I ask unanimous consent that the essays be printed in the Record.

Without objection, the essays were ordered to be printed in the Record as follows:

Rural Electrification and the Value of Electricity in the Home and on the Farm

(By Kyle L. Sitzman, age, 17; grade 11; school: Culbertson High School; father's name: Edward H. Sitzman, Culbertson, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Southwest Public Power District, Palisade, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

One of the most exciting developments in Rural America was the advent of rural electricity. It was one of the truly miraculous ventures between the people and their local and national governments. If your memory reaches back to the beginning of this century you will recall having witnessed many changes and advances in society's way of life. You have seen electric transmission lines creep along the main highways and then the lanes and byways of the nation, until almost every home uses some form of electric power. Electricity has become the drillmaster of American life. Each man's haven has become a power source fed by the huge artery of lines. Each job or activity of the average householder has become linked to this source of power.

A flick of a switch lights the homes, pumps the water, helps with the daily household chores and powers much of the machinery for the barnyard chores. The inventors and engineers who have planned and directed this power development could be considered our benefactors. Our everyday life would be completely different without their foresight. Government policy, as well as private decision, has followed where great minds have led. Each individual district has its own particular story of advancement. They are all exciting pages on the sheets of progress in each and every community.

As in all developments, Mother Nature tries to hold the upper hand. Our communities have witnessed this when she has shown her mighty force. As the wonderful organization of the R.E.A literally springs into action her show of strength is short lived. Well equipped crews do a splendid job whether it be an emergency or everyday work shifts. They give every outstanding and reliable service. Within the shortest period of time, under severe conditions, electric power is restored on the great network of lines.

Reliable service to all consumers at the lowest possible cost is R.E.A.'s consistent motto. We, as Americans, have come to realize that progress is a servant of our needs. Rural electrification has served our needs as well as being the biggest bargain the American people have ever received for an investment of their tax dollar.

The Rural family has banished the term "hick" from the American vocabulary. The once isolated farmer has all the conveniences of the world. Any appliance used by a city dweller is available to the rural consumer. The average teenager today, if whisked back through the pages of time, would be much more impressed by the great advances made through electrification. All of us would probably appreciate our everyday conveniences more. I, myself, am very thankful to the many people whose foresight and unselfish interests have brought us these achievements. To them we owe a debt of gratitude for they are the backbone of our conveniences, which we take for granted. May we have the outlook to continue and be the builders of tomorrow for yet greater and bigger things in the rural electrification program. Cooperation, service and an interest in the individual's welfare all add up to a bigger and better America through rural electrification.

Rural Electrification and the Value of Electricity in the Home and on the Farm

(By Glenda Bartels, age, 16; grade, 11; school, Wauneta Public School, name of father, G. H. Bartels, Wauneta, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Southwest Public Power District, Palisade, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

Power is progress. The highly mechanized farm of today undoubtedly proves the truth of this statement. Electrical energy has lessened the burdens of the farmer and made farming a more profitable business. Milking machines, power tools, electric fences, heat lamps, grain dryers, and water pumps are only a few of the labor-saving devices that electricity has made possible.

The farmer's wife welcomes electricity with enthusiasm. Electric irons, refrigerators, hot and cold running water, and washers and dryers are the modern housewife's musts for managing a home. Daily tasks can be done in a fraction of the time that it took 30 years ago. Less time spent doing routine work gives the homemaker more time for creative work and relaxing recreation.

Yes, REA has accomplished a tremendous service, not only to the farmers, but to the entire national economy. Think of the millions of dollars poured into the nation's economy by Rural Electric Co-op construction and new rural consumers buying appliances and equipment to totally modernize their farms.

As we look back over the formative years of rural electric co-ops, we can easily see the vital social and economic changes which have come to 98% of the nation's farmers. A heavy, burdensome load has been shifted from the shoulders of the farmer and his family to the sturdy REA poles and glistening wires which transmit reliable power.

The trend toward few and larger farms is likely to continue—so the successful farmer must achieve maximum production at lower costs with the help of power equipment.

Rural Americans in this year of 1968 can see the wisdom in this statement by Franklin Delano Roosevelt: "Electricity is no longer a luxury, it is a definite necessity."

However, these things are all in the past. Let us think of our changing times. As we drive out of town, we find more than farms. Here we see motels, restaurants, and service stations. A little further we see a garage full of modern power equipment, a new freezer plant, and a cement block factory. Electricity in the rural area has made all this possible. It is lucky for these industries that the REA provided loans to serve rural areas—not just farms.

Truly, rural electric co-ops have long been waging their own "war on poverty" by helping create new industries which have provided thousands of jobs to the jobless.

The test of the future will be different from that of the past. In the 1930's and 1940's, the obstacles were many. The problem of building power lines over miles of country side was tremendous. There were legal barriers and always the fear that rural people would not use enough electricity to make it pay its way.

The objective of the REA program has been to achieve parity of electric service and cost between city and country. After 30 years of progress, this goal has not been attained. It is up to the new generation of members to accomplish this goal.

The impact of rural electrification in the country has altered the face of America and the future of the rural electrification program can't wait. It must continue to serve rural America and to do so means expanding so the lights will never go out in rural America.

What Rural Electrification Means to My Community

(By Steve Larson, age, 18; grade 12; school, Axtell High School; name of father, Ray Larson, Funk, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Southern Nebraska Rural Public Power District, Grand Island, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

The REA has provided many new tools for the farmer and his wife. Electricity brings cheerful light to the home and barn on dark winter nights and mornings. The mercury vapor light provides greater security for the livestock against prowling animals.

The radio springs across plains, mountains and oceans with no need of wires to carry its messages. Now television and radar bring us an actual moving record in color of what is happening hundreds of miles away. The President can talk directly to the people whenever he wishes.

Nowhere has electricity been more useful than in the home. It has made the home a safer, cleaner, more pleasant place in which to live. Electric appliances have made it possible for the housewife to spend fewer hours on daily chores, and to enjoy more leisure.

Projecting this, an electric clothes dryer saves the average homemaker 20 eight-hour work days and 40 miles of walking in a year.

One man must work a little more than 13 hours to complete the amount of work which electrical energy can do in one kilowatt-hour. In recent years, prices per kilowatt-hour have declined, while other prices continue to rise.

Electricity can heat minerals up to 6,000 degrees F., and can run a freezing unit which creates a temperature of minus 60 degrees F.

We are living in an age of electric power. Imagine what would happen if suddenly there was no electric power. Commuters would stop running. Radios and television would be silent. Elevators and escalators would be stalled. At night, the great beacons and signs would be dim. There would be no light except for flickering flames of candles and oil lamps. Food would spoil in refrigerators and freezers. Machines in factories would stop turning. Looms would stop, shoes could not be made and the doorbell would be silent.

Farmers are more assured of a crop when they have an electric irrigation pump to water the field when the crop gets dry. By using the electric dryer, the crop can be harvested much earlier and not risk losing it by a hard wind, or early heavy snow.

Nothing has made a bigger—or better difference in our lives than going total electric. I figure electricity is the hardest working and least expensive servant a person can obtain.

What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community

(By Joan Konen, age 16; grade 11; school, Roseland High School; name of father George Konen, Roseland, Nebr., contestant sponsored by Southern Nebraska Rural Public Power District, Grand Island, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

"The night the lights came on"—this moment held, and still holds, so much significance.

Yet to us, the younger generation, it is extremely hard to imagine the deep emotion felt by rural families at this time. Let us, then, go back and relive the creation and advancement of this majestic power.

In 1935, President Roosevelt ordered the creation of the Rural Electrification Administration, granting initiation of programs "with respect to the generation, transmission, and distribution of electric energy in rural areas." Then, in 1936, the Rural Electrification Act was passed, authorizing the apportionment of loans among the states to finance these projects. The passage of this act cleared the road for action, and action came quickly.

Poles were set, and miles of wire was strung throughout the rural area. The powerful hand of REA slowly, but ever so confidently, lifted and eliminated the drudgery and despair from the farmer's life. Soon a dream became a reality. The flip of a switch and the farm home took on an entirely new look. Lights illuminated the yard, making possible longer working hours for the farmer. Electrically-operated tools were being developed, making his work much faster and easier. The spirits of the farmer heightened, for his life was no longer, and never would again be, similar to that of the early colonists. Rural Electrification enabled the farmer to break away from servitude to the soil, and, through radios and televisions, helped eliminate the isolation which so long had been a consequence of farm life.

The wonders of electricity, little by little, began to take over the chores. It could milk cows, pump water, warm pigs, hatch eggs, brood chicks, sharpen tools and drill holes. Electricity was a hired hand that paid for its own keep!

Inside the rural home, the outlook is every bit as bright. The present housewife enjoys countless labor-saving devices. Automatic washers and dryers, electric ranges, refrigerators, freezers, and water heaters have become "necessities" in every American home. So, also, are the vacuum sweepers, irons, electric mixers, blenders and various small kitchen appliances made possible by the low wages for which electricity is working.

Yes, REA is a real friend to every member of every family. Towards the world at large, it has certainly not failed to leave its print. It has instilled unutterable beauty. With its great power, it pumps our water and makes it available anywhere. It is with this additional water that country yards and beautiful gardens are formed. For myself and other teens it provides entertainment, and opportunity toward fulfillment. "It" is always there working the radios, telephones, stereos, movies, dance combos and bowling alleys to keep us entertained. Just think, without electricity, what would there be to do on Saturday nights?

REA helps teens in other ways, too. It has brought new and challenging opportunities for jobs and careers in rural areas. Better educated than our fathers and mothers, we are preparing to break the barriers to progress in rural electrification with new tools, new technology and new techniques.

I am certain that, because of rural electrification, my own personal life, and America's future life will be much more productive and rewarding.

The Value of Rural Electrification to Our Home and Community

(By Byron Yung, age 16; grade 10; school, Guide Rock High School; name of father, Russell Yung, Guide Rock, Nebr.; Contestant sponsored by South Central Public Power District, Nelson, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

Rural electrification is the most significant factor in the control of our environment. Electric feeders and water heaters aid the farmer in raising better quality cattle in less time and with less expense and work. Electric separators, coolers, and milkers help the dairy farmers run a more efficient dairy farm. Heat lamps run by electricity help the farmer lower the death rate of small pigs and chickens. These are just a few of the ways electricity has helped the farmer raise better livestock in less time and with less cost.

The production of crops has been affected in quite the same manner. Electric irrigation pumps provide all the water needed when the farmer's crops are starving for a drink of water. Grain dryers and electric irrigation pumps are responsible for better quality grains and increased production.

The farmer also uses electricity in welders and numerous power tools. These tools allow the farmer to make and repair equipment right on his own farm. This saves valuable time and money. Electric yardlights are not only a safety feature at night but can also be used by farmers to repair machinery.

Electricity inside the home has played even a greater part than outside. The housewife has so many labor-saving devices run by electricity so she can get her work done and have time left over to do as she wishes. Electric washers, dryers, and irons make washing and ironing days a lot shorter and easier. If she had to wash by hand, hang out the clothes, and then heat an old flat iron on a wood-burning stove to do her ironing her day would probably go into the night. Modern electric sewing machines have made sewing much easier and efficient. The housewife can now make almost any clothes she wants to in a reasonably short time. Electric stoves, frying pans, mixers, and toasters have helped the housewife prepare delicious tasting meals every time. Freezers and refrigerators allow the housewife to stock up on a sale at the store and to preserve food for long periods of time.

Electric lights in the home allow studying and reading to be done more easily and with less chance of damage to the eyes that results in reading in poor light.

Air conditioners and furnaces run by electricity make it possible to have your house at a comfortable temperature the year round. Television and radio not only supply entertainment to the whole family but they also keep the community well informed. Weather broadcasts on television and radio help the farmer decide what he should do about planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops.

With all the leisure time that is saved with rural electrification the people in the community have a chance to join several organizations. This builds a closer and better community. Rural electrification is a vital factor in making our environment more desirable.

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS BY SENATOR ROBERT C. BYRD AT CHARLES TOWN, W. VA.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on Memorial Day, I had the privilege of speaking during the services held at the Edge Hill Cemetery in Charles Town, W. Va. I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD my remarks on that occasion.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Memorial Day Address by the Honorable Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia, Edge Hill Cemetery, Charles Town, W. Va., May 30, 1968

We gather here to honor those who have died that America, and the idea of human freedom that it symbolizes, might live—to pay tribute, in short, to those who have given their lives for the American dream.

There are many families in our land from which, over the years, a loved one has been called to fight for freedom, and perhaps to die in that cause, and this day is set apart from all others for us to remember them with grateful hearts, rededicating ourselves to the principles for which they, in Lincoln's unforgettable phrase, gave "the last full measure of devotion."

It is fitting, as we honor them, that we ask ourselves these questions:

Are we willing to rededicate ourselves to the principles for which they died and to do what is necessary to preserve and strengthen America and the American dream for which they gave their lives—or are we going to allow our country, and its dream of liberty under law, to perish before our eyes because we are unwilling or unable to cope with the problems and the forces that beset us? Will we keep the faith?

In World War I, John McCrae, a Canadian doctor, thinking of the men who had fallen in Flanders fields, penned these well-known lines:

"We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

"Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from falling hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields."

The words are as appropriate today as they were when they were written in the far less complicated days of 1918.

We look at our America today, and we are not reassured. Our country is wracked by a divisiveness it has not known since the dark days of the Civil War a century ago. Turmoil and dissension and subversive threats grip the Nation at home, and abroad we are caught up in a hot war and a cold war with the evil forces that would destroy freedom and the way of life that we have known.

And yet there is no unity among our people for either the external fight against aggression or the internal struggle against subversion.

How dismaying the dissension is to those who understand the lesson of history: that only the strong can be free, and that only a nation that is willing to fight for its ideas and ideals will survive.

Vietnam is only one more chapter in the long history of the American people's willingness to put their lives and their treasures on the line when necessary.

From San Juan Hill, from Belleau Wood, from the Normandy Beaches to Korea and South Vietnam, the story has been the same. When nations or peoples have needed our help against aggression, when their fight was by extension our fight—as it has so often been, for no man and no nation can be an island unto itself—America has responded.

The shots that were fired for American freedom at Lexington and Concord have, indeed, been heard around the world. For out of the blessings of our freedom we have found the strength to protect freedom and to promote peace around the world. No nation in history has ever done so much for so many, so often, so unselfishly—in war and in peace. The Marshall Plan, for example, will forever stand as a monument to a nation that does not seek conquest, or plot aggression, or covet a foot of another nation's soil.

But what do we find in our country today? An ever-increasing number of American citizens who are dropouts from national responsibility, dropouts from the American dream, whose words and actions would sell their country short or sell it out.

I am constrained to say that they endanger our country from within far more than it is endangered from without. They are the mandarins of the "New Left," cloaking their sniper fire of destructiveness under the mantle of "dissent"—the radical professors who openly incite their students to rebellion; the activist clergy who have forsaken the pulpit for the political soapbox; the draft-card burners; the demonstrators; the marchers; the student insurrectionists; the perverters of the civil rights movement; the black power anarchists, exploited, or even directed, by the enemies of America, openly preaching revolution and openly proclaiming that America must be destroyed.

On this Memorial Day, I want to call for a return to the principles under which our country has attained its earlier greatness. Americans must speak out against those who defy authority and who defy their government, those who in the name of free speech and free assembly would deny free speech and free assembly to others, those who have distorted dissent to mock the very principles that allow dissent.

America is not sick. It is the malcontents who are sick. America has not failed. They have failed.

How insignificant they appear in comparison with those who have served their country, proud of its ideals, its traditions and its performance. How poorly they compare with the honored dead whose service and sacrifice we commemorate today.

I think that on this Memorial Day we could well pay tribute not only to the dead but also to the living, to the great majority of the American people who carry their share of the load, who till the soil, mine the coal, and build the towns and cities, and go forth to war—who are raising their families, paying their bills, going to church, and doing their jobs, without their hands stuck out waiting for somebody to give them something for nothing. These are the unsung heroes of our nation, the people who have built it and fought for it and preserved it and made it great.

I am thankful that the majority of American citizens have not grown too good or too "intellectual" to fight or work for their country, that they have not become too "sophisticated" to be patriotic, or too "liberal" to believe any longer in America. I am reassured by the fact that the serious students and the solid citizens of both races still outnumber the radicals, the draft dodgers, the law breakers, the do-gooders, the bleeding hearts, the addled egg-heads, and the just plain kooks.

If there has been a failure of our generation, it has been a failure to articulate the American dream, a failure to courageously speak out against those who seek to destroy our American institutions, a failure to pass on to all our young people the pride that we have in our heritage and in this land and to instil' in them a love and understanding of America.

I do not mean to suggest that all is perfect in our country. It is not. There is still much to be done to implement the American dream and to make it the living reality that all of us want it to be. But we have come a long way and great progress has been made.

Carl Shurz, a former United States Senator from Missouri, a widely-known statesman, editor and soldier, put it this way:

> "Our country, right or wrong.
> When right, to be kept right;
> When wrong, to be put right."

That is the attitude that America needs today.

Let us then, on this Memorial Day 1968, rededicate ourselves to the American dream. Let it be a time to honor the living who serve, as well as a time to honor the dead. Let it be a time to heed the voices of those who have built America instead of those who would tear it down. Let it be a time for us to resolve that we will henceforth eschew all who would sell America short.

As we pay tribute to those who sleep in this hallowed ground, let us renew our faith in America, rejuvenating our belief in the virtues that have made our land the great land that it is, looking always to the future, but clinging to all that is good from our past. Let us keep America dynamic, vital, but always securely rooted in the principles upon which it was founded.

Let us revitalize the teaching of the love of country in our schools, in our churches, and, most especially, in our homes, remembering, as Charles Dickens once wrote:

> "In love of home, the love
> Of country has its rise."

Let us inculcate in our youth a reverence for God and a love of country. And let us seek to re-instill in all our people a new respect for liberty under law, and for the order and security upon which society must rest.

And then, let us have a real re-birth of patriotism. It is by no means unsophisticated to be patriotic. On the contrary, the mature citizen can become a highly sophisticated patriot—weighing objectively what is right and what is wrong as he looks with understanding and compassion upon the land that is his home.

We have become too pseudo-sophisticated, too affluent, too soft, to permissive, to easygoing. The times call for men and for strong leadership. We need practicing patriots. We need men who will stand up—wherever they are, whatever their profession or calling—and fight for their country, who will answer when duty calls and do whatever duty bids. We need some new profiles in American courage.

We need a re-affirmation of American devotion to law and order and a renewed respect for authority. We need a return to the time-tested virtues and old-fashioned ideals upon which this Republic was founded.

So, let us on this Memorial Day resolve anew to fight the apathy and indifference that strangle patriotism. Let us by our words and by our deeds, by our precepts and our practices, re-establish adherence to all that is good and sound in America and in the American dream. Let us seek to restore unity. Let us build our political power without political oppression. Let us remain militarily strong, but without militarism.

Let us remember, on this Memorial Day, that there are many forces at work in our midst that would destroy us, if we would let them. And let us determine, for the sake of those we honor today who died that America might live, that such destruction will never come to pass.

Joseph Addison, the great British essayist, said:

> "What a pity it is that we can die
> But once to save our country."

I would say to you, rather, what a pity it is that we, who can live but once, fail to do all that we can do to save our country and to preserve its greatness.

It is a brave and noble thing to die for one's country.

It can be even braver and more noble to live for one's country.

EFFORTS BY INLAND STEEL TO ELIMINATE AIR AND WATER POLLUTION

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I have been greatly impressed by the concentrated efforts expended by a major Indiana industry, the Inland Steel Co., to reduce both air and water pollution from its varied operations. On June 20 the company will dedicate a new $7 million air pollution control equipment for its No. 3 open hearth shop at the Indiana Harbor Works. Previously, it had installed some $4 million worth of cleaning devices in its new basic oxygen furnace shop, and the cost for water pollution abatement installations alone at the Indiana Harbor works will total some $50 million by 1970.

The March 1968, issue of Indiana contains an article describing in some detail the activities and future plans of the Inland Steel Co. to minimize industrial wastes. Also, the magazine Ground Water Age for June contains an interesting study of the new injection well which the company is building in East Chicago to dispose of the "pickle liquor" used to remove mill scale from hot rolled steel. In addition, I have received from Inland Steel a more complete description of the new air pollution reduction facility which will soon be in operation at Indiana Harbor. The latter, which replaces seven large smokestacks with electrostatic precipitators will clean the gasses from seven furnaces and will comply fully with a strict new air quality control ordinance adopted in 1967 by the city of East Chicago under the leadership of Mayor John B. Nicosia.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the three articles outlining the record of Inland Steel Co. in combating pollution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the publication Indiana, March 1968]

INLAND STEEL CO. SPENDING MILLIONS TO CURB AIR AND WATER POLLUTION

Industrial wastes contribute heavily to the ever-increasing problem of air and water pollution. The Inland Steel Company at the Indiana Harbor Works recognizes this problem and is spending millions of dollars to do something about it.

By 1970, the cost of abatement of water pollution alone at the Indiana Harbor Works will be about $50 million due to more than $6 million being spent on anti-pollution devices to be built into recently announced projects such as the 80'' Cold Strip Mill and the Mold Foundry expansion.

In 1965 an air pollution control program for East Chicago was initiated by Inland and Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company. This multi-million-dollar plan calls for full control of emission from open hearth steelmaking furnaces and sintering plants by 1973.

Striving to achieve the 1973 deadline, Inland opened the new Basic Oxygen Furnace shop, in place of the 12-furnace No. 1 Open Hearth. The BOF is equipped with $4,000,000 worth of cleaning devices capable of removing more than 99 per cent of the dust from the exhaust gas of its two furnaces.

In 1966 at neighboring No. 3 Open Hearth, construction was begun on the foundations for a $7,000,000 bank of electronic precipitators.

A 12-part program is Inland's answer to questions raised by the government concerning industry's part in the water problem. This program has received approval from the State of Indiana and will place the discharged water of the Harbor Works well within the regulations of the Calumet Area conference. (This conference was held in 1965 when the U.S. Public Health Service entered the water pollution picture by establishing quality standards for the south end of Lake Michigan.)

The first of the 12 points in the program provides for a waste acid collection and 4,300-foot-deep disposal system which will bury about 170,000 gallons a day of waste pickle liquor when it goes into operation this spring.

Another part of the program calls for the expansion and improvement of the industrial waste pond at the north end of the plant. Other features include a "closed-circuit" water treatment system for the 122 Merchant Mill, eight automatic waste water samplers at plant outfalls, larger water cooling towers at Plants 2 and 3 Coke Plants, and facilities for the disposal of coke plant lime still wastes to the East Chicago sewage disposal plant for treatment.

A change from a hot lime-phosphate process to a hot lime-zeolite process of water treatment at No. 3 AC Station to reduce discharges of phosphate nutrients is now in operation. Modifications to blast furnaces of Plant 2 to prevent dust-laden water from being discharged will essentially be completed this year. Similar improvements to Plant 3's blast furnaces, plus the addition of a secondary settling basin will also be completed this year.

In addition, this year will witness the completion of improvements to Plant 3 blast furnaces and modifications to Plant 2 and Plant 3 Coke Plant abatement facilities, plus a hookup to the city sewer for certain waste water and lime still waste.

The last of the 12 projects, the Terminal Waste Treatment Plant, is the costliest and most important, and it will take the longest to finish since a building site must first be created where the waters of the Indiana Harbor Ship Canal's Turning Basin now lie.

When it goes into operation in 1970, the plant will cleanse all water used in the older mills in Plant 2 by removing virtually all suspended solids and oil.

For 30 years Inland has been working on the problems of controlling the quality of the air and water environment of the Harbor Works. The cost of abatement equipment is high and in very few instances provides any return on the investment.

In a recent newsletter to company management people, Inland President Frederick G. Jaicks justified the expense. "The company realizes that it has duties and responsibilities which go beyond the profit motive. A lake suitable for a diversity of uses is of vital interest to us, for we not only work on its shores but also live and play here."

The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration recently prepared a report on pollution problems in Lake Michigan and its tributaries. Two points directly pertain to Inland. One is that "action be taken toward the exclusion or maximum treatment of all industrial wastes contributing to pollution; and that industrial wastes be discharged to municipal sewers where at all possible."

The other recommendation is that "the discharge of oil from any source into any waters of the Lake Michigan Basin be stopped entirely."

With regard for these proposals, President Jaicks closed the company newsletter by saying, "We believe that with the completion of the current pollution abatement program, the Indiana Harbor Works will be well within both of these recommendations, and that Inland will be in the vanguard of Lake Michigan-based industries taking positive actions to ensure the preservation of a priceless natural asset."

Lieutenant Governor Robert L. Rock, Director of the Indiana Department of Commerce, toured Inland Steel on Tuesday, March 19.

Charles M. Squarcy, Assistant to the Vice-President, Steel Manufacturing, made arrangements for the Lieutenant Governor's tour.

[From Ground Water Age, June 1968]

Injection Well Incorporates Many Safeguards

More and more attention is being placed on the protection of our water supply, both surface and ground. This has posed a problem to some industries which produce vast quantities of obnoxious substances as by-products of their manufacturing processes. The production of steel is a case in point.

A by-product of steel production is called "pickle liquor" and consists of a combination of sulphuric acid, hydrochloric acid, iron sulphides and chlorides. This acid is used to remove mill scale from hot rolled steel. In the case of Inland Steel Co. of East Chicago, Indiana, the problem was what to do with about 158,000 gallons of this "pickle liquor" that was produced daily. Previously, it had been possible to discharge it into Lake Michigan. But recent antipollution legislation has made this impossible. The next step for Inland was to find some other more suitable place to discharge this pollutant.

Based on the results of a report prepared for Inland, it was decided to dispose of this waste through a deep well disposal system. The Mt. Simon formation, extending from 2,570 feet to 4,348 feet below surface, was selected as a suitable area into which to inject the waste.

The Mt. Simon formation is a huge aquifer that is saturated with salt water. This water ranges from 20,000 to 123,000 mg/1 total dissolved solids, making it completely unsuitable for use. The aquifer also underlies thousands of square miles in Illinois, Indiana, and southern Michigan and is said to be capable of holding all of the water presently contained in the Great Lakes.

Another factor that pointed towards the use of the Mt. Simon formation was the fact that directly above it lies a solid shale formation that would act as an effective cap, thus preventing any possible movement of water upward to cause pollution. Tests further showed that the reservoir capacity of the aquifer was such that with uniform vertical distribution of the "pickle liquor," 100 years of continuous injection at 100 gpm would result in a radius of only 1,100 feet of waste liquid from the well bore to the waste front. The well bore itself consists of a 1,410 foot hole that extends from the upper shale caprock through the Mt. Simon sandstone to a point 4,300 feet below the ground where the well holes out in a granite formation.

Because of the highly corrosive nature of the waste, special considerations had to be taken during the construction of the well, especially as it pertained to material to be used for casing. While the Mt. Simon sandstone does not produce good water, acquifers higher up are in use, and there could be no risk of contaminating these.

Drilling firm on the job was Stouder Drilling Co., Evansville, Indiana, and about six months were required to complete the 4,300-foot deep well.

CASING CRITICAL

To protect the upper aquifers, three sets of steel casing were set in the hole. Two of the casings only went part of the way down while the third, or innermost one, extended below the upper layer of shale caprock. A corrosion-resistant injection tube was then placed into this inner casing. A plug was put in between the wall of the hole and casing just below the bottom of the shale layer to completely seal off the aquifer from those above. Following this, concrete was forced into the space between the hole wall and casing until it completely filled the space from approximately the 2,500-foot mark to ground level.

Additional protection against the possibility of having the "pickle liquor" leak into good producing aquifers was provided by pumping fresh water into the annular space between the similarly plugged space between injection tubing and inner casing. This water is under constant pressure so that in the event of a leak in the injection tube, the water would be forced in rather than having the "pickle liquor" forced out.

WELL DESIGN

Well design called for 16-inch surface casing to be set to the top of the Silurain limestone at about the 170 foot mark. After this, 10¾-inch intermediate casing was set to nearly 800 feet, and a long string of 7-inch casing went down 2,440 feet, through the shale caprock, and into the Mt. Simon formation. A 2⅞-inch Fibercast chemical injection tube, in turn, went down 2,550 feet. The hole itself went down to the top of the pre-Cambrian granite located at about the 4,300-foot mark.

Cutting samples were saved and bagged during drilling. Specifications called for two sets of bagged samples of cuttings to be furnished. These were labeled as to depth and were obtained from every ten feet of the hole drilled. Two core samples were also taken. Each sample was 25 feet in length. The first was taken from the upper limit in the Mt. Simon sandstone, and the second was from the lower level.

TESTING OF WELL

Specifications also called for drill stem tests to be made. The first was taken in the lower Galesville sand, at a depth of 1,800 feet. The second and third tests were taken as soon as the coring had been completed in the upper and lower sections of the Mt. Simon formation. These tests were necessary to collect water samples, take pressure measurements and to determine the degree of permeability of the formation encountered.

Following the acidizing, pulling of tubing and swabbing of the well, an injection test was run using chlorinated water at a rate of a little over 300 gpm. The test was run at four different rates in all, each for one hour. Results of these tests showed that the disposal well would have an initial disposal capacity of approximately 62 gpm of 1.2 specific gravity "pickle liquor" just using gravity flow. A rate of 150 gpm for the same specific gravity fluid would require about 577 psi well head injection pressure.

Care also had to be exercised to insure that the sandstone in the Mt. Simon formation would not become clogged, thus retarding the flow of the waste into the formation. To accomplish this, a filtering system had to be installed. This system had to be capable of removing particles from the "pickle liquor" 10 microns or more in size. Injection pumps to send the filtered liquor down the well are capable of creating pressures up to 250 psi. Two 100,000-gallon collection tanks hold the waste before it is filtered and pumped into the well. Up to 174,000 gallons of pickling wastes can be pumped into the well daily. Cost of the well was more than $2,500,000.

Statement by Inland Steel Co. on New Air Pollution Control Facility

A $7,000,000 program for the reduction of air pollution from the seven-furnace No. 3 Open Hearth shop at the Indiana Harbor Works of Inland Steel Company will bear fruit on June 20, when a huge bank of electrostatic precipitators will be put into operation.

The equipment will clean the shop's gases in accordance with an air pollution control agreement signed in May of 1965 between Inland and the City of East Chicago, Indiana.

The City of East Chicago passed a new Air Quality Control Ordinance in 1967 which superseded the Air Pollution Ordinance of 1950. The limits on particulate emissions established by this new Ordinance are among the most restrictive in the country, and are far more restrictive than those set by the Ordinance of 1950. Although the pollution abatement facilities for Inland's No. 3 Open Hearth shop were planned long before the new Ordinance was passed, Inland installed the best equipment available, which the manufacturer guarantees will exceed the requirements established by the 1967 Ordinance.

The control equipment is one of the largest such installations in the nation, and consists of a bank of electrostatic precipitators 300 feet long and taller than a 10-story building. The unit will clean the dust from up to 1,000,000 cubic feet per minute of flue gas exhausted by the open hearth furnaces.

The seven large smokestacks which originally discharged the waste gases have been capped, so that all the gases now emerging from the steelmaking furnaces are collected in ducts which lead to the precipitator.

Dust-laden gases pass successively through four precipitator fields in which the dust particles are electrically charged, then attracted to steel screens having an opposite charge. A small vibration of the screens will drop the dust to a receiving hopper.

Inland's research personnel are presently working on developing a process which would permit the re-use of this iron-bearing material in Inland's steelmaking operations.

In the first phase of the program, the dust will be collected from the hoppers, dampened, balled and stockpiled at the plant.

The precipitator is not the first air control measure taken at Inland, nor will it be the last. In the agreement signed by Inland and its neighbors, the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company, with the City of East Chicago, the two companies' combined schedule of dust reduction calls for the completion of air control projects by 1973.

According to the records of East Chicago's Air Quality Control Department, the level of particulates in the city's air has shown a significant decline since 1964. Air analyses at that time showed an average of 224 micrograms per cubic meter, and that figure dropped to an average of 146 micrograms per cubic meter in 1967. Future decreases are to be expected as the steel companies' pollution control programs continue.

At Inland Steel, other primary steel production facilities have already been the target of air quality control efforts.

The company's twin-furnace basic oxygen steelmaking shop was put into service in 1966 with dust collection equipment already installed. Exhausts at this installation pass through scrubbers to remove more than 99 per cent of the dust particles emerging from the furnaces.

Water used in the scrubbers is passed through thickeners so that dust particles settle out and are removed. The water is recirculated, to minimize the discharge of solid particles to the U.S. Ship Canal, adjacent to the plant.

The inauguration of Inland's basic oxygen furnace increased the net steelmaking capacity of the Indiana Harbor Works, and it made possible the shutdown of the plant's 12-furnace No. 1 Open Hearth shop. Termination of operations at the 64-year-old shop in itself removed another source of dust particles.

Some of Inland Steel's gas cleaning equipment predates by decades the significant steps for air quality control now being taken by the company. Gas washers have been employed in each of the plant's eight blast furnaces since they were built, the first in 1907. Thickeners to prevent water pollution resulting from the gas cleaning operations were first installed in 1927.

Inland ranks the preservation of water quality equal in importance to its air quality programs.

By 1970, some $50,000,000 will have been invested by the company in water treatment projects, either as separate centralized treatment facilities or as adjuncts to individual steel processing facilities.

The goal of Inland's water control programs is to meet or exceed water quality criteria established by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and the Indiana Stream Pollution Control Boards.

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE LEAGUE'S 14TH ANNUAL CAREER SERVICE AWARDS PROGRAM

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, on April 27, the National Civil Service League held its 14th annual career service awards program. The career service awards program is a public service of the National Civil Service League designed to promote efficiency in government by recognizing 10 career public employees for significant contributions; encouraging others in government service to pursue excellence; promoting public appreciation of quality in government; and stimulating able young people to choose careers in government.

The recipients of the National Civil Service League's career service awards, inaugurated in 1955, represent the best in public service.

The success stories of the 10 career civil servants who won the career service awards of the league give an inkling of the jobs open to able young people in government today. But there is much more to the story. Their success, adventures, rewards, satisfactions—though admittedly not typical—are shared by hundreds of thousands of other public employees. And more than 9 million people who staff National, State, and local governments share these rewards today in every kind of occupation. They range from managing and manning thousands of social services to the frontiers of space.

This year's awardees were:

Brent Ashabranner, Peace Corps;

Dr. Lewis M. Branscomb, National Bureau of Standards;

Edward P. Cliff, Forest Service;

Samuel M. Cohn, Bureau of the Budget;

J. William Doolittle, U.S. Air Force;

James F. Kelly, Health, Education, and Welfare;

Dr. Alexander D. Langmuir, Public Health Service;

Ellsworth H. Morse, Jr., General Accounting Office;

Milton Shaw, Atomic Energy Commission; and

Arbon W. Stratton, Veterans' Administration.

At the program honoring these awardees, Mortimer M. Caplin, president of the National Civil Service League, presided. The banquet was attended by outstanding leaders in Government, business, and career employees.

I ask unanimous consent that the program be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the program was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROGRAM

Presiding: Mortimer M. Caplin, President, National Civil Service League.

Presentation of Colors: Military Color Guard.

Address: The Honorable McGeorge Bundy, President, The Ford Foundation.

Message from the President of the United States: The Honorable John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman, United States Civil Service Commission.

Awards Presentation: Bernard L. Gladieux, Chairman, Board of Directors, National Civil Service League.

Together with Government officials, officers of the National Civil Service League.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, an outstanding address was delivered by Hon. McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, in which he stressed our Nation's dependence on a highly capable civil service.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bundy's speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY MCGEORGE BUNDY, NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE LEAGUE, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 27, 1968

It is a great pleasure for me to be here and to have a chance to talk about the public service. In a very strong sense, what is said at a meeting like this is of relatively low importance compared with what is done.

Look at the records of the men who are up for honors tonight, and consider how unlikely it is that our government—perhaps any government twenty-five years ago—could have brought forward ten professional civil servants with records of achievement as clear and as varied as these. Then remind yourselves that there were ten Career Awards of this calibre last year and the year before, and that already people are wrestling with the problem of nominating and choosing ten for the year to come. Reckon the great number of men and women whose skills, whose commitment, whose service, whose accomplishment, reflect the combination of human quality and wider purpose which the Federal service means to so many of us.

Do all this, and you understand at once—in a way which no words of any individual can improve on—the degree to which the public service in the United States is now an indispensable, inescapable, and most fortunate part of the reality of our society as a whole. So we today celebrate a phenomenon without which the United States Government could not play a role—either at home or abroad—commensurate with its size, strength, and accountability.

It is entirely proper that for one evening we should emancipate ourselves from the great spectator sport of the Presidential campaign. But it is also entirely proper that we remind ourselves that whoever has the misfortunte to win will find himself turning from the contest of the polls (obviously a good and necessary and extraordinarily important affairs) to the question of the process of government. When that happens, whatever may be the abrasive edges of his contact with the men and women who are here in the Federal government already, the man who wins and the men he brings with him will find themselves inescapably dependent upon the quality of the professional civil servants.

It is not at all clear to me that this great dependency on a highly capable civil service happened by design. I intend no offense to John Macy, for I think when the history books are written the record of the Civil Service Commission in the years in which he has been chairman will be one the great stories in the American public service in its own right. But I think he would join with me in the hypothesis that the *process* by which the strength and quality of the public service have grown over the last two generations is even more significant than the very important and constructive individual steps to improve the status, role, and varied opportunity of the civil service. Notably under the last three Presidents, the concept of a professional career service has moved forward to include a closer and more self-respecting connection to government officials with political responsibility. This process of change has also begun to redefine the relation between the public service and the voter. It is more important than ever, in fact, that the public service should not be political in the bad sense of the word, because the public service commands a kind of public respect and public acceptance which it did not have in earlier times. This process, I suggest, is wider and deeper than laws and executive orders and exhortations, even from Presidents. It is somehow a part of the way in which this nation now conducts its business because it must.

THE PAY OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

Now, there are many problems left in the new public service—many lacks, many uncertainties, many moments of delay and discouragement and many pockets of imperfection. The most obvious—and I think it not a trivial point—is that the compensation for service to the government is still a very long distance from what it should be. This is a proposition still more dramatically true in cities and states than in the Federal service. But the lack in Washington is very strong. I have recently had occasion to look at the question of compensation and the position of the officers of the cabinet. Cabinet officers today receive salaries of $35,000. I amused myself by asking whether if the current salary of a cabinet officer were doubled he would be better or worse off, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, than he would have been sixty years ago. It turns out to be almost a dead heat between a salary of $70,000 in 1968 and the actual cabinet salary of $12,000 in 1908 when you take into account both changes of price levels and what the Internal Revenue Service has done to take-home pay in the intervening years.

By one of the major reforms of recent years (a reform for which John Macy should share the credit that is officially and properly given to virtuous committees)* the basic responsibility for changing top Federal salaries now rests with a new institution called the Quadrennial Salary Commission. This independent body will have the job of making recommendations to the President, and the President in turn will have power to make recommendations to Congress—and those recommendations, which will probably be closely parallel to what the Commission brings in, will take effect unless the Congress takes positive action to overturn them. This procedure takes the individual Congressman off the hook, and quite properly so. The first Quadrennial Salary Commission will go to work this year, and I think there are at least three reasons why its members may wish to consider a recommendation to restore the cabinet salary position of 1908.

The first is quite simple and historical: 1908 was a pretty good year—it was Theodore Roosevelt's last in office and his cabinet had many good men, so that level is a good one to restore.

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*After making this tribute at the League dinner I was informed by an unimpeachable source that the true originator of this ingenious reform is Senator Dirksen. I am delighted to offer hearty thanks to him for a characteristically practical contribution. You often find strong currents under roaring surf.

MOBILITY

My second reason is supply and demand on a wider level. It is not only the honest-to-goodness cabinet officers who deserve more pay. Indeed the larger reason for lifting the ceiling is to be able to help some people on the third and fourth floors. The most preposterous salary schedule now operating in any large organization is that which operates in the Federal government between what is called level 5 and level 2 of the top professional range. The last time I looked, you could go from level 5 to level 2 in jumps of either $500 or $750, and after sharing the booty with Mr. Mortimer Caplin and his heirs and assigns, you had just enough money left to take your wife out to dinner and explain to her that it wasn't a raise, it was simply an improvement in status.

To cram four administrative levels right at the top of the Federal professional service between $28,000 and $30,000 is to assert futility. It makes it quite impossible to exercise true flexibility of movement in and out and up and around the Federal government. Government deserves—and any first-rate society ought to provide—a frame of mobility for first-rate men. The present frugal squeeze at the top imposes very heavily upon the sense of dedication, commitment, and willingness to persevere that has been the fuel of the Federal service, professional and amateur alike, for so very long.

I am not urging that the level of compensation at the top of the Executive branch (or any other branch of government) should be made competitive with the higher reaches of the more remunerative professions, or the executive suite of the corporate world. That is not the point; the point is simply that a government with the kinds of authority and concern, the breadth of responsibility, and the variety of problems of the United States government, handicaps itself when it leaves almost no salary space between the top of the ordinary civil service and the cabinet rank itself. So I would tolerate the "waste" of this double salary on cabinet officers. Let 'em eat cake, so that a reasonable supply of freshly baked bread can be obtained and distributed in the working parts of the government.

EXPANDING DIMENSIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY

The third reason for a salary revolution is the growth curve of the Federal government and of all government. I am not talking about the size of the government, or the magnitude in terms of manpower, or even a budget of any given office. Rather I mean the inevitability that when the National Civil Service League meets twenty-five years from now to give what may then have to be twelve or even fifteen awards, the difference between the range of responsibilities of the men who are honored then and of those who are here this evening will be as great as the difference between the responsibilities of these ten men and those of senior civil servants in 1940.

The revolution in the role and responsibility of government has been continuous since 1933; it continues today. Major problems that now are only marginally the problems of government will be central problems of government in another generation. The most obvious and the most rapidly growing one is education. The Federal government will not run the schools in 1985, but without the Federal government the schools will not run; neither will the colleges or the universities. Take the environment too: the Federal government will not own and operate the environment, but without the Federal government, the environment will be intolerable. And take international affairs. In relative growth, we are told in studies largely sponsored by the Civil Service Commission, the international side of the government will not grow. I think myself that is a happy sign; I am all for Ambassador Tuthill's theory of the small and beautiful embassy. Sending more people to solve international problems is very often not the answer. So relative magnitudes may not grow in those crude terms, but the dangers of the world in the next generation will not grow less. Nor will the inescapable responsibility of the United States government as the greatest world power, and the only one that is constantly refreshed by having to bounce against the feelings of its own people on foreign affairs.

All these are only the more obvious areas for large governmental engagement. Others will be sure to come closer to center stage. What happens to the oceans? What happens to the processes of life in an urban society in which the very constitutional boundaries of the states may become out of date in a way which we only faintly sense today? How will all of this be reconciled with a continuing process of democratic election, democratic responsiveness, and citizen participation out in the communities of the country? How will we sort out the hundreds of government programs mounted only in the current Administration? Again I am talking not in terms of budgets or of money, but in terms of the growing skill that governmental efforts will demand, the dedication they will assume, the responsibility they will offer, the challenge they will set to the men and women of the public service. All this is another reason for respectable rates of pay.

So history, supply and demand, and the future together are compelling. Yet I am not saying that salaries or compensation are an end in themselves. If you will allow me a remark from my bygone university experience, I remember that fifteen years ago the question of what you paid a professor had become critical, not because professors were starving, but because the rates of pay in the academic profession had fallen so seriously behind the responsibilities and the requirements of the academic profession that there was an imbalance which amounted to a disorder in that whole part of our society. I don't want to say that professors are now getting paid enough (or even too much), but the scales are a great deal better than they were. The self-respect of the profession is greater than it was. We have restored the dignity of the faculties of our country just in time for them to deal with the question of the dignity of the undergraduate. I think we should do the same for the Federal government because there is a lot of trouble ahead and the society will pay dearly for skimping on the quality of its public service.

THE PROFESSIONALS AND THE PRESIDENCY

The pay question is serious, but it is just one aspect of a more profound question in the public service—the relation between the professional service and the amateur service, or if you will, between the Presidency (which is more and more an institution that goes out far beyond the reach and the personality of a single individual) and the continuing civil service as an arm of the Executive Branch of the Federal government.

This is a subject which is close to my heart and one on which, in my judgment, a great deal of nonsense has been written. Certainly there is an intake of breath, a kind of pause for observation, and a process of mutual examination, when a new administration comes in. There is a wariness deriving from somewhat different patterns of experience and expectation—in a curious way, a kind of exaggerated expectation on both sides—of the professionals by the new amateurs and of the new amateurs by the professionals. This derives not from the intrinsic nature of the people on either side, but from the incurably optimistic view which both sides share as Americans, namely that the government of the United States can, in fact, do anything it puts its mind to. This proposition is at once essential to the conduct of democratic government in a difficult time of the world's affairs, and contrary to fact, because the U.S. government cannot, at any given moment, do anything it has a mind to. The reasons why it cannot are as varied as the problems it confronts, but at four- or eight-year intervals you get a group of people who, having toiled through an election year, have very high hopes. An election year is indeed very hard on the candidates. It is very hard on the rest of us too, and very hard on the government of the United States, which is required to hold its breath for a period that may run up to eighteen months. That requires quite a lot of breath control, and when the government of the United States has been holding its collective breath for this length of time, it wants to exhale in somebody's face.

But when a candidate has been running exceedingly hard and avoiding fatal mistakes at the rate of fifteen or twenty a day and comes to the end of an exhausting contest, his view is that it is time that he should sink into a large soft protective net and, "by God, these people—the public service—haven't been doing anything for a year. Let them show what they can do."

Now this is the surface reaction and the troubles it creates are as predictable as Daylight Saving, no matter who wins and no matter how many government officials stay and how many quit in January, February and March of next year.

But all of this is not the point. The point is the opposite: inescapably and by the nature of their tasks, the persons who constitute the Presidency—the Administration—and the continuing professional service on the other hand, will, in fact, do business with each other. (It is far from clear just who the members of the Administration are and how wide that term should be spread; there will be people who think of themselves as the Administration although the Administration doesn't think of them as the Administration, and that will take some time to sort out, too.)

The collaboration will happen with least friction and with most necessity in that mysterious center of all kinds of power—that place where politics and professionalism are mixed together behind the protective architecture of General Grant—the Bureau of the Budget. Because by definition he will be an intelligent man, whoever is the Director of the Bureau of the Budget the next time will make friends with the incumbent. The rest of the new Administration will learn slowly about what is going on there, but those who are smart will get there early enough to be remembered in the process that shapes what comes to be the 1970 budget.

GROWING SYMBIOSIS

Joking aside, I am not really talking about the gamemanship of getting into the process. What counts in the end is something wider and deeper: The Federal government is an instrument which cannot operate without the Presidency, and the Presidency is an instrument which cannot operate without the Federal government. With all their respective troubles and all their abrasions and all their impatience, one with the other, and all of the stories which can be told in and out of school about this or that outrageous requirement from the White House or this or that impossible delay in performance from this or that bureau or department, the fact of the matter is that these two great elements in the American process of government are natural allies. (Of course there are pockets of power out in the Executive Branch that are vaguely hostile to the Presidency and think of themselves as independent of it and accountable only to themselves.) We all know that the popular myth that the Executive Branch, and especially the Presidency, is too big for its britches, is a foolish notion. The real questions that have to be raised about the effectiveness of the Federal government have to do not with excessive authority or arbitrary strength or terrible usurpation, but with the way in which an extraordinarily complex entity, tightly limited both by public opinion and by the legislature, conducts its affairs. We know, indeed, that the question that has to be asked about the government is how to make it work—how to make the decent and responsible and good things happen.

What I am trying to say, out of my experience as an amateur and my observation over a longer period, is that in the end there is no substitute for the effective communication of purpose and knowledge and understanding back and forth. I think if you try to say that one part of the job belongs to the political people—the Administration—and that another part belongs to the professionals, you will quickly be in trouble. Political judgments (not public political responsibility, for that is another question) have to be a part of the thinking of the professionals, and an understanding of professional judgments must be a part of the way of life of the Administration. The lists of people who have won the Career Award, who have made their names in the professional public service of the United States government, have a close relation to the political offices of the United States government in later years. One may joke about a distinguished professional who becomes a cabinet officer, but in seriousness one should recognize that advancement to the cabinet is recognition both of the distinguished professional service of an individual and of the inescapable interpenetration of the final political process of executive government and the professional service which the National Civil Service League exists to celebrate. This symbiosis will grow, not decrease. All the internal governmental wars and all the abrasions and all the mutual suspicion we have had in the past will continue, but they will be increasingly in the minor key. The major mode will be the sense cf common enterprise.

That is, I think, the meaning of the growing concern with the effectiveness of the civil service and the concept of the civil service idea which is reflected in the public expressions and the actual practice of the last three Presidents. It is the meaning of the reality of our society as it is in 1968 and, still more, as it will be in 1978. For as long as we speak the English language, the civil servants will say "politician" with a special tone of voice, and the political office holders will say "bureaucrat" in a special tone of voice. It is a curious and interesting habit among Americans that they keep bad words for good things. But in terms of reality, the political leader and the professional civil servant will more and more be partners. They will know it more and more and the country will know it too.

CRIME AND THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert the following newspaper stories in the RECORD:

From the Washington Post of June 4, 1968: "Marchers Balked at Justice Department"; "Rustin Pushing for Big March"; "Rustin Call Cites 'the American Promise' "; and "Poor March Subdues Militant 'Bandido'."

From the Washington Star of June 4, 1968: "Marchers Hold 8-Hour Vigil at Justice Department"; "The Invaders Seize Bus, Stir Row at Tent City"; and "Judge in Riot Cases Criticizes District."

From the Washington Post of June 5, 1968: "Marchers Tell Clark Law Fails."

From the Washington Star of June 5, 1968: "Abernathy Denies Rustin Authority"; "Marchers Split on Protest Site"; and "Two Slain in Shooting on M Street."

From the Washington Post of June 6, 1968: "Marchers' Rift Breaks Into Open"; and "Hill Delegation Visits Resurrection City, Promises Hearings."

There being no objection, the stories were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 4, 1968]

MARCHERS BALKED AT JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

(By Paul W. Valentine)

More than 400 clamoring demonstrators of the Poor People's Campaign took their grievances to the locked doors of the Justice Department yesterday in an inconclusive call for action on their demands.

Leaders said they were prepared to surround the Justice Department building for an indefinite period unless Attorney General Ramsey Clark agreed to meet with a delegation of 100 demonstrators. The marchers left shortly after 10 p.m. with an agreement to meet with Clark today.

Hosea Williams, the bearded leader of direct action for Resurrection City, emerged from the building at about 8:20 p.m. with a small group after what he said was a meeting with Clark.

Williams picked up a bullhorn and announced to the crowd: "I am deeply hurt . . . I have lost a lot of respect for Mr. Clark. He said in effect, 'I am God and you all are nobody.'

"We're going to march around this building and Mr. Clark will not go home out of this door this night without talking to us." He called for those willing to be arrested to line up in front of the building's entrance at 10th Street and Constitution Avenue nw.

About 300 demonstrators formed in a line, and Williams led about 100 of them in a march around the block.

The Attorney General left the building at 9:50 p.m., unobserved by the demonstrators. Shortly after, about 126 Campaigners, led by Williams, left the Justice Department for a meeting near the campus of George Washington University.

En route to the site, however, Williams learned that the meeting had ended, and the group returned to Resurrection City. The remainder of the demonstrating group at the Justice Department dispersed at about the same time.

Clark, meanwhile, had agreed to meet with 100 Campaigners this morning. Rudolfo (Corky) Gonzales, a Mexican-American leader from Denver, said the demonstrators would return to Justice for the meeting.

A Justice Department spokesman said last night that the Government was willing at all times to meet with members of the Campaign, but that it didn't plan to honor impromptu demands for meetings with large delegations.

The spokesman said that Clark had offered to meet with 25 persons yesterday on the question of Mexican-American issues. He also agreed to meet with 100 Campaigners today to talk about general demands.

Demonstration leaders insisted on the meeting last night with 100 persons representing all elements of the Campaign, a demand that was rejected by Clark at the meeting with Williams and the others.

Earlier, the four-week old Campaign won the endorsement of a Cabinet member, Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall.

He told a group of about 30 Indians at the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

"I think the Poor People's Campaign is achieving important aims and awakening the conscience of the country in a way that hasn't been done before."

The Justice Department demonstration came in a day crowded with Campaign activity, including picketing by Indians at the National Press Building and a visit by Mexican-Americans to the Mexican Embassy where they asked Ambassador Hugo B. Margain to take their grievance to the United Nations.

Margain refused, saying it is not Mexican policy to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries.

The specific purpose of the Justice Department demonstration was to demand Federal intervention in the Los Angeles County prosecution of 13 Mexican-Americans indicted on charges of conspiring to disturb the peace. They are accused of leading a walkout and boycott of 15,000 students last March at a number of predominantly Mexican-American schools in Los Angeles.

Gonzales, Mexican-American leader from Denver, said they are demanding that Clark exercise his power to grant a 72-hour period of immunity against further prosecution of the 13 defendants while an investigation of possible civil rights violations is made.

Justice officials said they know of no 72-hour immunity period. They said it is possible to seek either a temporary restraining order through a Federal Court or attempt to remove the case from State to Federal jurisdiction, but these actions would require the initiative of attorneys for the defendants.

The 250 demonstrators walked from Resurrection City near the Lincoln Memorial to the Justice Department, getting soaked in an afternoon shower along the way.

At the northwest corner of Constitution Avenue and 10th Street nw. they were met by Nathaniel E. Kossack, second-in-command of the Department's Criminal Division.

Kossack told Gonzales a delegation of five persons could see Stephen Pollak, assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Rights Division.

Gonzales insisted that a "more representative" group of 100 see Attorney General Clark. Kossack agreed to see what could be done and disappeared into the building while the demonstrators pressed around the locked entrance.

Department emissaries returned to say Clark would agree to see a group of 20.

The increasingly hostile crowd shouted, "No, no, everybody, everybody."

Gonzalez was unable to quiet the crowd. Hosea Williams, the bearded Negro leader of direct action for Resurrection City grabbed the bullhorn from Gonzales and beseeched the crowd to be silent.

He reminded them that the demonstration was primarily on behalf of Mexican-Americans who had agreed among themselves earlier that a group of 100 would be enough.

"I make a motion that we support their demand for 100," Williams shouted. The crowd, at least half of it Negroes, yelled agreement.

Later in the afternoon, Justice Department emissaries offered to let in 25 then and 100 today, according to Gonzales, but the demonstrators refused and settled down for an indefinite stay.

While the crowd waited for officials to respond to their demands, many chided the Metropolitan Policemen surrounding them for removing their nameplates and numbered badges.

"It's part of the conspiracy so that when they beat you, you don't know who they are and you can't sue 'em in court," yelled Williams over the bullhorn.

Assistant Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson, highest-ranking officer on the scene, quickly went through the ranks of patrolmen, and within minutes all were wearing their name plates and badges.

Police officials say that policemen are routinely asked to remove the metal pieces in circumstances where a civil disturbance is possible to avoid having them ripped off and used as weapons.

Williams and other Negro leaders appeared to take a relatively smaller role in yesterday's demonstration, letting Gonzales and his lieutenants assume the leadership and deal with Government officials.

Though demonstrators were meeting tactical resistance at the Justice Department, their reception at the Interior Department earlier in the day was different.

In praising the Poor People's Campaign, Secretary Udall said, "It quickened a lot of action in my Department and in the Bureau of Indian Affairs."

The Indians met with Udall to hear his answers to demands they presented May 1, concerning their charges of "paternalism" by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Udall said some persons in the Bureau are "doing a first-rate job" but acknowledged that others "have what I call too much of a paternalistic attitude."

His comments drew applause from the Indians. He met with them for about 90 minutes, then served them coffee and cake.

Earlier in the morning, about 25 Indians picketed the National Press Building at 14th and F Streets nw., to protest what they feel has been unfair reporting.

Henry Adams, a spokesman for the Indians, said yesterday about 40 Indians from Washington State are pulling out of the Campaign to test their fishing rights in their home State. He said they will deliberately fish by nets in some 20 proscribed rivers.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 4, 1968]

Rustin Pushing for Big March

(By Robert C. Maynard)

New York, June 3.—Bayard Rustin is pulling together the liberal-left coalition that helped bring 250,000 marchers to Washington in August of 1963, but he concedes that times have changed.

"If we get 100,000 on June 19, it will be a howling success," the 57-year-old civil rights leader said here today.

Although he is doing many of the same things he did to bring off the Aug. 28, 1963, march, Rustin cited several differences in the mood of the Nation and the character of the job he has been asked to do by the Rev. Ralph David Albernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Above all, Rustin said, is the factor of time. It took three months to organize the 1963 march; this one has to be done in a little more than two weeks. The mood of the country has changed, he said, and the war in Vietnam has divided the Nation, possibly draining some of the support for the march.

He also cited the "white backlash" and development of the black-power movement as factors that could decrease the June 19 turnout in support of the Poor People's Campaign.

"In 1963, we were asking people to march for dignity," Rustin said in a two-hour interview here. "Now we are asking them to march for jobs that will cost the Nation billions of dollars."

Against all the obstacles, Rustin said, the job must be done because "if it is a success, then every institution in America will be better off; if it is a failure every institution in the country will be weakened."

Although Rustin said it is too early to announce the program for the June 19 demonstration, he said: "We will have a seat by state and alphabet for every member of Congress and for every announced presidential candidate, so that we and the people will be able to see who is there and who is not there and vote accordingly in the November election."

He said that it is imperative that Mr. Abernathy's Campaign gain some "visible" concessions from the Government to give the poor hope and to restore their faith in the Government.

Rustin has already made some demands on the Government in behalf of the Campaign. He has issued a "call to Americans of good will" that spells out in greater detail what the Campaign's goals are.

Mr. Abernathy and other officials in SCLC have spoken up to now of "jobs or a guaranteed income." The Rustin call lists a series of specific economic demands that are described as "immediate." They include the reviving of the principle of the post-World War II Full Employment Act.

But the guaranteed annual income, which SCLC has indicated is a top demand, is not listed in Rustin's call as an "immediate demand." It is listed instead as part of a long-range "economic bill of rights."

Rustin said there is no basic difference between his proposals and those of SCLC. He said his proposals simply break into a series of individual items the overall economic objectives of the Campaign.

Smoking incessantly and gesturing with his hands as he spoke, Rustin gave his views and explained his hopes while working and eating a sandwich at his desk in the Harlem loft building that houses the A. Philip Randolph Institute, of which he is director.

In addition to the demands made of Congress, Rustin said he has made several requests to Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

In a meeting with Clark in Washington on Friday, Rustin requested that the Government provide toilets, water fountains, blankets and 25 first-aid stations and close Independence and Constitution Avenues between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial.

Other facilities for the June 19 march that Rustin requested include sound equipment and special arrangements whereby D.C. Transit Co. would set up a special bus route from Union Station and National Airport to the Washington Monument. Also included was the extension of the June 16 deadline for the occupancy permit for Resurrection City.

"I also made it clear to the Attorney General that the Government must be prepared to make some concrete and visible effort with regard to the demands of the Poor People's Campaign," Rustin said. He said he expects an answer from Clark Tuesday.

Also at the meeting were Sterling Tucker, executive director of the Washington Urban League; Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Leonard Lesser of the AFL-CIO.

Rustin, an earlier critic of the Campaign, was asked to explain his current involvement.

"My criticism of the Poor People's Campaign at the beginning was merely about questions of logistics, and not that I was against the march," he said.

He said that on the day before the funeral of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. he told Mr. Abernathy that "if there was anything I could do to help in this time of trial for our Nation I would be glad to do it." He said soon afterward the call to organize the march came from Mr. Abernathy.

Rustin, who estmated the total cost of the June 19 march at $125,000, said that $25,000 had already come in from an old supporter in previous civil rights marches, the United Auto Workers. Support in the form of personnel and funds is coming in from church groups, ethnic groups and student groups, most of which he has worked with in the past, he said.

In addition, he said, many of the parade marshals and bus captains from the 1963 march were being asked to help through a special mailing.

One area from which he expects help that was not available five years ago, is from businessmen. He said the Urban Coalition, a recently organized business group, had promised support.

Discussing safeguards against violence, Rustin said that an organization of Negro policemen across the Nation has promised to provide 1000 marshals with police training or with military background.

Rustin said he supports the Campaign despite criticism of its lack of organization.

"I'll be damned if I'm going to criticize Resurrection City when the rest of American society is in such disorder," he said.

Speaking specifically of Mr. Abernathy, Rustin said, "Anybody who follows Dr. King is being measured by a standard that appears once in a century. Nobody knows the burden Ralph is under, not only in following Dr. King, but a martyred Dr. King."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 4, 1968]

Rustin Call Cites "the American Promise"

(Note.—Here is the text of the "Call to Goodwill" issued by Bayard Rustin, coordinator of the June 19 mass march on Washington.)

On June 19, thousands of concerned Americans will converge on Washington to express their support of the Poor People's Campaign.

They will be drawn from all walks of life, from all races and creeds. They are determined to abolish poverty in this land of plenty. And they are dedicated to the principles of nonviolence, integration and democracy. We call upon all who share these basic commitments to join with us in this massive effort.

We march to redeem the American promise.

Almost 200 years ago, the Declaration of Independence proclaimed every man's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But . . .

Is there a meaningful right to life when the Department of Agriculture tells us that nearly 20 million Americans are deprived of necessary nutrition because they are poor?

Is there genuine liberty when economic misery turns millions into outcasts who are so despairing that they do not even register to vote?

Is it possible to pursue happiness in the "other America" of the poor when according to the Council of Economic Advisers, the number of "occupied dilapidated units" in the big-city slums has increased in the last four years?

Is this justice? The richest 10 per cent of the farmers and farm corporations get more than half of a multi-billion dollar subsidy, while 82 per cent of the hungriest citizens are excluded from the Federal Government's basic food programs and two out of every three poor children don't even get a free school lunch.

Is this justice? One Federal program has helped over 10 million middle class and rich people to buy their own homes, while only 650,000 units of low-rent housing—usually ugly and segregated—have been built for the desperate.

Let America treat its poor children at least as well as its rich farmers.

Let America subsidize the families in the rotting tenements at least as well as those in the affluent suburbs.

Let us adopt an economic bill of rights.

This must be our goal if the American promise is to be fulfilled. We must guarantee that:

Every employable citizen has the right to a meaningful job at decent wages. The poor are not lazy. In fact the vast majority toil long hours at menial, underpaid labor. Their wages must be raised. New careers must be created for them—in building decent housing for all; in raising the level of education, health and social care; in reconstructing and beautifying America. This is not makework. This is meaningful work that goes to the heart of our nation's needs.

Every citizen who cannot work be guaranteed an adequate income as a matter of right. A thousand economists of varying persuasions have called for a guaranteed annual income as morally necessary and economically sound.

We recognize that this economic bill of rights cannot be adopted overnight. And we are not blind to the conservative mood of the present Congress. But we shall not sit back and let the forces of reaction and cynicism win the day. This nation can and must take specific, tangible steps toward redeeming the American promise. We shall therefore make the following immediate demands:

I

We call upon the President and all Presidential candidates to endorse the basic principles of an economic bill of rights.

II

We demand that Congress, in this session:

1. Recommit the Federal Government to the Full Employment Act of 1946 and legislate the immediate creation of at least one million socially useful career jobs in public service.

2. Adopt the pending housing and urban development act of 1968.

3. Repeal the 90th Congress's punitive welfare restrictions, which put a freeze on the number of families eligible for welfare aid, compel mothers of preschool children to seek employment and deny assistance to unemployed fathers unless they can produce evidence of previous employment.

4. Extend to all farm workers the right—guaranteed under the National Labor Relations Act—to organize and bargain collectively.

5. Restore budget cuts for bilingual education, Head Start, summer jobs, Economic Opportunity Act, Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

III

We further call upon the President to declare a national emergency and, under his present statutory authority:

1. Institute food distribution programs wherever severe hunger exists in America.

2. Provide free food stamps to those who cannot afford to buy them.

3. Help poor farmers set up cooperatives.

4. End discrimination in the food offices of the Agriculture Department.

4. Give the poor first priority in existing health programs and create health services in isolated rural areas.

6. Include the poor in the planning and administration of Federal programs at local levels.

7. Organize maternal and child health centers in poverty areas.

To abolish poverty requires a massive, nationwide and integrated effort. By themselves, the poor are neither numerous nor powerful enough to win these advances. Therefore, we march together—black and white, red and brown, country people and slum dwellers, the poor and those who are not poor—because only through such a united effort can we truly overcome.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 4, 1968]

Poor March Subdues Militant "Bandido"

(By Robert F. Levey)

A year ago this week, in a converted Albuquerque, New Mexico dairy, five Spanish-Americans using an overturned soft drink machine for a table were planning a victory—military, if it had to be—over the U.S. Government.

It is unclear whether Reies Lopez Tijerina, his two brothers, his lawyer and a top lieutenant actually mapped down to the letter that night the violence that would erupt the next week in unlikely Tierra Amarilla (Yellow Earth), New Mexico.

But a Santa Fe grand jury thought so, and the men were indicted for an armful of charges, including a triple kidnaping, the point-blank shooting of a State Policeman at the Tierra Amarilla courthouse and the springing at gunpoint of a dozen imprisoned followers.

NOW NONVIOLENT

And now, Reies Tijerina, 41, who once vowed to shoot all who denied him his land and once had 600 New Mexico State Police and National Guardsmen combing arroyos and sand dunes for him, is doing his nonviolent "thing" with the Poor People in Washington.

There are those in the Southwest who are laughing.

In New Mexico, for instance, Tijerina's 1967 revolt succeeeded in polarizing Spanish and "Anglo" (white) groups in an area that had been without violent and overt race strife for 500 years.

Now, there is fear big-city-style on both sides, accentuated by the mystery pistol-whipping murder this spring of Eulogio Salazar, a Santa Fe Deputy Sheriff. Salazar was one of those kidnaped in the Tierra Amarilla raid, and would have been a star state witness.

ALREADY INTEGRATED

That all comes on the heels of Tijerina's conspiracy conviction for an October, 1966, takeover of a New Mexico national forest, where Tijerina and a band of about 200 scared off the U.S. Forest Service with shotguns and elected their own judges and police.

Anglo New Mexicans cannot understand the discontent—in a state where a Spanish man can easily get a car loan with a $3500-a-year salary, where housing integration is a reality, where a U.S. Senator is Spanish, a third of the State Police Spanish, half the state government Spanish.

They can understand Tijerina's nonviolent stance even less in light of what "The Bandido," as he is known, has apparently wrought.

But the Albuquerque and Santa Fe Spanish are middle-class urban. The discontent—and Tijerina's following—is among the farmers, in such hamlets as Pojoaque, Espanola, Raton and Socorro.

The Albuquerque FBI has estimated that of the 2000 families that pay $10 a year to belong to Tijerina's Alianza Federal de Mercedes, 85 per cent live in remote areas.

UNDERSTANDING REACHED

Now no longer down on the farm, the man who has admitted that his ambition "is as big as the land the U.S.A. owes us" might have been expected to flounder. Tijerina's confrontation and later "understanding" with the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy this week put that idea to rest. Tijerina should remain a Poor People force until June 19.

Reies Tijerina (pronounced RAY-ess tee-hare—EE-nuh) is a man given to passion and principle, as the roots of his name (King Tiger) suggests.

Born into a family of eight children in Lyndon Johnson's south Texas, Tijerina began his social action career unspectacularly as a labor union recruiter near San Antonio. He was later a union official in Mexico, a small-scale farmer back in Texas, and starting in 1960 the head of his Alianza in Albuquerque.

Possibly because his interest and skill in social action are homegrown, his statements to strangers, reporters and "foreign" crowds tend to sound pompous. It is Tijerina's organizing ability—masterful in the "down home" setting of a street crowd or a shack with chilis drying on the roof—that constitutes his force.

LAND THE ISSUE

His gripe is basically that the U.S. Government, by deliberately misreading the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo that ended the Mexican-American War cheated today's Spanish-Americans out of millions of acres of land that belonged to their forefathers in the American Southwest.

The relevance of that complaint to those of the Poor People is "obvious," Tijerina says. "The government owes us our land. They will be more likely to see why what we say is true in this climate."

Thus, the first curiosity of Tijerina's pressence here. Unlike the Negro leadership of the Campaign, he makes no mention of social justice in the form of jobs, income or food. His rural poor want to end their poverty without Government help on their own land. "We are a proud people," Tijerina says often.

Does that imply that Negroes are not? And might not Tijerina's campaign pale in the face of the larger, mostly Negro, one?

Tijerina will scrupulously avoid racial comment. But he has said he trusts the Abernathy leadership and will happily work with it. "We are one group," he says.

So a major marriage of necessity—and the second curiosity—have taken shape. As Tijerina the Tactician reads it, the Negro leadership needs non-black faces in Resurrection City. The Spanish leadership needs new, national, non-violent exposure. Both are looking in the end to favorable congressional response, Tijerina says, and both want to dilute some of the militancy and militarism of their previous stances.

Tijerina's only prior visit to Washington was long, non-violent and non-productive. He negotiated with the State Department on and off for four weeks about his land claims, and few paid much attention. This time, says Tijerina in a familiar piece of phraseology, "it is for keeps. This is the last chance for white America."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 4, 1968]

Marchers Hold 8-Hour Vigil at Justice Department—Protest by 600 Fail To Trigger Hoped-for Arrests

Nearly 600 Poor People's campaigners straggled back to Resurrection City and other billets through the downtown area shortly before midnight last night after an eight-hour protest at the Justice Department failed to trigger the mass arrests that now are part of announced march strategy.

The Mexican-American contingent, in the vanguard of yesterday's demonstration, was to return to the Justice Department again today, either for a meeting with Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark or for a new protest.

Hosea Williams, a top official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said this morning that after the Justice Department march the demonstrators would go to the Office of Economic Opportunity at 1200 19th St. NW for a response to demands made last month.

CONFER ON STRATEGY

A high-level strategy meeting was under way at the private Hawthorne School in Southwest, where the Mexican-American group is staying.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernethy, SCLC leader, met briefly with the group before departing for a one-day Florida trip to speak at a memorial service for the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Also at the meeting were Williams and the Rev. James Bevel.

By mid-evening yesterday, Clark through an intermediary, agreed to meet today with a group of 100 persons representing all factions of the campaign to discuss the entire range of their complaints.

But he reiterated his position that he would meet with a delegation of only 20 or 25 if a dispute about the indictment of 13 Mexican-Americans on the West Coast was to be the only topic.

The rambling, disjointed demonstration finally began breaking up at 10:30 p.m. when leaders announced that members of a militant Mexican-American group in Los Angeles had been released from jail.

Throughout the long day and into the night, through intermittent rain and sunshine and darkness, between 50 and 600 demonstrators demanded to see the attorney general and got no farther than the steps of the side entrance at 10th Street and Constitution Avenue NW.

EIGHTY POLICEMEN WATCH

More than 80 policemen, night sticks in their hands, stood in 10th Street watching the demonstration and refused to make arrests when the march leaders decided that that wanted to go to jail.

All other entrances to the Justice Department part of the building were locked and signs on the doors read: "Closed, use 10th Street Gate." Several security guards could be seen behind the glass doors at the 10th Street entrance.

At the FBI entrances of the building on Pennsylvania Avenue, security guards would not permit anyone to enter without a special building pass.

Some 400 protesters marched singing from Resurrection City to the Justice Department in the early afternoon to demand an investigation into the indictment Friday of a group of 13 members of the "Brown Berets" who have been charged with conspiracv in connection with a walkout of several thousand Los Angeles high school students in March.

Through the day the group stood milling about and singing at the door. * * * Herera reported back and forth between his Spanish-American leader Rodolfe (Corky) Gonzales and Justice officials.

The dispute was stalemated between the demand of the demonstrators that Clark see a delegation of 100 marchers, and Clark's insistance that he would meet with 20.

Both sides had made concessions. Clark at first had said he would meet with three to discuss the issue of the Los Angeles arrests and the demonstrators had at first demanded he see the entire group and also listen to demands for results in the search for the slayer of King.

Williams, who leads the campaign's direct action, was present as were several lower-ranking SCLC officials. Abernathy was reportedly busy attending "important meetings" around town. He showed up later in the evening for a brief speech at a rally in the Ebenezer Methodist Church at 4th and D Streets SE.

As the protest dragged on into the early evening, Williams and Gonzales frequently complained to the crowd about the stalemated negotiations.

"We will walk in very orderly," Gonzales argued. "I don't see why in the world Clark is afraid to sit down and talk to these people." The Denver-based leader of the Crusade for Justice, a Mexican-American civil rights organization, demanded that all ethnic groups in the march be present in a meeting with Clark.

Williams charged that the Negro in America has suffered injustice all over the country and has "never gotten any justice. We must have this representative group."

The Rev. James E. Groppi, the leader of a group of militant Negro youths from Milwaukee, told the demonstrators that "as long as we wait we keep the man waiting and keep those policemen on overtime, it is costing the city a lot of money." Father Groppi, a white priest, led the months-long demonstrations for open housing in Milwaukee.

Between singing and chanting, demonstrators taunted the lines of police. At one point, Williams called to the policemen:

"Any right-thinking policeman would throw down his badge and join us. . . . Any right-thinking policeman would not be part of a system that kills people."

Then he pointed again to the street, where on one end of the police line the officers were mostly Negroes and on the other end mostly white.

"As hard as America tries," Williams shouted, "they can't hide their sickness.

"They just put 12 policemen in back of us and you know what? They are black. They sent them out to beat their brothers. It's conspiracy! It's injustice! It's genocide!"

At another point, the policemen had removed their badges and name plates from their shirts so as not to offer a grip for antagonists during a struggle.

As members of the crowd shouted that this had been done so no one could identify the individual officers, a high police official circulated among the police lines and the men pinned their badges and plates again on their uniform shirts.

At about 8:30 p.m., Gonzales announced over a bullhorn that Clark was still refusing to see the committee of 100 and "still wants to segregate us . . . it will be 100 or nothing." The demonstrators shouted approval.

"We don't think everybody here should go to jail," Gonzales continued. "I know you all want to go."

The crowd cheered as he announced that he would choose from the Mexican-Americans, Williams from the blacks, and Hank Adams from the Indians, the demonstrators who would prepare to go to jail.

Williams, who had entered the building to talk with Clark, took the bullhorn and said he was hurt by his meeting with Clark. "I had a lot of respect for Mr. Clark until a few moments ago," he added.

Without being an "Uncle Tom," Williams argued, he had used every means of diplomacy possible with the attorney general.

Williams said he promised Clark that he would not speak for the black people at the meeting, and that Adams would not speak for the Indians. "The only spokesman would be Gonzales, and we would not take any more of his (Clark's) time," Williams explained.

"It would have been a breach of our integrity to give more," Williams said.

Assistant Police Chief Jerry Wilson, who was in charge of the large police detail, said he had enough officers and would transport "400 or so" protestors to jail if necessary. There were some estimates that hundreds of police were in the area.

A large group of the chosen demonstrators, protected by a line of marchers with arms locked, sat on the steps of the Justice building, while another group walked toward Pennsylvania Avenue for a march around the building.

MARCHERS IGNORED

Williams placed the marching group between the seated demonstrators and the police who were standing in the street. The police ignored his marchers.

When Wilson was asked if he would arrest the demonstrators, he said:

"Well, although they're blocking an entrance to the Justice Department, no one was using the entrance—it was closed anyhow. As for the sidewalk in front of the entrance, no one is using it at this time of night so they can just stay there if they want.

"It's obvious by all of this that they're just trying to get arrested and trying to provoke an incident with us. We figure that after a while they'll get tired of all this noise and they'll go away," Wilson said.

Visibily frustrated, Williams finally announced over the bullhorn to the marchers that, "we found out that they aren't going to arrest us. You who want to stay all night until attorney (General) Clark opens that door can." The rest, he added, would be going to a strategy meeting at Resurrection City.

At this, Gonzales grabbed a bullhorn and criticized Negroes lining up behind Williams for following "a bunch of old preachers."

"If a strategy conference doesn't produce strategy and just comes up with bureaucratic decisions to fight bureaucracy, then we're in a bag," Gonzales said.

MOST LEAVE FOR MEETING

The bulk of the demonstrators left for a meeting at Lisner Auditorium at George Washington University. At 20th Street and Virginia Avenue NW, Williams told the group that the meeting that had been held by the Poor People's University at the auditorium was over. The group turned around and walked back to Resurrection City.

At 10:30 p.m., leaders at the Justice Department vigil announced that the 13 arrested in Los Angeles had been released, and the group returned to Resurrection City shouting: "We won a victory, brothers, we won a victory."

During the long sit-in at Justice, three small children were taken away in ambulances. The demonstrators were brought a hot meal about 7:30 p.m.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 4, 1968]

THE INVADERS SEIZE BUS, STIR ROW AT TENT CITY

(By Fred Barnes and Michael Adams)

A group of angry youths, whom Resurrection City marshals admitted they couldn't control, commandeered a Poor People's Campaign bus early today and threatened to drive to the Pitts Motor Hotel campaign headquarters for a protest.

The action by about 20 youths, identified as members of the Invaders gang from Memphis, prompted marshals to seek aid from U.S. Park Police to stem the latest outburst of dissension at the campsite.

But instead of heading for the motel, the youths staged a two-hour talk session in the bus and then walked back to their huts in the compound about 4 a.m.

The incident followed sporadic rock and can throwing from inside Resurrection City that forced park policemen to block off for 35 minutes the westbound lane of Independence Avenue SW, which borders the campsite.

The bus seizure grew out of an attempt by the youths to break into a truck trailer filled with food about 2 a.m. Unsuccessful in that venture, they marched to the bus, which was parked about 25 feet outside the campsite's west gate.

According to marshals, some members of the group had threatened to burn down the motel, apparently as a protest over the continued residence of some campaign leaders there. They believe all the leaders should be living at Resurrection City.

One marshal told park policemen the youths were beyond the control of the campsite officials.

"About the only thing we can do is jump on them. That's the only way to control them," the marshal told Lt. W. J. Grishkot.

But he added that there weren't enough marshals available for that. "We can't stop them," he concluded.

He requested that park police block off the exits from the campsite so the bus couldn't leave. Grishkot declined, saying such action wasn't within park police power.

As it turned out, no blockade was needed at the exit.

One was needed on Independence Avenue, Lt. Grishkot said, after park policemen were repeatedly pelted as they drove by.

"I'm getting tired of this . . . getting hit by rocks every time we go through there," one officer said. "One of these times, they're gonna smash a windshield."

A few minutes later the windshield of a private vehicle was smashed by a rock, Lt. Grishkot said.

He then blocked off Independence from 17th to 23rd Streets from 12:10 to 12:45 a.m. Rocks and cans were littered across the road.

mostly along a section near the southwest end of the campsite.

Earlier yesterday and last night, a young white man who "took over" a hut in the campsite held marshals at bay with a knife and ax, grabbed a gun from a policeman who came to help and was finally felled with a chemical spray. The man, described as an outsider rather than a resident of Resurrection City, was sent to St. Elizabeths Hospital for observation.

During the day, the man turned down the pleas of a psychiatrist stationed with a medical unit at the campsite. At nightfall, marshals asked police for help.

Lt. Ronald Kerzaya of the park police talked the man into admitting him into the tent and, after Kerzaya had entered the man lunged at the policeman and got his service revolver from his holster. The policeman withdrew.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 4, 1968]

JUDGE IN RIOT CASES CRITICIZES DISTRICT

(By Donald Hirzel)

A judge criticized District officials yesterday for what he termed their failure in the early stages of the April riot to order police to make arrests and enforce the law.

Judge Alfred Burka made the comment in the Court of General Sessions at the conclusion of the first group sentencing of persons arrested in connection with the riot. Burka has scheduled group sentencings for various dates this month.

Some defendants have been sentenced on riot-connected charges by other judges, but this was a group sentencing.

"I have questioned several police officers," Burka said, "and there is no doubt in my mind they operated with implicit or implied orders not to make arrests."

He added that there appeared to be no effort to instill in the public mind the idea that looters would be arrested and prosecuted, and he referred to the fact that seven persons sentenced by him yesterday said they had no fear of arrest when they went into the streets.

He also condemned those who took part in the rioting, declaring: "People we were depending upon to uphold law in the District were involved in the disorder and very few of them were caught."

PROBLEM FOR JUDGES

Burka said judges are greatly concerned about sentencing rioters because so many of the defendants have no previous police records and are family men with steady jobs.

"If we don't send them to jail, it is a sign to everyone with a clean record that he is entitled to one free ruling, but if I do . . ."

His words trailed off, and then he looked at the last man in the group he sentenced yesterday and said: "Here is a man with a wife and four children and another on the way who is working steadily to support his family . . ." Again his voice trailed off in the middle of the sentence.

He then sentenced the man, Nathaniel Dodds, 51, of the 1100 block of 10th Street NW, to a suspended 360-day jail term and placed him on probation for a year for attempted burglary II (looting).

Dodds is in a sense both typical and untypical of the rioter.

WATCHED THE PEOPLE

He told the court he is a dishwasher and makes $58 a week. He came here from Mississippi 15 years ago after serving a six-month jail term there in 1935 for manslaughter.

He had no arrest record since being in Washington, until April 5, when he got off work and went home and sat on the porch drinking beer and watched the people milling about on the streets.

When he saw people carrying television sets and other items up the street, he asked where they got the goods and was told they came from a nearby store.

"I saw others taking things, and I thought of the things my kids needed," he told the court. So he joined the looters but was arrested before he got anything.

"Would you have gone if you had been warned that looters would be arrested or shot?" Burka asked.

"No sir," Dodds replied. "People told me the police weren't arresting anybody and I thought it was all right since everybody else was doing it."

He said he saw "lots of police around, but nobody was being arrested."

DIDN'T EXPECT ARREST

The others sentenced yesterday also said they did not expect arrest. They also said they went into the streets because everybody else was looting.

The others sentenced had good-paying jobs, unlike Dodds, with one making $4 an hour as a cement finisher. None of them graduated from high school.

Jessie J. Hinson, Jr., 23, of the 500 block of 7th Street SE, a truckdriver charged with attempted burglary II and petty larceny, received a suspended 360-day jail term and was placed on probation for two years.

He had one previous arrest for breaking and entering in Lancaster, S.C., in 1962, but no arrests since he came to Washington. He told the judge "I got with the wrong crowd" during the rioting and was arrested. He is married and has two children.

A. D. Huff, 36, of the 2100 block of 4th Street NE, had no arrest record. He told Burka he completed the second grade before going to work on his father's farm. He has been in Washington eight years and works as a cement finisher.

He received 180 days for petty larceny and rioting, with the sentence suspended. He was placed on probation for one year.

John H. Walker, 22, of the 3400 block of 14th Street NW, charged with attempted burglary II and petty larceny after his arrest in a clothing store, received a suspended 180-day sentence and was fined $100 and placed on probation for one year.

Walker, a machine operator with a fifth-grade education and a native of Washington, was bailed out after his arrest by his employer who then wrote a letter to the court in which he described Walker as "honest, trustworthy and a loyal employee."

The letter stated, according to Burka, that Walker on numerous occasions had been left alone in the plant with large sums of money and never took one cent. His boss wanted him back on the job.

Walker said that when he entered the clothing store there were policemen two doors away, but "I didn't think about police. It never occurred to me that I would be arrested."

"How do you feel about what you did now?" Burka asked. Walker replied: "Bad."

Charles E. Dean, 19, and Dempsey H. Bowie, 23, came to Washington from Alabama about four and a half to five years ago and live in the 500 block of 3rd Street NW. Both are employed as cement workers earning $3.17 an hour and neither had an arrest record.

Dean completed the ninth grade and Bowie the seventh grade. They said they "saw a bunch of other people walk out of the store" and then they were arrested.

Both were charged with attempted burglary II and received suspended 360-day terms and were fined $100 each.

ONLY ONE GETS JAIL

Only one man received a straight jail term. He was James McDonald Carroll, 31, of the first block of Bryant Street NW. He was charged with carrying a pistol without a permit.

He received 360 days in jail after Burka reviewed his conviction record, including charges of petty larceny, assault and carrying a dangerous weapon.

A lifelong resident of Washington, Carroll is a laborer with a sixth-grade education.

He claimed he had just bought a .22-caliber pistol from a youth on the street when he was arrested. Police said they recovered the gun and 26 rounds of ammunition. Carroll said he planned to take the gun home.

The last of the eight to appear before Burka was Sylvester Burrows, 47, of the 1200 block of 5th Street NW, who was charged with attempted burglary and rioting.

He previously entered a guilty plea to the charges, but when he came before Burka yesterday he said it was all an "accident."

Burrows claimed that on April 5 he was standing near a liquor store when a crowd surged by him and the next thing he knew he was in the store, where he was arrested. The judge set aside the guilty plea and set a trial for July 2.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 5, 1968]

MARCHERS TELL CLARK LAW FAILS—LEADERS CALL FOR REFORMS, EQUAL JUSTICE

(By Willard Clopton, Jr., and
Paul W. Valentine)

One hundred representatives of the Poor People's Campaign spent an emotional 2½ hours with U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark yesterday, charging that the scales of justice in America are weighted heavily against the needy.

Nine speakers, drawn from all ethnic and geographical groups participating in the Campaign, railed against the Nation's chief law-enforcement official, accusing him of falling far short of his responsibility to assure equal justice for all people.

Clark responded by issuing a 15-page summary of actions being taken by the Justice Department, but he failed to satisfy the protesters.

His report focused on court actions that have been or are being taken to promote equal opportunity in the fields of employment, education, housing and legal protection.

While the meeting was under way, a key member of Congress was demanding that the residents of Resurrection City be required to evacuate their 15-acre camp by the Reflecting Pool when their permit to occupy the area expires June 16.

Rep. Kenneth J. Gray (D-Ill.), who was instrumental in having the permit issued, said the shantytown is a threat to the health and safety of both the campers and residents of Washington.

The statements were part of a House Public Works Committee report endorsing Gray's bill to prohibit camping on public property here after June 16.

Three Committee members filed a dissenting report, saying a forceful termination of the permit would open the way "for demagogic and violent approaches of the . . . militant extremists."

The three—Reps. Jerome R. Waldie (D-Calif.), James C. Cleveland (R-N.H.) and Richard D. McCarthy (D-N.Y.)—argued that the "passage of this bill would be one clear indication that the Congress will not encourage access to customary channels of presenting grievances and seeking change."

In another development, Hosea Williams, the Campaign's chief of direct action, repudiated a statement on Monday by Bayard Rustin of New York, who sought to present the Campaign's demands in a five-part "package" that Congress could more conveniently deal with.

Williams said that Rustin, the civil rights theoretician who masterminded the 1963 March on Washington, has no other responsibility in the Campaign than to "do some public-relations" work for the planned mass rally here June 19.

"His policy statement is completely out of order . . . He had no business doing it and we will not accept it," Williams said.

The late-afternoon visit to the Justice Department was preceded by a morning meeting of the Campaign steering committee, at which non-Negro participants in the protest sought a large role in decision-making.

REPRESENT ALL VIEWPOINTS

Rudolfo (Corky) Gonzalez of Denver, a spokesman for the Spanish-speaking contingent, said afterward that the steering group had been "restructured" to better represent all viewpoints.

Rivalry over decision-making has accounted in part for the delay in moving the large Mexican-American contingent into the camp. The group has been staying at Hawthorne School, 501 I st. sw.

Williams said efforts will be made to have all Campaign participants in the camp within a few days. The population at the muddy encampment stood at about 1,500 yesterday, about half the number the leaders said would live there throughout the Campaign.

About 250 protesters marched to the Justice Department at 3 p.m. The majority waited outside while the 100 met Clark in the Department's Great Hall.

The meeting was set up after a large group from Resurrection City demonstrated outside the building for eight hours on Monday in a vain effort to arrange for a delegation to go inside.

The Attorney General greeted the 100 courteously, presented his 15-page report and received scattered applause.

The document said the Department has given its "highest priority" to enforcing Federal laws against discrimination in employment. Clark said that 22 suits have been filed, 12 of them this year, to promote open hiring and promotion policies.

He also said that all U.S. attorneys have been asked to "commit more manpower to civil rights enforcement, particularly in the employment area."

Clark said the Department is now involved in 165 school desegregation cases in 14 Southern states and recently filed its first two suits in Northern states.

PROMPT ENFORCEMENT

He said Justice Department officials are "committed to full and prompt enforcement" of the housing provisions of the 1968 Civil Rights Act and that "FBI investigations are already under way" in preparation for the Department's assumption of responsibility under the Act next Jan. 1.

He also noted that the Act extends the Department's power to prosecute those who interfere with persons exercising their rights to equality in education, jobs, housing and other areas.

"Those provisions will be promptly and effectively enforced," he said.

Among the Campaign spokesmen was the Rev. James Groppi, the Catholic priest who has campaigned for Negro rights in Milwaukee.

"The courts and the judicial system are corrupt," Father Groppi charged, noting that a Milwaukee judge had ordered a $50,000 bond for a youth arrested for looting but only $2,500 bond each on two white youths who fatally shot a Negro woman.

PROTESTS LIGHT FINES

He also reported that a court there had fined a slum landlord only $1 on each of 12 housing violations among the landlord's ghetto properties.

"We didn't come here to play games," the priest said, angrily. "If we have to turn this Capital upside down, brother, I'm all for it."

Jose Ortiz, a Puerto Rican youth from New York City, said that the Government must raze slum dwellings "or we will do it ourselves. We ain't got money, man, but we got matches."

He added: "If capitalism's so good, show me it's good."

Lola Mae Brooks, a housewife from Sunflower County, Miss., waved her finger in Clark's face and asserted loudly, "We ain't going to wait till you set us free." She also told him, "You talk about justice! Why don't you find the killer of Dr. King?"

Reporting later to the group outside the building, Gonzalez said:

"We told Clark that if he didn't cure the illness of this country, we'll go home and cure it ourselves . . . If we get no action, we'll have to take the law back to the people and let the people make this society the way they want it to be."

The group left the building about 5:30 p.m. and returned without incident to Resurrection City. Leaders plan a visit today to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

MAN, 38, DISARMED, SENT TO HOSPITAL

A 38-year-old man armed with a butcher knife and a pistol he had taken from a Park policeman was disarmed by Resurrection City marshals near an entrance to the camp Monday night and sent to D.C. General Hospital for mental observation.

The man, identified by the police as Maurice Farr, who gave authorities an incorrect Washington address, was sent to the Hospital after being examined by doctors at the camp.

Later Monday night, police closed Independence Avenue along the southern edge of the city to traffic after a number of rock-throwing incidents were reported. Park Police said that one of their cars was damaged and two motorists reported their cars were struck by rocks or bottles.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 5, 1968]

ABERNATHY DENIES RUSTIN AUTHORITY

(By James Welsh)

Specific goals of the Poor People's Campaign, only loosely defined since the start of the march, remained uncertain today after top officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference criticized a detailed policy statement released by Bayard Rustin.

Rustin, longtime civil rights leader and named by the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, SCLC chief, to organize the massive one-day protest here on June 19, released the statement Sunday, delineating the immediate and long-range objectives of the campaign.

Rustin was quoted earlier as saying he had "full authority" from Abernathy in issuing the statement. But last night, interviewed in Miami, Abernathy said, "I did not authorize and neither did I issue" the policy statement.

Abernathy, who returned here today from addressing a labor convention, refrained from criticizing Rustin. Nor did he repudiate Rustin's statement. He did say it failed to go far enough.

Hosea Williams, "direct action" leader of the campaign for the SCLC, yesterday rejected the Rustin statement as "a bunch of jazz and foolishness."

Rustin had issued "a call to Americans of good will" to support the march and to work for "an economic bill of rights" and a number of specific legislative demands.

SHOULD BE "BROADER"

"I do not think it is comprehensive enough to cover the demands of the Poor People's Campaign," Abernathy said last night. "I go along with some of his ideas, but I think it's got to be much broader."

Abernathy expressed belief the Rustin statement should have contained a condemnation of the war in Vietnam. He did not elaborate on what he considered other shortcomings of the Rustin statement.

Abernathy said that he would "issue a statement once I have a chance to discuss it with Mr. Rustin."

From New York, Thomas Kahn, press officer for Rustin's June 19 mobilization effort, said this:

"I myself read off the policy statement to Andy Young (the Rev. Andrew Young, a top SCLC official), and I was in the room about 24 hours later when Mr. Rustin was on the phone to the Rev. Abernathy. There was full agreement then."

A CONDITION OF JOB

That was the weekend before last, said Kahn. Further, he said, authority to clarify the campaign demands was one of a number of conditions Rustin set forth in agreeing to coordinate plans for the march.

Some of SCLC's top hands are known to be cool toward Rustin who, though an old ally of Dr. Martin Luther King, originally opposed bringing the Poor People's Campaign to Washington. Rustin organized the 1963 civil rights march on Washington, which brought about 250,000 people here for one day.

Congress, still largely noncommittal in its response to the Poor People's Campaign, now faces two questions:

—Who speaks for the campaign and its legislative demands?

—Which set of demands is to be taken seriously?

CAPITOL HILL CONFUSION

On Capitol Hill, confusion over policy came as an unpleasant surprise to the congressmen working most closely with lobbyists for the Poor People's Campaign. Plainly, most of them had welcomed the Rustin statement of objectives as an alternative to the rambling vaguely worded list of demands originally submitted by the SCLC.

"This new statement is something we can work with, and there is some hope these goals can be attained," said Alton Frye, a member of the staff of Sen. Edward Brooke, R-Mass., now working full time for an ad hoc committee of liberal senators and congressmen concerned with the campaign.

Members of the ad hoc committee made a tour of Resurrection City this morning.

RUSTIN'S DEMANDS

The "immediate demands" in Rustin's statement include 1 million jobs for the poor in public works, 6 million new housing units over the next decade, repeal of the "punitive welfare restrictions" included in last year's amendments to the Social Security Act, extension to farm workers of the protection of the National Labor Relations Act, restoration of social-welfare budget cuts and administration efforts to push laws already on the books and thus increase the flow of food and health services to the poor.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 5, 1968]

MARCHERS SPLIT ON PROTEST SITE—RIFT FOLLOWS THE SHOOTING OF KENNEDY

A small Mexican-American contingent from the Poor People's Campaign marched on the Department of State today after a violent argument with campaign officials on protests today in the wake of the shooting of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference officials charged that the protest by the Spanish-speaking group had not been cleared with SCLC, and that a main target of the campaign today was to be the National Rifle Association, with headquarters on 16th Street NW at Scott Circle.

"We've got to bring the attention of the nation to the NRA," said Hosea Williams, leader of "direct action" for the campaign—"They're going to kill all our leaders . . . The NRA encourages a sick nation to kill us off. . . .'

The argument between Williams and Reies Lopez Tijerina erupted shortly after a group of about 15 senators and House members belonging to the special congressional liaison committee for the march toured Resurrection City.

A TERSE ANNOUNCEMENT

Word of the critical wounding of Kennedy came to the camp residents about 4:30 a.m., when the camp public address system tersely announced: "Sen. Kennedy has been shot—keep calm."

SCLC leaders scheduled a prayer service for Sen. Kennedy at the Lincoln Memorial before the march on NRA headquarters, where some 300 employees evacuated the building this morning after a telephoned bomb threat. NRA officials said a number of other threats have been received there since the shooting. The organization has opposed gun control legislation.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, SCLC chief, arrived at Resurrection City about 9 a.m., where many of the 1,750 residents were gathered in small groups, discussing the shooting of Kennedy in Los Angeles.

RECOUNTS SHOOTINGS

After conferring with staff members, Abernathy issued a statement, saying, "I was terribly shocked because of the shooting. A little under five years ago, President Kennedy was killed. Two months ago our leader, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was killed, and now, Robert Kennedy, a gallant fighter for peace has been felled by bullets . . . We must quickly move to end this (attitude of hate)."

As the call for a demonstration on the NRA was being made in the camp, Tijerina jumped on the small plywood stage in the center of the camp and began calling for volunteers to accompany the Mexican-American delegation to the State Department.

Williams grabbed the bullhorn from the fiery New Mexican land-reform leader, and said, "I know nothing about this demonstration . . . I am the leader of direct action and all such demonstrations come out of this city. . . ."

PERSONAL INSULTS EXCHANGED

After several heated exchanges, including personal insults, Tijerina left to take his group to the State Department, asking that the SCLC contingent come by there on the way to the NRA and the Spanish-speaking group would join them.

Abernathy said that SCLC may suspend all further protests for the day after the NRA demonstration.

"We've got to do something about banning firearms," he said. "We do want the life of this great American (Kennedy), who was concerned about all people, saved. . . ."

TOUR BY CONGRESSMEN

The congressional group, led by Sen. Edward Brooke, R-Mass., the only Negro in the Senate, arrived by bus for the tour at the invitation of the SCLC.

Brooke, said, "Our hearts are heavy. We certainly pray for the family of Sen. Kennedy and we also pray for our country."

Sen. Jacob Javits, R-N.Y. told campsite residents, "We are here to learn." When asked if Congress had done enough to prevent such tragedies as Kennedy's shooting, he said, "Obviously we haven't—John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy—when does it all end."

The committee members toured the campsite, where the long inundation of mud now was beginning to harden, and then held a brief question and answer session with residents, and were generally well received.

VISIT TO JUSTICE

A delegation of 100 campaigners, representing the different ethnic groups, yesterday presented grievances to Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark at the Justice Department as about 200 others waited outside on Constitution Avenue.

About 100 demonstrators were permitted to enter the Justice Department building for the meeting with the Attorney General. Another 150 to 200 remained outside.

Wooden folding chairs were set up in a second-floor meeting room for the demonstrators, who were there specifically to get a response on demands that had been left there by Abernathy last month.

Seated in chairs at the front of the auditorium facing the audience were Clark, Stephen Pollack, assistant attorney general on civil rights, and Roger Wilkins, director of the Community Relations Service. Some 10 U.S. marshals stood behind the officials.

CLARK SPEAKS OF JUSTICE

Williams told Clark, speaking first, "We're only asking for justice for all mankind."

Then Clark spoke. He said that the federal government and particularly the Justice Department had made great strides in civil rights in recent years in the areas of fair employment, school integration, the protection of civil rights workers, fair housing and fishing rights for Indians.

"I hope we can go forward in quest of freedom," Clark told the restless demonstrators. "I hope that we will realize that justice has been found only when there is order under law."

At this point Rudolfo Corky Gonzales, who had earlier attempted to interrupt Clark, spoke for the first time.

"We didn't come here to patronize Mr. Clark," said Gonzales. "We didn't come here to be polite. . . . We've had civil rights legislation for years, but there have been so many amendments to it it is not worth the paper it's written on." His words drew loud applause.

CITES CALIFORNIA CASE

The mustachioed Gonzales cited specifically a case in Los Angeles in which 13 Mexican-Americans were indicted on charges of conspiracy to commit a disturbance in connection with the East Los Angeles student boycotts. The men are accused of inspiring the boycotts. The Mexican-Americans claim they are being used as scapegoats.

The Rev. James Edmond Groppi, the white priest who lead the Milwaukee youth council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told Clark, "If 500 members of the Daughters of the American Revolution had been outside, you would have accepted them. But somehow the poor are second-class citizens." Groppi was referring to the fact that yesterday Clark refused to meet with all of the demonstrators who had come to the Justice Department building.

CRITICIZES POLICE CONTROL

Groppi criticized the Justice Department for not exercising more control over local police departments throughout the country.

Jose Ortiz, a Puerto Rican leader from New York City, said heatedly to Clark, "You better go tell the government to get their guns together 'cause we're ready to go and die . . . For every poor person killed 10 cities are gonna burn in flames. We may burn some places down, but when we build 'em up they're gonna be ours . . ."

But the most fiery speaker of the afternoon was Lila Mae Brooks from Sunflower, Miss. Speaking to Clark, she said, "You think 'cause you're white you're free. But you ain't any more free than us. You talk about justice in the South . . . If you have justice we're gonna have it too. And if we don't have it, you better be gone."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 5, 1968]

SHOOTING BRINGS POLICE OVERTIME

The night shifts of the Metropolitan Police and Fire Departments were held until 9 a.m. today and the day shift which normally reports at 8 a.m., was called in early when word of the shooting of Sen. Robert Kennedy reached police headquarters.

A number of policemen in specialized jobs who were scheduled to be off, also were ordered to report.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 5, 1968]

TWO SLAIN IN SHOOTING ON M STREET

Two young marine lieutenants were fatally shot and a third officer and a young woman were wounded early today in a burst of gunfire at a Georgetown hamburger shop.

Police arrested three men a block from the scene, the Little Tavern at 3331 M St. NW, and charged them with homicide. The three, all Negroes, gave California addresses.

One told police he had come to Washington late last week to join the Poor People's Campaign. He told police he was living in a 14th Street apartment and not at Resurrection City.

POLICE LIST NAMES

Police listed the dead officers as Lt. William King, 21, and Lt. Thaddeus Lesnick, about 20, who had come to Washington with three other officers late last night after a social function at the Marine base at Quantico, Va.

The wounded man, police said, is Lt. Ellsworth R. Kramer, 26, who suffered a scalp wound. A woman with the group, identified as Barbara Kelley, 25, of the 1800 block of Metzerott Road, Adelphi, Md., was shot in the hip.

All the victims were white.

Charged with homicide are Gordon Alexander, 27, and Cornelius Frazier Jr., 23, both of San Jose, Calif., and Benjamin Murdock, 20, of Los Angeles.

The other two lieutenants from Quantico were identified by police as Daniel LeGear Jr., 26, and Frank R. Marasco, 23.

Earlier this week in Georgetown, an 18-year-old Wilson High School senior, Thomas Williams, was shot to death in a parking lot behind the all-night Peoples drugstore at Wisconsin Avenue and O Street NW, about three blocks from the site of this morning's shooting.

A 29-year-old man described as a former member of a motorcycle gang is being sought in the Williams shooting, which followed an exchange of words between two small groups of youths on Wisconsin Avenue.

In today's case, the five officers came to Washington and called on some friends, police said.

Finally the five, accompanied by Miss Kelley, went to the hamburger shop and were at the counter when some words were exchanged with three men after one of them made a remark about the name of one of the Marine officers, displayed on his uniform, police said.

The three civilians left, but returned in a matter of minutes and shooting began, police said. Police said they later recovered two guns. One witness reported that nine shots were fired.

Police converged on the area after the shooting, which took place about 3 a.m. Pvt. Junior Webster, alone in a scout car, said he heard the shots and took off after a Mustang racing from the scene and captured the three suspects.

Lesnick was pronounced dead at 3:15 a.m. at George Washington University Hospital, and King at 3:50 a.m. at Georgetown University Hospital.

Kramer was taken to the GWU hospital and later moved to Bethesda Naval Hospital where his condition was termed satisfactory. Miss Kelley was in the GU hospital, also in satisfactory condition.

Police identified Alexander as the suspect who said he had come here to join the Poor People's Campaign. They quoted him as saying he did not come East with the other two suspects but became acquainted with them here.

A roommate of Miss Kelley said the wounded woman has worked for two years as a medical secretary at Holy Cross Hospital in Silver Spring, and comes from Montgomery, W. Va.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 6, 1968]

MARCHERS' RIFT BREAKS INTO OPEN

(By Paul W. Valentine)

A long-smoldering dispute in the Poor People's Campaign erupted yesterday when Negro leader Hosea Williams and Mexican-

American Reies Tijerina squabbled at a public meeting over who is leading whom.

The two men, standing on a raised platform above about 200 Resurrection City residents shouted at each other, projecting their voices with a bullhorn, which they courteously passed back and forth.

It all began after Williams, who says he is director of demonstrations, announced plans for a march on the National Rifle Association to protest the shooting of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.).

Tijerina, leader of a group of Mexican-Americans who have refused to move into the predominantly Negro Resurrection City and are staying at the private Hawthorne School about a mile away, then announced separate plans for a march on the State Department to protest American enforcement of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

A perplexed look came over Williams' face and he took the bullhorn from Tijerina's hands.

"I know nothing of this demonstration, and I am supposed to be in charge of direct action."

Tijerina took the bullhorn back and said the march had been discussed Tuesday at a meeting of the Campaign's steering committee.

The two took several turns arguing over the bullhorn while the crowd, clearly divided among Negros and Mexican-Americans, grumbled and glared among themselves.

Tijerina accused Williams of "humiliating" Mexican-Americans by leaving them out of the decision-making processes of the Campaign.

Williams countered, "Brother, we need to coordinate." At another point, he said he would take the issue to the encampment's "City Council."

Tijerina dismissed the suggestion as something for Williams to "hide behind." Tijerina has contended that the Council consists primarily of Campaign caravan leaders, most of whom are Negro staff workers for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

As Tijerina continued his criticism of the Campaign leadership, Williams and several Campaign marshals began hustling the crowd away for other activity.

A few Negro staff workers remained with Tijerina and agreed to meet privately later in the day to discuss the Mexican-American role in the Council.

One source closes to the Negro leadership said the difficulties in getting Resurrection City built and enduring the recent rains have prevented SCLC from giving more attention to the role of non-Negro minorities in the city. He predicted that the private meeting with Tijerina would patch up the situation.

Meanwhile, Tijerina said, he will continue to plan demonstration independently at the Hawthorne School but will invite Resurrection City residents to join them.

"We need unity, and I want that," he said.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post June 6, 1968]

HILL DELEGATION VISITS RESURRECTION CITY, PROMISES HEARINGS

(By Jean M. White and Willard Clopton, Jr.)

Congressmen repaid the visits of Poor People's campaigners to Capitol Hill yesterday as a delegation of about 15 Senators and Representatives went to Resurrection City.

Flanked by his colleagues, Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.), head of a congressional liaison committee, promised the residents to hold hearings at the camp so they can deliver their complaints directly to Congressmen.

The congressional visit to the rut-marked camp started off a day in which one band of demonstrators beseiged the State Department and another carried the campaign to the antipoverty headquarters of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

STORMY OEO SESSION

At a stormy two-hour session in an eighth-floor OEO conference room at 19th and M Streets nw., nearly 150 Campaigners listened as poverty officials answered a list of demands they had presented earlier.

Hosea Williams, a fiery Campaign official, said he would take the answers back to Resurrection City where SCLC officials would study them.

"If we like them we'll come back here and thank you and if we don't we'll come back to demonstrate," he told Bertram Harding, acting director of the OEO, who presided at the meeting.

It was a day overshadowed by the news of the shooting of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy led a prayer service in front of the Lincoln Memorial, monument to another victim of an assassin's bullet.

Mr. Abernathy, who took over the leadership of the Campaign after the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., told those knelt in prayer at the west end of the Reflecting Pool:

"I believe a conspiracy is taking place in this country designed to kill off all people who are standing up bravely for the rights of the poor people."

PROTEST ANNOUNCED

The leaders had announced a protest at the headquarters of the National Rifle Association but called it off for the prayer service.

Earlier, welcoming the Senators and Representatives to the camp, Mr. Abernathy said he was glad to see them there because "we get a little tired of going up to the Hill."

The Congressmen tasted some of the dark bread cooked in the camp bakery, visited the day-care center for children, and went to the encampment's "City Hall."

Sonya Mae Smith, a Campaigner from New York City, was receiving a U.S. Senator with a robe thrown over her blue and white flannelette pajamas while heating a tin can of water.

"Welcome to my home," she said, opening the flap of the shanty that she shares with two others.

Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) went in and asked questions about the heating and cooking.

Clark was one of six Senators on the tour. In addition to Brooke, the others were Sens. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.), Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) and Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.).

They were joined by a delegation of Congressmen, including Reps. Charles C. Diggs Jr., (D-Mich.), Patsy Mink (D-Hawaii), Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., (D-Mass), William A. Barrett (D-Pa.), Robert Nix (D-Pa.), James C. Corman (D-Calif.) and William B. Widnall (R-N.J.).

Most of the Senators and Representatives on the visit serve on a 30-member ad hoc committee set up to act as a go-between for Congress and the Campaign.

Set up informally but with approval of the House and Senate leadership, the committee hopes to head off emotional confrontations and help the poor people get their message across to Congress.

Brooke, the chairman, has been stressing the need for "realistic goals." Yesterday he made a pitch for support from the campaign for the $5.5-billion housing bill passed last week by the Senate.

"We are hopeful one of your goals will be this housing bill," the Senator said.

Mr. Abernathy summoned the residents of the shantytown to an open-air meeting in "Martin Luther King Plaza" to meet the Congressmen.

Brooke, only Negro in the Senate, was cheered as he was introduced as a "black brother and a soul brother."

He opened the meeting to complaints. When they came fast and furious, Brooke suggested that the liaison committee send down subcommittees to hear gripes on jobs, housing, welfare, and hunger.

While the friendly Congressional liaison committee members were visiting Resurrection City, the House Rules Committee approved legislation that could close the camp on June 16. The vote was 9 to 6.

Approval came over the objections of Committee liberals, who said the bill could bring a re-enactment of the 1932 Bonus Army confrontation and touch off riots.

The present Resurrection City permit expires June 16. The proposed bill would ban camp-ins of any kind on public property inside the District.

But Rep. Kenneth J. Gray (D-Ill.), the measure's chief sponsor, said yesterday he doubted that it could get through Congress to take effect either by June 16 or June 19, when a massive demonstration is planned.

Rep. John Young (D-Tex.) told the Rules Committee that the campaign has been "a big flop" so far, adding, "I would hate to see us set the stage for the people that they've been unable to set for themselves."

Some of the visiting Congressmen yesterday saw an open split among the Campaigners when Reies Tijerina, head of the Mexican-American faction, refused to delay a march by his people to the State Department.

Tijerina seized a bullhorn from Williams, the demonstration director, who was calling for a march on the National Rifle Association.

Later Tijerina led a band of followers to the State Department. The demonstration turned into a stand-off.

Tijerina asked to see Secretary of State Dean Rusk and was told that the Secretary was greeting the visiting President of Costa Rica.

About 45 minutes later, Covey T. Oliver, assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, came out to the demonstrators and delivered a five-minute talk in Spanish.

Tijerina cut him short and said the demonstrators were there to present grievances and not to listen. He wanted to know "who comes first—a foreigner or your citizens?"

Oliver asked in return: "Where is your courtesy to a visitor?"

At one point, he told Tijerina, "Obviously, you are not in rational control of your faculties."

The demonstrators later walked back to Resurrection City.

The demands presented to the OEO by the marchers ranged from requests that more poor people be placed in policy-making positions on local antipoverty agencies to a demand that OEO get an extra $75 million from Congress immediately to beef up summer programs.

Acting Director Harding said he felt the Campaigners would agree when they studied his ten pages of answers that most of their demands had been met by his office.

He said it was impossible at this time of year to get another $75 million out of Congress and that he was more concerned with trying to drum up support for next year's $2.8 billion proposed budget, almost $400 million higher than the OEO budget for the fiscal year ending June 30.

NEBRASKA RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ESSAY CONTEST WINNERS

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, next week the Nebraska Rural Electric Association essay contest winners will be in Washington. This visit is their award for composing essays on "What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community."

These youngsters' essays are especially valuable in indicating the great advances made through the electrification of rural

America. These enlightening compositions, selected from several hundred on the subject, emphasize the special significance of rural electrification not only in the authors' own communities but also throughout Nebraska where 98 percent of all farms now have electrical power. Certainly the farms of today enjoy increased comfort and productivity thanks to the labor-saving devices made possible by electricity.

Fifty years ago when the electrical revolution had not yet reached the farm—the oil lamp, the coal-burning stove, and the hand milking of cows were all commonplace. With the advent of low-cost rural electrification—lighting, cooking, and even milking are now well within the confines of modern living.

This years' contest winners are most fortunate to have grown up in an age when a seemingly endless array of electrical appliances are a natural part of rural life. It appears evident from these youngsters' essays that they are well aware of the rigors of farm life before the wonders of rural electrification became widespread.

Again this year I take great pleasure in offering some of these fine presentations for preservation in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD essays written by the following:

Beth Popken, 16, a junior at St. Patricks High School in Maxwell, Nebr. Sponsor: Dawson County Public Power District, Lexington, Nebr.

Janice Porter, 16, a junior at Wheatland High School in Madrid, Nebr. Sponsor: the Midwest Electric Membership Corp., Grant, Nebr.

Craig Rowland, 17, a junior at Newcastle High School in Newcastle, Nebr. Sponsor: Northeast Nebraska Rural Public Power District, Emerson, Nebr.

Georgia Thurber, 15, a sophomore at Nelson High School in Nelson, Nebr. Sponsor: South Central Public Power District, Nelson, Nebr.

April Walgren, 15, a sophomore at Osceola High School in Osceola, Nebr. Sponsor: Polk County Rural Public Power District, Stromsburg, Nebr.

There being no objection, the essays were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Beth Popken, age 16; grade, 11; school, St. Patrick's High School; name of father, Donald H. Popken, Maxwell, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Dawson County Public Power District, Lexington, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

"In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said, 'Let there be light.' And light was made. And God saw the light and that was good."

Through man's progression toward civilization, each forward step has depended upon his development of a better source of light for his use.

First, burning torches, then candles gave way to oil lamps and gas lights. Now, we have the modern wonder of light available at the touch of a switch almost everywhere.

I did not live in the days my Grandma tells me about, when one of her daily chores was to fill the coal-oil lamp and clean the chimney—I'm afraid people my age tend to take our wonderland of light and convenience a bit too much for granted.

A massive blizzard and ice storm two years ago taught me, very pointedly, how much we depend on electricity in our daily life here on the farm, and in our tiny rural community. For four days and nights life seemed at a standstill. The lights were out! We had no heat, no water, and no radio or television. We hand-pumped water for our cattle, our food and meat was spoiling in the freezer, and a neighbor spent nearly twenty hours a day hand-milking his large dairy herd. In our town, the grocer was giving away meat and ice-cream for lack of refrigeration. By the time the power was restored, everyone was mentally and physically exhausted.

It had always been a mystery to me why man had lived for centuries making little or no progress. Why, in just the last hundred years man had advanced from horse and buggy to space ships, and from oil lamps to laser beams?

One night during the blizzard blackout as I sat shivering in our cold house staring at a candle flame, it dawned on me that electricity was the "foot" on the accelerator of progress.

Beginning on the day Ben Franklin flew his kite, electricity has revolutionized the world. As man has learned to utilize this magic power for his service, electricity has become the silent partner of industry and agriculture.

Today, every person served by electricity has the equivalent of thirty slaves at his command. In our homes, we put our kilowatt slaves to work washing and drying our clothes, running the vacuum sweeper, and heating the iron, the coffee pot, and the toaster. Our slaves spin the records on our stereo set, bring in the pictures and sound on television, and spread heat and light throughout the house.

The handiest "hired man" on a farm is electricity, for it replaces muscles with electrical energy in countless tasks, and it never asks for Sundays off.

I thank the Lord for the light of the day, and when evening comes I'm glad my day doesn't have to end. Thanks to R.E.A. we have light.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Janice Porter, age, 16; grade, 11; school, Wheatland High School, Madrid, Nebr.; name of father, Don Porter, Elsie, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Midwest Electric Membership Corporation, Grant, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

As the flag of the United States is the symbol of freedom, so has Willie Wiredhand become the symbol of a better way of life for rural Americans. Willie Wiredhand was chosen by the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association members in 1950 to serve as their national symbol of rural electrification.

It was through the hard work of many dedicated men with courage to fight for rural electrification that rural electricity became a reality; a reality not only in our United States but in other parts of the free world.

Electricity is the keystone of modern farm methods, and is now supplied to 98 percent of the 3,800,000 farms in the Nation today. When rural electrification came about, it brought great economic as well as social changes. It, as you might say, brought the farmer out of the "dark ages."

Well do my parents remember carrying lanterns and replacing mantels. Then came about the wonderful transition of flipping a switch or pushing a button to provide instant light, untiring labor and home entertainment.

Government loans, through REA, have aided in successfully carrying out the rural electrification program by bringing electricity to farmers at reasonable rates. A rural electric cooperative is a private, non-profit enterprise—locally owned, managed and controlled by the members which it serves. They are always striving to make rural America a more prosperous and better place in which to live.

Through greater research of electrical equipment, a constant, continual growth of the use of electric power has increased from approximately 175 KWH a month to an average of 750 KWH per month in The Midwest Electric Membership Corporation.

Electricity can answer the needs of rural people for modern business skills, marketing their goods, and managing their affairs for maximum profit. In a recent speech, our President said, "Rural America can offer good jobs for men and women, good schools for children, good homes for families, good hospitals for the sick, and all the good and necessary things to enlarge and enrich the quality of life."

Facts and figures of REA are impressive; but to me and my typical farm family, the most impressive aspect of REA is the steady availability of working appliances and the effect on our daily lives. Our family, neighbors, and friends depend on the constant use of electricity day and night, year in and year out. Only a widespread outage makes us realize how dependent we have become. Work comes to a stand-still indoors and outdoors with no electric appliances ready to clean, cook, milk, and irrigate. Homes soon seem very dark, cold and quiet to a teenager who has never known life without electricity; but always with plenty of light, controlled heat and the sounds of radio, stereo and television.

In this land of hopes and dreams surely no greater dream has been realized than that of rural electricity.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Craig Rowland, age, 17; grade, 11; school, Newcastle High School; name of father, Earl Rowland, Newcastle, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Northeast Nebraska Rural Public Power District, Emerson, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

The value? It cannot be told in terms of money or statistics. How often has a farm family stranded by a storm listened to the radio or television, services impossible without electricity, to get information. Or the farmer who can simply turn on a heat lamp to keep small pigs warm instead of staying up all night tending a fire to keep them from freezing. And how often has a community waited out a storm when roads are blocked and communications down, and know that the electricity will keep flowing to warm their houses and run their appliances, because of the dedication of the linemen who go out in the worst of storms to keep the "juice" flowing?

Where would the farmers be without rural electricity? The inventive farmer can make machines with his electric welder that he couldn't afford to buy from an implement dealer. And what about the man who welds a piece of machinery instead of buying a new one, or having to run to town for costly repairs? And how would it be to have to pump a 1,000 gallon reservoir full by hand? I doubt that you would do many exercises afterwards! Also the automatic electric feeders on upright silos save many man-hours of work, and also increase the capacity of men to produce foodstuffs for the world. Compared to the days of yesteryear the farmer in the 60's is a superman, all with the aid of electricity. And with less labor! Now a man can fill a bin outside a shed with controlled-environment and forget about having to scoop feed or having to check feeders, or worry about the amount of feed his hogs or chickens receive, for it is controlled electrically. I myself can remember building a fire every morning and night in a heater to keep a tank from freezing over with ice. Now I simply plug in the electric heater when Old Man Winter comes knocking and forget about it until spring. Electricity has given the farmer more leisure time, and has provided him with more income at less cost, thus benefitting the community immensely. Also, many communities are serviced by the same REC the rural people are on, and benefit from the low rates.

Rural electrification has made the heating of houses easier, too. Many of our neighbors have their houses heated electrically, or at least have oil heaters using electricity to run their thermostatic control. Flameless electric heat cooks all of my meals. All you have to do is put whatever you want roasted or baked into the oven, set the timer, then come back later and take it out of the oven. The timer which turns on the stove at a certain time, allowing you to put in your meal, set the timer, go to church or do the wash or whatever, and then come to have your meal cooked to perfection, is the nicest thing on new electric stoves. Even gas stoves offer this (with their timers run electrically).

Electricity also brings us entertainment in the form of television, radio, and record players. It is much easier to simply walk into the living room and turn on the TV set, than to go 20 or 30 miles to see a show. And what teen band can be seen today that doesn't use electric guitars?

Without rural electrification not only my community, but the whole nation would suffer. Without our REC's the life of the farmer would not only be drab, but almost impossible in this age of high prices. Low-cost electricity provided by the rural REC's is the life-blood of the farmer, and the agricultural communities of the nation.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION TO OUR HOMES AND COMMUNITY

(By Georgia Thurber, age 15; grade 10; school, Nelson High School; name of father, Marvin Thurber, Nelson, Nebr.; Contestant sponsored by South Central Public Power District, Nelson, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

The first method of heat that I remember was the pot-bellied stove because I was always chosen to help bring in corncobs, wood, and coal to feed into that stove. On cold winter mornings Dad would start a fire in our stove so that the house would be "toasty warm" when we decided to crawl out of our beds. Those were "the good old days" (if you enjoyed bringing in corncobs, wood, and coal when there was snow covering the ground).

The next method of heat that I remember was a gas floor furnace. Better, but still not good. Dad didn't have to get up so early on cold mornings and that gas furnace kept us warm. However, there were still problems: there were many burned feet when we stepped onto the furnace grill barefooted, and it produced a lot of dust and lint.

Then, in our new house, we installed electric heat, which eliminated those problems. Now we have no burned feet, nor dust and lint. We have "Clean, flameless, and convenience electric home heating."

Rural electrification means a lot to me not only because I am relieved of some work but also because of other great changes it has brought. Because of electricity, my family and our community are enjoying the best of everything. How have these changes in rural living come about?

Half a century ago farm homes were lighted by dangerous and inadequate kerosene lamps. Farms and farm homes lacked labor-saving devices. They had no water systems nor means of sanitation.

In 1935, when REA came into existence, urban areas had had service for nearly 50 years. REA has had much catching up to do and has done a remarkable job. No industry has moved faster than the electric business.

In 1950, Willie Wirehand was chosen the symbol of REA. He's a hired man who is always there; never tires; is always ready to work; appears everywhere; and is recognized internationally.

Rural electrification has improved rural living standards. For instance, electricity can heat or cool a home. Eye-level electric ovens save stooping and bending. Many have glass doors so that housewives can check their meals. Housewives are spared from the endless job of heating water on the stove for dishes, laundry, and many other odd jobs by modern electric water heaters.

Rural electrification has been a prime factor in promoting adequate agricultural production in our United States. Through the use of power tools, farmers' hours on the job have been shortened considerably. Adequate lighting in the farmyards lengthens the farmers' days and prevents many farm accidents. The Mercury Vapor Lights with "dusk-to-dawn operation" have made a major difference on many farms. Through proper lighting, accidents may be avoided.

My rural home, where the heating medium has been changed from corncobs to current within my brief memory, is symbolic of changes brought to all rural America. At a cost all can afford, rural electrification has unified living standards in the United States and increased agricultural production.

WHAT RURAL ELECTRIFICATION MEANS TO ME AND MY COMMUNITY

(By April Walgren, age, 15; grade, 10; school, Osceola High School; name of father, Paul Walgren, Osceola, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Polk County Rural Public Power District, Stromsburg, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

On May 11, 1935, an order of the President granted power to an REA administrator to "initiate, formulate, administer and supervise a program of approved projects with respect to the generation, transmission and distribution of electric energy in rural areas."

This declaration was the climax to a revolution that hasn't been suppressed yet—a revolution begun through the determination of farmers who were seemingly still existing in the Middle Ages. The Industrial Revolution hadn't altered their lives; they were an isolated island of darkness in a sea of light. It is impossible for us to visualize performing all the actions of a typical day in this setting. Yet our ancestors were able to live and thrive in this simple way of life. Maybe if we were to retreat into history 50 years we might better appreciate our electric power.

I arose earlier than usual this morning because at our house Monday is proclaimed "wash day." After lighting a lantern I hastily made my bed; the floor felt frigid to my toes. I got dressed and hurried outside to assist in fetching the water while my brother gathered kindling wood. By now our breakfast was ready and we sat down to oatmeal, toasted homemade bread and peaches, which I had helped can last summer. Mother packed our lunches while my sister and I fixed each other's hair with the curling iron. We heard brother Jack announce he and Nellie, our horse, were ready for school. We grabbed our lunch pails and coats and fled out the door. When we arrived at school we warmed ourselves around the coal-burning stove until our teacher rang the bell. Since it was an especially dark day, everyone took seats near the windows. After school I returned home to find Mother awaiting me with the ironing and several flatirons which had been heating all afternoon on the cookstove. When this task was completed it was suppertime. After the meal everyone helped clear the table so we could begin our studies by the kerosene lamp.

Although the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 states the actual functions of the REA, to me it symbolizes something deeper—the role of the farmer in our society. The need for his presence is just as great as for any other citizen, therefore he should have equal opportunities. REA patrons each year buy more than a billion and a quarter dollars worth of electrical equipment and appliances produced by workers in the cities. Their purchases create payrolls and strengthen the economy of our nation. Thus, agriculture and REA walk hand-in-hand in making our country a better place in which to live.

As a Nebraskan, I am proud of the fact that one of us, George Norris, introduced the rural electrification bill in the Senate. But I feel strongly it was the rural population itself that was responsible for the manner in which the "electrified farm" fever caught on. Their willingness to accept new ideas, ambition, and persistence were the deciding factors in the question, "Will rural American be electrified?" It is this attitude that accomplishes in life. It is through this attitude that the electrical revolution will continue.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider executive business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider executive business.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Sidney Freidberg, of New York, to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States;

Roy L. Call, of Alabama, to be U.S. marshal for the northern district of Alabama;

Halbert O. Woodward, of Texas, to be U.S. district judge for the northern district of Texas;

William Wayne Justice, of Texas, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern district of Texas;

Eldon B. Mahon, of Texas, to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Texas;

Richard B. Hardee, of Texas, to be U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Texas;

James B. McMillan, of North Carolina, to be U.S. district judge for the western district of North Carolina; and

Walter L. Nixon, Jr., of Mississippi, to be U.S. district judge for the southern district of Mississippi.

By Mr. DIRKSEN, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Thomas A. Foran, of Illinois, to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Illinois.

By Mr. TYDINGS, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

George C. Roeming, of Maryland, to be an Examiner in Chief, U.S. Patent Office;

June L. Green, of Maryland, to be U.S. district judge for the District of Columbia; and

John H. Pratt, of Maryland, to be U.S. district judge for the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BURDICK, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Myron H. Bright, of North Dakota, to be U.S. district judge for the eighth circuit.

By Mr. HART, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Edwin M. Zimmerman, of California, to be an Assistant Attorney General.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, as in executive session, I report favorably sundry nominations in the Diplomatic and Foreign Service which have previously appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and, to save the expense of printing them on the Executive Calendar, ask unanimous consent that they may lie on the Secretary's desk for the information of any Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The nominations, ordered to lie on the desk, are as follows:

Edward E. Archer, of California, and sundry other Foreign Service officers, for promotion in the Diplomatic Service; and

Alexander Akalovsky, of Maryland, and sundry other Foreign Service officers, for promotion in the Diplomatic Service.

By Mr. MANSFIELD (for Mr. FULBRIGHT), from the Committee on Foreign Relations, without reservation:

Executive A, 90th Congress, second session, International Grains Arrangement, signed in Washington between October 15 and November 30, 1967 (Ex. Rept. No. 6).

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider certain nominations reported favorably today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will report the nominations.

The legislative clerk read the nominations, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Edwin M. Zimmerman, of California, to be an Assistant Attorney General, vice Donald Frank Turner.

U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGE

Myron H. Bright, of North Dakota, to be U.S. circuit judge for the eighth circuit vice Charles J. Vogel, retired February 20, 1968.

U.S. DISTRICT JUDGES

Walter L. Nixon, Jr., of Mississippi, to be U.S. district judge for the southern district of Mississippi vice a new position created under Public Law 89–372 approved March 18, 1966.

James B. McMillan, of North Carolina, to be U.S. district judge for the western district of North Carolina vice Wilson Warlick, retiring.

John H. Pratt, of Maryland, to be U.S. district judge for the District of Columbia vice Alexander Holtzoff, retired December 31, 1967.

Halbert O. Woodward, of Texas, to be U.S. district judge for the northern district of Texas vice Joe B. Dooley, retired.

William Wayne Justice, of Texas, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern district of Texas vice Joe W. Sheehey, deceased.

June L. Green, of Maryland, to be U.S. district judge for the District of Columbia vice Burnita S. Matthews, retired March 1, 1968.

U.S. ATTORNEYS

Thomas A. Foran, of Illinois, to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Illinois for the term of 4 years vice Edward V. Hanrahan.

Eldon B. Mahon, of Texas, to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Texas for the term of 4 years vice Harold Barefoot Sanders, Jr., resigned.

Richard B. Hardee, of Texas, to be U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Texas for the term of 4 years vice William Wayne Justice, resigning.

U.S. MARSHAL

Roy L. Call, of Alabama, to be U.S. marshal for the northern district of Alabama for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

U.S. PATENT OFFICE

George C. Roeming, of Maryland, to be an Examiner in Chief, U.S. Patent Office, vice Malcom F. Bailey, resigned.

FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION

Sidney Freidberg, of New York, to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for the remainder of the term of 3 years from October 22, 1967, vice LaVern R. Dilweg.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed, en bloc.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the nominations on the Executive Calendar, Nos. 324 and 326, and 325.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Ernest Louis Massad, of Oklahoma, to be Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

THE NAVY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Vice Adm. Waldemar F. A. Wendt, to be admiral.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

THE ARMY

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Gen. Harold Keith Johnson to be a general.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Gen. William Childs Westmoreland to be Chief of Staff, U.S. Army.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I feel privileged to have been selected by the Senate Armed Services Committee to present to the Senate the appointment of Gen. William C. Westmoreland as Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army.

Further, I consider it an honor to bring to the attention of my colleagues some of the interesting details of the life of General Westmoreland, who appeared before the Senate Armed Services Committee on June 4 for confirmation as Chief of Staff of the Army. General Westmoreland was born in Spartanburg County, S.C., March 26, 1914, and graduated from Spartanburg High School in 1931. He attended The Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina, for 1 year and was then appointed to the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, N.Y.

At West Point he had a distinguished record and was chosen as first captain and regimental commander of the corps. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the field artillery upon graduation in 1936.

He saw action in World War II in North Africa, Tunisia, Sicily, and participated in the drive through France and Belgium after D-Day. In October 1944 he was named chief of staff of the 9th Infantry Division and served in that capacity until the end of the war.

After parachute training in 1946, he took command of the 504th Parachute Infantry, and in August 1947, was named chief of staff of the 82d Airborne Division. He fought in Korea in 1952 and was promoted to brigadier general at the age of 38. In December 1957, he was given a second star and became the youngest major general in the Army.

General Westmoreland served as Superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point until July 1963, and became commanding general, U.S. Army, Vietnam, and commander, U.S. MACV in 1964.

He returns to Washington after a demanding and extremely long tour in Vietnam to report for duty as the newly designated Chief of Staff of the Army.

Members of Congress will remember his appearance before a joint meeting of Congress last year, when he gave a report on progress of the fighting in Vietnam. My only regret is that the policy of the administration did not permit him to win a military victory in Vietnam, and that he is not returning with all of the fine fighting men whom he served so well.

General Westmoreland's wide background of important Army assignments, as well as his experience in dealing with diplomats of many nations, will serve him well in his new assignment. I join his many friends from South Carolina, from the armed services, from Congress, and from the American general public in expressing great confidence in his appointment and in wishing him every success in the Army's top post.

Mr. President, in order for many of his friends to become better acquainted with General Westmoreland's career and acomplishments, I request unanimous consent that his official Army biography, as well as an article entitled, "Our Man in Vietnam," published in the March 1968, issue of Data magazine, be printed in the RECORD, at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I request that the nomination of Gen. Wil-

liam C. Westmoreland as Chief of Staff of the Army be confirmed by the Senate.

EXHIBIT 1

BIOGRAPHY OF GEN. WILLIAM CHILDS WESTMORELAND, U.S. ARMY

William Childs Westmoreland was born in Spartanburg County, South Carolina, March 26, 1914, and graduated from Spartanburg High School in 1931. He attended The Citadel, The Military College of South Carolina, for one year and was then appointed to the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York. At the United States Military Academy he was first captain and regimental commander and was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the Field Artillery upon graduation on June 12, 1936.

His initial assignment was with a regiment of horse-drawn 75mm guns, the 18th Field Artillery, at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. In March 1939, he joined the Eighth Field Artillery of the Hawaiian Division at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii. Here he served as a battery officer, battalion staff officer, and battery commander. In May 1941, as a captain, he was assigned to the just organized Ninth Infantry Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, as operations officer of the 34th Field Artillery Battalion (155mm Howitzer).

In April 1942 he assumed command of the 34th Field Artillery Battalion and moved with it later that year to Morocco, North Africa. He commanded the battalion in combat in Tunisia and Sicily. During combat in Tunisia, his battalion was awarded the Presidential Unit Citation.

During the campaign in Sicily, General Westmoreland's battalion was successively attached to the 82d Airborne Division, and the 1st Infantry Division before returning to its parent division. In March 1944 he was named executive officer of the Ninth Infantry Division Artillery while the division was staging in Southern England preparatory to the invasion of the Continent. Following D-Day, he fought with the 9th Infantry Division through France, Belgium and into Germany. In October 1944 he was named chief of staff of the division, serving in that capacity in continuous combat from the German border to the Elbe River.

In June 1945 General Westmoreland assumed command of the 60th Infantry Regiment in Germany and in January 1946 was transferred to the 71st Infantry Division and, as commander of that division, returned it to the United States for inactivation.

Following training at Fort Benning, Georgia, he earned the Parachutist and Glider Badges and assumed command of the 504th Parachute Infantry of the 82d Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina in July 1946. In August 1947 he was named chief of staff of the 82d Airborne Division, serving in that capacity for the next three years.

He was appointed an instructor at the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in August 1950. Later that year he was designated an instructor at the newly organized Army War College, also at Fort Leavenworth, and in June 1951 moved to Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, with the Army War College, serving as a member of the faculty until July 1952.

On August 1, 1952, he assumed command of the 187th Airborne Regimental Combat Team in Korea. While under his command, the unit was twice committed to combat and during the interim was deployed to Japan as theater reserve. The Republic of Korea awarded his unit the Distinguished Unit Citation. During this period he was promoted to brigadier general at the age of 38. In August 1953 he was awarded the Master Parachutist Badge.

In November 1953 he reported for duty as Deputy Assistant Chief of Staff, G1, for Manpower Control. In 1954 he attended the Advanced Management Program of the Harvard Business School in Boston, Massachusetts. He was named to the Secretary of the Army General Staff in July 1955.

On December 1, 1957, the Chief of Staff of the Army, General Maxwell D. Taylor, pinned a second star on General Westmoreland, making him at that time, the youngest Major General in the Army.

General Westmoreland assumed command of the 101st Airborne Division "Screaming Eagles" at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, on April 2, 1958.

In July 1960, General Westmoreland was appointed Superintendent of the US Military Academy at West Point. He was transferred to Fort Bragg, North Carolina in July 1963 at which time he became Commanding General, STRAC and XVIII Airborne Corps.

In January 1964, he reported to duty at the US Military Assistance Command, Vietnam. He was assigned first as Deputy Commander, then Acting Commander and finally, in August 1964 was made Commander, US Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, and Commanding General, US Army, Vietnam.

PERSONAL DATA

Date and Place of Birth: March 26, 1914, Spartanburg County, S.C.

Parents: Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Westmoreland (Deceased).

Marriage: Date, May 3, 1947; wife, Katherine Van Deusen Westmoreland; children, Katherine Stevens Westmoreland, Margaret Childs Westmoreland, James Ripley Westmoreland, II.

EDUCATION

Spartanburg High School, Spartanburg, South Carolina, graduate, 1931.

The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, one year, 1932.

United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, graduate, BS, 1936.

Army War College (Instructor) 1950–52.

Harvard University, Advance Management Program #26, 1954.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PROMOTIONS

Promotions	Temporary (AUS)	Permanent (RA)
2d lieutenant		June 12, 1936.
1st lieutenant		June 12, 1939.
Captain	Sept. 9, 1940	June 12, 1946.
Major	Feb. 1, 1942	July 1, 1948.
Lieutenant colonel	Sept. 25, 1942	July 1, 1953.
Colonel	July 28, 1944	
Lieutenant colonel (reverted)	June 30, 1947	
Colonel	June 29, 1951	
Brigadier general	Nov. 7, 1952	July 14, 1962.
Major general	Dec. 1, 1956 (DOR Mar. 3, 1952).	Aug. 12, 1965 (May 20, 1963).
Lieutenant general	July 31, 1963	
General	Aug. 1, 1964	

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ASSIGNMENTS

Assignments	From	To
Battery officer, 18th Field Artillery, Fort Sill, Okla	June 1936	March 1939.
Battery officer, battalion staff officer, and battery commander, 8th Field Artillery Schofield Barracks, Hawaii.	March 1939	May 1941.
Operations officer, 34th Field Artillery, 9th Infantry Division, Fort Bragg, N.C.	May 1941	April 1942.
Battalion commander, 34th Field Artillery Battalion, 9th Infantry Division, Fort Bragg, N.C., to Morocco, North Africa (in combat in Tunisia and Sicily), to England.	April 1942	March 1944.
Executive officer, 9th Infantry Division Artillery (combat in France, Belgium, and Germany).	April 1944	October 1944.
Chief of staff, 9th Infantry Division (combat in Germany).	October 1944	June 1945.
Regimental commander, 60th Infantry Regiment in Germany.	June 1944	January 1946.
Chief of staff and division commander, 71st Infantry Division, Germany, and return with it to the United States.	January 1946	May 1946.
Assistant chief of staff, 82d Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, N.C.	May 1946	
Student officer, the Infantry School, Fort Benning, Ga	do	July 1946.
Regimental commander, 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment, Fort Bragg, N.C.	July 1946	August 1947.
Chief of Staff, 82d Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, N.C.	August 1947	August 1950.
Instructor, Department of Instruction, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.	August 1950	October 1950.
Instructor, Army War College, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.	October 1950	June 1951.
Instructor, Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa	June 1951	July 1952.
Commander, 187th Airborne Regimental Combat Team in Korea.	August 1952	August 1953.
TDY to Hq. Prov. Corps, Japan, Hq, Armed Forces, Far East, 8000th Army Unit.	October 1953	November 1953.
Deputy assistant chief of staff, G–1 for manpower control, Washington, D.C.	November 1953	September 1954.
Student, advance management program, Harvard business School, Boston, Mass.	September 1954	December 1954.
Deputy assistant chief of staff, G–1 for manpower control, Washington, D.C.	December 1954	July 1955.
Secretary of the Army general staff, 8525th DU, Washington, D.C.	July 1955	March 1958.
Commanding general, 101st Airborne Division and Fort Campbell, Fort Campbell, Ky.	April 1958	June 1960.
Superintendent, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, N.Y.	July 1960	July 1963.
Commanding general, STRAC and XVIII Airborne Corps, Fort Bragg, N.C.	July 1963	January 1964.
Deputy commander, U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam.	January 1964	June 1964.
Acting commander, U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam.	June 1964	August 1964.
Commander U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam and commanding general, U.S. Army, Vietnam (APO 96243 SF).	August 1964	

LIST OF CITATIONS AND DECORATIONS

Distinguished Service Medal w/OLC.

Legion of Merit w/2 OLC.

Bronze Star Medal.

Air Medal w/8 OLC.

American Defense Service Medal.

American Campaign Medal.

EAME Campaign Medal w/7 Campaign Stars.

WW II Victory Medal.

Army of Occupation Medal (Germany).

National Defense Service Medal w/OLC.

Korean Service Medal w/3 Campaign Stars.

Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal.

Vietnam Campaign Medal w/4 Campaign Stars.

United Nations Service Medal.

Presidential Unit Citation (34th Field Artillery Battalion, Tunisia 1943).

Republic of Korea Unit Citation (187th Regimental Combat Team 1953).

Korean Ulchi Distinguished Service Medal w/Gold Star.

Legion of Honor (French Government).

Belgium Fourragere.

Croix De Guerre w/Palm.

Order of Military Merit Taeguk (Korea).

Order of Sikatuna (Rankoflankan(Philippines).

BADGES

Combat Infantryman's Badge.

Master Parachutist Badge.

Glider Badge.

General Staff Identification Badge.

PERSONAL BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Sports: Golf, Squash, Water-skiing.

[From Data magazine, March 1968]

OUR MAN IN VIETNAM: WESTMORELAND—A PERSONAL PROFILE

(By Gene Famiglietti)

"If you wanted to make a model of a four star general, you'd make it to look like General Westmoreland." So stated one Air Force lieutenant colonel on the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, staff about his boss recently. And that's generally what other officers and newsmen have been saying about Gen. William Childs Westmoreland for years. The "he looks like a general should" school won unexpected support from the fashion conscious early this year when Westmoreland was voted number 16 on a list of the nation's best dressed. When he was a two star general the New York Times—without apologies to Gilbert and Sullivan—said he was "the model of a modern major general."

One of the strange facts of the current Vietnam war controversy is that Westmoreland continues to enjoy a relatively good press. It's strange when one considers that the war has divided friends, political parties and nations. True there're occasional brickbats hurled his way, and the recent Tet (Vietnamese lunar new year) "offensive" in South Vietnam certainly couldn't have boosted Westmoreland's standing anywhere, but Westmoreland has generally had his way with newsmen and U.S. officials.

One exception occurred late last year when Westmoreland had been called home to report to the President. On the Senate floor Sen. Vance Hartke (D., Ind.), a persistent critic of the Administration's Vietnam war policies, questioned the propriety of the four star Vietnam commander making speeches in the U.S. while one of the most critical battles of the war (around Dak To) was under way.

Perhaps dulling the axes of most of the critics is Westmoreland's stand on the performance of the Negro soldier in Vietnam. The officers "idiots come in all sizes, shapes and colors" comments in Vietnam, his similar stand before the South Carolina legislature and other statements have made him a positive civil rights symbol.

Paradoxically some of Westy's biggest problems may have been caused by Defense Secretary McNamara last year. Comments about the large number of support troops in Vietnam were generally taken as criticism of Westmoreland whether or not McNamara intended them as such. McNamara later said: "The allegation that there is disillusionment or disappointment over General Westmoreland's handling of our armed forces in Vietnam is false. Such false statements do a grave disservice to one of the great military commanders of this country and to all men who serve under him. General Westmoreland has the absolute confidence of the President, of men and the entire membership of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. There is no truth to the suggestion that he may soon be relieved."

Some of Westmoreland's friends say the general did regard McNamara's unfortunate comments as a public criticism. The general fought back in the newspapers through a second party.

WHAT NEXT

Even as this appears the general's next assignment may already be in process of announcement by the President or Defense Department. Logically it would be announced after a major U.S. victory, certainly not at a time when it could be connected to a lack of U.S. progress or a setback.

The "insiders" have tabbed the 53-year-old soldier as the next Army Chief of Staff, succeeding Gen. Harold K. Johnson. Others insist that assignment as Army Chief of Staff is in reality a demotion for Westmoreland. They argue for nomination of Westy as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Since the term of service chiefs is limited by law now to four years some shifts will have to be made this summer. Gen. Johnson, for example, will have had four years in his Army post shortly.

It's unlikely that Westmoreland will side with those who argue that his selection as Army Chief of Staff is a slap in the face. Unless there's been an overnight change, Army officers still aspire to become the military leader of their service, and not Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman.

One Westmoreland intimate in Washington contends that carting Westmoreland off to an assignment in Europe or keeping him in Hawaii by giving him a normally Navy billet as commander in chief Pacific could find the general rebelling.

Political observers have not failed to notice Westmoreland, remembering General Dwight Eisenhower in 1951. Westmoreland has also been cast as President Johnson's Grant, meaning that in the fashion of Union Gen. U. S. Grant, Westmoreland is going to bring home news of an impending U.S. victory. Grant thus helped Lincoln to an election win. Columnist Stewart Alsop wrote recently that the Johnson Administration was counting on Westmoreland to do a "General Grant."

ALWAYS ON TOP

If it somehow transpires that Westmoreland does not come out at the top, or somewhere close by, it'll be a switch. An examination of his military career shows he's made a habit of being number one.

After attending the Citadel in South Carolina for a year Westmoreland entered West Point. He emerged as first captain of the Corps of Cadets in 1936. Later he was the Army's youngest two star general, and the second youngest officer to be assigned as Military Academy commandant.

Throughout his career, he's had a can't miss label.

Westy's first assignment following graduation from the Military Academy was with a horse drawn 75mm artillery regiment.

A captain by 1941 Westmoreland was assigned to the then just organized 9th Infantry Division at Fort Bragg, N.C., as an artillery unit operations officer. Twelve months later he was CO of the battalion.

At 29 Westmoreland was a full colonel. As Col. William C. Westmoreland he led the 34th Field Artillery ashore in North Africa. The battalion fought in Tunisia and Sicily, winning a Presidential Unit Citation.

Later the officer fought with the 9th (which, incidentally now is one of his Vietnam divisions) in Europe, finally becoming chief of staff.

This rise from a battalion operations officer to division chief of staff in three years even during wartime can be classed as slightly meteoric.

Before the end of the war in Europe Westmoreland had his first infantry command. He was named CO of the 60th Infantry in Germany in June 1945.

Most of today's soldiers may be unaware that Westy has ever been anything but infantry or airborne. Friends say Westmoreland got the airborne bug during the time the 34th Field Artillery was attached to the 82d Airborne Division. Perhaps convinced that airborne was the "wave of the future" (much in the fashion that today's ambitious soldier wants an air cavalry assignment under his belt) the field grade officer joined recruits and junior officers to hoof it through airborne training. A fellow officer remembers Westmoreland taking voluminous notes, on the chance they'd come in handy later.

He got his first airborne command quickly, becoming CO of the 504th Parachute Infantry at Fort Bragg. By mid-1945 he was chief of staff of the 82d Airborne Division, not bad for a soldier airborne less than two years.

There still exists a closeness between Westy and airborne soldiers. You see it in Vietnam when Westmoreland remembers an airborne NCO he served with previously. It's like going back to your hometown.

Before assuming command of the 187th Regimental Combat Team (Airborne) in Korea 1952 Westmoreland served as an instructor at the Army War College and the Command and General Staff College.

Following Korean duty the Spartanburg, S.C., native was ordered to a top manpower job in Washington. Next, in 1954, he attended the Harvard Business School.

The Harvard experience according to one former aide, is a big factor in his career. Westmoreland attended a several month course at the school well before the current emphasis on military management. Much of what he learned at Harvard was later introduced in the 101st Airborne Division at Fort Campbell in 1958.

COMMANDING

A reporter who met the general a decade ago recalls:

"I first met the general in 1959 at Fort Campbell, Ky., when he was commanding the 101st, and commanding is the word. At that time he was the youngest major general in the Army. It didn't take long to discover that Westmoreland wasn't like some other commanding generals I had met . . .

"Westmoreland needed and wanted no information officer at his side when he discussed his work at length, and indeed it was plain that he considered himself to be the real information officer of the division anyway.

"He explained in detail programs he called Operation High Gear, Chairborne and Command Data.

"He talked about 50 factors in 50 areas, when he was correlating hundreds of facts about troop command administering training and why he was trying to get men in the 101st to write him with any ideas they may have to improve the division . . .

"And he talked continually, and with conviction, about challenges, challenges, challenges."

"Many men," Westmoreland said, "can do 50 to 100 percent more than they think they can if they have a challenge."

An officer who served with Westmoreland at Campbell remembers how he reduced the division budget, letting stocks remain on the depot's books, instead of his. And he recalls how Westmoreland went to the troops to present an award or citation.

This had the effect of proving the general cared, and it also saved the time (hence money) of his soldiers and civilian employees.

"And I sensed," the visitor remembers, "that he knew he was going somewhere in the Army. He surely was aware that many of his men—officer and enlisted—had the idea that 'if Westy says go, we go' and that they felt he was destined to be top man in the Army one day."

After Campbell Westmoreland became West Point commandant and then commanding general of the 18th Airborne Corps.

And in 1964 the man who talks incessantly about challenges was handed one of the top parts in the biggest challenge the nation has ever faced. In January Westmoreland started his fourth year in Vietnam.

VIETNAM

Perhaps not as enthusiastic—or at least outwardly so—as he was in 1964 Westmoreland still is the commanding general. He knows it, visitors know it and the men in the field know it.

A reporter talked recently to the general in his second floor office at the Military Assistant Command compound in Saigon.

At the time Westmoreland had just issued a statement on the risks of a bombing pause. It was a statement issued on his own, he said, not cleared by the White House, State Department or the Pentagon.

Asked what he needed, he said "the support of the American people." Sound corney? It didn't coming from the General.

More troops? Not a black and white question, he said. Of course we could use more, but additional troops could have a bad effect on the already impaired Vietnamese economy.

Westmoreland who is sometimes accused (by men of his own staff as well as in the U.S.) of not pushing the Vietnamese harder for reforms, has made defense of Republic of Vietnam troops a big part of his job. He has argued publicly that the Vietnamese are much maligned, that they have fought with few real leaders, and with the few available trying to run both the military and civilian sides of the government. Give them five years, and the South Vietnamese will have a first class army is a Westmoreland battlecry.

Westmoreland has a practice of disarming interviewers by asking them what they think. He appears genuinely interested in the answers. And reminiscent of the past at Bragg and Campbell and the Military Academy he talks about leadership. Challenge the troops, he says, and they'll do marvelous things for you.

A soldier, Westmoreland says, has to be understood, know what he's doing and be told his job is appreciated. Commanders have to prove they're interested and care about his welfare.

"Get this across and they'll go.

"They've done right by me."

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Gen. William Childs Westmoreland to be Chief of Staff, U.S. Army?

The nomination was agreed to.

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nomination today.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. **BYRD** of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

APPROPRIATIONS TO FEED THE HUNGRY

Mr. **CLARK**. Mr. President, the controversy rages with respect to the adequacy of appropriations to feed the hungry in the United States. The Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman, has been of the view that he should return to the Treasury $227 million in unexpended customs receipts this year rather than to use the money to feed the poor, as many of us contended he had every right to do.

Because of the controversy, on the motion of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] the Senate voted 31 to 30 a week or 10 days ago to remove from the agriculture bill the provision which Secretary Freeman contended prevented him from using this $227 million to feed the poor.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a column entitled "Power of Seniority Versus Food for Poor," written by the extremely able columnist and reporter for the Philadelphia Inquirer, Jerome S. Cahill.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON BACKGROUND: POWER OF SENIORITY VERSUS FOOD FOR POOR

(By Jerome S. Cahill)

WASHINGTON, June 5.—In the United States Senate, seniority must be served and, because this is true, one of the few legislative victories scored this year in behalf of the Nation's hungry poor may be nullified.

It was a surprise victory, and by the narrowest of margins. By a vote of 31 to 30, the Senate voted to strike from an agriculture appropriations bill language that Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman contended restricted his authority to feed the poor.

Because of the restriction as Freeman interpreted it, the Agriculture Department planned to return to the Treasury $227 million in unexpended customs receipts this year. The plan was given nation-wide exposure in "Hunger, U. S. A." a citizens' study alleging 10 million American poor suffer from chronic hunger despite the abundance of U. S. farm production.

What threatens to make the 31 to 30 victory illusory is the fact that a conference with the House now must be scheduled on the issue—and all seven of the Senate conferees either voted against, or were paired against, the liberalizing amendment.

Appointed on the recommendation of Sen. Spessard Holland (D., Fla.), manager of the bill, the conferees include Holland and three other Southern Democrats, Richard Russell of Georgia, John Stennis of Mississippi and Allen Ellender of Louisiana, and three corn belt Republicans, Karl Mundt of South Dakota, Roman Hruska of Nebraska and Milton Young of North Dakota.

With the possible exception of Young, all rank high in terms of seniority, which is why they were appointed. But the big question is whether they will battle down to the wire to preserve in conference an amendment they opposed on the Senate floor. If past experience is an indication, the answer probably will be no.

Preserving that $227 million to feed the hungry was one of the chief goals of the Poor People's march encamped here and that is all the more reason why the ad hoc bipartisan group of Senators and Congressmen supporting the poor people wants to make the 31 to 30 vote stick.

One plan under consideration to accomplish this is the mailing of a "round robin" letter to the Senate conferees, signed by all Senate members of the ad hoc committee, urging them to stand fast behind the amendment, which was sponsored by Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.).

If this fails, an attempt could be made to defeat on the Senate floor any conference report that did not embrace Javits' amendment.

Just this procedure was followed in a similar situation earlier this year. On March 11, by a one-vote margin that Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey contributed, the Senate voted 43 to 42 to add $25 million for Head Start classes and $75 million for jobs for youth this summer. Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.) joined Javits in pressing for the extra funds.

However, as in the present case, a majority of the Senate conferees voted against the $100 million and when they reported back from the conference, the money was missing. Thereupon the Senate rose up and defeated the conference report, 54 to 24, and four of the conservative conferees were replaced by Senators more sympathetic to the majority view.

Senator Clark has been advocating for years the adoption by the Senate of a rule that would require the Senate's presiding officer to appoint to conference committees only those Senators who can in conscience support the Senate's position in confrontation with the House.

Mr. **CLARK**. Mr. President, the column points out that about 3 weeks or a month ago when a similar situation arose with respect to appropriations for the Headstart program, the Senate overruled its Committee on Appropriations and directed that the extra money be appropriated for Headstart. Thereafter, conferees were appointed, a majority of whom were not in accord with the view taken by the Senate, and they brought back a conference report which struck out the appropriation for Headstart. The Senate rejected the conference report, and on my motion the conferees graciously agreed not to serve again and other Senators who favored the position taken by the majority of the Senate were appointed in their places.

I had thought that that wise decision, which merely carries into effect innumerable precedents from the past in the Senate, would prevail for the future of this session, at least, and until we can really write a rule which would make it mandatory, as it has been merely a custom that a majority of Senate conferees must have represented by their votes the position taken by the Senate in disagreement with the House.

As appears from the column I have just had printed in the RECORD, the same thing has happened again, and Senate conferees, none of whom voted for the Javits amendment to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to use money to feed the hungry, have been appointed conferees. My understanding is that no conference report has yet been agreed upon.

I hope very much that my admired colleagues who are in this somewhat invidious position would do what their colleagues did a few weeks ago and resign as conferees in order that Senators who supported the Javits amendment might be appointed in their stead.

THE NEED FOR A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE

Mr. **CLARK**. Mr. President, we have all spoken, and many of my colleagues with eloquence, about the tragic event which resulted in the assassination of our beloved colleague, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. I would hope that that tragic circumstance would awaken the country to the fact that something pretty drastic has to be done to change our procedures, our ideals, our attitude toward law, and our attitude toward social benefits.

I think I see signs in the country that the change in point of view is taking place. I would hope it would be accompanied by a drastic change in point of view of the Senate.

In order to call to the attention of Senators what is being written in a number of newspapers of wide circulation, I shall introduce a series of articles. The first article is a very incisive and provocative column written by Joe McGinniss, a brilliant young reporter with the Philadelphia Inquirer, whose columns I have had occasion to have printed in the RECORD in the past. The article is entitled "America the Ugly: Where Hate and Fear Create Vision of Hell," published in the Philadelphia Inquirer. I ask unanimous consent that this incisive and penetrating column may be printed in the RECORD in full, and I call it to the favorable attention of my colleagues.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The article, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

AMERICA THE UGLY: WHERE HATE AND FEAR CREATE VISION OF HELL

LOS ANGELES, June 5.—It is hard to think of what to write while you are coming out here in an airplane because of an event which has proved that you do not live in a country anymore but in a cesspool. It does not happen anywhere the way it happens here. Not in Russia, not in China, not in North Vietnam.

Nowhere anymore does a man have to feel when he stands up to try to lead his people that he runs at least an even chance of getting his skull pierced by a bullet from someone who does not like the things he says.

Nowhere but in America.

This country does not work anymore. Maybe it stopped the day John Kennedy was killed, and only we did not know it at the time.

Now, less than five years later, with the man who killed Kennedy murdered, with Martin Luther King gone to a crazyman's gun, and with Bob Kennedy now lying in a bed in a hospital in Los Angeles with a hole in the middle of his head from where a bullet had plowed through his brain, now we have to know it. Now we cannot hide from it anymore. This is not a country.

The richest, most powerful place in the world and all that the money and power have produced has been a bunch of people so filled with fear and hate and ugliness that when a man tries to tell them they must do more for other men, instead of listening they shoot him in the head.

This is not a country anymore. This is a vision of hell.

You go out on a plane into the heart of the horror and the only thing to do is to write about the man.

I do not know Bob Kennedy very well but I know him better than I know the other men who are trying to be President, and I know him well enough to like him.

The hatred people have for him is something I could never understand.

I have heard tell of the stories, all of the things that are supposed to prove that this man is mean and small and without ethics, but all I know for sure about him as a professional man is that he cares about the people in America who do not have a chance and all I know about him personally is that he loves children and the outdoors and he has a great ironic way of laughing at people and things, including himself, and that when he tells you something he means it.

The first time I met him was last November, in Washington, just before I went to Vietnam. I had been told that he had some inward thoughts on Vietnam that might be helpful to me in appraising the place and that while he did not want to express them publicly because they were very different from the thoughts Lyndon Johnson had at the time, he would be glad to discuss them in private.

I saw him in his office in the new Senate Office Building at 2:30 on a terribly bright fall afternoon. What I remember most about the office are a couple crayon drawings, done by his children in elementary school, that were hanging on the wall.

Behind his desk there were cartons containing copies of his book, "To Seek a Newer World," which was about to come out at the time. What I remember most about him was how ill at ease he seemed.

How much difficulty he seemed to have in talking to someone he did not know. Shyness in as public a man as Robert Kennedy seemed impossible but shy is the way he struck me.

We talked—he talked, mostly; haltingly, his voice often trailing off, his sentences often grammatically incomplete—for 45 minutes.

As I got up to leave he wished me luck, and, thinking briefly, perhaps, of what he knew of guns and bullets, said. "If you get up near, ah, areas where's there's trouble, ah, be careful." I told him I would, and he said, "I wouldn't want to hear that anything had happened."

Then he reached behind his desk and picked up one of the books.

"Here, why don't I give you this," he said, and he inscribed it, "For Joe McGinnis, with best wishes for the future—and if you find the answer, please let me know."

Then he gave me another copy of the book and asked me to deliver it to a reporter for the New York Times in Vietnam named Johnny Apple. This copy was inscribed, "Here is the answer. Read it before it's too late."

Then he gave me a letter of introduction to Apple. I cannot remember the wording exactly but it was written in typical Bob Kennedy irony and said something like, "Please try to refrain from being your usual arrogant self and be nice to this young man and help him win a Pulitzer Prize."

He told me to please see him when I got back because he would like to hear my impressions. This I considered traditionally political politeness and had no intention of doing so, but sometime in February I got a letter from him saying that he had seen a couple of the pieces I had written and would like to see the rest if it were convenient for me to send him a set.

It was not long afterward that he decided to run for President. In Washington, the day he announced, things were too hectic for more than a brief hello, but the day after Lyndon Johnson's announcement that he would not run again, I was with Kennedy in a private room at LaGuardia Airport waiting for his campaign plane to leave for Philadelphia.

What was mostly on his mind was Mr. Johnson but he was still too stunned to make much sense talking about it and soon the conversation went around to the problems of poverty and racial hatred about which he feels so strongly.

The talk was about what the summer looked like and to Kennedy it did not look good. Then someone mentioned Martin Luther King and the proposed march of the poor to Washington.

"He can't control them anymore," Kennedy said. "He hasn't had any real power for two years. They've moved past him. They believe too much in violence now."

Then he suddenly turned to me and said, "Hey, that sounded quite like a trip you had through the delta."

He lost in Oregon and took it like a gentleman. He did not try to say he won. Then he went on television with Gene McCarthy and showed that he had more than glamour and money; that he had poise and a mind that worked.

He won the race he had to win in California and afterward he appeared full of the good humor and wit that is so much a part of him.

Then he got shot in the head, like his brother.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the next item is a column published in the Philadelphia Inquirer, written by William McGaffin, reporting on a speech made by George F. Kennan at Willamsburg, Va., recently, entitled "Kennan Prescribes an Elixir for a 'Sick Society'." I ask unanimous consent that the column, which to my mind is entirely sound and deserves the widest possible attention, as, indeed, does the full text of Mr. Kennan's address, be printed in full at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KENNAN PRESCRIBES AN ELIXIR FOR A "SICK SOCIETY"

(By William McGaffin)

WASHINGTON.—George F. Kennan chose an appropriate place the other day for delivering a provocative critique on the troubled America of 1968.

The distinguished historian, educator and former diplomat was the principal speaker in Williamsburg, Va., at the annual ceremony commemorating the legislative "Prelude to Independence," which took place there in the dramatic summer of 1776.

After describing what a "sick society" we have become with unresolved problems of growing danger in the big-city ghettos and on the college campuses, he stressed what must be done to bring the country back to what our forefathers intended it to be.

"A nation in such a state of internal disarray—a nation faced with domestic tasks of such magnitude—cannot afford the luxury of extravagant excursions, whether of altruism or of military adventure, into the world beyond its borders," he declared.

"It has no choice but to prune its external involvements to the bone, to cure itself of all dreams of being more to others than it is to itself, and to adjust the objectives of its foreign policy to a realistic assessment of its own capabilities."

Kennan is not only one of the most knowledgeable but one of the most articulate critics of our involvement in Vietnam.

"It is little short of fantastic," he said, "that a country facing such domestic problems as we now face, and one that stands virtually on the brink of a major international financial humiliation, should be continuing to pour its substance, to the tune of a full fourth of its budget and more than a half million of its young men, into a military adventure on the other side of the world, in an area to which its vital interests are only remotely related."

Since it was Kennan who helped formulate and put into practice the U.S. policy of "containment of Communism," it is all the more impressive that he feels the time has come for a new policy.

"The world had changed very greatly over what it was 20 years ago. Neither the hopes nor the fears that have inspired our policy over the intervening years have full validity today."

In his judgment, "At many points, in Europe and elsewhere, where we have become accustomed to regarding our presence and attention as essential to stability, others can now do without us."

Not all of them are going to find it as pleasant as they thought they would "when Yankee really goes home," he says, but he thinks we have no choice. "And many of them may gain from the denial of America's favors a respect for what America has to offer which the extravagant extension of those favors was never able to produce."

Kennan by no means recommends an America withdrawing into isolationism. He recognizes our responsibilities for the problem of Germany. He also notes the "two great latent crises" of the Middle East and the southern part of Africa.

What he counsels is that we do not attempt to solve these crises at once because "we do not have the answers in our pocket."

Rather, he hopes that we will "shape our conduct in such a way" as to help prevent them from becoming threats to world peace.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, Mr. Kennan is of the view that we should very much curtail our activities overseas in order to assure we may take care of the critical needs of the people of our own country, which our enormously swollen military appropriations are presently preventing us from doing.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in my remarks an article entitled "Domestic Disarmament," written by that able journalist, Henry Gemmill, published in the Wall Street Journal of June 6, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOMESTIC DISARMAMENT: STRICT RESTRICTIONS ON PRIVATE GUNS MAY PROVE INEVITABLE

(By Henry Gemmill)

WASHINGTON.—It seems reasonable to suppose that at some point the U.S. will decide to undergo domestic disarmament.

The shooting of Presidential candidate Robert Kennedy will in itself not bring that to pass, any more than did the assassination of his brother or the slaying of Martin Luther King. Perhaps the most that can be expected is that the shock of this event will put fresh steam into Congressional action on legislation that could mildly restrict fresh additions to the huge armament stocks scattered amongst the populace. The day when most of the guns will actually be grabbed out of their hands is uncertain and distant—yet its arrival may prove inevitable.

During recent years a highly competent "gun lobby" has been given most of the credit or blame for fighting off myriad Congressional moves intended to curb the domestic traffic in firearms. Certainly such groups as the National Rifle Association have used the most modern techniques—mass letter-writing campaigns and the like—in mobilizing opposition pressure. Nevertheless, the essence of the gun-bearers' strength has not resided in these techniques.

It has, on the contrary, represented the vestigial sentiment of a vanishing America—the thinly populated frontier society. It seems predictable that in an urbanized and crowded America the gun lobby will in the end, for good or ill, find itself overwhelmed—much as the equally competent doctors lobby eventually was in its fight against medicare. Like civil rights legislation, domestic disarmament is likely to be voted in successive and increasing doses.

ALREADY EVIDENT TIDE

The direction of the political tide is already evident, even if its ultimate dimensions remain to be proved. The pollsters discovered more than a year ago that heavy majorities of the public favored tighter restrictions on gun ownership. The firearms legislation that came alive on Capitol Hill this spring was, though modest, the first approved by a Congressional committee in three decades.

One could be less confident about a continued pressure for domestic disarmament if it resulted solely from the slaughter of national leaders. Such high tragedy does genuinely move and significantly crystallize opinion—but may well be less basic than the fact that great numbers of ordinary people are becoming concerned about their own safety.

A sample of this sour taste of fear is available right here in this capital city; Washington lacked bus service during recent nights because drivers have been terrorized by gun-slinging bandits who've shown they are willing to shoot to kill. The cities are growing, and the statistics on violent crime growing even faster. And alongside this constant danger there stands the growing threat of sporadic urban riot with its sniper gunmen.

Of course there remains an ambivalence among Americans, largely because the nation is not yet totally city-oriented. It is mainly the Eastern Senators, like Dodd of Connecticut, who have pushed longest and hardest for gun control. A Senator from the open acres of the West is still likely to feel as his ancestors did; Idaho's Senator Church turned up last summer with a petition against control from 44,000 constituents.

Indeed, the frontier tradition is not yet dead even in the metropolises. The United Auto Workers strongly backs gun control legislation—and its leaders, in doing so, no doubt accurately reflect the Detroit workers' revulsion against riot and crime. Still, the union's officials say they get plenty of hot protests from the rank and file. Reason: Many a member thinks of himself not as the assembly-line unit which he is for most of the year but as the male huntsman in quest of prey—which he becomes, briefly, once a year when he shoulders a gun and heads for the Michigan wilds.

Without suggesting that such inner urgings will easily be quelled, it does seem likely they will by degrees be subordinated to what appear to be the urban necessities. It becomes increasingly difficult to maintain national policy in the traditions of a vanished era, and that applies even to the Constitutional question often raised by opponents of gun control.

"The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," says the Second Amendment to the Constitution. Plain enough, perhaps, except that it is part of a sentence stating the need for "a well regulated militia"—and one can conjecture that the present Supreme Court, always willing to interpret the antique document as it deems fit for contemporary needs, might concur with any law taking guns away from folk who are not militiamen. If not, this is a Constitution that can be amended once again.

Apart from romantic notions and legalisms rooted in the American past, no doubt there are many rational arguments that can be offered against domestic disarmament. Once upon a time there was a Constitutional amendment that tried to take alcohol away from the populace; it proved so unenforceable it was revoked. Getting all the guns would unquestionably pose fantastic problems of enforcement, and at best take years to accomplish with reasonable success. The dangerous people—the insane, the conspirators and the criminals—are hardly the citizens who would quickly comply.

And even if the day came when none but the police had guns, violence would not have been utterly eliminated. The word "assassin" predates firearms: it belonged first to a murderous sect of Moslems and was spread by Crusaders equipped only with various sharp and blunt instruments. Such weaponry will remain available to the mugger on the dark street, to the madman who thinks he must "save" the country from its leadership.

MORE PERSUASIVE LOGIC?

But the pounding events of local and national news—and one can be sure they will continue to provide fresh terrors—are likely to make the logic of gun control far more persuasive. When the man who runs the dry cleaning establishment is shot down for his petty cash, the other shopkeepers down the street would like to try getting rid of those guns.

There are really no statistics to demonstrate scientifically that more psychotics exist per 100,000 of population than in 1868. But there can be no doubt that any single psycho can now threaten far more humans than he could a century ago. People are packed in around him, and he—like everyone else—has become enormously mobile.

It is becoming increasingly clear that if the pistols and rifles are left readily available in urban America, then some unpleasant changes are going to be made in other American traditions.

Any prominent politician and any leader of a controversial movement will have to stick to the TV studio, or hide behind a protection squad when he moves in public view. Before he withdrew from this year's Presidential contest, it was clear that Lyndon Johnson—whose instinct is to plunge into crowds—could not conduct a normal campaign at all unless he flagrantly violated the admonishments of the Secret Service men who must be concerned with the President's safety. Before he was slain, Dr. King fully knew he faced death. Before he was shot, Robert Kennedy's risks were reported repeatedly by the press corps traveling with him.

The habits of the ordinary citizen are in jeopardy as well. In this capital today hotel rooms are empty as tourists fear to travel. There are fewer customers in the downtown stores as suburban housewives fear to shop.

So the alternatives to domestic disarmament are not likely to look appealing. The ugliest of all is this: The householder, shopkeeper or bus driver who fears guns on the loose will go get a gun for himself. If one is wrong in supposing the U.S. will choose domestic disarmament, one may be right about the possibility of a domestic arms race.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the article points out the necessity, as a matter of common decency, for much stricter gun control legislation than we enacted in the Senate a little while ago, or than will be enacted in the House perhaps this afternoon.

For myself and several other Senators with whom I have conferred, I believe that we should not rest on our oars but should bring out and pass at this session of Congress a far stricter gun control bill than we passed a few weeks ago.

Let me point out that this was one of the great causes of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Unfortunately, despite many efforts, we have not yet been able to persuade the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to print cartoons. One day, perhaps, it will grow up and do that as it should have been done years ago. But I call the attention of the Senate to the Herblock cartoon in this morning's Washington Post which I think speaks for itself but which cannot, of course, be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. President, there are three perceptive articles written by that brilliant commentator Clayton Fritchey, dealing with three different aspects of life today, one of which has to do with what I hope is not a good analogy, that of the position in which Adlai Stevenson found himself at the time of the Korean war, and the position in which our honored Vice President—who now occupies the chair—finds himself today. I commend the editorial to him and to all Senators, and ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Newsday, May 29, 1968]

State of Affairs

(By Clayton Fritchey)

WASHINGTON.—When Vice President Hubert Humphrey sees the headlines these days on the record U.S. casualties in Vietnam, he must wince at the memory of what similar headlines did to his friend, Adlai Stevenson, when he was campaigning for the Presidency in 1952 while the Korean peace negotiations were going on.

It wasn't Stevenson's fault, any more than it is now Humphrey's, that the U.S. government (headed by his mentor, President Truman) was deadlocked with the enemy over various negotiating differences, some of which in retrospect no longer seem as significant as they did then.

But even in 1952 the U.S. voting public (as distinct from the military and the diplomats) already had doubts as to whether the arguments (and sometimes the hair-splitting) at the Panmunjom peace table fully justified the continuing casualties, which inevitably became an important factor in the Presidential contest between Stevenson and Gen. Eisenhower.

In October 1952, the Republican candidate said that "if there must be war in Asia, let it be Asians against Asians . . ." He added that "the South Korean battle line today should be manned primarily by Koreans." Truman promptly accused Eisenhower of holding "out a false hope to the mothers of America in an effort to pick up a few votes" by calling for U.S. withdrawal of troops from Korea.

The Truman rebuttal was of no avail. Eisenhower made his famous "I shall go to Korea" speech, and what had seemed like a close election was turned into a landslide for the General. Now, 16 years later, the U.S. is involved in another negotiating stalemate, and once more the rising casualties are seizing the headlines and troubling a deeply concerned public.

"Patience" is being counseled on all sides as the U.S. and North Vietnamese negotiators go round and round to no purpose in Paris. "This sort of thing can't go on forever," Ambassador Averell Harriman assures the press. The Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam, of which Eisenhowever is a prominent member, warns that impatience is "our deadliest enemy" in negotiating with Hanoi. George Ball, the new U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., also calls for "patience and a sense of perspective."

This raises a nice question as to who has the best perspective: the government or a casualty-minded public? It was the "impatience" of that public which brought about the Paris talks through pressure on the Johnson Administration to curtail the bombing of North Vietnam. It may take more of the same impatience to break the new stalemate over stopping the bombing altogether as a first step toward actual peace.

The public's instinct is that sooner or later the Administration is going to stop the bombing on one face-saving pretext or another. The feeling grows that Johnson's resistance to a total pause is more political than military. So which is more important—saving face or saving casualties? American deaths are presently running four times heavier than at the same stage in the Korean war.

Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, a French editor who knows the U.S. well, says, "The task of negotiating demands greater imagination and leadership from the U.S. There's nothing more absurd than to keep killing people when you know you're going to have peace."

Many Americans seem to share this view, but there are high officials in both Washington and Saigon who still put "victory" ahead of peace. The generals have once more convinced Johnson that we are winning the war, and so he tells his negotiators that "we will never compromise the future of Asia at the negotiating table," whatever that means.

In Saigon the Vietnamese press is threatened with life imprisonment for advocating neutralism, and Vice President Ky says he will "execute anyone who mentions coalition government." If this spirit is to dominate the peace talks, American boys will be dying in Vietnam far into the unforeseeable future.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the second article written by Mr. Fritchey deals with the priority which the military use of the atom still commands. He points out that debate over the treaty banning proliferation of nuclear weapons is groaning along, and that the continued military priority over use of the atom is causing daily danger to the lives and safety of the men in our Armed Forces and, indeed, to the general public.

I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Newsday, May 31, 1968]

State of Affairs

(By Clayton Fritchey)

WASHINGTON.—The debate over the treaty to ban the proliferation of nuclear weapons drones on at the United Nations, just as the effort to convert atomic energy to peaceful uses also languishes around the world because of the priority that military use of the atom still commands.

When Dag Hammarskjold was Secretary-General of the U.N. he hoped that civilian use of the atom would make up for the fact that "man in his folly should have thought of no better use of a great discovery than to manufacture with its help the deadliest instruments of annihilation." One of the developers of the bomb, Prof. Fermi, put it another way. "It would be nice," he said wryly, "if it could cure the common cold."

These days, the atom is in the headlines because of the activities of nuclear-powered submarines carrying nuclear missiles that are almost as deadly a threat to the world as intercontinental ballistic missiles. The Scorpion is only the latest incident. The week before there were headlines on the Japanese government banning U.S. submarines from visiting Japan out of fear that the U-boats were leaking deadly radiation. Only a few weeks before that came the revelation that Russian nuclear submarines are now on full-time patrol off both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the U.S. And the submarine race has only begun.

A Japanese physicist, Prof. Iwao Ogawa, many months ago anticipated some of the dangers of nuclear submarine accidents, as well as the more subtle threat of atomic wastes from such underwater craft while in or near ports. He said, in part:

"There is an increasing risk of radioactive hazards, associated in peacetime with continual operation of a huge number of nuclear-powered submarines. The risk is partly due to possible accidents with the high-power nuclear reactors on these vessels which operate adjacent to populated areas. Another risk factor is the long-term accumulation of long-lived radioisotopes in the sea water as a consequence of frequent waste-disposal from these vessels."

It is an interesting commentary on the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, which brought the U.S. and Russia so close to war, that the much greater potential threat of 1968, embodied in the off-shore fleet of Soviet submarines, stirs little or no public concern. Six years ago a handful of medium range missiles in Cuba (which could have been wiped out by the U.S. in one air strike) triggered the greatest of all postwar confrontations, but today we take in stride a far bigger, and evergrowing off-shore concentration of submarine nuclear power which is largely invulnerable to our bombers.

It is, of course, no secret that the expanding U.S. underwater fleet also patrols in waters off the shores of Russia and Communist China. The range and power of the missiles on both U.S. and Soviet submarines are increasing. The day may come when they, rather than the stationary and possibly vulnerable intercontinental missiles, will be the main nuclear deterrent.

Meanwhile, the experts, if not the public, are disturbed by dangers that little can be done about. It is widely known in defense circles, for instance, that U.S. and Russian submarines often tail each other beneath the seas. Prof. Ogawa notes the "latent risk of an accidental outbreak of a nuclear war by nuclear submarines." The risk, he says, "comes from the fact that wireless or any other form of communication among submarines under water is extremely difficult, if not utterly impossible."

It is therefore not easy for a "sub" to keep itself "always under the control of the distant headquarters." What happens if two unidentified U-boats approach, and one fires mistakenly on the other in self-defense? "The act might very well provoke the outbreak of total nuclear war," warns Ogawa, and adds, "The more nuclear submarines the major powers launch, the more serious and more probable will be the risk of such an accidental war."

It has not been mentioned in the U.N. debate over the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons that there will be another hidden, but awesome, danger if the treaty fails and the present exclusive nuclear club is joined by a number of other nations. What then would happen if an unknown (and unidentifiable) submarine launched a nuclear attack on, say, either the U.S. or Russia?

All missile defense systems are presently based on the assumption of instant retaliation, but could there be, and would there be, such retaliation if the source of the attack was in doubt? If so, against whom? It would be the final irony to destroy the world through a case of mistaken identity.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, finally, in connection with the phobia in this country for law enforcement regardless to what extent it conflicts with civil liberties and the Bill of Rights, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article on this subject written by Mr. Fritchey.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Newsday, Garden City, Long Island, N.Y., June 5, 1968]

State of Affairs

(By Clayton Fritchey)

Three hundred of the nation's leading district attorneys got up and cheered recently when they were told that "the law enforcement system has collapsed in this country." Even now it is not altogether clear what the applause signified.

The only thing certain is that crime and punishment have become such highly emotional topics in the U.S. that (like Vietnam) they can no longer be discussed rationally. Logic, for instance, has almost ceased to be a factor in the Congressional showdown this week on the omnibus Crime Control Act. The opposing sides are simply not listening to each other.

The Senate version of the bill removes certain Supreme Court restrictions on the admissibility of confessions; it also authorizes wiretapping and electronic bugging on a broader scale. Speaking for the bill's backers (chiefly a coalition of southern Democrats and midwest Republicans) Sen. John L. McClellan (D. Ark.) says, "Until the courts, particularly the U.S. Supreme Court, begin to administer justice with greater emphasis on truth and a deeper concern for the protection of the public, the crime rate will continue its spiral upward, and the quality of justice will further deteriorate."

The opposition also cuts across party lines. Sen. Clifford Case (R. N.J.) said the bill would permit "a return to barbarities" in obtaining confessions. Sen. Edward Long (D. Mo.) called the wiretapping provisions "blatantly unconstitutional." The American Bar Assn. and the American Civil Liberties Union have joined in the opposition.

Confessions, wiretapping, and bugging inevitably arouse intense feelings, for they raise questions over first-degree police methods on the one hand, and privacy and police state snooping on the other. The problem of effective law enforcement has almost been lost sight of in the frenetic Congressional debate.

On the basis of the testimony adduced so far, there is little reason to think the crime rate would be affected much one way or the other by either the inclusion or exclusion of the controversial sections of the Crime Control Act. The Act does provide for much-needed federal grants to improve state and local police forces, but in general the legislation is not a serious answer to the nationwide crime problem.

Congress knows this, but the bill has the following virtues: (1) it gives the appearance of doing something important in an election year; (2) it suits the purposes of the anti-Supreme Court Democratic-Republican coalition; (3) it doesn't cost a lot of money.

The man who told the convention of district attorneys that "the law enforcement system has collapsed in this country" was G. Robert Blakey, a Notre Dame law professor and consultant to the President's Crime Commission. "We are still working under a system that was devised hundreds of years ago in England," he pointed out. "It has not worked in our complex society."

Unfortunately, Prof. Blakey had no specific remedies of his own to offer, but he believes that "once everyone realizes that the system has collapsed, we can begin to do something about it." He may well be right, but a truly effective federal-local attack on crime (and its origins) might cost as much as Vietnam, and why spend that kind of money when Sen. McClellan assures us that his bill will do the trick. "Whether we have law and order in this country," he says, "may well turn on the disposition of this bill."

What really turns on this bill is whether the poor and ignorant will have the same rights when arrested as the well-informed and well-to-do. Organized gangsters also know their rights. They don't have to be told they are constitutionally entitled to counsel or that they can refuse to incriminate themselves.

It is not difficult to see who will suffer, and be discriminated against, if the Crime Control Act curtails the Supreme Court's insistence on suspects being informed of their rights upon arrest. Sen. Edward Brooke (R. Mass.) puts it this way: the bill really says that "those aware of their rights shall be entitled to them, but those not aware shall be made the victims of ignorance.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I should say that while I voted for the Safe Streets and Gun Control Act, and have no second thoughts, I did it with considerable reservations because while I think on the whole that the provisions of the legislation outweigh its disadvantages, I feel that the provisions overruling the decisions of the Supreme Court are unconstitutional, that the provision on wiretapping, particularly, without a court order, and several other provisions of the bill, are most unfortunate.

The article points out a number of those disadvantages. Nevertheless, I still feel that on the whole it was a proper exercise of discretion to vote for the bill and I hope that it will make a small contribution to reestablishing the rule of law in the United States of America.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

LAG IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, rather much in the spirit of what we have been doing today, I invite the attention of the Senate to the Bilingual Education Act which the President signed into law on January 2, last, and where we are having grave budget problems. To compound those problems, which are bad enough now, we are having problems even in getting the guidelines set by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, so that this kind of education—to wit, education in English and Spanish primarily—would be able to get some monetary and other help.

Mr. President, on January 2, the President signed into law the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967 (Public Law 90–247) which included, among other provisions, a new "Bilingual Education Act" of which I was pleased to be a cosponsor. This provision established a new program seeking to provide a solution to the problems of some 3 million youngsters who are educationally disadvantaged because of their inability to speak English, 1.75 million of whom are Spanish speakers principally of Puerto Rican and Mexican origins.

The Bilingual Education Act authorized $15 million for the current fiscal year—none of which has either been requested or appropriated—and $30 million for the next fiscal year which begins on July 1. Of this amount the administration has requested $5 million, one-sixth of the authorization.

But, not only does the budget for bilingual education fall short of the need—one year has been passed by and only a small fraction of the fiscal year 1969 authorization is requested—but a further obstacle stands in the way of success for this program. Today, more than 5 months after the enactment of the law and a few scant weeks before the new fiscal year, at a time when school districts are beginning to prepare plans for the new school year commencing in September, 3 months hence, the Office of Education still has not promulgated the guidelines for the Bilingual Education Act. Without these guidelines, school districts wishing to participate in the program are unable to apply for funds or even make some preparation to apply for funds. Much stress has been put on educational planning by the Office of Education. Yet, this planning by local school authorities which OE deems so important is frustrated by OE's delays in publishing guidelines for Federal education programs. Late guidelines tend to result in hastily conceived programs which fall short of the promise envisioned by Congress in enacting the law.

I therefore urge the Office of Education to distribute to local school districts without further delay the guidelines for the Bilingual Education Act and other new education programs in order that the communities might participate in these programs to the greatest advantage. Further delay will serve only to frustrate the achievement of the objectives sought in the uniquely slum and ghetto areas throughout the country, which were so much the heartfelt passion of our beloved colleague, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, on which basis I took the liberty of making these remarks today.

AUTHORIZATION FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE TO RECEIVE MESSAGES AND TO SIGN DULY ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS DURING ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during the adjournment of the Senate following today's session, the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to receive messages from the House and that the Vice President be authorized to sign duly enrolled bills and joint resolutions.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

RECESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess, pending the call of the Chair, the recess not to extend beyond 3:45 p.m. today.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

At 3:30 p.m. the Senate took a recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate reassembled at 3 o'clock and 45 minutes p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. BYRD of West Virginia) in the chair.

ON ARTS AND POLITICS

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, on Friday, May 31, 1968, Mr. August Heckscher, administrator of Parks, Recreation, and Cultural Affairs, and Commissioner of Parks of New York, delivered a remarkably forward-thinking and provocative address at the graduation exercises at the Rhode Island School of Design.

I was so struck by his remarks that I thought my colleagues would enjoy and benefit from them, too; and I ask unanimous consent that the text of his talk be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On Arts and Politics

(Address by August Heckscher, Administrator of Parks, Recreation, and Cultural Affairs and Commissioner of Parks, at the Rhode Island School of Design, Friday, May 31, 1968)

That the Commencement Address is not the most useful or relevant of man's many inventions is something I have long suspected. But as we gather in this spring of 1968, and as I rise as Commencement speaker before you, I confess I am overwhelmed by something more than doubt. I am afflicted by an absolute certainty. The certainty is that, all things considered, we are engaged upon an embarrassing enterprise. Only by patience on your part, and by some candor and brevity on mine, can we hope even partially to redeem the situation. I am, as you will observe, plainly over thirty. I am (as my introducer will probably have made all too clear) a member of the Establishment. Now I am supposed by the rules of the Commencement-address game to say something which strikes you as wise, enlightening and prophetic. Indeed if you should feel like walking out, or incarcerating me in some nearby room, or even burning the whole place down, I would not be too surprised.

Let me begin with a few generalizations which, however obvious, you will at least have to admit are true. We live in a very extraordinary moment of history. To a degree unusual even in this Revolutionary age we are witnessing the breakdown of established arrangements and the release of pent-up frustrations. We see it on virtually every campus across the nation, in virtually every American city; we see it abroad in Bonn as well as Paris, in Warsaw and Prague and Brussels and Madrid.

We feel there is something common in all this ferment and violence—something more subtle than a single political influence and more profound than the tendency for one group to imitate what they have seen another doing on television.

For my part, I have been deeply puzzled, as I am sure everyone of my age has been, by these sudden and widespread developments. I have felt quite at a loss both as to their cause and cure. Those of us who, priding ourselves on being liberals, came of age in the New Deal generation carried for many years afterwards what seemed the key to all social discontents—a larger application of the principles of the welfare state, a greater equality among all citizens. But these decent answers don't seem to help very much now. They wouldn't help Grayson Kirk—even if Mr. Kirk were inclined to try them; they wouldn't help General de Gaulle.

Something more mysterious is evidently at work—and it is not Viet Nam, however wretched and horrible that has been, not the shame we feel at the plight of the Negro and the poor, not Communism, or Castro, or even the monstrous tyranny which denies cafeteria privileges to the young girl sleeping off-campus with her boy-friend. I would guess that the malaise goes back to something very fundamental and universal. Somewhere along the road, our civilization has gone off the track; under the twin influences of Technology and Organization it has denied to the individual the sense of having a meaningful role in the things that affect his life.

On occasions similar to this in other years I have spoken of Technology and Organization as the two dire threats to the freedom of man. I shall not labor the argument now. But it is worth listening for a moment to these words calling upon a society for change: "everything indicates that this change should include a broader participation by everyone in the conduct and results of the activity in which each is directly engaged."

Those words are not from the Port Huron statement of the New Left; not from the radical devotees of participatory democracy. They are not even from a campaign speech of Senator McCarthy. They are from the May 24th speech of General de Gaulle to the French people. Once again that shrewd, worldly old soldier has seized upon the cardinal issue. For it is plain, is it not?—plain now to all of us—that in bigness and remoteness, in the promotion by impersonal forces of inhuman values, lie the ills of our time—and that everything else, the dissents, the abnegations, the spasmodic violence flow from these.

Some of you may in your time join the protests and even the violence. Some of you may seek through political processes the large reforms which must transform all our institutions. But most of you, I dare say—like most people in any age—will seek in the practice of your own trade, in the doing of the things that lie nearest at hand, to create a tolerable existence for yourselves. Without any very clear ideas as to the cause or the outcome, you will apply yourselves to the supreme and by no means ignoble business of getting on with your lives.

Because in one way or another you are all involved in the quality of outward things, in the look of the world, in its forms and colors and appearances, you cannot but add something significant to our times. Great numbers of people who live in cities, especially in the poorer neighborhoods, literally hate their environment. They can barely bring themselves to get up in the morning to face the grey reality of the average street. The younger and more vigorous do actually lay violent hands upon the world around them.

As Parks Commissioner I have found nothing more dismaying than the constant and ruthless vandalism in our city's parks. This vandalism is not careless or haphazard. It is, I believe, born of a deep anger against physical things—the kind of things that obstruct and burden the spirit; things formless and lifeless and dull. To the extent that by art or by good design you can change the face of man's dwelling and his universe, you will have done much for your own satisfaction, and conceivably as well for the harmony and order of the state.

I suggested a moment ago that people feel cut off from the possibility of having any real power over the institutions that affect them and the environment in which they live. This feeling of helplessness makes them want with passionate intensity to assert themselves where they can. So today, if through your arts you try to change the actual world, you will learn soon enough how clamorous and insistent clients can be—especially if those clients are the community.

Not long ago in a city like New York the architects and planners went ahead with their business, acting partly by rule, partly by their own taste and vision. A Parks Commissioner hired these architects and built parks. But things are different now. We scarcely dare change a fence or pathway without consulting the citizens who will be using the facility. The people insist on being treated as individuals, and they insist upon being recognized as members of a local, very specialized and sharply defined neighborhood. Thus the people of East New York do not want to be confused with the people of Brownsville, or the people of Bedford-Stuyvesant—though each may be but a block away.

Out of the urge to be separate and particular comes a city strangely alive, composed of myriad individualists and countless localities. To design or construct within this environment can be frustrating beyond words to the Administrator; it could be death to the artist who thinks only of expressing his own ego. But it has its rewards. Now and then you will have the unsurpassed reward of managing to get close to the heart of a vital community—and perhaps at the same time of creating something really good.

To create is to act, and neither as artist or human being can you ever know precisely what the results are going to be. In the pursuit of the artist's vision chance inevitably plays its part—some trick of rhyme or rhythm for the poet, some oddity in the material with which the sculptor works. The results, for better or worse, are beyond predicting. In New York, John Lindsay likes to say to those in his administration: "Let's try it and see what happens." What does happen may be strange indeed; it may be better than anyone could have planned.

The frustration for anyone working in the public sphere—particularly in the urban sphere—are enormous. I say this, knowing and hoping that many of you will find yourselves trying to do something to make the city a better and more rational place. You must be prepared for the worst! Not only will the community tell you exactly what you should do or not do. The various centers of power within the political process will eat away at your heart. A thousand delays will threaten to make posterity, rather than the living generation, the beneficiary of your zeal.

It is painful in any work to see the achievement put off. Hope deferred, so the good book says, "maketh the heart sick." In political life it also maketh one's constituents very mad.

Indeed in political action there seems to be inherent and awful contradiction. Everything is required *now*—and yet everything, to be done at all, must pass through procedural complexities undreamed of by medieval theologians. It all seems absurd until one remembers that in the bad old days there were men in public service who used politics to feather their own nest—and that even in these enlightened days one or two of the same species have been found to exist!

In any case, whether slowly or with speed, you will surely fall short of the mark. Politics and art are alike in this, that the true practitioner is doomed to failure in his own eyes. Your masterpiece will not be accomplished. Certainly the problems of the city will not be solved in this generation or by any one man or any administration. One feels, working in New York today, that the Mayor knows this deeply and intuitively. Yet the knowledge scarcely appears to blunt his capacity to act.

To be aware of the impossibility of success and yet to do battle for a cause, to attack a blank page or a blank canvas, that is today's particular form of courage. It is sort of existential faith—faith that though nothing will quite work out, everything is to be gained by the seeking and the doing.

And then of course, in spite of all my warnings—notwithstanding reason and conviction—something *may* work out: not what we had expected or desired, but something at least recognizable as being more good than bad. The world may see that surprising moment as a victory for justice or truth, and proclaim that salvation is at hand. As artists and politicians we shall be more modest—knowing that every victory creates as many difficulties as it settles, and that every solution sets the stage for new problems.

Such is the fate of the artist and politician—creators both, if they are faithful to their trade. It is a fate, as I have been wanting to hint and suggest, which may be cheerfully submitted to in a time of upheavals such as ours. For those who do not take to the barricades, there is still a chance to make a little universe where we can feel relevant and engaged—and yet not be tempted into false hopes or naive illusions.

But, to conclude, it may be the barricades that you prefer after all. And who is to say that in the doomed, implausible adventure, in the flaming moment of anger and unquestioned faith, there may not also be something valid? The answer to that question each man must decide for himself. The style of his life each man must choose.

And that, ladies and gentlemen, is the moral of my discourse.

Thank you very much for listening.

POLAND

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, recently, I came across a very interesting piece written by Paul Auer, a wise old skilled European diplomatist, that appeared in the April 13, 1968, edition of Le Monde.

He points out the need for some sort of assurance be given to Poland that her present borders will be secure, just as we in the West wish to have assurance that we will not be attacked by the Warsaw Pact nations.

He also stresses the fact that our attitude can play a role in helping to resolve conflicts in the historical tinderbox of central Europe.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a translation of the article entitled "Neutralization of Central Europe?" written by Paul Auer, and published in Le Monde, Paris, France, of April 13, 1968.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Neutralization of Central Europe?

(By Paul Auer, formerly Hungarian Minister to France)

The war in Vietnam has not yet ended, but one is tempted to hope that the cessation of hostilities will not be too far off. The problem of the Middle-East is also awaiting solution, but there, too, the excitement will probably subside. In spite of many serious problems, the burden of the big powers, especially the United States and the USSR, will be more or less relieved in the Middle-East and in Southeast Asia, where France no longer has special political interests, and the United Kingdom contemplates withdrawing from east of Suez. The slogan "Asia first" will, therefore, lose its actuality and the diplomats will finally be able to take an interest in the problems of our continent. This will be even more desirable because recent events in Central and Eastern Europe command increased vigilance. These events might create new situations, and, in view of the interdependence of nations in our time, relations between these and other countries, as well as among themselves, will have to be regulated by international agreements.

The march of events in Central and Eastern Europe can only be received with satisfaction. Democratization, tolerating criticism and a free press, authorizing the holding of meetings and the organization of free unions, assuring the role of Government and of Parliament, which heretofore depended on the Communist Party and which Czechoslovakia seems to contemplate doing, the independence shown by Rumania in foreign policy and economic reforms in Hungary, are measures long awaited by the people of this region. It is to be hoped that this evolution will save us from bloody revolutions. The fact that reforms are decided upon and applied by the highest government officials and that everything proceeds within the Communist Party structure and is followed with approval by the people as a whole, seems to guarantee the absence of threat of civil war.

It is also to be hoped that a Soviet intervention will not have to be feared, though the big neighbor of these countries will obviously not abandon so easily its dominant position in this region. However, if one wants the evolution in Central and Eastern Europe to remain peaceful, a solution must be found that would also satisfy the USSR, by not hurting its prestige; for instance, if the influence of the Western nations, including the Federal Republic of Germany, is not strengthened, if West Germany recognizes the Oder-Neisse line as a definitive border, and if the security of the USSR is guaranteed collectively by the big powers. Such an arrangement would be acceptable to the NATO nations, on condition that the process of democratization—in the Western meaning of the term—be stepped up in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including East Germany, that the free movement of persons and goods between these countries and those of the West be assured, and, finally, that the Russian troops be withdrawn from the territories still occupied by them. The neutralization of these countries (including the Democratic Republic of Germany, after the Austrian pattern) would tend to favor this solution.

The future relations among these countries should also be studied. In an interview published by the Austrian paper, *Express*, Ludwik Vessely, publisher of the official organ of the Czechoslovak Writers' Association, *Literarny Listy*, admits that the Russians would "probably" not be opposed to a neutralization of this part of Europe, and he expressed the hope that the Danubian countries, once they are neutral, will succeed in creating a new entity among themselves.

The situation is not yet sufficiently advanced, to be sure, but it could develop much more rapidly than one might think.

(Translated by Elizabeth Hanunian.)

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Pell in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 16489) making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain Independent Agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. Steed, Mr. Passman, Mr. Addabbo, Mr. Cohelan, Mr. Yates, Mr. Mahon, Mr. Conte, Mr. Robison, Mrs. Reid, and Mr. Jonas were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1292) to authorize the U.S. Secret Service to furnish protection to major presiuential or vice-presidential candidates, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills:

S. 2585. An act for the relief of Kap Rai Kim and Young Nam Kim; and

H.R. 11308. An act to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Mondale in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SECRET SERVICE PROTECTION FOR PRESIDENTIAL OR VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Chair lay before the Senate House Joint Resolution 1292.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be stated by title.

The Legislative Clerk. A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1292) to authorize the U.S. Secret Service to furnish protection to major presidential or vice-presidential candidates.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oklahoma?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1292), which was read twice by its title.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, unfortunately, because of the parliamentary situation that exists, objection has been raised in the House of Representatives to taking up the Post Office and Treasury Department appropriation bill which the Senate passed today by unanimous vote.

I am sure that the Members of the Senate in the Chamber and others who are not present recognize the importance of time in this matter, and the speed with which we enacted the authorizing legislation for the Secret Service and the necessary funds therein to provide the protection for major candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency.

Therefore, because of this objection, the House has sent over the resolution which has just been read. This provides the sum of $400,000 for the completion of this year's activities by the Secret Service and authorizes them, in addition, to call on other agencies of Government, as the need should arise, to be under the direction of the Director of the Secret Service, with power to revoke in the President of the United States. In substance it is identical with the language of the bill passed by the Senate approximately an hour and a half ago, except in the matter of the funds—which are not equal to the $2 million we provided in the permanent appropriation. The legislative history which was established on the Treasury-Post Office appropriations applies equally as well to this joint resolution and should be considered in its entirety as part of the legislative history on this joint resolution.

We will go to conference on the appropriations bill next week and will provide, I am sure, the additional funding to carry it fully throughout the next year. But for the purpose of the present vital need, demonstrated by the very considerate, thoughtful, and speedy action of the Senate, I believe it is imperative that we pass this joint resolution now and get it to the President for his signature.

I yield to the ranking minority member of the committee.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the chairman of our subcommittee has correctly stated the facts. I am certain that everyone on our side of the aisle concurs, as I know our distinguished minority leader does, that the joint resolution should be enacted without delay. I am certain that there is no objection on this side of the aisle.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the third reading and passage of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1292) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY, JUNE 10

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the last paragraph of Senate Resolution 300.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The last paragraph of Senate Resolution 300 will be read by the clerk.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

> *Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn until Monday, June 10, 1968.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, pursuant to the language in the last resolving clause of Senate Resolution 300, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late distinguished Senator from New York, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 noon on Monday next.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 4 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, June 10, 1968, at 12 noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 6, 1968:

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., of Michigan, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, vice Lisle C. Carter, Jr.

James E. McCrocklin, of Texas, to be Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, vice Wilbur J. Cohen.

In the Marine Corps

Lt. Gen. Ralph K. Rottet, U.S. Marine Corps, for appointment to the grade of lieutenant general on the retired list in accordance with the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5233, effective from the date of his retirement.

In the Army

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 3284 and 3298:

To be first lieutenants

Abercrombie, Thomas, OF106476.
Abney, Robert O., OF105603.
Ahern, Michael B., OF103955.
Allcorn, William A., OF103171.
Allport, George H., OF105115.
Aman, Ronnie J., OF103934.
Appel, George C., Jr., OF100388.
Armistead, Joseph D., OF106483.
Askew, Arthur M., III, OF106486.
Aune, Lawrence E., OF103360.
Ausel, James E., OF105403.
Ayres, Larry F., OF103183.
Bacheldo-, Ned W., OF106489.
Bachman, James H., OF109505.
Bailey, Richard E., OF102402.
Bailey, Robert N., OF109852.
Baron, Anthony S., OF105899.
Barrett, Robert E., OF109511.
Bartholomew, Mark A., OF108108.
Baucom, Jerome V., OF106053.
Baxter, Richard P., OF103194.
Beechley, Bruce C., O98370.
Beiler, George W., OF106494.
Bender, Michael J., OF108113.
Benge Holmes D., OF109513.
Berryhill, Robert P., OF100960.
Bigelow, Donald E., OF100435.
Bigelow, John G., OF103959.
Biggs, John S., OF105620.
Bippes, Jackie E., OF100437.
Birdwell, Michael D., OF104444.
Bissey, Trevor E., OF110572.
Bittenbender, Edwar, OF102687.
Biviano, James W., OF103089.
Blanchard, James A., OF100443.
Blanks, John R., Jr., OF109075.
Blood, George H., OF103204.
Blumenthal, Russ, OF100804.
Boggess, William W., OF105236.
Bohnak, Anthony J., OF104084.
Bohonak, Michael, Jr., OF102688.
Bonial, Edwin J., OF104046.
Bordenet, John P., OF106061.
Bornholdt, John N., OF100455.
Bradley, Glenwood, OF102691.
Brajkovich, Catheri, L652.
Brammer, Craig W., OF106509.
Braun, Bruce A., OF102692.
Brazee, Frederick E., OF108122.
Brazelton, John E., OF108123.
Brierly, William F., OF106514.
Brominski, Emil J., OF106518.
Brooks, Michael D., OF101351.
Brown, Barry M., OF103219.
Brown, Thomas E., OF106524.
Brown, Walter R., 095811.
Bryan, Paul N., OF102315.
Bryant, James W., Jr., OF101888.
Bryson, Thomas E., OF108127.
Buckley, John R., OF103225.
Bugge, Robert R., OF102696.
Bunnell, Rodger R., OF102697.
Burgett, Robert C., OF106529.
Burke, Charles F., OF103228.
Burtnett, John W., Jr., OF103090.
Butler, Francis P., OF109876.
Butner, Henry C., OF103234.
Camden, Harry C., OF109527.
Carawan, Larry B., OF109528.
Carroll, William F., OF105646.
Caskey, Kindred P., OF102316.
Charbonneau, Mauric, OF106544.
Charlesworth, Russe, OF104393.
Clark, Doris M. II, L656.
Coffey, Vincent J., OF100535.
Collins, William F., OF102819.
Condon, Thomas B., OF100334.
Conter, Edward N., OF102701.
Conway, John W., OF101215.
Cook, Theodore L., OF103254.
Cooke, Harold L., OF109886.
Copes, Ronald A., OF106553.
Corradini, Richard, OF103095.
Costich, Kenneth II, OF108140.
Courte, John P., OF102319.
Cox, Calhoun W., Jr., OF103257.
Cox, Robert S., OF103258.
Crowe, Bobby N., OF102707.
Crump, Wilbert S., OF102891.
Crutsinger, Larry L., OF104026.
Cummings, Timothy A., OF103098.
Curtin, Thomas P., Jr., OF103099.
Dahlen, Karl R., OF100095.
Daily, James I., OF100567.
Danley, John A., Jr., OF106562.
Daugherty, Joseph P., OF109543.
Davenport, Mildred, NOO3319.
De Palo, William A., OF103168.
Deputy, Thomas M., OF109894.
Dethorn, John R., OF106568.
Devine, William S., OF108149.
Dias, William R., OF100714.
Dickison, Daniel R., 095503.
Dodd, David H., OF105659.
Donohue, Jeremiah F., OF108152.
Dougherty, John A., OF103102.
Downhour, Orbra W., OF110231.
Draper, Jerry Y., OF108156.
Drexler, Michael M., OF106576.
Drinkard, Thomas R., OF106577.
Duffy, George G., OF106578.
Dukes, Ronnie J., OF102709.
Dunkelberger, James, OF103103.
Dunlap, Leroy C., OF104047.
Dunning, Thurlow R., OF103602.
Durand, William B., OF 108160.
Dussling, William J., OF100488.
Edwards, McKinley C., OF100617.
Eliades, Milton L., OF106585.
Emerson, William K., OF104522.
Emmons, Mary A., L643.
Eriksson, William A., OF106106.
Evans, Frederick H., OF103291.
Fagan, William G., OF103107.
Fairfull, Thomas M., OF103109.
Falkenrath, James H., OF109551.
Faulkner, William L., OF103300.
Fear, Robert G., OF110237.
Felker, Richard F., OF100638.
Fiebig, Heinz, OF109553.
Field, Charles L., OF100644.
Finney, Jackie L., OF102712.
Fitch, John, OF100649.
Fitzenz, David G., OF106596.
Floca, Samuel W., Jr., OF108169.
Fultz, Richard H., OF103112.
Futernick, Allan J., OF101920.
Gamble, Stephen J., OF106606.
Garcia, Michael A., OF106608.
Gardner, Benj. R., OF100690.
Garner, David W., OF102329.
Garris, Jack R., OF106610.
Garvey, Dale M., Jr., 098712.
Gentry, Mark O., 098430.
Gerhart, George M., OF103115.
Gilmore, Lee R., OF102714.
Giroux, Ronald V., OF109557.
Gogolkiewicz, Richa, OF103524.
Goodbary, Robert A., OF103323.
Goodman, Euell D., OF102082.
Goodspeed, Paul A., OF106622.
Gordon, Clark G., OF103327.
Gordon, Terry A., OF106623.
Gradwohl, Richard A., OF101928.
Graves, Lawrence D., OF108182.
Gray, Robert W., Jr., OF108183.
Greenberg, Harold S., OF108185.
Greene, Lee F., OF105176.
Grubb, Richard R. N., OF109143.
Gryczynski, Edward, OF109144.
Guenther, Otto J., OF106636.
Haddock, Spencer R., OF100977.
Hall, Richard A., OF102719.
Hall, Wilburn C., Jr., OF102720.
Hammer, Martin A., OF101931.
Handy, Malvin L., OF109148.
Hardison, John R., OF106641.
Harman, Dick E., OF100120.

Harmon, Joseph S., OF109149.
Harwell, Richard M., OF100743.
Hasty, Robert G., Jr., OF109155.
Hauck, John R., OF108196.
Hawkes, Allen W., OF106644.
Hawkins, Arthur G., OF103354.
Hayes, Samuel B., OF109157.
Hazen, David W., OF106646.
Hebert, Henry J., Jr., OF100747.
Heisner, Ralph P., Jr., OF109944.
Hemphill, Robert L., OF103122.
Henkel, James R., OF103123.
Herrington, Joyce, N3291.
Hickson, Richard L., OF104117.
Hill, Roylance W., OF108199.
Hinton, Robert R., OF109162.
Hockett, David R., OF100058.
Hodges, Edwin C., OF100760.
Hoebeke, Gary L., OF103124.
Hogan, Charles J., Jr., OF108202.
Holder, Bobby D., OF103193.
Holland, Francis B., OF103125.
Hollinger, Gregg N., OF106325.
Hoskinson, Charles, OF105433.
Huggins, Ansel L., Jr., OF103248.
Hussong, William A., OF108208.
Jablonsky, Edmond A., OF103380.
Jatnieks, Girts U., OF103384.
Jenks, James E., Jr., OF103127.
Jennings, David R., OF106665.
Jiles, James H., OF100789.
Jodoin, Kenneth F., OF105715.
Johnson, Thomas E., OF104445.
Jones, Lee M., OF104451.
Jones, Steven F., OF109182.
Jones, William A., OF100798.
Jones, William H., OF102728.
Jordan, Don R., OF106673.
Kapke, John H., OF102730.
Kasner, Michael W., OF102731.
Keating, Charles F., OF108216.
Kellerhals, Paul W., OF106678.
Kelley, Stephen H., OF104465.
Kelly, John H., OF103411.
Kemp, James C., Jr., OF109189.
Kenney, Phillip L., OF102732.
Kidd, Wayne E., OF100829.
Killoy, David H., OF102070.
King, Cary S., OF106686.
King, Donald E., OF102733.
King, William H., III, OF106688.
Kirkpatrick, Donald, OF101798.
Knightly, John R., OF102734.
Kocsis, John T., OF105724.
Kollar, James E., OF105725.
Kons, David D., OF102735.
Koppler, Doit L., OF108227.
Kozak, Peter T., OF100727.
Kramer, Robertajo A., N3300.
Krause, Michael D., OF100845.
Kritscher, Andrew M., OF103133.
Kyle, Frederick A., OF101954.
Laidman, David G., OF103435.
Larson, Jane S., L654.
Larson, Thomas R., OF101241.
Latham, Wayne K., OF110317.
Laurence, Brent H., OF109202.
Lavezzi, George B., OF108232.
Leary, Robert N., OF101937.
Leatherwood, James, OF103447.
Leclair, Bryan V., OF106697.
Lee, John G., OF102350.
Leide, John A., OF106274.
Lewin, John V., OF103135.
Lestochi, Louis J., OF102351.
Lewis, Edward R., OF103136.
Lewman, Thomas J., OF103137.
Lind, Gary C., OF106175.
Lockrem, Bernard J., OF102737.
Longcor, Clarence R., OF109210.
Loomis, Robert L., OF103458.
Lowe, Carl T., OF106700.
Lynch, Thomas J., OF101964.
Maas, Alexis, OF102739.
Mack, Robert J., OF103468.
MacNab, Craig, C., OF103232.
Maddox, Raymond N., OF102897.
Mallett, Walter A., OF106262.
Mangrum, Jerry W., OF106720.
Manuel, Robert J., OF108239.
Marine, Lawrence H., OF106722.
Marrone, Ronald J., OF103138.
Martin, Peter R., OF100909.
Martinez, Jose, OF108243.
Maskiell, Robert G., OF102744.
Matthews, Lorraine, OF102747.
Maybee, Joseph, OF103711.
McCaslin, James P., OF109598.
McCauley, John K., OF103139.
McDonald, Theodore, OF102748.
McGreevy, Michael, OF103493.
McIntosh, Bruce A., OF100931.
McLaughlin, Robert, OF103214.
McShea, George M., OF103496.
Meabon, David L., OF100937.
Mehle, F. Douglas, OF109229.
Mellon, Daniel R., OF101977.
Mendoza, Felipe, Jr., OF100164.
Merchant, Richard I., OF105762.
Metherall, Paul E., OF108248.
Mevis, Gary L., OF102749.
Michel, William L., OF103502.
Mikkelsen, Morris E., OF102750.
Miller, Fred Q., OF106189.
Miller, Freddy L., OF106731.
Minton, Roger O., OF106733.
Molkup, Kenneth M., OF103140.
Monahan, William J., OF103511.
Mooney, John F., OF107286.
Moore, Robert P., OF109243.
Moran, John R., OF105164.
Morgan, Paul F., OF106741.
Moroney, John F., III, OF103517.
Morrison, Billy W., OF106743.
Morrow, Garcia E., OF109248.
Morton, Philip W., OF105722.
Moss, Jackson C., III OF108251.
Moss, Melvyn, OF103141.
Mouw, John D., OF106745.
Moye, Robert J., OF102751.
Moyer, Richard D., OF108252.
Murry, James H., Jr., OF102754.
Nefzger, Melvin E., OF110014.
Newman, Jerrol M., OF106754.
Nolan, William K., OF106759.
Nosker, James F., OF106760.
Nowakowski, Richard, OF108260.
Nunemaker, John E., OF109614.
Olson, Robe, OF103128.
Oreilly, Charles A., OF100936.
Parker, Thomas C., OF106764.
Patulea, Gregory N., OF101015.
Peterson, Mary L., N3279.
Pierson, John C., OF106147.
Pochert, Lynn C., OF103145.
Pollard, Royce E., OF105992.
Poucher, James A., OF103560.
Primosch, Thomas A., OF100185.
Proulx, Norbert A., OF102761.
Raines, John W., OF105512.
Ransberger, Lawrenc, OF102764.
Rausin, Ronald W., OF106785.
Read, Bruce, OF101060.
Ready, Peggy E., L655.
Reale, David T., OF101996.
Reams, Larry W., OF103146.
Reeves, Howard R., OF101063.
Rehberg, Clark F., II, OF102766.
Ressdorf, Horst, OF109629.
Rhame, Thomas G., OF100191.
Rhodes, Charles E., OF106789.
Riccabona, Steven V., OF103579.
Riley, Daniel C., Jr., OF106214.
Rivers, Robert D., OF103587.
Roberts, Janice I., L657.
Robinson, John C., OF101078.
Rocco, Domenic P., Jr., OF109280.
Rogan, Donald M., OF106795.
Rovansek, Raymond J., OF105814.
Rowe, Michael A., OF108286.
Rutland, Jackie E., OF106371.
Saffold, Albert W., OF106803.
Schott, Thomas A., OF104534.
Schroeder, Galen L., OF102768.
Schucker, David R., OF106815.
Sessen, George N., OF102769.
Settimo, Richard J., OF106017.
Severson, Daniel J., OF103149.
Siffrin, John J., OF109295.
Slayton, A. G., OF106041.
Slifka, John, III, OF102734.
Smith, David D., OF108306.
Smith, Elijah H., Jr., OF102046.
Sowell, Norman E., OF108310.
Sparkman, Ira H., OF106825.
Spearman, Ronald K., OF110072.
Sprouse, Marvin E., OF102772.
Staggs, Jewell D., N3278.
Stamilio, Michael E., OF103639.
Stanton, James W., OF106829.
Starr, Donald J., OF106023.
Statz, John R., Jr., OF101155.
Stawski, Edmund J., OF106830.
Stender, William H., OF102773.
Steele, Walter W., OF103152.
Steuer, Charles E., OF105754.
Stewart, Jerry D., OF103155.
Stewart, Samuel B., OF103644.
Stills, John D., Jr., OF103645.
Stonecipher, Roy L., OF109312.
Strehlow, John R., OF101886.
Stunkard, Larry E., OF106838.
Suchan, Robert L., OF103156.
Summerfeldt, David, OF104555.
Swain, Oren, Jr., OF103129.
Sweet, Worth A., Jr., OF106840.
Szymanski, Ronald F., OF106841.
Tanaka, Richard M., OF109318.
Tarr, Richard C., OF102776.
Thomson, James L. H., OF103664.
Todd, Timothy O., OF109322.
Travis, Stuart B., OF103157.
Turner, Lewis T., OF105854.
Turner, Milton E., OF101211.
Tyson, Robert K., OF109331.
Usrey, Elgan H., OF106856.
Van Nest, John E., Jr., OF109332.
Vance, Gary W., OF106857.
Verdier, Bernard L., OF103158.
Veselka, Shelburne, OF102044.
Villasenor, Antonio, OF106863.
Wallace, Gerald O., OF102782.
Wallace, John R., OF102783.
Wamsher, Richard C., OF106871.
Wasielewski, Joseph, OF103068.
Watkins, David C., OF110093.
Watson, Wyckliff T., OF106877.
Wauford, Raymond J., OF106879.
Wayne, James A., OF106878.
Weaver, Thomas C., OF109336.
Weisman, Donald E., OF106881.
Wells, James V., OF106882.
Wells, Robert A., OF110465.
West, Johnny F., OF103159.
White, Eddie J., OF106884.
Whitlock, Dennis A., OF103160.
Wicki, Carol A., N3293.
Wigdahl, Leroy C., OF110474.
Wiggins, David E., OF102788.
Williams, Hugh A., OF103703.
Williams, Jerry C., OF109345.
Williams, Richard G., OF109046.
Williford, Sherman, OF108333.
Wilson, Lee H., OF110096.
Woodward, William B., OF104359.
Wyatt, William D., OF103161.
Wyrick, James L., OF110480.
Yates, Stanley F., Jr., OF102794.
York, Ray E., OF103162.
Youell, Charles C., OF106260.
Youngblood, Norman, OF101291.
Zak, William E., OF103713.
Zehnder, Joseph L., OF108341.
Ziegler, Alfred J., OF103163.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 6, 1968:

Department of Defense

Ernest Louis Massad, of Oklahoma, to be Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs.

In the Army

Gen. Harold Keith Johnson, O19187, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army), to be placed on the retired list in the grade of general, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3962.

Gen. William Childs Westmoreland, O20223, Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army), for appointment as Chief of

Staff, U.S. Army, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3034.

IN THE NAVY

Vice Adm. Waldemar F. A. Wendt, U.S. Navy, having been designated for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of title 10, United States Code, section 5231, for appointment to the grade of admiral while so serving.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Edwin M. Zimmerman, of California, to be an Assistant Attorney General.

U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGE

Myron H. Bright, of North Dakota, to be U.S. circuit judge for the eighth circuit.

U.S. DISTRICT JUDGES

Walter L. Nixon, Jr., of Mississippi, to be U.S. district judge for the southern district of Mississippi.

James B. McMillan, of North Carolina, to be U.S. district judge for the western district of North Carolina.

John H. Pratt, of Maryland, to be U.S. district judge for the District of Columbia.

Halbert O. Woodward, of Texas, to be U.S. district judge for the northern district of Texas.

William Wayne Justice, of Texas, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern district of Texas.

June L. Green, of Maryland, to be U.S. district judge for the District of Columbia.

U.S. ATTORNEYS

Thomas A. Foran, of Illinois, to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Illinois for the term of 4 years.

Eldon B. Mahon, of Texas, to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Texas for the term of 4 years.

Richard B. Hardee, of Texas, to be U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Texas for the term of 4 years.

U.S. MARSHAL

Roy L. Call, of Alabama, to be U.S. Marshal for the northern district of Alabama for the term of 4 years.

U.S. PATENT OFFICE

George C. Roeming, of Maryland, to be an Examiner in Chief, U.S. Patent Office.

FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION

Sidney Freidberg, of New York, to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for the remainder of the term of 3 years from October 22, 1967.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Thursday, June 6, 1968*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Father Ralph J. Marlatt, St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Piscataway, Md., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray. O God, we pray for the soul of Your servant, the Senator from New York. Grant him eternal life. We also pray for those remaining, his wife and children, that they might have the strength to see Your will as it escapes human understanding.

Bless and strengthen these Representatives. Help them realize that all government comes from You, and that civil authorities are appointed by You for the service of others.

May Your spirit give them understanding and wisdom to carry out the trust that has been given to them.

These lawmakers, O Lord, are working in the midst of darkness in the world. Let us pray that they might burn with Your light so that men everywhere might feel the warmth of freedom. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader the program for today.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I have a privileged motion at the desk.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD] has the floor at the present time and has been recognized.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in response to the inquiry of the distinguished gentleman, the minority leader, we plan to go on with the legislative program as announced, which includes the veterans bill and the Export-Import Bank bill. We hope to be able to concur in the Senate amendment on the Treasury and Post Office Department bill and on the omnibus crime bill.

May I add, Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, that since the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means is on the floor, that after conferring with him and with the minority leader and the Speaker, it has been decided that the conference report on the tax bill will go over until the 19th of June.

Would the gentleman from Michigan yield to the gentleman from Arkansas?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I made this request of the majority leader, the Speaker, and the minority leader because I wanted the House to have at least a week in order to study the conference report and become advised with respect to it.

We have not yet reached the point where it is ready to be filed for printing under the rule, but we will, and notify the Members to that effect early next week so that the Members will have at least a week to go over it.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. It is my understanding that the ranking Republican member on the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES], is in agreement with this procedure?

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield. Yes, I have reviewed and gone over it with the gentleman from Wisconsin and he is in agreement with this procedure.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield further to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. I might advise the membership that we are waiting on legislative action from the other body. It seems that the other body is engaged in certain legislative and treaty matters today.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I thank the gentleman from Oklahoma.

PRIVILEGED MOTION TO ADJOURN OFFERED BY MR. OTTINGER

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged motion.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. OTTINGER moves that the House do now adjourn.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker——

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER].

Mr. OTTINGER. I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will protect the gentleman who is making the motion.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER] objects to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and makes the point of order that a quorum is not present. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 70, nays 301, not voting 62, as follows:

[No. 167 Leg.]

YEAS—70

Adams
Addabbo
Barrett
Bingham
Boland
Brademas
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Byrne, Pa.
Clark
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daniels
Dent
Diggs
Donohue
Dow
Eckhardt
Edwards, Calif.
Eilberg
Farbstein
Foley
Ford,
William D.
Fraser
Gallagher
Giaimo
Gonzalez
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Halpern
Hanley
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Hicks
Jacobs
Joelson
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kyros
Leggett
Machen
Meeds
Mink
Monagan
Morgan
Moss
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen
Ottinger
Philbin
Reuss
Ronan
Rosenthal
Roush
Ryan
Saylor
Shipley
Tiernan
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vigorito
Waldie
Yates
Zablocki

NAYS—301

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Aspinall
Ayres
Baring
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolling
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dingell
Dole
Dorn
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Fallon
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Gibbons
Goodell
Goodling
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Harsha
Hébert
Helstoski
Holifield
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jarman
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kluczynski
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
MacGregor
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Minshall
Mize
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Konski
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, Pa.
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Satterfield
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tuck
Utt
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Waggonner
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Young
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING—62

Andrews, Ala.
Ashley
Bell
Berry
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Carter
Clawson, Del
Cohelan
Cowger
Daddario
Dawson
Dowdy
Evins, Tenn.
Flood
Fountain
Galifianakis
Gettys
Gilbert
Gray
Griffiths
Gude
Hardy
Harrison
Harvey
Hawkins
Henderson
Herlong
Holland
Jones, N.C.
Karsten
Kornegay
Landrum
Lennon
Long, Md.
McDade
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
Miller, Calif.
Murphy, Ill.
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Rees
Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Rivers
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Scott
Selden
Stuckey
Taylor
Tunney
Ullman
Whitener
Wilson, Charles H.

So the motion was rejected.

Messrs. FOLEY and EILBERG changed their votes from "nay" to "yea."

Messrs. DULSKI and LATTA changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

THE LATE HONORABLE ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, it is with a sense of profound shock that I rise to announce the death of ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY from the State of New York. Senator KENNEDY died at 4:44 a.m. this morning.

Mr. Speaker, this young man, this concerned man, this man of profound peace, this man of grace, of gift, and wisdom was foully murdered.

Mr. Speaker, this country's loss cannot be measured. ROBERT F. KENNEDY brought to whatever he undertook a dedication which he communicated not only to the millions of our own citizenry, but to the people around the world.

Born November 20, 1925, I might say born to greatness, he left an incisive mark in each of his pursuits, whether as Attorney General, as a Member of the other body, or as adviser to his brother, the late lamented John F. Kennedy, or whether in his efforts in special roles as counsel to Senate committees.

Mr. Speaker, ROBERT F. KENNEDY cared as few men care, for the poor, for the unwanted and for the maimed. His love for his country could never be questioned. He went among the people and they loved him. His last conscious words were "Is everybody safe?" And, these words bespoke the man.

What words of consolation can we offer to his wife, Ethel, to his children, to his family, to his country? I know of none. Perhaps each of us can make a private resolution, born out of this great grief, that part of his abiding compassion abide within each one of us.

But, finally, Mr. Speaker, let us intone the 23d Psalm:

THE 23D PSALM—A PSALM OF DAVID—BOOK OF PSALMS

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: He leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, on December 5, 1963, this House, with deep mourning in the hearts of every Member, assembled in memory of a former colleague, a great President who had fallen before an assassin's bullet, John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Today, with similar sorrow, we mourn the death again at an assassin's hand of another member of the great Kennedy family, Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY. The profound sorrow which now spreads across our Nation like a dark cloud of despair will bring intense mourning to all good Americans. Decent men throughout the globe will long remember this day in sadness.

I wish that it were possible by words to express to Senator KENNEDY's wonderful family, to his wife, Ethel, to his children, his father, mother, brother, and sisters the deep sympathy I hold for them. My prayers go out to them. May the love of God which passes all understanding comfort them in these hours of loss and sorrow. May the faith that has sustained them through so many tragedies in the past give them the courage to bear again the burden of their loss.

Senator KENNEDY's life itself was a statement of the ideals and beliefs held in reverence by all Americans. Even in our grief we must remember that this man, who suffered through the assassination of his brother, carried no traumatic fears. He moved about freely and fearlessly, confident that his countrymen shared his absolute faith in freedom of expression and debate without fear of retaliation. He did not interpret the violent acts of a few as evidence of canker in the whole. He remained convinced of America's basic soundness.

Here, Mr. Speaker, was a man of compassion and a man of strength. He was the friend of the poor, the enemy of poverty. He was a champion of justice, the inveterate foe of special privilege. He fought for the ideals to which he was devoted. He dared to do his duty as he understood it.

And now, because of his death, the entire world faces shock and sorrow. He fought the good fight. He kept the faith. He was a friend of man. His death was a loss to our Nation, but his life was an inspiration to all.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD].

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the shots that were fired at Senator KENNEDY shocked each and every one of us, it was almost unbelievable. Now the Senator has passed away, and his assassination is a great tragedy in the history of the United States.

The words that were said yesterday by many on the floor of this body expressed the deep feeling that all of us had. The words that will be said today can only be a reiteration of the sorrow felt by the Members of the Congress with the passing of a fine citizen, a dedicated public official, a wonderful family man, and a person of deep convictions. Beyond these personal feelings, however, the words spoken here should be construed as echoing the determination of aroused, decent Americans that such dastardly deeds must stop, and that each and every one of us must play our part in making certain that such wicked attacks on the lives and safety of others and the peace and stability of the Nation must be prevented at all costs. The American people will settle for nothing less.

I join the distinguished dean of the New York delegation and the majority leader in extending to the wonderful wife of Senator KENNEDY and his fine children our deepest condolences. I join the distinguished majority leader in expressing to the Ambassador and his wife and the entire Kennedy family our sadness in the passing of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS].

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I recall in November 1963, riding with you and the majority leader to Andrews Air Force Base where we had the sad duty of greeting the widow of the late beloved President Kennedy. I remember the events of those times vividly—and the days immediately thereafter.

Shortly after that event, the new President asked the distinguished minority leader who has just spoken, myself, and others to serve on a commission to investigate with all of the resources available to the Government and to the country the dastardly deed that occurred on that November day. We did that and we did it with dedication and to the best of our ability. That is now a matter of record.

On yesterday morning, very early in the morning, the telephone rang again in my home. My wife answered the phone at about 4 a.m. or thereabouts and I heard her say, "Oh, my God, it cannot be." The word came this way to Mrs. Boggs and me of the fatal wounding of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY. I said to her that we cannot—we must not let violence consume this great Nation of ours.

The minority leader on yesterday said, "I pray for Senator KENNEDY"—and I think he expressed the feeling of each and every one of us. But he also said, "I pray for my country." I repeat that again today, Mr. Speaker—I pray for my country in this hour of travail.

Last night I had another call from the President, and he said that the distinguished Member from Ohio, my dear colleague whom I admire so much, Mr. MCCULLOCH and others had agreed to serve with Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the brother of former President Eisenhower, and with a group of other Americans to take a look at this whole cancer of violence that is now permeating our country. I must say to you, Mr. Speaker, I accepted that assignment with great reluctance—first, because all of us have so much to do and, secondly, because I consider it the most difficult task before our whole Nation.

But if we can leave any monument—if we can leave any testimonial to John Kennedy—and now to his brother, ROBERT KENNEDY—and yes, to countless other Americans who are meeting death on the streets in our country every day, it will be an effort—a genuine effort—a thorough effort—to get at this cancer that is eating into our society.

So I would hope, in expressing my deepest sympathy, and my sense of loss, that I know permeates the body and the mind and soul of every American, that if this latest crime has moved us in a direction against this permissive society and is moving us back to a sense of duty and dedication and obligation, which America must have if we are to survive, then possibly ROBERT KENNEDY and his brother have not died in vain.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, it was my very great privilege to work very closely with the late Senator ROBERT KENNEDY from September 1960, until his retirement as Attorney General. Obviously, the first part of that association was in the campaign of his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy. Later I worked with him on much of the legislative program of the Kennedy administration and the program of the Johnson administration in 1964. I found him throughout all of that experience to be extraordinarily and unusually committed to the public interest, concerned with people, kind and gentle with the weak.

In 1964 I suffered one of those experiences that some of us occasionally face. The whole of my party's organization in my congressional district decided that they would rather have another Congressman, and despite some risk to himself, the then Attorney General made a nonpolitical trip to my district, which I have always believed turned the tide and allowed me to survive at that time. He did me the honor of allowing me to return the favor when he ran for the Senate, and I had the privilege of campaigning in the State of my birth, New York, on behalf of his election.

I know of no man in modern American history more committed to the public interest. He came from a family whose service in the public interest, as they saw it, is virtually unique in the history of this Republic, at least in modern times. It is a family which has done much and suffered much. I know of no family which has suffered more tragedy than the Kennedy family. To all of them my wife and I express our deepest sympathy, in particular to his remarkable wife, Ethel, who has suffered so much so often. I pray that God may give them comfort.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL].

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, this is a day to say farewell to ROBERT KENNEDY. It is a day to count our sorrows. It is the time to cry a little for our country, before we try, once again, to pick up the pieces.

ROBERT KENNEDY wanted, with the vigor of youth and with tireless energy and devotion, to lead our country. That is why he is not here today.

If he had been older, and wiser in our ways, he might have lived. If he had been more prudent, more cautious, and more tempered, he might have waited.

But when prudence competes with passion, we can rejoice that passion sometimes prevails. For his passion was a love of country and of its people which could not wait. If he had waited, if he had weighed each personal consideration, we would still have him but he would not have been the same man.

It is the consolation of the living to say that a tragic death was useful. I do not know. We all seem to end by making it easier for ourselves. We cry easily, but we forget easily too.

We forget that ROBERT KENNEDY told us some hard truths that will endure beyond him. We forget that he awakened a forgotten part of our people with hope. We forget, even today, that he was a man with some answers we did not want to hear, and will now try to forget.

Let us not memorialize ROBERT KENNEDY. Instead, let it be said that when ROBERT KENNEDY died, something changed. Whatever he did, whoever he touched, however he managed it, something happened to America in 1968. And it happened because when we brushed away the tears, we saw a little more clearly.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD].

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, I have today sent the following telegram to Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy:

> Barbara and I join the nation and the world in expressing our profound shock and sorrow at the senseless act that took your husband. Please accept our very deepest sympathies. Our prayers and thoughts are with you, your children and loved ones during this most trying period.

Mr. Speaker, mere words cannot convey the horror and shock that a mourning Nation feels today. Neither can they express adequately the sorrow that all Americans must feel at the addition of still another heavy burden on the Kennedy family.

More than anything else, this violent act dramatizes how desperately our Nation needs a return to respect for law and order. As was said on this floor yesterday, our free society itself is threatened. If we want progress, we must first have order; for without order there can only be anarchy and even greater violence than we have already witnessed in recent months.

Mr. Speaker, passage of the anticrime legislation will provide additional tools for restoring respect for law and order in America but legislation alone can never serve as a panacea for the ills that beset us. Our judicial system must enforce the law; our executive branch must administer it properly; our leaders at every level must set the proper tone and help to reestablish a climate in this country that does not foster or encourage violence and anarchy.

Mr. Speaker, all America can only pray that the tragic and untimely death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY will serve the purpose of helping to restore respect for law and order in our country.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CAREY].

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of Mrs. Carey and my family and all of the people I represent, I extend our deep sympathy and fervent prayers to Ethel Kennedy, the children of Ethel and our late Senator, ROBERT F. KENNEDY, and to all the Kennedy family in this time of great tragedy. I am trying hard to summon an expression to somehow convey my sense of loss, but no message seems adequate because our loss is so great.

Somehow I am caught up in a reflection that since ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY was taken from us in his 42d year, our country will never again be quite so young, so inspired, so filled with conscience. He gave our country youth because he was forever young at heart and always amenable to the newer and better things that rise among the young. He was beginning to reawaken in our country the sense of public conscience. He was rekindling the fires of motivation toward better means for all men to achieve human dignity—fires that have been nearly quenched since his beloved brother, John, was stricken down. It is hard to talk of pity for ourselves when we pay tribute to a man who would not indulge himself in self-pity or any sense of personal loss, no matter how much was taken from him, or how spitefully his adversaries maligned him. But it is a pity that now we can never know how truly well and worthily we might have been led had he achieved the design for full commitment in the public service that drove him on in his quest for high office. I have watched him grow toward greatness more and more in each of the years I knew him and his growth in understanding, in human appreciation, in determination for good was a tangible characteristic. Now that growth has ended, and we can never know how well he would have led us or how high we could have climbed following his footsteps. Our only hope is that, while we are without his leadership, we cannot be unmindful of the requirements his sacrifice has placed upon us. The goals he set must be met, the path he cut in the wilderness must be traveled, the high ground of compassion and love for each other and a better understanding must be taken.

I know there is a God and I know he has a heaven. As I am certain of this, so too I am certain that all the Kennedys who have gone before—Joseph, John, Kathleen, and little Patrick—and now ROBERT are together in that heaven. May this be a consolation to his wife and children, to his parents, to his brother and his sisters. To all of us who loved him our hope is that, if we direct ourselves and drive ourselves to do what he would have us do, then we shall not be deprived of his presence forever. If we carry on in his spirit and do some of the things to heal humanity that he was doing in the giving of himself, then perhaps we may merit some measure of the eternal reward that is his today. May that day come for all of us when we can know again as I have known his warm friendship, his young laughter, his keen humor, his firm and solemn faith, his love for the least of men, and his distaste and distrust of evil. May God forgive us for letting ROBERT F. KENNEDY be lost to us and may God reward him for the things he left us that help us now to endure that loss and carry on his kind of life.

It seems so tragic that we have one less Kennedy when we need so many more Kennedy men in our country today. I came to Congress as a Kennedy man. I am a Kennedy man. When I leave this earth, I hope to be a Kennedy man. Being a Kennedy man to me means having a full sense of concern for the young, the weak, the poor, the downtrodden, and those who suffer injustice. It means having a high sense of resolve in the public service.

I came to be a Kennedy man because I knew Senator KENNEDY and his brothers as a friend. I have been in his home and he has been in mine. I have had the privilege of seeing him among young children, and I saw his kindness and tenderness toward young children his and mine. I have always wondered at those who tried to give him an attribute of ruthlessness. If anyone knew ROBERT KENNEDY and his great heart and his love for the young and the poor and the innocent and those who needed help, he knew this had to be an attribute ill addressed.

As the dean of our delegation, the dean of the House, has said, the time has come for sharp resolution on the part of each of us to carry on as Kennedy men would carry on and to reach the high ground he had chosen—for us, the high ground of new commitment to America, the high ground of peace, the high ground of compassion, to follow him in the path he cut through the jungle of injustice and lack of understanding.

If we do follow his footsteps in this regard, then I believe each of us will depart this earth a little better because we have become more and more Kennedy men.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY].

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, words cannot be found to express my personal grief and sorrow over the tragic assassination of Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY. To his wife, Ethel, and to their children, I pray that God will send all his choicest blessings and graces to bear this cross. To all the Kennedy family, I extend my deepest sympathy.

I hope and pray that the tremendous faith which has sustained the Kennedy family in all of the previous tragedies may be their strength and their solace in this added profound loss.

I have known the Kennedy family for years. The personal courage of the Kennedy sons, and their dedication to the public cause, have carried them forward in service to our country. But the price which they have paid for it has been staggering. I can think of no country, dedicated to the democratic ideals, which has exacted such a dreadful sacrifice from one of its leading families—and from its political leaders as a whole. Reflecting on the events of the past 5 years, what young men and women, desirous of serving their Nation, will embark upon the road of public office?

The seeds of violence imbedded in our society present a frightful prospect. Unless we look deep into our hearts, and resolve to curb the violence which has come to play such a large part in our daily lives, what will become of America? Will we come to live in a garrison state, with hobbled boots patrolling our streets and order enforced with the butt of a rifle? Let us hope that the divine providence and our own belated concern may save us from this fate.

Once again, our Nation has lost a young and dedicated public servant whose example gave all of us, especially those of us in public life, an inspiration and respect that America's future would be bright. ROBERT KENNEDY had tremendous faith in the abilities of this country to overcome all adversities. He demonstrated this faith in his own personal life. I pray now most of all that the young people of this Nation will not be dissuaded from entering public service by his tragic death, but instead find the courage from his example of dedicated service to his country and enter into solving the many problems which must be solved if we are to survive and for which he felt so strongly.

The anguish in our hearts knows no bounds. May the faith which has been a fountain of strength of the Kennedy family, and their example, sustain and lead us to a better tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that we will adjourn today out of respect for and in memory of ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCHWEIKER].

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the second tragic assassination in the Kennedy family saddens us all. Claire and I join with all Americans in expressing our deep grief and sorrow with Senator KENNEDY's death and with the state of our Nation. Senator KENNEDY and his family have made a great contribution to the progress and growth of our country.

The assassinations of President Kennedy, Senator KENNEDY, and Dr. Martin Luther King compel each and every citizen of these United States to reexamine himself and to ask himself what our Nation is doing and where are we going.

Tragically, we have become a nation infected with the deadly cancer of physical violence—the violence of political assassination, the violence of mob rule, and the violence of street crimes.

The time for complacency is long past. Those who would have us believe that this tragedy is but an isolated incident are deceiving themselves and misleading America. Now is the time for each and every citizen to search his own soul for answers to our Nation's internal illness.

These times cry for leadership, but they cry as well for the involvement of every citizen in healing the illness which has befallen our land. Instead of building a better America, we have become a bitter America.

It is not enough to mourn Senator KENNEDY. We must mourn, too, the state of our Union and resolve, each and every citizen individually, that we shall conquer this illness.

Let us pray that we can arrest the deadly cancer attacking the inner fabric of our Nation. Only by a reversal of this frightening trend can the tragedies of the Kennedys and of Dr. King have some meaning for our Nation's future.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS].

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Willis and I were quite friendly with Senator KENNEDY and his good wife Ethel. As a matter of fact, we visited them quite often when he was the Attorney General. So, this morning, when by habit we turned on the radio at 5 a.m. and heard the news flash of his death, it was with a sense of shock and personal grief and personal loss that we realized the passing of Senator KENNEDY. However, Mr. Speaker, his good wife, his parents, and his children must derive comfort from the fact that, paraphrasing the 23d Psalm, "Surely mercy and goodness abided with him throughout the days of his life, and now he will dwell in the house of the Lord forever."

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. DOW].

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, as a Congressman from Senator KENNEDY's State of New York, I was a constant beneficiary of his unfailing political support. I had occasion to know him well enough to form a confident judgment about his admirable qualities.

Senator KENNEDY was a strong man. While some thought him too forceful at times, yet in these days when weakness is all too prevalent, his strength was a tower in our day.

Senator KENNEDY held positive views about the issues of his time—views that were more positive than those of any other leader at the top echelon of our Nation. Particularly I admired his unfailing concern for the hungry in our land and for those who suffered for reasons beyond their control, such as color and race. Especially I admired his positive questioning of the course of violence adopted by our Nation in Southeast Asia and his expressed desire for a reduction of that violence. It is all too ironic that he became a victim of violence himself.

To the entire Kennedy family, those who knew him personally and politically offer our profoundest sympathy.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROBISON].

Mr. ROBISON. I thank the distinguished gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for me to speak of the new tragedy that has been visited upon the Kennedy family without risking emotion. Their loss—and the Nation's loss—is almost too heavy to bear.

And, yet, a few nights ago a fine Negro high school senior was senselessly gunned down here on a street in Georgetown. The night before last two unarmed, young marine lieutenants were shot and killed in a Washington lunchroom, and nearly every week some 500 American boys give their lives in behalf of some uncertain cause we follow in far-off Vietnam.

All these and others, too, are symbols of our common incapacity to live with one another without suspicion, fear, hatred, and violence. Along with Senator KENNEDY all these and others, too, must be mourned by a guilt and grief-stricken Nation, that in the name of all humanity, must now rededicate itself to its God-given task of developing a compassionate and orderly society at home and a world of peace and justice abroad.

Mr. Speaker, my heart is too full to say more—and there is really little more that could be said—but I do wish to extend my deepest sympathies, and those of my wife, to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, her children and all the members of the Kennedy family, in this, their further hour of bereavement.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, we have all been deeply shocked and saddened to learn of the tragic death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. In one senseless act of violence and aberration, the Nation has lost a brilliant and dedicated public servant, a man of promise and vision, a man imbued with a sense of mission to accomplish the goals essential to meet the difficult challenges and urgent needs of the Nation.

Americans of all colors and creeds, of all political persuasions, have suffered a grievous loss. For no one can doubt the sincere conviction of his belief in the contribution he hoped to make for our country in undertaking his campaign for the Presidency. In his last speech, after his victory in the California primary election on June 4, he said:

> We are a great country, an unselfish country and a compassionate country. I intend to make that my basis for running.

Perhaps more significant, though, were his remarks before the primary, when he indicated that, if he were defeated in the California primary and as a consequence did not win the Democratic Party's nomination, he would still continue, as a U.S. Senator, to work to improve the direction and effectiveness of our efforts on behalf of our own people and on behalf of mankind around the globe. It was his hope, which I know we all share, to end the divisiveness now plaguing the Nation, to eliminate inequities and poverty, and to bring peace and the basic necessities of life to the world.

Mr. Speaker, in 1963 I said, in my statement on the loss of our late great President, John F. Kennedy:

> The world—the humanity—and the country he loved and served so well shall never forget him or his name—his aims and aspirations, his noble endeavors and his dedicated efforts for the sake of mankind. He will be a memory forever in the hearts and minds of free men and in the hearts of his countrymen.

These words can speak again today for Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, who gave so much of himself and who sought with constant courage and dedication to carry forward a similar crusade for equally great ideals.

It is now the solemn duty and obligation of the Congress, and the American people, to move with courage and responsibility, with perseverance and wisdom, to implement the objectives for which he fought and for which he gave his life.

To the bereaved Mrs. Robert Kennedy, and the Kennedy family, who have suffered this tragic loss, I offer my own and my family's deeply felt and profound sympathy.

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. STANTON].

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from New York for yielding to me at this point.

Mr. Speaker, I think that many of us who live in semiobscurity in public life find it difficult to divide our public life and private lives. Fortunately, my relationship with the late Senator from New York was a personal one and I know of a longer standing period of time than any of my colleagues in this particular Chamber.

I happen to have been in his presence when he was introduced to his wife over Christmas vacation in 1947. I had the pleasure of being present when BOB and Ethel went down the aisle on June 17, 1950.

I believe that Congressman CAREY best put it when he said that those who knew him well realized that, of all of his personality, the one thing that we never could quite adequately express was his basic shyness. He was, especially in those days, a very shy and very self-conscious person. He was a person who was at his very best in working for somebody else, such as was exemplified on behalf of his brother, for he had no equal as a campaign head. I believe he best expressed it himself in 1965 when he said that the best thing that ever happened to him in his life was marrying his wife, Ethel.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that this body, in paying tribute to the late Senator, certainly are expressing their deepest and most profound sympathies to his wife Ethel, in full realization of the soon-to-be 11 children that she will have brought into this world, and that she will bring them up in the true traditions under which her husband lived.

Mr. Speaker, while the late Senator KENNEDY was shy, he was indeed a fighter. He liked a battle, and he had the attitude that "I can do anything in life"—and that was from throwing a baseball or football to studying in law school in Virginia at the time when I knew him so well—and he played to win.

I believe that in the example that he has set he leaves a great deal for all of us to think about. He was a compassionate person and a good father.

Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues here this afternoon in extending to his wife, Ethel, and to his family, my deepest sympathies. I have lost a friend.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN].

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, we mourn the tragic death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of New York, a dedicated leader who served our Nation with devotion and courage in high public office—Attorney General of the United States, U.S. Senator, and presidential candidate—a man, who sought, in the words of his book, a brave new world, and who with zest and conviction carried to the American people his hopes and dreams for a national reconciliation and a just and free society, a society just to the victims of poverty and discrimination and just to the victims of war and oppression.

He dared to dream and frequently quoted from George Bernard Shaw:

> Some men see things as they are and say "Why?"
> I dream things that never were and say "Why not?"

A promising leader whose influence was felt around the world, it was logical that ROBERT F. KENNEDY be not merely the custodian, but rather the executor of his brother's ideals. Whether in Latin America, where he advanced the Alliance for Progress, or in South Africa, where he confronted the obnoxious apartheid system, he understood contemporary issues; for he was a contemporary man.

Mr. Speaker, I cherished his friendship, having been privileged to work closely with him for the past 8 years. Our association started in 1960 during his brother's campaign in New York. I was fortunate to be elected to the House of Representatives in that year, 1960, and to come to Washington with the new Kennedy administration upon which ROBERT F. KENNEDY left his indelible mark.

To his valiant wife, Ethel, and his children, I extend my deepest sympathy, as well as to his brother, Senator EDWARD KENNEDY and the other members of his family. My heart goes out to them in this hour of grief.

This tragedy recalls events of past months and past years. It mingles with other profound griefs. For the second time in as many months a beloved leader who had held out hope for an ailing society has been struck down, and the whole Nation is numb.

As with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, one cannot find any logic or lesson in such a senseless and wanton murder.

There is little one can say except to point out how desperately ROBERT F. KENNEDY wanted to end the discord and violence, the destructive divisions between rich and poor, black and white, old and young, and to put an end to the deplorable destruction in Southeast Asia. His candidacy represented the hope that all this might finally end. I believe it is appropriate to recall what he said minutes before he was slain:

> What I think is quite clear, that we can work together in the last analysis and that that has been going on within the United States over the period of the last three years—the divisions, the violence, the disenchantment with our society; the divisions, whether it's between blacks and whites, between the poor and the more affluent, or between age groups or on the war in Vietnam—is that we can start to work together.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY represented that hope as did his fallen brother. We can only mourn his loss as an irreplaceable man and carry on his work and that of other irreplaceable men struck down by assassins—John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King—and, in the words of another victim of an assassin's bullet, Abraham Lincoln, "bind up the Nation's wounds."

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in extending deep sympathy to the family of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY and to the United States of America.

When will man learn that if his destiny is to reach the stars, he must first learn to love his neighbor?

In those prophetic and immortal words: "Ask not for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee."

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDMONDSON].

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, this is a tragic day for America.

In the death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, our country suffers a grievous loss—the loss of a brave man, a dedicated patriot, a strong leader, an imaginative thinker, an inspiring writer and speaker, and a warm and loyal son, brother and father in a great family.

Senator KENNEDY's life was in large part a life of public service, and the monuments to that service are found on every hand, and will inspire Americans for many years to come.

I speak for all members of our family, and for thousands of Oklahomans, in extending our deepest sympathy to the Kennedy family. Millions of Americans share their grief today.

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON].

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we citizens of Pennsylvania join the citizens of many States in expressing our sympathy and in paying our respects to the family of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Death should be for older people—not for people in their prime or at the zenith, such as happened here. It should not be given to persons who are accomplishing so much.

The thing I admire so much about Senator KENNEDY is that he was a good fighter—he knew what he felt and what he wanted to project for the country and he made every effort to advance the country in those directions. This is the kind of democracy and republic that we really should be.

Mr. Speaker, I feel there has been a great loss to the country.

Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, early in his career, served as counsel to the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations in the U.S. Senate. It was a real privilege to have had consultations with BOB KENNEDY on labor and management contracts in the Pittsburgh area, through the arrangements by my good friend and his brother, then Senator Jack Kennedy.

As counsel, BOB KENNEDY was attentive and took time to meet with the several labor and management leaders I brought from Pittsburgh. He showed an excellent grasp of the distinction between serious, but protracted, negotiations accompanied by strikes and those practices of business and labor which crossed over into illegality and should have been weeded out of the U.S. economic system.

Since that time, I have always admired him for his sagacity and abilities as well as his deep concern and interest in the many facets of the fast moving congressional activities.

While we have been of different parties and have taken different positions on many issues, I have nevertheless read Senator BOB KENNEDY's statements and have profited by his keen advocacy of alternative viewpoints.

In the type of republic and democratic process we have in the United States, parties are vehicles and our statesmen, such as the President, Cabinet members, Senators, and Representatives, are the operators of the vehicles. They give the direction and provide the control necessary for the projection of sound future courses of action. It is only on the anvil of this system that the constant give and take necessary to hammer out sound, efficient, and progressive policies can take place so that all Americans can share in the progress of our Nation.

As a participant on most of the recent issues, it is rewarding to give my high respect and every honor to Senator ROBERT KENNEDY and to his memory. Senator KENNEDY deserves our respect, honor, and high tribute for his outstanding ability, his devotion to the ideals of American society, and his complete and patriotic dedication to our good country.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PEPPER].

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the hearts of the Members of Congress and of the American people are heavy today, that the hand of a dastardly assassin, like the one who a short time ago struck down the Reverend Martin Luther King and another who less than 5 years ago struck down a great President, John F. Kennedy, has now struck down our distinguished and dedicated colleague, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

It is hard for us to realize that no more in life will we hear in the Halls of the Congress and upon the stage of America the charming wit, the fierce intensity of idealism, and the dedicated declarations to his country's service which so often and so long emanated from this eloquent departed colleague.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY was a man unique in America. He came from a home of the rich and he became the champion of the poor.

He came from those who are privileged but he became the hero of those who are underprivileged in America.

He came from among those who had all that was good in an affluent America but he dedicated his life to trying to share those blessings with those less fortunate than he.

His voice will not sound again in the political arena. He will not again raise the battle cry to help those who need help so much in America. But I have the feeling that somehow every one of those he fought to serve will feel a little greater strength in the future to fight his or her battle by invoking the memory of the fight that ROBERT F. KENNEDY so gallantly waged; and his memory will ever be seen not only among those whom he sought so nobly to serve, but who admired a gallant fighter with unfaltering courage and unwavering faith, who fought with a fierceness unequaled by most to achieve the ideals and the dreams which moved in his compassionate heart.

Mr. Speaker, we take our leave of our great and brave colleague, Senator KENNEDY, as did another of his departed friend in the long ago when the sorrowing Horatio paid his final tribute to his departed friend, Hamlet. As he said—

> Good night, sweet prince, and may flights of angels sing thee to thy rest.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. KEITH].

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the tragic news of Senator KENNEDY's death stunned the world already numb from the senseless, wanton deed of an assassin warped with bitterness and hate. My sympathy and prayers are with Mrs. Kennedy and the entire Kennedy family, who have participated so fully in the valiant efforts to define and resolve the issues confronting our Nation.

Yesterday the Nation and the world reeled under the impact of one more manifestation of the mounting wave of crime and lawlessness that threatens to flood our country. The virulent cancer of hate and bitterness that prompted the assassin to strike down Senator KENNEDY is gnawing at the very roots of our civilization. In less than 5 years President John F. Kennedy has been gunned down as he rode through the streets; Martin Luther King, who lived and preached nonviolence, has been shot from cowardly ambush; angry and violent men have looted and burned some of our major cities; and now ROBERT KENNEDY, who was a symbol of hope to many of the oppressed of the world, has been murdered by an irrational, hate-filled man.

Mr. Speaker, the Kennedy family has made Hyannis Port on Cape Cod their home for many years, and yesterday my constituents prayed for the speedy and full recovery of one of Cape Cod's best known people. Today they join every decent man and woman in mourning the loss of a tireless and devoted leader of men, and in renewing their commitment to the survival of our democratic system through treatment of the root causes of bitterness and hatred that are dividing us as a people.

It is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that in the mourning of the loss of a brilliant and compassionate man, one of the most articulate and understanding of our Nation's leaders, our grief-stricken Nation will rededicate itself to finding and cutting out the cancer of hate, violence, and bitterness that has taken the life of ROBERT F. KENNEDY, and threatens to destroy the very fabric of our society.

Senator KENNEDY, like his brother, the late John F. Kennedy, leaves a legacy of devoted service to his country and the world. I hope and trust that the terrible deed that has saddened the entire world will give impetus to our quest for law and order, and halt the wave of lawlessness that is striking at the very core of our civilization.

We all hope that America will learn from this terrible tragedy, and that men of good faith and purpose everywhere will resolve to shut hate from their hearts and minds. We hope that love will replace hate, and that love will make this country and this world a better place for people in all walks of life and of all creeds and colors to live and to love and to die in peace and tranquillity.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. McCARTHY].

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, like many Members of this body my age, I was inspired to enter public life by the example of the late President John F. Kennedy. I know Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY has been the source of inspiration to those of a younger generation to join the public service. But what was the final reward for each of these men for their dedication: a bullet in the head.

Yesterday my wife was stopped on the street by a lady who wished to commiserate over the tragedy, and she asked my wife: "Are you not worried about your husband?" There was a time when, if we disagreed with a person in public life, we would vote against him. Now there is a tendency to disagree and show it by shooting a person.

I am glad we are meeting today, and I think it is important we pass the crime bill, but to me this is a short-range attack, and the most important thing is what the President has done in creating this Commission to study violence in our society. I hope this Commission will delve deeply into the problem that permeates the fabric of our country: the television programs of violence, that I can see affecting my children; the proliferation of firearms, and their ready accessibility; the hate literature that is spread about and inflames the passions of people, and I am sure has inspired mail to each Member of this House, as it has to me, by people who say, "You voted for open housing and, as far as I am concerned, that is the last vote you should ever cast." That is part of the climate that permeates our society.

What can we do about it? I do not know, but I certainly hope and wish well for this Commission appointed by the President, because if the death of ROBERT KENNEDY and John Kennedy can inspire a thorough reappraisal of our values and the inherent structure of our society and can move us to purge this violence from our midst, then perhaps these men will not have died in vain.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. STRATTON].

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, all of us are overwhelmed today with a very deep sense of shock and sadness at the tragic, senseless, violent, and untimely end that has come to the brilliant career of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of New York.

The tragedy is even more overwhelming to us and more difficult to understand because it parallels so closely the tragic end that came to his brother, President John F. Kennedy, 4½ years ago.

One may not agree with all the views of Senator KENNEDY to recognize he was a great and brilliant American and that he brought to public life in America a unique and remarkable quality of intensity and dedication. Senator KENNEDY proved a particularly brilliant and effective spokesman for his adopted State of New York in the Senate of the United States. His action in the Senate benefited all the people of our State, and wherever he went in New York, either upstate or downstate, he was greeted with an enthusiasm and affection that no personality in public life—not even his great and distinguished brother—had ever previously matched.

His death comes not only as a loss to the people of our State, but to the people of the Nation as a whole.

Our hearts do go out, as has already been said, to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and to their children in this fresh hour of grief.

But I think our concern must also go out to our own country. In this incredible and tragic hour, God save the United States. This Republic of ours cannot possibly endure if the growing wave of violence that is sweeping across our land, and has claimed President Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, and now Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, is to continue. We in this House and in this Government face no more urgent and necessary task than to put an end to the violence and lawlessness that is taking such a heavy toll of our national leaders.

So as we pause to pay tribute to Senator KENNEDY, Mr. Speaker, may we resolve to take whatever steps may be necessary to make sure that the senseless violence that cut him down and took him from our midst will soon be exorcised from America forever. Perhaps, as has been said, enactment of the legislation programed for today may be one small step forward in that direction, and in some sense a personal tribute to Senator KENNEDY.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, my wife and I extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy, their children, his parents, and the entire Kennedy family, on the most tragic loss of ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY.

The entire Congress, all of Government, New York State, the Nation, and the world mourn his loss. We are saddened by the death of so great a leader but take some solace in having known him and benefited for 42 years by his presence.

There was no harder worker, no person more dedicated to the causes for which he stood, no intellect keener, no honor brighter, and no courage stronger than those with which he pursued his every task. His concern for the poor of America and the world, his dedication to resolving the burning questions of prejudice, ignorance, and hate in this country were genuine and real manifestations of Robert Kennedy that his associates knew so well. His devotion to his duty was equally matched by his devotion to his wife and family.

All of America will watch with pride this new generation of Robert F. Kennedys as they strive to fulfill the ideals which he articulated.

The world will go on. Other leaders will succeed. America will expand and hopefully the world will live in peace, provided more men dedicate themselves as Robert F. Kennedy did to his fellow man.

Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy, by itself, was a senseless, tragic event, just as the slaying of two young marines last Tuesday and the slaying of Dr. King in April were senseless and tragic.

Any of these killings might have taken place in any other country, but that is irrelevant. With or without Senator Kennedy's death, there is an increasing—and alarming—trend toward violence in American society. For all of our civilization and sophistication, we seem to have a particular fascination for violence; we buy our children toy machine guns, and the movie industry has never stopped fighting World War II, Al Capone, or the Indians.

Television, the most influential communication medium of all, is also the most saturated with violence. Night after night one program after the other shows violence of every kind, in great detail, and now in living color. The western gunfight is part of the American way of life.

In the most recent issue of Saturday Review there is an article dealing with this problem of violence on television. The statistics used in that article on the amount of violence on television are very alarming; according to the article, in 1 week there were 77 programs featuring violence of some kind—murder, rape, assault, and so on.

It is obvious, I think, that such programs have a significant impact on the viewing audience—particularly on our younger citizens. The responsibility for programing rests with the networks, but whatever attempts they might be making to reduce the violence on television—if any—it is obvious that they are inadequate.

Therefore, I am calling for an investigation of programing on television to be conducted by the Federal Communications Commission. As a first step, I am having legislation drafted to direct the Federal Communications Commission to conduct, or to commission, a comprehensive study and investigation of the effects of television violence on the viewing audience.

We cannot continue to tolerate the violence in this society; it must be stopped. Our cherished freedom and liberty means little if our citizens must live in fear.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Hechler].

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the fact the the dean of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Celler], has yielded to me. Senator Robert F. Kennedy had a rare and robust sense of humor which enabled him to be the most human of human beings. He would probably be a little restless if he could hear the solemnity and length of these tributes.

In the spring of 1960, in the hills and hollows of West Virginia, there was a young man from Massachusetts, the late John F. Kennedy, who came down among us to show that tolerance can overcome religious prejudice. With him came his vigorous and principled younger brother, Robert F. Kennedy, who was at his side throughout the crucial West Virginia primary campaign. From the day when victory came on May 10, 1960, the West Virginia battle was known as the primary which made a President, for it truly placed John F. Kennedy on the road to the White House.

During that 1960 primary, West Virginians came to know and love the Kennedy family. On many occasions since then, Robert F. Kennedy returned to West Virginia, always to be greeted by the acclaim of thousands of grateful West Virginians who will never forget what President Kennedy and his family have done for the Mountain State.

Just before Easter of 1968, Senator Kennedy interrupted his primary campaign in Indiana to return for what proved to be his last visit to West Virginia. Prior to his arrival, I issued the following public statement:

> West Virginia welcomes the return of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. Although I have not yet publicly committed myself to any candidate for President, I admire Senator Kennedy's approach to public issues, and intend to accompany him on his appearances in West Virginia.

Senator Kennedy's airplane landed at Beckley, W. Va. It was Good Friday. Hundreds of Senator Kennedy's admirers thronged the airport to greet him, to express their support, to listen to his inspiring words.

Senator Kennedy was the only candidate for President of either party who spent more than 1 day in West Virginia, who visited more than one city, who went out among the people instead of concentrating his activities on the political leaders or the convention delegates. West Virginians gave him a tumultous welcome.

The last West Virginia trip which Senator Kennedy took was labeled a "sentimental journey." It was really something more than that. He visited many large and small communities in southern West Virginia, throughout half a dozen different counties. Sometimes in his shirtsleeves, always with unfailing high humor, constantly on the move, shaking hands, inspiring, expounding, setting forth his program, he drew great and enthusiastic crowds. He gave a great lift to everyone he saw. They flocked from miles around to grasp his hand.

To the young people of West Virginia and America, Senator Kennedy had a special place. He knew how deeply they were concerned, frustrated, and angered by the sacrifice which America's manhood was making in the fruitless war in Vietnam. He knew that it was difficult for America's youth to comprehend the vast difference between promises and performance, between ideals and realities, between professed aims and actual conditions. Senator Kennedy's high standing with young people was his ability to rise anew and on high the torch of American idealism, to articulate the opposition of young America to the war in Vietnam, and to express better than any other man in public life the aspirations of young people everywhere.

Throughout the Nation, Senator Kennedy put his finger on the basic problems of modern society. He had an instinct for the jugular in defining the dimensions of the sickness which grew out of intolerance, hate, poverty, bloodshed, and war. He recognized that there are groups of people in this Nation who really aspire to higher and greater things, and he wanted to give them, not gifts on a silver platter, but the opportunity to better themselves.

Truly, Senator Kennedy awakened the conscience of America.

In West Virginia and the Nation, we shall remember him and draw inspiration from all the great causes in which he participated. We can pay our tributes best not with words but with deeds, in working for what he stood for—tolerance, brotherhood, courage, love, fairplay, and above all, peace throughout the world.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ottinger].

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished head of our delegation and dean of the House for yielding.

I rise to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the late Robert Francis Kennedy, a personal friend, an outstanding Senator from my State of New York, a distinguished Attorney General, the candidate of my choice for the Presidency of the United States.

I join in extending sympathy to his wife, to his children, and to his entire family, on behalf of myself, my wife Betty Ann, and my constituents. God knows, this wonderful family has had more than its share of personal tragedy and grief.

Earlier today I made a motion to adjourn the House out of a very strong and sincere feeling that, in the wake of this national tragedy, it is inappropriate that we should do business as usual. I know the House has never adjourned because of the death of any other Senator, and I am told that the Senate in fact is in session today.

This is no usual situation. A candidate for the Presidency of the United

States has been assassinated. The President of the United States has felt it necessary to assign Secret Service security guards for all the other candidates for President. Nothing like this has ever before happened in this country, that candidates for highest office need be protected for fear of their lives. What a sorry state of affairs it is.

Out of respect for the murdered Senator and his family, all the other candidates for the Presidency from both political parties have suspended their own activities.

Furthermore, this national tragedy of assassination of a presidential aspirant, ROBERT KENNEDY, follows in the footsteps of the assassination of his brother, the great late President John F. Kennedy. History repeats itself in a manner which has horrified the Nation and the world and has brought us all to grief.

In these exceptional cricumstances, an exception should be made. It does not seem right to go on with our business. Certainly, I have no stomach for proceeding in this hour of grief and tragedy.

I know a majority of this House disagreed with me, and I respect the feelings of these Members. I know they respect the memory of ROBERT KENNEDY as much as I.

Many of them feel that the crime bill we are to consider today is a very important measure relating to the circumstances affecting the death of ROBERT KENNEDY, particularly its gun-control provisions, limited as they are. It is a bill which I intend to support despite the fact that I feel it has some deficiencies, in the effort to try to deal with the violence and lawlessness which in a very real way make up the background for the assassination of great leaders like Martin Luther King, John F. Kennedy, and ROBERT KENNEDY.

I fail to see why we could not pass the crime bill next week, however.

I know, too, that many Members want to take the opportunity to eulogize the late Senator, and I join in this. But this, too, could well have waited.

However, I understand the feelings of those who want to do these things today, albeit I disagree with them. I join them in their testaments and in considering a measure on the subject of crime in which the late Senator was truly interested.

ROBERT KENNEDY stood strongly against the violence and lawlessness with which this bill attempts to deal. He tried to remove the hate and divisiveness in this country by standing for progress on behalf of the poor, on behalf of the neglected, on behalf of youth, and on behalf of all people who feel deprived and alienated from their society.

The best tribute that we can pay to our late Senator is to carry on in his tradition, to carry on his efforts, and in his words, "to make America better." We must exert every effort in his name to return to a way of life based on respect for law and laws that all Americans can respect.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to make the observation that, had the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. OTTINGER] prevailed, it would have been impossible to hold these eulogies and we would not have heard the statement made just now by the gentleman from New York.

I now yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BINGHAM].

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, we shall all miss ROBERT KENNEDY. Those of us who loved and admired him will miss him most, but even those who reviled him will miss him too.

ROBERT KENNEDY was not a man you could be indifferent about. He was one of the most fascinating and complex personalities I have ever known. He brought excitement to the national political scene. By many, I believe, he was misunderstood, but no one was bored by him.

Fully to describe his qualities would be an impossible task. To attempt to do so would require many hours. I would just like to mention a few of these qualities: his courage, his wit, his extraordinary vitality, his modesty—a modesty strangely coupled with great confidence in his ability to lead and to serve—his tenderness toward those he loved, his understanding of the ways of the world and of the needs of this country. Most of all I will remember the depth of his feeling about the desperate problems that face our Nation and the strength of his determination to do something about them.

For his wonderful wife, Ethel, and for his children and for all his family, we can only express the hope that they can find some comfort in the thought of how much he was able to do for his country and the world in the course of a short life. May they also in the future be able to find some comfort in the thought that his life and his tragic death will in time lead to a more vigorous pursuit of his ideals by his countrymen.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, words cannot express the sadness that engulfs me today. We have lost a friend and leader. The Nation and the world have lost a man who offered the promise of great things to come.

Senator KENNEDY was a fatalist. He had lived with tragedy and had said many times that he would accept what the future offered. Now the country is united in its suffering with his brave and gifted family. God has given them much and taken away much. Only he can understand why they must suffer so. It is beyond the comprehension of mere mortals.

That this gifted man was taken from us through the same senseless action which claimed our beloved late President merely compounds the tragedy. He is another victim of the violence which has characterized this decade of discontent. Where will it end, Mr. Speaker? Are men who believe passionately in justice and good and who choose to place their views before the public doomed to live with the ever-present threat of violent death? Are the attitudes of the extremists on the right and the left who condone and tacitly encourage violence to dominate our national life?

ROBERT KENNEDY is now with the two he served so well in life, his brother and his God. We have left the memory of his compassion for the poor of the world, his passionate belief that if men really tried they could bring about a change in the world, his view that the United States was the "last, best hope of mankind." It is not much, Mr. Speaker, but it is something.

Today I can only think of the words of the Irish poet, William Butler Yeats:

> Things fall apart,
> The center cannot hold,
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.

To his parents, Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, his wife, Ethel, his brother and sisters, and his children, I offer my condolences and the condolences of my constituents. I shall pray for his everlasting soul.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. JACOBS].

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me at this time.

At the time of President Kennedy's death Governor Stevenson said that President Kennedy was "so contemporary a man, so involved in our world, so intense a participant in the great events of our day, that he seemed to be the very symbol of vitality and exuberance, which is the essence of life itself."

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion that reference by Governor Stevenson applies precisely also to the late Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY.

Mr. Speaker, I wonder how many Americans realize how much we needed ROBERT KENNEDY. He carried abroad to all the world the image of America as a young vital nation of idealism. This was true in Poland; it was true in Japan, and it was true wherever he visited. That is the kind of image that every American might hope we would have.

When Senator KENNEDY spoke of his departed brother at the Democratic Convention in 1964, he said:

> When I think of President Kennedy I think of the words of Shakespeare in Romeo and Juliet:
>
> "When he shall die,
> Take him and cut him out into little stars,
> And he shall make the face of heaven so fair
> That all the world will be in love with night,
> And pay no worship to the garish sun."

That is the way all of us who loved ROBERT KENNEDY would hope that he would be remembered also.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the dean of the House for yielding to me at this time.

I particularly want to associate myself with the remarks of my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. JACOBS]:

> When he shall die, take him and cut him out in little stars, and he will make the face of heaven so fine—
>
> That all the world will be in love with night, and pay no worship to the garish sun.

Today it is hard for some of us as we look around the Chamber to recognize those who have been with us in support of Senator KENNEDY, because it is hard to see through your tears. Maybe we were sometimes wrong, but perhaps we can be forgiven for our wishing for a return to Camelot.

Some of us came into politics in the 1960's, and others in the 1950's, led by the Kennedys. We were inspired, and after the death of John Kennedy, we picked up the pieces of a dream and, though many felt we should not try again, we have tried to go forward. This past makes today so very, very difficult.

Because of this past I would like to talk for a moment today to the young who are so hurt, to the disaffected in our society who are discouraged, and to those who were in the Department of Justice, when we all served with BOB KENNEDY in the 1960's. Particularly those of us who served then could not understand why some could use the terms "ruthless," and "opportunist," because this was not BOB KENNEDY. Strength—yes, and always a basic integrity but also fundamental shyness, and a deep capacity for camaraderie and loyalty. As was expressed so very well by the gentleman from Ohio, all of us knew that this was a compassionate, kind man with a wry sense of humor.

So today, Mr. Speaker, some of us are here to say to his family how much we appreciated him, how glad we are that he was here, how much we will miss him, and we also probably ask a little bit of forgiveness for not having done a little more for him. We believed in him. We believe in his principles. We believe in the enlightenment and the desire for justice and the belief in our society that he so strongly maintained.

Yes, this is a society of laws—but it is also a society of men; it is a society of men who say we will try, and we believe, and we are here, and we will struggle, and we will be responsible. In doing these things sometimes it is difficult; sometimes one may seem to be on the wrong side. Sometimes people may criticize but strong, enlightened men are the vital ingredient that make a democratic system work.

Mr. Speaker, I hope we remember and that we live with the things that he said just before he was killed, which was that we must change our society. We must be willing to establish new policies. Those of us who are affluent must understand that the Nation has given much to us, and the Nation should be given a chance to provide from its great bounty for all of our people.

There is a void of leadership in the lifes of many of us in the world today. I hope this void will be filled, but it will take time, and we will have to look hard. We shall miss Senator KENNEDY very much as a symbol, as a leader, and as a friend.

So on behalf of Betty, myself, and the children—and particularly my little boys who believed in him so deeply—we want to express and extend our deepest sympathies to the entire Kennedy family, and especially to Mrs. Kennedy and children.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. SNYDER].

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, in addition to the unanimous-consent request made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER], and which was earlier granted, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, and to include therewith the statement of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Richard A. Ackerman, bishop, of Covington, Ky.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLIFIELD). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, earlier today, I expressed to this House the sympathy of my family and my constituents to the Kennedy family.

But, Mr. Speaker, I would be remiss if I neglected to read to the House the statement of His Excellency the Most Reverend Richard H. Ackerman, bishop, of the diocese of Covington, Ky.

Bishop Ackerman's statement and holy blessing reads as follows:

> The death of New York's able Senator ROBERT KENNEDY and distinguished American citizen has occasioned great personal sorrow and sense of grief for the faithful of the Diocese of Covington; its clergy, religious and its laity.
>
> The hand of the assassin has robbed us once again of a leader capable of achieving much good and lasting benefit for the country and all its people. This fact, chilling and appalling as it is for all of us, is telling evidence of the tremendous disregard for law and lack of esteem for authority that exists throughout our nation, among all categories of its people.
>
> ROBERT KENNEDY was in a sense an apostle of respect for law and the achievement of the good order which it engenders. If his untimely death contributes even in smallest measure to an awakening of a sense of responsibility in the hearts and minds of all Americans, young and old alike, then he shall not have died in vain.
>
> May God grant eternal rest to the departed soul of ROBERT KENNEDY. And may He give to us who remain the courage and determination to walk in the ways of His commandments, hearing no evil because He is with us.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HUNGATE].

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, this is a tragic hour. Our country is less for the loss we have suffered by reason of the death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. However, we are stronger because of the life that he led.

Mr. Speaker, what can we say to his family, and particularly to his children, for the gift—a most precious gift—they have given our country, the gift of their father and his service to America?

Let us in this body, who were privileged to know him and his work, and to know the particular depth of his love of his country, seek to impart some idea of that to our fellow countrymen.

If all Americans can come to love this country half as much as he did, then freedom's future is certainly assured.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS].

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished dean of the House of Representatives for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I know that every Member of this body, and I suppose every sane American, feels shocked and horrified at the senseless and outrageous assassination of Senator KENNEDY. Not everyone agreed with him, but everyone, I think, can honestly say that he made a contribution, and a great contribution, to American political life.

Many people have asked me in the last few hours: What is happening to this country? I must say, I cannot give them an answer, but I do think there is a growing sense of tolerance for violence and a loss, it seems to me, of a sense of outrage at violence.

Somehow or another we are not only going to have to regain our sense of balance, where these things are concerned, but we are going to have to, somehow or another, have a more objective outlook upon the kind of people who perpetrate these terrible crimes. They must be punished and promptly.

Almost lost in the sense of shock we feel at the assassination of Senator KENNEDY was the murder of two young marines in this city on the same night—two young Americans whose names I do not know, who were shot down in cold blood by people who did not know them at all and who had no knowledge that they even existed until a few seconds before they were murdered.

Somehow or other we have got to remove from America the tolerance that we seem to have built up for this kind of outrageous crime—the assassination of one of our great Senators, the assassination of two young Americans in uniform.

I do not know the answer. Many people are groping for it. I suppose it was perhaps expressed as well by my little daughter at breakfast yesterday as by anyone, when she said, "Daddy, why would anybody do this?"

We do not know the answer, but we have got to find the answer and we have got to correct it. And if we do not, all of the great men who have worked for this great democracy of ours will have worked in vain, because a society of the kind we want to build cannot endure in a climate such as this.

My deepest sympathies go out to the wife, the children, and the relatives of Senator KENNEDY. As someone said privately to me a moment ago, "Let us hope that this family does not have to endure any more than it already has."

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. LEGGETT].

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

It is my treasured privilege to have campaigned just a few days ago, last Friday and Saturday, with BOB, Ethel, and TED KENNEDY in California. I met BOB's train at Stockton, Calif. Nearly 10,000 people turned out to welcome him. We traveled to Lodi and then to Sacramento, seeing better than 25,000 Californians who were also concerned Americans.

BOB had an infectious smile and wit, and while he expressed himself on policies, on a balanced foreign policy in Southeast Asia and around the world, he also took time to poke fun at his adversaries. He expressed the hope of the future that excellence in leadership could provide understanding and conciliation both within this country and between the races and outside the country among our enemies.

Though BOB KENNEDY won the election yesterday in California, the prospects for his ultimate success never looked very good to obtain the presidential nomination. Last Friday, as this young man in California traveled up the Central Valley, things did not look very good. It is rather ironic that this man should be called "ruthless," "cunning," and "grasping." He chose to declare for President of the United States with an antilabor leader record, a Catholic, an intellectual without a university backing, declaring against the President of the United States at a time of war. This is the man that we call "ruthless." He trembled slightly with fatigue at the rear of the train as he expressed himself in city after city for a new America.

He was impressed with the enthusiasm of the crowds, but privately he expressed trepidation at the future prospects of success. The Vice President looked very, very formidable. This man who was "ruthless" was concerned that his party under the Vice President would be so splintered that ultimately they could not succeed.

I asked him if in the interest of a unified party, and perhaps with a modified foreign policy, he would contemplate, if the inevitable occurred, being the second man on that ticket. This "cunning" man, this "ruthless" man never said no. As we traveled further through the Central Valley, through urban Sacramento, and sat together at the back of the train, we looked out and we saw a crowd of boys playing ball. The train was traveling very slowly. He stood up and waved and they waved back.

He said, "Guys, never run for President of the United States." And then we laughed, because we all knew he was joking. This was part of his makeup.

The unfortunate thing is that, unlike BOB's brother Jack, this country is never really going to know BOB, is never going to understand the leadership that has been lost to our generation. It is unfortunate that Congress really is powerless to legislate away and legislate out of existence the senseless act that took his life.

To his courageous wife and family, I merely say that the Nation shares in your sorrow.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FLYNT].

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful to the gentleman from New York for yielding to me at this time.

I feel that I speak for the people of the State of Georgia, as well as for myself, when I express profound sorrow and a very deep regret at the senseless and tragic act of violence which destroyed the life of ROBERT F. KENNEDY, late a Senator from New York. During a public career of 15 years, BOB KENNEDY demonstrated almost unlimited energy with qualities and attributes of national and political leadership. Not all of us agreed with him all of the time, but he was a man possessed of a strong and keen intellect, which was sharpened by experience.

In the hours which have intervened since we first learned of this unbelievable act in Los Angeles early Wednesday morning, both my sons have called me and have talked to me about this. Naturally they ask of me the same questions which I know have been asked of nearly everyone here. Those questions were: How could a thing like that happen? Why did it happen? And, of course, I could give no answer. I can give no answer today.

However, I would say this: This may be a byproduct or an end product of an era of lawlessness and violence, and disregard for law and order and discipline. It may be that when high officials seem to approve of and even to encourage violence and lawlessness and, yes, demonstrations which either are violent in themselves or which approach violence, that such encouragement may be taken by individuals with deviated personalities as an invitation to them to participate also in crime, and acts of violence, even including the murder of a Member of the Senate of the United States.

I do not think the words of John Donne have ever seemed truer than they must seem to most of us here today:

> And therefore never send to know for whom
> the bell tolls;
> It tolls for thee.

On behalf of Mrs. Flynt and our children, I extend to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her children and to the other members of the Kennedy family, our heartfelt sympathy in their sorrow and at a time of another great loss.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK].

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, my heart aches today as I begin to realize that a man I admired so much is no longer to be with us. As he served to inspire us when he was alive, so he will continue to inspire us as did the late President John F. Kennedy. Few men in public life have captured the soul and spirit of our democracy as did Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. His death has made us all the poorer, for we shall not be hearing his moving plea for peace and for justice; yet, we are all the richer for having known him if even for such a short moment.

For our youth he stood as a champion of what is right; for our poor he stood for hope and for freedom from their despair; for our minorities he challenged the status quo and gave them the desire to persevere in their struggle for equality and for opportunity; for the people of America he symbolized the finest ideal of government by the people and achieved a dialog with his beloved Nation unparalleled in our history.

ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY stood for love and brotherhood. After the agony of this day has softened to grief, let us stand in his place to continue in his great effort to make America better, to preserve our cherished liberties, to assure justice and equality to all, to be unafraid to stand up for what we believe is right and good, to discredit hate, distrust, and suspicion and to banish it forever from the stream of public dialog, and to return to the causes which caused him to risk his life for the love of our country.

On behalf of myself, my husband and my daughter, whose love for the Senator was without bounds, I extend our heartfelt sympathies to the bereaved widow and to his children and to his entire family.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA].

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the tragic assassination of Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY leaves a vast emptiness in American political life, one which can never be fully refilled.

Like his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy, Senator KENNEDY displayed unusual compassion for the poor, the downtrodden, the disadvantaged, and pursued his personal convictions with a profile of courage which has inspired those about him and which will continue to inspire generations of Americans yet unborn.

Mr. Speaker, if it is true that God moves in mysterious ways, that mystery is compounded by His taking from our midst the young, energetic, promise-laden ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY.

Why? Why? Why? we cry aloud and quietly in our aching hearts, searching for an answer.

Perhaps it was God's purpose to lead us to this search by deigning such a tragic event. Let us then concern ourselves with some sober soul searching in the hope of finding the answer.

Mr. Speaker, for the people of Hawaii, for Mrs. Matsunaga and myself I express my deepest sympathy and heartfelt condolences to his courageous widow, Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, to his children, to his brother, Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, to his parents, Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, and to the rest of that great American family. May they find some comfort in the fact that all Americans and all people throughout the world share their loss and sorrow.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of Mr. CELLER, I now yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI].

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I share the great esteem for Senator KENNEDY held by all of those who have spoken here today. Senator KENNEDY was a frequent visitor to the city of Chicago. I know of few Americans who were always greeted as warmly and as enthusiastically wherever they went in Chicago, as the late Senator ROBERT KENNEDY. He had this great respect of the people because even though he came from the eastern seaboard, he had a great understanding of the Midwest and he loved the people of the Midwest and the various ethnic groups that he found in the city of Chicago. He was also loved by them. Wherever he went he was greeted with great applause and enthusiasm. I remember he was in my district in 1966, and all of the men with me at that time, veterans of the political scene, never recalled as enthusiastic a reception for any single American as was given to ROBERT KENNEDY when he visited the northwest side of Chicago. It is the irony of our time that 48 hours ago this brilliant young American was hopefully reaching for the Presidency of the United States with all the qualifications that that difficult job requires. Instead, if we look 48 hours ahead, we see him being buried in Arlington Cemetery.

Mr. Speaker, I think one thing should be made clear today. Sirhan Bishara Sirhan not only committed a hideous crime against Senator KENNEDY and his family, but he has also committed a monstrous crime against every single American in these United States. This crazed killer, with a gun in his hand and two bullets, made a decision that rightfully belongs to the American people. With two bullets he denied the people the right that they have to make their collective decision at the ballot box. I say his crime was against all of us, because he has made a mockery of democracy. What good is freedom, what good is a republic, what good is a democracy when our society permits a system under which one killer like this can frustrate the will of a great Nation and take away from our people with two bullets the right of the people to decide who is going to be the next President of the United States?

Today I voted against the motion to adjourn this House. I voted that way because I wanted to have an opportunity to vote on the crime bill this afternoon. I honestly feel that by passing this legislation today we will start on the way toward restoring law and order in this country. Hopefully in the remaining days of this Congress, it is my prayer that we will enact legislation which will restore this country to its glory and its glamor so that when this Congress adjourns we can look back at the contribution of John F. Kennedy and ROBERT KENNEDY and the legacy that they left us and say to the American people, yes, we shall return to Camelot.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to have had an opportunity to play a minor part in so many enterprises in which the late Senator ROBERT KENNEDY played a major role.

The thing that impressed me most about Senator KENNEDY was his zeal and dedication to a cause. When he found a situation which seemed to him to be wrong, he not only was determined to set it right, but he always was completely convinced that it could be set right. He believed there was no problem that the American people could not face and solve if the people of the country had their attention directed to it, and had courageous and intelligent leadership.

Mr. Speaker, in the pursuit of these goals, Senator KENNEDY was absolutely tenacious. He would not give up. He would try everything. And, if everything failed, he would try something else.

Mr. Speaker, these are qualities that all of us should admire; these are the qualities of America; these are the qualities so characteristic of the late Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY.

Mr. Speaker, with the tragic loss of a great man, American society has suffered a blow which it can ill afford.

I would hope that the tragic death of Senator KENNEDY will lead this country to adopt the same tenacious will to set things right. I hope that this country will find and root out the causes of, and the reasons for, depraved violence, like that which cost the Senator his life. Perhaps that would be the best enterprise to which we could dedicate ourselves as a memorial to a great American, Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from New York for yielding to me at this time.

Mr. Speaker, at a time such as this I know words must seem hollow indeed to the survivors of Senator KENNEDY. However, I know that the heart of America goes out to his family, a family which has unfortunately been one plagued with tragedy.

Mr. Speaker, this Kennedy family will certainly go down in history as being one of the outstanding families that we have seen in America for the gifts that they have given, the gifts that they have given not only in a monetary manner, but through their minds and ability, and their great sense of determination.

I think the factor that impressed me most with the late Senator KENNEDY was his determination and the fact that he would stick to the job, because he would not quit, he would not give up, regardless of what the odds were.

Mr. Speaker, I, my wife, and my children offer our prayers and our deep sympathy to the Kennedy family in this, their very grave hour of sorrow.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY has aroused the deepest grief and sorrow in the hearts of all Americans. His sincere dedication to public service, his youthful zeal and enthusiasm, and his steadfast adherance to American ideals, had won for him the admiration and affection of his fellow citizens, regardless of race, creed or political party. It is especially sad that his genuine liking for his fellow men, and his campaigning on a people-to-people basis, made it easier for an assassin to strike his treacherous blow. The hand that fired the fatal shots committed an abhorrent crime, not against poor Senator KENNEDY alone, but against his loved ones and equally against our free society and all of us who compose it. I find it hard to express the mixture of anger, regret, and sorrow that this terrible deed has caused me to feel. As a doctor, I am inclined to think in terms of health. The assassination of the Senator's brother, President John F. Kennedy, the more recent equally senseless murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, and now that of Senator KENNEDY, together with other acts of cruel and stupid violence, show that there is a segment of our society which is sick indeed. The minds of such assassins and those who help breed hatred, are diseased indeed. Our society cannot be healthy until proper remedies are applied. I commend the President for his appointment of a commission to examine this critical problem. It can't bring the Senator back to his family and to us, but hopefully it may point the way to preventing further repetitions of these terrible and senseless murders.

My heart goes out to Senator KENNEDY's widow, to his children and to his bereaved parents. As a citizen, I have an indescribable feeling of sadness and shame that in our wonderful country two fine sons of the same generation of a patriotic family should have their careers ended by the cowardly attacks of abnormal-minded individuals. To all the Kennedy family I wish to express my most heartfelt condolences and deepest sympathy. To my other fellow Americans I wish to state that I share their profound sadness and regret and indignation.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CELLER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. BROOKS.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I join with my colleagues in expressing our deepest sympathy to Ethel Kennedy, the Kennedy children, and to all of the members of the late Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's family.

The tragic death of the Senator from New York brings to all Americans a feeling of shock and dismay. We know the grief that his family feels. However, I am confident that their sorrow will be tempered in future years by the knowledge of his dedicated service to our country.

He had spent virtually all of his life in service to our Nation and he left his mark on our Government and our political process.

He was a man well able to live out his life in luxurious disinterest, but he chose instead a life of public service. His success in that endeavor is self-evident.

He has joined his brothers, Joseph and John, in making the ultimate sacrifice for our country.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, this is a very sad day for America. It is impossible to describe the feeling of sadness I have about the death at the hands of an assassin of Senator KENNEDY, my colleague in Congress. I have always held Senator KENNEDY in high regard as I did his brother, the President. My heartfelt sympathy goes out to the Kennedy family. They have suffered so very much. It is so sad that one family could be asked to bear such a double tragedy.

The mood in the House of Representatives is varied—there is shock, sadness and anger at the terrible thing that has befallen our country.

I believe it is finally becoming obvious to the people that there are sick minds in this country and that much of the problem can be blamed on the overall atmosphere created by bad reading material, the constant parade of killings and violence on our TV programs, pornography in the mail and on the newsstands, and moneymaking by violent movies that glorify crime. All of these things add up to a sick atmosphere and sick minds and lead to the horrible crimes America has been inflicted with.

I believe the Supreme Court must bear a great deal of responsibility for the atmosphere prevailing in the United States and for the crimes because of their recent outrageous decisions. In their interest to protect the criminal they have failed to care about the great body of upright law-abiding citizens.

As for legislation, we passed a strong anticrime bill in the House of Representatives last year, and we have just recently gotten it back from the Senate where it has been held up by the liberals. The ACLU has been fighting it, but I am certain we have the votes and we are going to send it to the President immediately. And, I say it is about time. We also passed a strong anticrime bill last year for the District of Columbia which the President vetoed.

I believe the President's action last night in appointing a Commission to look into the causes of violence in America is to be lauded. I do not know what they will be able to accomplish but I do know that the President has appointed good men like our Senator HRUSKA, of Nebraska, to look into this tragedy of our time. I suspect, however, that they will find somewhere in their investigation indications that the things I have been preaching against and fighting for years are contributors to the atmosphere of violence which has prevailed in the United States. I believe they will find that the courts have created an atmosphere which makes the protection of the criminal seem to be a popular thing to do. They will find that dirty books, violence on television, pornography and cheap films are harmful to young minds.

Something has to be done about it and the average man can help.

Our people—all of them—can show their respect for our laws by supporting local law enforcement officers and the efforts of our elected officials who insist on evenhanded and sure justice by the police and by the courts.

I believe that we can change the atmosphere in America which leads to crime. It will be difficult but we can do it. We must get hold of ourselves, pull together, and turn our backs on the liberal do-gooders who must bear much of the blame for this and other tragedies.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY saddens all of us who knew him personally and served with him in Congress.

It also is a loss to the Nation and indeed to the world. Few men in public life were so well and so widely known and respected as was Senator KENNEDY.

His passing is a major blow to the so-called little man in this country. Senator KENNEDY was in the forefront of the fight to better the economic and social status of the underprivileged and the needy. He well deserved the title of champion of the poor. Despite his own personal wealth, he understood the problems of the needy and aggressively tried to solve them.

My deepest sympathy and that of my family go to Mrs. Kennedy and the Kennedy family in this time of tribulation.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, like the others who have and will make statements today, I am, of course, very saddened and feel great anguish in my heart at the tragic event and the death of this young statesman who dedicated his life to public service and who could have easily rendered another 30 years of service to the Nation and the world. He had a great desire and used unbounded energy in any way he thought would help to eliminate the inequities in American life. He gave so much of himself and had great faith in our system and in the idea that public servants could do more to meet the problems of our time. There is really no way to express the deep grief and sorrow that all of us have today, but certainly we hope this family, which has paid such a staggering price in return for the public service they have rendered, will carry on. To his family I extend my deepest sympathy.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, today we mourn the passing of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, the junior Senator from the State of New York.

At the moment of victory in the California Democratic presidential primary, he was felled by an assassin's bullet.

The tragedy of the violent death of his brother, President John F. Kennedy, was again visited upon our Nation.

Our hearts are torn with anguish, our heads bowed in shame. What violence, what irrationality, have possessed this great people that we would exact such a dreadful price from those who aspire to serve our Nation in the highest political office?

The answer to this question is not fully clear. But we know, at least in part, in which direction it lies.

Respect for law and order, and the protection of public safety, are the first steps in that direction.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 may not be a perfect statute but it is most certainly a vitally necessary instrument for the achievement of those objectives.

This bill must be enacted into law without further delay. The House of Representatives has to act—and act now.

Mr. Speaker, you cannot have progress without some semblance of order. You cannot have freedom without responsibility. You cannot achieve a better society by destroying society itself and the law, which is the foundation of our freedom.

I urge the House to wait no longer. I urge that the anticrime bill be enacted today.

THE LONG STALL

Mr. Speaker, the Congress has been seized of this legislation for a very long time.

The House of Representatives has approved it and the Senate has approved it. But then the issue was joined over a series of amendments attached to this bill in the Senate.

There are Members in this House—and I am one of them—who do not like some or all of the Senate amendments.

The chairman of the Judiciary Committee, my colleague from New York, Representative EMANUEL CELLER, has been opposed to the Senate amendments. He has been quoted as saying that he was ready to "sacrifice" the bill in order to get rid of them.

Yesterday, he said on the floor of the House that the Senate bill "was adopted through fear."

And he has endeavored to get the bill into a conference, where he could try to work his will upon it.

The House rejected that proposal yesterday by a vote of 317 to 60. That vote was the decision to bring the bill to its enactment without further delay.

I do not think that any one Congressman or any one committee has the right to delay or to sacrifice legislation because of possible objectionable features.

Disregard of the will of the people and of this body's previous actions is, to me, unacceptable.

SAFE STREETS NOW

Mr. Speaker, Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, in opposing the Senate amendments to the anticrime bill, told the House yesterday that our Nation is "encapsulated in fear."

I do not know anything about "encapsulated" but I do know something about crime and what it does to law-abiding citizens.

The New York Times reported on May 29 that crime in New York City in the month of April alone increased by 27 percent.

How about some concern for the victims of this crime wave? The shopkeepers that are robbed, the people that are attacked in our streets and parks, the homeowners and apartment dwellers who must seek safety behind locked doors?

How long must they wait for the restoration of law and order?

Are they not entitled to effective protection in the communities which they inhabit? Why has the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives permitted crime to become a national crisis before acting?

WHOSE CIVIL RIGHTS?

I have long been a devoted and active supporter of civil rights for all persons, all minorities, and all groups. Support for civil rights has been and is my position.

I think, however, that in our zeal to support individual rights, we have too often confused the rights of the criminal with the rights of the public.

It is axiomatic that two of the most basic rights of any citizen are his right to be secure in his home and to walk the street in safety. When those rights are not enforced, innocent hard-working citizens suffer. Such a situation is not civil liberty. It is an introduction to lawlessness and anarchy.

THE ANTICRIME BILL

Mr. Speaker, which programs would fall by the wayside if the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 were to be rejected preemptorily? Assistance to local communities for the improvement and strengthening of law enforcement at the local and State levels; Federal control of wiretapping; firearms control; and other much-needed programs and proposals.

Mr. Speaker, I know that the anticrime bill in its present form is not perfect. For instance, I believe that the section on gun control is inadequate. By limiting its coverage only to handguns and excluding rifles and shotguns, the bill falls far short of the effective firearms control legislation that is so urgently needed.

I hope and trust that in the near future a stronger firearms control law will be enacted which will include the substance of my bill, H.R. 11616, the State Firearms Control Assistance Act of 1967. My bill would stop the interstate mail-order sale of all firearms; limit sales of all weapons, except for rifles and shotguns, to persons living in the State where the sale is made; and establish a national minimum age for the legal purchase of weapons. The tragic death of many of our leaders today is certainly evidence of this need.

But despite the weaknesses in the anticrime bill before us today, we must stop stalling and act now.

Mr. Speaker, it is within the power of this House to move this legislation toward prompt enactment. The country is waiting for it. Let us not fail to do our duty.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, once again our Nation stands in shock and sorrow at the sudden and violent loss of a vibrant, promising young leader, a man of vigor and promise, a man filled with potential and the energy to realize it. ROBERT F. KENNEDY was from a remarkable and distinguished family. Ambassador and Mrs. Kennedy devoted a good part of their lives to public service, and expected the same of their sons. The eldest son died in World War II, and his younger brother John nearly died in that same conflict, half a world away. John Kennedy became a Member of this House, later a Member of the Senate, then President of the United States. His brother ROBERT, who we mourn today, served on Senate committees as counsel, later as Attorney General of the United States, and then as a Senator himself. The only surviving son is now EDWARD KENNEDY, now himself a distinguished Senator. I doubt that any family in our Nation's history has produced so many men who have served in such high offices, and to have as a great part of its reward recurrent tragedy. All these young men have given their lives willingly, but their loss is no less tragic for it.

My heart is filled with sorrow and compassion for Mrs. Robert Kennedy and her children, and for Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, who have known far more than a just burden of grief and tragedy. I likewise extend my heartfelt sympathy to Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, and to his sisters.

Murder motivated by political fanaticism or misguided zeal has become all too familiar to us. I remember with great pain the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and how I vowed that such a tragedy should never recur. Yet, here today the Nation stands once more shrouded in mourning, wounded by the effort of a man driven by incomprehensible motives. We have been deprived of a young leader of great promise, of great powers, and possessed of an uncommon grace. Such gifted men are rare, and though not all of us supported his presidential aspirations, we were all grateful that such a man would seek the high and honorable office of President. We are poorer for his loss, for we know that his service to his country was incomplete. He is gone, his voice stilled, his dreams and hopes shattered. All of us are grateful for the contributions ROBERT KENNEDY made while he lived, but we are profoundly aware of what he could have done, and what he could have achieved, and how much more indebted to him we might have been. We must grieve just as much for what he was as what he promised to be.

None of us can understand the terrible poison that creates fanatics and misguided zealots, but we must reckon with them. We cannot permit them to infect us with their affliction. We cannot permit their faithlessness to destroy our own faith. If we do, then the sacrifice of ROBERT KENNEDY will have been in vain.

I doubt that Senator ROBERT KENNEDY would have lived his life any differently even if he could have foreseen its end. Like his brothers before him, he believed in this country, and in service to it. I pray that we may all go ahead in the spirit that he symbolized, and serve as he would have, that we may all know a better tomorrow.

May God rest his soul, and give him peace, and grant mercy to us all.

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, this Nation has in the last few years suffered blow after tragic blow. And the Kennedy family has suffered more than any family should be asked to bear.

We weep for Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, his loving family, and our wounded Nation.

The murder of ROBERT F. KENNEDY is a nightmare. It seems impossible that another Kennedy could be struck down in midpassage, young, full of life, full of promise. My God, he was only 42.

This is a difficult century. More than ever, America needs every one of that small, precious number who have a compassionate view of man, a global view of history and who serve their fellow Americans in high public office.

As a public official, as a man, and as a father, ROBERT F. KENNEDY was an inexpendable national treasure.

More than that, even, ROBERT F. KENNEDY represented tomorrow. Now his tomorrows are over, ours are in doubt, and once again, as in November 1963, we have that great, empty feeling.

Our hearts go out to his family and loved ones.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, yesterday all of us here and throughout the Nation were shocked by the shot which felled another great American. We all raised our voices in prayer for the recovery of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY and extended a hand of comfort to his wonderful wife, Ethel. Today we were shocked with the realization that this vibrant American, Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY, was no more, that he would not again raise his voice in support of his great feelings and beliefs in this great country of ours. Our prayers of yesterday for his recovery were not answered, the whys and wherefors are with Almighty God, but I know the prayers for the deceased Senator will be answered and that God Almighty will comfort his wife and children as he will continue to comfort his parents, Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, who have suffered and given so much to this great Nation. May our prayers be answered that out of these untimely and unanswerable deaths there may be found the cure to the ills that cause men to commit such evil crimes.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Addabbo and I extend to the Kennedy family our heartfelt sympathy and prayers.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, the dastardly act of the assassination of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY has not only shocked us here in Congress, but it has been a terrific blow to the people of this Nation.

We all ask how could this happen here in this great country of ours. It is so unreal as to be like a nightmare. It is so unreal that it should happen to the same distinguished family in such a short time—the late President John F. Kennedy and now his brother, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY.

Every citizen searches his conscience and his heart saying what can we do—where is the blame? There is a hue and cry for the Congress to enact more laws. There is the demand for more police, more courts. But let me point out to the people of America, that this is still basically a government by the people, the citizen himself is truly the answer in many instances to the dilemma that this free country faces.

The Congress can enact thousands of laws, but if people do not demand and support their enforcement, they are for naught. Thousands of additional police may be placed on streets and highways of our cities and countryside, but if the citizens themselves do not back their enforcement and support the officers in their hazardous undertaking—they are of no more benefit for rectifying the conditions of this country than additional blades of grass.

Innumerable new courts could be created, but if the citizen shirks his responsibility as a juror or fails to insist on selection of qualified and fearless judges and prosecutors, the trials that these courts would hold would do little to stem the tide.

Legislative bodies may prescribe in the laws the assessment of penalties to fit the crime, but if juries and judges do not mete out such penalties under such laws the criminal is soon loose upon the streets.

The citizen should demand and insist that the use of bail bonds should be handled with discretion, that one who commits a crime while out on bond should not be granted bond a second time. The citizen should demand and insist that parole boards begin to show more concern for the law-abiding citizen's protection by refusing early parole to those convicted of crimes of violence.

Court records are open, they are there for all to see. The people of this Nation should apprise themselves of what manner of punishment is being given to those who when apprehended are carrying a concealed weapon. If their local courts are viewing with the proper gravity the menace of the hundreds of dangerous individuals walking the streets of this Nation with a pistol in their pocket or concealed under their shirt.

The news media could render a great service by covering the city courts where most of these cases fall and give proper publicity to lenient treatment of such potential killers.

The people who govern this country can by their statements and their actions bolster the morale of the law enforcement officers of this land by defending them from unjust attacks that are generated by the fulfillment of their duty. They can come to their aid when they are charged in the courts by those who would say they have improperly performed their duties.

Mr. Speaker, the people who govern this Nation can search their own hearts in their daily conduct to see if they furnish the example to their children and their neighbors for the proper attitude toward their fellow man. There must be a reawakening of moral strength to this country and a reawakening of respect for law and order, if we are to cure this illness which has now beset us.

Let us not see this horrible assassination become a further dividing force in the Nation. Let us not let this tragedy become a symbol of hysteria or rash laws or the removal of any of the freedoms of this great country. But instead let it move us to firm resolve to put our house in order within the framework of this democracy, which has made this country the great Nation that it is.

Mr. Speaker, I join with the whole Nation and the world in expressing my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Robert Kennedy and her children, and also Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, and other members of the family.

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in extending my heartfelt sympathy to the Kennedys—in another tragic loss to a family who have contributed so much to the political life in America, and has suffered so much during the period of that contribution.

The atmosphere of lawlessness in our country must be reversed so that we might be able to erase the horror of this day.

Senator KENNEDY has long been a champion of the downtrodden and the outcasts, and it seems to me that he was able to perceive the delicate relationship between the seeding discontent in our country and the violence in the streets.

In his quest for a stronger America, he has told our citizens things that they had never had to face before:

That in an era of unprecedented wealth in our country, there can be no true wealth unless there is equality in living.

That America is not stronger if the cancers in our cities continue to grow.

That there is no freedom for Americans unless our streets are safe to walk by day and night.

That the true measure of a country is not the gross national product, but the gross human product.

That there can be no satisfaction within the breast of any American unless there is peace at home and abroad.

These principles were the life and death of Senator KENNEDY. I would hope that as a true, lasting tribute to the memory of a great American, we in the House will join hands to put into effect the programs he championed.

For in the final analysis, if the graves of those who inhabit the earth today are opened in 100 years or more, who among us could tell race, creed, or color? Who among us could perceive the differences that cause men to hate one another?

We cannot, and we must not wait for death to bring peace and security, especially to our children.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the tragedy which once again has struck the Kennedy family is one which is shared by all Americans, who today mourn Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. The assassination of Senator KENNEDY came at a time when, ironically, a great many of my fellow Californians had indicated by their action at the polls that he was their choice of the capable men vying for the Democratic presidential nomination. It is unbelievable and shameful that in this country, the land of free choice and a powerful ballot, the action of one man can negate the wishes of hundreds of thousands of voters.

We are deeply grieved by the loss of Senator KENNEDY, and fervently hope that the causes motivating this type of violence can be quickly sought out and eliminated. Surely the whole of America cannot be directly blamed for the action of this man, but yet and still, each of us must do everything in our power to encourage individual, as well as national responsibility toward making America a haven for our great leaders, rather than a place where they must live in fear of their lives.

Mrs. Johnson and I join all Americans in every walk of life in extending our most sincere and heartfelt sympathies to Mrs. Robert Kennedy, and the entire Kennedy family, who, once again, must bear the deep grief of the loss of a father and son in service to his country.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, not only this body, not only the United States of America, but the whole world is shocked over the tragic and untimely death that befell Senator BOB KENNEDY.

I presume after the assassination of President Kennedy most people thought it would be impossible for such a tragedy to occur twice in the same family. However, conditions in our country have changed considerably since November of 1963. We have seen leaders in high places condone lawbreaking and violence—in fact, in the minds of millions, we have had a breakdown of law and order.

In my own heart, I cannot help but feel that this attitude of condoning those who do not wish to conform to our laws helped create hate in the heart and mind of BOB KENNEDY's assassin.

Yes, we are living in a strange world. We have advanced so far in the field of science that now we find it possible to walk safely in space but not on the streets of our Nation's Capital.

We find it possible to win a political victory, and lose one's life in the process.

These terrible situations can not be corrected by law alone. The law can lend direction but it must be implemented by the individual.

Mrs. Ayres and I exend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the children who have lost a devoted father. Although the children will not have the question answered, "Why my Daddy?" perhaps the American people will become aroused to the point that necessary and corrective measures will be taken so that a similar tragic killing will not happen to another daddy.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, my heartfelt and profound sympathy are with the entire Kennedy family, and especially with Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy and her children in the loss of their beloved husband and father. I join with my fellow Americans and his friends throughout the world who mourn the tragic passing of a dedicated American and most promising statesman, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

In his death, the United States has lost a young and vigorous leader that our Nation could ill afford to lose. The contributions he has made will be long remembered, but the contributions he would have made will be an immeasurable loss to all humanity.

We share grief and a sense of personal loss of a great American, ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, a fanatical act of incredible fury and madness has taken the life, in the prime of his powers, of a great American, a brilliant, young leader of distinction and promise, and a cherished friend of many of us in this body, the able, distinguished Senator from New York, Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Just a few years ago, yesterday, it seems to some of us, his brother, President John Kennedy, one of our greatest national leaders and Presidents, a former esteemed colleague and beloved friend of many of us, suffered the same fate.

Thus, in just a short space of time, two great native sons of our historic State of Massachusetts, two brothers, members of a very famous family, noted for its many contributions in commerce, business, finance, philanthropy, and the public service of this Nation, have been cut down by the irrational violence of the assassin.

Like his brother, the President, Senator KENNEDY was committed to the ordinary people of the Nation and the world.

His service was unselfish and was marked by intensity of conviction, tireless energy and tenacious unyielding purpose to reach his goals of leadership at the topmost national level to serve the people, the peace of the world, and human understanding and progress.

BOB KENNEDY, like his famous brother, was admirably trained and adapted for lofty public service. He was well on his way to reaching his political aims. He had just won several striking victories at the polls which put him well on the way to the realization of his political ambitions.

Yet in one terrible moment, by one foul act, he was stricken down just as a soldier stricken in battle.

BOB KENNEDY was dedicated to vigorous advocacy of the programs of the young, those seeking change and readjustment, those striving for the poor and underprivileged, the lowly, the sick, and the handicapped, those working for peace, and an ordered world.

To his standards, he had attracted many millions of loyal followers and admirers, who were intent upon making him President, and who could well be pleased and optimistic concerning his chances and the progress he was making.

His passing is one of the most tragic and distressing in the history of our national leadership, or indeed that of any country. The loss to the Nation and the world is incalculable; the loss to his bereaved family and friends shocking, irreparable, and terrible without measure.

Is this the price that great leaders, and families, and the American people have to pay for dedicated public service?

Shall this be the pattern in the future for those who serve, and aspire to serve their country, their neighbors, their fellow Americans and those who live under the protection of the flag of this great country?

Let me say one word on this point here and now. We will either destroy this pattern of brutal assassination of our leaders and civil violence and disorder, and reinstate law and order in this country, or we will in the not too distant future lose our free government and our freedoms, and ultimately live in want, poverty, and enslavement.

I am heartsick over this tragedy, the second within this past few years that has struck down a cherished friend and a great national leader.

My heart goes out to his wife, Ethel Kennedy, a gracious, courageous, wonderful woman, and her young family upon whom this tragedy falls most profoundly; to the illustrious father and mother, Hon. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy; our esteemed and very distinguished friend and colleague, Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY; my friends of the Fitzgerald family, and all the other relatives of our great Senator BOB.

Prayers and most heartfelt sympathy, I send them all from a very heavy, sorrowing heart. And I ask our merciful Lord to bestow His blessings and healing graces upon all of them, and give them strength, encouragement, and hope in their great sorrow.

And may our friend, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, find peace and rest in his heavenly home forever.

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, again tragedy has been witnessed in this great Nation. One of our national leaders, ROBERT F. KENNEDY, has been wantonly assassinated by a ruthless killer. This shocking act now joins the many other similar heartless actions of deranged men who have caused the lives of our great leaders to be destroyed. It seems difficult to believe that in this great Nation where we so love our freedom and liberty that there are those who would viciously seek to destroy it. The time has come when the principles of Christian fellowship and good will toward men should again be the guiding star of our national life.

The emphasis must be away from a permissive society. Law and its strict enforcement must be the rule.

Condoning civil disobedience which leads to certain violence must not be tolerated. The people of this Nation demand a return to an era of stringent observance of the rules of conduct that make for an orderly and safe society.

The Federal Government must lead the way. Statements by responsible leaders that encourage disrespect for law and order must cease. In this connection we have this day passed the crime bill. I was glad to be able to vote for it. It is only a beginning.

Let us hope and pray that the citizens will rise up in righteous indignation at the trend of events in this Nation in the field of preservation of law and order to the end that all levels of government will respond to the urgent necessity to reestablish an orderly and disciplined society.

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, Senator KENNEDY's murder at the point of his greatest political triumph—the California primary—brings at once shame and sadness to all America. What further achievements were in store will never be known, but already he had carved his mark into the history of our country. Especially, we must feel sympathy for the Kennedy family who have once more been visited with tragedy and shattered hopes.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, something electric goes out of the public life of this country when a Kennedy dies. Of all the fine men in office today, few could command the popular attention, few could grasp the public conscience, few could make as broadly based or widely studied an appeal as ROBERT F. KENNEDY. As a result, he will be much missed by his colleagues, his friends and the country at large. Many families have had tragedies, but the tragedy of the Kennedy family is the Nation's sorrow as well, and we are all much diminished and saddened.

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep sorrow that I join my distinguished colleagues in the House today to express my sympathy to the family of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

The Senator was a personal friend of all of us in Washington and, in a larger sense, a friend of every citizen in the world. His compassion and love of humanity, his dedication of service to his fellow man, will forever be the measure of his life.

I cannot close this brief tribute without also expressing a particular kind of sorrow for my nation. We are troubled about the stability of the American dollar. Perhaps we should be equally as concerned about the stability of the American soul.

What uncivility and fears among us have nurtured the savagery of settling democratic leadership by bullets rather than the ballot box?

We talk about the Constitution, yet ignore the preamble which asks for domestic tranquillity. We hurl invective with words and pictures that warp and sting the minds of the frail and the minds of impressionable youth to make assaults upon the very decency of man.

Are compassion, love, and manners gone with yesterday? I don't believe so, but I do believe that public words and deeds must be tempered with the discipline of decency, respect, love for our fellow men, and the firm belief we are indeed a nation under God, not a nation without God.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, to speak well of a man upon his death is a practice going back to the earliest times. It represents the pitiful contribution which we mortals can make to the memory of a departed friend or relative. In many cases one must look hard to fine good and outstanding things to say.

Today I want to speak well of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. Of him, one has no difficulty in finding good and outstanding things about which to speak. The difficulty lies in choosing which of his attributes and achievements were the greatest.

He was the proud father, the devoted husband, the devout Catholic. He was the student, the lawyer, the shrewd political tactician. He was the Attorney General, the strong right arm of the President, the brother confessor to the Kennedy administration.

He was brilliant, kind, thoughtful. He was friendly, complex, dynamic.

He was the ally of the poor, the underprivileged and the minority groups.

He walked with leaders of the world but his hand was always in touch with its common people. He was known, loved, and respected in all the countries of the world.

He was all these things and more, for to me, God bless him, he was my friend. I pray that God will give his family the strength and comfort to carry on and the knowledge that the name of ROBERT F. KENNEDY will forever be synonymous with greatness.

My wife LaVerne joins me in extending my deepest sympathy to the entire Kennedy family.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in those lines by the late Carl Sandburg which he entitled "The People, Yes," he expressed in noble phrases the eternal hope that must sustain us in these hours of anguish:

> The people will live on.
> The learning blundering people will live on.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, even that assurance of the eternal scheme of things scarcely serves to assuage our grief as we contemplate the horror of the assassination of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. We grieve for his widow and 10 children; for his mother and father and other members of his family. We are left desolate at the thought that another senseless act of violence has stained the pages of American history. It is true that this barbarous act was committed by one who was not even a citizen of this land. Yet he had apparently lived here during the important and formative years when he was growing up. From current press reports his bitterness toward Senator KENNEDY stemmed from his belief that the Senator favored the cause of Israel; whereas the assassin was a Jordanian who nourished a virulent hatred against the State of Israel.

The assassin was 24 years of age. This fact reminds us of the melancholy fact that in a recent year half of all major crimes committed in the United States were committed by those 24 years of age or under.

Today the House of Representatives will, I earnestly hope, adopt the resolution which I introduced on May 29 to recede and concur in the Senate amendments to the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act which passed the House of Representatives 10 months ago on August 8, 1967, as H.R. 5037. Some suggest that the passage of anticrime legislation will stand as a fitting memorial to the late Senator because of his earlier Government service as counsel to the McClellan committee of the U.S. Senate. In an even broader sense it will be a manifestation of our concern as a Congress, shared by the Nation, that crime has become so endemic to our society that we must pass at once the crime control legislation. It is only a very small step, of course, in the building of a more orderly society; but it is a step we should take.

Let us pray to God that when future historians assess this period in our Nation's history that they will write not only of the profound gloom that thoroughly pervades our Nation at this hour but of our determination that we will do those things individually and collectively that are needed to build a better future—one where violence does not stalk the land and devour as its prey men like Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the people of America and the world have lost a great young leader. Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, like his late beloved brother, President John F. Kennedy, died at the hands of an assassin.

In our society it is difficult to comprehend how such an horrendous crime can occur. At a time when we need them most, our strongest leaders are being one by one felled by the assassin's bullet.

The Kennedy family has more than carried its share of grief and sorrow over the years. And yet their courage and strong moral fibre have set an example for the entire Nation and the world.

Our thoughts and prayers are with Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy, her children, the entire family and those who were close to this great man. Let us join together in a renewed pledge to realize the brotherhood and love of fellow man in which he believed so strongly.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I arise to express my sincerest sympathy that the life of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY was snuffed out by the impulse of a man with hatred in his heart. Yesterday I was shocked and terrified when I heard the tragic news, and today I cannot express my feelings of how disturbed and shocked I am in learning of his death. I am horrified that this could happen in the United States of America, which is supposed to be the land of brotherhood, where hatred for one's brother has led to great tragedies in taking the lives of the two outstanding and dedicated Americans, President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY. Mrs. Byrne joins me in extending our heartfelt sympathy and prayers to Mrs. Robert Kennedy and her children, and to the entire Kennedy family. It is my earnest prayer that the good Lord will have mercy on Senator KENNEDY's soul and grant him eternal rest.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the senseless and cruel assassination of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY again reflects a dangerously indulgent attitude toward violence that is present in some quarters of our society.

This outrageous crime has produced a state of shock and sorrow in our country not only for the meaningless act that it was but also because the tragic consequences have deprived this Nation of a distinguished public servant.

Senator KENNEDY has served his country faithfully and well. Like his elder brother, President John F. Kennedy, he dedicated his adult life and his talents to working to making this a better nation.

Decent Americans are justifiably angry at the defiance of law that allows evil forces to threaten the foundations of our society.

Lethal expression must be stopped, and we pray that this Nation will not have to endure more violence until our society comes to the realization we cannot build an environment where man can live in peace and security with his fellow man by acts of destruction.

Americans have a solemn obligation to rededicate themselves to the preservation of law and order without reservation and without prejudice. And if things are not as we wish, it is our duty to work toward making them better, not through violence but through a framework of civilized society.

I extend my deepest sympathies to Senator KENNEDY's family. Because he was a great national leader, he was sometimes controversial. But he was a courageous leader who gave no quarter when he thought he was right. Every Member of this House respected this competitive spirit for the America he loved. And today we are all sad, and sick, and ashamed that an act of violence has ripped this leader from our midst.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY has shocked every citizen of our country.

Our hearts are saddened and our thoughts go forth in sympathy to his bereaved family.

It seems to many of us that tragedy and bereavement have been measured out to the Kennedy family in too heavy measurement. Three of their four sons have been sacrificed in the service of their country.

The death of our late beloved President John F. Kennedy was the greatest tragedy of our generation in terms of individual loss to our country. Now for the second time the senseless assassin has committed a similar act against the President's brother, the late Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

We who are in national elective positions know full well the temper of many vicious attacks upon our integrity.

We know that another type of assassin—the character assassin—is ever present in today's world of public affairs.

The character assassin is the precursor to the tormented minds of the actual assassin who takes the life of a public servant. The hate which they mouth and the lies which they spread are powerful factors in causing the hate to increase in unbalanced minds to the point where murder takes over and the dastardly deed is consumated.

We are alarmed at the deed itself. We are alarmed even more at the pattern of assassination which has more recently swept over our country. Three times in the recent 5 years have we seen national leaders felled by the assassin's bullets.

Somehow we must find the answer to this problem posed by this pattern of violence.

We must search for ways to minimize the causes of violence which apparently lie beneath these violent acts.

We can never protect our people from every act of violence, but surely there are remedies for the basic resentment which permeates so many minds today.

Wherever poverty, illiteracy, sickness and disease can be eliminated, wherever environments can be improved, wherever opportunity can be extended to those who have been denied opportunity to share meaningfully in the benefits of our society, where remedial programs should be initiated and enlarged. If we attack the basic defects of our society, then we can eliminate some of the basic causes for resentment against the structure of our society.

We must also rededicate ourselves to the fundamental, moral, and spiritual principles which have stood the test of time and proven their worth in establishing peaceful procedures and relations between human beings.

The task is not easy, but the time seems to be getting shorter and shorter. If we, as a people, are to check the pattern of violence, we must move in many, many ways to find the answer before it is too late.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of myself and all Alaskans I wish to extend our deepest sympathy and condolences to the family of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Once again, the rule of fear—of lawlessness—has cast its monstrous shadow across this Nation. This rule of fear is a sickness which strikes at the very foundation of our modern society.

No civilization can survive unless all its members accept a certain degree of discipline. Unbridled lawlessness breeds insurrection and ultimately anarchy. This cannot be tolerated. The American Revolution, its Declaration of Independence, its Constitution, and its Bill of Rights all stress the basic and viable principle of voluntary discipline. Freedom, which is a cherished bulwark of the American society, places a great responsibility upon each and every citizen to act with dignity, to respect law and order, to preserve and increase the proud heritage of our forefathers.

Mr. Speaker, on this day of tragedy, each and every American must rededicate himself to the urgent task of restoring reason and order and confidence in our society. The basic freedoms which we enjoy, in this, the greatest democracy on earth, can survive only if we are equal to the great responsibilities and disciplines which must be exercised in conjunction with those freedoms.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, Democrat of New York, deprives the Nation of a young and courageous leader of great ability and promise. Now we will never know what notable progress and victories he would have achieved—not only for the State he so ably represented, but also for the Nation he served and loved so well.

ROBERT KENNEDY was a brave fighter. He fought hard for the causes in which he so strongly believed—from equal opportunity for every American to peace in a troubled world.

Like the late President John F. Kennedy, ROBERT did not live long. However, the impact he left on America and her people—especially the young—will be long remembered.

The most enduring monument to ROBERT KENNEDY will not be his achievements for he did not live long enough to accomplish on a vast scale, although he was an exceptional Attorney General and a fine U.S. Senator. The monument left by ROBERT KENNEDY was that rare and precious gift of hope—the feeling that somehow, America would conquer her problems and that things would turn out right—sharing the same faith and conviction expressed by William Faulkner when he won the Nobel Prize: "Man will not merely endure. He will prevail."

The Kennedy brothers saddened America and the free world with their tragic and premature deaths. But how they brightened and inspired our lives.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY was my constituent. Mrs. John F. Kennedy also lives in my district.

Their presence there, along with so many other fine and famous people, explains why this is a landmark district.

Possibly because of this domicile, more than most Members of Congress in the opposition party, I have had the opportunity of seeing Senator KENNEDY. His passing, therefore, is a personal loss.

My wife and I join in the national mourning for an outstanding leader and express to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and their children our sincere condolences.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the mood of Washington these days is the same as it is in the rest of the country. As the people go around their daily duties, there is a feeling of sadness for the loss of a great American—frustration because it could not be prevented, awe that this and other violent acts should occur in our Nation, and wonder concerning its cause and cure.

Constituents write and urge the passage of the anticrime bill and gun control laws, which have now passed both Houses of Congress. But all of our people ask themselves and others how we can stop this rampant violence.

Surely, legislation is needed, but this alone will not cure the malaise which is rapidly engulfing America. Legislation alone will not cure it, because the malaise is hate, and it lies not only between the lines of legislation, but deep within the hearts of many Americans.

It is this hate that causes many of us to speak with anger and disgust against the "niggers"—and they to retort, spewing out their venomous call to violence against the "honkies." It is the emotional hatred which causes many conservatives to label those who disagree with them as "Commies," and liberals to brand people who disagree with them as "extremists."

It is this hate that will bring about a "lesser America" unless we overcome it.

As we look toward a "future America," where do we find it? It is in our grade schools—our ball fields and sandboxes—our scout troops and Sunday schools—our cribs and carriages.

There is no hate there, but there should be hope. Only we can provide the proper attitudes that will return us to the proper path for America.

That attitude is expressed by the only thing ROBERT KENNEDY ever asked of his fellow Americans: "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, I join millions of Americans and people throughout the world who, with heavy heart, express great personal grief and extend sincere and profound sympathy to the Kennedy family.

Senator KENNEDY was a brilliant, dedicated public servant who gave untiringly and unselfishly to his Nation and its people. A man of great courage who cared not about the odds; cared not about what was popularly acceptable; cared not about what his friends or constituents might feel about his position on issues—truly a test of one dedicated first and always to his country.

The Kennedy family has been asked to give more than any family should be required to give under any circumstances. This Nation owes and owes greatly to this family and this man, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. Mrs. Karth and I express deepest heartfelt sympathies to Mrs. Kennedy and their family.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I join with our whole Nation today in mourning the death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY and in extending my deepest sympathies to the Kennedy family.

The tragic taking of this young national leader from us in the prime of life represents a monumental loss not just to his family and his friends, but to the whole country.

Senator ROBERT KENNEDY spent his entire life in the service of this country and death came to him as it did to his late brother, President John Kennedy, solely because he chose to serve his Nation.

Our hearts go out today to the entire Kennedy family which has suffered so greatly and so tragically, and especially to Mrs. Robert Kennedy and the 10 children of the late Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY is a national tragedy which the Nation and the world mourn with the deepest feelings of loss and remorse. To his wife, his children, and his family, Mrs. Zablocki and I extend our heartfelt sympathy.

Those of us who have had the privilege of working with him and all those who knew and loved him were the richer from the experience. Although some may have differed with him no one can question his sincerity, devotion, and dedication to his fellow men. With unequaled compassion and zeal he worked unstintingly for the underprivileged, the poor, the oppressed. His passing leaves a great and bitter void—a void which each of us in dedication to his memory must accept the challenge of filling.

The irrational act which took Senator KENNEDY from us—an act of violence and total disregard for all human values—is but a symptom of the lawlessness and hatred which is eroding our society. Indeed, the great irony is that ROBERT KENNEDY, who sought reconciliation and solutions within the democratic process of rational debate and majority rule, should be cut down by the tyranny of one recalcitrant and hate-filled individual who had rejected that process.

It has been said with much truth that some people are so afraid to die that they never begin to live. To ROBERT KENNEDY death and life was not a foe but an inevitable adventure. His life was completely dedicated in service to his Nation and abiding concern for other human beings.

Now, in his death, we must seek for ourselves the same adventure, the same opportunity, the same vigor and determination with which he lived his life. To do otherwise would not keep faith with his memory and the cause for which he lived.

At this hour of grief may his loved ones and all of us who mourn him take consolation in the lesson from Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount—paraphrased to today's tragedy.

Blessed be the poor in spirit—blessed be those poor for whom ROBERT KENNEDY worked and who weep for him now.

Blessed are they that mourn—may they understand the cause for which he lived and died and may they embrace it forever in their own hearts.

Blessed are the meek—may they soon possess the freedom and dignity which he sought for all.

Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness—may they lead us through this dark and tragic period of hate to peace and reconciliation.

Blessed are the merciful—may you show this country and all the world your mercy, O Lord, and may we in turn be merciful to our fellow men.

Blessed are the pure in heart—for they shall be divinely ordained to carry the banner of love and peace.

Blessed are the peacemakers—that they may see in this tragic death the road to peace and understanding.

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake—for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

May God have mercy upon his soul and the United States of America which he served and loved so well.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the deadly shots fired at Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, reprehensible as an act of ghastly criminal violence against the person of a U.S. Senator, were equally shaking as an anarchical attack on the institutions of orderly and representative government.

When America comes to the condition

where a citizen cannot travel freely, speak out boldly and run for public office without fear of personal harm, then a fatal blow has been stricken against our constitutional form of government.

The necessity of calling for FBI protection of the candidates for President and Vice President to assure their safety in the 1968 election is evidence that this great Nation is swiftly approaching the terrible "differ with violence," not debate and peaceful discussion approach to the problems of the day.

If Senator KENNEDY's death, and the assassination of other leaders in recent years, leads to the moral rejuvenation of America and the determination to oppose crime and violence in this country, then these Americans shall not have died in vain.

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to recall a more tragic time in America than the present one. A U.S. Senator has been senselessly killed by an assassin. That, in itself, is tragedy enough. But in this case the victim was not only a Senator, and a very distinguished one, but also a brother of a President of the United States who only a short time before met with a similar, terrible death. That two such young men, sons of the same parents, who exemplified the highest in this country's political tradition, should be gunned down within the short space of a 5-year period is a tragedy beyond all bounds. Never have I felt so much pity, so much sorrow as I feel for the Kennedy family at this time. No words of mine, certainly, can help lessen the awful consequences of this terrible act. But my heart does go out to Mrs. Kennedy, to the children, to Senator EDWARD KENNEDY and other members of the family, to whom I extend my deepest sympathy. I wish to God that this terrible act had not occurred. I pray to God, now that it has, that whatever measure of comfort and consolation and hope can be granted to this family be accorded them in this most unhappy hour.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, words cannot adequately express my sorrow at the passing of Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY.

He was a dedicated American and public servant whom I was very proud to call my personal friend.

My sorrow is matched only by my indignation and my horror that this young man should be taken from us in this frightening manner.

The Senator was the second member of the Kennedy family to die at the hands of an assassin while serving his country in Government service. His brother, the late beloved President John F. Kennedy, was assassinated less than 5 years ago.

We in the Buffalo area had come to know ROBERT KENNEDY particularly well, since he bid for election to the U.S. Senate from his adopted State of New York.

In serving our State and the Buffalo area—as in his other responsibilities—he was unstinting in his dedication to the public good and the public interest.

My sincere sympathy goes out to his wonderful family and his host of friends everywhere at this sad time.

All of us have lost a great friend, colleague, and dedicated public servant.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in this House today to express my own profound sense of sorrow at the passing of Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY of New York and the sorrow and shock of the people of the 14th District of New Jersey.

BOB KENNEDY was my friend and the friend of many in New Jersey and words alone cannot convey our feelings about this dastardly act which has deprived this Nation of one of its greatest public men.

There is no tragedy greater than the untimely death of a young man whose time is still to come.

In Tennyson's words:

> Thy leaf has perished in the green,
> And while we breathe beneath the sun,
> The world which credits what is done
> Is cold to all that might have been.

Mr. Speaker, the accomplishments of the Senator are almost unparalled for a man not yet 43 years of age. Campaign manager for a President of the United States, Attorney General of the United States, and U.S. Senator from one of our greatest Commonwealths. Most men struggle all their lives without achieving half of this eminence. Yet, we all knew—or thought we knew—that he was the child of destiny who would scale the heights and now he, like his brother, sleeps the sleep of the just.

Mr. Speaker, now there is nothing left for us except to ask almighty God to let perpetual light shine upon him.

To his widow, Ethel and to the 10 Kennedy children, I cannot say any words that will assuage their grief. But in the years that lie ahead they will know that this great man, who to them was an exemplary father and husband, has a secure niche in the hearts of his countrymen. Perhaps at some future time when the immediate shock has passed, they can take some consolidation from this fact.

Mrs. Daniels joins with me in expressing our deepest sympathy to all the members of the family of Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy who have known so much heartbreak and sorrow. Our hearts go out to them.

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in this House to express my own profound grief of the passing of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, of New York, and the grief and shock of the people of the First District of Maine.

Our country has today experienced an immeasurable loss. Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's death is an individual and a national tragedy.

We have lost a vital human being. ROBERT KENNEDY's zest for life invigorated us. His vision of an America where understanding might overcome hatred inspired us. His compassion in combating injustice and poverty stirred our consciences and enriched man's dignity. His challenge to excel dared us to reject the easy and the complacent, to confront the difficult, to make the most of our lives. All this his words expressed, all this his life represented. All this is now no more. There is no compensation for so great an individual tragedy.

It is now for us to determine that from our national tragedy, we shall learn and we shall have a deeper knowledge of ourselves and the condition of America. It is for us to find meaning in this senseless act.

The paralyzing horror we feel at ROBERT KENNEDY's assassination should lead us all to ponder in deep reflection whether we shall permit history to judge that he believed in us, the American people, more than we deserved.

Are we a tired and declining nation to be corrupted inevitably by moral indifference and material concerns?

Are we a nation destined to disintegrate from hate-filled divisions of race?

Are we a people hopelessly divided into the self-satisfied affluent and the powerless poor?

Are we a people who prefer personal comfort to individual commitment?

Are we a society tolerant of violence and scornful of reason and law?

ROBERT KENNEDY's life was an affirmation that we, as a people, must meet and resolve these fundamental questions. His was a living belief and a cherished ideal that America does have the moral capacity to make our civilization worthy of greatness. It is now for us to dedicate ourselves to the realization of that faith and the triumph of that ideal.

Mrs. Kyros joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy and sending all our prayers to his widow, Ethel and all the members of this great American family.

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, the voice of a man of great courage has been silenced. Senator KENNEDY articulated the cry for justice of the minorities and the underprivileged of our Nation.

He has been taken from us—like his brother before him—by an assassin's bullet.

Yesterday when I first received the news of the tragedy which had befallen the Kennedy family, I said:

> The bitterness—the hatred which is dividing us as a people is producing a disease in the minds of some which threatens to destroy our very existence.
>
> If our democratic system is to survive, we must rededicate ourselves to the treatment of the root causes of this illness before it is too late.
>
> There are many things which we must do. High on this priority list is the passage of effective gun control legislation calling for regulation of the manufacture and sale of guns. We must also give attention to the need for research, treatment and care in the field of mental illness.
>
> We require the massing of our brains and resources to solve the problems of the hungry poor—the unemployed and underemployed—the poorly housed and the sick.

I heartily endorse the action taken by President Johnson in appointing a Commission to look into the causes and control of physical violence.

This step alone may not be enough. We must call upon the moral and spiritual leadership of our Nation and the responsible opinion molders in our society to speak out as one for unity—respect for law and order—respect for the rights of individuals—and respect for the national interest.

My dear wife, Florrie, and the members of my family, join me in expressing sincere condolences to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, to their children, and to all the members of the Kennedy family. We pray that the Almighty may grant them comfort in these trying hours and in the days and years ahead.

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, all Americans are in a state of shock over the slaying of ROBERT KENNEDY. We are frustrated, angry, and ashamed that such incidents should happen not once but repeatedly in our land. The victims are not only our famous men but ordinary citizens, cut down almost daily as they attempt to go about their peaceful pursuits.

We can only hope that at last this country will be shocked into realizing how far our society—once the shining example for the world—has descended into chaos.

As for the valiant Kennedy family, at this time of grief, there is simply no way to express what we feel. Once more they have lost by assassination a son, a brother, a father at the pinnacle of his life and career. They are schooled in tragedy, but supported invaluably by their unshakable faith in the ultimate justice of the Lord. Let us share that faith and go forward—together—as Members of Congress entrusted with the future of America—to pull this country together that we may jointly solve our problems in amity—as brothers.

On behalf of my family and all those I represent in Congress, I want to express my unbounded admiration for the Kennedy family for their dignity and bearing through repeated periods of deepest grief. To them go my deepest respect and sympathy.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY is not only deplored by all Americans but has shocked the people throughout the world.

This dreadful attack is almost a duplication of the assassination of his brother, President Kennedy.

These two great leaders of democracy advocated a free, representative government which recognizes all our citizenry—wealthy, medium, and poor. They were struck down by two fanatical assassins. One originated from the politically explosive Middle East, and the other had been Communist trained in Moscow and Cuba and educated in the tyranny of atheist communism.

I do not accept the theory of many who say that these brutal murders are the result of an American so-called sick society. Most of the so-called turmoil, discontent, riots, and agitation within our borders is caused by well-trained, well-organized, well-financed infiltrators and insurrectionists backed by the international Communist conspiracy.

I commend President Johnson on announcing his blue-ribbon Committee under Milton Eisenhower who will make an extended study and recommend steps to curb this general defiance of law and order by professional agitators and enemies of our form of government.

I extend to Mrs. Robert Kennedy and the family my deepest sympathy in their sorrow and bereavement.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, on February 10, 1968, made a statement in the New York Times entitled "Things Fall Apart, the Center Cannot Hold." The Senator said that although we have a soaring gross national product, we have much to be disturbed about this country, including "Speck's knife and television programs which glorify violence the better to sell toys to our children." He went on to say that economic wealth measures everything except the reasons for being proud to be Americans.

We are still proud to be Americans this morning because Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY lived. If our pride this morning is mixed with shame it is because of Senator KENNEDY's death and the violence that is in our streets, in all of our streets. In the primary campaigns this spring, Senator KENNEDY campaigned at risk of criticism from the press on the need for law and order as well as the manly facing up to the problems in our cities and ghettos. We cannot do one without the other. There are many who espouse one or the other cause but very few who take on both issues and explain to our people that balance in all things is our greatest national need.

Senator KENNEDY lived as he died, in the cause of justice. The most criticized Cabinet appointment in American political life turned out to be one of the best that any President ever made. ROBERT KENNEDY was this Nation's greatest Attorney General. His crusade on the part of civil rights and his campaign against organized crime gave him in all our eyes that spark of greatness.

Now the man who could with such candor explain best our need for order as a basis for progress has been taken from us by the act of a madman. We have all been soiled by this act, not because we are some way responsible for that act, but because we all could have done more to make America better. The Congress, for example, could have passed gun control legislation long ago.

Our people, all of them, could show their respect for law by paying their traffic tickets, paying their taxes and supporting local law enforcement even when it hurts them. I think what stirred people about the life of Senator KENNEDY was that his career threatened the end of the "fix" in American life. Evenhanded justice is always terrifying because none of us is without sin. The beginning of the poem quoted by Senator KENNEDY is included below:

THE SECOND COMING

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack of all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.

The Kennedy family is again bereaved. It is sorely troubled. No family in history outside of the Grachii family in the time of the Roman Empire has been so troubled in the cause of the poor and plain people. Their sacrifices are beyond imagining. Only the loss of the five Sullivan brothers on the sinking of the cruiser *Augusta* during the Second World War comes close to the prolonged agony of the Kennedy family.

But we must go on because these lives so freely given, John Kennedy's and ROBERT KENNEDY's, can mean something and not be tossed aside as scraps of paper. This country means something because of these sacrifices. It is built on sacrifice and the great structures that are built on sacrifice are steady and strong. We will be strong. We are going to get a hold of ourselves. We are going to be better. The center will hold because now we know that things are falling apart. But we also know as Senator KENNEDY said moments before he was shot:

> We can end the divisions within the United States. We can start to work together. We are a great country, a selfless country, a compassionate country. We can work together to end violence, disenchantment.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Hanley and our family are grieved beyond words in recognition of Senator KENNEDY's death. We cherished the close personal friendship which we enjoyed with him. I maintained the utmost admiration for his integrity, courage, and dedication. My heart goes out to his fine family who have, in the service of our Nation, endured so much grief: First, Joseph, then John, and now ROBERT.

In looking back to November of 1963 and the tragedies since, I am saddened with our state of affairs. That an environment of violence and unrest prevails in the world, and in particular in our Nation, that a nation which was conceived in morality and guided through the years by the Constitution so wisely and eloquently drawn by the Founders, should itself fall victim to immorality, is inconceivable to me. We as a nation must proceed with the cure.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, we were awakened this morning with the horrific news of the death of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY just as we were awakened yesterday with the tragic news that he had been brutally shot.

I am deeply shocked and distressed. His death is an enormous loss to all Americans regardless of background or political belief. Our Nation, perhaps more than at any time in its history, needs imaginative, vigorous men like Senator KENNEDY dedicated so completely to publife life and national betterment.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY was among the ablest and most dynamic men of this Congress and of our Nation. We shall sorely miss his presence in these Halls—and our Nation will long be shocked by the manner of his passing.

The hearts of all Americans go out to the distinguished Kennedy family whose grievous losses are exceeded only by their great and long service to their country.

Among the last words of the Senators short life were: "We are a great country, an unselfish country, and a compassionate country." And because he was so correct and because we are better for his having walked among us for 42 years, let us resolve that the assassins bullet and violence shall not become a way of American political life.

We must use to the limit the talents

assembled here to find a way to drive the madness of divisiveness and violence from our streets. And we must strain the limits of great minds here to seek out the causes of an existing, but inchoate, mood in which such terrible deeds are born.

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of Senator KENNEDY has deprived our national legislature of an articulate and forward-looking spokesman for democratic and social reform in our Nation. No other man can replace him.

In his campaign for the presidential nomination Senator KENNEDY engendered a nationwide dialog and needed discussion of just where our country is going. I hope that his death is not the final answer to that question. I also hope that our national dialog will continue on the major issues facing our people. This will constitute a great tribute to Senator KENNEDY, one he deserves.

As President Johnson said last night, 200 million Americans did not kill Senator KENNEDY. But there is a shame and blight on all of us nevertheless. We must purge our Nation of this violent sickness that has been striking out at our national leaders in recent years. This must not become a Nation of public execution instead of public dialog. More than ever extremists on both sides have to be placed on notice that there is no sympathy nor room for their violence in this Nation, except in the minds of the insane. The public must turn these people off, and tune them out permanently.

In conclusion I wish to offer my personal condolences to the Kennedy family and to offer my pledge that I will do everything as a U.S. Congressman to prevent future tragedy.

Mr. POLANCO-ABREU. Mr. Speaker, assassins cannot but fail in their purpose, for by assassination they invariably give immortality to their victims, destroy themselves, and hurt their cause. Thus has it been throughout history.

ROBERT KENNEDY, like his brother, will live eternally in the hearts and minds of men and in the chronicles for all time.

His soul rests in the hands of his Creator, but his image remains with his fellow man.

The pity is not only the murderous act of a sick fanatic, but the wasting of the energetic talents of a vigorous and able young man who yearned to serve his country—one who while seemingly stirred passions in some, nevertheless had an unusual ability to heal wounds where they were the deepest.

He demonstrated that he could bring together ununited groups who fervently followed his leadership and placed their whole faith in him. Admiration for Senator KENNEDY was not limited to this continent.

Had he been allowed to finish his campaign, had he won the Presidency, it cannot be denied that he might have been able to unite this Nation and stem the ruinous tide of growing divisiveness among our people.

Now this will never be known.

The people of Puerto Rico are as one with the people of the 50 States and all U.S. citizens in their grief. We sorrow as one, as we have before.

Thankfully, this time we need not share a national shame or a national guilt. It was not one of ours, not a fellow citizen, that committed the deed, but a visitor to our shores.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in abhorrence at the tragic, senseless murder of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. Mrs. Brotzman and I extend our sincere sympathy to the members of his family at this difficult and trying time. I believe that in this period of strife and crisis it is most important that all Americans put aside those minor matters that tend to divide us and embrace those great principles that tend to unite us.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of Mrs. Snyder and myself and for 550,000 constituents, I wish to express the heartfelt sympathy of our family and our people to the family of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY. Politics is one thing—but devotion to country is another. Many may question the politics of this family, but none can question their devotion to their country.

I know of no other family who has given so freely of their talents in serving their country—and lost so much in so doing.

Without reservation, I say that the prayers of my family and the people I represent will be with them that God will give them the continued courage to withstand the trials of another tragic hour in their lives.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, this is indeed a dark and sad page in the history of our Nation. Violence and lawlessness have proven they know no limitation or boundary. Thousands of Americans, including myself, have asked the question many times since yesterday morning: "What is happening to America"?

The tragic death of Senator KENNEDY serves to emphasize that enforcement of the law should be the prime objective of everyone at this time. We should stop making excuses, apologies, and alibis for those who have disrespect for law or feel they have the right to disobey the laws with which they disagree. Our survival as a civilized nation is at stake.

My heartfelt prayers and sympathy are extended to the Kennedy family in these additional hours of sorrow.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, words cannot express the deep anguish, the bewilderment, the revulsion the world feels over the tragic death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. Expressions of sorrow cannot convey the feelings of remorse and sorrow our Nation holds over ROBERT KENNEDY's untimely and shocking death. That fate has rendered unto him that which befell his beloved brother, our late President John F. Kennedy, is incomprehensible.

To steal from one family the lives of three young men in the service of their country is an overwhelming burden for the surviving members to bear. To deprive a Nation of the talents of these dynamic young men with so many years of dedicated public service remaining is a cruel blow to their fellow citizens.

ROBERT KENNEDY, the public official, and ROBERT KENNEDY, the family man, is gone. But the spirit of vitality and the quest for excellence which were so much a part of ROBERT KENNEDY will linger long after his mortal remains are entombed.

The residues of melancholy and pathos over the stunning effects of ROBERT KENNEDY's grievous death will give way with time. But from these feelings must emerge a renewed spirit of determination to end the divisiveness, the discord, the malaise afflicting our society. We cannot allow ourselves to sink further into the murky depths of violence and bellicosity.

ROBERT KENNEDY gave his life for his country. His country must recognize his contributions and the values he embraced. The challenges he articulated are not easy challenges to meet. But he spoke of the tasks ahead. And if we are to succeed as a Nation we must recognize those problems and we must resolve them. Too many lives have been lost for us not to realize that we must work to restore our society and to reconcile the differences between its rhetoric and its reality.

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Speaker, all America mourns the tragic death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. In the midst of vibrant life, he suffered death, and the Nation suffered a loss it cannot afford. For he had dedicated his life to advance the welfare and progress of the people of this country. In the brief span of years that was given to him, he saw and understood the many gaps and deficiencies in our national life and he strove valiantly and compassionately to reduce and narrow them. In the prime of his career, and on the threshold of the Nation's decision on electing its next President, he was taken from us, by an assassin's despicable deed.

Violence in America is becoming a national sin. It takes too great a toll of our national wealth. The rollcall of our losses—President John F. Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, Viola Liuzo, and hundreds of our finest citizens who have been murdered because they worked for the betterment of our Nation—this list is now far too long and bitter.

But in our resolve to remove violence from the land, let us remember the compassion which animated ROBERT KENNEDY's life and was expressed even in his last words. Let us remember his love for the oppressed, the unfortunate, and the alienated.

We must eliminate bloodletting from our midst and so far as our influence runs from the whole world. But we must proceed, in the words of another great American felled by an assassin's bullet, with charity for all, with malice toward none. In this recurring moment of tragedy, and in the years to come, let America be governed by the compassion in which our fallen leaders lived, and not by the mad vindictiveness which killed him.

The tragic death of Senator KENNEDY has shaken the world and the Nation. It has plunged us into the deepest sorrow. It has, in a very profound sense, diminished the dialog which is so essential to our existence and to the betterment of our country. It is a sad day for all of us.

I join with my colleagues in the House of Representatives, and on behalf of myself and all the people whom I represent, to extend our deep and heartfelt sympathy to his wife and children, to his parents and sisters, to his brother Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY, and to all his friends.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a dark chapter in our history has just been written. To the family of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY the events of recent hours must seem like the recurrence of a cruel nightmare which is never to cease.

Yesterday our hearts went out to the Kennedy family, the Senator's close friends and associates. Our sympathies were with them. Our prayers for them.

Today we join them. We join them in mourning.

America has once again witnessed the violent passing of one of her brightest young sons. The world has suffered the loss of a man of hope and peace, cut down well before the full bloom of his great promise.

And we all suffer the agony of that terrible question, "Why?"

It is a question with a multitude of answers sufficient to satisfy the keenest intellect. But there is no answer to soothe the sorrow of the soul.

This is a time for mourning. But what of tomorrow when this time has passed? How is America to heal the malignant divisiveness which seems to infect a desperate and deranged few until law, order, due process and democratic process, even respect for the life of a fellow human are alien to the thinking of their twisted minds?

Of great importance is the need to break down the walls of isolation which exclude many Americans from sharing in the abundance of this Nation. Surely there is enough for all and certainly the more that is shared, the more there will be to share.

This was the driving spirit behind the quest of Senator KENNEDY and it must be kept alive, nourished and permitted to flower.

We must also seek the common ground of our beliefs on which to build a greater tomorrow for all Americans, particularly those who now lean and depend on the more fortunate majority so that we may all stand together proudly and with self-dignity as fellow citizens.

Let us put aside our sharp differences that lead to devisiveness. They are too well defined as it is, too brutally sharp. Let us seek, instead, the fertile ground of common understanding so that we may work as reasonable men to adjudicate our differences and harmoniously join in the primary task of the building of America and the realization of its beautiful promise.

In doing this, we can root out the seeds of much of the violence and discord which threaten the streets, neighborhoods and citizens of this country.

But first we must restore government under law and promote security through order.

The breakdown of law and order in America has done more to alienate our citizens and promote devisiveness than any other single factor. And this factor must be eliminated if our Nation is not to be transformed from America the beautiful to America the lawless jungle.

Heretofore, I have held that public safety and security is the primary responsibility of our local law enforcement agencies and officers. I have been very reluctant to see the Federal Government interpose itself in this field though I fully supported the Safe Streets Act which passed the House last year, and will support the legislation before us today.

This bill is designed to assist local law officials. But more is needed and if that need is a massive infusion of Federal funds, then so be it.

Last night President Johnson announced the establishment of a Presidential Commission to dissect and report on the anatomy of violence in America.

This is well and good. But it is not sufficient for the Congress, the direct representative body of the people. We have a responsibility to act and to act now.

Therefore, I suggest the creation of a special congressional task force on law and order to immediately study and make recommendations for additional legislation to assist local law-enforcement agencies and officials in protecting the law-abiding citizens of America from the street thugs that seemingly wander among us with ease, thumbing their nose at authority and inflicting injury on decent and helpless citizens.

The work of this congressional task force should not require a great deal of time or money. The Congress and agencies of the Federal Government have the statistics, facts, and data. We know the incidence of crime increase and the statistical breakdown for America. We know of the deadly trafficking in firearms which threatens every family in every State, county, and community in America. We know the needs of our courts and the needs of our local police agencies. Too many thugs go free for failure to prosecute. Too many thugs are freed only to commit additional criminal acts because our courts are too crowded to assure speedy prosecution.

We already know these things. Now let us act. Let us continue forward with the much needed social programs to enhance and promote the living environment of America. But let us rid society, hopefully by restraint, but through confinement if necessary, of the lawless vermin who have no respect or concept of the rights of others.

This Nation was conceived under law. It grew under law. It will perish without it.

Laws, of course, cannot change the hearts of men. But proper law enforcement leading to domestic security can promote an atmosphere of genuine tranquillity conducive to reasoned thinking through the absence of fear.

Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, in many respects, exemplified the finest qualities of American life which have contributed to America's greatness.

He was a man of strong conviction. He was a man of great inherited wealth whose concern was not for his own welfare but for the welfare of his entire Nation, and particularly those who have been denied the opportunity to participate in the building and share in the promise of America. He was a man of the highest personal integrity. He was a man who profoundly believed that America's golden days lay in the bright future, not some bygone era of the distant past.

Finally, he was a man of great personal and political courage. In speaking of courage, Senator KENNEDY's late brother, President John F. Kennedy, once wrote:

> For at all the levels of our national life, each man is sometimes called upon to stand for what he believes to be right against the pressures and opinions of friends, fellow workers, constituents or the force of popular attitude.

One may agree or disagree with the public positions and stands of Senator KENNEDY, but there is no denying he never lacked this courage.

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, the untimely passing of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY is a tragic loss to the Kennedy family, which has already known far too many tragedies; for our Nation, which so badly needs the greatness which he embodied; and for mankind, toward whose betterment he so vigorously and unselfishly gave of himself.

We are a lesser people at a very troubled time. We are a deeply saddened nation.

Those of us who are privileged to be numbered among his friends are acutely aware of the deep feelings Senator ROBERT KENNEDY had for our Nation and the problems which beset him. He continuously sought new approaches to the complex problems we face as a nation and as a society as he struck at the very root causes of our Nation's problems and groped for understanding and resolution in those dark areas of our society where so few dared to tread in the past.

The late, beloved President John F. Kennedy appealed to all Americans to ask what they could do for our country.

No other American responded so quickly or so vigorously as did his own brother, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, whose affirmative and positive reply could only be stopped by a bullet.

No other American could have given more toward the solution of our Nation's ills.

No other American could have been more concerned about the underprivileged and their plight.

No other American could have worked harder toward the removal of the violence which has swept our Nation and which claimed the death of his brother, President John F. Kennedy. And yet, Senator KENNEDY fell victim to the very violence which he worked so hard to curb and remove.

It is a time for all Americans to mourn, but it is also a time for America to look within, to identify the cancerous areas of its society that so corrupts the mind of its people as to lead them to violence and which makes violence a ready substitute for the orderly and meaningful process of life.

We can do no more as a Nation at this time than to dedicate ourselves to those ideals which Senator ROBERT KENNEDY so well embodied and for which he gave his very life.

I shall personally continue to dedicate

myself to the work which Senator ROBERT KENNEDY so generously gave of himself and I call upon all Americans to respond vigorously and positively to the late President John F. Kennedy's appeal to ask what you can do for our country.

President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, have provided both the light and the inspiration. We have a great debt to pay to them.

Let us begin.

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, all of us are saddened and gravely concerned over the death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY who was felled by an assassin's bullet. It was an overwhelming tragedy to happen to one so young, particularly difficult when he was so energetic, and in the prime of life with everything to live for.

Senator KENNEDY believed that America must go forward if it is to survive and he gave his talents to the growth of our Nation. His wife, Ethel, has lost a devoted husband, and his children, a kind and good father. The Nation has lost a gallant leader.

While this is an occasion of deep sorrow, it should be also one of rededication. This shocking and unbelievable violence is another tragedy in a series of tragedies of violence that is indicative of the unrest and disregard of the law that is plaguing our Nation. Perhaps Senator KENNEDY's death will teach us again the bitter but positive lesson of the importance of law and order. Certainly, steps should be taken immediately by the Congress to enact strong and effective legislation that eventually will restore the proper respect for the law and its enforcement. It is vital that we rededicate ourselves toward that end.

Mrs. Fallon and I wish to express our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her family and other members of the Kennedy family.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, it is not uncommon to see wealthy men walking the streets dressed virtually in rags. The question is always asked, "If he is so wealthy, why does he dress like that?" And, the answer is quite obvious. The man is wealthy because he does not spend any money on anything.

Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, of New York, was not such a man. He was endowed not only with financial wealth but also with a great mind, a keen sense of awareness, and above all, an earnest desire to help others, particularly the less fortunate.

Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's estate in nearby McLean, Hickory Hill, was frequently a playground for underprivileged children from Washington's Junior Village and other institutions for orphans or unwanted children. He gave of his time, his energy, and his money to help the underprivileged, yet he sought no reward nor publicity for these acts.

Washingtonians can well remember the telethon staged last winter by Senator KENNEDY to raise money for Junior Village. As a politician, it would have been extremely easy for Senator KENNEDY to use the telethon as a form to gain publicity but rather he shunned the spotlight completely so that more time could be spent in raising funds to help this worthwhile project.

In 1963, Chicago was privileged to have Senator KENNEDY, then Attorney General of the United States, serve as grand marshall of the annual Columbus Day parade sponsored by the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans. Mr. Speaker, along with millions of other Americans, my wife and my family join in expressing our condolences to Senator KENNEDY's family.

A great man has died but because of his greatness, the work that he has accomplished will never die.

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, I mourn today the untimely death of our distinguished Senator from the State of New York, ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY. The tragedy which marked his passing has shocked our Nation and the world, recalling the horror of that November day in 1963 when the same fate befell his brother and our beloved President John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

The sacrifice which this family has laid on the altar of public service is very great, one that will long be remembered. The sorrow which has come to the family is beyond comprehension. We extend to his devoted wife Ethel and their wonderful children our heartfelt sympathy, and we express the hope that the knowledge that their grief is shared by so many millions will bring comfort and strength.

Senator KENNEDY endeared himself to the masses who responded to his presence with wild enthusiasm. They admired his alert mind, youthful vigor, and personal charm. He was an articulate advocate of the causes he espoused. Also, at the age of 42, he had already served his country in the Senate and the Cabinet, as well as playing a prominent role in the major decisions of the administration of President Kennedy. There was every reason to believe that even greater career contributions lay ahead. Such can still be the case, for no greater tribute could be paid his memory than for this Nation to dedicate itself to the restoration of law and order. People in the United States deserve to live, secure in life and property. All the progress he sought, all the hopes we have for our future need such a foundation upon which to build. The curse of lawlessness and the assassin's bullet must be removed. This tragedy compels us to find the way to do this.

In our prayers, in a very real sense, we pray not only for the Kennedy family but for our beloved Nation. May we salvage out of this ghastly tragedy, a new determination to restore the faith and discipline so necessary to achieve a better and more united country.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, all the people from all walks of life and all sections of the country mourn the untimely death of the distinguished Senator from New York, Mr. KENNEDY. It is beyond understanding why an assassin's bullet should take from us a young man who gave so much of himself for causes in which he so earnestly believed and so ably advocated.

It matters not that some of us did not necessarily concur in his views. It matters only that he shared with all of us a love of country and was willing to give his very best for our country.

This utterly senseless murder should bestir us to a belated recognition that we must give new direction to our country. What is sorely needed is moral leadership. We need to revitalize those principles that made our country strong and great. We need to restore respect for law and order. We need to reemphasize, again and again, in everything we do and say, that freedom does not mean solely rights. It also means responsibilities.

What concerns me is not merely the increase in crime but that it is a symptom of something deeper and more deadly in the body politic, and for which there is no quick and easy cure. We cannot legislate morality, but we can furnish the moral leadership essential for our continuing to be a free society of God-fearing, hard-working, self-reliant people.

I extend my heartfelt sympathy to the entire Kennedy family who have contributed so much in the service of our country and fellow men.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY leaves in our national political life a gap that will not easily be filled. Senator KENNEDY played a unique role in making our system of government responsive to the needs and aspirations of all the people. His courageous and imaginative leadership in the area of minority rights and poverty legislation provided a rallying point within the Government for millions of Americans who might otherwise have felt themselves to be without real representation. Senator KENNEDY was a man of understanding and compassion. A wealthy man himself, he was an articulate spokesman for the millions of oppressed Americans who live in grinding poverty amidst affluence unparalleled in human history. With the passage of time he achieved a maturity and a beneficent philosophy which tempered his many dynamic personal traits.

ROBERT KENNEDY was above all else a man committed—and he sought to commit this Nation of ours to becoming the moral, not the military, leader of the world. His mission was to translate his personal commitment as a man and an American into a national commitment. ROBERT KENNEDY reiterated time and time again that the basic question facing the country today is, "What does this Nation stand for"? It is a question made all the more urgent by the tragic circumstances of Senator KENNEDY's death. We cannot allow ourselves the luxury of mere mourning—tears and lamentation by themselves run the risk of becoming an unworthy substitute for the uncompromising commitment to social justice and the moral exercise of power that can provide the only true memorial to ROBERT KENNEDY.

Senator KENNEDY embodied much of which is best in man. It is fitting that we grieve and offer our heartfelt condolences to his fine family, however inadequate these expressions might be. We can wish that he had lived longer, because he had so much to offer his country; but we can also take some solace in the fact that he passed his 42 years so well, that he had made a great contribution. It is our responsibility to heed his appeal to our national conscience and work toward building the kind of Nation he envisioned—nothing less will do.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, words cannot express my horror and shock at the brutal slaying of Senator KENNEDY. My thoughts, like those of every American, turn to his loved ones and my deepest sympathy and prayers are with his widow, his children and the Kennedy family.

Senator KENNEDY devoted his life to public service. His career was a brilliant one. He served at the highest levels in the executive branch during the administration of his brother, the late John F. Kennedy. He was a distinguished U.S. Senator. He was struck down after winning important victories in his quest for the nomination of his party for the President of the United States.

This Nation, no nation, can afford to have its public leaders struck down in such senseless fashion. None of us here presumes, I am sure, to know what the remedy is; none of us here, however, can fail to recognize that it must be found. We must return to respect for law and order in this country. We must restore reason and logic to action. No nation can long endure where violence and hate determine the course of events.

The death of this young leader is a tragedy—for all of America. We owe to him and his family a concerted national effort to make sure that he did not die in vain and that from it we will learn and apply those lessons which will eliminate the scourage of violence from our national life.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has experienced another tragic and shattering event in the assassination of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

During my service in the Congress of the United States and particularly in my duties on the Committee on the Judiciary during the days that he was the Attorney General of the United States, I had the opportunity to observe the intenseness and the dedication of ROBERT KENNEDY. This Nation of ours has lost a very devoted American and public servant who spoke plainly of his thoughts and feelings on the issues of our times. He has contributed much to the dialog that seeks to find answers to the problems of America today.

On Capitol Hill, we have lost a valuable public servant, American, an intense member of our society and the Kennedy family have lost another to the history of our Nation.

The sympathies of my family and myself are extended to Mrs. Kennedy, their children and to the Kennedy family.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly concerned for the welfare and future of our great country. There was a day that most of us in this body can remember that an individual in public office could travel the length and breadth of this country and espouse his political beliefs without fear of reprisal. In fact this was true of any individual of public acclaim. Apparently events of the past several months have shown that such is not the case today. We have progressed into a truly affluent and Great Society but are now beginning to reap the misfortunes and ills that accompany such a position unless we continually keep our guard against permissiveness, crime and loss of our heritage.

Tragedy has again struck the Kennedy family, a family who have devoted themselves to public service. As was the case of our late President John Kennedy, his brother ROBERT was not the victim of an enemy of our country but rather the victim of an individual who just did not think and believe as he did. Somewhere along the line while attaining our affluent position, we have lost sight the basic rights which made this country great, freedom of thought and freedom of speech with open debate. No longer are areas of disagreement discussed by intelligent men but rather it seems we have resorted to "mob rule" wherein if you disagree with an individual, a law or anything else, you merely demonstrate against or kill the person with whom you disagree.

Certainly the hearts and prayers of everyone in this Nation will be for Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and her 10 children and the unborn child of her husband ROBERT, who have been left to grieve over this senseless and wanton murder of husband and father.

Mr. Speaker, dark days are upon this Nation until we return to some form of sanity and begin to realize that the strongest basis for any society is law and order and respect for same.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the sad news of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's tragic death early this morning deprives our country of one of its greatest leaders. The grief of the Kennedy family is the grief of the American people.

Senator KENNEDY's appeals were to the conscience of America. He directed our attention to the needs of the handicapped, the unwanted, the overlooked poor and hungry, and he reminded us of our obligations to the elderly.

He traveled the entire land; he climbed the mountains of the Northwest; he met the challenging rapids in the canyons of the Southwest; he sailed New England waters; and he walked through hamlets of Appalachia. He knew the farms of the Dakota's and the teeming public places in every crowded city square. He knew America in a friendly, warm way—and America knew him.

He was positive, direct, and challenging. He took strong positions of leadership. He was indifferent to concensus. He was impatient with times and forces which rejected change toward betterment.

Forthright courage of position on the issues of the day developed opposition. He had scores of bitter enemies and multitudes of enthusiastically loyal friends. Integrity of position was his hallmark.

I was with him in Cleveland the day after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated. In hushed voice, Senator KENNEDY delivered a eulogy on the life and work of Dr. King and then spoke of the need for restoring law and order to the American scene. He was visibly shocked by the horror of violence to a man of peace.

He pleaded for both progress and compassion as worthy American goals—his unfinished business has now become our duty.

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the shock and grief of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's death have stunned the Nation and the Congress. The second assassination in the Kennedy family is a tragedy of immense proportions, not just for that great family, but for all America.

This pattern of violence against public leaders and against public policy must somehow be brought to a halt if our free institutions are to survive. We have lost one of our finest leaders at a time when the Nation needed him the most.

We must respond as intelligent human beings at every level of society and government to seek out the causes and to pursue remedies to this malady that has now struck down ROBERT KENNEDY.

Senator KENNEDY spoke a new language of politics, one of compassion for the less fortunate of our Nation and of positive dedication to the cause of finding solutions to our Nation's ills.

His death is a great loss to America during this era of crises. We need to pray, not just for him, but for this nation that such a monstrous crime could again occur, and that we may survive this orgy of violence and strife.

My deepest sympathy goes to Senator KENNEDY's family.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, ROBERT F. KENNEDY is dead. Today I and my family join with all Americans in expressing sincere sympathy to the Kennedy family. Today that fine family, already overburdened with grief, has been grieved once again. Today, another dream for a better America has been cut short and turned into a nightmare for all Americans, and, once again, in stunned bewilderment we ask each other why. Today this question remains unanswered just as it did April 4 in Memphis and November 22, 1963, in Dallas.

Like his brother, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, ROBERT KENNEDY has resources which would have enabled him to choose an easier path through life. But, like his brother, he had an intense dedication to a continuing search for the goals which would make this a better country in which to live. Like his brother, he chose to serve his country.

And with that choice came an unswerving courage to speak out on the important issues facing our Nation. Always speaking with candor regardless of the political consequences, ROBERT KENNEDY had a special dedication to the causes of the underprivileged, of the poor, of minority groups and of all among us who have not had the opportunity to make a better life for themselves.

All of his actions were marked with an intensity. He lived life fully. I always felt a personal closeness to Senator KENNEDY because he, too, loved the West with its wilderness areas, its wild rivers and its scenic mountains. Together with his wife and family, he frequently traveled to the West for recreation in the wilderness areas.

The loss is great. From a courageous wife and 10 children, a husband and father has been taken away. The Nation and the world have been deprived of an articulate and dedicated worker for progress. And the poor, the underprivileged and minority groups have been deprived of a dear friend and spokesman.

Today, as we mourn Senator KENNEDY, we must look to the future and we, as a Nation, must look within ourselves for the factors which have contributed to an atmosphere conducive to such tragedy as we have seen in this decade—tragedy which has robbed us of some of our finest and most dedicated young leaders.

Mr. Speaker, our hearts and our prayers go out today to the Kennedy family. As a Nation, we join in their grief. I am hopeful the Commission appointed by President Johnson will, with the help of God, will help us to heal our wounds and reach the goal for our Nation for which our young, fallen leaders were searching.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep sadness and a sense of a great national loss that I learned of the death of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY this morning. It was a tragic, senseless crime, a crime without meaning, born out of hate. My heart goes out to his family, who once again must bear the grief caused by an assassin's bullet.

These are indeed times that try men's souls. And, indeed, these are times when we should search our souls. We offer prayers and sympathy for Mrs. Kennedy and her children, but surely we must do more. For senseless violence and shocking crime is not confined to the men who hold high office, although it is true that when they are struck down, the impact may seem more sharply focused and the tragedy more dramatic. The fact is that violence and disrespect for the law have reached proportions that cry aloud for redress.

Surely our prayers and sympathy for Senator KENNEDY's family will be more meaningful if they are matched by a resolve and determination to frontally assault the root causes of the evil.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I share the great shock felt by every American over the tragic and untimely death of the late Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, of New York.

The passing of Senator KENNEDY reminds all of us how close mortal man is to eternity. Truly, in the midst of life, we are in the midst of death.

Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY has been taken from us in the prime of his life. He was a dynamic young man with a vision and a goal for himself and his fellowman. He believed in the American system and he fought for the principles for which he stood.

He served his Nation in war and in peace. He was a man of courage and conviction. He has left behind a record of accomplishment of which the people of his great State and the Nation can be justly proud.

Mrs. Whitener joins me in extending to the members of the late Senator KENNEDY's family our sincere condolences upon the tragic loss which they have sustained.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, upon learning of Senator KENNEDY's shooting yesterday, I was shocked and sickened. The news of his death this morning adds a profound sense of sadness to those feelings. My prayers and the prayers of all Americans go out to the brave family of the late Senator as well as to this Nation which has suffered too much undue tragedy in these times.

Mr. Speaker, how does one begin to describe or pay homage to a career as brilliant and inspiring as that of the late Senator KENNEDY? How does one recount the tale of his splendid service to the people of the United States and to the people of the world? And, how does one acknowledge the contributions he made toward the realization of the great principles upon which this Republic is founded and from which this Republic takes strength?

There are no words to answer these questions. There are no words to describe even our own anguish at this brutal assassination. Perhaps, however, in death as in life the words of ROBERT F. KENNEDY himself provide us with some measure of understanding of events like these.

Speaking after the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Senator KENNEDY stated that:

> Violence never accomplishes anything . . . no martyr's cause is ever stilled by violence . . . the sniper is not a hero, he is a coward.

Certainly, these words ring true again in this particular tragedy. The violence which struck down Senator KENNEDY can neither erase the principles for which he fought nor the people who will continue to fight for them. The violence which struck down Senator KENNEDY cannot end our determination to calm this troubled society but only renew our efforts toward preserving this magnificent democracy.

Mr. Speaker, for the sake of Senator KENNEDY's memory, for the sake of the American people, let us hope that the Commission appointed by the President last night will force all of us to look deep inside ourselves to root out any justifications for violence and complacency toward the deterioration of our society's values.

If we can once again return to the values which motivated the initial mission of the United States, then we will have created the finest possible monument to ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY.

To his wonderful wife and children, no words, no monuments, no actions can reduce their loss or soften their grief. For BOB KENNEDY was, above all things, a wonderful husband and an outstanding father. He will live in the memories of his wife and children as a husband and father first of all.

But he will live in all of our minds as does his brother John—young forever, and an inspiration in history to all who shall follow him, to all who are concerned about our Nation and its people, and to all who are concerned about the future of man on this troubled planet.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, there are not words with which I can adequately express my shock and deepest sorrow at the assassination of the very distinguished junior Senator from New York, ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY.

One might think the unfortunate events of recent years would have steeled us against assassination. This has not happened. And now, Mr. Speaker, I am groping for a way to express to the Senator's family my sincerest condolences. I am sure they will understand how genuinely all America shares their grief.

Senator KENNEDY, in 17 years of service in the Federal Government, distinguished himself in both the executive and legislative branches. He demonstrated judgment beyond his years and the energy of a man half his years. Blessed with unusual wisdom, he brought to public service his selfless and enduring commitment to the ideals that have long been part of the American dream. A dreamer and a realist both, Senator KENNEDY worked with devotion to turn dreams into realities. He worked to make the promise of American life come true for all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I mourn profoundly the death of this great public figure, this U.S. Senator, this proud father, this human being, my friend BOB.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, once again a member of the Kennedy family has given up his life for our country. And, once again, this life was taken away as a result of an action created by a human being with a mind of a maniac.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY is no longer with us, having been gunned down by an assailant who was a part of a gay gathering who were in a very happy mood over the victory in the California primary election as a candidate for President, on the Democratic Party ticket.

The first to lose his life was Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., who gave his life in the defense of our country, because of a war started by a demented Adolf Hitler.

John F. Kennedy was our beloved President when his life was snuffed out by an individual who must have been of unsound mental ability. This we will never know for the assassin was not permitted to live long after his cowardly attack. He, too, was cut down by gunshot days after the attack on our President.

And, today, all of America—yes all the world—sheds tears for Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY, a Senator from the State of New York, and a candidate for nomination for the Presidency of the United States.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY has served his country in many capacities and in each he served it well. Immediately after the death of his brother, Joseph, Jr., he left Harvard University while in his sophomore year and volunteered for the Navy. He appeared at the office of James Forrestal, then Secretary of the Navy, and asked assignment to the destroyer *Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr.* His wish was granted and he served the entire 2 years of his naval service as a member of that ship. After service, he returned to Harvard to finish his schooling at that institution.

After Harvard, BOB KENNEDY went to the University of Virginia Law School where he graduated 56th in a class of 126.

After completing his law school course, his first job with the Justice Department was that of attorney with the Department's Criminal Division. He then saw service in various capacities and with several Senate committees and subcommittees. This service was climaxed by his service as chief counsel of the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field.

When his brother, John, became President of the United States, BOB became the Attorney General of the United States and served in that capacity from January 21, 1961, to September 3, 1964. At that time, he ran for the Senate in his adopted State of New York and defeated the popular Republican Senator Kenneth Keating by 800,000 votes. His election marked the first instance in American history when three brothers of one family had served in the U.S. Senate.

Another first in the Kennedy family political picture is the fact that all three brothers have served the United States simultaneously in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. John F. as President, EDWARD M. as Senator, and ROBERT F. as Attorney General.

At 42, the age at his death, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY has been in public life a decade and a half, and his loss leaves only the youngest of the Kennedy sons, EDWARD M., to carry on the political tradition of the family.

As President Johnson said:

> During his life, he knew far more than his share of personal tragedy. Yet he never abandoned his faith in America. He never lost his confidence in the spiritual strength of ordinary men and women.

It is incredible that so much tragedy can strike a single family in the fashion experienced by the Kennedy family, the two crimes which cut down John F. and ROBERT F. were so senseless, so without purpose.

I extend to the entire Kennedy family my deepest sympathies in the hour of their greatest loss. Even in this hour of greatest sorrow, Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr., can take great pride that she is the only mother in American history to have had three sons serving as officials in each branch of our National Government.

I hope and I pray that this senseless killing will bring America to its collective feet and take such action as is necessary to bring about a curbing of the violence that lurks in our country. The incidence of violence has been spreading very rapidly in our society and our image in the world has fallen to a new low and voices from around the world sounded their puzzlement at America's actions.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, I am heartsick about the death of Senator KENNEDY. In the 42 years allotted him, he had already accomplished far more than most men can hope to do in a much longer lifetime, and he was clearly on the verge of even greater achievements.

It is always a shock when so promising a young man is cut down in the prime.

In the case of ROBERT KENNEDY, the shock and the sense of loss are doubly great, because of the special affection I have for the Kennedy family, and because his death adds so cruelly to the great burden of tragedy carried by this distinguished family.

There is very little one say at a time like this. I hope his family, warmed by his memory, can find the strength to carry on in spite of the misfortunes which must at times seem almost unbearably harsh.

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, words cannot adequately express one's feelings in this hour of national tragedy resulting from the senseless assassination of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY.

But I think we must pause and give sober reflection to the irony and sadness imposed by history on the fantastic Kennedy family.

No family should be forced to sustain what the Kennedy's have endured—and you can only admire the bravery of Mrs. Ethel Kennedy who now must carry on without her husband and rear those 10 wonderful children.

We, the people of this Nation, must stop and think and pray—for ROBERT KENNEDY and his brother, John, the late President—and also for the members of the Kennedy family left behind. We must do what we can to sustain them in this dark hour.

But then we must think of ourselves and ponder what we can do to get this world and this Nation back on the right track.

Instant formulas and spur-of-the-moment solutions obviously are not the answer. But I am convinced that sound and deliberate thinking can and will guide us down the proper path.

And from what I know of the American people, they have the capacity—and the will—to do what has to be done.

This is not a time, Mr. Speaker, for national hysteria. It is not a time for panic or fear.

But it is a time for us to develop a sense of restraint—and a time for us to reflect soberly upon the tremendous responsibilities confronting us.

If we do this, Mr. Speaker, I am confident that we will find our way to the solutions of the problems shocking our Nation today.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I share the shock and grief of untold millions throughout the world in the tragic assassination of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. Senator KENNEDY was an articulate spokesman for the causes he espoused. My deepest sympathy is extended to his family in their bereavement.

The almost unbelievable manner in which he died should cause us to pause and consider where this Nation is headed. America is at the crossroads. We can choose the road to freedom, safety, and liberty; or we can travel the road of violence, anarchy, and national oblivion.

Unquestionably, the alarming trends toward defiance of the law have contributed to the mushrooming spread of violence which threatens to engulf our Nation. However, I reject the notion that the entire American society must bear a collective guilt for this heinous crime or others which have rocked our Nation in recent times.

The vast majority of the people of this Nation have a deep allegiance to the concept of law and order. We can no longer allow a handful of self-styled anarchists to endanger the very foundations of this Republic by conforming to only those laws with which they agree. If basic freedoms and rights are to be enjoyed in any nation, it is necessary that individual citizens likewise, fulfill their responsibilities to the whole society. It is time that our leaders began emphasizing the duties of citizenship rather than the so-called rights of criminals, insurrectionists, and chronic malcontents.

Morality is the only answer to this growing problem, and morality can neither be legislated nor administered by government. It must prevail in the hearts, minds, and souls of each person. It must be preached and practiced by every leader with influence in his community and vocation. Especially important is the fact that political leaders should constantly stress that only a law-abiding society can preserve the traditions and ideals of the Republic.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, the outpouring of grief throughout the world at his tragic death is a measure of the superb qualities of mind and heart with which Senator KENNEDY was so abundantly endowed. The Nation and the world are better for his extraordinary contribution to the history of our times. A man born to wealth, he had an unusual sensitivity to human suffering and deprivation that spurred him relentlessly to better the lot of all mankind. He believed, in the words of his brother, the beloved President Kennedy, that:

> If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

He was wholly committed, with all the intensity of his strong nature, to securing a more enlightened, just, and whole society, and he devoted his remarkable vigor, determination, and ability to securing the programs and policies that he believe would best meet the enormous problems of a rapidly changing society.

ROBERT KENNEDY, the man of dynamic action, would not wish us to mourn him with words of tribute. Rather, he would ask of us, with his characteristic combination of the practical and the idealistic, to go forward with a greater sense of urgency to effectuate the objectives to which he dedicated his life and death. Let us in this hour of sorrow renew our own commitment to what ROBERT KENNEDY stood for: hope and reconciliation and progress at home and peace among nations.

We can immediately translate our grief into action by enacting without further senseless delay the pending crime control legislation. As a sponsor of the strong gun control legislation advocated by Senator KENNEDY, I urge that we act to prevent further tragedies by adequate firearms restrictions. The lives of three noble leaders—President Kennedy, Dr. King, and Senator KENNEDY—have been snuffed out by violence and hate. The prevalence of violence in our cities is a peril alike to liberty and to public safety. Reason and reconciliation must triumph over violence and hatred.

Senator KENNEDY lived life fully with a dauntless and joyful spirit that triumphed over tragedies and heartbreaks that would have crushed a lesser man. He has won an enduring place in history and left a lasting mark upon the shape of our Nation.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I mourn the tragic death of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY.

I knew well and the people of my district vividly recall his endurance and enthusiasm as a fellow campaigner.

He exemplified the family dedication to service of the people. While he might have lived a life of ease and luxury, he spurned this easy path and dedicated himself to the arduous and demanding job of public office. It is a tragic irony that he should have been struck down by the passion of unreason in the midst of his youth and at a time when he was in his own way making a contribution to the vitality of our democratic system.

I earnestly hope that his death may serve as an eloquent argument against the current trend toward the use of force and illegality in the solution of personal and national problems.

His wife and children and all his family have my deepest sympathy.

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, there is grief and frustration throughout the Nation today.

We are passing through a period of stress, rebellion, violence, and irresponsibility, and it was in that climate that the life of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY was so needlessly taken.

The repeated tragedies suffered by the Kennedy family touch the hearts of our countrymen, and we turn in prayer in the hope that these sacrifices can somehow be equated with meaningful developments which will assure a better and brighter America for all its people.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY was a controversial figure because he dealt with controversial subjects. He was a restless person, and the status quo was to him a relic of the past that had to give way to the inevitable progress that was destined for his Nation. He seemed to believe that there was a place for him in national and world leadership that he chose not to evade, regardless of his disposition toward such duty. He died in responding to that call.

As we express our deep feeling of shock and sorrow to his family, all of us must join together in a pledge to bring about a return to a sense of safety and sanity throughout the land.

Senator KENNEDY himself, time and again, tempered his proposals with an appeal for thoughtful action, with respect for law and order, rather than resort to senseless acts of violence—such as that which has now befallen him and which 4½ years ago took his distinguished brother, President John F. Kennedy, from our midst. We pray that the plea for calmness, reason, and resolve will be heard and heeded in America at this hour.

Many of the steps espoused by Senator KENNEDY have been taken toward removing the seeds of discontent and violence, but others must be taken. The House is acting today on legislation designed to curtail crime and make our streets safer from the criminally sick. This legislation is but an initial step, and more effective gun control laws should be enacted forthwith.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, neither the Congress nor the President by themselves can eradicate the virulence evidenced in so many frightening ways today—but if the vast majority of the American people unite with determination and faith, I am sure that God will give us the guidance to overcome the causes of the disease of violence and its threats of anarchy. May the memory of John and ROBERT KENNEDY resolve us to that course.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, we will all mourn the loss of something in the loss of ROBERT KENNEDY. Some will mourn the loss of a leader; others, the loss of an innovator; still others, the loss of a Senator. Some will mourn the loss of a father and husband; others, the loss of a son, or a brother, or a friend. But I hope that we will not fail to mourn, quite simply, the loss of a man—a living, breathing, caring, and suffering man, a man who cannot live or breathe again, who will not have the supreme good fortune to care deeply about something in this country, or suffer from something ever again. A vibrant, joyful person is dead; his voice irrevocably stilled. I am certain that John Donne was right:

> Any man's death diminisheth me, for I am involved in mankind. And therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee.

And so I find myself admittedly a mourner. And a mourner must reminisce, however harsh the modern maxim: "Be thou not sentimental." And I discover that I am not reminiscing so much about the Senator, or the candidate, or the critic, or the leader of men, as I find myself reminiscing about the essential phenomenon which was the man himself. It was the man that strolled, barefoot and slumped in thought, down a gray, lonely beach in Oregon. It was the man who looked with a combination of confusion and compassion into the eyes of someone who had traveled many miles just to hate. It was the man who cheered his despondent supporters after defeat in Oregon. It was the man that could become impassioned about racketeering, critical and discouraged over our course in Vietnam, emotional about the disadvantaged in America, desperate about the inversion of our priorities at home and abroad—and he admitted it.

No amount of eulogy, no amount of regret or national soul-searching or academic analysis of the climate of our society, no amount of penitential legend-making, no pedestal in the hall of fame or gravesite at Arlington will bring back the man to his family, his friends, and those who believed in him and his cause.

It was Goethe who said:

> We ask not that a man be a hero, but only that he be everything that makes a man.

ROBERT KENNEDY was such a man.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, when the historians of tomorrow, please God in a more tranquil time, write the reality of this turbulent period of American uncertainty the name of ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY will be indelibly inscribed forever as the compassionate, self-disciplined individual, loving husband, tender father, generous competitor, brillant public servant, and dedicated American that he truly was.

Few, indeed, would turn away from a most humanly attractive course of ease and indulgence and cheerfully take up the unique challenges, hardships, disappointments, jealousies, harassments, dangers, and even the possibility of death in public service to his country and his fellow men. But that is what we know he did.

He early observed and recognized the modern evils increasingly threatening the dissolution of his country and the demise of the world. He tried valiantly to stop their advance and to heal the awful harms they had generated.

In the pursuit of this mission, of his destiny, violent death was visited upon him. If the sacrifice of his life would serve to move us ahead toward the swifter attainment of domestic tranquillity and world peace he would have willingly made it, and he did. That was his nature and his will; he was a brave and gallant man.

So it remains for us, in memorable purpose, to hasten the accomplishment of his goals through the inspiration of his stirring example of heroic action. Without such action our rhetoric unending will be unworthy.

No matter what we do, however, his glory will remain eternally shining on the brightest pages of our annals. But in rightful tribute to his magnificent spirit let us honor ourselves by pledging to work together to bind up the wounds of this country and speed on to the restoration of law and order in each community, tolerance and understanding throughout the land we love, good will and peace around this world despairing. In no other way can we justify his supreme sacrifice.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues here in extending my heartfelt sympathy in their grievous sorrow to his gracious wife, Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, his children, his brother, Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, and sisters and parents while praying that the good Lord will grant them each the grace of sustaining courage and understanding resignation to His divine and mysterious will.

May the great soul of ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY rest in peace.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the shocking murder of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY is a tragedy that follows in the terrible pattern of lawlessness, disrespect for authority, and deliberate rejection of law and order which have been permitted to sweep the country in recent years. Violence is contrary to our Nation's political principles, and the tragic death of Senator KENNEDY affects us all.

Mrs. Derwinski and I have known Senator KENNEDY and his family and extend to Mrs. Kennedy and the children our deepest sympathy.

When a nation receives a terrible shock such as this murder causes, we must reassess the situation and in this instance strongly resolve to halt the violence and anarchy which is sweeping the land. The bullet is not a substitute for the ballot. We have been a law-abiding nation, respecting the framework of our constitutional government and the opportunity that our system gives to those who devote themselves to public service and civic accomplishment. Senator KENNEDY was a spirited national leader with a record of service and accomplishment known to all. I hope and pray that this shocking event will profoundly influence all Americans to support and maintain law and order within the framework of our proven established institutions.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, these are indeed "times that try men's souls." Again our country has been shaken to its very foundation by the tragic assassination of a distinguished American. ROBERT F. KENNEDY was a man of exceptional courage, honesty, and integrity. He was a proud member of one of the most renowned, accomplished, and truly great families in the history of the modern world.

Mr. Speaker, since the days of my youth, I have admired Ambassador Joe Kennedy. When he was Ambassador to England I supported his philosophy and his ideas concerning Europe and our world of that day. When I came to the Congress in January 1947, I learned to admire and respect the late John F. Kennedy. John F. Kennedy was a great man and a great world leader. His untimely death was one of the great tragedies of American history. Now to see under similar circumstances his brother ROBERT F. KENNEDY, a strong contender for the Presidency and Senator from the great State of New York, assassinated, is most difficult for all patriotic Americans to bear. We can only hope that out of this tragedy will come more respect for those men serving in public office and for those candidates who aspire to serve the people in positions of public trust. We can only hope that the American people will have a new resolve to uphold law and order and protect and preserve our great democratic institutions from violence and anarchy.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Dorn joins me in extending to this noble family, to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, and her wonderful children my heartfelt and deepest sympathy.

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, there seem to be no words left to describe the feelings of horror evoked by the cruel assassination of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

I am appalled by his death, but in recent times I have so often used the words "of horror" which our language offers us that they too seem debased and inadequate to the situation. I can only say that this senselessness has got to stop, for surely as this Congress sits today, we are doomed to vanish, like the Roman Empire, into the quicksand of our own unworthiness.

Senator KENNEDY, at the age of 42, had already given to his country more than most men who are far his senior. At 42, he had many years of important experience behind him, yet was only on the threshold of a career of public service to America which lay before him. He was a man of determination, of strong ideas, of great vision. Because he was such a decisive man, he stirred much controversy. He brought out the deepest emotions of love and hate. But few would question that he had much to contribute to his country in wisdom and dedication. By personal experience, ROBERT KENNEDY knew what was wrong with this land and, because he was so committed to correcting this wrong, he was able to face it unflinchingly. Senator KENNEDY was a knight among bowsmen, a man who enjoyed leading and who lead fearlessly. His courage cost him his life. The United States of America has reason to be thankful for the contributions ROBERT KENNEDY made in his brief life and to grieve for the great potential that was lost to it.

I extend my condolences to the Kennedy family, which has already given so much of itself to our country.

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, the news of the shooting of ROBERT KENNEDY is tragic. His family and the man deserve our prayers. My personal reaction to another insane shooting is one of horror. As a nation it is important to remain calm and to think clearly.

All of us serving in public life deplore the intolerance for opposing ideas and the violence by which some in our society act against them. The combination is deadly. Lawlessness breeds lawlessness, as violence breeds other violence.

It is a time for reflection, for prayer and for deserved respect for those in public service.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, once again a dark shadow has fallen across our land, and a time of anguish has been visited upon our people. Once again a brave young leader has been taken from us, the bright promise of his life snuffed out by an assassin's bullet.

Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY was a man of many contrasts. A tenacious fighter for the right, his moral fervor and deep idealism had prompted him to enter the lists against mankind's most bitter enemies—war and poverty. And yet he was also a dreamer. He would often quote these words by George Bernard Shaw:

> Some men dream the dream that was and ask, "Why?"
> I dream the dream that never was and ask, "Why not?"

Here, then, is one of the great ironies and tragedies of history—a delicate and tender prince, cut down by a senseless lackey. The great hope for America is that mothers and fathers can impart to their children the courage and the beauty and the compassion of ROBERT KENNEDY, and that from this a better America may emerge.

May God be with his family—and with us all—in this hour of sorrow.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the overwhelming shock and sorrow which grips our country over the assassination of Senator KENNEDY is numbing to the sensibility of all civilized people. Senator KENNEDY's tragic death is not only a national, but an international tragedy. The people of our country are in a state of shock that a tragedy of such magnitude should again strike the Kennedy family, and cut short the useful life of a brilliant man who has done so much for his fellow men. That a man so conscientious, so sincerely interested in the welfare of his country, should be taken from us by a stupid act, sharpens the tragedy. Our country has lost a distinguished and gifted servant.

To his widow, his children, his parents, and the entire Kennedy family, I extend my profound sympathy.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the Nation and the world grieve at the death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

He was a man of both courage and compassion.

He was intensely devoted to our country and its promise of opportunity for all our citizens. And he had a warm sense of humor.

What especially touched me about Senator KENNEDY was his championing of the underdog—the poor, the children of the ghetto, the Negro, the migrant worker.

Senator KENNEDY believed in America and in what, at its best, our country stands for.

Is it too much to hope that his cruel death, following the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, and Martin Luther King will lead Americans to greater respect for one another's views, even when they differ?

Is it too much to hope that people will cease to hate those with whom they disagree politically?

Is it too much to hope that all Americans will realize that the path of violence solves nothing, and that the path of peaceful persuasion is the only path for a free people to follow?

With other Americans, I pray that that day will soon come.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, we are today a nation bowed in grief at the death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. We are a nation anguished at the realization that an assassin's bullet has extinguished the life of another of our gifted and promising young men. We are a nation deeply sharing the grief of an oft-bereaved family.

Senator KENNEDY gave extraordinary devotion to his country as the Attorney General of the United States and as a Member of the U.S. Senate from New York. The principles and causes he espoused during all the years of his public life are emblems of his faith in an America that would some day reach its potential for greatness. His deep concern for the individual in our society, and especially for those who have been denied the opportunity to share in America's bounty, is a hallmark of his consuming conviction that America's promise must not be denied to any of its citizens.

Senator KENNEDY fervently dedicated himself to making a better life for those who are poor, for those who are uneducated, for those who are jobless. And, for those who are the victims of racial discrimination, Senator KENNEDY, more than anyone else on the national scene today, recognized the fact that this Nation cannot continue to move toward two separate societies—one black and one white. His effective efforts in making racial justice in America a reality are symbolic of his beliefs that all men must be able to live in dignity.

We can only pray that Mrs. Kennedy, his children, and the Kennedy family can find solace in the knowledge that the Senator gave to the land he loved a blueprint of a society that will make the Bill of Rights a reality for all of its citizens. We can take courage in the days ahead from his last words, which reflect so poignantly his belief in America:

> We are a great country. We are an unselfish people. We are a compassionate country.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, these are the comments of a man who is on the verge of leaving public life. My decision to retire was made early this year, before the beginning of the chain of tragedies which has made of 1968 a year of horror.

I have always believed that public life, the honorable quest for, and conscientious service in, public office, was a career which I could with enthusiasm recommend to any young person. I have always felt that it represented, whatever might be the shortcomings of its practitioners, a kind of commitment to the principle that man could learn to live with his neighbor, not in constant agreement, but, at least, in peace. Democratic politics, to me has always been a vocation founded on the principle that we have found out how to settle amicably and without bloodshed, the kind of differences of opinion that other societies needed to take to the barricades and the scaffold.

I still cling to that belief, but my faith has been shaken.

Mr. Speaker, we are coming apart at the seams. We are on notice as a nation that we cannot protect any courageous young man who speaks out on any controversial issue from the insane whims of any animal who thinks that owning a gun makes him a man. We cannot protect the delicate fabric of the system we have so lovingly woven over the years. We cannot, seemingly, depend any more on the assumption that the ballot is our accepted mechanism of choice.

The blood of John Kennedy and his brother, ROBERT, the blood of Martin Luther King and Medgar Evers is watering some strange seeds in the fields of our Nation. What will spring up where that blood has been spilled, I do not know. None of us knows. Perhaps it will be the fruit of peace and understanding, grown at a horrible cost. Perhaps it will be the bitter fruit of further discord.

We grow old, Mr. Speaker. The Republic grows old, and its servants grow old with it, and we watch the bodies of young men being carried to their graves because of old hatreds and older injustices. What strange forms are waiting just ahead for public life in this once proud and free land I do not know. I am almost glad I am retiring. I am not sure that I would want to face the tomorrows of public life after the todays of this bloody spring.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sorrow that I join my colleagues in paying tribute to a great American, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, who died this morning as a result of an assassin's bullet. This cruel and inhuman assault has shocked the people of this Nation and the world.

Senator KENNEDY was a dedicated public servant and a vigorous defender of the principles he cherished. His life was dedicated to serving others, and decent men and women throughout the world are stunned that his voice has been stilled by this brutal crime.

To his wife Ethel, his 10 children, and to other members of his family my wife and I extend our deepest sympathy. We pray that God may grant them the strength to carry them through the trying days ahead.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY spoke for youth, for the poor, and for the future with compassion and courage.

He knew events were far outrunning timid and often unimaginative responses of government.

He saw clearly that America must change its course and that all Americans must participate responsibly in charting new directions.

His life was a commitment to action.

He keenly felt that America was involved with mankind and that man's inhumanity to man—whether in South Africa, in the ghettos and barrios of America, or in Vietnam—diminished us all.

His vision, his sense of urgency, his concern for reconciliation, his work for a just peace, take on poignancy and added meaning to which the American people—and our Government—must now respond.

The thoughts and prayers of all Americans are with the Kennedy family.

Mr. MORSE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, words are sorrowfully inadequate to express the grief that we all feel at Senator KENNEDY's death and the utter frustration that this courageous and talented man could be taken from us in such a cruel and cowardly way.

He died, as did his brother, for the majestic ideals which have given impulse to the American dream from the very beginning of this Nation. The dark shadow cast over our land can be lightened only if we who are blessed with life work to insure that those ideals will one day be achieved.

Our success will be the greatest tribute possible.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, the untimely and senseless death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY is a national tragedy.

A dedicated American and a devoted father and husband has been taken from us at a time when this country desperately needs dynamic leadership and the best thinking available. Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY demonstrated extraordinary courage and perserverance throughout his entire life. He gave of himself unstintingly and unselfishly so that all Americans might enjoy the maximum benefits of the American way of life.

Had he died in the defense of the cause he was fighting for at the time of his death, perhaps his passing would have more meaning for his family and for the American people. But, he did not and the sense of shock and dispair, as a result, is even more saddening.

The subtle humor, quick wit, probing determination, and strong will of Senator KENNEDY will be sorely missed on Capitol Hill and on the American political scene. But, more important than that, America has suffered a great loss—the loss of a U.S. Senator who cared enough to stand up and say what he believed about the compelling issues of our time.

While the beliefs of Senator KENNEDY will be recorded for history, it is truly regrettable that the American people will never know the full extent or the details of his suggestions.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, all rational men must share the feelings of sadness at the tragic death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY which members of my family feel today. Our hearts go out to the Kennedy family in their hour of loss—to the parents who have seen another promising son cut down in his prime; to the bereaved wife who has had taken away from her the partner of her life; to the children now denied the love and affection of their father; and to the other relatives and many friends everywhere whose affection for the late Senator was personal as well as political.

None of us can fully appreciate the dimension of their feeling of loss, but all of us who have lost loved ones can share their feelings at this time of bereavement. Mrs. Brown and I want them to know that we care, in the hope that it will help to know that others have shared such losses and do care.

Our sentiments are expressed without regard to the way in which Senator KENNEDY's death came, the horrible circumstances, the senseless viciousness, or the dramatic time of his needless death.

My sentiment is also expressed without regard to the late Senator's position in life, material resources, party affiliation, or philosophical views. It is the sentiment of one human being for another—and I think it is important that this point be made specifically. One of the first things learned by those of us who are privileged to serve in the Congress is that men of all views have common qualities of character and personality and common human experiences which bind us together as human beings with ties of mutual concern, dedication, affection, respect, and friendship. Often that friendship binds us as strongly across the center aisle of philosophical diversity to political adversaries as we are bound in partisan agreement to those in our own party.

With this lesson of common humanity we also learn by the demonstration of experience the immense value to our free Nation of untrammeled, candid, and sometimes heated debate. It is this free exchange of divergent views, well and strongly expressed, which conserves the best in our institutions and beliefs and brings about the change and progress which the Nation requires as it grows and times change.

And this lesson, once learned, leads us to the further conclusion that it is not men alone but the ideas and the ideals they express, which make a nation great. And, if one must choose between the primacy of men or the ideas they espouse, then we should choose ideas, because ideas are more immortal than men. All of us will finally be struck down by the hand of God. But any man who would attempt to play god by raising his hand to strike down another man, whether in an attempt to destroy the man or his ideas, should be reminded that it is always God who has the retribution—and often by increasing emotionally among contemporaries the stature of the victim or the victim's views. And it is also true that the act of violence discredits the violent one and reduces rational consideration of his views.

It has been consistently thus on the rare occasions in our Nation's history when assassination was resorted to in a misguided effort to influence public policy. And such violence has been rare in our national history, in spite of all the gloomy statements to the contrary with which we have been saturated in recent days.

I reject the unfounded thesis that all people in our Nation are equally guilty of the violence which took the life of Senator Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, or President Kennedy. Such an indictment is no more correct than to suggest that our whole society is guilty of each neighborhood bank robbery, every rape, or other crime of passion.

At the same time I recognize the swift decline of our Nation's morals which has resulted only naturally in a sharp rise in crime and violence, I also recognize that many citizens—yes, most citizens—have resisted this moral decay. The vast majority of Americans prefer order to violence. The vast majority of Americans prefer to observe the law than to break it. The vast majority of Americans prefer to earn their own way by honest toil, than to be kept in welfare. The vast majority of students prefer to study and learn than to demonstrate. The vast majority of all minority group members prefer to exercise lawful means to redress grievances than to riot and loot. The vast majority of young men prefer to serve their Nation's cause than to set themselves above national policies.

To believe otherwise is to abandon our system of representative government and turn either to anarchy or oppression. It is order and freedom which is at stake and not one or the other.

The tendency to indict our system or our society is dangerous because it condemns the innocent along with the guilty indiscriminately. It shows no judgment while condemning lack of judgment.

And perhaps it is such lack of judgment, such lack of discrimination which has brought us to this tragic state of moral decay and violence which we all abhor. Perhaps it is our inability—or more accurately, our unwillingness—to make moral judgments that has been our undoing.

In our proper moral desire to protect the innocent individual, we also protect the guilty at the expense of society. Free speech has become the right to incite. The pornographic is now defended in the name of art. And shirking of patriotic duty is responding to a higher moral law.

Some have identified these trends with affluence. Some blame permissiveness in child-rearing and others see the advancing and changing means of communications as the cause. In fact, everything has been blamed from war to religion. But for each of us who locates the cause, the blame is invariably put on something beyond our personal control—whether it is general or specific. The most vague, general and hopeless target is some unspecified psychological sickness within our society. It inspires no individual insight in us. It is an indictment of everyone else. No monolithic international enemy of our Nation could ask for a more divisive and enervating idea to shatter our national morale.

Conversely, were we simply to assess all our ills of national violence to some foreign subversion, we would be oversimplifying a complex problem and abdicating the individual responsibility each of us has to think and act rationally and responsibly. But we should not overlook the dangers of foreign subversion any more than we should overemphasize them.

We have all grown too cynical and callous to such possibilities, just as we have grown insensitive to the degradation of the morale and ethical virtues and motivations which built this Nation. Love of freedom, respect for others, patriotism, integrity, hard work and self-sacrificing duty have been replaced by license, noninvolvement, security, getting by, love of ease and lack of responsibility.

Little transgressions which once shocked us now no longer impress because they have become so common. It now requires a trespass of massive projections to make us look within ourselves and assess the decline of our individual or collective standards.

Each of us has the obligation to reverse this trend. Our leaders must replace demagoguery with responsibility, love of power with love of country and divisive dismay with national failures with practical and workable solutions to definable problems. As a people we must have participation and patience, fortitude and faith, honor and endeavor and rational intelligence to answer the challenges of our day. Above all, we need character and order. Without it we cannot make things better for our children and we will live in a world that will grow worse than it is even on this sad day.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy is so heinous and tragic that words are, at best, inadequate and superfluous. To say that Senator Kennedy's dynamic presence in public life will be sorely missed is to vastly understate the emptiness and desolation we all feel in this heavy hour. To the gallant widow, Ethel Kennedy, and her fine family as well as to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kennedy, Sr., and all the Kennedy family, Mrs. Wilson, my four sons, and I offer our deepest condolence and prayers.

Robert F. Kennedy was often described as a man of extraordinary compassion. It was this quality more than any other that formed his thinking and gave him his stature. It was this sincerity of concern for all men which directed his life and which, judging by the grieving processions along the route of his funeral train and throughout the Nation, revived the hope of many Americans, particularly the disadvantaged. These Americans believed, and so must we all, the words which Senator Kennedy used as the title of his summary of programs—from Alfred Lord Tennyson's "Ulysses":

> 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world . . .
> To strive, to seek to find, and not to yield.

This "newer world" must be one in which democracy is practiced in its ideal form—that of acceptance of a diversity of opinions. Acceptance is the key word; its antonyms are violence, inflammatory statements, and hate in all its insidious guises. Our Government must be one of laws, not of men, for contempt for the law only plunges our Nation into moral anarchy; it is but a short step from this to a complete breakdown of our society and our cherished form of government.

While acknowledging the rightness and urgency of President Johnson's call for an end to divisiveness and the violence which it breeds, we must also recognize that it will require major surgery to heal this rift in the American spirit.

There is no place for self-righteousness today; for, whether or not one subscribes to theories of collective national guilt, one cannot help but feel shame in these days when pestilence, prejudice, and passivity often seem the rule rather than the exception. But words pale beside the apocalyptic—and true—story of the young child who, when hearing that her grandmother had died, asked, "Who shot her?"

I do not believe that every American has blood on his hands, that every American pulled the trigger in Los Angeles last week. It would be impossible to live and serve my country were I to believe this. Yet, althought I would not assert that we as a nation are terminally ill, I do know that we are sick at heart. The past few months, and years, have cast a giant shadow over the land; for, as Shakespeare said in "Hamlet":

> When sorrows come, they come not single spies
> But in battalions.

Our battalion of sorrows includes some noble names: President John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and now Senator Robert F. Kennedy. All men who tried, through dedication to reason and social action, to right wrongs in this Nation. We have small comfort now that our best men are being taken from us. But perhaps we can take heart in remembering the late Senator Kennedy's recent speech to Cleveland's City Club, when he said:

> No martyr's cause has ever been stilled by his assassin's bullet.

He knew, and so must we, that ideas are not so mortal as the men who hold them.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I join today in expressing grief and shock at the tragic passing of my colleague from New York, Senator Robert F. Kennedy. No person in public life could help but express admiration for this dynamic, colorful, and dramatic personality.

It is almost ironic that Senator Kennedy fought against violence and lawlessness both as Attorney General of the United States and as a U.S. Senator. In these capacities he demonstrated the kind of courage which must become part of the fabric of all Americans in order to temper the climate of tension and disorder so prevalent in our land today.

Mr. Speaker, I am particularly saddened at the passing of Senator KENNEDY because of the excess of tragedy which has befallen the Kennedy family. I am fully aware that this great American family is held together by ties of love and devotion as well as spiritual fidelity. These indestructible qualities characterize and unite all of the Kennedy children with their distinguished parents. This great family group are an American institution which has attracted the interest, respect, and affection of millions of Americans as well as countless friends beyond our national borders.

Mr. Speaker, I have had a special acquaintanceship with the gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator EDWARD KENNEDY. My late wife, Audrey, became acquainted with Senator EDWARD KENNEDY's wife, Joan, in connection with work of common interest to both of them. Accordingly, our families have more than public service in common. We have enjoyed a personal contact which makes this hour more deeply felt and more personal than it otherwise would have been.

I cannot help but express particular sorrow for Senator EDWARD KENNEDY—the lone surviving brother of this great family—the others having all met tragic and premature deaths.

Mr. Speaker, I offer these few inadequate words expressing humbly and prayerfully in sympathy to Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's widow, Ethel, and to all of the Kennedy children, parents, brothers and sisters, and other members of the family. In addition, Mr. Speaker, I am expressing my own prayer and conviction that the life of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY is indestructible and that the real values which constitute that life are eternal and that they are as alive and strong at this hour as they were before tragedy struck him down just a few days ago.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, the tragic events of the last few hours once again bring all of us to the awful, yet so certain, realization that the shadow of death hangs near for all who walk on the face of the earth, yet for all who believe in God, His goodness and mercy, His promise of a life everlasting for all who would follow His word, death then becomes but the means by which we shed our oh, so very fragile human body for God's celestial cloak.

And yet we mourn, as humans will, Mr. Speaker, for the human body reacts with great passion against death when it is perpetrated against the laws of God and the laws of man, for when we kill our brother, we kill ourselves.

Yes, we mourn for us, Mr. Speaker, for we are all children of God. We are humanity and when one dies, a part of us dies with him. We mourn for a family who perhaps more than any family in America has suffered because of hate, prejudice, and man's inhumanity to man. We mourn for a gallant lady who with devotion and courage stood by her husband until his last living moment. We mourn for her children who will no longer have a father.

For this we mourn, Mr. Speaker, for the family of ROBERT F. KENNEDY, his wife, his children, his parents, his brother, and his sisters. We extend to all of them our most sincere and heartfelt sympathy on their great loss and pray that all of them have the blessings of the Almighty in their hour of sorrow.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, there are many men in this body more eloquent than I but none, I think, can capture in words the grief of the Nation at the death of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY. Senator KENNEDY dedicated his life to his country. He was a man of profound talent and generosity. His idea of America was its people, white and black, from every walk of life. Senator KENNEDY was a decent man whose service we can scarcely spare. As he dedicated his years, so he gave his life to the United States. We will never know how much Senator KENNEDY might have contributed, but we know that in his passing we Americans have suffered a great loss.

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues and all Americans in extending my deepest sympathy to the family of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

One did not have to agree with all the views of Senator KENNEDY to recognize that he was a great American and that he brought to public life in America an unusual quality of dedication and service. He created a great deal of excitement on the national political scene, and carried abroad to all the world an image of America as a young vital nation.

Although we will never know what contributions he may have made in the future, certainly the mark he has made on all our lives will not be forgotten. His deep compassion, concern, and commitment have inspired millions of men and women throughout the world.

Words cannot express the sorrow and loss we all feel, but let us pray to God that we will, at this tragic time, rededicate ourselves to the democratic principles for which Senator KENNEDY lived and died.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, when the news of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY's death reached me, it was an anticlimax to the horror which began nearly 24 hours earlier. It is said that, had he lived, he would have been only a part of what he was. I have heard many rationalize his passing by comparing it with the ugly alternative of his existence as a fraction of his once dynamic self. But I would say that his wife and children, his family and loved ones would have had him on any terms. Tragically, that was not meant to be.

Thousands of words have been written and said about ROBERT KENNEDY, and many more will come. I have no original thoughts or feelings in these days of extreme grief. My heart is with Mrs. Robert Kennedy, who lost a devoted husband; with her children and yet unborn child who lost a loving father; with Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, who must wonder when the nightmare will end; and with the brother and sisters, nieces and nephews of ROBERT KENNEDY, whose bereavement is shared by a nation.

Mr. Speaker, this country is big enough and strong enough and free enough to withstand almost every movement, social disorder, or malady. But it cannot continue to withstand unreasoned hate and prejudice and the violence that always follows. This is what ROBERT KENNEDY understood and tried to do something about. And this is what he has apparently fallen victim to. How many lives will it take to make us understand?

Let us pray we have finally had enough.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY inspired and charmed the American public as few men have done before him. At no time was this striking charisma more evident than when he plunged into the teeming crowds that greeted him everywhere this spring. Grinning with boyish delight, bracing his shoulders and stooping a little, BOBBY allowed himself to be swept through the eddying campaign crowds with the same alacrity he showed in the surf off Cape Cod. And the crowds responded with even keener enthusiasm. Everywhere teenage girls squealed "BOBBY! BOBBY!" and clutched at his clothes, news photographers shouted themselves hoarse trying to catch his attention, housewives craned on tiptoe to get a glimpse of him, men ranging from burly dockworkers to college students jostled each other in competition for a Kennedy handshake, old women looked on beaming, bemusedly, and waving their hands.

Why did the young Senator evoke such tumultuous public support? Part of the reason, of course, was that KENNEDY symbolized what the magazines glibly term "glamour." Young, rich, strikingly handsome, characterized by a waggish Irish grin and a coruscating wit, KENNEDY possessed all the requisite qualities to become a darling of the public. But it was more than that. The country's citizens, ranging from black farmhands in the Deep South to the scions of the Northeast's wealthiest families, recognized in KENNEDY his driving quest for a better America. The political heir of his brother Jack, BOBBY was wholly dedicated to the goals envisioned in New Frontier politics.

His candidacy for President was a lodestone of hope for the Nation's poor, its oppressed, its youth, its intellectuals. BOBBY, of course, was not the only man who could shape the United States into the kind of virile and vigorous nation his supporters sought. But he was one of the few men in this political generation who could bring such a broad range of talents to the task: intellect, skill, knowledge, experience, and, even more significantly, a sense of concern untainted by political considerations. His enemies, of course, strove to make his concern appear to be cynicism, his resolution appear to be ruthlessness, his sincerity appear to be sham. Most people, however, could see the true BOBBY KENNEDY merely by looking at the photographs of him that filled the country's newspapers and magazines. They could see his gentleness in the photographs of BOBBY wrapping an arm around his son on a twilight Hyannisport beach, his untrammeled zest for life in photographs showing him battling the rapids in a kayak, his political concern in the photographs of his jabbing forefinger and taut face during campaign speeches.

Third son in an illustrious family, BOBBY lived in the shadow of his two older brothers during his youth. In the jesting rivalry of the Kennedy household he learned that it took effort—and a lot of it—to stand out in that family milieu.

> I was the seventh of nine children—

BOBBY once said—

> and when you come from that far down you have to struggle to survive.

That struggle—the conviction that one must do his best no matter what the odds—became one of the most celebrated hallmarks of BOBBY's personality. Slight and small as a Harvard undergraduate, he nevertheless won a position on a varsity football team made up of robust 200-pounders that dwarfed him. Said team captain Kenny O'Donnell:

> Bobby worked five times as hard as anyone. He'd come in from end like a wild Indian. If you were blocking Bobby, you'd knock him down, but he'd be up again, going after the play. He never let up.

Nor did he let up in his effort to strengthen the country he loved. As a young Government lawyer, as strawboss of his brother's Presidential Cabinet, as a Senator, as a candidate for President, BOBBY worked as if he somehow anticipated what was waiting for him in the dingy serving pantry of a Los Angeles hotel. Perhaps his consuming dedication was his greatest contribution to American life. He taught us all that courage and perseverance can solve problems that other men think insoluble, that one man's efforts can help change the world.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the grief which is sweeping our Nation as a result of the tragic death of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY knows no politics. Americans everywhere share the horror, the shock, and sorrow of the incredible events in Los Angeles. We are bereft of a man who challenged the imagination of his fellow citizens, whose goals for an America at peace and united in brotherhood are the common objectives of all of us.

We shall miss the electric excitement of Senator KENNEDY's presence on the national scene. We are the poorer for the loss of a courageous, brilliant young man who should have had many more years of creative, productive life. And the entire world weeps for his family and prays that the tragedies which have stalked the Kennedys will be ended.

Senator KENNEDY's memory is poignant in Cleveland, Ohio, where he counted many friends. Our two metropolitan daily newspapers expressed the feelings of our community beautifully today, and I wish to include two particularly appropriate articles from the Plain Dealer and the Cleveland Press with these words of my own sorrow and sympathy:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, June 6, 1968]

R. F. K. IS DEAD—A MODERN MAN

(By Thomas Vail)

I cannot believe that just four and a half years after writing about the tragic loss of President John F. Kennedy, I am writing another personal memorial following the assassination of his brother as well.

I had been with President Kennedy just 10 days before his assassination and sitting next to him at the White House had discussed many personal and public matters

Suddenly he was swept away in an unbelievable tragedy.

Now once again from the recesses of another warped human being, another Kennedy is struck down, this time the brother with whom I also maintained a personal and professional relationship.

Memories flood the mind.

A recent Sunday at Hickory Hill, their home near Washington, with Bob and Ethel Kennedy and Ethel pregnant for the 11th time. Although she had a cold, we sat around Ethel's bedroom while Sen. Kennedy bounced on the bed in a sweatshirt and tennis shoes talking about the feelings of youth in America.

Then a dash downstairs, a quick bloody mary, a fine stimulating lunch with a few literary and theatrical people, a tennis game in the backyard, the Kennedy children on a trampoline, horses and dogs everywhere.

And there were other times as well. Racing to beat some shaggy Kennedy dogs through a door when Bob Kennedy was attorney general of the United States.

Having a beer at Cleveland Hopkins International Airport and talking about his future when RFK had lost a brother, his president, his job, and wondering where to go next. A fellow came up to our table and politely asked if he really was Bob Kennedy because he had bet his friend a dollar he was and wanted to collect it.

Great power came to Bob Kennedy sooner and in greater degree than to most. He was a fighter for his friends and family and would go to any length to defend them even when he thought they were wrong. In political action behind the scenes he was the youngest and most talented political organizer of this century, having been able to control the convention of the majority party of the United States at the age of 34.

Robert Kennedy not only ignored danger but often sought it out, for reasons known only to himself.

On the political platform as a candidate himself, he evoked extreme like and dislike. But with those who knew him well this reaction was not so apparent. Bob Kennedy's approach was logical, forthright, aggressive, loyal. He inspired personal friendships more easily than he was able to attract voters.

I remember, too, a dramatic moment at the Democratic National Convention in 1964 after the nomination of President Johnson, and then Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey when Robert Kennedy stood alone on the platform in a darkened and silent hall to receive a special homage from a great political party for its fallen President. He was subdued then. Somehow as time wore on he regained his composure and took over the leadership of the Kennedy clan.

I always found him the most interesting of any of the Kennedys I have known. He had a fine sense of humor, only slightly sarcastic and at times self-disdaining. He never failed to catch the essence of the problems presented to him.

In the final analysis, Bob Kennedy was his own man, neither a reflection of his brothers nor of his wealthy father. He pursued life vigorously, aggressively, roughly, for what he felt was the good of the country. A "modern man" who may have had too much too soon, Bob Kennedy may also have pressed his case too hard.

RFK seemed most at ease with his wife surrounded by his children, who are the ones who will have to carry on the fine tradition of a father who by any standard gave to life all he had, and then some.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Press, June 6, 1968]

HIS SHINING HOUR WILL NEVER COME

He, too, seemed to walk in a special light.

It flashed on the tousled, rusty hair—in the glow of his eyes—in the sparkle of his smile.

He, too, had that charming Boston accent, and he, too, spoke words of hope that inspired the young to dream of an honorable America where violence would disappear and brotherhood could become more than a word.

Robert Kennedy was their Pied Piper, just as his brother had been and he, too, sought the road to Camelot.

But his shining hour will never come.

Was he the cold, ruthless, power-driven politician his enemies described?

Was he the inspired man of burning vision, capable of lifting America from a seeming abyss of despair, as his supporters said?

No one ever will be sure.

But this he was . . .

A laughing boy who romped on the beach and sailed the salty waters of Hyannisport . . .

The boy who interrupted his college career to volunteer as a Navy seaman.

And the man of 42 who played and laughed and prayed with his 10 children—who climbed mountains and piloted rafts through perilous waters—who played touch football with brothers and sisters—who returned a full measure of love and compassion to his parents—a devoted husband who unblushingly said he needed his wife at his side always.

A fighter against evil from his public debut as the racket busting chief counsel to a Senate committee to his attorney general years as a passionate champion of civil rights.

The young respected him. The little people said, "He was one of us." The mobs screamed and surged to touch and hear him.

Now, for Robert Kennedy, too, the road to Camelot will end in Arlington Cemetery.

And while we shudder in horror at one more blow of senseless violence, we will remember his words—

"The victims are, most important of all, human beings whom other human beings loved and needed."

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that a good measure of the greatness in a man's life is the extent to which it is meaningful to his contemporaries and to those who come after him. There are many indications even now that ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY had a power to communicate with and influence his fellow Americans that approaches the inexplicable. That a man of great personal wealth should devote his time to constructive labors rather than to personal enjoyment is not unique in America, nor is he alone among his peers in his zeal to help the less privileged. There have been tooth-and-nail fighters in our midst before, champions of the people who charged into corruption, ineptitude or stifling bureaucracy in the public interest. But no other man combined these attributes with a style that at one time bespoke both the aristocrat and the populist. What has been called the Kennedy mystique was and is most apparent in the man lovingly called "Bobby" by populations far beyond the shores of his native land. It detracts nothing from his noble brother John Fitzgerald Kennedy to say that the Kennedy Presidency took much of its direction, energy, and character from a dedicated Attorney General.

The legend and the purpose of Robert Kennedy will be with us for centuries to come, his impact upon those young admirers who surrounded him wherever he went will manifest itself in ways that we cannot yet predict. He was tense, active, concerned, earnest, wry, devoted, boisterous, athletic, impetuous and painstaking, moralistic and innovative, gentle and denunciatory, practical and idealistic—all these elements drew their strength and meaning from a life force that was basically as harmonious as the movement of the stars and planets. This harmony was formed and nutured in the midst of a wonderful family where parents, brothers, sisters, and relatives shared a dedicated commitment to family unity, while they achieved an astonishing individuality.

Senator Kennedy had an unshakable trust, belief, and hope in America, and in the efficacy of hard work; what you envisioned you worked for, and what you worked for was obtainable.

His lifetime of work has not been abolished or nullified; it continues with a miraculous augmentation of significance and power. His final teaching to Americans and to the world is that mankind is worthy of the age-old struggle for dignity.

When future generations review the history of this 20th century, Robert Francis Kennedy will, I believe, be among the select group of heroic men who gave the world a deeper understanding and a great new moral force.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this House, this Congress, this Nation are deeply saddened today because an assassin's bullet has quieted the energies of yet another great American.

Twice within 5 years a family which has dedicated so much of itself to public service has felt the tragic loss of a son who had attained national prominence for his deeds.

First, President John F. Kennedy was martyred by an assassin.

Now, his brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who was moving forward along a path which might have led him, too, to the White House, has been cut down violently.

These men, like others martyred as they pursue a dream for a greater America, leave us with a deep feeling of despair. Senator Kennedy's death this morning has marred what otherwise would be a truly beautiful day. The bright, blue sky above our Nation's Capitol today belies my own feelings on this day and the feelings of all Americans, I am certain.

Yet, perhaps, the bright, blue sky exemplifies the greater hope for fulfillment of the dreams of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy which we realize because they lived and because they served.

Senator Kennedy's death was tragic. Yet, it has illuminated an even greater tragedy. It is that one member of our society felt compelled to kill another member of our society because they held conflicting views. The suspected assassin had come to the United States more than a decade ago from another land. But during the years he lived among us in America, he somehow failed to grasp the basic principles of our free, democratic society.

It is obvious he did not fully understand that the American way to resolve differences is by reasoned persuasion, discussion, negotiation. Not by violence. Not by killing.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that from this new tragedy, all Americans can gain strength to do more than we have ever done to achieve the full realization of the American dream without fear.

My most sincere sympathy is extended to all of the Kennedy family and especially to his courageous wife and children.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, our troubled Nation lost one of her most devoted servants when the bullet of an assassin ended the life of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy. America grieves for the Kennedy family, for itself, and for the world.

For me, it is a deep personal loss. As a Representative from New York, I was privileged to work with him and to get to know him. Although we represented different political parties, we shared a devotion to the interests of the people of New York and many common goals.

Robert F. Kennedy would have had public attention even had he not dedicated his life to public service. He was a wealthy man, a member of a famous family, brother of a President, and the head of a special and wonderful family of his own.

We think of Robert Kennedy joking, or gesturing with force, or mourning his murdered brother, or playing with his children. We think of him with crowds of admirers surrounding him, one of the great public figures of our time.

He did not have to do it. There was no need for him to place himself in the controversial candidacy that brought him to his death. And yet, in the Kennedy tradition, he intended to be heard and he had to make his contribution to the political life of our country.

We are all weaker for his loss, but we should be stronger for his influence. Robert Francis Kennedy had a magic about him that brought the crushing, cheering crowds to his side, that gave many of us hope in a time of great trouble and disillusionment. If we are to truly honor him in death, we must recapture the hope he epitomized. We must build the America he knew was within our grasp. He said:

> We can do better.

It is up to us, who admired him, who worked with him, who loved him, to carry out the job he left undone—to do better, and to build the America of Robert Kennedy's dreams.

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, this Nation has, in the last few years, suffered blow after tragic blow. And the Kennedy family has suffered more than any family should be asked to bear.

We weep for Senator Robert F. Kennedy, his loving family, and our wounded Nation.

The murder of Robert F. Kennedy is a nightmare. It seems impossible that another Kennedy could be struck down in midpassage, young, full of life, full of promise. My God, he was only 42.

This is a difficult century. More than ever America needs every one of that small, previous number who have a compassionate view of man, a global view of history, and who serve their fellow Americans in high public office.

As a public official, as a man, and as a father, Robert F. Kennedy was an inexpandable national treasure.

More than that, even, Robert F. Kennedy represented tomorrow. Now his tomorrows are over, ours are in doubt, and once again, as in November 1963, we have that great, empty feeling.

Our hearts go out to his family and loved ones.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on this subject.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. I now yield to the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, my personal grief and the grief of our country in the tragedy that has struck our Nation, the Congress and the Kennedy family, knows no bounds. My fervent hope is that Americans everywhere will assuage their sense of loss in the death of Senator Robert Francis Kennedy by acting responsibly, by being true to their heritage as citizens of a free country where repression has never been an ordinary part of the daily scene.

Senator Kennedy's career was that of an outstanding American passionately dedicated to the services of our country. He served the United States of America many times, and in many ways. He served in its Navy during World War II. He served his country as a staff member to one of its Senate's committees, as its Attorney General, and as the junior Senator of one of its largest States.

During all of his service he demonstrated genuine courage, great ability, profound insight into men and issues, and the mysterious attributes of human character that we can properly characterize under the words "a born leader."

As we prayed for the life of Senator ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY while he was still among us, let us now pray for the life of our Nation. The example set for us by this man, now lost to us, who had himself endured so much personal tragedy, should give us some of the determination and dedication needed in the struggle to build the America of our dreams.

Senator KENNEDY sacrificed his life while contributing his intelligence, his hopes, his beliefs, and his leadership to the American cause. Let us now make our contribution to that same cause.

Of all of our public men of these recent troubled times, Senator KENNEDY perhaps best knew that death could come at any time. His revered older brother, Joseph, was killed during World War II while flying a volunteer mission. The brother to whom Senator ROBERT KENNEDY was closest, for whom he had campaigned and in whose administration he had served, the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, was senselessly and cruelly murdered by an assassin.

Despite his deep grief at these personal tragedies and despite the feelings that must have filled his heart, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY never turned his back on his country and its call to service.

He lived by very high standards of excellence and was never satisfied that he was meeting their exacting requirements sucessfully. He drove himself hard—and he played hard—and he played to win. Like his brother, he believed that this country could be better, and that it could be made better.

Mrs. McCormack and I have long known and admired the Kennedy family, of which he was such a distinguished member. We express our profound sympathy to Senator ROBERT KENNEDY'S grief-stricken parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy, Senator KENNEDY'S sisters and his brother, and to his sister-in-law, Mrs. John Fitzgerald Kennedy, to whom he was a source of strength in her days and years of anguish.

We can share, but we can never hope to ease the tragic bereavement of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY'S beloved widow, Ethel Kennedy. Her limitless love for her husband and her children was the source of some of her husband's great strength of character and an inspiration to Senator KENNEDY.

I know that all my colleagues and all Americans join with me in saying a prayer to the good Lord to have mercy on the soul of the late Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

FATHER MARLATT

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that even at this sad moment other Members of the House will share with me some pride in the clergyman who opened today's session. Father Ralph Marlatt comes from our own family here on the Hill. Before entering the seminary to study for the priesthood, he was legislative assistant to the Honorable Bill Stinson, of Washington, in the 88th Congress. Prior to that time he worked in the offices of the Honorable Elizabeth Kee and Bruce Alger as well as in the House Folding Room while still a student.

Father Marlatt entered the seminary late after having completed his military service in Special Forces where he won his Green Beret.

I am proud to be present today for what becomes an historic occasion for us and for him.

REFERRAL OF EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATION NO. 1376 TO COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service be discharged from consideration of Executive Communication No. 1376, and that it be referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

SERVICE-CONNECTED COMPENSATION INCREASE FOR VETERANS

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 16027) to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 16027

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 314 of title 38, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking out "$21" in subsection (a) and inserting in lieu thereof "$23";

(2) by striking out "$40" in subsection (b) and inserting in lieu thereof "$43";

(3) by striking out "$60" in subsection (c) and inserting in lieu thereof "$65";

(4) by striking out "$82" in subsection (d) and inserting in lieu thereof "$89";

(5) by striking out "$113" in subsection (e) and inserting in lieu thereof "$122";

(6) by striking out "$136" in subsection (f) and inserting in lieu thereof "$147";

(7) by striking out "$161" in subsection (g) and inserting in lieu thereof "$174";

(8) by striking out "$186" in subsection (h) and inserting in lieu thereof "201";

(9) by striking out "$209" in subsection (i) and inserting in lieu thereof "$226";

(10) by striking out "$300" in subsection (j) and inserting in lieu thereof "$400";

(11) by striking out "$600" in subsections (k), (o), and (p) and inserting in lieu thereof "$700";

(12) by striking out "$400" in subsection (l) and inserting in lieu thereof "$500";

(13) by striking out "$450" in subsection (m) and inserting in lieu thereof "$550";

(14) by striking out "$525" in subsection (n) and inserting in lieu thereof "$625";

(15) by striking out "$250" in subsection (r) and inserting in lieu thereof "$300";

(16) by striking out "$350" in subsection (s) and inserting in lieu thereof "$450";

(17) by striking out "$400" in subsection (k) and inserting in lieu thereof "$500".

(b) The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs may adjust administratively, consistent with the increases authorized by this section, the rates of disability compensation payable to persons within the purview of section 10 of Public Law 85–857 who are not in receipt of compensation pursuant to chapter 11 of title 38, United States Code.

SEC. 2. The compensation payable pursuant to the amendments made by this Act shall be payable beginning with the first day of January 1969.

SEC. 3. (a) Section 617 of title 38, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 617. Invalid lifts and other devices

"The Administrator may furnish an invalid lift, or any type of therapeutic or rehabilitative device, as well as other medical equipment and supplies (excluding medicines), if medically indicated, to any veteran who is receiving (1) compensation under subsections 314(l)–(p) (or the comparable rates provided pursuant to section 334) of this title, or (2) pension under chapter 15 of this title by reason of being in need of regular aid and attendance."

(b) The analysis of chapter 17 of title 38, United States Code is amended by striking out

"Sec. 617. Invalid lifts and other devices for pensioners."

and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 617. Invalid lifts and other devices."

The SPEAKER. Is a second demanded?

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, a second will be considered as ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the bill, which was reported unanimously, fully conforms to the recommendations of the U.S. Veterans Advisory Commission by providing a $100 monthly increase for the service-connected, 100-percent disabled veterans, increasing their compensation from $300 to $400 monthly; and by increasing those rated less than totally disabled by 8 percent to meet the 7.66-percent increase in the cost of living which has occurred since Public Law 89-311 was effective December 1, 1965. Increases for the more severely disabled have been made consistent with the proposed rate for total disability of $400.

Hearings were held on April 2 and 3, 1968, by the Subcommittee on Compensation and Pension on pending veterans' increase bills.

All of the rates of service-connected compensation have been increased with the exceptions of the statutory award rate of $47 a month, which is in addition to the basic rates of compensation, and the $67 a month rate for arrested tuberculosis. The exact percentage increase for each degree of disability, the number of cases affected, and cost is shown in the following table:

Degree of disability	Cases at wartime rates						Cases at peacetime rates						Total cases	Total additional annual cost, 1st year
	Cases	Rate		Increase		Additional annual cost	Cases	Rate		Increase		Additional annual cost		
		Present	Proposed	Monthly	Annual			Present	Proposed	Month	Annual			
10 percent	727,249	$21	$23	$2	$24	$17,453,976	73,985	$17	$18	$1	$12	$887,820	801,234	$18,341,796
20 percent	276,602	40	43	3	36	9,957,672	26,010	32	34	2	24	624,240	302,612	10,581,912
30 percent	257,669	60	65	5	60	15,460,140	23,570	48	52	4	48	1,131,360	281,239	16,591,500
40 percent	151,600	82	89	7	84	12,734,400	10,000	66	71	5	60	600,000	161,600	13,334,400
50 percent	93,962	113	122	9	108	10,147,896	7,000	90	98	8	96	672,000	100,962	10,819,896
60 percent	90,987	136	147	11	132	12,010,284	7,000	109	118	9	108	756,000	97,987	12,766,284
70 percent	49,863	161	174	13	156	7,778,628	4,000	129	139	10	120	480,000	53,863	8,258,628
80 percent	27,438	186	201	15	180	4,938,840	1,500	149	161	12	144	216,000	28,938	5,154,840
90 percent	8,642	209	226	17	204	1,762,963	400	167	181	14	168	67,200	9,042	1,830,168
100 percent	76,551	300	400	100	1,200	91,861,200	12,990	240	320	80	960	12,470,400	89,541	104,331,600
Subtotal	1,760,563					184,106,004	166,455					17,905,020	1,927,018	202,011,024
(K)	1,870 (64,418)	47	47				35 (6,755)	38	38				1,905 (71,173)	
(L)	4,099	400	500	100	1,200	4,918,800	450	320	400	80	960	432,000	4,549	5,350,800
(M)	2,472	450	550	100	1,200	2,966,400	300	360	440	80	960	288,000	2,772	3,254,400
(N)	353	525	625	100	1,200	423,600	25	420	500	80	960	24,000	378	447,600
(O)	45	600	700	100	1,200	54,000	5	480	560	80	960	4,800	50	58,800
(P)	3,875	650	700	100	1,200	4,650,000	350	480	560	80	960	336,000	4,225	4,986,000
(Q)	53,051	67	67				3,400	54	54				56,451	
(R)	5,361	850	1,000	150	1,800	9,649,800	1,300	680	800	120	1,440	1,872,000	6,661	11,521,800
(S)	5,376	350	450	100	1,200	6,451,200	680	280	360	80	960	652,800	6,056	7,104,000
Subtotal	76,502					29,113,800	6,545					3,609,600	83,047	32,723,400
Grand total	1,837,065					213,219,804	173,000					21,514,620	2,010,065	[1] 234,734,424

Total cases:
2d year 1,955,700
3d year 1,960,000
4th year 1,962,000
5th year 1,964,000

Total additional annual costs:
2d year $235,214,000
3d year 235,731,000
4th year 235,972,000
5th year 236,212,000

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[1] Increased by $240,000 1st year by sec. 3.

Under unanimous consent I include as a part of my remarks certain data and tabular material pertinent to this bill:

HISTORY OF WARTIME SERVICE-CONNECTED COMPENSATION INCREASES

Sec. 314, title 38, subpar.—	Percent	July 1, 1953	Plus percent increase equals—	Jan. 19, 1934	Plus percent increase equals—	Public Law 312, 78th Cong., June 1, 1944	Public Law 182, 79th Cong., Oct. 1, 1945	Plus percent increase equals—	Public Law 662, 79th Cong., Sept. 1, 1946	Plus percent increase equals—	Public Law 339, 81st Cong., Dec. 1, 1949	Plus percent increase equals—	Public Law 356, 82d Cong., July 1, 1952	Plus percent increase equals—
(a)	10	$9	11.1	$10	15.0	$11.50		20	$13.80	8.7	$15	5	$15.75	
(b)	20	18	11.1	20	15.0	23.00		20	27.60	8.7	30	5	31.50	
(c)	30	27	11.1	30	15.0	34.50		20	41.40	8.7	45	5	47.25	
(d)	40	36	11.1	40	15.0	46.00		20	55.20	8.7	60	5	62.00	
(e)	50	45	11.1	50	15.0	57.50		20	69.00 60.00	8.7	75	15	86.25	
(f)	60	54	11.1	60	15.0	69.00		20	82.80	8.7	90	15	103.50	
(g)	70	63	11.1	70	15.0	80.50		20	96.60	8.7	105	15	120.75	
(h)	80	72	11.1	80	15.0	92.00		20	110.40	8.7	120	15	138.00	
(i)	90	81	11.1	90	15.0	103.50		20	124.20	8.7	135	15	155.25	
(j)	100	90	11.1	100	15.0	115.00		20	138.00	8.7	150	15	172.50	
Subpar. (s) housebound cases—Public Law 86-663, effective Sept. 1, 1960														
(l)		150			33.3		$200	20	240.00					10.8
(m)		175			34.3		235	20	282.00					11.0
(n)		200			32.5		265	20	318.00					11.0
(o)		250			20.0		300	20	360.00					11.1
(p)							300	20	360.00					11.1
Subpar. (r) "A and A" nonhospitalization, Public Law 85–782, effective Oct. 1, 1958														
(k)		25			40.0		35	20	42.00					11.9
(q)														

Sec. 314, title 38, subpar.—	Public Law 427, 82d Cong., Aug. 1, 1952	Plus percent increase equals—	Public Law 695, 83d Cong., Oct. 1, 1954	Plus percent increase equals—	Public Law 85–168, Oct. 1, 1957	Plus percent increase equals—	Public Law 87–645, Oct. 1, 1962	Plus percent increase equals—	Public Law 89–311, Oct. 31, 1965	Plus percent increase equals—	H.R. 16027, 90th Cong.	Percent increase from Jan. 19, 1934 to December 1965	Percent increase from June 1, 1944 to December 1965	Percent increase from Oct. 1, 1954 to December 1965	Percent increase from Oct. 1, 1954 to H.R. 16027
(a)		7.9	$17	11.8	$19	5.3	$20	5.0	$21	9.5	$23	110.0	91.3	23.5	35.3
(b)		4.8	33	9.1	36	5.6	38	5.3	40	7.5	43	100.0	73.9	21.2	30.3
(c)		5.8	50	10.0	55	5.5	58	3.4	60	8.3	65	100.0	73.9	20.0	30.0
(d)		4.8	66	10.6	73	5.5	77	6.6	82	8.5	89	105.0	78.3	24.2	34.8
(e)		5.5	91	9.9	100	7.0	107	5.6	113	8.0	122	126.0	96.5	24.8	34.1
(f)		5.3	109	10.1	120	6.7	128	6.3	136	8.1	147	126.7	97.1	24.8	34.9
(g)		5.2	127	10.2	140	6.4	149	7.4	161	8.1	174	130.0	100.0	26.8	37.0
(h)		5.0	145	10.3	160	6.3	170	9.4	186	8.1	201	132.5	102.2	28.3	38.6
(i)		5.0	163	9.8	179	6.7	191	9.4	209	8.1	226	132.2	101.9	28.2	38.7
(j)		4.9	181	24.3	225	11.1	250	20.0	300	33.3	400	200.0	160.9	65.7	121.0
Subpar. (s) (housebound cases) Public Law 86–663, effective Sept. 1, 1960					265	9.4	290	20.7	350	28.8	450				
(l)	$266	4.9	279	10.8	309	10.0	340	17.6	400	25.2	500	166.6	166.6	43.4	79.2
(m)	313	5.1	329	9.1	359	8.6	390	15.4	450	22.2	550	157.1	157.1	36.8	67.2
(n)	353	5.1	371	8.1	401	9.7	440	19.3	525	18.2	625	162.5	162.5	41.5	68.5
(o)	400	5.0	420	7.1	450	16.7	525	14.3	600	16.7	700	140.0	140.0	42.9	66.7
(p)	400	5.0	420	7.1	450	16.7	525	14.3	600	16.7	700			42.9	66.7
Subpar. (r) "A and A" nonhospitalization, Public Law 85–782, effective Oct. 1, 1958					150	33.3	200	25.0	250	20.0	300				
(k)	47											88.0	88.0	0	0
(q)	67													0	0

Increases in the cost of living as shown by the Consumer Price Index follow:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS—CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

[1957-59=100]

Date	1965	1966	1967	1968
January	108.9	111.0	114.7	118.6
February	108.9	111.6	114.8	119.0
March	109.0	112.0	115.0	[1]119.5
April	109.3	112.5	115.3	....
May	109.6	112.6	115.6	....
June	110.1	112.9	116.0	....
July	110.2	113.3	116.6	....
August	110.0	113.8	116.9	....
September	110.2	114.1	117.1	....
October	110.4	114.5	117.5	....
November	110.6	114.6	117.8	....
December	[2]111.0	114.7	118.2	....
Average	109.85	113.1	116.3	....

[1] 7.66 percent increase since last compensation increase Dec. 1, 1965.

[2] Public Law 89-311 the last service-connected compensation increase was effective Dec. 1, 1965.

Increases in benefits to beneficiaries of social security, Federal service employment, railroad retirement, and the military that have been voted since the effective date of Public Law 89-311, December 1, 1965, are indicated below:

RATE INCREASES OF SELECTED PROGRAMS, DEC. 1, 1965 TO DATE

Program	Effective date	Public Law	Amount of increase
Social security payments	Mar. 1, 1968	90-248	13 percent.
Civil service salaries	1st day of 1st pay period after July 1, 1966.	89-504	2.9 percent average.
Civil service salaries	1st day of 1st pay period on or after Oct. 1, 1967.	90-206	4.5 percent average (classified employees), 6 percent average (postal employees).
Railroad retirement	Nov. 1 or Dec. 1, 1966	89-699	7 percent, with certain exceptions.
Military pay	July 1, 1966	89-501	3.2 percent.
Military pay	Oct. 1, 1967	90-207	4.5 percent.

The bill is effective January 1, 1969.

I desire to express my appreciation to the members of the Subcommittee on Compensation and Pension so ably chaired by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Dorn], and his colleagues, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Kornegay], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Roberts], the gentleman from New York [Mr. Hanley], the gentleman from New York [Mr. Fino], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Saylor], and the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Scott], for the hearings which they conducted in the field of service-connected compensation increases for disabled veterans, and for bringing this fine bill which we all can join in supporting.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include at this point in the Record certain communications I have received on H.R. 16027 from veterans' organizations:

Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc.,
Washington, D.C., May 16, 1968.

THE NATIONAL COMMANDER'S STATEMENT ON H.R. 16027

The National Commander wholeheartedly supports this bill, H.R. 16027, with reservations—that he does not feel the compensation rates are high enough, believing as he does that the veteran who is totally disabled should at least receive the minimum he would be able to make in civilian employment. He also believes the 8% should at least be raised to 10% on all service-connected compensation rates.

Philip F. O'Brien,
National Commander.

Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States,
Washington, D.C., May 17, 1968.

Hon. Olin E. Teague,
Chairman, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. Chairman: This is in reference to H.R. 16027 which will provide for increases in the rates of compensations for service-connected disabled veterans, as reported by your Committtee to the House, where it is scheduled for consideration next week.

One of the key Priority Legislative Goals of the Veterans of Foreign Wars for this year is Congressional approval of an increase in the compensation rates for the service-connected disabled veteran.

There has been no increase in the compensation rates for veterans since 1965. However, during this same period other Federal benefit programs have been accorded cost of living increases. The best available evidence, as reflected in your bill, shows that the cost of living has increased by about 8% since 1965.

While the mandates of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, as approved by the delegates to our most recent National Convention, which was held in New Orleans, Louisiana last August, call for a more substantial increase, nevertheless H.R. 16027 is a giant step toward carrying out our mandates. The Veterans of Foreign Wars is particularly pleased with the proposed 25% increase for the 100% totally disabled service-connected veterans.

It is further noted that this increase will add an approximate $234 million a year to the compensation checks of approximately two million veterans, and will bring the compensation payments for this select group in line with the increased cost of living since 1965.

The 1,400,000 members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars will be deeply appreciative for the favorable consideration and approval of H.R. 16027 by the full House at the earliest opportunity.

Sincerely,

Joseph A. Scerra,
Commander in Chief.

The American Legion,
Washington, D.C., May 17, 1968.

Hon. Olin E. Teague,
Chairman, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Chairman Teague: The American Legion appreciates your sponsorship and the action of your Committee in reporting H.R. 16027, a bill to increase compensation payments to service disabled veterans, and for other purposes.

The American Legion believes that the schedule of ratings for disability should continue to be based on reductions in earning capacity from specific injuries or combination of injuries and that, as far as practicable, they should be based upon the average impairment of earning capacity resulting from such injuries in civil occupation.

We also agree that cost-of-living increases in compensation are needed at frequent intervals to assure that the benefits are sufficient to meet the costs of goods, services and other essentials.

While we are disappointed that the bill, as reported, will not become effective until next January, we are in accord with the purpose of the measure and support its enactment.

Sincerely yours,

Herald E. Stringer,
Director.

Paralyzed Veterans of America, Inc.,
Washington, D.C., May 22, 1968.

Hon. Olin E. Teague,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Chairman Teague: The Paralyzed Veterans of America wish to indicate their support of H.R. 16027 which will increase the rates of compensation for the service-connected disabled veterans. We appreciate the favorable report of your committee.

Present day economic conditions warrant the immediate enactment of this measure; we urge favorable consideration by the House of Representatives.

Sincerely,

Howard L. Bennett,
Executive Director.

Disabled American Veterans,
June 4, 1968.

Hon. Olin E. Teague,
Chairman, House Veterans' Affairs Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Teague: The Disabled American Veterans highly commends you and your colleagues on the House Veterans' Affairs Committee for favorably reporting H.R. 16027, to increase the compensation rates for service connected disabilities. The bill will increase monthly rates of compensation by 8 per cent for disabilities rated from 10 to 90 per cent and $100 monthly for disabilities rated 100 per cent. Veterans receiving additional compensation because of need for regular Aid and Attendance, will be given a $50 monthly increase.

We want you to know that we are most grateful for your continued efforts in behalf of our nation's disabled veterans. We are particularly appreciative of the substantial increases proposed for the service connected totally disabled veterans who are most deserving of additional financial assistance.

Prices for goods and services have been rising at an ever increasing rate and will continue their upward spiral throughout the current year. Accordingly, we urge with deep respect, that you exert your firm leadership on the floor of the House to effectuate the proposed increases, at the earliest possible date.

Sincerely yours,

Charles L. Huber,
National Director of Legislation.

New York, N.Y.,
May 15, 1968.

Hon. Olin E. Teague,
Chairman, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Teague: On behalf of all of our wheelchair bound paralyzed veteran members, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to all the members of the House Veterans Affairs Committee for their actions in reporting H.R. 16027 favorably. This bill will provide a much needed service connected compensation increase to those who have given so much in the service of their country. Its passage would permit the most severely disabled veterans, of all conflicts, to achieve a decent standard of living and will help to make possible the rehabilitation of those disabled in the present Viet Nam conflict. Again, we thank the committee for the consideration given to the recommendations of the paralyzed veterans of America, which are incorporated in this measure. We sincerely hope for its speedy enactment into law by the full House of Representatives.

ROBERT CLASSON,
Executive Director, Eastern Paralyzed Veterans Association.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
June 5, 1968.

Hon. OLIN TEAGUE,
Chairman, House Veterans Affairs Committee, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

In continuation of our beliefs that the service connected disabled veterans and their dependents deserve top priority, AMVETS would favor passage of H.R. 16027 providing for increases in compensation to disabled.

ANTHONY J. CASERTA,
National Commander.
RALPH E. HALL,
National Executive Director.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on H.R. 16027, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 16027. This bill will provide increases in monthly compensation payments to more than 1.9 million wounded and disabled veterans. The beneficiaries of this legislation are men and women who have suffered injury or disease while in service or as the result of military service.

Under the provisions of the bill, those veterans who are totally disabled from service-connected causes will receive an increase of $100 in their monthly compensation payments. Veterans with disabilities that are less than total in degree will receive an 8-percent cost-of-living increase in their monthly payments.

Section 3 of the bill, Mr. Speaker, will correct an inequity of existing law by authorizing the furnishing of medical equipment and supplies to service-connected veterans who are in receipt of the so-called aid-and-attendance allowance for certain serious disabilities. Under existing law, pensioners who are in receipt of the aid-and-attendance allowance for serious disabilities unrelated to military service are eligible for medical equipment and supplies when medically indicated for any disability. Section 3 of H.R. 16027 merely extends this same benefit to the seriously disabled service-connected group.

Despite the fact, Mr. Speaker, that legislation affecting the welfare of the service-connected disabled veteran has always enjoyed the highest congressional priority, monthly compensation payments to this deserving group have not kept pace with the spiraling cost of living. The rates of compensation were last increased by Public Law 89-311, enacted October 31, 1965. Since that time the cost of living has risen almost 8 percent. Since that time, we have authorized increases in monthly social security benefits, railroad retirement benefits, and civil service annuities. The nonservice-connected pension program has been liberalized on two occasions since 1965. Federal workers and the military have also received increases on two occasions since compensation rates were last increased. Simple equity, Mr. Speaker, requires that the Nation's disabled veterans be granted this modest increase in monthly benefits.

The administration supports the increase for the totally disabled group. Unfortunately, they have suggested that action to increase the rates of compensation for those who are less than totally disabled should be deferred until the completion of a study of the economic validity of the base compensation now being paid. I for one, Mr. Speaker, do not believe there is any valid justification for further delay in adjusting the monthly payments commensurate with today's cost of living to this deserving group—the Nation's disabled veterans. I will support the bill and urge that it be passed.

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he requires to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT].

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise in support of H.R. 16027, a bill that will increase compensation rates for totally disabled veterans by $100 monthly and increase compensation for the less than totally disabled by 8 percent across the board.

In considering this legislation the Veterans' Affairs Committee of course had to take into account the deteriorating fiscal situation of our Nation. Our economy is in a state of crisis with expenditures increased $68 billion between fiscal year 1965 and fiscal year 1969. Only $30 billion is attributable to national defense. We have seen $34 billion of social welfare legislation put on the books during this time, much of it evidently ineffective in examining results. Yet, because of this excessive spending for the past few years we on the committee were not in a position to increase the original compensation request for totally disabled of $150 monthly. This I regret very much. And, of course, for the same reason we were also unable to consider the restoration of the equity feature to compensation which was lost in 1952 and has never been restored.

Our Nation owes this increase, and much more, to the nearly 2 million veterans who have been impaired during their service to this country.

Once in civilian life, these veterans to a great extent, are denied the full fruition of a productive life, and many might well feel robbed of a well-earned pride in themselves if we don't live up to our responsibilities as a nation. Families find it harder to make ends meet with every increase in the cost of living. Many veterans sons and daughters cannot get a higher education because they cannot afford it.

Mr. Speaker, I know this increase is needed and overdue. I know that my colleagues on the committee seek quick and favorable passage. Also I will comment to say that it is a real pleasure to serve with these most distinguished and capable members on the Veterans' Affairs Committee under the leadership of the tremendously capable chairman, Mr. TEAGUE, and our great ranking minority member, Mr. ADAIR. I know that the interest of our Nation as well as that of the men who have served it so well in military service will fare well under the leadership of these two men. H.R. 16027 is but an example. I urge its speedy and favorable passage.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARSHA].

Mr. HARSHA. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to support H.R. 16027. Ever since I have had the privilege of serving in the Congress of the United States, I have taken a special interest in our veterans and their families. I have always advocated that we provide them with the necessities of life in recognition of their great and distinguished service to this Nation. Again this year I have introduced several measures dealing with the compensation and benefits payable to our veterans. My bill, H.R. 15779, is very similar to this legislation we are discussing today. In fact the major difference is that section dealing with therapuetic devices. I have no quarrel with that section but to the contrary I fully support it. The other differences are in the amount of the increases. Increases provided in my bill would have been considerably larger however, while I regret the committee did not see fit to enact the larger increase, I will support those provided in H.R. 16027. This legislation merely provides for a most needed cost-of-living increase in compensation payments to our service-connected disabled veterans of 8 percent except for 100 percent disabled who will receive an increase of $100 per month.

We are all aware of the many sacrifices our servicemen are making not only by spending 2 or more years of their productive lives to defend freedom around the world, but many of them are now being returned with severe disabilities received in direct combat in Vietnam. To these men as well as to the thousands of older veterans who still bear the scars of other wars, we have an obligation to keep such benefits at a level which will insure them a decent standard of living.

The basic purpose of the disability compensation program, throughout its history has been to provide relief for the impaired earning capacity of veterans disabled as the result of their military service. The amount payable varies according to the degree of disability which in turn is required by the law—38 U.S.C. 355—to represent, to the extent practicable, the average impairment in earning capacity resulting from such disability or combination of disabilities in civil occupations. The degree of a given veteran's loss of earning capacity is determined in accordance with the Veterans' Administration schedule for rating disabilities.

Under existing law the basic rate for a totally disabled service-connected veteran is $300 per month and this sum is insufficient to meet the cost of maintaining himself and his family under prevailing standards of what is necessary for health, nutrition, and participation in community activities. The average family income in the United States now exceeds $6,400 per year and there seems little justification for compensating a 100-percent service-connected disabled veteran at a rate only little more than half of the Nation's average family income. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it behooves us to adopt this legislation. There is one shortcoming however that I would like to call to the attention of this House. That is the fact that the statutory award for service-connected arrested tuberculosis has not been increase since 1952—16 years ago. Even non-service-connected pensions have had increases several times during the last 16 years but this particular service-connected disability has been completely ignored. I would hope that at some future time, not too distant, that we could increase this award.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to enact this legislation because the need is great, the reasons valid and justifiable.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. ROUDEBUSH] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to voice my support today for legislation designed to increase the service-connected compensation for veterans of U.S. military service.

If there is one group of citizens in the United States who deserve attention by the Congress, it is these men and women who have borne the brunt of America's continuing defense around the world.

It has been my privilege to be associated quite intimately with one of our large servicemen's organizations, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, and in the course of this service I have become well acquainted with the problems and hardships of those receiving service-connected disabilities.

It is extremely difficult in these days of inflation and high costs for seriously disabled veterans to meet the cost of living on their service-connected pensions.

Congress is today confronted with a fiscal crisis and in the next few days will be debating a proposed tax increase and reductions in expenditures.

I personally support spending reduction and have done so repeatedly which my voting record will indicate, however, I do not believe this Nation can ignore the selfless and heroic sacrifice of our service men and women.

Almost daily we receive tragic reports of mounting casualties and injuries from the Vietnam war front. These disabled veterans are returning to civilian life and are confronting the same problems that all Americans are experiencing in trying to keep up with the cost of living.

Under these circumstances and in view of the tremendous valor and sacrifice of these men, I do not believe the compensation increases contained in H.R. 16027 are exorbitant. They merely represent an increase to keep pace with rising costs, and reflect in a small way, the deep gratitude and debt owed by this Nation to its military sons and daughters.

I wholeheartedly support these increases, and urge my colleagues to join in passage of this legislation.

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES].

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I think the vote on this measure will be unanimous. If there is any group of veterans in our country who deserve everything that we can possibly afford, it is those who have been disabled in the service of their country.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly urge and hope that the House will speedily and overwhelmingly accept and approve this bill before us. H.R. 16027, primarily providing compensation rate increases for our service-connected disabled veterans.

As the Members here know the projections in this bill have been urged by the President and endorsed, after thorough and searching analysis, by the distinguished chairman, and his esteemed colleagues, of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee.

I think it is also worthy to note that the action proposed in this measure fully conforms to the recommendations made by the outstanding authorities comprising the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission.

Beyond providing statutory award rate increases this bill in substance, is designed to raise the compensation payment to a service-connected, totally disabled veteran to a level more closely approximating his family loss in earnings directly resulting from his service-incurred disability; the increase is from $300 to $400 monthly. It would seem obvious that the present rate is much lower than the great majority of our veterans could normally earn and it is much lower than the medium national income level of wage earners. The bill further proposes to adjust the compensation rates of service-connected disabled veteran under 100 percent disability by means of a cost-of-living percentage increase on the basis of the 8.3 percentage increase that has occurred, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, since December 1965.

Mr. Speaker, by all standards of American principle and tradition this measure is timely, it is reasonable and, most of all, it constitutes action that is right and just in priority concern for those individuals, and their families, who were disabled in the military service of their country. Let us then adopt it without extended delay.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, my great chairman and colleague from Texas, the Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE, has distinguished himself in the Congress in making the veterans' program what it is today. He is the author of what I consider an outstanding veterans benefits and services program. The veteran, his widow and dependents are foremost in his mind. He is always concerned, and you will always find him diligently working for those who have made great sacrifices for their country. So, today I commend Mr. TEAGUE for bringing this bill, which was reported by my subcommittee, to the House.

I hope citizens everywhere know that through legislative action the voice of the 90th Congress and the President of the United States has been raised again and again—in thanks, in remembrance, and in tribute to the gallant efforts of the men and women we call veterans.

Mr. Speaker, the President will always be remembered for his positive veterans legislative proposals. In the history of our country, he is the only man who ever submitted two presidential messages to the Congress on veterans affairs. He has certainly cared for our fighting men.

No administration and no Congress has established a more encompassing record in veterans affairs. But then, perhaps no group of Americans have more fully earned the right to legislative consideration of their needs.

We must provide a realistic benefits program for those who have served their country and become disabled.

Across this land there are almost 2 million veterans who suffer a disability because they answered our country's call to arms. These veterans suffered disability defending our country and its cherished democratic institutions. They served in World War I, World War II, Korea, and in the jungles of South Vietnam. Passing this bill today will boost the morale of our men serving at this moment on the ramparts of freedom the world over. They will know that if they are disabled in their defense of freedom, they will be taken care of by a grateful nation. They will know that their families will not be forgotten by this Congress.

By passing H.R. 16027, we support a realistic increase in the rates of compensation for disabled veterans. The bill provides an additional $100 a month to veterans with total disability and an 8-percent increase in compensation payments to those with lesser disabilities.

Under this bill, veterans who are 100 percent disabled will have their compensation payments increased from $300 to $400 each month. Other increases will be 8 percent of the present payment for all categories ranging from 10 to 90 percent disability.

It has become apparent that present compensation payments did not reflect the cost-of-living increases of recent months, therefore, I felt it was imperative that we fight for legislation which would bring these payments in line with present day needs.

As we considered the legislation, it became more and more apparent that veterans who had suffered 100 percent disability were in need of greater increases than the 8 percent for those only partially disabled. Since their earning capacity was completely restricted, their basic needs required the $100 per month increase.

This new legislation, if passed by the

other body and signed by the President will increase the monthly compensation payments of the 1,951,000 veterans who are disabled from varying from 10 to 100 percent. The new rates would go into effect January 1, 1969.

The bill also authorizes the Veterans' Administration to furnish invalid lifts, or any types of therapeutic or rehabilitive devices, as well as other medical equipment and supplies to veterans receiving compensation for more seriously disabled veterans.

Totally or more seriously disabled veterans also receive extra payments in excess of those prescribed for the 100 percent disabled. These additional payments have also been increased ranging from $50 to $100 per month.

Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Compensation and Pensions, I am happy to report that my subcommittee unanimously recommended this legislation. I am highly pleased that the full committee under our distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE], approved the bill, and I am hoping that today in this House, no vote will be cast against this legislation which is only just and fair compensation for those who suffered and served in the uniform of our country.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, we have before us today a bill that calls for major new increases in the compensation granted to disabled veterans.

I want to express my strong support for this bill—H.R. 16027—and to urge its swift enactment into law.

The cost of living is steadily moving upward in the United States, eroding away the buying power of disabled veterans living on lean Federal pensions. H.R. 16027—similar to H.R. 16085, the bill I introduced to increase compensation rates—would provide the significant new income that disabled veterans need to cope with this country's inflationary trends. Drafted by Congressman OLIN TEAGUE, the distinguished and able chairman of the Veterans Affairs Committee, this bill would implement the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission's major recommendations on compensation rates for service-connected disabilities.

First, the bill would increase by 8 percent the compensation rates received by veterans who are less than totally disabled. The increase corresponds to the rise in the cost of living since the last compensation increase of December 1965. For example, the monthly rate for 10 percent disability would rise from $21 to $23. The 90-percent disability rate, as a further example, would rise from $209 to $226.

Second, H.R. 16027 would increase the basic compensation rate for total disability from $300 to $400 monthly. The study of the Commission confirms the fact that the totally disabled veteran is unemployable and completely dependent on compensation. I would like to quote directly from the Commission's report:

> Disability compensation at present rates of $300 a month for total disability imposes a standard of living on totally disabled veterans which is much lower than that which they would have attained except for their service-connected disabilities, and much lower than the median national income level of wage earners.

I firmly support the effort to insure that the compensation of totally disabled veterans more closely approximates the income they would have received had they not made their heroic sacrifices. It is incumbent upon the Nation which has benefited from their sacrifices to adequately share the burden of the economic handicap.

In the same manner, H.R. 16027 increases from $600 to $700 the limitation on total monthly compensation. In addition to the basic rate—that is, the rate paid according to the percentage of incapacity—the veteran's law also provides additional compensation for specific anatomical losses or disability, such as the loss of a hand, or loss of sight. The bill before you does not increase the rate for the specific losses. It only very wisely raises the limitation on the amount which may be received for all such losses.

I submit that we have no more urgent duty than to insure that veterans' disability compensation is not eroded away by the rising cost of living, and that the rates adequately compensate for the economic loss. We have specifically designed H.R. 16027 for execution of that duty.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I urge the passage of this bill.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has again distinguished itself by supporting an increase in the compensation rates authorized for veterans who have been disabled in service.

H.R. 16027 would authorize, with the approval of the Senate, the first increase in compensation rates since 1965. I am especially gratified that the bill will not only authorize an 8-percent, across-the-board increase for disabled veterans but give a $100 per month increase to these who have suffered a 100-percent, service-connected disability.

This is a fair an equitable move that will help, 1,951,000 disabled American war veterans meet the rising cost of living.

This bill, like the unprecedented number of other benefits for veterans passed by this Congress, is an expression of the compassion and the gratitude this administration feels for the men who are supporting this Nation with their fighting skills and their lives.

For 2 consecutive years, President Johnson sent a special message to Congress in support of new veterans benefits. The first resulted in the passage of the Public Law 90–77 which did so much to erase the inequities between benefits for veterans of the different wars. His second message pointed up needs for new legislation that had been made evident by a detailed study of veterans programs. The study was carried out by the Veterans' Administration in response to a Presidential order.

Those who have supported these measures have done so with the knowledge that they are not only helping the Nation meet its obligations to its fighting men but they are supporting programs that are in the best interests of the Nation as a whole. These supporters are the ones who recognized that veterans legislation has helped raise the educational level of millions of our citizens, assisted them in obtaining jobs, trained them for civilian careers, given them stability, pride and ambition as homeowners and increased their earning potential.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the action we are taking to equalize the payments of compensation to our service-connected disabled veterans and make increases that are commensurate with our present economy, is in my opinion, legislation that all of us here can take just pride in enacting.

Often Congress is criticized for taking action under pressure or delaying action on important matters, but I believe that we have seen the needs of our ex-servicemen and have acted on this important legislation as the need became apparent.

We have made an enviable record in passing meaningful legislation relative to our veterans during the past 3 or 4 years. I am not hesitant to acknowledge the great aid and assistance that has been given by President Johnson in the passage of much of this legislation. The support and encouragement, as well as the actual proposing of legislation, that has come from the White House has been invaluable in the speedy enactment of veteran legislation at a time when it was needed.

The dignity of the individual veteran as well as the fulfillment of this Nation's obligation for a veteran's military service have been preserved by Congress' actions. We acted in compliance with the will of the people in providing increases in pensions and compensation and the broadening of many of the veteran programs for both the veterans and their dependents.

Mr. Speaker, this bill provides for an 8-percent increase in compensation payments to service-connected disabled veterans, except for 100-percent disabled, who will receive an increase of $100 per month. The bill would affect some 1,951,000 veterans, effective January 1, 1969. The first-year cost of this legislation is approximately $234.7 million.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would also pay tribute to my distinguished colleague from Texas, the Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE. Mr. TEAGUE has distinguished himself in the field of veterans affairs, and as chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee is aware of the needs of our veterans and their dependents. I certainly join my colleagues in the House in appreciation of the work Mr. TEAGUE has continued to do over the years for all of our veterans, and I am happy to support this compensation bill which he has brought to the House today.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, none of us can ever be sure of the ultimate effect, the lasting benefit of the laws we help enact.

Today, however, I think all of us can be assured that in approving H.R. 16027, to grant a modest and necessary increase in compensation benefits for our service-connected disabled veterans, the House of Representatives acted wisely and with compassion.

The merits of the action we have taken today can and do stand on their own.

But they also add substantially to an unprecedented record of timely congressional awareness and action to meet the needs of America's veterans, their widows, and orphans.

This record has been inspired and blueprinted by President Lyndon B. Johnson and the House Veterans' Affairs Committee.

No Chief Executive in our Nation's history has equalled this administration's accomplishments in the field of veterans affairs.

The President's first message in January 1967 on America's servicemen and veterans was the first of its kind ever submitted to Congress. When he followed this a year later—this past January—with a second, even more imaginative message to meet the needs of our returning Vietnam veterans, he virtually assured lasting fame as a great champion of America's veterans.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, over 2 million service-connected disabled veterans will realize substantial increases in their compensation checks as a result of our action here today in passing H.R. 16027. By the response of this body to the needs of these veterans, who have given so much for our country, we have kept the faith entrusted to us by our constituents. We have also fulfilled the hopes of our disabled veterans by taking this swift action.

We, here in Congress, appreciate and are cognizant of the tremendous support received from President Johnson and the administration. The leadership that has been exerted to see that veterans' laws are updated and that the benefits fulfill the actual need of those to whom the country owes so much, is unparalleled in our history.

From his historic messages proposing changes and new legislation for our veterans, President Johnson has led the way in carrying out this Nation's commitment. We have established the most outstanding record on substantial veterans legislation ever decided upon by any Congress. I am pleased that we have been able to assure our veterans of their rightful place in the American society by these programs. Today's passage of H.R. 16027 gives the signal that we shall continue to fulfill our obligations.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak in support of H.R. 16027 which would increase compensation to veterans currently receiving service-connected disability. No obligation is more fundamental than that a grateful Nation should help bear the tragedy of physical disability incurred for her defense. We have just recently increased the veterans' cold war educational allowance and the Nation is reaping gigantic rewards from that momentous training program, just as it did after the Second World War and after the Korean war. We would be gravely mistaken, however, to concentrate solely upon the more spectacular veterans assistance programs, and to be unmindful of the plight of veterans who cannot earn adequate livings because their heroism in battle has resulted in physical incapacity.

Compensation for service-connected disability is the most basic and traditional of all veterans assistance. It was the very first form of veterans assistance—the precursor of the vast array of programs that now follow. Yet presently the veteran who has been totally disabled in service and his family receive little more than half the average U.S. family income. The basic rate for the totally disabled veteran even with dependents is $300 monthly—or just $3,600. The average family income annually is $6,400.

It is our duty to help provide the difference between what the disabled veteran is capable of earning now and what he would be capable of had he not been wounded or disabled in service. But we must realize that the present allowance of $300 monthly to veterans who are incapable of earning any income is scarcely adequate for a family to meet the most minimum health, housing, and nutrition requirements.

H.R. 16027 would increase the total disability allowance from $300 to $400 monthly. Also, if the veteran has incurred specific anatomical losses for which additional compensation is granted, the over-all limit to the amount he may receive is increased from $600 to $700.

The second major provision of the bill is a cost-of-living adjustment to the rates received by veterans who are less than totally disabled. For example, a veteran who is determined to be 50 percent disabled receives the basic compensation of $113 monthly. H.R. 16027 would increase that rate to $122. The increase of all the less-than-total disability rates is approximately 8 percent because that is the same percentage of the cost-of-living increase since enactment of the last compensation adjustment. Through such adjustment of course we will not be giving the veterans more purchasing power than they had after the last increase in 1965. We will only bring that power up to 1965 standards.

Through enactment of H.R. 16027 we would embark upon no new program. We would only perform the obligation which we have declared to be our duty since the time of the very first Congress.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 16027, a bill that will increase the monthly rates of service connected disability compensation payable to more than 1.9 million veterans.

I am supporting this legislation, not because I believe it sufficiently compensates the Nation's fighting man for the sacrifice he made, but because it appears to represent the maximum that this administration is willing to accept. Although practically every individual receiving Federal payments of any kind has received at least one increase in those payments during the last 2 years, the administration has requested that we defer action on any increase in payments to those who are less than totally disabled until they have completed a study bearing the fancy title of "The Economic Validation of the Rating Schedule."

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me tell you something about this study. It was back in March of 1960 that the present Administrator of Veterans' Affairs who was then the Chief Benefits Director informed the Committee on Veterans' Affairs that they were "examining the possibility of making a thorough economic validation of the schedule."

Some 5 years later, on April 29, 1965 to be precise, the Administrator again appraised the committee of his progress with the following statement:

> As the committee is aware, the Veterans' Administration is currently engaged in a study designed to validate the schedule for rating disabilities in terms of economic loss. This study should furnish us valuable data on the average economic impairment flowing from each disability percentage level as well as the economic impairment resulting from residuals of the various diseases and injuries.

The Administrator then concluded:

> The results of this study, however, will not be available for quite some time.

To dispel any illusion the committee might have had about the date for completion of this study, a Veterans' Administration spokesman in testimony before the committee in April of this year during hearings that produced the bill before the House, said:

> The final definitive findings in our Validation Study will not be available for some period of time.

More recently, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs in a letter to me dated May 6, stated:

> It is true that the development of the study of the Economic Validity of the Rating Schedule has taken a long time. It is also true that the completed study with more than 1,000 separate disability evaluation analyses will require about two more years. We do expect to have useful preliminary data by this Fall.

He then concluded the letter:

> Thus, for those less than totally disabled the problem is more basic than the effective date of a cost of living increase. The problem is lack of sufficient data to either support or deny such an increase.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the 7.6-percent rise in the cost of living since the last increase in compensation rates for disabled veterans offers sufficient data to warrant approval of the bill before the House. I do not believe there is any justification, Mr. Speaker, for delaying action as the administration has suggested on this important legislation and I urge that it be passed.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend Chairman OLIN E. TEAGUE and the members of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs for bringing H.R. 16027 to the floor of the House of Representatives for consideration.

This bill provides for increasing the compensation of service-connected veterans. It carries into effect two of the recommendations of the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission created pursuant to the President's message to the Congress on veterans' benefits on January 31, 1967.

I strongly urge the enactment of H.R. 16027. Our veterans have been the innocent victims of inflation which has decreased the earning power of their compensation dollars. As a result, thousands of the men who have courageously fought in defense of their country and suffered wartime wounds have been undergoing financial distress.

We must keep faith with our veterans

and fighting men. At a time when hundreds of thousands of our young men are fighting in Vietnam and many of whom are suffering wartime injuries, by the passage of this bill, we can demonstrate to them that our Nation is not unmindful of the sacrifices they are making.

Mr. Speaker, the Nation's veterans are aware of the cost that must be paid by a free society in maintaining its freedom. Our service-connected veterans deserve benefits recommended by the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission.

The bill we will enact today will provide a $100 monthly increase for the service-connected 100-percent disabled veteran and will increase the compensation of those rated less than totally disabled by 8 percent to partially overcome the 7.66-percent increase which has occurred in the cost of living since the passage of our last veterans' compensation bill. I sincerely urge all of my colleagues to vote for H.R. 16027.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 16027. This bill is of prime importance to more than 1.9 million wounded and disabled veterans who would receive increases in their compensation payments.

There is no doubt that these veterans are entitled to equitable benefits for the sacrifices that they have made for their country. They have spent precious years of their lives defending freedom around the world and, as a consequence, now suffer severe physical disabilities connected with their service duties.

It is imperative that we pass this legislation which is long overdue. The wounded and disabled veterans have not received an increase in their compensation payment since December of 1965. Since that time, the cost of living has risen 8.3 percent.

Inflation has eaten away much of the purchasing power of all of our citizens and this is particularly true of those on fixed incomes. Accordingly, this Congress has authorized increases in monthly social security benefits, railroad retirement benefits, and the non-service-connected veteran benefits. We must also increase the service-connected benefits in order that this deserving group can keep pace with the spiraling cost of living.

I strongly support H.R. 16027 and urge its immediate passage.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 16027 and urge its speedy approval.

Increases in the monthly rates of compensation paid to veterans with service-connected disabilities, authorized in H.R. 16027, are in line with the other much-needed adjustments in veterans' benefits passed by this Congress.

Just as previous bills updated veterans' programs for education and training, loans, pensions, and several other programs, Mr. TEAGUE's bill, introduced on March 18 and now passed by the House, grants a cost-of-living increase in the compensation paid to those who have given the most.

This bill would amend title 38 to authorize payment, effective January 1, 1969, of an extra $100 per month to veterans who have been totally disabled by service-connected causes. In addition, the rates would be increased by 8 percent for those with disabilities rated from 10 to 90 percent. For those receiving additional compensation because they are in need of regular aid and attendance, an extra $50 per month would be authorized.

Injured veterans who need lifts or any type therapeutic or rehabilitative device could receive an issue of these items and other items of medical equipment and supply, from the Veterans' Administration.

The understanding of veterans' problems shown in these proposals, and the compassion shown in their support, are typical of the approach to veterans' affairs followed throughout the Johnson administration, under the able leadership afforded the VA by Administrator Bill Driver.

For the past 2 years, President Johnson has taken the unprecedented step of detailing for the Congress the adjustments needed in veterans' benefits and the legislation needed to provide them. His two special messages to Congress on veterans' affairs have been mandates to the executive departments to administer currently authorized veterans' benefits as effectively and compassionately as possible. These messages also have been blueprints for the Congress in the task of developing realistic legislation.

I am proud to have supported H.R. 16027 in the House. I sincerely hope that our colleagues in the Senate will recognize this bill as a way of stemming the erosion in compensation paid to those who have served their country at the expense of their own capacity to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased today to support the long-deserved compensation increases for veterans with service-connected disabilities. These increases, incorporated into H.R. 16027 under consideration today, represent a compromise. This does not bring the totally disabled veteran to the income parity he should attain, but it is a step in the right direction.

NO AMENDMENTS ALLOWED

It is regrettable the rule under which this legislation is being considered no amendments can be offered from the floor. Thus, the bill voted by committee must be either approved or rejected. Since the bill does provide much needed increases for those who have borne the worst brunt of battle, I urgently recommend that my colleagues vote for this legislation.

DELAY IN EFFECTIVE DATE

Unfortunately the increases for service-connected disabled do not take effect when the President signs the bill on January 1, 1969. The increases, when they do come, will be most welcome in these days of rampant inflation and economic instability.

When H.R. 12555 was passed by the House last December, then signed into law by the President, disabled veterans were ignored. Later, I publicly called upon the Congress to speed legislation providing parity for the service-connected disabled veteran in a statement on the floor of the House. While the disabled suffered continued economic deprivation, the leadership was awaiting the recommendations of the Veterans' Advisory Commission. The bill before us does conform to the recommendations of that Commission, providing $100 per month increase for the service-connected 100-percent disabled veteran. The bill also increases rates for those less than totally disabled by 8 percent to meet the increases in the cost of living in the last 3 years.

URGE PASSAGE

We can never forget the sacrifice disabled veterans have made for their country. The Congress cannot neglect their needs. I support passage of this bill.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 16027.

Clearly the present pattern of service-connected compensation is inadequate for the Nation's disabled veterans.

The Veterans' Administration has informed the Committee on Veterans' Affairs that it is progressing on its comprehensive project designed to test whether the present schedule for rating disabilities accurately represents the degree of average economic impairment resulting from disability.

While this study is only nicely started, the Veterans' Administration has made a pilot study which makes plain the dependence of average totally disabled veterans upon their Government pension.

The totally disabled veterans, in most cases, have virtually no earnings.

At the same time, it also is clear that the scale for the partially disabled needs to be updated to deal with the increase in the cost of living.

It is with this background in mind that H.R. 16027 comes from our committee.

I look forward to the final report of the Veterans' Administration on its overall study of the pension system. Meanwhile, there is sound basis for proceeding with enactment of H.R. 16027 which provides for an increase of $100 per month in compensation for the totally disabled, and an 8-percent increase for other service-connected disabled veterans.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, once again we in the 90th Congress have passed legislation designed to meet the changing needs of veterans and, once again, I experience the warmth that comes with the privilege of serving veterans.

H.R. 16027, which grants compensation increases for service-connected disabled veterans, is another entry in the growing record of veterans' benefits this Congress has made.

I hope all veterans know that the Congress and the President deem it an honor to share the responsibility of serving them—each in our own way. Together, we have updated many programs and brought new benefits into being. Yet, even as this action takes place, our veteran population is increasing for heroes return from Vietnam every day. Thus we know that veterans' legislation is a continuing process.

I take only this moment to speak words of tribute to our servicemen and veterans and to tell my colleagues that I am proud of the record we have made in veterans' affairs and to thank our President for the leadership he has shown.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in hailing the passage of H.R. 16027, legislation to provide a modest and needed cost-of-living increase in compensation payments to America's nearly 2 million service-connected disabled veterans.

This measure is but another achievement in the already impressive record of the Johnson administration's accomplishments on behalf of our Nation's veterans, their families, and survivors.

On March 31 President Johnson announced that he would neither seek nor accept renomination as President. He thereby set the timetable for the completion of his administration. Thus we can now begin to assemble the record of his service to those who served. And a marvelous record it is:

Two unprecedented messages to Congress devoted exclusively to America's servicemen and veterans;

The post-Korean or third generation GI bill;

Protection for disabled veterans, widows, and children against disproportionate pension loss as a result of an increase in other income such as social security;

A two-thirds increase in the VA guarantee on GI home loans;

Increased pensions and educational assistance allowances;

The establishment of U.S. veterans assistance centers in major cities throughout the country to provide returning Vietnam era veterans with one-stop service in obtaining veteran benefits, including one in my own community of Milwaukee;

Inauguration of Veterans' Administration preseparation briefing of servicemen in Vietnam, and at U.S. military hospitals and separation centers on their veteran benefits;

Increasingly higher VA budgets each year; and

Millions of additional dollars devoted annually to VA medical research which benefits the entire medical community and all citizens.

I can think of no better point to begin a review of this record than the action of the House of Representatives in granting our service-disabled veterans the first increase in their compensation payments since December 1965.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, we have a bill before us today which provides for an across-the-board increase in the rates of compensation payments to veterans for service-connected disabilities. In my opinion, such legislation is long overdue, and earlier in the session I introduced legislation to adjust the disability compensation rates for veterans.

Our veterans, who are depending on these payments to offset the loss of their earning capacity due to disability, are still being compensated as if nothing had changed since December of 1965, the last time the rates of compensation were increased. But in fact, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost of living has risen 8.3 percent. H.R. 16027, the bill under consideration today, would adjust compensation rates to keep pace with this increased cost of living, and further, would provide a flat $100 a month increase for veterans with 100 percent disability ratings.

Over the years, the Congress has established a program of veterans benefits second to none—one which we believe reflects the Nation's concern for the mental, physical, and economic welfare of those who have served their country in time of war. We have recently adjusted the veterans pension and social security payments to the increased cost of living. As we all know, rising living costs affect those living on limited incomes the most harshly. Certainly then, we owe the same obligation to those citizens who endure limited earning capacity for the very reason of their physical disabilities suffered while serving their country.

Enactment of this legislation, in my judgment, is essential in view of the rapidly escalating cost of living, and I certainly give it my unqualified support. I urge that it be given favorable consideration by the House.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, another landmark piece of veterans legislation is before the House of Representatives during the Johnson administration. This is H.R. 16027, which increases payments to 100 percent service-connected disabled veterans from $300 to $400 a month and provides an 8-percent cost-of-living increase for the hundreds of thousands of other veterans whose disabilities range from 10 to 90 percent. I trust the Senate will take action on this measure so that these increases can become effective next January 1.

I am proud to have lent a helping hand in the passage of H.R. 16027 and I want to be identified on the side of this administration which is making a continuing effort in behalf of the men who wear—and have worn—our country's uniform.

It would take a great deal of time to detail the actions this administration has taken in behalf of veterans, but there are several major points that I wish to mention briefly.

One, for example, is the so-called third generation GI bill. The first two generations, the GI bills for World War II and Korean conflict veterans, provided educational assistance and other benefits to wartime veterans.

President Johnson noted that money advanced for providing educational benefits for these veterans was "the most promising investment that a nation can make."

Thus, for the good of the country as well as for the good of the veteran, he supported the third-generation GI bill for post-Korean veterans. When he signed it in March 1966, he said the country was indeed behind "the brave Americans who serve us in uniform, in camps and bases, in villages and jungles."

A year later he proposed an expansion of the GI bill. The result was the passage of the Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act which not only increased monthly payments to veterans going to school and taking training under the GI bill, but also:

Put Vietnam era veterans on the same footing for benefits as other wartime veterans;

Increased pension payments to needy veterans and dependents; and

Encouraged veterans who were high school dropouts to go back to school by providing GI bill benefits for this purpose without subtracting from the benefits available for advanced schooling and training.

Veterans of this Nation can well take note of the kind of man they have in the White House. I pray that the man who succeeds him next January will understand as fully as President Johnson, the needs of our fighting men.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I am proud that President Johnson has recommended this legislation to us, and I am equally proud of the leadership which the dynamic chairman of the House Veterans Committee, the Honorable OLIN TEAGUE, has always given to veterans.

As a result, the House on May 20 passed three important pieces of veterans legislation. The first increases the assistance to State veterans homes so that they may improve the quality of service to their patients. The second provides that a veteran entitled both to war orphans assistance, as well as to his own GI benefits will not completely lose the benefits of one of the programs. And finally, to provide that VA hospital patients may be transferred to a community nursing home for a period of up to 6 months.

Earlier this year and last year, over 45,000 children of disabled or deceased veterans have received an increase of over $6 in their educational payments. Fifteen new or replacement hospitals have been dedicated or will soon be completed. A new third generation GI bill has been enacted for our Vietnam veterans extending home loan guarantees, educational benefits, and medical care on the same basis as all other veterans. Positive steps have been taken to afford jobs to those veterans who wish to go immediately to work, and rehabilitation for our disabled has been extended. Veterans who could not get insurance because of disabilities were given the opportunity to provide for the family's security.

The list of legislation is long, but it is all responsive to the needs of our veterans. I am happy that I had a part in bringing these programs up to date so that our new veterans can quickly reenter the mainstream of our society, and the older veterans can find new hope in the promise that they will never become forgotten men.

We have taken another great stride forward today by passing this legislation which increases the compensation payments to our service-connected disabled veterans. There was no question but that the time had come for this adjustment.

The legislation we passed today was recommended by the U.S. Veterans' Advisory Commission, a body created by President Johnson in early 1967.

The first recommendation of that group, and title I of the bill passed today, establishes that our totally disabled veterans, whether injured in wartime or peacetime, will have a decent standard of living. For the war veteran, the rate is increased from $300 to $400 a month; for the peacetime veteran, the rate is raised from $240 to $320 a month.

The legislation also affords an 8-percent, across-the-board increase in compensation for all other veterans with disability ratings of less than 100 percent. This increase is designed to keep the payments in line with the cost-of-living increases seen since the rates were last changed in December 1965.

Finally, the bill plugs a gap existing in current law relating to payment for medical devices for an outpatient veteran who receives compensation and an aid and attendance allowance for one or more service-connected disabilities. This provision will not only help provide such items as invalid lifts and therapeutic devices, but eyeglasses and hearing aids, as well.

This continued progress in veterans' legislation is no happenstance. We have been moving on a steady course for the past 3 or 4 years to bring our veterans programs more in line with the needs of our society of the 1960's.

Long gone are the days when a man who had served his country faithfully was left to the changing economy without hope from those who owe him so much, and at least the American veteran has achieved his honored place in our society. We can, in all reality, give credit where credit is due to this changing concept. Without the strong leadership of another Texan in the White House—President Johnson—it is quite possible that we would have accomplished some reforms, but the wide range of changes and additions that we have been able to make in this administration's term in office would never have taken place.

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, when I ran for office, I promised the veterans of my State that I would do everything I could to help bring about changes in the veterans benefit program to make them more equitable and up-to-date. Though I have been here only 2 years, I believe that the veterans of Maine can feel that I have fulfilled that pledge and that the 90th Congress has made the greatest strides in this field of any Congress in over 20 years.

The legislation that we have just passed today, increasing the compensation rates for our service-connected disabled veterans, is just one of the many outstanding bills that it has been my pleasure to support and vote for.

I know that no one person can take credit for the great legislative programs we have enacted for our veterans, but I realize that without the help and support of President Johnson—who has proposed much of the legislation—these great accomplishments would not have been possible.

We have been able to institute a "new thought" on the role that veterans have in our society. We have realized fully that it is those men who sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of the Nation who have in reality purchased a share of this great democracy for all time. And we realize that we do owe these men a debt which can never be repaid.

I believe that as a result of the two great messages sent to us by the President in 1967 and again in 1968, we have been able to make important inroads on our obligations.

We have realized that most of the programs we institute for our veterans, while initially aiding the individual veteran, in the big picture and as an end result are for the benefit of the entire Nation. By providing jobs, by insuring home loans and by providing educational benefits and incentives, we have raised the level of the earning power of a major portion of our citizens. We have created a more stable society in which the veteran plays an integral part.

President Johnson has led the way, and I assure you I was glad to follow and give my support to this forward-looking program for our veterans.

We have looked to the future and we realize there are still things that must be accomplished in the field of veterans affairs. I know the veterans of this Nation join me in expressing their appreciation for the leadership which has been rendered by the executive department in cooperation with the elected representatives of the people.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 16027 provides, generally, an 8-percent increase in compensation payments for veterans who suffered a disability related to their military service.

While from one point of view it is an "increase," from another point of view—a more realistic one, perhaps—the action simply is an effort to hold the line economically, since the cost of living has increased 8 percent since the current rate went into effect in December 1965.

Turning it around, failure to have this proposal become law next January would be to allow the expansion of our economy and inflationary trends to result in an 8-percent cutback in the purchasing power of compensation payments.

It should be understood clearly that this money will go to those who made a disproportionately large sacrifice for their Nation. By definition they are the men and women who are still suffering disability because of their military service.

Those who are 100-percent disabled will receive the highest increase. They now receive $300. This legislation will bring this up to $400. Still little enough for what that man has contributed.

The 8-percent increase ranges from a mere $2 a month for the man with a 10-percent disability to $17 a month for the man who is 90-percent disabled because of his service to his country.

Surely, this cost-of-living increase is but a small token action on our part in recognition of the contribution these men have made.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it is most fitting, I believe, that one of the final chapters in the history of President Johnson's remarkable record of service to America's veterans may well be devoted to the necessary and deserved increase in compensation payments to our service disabled approved by the House of Representatives today.

Concern and compassion for this distinguished group of Americans motivated our action today—just as they have marked the comprehensive and imaginative programs of benefits for all our veterans proposed and approved by President Johnson.

No Member of the House need hesitate one moment in defending the modest increase in compensation payments to America's nearly 2 million veterans with service-connected disabilities. The cold, hard, irrefutable facts of increased living costs, since disability compensation benefits were last raised in December 1965, both justify and compel our approval today of H.R. 16027.

But beyond these purely economic factors, each of us can say, in conscience, that in voting today for a modest 8-percent increase in compensation benefits, which only keeps pace with the rise in the cost of living since 1965, we are expressing the genuine concern of our fellow-citizens for the welfare of those Americans who have suffered and still suffer disabilities from serving our Nation.

I know that the Americans I am privileged to represent in the Congress are determined that our service-connected disabled veterans shall always be properly cared for.

I know, too, that President Johnson will approve a measure that extends to the most deserving of our veterans the heartfelt concern and practical help for all of our Nation's veterans, their dependents and survivors which distinguish his administration more than any other in the history of our country.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, the legislation we have just passed is a landmark in our expression of concern for those men who have served our Nation and now deserve to reap equitable benefits from a grateful nation.

I think all of us can take just pride in the action we have just taken, but this is but one piece of legislation in the long list that has been enacted for the benefit of our veterans in the past 3 years.

Perhaps as we review the many accomplishments of Congress, we should also appraise the reasons for this outstanding record of progress.

It is needless to say that without the leadership and the firm support of President Johnson we would never have accomplished so much. I am also happy to say that in our earnest desire to help our young men returning from Vietnam we have not overlooked the veterans of past conflicts who were in desperate need of revised benefits.

At the request of the President, we have provided a pension increase for our older veterans, and then enacted legislation to protect those increases from depreciation because of social security increases. This bill today will increase compensation payments, but we have also made one increase during the past 3 years to meet cost-of-living demands.

Educational, home loan and hospital benefits were extended to our post-Korean veterans, and additions to the benefits have been made to make them more equitable.

We have met the demands that were required in order to keep the veterans programs on a sensible and reasonable basis. When the President sent us his first message requesting veterans benefits we reacted swiftly. Perhaps it was that never before had a President been so interested in our veterans and sent us a message to help them. Again this year we received still another unprecedented message—and we are taking fast action on his proposals.

Our disabled veterans have been provided for with rehabilitation benefits, with expanded and better hospital service and with other benefits that fit their needs. The widows and orphans of our veterans have not been overlooked in our accomplishments, for benefits have been increased and extended to see that they are taken care of and educated.

While there still are many fields that we must explore, I believe that this administration can count as one of their outstanding accomplishments the treatment and concern it has exhibited for our veterans.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, by its passage of H.R. 16027 to amend title 38 and provide increases in the rates of compensation for service-connected disabled veterans, this Congress has once more demonstrated its compassion and gratitude toward the Nation's veterans.

Under the leadership of President Johnson, this Congress has made unprecedented strides in meeting the needs of veterans while at the same time developing programs that are good for the country.

It has been only 2 years since the third generation of the GI bill was passed and many of the provisions of the World War II program were extended to post-Korean veterans. Only last August, Public Law 90–77 was passed to bring an end to many of the inequities that existed between the benefits extended veterans of the Vietnam conflict and those earlier conflicts.

The bill passed today provides the first increase since 1965 in compensation rates paid disabled veterans.

Sensitivity to the needs of veterans is a necessary corollary to the need to draft young men for military service. Compassion for the men who have borne our battles is always high during times when other men are still being asked to serve.

But these things alone would not have brought about this legislation. Fortunately, we have a colleague who understands the needs of our veteran, his widow, and dependents. The Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE, of Texas, has distinguished himself in the field of veterans' affairs for many, many years. Under his distinguished leadership, we have passed a benefits program and medical services which provide assistance to our veterans second to none in the world.

Also, we are fortunate in that the President's compassion has been manifest in unprecedented messages to Congress. For 2 consecutive years, he has summarized clearly the needs of veterans and outlined positive programs to meet these needs. In addition, he has stimulated the detailed study of the future needs of veterans by both the Veterans' Administration and veterans service organizations.

I commend my colleagues who supported H.R. 16207 and the other measures that have set an unprecedented record for veterans' legislation.

Mr. KORNEGAY. Mr. Speaker, it has been said that the varied and comprehensive programs of veterans benefits this Nation has provided those who served our country in its hours of need, and for their dependents and survivors, are really a delayed cost of the wars we have fought in the cause of freedom.

If this is not easily proven in the case of every veteran in receipt of some assistance, it can hardly be denied in the cases of 1,951,000 veterans now receiving service-connected disability compensation from the Veterans' Administration.

The House of Representatives has just voted the first increase in compensation payments to our service-disabled veterans in nearly 3 years. This modest 8-percent increase in benefits for all those disabled from 10 to 90 percent, and $100 a month increase in payments to those 100 percent disabled, is not even a delayed cost of the conflicts in which they were disabled. Rather, this increase is compensation for the rise in the cost of living since disability compensation rates were last adjusted.

But let us accept the premise that this increase is a delayed cost of war.

How much does it add to freedom's price?

About a quarter of a billion dollars a year—or a fraction—a very small fraction of the cost of the wars in which we have been engaged during this past half-century.

H.R. 16027 is intended as a practical expression of the will of Congress to provide our Nation's service-disabled with the assistance they need and deserve to live as normal, adjusted and happy lives as their disabilities will permit.

Because it is practical, it deals with such regrettably necessary matters as authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to furnish lifts or any type of therapeutic or rehabilitation devices as well as other medical equipment and supplies to veterans in need of this assistance.

In summary, this important measure, introduced by the distinguished and knowledgeable chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, grants to America's service-disabled veterans a cost-of-living increase in disability compensation benefits and other assistance as a practical means of saying that their service is remembered by a grateful nation. Our obligation to them will be met because we are grateful to them.

I hope that it can be expeditiously considered by the Senate and I feel certain that it will meet the approval of the President.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support H.R. 16027 which provides for increased rates of compensation for disabled veterans. The background of this bill was the President's message to the Congress on veterans benefits on January 31, 1967. At that time the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs was directed by the Advisory Commission to study existing veterans programs. Members will recall that a panel of 11 members was named by the Veterans' Administrator and called the U.S. Veterans Advisory Commission. Hearings were held all across the United States during almost all of the year 1967.

Most of us recall also that on March 18, 1968, the formal report of the Commission was released. Three of the recommendations of the Commission are covered by this legislation, being Recommendation Nos. 1, 2, and 12.

Recommendation No. 1 suggested the rate payable the service-connected totally disabled veteran be increased by $100 per month. This bill fully conforms to the recommendations of the Advisory Commission and does increase their compensation from $300 to $400 monthly.

Recommendation No. 2 suggested that rates payable to veterans from 10 to 90 percent disabled be increased by 8 percent in order to reflect increase in the cost-of-living index. H.R. 16027 accordingly provides that those rated less than totally disabled—100 percent—be increased by 8 percent in order to meet what is a 7.66-percent increase in the cost-of-living which has occurred since Public Law 89–311 was effective December 1, 1965.

From a careful observation of this bill it can be concluded that the Veterans' Affairs Committee has provided an increase for the severely disabled that is quite consistent with the proposed rate for total disability of $400 per month. In fact, all the rates of service-connected compensation have been increased, with the exception of awards and graduated ceilings of arrested tuberculosis which are discontinued but with a quite proper proviso that veterans now receiving compensation under this provision will continue to do so.

H.R 16027 also provides the Administrator may provide an invalid lift or any type of therapeutic or rehabilitation type of device if medically indicated to any veteran receiving compensation under chapter 15 of title 38 by reason of being in need of regular aid or attendance. The nationwide cost of this most meritorious provision is estimated not in excess of $240,000 and should certainly be enacted.

The heart of this bill is the adjustment of compensation rates to disabled veterans based on cost-of-living increases. There may be some who would doubt whether there should be compensation increase in any excess of the actual increase of the cost of living. Yet, who can possibly contend that an 8-percent increase is unjustified when actually the cost of living has risen 7.66 percent? A strong case has been made for the passage of H.R. 16027 and it is a privilege to support a bill of this kind. Our Veterans' Affairs Committee deserves the commendation of the Members of the House for their prompt action in this area following the report of the Veterans' Advisory Commission.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, today this House can achieve another milestone in its support of veterans' legislation. The bill now before us, H.R. 16027, is part of an unprecedented legislative program to update veterans' benefits. This bill will provide a cost-of-living increase in compensation payments for almost 2 million veterans who have been disabled in military service.

The basic purpose of the disability compensation program, throughout its history, has been to provide relief for the impaired earning capacity of veterans disabled as the result of their military service. It follows then, that the dollar value of this impaired earning capacity will vary with the cost of living. Support for this 8-percent increase, coupled with a $100 per month increase for totally disabled veterans, is most necessary because it is the first increase since 1965.

This step will help insure that the compensation payments of the future will be of the same value to disabled veterans that they have been in the past. By recognizing this need, this Congress is following a pattern set just 2 years ago by the post-Korean, or third generation, GI bill.

Another accomplishment of this administration and this Congress, the Veterans' Pension and Readjustment Assistance Act of 1967, was in the same pattern. That bill insures that the men who serve during the limited conflicts of today receive the same benefits as those who serve during full-scale war.

These bills reflect the attention which has been focused on veterans' needs by President Johnson and this Congress. In two unprecedented special messages to Congress, the President outlined the needed legislation and clearly explained the benefits that would accrue to the Nation as a whole.

The President's recommendations have shown clearly that he is in favor of adjustments, when warranted, of compensation rates based on cost-of-living increases. Data now available support the need for an increase in rates for the totally disabled that exceeds a cost-of-living increase, and the House should act accordingly. I urge my colleagues to vote for this vital measure.

The **SPEAKER**. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill H.R. 16027, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. **ADAIR**. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The **SPEAKER**. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 389, nays 0, not voting 45, as follows:

[Roll No. 168]

YEAS—389

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Ayres
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blackburn
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cramer
Culver
Cunningham
Curtis
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Diggs
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Harsha
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Long, Md.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Ohio
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Udall
Ullman
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Walker
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—45

Andrews, Ala.
Bell
Berry
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Carter
Cohelan
Cowger
Dawson
Dowdy
Evins, Tenn.
Gettys
Griffiths
Hardy
Harrison
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Holland
Karsten
Landrum
McDade
McMillan
Macdonald, Mass.
Michel
Miller, Calif.
Mills
Murphy, Ill.
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Pepper
Purcell
Rees
Resnick
Rivers
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
Selden
Tunney
Vander Jagt

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Bell.
Mr. Rooney of New York with Mr. Michel.
Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts with Mr. Bow.
Mr. Rivers with Mr. Carter.
Mr. Mills with Mrs. Bolton.
Mr. Hardy with Mr. Harrison.
Mr. Tunney with Mr. Berry
Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Cowger.
Mrs. Griffiths with Mr. Harvey.
Mr. St Germain with Mr. McDade.
Mr. Dowdy with Mr. Vander Jagt.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. O'Neal of Georgia.
Mr. Dawson with Mr. Brown of California.
Mr. Resnick with Mr. Hawkins.
Mr. Cohelan with Mr. Karsten.
Mr. Hathaway with Mr. Macdonald of Massachusetts.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Passman.
Mr. McMillan with Mr. Purcell.
Mr. Rees with Mr. Pepper.
Mr. Murphy of Illinois with Mr. Olsen.
Mr. Roybal with Mr. O'Hara of Illinois.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Holland.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide increases in rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 16489. An act making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 16489) entitled "An act making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain Independent Agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. MONRONEY, Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. CASE, Mr.

MUNDT, and Mr. CARLSON to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

ANOTHER VITAL LINK IN ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRAM TO BRING VETERANS' BENEFITS AND PROGRAMS IN LINE WITH PRESENT-DAY NEEDS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, another vital link in the administration's program to bring veterans' benefits and programs in line with present-day needs has just been passed by this body. I know you join with me in the satisfaction that we have accomplished so much for our veterans during the past 4 years.

I believe in the many years I have been in the House, never has such a comprehensive revision of these benefits taken place. I am proud to say that we have seen our duty and acted on this needed legislation.

I give much credit to the firm support for this new outlook on veterans' legislation to our President and his administration. Without the unqualified backing—and at the insistence of the President—it is quite possible that we would not have accomplished so much. With the administration furnishing the leadership in asking for this thorough look into the entire program, we have been able to give this legislation the priority that it demanded.

We have received two messages from the President dealing solely with veterans' benefits. This is the first time in the history of our Nation that requested legislation has been sent to us from the White House concerned with the problems of our veterans alone.

As a result of legislation passed after these messages, today's veterans can continue their education through the third generation GI bill of rights—a law which at this time is aiding 400,000 young men. The veteran can buy a home with a Veterans' Administration insured mortgage—and 200,000 have taken advantage of this benefit. We have provided hospitalization for our young veterans if they should need it.

We have not only provided home loan guarantees—but we acted to make home buying easier by increasing the insured amount to $12,500 and increasing the allowable interest rates.

The interest of the President in our veterans went even further than recommendations to Congress, for in his desire to assess the whole problem, a Commission was appointed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to study the whole program. They have made their report to the Administrator and it is indeed comprehensive and will no doubt serve as a basis for legislation in the future.

Fifteen new or replacement hospitals have been dedicated or are now under construction, medical research has reached a new high, more veteran patients are being treated than ever before in our history, and hospital waiting lists have been reduced by more than one-half. Pensions have been raised and now we have enacted legislation in H.R. 16027 that will bring compensation payments in line with present-day needs.

This administration can take just pride in all these accomplishments. Our obligation to our veterans has been realized, and perhaps for the first time in our history we are providing truly equitable benefits. This new "era of the veteran" is a welcome change.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 16489, TREASURY, POST OFFICE, EXECUTIVE OFFICE, AND INDEPENDENT AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS, 1969

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 16489) making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, with amendments of the Senate thereto, and concur in the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I object.

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 16489) making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes, with amendments of the Senate thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. STEED, PASSMAN, ADDABBO, COHELAN, YATES, MAHON, CONTE, ROBISON, Mrs. REID of Illinois, and Mr. JONAS.

PROTECTION FOR MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1292), and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will an hour be taken for discussion of the joint resolution if unanimous consent for its immediate consideration is granted?

Mr. MAHON. As I understand the situation, I will say to my good friend from Iowa, if no objection is made, then this resolution will be adopted. The joint resolution provides Secret Service protection for candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, under the wording of the resolution. It is especially important at this particular time.

The provision was embraced in the regular Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill, which passed the Senate this afternoon. In view of other provisions in that bill, some of them controversial, it developed that it was not possible today to clear the Post Office-Treasury appropriation bill, which contains in substance this provision. It is, therefore, necessary to ask for unanimous consent for consideration of this joint resolution at this time.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. GERALD R. FORD] who I notice on his feet, and all leaders of the House, so far as I know—and I think the gentleman from Iowa, himself, is somewhat familiar with the problem—were advised.

Mr. GROSS. Then let me ask the gentleman a question or two. What is meant by "major candidates"? Does that mean major party candidates?

Mr. MAHON. The determination is to be made by the Secretary of the Treasury under the resolution following recommendations of the committee. I would assume the major candidates would be covered.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that I have the reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa has the reservation. Does the gentleman from Iowa yield to the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. GROSS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. The question raised by the gentleman from Iowa is very pertinent and a very important one. The resolution states "major presidential or vice-presidential candidates." In order to answer the question raised by the gentleman from Iowa, there would be appointed a group with whom the Secretary of the Treasury could consult.

This advisory committee to advise the Secretary of the Treasury on this point is composed of the majority leader of the Senate, the minority leader of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, and the minority leader of the House, and one additional member to be selected by the members of such committee. Because of the difficulty of spelling out or pinpointing who the major candidates are, it was felt the best way to handle the problem as a practical matter was to have the advisory group that could consult with the Secretary of the Treasury and make its recommendations to him. It seemed to us a better way to approach it than to try to spell it out in the resolution.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from Iowa yielding.

I have two questions. First, is the authority in the second paragraph of this resolution predicated on the first paragraph? In other words, does the request and the authority to be revoked by the President refer back to the authorization in the first paragraph?

Mr. MAHON. I do not think so at all. It is a separate proposition.

Mr. HALL. Then, Mr. Speaker, if this not be true—and I am not simply arguing semantics, because I think there is a principle involved—why should not the Congress have the same authority for revocation as the President, unless it does refer back to the authorization in the first paragraph?

Mr. MAHON. Of course, the Congress could repeal this at any time. It could even make some modification next week, when the regular bill for the forthcoming fiscal year will probably be before the House. So Congress would still have the authority to write the ticket on this matter. This resolution represents an emergency situation, as the gentleman well knows.

Mr. HALL. Yes.

Mr. MAHON. There is to be a funeral in New York which presidential candidates will attend.

Mr. HALL. Then, in view of the fact that the gentleman has yielded to me, I would say I am not in opposition to this resolution. I think this is the proper way to do it. But rather, lest we act in haste and from too much pressure, I think we should at least define the intent.

I must say, Mr. Speaker, that Congress is not notorious for repealing legislation in the absence of an emergency.

Second. My second question would simply be, since there is only a month left in this fiscal year, why $400,000 for this purpose? And, if not used, will that revert to the general treasury or is this some more "carryover" or "transferability" funds?

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman, it would revert to the Treasury if it were not used. I would say further, there have been some extraordinary demands on the Secret Service in the last several days, and in view of the funeral in New York, which undoubtedly many of the candidates will attend, there will be many expenses. In view of the situation, this was the best we could arrive at. If the funds are not used, they will revert to the Treasury.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for the explicit answer to my second question. The answer to the first is still vague in my mind.

Mr. GROSS. I would agree.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman that it would be my impression that even though authority for expenditure of funds expires on June 30, under this resolution, it would appear that the basic authority made available in paragraphs 1 and 2 is, in effect, permanent law when enacted. However, without funds the authority is perhaps meaningless.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, as the ranking Republican member of the House Treasury-Post Office Appropriations Subcommittee, I would like to join with the leadership in supporting this resolution. The tragic events of the last few days have made all too clear the need for Secret Service protection to be available for our candidates for national office.

The ability of the Secret Service to be able to call upon Federal departments and agencies for assistance when necessary has also been made quite evident.

This resolution provides the authority for carrying out these much-needed reforms and it certainly has my full backing and support.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

H.J. RES. 1292

Joint resolution to authorize the United States Secret Service to furnish protection to major presidential or vice-presidential candidates.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the United States Secret Service, in addition to other duties now provided by law, is authorized to furnish protection to persons who are determined from time to time by the Secretary of the Treasury, after consultation with the advisory committee, as being major presidential or vice-presidential candidates who should receive such protection (unless the candidate has declined such protection).

(b) The advisory committee referred to in subsection (a) shall consist of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the minority leader of the House of Representatives, the majority leader of the Senate, the minority leader of the Senate and one additional member selected by the other members of the committee.

SEC. 2. Hereafter, when requested by the Director of the United States Secret Service, Federal Departments and agencies, unless such authority is revoked by the President, shall assist the Secret Service in the performance of its protective duties under section 3056 of title 18 of the United States Code and the first section of this joint resolution.

SEC. 3. For necessary expenses of carrying out the provisions of this resolution, there is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, the sum of $400,000.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR AGREEING TO SENATE AMENDMENT TO H.R. 5037, LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1967

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 1197 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 1197

Resolved, That, immediately upon the adoption of this resolution, the bill (H.R. 5037) to assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, to increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government, and for other purposes, with the Senate amendment thereto, be, and the same hereby is, taken from the Speaker's table, to the end that the Senate amendment be, and the same is hereby, agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California is recognized for 1 hour.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may extend and revise their remarks on this resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SMITH] pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution is very simple. I believe it is not necessary to go into any detailed discussion of it. The matter concerning the Senate amendment to the omnibus crime bill was discussed at some considerable length on yesterday.

This resolution will merely make it possible, if it passes in the House today, to send this bill to the President of the United States, and of course we hope he will sign it and that it will become the law of the land.

I urge the adoption of this resolution, and I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, as has been indicated, House Resolution 1197, upon its adoption, will take from the Speaker's table H.R. 5037, originally passed by the House and amended by the Senate and will agree to the Senate amendments. This means that the bill in its present status will then be sent to the White House for President Johnson's signature.

Particularly for the information of the Members who are privileged to be serving their first term, there will be simply 1 hour of debate, 30 minutes under the control of the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] and 30 minutes under my control. We will not go into the Committee of the Whole. At the conclusion of the 1-hour debate, House Resolution 1197 will be voted up or down.

H.R. 5037 is not entirely acceptable to everyone. I doubt that any bill relating to crime could be entirely acceptable to everyone. Undoubtedly some feel that the authority of the Supreme Court is being restricted while others may feel that the measure should go further in restricting the authority of the Supreme Court. Undoubtedly some feel that the gun regulation provisions do not go far enough while others may feel that they go too far. But after all, Mr. Speaker, the only thing this great body can do is to pass legislation which they believe to be good legislation and which they hope will help to solve the serious crime problem in the United States. Other than that, we must have the help of every honest citizen, whether it be the person on the street, schoolteacher, minister, parent, a person who serves on a jury, the probation officers, the parole boards, the courts—in fact—every law-abiding citizen.

Mr. Speaker, as you know, I spent a number of years in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I am well acquainted with the tremendous honesty, integrity, and foresight of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI. I recall many comments that he has made over the years, some of which I would like to bring to the attention of the Members and the public here today.

The American public is seeking, and sorely needs, a proven formula to deter crime. The people are growing tired of substitutes. Swift detection and apprehension, prompt prosecution, and proper and certain punishment are tested crime deterrents. However, this combination of deterrents can be ineffective because of breakdowns in one or all of its phases. That is why we cannot expect high-quality police service alone to bring full relief from the crime problem. If the hardened criminal is arrested but not punished, he is not long deterred from his criminal pursuits.

Coddling of criminals and soft justice increase crime; denials to the contrary have no valid support. Yet, these truths are still lost in the maze of sympathy and leniency heaped upon the criminal. Lame excuses and apologies offered for the lawbreaker are exceeded only by the amount of violence he commits. Meantime, law-abiding people who have a right to expect protection from criminals have this right abused and ignored.

The American public must take positive action to curtail crime and violence. Good intentions are worthless. Funds for better law enforcement will help, but will not do the complete job. Community and civic authorities, educators, religious leaders, and prominent men and women from all walks of life must speak out, demand justice for law-abiding citizens, and unite the people in a forceful campaign against crime. There is nothing wrong with the clergy's warning against excessive compassion for the criminal at the expense of innocent victims. There is nothing wrong with educators' denouncing rabble rousers and agitators who disrupt the orderly processes of the academic community and defy authority. And there is nothing wrong with community and city officials' crusading to rid their streets of thugs, rapists, and robbers.

When we remember there is a murder every hour in the United States, let us also remember the heartless apathy of those who do not want to get involved, when we read there is a forcible rape every 21 minutes, let us also recall the hoodlum who is judicially tapped on the wrist and allowed to return to the streets; when we remember there is a robbery every 4 minutes and a burglary every 25 seconds, let us also think of the hard-working citizens who are forced to close their businesses because of repeated criminal acts against their private property; and when we try to visualize the suffering caused by the more than 3 million serious crimes last year, let us understand that volume of misery is borne by hundreds of thousands of human victims and their families.

The crime burden grows heavier from disregard for the rights of peaceful citizens, spouting youthful criminality, riots engulfing entire communities, unfounded and irresponsible charges against police, public apathy, disrespect for law and due process, and undue concern and sympathy for the lawbreaker. What has happened to the moral fiber of our people? Recently seven leading citizens of a community testified in court to the excellent reputations of the defendants although they admitted knowing those on trial had engaged in criminal activities for many years.

Rioting, looting, burning, and killing—deliberate crimes—are outrages spawned under the banner of civil disobedience, a dangerous philosophy based on shallow reasoning. Too many well-meaning but misguided Americans not only support the doctrine of lawbreaking for a worthy end but also oppose penalties for violators. This is a difficult theory to fit into a system of government which says the law applies to all, or it applies to none.

In some communities, police have been admonished by civic authorities not to arrest thugs, rioters, and looters who exploit trouble spots and demonstrations for fear that the show of force would provoke even more damage. There may be instances when this policy will ease the tension of the moment, but you can be assured that such a palliating practice, if continued, can only lead to greater grief and turmoil.

Recent court decisions seem to place more emphasis on the conduct of the police officer than on the conduct of the criminal. The question of guilt is obscured and lost in a maze of procrastinating technicalities and legal joustings. Many times, truth, which often exposes guilt, is only a secondary objective; the main search is for error or a technical loophole for the murderer or hoodlum.

Recently, a masked criminal fled from a bank with several thousand dollars, was quickly arrested by local police and the money recovered. He admitted the crime and was indicted. However, all charges were dismissed on recommendations of parole officials. Today, it seems that the criminal is convinced that an apathetic, uncooperative public will delay his arrest; that new court decisions will postpone or prevent his prosecution; and that through unjustified leniency, his sentence will be negligible.

Crime rates in the United States will drop when the criminal is convinced that his arrest will be swift, his prosecution prompt, and his sentence substantial.

I sincerely believe:

That we must reawaken in every citizen a fierce devotion to supremacy of law and equal justice;

That we must forever renounce the idiocy that associates glamour and heroism with lawbreakers;

That all criminals must be brought to the bar of justice for realistic handling, not merely maudlin sympathy;

That means must be provided to defeat the enemies within our borders who are puppets of enemies from without;

That we must insure by every lawful means that differences are resolved in the courtroom, not in the street; and

That we must adamantly insist that each individual is held responsible for the natural and probable consequences of his acts.

Let the hoodlum, the racist, the demagog, and the exponent of anarchy know that the great, quiet power of this Nation lies in her law-abiding citizens, and they will stomach no more. The choice is ours. The time is now.

H.R. 5037 will assist if everyone, from the law-abiding citizen up to the Supreme Court of the United States, will take appropriate action.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 1197.

I have several requests for time, Mr. Speaker, and reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New York, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary [Mr. CELLER].

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I did all in my power to send the bill to conference, but I failed. The House gainsaid me.

Mr. Speaker, now I intend to vote for the pending resolution for concurrence in the Senate-passed bill. Early next week I shall offer amendatory legislation designed to strengthen the firearms title of H.R. 5037, to prohibit the mail-order sale and transportation of rifles and shotguns. I am also considering the introduction of measures to reform the titles of the bill which threaten the constitutional rights and privileges of our citizens.

Mr. **SISK**. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONNER].

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I do and I suppose every Member of this body has some reservation about some section of this bill, but there particularly seems to be a reservation on the part of a number of Members of the House about title IV which has to do with gun control legislation.

Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES] has been very much interested through the years in this legislation and the gentleman is in my personal opinion an authority on gun control legislation.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask of the gentleman his assistance in helping to clarify the position of some who have expressed interest in opposition to this particular section of the bill.

So I would ask the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES] is it not a fact that a number of sportsmen's groups, including the National Rifle Association, have expressed some reservation about title IV, the gun section of this bill, but have they not in turn said that they feel that this section should be adopted as it is included in the bill because of the other desirable features?

Mr. **SIKES**. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WAGGONNER. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. **SIKES**. May I state first I do support the motion to recede and concur.

The crime situation nationwide is such that I feel we have no choice. A refusal to take steps to curb crime and contribute to conditions which are chaotic beyond belief. All of this I discussed at length in the RECORD on yesterday. In substance, the bill before us offers badly needed promise of restrictions on crime and we cannot afford to risk losing these curbs when crime is so rampant.

Now the gentleman has asked me specifically about the legislation which was added to the bill in the Senate to restrict mail-order sales of handguns. I have reservations about the language. It is ambiguous, some of it is unduly restrictive, and it badly needs clarification to prevent oppressive and unnecessary action against law-abiding owners of weapons.

Nevertheless, I am certain that the Nation wants some restrictions against weapons in the hands of criminals and mentally incompetent and irresponsible persons and I shall vote for this bill. To reject the handgun restrictions which are carried in this bill could result in something worse. Consequently, I have discussed this matter with the National Rifle Association and with other organizations dedicated to the proper interests of law-abiding sportsmen, and the reasoning which I have advanced is concurred in by them. They recognize the objectionable features in the firearms legislation now before us and they strongly urge clarification and improvement at the earliest possible date. But they also recognize a need for a measure which will help to curb crime in our Nation. As a result, they interpose no objection to the adoption of this language by the House.

Now under permission to extend my remarks, I feel that I should call to the attention of the House a matter which is affected by this bill and which involves the sound use of surplus weapons and equipment.

I think the Members of the House will be interested in seeing a situation corrected under which surplus usable weapons and equipment could serve a beneficial purpose. At present it is necessary that they be destroyed. Title I of the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967 contains language which authorizes grants to states and units of general local government for new approaches and improvements in law enforcement and criminal justice. One of the purposes for which these grants are authorized to be used includes the procurement of equipment and other items necessary for public protection. There is such equipment available but it is denied to State and local law-enforcement units by Federal regulation.

The military services and a few of the smaller nondefense agencies are equipped with weapons and equipment of the type which could be used quite effectively by State and local law-enforcement agencies. At the present time when equipment of this type becomes surplus to military needs, it is disposed of according to regulations promulgated by the General Services Administration. These regulations are rather complex in certain particulars. In others, they are prohibitive of the sale of a portion of equipment to anyone. This is particularly true with reference to firearms. The GSA regulation promulgated on February 26, 1965 states:

> Firearms may be disposed of at public sales *only* for scrap *after total destruction* by crushing, cutting, breaking, or deforming to be performed in a manner to assure that the firearms are rendered completely inoperative and to preclude their being made operative.

Such weapons may, however, be disposed of through the military assistance programs. In this program, for example, approximately $30 million of equipment such as pistols, carbines, rifles, and submachineguns which could be used by law-enforcement agencies in this country, have been made available to foreign governments.

It appears to me, Mr. Speaker, that considerable savings would accrue to Federal and local governments if equipment of this type could be made available under the grant authority of title I and subjected, of course, to the rather rigid and proper controls set forth in this title. It does not make sense to me to burn or grind into scrap firearms which can assist the law-enforcement officials of this country. I urge that the Attorney General take steps toward making such equipment available in this manner. If necessary he should be instructed to do so by the appropriate committees of Congress. Certainly such procedures would result in appreciable savings to the Federal Government as well as to the State and local governments concerned with this program.

Mr. Speaker, lest someone should construe that such weapons should be made available promiscuously, I reiterate that this can and should be done under the restrictions imposed by the appropriate sections of title I of this bill in the same manner as grants would be administered. My proposal is simply that we substitute assets available to agencies of the Federal Government for additional Federal funds and thereby attempt to save a little money, something which seems to be the goal of most, if not all, Members of this body.

Mr. WAGGONNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for that clarification, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Florida, Mr. PAUL ROGERS, was one of the earliest people interested in this particular subject that we have under discussion, and has done a substantial amount of work in achieving the results which I hope we will achieve today.

So I yield at this time 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS] to discuss this subject.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] for yielding, and for his kind words. I might add that the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] was most active in bringing what I believe will be excellent results today in the passage of this resolution, which, in effect, will adopt the crime bill.

My particular interest in H.R. 5037 has been, and is, centered in title II.

This title deals with the admissibility and voluntariness of confessions made by defendants in criminal cases in the Federal courts.

By adoption of this title, we will help to untie the hands of the law-enforcement officers to deal properly with criminals.

This title is laudable in three very important respects, and in adopting this language, the Senate offered a commitment to the reestablishment of respect for law and order that is so desperately needed in this Nation today, and I think the House should adopt the resolution and pass the bill, in order to follow that commitment.

First, the Senate version of title II modifies the rule on admissibility of confessions as set forth in the case of *Mallory* v. *United States* (354 U.S. 449 (1957)).

In that case, the Supreme Court held that if an arrested person is not taken before a committing magistrate or other judicial officer "without unnecessary delay" as required by rule 5(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, any confession obtained during the period of delay is inadmissible in evidence in a Federal court.

This rule was formulated in the exercise of the Supreme Court's supervisory powers over lower Federal courts. It is not a constitutional requisite.

It is a procedural sanction or means of enforcing rule 5(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.

The Senate-passed bill removes some of the burden placed on the law officer by providing that a confession made during the time between arrest and arraignment before a committing magistrate is not inadmissable solely because of delay in bringing the accused before the magistrate if the confession is made voluntarily and is made within 6 hours following arrest or detention.

Moreover, this 6-hour time limit could be modified where distance and means of transportation to a magistrate would take longer than 6 hours.

Adoption of this change in the Mallory rule would assign proper weight to the rule. Delay in bringing a suspect before a committing magistrate would be a factor to consider in determining the issue of voluntariness, but it would not be the sole criterion to be considered.

Operating alone, it would not automatically exclude an otherwise competent and voluntary confession.

I might add that the infamous Mallory was convicted on another rape charge shortly after his first rape conviction was reversed by the Supreme Court.

Second. The Senate version of title II modifies the rule on voluntariness of confessions as set forth in the case of *Miranda* v. *Arizona* (384 U.S. 436, 1966).

Miranda was a 5-to-4 decision. Chief Justice Warren wrote the opinion for the majority, joined by Justices Black, Douglas, Brennan, and Fortas. Justice Clark wrote a dissenting opinion. Justice Harlan, joined by Justices Stuart and White, also wrote in dissent.

In that case, the Supreme Court held that a confession made by Miranda after being taken into police custody could not be used in evidence because he did not have an attorney with him at the time.

The Senate amendment again removes some of the burden on the arresting officer by providing that the presence of an attorney at the time of making a confession by an accused is only one factor, not the single factor, to be taken into consideration in determining whether the confession was made voluntarily.

The Supreme Court said in *Miranda* v. *Arizona* (384 U.S. 467):

> We encourage Congress and the States to continue their laudable search for increasingly effective ways of protecting the rights of the individual while promoting efficient enforcement of our criminal laws.

The Senate has responded to this invitation, and I think the House should do likewise by passing H.R. 5037.

Third. The Senate version of title II modifies the rule on eyewitness testimony as set forth in the case of *United States* v. *Wade* (388 U.S. 218 (1967)).

In that case, the Supreme Court held that a pretrial lineup identification by an eyewitness could not later be used in evidence at trial when the same eyewitness testifies, unless the accused had an attorney with him at the lineup. This rule would also apply if it were the victim, rather than an eyewitness, who made the lineup identification.

The fact that an eyewitness might on some occasion prior to trial have identified the accused, without a lawyer for the accused being present, cannot in reason, law, or commonsense justify such a disastrous rule of evidence.

While the Senate did not adopt language which would have restricted review of eyewitness testimony, the Senate did accept language which states that the testimony of an eyewitness shall be admissible in evidence, even though the defendant does not have an attorney while in the lineup.

Mr. Speaker, with the rate of crime rising at 10 times the rate of population growth in these United States, we in the Congress should do all we can to curb this horrible trend.

The Congress must act to restore the rights of the people to have their prosecuting attorneys place in evidence before juries the voluntary confessions, identification, and incriminating statements made voluntarily by defendants.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ECKHARDT].

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, if there ever was a time when Congress should not shake the recognized validity and authority of our Government, its processes and its institutions, it is now. Respect for law and enforcement of law must go hand in hand. There can be no respect for law when it is shoddily, imperfectly or unfairly enforced. And there can be no enforcement of law—in a democracy—if the law and the institutions that apply it are not respected.

I am for law enforcement. I have long been for the President's proposals to curb crime. The provisions of title I of H.R. 5037 as it came from the Senate generally enact these provisions. The most important ones are these:

First. The pumping of Federal funds into the States efforts at public protection wherein as much as one-third of any grant may be expended to upgrade police salaries.

Second. The provision for innovative measures to prevent crime in the community, like community service officers would restore some of the salutary effects of the policeman on the beat.

Third. The recruitment and training of law-enforcement officers to make that calling more efficient.

Fourth. The application of advanced professional training through the National Academy of the FBI and through grants-in-aid to local universities to make of criminal investigation a real profession that is not dead-ended in the job of police lieutenant.

However, I think the bill as it came from the Senate contains the bad, along with the good, in these respects:

First. Title II tends to undermine the constitutionally enunciated standards respecting the taking of confessions, of giving constitutional warning, and of affording fifth amendment protection. However, it must be pointed out that the Senate wisely omitted the attempt of the Senate committee to take away the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to review these matters upon constitutional grounds. Had the Senate not altered the bill in this respect, I could not have voted for it under any circumstances, because it would have done more harm in undermining respect for law and for the courts than it would have done good in providing improved law enforcement. It would have done this by subverting judicial review and this is, to an extent, within the power of Congress. However, for Congress to attempt to utilize the power in the way it did in the Senate Committee version would, in all but legal from, be an act of revolution. The bill, as it was rewritten by the Senate committee, would have changed the whole structure of the American Government had it been enacted into law.

Second. The provisions of the bill contained in title III are lamentable encroachments on privacy and on constitutional rights. They permit wiretapping to seek evidence concerning a great variety of offenses which may be charged against a citizen—and we must remember that the charges may not ultimately be borne out, but in seeking to do so the citizen's privacy is shamefully invaded.

Also to be taken into the balance are the provisions of title IV concerning State firearms control assistance. I believe that we should move toward control of firearms, particularly pistols. We can no longer ignore the danger of giving easy access to firearms to psychopaths and nincompoops. Nor can we ignore the danger of offering an open invitation from every pawnshop window to the young to extend their personalities with an "equalizer."

Yesterday I voted for the motion of the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the distinguished gentleman from New York, to send this bill to conference. Today, I regret that I shall have to make up my mind to favor or oppose this package as a whole.

While the Senate version contained the Court-limiting provisions I was against it. For, if the Congress does not respect the only law that ultimately governs it—the Constitution—what a sorry example we set for the people to obey the laws that govern them. But now, since the bad provisions do not raise these deep issues of principle, and since they can be curbed within constitutional limitations by the Court, I feel that the good in the bill is more likely to survive, and that the evil will be largely removed by judicial pruning.

Though it is unfortunate that we in Congress have chosen to send such imperfect legislation to the President without using the full resources of congressional perfection in conference committee, I am now given no other choice but to join in doing so if I am to support strong action against crime, which action I strongly favor.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 8 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANDERSON].

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation.

Much has been and will be said during this debate as to why we should or should not adopt House Resolution 1197. Unfortunately, very little has been said about the actual content and provisions of the omnibus crime control bill passed late last month in the other body. I will speak briefly of five sections of the amended H.R. 5037 and comment briefly on these sections.

Title I as approved in the other body makes a number of changes in the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act which we approved on August 8th of last year, but title I approved in the other body still retains the essence of the Republican substitute proposal adopted here 10 months ago as an alternative to the administration's safe streets bill. Title I retains the block-grant concept and provides for an equitable distribution formula primarily through law-enforcement plans adopted by the various States in cooperation with lesser governmental units. The other body retained the principles of a full partnership role in the decisionmaking process by local and State officials. In addition, title I retains from the House version the proper emphasis on the critical nationwide criminal problems posed by organized crime and by riots and violent civil disorder.

TITLE II—CONFESSIONS AND IDENTIFICATIONS

Title II has two provisions: Section 3501 makes voluntary confessions admissible in Federal courts, and section 3502 makes eyewitness testimony admissible in Federal courts.

Note that neither of these provisions affect the States or the State courts, where the bulk of criminal cases are tried. Section 3501 is a legislative attempt to mitigate the impact of the Supreme Court decisions in *Mallory* v. *United States* 354 U.S. 449 (1957), and *Miranda* v. *Arizona*, 384, U.S. 436 (1966). In Mallory, the Court held that an "unnecessary delay" in bringing a suspect to a magistrate for presentment made any statements uttered by the suspect during such period inadmissible as evidence regardless of their voluntary character. In Miranda, the Court held that any statements made by a suspect "in custody" were inadmissible if he had not been advised of four constitutional rights specified and identified by the Court.

Section 3501(c) overrules the Mallory decision. The Mallory decision by its own terms was not based upon the Constitution but was rather a gloss upon rule 5(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. Thus, it would seem clear that Congress has the power to change the Mallory rule in any way it sees fit. In fact, Congress did so in enacting Public Law 90-226, the District of Columbia crime law.

Section 3502 is aimed at the Supreme Court decision in *United States* v. *Wade*, 388 U.S. 218 (1967). In that decision, the Court held that a lineup identification in the absence of counsel was inadmissible.

The Court did not hold eyewitness testimony inadmissible, as is clear from the fact that the Court reversed the decision of the circuit court which had held that the denial of the right to counsel during a lineup served as an absolute bar to the admission of eyewitness testimony.

The Supreme Court reversed the decision of the circuit court to allow the Government to offer evidence that the accuser actually saw the accused commit the crime. What the Supreme Court is thus requiring in its Wade decision is proof that what is offered as eyewitness testimony is really eyewitness testimony.

TITLE III—WIRETAPPING AND ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE

Title III prohibits, with certain exceptions, the interception and disclosures of all wire and oral communications. Clearly, Congress can regulate wire communications in view of the obvious common carrier and interstate commerce basis.

Subsection (3) allows the President to use such measures as he deems necessary to protect the national security. It also provides for the admission of evidence so obtained only where such interception was reasonable and where such disclosure is necessary to implement the power to protect national security.

Section 2515 provides that evidence intercepted in violation of this title may not be used in evidence in any proceeding.

Section 2516 provides that the Attorney General or his designee may obtain a court order from a Federal judge to engage in electronic surveillance only when the evidence sought involves certain enumerated serious Federal crimes—and in special cases, crimes against State laws.

Section 2518 sets out at length and in detail the procedure for making application for a court order authorizing an interception. The requirements include detailed statements as to the particular offense, the location, the type of communication, the person involved, and other investigative procedures that were first tried, why others are not likely to succeed, or are too dangerous, and the length of time needed. In addition, the judge may require such other information as he deems necessary. This section also describes at length the requirements of probable cause as to the commission of a crime that are preconditions to the authorizations. Detailed requirements as to the content of each authorized order are set out. Orders are specifically limited to the minimum period necessary to achieve the objective.

Subsection (10) provides that aggrieved persons may move to suppress any evidence derived from an interception on specific grounds of: unlawful interception, insufficiency of the order, not in conformity with the order.

The prosecution is permitted to appeal within 30 days from orders suppressing such evidence made prior to trial when it is certified that the appeal is not for the purpose of delay.

TITLE IV—FIREARMS CONTROL

This section makes it unlawful for persons to be engaged in the business of importing, manufacturing, or dealing in firearms or destructive device ammunition, unless federally licensed. Dealers may not ship or transport in commerce firearms—excluding long guns—or ammunition for destructive devices to nondealers—nonlicensees. Interstate transactions between licensed dealers are permitted.

Section 922(a) also prohibits a nonlicensee from transporting into or receiving in the State of his residence a firearm—excluding long guns—if obtained outside the State. It also prohibits him from transporting into or receiving in his State any firearm obtained outside the State if purchase or possession in the State or local subdivision would be unlawful.

Subsection (b) of section 922 makes it unlawful for licensees to sell or deliver any firearms—excluding long guns—to persons the dealer has reasonable cause to believe are less than 21 years of age.

Subsection (b)(2) prohibits dealers from selling or delivering firearms to any person in any State where purchase or possession by the transferee would be in violation of any State law or properly published local ordinance. Licensees are also prohibited from selling or delivering firearms—except long guns—to persons whom he has reasonable cause to believe do not reside in the licensee's State.

TITLE VIII—APPEALS BY THE UNITED STATES FROM SUPPRESSION OF EVIDENCE ORDERS

This title implements a recommendation of the President's Crime Commission to permit the prosecution to appeal from pretrial orders that suppress evidence that constitutes a substantial proof of a criminal violation. Within certain constitutional limits, the right of the prosecution to appeal in criminal cases is prescribed by statute. This provision permits motions suppressing evidence made prior to trial of criminal cases to be litigated on appeal upon the request of the Federal prosecutor.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I was profoundly moved this afternoon as I listened to the very eloquent tributes that were paid here in the well of the House to the late Senator from New York, ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

It occurred to me then that, out of our sense of agony and anguish that we feel on this day, we would almost cry out from our hearts, as did the Prince of Denmark, when he discovered the treachery within the Danish Court, that—

> The time is out of joint; O cursed spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right!

And yet, as we were told by speaker after speaker this afternoon, we cannot simply sit back in the ashes of our grief and resign ourselves, as it were, to that alone.

We were told we have an individual and a collective responsibility to try even in this hour of national tragedy and in this hour of deep sorrow to see if we cannot move this country forward once again on the path to decency and order.

I am not so naive as to suggest this afternoon that this bill, embracing in its 11 titles the number of provisions it does, is going to be sufficient to accomplish all of that.

Yet to the extent that it does provide a signal and a very clear signal, to the country that we are making a national commitment to a war on crime even as we have to the war on poverty and as we are launching other crusades and causes in our country—we are making today that same kind of national commitment to the war on crime.

I think it is going to serve to reassure our Nation.

What impresses me very much about this bill, and it was discussed on yesterday, is that I think we have preserved, as the gentleman from New Jersey put it so well in his remarks on yesterday afternoon—we have preserved through the principle of block grants in this bill, the ability of the more than 40,000 local law-enforcement agencies, to participate in State plans that will be drawn and to participate in the funding that is made available under this bill.

We are not creating a national police force.

We are not doing any of those other things that we might fear, by centralizing the control of law-enforcement authority here in Washington.

Then I want to say just a word or two, and I hope others may want to comment on this subject in the time remaining. I cannot agree with those who have indicated that title II of this bill represents an irresponsible assault on the Supreme Court of the United States.

I was very happy a moment ago to hear the distinguished gentleman from New York, the chairman of the committee, say that he will now, today, embrace this resolution and vote for it too. Back on the 14th of March, when he was asking this House to use the identical procedure we employ today he spoke these words, and I think they are worth quoting for any Members who may still lack the assurance that they may need to realize that it is proper that they support this resolution.

The gentleman from New York, the chairman of the committee [Mr. CELLER] said:

> But I would say in the main this bill as it came from the Senate contains a far greater degree of equities than it might contain inequities. Therefore, on balance I embrace this bill gladly.

I think we can say that about this bill—that on balance, if you weigh the equities and the inequities that may be there, that on balance it represents the kind of legislation that this House should adopt.

So as the Scriptures would tell us, there is a time to every purpose. I think the time has come even in this very dark hour this afternoon that we resolve we are going to take the action called for and to adopt the Senate amendments to this bill which will make it possible for the President to do what he has repeatedly asked of this Congress; that is, to give him the tools—to give him the legislation that he needs to carry out the war on crime in this country.

This bill as matters now stand is in real jeopardy if it is consigned to the highly uncertain fate of a conference committee. The well-publicized statements of the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee make it patently clear that he would rather see no bill at all than to accept certain provisions of title II which he finds personally obnoxious. With all due deference to the distinguished gentleman from New York it should be no more difficult for him to accommodate himself to the wishes of what I believe to be the overwhelming majority of this House than it was for me to surrender some of the grave constitutional reservations which I had held regarding title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

The Scriptures remind us that to everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose. I suggest that the time is now and not at some uncertain date in the future that we indicate our purpose to enact this crime control bill into law.

There are some who have misgivings about this legislation because of titles II and III. They see, particularly in title II, an assault upon the judiciary. They fear a confrontation with the judicial branch of Government. I feel these fears are grossly exaggerated, if not unfounded.

Section 3501 makes voluntary confessions admissible in Federal courts. This merely returns the law in these cases to what it was for more than 175 years prior to the Escobedo and Miranda cases.

Section 3502 makes eyewitness testimony admissible in Federal courts and repeals the effect of the decision in the Wade case decided in 1967. The legislative history with respect to section 3501 (a) makes it clear the intent is to bring back the 14th amendment or due-process test of voluntary confessions in lieu of the fifth amendment or self-incrimination test.

Section 3501(b) specifically enumerates the factors the trial judge shall consider in determining the voluntariness of a confession. And it is important to note that these include whether Mallory was violated; whether Miranda was violated and whether the defendant knew why he was charged. The statute would merely provide that these factors "need not be conclusive on the issue of voluntariness." A court, therefore, would not even be precluded from applying the Miranda rule, if it wished to do so in a particular case.

Section 3501(c) does overrule the Mallory decision. However, Congress has already done so in the District of Columbia crime bill which was signed into law by the President. Furthermore, it is extremely important to note that the Mallory decision was based by its own terms on an interpretation of rule 5(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure rather than upon the Constitution itself. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that the effect of this section, 3501(c) is merely to affirm the proposition that a confession cannot be ruled out solely because of a delay in presentment. Specifically, a 6-hour delay before the suspect is brought before a committing magistrate would be permitted.

Title III of the Senate amendment to H.R. 5037, is similar to legislation previously introduced by the distinguished ranking minority member of the House Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCulloch]. The principal draftsman was a distinguished professor of law at Notre Dame, Robert Blakey. It would permit the issuance of electronic surveillance orders only upon the showing of probable cause as to the commission of certain listed crimes with exceptions for national security. The section dealing with the procedure for interception of wire or oral communications occupies 10 pages of the Senate bill. It sets forth in the most elaborate and precise detail the safeguards surrounding the application to a court of competent jurisdiction for authority to make a wiretap. I am satisfied that it is fully designed to guard against any unwarranted invasion of the precious right of privacy. It would not permit mere fishing expeditions. There must be detailed proof of probable cause that a crime has been committed before such a procedure can even be initiated.

Title IV relates only to handguns. It is a modest provision but certainly warranted in the day and age in which we live.

So I hope that this resolution we have before us this afternoon will be adopted.

I would thank the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Rhodes] as well as all Members on both sides of the aisle who made it possible for us to bring this resolution as expeditiously as possible to the floor today and to take the action on it that the country is waiting for us to take.

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. I am most pleased to yield to my colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCulloch].

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to compliment the gentleman and join with him in his excellent statement.

I felt that way when the Senate amendments came to the House on the 24th day of May. I felt that way last week, and I felt that way yesterday.

Mr. Speaker, I hope the resolution is unanimously adopted.

I rise in support of H.R. 5037. In this time of national mourning, words turn to sand in my mouth.

On the face of every man and woman in our land there is written shock and sorrow. "Why has this happened"? That question has no easy answer.

I can only observe that the Nation is suffering growing pains. Yesterday, when we were a "town" society, the community governed itself. The community served as its own guardian. The community was its own restraint.

Today, we are a "city" society, a society of mobile strangers. We are also a society where our institutions, academic and religious, too often foster a dissent far beyond that of responsible citizenship and self-discipline. Our legal institutions have also gone far down the same road by permitting excessive dissent and by overemphasizing individual liberties at the expense of society's liberties.

While these progressive conditions and an atmosphere of virtually unlimited individual liberty provide the cradle for the birth of new freedom and opportunity for people, it must be remembered that new freedoms require new responsibilities.

That is the challenge that has not been met.

In our national past, the small town, the cohesive community and our institutions contained elements of their own natural order. Friends and neighbors had a stake in law and order. In our new and more mobile society, these old sanctions no longer work. What is needed is a new emphasis on social and legal order. The place to start is within our existing agencies who provide for law and order and stability in our society.

The police, the prosecution, and the courts are all in dire need of assistance to cope with the seemingly overwhelming problems of today.

This bill, H.R. 5037, is a start. It provides for better training and education for police, more sophisticated tools for law enforcement such as electronic surveillance, and the financial assistance to utilize automatic data-processing computers, and other new techniques, gun control legislation and new rules of evidence and procedure in criminal cases—all of which should help.

However, I do not mean to say that the date of enactment of this bill will mark the end of crime in America. Ultimately, it is not the law that governs a land but rather the values that its inhabitants hold dear. It is to that end that we must rededicate ourselves.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Quillen].

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 1197, authored by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Anderson].

We must pass this anticrime bill—H.R. 5037—today; not tomorrow, not next week, but today.

We must put an end to the rioting, the looting, the burning, and the murdering that have been running wild on our streets throughout the country. This anticrime measure is a step forward to do this.

I cannot sit idly by and condone this flagrant violation of law and order so much in evidence throughout the land.

It is high time that this Congress does whatever it takes to put an end to violence, to put an end to anarchy, and to put an end to this flagrant violation of law and order.

While this anticrime bill is absolutely necessary, I feel that we already have laws on the books which, if enforced, would put an end to these terrible happenings, but we cannot close our eyes and delay any longer any measure which would give the law-enforcement officers more power or machinery with which to accomplish this. This measure would do that.

Let us put the responsibility for what has been happening in America where it belongs.

The administration in the White House has not dealt firmly with the law violators. Those in high places have refused to have the laws of this land enforced. The administration in the White House must put its foot down firmly and bring this violence, this burning, this looting, this murdering to a screeching halt.

The President of the United States goes on television and calls on the Congress to act. This is a deliberate act, in my opinion, to evade and shirk the issue at hand. He cannot place the blame on the Congress of the United States. It is in his hands, and he has consistently failed to enforce the laws of this land already on the books as a result of congressional action.

The Supreme Court's power must be curbed, and this measure will serve as a signal notice to the membership of that Court that this Congress means business.

And the U.S. Attorney General's office is a shame and a disgrace to this great Nation, and it all emanates from the lack of courage at the top.

It sickens me as an American and as a Member of this House when the U.S. Attorney General refuses to carry out the duties of his office. It worries me and deeply concerns me as to what is happening to my country. It is not all right to murder, to burn, to steal, to destroy. There are laws on the books to stop this now—not tomorrow, not next week, but this very moment—and they must be enforced.

But the passage of this measure—this anticrime bill—is demanded by the American people and I for one am going to do everything in my power to aid in turning this country around into the right path so that the American people can be safe in the streets, so that fear will not continue throughout the land.

The House yesterday showed its fortitude by demanding this measure now, and I urge that we recede and concur in the Senate amendments.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California [Mr. EDWARDS].

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, if the previous question is defeated, then a motion would be in order to eliminate titles II and III, which are objectionable because they deal with Supreme Court decisions regarding the admissibility of confessions and authorize broad-scale wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping without effective controls. So I urge my colleagues, at the time of the vote on the previous question, to defeat the previous question. In the event it is defeated the amendment will be offered by me to eliminate titles II and III.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WHITENER].

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, as an author of a resolution identical to the one now before the House, I would urge our colleagues to vote for the resolution. It is my judgment that final enactment of H.R. 5037 is the most expeditious way to meet the problem of crime that is now available to us.

I think it is unfortunate that yesterday and today there has been an undue emphasis given to title II of the bill. There are many other titles which are equally significant.

I am impressed with one which has never had the honor of being mentioned in the debate. That is title VIII, which gives to the U.S. Government the right of appeal where motions to suppress evidence have been allowed in the trial court. This will mean that hereafter the trial judge will not be able to require the United States to go into court with one arm tied behind.

By reason of title VIII, the decision by a trial judge to suppress evidence will be appealable. The appellate court will make the decision as to the competency of the evidence, and the case will then go back for trial if that court finds that the evidence may be used. In my judgment, this will be a great improvement in criminal procedure.

Other titles in the bill deal with wiretapping, State firearms control assistance, disqualification of Federal employees from employment if convicted of engaging in riots or civil disorder, and provides additional grounds for the issuance of search warrants in the investigation of criminal conduct. Another title in the bill provides that hereafter whenever a Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is appointed, such appointment is subject to Senate confirmation.

Mr. Speaker, as I said yesterday in the debate on the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] to send the bill to conference, there are several provisions in the bill about which I have some doubt. Notwithstanding my lack of total satisfaction with the language of the bill, I believe that it is imperative that we immediately take favorable action in order that the new tools provided in this legislation may be made available in the battle against crime.

While this bill is not the total answer to meeting the crime wave that is now being experienced in our Nation, it is a step in the right direction.

I, therefore, support the resolution and urge its immediate adoption.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK].

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, I do not think that time permits any kind of careful analysis of the crime bill which is under consideration, but as a member of the House Judiciary Committee and speaking for myself, I am very pleased that the Senate included many tools which I think should prove very useful in the war against crime.

I am particularly pleased that the block grant approach is retained in respect to the allocation of funds under title I. This is the approach that was taken by the House, in an amendment introduced by Congressman CAHILL, on which I had the privilege to work with him, and which was passed overwhelmingly by the House.

I can tell the Members also that many of us, who as members of the House Judiciary Committee had the opportunity to hear testimony in respect to the need for wiretap legislation, were firmly convinced of the importance of this particular legislation with judicial safeguards—and I am very pleased to support that section in the bill.

For a minute I would like to refer to the gun control section. This is not the approach that many of us on the Judiciary Committee would have preferred. I was very proud to work with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BIESTER], who worked out what I thought was a reasonable approach, a compromise approach to the difficult subject of gun control legislation.

Our bill, instead of banning interstate sales, would have regulated interstate sales. It would have differentiated between the law-abiding citizen and those citizens who were apt to use firearms in a hazardous manner. It would have required the Secretary of the Treasury to issue licenses to dealers who qualified and who could prove they were qualified and who met the conditions set forth in the bill.

But we know that something must be done to restore law and order. I feel very strongly that there are enough constructive aspects to the Senate version, so that we should expeditiously and quickly pass it.

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAILSBACK. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BIESTER].

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with my colleague in the well in the remarks he has made. The gentleman made a very considerable contribution to the passage of this bill in the form it passed the House. In many respects this is a House bill. Many of its segments were separate bills that passed the House. Among them was the appeals bill introduced by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAILSBACK].

On the gun control provisions, I appreciate the cooperation of the gentleman in the well. We tried to write a flexible bill with regulations which gave consideration and effectiveness to State and municipal regulations. We did so because we felt the need for sensible regulation of gun sales. While I share with the gentleman reservations about the bill before us, I believe the purpose we pursued at the outset and the need that moved us to introduce our bill calls for support of the Senate bill in its entirety, including the gun control section.

I urge adoption of the resolution.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA].

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, when the House of Representatives passed the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act 10 months ago, we adopted an amendment which earmarked $30 million of the total sum authorized for the purpose of assisting local law-enforcement agencies in the control and prevention of riots. Unfortunately, the Senate reduced the amount set aside for that purpose by exactly one-half, to $15 million. Worse yet, the Senate, when it amended this legislation on the floor of the Senate, neglected to make corresponding changes in the authorization section, so that on a quick reading of the bill, one might think that no funds had been earmarked for the purpose of riot control and prevention.

I had hoped this bill might go to conference, so this question could be cleared up.

I believe it is perfectly reasonable to say to those who have the responsibility for administering this law that this mistake was a technical mistake. I believe the Senate, while amending the bill on the floor, did intend that at least $15 million go for the purpose of riot prevention and control.

I should like to have some member of the Judiciary Committee, or of the Committee on Rules now handling the bill, state his agreement with the proposition. I believe it is a legitimate interpretation and one in accord with the intent of the U.S. Senate.

Mr. Speaker, having received no response, I will simply assert that my own reading of the bill and of the Senate proceedings suggest that to me.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Teague].

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I should just like to point out something in this bill which the House is doing today which I certainly do not believe we want to do.

On page 126 of the bill the words are used: "veterans who are other than honorably discharged," and then, below that, the words are: "a threat to the safety of the President of the United States and Vice President of the United States."

Mr. Speaker, between a dishonorable discharge and an honorable discharge there are four other kinds of discharges: undesirable, bad conduct, resigned for the good of the service, and general. On some of those discharges we give the veteran every benefit of the GI bill.

To say this in this bill, "other than honorably discharged" seems to me we are making a big mistake.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Pepper].

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on the first day of the 90th Congress I introduced House Joint Resolution 1, to set up a joint committee of the Senate and of the House, appointed by the heads of the respective bodies, to make a study of all aspects of this matter of crime, and to make due recommendations as to everything Congress could possibly do to prevent and to suppress crime and violence in America.

On Tuesday morning, in the Members' private dining room, on the first floor, there is going to be a meeting of those who have joined in the sponsorship of that resolution and others who are interested. More than 60 Members of the House and more than 20 Members of the other body have joined in introducing the resolution.

I believe there is something more we can do beyond the pending measure and what we have done against crime and violence. I believe we ought to explore every aspect of the subject to see if there is something more we can do by joint action of the two bodies before adjournment of this Congress to give assured security to the people of our country in their persons, their homes, and their property.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Poff].

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I take this time merely to address a subject which I believe probably has been neglected and unhappily misunderstood. I have reference to title II, which deals with the question of confessions.

Those who are alarmed about the constitutional question I believe must be under the assumption that the bill now on the floor contains that form of title II which was first reported by the Committee on the Judiciary in the Senate. This is not a fact. That form was changed by amendments adopted on the floor of the other body. Among other efforts, these amendments deleted the sections restricting appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in confession and eye-witness cases and the section suspending Federal writs of habeas corpus with respect to State cases.

In its present form title II simply says that the absence of warnings required by Miranda and Escobedo may be considered as one element in determining the definition of voluntariness but that this need not be the controlling factor.

Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the Court in deciding the Miranda case invited the Congress to enact legislation in this field. To prove my point I quote from the decision:

> It is impossible for us to foresee the potential alternatives for protecting the privilege which might be devised by Congress or the States in the exercise of their creative rule-making capacities. Therefore, we cannot say that the Constitution necessarily requires adherence to any particular solution for the inherent compulsions of the interrogation process as it is presently conducted. Our decision in no way creates a constitutional strait-jacket which will handicap sound efforts at reform, nor is it intended to have this effect. We encourage Congress and the States to continue their laudable search for increasingly effective ways of protecting the rights of the individual while promoting efficient enforcement of our criminal laws. (Miranda v. Arizona, 384 U.S. 467).

I believe it is important to write legislative history on one or two vital points.

The version of the bill as passed by the House last summer contained a specific provision authorizing the Attorney General to reserve a portion of the planning funds and action funds, not exceeding 3 percent for distribution in his discretion to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, the Canal Zone, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The remainder of the planning funds and action funds was to be distributed according to a population formula. The version of the bill as passed by the Senate contains slightly different provisions for the distribution of planning funds and action funds to the territories and possessions. Although sections 205 and 306 of the Senate bill do not specifically allocate a percentage of planning funds and action funds to these geographic areas, section 601(c) of the Senate bill defines "State" as meaning "State of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and any territory or possession of the United States." Since the formulas in the Senate bill allocate planning funds and action funds to "States," it is clear that all the territories and possessions of the United States are entitled to participate in the law enforcement assistance programs to be carried out under title I.

I believe that the Senate bill is a modest but significant improvement over the House bill in this respect. It not only avoids the peculiarly verbose provisions of the House bill dealing with the territories and possessions, but it also extends the benefits of title I to all the territories and possessions, not merely those territories and possessions enumerated in the House bill. This extension is, I submit, entirely appropriate in light of the obvious need for law enforcement assistance in all geographic areas under the possession and control of the United States.

At the same time, however, the telescoped language of the Senate bill in section 205, dealing with the allocation of planning grants, creates a minor ambiguity, since the language may possibly be read as requiring that $100,000 in planning funds must be allocated to each territory or possession.

Such a reading would, of course, be entirely inappropriate, since in many of the smaller territories and possessions, the allocation of $100,000 for law-enforcement planning is likely to be far in excess of the legitimate planning needs of the areas. I do not believe that the Senate bill should be interpreted in this manner, and I do not so read it. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration has ample discretion to award planning grants to the territories and possessions, consistent with their needs, without being obligated to make full $100,000 grants in each case. The other substantive changes made by the Senate in the House bill are in no way inconsistent with this interpretation. Fairly read as a whole, I believe that this is the intent of the Senate.

I would also like to comment briefly on the provisions of title VIII of the bill as passed by the Senate, which provides for an appeal by the United States from orders granting motions to suppress evidence. Although most of the debates in the Congress on this bill have emphasized the need for an appeal in cases where evidence is suppressed as the fruit of an illegal search and seizure under the fourth amendment, I would like to emphasize that title VIII by its terms will also permit the appeal of orders suppressing at least two other types of evidence—confessions, admissions, and eyewitness identifications. At the present time, the prosecution of many significant cases in the Federal courts is thwarted because of the holding of a single district judge that a confession or admission has been unlawfully obtained or that the identification of a defendant by his victim or by an eyewitness to the crime was unlawful. By authorizing an appeal in such cases, and thereby allowing an appellate court to determine whether the decision of the district judge suppressing the evidence is in accord with existing law, title VIII may enable many of these prosecutions to be saved. I therefore welcome the wisdom of the Senate in accepting the general language of the bill as passed by the House last September, and thereby allowing appeals by the Government in all such cases.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would like to quote the words of one of America's foremost jurists. These words are as follows:

> At the present time in this country there is more danger that criminals will escape justice than that they will be subjected to tyranny.

Those words were uttered by Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. They were uttered 64 years ago in a more tranquil era than the one in which we live, but I submit that they are even more pertinent today than they were then.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. TAYLOR].

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, today we are thinking sadly of the tragic consequences of violence and crime in America. The greatest problem facing our Nation is the breakdown of law and order. Major crime is increasing six times as fast as the population is growing.

There is in the Nation a spirit of rebellion and anarchy. Efforts are being made to redress alleged grievances by calculated, premeditated civil disobedience and to settle problems in the streets, rather than before legislative bodies or in the courts.

The criminal has long received all the protection to which he is entitled under the Constitution. The Supreme Court has seen to that. Now it is time to protect the rights of the law-abiding citizens.

In my judgment, our Nation has stood for almost 200 years because we are a nation of laws that we have been willing to enforce. The certainty of punishment is still the best deterrent to crime.

Theodore Roosevelt said:

> No man is above the law and none is below it, nor do we ask any man's permission when we require him to obey it.

Our people are fed up with crime and disorder. They are demanding effective action to restore law and order to our streets and homes. Tolerance of law violations benefits only the lawless. That which has happened in France must not happen here.

In my opinion, much of the responsibility for the intolerable conditions rests with the U.S. Supreme Court. In decision after decision since World War II, this Court has weakened the whole structure of American criminal law in an attempt to protect the constitutional rights of the person accused of crime.

Federal court decisions have shattered legal precedents, have annulled State laws, and have declared void State court decisions. What has resulted is a legal jungle wherein lawyers and judges grope their way through a maze of court decisions, all having as their effect a weakening of the police power.

Police officers need to know their powers to question, detain, and arrest; but Federal law and the law of all the States on this question have been in great confusion.

In the June 13, 1966, case of Miranda against Arizona, the Supreme Court stated that an accused person has the right to remain silent and any statement he does make may be used as evidence. He has the right to the presence of an attorney, either retained or appointed. He must be informed of these rights before he can be interrogated, and he can have his attorney with him during interrogation. He may voluntarily and knowingly waive his right to remain silent, but this must be done in an intelligent, positive way. Now what does that mean? The Government does not hire a lawyer to advise the officer what to do.

The dangerous imbalance between the rights of the accused and the rights of society to the protection of life and property must be corrected. Court decisions upsetting State laws and precedents and unleashing thousands of criminals have had a profoundly demoralizing effect on law enforcement in our country.

The Federal court has strengthened the rights of the criminal and restricted the power of the police. It has dropped a legal curtain of protection around hardened, unreformed criminals. It has handicapped the policeman who tries to enforce the law.

The Congress of the United States should speak up and let the judiciary know in clear and unmistakable terms that the time has come when the rights of society must be restored and protected.

The passage of the motion before us is a rebuke to the U.S. Supreme Court. It reverses decisions which had virtually eliminated confession as a law-enforcement instrument and which had shackled the police and prosecuting officers. As we attempt to restore law and order in America such action is necessary.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN].

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, our police, sheriffs, deputies, patrolmen, and all State and local law-enforcemnt agencies desperately need the equipment, weapons, and scientific research this bill will provide. Aid to our law-enforcement officers is urgent to cope with the growing crimewave, violence, and arson, which is threatening the very existence of our country.

This bill today will aid our State and local communities to provide more adequate salaries and fringe benefits for our law-enforcement officers. It is a step toward aiding the families of our law-enforcement officers to live in dignity and respect. This bill today is a tangible evidence and manifestation of respect on the part of this House for the men standing guard in the byways and streets of our country to preserve law and order. Never before in the history of the United States have we faced the grave possibility of anarchy, chaos, and the disrespect for those men and women trying to maintain law and order to preserve our individual freedom and our sacred democratic institutions. This bill will help our law-enforcement officers to fight crime by curbing, even though to a small degree, the power of the Supreme Court to turn criminals scot free and run roughshod over the rights of the American people. I hope someday before too long this Congress will regain its power for the American people and prevent the Supreme Court from writing the law and eroding the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the American people are looking to us to restore order in this country so that they can again walk the streets without fear. The American people are looking to us to restore the prestige and influence of our great country at home and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, a late U.S. Senator once said:

> Democratic institutions exist by reason of their virtue. If ever they fall, it will be when we have forgotten the past, become indifferent to the present and utterly reckless as to the future.

Mr. Speaker, let us look to the future of our Nation and give the next generation an opportunity under law and order to preserve our great democratic institutions for all time to come. I urge this house to past this anticrime bill by an overwhelming majority to serve notice on the lawless and the criminal that we will not tolerate the destruction of our republic.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 5037 and House Resolution 1197. I am particularly pleased that the Senate included therein title V, which provides for disqualification from Federal employment of individuals convicted by any Federal, State, or local court of competent jurisdiction of inciting a riot or civil disorder; organizing, promoting, encouraging, or participating in such activities; aiding or abetting any person in committing such offenses; or of any offense determined by the head of the employing agency to have been committed in furtherance of, or while participating in, a riot or civil disorder.

As our colleagues know, I have been offering amendments to pending legislation since 1966 which would prohibit payment of salaries to any Federal employees convicted of riot-related offenses. The first amendment, attached to an Office of Economic Opportunity authorization measure in 1966, affected OEO employees and poverty workers in OEO financed agencies. As our colleagues also know, there were a number of cases throughout the country that year when poverty workers were accused by authorities of inflamatory statements preceding riots in major cities. The amendment was adopted.

In 1967, because of activities of certain employees in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, especially one individual who was reported in the local press as having urged students to direct the "black power" movement toward the downfall of capitalism, and who on another occasion called on Negroes to arm themselves against the police, I offered the amendment again, this time to the Labor-HEW Appropriations measure under consideration. The amendment was passed unanimously.

After the Washington riots in April, Mr. Speaker, I offered the amendment to each appropriations measure this House considered until the Appropriations Committee, on the most recent date we considered the State, Justice, Commerce, and the judiciary appropriations measure, included it as an integral part of the bill in committee. At the present time, Mr. Speaker, employees of Health, Education, and Welfare; Labor; Interior; Justice; and Agriculture are covered under my amendment.

It is truly shameful, Mr. Speaker, that in the United States of America, the most powerful Nation on earth and the most democratic, we should have to legislate to prevent Federal employees from rioting and attempting to destroy their Government. Yet we face violence at almost any moment in every city in this Nation, and experience has shown that some Federal employees have become involved in the violence not only here in Washington, D.C., the seat of our Government, but in other cities over the Nation.

No government can survive, Mr. Speaker, if it finances its own destruction. If we aid those seeking to riot, finance those intent on destroying law and order, by providing them with funds from the very government they are bent on destroying, we are fueling the fires of that destruction.

Officials in most duly established governing bodies, in their oaths of office, swear to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, or the Constitutions of the States or local governments they serve

Today we face daily demonstrations in the streets of Washington, threats of sit-ins, lie-ins, and break-ins, to deny the use of public property to all; to prevent law-abiding citizens from traveling to and from their work and home; to disrupt the activities of government in the District of Columbia. This is unlawful conduct, Mr. Speaker, it is a direct violation of constitutional rights and a steppingstone to anarchy. For reasons beyond the understanding of most Americans this conduct has been condoned by many high officials of this Government in public comments or by their silence. We cannot tolerate it and remain free.

In at least some of our Federal agencies, small but vocal minorities are advocating participation by Federal employees in those activities. They must be prevented from doing so.

Federal employees should not only obey the law. They should set an example for others to follow in obeying them. As a Member of Congress representing a district in which thousands of Federal employees live, I know the vast majority of our Federal workers are proud of the Government they serve and proud of the Nation in which they live. I know, too, that they strongly favor eliminating from their ranks those who would destroy their Government and their Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I urge passage of this resolution.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I vote against the Senate bill. I, like most of my colleagues, voted for the House version of what is now called the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act on August 8, 1967. I also voted yesterday to send the House bill to conference, which is the proper procedure when each House passes a widely differing version of the same bill.

But I refuse to be stampeded into a yes or no vote on an omnibus Senate bill with such grave imperfections as these:

First. Instead of carefully reviewing decisions of the Supreme Court and amending them by constitutional amendment where improvement is needed, the Senate bill attempts in a patently unconstitutional way to set aside what the Court has declared the Constitution to be. The passage of this bill will result in unparalleled confusion for a year or more until these provisions are finally declared unconstitutional. Many persons prosecuted and convicted during that period will have to be retried or even released because they will have been deprived of their constitutional rights with the temporary approval of Congress.

Second. Indiscriminate wiretapping is allowed for a wide variety of State and Federal crimes, including gambling, interstate transportation of stolen property, embezzlement from pension funds, and so forth. In addition, the police are authorized to wiretap in "emergency" situations for up to 2 days without any court consent whatever.

Third. The gun control provision is hopelessly inadequate. It merely limits the interstate sale of pistols, and would have done nothing to keep the murder weapon from the assassin of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, for that weapon was sold in California to a California resident.

If we are serious about controlling crime in this country, we should start again, and do it right. I shall shortly introduce a Police Assistance Act which will make available to the large cities of this country Federal funds to increase the salaries of their police and to add more men to the force. The cities cannot keep law and order because they cannot adequately fund their police departments from their pitiful revenue sources, largely the property tax on the homeowner. Meaningful Federal help is thus needed.

The solution of the problem of crime and violence does not lie in the direction of allowing underpaid and ill-trained policemen to take shortcuts to law and order by depriving us of both our privacy and our constitutional rights. Rather, we should pay the price necessary to obtain men of ability in sufficient numbers and sufficiently well paid, to assure that not only order, but the quality and character of our society, is preserved.

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, the need for this legislation was never so clear as on this tragic day when all America is reeling from the shocking and senseless murder of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

No one can say that had this measure been law it might have prevented that outrageous crime. But certainly such a law will be the first step toward an end to the leniency toward criminals which many of us are convinced is the basic cause of crime and violence.

Our distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee was so right when he said, "Our Nation is encapsulated in fear." Why should it not be? Within the past months we have witnessed acres of business establishments burned and looted in the District of Columbia. Within the past 24 hours, two marines and a Negro boy were killed in cold blood, two women were raped, two banks and two savings and loan institutions were robbed, muggings and burglary has become so commonplace the papers do not mention them. Why should our Nation not be encapsulated in fear when it hears high officials attempt to justify or explain away acts of violence, arson, and looting. When the Supreme Court seems to be more interested in protecting the rights of criminals than it is the rights of law-abiding citizens—a Court that seems incapable of applying the rule of commonsense in matters relating to obscenity.

Yes, our citizens walk the streets in fear because they have seen the crime rate increase 88 percent in the past 7 years—a murder every 48 minutes and a woman raped every 21 minutes—an automobile stolen and three robberies committed every minute of the day.

This bill is an attempt to restore the confidence of law-abiding people—to strike back at those who refuse to live up to the rules of civilized society. It is an attempt to bring order out of chaos created by some of the decisions rendered by the U.S. Supreme Court. The Miranda and Mallory decisions have handcuffed our enforcement officers. Today it is the policeman who is on trial not the accused. Title III is an attempt to give Federal law-enforcement officers an equal break with criminals. It authorizes the use of electronic devices by duly authorized Federal law-enforcement officers, but only after application is made to the Court. Strict guidelines are applicable.

This—

In the words of New York City district attorney, Frank Hogan—

> would be the single most effective weapon against organized crime.

It would prohibit mail order sales of firearms other than rifles and shotguns.

There are many provisions of the bill that I would like to see amended. The bill is not perfect. If abuses arise or changes are needed, Congress can in the future make revisions.

In supporting this bill, I would remind my colleagues that the need for a start toward providing better protection for American citizens was apparent long before the tragedy at the Ambassador Hotel. Law-abiding citizens are no longer safe on city streets. The mood of the Nation demands that we act. I would hope that the passage of this measure will be only a first step toward facing up to the simple but almost forgotten fact that laws are written to protect the law-abiding, not as an escape hatch for the lawless.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it is time to wage war on the criminal; it is time to take the handcuffs off our law-enforcement officers and put them back on the lawbreaker where they belong.

Toward this end, I strongly urge the House to favorably consider the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act before us today.

Since 1960 there has been an increase in crime of 88 percent, as contrasted with an increase in our population of only 10 percent. It is apparent that crime is one of the most critical and urgent domestic problems facing our Nation today.

We are witnessing a breakdown of law and order throughout our land. Our Nation's citizens are crying out for some tangible sign of constructive action by their Government officials to combat this most pressing problem. A vote for this legislation will do much to reverse the wave of crime and lawlessness which today threatens the very framework of our society.

I urge my fellow Representatives to join with me in supporting this very important bill.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, in March of 1967 I cosponsored three major pieces of anticrime legislation:

First, the President's safe streets and crime control bill; second, a bill authored by my colleague from the Bronx [Mr. SCHEUER], to establish a National Institute of Criminal Justice, and third, the President's firearms control bill.

The Senate omnibus crime bill now before us contains substantially all of the provisions of the first two of these measures, and a good part of the third.

I was gratified that the Safe Streets and Crime Control bill was passed by the House last August, and I voted for it. But I was disappointed that the House, at that time, rejected the amendment I proposed which would have added provisions to the House bill for firearms control based on the President's proposals which—as I just indicated—I cosponsored.

The Senate bill, however, does contain firearms control provisions. In this respect, the Senate bill is clearly an improvement over the House bill, even though its firearms provisions are not as strong as they should be or as strong as the gun-control provisions I attempted to include in the House bill last year.

In other respects, particularly titles II and III, the Senate bill contains provisions which I believe will not promote respect for authority, some of which may even be unconstitutional—judging by the way the Supreme Court has interpreted the Constitution in recent years. For that reason I voted yesterday to follow the time-tested procedure of convening a House-Senate conference to obtain the best possible bill for both bodies to consider for final approval. That course was rejected by the House.

Our only choice now is to approve or reject the Senate bill. After complete study of the bill, the Supreme Court decisions relating to title II, and the debate in the Senate, and after listening to the all-too-brief debate in the House. I have concluded that, on balance, the Senate bill should be enacted rather than having no bill at all. It is especially important that we take this opportunity to get started on meaningful firearms control, which has so long been effectively blocked by the so-called gun lobby.

Our country is suffering grievously from an epidemic of lawlessness and violence. Enactment of this bill will not end the epidemic, but we will have taken some steps in the right direction.

I hope that, at an early day, the provisions of this will be extended to include more effective firearms control, and that the provisions of titles II and III will be revised, as experience dictates, to conform to the Constitution and to preserve essential pretrial and privacy rights for our citizens.

I hope, too, that we will proceed much more vigorously than we have to date, to attack the underlying causes of crime and violence.

This is the mandate thrust upon us by the tragedy we have just suffered.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, this body must preserve its intended place in our system of government by being responsive to the will of the American people. The American people have made it abundantly clear to all of us that they want law and order restored throughout the land without further delay.

The American people are understandably sick and tired of the attitude of permissiveness, the laxity of law enforcement, and the selective disobedience of law which permeates our society. The country needs all the tools and all the means at its command to combat the rising tide of crime and to restore safety and order to our streets.

We cannot longer delay the enactment of a meaningful and effective crime bill. Sadly, I must concede that the passage of H.R. 5037 will come far too late to demonstrate that the Congress is as alert and responsive to the will of the American people as it should be. Nearly a year ago the House of Representatives did pass a constructive crime bill. However the other body, after long delay has seen fit to act upon an omnibus measure, which goes far beyond the House proposal.

We face a hard choice—the bill now before us has a number of provisions with which I disagree. I should like to see it changed in several significant aspects; however, the opportunity for modification will not be available at this time. But it's obviously a question of this bill or none at all. We can no longer delay—the American people demand a strong anticrime program. This bill is the best we can hope for at this hour—at this time of immediate need.

I will support this legislation under the circumstances in which we now find ourselves. However I must qualify my position with two comments. One, this bill when enacted into law should be immediately refined, corrected, and improved by amendatory legislation. I urge this body to proceed to this task promptly.

Second, I say this bill alone, with all the amendments and improvements we can devise will not by itself restore law and order and safety to our streets, to our cities and to our homes. America needs a return to the principles of self-discipline, respect for public authority, and obedience to the rules of an ordered society. We must once again reestablish in the hearts of all, high standards of morality and conscience. Individual freedom and liberty uncontrolled can mean chaos. The rights of citizenship cannot be exercised without due recognition and observance of the duties, the obligations, and responsibilities of citizenship. I pray the American people will turn to the example of our forefathers who founded this country and learn again to practice self-discipline, responsibility, and obedience to law.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I support this bill which represents a modest step toward creating the legislative foundation which will help us to restore tranquillity to the streets of the Nation and the lives of our citizens.

The events of the last few days have emphasized the threat of lawlessness that persists and grows in this country, but it is not only the extraordinary event that demands the attention of the Congress. It is to the gradual and spectacular rise in the volume of criminality and the lack of support for adequate law enforcement that we must urgently turn our attention.

In this bill at least the Congress is placing itself on the side of tranquility and order and the proper enforcement of our laws. I hope that this may be a beginning of a return to the administration of justice in a manner which will deter criminal conduct and protect the public whose right has in many instances been subordinated to that of the criminal defendant.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, we urgently need this anticrime bill as part of the law of the land. There is across this Nation a sense of urgency that demand we act swiftly to put the lid back on the Pandora's box of violence which has been unleashed on our society.

The time is ripe, the people demand we act, and in the light of the tragedy in Los Angeles, I believe that the eyes of America look toward Washington in hopes that somehow, we can make a concerted effort to curtail violence and crime. Perhaps we are emotional now, in the wake of the assassination of one of the Nation's outstanding public servants, but can we afford the complacency and apathy which has unfortunately followed the official mourning of other assassinated people in the past?

And let us be sure that the word goes forth to those who intimidate, those who threaten, those who would extract through threats because of grievances real or imagined, that the streets of our cities, the neighborhoods of our communities, are no longer going to be an open target for violence and crime. It is a pity that the assassination of high officials seems to be the only event which will jar many into the realization of the criminal sickness which has carved its niche into our society. But every day of every week of every year, average men and women across this land of ours are assassinated, if you will, murdered, robbed, and raped, not only in their streets and businesses, but in their own homes.

I am no longer willing to listen to the frustrated new theories, new commission reports, new bureaucratic poppycock which has been looked to for solutions. The solution is swift and decisive action on the part of our Government, whose very indecision in the past has allowed the criminal element amongst our people to cloak themselves with an aura of confidence that crime will pay. We need to take this first step, and serve notice that Congress will no longer abdicate its responsibilities to nine appointed men, nor will it allow the passivity of an appointed Attorney General to be a roadblock in our disgust, and anger and our wrath over the permissive society of crime.

Freedom is a high-sounding word, and we Americans like to toss that word around extravagantly. But, I ask, can freedom be really meaningful, if a man is not safe to enjoy his liberty? With every freedom, there is an obligation; and every citizen owes his fellow citizen a duty to respect his person and property, and not to harm it. This is democracy, this is what we are all about—and yet in the past few years fear has crept over our citizens like a fog in the night, and the precious freedoms we hold so dear are being devalued because of the abuses of freedom, the crime and the violence.

I am not a criminologist. I am not learned in sociology. I am not an expert in psychology. I can not give scientific reasons why we have crime and violence. But in a layman's capacity, it seems to me that violence is a phenomena which, while not peculiar to our society, is at least glorified and glamorized by us.

There are those who blame government for not acting in the past. It may be a reasonable assumption. However, I believe the mass communication media bears a huge responsibility which it must share. As a molder of opinions, newspapers have often molded hate and generated passions by sensationalized news and slanted opinion. Motion pictures bear a responsibility, because they glorify violence, not only in contemporary films, but in war and western movies as well. Television depicts the violence of war in such gruesome details, and in such a "matter of fact," off-the-cuff manner that our society is conditioned to violence, and is used to it. Only the death of a high official, well known the world over, shocks the people into the realization that this is not a fantasy, this is not a movie or television drama—but is real.

We have moved to a point in our history where we actually have Americans preaching violence, advocating it as a vehicle of change. We have youngsters led by apostles of violence into criminal activity even on those islands of education in our nation. The pied piper of civil disobedience usually loses all control, and violent disobedience to laws is more commonplace. We have people so angered by political differences that they debate with guns rather than with words. We have so much prejudice, so much hate, and so much misunderstanding, that appears to become more polarized each year. Reason has been losing its war of words to the criminal hate within our society, and it is a sad outlook when our people are so torn with fear.

Whatever the causes, whatever the reasons, our duty to the Americans who handed this great Nation down to us, and our duty to those who will inherit our dream, this duty is clear. We must move now, and quickly, so that sanity once again prevails in this country. I care not what Europeans or Asians think of our troubles—but I do care what future Americans will think of how we handle this crises of our times.

This legislation today is but a small move in the right direction. It is an urgently needed move, a gesture which will at least make Americans realize that we no longer will tolerate violence and crime in our society.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the rise in crime throughout this country, the constant increase in lawlessness and violence has given cause for the greatest concern and alarm among our citizens.

We have all experienced complete shock and utter dismay with the tragic assassination of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, a national leader who only moments before he was struck down, had ironically stressed the importance of bringing an end to the violence that has plagued this Nation.

We are faced today with a national problem of the highest priority—the problem of crime and lawlessness and violence. This problem must be met and it must be met now—our Nation cannot and will not stand for it any longer.

The crime bill which we vote on today is a bill which has some provisions with which I do not agree. But it is on balance, in my belief, a good bill—a bill which provides desperately needed resources to assist our State and local officials in the fight against crime. I support this bill and hope that it will be implemented as soon as is possible so that we can begin at once to overcome this terrible disease that infects our society.

Mr. Speaker, last week I had the privilege of addressing the Pittsfield Police Association in my hometown of Pittsfield on the problems of crime and lawlessness. I take this opportunity to insert that speech in the RECORD at this point:

PROBLEMS OF CRIME AND LAWLESSNESS

It is a special pleasure for me to be here this morning at the Pittsfield Police Association's Annual Communion Breakfast and to have this opportunity to share a few thoughts with you.

You know with crime levels reaching what they are today, early Sunday morning is just about the only hour in the week that we can afford to have a group of police officers gather together like this!

I always welcome the opportunity to speak to a group of law enforcement officers and this of course is especially true today here in the city that has been my hometown for all of my life.

I have seen you through the eyes of a boy during childhood, those of a teenager during high school, and those of an attorney upon finishing law school. I have worked with many of you during my days in the State Senate and in the Congress of the United States. I feel that I am in a particular position to know just how difficult your job has been and just how enormous a contribution you have made to this community and, along with your fellow officers throughout the country, to this nation.

For too long your struggle has been a lonely one in the life and death fight against crime. For too long the people of this nation have gone about their business unconcerned about this vital battle—a battle which is just as important to the safety and welfare of this nation as any military battle we have ever had to fight.

But things are changing now.

This nation has finally become concerned about the problem of crime—and its about time.

A recent Gallup Poll showed that Americans believed crime and lawlessness to be the most important domestic problem facing our country for the first time in the history of the Gallup Polling.

When at this year's State of the Union presentation in Congress, the President spoke about the need to deal with the growing crime problem, he received by far his loudest applause and backing of the night.

During the 90th Congress, an unprecedented number of bills have been introduced in the area of crime prevention and control—numbers which equal the amounts introduced in such recognized areas of Federal concern as education, health, and welfare.

Among legislation that I introduced early last year was a bill to provide compensation to survivors of local law enforcement officers killed which engaged in apprehending persons having committed Federal crimes—and I was extremely happy to see this legislation signed into law by President Johnson.

Just last week the Senate passed a major Omnibus Crime Bill. The House had passed a crime bill last year which I supported and the House and Senate Bills will now probably go to conference to work out a compromise on the differences between them.

One of the key provisions of the legislation which is similar in both the House and Senate versions, would authorize Federal outlays of some $400 million in the form of law enforcement grants to help states and towns cope with the ever increasing crime rate by improving and strengthening their law enforcement capabilities.

This provision, by providing the funds to state and local authorities, recognizes the critically important fact that the Federal government must never assume the role of the Nation's policeman.

Crime is basically a local matter and under our constitutional system the responsibility for prevention and control of crime has been rightly placed in the hands of our state and local governments.

Today of some 370,000 full time law enforcement officers in this nation some 350,000 are local or state officers.

The issue of crime control and crime prevention must be solved at the local level.

The need for this legislation to which I have referred, the need for this country to devote far greater resources to the fight against crime than it has been doing in the past can be clearly seen when we look at some of the facts.

FBI statistics, for example, reveal a sharply spiralling increase in the total number of reported crimes. The 1966 total was 11 percent greater than the 1965 total; and the preliminary 1967 estimated total is 16 percent greater than the 1966 total.

Thousands of Americans lose their lives or are injured each years as the result of criminal activities.

Fear of crime today has had an incredibly detrimental affect on the quality of everyday American life. A crime commission survey showed that, of a representative sample of Americans, one-third of the people were afraid to walk alone in their neighborhood at night. Untold numbers of people do not even feel safe in their homes or their businesses. Instead of becoming "the Great Society", we are rapidly becoming the frightened society.

Nearly $4 billion worth of property is lost each year as the result of criminal activities. Hundreds of millions of dollars are siphoned out of our economy each year by organized crime—by organized thelves and robbers and murderers.

The drug problem has grown by leaps and bounds and represents a particular threat in terms of the youth of this nation. As a member of the House Appropriations Subcommittee overseeing the Bureau of Narcotics I have worked closely with federal and state officials concerning narcotics problems for the ten years that I have been in Congress—the increase in drug abuse and drug violation during this past year alone is cause for the greatest alarm.

Our young people are making up a greater and greater part of our crime problem.

Statistics show that youngsters under 18 accounted for one-fifth of all non-traffic arrests in 1965, those under 24 accounted for half of all those arrested in that year for major crimes of violence—homicide, rape, robbery and assault; and three out of four people arrested in 1965 for larceny, burglary and auto theft were under 24.

The evidence is clear and the need for action is now, today, immediately.

The President's Crime Commission certainly reached this conclusion and the legislation presently under consideration represents an acceptance of their basic findings.

That crime prevention is a major national priority.

That better paid, better trained, better equipped police are urgently needed throughout the nation.

That correctional and other law enforcement agencies must have better information on the causes and control of crime.

That we need substantially more and more efficiently used—resources and personnel to provide faster action at all levels.

That the entire system of criminal justice at every level of government must be mobilized.

The Crime Commission's final conclusion was that "controlling crime is an endeavor that will be slow and hard and costly. But America can control crime if it will".

Let me make one thing perfectly clear however—what I have been saying here in no way constitutes a negative reflection on the job you and your fellow officers across this nation have been doing—I said earlier and I truly meant it that I feel that yours has been a tremendous performance and it has only been through your superb efforts that the crime rate is not any higher today than it is. Rather what I have said is a reflection on the lack of support you have received—on the fact that law enforcement activities have been undermanned and underpaid, on the fact that we have not devoted anywhere near enough resources to the law enforcement problem, on the fact that all too often the law officer has been unsupported by the very people that he is daily risking his life to protect.

To do the job that you have done, to see what you have accomplished under these severe handicaps represents to my way of thinking a remarkable accomplishment and a contribution to the welfare of this nation of the highest conceivable significance.

To add to the problem of the police officer today, furthermore, he finds himself right smack in the middle of the large upheavals which are shaking this country.

Some people are accusing you of brutality while at the same time other people claim you are too lenient in carrying out your responsibilities.

This kind of thing has special significance to me—I get letters from people accusing me of being too liberal while at the same time their relatives are writing to me that I am too conservative.

The role of the policeman is to enforce and maintain the laws—all the laws—of this land in order to insure the safety and well-being of the citizens of this nation.

You are doing that job and no matter how much a few people may complain, I believe that the feeling of this nation today is finally in tune with the true job you are doing. You and the vital role you play are at last obtaining the respect and the esteem which you so richly deserve and to which you have always been entitled.

In speaking of law and order, the issues of civil disobedience and dissent certainly have been in the forefront of this nation's mind in recent months and I would like to deal with this topic briefly.

Our Constitution and our federal and state laws provide a framework in which two conflicting but necessary values are permitted to operate. A fine balance is required between these two values in order for both of them to be able to exist.

On the one hand we have the need and the desire to provide for the freedom to be able to speak freely and openly, and to be able to protest and dissent effectively—for the greatest asset that our nation has is the priceless privilege, the priceless right of freedom.

But that right, that privilege does not exist in a vacuum, it carries with it responsibilities and obligations and on the other side of the coin we have the need and the desire to maintain law and order so that the rights of other people, their right to peace and security and their own freedom of thought and activity is not violated.

Well, in recent months we have seen in my belief too many cases of those who would protest and dissent exercising their rights at the expense and in violation of the rights of a great many others.

The situation which has occurred at Columbia University in recent weeks is in my mind an example of just this kind of excess, of just this kind of abuse of the rights of a great many by a small minority. This was a small minority who were going to have their way no matter what it meant and if it means the destruction of the entire structure in which they were operating, well that was perfectly O.K. with them.

They were concerned only with what they felt to be their own rights—they were totally unconcerned about the rights of thousands and thousands of other people—of thousands of other students, of faculty members, of school administrators and officials and supporters. The only right they deemed to recognize was their right to do whatever they felt was necessary to bring about their wishes.

Well, this kind of thinking and this kind of action just doesn't go as far as I am concerned.

It does not fall within the framework of the basic and fundamental precepts of our society, of our democracy—it rather constitutes an attempt to destroy them.

We cannot and will not allow this to happen. This balance that I mentioned earlier, the balance between the right to protest and dissent effectively and the rights of others to peace and security and their own freedom of thought and activity must be maintained.

Legitimate protest and legitimate dissent must be protected—it is critical to the soul and the spirit of this nation. At the same time, illegal dissent and protest—dissent and protest at the expense of the legitimate rights of others must be prohibited—it cannot be allowed for it leads to a complete breakdown of our system.

It is obvious that there are problems with our system—there are problems with all systems—but it is no answer to our problems to attempt to destroy our system.

Winston Churchill once said, "Democracy is the worst form of government that man has invented, except for all others."

We face difficult problems these days—and we have to deal with those problems face to face—we have to deal with them realistically and with effort and understanding.

But it is nothing more than naive to believe that we can solve these problems by destroying our systems of government and of society.

For those who would do so—for those who attack our democratic principles and fundamental precepts, I say what do you offer in their place—what will you substitute for them.

If they can offer me a better means and a better structure by which man can live his life, then I am ready and willing to listen. But this they do not offer—they do not offer to construct but merely to destruct.

Well, that won't solve anybody's problems.

This nation is going to meet the problems of our time—it is going to meet the problems of war and peace, it is going to meet the problems of racism, it is going to meet the problems of crime, it is going to meet the problems of rebuilding and revitalizing our urban areas, it is going to meet the problems of ending starvation and poverty in this the richest nation in the world.

We are going to meet these challenges without the destruction of our society, without the destruction of our democracy and without the destruction of the rights and privileges which flow from these structures.

We are going to meet them by living up to the responsibilities and the obligations which all of us have as human beings, as individuals, as members of our community and as citizens of this great nation.

This weekend we honor all of those who have given their lives in the service of this nation. In a sense everyone of these millions and millions of gallant men and women have given their lives to make your life and my life possible today.

None of these people wanted to die—nobody wants to fight a war—to kill, to be killed—but theirs was the ultimate sacrifice and it was made in order that this nation might live.

When we think and when we realize how much these men and women have given on behalf of each and every one of us—it becomes so clear how little is really being asked of us in being responsible citizens, in being concerned citizens, in being involved citizens, in being constructive citizens.

This is the obligation of people of this nation—it is an obligation which you meet every day of the week and it is an obligation that must be met, that will be met by all.

I thank you for this privilege of speaking to you.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday and today mark a great tragedy for this country. A double tragedy, in my opinion, for this Nation does grieve the death of ROBERT KENNEDY and will bitterly grieve the day that gave legislative acquiescence in the other body's so-called crime bill, H.R. 5037.

Instead of being in a position to pursue a very complex matter in a sober atmosphere with legislative calm, we meet on a day, on 2 days, marked by anxiety, grief, anger, and hostility.

The tragic shooting of the late Senator from New York has been alluded to in debate in connection with this bill. Some have even suggested that the measure be passed because of Senator KENNEDY. Actually, he neither voted for nor voiced support for this legislation. On the record, he opposed many of the provisions in the bill. But his voice is stilled and he is not here to counsel this Chamber. What we do we must do without regard to his tragic death.

It must also be noted that the strenuous opposition of the Justice Department to key provisions in this measure has not been given voice on this floor.

I regret having to oppose H.R. 5037 for there are some redeeming features of the bill. I have supported and do support legislation to provide additional Federal funds to aid and strengthen local law-enforcement agencies. While the block-grant approach is objectionable to me, I nonetheless voted for the legislation in that form when it passed the House last summer. Primary responsibility for crime control lies with the local community and that is where it should remain.

On gun-control legislation I voted for a gun bill in subcommittee containing provisions dealing with long guns as well as handguns. Its provisions were more effective than the provisions before us today. Had this bill been referred to conference, I am confident House conferees would have insisted on more effective gun-control provisions.

Accordingly, I do not relish contending with the illusion fostered by the manner in which this legislation has been handled that it will aid materially in meeting the crime problem of this country.

Nonetheless, I am opposed to the acceptance by the House of the Senate changes written into the House-passed bill.

Many of the provisions added by the Senate to the House bill were developed as a result of floor debate. They were not subjected to close committee scrutiny in the Senate and since the House Judiciary Committee has not had an opportunity to subject them to hearings and careful committee deliberation, I object strenuously to their being pushed through the House without committee action or even the benefit of deliberations of a House-Senate conference committee.

This legislative procedure will produce bad law and I oppose it.

I have specific objections to specific provisions as well.

Title II of this act would presume to overturn three landmark supreme court cases, two of which were decided by the Supreme Court on constitutional grounds and cannot be overruled simply by legislative fiat. I am in agreement with my chairman that these provisions are unconstitutional and unsupportable.

Title III extends legal wiretapping very broadly under the guise of regulating "electronic surveillance." Authority for States to conduct wiretaps for crimes carrying a sentence in excess of 1 year and to tap for crimes not yet committed illustrates what excesses are authorized by this bill in the name of crime control. American citizens will live to regret this legislation.

What we are asked to do today by title III is to authorize a wholesale invasion of privacy of citizens across the country.

A further serious problem is the fact that even the telephones and the private offices of the Congress are not exempt from these intrusions. We are asked to authorize wiretapping and eavesdropping by the executive branch on the legislative branch in gross violation of the separation of powers.

Had this bill been sent to conference or considered under the rules permitting amendment I had intended to raise this aspect of the wiretapping and eavesdropping situation by offering the following amendment:

> Page 53 of the Senate engossed amendment, immediately after line 8, insert the following:
>
> "(3) Nothing in this chapter authorizes the interception of wire or oral communications by the placing of any device in any office or residence of any Member of Congress or connection (whether conductive, capacitive, inductive or other) to any conductor directly serving any such office or residence."

This is not a special interest proposal.

It is necessary, in view of the broad authority for wiretapping and eavesdropping this bill authorizes, to protect the integrity of the balance of power within our democratic form of government.

It would provide a sanctuary where freedom of speech and the full and open exchange of ideas could still go on without the intimidation of eavesdropping by an executive bent on controlling the Congress.

It would illustrate the effect on society of the repressive, negative and harmful aspects of licensing wholesale eavesdropping by the State.

As a member of the House Judiciary Committee and the subcommittees responsible for crime legislation and as a member of the National Commission to Revise the Federal Criminal Statutes I further want to emphasize that we face an extremely difficult task in reducing the provisions added by the Senate to any workable form.

It is for these and other reasons that I today vote against agreeing to the Senate amendments to the earlier House-passed legislation. I would hope that if it passes, as is expected, the President would consider this measure with greater calm than has marked our deliberations and send it back to Congress that we might place greater reliance on the provisions originally recommended rather than the backward steps the Senate provisions ask us to take today.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, in the light of yesterday's developments I believe that the action we take today in the passage of a crime bill will in some way prevent such incidents in the future.

I shall vote for the passage of this omnibus crime legislation, although I am far from being satisfied with its contents.

It was my hope that the House could have gone into conference with the Senate on this legislation with the hopes that such a meeting would produce a strong and workable bill.

I believe that the present legislation infringes upon the prerogatives of the courts, and feel reasonably certain that its provisions will be challenged in the courts in the near future.

And, I do not feel that we should permit the extensive wiretapping as provided for in this legislation. That, too, will have to stand the test of the Court's reaction to this provision.

It was my hope that the Congress could have come up with a stronger gun-control provision in this legislation. While we may be emotionally inspired to act at this time, nevertheless any action we take today should be taken and should have been taken a long time ago—when we could have deliberated in an atmosphere much more calm than we are experiencing today.

Mr. Speaker, in spite of its imperfections, which will need correction as time goes on. I hope that before nightfall this omnibus crime bill will have been accepted by the House and sent on its way to the President for his approval.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 5037. As a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, as a Member of this body, and as a private individual, I have had occasion to study and observe closely the wholly unacceptable trend in crime and acts of violence in our Nation during the past few years.

During the period 1960 to 1967, while population in the United States grew 10 percent, crime surged an appalling 88 percent. Worse, the projected 1961–68 crime increase is 118 percent. FBI crime index figures show that the crime rate has outstripped population growth by about 9 to 1 in the decade of the 1960's. The past 7 years has seen the sharpest crime increase in recent history, and the greatest 1-year increase—16 percent—occurred last year.

Besides mail from the people of Delaware and the accounts of criminal activity daily examined in newspapers, part of this situation came dramatically home to me when a member of my staff had her pocketbook snatched in broad daylight on a downtown Washington street. In another recent case, the home of a member of my staff was burglarized during the night. Recently, a member of my family had her pocketbook stolen as she shopped in a Washington store.

If we allow the present trend to continue we will have twice as many rapes, thefts, assaults, and muggings only 4 years from now as we have today. As I have said, such a prospect is part of an unacceptable trend. Such a rate of crime would make many, perhaps most, Americans virtual prisoners in their own homes, barricaded in and afraid to venture out after dark. And it would destroy the most basic civil right of all men—the right to be protected in his home and on the street from domestic violence.

There is no simple answer to the complex problem of crime in the streets. The problem is tied to poverty, but certainly poverty alone cannot explain the explosion in crime. It is tied to organized crime; some estimate that as much as 50 percent of big city street crime is committed by addicts needing money to supply their habit—a habit induced by organized crime, and it is tied also to certain Supreme Court decisions which have effectively shielded self-confessed criminals from punishment.

The primary responsibility for dealing with crime rests with State and local government, and the last thing most of us want is a national police force. But the crime explosion is a national domestic priority and it is essential that Washington take some action.

We must start to build an environment in which each and every American can make his way to the fullest extent of his abilities, and join the economic mainstream of life in this country.

Washington can and must provide leadership in launching a sustained attack on crime and must support the States and cities in their fight against crime by providing block-grant funds. In my judgment, this bill represents a solid first step in that direction by establishing grants available to the individual States for the creation and maintenance of State planning agencies by and responsible to the chief executive of the State, as well as action grants to be made to States for improvement and strengthening of law enforcement.

Further, the Congress must pass this legislation allowing wiretaps on court order against organized crime. The $50-billion-a-year take of organized crime, in numbers, narcotics, and loan sharking, siphons from the already limited funds of addicts and others, who then turn to street violence for more money.

I believe the wiretap provisions of this bill are a step in the direction of providing the tools to fight the national cancer represented by organized crime. The wiretap provisions of this bill are similar to those of a wiretap bill which I introduced in the first session of this Congress. Organized crime is a secret society and we must provide the key to unlock the secrecy so that we can begin to unravel the systematic corruption within these elements.

I believe it pertinent to point out that a majority of the President's Crime Commission recommended enabling legislation for the use of wiretap. The Judicial Conference, consisting of ranking Federal judges as well as the Chief Justice of the United States, has given approval to such legislation. It is my judgment from reviewing recent Supreme Court decisions that the door has been left open for carefully drawn legislation of this type with proper safeguards protecting the rights of the individual citizen, yet preserving wiretap as a useful tool of law enforcement officers against organized crime.

It is my judgment that, disregarding what extremists on both sides say, some decisions of the Supreme Court have had the effect of seriously hampering law enforcement and strengthening criminal activity. This bill contains provisions which somewhat modify certain court decisions. This is a step in the right direction, even though these provisions do not, in my judgment, deal clearly enough with some issues to fully achieve the goals intended by title II.

During debate in the other body on modification of such Court decisions as Miranda and Wade, opponents tried to imply that anyone endorsing modification was wicked, bent on turning back the clock of justice to the Dark Ages. This is absurd. Some of the Supreme Court decisions have come on 5-to-4 votes. Certainly the four Justices voting against the Miranda decision are not wicked and neither is everyone who agrees with these four learned men.

Commenting on the Miranda decision, Justice Byron White, speaking for himself and Justices Stewart and Harlan, said:

> I continue to believe that the decision in Miranda was an extravagant and unwise interpretation of the Fifth Amendment, and I would prefer that Miranda be abandoned.

The Miranda and Escobedo decisions have had the effect on law-enforcement officials of very nearly ruling out use of confessions as an effective tool in prosecuting accused criminals. I think it is pertinent to again quote Justice White in his dissent of the Miranda decision, where he identified judicial prejudice against the use of confessions as the bedrock upon which the majority decision was based:

> The obvious underpinning of the Court's decision is a deep-seated distrust of all confession . . . (and the Court feels) that it is inherently wrong for the police to gather evidence from the accused himself.

Justice, in my estimation, dictates not only that innocent men go free, but also that guilty men pay the penalty for their crime. Yet today only an estimated one crime in eight results in conviction and punishment. From the point of view of the criminal, a 12-percent chance of being punished likely looks appealing. Some will argue that a criminal does not read Supreme Court decisions before committing a crime. I agree, but I also believe very strongly that the fact that guilty men are walking free from courtrooms across this country, because of legal technicalities, has had great impact on the criminal community.

The need for passage of H.R. 5037 has been clearly demonstrated. I reaffirm my support of this legislation and urge its support by all Members.

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, I support the motion that we agree with the Senate amendments to H.R. 5037 and send this bill to the President. The need for this legislation is immediate and pressing. Since, under the rules of the House, we must either accept or reject the Senate amendments in full or face the prospect of a long drawn out conference, I urge that we accept this bill as it is now written and then move quickly to enact whatever legislation is needed to strengthen and expand it. When this legislation was initially considered by the House last year, H.R. 5037 was only 28 pages long. The bill we are considering today is over 100 pages. Obviously the legislation we are considering today is much more substantive than that which was considered last year.

Title I of this bill authorizes $100 million in Federal aid in the coming year and $300 million in the following year to strengthen local police forces—with $15 million earmarked for riot control and $15 million for combating organized crime. I supported this provision when this legislation was considered by the House and I believe it is an absolutely necessary part of a coordinated attack on crime.

Title II is designed to counteract the effect of recent Supreme Court decisions by making a confession admissible as evidence if the trial judge finds it was given voluntarily. If the trial judge is upheld by the highest State court, Federal courts would be barred from reversing the decision. I have been very critical of certain Supreme Court decisions which have had the effect of weighing the rights of the individual too heavily in balance with those of society.

There is mounting evidence that the Supreme Court's federalization of criminal laws has rendered a crippling blow to law enforcement. FBI statistics indicate that since the Mapp decision in 1961, the rate at which the police are solving reported crimes has dropped by almost 10 percent. Before, the rate had been steady for years. What bothers me and police officials is that the arrest-charge rate is dropping along with the solution of crimes. At the same time the crime rate continues to increase rapidly.

In the Supreme Court itself, decisions have not been unanimous. Justices Harlan, White, and Stewart are the chief representatives of the philosophy of judicial restraint. On the other side are Justices Warren, Douglas, Fortas, and, usually Black who espouse the philosophy of political jurisprudence; that is, constitutional claims that come to the Supreme Court involve conflicting values and interest—criminals versus society—and to the extent that there is no law relevant to a particular dispute or today's conditions, these Justices weigh the conflicting interests and impose their own social preferences. Most critics explain that too much emphasis has been placed on individual liberties and privileges, especially in the criminal suspect area, as against the interests of society as a whole. Furthermore, full compliance with the requirements with the Miranda decision would require around-the-clock presence of magistrates and defense counsel. This, indeed, would appear to make complete compliance with that decision out of the question in all cases wherein the suspect is detained for questioning.

Aside from the procedural difficulties involved in complying with these decisions, the most compelling criticism of the Supreme Court is that it is and has engaged in making law, not merely interpreting it. This is accomplished by the Supreme Court pretending simply that each of its decisions is an interpretation of an existing law. This charge is serious not merely because it defies our basic governing system of checks and balances, but because of the unrestricted nature of the action and what may develop in the future. If Supreme Court Justices are appointed for life and are not answerable through the political process, then they may indulge in a form of action that defies our basic form of government. An outgrowth of this criticism is that the Court has focused on the matter of equal rights and the protection of citizens to the exclusion of broader aspects of our society. In effect the Court has reached beyond the Constitution in its zeal and created rights rather than protecting them. The clearest example is, of course, in the criminal field where problems of law enforcement are ignored vis-a-vis the overprotection afforded an accused via the aforementioned cases. Another example is the Court's protection of Communists as citizens while in my opinion, putting on blinders as regards the ultimate Communist objective.

Supporters of the Supreme Court argue that these decisions guarantee for all persons the certitude that police officials will not act in an arbitrary manner. That is, with the Supreme Court decisions the Bill of Rights is guaranteed the States, and therefore political freedom from a totalitarian state is guaranteed. This new legality appears not to be concerned with following precedent, but more with correcting situations which it considers unjust. In the process it is my opinion that the constitutional process of checks and balances has been ignored.

Title III of this bill authorizes wiretaps and electronic eavesdropping in investigation of major crimes when authorized in advance by a court, but makes unauthorized wiretapping or bugging a Federal crime. I have some reservations about the wording of this title but I believe that it is constitutional even though it needs to be improved.

Title IV will ban mail order sales of handguns and limit over-the-counter purchases to State residents 21 years of age and older. I support this provision. We need a Federal gun control statute. However, I do not believe that title IV goes far enough. I would support a prohibition on the interstate mail-order sale of all guns.

Title V of this bill provides for the immediate dismissal from the Government service of any employee of the Federal service or the District of Columbia government who is convicted of commiting an unlawful act directly or indirectly relating to a riot or civil disorder. It also provides that such an employee will be barred from further Government employment for a period of 5 years.

I support this title. Riots and civil disorders are by their very nature violent manifestations against lawfully constituted authority. The Federal Government simply cannot condone participation in such activities by those it employs.

Title VI provides that, when J. Edgar Hoover retires, the President shall appoint his successor with the consent of the Senate. I support this provision.

Title VII prohibits the unlawful possession or receipt of firearms by felons, veterans who have been other than honorably discharged, mental incompetents, aliens who are illegally in the country, and former citizens who have renounced their citizenship. I believe this provision is necessary to a coordinated attack on crime and also a good complement to the gun-control legislation contained in title IV of this bill.

Title VIII provides for an appeal by the United States from decision sustaining motions to surpress evidence. I support this.

Title IX provides additional grounds for issuing a warrant. Under this title a warrant may be issued to search for and seize any property that constitutes evidence of a criminal offense in violation of the laws of the United States.

Title X prohibits extortion and threats in the District of Columbia. This legislation is needed. I have received numerous complaints from businessmen in the District indicating that money has been extorted from them and they have been threatened. Such activities are not now against the law. Last week the House passed a separate bill on this matter and I supported it. Therefore, since title X is the same bill, I also support it.

In the last 7 years, while this Nation's population was increasing some 10 percent, the crime rate was soaring 88 percent. And during the past year, while the population increased 1 percent, the crime rate jumped 16 percent.

The citizen walks the streets at night in fear. The citizen who goes to work and pays his taxes finds that it is not safe to use the parks and playgrounds that his tax money has provided.

The reason for this fear is obvious. There occurs in our Nation a murder every 48 minutes, a forcible rape every 21 minutes, a robbery every 3½ minutes, an aggravated assault every 2 minutes, an auto theft every 57 seconds, a larceny every 35 seconds, and a burglary every 23 seconds.

A nation so plagued cannot long endure. The preservation of law and order is the first purpose of government. Every citizen is entitled to protection of his person and his property. The citizen who obeys the law is entitled to have the laws enforced.

A government that fails in so fundamental a task is not a government at all. What was the law of the Constitution and the statutes, becomes the law of the jungle.

Thus, it is imperative that we act and and that we act without delay.

It is said in some circles that the crime bill will not solve the problem because poverty causes crime, and this bill does not fight poverty. I find that argument unpersuasive. In fact, as the poverty level has declined in this country, the crime rate has increased.

Rather, it is crime that causes crime. Seven out of every eight criminals enjoy the fruits of their crimes with impunity. With odds like that, the criminal is free to prey on the public.

I believe that if those odds were changed, crime would decrease. This bill is designed to change those odds. It gives to both the police and prosecutor new tools to apprehend and convict the criminal.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the vote today on adoption of the conference report on the omnibus crime bill poses a real dilemma for me and, I think, for a great many of my colleagues. I frankly think this is the wrong way to deal with matters of such far-reaching importance to the American people.

Reading the newspapers I get the impression someone has characterized H.R. 5037 as a simple antigun bill. If it were that and nothing more, I would have no problem weighing my vote because I think our country has long been in need of legislation in this area. But this is not simply an antigun bill, and even in this respect it is woefully deficient. I feel certain that its passage under such a label will merely serve to lull the American people into thinking that the gun problem has been dealt with when in fact very little will have been changed.

As my colleagues know, this bill is not an antigun bill but a catchall package of anticrime proposals, some of which are very good and some of which are clearly an outrage to the Constitution and to the liberties of our citizens. When this bill passed the House last August, I voted for it as I considered it, overall, a bill that held promise for advancing the fight against crime and lawlessness. Now that it has been amended by the other body, adding features which I regard as highly objectionable, I find it exceedingly difficult to vote for the bill in its present form. Yesterday I voted to send it to conference, where the House conferees could see that improvements are made in its content. Since that motion failed, I must now make a very hard choice—to throw out all of the sound provisions which offer some prospect of dealing with the challenge of crime and lawlessness in our midst, or to accept many features which are totally at variance with my conception of the relationship that ought to prevail between a government and its citizens.

As I vote today, I regret our tally sheets don't provide a column for "yes, but" or "maybe," because I find it impossible to square my conscience with either of the choices which are provided.

Under the circumstances, I shall cast a reluctant "aye," but for the record I want to make clear that there is in this body a very substantial disagreement over some of the Senate amendments to this bill. Specifically, I regard the language seeking to undo the Mallory rule as clearly unconstitutional. And, even though I was once a prosecutor myself, I find the section seeking to legalize wiretapping and "bugging" as an outrageous invasion of the privacy of our citizens. No matter what is said about organized crime and the need to protect the public, this language constitutes a threat to the privacy and the personal security of every citizen in this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, this bill as we must vote on it today will empower any judge to extend beyond 6 hours—not 2 or 4 or 5, but beyond 6 hours—the time a defendant may be held in Federal custody without arraignment if the judge deems this delay reasonable. In these matters we are always inclined to think of the defendant as some scurrilous, obviously guilty party who deserves no mercy, but anyone who has studied the history of the law knows how often innocent people are falsely accused. To subject an innocent man to more than 6 hours of grilling without the right to arraignment is not to comply with my conception of democracy and justice.

Why, then, will I be voting for the conference report today? There are two basic reasons. First, I will do so because there is so much good in this bill, and the time is so late, that I feel it must be supported, and supported now. Secondly, I regard the objectionable features of the bill as so clearly at variance with the Constitution that one can anticipate their early discard by the courts. I fully expect they will be found unconstitutional and therefore rendered harmless at a very early date.

Of course, it is a crime that the Congress once again must leave this job to the courts. One would think in a system such as ours that the legislative branch would be closest to the people, most aware of the need to protect their liberties, but once again we find this is not the case. Once again the courts will have to do the job. I regret this very much, and I want to make clear, as a matter of legislative history, that my vote today is not a vote for wiretapping, for undoing the Mallory rule, or for some of the other features which attack decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court.

As we meet today, our Nation has just suffered another in a series of shocking and incredible tragedies having as their background a certain acceptance by our people of violence and bloodshed and taking of the law into one's own hands. This erosion of our society must be stopped. These tragedies, so common of late here and so uncommon in other civilized countries, must be brought to an end. This bill, with its aid to State and local governments, may help in this direction.

Unfortunately, here too the bill is defective. The chief of police in my hometown of Tucson, Ariz., has made clear how wrong it is to make block grants to the States instead of disbursing funds to the local communities of this country. But I would rather have this than nothing, and therefore I will vote for it.

As I do so, I want to make clear that I intend to introduce or cosponsor in the very near future legislation to undo some of the damage posed by certain features of this bill. And I hope and trust many of my colleagues with whom I have discussed these matters today, will join in this effort.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion let me say that I once heard about a livery stable owner named Thomas Hobson who gave his customers a choice of one particular horse, or none at all. He achieved a certain fame for this arbitrary treatment of his clientele. After dealing with this question today I think I have a new understanding of the meaning of the term, "Hobson's choice."

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, it is very regrettable indeed when this body takes an acceptable bill such as H.R. 5037 and deliberately reaches out to add to it provisions that threaten our basic American liberties. This is borrowing trouble for the future.

I am sorry that this great body is giving ear to the hysteria surrounding the assassination of Senator KENNEDY, and in so doing may fail to guard the rights that our forefathers earned for us. However wrong the violence may be that stalks our land, attempts to repress it will yield no gain if we have surrendered our civil liberties.

It is well understood that the acceptance of the amendment of the other body would water down the protections surrounding confessions by suspects who have been apprehended.

Under the bill as now before the House and which cannot be modified under the rules, a confession must be admitted into evidence in a Federal court if the trial judge determines it was made "voluntarily." This provision overturns the Miranda decision. The confession would be admitted without constitutional safeguards so basic to our freedoms, the right of the suspect to be informed of the charges, his right to call a lawyer, and the right to remain silent.

Title II would also overturn the historic Mallory decision, no matter how long a delay in arraignment, if the judge determines that the confession was voluntary.

Title III of the amendment extends wiretapping so far as to allow taps to be made without a court order for national security and organized crime cases. It also retains the broad authority to tap for State crimes "dangerous to life, limb or property and punishable by imprisonment for over a year."

This provision means that under the cover of a law to control and regulate wiretapping or electronic surveillance, the door has been opened to expand the list of crimes for which taps or bugs could be placed.

This provision is a dangerous invasion of our privacy and our security. Who knows how far it may extend?

The gun-control provisions contained in this bill relate to small arms. While they have merit in some respects, they are not greatly significant in the whole problem of gun control.

This bill, as now amended, I regret exceedingly, and will only vote for it because of the widespread desire of all our people to curb crime and prevent continuation of violence in our land. As the price for this, we are saddled with amendments that threaten our liberties and may remain to haunt us.

I am voting for this measure out of deference to so many expressions from constituents in my district who regard protection in our streets as their paramount anxiety today.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the declarations and purposes of the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 warns:

> The high incidence of crime threatens the peace, security, and general welfare of the Nation and its citizens.

This grim warning is no exaggeration; in fact, many law-enforcement officials believe that unless the battle against crime is intensified and expanded, violence, destruction, and murder will become rampant, endangering the safety and life of every citizen. The incredible assassination of U.S. Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, of New York, highlights this danger.

During U.S. Senate hearings on the bill, those present were astounded to hear that crime in the Nation increased by 88 percent since 1960, while the population has risen by only 10 percent. A report issued in March 1968 by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, also contained these appalling facts: during 1967, crime in America increased 16 percent over the previous year; violent crimes rose 15 percent—murder went up 12 percent, aggravated assault 8 percent, forcible rape 9 percent, and robbery 27 percent.

Although the increase in crime was heaviest (17 percent) in large core cities with over 250,000 population, suburban communities were close behind with a 16-percent rise and even rural areas—relatively free from crime in past years—suffered an increase of 13 percent.

Instead of public safety, public fear seems to prevail. The 1967 report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice revealed that one-third of all Americans believe it is unsafe to walk alone at night. Over one-third have firearms in the house for protection against criminals. And 28 percent rely on watchdogs.

A concerned and aroused Congress, aware that vigorous action must be taken to help prevent crime and provide real safety for the American people, has written the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968—a measure I helped cosponsor in the House last year. The Senate-passed version is much broader than the House bill and contains some provisions of questionable constitutionality, including authority to wiretap, violation of the privilege against self-incrimination and other areas, and I have serious doubts that these provisions will be upheld by the courts. It is critical, though, that some legislation be enacted to begin the uphill fight against lawlessness.

Under title I of the bill, a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration is authorized to administer Federal grant programs to States—then to local government units—to help strengthen and improve law enforcement.

Programs will consist of planning grants ranging to 90 percent and action grants up to 60 percent. Grants to 75 percent will be made to fight organized crime and to help prevent and control riots and other civil disorders. Grants up to 100 percent will also be made for research, education, and demonstration projects. Several other titles are included in the most comprehensive legislative program in the field's history designed to broaden the battle against crime, one of the gravest and most challenging social problems of our time.

Respect for the law is the foundation of any civilized society and if every person would follow the advice of Abraham Lincoln, America would be so much stronger and safer:

> Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American. Let it be taught in the schools, let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in the legislative halls, and endorsed in the courts of justice. Let it become the political religion of the Nation . . .

And those who scoff at the gravity of the crime problem might heed the warning of Aristotle:

> There is nothing which should be more jealously maintained than the spirit of obedience to law. For lawlessness creeps in unperceived and at last ruins the state . . .

This could happen in America. In fact, it has started already. But it can and must be stopped and it must be stopped now.

Mr. Speaker, I call for immediate action in this most crucial area.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I am a coauthor of H.R. 5037, passed by the House on August 8, 1967. It is a good bill. It provides Federal money to help local police departments do a better job in law enforcement. It provides money for training local police in new techniques. The House version, enacted into law, would do much to help in the drive against crime in this country.

The Senate, however, has added titles II and III that, in, my judgment, are unwise. These titles would authorize broadscale wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping without effective controls. These titles would also overrule Supreme Court decisions regulating the admissibility of confessions and of eyewitness testimony, and this would weaken rights guaranteed by our Constitution.

At the appropriate time I intend to offer an amendment eliminating titles II and III. I hope my colleagues will support my amendments. In the event they do not, I intend to vote for the bill anyway because it contains provisions to improve law enforcement in the United States and takes a first step, unfortunately much too tentative, in controlling the indiscriminate sale of guns.

In addition, I am introducing today a bill that would eliminate titles II and III while keeping the acceptable provisions of the bill.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I urge most strongly that the House support House Resolution 1197, the resolution offered by my friend and colleague from Illinois [Mr. ANDERSON] to recede and concur in the Senate amendments to H.R. 5037.

I recognize that H.R. 5037, as amended, is not the "perfect bill" which some Members would like to see enacted. I doubt very much that a "perfect bill" has ever been written. The question of perfection is a matter for philosophers—not legislators. I would suggest, however, that the question of constitutional perfection or imperfection with regard to title II—the issue upon which certain Members would prefer to send the bill to conference—is a question upon which reasonable men may differ, but only the courts can settle. The Senate, after 10 months of consideration, approved H.R. 5037, including title II, by an overwhelming vote of 72 to 4. I would take this to mean that the Senate is in substantial agreement as to the constitutional foundations of H.R. 5037. I am sure that any remaining niceties with regard to the constitutionality of title II will be settled in due course by the courts—as is their responsibility. Speaking for myself, I have little difficulty in accepting the language contained in title II.

More important, I believe, are the merits of the other 10 titles. Last year, I was proud to take an active part in considering the original administration bill, in the House Judiciary Committee, and in offering the substitute amendment to the original title II during the House debates. My amendment, accepted by the House, provided for the establishment of a National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice to encourage a vastly stepped-up program of research, development, and training in the combating of all types of crime, particularly organized crime and riot-connected crime.

The Senate amendment preserves the meaning and intent of the House bill, broadening its language in only a few major respects. The principal change would modify the training provisions of the House bill, vesting authority for the establishment and conduct of training programs—and certain development programs—with the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In the House bill, this authority resided with the National Institute and various regional institutes established with the approval of State advisory boards. Under the Senate provisions, law enforcement officials would be trained at the request of State and local governments. I am hopeful that the Senate version will result in bringing the full talent and expertise of the FBI to bear on the important problem of providing the best training possible for our law enforcement personnel.

Other changes in the House language would provide an expanded program of educational assistance in the form of student loans for persons pursuing careers in law enforcement, and a similar program of assistance for those persons presently engaged in law enforcement service. I support such change in the House language.

Mr. Speaker, those titles of the bill now before us—relating to court-authorized wiretapping, firearms control, appeals of motions to suppress, exclusion of rioters from Federal employment, and extortion in the District of Columbia—have all been well considered in hearings before the House Judiciary Committee or other committees of Congress. I support these titles as necessary elements in an attack on our Nation's ever-increasing wave of criminal lawlessness. If the many statistics on crime—indicating a 16 percent rise this year alone—have not convinced us of the need for strong anticrime legislation, then the tragic and shocking events of the past 2 days must do so.

The President, in an impassioned plea last night, admonished: "Let us, for God's sake, resolve to live under the law." I believe he was correct in saying that it would be self-deceptive to ignore the connection between lawlessness and the slaying of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. We cannot allow the Nation to degenerate into some perverse form of participatory democracy in which differences—political or otherwise—are settled by resorting to violence.

It should be emphasized, however, that the vicious and heartless assassination of Senator KENNEDY is a terrible and obvious manifestation of the crying need for law and order which the Nation and the Congress have felt for the past several years. The lawlessness and violence in America, which is so apparent today must be halted if the Nation is to survive. I believe that approval of the Senate amendments to the crime bill will represent a positive, immediate, and decisive step on which we can build a new respect and obedience for law and order throughout the land.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, today we are debating a bill of great importance.

Let me make it clear that I will vote today to accept the Senate amendments to the anticrime bill. I do this with some reluctance. But recognizing that action is needed I have decided that this anticrime bill is better and far more preferable than none at all.

Yesterday I voted to send the anticrime bill to conference. I did this because after carefully reading a section-by-section analysis of the bill which was passed by the Senate, it became clear to me that it could be considerably improved by a conference committee. Few Members yesterday speaking for the immediate adoption of the Senate amendments denied this.

Because some people will draw an analogy between this bill and the civil rights bill insofar as procedure is concerned, it might be well to discuss this. I voted to accept the Senate amendments of the civil rights bill, which included fair housing. I did so because it was clear that to go to conference would mean another filibuster in the Senate, and it was by no means clear that the needed two-thirds vote to end such a filibuster would be there. As a result, it was clear that the only way to achieve the adoption of meaningful civil rights legislation was to accept the Senate amendments.

The difference in this case is that I believe that it would be possible to go to conference, improve the legislation, and then gain swift approval from both the House and the Senate.

Some people have described politics as an "act of the possible." I sincerely believe that it would have been possible to get a better anticrime bill from the meeting of Senate and House conferees without jeopardizing the ultimate passage of constructive and meaningful legislation to combat increasing crime rates. No one mentioned a filibuster this time, no one talked about killing the legislation.

I would like also to take this occasion to protest what is becoming more of a problem each Congress I serve in, and that is the practice of the Senate tacking on amendments, to House bills of a comprehensive nature and which have not been adequately considered by appropriate House committees.

In my opinion, this practice is bad legislative procedure. It certainly is one reason for the conference committee, although this committee is a poor substitute for substantive House committee consideration of legislation.

I definitely feel that our House leadership on both sides of the aisle should take a strong stand against legislating in this manner, except in the most critical situations.

This anticrime bill, and yes, the civil rights bill, could have been improved by Senate and House conferees. Let me say again, that if I thought this anticrime bill would have been killed, in effect, by a conference committee, I would not have voted as I did yesterday. But since the mood of the House evidently is to accept the Senate amendments without any changes, I reluctantly will vote today to do likewise.

This is not to say the anticrime bill before us today is without merit. Title I, the safe streets section, is the bill which the House passed, and I am happy that the Senate saw fit to adopt the House approach to funding procedures. Under the bill, funds to upgrade law enforcement will remain in State and local hands. I am disappointed that the

Senate struck from its bills some of the purposes of grants in the legislation approved by the House. Among these purposes deleted are grants for new equipment for better deployment of police personnel; grants for criminal justice agencies and personnel along with correctional agencies were eliminated. Courts, correction, probation, and parole were eliminated from the definition of law enforcement. This, I believe, is unfortunate. I had hoped a conference committee would uphold the House position on these matters.

Title II which deals with Supreme Court decisions regarding law enforcement also troubles me.

My understanding from reading an analysis of the bill is that the Senate really does not challenge the basis of the Court's decision, or challenge the substantive rights which the Court has upheld, but rather has challenged the manner which the Court has laid out for the enforcement of those rights. The Court has chosen to exclude evidence gathered in violation of those rights. If the Senate had provided a viable alternative to the exclusionary rule so that under certain conditions it would be possible to admit reliable evidence, even though constitutional rights were violated, I would not be as apprehensive. Frankly, I do not believe title II does this. This is an area where the Congress should continue its work.

Before concluding I would like to make some general comments about our action today.

There are two sides of the coin with regard to the problem of crime. We are dealing with one side of that coin today, better law enforcement.

We should not and cannot afford to shut our eyes to the other side of the coin, the conditions, the atmosphere, the climate, the cause of crime. These problems must also be attacked.

Those who think today that our action today is the extent of our responsibility to deal with crime are deluding themselves.

Let us face it—we in the United States have developed a high violence threshold. We have become accustomed to it. Worst of all, I am afraid we have begun to accept it.

We need to take a look at the role mass media has played in developing this passivity. What impact have television and movies had?

If I were meeting someone late at night on a Washington street, frankly, I would hope he has not seen Bonnie and Clyde.

On this side of the coin is the challenge to regain respect for rule of law, applicable equally to everyone. I reject the notion that because someone is poor, not very bright, not well-versed in his legal rights, he somehow should not have the same protection under the law as the more affluent, the more intelligent and those knowledgeable as to their rights.

We must attack our social ills which breed crime and violence. Poverty, the ghetto, unemployment, lack of education, hunger, drug addiction, alcoholism, are a small sample of the problems we face. Our action today does not relieve us in the Congress, or society generally, from dealing more forthrightly and progressively with these problems.

Public officials, civic organizations, service clubs, churches, volunteer groups, and all parts of our society have an indispensable role to play. I call on all of us to meet our responsibility.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I have expressed on several occasions in this House my strong support for the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, and I welcome this chance today to vote for final approval of this long-needed measure.

The fight for law and order will be strengthened significantly by passage of this bill.

While the major responsibility and effort must continue to be on the local level, there is urgent need for a more effective Federal contribution to that effort.

All levels of government, and all citizens of our country, must meet their responsibility in this vital area of national need.

The streets of America must be made safe for its citizens.

The epidemic of lawlessness and violence, which has poisoned our national life for too long, must be ended.

This bill is a major step forward to meet these objectives.

Let us pass it without further delay.

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, in fulfillment of a commitment in my congressional district this evening, I will be unable to cast a vote on the motion to recede and concur in the Senate amendment to the crime bill. If present, I would vote "aye."

On yesterday, I cast an equivalent vote, by which I registered my conviction that the urgent need for effective law enforcement legislation will not permit the delay a House-Senate conference procedure would entail. In spite of some objectionable features in the Senate amendment, I think the legislation will help meet the need.

Mr. TENZER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 1197, the motion to agree to the Senate amendments to H.R. 5037, the omnibus crime bill. Yesterday, I voted for the motion offered by the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee to disagree to the Senate amendments and send the legislation to a conference with the Senate.

I voted with the 60 Members of the House to send the bill to conference because I favored an effort to strengthen this important legislation. The motion was rejected that is why we are considering the resolution before us today.

I believe the Congress could have improved and strengthened the crime bill in several ways. First the provisions of title II could have been deleted from the legislation. The provisions relating to the admissibility of confessions and the admissibility of eyewitness testimony are an attempt to overrule decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court—decisions which stand as interpretations of the U.S. Constitution.

I believe that in due time, the U.S. Supreme Court will find this section of the crime bill unconstitutional. The Congress does not have the authority to overrule the Supreme Court in this manner.

Another section of the omnibus crime bill which could have been given additional attention and consideration is title IV relating to firearms control. Under the bill an important first step in the right direction is taken by prohibiting the interstate mail or shipment of guns, but excluding rifles and shotguns. It also bars the purchase of firearms by out of State residents.

Recent tragic incidents and the continuous growth rate of crimes in our Nation, involving guns, rifles, and shotguns seems to me to call for more comprehensive gun control legislation. However, let the passage of this bill be considered as only a beginning and I hope that in the remaining days of this session we can improve on gun control legislation.

For these reasons and because of the need for laws dealing with control of crime and return of law and order, I will vote for the motion to accept the Senate amendments. Title I of this legislation provides Federal funds to States and local governments for planning, training, education, research, and demonstration programs to control and curb crime in this country. The importance of title I to bolster efforts by States and local governments to protect the citizens and residents of the United States requires immediate passage of the omnibus crime bill.

The gravity of the crime situation in the United States has been vividly described by the President's Commission on Crime which made a significant contribution to our understanding of the problem. We have the opportunity today to make a start in the direction of implementing the recommendations of the Crime Commission.

I am supporting the omnibus crime bill in the hope that we will go forward as quickly as possible and give consideration to additional measures to curb crime, all of which should be done without hampering personal liberties.

There is a tendency to oversimplify the problem of crime by placing the blame on a few decisions of the Supreme Court or by calling for additional police protection. These are not the answers. Neither is the bill before the House this afternoon the complete answer.

The solution to the problem of crime control in general, and control of crime in our streets in particular, is complex. The partial answer may be found in striking at the root causes of crime, by passing effective legislation on gun control and Federal assistance to State and local law-enforcement agencies, and by instilling a respect for law and order—for institutions—for government—and for individuals. This we will be doing when we pass the omnibus crime bill today. Ours is only a first step.

The moral and spiritual leadership of America must come forward and speak out. They must call for a rededication to the basic principles of democratic life in a democratic society—respect for law and order and respect for rights of individuals. The rest is up to the people of America.

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, I rise somewhat reluctantly in support of the crime control bill because I do not think it is good enough.

I do not think the title dealing with gun control legislation is good enough. In addition to what the bill now provides, I feel strongly that registration of firearms, like registration of automobiles, should be a part of the permanent law.

I do not think the bill is restrictive enough on wiretapping. I subscribe to wiretapping in areas where the national security and organized crime is involved and then only upon court order to safeguard against flagrant abuse. The bill in this area is too loose in my judgment. Nothing is more sacred than the privacy of one's home and his telephone conversations. Every precaution must be taken to safeguard this constitutional right.

I do not think justice is served when the innocent are not given every protection of the law and of the Constitution. The title of the bill dealing with this subject matter involves the Mallory rule and should be clarified and constitutionalized. Certain aspects of the bill apply harshly to Federal courts but not to State courts. There should be no discrimination. Either the law should apply to every facet of the court or it should not. How can one justify less when talking about legalistic matters of grave importance?

It is for these reasons primarily that I yesterday voted to send the bill to conference. Certainly some of these weak points could have been and would have been strengthened.

However, now we have but one choice—that of voting against the total bill or voting for it. Since this is the only alternative, I shall vote for it.

Many members of the Judiciary Committee yesterday, both Republicans and Democrats, spoke of the bill's inconsistencies, its shortcomings, its weaknesses, and unconstitutionality. Yet they were in such a hurry to pass a weak bill; they had such little faith in the democratic process, that a majority yielded to expediency rather than logic.

I predict, Mr. Speaker, that if this vote were not to be used for political purposes, the deficiencies I alluded to would have been corrected in conference within a week. Then we could have passed a bill that would not be declared unconstitutional. Now we must rectify and remedy those parts by enacting corrective legislation. The question arises as to whether or not it can be done.

Indeed it is unfortunate that some politicians would rather have an issue than have a good, strong, viable, and constitutionally proper law. A law that may well take 3 months or 3 years to correct by additional legislation, when another week at this time could have done the job.

However, this choice has now been denied us. I will therefore vote for the bill and will assist and cooperate with those who know it needs correction and perfection. To do otherwise would be to accept the greater of two evils now that the normal alternative has been removed.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, last February 7 the President sent to the Congress his recommendations and suggestions for legislative action to reduce the alarming rise in crime in this country and I then expressed my conviction here that the time had come for less discussion and more immediate action by the Congress on this critical issue. Four months have elapsed in the meantime.

This afternoon we have had an authoritative, statistical revelation of an almost incredible crime rise that is nearly inconceivable of occurrence in this otherwise blessed land. There is no need for me or anyone else to re-echo that dreadful recital.

I shall only emphasize again today my belief that the time has come for action, now. I think that the people of this country want the Congress to approve this crime reduction bill now.

No piece of legislation ever adopted has been entirely perfect. Of course this bill and report is not perfect in every respect and it may well be subject to more effective and technical improvements, especially in the sections designed to affect the Supreme Court rulings in certain criminal cases, authorization of Federal wiretapping and the control of interstate sale of guns.

However, in heightening consideration of the inevitability of more and extended conference discussions and even threatened deadlock on agreement, I think, under existing circumstances, we should be mindful that the wiretapping authorization was approved in the Senate by a vote of 68 to 12 and if there are misgivings about the unconstitutionality of the Supreme Court decision modification section, as some of us entertain, the Supreme Court will have the opportunity to say so; also, we will have later an additional opportunity to strengthen the gun sale control provisions. But let us begin, now, our urgent mission and task.

It is commonly accepted that the real substance of this measure is the provision of Federal assistance to our communities for better educated, better paid, better trained, better equipped and I might add, better backed up by public concern, police forces throughout this country.

The moving point of our congressional determination should be the recognition, with response, that there is unquestionably a massive public requirement and desire for immediate and adequate protection against the astounding and demoralizing increase in crime and criminal violence so that law-abiding citizens and their children can walk the streets of our cities with reasonable safety and sleep in their homes in reasonable security.

Let us not forget that the first obligation of free government is the establishment of law and order.

I think the hour has come to, at least, begin the reestablishment of this foundation part of our wholesome, civilized American society.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the subject of anticrime legislation has long been playing on our minds. We have had many problems because there have been so many diversified opinions expressed in both Houses. Last year the House passed an anticrime bill and on May 23 the Senate passed an anticrime bill. I am quite pleased that finally we have been able to come together and the impasse has finally been resolved. At long last the hope of enactment of a strong and effective anticrime bill has become a realization.

The Senate bill incorporates much of the House bill and contains additional titles. All four titles of the House bill are included in title I of the Senate bill plus 10 additional titles. The Senate bill has considerably improved on the House version. The bill however, is still far from perfect, and does contain some questionable provisions such as were pointed out on the floor last Wednesday. However, it is still in balance, and it is still good legislation. It is obviously long overdue and vitally and urgently needed.

The Senate bill contains many objectives that I have long advocated since coming to the House in 1959. It covers many of the proposals I have offered during this 90th Congress. In particular, I am gratified that my proposal to establish a National Institute of Criminal Justice, H.R. 7339 was included in the House bill and has been retained in the Senate bill. I am pleased that H.R. 11996 was also included in the House bill and retained in the Senate bill because it would assist State and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime, and increase the effectiveness, fairness, and coordination of law enforcement and criminal justice systems at all levels of government.

My proposal to authorize the Attorney General to make grants to local law-enforcement agencies to assist them in the prevention and control of riots was retained in the Senate bill but with the restriction that this should only last until August 31, 1968. A restriction of this nature will cripple the long-range effectiveness of my proposal, and it must be included in any anticrime bill we expect to be effective.

The intent of my bill H.R. 13286, to prohibit all shipments of firearms in interstate and foreign commerce to nonlicensed individuals, was retained in the Senate bill but with such severe restrictions on the type of weapons to come under the jurisdiction of the legislation as to critically hamper the full impact of such a measure.

I regret that several of my proposals on the subject of crime prevention were excluded from both the House and the Senate bill. One of the most important of these is H.R. 11891 which would extend Federal disaster relief to victims of major riots and civil disorders. It must be included within the purview of legislation designed to attack all forms of crime and aid its innocent victims.

I am also dismayed that my proposal H.R. 13286 which would impose special occupational taxes with respect to engaging in the business of importing weapons and the making and transfer of such weapons, has not been included in either the House or the Senate bill. It has been said many times that we will not see a reduction in the use of firearms illegally by private individuals until we can legislate measures restricting or severely hampering the large scale manufacturing of such weapons.

I fully intend to continue this approach to the subject of crime and strongly feel that there is a definite need for strong and effective anticrime legislation which has not been grossly restricted before it has been enacted.

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, this evening as you watch the news program on television, you will hear the grim statistics about the dead and wounded in Vietnam. The point is made and remade, that so many of our finest men are never to see their land again, but are to lie in a portion of a foreign land that will, to paraphrase the words of Rupert Brooke, from then on be forever America. It is appropriate that we are reminded of the cost of that conflict, but I mention it to put another statistic in its proper, grim perspective. There are more Americans murdered each year in our own country than are killed in all the hours and the days of warfare in Vietnam. Perhaps we should be reminded of this each evening, too, so that we may ask ourselves a few questions. Are we allowed to call ourselves civilized when our incidents of serious crime increase 5, 6, or 7 times faster than our population? Are we allowed to sit complacently while 3¼ million serious crimes are reported each year to the police, and while unreported crimes number two or three times that amount?

You read the figures in your paper and pass on to another item. You do not think of the suffering behind the newsprint you read, the incredible, brutal, terrible suffering. Those statistics represent human beings, lives snuffed out as so many candles. Hopes and aspirations ended by a person who probably never even saw his victim before the crime. Those who live, do so with the memory that some mindless criminal has entered their lives before, and in our society there is no guarantee that he or one of his ilk will not enter it again. There is no guaranteed safety from others, and for the surviving victim, there is no longer even any safety from himself—he lives forever with his memories.

A special governmental study conducted in high crime cities showed that 43 percent of the people surveyed stay off the streets at night because of their fear of crime, 35 percent do not speak to strangers anymore because of their fear of crime, and 21 percent use cars and cabs at night because of their fear of crime. There were other indications of how they altered their lives because of fear. These are facts, not theories. The fact of crime in America today is pervasive. The fear it generates has become intolerable. Human beings cannot continue to live and function under such circumstances. A successful system of law and order is a sine qua non of civilized society.

A number of the President's Crime Commission's final recommendations called for expanded research—especially with relation to the volume, nature, and causes of crime. I agree wholeheartedly with the Commission members that additional research is essential and that we must learn as much as possible about crime causation. Only by ascertaining with exactitude the nature and causes of crime can we ultimately bring it under control.

In the meantime, however, we must continue to live—to work, play, and bring up our children. Society cannot wait for that happy but in all likelihood remote day when we understand all things about criminal behavior and know precisely what to do about stamping out its root causes. We cannot hold on in anticipation of the eradication of poverty, ignorance, social injustice, and the evils of overurbanization.

The public cries out for order and security, and our first task is the restoration of these precious and vital commodities. Long-range solutions should indeed be sought, but immediate measures must be given top priority.

Until we have arrived at the millenium, the law must be enforced. Protection of law-abiding citizens must be afforded. People who commit crimes must be brought to justice—to be rehabilitated if possible, for their own sakes as well as for the general welfare, but primarily to be taught that criminal acts will be followed swiftly by just punishment.

However enforcement of laws also depends to a great extent on the attitudes of citizens. When people demand strong law enforcement and work to achieve it, they can get it. The ordinary citizen must bear part of the responsibility for law enforcement. He must respect his policemen and let them know it. He must cooperate with the police in every way.

Several cities have local crime prevention programs, but success is wholly dependent on active participation by the citizens. Most police departments would gladly institute local programs, but first there must be evidence that the people whom the police serve really want such programs and will be willing to cooperate. Public apathy is probably the most valuable ally criminals have, and it is certainly the greatest deterrent to effective law enforcement.

There is no simple solution, no panacea for the crime problem, but it can be solved. It will require time and money and dedication and hard work; most of all, it will require a concerned citizenry, willing to become involved. No longer can we afford, if indeed we ever could, to flounder in apathy, which is a form of selfishness. We cannot allow ourselves to bury our heads in the sand, refusing to see or to care what happens to our neighbors. We cannot sit idly by and expect our already overburdened police to solve all our problems.

We have to be willing to report any violations of the law that we see. We must be willing to testify in court. We must be willing to serve on juries. Policemen must be paid a salary commensurate not only with their training and ability but also with the risks they take in the performance of their duties. Law enforcement must keep pace with our advances in other fields. The profession must be made attractive to capable, bright, well-educated young people. We must demand higher salaries for policemen.

We must afford them the status and respect of professional people, the same respect we demand for ourselves. And we must acknowledge our own responsibility for the enforcement of laws. For just as the citizens are responsible for the men and women they choose to make the laws, and for the laws those elected Representatives enact, so the citizens are at least partially responsible for seeing that those laws are enforced effectively.

The significant reduction of crime in America will require a massive assault at all levels—the Federal, State, and local governments, local organizations, police departments, and private citizens. Especially private citizens. This point cannot be overemphasized.

If we are not ourselves victimized by crime, we tend to ignore the problem, or at best shake our heads and yearn for the good old days and wonder what is wrong with everybody. But I refuse to be pessimistic. I refuse to believe that Americans really do not care. I think that more of us care, but we just feel that there is nothing we can do alone, and even if there were something we could do, we don't know what it is.

It is imperative to keep ourselves informed on the particular problems in our own city. We must know what our own local problems are before we can even begin to solve them. Second, we can find out whether our city has a local program of crime prevention. If it does, participate in it as a citizen volunteer. If there is no program, try to stimulate interest in organizing one.

Many law-enforcement officials, including J. Edgar Hoover, have been quoted as saying that the most valuable single weapon in the crime fight is an alert, well-informed, concerned citizenry. Third, we can see to it that the salaries and the standards of our police department are brought up to a truly professional level.

We must improve the quality of law enforcement if we are to reduce the quantity of crime. We can also demand that our police forces be equipped with the latest scientific and technological devices available. Of course, this demand will have little effect unless we also insist on an adequate operating budget for the police. Most of the cities in our country have no police laboratories for criminal investigation. They must either depend on other cities' facilities or those of the FBI, or they must do without.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act will be only a beginning. Further gun control legislation is necessary. It would, as Senator ROBERT KENNEDY said: "Save hundreds of lives in this country and spare thousands of families all across this land the grief and heartbreak that may come from the loss of a husband, a son, a brother, or a friend. It is time that we wipe the stain of violence from this land."

Local governments will also have to continue and expand and improve upon what the Federal Government begins. Next, we can support our local police in every way, and we can let them know about it. The gratitude and approval of private citizens can act as a great morale booster. It can also make the police aware that we expect the best from them.

Finally, we can realize that although

the crime problem is national in scope, it is local in nature. If crime is to be fought and defeated, in the last analysis it will have to be on the local level. Certainly the Federal and State Governments can provide funds and equipment, support, information, and ideas about methods of dealing with crime, but it will have to be the local citizens who eventually solve the local problem.

And we can do it. Americans have always risen to the occasion in our hours of need, and that hour is upon us. We can win our war against crime because we must. The only alternative is chaos—and the end of our dreams of a workable society.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the American public once again has been awakened to the need for adequate gun control legislation now that Senator Robert F. Kennedy lies dead of gunshot wounds.

Just a few years ago in Dallas, Tex., Senator Kennedy's elder brother slumped forward in a Presidential limousine, mortally wounded by a sniper armed with a cheap imported rifle he bought by clipping a magazine coupon—no questions asked. This spring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was felled by another sniper whose abandoned rifle could not be traced because of the lack of arms registration laws. Last week two young Marine lieutenants were shot to death in a downtown Washington lunch counter by a gang of toughs who found it remarkably easy to arm themselves. How many more killings will it take before the Congress enacts laws restricting the sale of lethal weapons?

No one can be sure, of course, whether gun control laws would have prevented the astonishing public murders I have just cited. But it is certain that such laws would significantly diminish the number of killings and maimings that take place in this country each year—killings and maimings that have become so commonplace that it takes a spectacular public assassination to make people realize the scope of the problem. The circumstances of the assassinations of Senator Kennedy and President Kennedy make clear how easy it is for anyone—a lunatic, a confirmed criminal, a heroin addict, a mental defective—to buy and use firearms in the United States. The Congress and the State legislatures must enact meaningful gun control laws. And they must enact such laws soon.

Title 4 of the bill we are now considering—S. 917—constitutes the first faltering step toward adequate gun laws. Designed to put an end to the flourishing interstate traffic in handguns, the bill would go a long way toward eliminating the misuse of firearms. It does not go far enough, however. There is a pressing need for laws that restrict the sale of rifles and shotguns as well as pistols—laws that would help keep all firearms out of the hands of those who are unwilling or unable to use them lawfully.

It is no secret, Mr. Speaker, that a stridently vocal gun lobby here in Washington has successfully thwarted the legislation this Nation needs to control firearms sales. Yet this lobby accurately represents the views of only a small fraction of the American public. A host of polls have provided evidence that the vast majority of this country's citizens strongly support gun control legislation. One recent poll, in fact, makes clear that 65 percent of the sportsmen who own guns want more stringent gun laws. My mail—especially the mail I have received over the past few days—demonstrates the vigorous public support for such laws. Here is a sample of the letters and telegrams that have come to my office since the shooting of Senator Kennedy:

Wilbraham, Mass.,
June 5, 1968.

Hon. Congressman Edward P. Boland,
Rayburn Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Congressman Boland: I am terribly upset about the recent shooting of Senator Kennedy. This affair should be proof enough to you and your colleagues that something drastic must be done by you to more adequately curb the sale of guns in this Country.

It is, to me, unthinkable in this day and age to allow the easy access of fire arms to anyone. I wish you would listen to people like me who probably are a much greater majority than the rifle associations who have been pressuring you, and believe that the majority of our citizens would like to see the gun laws prohibit the actual purchase and possession of fire arms.

Please support legislation to help prevent any further unnecessary bloodshed in this Country.

Very truly yours,
Arthur E. Gibson.

Springfield, Mass.,
June 6, 1968.

Congressman Edward Boland,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

We are in favor of a stronger gun control bill and also feel strongly that the bill should include control of ammunition.

Shirley and Robert Gaudrault.

Springfield, Mass.,
June 6, 1968.

Congressman Edward Boland,
Washington, D.C.:

Our Government should restrict firearms of all kinds.

Mrs. J. Spiegel.

Springfield, Mass.,
June 6, 1968.

Representative Boland,
Washington, D.C.:

Advocate new gun bill as soon as possible.

Mr. and Mrs. Paul Berman.

Springfield, Mass.,
June 5, 1968.

Congressman Edward Boland,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

Pass bill to restrict sale of guns.

Julie Czekanski.

Yet, despite the public support for gun-control legislation, the progun lobbies still exercise powerful influence on legislators. An editorial published today in the New York Times points out how this influence has emasculated the bill we are considering now:

The Sound of Gunfire Tolling

Political assassination in all its horror has again struck into the consciousness—and the conscience—of the American people. The enormity of this crime goes even beyond the depths of the poignant personal tragedy that has once again enveloped the Kennedy family: political assassination strikes at the very fabric of the state, of American democracy and of the most basic American institutions.

But now the thoughts and prayers of all Americans are focused not on the shattering implications of this latest example of man's unrestrained violence, but rather on a gallant young figure fighting for his life in a Los Angeles hospital. Senator Robert F. Kennedy and his anguished family have the grieved and shocked sympathy of their fellow-citizens throughout this country and their fellowmen in every corner of the civilized world.

And as Americans everywhere watch through the night in prayerful hope that Mr. Kennedy will pull through this terrible ordeal, they must resolve once again—so soon again—that this Government and this society will do everything, literally everything, it can do to thwart such terroristic acts that defy all decency and reason.

By grim coincidence, in the House of Representatives of the United States today there comes up for vote a Senate-approved measure that contains a thoroughly inadequate, half-hearted attempt to control the trade in guns.

"It amazes me that we continue to tolerate a system of laws which make it so outrageously easy for any criminal, insane person, drug addict or child to obtain lethal firearms which can be used to rain violence and death on innocent people."

These words were spoken in the Senate last month by Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, but the Senate ignored them. Title IV of the so-called crime control bill on which the House will vote today is, as it now stands, a minimal attempt at genuine firearms regulation. It merely prohibits the interstate mail-order sale of pistols and revolvers and bans over-the-counter sale if the buyer lives outside the dealer's state.

The obvious hole is, as we have repeatedly noted, failure to regulate interstate shipment of rifles and shotguns. Senator Edward Kennedy introduced an amendment to control such mail-order sales. Defeated, 53–29. Senator Dodd introduced an amendment making it illegal for anyone under eighteen to buy a rifle or shotgun on his own. Defeated, 54–29. Senator Javits introduced an amendment that included an affidavit procedure for mail-order rifle and shotgun sales. Defeated, 52–28. Senator Brooke introduced an amendment to outlaw other destructive devices, such as hand grenades, bombs and machine guns. Defeated, 47–30.

Thus, the record is clear. Senators mainly from the Southern and Western states, in lockstep with the National Rifle Association and other lobbyists for private arms and ammunition, have refused time and again to take these steps to prevent weapons from falling into the hands of potential lawbreakers and assassins. This failure to act set a discouraging example for those state legislatures, city councils and officials who were seeking stronger local firearms control.

It can be debated long into the night whether there is deep malaise in a society that breaks out in fits of madness and violence. What is not debatable is that when it came time to "do something about it" by law, the United States Congress failed.

And people all over the country who look for leadership and guidance from Washington, heard once again the sound of gunfire, tolling.

What are the compelling and cogent arguments the gun lobbyists have used to block gun control legislation? Well, as just one example, they have contended that such legislation is the initial stage in a conspiracy to disarm the American people and leave them naked before their enemies. This, of course, is utter inanity. It is tantamount to arguing that the

Wholesome Meat Act of 1967 is part of an insidious conspiracy to deprive us of meat, or that the Pure Food and Drug Act is part of a strategem to deny us medicine.

The lobbyists, of course, have developed a few rationales that at least approach sanity. One of them runs this way. Gun control laws will not stop all the misuses of firearms; therefore, we should not have any gun control laws at all. The lobbyists point out, for example, that a criminal bent on obtaining a gun will succeed no matter what laws the Congress enacts.

It is true—indeed, it is obvious to the point of imbecility—that a person resolutely determined to get a gun will succeed in one way or another. But no proponent of gun control legislation has ever maintained that such legislation would stop every criminal, every madman, every incompetent, every juvenile from obtaining firearms. Nor would it stop every illicit use of firearms. The point is that gun control laws would help stop the indiscriminate sale and use of firearms—just as licensing procedures for motorists help stop highway accidents.

Granted, licensing laws for drivers do not wholly eliminate auto accidents. I concede, further, that anyone who really wants to drive without a license will do so in spite of the law. But does this mean we should abandon licensing laws altogether, allowing anyone to take to the highways no matter how young, how old, how infirm, how incompetent, how untutored in the skills of driving? I am sure my colleagues agree that such a policy would be catastrophic, resulting in unparalleled carnage on the country's streets and highways. Yet a lack of licensing laws for motorists would be no more catastrophic than our present lack of gun control laws. And the carnage caused by this lack is all too evident.

Another lobbyist argument maintains that gun control legislation would block the "law abiding" citizen's free access to guns, abrogating his constitutional right to bear arms. This, too, is absurd. Some people may find it inconvenient—perhaps even annoying—to demonstrate that they are old enough, sane enough, and lawful enough to use guns before they are allowed to buy them. But no one could demonstrate this—that is, no adult and rational "law abiding citizen"—would be denied access to guns. The gun lobbies do not protest when juveniles, lunatics, or convicted felons are denied the constitutional right to vote. Why should they protest when the same juveniles, the same lunatics, the same convicted felons are denied the possession of lethal weapons?

I urge the swift passage of the gun control legislation before us today, and I urge the passage of more rigorous gun control legislation in the near future.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I regret that this measure comes up for final consideration immediately following the assassination of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY. There is growing concern about the pattern of violence in America—a concern which I share, and which is reinforced by this national tragedy.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, we must live with our legislative decisions for a long time. In areas which deal with fundamental rights of our citizens, we should act carefully and with due regard for the constitutional provisions which have well-served the citizens of the United States since the adoption of our Bill of Rights.

The pending bill purports to deal with various aspects of crime. Several general observations should be made about it.

SOME USEFUL PROVISIONS

First, the bill does contain some useful provisions. Among these are the assistance to local law-enforcement agencies and a limited gun control provision.

The balance of the bill deals with earlier decisions of the Supreme Court, which the bill seeks to reverse, and with legalizing the extensive use of wiretapping.

Apart from the question of whether these provisions are good or bad, it should be pointed out that there is little in the bill that is likely to reverse current crime trends. It is my belief that the growing crime problem must be met basically in two different ways:

First. We must increase the number of police available for patrol within the urban areas. These police should be well paid and well trained. It is especially important that we seek to achieve a racial balance on these police forces.

Second. We must keep working at the underlying social maladies of our Nation which contribute to the growing crime problem. This means improved education, stronger efforts to combat poverty, increased job opportunities, and improved programs of mental health, among others.

STRENGTHENED LOCAL ENFORCEMENT

This bill makes a modest but useful contribution toward the strengthening of local law enforcement. When this provision appeared in H.R. 5037, which came before the House on August 8, 1967, I voted for it. In other words, I supported the basic provisions of title I as it came before the House less than a year ago.

If I could vote separately, I would also support the limited gun control provisions found in title IV. It must be emphasized, however, that this is a weak measure with respect to gun control. It does not deal with shotguns or rifles, which will continue to be available by mail order. Moreover, the licensing requirements for dealers seem to be inadequate. The title falls far short of the kind of gun control legislation which the President has repeatedly asked for.

Because I do believe in a strong gun control measure, today I have introduced a bill identical to H.R. 5384, the State Firearms Control Assistance Act of 1967. This was the administration measure introduced by the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER]. It is unfortunate that the provisions of this bill were not incorporated in the bill we are voting on today.

SUPREME COURT REVERSALS

I shall vote "no" on this overall measure because of titles II and III. Title II seeks to reverse decisions of the Supreme Court aimed at insuring fair treatment of citizens who become involved with law-enforcement agencies. I doubt that the language of title II is constitutional, and in any event the policy which title II seeks to establish is bad. Under present court decisions, a person arrested must be given notice of his constitutional right to remain silent, warned that any statement may be used in court against him and told that he has a right to have a lawyer. If the police fail to take these steps, a confession obtained from such a person may not be admitted in court. This is the penalty which the Court has fashioned to deter police officials from abusing the rights of our citizens. The language of title II seeks to revoke this penalty in the case of Federal prosecutions and leaves no penalty in its place.

I seriously doubt that the Court will sustain an effort by Congress to remove all remedies for the failure of a police officer to observe constitutional standards in dealing with arrested persons.

ELEMENTARY PROTECTION

Title II also seeks to reverse the rule that a person who is exposed in a pretrial lineup is entitled to have a lawyer. This represents elementary protection to a citizen because of the notorious unreliability of eyewitnesses.

The Report of the Senate Judiciary Committee makes a curious argument in support of the efforts to overturn the Supreme Court. The report argues that since the Miranda case, the number of voluntary confessions has dropped. This means that persons arrested have declined to make statements to the police. The right not to make statements has always been a constitutional right. Presumably, this change in the number of confessions has come from an increased awareness of their rights, on the part of arrested persons. How, then, could an elimination of sanctions for the failure of police to observe correct procedures lead to an increase in confessions, unless increased numbers of confessions were to flow from such failures on the part of the police? Is that the aim of this legislation? Is it to encourage abuses of procedures in order to increase the number of confessions?

INDISCRIMINATE WIRETAPPING

I find title III equally objectionable. Its effect, I fear, would be to open up almost indiscriminate wiretapping by police. A case can be made for wiretapping in cases of national security and arguably in the area of organized crime. These questions are not before us now, because this bill goes much further. It applies to any offense which carries a penalty of a year or more. Even more pernicious, it permits wiretapping for a period of up to 48 hours before getting a court order, and in effect permits the wiretap to go unauthorized if it stops after 48 hours and no court order is solicited. Nothing in the bill would bar a renewal of another 48-hour period shortly afterward.

Mr. Speaker, I am also concerned about section 518(b) in title I of the bill. This seeks to eliminate the effect of title VI of the Civil Rights Act with respect to law enforcement agencies. It forbids the Federal Government to seek to achieve an end to racial discrimination in the employment of law enforcement personnel in connection with the granting of Federal assistance.

AN EROSION OF RIGHTS

The choice faced by a legislator on a bill containing both good and bad provisions is always difficult. If this bill passes, as seems likely, rights which are important in a free society will have been attacked and eroded. Such actions are not easily reversed. On the other hand, if the Rules Committee resolution fails, the bill can be sent to conference and given further consideration, which may ameliorate the bad provisions and strengthen the good ones.

Mr. Speaker, I want to add a few words about the firearms control bill I have introduced. This is an issue that has been before Congress for several years. Especially since the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, the issue of firearms control has been debated extensively. Every Member of Congress has received considerable mail for and against the various bills introduced to regulate the sale of guns.

I have answered that I would support legislation to help keep firearms out of the hands of criminals and other undesirable persons, but would oppose legislation that would interfere with the rights of sportsmen, collectors and other persons who comprise the vast majority of America's legitimate gun buyers.

CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE

Yet the climate of growing violence in the United States has made it clear to me too that stronger controls on the sale of weapons are needed than are provided under title IV of the bill we are considering. The unnecessary, unbelievable assassinations of Senator KENNEDY and Dr. Martin Luther King—and the widespread use of guns to commit crimes—have underscored the need for more effective regulation.

I wish to state emphatically, Mr. Speaker, that the bill I have introduced will not hinder the purchase and use of firearms by law-abiding citizens. Those who abide by the law have nothing to fear.

Since many Members of the House are already familiar with this bill, I do not intend to explain its provisions in detail at this time. In general—and I quote almost directly from the President's 1967 message on firearms control—the measure would:

PROHIBITIONS OF SALES

Prohibit certain mail-order sales and shipments of firearms, except between Federal licensees;

Prohibit over-the-counter sales of firearms, other than rifles and shotguns, to any person who does not live in the State where the Federal licensee does business;

Prohibit Federal licensees from selling handguns to any person under 21 and from selling rifles and shotguns to any person under 18; and

Curb imports into the United States of surplus military firearms and other firearms not suitable for sporting purposes.

As the President said in his message:

> This legislation is no panacea for the danger of human irrationality and violence in our society. But it will help to keep lethal weapons out of the wrong hands.

FLAWS IN NATIONAL CHARACTER

Americans need to study the meaning of the recent events that have stunned us all. The assassinations of Senator KENNEDY and Dr. King are tragedies to the Nation and its political processes. They emphasize the apparent need for us, somehow, to transform our national character. Whether these events will speed that transformation, I don't know. But the change has to come.

Part of the change, Mr. Speaker, has to be a stronger gun-control law. Public support for this legislation has been indicated time after time by the country's opinion-polling organizations. Firearms control legislation with far more teeth than are found in title IV has been reommended not only by President Johnson but by the Attorney General, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and the American Bar Association—among many other groups.

Firm Federal regulations are essential if State firearms control laws are to be made enforceable. State laws and local ordinances are relatively useless so long as they can be circumvented through the channels of interstate commerce. A gun-control ordinance is now being considered in my city of Minneapolis, Minn. And the opening paragraph of the Firearms section of the 1966 report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia stated:

> In the District of Columbia, handguns have become the weapon of choice among people bent upon crime. The reasons for this choice are clear: The handgun is readily obtained at a reasonable price, it is easily concealed until needed, and it is an effective means of threatening and applying force.

TYDINGS STATEMENT

One of the Senate's chief advocates of an effective firearms control law is Senator JOSEPH TYDINGS of Maryland. Earlier this week, he made this impressive statement:

> Our gun laws are, in fact, about as flimsy as those of any nation in the world. We tolerate a level of gun crime in this country which is unthinkable in any civilized nation in the Western world. In England, which has a gun registration law, firearms accounted for only 10 per cent of all murders. In our country where the murder rate is 13 times greater, guns account for 60 per cent of all murders and are used in 58 per cent of all robberies. Gun murders take nearly 20 lives a day in this country. Ninety-five of every 100 policemen murdered in this country are killed with guns, one-fourth of which are rifles or shotguns.

Mr. Speaker, the tolerance of violence—including the open, easy access to guns—comes at a time when our lives are changing so rapidly that we are losing some of our traditional restraints in the United States. Somehow we have to find our way back into a sense of moderation, of understanding, of a greater confidence in our institutions and processes.

Passage of a strong firearms control bill would be an excellent place to begin.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I view it as highly inappropriate for the House to use the time of the tragic murder of ROBERT KENNEDY as the occasion to enact an unwise measure.

I question whether we should be legislating at all on this dark day. If any legislation is appropriate to the occasion, it is legislation stringently restricting all firearms—legislation appropriate on November 22, 1963, on April 4 of this year, and on too many other tragic days. Yet no such legislation is included in the bill before us today.

One can take issue with all sections of this measure; the block grant provision in title I, the undermining of the Supreme Court in title II, the wiretapping provisions in title III, and the almost uselessly weak gun-control section in title IV.

To approve title II would give credence to the false notion that the Supreme Court is responsible for crime. To approve this title would not deter a single crime, but it would compromise constitutional rights; it would reverse the concept of equal treatment which is begining to be accorded to poor as well as rich, black as well as white, as a result of the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark decisions.

I think of Herb Block's cartoon on the occasion of one of the Supreme Court's landmark decisions: a small-town sheriff is examining the Bill of Rights with a puzzled expression and asking, "You mean this applied to riffraff?"

Title II would impair an accused's right to prompt arraignment, opening the way to third degree methods; it would permit admission of "voluntary" confessions despite failure to inform a suspect of his rights to counsel and to remain silent.

Title II intrudes on what are properly judicial prerogatives, and may produce a constitutional crisis.

Crime will not be deterred by abolishing constitutional safeguards. The killer of ROBERT KENNEDY is in custody. Title II would not have prevented his crime. The killer of Martin Luther King, Jr., is not in custody; title II will not facilitate his apprehension. If Congress were to throw out the whole Bill of Rights tomorrow, it would have no effect on political assassinations.

We need more effective police protection; we need strict controls on all lethal weapons, and we need to reform a society which has produced depraved individuals and extremist organizations.

Let us not undo what remains to our eternal credit: a Bill of Rights, a system of due process and equal justice under law. Let us wipe out crime within the framework of a free society.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, in this crisis of crime and violence, epitomized now in the brutal murder of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, it is imperative that we strengthen the forces of law and order and restore a sense of security and harmony to our communities. The evils of extremism and violence have flourished too long in our land and threaten to tear apart the fabric of our society.

Our citizens have the right to demand that all levels of government exercise their rightful share of responsibility for controlling crime and freeing our land from the grip of fear. As I stated to our colleagues on August 2, 1967, when the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act was before the House, crime is a national problem and we at the Federal level must aid our State and local governments in its resolution.

Ten long months have elapsed since the House passed that act on August 8, 1967. Now we have before us the version that the Senate finally approved on May 23. Despite the flaws in the Senate version that have been brought out in this debate, I strongly feel that the wiser—the only—course of action is to accept the other body's amendments rather than send the legislation to conference which would result in further delay in its enactment. Despite those flaws, this measure can make a meaningful contribution to the urgent task of meeting the threats presented by lawless activity.

Each day of delay in coming to grips with the forces of lawlessness means a growing number of victims against person and property. It means that our wives and children cannot walk in safety on our streets. It means a hardening of the mood of lawlessness—an attitude of mass disrespect for the law—that has become a major concern to right thinking people who wish to live in a civilized society in peace and harmony with their fellow citizens.

I urge passage of the pending measure as an essential step toward effective law enforcement. I urge further that immediate attention then be turned to remedying the defects in the legislation, including stronger and more comprehensive gun controls, to the end that a wholly satisfactory crime control and prevention program will be enacted before the adjournment of the 90th Congress. The public safety has been too long neglected. Let this Congress not adjourn without the adoption of an adequate program for meeting this most pressing domestic problem.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, I support the pending conference report on the crime bill.

This measure contains some provisions which are long overdue, particularly with respect to some decisions by the Supreme Court which hamper police officers in the apprehension, interrogation and trial of guilty people.

That court in a succession of decisions has thrown a series of roadblocks in the way of law enforcement. There is no appeal from the actions taken by that tribunal. But the Congress does have authority to meet those decisions with guidelines with respect to admissibility of evidence in criminal cases and procedural matters relating to the apprehension, interrogation and trial of offenders.

That has been attempted in the pending legislation. Even more needs to be done.

In addition, there are other provisions in the omnibus bill which will permit the use of wiretapping, under court direction, where that is necessary to apprehend criminals. Mail-order purchase of pistols is dealt with, and the sale of such weapons to minors and ex-convicts is prohibited. In the main, however, gun legislation comes under the jurisdiction of the States, subject to the constitutional rights of citizens to own and bear arms.

Despite these improvements in our laws, the public should not expect any magic improvement in effective methods of dealing with the criminal element. Because in the final analysis the degree of law enforcement in any community rests in the hands of local officers, local courts, and local people. But by nullifying some of the unfortunate court decisions which have hampered all law enforcement the enforcement on the local level should and undoubtedly will be improved.

CRIME IS ON THE MOVE

Mr. Speaker, the tragic murder of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, which shocked the Nation, serves to remind us of the presence of the criminally minded in our midst. In a sense this terrible thing can be thought of as but an outcropping of those who defy law and order and are prone to take the law into their own hands.

During the past decade the crime rate has zoomed upward at an alarming rate. The FBI tells us that every year during the past 8 years the crime rate has risen seven times faster than population—and the rate is steadily increasing. The tempo of increase has been higher during the past year than at any time in our history. We are told that there is a 48 percent better chance today that one will be a victim of a major crime than was the case 8 years ago when the big civil rights thrust got underway.

Today far too many Americans reveal an outright scorn for all established authority, whether it be embodied in the word of God, in the written law as found in the Constitution, or on statute books.

The President appointed a Commission to study the cause of riots, but unfortunately the report was obviously tainted with politics and failed to come to grips with the real issues. The report concluded that white people were responsible for the Negro riots. While the whites may share some responsibility in some instances, it is absurd to hold those who actually participated in such lawlessness to be blameless for their own deeds. The report could be expected to do more harm than good.

Crime often occurs as a result of a climate which lends itself to crime and violence. There are those today—in considerable numbers—who insist they have the right to decide for themselves which laws and which policies they have the right to violate and which ones they may choose to obey. Such defiance is, of course, a form of anarchy, and we find many Americans today content to stand by while celebrity status is accorded to those characters who tamper with and ridicule our orderly processes of government under law.

This doctrine of violence to bring about change—often used as an excuse—is as old as the primitive jungle. It is an alien doctrine that should have no place in American thought—and it must be repudiated. We will not deserve or long enjoy freedom if we permit any compromise of our principles on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, these people and the philosophy they preach have used the emotionally packed civil rights movement as a racket in recent years, and out of it has come wholesale disobedience to the laws of the land. Out of it has come sit-ins, marches, demonstrations, often setting the stage for riots, violence, and open defiance of law and order.

Out of all this has come a habit of pampering and coddling of those who take the law into their own hands. This soft treatment of the criminals has served to encourage more crime. The time is long overdue for a crackdown. Police officers must be armed and authorized to use their guns if and when that use is required in order to properly carry out their duties. Only the offenders, the guilty, those who would take the law into their own hands, have any occasion to object to meaningful methods that are of necessity used in the enforcement of our laws.

It is everybody's job to close ranks today, man the battle stations as good citizens, and insist in a most demanding way upon the maintenance of law and order in a disciplined society.

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was unable to be present in the House yesterday as my son's graduation was taking place in Massachusetts. However, had I been here, I would have voted to send the safe streets and crime control bill to conference.

That motion having failed yesterday, I now intend to vote against the previous quesiton, wherein if the nay votes carry, it would be in order to offer an amendment which would have the effect of deleting title II of the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I have serious reservations about this title and I wish to review them very briefly. In my judgment, this title constitutes an emotional backlash at the Supreme Court and creates a dangerous confrontation between the legislative and judicial branches of our Government. In short, title II would reverse the landmark Supreme Court decisions in the Miranda, Wade, and Mallory cases which overturned "third degree" police practices and strengthened the right of an accused against self-incrimination, his right to counsel, and his rights prior to arraignment.

The provisions of this title have been declared of dubious constitutionality by the deans and constitutional law professors of nearly every leading law school in the Nation. Until the Supreme Court strikes down this law as an improper intrusion on its powers—which it must clearly do to maintain its integrity—it is clear that the enactment of title II will result both in chaos of the administration of criminal justice and in confusion in the treatment of individual suspects.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I am gravely concerned about another aspect of this bill. That is the failure to include regulations of the interstate shipment of rifles and shotguns—a glaring omission that seriously weakens the entire bill. It is my understanding that Chairman CELLER plans to hold hearings on amendatory legislation to include controls on the sale of rifles and shotguns. This should be done immediately to insure enactment during this session.

Title IV of the measure has as its objective the establishment of Federal control of the distribution of firearms in such a way that State and local law enforcement authorities can effectively enforce State and local laws concerning the ownership, possession and use of firearms. The intent of this entire provision is subverted when it still remains possible for citizens legally to obtain in neighboring States or by mail long guns and rifles which their own State or locality might make it illegal to purchase.

The amendment proposed in the other body by Senator KENNEDY of Massachusetts would have closed this shameful loophole. It would have allowed the sale or shipment of a rifle or shotgun by a federally licensed dealer only if the buyer had appeared in person on the premises of the dealer. It further would have prohibited the sale of long guns to persons under 18 years of age. These restrictions place no burden on the law-abiding sportsman and hunter other than the upholding of the laws of his own State and locality. They would, however, possibly prevent the needless and innocent death of other Americans.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 5037, the omnibus crime bill, as passed by the Senate. It seems like a long while since the House passed its version of the crime bill and sent it to the Senate. But it will be recalled that late in the month of May the Senate enacted a greatly amended version of our bill which contained what some regarded as controversial provisions, including title II, covering the admissibility of confessions, title III, electronic surveillance of wiretapping, and title IV and VI, relating to the regulation of firearms.

Who among the membership of this House has not heard from his constituents about those decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court that puts the rights of criminals ahead of public rights and restricts the ability of our policemen to do their duties? To state the matter differently, it seems the unprecedented concern by the present membership of our U.S. Supreme Court has been directed to the rights of criminals to the exclusion of the rights of society. Title II simply provides that confessions may be voluntarily given, notwithstanding the line of decisions announced by the U.S. Supreme Court. It provides such confessions may be admitted into evidence if the judge makes a determination that the confession is voluntary.

Provisions of this title, it seems to me, are fair and reasonable, when it provides the jury shall be permitted to hear relevant testimony as to the issue of voluntariness. There seems to be ample safeguards provided because the judge is required to consider all the circumstances surrounding the confession, including lapse of time between arrest and arraignment, and whether the defendant was advised of his rights not requiring him to make any statement or, if he did make a statement, that it could be used against him. By the provisions of title II, the jury is required to consider whether the defendant was advised of his rights to counsel as well as whether or not the defendant was without the assistance of counsel when he confessed. The further strength of title II lies in the fact, confessions are not to be barred from admissibility because made without interrogation and if made when the defendant is not under arrest.

The cry of those who seem to think our present Supreme Court is always right and can do no wrong and hence this title must be unconstitutional are, of course, entitled to their viewpoint. Whether or not the present membership of the Supreme Court may later rule upon the constitutionality of title II is not the point at issue at this time.

We are now faced with an unprecedented increase in the rate of crime in this country. For my part, the situation is serious enough to risk the confrontation between the legislative and judicial branches if that must be, because it is unthinkable that we should delay any longer to enact a strong crime bill.

There may be those who oppose H.R. 5037 because of title III, the electronic surveillance provision. At one time or another all of us have championed the right of privacy and we continue to regard that as an important right. But title III has not suddenly eliminated that right. It simply provides that there will be instances in which a law enforcement officer may be required to employ electronic surveillance if he is to solve the crime. With crime in this country increasing at the rate many times the increase in population then the time has come that every possible means must be employed to slow down this seemingly unending acceleration in the rate of crime.

Title III does not suspend or cancel out the right of privacy. Investigative or law enforcement officers may apply to a judge of competent jurisdiction for an order authorizing interception of wire or oral communications under oath, furnishing a substantial amount of information as to the details of the offense being committed and even the identity of the person concerned in the interception. Only in the case of national security can wire taps be made without a court order. And even these are invalid if application for such order is not made within 48 hours after such surveillance is undertaken. With the job we have to do to control crime, for my part, I believe title III is reasonable and hopefully will be workable.

I come now to consideration of title IV and title VI of the omnibus crime bill relating to regulation of firearms. Over the years I have been on record in several instances in support of the constitutional right of every citizen to bear arms. The act of the assailant in the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles early on the morning of June 5 just past, can create a state of emotional hysteria which could lead in the future to efforts for firearms legislation which would take away the right of our sportsmen and even our law-abiding citizens. Those who want a severe, restrictive bill refer to title IV and VI as a watered-down, halfway measure because these titles happen to apply only to hand guns.

On the other hand, the provisions of H.R. 5037 as to firearms should be of help in the control of crime. For example, the bill provides it shall be unlawful to transport or receive in interstate and foreign commerce firearms with altered or obliterated serial numbers. Title VI should accomplish some good. It makes illegal possession of firearms by mental incompetents and aliens illegally in this country. The provision that makes unlawful possession of firearms by our veterans who may have received something less than a full honorable discharge I regard as unwise because many of the veterans have rehabilitated themselves and yet have not received a pardon by the President of the United States. They should not be put in the same class as felons or aliens illegally in this country.

Mr. Speaker, in view of so many good features contained in H.R. 5037, I cannot withhold my support simply because of some of the bad features in the firearms section because I believe these can be cleared up by subsequent amendment. There can be subsequent action by the Ways and Means Committee where gun legislation properly belongs because of Federal licensing laws instead of the Judiciary Committee. The gun provision of the crime bill can be classified and ambiguity removed. I would hope our sportsmen and other law-abiding citizens would concur that what seems now to be oppressive and unnecessary action against law-abiding owners of weapons will recognize the need for immediate crime legislation and will exhibit patience until such clarifying legislation can be enacted.

I have carefully examined the bill and I find absolutely nothing in H.R. 5037 that limits the rights of law-abiding citizens to buy or sell firearms. I fail to find any provision that requires the registration of firearms. While license fees have been increased they apply only to interstate transactions and the license fees on manufacturers, importers, dealers, have not been increased since 1938.

On balance, the omnibus crime bill, in my opinion, will contribute significantly to the reduction of crime if administered according to the intent expressed in the bill and vigorously enforced. It is certainly not an illusory statute as some would have us believe and it is certainly not a hoax on the citizens as others unfairly describe the measure. Like any other legislation, it is not perfect but it should demonstrate that Congress is concerned about the rising rate of crime in this country and is sending to the President today a bill which has many provisions that should result as effective means to reduce crime.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I am today recording my opposition to the woefully inadequate gun control measures, the ill-conceived wiretapping, and the unconstitutional criminal prosecution provisions which are contained in the omnibus crime bill we are now considering.

This bill is a most unfitting response to the ideals of Senator KENNEDY—who himself intentionally decided not to be recorded in favor of it.

I support meaningful stringent gun controls—not just palliatives and token controls.

I do not support easily abused invasions of privacy by Government wiretapping and bugging.

I do not support unconstitutional denials of the rights to due process of the laws. I do not support attacks on the rights of accused to be told their constitutional rights.

The omnibus crime bill in its present form is uncommonly ill advised. I do not support it.

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, our society is founded on the basic principle of individual civil liberty as guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, and its Bill of Rights. At the same time there is a very fine line dividing the inalienable rights of the individual vis-a-vis the need to have an orderly society of citizens acting under the bonds of reason, common decency, respect for law and order, and with personal responsibility, individual restraint, and willingness to ever be concerned for the general welfare.

As a Congressman, I fully appreciate the delicate checks and balances which our Founding Fathers so carefully wove into the very fabric of the American society. However, I must admit to a measure of frustration when confronted from time to time with far-reaching and important legislation, such as the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, which I cannot shape to my own liking, as to strengthen what I deem to be the good portions, and to eliminate or redraft and redirect the portions I feel are harmful. I am sure every Member of Congress reacts similarly. With our differing opinions on how to solve the problems of the day, I am sure we could never all be satisfied, and so we must ultimately reach a concensus on the final legislative plan.

Mr. Speaker, we in this august body are faced with a somber and determined mood and temper of the Nation in the wake of riots and of the brutal, senseless slayings of Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, a collective mood and temper which demand action—action of a significant nature which will shape the course this Nation will pursue henceforth.

I am sorely distressed that, in extremely important legislative matters such as the civil rights bill of 1968 and the crime prevention and safe streets bill of 1967–68, the Members of Congress are so often faced with the dilemma and frustration of voting against good provisions of legislation because they are inextricably bound to bad provisions, or of voting for bad provisions because they are similarly bound to good provisions and cannot be voted upon separately, by reason of the complex rules or the procedural maneuvers of parliamentary devices of those who want to enact or to defeat certain aspects of the legislation.

On the recent civil rights legislation which has now become law, I voted to send the differing versions passed by the two bodies of Congress to conference, so that the differences could be considered and resolved to produce the best possible legislation. In the case of the pending Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Street Act, I feel I must take a different course and vote against sending the two significantly differing versions to conference, for the reason that the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who would also be chairman of the House conferees, has publicly stated his opposition to the vitally important title I—block grant financial assistance to State and local law-enforcement agencies, title II—which would overturn certain Supreme Court decisions that unduly aid the criminal and hamper the police in the protection of society, and title III—which authorizes court-controlled wiretapping, under certain conditions, and the chairman would attempt to provide a tougher gun-control section in title IV, which I vigorously oppose. We cannot risk sending this important piece of legislation to conference to be intentionally emasculated or destroyed. The bill would likely never survive the conference, and this would be another national tragedy.

Mr. Speaker, a second frustrating point is the fact that the other body spent some 10 months considering the bill—H.R. 5037—passed by the House by the overwhelming majority of 378 to 23 on August 8, 1967. During the period when the Safe Streets Act was being debated on the floor by the other body, some 60 amendments to H.R. 5037 were proposed. During this same period, more than 25 rollcall votes were taken before the measure which we are now asked to adopt in toto was finally passed by that other body.

With all due respect to the deliberation and thoroughness which was devoted to this important and significant legislation by the other body, I note that on May 8, President Johnson urged that body to make every effort to bring debate to a head, to begin voting on amendments, and to pass the safe streets measure. It was not until May 23, some 15 days later, that the final vote was taken. Mr. Speaker, I wish to emphasize at this point that by and large I am pleased to see the overall result of the deliberations of the other body. It has provided a bill which meets the primary objective of focusing upon and emphasizing the urgent need for all Americans to rededicate themselves to the task of acting with dignity and respect for law and order and to preserve and increase the proud heritage of our forefathers. However, I am frustrated indeed at not being able to apply the collective wisdom of this august body in perfecting several of the new features by amendment. We seem to have no alternative at this juncture but to consider the final measure of the other body en bloc. That is a poor way to formulate the laws of the land, and to exercise our responsibilities in this great deliberative body.

Mr. Speaker, the lawlessness and violence which has become all too frequent a pattern in America must be halted, and it must be halted now. If our society is to survive, the criminal element must be apprehended and promptly and vigorously prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. The guilty criminal must know he will be substantially punished for his misdeeds. For this reason, I shall reluctantly vote to adopt the pending omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act in its present form, rather than risk the probability of having a hollow measure pass this body which would be meaningless, or to have no measure passed at all.

Mr. Speaker, I know that much legislative history has been written on this Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. However, to provide a simple and reasonably concise résumé of the major provisions of the bill which we are called upon to enact today, I submit the following explanation for the record:

SAFE STREETS

Title I provides Federal financial assistance in the form of bloc grants to States to be spent according to the comprehensive statewide plan to develop methods and equipment to strengthen law enforcement, to recruit and train police officers, to educate the public about crime preservation, to organize and train special units to combat organized crime, to organize and train special riot control and prevention units, and for other purposes. This title authorizes the appropriation of $100,111,000 for the 2 fiscal years ending June 30, 1968 and 1969, and $300 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970. A significant deletion in the present measure, which was contained in H.R. 5037 as passed by the House in August of last year, was a provision which would have permitted Federal funds to be used for the purchase of new equipment for better deployment of police personnel. I thought it a worthwhile provision and did not favor this deletion. Another good provision which was deleted by the other body would have permitted Federal financing to assist State and local courts systems' correctional institutions, probation and parole activities. This provision was unfortunately deleted also.

TITLE II—SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

This is an entirely new provision, and I am in strong support of this title. This title will overturn or redirect certain Supreme Court decisions which in recent years have unfortunately tended to make effective law enforcement and prosecution of criminals far more difficult. In essence, title II will modify three Supreme Court decisions insofar as Federal courts are concerned—two of which relate to the admissibility of voluntary confessions, and one of which relates to identification of a suspect in a police lineup. Specifically, title II will modify, first, the 1957 Mallory decision, by providing that a voluntary confession made by a criminal suspect will not be rejected solely on the basis that the confession had been made prior the time of arraignment—a delay of up to 6 hours, or longer if it was reasonable under the circumstances, between the time a suspect was taken into custody and the time the suspect is arraigned would not make a voluntary confession during this period inadmissible—second, the 1966 Miranda decision, by permitting the use of a "voluntary" confession even if the suspect had not been specifically warned of his constitutional rights—providing the circumstances under which the confession was obtained do not violate the principles of due process guaranteed under the 14th amendment of the U.S. Constitution; and, third, the 1967 Wade decision, by permitting eyewitness identification of a suspect in a lineup when legal counsel for the defendant is not present.

The changes brought about in title II do not give rise to a denial of constitutional or substantive rights, but rather attack the particular procedural limitations which the Court has chosen to impose upon the police in their persecution of suspected criminals. The question in my mind concerning title II is whether we in Congress are today going far enough to overturn some of the Supreme Court decisions which overprotect the criminal at the expense of society.

TITLE III—WIRETAPPING

This is a new provision added by the other House, but is similar to the intent of a wiretapping bill, H.R. 13275, introduced by several Members of Congress in October 1967. I favor this provision, particularly with the safeguard that electronic surveillance can be undertaken only after a showing of probable cause as to specific crimes and upon issuance of a court order. There are limited exceptions whereby electronic surveillance may be conducted without a court order for a period not to exceed 48 hours if it concerns matters dealing with national security or organized crime which are of an "emergency" nature. In addition to the establishment of formal procedures for the legal use of electronic surveillance equipment, this title also provides for the establishment of a national commission for the review of Federal and State laws relating to wiretapping and electronic surveillance.

TITLE IV—GUN CONTROL

This is the most objectionable aspect of the entire Omnibus Crime Prevention and Safe Streets Act, and I wish there were opportunity to strike this entire title. On the other hand, this title pertains to handguns only, and does not involve long guns—rifles or shotguns. The title prohibits mail-order sale of handguns. It also prohibits over-the-counter sale of handguns: First, to a nonresident of the dealer's State, and, second, to any person under 21 years of age. Title IV also prohibits the sale of any firearm to any nonresident who could not legally purchase the same weapon in his own State or community. The provisions of this title are most restrictive for Alaskans because of our dispersed population, our dependence upon the mails for delivery of many commodities to remote locations, our great proportion of outdoorsmen, and our legitimate and very real need to possess handguns for protection against wild animals when working and living in the remote areas of Alaska. Further, the cost of licenses or permits for gun manufacturers or dealers are unusually severe, since Alaska has a relatively high number of small, one- or two-man businesses which are engaged in gunsmithing. Another major aspect of this provision is that it places the responsibility for enforcement at the Federal level rather than at the local level.

Accordingly, I joined with six other Members in introducing House Resolution 1206 and House Resolution 1207 which would have provided in lieu of title IV provisions to control rather than prohibit interstate shipment of firearms, which would not have restricted intrastate sales, which would have prohibited interstate shipments to felons which would have licensed only interstate dealers and manufacturers, which would have restricted import of destructive devices under the National Firearms Act, and which would have regulated sales with a sworn statement of the purchaser. The measure was narrowly defeated in the Rules Committee by a margin of only one vote.

TITLE V—RIOTERS AND FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

This section prohibits any person convicted of any major riot offense from being employed by the Federal Government for a period of 5 years. I agree with this provision.

TITLE VI—APPOINTMENT OF THE FBI DIRECTOR

This section provides that the Director of the FBI must be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the other body. I agree with this provision.

TITLE VII—INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION OF FIREARMS

This section makes it a Federal crime to take, possess, or receive a firearm across State lines when the person involved: First, has been convicted of a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding 1 year; second, has been discharged from the Armed Forces for reasons other than honorable; third, is mentally incompetent; fourth, has renounced U.S. citizenship; or fifth, is an alien illegally in the United States. There are also penalties for employers who have knowledge of an employee guilty of any of the provisions above. The overall thrust is to prohibit possession of firearms by criminals or other persons who have specific records or characteristics which raise serious doubt as to their probable use of firearms in a lawful manner. I agree with this provision and feel this title alone provides the gun legislation portion necessary under this bill, without need for enactment of title IV.

TITLE VIII—APPEALS OF MOTIONS TO SUPPRESS EVIDENCE

This new title added by the other body would implement a recommendation of the President's Crime Commission to permit the prosecution to appeal from pretrial orders that suppress evidence that constitutes a "substantial proof" of criminal violation. This title incorporates the language of a separate bill (H.R. 8654) which was passed by the house in September 1967 by a vote of 311 to 1.

TITLE IX—ISSUANCE OF SEARCH WARRANTS

This provision is a technical procedure to codify the Supreme Court 1967 decision in Warden against Hayden, which provided that a warrant may be issued for the search and seizure of "any property that constitutes evidence of a criminal offense in violation of the laws of the United States." The Warden against Hayden decision overturned the long-existing limitations on search and seizure. Now, all evidence including "mere evidence" may be the subject of a valid search and seizure.

TITLE X—PROHIBITS EXTORTION AND THREATS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

This title would bring the District of Columbia code in conformance with an existing statute in the United States Code —18 U.S.C. 875—which makes certain crimes that required an interstate connecting link or series of illegal events in the perpetration of a crime applicable to the District of Columbia without an interstate communication. The reelected crimes are attempts to exort by any communication for release of kidnapped persons or threats to kidnap persons or threats to injure persons, property or reputations, or threats to accuse other persons of the commission of a crime. Maximum penalities would be $5,000 fine and 20 years imprisonment.

TITLE XI—GENERAL PROVISIONS

This title contains standard language or "boilerplate" which is included in all legislation of this type.

Mr. Speaker, I support the overall purpose and intent of the Omnibus Crime Prevention and Safe Streets Act, but I am concerned that the mood of despair that is gripping our Nation on this tragic day will not permit the kind of careful analysis warranted for this important and vital legislation which is now before us. The product which we will vote on is a catchall package with some very good anticrime proposals and with some measures which are not. On balance, I must reluctantly conclude that the good aspects outweigh the more restrictive portions, and therefore, I shall vote for final passage.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I might announce again that I have already asked for and received unanimous consent for all Members to revise and extend their remarks.

I now yield to the distinguished chairman of our Committee on Rules, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] 5 minutes.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I take this time merely to point out what I tried to point out yesterday on this floor; namely, what I consider to be the grievous error of legislating under conditions of expediency. I yield to no man on this floor when it comes to trying to get adequate machinery to stop this rampant crime on our streets. Something has to be done about it. I objected strenuously when the so-called civil rights bill was up here, when the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER], insisted upon doing then what he is opposing being done here today and which you are going to do today; that is, to take the Senate amendments, agree to them, and send the bill to the President.

We are all interested in getting something done. I was one of a small minority group yesterday that voted to send this bill to conference, because I thought it was the orderly procedure, as has been exemplified here today by the questions that have been raised by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE], the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. POFF], and others, including the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA]. You are legislating here under almost parallel conditions to those that prevailed on the day after the Reverend Martin Luther King was assassinated. We are doing the same thing here today after another American has been assassinated. This is not the way to legislate. It was not the way to legislate on civil rights and it is not the right way to legislate on crime.

The House was never given an opportunity to consider and amend the Senate version of that bill and it will not have an opportunity to amend the Senate version of this bill.

We ought to do it in an orderly way. Now, there is an orderly way to do it. I want to repeat here today what I said on the civil rights bill and what the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary said yesterday on this bill. I doubt that 1 percent of the Members of this House have read the Senate bill and know what is involved in it. I am going to go along with this resolution that my committee reported out. It is the only thing we can do if we are to have a crime bill passed. I am voting for it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, since the House on yesterday saw fit to refuse to send the bill to conference, I want an anticrime bill. God knows we need something to stop this crime on the streets of this country. But I just want to point out again that this is not the way to do it and it should not be done in this fashion. What are you doing here today? The parliamentary stage is set to do the same thing on the tax bill? You are repeating the procedure which is being carried out on the tax bill. Although the Founding Fathers provided that the House of Representatives was to initiate all tax bills, we are permitting the other body to write the tax bill. We permitted them to write the civil rights bill. Now we are permitting them to write the crime bill. What kind of House are we? What kind of statesmen are we? Are we going to abdicate and surrender to the other body the entire right to legislate?

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi and to commend him for his statement and join with him in that statement.

Frankly, I am shocked to think that those who are concerned about civil rights fail to recognize that civil rights are, in essence, nothing more than correct procedures to be followed. These procedures are not designed just to foul things up, but in this business of preparing, writing, and presenting legislation, the last place in the world where you should proceed in a disorderly fashion is where you write a tax measure and in enacting new criminal laws. Tax and criminal statutes are very broad and complicated and they have to be worked upon carefully, skillfully, and technically and, therefore, we should proceed in that fashion. I am sorry that we are proceeding in this fashion in which we are presently engaged.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the grounds that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will count.

Two hundred three Members are present, not a quorum.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant-at-Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 349, nays 40, answered "present" 1, not voting 43, as follows:

[Roll No. 169]

YEAS—349

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashley
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Blackburn
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cramer
Culver
Cunningham
Curtis
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Everett
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Goodell
Goodling
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Harsha
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Hosmer
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Long, Md.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nelsen
Nichols
O'Konski
Olsen
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Pool
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, Pa.
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Ullman
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Walker
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wright
Wyatt
Wylie
Wyman
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—40

Annunzio
Bingham
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Conyers
Corman
Derwinski
Diggs
Dingell
Dow
Eckhardt
Edwards, Calif.
Evans, Colo.
Foley
Fraser
Gonzalez
Helstoski
Kastenmeier
Kupferman
Leggett
Mink
Moorhead
Moss
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
Ottinger
Pollock
Reid, N.Y.
Reuss
Ronan
Rosenthal
Ryan
Scheuer
Thompson, N.J.
Udall
Waldie
Wolff
Wydler
Yates

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Aspinall

NOT VOTING—43

Andrews, Ala.
Bell
Berry
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Carter
Cohelan
Cowger
Dawson
Dowdy
Evins, Tenn.
Gettys
Gray
Griffiths
Hardy
Harrison
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Holland
Karsten
McDade
McMillan
Michel
Miller, Calif.
Murphy, Ill.
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Purcell
Rees
Resnick
Rivers
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
Selden
Sisk
Tunney
Vander Jagt
Wampler

So the previous question was ordered.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Rivers for, with Mr. Aspinall against.

Mr. Tunney for, with Mr. Holland against.

Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts for, with Mr. Hawkins against.

Mr. St Germain for, with Mr. Resnick against.

Mr. McMillan for, with Mr. Brown of California against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Gray with Mr. Michel.

Mr. Hardy with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Hathaway with Mr. Carter.

Mr. Murphy of Illinois with Mr. McDade.

Mr. Cohelan with Mr. Bell.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Cowger.

Mrs. Griffiths with Mrs. Bolton.

Mr. Purcell with Mr. Berry.

Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Harrison.

Mr. Karsten with Mr. Vander Jagt.

Mr. Rooney of New York with Mr. Harvey.

Mr. Sisk with Mr. Wampler.

Mr. Dowdy with Mr. Gettys.

Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. O'Neal of Georgia.

Mr. Dawson with Mr. Roybal.

Mr. Passman with Mr. Rees.

Mr. Selden with Mr. O'Hara of Illinois.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS]. If he had been present he would have voted "yea." I voted "nay." I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 369, nays 17, answered "present" 1, not voting 46, as follows:

[Roll No. 170]

YEAS—369

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashley
Ashmore
Ayres
Baring
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blackburn
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burleson
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Casey
Cederberg
Celler
Clancy
Clausen, Don H.
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Corman
Cramer
Culver
Cunningham
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, Calif.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Everett
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Findley
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hansen, Wash.
Harsha
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Long, Md.
Lukens
McCarthy
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Minshall
Mize
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris, N. Mex.
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nelsen
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Rarick
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tiernan
Tuck
Udall
Ullman
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Walker
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wolff
Wright
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—17

Bolling
Burton, Calif.
Clark
Conyers
Curtis
Diggs
Dingell
Foley
Fraser
Gonzalez
Kastenmeier
Leggett
Mink
Moss
Reuss
Ryan
Waldie

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Aspinall

NOT VOTING—46

Andrews, Ala.
Bell
Berry
Bolton
Bow
Brown, Calif.
Carter
Chamberlain
Cohelan
Cowger
Dawson
Dowdy
Evins, Tenn.
Gallagher
Gettys
Griffiths
Hardy
Harrison
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Holland
Hosmer
Karsten
Kluczynski
McDade
McMillan
Michel
Miller, Calif.
Murphy, Ill.
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Purcell
Rees
Resnick
Rivers
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
Selden
Sisk
Tunney
Vander Jagt
Wampler

So the resolution was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Rivers for, with Mr. Aspinall against.

Mr. McMillan for, with Mr. Cohelan against.

Mr. Passman for, with Mr. Holland against.

Mr. Rooney of New York for, with Mr. Hawkins against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Andrews of Alabama with Mr. Cowger.

Mrs. Griffiths with Mrs. Bolton.

Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Harvey.

Mr. Hathaway with Mr. Carter.

Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts with Mr. Bow.

Mr. Purcell with Mr. Harrison.

Mr. Hardy with Mr. Chamberlain.

Mr. Sisk with Mr. McDade.

Mr. Roybal with Mr. Hosmer.

Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Bell.

Mr. Gettys with Mr. Wampler.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Berry.

Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Vander Jagt.

Mr. Karsten with Mr. Michel.

Mr. Brown of California with Mr. Bell.

Mr. Dawson with Mr. Resnick.

Mr. Rees with Mr. Dowdy.

Mr. Murphy of Illinois with Mr. Selden.

Mr. O'Neal of Georgia with Mr. O'Hara of Illinois.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS]. If he had been present, he would have voted "yea." I voted "nay." I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks announced that the Senate had passed a resolution of the following title:

S. RES. 300

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Honorable Robert F. Kennedy, late a Senator from the State of New York.

Resolved, That a committee of Senators join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn until Monday, June 10, 1968.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H.J. Res. 1292. Joint resolution to authorize the U.S. Secret Service to furnish protection to major presidential or vice presidential candidates.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may extend their remarks in connection with the adoption of House Joint Resolution 1292, providing certain Secret Service protection for presidential candidates.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR WEEK OF JUNE 10, 1968

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader the program for the remainder of this week and the schedule for next week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, in response to the distinguished minority leader's inquiry, we will adjourn by resolution today, and there will be action on a resolution. That will complete the legislative business for the week.

The program for next week is as follows:

Monday is District Day, but there are no District bills for consideration. The House will have for consideration two bills, under rules, on Monday, as follows:

H.R. 3400, aircraft noise abatement, under an open rule with 1 hour of debate; and

S. 974, land conveyance, Glendale, Ariz., under an open rule with 1 hour of debate.

On Tuesday there will be considered the second supplemental appropriation bill, fiscal year 1968.

For Wednesday and the balance of the week there are the following:

H.R. 16162, extension of certain loans by Export-Import Bank, under an open rule with 1 hour of debate;

H.R. 16363, the Wholesome Poultry Products Act, under an open rule with 2 hours of debate;

H.R. 15087, the Peace Corps Act amendments, which is subject to a rule being granted;

H.R. 16981, to limit the use for demonstration purposes of federally owned property in the District of Columbia, under an open rule, with 2 hours of debate, making it in order to consider the committee substitute for the purpose of amendment; and

S. 1028, Federal employment conditions for former employees of agricultural county committees, under an open rule with 1 hour of debate.

Friday is Flag Day, and appropriate ceremonies will be conducted in the House of Representatives, pursuant to the agreement heretofore reached.

This announcement is made subject to the usual reservation that conference reports may be brought up at any time and that any further program may be announced later.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1968

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I thought the distinguished majority leader said there would be some resolution, calling for a vote on adjournment this evening.

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman is correct. We will adjourn, as the gentleman knows, by resolution out of respect for the late distinguished Senator.

Mr. GROSS. That is not a sine die adjournment?

Mr. ALBERT. I hope not; not for me, anyway.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS, WEDNESNEXT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that any business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule may be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

AUTHORITY FOR CLERK TO RECEIVE MESSAGES AND SPEAKER TO SIGN BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS DULY PASSED

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the adjournment of the House until Monday next, the Clerk be authorized to receive messages from the Senate and that the Speaker be authorized to sign any enrolled bills and joint resolutions duly passed by the two houses and found truly enrolled.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

EFFECTIVE GUN CONTROL—COMMUNICATION FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the President of the United States, which was read:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D.C., June 6, 1968.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Today the Nation cries out to the conscience of the Congress.

Criminal violence from the muzzle of a gun has once again brought heartbreak to America.

Surely this must be clear beyond question: the hour has come for the Congress to enact a strong and effective Gun Control Law, governing the full range of lethal weapons.

I have sought—and fought for—such a law through all the days of my Presidency.

On occasions before, I have spoken of the terrible toll inflicted on our people by firearms:

—750,000 Americans dead since the turn of the century. This is far more than have died at the hands of our enemies in all the wars we have fought.

—sorrow and suffering that cannot be counted, and fear that cannot be measured.

Each year, in this country, guns are involved in more than 6,500 murders. This compares with 30 in England, 99 in Canada, 68 in West Germany, and 37 in Japan. 44,000 aggravated assaults are committed with guns in America each year; 50,000 robberies are committed with guns in America each year.

I have told the Congress and the Nation of the brutal loopholes in our laws. Two million guns were sold in the United States last year. Far too many were bought by the demented, the deranged, the hardened criminal and the convict, the addict, and the alcoholic. We cannot expect these irresponsible people to be prudent in their protection of us, but we can expect the Congress to protect us from them.

Weapons of destruction can be purchased by mail as easily as baskets of fruit or cartons of cigarettes. We must eliminate the dangers of mail-order murder.

The Congress has finally begun to take action. The Senate has passed a watered-down version of the Gun Control Law I recommended. The House has taken action on the Senate Bill.

But this half-way measure is not enough.

It covers adequately only transactions involving hand guns. It leaves the deadly commerce in lethal shotguns and rifles without effective control—fifty-five long months after the mail-order murder of President John F. Kennedy.

So today, I call upon the Congress in the name of sanity, in the name of safety—and in the name of an aroused nation—to give America the Gun Control Law it needs.

I urge the Congress to make it unlawful to sell rifles and shotguns—as well as hand guns—by mail order.

I urge the Congress to make it unlawful to sell rifles and shotguns—as well as hand guns—to persons who are too young to bear the terrible responsibility that is placed in the hands of a gun owner.

I urge the Congress to make it unlawful to sell rifles and shotguns—as well as hand guns—in one State to residents of another.

This will not prevent legitimate hunters or sportsmen from purchasing firearms but with this reinforced law we can give the States the proper incentive to shape their own gun control legislation, and the country can at long last have a network of systematic safeguards for all our citizens.

I am asking the Governors of the fifty States immediately and comprehensively to review their gun laws and to amend them where necessary to fully protect citizens of their States from deadly weapons in dangerous hands.

The voices of the few must no longer prevail over the interests of the many.

When I last appealed to the Congress on this subject again only a month ago, I asked this question: "What in the name of conscience will it take to pass a truly effective gun control law?"

In this new hour of tragedy, that question should at last be answered. Let us now spell out our grief in constructive action.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

LONGER TERM LEASES ON HUALAPAI RESERVATION

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 4919) to amend the act of August 9, 1955, to authorize longer term leases of Indian lands on the Hualapai Reservation in Arizona, with Senate amendments thereto, and disagree to the Senate amendments.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

CRIME BILL

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, we have before us today legislation designated as the crime bill. This is a most important matter. Crime is rampant throughout the Nation. Morality has deteriorated so in America that unless something is done we will lose our civilization.

Since the shocking events of recent days, many of our leaders are hollering for a gun control bill giving the false impression that such legislation, if enacted, would alleviate crime. Such is far from the truth. Gun control laws, however stringent, will have very little, if any, effect on crime. What we need is a return to old-fashioned law enforcement.

Many of our leaders and many segments of the judiciary have been so hipped on the subject of protecting the criminal element that they have lost all thought of enforcing the laws. Many segments of our courts, including in particular a majority of the members of the Supreme Court of America, have pampered and protected criminals with no regard for society or law and order for so long that crime has become rampant and recognized as the order of the day.

We need to free our law enforcement officials from the curbs and shackles that have been put on them by the so-called Supreme Court. We need to give them wide latitude in enforcing the law. We need to throw off the barriers to law enforcement; curb the courts in their pampering and coddling of criminals; and replace officials who are unwilling to impartially and energetically carry out the law regardless of who the individual is. This is the crying need today.

This crime bill is a good step but only a step in that direction. It will in a small way let this so-called Supreme Court of ours know that the people of America are interested in law and order; that they demand law and order and that they want criminals when proven guilty to be punished; that society must be protected; that the average citizen has rights and freedoms as well as criminals.

In my opinion, lawlessness and crime have been encouraged, pampered, and nurtured not only by the majority of the Supreme Court and certain segments of the judiciary but by many other leaders in government. The criminals have been given to understand that they will be protected in every way possible. They have been given an open invitation by people in high places to violate the laws they do not agree with. Until we have someone at the head of law enforcement in America who is dedicated to wiping out crime and to protecting society and the average citizen, we will never have peace and tranquility. Too many political cronies with no judicial experience and little knowledge of the law have been placed in high judicial positions. We need dedicated personnel in our Judiciary, people who have had wide experience in the law and not just experience as could be expected of a justice of the peace.

In the Nation's Capital today, crime is rampant. People are afraid to go out on the street and when a hoodlum or criminal is arrested, the first thing he hollers is police brutality and the policeman is tried long before the criminal is brought to the bar of justice, if he ever is tried.

The present legislation we are considering is a small step in the right direction and before the tragic events of California many people in high places in this administration were lambasting the bill and trying to weaken it because it attempts in a small way to curb the majority of the Supreme Court in their efforts to pamper and coddle criminals and give them the necessary protection to prevent their conviction, guilty though they may be. Because of decisions of the Supreme Court, many confessed criminals are walking the streets of America, free and preying upon innocent people with no fear of being punished. The courts and many of our leaders have set up a super class of citizens. This special class of citizens are above the law supposedly.

There is opposition to this bill because it is said that the bill attacks the Supreme Court; that title II makes an assault on the Judiciary and that it would bring about a confrontation between the Congress and the Supreme Court. That is one of the reasons I wholeheartedly support this legislation. The Supreme Court needs to be attacked; the Supreme Court needs to be confronted by the Congress on behalf of the people we represent and demand justice under the law. The time has come when we must speak for our people. We must demand a return to sound principles of law. The Court has gone far afield and it is time to put a curb on its arrogant display of power and lack of judicial restraint. The majority of the members of the Supreme Court have made a mockery of legal precedent and have changed the Constitution to the whims and fancies of their own political philosophy. It is impossible for anyone to know from day to day what the law is at that particular time. The time has come when this must be halted and let us go on with the job.

PERMANENT FINANCING FOR CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT SYSTEM

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The **SPEAKER.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I was joined by my colleagues on the Subcommittee on Retirement, Insurance, and Health Benefits, in the introduction of a measure, somewhat new in concept and mechanics, to provide in full for the permanent financing of the Civil Service Retirement System. The purpose of the bill, H.R. 17682, is to assure that there will always be sufficient money in the retirement fund to permit the payment of all benefits provided by existing law, the improvements proposed therein, and those contemplated in the future—in full and on time.

With respect to financing, title I of the bill proposes:

First, increasing employee deductions and agency contributions, from 6½ to 7 percent, respectively, to cover the normal cost of present benefits;

Second, authorizing appropriations, over a 30-year period, to finance additional deficiencies which may be created by the future enactment of new or liberalized benefits, increases in pay, or extension of coverage to new categories of employees.

Third, the Government meeting its obligation for deficiencies already incurred by past legislation, by a progressive program of transferring from the Treasury to the retirement fund moneys equal to the interest on the presently increasing unfunded liability;

Fourth, reimbursement of the system by the Department of Defense for costs attributable to crediting periods of military service;

Fifth, requiring direct annual appropriations to cover the costs of future automatic cost-of-living adjustments and legislative increases to retirees and survivor annuitants; and

Sixth, deposits to the fund by employing agencies to cover the cost of granting retirement service credit for unused sick leave accruals.

It is emphasized that employees would be required to pay one-half of the normal costs of the benefits provided, and only from the date provided, and that the Government would pay all remaining costs—one-half of the normal costs, all newly-incurred unfunded liabilities, and interest on the presently growing unfunded liability created heretofore.

Title II of H.R. 17682 further proposes certain limited, but needed, improvements in the benefits structure of the retirement program, the additional costs of which would be covered by title I:

First, granting of service credit for unused sick leave upon immediate retirement from or death in active employment;

Second, including all remuneration for services performed—such as overtime pay, differential, premium pay—for purposes of contributions and average salary;

Third, modifying the average salary computation period from 5 years to 3 years;

Fourth, increasing all future cost-of-living percentage adjustments by an additional 1 percent; and

Fifth, revising the remarriage provisions of the law so as to continue payment of survivor annuity in all cases where remarriage after attaining age 60 occurs on or after July 18, 1966.

Mr. Speaker, it is the judgment of the cosponsors of H.R. 17682, that this approach offers a sound answer to a most serious financial problem and will achieve most, if not all, of the objectives sought.

RETIREMENT PAY OF RETIRED MILITARY PERSONNEL SHOULD BE BASED UPON A PERCENTAGE OF ACTIVE-DUTY PAY

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of myself and 28 of my colleagues who have agreed to cosponsor the bill, I am introducing legislation which would restore for those who retired prior to June 1, 1958, the longstanding principle of allowing retired military personnel to base their retirement pay upon a percentage of active-duty pay.

Mr. Speaker, for more than 100 years military men were recruited and continued their military service with the clear-cut understanding that their retired pay would be based upon a percentage of current active-duty pay.

The Defense Department has admitted that this right to recompute was both a moral and legal obligation for more than 100 years. Defense Department officials have stated that though the military retirement system is not a contributory system, military men, by accepting a lower active-duty pay, do achieve the effect of contributing to their retirement. However, unlike civil service retirement, nothing is credited to their accounts and if they leave before retirement they have no equity to collect. Nor do their survivors have any right to this equity or a continued annuity. The retired military man is still subject to orders by his Commander in Chief and his retirement pay is, in effect, deferred earned pay. Let me emphasize this point—retired pay is earned pay.

In 1958 Congress, without any warning to those who had served in good faith and entered retirement status in reliance upon the moral and legal obligation of this Nation, decided to abolish recomputation and to substitute cost-of-living increases. But the Congress did not bother to repeal title X, section 6149, of the United States Code which guaranteed recomputation as a legal right. Finally, in 1963, this section was repealed and those who retired after passage of the 1958 act and before passage of the 1963 act were given the benefits of recomputing on the basis of the 1958 act. After 1963, however, they were denied this right. So today we have a situation where a man who retires prior to a pay raise will receive one level of retired pay, while another man with exactly the same length of service and exactly the same grade, will receive a greater sum simply because he retired at a later date.

If retired pay is in fact earned pay, as the Defense Department has admitted, then why should it be bestowed upon military retirees under a dual standard? This is an inequity and one which should be corrected.

Mr. Speaker, I firmly believe that the principle of recomputation should be restored for all retirees, and I have joined with others in sponsoring the Retired Officers Association bill, which would accomplish this. However, while the principle embodied in that bill passed the House, it died in the Senate and, as a purely practical matter, I must admit that that bill will not become law in the near future. Therefore, I am today embarking upon a new strategy in the introduction of a bill which will restore recomputation to only those who retired prior to June 1, 1958.

Admittedly this is half a loaf, but it does reestablish a principle. It recognizes the very tight budgetary situation of the moment by restoring recomputation to only those who retired more than 10 years ago. Thus my bill avoids the heavy expenditure which would be involved in a complete restoration of recomputation.

The pre-June 1, 1958, retiree is the man who was given no notice whatsoever that Congress would change rules in the middle of the game. He had already entered retirement status and the performance of a contract had begun. To change the terms of the contract at such a time was a breach of faith by the Congress. Though I believe they should be entitled to recompute, those who retired after the 1958 act were at least given some sort of warning that recomputation would end.

Thus, my bill is limited to those against whom the most serious breach of faith was committed. It is limited to a relatively small number of retirees, which number diminishes each year. It will cost about $100 million for the first year and less thereafter. Let us remember that many of these men served in three major wars. Is $100 million too much if by appropriating it we can honestly say that we have fulfilled our word to such men?

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that those who would prefer the full restoration of recomputation, as I do, will join me in urging passage of the bill I am introducing today. Because it is limited, it may be that we can have a hearing on the subject of recomputation and break the present logjam. Only by having a hearing can the subject matter be considered. Only with a hearing do we have any chance whatever for full restoration of the principle.

MARINE MASSACRE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the uncalled for massacre of two U.S. Marine officers in our Nation's Capital is tragic.

Can the murderer hope to escape national indignation for the slayings because of association with the poor peoples' army? And the poor peoples' lobby now demonstrates for gun control laws when their own shanty town is a guerrilla army camp.

An antigun law would not have saved the lives of these marines—but enforcement of a prohibition against camping on the Mall would certainly have prevented Abernathy's crew from importing many thugs and killers into the District.

Uniformed military personnel are now

safer in Vietnam than in Washington, D.C., their Nation's Capital.

Additional laws are not the solution. Enforcement of laws we have on the books by leaders who will lead is the answer. Do not blame the American people—blame the leaders who condone, if not encourage, the lawless climate.

I ask that news clippings from the Washington papers follow:

[From the Washington Daily News, June 5, 1968]

THREE SUSPECTS NABBED IN GEORGETOWN SHOOTING—TWO MARINE OFFICERS SLAIN HERE

Two young Quantico Marine lieutenants were shot to death early today in a Georgetown hamburger shop after a bitter exchange of words with three Negroes, District police said.

A third Marine lieutenant and a 26-year-old Adelphi girl with the Marines were wounded in the volley of shots.

Minutes later, police arrested three suspects fleeing in a Mustang at 33d and N streets nw, two blocks from the all-night Little Tavern at 3333 M-st nw where the shooting occurred.

The victims were identified at Lt. William King, 21, and Lt. Thaddius Lesnich, 20, but addresses were withheld pending notification of next of kin. Lt. Ellsworth Kramer, 26, was taken to Bethesda Naval Hospital with a scalp wound. The girl, Barbara Kelley, 25, of 1804 Metzerott Road, Adelphi, was in satisfactory condition in Georgetown Hospital with a wound in the left hip.

Police identified the suspects as Benjamin Murdock, 20, of Los Angeles, and Cornelius Frazier Jr., 23, and Gordon Alexander, 27, both of San Jose, Calif. One of the three men told police that he and the other two had arrived here two weeks ago because of the Poor Peoples Campaign. However, none were registered in the campaign nor were listed as residents of Resurrection City.

Police gave this account:

The five Marines—two of whom were unscathed in the incident—and the girl had attended a party at Quantico and then driven to Washington. They visited an M-st night spot and went to the Little Tavern for hamburgers.

The three Negroes were at the counter eating when the Marines walked in. When they got up to go, one apparently commented on the Marines' dress uniforms and remarks were passed. The three men left the tavern, but instantly reappeared in the doorway. Georgetown residents in the area said they heard nine shots ring out.

When police arrested the suspects, two pistols were recovered.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 5, 1968]

TWO SLAIN IN SHOOTING ON M STREET

Two young marine lieutenants were fatally shot and a third officer and a young woman were wounded early today in a burst of gunfire at a Georgetown hamburger shop.

Police arrested three men a block from the scene, the Little Tavern at 3331 M St. NW, and charged them with homicide. The three, all Negroes, gave California addresses.

One told police he had come to Washington late last week to join the Poor People's Campaign. He told police he was living in a 14th Street apartment and not at Resurrection City.

POLICE LIST NAMES

Police listed the dead officers as Lt. William King, 21, and Lt. Thaddeus Lesnick, about 20, who had come to Washington with three other officers late last night after a social function at the marine base at Quantico, Va.

The wounded man, police said, is Lt. Ellsworth R. Kramer, 26, who suffered a scalp wound. The young woman with him, Barbara Kelly, 28, of the 1800 block of Metzerott Road, Adelphi, Md., was shot in the hip.

All the victims are white.

Charged with homicide are Gordon Alexander, 27, and Cornelius Frazier Jr., 23, both of San Jose, Calif., and Benjamin Murdock, 20, of Los Angeles.

The other two lieutenants from Quantico were identified by police as Daniel LeGear Jr., 26, and Frank R. Marasco, 23.

According to police, the five officers came to Washington still in their dress white uniforms, visited a Georgetown night spot and called on some friends.

Finally the five, accompanied by Miss Kelly, went to the hamburger shop and were at the counter when some words were exchanged with three men after one of them made a remark about the name of one of the Marine officers, displayed on his uniform, police said.

POLICE CONVERGE ON AREA

The three civilians left, but returned in a matter of minutes and shooting began, police said. Police said they later recovered two guns. One witness reported that nine shots were fired.

Police converged on the area after the shooting, which took place about 3 a.m. Pvt. Junior Webster, alone in a scout car, said he heard the shots and took off after a Mustang racing from the scene and captured the three suspects.

Lesnick was pronounced dead at 3:15 a.m. at George Washington University Hospital, and King at 3:50 a.m. at Georgetown University Hospital.

Kramer was taken to the GWU hospital and later moved to Bethesda Naval Hospital where his condition was called satisfactory. Miss Kelly was in the GU hospital also in satisfactory condition.

Police identified Alexander as the suspect who said he had come here to join the Poor People's Campaign. They quoted him as saying he did not come East with the other two suspects but became acquainted with them here.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 5, 1968]

150 PICKET RIFLE GROUP IN DEMAND FOR GUN BILL

About 150 persons picketed the national headquarters of the National Rifle Association at Scott Circle today, protesting the association's opposition to gun control legislation.

The picketers carried placards saying, "Disarm the NRA", "Congress Act Now on Gun Bill", "Who's Next?", "Stop Violence, Stop the NRA."

Gary Busch, one of the organizers of the demonstration, who works in the United Auto Workers office here, said the protest was organized by an ad hoc committee of concered persons in government agencies, labor organizations, civil rights groups and in offices on Capitol Hill.

"We thought the time had come for strong gun legislation," Busch said.

"First King, now Robert Kenndey and our own regional director in California," he said. Paul Schrade, regional UAW director on the West Coast, was shot in the head during the Kennedy shooting.

Busch said the pickets planned to walk about an hour before returning to their jobs. He said he expected a group from Resurrection City to contniue the demonstration later today.

District police stood by as the well-dressed and orderly protesters paraded in front of and beside the building at 1600 Rhode Island Avenue NW.

Civil rights leader Julius Hobson, one of the demonstrators, carried a sign reading, "We Demand A Strong Gun Bill."

The front doors of the NRA building were locked, but a side entrance on 16th Street was kept open.

John Hess, NRA spokesman, said a caller phoned at about 8:30 a.m. and said: "There is a bomb in your building."

All 300 employes in the 8-story building at 1600 Rhode Island Ave. NW were evacuated while the District police bomb squad scoured the building.

Hess said the NRA often is threatened after a major shooting, such as today's gunning down of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, D-N.Y., in California.

Hess said he was called to the building, where the NRA has 260 employes in two offices, about 4 a.m. after a caller told a man on night duty, "I am coming up there with a rifle.

Hess, who said no one showed up, said the NRA office later was receiving about 5 or 10 crank calls an hour, some threatening.

One caller, for instance, said "Are you satisfied?" the NRA has been the prime opponent of gun control legislation now pending in Congress.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 5, 1968]

MARCHERS SPLIT ON PROTEST SITE

A small Mexican-American contingent from the Poor People's Campaign marched briefly on the Department of State today after a violent argument with a campaign official on protests in the wake of the shooting of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference officials charged that the protest by the Spanish-speaking group had not been cleared with SCLC, and that a main target of the campaign today was to be the National Rifle Association, with headquarters on 16th Street NW at Scott Circle.

"We've got to bring the attention of the nation to the NRA," said Hosea Williams, leader of "direct action" for the campaign—"They're going to kill all our leaders . . . The NRA encourages a sick nation to kill us off . . ."

The argument between Williams and Reies Lopes Tijerina erupted shortly after a group of about 15 Senators and House members belonging to the special congressional liaison committee for the march toured Resurrection City.

A TERSE ANNOUNCEMENT

Word of the critical wounding of Kennedy came to the camp residents about 4:30 a.m., when the camp public address system tersely announced: "Sen. Kennedy has been shot—keep calm."

Before forming for the march to the NRA headquarters, where some 300 employes were evacuated earlier today after an anonymous bomb threat, about 200 campaigners attended a prayer service for Sen. Kennedy at the Lincoln Memorial.

ABERNATHY SENDS TELEGRAM

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, SCLC chief, said he had sent a telegram to the senator's wife, saying, "We are deeply grieved and alarmed by the tragedy that has befallen your beloved husband. We are praying for his complete recovery . . . and his return to his invaluable service to our country and mankind."

The service ended after about half an hour with the crowd singing, "What a Friend We Have in Jesus."

Abernathy arrived at Resurrection City about 9 a.m., where many of the 1,750 residents were gathered in small groups, discussing the shooting of Kennedy in Los Angeles.

RECOUNTS SHOOTINGS

After conferring with staff members, Abernathy issued a statement, saying, "I was terribly shocked because of the shooting. A little under five years ago, President Kennedy was killed. Two months ago our leader, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was killed, and now, Robert Kennedy, a gallant fighter for peace has been felled by bullets. . . . We must quickly move to end this (attitude of hate)."

As the call for a demonstration on the NRA was being made in the camp, Tijerina jumped on the small plywood stage in the center of the camp and began calling for volunteers to accompany the Mexican-American delegation to the State Department.

Williams grabbed the bullhorn from the fiery New Mexican land-reform leader, and said, "I know nothing about this demonstration . . . I am the leader of direct action and all such demonstrations come out of this city . . ."

PERSONAL INSULTS EXCHANGED

After several heated exchanges, including personal insults, Tijerina left to take his group to the State Department.

Tijerina and about 25 followers were joined on the march to the State Department by about five Negroes, led by Cornelius Givens, chairman of the Resurrection City "city council."

The group gathered across C Street NW, from the diplomatic entrance to the department with about 100 Metropolitan Police standing by.

The department's top Latin American officer, Covey T. Oliver, assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, walked from the building for a brief talk with Tijerina.

ANGRY WITH TIJERINA

He left after five minutes, obviously angry at what he called Tijerina's "lack of courtesy."

Oliver initially welcomed Tijerina speaking in Spanish, and the Mexican-American leader replied in English, saying he did not want to discuss Latin American affairs.

Oliver explained that Rusk had a busy schedule and was to be host at a luncheon for the visiting president of Costa Rica, Jose Joaquin Trejos.

Amid heckling from the delegation, Tijerina asked Oliver who has priority, Americans or foreigners, and pressed Oliver for an appointment with Secretary Dean Rusk. Oliver, restraining his anger, then left.

Tijerina then spoke with a White House Fellow, assigned to Rusk, Peter Krogh, who discussed a possible appointment with the secretary and said he would call Tijerina.

The protest delegation then returned to the campsite and, after a conference with several SCLC aides, said a "town meeting" would be held later today to discuss the morning's dispute.

On the way to the State Department, Tijerina said the argument had "strained the coalition" of ethnic groups in the campaign. He said he felt there still was a bond with Abernathy.

Abernathy said that SCLC may suspend all further protests for the day after the NRA demonstration.

"We've got to do something about banning firearms," he said. "We do want the life of this great American (Kennedy), who was concerned about all people, saved . . . ."

TOUR BY CONGRESSMEN

The congressional group, led by Sen. Edward Brooke, R-Mass., the only Negro in the Senate, arrived by bus for the tour at the invitation of the SCLC.

Brooke said, "Our hearts are heavy. We certainly pray for the family of Sen. Kennedy and we also pray for our country."

Sen. Jacob Javits, R-N.Y. told campsite residents, "We are here to learn." When asked if Congress had done enough to prevent such tragedies as Kennedy's shooting, he said, "Obviously we haven't—John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy—when does it all end."

The committee members toured the campsite, where the long inundation of mud now was beginning to harden, and then held a brief question and answer session with residents, and were generally well received.

VISIT TO JUSTICE

A delegation of 100 campaigners, representing the different ethnic groups, yesterday presented grievances to Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark at the Justice Department as about 200 others waited outside on Constitution Avenue.

About 100 demonstrators were permitted to enter the Justice Department building for the meeting with the Attorney General. Another 150 to 200 remained outside.

Wooden folding chairs were set up in a second-floor meeting room for the demonstrators, who were there specifically to get a response on demands that had been left there by Abernathy last month.

Seated in chairs at the front of the auditorium facing the audience were Clark, Stephen Pollack, assistant attorney general on civil rights, and Roger Wilkins, director of the Community Relations Service. Some 10 U.S. marshals stood behind the officials.

Willams told Clark, speaking first, "We're only asking for justice for all mankind."

Then Clark spoke. He said that the federal government and particularly the Justice Department had made great strides in civil rights in recent years in the areas of fair employment, school integration, the protection of civil rights workers, fair housing and fishing rights for Indians.

"I hope we can go forward in quest of freedom," Clark told the restless demonstrators. "I hope that we will realize that justice has been found only when there is order under law."

At this point Rudolfo Corky Gonzales, who had earlier attempted to interrupt Clark, spoke for the first time.

"We didn't come here to patronize Mr. Clark," said Gonzales. "We didn't come here to be polite. . . . We've had civil rights legislation for years, but there have been so many amendments to it it is not worth the paper it's written on." His words drew loud applause.

CITES CALIFORNIA CASE

The mustachioed Gonzales cited specifically a case in Los Angeles in which 13 Mexican-Americans were indicted on charges of conspiracy to commit a disturbance in connection with the East Los Angeles student boycotts. The men are accused of inspiring the boycotts. The Mexican-Americans claim they are being used as scapegoats.

The Rev. James Edmond Groppi, the white priest who lead the Milwaukee youth council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told Clark, "If 500 members of the Daughters of the American Revolution had been outside, you would have accepted them. But somehow the poor are second-class citizens." Groppi was referring to the fact that yesterday Clark refused to meet with all of the demonstrators who had come to the Justice Department building.

CRITICIZES POLICE CONTROL

Groppi criticized the Justice Department for not exercising more control over local police departments throughout the country.

Jose Ortiz, a Puerto Rican leader from New York City, said heatedly to Clark, "You better go tell the government to get their guns together 'cause we're ready to go and die . . . For every poor person killed 10 cities are gonna burn in flames. We may burn some places down, but when we build 'em up they're gonna be ours . . ."

But the most fiery speaker of the afternoon was Lila Mae Brooks from Sunflower, Miss. Speaking to Clark, she said, "You think 'cause you're white you're free. But you ain't any more free than us. You talk about justice in the South . . . If you have justice we're gonna have it too. And if we don't have it, you better be gone."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 4, 1968]

MARCHERS HOLD 8-HOUR VIGIL AT JUSTICE DEPARTMENT—PROTEST BY 600 FAILS TO TRIGGER HOPED-FOR ARRESTS

Nearly 600 Poor People's campaigners straggled back to Resurrection City and other billets through the downtown area shortly before midnight last night after an eight-hour protest at the Justice Department failed to trigger the mass arrests that now are part of announced march strategy.

The Mexican-American contingent, in the vanguard of yesterday's demonstration, was to return to the Justice Department again today, either for a meeting with Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark or for a new protest.

Hosea Williams, a top official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said this morning that after the Justice Department march the demonstrators would go to the Office of Economic Opportunity at 1200 19th St. NW for a response to demands made last month.

CONFER ON STRATEGY

A high-level strategy meeting was under way at the private Hawthorne School in Southwest, where the Mexican-American group is staying.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, SCLC leader, met briefly with the group before departing for a one-day Florida trip to speak at a memorial service for the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Also at the meeting were Williams and the Rev. James Bevel.

By mid-evening yesterday, Clark through an intermediary agreed to meet today with a group of 100 persons representing all factions of the campaign to discuss the entire range of their complaints.

But he reiterated his position that he would meet with a delegation of only 20 or 25 if a dispute about the indictment of 13 Mexican-Americans on the West Coast was to be the only topic.

The rambling, disjointed demonstration finally began breaking up at 10:30 p.m. when leaders announced that members of a militant Mexican-American group in Los Angeles had been released from jail.

Throughout the long day and into the night, through intermittent rain and sunshine and darkness, between 50 and 600 demonstrators demanded to see the attorney general and got no farther than the steps of the side entrance at 10th Street and Constitution Avenue NW.

EIGHTY POLICEMEN WATCH

More than 80 policemen, night sticks in their hands, stood in 10th Street watching the demonstration and refused to make arrests when the march leaders decided that they wanted to go to jail.

All other entrances to the Justice Department part of the building were locked and signs on the doors read: "Closed—use 10th Street Gate." Several security guards could be seen behind the glass doors at the 10th Street entrance.

At the FBI entrances of the building on Pennsylvania Avenue, security guards would not permit anyone to enter without a special building pass.

Some 400 protesters marched singing from Resurrection City to the Justice Department in the early afternoon to demand an investigation into the indictment Friday of a group of 13 members of the "Brown Berets" who have been charged with conspiracy in connection with a walkout of several thousand Los Angeles high school students in March.

Through the day the group stood milling

about and singing at the door while D.C. DeHerera reported back and forth between his Spanish American leader Rodolfe (Corky) Gonzales and Justice officials.

The dispute was stalemated between the demand of the demonstrators that Clark see a delegation of 100 marchers, and Clark's insistence that he would meet with 20.

Both sides had made concessions. Clark at first had said he would meet with three to discuss the issue of the Los Angeles arrests and the demonstrators had at first demanded he see the entire group and also listed to demands for results in the search for the slayer of King.

Williams, who leads the campaign's direct action, was present as were several lower-ranking SCLC officials. Abernathy was reportedly busy attending "important meetings" around town. He showed up later in the evening for a brief speech at a rally in the Ebenezer Methodist Church at 4th and D Streets SE.

As the protest dragged on into the early evening, Williams and Gonzales frequently complained to the crowd about the stalemated negotiations.

"We will walk in very orderly," Gonzales argued. "I don't see why in the world Clark is afraid to sit down and talk to these people." The Denver-based leader of the Cruside for Justice, a Mexican-American civil rights organization, demanded that all ethnic groups in the march be present in a meeting with Clark.

Williams charged that the Negro in America has suffered injustice all over the country and has "never gotten any justice. We must have this representative group."

The Rev. James E. Groppi, the leader of a group of militant Negro youths from Milwaukee, told the demonstrators that "as long as we wait we keep the man waiting and keep those policemen on overtime, it is costing the city a lot of money." Father Groppi, a white priest, led the months-long demonstrations for open housing in Milwaukee.

Between singing and chanting, demonstrators taunted the lines of police. At one point, Williams called to the policemen:

"Any right-thinking policeman would throw down his badge and join us. . . . Any right-thinking policeman would not be part of a system that kills people."

Then he pointed again to the street, where on one end of the police line the officers were mostly Negroes and on the other end mostly white.

"As hard as America tries," Williams shouted, "they can't hide their sickness.

"They just put 12 policemen in back of us and you know what? They are black. They sent them out to beat their brothers. It's conspiracy! It's injustice! It's genocide!"

At another point, the policemen had removed their badges and name plates from their shirts so as not to offer a grip for antagonists during a struggle.

As members of the crowd shouted that this had been done so no one could identify the individual officers, a high police official circulated among the police lines and the men pinned their badges and plates again on their uniform shirts.

At about 8:30 p.m., Gonzales announced over a bullhorn that Clark was still refusing to see the committee of 100 and "still wants to segregate us . . . it will be 100 or nothing." The demonstrators shouted approval.

"We don't think everybody here should go to jail," Gonzales continued. "I know you all want to go."

The crowd cheered as he announced that he would choose from the Mexican-American, Williams from the Blacks, and Hank Adams from the Indians, the demonstrators who would prepare to go to jail.

Williams, who had entered the building to talk with Clark, took the bullhorn and said he was hurt by his meeting with Clark. "I had a lot of respect for Mr. Clark until a few moments ago," he added.

Without being an "Uncle Tom," Williams argued, he had used every means of diplomacy possible with the attorney general.

Williams said he promised Clark that he would not speak for the black people at the meeting, and that Adams would not speak for the Indians. "The only spokesman would be Gonzales, and we would not take any more of his (Clark's) time," Williams explained.

"It would have been a breach of our integrity to give more," Williams said.

Assistant Police Chief Jerry Wilson, who was in charge of the large police detail, said he had enough officers and would transport "400 or so" protesters to jail if necessary. There were some estimates that hundreds of police were in the area.

A large group of the chosen demonstrators, protected by a line of marchers with arms locked, sat on the steps of the Justice building, while another group walked toward Pennsylvania Avenue for a march around the building.

MARCHERS IGNORED

Williams placed the marching group between the seated demonstrators and the police who were standing in the street. The police ignored his marchers.

When Wilson was asked if he would arrest the demonstrators, he said:

"Well, although they're blocking an entrance to the Justice Department, no one was using the entrance—it was closed anyhow. As for the sidewalk in front of the entrance, no one is using it at this time of night so they can just stay there if they want.

"It's obvious by all of this that they're just trying to get arrested and trying to provoke an incident with us. We figure that after a while they'll get tired of all this noise and they'll go away," Wilson said.

Visibly frustrated, Williams finally announced over the bullhorn to the marchers that, "we found out that they aren't going to arrest us. You who want to stay all night until attorney (General) Clark opens that door can." The rest, he added, would be going to a strategy meeting at Resurrection City.

At this, Gonzales grabbed a bullhorn and criticized Negroes lining up behind Williams for following "a bunch of old preachers."

"If a strategy conference doesn't produce strategy and just comes up with bureaucratic decisions to fight bureaucracy, then we're in a bag," Gonzales said.

MOST LEAVE FOR MEETING

The bulk of the demonstrators left for a meeting at Lisner Auditorium at George Washington University. At 20th Street and Virginia Avenue NW, Williams told the group that the meeting that had been held by the Poor People's University at the auditorium was over. The group turned around and walked back to Resurrection City.

At 10:30 p.m., leaders at the Justice Department vigil announced that the 13 arrested in Los Angeles had been released, and the group returned to Resurrection City shouting: "We won a victory, brothers, we won a victory."

During the long sit-in at Justice, three small children were taken away in ambulances. The demonstrators were brought a hot meal about 7:30 p.m.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 3, 1968]

RUSTIN URGES ALL TO JOIN MARCH HERE ON JUNE 19

NEW YORK.—Civil rights leader Bayard Rustin has called on Americans from "all walks of life, from all races and creeds" to join the June 19 demonstration by the Poor People's Campaign in Washington and help "redeem the American promise."

Rustin, organizer of the 200,000-strong 1963 march on Washington, was selected recently to organize the new march scheduled by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as part of the Poor People's Campaign planned by the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

In a weekend statement urging white middle-class America to join the poor Negroes and whites in the June 19 demonstration, Rustin also spelled out a long-range "economic bill of rights" and listed a number of immediate demands for aid to the poor through congressional and presidential action.

ACTION ON FOOD URGED

He urged President Johnson to declare a national emergency to speed distribution of food and food stamps and take other action "wherever severe hunger exists in America."

Of Congress, he said, the marchers will demand recommitment to the Full Employment Act of 1946 to create "at least one million socially useful career jobs in public service," and to adopt pending housing legislation and repeal what he called "punitive welfare restrictions" voted by the 90th Congress.

Rustin, echoing the commitment to nonviolence of King and his successor as SCLC president, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, urged that the poor Negroes camping in Washington now be joined by all who share this commitment.

"To abolish poverty," the statement said, "requires a massive, nationwide and integrated effort. By themselves the poor are neither numerous nor powerful enough to win these advances.

"Therefore, we march together—black and white, red and brown, country people and slum dwellers, the poor and those who are not poor—because only through such a united effort can we truly overcome."

FARM SUBSIDIES CITED

"Saying millions of Americans are deprived of necessary nutrition because they are poor . . . are so despairing they do not even register to vote," Rustin charged rich farmers get multibillion-dollar subsidies "while 82 percent of the hungriest citizens are excluded from the federal government's basic food programs."

Federal housing programs, he said, have aided 10 million middle-class homeowners and provided "only 650,000 units of low-rent housing—usually ugly and segregated."

Rustin called for a long-range program of jobs and housing and a guaranteed annual income.

"We shall not sit back and let the forces of reaction and cynicism win the day," he said. "This nation can and must take specific, tangible steps toward redeeming the American promise."

SPEAKING OF SAFETY

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, because Members of Congress often participate in programs aimed at promoting safety at home, at work, and on the highways, I am inserting in the RECORD an excellent reference containing thoughts and statistics that need constant repeating.

In a most interesting and cogent address at the Johnstown, Pa., plant first aid meeting last April 27, Mr. F. R. Barnako, manager of compensation and safety for Bethlehem Steel Corp., presented a new approach to the subject of safety. It is brief but thorough and would appeal to any audience.

I recommend Mr. Barnako's speech as required reading for all my colleagues. You will find it of invaluable assistance next time you want to talk about safety. Moreover, it could very well serve as an influencing force in removing the causes of accidents and injuries in your own homes and automobiles.

It follows:

REMARKS AT JOHNSTOWN PLANT FIRST AID MEETING, APRIL 27, 1968

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. On behalf of Bethlehem Steel Corporation, I want to thank all of those who have participated in this competition, those who have given up their time to come here this morning and act as judges, and those honored guests who have shown their interest in what Bethlehem is doing in the Johnstown community to promote community safety by being present and having given up their Saturday morning. We appreciate it deeply.

The years 1965 to 1967 saw a new term come into our language when we began to speak of the "in" people and the "in" ideas.

We have witnessed new freedoms and new guides for personal action. We have accepted mores and principles heretofore regarded as outside the pale of recognition in our culture either because they were considered immoral, disrupting or distasteful in our society. We have witnessed the increase of drugs, LSD, psychedelic paintings and lights, and all types of displays of individual freedoms and actions.

However we individually may feel about the "in" philosophies, many of them have been accepted by you and the public so that books, ideas, movies, and activities, which we at one time ignored or made believe they did not exist, are now, in fact, accepted as a part of our culture and way of life. It is the right of the individual to express himself in whatever way he wishes, sometimes even transcending the requirements of the law. However you may view this, good or bad, it is a fact that 1966 and 1967 witnessed a good "in", the accent on safety.

The Highway Safety Act and the Automobile Safety Act are two examples and I could name many others. 1968 will be another "in" year for safety. The Congress has before it for consideration an Industrial Occupational and Safety Act, a bill to regulate gas pipelines, and a bill to regulate the amount of radiation which may be produced from consumer products, principally TV tubes.

Congress plans to do something about revising and upgrading our Marine Safety Laws with particular accent on pleasure craft. It plans to legislate additionally on consumer products and the President has even appointed a consumer representative in the Attorney General's office. In addition President Johnson, in his annual message, placed safety legislation in the forefront of his "must" legislation.

The question I pose to you is, "Are you listening? Are you getting the message?" Society has said to the Government we want protection from injury in those things we use, on the highways we drive, in the products which are placed in the ground, and in our homes, which may be injurious to us, and the Government is reacting to give you that protection. So far so good. But will this solve our problem. We can redesign highways and cars, we can make consumer products safer, but can we legislate your state of mind at home and on the highway. Obviously we cannot. And we will not until first you the public understand the size of the problem and secondly, you the public stop being a part of the problem and become a part of the solution, if not the solution.

A few comments on these two points. As to No. 1, do you know that the third greatest cause of death in the nation per 100,000 population in 1965 was accidents, preceded only by diseases of cardio-vascular system, including the heart, and cancer. The rate was 510 and 152 respectively; for accidents—55, followed by all other causes of death, including senility, suicide, diabetes, etc.

As to No. 2, I would guess that in the city of Johnstown, one-third of the population, including this group in this audience, have seat belts in their car. I would also guess that less one-half of those use them. I would doubt that many of you have inspected your homes for hazards and very few, for example, wear safety-protected clothing, such as shoes and glasses, when working in your home or your camps, cutting grass and doing odd jobs, etc. I would wager that you women use chairs for ladders rather than a safe ladder for reaching the upper shelves of your kitchen and your closets and in cleaning house. And I would also guess that many of you husbands have neglected to provide your wives with this sort of equipment.

Amazing enough, one of the major reasons for this failure to use seat belts and other safety equipment and to act safely in our homes is psychological. Studies have revealed that by putting on seat belts, by using proper ladders, and by using safety equipment at home we admit to ourselves that there are hazards involved and we do not like to admit that there are hazards. Therefore by failing to act the safe way or refusing to, we put out of our mind the fact that there are hazards. In other words, out of mind, out of danger. Unfortunately, however, hazards exist all around us. When we once admit that fact we have taken a giant step to avoid them because then we will take those measures which protect us from injury. What I am asking you to do is to ask yourself, what's your excuse for being unsafe? What's your excuse for not wearing seat belts? What's your excuse for not wearing protective equipment while doing work around the home?

I would wager that a large number of you have worked on heart fund drives, cancer fund drives, and polio drives, and that a large number of you have, in addition, given money to these various worthy causes. I ask how many of you have worked on or given money to safety drives, your local Safety Council for example, or have been involved in your own club activities in the area of safety.

The care of accident cases imposes a staggering load on physicians, medical personnel and hospitals. Approximately 1 of every 4 Americans suffers an accident of some degree each year. Of the more than 52,000,000 persons injured in 1965, although many were treated at home or at work, most received medical attention in physicians' offices or in the Emergency Departments of hospitals. It is estimated that in 1965 more than 2,000,000 victims of accidental injury were hospitalized; they occupied 65,000 hospital beds for 22,000,000 bed days and received the services of 88,000 hospital personnel. This exceeds the number of bed days required to care for the 4,000,000 babies born each year or for all the heart patients, and it is more than 4 times greater than that required for cancer patients. Approximately 1 of 8 beds in general hospitals in the United States is occupied by an accident victim. Think about that the next time your hospital has a drive for funds, and instead of complaining about the need for money and the need for you to give, remember that you through safety can reduce the load on hospitals and reduce the requirements for money for hospitals. Another comparison is interesting. Studying the income of various drives for the prevention and cure of diseases.

In the United States in 1966, we can compare this with the amount of money for safety on a community and national level. This, of course, does not include that spent by industry within their own areas of responsibility.

The cancer fund collected $53,000,000; tuberculosis, $34,000,000, and the Red Cross $107,000,000. The heart fund collected $36,000,000, and diabetes, $1,529,000. On the other hand, the local councils and the National Safety Council collected $9,600,000. It is interesting to note that the tuberculosis foundation collected almost 4 times as much as the safety organizations, yet the death rate from tuberculosis in 1965 was but 4.1 per 100,000 population.

I say to you that these statistics suggest that we need to get more involved personally and financially in the prevention of accidents. You demonstrate your interest here by your presence in the safety movement. I beg of you, don't leave your concern here. Get involved. Help yourself and others to lead safer lives. When you get into your car, your Wildcat, your Barracuda, your Javelin, or your Cougar, and drive home with a tiger in your tank; don't be a jackass at the wheel and don't be an ignoramus at home. Get with the new "in" group, the safety group.

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHT MEMBERS OF HOUSE FROM 29 STATES SPONSOR BILL TO EXPAND FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing five identical bills, cosponsored by 107 other Members of the House from 28 States and from both political parties, to attack hunger and malnutrition wherever they exist in this country, by making possible the extension of the food stamp program into every State and into every city or county wishing to have it.

At present, only about one-third of the counties in the United States are able to participate in this "eat enough" program to assure adequate diets for low-income families. Because of the $195,000,000 ceiling on authorized appropriations for the food stamp program in the current fiscal year, hundreds of counties which were certified last December to come into the program have not been able to do so. Most of them will be able to participate beginning July 1, however, when the authorization ceiling permits $225,000,000 to be appropriated and spent.

But that will not be enough to allow a large number of other counties, which also want the food stamp program, to participate under it. And a proposed increase in the ceiling for the 1969 fiscal year to $245,000,000, as provided for in a bill which recently passed the Senate, would not be sufficient, either, to cover these additional areas.

Consequently, 108 of us from 29 States have joined to propose eliminating completely the limitation in the present law for 1969 fiscal year appropriations for food stamps. And since no appropriations are now authorized under present law for the food stamp program for the fiscal years after the one ending June 30, 1969, we also propose in this legislation a similar open-end appropriation authorization for the 1970, 1971, and 1972 fiscal years. Thus, Congress could appropriate whatever amounts it considered necessary.

MEMBERS SINCERE ABOUT FIGHTING HUNGER OR MALNUTRITION WILL SUPPORT FAR LARGER FUNDS FOR FOOD STAMPS

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to see the great concern these days here in the Congress, and throughout the country, over the existence of widespread malnutrition in a Nation which can produce such an overwhelming abundance of food. Many of us have been trying for years to end this shameful situation. The food stamp program—although by no means perfect, because it is operated by human beings under restrictions laid down by Congress—happens to be the most effective, most successful method yet devised for providing decent diets to families which cannot afford to buy all the food they need for proper nutrition.

Unfortunately, many of those who decry the deficiencies in our programs to provide food for the needy were not very helpful to us in 1964 in the battle to pass the present food stamp law, or in 1967, when we extended it for 2 years. I certainly welcome the help of any Member of this House who sincerely believes in enabling the poor to buy a decent, nourishing, adequate diet. Passage of legislation such as I am introducing today is essential to achieving that goal.

I hope the Committee on Agriculture, which has not been noted in the past for its sympathy for the food stamp program, and has taken no action up to now on the bill I introduced as an individual Member last March, will be as impressed as I am by the names of the 107 Members of the House who have joined me today in introducing this food stamp extension legislation. Hearings by that committee are scheduled on food stamp legislation next week. By then, I hope that additional Members of the House will come forward to let me add their names to the cosponsorship list of the bill I am introducing.

EIGHT CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEES ON LIST

The present list of cosponsors, Mr. Speaker, includes eight chairmen of standing committees of the House of Representatives: Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN of the Committee on Banking and Currency; Chairman JOHN L. MCMILLAN of the Committee on the District of Columbia; Chairman CARL D. PERKINS of the Committee on Education and Labor; Chairman THOMAS E. MORGAN of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; Chairman WILLIAM L. DAWSON of the Committee on Government Operations; WAYNE ASPINALL of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs; Chairman THADDEUS J. DULSKI of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service; and Chairman GEORGE P. MILLER of the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

The ranking minority members of three standing committees are among the Republican cosponsors of the legislation: Congresswoman FLORENCE P. DWYER of Government Operations; Congressman JOHN P. SAYLOR of Interior; and Congressman JAMES G. FULTON of Science and Astronautics.

Among the other cosponsors are numerous senior Members of the House, as well as other Members who are determined to establish the machinery to enable every low-income family in this country to be able to buy sufficient food for good nutrition.

Passage of this legislation is essential if the food stamp program is to be extended to all of the States and to hundreds of counties which should have it but which cannot be included because of present limitations in the food stamp law on the appropriation of funds.

LIST OF SPONSORS BY STATES

Following, Mr. Speaker, are the cosponsors of my bill by States:

Alaska: Mr. POLLOCK.

Arizona: Mr. UDALL.

California: Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. MOSS, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. BURTON, Mr. COHELAN, Mr. MILLER, Mr. EDWARDS, Mr. SISK, Mr. HOLIFIELD, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. REES, Mr. BROWN, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON, Mr. VAN DEERLIN, and Mr. TUNNEY.

Colorado: Mr. ROGERS, Mr. EVANS, and Mr. ASPINALL.

Connecticut: Mr. DADDARIO, Mr. ST. ONGE, and Mr. IRWIN.

Florida: Mr. PEPPER.

Hawaii: Mr. MATSUNAGA and Mrs. MINK.

Illinois: Mr. DAWSON, Mr. O'HARA, Mr. KLUCZYNSKI, Mr. RONAN, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. YATES, Mr. PUCINSKI, Mr. GRAY, Mr. SHIPLEY, and Mr. PRICE.

Indiana: Mr. BRADEMAS and Mr. JACOBS.

Kentucky: Mr. PERKINS.

Maine: Mr. KYROS and Mr. HATHAWAY.

Massachusetts: Mr. BOLAND, Mr. PHILBIN, Mr. DONOHUE, and Mr. O'NEILL.

Michigan: Mr. RUPPE, Mr. O'HARA, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, Mr. DINGELL, and Mrs. GRIFFITHS.

Minnesota: Mr. KARTH, Mr. FRASER and Mr. BLATNIK.

Montana: Mr. OLSEN.

New Jersey: Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. RODINO, Mr. MINISH, Mrs. DWYER, Mr. GALLAGHER, and Mr. DANIELS.

New Mexico: Mr. WALKER.

New York: Mr. WOLFF, Mr. TENZER, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. CAREY, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. RYAN, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. REID, Mr. RESNICK, Mr. BUTTON, Mr. HANLEY, Mr. MCCARTHY, and Mr. DULSKI.

Ohio: Mr. FEIGHAN and Mr. VANIK.

Pennsylvania: Mr. BARRETT, Mr. NIX, Mr. BYRNE, Mr. RHODES, Mr. FLOOD, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. ROONEY, Mr. SAYLOR, Mr. MORGAN, and Mr. FULTON.

Rhode Island: Mr. ST GERMAIN and Mr. TIERNAN.

South Carolina: Mr. MCMILLAN.

South Dakota: Mr. REIFEL.

Tennessee: Mr. FULTON and Mr. ANDERSON.

Texas: Mr. PATMAN, Mr. ECKHARDT, Mr. WRIGHT, and Mr. GONZALEZ.

Washington: Mr. ADAMS.

West Virginia: Mr. SLACK, Mr. HECHLER, and Mr. KEE.

Wisconsin: Mr. KASTENMEIER and Mr. REUSS.

FARMERS AND CONSUMERS HAVE A MUTUAL INTEREST IN PROGRAM

Mr. Speaker, this list is, as I said, a most impressive one, but it does not include all of the Members who I am sure recognize the tremendous value of the food stamp program in assuring decent standards of nutrition for all Americans, and who have supported this program in past votes in the House.

I will gladly welcome additional cosponsors, particularly between now and the opening of hearings next Tuesday. I tried to reach and invite all of those whose votes last year or 4 years ago indicated basic support for this program, but I am sure I inadvertently missed some of them, and that others who would be willing to cosponsor did not have an opportunity to read the letters I sent to them on this subject last month.

In any event, I think that when 108 Members of the House join in a legislative objective of this nature, and go to the length of lending their names to a specific piece of legislation, the committee which has jurisdiction over that legislation cannot help but be impressed by the magnitude of House support. Numerous additional Members have promised me their full support on the House floor, so I am sure that if we can get the legislation to the floor—as I fully intend to try to do—it will pass overwhelmingly.

As Members from rural areas know, there is a farm subsidy bill pending before the Rules Committee. Many of us from urban areas have supported farm legislation in the past, but we have not appreciated the manner in which the committee handling farm legislation has opposed, or tried to cripple, the one program of the Department of Agriculture which helps our low-income families to buy the food products which farm support legislation makes somewhat more expensive than they would be if we did not put a floor under producer prices.

Enlightened farm organizations, such as the Farmers Union, the Grange, and the National Farmers Organization, recognize the mutuality of interest of farmers and consumers as reflected in the food stamp program. So I have high hopes that we can remove the inadequate ceiling in effect for fiscal 1969 for the food stamp program and also make possible adequate appropriations for the subsequent 3 fiscal years as well.

After all, Mr. Speaker, what better way is there to help the farmer than to enable millions of additional Americans to buy fresh meats, fresh milk, fresh vegetables, fresh fruits, and all of the other good nutritious foods in the supermarket?

TEXT OF BILL

The text of the bill is as follows:

A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (a) of section 16 of the Food Stamp Act of 1964 is amended (A) by deleting from the first sentence the phrase "not in excess of $225,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969;" and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "such sums as may be necessary for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972;" and (B) by adding at the end of the subsection the following sentence: "On or before January 20 of each year, the Secretary shall submit to Congress a report setting forth operations under this Act during the preceding calendar year and projecting needs for the ensuing calendar year."

TO HONOR A PROMISE

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. REINECKE. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which would provide retired members of the Armed Forces with pensions equal to the pensions which were promised to them at the time they retired. Traditionally, retired members of the Armed Forces had their retired pay determined as a percentage of the active duty pay of persons of similar rank. Thus, when active duty pay went up, retired pay also went up. In 1958, however, all this was changed. The 1958 Pay Act made substantial changes in the way retired pay is computed. Now, retired pay is initially determined as a percentage of existing active duty pay. Future changes, however, are not dependent on changes in active duty pay. Rather, retired pay is increased as the cost-of-living index goes up.

At the time this change was made, I am sure it was made in good faith. But, what was not taken into consideration was the fact that while such a change might be made in good faith with regard to future retirements, making it effective for past retirements had violated a moral commitment. Mr. Speaker, in 1958 we had, in effect if not in law, an understanding with the pre-1958 retirees which said that their retirement pay would be based on current active duty pay. When Congress passed the 1958 Pay Act, it violated that understanding. Had it been a contract between private individuals, such action would not have been tolerated. Are we to continue to let the Federal Government violate this understanding with our military personnel?

I should not condone such an action regardless of who is involved. It is, though, especially sad that this action was taken with regard to men who served their country so well and so long through the two World Wars, Korea, and numerous other lesser actions. Some of them served in France in 1918 and again in 1944, others in the Pacific islands in 1943 and 1944 and in Korea in 1950 and 1951. These men not only saw their duty and did it, but did it extremely well. I ask this House to do as well by these men as they did by us.

Mr. Speaker, my bill is really no more than a grandfather clause. It does nothing to upset the present pension system which would go on as before with respect to those who retired after it became effective. It would, however, preserve—or perhaps recreate is a more accurate term—the retirement rights of those who retired before the 1958 change became effective. Had the 1958 act had such a grandfather clause, I should have no quarrel with the present Armed Forces retirement plan. Surely this must have been an oversight in 1958. It should have been corrected sooner, and I urge the Members of this House to act quickly and favorably to make good on an old promise.

CAUSES OF THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, at a time in which not only every Member of Congress, but all thinking Americans, are deeply and gravely concerned over the direction in which this country is facing and the causes of the breakdown of law and order, I want to submit for consideration the address delivered by Dr. Miller Upton, president of Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. In his address before the American Association of Advertising Agencies at the Greenbrier, White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., on April 26, 1968, he has set out very clearly the basis for troubles which beset us as a nation. His remarks pinpoint our greatest need—a need for a moral revolution.

His address is entitled "For Want of a Gyroscope, Society Is Lost." It is certainly refreshing to have a man of Dr. Upton's caliber and stature speak with such clarity on a subject which concerns all of us. I highly commend a careful reading of this outstanding address by my colleagues and include it in the Record so that it can have the wide distribution it certainly deserves:

For Want of a Gyroscope, Society Is Lost

(By Miller Upton, president, Beloit College, before the American Association of Advertising Agencies, the Greenbrier, White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., April 26, 1968)

I considered entitling my remarks today "The Tyranny of Freedom." But as I developed the theme of what I wanted to say I realized that it was not freedom *per se* which tyrannizes but rather the absence of a gyroscope to serve as a moral balance to free men. I submit that man can be free only when his actions are held in check by a built-in moral gyroscope which gives balance and direction to his individual actions.

We fail to recognize and accept this rather obvious point, I believe, because we are so very imprecise in our understanding of *freedom*. The term has come to produce a conditioned reflex of good, and so we accept it on face value without really grappling with its full significance.

What the term *freedom* means to me is the social situation in which each individual member of the society possesses the authority for governing his own behavior and his own actions. Clearly, the term is a relative one, for situations will differ as to the degree of such individual authority possessed. There probably has never been any society in which the individual member had complete authority over his behavior and actions. And there probably could never be a society in which the individual member had no authority over his own behavior and actions. But despite the absence of these extremes there is still a wide band within which the amount of authority granted the individual can vary.

When we speak of authority in this individual sense we must recognize that authority in general is the amalgam which holds society together. And the most elementary student of administration is acquainted with the cardinal principle that responsibility and authority must at all times be commensurate with one another. One must not be given authority unless he is capable of accepting and discharging the responsibilities involved. And one dare not accept responsibility for something unless he possesses the authority to carry it out.

Therefore, when we speak of a "free society" what we must mean is that the individual members of that society are granted the authority to act voluntarily and without restraint—again, of course, in a relative sense only. But in being granted such authority for one's own behavior it follows that one must bear the social responsibilities involved—that is, he must behave in such a way as is consistent with that society's essential standard of value. This standard of value need not be expressed in the form of governmental legislation, but it does need to be a norm of behavior which the bulk of the members of society accepts as valid, whether intellectually or emotionally. We too often confuse government and society as synonymous.

If the society has no standard of value by which to hold individual behavior accountable—no moral gyroscope—then it is bound to flounder in its flight and to gee and haw uncontrollably. In short, a free society is possible only when that society has an overriding commitment by which its individual members are held responsible. If it does not have a basis for such authority, it must and will invent one in order to keep the society from disintegrating.

History is replete with examples of this phenomenon. The authority of God as developed by Moses and the Jews, the authority of the divine right of kings, the authority of the philosophy of natural law, the authority of constitutional law, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Aryan superiority, are all means by which particular societies have tried to establish an authority for preserving themselves. They seem to be able to be grouped into two classes: those which rely more heavily upon the authority of government and those which rely more heavily upon the authority of God.

But regardless of the form the social authority takes, the real vitality of any society is dependent upon the extent to which the authority can be delegated to the individual members—that is, the amount of individual freedom which prevails. And this in turn is dependent upon the ability and willingness of the individual members to identify with the basis of the authority—the state in the one case and God in the other.

What holds true for society as a whole also holds true for the individual. When individuals cannot identify with the basis of the social authority and do not have a compensating gyroscope of their own—some means of detecting right from wrong—they are lost souls, without purpose, ambition or direction. As a consequence, they lack a sense of confidence and security and in their panic either seek some form of psychological escape, such as the contemporary Hippie movement and the religion of psychedelic drugs, or grasp frantically for any and all kinds of messiahs or absolutes.

Without commitment to some form of social value, in short, man cannot realize the potential of man. Without some reliable moral gyroscope any man inevitably becomes a victim of his own ignorance, of his own psychotic anxieties, of his own psychotic desire for peer acceptance, of his own animal instincts. And in such a state he becomes easy prey for the glib promises of the ever-present false messiah, or to be constantly tryrannized by all forms of "homemade", ersatz dogma.

Such a man cannot even be creative, for true creative achievement is dependent upon rigorous discipline, and such discipline is lacking if there is an absence of purpose or goals. We too often confuse random imagining and random expression with creative imagination and creative works.

Now, if what I have been describing in generalized terms has some resemblance to the state of our contemporary social condition, it is not by accident, I can assure you. I have become deeply disturbed over the confused and depressed state of mind to which we have allowed ourselves to drift for want of a moral gyroscope. And I've decided to take it out on you.

I am tired and resentful of being tyrannized by excessive profanities and obscenities; I'm tired of big, impersonal cocktail parties; I'm tired of having to try to find meaning in ridiculous art; I'm tired of looking for excuses for the lawbreaker or the social deviant and I'm tired of the social injustice which provides these lawbreakers an easy excuse; I'm tired of the abuse of economic freedom by some businessmen; and I'm tired of the abuse of freedom of speech and of the press by pornographers and propagandists; I'm tired of voting for people I know practically nothing about in the name of political freedom and democracy; I'm tired of war; I'm tired of violence; I'm tired of our religious leaders lacking faith in their religion; I'm tired of the hypocrisy of the adult world, and I'm tired of the young justifying their own inadequacies on the basis of it; I'm tired of being tolerant of all individual misbehavior on the basis of moral relativism; I'm tired of being victimized by low political ambition on the part of our civic leaders; and most of all I'm tired of having my life tyrannized by a society which seems to have lost its capacity for determining right from wrong.

Maybe I'm just tired! But what worries me deeply is that I'm afraid there are many who feel the way I do, making us all vulnerable to the siren song of still another and more dangerous tyranny—the tyranny of a false messiah. There have always been such ready to jump into the breach when a society verges on disintegration for lack of a moral gyroscope. Order is restored but only at the sacrifice of individual freedom. In short, the value system of a willful tyrant is imposed upon all. And oftentimes it is accepted eagerly, for the security of an imposed code of behavior is to be preferred to the confusion and despair that accompanies no code at all.

There would seem to be only one solution: each person in society must be firmly and responsibly committed to a rule of life from which he develops his own values. And in this regard, a commitment to freedom is not enough; he must use this opportunity of freedom to commit his life to some higher purpose.

A man can never assume to be absolutely free. He is by physiological and psychological condition a part of the whole. He therefore cannot be even relatively free unless his life is grounded in some value system which is consistent with the realities of society.

But a corresponding imperative is that his value system be consciously adopted and constantly tested for authenticity. It must be more than a conditioned reflex, for the possible tyranny of an untested and unrationalized value system can be as dangerous as no value system at all.

This fact partly explains our confusion of the day. Many of our traditional values have come under attack because they were too often adhered to blindly and emotionally rather than rationally. But those who attack them have nothing of substance to substitute in their place.

Within my life span alone we have oscillated between the extremes of an authoritarian moralism to a permissive relativism. A moralism, for example, which made human nudity obscene and human sex dubious (or at best a necessary evil). And a relativism which makes any moralizing vulgar. A religious morality founded on love often prostituted to serve the ends of moralistic bigotry, nationalistic military ambitions, and denominational egocentricism. And a moral relativism which claims that every act must be judged on the basis of prevailing circumstance rather than any guiding principle or absolute.

Neither extreme, of course, can serve as a suitable social gyroscope. They have come into existence as reactions against prevailing conditions and not as logical philosophical positions. Nowhere is this clearer than among the moral relativists of the day. For we find among their numbers some of the most vocal and active opponents of war, poverty and racial discrimination. Their actions, in other words, belie their philosophical proclamations, for if there is no absolute by which to judge right and wrong, there can be no ultimate worth to man and his existence; so what does it matter if we mistreat one another or even obliterate the human race?

Their position instead of being logical is a rather understandable emotional reaction against the hypocrisy of the prevailing order. By whom should the inhuman practices of war, exploitation, injustice and perversion be opposed more than those who profess the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man!

This reaction of the contemporary moral relativist, however, as so much emotional reaction, is a form of artificial religion born of resentment and even hostility. What we need is not this kind of resentful reaction but rather the better blending of performance and faith—a condition which requires that the faith in turn be authentic and not spurious—a faith that can serve as a true benchmark by which to measure social values and individual behavior.

For me it is enough to have abiding faith in the ultimate destiny and worth of man. Given this as our moral gyroscope it is not difficult to develop stabilizing norms for individual behavior.

All I have been trying to say, I suppose, is that man does not live by man alone. This in itself is not a startling revelation. The important thing is to determine what it means for our lives right now.

I stand with the young people of the day who are dissatisfied with conditions as they observe them and maintain that we must have a moral revolution. But I do not agree with their solutions or their methods. What is called for is replacing our moral stance, or absence thereof, with another—hopefully a more honest and authentic one. It does not mean substituting a form of moral relativism, which in essence is no moral stance at all. And it does not mean the use of violence in the name of non-violence, for such in itself is a denial of moral behavior if we truly believe in the destiny of man and therefore the dignity and importance of every man.

I would like to believe that you in advertising and we in education have something very much in common in this whole endeavor. Both serve the end of influencing attitudes. And although our separate responsibilities in this regard are ordinarily widely different, it is not unthinkable to me that they could be joined at this one point. For example, I would hope that advertising, with its substantial influence on the mass mind, will not stoop to deceive and misrepresent or that it will not establish its standards in terms of merely accommodating the assumed tastes of the masses, as is so often charged. In our society of relative economic freedom you have been granted substantial authority for individual action and unless you use this authority responsibly from the social standpoint it will slowly but certainly be taken from you.

I see no reason why advertising at all levels and in all media should not support those moral imperatives upon which the existence of a free society depends. And I see nothing at all inconsistent in this statement with the demands of an economic system founded upon private property, individual initiative and the profit motive. Economic freedom is as much dependent upon high and consistent standards of individual morality as any other aspect of a free society. Particularly when considered in the long-run or ongoing sense.

Idealistic? Most certainly yes!

Impractical? Most certainly no!

We are too prone to overlook the fact that the concept of idealism is set opposite the concept of fatalism, not realism. And in this world of doubt as to what is and is not real, it is far safer and better to approach it from the perspective of idealism rather than fatalism!

For want of a nail, you will remember, the shoe was lost; for want of the shoe, the horse was lost; for want of the horse, the rider was lost.

For want of a gyroscope society is lost!

CUT OUT FOREIGN AID

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, with an increase in income taxes being discussed throughout the country, I call on the membership of this House to eliminate all foreign aid funds for the next fiscal year as a beginning step to cut expenses immediately in an effort to save the American taxpayers' much-needed dollars.

If we can accomplish this reduction in expenditures it will save the taxpayers $2.9 billion. There are already enough funds in the foreign aid pipeline which have not been spent to take care of all military assistance needs channeled through this program.

It is unthinkable to me that this administration would ask for a 10-percent surcharge tax while at the same time throwing away billions of dollars in foreign and and domestic giveaway programs. The door must be shut on unnecessary spending.

In addition to the elimination of foreign aid, there are many other avenues to cut spending by at least $6 billion without damaging our economy.

Since the end of World War II in 1945, the United States has doled out about $125 billion in foreign aid to more than 100 countries in all parts of the globe. If you add interest, total foreign aid spending approaches $160 billion.

Nearly $38 billion of this vast sum was given foreign nations in the 6 fiscal years from 1961 to 1966, inclusive, and the aid program has been continued, of course, since the close of the 1966 fiscal year nearly 2 years ago.

However, the rise in anti-American sentiment, which has been especially acute in recent years, points up this question addressed to President Johnson some time ago by Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, Illinois Republican and Senate minority leader, and Representative GERALD R. FORD, Michigan Republican and House minority leader:

Why are we losing our money and our friends?

The foremost beneficiary of American generosity has been France, which, from 1945 through the 1966 fiscal year, received more than $9.4 billion. Yet France, under Charles de Gaulle, has adopted in the last few years an attitude bordering on hostility toward the United States, including an attack on the dollar, from which she has drawn so much sustenance. Let us make France pay her debts to the United States and show De Gaulle that he does not run this country.

Another beneficiary has been Nasser's Egypt, which received $1.1 billion. Yet Egypt at the present time is generally recognized as the chief ally of the Soviet Union in the Middle East, and an instrument whereby Russia is seeking to gain supremacy in that part of the world.

Being against foreign aid is nothing new for me. I have consistently voted against foreign giveaway programs and unnecessary domestic spending during my 6 years in Congress.

Other spending cuts could be realized by postponing giant research programs, and the race to put a man on the moon. Easily, an additional $3 billion cut could be added to the foreign aid elimination which would bring total reductions up to $6 billion.

Before there is any tax increase there must be a cut in spending, but we must protect the value of our dollar at any cost.

CREDIT UNIONS CONTINUE AS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPONS IN THE WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, since the inception of the war on poverty, credit unions have been recognized as one of the most effective weapons. For rather than offering a handout, the credit unions offer a helping hand and enables those in poverty areas to work their way out of the ghettos and to better their living standard.

Sargent Shriver, who served with distinction as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity prior to his appointment as Ambassador to France, recognized the value of credit unions in the war on poverty.

In October of 1965, Mr. Shriver wrote me a long letter describing his plans for the use of credit unions in combating poverty throughout the country. In closing, Sargent Shriver wrote:

> You can be sure that in the future, as now, any community action program interested in organizing a credit union as part of its program will receive our wholehearted backing in getting started.

The theme of credit unions for the low income is being carried on throughout the Bureau of Federal Credit Union's Project Moneywise, which trains credit union leaders and provides leadership and guidance for low-income credit unions once they have begun operations.

This past week, a newsletter crossed my desk which clearly outlines the outstanding job that credit unions are doing in fighting poverty in our country.

The newsletter deals with the efforts of the Sixth Avenue Credit Union in New York City in working with the New York City Housing Authority Alfred E. Smith development in making loans available so that persons of low income may better their housing standards. In its management newsletter, the Alfred E. Smith development devoted a full page printed in Chinese, Spanish, and English advising area residents of the help that they may receive through the credit union. Since both the development and the credit union are located on the edge of Chinatown and both serve many Chinese families, it was necessary to make the information available in Chinese.

For the past 5 years, the Sixth Avenue Credit Union has been specializing in loans for the purchase of middle-income cooperative apartments. While approximately 20 percent of the credit union's members have been low-income families, the credit union now seeks to help more low-income families and, therefore, is extending its services to the Alfred E. Smith development.

Many of the families helped by the credit union through its equity loan program originally came from low-income neighborhoods. These families would not have been able to move into a middle-income cooperative without the aid of the credit. The credit union has helped more than 700 families with loans totaling more than $1 million. Families can borrow up to two-thirds of the equity investment for a period of 5 years at an interest rate lower than that available at most banks.

Mr. Speaker, the Sixth Avenue Credit Union is, indeed, operating in the true credit union spirit that these institutions serve not for profit but for service.

TRUTH IN LENDING, AMEN

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Sidney Margolius, the noted consumer affairs expert, has devoted a recent column to the passage of the truth-in-lending bill, S. 5, as amended. Mr. Margolius' column is worth reading since it contains an excellent and accurate reflection on the difficulties in securing final enactment of the law. He gives due and proper credit to the determination of our colleague, Congresswoman SULLIVAN, stating:

> The pending new law, planned to go into effect July 1, 1969, will be a whole truth-in-lending law, thanks to the determination of U.S. Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan of Missouri. She refused to accept the part-truth bill passed by the Senate last summer. For six weeks this spring, with the backing of her fellow Congressmen at every confrontation, Mrs. Sullivan argued and out-maneuvered the Senators on a House-Senate conference committee who wanted a weaker law—all except U.S. Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin. He preferred the whole truth.

Mr. Margolius mentions the useful support from various public interest groups as well as "bitter lobbying" of its opponents.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include Mr. Sidney Margolius' column entitled "Truth in Lending, Amen" which appears in the May 30, 1968, issue of the Machinist, in the RECORD, as follows:

TRUTH IN LENDING, AMEN

(By Sidney Margolius)

It took 20 years of constant effort by labor unions, co-ops and credit unions, and then eight years of battling in Congress. But the public is getting a truth-in-lending law that finally will end some of the most widespread fooling of consumers.

The pending new law, planned to go into effect July 1, 1969, will be a whole truth-in-lending law, thanks to the determination of U.S. Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan of Missouri. She refused to accept the part-truth bill passed by the Senate last summer. For six weeks this spring, with the backing of her fellow Congressmen at every confrontation. Mrs. Sullivan argued and out-maneuvered the Senators on a House-Senate conference committee who wanted a weaker law—all except U.S. Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin. He preferred the whole truth.

The victory represented a heroic effort involving hundreds of hours of arguing with the Senators. What was won was a requirement that not only banks, loan companies and installment sellers, but department stores and mail-order houses must tell the true annual rates on their revolving charge accounts.

When the law becomes effective, for the first time you will know what interest rate you are actually paying, and will be able to compare rates. You will know, for example, that when a bank says it charges a "discount" of $6 per $100 on a personal loan, this is a true annual rate of about 12 per cent; that a finance charge of $12 per $100 on a used car or household equipment is approximately 24 per cent; that a loan company charge of 3 per cent a month on the declining balance is 36 per cent a year.

REVOLVING CREDIT COVERED

You will know also, despite the bitter lobbying by some chain and department stores against this provision, that 1½ per cent a month on a "revolving charge" or "junior budget" account is the equivalent of 18 per cent a year.

Now lenders and sellers will have to state their rates in a uniform way, instead of minimizing the amount you pay for credit and stating the rate in several confusing ways.

You will be able to decide whether you really want to pay a loan company 30 to 42 per cent to consolidate your other bills or for Christmas cash.

When you buy a used car or open a department-store account, you will have a chance to see that 18 per cent is a lot more than 12 per cent or less a credit union or bank would charge for a loan to make the same purchase.

Very important, you will be able to see that you are paying 12, 18 and even higher percentages when your own savings earn only 4–5 per cent in savings accounts and bonds. Then you can decide whether it would not save money to use your cash and pay yourself back each month.

HOME IMPROVEMENTS

Another important feature in the pending law can help you protect yourself against unknowingly signing a mortgage if you contract for a home improvement job. If you do not realize that a paper you sign is really a second mortgage, you will have three days to cancel the agreement. Many homeowners have been tricked this way, and still are.

Too, those finance companies and banks that regularly deal with high-pressure home-improvement sellers while closing their eyes to deceptive sales tactics, are going to find that under the new law they won't be considered so innocent any more.

Under the present "holder in due course" provision of state laws, a lender who takes over your installment note is considered an innocent party. You have to pay the finance company or bank even if the seller did not perform as promised. But if a finance company has a continuing relationship with such a seller, and the contract involves a second mortgage, the debtor now can challenge the lender's "innocence."

But be warned that this does not apply to many other installment purchases which do not involve a mortgage.

Installment buyers and borrowers also should be warned that the true-interest law does not go into effect until July 1, 1969, Mrs. Sullivan told this writer. But they should begin right away to ask stores what annual interest rate they charge, she advised. "This will help give the stores and lenders practice in telling the annual interest rate," Mrs. Sullivan pointed out.

SAFEGUARDING RIGHTS

As a third warning, even when the new federal law becomes effective, consumer and labor organizations, and you yourself, are going to have to guard against evasions of it.

The experience in Massachusetts, the first state to have a truth-in-lending law, shows that some auto dealers and installment sellers may try to disregard the law. I found in a visit to Massachusetts last winter that some auto dealers openly broke the law by advertising in newspapers "$5 down" or "$25 a month" without telling the full cost and the true annual rate. There they were, breaking the law in full public view, and the authorities were not aware of it until we called it to their attention.

Similarly, the Economic Development Division of Action for Boston Community Development, reported a survey had found that in some sections of Boston, nine out of 10 furniture and TV dealers did not tell the true annual rates.

Middle-income families in this instance were getting more benefit out of the law than low-income ones. Banks, department stores and credit unions, who are more widely used by families above the low-income level, were obeying the law and telling the truth. And that is likely to be the case when the nationwide law goes into effect next year unless we all help police it.

The pending law will do little to remedy the other conditions that lead to credit deceptions, such as garnishees and the present unfair power of sellers to both repossess and get a judgment. The pending federal law will bar an employer for firing for only one garnishee. New York and Hawaii already have strong laws against firing for garnishees. The other states have none at all.

The real need is to outlaw garnishees altogether. Many of the more reasonable employers will wait for at least two garnishees in any case.

But the new provision will make it a little harder for finance companies and collection agencies to use this fear of job loss as a lever to force payment of what sometimes are unfair or deceptive debts.

THE NATION'S 19 MILLION CREDIT UNION MEMBERS SUPPORT SURTAX AND BUDGET LIMITATION BILL

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, this morning I received a telegram from Mr. J. Orrin Shipe, managing director of CUNA International, the worldwide association of credit unions.

In the telegram, Mr. Shipe informed me that the executive committee of CUNA meeting in emergency session on Wednesday, unanimously voted to endorse President Johnson's 10-percent surtax legislation and the budget limitation bill H.R. 15414. Such an endorsement cannot be taken lightly especially when it represents the voices of more than 19 million credit union members in the United States, representing more than 23,000 credit unions.

It is gratifying for me to see the credit unions take such a strong stand on fiscal matters. If there was ever an evidence of grassroots support for legislation, this telegram certainly shows such support since credit union members come from all walks of life and are truly the grassroots of our country.

The telegram referred to follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
June 6, 1968.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Washington, D.C.:

The executive committee of CUNA International meeting in emergency session June 5 unanimously voted endorsement of the 10% surtax and budget limitation bill, H.R. 15414. Our executive committee is authorized to establish official policies of the organized credit union movement representing over 19 million credit union members in the United States as painful as the increased taxes and budget cutbacks will be, we nevertheless recommend passage of this bill rather than face the dangers of uncontrolled inflation with the attendant shrinkage of people's savings. We ask and urge that you support and vote for passage of H.R. 15414.

J. ORRIN SHIPE,
Managing Director.

HELEN KELLER MEMORIAL STAMP

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, on June 3, 1968, I performed the sad duty of calling to the attention of my colleagues the death of my most courageous constituent, Miss Helen Keller of Easton, Conn.

Today, memorial services will be conducted at the Washington National Cathedral for Miss Keller and I choose this sad occasion to ask the support of my colleagues in recommending to the Postmaster General the issuance of a memorial postage stamp in honor of Miss Keller.

In 1965, in recognition of Miss Keller's achievements, I recommended to then Postmaster General, John A. Gronouski, that such a stamp be issued, but the recommendation could not be implemented because the Post Office Department is prohibited from using the likeness of a living individual on U.S. postage stamps.

I have today recommended to Postmaster General Marvin Watson that a Helen Keller memorial stamp be issued at the earliest possible date and I include here a copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Postmaster General in support of my recommendation:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., June 5, 1968.

Hon. MARVIN WATSON,
Postmaster General,
Post Office Department,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. POSTMASTER GENERAL: Memorial Services will be held today at the Washington National Cathedral for Miss Helen Keller of Easton, Connecticut, who in the words of her advocate, Brother Matthew of Cardinal Spellman High School, Bronx, New York, was my "most remarkable constituent." Miss Keller whose courage and achievement in the face of adversity brought international acclaim to herself and to her associates, succumbed on June 1 at the age of 87.

In July, 1965, I had discussed with then Postmaster General John A. Gronouski and recommended to him the issuance of a postage stamp in honor of Miss Keller. My recommendation was well documented with background material and commentary. At that time my recommendation was tabled because the Post Office Department is prohibited from using the likeness of a living individual on a U.S. postage stamp.

For your information I enclose a copy of my letter of July 8, 1965 addressed to Postmaster General Gronouski and a copy of the reply which I received, from Mr. Ira Kapenstein, Special Assistant to the Postmaster General; also copies of letters in support of a postage stamp memorializing Miss Keller, and a copy of my statement in the Congressional Record of June 3, 1968.

The story of Helen Keller's emergence from the abyss of total deafness, blindness and speechlessness to a position of world prominence and achievement stands out as a challenge and an inspiration to every one of us, and particularly to those who may feel that the road to success is blocked by insurmountable obstacles. We can look to the story of Helen Keller and those who aided her as proof that no worthy objective is impossible if we have the will and courage to pursue it.

Memorial stamps have been issued in recognition of many great citizens and events. I think that none is more deserving of such recognition than Helen Keller, and I therefore strongly recommend that a Helen Keller Memorial Stamp be issued at the earliest possible date and that First Day Sales ceremonies be conducted in Easton, Connecticut where Miss Keller had made her home.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN S. MONAGAN,
Member of Congress.

NEW JERSEY STATE POSTAL UNION MONTH

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud to ask unanimous consent that immediately following my remarks in the RECORD there appear a proclamation declaring the month of June as new Jersey State Postal Union Month in the State of New Jersey, issued by Gov. Richard J. Hughes.

Mr. Speaker, the New Jersey State Postal Union is one of the outstanding labor organizations in the United States and I am very proud that the able Governor of our State has honored the members of their union in this way.

This year the New Jersey State Postal Union is observing its 10th anniversary and I would like to extend to them my best wishes for a continuation of the many successes they have achieved in their first decade of existence.

The proclamation follows:

PROCLAMATION

Whereas, the New Jersey State Postal Union is celebrating its Tenth Anniversary during the Month of June; and

Whereas, the New Jersey State Postal Union is a subsidiary of the National Postal Union whose headquarters are domiciled in Washington, D.C.; and

Whereas, the New Jersey State Postal Union has local branches throughout the State of New Jersey; and

Whereas, the New Jersey State Postal Union and its subordinate branches are the exclusive bargaining agent for many dues paying members throughout the State of New Jersey; and

Whereas, the citizenry of New Jersey regard the members of the New Jersey Postal Union in high esteem and in a very favorable light performing a daily service for the patrons of the Post Offices throughout the State of New Jersey; and

Now, therefore, I Richard J. Hughes, Governor of the State of New Jersey, do hereby proclaim the month of June 1968 as New Jersey Postal Union Month in New Jersey in recognition of the outstanding and meritorious services they are performing in the public interest.

RICHARD J. HUGHES,
Governor.
ROBERT J. BURKHARDT,
Secretary of State.

ITALIAN-TYPE CHEESE IMPORT LOOPHOLE

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned about the increasing imports of cheese which are coming into the United States outside quotas established under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

One of the loopholes through which they are entering involves certain Italian-type cheeses, which are covered by a quota set up under the Tariff Schedules of the United States for "Italian-type cheeses, made from cows' milk, in original loaves."

Unfortunately, this quota provision is being circumvented in two ways:

First, importers are cutting loaves of Italian-type cheese made from cows' milk prior to entry into the United States, or

Second, the cheese is grated before shipment to the United States.

This has resulted in rapidly increasing imports, outside of the quota, particularly from Argentina. Ex-quota imports of Italian-type cheeses were 95,000 pounds in 1965, but in 1966 they increased to 424,000 pounds—a 346-percent increase in 1 year. Imports during 1967 reached 1,494,000 pounds, a 352-percent increase over 1966.

As a result, the domestic Italian-type cheese industry has been severely disrupted. Of particular concern is the increase of Argentine grated Italian-type cheese coming into the United States at extremely low prices. This Argentine-grated cheese has been sold in the last year delivered ex-dock New York City, duty paid, at 60 cents a pound—a price several cents below U.S. cheese manufacturing costs.

U.S. manufacturing costs, of course, must be based upon milk prices which are supported by the Federal Government. If we allow cheap foreign milk to come in, in the form of Italian-type cheese outside quotas, we are undermining the price support program. The result is increased price support costs for the Government, loss of markets and economic distress for American producers of such cheeses and harm to the dairy industry and dairy farmers.

Several attempts have been made to close this loophole by section 22 appeals to the U.S. Tariff Commission—the latest appeal coming in May 1967. However, the Tariff Commission has consistently recommended no action regarding this loophole problem and the President has failed to act, even though the Secretary of Agriculture has supported efforts to close the loophole.

I ask that this loophole be closed and that all cheeses, whether in original loaves, or cut, or grated, be included under existing cheese quotas so that the U.S. Department of Agriculture can regulate the flow of imports through its import licensing program. Otherwise, the quotas will be meaningless in preventing interference with the price support program of USDA.

I have introduced a bill to accomplish this purpose. This bill, by amendment of section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, would provide that cheeses enumerated in the section 22 quota provisions could not be cut or grated to avoid the quota. Obviously, there is no reason to make a distinction between grated, cut and whole loaf cheeses; they are still the same product. It is tragic that the administration and the Tariff Commission have not taken action, on their own initiatives, to end this subterfuge long ago.

SENATOR KENNEDY WOULD WANT US TO ACT ON GUN CONTROL

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I voted "no" on the motion to adjourn at the opening today. I think that Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY, more than anyone I know, would have wanted us to get on with the important business at hand such as the most pertinent questions of gun control and crime in the streets.

THE SURVIVAL OF OUR FINANCIAL STRUCTURE

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, during the past few weeks bankers both in this country and Europe have been saying that the United States can no longer afford to let time go by as confidence in the dollar continues to dwindle overseas—and more importantly, our deficits continue to grow here at home.

We have been told that we are faced with one of the worst financial crises since the dark days of the early 1930's.

Inaction has generated abnormally high interest rates, and reduced the competitiveness of American products, making our payments deficit all the more critical.

One banker who has put this entire matter into proper perspective is George W. McKinney, Jr., vice president of the Irving Trust Co., New York. In a recent address at Williamsburg, Va., he said:

> The issue at stake is much too important to waste time arguing. The issue involves the very survival of the financial structure which underpins trade among the free world nations.

That, unfortunately, says it. I believe we should all have the benefit of Mr. McKinney's analysis. For that reason, I insert into the RECORD that speech:

FINANCIAL MARKETS IN A TROUBLED WORLD

(Address by George W. McKinney, Jr., vice president, Irving Trust Co., New York, before the spring meeting of the Carolina-Virginias chapter of the Robert Morris Associates, Williamsburg, Va., May 18, 1968)

I recently saw a very good play entitled "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead". Tom Stoppard, the British author, built a play around two of the minor characters in Hamlet. In Shakespeare's drama, these two fellows (two former classmates of Hamlet's named Rosencrantz and Guildenstern) are very minor characters. The main thread of Hamlet touches their lives only at a couple of points, and you only see them on the stage very briefly. In Tom Stoppard's play the situation is reversed. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are the center of all the action, and Shakespeare's principal characters are brought in only fleetingly. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were hired as private detectives pro tem whose job was to find out why the melancholy Dane was melancholy. As the play develops, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern realize that they are caught up in the momentum of some very important events. They ponder and question. Are they simply pawns in all of this activity that influences their lives so significantly, or do they have some freedom and choice over their destiny? Could they, perhaps, even exert an influence over the development of the social situation in which they find themselves?

Gradually, their situation becomes more involved and more dangerous as they are moved inexorably toward some dreadful fate.

Hamlet gives them a message to carry to England. At first they are unaware of its content. Later they learn by accident that the message asks its recipient to kill the two couriers on arrival. But by then they are so convinced that their destiny is not in their own hands, that they make no overt attempt to prevent this ultimate catastrophe.

I felt rather sympatico with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, because I frequently feel that I'm caught up in a tide of events that I really can't do anything about. I'm sure that each of us has at one time or another felt like he was part of a bad dream, sitting off to the side and watching some nightmarish situation develop. Sometimes it all seems like we are both observing and participating in a bad dream. There was the Chinese philosopher of the Tang dynasty who once dreamed that he was a butterfly. From that day on, he was never quite sure that he was not a butterfly dreaming that it was a Chinese philosopher.

I've had this feeling from time to time over the past several months as I've watched the Congress bicker with the Administration and among its own members as to the precise actions, if any, which should be taken through fiscal policy measures to restrain an overly exuberant economy. Meanwhile, I've watched our nation's economy, like Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, caught up in a train of events and moving inexorably toward a predictable fate. Earlier this week the latest step in this drama unfolded—or should I say the latest anti-step in this drama unfolded?—when it was announced that a vote on the pending tax measure would be postponed until after June 1st.

Financial markets immediately showed their disappointment, bond prices dropped and interest rates moved up pretty much across the board. Conditions in bond markets yesterday were the most chaotic in my memory. International markets reacted unfavorably, too. Financial markets abroad are still unsettled from the near crisis that developed in March, and they are quite vulnerable to speculative pressures. The price of gold on free markets moved to the highest levels since the two-price system was established in March. Another flight from the dollar is developing.

The road ahead seems crystal clear to me. We can no longer afford the luxury of arguing among ourselves about what form a tax increase should take, or whether we should have a spending cut instead of a tax increase, or how big the spending cut should be. The issue at stake is much too important to waste time arguing. The issue involves the very survival of the financial structure which underpins trade among the free world nations. It involves a major risk of triggering a domestic recession of significant magnitude. It involves a very probable risk of resort to direct controls as a substitute for more constructive action. Finally it involves risks that extend beyond our borders and may come back to us many times magnified, for it might cause a collapse of the international payments mechanism and bring about a repetition of the restrictive actions of nations which stultified trade and were a principal factor in the worldwide depression of the 1930's.

In this environment, the fate of the tax bill becomes the most important single factor influencing financial markets. Without a tax increase, market rates will continue to rise. We all recall the "crunch" of 1966; it could be repeated. This time around, there's a new danger. Interest rates are already at levels at which state usury laws in many states are freezing small businessmen out of borrowing markets. If there's a crunch this time, it will hit small businessmen as well as the construction industry. There is also a great probability that the seeds of a recession will be germinated through this process. With a tax increase, financial markets are likely to remain tight, but another crunch can probably be avoided and financial markets should begin to show more strength. What are the issues involved? Why is it so difficult to get a tax increase if the need for it is as obvious as I think it is, and as practically all of the economists I know think it is? Is it simply, as many Americans contend, that this is an Election year?

Well, there's something to that. A much larger proportion of the Senators who are not up for election voted for the tax bill than did those who are running for re-election this year. Surveys of Congressmen have shown that a much larger proportion of those who are *not* running for re-election plan to vote for the tax increase and that most of those who are up for re-election plan to vote against it. In testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee on the tax bill earlier this year, a Government official referred to Edmund Burke's comments in 1774, "Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgement; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices [his judgment] to your opinion." Chairman Wilbur Mills noted that this particular statesman was voted out of office at the next election. Perhaps statesmanship is a scarce commodity, yet I personally have confidence that there are enough men in Washington, whose first interest is in the well-being of their nation, for a tax increase to pass—if we can only make them realize how important it is.

Is it, perhaps, as some of our friends overseas are beginning to fear, that our nation no longer has the will or the ability to act responsibly in managing its fiscal affairs?

Is our form of government too cumbersome to recognize the need and act in a truly critical situation? It is easy to see why our European friends would raise these questions. In most other countries, the Government would have folded over an issue as important as this one. We would perhaps be in a better position if the Chief Executive were, as in most other governments, more directly accountable for spending and taxing measures. With the additional accountability, though, would have to go the necessary additional authority to act on his own initiative. Another approach would be to have Congress delegate some aspects of the budgeting process to an independent agency. On balance, though, our system of checks and balances seems to work amazingly well. Sometimes the machinery rusts up, as now, at precisely the wrong time. But it has a way of becoming unstuck in response to an informed electorate. Undoubtedly we should review our budgeting procedures, and I am sure that we can improve on them. But what's needed is improvement, and not despair. The system may be rusty, but at least it is operative.

What, then, are the rational arguments that have been used to stymie the tax increase? And just how much merit do they have?

Argument #1. There is too much slack in the economy. (The latest published figures show that manufacturing plants are using about 84% of their rated capacity; two years ago the figure was 7 points higher.)

Data on capacity use cover manufacturing industries only, and thus relate to only 30% of our total national output. Anyone who has tried to hire skilled labor recently, or who has had to pay hospital bills, knows that there are bona fide shortages in the other 70% of the economy. Labor markets today are the tightest since World War II. Wages are increasing more than twice as fast as productivity. Prices are rising at a 5% rate, and they're picking up speed.

Final demand for output showed the largest jump on record for the first quarter of this year. One result was a sharp drawdown of inventories in some lines, particularly at the retail level. Consequently, we can expect that renewed efforts to build inventories will further stimulate economic activity.

Retail sales increased at better than a 14% annual rate (seasonally adjusted) in the first four months of 1968, in spite of some slowdown following the assassination of Dr. King. Yet there is considerable room for further expansion: April sales were about 4% below "normal" by our estimates. Consumer buying plans are more ebullient than they were, and retail sales in December 1968 could easily be 15% above December 1967. Aggregate demand is growing much faster than aggreate output. If we don't slow it, the hidden tax of inflation will steal more and more from the American people.

Argument #2. The outlook for plant and equipment spending is for only a very small gain this year. Plant and equipment spending is important, but it is not the only potential source of excess demand. Excesses can originate anywhere in the other nine-tenths of the economy. Further, McGraw-Hill surveys indicate businessmen now plan to increase plant and equipment spending by 8% this year and have already made plans consistent with 11% increases in 1969 and 1970. If inflationary pressures continue to build up, these plans will be revised upward as businessmen decide to jump in before costs rise out of reach. Further, corporate profits have risen 11% in the past two months as some corporations have been able to stay a jump ahead of rising wage costs. An extended inflationary increase in profits would provide an additional kicker to the inflationary spiral.

Argument #3. Let the Fed do it. The Fed could bring this expansion to a halt practically overnight. But the damage to our economic machine could be substantial. Remember the 1966 crunch, which played hob with the entire housing industry and did important structural damage to the construction industry. If we have to rely on the Federal Reserve, interest rates will move even higher than they are now and, in some degree, operation crunch will be repeated. This time, though, there's a new danger. Interest rates are already higher than they were in 1966, and usury laws in two-thirds of the states of the union will make it increasingly difficult for small businessmen to obtain financing. This time around the small businessman will join the housing industry (and state and local governments) in being a principal sufferer.

As monetary stringency worsens, political pressure for the use of direct controls, in lieu of more constructive action, is apt to increase. As a matter of fact, both President Johnson and C.E.A. Chairman Art Okun have already suggested voluntary wage-price controls. It's not a very long step from voluntary controls to mandatory controls.

Argument #4. The tax increase would not stop the inflation this year anyway. True! But that's no argument against it. If you are in a car, speeding downhill with the gas to the floor board, the car will not stop if you take your foot off the gas. Yet it would nevertheless be a good thing to do.

Argument #5. The tax increase would be self-defeating as a means of boosting Federal revenue. (This argument contends that a tax increase would slow the rate of income growth and would thus slow the increase in profits and wages. This would reduce corporate and individual income tax payments.)

Quite true. This is precisely the objective of a tax increase: to slow the rise in incomes.

But the economic function of Federal taxes is not simply that of raising revenue. In an economic sense, the Federal Government does not have to raise revenue in order to be able to spend—our current deficit is an apt illustration of this fact. Technically, the Federal Government could spend as much as it wants to without collecting any taxes (by running the printing presses or by borrowing from the banking system). The economic purpose of Federal taxes is to reduce purchasing power in the hands of the people, so that you and I are not competing with Government in trying to buy the limited flow of goods and services which the economy can produce.

The economic merit of a tax increase does not rest on whether or not it brings more money into the Treasury. Rather, a tax increase is desirable because it would limit the excessive spending which is causing the inflation.

Argument #6. Vietnam is the cause of the inflation. An end to the war would end the inflation. Therefore we should wait for this route to solve the problem. Many deplorable consequences may be attributed to the Vietnam conflict, but exclusive or even primary responsibility for the inflation is not one of them. In the first place, the economic burden of Vietnam is only a fraction as large as was that of the Korean war. Vietnam is costing perhaps $27.5 billion; at its peak Korea cost $37 billion. And our economy has a great deal more muscle than did the economy in 1953. Vietnam takes 9.3% of our output; Korea took 13.5%. If we added the $37 billion of Korea on top of today's defense expenditures, we could carry both wars by diverting 13.7% of our output to military spending—only 0.2% more than the Korean conflict by itself in 1953. The inflation is not caused, then, by the enormous size of the bills submitted for the economic costs of Vietnam; the inflation is caused by our unwillingness to pay those bills.

We should remember, too, that negotiations for the Korean peace lasted more than two years. It's easily possible that history might repeat itself in this respect.

Defense spending is apt to decline more slowly than is generally realized, even after the war is ended. After peace came to Korea, our defense spending declined in the first 12 months by only $7 billion. I suspect that we will be lucky if defense spending is cut back by as much as $5 billion within twelve months after the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam.

Argument #7. If the tax increase is not combined with spending cuts, the Administration will go out and spend more. We need a dollar of spending cut for every dollar of tax increase. With all due respect to those who feel differently, my personal feeling is that this is a major tactical error and a major logical error.

In terms of logic, both a tax increase and spending restraint are desirable. As fiscal policy measures, one is a substitute for the other, and either would be better than neither. Therefore it is not logical to make one a quid pro quo for the other. Then, too, the Administration cannot spend what Congress does not authorize. The Congress always has the power to prevent any spending which it feels is inappropriate. Further, let's be realistic. The Senate refused to restrain spending on construction and hallowed pork barrel projects. The Congress, too, is quite likely to restore any identifiable expenditure cuts that would affect constituents.

What is needed is a continuing effort, not a one-shot effort, to limit spending. Nothing very constructive can come of one dramatic gesture; a great deal can be gained by patient, consistent, careful pruning of appropriations *as they move through the Congress year by year.*

In terms of tactics, insistence on this point of view has in fact deferred the tax bill more than a year and has cost the nation perhaps $20 or $25 billion in terms of the invisible tax of inflation. It may give a victory to the liberal extremists who want to defeat the tax bill in order to have the inflation.

There's no doubt that a spending reduction of a given volume would be roughly as effective as an equivalent tax increase. But I am skeptical that a new Administration and a new Congress in office after next January would leave untouched a spending limitation. European central bankers and speculators at home and abroad are skeptical too. It takes months to deliver (and to demonstrate delivery) on a promise to cut spending in today's political and economic environment. Speculators are more likely to be deterred, from an attack on the dollar, by a tax increase than by a spending cut of equal magnitude. Finally, it was a tactical error for conservatives to try to use spending policy as an anti-cyclical device during the boom. For it leaves conservatives no rational defense against subsequent liberal proposals to use spending as an anti-cyclical device at some future date when the economy softens. Unfortunately, the use of spending as an anti-cyclical device leads to increasing encroachment by Government on the private sector, since new expenditures have a tendency to remain in existence and Federal spending tends to move ever upward with a sort of "ratchet" effect.

Argument #8. We were told in 1964 that a tax cut would improve our balance of payments. We are now told that a tax increase would improve our balance of payments.

Advice to wear an overcoat in the winter is not inconsistent with advice to take it off in the summer. In 1964 our economy was operating in a very sluggish manner and the Federal Government was running a full employment surplus of more than $10 billion. In this climate, the overcoat was needed to warm things up and to stimulate investment opportunities. This did in fact help the balance of payments because it attracted foreign funds to the United States.

Today inflation threatens to make our trade noncompetitive. The economy is superheated and a full employment deficit in the neighborhood of $25 billion is adding to inflationary pressures day by day. That's a $35 billion difference between the expansionary pressures originating with the Federal Government today as compared with 1964. We needed more stimulus then; we need less now.

The international threat to the dollar, though, is not limited to the current balance of payments position as such. Over the years foreigners have accumulated substantial holdings of dollars which they fear will become less valuable if our inflation continues. And Americans have many billions of dollar assets which could also be moved overseas if the inflation threat becomes bad enough. It is the potential movement of these funds which poses the real threat to the dollar today.

Other nations are being asked to absorb short-term claims, arising out of our chronic balance of payments deficit, that they do not want to hold. They will continue to do so only if they have confidence that appropriate fiscal policies will be followed. Our Federal fiscal deficit has become a symbol of our unwillingness or inability to stem the flow of dollars overseas. If foreign governments and speculators do not have confidence that we can and will control our budget, there may well be renewed speculative attacks on the dollar, and massive efforts may be made to convert dollars into other currencies. Measures to combat such a flight from the dollar would not be as readily available as was the package of solutions that stemmed the panic buying of gold in March.

Argument #9. Those European central bankers can't tell us what to do. Some time ago I read a newspaper report of a group of high school children who were climbing on a temporary platform at a state fair. The exhibitor warned them that it might collapse. One of them was quoted as saying "you can't tell us what to do". Predictably, they overloaded the platform and it collapsed. Was the exhibitor to be blamed because he warned them of what would happen?

Our friends overseas—and they *are* our friends—are not threatening us. They are telling us what will happen. The dangerous pressure is not going to originate with any of the important central banks of the world. It will originate, if it does, with the speculators who become convinced that we can't stop our inflation and right our balance of payments deficit. If they do trigger a flight from the dollar, and if it assumes significant proportions, European central banks will find themselves accumulating unwanted dollars at a fast clip. Then they will be in a position comparable to that of so many modern day Samsons. Visualize six Samsons (the central banks), each holding a pillar which supports a common roof—the international monetary mechanism. If the roof collapses, everyone gets hurt—badly. Yet the fellow who turns loose first gets hurt least. Thus some central banker—keenly aware of his responsibilities to those who placed him in office—may knuckle under if there is a massive wave of speculation against the U.S. dollar. He doesn't want to do it, but if we do not take minimal steps to set our house in order speculative pressures may force him to do it.

I used to say that a major economic catastrophe in the United States was highly unlikely because we now know what to do about it. It did not occur to me that when the time came we would be unwilling or unable to act.

Like Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, we seem to be caught up in a process which is sweeping us on to a predictable and disastrous conclusion. Yet I am intrigued by Guildenstern's comments at the conclusion of the play, after Rosencrantz has already been symbolically executed. Guildenstern still stands, a spotlight on his face, trying to trace the events that brought him to this final tragic situation. Just before the light is turned out, he recalls:

"Our names shouted in a certain dawn . . . a message . . . a summons . . . There must have been a moment, at the beginning, where we could have said—no. But somehow we missed it."

Perhaps it is not too late for us. You and I can stop our unhappy drama before it reaches the crisis stage. There *is* a moment when we need to say "no" to further procrastination. That moment is now.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS TO FILE REPORT ON H.R. 6589

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House Committee on Public Works may have until midnight tonight to file a report on the bill H.R. 6589, the handicapped barriers bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

OVERSPENDING NOT UNDERTAXING IS THE PROBLEM

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the President has sought to make a case for his 10-percent tax surcharge. He has urged the Congress to increase taxes as a check on inflation. I believe this is tragically deceptive. We are not going to see any substantial decrease in spending—not even the $6 billion which has been promised. Our problem is, as it has been for the past 10 years, Government overspending not undertaxing. The liberal spenders have overpromised, overburdened, overspent, overtaxed, overcommitted, and overprogramed. They now want more of the same.

I have witnessed the same tactics for 8 years. The administration offers a budget which is clearly expansionary and misleading. Anticipated receipts are overstated and projected outlays are grossly underestimated. There is a definite design to this and no Member of this body should be lulled into accepting the tax increase because of a promise to cut spending. I predict right now that there will be no cut, regardless of these politically inspired promises. Has the President promised to not unveil massive, new spending programs? Of course not. They are being readied right now as a ballot box attraction for the poor. By the time the 1969 fiscal year comes to a close on June 30, 1969, there will be no cut—I would venture to say that there will be a substantial increase instead.

This kills the argument of voting to increase taxes as a check on inflation. All we are talking about is taking money away from the people who might spend it and giving it to a spendthrift administration which will absolutely spend it. There can be no check on inflation this way. In fact, quite the opposite; there is a chance that some of the money the people have might not be spent but saved. The effort to tie the tax increase to a spending cut is politics at its worst. The record of the last 8 years clearly shows there is not even a small chance of curbing spending without a thorough housecleaning by the voters of those who have brought us to the brink of disaster.

On page 542 of the official budget for 1969 we see how much our spending has increased and why we are in trouble. In fiscal 1954, the Eisenhower administration and a Republican Congress had its first clear opportunity to reduce Federal spending. Spending was promptly cut back from $74 billion to $67 billion. In the last full fiscal year of the Eisenhower administration, spending had increased to $76 billion despite a hostile Congress. How well I remember those complaints about Ike vetoing spending programs. It is significant to note that not one veto of a spending measure has been exercised in the past 8 years.

In 1961, I pointed out the frenzied effort to add additional billions to the fiscal 1961 budget which closed on June 30, 1961. The Kennedy administration secured increases in those first 6 months of the 87th Congress and abandoned the fiscal restraint of the preceding administration. From that point on we have been on a spending roller coaster. Today we are beginning to reap the whirlwind.

While spending increased only $9 billion during the Eisenhower administration, from $67 to $76 billion, the combined Kennedy and Johnson administrations have mushroomed spending more than $70 billion and we are just getting started. New programs are going off like timebombs. Commenced with modest appropriations, they obligate more and more each year and it is that effect we are now getting the shock waves from. President Johnson's administration has been the most flagrantly abusive to the taxpayer as the statistics show. Now, for these mistakes we are asked to take it out of the hide of the American taxpayer whose only fault has been to be productive but politically apathetic. Our current difficulties are caused by the Government. There is no business crisis. There is no financial crisis in the private sector. Our crisis is a political one, a crisis of leadership.

Every trick has been tried. As bad as the budget figures indicate the situation to be, it is worse in actual fact. Participation shares were devised to hide deficits. Backdoor spending covers up some other areas. Our actual deficit this year will be in the $25 to $30 billion range, not the $18.6 that shows on paper. Now there is an effort to change the accounting practices to cover up. Social security receipts and other trust funds are to be counted in the budget statistics although their expenditure is already mandated by law. All of this has been done to paint the picture brighter than it actually is.

SHORT-LIVED AUSTERITY

In March of this year, President Johnson made a speech in Minneapolis and declared that we needed a national program of austerity to protect the economy. Now he has fought us tooth and nail in calling for a measly $4 billion cut in spending rather than the $6 billion which the Congress mandated. This indicates what type of austerity we can expect. As I have already said, there will be no cut unless there is new direction in the White House and Congress following the November election.

All types of pressure have been placed on us to secure the passage of this tax hike. As is usually the case, the threatened cuts are always aimed at popular programs. Schools, highways, agricultural research stations, and conservation are knifed but there is no mention of cutting foreign aid or some of the really wasteful programs. This is to make it look like we are cutting out needed services.

The whole sordid picture is one of complete disregard for the interest of the American taxpayer. The liberal economic theories, often called the new economics, have proved a total failure. Those constituents who have read my newsletters over the years know that I have pointed out this fiscal legerdemain—deceit would be a more proper word. In 1961, 1962, and 1963, respectively, surpluses of $4.2, $1.5, and $0.5 billion, respectively, were projected but actual spending increases turned these into deficits of $3.9 billion in 1961, $6.4 billion in 1962, and $6.3 billion in 1963.

PLANNED DEFICITS INAUGURATED

At that point the new economics argument commenced. You will recall that Walter Heller, the liberal Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, with a straight face told us that these years were failures because the small, unplanned deficits were "deficits of weakeness" and therefore we would plan large deficits and they would be "deficits of strength." The Democrat-controlled Congress bought this argument—I never did—and now we are, as I have said, reaping the whirlwind. Since a more conservative trend is apparent in the Nation, there is a concerted effort to make it appear that our current fiscal dilemma was caused by Vietnam and unexpected consequences. This simply is not so.

In 1963 we embarked on large-scale "deficits of strength" under the economic illusion that it would make our economy grow. Interest rates have grown, spending has grown, the national debt has grown, our deficits have grown and our problems have grown so now the taxpayer is asked to pay for these mistakes. Rather than make the taxpayer pay, I think we should start trimming unnecessary spending out of the budget. This can be accomplished without hurting anyone except the bureaucrats who administer the program and some who have grown appreciative of the dole. For example, the $4,091,818 paid last year to one California farm corporation for keeping acreage out of production is an example of the cuts which would help the public but might cause screams from those who have tapped onto the Federal till.

I have listened to the administration's political platitudes for 8 years. They sound like a broken record. Broad new programs are outlined but they supposedly will not cost much. Take President Johnson's state of the Union speech of January 8, 1964, as just one of dozens of examples I could give. After outlining massive new programs of Federal aid to education, housing and so forth he said:

> All this and more can and must be done. It can be done by this summer and it can be done without any increase in spending. In fact, under the budget that I shall shortly submit, it can be done with an actual reduction in federal expenditures and federal employment.

The record speaks for itself. Now he is asking for more taxes to feed into the spending juggernaut. We should vote a resounding "no" and make necessary cutbacks. As to the Federal payroll, 500,000 civilian employees have been added to the Federal payroll since, note that well, since November 1963 when President Kennedy was assassinated.

We are being led into national disaster. Interest charges in the budget are not $14.4 billion. In 1960, the Democrats were endeavoring to charge the Eisenhower administration with high-interest-rate policies. They are now paying the highest rates in all history. Our gold supply has dwindled, foreign confidence in the dollar is ebbing, our balance-of-trade deficit is worsening. Can all of this be changed with a 10-percent surcharge. No, it will take a substantial change in direction of government, something we cannot expect from the liberal spending regime which has brought us to this sad state.

BETTER OPTIONS ARE AVAILABLE

I am constrained to vote for the bill for only one reason. It would be a signal that we do have some self-discipline left. Throughout the world, intelligent people recognize the U.S. fiscal policy is dangerous and stupid. A tax increase would be some small indication that we are not completely berserk and it would rekindle confidence in the dollar. However, cutting programs and declaring a national moratorium on new spending programs would be a better sign of fiscal competency and self-discipline. The average American would benefit from the latter course. I cannot vote for the tax bill when so many other options are preferable and at our disposal if we had the fortitude to face up to the crisis.

Aside from reducing expenditures, one other option would be a complete overhaul of our tax structure. Why make the average American pay 10 percent more when we should be closing tax loopholes, changing the law regarding tax-free foundations, cooperatives, and others with allowances which might be justified in ordinary times but cannot be justified in times of dire fiscal crisis. Tax reform is desirable at any time. Now it would be preferable if, as I have said before, the only problem was the need for additional tax receipts. Overspending, not undertaxation, is the problem.

I strongly oppose the proposed tax increase because without a meaningful cut in the budget, it will merely serve as a license for the big spenders to recharge their batteries and take off on another spending spree. Our best policy would be to bring the level of spending down—repeat, down—to the level of our already oppressive tax receipts rather than accept the liberal's argument of bringing the level of the taxes up to the level of expenditures.

We can readily see how much "austerity" we are going to get in an election year. Faced with his own admitted failures, the President is not seeking reelection. At home and abroad, matters are out of hand. He promised austerity but within 2 months turned back on these promises. The credibility gap in Vietnam is nothing compared to the credibility gap on domestic spending. He is considering new programs like the guaranteed annual wage and massive housing programs. Increasing taxes will merely license this reckless policy.

Quite frankly, we are living in a fool's paradise. For some reason, the average American has been lulled into believing that we can have militant people going throughout the country exhorting to violence, preparing for violence, but yet not have violence; that we can in times of crisis and expediency set aside our constitutional principles but still have our constitutional protections when we need them; that we can follow "no-win" policies against the Communists and somehow come out with a "draw"; that we can go three-fourths of the way to socialism or communism but not get there; and, finally, that we can spend more than we take in, year in and year out, but not have national bankruptcy.

The mishandling of our Federal Government which means the mishandling of our national resources—your resources—has been a disgrace. To increase taxes rather than cut down on the oppressive spending policies of this administration would be inflationary and against the best interest of our people and our economy. It will only forestall the day when we have to make even deeper cuts or greater tax hikes. You cannot have both, and the mistaken liberal economic philosophy which has had its day and failed will only make your plight that much worse in the near—very near—future.

If I had not seen it with my own eyes, I would not have believed it could have happened or that such naive, unworkable theories could have become national policies. Now is the time to resoundingly repudiate them.

The Federal budget statistics are herewith shown:

THE "ADMINISTRATIVE BUDGET" AND PUBLIC DEBT, 1789-1969 (IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

Fiscal year	Administrative budget			Public debt at end of year
	Receipts	Expenditures	Net	
1789-1849	1,160	1,090	+70	63
1850-99	13,895	14,932	−1,037	1,437
1900	567	521	+46	1,263
1901	588	525	+63	1,222
1902	562	485	+77	1,178
1903	562	517	+45	1,159
1904	541	584	−43	1,136
1905	544	567	−23	1,132
1906	595	570	+25	1,143
1907	666	579	+87	1,147
1908	602	659	−57	1,178
1909	604	694	−89	1,148
1910	676	694	−18	1,147
1911	702	691	+11	1,154
1912	693	690	+3	1,194
1913	714	715	(1)	1,193
1914	725	725	(1)	1,188
1915	683	746	−63	1,191
1916	762	713	+48	1,225
1917	1,100	1,954	−853	2,976
1918	3,630	12,662	−9,032	12,455
1919	5,085	18,448	−13,363	25,485
1920	6,649	6,357	+291	24,299
1921	5,567	5,058	+509	23,977
1922	4,021	3,285	+736	22,963
1923	3,849	3,137	+713	22,350
1924	3,853	2,890	+963	21,251
1925	3,598	2,881	+717	20,516
1926	3,753	2,888	+865	19,643
1927	3,992	2,837	+1,155	18,512
1928	3,872	2,933	+939	17,604
1929	3,861	3,127	+734	16,931
1930	4,058	3,320	+738	16,185
1931	3,116	3,577	−462	16,801
1932	1,924	4,659	−2,735	19,487
1933	1,997	4,598	−2,602	22,539
1934	3,015	6,645	−3,630	27,734
1935	3,706	6,497	−2,791	32,824
1936	3,997	8,422	−4,425	38,497
1937	4,956	7,733	−2,777	41,089
1938	5,588	6,765	−1,177	42,018
1939	4,979	8,841	−3,862	45,890
1940	5,137	9,055	−3,918	48,492
1941	7,096	13,255	−6,195	55,332
1942	12,547	34,037	−21,490	76,991
1943	21,947	79,368	−57,420	140,798
1944	43,563	94,986	−51,423	202,621
1945	44,362	98,303	−53,941	259,115
1946	39,650	60,326	−20,676	269,896
1947	39,677	38,923	+754	258,374
1948	41,375	32,955	+8,419	252,364
1949	37,663	39,474	−1,811	252,792
1950	36,422	39,544	−3,122	257,377
1951	47,480	43,970	+3,510	255,251
1952	61,287	65,303	−4,017	259,151
1953	64,671	74,120	−9,449	266,123
1954	64,420	67,537	−3,117	271,341
1955	60,209	64,389	−4,180	274,418
1956	67,850	66,224	+1,626	272,825
1957	70,562	68,966	+1,596	270,634
1958	68,550	71,369	−2,819	276,444
1959	67,915	80,342	−12,427	284,817
1960	77,763	76,539	+1,224	286,417
1961	77,659	81,515	−3,856	289,211
1962	81,409	87,787	−6,378	298,645
1963	86,376	92,642	−6,266	306,466
1964	89,459	97,684	−8,226	312,526
1965	93,072	96,507	−3,435	317,864
1966	104,727	106,978	−2,251	320,369
1967	115,849	125,718	−9,869	326,733
1968 estimate	118,575	137,182	−18,607	351,599
1969 estimate	135,587	147,363	−11,776	363,540

[1] Less than $500,000.

Note: This table is based upon the concept of the "administrative budget" used in prior budgets. The column headed "Net" was formerly identified as "Surplus" (+) or "Deficit" (−). The public debt column includes the public debt and the portion of agency debt, guaranteed by the Treasury, which is subject to the public debt limitation.

Certain interfund transactions are excluded from administrative budget receipts and expenditures starting in 1932. For years prior to 1932 the amounts of such transactions are not significant.

Refunds of receipts are excluded from administrative budget receipts and expenditures starting in 1913; comparable data are not available for prior years.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. **Hosmer**, for 4:30 p.m. today until 7 p.m. tomorrow, on account of official business.

Mr. **Pelly** (at the request of Mr. **Gerald R. Ford**), for the week of June 10 to June 14, on account of official business.

Mr. **Ayres** (at the request of Mr. **Gerald R. Ford**), for the week of June 10, on account of official business as U.S. delegate to the ILO.

Mr. **Lennon** (at the request of Mr. **Albert**), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. **Jones** of North Carolina (at the request of Mr. **Albert**), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. **Whitener** (at the request of Mr. **Albert**), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. **Kornegay** (at the request of Mr. **Albert**), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. **Henderson** (at the request of Mr. **Albert**), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. **Taylor** (at the request of Mr. **Albert**), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. **Galifianakis** (at the request of Mr. **Albert**), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. **Fountain** (at the request of Mr. **Albert**), for today, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. **Goodling**), to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. **Kupferman**, for 60 minutes, on Monday, June 10, 1968.

Mr. **Ashbrook**, for 15 minutes, today.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. **Pepper** to extend his remarks immediately following the vote on H.R. 16027 today.

Mr. **Dorn** and to include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. **Goodling**) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. **Schwengel**.

Mr. **Goodell** in five instances.

Mr. **McEwen** in five instances.

Mr. **Wydler** in two instances.

Mr. **Adair**.

Mr. **Collier** in five instances.

Mr. **Wyman**.

Mr. **Curtis**.

Mr. **Thomson** of Wisconsin.

Mr. **Cunningham** in two instances.

Mr. **Mathias** of Maryland in five instances.

Mr. **Martin** in four instances.

Mr. **Burton** of Utah.

Mr. **Pollock** in two instances.

Mr. **Springer**.

Mr. **Scherle** in two instances.

Mr. **Cederberg**.

Mr. Denney in seven instances.

Mr. Miller of Ohio.

Mr. Fulton of Pennsylvania in five instances.

Mr. Kleppe.

Mr. Pelly in five instances.

Mr. Pirnie.

Mr. Minshall in three instances.

Mr. Broyhill of Virginia in three instances.

Mr. O'Konski.

Mr. Ashbrook in two instances.

Mr. Conte.

Mr. Bob Wilson.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Albert) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. Dingell.

Mr. Fraser in three instances.

Mr. Hathaway in two instances.

Mr. Steed in two instances.

Mr. Clark.

Mr. Garmatz in two instances.

Mr. Kluczynski.

Mr. Holland in two instances.

Mr. Bevill in two instances.

Mr. Tuck in four instances.

Mr. Rarick in six instances.

Mr. Evins of Tennessee in two instances.

Mr. Fulton of Tennessee.

Mr. O'Hara of Illinois.

Mr. Gonzalez in three instances.

Mrs. Kelly in three instances.

Mr. Brasco.

Mr. Karth.

Mr. Blanton in two instances.

Mr. Taylor in two instances.

Mr. Daniels.

Mr. Bingham.

Mr. Slack in two instances.

Mr. Fascell.

Mr. Murphy of New York.

Mr. Hanna.

Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania in two instances.

Mr. Eilberg.

Mr. Evans of Colorado in two instances.

Mr. Pickle in two instances.

Mr. Jones of Missouri in two instances.

Mr. Brooks in two instances.

Mr. St. Onge in two instances.

ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 11308. An act to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965; and

H.J. Res. 1292. Joint resolution to authorize the U.S. Secret Service to furnish protection to major presidential or vice-presidential candidates.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 2585. An act for the relief of Kap Rai Kim and Young Nam Kim.

JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H.J. Res. 1224. Joint resolution to authorize the President to reappoint as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for an additional term of 1 year, the officer serving in that position on April 1, 1968.

THE LATE HONORABLE ROBERT FRANCIS KENNEDY, A U.S. SENATOR

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 1209), and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. Res. 1209

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable Robert F. Kennedy, a Senator of the United States from the State of New York.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of forty Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee to attend the funeral of the late Senator Robert Francis Kennedy the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. Celler, Mr. Rooney of New York, Mr. Delaney, Mrs. Kelly, Mr. Fino, Mr. Farbstein, Mr. Robison, Mr. Dulski, Mr. Halpern, Mr. Pirnie, Mr. Stratton, Mr. Goodell, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Addabbo, Mr. Carey, Mr. King of New York, Mr. Pike, Mr. Ryan, Mr. Rosenthal, Mr. Grover, Mr. Horton, Mr. Murphy of New York, Mr. Reid of New York, Mr. Wydler, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Conable, Mr. Dow, Mr. Hanley, Mr. McCarthy, Mr. McEwen, Mr. Ottinger, Mr. Resnick, Mr. Scheuer, Mr. Smith of New York, Mr. Tenzer, Mr. Wolff, Mr. Kupferman, Mr. Brasco, Mr. Button, and Mr. Podell.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the remaining resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 357, nays 0, not voting 76, as follows:

[Roll No. 171]

YEAS—357

Abbitt
Abernethy
Adair
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Arends
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Aspinall
Barrett
Bates
Battin
Belcher
Bennett
Betts
Bevill
Biester
Bingham
Blackburn
Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Bray
Brinkley
Brock
Brooks
Brotzman
Brown, Mich.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Burton, Utah
Bush
Button
Byrne, Pa.
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Carey
Casey
Cederberg
Clancy
Clark
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conable
Conte
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cramer
Culver
Cunningham
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Delaney
Dellenback
Denney
Dent
Dickinson
Diggs
Dingell
Dole
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards, Ala.
Edwards, La.
Eilberg
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Fino
Fisher
Flood
Foley
Ford, Gerald R.
Ford, William D.
Fountain
Fraser
Frelinghuysen
Friedel
Fulton, Pa.
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Gardner
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Goodell
Goodling
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffin
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Gurney
Hagan
Haley
Halleck
Halpern
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hanley
Hansen, Wash.
Harsha
Hays
Hébert
Hechler, W. Va.
Heckler, Mass.
Helstoski
Henderson
Herlong
Hicks
Holifield
Horton
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Hunt
Hutchinson
Ichord
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Pa.
Jonas
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Jones, N.C.
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Keith
Kelly
King, Calif.
King, N.Y.
Kirwan
Kleppe
Kornegay
Kupferman
Kuykendall
Kyl
Kyros
Laird
Landrum
Langen
Latta
Leggett
Lennon
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Long, La.
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald, Mich.
McEwen
McFall
Macdonald, Mass.
MacGregor
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Mailliard
Marsh
Martin
Mathias, Calif.
Mathias, Md.
Matsunaga
May
Mayne
Meeds
Meskill
Michel
Miller, Ohio
Mills
Minish
Mink
Minshall
Monagan
Montgomery
Moore
Moorhead
Morgan
Morse, Mass.
Morton
Mosher
Moss
Murphy, N.Y.
Myers
Natcher
Nedzi
Nichols
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pelly
Pepper
Perkins
Pettis
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Pirnie
Poage
Podell
Poff
Pollock
Pool
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Pucinski
Quillen
Railsback
Randall
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Roberts
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Ronan
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Ryan
St. Onge
Sandman
Satterfield
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scheuer
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Scott
Shipley
Shriver
Sikes
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Tenzer
Thompson, Ga.
Thompson, N.J.

Tiernan
Tuck
Udall
Ullman
Utt
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Walker
Watkins
Watson
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Whitten
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Charles H.
Winn
Wolff
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—76

Anderson, Tenn.
Andrews, Ala.
Ashley
Ayres
Baring
Bell
Berry
Bolton
Bow
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Burleson
Cabell
Carter
Celler
Chamberlain
Clausen, Don H.
Cohelan
Cowger
Curtis
Dawson
Derwinski
Devine
Dowdy
Edwards, Calif.
Everett
Evins, Tenn.
Findley
Flynt
Gettys
Griffiths
Gross
Hall
Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hardy
Harrison
Harvey
Hathaway
Hawkins
Holland
Hosmer
Karsten
Kluczynski
Lukens
McClory
McDade
McMillan
Miller, Calif.
Mize
Morris, N. Mex.
Murphy, Ill.
Nelsen
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Neal, Ga.
O'Neill, Mass.
Passman
Purcell
Quie
Rarick
Rees
Resnick
Rivers
Rooney, N.Y.
Roybal
St Germain
Selden
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Teague, Tex.
Thomson, Wis.
Tunney
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Wright
Wyatt

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

ADJOURNMENT

Accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 43 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, June 10, 1968, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. POAGE: Committee on Agriculture. S. 2837. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to establish the Cradle of Forestry in America in the Pisgah National Forest in North Carolina, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 1530). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. FEIGHAN: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 10415. A bill for the relief of Dr. Antonio F. Frexes (Rept. No. 1525). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. EDMONDSON: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H.R. 16880. A bill for the relief of Phillips Petroleum Co., a Delaware corporation, and David Miller; with amendment (Rept. No. 1526). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. EDMONDSON: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. S. 102. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to consider a petition for reinstatement of an oil and gas lease (Wyoming 0310090); with amendment (Rept. No. 1527). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. EDMONDSON: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. S. 443. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to consider a petition for reinstatement of an oil and gas lease (Wyoming 0280122); with amendment (Rept. No. 1528). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. EDMONDSON: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. S. 823. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to reinstate oil and gas lease (Las Cruces 063610); with amendment (Rept. No. 1529). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin:

H.R. 17706. A bill to amend section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act by closing an import loophole for cheeses not in original loaves; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 17707. A bill to amend subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, relating to civil service retirement, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 17708. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide for better control of the interstate traffic in firearms; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JARMAN:

H.R. 17709. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to increase the penalties for unlawful acts involving lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD) and other depressant and stimulant drugs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland (by request):

H.R. 17710. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to equalize the retirement pay of members of the uniformed services of equal rank and years of service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MORGAN:

H.R. 17711. A bill to encourage the growth of international trade on a fair and equitable basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROBERTS:

H.R. 17712. A bill prohibiting the use for demonstration purposes of any federally owned property in the District of Columbia, requiring the posting of a bond, creating a Joint Committee on Grievances, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. STEED:

H.R. 17713. A bill to redesignate the Department of Agriculture as the Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas:

H.R. 17714. A bill to amend chapter 39 of title 38, United States Code, to increase the assistance payable by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs toward the purchase price of specially equipped automobiles for disabled veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 17715. A bill to amend title 38, of the United States Code, to provide eligibility for Vietnam era veterans for one episode of treatment for all noncompensable dental disabilities found to be present within 1 year after discharge from service in the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas (by request):

H.R. 17716. A bill to define the terms "widow," "widower," "child," and "parent," for servicemen's group life insurance purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. GUBSER (for himself, Mr. Bray, Mr. Broyhill of Virginia, Mr. Burke of Florida, Mr. Button, Mr. Dent, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Edwards of California, Mr. Feighan, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Fulton of Pennsylvania, Mr. Halpern, Mr. Hanna, Mr. Hosmer, Mr. Johnson of California, Mr. Lukens, Mr. McCloskey, Mr. MacGregor, Mr. Matsunaga, Mr. Pirnie, Mr. Quillen, Mr. Reinecke, Mr. Steiger of Arizona, and Mr. Teague of California):

H.R. 17717. A bill to equalize the retired pay of members of the uniformed services retired prior to June 1, 1958, whose retired pay is computed on laws enacted on or after October 1, 1949; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. OLSEN:

H.R. 17718. A bill to amend the act of March 29, 1956 (70 Stat. 62), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PELLY (for himself, Mr. Tiernan, Mr. Waldie, and Mr. Whalley):

H.R. 17719. A bill to equalize the retired pay of members of the uniformed services retired prior to June 1, 1958, whose retired pay is computed on laws enacted on or after October 1, 1949; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ROSENTHAL:

H.R. 17720. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to raise needed additional revenues by tax reform; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. Sullivan (for herself, Mr. Patman, Mr. Barrett, Mr. Reuss, Mr. Boland, Mr. Dingell, Mr. Kee, Mr. Perkins, Mr. Moss, Mr. Helstoski, Mr. O'Hara of Illinois, Mr. Sisk, Mr. Wright, Mr. Saylor, Mr. Aspinall, Mr. Price of Illinois, Mr. Reifel, Mr. Pepper, Mr. Matsunaga, Mr. Halpern, Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts, Mr. Udall, Mr. Kastenmeier, Mr. William D. Ford, and Mr. Fulton of Tennessee):

H.R. 17721. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, for the purposes of authorizing appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, June 30, 1971, and June 30, 1972, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. SULLIVAN (for herself, Mr. Rogers of Colorado, Mr. Miller of California, Mr. Daniels, Mr. Eckhardt, Mr. Moorhead, Mr. Ryan, Mr. Walker, Mr. Hathaway, Mr. Fraser, Mr. Byrne of Pennsylvania, Mr. St. Onge, Mr. Annunzio, Mr. Donohue, Mr. Roybal, Mr. Ronan, Mr. Burton of California, Mr. Edwards of California, Mr. Cohelan, Mr. Brademas, Mr. Irwin, Mr. Tiernan, Mr. Reid of New York, Mrs. Dwyer, and Mr. Karth):

H.R. 17722. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, for the purposes of authorizing appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, June 30, 1971, and June 30, 1972, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. SULLIVAN (for herself, Mr. Philbin, Mr. Flood, Mr. Kluczynski, Mr. Minish, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Olsen, Mr. Slack, Mr. Adams, Mr. Resnick, Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Rosenthal, Mr. Vanik, Mr. Anderson of Tennessee, Mr. Yates, Mr. Murphy of New York, Mr. Blatnik, Mr. Rees, Mr. Rooney of Pennsylvania, Mr. Evans of Colorado, Mr. Gray, Mr. Addabbo, Mr. Rodino, Mr. Johnson of California, and Mr. Tunney):

H.R. 17723. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, for the purposes of authorizing appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, June 31, 1971, and June 30, 1972, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. SULLIVAN (for herself, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Carey, Mr. Hechler of West Virginia, Mr. Leggett, Mr. Brown of California, Mr. Tenzer, Mr. Button, Mr. Pucinski, Mrs. Mink, Mr. O'Hara of Michigan, Mr. Fulton of Pennsylvania, Mr. Feighan, Mr. McMillan, Mr. Holifield, Mr. Wolff, Mr. Kyros, Mr. Charles H. Wilson, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Dulski, Mr. Nix, Mr. Scheuer, Mr. Diggs, and Mr. Rhodes of Pennsylvania):

H.R. 17724. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, for the purposes of authorizing appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, June 30, 1971, and June 30, 1972, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mrs. SULLIVAN (for herself, Mr. Corman, Mrs. Griffiths, Mr. Hanley, Mr. Gonzalez, Mr. Pollock, Mr. St Germain, Mr. Ruppe, Mr. Gallagher, Mr. Shipley, Mr. Daddario, and Mr. Van Deerlin):

H.R. 17725. A bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, for the purposes of authorizing appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1969, June 30, 1970, June 30, 1971, and June 30, 1972, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MOSS:

H.J. Res. 1293. Joint resolution creating a Joint Committee To Investigate Crime; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H.J. Res. 1294. Joint resolution creating a Joint Committee To Investigate Crime; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DAVIS of Georgia:

H. Con. Res. 785. Concurrent resolution relating to the pay of the U.S. Capitol Police force for duty performed in emergencies; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H. Res. 1210. Resolution that it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States enter into an agreement with the Government of Israel for the sale of military planes, commonly known as Phantom jet fighters, necessary for Israel's defense to an amount which shall be adequate to provide Israel with a deterrent force capable of preventing future Arab aggression by offsetting sophisticated weapons received by the Arab States, and on order for future delivery, and to replace losses suffered by Israel in the 1967 conflict; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DAVIS of Georgia:

H. Res. 1211. Resolution to provide for an additional number of positions on the U.S. Capitol Police force for duty under the House of Representatives; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. DOW (for himself and Mr. Edwards of California):

H. Res. 1212. Resolution to agree to the Senate amendments to H.R. 5037 and strike titles II and III, redesignating the other titles respectively; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 17726. A bill for the relief of Vincenza Spada Stracquadaneo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARRETT:

H.R. 17727. A bill for the relief of Teresa Rosa Mirijello; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROTZMAN:

H.R. 17728. A bill for the relief of Dr. Alfonso Z. Valle, his wife, Concepcion Cadiz Valle, and their son, Mario Valle; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 17729. A bill for the relief of Rev. Frank A. Burton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 17730. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Musumeci; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'HARA of Illinois:

H.R. 17731. A bill for the relief of Margarita Spaniolos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSENTHAL:

H.R. 17732. A bill for the relief of Anthony Hsieh; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.R. 17733. A bill for the relief of David Yorck; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

337. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Chester L. Keeley, Mount Etna, Iowa, relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

338. Also, petition of Ernest Lee Washington, Jessup, Md., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

LETTER FROM VIETNAM

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, recently a very fine letter written by a resident of Springfield, Va., in my congressional district, to a younger sister in Springfield, was called to my attention.

Sps. Hans J. Walls, presently stationed in Vietnam, was responding to the letters from his sister, Maria, and her classmates, many of whom were confused as to why our boys are fighting in Vietnam today.

I commend Sps. Hans J. Walls' letter to all who read this Record. His letter reads as follows:

May 14, 1968.

Dear Maria: Thank you and your class for all your kind letters. They were real nice, and I liked them very much. I am sorry to hear that Patric got hurt, but I am glad that he is better.

I have written your class a letter thanking all of them for their kindness and their thoughts of someone else. I know that it is hard for them to understand what is taking place over here. And since I have been here once before and I have told you some of the things that are happening here, maybe you can explain some of this to them. And I will try to explain it a little more as best I can.

The people (the Vietnamese) over here do not really like the Americans very much, but they had no-one else to ask for help. They are very cautious of all people like what we are, because of what the French have done to them. The French took away most of their land and ruled very badly over here and they did many bad things and these people never forgot this. The Vietnamese have been at war for most of their country's history; first with the Chinese, who ruled Viet Nam for something like 200 years before they were finally driven out. Then they had a little peace for about 70 years when the French came. They did not like the French because they do not want anyone to rule over them, they want to rule themselves. Then, the Japanese lorded over them during the second world war, and after that the French moved back again until they were thrown out in the early 1950's; then they made two Viet Nam's. North Viet Nam was where most of the industry was, and South Viet Nam was where most of the food was. The North Vietnamese, who had the backing of China and Russia, decided to try to take over South Viet Nam by force when they could not persuade them to come over to their way of thinking. These people, who were very tired of war, tried to fight on their own, but they did not have the know how or, at that time, even the will to fight. So they asked for our help and we gave it and that is the reason to why we are here.

I have one more thing to say before I quit and that is: From the time that I was over here before and now there is a great difference in all the Vietnamese people. Before most of them would hide the VC and NVA in their homes and even give them food. But now, after the Tet Offensive which the VC and NVA staged and killed a lot of innocent people, this has stired up feelings that had long been dormant in these people. Now they have all joined forces and are really fighting the VC and NVA with a new effort like they have never done before. They are not as good as we are, but they are finally trying and to my way of thinking, as long as they try, we should stay over here and help them. It will take time, and many people will die. But I think that they can win their Nationhood like they never have had it before.

Many people over there say that we should not be here and that we have enough troubles at home which we do. But we have always had them, maybe not as bad, but they have been there. What I think that they will try to do no matter who wins the election is to give Viet Nam away like a British Prime Minister did before the second world war. And just like then that will not be enough. For anyone who fights for power will not have enough until he has it all.

Well, I have told you as much as I know about it. I thought you might like to know why I am over here. The only thing else is that I think that if the U.S. put all its resources into this undeclared war they could win and get it over with.

Your brother,

HANS.

CAN BAD LOANS BE GOOD BUSINESS?

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled, "Can Bad Loans Be Good Business?" published in the Chicago Tribune of Wednesday, June 5, 1968. The editor of the Tribune is W. D. Maxwell.

This editorial concludes, and I fully agree, that S. 3218 now on the Senate calendar is unwise legislation and could prove very costly to already hard-pressed taxpayers.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAN BAD LOANS BE GOOD BUSINESS?

For the most part, the Export-Import bank has done a creditable job of facilitating our foreign trade by means of direct loans or by guaranteeing or insuring loans made by commercial lenders. Its help in arranging the financing of exports has been particularly valuable in the light of our balance-of-payments troubles. The President and Congress recognized this last March by increasing the bank's lending authority from 9 to 13.5 billion dollars.

But the latest plan to expand the bank's activities has raised some serious doubts in the minds of a good many people, including Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. of Virginia, who expressed them yesterday in the Senate. An administration-backed bill approved by the Senate banking and currency committee would relax the long-standing requirement that the bank limit its transactions to those in which there is a "reasonable assurance of repayment." It would authorize the bank to commit up to 500 million dollars toward more dubious ventures intended to "improve the balance of payments and foster the long-term commercial interests of the United States."

This limit would apply to the full amount of direct loans but only to 25 per cent of the bank's liability under guaranteed and insured loans. This means that the bank could guarantee up to 2 billion dollars in questionable loans. And any losses sustained by the bank beyond 100 million dollars would be made good out of the United States treasury.

As Mr. Byrd says, this is a "sharp departure from the statutory charter of the bank," and he thinks it an unwise one. How, he would like to know, can our balance of payments or commercial interests be improved by making loans which may not be repaid? And if the usual business safeguards are abandoned in the making of loans, "does this not open up the possibility of such loans being made on a political basis?" How, then would the bank draw the line, "unless it drew it along the lines of political pressure"?

Mr. Byrd's fears are well founded. Probably the worst mistake the bank has made, in more than 30 years, was in letting itself be used as a front by the defense department in financing the sale of American arms to underdeveloped countries which often couldn't even feed their own people. Congress added a rider to last spring's bill designed to stop this. Yet it is now considering issuing a new invitaton to abuse and, in addition, making the United States taxpayer liable for most of the losses. This is not good business; indeed, there are already too many pipe lines siphoning American money abroad for unsound or questionable purposes. Let the Export-Import bank stick to business.

PRESIDENT SPEAKS FOR ALL AMERICA ON THE SLAYING OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, last night President Johnson spoke for all America when he expressed his sadness, his shock, and his indignation over the brutal killing of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

The country mourns another fallen leader—and there is nothing we can say to ease the pain or to explain it away.

This madness, this senseless slaughter must be stopped.

To that end, the President appointed a bipartisan Commission, made up of distinguished citizens of many walks of life, to study this most urgent problem and to submit recommendations on how to head off future tragedies. The Commission will be headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the highly respected former president of John Hopkins University.

We hope and pray that the work of the Commission will be a success.

But the President, unlike some others who have spoken out in the past 36 hours, refused to indict the Nation as a whole for this terrible deed. He said:

> It would be wrong and self-deceptive to conclude from this act that our country itself is sick, that it has lost its balance, that it has lost its sense of direction, even its common decency.
>
> 200 million Americans did not strike down Robert Kennedy last night any more than they struck down John F. Kennedy in 1963 or Dr. Martin Luther King in April of this year.

I agree. While we mourn our fallen colleague, while we are determined to bring his assassin to justice, while we know that there is much to be done to avoid a repetition of such tragedies, we just must not condemn the entire Nation.

Because I believe his words are so relevant—for today and for tomorrow as well—I insert the President's moving statement of last night on the shooting of Senator KENNEDY:

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT ON THE SHOOTING OF SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JUNE 5, 1968

My fellow citizens, I speak to you this evening not only as your President, but as a fellow American who is shocked and dismayed, as you are, by the attempt on Senator Kennedy's life, deeply disturbed, as I know you are, by lawlessness and violence in our country, of which this tragedy is the latest spectacular example.

We do not know the reasons that inspired the attack on Senator Kennedy. We know only that a brilliant career of public service has been brutally interrupted; that young leader of uncommon energy and dedication, who has served his country tirelessly and well, and whose voice and example have touched millions throughout the entire world has been senselessly and horribly stricken.

At this moment, the outcome is still in the balance. We pray to God that He will spare Robert Kennedy and will restore him to full health and vigor. We pray this for the Nation's sake, for the sake of his wife and his children, his father and his mother, and in memory of his brother, our beloved late President.

The Kennedy family has endured sorrow enough, and we pray that this family may be spared more anguish.

Tonight this Nation faces once again the consequences of lawlessness, hatred and unreason in its midst. It would be wrong, it would be self-deceptive, to ignore the connection between that lawlessness and hatred and this act of violence. It would be just as wrong, and just as self-deceptive, to conclude from this act that our country itself is sick, that it has lost its balance, that it has lost its sense of direction, even its common decency.

200 million Americans did not strike down Robert Kennedy last night any more than they struck down John F. Kennedy in 1963 or Dr. Martin Luther King in April of this year.

But those awful events give us ample warning that in a climate of extremism, of disrespect for law, of contempt for the rights of others, violence may bring down the very best among us. A Nation that tolerates violence in any form cannot expect to be able to confine it to just minor outbursts.

My fellow citizens, we cannot, we just must not, tolerate the sway of violent men among us. We must not permit men who are filled with hatred, and careless of innocent lives, to dominate our streets and fill our homes with fear.

We cannot sanction the appeal to violence, no matter what its cause, no matter what the grievance from which it springs.

There is never—and I say never—any justification for the violence that tears at the fabric of our national life; that inspires such fear in peaceful citizens that they arm themselves with deadly weapons; that sets citizen against citizen or group against group.

A great nation can guarantee freedom for its people and the hope of progressive change only under the rule of law. So let us, for God's sake, resolve to live under the law.

Let us put an end to violence and to the preaching of violence.

Let the Congress pass laws to bring the insane traffic in guns to a halt, as I have appealed to them time and time again to do. That will not, in itself, end the violence, but reason and experience tell us that it will slow it down; that it will spare many innocent lives.

Let us purge the hostility from our hearts and let us practice moderation with our tongues.

Let us begin in the aftermath of this great tragedy to find a way to reverence life, to protect it, to extend its promise to all of our people.

This Nation and its people have suffered grievously from violence and assassination. For this reason, I am appointing, with the recommendation of the leadership of the Congress—with whom I have talked this evening—a commission of most distinguished Americans to immediately examine this tragic phenomenon. They are:

Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the former distinguished President of Johns Hopkins University.

Archbishop Terence Cooke of New York.

Albert E. Jenner, Jr., of Illinois.

Ambassador Patricia Harris.
Mr. Eric Hoffer.
Senator Philip A. Hart.
Senator Roman Hruska.
Congressman Hale Boggs.
Congressman William McCulloch.
Judge Leon Higginbotham.

The commission will look into the causes, the occurrence and the control of physical violence across this Nation, from assassination that is motivated by prejudice and by ideology, and by politics and by insanity, to violence in our cities' streets and even in our homes.

What in the nature of our people and the environment of our society makes possible such murder and such violence?

How does it happen? What can be done to prevent assassination? What can be done to further protect public figures? What can be done to eliminate the basic causes of these aberrations?

Supported by the suggestions and recommendations of criminologists, sociologists and psychologists, all of our Nation's medical and social sciences, we hope to learn why we inflict such suffering on ourselves. I hope and pray that we can learn how to stop it.

This is a sober time for our great democracy, but we are a strong and we are a resilient people who can, I hope, learn from our misfortunes, who can heal our wounds, who can build and find progress in public order.

We can. We must.

So I appeal to every American citizen tonight: Let us begin tonight.

INTERSERVICE COOPERATION IN VIETNAM

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, on May 16, 1968, Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown addressed the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce during Armed Forces Week.

His remarks deserve wider circulation, since they deal with an aspect of the war which does not often receive much attention and in fact often gets distorted reporting. Secretary Brown's speech deals at some length with the matter of interservice cooperation, specifically air support supplied to allied ground units.

I ask unanimous consent that the speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AIR SUPPORT IN VIETNAM

(Remarks by Hon. Harold Brown, Secretary of the Air Force, Phoenix Chamber of Commerce Armed Forces Week Luncheon, Phoenix, Ariz., May 16, 1968)

It's always a pleasure to be with my friends in Phoenix. And I'm doubly pleased to be here during Armed Forces Week.

I'm sure you share my pride in the pilots who train near here. With that certainty in mind, I want to report to you how they are performing in combat—where all of their training pays off. I returned a few weeks ago from my most recent trip to Southeast Asia and I'm convinced no country in the world has finer or more dedicated military men and women than we have in our Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Air Force.

In the past month and a half we have seen important moves toward achieving a just peace in Vietnam. We also have listened to a great deal of speculation—some of it pretty wild—on just what we ought to be doing there. There are some critics of our Vietnam policy who delight in building and burning straw men by assigning to U.S. policy assumptions and objectives which, in fact, have never been part of U.S. policy. For example, I would put in this category those who assert we are or have been focusing only on a military victory, and ignoring the fight for a stable political and economic base in Southeast Asia. Since the enemies our fighting men and allies face are not straw men, and since the people we are helping are as real and as sensitive as the person sitting next to you, it might be well to remind ourselves at the outset of our real objectives in Vietnam. These have not changed.

The free world forces in Vietnam are there to prevent the success of aggression—to provide the South Vietnamese with a free choice as to how they shall be governed.

Our policy in Vietnam is not based on a simple domino theory. That suggestion, too, has been advanced occasionally as a straw man. Certainly the future does not follow history in some sort of lock step. Not every confrontation is a Munich; not every enemy a Hitler. But aggression is always aggression and, when unchecked, it knows few bounds. When aggression pays off, would-be aggressors are tempted to try new adventures, and the nations they then attack are often weakened in their resolve to resist. And the ultimate price to us becomes higher.

In South Vietnam we see a country in transition from the old to the new, with all of the conflicts which that involves. The majority of the people there seek security and freedom from foreign domination. But security without opportunity is not enough. They also seek justice and economic development.

These are the fundamental aspirations of all people, of all men. They cannot be trusted to the care of Hanoi. The enemy's brutal murder of 1,000 civilians in Hue during the Tet offensive is but the most recent of many disqualifying credentials. The execution by the Communists of some 50,000 political opponents when they took over North Vietnam in the 1950's is but a hint of the legacy we would leave in the South if, as some suggest, we were to "bug out."

The goals of the United States and of the South Vietnamese merge in stopping an aggressor aided and abetted by the Communist nations. We are partners in building for lasting freedom, and the constructive goals of the Republic of Vietnam are fully attainable only in peace. We will continue to help our allies achieve a peaceful settlement, and a basis for economic development.

In doing this, the United States has employed military forces capable of exerting enormous power. But these forces have been exercised with careful restraint in Vietnam.

The exercise of our power is not unpredictable—not something applied irresponsibly and therefore to be feared. We have tried to limit the shooting war in South Vietnam to the countryside, the jungles, the fields—the sparsely populated areas—so far as the enemy's actions make this possible.

With this statement of objectives as a backdrop, let me move to a discussion of the men we honor this week. Since the Air Force is my responsibility, I hope that those of you who have saltwater in your blood or gravel in your shoes (or both) will forgive my examples. They deal primarily with airmen and aircraft.

Two factors impress me about the way our forces have learned to cope with what is probably the most difficult and complex war we have ever fought. First, they have proved anew the value of interservice cooperation. Second, they have brought our technological genius to bear in situations where it is difficult to do so, but where without technology, we would have lost the military initiative and advantage.

INTERSERVICE COOPERATION

Nowhere else is modern interservice cooperation more apparent than in the close air support given our ground forces.

The rule in our Tactical Air Control System is that troops in contact with the enemy get first priority. Cooperation with our ground forces in Vietnam is our most critical job. This is true for both our close air support team, and for our airlift forces which are so essential to keeping supplies moving in areas where surface transport is often insecure. Our aircrews have said repeatedly that the most rewarding missions are those where they can help our men on the ground, because they can see their contributions to their comrades. And the esteem and confidence are mutual.

An example was related recently by one of our Air Commando pilots. His A–1 fighter was diverted from another mission to contact U.S. troops caught in the open by Viet Cong machine gun fire at 20 meters. They urged him on the radio to bring his ordnance in really close. Since he was carrying fragmentation bombs, he warned the soldiers to keep their heads well down. He made one bomb run and from the ground came "That was really close—do it again!" He repeated, and with his bombs gone made a strafing pass with his guns. As he pulled out he saw the American soldiers, who had just been pinned to the ground for the bomb run, now on their feet watching the effects of this strafing attacks. This sort of spectator activity is hardly recommended in the field manuals, but it illustrated what I mean by mutual confidence.

I recall another instance told me by an A–1 pilot when I visited Southeast Asia two years ago. He was able to shoot a Viet Cong sniper out of a tree just 20 yards from where our own men were being sniped at.

In 1965 we began large-scale air support in South Vietnam after the VC attacks on Pleiku and Qui Nhon in February. In that first year the U.S. Air Force flew nearly 38,000 attack sorties in the South. Close air support flown by Air Force strike pilots played an important part in battles such as Dong Xoai and the Ia Drang Valley. About Dong Xoai, General Westmoreland wrote his air commander: "It is obvious that had it not been for the dedicated efforts by all airmen, the Viet Cong would have achieved their objective."

In 1966 the tempo of close air support stepped up, as more U.S. ground troops went into action in South Vietnam. More than 1,000 aircraft were under Seventh Air Force, double the total in July 1965. U.S. Air Force pilots flew 71,000 attack sorties in the South, largely in support of ground units.

In August 1966 Brigadier General James F. Hollingsworth, then deputy division commander of the First Division, made a special trip to the 3rd Tactical Fighter Wing to tell its officers:

"You . . . are the finest I have ever seen. The balance between us doing our job successfully, and just barely getting along, is tactical air support. . . . Your accuracy is uncanny. I have seen your aircraft stop the enemy . . . and turn an assault into a rout."

One of General Hollingsworth's battalion commanders felt that in many circumstances air support could be called in faster than artillery fire, because the ground commander and the forward air controller, flying together, could watch the ground battle and work out a flexible fire plan, often faster than a request could be put through artillery channels. He said, "we could get jet fighters almost anytime, and I mean in 10 to 20 minutes. This is the sort of cooperation the Army has dreamed about for years." He went on to say that almost always enemy firing and resistance ceased as soon as close air support was called in.

We continued to improve our close support in 1967 and 1968. At Dak To, some months ago, the commander of the 1st Brigade, 4th Infantry was quoted as saying, "Today the U.S. Air Force saved me one battalion of men."

Air Force pilots flew about 117,000 attack sorties in the South in 1967, the majority in close air support. In addition to the Air Force effort, nearly 53,000 attack sorties were flown by the U.S. Marines and about 500 by the Navy in the South and almost 30,000 by the Vietnamese Air Force.

Largely as a result of the mobility and firepower of our aircraft, the enemy has never been able to win a major military victory in the three years since American Troops were committed to Vietnam. We are defeating guerrillas with a ratio of forces less than half that usually required.

In a spread-out jungle war, often the most effective way to deal with the enemy is for the ground forces to find him and for our air forces to destroy him in close support missions. This requires—and gets—great precision to avoid friendly and noncombatant casualties.

Let me give you an example. Not long ago, a flight of F–100s returning from an escort mission saw black smoke rising from the highway south of Saigon. Investigating, they saw a U.S. convoy and a Vietnamese passenger bus under fire from a Viet Cong ambush. Lacking radio contact with the ground, our fighters held their fire so as not to hit any friendly people, but suppressed the VC attack by making passes without firing or dropping ordnance until contact could be established. Only then did they strafe and drive off the enemy who were just 30 to 50 feet from the road.

To insure responsive and accurate close air support requires a highly-developed control system. The Air Force provides the Army with Air Liaison Officers—specialists assigned to the various levels of Army command to advise on the employment of close air support aircraft. The Air Force also stations experienced Forward Air Controllers (we call them FACs), at the front—on the ground and in light aircraft—to guide the attack force to its targets.

One infantry battalion commander recalls that very close teamwork resulted from his constant flying with his FAC, or their walking through the jungle together. They worked out their method of marking front lines or enemy positions. The infantry officer would mark the spot with colored markers, call down the FAC by radio to mark it for the fighters, and they could talk back and forth. This meant instant communication and feedback. He explained that this gave the human touch—between the commander and the FAC—which resulted in quick response and great flexibility.

The value of the airborne FACs is especially high in Vietnam, where it is so hard to spot targets from the ground. By flying slow-moving observation aircraft daily, over the South Vietnamese countryside, the FACs learn to "read" the terrain for enemy activity by noting anything unusual.

Between late January and March of this year, at Khe Sanh, we saw the results of interservice cooperation on a very large scale. What we found in the hills around Khe Sanh gave rather graphic evidence that another Dien Bien Phu was not in the cards for the North Vietnamese. I want to emphasize that not only did their commitment of thousands of troops lead to heavy enemy losses; it prevented their deployment during the Tet offensive to other crucial areas, such as Hue. This was a clear victory for American firepower and airpower—and for the courage of our men on the ground.

An operation of this magnitude could only have been carried on with close coordination among all the participants. For example, to find the enemy, Air Force FACs alone flew 1,600 sorties. We also flew some 1,400 reconnaissance flights. These helped the intelligence officers of all services pinpoint enemy targets, which were taken under fire by artillery and aircraft. U.S. Air Force, Navy, and Marine strike and bomber aircraft flew over 24,000 sorties around the clock during the campaign. They hit the enemy with 103,500 tons of ordnance.

One correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun* who accompanied the relief force into Khe Sanh wrote that the ". . . North Vietnamese soldiers took what is probably the most severe bombardment of any war . . . The battlefield is laced with caved in trenches and bunkers . . . Strewn among the carnage are tons of boots, gas masks, medical equipment, ammunition, TNT and unexploded ordnance."

While we were losing tens of men, the enemy was losing companies and battalions. Without the battle being joined against a major enemy assault, we won what thus far may well be the most important military decision of the war.

Interservice cooperation has extended of course beyond the confines of U.S. forces. We recognize that the outcome of the war will depend ultimately on the Vietnamese. I think the progress our Air Force has made in helping the Vietnamese Air Force (the VNAF) help itself is encouraging.

I mentioned earlier that the VNAF flew nearly 30,000 attack sorties in the South last year. For more than six years American advisors have worked with Vietnamese airmen, some of whom already had several thousand flying hours, much of it in combat without respite.

In 1961 the VNAF had just received a squadron of A-1 Skyraiders, had a squadron of T–28s and another one forming. A fledgling air force had to be created in the cauldron of war—not the easiest of tasks. In 1962 the VNAF flew about 5,000 attack sorties. This doubled in 1963 and 1964, in large part as the result of American assistance. The figure doubled again in 1965 to more than 23,000, concurrent with a 100% increase in VNAF crews and aircraft and the intensification of the war. In 1966 VNAF attack sorties passed the 31,000 mark.

From one understrength squadron of light aircraft ten years ago, the VNAF has grown to a balanced force of several wings with supersonic jets, prop fighters, transports, helicopters and light aircraft, 16,000 trained and combat-experienced officers and airmen. Last summer the VNAF received the F–5 Freedom Fighter, which gives them a high speed jet that can respond quickly to support of their troops.

They will continue to get more modern strike and support aircraft in the future, including A–37s and C–119s. We are also training them to improve their communications, logistics and management support—all essential to operation of a modern Air Force.

Because American reporters are primarily interested in telling the home front about the feats of American fighting men, and understandably so, you don't hear much about the Vietnamese soldier or airman. Let me tell you about one of them, Major Vo Van Hoi. He was flying his A–1 in close air support of a Government outpost near Saigon being stormed by guerrillas when a 50 caliber bullet ripped into his left hand.

Despite the mangled hand, Major Hoi continued to direct two other Skyraiders in strikes against the guerrillas until the mission was completed. He slowed the bleeding with his watch band as a tourniquet, but the hand was useless. Approaching his base, the pilot of one of the other aircraft reported that his hydraulic system had been hit and he could not lower his landing gear. Major Hoi talked the shaken pilot through the emergency procedures, and waited until he was safely on the ground. Then, slapping his own face and banging his forehead to fight off unconsciousness, Major Hoi brought his aircraft down safely and braked to a halt. For his gallantry he was awarded the American Silver Star, normally the highest combat decoration awarded an ally. You might remember this story the next time someone throws a blanket condemnation over the bravery and leadership of the South Vietnamese.

THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY

Now let me turn briefly to a second factor which I've seen account for the high combat effectiveness of our men in Vietnam. This is their ability, and the ability of Americans at home, to develop and exploit technology in a particular combat situation.

When we began the Vietnam conflict we lacked, indeed we had never had previously, a really good ability to deliver conventional ordnance with great precision at night and in bad weather. Nobody could do it consistently. This is largely attributable to the fact that national policy had emphasized, during the years from the end of World War II and again after the Korean War, nuclear weapons. Our accuracies were good enough for their use, but their use is infeasible in too many circumstances. We've come a long way toward getting night and bad weather capability. At the same time we're doing much better at daytime bombing under good visual conditions. We've developed better radars and sensors to know where we are and where the enemy is.

Finding the target is the first step in selectively applying force. It is no small task even in the daytime, particularly if you're traveling several hundred miles per hour in a jet. When the enemy is hidden under two or three canopies of jungle cover the task is much worse. If you can picture yourself in an aircraft trying to find him in clouds or at night—when the enemy does most of his moving—you can see our problem.

We cannot afford to give him the night. This is why our ground forces patrol and pursue him around the clock. This is why we are supplying some of our forward air controllers with improved devices to spot targets in the dark. This is why we are equipping C–130 cargo aircraft to provide floodlight illumination over large areas.

Of course the ideal attack system is one in which reconnaissance is coupled with a strike capability in the same aircraft. You can then make effective attacks on the first pass in spite of poor visibility, and before he can take cover. We have done considerable testing and instituted operations with this kind of system, and the results are encouraging.

One way we get accurate bomb delivery when visibility is poor is through our improved, ground-based radar. This radar, which gives the pilot information on where and when to release his ordnance, is used widely in our bombing operations. During bad weather at Khe Sanh, for example, it permitted our B–52s to keep hitting the enemy close to our own perimeter day and night. Often the bombers never saw the ground, and the enemy never saw the bombers. This added to the enemy terror. According to a prisoner, one regiment lost three-fourths of its men to a B–52 strike. With ground-based radar our B–52s were able to place their bombs within a few hundred yards of our troops.

When one of the services develops promising technology it shares it. For example, the Air Force has used the Navy's Walleye guided bomb to achieve extreme accuracy. We have also benefited from the Army's work in night vision equipment.

These are only a few of the steps we have taken to let our technology, and our productive capacity, multiply the efforts of our fighting men. Each of the military services has used this approach where possible, for the alternative to multiplying a man's capability is to use—and lose—more men.

I think the ingenuity of our fighting men in recommending ways to use technology, the rapid response of the military services and U.S. industry at home, and quick tactical exploitation by the men in the field have greatly influenced our supremacy in combat.

In the past few minutes I have stressed the cooperation and the adaptability of our men in Vietnam. These reflect not only the unity but the genius of a generation of young people. I have great faith in these representatives of a generation which is too often maligned.

And I have great confidence in the cause for which they are today fighting. It is very simply and very basically the cause of freedom—including our own freedom.

This country has sought no more worthwhile object, and in its pursuit we are the true revolutionaries.

WHAT PROFITS IS HE TALKING ABOUT?

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of concern over the farm problem. Representing a district in which agriculture is an important part of the economy, I am disturbed by the failure of the existing farm programs to alleviate conditions and give the farmer a fair return for the time and effort he expends in providing essential products for the consuming public.

Also there is a credibility gap in what the administrative spokesmen are telling the people. From firsthand knowledge, I believe that the facts contained in the editorial from the Prairie Farmer tell the true story and dispel the fog that has been created by some spokesmen at the national level who do not know all that is going on.

Farmers are a patriotic, hard-working lot. They are industrious and have made heavy investments in land and equipment to carry on their enterprise in the best American tradition. Their plight should be recognized and their problems resolved rather than their being subjected to public misrepresentation for the job they are doing in providing food and fiber under arbitrary Federal controls and restrictions. It will take food to win the peace and feed the hungry at home and abroad. Our farmers have accepted this responsibility in the past and they will do the job again. But they cannot do it efficiently and well under present Federal policies.

The editorial follows:

What Profits Is He Talking About?

Government studies are valuable if they make an honest effort to be objective and include men with varied experiences and points of view. Too often it isn't hard to guess the outcome of a federal study. Too many commissions, like the supreme court, are loaded with administration appointees whose particular persuasion is no secret.

Now along comes a private social-action group which makes the same loaded judgment on hunger and malnutrition which, they say, exists in every part of the U.S. including Illinois.

Chairman of this board of inquiry into hunger was Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers. The other 24 members are nearly all Easterners, mainly clergymen and representatives of charitable organizations with a vague understanding of agriculture.

Reuther often tilts lances with doctrinaire windmills and the business establishment. This time he took on agriculture. As spokesman for the committee, the CIO labor leader said that 10 million Americans are suffering from hunger and malnutrition. He charged that the feed and food-grain programs are "a political and economic system that spends billions to remove food from the market, to limit food production, and to retire land in order to guarantee profits for farmers."

This will come as a surprise, to learn that farmers are largely responsible for the hunger that supposedly stalks the land. The report says further that if you look ". . . you will find America a shocking place. No other Western country permits such a large proportion of its people to endure the lives we press upon the poor."

To which we say bunk! We've been in other Western countries and have seen their slums. Poor Europeans don't drive up in cars for their relief checks and subsidized food and go home to TV.

Reuther's suggestion that our land diversion programs are responsible for hunger in the U.S. is such a distortion of the facts that it hardly deserves the dignity of an answer. In no country is food so plentiful, so cheap, and so easy to get. In no country can you expend so little labor to earn your daily bread. In no country is labor in such demand at such high wages. In no country are farm prices so low. Perhaps it's Reuther's excess labor costs that price some foods beyond the reach of the poor.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman says 2200 counties, two-thirds of all the counties in the nation, have food programs for the poor. Nearly six million people are being fed, thru these programs. Nearly $200 million is being spent on the food-stamp program which gives the poor food at heavy discounts. We also have other special feeding programs for the children of the poor.

There is no denying that some malnutrition exists in the U.S. Perhaps it never will be completely eradicated because a good part of the problem may be due to poor eating habits. Millions drink coffee and eat little else for breakfast, and not because they have to. Many prefer to buy gasoline rather than spend the money on groceries.

No doubt many elderly people in remote communities need help. Many of the poor produce more children than they can properly feed, clothe and educate. The responsibility for their care is then dumped into the laps of the long-suffering middle class which Reuther castigates as "the four-fifths which enjoys affluence because it has degraded the lower one-fifth mercilessly."

America's standard of living has been due mainly to the enterprise, innovation, and inventiveness of the hard-workers, the producers, the risktakers, and the savers. Reuther's suggestion that they have gained at the expense of the poor is mostly untrue. He has the cart before the horse.

The affluent four-fifths have proved that they are willing to feed, clothe, and educate the unfortunate, even the shiftless. Perhaps the poor need to try a little harder. We would recommend that a good part of the political poverty structure be swept away.

The task of seeking out the unfortunate to help them, and particularly to motivate the young to get education and jobs, should be given to a beefed up Extension Service. This non-political anti-poverty organization has an enviable 54-year record.

Finally, farmers have no reason to shrink from the specious accusations of Walter Reuther. No one has done more than the farmer to end the threat of hunger. Before you can do anything about alleviating hunger you must first have food. We have it in prodigious quantities, thanks to the American farmer.

THE LICENSED PRACTICAL NURSE—AN URGENT HEALTH MANPOWER NEED

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, according to a joint survey by the U.S. Public Health Service and the American Hospital Association, Manpower Resources in Hospitals—1966, in all nine regions of the United States the licensed practical nurse was listed as one of the five categories of most urgently needed health personnel. The licensed practical nurse—L.P.N.—is an important member of the contemporary health service team whose professional training is different from that received by the registered nurse and thus unable to perform many of the R.N.'s duties. But she does perform a vital function in patient care and in aiding the professional staff of the Nation's hospitals.

It has been estimated that we are now short some 50,000 L.P.N.'s. According to Public Health Service estimates, the output of L.P.N.'s should be increased from 25,000 to at least 40,000 annually.

The May/June issue of Bedside Nurse, published by the National Federation of Licensed Practical Nurses, contains a thoughtful article on the role of L.P.N.'s in meeting the current burgeoning health manpower crisis. If we are to bring health care to aged and to deprived persons not now receiving adequate medical attention, then we require the personnel, at all levels of training to provide this care. I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled, "Let's Be Practical About Health Manpower," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Let's Be Practical About Health Manpower

(NOTE.—A noted authority on nursing education adds her voice to the swelling demand for the preparation of more licensed practical nurses.)

(By Sandra Rasmussen, R.N.)

The licensed practical/vocational nurse is a person who is willing, able, and prepared to work directly with patients. She directs her activities and nursing measures toward health maintenance, prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation from the effects of disease. The practical nurse is an integral member of the contemporary health team, striving to make comprehensive health services a possibility and a reality for all people.

We know that a basic part of any concept, plan, or program for comprehensive health care is a sufficient number of qualified practitioners. In a letter to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, President Johnson stated that "our examination of the Nation's health problem makes clear that the most critical need is in manpower."

According to the Department of Labor, 4.1 million people were working in the health care field in 1966. Over one million additional health workers are needed by 1975. Does the patient still need the practical nurse? If so, how many? For a change, let's be "practical" about health manpower.

In 1966, a manpower survey was conducted jointly by the U.S. Public Health Service and the American Hospital Association. The report, *Manpower Resources in Hospitals—1966*, indicated urgent needs for registered nurses, licensed practical nurses, aides and orderlies. In all nine regions of the United States the licensed practical nurse was listed as *one* of the *five* most urgently needed categories of personnel. (See Table 1.) Similar needs exist for LPNs in extended care facilities. (See Table 2.) Increasing use of licensed practical nurses in community based health services, in physicians' offices and clinics, and in the armed forces, will require still more personnel.

So it has been established that the need for more licensed practical nurses is paramount. But how many are needed? The Bureau of Health Manpower of the U.S. Public Health Service suggests that the *annual* output of practical nurses should be increased from the present 25,000 to at least 40,000. So it would seem that the actions of individuals or groups who are trying to place a ceiling or limit on the number of practical nurses are about as realistic as the surgeon who would limit a patient's strength by "bleeding" him before a heart transplant.

TABLE 1. NURSING PERSONNEL NEEDS IN HOSPITALS, 1966 AND 1975

Category of personnel	Staff, 1966	Additional needed to give optimum care, 1966	Percent additional	Estimated total needed in 1975
Registered nurse	361,000	79,500	22	563,800
Licensed practical nurse	150,600	41,400	27	245,800
Surgical technician	17,600	3,900	22	27,500
Aide, orderly (except in psychiatric hospitals)	374,400	51,300	14	544,900
Aide, orderly in psychiatric hospitals	117,600	18,500	16	174,200

Source: Health Manpower Perspective: 1967, p. 12.

TABLE 2.—NURSING PERSONNEL NEEDS IN EXTENDED CARE FACILITIES, 1966

Category of personnel	Present staff	Additional needed to give optimum care	Percent additional
Registered nurse	31,000	6,000	19
Licensed practical nurse	33,600	9,400	28
Aide, orderly, attendant	177,400	10,700	6

Source: Health Manpower Perspective: 1967, p. 13.

The Health Manpower Perspective: 1967 discusses the rapid rate of increase in the number of LPNs, and says that between 1950 and 1965, the total more than doubled. To quote, the supply of LPNs in 1966 was 300,000. "In 1966, hospitals reported needs for some 41,000 (41,404 exact figure) more practical nurses, and needs in extended care facilities were estimated at 9,000 (9,400 exact figure). Thus, present unmet needs are probably not less than 50,000. The total need by 1975 may reach 550,000, with an expected supply of 450,000. This is largely an older group, so that a large loss can be anticipated in the next decade."

Persons with less-than-baccalaureate-degree education perform many and varied technical, skilled, and semi-skilled jobs in the health and related services. The number of auxiliary workers in the health occupations is increasing greatly. Recently, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor completed a study of health manpower requirements and supply. The study forecasts *fewer* professional workers than the professions see as needed, and considerably *larger* numbers of workers with shorter training.

A prediction is made in *Projections of Educational Statistics to 1975–76* that there will be a *decrease* per year in individuals who earn bachelor's and first-professional degrees in the health professions: dentistry, medicine, nursing, optometry, osteopathy, pharmacy, public health, veterinary medicine, and so on. It is expected that the number of persons earning master's degrees in the health professions will increase, but there will be fewer earned doctor's degrees in 1975–76 than in 1965–66. Should this projection come true, the role of technical, skilled, and semi-skilled workers in the health field will in all likelihood *increase* in importance in the years ahead, if the health needs of a nation are to be met.

I believe that graduations from state approved schools of practical/vocational nursing *will* and *must* increase in the decade ahead. Consonant with the trends in general education, I believe that:

New practical nursing programs will develop at secondary level.

More practical nursing programs will transfer to, or be established in community junior colleges.

The Federal Government (Office of Education, Bureau of Health Manpower, Department of Labor, Office of Economic Opportunity) will expand funding for education of adults in the health field.

To repeat, the practical/vocational nurse is a person who is willing, able, and prepared to work directly with patients. I believe that the practical nurse is and will continue to be a key member of the comprehensive health care team.

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THE "PUEBLO": HOW LONG, MR. PRESIDENT?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, this is the 136th day the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and her crew have been in North Korean hands.

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY DR. PURNENDU KUMAR BANERJEE AT ELMIRA COLLEGE, ELMIRA, N.Y.

HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, Dr. Purnendu Kumar Banerjee, Minister of the Embassy of India, in Washington, has presented a most interesting dissertation on the subject "Women in Modern Society." His presentation was made in a commencement address delivered on June 2, 1968, to the graduates of Elmira College, Elmira, N.Y.

I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOMEN IN MODERN SOCIETY

I am deeply grateful to you for having honored my country by inviting me to give the commencement address this morning to the 1968 graduates of Elmira College. I feel doubly honored to receive the honorary doctorate degree and will be proud to call myself an alumnus.

I also would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation for the excellent International Program you have worked out to exchange scholars and teachers between this great temple of learning and institutions of other countries, including mine. Two distinguished members of your faculty have gone to India. Dr. Grant Northrup served as a Visiting Professor at the University of Calcutta—my alma mater. Dr. Margaret Locke has been teaching at the University of Delhi. From India Mrs. Krishna, Mrs. Ansari, Dr. Raychaudhuri and Dr. Sharma are teaching at Elmira. This is evidence to show that your institution reaches out across the high seas, to share many experiences, to participate in joint experiments, and to strengthen the common bonds of human aspirations and values.

Elmira is one of the oldest colleges in the United States and the first to offer women comparable courses and degrees to those of men's colleges. In the last 112 years of its existence, Elmira has carved for itself a distinguished and a distinct place in the academic world. You have been taught that the dictum "learn to live" is as important as "live to learn." This has a special significance in the atomic age.

Elmira aspires to fulfill the goal of ideal education; that of distilling skills or information into knowledge and thus preparing one for the nobler life. But idealism has to be tempered by reality, and your training will enable you to participate in a life as exciting as it is harsh. You will take part in the agony of the world. For there will be agony as there will be incompleteness, errors to be corrected, inequality to be redressed, frustrations to conquer. You cannot disown your heritage by entering life as spectators; you have to become active protagonists. I am confident that you will not shy away from the challenge, but face such evils as persist in our social system, overcome them, and try to establish the rules of justice and equity by matching your intellectual ability with practical efficiency.

Your generation in no sense is inferior to preceding ones, and I am confident you will set forth to fight material misery and spiritual despair: plant a rose in a drab corner, stroke a sullen child's cheek, wipe the tear off the face of crying humanity. Elmira has provided you with necessary tools and training to make a healthy blend of continuity with change. You should set a course heartened by Toynbee's dictum that civilization is a movement and not a condition, a voyage and not a harbor.

I propose to speak today on the role of women in modern society, with particular reference to India. Coming as I do from a different milieu, I will assess the role of women in the continuing revolution in India. Among the various types of relationships, that between women and men is undoubtedly the most significant and important. The position of women in any society is a true index of its culture. In the earliest glimpse of recorded Indian society, the *Rig Veda*, more than 3500 years ago, presented a picture of women as the equal of men in civic and religious sphere. The Upanishads expounded the idea of man and woman as the equal halves of a divine unity, each the compliment of one another, neither complete without the other.

The Upanishads throw further light on the intellectual life of the times, in which men and women were equal participants. Women like Gargi and Maitreyi were famous scholars and they contributed generously in the realm of philosophy.

Ancient Indian Law as expounded by Manu in 600 B.C. has prescribed:

"Where women are honored there the gods rejoice; but where they are not honored, there all rites are fruitless; where women grieve, that family quickly perishes; but where they do not grieve, that family prospers."

Emperor Asoka, a contemporary of Emperor Alexander the Great, sent his daughter Sangamitra as India's Ambassador to the Court of Ceylon; Rajyashri, a sister of Emperor Harsha, acted as his counsel and played a prominent role in his Court; Lord Buddha admitted women into his order and they rendered great spiritual service.

However, in the medieval period, as in the Middle Ages in Europe, India passed through dark epochs. The colors and contours of social life faded as the invaders from the north-west disturbed political tranquility and social peace. The reaction set in. Women were socially cribbed and confined to their homes, Sacerdotalism dominated the social life, religion became ritualistic, taboos were woven into tradition. The evil *purdah* (veil) system came into existence.

Even this dreary period had its luminous parts, just as the muddy swamp throws up lilies. The first woman sovereign of India, Princess Razia, ruled from Delhi. The devotion of an Emperor to his wife, Mumtaz, resulted in that symphony in marble—the Taj Mahal. In Western India, Mirabai sang inspired devotional songs, which even today are on the lips of millions of Indians. Some of the signposts of history are commemorated in the heroic struggle of Chandbibi, a princess in Southern India; the gallant fight of Laxmibai; and Queen Ahalyabai Holkar's model administration of the State of Indore. There were many women who were patrons of culture, poets of distinction, and administrators of remarkable ability, such as Gulbadan Begum; Emperor Akbar's wife, Salima Sultan; Emperor Aurangzeb's sister, Jehanara Begum. On the whole, however, Indian womanhood suffered a setback during this period of social incoherence and political dissensions.

In modern times, India had a suffragette movement but no suffragettes. The battle for woman's rights was fought not by women, but by men. Among the pioneers in this struggle were Raja Rammohan Roy, the social reformer, and Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, the educationalist. Rammohan founded the Brahmo Samaj, which led the fight against many cruel customs of his day and helped the movement for emancipation of women. He was followed by Agarkar, Ranade and Mahatma Gandhi. The education of women, weighted with western values, slowly and steadily became popular and some educated women—Pandita Ramabai, Mrs. P. K. Ray, Maharani Chimnabai—relentlessly sought to uplift the status of women.

It is a paradox of our times that the greatest contributions to women's emancipation were made by war, liberation struggles and national emergencies. Conflict gave women opportunities to show their mettle and confirm their right to justice and equality.

It was left to Mahatma Gandhi in India to crown all these efforts. When he launched his struggle for India's independence, women all over India gave up sheltered homes, defied social mores, and sacrificed physical comforts. They courted imprisonment and languished in jails. Sarojini Naidu, lauded as the Nightingale of India, and Nellie Sen Gupta, the well-known social worker, became presidents of the Indian National Congress, the party that led the freedom movement. Mahatma Gandhi could not think of his subsequent non-violent non-cooperation movement without the participation of women. He once said:

"I would have to find that my future non-violent army contained a vast preponderance of women over men. If the fight came, I should then approach it with greater confidence than if men predominated. I would dread the latter's violence. Women would be my guarantee against such an outbreak for violence."

It was only natural that when India became independent in 1947, women were already there, experienced and prepared, to share with men the challenges and responsibilities in building up a new India. This is the reason why today in India so many women are actively participating in political, social, educational and cultural activities. There is perhaps no walk of Indian life where women have not made a valuable contribution. You may recall that last year India held her Fourth General Election—the largest the world has even seen—involving 250 million voters. This free and fair election based on adult franchise was supervised by one million electoral officers. Of these 250 million voters, 120 million were women voters. There were about 400 women candidates and 130 women were elected to the National Legislatures.

India's Prime Minister today is a woman. Indira Gandhi was a freedom fighter who was born and brought up in the atmosphere of the struggle for national emancipation—one of the main contributing factors why she finds herself Prime Minister of India today. She once said: "My public life started at the age of three, and my favorite occupation then as a small child was to deliver speeches to other children and the servants while standing on a high table." Like her, there are innumerable distinguished women in India who are holding important and responsible positions both at the Federal and the State level.

Indian women also have played equally important roles in international relations. Vijayalakshmi Pandit became the first woman President of the United Nations General Assembly. Another equally distinguished Indian woman, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, was elected President of the International Red Cross Conference and later of the World Health Organization. Mrs. Hannah Sen was Vice Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, succeeded by Mrs. Hansa Mehta and Mrs. Asha Devi Aryanayakam. Mrs. Laxmi Menon, who represented India on many United Nations' committees, was Minister in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs. Other distinguished Indian women associated with U.N. activities, to mention a few, were Begum Sharifa Hamid Ali, Kamla Devi Chattopadhya, Mrs. Shyam Kumari Khan and Mrs. Tarakeshwari Sinha. There are many more who served with dignity and devotion in the various international organizations and in the interest of world peace.

Free India thus wrought an unprecedented revolution in social values and attitudes which were accelerated by the spectacular growth of women's education and thus increased their usefulness. The Constitution of India guarantees equal political rights to women, and the law gave them social status. Marriage is now a civil contract. Polygamy is abolished. Divorce is permitted. Women have an equal right to inherit under the law. Resulting consequences were that they took advantage of new responsibilities and opportunities, and demonstrated afresh their inner worth and equality.

In every country, in every generation, there are millions of women who have not found fame, but whose daily existence lighted the hearth and helped to civilize the human race. Their warmth of heart, their self-effacement, their unassuming loyalty, their strength in suffering and stress, are glorious pages in the history of mankind. This has been very aptly put by another great world citizen—Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain, when she said: "Women have breathed gentleness and care into the harsh progress of mankind."

It is interesting to note that before World War I there were only four countries in the world in which women had the same political rights as men: New Zealand gave political rights to women in 1893, Finland in 1906, Norway in 1913 and Britain in 1918. By the end of the first World War the number of countries in which women had acquired equal political rights had risen from four to seven. By the end of World War II the number was 30. Today there are only eleven countries in which women do not have political rights.

From Chile to China women are playing a prominent role, both in national and in international spheres. They seem to wield more power and influence all over the world. In Yugoslavia, about 50 per cent of all employed persons are women, in France 38 per cent, in Germany 33 per cent. There are 200,000 women doctors in the Soviet Union, and 60,000 are working in laboratories. American women are distinguished by their own contribution. In 1848, Elizabeth Cody Stanton organized the first Convention on Women's Rights at a place called Seneca Falls close to Elmira. In 1868, Wyoming was the first State that granted women suffrage. In 1872 Victoria Woodhull became a Presidential candidate; though it was an infructuous effort, this bid paved the way for Mrs. Jeanette Rankin in 1916 from Montana and Mrs. Hattie Caraway in 1932 from Arkansas to be elected to the House of Representatives and to the Senate respectively. The first woman Governor was Mrs. Nellie Ross, elected in Wyoming in 1925, and the first woman Cabinet member was Mrs. Francis Perkins, appointed Secretary of Labor in 1933. All American women had secured political rights by 1920.

But the woman in America remains essentially feminine, though she often shares the work and the burden of politics at the precinct level. In the Presidential election of 1964, two million women volunteers, on behalf of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party applied themselves with enthusiasm and dedication to grassroots political organizations. The American woman, it would appear, believes more in partnership than in leadership. Her contribution is complementary and seldom competitive. That is the reason perhaps why there are so few American women elected to the high offices of this country. Her unobtrusive, dedicated work in the household and, in the local community as partner and adviser, bears the stamp of immeasurable contribution. Eleanor Roosevelt's life is an excellent example; she was a devoted wife and an affectionate mother, but above all a great champion of human rights and a dedicated internationalist. Helen Keller is an inspiring example of what a human being can accomplish through faith and fortitude and an inconquerable desire to search for light and not to surrender to darkness; to strive for sound and communication and not to yield to silence and despair. Margaret Sanger has done great service to humanity by pioneering in the cause of family planning—against prejudice and opposition—when she advised men and women not to bring a human being into this world unless he is assured of opportunity and human dignity.

Graduates of the 1968 class, may I say in conclusion that you should take your rightful place in your society based on dignity and mutual respect, and contribute to the betterment of your home, your society, your country and the world. You have the intelligence, the integrity and the intellectual discipline to be useful in shaping the world to be a better place. Your capacity for understanding, justice and tolerance could be instrumental in ensuring peace and coexistence in your own society as well as in the international community.

Finally, I would like to offer to this fine group of talented young men and women on the threshold of life an ancient Sanskrit blessing: mangalvatyah bhavanthu (*May prosperity in all senses be your lot*).

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CHRISTIAN FAITH

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, denial to the First Continental Congress on evangelism to launch the Crusade of the Americas from the Mall in Washington, D.C., by the Department of Interior must be accepted as persecution of the Christian faith—especially after considering the denial of these facilities to men of faith, the Government then granted unprecedented use of the Mall for the purpose of political aggression.

I am in receipt of a resolution from the Amite Baptist Church at Denham Springs, La., protesting such discrimination.

As the Baptists profess, it would appear that in a government praising equality, the campsite should be equally available for "all or none."

I include the resolution as part of the RECORD:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, Baptist church leaders, using proper and legal channels, made a request to use the mall located between the Washington and Lincoln monuments and were denied the privilege by the Department of the Interior with Mr. Monte E. Fitch, Superintendent acting as agent;

And whereas, the request for use of the Park area was for the purpose of demonstrating the faith in Jesus Christ on the part of some twenty-four million Baptists to be represented in Washington by some 10,000 delegates to the first Continental Congress on Evangelism to launch the Crusade of the Americas,

And whereas, this request was made prior to the filing of the "Poor People's" request and the "Poor People" were granted a permit to demonstrate while the Baptists were denied the right to use the same facilities for the purpose of demonstrating their faith and love for Christ,

And whereas, it would appear that the mall is being reserved for political use only and not for religious purposes and whereas it would follow that such practice would be a gross inequity since militant demonstrators would be allowed to use government parks as a base from which to pressure and disrupt Congress and at the same time a peaceful church group be refused the right to use similar facilities,

Be it therefore resolved, that we the Baptist Men's Organization of the 1,020 member Amite Baptist Church of Denham Springs, Louisiana meeting in session on May 27 declare our utter dismay and avowed disapproval of the action of the Department of the Interior in their discrimination against the Christian religion in general and Baptists in particular in denying them the use of facilities that should be equally available for "all" or for "none".

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to President Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, Secretary Department of Interior Stewart Udall, to the representatives and senators of the state of Louisiana, Governor John J. McKeithen, President of Southern Baptist Convention Franklin Paschall, the local newspapers and Baptist Message.

ROBERT ASH,
Secretary, Baptist Men, Amite Baptist Church.
JAMES K. PIERCE,
Pastor, Amite Baptist Church.
DOUGLAS HOUSE,
President, Baptist Men, Amite Baptist Church.
SAMMIE LEE THAMES,
Vice President, Baptist Men, Amite Baptist Church.

SOFTEN UP EX-IMP?

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Soften Up Ex-Imp?" published in the New York Daily News of Wednesday, June 5, 1968. The Daily News has the largest daily circulation of any newspaper in the United States, nearly 2,000,000.

The editorial points up the undesirable aspects of S. 3218, now on the Senate calendar.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOFTEN UP EX-IMP?

The Export-Import Bank of Washington is a government agency that was set up in 1934 to help finance and stimulate trade between the United States and other countries.

Its charter requires the bank to extend loans, guarantees and insurance in export-import transactions only when there is "reasonable assurance" of repayment. It has stayed in the black, largely because it is run by bankers.

The Senate now has before it a bill to soften up Ex-Imp in an alarming manner. This measure would authorize the institution to use $500 million of its lending authority for loans, etc., which were not reasonably sure of being paid back. And when the total of unpaid Ex-Imp obligations exceeded $100 million, the U.S. Treasury would be stuck for the excess sums.

Excuse for the proposed change in Ex-Imp procedures is that it would help to improve the nation's balance of payments and strengthen the dollar.

We side with Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. (D-Va.) in strenuously opposing this bill, as he did yesterday in a powerful and astute Senate speech.

The U.S. Treasury, of course, gets its money from the taxpayers—who, under this proposed law, would be stuck for any large, outsize mistakes the Ex-Imp managers might make. The taxpayers should not be saddled with this additional burden, and we hope Congress will slaughter this bill.

POSTMASTER GENERAL PLUNGES INTO JOB WITH CRUSADER ZEAL

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, the vigorous, progressive approach W. Marvin Watson has taken in his new duties as Postmaster General were described recently in an excellent article in the Long Island Press. I insert the article in the RECORD:

[From the Long Island (N.Y.) Press, May 26, 1968]

POSTMASTER GENERAL PLUNGES INTO JOB WITH CRUSADER ZEAL

(By Craig Smith)

WASHINGTON.—William Marvin Watson Jr. has another mission—perfecting the giant Post Office Department.

Only four weeks after becoming postmaster general, the former presidential aide appears well on his way to a start, even though his term will expire this December.

The 43-year-old Watson has big ideas for the department and its 711,660 employees. But, he says, "I guess my expectations may not live up to what I hope to do."

Expectations include modernization of buildings and machinery, increasing use of airplanes for hauling first-class mail, and ensuring promotions for many of the department's 100,000 Negroes and Spanish-speaking Americans.

("We expect that the amount of air-lifted mail will double in the next two weeks," one official commented privately.)

These would be noble goals for any postmaster general let alone one with but seven months to accomplish them, and who needs the help of employes still loyal to Watson's likeable predecessor—Larry O'Brien—now departed to the Bobby Kennedy campaign.

Nevertheless, Watson has plunged into the job with a crusader's zeal, working 16-hour days and weekends. He has exhibited the same kind of dedication which earlier led President Johnson to declare:

"Marvin is as wise as my father, as gentle as my mother, as loyal and dedicated and close to my side as Lady Bird."

But not every one in the Post Office Department sees it quite that way.

"It's terrible," grumbled one official the other day. "He wants to make this a great department."

Less harsh judgments range from, "He certainly is a hard worker," to "I think Marvin's really trying to do a good job."

At the White House, Watson earned—in addition to presidential praise—a reputation (often privately cussed) as a super-efficiency expert. He made White House limousines log every stop, he ran a telephone call traffic study.

At the Post Office, he made it a policy to see many of the department's employes—from janitors to secretaries, and up. He invited them to a series of six punch and coffee receptions (Watson is a teetotaler), shaking hands, pushing his ideas—and apparently trying to dispel any sour notions that might have existed.

"A lot of people in this building had never seen a postmaster general before," said one who attended. "They were delighted."

Watson doesn't stop work at 10 or 11 p.m. when he leaves his office. He takes home a reading file with him.

Weekend trips have taken him on inspection tours of facilities at Baltimore, Detroit, Norfolk (Va.) and Cincinnati. This weekend he plans to be in California.

On returning from the Baltimore and Detroit trips (his first flight in a commercial aircraft in two and a half years), he told a Senate committee the tour "aided me in identifying two basic and immediate issues—the failure of antiquated facilities, and the vast possibilities of modern structures directed by the latest management techniques."

Perhaps Watson's most ambitious scheme aims at providing better employment and promotion opportunities for Negroes, and other minority group employes.

Watson plans a three-man task-force (one white man; one Negro; one Spanish-speaking American) and will provide a staff to help eliminate any discrimination in postal employment around the country.

Although the postmaster general cannot fire prejudiced postmasters or supervisors, aides say he has authority to transfer or reassign them, and he's made it clear he will use this authority.

"The task-force," says an aide, "will get down there (to the local level) and make sure that these people are being promoted; it's a way of doing away with the postmaster who is anti-Negro."

A SALUTE TO THE LONG AND DISTINGUISHED GEORGIA JOURNALISM CAREER OF MRS. NORA LAWRENCE SMITH

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, a tea and a dinner will be held in Ashburn, Ga., tonight, in honor of Mrs. Nora Lawrence Smith, and in recognition of her long and devoted service to the newspaper profession in Georgia and to her community.

I have joined the many friends and associates of "Miss Nora," as she is affectionately known throughout the State of Georgia, in saluting her on her outstanding accomplishments.

An editorial also congratulating Miss Nora was published in the Atlanta Journal, of June 4. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MISS NORA

Georgia journalism has produced some interesting individuals but none more interesting or delightful than Nora Lawrence Smith of the Wiregrass Farmer of Ashburn.

Miss Nora's years now are four score plus but age has not dimmed her ardor for good causes (including that of the Democratic party) nor weakened her forthright and peppery personality.

In fact the only effect the years have had on Miss Nora is to bring her honors. Last May she received the Emma C. McKinney memorial award at the National Newspaper Association annual convention in Los Angeles for her distinguished service and contributions to community and profession. On June 6, which is Thursday, Miss Nora will be the honor guest at a dinner sponsored by the Turner County Chamber of Commerce, a sort of local celebration of Miss Nora's national honor.

The Journal adds its congratulations and best wishes to Miss Nora's formidable collection of honors, awards, and tokens of affection and esteem.

DR. JOHN WESLEY RALEY

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, the State of Oklahoma lost one of its most distinguished educators and leaders last week in the passing of Dr. John Wesley Raley, chancellor of Oklahoma Baptist University at Shawnee.

For more than a quarter of a century, from 1934 to 1961, Dr. Raley served as president of OBU. He built the university far beyond the dreams of most of those who had gone before him. But more than that he helped mold the lives of many thousands of young people into the channels of constructive citizenship. He was a man of integrity, of conviction, and of dedication, deeply interested in people.

As a young reporter I met him when he came to OBU as one of the youngest university presidents in our Nation's history. As he showed me around the campus, setting forth his plans for the future, I was amazed at the audacity of his vision. But all that he foretold then long since has been exceeded by the reality of his achievement.

He could make people know and act on the importance of education and religion to our way of life. Personally I have lost a real friend. All of us who knew him are the better for his wisdom.

The following articles and editorial from the Shawnee News-Star, published by Ross U. Porter, illustrate the impact of his career:

SERVICES TODAY FOR OBU'S BELOVED DR. JOHN W. RALEY

Funeral services for Dr. John Wesley Raley, chancellor of Oklahoma Baptist University, will be at 4 p.m. today in the John W. Raley Chapel, OBU.

The casket will be opened at the chapel from 1 p.m. until 3:50 p.m., and will not be opened after the funeral.

Dr. Charles Forbes Taylor, of Washington, D.C., will officiate. He will be assisted by Drs. J. P. Dane, J. C. Segler and Jack C. Carroll.

Burial will be in Resthaven Memorial Park.

Roesch Brothers Funeral Chapel is in charge of arrangements.

The funeral will be broadcast by radio station KGFF at 4 p.m.

The family requests that instead of flowers memorial gifts be sent to the Raley Chapel completion fund.

Dr. Raley died at 7:40 p.m. Sunday in the Shawnee Medical Center.

He was president of Oklahoma Baptist University for 27 years, stepping down in 1961 because of ill health to become chancellor. He was named president emeritus in 1965.

Raley's tenure as president, from June 1934 to May 1961, was at the time of his retirement from the presidency, the longest tenure of any college president in Oklahoma, the longest tenure of any Southern Baptist college president and the fourth longest tenure of any president of a private college in the United States.

OBU grew from a four-building campus with a property valuation of $428,000 to a university with more than 20 buildings and a property valuation of $8,000,000. He led the way in establishing continuing annual financial support by the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma for OBU, and during his presidency, OBU received academic accreditation by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Born Aug. 15, 1902, in Rosebud, Texas, he was the son of Leonidas Washington Raley and Margaret Frances Duncan Raley. He was graduated from Rosebud High School in 1919.

He received the A.B. degree from Baylor University. Waco, Texas, in 1923; the Th.M. degree from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, 1927; the Th.D. degree from Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa., in 1933. He also received honorary doctorate degrees from OBU and Baylor.

Dr. Raley began his educational career as the principal of North Prairie Rural School, Chilton, Texas, in 1922–23, and then taught American history and Spanish at Carlsbad High School, Carlsbad, N.M., in 1923–24.

After three years in Seminary at Fort Worth, Dr. Raley pastored the First Baptist Church of Smithville, Texas, 1927–30. On June 23, 1929, Dr. Raley married Helen Thames, of Smithville.

In 1930 the Raleys moved to Philadelphia, when he attended Eastern Seminary and pastored the First Baptist Church of Millburn, N.J.

From 1931–34, Dr. Raley pastored the First Baptist Church of Bartlesville, and it was while serving in this post that he was elected to the board of trustees of Oklahoma Baptist University. While serving as chairman of the trustees in 1933–34, he was elected the eighth president of OBU.

In addition to his OBU service, Dr. Raley was active in civic and state educational and religious activities. He was a member of a board appointed by Governor Marland to coordinate the colleges and universities of Oklahoma into a state system and to formulate the constitutional amendment creating the state regents for higher education.

He served as president of the Southern Baptist Education Association, the Southern Baptist Education Commission, and the Oklahoma Independent College Foundation.

He was assistant divisional chaplain of the 45th Division, Oklahoma National Guard, 1938–40; vice chairman of the State Defense Committee, 1941; member of the State War Council, which aroused public interest in war bond sales; and chairman, Pottawatomie County Red Cross, during World War II.

He served as state chairman of the Oklahoma Food Conservation Committee in 1948 and as state chairman of the 1958 and 1959 Mental Health Campaigns.

He had been a member of Who's Who in America since 1936 and was elected to the Oklahoma Hall of Fame in 1958.

He was actvie in the Rotary Club; Royal Arch Masons, of which he was grand chaplain in 1963–64; Shawnee Chamber of Commerce; and the Men's Dinner Club of Oklahoma City.

After his retirement from active service in 1965, Dr. Raley authored Sunday School lessons for 13 newspapers in Oklahoma and Texas, and he served as a member of the board of directors of the Shawnee Medical Association.

He was a member of Shawnee First Baptist Church.

Survivors include the widow, Helen Thames Raley, of the home; a son, John Wesley Raley Jr., Oklahoma City; a daughter, Mrs. James R. Nash, Waco, Texas; five brothers, Claude, San Antonio, Texas; LeRoy, Sulphur; Floyd, Oklahoma City; Coleman, Shawnee; Frank, Pawhuska; three sisters, Mrs. B. A. Spillar, McAllen, Texas; Mrs. O. H. Schram, Taylor, Texas; Mrs. F. N. Griffin, Chevy Chase, Md.; and three grandchildren.

Honorary bearers will be: Kenneth Abernathy, Dr. Meredith Appleton, W. P. "Bill" Atkinson, Dr. James Baldwin, Jack Bell, Former Gov. Henry Bellmon, Dr. Eugene Briggs, Norman Brillhart, Frank Buck, Dr. Roy Cantrell, Dr. Tom E. Carter, John Clifton, Donald I. Cochrane, B. J. Cooper, Dr. Grady Cothen, Ernie Cowen, Link Cowen, Clark Craig.

Walter Firestone, Lloyd Ford Jr., Dr. A. D. Foreman, Dr. Virgil Forrester, Dr. Clinton Gallaher, Dr. Paul C. Gallaher, Former Gov. Raymond Gary, John Goode, Dr. Harold K. Graves, Sen. Ralph Graves, Dr. J. D. Grey, James Gregory, Dr. Jack Gritz, Dr. Earl Guinn, Dr. John Hayes, Rex Hawkes, Dr. Auguie Henry, Dr. David House, Ezra Johnson, Edward H. Keefe, Dr. Roy Kelley, Dr. Joseph Kelso, Bob Kerr, William Kerr, Dr. J. D. Kethley.

Martin Lawrence, Robert Lynn, George E. McKinnis Jr., Dr. Lowell D. Milburn, Sen. Mike Monroney, W. B. Moran, Paul K. Nance, Dr. T. Grady Nanney, Joseph M. Nash Jr., Gaylord Noftsger, Dr. Hope Owen.

Ross Porter, B. Andrew Potter, Jack Reese, Dr. Richard Sneed, Dr. Milford Rouse, Randall Spears, Dr. L. E. Solomon, Congressman Tom Steed, Pierre Taron, Thomas Terry, Basil M. Toland, Dr. E. W. Thornton, Warren Terry, Joe Warren, Dr. Hermond Westmoreland, James Winterringer and Jerome Zickrick.

Bearers will be Kenneth Ever, Cap Gardner, Dr. Jack Purdue, Granville Mayes, Grady Smith and Lee Stephens.

TRIBUTE PAID TO DR. RALEY

Responses came quickly from across the state and nation to the news of the death of Dr. John Wesley Raley, president emeritus of Oklahoma Baptist University.

Dr. Grady C. Cothen, present OBU president, said, "By any standard of measurement, Dr. John Wesley Raley built Oklahoma Baptist University. He will forever be associated with its history and its future. He gave OBU his best and his life.

"His greatest memorial is in the lives of thousands of young people whom he touched and blessed. His surging optimism, keen intellect and unswerving devotion to OBU are largely responsible for what the institution has become.

"We extend our deepest sympathy to his family and his many friends, and pledge our best in Christian education at OBU."

Dr. Thomas B. Lackey, executive secretary-treasurer of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma, said, "I was shocked to learn of the death of Dr. John Wesley Raley. He has been an enthusiastic supporter of every phase of denominational life, including Oklahoma Baptist University, for many, many years. I have lost a personal friend and a co-worker of longstanding.

Dr. Richard T. Hopper, chairman of OBU Board of Trustees and Ardmore pastor, said, "The Baptist people of Oklahoma, and especially former students of the University, have suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. John W. Raley. In our hearts there is a feeling of gratitude for his life, his devoted service, and the inspiration of his example through the years. We express our sympathy to Mr. Raley and members of his family.

Dr. Richard Sneed, president, St. Gregory's College, said, "I count my years of close friendship with Dr. John Wesley Raley a great blessing. He was a counselor and father to me in college administration. His wise advice and understanding of people have stood me in good stead and I shall miss him greatly. The example of his wit, courage and administrative genius will abide with all of us who loved and admired him so much."

Pierre Taron, Shawnee mayor, said, "Dr. John Wesley Raley enriched the lives of every person with whom he came in contact. It was my privilege to have been associated with him on many occasions. Each time I felt that I was the one who had gained by this association.

"He was a person for whom I, as well as everyone who knew him, had the deepest respect and admiration. His death is a tremendous loss to all the people of Shawnee and this entire area, as well as to OBU and his associates. His memory will always be an inspiration to all of us who knew him. I want to offer Mrs. Raley and the family my personal feelings of deepest sympathy, as well as those of all the people I represent."

Dr. George Cross, president, University of Oklahoma, said, "Dr. John W. Raley was a wonderful man whose friendship I have enjoyed for more than thirty years. His loss will be felt keenly by his many, many friends, and by the profession of higher education."

Edward C. Keefe, executive vice president, Oklahoma Independent College Foundation, said, "Dr. John W. Raley was one of the prime movers in the creation and development of the Oklahoma Independent College Foundation. Many of the contributors to his association are traceable to the work he did in the field. He kept his interest in the OICF even after retiring as president and continued to travel and make calls on behalf of the Foundation. His participation and his influence, as well as the impetus he continued to give to our cause, will be sorely missed. It is a personal loss for me, as well, because I classed him as a dear friend."

Dr. Bruce Carter, president, Northeastern A & M College, said, "We have certainly lost a wonderful leader and friend. All the world knows of his tremendous and great leadership of Oklahoma Baptists during a quarter of a century or more, and especially the magnificent and wonderful job he has done in building a great University at Shawnee.

"As long as there are Baptists in Oklahoma, there will be those who know, respect and love the name and memory of John Wesley Raley."

DR. JOHN WESLEY RALEY

Shawnee lost its biggest builder and best civic booster when Dr. John Wesley Raley died here Sunday night.

A third of a century ago, Raley came to Shawnee during the great depression on a critical rescue mission to save Oklahoma Baptist University from closing its doors.

The present $10 million campus, now a Shawnee showplace, attests magnificently to the success of that mission. So, too, do thousands of former students who were inevitably touched by the Raley dynamic charm and character.

John Raley spent a busy lifetime here building architectural structures and attracting students with the proper standards to occupy each newly completed facility. Doubtless, he had a few disappointments but certainly no defeats.

The John Wesley Raley Chapel will always stand as a living monument to his dedication, courage and industry. He liked to call it "The Spire of Faith . . . in the works and ways of God . . . we would ever keep before our youth."

The management of the Shawnee News-Star has closely followed with great pride the career of this illustrious leader. He has always been a great force for good in this city and his friends and family have now suffered an irreparable loss.

REA ESSAY CONTEST

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, each year the various REA districts in my district sponsor an essay contest on the value of electricity to rural areas. The best essay in each district is then selected and the winner receives a trip to Washington.

Listed below are four of the winners in my district. Each of these essays is well written and deserving of your attention. REA has been a great boon to Nebraska and all rural areas of the country, as pointed out in these fine essays.

These essays follow:

WHAT LOCAL OWNERSHIP OF CHERRY-TODD ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE MEANS TO MY COMMUNITY—A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL

(By Diane Connot)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Cherry-Todd Electric Membership Corporation, Mission, South Dakota, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

Consumption of electricity during 1967 was up approximately sixteen per cent over 1966 in Cherry-Todd Electric Cooperative! Astonishing? No! With five all electric heated homes and many new electrical appliances being added to the home in the past year, this fact is not so amazing.

We, the consumers of electricity from Cherry-Todd Electric have learned how economical electric living really is after the continuous rate reductions in the past years. These low rates have encouraged many people to use more electricity than ever before.

Local ownership of Cherry-Todd Electric keeps all investments and loans at home, so the consumer is able to use this "local money." If the cooperative was not locally owned, the profits could not be distributed in our area, thus neither the cooperative nor the consumers of Cherry-Todd Electric would benefit from the assets.

Cherry-Todd Electric is maintained as a non-profit organization, thus capital credit checks or dividends are sent to individual members of the cooperative to account for the excess of income over expenditures.

Our cooperative is located in a rural area which helps to stem city migration. Cherry-Todd Electric employs local labor which is very advantageous to our community. The excellent and prompt service of the office personnel and linemen satisfy the needs of each member of Cherry-Todd Electric Cooperative. In case of an outage, the outpost crew is very punctual in repairing the lines and restoring electricity to those affected. The employees are very efficient in repairing lines, and advising the installation of appliances and wiring.

Since the organization and formation of Cherry-Todd Electric Cooperative, a great revolution has occurred in the lives of most people in the community. These people can now enjoy the many luxuries of partial or total electric living—a dream of yesterday which has come true today. With electricity, fire hazards have been greatly reduced. Now a family has much security in knowing they don't have to leave a fire burning when they leave the home.

Cherry-Todd Electric members can take great pleasure in all the automation in their lives, thanks to electricity. Housewives can enjoy many electrical appliances, such as the automatic washer, dryer, and refrigerator. Only a few years ago, many hours of hard labor went into jobs that these appliances now do. The electric radio, stereo, and television provide the family with many hours of comfort and relaxation.

The farmer also has many added conveniences with the electric drill, welder, and power saw. Never before has life been as comfortable as it is now with the many electrical devices and tools. Only a rural electric cooperative such as Cherry-Todd Electric could have made these provisions possible!

Perhaps the most important asset provided by Cherry-Todd Electric Cooperative is that it furnishes a way for its members to produce more than ever before and to use their energy, talents, and resources to make life better for themselves and their community.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Bill Adams)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Custer Public Power District, Broken Bow, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

A man in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, bred a tradesman, remote from the learned world, hit upon a secret which enabled him and other men, to catch and tame the electrical power in lightning. This master, Benjamin Franklin, made history by discovering electricity.

A new era was started when a small group of men in 1935 under the Roosevelt Administration, had the foresight and the initiative to carry through their dream of supplying rural America with electrical power. This invaluable servant has extended service to every member of my family and the community because now ninety eight per cent of the American farms have electrical benefits. Electricity performs some four hundred tasks that were formerly accomplished by manual or animal labor.

The "whether" has been taken out of farming with the electrically controlled irrigation systems, assuring the necessary amounts of moisture at the proper time. Electrically operated machinery to grind, mix, and automatically feed the livestock is at our fingertips. The use of welders and shop equipment has made former costly time-consuming trips to town unnecessary. This all adds up to the farmer's satisfaction of a day's work well done, and he has enough energy left to take part in family and community activities.

No longer can the city folks look upon the farm home with disfavor, since the rural homemaker has every convenience that her urban cousins enjoy, plus the serenity that comes with country living. The housewife knows that her family will be nutritiously cared for with food prepared on her modern electric range—food that in many instances had been previously prepared and safely stored in her home freezer or refrigerator. Every day is a "good wash day" with the electric washer and dryer to simplify the task. The family is much healthier than those of a generation ago with controlled heat, proper humidity, air conditioning, and adequate lighting helping to make it so.

I have, in my own short lifetime, seen the changes caused by electricity. Much has been done in the way of research to make it possible to have instant light by the flip of a switch and immediate enjoyment by the turning of a knob. We teenagers do appreciate the many electrical items such as shavers, hairdryers, typewriters and stereos..

The television and radio have accomplished a great deal to bring our family closer together. We can sit in our country home and enjoy the Olympic Games in a foreign land, educational material, and other entertaining programs. News events are instantaneously brought into our home and we have a better perspective and understanding of government affairs, the cold war, and new space events. We are also warned of inclement weather and impending dangers.

United States has always been a country unparalleled in progress, and we're proud our agricultural community is one that has been able to keep pace and contribute to that tremendous development.

The value of rural electrification in our home and community has been great. Its influence will continue to exist far beyond our expectations—beginning that first day it came into our lives.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION TO OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Sandra Thompson)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by the Custer Public Power District, Broken Bow, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

I am a typical high school student from a typical ranching community in the Nebraska Sandhills. Although electricity is an intimate part of our lives every day, are we inclined to take it for granted? Perhaps if we recall a part of the history of rural electrification, we will gain a new awareness of its value.

When my grandfather came to Nebraska in 1907, rural electrification had never been heard of. History tells us of the hardships of the farmer during this period. The prices on his produce were falling, he was constantly in debt, and he could see no way to pay his increasing mortgages. To make his financial worries almost unbearable, the farmer was a victim of isolation and intense loneliness. Except for the social events that only occasionally brightened his monotonous labor, he was separated from all means of culture, recreation, or relaxation.

But this bleak portrait of the farmer's way of life was destined to be repainted. In 1935 the Rural Electrification Administration was created for "the generation, transmission, and distribution of electric energy in rural areas." In 1954 the long-awaited lines reached this Sandhills community. Let us reflect for a moment. What does this source of power mean to our home and community? How valuable is it to us today?

First, rural electrification has become a source of livelihood. Ranching is our business, and electricty has revolutionized the ranch. The old wind-charger supplied power, but it lacked both quality and quantity. Today our source of power is practically unlimited, and we are able to use it for equipment to increase our production. Twenty cows can be milked with an electric milking machine in the time it would take to milk five by hand. With an electrically-powered irrigation system a rancher can grow an immediate cash crop such as corn, or perhaps alfalfa and feed twice as many cattle on the same acreage as he could formerly.

Rural electrification also means liberation. It has rescued the rancher from much of his toil. Grain driers and augers are examples of these time- and labor-saving machines. Electric shop tools enable him to repair his own implements. Electricity has freed the ranch wife from as much drudgery as it has her husband. The automatic washer, dishwasher, range, and vacuum are sharp contrasts to their hand-operated counterparts. Her electrically-heated home is much more attractive and easier to keep clean.

But it is no profit to be liberated *from* something unless there is liberation *to* something. Thus rural electrification means a better way of *life*. Electrical machines and appliances have increased the leisure time of the rancher and his family and have given us profitable ways to use it. Our interests and viewpoints on life are broadened by increased social activities. Television, radio, and stereo provide pleasure, culture, and education. Through these we are made better American citizens because we hear the news from around the world and are able to vote more intelligently.

Yes, rural electrification is of great value to our home and community, to me, my family, and our neighbors. To us it means livelihood, liberation, and life, an improvement over the past, and a hope for the future.

WHAT RURAL ELECTRIFICATION MEANS TO ME AND MY COMMUNITY

(By Kathleen D. Starman)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by the Cornhusker Public Power District, Columbus, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

"A friend in need, is a friend indeed" is an old saying which can truly be applied to electricity—the friend which has supplied farmers with a means to meet hundreds of needs.

In May, 1935, the REA bill was signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt. It granted the appointed REA Administrator, Morris L. Cooke, the power to "initiate, formulate, administer and supervise a program of approved projects with respect to the generation, transmission, and distribution of electric energy in rural areas." The notion of rural electrification took to men's minds slowly, however, and most of rural America "remained in the dark" until the late 1930's. Fortunately, some local farm leaders believed that rural electrification was a development too important to be just a dream. Through their constant efforts, non-profit cooperatives were finally established making rural electrification a reality.

Electricity has become a number one necessity on today's farms. The decreasing rural population demands farmers to produce both crops and livestock to a maximum, at reasonably low costs to them. Electricity has proven itself to be the most efficient and economical way to meet these demands.

Dairying, an essential money-making operation on many farms, is made easy and efficient through the use of milkers and coolers.

The farmer, today, has the potential to care for more livestock through the use of electric augers which simplify feeding tasks and electric waterers which provide water for livestock the year round.

The welder, for do-it-yourself repair jobs, has found a place in numerous farm workshops because it greatly reduces maintenance expenses. Likewise, electric saws, drills and other construction tools enable the farmer to "turn" carpenter if necessary.

Providing water for crops is done by irrigation pumps, while electric dryer bins insure against crop spoilage after harvest.

In the poultry business, the rural housewife finds that electricity can be given credit for increased egg production through lighted laying houses and in keeping chicks alive in their first crucial days of life.

While electricity has changed the farmyard, it has also revolutionized the home. Today's modern rural homes are all-electric. Electric stoves, refrigerators, freezers, and other appliances enable the housewife to make good, nutritious meals easily. The formerly dreaded laundry days are now made less strenuous and time-consuming by using washers and dryers, leaving time for the housewife to care for her family.

Television and radio provide inexpensive entertainment for the whole family, while living in comfort the year-round is made possible by electric heat and air-conditioning.

As a working man, the farmer profits greatly by rural electrification, but he reaps many rewards in other ways. Increased leisure time gives rural people the opportunity to improve themselves socially. It enables them to participate fully in Church, school and community activities. It has made the rural population a happier, healthier people by eliminating the drudgery which made our grandfathers old before their time.

To me and my community, rural electrification means life—for electrification is the framework of our community and the pulse of rural living.

AN END TO INCITEMENT OF VIOLENCE

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, perhaps no amount of restraint can solve the continuing problem of mental sickness that afflicts millions of people at one time or another in their lives. But for those who do have complete possession of their faculties—the vast majority of Americans—there must be an end to the preachments of violence and anarchy in this country. The U.S. Constitution certainly permits intelligent and reasonable restraints on speech that incites to crime and violence and the Supreme Court owes it to the American people to so interpret it.

Freedom and justice will prevail in America but to assure this vital goal we must maintain law and order under a government of law and not of men. No citizen has the right to take the law into his own hands no matter how bitterly he may disagree with a particular law. The way to change things in our system is through representative government, not by using a gun.

I commend the reading of an excellent editorial in the Wall Street Journal of June 6, 1968, as all Americans rededicate themselves to this objective in the aftermath of the awful assassination of Senator ROBERT KENNEDY.

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK: THE PREACHMENT OF VIOLENCE

The attempted assassination of Senator Kennedy is a horrible event in a time of horrors, and the first reaction can only be an almost inarticulate sense of shock. Now as his life hangs in the balance, there must be a prayer that he will recover to be restored to the family he cherished and the nation he sought to serve.

Yet while the nation waits another thought intrudes. Is this murderous attempt, as many people are already saying, yet another sign that American society as a whole is profoundly and uniquely sick with violence?

Granted the act was that of a madman, and from the early evidence of a madman from beyond our shores. It is nonetheless a legitimate question how it happens that our society produces or shelters enough psychopaths to perpetrate these attacks on national leaders with such terrifying frequency.

If there is something radically wrong with contemporary society, we think in fairness it should be noted that it is not peculiar to America. Look practically anywhere in the world and you find violence, stupefying irrationality and incipient anarchy. Another way of putting it is that if there is sickness it is not just in any particular society or nation; it is in man himself.

Man has always been prone to violence. The anthropologists tell us he is one of the few animal species that deliberately and regularly kills his own kind, which is why there have always had to be elaborate codes and rules governing his conduct. In part the violence stems from the tensions to which man has always—even in the most primitive and seemingly bucolic ages—been subject.

Today special tensions exist, new in form if not in kind. One stems from the great increase in population; the habitable parts of the world are getting a little too crowded for comfort. Another aspect of the population increase is that there are bound to be many more people who are born or turn out to be deranged. Our national leaders, accustomed to circulate freely among the people, thus take large risks, risks which a good many leaders elsewhere seek to avoid.

In these circumstances, instant communications probably aggravate the danger. That is, an act of violence is known immediately everywhere, and it evidently creates in other deranged persons a desire to imitate. It is a well-known phenomenon that crimes of violence tend to feed on themselves.

Beyond all that, we think a special responsibility devolves on what may loosely be called the intellectual community, the people who set the fashions in opinion.

In the distorted rationale of many of them, violence is accorded an aura of legitimacy. This attitude is doubtless rooted in the fact that for a generation or more a marked permissiveness has been encouraged in home, school and judicial standards. Not surprisingly, ours is becoming, and not just here in America, increasingly an age when anything goes, and more and more that is coming to include actual crime.

Now intellectuals may be able to make fine distinctions between the kind of violence which finds Frenchmen ripping up paving stones and hurling them at each other and the kind expressed in the shooting of an American Senator. [From some of the foreign comments on the "shocking conditions" in America, you might think the current French orgy of violence and anarchy had never existed.] But psychopaths don't make distinctions; they are inevitably stimulated by the general condoning of violence.

And make no mistake, it is not only being condoned but applauded by opinion-molders. Ministers of God have been heard advocating violence under certain conditions in such causes as civil rights. Other intellectuals justify the violence at Columbia University as a useful advancer of social progress. These men are to be blamed for the precept and example they set, not least the encouragement they give to the deranged among us.

Most people of course do not accept these concepts. Indeed, their reaction to a specific crime and to violence in general is one of shocked disbelief. Still, the moral confusions and the resulting disorder are undeniably spreading.

There is literally no way, in any case, to prevent crimes like that at Los Angeles yesterday morning. Nor is there any easy way to see how man's drives, in an age of violence, are to be redirected to better purposes.

But at least the leaders of opinion can stop the preachment of violence and anarchy. They can begin—and it is high time—to reassert the urgent claims of order and reason for the safety of each of us and for the sake of society as a whole.

FEDERAL PAY RAISE

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, in the past few weeks, there has been a strong movement in some circles to postpone the second phase of the Federal pay raise, which is due to take effect July 1. The New York Times today points to some very interesting aspects of that pay raise. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WRONG PLACE TO ECONOMIZE

Some Administration officials, agonizing over the necessity for sweating $6 billion out of the Federal budget for fiscal 1969, are hinting that one painless way to cut would be to delay for a year the pay raise Government employees are scheduled to get July 1.

Such a solution would be a monstrous act of unfairness—a transfer to the backs of 2 million Federal workers of the responsibility for combating inflation that should be shared by all citizens. Big as it sounds, the $1.6-billion pay increase the Government plans to give next year is merely designed to close part of the gap between Federal salaries and those for comparable jobs in private industry.

Workers performing essential public services and bound by a law that makes it a felony for them to strike cannot be told they must subsidize the rest of the population as a means of protecting everybody's dollar. And particularly not when the breakdown of the Government's wage-price guideposts is pushing up the cost of living and other workers are getting the biggest pay increases in history.

MEMO TO AN UNNAMED YOUNG GIRL

HON. VERNON W. THOMSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ralph Goldsmith, editor of the Boscobel Dial in southwestern Wisconsin, not only received recognition by being elected as president of the Wisconsin Press Association, but won the distinction of having written the finest editorial of the 1967–68 State competition.

Mr. Goldsmith is my lifelong friend and constituent of whom I am very proud. It is a privilege and a pleasure to insert the full text of his prize-winning editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

MEMO TO AN UNNAMED YOUNG GIRL

DEAR CHILD: We saw you the other day in the front seat with him. In fact, we saw you twice. On one occasion he came around the post office corner on two wheels, tires squealing. On the other he pulled out of a parking stall with wheels spinning and gravel flying.

Maybe he's a pretty nice boy. You must think so, or you wouldn't be riding with him. We don't like to disillusion you, either, because you are too young to know that there is something emotionally wrong with your boy friend. We don't need a psychologist to tell us this. All we have to do is watch him behind the wheel of a car.

There is so much of this sort of thing going on today that ordinarily we wouldn't even take the time, or editorial space, to talk about a single case. We are only hoping what we say will do some good, and perhaps prevent some pain, suffering and remorse on a lonely highway in the nighttime at some yet unknown time and place.

It is also because you looked like such a pretty and intelligent young girl, and because you have parents and friends who would be extremely sorry if something unfortunate happened to you.

The truth is, Miss Unknown, your boy friend, like many others who are still unstable and emotionally immature, doesn't even know the basic requirements for being a good driver. He is a show off, who must attract attention to himself by driving in a dangerous and erratic manner. He hasn't the capacity yet to realize that he is torturing his automobile, subjecting the motor and tires to damage, and exposing you and him to serious injury or death.

He is able to steer a car, press down the accelerator, and take the corners with a flourish. Beyond this he is a brainless novice, who doesn't understand the first principles of engineering or the rules of safe driving. He wouldn't last a minute in an auto race with professionals. If he started now and devoted the rest of the next five years to training, he wouldn't get beyond the preliminaries in a top flight stock car race.

In 20 years of covering accidents in the newspaper business, we've been called out many times in the night to see the end result of this type of driving. We've seen broken, battered bodies, loaded on stretchers, some of them soaked in crankcase oil from their own smashed-up automobiles. We've seen pretty girls like you, so disfigured that even the ambulance attendants turned their faces away when they loaded them for transport to a hospital or morgue.

These are harsh words, but it's a harsh life, with 50,000 deaths a year and millions injured. The statistics show that the biggest percentage of accidents involve the age group of your boy friend, unmarried young men in the 17 to 25 bracket.

Here is a bit of good advice:

Tell your boy friend that if he wants to practice fast cornering or quick starts, to join an organized drag-racing club or try to get entered in a stock car race. He'll learn mighty fast that he doesn't know much yet about driving—that it takes skill and courage to be a good driver, plus brains. Any crazy fool can put a car on a public highway and press down on the foot feed, but there are only a small percentage of men in all of these United States who can be classified as skilled, professional drivers.

Test drivers and racing drivers don't squeal tires off the race track, nor do they spin their wheels from a standing start. They think too much of the cars they drive. Such antics are the badge of the novice, the show-off, the inexperienced young male who wants to be noticed—and is taking a mighty dangerous way of getting attention.

You tell him all of this and maybe he'll listen. If you don't tell him, and he keeps driving that way, you'd better get your folks to increase their insurance on you, and perhaps provide for a plot in the cemetery. Because the odds are great that this is where you will end up.

NASHVILLE BANNER CALLS FOR TAX SURCHARGE, $6 BILLION REDUCTION IN EXPENDITURES

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Nashville Banner in a recent editorial called for passage of legislation providing for an income tax surcharge and a $6 billion reduction in spending as a means of stabilizing our monetary system.

This is a timely and perceptive editorial and because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important matter, I herewith place the editorial in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

SURTAX AND BUDGET CUT—FOR U.S. DOLLAR THE DOUBLE DEFENSE IS IMPERATIVE

Circumstances of extreme urgency—a discernible crisis that no longer can be ignored—demand action now to start on setting the nation's fiscal house in order, in the only way it can be done: Enactment of the proposed income tax surcharge, and simultaneously a maximum (not minimum) cut in federal spending.

President Johnson's grudging consent to a $6 billion cost reduction—given yesterday—heightens the prospect that this dual step toward a budget more nearly in balance will be swiftly adopted.

The handwriting on the wall is clearly legible, and a congressional majority in House and Senate has read it aright. Their ultimatum for the full saving therein stipulated was not a partisan gesture, but a stand of informed concern for the solvency of their country, imperiled by the government-built inflation reflected in a sagging dollar.

U.S. financial authorities have known that. International banking circles have known it . . . the inevitable worsening of monetary crisis and attendant calamity unless intelligent action were taken to reverse the disaster course.

Tragic lesson one was underscored yesterday with the warning by Swiss bankers that the entire Western monetary system could collapse because the French franc had become "practically unsalable." De Gaullism's fiscal frivolity did not include contempt for gold; it did partake of reckless policies undermining the franc—and political irresponsibilities subjecting France to the worst of socialism's extravaganzas, and now the inroads of Communist thrust as Chapter Two in dismantlement of the republic.

Incidentally, as an index to this nation's concern for monetary stability (internationally) the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank rushed yesterday to bolster the franc by a $100 million loan to France.

Nothing better serves the foes of freedom and democracy than economic crisis and fiscal collapse. They are bent on wrecking the Free World any way they can; the United States their major target.

To shore up the dollar is not merely a desirable end; it is imperative to national welfare, and to that of the whole international establishment monetarily related to it. That is why informed judgment has stood aghast at policies of attrition.

That is part of the handwriting on the wall: The absolute necessity of correcting the drift of these reckless years; the perpetually unbalanced budget, the mounting public debt consequent to ever-widening gaps between income and outgo, the shrinking dollar, and the furiously quickening pace of inflation.

Congress was right in recognizing the necessity of a tax surcharge, bitter as that pill may be. It was equally right in attaching to it the condition of a major cut in federal spending, simultaneously.

Nobody likes a tax increase, but taxpayers at every level—especially the working man—should remember that it is better to shoulder a reasonably added burden in that particular than to suffer the consequences of dollar devaluation for everybody.

The congressional stand, backed by the taxpayers, was one of reason and courage—and its refusal to back away from it finally has elicited White House agreement.

Now get on with it. Late as it is, Fiscal 1968 and '69 are not too late to make some of the repairs for lack of which the economic ship of state has been leaking at every seam, and listing badly.

CALUMET CITY'S DIAMOND JUBILEE

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure to report to my colleagues that on May 29, 1968, as the Representative of this distinguished body, I attended the diamond jubilee kickoff dinner at Calumet City in the district in Illinois I have the honor to represent. Messages of congratulations were received from the White House and from Vice President HUMPHREY. The telegram from the White House read:

Hon. JOSEPH NOWAK,
Mayor of Calumet City:

The President was interested to learn about the Diamond Jubilee celebration at Calumet City on May 29th. He sends congratulations and warm greetings to all who will be participating in this special event. With the President's and my own best wishes for the continued growth and prosperity of your City.

WILL SPARKS,
Assistant to the President.

Mr. Speaker, there is not a finer, more beautiful and dynamic city in all this broad land of ours than Calumet City, whose mayor, the Honorable Joseph Nowak, has attracted national attention and acclaim. Mayor Nowak is rated among the top five mayors of medium-sized cities in the United States.

This year celebrating its 75th anniversary Calumet City has pridefully adopted the slogan, "We are half as old as the State of Illinois." Illinois, as is well known to everyone, is this year celebrating its 150th anniversary.

Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the full schedule of events on the calendar of Calumet City's diamond jubilee celebration and also the historical dates since the founding of the city 75 years ago:

MAJOR EVENTS SCHEDULE

May 29, 1968: Diamond Jubilee Kick-Off Dinner.

June, 1968: Investure of the Brothers Of The Brush Celebration Belles Campaign.

July, 1968: Casting for Jubilee Spectacular Promenades & Kangaroo Courts Old Fashion Caravans.

August—Celebration begins.

August 23 & 24: Old Fashion Bargain Days.

August 25: Religious Heritage Day; Diamond Jubilee Ball.

August 26: Exhibits; Final Spectacular Dress Rehearsal; Giant Street Dance.

August 27: Heritage & Homecoming Official Opening of Diamond Jubilee Cutting of Giant Birthday Cake Hospitality Center Opens Premier Performance of Historical Spectacular August 27 thru 31 at TFN High School Football Field.

August 28: Jubilee Ladies Day Old Fashion Garden Party & Style Show Opening of Kiwanis Festival.

August 29: Calumet City Salutes Future, Health Fair, Military Displays & Exhibits, Time Capsule Ceremony.

August 30: Good Neighbor Day, Retail Merchants Breakfast, Business & Industry Luncheon, Professional Fire Fighters Exhibits.

August 31: Young America Day, Sports Program, Youth Government, Hobby Show, Arts & Crafts Exhibits, Final performance of Spectacular.

Sept. 2: Joint Parade with Kiwanis, Nightly Fireworks Display.

HISTORICAL DATES

1863—Schrum Family Settles.
1869—1st industry opens—G. H. Hammond Packing Co.
1870—Prairie School—1st school opened in West Hammond.
1888—1st Church Founded. St. John Ev. Lutheran Church.

1891—Adam Stachowicz, Harvey D. Reed & Grover Stevens opened up 1st subdivision.

St. Andrew Church founded and dedicated.

1893—500 member community was incorporated as the village of West Hammond.

1898—1st Post Office opens in West Hammond.

1901—Disastrous fire totally destroys G. H. Hammond Packing Co.

Schrum Pickle Co. Founded.

1907—Pumping Station and Sewer System built.

1911—West Hammond becomes a city.

Forest Preserves purchases Schrum land.

1912—Wentworth High School built.

1914—Volunteer Fire Department organized.

1918—Memorial Park and Fieldhouse built.

1921—Faith Bailey begins 1st City Health Program.

1924—West Hammond changed its name to Calumet City.

1925—City Hall built. St. Victor Parish established.

1933—TF High School burns.

1936—Church of Christ established.

1945—Central Construction Co. begins building Gold Coast.

1951—Library built.

1957—Our Lady of Knoch Parish established.

Community Presbyterian Church established.

1959—Faith Bailey Health Center built.

1960—Wentworth Shopping Center Built.

1962—Calumet Expressway Opens.

1964—Calumet City School of Special Education built.

1965—Land for River Oaks annexed to city.

1966—River Oaks Shopping Center opens.

1967—1 million, 250 thousand gallon water tower constructed.

1968—Calumet City celebrates the 75th anniversary of its incorporation.

ALBERT RAINS SPEECH CONTEST WINNERS

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, several years ago, my good friend and constituent, the Honorable Albert Rains, of Gadsden, Ala., was instrumental in establishing an annual speech contest at Snead College, in Boaz, Ala.

Down through the years this competition has provided a forum for the views of the students at Snead. It has offered them a platform for expressing their ideas concerning their country, their people, and the problems and challenges facing this great Nation of ours.

It was my privilege to have these speeches placed in the RECORD last year, Mr. Speaker, and at this time, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the RECORD the three top speeches in this year's competition, as follows:

FIRST PLACE, ALBERT RAINS SPEECH CONTEST

(By Houston Ray Hodges, Huntsville, Ala.)

We are in the midst of a crisis. This is a word we hear so often, that it really doesn't alarm us as it once might have. In almost every magazine and newspaper we pick up, we find this word, usually preceded by other such familiar terms as urban, viet-nam, agriculture, racial, unemployment, and many more. As individuals, we can easily let our minds drift away from these critical situations. There is one situation we have drifted away from, although it has been evident throughout history. We might not think about this situation, but we can't forget it, because we have a reminder. This reminder is all the dirty little faces, the empty little stomachs, and bare little feet, that are all around us. Yes, this is the reminder, this is the crisis.

We can boast of being citizens of the greatest country in the world, and know that we are, but even in our own country, the United States of America, there are hungry people. Of course, nothing to compare with some of the foreign countries, but nevertheless, there are hungry people. This is the point. Our country is the greatest, richest, most powerful nation in the world, but in comparison, we are underdeveloped. Oh, we have the tallest buildings, fastest planes, boats, trains, cars, the most modern conveniences, a fantastic list of space achievements, yes, almost everything, but as long as we have one hungry mouth, we are underdeveloped.

Forty-five million out of our 300 million people are poor. Thirty million of this 45 million are poverty-stricken. We may find this hard to believe, because we can hide behind three square meals a day and never see, it but it's true.

Earlier this year a 25-member citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition, reported that almost 10 million Americans may be hunger victims, and that the situation among the poor is worsening. This private study group reported malnutrition in such diverse areas as New York City, Des Moines, Chicago, Boston, New Orleans, and even in Washington, D.C., the capital of our land. This is a saddening fact. There is another saddening fact I would like to mention.

I read in a recent newspaper that the murder rate was up 12% in 1967, and up 50% since 1957—33 Americans were murdered each day of last year.

You asked, "How is this connected with technical advancement?" Well, perhaps we are becoming so advanced that we feel smart enough to pass judgment upon others. Or, perhaps the shorter work week has given us so much spare time, that we become bored with the normal activities, and turn to crime for excitement. And then the answer may be that there is too little stress on the arts, humanities, and social sciences. Maybe if we knew more about the finer things of life, we could spend some of our spare time enjoying them.

We are so fortunate, not only to live in this country, but in this part of the country as well. We can jump into an automobile, and within minutes to be at one of the most modern military installations in the country. Not only is it a military installation, but it is also the workshop of the nation's space program. This place, the Redstone Arsenal, was once a small cotton market, but is now the builder of the rocket ships that will carry man to the moon at speeds of over 25,000 m.p.h.

Between here and this space center, are some of the most beautiful farmlands you've ever seen, by-passed by modern highways, and bordered by a mighty river. This river, the Tennessee, was once a fast-running mud hole, but through the genius of technology, tamed and harnessed to produce so much power to so many people, some have never even seen it. There are dams and power plants on this river that equal any in the land. One of these near here, the Wilson Dam, houses the largest single lift lock in the world. Yes, we are so fortunate, but did you know, that within one mile of this space center, and on the edge of these farmlands, and on the banks of this mighty river, there are shacks, shacks in which people actually live, many of whom are half-starved. This is the reminder.

Since its lovely beginning just 300 years ago, our country has evolved as the greatest power in the world through technical advancement and achievement. Without this technology we would still be divided, or worse still, subject to another country's rule, but how far is too far. When you sacrifice human welfare for an airplane, a color T.V. or a rocket ship, this is too far. I believe in advancement and technology by all means, and hope to work toward it in the future in my own capacity, but I don't believe in overlooking to look ahead. What kind of an achievement would it be to reach the moon, and look back and see the dirty little faces, the empty little stomachs, and the bare little feet.

This reminder not only reminds us, but is here as an implement, a tool through which we can overcome the strife of the land.

We can overcome, because we see the need. I don't believe in giving anything but an opportunity. I do not believe in guaranteed wages, or overflowing handouts, because chances are, poor management put these people in their situation to begin with, nor do I want to stop all technical advancement until these problems are solved. What I do believe is that if we conduct our knowledge and technology in such a way as to provide this opportunity, we will be broadening the prospects of the future, and overcoming the handicaps of the past.

The Federal government has several programs going to help the situations such as the poverty program, housing programs, and urban renewal, and will spend $10 billion for food next year, as well as $5 billion for other aid.

We are still giving handouts instead of motivating these people to get it for themselves. We can restore some of this motivation by reducing the stress on the technical fields in education, and open up more fields in which the unfortunate can compete. Some of these people are no doubt hiding behind an inferiority complex. All we hear is space, science, and engineering. While this is fine, and a necessity, it is draining the moral of the people. Let's catch up on history, home economics, literature, and art and the humanities, as well as chemistry and aeronautics.

While this cannot be a short-run method of improvement, success will indeed be evident in the future.

The more hope we give today, the more contentment we shall enjoy in the future.

SECOND PLACE, ALBERT RAINS SPEECH CONTEST

(By Mrs. Irene Monroe, Arab, Ala.)

Has our higher education been geared for the good of the whole man, or have we left the pendulum of education swing all the way to the right to science and technology thus neglecting the arts and humanities on the left? It took mankind 5,000 years to go from the sailboat to the steamboat, but only 100 years from the steamboat to the airplane. It took but 40 years from the air age to the atomic age and a mere 12 years from the atomic age to the space age. What is the next stage?

The United States in 1950 spent about 2½ billion dollars a year on research. In 1960, this figure jumped to about 10 billion dollars and by 1970, it is estimated that we will spend about 40 billion dollars. What kind of a universe are we creating?

Our desire to be scientific causes us to over analyze, over study, and over complicate this picture. We may even be over frantic. Books have been written, lectures have been given and workshops have been held but we are still puzzled about the nature of today's youth. Our present day youth simply have not been given a base to examine, accept, reject or modify.

Most of us in our forties can remember clearly the days of right and wrong, of black and white, and of clear cut priority list of values that were easy for us to recite and more easy to follow because we accepted or rejected them in total. This is neither praise nor condemnation, it is a picture of the world of our youth. There was greater uniformity in the accepted code, the base was there. We were taught to achieve, to strive for the top and to compete but not at the expense of other people.

This value structure based on what we accepted as the "higher values" was our security. This structure may have been a result of Christian ethics and the cultural pattern. Thus we knew which values had priority. Students of today are left to search for their own values. This search is even more complicated by the great mobility of our society. Friends and neighbors come from many ethnic backgrounds with a variety of cultural patterns.

Past history clearly shows that the Federal Government has a growing interest in helping the states to improve their educational systems. The Northwest Ordinance of 1785 supported education with a section of land from each township and the Ordinance of 1787 declared that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged". Federal tax laws long since have supported non-profit educational enterprises everywhere in the U.S.

The Morrill Act of 1862 was introduced during wartime to strengthen scientific agriculture. Additional funds for that act in 1890 were instrumental in quickening the acceptance of science and engineering into the curriculum of higher education. This kind of Federal support helped in our transformation from a third rate, rural agricultural nation into a powerful, urban-industrial nation.

The discoveries of scientific research amazed us just as miracles amazed our ancestors. At that time a tendency toward specialization arose. Special courses and schools were organized for the exclusive study of particular sciences and branches of science. It was thought a waste of time to pursue only cultural studies. The necessity for acquiring human comforts was fully recognized.

The decade of the 1950's with its clear signs of the social, economic and technological revolutions in which we live, prompted Federal aid for educational research and development, as in the Cooperative Education Research Program.

A summary review of some of the 1966 Federal enactments for the cause of humanity include Public Law 89-160 which authorizes language training be given dependents of members of the armed forces under certain circumstances. The International Education Act authorizes appropriations for international affairs institutes for secondary school teachers. It provides for financial aid to the states for centers for teaching modern foreign languages. Public Law 89-651 facilitates the international flow of educational, scientific and cultural materials. Public Law 89-665 establishes a historic properties preservation program and provides for the encouragement of education and training in historic preservation.

In the summer of 1967, there appeared in the daily press two very important stories proclaiming changes in the teaching of history. The first project was under way to develop a "new history" every bit as sophisticated as the celebrated "new math". The second one was a new approach to revitalize the teaching of history in elementary and junior high schools. Both projects were financed with aid of generous grants under the National Defense Education Act.

The Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J. will set up a trial program in the social sciences for three years starting in the fall of 1968. The program will be financed by two grants of $25,000 each by the Russell Sage Foundation and the Carnegie Corp. of New York. The new program will be concerned with social change.

A liberal education places true emphasis upon the value of education thus providing a theory for living. It assigns proper values to the things of the mind and of the spirit as the source of real satisfaction of life. It teaches those who are exposed to it to make fine distinction between the mere material and that which has lasting values. It also teaches them not to be side tracked into temporary attractive blind alleys of thought or of action. By following it they learn to keep their heads and to use them.

Our nation is moving in a post-industrial stage and society is increasingly dependent on its universities and the knowledge they produce and disseminate. Dr. Kaysen, an economist, said, "The time is ripe for a concentrated attempt to engage in scientific studies of social evolution." So with Federal aid and private grants we can have the pendulum of education return to a happy medium for the good of all mankind.

THIRD PLACE, ALBERT RAINS SPEECH CONTEST

(By Mrs. Cheryl Mays, Albertville, Ala.)

One of the most significant phenomena taking place in our society today is our recognition of change. This nuclear-space age is a relatively new era in history. It was born some twenty odd years ago and has been growing rapidly ever since. But only within the past few years has society been aware of its present effects and those possible in the future.

Improved medical science has brought better health and a longer life span, but also an extended population growth. More automobiles and better roads have brought speed and convenience, but also traffic congested streets and a high accident rate. These and many other improvements have caused a multitude of economic, social, moral and political changes in our cities. But we have yet to feel the full influence rising from the development of new technologies. In this case, I refer to the advance made in nuclear energy and space travel. Naturally we hope that such progress will be beneficial, but it still adds to the total picture of change and strongly calls our attention to it.

In comparing our intellectual and cultural growth with America's scientific growth, an imbalance is noticed immediately. A strong desire to satisfy material needs at the expense of spiritual needs has dominated our reasons for doing the job. We set more production goals and fewer human goals. We think more of developing a system rather than an individual. In trying to attain our goals, we have overlooked the fulfillment of human values.

Our nation was founded on concern for the individual such as his freedom, welfare and pursuit of happiness. But today, our concern for achieving technical goals has somehow pushed the individual in the background.

At this point one might ask how this competition is affecting us. The lack of meaningful human contact is very evident in much of our current social behavior. Compare the "hippy movement" of today with the number of non-comformists twenty years ago. There is an excess of hero worship as noted in the rise of the Beatles and, of course, the exotic fads in dress and behavior.

Most of this acts as a form of release and fills certain superficial needs of the time. More important though, it calls our attention to the basic needs of a person to have an individual identity, a sense of purpose and accomplishment in his life, and outlets for his physical and creative energy.

In today's rebellion, once again we are made aware of the need for action to deal with it. We must be able to improve our social and psychological needs as well as our technological and economic ones. I feel we can achieve both by emphasizing in our plans and work the human values which we have had for ages.

One step we have made toward this goal is the preservation of our natural beauty and resources. Another step that is being made is the restoration of our great American houses and documents through which our heritage was founded. And finally, the role our government has taken to support and encourage the creative arts.

At this point, I would like to comment on the attitude in America that government support of any educational or creative process would lead to its control and interfere with our most basic freedoms.

But the people who have this attitude overlook the fact that many of the world's greatest masterpieces may never have been created if it were not for the support of the patron. Today we have many individuals, foundations, and business organizations that are helping to support the scholastic and cultural efforts. But private support only begins to meet the needs being generated today. If we are to compete along the rapid scale of scientific advancement, we must have direct financial support that only government could supply. And within the American framework of thought and action, it seems highly unlikely that the government could control the arts.

Thus the National Endowment for Arts, the Federal Council on Arts and the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities have been created to boost our drive toward literary and scholarly pursuits.

In October of 1963, the late President Kennedy flew to Amherst College in Massachusetts to participate in a ceremony honoring the poet, Robert Frost. The talk at that ceremony best reflects what most Americans feel should be the goals of our country. I would like to conclude by quoting some of his most impressive statements:

"I look forward to a great future for America, a future in which our country will match its military strength with our moral restraint, its wealth with our wisdom, its power with our purpose."

"I look forward to an America which will reward achievement in the arts as we reward achievement in business or statecraft . . ."

"I look forward to an America which commands respect throughout the world not only for its strength but for its civilization as well. And I look forward to a world which will be safe not only for democracy and diversity but also for personal distinction."

SPEAKER JOE MARTIN

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is a personal privilege to have this opportunity to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of Speaker Joe Martin. We were of different political parties, and often of differing persuasion in seeking to find the legislative policies that would best serve our Nation. No matter; the important thing was that it never ceased to be "our" Nation. Whatever our differences, we remained throughout Americans first and partisans thereafter.

It is this overriding characteristic, I think, that must stand out as the guidepost to the young people who learn by example from their elders. He was steadfastly faithful to responsibility.

It was a bonus to all of us who knew him, and particularly those of us who served with him, that he carried that recognized burden of responsibility with an unwavering belief in the stability of the Nation. Frustration comes easy in the Congress, and cynicism is never very far behind. But no frustration was ever great enough to lead Joe Martin to cynicism.

The Republican Party is justly proud of Joe Martin, but what is even more important, the country is proud of him, and the better for having had his long and faithful dedication to it.

THE IMPACT OF U.S. CONTROLS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John J. Power, Jr., president of Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., recently made a speech before the American Management Association on the subject "The Impact of U.S. Controls on Foreign Investment." His analysis is as clear and compelling as any I have yet seen.

Mr. Powers makes the following main points:

First. Between 1950 and 1966 the Government sector has been continuously in deficit in the total amount of $87.6 billion. During the same period the private sector has been continuously in surplus in the total net amount of $59 billion. But to cope with its balance-of-payments deficit, the Government is increasingly curtailing private sector investments, not governmental expenditures. Why should the burden fall so heavily on the private sector—the sector largely responsible for the inflow of dollars?

Second. From 1950 to 1966 the return on U.S. direct investments abroad returned more than $20 billion in dividends, royalties, and fees alone. In addition direct investments encouraged U.S. exports as parents exported to affiliates abroad. But the Government is now curtailing direct investments overseas—thus reducing return on investment and U.S. exports.

Third. The payback period for outflows of U.S. dollars for manufacturing investment abroad is about 2½ years on the average. Every investment curtailed today will hurt the balance of payments in the very near future. The voluntary program begun in 1965 is already now in 1968 curtailing net inflows to the United States from investments that would otherwise have been made in 1965, 1966, and 1967.

Fourth. Direct investment is not an alternative to exports, but rather an absolute necessity to build markets abroad.

Fifth. The mandatory program now in effect introduces distortions into a business and weakens it immediately.

Sixth. The mandatory program upsets foreign governments by showing that the U.S. Government has the right to decide how earnings are to be distributed despite local stockholders, national sensitivities, and efforts on local capital markets.

Seventh. The mandatory program should be continued no longer than 1968. The basic cause of our problem—the excess of Government outflows over private inflows—must be attacked.

As Mr. Powers concludes:

> We must return to a freer flow of investment and trade which, in an era of unrelieved political crisis, has been perhaps our brightest international achievement—and more than that, a necessary basis for ultimate peace in the world.

The speech follows:

THE IMPACT OF U.S. CONTROLS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT

(A speech by John J. Powers, Jr., at an American Management Association special briefing, New York City, April 10, 1968)

The balance of payments of the United States has been in deficit every year but one since 1950. From 1950 to 1956 the deficits averaged $1.5 billion. 1957 was a year of surplus. But in 1958 the deficit appeared again and increased substantially, and from that year to the present the deficits have averaged $2.6 billion. Despite their persistence, there seems to be no general agreement as to the causes nor as to the cures, leaving this important part of our foreign economic policy in a continuing state of uncertainty.

Let us examine for a moment one very important area of disagreement which has persisted throughout the last eight years of debate on this subject. First let us look at the overall picture. Between 1950 and 1966 the United States Government paid out net in military expenditures, grants, loans and for various services $87.6 billion. During the same period, corporations and private citizens brought into the country $59.0 billion in excess of all private dollar outflows. In short, during this period the government sector has been continuously in deficit, and the private sector continuously in surplus. But the surplus has not been sufficient to cover the public sector deficit.

The U.S. Government, however, has sought to grapple with the problem not so much by curtailing its own expenditures but by curtailing private sector investments and especially the direct investments of American business in production and marketing facilities abroad. Businessmen have reacted to this policy with astonishment. From their own experience they know that their direct investments have returned substantial income to their companies in the United States, far greater than the direct investment outflows; indeed, that is the whole point of making the investment. And a look at the statistics for all industry confirms the experience of the individual companies. In the overall national accounts, direct investments are seen to be a star performer in the balance of payments, as I am sure most of you have found in your own examination of the record. If then such an examination suggests so clearly that the primary reason for a continuing deficit lies in government disbursements, why is so little done to reduce them?

NATIONAL POLICIES AFFECTED

To begin with, whether and to what extent we can reduce these disbursements present difficult questions affecting basic national policies. And after two decades, vast global commitments have been built into our political system. Though the seeds of crisis have been contained in these policies, the crisis has developed slowly. And now that it is here, our approaches to issues of foreign policy have become ingrained habits, and the budgets involved somewhat sacrosanct. It is true some effort has been made to hold down foreign aid or tie it to U.S. exports, but this has been due to Congressional pressure. Rather than face the disagreeable necessity of revising our commitments further, the whole thrust has been to look for alternatives, for expedients that is, that will permit us to continue the current level of government expenditures. I am not so unrealistic as to suggest the elimination or near elimination of military disbursements and AID programs. But how much evidence do we have that we have tightened the belt in the management of these huge outflows so as to minimize the heavy burden on our payments position? Why should the emphasis rest so heavily on expedients affecting the private sector, which is to such a large extent responsible for the inflow of dollars? Indeed, in the past several years there have been proposals for or use of expedients such as the interest equalization tax, restriction of bank loans, tourist taxes, reduction of free entry allowances, buy-American purchase policies, import surcharges, border taxes and border tax rebates. There are two expedients in particular upon which special stress has been laid. They are the restriction of direct investments abroad and the strong promotion of exports. These two are related and are the subject of my particular interest in this paper.

WHAT ARE DIRECT INVESTMENTS?

First, direct investments. What do we mean by direct investments? Not portfolio investments nor bank deposits. But rather plant, equipment, inventories, warehouses, accounts receivable, and people, skilled and unskilled, of all colors, religions and languages. Direct investments are prosperous and productive business enterprises providing goods and services, giving employment, upgrading industrial skills, paying taxes, and in many cases giving a major stimulus to industrial and sociological development in a community or even in a nation.

The significance of such investments is now substantial. Since 1950 they have been growing at a rate of 10% per year. The average rate of worldwide growth of GNP is about 5% a year, so that such investments are growing at twice the rate of production. It is estimated that deliveries to markets from the foreign facilities of U.S. companies amount to $110 billion or about four times the value of exports delivered to those markets (value of exports: 1965, $26 billion; 1966, $29 billion). It has been aptly pointed out that U.S. companies are creating a third economy in markets abroad. There is the U.S. domestic economy, the Soviet economy, and next in order of magnitude, U.S. business abroad.

I have already referred to the contribution of direct investments to the balance of payments. It is important to note that from 1950 to 1966 these investments returned in dividends and royalties and fees alone $20 billion in excess of all outflows. But as every individual company knows, the returns were much greater than this. They included also the net inflows resulting from the trade of parent companies with their affiliates, that is, the surplus of exports to affiliates over imports from affiliates.

In highlighting the contribution of direct investments to the balance of payments, I do not intend to deprecate the importance of exports, or rather what is commonly called the trade surplus, that is, the surplus of exports over imports. I am saying, however, that in order to obtain a just and useful comparison of the relative contributions to the balance of payments of direct investments and the trade surplus, it is necessary to make some key adjustments. We must, as already suggested, reduce the trade surplus by the amount of the net inflow due to trade of parent companies with affiliates, and also it is necessary for fair comparison to eliminate those supported exports which were financed by the U.S. Government, particularly under the AID program.

CONTRASTS IN OFFICIAL POLICIES

Making these adjustments for the years 1964, 1965, and 1966 (the only three consecutive years for which figures are available), we find that the trade surplus for these years cumulatively was $5.7 billion and the direct investment surplus was $6.1 billion. There are thus two major contributors to the balance of payments, the trade surplus and the surplus derived from direct investment, but interestingly the public policy towards each of these contributors is not the same as one might expect, but quite different. Every effort is directed by the government to increasing exports while restrictions are placed on direct investments.

What is the justification for such different treatment of the two star performers? Direct investments, it is now conceded, make a substantial net contribution to the balance of payments, but it is pointed out the inflows in any one year are the result of investments made in earlier years; and similarly, the accumulated inflows are the results of the investments of the years prior to those included in any selected period of years. Looking at the matter from the point of view of the short run then, it is argued that the returns from previous investments can be regarded, so to speak, as vested. Therefore, the argument continues, we can cut down current outflows while still preserving the previous rate of inflows and thus gain a short-term advantage, even admitting there will be a long-term disadvantage.

PAYBACK ON DIRECT INVESTMENTS

But what is the short term? There has been much discussion on this point since this rationale of restriction of direct investment was first advanced some seven years ago. Recently, Professor Behrman argued before the Joint Economic Committee that the payback period for outflows of U.S. dollars for manufacturing investment abroad is about 2½ years on the average. If this is right—and I must say, this estimate comes close to my own experience—this is a very short term indeed. In fact, 2½ years have already elapsed since the Voluntary Program was first introduced as an emergency measure. By now, therefore, we are experiencing a loss as a result of many investments that were not made and which would now be returning net inflows to the United States.

Isn't the short term too short to justify this course? And beyond that, is there really such a clearcut advantage in the short term when we restrict direct investments? There are two distinct approaches to this last question. The economist who often has the ear of government tends to apply a marginal analysis, thinking in terms of an additional increment of investment outflow and the returns to be ascribed to that additional increment. He tends to think of a new project more as if it were merely an investment than part of a gradually growing and developing business organism. He asks what is the rate of return, with the implication that investments will always seek the highest rate of return at any moment in time, regardless of other factors. The businessman, on the other hand, asks what is the market opportunity. Above and beyond the rate of return or payback on a single project he asks what is the relation of the investment to the whole operation. In short, he makes a basic judgment as to the potential of the market and the need, for example, to move now to establish, expand or protect market position. The economist sees restriction on direct investment as yielding a statistical advantage in the short run. The businessman sees it as an immediate infringement on the effectiveness of a going business operation resulting not later but now in loss of market share, financial strength or such intangibles as morale of personnel.

GOVERNMENT EXPORT PROMOTIONS

I will come back later to this question of the short and long run in connection with the discussion of the Mandatory Program. Meanwhile, it is important to say a word about the other expedient for improving the balance of payments which is of special significance to business, namely government promotion of exports. For years, successive administrations have exhorted businessmen to export and save the country. These exhortations are being heard again. They have not brought substantial results in the past. They will not now, because government export promotion programs are founded on an illusion—the illusion that American international business is still what is used to be 30 years ago—largely a matter of swapping exports and imports. While the textbooks on international economics still labor to expound in great detail the nature and causes of trade, the world has moved on.

It is simply not possible in this decade of the 20th Century to establish a business effectively in most world markets in most products by exporting. I say most markets and most products because there are always some exceptions. By constant stress on exports, we perhaps obscure the facts of life of business abroad, or more specifically, the fact that successful market penetration usually requires building warehouse, creating and training and organization; it requires local sales promotion, and very likely, in the end building plants or assembly lines to back up the marketing effort; in short, it requires direct investment.

DIRECT INVESTMENT A MUST

To those who argue that direct investment is an alternative to exports, or that the process damages our international position because it involves export substitution, I would say that we would like nothing better than to sit in New York and manage an export operation. How very much simpler it would be to do that than to put down roots abroad, establish local organizations, build plants, negotiate with governments, and manage assets in foreign countries. Why don't we do it? Are we wrong? Is this a vast management error? I do not think so. We have not gone the exporting route because we can't get the business that way. Wherever we put a plant, where before we were exporting, it is because it was necessary to maintain and expand our business. If we had not done it in most cases, we would have lost the exports anyway and not gained more business through local production and distribution.

As Mr. Charles Stewart of the Machinery and Allied Products Institute recently pointed out so well, there is one central fact about international business that cannot be ignored, neither by an individual company nor by government. To obtain, hold and improve market position abroad requires an integrated approach in terms of direct investment in local plants, exports, licensing, and so on, operating throughout the world, in both developed and developing countries.

CENTRAL POLICY ERROR

The central error of current policy is the effort to segment and splinter international business operations—approving exports, discouraging direct investments, varying the permitted outflows and the required inflows between groups of countries, and to apply these highly distorting and detailed controls to the delicate structure of international trade and investment in the belief that the effects will be temporary and that there will not be serious economic and political repercussions.

Now—what of the Mandatory Program? What can we say of a more specific nature about it? With this program we have moved into a new phase in the process of increasing restriction, it is no longer a question of holding down outflows and bringing back earnings to the extent possible while maintaining the health of the business and the necessary momentum of growth. In Western Europe, the Mandatory Program requires that many companies actually remove from their overseas businesses, earnings required for their health and growth.

Most companies seem to pay out in dividends in the neighborhood of 50% of their earnings so that it would not be unreasonable to insist on the return of earnings to the United States of this amount or even somewhat more, at least for companies that are relatively mature in international business. Certainly in this emergency, no company should be allowed to hold dividends back in order to earn interest abroad. As it is, however, many companies will be obliged to borrow solely in order to fulfill the requirements to remit a proportion of earnings, in many cases over 90% from Schedule C countries. And some will have to borrow again in order to repay the loan. And the introduction of such distortions into a business is not in the future. The business is weakened immediately—in the short run. It is surprising that it is difficult to convince some of this fact, though I suspect if the larger companies of the United States were asked to withdraw from operations 90% of their United States earnings this year, there would be a tremendous outcry, and the charge would rightly be made that we were drastically distorting the structure of the economy. By the same token, we are distorting by the current Mandatory Program the structure of that important third economy, American business abroad.

"SEED CORN" PARALLEL

There is no doubt that every businessman would wish to cooperate with the Administration in a short-term emergency. It is always possible to conduct an "efficiency campaign" in business, to squeeze for a while, cut costs, postpone some investments in order to provide larger immediate returns, all on the assumption that other measures will be taken promptly in the time thus bought, to permit the momentum of the business to be resumed before opportunities are lost or competition moves ahead. But we cannot forget that in restraining direct investment we are economizing on seed corn. I suppose one could conceive of circumstances severe enough to warrant eating some of the seed corn. But obviously the emergency must be both serious and brief, and it is crucial that effective plans for finally correcting the imbalance in our payments position meanwhile be implemented.

Though various programs have been initiated in the past seven years, they have focused on temporary benefits, ignored root causes, and therefore have not been effective. Once again in the Mandatory Program, attention is focused on temporary improvements in order to buy time. The alarming thing is that, as you remember, this same approach has been used in various ways since 1961. (At that time, the official view was that equilibrium would be reached in 1963). In 1965, in 1966, in 1967, and now in 1968 with the tightening of restrictions over direct investment, we have had a repetition of assurances that each new stage was only temporary. It is surely relevant to ask, however, after seven years, what have we bought with these repeated short-term measures? And to question whether present policy has the elements to correct the basic problem of the deficit.

Since the regulations were announced, companies have been bombarded with inquiries as to how the regulations are affecting them and will affect them and, as you all well know, it has been difficult to give a precise answer. For one thing, we have had to spend many man hours examining the regulations and interpreting them with respect to our business. After three months, it is still difficult to be precise about the impact of the program. It appears that the policy is to grant few or no exemptions until a company has proved it cannot make available funds from any other part of its worldwide operations and has exhausted all its borrowing resources. Relief, it seems, will only be granted when credit can no longer be obtained. I say that it is difficult to be precise about the impact of the regulations on the operations of the company, but perhaps that was not quite an accurate statement because this policy in effect seems to suggest that a company will get relief only when it is in serious financial condition.

The regulations in short will be forcing it to expand its borrowings to the limit of its credit and then it must hope and trust it can secure the necessary relief to permit its grave financial position to be alleviated. It is not necessary to underline before an audience of this kind the difficulties and dangers of making any plans under such conditions. Moreover, it would appear that in many cases it is not so much an exemption that is granted, as a delay, with the understanding that anything conceded must be returned in the near future. On these points, we will probably be able to speak with more certainty as patterns of decisions begin to emrge from the Office of Foreign Direct Investments.

OTHER IMPACTS ASSESSED

There are other impacts of the program. There is no doubt, for example, that to a significant degree, though difficult to measure, companies with little or no current activity abroad have been discouraged or prevented from taking advantage of rapidly growing world markets, with permanent effects on the competitive position of the United States in those markets and permanent losses to the balance of payments. There is another impact also of great significance. I have in mind the effect of the program on the relations of U.S. companies with local governments and communities and their efforts to be accepted as corporate citizens seeking to serve the interests of the country of which they are residents. It has not always been easy, but most U.S. companies abroad have won a high degree of local acceptance because they have become sensitive, if they were not so at the outset, to the policies and attitudes of host countries.

The Voluntary Program to a degree, and the Mandatory Program decisively, cry to the high heavens that such companies are in fact American companies and that the U.S. Government has the right to reach in and direct how the earnings are to be distributed despite local stockholders, despite national sensitivities and in Europe, despite the secondary effects on local capital markets. At a time of rising nationalism these programs unfortunately confirm the worst fears of the host country that the affiliates of U.S. companies are in fact aliens in the national economy, subject to laws and regulations of a foreign state. I would predict that this new and radical extraterritorial claim will cause reactions and affect our operations abroad for years to come.

FUTURE DIRECT INVESTMENTS POLICY

What then should be the policy towards direct investments? The logic of the matter seems clear. In the relatively short period since the early 1950's, U.S. international business has built up dollar-earning assets which have become the major contributor to our balance of payments. Why not continue the process? It is working. It will continue to work if we do not ourselves kill it. It has been argued that all segments of the economy must make a sacrifice in the common cause and that therefore the private sector, far from expanding its operations abroad, must also take a cut. But such an argument makes no sense if the cut is counter-productive, if the so-called sacrifice is, in fact, a sacrifice of the end we are seeking, namely, an improvement in the balance of payments. And, unhesitatingly, I say that it is on this point that I rest my case.

As to the Mandatory Program, I can see no basis for continuing it beyond 1968, and its administration in the remaining months of this year should be on a more flexible and realistic basis, obtaining whatever belt-tightening gains there may be in it without diminishing valuable Amercan assets abroad. Most important, we must attack the basic causes of our problem, and I mean the excess of government outflows over private inflows, and also, though time does not permit more than a mention of it here, bring about changes in our international monetary system that would improve the overall adjustment process.

DANGERS OF INDIFFERENCE

I recognize that most of those present at this meeting are concerned with the problem of interpreting the regulations, seeking relief, if possible, and bringing about the best possible adaptation of the company to the hard circumstances imposed upon it. This, of course, is an important objective. At the same time, we cannot be indifferent to the longer term problem of bringing about a change in the policy. It is difficult for business leaders to criticize government policy at a time of emergency and run the risk of appearing unpatriotic. And yet we must speak the truth of the matter as we see it. Certainly, if we do not discuss these crucial issues in terms of our experience and discuss them publicly, then we cannot expect our views to be considered in the making of policy. The fact is, these are complex matters, and no one has a monopoly on economic wisdom with respect to them.

Businessmen must continue, therefore, day in and day out, to explain their operations abroad and relate them to major current issues such as the balance of payments and world economic growth and development. They must, at the very least, urge on the United States Government, policies that make economic sense, that harness the dollar-earning power of business operations abroad to the needs of U.S. foreign policy, without weakening those operations. They must reassert the priority, now being lost, of the freer flow of investment and trade which, in an era of unrelieved political crisis, has been perhaps our brightest international achievement—and more than that, a necessary basis for ultimate peace in the world.

THE SUGARCANE FARMERS' PLIGHT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the American cane farmers—like many other agricultural producers—face a serious financial crisis as a result of a nonflexible, controlled production quota.

They are a part of the U.S. economy—their dollars stay in our country. Their crisis is our problem—they seek relief—we must come to their aid.

I include the statement of Mr. William S. Chadwick of New Orleans, La., given before an informal meeting of the House Agriculture Committee and interested parties in full text:

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM S. CHADWICK, REPRESENTING LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA SUGARCANE FARMERS AND PROCESSORS, INFORMAL AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE MEETING, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 14, 1968

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: My name is William S. Chadwick. I reside at New Orleans, Louisiana, and I am President of Southdown, Inc., a sugar cane farmer and processor of the Mainland Cane Sugar Area. I appear here today as a representative of all of the approximate 5,000 sugar cane farmers and the 49 sugar cane processors of the State of Louisiana and the State of Florida, who collectively comprise what is designated in the Sugar Act of 1948 as the Mainland Cane Sugar Area.

We are deeply appreciative of this opportunity you have granted us to appear before you in this informal meeting and explain, to the best of our ability, the critical situation that faces our sugar cane farmers and processors today. We believe after listening to the facts of our case you will realize our plight is, indeed, a serious one, that there is great merit to our cause, and that remedial action would be fair, equitable and proper and, moreover, should undoubtedly be taken quickly.

The facts are simple. All other domestic sugar producing areas, both cane and beet, are operating today completely without acreage restrictions. The sugar cane farmers of the Mainland Cane Sugar Area have meticulously complied with all of the acreage restrictions and requirements imposed under the Sugar Act of 1948. Nevertheless, the inventories of sugar in our Mainland Cane Sugar Area have increased to the point where it is presently contemplated that a 22.5% acreage reduction will be imposed for the 1969 crop. This reduction will be on top of two reductions already imposed since 1964 which aggregated approximately 15%, or a total average cumulative reduction beginning in 1969 of about 35%. Some farmers would suffer a reduction as high as 40%.

The prospective 1969 acreage reduction of an additional 22.5%, in the absence of remedial legislation, is not a figment of our imagination nor is it an exaggerated prediction with a self-serving purpose. You will find attached to my prepared statement, as "Exhibit A", a copy of a letter dated April 16, 1968 from Mr. Tom O. Murphy, Director, Sugar Policy Staff, A.S.C.S., United States Department of Agriculture, addressed to Honorable Edwin E. Willis, Congressman from the Third Louisiana District. It is the Director of the Sugar Policy Staff, who states, based upon the assumptions contained in his letter, that an additional 22.5% reduction can be expected in the Mainland Cane Sugar Area for the 1969 crop.

At this point let me say to you, so that we will be ever mindful, that for the most part our sugar cane farmers are engaged in one-crop agriculture. They have no profitable substitute crop to which they can turn. Their sugar cane crops, planted at substantial costs, represent at least a three year investment. Their expensive, highly specialized machinery and equipment has no other use.

It is very pertinent that we closely examine the conception, birth and growth of our problem in order to understand why and how this problem developed. Such examination and understanding is critcial to your final conclusions. They will indicate that *our present excessive inventories of sugar did not result from any farmer exceeding his production quota, nor did they result from any action by the Mainland Cane Area farmers or processors in prevailing upon the Secretary of Agriculture to temporarily remove production quotas. We particularly desire to negate any statement or implication that we are endeavoring to have the Congress extricate us from a position of peril that we brought upon ourselves. Nothing could be further from the truth.*

The records of the Department of Agriculture will show that every pound of the sugar comprising our excessive inventory was produced from sugar cane grown on acreage authorized in conformity with the provisions of the Sugar Act and the restrictive regulations and orders issued thereunder.

On May 17, 1963 because of the threatened world shortage of sugar and spiraling sugar prices, the Department of Agriculture announced that the maximum production of sugar in the United States was needed, and that no acreage restrictions would apply to the 1964 crop in our area. We do not desire to be critical of the Department and realize the tremendous pressure on it brought about by the prospects of a sugar shortage. The Department has had a very difficult job, and in most instances should be highly commended. However, in self-defense, let us point out that we strongly opposed the removal of restrictions prior to their removal. We of the Mainland Cane Sugar Area had suffered excessive inventory pains to some extent in the past, and we desired to avoid this in the future.

On April 10, 1963, more than thirty days prior to the removal of restrictions, the Department of Agriculture conducted a public hearing at New Orleans, Louisiana, to receive views and recommendations with respect to establishing farm acreage quotas, known as proportionate shares under the Sugar Act, for the 1964 crop in the Mainland Cane Sugar Area. At that time there had been discussions concerning the removal of quotas because of the threatened world sugar shortage. I appeared at that hearing on behalf of the American Sugar Cane League, representing the sugar cane farmers of Louisiana, and read into the record a stipulation entered into between representatives of the Louisiana producers and of the Florida Producers to the effect that our acreage in 1963 and 1964 should be increased not more than 10%. At that hearing, and on behalf of the sugar cane producers represented by me, I said:

"If the increase were made anything larger than 10% in 1964, the fear and risk of an unreasonably large and burdensome inventory on January 1, 1965 becomes very realistic in our minds. *This is a risk that we are not willing to assume.*"

This stipulation and the quotation from my testimony is found in the record of that hearing on file in the Department of Agriculture.

The direct result of this removal of restrictions by the Department was an increase from 471,000 to 577,000 acres of sugar cane in the Mainland Cane Area. With the addition of this 106,000 new acres, primarily by new producers and on new land, and with some increase in yield per acre on established acreage, it was inevitable that our production of sugar would increase rapidly, and it did.

Next, chronologically, we entered into discussions and negotiations with other domestic areas with respect to a renewal of the Sugar Act which would have expired at the end of 1965. These negotiations took place in 1964 and 1965. In these negotiations we, the Mainland producers and processors, found ourselves in a most unenviable position. We could not eliminate the 106,000 new acres that had been added when 1964 acreage restrictions were removed. Under the terms of the Sugar Act the Department of Agriculture felt compelled to recognize the new producers and the new acres substantially in the same manner as it recognized the old established producers and established acres. The new producers told the Department that you, the Department, urged us to come in and now, you cannot destroy us.

Under the Sugar Act as then written the basic quota for our area was 895,000 tons, with the right to share to a limited extent in consumption needs of the Continental United States when the consumption estimate exceeded 9,700,000 tons. We had a known established production capability in excess of 1,100,000 tons, having exceeded that figure from the 1963 and 1964 crops. We had 106,000 acres of new sugar cane, the eventual production capability of which we did not know. Other domestic interests also wanted increases in their quotas. We could not exist without the protection afforded by the Sugar Act, and an agreement was imperative before the Act expired on December 31, 1965.

Finding ourselves in this position we made the best agreement we possibly could under the circumstances. Our basic quota was increased from 895,000 tons to 1,100,000 tons, and we gave up the right to share in consumption increases between 9,700,000 and 10,400,000 tons. We reached this agreement although we realized there would remain in effect a 12.3% acreage reduction previously imposed upon us.

Let me here hurriedly point out that the increase from 895,000, to 1,100,000 tons in our basic quota did not result, as the mathematics may imply, in an effective annual increase of 205,000 tons in our quota. If the quota provisions in the Act today were exactly as they were prior to the 1965 amendments, our quota today, including our share in consumption increases at today's consumption level, would be 1,009,873 tons. *This means that our increase today, pursuant to the 1965 amendments, is not 205,000 tons but only 90,000 tons.*

The new quota provisions became effective in 1965, and under 1965 crop acreage restrictions our acreage was reduced 12.3% under the 1964 acreage. Production from the 1964 crop in Louisiana was reduced as a result of damages suffered from a severe hurricane. The 1965 crop in Louisiana was reduced by another hurricane "Betsy" and in Florida by a severe freeze during the crop harvest. However, the area nevertheless produced its full 1965 quota. The outturn of the 1966 crop was reduced by a severe and early freeze in Louisiana on November 3rd of that year, but the Mainland Cane Area exceeded its 1966 quota by 113,000 tons.

In spite of a 12.3% acreage reduction beginning with the 1965 crop, and in spite of two hurricanes and two freezes in three successive crop years beginning in 1964, last year (1967) representatives of our area proposed and were given by the Department of Agriculture, an additional 5% acreage reduction for the 1968 crop.

Our 1967 crop, recently completed, produced on government approved acreage but with no natural calamity, 1,457,000 tons of sugar, or 288,000 tons in excess of the quotas for our area.

Now, what is the result of our production during these several recent years, on acreage that was legal, authorized, restricted, hurricane damaged, and freeze damaged. This is graphically demonstrated by the chart attached to my statement as "Exhibit B". On January 1, 1968, our effective inventory in the area was 1,068,000 tons of sugar or 97% of our quota for a full year. As I have stated, because of this we are faced with a 22½% acreage reduction in 1969 on top of reductions aggregating 15% already imposed.

There is a solution to the problem. As you know, there is a substantial deficit by Puerto Rico in filling her quota and this deficit will continue. *We propose that the Puerto Rican deficit be allotted to the Mainland Cane Sugar Area to the extent, and only to the extent, necessary to prevent additional acreage reductions in our area and additional increases in our inventory. We are willing under existing circumstances to carry our present high inventory and we are also willing to continue our present reduced acreage levels. We cannot do more than this, if we are expected to survive.*

Our proposed solution, in merely permitting production by farmers and processors in our area to be maintained at present, reduced levels, would thereby at least sustain them and prevent an economic catastrophe. At the same time, *this solution would not do an injustice to nor create a hardship on any other domestic area. In fact, the solution would not take away from any area, either domestic or foreign, any quota that it could have realistically contemplated receiving when the Sugar Act amendments of 1965 were enacted.* Our proposal is essential to the continued success of the Sugar Act. One of the purposes of the Sugar Act, as specifically stated in its title, is "to protect the welfare. . . . of those engaged in the domestic sugar-producing industry." Obviously, an acreage reduction of 35% in 1969, and probably more thereafter, does not connote protection of the welfare of those who must innocently so suffer. Let us not forget that while we are in this critical inventory position because of restrictions that must be imposed upon us under the Sugar Act, under this same Sugar Act acreage restrictions are not now imposed on any other domestic area, and we are the only domestic sugar producers, or producers supplying the domestic market, who are being forced to reduce production. While our sugar cane farmers are being told that in 1969 our acreage must be reduced 35% under 1964 levels, the beet farmers of the 21 beet producing states and the Puerto Rican cane farmers are being encouraged to expand production.

Let us now consider whether there are any justifiable reasons for opposition to our proposal by other domestic sugar producing areas or by foreign countries who share in our domestic market.

Obviously, the proposal if enacted cannot have any adverse effect whatever on other domestic producing areas or on the farmers and processors comprising such areas. Under no circumstances and under no contingency could the quotas of the other domestic areas be adversely affected by our proposal. Also, no other domestic area can complain that it is not being given similar treatment, for the very good reason that no other such area, even without acreage restrictions, has an excessive production or inventory of sugar. As I have stated, no other domestic area is producing today more sugar than is permitted under its existing quota.

Also, the domestic refineries lose no refining volume, for our proposal merely substitutes Louisiana and Florida raw sugar for foreign raw sugar, all of which must be refined.

The Republic of the Philippines, which is given special quota treatment under the Act, cannot properly complain of our proposal because that nation is not producing more than its existing quota of sugar and, therefore, under the Act as presently written is unable to participate in the deficits of other areas to which she is now entitled.

With respect to other foreign countries, the framers of the Sugar Act have given preference to the Western Hemisphere Countries. Let us, therefore, see if these foreign Western Hemisphere Countries have any valid ground to complain of our proposal which, as I have pointed out, is so essential in protecting the welfare of the farmers and processors of Louisiana and Florida, two states of our own nation.

Attached to my statement as "Exhibit C" is a chart which clearly shows that *the foreign Western Hemisphere Countries have benefited greatly and continue to benefit under the 1965 amendments to the Sugar Act. In fact they benefit to a greater degree than does the Mainland Cane Area.* "Exhibit C" shows very vividly how very well the foreign Western Hemisphere Countries have fared since 1964 and how the Mainland Cane Area has fared during the same years. This chart clearly shows that even if there had been no deficit reallocations whatsoever, the quotas of these foreign countries would have been increased each consecutive year since 1964. Therefore, these deficit reallocations were not solely responsible for these increased quotas. They only added to the very substantial increases already permitted under the 1965 amendments to the Act.

Please note, the solution to our problem proposed by us does not take from any foreign country any portion of its basic quota nor any portion of the Cuban quota which they now receive. Under the proposal we would be allotted only a part of the Puerto Rican deficit. Next, also please bear in mind that in adopting the 1965 Amendments, the Congress did not allocate all of the Puerto Rican deficit to Western Hemisphere Countries, but rather allocated 47.22% of that deficit to the Philippine Islands. The Act then says if the Philippine Islands cannot use this 47.22%, it finally goes to the Western Hemisphere Countries.

Therefore, this 47.22% then goes to the Western Hemisphere Countries under the present Act not as a primary or not as a secondary beneficiary, but only after the primary and secondary beneficiaries have shown an inability to use this quantity of quota. Therefore, it appears obvious to us that in 1965, when the present quota provisions were formulated, the receipt of this 47.22% by the Western Hemisphere Countries could not have been a realistic expectancy in the minds of anyone, but at the most could have been only a hope. Actually, the quantity resulting from the allocation of this 47.22% would solve our problem.

We now direct your attention to that portion of the "Exhibit C" chart which shows 1968, assuming our proposal is enacted by the Congress. It also assumes a Puerto Rican deficit of 550,000 tons, a consumption estimate of 10,600,000 tons and that 250,000 tons were allotted to our area under our proposal. While restoring the welfare of the farmers and processors of our Mainland Cane Area, the negligible effect on the Western Hemisphere Countries becomes obvious.

At this point, in considering the position of any foreign country, let us not forget or overlook the rather serious balance of payment problem that our nation is experiencing today, and that our proposal would contribute towards the solution of mitigation of the balance of payment problem. It has been stated by those who apparently oppose any solution to our predicament that there is no merit to our "balance of payment" argument, since we have a favorable balance of payment position with these Western Hemisphere Countries; and a cut in our purchases from those countries would only reduce their ability to purchase from the United States. Obviously, if we were considering a choice between a reduction in purchases from Western Hemisphere Foreign Countries and from other foreign countries, we should reduce purchases from other foreign countries where we have an unfavorable balance of payment and of trade. But Louisiana and Florida are not foreign countries. They are a part of the United States and make all of their purchases in the United States. Every dollar spent in purchasing Louisiana and Florida sugar stays in the United States.

It has been said recently by our opposition that a change in the quota provisions of the Sugar Act now "would destroy the delicate balance which the Congress achieved in 1965." We specifically deny that a "delicate balance" was achieved in 1965. The results were reached as a result of "horse trading", if you will, and concessions made out of necessity as I have previously stated. The "balance" is not too delicate when we consider that under the 1965 Amendments it was anticipated that the domestic share of the total U.S. market would be more than 61% whereas in 1967 the share was actually only 57%. More significant, in considering the excess inventory position of the farmers and processors of our area compared to the deficit position of most other domestic producing areas, it must be admitted, we find not "delicate balance" but gross imbalance, the very antithesis of balance.

It is said by those who desire to prevent a reasonable solution to this serious problem, that our proposal violates an agreement made in 1965 among the various segments of the domestic sugar industry, that the Sugar Act would not be reopened until it was necessary to do so in considering an extension of the Act prior to the end of 1971. This is not a correct statement. No agreement reached among the domestic sugar producing areas took away from any of them the right of the producers of any area to reopen the Act in circumstances such as prevail today. A proposed written agreement was prepared which if entered into would have precluded the participating parties from reopening the Act under any circumstances. That proposal was not agreed to.

It should be obvious that representatives of the Mainland Cane Sugar Area would not have and could not have agreed in 1965 to any stipulation or condition which would permit our acreage to be reduced by 35% without an effort on our part to correct this situation. The specific language used by us in 1965 in refusing to enter such an agreement was that we did not have a crystal ball good enough to permit our agreeing unconditionally to the terms and provisions of the Sugar Act through the year 1971. We did agree, that if an attempt were to be made by us to reopen the Act prior to 1971 we would first speak with representatives of the other domestic areas and explain our situation. This we did do on March 4th of this year.

We have been warned of the dangers involved in reopening the Sugar Act because of other amendments that may be proposed. We are cognizant of such possible dangers, and such dangers always exist to a more or less degree. However, this is somewhat like a warning to a drowning man of the danger of stepping in quicksand if he is able to get out of the water. The known danger and consequences of the severe acreage reduction which we face at this moment, necessarily outweigh those unknown dangers which might possibly result from reopening the Act. We have confidence in the fairness of this committee and its ability to obtain passage of a bill which is equitable for all concerned.

It has been claimed that our proposal would hurt the sugar market by introducing too much sugar into the Gulf area. Last year, 1,862,000 short tons of sugar were imported into the Gulf area. Our proposal merely substitutes a relatively small quantity of domestic sugar for foreign sugar. That argument is therefore without merit.

Let me emphasize, and I ask you to carefully note and bear in mind, that in the Sugar Act the domestic sugar industry was divided into "areas" because of convenience and geography. Unfortunately because of this division into areas, many persons in considering our problem are too prone to talk and think in terms of that large impersonal grouping referred to as an "area". But, an area has no mind and no body. As such, an area cannot feel the pangs of hunger nor the pain of economic catastrophe. The framers of the Sugar Act in declaring one of the purposes of the Act is "to protect the welfare . . . of those engaged in the domestic sugar-producing industry" were obviously not thinking of an area. They were thinking of people, of the welfare of the individual sugar cane and sugar beet farmers and processors each of whom is a citizen of these United States, each of whom is engaged in the domestic sugar producing industry and each of whom is a human being or comprised of human beings and entitled to protection. This is so whether the producer's farm is located near Clewiston, Florida, or near Lewiston, Utah, or in the Red River Valley of Louisiana or the Red River Valley of North Dakota and Minnesota. The requirements of the Sugar Act are not satisfactorily met by pointing to an area total when people within that area are seriously damaged.

Finally, I ask you to also bear in mind that if this problem is not solved now, in 1968, it will not solve itself in 1969. It will not be gone tomorrow morning like a bad dream. Unless corrective measures are taken now, the problem will be compounded and worsened by production from the 1968 crop. Our effective inventory on January 1, 1969 will exceed our effective inventory on January 1, 1968. Therefore, necessarily our efforts must continue, and if we are not now successful will continue and be redoubled out of desperation. Because we believe the American people and their representatives in the Congress of the United States are fair and just we must and do believe that we will succeed in our efforts to protect ourselves, because our cause is fair and just.

EXHIBIT A

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., April 16, 1968.

DEAR SIR: This is in reply to your letter of April 4, signed also by other members of the Louisiana Congressional Delegation, in which you asked for replies to five questions. Our answers are in the same order as your questions. A similar letter is also being sent to the other members of the Delegation.

1. The total sugarcane acreage allotment for the mainland cane sugar area for the 1968 crop is 84.9 percent of the total acreage for the area's unrestricted 1964 crop.

2. It is difficult to estimate the additional acreage cut the Department must impose for the 1969 crop in the absence of new legislation. The principal difficulties are that we do not know how much sugar the 1968 crop will yield nor what the yield per acre for the 1969 crop may be. The yield of sugar per acre for the 1966 crop was 2.37 tons and for the 1967 crop, 2.83 tons. Weather was ideal in Florida for the 1966 crop and in both States for the 1967 crop. The prime question is to what extent favorable weather influenced the yields and to what extent improved varieties were responsible. A further question arises with respect to inventories which are now larger than desirable. However, assuming (1) effective inventories on January 1, 1970 (sugar on hand plus that to be processed from the crop after the turn of the year) at the same level they were at the beginning of this year, and (2) yields for the 1968 and 1969 crops of 2.60 tons of sugar per acre (the average for the good crop years of 1966 and 1967), a reduction of 22.5 percent from the 1968 acreage would be required.

3. No other domestic sugar producing area has acreage restrictions for the 1968 crop.

4. There is no possibility of production reduction restrictions in Hawaii or Puerto Rico for the 1969 crop. The possibility exists with respect to the sugarbeet area. Beet sugar inventories are unusually low and need to be replenished. On the other hand, sugarbeet growers expect to plant an acreage this year which with average yields would produce somewhat more sugar than the area's 1968 marketing quota. During the late summer, it is possible that the progress of the crop would suggest higher-than-average yields. In that case, the question would arise should the 1969 crop be restricted as a safeguard against the possibility of both larger acreage and, for a second successive year, high yields. A hearing will be held on this matter during the summer.

5. Cane sugar refiners distributed 6,684,443 short tons, raw value, of sugar in 1964; 6,737,550 in 1965; 7,040,740 in 1966; and 7,183,563 in 1967.

We will be happy to furnish any further information you may wish.

Sincerely yours,

TOM O. MURPHY,
Director, Sugar Policy Staff.

THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF ALASKA

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I am joining the distinguished gentlewoman from Missouri, LEONOR K. SULLIVAN and 107 other Members of this body, as a cosponsor in legislation to provide greater flexibility in assuring that no American has cause to go hungry in this land of plenty and I wish to associate myself fully with the remarks of the Congresswoman from Missouri.

In Alaska we have many native residents who reside in areas of extreme and abject poverty. One of our native leaders during a recent trip to Washington asked a cab driver to take him to the worst slums in the area. After viewing several riot-torn areas which were the subject of national news coverage this last April, the native leader commented, all these areas have electricity—many Alaskan native villages have none; all these areas have sewers and pure water piped directly into the buildings—many Alaskan native villages have none; all these areas have paved streets and sidewalks—many Alaskan native villages have none; all these areas were readily accessible to grocery stores, drugstores, or other necessary commodities which are taken for granted—many Alaskan native villages have none.

Although I fully realize that this proposed legislation is somewhat of a departure from the cherished principles of specifying in advance the exact amount to be authorized, I firmly believe the circumstances of human dignity require special and urgent consideration.

Mr. Speaker, the food stamp program can help many needy Alaskans and I urge speedy action.

TALKS ARE JUST A PHASE OF WAR TO COMMUNISTS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Spartanburg, S.C., Herald of June 3 contains an editorial entitled "Talks Just a Phase of War to Communists."

This timely editorial reflects the feelings of a great part of the American public who think and hope that the talks in Paris will bring some kind of acceptable peace in Vietnam. The editor points out that many Americans have been misled in placing too high a value on the Vietnam peace talks and that they are expecting too much too soon. He also tells of the warning by a group of prominent citizens that there is unmistakable evidence that Ho Chi Minh thinks of negotiations as another way to fight a war. In effect, the North Vietnamese leader views negotiations as just another weapons system to employ in combat.

Many Americans who did not agree with the war in Vietnam before are strangely quiet now that the peace talks in Paris have begun. For the first time, they are seeing the obstinance of the Communist negotiators as well as their brutal step up of fighting in South Vietnam.

The editor concludes with the thought that one-way deescalation will not do and that soon the United States will have to reassert its determination not to capitulate either on the battlefield in Vietnam or at the conference table in Paris.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TALKS JUST A PHASE OF WAR TO COMMUNISTS

Fervent hopes have sprung up in American hearts that, soon, the fighting in Vietnam will cease. The boys, we hope, will be coming home instead of dying.

But the contradiction of headlines in the daily press underlines, all too clearly, that the dream of peace remains just that.

Each side on the battlefield struggles to gain a record of victory and a position of strength to back up its negotiators in Paris.

The headlines from Paris keep alive the expectation of eventual settlement. After all, the Communists would not remain in conference there if they were not willing, at some point, to reach some agreement.

From Vietnam, the headlines tell of more intensified fighting: "Americans Dying at Record Rate During Peace Talks."

"Many Americans have been misled into placing too high a value on Vietnam peace talks and expecting 'too much too soon,'" a group of prominent citizens warned recently. The group included, besides numerous religious, eduational and business leaders, former President Dwight Eisenhower, former Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois, James B. Conant, Gen. Omar Bradley and Gen. Lucius Clay.

"There is unmistakable evidence that Ho Chi Minh thinks of negotiations as another way to fight a war—in effect, as another weapons system," they said.

The history of the tortuous negotiations that took place in the midst of the Korean war is classic proof of the truth of this statement.

Eventually, however, the Red Chinese realized that pressure on the battlefield was gaining them nothing at the bargaining table and got down to serious discussion about an armistice. It has not yet dawned on the North Vietnamese that we, no more than they, are not about to give up in Paris that which we have not lost, and do not intend to lose, in the paddies and jungles of South Vietnam.

Thus the insanity continues and the discouraging headlines and heartbreaking casualties repeat themselves week after week.

If there has been no progress in Paris so far, how much can there be as long as one side refuses to agree to the first step toward peace, a mutual scaling down of military activity—indeed, refuses even to admit that a single one of its soldiers is on the soil of South Vietnam?

Those who protested so much against America's involvement in the war are strangely silent now. Those who complained of America's inhumanity are amazingly blind to Hanoi's brutal step-up of the fighting.

Soon, the United States must reassert its determination not to capitulate, either at the battleline in Vietnam or the conference table in Paris.

One-way de-escalation will not do.

MEDAL OF HONOR WINNERS

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to boast about the largest city in my district and its record for producing Medal of Honor winners.

Of the 33 Medal of Honor winners from the Vietnam war, at least three are or have been residents of Lincoln, Nebr.

Lincoln is the hometown of Army Sp5c. Charles Hagemeister who was honored by the President of the United States at a Pentagon ceremony May 14. His mother, Mrs. Alvina Hagemeister, was present at that time.

Another man honored the same day was Air Force Capt. Gerald O. Young, who lived in Lincoln with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Orren V. Young, until they moved to Colorado. His grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Clint Young, still are Nebraska residents.

The third man was Army 2d Lt. Robert J. Hibbs who attended Southeast High School in Lincoln from 1954 to 1957 and was awarded the Medal of Honor posthumously in November 1966.

Hagemeister, 21, was recommended for the Medal of Honor for 6 hours of continuous heroism in a vicious fight on the coastal plain of South Vietnam. Army officials estimated Hagemeister, a medic, killed six or seven enemy soldiers, using a .45-caliber pistol, a M–16 rifle, and a M–79 grenade launcher, which he picked up off the battlefield. He exposed himself to enemy fire repeatedly to treat and evacuate the wounded of his 1st Air Cavalry Division platoon.

His commendation stated:

> Specialist Hagemeister's repeated heroic and selfless actions at the risk of his own life saved the lives of many of his comrades and inspired their actions in repelling the enemy assault.

He has seven other awards for his duty in Vietnam.

Captain Young was commander of a helicopter rescue crew that was shot down in November of 1967. He got himself and a wounded companion out of the burning helicopter, evaded the enemy, and observed them setting up automatic weapons as a trap around the downed craft.

For more than 17 hours, despite severe pain, Young refused offers of help until it was safe for rescuers to land in the sea.

These Lincolnites, Hagemeister, Young, and Hibbs, have name plates in the Pentagon's new Hall of Heroes. They represented their State and served their country admirably.

FREEDOM BY LAW

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Sid Rufus, 5232 44th Street NW., Washington, D.C., attempted to submit a letter to the editor of the Washington Post, which he entitled "Freedom by Law." The text was returned to him by the editorial department of the Post.

Mr. Rufus, in submitting the paper to me, says:

> I am not a writer. I am a broken-down working man . . . retired on social security

disability pittance. I've tried for this Equal Opportunity stuff you hear about, hoping for a chance to take an education course in writing and have the opportunity of augmenting the pittance. But no avail; no smoke; I am white and I am not a welfare case. I tried from H.E.W. on down to Rehabilitation and hit brick walls. And like I said: I have no voice to speak on my behalf.

As I would like to afford Mr. Rufus the opportunity of having his views heard, I welcome this opportunity to include the full text of his letter at this point in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM BY LAW

(By Sid Rufus)

Man is man because he was so created or because he evolved into being. From either viewpoint human beings are Homo sapiens, the most sapient, sagacious, and perceptive of the species. They enjoy not the privileges of a Garden of Eden nor the instinctive freedoms of the laws of nature. Man must produce or procure his own food, clothing and shelter. He provides for his own being, and must initiate systems of order to protect himself from his own kind. Natural laws of the cosmic order are ever present for him to observe and study and employ to his advantage and for his benefit in the constant struggle of civilization, the struggle of mankind. But only man-made laws, rules enacted and *enforced* by man himself, can protect him from himself, from his fellow man. As nature is governed by an order of natural laws and is free only as those laws prescribe, so are men only as free as the laws of their societies proclaim—as free as their temporal statutes condone and their spiritual philosophies advise. Mankind determines its own welfare and decides its own freedoms—so it has been decreed by a Higher Court, a paramount Judgment.

Since neolithic history man has sought ways to govern and protect his specie; to be a family, a community, a civilization. Laws have been made and used. Nations have been born. Governments have been formed and reformed.

Out of the long history of government by the sword there has come a government by the people. There has risen a nation free from dictation—a free country which has begun a free world, and which now holds that position of responsibility in a changing civilization. That nation, of course, is ours—a nation of us people, by us, for us. The greatest piece of governing legislation yet written is the Constitution of the United States of America, a firm and solid yet amendable set of guiding rules—flexible enough to ride with the changing tides and winds of time but strong enough to hold and stand on its foundation of truth and justice.

Though written in a period when prevailing circumstances and conditions prevented legislating certain inalienable rights as declared in the Declaration of Independence, the wisdom and foresight of Article Five of that manifesto has kept the doors open for better legislation, for amendments calling for new laws, to changes bringing full rights and liberties to all citizens. Reviewing the bloody history of mankind's fight for freedom, our own liberties should *never* be taken for granted nor allowed to be challenged in *any* manner. They are too precious and too hard to come by. Ours is not a freedom by dictation. It is not a freedom of nature. It is not an endowment by the Creator. Ours is a Freedom by Law.

Willful disobedience of one law does not insure enactment of another. A law—itself—may, under our democratic system of justice, be challenged and tested as just or unjust and thereby be given its day in court, to be proven right or wrong by the judicial administration of our free society. But to deliberately misuse, abuse, or defy laws pertinent to the safety and welfare of others, to inconvenience and incite danger to innocent people or damage to property is to aid and abet the enemies of freedom and destroy freedom itself.

Antisocialists who would place themselves outside or above the law would find it easier and wiser to live within the law of the land. Laws of the jungle are much more severe than the laws of democracy, and the laws of totalitarianism are much more restricting than those of a free people—free to dissent.

Our law insuring freedom of speech is so written as to allow one to express his opinion without slander to another. The laws granting us the privileges to assemble and to demonstrate are so written as to permit people to gather and act without subversion of those privileges, without threat to our democratic way of living. Our freedom is constituted by law and protected by law.

Citizens, regardless of title or position, who advocate and openly preach massive civil-disobedience are as guilty and as dangerous to our freedom as are any hooded hoodlums who, too, take the law into their own hands. Delinquents, juvenile or adult, not brought to justice, threaten destruction of a free society. The summoning of groups or the assembling of masses to break the law incites violence, violence breeds rioting, rioting invites martial law, and martial law constitutes a police state. A police state is not a free state.

Without proper organization of law and order to guide and control him, man would be the lowest of the animals; his sapient intelligence would make him so.

THE LATE SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, this is a very sad day for America. Once again our Nation has been shocked by the horrible murder of one of its young and able leaders by an act of insane violence. This is not only a senseless and outrageous crime perpetrated by a fanatic, whose bullet was laden with hatred, but one that will only serve to aggravate our problems rather than solve anything.

This crime is totally repulsive to all decent Americans. Our way of life is not violence. American society has always lived and thrived on morality, justice, freedom, tolerance, understanding, and law and order. Alien ideologies and principles based on anarchy, violence, and chaos have no place in America. They only serve to divide our people and to weaken us at a time when we should stand united and strong in the face of attacks from abroad.

Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY gave his life for his people and his country. Like his brother, the late President John F. Kennedy, he too died in the service of his Nation whose honor, prestige, and way of life he tried to uphold. He was a statesman and patriot of the first order, he had abiding faith in America, and as such he represented the very fiber of the heart and soul of our Nation.

Now we are bereft of a very capable leader who, had he been privileged to live, would surely have continued to render great service to the people of the United States. Unfortunately, he was not destined to do so. In this most tragic hour for the Nation as a whole, our hearts go out to his family whose loss is so overwhelming. We can only weep with them in silence, but completely shaken to the very depths of our souls. His sudden and tragic death is a tremendous loss for all of us.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES DESERVE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, together with a number of my colleagues I am sponsor of legislation to guarantee the right of Federal employees to join, or refrain from joining, employee groups, associations, or unions. I believe it should be the right of every employee of the U.S. Government to join a union and participate in its lawful activities. But I also believe that these employees have a corresponding right, equally as important, to refrain from joining if they so choose. Apparently there are many Federal employees in my district who share this view. I have received numerous letters, including petitions with many signatures, from persons employed by the Federal Government in Utah urging that a right-to-work bill for Government workers be enacted. In a recent editorial the Ogden Standard-Examiner spoke up forcefully in favor of this legislation. Its message merits the full consideration of Members of Congress and I, therefore, take this occasion to bring it to their attention:

U.S. EMPLOYEES RIGHT-TO-WORK RULE

A strange—and disturbing—silence still hangs over the White House in connection with presidential Executive Order No. 10988.

This order, issued originally by President Kennedy, governs the federal government's own labor-management relationships.

The latest available figures show that Uncle Sam had more than 2,634,000 civilian employes, including 38,000 in Utah, most of them in the Greater Ogden Area.

At stake in proposed amendments to Order No. 10988 is the right-to-work of all of these thousands of federal workers, particularly their right to join—or not join—a union.

Hearings on the possibility of changing the order were conducted last October, but a peculiar veil of silence has settled over the status of the order ever since.

A few weeks ago columnist Ralph de Toledano, in an article printed on this page of the Standard-Examiner, wrote that a move was afoot toward what amounts to compulsory union membership for the federal workers.

This report caused, as it should, widespread consternation among the Civil Service employes throughout the country, particularly in our area.

Hundreds of telephone calls were made and telegrams and letters sent to members of the Utah congressional delegation, protesting such arbitrary action.

Compulsory unionism would not only build an ultra-powerful political machine but would enrich the treasuries of the labor organizations involved to the tune of many millions of dollars. Most importantly, the right of decision on unionism would be taken away from those working for the federal government.

As a direct result, Utah Sen. Wallace F. Bennett has introduced a bill in the Senate that would guarantee the U.S. employes their basic, fundamental right to choose whether or not they should join a union.

Identical legislation has been introduced in the House by Rep. Benjamin B. Blackburn, Georgia Republican, on behalf of himself and 11 other sponsors, including Utah's First District Republican representative, Laurence J. Burton.

Both legislators, in presenting their bills, emphasized that Executive Order 10988, as originally issued on Jan. 17, 1962, by President Kennedy contained this clause.

"Employees of the federal government shall have, and shall be protected in the exercise of, the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join and assist any employee organization or to refrain from such activity."

They also pointed out that then-Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg had, on Jan. 20, 1962, told members of the American Federation of Government Employes that "the union shop and the closed shop are inappropriate to the federal government."

Secretary Goldberg had added that organizations, to gain members, would have to "win acceptance by your own conduct, your own action, your own wishes, your own wisdom, your own responsibility and your own achievements."

So the original opposition to any infringement on federal employes' right-to-work is clear.

Yet, the rumors keep cropping up—as reported in the De Toledano column—that "union security" clauses will be written into Executive Order 10988 by amendments, unless prevented by congressional action.

The Standard-Examiner has repeatedly tried to ascertain from its Washington sources just what the White House proposes to do about amending the order. Every query is met with "no comment."

Until the Johnson administration shows signs to the contrary, we can only interpret this continued silence as support for the rumors that compulsory unionism is being considered.

And as long as that threat remains, Sen. Bennett, Rep. Blackburn, Rep. Burton and others of a like mind are certainly acting in the best interests of our country in pushing for enactment of their bills which they would call the Federal Employe Freedom of Choice Act of 1968.

TESTIMONY IN OTEPKA CASE REFERRED TO JUSTICE DEPARTMENT FOR POSSIBLE PROSECUTION

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, at its regular meeting on June 5, 1968, the Senate Judiciary Committee adopted the following resolution to be referred to the Justice Department for review of possiable prosecution charges:

Resolved by the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States, That testimony given before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary, by John F. Reilly, David I. Belisle, and Elmer D. Hill, with regard to the Otepka case, shall be referred to the Department of Justice for a determination with respect to whether any prosecution is warranted.

ADM. HUSBAND E. KIMMEL: ONE OF OUR GREATEST MILITARY MARTYRS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, anyone whose memory extends back to December 7, 1941, can never forget the shock resulting from the infamous Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. To most of our citizens the attack came as a complete surprise. Relatively few then realized that it was the culmination of a long and determined effort to involve the United States in the war then going on in Europe.

The story of this involvement, based on examination of State Department confidential correspondence and manuscripts in the National Archives and Library of Congress, was published in 1952 by the Henry Regnery Co. of Chicago, in the monumental book by Dr. Charles C. Tausill, "Back Door to War: Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1933–41."

There were two official scapegoats of that attack, Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short, Commanding General of the U.S. Army in Hawaii, and Adm. Husband E. Kimmel, Commander in Chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet then based at Pearl Harbor.

General Short died in 1949 and thus did not live to see his own vindication.

Admiral Kimmel expired on May 14, 1968, having lived long enough to see his name vindicated by the well-informed public.

Because of the historic association of Admiral Kimmel with Pearl Harbor, I quote a most illuminatory obituary on him from the Evening Star of May 15, 1968, and an admirable editorial appraisal in the Chicago Tribune of May 16 as part of my remarks, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 15, 1968]

ADM. KIMMEL, 86, IS DEAD—COMMANDED AT PEARL HARBOR

Rear Adm. Husband E. Kimmel, 86, commander of the Pacific Fleet when Japan's sneak attack on Pearl Harbor drew the United States into World War II, died yesterday at his home in Groton, Conn., of an apparent heart attack.

He was one of the two officers who bore the brunt of criticism after Japanese bombers on Dec. 7, 1941, shattered the fleet anchored at the Hawaiian base.

He and the late Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short, Army commander in Hawaii, were relieved of their commands within 10 days. Adm. Kimmel retired three months later, and spent much of his time since defending his record against what he called "a bum rap."

In an interview on the 25th anniversary of the disaster, he said, "My principal occupation—what's kept me alive—is to expose the entire Pearl Harbor affair."

ASSAILED ROOSEVELT

Adm. Kimmel was the No. 2 Navy man in America, commander of the combined U.S. and Pacific fleets, when Japan knocked out 18 ships and killed 3,435 Americans in the Pearl Harbor attack. He was second only to the chief of naval operations.

"They made me the scapegoat," he said in the interview last year. "They wanted to get the United States into the war."

By "they," he explained, "That was President Roosevelt and Gen. George Marshall and others in the Washington high command.

"FDR was the architect of the whole business. He gave orders—and I can't prove this categorically—that no word about Japanese fleet movements was to be sent to Pearl Harbor except by Marshall and then he told Marshall not to send anything."

A few weeks after the most stinging defeat ever suffered by the American Navy, a presidential board of inquiry laid "dereliction of duty" to Adm. Kimmel and Gen. Short, who died in Dallas, Tex., in 1949.

CALLED ERRORS OF JUDGMENTS

But four years later, a congressional investigating committee reported there had been "errors of judgment" but that these were "not derelictions of duty."

Adm. Kimmel, fighting to the end to clear his record, predicted that history eventually would clear him.

Former President Harry S. Truman, a senator at the time, charged the disaster came in large part from rivalry and communications problems between the Army and the Navy. When he became president, Truman successfully sponsored the unification of the armed forces under a secretary of defense.

JAPANESE CODE BROKEN

Security reasons kept Kimmel from making public until 1946 his own version of the incidents leading up to the attack. He said then that Washington withheld from him intercepted Japanese messages which might have made Pearl Harbor into a U.S. ambush to trap the Japanese.

A congressional investigation revealed the United States had broken the most secret Japanese communications but that neither Adm. Kimmel nor Gen. Short had been informed of it—for fear of alerting the Japanese that their code had been broken.

Fleet Adm. Ernest J. King, wartime chief of naval operations, said in 1948 that Adm. Kimmel and Adm. Harold R. Stark, chief of naval operations on Dec. 7, 1941, had been guilty of "errors of judgment as distinguished from culpable inefficiency."

Army and Navy inquiry boards found that errors of judgment in both Washington and Hawaii had contributed to the American loss, but that a court martial was not warranted.

LOST TRACK OF UNITS

A congressional committee discovered that some days prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, American intelligence had lost track of some major units of the Japanese fleet.

The 1941 naval war plans chief, Adm. Richmond Kelly Turner, testified before the committee that he had concluded that most of Japan's navy was at sea.

Some of the Japanese units appeared committed for action in the South China Sea, he said, but he thought that there was an even chance that the rest of the fleet would raid Hawaii.

Adm. Kimmel, Adm. Turner testified, had been warned sufficiently to be prepared for an attack there.

Eight members of the 10-man Senate-House investigating committee blamed military men in Washington and Hawaii, and said President Roosevelt and his cabinet acted "with distinction, ability and foresight."

Two Republican senators said in a minority report, however, that Roosevelt and others high in civil and military authority had failed to fulfill their responsibilities.

Three years after the congressional hearing, Adm. Kimmel told a reporter: "I rested my case then, and I shall rest it with the public, having made all the facts of which I was cognizant available to them."

An Annapolis graduate, Adm. Kimmel had specialized in gunnery and administrative work.

He served in European waters in World War I, emerged as a commander and made captain in 1926 and rear admiral in 1937. For three years he was budget officer of the Navy Department.

At one time he had served as aide to Roosevelt, who passed over many senior officers years later to give Adm. Kimmel the top Pacific command. At the time of the attack, Adm. Kimmel was at 59 one of the youngest fleet commanders in modern history.

Adm. Kimmel went to Groton in 1947 and built a home there after he gave up a job as a consultant with a New York Engineering firm.

He leaves his wife, the former Dorothy Kinkaid; two sons, Edward of Wilmington, Del., and Navy Capt. Thomas K., of Annapolis; a brother, Manning M. of Hampton, Va., and nine grandchildren, one of whom, Thomas K. Jr., was graduated from Annapolis in 1966.

Services will be at 11 a.m. Friday at St. Andrew's Chapel at the Naval Academy, with burial in the Academy cemetery.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, May 16, 1968]

A MILITARY MARTYR

Rear Adm. Husband E. Kimmel, commander in chief of the Pacific fleet when Pearl Harbor was attacked by Japan from the air on Dec. 7, 1941, is dead at the age of 86. He was the victim of a political cover-up by the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt and its military hangers-on and went to his grave without formal vindication, but with the honor, sympathy, and exculpation of his professional associates and all those countrymen aware of the shabby processes by which he was made the scapegoat for the disaster.

Altho vilified by the artfully contrived propaganda of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, Kimmel was a model of fortitude under adversity. It was the sedulous object of this propaganda to plant the impression that the admiral and his army opposite in Hawaii, the late Gen. Walter C. Short, were solely to blame for the enemy success which ushered the United States into World War II.

The late Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, a Republican interventionist, brought into Roosevelt's Democratic cabinet, was first dispatched to Pearl Harbor to make an inquiry Upon his return, he and Roosevelt ordered the removal of Kimmel as commander of the fleet. Gen. George C. Marshall, army chief of staff, in combination with Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, took similar action against Gen. Short.

A Presidential commission headed by Justice Owen J. Roberts of the Supreme court then appeared in Hawaii to justify this summary procedure. It acted under Roosevelt's orders to limits its findings to "derelictions of duty or error of judgment on the part of the United States army or navy personnel." These instructions excluded any consideration of responsibilities in official Washington.

The Roberts commission dutifully held that Kimmel and Short were guilty of "dereliction of duty." The administration thruout the war indulged in the pretense that it was only waiting for the end of hostilities to bring Kimmel and Short before a general court martial. Adm. Kimmel bore this stain on his reputation with stoicism, as he did the loss of his eldest son in action with the navy in the far Pacific.

Neither the admiral nor Gen. Short was ever given his day in court. Adm. Kimmel's first opportunity to tell his story was before the joint congressional committee which investigated Pearl Harbor after the war. His rebuttal of the charges was lost among the millions of words of transcript which concealed the salient facts about Pearl Harbor. In 1955 he published his account in "Admiral Kimmel's Story."

Until the war was over, it was never disclosed that American intelligence had broken the Japanese "purple" code 17 months before Pearl Harbor and that Washington authorities were privileged to read in advance the unmistakable intention of Japan to go to war and to attack Pearl Harbor. This wealth of information was never communicated to Kimmel and Short.

The administration's strategy was that Japan should be maneuvered into firing the first shot in such a way as "would unite all our people." Adm. Kimmel maintained that the Pacific fleet was regarded as an expendable "lure for a Japanese attack" to serve this purpose. Altho Washington, for the record, sent him various contradictory and ambiguous "warnings," without ever mentioning the decoded information at its disposal, it also ordered him to strip his Oahu defenses at the very time the attack was coming.

Adm. William F. Halsey, commander of the famous 3d fleet, commenting on the devices by which the admiral was made the scapegoat, told Kimmel, "I believe you and Short were the greatest military martyrs this country ever produced, and that your treatment was outrageous."

Kimmel's own judgment was: "I cannot excuse those in authority in Washington for what they did. They will be judged at the bar of history. In my book they must answer on the Day of Judgment like any other criminal."

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY'S MESSAGE FOR DELIVERY TO THE AIR FORCE ACADEMY

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the tragedy which befell this Nation yesterday morning caused Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY to cancel his appearance and commencement address at the Air Force Academy graduation exercises.

Before his departure, Vice President HUMPHREY prepared a message to be read to the graduating class by Secretary of the Air Force, Dr. Harold Brown. I would like at this time to insert that message into the RECORD:

MESSAGE OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, AIR FORCE ACADEMY, COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO., JUNE 5, 1968

I am sure that the class of 1968 will understand the circumstances which prevent me from joining them on this day.

I leave with you some thoughts upon the events of last evening.

Our sorrow is for the man and for his family which has already known too much tragedy. Our grief is that this dreadful act should follow on other dreadful acts of violence which have taken place in the recent history of this country.

How can we explain these acts within the framework of our free and democratic society? What is the flaw which reoccurs among us and brings us such shame?

We cannot explain. We can only determine as a free people that such madness shall not reoccur.

Today our needs as a nation are clear: To be strong . . . to face the full reality of what this dreadful act means . . . and to pray.

No nation conceived upon the proposition that free men are able to peacefully govern themselves can do otherwise than to go on with its work—the work of building a society where tensions and hate may finally be replaced by unity and love.

May God, in His infinite mercy, be with those who are the victims of this shameful act and may God forgive and help us all.

POVERTY IN MINNEAPOLIS: LIKE IT IS, BABY—II

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the following article, which appeared in a Minneapolis Star series entitled, "Poverty in Minneapolis: Like It Is, Baby":

A CITY IS DYING: THE YOUNG AND MORE PROSPEROUS FLEE TO THE SUBURBS—THE POOR REMAIN—OUR CITY IS FOLLOWING THE SAME PATTERN

(By David Nimmer)

Plymouth Avenue is wide, bright and spacious looking. Big elm trees shade parts of the street. On a warm summer day it's a nice place to walk.

But as you walk down the avenue, the remains of buildings burned during last summer's violence stand out. Where there used to be windows, there is now plywood.

Off Plymouth on the side streets are the homes.

In one block on Irving Av. N., there is a neat, freshly painted frame house. The lawn has been raked and a small flower garden surrounds the house. The house looks as though it would fit in along the shores of Lake Nokomis.

Across the street and a few houses down, a dilapidated duplex stands, the windows broken, the lawn cluttered with cans and bottles, the chimney crumbling and the shingles torn loose.

OUR IMAGES OF POVERTY

These contrasts—shade trees and boarded windows, neat lawns and crumbling chimneys—form the image of poverty areas in Minneapolis.

A visitor was touring the city's poverty areas several months ago. He said hardly a word as the car moved down the streets, past houses and small stores.

Finally, after a couple of hours, he remarked, "You know, my first impression was that Minneapolis doesn't really have any serious problems with blight and decay.

"I mean, you don't see the endless rows of tenements, with people stacked on top of another, that are so common in Chicago or Philadelphia or Boston.

OPEN YOUR EYES

"But," he continued, "when you really look—I mean, really open your eyes and look—you see the unmistakable signs of trouble.

"You see the 'For Sale' signs on lawns in the neighborhood around the Near North Side, you notice that the most common store front along Plymouth Av. is plywood and you remember that you must have counted at least a dozen boarded-up houses in the Phillips Neighborhood."

Only a few of the problems of poverty in the city are noticeable from a car window. Statistics tell more.

For instance, the Minneapolis City Council's Commission on Human Development studied census figures and welfare agency reports.

"We have found a city," the commission said, "that has been losing its population since 1950—a city that can no longer maintain its younger and more prosperous families.

FLEEING THE CITY

"The extent of the flight from the city becomes apparent when we observe the significance of our population figures—those over the age of 65 are increasing, the number of people earning under $5,000 a year is increasing, the minority populaton is on the rise and the number of above-average income families is on the decline.

"In short, our city is following the same pattern as other cities. The higher income groups are leaving and the poor remain."

POVERTY FACTS

Here are some of the facts about poverty the commission examined:

Of Minneapolis residents, 2.4 per cent were Negro and .8 per cent were other non-whites, mostly American Indians, according to the 1960 federal census. More recent estimates have put the Negro percentage at about 3.5 per cent.

Of the total number of families living in Minneapolis, 16,861 or 13.9 per cent had incomes of less than $3,000 per year.

While the median male income in the Twin City area, according to 1960 census data, was $6,500 a year, the median Negro income was only $3,301.

Among Indian families in the city, the average income is less than one-half that of the average white family.

THE PERCENTAGES

Nine out of 10 Negroes in Minneapolis live in just one-tenth of the city's area.

Almost 50 per cent of the city's nonwhite families live in substandard housing, and if it weren't for public housing the figure would be higher.

While the white unemployment rate in the Twin Cities is less than three per cent, the unemployment rate for Negro youths, between ages 16 and 21, ranges upward of 35 per cent in Minneapolis.

These problems are most severe among residents of three areas in the city—the Near North Side, the Central-Phillips Neighborhood and the South-Central area.

NEAR NORTH SIDE

The Near North area, which includes Plymouth Av., has general boundaries of the Mississippi River on the east, Penn Av. N. on the west, Olson Hwy. on the south and Golden Valley Road and 26th Av. N. on the north. It is one of the two areas in the city where the Negro population is concentrated.

Figures from the last census show that the median income for Near North Side families was below $5,000, compared with about $6,500 in the city.

A survey of housing showed that one out of every three housing units needed major repairs to make them safe and sanitary places in which to live.

More than half of all North Side housing units, including apartments and houses, are being rented. The percentage of home ownership in the area is the lowest in the city.

In census tract 34 on the North Side, just north of Olson Hwy., the median income for families is just below $3,500. In one of the city's more prosperous census tracts, the median family income is three times that amount.

CENTRAL-PHILLIPS

The Central-Phillips neighborhood, another of the city's poverty areas, is bounded by the downtown loop on the north, Lake St. on the south, Cedar and Hiawatha Avs. on the east and Nicollet Av. on the west.

Many parts of the neighborhood look cramped and cluttered. Houses along some of the blocks are so close together it looks as though they had been forced into the lots with a shoe horn. There's very little side yard or back yard space.

Several blocks along the north-south avenues in the neighborhood illustrate what the planners call "mixed land use."

On Bloomington Av., in the heart of the area, an abandoned filling station sits on a corner with its gas pumps rusting. Bottles, cans and other debris spill over onto the lots on either side.

THE ABANDONED CARS

Some of the streets in the neighborhood are narrow. Abandoned cars, many without tires or wheels, sit along the curbs, leaving no room for two-way traffic.

The social and physical problems in the Central-Phillips neighborhood are just as severe as those on the North Side.

Of the eight census tracts in the area, there is none where families have a median income that comes within $1,000 of the city-wide figures.

More than one-quarter of the housing units are classified as unsound and needing major repairs.

Of all residents in the neighborhood over the age of 25, only 35 percent have completed high school. In Minneapolis as a whole, about half the residents have completed high school.

In census tract 60 near the loop, one out of every six youngsters of school age has been in trouble with the police in the past year.

SOUTH-CENTRAL

The city's second concentration of Negroes is in the South-Central area, bounded by Lake St. on the north, E. 42nd St. on the south, Chicago Av. on the east and Nicollet Av. on the west. In many ways, the area resembles the better, more well-to-do neighborhoods of the city.

Most of the homes in the South-Central neighborhood are one-and-a-half or two-story single family dwellings. There is more side yard and back yard space on each lot than in either the Phillips or Near North areas.

The neighborhood generally shows signs of good housekeeping. Yards are neat, houses are painted and the alleys are clear of trash and litter.

The South-Central neighborhood gives the impression of being more open and spacious than the other areas. There are pine trees and shrubs in front of many homes.

THE "FOR SALE" SIGNS

The makeup of the population has been and is changing. Census figures for the past two decades show that younger, white families have been moving out of the neighborhood and Negro families moving in.

About one of every two blocks has at least one "For Sale" sign on the front lawn in front of a home. The Star checked 10 homes up for sale and found that eight of the 10 were owned by whites.

One mother—slight, blonde, about 30 years old—said: "We just felt like we ought to move. The makeup of the neighborhood is changing so fast. I'm worried about what will happen to the school."

I JUST HOPE

Two out of five census tracts in the South-Central area have concentrations of Negroes. Six out of every 10 residents of census tract 100, just south of Lake St., are Negroes.

"I just hope," said one South Side social worker, "that this area doesn't become a middle-class ghetto for Negroes."

THE MIRACLE

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, Miss Helen Keller, of Tuscumbia, Ala., who overcame blindness and deafness to become one of the world's great women, died at her home last Saturday.

Miss Keller is dead. But the miracle that she lived during her 88 years of life will not die, but will live on as proof that adversity can be conquered, the most severe handicap overcome.

In recognizing Miss Keller's triumph over adversity, I insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which tells of Miss Keller's achievements and offers hope for those who strive for the excellence Miss Keller so courageously attained:

THE MIRACLE

Helen Keller is dead. But the miracle that was fashioned from her 88 years of life must never be allowed to die. As long as it is remembered, no adversity can be unconquerable, no burden too great to bear.

It should be recognized, too, that Helen Keller's great mind could have remained locked forever in the prison of her stricken body, condemned to rage in impotent and hopeless fury against the walls of blindness and of deafness that isolated her. Helen Keller might have lived her life as a frightened, infuriated, wounded animal had it not been for her teacher, the late Annie Sullivan Macy.

Young Annie Sullivan, whose own eyesight had just been restored by an operation, was hired by Helen's parents to train their unteachable child. It was Miss Sullivan's firmness, tenderness, patience and faith that provided the key of communication. That key released one of the most eloquent, productive and creative intellects of our age.

Few, if any, will ever fully share Helen Keller's intellect, or her affliction. But many partake of both. Wherever men are barred by circumstance from a full realization of their potential—wherever a constructive mind turns in frustration to rage and to destruction—the miracle that was wrought by Helen Keller and by her teacher waits to be reworked.

HOW TEAMWORK MEANT SUCCESS

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I know that many communities are faced with shoplifting as a serious matter involving juveniles from the community. Some of you will recall an article in an issue of the Saturday Evening Post of a few weeks ago. In that article, David O. Webb, general manager of Robeson's department store of Champaign, Ill., was mentioned as chairman of a committee which organized a campaign to keep down shoplifting. This effort by Mr. Webb was assisted by many other businesses in the community. It was, in effect, largely an educational campaign by business with representatives from county and local schools. The police department in Champaign, Ill., cooperated in every area and it was an outstanding success. I attach herewith an editorial from the Champaign-Urbana News-Gazette of Friday, May 10, 1968, entitled "How Teamwork Meant Success." This will give my colleagues some idea of what an effort it takes to bring out such an accomplishment. Everybody in the Champaign-Urbana community is satisfied with the results and that is all that counts in the end.

HOW TEAMWORK MEANT SUCCESS

Champaign-Urbana's campaign against shoplifting is proof that divergent business in separate communities, working together with other leaders, can successfully develop and carry out a project which, ultimately, can attract nationwide attention. An article in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post has provided the evidence.

"How did you do it?" requests received by David O. Webb, general manager of Robeson's who was chairman of the committee which organized and conducted the campaign, have come from the four corners of the United States.

The project was a team effort by leaders in the Champaign-Urbana community. As general chairman, Webb asked three representatives of the Champaign Chamber of Commerce, three from the Urbana Association of Commerce and one each from the K-Mart Plaza and Country Fair Shopping Center to sit in on the original planning session.

The business leaders agreed the best way to accomplish their goal was through an educational campaign and asked representatives of county and local schools to participate. The group was further expanded to include juvenile officers and several more businessmen.

Was the campaign a success?

The answer was given by Lt. Delmar Dawkins of the Champaign Police Department's juvenile division. The Post quoted Dawkins: "It's hard to believe what's happened. Before the campaign, in an average week, we could always count on seven to ten cases. Now it's down to only two or three cases a week—and it's holding there."

Who were the men who planned and made the campaign the success it was? From the schools, Ernest Harshbarger, County Superintendent of Schools; Dr. Robert Cooley, Assistant Superintendent of Unit 4 Schools; Ralph Davis, Principal, Urbana High School, and Roger Marcum, Principal, Urbana Junior High School.

Juvenile authorities, H. Russell Burke, Champaign County Probation Officer, and Lt. Dawkins, Champaign Police Department. And these representatives of Champaign-Urbana stores: Webb; Don Marx, J. C. Penney Co.; Bernie Dunn, Rogards; Walter Buchanan, K-Mart Plaza; Mrs. Roena Wright, Country Fair Spudnut Shop; Harold Dooley and Oliver Cromwell, Carson Pirie Scott & Co.; W. H. Thompson and Robert Ras, Montgomery Ward & Co.; B. B. Wiese, Jos. Kuhn & Co.; John Dempster, Goldblatt's; and James Withers, Urbana Association of Commerce, and Clara Hodges, who, on her own time, coordinated the activities of the committee.

We salute these men and women for the success of their campaign.

WJW, CLEVELAND COMMENTS ON STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, in a recent address Cartha D. DeLoach, Assistant to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, stated:

> Any creed or action which promotes disrespect for law and encourages disobedience to constituted authority produces lawbreakers.

Ripples caused by civil disobedience widen, encouraging criminal activity at all levels. Permissiveness breeds the most hideous and tragic consequences.

WJW-TV and radio, in Cleveland, Ohio, has taken a candid editorial look at student defiance of academic authority. Although the editorial deals specifically with Ohio University, the views expressed are applicable to student demonstrations elsewhere and to others who trespass on the rights of their fellow citizens.

Frank W. Lecjaks, editorial director of WJW, is to be complimented on his continuing service to our Cleveland community.

The editorial follows:

STUDENTS WHO DON'T LIKE THE RULES SHOULD GET OUT NOW

Student demonstrations have reached a new low or high depending upon one's point of view. In our opinion, those estimated 1,000 Ohio University students who demonstrated in Athens Sunday night did so for the most ridiculous reason to come to our attention.

They were angered because they couldn't go home two weeks before the school year normally ends. Last week, university officials said that classes would be dismissed earlier if non-academic employees should go ahead with their threatened strike. On Saturday, the workers decided not to strike.

This apparently prompted about 1,000 students who had little or no connection with the non-academic employees to flex their muscles. They demonstrated, tossed rocks and destroyed property.

Our first impulse was to ignore these demonstrators who represent only about six percent of the 18,000 Ohio University students. But this was not an isolated incident. Throughout our nation, student groups are rioting and demonstrating often for flimsy reasons.

Though these groups are in the minority, they must be taken seriously because they exemplify the decay that is apparently gripping our country.

We think it's high time for our universities to weed out those rowdies. Any student who doesn't like the rules at his university should get out now. Students who revolt against what they call the "establishment" should remember that this same establishment must pay taxes to support higher education—their education.

And that includes their parents who also must pay tuition fees often at a personal sacrifice. Perhaps some, probably not many, parents don't care what their children do while in college.

We do, because we are tired of waste . . . the kind of waste portrayed by the student demonstrator both in tax dollars and human resources.

THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I join today with several colleagues in introducing legislation to expand and improve our food stamp program. This legislation will remove the authorization ceiling on the program to allow increased participation by additional countries which want food stamp programs but who will not, under present authorization ceilings, be funded next year.

The Department of Agriculture needs encouragement and support in its efforts to improve the food programs it runs for America's hungry. With the increased attention which study groups and television programs have brought to the malnourished in this country, it is now our turn in Congress to act with dispatch and compassion to aid those who lack the most basic of life's necessities.

No one goes hungry voluntarily. And when the richest country in the world tolerates hunger—for whatever cause—it fails in a most fundamental human obligation.

I hope that the Agriculture Department gets, with the passage of this legislaion, some of the additional support it says it wants to improve the food stamp program. With many millions of Americans, I will be watching the Department's performance closely for the devotion and the energy which it says it possesses, and which it must have, to carry out this commitment.

WMAL RADIO EDITORIAL CITES OVERLOOKED PLIGHT OF CRIME'S VICTIMS

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, in the light of recent grave events, chief of which was the cold-blooded slaying of Senator KENNEDY, our people are asking one another, "What is happening to our country?" They are appropriately angered at the growing lawlessness. The days of the "Wild West" era in our history are dwarfed by this decade's crime in the streets.

In addition to the Los Angeles tragedy our newspapers in recent days have headlined the almost periodic shooting of policemen in Chicago, the slaying of two marines in a local restaurant and the brutal attack on a local physician while he was on an errand of mercy.

In a radio editorial a few days ago radio station WMAL touched the nub of the situation when it insisted that greater consideration be given the plight of the victim instead of sympathy for the criminal.

That editorial follows:

EDITORIAL COMMENT BY RADIO STATION WMAL, JUNE 3, 1968

At a age when most men are long retired, Dr. Henry Hadley was making house calls in the toughest areas of Washington. He was not afraid. He had walked these streets for fifty years since graduating with honors from George Washington University. He treated generations of people and believed everyone knew and respected him.

Dr. Hadley was on an early morning house call last week when a dozen street-gang toughs surrounded the 74-year-old physician. They ripped the wallet from his pocket, choked him with his tie, beat and kicked him in the face and left him for dead.

Later the doctor reflected from his hospital bed that he had probably delivered most of those boys. He fathered two sons himself, both of whom became noted doctors. He founded a hospital here named in his honor. Dr. Hadley spent most of his life preserving the lives of others. To a dozen young hoods he was only an old man to beat and rob.

Let this community be righteously angry. Let us insist that lawmakers and judges see the side of crime's victim rather than the criminal's. Whatever the cost, let us insist that order be restored to our streets.

NATIONAL SECURITY

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the VFW magazine for June 1968 carries an interesting article entitled "National Security," written by Brig. Gen. J. B. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired.

General Hittle invites the attention of his readers to the fact that Vietnam is not the only crisis that the United States faces. He points out the dangers of Russian support of Nasser in Egypt and cites the example of Russian military men deeply entrenched throughout the Egyptian Armed Forces. He draws a parallel between the Soviet support of the North Vietnamese and their war of aggression in Southeast Asia and the material support that they are now giving to Egypt. This, added to the growing influence of the Russian Navy in the Mediterranean, illustrates how deliberately and boldly the Kremlin is making its move against the United States and her allies in two important strategic areas of the world.

Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to this thoughtful article and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL SECURITY

(By Brig. Gen. J. D. Hittle, U.S. Marine Corps, retired)

Vietnam isn't the only crisis we're faced with.

There's a major crisis in the Mediterranean. It could blow up into a shooting war.

Nasser of Egypt is talking tougher and his war threats are more pointed.

There should be no question as to why he feels he can act more warlike. The huge military equipment losses Egypt suffered in the desert war with Israel just about a year ago have been replaced.

And no one should need three guesses as to where the tanks, guns, jets and missiles came from.

They came from Russia. Ever since Nasser's army was blitzed, Moscow has been pouring military supplies into Egypt.

As things are shaping up in the troubled Mid-East, it looks like Nasser has a virtually unlimited source of military equipment in Russia.

So, once again the Kremlin is the troublemaker. And it is making a big investment in stirring up the trouble.

But this expensive mischief-making has a fundamental and long-range purpose.

Russia is using Egypt as a front for Communist penetration of the Mediterranean world. Once again, it's an example of how Russia provides the plan and the material means for someone else to do the job.

What the Kremlin is doing in the case of Egypt is, in some very basic ways, similar to how the Soviet Union is backing the North Vietnamese in their war of aggression in Southeast Asia.

Without the material support of Moscow, the Red aggression against South Vietnam would soon fade. Without that same source of support, Nasser wouldn't be rattling his rockets and talking as if war is inevitable in the Mid-East.

But it would be sheer nonsense to conclude that Nasser is a free agent in making policy. To the contrary, there is good reason for contending that Egypt is little more than a satellite of Russia.

In rearming Egypt after the desert defeat, part of the deal was for increased Russian military advisory and training personnel for Nasser's armed forces.

The result is that Russian military men are deeply entrenched throughout the Egyptian armed forces.

And, of course, this means strong Soviet influence, perhaps even a form of control.

But the visible spearhead of Russia's power-grab in the Mediterranean is the Soviet fleet. It's modern and it's growing.

It includes missile cruisers and submarines. In addition, it now has amphibious units. These will soon have added power when the Kremlin moves one of its new helicopter aircraft carriers from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. With such ships carrying helicopters and about 1,000 amphibious troops, Russia has the means of swifty intervening in Moscow-caused trouble-spots on the rim of the Mediterranean.

All of which illustrates how deliberately and boldly the Kremlin is making its grab for control of the oil-rich Middle East and the strategic Mediterranean waters.

TO PRESERVE AND DEFEND: THE INDIVIDUAL'S DUTY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, for obvious reasons in our organized society the basic duty of the State should be to provide protection for the life and property of the individual citizen.

When the State fails or refuses to protect life and property—and, by omission, may in fact encourage crime and lawlessness by tolerance of the criminal—does the individual have any duty to defend himself, his loved ones and his property?

The answer is clearly in the affirmative. All States and civilized systems of society recognize the right of the individual to bear arms in self-defense allowing varied ranges of the use of force to resist force.

The history of our country is replete with instances of vigilantes and citizen groups joining for mutual defense where there was no law or where the law had been corrupted by selfish interests.

We should never forget that those in places of trust who refuse society its rightful protection—those who bend to promise or cooperate with blackmail and intimidation by acts of omission may well become parties to the crime themselves.

How bad is the crime situation? I include a report of citizens arming and a clipping on a district judge's comments from the Washington Evening Star for June 4 and an interview of Maj. Gen. Thomas S. Lane, retired, on the Manion Forum, following:

CITIZEN MILITIA PROPOSED AS BACKUP FOR POLICE

(By Anne Christmas)

Noting that many citizens in Montgomery County now are carrying sidearms to and from social functions for protection, a member of the Maryland General Assembly has suggested that the county organize a citizens' militia to back up police during emergencies.

Del. Edward J. Clarke, R-Montgomery, told the county's Criminal Justice Commission yesterday that "if we start letting people organize vigilante groups, this county is in for big trouble."

Clarke said he had attended several gatherings during the past week where other guests displayed guns or, in one case, an Army-issue knife, which they said they began carrying during the April riots.

"Several said they kept guns in the glove compartments of their cars, and some women showed containers of tear gas or Mace which they had in their evening purses," Clarke said.

"It is common knowledge that many people are arming themselves for what they think is their own protection, " he continued. "It goes without saying that this is a dangerous situation that could lead to disaster and even the death of innocent people.

"This clearly indicates that many are scared and frustrated. I have given a great deal of thought as to how to relieve some of this frustration and harness their energies in the right direction."

TRAINED FOR ASSIGNMENTS

He suggested a police reserve force of citizens who "could be trained for back-up assignments and not be brought into disturbances unless it became absolutely necessary for them to assist in the restoration of law and order."

According to Clarke's proposal, reservists would have no more power of arrest while off duty than a citizen has in making a routine citizen's arrest. They would undergo training by the police department and would be required to pass a physical as well as a psychological aptitude test.

"It is highly important to take a psychological test, because the police would have to be certain that the reservists would maintain balance and calm in an emergency," he explained. "They could be used not only in riots, but also in bad traffic situations, airplane crashes or any other unusual occurrences."

Clarke said he has made a study of similar programs in other cities and has found only a few places where an auxiliary has worked successfully.

Police Supt. James S. McAuliffe said that locally, Arlington County is the only jurisdiction which has an auxiliary police force, armed only with Mace and nightsticks, and assigned to work 15 hours a month.

The 14th Precinct in Northeast Washington also has been extremely active in working with citizens, and the program there has been highly successful, McAuliffe said.

Clarke, who described himself as a hunter "when I have time," said a gunsmith told him recently that "he can't find enough handguns to answer the present demand."

"Everywhere you go, people are talking about arming themselves," he continued. "Montgomery County has a good buffer zone with the 8th Precinct in Washington, but there is an avenue of hostility leading into Silver Spring—Georgia Avenue, which was close to the April disturbances."

SUGGESTS LIMITED SCALE

Chairman William W. Greenhalgh, who also is president of the Montgomery County Council, suggested that "we should look into this on a limited scale, particularly at the training, to see how much is involved in stepping into the shoes of a regular police officer."

Greenhalgh proposed a small group of about 20 in the initial experiment and said "the cost certainly would not be exorbitant initially, to find out what we would require."

Clarke recommended getting in touch with the Bethesda Chamber of Commerce and similar civic groups for early work on the project.

McAuliffe wound up with a warning: "We would have to figure exactly what we would want them to do, and how they would be used, or they would not stay interested in such work very long."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, June 4, 1968]

JUDGE IN RIOT CASES CRITICIZES DISTRICT

(By Donald Hirzel)

A judge criticized District officials yesterday for what he termed their failure in the early stages of the April riot to order police to make arrests and enforce the law.

Judge Alfred Burka made the comment in the Court of General Sessions at the conclusion of the first group sentencing of persons arrested in connection with the riot. Burka has scheduled group sentencings for various dates this month.

Some defendants have been sentenced on riot-connected charges by other judges, but this was a group sentencing.

"I have questioned several police officers," Burka said, "and there is no doubt in my mind they operated with implicit or implied orders not to make arrests."

He added that there appeared to be no effort to instill in the public mind the idea that looters would be arrested and prosecuted, and he referred to the fact the seven persons sentenced by him yesterday said they had no fear of arrest when they went into the streets.

He also condemned those who took part in the rioting, declaring: "People we were depending upon to uphold law in the District were involved in the disorder and very few of them were caught."

PROBLEM FOR JUDGES

Burka said judges are greatly concerned about sentencing rioters because so many of the defendants have no previous police records and are family men with steady jobs.

"If we don't send them to jail, it is a sign to everyone with a clean record that he is entitled to one free ruling, but if I do . . ."

His words trailed off, and then he looked at the last man in the group he sentenced yesterday and said: "Here is a man with a wife and four children and another on the way who is working steadily to support his family . . ." Again his voice trailed off in the middle of the sentence.

He then sentenced the man, Nathaniel Dodds, 51, of the 1100 block of 10th Street NW, to a suspended 360-day jail term and placed him on probation for a year for attempted burglary II (looting).

Dodds is in a sense both typical and untypical of the rioter.

WATCHED THE PEOPLE

He told the court he is a dishwasher and makes $58 a week. He came here from Mississippi 15 years ago after serving a six-month jail term there in 1935 for manslaughter.

He had no arrest record since being in Washington, until April 5, when he got off work and went home and sat on the porch drinking beer and watched the people milling about on the streets.

When he saw people carrying television sets and other items up the street, he asked where they got the goods and was told they came from a nearby store.

"I saw others taking things, and I thought of the things my kids needed," he told the court. So he joined the looters but was arrested before he got anything.

"Would you have gone if you had been warned that looters would be arrested or shot?" Burka asked.

"No, sir," Dodds replied. "People told me the police weren't arresting anybody and I thought it was all right since everybody else was doing it."

He said he saw "lots of police around, but nobody was being arrested."

DIDN'T EXPECT ARREST

The others sentenced yesterday also said they did not expect arrest. They also said they went into the streets because everybody else was looting.

The others sentenced had good-paying jobs, unlike Dodds, with one making $4 an hour as a cement finisher. None of them graduated from high school.

Jessie J. Hinson, Jr., 23, of the 500 block of 7th Street SE, a truckdriver charged with attempted burglary II and petty larceny, received a suspended 360-day jail term and was placed on probation for two years.

He had one previous arrest for breaking and entering in Lancaster, S.C. in 1962 but no arrests since he came to Washington. He told the judge, "I got with the wrong crowd" during the rioting and was arrested. He is married and has two children.

A. D. Huff, 36, of the 2100 block of 4th Street NE. had no arrest record. He told Burka he completed the second grade before going to work on his father's farm. He has been in Washington eight years and works as a cement finisher.

He received 180 days for petty larceny and rioting, with the sentence suspended. He was placed on probation for one year.

John H. Walker, 22, of the 3400 block of 14th Street NW, charged with attempted burglary II and petty larceny after his arrest in a clothing store, received a suspended 180-day sentence and was fined $100 and placed on probation for one year.

Walker, a machine operator with a fifth-grade education and a native of Washington, was bailed out after his arrest by his employer who then wrote a letter to the court in which he described Walker as "honest, trustworthy and a loyal employe."

The letter stated, according to Burka, that Walker on numerous occasions had been left alone in the plant with large sums of money and never took one cent. His boss wanted him back on the job.

Walker said that when he entered the clothing store there were policemen two doors away, but "I didn't think about police. It never occurred to me that I would be arrested."

"How do you feel about what you did now?" Burka asked. Walker replied: "Bad."

Charles E. Dean, 19, and Dempsey H. Bowie, 23, came to Washington from Alabama about four and a half to five years ago and live in the 500 block of 3rd Street NW. Both are employed as cement workers earning $3.17 an hour and neither had an arrest record.

Dean completed the ninth grade and Bowie the seventh grade. They said they "saw a bunch of other people walk out of the store" and then they were arrested.

Both were charged with attempted burglary II and received suspended 360-day terms and were fined $100 each.

ONLY ONE GETS JAIL

Only one man received a straight jail term. He was James McDonald Carroll, 31, of the first block of Bryant Street NW. He was charged with carrying a pistol without a permit.

He received 360 days in jail after Burka reviewed his conviction record, including charges of petty larceny, assault and carrying a dangerous weapon.

A lifelong resident of Washington, Carroll is a laborer with a sixth-grade education.

He claimed he had just bought a .22-caliber pistol from a youth on the street when he was arrested. Police said they recovered the gun and 26 rounds of ammunition. Carroll said he planned to take the gun home.

The last of the eight to appear before Burka was Sylvester Burrows, 47, of the 1200 block of 5th Street NW, who was charged with attempted burglary and rioting.

He previously entered a guilty plea to the charges, but when he came before Burka yesterday he said it was all an "accident."

Burrows claimed that on April 5 he was standing near a liquor store when a crowd surged by him and the next thing he knew he was in the store, where he was arrested. The judge set aside the guilty plea and set a trial for July 2.

[From the Manion Forum, May 19, 1968]

PROTECTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY: WHEN GOVERNMENT RENEGES—RESPONSIBILITY REVERTS TO THE INDIVIDUAL

(By Maj. Gen. Thomas A. Lane, U.S. Army, retired, president of Americans for Constitutional Action)

DEAN MANION. Every day our news is headlined with another spectacular defeat for law and order. On the campus and in the streets mob rule by riot is the new disorder of the day. Whenever a noisy crowd gathers now you may be sure that additional terms of surrender will soon be announced by those in charge of protecting property and keeping the peace. This prevailing policy of rewarding lawless violence is eating the heart out of our civilization and the election next November may be our last chance to choose public officials who are pledged to end it.

With me here at the microphone now is retired Major General Thomas A. Lane (USA). He is now President of the respected Congressional vote-rating organization known as Americans For Constitutional Action. General Lane is well and widely known as an author, lecturer and syndicated columnist. He has some definite ideas about the present peril of our public order and I am anxious for you to hear some of them. General Lane, welcome to the Manion Forum.

GENERAL LANE. Thank you, Dean Manion. In our society, the authority of government to preserve public order is a partial grant of the citizens' right to protect himself and his property, and it is conditioned upon the fulfillment of the duty by government.

When government defaults on its responsibilities, as some political leaders have done by tolerating looting, the responsibility for protecting his property reverts to the individual. The individual must take up arms in self-defense. Those politicians who allege that they have saved lives by tolerating vandalism are retreating from civilization. They may extenuate widespread property destruction but civilization cannot do so and survive.

During the April burning of Washington, some store-owners disregarded the police admonition to lock up and leave their places of business during curfew hours. They took post with their employees in defense of their property. They were armed. They were successful. Though a few incurred minor damage, the owners who defended their property were generally unmolested.

If the alliance of public officials with the black revolutionaries renders our police protection ineffectual, the property owner is not without recourse. In a community where the first man to throw a Molotov cocktail through a store window received a blast of buckshot in the belly, arson would become a very unpopular activity.

In one Washington suburb the Chief of Police advised all property owners to take arms in defense of their own property and to call on him for assistance when needed. He stated frankly that his force was too small to protect the community from planned insurrection. There was no insurrection.

One Congressman said that the recent looting and arson were the work of a small handful of men. He did not say why our police failed to cope with this handful of men. The answer lies in the politics of his party. Why did Washington authorities arrest six thousand individuals but not Stokely Carmichael? Why did they allow Carmichael and his hoods to start the vandalism and then arrest citizens who joined in the looting which police had condoned?

The President in Washington and Liberal politicians across the land had been intimidated by black power. They had accepted the false thesis that the police should "contain" a riot by allowing looting and avoiding the conflict which law enforcement might precipitate.

This toleration of vandalism is the cause of the riots. It enables the revolutionaries to launch the community on a looting spree. It provides cover for their work of arson and sniping.

Any police force worth its salt knows who the incendiaries are. It could apprehend them at the beginning of their activities and prevent the riots. But today these black criminals are protected by politicians who fear that resolute action against the leaders would alienate the entire Negro vote.

Some years ago, an American officer serving in a foreign country where rioting was threatened met the leader of the revolutionary faction at a cocktail party. He said to the local hero: "I have given your picture to my men and told them that if they shoot, they must first shoot you." There was no riot.

The target cities of these attacks are those in which Liberal officials at local and state level feel dependent on the Negro vote for election. In California, where Governor Reagan has set a no-nonsense policy of enforcing the law against all violators, only minor disturbances occurred. He has set a standard of responsible administration to which the whole country should subscribe.

GOVERNOR'S CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST

After the burning of Baltimore, Governor Spiro T. Agnew called moderate Negro leaders to a special meeting. He berated them for not opposing the militant revolutionaries who had incited the riots and burned the city. His was the righteous anger of the man who has worked hard for civil rights and has been betrayed. But the black moderates resented and rejected the Governor's lecture. Rightly so.

The Governor seemed unaware that his own policies had caused the burning of Baltimore. In his zeal for civil rights, he had helped to spread the familiar lies about a "century of discrimination" which the black revolutionaries had authored to build a persecution complex in the minds of urban Negroes. He had helped to build the psychosis which would in time be used to justify looting and arson. Of course, he promised to right these imagined wrongs and he hoped thereby to win the gratitude of the Negro voters.

If the Governor had rejected this specious rationalization of Negro poverty, if he had said that in this country every man gets what he earns and no more, if he had backed the so-called Uncle Toms who stood for Negro responsibility, if he had learned the lessons of Newark and Detroit instead of hailing the studied deception of the President's Riot Commission, Baltimore might have been spared this ordeal.

Only the forked tongues of civil rights leaders can preach non-violence while they implant in the minds of our Negro citizens a sense of injury which begets violence. Unhappily, they have had the endorsement of public officials, vocal sectors of the clergy and aspiring politicians in spreading the lie about Negro deprivations in America.

The Johnson consensus has embraced and is spreading a false history of the Negro in America which is demoralizing in its effect. Negro Americans are not the downtrodden victims of discrimination and oppression. They are without question the most advanced representatives of Negro education and Negro skills in the world today. Their wealth and literacy compare favorably with those of the white and yellow nations of the world. The Negro American has cause to be proud of the progress he has made in this country.

The United States is the only country where white men fought a bloody war to free the Negro slaves. Since emancipation, literally millions of white citizens have sustained educational and medical institutions to open opportunity to our Negro citizens. Responsible Negro leaders have emerged in the professions and in business to further the welfare of their people. Until the past decade, racial harmony, not strife, has been the rule.

No man, black or white, gains strength of mind and character by living on unearned handouts. The Negro American, who in an earlier era had held his own in the quest for wealth through work, has in some instances abandoned the quest to live on the Federal dole. Others, embittered by Old World theories of class warfare, have turned against America and become the tools of the Communist class warfare.

The great mass of our Negroes are working and prospering with America. They count their blessings as Americans. They seek peace and order in which to raise their families and enjoy the fruits of their labors. But they are harassed by agitators and by the psychological brainwashing projected by U.S. news media.

The position of some officials that traditional protection of property would provoke racial warfare is an insult to our black citizens. It implies that a substantial sector of the black community is committed to vandalism and arson when all evidence shows a small handful of revolutionaries to be responsible.

Large numbers of local citizens have been arrested for looting in the riot-torn areas, but this consequence flowed from police toleration of the looting. When public officials declare that merchandise in designated stores may be taken without fear of arrest, it becomes difficult for the citizen to judge how far he can go before the police crack down.

Some are arrested for what others are permitted to do. But these are not citizens who would defy police to break the law. They are drawn into the lawlessness by police permissiveness and by mob psychology. Only a handful of citizens are waging insurrection. The tragic reality which we face is the submission of public authorities to these criminals.

RABBLE-ROUSERS USING THE POOR

White politicians, unworthy stewards of the public trust, have embraced the Marxist distortion of history advanced by revolutionaries within their own ranks. They have rent our domestic transquillity. Now the poor are being dragooned into a march on Washington. Most of our poor are too smart to become pawns of the rabble-rousers, but there will be some who come for pay or for excitement. The byways are being scoured for them.

The avowed purpose of the march is to intimidate Congress. Leaders say the poor will camp in Washington until demands for new legislation and new appropriations are met. President Johnson says no man can guarantee that such a mob scene will not erupt in violence. We know that. We also know that the President could avoid the prospect of violence by prohibiting the march. In fact, it is his clear duty to do so.

The purpose of having a Federal city is to assure the security of the seat of government. Here the Federal government exercises a police power which it does not have within the states. It is the specific responsibility of the District of Columbia Government, which President Johnson reorganized last year, to protect the Federal government from mob violence.

The poor people's march is, on its face, not a lawful program. Its purpose of intimidation (not petition) is unlawful. Its proclaimed defiance of permit requirements challenges District law. Violence is implicit in its program.

Why does the President condone such an affront to the Congress? Is this another mob action to advance his legislative aims? Or is he too fearful of his own political adherents to restrain them?

In commenting upon his Committee investigation of riots, Senator John McClellan, of Arkansas, said: "I think there have been public utterances by government leaders that could be interpreted as encouraging—certainly not as discouraging—violence, roiting, law violation and what is called civil disobedience.

"The President of the United States, as I recall, once addressed a group on the White House lawn as 'fellow revolutionaries.' That certainly carried a connotation to dissident groups that he was very much in sympathy with methods used. Violence, of course, is associated with a revolution. At a joint session of Congress, the President used the motto of civil right activists, 'We shall overcome.'"

In discussing the poor people's march on Washington, Senator Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia, who is well versed in District of Columbia affairs, suggested that our Republic may be on the road to its ultimate downfall. Asked to prescribe an antidote, Senator Byrd said: "I suggest that, first of all, our country needs strong, courageous leadership." This is indeed a telling commentary upon the Presidency by a leader of the majority party.

In these times of urban anarchy, there is a clear obligation upon the President to stand firmly for law and order, to condemn and oppose the revolutionary propaganda which is fanning the flames of class warfare in our cities. How strange that he should stand silent in a time of crisis!

You, my fellow citizens, must make your own judgment of these events. It is my judgment that we are facing a massive failure of our political leadership. The corruption of power has emasculated our public officials. We must draw into the public service vigorous and fearless men who will place the public good above every clamor of faction and who will restore in all citizens a new birth of patriotism. It is the responsibility of our honest citizens to place the election of such officials above every consideration of party.

To you, Dean Manion, I offer my sincere thanks for this opportunity to speak to your radio audience.

DEAN MANION. Thank you, General Lane. My friends, be sure that every candidate for every office is forced to take a stand on this controlling issue of mob rule. Don't let any of these office-seekers buy votes by promising to coddle criminals.

THE LONELY ONES

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, this week I received a poem from a good constituent of mine, Mrs. Betty Block of 147 Highland Street, Jersey City, N.J.

If ever there was a more eloquent appeal to the Members of this House and the Senate as well, than that submitted by Mrs. Block, I cannot recall it. Rich, abundant America has done so little to bring sunshine into the lives of our senior citizens. I hope all Members will read the few lines Mrs. Block has sent to me.

I urge all Members, Democrats and Republicans alike, to read and harken unto these poignant words.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I place Mrs. Block's poem at this point in the RECORD.

The poem follows:

THE LONELY ONES

I sit here, in my lonely room,
Hoping that death, will come to me soon.

Thinking of my youth, long gone bye-
But no more tears come to my tired eyes.

And at night, I go to bed.
Where I can rest, my aching head.

Once I had friends and a family,
And my life was useful and full of gayety.

But now that I am aged, and alone.
No more can I, on this earth roam.

So, wont someone, please knock at my door,
And I promise, that I wont be a bore.

And if someone, this will perchance to read,
I hope it will help, to the plight of the aged,
give heed.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER

HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered by Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz of the Supreme Court of New York before the Brooklyn Bar Association on May 23, 1968, and which was published on Monday and Tuesday of last week by the New York Law Journal.

Judge Leibowitz' experience as a lawyer and as a judge enables him to be knowledgeable on the subject of law enforcement. Prior to ascending the Bench of the Supreme Court of New York, he was one of the outstanding defense lawyers in the Nation. His record as a justice of the Supreme Court of New York establishes his reputation as one of the most highly respected judges in the country.

As everyone familiar with our system of government knows, the duty and responsibility for the enforcement of the law and the suppression of public mischief lies with the localities.

The principal difficulty is that Congress has passed so many laws at the behest of recent Chief Executives, including Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, restricting the activity of law-abiding citizens and the police so that these officials at the local level are in many instances afraid to exert the force necessary to effect an arrest by reason of the fact that they may be indicted in some distant Federal court for violating somebody's so-called civil rights.

Another difficulty is in getting convictions of the lawless because of the rulings of the Warren court. Prior to the advent of the Warren court, the States were free to establish their own rules of evidence and their own court procedures and the Federal Government established the procedures to be followed in the Federal courts.

In short, the Chief Executives, the Congress, and the Supreme Court have by their actions intimidated, hobbled, and impeded the police and the local law-enforcement officials. The Congress should repeal some of the laws which they have enacted and should pass other laws nullifying and negating many of these outrageous decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. Unless this is done and the States and localities are left free to enforce the law, we will have more violence and more innocent people will be maimed, wounded, or murdered.

Racial unrest and hatreds are running rampant through the land, most of which was spawned and fostered by the ineptitude of a large group of misguided people who claim to be promoting racial peace when, in fact, they are sewing the seed of discord and strife.

In view of the breakdown of law and order which exists in this country today, particularly here in the National Capital, I hope that the Members of Congress and others will read the excellent address of Judge Leibowitz, which is as follows:

[From the New York Law Journal, May 27, 1968]

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER—I

(By Samuel S. Leibowitz)

I am happy to be here at home with my brothers at the Bar. I have lived in the courtroom all of my adult life, and I have a warm affection for the members of our profession. Crime—yes, vicious crime—is so rampant that if something sensible and courageous is not done in a hurry, sheer chaos will engulf our people. All of us have been regaled on Law Day, May 1, by the proclamations intoned by the very topflight leaders of our country. However, it is high time to implement the Law Day speeches—these Law Day ceremonies where lawyers and judges, largely talking to each other in quasi-incestuous verbal intercourse, outdo each other politely praising our laws and our legal institutions, but only occasionally shedding some mild polite tears concerning the ineptitude and weakness in the law's enforcement.

The population of London is about the same as that of New York City. It, too, has its tensions between its ethnic groups, its poverty, its slums. Yet the London bobby does not even carry a weapon such as a gun or billy.

I sat with Sir Richard Jackson, the head of Scotland Yard. Sir Richard, with a roguish twinkle, asked, "Judge, how many criminal homicides did you have during last year in your city?" Of course, I knew the answer. And although my face got red, I had to admit, "About 700."

"We here in London," Sir Richard commented, "average only between 35 and 40."

Why, I ask you, is there this difference in the homicide rate in these two English-speaking cities? Why do we have such a deluge of crime? Attorney General Ramsey Clark reports that in 1967 our population had increased 2 per cent while the crime rate skyrocketed 15 per cent. In New York City the rate zoomed 25 per cent.

Only a few years ago the gunning down of a shopkeeper was front-page news. Today, stick-ups, muggings, rapes, arson, even murder, are so commonplace that they have practically lost their news value.

As evening falls in our sprawling city, grown men cower in their homes with their wives and children about them; our residential streets are nighttime challenges for only the bravest.

The evening after the assassination of Martin Luther King you looked at television depicting the riot in Harlem. You saw the rioters before your very eyes as they were burning, smashing store windows, and looting. You saw them brazenly lifting out television sets, carting away loads of groceries. One woman was pulling out a large stuffed chair from a ruined furniture store. These lawbreakers did not hurry. They did all their nefarious work calmly, and many of them chuckled as they went about their business. Standing by helplessly was a group of police officers, without lifting a finger. The word had been passed along to them to "cool it."

Ladies and gentleman, without respect for law and order, only anarchy must result and our democracy must die.

The president of Columbia University should have called for the police immediately and had those campus hoodlums evicted from the five buildings that they had seized. Instead he, too, "cooled it" for days on end and in the vain hope that the insurrection would subside.

Finally, after they had paralyzed this great university, he came to his senses and he ordered the police to eject these marauders. Not only did the police have to contend with these intellectual hoodlums holed up in the seized buildings, but also with the mob of their sympathizers outside.

Of course, there was a melee before the police could restore a semblance of order. Undoubtedly, a few of the policemen may have been a bit unnecessarily rough during the turmoil, a bloody nose here, a kick in the shins there. All of us are unalterably opposed to illegal violence, whether on the part of a civilian or on the part of a police officer, and those proven guilty of such conduct should be called to account. But all that we heard from the left-wing shouters and bleeding-hearts was "police brutality."

Nearby, in St. Luke's Hospital, on a bed of pain, with his body in traction, was Patrolman Frank Giocondi suffering from a severe back injury. The doctors reported that he may not be able to ever walk again if the major surgical operation they were planning was not successful.

On another bed lay Sergeant Bernard Swaise. He had been kicked in the chest by one of the darlings who gave the police such a devil of a time. The sergeant sustained an injury to his heart. For a time he hovered between life and death. Of course, no tears were shed for this police officer injured in the line of duty.

About 700 alleged disturbers were arrested and taken off to court. What is your calculated guess: Will one—yes, only one—ever see the inside of a jail? Frankly, I don't know, nor will I predict what the courts will do. At any rate, I hope that the courts do not lend a receptive ear to "cool it."

Will the insurrectionists who hoisted the flag of Ho Chi Minh from the windows of the barricaded buildings, who seized the dean and held him captive for a day, who tore the president's office to pieces—will these miscreants be expelled, as they should be? Or will they get off with just a warning: "Be a good boy and don't do it again."

The screaming headlines in the press tell today's sorry mess: "Rebels Invade Columbia Again. Kirk Calls Cops to Oust Them!"

And insurrection has spread to so many of the college campuses across the land that the new battle cry is: "Cool it, brother. To hell with the law!"

A few days ago in Brownsville another outrageous defiance of law and order occurred.

An organization of so-called community savants and their militant cohorts from other sections of the city brazenly barred thirteen teachers from entering the school to perform their duties. No formal charges were leveled against these teachers; no hearings were held. They were just given the "bum's rush," as they say in the vernacular, or the "lockout." This, too, was a form of civil disobedience. In sum, "To hell with the law!"

Into this mess stepped the leader of the teachers' union, and in outraged tones he called for police intervention because he alleged that the law had been violated by this community group. He rightfully spoke about due process of law that had been denied these teachers.

However, my mind goes back only a few months. Wasn't he the same man who himself violated the law when he paralyzed the school system by calling a teacher strike? On this occasion, too, we had the spectacle of, mind you, an educator saying in effect, "To hell with the law which forbids this strike. We will do as we damn please, because we don't like the law." And wasn't he the very man who brazenly and contemptuously violated a lawful mandate of our Supreme Court that issued an injunction to call off this strike?

How in the name of common sense are you going to have law and order instead of anarchy if every individual proclaims himself a self-appointed oracle who, holding the law to be immoral, resorts to this sort of tactics?

Even if you are not a true conscientious objector, all you have to do is cry out that the Viet Nam war is immoral. Well, that settles it as far as you are concerned. When Uncle Sam sends for you to serve in the armed forces of your country, you simply spit in his face, tear up your draft card, and throw it into a bonfire together with the cards of your fellow slackers. You might even toss in the Stars and Stripes to add fuel to the fire. Go to prison if you must, and when you come out you will be welcomed back with open arms by the deans of famous seats of learning in the United States.

When it comes to the most vital bastion that is expected to hold back the flood of crime that is inundating us, it is the criminal courts upon which we must eventually rely, no matter how efficient the police and the prosecutors may be.

The New York Times, on its front page of this past Monday, headlined "Fear of Muggers Looms Large in Public Concern Over Crime." The Times investigation disclosed the following three broad conclusions:

(1) The average mugger strikes many times before he is arrested.

(2) Even when he is arrested and convicted, he will prowl the streets again in a relatively short time.

(3) The time he spent behind bars is unlikely to furnish him with any meaningful rehabilitative treatment.

The Times survey found that 80 per cent of the defendants had been arrested at least once before, and 40 per cent had been arrested five or more times. Many of these criminals nonetheless were let off with a plea of guilty to misdemeanors, the limit of sentence being one year.

The Times reports a typical case! A lady was walking along the street. Suddenly a thug grabbed her purse. She fought back. In the struggle the criminal slashed her arm and leg with his knife. She screamed. A patrolman chased and apprehended the mugger. He was charged with assault and robbery, which calls for a maximum sentence of fifteen years. This criminal had been arrested before, once for auto theft and once for possession of burglar tools.

What do you think happened to him when he faced the judge? He was permitted to plead guilty to assault in the third degree, a mere misdemeanor, and sentenced to six months in jail. With time for good behavior this rascal didn't have to bother to take his shoes off when he got to Rikers Island Penitentiary for fear of missing the ferryboat back to Manhattan to again carry on his business of mugging.

I simply cannot understand the logic of some of the procedure on the day of sentencing in our criminal courts. There stands the lawyer for the defendant making his plea for leniency, and if perchance he feels that the sentence is excessive, he files his appeal for a reduction thereof. But there, too, stands the representative of the people, the District Attorney. He is as silent as a tomb. And even though the courthouse may have been given away to the sentenced defendant, he has no right to appeal. I would therefore recommend to the Legislature of our state to remedy this incongruity, so that at least the rights of the people are not denigrated in this fashion.

There is no doubt that our judges are above suspicion as to their integrity. With some rare exception it is not fair to saddle the blame on the shoulders of our judiciary. However, they, too, are now under pressure to "cool it," but for a different reason.

Our criminal courts are, in plain terms, "pressure-cookers." Unlike the civil case which, unfortunately, languishes for years before it sees the inside of the civil courtroom, the criminal merchandise must be cleared off the shelves pronto, because there is figuratively speaking, the truckman outside who daily is ready to dump larger and larger loads of criminal business on the doorstep of the courthouse. The defendant must under our constitution be accorded the right to a speedy trial or the case will go "out of the window," as they say in common parlance.

Thus, at all costs, the criminal calendar must be moved. The courts are under terrific pressure to dispose of cases by pleas. The criminal defendant knows the score. He knows full well that this is a "buyer's market." He can dictate to the District Attorney and the court what bargain price he will pay for his crime. "Either you give me the plea and the sentence I demand or I'll say, 'Trial! Trial!'" He knows even before he reaches the courtroom that he is in the driver's seat, that the District Attorney and the court simply must knuckle down to him, or else!

Consider the interminable court proceedings that are required to even approach a final conclusion of a criminal case. You will recall that it took eleven long years to bring the Chessman case to a finish.

No one points an accusing finger at the fairness of the British courts of justice. Yet if a murderer is convicted in England and he is sentenced to death, within only a few weeks thereafter his appeal is heard by the Criminal Court of Appeals sitting en banc. After oral arguments, the judges retire to deliberate. Arriving upon a conclusion, they return to the bench and either affirm or reverse the conviction. If affirmed, shortly thereafter the Home Office, which is the pardoning agency in England, determines whether the death penalty shall be commuted to life imprisonment or that the convict should be executed. The case is closed. Finis. Who has ever complained about the fairness of British justice? But not so in our country.

Our criminal trial courts are confronted with still another headache. In our city, judges sit in a certain numbered part of the court during one month and are then moved to another part of the court the following month. The defendant's case, however, remains in the one part, and he is fully aware of that system. Thus, if his case is scheduled before what he considers a "tough" judge, he employs every miserable stratagem in order to steer the case away from that judge and is hoping that the judge who follows is a "good guy" or "sweetheart."

It will open your eyes in wonderment as to what is going on if you will only read the dissenting opinion of the United States Court of Appeals by Judge Leonard Moore, reported in United States ex rel. Davis v. The Warden (386 Fed. 2d 611).

If convicted, whether by plea or trial, this does not end the case by any means. If he should lose his appeals, he is now armed with the two other weapons that have swamped our trial and appellate courts, namely, coram nobis and habeas corpus. The convicted criminal cries out that "Everybody done me wrong. The judge coerced me into pleading guilty. The prosecutor reneged on his promise of a light sentence. My counsel was incompetent and sold me out. My constitutional rights were violated." These are but a few of the points he raises. There are others, so bizarre that they border on never-never land.

[From the New York Law Journal, May 28, 1968]

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER—II

(By Samuel S. Leibowitz)

In every prison in our state there is a well-stocked law library. There the jailbirds are conning over the volumes, especially those dealing with petitions for coram nobis and habeas corpus. You would be amazed if you read some of these petitions, pages and pages of them, citing every decision of the state and federal courts, whether apposite or otherwise. In many cases the petitioner alleges a factual question, and the trial court is bound to grant him a hearing. He must then be transported hundreds of miles from the prison to the courtroom, accompanied by prison guards, at a considerable expense, of course, to the taxpayers. Lawyers are assigned. But if the petitioner loses, again appeal after appeal follows.

I had one convict before me thirteen times. On each occasion he set forth a new complaint. The other day when after a long hearing I denied his petition, as he was being escorted back to his cell he looked over his shoulder at me and said, "Hey, Judge, I'll have another one for you before the sun goes down." I have lost count of the number of his appeals that are now floating around the various appellate courts.

On May 17, the papers carried a large advertisement, which I am sure many of you read. The headline read "Save Our Courts. Protect Public Safety! The Public Is In Danger For Lack Of Enough Judges." I was interested in a quote by District Attorney Aaron A. Koota of Kings County. He wrote: "Because of the shortage of judges, we are compelled to have plea bargaining or copping of pleas in many criminal cases. This is an invitation for criminals to commit other crimes, knowing that the penalty will not be severe."

No one can gainsay this truth. We are in a death struggle with the enemy and we as judges must sacrifice our comfort if we are to spare innocent citizens from the depredations of the hordes of dangerous creatures that abound. The defendants must be taught that one shade off the indictment, except in rare instances, is all the bargain he can expect if he pleads guilty; that the court will never stoop to commit itself to the promise of a light sentence under any circumstances, in order to induce him to "cop a plea."

Today, May 23, 1968, here in Brooklyn, and also in the other counties of our city, how many misdemeanor pleas were taken on felony arrests? What were the circumstances? Today, May 23, 1968, how many slaps on the wrist were given dangerous criminals arrested for serious crimes? Today, May 23, 1968, how many judges, obsessed by the ever-mounting court calendars, made "dispositions"—giving away the courthouse just to get rid of the case.

Our newspapers, that devote daily accounts to box scores of ballgames and league standings, and columns to sports reminiscences, and headlines to demagogues and to violence, must join the fight not simply by only reporting the sensational crime and the sensational arrest but by giving the public the day-by-day box scores on what happens to the criminal cases in our courts.

After all these years as defense counsel, for so many of the kings and princes of the empires of crime, I have taken to the Bench a "savvy" of the psychology of the average criminal.

Of course, you should extend compassion to the first offender who has committed a non-violent offense, but you just don't sacrifice the safety of the millions of decent, hard-working, law-abiding citizens by "cooling it" with the dangerous enemies of society. You don't feel flattered if, leaving the courtroom after sentence, the defendant or his lawyer chuckles, "Gee, that judge was a sweetheart."

I am proud to say that I have never been a "sweetheart" in all my years on this Bench. Certainly we are all aware that persons are rarely rehabilitated in the prisons. But until they can be, the prison walls prevent them, at least while they are there, from wreaking more havoc on the community.

The facts are that our state prisons are being emptied by the courts. Do you want the facts? Here they are right from the official record of the Department of Correction as of March 29, 1968. These are the male prisons: Attica, Auburn, Clinton, Green Haven, Sing Sing, and Wallkill.

These are the male reformatories: Elmira, Great Meadow, Catskill, Coxsackie and Woodbourne.

Then we have the Elmira Reception Center, the distributing center for those under twenty-one to the other adolescent institutions.

The hospitals for the criminal insane are Dannemora and Matteawan.

The female institutions are: Albion State Training School, Western Reformatory, Westfield State Farm Reformatory, and Westfield State Farm Prison.

There are a total of 21,103 cells which are occupied by only 14,402 prisoners. These institutions are two-thirds full.

You recall the musical "Finian's Rainbow." The hit song was "How are things in Glocamora this fine day?" Well, the song up at Clinton Prison is "How are things in Dannemora this fine day?"

The poor warden must be worrying: "Gee, it looks pretty bad. We have 2,200 cells and only 1,373 customers to fill them. If business doesn't improve, we'll soon have to close up the joint and put a 'For sale' sign on the entrance."

Well, I'm thinking, here we are up in the Adirondacks. It is a wonderful climate for tuberculars. Perhaps the state will, with some renovations, turn Dannemora into a fine tuberculosis hospital.

Sing Sing! Ah, dear old Sing Sing? There are 1,800 rooms in this hotel, and only 1,510 tourists to fill them. Unless the travel agents—that is, the courts—start sending us some business, we may as well turn this beautiful hotel on the Hudson over to the hippies for a love pad.

Where are the thugs and other criminals that used to crowd these prison cells? They are out in the community running amuck.

Let me say a few words about the gambling racket. You will recall the notorious Harry Gross case which involved a grand jury investigation of alleged police corruption. Gross, alone, did a $20,000,000-a-year bookie business here in Brooklyn. I presided over that grand jury investigation. I sent a number of the grafting cops to prison.

The other day an article in the New York Law Journal caught my eye. I refer to it because it demonstrates beyond peradventure that to "cool it" by our courts is a grievous mistake. It is tantamount to "civil disobedience" when a judge, just because he disagrees with the wisdom of the law, refuses to enforce it.

The article points out that the felony gambling law was passed in 1960. It provides that one arrested with five or more betting slips or a total "handle" of more than $5,000 can be sent to state prison for four years.

State Senator Hughes, chairman of the Anti-Crime Committee of the Legislature, gives us the statistics. In the fiscal year of 1965–66 the police gambling squad arrested 9,629 persons on felony gambling charges. Only thirty-two were indicted and only one went to prison.

The Governor, in approving of the bill, made this statement: "Illegal gambling is a serious cancer in our society; it is unquestionably a principal source of revenue for organized crime. The funds provided by such gambling are used to finance narcotic purchases in foreign lands and for a wide variety of other criminal activities. Revenues so obtained from misguided citizens not only provide the capital for organized rackets but they create a constant temptation for the corruption of police and other public officials."

I was curious to learn what this policing cost you, the taxpayers, for this shocking performance. Here are the figures I obtained from Deputy Police Commissioner Walsh only a few days ago. The following is the personnel of the gambling squad and their salaries:

639 plainclothesmen at yearly pay of $9,000.

51 lieutenants at yearly pay of $10,500.

21 deputy inspectors at yearly pay of $14,000.

6 inspectors at yearly pay of $15,000.

The total cost for one year for the gambling squad is $6,580,500 in salaries alone, to send one professional gambler to jail! Almost unbelieveable, but there you have the cold facts.

Perhaps some of this money could be diverted to raising the pitifully low salaries of the dedicated, able assistant prosecutors on Mr. Koota's staff. With some of this cash our district attorney would certainly attract more able trial laywers to augment his staff of prosecutors, so that the business of the prosecutor's office could be handled with added talent and dispatch.

My calculated guess is that there may be but one bookmaker operating to over 1,000 tied up in the numbers racket—and the numbers racket yields untold millions of dollars to the underworld barons.

The numbers racket demands thousands of foot soldiers, troops that collect the dimes and the quarters from the suckers who bet on a number. The odds of winning are between 600 and 1,000 to 1.

Now, who are these troops, these agents, that collect the bets for the mob? They are the housewives in the ghettoes, the small shopkeeper, the elevator operator, the porter—all harmless, otherwise law-abiding people but who, in fact, are the very backbone of this racket. Without these troops the numbers racket would die on the vine.

But these are the people who over the years have been collared by the police. The invariable practice in the courts was either to turn them loose or to impose some petty fine. Of course, the gang usually supplied the mouthpiece, and the gang paid the bail bondsman and put up the fine. I think that if the judges were to send but a few of these people to jail for but a few days, the word would spread around like wildfire and these troops would shun the petty sums that they get for their services from the mob. They would hardly take another chance and do it again.

I emphasize: the lords of the underworld could never operate without these troops. But the easy way out for the court is to "cool it," and the Costellos just laugh up their sleeves at what we call law enforcement. Think! Six and a half million dollars for the police alone to jail one arrestee.

Here is another constructive suggestion on how we can bust the numbers racket. The average bet on a number by a bettor, usually a housewife, is either a dime or a quarter, rarely a half dollar. Why not make it possible for her or any other citizen to buy a lottery ticket for such a small sum and thereby deal a body blow to organized crime syndicates?

Perhaps better judgment would dictate that we adopt the California system for sentences. In our courts a defendant in Part I may be sentenced to a term of ten years; before another judge in Part II his punishment may be five years; in Part III the term imposed may be two years; and he may finally get to a part where the judge is so overwhelmed by compassion that he will pass the hat around among the spectators to make a collection for the poor darling. There is no individual more sensitive to what he calls his "rights" and fairness than the stir bird in his cell in prison. This disparity of sentences imposed for the same crime and upon the criminal with the same background has been the cause of severe tension and unrest and rebellion in many of our prisons which have blown up into riots.

I spent three months up at Auburn, New York, in preparing the defense of Max Becker, who in 1929 was accused of shooting and killing the principal keeper in the Auburn Prison riot which took the lives of nineteen prisoners and the life of the principal keeper. I know whereof I speak. In justice to the prisoner and for the benefit of society, let our courts sentence the convicted felon to an authority or board or call it what you will, and let this agency with its finger on the progress of the convict determine whether he is a fit subject to return to the community, of course the limit of term being fixed by the law itself.

We have just learned that your Legislature has finally, after all these many years, provided us with more judges. Let us hope that there is therefore a brighter day dawning on the horizon. Let us hope that with this additional judicial manpower we shall be able to effect a turnabout from the present buyer's market to a seller's market. Let us hope that the "slap on the wrist" that the scoundrel now faces will be supplanted by the "heavy fist of the law." Let us hope, too, that we will get judges with backbone and, Heaven forbid, not even one more "sweetheart"—and, oh, what damage that one "sweetheart" can do to the safety of the community. Let us hope that the slogan "Let's cool it, brother. To hell with the law!" shall henceforth be just a sorry memory of the past

This, of course, is not the whole story. What we need is leadership, the right type of leadership—in our Congress, in the White House, in the capitals of our states, and in the city halls; leaders who will not be content with the rhetoric and oratory on Law Day but will back up our decent policemen our honest prosecutors, and the judges of our criminal courts.

The frightened citizen whose voice is unheard is yearning for such leadership. They see through those who are proclaiming their desire for courageous law enforcement, without fear or favor, on the one hand, but who are covertly soliciting the votes of the boisterous, violently disposed and threatening elements, who bode ill for the people of this nation.

Let us get on with the job of returning to sanity—to respect for law and order.

I AM THE FLAG

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, Memorial Day has just passed and all Americans paid tribute to those who have given their life in the defense of this great Nation.

A living symbol of the hopes and dreams of those who have fallen and of those who continue on is the American Flag, Old Glory.

On June 14 we will celebrate the birth of this great symbol of freedom throughout the world, and I trust that all will take a moment to reflect upon what our flag really signifies.

At this point in the RECORD, I would like to insert a very poignant description of Old Glory sent to me by Mr. Herbert N. Evans, of West Palm Beach, Fla. This fitting memorial was read to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of Florida at their mid-winter conference:

I AM THE FLAG

I am your Flag. I was born on June 14, 1777. I am more than just a cloth shaped into a design. I am the refuge of the world's oppressed people. I am the silent sentinel of freedom; I am the emblem of the greatest sovereign nation on earth. I am the inspiration for which American Patriots gave their lives and fortunes. I have led your sons into battle from Valley Forge through the dark days after the sinking of the Maine, through the bloody days of Chateau Thierry and Belleau Woods, over the far reaches of the sands of Iwo Jima, Leyte, Africa—the mud and snow of Italy and Germany, to the bloody ridges of Korea and Viet Nam. I walk in silence with each of your honored dead to the final resting place beneath the silent white crosses, row upon row. I have flown through peace and war, strife and prosperity, and midst it all, I have been respected.

My red stripes symbolize the blood spilled in defense of this glorious Nation; my white stripes signify the burning tears shed by Americans who lost their sons, husbands and daughters; my blue field is indicative of God's Heaven under which I fly; and my stars, clustered together, unify fifty States as one—for God and Country.

OLD GLORY is my name, and proudly I wave on high. Honor me. Respect me. Defend me with your lives and your fortunes. Never let my enemies tear me down from my lofty position lest I never return.

Keep alight the fires of patriotism. Strive earnestly for the spirit of democracy; worship Eternal God and keep His Commandments; and I shall remain the bulwark of peace and freedom for all mankind.

For, I am your flag.

CHIEF OF POLICE DALLAS W. BIAS AUTHOR OF AN OUTSTANDING YOUTH PROGRAM

HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, contempt for the law and the growing public resentment against lawlessness are the dominant note reflected in today's published commentaries. As reflected in the mail received at my office and in discussions with my constituents, I have found that this subject is the first concern of the people of my constituency.

During the past 4 years we have seen a rising tide of permissiveness and indecisiveness at many levels of government; we have seen enforcement officials branded with smear labels simply because they have undertaken to do their duty.

At a time when many young people are being led astray; when the increase in crime among youngsters has increased 22 percent and arrests by an incredible 72 percent; with a resulting hatred by some toward officers who protect the public, it gives me great pleasure, therefore, to bring to your attention today a document which reflects the work of a forward-thinking and conscientious police official.

I refer to a summary of the very successful activity of Dallas W. Bias, chief of police in my home community of Charleston, W. Va. I include in the RECORD this description of his outstanding worthwhile program and recently published in the June 1968 issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. Chief Bias has brushed aside the theories of the social failures who dominate our youth programs and has moved directly to the center of the action on human and individual terms. I say more power to him and may his work be imitated in 10,000 communities throughout the land.

The article follows:

HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM FOR YOUTH

Human relations are not necessarily an adult prerogative. They can also be a worthy and helpful endeavor for young people. With this thought in mind, the Charleston Police Department established a police cadet corps in three city high schools with the express purpose of promoting human relations among all age groups.

At the outset our plan was to have specially selected police officers become recognized instructors in the schools, organize cadet classes among the upperclassmen, and have the students wear cadet uniforms (which we had purchased) on the day of police classes. We also planned to improve the police image with the young people, encourage good citizenship, and teach the principles of law enforcement, with the side effect that some of the students might later enter the field of law enforcement. The city provided scholarships for 2 years of college for those interested.

In addition to the basic classroom police courses, the cadets were assigned to ride in regular squad cars 4 hours each week. This practice gave them the opportunity to increase their knowledge of police services and to acquaint themselves with the men of the department. Discussing what they had learned, the cadets could interest their fellow students in police work.

We now have two cadets who will join the Charleston Police Department at the expiration of their studies at West Virginia State College. Also, our relationship with the young people in the high schools has improved.

YOUTH PROGRAM NEEDED

After observing the riots in other trouble areas, we realized that we, like police in many other cities, must be out of touch with minority groups—and particularly with the Negro youth. As in other cities, we, too, have a low economic and predominantly Negro area, known as the Triangle, situated in midtown Charleston.

I was aware that we had a Triangle Improvement Council, staffed by both Negro and Caucasian leaders in that area, working to improve conditions. I was invited to meet with this group, and during the meeting I proposed the idea of permanently assigning a police officer to work in conjunction with the council in an effort to establish a community youth program.

The suggested program would involve the formation of an auxiliary police cadet unit whose members would participate in drill teams, drum and bugle corps, dances, and other activities. We found the community receptive to this idea, with parents, church organizations, and other groups willing to do their share. An outstanding Negro patrolman was selected to head the program whose primary aim was to bring about better relations among the police, civil rights groups, and the youth of the community.

We coordinated our program with a number of civic and neighborhood organizations. The assigned officer attends meetings of these organizations to learn their needs and the manner in which the police department can assist them.

PROGRAM LAUNCHED

We found that the youth of the community, especially those unable to participate in school athletics, needed a constructive recreational program. In order that these young people not become idle or delinquent, and to give them a feeling of usefulness, we formed drill teams and drum and bugle corps. These groups presently perform at halftime ceremonies of college, high school, and junior high school ball games in the city of Charleston and at other active civic events.

Speeches at least twice a week before church, school, and social groups help make the public aware of our objectives and the need for a better relationship in the community. As a result, we have several hundred people of other communities assisting us.

Since our program is not supported by any outside grants or funds, donations to cover the cost of equipment, drums, and uniforms have been received. Each active member is given an official uniform.

RESULTS OF PROGRAM

At the beginning of this program, which started on September 15, 1966, the director recruited 75 active members—ages ranging from 9 to 16 years—most of whom were known to the juvenile bureau as delinquents. After working for 4 months initiating additional activities, which included basketball, karate, judo, lectures, and dancing, we were able to enlist approximately 300 children, both boys and girls, from the ages of 9 through 18 years. Of these, a number who were school dropouts have been encouraged to reenroll in regular classes.

Several youths have been referred to the Job Corps and are receiving training at centers throughout the United States.

Through counseling, the department has helped a great number of families in the community solve problems that otherwise might have resulted in violations of the law.

At the end of 1966, with this program in effect less than 4 months, the yearly report on juvenile offenses showed approximately a 27-percent decrease in cases involving the Negro population, as opposed to approximately a 1½-percent reduction of cases involving the white population.

FURTHER BENEFITS

In 1967, because of the good will of a prominent citizen in this area, we were allowed to use part of a building, which was renovated by the hard work of our eager human relations officer and other volunteers. We now have an attractive Charleston Police Community Youth Canteen, with a jukebox, a place for dancing, pool tables, and candy and soft drink machines. All the money made through these activities goes into the Community Youth Fund, which is used for the purchase of musical equipment and other necessities of the youth corps.

We are endeavoring in every way to win the confidence of the parents and children in the community. To reduce the chances of misunderstanding of law enforcement actions by any minority group, we are strictly impartial in our enforcement procedures and activities.

The youth program has been endorsed by all civil rights groups, civic groups, and many of our citizens. We believe this is bringing about a better understanding among all people concerned. And efforts are being made to encourage representatives and leaders of minority groups to become more active and involved in the operations and management of local government.

FRUITS OF THE PROGRAM

Since the inception of the human relations program, its achievements have been appreciated from time to time. For example, late in 1967 the city council voted down a proposal for an open housing regulation. The night the measure was killed, many of its supporters walked out of the council meeting in protest. Understandably, the integrated group which sought passage of the legislation was disappointed. Sensing that the situation was ripe for exploitation, nonresident professional agitators moved into the area and made an attempt to start disorderly action. However, the youth leadership developed in connection with our human relations program would have no part of unlawful activity. Instead, a representative called at the police department for a permit to conduct an open housing demonstration parade in the downtown area.

Permission for the parade was granted, and the entire police force was used to cover the march route, handle traffic, and escort and protect a peaceful demonstration. The group of approximately 1,000 marchers and sympathizers assembled in front of the public library. After public speeches made by the leaders, the demonstrators carrying placards, headed by the department's motorcycle unit, marched in a peaceful manner. The demonstration lasted about 2 hours, and there were no disorderly incidents.

News accounts of the parade were favorable to both the police and the demonstrators. Leaders of the protest expressed gratitude and appreciation for "the splendid job" done by the police department. While there is still much to be done in the area of improved human relations, we feel that, along with other progress, one of the more vital phases of such a program—communication—has been accomplished. It is now possible for the police department to communicate with all segments of the community, and we know that, by working together in lawful pursuit of our objectives, we can build a better and safer community for all.

CONGRATULATIONS TO MRS. BRUCE B. BENSON

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to offer my warmest congratulations to my good friend Mrs. Bruce B. Benson of Amherst, Mass., upon her recent election to the national presidency of the League of Women Voters. This position of leadership, which I know will be outstandingly filled by Mrs. Benson, carries with it the responsibility of presenting the women's view on political issues at all levels of our government. As Mrs. Benson has stated, the league's major purpose is to "seek and find solutions to the important problems facing the country."

Mrs. Benson has further stated that she believes the Nation's most serious problems are poverty and discrimination.

Since her graduation in 1949 from Smith College, Mrs. Benson has been active in her attempt to bring about governmental reform and civil rights. At the league's annual convention in Chicago, Mrs. Benson was actively involved in blocking a move by a New Jersey-based faction to remove the league from its active, politically involved role.

Before assuming her position as league president, she was the second vice president and chairman of the organization's committee on human resources. Mrs. Benson has served as the Massachusetts league president for two terms from 1961 to 1965. Included in her record of dedicated service, Mrs. Benson was a member of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and one of the 21 Massachusetts citizens appointed to the board of education to study the educational effect of racial imbalance in the public schools.

I feel confident that under Mrs. Benson's leadership, the league will make even greater contributions in the future than the outstanding efforts it has made in the past and I stand ready to help forward their cause in any way I can.

A letter and articles follow:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 6, 1968.

Mrs. BRUCE B. BENSON,
President, League of Women Voters of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR LUCY: I want to congratulate you on your election as National President of the League of Women Voters. I can't think of anyone more qualified to take on such a tremendous responsibility and I want to wish you every success in the challenging year that lies ahead.

As you know, I have always felt that the role of the woman in the American political picture is an increasingly important one. As President of the League, you will have an unequalled opportunity for service, and for carrying forward the League's national programs and goals. I am certain that during your Presidency the League will make an even more worthwhile contribution than it has in the past, and I certainly stand ready to help you in every way I can.

It will be the League's responsibility to set out the issues that are paramount in this complex era, to stimulate action to improve conditions and to bring about changes for the better in all levels of government.

I am sure you know that this will not be an easy task—but it will certainly be one you can handle with flying colors.

I want you to know how proud I am with your achievement.

With warmest best wishes, I am
Cordially yours,
SILVIO O. CONTE,
Member of Congress.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 1, 1968]

LEAGUE IS DIVIDED

(By Carol Liston)

CHICAGO.—A publicly genteel, privately angry, civil war is brewing at the League of Women Voters national convention here.

The issue is whether to take action on current problems or to "withdraw indefinitely" and study the structure of government.

Some 1800 League members gathered here for a week-long session to chart the nonpartisan organization's program for the next four years.

With recommendations from state Leagues, the national board has developed a four-point program for action by the delegates.

However, a faction led by Mrs. Robert Klein, New Jersey League president, is organizing to block the proposals when they are considered.

Mrs. Klein and her group proposed one or two main topics for the League program. The most important Mrs. Klein said, would be a study of intergovernment relations.

This is far from the activist programs in governmental reform and civil rights which the League has been working on for many years.

It brings cries of despair from members of the national board, like Lucy Benson of Amherst, former Massachusetts League president, who, it is expected, will be voted national president this week.

"Most of us believe the purpose of the League is to stimulate action on issues and bring about changes of government at the local, state and Federal level," Mrs. Benson said.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 5, 1968]

LEAGUE'S NEW PRESIDENT SEARCHES FOR SOLUTIONS

(By Carol Liston)

Mrs. Bruce B. Benson, newly elected national president of the League of Women Voters, believes that the League's major purpose is to "seek and find solutions to the important problems facing the country."

At the League's annual convention in Chicago last week, a New Jersey-based faction attempted to pull the non-partisan League out of active, politically involved programs and start an "indefinite study of the structures of government."

The proposal, which Mrs. Benson said she considered a "real threat" to the meaning of the organization, was narrowly defeated.

Before she assumed the League presidency, Mrs. Benson was national chairman of the organization's committee on the Development of Human Resources. Mrs. Benson, who lives in Amherst, Mass., is also a member of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

"There is no doubt that poverty and discrimination are the number one problems facing America today," she said.

Although she has no children, Mrs. Benson was one of 21 Massachusetts citizens appointed by the state Board of Education in the 1964–65 school year, to study the educational effects of racial imbalance in the public schools.

In the mid 1950s the Massachusetts League made a study of why it was not very effective politically. And from that study, its members developed a new sense of how to organize and lobby for League programs.

"It wasn't easy," said Mrs. Benson, "but I've learned to meet with legislators and lobby for a bill we support and avoid all the topics he and I might fight about.

Her practical approach showed when she was elected state president for two terms, from 1961 to 1965. In those two terms, Mrs. Benson led a successful referendum drive to cut the powers of the Massachusetts Governor's Council.

Just before her second term expired, Mrs. Benson was seriously ill with spinal meningitis. With her recovery, she went on to membership on the League's national board. She served as second vice president until her election as president.

A 1949 graduate of Smith College, Mrs. Benson returned there in 1953 to work for her master's degree.

Mrs. Benson is married to a professor of physics at Amherst College, whom she met on a "semi-blind date" in her senior year at Smith.

"THE HILLS BEYOND"—AN ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am happy for my colleagues to share an address delivered by the Honorable William L. Hungate, to the graduating class of Culver-Stockton College, at the commencement exercises held in Canton, Mo., on June 3. Culver-Stockton is one of the many fine colleges we have in Missouri, and is one of many fine institutions sponsored by the Disciples of Christ. Along with our colleague, Congressman Hungate, I happen to be a member of this denomination, and have visited Culver-Stockton's beautiful campus and have watched the development of this college under the direction of Dr. Fred Helsabeck, president of that institution and have witnessed the expansion through the construction of many new buildings. It was my privilege to give the commencement address to the graduating class of 1963, and am thus further privileged to welcome into the ranks of the honorary graduates of Culver-Stockton, our colleague, Representative Hungate, who on the occasion of his most recent visit to the college was honored by having conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

Incidentally, I should mention that following in the steps of his illustrous predecessor, the late Honorable Clarence Cannon, as a honorary alumnus of Culver-Stockton, Representative Hungate is further being recognized throughout the Ninth District of Missouri as a worthy successor to Mr. Cannon who served his Nation, his State, and particularly the Ninth District for a period of more than half a century, as a secretary to the late Speaker Champ Clark; as parliamentarian of the House of Representatives, and following Mr. Clark's death was elected to the House of Representatives where he served for more than 40 years.

Following is the address delivered by Representative Hungate:

The Hills Beyond

You have graduated. This is the time when civilization will be graduated or be hanged. Joining the immense reality of the universe with your personal reality will form the framework of destiny for each of you. You are men and women of your century.

Much shall be asked of you, to whom much has been given in the way of talent and health. To justify these inherited and God-given legacies, you who possess strength and skills must work hard, so that there can be money for hospitals, and schools, and free lunches for hungry children, and factories with good wages. The old concept that a great many people have an equal opportunity to convert themeslves into a few millionaires no longer satisfies or appeals. The objective is not opportunity for a few among many. The object is that no one shall become or remain a beggar or slave to extreme poverty. In a limited but very real sense, every man who is sick or starving is a slave. If we cannot save the many who are poor then we cannot hope to save the few who are rich.

It is a time to be eminently practical positivist in the highest sense of the word. This is not the epoch for building mirages.

Do not dissipate your strength in useless battles, striving after goals impossible to attain. There are spirits who seek the most beautiful of illusions. Is there no manner of bringing these people to the practical way? Let us tie our desires to the impositions of reason, not wasting our valor on conflicts of fantasy.

The poet, Ferlinghetti, accuses us of turning America into a concrete continent of freeways 50 lanes wide, with cinerama holy days, drugged store cowboys and disowned Indians, unroman Senators and conscientious non-objectors, singing my country tears of Thee, while permitting radioactive contamination without representation.

In the political laboratory that is these United States, we have achieved accelerated progress. There have been know-nothings and haters in our society—and some of these, almost extinct, creatures still exist today in some unlighted corners—but they have in the long run been in the minority. There have been times in our history when they seemed to be gaining—or should I say, the rest of us losing—but they have been outnumbered in time and overcome by generations of new Americans dedicated to greater causes and higher goals.

Our American Nation—above all others—has rejected the know-nothings. For we have had, through our history, continuing commitment to moderation and, I might add, a disrespect for extremism and those who would destroy.

Really understanding human needs is half the job of meeting them. It is important to approach the writing of laws, themselves cold and indifferent things, from clear, warm pictures in our minds. A family sitting down around a supper table, rent coming due when there has been illness in the family, a mortgage coming due when crops have failed or markets declined, a child going off to school dressed differently from the others, the feeling of someone denied a job he would have gotten had his skin been a different color, eligible citizens denied support for public office because of their religious belief.

The burden of sustaining the American dream and the burdens of American's wars and riots—unlike Shakespeare's rain—does not fall on all alike. There are obvious inequities.

As John Kennedy reminded us, "There is always inequity in life. Some men are killed in a war, and some men are wounded, while some men never leave the country. It's very hard in military life, or in personal life, to insure complete equality. Life is unfair. Some people are sick and others are well." Indeed, death reveals our inequality. In one week last month over 500 men died in Vietnam but our national grief is greater over the assassination of one minister in Memphis; 40 people died on a bridge in West Virginia but our sense of loss is more acute over 1 Massachusetts man gunned down in Dallas. Death reveals our inequality.

Man is but a blossom of the air, held by the earth, cursed by the stars, inhaled by death. The breath and shadow of this coalition at certain times elevate him. Free birds only let us look at them. A poet leaves traces of his passing, not proofs. Only traces make us dream.

Let us, the living, relieve inequalities and inequities where we can, and endure with courage those that cannot pass from us.

"Anger won't help. I was born angry. Angry that my father was being burnt alive in the mills; angry because I was that very one somebody was supposed to be fighting and dying for; turn him over; take a good look at his face: somebody is going to see that face for a long time. I don't know this black man. I don't know these white men. But I know that one of my hands is black, and one is white. I know that one part of me is being strangled, while another part laughs horribly, until it changes, I shall be forever killing: or being killed." (First will and testament, Kenneth Patchen.)

Recall Kafka's lines, "From a certain point onward there is no longer any turning back. That is the point that must be reached."

Perhaps that point is here, now, whether we like it or not.

Uncharted areas of science and space, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of starving millions—co-existing with mountains of surplus, unsolved problems of war and peace.

Too many of us want the serenity of faith without the agony, victory without struggle, solvency without taxes, leadership without criticism, peace without sacrifice, and salvation without conviction. Former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, John Gardner, in words reminiscent of John Kennedy says: "Don't ask me what the Government is going to do. Tell me what you are going to do and tell me how the Government can help."

It is written that in ancient days Sisiphus incurred the wrath of the gods. As punishment he was condemned eternally to push a large boulder up a mountain and, of course, when it reached the pinnacle, it always tumbled back to the foot of that hill. Sisiphus was condemned each time to return and push it up again. Those ancient dieties conceived of no worse fate than a task performed without hope of ultimate success or conclusion. And yet Albert Camus suggests Sisiphus triumphs over them by finding happiness in the work itself and in the skill and strength he brought to his assigned task.

Perhaps we all are climbing a steep hill—far from the top, but already we may see the top in the distance. Let us look at it even from afar——

At the top of that symbolic hill we can see a people well-housed—very few in luxurious palaces but none in wretched huts or slums. See the opportunity for honest work at a rate of pay adequate to a good and satisfying life. See the families that are at peace in the thought that their children will be educated to the fullest of their capabilities. See us all working with enthusiasm, freedom and respect for the dignity of every living creature.

We face problems we did not create—tasks we did not seek. We face them as students and teachers, priests and parishioners, diagnosticians and diseased, as parents, children, husbands, wives, and brothers all. We face them as God made us. We can be no more. Let us make sure we are no less.

A SOUND USE OF SURPLUS WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I think the Members of the House will be interested in seeing a situation corrected under which surplus usable weapons and equipment could serve a beneficial purpose. At present it is necessary that they be destroyed. Title I of the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967 contains language which authorizes grants to States and units of general local government for new approaches and improvements in law enforcement and criminal justice. One of the purposes for which these grants are authorized to be used includes the procurement of equipment and other items necessary for public protection. There is such equipment available but it is denied to State and local law-enforcement units by Federal regulation.

The military services and a few of the smaller nondefense agencies are equipped with weapons and equipment of the type which could be used quite effectively by State and local law-enforcement agencies. At the present time when equipment of this type becomes surplus to military needs, it is disposed of according to regulations promulgated by the General Services Administration. These regulations are rather complex in certain particulars. In others, they are prohibitive of the sale of a portion of equipment to anyone. This is particularly true with reference to firearms. The GSA regulation promulgated on February 26, 1965, states:

> Firearms may be disposed of at public sales *only* for scrap *after total destruction* by crushing, cutting, breaking, or deforming to be performed in a manner to assure that the firearms are rendered completely inoperative and to preclude their being made operative.

Such weapons may, however, be disposed of through the military assistance programs. In this program, for example, approximately $30 million of equipment such as pistols, carbines, rifles, and submachineguns which could be used by law-enforcement agencies in this country, have been made available to foreign governments.

It appears to me, Mr. Speaker, that considerable savings would accrue to both Federal and local governments if equipment of this type could be made available under the grant authority of title I and subjected, of course, to the rather rigid and proper controls set forth in this title. It does not make sense to me to burn or grind into scrap, firearms which can assist the law-enforcement officials of this country. I urge that the Attorney General take steps toward making such equipment available in this manner. If necessary he should be instructed to do so by the appropriate committees of Congress. Certainly such procedures would result in appreciable savings to the Federal Government as well as to the State and local governments concerned with this program.

Mr. Speaker, lest someone should construe that such weapons should be made available promiscuously, I reiterate that this can and should be done under the restrictions imposed by the appropriate sections of title I of this bill in the same manner as grants would be administered. My proposal is simply that we substitute assets available to agencies of the Federal Government for additional Federal funds and thereby attempt to save a little money, something which seems to be the goal of most, if not all, Members of this body.

JOBS IN HOUSING

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD the following interesting article from Commonweal Magazine, June 7, issue, about H.R. 16266, the "jobs in housing" bill, which I introduced and about the unusual group that originated the proposal:

PUBLIC WORKS, NOT CHARITY: BLACK HOUSES, BLACK JOBS

(By Ernest Garvey)

Some weeks ago, a militant, Harlem-based group called the National Committee for a Confrontation with Congress (CWC) circulated a handbill which began:

"We *don't* want integration, public housing in white communities, welfare, antipoverty.

"We *do* want H.R. 16266."

The following morning CWC received a phone call from Rep. Paul Fino, a conservative Republican who represents a white backlash Bronx constituency, inquiring what H.R. 16266 was and what he could do to help.

H.R. 16266 and the Committee for a Confrontation with Congress are the remarkable creations of two remarkable men, James Haughton, a Harlem labor leader, and Tim Cooney, a white organizer who recently left a $25,000 job as Assistant New York City Housing Administrator to work full time with Haughton and the Confrontation. H.R. 16266, according to its preamble, is "a bill to increase the funds authorized for existing programs to build low and moderate income housing, and for other purposes." In fact, the bill proposes to increase the level of federally-aided housing construction nearly *tenfold*, to 700,000 a year, at an annual cost of $5.1 billion.

CWC's theory is ingeniously simple: 700,000 new housing units a year in central city areas is the level it will take to rebuild the slums in the foreseeable future. In the process, about 500,000 well-paying construction jobs will be generated for under-employed Negro men. Recognizing that the problems of the ghetto transcend jobs and housing, CWC nevertheless believes that by focusing now on a single, tangible bill rather than an amorphous "urban Marshall plan," political clout can be maximized.

Cooney and Haughton convinced New York Democrat Jonathan Bingham to introduce CWC's bill. The group's first confrontation with Congress in late March picked up eight co-sponsors for H.R. 16266, mostly other New Yorkers. They returned to the Capitol April 25 with a busload for an intensive lobbying session. Emanuel Celler saw to it that they got a Judiciary Committee room for their meeting.

A parade of Congressmen welcomed the group and pledged their support. Rep. Henry Reuss, a leading pragmatic liberal on the Housing Subcommittee, told them he didn't know if they could get quite 700,000 units, but that he'd work for 500,000 or 600,000. The backlog of deteriorated housing, Reuss reminded them, is the same today as it was twenty years ago when Congress passed the National Housing Act with its goal of decent, safe and sanitary housing for all. William Barrett of Philadelphia, the Subcommittee Chairman, expressed general support for the plan.

In actuality, the central preoccupation of the Housing Subcommittee in the coming weeks will be the Administration Housing bill, an omnibus package which modifies existing programs and proposes to boost low- and middle-income housing construction to about 300,000 annually, or four times the present rate. Bingham says he will try to work his bill into the Administration package in Committee. This will be no mean trick, but Haughton and Cooney have come up with an idea that just might catch the imagination of Congress, mostly because an intensive program to rebuild the ghetto, in the ghetto, and by the ghetto, would visibly help blacks, and mollify frightened whites. Jobs and housing are two of the most basic keys to the urban crisis. The Committee for a Confrontation with Congress combines a genuine grass-roots base with a salty political sophistication. It is at once militant, yet committed to "thinking legislatively" as Jim Haughton puts it.

The idea of a massive housing program explicitly designed to generate jobs for the ghetto originated about three years ago with Cyril Tyson of the New York City Commission on Manpower and Career Development and Kenneth Marshall of the Metropolitan Applied Research Corporation, a Ford-funded group directed by Psychologist Kenneth Clark. As Tim Cooney expresses it, defense spending, the space program, federal airline and highway subsidies, existing suburban-oriented FHA programs, education and research subsidies, are all essentially work programs for affluent white America. Yet, he says, "all the visible programs for black America are basically charity, and charity is always self-defeating." H.R. 16266 is simply a "good, fat public works program for the black man," which incidentally meets another critical social need—housing.

We asked ourselves, says Cooney, what kind of top-dollar careers are possible for an uneducated Negro—and we came up with two: entertainment and construction. You don't need a high school education to be an entertainer, but more black entertainers is hardly any solution. That left construction.

Jim Haughton is convinced from his experience organizing black construction workers that the real problem is not simply discrimination—at least in New York. The problem is not enough work to go round, and the people who got there first, mostly white unionists, are hanging on to the available jobs. New York has good anti-discrimination laws, and Haughton has made much progress in integrating such job openings as exist. Where few Negroes were found on a major construction contract, he simply took to calling the city contracting agency and threatening a sit-in—not in the contractor's office, but at the city agency. This usually brought quick results.

But Haughton wants more jobs; then the pressure will be off the building trades leadership to hire more blacks by displacing white unionists. Two factors suggest that most jobs generated by a building program of this volume would in fact go to ghetto dwellers. First, the latest federal housing legislation requires that federally-subsidized housing produce jobs for residents of the target areas. The Model Cities Act of 1965 required this, and its implementation has been the subject of a bitter hassle between construction unions and H.U.D., with the government finally taking a fairly tough stand. The Housing Act of 1968, as reported by the Senate Committee in early May, explicitly extends this requirement to all federal low-and-middle-income housing programs. It will be more readily enforced if the volume is sufficient to generate plentiful jobs, as Haughton and Cooney propose. Secondly, with the ghetto becoming better organized and more militant, it becomes increasingly out of the question to bring a mostly-white construction crew into such areas as central Harlem, Newark, Watts, etc.

The Confrontation vehemently opposes the Administration proposal to generate job opportunities by creating low-skilled public sector jobs and subsidizing training programs in private industry. These have to be bottom-dollar jobs, says Tim Cooney. They can't possibly pay as well as unsubsidized jobs. Industry may benefit, but the race gap will continue.

Cooney is probably right. Last year the average graduate of the federal manpower training program earned $1.61 an hour. Negroes can get jobs now at fifty and sixty dollars a week, Haughton says. There are plenty of want ads for dishwashers and messenger boys. The need is for *good* jobs.

Cooney and Haughton initially tried to sell their plan to the established civil rights leadership. They rapidly discovered that most civil rights organizations are tax exempt. "Roy Wilkins can call for a Marshall plan, but he can't lobby for our bill." By the same token, the Poor People's Campaign thus far lacks hard legislative proposals. By and large, so does the Riot Commission Report, though it did endorse an annual housing construction rate of 600,000 units.

Shortly before he was murdered, Martin Luther King tentatively agreed to adopt HR 16266 as a specific demand. Haughton and Cooney are hopeful that Rev. Ralph Abernathy will agree to do so when the Washington march reaches full strentgh.

There is a confluence of political forces which bring the Confrontation's idea within the realm of possibility. King's assassination finally drove home the urgency of meaningful action to redeem the American promise to black America. The Riot Commission gave radical analysis and massive undertakings some respectability. The war may at last end, and both the Congress and the next Administration will be in the market for a program which is tangible, which finally will have some visible impact, which will not bear an impossible price tag, and which will be tolerable to the white majority, Cooney and Haughton think they have such a program.

The Committee for a Confrontation with Congress is now organizing support in several cities. A militant black organization committed to "thinking legislatively" may come to be very welcome indeed. The Confrontation wants to focus black political demands on this one bill. It backs extensive education and income-maintenance legislation too, but is convinced that tactics require identifying one clear demand at a time.

Tim Cooney believes that HR 16266 has two strong selling points. It will meet employment and housing needs right in the black community, and it will cool white fears. "When the brothers have some money in their pockets," he says, "then open housing becomes meaningful. If the black man wants to stay in Harlem, he'll have a decent place to live. If he wants to move to the suburbs, he won't scare the neighbors. And if he wants to go back to Africa, he'll have the carfare."

DEDICATION OF COL. J. MONROE JOHNSON BUST

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it is now my pleasure to commend to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress the complete proceedings on May 6 when the bust of the late Col. Monroe Johnson was dedicated in the Interstate Commerce Commission:

DEDICATION OF J. MONROE JOHNSON BUST AT THE OFFICES OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, D.C., MONDAY, MAY 6, 1968

Present: Paul J. Tierney, Chairman; Virginia Mae Brown, Vice Chairman; Kenneth H. Tuggle, Commissioner; Rupert L. Murphy, Commissioner; Laurence K. Walrath, Commissioner; John W. Bush, Commissioner; Willard Deason, Commissioner; George M. Stafford, Commissioner; Dale W. Hardin, Commissioner.

Former Commissioners: The Honorable Everett Hutchinson, The Honorable William H. Tucker, The Honorable Clyde E. Herring, The Honorable Howard G. Freas, The Honorable Charles A. Webb, The Honorable Owen F. Clarke, The Honorable Donald P. McPherson.

Also present:

The Honorable Alan S. Boyd, Secretary of the Department of Transportation.

The Honorable Strom Thurmon, Senator of South Carolina.

Congressman William Jennings Bryan Dorn of South Carolina.

Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., Chaplain, U.S. Senate.

Mrs. Alice LaRoque.

Mr. Robert Johnson.

Mrs. Robert Johnson.

Mr. Robert Johnson, Jr.

Mrs. Wright.

Mr. Charles Stott.

Mr. James R. Mann.

Mr. Samuel P. Delisi, President, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mr. Richard R. Sigmon, President Elect, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mr. John R. Sims, Jr., Treasurer, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mrs. Clydine M. Bridgeman, Executive Secretary, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mr. William T. Faricy, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mr. James W. Hoeland, Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

PROCEEDINGS

Chairman TIERNEY. Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

The Commission is meeting today to participate in a ceremony to dedicate the bust of the late, Honorable J. Monroe Johnson of South Carolina.

This bust is being presented to the Commission by our own Association of Practitioners.

On behalf of the Commission, I would like to welcome everybody; and, if I may, I should like to take time out to introduce some distinguished guests.

I would like first to introduce the members of the immediate family of Commissioner Johnson who are seated here to my right facing the audience: Mrs. LaRoque, who is Commissioner Johnson's sister; Bob Johnson, Commissioner Johnson's brother; Mrs. Bob Johnson, Commissioner Johnson's sister-in-law; Mrs. Wright, his cousin; and Mr. Bob Johnson, Jr., and Mr. Charles Stott, who are his grand nephews.

We are also delighted to have with us here Alan Boyd, Secretary of the Department of Transportation.

I also note that Senator Strom Thurmond, and Congressman Dorn of South Carolina are here.

And in the front row here a group of distinguished former Commissioners, from my left to right: Commissioner Owen F. Clarke, Commissioner William H. Tucker, Commissioner Clyde E. Herring, Commissioner Howard G. Freas, Commissioner Charles A. Webb, and Commissioner Donald P. McPherson.

At this time I would like to call on the Master of Ceremonies for this occasion, Sam Delisi, President of the Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners.

Mr. DELISI. The presentation of colors.

(The presentation of colors was made by the United States Coast Guard Color Guard.)

Mr. DELISI. Invocation. Dr. Frederick Brown Harris.

(The invocation was given by Dr. Harris.)

Mr. DELISI. Remarks. Mr. deWeldon.

REMARKS BY THE SCULPTOR

Mr. DEWELDON. Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen.

It is a great pleasure for me to be here today and an honor to have been commissioned by the Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners to create the portrait bust of Colonel J. Monroe Johnson. It means a great deal to me to take part in commemorating Colonel Johnson who played such an important role in the Interstate Commerce Commission and in the service of his country.

To do justice to a great man is not an easy task, particularly since I did not have the pleasure of knowing Colonel Johnson during his lifetime. I have had, therefore, to rely on photographs of the Colonel, some only small candid photos.

In sculpture the back of the head is almost as important as the face of one's subject. How often we recognize a friend from the back of his head. The shape and the position of the head on the shoulders is an integral part of a man's character. Fortunately, I had Commissioners Murphy and Hutchinson to tell me about Colonel Johnson's personality and his way of life. I studied the photos and the biographical material made available to me in order to portray this man as you will see him today. When Commissioner Murphy saw the completed bust, he said that the Colonel looked as though he had just taken his pipe out of his mouth to say a kind word.

A sculptor's interpretation is limited to a portrayal of the spirit and character of his subject with light and shadow as his principal tools, whereas a writer has a wide choice of words from which to choose in spinning his tale. Once these words were written they are understood by all who read them.

The play of light and shadow on a bronze bust is ever changing, creating many moods: sometimes brooding, sometimes cheerful. Light can make the likeness speak or remain silent.

In creating the bronze of Colonel Johnson I have attempted to portray his brilliance and lucidity of mind as well as his simplicity, a quick blunt man sometimes who deep inside was filled with kindness and love for his fellow man. He was thoughtful and compassionate. His own happy nature was reflected by those who came in contact with him. He was loved and respected by all who knew him. His sense of justice and integrity were conspicuous.

I keenly felt these attributes during my work and sincerely hope they will be apparent to all and a never ending source of inspiration.

Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr. DELISI. Now, the unveiling of the bust by Colonel Johnson's brother.

(The bust was unveiled by Mr. Robert N. Johnson.)

Mr. DELISI. The dedication. Mr. Faricy.

THE DEDICATION

Mr. FARICY. Mr. Chairman, members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Members of Congress, Secretary Boyd, fellow members of the Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners and fellow members of the Post Mortem Club, an organization that, as all of you know, is very close to the heart of the man we honor today, ladies and gentlemen.

The roster of members past and present of this oldest and most respected of the regulatory agencies contains the names of many distinguished Americans. An effort to name even some of those who have brought distinction to its work and added luster to its name would risk the injustice of inadvertent omission. The list is long and inscribed in such characters of brilliance and durability as to constitute a shining and enduring record.

But we can agree today that in all this long history of the Commission now extending over 80 years, no name stands out greater than that of the man whose bust we dedicate today.

J. Monroe Johnson commenced his service to this Commission in 1940 and continued it through the year 1955. Twice he served as its Chairman. The might Colonel, as many of us who knew him often referred to him, was really a great American, engineer, soldier, statesman, administrator of exceptional capacity. He served his country well and faithfully.

Monroe Johnson was a most able executive. As head of the Office of Transportation in World War II, he had the vision and foresight to avoid the mistakes which had lead to government operation of the railroads in World War I. He knew that each of the forms of transportation was well organized on a national scale: the trucks through the American Trucking Associations, the buses through the National Association of Motor Bus Operators, the pipelines through the Association of Oil Pipelines, the inland waterway carriers through the American Waterways Operators, the airlines through the Air Transport Association, the railroads through the Association of American Railroads and the American Short Line Railroad Association, and all transport through the Transportation Association of America.

Colonel Johnson knew also that the shipping and receiving public were well organized through the National Industrial Traffic League and the National Association of Shippers Advisory Boards. He realized that agricultural transportation was capably organized through the farm organizations. Although as head of the Office of Transportation he was not responsible for air transport, he recognized the importance of this growing arm of transportation and coordinated his efforts with those responsible in that field.

In surface transportation Monroe Johnson preferred to work through and with the existing transportation organizations, believing in the sound principle of delegating authority and holding responsible those to whom authority was deelgated and being unafraid either to praise and reward the efficient or to fire and punish the inefficient. He coordinated the effort of America's force of transport and its uses so well that at the end of the greatest war in history it could truly be said that nowhere in all the world was the military might of America lessened or the striking power of its armed forces diminished by any failure of transportation here at home.

His brethren of the Interstate Commerce Commission knew his essential kindness and his innate courtesy. On occasion he could be gruff and even impatient, but he had a passion for justice and believed that justice delayed would be justice denied.

Like most great executives he believed in deciding things quickly without being afraid to be wrong once in a while. Probably many of you have heard him remark, as I have, that perfection was an attribute that the Almighty reserved to himself when he created man.

A trait of Monroe Johnson that stood out was an intense patriotism. I recall one time being on a speaking engagement with him out in the Midwest. His talk preceded mine and he got up to speak immediately after the playing and singing of our National Anthem. Almost as the echoes of the last line of the Star Spangled Banner were fading, he took his text—Land of the Free and Home of the Brave. He went on to say that this country would stay a land of the free so long as it remained the home of the brave and no longer. I wonder what he would have said and thought of today's draft card burners.

Always a vigorous advocate of a cabinet Department of Transportation headed by a Secretary of Transportation, Colonel Johnson's voice was one of the most prominent in behalf of the affirmative of what was once regarded as a highly controversial question. While the Colonel did not live to see the Department of Transportation come to its present efficient reality, he would have been delighted to see how well it is working out and how the fears of those who once opposed the idea have been proven groundless.

Monroe Johnson believed in our two-party political system. He was a life-long democrat who would argue at the drop of a hat with anyone who ever criticized his party. President Truman held him in highest esteem and the President's door was always open to him whether on official business or a friendly social call from this friend he called "Steamboat."

On behalf of the Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners, it is my high privilege today to dedicate this beautiful statue. In presenting it and dedicating it, we dedicate it to the members of the Commission present and future in the hope and in the confident belief that your labors and theirs will contribute to the welfare of America with the same nobility of purpose that characterized this great American, J. Monroe Johnson.

(Applause.)

Mr. DELISI. Mr. Hoeland will present the bust.

PRESENTATION OF THE BUST

Mr. HOELAND. Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission and distinguished guests.

As most of you know, the Interstate Commerce Commission is the oldest of all Federal regulatory agencies, and in the opinion of many it has acquired the reputation of being the best agency, the most responsible in performing its responsibilities and the most effective. This reputation has been achieved not because the Interstate Commerce Commission was the first agency in point of time, but because the Commission has been able to attract to its bench great Americans who are capable and dedicated to their responsibilities and who stand up in that capacity and discharge their responsibilities fairly.

The Association of Interstate Commerce Commission Practitioners may have been remiss in not honoring more distinguished members of the Commission than it has honored heretofore. In part we are at least rectifying that by honoring one great former Commissioner, the late and honorable J. Monroe Johnson; and it is certainly a privilege for me to be a part of this ceremony.

Mr. Faricy has given you a very accurate description and insight into this gentleman and a great person. I have some facts which may be of interest to you although this won't tend to explain what a wonderful person Colonel Johnson was.

He was born in Marion, South Carolina, on May 5, 1878. He was schooled in the public schools of South Carolina and the University of South Carolina and Furman University. On graduation from college, he entered in the civil engineering profession in Marion and opened up an office there which he maintained for a great number of years after leaving Marion.

It was while in this profession that he married Miss Helen Barnwell in 1900.

His career as a public servant began rather early in life because as an engineer he was assigned to work on various state and municipal projects and therefore became associated with the public service that was later to be so conclusive.

In 1916 he was appointed as First Chairman of the South Carolina State Highway Division and he left that position to enter World War I. His Federal career began in 1935 when he was appointed by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt to serve as Assistant Secretary of Commerce, a position which he held until 1940 at which time he was appointed Commissioner of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Mr. Faricy has given you his remarkable career since then, and his accomplishments while at the Commission.

I might say that there is another facet to this great man, and this was his dedication to this country during time of war. He served not only in World War I, but he also had enlisted in the Spanish-American War and rose to the rank of sergeant before being discharged. In World War I he was asked by the Governor of South Carolina to recruit a battalion of military engineers for immediate service overseas with the Rainbow Division. This he did. He assumed command of the regiment and became a chief engineer of the division in 1918 during the first Argonne offensive. His activities in the campaigns of Europe resulted in his being awarded the Distinguished Service Medal of the United States, the Verdun Medal and Legion of Honor from France and the Order of Leopold II of Belgium.

For World War II he was also awarded by President Truman the Medal for Merit and the United States Navy with its Certificate of Appreciation.

So I think we can see that Colonel Johnson was a devoted American whether in time of peace or war. I don't believe, as capably done as this is, Mr. deWeldon, we can really pay accurate tribute to what Mr. Johnson was. It's a beautifully done work of art, and I wish to express my thanks on behalf of the Association for the wonderful work which you have done for the Commission and the country.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Association of ICC Practitioners and the host of contributors to this memorial, it is my high privilege and honor to present to the Commission this bust of J. Monroe Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. DELISI. The acceptance of the bust. Honorable Commissioner Murphy.

THE ACCEPTANCE

Commissioner MURPHY. Gentlemen, colleagues, ladies, present and past officers and members of the Practitioners Association and distinguished guests.

It is an honor and a privilege to accept on behalf of the Commissioner and its staff this tribute to a great man and a dedicated public servant.

I will accept it also for former Commissioners and staff and all who have been inspired by the diligent service of Brother Johnson.

We accept also for those who come after us who will be able to witness—through the presence of this bust in the Rotunda between these two historic hearing rooms—that the contemporaries and the associates and the friends of Colonel Johnson held him in deep esteem and were grateful for his long lasting contributions to transportation and the public interest.

Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr. DELISI. Benediction. Dr. Harris.

(The benediction was given by Dr. Harris.)

Chairman TIERNEY. Ladies and gentlemen, this concludes the ceremony.

Before we adjourn, I should like to invite all of you to come across the hall in Hearing Room A for coffee and light punch. I might emphasize it is light.

The meeting is adjourned.

Thank you.

(Whereupon, at 10:40 p.m., the meeting adjourned.)

NIXON INSISTS ON ORDER

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, order must be restored throughout the land. We cannot continue to condone the things that are happening on some of our university and college campuses, on our streets, in our cities, and throughout the land. I call the attention of the readers of the RECORD to the editorial that appeared in the Tuesday, May 28, 1968 issue of the Knoxville Journal, entitled "Nixon Insists on Order."

Nixon Insists on Order

Of all the presidential hopefuls in the field Richard M. Nixon is the only one who in his experience has been actually involved in the kind of student revolution recently visible on Columbia Universitys campus and others throughout the country.

The Columbia riots represent a special kind of radicalism, namely, violence for the sake of violence; physical force for seizure of power by a small minority trampling on the rights of a huge majority.

On a visit to Venezuela during his second term as vice president Nixon encountered just such an uprising in Caracas as Columbia is finally beginning to cope with. There Nixon and his official party, on a goodwill tour of South American countries, were stoned by rampaging university students, brothers under the skin to those who have paralyzed Columbia.

Because of his personal experience in this incident some years ago, Nixon's analysis of this brand of campus revolution is worthy of noting. His statement follows:

"The educational system in Latin America ranks among the worst in the world. A primary reason is that operating control of many of the universities has passed into the hands of a radical student body. Professors are intimidated and terrorized. Academic standards have collapsed. Academic discipline is almost wholly absent. One after another of the schools I have visited in my travels to Latin America have evolved into hotbeds of activity for political extremists—and educational wastelands for serious students.

"A week ago the specter of radical student control of our great universities began to take shape in the United States.

"The violence and disorders that befell Columbia University marked the first major skirmish in a revolutionary struggle to seize the universities of this country and transform them into sanctuaries for radicals and vehicles for revolutionary political and social goals.

"For both college administrators and student revolutionaries the collision at Columbia was a first test, a baptism of fire, in a struggle for control of the American campus that may only have begun.

"At Columbia buildings were seized and held, professors imprisoned, private files rifled, and a great institution of learning paralyzed and finally shut down. The eyes of the country and the eyes of every potential revolutionary or anarchist on an American campus are focused on Morningside Heights to see how the administration at Columbia deals with a naked attempt to subvert and discredit its authority and to seize its power.

"If that student violence is either rewarded or goes unpunished, then the administration of Columbia University will have guaranteed a new crisis on its own campus—and have invited student coups on half a dozen other campuses around the country.

"We must not allow the Latin university of today to become the prototype of the American university of tomorrow. The way to prevent it is to rid the campus now of any student organization or clique which applauds and uses the type of physical force employed at Columbia. The place to begin is with the anarchic students at Columbia.

"In the ideal, a university is a community of scholars seeking truth; it is a place where reason reigns and the right of dissent is safeguarded and cherished. Force and coercion are wholly alien to that community, and those who employ it have no place there.

"Columbia University is equipped to deal with the arguments of intellect, not with the arguments of physical force. And those students who calculatedly and deliberately used force to terrorize the academic community there have no place within its walls.

"Academic freedom requires that a university be receptive to new ideas and open to heretics and their views. But academic freedom also dictates that the rationally committed stand up and resist the dictates of the emotionally committed. And academic freedom dictates that those engaged in the pursuit of knowledge and truth actively resist the encroachments of hotheads who assume they know all truth."

Let us transfer this viewpoint from the campus to our society as a whole. The reader will have no doubt that, as President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, while protecting in every proper way the constitutional right to dissent, would insist upon not only an orderly society but one in which constitutional means would be employed to bring about changes the necessity for which cannot be either successfully denied or rejected.

SUPPORT OF H.R. 89, H.R. 1447, H.R. 2507, AND H.R. 9836

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, until October 1, 1963, retired military officers, who had served 30 years or more could count on the retirement pay of 75 percent of active duty pay. This time honored relationship had been regarded as contractual for over a hundred years. This system ended with the passage of the Uniformed Services Pay Act of 1963, and from then on adjustment in retirement pay was based on the cost of living. However, a few years earlier a glaring injustice was created by the enactment of Public Law 85-422 on June 1, 1958. This act increased the salaries of all active duty personnel but made no provision to increase the retirement pay of officers who had retired prior to June 1, 1958.

Sixty-four months later this breach of faith was recognized and corrected when these officers were awarded an increase in their retirement pay by the Congress to what it rightfully should have been. Nothing was done, however, to compensate these officers for the income they lost from June of 1958 to October of 1963. I fully agree that the ideal way to correct this injustice would be for the Congress to repay these officers the amounts owing them by direct appropriation but such efforts have failed. The Court of Claims has also denied them relief in Andrews against United States, May 13, 1966.

However, less than 30 days later (on June 10, in the case of *Berkey* v. *U.S.*, 361 F. 2d 983, 987, note 9) the same court held that "military retirement pay has generally not been considered a pension, grant, or gratuity but as something the serviceman earns and has earned." The court also cited in support its own decision in *Lemly* (75 F. Supp. 248) of 18 years before. This same Lemly case was relied upon by a New York district judge in 1960, which held "a pension claim is a gratuity payment which can be withheld by Congress while a retirement claim is a contractual claim consisting of a continuation of active pay on a reduced basis." (*Jones* v. *U.S.*, 185 F. Supp. 347, D.C.N.Y. 1960).

Conceivably the legislative measure we now ask could cost approximately three and a half million dollars in uncollected income taxes per year for 6 years. But I seriously doubt that this amount will be required—for by attrition alone the ranks of these gallant old soldiers will thin—and many will never live to see this debt of honor satisfied.

THE SURCHARGE, THE GOLD CRISIS, AND FISCAL RESTRAINT

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, as you know, we are scheduled to vote next week on the administration's proposed surcharge on corporate and personal income taxes. The Bethlehem, Pa., Globe-Times has advocated that the Congress enact a tax surcharge, coupled with fiscal restraint in Federal spending.

Mr. Speaker, we have been warned by competent fiscal and monetary authorities throughout the world that, unless we strengthen our dollar by eliminating those conditions—inflation and high interest rates—that are weakening its buying power and the worldwide respect it has long held, foreigners would not continue to support the dollar in the future as they had supported it in the past.

As the Globe-Times' editor, John Strohmeyer, points out, enactment of the tax surcharge is the only way we can help bring our balance-of-payments deficit to manageable proportions, and strengthen the purchasing power of the dollar to protect the great economic accomplishments that we have achieved during the past 8 years of Democratic administrations.

The editorial follows:

The Gold Crisis

The impact of the long-simmering gold crisis is just beginning to hit home. While the wheeling and dealing sometimes appears too involved to understand, the one clear fact emerging from the gold transactions is that the stability of the dollar is at stake.

In a weekend meeting, the United States and six western European countries responded to the gold buying panic by establishing a two-price system. Gold will still sell at $35 an ounce for transactions between governments while a free-market price will be permitted to fluctuate from day to day.

This artificial brake on gold speculation stalls the crisis for now, but the threat to the dollar is far from over. If this arrangement fails to stabilize the $35 gold price, devaluation of the dollar would have to follow. Devaluation would be the equivalent of inflation, boosting the prices of everything in terms of dollars.

All other currencies are tied to the anchor of the dollar and the wave of devaluations and dislocations that would ensue could have unhappy results throughout the western world. The Advisory Committee to the U.S. Treasury understated the urgency when it warned that "congress should keep in mind the grave consequences of inaction to our international trade and financial position."

A substantial tax increase, hitting everybody across the board, is the only real way to bring the mounting U.S. deficit into balance. The Federal Reserve board's boost of the discount rate to five per cent is likely to be more of a palliative than a cure. Furthermore, it is too uneven, putting too great a damper on home building, while permitting other areas of the economy to run unchecked.

Few will doubt that the gold crisis is at least indirectly related to the Vietnamese conflict. Unquestionably, the pressures on the dollar, as on the U.S. balance of payments, would be eased if the war were ended today. However, the war policy is a matter that must be confronted on its own. For now, a bit of austerity is needed. For a nation that has 40 million persons who are overweight (though it also has 40 million who are malnourished) a belt-tightening program at home might be good for our mortal souls as well.

REMARKS OF HON. JAMES M. HANLEY AT CITIZEN OF THE YEAR AWARD DINNER, OSWEGO, N.Y.

HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, this past Tuesday, my good friend and colleague, JIM HANLEY, of Syracuse, spoke in Oswego, N.Y., which is located in my district. The occasion for Congressman HANLEY's remarks was a testimonial dinner for one of the most distinguished citizens in my district, Dr. James Grant.

Dr. Grant is the public health officer for Oswego, and in that capacity he has earned the respect and admiration of everyone who has come in contact with him.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent a district populated by such fine men as Dr. Grant, and I want to share with you Congressman HANLEY's appropriate remarks about this gentlemen, as follows:

REMARKS OF HON. JAMES M. HANLEY, JUNE 4, 1968, AT THE CITIZEN OF THE YEAR AWARD DINNER, JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, OSWEGO, N.Y.

I salute the Junior Chamber of Commerce for having taken the initiative in sponsoring this so meaningful, so deserving program which allows all of this community to in some degree acknowledge the outstanding efforts expended in behalf of it and its people by one of your fellow citizens.

To me it has always provided a great source of joy to participate on a program of this nature. When we take time from our routine pursuits to acknowledge the good deeds of another, it is so refreshing. We know that the public is prone to criticism and has been known to dispense it in rather large doses and in many instances when it was totally unwarranted. On the other hand, when it comes to patting a fellow on the back for a good deed, reluctance seems to prevail for some unknown reason.

But not so in the city of Oswego this evening. You are extending the hand of gratitude in profound appreciation for the works of a truly marvelous gentleman. Tonight, special joy prevails in my heart because I am privileged in enjoying a lifelong friendship with your honored guest. With due respect I must say that to be described as outsanding is really nothing new to him. From my close observation throughout his lifetime the word, outstanding, and his name have really been synonymous. Outstanding as a young boy, outstanding as a student, outstanding in athletics, outstanding service in our Nation's Armed Forces, outstanding in his profession, and now Oswego's outstanding citizen, my good friend, Dr. Jim Grant.

When I think of that old gang of mine, my thoughts always wander in the direction of Jimmy Grant. I think of St. Lucy's academy where we went to school. I think of the corner drug store where we whittled away many a pleasant hour, and despite the fact that our nation at that time was plagued with economic depression, never would one of the kids think of civil disorder or criminal act. I think of Jimmy's wonderful parents, Lillian and Jim, Sr., both so active in civic and church activities, yet predominant was their parental responsibility to Jim.

In early recognition of his exceptional ability, all who knew him wondered what his role in life would be. Maybe the Holy priesthood and then, perhaps, the first American pope. Or he might have chosen government, and if he had, I am certain that by this time he would have another presidential contender for the forthcoming campaign. Or he might have pursued a military career, and in that instance, I believe that in all probability our nation would have boasted of a second General Grant. Still some thought that he might choose to serve humanity through the practice of medicine, and that he did I am sure that Jim Grant did a great deal of soul searching before arriving at his decision. His most conscientious character dictated a profession which would allow the best possible use of his talent and what more noble profession exists than that of serving the public health. Thus this community is the envy of his native city. Oswego was indeed blessed when he selected it as the locale for his practice. I am sure that all agree.

The individual practicing physician whose special training and insights make them knowledgeable, constitute the most effective public health resources in the nation. This competence, combined with the enthusiasm of dedicated lay leaders in the community is a more effective instrument for public health than the coercive power of government. Where government reinforces this instrument by grants, stimulation and coordination, as needed, the public health thrives.

The physician is a potential leader in any team effort. He takes time to study the public health needs of his community, his county, his State. He can collectively be the most effective public health influence in the Nation. The modern public health movement is really in his hands. He is the central figure in the whole effort.

For such reasons as these, the individual practicing physician takes a professional interest in the progress of the public health of his region, whether or not it affects his practice. Solid waste disposal, water pollution, accident prevention, hospital planning, mental health and rehabilitation centers, air pollution, conservation of recreation areas, industrial hazards, architectural barriers to the handicapped, disaster programs, child health programs, fluoridation, pesticides—all these and many more such problems affect the health climate in which his family and those of his neighbors live. Both as a citizen and as a physician, he has a stake in public health. By supplementing his knowledge in such fields, all of them closely associated with his basic science education, and by working with both the public and private agencies grappling with such problems, he contributes substantially to the betterment of the public health. The activities of his medical society, his voluntary health agencies, his local board of health, and his participation in their projects can actually determine the pattern of the safety and health of his public. This assures that he really is interested in positive health for the whole man and the whole community.

In former years the solo-practicing physician was represented as essentially the only health resource of the community. To the dispensing of simple remedies, he added kindness and the stature of being one of the few scholarly men in the community. As such he was revered along with the clergy, the local judge, and the school teacher.

Modern society still esteems the physician as one of its most respected citizens. But it sets new standards on the demands it makes on him, both as an individual, and collectively as a profession. He is no longer one of the few intellectuals in town. He is now surrounded by engineers, economists, scientists of many varieties, and trained administrators whose educational preparation is often as advanced and sophisticated as his own. He finds himself cast as a particularly proficient expert among a whole galaxy of experts who compete with him for influence on the course of community affairs. In the process of such competition, he has had to learn to uphold his own professional identity and health skills within an environment made up of skilled specialists in such related fields as social work, sanitation, nursing, insurance, civil and chemical engineering, industrial hygiene and municipal planning. All of these affect both his private medical practice and his leadership in marshalling the health resources of the community in delivering health care to his patients. He is still looked upon as a leader, but those who judge him now include among his skills his ability to furnish services of the other members of the health team as well as his own. His public character as a professional man has become more than ever before that of a coordinator of consultant services. Society has come to measure him almost as much by his socioeconomic community knowhow as by his strict professional skills. This additional burden has been thrust upon him at a time when he has difficulty in keeping up with the volume of new technology welling up among the researchers in his own profession.

Dr. Grant is typical of the physicians who have responded to the challenge of the day. It is dedication and effort such as his which assists the voluntary agencies in their attempts to improve the delivery of health care, especially to the indigent and the disabled. With medicare, title XIX, the heart, cancer and stroke project, and such activities as the poverty and Appalachian regional programs, the Federal Government has entered the field.

Medical societies have a multitude of committees studying these problems. Only thus can the profession influence the direction of change over-all. Wherever the operating agencies, voluntary or governmental, have provided for medical advisory committees in formulating their planning, medicine not only has a voice, but often a vote, in determining the character of change. Otherwise, at any level, professional decisions may be made by planners who lack professional competence, with results that sometimes are disastrous to high quality medical care.

Through voluntary service, the medical profession has many opportunities to keep the community, and the Nation, on a course leading to steady improvement of the public's health. By cooperative support of medical associations, voluntary health agencies, the hospital staff, and health departments, the individual physician can play an important role as a medical citizen. On his willingness to accept this role as a public servant will depend in large measure whether wise decisions in health matters are made in communities, the States and in this Republic.

As that great statesman, the late Governor Al Smith used to say, "Let's look at the record". And in so doing, with respect to Dr. Jim Grant, you as fellow members of this community, know more so than I of his record of achievements designed to assist the betterments of this community. For example, we point to the new wing of the Oswego community hospital now under construction, and we point further to its pediatric section which I am told is the best in New York State. We point to his efforts with respect to fluoridation. We reflect further on his institution of the training program for new mothers and we could go on and on.

Yes, Dr. Grant has mastered the challenge he assumed when he first came to this community, and knowing him the way I do, I am confident that his future endeavors will even further expand upon his stature for he will continue to contribute most significantly to the best interests of the community of Oswego and all of its people.

I conclude with a hearty salute, a pat on the back, urging that you keep up the good work, and may God bless you.

THE ONCE-GREAT LAKES

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, water pollution is a very present threat to the well-being of the American people and nowhere is that threat more dire than in the Great Lakes area.

The May/June 1968 issue of the National Audubon Society's magazine, Audubon, carries an article on this subject by Mr. Jerry Chiappetta. The article, with its accompanying pictures, very graphically points up the great damage which is being done to the Great Lakes and makes it clear that immediate and substantial antipollution measures must be taken.

So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to be more fully aware of the impact of pollution on the water quality of the Great Lakes, under unanimous consent I include the text of the Audubon article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

GREAT LAKES: GREAT MESS

(By Jerry Chiappetta)

Our Great Lakes, largest body of reasonably fresh water left in the world, hold our greatest natural resources and pose one of our greatest conservation problems.

How long can we keep them great?

In the never-ending struggle for clean water, we tend to write off waters like the Hudson, Monongahela, Ohio and Potomac. But we fall back on the good feeling that "we still have Lakes Superior, Huron, and the rest of those Great Lakes."

For how long? And in what sort of condition?

Some say the Great Lakes are in pretty good shape only because man hasn't had enough time yet to do his inevitable bit to dredge them, alter their currents, fill in their shorelines, dam them and, generally, foul them with his junk, garbage and pollution, making them fit for only sludgeworms and leeches.

From the conservationist's point of view, there's plenty wrong with the Great Lakes. Many others, however, don't feel that way.

This great inland waterway carries more freight in a year than all the Gulf and Pacific ports combined. Through the locks at Sault Ste. Marie at the eastern tip of Lake Superior goes more than twice the freight tonnage in a year than passes through the Panama Canal.

Freighters, mostly carrying great quantities of grain, flour, iron ore, fish, beer, automobiles, coal, steel, petroleum, wood products, are increasing in size and number.

For the shipper, the Great Lakes are grand. Through the St. Lawrence Seaway, he can reach 2,342 miles into the heartland of the United States and Canada.

But as more and bigger ships come, pollution problems grow. Ship pollution consists of bilge waters, sanitary sewage, garbage (including cargo spoilage), oil and whatever else can be tossed overboard. Sailors call this their moonlight disposal technique.

When the sun goes down, the crap goes overboard.

Accidental spills in pumping oil and other liquid cargo to shore continue to cause serious problems at ports and harbors.

According to the Senate Committee on Public Works, "Few ships afloat today, even those of recent design, have any facilities for collection, treatment or disposal of shipboard wastes.

"Laws and harbor regulations are very difficult to enforce," the committee report continued. "Bilges can be pumped at night and many ship captains do not honor the ten-mile limit in this regard . . .

"The Seaway has opened the Great Lakes to 90 percent of the world's commercial vessels. Most of the larger cities fronting on the Great Lakes are planning extensive harbor facilities to attract anticipated increases in commercial shipping.

"The increase in vessel pollution which may accompany this increase in shipping is a matter of considerable concern in the Great Lakes, involving water supplies, recreational beaches and real estate values."

Prior to the Seaway opening, only 130 vessels were plying the Great Lakes. In 1959, the first year of operation, the number of vessels rose to 420, then to around 600 a year later.

Cargo tonnage increased from 87,000 tons at Detroit in 1958 to 264,000 tons in 1959. Other lake ports showed even greater increases. At Duluth-Superior, tonnages rose from 21,400 tons in 1958 to 1,620,000 tons a year later!

Government officials admit the full extent of vessel pollution in the Great Lakes has not been studied fully. They do report that along with the representative tonnage increases, the number of people on ships in the Great Lakes represents untreated sewage from a population of well over 20,000 individuals. And that's conservative.

This does not include pollution from auto ferries and the tremendous number of pleasure boats. On Lake St. Clair alone there are more than 70,000 pleasure craft contributing pollution.

Vessel pollution is brought in here because it is so widespread in the Great Lakes and unique to this inland sea. It is also typical of the magnitude of the Great Lakes and their great problems.

Pollution, and getting at its source, is not always a simple thing—like a community voting on a bond issue to build a sewage treatment plant.

Water use and misuse in the Great Lakes involves eight different states, the United States and Canadian governments, and vessels from many foreign countries.

Some also say the problem of pollution can be solved by dilution. If this were entirely true, then the Great Lakes would remain great for at least a couple more generations anyway.

Consider that this is big water. The combined area of the Great Lakes is 95,120 square miles.

How big is 95,120 square miles?

It is half-again more than the total area of the six New England states. Lake Superior alone is a bit smaller than the entire state of Maine and a bit larger than the state of South Carolina.

Lake Huron is almost as big as West Virginia.

Lake Michigan is about equal to Maryland, Massachusetts and Delaware put together.

Lake Erie would about cover Vermont, and Lake Ontario would nearly flood New Jersey.

A few other facts need be stated to better understand the big lakes and their big problems. Superior is 1,333 feet deep and covers 31,800 square miles. Lake Michigan is 923 feet deep and 22,400 square miles. Huron is next in depth at 750 feet but it is larger in surface area than Lake Michigan at 23,010 square miles.

Lake Erie is the shallowest at 210 feet—no little pond at that—and covers 9,930 square miles. Baby brother, Lake Ontario, is only 7,520 square miles in size but it is 802 feet deep.

There is another interesting physical fact about the lakes. They've not level.

Row back up to Superior. Its 600 feet above sea level. Superior's water surges into the St. Mary's River to Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, which are 23½ feet lower.

The current continues through Huron into Lake Erie via the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair and the Detroit River—a drop of another 6½ feet. Lake Michigan, meanwhile, doesn't have the strong current of Huron and the other lakes.

This is important when you examine the pollution problems of Lake Michigan.

Bubbling along now, we find a sort of swirling current in the western basin of Lake Erie which causes what many call "the Dead Sea." They say it is a biological desert where only sludgeworms and leeches reside. The eastern portion of Erie moves a little better until it reaches Niagara Falls, where the water tumbles 326 feet to Lake Ontario.

Power dams along the St. Lawrence River gentle the flow into the Atlantic Ocean.

As any sophomore biologist knows, the flow of water helps purify it. Dogleg-shaped Lake Michigan lazily moves along with little noticeable current. But there is one.

Water enters at the Straits of Mackinac and drifts south along the Wisconsin side and north on the Michigan side. Down in the pocket of the lake, picture a slow swirling current.

It is this same current which carries pollution from Indiana to Illinois. On it, too, rides federal authority to get into the pollution abatement picture.

That little current makes Illinois' pollution "interstate" and that's a magic word in Washington.

But let's not get into the Lake Michigan slime just yet. To better understand these Great Lakes, just a couple more hydraulic facts of life.

Good water is marvelous. It's H_2O: two parts hydrogen, one part oxygen.

Great Lakes water, like too much water today, is more like $H_2O \times 10$. This writer's formula for two parts hydrogen, one part oxygen, and ten parts stupidity, greed, neglect and mismanagement.

Even my fourth grade daughter knows water comes from rain. Annually, the average rainfall in the United States is 30 inches. Averages can fool you. Remember the story about the statistician who calculated that the river he wanted to wade across had an average depth of only 2½ feet.

He drowned.

Thirty inches of rainfall is 4,300 billion gallons of water a day. But 75 percent of this evaporates immediately. The remainder is still more than adequate. In this big picture, the Great Lakes basin gets more than its share.

That overall average, by the way, would cover the land with a depth of 2½ feet of water if it stayed on the surface. Out of that national average, consider that Wynoochee Oxbow in Washington state gets an average of 150 inches, and Death Valley in California gets 2.03 inches. When Hawaii became a state, the record holder in rainfall became Mount Waialeale on Kauai, the world's rainiest place with an average annual rainfall of 471.68 inches.

That's nearly 40 feet of water!

What this all adds up to is simply that the Great Lakes water basin is about the third richest in water in the United States.

Somebody figured that this wonderful, wet area gets an incredible 21 trillion cubic feet of precipitation in the watershed each year. About 6.5 trillion of this flows out of the St. Lawrence, and most of the remainder is lost by evaporation.

So our problem is not one of quantity, but of quality water at the right place at the right time.

Our shipping friends will point out that quantity is still very important to them. A few years ago when the lake levels were down, they lost millions of dollars because ships couldn't get in and out of certain spots. It was pointed out that a one-inch drop in the water level means 80 to 100 tons less cargo in lake freighters. The lake Carriers' Association estimated that the capacity was reduced about ten million tons in 1964, and that meant they lost $19 million in revenue.

This carries us back to the Windy City, which is the biggest user of Lake Michigan water. It takes it supply from deep in Lake Michigan and uses more of the lake water to flush its sewage down the reversed Chicago River sewage canal into the Illinois River, which goes into the Mississippi basin and out of the Great Lakes basin.

Chicago first tapped the lakes at the turn of the century, and in 1909 the U.S. and Canada signed a treaty establishing the International Joint Commission to deal with all matters concerning the flow of these international waters. Chicago was allowed to divert up to 10,000 cubic feet per second of Lake Michigan water.

The same treaty permitted the Canadians to divert 36,000 cubic feet per second and the U.S. another 20,000 cubic feet for generating electric power at Niagara Falls.

Beside the gripes of the shipping interests about Chicago's diversion—which they claim lowers the lake levels each year—the Power Authority of the State of New York complains Chicago's water steal is causing them an annual loss of close to $2 million for each thousand cubic feet per second diverted. New York says this has resulted in a loss of nearly $6 million annually; it wants Chicago to cut down the diversion, and put its sewage treatment effluent back into Lake Michigan.

Illinois and Chicago interests claim they're doing Lake Michigan a great service by not putting the effluent back. They claim it would quickly create one large cesspool in the lower lake because of the swirling current mentioned earlier.

Sanitary engineers contend the returning sewage effluent would create excessive algae and weed growth and eventually destroy the lakefront. They also claim the added treatment, cooling, and other factors would cost an additional $29 million.

In March of 1965, 400 representatives from Illinois, Indiana, the federal government and private industry attended a pollution conference at McCormick Place, called by then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze. It was decided that southern Lake Michigan water was in such poor condition it threatened the health of millions of people who drank it, swam in it, and used it in other ways.

This was not news.

But for the first time, authorities had proof of pollution and who was responsible. Maurice LeBosquete, assistant to the federal chief of water supply and pollution control, laid the cards out faceup in showdown poker fashion.

He identified Indiana industries and municipalities as the chief violators. Studies indicated that all of the streams in the Calumet area were polluted. The Grand Calumet River was worst of all. There was practically nothing alive in the water. The Little Calumet and Calumet rivers and the Indiana Harbor Canal were also severely degraded.

He said there was no dissolved oxygen in the Indiana Harbor Canal, and its waters and banks were covered with oil. Other parts were rust-colored from waste pickle liquor.

Effects of this pollution extended into Lake Michigan.

Officials named the polluters as U.S. Steel Corporation, Gary, Ind.; Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, East Chicago, Ind.; and Inland Steel Company, East Chicago, Ind.

Three petroleum refineries were also listed as serious polluters. They were Cities Service Oil Company, Sinclair Refining Company, and Mobil Oil Corp., all in East Chicago.

Of these, the worst was Inland Steel, which dumped 480 million gallons daily, or the pollution equivalent of 200,000 people.

These various companies dumped ammonia nitrogen, phenol, cyanide and oils in varying amounts daily. Authorities said all of the plants had invested in waste treatment facilities, but they were either old, inadequate, overloaded, or in some way could not do the job officials felt should be done.

These firms, by a long shot, were not the only offenders. Unfortunately, no degree of treatment will ever make these "trout waters" again, but everyone at the conference appeared eager to get the situation out in the open and do something about it.

No one likes to spend millions and millions of dollars for treatment without being forced to do it.

Water in such industrial areas "is too thick to spoon, too thin to plow."

Murray Stein, chief enforcement officer in the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration which was to be transferred from Health, Education and Welfare to the Department of Interior, told this writer that it was interesting how fast industries and municipalities can find the know-how and the money for water cleanup when the big stick is over their heads.

In fact, Stein said in a speech at the 31st North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference in Pittsburgh in 1966, we already have the three elements of success at hand—technical knowledge, money, and enforcement.

"We have enough of these to check pollution and reverse the tide right now," Stein emphasized.

At that Chicago showdown, and at a similar one in Detroit called by the Michigan Water Resources Commission, reporters heard the same whimperings from spokesmen for industries and municipalities. The Michigan commission was setting water quality standards for the lower Detroit River and Lake Erie.

The Water Resources Commission had taken all the alibis it had intended to take and was telling some powerful outfits like Ford Motor Company, and the City of Detroit they had to stop their waste dumping practices. Thirty-one industries and municipalities were put on notice.

As in Chicago, the polluters or their representatives marched in to testify. It sounded like a broken record:

"We can't afford it." "We'll have to move out." "You are unreasonable." "We'll need state and federal aid." "It will take ten years to reach these standards."

It was the same old dirty song and dance. And the Michigan officials had heard it all too many times before. Their official patience had run out.

City of Detroit officials were the first to cry "It can't be done." The Detroit Department of Water Supply serves approximately 38 percent of Michigan's population in Detroit and 49 suburbs. At the time of the showdown notices from the state Water Resources Commission, Detroit was negotiating with twenty additional communities for sewage treatment services.

General Remus, general manager of the Detroit department, told the commission he couldn't see how they could meet the state's high standards for reduction of biochemical oxygen demand and for phenol removal.

"Records show that plenty of dissolved oxygen exists in the (Detroit) river except for a marginal period of a couple of weeks per year," Remus complained.

"The proposed allowable discharge of phenols per day appears unduly restrictive considering that all industry in Detroit and 49 suburbs discharges into the Detroit system. More industry is served by this system than exists in southwest Wayne County including those discharging directly into the river. We therefore request our limitation be no lower than 250 pounds per day by 1970 and 93 pounds per day by 1977."

The Michigan officials weren't buying that.

Remus then threatened that Detroit would have to cancel servicing the suburbs and/or raise rates if the state didn't chip in to pay for the higher treatment costs. Detroit has an old, combined storm and sanitary sewage system. This means that when this water-rich area gets a downpour, the treatment plant must be bypassed and raw, untreated sanitary wastes go directly into the Detroit River and eventually into Lake Erie.

What has happened in Detroit and Michigan is vital to all the Great Lakes, because 41 percent of these waters are within Michigan's boundaries—38,575 square miles. This includes more than 3,000 miles of Great Lakes shoreline.

Looking at it another way, Michigan has 41 percent of the Great Lakes, Ontario has 36 percent, and the other seven states—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota—share the remaining 23 percent.

In a few short weeks, the City of Detroit and the others who had been called on the carpet came through and agreed to all Water Resources Commission stipulations to raise standards of sewage treatment.

Just as Murray Stein had said, it was amazing how fast polluters found the money and know-how to clean up when the screws of enforcement agencies were finally tightened!

Chicago, like Detroit, has not lost any industry or jobs because of the belated crackdown. Manufacturers—like everyone and everything—need adequate, clean water for survival.

They know it takes anywhere from 17,000 to 65,000 gallons of water to make a ton of finished steel and from seven to 70 gallons of water for a gallon of gasoline. Steel and gasoline are important products for Great Lakes-based manufacturers. It takes 10,000 gallons to make a car. The auto industry uses a quarter of a billion gallons per day, according to the Automobile Manufacturers Association! (73.6% is surface water.)

But let's move up the Great Lakes and consider some other problems of pollution, a word which is defined as: "The presence of substances in water in such quantities and of such quality that the water's value to other users is unreasonably impaired."

The great industrial heartland of America, this Great Lakes country, is leading the way in development of new pollutants. Some of them are not removed from water by conventional forms of treatment in waste disposal or water purification plants. Micropollution is a growing problem.

Phenol, also known as carbolic acid, is the base of phenolic wastes produced in several Great Lakes industries, including the manufacture of gas and coke from coal. Since phenolic wastes taste like medicine and smell even worse, their presence in drinking water evokes immediate complaint. Some people can taste phenols in concentrations of as little as one part in a million parts of water, although a strength of one thousand times greater is still harmless to humans.

The problem with new pollutants is not new but it is one which all agree will get worse as new products and harmful and yet unknown byproducts become realities.

The University of Minnesota Department of Entomology, Fisheries and Wildlife is conducting research now on the problem of water pollution from paper mills. Wood products are big business in the upper Great Lakes country.

The University of Minnesota says wood fibers and paper mill effluents, as well as chemical effluents, may be adversely affecting certain species of young fish. They have discovered that fiber from evergreens is more lethal than aspen fiber and has a greater effect on walleye fingerlings than upon fathead minnows. In addition, mortality of the fingerlings was greater in water containing less dissolved oxygen.

In 1943, pulp and paper companies centered their research efforts in the National Council for Stream Improvement. David C. Knowlton, chairman of the council's board, said the industry's pollution problems reached the critical stage around 1966. Knowlton said there are three factors working in this area: (1) an aroused public determined "to do something"; (2) fears of an ultimate water shortage in large areas of the country; and (3) politicians at all levels of government who have seized on this as a new *cause célèbre*.

As a spokesman for the wood industry, Knowlton emphasized that 75 percent of the paper and paperboard mills had waste treatment facilities in 1964, compared with only 37 percent in 1949.

As a spokesman for clean water, this writer asked, "What about the other 25 percent of the mills with no treatment facilities for their damaging wastes?"

He said it's a matter of money, that in the past 22 years the pulp and paper industry had spent $165 million on waste treatment facilities and current expenditures are in excess of $15 million annually.

Wastes from this important Great Lakes industry are measured in biochemical oxygen demand per ton of pulp and paper. In the last 22 years, the BOD has been reduced by 65 percent.

Federal authorities have set a goal of 85 percent reduction in the BOD load and virtually complete removal of the settleable solids.

Knowlton said that to accomplish this, the industry would have to spend a billion dollars without considering future capacity increases. In other words, they would have to spend $100 million in the next ten years compared with the current annual expenditures of from $15 to $20 million.

And this is an industry very big in the Great Lakes and one which needs vast quantities of water to separate cellulose from nonfibrous constituents of the wood. More water is needed to produce paper and paperboard from wood pulp. In addition, the industry requires water for steam generation and cooling.

Paper mill wastes have been found all the way to the outer Apostle Islands in Lake Superior, the cleanest and largest of the Great Lakes.

All the time there is an increasing demand for paper products, resulting in increased pollution despite the gains in treatment and technology. Reclaiming chemicals is not always economical. Most Wisconsin paper mills, for example, are old; to build elaborate treatment facilities would be too costly, according to company representatives.

Stanton Mead, chairman of the executive committee of Consolidated Papers, Inc., is more encouraged than most about reclaiming chemicals and using byproducts. He was quoted as saying, "Byproducts may someday be bigger than paper-making."

It takes 50,000 gallons of water to process a ton of sulphite pulp, often strained 30 to 40 times through filters costing $10,000 each. Despite this, some fibers still escape.

Still the work goes on. Charmin Paper Products Company at Green Bay, Wisc., reportedly has spent $4.5 million since 1955 on pollution control.

It is difficult to expect local residents of a one-industry, paper or pulp mill town to blow the pollution whistle on their only employer. Unfortunately, most of the Great Lakes states don't allocate enough cash to run good, strong, well-manned enforcement agencies.

For example, Wisconsin—considered one of the leading "clean water states"—spends only $230,000 annually for anti-pollution enforcement. That's about as much as it costs to put one helicopter into combat in Vietnam. Of that quarter of a million dollars, only $62,000 is from direct state taxes; the remainder is from Uncle Sam and various conservation funds. The Wisconsin Historical Society gets an $800,000 annual budget!

Authorities in Wisconsin report there is a backlog of $31 million worth of work needed in sewage plant construction, that old WPA-built sewage plants are now obsolete. The situation is not unique to Wisconsin.

That state has 420 sewage plants, and a third of them provide only primary sewage treatment. This means removal of only 35 percent of the organic wastes.

You cannot consider the condition of the Great Lakes water until you examine the source of it and the condition of that source water. So whatever happens in the states and Canada happens in the Great Lakes also.

The situation in Chicago again is a classic example of the profound economic, social, technical and legal difficulties inherent in pollution abatement. Although Chicago gives secondary treatment, the city pours out an effluent equivalent to the sewage from one million persons and containing solid wastes, suspended and in solution, amounting to 1,800 tons daily.

Skipping back up Lake Michigan, the Metropolitan Milwaukee Sewage District treats its sewage up to 90 percent, one of the best records in Wisconsin. This goes through a relatively new $10.6 million sewage treatment plant. Yet, South Milwaukee declined to join the sewage district, and it oozes its sewage through an old plant which settles out only 35 percent of the decomposed organic matter. The rest goes directly into Lake Michigan.

Richard C. Kienitz, a reporter for the *Milwaukee Journal*, made an extensive survey of pollution in Milwaukee and Wisconsin and commented:

"Everywhere I went, I found our streams polluted and getting worse. The spreading menace spares no river or lake."

He found that Wisconsin's undermanned water resources staff is able to survey Wisconsin's drainage basins only once in seven years!

Wisconsin Senator Gaylord A. Nelson was quoted as saying: "Lake Michigan is so badly polluted with sewage, oils, chemicals, and iron slag, scientists doubt it can be reclaimed. Yet 27 Wisconsin communities still take their drinking water from Lake Michigan."

Officials described the Milwaukee River as "unsuitable in a practical sense for all common uses." There is now a Milwaukee River Watershed Committee trying to tackle the problems of water use and misuse.

The story there is tragically similar: dams, subdivisions, floodplain destruction, temperature, chemical and other forms of pollution, channels, diversion, and shoreline destruction.

Senator Nelson's remarks about Lake Michigan could be and have been repeated in spades about "the Dead Sea," Lake Erie.

Back at that wildlife conference in Pittsburgh, outdoor writers asked Murray Stein of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration what he thought of Lake Erie. He called it a big cesspool.

Stein was optimistic about the general future of water pollution abatement, but said that efforts to save Lake Erie might be too late.

"For almost two centuries man has been dumping wastes of every description into Lake Erie and we may have passed the point of no return," Stein said. Asked about federal water quality standards which were to be set on all waters by June 30, 1967, Stein said there was no use in establishing standards on Lake Erie which would be so high they would never be met.

He said government examiners found western Lake Erie in extremely poor condition. The bottom is covered with decaying organic matter and sludge. Deeper waters in the central and western basins are extremely low in dissolved oxygen. Little if any aquatic life could be found there. This oval-shaped mass of dead water extends roughly from Conneaut, Ohio, westward to Sandusky.

Hearings on pollution were held in 1964 in Cleveland and Buffalo, and recommendations were made to check the lake's pollution.

Stein's comments on goals were puzzling. Regarding Lake Erie, he said there was no use in establishing high "unreachable" water quality standards. Yet, a little later, he was asked about Pennsylvania's clean stream programs.

"You had 3,000 miles of acid-polluted streams when this program began," he said. "How many miles of these streams have you declaimed?"

He went on to say that conservationists should be satisfied with nothing less than complete stream recovery, and added that this could be accomplished only by stringent enforcement and penalties.

Shortly after Stein made news about Lake Erie, Michigan Attorney General Frank J. Kelley jumped on the antipollution bandwagon by proposing a "crash program" because pollution "is reaching the crisis stage."

"The Detroit River which empties into Lake Erie is polluted beyond reasonable limits," he said.

"It is a sad fact, but nevertheless true, that up to this minute, the State of Michigan has not contributed one red cent of its money nor made use of any of its taxing powers towards helping municipalities in carrying out our water pollution control efforts.

"In the case of municipalities, the entire cost has been borne by them excepting as they are aided by federal grants under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. In the case of industries, no assistance whatever has been forthcoming.

"I propose that we promulgate and carry out, as quickly as possible, a crash program—a program which will include the lending of the state's financial aid to municipalities so that the cost of construction of sewage control works would be spread on a fair proportion among federal, state and local governments."

Since Kelley made his "crash program" proposal, things have begun to move in the right direction in Michigan.

The state legislature made available several million dollars in grants to municipalities for sewage treatment facilities, to go to local units of government after all federal grants and aids are exhausted.

In addition, Michigan legislators passed a law giving industries tax exemption on "approved" treatment facilities. The State Water Resources Commission must approve the facilities in order for the tax exemption to be granted.

Meanwhile, the last time anyone checked Lake Erie had lost a half-dozen of its 32 recreational and swimming areas because the water was unsafe for humans. The blue pike (walleye) catch had fallen from 20 million pounds in 1937 to only 7,000 pounds in 1960. But overfishing by commercial netters seems just as guilty here as the pollution. Ohio has raised the minimum walleye size limit from 13 to 15½ inches to protect these fish. Ontario and Michigan are expected to do the same.

Actually, the death whistle on Lake Erie appears to have been sounded prematurely. The catchy label "Dead Sea" doesn't fit Lake Erie when you consider that in 1964 this so called dead lake yielded 13,354,000 pounds of fish valued at $1,252,000. This figure comes from the Great Lakes Fishery Commission and concerns only the weight and value of the U.S. catch. In 1964, the commercial catch in United States waters of all five Great Lakes totaled 53,600,000 pounds, and was valued at $5,424,000.

In most waters, the measure of the fish life is also the best measure of water quality. Great Lakes fishing has had other problems besides pollution: The sea lamprey and the alewife are two.

These are two saltwater invaders which have caused millions of dollars in losses to commercial fishermen and seriously hurt sport fishing.

The sea lamprey story has been reported many times before. Suffice it to report that the lamprey has been beaten back in Lake Superior and put on the run in Lake Michigan to the point that fisheries officials from the United States and Canada are restocking with millions of lake trout, salmon and steelhead (or rainbow) trout. Work in Lake Huron on the lamprey and restoration of the trout is now underway.

Fisheries people are concerned now that the victory over the sea lamprey may be empty in view of the awesome population of small, nearly worthless nuisance fish—the alewives—which had been held in check by large trout. When the lamprey removed the big trout, the alewives skyrocketed in numbers.

Today officials estimate, for example, that 85 to 95 percent of all the fish weight in Lake Michigan is alewives. Commercial fishermen Bob and Paul Peel of Saugatuck told this writer they can net five to six tons of alewives in two six-minute runs with their small fishing boat out in Lake Michigan!

Worthless as human food, alewives are selling for around a penny a pound as pet and mink food. More importantly, farsighted fisheries people like Dr. Wayne H. Tody of the Michigan Conservation Department's Fish Division and former division chief Dr. Howard A. Tanner, now with Michigan State University, want to convert alewives into game fish.

This alchemy will be achieved when fast-growing, alewife-eating coho (or silver) salmon and additional steelhead trout are fully established in the upper Great Lakes.

This is all more than a daydream. Several hundred thousand five- to nine-inch coho salmon were released in Lake Superior and northern Lake Michigan streams in the spring of 1966. Canadians have already released kokanee salmon in upper Lake Huron in hopes of establishing this exotic fish in this region.

Dr. Ralph A. MacMullan, Michigan Conservation Department director, says that pollution is the only factor today which can completely knock out the highly succesful coho salmon introduction. In the fall of 1967, fishermen caught amazing salmon of 15 to 20 pounds and bigger in Lake Michigan and in several northwestern Lower Peninsula streams. The successful coho program is being reported as one of the greatest gains in wildlife management in a decade.

Dr. MacMullan is worried now because pesticides are reaching a critical level in the Great Lakes, especially in Lake Michigan. There is a question, now under study, as to just how much DDT and similar deadly poisons it really takes to make fish sterile.

It is too early now to know for sure where this level is in the salmon's ability to absorb pesticides and still be fit for human consumption or to reproduce.

Another indicator of the quality of any body of water is the wildlife that lives around it. On this score, too, portions of the Great Lakes are sick.

Several years ago, more than 12,000 ducks were killed in the Lake Erie and lower Detroit River marshes by oil pollution.

As far back as 1941, Type C botulism killed wild ducks in the Lake Erie marshes near Monroe, Mich. No other outbreaks were detected until 1961, when several hundred ducks and shorebirds died in Saginaw Bay in Lake Huron. Again it was Type C botulism. More dieoffs occurred in Saginaw Bay in 1962, '63 and '64 and again at the mouth of the lower Detroit River in 1964 and '65. Estimates of losses pegged the dieoffs at several thousand ducks and shorebirds.

On Lake Michigan in 1963, there were unprecedented losses of gulls, loons, grebes and other water birds. Dr. L. Dale Fay, pathologist for the Michigan Conservation Department, reported a second dieoff of birds in 1964 in northern Lake Michigan, from St. Ignace to Wisconsin. Losses that time were pegged at 3,570 loons, 820 gulls, 260 grebes, 240 ducks, and 30 miscellaneous birds.

Then, in 1965, another significant loss occurred among loons, gulls and grebes on Lake Michigan. Dr. Fay said the sick gulls showed symptoms in varying degrees; birds most acutely affected were completely prostrate with their wings limp alongside the body, or outspread, and the head lying on the ground.

"The picture was one of complete helplessness," he said.

Autopsies showed "no evidence of starvation, injury or parasitism" responsible for the mass mortalities.

"What appears to be a significant finding was the occurrence of toxin of Type E botulism in the tissues of a majority of the birds studied."

Fay indicated the birds, or at least most of them, died after eating alewives which washed onto the shore. However, he added, "the means by which loons, grebes and mergansers—which are not known to eat dead fish—get the toxin is totally unexplained."

The fish, the birds, the boats, and the people—always the people—and the pesticides which also affect the health of the Great Lakes are all just pieces in the big puzzle.

No one can accurately measure the health of these five big lakes. General, sweeping statements such as the one about Lake Erie being "a Dead Sea" are misleading.

To say that Chicago can continue draining off water without causing damage to other lake users is foolish. But to what degree is there damage? Is it unreasonable? Who is to determine reasonableness?

Should the lakes be used only as dumping grounds? Should they be restored to their condition in Indian days (if indeed possible) because we want to catch trout off the Chicago docks?

So, who cares about a few gulls? Aren't there to many anyway? Weren't the water and the wildlife put here for man in the first place?

To get some answers is not easy. Senator Nelson wants a Great Lakes Water Authority, along with immediate action by Congress so more federal money will pay for waste treatment facilities. All of this, along with stricter enforcement of existing laws, might do part of the job.

In the final analysis, the trouble with water has been disinterested people, not the lack of this bill or that or of this matching fund or that

As Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute has said:

"Despite all the fanfare of legislative accomplishment—and there has been major accomplishment—woefully inadequate progress is being made. Pollution abatement is a costly, complex, continuing and unspectacular necessity

"Its urgency and its virtue are chronically understated until there is a water shortage."

There is no water shortage in the Great Lakes country today in the same sense that shortages exist in the Southwest, and have occurred in the densely populated and very polluted East.

Great Lakes people have been spoiled and slow to learn because they have been water-rich for so long. Water is cheap and plentiful here and people waste it and misuse it.

Fortunately, things are changing. The water is getting dirtier, and people are starting to notice. Maybe that's the way it has to be.

Certainly the trouble with water has been people. These same people, if they really want to, can make it right again.

REA ESSAY WINNERS IN NEBRASKA

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, this year, as in past years, the Nebraska Rural Electric Association has sponsored a very worthwhile essay contest in which the youth of Nebraska are invited to compete. The topic of the essay contest is "What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community." Winning essayists are rewarded by being permitted to participate in a Nebraska youth tour to Washington.

It is always a pleasure for me to include some of the prize-winning essays in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I hope my distinguished colleagues will find the following essays as interesting as I have:

WHAT RURAL ELECTRIFICATION MEANS TO ME AND MY COMMUNITY

(By Jean Dvorak, 17, junior, Schuyler High School, daughter of R. C. Dvorak, Schuyler, Nebr.)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Cornhusker Public Power District, Columbus, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

I reluctantly turned over in bed and nudged my sister awake. Leaving the warmth of the feather ticks we dressed as quickly as we could. We raced down the cold stairway and into the kitchen to stand by the glowing wood range. Soon we all marched outdoors to do the chores before breakfast.

Outdoors the pale blue sky in the east had a few streaks of yellow and red across the horizon where the sun was about to emerge. While I was pumping water for the house I could see the lantern in the barn and I knew that my Father and brother were milking the cows. I hurried to carry the wood and the water into the house.

The rest of the family came into the house carrying the pails of steaming milk. We sat down to the breakfast that Mother had prepared on the big, black range: home cured bacon, fresh eggs from our henhouse, home made jelly and Mother's own biscuits. The lamplight was dimmed by the rays of the sunlight that now came streaming in through the window.

Ring . . . .

I turned back the electric blanket and reached over to shut off the electric alarm clock. Waking my sister, we began to dress in the warm bedroom heated by electricity. We could smell the bacon which was browning under the broiler and we heard the electric toaster "pop". Water heated by an electric water heater made morning washing a pleasure ever for our brother. Father had listened to weather and market reports as he planned his work for the day. Milking, feeding, mixing, grinding as well as the water supply are all done by electricity on the farms of our community. As we were leaving for school, I remembered the dream I had had about the good old days.

What does rural electrification mean to me and my community? It means the dependable supply of energy which is used for heating, lighting, and power. It means a standard of living comparable to our city cousins'. It means the operation of a farm with the ease and safety of a modern factory. It means that the population as a whole can live better, eat better and for less cost, because of a part that electricity has played in the efficient production of food.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Kathy Collins, 16, junior, Elkhorn Valley High School, daughter of Woodrow Collins, Meadow Grove, Nebr.)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Elkhorn Rural Public Power District, Battle Creek, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

The light of the world is undimmed by darkness since REA came into being. No one appreciates this light more than the rural people in Nebraska. Not only do we have light but wonderful conveniences to lighten our work load and increase the pleasures of our leisure time.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Rural Electrification Administration in 1935. The REA was made a permanent agency in 1936 by Congress.

Since this time, the REA has not been at a standstill. Its efforts and help have increased with the needs of our growing community and nation.

Loans by Congress to the REA have readily been increased through the years. This has made it possible for a greater number of farmers to take advantage of rural electrification. In the last few years, there has been a 50 per cent increase in kilowatt hours. This is nearly as much as in all the years of the REA combined. Even after this great achievement, the REA still strives for a better rural life.

This struggle for improved conditions in rural areas is shown by the introduction of the security light. This light keeps cattle eating longer for faster gains and has become a great safety factor to the farmer. With the low rate rate on the security light, it has become a very successful addition to rural electrification.

The value of rural electrification is priceless. Electricity has become one of the greatest dependencies of my rural community as well as others like it across Nebraska and the United States.

Through the efforts of the REA, the value of electrification to my rural area will become even greater. The past 30 years have proved the REA's value to us; and the next 30 years will bring us an even brighter, better future.

Rural electrification in the next 30 years will strive for a balance between the rural and urban areas. The efforts of the REA can answer the desires of rural communities for better schools, hospitals, and water and sewer systems. They can answer the desires for rural jobs by inviting and attracting big companies to small towns, which will create new payrolls and new capital. In turn, this can mean new opportunity for the communities served by the REA. The fulfillment of these desires can enrich the quality of life in the rural communities and put it on an equal basis with city life.

The value of rural electrification is great, and it has and will create a nation of rural beauty and urban energy as well as a nation of rural energy and urban beauty.

REA is democracy in action from the grassroots. The directors of the REA are voted for in a free election the same as class officers and club groups elect their leaders to bring good and loyal service to all their patrons.

The power districts and their directors generate business to raise the standards of living and bring about purchasing power for billion-dollar sales in business. This makes it possible for the rural community to live better and grow financially.

All the achievements of the REA in the past years are just the beginning of the advances being made in electricity in fields such as education and medicine. While these things are still far in the future, they will eventually be brought to rural America by the widely reliable, dependent, and low cost Rural Electrification Administration.

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Keith Rexroth, 17, junior, Sidney High School, son of Robert Rexroth, Sidney, Nebr.)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Wheatbelt Public Power District, Sidney, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

What is the first thought that enters our mind when we hear the word electricity? We immediately think of convenience. Electricity has helped to mold and better the lives of people with whom it has come in contact. In some of the more remote areas of the world, however, this development has not yet been established in any significant extent. Although times have been hard for these people, their conditions will steadily improve when electricity becomes rooted in their daily lives.

If we would all just stop to think for a moment, we would get the "big picture" of how difficult it actually was for our ancestors. Imagine the discomfort of getting up on a cold, blustery morning in the dark of winter without any heat in the house because the fire had gone out during the night, perhaps due to a sudden gust of wind penetrating through the house. If electricity were then available as it is today uncertainty would have been avoided.

Today's modern homemaker would be at a tremendous loss without the versatility of electricity. The electric sewing machine would be absent from its otherwise occupied corner of the living room. Thus, sewing would be a more time-consuming process and would prevent the homemaker from having outside interests.

Cooking has been simplified by the electric range. In early times, the only means of cooking man's food was over an open fire. Then as he became more advanced in his culture, he began burning coal and wood in the first stoves, which were simple, harsh devices. Eventually gas came into existence. This was a method much improved over the previous means of cooking. But the greatest discovery of all was yet to come—the discovery of that mighty gift known as electricity. This invention broke the monotony of life.

Electricity not only has proven itself very useful, but it has also provided a source of entertainment for our people, especially our younger generation. Where would today's teenagers be without record players or a hi-fi to furnish music for their many parties and dances? They would be lost. The world would be dull and practically meaningless to them.

Although music is the first thing we think of as a source of entertainment, there are many others. For instance, what would Christmas be without electric lights on the tree, lighted nativity scenes, and lighted ornaments arraying the house? During the Yuletide season, the small child's world is centered around the excitement of coming downstairs on Christmas morning and seeing the brightly lighted, beautifully ornamented tree surrounded by its many gayly bedecked gifts.

Electricity is so important in our daily lives that it would be difficult now, after becoming accustomed to it, to do without it. Electricity has made possible today's radios, television, computers, electric typewriters, household appliances, electric tools, modern heating systems, irrigation systems, and other items too innumerable to mention. When speaking of electricity I'm sure like me, everyone must think of this phrase: "Electricity, what took you so long?"

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Ruth Darling, 17, junior, Lodgepole High School, daughter of Kenneth Darling, Lodgepole, Nebr.)

(NOTE.—Contestant sponsored by Wheatbelt Public Power District, Sidney, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

To the people living in the rural areas in 1935, rural electrification created a revolution in American farm life. That year President Roosevelt established the Rural Electrification Administration. Long term, low interest loans were granted to cooperatives to set up local rural electrification distributors. Within 30 years, transmission lines were stretching from coast to coast carrying electricity to 98 per cent of the farms in America.

Today, electricity is progress as it was back in 1935. Progress is the moving ahead to make a better future possible, which is what electricity has provided for rural life. Electricity has added a very essential element into the hands of the farmers. This element could be described as the "power of the switch." This power has greatly increased the profits obtained on the farm. Well-lighted feed yards with automatic mixer-grinding machines and electrically heated waterers account for better and faster gains, making the back-breaking labors of carrying feed or chopping ice unnecessary. This power also provides a very efficient fencing set-up. It takes very little effort to install or remove an electric fence and even less effort to control it. A well equipped electric shop saves costly repair bills. Grain dryers enable the crops to be harvested earlier and stored safely. Electric pumps and irrigation systems save crops during drought and the hot summer days, giving the farmer added income.

With electricity has come a new way of life for the farmer and his family. No longer is it necessary to be awakened by the harsh ring of the alarm or for work and activity to be regulated by sunlight. Electric lights eliminate eye strain and provide a longer day and a brighter night, while the radio and television keeps him informed and entertained. With automatic electric heat the days of shoveling coal, chopping wood, or carrying out ashes are gone. Air conditioners promote much needed rest after long dusty days in the field and equally enjoyable is the sound of music from the timed clock radio for drifting asleep.

Electricity has brought the housewife her fair share of progress with this "power of the switch." She now enjoys the same labor saving devices that earlier only the cities enjoyed. In an electrically heated home, she prepares meals with time-saving and work saving appliances. The automatic dish washer takes care of the daily dishes, while the automatic washer and dryer relieves the burden of the family wash. She cleans with an electric vacuum or mends with an electric sewing machine. Electricity gives her added leisure to relax, or to devote more time to her family, herself, and her community.

Rural electrification not only benefits the farmers but also makes it possible for the development of industry in the community. Increased job opportunities and a stronger economy are provided in our local area by the Stramit Plant, the Chicken House, the Egging Cab Company, the Pig Mama, and the Chappell Cheese Factory. This promotes progress in our community.

Truly it can be said that electricity has played a tremendous role in developing life as it is today. Electricity not only helps the farmer and the community develop, but it will be the major element promoting it. Yes, electricity is really a progress pusher.

Growth and Future of the REA Program

(By Joe Howsden, 16, sophomore, Alma Public School, son of Floyd Howsden, Alma, Nebr.)

(Note—Contestant sponsored by Twin Valleys Public Power District, Cambridge, Nebraska, in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

If you drive into any modern, progressive farm yard in the nation, you will see electrical power being utilized to its fullest advantage. For only now has the American farmer realized how efficient and productive electricity can be. Until recently the power use was chiefly for electric lights and appliances in the home, but now the list will extend indefinitely with still more in the future. Now the items are irrigation wells, automated watering systems, automatic feeding and watering of livestock, grain handling systems, etc.

Right now the progress that can be gained from the right use of electricity is unlimited. Presently we are hearing much about how electrical power can improve one's livestock feeding operation. It is said that with a new and modern feeding system, a man's labor and time spent feeding will almost drop to zero. This would give a man more time for recreational activities and more important, time for planning and improving his operation. This is a minor benefit when compared to the great step-up in profits due to the more efficient work accomplished. This will amount to a huge sum, for the electrically powered machines can be made almost completely automatic, even to the point of being better than the farmer himself. Also it is a tireless and noncomplaining worker that knows no time off and charges the same for overtime.

Another field that is flourishing is that of the "all electric home." This is behind schedule due to the past insufficiency of electricity to the rural area, but that has changed. Now the supply is most abundant and the products of which it is used are even more plentiful. Now the trend is changing from just electrically operated appliances to a completely electrically operated home. This is an improvement, for again it is much more efficient for heating, cooling, and lighting the home than are other fuels. In this area, again it is better adapted for keeping the climate within the house livable, than is the occupant himself.

There are many various fields just as broad as the one above and will thus constitute a substantial increase in the use of electricity themselves. These fields vary from electronically controlled devices used in handling livestock, to the use of computers in future farm planning. This can even be stretched to the electric automobile and also an electric tractor of the future. These may seem greatly unreasonable, but are actually on the drawing boards right this minute. This would work in quite well with the present system, for their batteries would be recharged at night, when the usage is at its ultimate low.

This demand for electrical power will cause REA to grow and flourish, even more than it is now doing. This means more lines to be built and improvements in existing wiring to be made, which is REA's business. Now, electrical utilities are the best investment a person can make, of which a large section comes under the REA jurisdiction.

Growth and Future of the REA Program

(By Nancy Patricia Andrews, 17, junior, Holbrook Public School, daughter of Donald H. Andrews, Holbrook, Nebr.)

(Note—Contestant sponsored by Twin Valleys Public Power District, Cambridge, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

Electricity is man's "genie" and his wish is its every command. Too often as man journeys throughout life he takes too much for granted as in the case where electricity is concerned. The flip of a lightswitch seldom stirs the mind to remember the vastly interesting history of electricity or to wonder about the future.

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Rural Electrification Administration only 10% of the American farms were served by electricity. Little did he realize that this program would be such a success and result in supplying electric power to over fifty per cent of America's electrified farms.

In Roosevelt's time the vision of the future for technological advancements was vague. If a person would have walked up to the common man at this time and told him that he predicted the use of completely automated dairies with milking machines, cream separators, and milk coolers all controlled automatically by electricity within twenty years, the man would have probably laughed at him.

Nebraskan's are and should be proud that their's is the only state within the United States to have all of her power services owned and operated by the public. This fact alone insures a bright future which will foster new and creative developments for Nebraska in the area of electric power.

It seems that we have perhaps already reached an almost maximum in the possible appliances, farm aids, and luxuries for the midwestern dweller, but the realization that there is much more to come cannot be ignored. Since all of Nebraska's power is controlled by the people not only the farms and rural areas are affected by the R.E.A. Program, but people in all phases of life. Thus, all electrical improvements will be an advancement for the R.E.A. These new steps in progress will include such things as autos, tractors, automatic maids (robots), and picture telephones all controlled by electricity. Some of these items have already been experimented with and are sure to appear.

A look into the future shows us that either directly or indirectly electricity will influence the answers to man's problems. The use of artificial light in large indoor "farms" will be used to speed up the growth of plants. Weather will be moderately controlled by using aircraft to project electric shock waves into clouds to prevent damaging hail storms. Ocean water will be desalted and result in more land under cultivation. The control of insects or viruses destructive to farm crops and to man individually will result from the use of satellites which predict crop infestation and inform the farmer. The constantly increasing population will increase the food shortage, and new foods will be produced from such products as algae or bacteria of yeast.

Thus, the R.E.A. Program has a promising future to look forward to in continuing its work of serving the people, and another name for the Rural Electrification Administration might be *R*eaching *E*very *A*merican.

The Value of Rural Electrification in Our Home and Community

(By Randell M. Mueller, 16, sophomore, Emerson Hubbard Community School, son of Ardell Mueller, Thurston, Nebr.)

(Note.—Contestant sponsored by Burt County Public Power District, Tekamah, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association.)

"How valuable is Rural Electrification in my home and community" is like asking, "How big is a mountain or how bright is a star?"

Rural Electrification provides water for our home and farmstead. Research has proven because of a constant water supply for drinking, bathing, and better laundry facilities, our health is greatly improved. It is also proven to be a profit-builder for our livestock, besides being a moral booster to see clean cars and green lawns in the rural area.

Rural electricity brings year round controlled climate to our home. Can value be placed on a night's rest for an asthmatic hayfever sufferer? This comfort is provided by electric air conditioning in summer and humidifier in water.

Try to value the comfort of a warm room and colored TV as a January blizzard is raging just a few feet away.

Can one measure the value of the growth in new born pigs as they nestle under electric heat during subzero weather or lay stretched out in front of fans on hot humid summer days?

Remember the scoop shovel and belt operated grinders? Now place a value on that electric grinder and electric elevator. While pondering this, how valuable is the dusk to dawn lighting used in livestock houses, as well as to quiet newly purchased livestock out in the yards?

The time of waiting for daylight to check sick animals is past. Medication is as easily administered at midnight under electric lights as at noon.

What is the value of the pride in a farmer's eyes as he looks over a green field of corn being moistened by an electric powered irrigation system when near by wilted cornfields must stand waiting for rain that may not come?

Farm machinery has the fallacy of breaking down just as the town shop closes at 6:00, but with farmer owned electric welders, drills, sharpeners, air compressors and other power tools, repairs can be made in the farm shop, and often in a matter of minutes the machine is returned to the field instead of waiting for the 7:00 opening next morning. Who can place the value on convenience?

Farm buildings are in constant need of some type of repair. The efficient electric saws, wrenches, and paint sprayers cannot be measured by a dollar sign, but it shows in a more beautiful rural America.

With the farm price squeeze becoming tighter each year, Rural Electrification becomes even more valuable, replacing high priced labor with low priced Rural Electricity. It allows farmers to efficiently handle more livestock and irrigate more acres while living healthier, more comfortable lives.

COLUMBUS DAY: NATIONAL HOLIDAY

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall vote No. 130, on the 9th day of May 1968, I was unavoidably absent and could not vote due to a previous congressional commitment. The bill involved was H.R. 15951 and provided for uniform annual observances of certain legal public holidays on Mondays. It also established Columbus Day as a legal holiday, to be celebrated every year on the second Monday in October. The bill passed the House by a vote of 212 to 83. If I had been present I would certainly have supported the bill since I was one of the original sponsors of legislation to make Columbus Day a National holiday. I will do all in my power to see that this bill is acted on in the Senate and that it becomes the law of the land.

THE LATE ROBERT F. KENNEDY

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, as a friend of the Kennedys, both Senator ROBERT KENNEDY of New York and his brother, our late President John Kennedy, I feel a particular loss at the violent death of Senator KENNEDY. I share in the grief of his wife, children, and family and express to them my deepest sympathy.

This act of violence which cut down one of America's leading statesmen in the middle of an outstanding career is but the most recent example of the hatred and violence which exists in the world and in this country. Lawlessness, violence, disorder increasingly seem to be the rule, rather than the exception. At all levels, both personal and governmental, we must rededicate ourselves to the elimination of the environmental causes and the personal causes which give rise to these horrible acts of violence.

I have no illusions that laws will totally eradicate lawlessness, disorder, and violence, but they can go a long way toward minimizing them. Our people cannot live in fear and disorder. Legislation must be enacted to minimize the opportunity for insane people, incompetents, and others in that category to easily obtain any and all kinds of guns. Something must be done about reconciling the constitutional right to bear arms and the more basic right of each citizen to be safe on the streets and in his home. Action is needed, both in terms of legislation at the Federal level and by efforts at the State and local level, but, above all, by individuals themselves.

In the final analysis, however, while we may deal with the environmental problems which give rise to grievances and frustrations through legislation and we may pass laws which would attempt to eliminate poverty, provide better housing, provide for the sick and the elderly, and to correct the social injustices which do exist in our society; in the final analysis, we are talking about what is in the heart and in the mind and in the spirit of individuals. Hatred, bitterness, and violence will never be legislated out of existence. Each American must look into his own heart to recognize and to attempt to deal with the hatred, bitter disagreement, and frustrations which give rise to irrational acts.

In addition, we do need a national assessment of the underlying causes of human behavior which have created not only the most affluent Nation, the most educated Nation in the world but also one of the most violent. We are able to go to the moon, to transplant hearts, and yet we know little about human behavior and the ability of men to live together as brothers. We will never make a satisfactory effort in this regard until we have brought to bear on this subject the very best individual, scientific, and spiritual effort in our country. Accordingly, I strongly support the efforts of President Johnson in the naming of a Presidential commission to deal with this. I will have further legislative recommendations along this line very shortly.

A BILL TO ESTABLISH A JOINT UNDERWRITING ASSOCIATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TO PROVIDE FIRE, EXTENDED COVERAGE, AND ESSENTIAL PROPERTY INSURANCE

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, the President's National Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas has stated that insurance is essential to revitalize our cities. It stated that:

> It is a cornerstone of credit. Without insurance, banks and other financial institutions will not—and cannot—make loans. New housing cannot be constructed, and existing housing cannot be repaired. New business cannot be opened, and existing businesses cannot expand, or even survive.
>
> Without insurance, buildings are left to deteriorate; services, goods, and jobs diminish. Efforts to rebuild our nation's inner cities cannot move forward. Communities without insurance are communities without hope.

The District of Columbia businessmen must have insurance to protect the security of their premises and operations of their businesses so that they can continue to serve all sections of society. Because of this, on June 3, I introduced a bill, H.R. 17607, to establish a joint underwriting association to provide fire, extended coverage, and essential property insurance in the District of Columbia.

I feel that this type of insurance is badly needed in the District of Columbia if businessmen are to remain in business. Insurance is a critical link in the chain of production and distribution as products move from factories to the Nation's shopkeepers and eventually to the consumer.

My bill makes it definite that insurance coverage will be offered to provide against such everyday crimes as holdups and robberies, as well as malicious mischief and vandalism, burglary and theft. It will relieve the daily burden that criminal activity has placed upon the small businessman. The small businessman is crying for this type of insurance, which is now unavailable, and yet without it, it is impossible to remain in business.

In recent testimony before the Subcommittee on Business and Commerce of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, Hilliard Schulberg, executive director of the Washington, D.C., Retail Liquor Dealers Association, said:

> In the past two and a half years, six members of our local retail industry have been murdered. There have been over 500 holdups, and an unbelievable number of burglaries, larcenies, acts of pilferage and other types of vandalism.
>
> Last year's disasters in Newark and Detroit and the criminal reign of terror which is still rampant in the District and in many metropolitan areas have focused attention on a problem common to all our cities, a problem which is more threatening than violence itself. This problem is the fear that past violence has created. Even where there is a modicum of control over criminal activity, the fear that violence might break loose becomes a clear and present danger to continued existence of normal neighborhood business.
>
> We believe you will agree that maintaining insurance against fire, casualty, holdups, thefts, window-breakings, is as elementary a part of the cost of doing business as is hiring labor, buying merchandise or paying rent. And like every other cost of doing business, it is passed on to the ultimate consumer as part of the cost of living. But because of the chaotic conditions in our cities, the cost of insuring stores and the goods in them is going up astronomically.
>
> These higher costs for insurance to storekeepers, and the resultant higher prices for their customers, are not the entire problem. We may well be facing a situation in which insurance is not to be had at any price. Indeed, this is a condition that now exists in many communities. In such situations there is a great incentive for local merchants simply to take their beatings and close their doors. The economic consequences to the community in such situations are obvious.
>
> Adequate insurance at a reasonable cost, it is thus apparent, is crucial; it is vital. No one can risk being in business without it. Big business won't and small business cannot.

The bill which I have introduced is consistent with the pending Federal insurance measures and would be buttressed by them. It has adopted a balanced and moderate approach, and it is fair both to property owners insuring through the pool and to those insuring in the normal market. It is not unnecessarily disruptive of the private insurance mechanisms and may in the long run create a new demand for other types of insurance from citizens who will be living in stabilized and improving communities, who have a future to look to and wish to protect it.

I hope that my colleagues will realize the importance of this legislation and act favorably on it.

CONGRESSMAN BASIL WHITENER ADDRESSES NORTH CAROLINA DEMOCRATS

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, earlier today, my colleague, the gentleman from

North Carolina, BASIL L. WHITENER, delivered an inspiring keynote address to the North Carolina Democratic Convention in Raleigh. I recommend that address, which follows for the consideration of other Members of Congress:

Mr. Chairman, Governor Moore, Members of the Council of State, distinguished guests, fellow Democrats, it is a distinct honor and a high privilege to address this assemblage of North Carolinians who are dedicated to the precepts and principles of our great Democratic Party.

North Carolina is one of the foremost states of the Union. She enjoys an enviable reputation among her sister states. Tar Heels, regardless of political affiliation, are justly proud of the splendid accomplishments of their State.

Democrats, quite properly, have a special pride in North Carolina. This is because the leadership of our Party in State affairs has been the prime factor in the preeminence of our State in the family of commonwealths.

Every student in North Carolina knows the proud motto of our State—"Esse Quam Videri"—To Be Better Than To Seem. The philosophy, traditions, and accomplishments of the Democratic Party truly and accurately give life and meaning to the motto of our State.

The Democratic Party has not been content to merely exist. It has furnished the ideas, the programs, and the leadership which have given us a prosperous, progressive, and proud people.

There are those who are going about condemning our State, the Democratic Party, and its leadership. They display a callous disregard of history. The objective observer will proclaim that the magnificent record of social, educational, and industrial progress made during the past 68 years has been due primarily to the devoted and productive service of Democratic leaders.

An awareness of North Carolina's record of achievement under Democratic governors since 1900 comes to each of us by a mere call of their names. No other state can boast of such an array of leadership as we have had from Charles Brantley Aycock of Wayne, R. B. (Bob) Glenn of Forsyth, W. W. Kitchin of Person, Locke Craig of Buncombe, Thomas W. Bickett of Franklin, Cameron Morrison of Mecklenburg, Angus W. McLean of Robeson, O. Max Gardner of Cleveland, J. C. B. Ehringhaus of Pasquotank, Clyde R. Hoey of Cleveland, J. Melville Broughton of Wake, R. Gregg Cherry of Gaston, W. Kerr Scott of Alamance, William B. Umstead of Durham, Luther H. Hodges of Rockingham, Terry Sanford of Cumberland, and Dan K. Moore of Haywood.

These magnificent Democratic leaders encouraged, supported, and administered programs which strengthened our State in education, industry, highway development, treatment and care of the infirm and retarded, ports development, recreation, and every other facet of proper government service to our people. They have given us fiscal management and government organization of the highest order.

The support of Democratic members of the General Assembly made it possible for these able Democratic governors to constantly move North Carolina forward in the mainstream of progress.

During the past 8 years the administrations of Terry Sanford and Dan K. Moore have given new impetus to the attainment of quality education at all levels of education in our State. Historians will record that these two dynamic leaders of the Tar Heel State, through their zeal for education and economic development, will have the appreciation of generations yet unborn.

The same historians will take note of the brilliant service of Governors Scott, Umstead, and Broughton in the Senate of the United States. Their effective leadership in that body is recognized and appreciated by all North Carolinians.

North Carolina Democrats at the state and national level continue to reflect great credit upon the Democratic Party and the people they so ably serve.

In the Congress of the United States the interests of North Carolinians are capably served by our Democratic Congressional Delegation.

In the Senate, Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., and Senator B. Everett Jordan give dedicated leadership on the Committees on Armed Services, Government Operations, Judiciary, Rules and Administration, Agriculture and Forestry, Public Works, the Joint Committee on the Library, and the Joint Committee on Printing.

In the House of Representatives, Representatives Walter B. Jones, L. H. Fountain, David N. Henderson, Nick Galifianakis, Horace R. Kornegay, Alton A. Lennon, Roy A. Taylor, and I serve on the Committees on Agriculture, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Foreign Affairs, Government Operations, Post Office and Civil Service, Public Works, Banking and Currency, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Veterans Affairs, Armed Services, Interior and Insular Affairs, Judiciary, and the District of Columbia.

Each member of your Democratic Congressional Delegation is working diligently to enable our government to operate and function more efficiently, within the framework of the Constitution, in resolving the domestic and international issues which confront our nation.

North Carolinians who believe in the principles of sound constitutional government know that they will best be served by protecting the valuable seniority which enables their representatives in Washington to attain positions of even greater opportunity in making national decisions. Those who believe in the basic tenets of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson will best serve their philosophy through the preservation of the type of representation which North Carolina Democrats are giving them in Washington.

By their legislative voting records your Democratic Delegation in Congress has exemplified the definition of a Democrat given by the revered Charles B. Aycock, when he said:

"A Democrat is a man who believes that our national government has the powers which were granted to it in the Constitution—and none other. A Democrat is a man who believes that the powers not granted to the national government in the Constitution of the United States are reserved to the people or to the States. A Democrat is a man who believes that the power of taxation is the power to destroy and that this power was never vested in any Government by a free people except to defray the expenses of the Government economically administered. A Democrat is a man who believes in the individual and thinks that his rights ought not to be restricted in any respect save only so far as is essential to the peace and progress of his neighbors. A Democrat believes in order to be responsive to the quick demands of the people the Government should be as close to the people as it is possible to bring it. A Democrat believes that when you have centralized your Government and made it strong and put it far away from the people, that the great mass of the people can't put their hands upon that Government and enforce the will of the multitude."

Aycock's defintion of a Democrat is as true today as it was at the time it was uttered.

Democrats frequently disagree with other Democrats. These disagreements must not be permitted to destroy the instrument of service which has meant so much to our people. We must adopt the philosophy of the renowned Zeb Vance, who said: "We have our differences and dissensions in the Democratic Party, but we will settle them inside the church and without calling on the ungodly."

It would be unrealistic for me to assert that the Democratic Party is without problems as we approach the coming election. The same sense of realism leads me to the conclusion that these problems can be dissolved by individual Democrats proclaiming the record and stating the facts of history with reference to our great Party.

The Democratic Party is not the party of the right or the left. It is the party of all the people. It is the party in which all Americans can unit on the middle ground as we seek to build a greater nation. There is room in this party for the liberals, moderates, conservatives and all sincere elements who wish to move forward in this State and Nation.

We know no class, creed, nor "border, nor breed, nor birth". The people who make up our party come from all sections of the Nation and represent all segments of political thought.

Truly, ours is the party of all the people and all sections of our great Nation.

I am proud of the traditions of the Democratic Party. Under its banner we have advanced the cause of the underprivileged and have carried a torch of hope for the typical American. We appeal to the elderly; yet we challenge the imagination of the youth.

In every section of our great land we have welcomed conservatives, liberals, and moderates. Out of this crucible of ideas and philosophies we have fashioned our goals of good government and leadership in these United States.

Democrats have been at the helm of our nation in war and in peace. In peace we have led our nation on the road to higher standards of living, greater prosperity, and more personal income for those who labor in the vineyard.

In time of war we have furnished the leadership and courage which eliminated the ambitions of the imperialistic Kaiser Wilhelm, the raving Hitler, and the Axis war lords.

Our nation has always met and mastered challenges to freedom. We have suceeded because courageous men have been willing to risk their lives. Braver men have never lived than those who carry our colors today in Southeast Asia. Under the leadership of our Commander-in-Chief they are holding high the Flag of our Nation on the bloody soil of South Viet Nam.

In this all-important effort our President has set the goal for us and has reminded us of our basic heritage. He has pointed the way toward an honorable settlement in Southeast Asia.

For anyone to undermine this course of action at this critical time would be extremely harmful to our country and our free way of life for many years to come. All Americans, therefore, regardless of political party, should firmly resolve to uphold a position of unity at home, peace with honor abroad, and to fully support the 500,000 young Americans whose courage and devotion in Southeast Asia will forever be an inspiration to their countrymen.

Let us look at some of the results on the domestic scene of the leadership of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson in our national government since 1961.

5.8 million undergraduate students attend college today.

1.5 million of our college students are in college because of programs sponsored by Democrats.

2.9 million adults participate in vocational education courses.

9 million educationally deprived boys and girls are benefiting under special educational programs.

700,000 veterans have received job training and higher education under the GI Bill. Almost 400,000 of these veterans are in training today.

42 million children have been vaccinated against diphtheria, measles, polio, tetanus, and whooping cough in the past 4 years.

150 mental retardation clinics are serving the needs of 43,000 persons.

265 community mental health centers have been funded in areas serving 57 million people.

The gross income of the American people has risen to $558 billion, an increase of 35 percent in the past 4 years.

The Gross National Product is more than $805 billion.

Total employment has increased by more than 6 million workers during the past 4 years.

Corporate profits, after taxes, have increased 93 percent in the past 4 years.

20 million children receive at least one hot meal a day through the school lunch program.

3 million Americans in small cities and towns have received the benefit of $573 million expended for water and sewerage facilities during the past 4 years.

5.5 million rural residents have received benefits under Farmers Home Administration programs.

2.2 million rural subscribers have received new and improved service through the REA telephone system.

2 million farmers in over 3,000 soil conservation districts have received guidance and assistance in soil and water conservation practices.

More than 48 million small businessmen have participated in the Small Business Administration loan program.

Thousands of students have benefited under the National Defense Education Act and other programs for the assistance of worthy students in our institutions of higher learning.

Millions of elderly Americans have had their lot in life improved through enlightened amendments to our Social Security Program and the modernization of our veterans benefits structure.

Regional medical centers are now being established to combat many of the dread diseases which have taken their toll of Americans for generations.

The Appalachian Regional Development Program has brought new hope to millions of our people living in the economically depressed mountainous regions.

The economic interests of our farm people have been served through programs of soil conservation, marketing procedures, and sound legislation.

The American worker receives the largest pay check and works under the most favorable conditions ever experienced by labor anywhere.

American military personnel receive the highest compensation and the finest equipment ever provided to the fighting men of any nation.

Those are more than dull statistics. They are an incontrovertible confirmation of the continuing record of progress under Democratic administrations. I have heard none of the critics of our Party contend that they would repeal these great legislative attainments.

These gains by the people, under the forceful leadership of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, will be ratified by the American people when they return our Party to national leadership in November of this year.

Here in North Carolina under the able leadership of Governor Dan K. Moore, and with the cooperation of a Democratic General Assembly, our Party is maintaining its characteristically brilliant level of service to our people. The record of progress on the national level has been paralleled here in the government of North Carolina.

The complex problem of social and economic change now occcurring throughout the land has been met with deliberation and determination in North Carolina.

The State's economy continues to expand. Our 5 million people are sharing in the nation's abundance. Non-farm employment has reached a record high. Wages and salaries have continued to climb. The per capita income of our people is increasing substantially.

Under Democratic leadership North Carolina has practiced fiscal responsibility. We are proud of the financial integrity of North Carolina. We have an exceedingly low public debt, and our credit rating is unexcelled in the nation. The State's budget of almost 3 billion dollars is being wisely utilized for services which benefit every North Carolina family.

For 68 years the people of North Carolina have reposed their trust and confidence in the leadership of the Democratic Party. In return they have been given sound and progressive government. The State has grown and prospered. Every North Carolinian has shared the benefits of Democratic leadership.

At this critical stage in the history of our State, Nation, and indeed the world, it is essential that there be a unity of purpose for the common good. Every American, regardless of race, creed, national origin, or political party, should reaffirm his basic faith and trust in the great principles upon which our Nation was founded and has prospered. These principles have sustained our society down through the years. They have stood the test of time.

Our State is passing through a difficult period. In the exercise of the duties of his office Governor Dan K. Moore has exemplified the finest traditions of the Democratic Party. He and his associates in government are insuring that every person in this State shall have equal justice under law and shall be secure in their persons and property. All North Carolinians can be proud of the forthright approach of his administration in providing this high standard of executive performance.

During this year of decision by the people of our State our Party must move forward with its traditional confidence and faith in the individual and his ability to discern the right course.

We must rededicate ourselves to the preservation of human and property rights and the maintenance of a strong sense of individual responsibility.

For our democracy to survive it must be a self-disciplined democracy—one of restraint and with respect for law and order. We are charged with the responsibility of preserving liberty and freedom for generations yet unborn. That is the task for each of us.

We can move forward in North Carolina only with a sound program under the direction of dynamic leadership. The past record and the new platform of the Democratic Party in our State provide that sound program.

The nominees of our Party, headed by Bob Scott—our next governor—will provide the dynamic leadership during the next 4 years. We can all safely place our trust and confidence in Bob Scott and the nominees of our Party throughout the Tar Heel State.

Let us today resolve to carry the Democratic message of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Charles B. Aycock, and Zebulon B. Vance to the people in every section of every county in our commonwealth.

Let us proudly proclaim the merits of our Democratic candidates and the proven principles which will guide them in serving all the people of our proud State.

THE RULING IS 7-PLUS MILLION TO 1 IN FAVOR OF ACTION BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, now that the Supreme Court has ruled by a decisive margin of 7 to 1 on the burning of draft cards, the Congress and the American people hopefully can expect the Attorney General to initiate action against others who have violated the law.

The vacillation by the Attorney General should now come to an immediate halt. Benefit of doubt and the fullest extents of the law have run their course. Action is the next step and it should be taken.

I include in the RECORD today two articles. One is a front-page story from the Baltimore Sun, by Oswald Johnston, on the Court's decision. The second is a release issued by the commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars calling on Attorney General Clark to give "early indication of the intentions of the Department of Justice with respect to the prosecution of the literally hundreds of draft card violations on which no legal action has been taken."

The failure of General Clark to act against militant extremists, to forward cases to the Subversive Activities Control Board, to act in cases of questionable union practices, in the wake of rioting, and other areas should not be compounded by failure to act following the Supreme Court's decision.

The articles follow:

VFW LEADER URGES ATTORNEY GENERAL TO PUNISH DRAFT CARD MUTILATORS

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 5.—The Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, has called on the Attorney General to "move with vigor and dispatch to institute criminal proceedings against all those who . . . willfully burn or otherwise mutilate their draft cards."

Joseph A. Scerra, of Gardner, Mass., commended the Supreme Court "for its recent decision ruling that the Federal Government has the right to punish those who burn, or otherwise knowingly mutilate their draft cards."

In a letter to Attorney General Ramsey W. Clark, Scerra asked for an "early indication of the intentions of the Department of Justice with respect to the prosecution of the literally hundreds of draft card violations on which no legal action has been taken."

"I can see no reason why the Attorney General has waited so long to deal firmly with those willfully destroying their draft cards," the V.F.W. Commander said. "There are hundreds of such cases known to the Justice Department, as well as cases of men who incite the young men of our nation to denounce their obligation to the nation as a whole. I certainly hope that those who burn and mutilate their draft cards, those who defile Selective Service Records and those who counsel draft evasion will be summarily dealt with by the government, which, as the Supreme Court has upheld, has laws on the books to indict under such cases."

In writing the Attorney General, Scerra said: "We have every confidence that our fighting men in Vietnam were heartened by the news of this historic decision of the Supreme Court. Most assuredly, unpatriotic demonstrations against our Nation's efforts in Southeast Asia, draft card burnings, and other overt acts of defiance of laws imposing military service obligations have been discouraging to those bearing the risks and burdens of battle in Vietnam and have adversely affected their morale."

The V.F.W. leader said that "Justice and equity for the many patriotic Americans giving their lives in the cause of our Country demand . . . immediate and forceful application of justice against all who break the laws of our Nation."

Draft-Card Destruction Law Upheld—Douglas Dissent Urges Justices to Consider Viet War's Legality

(By Oswald Johnston)

WASHINGTON, May 27.—The Supreme Court upheld today by a decisive margin a 1965 law making it a Federal crime to burn or mutilate a draft card.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, speaking for a 7-to-1 majority, vigorously rejected the claim that burning a draft card to protest the Vietnam war is an act of "symbolic speech" that ought to be protected by the First Amendment.

HELD IN CONGRESS'S POWER

The act by which Congress made such an action a criminal offense under the draft laws is fully within the constitutional powers of Congress "to raise and support armies," Warren ruled.

Justice William O. Douglas, the sole dissenter, made no attempt to argue that burning a draft card is a form of expression protected by the First Amendment. Instead, he declared that the legality of the Vietnam war is itself not clear and ought to be aired in court.

The dissent was one of those opinions in which Douglas, as a minority of one, strongly urged the Court to decide whether young men can be drafted in peacetime. Congress, he has pointed out, has never declared war on North Vietnam.

WE OWE . . . AN ANSWER

"I think we owe to those who are being marched off to jail for maintaining that a declaration of war is essential for conscription an answer to this important undecided constitutional question," Douglas said.

In ruling that card-burning is not constitutionally protected speech, Warren also rejected a claim that the main purpose of Congress in passing the law was to suppress anti-war dissent.

"It is a familiar principle of constitutional law that this Court will not strike down an otherwise constitutional statute on the basis of an alleged legislative motive," the Chief Justice declared.

In a brief concurring statement, Justice John M. Harlan, the Court's most consistent conservative, observed that, in his opinion, the draft-card case before the Court raised no significant free-speech issue. The defendant, he pointed out, "manifestly could have conveyed his message in many ways other than by burning his draft card."

MARSHALL NOT PARTICIPATING

The five other members of the majority joined Warren's opinion in silence. Justice Thurgood Marshall, the former Solicitor General, took no part in the case.

The issue came before the Court after David Paul O'Brien, a Boston University sophomore who burned his draft card two years ago, convinced the First Circuit Court of Appeals that the card-burning law was an unconstitutional suppression of anti-war dissent. He had been sentenced to up to six years under the Youth Corrections Act.

The Justice Department which has successfully defended the statute in the Second Circuit in a New York case and in the Eighth Circuit in an Iowa case, appealed to the Supreme Court.

RESULT EXPECTED

Today's result reversing the First Circuit ruling and reinstating O'Brien's conviction, was expected.

During oral argument in the case last January, the justices listened with an apparently unanimous lack of sympathy as O'Brien's American Civil Liberties Union lawyer attempted to brand the card-burning law a congressional "act of hysteria."

Erwin N. Griswold, the Solicitor General, argued sternly for the United States that the statute is fully within the range of acts Congress can outlaw as disruptive of the Selective Service system.

Douglas, the dissenter in the case, was absent during that argument, and the majority ruling today gave full backing to everything Griswold urged.

LIKENED TO DRIVER LICENSE

"A law prohibiting destruction of Selective Service certificates no more abridges free speech on its face than a motor vehicle law prohibiting the destruction of drivers' licenses, or a tax law prohibiting the destruction of books and records," Warren wrote.

"We cannot accept the view that an apparently limitless variety of conduct can be labeled 'speech' whenever the person engaging in the conduct intends thereby to express an idea."

The decision, while no surprise in its broad outlines, could have unexpected effect on the Boston trial, now in progress, of Dr. Benjamin Spock, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., and three other defendants indicted for conspiring to hinder the draft.

NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN

The key to the Spock-Coffin "conspiracy," according to the Government, has been a nation-wide campaign to convince youths to return or abandon draft cards. Accordingly an expected defense maneuver is the argument that the cards serve no serious function and cannot legitimately be made the subject of draft-board regulation.

Last February, defense lawyers in the case took the unusual step of asking the justices to withhold decision on that point when they ruled in the draft-card-burning case.

In a brief unsigned order today, the justices denied the Spock-Coffin motion to file a brief in the O'Brien case. And in his opinion, Warren spelled out in detail several ways in which draft cards are of administrative use.

MANY FUNCTIONS

The many functions performed by Selective Service certificates establish beyond doubt that Congress has a legitimate and substantial interest in preventing their wanton and unrestrained destruction," Warren declared.

The other cases that today provoked Douglas to dissent all involved draft-board actions which were unsuccessfully challenged in lower courts.

In two, both involving Jehovah's Witnesses, the question of a "peacetime draft" was directly raised. Both men face jail sentences for refusing to report for civilian work as conscientious objectors. The high court refused to review their convictions.

In his other dissent Douglas argued that the accelerated induction of two "delinquent" war protesters should be delayed until the legality of punitive inductions is fully resolved.

OPPOSES PENALTIES

"I am unable to see any place in our constitutional system for Selective Service delinquency regulations employed to penalize or deter exercise of First Amendment rights," Douglas said.

"The First Amendment means that whatever speech or protest a person makes, he may not, I submit, be taken by the neck by the Government and subjected to punishment, penalties, or inconveniences for making it."

WASHINGTON REPORT

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I wish to insert the following newsletter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Washington Report, June 1968

(By Congressman William E. Minshall, 23d District, Ohio)

"The whole world is following us with attention," said North Vietnam's negotiator Xuan Thuy as peace talks began in Paris. Global attention is riveted on Hanoi's actions, not only at the conference table, where its polemics are subverting progress, but also in South Vietnam. There Hanoi's stepped-up, savage attacks are inflicting record casualties on civilians and military-and enemy infiltration has intensified 10 times over the pre-Paris figure. Talking peace while escalating killing is strictly by the Communist rule-book, as witness the 2 years of negotiations during which 20,000 lives were lost before a settlement was reached in Korea. . . . *The Citizens' Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam*, headed by ex-U.S. Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), numbers among its members former President Eisenhower, Dr. James B. Conant, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey and Generals Omar Bradley and Lucius Clay. *They caution:* 1) U.S. thinks of negotiations as a road to peace but Ho Chi Minh regards them as another way to fight the war; 2) Americans should not be deceived or discouraged by Communist rhetoric; 3) Hanoi hopes to capitalize on U.S. impatience to end the conflict-such impatience, the committee feels, could adversely affect chances of productive peace talks.

Crime Waits for No man—But enactment of the Safe Streets Act might have to, unless the House by-passes conference on the bill and votes to accept it as amended by the Senate. House Judiciary Chairman Celler (D-N.Y.), whose power is sufficient to indefinitely stall action by conferees, warns he will kill the bill in conference rather than permit the Senate version to become law. Senators voted 72–4 for the bill in which they overruled Supreme Court decisions on confessions and police line-up identifications which hamper law enforcement; banned interstate sale of rifles and shotguns; approved court-supervised use of wiretapping by law agencies. With a crime explosion of 88% in the last 7 years, many feel the Safe Streets Act deserves urgent priority.

Minshall Truth in Negotiations bill was passed by the House May 6, now awaits action in the Senate Committee on Armed Services. My legislation would require Defense Department auditors to examine books of military contractors for over-charges. Resulting refunds to the government—and savings to the taxpayers—could run into hundreds of millions of dollars if this measure is enacted.

Poor Peoples' Campaign is well established in its plywood tent city near the Lincoln Memorial, appears permanent despite discomfort, crowding and vagaries of Washington weather. A small delegation from the Cleveland area called on me, but failed to return at my invitation for a lengthier visit. I had hoped to discuss with them two bills I have introduced to help alleviate poverty problems—H.R. 8881, to create a National Home Ownership Foundation to aid low-income families to finance home purchases, and H.R. 17145 to establish a Commission on Hunger . . . Most of those involved in the Poor Peoples' Campaign appear to be sincere, but a few militants in the group keep the Nation's Capital on the alert for any signs of violence.

Did you know? For the first time since 1825, the House of Representatives may be called upon to elect the President of the United States next year—if none of the candidates receives a majority of the Electoral votes. In this case the Constitution provides that each State shall have one vote in the House for the Presidency; the Senate would determine the Vice Presidency.

Vacationers! While my limited supply lasts my office has available a useful guide for those of you planning a summer camping trip. The 1968 National Park System Directory lists 571 campgrounds—28,115 camping sites in 78 national parks, seasons for each area, facilities, and duration of stay permitted.

Watch for Minshall Opinion Poll Results—Thousands of returns have been received and continue to pour into my office daily. They are being data processed and results will be sent to you in a future mailing.

Cleveland office: 2951 New Federal Office Bldg., 522-4382.

Washington office: 2243 Rayburn House Office Bldg., Area Code 202—225-5731.

MRS. MARY V. MISH

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, countless Marylanders were saddened by the sudden death last Saturday of Mrs. Mary V. Mish, without a doubt one of the foremost citizens of Washington County, Md., and neighboring Berkeley County, W. Va.

Mrs. Mish was a woman of lively intelligence, tremendous energy, and deep commitment to the future of the Potomac Valley. As a historian, she was fascinated by the rich past of the valley, and believed that this heritage should be made visible and tangible for present and future generations. Acting on this conviction, she was the moving force behind the successful effort to restore the Jonathan Hager House in Hagerstown, spearheaded the construction and development of the Hager Museum, restored and cataloged all of the artifacts in the museum, and supervised the archeological explorations on that property. For this work she received statewide applause in 1962, when she was awarded the Maryland Heritage Award.

In addition to her work on the Hager House, Mrs. Mish was largely responsible for many other achievements, including the restoration of Gen. Adam Stephen's home in Martinsburg, the development of the Maryland part of the Harpers Ferry National Monument, and planning for the Fort Frederick Bicentennial. Through these and many other efforts she set an example of creative involvement which challenged and inspired her many friends and fellow citizens. Her leadership and counsel were highly valued, and will be sorely missed, by her neighbors and friends, and by everyone active in the cause of preserving the natural and historic resources of the Potomac Basin.

Mrs. Mathias and I extend our deepest sympathies to Mr. Frank W. Mish, Sr., and their son, Mr. Roy V. Mish.

I include in the Record an editorial from the Hagerstown Morning Herald of June 4, and an article from the Morning Herald of June 3:

[From the Hagerstown (Md.) Morning Herald, June 4, 1968]

She Will Be Missed

We guess you could say that the death of just about anyone is "untimely."

But in the case of Mrs. Mary V. Mish the word comes out of the realm of cliche and into the category of sad reality.

To say that someone who has died will be missed is another cliche—and again, in the case of Mary V. Mish, it is now sad reality.

She was a woman of unflagging zeal and dedication to the cause of honoring this area's heritage.

Without her the restoration of the Jonathan Hager house might never have been accomplished.

Without her, neighboring Martinsburg might never have restored the home of its founder, Gen. Adam Stephen.

She was a woman who didn't just talk about "how nice it would be" if such and such a thing were done.

She went out and worked and saw that the things were done.

Yes, she will be missed. And that's no cliche.

[From the Hagerstown (Md.) Morning Herald, June 3, 1968]

Mrs. Mary Mish, Restorer of Hager House, Dies at 63

Mrs. Mary V. Mish, prominent Maryland and West Virginia historian, died Saturday morning. She was 63.

Her body was found on the West Virginia Bank of the Potomac under the Rt. 11 bridge leading to Williamsport. Dr. Claude Thomas, Berkeley County coroner, attributed the cause of death to a broken neck.

Mrs. Mish received state-wide acclaim in 1962 when she was presented the Maryland Heritage Award for an almost singlehanded effort leading to the restoration of the Jonathan Hager House at City Park.

She followed up the restoration by spearheading the construction and outfitting of the Hager Museum. She took charge of archaeological digging on the Hager property. Mrs. Mish reconditioned and catalogued all of the artifacts on display.

In Martinsburg, the home of Gen. Adam Stephen, the town's founder, was recently restored. Again the sparkplug behind the work was Mrs. Mish.

Active in the Washington County and Berkeley County Historical Societies, she was the natural choice to take charge of the Ft. Frederick Bicentennial.

Mrs. Mish did most of the deed research and was instrumental in acquiring the Maryland acreage for the Harpers Ferry National Monument.

She said she was proud of the fact that the Hager Museum she helped to make a reality was built entirely with local and private funds.

A plaque in the museum stands as a modest memorial to the efforts of Mrs. Mish who will stand as, perhaps, the individual who contributed most to the preservation of Hagerstown's heritage.

A native of New York, she was the daughter of Roy T. and Mary Wheeler Vernon.

She is survived by her husband, Frank W. Mish Sr. of Maidstone-on-the-Potomac and a son, Roy V., at home.

Services will be held Tuesday at St. John's Episcopal Church, Fr. Joseph D. Knisely will officiate.

Burial will be in St. Paul's Cemetery.

The family will receive friends at the Rouzer Funeral Home this evening from 7 to 9. It is requested that flowers be omitted.

REA ESSAY WINNERS IN NEBRASKA

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, annually a statewide essay contest is sponsored by the Nebraska Rural Electric Association on "What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community." It is my privilege today to insert in the Record the winning essays of six of the State winners who reside in my congressional district. Next week, these winners, along with others from Nebraska, will travel to Washington to see their Government in operation as part of their prize for submitting winning essays.

The essays follow:

The Value of Rural Electrification in Our Home and Community

(By Paula Magers, age, 16; grade, 11; school, Wheatland High School, Madrid, Nebr.; name of father, Dale Magers, Elsie, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by the Midwest Electric Membership Corp., Grant, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

How would you like to have a hard working friend always at your side, helping with most every task that needs to be done? Rural people of Nebraska gained such a friend—electricity—in 1936 when through the efforts of Senator George W. Norris and Representative Sam Rayburn, the Rural Electrification Act was passed. This act was signed by President Franklin Roosevelt and by its provision and through the federal loan program, electricity became available at a reasonably low cost.

Rural electrification didn't just happen, it was the result of hard work of dedicated men who wanted to help the farmer to a higher standard of living. The rural electrification program is comprised of a number of component parts, all engaged in the non-profit activity of providing electricity for rural areas. However, the one part that we are most interested in is the member-owned and operated cooperatives that furnish electricity to area farmers. These local systems are faced with the problem of keeping the lines hot with a continuous flow of electricity and since there are now 95.2% more electrified farms than there were in 1923, we can see what a big job they have.

It's hard to imagine the drastic change which electricity brought to the life of the farmer, but for a few minutes let's try to do just that. The year is 1920 and Rip Van Farmer has just finished his daily routine of milking and feeding by hand as the last beam of sunshine fades over the hills, he reads the previous days news by the light of a kerosene lamp. At last Rip, fatigued by the day's work, dozes off into a deep sleep.

On awakening, Rip finds himself surrounded by a number of strange things. In place of his kerosene lamp sets an electric lamp emitting light that illuminates the room. Also, on the table sets a small radio bringing the news of the world into the home instantaneously. Outside Rip finds the countryside lined with poles comprising the electric light line. In his barn he finds an electric milker doing the job in minutes that had taken him an hour to do some twenty years before. Rip also finds his feeding being done with the push of a button by an automatic feeder. So are the changes which electricity has brought to the life of the farmer, changes which today are no longer considered a luxury, but a necessity.

I remember many times when the use of electric heat bulbs has meant the difference between life and death of a number of baby animals and thus the difference between profit and loss for my father. Electricity on our farm has not only enabled us to enjoy all of its luxuries, but it has cut down the cost of repairs and maintenance of our machinery with the aid of our electric welders.

As the ever-growing demand for electric power—which is doubling every seven years in rural areas—continues, there is a need for all farmers to work with their REA in every way they can, for without electricity, rural communities would become paralyzed—unable to compete in this modern world of progress.

The Value of Rural Electrification to My Home and Community

(By Duane Stevenson; age, 16; grade, 11; school, Farwell High School; name of father, Duane Stevenson, Jr., Farwell, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Howard Greeley Rural Public Power District, St. Paul, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

The actual value of electricity in our homes and to our community is a long story. The beginning of electricity started back in the 1890's. The transition from the coal oil lamp to the light bulb didn't come about in one step. It came about gradually.

But just imagine what would happen to us if we had no electric power. We live in an age of electricity. Electricity makes man the master in his own environment, and adds strength to his hands. Capacity of a man's muscles is limited, thus through electricity he becomes powerful.

The value of electricity to the home and community stand about equal. Electricity in the home makes it a cleaner and more pleasant place to live in, while it helps to make the community more attractive to visitors. Using the telephone provides us with communication to our neighbors and in case of an emergency. Electricity helps to send and receive messages faster without so much delay. In a way you can say that electricity saves lives and destroys them.

If we didn't have electricity this world would be in a bad position, so we owe our thanks to Thomas Edison. Don't you agree?

The Rural Electrification Administration was established by Congress on May 11, 1935. The Rural Electrification Act of 1936 was signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt which transformed the Administration into an agency for the purpose of granting loans to various organizations so they can build and operate generators and power lines. The R.E.A. is given authority by Congress to make loans for telephone service, and in turn Congress determines the amount of money the R.E.A. can lend each year. In 1939 the R.E.A. was put under the direction of the Department of Agriculture. The R.E.A. does not own, build, or operate any electric power facilities.

The real purpose of electricity is to make man's way of life simpler and better. If it weren't for electricity we would have to go out and chop wood by hand to heat our rooms and to cook our meals. We think it is an inconvenience when the electricity goes off for a little while and we have to do some of the things by hand. What would it be like if we had to do some of that back breaking work by hand, day in and day out? Oh boy, would we complain.

Our grandparents and some of our parents probably know what it was like to eat their meals and go to bed by candle light. We are in a way privileged to have such nice conveniences, but in another way some people don't appreciate them and they are taking these things as a matter of course, every day. Then suddenly the lights go off and we really know how important electricity can mean to us in our hurried way of life.

What Rural Electrification Means to Me and My Community

(By Nikki Dee Nickel; age, 16; grade, 11; school, St. Paul High School; name of father, Lyal Nickel, St. Paul, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Howard Greeley Rural Public Power District, St. Paul, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

The vanity of today's society has become unsurmountable. Many people in these United States are born into a world of extreme luxury, but never once do they pause, in their ritual of life, to give thanks for those advantages which each has in his possession.

I am ashamed to divulge the fact that, I too, am one of these ungrateful creatures. I merely accept these items which surround me. Each day I strive to accomplish some new feat, never once stopping to consider "why" I am able to do that which I have done.

The Heavenly Father has blessed all people inhabiting this Earth with a time to work, known as day, a time to rest, known as night, a period of extreme warmth, known as summer, and a period of coldness, known as winter. But if each man, in the midst of millions, is to progress to the point where his name will be a name of glory, more than those meager time periods will be needed. So each of us must rely upon a source other than that which the good Lord has provided for us. The Rural Electric Association is that source to which I am referring.

This organization has taken it upon itself to be the conqueror of the wilderness. Each power line carries within itself the powers similar to those of the sun; the radiance of light and the warmth of heat.

At a designated time of day, darkness envelops the Earth. In earlier years, the farmer had to put aside his work when that time arrived. Much of his work remained undone.

In late spring the farmer would plant his crops. When the life of each plant finally did begin, the intense heat of summer would often crush out the newborn life.

But these problems were solved for the farmer. The first steps were taken by a man named Thomas Edison. It was through his experiments that facts about electricity were accumulated.

There are two ways of defining the simple word "electricity." One could define it by means of words whose meaning no individual of normal intelligence could understand, such as the following:

"A form of energy generated by friction, induction, or chemical change, and having magnetic, chemical, and radiant effects: it is a property of the basic particles of all matter, consisting of protons and electrons which attract each other." [1]

But I prefer to define it by the use of four simple words: "a source of power." One does not stop to realize exactly what "power" electricity has over your everyday life. If each person will stop and think a moment, as I have just done, about what electricity does for each of us, I am sure we will at once exclaim our thanks to the Rural Electric Association for bringing it into our homes.

Let us take into consideration the basic needs of all men: food, shelter, and clothing. With these three basic elements, men can hope to survive. I will attempt to show you how electricity affects each of these divisions.

When one thinks of food, he thinks of the finished product. Seldom does he think of the food when it was in the original stage and how this original stage survived in its natural habitat. Electricity has provided the power by which the seed is irrigated, and by which the finished product is dried. Augers make the transporting of the seed easier, whether it be used in feeding your cattle or transporting the grain to market for use by others. In the animal line, cattle are often watered by electric motors. How many baby pigs would have died if it wasn't for the electric heating lamps? How would you raise baby chickens if it wasn't for the electric brooder and ventilating fan? When the food comes to our table, how much easier the preparation is with electric knives, toaster, mixers, ranges, refrigerators, can openers, blenders, coffee pots, and on and on and on!

A man's home becomes his castle indeed with electric heating to warm him in the winter and air conditioning to cool him in the summer. A man's life would indeed be dark if it wasn't for the light provided by the REA.

Since the time of Adam and Eve, people have clothed themselves with more than a fig leaf. With the help of sewing machines, washers, dryers, and irons this task has been made considerably easier.

I, as an ungrateful user of electrical facilities, do not realize the stupendous impact the REA has upon my life, until some cold dark night, when but for a few moments, electricity is taken from my life. Then I realize that without this great public service my life would indeed become a dark and dreary existence.

The Value of Rural Electrification in Our Home and Community

(By Linda Kinsey; age, 16; grade, 11; school, Franklin High School; name of father, Wayne Kinsey, Naponee, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Franklin County Rural Public Power District, Franklin, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

Twenty years ago, my father employed a full time hired man. Today, he and Willie run the farm. Now Willie is not just an ordinary hired hand. He works twenty-four hours a day through wind, rain, and snow for only pennies an hour. Poor Willie doesn't even get Sunday off.

"Willie Wire Hand," known by all as Willie, is a robot. He symbolizes the electric power which is supplied by the Franklin County Rural Public Power District. At first, all his tireless energy came through one small three KV transformer, but because of increased uses for electricity, it now takes two three KV transformers. We can all see that Willie is quite popular.

What does Rural Electrification mean to me and my community? Well what doesn't it mean! On today's farms there are more than one hundred fifty jobs that electricity can do. It enters into my recreation as well as into my work. The only time I don't realize I'm using electricity is when I'm asleep, and then it's my electric blanket that keeps me warm.

We go along from day to day without giving electric power due credit or thanks for all the work it does. Today there are about two million electrically heated homes and it has been estimated that by 1980 there will be nearly nineteen million. By the year 2000, America's electrical needs will require the building of seven additional power systems, each equal in size to that serving America today. Perhaps even someday, electricity will be used to heat the soil and lengthen the growing season. The success of new advances in agriculture and homemaking will be largely dependent upon a reliable supply of low cost electric power.

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[1] *Webster's New World Dictionary,* College Edition (The World Publishing Co., 1960), p. 466.

Did you ever try to follow a rural electric line to the end? Naturally, it would be quite a task. At times there probably wouldn't even be a road, but at the end, you would find a lonely farmstead benefiting from all the modern conveniences of electricity. Members of the Rural Public Power District share and share alike to provide power and modern conveniences for all farmers and their families.

This fall marks the twentieth anniversary of rural public power in Franklin County. During an average month in 1949, the District purchased 80,800 KWH and sold about 51,000. An operating report from a month in 1968 shows 769,300 KWH sold out of the 922,200 KWH purchased. In 1949, approximately 645 connected consumers purchased electricity from REA, but today the number has risen to more than 1,160. This shows the real value of rural electrification to my community, more electrical energy for an increased number of people.

The Franklin Public Power District can certainly be proud of its record of service for the people of Franklin County. Because the repairmen do such an outstanding job, we seldom, if ever, find ourselves without power. So remember: "In case of trouble on the line call—425-6217, Franklin Nebraska."

THE VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

(By Suzanne Geis, age 17; grade 11; school, Seward High School; name of Father, Carl Geis, Seward, Nebr; contestant sponsored by Seward County Rural Public Power District, Seward, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

When grandpa was a small boy reading a book by the kerosene lamp, the word electricity probably had little meaning to him. Today that word is part of our life; a part of our existence.

As recent as the 1920's, rural electricity was an uncommon thing. It was desired by many farmers, but the price for installation was more than most rural people could afford. A line cost from two thousand to three thousand dollars per mile. After the lines were built the power company took title to them. On top of this heavy first cost, farmers usually had to pay more for the electricity they used than did their neighbors in the city. This discouraged the rural people greatly.

Morris L. Cooke, an electrical engineer, was deeply concerned about this high cost of rural electric service. He was determined to find the real cost of distribution of rural electricity. Together with a small staff of engineers, they added up labor and material costs. Their findings showed the cost to be three hundred to fifteen hundred dollars cheaper per mile than had been previously quoted by electric power companies.

With the publication of this data, the depression hit full force and rural electrification was almost at a standstill.

In 1935, by executive order, President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Rural Electrification Administration (REA). Morris L. Cooke was appointed first REA administrator. The REA was established as a general program of unemployment relief. This relief measure was $100 million available which was to be put into circulation. By making certain regulations to the first bill passed, the REA became a lending agency; a national business investment.

By 1935, it became apparent that commercial electric companies were not applying for REA loans. In early 1936, Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska, introduced in the Senate the REA bill which was passed by Congress and signed in May by the President. It stated that "loans could be made for the purpose of financing the construction and operation of generating plants, transmission lines, and distribution lines for the furnishing of electric energy to persons of rural areas who are not receiving central station service." It also provided for loans to finance home wiring and to purchase electric appliances, equipment, and plumbing.

The administration tried to make it clear to the farm people that they must have the initiative to get electricity for their communities. No one could do it for them. This initiative usually rested in the hands of a few local farmers, but this was all that was needed. They encouraged their neighbors and gradually sold most of them on the idea.

The cost of installation was still quite high, so the REA concentrated on finding new and cheaper ways to build rural lines that were simple and sturdy. They were enormously successful. By 1939, lines were being built for an average cost of $825 per mile. It cost the farmer an average of fifty-five dollars to wire his house and barn.

I suppose it is next to impossible for people who have grown up with electric lights to imagine the deep emotion felt by farm families when their homes were first electrified.

The night the lights came on was forever after an important date in most farm families ranking with marriages and births as an anniversary of importance. In countless homes, the lights remained on all night long, with people getting a good look at the room and each other.

Statistics show that the farm wives put electricity to work before their husbands did. The first appliance they bought was an electric iron. A close second in popularity was the radio, a luxury to the farm home. Not only was it a luxury in that it gave the farm family entertainment but it also brought them closer to the world through this form of communication.

Though the farmers had the electricity, in many cases they did not know how to operate the electrical appliances they had or how to install them. The REA sent out teams in twenty states to help the rural people. The team consisted of a home economist, an agricultural engineer, and a power use man. The Demonstration Farm Equipment Tour of "REA circus" helped educate the farmers also.

With the aid of these workers, the rural people of America were well on their way to enjoying the luxury and betterment of their living conditions. They understood and appreciated the real value of the things electricity could help them in their everyday chores. It could milk cows, saw wood, warm pigs, hatch eggs, brook chicks, sharpen blades, drill holes, and a number of other things. Once they got the hand of it, they could make electricity pump, lift, pull, or turn practically anything.

Electricity changed everything it touched in rural America. In country schools all across the nation, teachers and principals reported that pupils' grades improved remarkably after electricity was installed.

Today almost all of rural America is electrified. In 1963, the REA estimated 97.6 percent of the 3.7 million farms were furnished with electrical power.

Electricity, today, is so much a part of our life we take it for granted. We do not appreciate the important things it does for us or how our lives would be affected without it. But think hard! What would happen to you if right now the electricity all over the world was suddenly shut off, for good?

VALUE OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION IN OUR HOME AND COMMUNITY

(By Marylou Homan; age, 16; grade, 11; school, Aquinas High School; name of father, Leonard Homan, David City, Nebr.; contestant sponsored by Butler County Rural Public Power District, David City, Nebr., in cooperation with the Nebraska Rural Electric Association)

Mr. Electric Farmer stopped momentarily from his work and rested. He began to look over his land and crops. His corn was growing tall and strong. His wheat was vibrant and golden in the hot sunshine of the afternoon. The milo was lush in its healthy, deep green color. The alfalfa and clover sweetened the air and were bursting with productivity. He was pleased as he turned his head and saw the irrigation system which made possible these beautiful crops in dry weather.

Then Mr. Electric Farmer turned to look at his farmyard. His eyes glowed with pride as he saw his modern chicken building. He owned 3,000 chickens and most of the labor was done by electrically operated feeding, cleaning, heating, and cooling. He glanced at his modern farm home filled with luxuries unknown to his ancestors. He recalled the pleasant coolness of the air conditioner on hot days and the warmth of the heating system on cold winter days. His wife could care for the family efficiently and easily with the help of the many electrical appliances. The television, radio, and stereo provide his family with many hours of enjoyable relaxation.

Lastly, Mr. Electric Farmer took a long look at the tall poles across the fields and along the side of the road. They stretch endlessly in either direction. The wires connect them and his home and buildings to the rest of the community and world. These wires made all of his modern farming possible. They supply electricity to improve the living conditions of rural, suburban, and city people.

Today, as Mr. Electric Farmer was contemplating, we are experiencing the many benefits of rural electrification. Farmers use electricity to run such labor-saving farm equipment as drills, milking machines, motors, and pumps. On the farm alone there are over 150 jobs that electricity can do. It provides irrigation for crops; pumps water for cattle and home use; provides heat and air conditioning for homes, poultry and livestock buildings; brings entertainment into the home via the television, radio, and stereo; lights the house, farm buildings, and farm yard; automatically feeds livestock with efficiency and provides telephone service. The list goes on and on providing services that aid the economic development of rural communities, local businesses and industries.

The future of rural electrification will reach new magnitude unforseen at present. Much of our water supply may come from the oceans made ready to use with electrical equipment. Electrical lighting may be used to extend the growing day to optimum length and soil heating may lengthen the growing season. Irrigation may be more automatic and more precisely controlled. Scientists may even be able to predict weather control by electrical means. And an electric car may provide low-cost transportation. These are some of the many things of future electricity. Electricity is an invaluable commodity!

REPORT ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN MIGRATION

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, on May 8, 9, and 10, I attended the 31st meeting of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, in Geneva, Switzerland, as a congressional adviser to the U.S. delegation appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Members of the House Committee on the Judiciary have participated in the semiannual sessions of the Council of ICEM and the

Executive Committee meetings regularly since the creation of this 29-member-nation international organization in 1951.

Legislation which enabled the United States to participate in this organization—the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962—came from the Committee on the Judiciary. This legislation authorized appropriations for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the U.S. escapee program, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and assistance to refugees generally. Thus, within its jurisdiction the Committee on the Judiciary has been continuously overseeing the operations of ICEM.

It was my privilege to represent the Committee on the Judiciary at this meeting and I would, therefore, like to report to the House my observations and findings.

The impressive record discloses that the Committee has moved over 1,500,000 refugees and migrants to new lands of opportunity.

The May 1968 Executive Committee meeting proved to be a fruitful exchange of ideas as well as the basis for an understanding of the positions of member governments. Discussions disclosed that there is agreement on four very basic issues regarding the need for ICEM and its expertise.

I was pleased to learn that the member governments recognize the continuous usefulness of ICEM and its ability to utilize and adjust its operational capacities to meet the realities of changing conditions. The consensus of opinion is that there is still much unfinished business for ICEM to attend to.

As a result of a review of the scope of ICEM operations, initiated at the suggestion of the congressional advisers at the 25th session of the Council in May 1966, there is a greater focus on the viewpoints of member governments of the usefulness of ICEM and the need to mutually support the three major operational programs.

The governments agreed that there must be an interdependence and parity status for national migration, refugees, and the selective migration program.

There was also agreement to authorize the Director to carry out the movement of non-European refugees if he has received the consent of the members of the Executive Committee and the approval of the countries of departure and destination. Time is often of the essence in the movement of refugees, and this procedure will greatly facilitate operations where and when needed.

I was gratified to learn that there is an apparent understanding among the member governments and an appreciation for the responsibilities assumed by the United States in accepting Cuban refugees and rendering assistance to the refugees in Vietnam. These tremendous responsibilities have forced the United States to curtail its annual contribution to ICEM.

During 1967 ICEM assisted in the movement of 55,824 persons, of whom 20,414 were European nationals and 44,410 were refugees. This number of movements exceeded the total in 1966 by 2,214. There was a continuing upward trend for both migrants and refugees throughout 1967.

With respect to national migrants there are several apparent reasons to explain the increase of interest among Europeans to migrate, such as changes in employment opportunities in certain countries, political and social developments in others, and improved facilities for movement and resettlement offered by receiving countries. It is a primary function of ICEM to arrange the transportation of migrants selected under worker programs, family reunion programs, and sponsorship programs. In carrying out this function ICEM offers its facilities to assist in the processing of applications, necessary documentation, pretransport services such as language training and vocational training, in addition to the actual transportation of migrants.

The largest number of migrants were moved to Australia and the increase in movements there can be attributed, to a great degree, to that government's decision to improve financial arrangements for migrants proceeding to Australia. South Africa reported the next highest number of migrants. Fewer of the migrants came from the usual countries of emigration of Italy and Greece, while there was an increase from the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria.

The internal political tensions in several countries of Eastern Europe, and the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East were the main causes for the increase in the number of refugee movements. There is every reason to believe that these developments will continue to influence and cause a greater number of refugees to seek resettlement.

ICEM has already provided resettlement for 705,368 Europeans and approximately 2,000 non-European refugees, and some 30,000 to 35,000 persons benefit from ICEM's assistance under refugee programs each year. In 1967 a total of 35,410 refugees were moved to resettlement opportunities, exceeding the number moved in 1966 by approximately 5,000. Several thousand refugees of religious and other minority groups from Africa and the Middle East were accorded first-asylum opportunities while being processed for movement to areas of final resettlement.

A total of 11,476 refugees from the Middle East and North Africa were assisted in 1967, compared with 4,929 in 1966. The influx of refugees from Eastern Europe has continued during 1967, and 15,047 persons were registered in Germany, Austria, and Italy, compared with 13,336 in 1966, as asylum seekers. The number of out-of-camp refugees in Austria doubled since 1966.

The acceleration in the process of issuing visas to Cuban refugees in Spain increased movements to the United States from 1,744 in 1966 to 4,161 in 1967 and it is expected that a greater number will be moved during 1968.

In 1967 the attention of member governments was drawn to the fact that the resettlement of handicapped refugees remained a problem in spite of the extensive work carried out by the voluntary agencies, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and ICEM. Approximately 531 such refugees still require resettlement and, accordingly, representatives of the UNHCR and the senior medical officer of ICEM visited various countries to discuss resettlement possibilities on a case-by-case basis.

ICEM operates two principal programs to Latin America: The selective migration program for highly skilled workers and professional persons recruited in Europe to meet specific manpower requirements in the developing economies of Latin America and the family reunion and sponsorship program which assists dependents and other relatives to join migrants already in Latin America. A total of 2,665 persons, including a small number of refugees were moved under these programs in 1967. There were 1,018 highly skilled workers, subprofessionals, and professionals moved. In addition to the recruitment and transportation of selective migrants, ICEM cooperates with individual governments in jointly operating reception and placement centers.

During 1967, 20,000 persons contacted ICEM missions regarding possibilities of being accepted for the selective migration programs and some 5,000 actual applications were submitted to Latin America.

Discrepancies in initial salaries and working conditions between Europe and Latin America remain an obstacle and adversely affect recruitment. To overcome these difficulties, ICEM utilizes an adjustment fund to provide financial assistance to certain categories of highly qualified migrants during their initial period of adjustment. This takes the form of installation allowances, salary equalization grants, or dependents' allowances to family members temporarily remaining in Europe. In addition, the integration assistance program covers mainly medical and accident insurance for 1 year until workers qualify for national or other insurance schemes, as well as the cost of placing migrants in employment.

The Executive Committee was faced once again with the recurring problem of trying to balance the financial contributions of the member governments with the increased cost of maintaining the operational programs. The rather sudden upswing in the number of refugee movements, beyond previous projected figures, and the increased costs in servicing the programs will cause a deficit in both the refugee and Latin American programs. It is more than difficult to plan an operation subject to sudden changes with a fixed budget. Nevertheless, ICEM must be complimented for its agility in reducing cost figures where possible, finding new sources of funds while still maintaining a high level of accomplishment.

So long as there is an unstable world and political tension there is need for an organization ready and able to help victims of probable upheavals. ICEM is such an organization.

MEMORIAL DAY: REMEMBER THE "PUEBLO"

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the Pacific Beach (Calif.) Sentinel, May 30, 1968]

MEMORIAL DAY: REMEMBER THE "PUEBLO"

(NOTE.—"More than 3,000 concerned Americans from all over the United States, Canada and from many other foreign countries have written me personally to express their concern and impatience over this disgraceful and shameful episode. I read each and every letter but am physically incapable of making personal replies—therefore, a committee of volunteers assists me. I am extremely grateful to all who have written me. I do not want our 83 fellow countrymen to be forgotten and forsaken. So I ask ALL Americans to "Remember The Pueblo."—Rose Bucher.)

(By Edward Moore)

In an exclusive interview for The Sentinel on the occasion of Memorial Day, the wife of the Pueblo's Captain made this appeal.

Just about a year ago Captain Lloyd M. Bucher participated in the christening of his ship in Bremerton, Wash. He stood saluting on the platform with other dignitaries May 13, 1967. On January 23 he and his crew were captured along with the ship near Won Son Harbor, North Korea, the same harbor from which the First Marine Division was evacuated when it withdrew from the Chosin Reservoir during the Korean "Police Action."

This week Mrs. Bucher answered questions about the fate of the Pueblo and its men. This strange event is peculiar in that it is being treated like ancient history in many ways, and the men seem to be listed as "living dead."

Q. Have you heard from your husband personally?

A. No. However, I understand there is a tape taken from short wave of my husband's purportedly reading a letter to me.

Q. Are you kept informed of Government activity to free your husband and his crew?

A. To a limited extent—very limited.

Q. How is your project coming along wherein you are communicating with the families of the other crew members?

A. Very well. I have about 65 addresses of crewmen's families. I have obtained these thru efforts of my own. I have answered a good portion and will continue to give them words of encouragement.

Q. Do you feel the Government is doing all it can for the release of the men?

A. No, but I do not have enough information to give an intelligent reply. I do know that 130 days have gone by with no visible success.

Q. What can other citizens do to urge action in the matter?

A. Write your elected representatives and please continue to pray.

Q. How is the "Remember the Pueblo" bumper sticker campaign coming along?

A. Many "Remember the Pueblo" committees are being formed across the nation. Locally our committee has distributed over 4,000.

Q. If these stickers are still available, where can interested people get them?

A. "Remember the Pueblo", P.O. Box 9796, San Diego, Ca. 92109.

The Buchers consider themselves San Diegans, having resided in the North Shores area for some time. In speeches she gives around the country, she refers to San Diego as "Our beloved San Diego."

HAPPENINGS IN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

(By David Lewis)

Senators Kennedy and McCarthy—fighting to the last for California's 174 delegates to the Democratic National Convention—have released last minute timetables for visits to San Diego prior to Tuesday's presidential primary.

McCarthy is due here tomorrow at 11:15 a.m. at Lindbergh Field. He will leave immediately for the U. S. Grant Hotel where he has scheduled a press conference for 11:30.

McCarthy will speak at noon at the Community Concourse Plaza, then leave an hour later. Tentative plans the El Cortez Hotel.

His stop here will be on the last day before the primary in the last state holding a primary. Kennedy's campaign began two and a half months ago on Mar. 16 and has taken him to Indiana, the District of Columbia, Nebraska, Oregon, South Dakota, and California in search of support for his presidential candidacy.

Kennedy and his wife will be honored at an 8 p.m. reception at the El Cortez's International Room. Kennedy will arrive here by chartered jet for his third campaign visit.

THE DAY OUR FLAG SPOKE

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, George T. Nickolas of Davenport, Iowa, has written a perceptive article on "Our Flag." Mr. Nickolas is a past State commander of the Disabled American Veterans of Iowa, and a 1968 winner of the Freedoms Foundation George Washington Honor Medal Award.

I commend his article to the attention of the House:

THE DAY OUR FLAG SPOKE

(By George T. Nickolas)

The other day as I watched our Flag fluttering in the breeze, I was amazed to hear its cordial salutation: "Good morning, Citizen!"

I was taken by surprise, and not knowing what to say, could only stammer, because what does one say to a Flag?

"You seem disturbed as you watch me waving in the breeze and I thought that you needed someone to talk to," responded our Flag.

"Yes, Sir!" I replied. "I am disturbed by the actions of my fellow countrymen in the past few years—the abuse of freedoms in the name of freedom, the dishonor that is being wrought upon you, and the lack of patriotic display of your beauty."

"Citizen," the Flag began, "I can tell you of many actions in the past that are equal to the difficulties that are causing the torment in your heart today. I have seen the passing of many generations under my shadow. The Government of our country has changed its complexion many times without violent revolution.

"The democratic process of our country enables all of us to try things which are wrong, but remember that the same process also allows us to discard the wrong process with equal enthusiasm if we find that we cannot make it work.

"Popular election expresses the will of the people, but the basis of that will must be the true democratic spirit which alone can save us from the excesses of the rule of force.

"Should you feel despondent in the future, picture me swinging in the breeze before your eyes and remember our talk this day. Visualize my bright gleam of color, a symbol of yourself and the great free spirit that makes this nation hum. My stars and my stripes are your dreams and the dreams of all loyal Americans; they are bright with cheer and brilliant with the courage of many great men and women who have fought and died to keep me flying high in the breeze.

"Know you well, that wherever I may stand, I stand for the concept of freedom, the symbol of courage and the nation of dignity, and that I am the world's brightest beacon and hope for liberty, peace and self-government.

"I stand for America because citizens like yourself stand for America. I am in the final sense a reflection," concluded our Flag, "a composite of all the good deeds and actions of the people of this United States of America."

GI RELIGION

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, on April 7, in its program "Faith in Action," the National Broadcasting Co. carried the remarks of Capt. M. M. Witherspoon, ChC, U.S. Navy retired, reporting on the religion of the GI's in Vietnam.

Captain Witherspoon's observations may come as a surprise to some people. They will inspire many. And, hopefully, they will contribute to a thorough reappraisal of our individual positions on the teaching and study of religions in our schools.

I must say that while I have some personal reservations about certain issues raised by Captain Witherspoon, I fully concur with the central thrust of his comments; namely, that we will understand very little about foreign civilizations, and even about many members of our own society, until we learn something about the religions which shape their outlooks, their customs and their traditions.

Mr. Speaker, I am placing Captain Witherspoon's remarks in the RECORD and I know that they will prove of great interest to the membership of the Congress:

GI RELIGION

(By Capt. M. M. Witherspoon, (ChC), U.S. Navy (retired))

In reporting on the religion of the GI's in Vietnam, we must bear in mind that they are a very different breed from the servicemen of World War II and the Korean conflict. Those were older men, up to 38 years of age, and men who had experienced the Great Depression.

Today's GI's are so young—17, 18, 19 years old, products of the aftermath of a World War, chaotic social conditions and affluence for many. Thrown into a vicious war completely bewildering to them, in a part of the world they had never heard of, fighting with or against little brown men whose language and customs were strange, in a hot, humid mudhole, suffering agonies and cruelties suitable to horror films—strange wonder that American boys are emotionally disturbed.

Everything seems to our GI's insecure; no place is safe, there is no hiding place. All their props have been rudely taken out from under them. Religion is an unknown quantity—little had been taught them at home, nothing in the schools. Almost none of them has a concept of God. They just feel that death does not end it all. "God must have been watching over me," they say when they escape a rocket.

Without knowledge of religion, deprived of religious education instruction back home, they depend upon their instincts. They want meaningful security in their world of insecurity. They need to feel—they want to take communion at every service—this act gives them comfort, communication, a stability in concrete terms which the religious ritual does not furnish. Aboard ship or in the field, 80 to 90 per cent attend services, sometimes three a week—sometimes every day. The men pray wherever they are—when wounded, while rushing a buddy to the clearing station, when holding a dying comrade. They do not know God, but they feel, they believe in an after-life of some kind.

Undoubtedly the 20 to 30 percent of our troops in Vietnam who are Negroes bring the songs and old-time religion to our chapels. A young Negro in the Marine Corps in Vietnam told me that he felt closer to God than ever before. At home he had been a member of the Church of Christ. He said the men in Echo Company stopped to pray many times right where they were when the battle was going against them. He credited the Marine Corps with giving him a better outlook on life. In his regiment he said there was no discrimination; they knew they had a job to do, and they worked as one to accomplish the task and to help each other survive.

It may well be that the Negro veterans will adjust better than the white ones. Many of them for the first time have been treated as men, as equals. They have been given training and responsibilities which they have discharged most honorably. They have escaped from the discrimination that used to embitter their lives. They see a chance now to be in the sun. They are proud of themselves because they know in their hearts they have done a fine job and lived up to the high requirements of the service. They have their God with them, although they have very little idea of religion.

GOD IS REAL TO VIETNAM GI'S

Our men were outraged when Time magazine on its front cover page headlined, "God Is Dead." That really caused quite a stir among the troops. Like the Russian astronaut who reported that he hadn't seen God or angels in outer space, the GI's haven't seen God, but they do feel His presence.

A chaplain who has served 18 years in the Army reports that men today are more sincere, show more concern in their religious experience. The GI's can't understand the clergy in the States who lead demonstrations, deride our leaders—they do identify with the chaplains who are right in the battle with them. They sense that the chaplains don't have to be there, but they're glad they are. Seven or eight have already made the supreme sacrifice despite the GI's efforts to try to protect them. The greater the danger, the higher the morale. While they are fighting for their very existence, they can't understand people back home crying to have money spent on local projects.

There is a courage, an equality, that is the spirit of Civil Rights in action. The GIs are a shining example of how to treat one's fellow man. Short timers, with only days or week to go before they are due to go home, will rush to save a buddy, giving up their own lives. They are so tender and gentle with each other when wounded and dying. They like to express their religion in acts of kindness.

THE NEED TO TALK

There are insoluable situations that service men can't handle, and they feel the need to talk out the problem with someone sympathetic, not a relative. A Marine First Class paced back and forth in front of my desk in Pensacola, his face a study in anguish. He finally started to talk—"Today," he said, "is the date my baby's due to be born and I won't even hear about it. Just before I sailed from the Far East—on the way to my ship—my girl told me she was to have my child. She had made the decision on her own. It was too late for me to do anything—I was under orders to leave that night. Arranging a marriage would have involved miles of red tape and endless interviews with Marine Corps officers and Consulate officials. All these months I have worried and wondered—I love that girl."

I wonder if the GIs' families realize how the men worry about them. A sailor worried about leaving his mother to run a grocery store. She was very heavy, and he was concerned about her poor legs—having to stand all day and handle so many cartons. Surely neighbors could relieve her for an hour, or neighbor boys could help deliver orders. A Marine Pfc. worried about his parents—he had two younger brothers and a sister. Couldn't friends assure him they were standing by if anything should happen to him?

NEED FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The phrase, "Policing the World," came alive for me the other day when I was visiting our wounded veterans at St. Albans Naval Hospital. Chaplain Arthur Seeland, a Protestant, told me that he had orders to Bahrein, on the Persian Gulf, where our ships are based, on Middle East patrol. Chaplain Kelly, a Catholic, said he had orders to Morocco.

Our sailors and marines and soldiers are assigned to areas of whose culture and religion they haven't the foggiest ideas. That has been one of our big problems in Vietnam, where our GIs have no knowledge of Buddhism, the faith of the majority of the Vietnamese. The soldiers just laugh at the monks. An Episcopal missionary admitted to me that he had never entered a beautiful Buddhish temple, although he had lived nearby for 27 years. Our GIs fan out through the world and see, without seeing, the wonders of religious architecture; the Shinto and Buddhist shrines in Japan, the Moorish mosque in Spain, the glories of Mohammedan mosques in Turkey, the Hindu temples of India, the Greek Orthodox churches, the Roman Catholic cathedrals, the 11th century Orthodox Eastern churches in Russia, with their precious icons.

What mean these glories of religious architecture if our men have no concept of the religions that inspired and sustained them? How many of us know that Buddha founded a cult which teaches that life is intrinsically full of suffering and that the supreme happiness is to be striven for by psychological and ethical self-culture? How many know that Islam, according to Mohammed, is submission to the will of God? Or that Shintoism, in Japan, is a system of nature and ancestor worship?

Do GIs know how our Judeo-Christian religious ideas evolved? How we got our Bible? Who began the Reformation? Who advocated Ecumenism?

The U.S.A. cannot attempt to be a world leader without rudimentary knowledge of the ideas that dominate the cultures of the world. Religion is the heart of the matter. Expressed or felt, it is a man's deepest need. Impossible to understand other nationals if we are ignorant of the beliefs that have supported and sustained them for thousands of years.

The time is late—but the opportunity has been given to increase our knowledge.

In commenting on the Supreme Court's ruling that the public schools can teach about religion, Mr. Justice Tom Clark wrote: "It might well be said that one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be effected consistent with the First Amendment."

[The Court has not ruled against prayer and Bible reading in all forms in a public school, but only when those forms are part of a state sponsored practice of religion. Any student is free to pray or read his Bible at his own initiative. The Court ruled against school sponsored practice of religion, but the Court encouraged school sponsored *study* of religion. The difference between "study" and "practice" is indicative of what a public school may and may not do with religion in the curriculum.

Within the framework of what the court will allow, and what sound educational principles dictate, there are many activities that may be done with religion in the school including special courses, approaches within courses, curriculum enrichment procedures, and moments of meditation, such as Biblical Literature, Biblical History, History of Religions, Comparative Religion, Ethics.]

The Court has opened the door. "The history of man is inseparable from the history of religion," wrote Mr. Justice Black, giving the majority opinion in the case of Engel vs. Vitale.

"It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities," pronounced Mr. Justice Clark, majority opinion, Abington vs. Schempp.

The religious community, too, has opened the door. "It would be . . . wrong to omit the Bible from courses in literature or to ignore religious influences in the study of art," announced the American Jewish Committee.

"The public schools have an obligation to help individuals develop an intelligent understanding and appreciation of the role of religion in the life of the people of this nation." This was the Policy Statement, issued by the National Council of Churches.

"Since school is a place where a child is being prepared for a great part of his life, it is extremely incongruous not to recognize that religion is a vital part of that life," according to Clyde W. Taylor, National Association of Evangelicals.

"The difficulties inherent in any quest for an 'objective' study of religion are many; but that should not act as a deterrent or be used as an excuse for inaction," from an editorial statement in the Roman Catholic *Commonweal*.

The GI's religion today is unformed, nonnourishing, non-dynamic. It is built on fear, superstition, heavily emotionalized. His frantic prayers, his constant need to be served Communion—these manifestations will disappear once he is out of range of guns, rockets and bombs. There will be a tremendous letdown, followed by a great spirit of restlessness that will drive him on and on—wanting more and more excitement. That fever is already sending many GIs back to Vietnam and the battle lines. My personal experience bears out the truth of this craving for excitement after dangerous war experience. In the spring of 1942 aboard the Wasp, we had the daring mission of delivering Spitfires to Malta, with German subs all around us. Just after this I was ordered to a new base in North Carolina, a spot deep in the woods. I couldn't take it, and begged to be sent to the Aleutians where I could see action.

We must give our men something to live by—vision, that they may not perish. The Soviets have tried for a half century to stamp out religion, but their people are by nature deeply religious. We must teach how religion has inspired men to write, to paint, to sculpture, to sing, to play, to civilize. There is no more fascinating subject that Comparative Religion—that course alone would lead to a deep understanding of the most diverse nationals.

We must prepare for the return of our men from Vietnam. They will be restless and emotionally disturbed. They may feel that the U.S.A. is an alien land—our attitudes have changed so much in the past three or four years. America is a permanent revolution—today it seems determined to split between black and white, old and young, rich and poor.

The veterans will be horrified at their fellow Americans' lack of interest in the war; in the passion for luxuries; in the free and easy relation of the sexes; in the deep distrust; in readiness to start a fight, throw a Molotov cocktail, draw a gun.

FINALE

At Valley Forge, General George Washington's ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed little army suffered every privation, yet they held fast and gave future generations a shining directive to guide us from a handful of poorly organized colonies to a world power.

Our men in South Vietnam have been tested in an even harder school than the Colonial soldiers. They have been policing the world—they have seen feudalism, fascism, communism, military dictatorships, the "haves" and the "have-nots." It seems to me that our GIs, when sent to danger spots, analyze the trouble better and faster than our government. A Marine, on his first day's duty in Santo Domingo, said, "These people need food."

They are coming home—one of these days peace will return. They will find a country with many problems, many things wrong; but a self-critical country that is always striving to better its society. These tested veterans have no illusions—they know the score—they have it in their power to guide us in building a better world. They have been involved—deeply committed in their youth—they know we must get together under one God and build a constructive society, even as in Da Nang, the Marines made bricks of local soil, screened, dampened, pressured and baked in the sun—enough bricks to form a small city.

Let us move forward to build a better America, modelled on the GI attitudes: lack of discrimination, kinship, with one God for all mankind; cooperation in our tasks; recognizing no one as a stranger; concern for our fellow men.

(NOTE.—This talk was prepared for delivery over the NBC's "Faith in Action" program, on Palm Sunday, April 7, 1968. It was aired over some 50 stations.)

BATTLE RENEWED ON DEFENSE CONTRACT PROFITS

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fiscal problems faced at this time, I think it is highly relevant to review the observations on the tax structure made by Adm. H. G. Rickover at this time:

ADMIRAL RICKOVER RENEWS A BATTLE

(By Marquis Childs)

It is unlikely that the residents of Resurrection City, built by the Poor Marchers near the Lincoln Memorial, read the financial pages of the newspapers. News of the Department of Commerce report showing corporate profits for the first quarter at a record annual rate of $88.8 billion must have seemed to these hapless squatters like an event broadcast from Mars.

The distance that separates these people from the board rooms of Wall Street is measured in light years. Yet the threat of inflation inherent in soaring profits is relevant to the prices they are paying to scrape up food and shelter for a camp-in that seems uncertain both in direction and duration.

While the President implores Congress for a tax increase as the only way to curb inflation and put a brake on prices a partial remedy is conveniently ignored. The remedy was proposed by a one-man assault system who by a rough estimate has angered more of the high and mighty in this Capital than at any time since its founding.

Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, testifying before a House Committee the other day, renewed an old battle that in the past has seen him firing from his private foxhole at the top commanders in the Pentagon. It is Rickover's contention that profits on defense contracts have climbed steadily upward and that unless Congress and the Government do something about them they will go right through the roof.

In his testimony he cited from Moody's Industrials, a sound business publication, figures showing how profits of the five largest defense contractors had risen from the 1963–65 period through 1966–67. The percentage increase from General Dynamics was 22, for General Electric 21.7, United Aircraft 56, Boeing 65. Even Lockheed Aircraft, with a decline of 21.6, showed a jump in earnings per common share of 18.5 for the same period.

Rickover noted that when he made the same charge in 1963 the Defense Department put out a bland press release saying he was in error as Pentagon figures showed an actual decline in defense profits. But the fiery Admiral struck back. He charged that the cost accounting practices of the big defense contractors are so involved that profits are written off as overhead, with the Government in effect paying the cost of plant repairs, tools, manufacturing control techniques, computer programs and a wide range of improvements.

Rickover also put into the record a comparison between profits in defense and civilian industry, with defense firms showing for 1962–65 a 17.5 per cent return on net worth against 10.5 for firms producing for the civilian economy. He quoted from a study made by Washington University in St. Louis, which concludes that "the gap between defense and nondefense profit has indeed widened over the past decade in favor of defense business."

The remedy? As a starter Rickover would have Congress adopt stringent accounting procedures to be followed by all defense contractors. These procedures would be enforced by a greatly strengthened Renegotiation Board so that the obfuscation of enormously complex bookkeeping methods by the giant corporations could not conceal the facts.

Increasingly in recent years the Renegotiation Act has been shot full of loopholes. Its effectiveness in retrieving unjustified profits and scaling back high costs is greatly reduced. In 1952 the board had more than 500 employes while the number today is 180, even though defense procurement has jumped from $25 billion to nearly $50 billion.

In words of solemn warning Rickover told the House Banking and Currency Committee that if steps are not taken to monitor defense contracts and check the spiral of profits the giant corporations will become a fourth branch of Government and a branch exerting power without legal responsibility. The influence of the military-industrial-political complex will be all pervasive.

Wright Patman, the Committee chairman, and Rep. Henry Gonzalez put in a bill to carry over Rickover's recommendation for uniform cost and accounting procedures. As it emerged from the Committee it carried merely a recommendation for a study to determine whether a uniform system is feasible. Gonzalez has pressed for a stronger Renegotiation Act and he intends to push for a broad investigation into war profiteering in Vietnam.

How much of the record tide of profits comes out of defense contracts it may be impossible to say. But, if Rickover's estimates are right, hundreds of millions of dollars are at issue.

A BREAK IN THE CLOUDS

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in Newsday, a Long Island newspaper, entitled, "A Break in the Clouds" makes the very good point that many of the problems facing America are being solved and that our Nation has a new awareness of what must be done to meet its responsibilities, both at home and abroad.

The point made by the editorial is a good one because we certainly need a sense of balance in discussing our Nation. Those who criticize our Nation often forget that by any objective standard, it is still the greatest and best nation on the face of the earth.

I believe the American people, and my colleagues in Congress should read this editorial and reflect on its words:

A BREAK IN THE CLOUDS

America's fortunes seem on the turn.

The U.S. has been denounced for continuing the war in Vietnam, but President Johnson has muted his overseas critics by deciding not to run again, and by transferring the focus of the debate from battlefield to conference table. We were chided for maintaining "a sick society" because of anti-war and student demonstrations, and now many of our international critics face demonstrations of their own. We were criticized for our handling of the grimly serious race problem, but England, our closest kin, now faces its own race crisis.

The whole world, in fact, is feeling a malaise. In France, students hold the Sorbonne while police stand by. President de Gaulle has been shaken by the mutual student-gendarmerie violence that occurred just as the Vietnam peace talks were getting under way in Paris. In Germany there have been student demonstrations of equal violence.

In England, the staunchest trades-union supporters of the Wilson Labor government are vociferously demanding that all further immigration of "blacks"—meaning Indians, Pakistani and West Indians—be barred; that the door be slammed shut. The Birmingham City Council, under Conservative control, has insisted that no more "blacks" be permitted to settle in the city. Those are strong words emanating from a nation with a long history of tolerance.

In Czechoslovakia, the people and the government have rebelled against controls imposed by Moscow, and now challenge the leaders of the Soviet Union by creating a new regime hoping for close ties with the West. Romania has already declared a degree of independence. In Russia itself, students and intellectuals have protested an atmosphere that stultifies them and paralyzes independent thinking.

World society, it is apparent, is in ferment. Nations other than ours face problems with which they are not yet prepared to cope. Yet by contrast America seems to have come to terms with itself. There is a tacit acceptance of the fact that black slums must be replaced by new housing, that black unemployment must be remedied by new jobs. Slowly, perhaps, Americans are moving toward the belief that hearts and minds must change if blacks are to become partners with whites in our civilization.

America has begun to face up to other nagging problems—the integrity of the dollar, the menace of inflation, the selection of presidential candidates who will speak forthrightly and intelligently on all the issues that now confront us. President Johnson, by taking himself out of contention, has removed much of the abrasiveness and divisiveness that—for right or wrong reasons—so divided and confounded the American people.

There has been a break in the clouds. There is a vision of a better day ahead. Reason has begun to replace unreason in the American debate over what troubles the country. Once the world's scapegoat, the U.S. gradually is becoming a nation more at ease with itself—aware of its troubles and willing to take realistic steps to do something about them. A ray or two of sunshine has begun to find its way through the murk that so long oppresses a country dedicated to greatness.

A LAW-ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM FOR WASHINGTON

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. MATHIAS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, law enforcement in our troubled cities can be significantly improved only by strengthening every aspect of the administration of justice, including not only the police but also the courts and corrections systems. Such reforms are urgently needed if we are to curb soaring crime rates, increase public safety, and restore a sense of assurance to our communities by making justice more swift and far more sure.

Recently, Mr. Gilbert Hahn, Jr., chairman of the District of Columbia Republican Committee, issued a very thoughtful and constructive statement on the immediate problems of law enforcement confronting the Nation's Capital. In addition to recommending massive increases in police manpower and the use of new techniques, Mr. Hahn called for doubling the number of judges, court personnel, prosecutors, and assistants to clear up the tremendous backlog in the District courts and permit really adequate attention to every case.

Acknowledging that such reforms may be expensive, Mr. Hahn declared that "it is a cheap price to pay to save our cities" and to obtain the "massive infusion of calm, confidence, and restraint" which is so essential today. His proposals are practical and perceptive, and could provide the foundation for dramatic improvements in law enforcement and public confidence in Washington.

I would like to commend Mr. Hahn's statement to the attention of my colleagues, and include it in the RECORD at this point.

I would also like to include an editorial from the Washington Post of June 1, and endorse its conclusion that "Mr. Hahn has made a real contribution to this community."

The statement and editorial follow:

CRIME AND FEAR

(By Gilbert Hahn, Jr., chairman, D.C. Republican Committee)

INTRODUCTION

As the newly elected Republican Chairman of the Republican Party of the District of Columbia, I have been working on a program to deal with Crime and Fear in this City. For that reason we welcome the President's proposal to increase by 1,000 the number of police in this City. We had prepared a larger and more comprehensive program, recommending an increase by 3,000, doubling the number of judges and court personnel and the number of prosecutors and subsidiary assistants.

While we feel the President's program is too small and too limited to deal with the problem, we welcome it as a good start and a background against which to propose our own program.

During my campaign for election as Chairman of the Republican Party of the District of Columbia, I conducted a walking tour in all parts of the City. Each afternoon (Saturday and Sunday afternoon), I would take a team of eight walking with me. During this campaign we called on some 10,000 homes in this City. I spoke personally to some 3,500 myself.

My teams and I found out there was only one thing on everybody's mind in this City—crime and fear. It was the same whether the homes were rich or poor—white or black. Far Northwest or Anacostia—Center City or Cleveland Park. I got my fill of talking to voters through locked doors.

After I was named the apparent winner, I began to get letters and telephone calls from people who said they voted for me—reporting assaults and robberies that had taken place in their neighborhood—and what was I going to do about it.

It seemed to me, as Party Chairman, elected directly by the people, I just might be the appropriate minority spokesman and speak out on the issue that is on the mind of us all—crime and fear.

I offer solutions that are forceful and massive but gentle and just. Many people have talked about the subject with criticism. I am going to offer solutions, while rejecting the extremes.

One solution to crime and fear suggests that we must ignore the present systems of violence and lawlessness because these systems are the logical result of centuries of unjustice, deprivation and lack of education. This solution calls for civil rights legislation, housing, poverty programs, new schools, and hundreds of other welfare programs over the years to bring some of our citizens up to their just place in society. I do not criticize or reject these programs—we must go on with them—maybe even increase them.

This may cure crime and fear in 1980 but it won't do anything for us today—here and now. It won't help the 10-year-old girl who is raped, the old man who is mugged and robbed in front of his house, or the small grocer who is terrorized, shoplifted into insolvency and then burned out. Literally and figuratively the city is on fire, and the fire must be put out—now!

If we don't put it out now we won't have any city left to save in 1980.

A second solution charges that our Courts are coddling crime and criminals—criticizing the Durham, Mallory, Escobedo, Gideon, and Miranda decisions—in short, all the modern body of criminal law or insanity, confessions, right to counsel at all times during a proceeding, the right to release from prison pending trial without bail, restrictions on listening devices and all the rest.

I have no quarrel with the Senate Crime Bill. Although some of it may be held unconstitutional, much may prove helpful and useful. But I think it will have no marked effect on crime or fear—almost none.

Basically, all of the new defendants' rights are rights we would wish for ourselves. But what the administration has forgotten the past few years is that all of these rights take more time—sometimes 3 or 4 times as many man-hours.

Now I want to make it crystal clear that I favor most of the programs of social reform that have been proposed. The program that I am about to propose to deal with crime and fear in this city is *in addition* to those programs and *not in place of them.*

The police can catch rioters and looters without shooting, but it takes longer and it takes more people. Suspects can be arrested and searched as well with warrants as without—it just takes longer. The same is true of warning a suspect of his rights, giving him counsel and taking him promptly to a magistrate.

Since I came to the bar 20 years ago, I have taken free criminal cases each year assigned by the Court. My typical "client" was in jail when I first saw him and had been there a month. He had already given a confession—and usually wanted, even against advice, to plead guilty so he could get out of jail and start serving his time in the penitentiary.

This was typical, few cases came to trial—the demands on the police, prosecution and court were small—and the system kept current.

Now, the felony cases before the District Court number over 3,000 a year—and the backlog of cases was 1,100. The U.S. Attorney recently reduced this to 700, but it has taken 12 of the 14 judges of the District Court sitting on nothing but criminal cases to do this. The U.S. Attorney says the average time from arraignment to trial is 4 months but I've seen them take one and two years. The Crime Commission says it thinks but cannot prove that the U.S. Attorney has a current calendar of 700 only because that's all he is indicting.

And with 12 of 14 judges assigned to criminal trials, what is to become of the civil calendar?

In short, because most defendants can get out of jail without bail, awaiting trial, they have no reason to plead guilty—virtually every case goes to trial. The system has bogged down—it cannot handle the flood of cases that feed on the bogged down situation. There is no reason why, in proper cases, defendants should not get out of jail awaiting trial. But, we should see to it that cases come to trial in a few weeks rather than six months or a year.

One in nine defendants, while awaiting trial out of jail, commits one or more other crimes according to the Crime Commission. The public probably believes it is much higher.

Therefore, I propose to double the number of judges, double the number of Assistant U.S. Attorneys and all the necessary personnel of their offices.

This recommendation applies also to the Court of Appeals. Let us make it possible to dispose of appeals in six weeks or less instead of six months or longer.

That's just a starter. Bad as it is—and horrible as the hundreds of vicious crimes, called felonies, murder, rape, arson, grand larceny, shootings, assaults—that is not where the real problem lies.

Let's take a look at the problems of the Court of General Sessions and the criminal division of the Corporation Counsel's office together with the U.S. Attorney. They handle mostly misdemeanors—50,000 a year, not including traffic cases, assaults, petty larceny, looting, shoplifting, gambling, vice, narcotics, drunk and disorderly. In the last 5 years, gangs of youths have started roaming the streets, mugging, stealing, terrorizing small business, bus drivers, and destroying property.

The criminal division of the Corporation Counsel has 11 attorneys to handle this madness. His recent request for 33 has not been adopted. It has been estimated that a judge of the Court of General Sessions has an average of 2 minutes to give to each case.

It is ridiculous even to wonder whether the Corporation Counsel, the U.S. Attorney, and the Court is coping with this flood—we know they cannot. They can only deal with a small percentage and dismiss charges against the balance. Any wonder that such a defendant returns to the streets with contempt for the law and a temptation to try crime again.

Obviously the judges of the Court of General Sessions should be doubled and if that doesn't work, tripled. The same for the Corporation Counsel and all their clerks.

We cannot deal today with such problems of psychiatric examination and treatment, probation, rehabilitation, juvenile courts and all the rest. They have the same problem.

However, by far the most important part of all is the police. We ask much of our Police Department and we have given them too little with which to work.

First, I propose that the D.C. Police be increased from 3,000 to (not 4,000) but 6,000 officers.

Second, I propose their minimum pay now increased to $8,000 per year go higher if necessary.

Third, I propose that recruiting go on from the Army and elsewhere—but that all newly recruited officers be required to live in the City.

Fourth, I propose full street lighting for the entire City.

Fifth, I propose that the police implement many of the proposals developed in New York by the Lindsay administration:

1. A 1,000 man special squad for riots and disturbances.

2. More uniformed officers on the streets, especially at night. (John Lindsay is tripling police on the streets of New York at night.)

3. Still more important an increase of *non-uniformed police*. (The criminal wants to know where the uniformed patrolman is as well as you do.)

4. Buttons in telephone boxes so that you can call for help without a dime.

5. More walkie-talkies.

6. Increase in police reserves.

7. Tokens, tickets or passes only on buses—with stations and machines to sell and dispense them at all hours.

8. New ideas such as the use of movie cameras to record violations that the police cannot handle at the moment.

The list is long. I am forming a Committee of the Republican Committee to receive further reports, complaints and suggestions and we will issue a detailed report to the City and Congress. I hope in the future to appear before the City Council and Committees.

I estimate this program will cost between $50,000,000 and $60,000,000. I propose that the Federal Government pay the cost.

This is a lot of money, especially if you don't have it, but it's a cheap price to pay to save our cities and the Capital of the United States. We need a massive infusion of calm, confidence and restraint. The great danger is extremes, panic and violence and brutality because of lack of force and confidence.

I want to see a gentle restraint, arrest without shooting, law and order—but with justice.

Ninety percent of crime is committed in the black ghetto against other ghetto residents. It follows that most of this program is for their immediate benefit.

But the real benefit is for us all. This is a grave problem. We have suggested a massive cure.

Washington, D.C. has replaced New York City as the promised land. But, it can't be the promised land, if the real or imagined fear of crime causes our citizens, white and black, to flee the City—to stop investing in the City—and to lose confidence in the City. Let alone prosper and grow, a fearful City cannot even function.

I have offered a balanced solution to the problem.

I am committed to this City. I am committed to programs of social action and to create a viable City by *Republican Urbanism*, but before we can do these things, we must, and will end crime in this City—and now!

[From the Washington Post, June 1, 1968]

COMMONSENSE ON CRIME

There is a dry, realistic pragmatism in the approach to law enforcement adopted by Gilbert Hahn in his debut as chairman of the District of Columbia Republican Party. He seems far more interested in putting a stop to crime in the streets of this community than in scoring brownie points in some imagined debate against the Democrats, the Supreme Court or a chimerical Cosa Nostra.

Mr. Hahn is fully in favor of the social legislation prescribed as a long-range remedy for the cause of crime, although he has no confidence in its immediate efficacy. And he says he has no quarrel with the Senate crime bill, although he thinks "it will have no marked effect on crime or fear—almost none." But he has a practical politician's interest in doing something now to curb crime in the short run. And he has a practical businessman's recognition that this calls for a dramatic strengthening of the existing agencies designed to cope with crime.

Mr. Hahn would raise the President's bid for an enlarged police force; he thinks police manpower should be doubled from the present 3000 to 6000; the almost total absence of crime in the streets during the period when Federal troops were stationed on every street corner where crime was likely to occur suggests pretty plainly that he knows what he is talking about. "The police can catch rioters and looters without shooting," he remarks, "but it takes longer and it takes more people. Suspects can be arrested and searched as well with warrants as without—it just takes longer. The same is true of warning a suspect of his rights, giving him counsel and taking him promptly to a magistrate."

In addition to more police, the new Republican chairman wants to double the number of judges and double the number of Assistant U.S. Attorneys in order to speed up the administration of justice. He wants to enlarge the personnel available for psychiatric examination and treatment for probation and rehabilitation of convicted persons, so that the penal system will reform rather than train the maladjusted for careers in crime.

He is perfectly well aware that the program he suggests will cost a lot of money—between $50 million and $60 million, he estimates. And he is quite right in asserting that "it's a cheap price to pay to save our cities." In terms of real values, moreover, it is far less costly than current legislative proposals to junk the Constitution and prostitute the country's courts. Mr. Hahn has made a real contribution to the community.

LEADERS ARE LOSING CONTROL OF POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the Poor People's Campaign is serving as a magnet to draw revolutionaries, killers, and common criminals to the Nation's Capital.

The cold-blooded slaying of two young marine officers and the wounding of two of their companions in a Georgetown hamburger shop this week is directly related to the march on Washington. The killers, three young Negroes from California, came here to join the Poor People's Campaign. They were scheduled to move into Resurrection City, according to newspaper reports. Two of them are college students who would scarcely seem to fit into the category of poor people. They are reportedly members of the Black Student Union. The local address they gave police when arrested was that of the New School for Afro-American Thought.

The news of these brutal killings was dwarfed by the assassination of Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. Nevertheless, the results are no less tragic for the families of these young marines who were gunned down while wearing the uniform of their country. The appointment of a Presidential Commission To Study Crime and Violence will do little to assuage the grief of the families involved.

Violence has been no stranger in Resurrection City. Residents have been beaten and robbed by other residents. Last night, Washington newspaper reporters were brutally beaten at the campsite. The pledge that liquor and weapons would not be permitted in Resurrection City has not been honored.

There is mounting fear that the leaders of the Poor People's Campaign have lost control to the militants. There are open breaks among Negroes, Spanish Americans, and Indians participating in the movement. There seems to be little agreement among the leaders of these groups as to what their objectives are. There seems to be even less agreement between the militants and the moderates who make up the dominant Negro leadership.

I was told flatly by James Bevel, one of Rev. Ralph Abernathy's top aides, that their followers would stay on, even though the camping permit expires June 16. A massive march and demonstration is scheduled for June 19.

In view of what is clearly happening in the surcharged atmosphere of Washington, I believe the time has come for the demonstrators to disband. I do not believe the disorganized leadership can maintain order and discipline. I am not at all sure that some of them want to.

I am deeply disturbed by public statements that the tempo of the protests is to be stepped up. We hear calls for "militant, nonviolent civil disobedience" and threats to turn the city upside down unless unspecified demands are met. "The picnic is over," one leader says, implying that much stronger action is in store.

In this kind of a climate, anything could happen. A relatively minor incident could touch off an uncontrollable outbreak. Washington is a powder keg. Bus drivers, victims of more than 200 robberies this year and a recent murder, refuse to carry cash on their night runs. The sharp decline in tourists is reflected in empty hotel rooms and half-filled restaurants. Several conventions scheduled for the Capital City have been moved elsewhere. Thousands of individual visitors have canceled hotel reservations. An advertisement sponsored by local businessmen proclaims that "Washington is dying."

Every American has a right to petition his Government for redress of real or imagined grievances. Free speech and the right to protest peacefully should not be questioned. There is, however, no right to threaten, to intimidate, to advocate violence. No citizen has a right to disobey any law which he personally considers "unjust."

Congress is not going to legislate under duress or from behind barricades. I think this should be made clearer than it has up to now.

House passage of the Public Works Committee's bill prohibiting further camping privileges on the Mall would represent a responsible start in this direction.

A TRIBUTE TO VERNON X. MILLER

HON. RAY BLANTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, at a Law Day dinner recently here in Washington, D.C., lawyers, judges, and jurists paid tribute to a well-known figure in jurisprudential circles throughout the Nation. The man they honored is Vernon X. Miller, and the event which signified this tribute was the occasion of his retiring as dean of the Catholic University of America's school of law.

Dean Miller is well known in legal and academic circles both here in Washington and throughout the country, as an innovator, a creative scholar, a unique teacher, and an able administrator.

The long, dedicated career of this uncommon man on the American scene is worth noting. He was educated at the University of Minnesota, and received his doctorate degree in law at Yale in 1929. He was an assistant to the late Justice Butler of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1925–26.

Upon leaving his duties with the Supreme Court, Dean Miller embarked upon his teaching career, which has now spanned more than four decades. His mark has been made on many universities across this land, and the fabric of American legal training has a decided notch carved in it from Vernon X. Miller.

He taught law at St. Thomas College in 1926–30; at the University of Oregon, 1930–31; at Marquette University 1931–38. He was a dean of Loyola University at New Orleans from 1945 to 1951 after serving as a professor of law for 7 years at that fine institution. From 1951 to 1954 he served as dean of the Law School of the University of San Francisco from 1951 to 1954, and from July of 1954, he has been a teacher and dean of the Columbus School of Law at Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C.

Perhaps the highlight of Dean Miller's distinguished service to American jurisprudence has been his long, vigorous work with the Association of American Law Schools, an organization composed of virtually all the accredited law schools in the Nation. His colleagues selected him secretary-treasurer of this organization in 1963 and 1964, and selected him as president in 1965.

Throughout his many years as an administrator, he has always been a teacher first, an administrator second. His rapport with countless students throughout four decades of academic life has made him loved and respected by hundreds of lawyers and judges—many of whom studied under him. It is because of their recognition of his many talents that many of his friends were comforted by the fact that he intends to continue teaching in the future, despite relinquishing his administrative chores. I am told that unless a student takes "Torts" under Dean Miller, they just cannot appreciate his sharp insight into the law, and his keen wit which makes dull law books come alive with interest and meaningful interpretation.

Vernon X. Miller is a unique man, an uncommon man, a man whose dedication to law and people has carved a special place in American jurisprudence. We have all profited from his ability, his concern, his creativity. We look forward to many more productive years of the same as he continues his career as a teacher. It is only fitting that we pause and reflect, and pay tribute to a man who has meant so much to this important profession, and his contributions to our country as well.

TOWARD LESS LIBERTY AND LOSS OF FREEDOM

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of Senator KENNEDY and all its attendant anguish and rightful shock I see much more. There is in this and other events of our day a bell tolling for freedom and liberty as we now know these qualities in America. As citizens have demanded the full expressions of the rights of liberty as individuals, they have not been willing to assume the responsibilities or the duties which these rights imply. Since a right cannot exist without the support of a duty the right must be diminished.

An individual who cannot govern his conduct in accordance with any acceptable standard of taste or any threshold of restraint cannot contribute to a society which believes man can govern themselves. If, as individuals, we cannot or will not practice reasonable restraint we cannot as a people enjoy the maximum of self-government.

Authority by the state must increase to fill the vacuum where the individual abdicates his responsibility and that is what we will be seeing in the days ahead. For a number of years the Supreme Court has widened the scope of individual freedom within the framework of the law. Too many Americans have demanded freedom to act without and beyond the law. Now the law will be expanded and the individual diminished in his freedom. All because there were too many who wanted to abuse rather than reasonably use their freedom.

Rationalize as you will, justify as you will, the lines of conduct pursued by those who use violence, who, in the exercise of their new freedom trample the rights of others and assume no new burden of duty or responsibility. These are the ones who have become the enemies of the very cause which allowed them their voice, their action. Now the suppression must come. Backward moves our society and it follows as the day the night, when we have proven unready for our gifts they are lost.

So, in losing another great and fine young leader dedicated to what is right in our land and leadership that seeks our finest goals, we mark another turn of the wheel which sets our ship of state backward toward more restraint by the state, less liberty for the individual. For with all our seeking we seek first safety for our lives and security for our property and when our fellows do not readily get it, we turn to the state to demand it.

H.R. 17681—TO PROVIDE RENTAL AND COOPERATIVE HOUSING FOR LOW- AND MODERATE-INCOME FAMILIES

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced H.R. 17681, "to provide rental and cooperative housing for low- and moderate-income families." My bill would amend section 1(a) title II of the National Housing Act by extending interest-reduction payments on mortgages to include persons presently dwelling in Mitchell-Lama housing developments in New York.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that we are all aware of the fact that the rapid rise in interest rates over the past several years has created problems for millions of persons. In the field of housing, mortgage costs have risen to a point that may well impede the construction of needed new housing units. The administration has responded to this problem by proposing the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. Title II of this proposed legislation would make special provisions concerning housing for low- and moderate-income families. One of these provisions permits payment by the Federal Government of interest-reduction payments to mortgagees. These reduction payments would, of course, keep rents at present levels.

However, in the form in which the bill is pending before the House Banking and Currency Committee, the interest reduction provisions apply to future construction. This shortcoming would bar certain Mitchell-Lama housing developments in New York State from receiving interest-reduction benefits. For example, one such housing complex, Dayton Beach Park, which is a limited-profit cooperative development in Rockaway, Queens, while in existence for several years, does not yet have permanent mortgage financing. Its temporary financing was furnished by the city of New York. The city which will furnish permanent financing must, by law, charge the cooperative the same rate of interest it pays when it borrows money. At the present time, this rate is 5.4 percent. When the occupants of this housing purchased their apartments several years ago, interest costs were 3½ percent. Thus, the $19 million permanent financing will today cost almost $400,000 more for the first year. All carrying charges on this housing were estimated on the old interest rates and today, as a result, many of the limited-income occupants find themselves faced with increased costs they cannot possibly afford. Dayton Beach Park is but an example of the problem. There are many other similar situations in New York and throughout the United States, which are adversely affecting many persons living on fixed incomes, pensions, and social security.

Therefore, I urge early action on my bill, H.R. 17681, which would extend interest-reduction payments to all mortgagees dwelling in Mitchell-Lama housing developments.

REGISTERED FARMERS, INC.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1968

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Herschel C. Ligon, 211 East Main Street, Lebanon, Tenn., president of the Registered Farmers, Inc., recently testified before the House Agriculture Committee.

His statement as well as his organization present new ideas and offer a new promise to the farmer.

I feel many of our colleagues will find his statement of interest and include it in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HERSCHEL C. LIGON, PRESIDENT, REGISTERED FARMERS, INC., LEBANON, TENN., BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, MAY 1, 1968

Gentlemen, am honored that you have invited me, a farmer, to testify before you. I think, I represent the only organization in the world, in which you have to be a farmer, to be a member.

My roots are deep in agriculture—my farm, my father's farm and my sister's farm have never belonged to anybody but my family—they were granted from the government of North Carolina. My father's house is the oldest house in Wilson County, having been built in the first administration of George Washington.

One thing that really bothers me is, if this farm economy doesn't change immediately, I will be the last farmer of this family because I can't conscientiously encourage my boys to farm, because they can't make a living—one enters college this fall and the other enters high school. Both are excellent farmers—both would like to be farmers. They can do practically anything on the farm I can—along with my 77 year old father we own and operate 250 acres, breeding registered Poland Chinas, Polled Shorthorns and Hampshire sheep and use no hired labor. Every year it gets harder to make a living and we get deeper in debt. If my wife didn't have a part-time bookkeeping job, we couldn't wear decent clothes.

I am proud of my government—think we have the greatest in the world—am proud I gave it four years of my time in World War II, and many years since in the National Guard and Army Reserve. If my Commander-in-Chief asked me to, I would be willing to come out of retirement and go to Viet Nam.

I well remember the depression of the thirties—my father sold hogs for 3 cents per pound, and I remember his receiving a cream check for a total of 3 cents.

I was most happy to see President Roosevelt begin the federal farm program, which saved the nation's economy by saving the farmer's economy, but for a number of years our federal government has been putting the Registered Farmers out of business. When I use the term Registered Farmers, I mean people who earn at least 75% of their total income from farming.

The federal government has taken all the risk, and I guess it has more than any other profession, out of farming for nonregistered farmers. They can't lose—all they lose on their farming operation counter-balance the profit they make on their other businesses, putting them in a lower income tax bracket. In 1965, of the 119 millionaires farming, only 16 paid income tax. Over half the people with a $50,000 or more annual income, with farming operations, showed a loss on their income tax return.

Under the federal farm program, a nonregistered farmer can buy a woods, charge the cleaning up off his income tax and under the ASCS program get the federal government to terrace, lime, fertilize, seed, build a pond and fence it. Then he goes to the market with cattle in competition to us Registered Farmers, who don't have the capital to participate in the ASCS program. I repeat, the non-registered farmer can't lose, but when the Registered Farmer loses, it is *gone*.

The nation's average taxpayer is tired of paying taxes every week, and the non-registered farmer using farming for tax write-off. The nation's average taxpayer is also tired of his taxes financing a federal farm program that is putting Registered Farmers out of business, when it was originally established to assist them.

We Registered Farmers propose the federal government adopt the three following proposals as a solution to the farm problem:

1. 100% parity of price for Registered Farmers agriculture products produced and or finished by them and sold on established markets by grade.
2. Not allow non-registered farmers to participate in the federal farm program.
3. Not allow non-registered farmers to use farming as tax write-off.

I have seen it proven from the President's Economic Report that a dollar spent by a farmer puts seven dollars into the nation's economy. I have also seen it proven, from the President's Economic Report, that for the past 16 years, the nation's farmers have been underpaid 422 billion dollars. Multiply that by seven and you get two trillion nine hundred and fifty-four billion dollars the nation's economy has been shorted—to make up for this, the nation had to go in debt a thousand billion.

When farmers have money to spend, much is spent with small business, which is also suffering from this economic situation.

In 1966, all farmers in the country received $3,281,621,070 in ASCS payments. I ask you, what percent of that went to Registered Farmers? I think you will find only a small percentage.

Everybody tells us that RF's solution to the farm problem is the fairest and simplest they have heard—nobody is fighting us. Many ask how many members have we? We are a new organization, and will never have many members, because there are not many people eligible for membership, and this is good because nobody will ever get all farmers to join one organization. The many many average taxpayers will help get this program adopted because they are in sympathy with Registered Farmers, and they want their tax money put to a better use and they don't want nonregistered farmers using farming for tax write-off.

We RF think, after maybe five years of receiving 100% parity of price and the elimination of the unfair competition, we will get back on a supply and demand that will bring balanced economy, and we will not have to have a federal farm program.

If surpluses has been the problem, I think you will find most of the surpluses are produced by non-registered farmers, because Registered Farmers do not have the finances and can't afford the risk. I also think you will find surpluses increase when prices are low—100% parity of price will take care of this. Registered Farmers never try to get rich—all they want is a decent living for their family.

It has been said, we have too many farmers. We do not have a surplus of farmers, we have a surplus of people farming.

Many say the farmer has to become more efficient. I have had experience in other professions besides farming—I say parity of income improves efficiency more than any other thing.

The morale of the Registered Farmer is about as low as it has ever been—something has to be done now to save the family farms, because they go with the American way of life—like pie goes with a picnic.

Many of this nation's greatest leaders have come from the family farm, and speaking of this, some of the nation's leading law-makers have farms, but we all know they are the caliber of people that will put first what is best for their nation in solving the farm problem.

I am convinced, as long as there is a world, we will have wars—the best way for us to keep from losing one is to produce the quality soldier it takes to win them—there is no better source of supply than the family farm. The late Sgt. Alvin C. York is an example.

The strongest and greatest society is a balanced society—we need farm boys and girls to keep this balance. How many farm reared boys and girls do you find in the student riots?

The greatest product from the family farm is one that not enough people think about, that is, boys and girls that will work, know how to work, and above all have good character.

Since preparing this statement, have been informed my older son Bill, has been chosen for the second consecutive year, Middle Tennessee's Outstanding FFA Livestock Farmer with a $11,000 inventory. His closest two competitors had $90,000 and $150,000 inventories respectively.